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SAGA HEIDREKS KONUNGS
INS VITRA

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THE SAGA OF KING HEIDREK
THE WISE
Saga Heidreks Konungs ins Vitra

Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd
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The Saga of King Heidrek
the Wise

Translated from the Icelandic
with Introduction, Notes and Appendices
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CONTENTS

Introduction vii

I 1 Fornaldarsögur vii
   2 The Cursed Sword ix
   3 The Sàmsey Poetry xi
   4 The Good Counsels xiv
   5 The Riddles of Gestumblindi xviii
   6 The Battle of the Goths and the Huns xxi
   7 Conclusion xxviii

II 1 The Manuscripts xxix
   2 The Text of this Edition xxxi
   3 Previous Editions xxxiii
   4 Previous Translations xxxiv

Bibliography and Abbreviations xxxvi

Icelandic Text verso 2

English translation recto 2

Appendix A: Supplementary Texts

1 The beginning of the saga according to the U-redaction verso and recto 66

2 The verses of the dialogue before the Battle on Sàmsey as found in Órvar-Odds Saga 69

3 Verses of Hjálmar's Death-Song found only in Órvar-Odds Saga 73

4 Verses of Hervör's dialogue with the Herdsman not found in R 76

5 Verses of The Waking of Angantýr not found in R 78

6 Riddles peculiar to the H-text verso and recto 80

7 Verses of The Battle of the Goths and the Huns not found in R 83
CONTENTS

Appendix B: Gudmund of Glasisvellir 84
Appendix C: The References to Ódin 87
Appendix D: The Game of Hnefatafl 88
Appendix E: The Riddle of the Sow 90
Appendix F: Fróðmar 91
Glossary of Technical Terms 93
Index 97

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C.R.T.
INTRODUCTION

I

Fornaldarsögur

Heiðreks Saga, or Hervarar Saga (an equally common name for it) is one of the fornaldaarsögur, the Sagas of Ancient Times. This term is not an ancient one,¹ and it has been variously applied to cover more or less of the very large class of sagas (‘mythical,’ ‘fabulous’ or ‘romantic’) that have little or no historical authenticity; but whereas most of these are ‘late medieval’ and belong to Icelandic literature in the period of its catastrophic decline, there is evidence nonetheless that fictional tales on the subject of legendary heroes were flourishing as oral entertainment as early as the beginning of the twelfth century—some seventy odd years before the first of the famous Sagas of Icelanders (or Family Sagas) were written.

At a wedding held at Reykjahólar in the north-west of Iceland in 1119 one Hrólf of Skálmarnes told a ‘saga,’ which he had composed himself, about ‘Hröngvid the viking, and Óláf Lidmannakonung, and the rifling of the mound of Thráin the berserk, and Hrómund Gripsson, and many verses along with it.’ This was no doubt a very different matter from the existing fornaldaarsaga of Hrómund Gripsson, and ‘probably resembled in form the Helgi lays of the Edda, i.e. it consisted of verses set in a simple narrative framework of prose’²; but it is a remarkable witness to the telling of stories at that date which had nothing to do with the historical personages of the Icelandic ‘heroic age,’ for Hrómund, as a rather doubtfully historical person, lived in the eighth century. The mention of the opening of Thráin’s burial-mound is striking, for this is a very common theme in the written fornaldaarsögur that are extant today (compare the poem called The Waking of Angantýr in Heiðreks Saga).

It is said in the same passage that King Sverrir of Norway, who died in 1202, was entertained with this story of Hrómund Gripsson, saying

¹ It derives in fact from the title of C. C. Rafn’s collection, Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda, 1829–30.
² Ursula Brown, Þorgils Saga ok Haflíða, 1952, 75
that such *lygisogur* (fictitious works, literally ‘lying tales’) were the most amusing of all. This term *lygisogur* has sometimes been used to describe the romantic and fantastic sagas based on foreign sources, particularly important among these being the French romances of chivalry, which began to be translated (*riddara sogur*) at the court of Norway in the time of Sverrir’s grandson, King Hákon Hákonarson (1217–63); and with this literature we are not concerned. But ‘there was plenty of romantic stuff in the old heroic poetry, without going to the French books,’¹ and it is to the class of *fornaldarsogur* that are based to some degree at least on older poetry—by far the most interesting and important of them—that *Heiðreks Saga* belongs.

The author of the best-known of these works, *Volsunga Saga*, paraphrased into prose the poems of the Poetic Edda that he had before him, and the lost poem *Bjarkamál* is paraphrased in *Hrólfss Saga Kraha*, but the composer of *Heiðreks Saga* chose a different method: he inserted the old verses into the framework of his prose narrative. It was a happy choice, for of the poems that have been preserved in this way *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns* which ends the saga proper, though terribly battered, is now recognised to be perhaps the oldest of all the heroic lays preserved in the North; the verses of *The Waking of Angantýr* have been called by W. P. Ker ‘the most wonderful of all the Northern poems after the *Völsþpa’*; and the charming *Riddles of Gestumblindi* are unique in ancient Norse literature.

It is for this reason, principally, that *Heiðreks Saga* has been so much studied during the last hundred years by German and Scandinavian scholars; but large parts of it are not based on poetry, nor do they provide the framework for poems. The story, for instance, of Höfund’s advice to his son Heidrek, and of how his son went against every piece of it, is a form of a widespread European tale that has been foisted, not altogether happily, onto the legendary king. The work is, in fact, something of a gallimaufrey, unkempt, ununified, with many inconsistencies; and though unity of a kind is given to it all in the theme of the terrible sword Tyrfing which passes down the generations, the saga-writer would have needed to be far more ruthless with his material than he was to make a satisfactory design.

His prose is sober and undecorated to a degree, untouched by the dreary inflated rhetoric and lifeless fantasy of the worst of the romantic sagas, but his stories are so condensed that the figures in them have no

¹ W. P. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, 1896, ch. 3, sect. 8
time to emerge as personalities. The little episode of the adultery of Heidrek’s wife with a kitchen slave, for example, is hardly more than the skeleton of an amusing tale; it adds nothing to the picture of Heidrek, beyond increasing the number of his wives. The author does not succeed in making him more than a collection of different people going under one name.

As in other fornaldarsogur, there are scattered through the book many references to ancient customs and practices of the pagan age—‘romantic’ appurtenances for the saga-writer and his audience, but nonetheless often preserving the matter of ancient tradition that was still alive in their days. Much of the incident in these sagas is the ‘joint-stock’ of the genre, and indeed the annotation of one can easily become a matter of listing similar things in other works.¹

2 The Cursed Sword

To consider more closely the matter of Heidreks Saga, it is essential to notice that there are two quite distinct versions of it: an older (R), which is found only in one, much damaged manuscript, and a later entirely reworked version, differing from R not merely in wording but also in names, in the plots of the stories, and in the inclusion of a great deal of new matter. This is found in two manuscripts, U (seventeenth-century) and H (fourteenth-century), the latter being, however, a shortened and in some ways distorted form of this later and longer version.²

These two versions, R and HU, are at their most divergent at the beginning of the saga, for the latter brings in a mass of mythological, geographical and genealogical information of which there is hardly a word in R, and which was certainly not a part of the first written Heidreks Saga. This is given, with a translation, in Appendix A.

There is here, too, a story of how King Svafrlami forced two dwarfs to forge the sword Tyrfing for him, and of how they retaliated by putting on it a threefold curse, that it would be the death of a man each

¹ On fornaldarsaga motifs in Family Sagas, see Knut Liestøl, The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas, 1930, 163 ff.
² Details about these manuscripts and their relations are given at the end of the Introduction. Throughout this book the symbols R, H and U are used indiscriminately both for the actual manuscripts and for the redaction of the saga that they represent, wherever this causes no ambiguity; and ‘the HU-version’ is used to refer to what is common to both H and U and must have stood in their ultimate common original.
time it was drawn, that with it would be done three hateful things and that the king would get his own death by it. The first of these prophecies is found in R as a plain statement of fact about the sword (p. 2); but in neither version of the saga is this quality always fulfilled. As to the second, it has often been questioned what three nīðingsverk are meant; but it seems fairly clear that they are the three kinslayings, Heidrek's killing of his brother Angantýr (p. 22) and of his father-in-law King Harald (p. 26), and Angantýr the Third's killing of his brother Hlöð (p. 57). But in the first of these the deed is done with Tyrfing only in H and U—in R, Heidrek threw a stone at him, and this, as will be seen, is almost certainly the original; in the second, Tyrfing is nowhere mentioned; and in the third kinslaying, the verses of the poem do not presuppose that Hlöð met his death from Tyrfing, though it is a natural deduction from the prose narrative. Lastly, in the third prophecy, it is only in H and U that the king who first owned Tyrfing was himself killed by it; in R it is not so, and here again R's version is the better, since the account in H and U of the way in which Arngrím took the sword from the king is incompatible with Tyrfing's quality of always bringing victory to the bearer.

It seems almost certain that the theme of the threefold curse is a reshaping of the original material of Heidreks Saga, devised by the maker of the later version out of his head, or (what comes to the same thing) out of his knowledge of many other tales; and several of the motives of this story are found elsewhere (for instance, the three hateful deeds, nīðingsverk, one in each lifespan, to be performed by Starkad through the curse of Thór, Gautreks Saga ch. 7).

But the sword was cursed; for in the poem called The Waking of Angantýr the dead viking in his burial-mound tells his daughter twice (verses 32 and 39) that Tyrfing will bring ruin to all her posterity. In verse 23 the sword is said to have been forged by dwarfs. It is more than likely that these verses were the starting-point for the curse-story in the HU-version; and, assuming this, one can readily see the reason for various alterations in the story as it is told in that version. For instance, having introduced the prophecy that the king would be slain by the sword, the 'rewriter' was obliged to see that he was, and he changed the old form of the story, where the acquisition of Tyrfing and Eyfura was peaceful. Again, in R Heidrek hurled a stone into the

1 The poem does not in fact presuppose even that Tyrfing was a sword; see section 6 below.
INTRODUCTION

darkness—simply, as it appears, from the desire to do mischief—and struck and killed his brother Angantýr, for which reason he was banished; his mother gave him Tyrfing before he went. But the writer of the later version had Heidrek banished merely for setting the two men at loggerheads during the feast; Hervör gave him the sword before he went, and then he slew his brother, with the sword; thus the first hateful deed of the curse was accomplished.¹

The view of the relationship between the two versions which I have outlined here follows from and agrees with the conclusions reached by Jón Helgason in his study of the textual history of the saga²; but it meets with a difficulty in the fact, already mentioned, that The Waking of Angantýr itself tells us that the sword was cursed. To her father’s warning that the sword shall prove the ruin of her family, Hervör retorts that she cares little ‘how my sons shall strive hereafter’ (verse 40); but the strife of her sons, Heidrek and Angantýr, ends (in R) with the latter’s death from the stone. If that is the original form of the story for the written Heiðreks Saga, one may think that The Waking of Angantýr refers here to something that has been lost, since it presumably refers to something. It has also been suggested that Hervör’s words really applied to the slaying of Hlöd by his brother Angantýr the Third—who, in the saga, are Hervör’s grandsons: that the whole Heidrek-history has been intruded between Hervör’s obtaining of the sword on Sámsey and the last part of the saga.³

3 The Sámsey Poetry

The Waking of Angantýr is unquestionably older than the saga; how much older, I cannot say. It is a powerful poem and has long been admired (it was one of the first of the Norse poems to be translated into English), and expresses with extraordinary force the fear and mystery of the grim dead lying lifeless but sometimes wakeful in their burial-

¹ This is the form of the story in U. H is here hopelessly distorted, through attempting (as also elsewhere) to combine two versions, the earlier and the later; see below, on the manuscripts.
² By the earlier editors as much value was attached to the H-text as to the R; and though this is certainly wrong so far as the first written Heiðreks Saga is concerned, it has to be remembered that the author of the later rewritten version had access to material from some source or sources now lost to us.
³ This was the view of Schück, who proposed a complex, ingenious and unconvincing theory of an underlying relationship between Heiðreks Saga and Æmundar Saga Kappabana (ed. F. Detter in Zwei Fornaldarsögur, 1891, 79 ff.).
mounds—heima i millim, 'set between worlds,' in the words of Hervör with which, in a sudden diminution of intensity, the poem ends. It is more than a little reminiscent of the meeting of Helgi and Sigrún in the burial-mound in the Second Lay of Helgi Hundingsbana, a passage of the most moving poetry in the Poetic Edda.  

Both The Waking of Angantýr and The Death-Song of Hjálmar are poems that, not being complete in themselves, presuppose the existence of some sort of narrative frame to the dialogue; in this respect they differ from The Battle of the Goths and the Huns. What this narrative frame to the 'Sámsey Poetry' originally contained has long been argued.

Heiðreks Saga is not the only work in which the story of the battle on Sámsey is told. It forms an episode in another fornaldarsaga, the very largely fictitious Saga of Arrow-Odd (Qrvar-Odds), which includes also a good deal of the Sámsey poetry found in Heiðreks Saga. There are many divergences between the two accounts—for example, in Qrvar-Odds Saga the berserks divide into seven and five—but the most remarkable difference between them is the complete absence in the latter saga of any element of rivalry for the hand of a princess. The meeting on the island between Hjálmar and Arrow-Odd and the berserk sons of Arngrím was here entirely accidental. Again the story turns up in the fifth book of the Latin Gesta Danorum of Saxo Grammaticus the Dane, who was born about 1150—showing that the story was already current in the twelfth century. In Saxo's story too the twelve sons of Arngrimus and Ofura came upon Hialmerus and Aruaoddus by chance, not by arrangement.

1 A conception still alive at least until very recent times, as in the 'hogboy' (Old Norse haug-búi, 'mound-dweller') of Maeshowe, the huge prehistoric barrow in the Orkneys.

2 Vigfusson went much further: from subject, style, and 'the ring and flow of the verses' he attributed both The Waking of Angantýr and Hjálmar's Death-Song quite certainly to the 'Helgi-poet' (whose Lays, he pointed out, he had known by heart for twenty-five years). Some now think that the Helgi Lays go back to originals composed in Denmark in the tenth century or even earlier; but the question is much debated. In Eddica Minora both the poems of the saga are attributed to the twelfth century.

3 Heinzl 444 ff.; Boer (1888) xxxviii ff., in Arkiv VIII (1892) 112 ff., and in 'Om Hervarar saga' 28 ff.; Steenstrup in Arkiv XIII (1897) 103 ff.; Olrik in Arkiv XIV (1898) 47 ff., and in Kilderne II 59 ff.; Edd. Min. xxxvii ff.; Nerman 130 ff.

4 See Appendix A (II and III). For editions of Qrvar-Odds Saga see Bibliography.

5 Ed. Holder 166, trans. Elton 204. Six of the brothers bear the same names as in Heiðreks Saga, including 'Angantir' and 'Hiorthuar.' See Appendix A (II).
INTRODUCTION

But there is another story, in the sixth book of Saxo's history, which is also connected with the Sámsay traditions. In this, Helgo the Norwegian desired to marry Helga, the daughter of King Frotho of Denmark, and she was promised to him. At the same time there grew up on the island of Sialandia (Zealand) the nine sons of a certain prince, of whom the eldest was named Angaterus or Anganturus; he also was a suitor for the hand of Helga, and he challenged Helgo to fight. Helgo, afraid of a contest in which he must take on nine men single-handed, appealed to Starcatherus (Starkad) for help. On the day of the battle Starcatherus left Helgo still sleeping and met the nine alone; he fought them all at once, as he was well able to do,\(^1\) and killed six without receiving any injury; the last three he slew also, but they wounded him horribly in seventeen places.\(^2\) It is quite clear that this story is from the same tradition as the prose narrative in Heiðreks Saga, but much altered through the intrusion of another legend.

As I have said, a great deal of time and thought has been spent on trying to answer the question whether the battle on Sámsay in the earliest form of the story was brought about simply by a chance encounter or not; but the question has not been settled. It seems to me very likely that the old story did make rivalry for the princess the cause of the battle. It is probable that Arrow-Odd stepped into the place of that Sóti to whom Hjálmar refers as his companion in his dying poem (verse 11); and thus Hjálmar and his fate were drawn into the cycle of the life-history of Arrow-Odd. In his saga as we have it the Hjálmar legend has been much altered; Ingibjörg is not indeed forgotten, nor Hjálmar's love for her, but the cause of the battle has been—or else purposely omitted by someone who passed on the tale, wishing perhaps to concentrate attention more exclusively on Arrow-Odd: in Saxo's version he has become so exclusively the hero that he is made to slay Angantýr as well as his eleven brothers.

There is another curious variation in this widely-known legend. The \(H\)-text of Heiðreks Saga says that it was Angantýr who made the vow to have Ingibjörg, not Hjörvard. Now all three versions of the saga, \(R\) and \(U\) as well as \(H\), agree that in the battle it was Angantýr who fought with Hjálmar.\(^3\) It looks as though the writer of \(H\) deduced from this that Angantýr must have been Hjálmar's rival, and altered

\(^1\) See Appendix A (I)  
\(^2\) Ed. Holder 194; trans. Elton 238  
\(^3\) Angantýr was traditionally, it seems, the most perilous of all the berserk-brothers; cf. Hjálmar's words to Arrow-Odd in the prose passage after verse 3.
the text—thereby only creating fresh difficulties, for no sooner has
Angantýr sworn to have no other woman but Ingbjörg than he goes
off and marries the daughter of Bjarmar, with no explanation given.
Nonetheless, the agreement in this point with the second of Saxo's
stories is curious.¹

4 The Good Counsels

Much of the central prose section of the saga is taken up with the story
of how Heidrek disregarded all his father's good advice, and with what
result. It is curious that in all the redactions of the saga it is stated,
very awkwardly and disconnectedly, immediately before the story of
Heidrek's doings at the court of Gardar (p. 28), that he had been given
a warning against confiding secrets to his mistress. It is notable that
the first, second and sixth counsels, together with this advice against
confiding secrets, all belong together: they form a connected anecdote,
for the results of breaking them are all demonstrated together, at the
court of Gardar. Heidrek fosters the son of a mightier man, and so
breaks the sixth counsel²; he is suspected of having done violence to
his foster-son, and is made prisoner. The men whom he ransomed, so
breaking the first two counsels, are at hand to bind him, and they alone.
Yet these things would not have happened, if he had followed the
advice not to tell his mistress secrets, for it was she who betrayed him.³
Then why did Heidrek conceal his foster-son? If, at every new turn,
he knew very well that he had only to say a word to put an end to the
whole business, what is the point of the story?

The point lies precisely in the fact that the boy was not dead at all;
that Heidrek was testing the validity of his father's advice.⁴ Knut
Liestøl showed that this story in Heiðreks Saga is a version of a very

¹ The legends of Sámsey lived on till long afterwards in ballads of the
Faeroes (deriving ultimately from Heiðreks Saga). A 'Ballad of Hjálmar and
Angantýr' was taken down from oral recitation in 1846 (Hammershaimb II),
and a longer 'Ballad of the sons of Arngrim' was published by Hammershaimb
in Antiquarisk Tidsskrift 1849-51. Grundtvig, Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser 1,
1853, no. 19, gives versions of the Danish ballad of 'Angelfyr and Helmer.'
² In the event, this feature is obscured: the king and queen of Gardar are
only persuaded to permit Heidrek to foster their son through fear of his power.
³ Why this counsel, clearly essential to the story, is not put in till later
seems impossible to say.
⁴ The HU-version of the story is an improvement on R's, in that the reader
is left in doubt as to the fate of the foster-son till the very end; but it is not
necessarily therefore the older.
widespread tale, or group of tales, which he called 'The Good Counsels of the Father.' The most strikingly similar among the various foreign analogues is that from the fourteenth-century Book of Geoffrey de la Tour Landry, which tells how on his death-bed Cato gave his son Catonnet three good counsels: he must not take service with the emperor; he must not save anyone from death who has deserved it; and he must test whether his wife is capable of keeping a secret. Catonnet did take service with the emperor, and became foster-father to his son; he also saved the life of a condemned thief. He told his wife, as a secret on which his life depended, that he had killed his foster-son and given his heart to his parents to eat. Next day his wife betrayed his secret to someone who told it to the emperor; and the emperor gave orders that Catonnet should be hanged. Catonnet then sent for the emperor's son, who was not dead but had been given into the care of a friend, and saw to it that the hangman kept himself hidden. When Catonnet was led forth to be hanged the hangman was nowhere to be found; and the thief whom Catonnet had set free offered to perform the task. In the nick of time the foster-son appeared; Catonnet was released; and the emperor was upbraided by his son for having condemned Catonnet without attempting to find out the truth.

This is 'the same story' as that in the saga, in essentials of plot. In addition, three good counsels are the rule in the many variants of the story; and those are precisely the three (actually four in Heidreks Saga, but the first and second are divisions of one) which concern the 'Gardar episode.' The conclusion must be that these three are the only original ones; the tale found its way into the developing saga, was applied to the persons of Höfund, Heidrek, Sifka and Hrollaug, and then the theme of neglecting good advice was extended through a good part of the whole work, so as to cover events which had nothing to do with the connected anecdote of 'The Three Good Counsels of the Father.'

The fourth and fifth counsels, against Heidrek's staying out late with his mistress and riding his best horse in a hurry, remain baffling. In U there is no mention of Sifka's death, and these counsels are left in the air; while the account in H is shortened and obscure. As for R, Heidrek's horse did not in the event come to grief because he was hastening, but because of Sifka's weight; there is no mention of haste, nor any suggestion why there should be any. And why was it to

1 Hrollaug is the name of the king of Gardar in H and U; in R he is nameless.
Heidrek's disadvantage to be out late with his mistress? It seems that the king wished to put an end to her—understandably enough; he did what he intended, and in no way suffered for it. Perhaps the words 'and it was late in the evening' (p. 30) were added by someone who thought that Höfund's fourth counsel referred to this incident, whereas the author of the saga did not so intend it; but in any case the story has been quite spoilt at this point.

There is a striking divergence between the versions in that in the rewritten one Sifka is made into two people, Sváfa of Hunland, mother of Hlöd, and Sifka of Finland, the treacherous mistress. It is quite certain that Hlöd's mother came from a tradition quite distinct from the 'Good Counsels' story; but the clumsy reappearance of Sifka in R (p. 28) to play her part of betraying Heidrek in Gardar is nonetheless, I think, due to the author of the saga, who identified the two women. The 'rewriter' then divided them up again. The name Sifka belonged originally to the mother of Hlöd (see below, p. xxviii).

The H-text gives a seventh counsel, 'that he be always gracious to a guest newly come,' and an eighth, 'that he never lay Tyrfing at his feet.' The seventh can be taken as a late addition, extracted from Heidrek's attack on his guest, Gestumblindi (Ódin); but there is no mention anywhere of Heidrek's laying the sword at his feet. It has been said that the point is simply that if he had not done so he would not have been able to strike at Ódin; but there is a possibility that in a different tradition about Heidrek's end he died by his own sword.

To support this there is a curious parallel in the prose of the Eddaic poem Grimmismál, where Geirröd, who like Heidrek aroused the anger of Ódin, a visitor to his hall, met his death with his own sword:

King Geirröd sat and had his sword on his knee, and it was half-drawn. But when he heard that it was Ódin who was there he stood up, and made to take Ódin from the fire. The sword slipped from his hand, and fell with the hilts down. The king stumbled and fell forward, and the sword ran him through, and he got his death.

When one finds that another king, also becoming suddenly aware that the unknown man in his house is Ódin himself, had been warned not to lay his sword at his feet, a connection of some sort seems very likely; but what it was is very hard to say.¹

¹ Whatever story may be thought to underlie the eighth counsel in H, it cannot have been a part of the first written Heidreks Saga.
More far-reaching connections between this part of Heidreks Saga and the story of Grimsmóð were made out by Rudolf Much in an essay on that poem, which can only be briefly mentioned here. His theory turns not only on the likeness just seen, but also on the fact that Óðin was the foster-father of Geirrød, who thrust aside his elder brother Agnar. In Heidreks Saga Gizur was the foster-father of Heidrek, who killed his elder brother Angantýr; and Gizur is an Óðin-name.1

Little is told of Gizur in this role; he plays his part later in the saga (pp. 50 ff.), and there he is called Gizur Grytingalidi. There is nothing very Óðin-like about him—it is indeed he who utters the words ‘Óðin is wroth with you!’ (verse 99)—and his surname Grytingalidi is almost certainly a relic of very ancient Gothic history (see below, p. xxiv); however, as the instigator of strife between Hlöd and his brother Angantýr (verse 87) and in virtue of his name, he has been interpreted as the god himself. In fact, several scholars2 have isolated one original element in this palpably very composite saga as the story of ‘the evil king, Óðin’s favourite, who aroused the anger of the god.’ According to Wessén, in Gizur two distinct figures have been blended: the Reidgothic warrior Gizur Grytingalidi, and King Heidrek’s foster-father, a manifestation of Óðin, who came by his name ‘Gizur’ only after the story of Angantýr the Third and the Goths-Hunnic war had been connected with this quite distinct legend of Óðin and his fosterling Heidrek, and his murder of his brother Angantýr (the Second). It has been suggested, too, that originally it was not Höfund, the wise and just, who instigated the treacherous slaying of King Harald of Reidgotaland (p. 25), but Óðin.3

All this has some plausibility, but of course an abundance of contradictory theories of reduplication, blending and so on have been proposed for every Germanic legend; they can rarely be proved or disproved, and often, as in this case, the possibilities are almost inexhaustible. ‘Blending’ and ‘reduplications’ undoubtedly took place! But ‘legends’ of the past can only exist for us in written works of art that come from the minds of men who felt themselves quite at liberty to change the

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1 It appears, as also does Gestumblind, in the verse name-lists, the *þulur*; *Skj* A 1 681, 682.
2 Especially Wessén and Boer (‘Om Hervarar saga’)
3 Wessén held that the Ódin-names Gizur and Gestumbindi owe their presence in the *þulur* precisely to their occurrence in Heidreks Saga. — It may be noted that a figure called Gestibindus, king of the Goths, appears in Saxo (ed. Holder 160 ff.), but his connection with these traditions is very hard to unravel (see Wessén).
stories they inherited, to identify this personage with that, and in the course of time to produce such a nexus as no-one can hope to unpick. Most of these questions now yield many possible answers.

5 The Riddles of Gestumblindi

A contest of intellect between the disguised Ódin and another is the subject of the Eddaic poem Vafþrúðnismál. But whereas in that poem the questions asked by Ódin and the giant Vafthrúndir are questions of knowledge, in Heiðreks Saga the god propounds riddles.

In this episode the $H$-version differs strikingly from $R$ and $U$ in that it includes seven extra riddles, and there is a great deal more talk between the opponents as the contest proceeds.\(^1\) As regards the order of the riddle-verses, all three versions begin with the same four and end with the same two, but for the rest they are as different in arrangement as they well could be. $H$ arranges them on the principle that verses with the same or similar beginnings are placed together (which calls forth a complaint from the king, after Gestumblindi has produced a string of nine all beginning Hevat er þat undra). $U$ (and perhaps to some extent $R$ also) seems to arrange the riddles according to their subjects, but the principle, if it is one, peters out half-way through.

Finnur Jónsson made an elaborate study of the riddles, in which he was concerned to separate the ‘genuine’ stock from interlopers of a later date. He rejected firstly all verses in the fornirðislag metre,\(^2\) secondly the extra riddles in $H$, and thirdly some of those which have the same subject as another one in the collection. But this is very arbitrary. His third category ignores the distinction between identity of subject and identity of treatment—obviously, two riddles may be on precisely the same subject but rely on quite different qualities in the thing described.\(^3\) As regards the rejection of the fornirðislag verses, Jónsson was assuming that the ‘genuine’ riddles of Gestumblindi were

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1 An idea of this can be got from the solutions to these extra riddles in $H$, which are printed in Appendix A (VI).

2 About a third are in fornirðislag, the rest in the more irregular lóðaháttr, in which the third and sixth lines contain more syllables than the other four, and alliterate only within the line. (In both metres the half-strophe is metrically complete in itself.)

3 The four ‘wave’-riddles (verses 62–4 and 67) are clearly closely connected in origin. The three texts vary in the most complex fashion: the ‘ingredients’ are more or less the same, but their distribution is different—the rewritten version appears to have reversed the second halves of 62 and 63.
all composed by one man; but it is not by any means necessary to
think this, and the dissimilarity of the metres is perfectly compatible
with the idea of a collector or arranger of riddle-verses that were
current in his day.\(^1\) The fact that the solutions are entirely in prose
also suggests this. If the writer of the saga had composed a riddle-
series of his own he might indeed be expected to have made verse-
solutions also; but as it is it looks much more as if he used riddles in
verse that were already circulating singly, to which of course the
solver would not be expected to improvise verses in answer, or know
ready-made solutions.\(^2\)

As has been said earlier, Gestumblindi’s riddles are unique, in
more senses than one. They are unique in that there are no others in
ancient Norse; and even more surprisingly, there is no record in the
poetry or in the sagas of a riddle ever having been asked. They are
unique also in that there are no parallels to them in the riddle-literature
of any other country,\(^3\) apart from the ancient ‘Cow-riddle’ (verse 70),
which is known from all over Europe, and the very curious riddle of
the ‘Sow with Unborn Litter’ (verse 69), discussed in Appendix E.

Riddle-contests which show some striking similarities to that in
the saga are, however, known from other literatures. Stories in which
a forfeit is paid by the loser form a very large and widespread class, of
which the oldest is perhaps the riddle of Samson. There is an interesting
parallel in a widespread tale, of which the English Ballad of King
John and the Bishop of Canterbury may be taken as typical.\(^4\) In this,
the Bishop, with whom the King is displeased on account of the luxury
of his life, must die unless he can answer three riddles which the
King sets him. He is given a period of grace in which to find out the
answers to the questions: What is the King worth? How long will it
take him to go round the world? What is the King thinking? The
Bishop, dismayed, goes to his half-brother (or brother), a shepherd,
who is almost indistinguishable in appearance; and the shepherd
subsequently answers the questions before the King, turning them

\(^1\) cf. note to verse 54, which is known from a thirteenth-century work on
rhetoric.

\(^2\) Heusler,  \textit{Rätsel} 131 ff.

\(^3\) Echoes of Gestumblindi’s riddles are found in Jón Árnason’s huge col-
lection of modern Icelandic riddles (\textit{Íslenskar Gátur}, 1887), but these are
pretty clearly literary borrowings from \textit{Heidreks Saga}. The story of the riddle-
match between Heidrek and Gestumbindli (Gestur) has come down in a ballad
from the Faroes, \textit{Gátu Ríma} (Hammershaimb II 26 ff.).

with dexterity: the King is worth twenty-nine pence, for that is one less than Our Lord was worth; he can go round the world in twenty-four hours if he can keep up with the sun; and to the last question, ‘What am I thinking?’ he answers, ‘You are thinking I am the Bishop!’

Characteristic of many variants on this theme is the rank and power of the poser of the riddles, and the substitution of another person cleverer than himself. In the saga, on the other hand, it is the king who answers the questions. It has been pointed out that the contest in the saga shows affinity to a motif well known in fairy-tale literature, in which a prisoner gains his freedom by posing a problem which is of its nature insoluble. Certain of Gestumblindi’s enigmas are of this type, insoluble to any but the legendary king, in which the subject of the riddle is a not particularly likely event, described in dark language (verses 54, 65, 69); and it seems quite possible that the riddle-match in the saga was founded on a motif of this kind, with the theme interwoven of the struggle between Ódin, the wise god, and a mortal man.

It was mentioned earlier that the questions of Vafþrúðnismál are tests of knowledge pure and simple, and the same is true of other question-poems of the Edda (Alvíssmál, Fjölsvinnsmál); but the last question asked by Ódin in Vafþrúðnismál, which wins him the contest, is the same as his last question to Heidrek: What said Ódin in the ear of Balder? This demanded knowledge of Vafthrúðnir that could only be possessed by Ódin himself; and it is plain that it is the proper conclusion of that poem. But it is equally plain that it is inapposite as the last question of a riddle-match, since it is not a riddle; and it might be thought that it was brought in here as the dramatic conclusion because it had become the traditional unanswerable question—not, however, lifted straight from the other poem, for the wording is there quite different.

It is curious that in the Eddaic poem Vegámskviða (Baldrs Draumar) Ódin ends by asking the volva or wise woman the obscure question: ‘What women are they who weep their hearts out, and toss to the sky the corners of the sails (halsa skautum)?’ This question, very similar to Gestumblindi’s wave-riddles (and in the first line, Hverjar eru þær meyjar, identical to verse 63/1), immediately reveals to the seer that it is Ódin who is addressing her, though it is difficult to see why it should.

1 Heusler, Rätsel 124; de Vries, ‘Heiðreksgaadene’ 37
2 A point of contact between the two might have lain in some form of the tale in which a substitution took place (as in the ballad): Ódin, so often appearing in disguise, became the substitute.
She does not, indeed, give any answer; according to Bugge,¹ the women of these lines must be the wave-maidens lamenting round the burning funeral-ship of the dead god Balder, but even if they are the question does not demand knowledge that must be peculiar to Ódin.

The great majority of the subjects of the riddles are chosen from the natural world, very few of them from the works of men; and nothing comes from outside Scandinavia, nor even perhaps from beyond the confines of Iceland. There is no reference to the Bible; none to the worship of the Church; nothing connected with the business of writing; and very little of the arts and artefacts of daily life and domestic economy. In all this there is the greatest contrast to riddle-collections from other lands.² We cannot know how far this situation is accidental and due to the taste of the author, for there is no standard to compare with. Jónsson ascribed them to learned or scholarly activity, but there is nothing specifically ‘learned’ in them. It is impossible, no doubt, to make a sharp distinction between ‘learned’ and ‘popular’; for this sort of pastime, allied to poetry and poetic perception of the world, delighting in ingenuity and gymnastic feats of language, continued in simpler and often fresher forms to be popular after it had long become a ‘learned’ thing, the diversion of scholars whose knowledge contained things seen in books and nowhere else—but who might well take an unpretentious theme and treat it so well that it became well known and ‘popular’ after them.

6 The Battle of the Goths and the Huns

The saga proper ends in a different world from the courts and viking voyages of the seafaring princes of its earlier chapters. It is based on one of the most interesting, and one of the oldest, poems preserved in the North, and it has been an academic battlefield for more than a century—particularly on the question of whether it had a basis in recorded history; the literature of the subject, scattered among periodicals in many languages, would fill a shelf.³

¹ Studier 252. Bugge thought that the Vegatamskvida verse was simply an unsuccessful imitation of the end of Vafthrúðnismál.
² For instance, to the Old English collection (F. Tupper, The Riddles of the Exeter Book, 1910), where there are such subjects as coat-of-mail, weather-cock, inkpot, churn, chalice, Bible-codex, quill-pen, and so on.
³ I have sketched the course of the controversy over the historical basis of the poem in the Saga-Book of the Viking Society XIV (1955–6) 141 ff. The more important essays on the subject will be found in the Bibliography
Unhappily, it is also a poem that has suffered greatly. We are left with fragments of a poem, comprising some twenty-nine strophes or bits of strophes, of which twenty-six lines are narrative, not speech. The extremely corrupt seventeenth-century manuscripts, which are all we have to go on after verse 83, cut out all the narrative parts (a rejection, characteristic of fornaldarsaga method, that may well go back to the author of the rewritten version), and if the end of the saga had not been lost from R we should almost certainly have more of the poem. The narrative prose links show in places unmistakable signs of verse-form not far below the surface, echoes of poetry that has crumbled away (e.g. before verses 81, 90, 94, and after 101); but the dividing-line cannot be drawn exactly, and editors have varied in the way they print decayed verses (e.g. 92), where the word-order at least is not that of prose. It is thus extremely probable that there was once a continuous narrative-and-dialogue poem on the Gothen-Hunnic war, independent of its present context—needing no ‘saga’ to explain it. Part of this poem was perhaps ‘dissolved’ into prose before it came to the author of the saga we have, in days when forms of it were related by mouth; and contradictions seem to have arisen between the verses that were left and the prose links (e.g. after verse 87).

The true end of the poem may well be preserved in verse 104, but the beginning is pretty clearly lost. Verse 75, containing a list of kings three of whom do not otherwise appear in the legend at all, while one of them (Gizur) is differently represented and may indeed not be the same person, is unquestionably in origin either a bit of a separate poem or else an isolated ‘catalogue-strophe.’

It is extraordinarily similar in air and structure to parts of the Old English poem Widsith. Most critics have felt certain that there is more than one layer of age in The Battle of the Goths and the Huns. Some of the verses (such as 76, 81–6) are notable for their heavily-filled lines, comparable with the technique of Hamðismál and Atlakviða, probably the oldest of the Eddaic lays, while others are more meagre in verse-content and with less vivid expression. If this is correctly judged, one may think that new verses were composed—again, before the time of the author of the saga—to fill the place of ones that had been lost from the old poem.

under: Heinzelt; Much, ‘Askibourgion’; Schütte; Neckel; Boer, ‘Om Hervarar saga’; Schück; von Friesen; and Johansson.

1 cf. the use of the verse giving the names of the sons of Arngrim, Appendix A (II), verse 1.

2 Especially Widsith lines 18 ff., Åtila weold Hunum, Eormanric Gotum, etc.
INTRODUCTION

Since the poem contains things that go back to very remote times and the Gothic kingdoms in the south-east of Europe, the question, When was it composed? cannot in the last analysis be answered; for even if we say, for the sake of argument, that it arose in Norway in the ninth century, or the tenth, yet even so the poet of that age who celebrated the tragedy of Hlóð and Angantýr in his verses must surely himself have known and used poetry, or a particular poem, on the subject that went back far beyond his time.¹ Not only the names, but also the motives of such a verse as 86, for instance, are evidence of great antiquity.

The most remarkable of the place-names of this part of the saga is perhaps Harvaða-fjoll, which occurs in a half-strophe (74) that must be among the strangest fossils in the whole range of Norse. The river Grafá (Gripá, Gropá) which is also found here is totally unknown, but the view is not challenged, I think, that Harvaða- is the same name in origin as ‘Carpathians.’² Since this name in its Germanic form is found nowhere else at all, and must be a relic of extremely ancient tradition, one can hardly conclude otherwise than that these four lines are a fragment of a lost poem (presumably on the subject of Heidrek’s death and Angantýr’s revenge for him) that preserved names at least going back to poetry sung in the halls of Germanic peoples in central or south-eastern Europe. But what form this poem had, or what relationship it bore to the Battle of the Goths and the Huns, is impossible to say.

Another name that points clearly to regions far removed from Scandinavia is Danparstaðir, in which lay Árheimar, where Angantýr held the funeral-feast for his father.³ The latter name has never been explained, but Danparstaðir seems certainly to contain the Gothic name of the Russian river Dnieper, which is called Danaper by the sixth-century Gothic historian Jordanes. The name reappears in the fifth verse of Atlakviða, which is suspected of imitating in this The Battle of the Goths and the Huns; and there is a shadowy character called Danpr who appears in various Norse monuments, but who casts no

¹ 'Dass jemals die dichterische Fortpflanzung in prosaischer versieht und aus dieser wieder ein Lied ganz neu gezeugt worden wäre, hat alle Wahrsccheinlickeit gegen sich,' Eddica Minora, p. xiii.
² The stem karpat- was regularly transformed into χαρφατ- by the operation of the Germanic Consonant shift (Grimm’s Law). The form hāvaða found in U (manuscript hanada) clearly depends on a ‘popular etymology’ (association with Norse hāv- ‘tumult’).
³ The U-text reverses this, making Danparstaðir a place in Árheimar.
light on the original meaning of Danparstaðir: indeed, I think he owed his existence precisely to the occurrence of the place-name in the present poem.\(^1\)

None of the other place-names is perfectly clear, though identifications have been proposed for some with greater or lesser plausibility. Much's identification of the Jassar-fjöll with the mountain-chain in Silesia called the Gesenke—the continuation of the line of the Carpathians to the west—has been accepted by several later writers; Dünheidr has been associated both with the Danube (Dūna) and the Russian river Dvina; and Dylgia or (Dyngja) is perhaps not a place-name at all, but the noun dylgia 'enmity'—an interpretation hesitantly adopted in the present text and translation.

When in the third century A.D. the Goths settled in the plains to the north of the Black Sea, after their long migration south-east from the Baltic coasts and the Vistula valley, they were split into two great branches, the Ostrogoths to the east of the Dnieper and the Visigoths to the west of it. In the works of Roman writers two names make their appearance very early in connection with the Goths, Tervingi and Greutungi, and these have been almost universally equated with the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths respectively\(^2\); it has often been said too that Gizur Grytingalidi in Heiðreks Saga was originally Gizur of the Greutungi, and that the sword Tyrfing derives from the name Tervingi.\(^3\) If this latter identification is right, then no doubt the meaning of 'the Tyrfing' (i.e. Visigoths) was forgotten quite early on, for Tyrfing is a sword in The Waking of Angantyr; but just how early one cannot say, for the name only occurs once in the actual verse of The Battle of the Goths and the Huns, and there, indeed, it is not easy to understand what Angantyr means by his refusal to 'sunder Tyrfing in twain' (verse 83). Any idea that the sword is given a symbolic significance as representative of the Gothic kingdom seems to me very improbable; I think rather that the name of the people had been

\(^1\) i.e. Danpar- was interpreted as genitive singular of a personal name Danpr. On Danpr see Rigþula 49; Ýnglinga Saga ch. 17; and Arngrímur Jónsson's reproduction of the lost Skjöldunga Saga (Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana IX (1950) 336).

\(^2\) Tervingi is said to be derived from a Germanic name meaning 'dwellers in the wooded regions' (cf. Gothic triu 'tree'), Greutungi to have meant 'dwellers in the steppes' (cf. Norse grjót 'pebbles, stones,' English grit).

\(^3\) More dubious is the idea that Humli, the Hun-king, contains the name of the ancient Ostrogothic royal house of the Amalungs, and that Hlöd, who is called Humlungr in verse 83, is also the reflection of an Amal prince.
INTRODUCTION

transformed, as the legend travelled northwards, into the name of a region, and that verse 83 retains that sense: Angantýr will not divide the land (of the Tyrfing) into two parts. The name may, however, have been generally understood as a sword-name already long before the writing of Heiðreks Saga; Neckel even suggested that not merely the strange change in the meaning of the name but the whole conception of The Waking of Angantýr arose from a false etymology, as if Tyrfingr meant 'the weapon hidden under the turf, in a burial-mound' (Norse torf).

On the other hand, another school of thought has taken the name Tyrfing to have belonged primarily to the Sámsey poetry—with the same etymology, but in this case regarded as the genuine one.¹

Though no real agreement has ever been reached on the matter, I believe that the cumulative evidence of these names points to the later fourth or early fifth centuries, in the years after the Huns made their appearance in history and fell on the Gothic kingdoms north of the Black Sea,² as the ultimate source in time of this tradition. I do not think that any of the proposed identifications of the battle in the Norse poem with wars recorded by historians of the Empire has any plausibility at all. However old the voice may be that we hear in these lines, they contain a legend, not 'history' as we understand it. But the matter of legend has roots, however much transformed by poets, and though no actual corresponding event has been found in the meagrely recorded history of those times, and surely never will be, in such things as the 'grave' and the 'stone' on the banks of the Dnieper one is probably being taken back a thousand years even beyond Heiðreks Saga to the burial-place of Gothic kings in south-eastern Europe and the high stone in their chief place, on which the king stepped to have homage done to him in the sight of all the people.³

But The Battle of the Goths and the Huns is known, nevertheless, from outside Scandinavia; for in line 116 of the Old English poem Widsith

¹ On this question see especially Neckel; Boer, 'Om Hervarar saga'; de Boor; and Schneider (II.2, 100ff.). Schneider ingeniously accepted the essentials of both views, holding that the sword Tyrfing, primarily the invention of the poet of The Waking of Angantýr, made its way into the much older poem through the similarity of its name to that of the people Tyrfing—this latter being by then, as a relic from a remote period of Gothic history, quite incomprehensible.
² About the year 375 the great Ostrogothic king, Ermanaric, took his own life in fear of the onslaught of the Huns, and he became famous in the North as Jörmunrekk, who appears in several poems of the Poetic Edda.
³ This was certainly an ancient custom (Bugge (NS) 362; Olrik, Heltedigtning II 238).
the poet speaks in one breath, without further comment, of Heaporic, Sifeca, Helpe and Ingennpœow. Although the phonetic correspondence is certainly not exact, the similarity of these names, all mentioned together, to Heidroke, Sifka, Hloðr and Angantyr is very striking; and when two lines later in Widsith we find:

Wulfhere I sought and Wyrmhere; seldom was warfare stilled, when the host of the Hrædas about the Vistula forest had to defend with their hard swords their ancient dwelling-place from the people of Attila

—with the further exact correspondence of Wyrmhere and Ormarr—any suggestion of mere coincidence may well seem quite out of the question, though not everyone has thought so.

The word Hrædas in Widsith means ‘Goths,’ and is in origin the same name-element as appears in Norse as Reið- (earlier Hreið-) in Reidgrotar and Reidgotaland, the land and people over whom King Heidrek came to rule in the saga. The evidence suggests to me that this name was a poetic, honorific designation of the Goths, of general scope, and not the name of a particular branch or community. In later times Icelandic geographers seem to have conceived Reidgotaland very vaguely, as meaning little more than that if a man travelled eastwards he would cross the borders of Poland and enter Reidgotaland. A Gothic dwelling á stóðun Danpar, on the banks of the Dnieper, is at least not in complete contradiction to such an idea.¹

It is curious that the Reidgoths themselves do not appear in the saga at all, the people of the land being called Gotar throughout; even the name of the land is not mentioned in The Battle of the Goths and the Huns. From that poem we learn that the land of the Huns lay south (verse 91) and east (verse 77, but U has ‘south’ in its corresponding prose-passage) of the land of the Goths, and from the prose that the forest of Myrkvíðr lay between them. This occurs often in the poems of the Edda as the name of a dark boundary-forest,² but the eleventh-

¹ Austr frá Polena er Reidgotaland, Hauksbók 155. Snorri Sturluson (SnE 186) identified it with Jutland, which depends on a false etymology (connection with reið, ‘carriage’ or ‘riding’), so that Reidgotaland was opposed to Eygotaland, the mainland and the islands. The same identification is made in the H-text of the saga. — All the versions of the saga place Reidgotaland to the west of Gardariki, i.e. Russia (p. 28).

² E.g. Lokasenna 42, where Myrkvíðr is the boundary of Muspell, the land of fire. In ancient times the settled lands of a people were naturally often separated from their neighbours by the primeval forest, and in Norse the word mork (originally ‘boundary,’ cf. Modern English march) means ‘forest’ (cf. verse 76).
century chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg applies the name *Miriquidui* to the Erzgebirge, the mountains on the north-western borders of Bohemia. This is not necessarily its original application, however, and it is possible that an older signification of the name (in so far as it applied to any definite region of the world) was the whole of the vast mountain-system that extends from the Erzgebirge to the Transylvanian Alps, the wooded mountain-barrier *par excellence*.

Now in *Widsith* it is said that the host of the Goths fought the Huns *ymb Wistlawudu*, 'about the Vistula forest.' It is this more than anything else that has divided opinion on the original *mis-en-scène* of *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, and has led several writers to look away from the Black Sea and towards regions much further to the north-west. Into this discussion I cannot go here, and will only say that if the Norse and English poems reflect the same legendary-historical events, as I assume they do, then it looks as if the setting of them has been shifted in *Widsith*. But real certainty is out of the question.

Saxo Grammaticus also knew *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, but he blended it with another legendary war and produced the most confused, 'doubled' account, with both a land-war and a sea-war going on together. Angantyr the Goth has disappeared, and been replaced by Frotho, king of the Danes, and the names and relationship of the Hunnish leaders have been forgotten: Saxo remembered only that there were two, and he made them into brothers, naming them both *Hun*. There are, however, one or two points where the similarity is very close, most especially in the numbers of the fleet of Olimarus, king of the *Orientales* (Russians), who was allied with the Huns. According to verse 102 of the Norse poem there were six *fylki*, in each *fylki* six 'thousands,' and in each 'thousand' thirteen 'hundreds'; in Saxo's account Ericus the spy (whose part is similar to that of Gizur Grytingalidi) reported that he had seen six kings each with his fleet, each fleet containing five thousand ships, and each ship holding three hundred rowers.

1 i.e. *Mirkuuidu*. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* V 807.

2 The application of the word *hris* (normally 'scrub, brushwood') to *Myrkvdrdr* in verse 82 is surprising, but an extension of meaning to 'forest' does not seem incredible. In verse 91 it is called *hedi* ('heathland').

3 The most important essays are those of Much, Schütte, von Friesen, and Johansson.


5 No doubt the identification of Reidgotaland with Jutland helped in this.
INTRODUCTION

The battle on Dúnheîðr in Heiðreks Saga bears, as pointed out by Hollander, a strong resemblance to the account of the battle of Vinheîðr (Brunanburh) in Egils Saga ch. 52, not only in motifs but even in quite marked verbal resemblances in the prose.

7 Conclusion

The concluding section of the saga as it now stands is concerned with the history of Sweden down to the early twelfth century, and has every appearance of being a quite separate work. It is only found, of course, in the seventeenth-century copies, and it cannot be said therefore when it was added on.1

It remains to ask whether there are any indications of the manner in which the many different ingredients of Heiðreks Saga, differing so widely in their age and atmosphere, came to be threaded together. The key to the maze of conflicting possibilities lies perhaps in the three appearances of a figure called Angantyr. There seems no need to think that any one of them is a deduction from another; more likely, it was precisely the existence of separate legends treating of different persons with the same or similar names that attracted these legends together.

The lines of Widsith seem to show that Heidrek (Heathoric) was first a king of the Goths, with his sons Hlöð (Hlithe) and Angantyr (Ingentheow), and (perhaps) a mistress called Sifka.2 No doubt he had acquired a considerable ‘history’ in the North before the more or less organised body of tradition that we have in Heiðreks Saga had been formed. At some stage, one might guess, this developing Heidrek-legend made contact with the story of Angantyr the berserk and his death on the island of Sámsey, through the agreement, or similarity, of his name with that of Heidrek’s son, the Gothic prince. One of the two Hervörs probably owes her existence to the other; and the connection of Hervör the Second with Ormar (Widsith’s Wyrmhere, and thus an ancient figure) may suggest that a new Hervör, on the model of the warrior-woman in The Battle of the Goths and the Huns, was born to

1 See p. 59, note 1, where a short bibliography is given.
2 If Sifeca in Widsith is a woman, she has no company. It is possible that Sifeca was misunderstood to be a woman in Scandinavia (in Norse feminine weak nouns end in -a, which is the Old English ending of the masculines), or else that the writer of the Old English line was mistaken in thinking Sifeca to be a man.
INTRODUCTION

make a connecting-link between the generations, and that it was by
this route that 'Tyrfiging' came to be buried in the great grave-mound
of the berserks on Sámsey.

II

1 The Manuscripts

There are a great many manuscripts of this saga, but the vast majority
are copies of ones still existing and thus of no value for the establishment
of the text.¹

The only significant manuscript of the R-version is the vellum
Gl.kgl.sml.2845 4to, of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, probably
written late in the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century. There
is a large lacuna in the text, where one page is missing in the ninth
gathering, and the conclusion of the saga, from the end of the ninth
verse of The Battle of the Goths and the Huns, has also disappeared.

The manuscript of the H-version is A.M. 544 4to, Hauksbók, where
the saga was written out by Haukr Erlendsson, who died in 1334.
Here its end is again missing, for there is a gap in the manuscript
between the 76th and 77th pages²; but there are two seventeenth-
century paper manuscripts, A.M. 281 4to and A.M. 597b 4to, which
contain a number of selections from Hauksbók, among which is the
riddle-match from Heiðreks Saga. Both these manuscripts go back
independently, through a copy, to Hauksbók in a less damaged state
than it is in now, and thus we have the text of the H-version as far as
the end of the riddles. How far the saga extended beyond this point
in Hauksbók before the missing leaves were lost it is impossible to say.
The two late copies end abruptly with the words, 'And Óðin was
angered against him because he struck at him, and that night the king
was slain.'

The U-version is found in a little paper manuscript (R: 715 of the
University Library in Uppsala) of the mid-seventeenth century,
written by one Páll Hallsson in Eyjafjörður. It is extremely corrupt
(the verses in places make no sense at all), and is full of marginal
entries and corrections to the text, these corrections being mostly
either guesses or variants from other sources, Órvar-Odds Saga or the

¹ A description of them all, and their interrelations, is given by Helgason.
² 76 verso ends in the middle of Heidrek's answer to Géstumblindi's second
riddle; 77 recto begins inside Fóstbræðra Saga.
**INTRODUCTION**

*Hervarar Rímur* of Ásmundur Sæmundsson, a re-working of *Heiðreks Saga* into verse, related textually to the *U*-version.

Lastly, there is A.M. 203 fol. of the University Library in Copenhagen. This is a collection of ‘Heroic Sagas,’ written throughout by Jón Erlendsson, priest of Villingaholt in the south-west of Iceland, who died in 1672. Erlendsson had a manuscript of the *R*-version before him, and this he copied virtually completely. But at verse 81/3, just before his exemplar broke off (at the point where all copies of *R* break off) he went over to another manuscript, now lost, descending from the same original as *U*, and from this point 203 has independent value. He also included from this second manuscript the fuller *U*-version of the beginning of the saga, and here again 203 has textual value.

A trace of the *U*-version, carrying its history back before 1600, has been found in a Latin work by Arngrímr Jónsson, written in Iceland in the winter of 1596–7 on the basis of sagas gathered from ‘at least twenty-six parchments.’ This work contains a short abstract of *Heiðreks Saga* which certainly belongs to the *U*-redaction, and it is possible that the text Jónsson used was the original of *U*.¹

The more important divergences between the redactions have been referred to already. It is unquestioned that *H* and *U* both descend from a version of the saga which cannot have been composed much after 1300, and which had been completely rewritten, in part on the basis of inferences drawn from the saga itself and in some cases apparently by purely arbitrary alteration, and in part on the basis of a written or oral tradition that cannot now be defined.

*U* (its manifold textual errors apart) seems to represent this retelling of the saga (*X*) fairly well, whereas *H* is a drastic and by no means careful abridgement of *X*, with the added complication that Haukr (if, as seems likely enough, he was responsible for this version and not merely its scribe) had available another source over and above *X*. What this was is not perfectly clear, but in passages where its use is certain it seems to have a close affinity to *R*.²

*R* is undoubtedly far nearer to the original saga (though certainly not free from errors and minor alterations) and the loss of it after only a few verses of *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns* is a great mis-

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² The attempt to combine two incompatible accounts causes great confusion in *H*. For particularly clear examples see Helgason lxvi, lxxiii–lxxiv.
fortune; but it is equally certain that all manuscripts of the saga go back ultimately to the same written original \((A)\). Between \(A\) and \(R\) there is one copy at least, as is shown in Appendix A (IV); and the common base-manuscript itself seems to have contained errors.\(^1\)

The situation can be shown in a very condensed fashion thus:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
A \\
\downarrow \\
X \\
\downarrow \\
H \\
\downarrow \\
U
\end{array}
\]

and it would follow that agreement between \(RH\) or \(RU\) would establish the text, at least of \(A\), whatever the third text says. But the doubtful nature of \(H\)'s second source makes this uncertain: if it came between \(A\) and \(R\) in the above scheme it would invalidate the principle in respect of \(RH\) agreements against \(U\). On the other hand, there are several cases where \(H\) seems to offer a much better reading in the verses than do \(R\) and \(U\) in agreement (e.g. verse 19/5).

2 The Text of this Edition

Thus in presenting a single text of Heiðreks Saga one could either follow \(U\) throughout its length or else, as has been done in this book, make a compilation: \(R\), filled up in the lacuna from \(U\) and at the end from \(U/203\). I have also given as an Appendix the beginning of the saga, where the divergence between the redactions is most extreme, in the form it has in \(U/203\).

In the verses of the first part of the saga I have followed \(R\) pretty strictly, and noted all significant deviations made from it in the printed text; and where the text is dependent on the seventeenth-century manuscripts I have made 203 the basis and noted all deviations from it, rather than \(U\), since 203 makes on the whole fewer errors.

\(^1\) e.g. \(R\) and \(U\) agree (p. 5) in the erroneous Una- for Munar-vágr; \(R\) and \(H\) agree (verse 66/4) in Íldum; etc.
INTRODUCTION

Where $H$ and $U$ agree against $R$ in the poetry the variants cited are virtually complete; where $H$ disagrees with $RU$ the variants are fairly full, especially where a reading from $H$ has been adopted by the editors of Edda Minora and Skjaldeigtingning.¹ But where $U$ disagrees with $RH$ the variants given are relatively few, since this manuscript is so full of errors and minor variations; sometimes a manifestly erroneous reading from $U$ is given as showing which of the other texts it supports.

A complete variant apparatus of these poems conventionally presented would be extremely bulky, and I have reduced it therefore in these ways:

(i) The reading of the manuscript taken as basis is as a rule not given again in the textual notes; thus on p. 7, note $b$, ‘nema $Qrv., U$’ means that $eða$ in the text is the reading of $R$.² I indicate that a variant refers to a whole verse-line in the text by using the word ‘thus.’

(ii) In fairly minor errors of the manuscript taken as basis the emended text is also not cited again in the textual notes; thus on p. 4, note $a$, ‘þó $R$’ means that ‘þá’ in the text is emended.

(iii) In the portion of the text after the end of $R$, a reading cited from 203 by itself means that the reading adopted in the text is actually found in $U$.

(iv) Lastly, only the first maker of an emendation is given, and this only in a very limited number of cases.

The text is normalised throughout, as also are the textual notes except in a few cases; in details like the form of negative constructions I have retained the manuscript usage. The section-numbering of the text is not that of the original.

Apart from trivial corrections, few emendations have been made, and those are largely substitutions of the reading of another manuscript; to restore alliteration or complete the sense in some extremely corrupt passages I have adopted the emendations of certain manuscripts that are not independent witnesses to the text. In The Battle of the Goths and the Huns there have been a great many conjectural restorations published, many of them highly arbitrary, and of these I have cited hardly any; there is an extensive variant apparatus in Edda Minora (1903).

¹ These editions were made before the interrelations of $R$, $H$ and $U$ had been worked out.

² The symbols used for manuscripts of Orvar-Odds Saga are explained in Appendix A (II). The variants cited from this saga are full but not complete, and only the readings of the vellum manuscripts have been cited.
In all this there is a good deal that is a matter of personal choice, and it is inevitable that some of the decisions will seem arbitrary.

3 Previous Editions

The following list includes only the most important editions. Further details can be found in Islandica V and XXVI, by Halldór Hermannsson, Ithaca, N.Y., 1912 and 1937.

_Hervarar saga på Gammal Götska med Olai Verelii uttolkning ock notis_, Uppsala 1672. (Based on _U_; with Swedish translation.)

_Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks kongs_, ed. Stefán Björnsson, Copenhagen 1785. (Based on A.M. 345, a manuscript of the _R_ tradition; with Latin translation.)

In _Fornaldur sögur Nordrlanda_, ed. C. C. Rafn, I, Copenhagen 1829, 409 ff. (text from A.M. 345) and 513 ff. (text from _H_).

_Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs_, ed. N. M. Petersen, Copenhagen 1847 (Nordiske Oldskrifter III). (_H_ supplemented by _R_; with Danish translation.)

In _Antiquités Russes_ I, Copenhagen 1850, 115 ff. (_H_ and A.M. 345; with Latin translation.)

In _Norröne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold_, ed. Sophus Bugge, Christiania 1873. (_H_ and _R_. A great advance on all previous editions, and the standard for many years. The manuscript of the Introduction was lost and never published.)

_Heiðreks Saga (Hervarar Saga ok Heiðreks Komungs)_, ed. Jón Helgason, Copenhagen 1924 (S.T.U.A.G.N.L. XLVIII). (Diplomatic text of _R_ and _U_, normalised text of _H_. The standard text, with definitive introduction on the manuscript relations.)

There is a diplomatic print of the _H_-text in the edition of _Hauksbók_ (see Bibliography); and a Russian edition by I. Scharovolski, Kiev 1906, which I have not seen; details are given in Islandica V.

Editions of Poems Only


In _Eddica Minora_, ed. A. Heusler and W. Ranisch, Dortmund 1903. (The most useful edition.)

In _Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning_, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Copen-
hagen 1912–15. (A, Text according to the manuscripts; B, emended Text.)


4 Previous Translations

The appearance of a prose translation of The Waking of Angantýr by Dr George Hickes in his Linguarum vett. septentrionalium Thesaurus I, 1705 gave this poem an extraordinary vogue in the eighteenth century. It reappeared in Dryden’s Miscellany Poems VI, 1716, 387 ff., and in Five Pieces of Runic Poetry translated from the Islandic Language, 1763 (Hickes’ translation, emended by Thomas Percy, but published anonymously), and then there was a spate of Gothic Odes and Runic Odes based on The Waking of Angantýr by poets who were quite unconstrained by any understanding of the original. In T. J. Mathias’ Runic Odes . . . in the manner of Mr. Gray verse 37 becomes:

Rash Virgin, to thy pray’r I yield:
Lo! Trifingus stands reveal’d!
Blazing like the noon-day sun, etc.

There were further attempts by W. Williams (Gentleman’s Magazine LX, 2 (1790), 844), and by an anonymous poet in Poems chiefly by Gentlemen of Devonshire and Cornwall I, 1792, 114 ff. (‘Virgin of intrepid brow, Surely more than woman thou’); Anna Seward (Llangollen Vale, with Other Poems, 1796), objecting to the expressions in Dr Hickes’ translation that they had ‘a vulgar familiarity,’ and making changes in the names for their better accommodation to the verse’ (Hjálmar becomes ‘blooming Hiaralmo’), produced a version that she herself described, inadequately, as a ‘bold Paraphrase.’ In 1801 M. G. Lewis (Tales of Wonder I 34 ff.) added a ‘catastrophe’ of his own invention, in which Hervör goes up in flame and out of her mind as soon as she touches the sword, while ‘flames amid her ringlets play.’

A century later, it was translated by Beatrice Barnby (in Gísli Súrsson: a Drama, 1900, 176 ff.) into rhymed verse fairly close to the original, and again by E. M. Smith-Dampier (The Norse King’s Bridal, 1912), of which the lines ‘Men called me a mortal, till thus I yode, To seek thee out in thine abode’ give an impression of the style.

Hjálmar’s Death-Song was translated from Verelius’ text by the
INTRODUCTION


The verse of the saga was translated in *C.P.B.* (1883; see Previous Editions) into simple and rather impressive prose; and Miss Kershaw translated *The Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, together with text and commentary, in *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems* (1922). In 1936 L. M. Hollander (*Old Norse Poems*) translated the major poems of the saga into an inventive if rather bizarre alliterative verse.

The whole saga has only once before been translated into English, by Miss Kershaw (*Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*, 1921), who followed the *H*-text; the poems are translated into modern riving stanzas. This book also contains translations, with informative introductions, of the Faeroese ballads derived from *Heidreks Saga*.

In the present edition (risking the epithet ‘bizarre’) I have striven for a close line-by-line translation of the poetry within the limits of an imitation of the metres and alliterative schemes of the originals. Inevitably one gets far more rising rhythms (ending on a stressed monosyllable) in Modern English than in Old Norse, and equally inevitably the demands of alliteration and accuracy together have meant pressing into service a few words that some may think should now be allowed to die in peace, even in translating heroic poetry.
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ICELANDIC TEXT
AND
ENGLISH TRANSLATION
HÉR HEFR UPP SÓGU HEIÐREKS KONUNGS INS VITRA

I

Sigrlami hét konungr, er réð fyrir Gardaríki\(^1\); hans döttir var Eyfura,\(^2\) er allra meyja var fríðust. Þessi konungr hafði eignazk sverð þat af dvergum,\(^3\) er Tyrfingr\(^4\) hét ok allra var bitrast, ok hvert sinn, er því var brugðit, þá lýsti af svá sem af sólangeisla. Aldri mátti hann svá hafa beran, at eigi yrði hann manns bani, ok með værmu blóði skyldi hann jafnan sljóra. En ekki var þat kvikt, hvárki menn né kvikvendi, er lífa mætti til annars dags, ef sár fekk af honum, hvárt sem var meira eða minna. Aldri hafði hann brugðizk í hóaggi eða staðar numit, fyrr en hann kom í jorð, ok sá maðr, er hann bar í orrostu, mundi sigri fá, ef honum var veggir.\(^5\) Þetta sverð er frægt í öllum fornsogum.

\(^{a}\) Title from H, no title in R

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\(^1\) Gardaríki or Gardar was the name of the Swedish realm in Russia, extending south from Lake Ladoga into the lands of the Dnieper.

\(^2\) In H, Ú and Örvar-Odds Saga ch. 29 Eyfura (‘island fir’) is the daughter of Svarílami, who (in HU) is the son of Sigrlami, the son of Ödin. See Appendix A (I).

\(^3\) The dwarfs (dvergar) had an important place in the ancient mythology. They were dwellers underground or in rocks, the owners of treasure, and above all renowned for their skill, especially in metals. Dwarfs made the sword Dáinsleif, Ödin’s spear Gungnir, Mjöllnir the hammer of Thórr, hair of gold for Thórr’s wife Sif, and Skidbladnir the ship of the gods (SnE., passim).
HERE BEGINS THE SAGA OF KING HEIDREK
THE WISE

I

Sigrlami was the name of a king who ruled over Gardariki; his daughter was Eyfura, most beautiful of all women. This king had obtained from dwarfs the sword called Tyrfing, the keenest of all blades; every time it was drawn a light shone from it like a ray of the sun. It could never be held unsheathed without being the death of a man, and it had always to be sheathed with blood still warm upon it. There was no living thing, neither man nor beast, that could live to see another day if it were wounded by Tyrfing, whether the wound were big or little; never had it failed in a stroke or been stayed before it plunged into the earth, and the man who bore it in battle would always be victorious, if blows were struck with it. This sword is renowned in all the ancient tales.

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4 On the origin of the name Tyrfing see Introduction, p. xxiv. As the name of a sword it occurs in a verse of the eleventh-century poet Arnór Thórdarson (Jarlaskáld), Skj. A I 349.
5 With this description of Tyrfing's qualities cf. SnE. 154: 'Now I have drawn Dáimsleif which the dwarfs made, which must cause a man's death every time it is bared, and which never fails in its stroke; and the wound never heals, if one is scratched with it.'
2

Máðr hét Arngrímr\(^1\); hann var víkingr ágætr. Hann sótti austr í Garðariki ok dvalðisk um hrið með Sigrlama konungi ok gerðisk forstjóri fyrir liði hans, bæði lands at gæta ok þegna, því at konungr var nú gamall.

Arngrímr\(^a\) gerðisk nú svá mikill hofðingi, at konungr gipti honum döttur sína ok setti hann mestan mann í riki sínu; hann gaf honum þá sverðit Tyrפג. Konungr settisk þá um kyrrt, ok er ekki frá honum sagt fleira.

Arngrímr fór með konu sína Eyfuru norðr til ætteleifða sinna ok nam staðar í ey þeiri, er bólm\(^b\) hét. Þau áttu tólf sunu; inn elzti ok inn ágæasti hét Angantyr, annarr Hjørvarðr, þriði Hervarðr, fjórði Hrani, ok Haddingjar tveir; eigi eru nefndir fleiri.\(^3\) Allir váru þeir berserkir, svá sterkrir ok mikillir kappar, at aldri vildu þeir fleiri fara í hernað en tólf, ok komu þeir aldri svá til orrostu, at eigi hefði þeir sigr; af þessu urðu þeir ágæтир um òll lónd, ok engi konungr var sá, er eigi greið þeim þat, er þeir vildu hafa.

Þat var tíðenda eitthvert sinn jólaaptan, at menn skyldu heit strengja\(^5\) at bragarfulli,\(^6\) sem siðr er til; þá strengðu heit Arngríms synir. Hjørvarðr strengði þess heit,\(^7\) at hann skyldi eiga dótur Ingjalds Svíakonungs,\(^8\) þá mey, er fræg var um òll lónd at fegrð ok atgørvr, eða enga konu ella.

Þat sama vár gera þeir bræðr ferð sína tólf ok koma til Uppsala ok ganga fyrir konungs borð, ok þar sat döttir hans hjá honum. Þá segir Hjørvarðr ørendi sitt konungi ok heitstrenging, en allir hlyðdu, þeir er inni váru. Hjørvarðr bidr konung segja skjótt, hvert ørendi

\(^a\) Angrímr R
\(^b\) Bólm H, Bólmr U, Hólmr R

1 A history of Argrím's forebears is given in the HU-version; see Appendix A (I).

2 H (and 203, here probably influenced by H) says that Bólm was in Hallagaland in the north of Norway, but more probably it is to be identified with the island Bolmsö in Lake Bolmen in southern Sweden; cf. í Bólm austr in Appendix A (II), verse 1.

3 But the remaining six are named in other sources; see Appendix A (II). Berserks frequently number twelve in the sagas.

4 See Glossary s.v. berserkr.

5 To 'make fast a vow' (heit strengja) meant to make a vow so solemn that it could not under any circumstances be broken. Heitstrenging (and very often
There was a man named Arngrím, who was a great viking. He jour-
neyed east to Gardaríki, and dwelt a while with Sigrlami the king; he
became the captain of his host, for the protection of both land and
liegemen, since the king was now old.

Arngrím became then so great a lord that the king gave him his
daughter in marriage, and established him as the greatest man in his
realm; the sword Tyrfing he gave him also. Afterwards the king took
to his rest, and nothing more is told of him.

Arngrím went north, together with his wife Eyfura, to the land of
his inheritance, and settled in the island called Bölm. They had
twelve sons; the eldest and most renowned was named Angantyr, the
second Hjörvard, the third Hervard, the fourth Hrani, and then the
two Haddings; no more are named. They were all berserks, champions so great and strong that on
their forays they were never more than twelve, and they never went into battle without gaining the
victory; for this they were famed in every land, and there was no king
who would not grant them what they demanded.

Now it happened one Yule-eve that men were to make solemn vows at the Bragarfull, as the custom is; and the sons of Arngrím made
their vows. Hjörvard made the vow that he would marry the daughter
of Ingjald, king of the Swedes, a woman famed through every land for
her beauty and accomplishment, or no woman else.

That same spring the twelve brothers set out, and coming to Upp-
sala they went before the king’s table, where his daughter sat beside
him. Then Hjörvard declared before the king his mission and his vow,
while all within the hall listened; and he told the king to say quickly

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The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise

2

This particular one) becomes a constantly recurring theme in the late sagas, and is frequently associated with the great mid-winter feast, Yule.

The first element of bragar- or braga-full is related to such words as O. E. brego ‘lord.’ In view of the description in Ynglinga Saga ch. 36, the
‘lord’s cup’ has been taken to be a toast drunk at inheritance-feasts in memory of the dead king; by others braga(r)-full has been connected with the god
Thórr, who is called Asabragr; cf. especially Hákonar Saga Góða ch. 14.

In H it is Angantyr who makes the vow; see Introduction p. xiii.

The Swedish king is called Yngvi in HU. His daughter’s name was Ingibjörg (see verse 10).
hann skal þangat eiga. Konungr hugsar þetta mála ok veit, hversu miklir þeir bræðr váru fyrir sér ok af ágætu kyni komnir. Í því bili stígir fram yfir konungs borðit sá maðr, er hét Hjálmarri inn hugumstóri, ok mælti til konungs, ‘Herra konungr, minnizk þér nú, hvé mikinn söma ek hefi yðr veitt, síðan er ek kom í þetta land, ok hversu margar orrostur ek átta at vinna ríki undir yðr, ok hefi ek yðr látit heimila mína þjónustu. Nú bið ek yðr, at þér veitið mér til sæmðar ok gefð mér döttur yðra, er minn hugr hefir jafnan á leikí; ok er þat makligra, at þér veitið mér þessa bæn heldr en berserkjumun, þeim er ílt eitt hafa gort bæði í yðru ríki ok margra annarra konunga.’

Nú hugsar konungr hálfú mir or þykkir nú þetta mikit vandamál, er þessir tveir hofðingjar keppask svá mjök um döttur hans. Konungr segir á þessa leið, hvártveggj sjá er svá mikill maðr ok vel ættborinn, at hvárigill vill hann synja mægða, ok biðr hana kjósa, hvárn hon vill eiga. Hon segir svá, at þat er jafnt, ef faðir hennar vill gipta hana, þá vill hon þann eiga, er henni er kunnt at gödu, en eigi hinn, er hon hefr sogur einar frá ok allar illar, sem frá Arngríms sonum. Hjorvarðr byðr Hjálmarri á hölm1 suðr í Sámsey2 ok biðr hann verða hvers manns niðing, ef hann engir fyr í eiga frúna en þetta einvígi er reytí. Hjálmar kveðr sik ekki skulu dvelja.

Fara nú Arngríms synir heim ok segja feðr sínum sitt örendi, en Arngrímr kvezk aldri fyrí hafa óttakz um ferð þeira. Þessu næst fara þeir bræðr til Bjarmars b jarls, ok gerir hann í móti þeim veizlu mikla; ok nú vill Angantyr fá dóttur jarls, er Sváfa hét, ok var nú drukkit brúðlaup þeira.

Ok nú segir Angantyr jarli draum sinn: honum þótti þeir bræðr staddir í Sámsey, ok fundu þar fylgila margi ok drápu alla; þá snæru þeir annan veg á eyna, ok flugu í móti þeim erin tveir, ok þóttisk hann ganga í móti ðjórum, ok áttu þeir hart viðskipti, ok settuík niðr bádir, ard létti. En annarr þrinna áttí við bræðr hans ellifu, ok þótti honum þrinna efri verða. Jarl segir, at þann draum þurfti ekki at ráda, ok þar væri honum sýnt fall rífr manna.

1 See Glossary s.v. hólmanga. But the hölmanga on Sámsey in this saga means no more than ‘battle on an island,’ with of course prearrangement, and has little in common with the precisely-conducted duels described elsewhere.
2 Sámsey is now called Samsö, an island lying to the north of Fyn, between Jutland and Zealand.
3 In U Jarl Bjarmar (see Glossary s.v. Jarl) is said to have ruled over Aldeigjuborg, the Swedish colony on Lake Ladoga.
what the issue of his errand there should be. The king pondered these words, remembering how powerful the brothers were, descendants of a glorious line; but at that moment the man called Hjalmar the Great-hearted stepped forward over the king’s table. ‘Lord king!’ he said, ‘call to mind now what great honour I have brought you since I came to this land, and how many battles I have fought to win kingdoms under your authority; all my service I have bestowed on you. I ask you now to grant my request, for the increase of my honour, and give me your daughter, on whom my heart has always been set; and it is more fitting that you should grant this request to me rather than to these berserks, who have done nothing but evil, both in your realm and in those of many other kings.’

Now the king pondered more deeply still, and very difficult he thought it, that there should be such contention over his daughter between these two chieftains. At last he spoke thus. He said they were both such great men and so nobly born that he would not refuse to be allied with either, and he told his daughter to choose whom she would have. She answered that that was fair, and that if her father would give her in marriage she would rather have a man that she knew good of than one of whom she knew tales only, and those all evil, as of the sons of Arngrim. Then Hjorvard challenged Hjalmar to a duel\(^1\) south on Sámsey,\(^2\) and cursed him as an outcast, to be loathed and despised by every man, if he married the lady before the issue of this single combat; and Hjalmar said that nothing would keep him back.

Now the sons of Arngrim departed home and told their father of the result of their quest; and Arngrim said that never before had he feared for them on their travels. After that the brothers journeyed to the jarl Bjarmar,\(^3\) and he made a great feast for them. Now Angantyr desired to marry Svéafa, the jarl’s daughter; and so their wedding-feast was held.

Then Angantyr told the jarl of a dream that he had had: he said that he had dreamed that the brothers were on Sámsey, and that there they came upon many birds, and slew them all. Then they took another path upon the island, and two eagles flew against them; Angantyr dreamed that he attacked one of them, and they had a bitter struggle, but they both sank down before all was over. The second eagle fought with his eleven brothers, and it seemed to him that the eagle had the upper hand. The jarl said that this dream needed no interpreting, and that the downfall of mighty men had been revealed to him.
En er þeir brœðr koma heim, búask þeir til hölmstefnu, ok leiðir faðir þeira þá til skips ok gaf þá sverðit Tyrfing Angantý; ‘hygg ek,’ segir hann, ‘at nú muni þorf vera göðra vápna.’ Hann biðr þá nú vel fara; eptir þat skiljask þeir.

Ok er þeir brœðr koma í Sámsey, sjá þeir, hvar tvau skip liggja í hófn þeiri, er Munarvágr hour hét; þau skip héttu askar.1 Þeir þóttusk vita, at Hjálmarr mundi þessi skip eiga ok Oddr inn víðförlí, er kallaðr var Qrvar-Oddr. Þá brugðu Arngrímns synir sverðum ok bitu í skjald-arrendr, ok kom á þá berserksgangr; þeir gengu þá sex út á hvárn askinn. En þar váru svá göðir drengir innanbords, at allir tóku sín vápn, ok engi flýði ór sínu rúmi, ok engi mælti æðruorð; en berserkirnir gengu með ðruðu borði fram, en ðruðu aprtr ok drápu þá alla. Síðan gengu þeir á land upp grenjandi.

Hjálmarr ok Oddr hofðu gengit upp á eyna at vita, ef berserkirnir væri komnir. Ok er þeir gengu ór skóginum til skipa sinna, þá gengu berserkir út af skipum þeira með blöðgum vápnum ok brugðnum sverðum, ok þá genginn af þeim berserksgangrin; en þá verða þeir máttmini en þess á milli sem eptir nokkurs kyns sóttir. Þá kvað Oddr2:

(1) Þá var mér ótti
einu sinni,
er þeir grenjandi
gengu af ðskum
ok emjandi
í ey stigu, b
tírarlausir,
 váru tólf saman.

Þá mælti Hjálmarr til Odds, ‘Sér þú nú, at fallnir eru menn okkrir

---

a Munarvágr *em. after H and Orv.*, Unavágr R (cf. Helg. Hund. I, 31); elsewhere Mun- R, Unavágar or Unnarvágr U throughout except verse 25
b ok . . . stigu Orv., om. RU

1 The use of the word ‘ash’ in the sense ‘ship,’ rare in Norse, was probably originally the name for Scandinavian war-vessels current in England and Germany during the Viking period; cf. O.E. áesc, frequent in this sense. (H. Falk, ‘Altnordisches Seewesen,’ *Wörter und Sachen* IV (1912) 87.)
When the brothers came home they made themselves ready for the encounter; and their father accompanied them to the ship, and gave Angantýr the sword Tyrfing, saying, ‘I think that good weapons will be needed now.’ Then he said farewell, and after that they parted.

When the brothers came to Sámsey they saw that two ships were lying in the anchorage called Munarvág, ships of the kind called ‘ashes’.\(^1\) They thought that these would be the ships of Hjálmar and Odd the Far-traveller, who was called Arrow-Odd. Then the sons of Arngrím drew their swords and gnawed the rims of their shields, and the berserk-frenzy came upon them; they went out onto the two ships, six on each. But the men on board were so stout-hearted, that all seized their weapons, and none left his place or uttered any word of fear. The berserkis went up one side and down the other, and slew them all; and then they went howling up on shore.

Hjálmar and Odd had gone up onto the island to see if the berserkis had arrived; and as they were returning from the forest to their ships the berserkis left the vessels with their weapons bloody and their swords drawn; but the berserk-fury had now left them, and berserkis become weaker then than at other times, as after certain kinds of sickness. Then Odd spoke\(^2\):

\begin{quote}
(1) Fear beset me 
for a single moment, 
as they left the longships 
loudly bellowing, 
crying terribly 
climbed the island, 
twelve together, 
inglorious men.
\end{quote}

Then Hjálmar said to Odd, ‘Do you see that all our men are slain?

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\(^{2}\) A fuller form of the verse dialogue that follows is found in Örvar-Odds Saga, and is given in Appendix A (II).
allir, ok sýnisk mér nú líkast, at vér munum allir Óðin gista í kveld í Valhöllu.¹ Ok þat eitt segja menn, at Hjálmar hafi mælt æðruord.

Oddr svarar, ‘Þat mundi mitt ráð vera, at vit flyðim undan á skóg, ok munum vit ekki mega tveir berjask við þá tólf, er drepti hafa tólf ina fræknustu menn er váru í Sviaríki.’

Þá mælti Hjálmar, ‘Flyjum vit aldri undan óvinum okkrum ok þolum heldr vápn þeira; fara vil ek at berjask við berserkir.’

Oddr svaraði,¹⁴ ‘En ek nenni eigi at gista Óðin í kveld, ok skulu þessir allir dauðir berserkir, áðr kveld sé, en vit tveir lifa.’

Þetta viðrmæli þeira sanna þessar vísur, er Hjálmar kvað:

(2) Fara halir hraustir
    af herskipum,
    tólf menn saman
    tírarlausir;
    vit munum í aptan
    Óðin gista
    tveir fóstbræðr, b
    en þeir tólf lifa.

Oddr segir:

(3) Því mun orði
    andsvör veita:
    þeir munu í aptan
    Óðin gista
    tólf berserkir,
    en vit tveir lifa.

Þeir Hjálmarr sæ, at Angantyr hafði Tyrfing í hendi, því at lýsti af sem sölargeisla.

Hjálmar mælti, ‘Hvírt viltu eiga við Angantý eða við bræðr hans ellifu?’

Oddr segir, ‘Ek vil berjask við Angantý; hann mun gefa stór hogg með Tyrfinni, en ek trúi betr skyrtru minni en brynju þínni til hlífðar.’

Hjálmar mælti, ‘Hvar kómum vit þess til orrostu, at þú gengir fram fyrir mik? Því viltu berjask við Angantý, at e þér þykkir þat

¹ Oddr svaraði om. R
b fóstbræðr Örv., berserkir R, fullhugar U
e at om. R

¹ See Appendix C
I think it is most likely that we shall all be Ódin’s guests in Valhöll tonight.’ And it is said that these were the only words of fear that Hjálmar ever uttered.

‘My advice,’ Odd answered, ‘would be that we should escape into the forest, for the two of us will not be able to contend with these twelve, who have slain twelve of the stoutest men in the kingdom of the Swedes.’

But Hjálmar said, ‘Let us never flee away from our enemies, but rather endure their weapons; I shall go out to fight with the berserks.’

‘I have no mind to spend tonight with Ódin,’ Odd answered; ‘all these berserks shall be dead men before nightfall, but we two shall live.’

These words of theirs are vouched for by these verses which they uttered:

(2) Strong are the warriors
the warships leaving,
twelve together,
inglorious men;
we shall be this evening
under Ódin's roof,
two sworn-brothers,
but the twelve shall live.

Odd spoke:

(3) To that speech of yours
I say in answer:
They shall be this evening
under Ódin's roof,
the twelve berserks;
we two shall live!

Now Hjálmar and his companion saw that Angantýr had Tyrfing in his hand, for a light shone from it like a ray of the sun.

‘Will you take on Angantýr alone,’ said Hjálmar, ‘or his eleven brothers?’

‘I will fight with Angantýr,’ said Odd; ‘he will give great blows with Tyrfing, and I put more trust in my shirt for protection than in your corset.’

‘Where have you ever taken precedence over me in battle?’ said Hjálmar. ‘You wish to fight with Angantýr because you think it the
meira þekvirki. Nú em ek hófuðsmaðr þessar hólmgríðu; hét ek órú konungsdóttur í Svíþjóðu en láta þik eða annan ganga í þetta einvíg fyrir mik, ok skal ek berjask við Angantýr,'—ok brá þá sverðinu ok gekk fram í móti Angantýr, ok vísaði hvárr þóðum til Valhallar.1 Snúask þeir í móti Hjálmarr ok Angantýr ok láta skammt stórra hóggva á milli.

Oddr kallas á berseriði ok kvað:

(4) Einn skal við einn
     eiga, nema sé deigr, a
     hvatra drengja,
     eða b hugr bili.

Þá gekk fram Hjörvarðr, ok áttusk þeir Oddr við hart vápnaskipti; en silskiskyrtar2 Odds var svá traust, at ekki vápn festi á, en hann hafði sverð svá gott, at svá beit brynju sem klæði; ok fá hogg hafði hann veitt Hjörvarði, áðr hann fell dauðr. Þá gekk til Hervarðr ok fór sömu leið, þá Hrani, þá hvert at þóðum, en Oddr veitti þeim svá hárða atsókn, at alla felldi hann þá ellifu bræðr. En frá leik þeira Hjálmars er þat at segja, at Hjálmarr fekk sextán sár, en Angantýr fell dauðr. Oddr gekk þar til, er Hjálmarr var, ok kvað3:

(5) Hvatt er þér, Hjálmarr?
     Hefir þú lit brugðit;
     þík kveð ek móða
     margar c undir;
     hjálmur er þinn hóggvinn,
     en á hlið brynja, d
     nú kveð ek fjörvi
     of e farit þínu.

---

a thus R, eiga orrostu Qrv. (M), orrostu heyja Qrv. (AB), U
b nema Qrv., U
c miklar Qrv., U
d thus Qrv., U, ok in síða brynja R (without alliteration)
e ok R

1 See Appendix C
sterner test. But I am the principal in this combat; and it was not this that I promised the princess in Sweden—to let you or anyone else enter this duel on my behalf. It is I who shall fight with Angantýr'—and he drew his sword and went forward to meet him. Each showed the other the way to Valhöll\(^1\); and now Hjálmar and Angantýr turned on each other, and wasted little time between the great strokes they gave.

Odd called out to the berserks, saying:

(4) Singly shall they fight,  
the strong heroes,  
unless they be soft,  
or their spirit fail them!

Then Hjörvard stepped forward, and had with Odd a stern exchange; but Odd's silken shirt\(^2\) was so sure a protection that no weapon could bite on it, and he had a sword so good that it cut into armour like cloth, and he gave Hjörvard few blows before he fell dead. Then Hervard stepped forward, and things went the same way with him; then Hrani; and so one after another, and Odd attacked them so fiercely that he felled all the eleven brothers. But of the grim game between Hjálmar and his foe there is this to tell, that Hjálmar got sixteen wounds, but Angantýr fell dead.

Odd went up to Hjálmar, and said\(^3\):

(5) Hjálmar, what ails you?  
Your hue is altered;  
many the wounds are  
that waste your strength;  
cleft is your helmet  
and the coat on your side:  
I say you have seen  
the sum of your days.

---

\(^1\) Arrow-Odd got his 'silken shirt' from a fairy woman in Ireland; the story is told in Örvar-Odds Saga chs. 22, 24, and the U-version also mentions that it came from Ireland. This idea of a skyrta against which all weapons are powerless is extremely common in the late sagas; cf. Åke Lagerholm, Drei Lygiságur (Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 17, 1927, 69).

\(^2\) Örvar-Odds Saga has four additional verses of this poem, which are given in Appendix A (III).
Hjálmar kvað:

(6) Sár hefi ek sextán,
slitna brynju,
svart er mér fyrir sjónum,
séka ek a ganga;
hneit mér við hjarta
hjór Angantýs,
hvass blöðrefill
herðr í eitri.1

Ok enn kvað hán:

(7) Áttak at fullu b
fim m tún c saman,
en ek því aldri
unða ráði d;
nu e verð ek liggja
lífs andvani, e
sverði undaðr, f
í Sámseyju. 9

(8) Drekka í hóllu
húskarlar mjóð
menjum göfgir
at míns foður h3;
meðir marga
mungát fira, f
en mik eggja spor
í eyju k þjá.

(9) Hvarf ek frá hvítri
hláðs beðgunni 14

---

a séka sé ek R b thus R (aktag MS), áttak á foldu Qrv., U
c tún RU, bú Qrv. (M), ból Qrv. (AB)
d en ek . . . ráði (láði U) RU, en ek unða því eigi láði Qrv. (AB) and similarly Qrv. (M) e thus RU, lítt meðandi Qrv.
fi sundaðr R g thus R, Sámseyju í Qrv., Sáms í eyju U h Drekka . . . foður R, and similarly U (later corr. to text of Qrv.); Drekkr með jofri / jarla mengi / ol glaðliga / at Uppsólum Qrv.
j fira Qrv., U, fenja R k ey R
k Hvarf . . . beðgunni (bedgungi MS) R, Leiddi mik en hvíta / hilmis dóttir Qrv. and similarly U
Hjálmar spoke:

(6) Wounds have I sixteen,
slit is my corset,
sight is darkened,
I see not my way;
to my heart pierced me,
poison-hardened,\(^1\)
Angantýr's blade —
bitter the point was.

More he said:

(7) Farms I owned there
five together,
my lot in that land
yet loved I never;
now\(^2\) must I lie here
of life bereft,
here on Sámsey
by the sword wounded.

(8) Mead they are drinking,
adorned with gems,
the throng of his folk
in my father's hall\(^3\);
ale overmasters
many a warrior,
but the marks of the blade
 torment me here.

(9) I went away
from that white maiden\(^4\)

---

\(^1\) cf. verse 41/6. This is a widespread conception, not only in Norse (cf. 
*Beowulf* 1459, of the sword Hrunting); Falk, *Altnord. Waffen*, 3 ff.

\(^2\) Lines 5–7 of verse 7, with very slight variation from the form they have in *RU*, are found also in *Hildibrand's Death-Song* (*Edd. Min.* 54).

\(^3\) On the remarkable divergence between the two saga-texts here (that of 
*Ǫrvar-Odds Saga* meaning: 'Now the crowd of his court / with the king are 
drinking / their ale gladly / at Uppsala') see Appendix A (III).

\(^4\) The Valkyrie name *Gunnr* ('battle') is common in kennings for women,
and thus either *hlads-gunnr* (*hlad* 'lace, embroidery') or *bed-gunnr* (*bedr* 'bed')
would form a complete kenning. Perhaps *hlads bedr* ('bed of embroidery')
should be taken to mean 'cloak,' and *hlads bed-gunnr* 'lady of the cloak.'
á Agnafit\textsuperscript{1}
útanverðri\textsuperscript{a};
saga mun sannask
sú er hon sagði mér,
at aprtr koma
eigi mundak.

(10) Drag þú mér af hendi
hring inn rauða,
feððu inni ungu
Ingibjorgu;
sá mun henni
hugfastr tregi,
er ek eigi kóm
til Uppsala.\textsuperscript{b}

(11)\textsuperscript{2} Hvarf ek frá foegrum
fljóða sǫngvi
ótrauðr gamans
austr við\textsuperscript{c} Sóta\textsuperscript{a};
för skundaða ek
ok fórk í líð
hinzta\textsuperscript{d} sinni
frá hollvinum.

(12) Hrafn flýgr austan\textsuperscript{e}
af hám meði,
flýgr honum eptir
ǫrn í sinni;
þeim gef ek erni
efstum bráðir,
sá mun á blöði
bergja\textsuperscript{f} mínu.

\textsuperscript{a} útanverðr Qu., U
\textsuperscript{b} er ek . . . Uppsala R; Qu. and U as in Appendix A (III), verse ii
\textsuperscript{c} austr við RU, út med Órv.
\textsuperscript{d} hinzta Qu. (B), innsta RU
\textsuperscript{e} austan RU, sunnan Qu. (AB)
\textsuperscript{f} bergia R
on the outer shore
of Agnafit¹;
her fore-telling
true will prove now:
I shall return not
ever again.

(10) The red-gold ring —
from my wrist take it,
to Ingibjörg
I ask you, bear it;
it will give her
grief long-lasting
when I come not ever
to Uppsala.

(11)² I went from delight
of women’s singing,
for joy eager
east with Sóti,³
sped my journey
to join the host,
left for the last time
loyal companions.

(12) From the high treetop
hurries the raven,
from the east flying,
the eagle his escort;
food for the eagle
I find for the last time:
he shall make his meal
on my blood now.

¹ Agnafit: the low-lying coastal stretch along the outflow of Lake Mälaren, where present-day Stockholm lies.
² Verse 11 should probably follow verse 9, as it does in U; see Appendix A (III).
³ It is possible that Sóti was Hjálmarr’s original companion; see Introduction p. xiii.
Eptir þat deyr Hjálmar. Oddr segir þessi tíðendi heim í Svífjóð, en konungsdóttir má eigi lifa eptir hann ok ræðr sér sjálf bana. Angantýr ok bræðr hans váru lagðir í haug í Sámsey með ðollum vápnum sínum.

Dóttir Bjarmars var með barni; þat var mær einkar fógr. Sú var vatni ausin ok nafn gefit ok kollud Hervør. Hon fæddisk upp með jarli ok var sterk sem karlar, ok þegar hon mátí sér nokkut, tamðisk hon meir við skot ok skjöld ok sverð en við sauma eða borða. Hon gerði ok optar illt en gott, ok er henni var þat bannat, hljóp hon á skóga ok drap menn til fjár sér. Ok er jarl spyr til þessa stigamanns, för hann þangat með lóði sínu ok tók Hervör ok hafði heim með sér, ok dvalðisk hon þá heima um stund.

Þat var eitt sinn, er Hervör var úti stódd því nær, er þælar nokkurir váru, ok gerði þeim illt sem ðórum. Dá maelti í þrauminn, ‘Dú, Hervör, vilj illt eitt gera, ok ills er at þér ván, ok því bannarjarl ðollum mýnum at segja þér þitt fáðeri, at honum þykkr skómm, at þú vitir þat, því at inn versti þræll lagðisk með döttur hans, ok ertu þeira barn.’

Hervör varð við þessi orð æfar reið ok gengr þegar fyrir jarl ok kvæð:

(13) Áka ek várri
vegsemð hrósa,
þótt hon Fróðmars
føgí hylli;
þóður hugðumk ek
froknað eiga,
nú er sagðr fyrir mér
svína hirðir.

\[a\] fjarr R \[b\] þræll er R \[c\] Ætla U \[d\] hæði U \[e\] fengi em. Petersen, fengit RU \[f\] nú er mér hann sagðr U

1 In Qvar-Odds Saga (ch. 15) Ínghild did not kill herself, but fell back dead in her chair when she saw Hjálmar’s ring; and Odd burst out laughing, with the words ‘They shall enjoy now in death what they could not have in life.’ — The suicide of a woman, rather than survive her husband or her betrothed, is found several times in Norse legends, and seems to reflect an ancient custom of suttee—of which the most vivid evidence is found in the famous account of the ship-burial on the Volga by the Arab Ahmed ibn Foszlan, who saw it (for translation, see Waddy, Antiquity, VIII, 1934, 58).
After that Hjálmar died. Back in Sweden Odd told these tidings; but the king’s daughter could not live on after Hjálmar, and she took her own life.\textsuperscript{1} Angantýr and his brothers were laid in a mound on Sámsey with all their weapons.

Bjarmar’s daughter was with child; and it was a girl of great beauty. She was sprinkled with water,\textsuperscript{2} and given a name, and called Hervör. She was brought up in the house of the jarl, and she was as strong as a man; as soon as she could do anything for herself she trained herself more with bow and shield and sword than with needlework and embroidery. She did more often harm than good, and when it was forbidden her she ran away to the woods and killed men for her gain. When the jarl heard of this highwayman he went to the place with his men and seized Hervör and brought her home with him; after that she dwelt at his house for a while.

One day Hervör chanced to be standing near some slaves, and she treated them ill, as she did everyone else. Then one of them said to her, ‘Your only wish is to do evil, Hervör, and evil is to be expected from you; the jarl forbids everyone to speak to you of your parentage, because he is ashamed that you should know of it—for the basest serf lay with his daughter, and you are their child.’

Hervör was enraged at these words, and she went at once to the jarl, and said:

(13) Little can I glory
in our lofty name,
though Fróðmar’s favour
was found by my mother\textsuperscript{3};
I thought that I had
a hero for father,
but now I am told
he tended the swine!

\textsuperscript{1} This custom undoubtedly prevailed in Iceland, Norway and the Orkneys during the heathen age without any connection with Christian baptism; but its ultimate origin may nonetheless lie in contact with the Christian peoples of the British Isles, for there is no record of it from Swedish or South Germanic territory. (K. Maurer, \textit{Die Wasserweihe des german. heidentums}, 1880.)

\textsuperscript{2} On these puzzling lines see Appendix F
Jarl kvað:

(14) Logit er mart at þér
    of lítíl efni,\(^a\)
    frækn\(^b\) með fyrðum
    var\(^c\) faðir þínn taliðr;
    stendr Angantýs\(^d\)
    ausinn moldu
    salr í Sámsey
    sunnanverðri.

Hon kvað:

(15) Nú fýsir mik,
    fóstri, at vitja
    framgenginna
    frænda minna;
    auð mundu þeir
    eiga nógan,
    þann skal ek qðlask,
    nema ek áðr forumk.

(16) Skal skjótliga
    um skór búa
    blæju\(^e\) líni,\(^1\)
    áðr braut fari;
    mikit býr í því,
    er á morgin skal
    skera bæði mér
    skyrtu ok ólpu.\(^7\)

Síðan vælta Hervör við móður sína ok kvað:

(17) Bú þú mik at òllu
    sem þú bráðast\(^9\) kunnir,

\(^a\) thus em. on basis of corr. in \textit{U}; lítíl of frétt \textit{R}, ef lítíl er \textit{U}, later corr. to ef lítít er efni
\(^b\) frækn \textit{U}, om. \textit{R}
\(^c\) var om. \textit{R}, added later in \textit{U}
\(^d\) Angantýr \textit{R}
\(^e\) bleiku \textit{U}
\(^1\) thus \textit{U}, ólpu ok skyrtu \textit{R} (with bad alliteration)
\(^7\) bráðast \textit{A.M. 345} (Helgason \textit{p. xlv}), hraðast \textit{U}, hvatast \textit{R} (without alliteration)
The jarl answered:

(14) A lie has been told you
with little substance:
high among heroes
men held your father;
Angantýr’s hall
with earth sprinkled
stands on Sámsey’s
southern border.

Hervør spoke:

(15) Foster-father,
I am filled with longing
to seek them out,
my slain kinsmen,
for store of wealth
they surely own;
to me shall it pass
if I perish not!

(16) I will wrap swiftly
around my hair
a linen headgear¹
ere I hasten away;
much rests on it,
that when morning comes
cloak and kirtle
be cut for me.

Afterwards Hervør spoke to her mother, and said:

(17) As quick as you can
equip me in all ways,

¹ Unless these lines imply ‘I will bind up my hair so that I may be taken for a man,’ one must follow Skj. in emending um to af, and translate: ‘the linen cloth shall be taken from my hair,’ i.e. Hervør will cast away her woman’s attire.
sannfróð<sup>a</sup> kona,
sem þū son mundir;
satt<sup>b</sup> eitt mun mér
í svefn bera,
fæ ek ekki hér
ynði it næsta.

Sjóan bjósk hon í brot ein saman ok tók sér karímanns gørví ok vápn ok sótti þar til, er víkingar nokkurir váru, ok för með þeim um hrið ok nefndisk Hervarðr. Lítlu síðar tók þessi Hervarðr forrzæði liðsins,<sup>c</sup> ok er þeir kómu til Sámseyjar, þá beiddisk Hervarðr at fara upp á eyna ok sagði, at þar mundi vera féván í haugí; en allir liðsmenn mæla í móti ok segja, at svá miklar meinvættir gangi þar òll døgr, at þar er verra um daga en víða um nær annars staðar. Þat fæsk um stöðir, at kastat var akkerum, en Hervarðr sté í bát ok reri til lands ok lendi í Munarvági í þann tíma, er sól settisk, ok hitti þar mann þann er hjörðr helt.

Hann kvað<sup>1</sup>:

(18) Hverr er ýta<sup>d</sup>
    í ey kominn?
    Gakk þú sýsliga<sup>e</sup>
gistingar til!

Hon kvað<sup>f</sup>:

(19) Munka ek ganga
gistinga til,<sup>g</sup>
því ek engi kann
eyjarskeggja<sup>2</sup>;
segðu elligar<sup>h</sup>
áðr vit skiljum<sup>i</sup>:
    hvar eru Hjörvarðs<sup>k</sup>
    haugar kenndir?

<sup>a</sup> sannfróð em. Ettmüller, sannfund R, -find U, -reyn Bugge
<sup>b</sup> satt<sub>R</sub> fátt<sub>R</sub> liðsins<sub>R</sub>
<sup>d</sup> thus<sub>R</sub>, hverr einn saman<sub>H</sub>, þú eit einn með oss<sub>U</sub>
<sup>e</sup> greiðliga<sub>H</sub>, skálega<sub>U</sub> Hon kvað om. R
<sup>2</sup> lines 1–2 so placed in HU, in R after skiljum line 6
<sup>h</sup> elligar<sub>RU</sub>, hraðliga<sub>H</sub> thus<sub>RU</sub>, áðr heðan lóðir<sub>H</sub>
<sup>i</sup> HU
<sup>k</sup> Hjörvarði (Her-<sub>U</sub>) HU
wisest of women,  
as you would your son!  
In dreams is told me  
the truth only;  
no contentment  
shall I taste here now.

After that she made ready to depart alone, and taking the gear and weapons of a man she made her way to a place where there were some vikings, and for a time she went roving with them and called herself Hervard. A short while after, this Hervard became captain of the band, and when they came to Sámsey she demanded to be allowed to go up on the island, saying that there would be promise of treasure in the burial-mound; but all the men of the company spoke against it, saying that such creatures of evil walked there both by day and by night that it was worse there in daylight than in many other places in the dark. But at last she had her way, and the anchor was dropped; Hervard got into a boat, and rowing to the shore landed in Munarvág at the hour of sunset, and there came upon a man who tended a flock.

He spoke:\n
(18) Who among mortals  
moves on the island?  
Now flee you fast  
to find shelter!

She answered:\n
(19) Flee I will not  
to find shelter,  
none do I know  
of the native people;\n
rather tell me  
ere we turn away:  
where do the cairns lie  
called after Hjörvard?

---

1 The HU-version has more verses here than R has; see Appendix A (IV).  
2 *øyjar-skępjar*, lit. 'island-bearded,' a name (found also elsewhere) supposed to have arisen simply from the unkempt hair and wild appearance of the dwellers on remote islands.
Hann kvað:

(20) Spyrjattu at því,
spakr ertz u eigi,\(^a\)
vínr víkínga, 
ertz vanfarinn;
þórum fráliga,
sem okkr fœtr toga;
allt er úti
ámátt\(^b\) firum.

Hon kvað:

(21) Hirðum ei at fælask
við fnosun\(^c\) slíka,
þótt um alla ey
eldar brenni;
látum okkr eigi 
lítit hræða
rekka slíka,
róðumk fleira við!\(^d\)

Hann kvað:

(22) Heimskr þykki mér
sá er héðan\(^e\) ferr, 
maðr einn saman 
myrkvar grímur; 
hyrrr er á sveimun, 
haugar opnask, 
brenn fold ok fen, 
þórum harðara!

Enda tók hann þá hlaup heim til bœjar, ok skildi þar með þeim. 
Nú sér honors því næst út á eyna, hvar haugaeldrinn\(^1\) brenn, ok gengr 
hon þangat til ok hræðisk ekki, þótt allir haugir væri á gotu hennar. 
Hon óð fram í þessa elda sem í myrkva, þar til er hon kom at haugi 
berserkjanna.

\(^a\) eungi \textit{R} 
\(^b\) úti ámátt \textit{H}, víti á nátt (f) \textit{R}; hverfum heim báðir \textit{U line 8} 
\(^c\) fnosun \textit{H}, þrosun \textit{R}, \textit{line om. U} 
\(^d\) látum . . . við \textit{R and similarly U}; látum eigi okkr / rekka liðna (read 
liðna rekka) / skjótla skelfa, / skulum við talask \textit{H} 
\(^e\) heðra \textit{H}, til hauga \textit{U}
Then the herdsman said:

(20) Do not ask me —
you are not wise!
Friend of vikings,
you are far astray;
fare we as fast as
feet can bear us —
out in the open
all is evil for men.

She answered:

(21) We'll not faint nor fear
at such fire's crackling,
though all the land
be alight with flame;
men such as these
are matter too small
to make us tremble —
let us talk further!

He spoke:

(22) Fool I call him
who fares onward,
a man all alone
in the murky night;
fires are moving,
mounds are opening,
burns field and fen —
let us faster run!

And he ran off home to the farm, and thus they parted. Now Hervör saw where out upon the island burned the fire of the barrows,¹ and she went towards it without fear, though all the mounds were on her path. She made her way into these fires as if they were no more than mist, until she came to the barrow of the berserks.

¹ hauga-eldrinn: the fire that burns over treasure hidden in burial-mounds, called also málmologi or vaftlogi, 'metal-fire,' 'hovering fire,' a widespread belief for many ages; many examples from a later period are given by Jón Árnason, Íslenskar þjóðsögur og Æfinýri I, 1862, 276 ff.
Pá kvað hon:

(23) Vaki þú, Angantyr,
vekr þík Hervör,
eingadóttir
ykkur Sváfu
selðu ör haugi
hvassan mæki,
þann er Sigrlama
slógu dvergar.

(24) Hervarðr, Hjörvarðr,
Hrani, Angantyr!
Vek ek yðr alla
undir viðar rótum,
hjálmi ok med brynju,
hvossu sverði,
rönd ok med reiði,
roðnum geiri.

(25) Mjok eru orðnir
Armgríms synir,
meigir meingjarnir,
at moldarauka,
er engi gerir
sona Eyfuru
við mik mæla
í Munarvági.

(26) Hervarðr, Hjörvarðr,
Hrani, Angantyr!
Svá sé yðr ðllum
innan rifja
sem þer í maura

---

* Sváfu RU, Tófu H
  b selðu mér HU
  c Svafrlama HU
  d hvossu HU, hosu R
  e reiði HU, om. R
  f thus U, meigir meingjarnar R, meigir at meinsamir H
  g gerir RU, skal H
  h Munarvági RH, Munarheimi U (elsewhere always Un-)

1 Tófa, Hervör’s mother in the H-version, is not otherwise mentioned in the saga; in H’s prose she is left unnamed.
Then she spoke:

(23) Wake, Angantýr,
wakes you Hervör,
Sváfa’s\(^1\) offspring,
your only daughter;
the keen-edged blade
from the barrow give me,
the sword dwarf-smithied
for Sigrlami.

(24) Hervard, Hjörvard,
Hrani, Angantýr!
From the roots of the tree
I arouse you all,
with\(^2\) helm and corset,
keen-edged weapon,
gear and buckler
and graven spear.

(25) All but to dust
have Arngrím’s children,
men of evil,
in the mound been turned,\(^3\)
if of Eyfura’s sons
no single one
to me will speak
in Munarvág.

(26) Hervard, Hjörvard,
Hrani, Angantýr!
May it seem to you all
within your ribs
as if in mound of maggots

---

\(^2\) The second half of this verse may refer to Hervör (cf. verse ii in Appendix A (V)), or to the dead berserks, who were ‘laid in a mound on Sámsey with all their weapons.’

\(^3\) Lit. ‘Arngrim’s sons have as good as become increase of mould’ (moldarbáuki), i.e. they have nearly turned to dust in the barrow.
mornið haugi,
neða sverð selið
þat er sló Dvalinn;
samir ei draugum
dýrta vápn bera.

Dá kvað Angantyr:

(27) Hervor dóttir,
hvat kallar svá?
Full feiknstafa
ferr þú þér at illu;
er ertu orðin
ok þrættin,
villhyggjandi,
vekr upp dauða menn.

(28) Gróf ein mik faðir
né frendr aðrir;
þeir hofðu Tyrning
tveir, er lifðu,
varð þó eigandi
einn um síðir.

Hon kvað:

(29) Segir þú eigi satt,
svá láti áss þík
heilan í haugi,
sem þú hafir eigi
Tyrning með þér;
trauðr ertu
arf at veita
eingabarni.

---

a dýrta RU, dýr H  
 b fela HU  
c hví HU  

d dauða menn RU, reversed H  
 e faðir niðr HU  
 f varð . . . síðir HU, urðu eigandi / enn um síðir R  
 g eigi (einn H) satt mér HU  
 h haugi HU, haugi sitja R  
 i með þér HU, om. R  
 j thus R, traett er þér at veita HU  
 k thus R, arfa þínun H, arf, Angantyr U  
 l thus RU, einar bænir H  

1 Dvalin seems to have been one of the most renowned of all the dwarfs, and often appears in the Eddaic poetry (especially Voluspá 14, Fáfnismál 13, Hávamál 143).
you mouldered away,
if you fetch not the sword
forged by Dvalin¹;
it becomes not ghosts
costly arms to bear.

Then Angantýr answered her:

(27) Why do you hail me,
Hervör, daughter?
To your doom you are faring
filled with evil!
Mad you are now,
your mind darkened,²
when with wits wandering
you wake the dead.

(28)³ No father or kinsman
in cairn laid me;
they kept Tyrfing,
the two survivors⁴ —
one alone did
wield it after.

Hervör answered:

(29)⁵ You give me a lie!
May the god let you
rest whole in your howe
if you’re holding not
Tyrfing with you;
unwilling you are
to give the heirloom
to your only child.

² These two lines are found in three poems of the Edda (Lex. Poet. s.v. err).
³ Two lines are clearly missing from this verse, probably after line 2; Bugge suggested ‘It was our slayers who laid us in the mound’ (implying ‘And so I did not receive my sword in burial’).
⁴ i.e. the two who were still alive when Angantýr died, Hjálmar and Arrow-Odd.
⁵ This verse is obviously badly corrupted. No doubt originally there was a stop at the end of the fourth line: ‘if you have it not!’
Pá opnaðisk haugrinn, ok var sem eldr ok logi væri allr haugrinn.
Pá kvað Angantyr:

(30) Hnigin er helgrind,
    haugar opnask,
    allr<sup>a</sup> er í eldi
    eybarmr at sjá<sup>b</sup>;
    atalt er úti
    um at lítask,
    skjytu, mær, ef þú mátt,
    til skipa þinna.

Hon svarar:

(31) Brennið eigi svá
    bál á nóttum,
    at ek við elda
    yðra hræðumk<sup>c</sup>;
    skelfr eigi meyju
    muntún<sup>1</sup> hugar,
    þótt hon draug sjái
    fyrirdur<sup>d</sup> durum standa.

Pá kvað Angantyr:

(32) Segi ek þér, Hervor,
    hlyð þú til enn,<sup>e</sup>
    visa dóttir,
    þat er verða mun:
    sjá mun Tyrfingr,
    ef þú trúa mættir,
    ætt þinni, mær,
    allri spilla.<sup>2</sup>

(33) Muntu<sup>3</sup> son geta
    þann er síðan mun
    Tyrfing hafa<sup>f</sup>
    ok trúa magni<sup>g</sup>;

<sup>a</sup> allr H, allt R, verse om. U
<sup>b</sup> thus H, eygrims sjá R
<sup>c</sup> fælumk H, verse om. U
<sup>d</sup> í H
<sup>e</sup> thus R, hlyttu til meðan H, om. U
<sup>f</sup> hafa RU, bera H
<sup>g</sup> magni RU, afli H

<sup>1</sup> mun-tún is not known elsewhere, but there are many other kennings of similar type; lit. ‘the house, enclosed place (tún) of the mind,’ i.e. the breast.
Then the barrow opened, and it was as if the whole mound were fire and flame. Angantýr spoke again:

(30) Hel’s gate is lifted,
    howes are opening,
    the isle’s border
    ablaze before you;
    grim outside now
    to gaze around you —
    to your ships, if you can,
    quick now, maiden!

She answered:

(31) No blaze can you light,
    burning in darkness,
    that your funeral fires
    should with fear daunt me;
    unmoved shall remain
    the maiden’s spirit,¹
    though she gaze on a ghost
    in the grave-door standing.

Then Angantýr said:

(32) I tell you, Hervôr —
    hear my words out! —
    what shall come to pass,
    prince’s daughter:
    trust what I tell you,
    Tyrfing, daughter,
    shall be ruin and end
    of all your family.²

(33) You³ shall bear offspring
    who in after days
    shall wield Tyrfing
    and trust in his strength;

¹ On the significance of this prophecy see Introduction pp. x-xi.
² It is strange that Angantýr, who is not yet persuaded to yield up the sword, should here tell Hervôr that she will have a son who will, in fact, wield it. The verse must be displaced from a point later in the poem.
Pá kvað Hervör:

(34) Maðr þóttumk ek 
mennskr til b þessa, 
áðr ek sali yðra 
sókja réðak c; 
þel þú mér ór haugi 
þann er hatar brynjur, 
hlifum hættan, 
Hjálmars bana.d

Pá kvað Angantýr:

(35) Liggr mér undir herðum 
Hjálmars bani, 
allr er hann útan 
eldi sveipinn e; 
mey veit ek enga 
fyrir mold ofan f 
at hjör þann g þori 
þó hónð bera. g

Hervör kvað:

(36) Ek mun híða 
ok í hónð j nema 
hvassan mæki, 
ef ek hafa matðak; 
úggi ek eigi 
eld brennanda; 
þegar loga lægir 
er ek lít yfir.k

a munu H, mun RU b til HU, om. R
c thus H, sókja hafðak R, tók kanna U
d hlifum . . . bana R; see Appendix A (V)
e sveipinn HU, svifinn (with e over first i) R
f thus R, moldar hvergi HU g þann hjör HU
h nema HU i hónð RU, í hendr H
k þegar . . . yfir RH, þann er framliðnum / fyrðum leikr um sjónir U
by the name Heidrek
known to his people,
born the strongest
beneath the sun's curtain.¹

Then Hervör said:

(34) A human indeed
I was held to be
er I came hither
your hall seeking;
hater of mailcoats
from the mound give me,
peril to bucklers,
bane of Hjálmar!

Angantýr answered:

(35) Beneath my back is laid
the bane of Hjálmar,
al around it
enwrapped with fire;
in the world walking
no woman know I
who would dare in her hand
to hold this sword.

Then Hervör said:

(36) I will guard it
and grasp it in hand,
the keen-edged sword,
can I but obtain it;
no fear have I
of the fire burning;
the flame grows less
as I look towards it.

¹ ropuls tjald: tjald means a tent, curtaining, or wall-hangings; it is common in kennings for the sky, as here. — After this verse there is an omission of two in R, which are given in Appendix A (V).
Þá kvað Angantýr:

(37) Heimsk\(^a\) ertu, Hervör,
hugar eigandi,
er þú at augum
í eld hrarar;
heldr vil ek selja þér
sverð\(^b\) ór haugi,
mær in unga,
má ek þér ei synja.

Hervör kvað c:

(38) Vel gerðir þú,
víkinga niðr,
er þú seldir mér
sverð ór haugi;
betr þykkjumk nú,
bragningar,\(^d\) hafa,
en ek Nóregi
næðak öllum.

Angantýr kvað:

(39) Veizt eigi þú,
vesól ertu máls,\(^e\)
fullsefn\(^f\) kona,
hví þu fagna skalt;
sjá mun Þyfingr,
ef þú trúa mættir,
ætt\(^g\) þinni, mær,
allri spilla.\(^h\)

Hon segir:

(40) Ek mun ganga
til gjálfhrmara,\(^i\)
nú er hilmis mær
í huga \(^j\) göðum;

\(^a\) heimsk RHU, heimskas Skj.
\(^b\) heldr . . . sverð RH (ek vil heldr H), selja and sverð reversed U
\(^c\) Hervör kvað om. R
\(^d\) buðlungr HU
\(^e\) mála HU
\(^f\) flárð HU
\(^g\) ætt U, om. R (cf. verse 32)
\(^h\) sjá mun . . . spilla RU, om. H
\(^i\) hugum H, hug U
\(^j\) hugum H, hug U
Angantýr answered:

(37) Fool you are, Hervör,
in your heart’s daring,
with eyes open
to enter the fire!
The blade from the barrow
I will bring, rather;
O young maiden,
I may not refuse you.

Hervör answered:

(38) Son of warriors,
you do well in this,
the blade to me
from the barrow yielding;
king, to keep it
I count it dearer
than were all Norway
beneath my hand.

Angantýr spoke:

(39) You see it not —
you’re in speech accursed,
woman of evil! —
why you’re rejoicing;
trust what I tell you,
Tyring, daughter,
shall be ruin and end
of all your family.

Hervör spoke:

(40) I will go my way
to the wave-horses,¹
chieftain’s daughter
cheerful-hearted;

¹ gjálf-r-marr ‘sea-horse,’ i.e. ship
litt ræki ek þat,\textsuperscript{a}
lofðunga vinr,\textsuperscript{b}
hvat\textsuperscript{c} synir\textsuperscript{d} mínir
síðan deila.\textsuperscript{e}

Hann kvað:  

(41) Ðú skalt eiga
ok una lengi,
hafðu á huldú
Hjálmars bana;
takattu á eggjum,
eitr er í báðum;
sá er manns mjótuðr
meini verri.

(42) Far vel, döttir,
fljótt gæfa ek þér
tólfr manna fjör,
ef þú trúa mættir,
afl ok eljun,
allt it góða,
þat er synir Arngríms
at sik' leifðu.

Hon kvað:  

(43) Búi þér allir,
brott fýsir mik,
heilir í haugi,
heðan vil ek skjótlal\textsuperscript{f};
helzt þóttumk nú
heimi í millim,
er mik umhverfis
deldar brunnu.

\textsuperscript{a} thus RU, lítt hræðumk þat H
\textsuperscript{b} vinr RU, niðr H
\textsuperscript{c} hvat RU, hvé H
\textsuperscript{d} after synir the lacuna begins in R
\textsuperscript{e} deila H, telja U
\textsuperscript{f} at sik H, eptir U
\textsuperscript{g} brott . . . skjótlal H, fysir mik and vil (mun U) ek skjótlal reversed U
I care not at all
O kings' companion,
how my sons shall
strive hereafter.

Angantýr spoke:

(41) You shall keep Tyrfing
with contentment long;
the bane of Hjálmar
in hiding keep;
touch not the edges —
in each is poison;
worse than deadly,
doom-bringer to men.

(42) Fare well, daughter!
fain would I give you
twelve heroes' lives —
trust what I tell you! —
the goodly strength
and strong endurance
that Arngrím's sons
left after them.

And now Hervör said:

(43) May you all lie unharmed
in the Howe resting —
to hasten hence
my heart urges;
I seemed to myself
to be set between worlds,
when all about me
burnt the cairn-fires.
Hervör\(^a\) för nú ofan til strandar, ok er dagadí, sá hon at skip várur burt, ok hofðu vikingar hraeðk, er þeir heyrðu dunur ok sá elda á eynni.

Hervör dvalðisk nú í Sámsey, þar til hon fekk sér fár í burt; er nú eigi sagt frá ferðum hennar, fyrr en hon kom til Guðmundar\(^1\) konungs af Glassisvöllum\(^b\); hon nefndisk þá enn Hervarðr ok lét sem væri ein kempa. Þessi Hervarðr var þar einkanliga vel tekinn. Hafði Guðmundr konungur mikinn mannfjölða; hann var þá\(^c\) svá gamall, at þat er sogn manna, at hann skorti eigi á hundrað\(^d\) vetra, ok var þó hrausstr maðr. Hófundr sonr hans var þá fullroskinn; var hann þá at øllum stórmállum kallaðr.

Þat bar þar til eitt sinn, at Guðmundr konungan lék at tafla ok var á hann tafli mjók leikit. Þá spurði konungur, ef nokkur maðr væri sá þar, er honum kynni ráð til tafls at leggja. Þá stóð upp Hervarðr ok gekk til taflsins, ok hafði hann litla hríð ráðit taflinu, áðr en konungi gekk betr. En á meðan Hervarðr\(^e\) var at taflinu, hafði einn hirðmaðr konungs tekit upp sverðit Tyrfing ok brugdít ok mælti, at hann só aldri betra sverði; ok sem Hervarðr heyrði þat ok sér beran Tyrfing, er lýstí af um höllina sem sólaræisla, þá snýr Hervarðr þangat ok þráfr til sverðsins ok hjó af þeim höfuðit, sem brugdít hafði. Eptir þat snýr Hervarðr þegar út. Menn konungs eggjudduk at fara eptir honum, at hefna lagsmanns sins. Konungur svarar ok bað þá vera kyrra,—‘mun yðr þykka í manni þessum minni hefnd, en þér ætlið, því kvennmannætla ek hann vera’; hygg ek þó við þat vápn, er hon hefir, at hverjum yðar yrði dýrkeypt, at taka hana af lifi.’

Hervör kom sér til vikinga ok var í hernaði um hríð; en er henni leiddisk svá vera, féðar til Bjarmars\(^9\) jarls ok settisk til hannyrðanáms. Fór nú mikil fregn af frídleik hennar.

Hófundr sonr Guðmundar konungurs beiddi föður sinn, at honum skyldi ráðs leita, ok vill hann kvángask. Guðmundr konungr tók því vel ok segir, at Hervör döttir Angantýs var þá heima hjá Bjarmari jarli fóstra sínum, segir, at sá kostr þótti beztr ok allgofgastr þeira er

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\(^a\) U followed from this point  
\(^b\) blæis- U (for Glæsis-)  
\(^c\) þó U  
\(^d\) um hundrað U  
\(^e\) Hjörvarðr U  
\(^f\) ætla ek hann vera om. U  
\(^g\) Bjartmarsi U (with -t- throughout)  

\(^1\) On Guðmund of Glassisvellir see Appendix B
Now Hervör went down to the shore, and when the dawn came she saw that the ships were gone, and that the vikings had taken fright when they heard the thunders and saw the fires on the island.

Hervör tarried then on Sámsey until she got a passage away, and of her travels nothing more is told until she came to King Gudmund of Glasisvellir; she still called herself Hervard, and behaved like any warrior. This Hervard was received extremely well. King Gudmund had a great following; and he was then so old that his years were not short of a hundred, so men say, yet he was still an active man. His son Höfund was at that time a grown man, and he was summoned to counsel in all matters of great moment.

It happened one day that King Gudmund was playing at chess, and was getting very much the worst of the game; the king asked whether there was anyone who could give him advice on his play. Then Hervard stood up and went to the board, and did not long have a hand in the game before the king's fortune turned. But while Hervard was at chess one of the king's courtiers had taken up the sword Tyrising and drawn it, saying that he had never seen a better blade; and when Hervard heard this, and saw Tyrising unsheathed, as it flashed like a sunbeam through the hall, she swung round and snatched the sword and struck off the head of the man who had drawn it. After that Hervard at once went out. The king's men egged one another on to pursue Hervard and take revenge for their companion; but the king spoke and told them to be still—'for your vengeance on this man,' he said, 'will seem smaller than you now think, because it is my guess that he is a woman; but I think that with that weapon which she wields her slaying will be dearly bought by every man of you.'

Hervör went off to join vikings, and was out raiding for a time; and when she grew weary of that she went to Bjarmar the jarl, and settled down to fine work with her hands. Many tales were then told of her beauty.

Höfund, the son of King Gudmund, asked his father to make a match for him, for he wished to marry. King Gudmund received this well, and said that Hervör the daughter of Angantyr was then at the house of the jarl Bjarmar, her foster-father; this match, he said, was thought the best and the most illustrious of any that he knew of. Then

Pau áttu tvá sonu; hét inn yldri Angantýr, en inn yngri Heiðrekr. Hvártveggi þeira var inn fríðastí at sjá, meiri ok sterkari en aðrir menn; báðir váru þeir spakir at viti ok inir mestu atgørvismenn. Angantýr var líkr foður sínum at skaplyndi ok vildi hverjum manni gott; faðir hans unni honum mikit, ok við alla alþýðu var hann vinsell. En svá márt gott sem hann gerði, þá gerði Heiðrekr engum manni færa þat íllt var; Hervör unni honum meira. Hófundr sendi Heiðrekr þá í burt til fóstrs þeim manni, en Gizurr1 hét; hann var manna vitrastr; ok foeddisk Heiðrekr þar upp.

Þat var einn tíma, at Hófundr lét gera veizlu mikla á Grund, ok bað til sín þollum stórmenni um ríki sitt, nema Heiðreki ok Gizuri. En er veizlan var sett ok menn sátu við drykk, þá kom þar Heiðrekr konungssonr inn gangandi; því urðu menn öfsegnir. Angantýr bað honum til sætis hjá sér; þat þektisk hann.

Hanna var ekki kátr ok sat lengi við drykkju um kveldit; en er Angantýr bróðir hans gekk út, þá talaði Heiðrekr við þá menn er honum váru næstir, ok kom hann svá sinni reðu, at þeir urðu rangsáttir, ok melti hvárr illt við annan. Þá kom Angantýr aptr ok bað þá þegja. Ok enn í annat sinn, er Angantýr var út genginn, þá minnti Heiðrekr þá á, hvat þeir hofðu við mælzk, ok kom þá svá, at annarr sló annan með hnefa. Þá kom Angantýr til ok bað þá sáttta vera til morgins. Enn þriðja sinn, er Angantýr gekk í brott, þá spurði Heiðrekr þann, er hæggi hafði fengit, hvárt hann þyrði eigi at hefna sín; svá kom hann þá sinni fortólu, at inn lostni hljóp upp ok drap sessunaut sinn; ok þá kom Angantýr at. En er Hófundr varð þessa varr, bað hann Heiðrek burt ganga ok gera eigi fleira illt í þat sinn. Síðan gekk Heiðrekr út ok Angantýr bróðir hans ok í garðinn ok skilðusk þar.

Þá er Heiðrekr hafði litla hríð gengit frá bœnum, þá hugsaði hann, at hann hafði þar of lítit illt gört, snýr þá aptr til hallarinnar ok tók upp stein einn mikinn ok kastaði þangat, sem hann heyrði menn nokkura talask við í myrkrinu. Hann fann, at steinninn mundi eigi manninn

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a R resumes with . . . sér. Hann var ekki kátr, etc.
b sinn om. R
1 On Gizur see Introduction p. xvii.
men were sent to jarl Bjarmar to negotiate, and the jarl received it well; Hervör did not refuse, and told the jarl to act on her behalf. And so it was resolved, and Hervör was married to Höfund.

They had two sons; the elder was called Angantýr, and the younger Heidrek. Both of them were beautiful in face, and bigger and stronger than other men; both were wise in understanding and men of the greatest accomplishment. Angantýr was like his father in nature, and wished everybody well; his father loved him deeply, and he was much liked by the whole people. But as much good as Angantýr did, so much more mischief than any other man did Heidrek do; and it was him that Hervör loved the more. Höfund sent Heidrek away to be fostered by Gizur,¹ wisest of men, and with him Heidrek was brought up.

One day Höfund had a great feast made at Grund, and he invited to it all the men of rank in his kingdom, except Heidrek and Gizur. And when the feast was prepared and men sat drinking, in walked Heidrek the king's son; no-one there was glad to see him. Angantýr offered him a seat beside him, and that Heidrek accepted.

He was gloomy, and sat drinking far into the evening; but when his brother Angantýr went out Heidrek began to talk to the men who were next to him, and such a turn did he give to his words that they fell out, and each abused the other; but then Angantýr came back and told them to be still. Again a second time, when Angantýr had gone out, Heidrek reminded them of what they had said; and it ended with one of them striking the other with his fist. Then Angantýr came up and told them to be at peace till morning. But when Angantýr went away for the third time Heidrek asked the man who had been given the blow whether he had not the courage to avenge himself; and he so worked on him with his persuasions that the one who had been struck leapt up and slew his bench-fellow. Then Angantýr came in. But when Höfund heard of this he told Heidrek to go away and make no more mischief at that time; and afterwards Heidrek went out with his brother Angantýr into the courtyard, and there they parted.

When Heidrek had walked from the buildings for a short time, it came into his heart that he had not yet done enough harm, and turning back towards the hall he took up a great stone and hurled it in the direction from which he heard men talking together in the darkness. He
misst hafa, ok gekk til ok fann mann dauðan ok kenndi Angantýr bróður sinn.

Heiðrekr gekk þá í höllina fyrir foður sinn ok segir honum þetta. Höfundr kvæð hann skulu verða í brottu ok koma aldri honum í augsyn ok kvað hitt maklígra, at hann væri drepinn eða hengdr.\(^a\) Þá mælti Hervör drottning ok segir, at Heiðrekr hefir illa til górt, enda er mikil hefnind, ef hann skal aldri koma í ríki foður sínis ok fara svá eignalauss í brott. En orð Höfundar stóðusk svá mikils, at þat gekk fram, sem hann dœmði, ok engi var svá djarfr, at móti þýrði at mæla eða Heiðreki friðar at bíðja. Drottning bað þá Höfund ráða honum nökkur heilráði\(^1\) at skilnaði þeira.

Höfundr kvæzk fá ráð mundu honum kenna ok kvæzk hyggja, at honum muni í hald\(^b\) koma, ‘en pó, er þú bíd þessa, drottning, þat ræð ek honum it fyrsta ráð, at hann hjálpi aldri þeim manni, er drepit hefur lánardrottin sinn. Þat ræð ek honum annat, at hann gefi þeim manni aldri friuñ, er myrðan hefur félaga sinn; þat it þríðja, at hann láti eigi opt konu sína vitja frænda sinna, þótt hon heði þess; þat it fjórða, at hann sé eigi síð úti staddr hjá fríllu sinni; þat it fimmta, at hann ríði eigi inum bezta hesti sínum, ef hann þarf mjók at skynda; þat it settta, at hann fóstri aldri gøflgra manns barn en hann er sjálfr.\(^2\) En meirí ván þykkir mér, at þú munir þetta eigi hafa.’

Heiðrekr sagði at hann hefði við illan hug ráðit, ok kvað sér mundu óskylt at hafa. Gengr þá Heiðrekr út ör höllinni. Móðir hans stendr þá upp ok gengr út með honum ok fylgir honum ör garðnum ok mælti, ‘Nú hefur þú svá fyrir þér búit, sonn minn, at þú munt ekki aprtr ætla; þá hefi ek lítill fong á at hjálpa þér. Mórk\(^3\) gulls er hér ok eitt sverð, er ek vil gefa þér; en þat heitir Tyrfingr, ok hefur átt Angantyr berserkr, móðurfæðir þinn; engi maðr er svá ófróður at eigi hafi heyrting hans getit; ok ef þú komr þar er menn skiptask hoggum, láttu þér hugkvæmt vera, hversu Tyrfingr hefur oft sigsæll verit.’ Nú bíd hon hann vel fara, ok skiljask síðan.

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\(^a\) hengt R

\(^b\) haldi R

\(^c\) eing R

\(^1\) Höfund's good advice, and the story of Heidreks treatment of it, is discussed in the Introduction, pp. xiv ff.

\(^2\) 'People say that he who fosters another's child is himself of less distinction,' Haralds Saga Hárfaðgr. ch. 40.

\(^3\) See Glossary s.v. mórk
heard that the stone did not miss its mark, and he went there and found a man lying dead; and he recognised his brother Angantýr.

Then Heidrek went into the hall and stood before his father, and told him what had come to pass. Höfund said that Heidrek must go, and never come into his sight again; he said that he deserved rather to be struck down or hanged. Then Hervör the queen spoke and said that Heidrek’s act indeed deserved ill, but that the vengeance would be heavy if he were never again to enter the realm of his father and to journey thus empty-handed away. But the word of Höfund carried such weight that things went as he had given judgment, and no-one was bold enough to dare gainsay it, or sue for peace for Heidrek. Then the queen asked Höfund to give him some good advice\(^1\) at their parting.

Höfund said that in few matters would he give him counsel, and that he thought it would be of little use to him—‘but since you ask this, queen, this counsel I give him first, that he give no help to a man who has slain his lord; and I counsel him second, never to deliver a man who has murdered his fellow; third, not to allow his wife to be often visiting her kinsfolk, even though she entreat him; fourth, not to be late abroad with his mistress; fifth, not to ride his best horse when he is in a great hurry; and sixth, never to foster the son of a man more powerful than he is himself.\(^2\) But I think it more than likely that you will make no use of this.’

Heidrek said that Höfund had given this advice with evil intent, and that he was not obliged to observe it. Then he went out of the hall. His mother rose and went out with him; she accompanied him out of the courtyard, and said, ‘My son, you have now so done for yourself that you will not be thinking of coming back, and I can do little to help you. But here is a mark\(^3\) of gold and a sword, which I will give you; the sword is called Tyrfing, which your mother’s father, Angantýr the berserk, owned—there is no-one so ignorant that he has not heard tell of him; and if you find yourself where blows are being given, never let it leave your mind how often Tyrfing has gained the victory.’ She wished him farewell; and then they parted.
En er Heiðrekr hefir skamma hrið farit, þá hittir hann menn nökkrura ok einn bundinn; spyrjask þeir tíðenda, ok spyrð Heiðrekr, hvat þessi maðr hefði górt, er svá var við bút. Þeir segja, at hann hefir svikit lánardrottin sinn. Heiðrekr spyrð, ef þeir vili taka fé fyrir hann, en þeir játa því; hann fær þeim hálfa mörk gulls, en þeir láta hann lausan. Sá býðr Heiðreki sína þjónustu; en hann segir, ‘Hví muntu mér heldr trúð, ókunnum manni, en þú sveikt lánardrottin þinn, ok fár þú brottr frá mér.’

Litlu síðar hittir Heiðrekr enn nökkrura menn ok einn bundinn. Hann spyrð, hvat sá hefur rangt górt; þeir segja hann hafa myrðan félaga sinn. Hann spyrð, ef þeir vildi fé fyrir hann; þeir játa því; hann gaf þeim aðra hálfa mörk gulls. Sá býðr Heiðreki sína þjónustu, en hann neittar.

Síðan fór Heiðrekr langar leiðar ok kóm þar, er hét Reidgotaland.1 Þar réð fyrir konungr sá, er Haraldr hét, gamall mjök, ok hafði átt mikit ríki til forráða; hann átti engan son. En með því minnakáisk hans ríki, at jarlar nökkrurír fóru á hendið honum með her, en hann hafði barízk við þá ok fengið jafnan Ósigr; en nú hófðu þeir sæzk með því móti, at konungr galt þeim skatt á hverjum tólf mánudúm. Heiðrekr nam þar staðar ok dvalðisk með konungi um vetrinn.

Svá bar at eitt sinn, at til konungs kom mikit lausafer; þá spyrð Heiðrekr, hvárt þat væri skattar konungs.

Konungr segir, at þat veit annan veg við; ‘skal ek þetta fé gjalda í skatt.’

Heiðrekr segir, at þat væri ósemiligt, at konungr sá, er svá hefði haft mikit ríki, gyldi skatt vándum jörllum; væri meira snjallráði at halda orrostu í mótt þeim. Konungur segir, at hann hefði þess freistat ok farit Ósigr.

Heiðrekr mælti, ‘Svá munda ek yðr mega helzt launa gott yfirlæti at vera hofuðsmaðr þessar farar, ok þat hugða ek, ef ek hefða líðskost, at mér mundi ekki mikit þykja at berjask einn2 við tignari menn en þessir eru.’

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1 On Reidgotaland see Introduction p. xxvi
2 berjask einn ‘to fight alone’ does not square with ef ek hefða líðskost; perhaps einn is an error for enn ‘yet, still.’
Now when Heidrek had journeyed for a little while he fell in with some men, and one of them was bound; they asked each other for news, and Heidrek asked what the man had done, who was treated in this way. They answered that he had betrayed his lord. Then Heidrek asked if they would accept a ransom for him, and when they said that they would he gave them half a mark of gold, and they let the man go free. He offered Heidrek his service, but he answered, 'Why should you, who have betrayed your own lord, be any more faithful to me, a stranger? Get away from me!'

Not long after Heidrek again met some men, and one of them bound. He asked what crime he had committed, and they told him that he had murdered his comrade. He asked if they would take a ransom for him; they said that they would, and he gave them the other half mark of gold. This man also offered Heidrek his service, but again he refused it.

Long were the roads that Heidrek travelled after that, until he came to the country called Reidgotaland.1 There ruled a king whose name was Harald, very aged, and he had held a great realm under his hand; he had no son. But his authority was diminished, for there were certain jarls, who made war upon him with their army; he had fought with them, but always been worsted; and now they had made peace on the condition that every twelve months the king should pay them tribute. In this land Heidrek rested, and dwelt with the king over winter.

Now it happened one time that a great quantity of goods and money was brought to the king, and Heidrek asked whether this was tribute to him; but the king replied that the case was very different — 'I must pay this money out in tribute myself.' Heidrek said that it was a shameful thing that a king who had held dominion over so wide a realm should pay tribute to these evil jarls, and that it would be a better course to make war upon them; but the king answered that he had attempted that, and been worsted.

'I would best be able to repay you for your good favour,' said Heidrek then, 'by becoming the leader of this enterprise; and it has come into my mind that if I had the men it would not seem to me a great matter to fight² with men of higher estate than these are.'
Konungr segir, ‘Ek mun fá þér líðskost, ef þú vilt berjask við jarla, ok mun þat vera þín gæfuðr, ef þú ferr góða ford; mest ván ok, at þú finnir sjálfan þik fyrir, ef þú mælir þér dul.’

Eptir þat lætr konungr safna her miklum, ok var þat líð bútt til herferðar. Þar var Heiðrekr hoðdingi fyrir líðinu; fóru síðan á hendr jörulum þessum, herja þegar ok ræna, er þeir koma í ríki þeira. En er jarlar spyrja þetta, þá fóru þeir í mótt þeim með mikinn her, ok er þeir finnask, þá varð orrosta mikil; var Heiðrekr þá í öndverðri fylking ok hafði Tyrfing í hægrí hendi, en við því sverði stóð ekki, hvárki hjálmar né brynja, ok drap hann þá alla, er honum várnu næstir, ok þá hljóp hann fram ór fylkingu ok hjó til Peggy handa, ok svá fór hann langt í herinn, at hann drap báða jarla, ok síðan fylgjum sumt líð, en mestr hluti var drepinn. Heiðrekr fór þá yfir ríki ok skattaði allt landit undir Harald konung, sem fyrð hafði verit; færr heim við svá bútt með ógrynni fjár ok mikinn sigr. Haraldr konungr lætr þá ganga í mótt honum með mikillini sæmð ok byðir honum með sér at vera ok hafa svá mikit ríki, sem hann beðisk sjálfr.

Þá bað Heiðrekr dóttrur Haralds konungs, er Helga hét, ok hon var honum gipt. Tók þá Heiðrekr til forráða hálft ríki Haralds konungs. Heiðrekr gat son við konu sinni; sá hét Angantýr. Haraldr gat son í eðli sinni, ok er sá ekki nefndr.¹

¹ According to H and U he was called Hálfdan.
'I will give you a force of men,' answered the king, 'if you will fight with the jarls, and this expedition will make your fortune, if you succeed in it; but if you deceive yourself, it is more than likely that it is you that will pay dearly for the error.'

After that the king had a great host gathered, and the force was made ready for the campaign; Heidrek was captain of the host. They went then against these jarls, and when they came into their realm they began at once to rob and to ravage. When the jarls heard of it they went out against them with a great army, and at their meeting there arose a mighty battle. Heidrek was in the forefront, and he held Tyrfing in his right hand; nothing withstood that sword, neither helm nor corslet, but he slew all before him, and then he rushed forward from the rank and hewed on both sides, and made his way so far into the opposing host that he slew both the jarls. Then some of their army turned to flight, but the most part were slain. Heidrek passed over that land, laying it under tribute to King Harald, as it had been before; and with matters thus he returned home with great triumph and uncounted wealth. King Harald had him met with great honour, and invited him to stay with him, and possess as great a domain as he should ask for.

Then Heidrek asked for the daughter of King Harald, whose name was Helga, and she was married to him; and Heidrek took over the rule of half the realm of King Harald. Heidrek had a son by his wife, and he was called Angantýr; King Harald also had a son in his old age, but his name is not told.
Í þann tíma kom hallæri mikit á Reíðgotaland, svá at til landauðnar þótti horfa. Pá váru gorvir hlutir af vísendamönnum ok felldr\textsuperscript{1} blótspánn\textsuperscript{2} til, en svá gekk frétt,\textsuperscript{a} at aldri mundi ár koma\textsuperscript{b} fyrir á Reíðgotaland en þeim sveini væri blótat, er ðeitr væri á landinu. Haraldr konungr segir, at sonr Heiðreks væri ðeitr, en Heiðrekr segir, at sonr Haralds konungs væri ðeitr; en ör þessu mátti engi leysa fyrir en þangat væri farit, er allar órlausnir váru trúar, til Hófundar konungs. Heiðrekr er inn fyrsti maðr til þessar ferðar tekinn ok margir aðrir ágætur menn. Sem Heiðrekr kom á fund þoður síns, pá var honum vel fagnat; hann sagði Öll ðerendi sín þoður sínum ok beðir dóms af honum. En Hófundr segir svá, at Heiðreks sonr var ágætastr á því landi.

Heiðrekr segir, ‘Svá lízk mér sem þú dœmir minn son til drápís, eða hvat dœmir þú mér þá fyrir sonarskaða minn?’

Pá mælti Hófundr konungr, ‘Þá skalt beðask, at inn fjórði hverr maðr\textsuperscript{3} sè á þínu valdi, sá er við blótir er staddr, ella munu son þinn eigi láta til blóts; mun þá eigi þurfa at kenna þér ráð síðan, hvat þú skalt at hafask.’

\textsuperscript{a} freckt R \textsuperscript{b} kom R

\textsuperscript{1} The casting of chips or twigs in divination is often mentioned in Norse literature and several times by Roman authors; cf. especially Tacitus, \textit{Germania} ch. 10, who describes how the pieces of wood were marked with certain signs and cast onto a cloth, after which the soothsayer would pick them up and make prediction from them.

\textsuperscript{2} blótspánn, ‘sacrificial (divining) chip’: there was an intimate connection
At that time there came so great a famine upon Reidgotaland that it seemed likely to lay waste the land. Then lots were cast by soothsayers, the sacrificial chip\(^2\) cast\(^1\) and augury made, and the answer came that there would never be plenty in Reidgotaland until the highest-born youth in the land was sacrificed. King Harald declared that Heidrek's son was the noblest-born, but Heidrek held that it was King Harald's; and this deadlock no-one could resolve until recourse was had to King Höfund, whose decisions were always to be trusted. Heidrek was chosen as leader for this journey, and with him many other noble men. When Heidrek met his father he was well received, and he told him all his errand, and asked him for his judgment. Höfund said that it was Heidrek's son who was the most noble in that land.

'It seems to me,' said Heidrek then, 'that you condemn my son to death; and what then do you adjudge me for the loss of him?'

King Höfund answered, 'You must demand that every fourth man\(^3\) who is present at the sacrifice be put under your authority, or else you will not surrender your son to the sacrifice; after that there will be no need to advise you on what you should do.'

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between sacrifice and divination (*hlaut* 'sacrificial blood' and *hlutr* 'lot' are related words), and it seems likely that the twigs of sortilege were dipped in the blood of the victims. The question is discussed by J. de Vries, *Altinger. Religion*. I § 211, II § 116.

\(^2\) \(H\) and \(U\) say 'every other man'; \(R\)'s \(iii\) *hverr* is probably an error for *annarr hverr*. 
Nú er Heiðrekr kom heim í Reiðgrotaland, þá var þings kvatt. Heiðrekr tekur svá til orðs, ‘Þat var atkvæði Höfundar konungs foður míns, at minn sonr sé ágætastr á þessu landi, ok er hann til blóts kosinn; en þar í mótt vil ek eiga forráð á inum fjórða hverjum manni, er kominn er til þings þessra, ok vil ek, at* þér lofði mér þetta.’

Nú var svá gort; síðan heimtask þeir í líð hans. Eptir þat lét hann blása saman líðinu ok setr upp merki, veitir nú atgongu Haraldi konungr, ok verð þar mikill bardagi, ok fellir þar Haraldr konungr ok mart líð hans. Heiðrekr leggr nú undir sík allt ríki þat, er átt hafði Haraldr konungr, ok gerðisk þar konungr yfir. Heiðrekr kvezk nú gjalda fyrir soninn þetta líð allt, er drepit var, ok gaf hann nú þenna val Óðni.¹ Kona hans var svá reið eptir fall foður síns, at hon hengði sík sjálf í disarsal.²

Þat var eitt sumar, at Heiðrekr konungr fór með her sinn suðr í Húnaland ³ ok barðisk við konung þann, er Humlí hét, ok fæk sigir ok tók þar dóttur hans, er Síska hét, ok hafði heim með sér. En at göru sumri sendi hann hana heim, ok var hon þá með barni, ok var sá sveinn kallað Hlöðr ok var allra manna fríðastr sínnum, ok fóstraði hann Humlí móðurfaðir hans.

Á einu sumri fór Heiðrekr konungr með her sinn til Saxlands.³ En er Saxakonungr spyrð þat, þá byðr hann honum til veizlu ok biðr hann taka af lóndum sínnum slíkt er hann vill, ok þat piggr Heiðrekr konungr. Þar sá hann dóttur hans, fríða ok fagra at áliti, ok þessar meyjar biðr Heiðrekr, ok hon var honum gipt; var þá aukin veizlan, ok síðan fór hann heim með konu sína ok tók með henni ögrynni fjár.

Heiðrekr konungr gerðisk nú hermaðr mikill ok eykr á marga vega mjók sitt ríki. Kona hans beiðisk opt at fara til foður síns, ok þat lét hann eptir henni, ok fór með henni Angantýr stjúpsnor hennar.

¹ See Appendix C
² The disir may be defined as female guardian spirits, associated with a man from his birth, and appearing especially before a battle or at the time of death; the conception is not clearly distinct from that of the fylgjukonur (see Glossary s.v. fylgja). On the worship of the disir see Appendix A (I), p. 67, n. 5.
³ R, U and H all agree here in the singular disar, which is remarkable, though not
Now when Heidrek came home to Reidgotaland a council was called; and Heidrek began thus: 'This was the decree of King Höfund my father, that it is my son who is the highest-born in this country, and he is chosen for the sacrifice; but in exchange I will have authority over every fourth man who has come to this council; and it is my wish that you grant this to me.'

And so it was done, and the men joined his following. Then Heidrek had his host mustered with a trumpet-blast, and he set up a standard, and attacked King Harald; a great battle arose, and there fell the king and a great part of his host. Heidrek laid under him all the realm that had been King Harald's, and became king over it. He said that he would deliver up instead of his son all the host that had been killed, and he gave the slain to Ódin.¹ His wife was so wrathful at the death of her father that she hanged herself in the hall of the Dís.²

One summer King Heidrek went south with his army into the land of the Huns and fought with the king, who was named Humli, and defeated him; there he captured his daughter, Sifka, and brought her home with him. But he sent her back the summer after, she being then with child; the boy was called Hlöd, in appearance the most beautiful of men, and he was brought up by Humli, his mother's father.

One summer King Heidrek went with his army to Saxland.³ When the king of the Saxons heard of this he invited Heidrek to a feast, and told him to take such of his dominions as he wished; this offer Heidrek accepted. There he saw the king's daughter, fair and beautiful in face; he asked for her, and she was married to him. So the feast was made a double one, and afterwards Heidrek went home with his wife and took with her uncounted treasure.

King Heidrek became now a great warrior, and greatly extended his kingdom in many ways. His wife often asked to visit her father, and he indulged her in that; her stepson Angantýr went with her.

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¹ Saxland: (Northern) Germany

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unique; it is conceivable that the temple of a goddess is meant (cf. Vanadis as a name of Freyja, SnE. 38).
Eitt sumar, er Heiðrekr konungr var í hernaði, þá kómr hann til Saxlands í ríki mágs síns. Hann leggr skipum sínum í leyvivág nokkur ok gengr á land ok einn maðr með honum, ok koma um nót ða konungs-böðinn ok vendu a skemmu þeirri, er kona hans var von at sofa í, ok urðu varðaldsmenn ekki varir við kvámu þeirra. Hann gengr í skemmuina ok sér, at maðr hvíldi hjá henni ok hafði hár fagrt á hofði. Sá maðr, er með konungi var, segir, at hann var hefnisamr um minni sakir. Hann svarar, ‘Eigi mun ek þat gera nú.’

Konungr tók sveininn\(^a\) Angantýr, er lá í annarri sæng, ok hann skar lepp mikinn ór hári þess manns, er hvíldi í faðmi konu hans, ok hafði hvártvæggja með sér, härleppinn ok sveininn; gekk síðan til skipa sinna.

Um morguninn leggr konungr í lægitt, ok gengr í móti honum allt fólk, ok var þar veizla búinni. Heiðrekr lætr þá þings kveðja, ok þá váru honum sógð mikil tíðendi, at Angantýr sonr hans var bráðdauðr orðinn. Heiðrekr konungr vælir, ‘Sýni mér líkit!’

Drottning segir þat auka mundu harm hans; honum var þó þangat fylgt. Þar var dúkr vaðr saman ok hundr innan í.

Heiðrekr konungr vælir, ‘Illa hefir sonr minn nú skipask, ef hann er orðinn at hundi.’

Síðan lét konungr leiða sveininni á þingiok sagði, at hann hafði reynt mikil svík at drottningu, ok tjáði allan atburð; bíð þangat stefna öllum mónum, er sækja mætti þingi, ok er mjök var alþýða komin, þá mætti konungr, ‘Eigi er enn gullkáðinn komin.’ Þá var enn leitir, ok fannsk maðr í steikara húsi ok band um hofði. Margir undruðusk, hví hann skyldi til þings, þráll einn vándr. En er hann kom til þings, þá mætti Heiðrekr konungr, ‘Hér megu þér nú þann sjá, er konungs-dóttir vill eiga heldr en mik.’

Hann tók nú leppinn ok bar við hárit, ok áttí þat saman at fara.
‘En þú, konungr,’ segir Heiðrekr, ‘hefir oss gott gört jafnan, ok skal af því ríki þitt standa í friði fyrir oss, en dóttur þína vil ek eigi lengr eiga.’

Heiðrekr fór nú heim í ríki sitt ok sonr hans.

\(^a\) svein R
One summer, when Heidrek was out on a foray, he came to Saxland, the realm of his wife’s father; he laid his ships into a hidden creek and went ashore with one other man. They came at night to the king’s dwelling and went to the chamber where his wife used to sleep, and the watchmen were not aware of their coming. Heidrek went into the chamber and saw that a man slept beside her, a man with fair hair on his head. The man who was with the king said that Heidrek was one to be vengeful over lesser things than that, but the king answered, ‘I shall not do it now.’

He took the boy Angantyr, who lay in another bed, and he cut a great lock of hair from the head of the man who slept in his wife’s arms, and taking both the boy and the lock of hair away with him he went back to his ships.

Next morning he put into the anchorage, and all the people came out to meet him, and a feast was prepared. Heidrek had a meeting called, and there great news was told to him, that his son Angantyr had died a sudden death. ‘Show me the corpse!’ said the king.

The queen said that that would only add to his grief; but nonetheless he was brought to the place, and there was a cloth folded up, and inside it a dog.

‘My son has had a change for the worse,’ said King Heidrek, ‘if he has turned into a dog.’

Then he had the boy brought to the meeting, and saying that he had discovered great treachery in the queen he made plain the whole affair. He commanded that every man who could come to that meeting should be summoned to it, and when almost all the people had come he said, ‘He of the golden curls is still not here.’ A further search was made, and the man was found in the kitchen, with a band about his head. Many there wondered why a base slave should be wanted at the meeting; but when the man came there King Heidrek said, ‘Here now may you see the one whom the king’s daughter prefers to me.’

Then he took up the lock and tried it against the man’s hair, and there was no question of its not matching. ‘But you, king,’ said Heidrek, ‘have always dealt well with us, and therefore your kingdom shall have peace from us; but your daughter I will keep no longer.’

Then Heidrek went home into his own kingdom, together with his son.
Á einu sumri sendir Heiðrekr konungr menn í Garðaríki þess örendis at bjóða syni Garðakonungs¹ heim til fósturs ok vill nú reyna at brjóta þil heilræði þóður sínss. Sendimenn koma á fund Garðakonungs ok segja honum ørendit ok vináttumál. Garðakonungr kvad þess enga ván, at hann fengi þeim manni í hendr son sin, er kenndr er mórgum illum hlutum.

Dá mælti drottning, ‘Mæl þú eigi svá, herra; heyrt hafi þér, hvé mikill maðr hann er ok sigrsæll, ok er meiri vízka b at taka vel hans sóma, ella stendr eigi þitt ríki í friði.’

Konungr mælti, ‘Dú munt mikit á þessu vinna.’

Nú er sveinninn seldr í hendr sendimönnum, ok fara þeir heim. Heiðrekr konungr tekr vel við sveinimum ok veitar honum góða upp-fæzelu ok ann mikit. Sifka Humladöttir var þá í annat sinn með konungin,² en honum var þat ráðit, at hann skyldi engan hlut henni segja, þann er leyra skyldi.

Eitt sumar sendir Garðakonungr Heiðreki orð, at hann kæmi austr þangat at þiggja veizlu ok vinástubóð at honum. Heiðrekr býsk nú með miklu fjołmenni ok konungssonr ³ með honum ok Sifka. Heiðrekr kom nú austr í Garðaríki ok tók þar ágæta veizlu.

Einn dag þessaraar veizlu fóru konungar á skóg ok mart lið með þeim at beita hundum ok haukum; en er þeir hofðu lausum slegið hundunum, fara sérherir um skóginn; þá urðu þeir tveir saman fóstrar. Dá mælti Heiðrekr við konungsson, ‘Hlyð þú boði mínu, fóstri. Hér er bær skammt í frá; farðu þangat ok fel þik ok þigg til hring þenna; vertu þá heim búinn, er ek læt sækja þik.’


Konungr segir, ‘Vandi er mér at segja þetta, því at þar liggr við líf mitt, ef eigi er leynt.’

Hon kvezk leyra mundu ok gerisk blíð við hann ok för eptir ást-

¹ til om. R
² vízk R
³ konungs- em., hans R

¹ In the HU-version this king is called Hrollaug, his son Herlaug, his daughter Hergerd, and his queen Herborg (the last only in U). The story of the events in Gardariki is different in this version; see Introduction, §4.
² In the rewritten version of the saga Heidrek’s mistress at the time of his visit to Gardar is a distinct person from the Hun king’s daughter; see Introduction p. xvi.
One summer King Heidrek sent men into Gardaríki with the errand of inviting the son of the king of Gardar to be fostered in his house; for Heidrek meant now to try breaking all his father's good counsels. The messengers came into the presence of the king of Gardar and told him their errand and message of friendship; but the king said that it was not likely he would hand over his son to a man who was known for his many evil qualities.

Then the queen said, 'Do not say that, lord! You have heard how great a conqueror he is, and it would be greater wisdom to accept the honour he offers you, or else your kingdom will not remain at peace.'

'You will do a great deal to bring this about,' said the king.

Then the boy was delivered over to the messengers, and they departed home. King Heidrek received the boy well and gave him a good upbringing, and loved him dearly. Sifka, Humli's daughter, was then for a second time with the king; and he had been given counsel that he should not tell her anything that must be kept secret.

One summer the king of Gardar sent word to Heidrek to come out east and be his guest at a feast and friendly meeting. Then Heidrek made ready to go with a great company of men, together with the king's son and Sifka. Heidrek came now east into Gardaríki and was entertained there to a noble feast.

One day during this feast the kings went to the woods to hunt with hawks and hounds, and many men with them; and when they had slipped the hounds they went their separate ways in the forest. Foster-father and foster-son found themselves alone together. Then Heidrek said to the prince, 'Do what I tell you, foster-son; there is a farm not far from here: go there and hide yourself, and take this ring for your pains; and be ready to come home when I have you sent for.'

The boy said that he did not like the business, but nonetheless he did as the king said. Heidrek came home in the evening and was downcast; he sat at his drink only a little time. When he came to bed, Sifka said, 'Why are you sad, lord? What troubles you? Are you sick? Tell me!'

'It is a hard thing for me to tell of,' answered the king, 'for my life is at stake if it is not kept secret.'

Sifka said she would not give it away, and was affectionate towards him, pressing for an answer with a show of love. At last he said to her,
samlíga. Þá segir hann henni, ‘Vit konungssonr væri staddir tvær hjá eik einni; þá beiddisk fóstri minn eplis, er ofarliga var á trúnu; síðan brá ek Tyrfingi ok hjó ek ofan eplit, ok var þat fyrir gótt en ek gætta til, hvat á lá, at manns bani skyldi verða, ef þrugðit væri, en vit tvær til. Síðan drap ek sveininn.’

Um daginn eptir við drykkju spyrð drottning Garðakonungs Sifku, hví Heiðrekr væri svá ókátr. Hon segir, ‘Œrit er til, hann hefri drepit son konungs ok þinn’; segir síðan allan atburði.

Drottning segir, ‘Þat eru mikil tíðendi, ok látum eigi upp komask.’ Gekk þá drottning í burt þegar ór hóllinni með harni miklum. Konungr finnr þetta ok kallar Sifku til sín ok mælti, ‘Hvat rædduzk þit drottning við, er henni fekk svá mikils?’

‘Herra,’ segir hon, ‘mikit er til gótt, Heiðrekr hefri drepit son ykkarn, ok meiri ván, at eptir vilja hans færi, ok er hann dauða verðr.’

Garðakonungr biðr taka Heiðrek ok fjóttra; ‘ok er nú orðit eptir því, er ek gat til.’

En Heiðrekr konungr var þar orðinn svá vinsæll, at þetta vildi engi gera. Þá stóðu upp tvær menn í hóllinni ok kváðu eigi skyldu þar við nema, ok logðu þeir fjótur á hann. Þá þar við Heiðrekr leystr frá dauða báða. Þá sendi Heiðrekr menn leyniliga eptir konungssyni. En Garðakonungr lætr þá blása saman fólki sínu ok segir þeim, at hann a vill láta Heiðrek festa á gálga; ok í því komr konungssonr hlaupandi at fóður sínum ok biðr hann eigi þat níðingsverk fyrir ætlask at drepa inn ágetasta mann ok sinn fóstrfóður.

a hann om. R
'The king's son and I were standing together, the two of us, beside a tree, and my foster-son asked for an apple that grew high up on the tree. Then I drew Tyrfing and cut down the apple, and it was done before I remembered what spell was laid on the sword, that it should prove the death of a man if it were drawn; but we two were alone. Then I killed the boy.'

On the next day at the drinking the queen of Gardar asked Sifka why Heidrek was so gloomy. 'There is reason enough for that!' she answered; 'he has slain your son and the king's!' — and then she told the whole story.

'This is terrible news,' said the queen; 'we must not let it get abroad.' Then she went at once out of the hall in great grief. The king, seeing this, called Sifka to him and said, 'What were you speaking of with the queen, that has troubled her so greatly?'

'There is much cause for it, lord,' said Sifka; 'Heidrek has slain your son, and it is like enough that he has done it deliberately; he deserves death!'

The king of Gardar commanded that Heidrek be seized and set in shackles; 'and now,' he said, 'things have fallen out as I surmised.'

But King Heidrek had made himself so well-liked that no-one would do this. Then two men rose up in the hall, and said that there was nothing to stop them, and they laid fetters on the king; but both those men Heidrek had redeemed from death. Then Heidrek sent men out secretly to fetch the prince; but the king of Gardar had his people summoned by the trumpet, and told them that he would have Heidrek hanged. At that moment the king's son came running to his father and begged him not to think of doing that loathsome deed, the slaying of his foster-father and the noblest of men.
Heiðrekr er nú leystr, ok nú býsk hann þegar til heimferðar. Þá mælti drottning, ‘Herra, lát eigi Heiðrek svá í brott fara, at þit séð ósáttir; eigi gegnir ríki þínu þat. Bjóð honum heldr gull eða silfr.’

Konungr gerir svá, lætr bera fé miktil til Heiðreks konungs ok kvezk vilja gefa honum ok eiga enn við hann vingan.
Heiðrekr segir, ‘Ekki skortir mik fé.’
Garðakonungr segir drottningu. Hon mælti, ‘Bjóð honum þá ríki ok eigur stórar ok fjólmenni.’

Konungr gerir svá. Heiðrekr konungr segir, ‘Óernar á ek eigur ok fjólmenni.’
Garðakonungr segir enn drottningu. Hon mælti, ‘Bjóð honum þat þá, sem hann mun þiggja, en þat er dóttir þín.’
Konungr segir, ‘Þat hugða ek, at mik mundi eigi þat henda, en þó skaltu ráða.’

Þá för Garðakonungr á fund Heiðreks konungs ok mælti, ‘Heldr en vit skiljum ósáttir, vil ek, at þú fáir dóttur minnar með svá miklum söma sem þú kýss sjálfr.’ Heiðrekr þiggr nú þetta blíðliga, ok för nú dóttir Garðakonungs heim með honum.

Nú er Heiðrekr konungr heim kominn ok vill nú flytja Sifku í brott ok lætr taka hest sinn inn bezta, ok var þat síð um kveld. Nú koma þau at á einni; þá þyngisk hon fyrir honum, svá at hestrinn sprakk, en konungr gekk af fram. Þá skyldi hann bera hana yfir ánæ; þá gerask engi vong a á þorðu en hann steypir henni af þæl sér ok brýtr í sundr hrygg hennar ok skilr svá við hana, at hana rekr dauða eptir ánni.

Heiðrekr konungr lætr þá efna til veizlu mikillar ok gengr at eiga dóttur Garðakonungs. Dóttir þeira hét Hervör; hon var skjaldmær ok foeddisk upp í Englandi með Fróðmarj jarli.1
Heiðrekr konungr sezk nú um kyrrt ok gerisk hofðingi mikill ok spekingr at viti. Heiðrekr konungr lét ala gölt mikinn; hann var svá

a faug R (for faung)

1 Later in the saga the foster-father of Hervör the younger is called Ormar, which is the reading of H and U in the present passage.
Heidrek was now released, and at once he prepared to set out on his journey home. 'Lord,' said the queen then, 'do not let Heidrek depart thus, without your being reconciled; that will be of no profit to your kingdom. Offer him rather gold and silver.'

The king did this, and had a great quantity of money borne to King Heidrek, saying that he wished to give it to him, and to have his friendship once more.

But Heidrek answered, 'I have no lack of money.'

The king told the queen of this, and she said, 'Offer him then a dominion, great possessions and many liegemen.'

The king did so, but Heidrek said, 'I have abundance of possessions and a multitude of followers.'

The king of Gardar told this also to the queen, and she said, 'Then offer him what he will accept: your daughter.'

'I did not think that I should ever come to that,' said the king; 'but you shall have your way.'

Then the king of Gardar went to meet King Heidrek and said, 'Rather than that we part unreconciled, I would have you take my daughter, with as great honour as you yourself shall choose.' And now this offer Heidrek accepted gladly, and the daughter of the king of Gardar went home with him.

King Heidrek was now at home, and he wished to rid himself of Sifka; he took his best horse, and it was late in the evening. They came to a river, and she grew too heavy for the horse, so that it collapsed from exhaustion; but the king left it and walked on. He then had to carry her over the river; there was nothing else for it, but to cast her down from his shoulders and break her backbone, and so he left her drifting away dead down the stream.

Then King Heidrek had a great feast prepared, and he married the daughter of the king of Gardar. Their daughter was named Herving; she was a warrior woman, and she was brought up in England with Fróðmar the jarl.¹

King Heidrek now settled down in his kingdom, and he became a great lord, and very wise. He had a great boar reared, which was as
mikill sem öldungar þeir, er stærstir váru, ok svá fagr, at hvert hár þótti ór gulli vera. Konungrinn leggr hónd sína á höfuð geltinum, en aðra á burst ok sverr þess, at aldri hefir máðr svá mikit af gótt við hann, at eigi skuli hann hafa réttan dóm spekinga hans, en þeir tólf skulu gæta galtarins, eða ella skal hann bera upp gátur þær, er hann gæti eigi ráðit. Heiðrekr konungr gerisk ok nú ínn vinsælasti.

1 The HU-version says here that King Heidrek worshipped Frey, and gave him the largest boar of his herd, called the sonargolt; it was sacrificed at the sonarblót at the beginning of February, ‘for a good season’ (U). Here as elsewhere the sacred sonargolt is associated with the making of vows (heit-strengingar) on the eve of Yule. The connection of the boar with the cult of Frey is often seen, e.g. in the boar Gullinbursti which drew Frey’s chariot, in the name Sýr (‘Sow’) given to his sister Freyja, etc. (SnE. 38, 66).
huge as the strongest fully-grown bulls, and so fair of coat that every hair seemed to be of gold.\(^1\) The king laid one hand on the head of the boar and the other on its bristles, and swore that no man had ever done him so great a wrong that he should not have just judgment from his counsellors, those twelve who had to tend the boar; or else he should propound riddles which the king could not solve. King Heidrek now became a man of many friends.
Maðr hét Gestumblindi, ráð ok mikill óvínir Heiðreks konungs. Konungr sendi honum orð, at hann kömi á fund hans at sættask við hann, ef hann vil halda lífinu. Gestumblindi var ekki spekingr mikill, ok fyrir þá sök, at hann veit sik vanfærar til at skipta orðum við konunginn, hann veit ok, at þungt mun vera at hlíta dómi spekinganna, því at sakir eru nógar, þat ráð tekr Gestumblindi, at hann blótar Óðín til fulltings sér ok biðr hann líta á sitt mál ok heitr honum miklum góðum.

Eitt kveld er þar drepit á dyrri slóla, ok gengr Gestumblindi til hurðar ok sér mann kominn; hann spyrr þann at nafni, en hann nefndisk Gestumblindi ok maðti, at þeir skyldu klæðum skipta, ok svá gera þeir. Böndi ferr nú í brott ok felr sik, en komandinn gengr inn, ok þykkjask allir þar kenna Gestumblinda, ok líðr af nóttin.

Um daginn eptir gerir sjá Gestumblindi for sína á fund konungs, ok hann kvaddi vel konunginn. Konungr þagði.

‘Herra,’ segir hann, ‘því kom ek hingat, at ek vil við yðr sættask.’
På svarar konungr, ‘Víltu þóla dómr spekinga minna?’
Hann segir, ‘Er ekki fleiri undanlausir?’
Konungr maðti, ‘Vera skulu fleiri, ef þú þykkisk til færð at bera upp gátur.’

Gestumblindi segir, ‘Lítt mun ek til þess færð, enda mun harðr á annat borð þykkja.’

‘Víltu,’ segir konungr, ‘heldr þóla dómr spekinga minna?’
‘Þat kýs ek,’ segir hann, ‘at bera fyrðr upp gátunar.’
‘Þat er rétt ok vel fallit,’ segir konungr.
På maðti Gestumblindi:

\[
(44) \text{Hafa vildak}^b \\
\text{þat er hafða í gær,}^c \\
\text{vittu},^d \text{hvat þat var:}
\]

\[^a\text{boltar } R \\
^b\text{thus } R, \text{hafa vil ek dag } U, \text{hafa ek þat vilda } H \text{(perhaps originally } í \text{dag} \\
\text{today}, \text{Andrews)} \\
^c\text{thus } H \text{(þat er em., er ek } H), \text{þat í gær hafða(k)} \text{ RU} \\
^d\text{vittu } RÚ, \text{konungr, gettu } H\]

1 This name no doubt derives from Gestr inn blindi (in U it is once actually written thus), ‘the blind stranger,’ Óðin as the wandering disguised old man, with one eye and a hat drawn down over his face. He bore the name Gestr when he appeared to St Óláf (Plateyjarbók II 134 f.).
There was a man called Gestumblindi,¹ a powerful man and a great enemy of King Heidrek. The king sent him word to come and be reconciled, if he cared for his life. Now Gestumblindi was no great sage, and because he knew that he was incapable of vying with the king in words, and knew too that it would go heavy with him if he had to abide by the judgment of the wise men, for his crimes were many, he decided on this plan: to sacrifice to Ódin for help, to ask him to look after his case, and to promise him many gifts.

Late one evening there came a knock upon the door, and when Gestumblindi went to it he saw that there was a man there. He asked him what his name was, and the stranger called himself Gestumblindi, and said that they were to change clothes. This they did, and then Gestumblindi went away and concealed himself; but the stranger went into the house, and everyone thought that they recognised Gestumblindi; and the night passed away.

On the next day this Gestumblindi made his way to see the king, and gave him a respectful greeting. The king sat silent.

'Lord,' said Gestumblindi, 'I have come here because I wish to be reconciled with you.'

'Will you submit to the judgment of my wise men?' answered the king.

'Are there no other ways of redeeming myself?' asked Gestumblindi.

'There are others,' said the king, 'if you think yourself able to propound riddles.'

'I have no great skill in that,' Gestumblindi replied, 'but the other way seems hard.'

'Then will you rather submit to the judgment of my counsellors?' asked the king.

'I choose rather to propound riddles,' said Gestumblindi.

'That is right and fitting,' said the king.

Then said Gestumblindi:

(44) Would that I had now
what I had yesterday,
find out what that was;
lýða lemill,
órða a tefill, b
ok orða upphéfill.
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

Konungr segir, ‘Góð er góta þín, Gestumbblindi, getit er þessar.1 Fær ni honum mungát! Þat lemr margra vit, ok margir eru þá marg-
málgar, er mungát ferr á, en sumum vefsk tungan, svá at ekki verðr at
órði.’

Pá mælti Gestumbblindi:

(45) Heiman ek fór, c
heiman ek fór gerða, 2
sá ek á veg vega;
var þeim vegr undir d
ok vegr yfir
ok vegr á alla vega.
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu! e

‘Góð er góta þín, Gestumbblindi, getit er þessar; þar fórtu yfir
árbrú, ok var árvegr undir þér, en fuglar flugu yfir hófði þér ok hjá þér
tveim megin, ok var þat þeira vegr.’ 3

Pá mælti Gestumbblindi:

(46) Hvat er þat drykki, f
er ek drakk í gær,
var þat ei vín né vatn
mjóðr né mungát g
né matar ekki,
ok gekk ek þorstalauss þaðan?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

ok orða HU
lýða ... tefill RHU (without alliteration), ýta lemill Bugge, óða lemill
Kock NN § 792
fór HU, om. R
thus RU (þar for þeim U), vegr var undir H
gatum R
drykki R, drykkja H (from this point ‘H’ signifies agreement of 281 and
597)
thus H, né mungat U, né in heldr mungát R

a
b

c

d

e

f

g

h

mankind it mars,
speech it hinders,
yet speech it will inspire.
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. Bring him some ale! — that mars the wits of many a man, and many are the more talkative when ale gets the upper hand; but with some the tongue gets all entangled, so that no word comes out.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(45) From home I journeyed
and from home faring
I looked on a way of ways;
a way there was under
and a way over,
and on all sides ways there were.
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. You went across a bridge over a river, and the way of the river was beneath you, but birds flew over your head and on either side of you, and that was their way.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(46) What drink was it
I drank yesterday;
it was not wine nor water,
nor mead, nor ale,
nor aught of food,
yet thirstless thence I fared?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

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1 The phrase Góð er gáta þín, getit er þessar is a regular long line, and was perhaps a formula of introduction to riddle-solutions (Heusler, Rätsel 137).
2 This curious repetition is paralleled in the Eddaic poem Fjölsvinnsmál 46: Hvadan þú fört, hvadan þú for gerðir?
3 The sixth line of the verse probably refers in fact to the 'Earth-way' (fold-vegr), the earth simply, for lines 4–6 seem to refer to three different 'ways,' River, Sky, Earth. But none of the texts report the king as solving the riddle in this way.
‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat lagðisk þú í
forsælu, er dogg var fallin á grasi, ok koeldir svá varir þínar ok stoðvaðir
svá þorsta þinn.’

Dá mæliti Gestumblindi:

(47) Hverr er sá inn hvelli,
er gengr harðar gotur
ok hefir hann fyrrum\(^a\) um farit;
mjök fast kyssir
sá er hefir munna tvá
ok á gulli cinu gengr?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat er hamarr sá,
er hafrur er at gullsmið; hann kveðr hátt við, er hann koður á harðan
steðja, ok þat er hans gata.’

Dá mæliti Gestumblindi:

(48) Hvat er þat undra,
er ek úti sá
fyrir Dellings\(^b\) durum\(^1\);
ókvikvir\(^c\) tveir
andalausir
sáralauk\(^d\) suðu?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat eru smið-
belgir; þeir hafa engan vind, nema þeim sé blásti, ok eru þeir dauðir
sem annat smiði, en fyrir þeim má líkt smiða sverð sem annat.’

Dá mæliti Gestumblindi:

\(^a\) fyrrum RU, þær fyr H

\(^b\) Dellings RU, doglings H throughout

\(^c\) ókyrrir HU

\(^1\) What this phrase meant to the maker of these riddles is impossible to
say. In Hátamál 160 it is said that the dwarf Thjóðórir sang before Delling’s
doors, which (in view of the fact that Delling is the father of Dag (Day) in
Vafþrúðnisöl 25) may mean that he gave warning to his people that the sun
was coming up, and they must return into their dark houses; the phrase
would then virtually mean ‘at sunrise.’ As regards doglings for Dellings in H,
the Doglingar were the descendants of Dagr (according to SnE. 183).
'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. You lay in the shade, and dew had fallen on the grass, and thus you cooled your lips and quenched your thirst.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(47) Who is that shrill one
on hard ways walking,
paths he has passed before;
many are his kisses
for of mouths he has two,
and on gold alone he goes?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. That is the hammer, which is used in the goldsmith's art; it screams shrilly when it beats on the hard anvil, and the anvil is its 'path'.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(48) What strange marvel
did I see without,
in front of Delling's door;
two things lifeless,
twain unbreathing,
were seething a stalk of wounds?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. Those are smith's bellows; they have no wind unless they are blown, and they are as lifeless as any other work of smith's craft, but with them one can as well forge a sword as anything else.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

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2 'They boiled a wound-leek,' i.e. they forged a sword. The characteristic periphrasis *síðr-laukr* (it is found elsewhere) thus moves out of the sphere of poetic device (kenning) into that of riddle simply by virtue of its context; similarly at verse 65/6, etc.
(49) Hvat er þat undra,
er ek úti sá
fyrir Dellings durum;
fær hefir áttu,
en fjögur augu
ok berr\(^a\) ofar kné en kvíð?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Þat er kongurváfur.’
Dá mælti Gestumblindi:

(50) Hvat er þat undra,
er ek úti sá
fyrir Dellings durum;
höfði sínu visar
á helvega,\(^b\)
en fótum til sólar snýr?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat er laukr;
höfuð hans er fast í jörðu, en hann kvíslar, er hann vex upp.’
Dá mælti Gestumblindi:

(51) Hvat er þat undra,
er ek úti sá
fyrir Dellings durum;
horni harðara,
hrafní svartara,
skildi\(^c\) hvítara,\(^1\)
skapti réttara?\(^d\)
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

Heiðrekr mælti, ‘Smækkask nú gáturnar, Gestumblindi; hvat

\(^a\) ok om. HU, berr þat \(H\)
\(^b\) á helvega \(RU\), helju til \(H\) (read heljar)
\(^c\) skjallí \(HU\)
\(^d\) \(H\) reverses lines 6–7, \(U\) as \(R\)

\(^1\) The reading of \(HU\), ‘whiter than the white of egg,’ is probably the
(49) What strange marvel
       did I see without,
       in front of Delling’s door;
eight are its feet
       and four its eyes,
       and knees above belly it bears?
       This riddle ponder,
       O prince Heidrek!

‘Spiders,’ said the king.
Then said Gestumblindi:

(50) What strange marvel
       did I see without,
       in front of Delling’s door;
       its head turning
to Hel downward,
       but its feet ever seek the sun?
       This riddle ponder,
       O prince Heidrek!

‘Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,’ said the king; ‘I have guessed it. It is the leek; its head is fast in the ground, but it forks as it grows up.’
Then said Gestumblindi:

(51) What strange marvel
       did I see without,
       in front of Delling’s door;
harder than ram’s horn,
       than raven blacker,
       more straight than shaft,
       than shield whiter?\(^1\)
       This riddle ponder,
       O prince Heidrek!

‘Your riddles become trifling, Gestumblindi,’ said Heidrek; ‘what

\(^1\)original; in SnE. 24 it is said that a thing washed in the well of Urd becomes ‘whiter than what is called *skjall*, which lies within the egg-shell.’
þarf lengr yfir þessu at sitja? Þat er hrafntinna, ok skein á hana sólar-
geisli.'

Dá mælti Gestumblindi:

(52) Báru brúðir
bleikhaddaðar
ambáttir tvær
ølker⁴ til skemmu;
ei var þat høndum hørfit
né hamri at⁵ klappat,¹
þó var⁶ fyrir eyjar útan
þróigr sá er⁷ gerði.
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

'Góð er gátu þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þar fara svanbrúðir²
til hreiðrs sín ok verpa eggjum; skurmi eggi er eigi høndum gørt né
hamri klappat, en svanr er fyrir eyjar útan þróigr, sá er þær gátu eggin
við.'

Dá mælti Gestumblindi:

(53) Hverjar eru þær rýgjar
á reginfjalli,
elr við kván kona,
mer við meyju⁶
mog⁷ um getr,
ok eigut þær varðir vera?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

'Góð er gátu þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat eru hvannir
tvær ok hvannarkálfr³ á milli þeira.'

Dá mælti Gestumblindi:

⁴ ølker em. Edd. Min., òl RH, áðr U
⁵ hømr at R, hamri HU
⁶ þá er HU
⁷ så er ker (konungr U) gerði HU
⁸ mer við meyju H, om. R
⁹ R adds þar til er before mog, U corrupt

¹ In R the last four lines are absurdly referred to øl ‘ale,’ but of course
what is not made with hand or hammer is not the ‘ale’ but the ‘cask.’ H
offers a better but not really satisfactory text.
need is there to spend more time at this? — That is the obsidian, with a sunbeam shining on it.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(52) Pale-haired bondmaids,
two brides together,
carried to the storehouse
a cask of ale;
no hand turned it,
no hammer forged it,\(^1\)
yet outside the islands
upright sat its maker.
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. Female swans\(^2\) go to their nests and lay their eggs; the egg-shell is not made by hand nor is it forged by hammer; and the swan by whom they engendered the eggs bears himself erect, outside the islands.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(53) What women are they
on the wild mountain;
woman by woman begets,
a girl by a girl
begets a son —
yet no men do these maidens know?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. These are two angelicas, and a young angelica\(^3\) between them.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

\(^{1}\) H says 'Eider-ducks,' but the agreement of R and U, and also perhaps the adjectives bleikhaddadar and orðigr, show that 'Swans' is the original solution.

\(^{2}\) i.e. a young angelica-shoot growing up from the same root as the other full-grown stalks. A species of angelica (hvonn) is common in the far north of Europe and was much used for flavouring; in Ólafs Saga Tryggvasonar (ch. 92) it is mentioned as being sold in the market at Nidarós.
(54)¹ Fara ek sák⁶
foldar moldbúa,
á sat nár⁵ á nái;
blindr reið blindum
brimreiðar⁵ til,
jór⁶ var andar vanr.
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þar fanntu hest
dauðan á Ísíjaka ok orm⁴ dauðan á hestinum, ok rak þat allt saman
eptir ánni.’⁴

Pá mælti Gestumblindi:

(55) Hverir eru þeir þegnar,
er ríða þingi at
sáttir⁵ allir saman ⁴;
lyða sína
senda þeir lönd yfir
at byggja bólstadaí? ⁸
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat er Ítrekr ok
Andaðr,⁶ er þeir sitja at tafli sínu.’

Pá mælti Gestumblindi:

(56) Hverjar eru þær snótir⁹
er um⁸ sinn drottin

¹ seg R, sá (ek) HU
² nár A.M. 748, naðr Cod. Worm, RHU (or corruptions of naðr)
³ þá jór R
⁴ orm H, orn R
⁵ thus RU (allsáttir U), ok eru sextán saman H
⁶ thus RH, at sigra menn sérhverja U
⁷ snótir em. Edd. Min., brúðir RH (without alliteration), drósir U
⁸ um HU, om. R

¹ The first three lines of this verse are quoted in the grammatical treatise
of Ólaf Hvítaskáld (died 1259) as an example of a riddle, but it is not said
where they come from. (B. M. Olsen, Den tredje og fjørde grammatiske Af-
handling, 1884, 31, 114, 232). The MSS are A.M. 748 I 4to (c. 1300), and
A.M. 242 fol. (Codex Wormianus) from the end of the fourteenth century.
² All three versions here agree in the undoubted error naðr ‘snake,’ anti-
(54) A dweller in the soil
I saw passing,
a corpse on a corpse there sat;
blind upon blind one
to the billows riding,
on a steed without breath it was borne.
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. You came upon a dead horse on an icefloe, and on the horse a dead snake, and they all floated together down the river.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(55) What thanes are they
to the thing riding,
all at one together;
across the lands
their liegemen sending
seeking a place to settle?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. These are Ítrek and Andad, sitting at their chequerboard.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(56) What women are they
warring together

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The solution, a corruption which no doubt crept in before ever the verse was incorporated into Heidreks Saga.

3 **brimreid**: Norse *reid* meant 'riding' or 'vehicle,' but *brimreid* (once recorded elsewhere) seems to mean 'sea,' as does the cognate O.E. *brim-rad*; it is not impossible that the Norse word was influenced by the English.

4 The correct solution is probably simply 'dead snake on an icefloe' (Bugge, *NS* 358), *blindr* and *nár* designating the dead snake, *blindum* and *nái* the icefloe, for in riddling language all inanimate objects may be called 'dead' and 'blind' (cf. verse 48). The horse (*jór*) is simply the icefloe.

5 If the 'thanes' who ride to the 'thing' (meeting) are the kings in chess, one would not expect them to be called either sáttir or sextán (sixteen); but in fact it is not clear what the game is (*tafl* may mean any sort of board-game).

6 *Ítrekr* may have been a name for Ódin, and *Anduðr* or *Onduðr* is found in a list of giant-names, so that it is just conceivable that the pieces in this game were thought of as representing a conflict between the gods and the giants. The solution in *H* is: *pat er tafl Ítreks komungs*. 
vápnlausan\(^a\) vega\(^1\);  
inar jarpari\(^b\) hlífa  
um alla daga,  
en inar fegri fara?  
Heiðrekr konungr,  
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat er hnettafl; 
inar døkkri verja hnefann, en hvítar sækja.’\(^2\)

Pá mælti Gestumblindi:

\((57)\) Hverr er sá inn eini,  
er sefr í òsgrúa\(^c\)  
ok af grjóti einu górr;  
foður né móður  
á sá inn fagrgjarni,\(^d\)\(^4\)  
þar mun hann sinn aldr ala?  
Heiðrekr konungr,  
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Þat er eldr fólginn á arni, ok tekur ór tinnu.’

Pá mælti Gestumblindi:

\((58)\) Hverr er sá inn mikli,  
er líðr\(^e\) mold yfir,  
svelgr hann vótn ok við;  
glygg hann óask,  
en gumna’ eigi  
ok yrkir á sól til saka?  
Heiðrekr konungr,  
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat er myrkvi;

\(^a\) -lausar \(HU\)
\(^b\) jörpsku \(H\) (\emph{read} jörpu), \emph{line om. \(U\)}
\(^c\) òsgrúa \(RU\), òskugrúa \(H\)
\(^d\) fjargjarni \(H\), fár- \(U\)
\(^e\) líðr \(RU\), ferr \(H\)
\(^f\) gumna \(RU\), guma 597

\(^1\) The reading of \(R\) means that the women kill their weaponless lord; that of \(HU\), that the women themselves are weaponless.
before their defenceless king;  
day after day  
the dark guard him,  
but the fair go forth to attack?  
This riddle ponder,  
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. This is the game of *hnefatafl*; the darker ones defend the *hnefi*, but the white ones attack.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(57) Who is it lonely  
in the hearth-pit sleeping,  
solely from stone he's made;  
for brightness eager  
he's without parents,  
and there will he live out his life?  
This riddle ponder,  
O prince Heidrek!

'That is fire hidden in the hearth,' said the king; 'it is struck out of flint.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(58) Who is that great one  
over ground passing,  
swallowing water and wood;  
the wind fearing,  
but fleeing no man,  
and waging war on the sun?  
This riddle ponder,  
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed

---

3 On the game of *hnefatafl* see Appendix D

3 The word *ősgrūi* (i.e. *ősk-grūi*), not otherwise recorded, seems to mean the ash-pit, or hollow in the hearth, where the fire was kept alight overnight.

4 *fagr-gjarn* is not recorded elsewhere. U's *fár-gjarn* means 'eager for damage.'

হ
hann líðr yfir jörðina, svá at ekki sér fyrir honum ok eigi sól, en hann er af, þegar vind gerir á.’

Þá mælti Gestumblindi:

(59) Hvat er þat dýra,
er drepr fé manna
ok er jární kringt² útan;
horn hefir átta,
en hofuð ekki,
ok fylgja því margir mjók? b
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

¹ Pat er húnn í hnettaflí.’

Þá mælti Gestumblindi:

(60) Hvat er þat dýra,
er Dǫnum² hlífrir,
berr blóðugt bak,
en bergr fírum,
geírum mætur,
gef r líf sumum, c
leggr við líða
lík sitt gumi? d³
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Pat er skjóldr; hann verðr opt blóðugr í bardögum ok hlífrir vel þeim mǫnnum, er skjaldfimir eru.’

Þá mælti Gestumblindi:

(61) Hverjar eru þær leikur,
er líða lónd yfir
at forvitni fóður e⁴;

a kringr R
b thus R, ok fylgir margr U, ok rennr sem hann má H (ok rennr er renna má Bugge)
c sumum HU, fírum R (fírum RHU in line 4)
d gumi RH, guma U e thus H, line om. RU

¹ H’s solution adds: ‘It has the same name as a bear; it runs as soon as it is thrown.’ The riddle is a play on two homonyms, húnn ‘bear’s cub,’ and another word húnn (usually meaning ‘masthead’) here evidently meaning a ‘die.’ There is a further play on the two meanings of horn, ‘horn’ and ‘corner,
it. That is fog; it passes over the earth, so that one cannot see because of it, not even the sun; but it is gone, so soon as the wind gets up.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(59) What is that creature
    that kills men's flocks —
    with iron all about it is bound;
    eight its horns are
    but head it has none:
    there are many that move at its side?
    This riddle ponder,
    O prince Heidrek!

'That is the hám in hnefatafl,'¹ said the king.

Then said Gestumblindi:

(60) What is that creature,
    a cover to the Danes,²
    with back gory,
    yet guardian of men;
    spears it encounters,
    to some gives life,
    in its hollow hand
    a man holds his body?³
    This riddle ponder,
    O prince Heidrek!

'That is the shield,' said the king. 'In battles it often becomes bloody, and it is a good protection for those who are nimble with it.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(61) Who are those playmates
    that pass over the lands,
    by their father unceasing sought⁴;

¹ hám: A word meaning 'fog' or 'haze', which is a key element in the riddle.
² Danir: 'Danes,' i.e. 'men' or 'warriors' in general.
³ R's text means that the inner side of the shield is called its lóf (palm);
   U's (reading guma) means: 'It (the creature) lays its body against a man's palm.'
⁴ forvitni: A word meaning 'curiosity, desire for knowledge,' but the significance of the recurrent formula at forvitni fóður has never been explained.
hvítan skjöld
þær um vetr bera,\(^a\)
en svartan um sumar?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!\(^b\)

‘Þat eru rjúpur; þær eru hvítar um vetr, en svartar um sumar.’
Dá mælti Gestumblindi:

(62)\(^2\)  Hverjar eru þær snótir,
er ganga\(^c\) syrgjandi
at forvitni foður;
morgum mónnum
hafa þær at meini orðit,\(^d\)
við þat munu þær sinn aldri ala?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Þat eru Hlés\(^e\) brúðir,\(^3\) er svá heita.’
Dá mælti Gestumblindi\(^f\):

(63)  Hverjar eru þær meyjar,
er ganga margar saman
at forvitni foður;
hadda bleika
hafa þær inar hvítfjöldnu,\(^g\)
ok eigut\(^h\) þær þar varðir vera?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!\(^i\)

‘Þat eru bylgjur, er svá heita.’
Dá mælti Gestumblindi:

\(^a\) thus RU (haust for vetr U), þær á vetrum við síðu bera H; alliteration lacking; hávetr A.M. 738 (Helgason þ. xv), Skj.
\(^b\) Heiðrekr . . . gátu! om. R
\(^c\) ganga HU, ganga margar R
\(^d\) morgum . . . orðit R, morgum hafa manni / þær at meini komit HU
\(^e\) Hlés em., edles (eðlis) R
\(^f\) þá . . . Gestumblindi om. R
\(^g\) hvítfjöldnu H, -foðuðu R
\(^h\) eigu R, eiga H, eigur U
\(^i\) Heiðrekr . . . gátu! om. R
in time of winter
white their shields are,
but black they bear in summer?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!1

'Those are ptarmigans,' said the king. 'They are white in winter,
but black in summer.'
Then said Gestumblindi:

(62)2 What women are they
wandering mournful,
by their father unceasing sought;
to men uncounted
they have caused evil,
and thus they will live out their lives?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Those are the maids of Hlér3 who are thus named,' said the king.
Then said Gestumblindi;

(63) Who are those maidens
going many together,
by their father unceasing sought;
Pale their hair is
and their hoods are white,
yet these maidens know no man?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Those are the waves that are thus named,' said the king.
Then said Gestumblindi:

---

1 In this and in several subsequent verses I have restored the address to
the king; H only misses the lines out once (in a verse where R has them).
U only puts them in a few times, at the beginning of the contest.
2 On this and the two following riddles, and also verse 67, of which the
solution is in every case 'Waves,' see Introduction pp. xviii and xx-xxi.
3 'maidens of Hlér,' i.e. waves; Hlér (who appears in the solution in U) is
the sea-god Ægir under another name; his daughters were nine in number,
but little is known of him (SnE. 78, 116, 175).
(64) Hverjar eru þær ekkjur, 
er ganga allar saman
at forvitni föður;
sjaldan bliðar
eru þær við seggja lið
ok eigu þær í vindi vaka?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

`Þat eru Ægis ekkjur, svá heita öldur.'
Pá mælti Gestumblindi:

(65) Mjók c var forðum
nösgás vaxin,
barngjörn sü er bar
bútimbr saman;
hlífðu henni
hálms bitskálmir,
þó lá drykkjar
drynhraun yfir.
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu! d

`Þar hafði ónd búit hreiðr sitt í milli nautskjálka, ok lá haussinn ofan yfir.'
Pá mælti Gestumblindi:

(66) Hverr er sá inn mikli,
er morgu ræðr
ok horfir til heljar hálfr;
þoldum e bergr
ok við f jörð sakask,
ef hann hefír sér vel traustan vin?

a bliðir R  
b þær om. HU  
c mjók RH (alliteration lacking), nær U, næsta Skj., cf. Kock NN § 2360  
d Heiðrekr ... gátu! om. R  
e þoldum em. Bugge (for alliteration), höldum RH, Kock NN § 2361 (reading hjarl for jórð), ýtum U  
f við HU, om. R

1 This line is corrupt; the editors of C.P.B. noted `We are unable to mend
(64) What women are they
wandering together,
by their father unceasing sought;
kind they are but rarely
to the race of men,
and they must awake in the wind?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Those are the women of Ægir,' said the king; 'that is what the
waves are called.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(65) A goose grew large,¹
longed for offspring,
to build her abode
she brought timber;
straw-biting swords
in safety kept her,
lay there above her
the booming drink-rock.²
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'A duck had built its nest between the jaw-bones of an ox,' said the
king, 'and the skull roofed it over.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(66) What is that great one
that governs much,
and half of it Helward turns;
with the earth striving,
saviour of mortals,
if his friend be firm and sure?

---

¹ *drykkjar*.
² *drynhraun*: *hraun* meant a stony waste, in Iceland used especially
of cold lava-fields. The upper part of the skull is described, apparently, as a
scree, with the bones of the head as stones; what the beast drinks is the river
which runs down into the depths of the mountain.
Heiðrekr konungr, 
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat er akkeri með 
góðum streng; ef fleinn hans er í grunni, þá bergr þat.’

Pá mælti Gestumblindi:

(67) Hverjar eru þær brúðir,  
er ganga í brímserkjum a  
ok eigu b eptir firði fór;  
hardan beð hafa þær  
inar hvítfoldnu c konur d  
ok leika í logni fátt?  
Heiðrekr konungr,  
hyggðu at gátu! e

‘Þat eru bárur, en beðir þeira eru sker ok urðir, en þær verða lítt 
sénar í logni.’

Pá mælti Gestumblindi:

(68) Sá ek á sumri  
sólbjörgum f 1 á g  
verðung vaka h  
vilgi teita j;  
drukkju jarlar  
ðl þegjandi  
en øpanda  
ølker stóð k  
Heiðrekr konungr,  
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Þar drukku grísir gylti, en hon hrein við.’

Pá mælti Gestumblindi 1:

a -skerjum R, -serkjum HU (but -skerjum U prose); brímserkjum í H
b eigu U, eiga RH (late form)
c hvítfoldnu H, -folduðu R
d konur RU, om. H
 e Heiðrekr . . . gátu! om. R
f sólbjörgum HU (sel- U), sólbjörg of R
g á RU, í H
 h thus HU (vuka U), bað ek vel lifa R
i teita H, teiti R, U corrupt
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. That is an anchor with a good rope; if its fluke is in the ground it will keep one safe.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(67) What women are they
walking in the skerries —
along the firth they fare;
white their hoods are
and hard their bed,
unstirring when still is the weather?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Those are the waves,' said the king. 'Their beds are skerries and shingle, and they are not much seen in calm weather.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

(68) In season of summer
at sundown\(^1\) I looked
on a household astir —
happy they were not\(^2\);
ale men drank there
without speaking,
screaming loudly
stood the ale-butt.
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Piglets were sucking a sow,' said the king, 'and she was squealing.'

Then said Gestumblindi:

\(^{k}\) en ... stóð R, en æpandi ǫlker stóðu H and corruptly U
\(^{i}\) þá ... Gestumblindi om. R

\(^{1}\) sölbjargir, lit. 'sun-saving,' sunset; known in various forms from Scandinavian dialects, but not otherwise from the old literature.

\(^{2}\) vilgi can mean 'very much' or 'not at all.' If the latter, as assumed here, the writer is no doubt emphasising the mirthless silence of these particular 'jarls' (see Glossary, s.v.) over their drink.
(69) Hvat er þat undra,
er ek úti sá
fyrir Delliings durum;
tíu heðir tungur,
tuttugu augu,
fjóra tigu fóta,
fram líðr a sú vættr?
Heiðrek konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

Konungr mælti þá, ‘Ef þú ert sá Gestumblindi, sem ek hugða, þá er tu vitrari b en ek ætlada; en frá gyltini segir þú nú úti í garðinum.’

Þá lét konungr drepa gyltina, ok hafði hon nú grís, sem Gestumblindi sagði.1 Nú grunar konung, hvern maðrinn mun vera.

Þá mælti Gestumblindi:

(70) Fjórir hanga,
fjórir ganga, c2
tveir veg vísa,
tveir hundum varða,
einn eptir drallar
ok jafnan heðr saurugr. d
Heiðrek konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er góta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þessar; þat er kyr.’

Þá mælti Gestumblindi:

(71) a Sat ek á segli, 4
sá ek dauða menn 5
blóðshol e bera 6

---

a ferr hart H, fram gengr U
b vittari R
c hanga and ganga reversed H, verse om. U
d thus R, ok optast óhreinn H
e blóðshol em. Ant. Russes; blóþ hold R with stroke through þ, = blóðs Bugge, blóðugt Skj.; blóðshold H; verse om. U

1 On the history of this riddle see Appendix E
2 Many of the foreign parallels to this riddle place the ‘hanging’ before the ‘ganging.’
3 In this riddle, based on a complex word-play, there is firstly substitution
(69) What strange marvel
did I see without,
in front of Delling’s door;
ten its tongues are
and twenty its eyes,
with forty feet
fares that creature?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

‘If you are the Gestumblindi I took you for,’ said the king then,
‘you are cleverer than I thought. You are speaking now of the sow out in
the yard.’

Then the king had the sow killed, and it had nine piglets inside it,
as Gestumblindi had said. The king now began to suspect who this
man must be.

Then said Gestumblindi:

(70) Four are hanging,
four are walking, two point the way out,
two ward the dogs off,
one ever dirty
dangles behind it.
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

‘Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,’ said the king; ‘I have guessed
it. That is the cow.’

Then said Gestumblindi:

(71) On a sail I sat
and saw dead men bearing a blood-vein

of homonyms and then replacement of the homonym by a synonym. This
kind of thing was called ofjóst, and is described in SnE. 193.

4 Here the substitution is: veggr = a wall, but veggr also = a sail (segíl).
5 Here the substitution is: valr = a falcon, but valr also = the slain
(daúðir menn).
6 The equation here seems to be: æðr = an eider-duck, but æðr also = a
vein (blóðs-hol, ‘blood-cavity, blood-hollow,’ not elsewhere recorded). This
seems satisfactory, but has not been accepted by recent editors.
í bórk\(^a\) viðar.\(^b\)
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!\(^c\)

`Þar saztu á vegg\(^d\) ok sátt val bera æði í hamra.’

Pá mælti Gestumblindi:

(72) Hverir eru þeir tveir,
er tíu hafa faetr,
augu þrjú
ok einn hala?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

`Þat er þá, er Óðinn ríðr Sleipni.’\(^2\)

Pá mælti Gestumblindi, `Segðu þat þá hínt,
ef þú ert hverjum konungi vitrari’:

(73) Hvatt mælti Óðinn
í eyra Baldri,
áðr hann væri á bál hafðr?\(^3\)

Heiðrekr konungr segir, `Þat veiztu einn, rog vættr!’—ok þá
bregðr Heiðrekr Tyrfingi ok hógr til hans, en Óðinn brásk í valslíki
ok fló á brott; en konungr hjó eptir ok af honum vélifðrit aptan, ok
því er valr svá velistuttur ávallt síðan.

Óðinn mælti þá, `Fyrir þat, Heiðrekr konungr, er þú rétt til mín
ok vildir dreipa mik saklausan, skulu þér inir verstu þrálar at bana
verða.’ Eptir þat skilr með þeim.\(^4\)

\(^a\) bórk R, 597, bjórk 281
\(^b\) viðar H, virðar R
\(^c\) Heiðrekr ... gátu! om. R
\(^d\) vegg H, veg R
\(^e\) hínt om. Bugge, fyrst R

1 The last equation has not been found. For *þ hamra* in R’s solution *H* has
*þ klóm sér* (in its claws); and in C.P.B. it was proposed to read *þ bjórk kiðar*
‘in the belly’s birch’ = ‘in his talons,’ but this fails to provide a homonym.
(Further discussion by Kock, NN § 2363.)
to the bark of a tree.\textsuperscript{1}
This riddle ponder,  
O prince Heidrek!

‘In this,’ said the king, ‘you sat on a wall and saw a falcon bearing
an eider-duck to the crags.’
Then said Gestumblind:\n
(72) Who are those twain
that on ten feet run,  
three their eyes are  
but only one tail?
This riddle ponder,  
O prince Heidrek!

‘Thus it is,’ said the king, ‘when Ódin rides upon Sleipnir.’\textsuperscript{2}
Then said Gestumblind, ‘Tell me this then last of all, if you are
wiser than any other king’: \n
(73) What said Ódin
in the ear of Balder,  
before he was borne to the fire?\textsuperscript{3}

‘You alone know that, vile creature!’ cried King Heidrek, and he
drew Tyrfling and slashed at Ódin, but he changed himself into the
shape of a hawk and flew away; yet the king, striking after him, took
off his tailfeathers, and that is why the hawk has been so short-tailed
ever since.

Then Ódin said, ‘For this, King Heidrek, that you have attacked
me, and would slay me without offence, the basest slaves shall be the
death of you.’ And after that they parted.\textsuperscript{4}
Þat er sagt, at Heiðrekr konungr ætti þræla nókkura, þá er hann hafði tekít í vestr víking; þeir váru núi saman. Þeir váru af stórum ættum ok kunnu illa öfrelsí snú. Þat var á einni nótt, þá er Heiðrekr konungr lá í svefnstofu sinni ok fátt manna hjá honum, þá tóku þrálnir sér vápn ok gengu fyrir konungs herbergi ok drápu fyrst útvörðuna; því næst gengu þeir at ok brutu a upp konungs herbergit ok drápu þar Heiðrek konung ok alla þá, er inni váru. Þeir tóku sverðit Tyrfing ok allt fá þat, er inni var, ok hofðu á brott með sér; ok engi vissi fyrst, hverir þetta hofðu godt eða hvert hefnda skylldi leita.

Pá lét Angantýr, sonr Heiðreks konungs, kveðja þings, ok á því þingi var hann til konungs tekinn yfir eðl þau ríki, er Heiðrekr konungr hafði átt. Á þessu þingi strengði hann heit, at aldri skylldi hann fyrir setjask í háseti fóður síns en hann hafði hefnt hans.

Littu eptir þingit hverfr Angantýr á brett eint saman ok ferr víða at leita þessa manna. Eitt kveld gengr hann ofan til sjávar með á þeiri, er Grafá b hét; þar sá hann þrjá menn á fiskibát, ok því næst sá hann, at maðr dró fisk ok kallar, at annarr skylldi fá honum agnsaxit at hofða fiskinn; en sá kveþk eigi laust mega láta.

Hinn mælti, 'Taktu sverðit undan hofðafjolinni ok fá mér,’ en sá tók ok brá ok sneið hofðu af fiskinum, ok þá kvað hann vísu:

(74) þess galt c hon gedda
fyrir Grafár d ósi,
er Heiðrekr var veginn
undir Harvaða e fjöllum.1

Angantýr kenndi þegar Tyrfing. Gekk hann þá brett í skóg ok dvalðisk þar, til þess er myrkj var. En þessir fiskimmenn reru at landi ok fara til tjalds þess, er þeir áttu, ok logðusk til svefn. En nær miðri nótt kom Angantýr þar ok felldi á þá tjaldit ok drap þá alla núi þrála,

---
a brutu R
b Gripá U; Greipá 203 (here following R but prob. influenced by U-text)
c galt U, allt R
d Gropár U, Greipár 203
e Harvaða with æ written over first a R, Hanaða U (for Hávaða)
1 This name, and the other place-names occurring in this part of the saga, are discussed in the Introduction, pp. xxiii f.
It is told that King Heidrek had certain slaves whom he had captured on a viking foray into the west. They were nine in all, of noble families, and they little liked their captivity. One night, when King Heidrek lay in his sleeping-chamber with few men near him, the slaves got themselves weapons and went up to the king’s lodging. First they slew the watchmen, and then they advanced on the king’s quarters and broke into them; there they slew Heidrek the king and all who were within. They took the sword Tyrfing and all the treasure that was in the house, and carried it off with them; and no-one knew at first who had done this, or where to seek vengeance.

Then Angantýr, the son of King Heidrek, had an assembly summoned, and there he was taken for king over all the realms which King Heidrek had held. At this assembly he made a solemn vow never to sit upon the high seat of his father until he had avenged him.

A little while after the assembly Angantýr departed alone, and wandered far and wide searching for these men. One evening he was walking down to the sea beside the river called Grafá, and there he saw three men in a fishing-boat; presently he saw one of the men catch a fish, and heard him call out to one of his companions to pass him the bait-knife to cut off the fish’s head; but the other man said that he could not spare it.

Then the first one said, ‘Take the sword from under the headboard, and pass it to me,’ and taking it he drew it, and cut off the fish’s head; then he spoke a verse:

(74) The pike has paid
by the pools of Grafá
for Heidrek’s slaying
under Harvad-fells.¹

Then Angantýr knew at once that it was Tyrfing. He went away into the forest and stayed there till it was dark; but these fishermen rowed to land and went to the tent which they had, and laid themselves down to sleep. But towards midnight Angantýr came up and pulled
en tók sverðít Tyrfing, ok var þat þá til marks, at hann hafði hefnt foður síns.
Ferr Angantyr nú heim. Því næst lætr Angantyr gera veizlu mikla á Danparstofum à þeim bæ, er Árheimar heita, at erfa foður sinn.
Þá réðu þessir konungar lôndum, sem hér segir:

(75) Ár kváðu Humla
Húnum ráða,
Gizur Gautum,¿ Gotum Angantýr,
Valdar Ðònum,³ en Vôlum Kjár,⁴ Alrekr inn frœkn(e)⁵ enskri þjóðu.

Hlóðr, sonr Heidreks konungs, fæddisk upp með Humla konungi, móðurfoður sínum, ok var allra manna fríðastr sínum ok drengiligastr. En þat var fornt mál þann tíma, at maðr væri borinn með váþnum eda hestum; en þat var til þess haft, at þat var mælt um þau váþn, er þá váru gor þann tíma, er maðrinn var fæðdr, svá ok fé, kykvendi, yxn eda hestar, ef þat var þá fætt; ok var þat allt fært saman til virðingar tíðnum mónnum, sem hér segir um Hlóð Heidrekksson:

(76) Hlóðr var þar borinn
í Húnalandi
saxi ok með sverði,
sîðri brynju,
hjálmi hringreifðum,⁶

¿ Dap- and Dam- U (Damp- 203); cf. verse 82/6
³ Húnum papp. fol. 120 (Helgason p. xxxviii), fyrir her R
⁴ Alrek inn frœkna Bugge
⁵ Alrek inn frœkna Bugge
⁶ From this point to the end of verse 76 there is nothing corresponding in the U-text, which omits all the narrative parts of the poem (see textual notes).
"On this verse see Introduction p. xxii. The Gautar were the inhabitants of southern Sweden, the Geatas of Beowulf. It cannot be said what relationship, if any, this Gizur bore to Gizur Grytingalidi the Goth of the next section of the saga. The names Gautar and Götar (Goths) are ultimately related to each other.
³ A king of the Danes called Valdar appears at the end of this saga, and a Valdar inn mildi in a genealogy in Flateyjarbók (I 26–7), but nothing is known of either. The meaningless line Valdar Ðònum in Guðrúnarkviða II (19) is doubtless taken from this verse.
⁴ Valdr is the Norse form of the general North and West Germanic name
the tent down on top of the slaves, and killed all nine of them; and he took the sword Tyrting, as a sign that he had avenged his father.

And now Angantyr returned home, and immediately afterwards he had a great funeral feast held at the place called Árheimar, on the banks of the Dnieper, to honour the memory of his father.

These1 were the kings who ruled over the lands in those days, as it is told here:

(75) Of old they said Humli
of Huns was ruler,
Gizur of the Gautar,2
of Goths Angantyr,
Valdar the Danes ruled,3
and the Valir Kjár,4
Alrek the valiant5
the English people.

Hlöd, the son of King Heidrek, had been brought up in the halls of King Humli, his mother’s father, and he was the most valiant of all men, and the most beautiful in appearance. There was an old saying at that time, that a man was born with weapons or horses; and the explanation of this is that it was said of those weapons which were being made at the time when the man was born, and so likewise with beasts, sheep, oxen, or horses, which were born at the same time: all this was gathered together in honour of men of noble birth, as is told here concerning Hlöd, the son of Heidrek:

(76) In the Hun-kingdom
was Hlöd’s birthplace,
with sword and cutlass
and corset hanging,
ring-ornamented helmet6

for the Celtic peoples; the English cognate still survives in the name Wales. It was also applied to the Romans (O.E. Rum-walas); and since Kjárr is very probably the Norse transformation of Latin Caesar, it is likely that the reference here is to the Eastern Roman Emperor. Cf. Widsth (ed. R. W. Chambers, 1912), lines 20, 76–8, and notes.

2 This king appears in a genealogy in Flateyjarbók (I 25), but he is unknown in any English tradition. The change from accusative to nominative here is odd (see textual note).

6 See Falk, Altnord. Waffen. 163

1
hvössum\textsuperscript{a} mæki,\textsuperscript{1}
mari vel tumum
å mørk\textsuperscript{2} inni helgu.\textsuperscript{3}

Nú spyr Hlöðr fráfall foður síns ok þat með, at Angantýr bróðir
hans var til konungs tekinn yfir allt þat ríki, sem faðir þeira hafði átt.
Nú vilja þeir Humli konungr ok Hlöðr, at hann fari at krefja arfs
Angantýr bróður sinn, fyrst með góðum ordum, sem hér segir:

(77) Hlöðr reið austan,\textsuperscript{b}
Heiðreks arfi,
kom hann at garði,
þar er Gotar byggja,\textsuperscript{c}
á Árheima
arfs at kvøðja,
þar drakk Angantýr
erfi Heiðreks.\textsuperscript{d}

Nú kom Hlöðr í Árheima með miklu lóði, sem hér segir:

(78) Segg fann hann útí
fyrir sal hávum
ok síðförlan \textsuperscript{e}
síðan kvaddi:
Ínn gakktu, seggr,
i sal hávan,
bið míð Angantýr
andspjoll bera!\textsuperscript{f}

Sá gækk inn fyrir konungsborð ok kvaddi Angantýr konung vel ok
mælti síðan:

\textsuperscript{a} hvössum \textit{R}
\textsuperscript{b} sunnan \textit{U prose, verse om. U}
\textsuperscript{c} bygðia \textit{R, byggðu \textit{Skj.}}
\textsuperscript{d} Heiðreks konungs \textit{R}
\textsuperscript{e} síðförlan \textit{R, síðforull hann \textit{Kock FF \textit{§ 16}}}
\textsuperscript{f} \textit{verse 78/1-4 om. U; lines 5-8 = U 1-4, after which U continues andspjoll lia, / orða tveggja, / tveggja eðr þriggja, / ef hann til vill}

\textsuperscript{1} The distinction here implied between \textit{mækir} and \textit{sverð} is found elsewhere (Fritzner, \textit{Ordbog, s.v. mækir}). The former was in origin probably a long two-edged sword, but the words became interchangeable (cf. verses 36-7, of Tyrfing); and \textit{sax} and \textit{sverð} are not always distinguished. (Cf. Falk, \textit{Altnord. Waffen. 9 ff.})

\textsuperscript{2} The existence of sacred groves and tree-sanctuaries among Germanic peoples, and the worship of the divinities who dwelt in them, is widely attested in many ancient sources (esp. Tacitus, \textit{Germania} chs. 9, 39, 40, 43). Most
and harsh-edged sword,¹
horse well-broken
in the holy forest.²³

Now Hlöd learnt of the death of his father, and learnt too that
Angantýr his brother had been made king over all the realm which
their father had held. Then Humli the king and Hlöd resolved that
Hlöd should go and demand his inheritance from Angantýr his brother,
using fair words at first, as is thus told:

(77) Hlöd rode from the east,
heir of Heidrek,
he came to the court
claiming his birthright,
to Árheimar,
the homes of the Goths;
there drank Angantýr
arval for Heidrek.

And so Hlöd came to Árheimar with a great following, as is told in
this verse:

(78) A man he found lingering
late in the open⁴
by the high dwelling,
and hailed him thereafter:
Friend, now hasten
to the high dwelling,
demand of Angantýr
that with me he speak!

The man went in, up to the king’s table, and hailed Angantýr with
fair words; and then he said:

---

famous in the North was the grove at Uppsala where the bodies of the victims
were hung. See J. de Vries, Algern. Religion. I 289 ff.; H. M. Chadwick, The
Cult of Othin, 1899.
³ This verse was perhaps originally meant literally, as an expression of
that precocity among gods and heroes which is found elsewhere, the preceding
prose being an attempt to rationalise it.
⁴ Stöðforull: ‘late abroad,’ emphasising that the man was not in the hall
drinking with the king. Kock’s emendation applies the word to Hlöd; he
translates it as ‘far-travelling’ (= viðforull), comparing O.E. side and wide
‘far and wide.’
(79) Hér er Hlöðr kominn,
Heiðreks arþegi,\(^{a}\)
bróðir þinn
inn bøðskái\(^{b}\);
mikill er sá maðr ungr\(^{c}\)
á mars baki,
vill nú, þjóðann,\(^{d}1\)
við þik tala.\(^{e}\)

En er konungr heyrdi þetta, þá varpaði hann knífinum á borðit, en
sté undan börðinu ok steyppti yfir sik brynju ok hvítan skjöld í hónd, en
sverðit Tyrfinn í aðra hónd. Þá gerðisk gnýr mikill í hóllinni, sem hér
segir:

(80)\(^{f}\) Rymr var í ranni,\(^{2}\)
risu með góðum,
vildi hverr heyra
hvat Hlöðr mælti
ok þat\(^{g}\) er Angantýr
andsvör veitti.

Þá mælti Angantýr, ‘Vel þú kominn, Hlöðr bróðir, gakk inn með
oss til drykkju, ok drekkum mjóð eptir foður okkarn fyrst til sama ok
óllum oss til vegs með óllum várum söma.’

Hlöðr segir, ‘Til annars fórum vér hingat en at kýla vómb vára.’
Þá kvað Hlöðr:

(81) Hafa vil ek hálft allt
þat er Heiðrekr átti,\(^{h}\)
kú ok af kálfi,
kvírn þjótandi,
al ok af oddi,
einum\(^{i}\) skatti,\(^{i4}\)

\(^{a}\) arfi \(U\) \hspace{1cm} \(^{b}\) bøðskai \(U\) (bandskai \(MS\) for baud-), bøðskammi \(R\)
\(^{c}\) maðr ungr \(R\), moðr \(U\) \hspace{1cm} \(^{d}\) nú þjóðann \(R\), sá þundr \(U\)
\(^{e}\) mæla \(U\) \hspace{1cm} \(^{f}\) verse om. \(U\) \hspace{1cm} \(^{g}\) þau Bugge
\(^{h}\) from this point 203 follows the \(U\)-redaction
\(^{i}\) lines 5–6 before 3–4 \(U\), 203 and most edd.

1 It is possible to take þjóðann as the subject of vill, i.e. Hlöð.
2 Very similar lines are Hambísmál 23, Styrr varð í ranni, and Bragi’s
Ragnarsdrápa 3, rósta varð í ranni, both referring to the tumult in the hall of
Ermanaric, king of the Goths, when he was attacked.
(79) Hlöd is come here,  
Heidrek’s offspring,  
your own brother,  
for battle eager;  
mighty this youth is  
mounted on horseback;  
king! he claims now  
converse with you.

When the king heard that, he cast down his knife upon the board and rose from the table; he put on his coat of mail, and took his white shield in one hand and the sword Tyrfing in the other. Then there arose a great din within the hall, as is thus told:

(80) Clamour woke in the court,²  
with the king rising  
each would hearken  
to Hlöd’s greeting  
and learn what answer  
Angantýr gave.

‘You are welcome, Hlöd, my brother!’ said Angantýr then. ‘Come in and drink with us; and first let us drink mead in memory of our father, for concord between us, and for the honour of us all, with all the dignity we have!’

But Hlöd answered, ‘We have come here for something other than the filling of our bellies.’ Then he said:

(81) Half will I have  
of Heidrek’s riches,  
of cow and of calf,  
of creaking handmill,  
tools and weapons,  
treasure⁴ undivided,³

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³ The translation ‘undivided’ is not certain. Bugge took einn here as ‘unique, remarkable,’ comparing Beowulf 1458 (‘that was one of ancient treasures,’ i.e. it was unique among them).

⁴ skatti has been adduced as a survival of non-Norse language in the poem; for Norse skattr always means ‘tax, tribute,’ whereas here it means ‘treasure,’ as do the cognate words in O.E., O.H.G., and Gothic. The only other exception is the phrase Niflunga skattr (of the Nibelung hoard).
þý ok af þræli
ok þeira barni\(^a\);

(82) hrís þat it\(^b\) mæra,\(^c\)
er Myrkviðr heitir,\(^d\)
gróf\(^1\) þá ina helgu,\(^e\)
er stendr á Gotþjóðu,\(^f\)
stein\(^1\) þann inn fagra,\(^g\)
er stendr á stóðum Danpar,\(^h\)
hálfr herváðir,\(^i\)
þær er Heiðrekr átti,
lýnd ok lýða\(^k\)
ok ljósa bauga.

Dá segir Angantýr, ‘Eigi erti til lands þessa kominn með lögum,
ok rangt viltu bjóða.’ Dá kvað Angantýr:

(83) Bresta mun fyrr,\(^{1}\) bróðir,
in blikhvíta lind\(^m\)
ok kaldr geirr
koma við annan\(^n\)
ok margr gumi
í gras hníga
áðr en Tyrfling
í tvau deilak
eða þér, Humlungr,
hálfan arf gefal\(^o\)

Ok enn kvað Angantýr:

\(^{a}\) bornum 203 and corruptly U
\(^{b}\) hrísí því inu U, 203
\(^{c}\) mæra Atlakviða 5, meira R, mæta U, 203 (later corr. to mæra in 203)
\(^{d}\) thus U, er Myrkviðir heita R, 203
\(^{e}\) ina helgu U, 203, ennu göðu R
\(^{f}\) á Gotþjóðu U (with God- for Got- throughout), gotþjóða 203 (elsewhere
göð-), á gotu þjóðar R
\(^{g}\) fagra U, 203, meira R (for mæra)
\(^{h}\) Danpar U, Dampar R, Dampnær 203
\(^{i}\) herbergir 203 and corruptly U
\(^{k}\) ok lýða U, 203, om. R
\(^{o}\) fyrr em. Björn., for R, áðr U, 203
slave and bondmaid
and their sons and daughters;

(82) the renowned forest
that is named Mirkwood,
the hallowed grave\(^1\)
in Gothland standing,
the fair-wrought stone\(^1\)
beside the Dnieper,
half the armour\(^2\)
owned by Heidrek,
lands and liegemen
and lustrous rings!

Then Angantýr said, ‘You have no title to this land, and you are
resolved to deal unjustly’; and then he said:

(83) The bright buckler
shall break, kinsman,
the cold lances
clash together,\(^3\)
grim men unnumbered
in the grass sinking,
er the heritage I share
with Humli’s grandson
or ever Tyrfung
in twain sunder!

Yet more Angantýr uttered:

\(^{mn} thus U, 203 (ij U, minn 203, for in), lindin blikhvita R (with bad alliteration)

\(^n\) ok kaldr ... annan U, 203, om. R

\(^o\) áðr ... gefa U, 203 (tuenra ra U, midt 203 for tvau). R reads corruptly
ec mun Humlung / hálfan láta / eða Tyrfung / í tvau deila. Then follows Þýð
ek þér, frændi, til heilla sáttu mikil ríki ok örít fé, tólf hundruð vápna ... (sc.
vápnahra manna?); here R ends

\(^1\) On the grave and the stone see Introduction p. xxv

\(^2\) herborgir, ‘fortresses’ might be thought the more natural demand.

\(^3\) cf. Beowulf 3021–2, ‘Many a spear cold in the morning (gar morgenceald)
shall be grasped in hand.’
(84) Ek mun bjóða þér
bjartar vigrar,\textsuperscript{a}
fé ok fjölð meðma,
sem þik\textsuperscript{b} fremst tíðr;
tólf hundruð\textsuperscript{c} manna,
tólf hundruð\textsuperscript{c} mara,
tólf hundruð\textsuperscript{c} skálka,\textsuperscript{2}
þeira er skjöld bera.

(85) Manni gef ek hverjum
mart at þiggja,
annat æðra
en hann á at ráða\textsuperscript{d};
mey gef ek hverjum
manni at þiggja,
meyju spenni ek hverri
men at hálsi.

(86) Mun ek um þik sitjanda
silfri mæla,
en ganganda þik
gulli steypa,
svá á vegu alla
velti baugar\textsuperscript{a};
þröðjang\textsuperscript{4} Gotþjóðar,
því skaltu einn ráða.

Gizurr Grýtingalíði,\textsuperscript{e} fóstri Heiðreks konungs, var þá með

\textsuperscript{a} bjartar vigrar \textit{em. Skj.}, fagrar veigar (aigar \textit{U}) \textit{U}, 203 \textit{(without alliteration)}, bauga fagra \textit{Bugge}

\textsuperscript{b} þik \textit{em. Bugge}, mik \textit{U}, 203

\textsuperscript{c} \textit{thus Edd. Min.}, hundruð gef ek þér \textit{U}, 203

\textsuperscript{d} á at ráða \textit{em. Helgason}, aradi \textit{U}, aníði 203; \textit{other suggestions in editions and Kock FF § 18}

\textsuperscript{e} Gyrtina- 203

\textsuperscript{1} It is notable that verse 84/1–4 and verse 103/1–4 are almost the same, 103/2 being the difficult expression \textit{basmir öskerdar}. The original may well be altogether perverted here. The prose of R where it breaks off is paraphrasing a verse of similar content, and there Angantyr offers Hlód \textit{mikit riki} ('great dominion').

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{skálkr}, here meaning 'attendant, servant' (as do the cognate words in O.E., O.H.G. and Gothic), invariably means 'rogue' elsewhere in Norse; but
(84) I will give you
gleaming lances,1
wealth and cattle
well to content you;
thralls a thousand,
a thousand horses,
a thousand bondmen2
bearing armour.

(85) Each shall get of me
gifts in plenty,
nobler than all that
he now possesses;
to every man
shall a maid be given,
the neck of each
by necklace clasped.

(86) I will measure you in silver
as you sit in your chair,
upon you departing
I will pour down gold,
rings shall go rolling
round about you3
a third4 of Gothland
shall you govern over.

Gizur Grýtingalidi,5 the foster-father of King Heidrek, was at

there is evidence that in Scandinavia also the word originally meant ‘servant.’
The same sense-development took place in the English word ‘shalk’ (New
English Dictionary, s.v.).

1 The conception of these lines was discussed by Grimm (Rechtsalter-
thümer, 1828, 668 ff.), who cited from a Frankish text the story of how Theodoric
imposed as a penalty on the Visigoths that the Frankish ambassador should
sit on his horse outside the Gothic hall, while the Goths cast solidos upon
him till he and his horse and the point of his lance were covered.

2 The ‘third of Gothland’ offered to Hlœd agrees with the clauses of several
ancient Germanic laws restricting the inheritance of the baseborn; among the
Langobards a bastard inherited one third (Grimm, op. cit. 476).

3 Grýtingalidi, apparently ‘vassal or retainer of the Grýtingar’ (on whom
see Introduction p. xxiv). Neckel, however (Beiträge 263), held that liði was
here a distinct word meaning ‘lord,’ not otherwise recorded in Norse.
Angantý konungi; hann var þá ofrgamall. Ok er hann heyði boð
Angantýs, þótt honum hann ofmíkit bjóða ok mælti:

(87) Þetta er þíggjanda
þýjar barni,
barni þýjar,\(^a\)
þótt sé borinn konungi\(^b\);
þá hornungr
á haugi sat,\(^3\)
er óðlingr
arfi skipti.

Hlóðr reiddisk nú mjók, er hann var þýbarn ok hornungr kallaðr,
ef hann þægi boð bróður síns\(^4\); snéri hann þá þegar í burt með alla
sína menn, til þess er hann kom heim í Húnaland\(^c\) til Humla konungs,
móðurfóður síns, ok sagði honum, at Angantýr bróðir hans hefði eigi
unnt\(^d\) honum helmingaskiptis.

Humli konungur spuroð allt tal þeira; varð hann þá reiðr mjók, ef
Hlóðr dóttursonr hans skyldi ambáttarsonr heita, ok mælti:

(88) Sitja skulu vér í vetr
ok selliga lífa,
drekka ok dóma\(^5\)
dýrar veigar;
kenna Húnnum
hervápn \(^e\) búa,
þau er fræknliga\(^f\)
skulum fram bera.

\(^a\) þya ok 203, þia ok \(U\)
\(^b\) konungi \(em. Björn.,\) konungr \(U, 203\)
\(^c\) Húnaland \(U\) throughout, Humna- or Humla- 203
\(^d\) eigi unnt \(em. Bugge,\) unnat \(U, 203\)
\(^e\) hervápn \(papp. fol. 120,\) vápn at \(U, 203\) \((without alliteration)\)
\(^f\) fræknliga \(em. Bugge,\) djarflíga \(U, 203\) \((without alliteration)\)

\(^1\) The proverb-poem Málsháttakvæði contains a reference to the quarrel at
the court of Angantýr: Gizur varð at régi saðr, eðja vildi ljófrum saman, \(Skj.\)
\(A\ II 135\) ('Gizur was justly accused of slander—he wished to set the lords
against each other').

\(^2\) There are many examples of such emphatic repetitions in the old poetry,
and several where the first phrase is repeated in reverse, as here \((e.g. Sigurð-
arkvida skamma 17).\)

\(^3\) Since herdsmen often sat on mounds, it has been thought that Gizur's
that time at the court of King Angantýr; he was now very aged. When he heard Angantýr’s offer it seemed to him that he offered too much, and he said:

(87) A bountiful offer
     for a bondmaid’s child —
     child of a bondmaid,
     though born to a king!
The bastard son
     did sit on a mound
     while the prince was
     parting the heritage.

Hlöð became greatly enraged at being called a bastard and the son of a slave-girl, if he should accept his brother’s offer, and immediately he went away with all his following, and returned home to the land of the Huns, to King Humlí his mother’s father, and told him that his brother Angantýr had refused him an equal division of the inheritance.

Humlí the king asked then concerning all that had passed, and he was very angry that Hlöð, his daughter’s son, should be called the son of a bondmaid; and he said:

(88) In winter unstirring
     let us sit content,
     in converse drinking
     the costly wine;
     let us teach the Huns
     to tend their wargear,
     which bold-hearted
     we shall bear to war.

words are tantamount to calling Hlöð an abusive name. But other passages connect the sitting on mounds with kingship; especially noteworthy is that in Flateyjarbók II 70, describing how a twelve-year-old prince named Björn, who was being brought up in his uncle’s house, protested against his deprivation of the kingdom by sitting on his father’s barrow; ‘then for the first time he claimed the kingdom.’

4 This is slightly at variance with what Gizur has said in the preceding verse. The meaning is apparently that the acceptance of a third only would lay Hlöð open to be called such names.

5 drekka ok dæma is an alliterative formula of frequent occurrence, and drekka dýrar veigar is found more than once in the Poetic Edda.
(89) Vel skulum þér, Hlóðr,
herlið búa
ok framliga\(^a\)
hildi heyja\(^b\)
með tölfr vetrar\(^c\) mengi
ok tvævetrum folka,
svá skal Húna
her of\(^d\) safna.

Denna vetr sótu þeir Humli konungr ok Hlóðr um kyrrt. Um várit drógu þeir her saman svá mikinn, at aleyða var eptir í Húnalandi vígrarna. Allir menn fóru tölfr vetr vera gamlir ok ellri, þeir er herfærir vár á tvánum, ok hestar þeira allir fóru tvævetrir\(^e\) ok ellri; varð nú svá mikill fjöldi manna þeira, at þúsundum máttí telja, en eigi færi\(^f\) en þúsundir, í fylkingar. En hofðingi væ ve sattr yrir þúsund hverja, en merki yfir hverja fylking, en fimm þúsundir í hverri\(^g\) fylking, þeira er þrettán hundrud fár í hverri, en í hvert hundrad færnir fjórir tigir, en þessar fylkingar várú þrjár ok þrir tigir.\(^2\)

Sem þessi herr kom saman, riðu þeir skóg þann, er Myrkar heitir, er skír Húnaland ok Gotaland. En sem þeir kómu af skóginum, þá váru byggðir stórar ok velli slétir, en á vóllumum stóð borg ein fógr; þar réð fyrir Hervor, systir Angantýs ok Hlóðs, ok með henni Ormarr\(^h\) fóstir hennar; váru þau sett þar til landgæzlu fyrir her Húna; hofðu þau þar mikít líð.

Þat var einn morgun um sólar upprás, at Hervor stóð upp á kastala einum yfir borgarhliði; hon sá jóreyki stóra suðr til skógarins, svá löngum fal sólina. Því næst sá hon glóð\(^i\) undir jóreyknum, sem á gull eitt liti, fagra skjoldu ok gulli lagða, gyllta hjálma ok hvítar brynjur; sá hon þá, at þetta var Húna herr ok mikill mannfjöldi.

\(^a\) fromliga U, fránliga 203
\(^b\) thus U, 203 (hildir 203) (without alliteration); suggested emendations in editions and Kock NN § 3185
\(^c\) vetr goðlu U, 203
\(^d\) af 203
\(^e\) hestar . . . tvævetr em. Bugge; hestum því at allir fóru tvævetr 203, at hestum tutugu vetr U
\(^f\) færi em. Verelius, ferrum U, smæri 203
\(^g\) hverja 203
\(^h\) Ormarr U, Ormur 203 throughout
\(^i\) gjórla 203

\(^1\) These two lines are probably wholly corrupt; hildi heyja has no doubt replaced a distinct phrase (the rest of the verse is concerned with the mustering of the Hun army).
(89) Well shall for you, Hlöd,
the host be armed,
fearless-hearted
shall we fight this war,¹
with twelve-year-old warriors
and two-winter foals,
so shall we muster
the might of Hunland.

All that winter Humli and Hlöd remained quiet; but in the spring they gathered together an army so vast that afterwards the land of the Huns was utterly despoiled of all its fighting-men. All men went, from twelve years old and upwards, who were able to bear weapons in war, and all their horses went, of two years old or more. So great was the multitude that the men of the phalanxes could be counted by their thousands only, and by nothing less than thousands; a captain was set over every thousand, and a standard over every phalanx. There were five thousands in every phalanx, each thousand containing thirteen hundreds, and in each hundred were four times forty men; these phalanxes were thirty-three in number.²

When this host had gathered together they rode through the forest called Mirkwood, which divided the land of the Huns from the land of the Goths; and when they came out of the forest they were in a land of broad populous tracts and level plains. On the plains stood a fair stronghold, over which Hervör, the sister of Hlöd and Angantýr, had command, together with Ormar her foster-father; they were set there to defend the land against the army of the Huns, and they had a strong garrison.

One morning at sunrise Hervör stood on a watchtower above the fortress-gate, and she saw a great cloud of dust from horses’ hooves rising southwards towards the forest, which for a long time hid the sun. Presently she saw a glittering beneath the dustcloud, as though she were gazing on a mass of gold, bright shields overlaid with gold, gilded helms and bright corselets; and then she saw that it was the army of the Huns, and a mighty host.

² Verse 102 has ‘six,’ not ‘thirty-three,’ and that is certainly right, for it agrees with Saxo (Introduction p. xxvii); the latter figure must depend on a copyist’s error at some stage.
Hervör gekk ofan skyndiliga ok kallar lúðrsvein sinn ok bað blása saman lið; ok síðan mælti Hervör, ‘Takið vápn yður ok búzík til orrostu, en þú, Ormarr, ríð í mótt Húnum ok bjóð þeim orrostu a fyrir borgarhliðiði inu syðra.’

Ormarr kvað:

(90) Skal ek víst riða
ok b rød bera,
Gota c þjóðum
gunni at heyja.1

Þá reið Ormarr af borginni mótt Húnum; hann kallaði þá hátt, bað þá riða til borgarinnar,—‘ok úti fyrir borgarhliðinu suðr á vellunum þar býð ek yðr til d orrostu; þíði e þeir þar annarra, er fyrir koma.’

Nú reið Ormarr aprí til borgarinnar, ok var þá Hervör alðun ok allr hennar herr. Síðan riðu þau út af borginni með allan herinn móti Húnum; höfsk þar allmikil orrosta. En með því at Húnar hafa lið miklu meira, sneri mannfallið í lið þeira Hervarar, ok um síðir fell Hervör ok mikit lið umhverfis hana. En er Ormarr sá fall hennar, þá fylgði hann ok allir þeir, er lítlt dugðu.’ Ormarr reið dag ok nót, sem mest mátti hann, á fund Angantýs konungs í Árheimi; Húnar taka nú at herja um landit viða ok at brenna.

Ok sem Ormarr kom fyrir Angantý konung, þá kvað hann 2:

(91) Sunnan em ek kominn
at segja spjóll þessi:
sviðin er qll in mæra e
Myrkvíðar h heíðr, i
drífí qll Goþjóð
gumna blóði.

Ok enn kvað hann:

(92) Mey veit ek Hervöru
Heiðreks döttur, k

---

a ord 203  b ok í U, í 203  c Gauta U, 203  d í 203
b biðja 203  e lítt dugðu U, 203, líft þágu Buggle and later editions
in mæra added Edd. Min., mork ok papp. fol. 120 (alliteration lacking in U, 203)
h Myrkvíðar later corr. in 203 from -heíðar, Myrkheiðr U
i heíði 203, om. U
k Mey . . . döttur em. Scharovolski (cited by Helgason), Mey veit ek Heiðreks U, 203

1 This verse is corrupt; the prose context suggests strongly that Ornar
Hervör went down swiftly and called her trumpeter, and ordered him to blow a summons to the host; and then she said, 'Take your weapons and make ready for battle; but do you, Ormar, ride to meet the Huns, and challenge them to battle before the south gate of the stronghold.'

Ormar answered:

(90) Surely shall I ride,  
     my shield holding,  
     to give battle  
     for the Gothic people!¹

Then Ormar rode out of the fortress towards the Huns; he called out in a great voice and told them to ride on to the fortress — 'and outside the stronghold-gate, in the plains to the south, there I offer you battle; and let them await the others, those who first come there.'

Now Ormar rode back to the fortress, and Hervör was ready, and all her army. They rode out of the stronghold with all the garrison to meet the Huns; and there a most mighty battle arose. But since the Huns had by far the larger army the slaughter became heavier in Hervör's host; and at last Hervör fell, and a great company around her. When Ormar saw her fall he fled away, and all the rest, who were fainthearted. Day and night Ormar rode, as fast as he could, to reach King Angantýr in Árheimar; but the Huns began now to ravage and burn far and wide across the land.

When Ormar came before Angantýr the king, he said²:

(91) From the south have I come  
     to speak these tidings:  
     fire in the marches  
     of Mirkwood is raging,  
     with the gore of men  
     all Gothland's sprinkled!

And more he spoke:

(92) I know that Hervör  
     Heidrek's daughter,  

said he would challenge the Huns (i.e. 'to fight the Goths'), and lines to this effect have doubtless been lost after bera.

¹ On the very damaged verses that follow see Introduction, p. xxii
systur þína,  
svigna til jarðar;  
hafa Húnar  
hana fellda  
ok marga aðra  
yðra þegna.

(93) Léttari\(^a\) gerðiðk hon at bóð\(^b\)  
en við bíðil ræða,  
eða í bekk at fara  
at brúðargangi.\(^c\)

Angantyr konungr, þá er\(^d\) hann heyrði þetta, brá hann grónum ok  
tök seint til orða ok mælti þetta um síðir: ‘Óbróðurliga vartu leikin, in  
ágæta systir!’\(^3\) Ok síðan leit hann yfir hirðina, ok var ekki mart liðs  
med honum. Hann kvað þá:

(94) Mjökk várnum vér margir,  
er vér mjöð drukkum;  
nú erum vér færi,  
er vér fleiri skyldum.

(95) Sé ek eigi mann\(^e\)  
fínu líði,  
þótt ek bíðja  
ok baugum kaupa,  
er muni ríða  
ok‘ rönd bera  
ok þeira\(^f\) Húna  
herlíð finna.

Gizurr gamli sagði:

(96) Ek mun þik\(^h\) engis  
eyris krefja

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\(^a\) léttari em. Petersen, littari 203, om. U  
\(^b\) at bóð em. Edd. Min., at baðni U, á hauði 203  
\(^c\) eða ...-gangi 203; ad leik i sarna enn ad lundur geingu U, at leiki járna,  
en und líní ganga Edd. Min., cf. Kock FF § 19  
\(^d\) er om. 203  
\(^e\) mann em. Bugge, þann U, 203  
\(^f\) í U, 203  
\(^g\) þeir U, 203  
\(^h\) þar 203

\(^1\) A word meaning ‘battle’ is needed here; bóð (cf. baðni U) supplies a
your own sister,
has sunk to the earth;
the Hun foemen
felled the maiden
and many more
of your men by her —

(93) in war¹ more happy
than in wooer’s converse,
or at bridal banquet²
on bench to seat her.

When King Angantýr heard this, he drew back his lips, and was
slow to speak; at last he said, ‘In no brotherly fashion have you been
treated, my noble sister.’³ Then he cast his eye over his following,
and no great company was there with him; and he said:

(94) Full many we were
at the mead-drinking;
when more are needed
the number is smaller.

(95) I see not the man
among my lieges,
not though I begged him
and bribed him with rings,
who would surely ride,
his shield bearing,
to seek out the host
of the Hun people.

Then Gizur the old spoke:

(96) No single ounce
do I ask from you,

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¹ b-alliteration, but the MS forms suggest that a disyllabic form underlies
them. The line is overfilled and altogether corrupt.
² The brúðargangr was the procession of the bride and ladies from the
brúðarhús (bride’s chamber) to the stofa (see Glossary) for the feast. The
divergence between the manuscripts here is remarkable; the ingenious restora-
tion of U in Edda’s Minor is a virtual repetition of the preceding lines: járna
leikr a kenning for ‘battle,’ and ganga und lini ‘to be wedded.’
³ Some editors give these words of Angantýr as verse.
né skjallanda\(^a\)
skarf\(^1\) ór gulli\(^2\);
þó mun ek ríða
ok\(^5\) rønd bera,
Húnú þjóðum
herstaf\(^6\) bjóða.\(^3\)

Þat váru log Heiðreks konungs, ef herr var í landi, en landskonungr haslæð\(^4\) voll\(^4\) ok lagði orrostustað, þá skyldu vígningar ekki herja, áðr orrostan væri reynd.

Gizurr herklæddisk með göðum hervápnum ok hljóp á hest sinn, sem ungr væri. Þá mælti hann til konungs:

(97) Hvar skal ek Húnum
hervígg kenna?

Angantýr konungr kvað:

(98) Kenndu dylgju\(^5\)
á’ Dúnheidi,
orrostu undir\(^6\)
Jassarfjollum\(^8\);
þar’ opt Gotar
gunní\(^k\) háðu
ok fagran sigr
frægir vágu.\(^1\)

Nú reið Gizurr í burt ok þar til er hann kom í her Húna; hann reið eigi nær en svá, at hann máttí tala við þá. Þá kallar hann hári røddu ok kvað:

\(^{a}\) skjallanda em. Bugge, skialldanda \(U\), skulldanda 203
\(^{b}\) í \(U\), 203
\(^{c}\) herstaf A.M. 202k, gunni at \(U\), 203 (without alliteration)
\(^{d}\) haslæði later corr. in 203 from halsæði (\(U\) unclear)
\(^{e}\) at Dilgju \(U\), á Dylgju 203 later corr. to Dyngju
\(^{f}\) ok á þeim öllum \(U\), 203, oldnum for öllum Kock FF § 20
\(^{g}\) thus \(U\), 203, later corr. in 203 to Jósur-
\(^{h}\) bar \(U\), báru 203
\(^{i}\) gunni em. Verelius, gú \(U\), ok geir 203, egleik Edd. Min.

\(^{1}\) The word skarfr only occurs here, though relatives of it are known, and it is cited in a nineteenth-century dictionary with the meaning ‘diabolus, 4 skilling’ (Haldorsen, Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum, 1814).

\(^{2}\) Bugge understood skjallandi skarfrór gulli to mean ‘a piece of gold of sufficient weight to make a ringing noise when thrown into a shield or bowl’; Saxo (ed. Holder 298) has a story of how the Frisians once had to pay a tax by casting coins into a shield, but only those that made a noise loud enough
THE SAGA OF KING HEIDREK THE WISE

no single coin;  
of clinking gold;  
yet ride I shall,  
my shield bearing,  
and to the Hun army  
offer the war-staff.

Now it was the law of King Heidrek that if an army were invading 
a land and the king of that country marked out a field with hazel-poles 
and ordained a place of battle, then the raiders should do no ravaging 
before the battle's issue was decided.

Gizur now clad himself for war with good weapons, and leapt upon 
his horse as if he were a youth. Then he said to the king:

(97) Where shall the Huns be 
to war hidden?

The king answered:

(98) On the Danube-heath 
below the Hills of Ash 
shall you call them to fight, 
their foes meeting; 
there often Goths 
have given battle,  
renown gaining 
in noble victories.

Now Gizur rode away until he came to the host of the Huns; but 
his rode no nearer than within earshot, and called out in a great voice:

to catch the ear of the toll-gatherer, who was sitting twelve rooms away, were 
reckoned up.

3 herstaf must be accounted a very early, and rather surprising, emendation, 
for A.M. 202k descends from A.M. 203 and is not an independent witness 
to the text (Helgason p. xxxviii); herstaf is not otherwise known; it might 
mean 'battle-stave,' 'battle-rune' (cf. Beowulf 501, beado-run), but it is reminiscent 
of the phrase 'to send out the war-arrow (her-or),' as a token that war 
threatened.

4 It is likely that originally only a very small area was 'hazelled,' and that 
in later use hasia voll meant no more than 'determine a place of battle.'

5 This emendation, made also in verse 100, see Introduction p. xxiv.

6 Though the repetition of three lines out of four tells nothing for certain, of 
course, about the fourth.
(99) Felmtr er yðru fylki, 
feigr er yðarr vísr, 
gnæfar\(^a\) yðr gunnfani,\(^b\) 
gramr er yðr Óðinn!

Ok enn:

(100) Byð ek yðr dylgju\(^c\) 
á\(^d\) Dünheiði, 
orrostu undir 
Jassarfjöllum\(^e\); . . .\(^1\) 
ok láti svá Óðinn flein fljúga 
sem ek fyrir mæli!\(^2\)

Pá Hlóðr hafði heyrt orð Gizurar, þá kvað hann:

(101) Taki þér Gizur 
Grýtingaliða,\(^f\) 
mann Angantýs, 
kominn af Árheimum!

Humli konungr sagði, ‘Eigi skulum árum spilla, þeim er fara 
einir saman.’\(^3\)

Gizurr mælti, ‘Ekki gera\(^g\) Húnar oss felmträða\(^h\) né hornbogar\(^4\) 
yðrir!’\(^5\) Gizurr drap þá hest sinn með sporum ok reið á fund Angantýs 
konungs ok gekk fyrir hann ok kvædi hann vel. Konungr spurði, 
hvárt hann hefði fundit konunga.\(^i\) 
Gizurr mælti, ‘Talaða ek við þá 
ok stefnda ek þeim á vigvoll á Dünheiði\(^k\) í\(^l\) dylgjóðum.’\(^m\)

Angantýr spyrð, hvat mikit líð Húnar hafa. Gizurr mælti, ‘Mikit 
er þeira mengi’:

\(^a\) gnæfr 203
\(^b\) gunnfari 203
\(^c\) at Dilgju \(U\), at Dylgju 203 later corr. to Dyngju
\(^d\) ok á \(U\), 203
\(^e\) Jassar- 203 (later corr. to Josur-), Jassa- \(U\). After this 203 has hræse yður at 
há hverju and \(U\) hrosi yður at hái hverjum
\(^f\) Grýtingaliða added Bugge, om. \(U\), 203
\(^g\) gerar 203
\(^h\) vélaða 203
\(^i\) konunginn \(U\), konung 203
\(^k\) Dúna heiði \(U\)
\(^l\) á \(U\), 203
\(^m\) Dingju- \(U\), 203
(99) Daunted are your legions,
doomed your leader,
banners rise over you,
Óðin is wrathful!

And then he said:

(100) On the Danube-heath
below the Hills of Ash
I call you to fight,
your foes meeting; . . .
may Óðin let the dart fly
as I prescribe it!

When Hlöð heard the words of Gizur, he cried:

(101) Seize you Gizur
Grytingalidi,
Angantýr’s man
come from Árheimar!

But Humli the king answered him, ‘We must not harm heralds
who ride alone.’

Then Gizur said, ‘Neither the Huns nor their hornbows make us
afraid!’ Then he struck spurs to his horse and rode back to King
Angantýr, and went before him, and greeted him with fair words.
The king asked whether he had met with the kings of the Huns, and
Gizur answered, ‘I spoke with them, and summoned them to the
battlefield on the Danube Heath, in the dales of strife.’

Angantýr asked how great was the host of the Huns, and Gizur
replied, ‘Huge is their multitude’:

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1 The words following Jassarjfjollum in the manuscripts are quite in-
comprehensible, and the passage beyond repair. Neither "hide" nor "hár
rowlock" would give any sense. (Cf. Kock, FF § 23, NN § 2377.)
2 Gizur here clearly hurls his javelin over the Huns, and so dedicates
them to the god (see Appendix C). The verse is obviously corrupt.
3 Humli’s words, or some of them, are often given as verse.
4 hornbogi is a rare word in Norse, in Scandinavia apparently known only
as the name of a foreign weapon, and of somewhat uncertain meaning (but
probably ‘bow reinforced with horn’). (Falk, Altnord. Waffen, 91.)
5 This odd sentence, with Húnar gera in the third person followed by
yðir (‘your’), is no doubt the confused remnant of a verse.
(102) Sex ein eru
seggjaʊ fylki,
 i fylki hverju
 fimm þúsundir,
i þúsund hverri e
 þrettán hundruð,d
i hundraði hverju
 halir e fjórtaldir.1

Angantyr spyr nú til Húna hers; þá sendi hann menn alla vegu
frá sér ok stefndi hverjum manni til sín, er honum vildi lið veita ok
vápnun mátti valda. Fór hann þá á Dúnheidi með lið sitt, ok var þat
allmikill herr; kom þá á móti honum herr Húna, ok hofðu liðg hálfu
meira.

Á Óðrum degi hófu þeir sínra orrostu ok börðusk allan þann dag ok
fóru at kveldi í herbuðir sínar. Þeir börðusk svá átta daga, at hofðing-
jarnir váru þá allir heilir, en engi vissi manntal, hvat mart fell. En
bæði dag ok nött dreif lið til Angantyrs af öllum áttum, ok þá kom svá,
at hann hafði ekki færa flokk en í fyrrstu. Varð nú orrostan enn ákaðari
en fyrr; váru Húnar ákaðir ok sá þá þáinn kost, at sú ein var lífs ván, ef
þeir sigruðusk, h ok íilt mundi Gota gríða at bíðja. Gotar vorðu frelsi
sitt ok fóstrjórð fyrir Húnum, stóðu því fast, ok eggjaði hverr annan.
Þá á leið daginn, gerðu Gotar atgöngu svá hárda, at fylkingar Húna
svignuðu fyrir; ok er Angantyr sá þat, gekk hann fram òr skjaldborginni
ok í óndverða fylking ok hafði í hendi Tyræing ok hjó þá bæði
menn ok hesta; raufsk þá fylking fyrir Húna konungum, ok skipustuk
þeir breðr húggum við. Þar fell Hlóðr ok Humli konungr, ok þá
tóku Húnar at flýja, en Gotar drápu þá ok felldu svá mikinn val, at ár
stemmdusk ok fellu òr vegum, en dalir váru fullir af dauðum mönnnum
ok hestum.

1 a sex . . . seggja U, v.c. eru l 203
b í om. U, 203
c hverri þúsund 203, hverri U
d hundruð manna U, 203
e hals 203
f hers om. 203
g liðu 203
h sigruðusk eir U, 203
i svignaði 203
j þeir breðr om. 203
(102) Of soldiers have they
six phalanxes,
every phalanx
has five thousands,
every thousand
thirteen hundreds,
and a full hundred
is four times counted.¹

Angantýr learnt now of the strength of the Hunnish host, and then
he sent out messengers to every quarter, summoning to him every man
who could bear arms and would give him service. He marched then
to the Danube Heath with his army, and it was very great; and the
Hunnish host came against him, and it was as great again.

On the next day they began the battle, and all that day they fought,
and in the evening they went to their tents. They fought thus for
eight days without the captains being wounded, but no-one could
number the fallen. But both by day and night men thronged in to
Angantýr from every quarter, and thus it was that he had no fewer
men than at the beginning of the battle. And now the fighting grew
yet more bitter than before; the Huns were ferocious, seeing their
case, that only in victory lay hope of life, and that it would be of little
avail to ask quarter of the Goths. But the Goths were defending their
freedom and the land of their birth against the Huns, and for this they
stood firm, and each man urged on his comrade. When the day was
far spent the Goths pressed on so hard that the Hunnish legions gave
way before them; and seeing this Angantýr strode out from behind
the shield-wall and up into the foremost rank, and in his hand he held
Tyrsing, and he cut down both men and horses; then the ranks fell
apart before the kings of the Huns, and brother struck at brother.
There Hlöd fell and Humli the king, and the Huns took to flight; but
the Goths slew them, and made such carnage that the rivers were
choked and turned from their courses, and the valleys were filled with
dead men and horses.

¹ halir fjórtalbír, lit. ‘men four times counted,’ i.e. ‘quadrupled,’ which is
obscure. The prose before verse 89 has fennir fjörir tigir, ‘four times forty.’
In neither passage do the words þúsund and hundrad (usually = 120) appear to
be used as numbers at all.
Angantýr gekk þá at kanna valinn ok fann Hlöð\textsuperscript{a} bróður sinn; þá kvað hann:

\begin{verbatim}
(103) Bauð ek þér, bróðir, basmir\textsuperscript{b} óskerðar,\textsuperscript{c}
fé ok fjóld meiðma, sem þik\textsuperscript{d} fremst tíddi;
nú hefir þú hvárki hildar at gjöldum ljósa bauga
né land ekki.
\end{verbatim}

Ok enn kvað hann:

\begin{verbatim}
(104) Bölvat er okkr, bróðir, bani em ek þinn orðinn;
þat mun æ\textsuperscript{e} uppi,
illr er dómr norna.\textsuperscript{2}
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{a} Hlöðr 203
\textsuperscript{b} basmir \textit{em. Verelius}, basmir \textit{U}, empty space 203
\textsuperscript{c} óskir tvær 203
\textsuperscript{d} þik \textit{em. Petersen}, mik \textit{U}, 203
\textsuperscript{e} æ \textit{em. Bugge (cf. Völuspá 16)}, enn \textit{U}, 203

\textsuperscript{1} The reading basmir with a sense ‘rings’ or ‘treasure’ has been generally accepted \textit{faute de mieux}, but in fact the word is unknown (suggestions concerning it are made by Bugge, \textit{NS}, and Kock, \textit{NN} § 2378).

\textsuperscript{2} The Norns were the embodiment of the conception of fate in the ancient mythology, shading off into that of other supernatural women (\textit{disir, fylgjur},
Angantýr went to search among the slain, and finding his brother Hlöd he said:

(103) Treasures\(^1\) uncounted,
kinsman, I offered you,
wealth and cattle
well to content you;
but for war's reward
you have won neither
realm more spacious
nor rings glittering.

And then he said:

(104) We are cursed, kinsman,
your killer am I!
It will be never forgotten;
the Norns'\(^2\) doom is evil.

\(^{1}\) Valkyries, the divinities who choose and conduct the slain warriors to Valhalla.

\(^{2}\) Norns, the three fates who preside over human destiny. They are also known as the Fates in Greek mythology, and the Wyrd in Germanic tradition.
Angantýr var lengi konungr í Reiðgotalandi; hann var ríkr ok hermaðr mikill, ok eru frá honum komnar konunga ÿttir. Sonr hans var Heiðrekr úlfshamr, er síðan var lengi konungr á Reiðgotalandi; hann átti döttur, er Hildr hét; hon var módir Hálfdanar snjalla, foður Ívars ins víðfaðma. Ívarr inn víðfaðmi kom með her sinn í Sviaveldi, sem segir í konungu sögum; en Ingjaldr konungr inn illráði hraðdisk her hans ok brendi sík sjálfir inni með allri hirð sinni á þeim stað er á Rænippi. Ívarr inn víðfaðmi laði þá undir sík allt Sviaveldi; hann vann ok Danaveldi ok Kúrlan, Saxland ok Eistland ok òll austrfríkí allt til Gárðaríkis; hann réð ok vestra Saxlandi ok vann hlut Englanda; þat er kallat Nördumbraland. Ívarr inn víðfaðmi laði þá undir sík allt Danaveldi, ok síðan setti hann þar yfir Valdar konung ok gipti honum Álfhildi döttur sina. Þeira sonr var Haraldr hilditönn ok Randvér, er síðan fell á Englandi. En Valdarr andaðisk í Danmork; tok þá Randvér Danaríki ok gerðisk konungr yfir; en Haraldr hilditönn lét gefa sér konungsnað í Gautlandi, ok síðan

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1 The history of Sweden described in this last section of the saga is for the most part extremely obscure, and the following notes are mainly limited to some indications of place and time, and of corroboration or disagreement in other Scandinavian works. The best English translation of Snorri Sturluson’s Heimskringla, often referred to below, is The Stories of the Kings of Norway, trans. Morris and Magnússon (The Saga Library, I–III, 1893–1905). Some modern works bearing on the subject are: H. Schück, Sveriges förkristna konungalängd, 1910, and the same author in Arkiv XII (1896) 217 ff.; B. Nerman, Sveriges älsta konungalängder, 1914, and Det svenska rikets uppkomst, 1925; G. Turville-Petre, The Heroic Age of Scandinavia, 1951.

2 Arngrimur Jónsson, in his Latin epitome of the lost Skjöldunga Saga, says that this name either means that Heidrek was a shape-shifter, taking the form of a wolf, or else is a figurative indication of his savagery (Bibliotheca Arnamagnœana, 1950, 353). Arngrimur gives the same genealogy to Ívar as is found here.

3 Ívar was one of the most famous of the half-legendary kings of the North, but it is impossible to know how much truth there is in the descriptions of his
II

Angantyr was long king in Reidgotaland; he was mighty, and a great warrior, and lines of kings are sprung from him. His son was Heidrek Wolfskin, who afterwards was long king in Reidgotaland; he had a daughter who was named Hild, and she was the mother of Hálfdan the Valiant, the father of Ívar the Wide-grasping. Ívar came to Sweden with his army, as is told in the sagas of the kings; but King Ingjald the Wicked feared his host and burned himself and all his retinue with him in his own house, at the place called Ræning. Then Ívar the Wide-grasping made all Sweden subject to himself; he conquered also Denmark and Kurland, the land of the Saxons and the land of the Esths, and all the eastern realms as far as the confines of Gardariki; he ruled also the land of the Saxons to the west, and conquered that part of England which is called Northumbria. Ívar the Wide-grasping subjected to himself all the realm of the Danes, and set over it King Valdar, giving to him Álfhild his daughter for his wife. Their sons were Harald War-tooth and Randvér, who was afterwards slain in England. But Valdar died in Denmark, and Randvér succeeded to the Danish realm and became king over it; Harald War-tooth took to himself the name of king in Gautland, and afterwards laid beneath

vast realm (a very similar account of his conquests is given in Ynglinga Saga ch. 41). His father is said to have been the great-grandson of Hrothgar, king of the Danes in Beowulf, and he himself may have reigned in the later seventh century.

4 i.e. Heimskringla

5 Ingjald, most famous of the Yngling kings of Sweden, was the great-grandson of Adils, the Eadgils of Beowulf. The story of how he increased his power by inviting all the petty kings to his inheritance feast at Uppsala and burning the hall down over their heads is told in Ynglinga Saga chs. 34 ff., and the story of his own burning in ch. 40.

6 This name is found also in the verse of the Ynglingatal cited by Snorri (op. cit. ch. 40); it was probably a place on Tosterö in Lake Mälaren. The original form of the name is discussed by A. Noreen, Ynglingatal, 1925, 243.

7 Modern Latvia, west of the Gulf of Riga

8 The sources do not agree in the section of the genealogy between Ívar and Harald War-tooth (cf. Flateyjarbók I 26), and the personages involved, Valdar and Randvér, are very obscure. Harald War-tooth is an important figure in Saxo’s history (ed. Holder 246 ff., trans. Elton 296 ff.).

9 i.e. modern Gästland, the land of the Geatas in Beowulf
lagði hann undir sik òll framan nefnd ríki, er Ívarr konungr inn víð-faðmi hafði átt.\(^1\)

Randvér konungr fekk Æsu, döttur Haralds konungs ins gran-rauða\(^a\) nordan ór Nóregi\(^2\); sonr þeira var Sigurðr hringer.\(^3\) Randvér konungr varð bráðdauðr, en Sigurðr hringer tók konungdóm í Dan-mark. Hann bardísk við Harald konung hilditönn á Brávellí í eystra Gautlandi,\(^b\) ok þar fell Haraldr konungr ok mikill fjóldi liðs.\(^4\) Þessarar orrostu hefir helzt verit getit í fornun sogum, ok mest mannfall í orði, ok sú, er Angantýr ok hans bróðir Hlöðr borgskuk á Dúnheiði. Sigurðr konungr hringer réð Danarfiki til dauðadags, en eptir hann Ragnarr konungr loðbrók\(^5\) sonr hans.

Són Haralds hilditannar hét Eysteinn inn illráði; hann tók Svárfíki eptir fðurinn sinn ok réð því, þar til er synir Ragnarss konungs\(^6\) felldu hann, svá sem segir í hans sognu.\(^7\) Þeir synir Ragnarss konungs loððu þá undir sík Sváveldi, en eptir dauða Ragnarss konungs tók Bjørn sonr hans jarnsíða\(^8\) Sváveldi, Sigurðr Danaveldi, Hvitserkr Austriki, Ívarr inn beinlausi England.\(^9\) Synir Bjarnar jarnsíðu várú þeir Eiríkr ok Refill; hann var herkonungr ok segkonungr, en Eiríkr var\(^c\) konungr yfir Svárfíki eptir fðurinn sinn, ok lífði litla hrið. Þá tók ríkit Eiríkr sonr

\(^{a}\) granrauða em. Ant. Russes, Garnranda U, Gotranda 203
\(^{b}\) Gotlandi U, 203
\(^{c}\) var om. 203 (réð for var yfir U)

1 It is debated to what extent Harald War-tooth actually won back his grandfather Ívar’s great kingdom, but it seems likely that he was king of all Denmark and at least a large area in Sweden.

2 He was king of Agdir in the south of Norway; but according to Ynglinga Saga ch. 48 his daughter Æsa married Gudröd, king of Westfold; their son was Harald the Black, father of Harald the Fair-haired.

3 Sigurd Ring is said in most sources, as here, to have been Harald’s nephew, but elsewhere he appears as ruler in Sweden (e.g. Saxo, ed. Holder 250); see next note.

4 As the text says, this was one of the greatest of all battles in Scandinavain history, and was long celebrated by poets and chroniclers; it took place about the middle of the eighth century, and part of the name almost certainly survives in Bräviken, the narrow gulf in Östergötland at the head of which Norrköping lies, but it is quite uncertain what actually happened there. It is not clear what territories Sigurd Ring ruled over, but it is not unlikely that his hosts at Brávöll represent the rising of parts of Sweden against the Danish supremacy in the North, and the bringing of that supremacy to an end.

5 Ragnar Lodbrók was the pre-eminent viking hero of legend, and a central figure in the body of popular tales that grew up round the coming of the Danish ‘Great Army’ to England in 865, and the death of St Edmund, king of East Anglia. A viking leader named Ragnar certainly existed, and led a raid
him all the realms aforesaid, over which King Ívar the Wide-grasping had been lord.¹

King Randvér took as his wife Ása, daughter of King Harald the Red-bearded, from Norway in the north,² and their son was Sigurd Ring.³ The death of King Randvér was sudden, and Sigurd Ring succeeded to the kingdom of the Danes. He fought with King Harald War-tooth at Brávöll in eastern Gautland, and there fell King Harald and a mighty array.⁴ This battle, and that which Angantýr and Hlód his brother fought on the Danube Heath, are the most renowned in the ancient tales, with the greatest count of slain. King Sigurd Ring ruled over Denmark till the day of his death, and his son King Ragnar Hairy-breeches⁵ after him.

The son of King Harald War-tooth was named Eystein the Wicked; he succeeded to the Swedish realm after his father, and ruled over it until the sons of King Ragnar⁶ slew him, as is told in his saga.⁷ The sons of King Ragnar subjected to themselves the realm of the Swedes, but after the death of King Ragnar his son Björn Ironside⁸ took the Swedish throne, Sigurd the Danish, Hvítserk the Eastern kingdom, and Ívar the Boneless England.⁹ The sons of Björn Ironside were Eiríkr and Refil; Refil was a war-lord and a sea-king, but King Eiríkr ruled Sweden after his father, and he lived only a little while. Then Eiríkr the son of Refil inherited the kingdom; he was a great warrior

up the Seine to Paris in 845, while some at least of the numerous legendary progeny of Lodbrók were historical persons, leaders in the viking campaigns in the West after the middle of the ninth century. The tradition that intrudes Lodbrók into the line of the kings of Sweden is quite unhistorical. See A. Mawer, in Saga-book of the Viking Society VI (1908) 68 ff.; Hermann, 613 ff.

⁶ The sons of Ragnar were many, by different wives, and show many variations in the sources (of which the chief are Saxo, ed. Holder 300 ff., and Ragnars Saga, ed. M. Olsen, S.T.U.A.G.N.L. XXXVI). The four who appear here are said in Ragnars Saga to be the sons of Áslaug, who was herself the daughter of Sigurd Fáfnir’s Bane and Brynhild, and thus the Lodbrók legend is linked to the story of the Nibelungs.

⁷ Ragnars Saga, chs. 9–12

⁸ Björn Ironside was one of the leaders of the celebrated viking voyage to the Mediterranean in 859–62.

⁹ According to Ragnars Saga ch. 7, because Ragnar Lodbrók broke the three nights’ abstinence after their wedding that his wife demanded, their eldest son Ívar was born with gristle instead of bones, and could not walk; but he made up for this in cunning. He was the most famous of the original leaders of the Danish attack on England in the reign of Æthelred I, but before the movement into Wessex in 870 he had disappeared from history.
Refils; hann var mikill hermaðr ok allríkr konungr. Eiríks synir Bjarnarsonar a váru þeir þúnndr b uppsali ok Björn konungr; þá e kom Svárkfi enn í bræðraskipti; þeir tóku d ríki eptir Eirík Refilsson.

Björn konungr eftí þann stað, er at Haugi heitir; hann var kallaðr Björn at Haugr 1; með honum var Bragi skáld. 2 Eiríkr hét sonr Þúnundar  e konungs, er ríki tók eptir þður sinn at Uppslum; hann var ríkr konungr. Á hans dagum höfisk til ríkis í Nóregir Haraldr konungr inn hárfragi, er fyrstr kom einvaldi í Nóregir  sinna ættmannna, 3 Björn hét sonr Eiríks  at Uppslum; hann tók ríki eptir þður sinn ok réð lengi. 4 Synir Bjarnar váru þeir Eiríkr inn sigrsæli ok Óláfhr; þeir tóku ríki eptir þður sinn ok konungðom; Óláfhr var fáðr Styrbjarnar ins sterka. Á þeira dagum andaðsk Haraldr konungr inn hárfragi. 5

Styrbjörn bardísk við Eirík konung þðurbróður sinn á Fyrísvllum; þar fell Styrbjörn. 6 Síðan réð Eiríkr Svárkfi til dauðadags; hann átti Sigríði ina stórráðu. 7 Óláfhr hét sonr þeira, er til konungs var tekinn í Svíþjóð eptir Eirík konung; hann var þá barn, ok báru Svár hann eptir sér; því kolluðu þeir hann skautkonung, en síðan Óláfðæska. Hann var lengi konungr ok ríkr; hann tók fyrst kristni Svíkonunga, ok um hans daga var Svíþjóð kolluð kristin. 8

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a Eiríks synir Bjarnarsonar *em. Munch*; Bjarnar synir U, 203
b Þúnundr *em. Munch*, Eiríkr U, 203
c þó 203
d taka 203

1 In 829 a king of the Swedes called Bernus (Björn) invited the Emperor Louis the Pious to send Christian missionaries into Sweden, an invitation that led to the founding of the church at Birka on Lake Mälaren by St Anskar; and it has been generally supposed that this king was Björn of the Barrow. But see G. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, 1953, 35 ff., for reasons against this identification.

2 Bragi Boddason the Old, if not the founder of scaldic poetry, is the first known scaldic poet. It appears that he lived in Norway, and probably during the latter part of the ninth century. See *C.P.B.* II 2 ff.; L. M. Hollander, *The Skalds*, 1945, 25 ff.; J. de Vries, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte* I, 1941, 91 ff. Bragi is named as scald of Björn of the Barrow in the *Skáldatal* or List of Scalds (*Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. G. Jónsson, 1949, 340), and in *Egils Saga* ch. 59 it is said that having fallen foul of King Björn of Sweden Bragi ransomed himself by composing, in one night, a drápa of twenty stanzas in his praise.

3 Harald the Fair-haired is a traditional translation of his name; but ‘fair’ means ‘beautiful’ (for explanation of the name see *Haralds Saga Hárfragr* ch. 4). Harald became master of every state in Norway after the battle of Hafrsfjörd, which is now thought to have been fought about 885–90. The Swedish king contemporary with Harald is called Eiríkr son of Emund, not of
and a very mighty king. The sons of Eiríkr son of Björn were Önund of Uppsala and King Björn, and in those days Sweden came again to be divided between brothers; they had the kingdom after Eiríkr the son of Refil.

King Björn built the place called Barrow, and he was called Björn of the Barrow\(^1\); Bragi the skald dwelt with him.\(^2\) The son of King Önund was named Eiríkr, who succeeded his father on the throne at Uppsala; he was a mighty king. In his days Harald the Fair-haired raised himself to the throne in Norway, first of his kindred to bring Norway under the rule of one king.\(^3\) The son of King Eiríkr at Uppsala was named Björn, who possessed the kingdom after his father, and ruled it long.\(^4\) The sons of Björn were Eiríkr the Victorious and Óláf, who succeeded to the realm and kingly power after their father. Óláf was the father of Styrbjörn the Strong. In their days King Harald the Fair-haired died.\(^5\)

Styrbjörn fought with King Eiríkr his father’s brother at Fýrisvellir, and there Styrbjörn fell.\(^6\) Eiríkr ruled the realm of Sweden thereafter till the day of his death, and his wife was Sigríð the Ambitious\(^7\); their son was named Óláf, and he was adopted as king in Sweden after King Eiríkr. He was then a child, and the Swedes carried him about with them, and therefore they called him Cloak-king, but afterwards Óláf the Swede. He was king for a long time and very mighty. First of the kings of Sweden he received the Christian faith, and Sweden was in name Christian in his days.\(^8\)

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\(^{1}\) Snorri says that this Björn was king of Sweden for fifty years (Haralds Saga Hárfagra ch. 29).

\(^{2}\) It is now thought that Harald died about 940–5.

\(^{3}\) It was during the battle of Fýrisvellir that Ódin appeared to Eiríkr, as described in Appendix C. Fýrisvellir is near Uppsala; the battle probably took place about 985, and the death of Eiríkr about 995. The story of Styrbjörn and the battle of Fýrisvellir is told in Styrbjarnar þáttr, Flateyjarbók II 70 ff.

\(^{4}\) Eiríkr’s widow got this name after burning two suitor kings (including Harald Grenski of Westfold, father of St Óláf) in her hall, saying that ‘she would make these little kings tired of courting her’ (Óláfs Saga Tryggvasonar ch. 43).

\(^{5}\) King Óláf came to the throne of Sweden at the same time as Óláf Tryggvason (995–1000) embarked on the conversion of Norway; and he was baptised in Västergötland by an English bishop about 1008. His extreme unpopularity with the Swedes forced him ultimately to retire to Västergötland, where he built a church at Skara; he died in 1021 or 1022.
Qnundr hét sonr Óláfs konungs sænska,1 er konungdóm tók eptir hann ok varð sótt dauðr. Á hans dagum fell Óláfr konungr helgi á Stiklastøðum.2 Eymundr3 hét annarr sonr Óláfs sænska, er konungdóm tók eptir bróður sinn; um hans daga heldu Svíar illa kristni. Eymundr4 var litla hrifo konungr.

Steinkell hét rík maðr í Svíaríki ok kynstörr; módir hans hét Ástriðr dóttir Njáls Finnssonar5 ins skjálda af Hálogalandi; en faðir hans var Rognvaldr inn gamli. Steinkell var fyrst6 jarl í Svípjóð, en eptir dauða Eymundar7 konungs töku Svíar hann til konungs; þá gekk konungdómrinn or langfægaett í Svípjóð inna forn konunga. Steinkell var mikill hofðingi; hann átti dóttur Eymundar8 konungs; hans varð sótt dauðr í Svípjóð nær því er Haraldr konungr fell á Englandi.4 Ingi9 hét sonr Steinkells, er Svíar töku til konungs næst eptir Hákon.10 Ingi var þar lengi konungr ok vinsæll ok vel kristinn6; hann eyddi blótom í Svípjóð ok bað folk allt þar at kristnask; en Svíar hofðu ofmikinn átrúnað á heiðnum goðum ok heldu fornun siðum. Ingi konungr gekk at eiga þá konu, er Mær hét; bróðir hennar hét Sveinn. Inga konungi þoknaðisk engi maðr svá vel, ok varð Sveinn því í Svípjóð inn ríkasti maðr. Svíum þótti Ingi konungr brjóta forn landslag á sér, er hann vandaði um þá hluti margu, er Steinkell faðir hans hafði standa látt. Á þingi nökkuru, er Svíar áttu við Inga konung, gerðu þeir honum tvá kosti, hvárt hann vildi heldr halda við þá forn log eða láta af konungdómi. Þá mælti Ingi konungr

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1 King Óláf was forced by the Swedes to appoint his young son as joint ruler (Óláfs Saga Helga ch. 94). This son was born on the eve of the feast of St Jacob (James), and was christened Jacob; but the Swedes objected to this strange name, and called him Ónund (ibid., ch. 88).
2 St Ólaf, expelled by Knútr in 1028, was leading a large and various army into Norway in the midsummer of 1030 when he was met by a vast host drawn from northern and western Norway at Stiklastadir, about forty miles from Nidarós (modern Trondheim). There are records of the battle in many sources; Snorri gives a detailed account in Óláfs Saga Helga, chs. 209 ff.
3 Eyvindr of the manuscripts is an undoubted error for Eymundr; the suc-
The son of King Óláf the Swede was named Önund\textsuperscript{1}; he inherited the kingdom after him and died of a sickness. In his time King Óláf the Saint fell at Stiklastadir.\textsuperscript{2} Eymund\textsuperscript{3} was the name of the second son of Óláf the Swede, who inherited the realm from his brother; and in his days the Swedes neglected the Christian faith. Eymund was king for only a little time.

There was a mighty man in Sweden, and of high lineage; his name was Steinkel, and his mother was Ástríð, daughter of Njál the son of Finn the Squinter from Hálöaland; his father was Rögnvald the Old. At first Steinkel was a jarl in Sweden, but after the death of Eymund the Swedes took him for their king; and the Swedish throne passed from the ancestral line of the ancient kings. Steinkel was a mighty prince; his wife was the daughter of King Eymund; and he died of a sickness in Sweden about the time that King Harald fell in England.\textsuperscript{4} The son of Steinkel was called Ingi, whom the Swedes took for king next after Hákon.\textsuperscript{5} Ingi was king for a long time, well-liked and a good Christian; he put down sacrificing in Sweden and ordered all the people of the land to become Christian; but the Swedes had too strong a belief in the heathen gods and held to their ancient ways. King Ingi's wife was a woman called Mæ̀r; her brother's name was Svein. No man was more dear to King Ingi than he, and Svein became thereby the mightiest man in Sweden. But the Swedes thought that King Ingi had infringed their rights under the ancient law of the land, when he found fault with many things that Steinkel his father had let be; and at a certain assembly which the Swedes held with King Ingi they gave him the choice of two things, either to observe the ancient laws or else to give up his throne. Then King Ingi spoke, and

\textsuperscript{1} precession of Önund-Jacob is called Emund or Eymund in several sources. With his death about 1060 the ancient line of the Ænging kings came to an end.
\textsuperscript{2} This refers to the death of Harald Hardráði, king of Norway, at Stamford Bridge in 1066. The statement that Steinkel died about the same time is found also in \textit{Magnús Saga Berfætt} ch. 12 (\textit{Heimskringla} III).
\textsuperscript{3} The writer of 203 has no doubt put Steinkel instead of Hákon here because the latter is not otherwise mentioned in the text; but the succession Steinkel-Hákon-Ingi is found in \textit{Magnús Saga Berfætt} ch. 12 and elsewhere. Ingi of Sweden was a contemporary of Magnús Barefoot of Norway, and an account of their relations is given loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{4} The following account of the religious opposition of the Swedes to King Ingi, the raising up of Svein the Sacrificer, and the burning of his house, agrees with what is told in more condensed fashion in \textit{Flateyjarbók} II 424 f. (cf. also \textit{Magnússona Saga} ch. 24, \textit{Heimskringla} III).
ok kvazk eigi mundu kasta þeiri trú, sem rétt væri; þá æptu Svíar upp ok þrængðu honum með grjóti ok ráku hann af logþinginu.¹

Sveinn mágr konungs var eptir á þinginu; hann bauð Svíum at efla blót fyrir þeim, ef þeir geði honum konungðóm. Því játa þeir allir við Svein; var hann þá til konungs tekinn yfir alla Svíþjóð. Var þá fram leitt hross² eitt á þingit ok höggvit í sundr ok skipt til áts, en roðit³ blóðinu blótttré.⁴ Kostiðu þá allir Svíar kristni, ok hófusk blót; en þeir ráku Inga konung á burt, ok fór hann í vestra Gautland. Blót-Sveinn var þró vetr konungr yfir Svíum.

Ingí konungr för með hirð sína ok sveit nökkura, hafði þó líttinn her; hann reið austur um Smálánd ⁴ ok í eystra Gautland ok ⁵ svá í Svíþjóð, reið bæði dag ok nótt ok kom óvart Sveini snemma um morgun. Þeir tóku á þeim hús ok slógu í eldi ok brenddu þát lið, er inni var. Þjófr hét lendr maðr, er þar brann inni; hann hafði óðr fylgt Blót-Sveini. Sveinn gekk út ok var drepinn. Ingí tók svá konungðóm at nýju yfir Svíum ok leiðrétta þá enn kristnina ok réð ríkinu til dauðaðags ok varð sóttduð.⁶

Hallsteinn hét sonr Steinkeils konungs, bróðir Inga konungs, er konungr var Inga konungs bróður sínum. Synir Hallsteins váru þeir Philippus ok Ingí,⁶ er konungðóm tóku ⁶ í Svíþjóð eptir Inga konung gamla. Philippus átti Ingigerði dóttur Haralda konungs Sigurðarsonar⁷; var hann skamma stund konungr.

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¹ In Óláfs Saga Helga ch. 77 Snorri says that it was the old custom in Sweden, in the heathen time, to hold the principal sacrifice at Uppsala in the month of gót (mid-February to mid-March), and that at that time of year the logþing (legislative and judicial courts) were held, with people coming to it from every part of Sweden. To this occasion, no doubt, the present passage refers.
² It is probable that the Germanic peoples of the heathen age only ate horse-flesh at sacrifices; but the horse was certainly one of the chief sacrificial animals (horses are mentioned, for instance, in Thietmar of Merseburg's account of the great January sacrifice at Lejre in Zealand).
³ The 'sacred tree' of Uppsala is described in a scholion (134) to Adam of Bremen's twelfth-century history of the bishops of Hamburg: propria templum est arbor maxima late ramos extendens, aetate et hyeme semper virens: cuius illa generis sit nemo scit, and beside it, according to the scholiast, was a well where human sacrifices were drowned. All this bears a close resemblance to
said that he would not leave the true faith; whereat the Swedes cried out, and pelted him with stones, and drove him from the law-assembly.¹

Svein, the king's kinsman, remained behind at that assembly, and he offered to make sacrifice for the Swedes if they would grant him the kingdom; all agreed to Svein's offer, and he was accepted as king over all the Swedish realm. Then a horse² was led forth to the assembly, hewn in pieces, and divided up for eating, and the sacrificial tree³ was reddened with its blood. Thereafter all the Swedes cast off the Christian faith, and sacrifices were instituted, and they drove King Ingi away; he departed into western Gautland. For three years Svein the Sacrificer was king over the Swedes.

King Ingi went with his own bodyguard and some followers, though it was only a small force; he rode east across Smáland⁴ and into eastern Gautland, and so into Sweden; he rode by day and night and came upon Svein unawares in the early morning. They seized the house over their heads and set it on fire, and burnt all the company who were inside. There was a landed man called Thjóf who was burnt there; he had been in the following of Svein the Sacrificer. Svein came out and was cut down. And so Ingi took the kingship of the Swedes anew, and restored the Christian faith; he ruled the realm till the day of his death, and died of a sickness.⁵

King Steinkel had a son called Hallstein, and he was king together with King Ingi his brother. The sons of Hallstein were Philip and Ingi,⁶ who inherited the throne of Sweden after King Ingi the Old. Philip married Ingigerd, the daughter of King Harald the son of Sigurd⁷; and he was only a short time king.

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¹ what is said of the 'world-tree,' Yggdrasill, in the Eddaic poems *Völuspá* (19) and *Fjölsvinsmál* (19–20). See also p. 47 above, note 2.

² The extreme south-east of Sweden, south of Östergötland. Ingi rode through Östergötland and so into *Stólfjöð*, the ancient kingdom of Sweden, as opposed to Götlund.

³ King Ingi died about 1110.

⁴ Ingi Hallsteinsson died in 1125; he appears in *Haraldssona Saga* ch. 22 (*Heimskringla* III) as the husband of Brígíðr, daughter of Harald Gilli, the Irishman who claimed to be a son of Óláfr Barefoot and made his way to the throne of Norway in the thirties of the twelfth century.

⁵ Harald Hardrádi, son of Sigurd Sýr ("Sow")
# APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Supplementary Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Gudmund of Glasisvellir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>The References to Ódin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>The Game of <em>Hnefatafl</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>The Riddle of the Sow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fróðmar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*verso and recto* 66

84

87

88

90

91
APPENDIX A
SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS
I
The beginning of the saga according to the U-redaction
Hervarar þátrr inn gamli finnsk svá skrifaðr
sem hér eptirfylgir*

Svá finnsk ritat í fornum bókum, at Jötnheimar¹ váru kallaðir norðr um
Gandvik,² en Ymisland³ fyrrir sunnan í millum Hálogalands. En áðr Tyrkjar
ok Aslamenn kómu í Norðrlönd byggðu norððálfrurnar risar ok sumt
hálfrisar; gerðisk þá mikit sambland þjóðanna; risar fengu sér kvenna ör
Mannheimum, en sumir giptu þangat doetr sínar. Guðmundr⁴ hét hofðingi
í Jötnheimum; bœr hans hét á Grund, en heraðit Glassisvelli.⁵ Hann var
rîkr maðr ok vítr,⁶ ok varð svá gamall ok allir hans menn, at þeir lifðu marga
mannsaldr. Því trúðu heiðnir menn, at í hans ríki mundi Óðáinsakr,⁷ sá
stadar, er af hverjum manni, er þar kómur, hverfr sótt ok elli, ok má engi
deyja. Eptir dauða Guðmundar blótuðu menn hann⁸ ok kollúðu hann goð
sitt.⁹ Guðmundr konungur átti son þann, er Hôfundr hét; hann var beði
forspár ok spakr at viti; hann var sett dómandi yfir þil þau lônd, er honum
lágú í nánd; hann dœmði aldri rangan dóm; enginn þordi né þurfti dóm at
rjûfa.

Maðr hét Arngrímr⁴; hann var risi ok berðbûi; hann nam ór Ymislandi
Ámu⁵ Ymisðottur ok gekk at eiga hana. Sonr þeira hét Hergrímr, er kallaðr
var j hálfröll; hann var stundum með bergrisman en stundum með mënnum;
hann⁶ hafði að osem þotnar; hann var allfjölkunnigr ok berserkr mikill.
Hann nam ór Jötnheimum Ógn álfsprengi ok gekk at eiga hana; þau áttu
þann son, er Grímr ¹ hét.

Starkaðr áludrengr⁶ bij þam við Álufosanna⁷; hann var kominn af þursum

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*a Title thus 203; Hér byrjask Hervarar saga U
*b Guðmundr ÚH, Guðmundr 203 throughout
*c Glassis- H, Glassis- U, 203 " ok vitr om. 203 * hans 203
*d Eptir ... sitt 203, H, om. U " Arngrím U, 203, Hergrímr H
*e Ámu UH, Arno 203 * var om. 203 * hann om. 203 * Gunnarr 203
*f Starkaðr .. þa Ú, hana hafði fyr Arnaðr aludíus, bij þa etc. 203
* (áludrengr elsewhere 203) " Álupolla U

¹ With the rationalisation of mythical cosmography, Jötnheimar, the land
of the giants, was placed in the extreme north of Scandinavia (Lapland).
(Cf. article on Jöfnheimar in Hoops, Reallexikon.)
² Gandvik, i.e. the White Sea (`Bay of Sorcery`). The H-text places
Jöfnheimar `in Finnmark.'
APPENDIX A
SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS
I
The beginning of the saga according to the U-redaction
The old tale of Hervör is set down in writing
as follows here

It is found written in ancient books that to the north beyond Gandvik it was called Jötunheimar, and Ymisland to the south between there and Hálogaland. But before the Turks and the men of Asia came to the Northlands giants dwelt in the northern regions, and some were half-giants; there was a great mingling of races in those days, for the giants got themselves wives out of Mannheimar, and some married their daughters to men from that country. Gudmund was the name of a lord in Jötunheimar; his dwelling-place was at Grund, in the region of Glassivellir. He was a mighty man, and wise, and so old were he and his people that their lives lasted through many generations of men. For this reason heathen men believed that in his realm must lie the Land of the Undying, that region where sickness and old age depart from every man who enters it, and where no-one can die. After the death of Gudmund men made sacrifice to him and called him their god. King Gudmund had a son named Höfund; he had the power of foreseeing, and he was wise in understanding. He was set as judge over all the neighbouring lands; his decision was never unjust, and no man either dared or had cause to thrust his judgment aside.

There was a man named Arngrim, a giant, who dwelt in the mountain-rocks; out of Ymisland he carried off Æma Ymir's daughter, and made her his wife. Their son's name was Hergrim, who was called Half troll; at times he dwelt among the mountain-giants, but at other times among men. His strength was that of the giants, and he had deep knowledge of magic arts; he was a great berserk. Out of Jötunheimar he carried off Ógn Álfasprengi and married her; they had a son called Grím.

Starkad Áludreng at that time dwelt at Áulfossar; he was descended

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3 On Ymir, the first being created out of Chaos, and from whom the giant race was descended, see especially SnE. 12 ff.
4 On Gudmund, Glassivellir, and Óddinsakr see Appendix B
5 Starkad Áludreng appears also in Gautreks Saga ch. 3, and something of the same information is given there, though Stórvirk is there made his son, not his father.
6 Perhaps Ulefos in Lower Telemark (Bugge, NS 351)
APPENDIX A

ok hann var þeim lífr at afli ok eðli; hann hafði átta hendr. Stórvirkr hét faðir hans. Ógn álfasprengi var festarmæ Starkaðar, en Hergrímr tók hana a frá honum, þá Starkaðr var farinn norður yfir Élívága. 1 En er hann kom aprtr, skorði hann á Hergrím til hólmongengu 2 ok til konunnar. Þeir þorðusk við inn efsta fors at Eiði; Starkaðr vá með fjórum sverðum senn ok fekk sigri; þar fell Hergrímr. Ógn sá á hólmongengu þeira, en er Hergrímr var fallinn, lagði Ógn sik með sverði í gegnum ok vildi ekki giptask Starkaði. b Starkaðr tók nú fæ þat allt undir sík, er Hergrímr hafði átt, ok hafði með sér ok svá son hans Grím; óx hann upp með Starkaði. Grím var baði mikill ok sterkr, er honum óx aldr.

Álfr hét konungr, er reð fyrir Álfheim; Álfhildr 3 hét döttir hans. Álfheimar héttu þá milli Gautelfar ok Raumelfar. é Eitt haust var górt disablót 5 mikit hjá Álf konungi, ok gekk Álfhildr at blótinu; hon var hverri konu fegrí, ok allt folk í Álfheimum var fríðara at sjá en annat folk því samtíða. En um nöttina, er hon rauð horginn, nam Starkaðr áludrengr Álfhildi í burt ok hafði hana heim með sér. Álfr konungr hét þá á Dór at leita eptir Álfhildi, ok síðan drap Dórr Starkað 6 ok lét Álfhildi fara heim til fóður síns ok með henni Grím son Hergríms.

Ok þá er Grímr var tólf vetra, 7 för hann í hernnd ok varð inn mesti hermaðr. Hann fekk Bauggerðar 8 döttur Álfhildar ok Starkaðar áludrengs. Grím fer sér bústað í ey þeira á Hálogalandi, f er Bólmi 9 hét, ok var 8 síðan kallaðr Eygrímr bólmr. Sonr þeira hét Arngrímr berskerk, er síðan bjó í Bólmi ½ ok var inn ágætasti hermaðr.

Þessu  k samtíða kömu austan Asiamenn ok Tyrkjar ok byggðu Norðrland. Óðinn formaðr þeira 8 átti marga sonu; urðu þeir allir mikill menn ok ríkir. Einn hans sonr hét Sigrlami; honum fekk Óðinn þat ríki, sem nú er kallat Garðarfi; gerðisk hann þar hofðingi mikill yfir því ríki; hann var

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a hann 203 b Starkard 203
c Runnelfar 203 later corr. to Rauml-
d Bauggerðar Ú, 203, Baugeir Ú
é Starkaðs 203, elsewhere Starkaðar
f á Hálogalandi 203, H, om. U (see p. 3, note 2)
Bólmi 203, H, Bólmr Ú
h var om. 203 j Bólmi 203  k þess 203

1 Élívágar (usually explained to mean ‘the stormy waves’) were the great rivers from whose thawing ice the primeval giant Ymir was made (Vafþrúð-
nisl þal 31; SnE. 12).
2 See the Glossary s.v. hólmanga
3 An Álfhild of Álfheim appears in many sources. See H. Ellekilde, ‘Om . . . Álfhildsagnet í Hervararsaga,’ Acta Phil. Scand. VIII (1933) 191 f.
4 i.e. the region north-west of Lake Vänern, between the rivers now called Göta-álv and Glonna.
5 On the Æsir see p. 26, note 2. There is evidence to show that there were definite cults connected with the supernatural women; from some
from giants, and he resembled them in his nature and in his strength; he
was eight-armed. His father's name was Stórvirk. Ögn Álfasprengi had
been the betrothed of Starkad, but Hergrím took her from him when Starkad
had gone north over Élivágar.\(^1\) When Starkad came back he challenged
Hergrím to single combat\(^2\) for the woman. They fought by the uppermost
waterfall at Eidi; Starkad attacked with four swords at once, and won the
victory; Hergrím fell there. Ögn looked on at their combat, and when
Hergrím fell she ran herself through with a sword and would not be married
to Starkad. Starkad took possession of all the wealth that Hergrím owned
and carried it off with him, together with his son Grím; and Grím grew up
with Starkad. He was big and strong when he grew older.

There was a king named Álfr, who ruled over Álfheimar; he had a
daughter named Álfhild.\(^3\) In those days the region between the Gautelf and
the Raumelf was called Álfheimar.\(^4\) One autumn a great sacrifice to the
Disir\(^5\) was held at the house of King Álfr, and Álfhild conducted the rites;
she was more beautiful than any other woman, and all the people in Álf-
heimar were fairer to look on than any others in those days. But during the
night, when Álfhild reddened the altar with blood, Starkad Áludreng carried
her off, and took her home with him. King Álfr called upon Thór to seek for
Álfhild; and afterwards Thór slew Starkad\(^6\) and allowed Álfhild to return
home to her father, together with Grím the son of Hergrím.

When Grím was twelve years old\(^7\) he went out on a foray, and became
the greatest warrior. He married Bauggerd the daughter of Álfhild and
Starkad Áludreng. Grím made his abode on that island in Hálogaland called
Bólm, and thereafter he was known as Eygrím Bólm. Their son was called
Arngrím the berserk, who afterwards dwelt in Bólm and was the most far-
famed of warriors.

It was about this time that the men of Asia and the Turks came out of
the east and settled in the Northlands. Ódin their leader\(^8\) had many sons,
all great men and mighty. One of his sons was called Sigrlami; to him Ódin
gave over the realm which is now called Gardaríki, and Sigrlami became a

\(^1\) Modra Nect mentioned by Bede (De Temporibus ch. 15). Disablót
is more than once said to have been held in the autumn or early winter, as
here. (See de Vries, Altgerm. Religion. II 375 ff.)

\(^2\) This story was known to Saxo (ed. Holder 183, trans, Elton 224 f.), who
says that the god Thór tore off four of the six hands of Starcatherus, son of
Storuerkus, who was thus 'chastened to a better appearance.'

\(^3\) i.e. the age of majority

\(^4\) In a similar way, Snorri in the prologue to the Prose Edda elaborately
euhemerised the heathen gods, and brought Ódin to the Northlands from Troy
in Tyrkland; Saxo (ed. Holder 80) made the chief seat of the gods Byzantium.
manna friðastr sýnum. Sigrlami átti Heiði dóttur Gylfa; þau áttu son saman; sá hét Svaflrami. Sigrlami fell í orrostu, er hann bardisk við jótun Þjáza.¹

Nú sem Svaflrami spurn í fall fjóður síns, tók hann undir sík ríki þat allt til forráða, sem faðir hans hafði átt; hann varð ríkr maðr. Þat barsk at einn tíma, at Svaflrami konungr reið á veðriar ok sótti hjortt einn lengi ok nóði eigi á óllum degi, fyrir en at sólarfalli. Han var þá riðinn svá langt í skóginn, at hann vissi varla, hvat heim var. Hann sá einn stein mikinn um sólarstr ok þar hjá dverga tvá. Konungr vígði þá útan steins með málaþjárni; hann brá sverði yfir þá. Þeir biðja þá fjörlausnar. Svaflrami spyrri þá at nafni. Annarr nefndisk Durinn, b en annarr Dvalinn.² Svaflrami veit at þeir váru allra dverga hagastir; hann leggr þá fyrir þá, at þeir geri honum sverð sem best kunna þeir; þar skulu hjólt af gulli ok svá meðalkaffi, búa skulu þeir umgerð ok feta af gulli. Hann segir, at sverð þat ³ skal aldri bila ok aldri við ryði taka, ok bíti jafnt járn ok ⁴ steina sem klæði, ok fylgi sigir í orrostum ok einvígjum hverjum er berr; þetta váru fjörlausnir þeirra. Á stefnudegi kom Svaflrami til steinsins; fengu dvergar honum þá sverð sitt, ok var þat í fríðasta. En er Dvalinn stóð í steinsdurum, þá melti hann, ‘Sverð þitt, Svaflrami, verði manns bani hvárt sinn er brugðið er, ok með því sé unnin þrjú niðingsverk í mestu; þat verði ok þinn bani.’

Þá hógr Svaflrami sverðinu til dvergsins, ok fæl eggeitana í steinínum, en dvergrinn hjóp í steininn. Svaflrami átti þetta sverð ok kallaði Tyrfinn; bar hann þat í orrostum ok einvígjum; hann felldi jótun Þjáza í einvígi; hann tók þá dóttur hans, er hét Friðr. Þau áttu dóttur, er Eyfura hét, kvenna vœnstri ok vitruth.

Nú er þar til at taka, er Arngrím berserkr er í viking ok réð þá fyrir líði miklu. Hann herjaði á ríki Svaflrama ok átti við hann orrostu ok áttusk við hóggva viðskipti sjálfr; hjó Svaflrami hlut af skildi Arngríms ok nam sverðit í þröðu staðar; þá sveiflaði Arngrím sverðinu á hónand Svaflrama, svá af tók; tók þá Arngrím Tyrfinn ok vá með ok felldi Svaflrama með honum. Stóðan tók Arngrím herfang mikit ok Eyfura dóttur Svaflrama ok hafði í burt með sér. Arngrímur þó þeim í Bólmi ok gerði brúðlaup til Eyfuru.

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¹ Much is told of a giant called Thjazi in the Prose and Poetic Edda (see especially SnE. 80 f.), but his end is there quite different: in the plumage of an eagle he flew over Æsgard and was killed by the Æsir, and Óðin set his eyes in heaven as two stars.
² The dwarf Dvalin appears in the Waking of Angantyr (verse 26/8 and note), but Durin appears only here in the saga; the name is found also in the Voluspá (10).
great lord over those lands. He was the most beautiful of men to look on. Sigrlami was married to Heid the daughter of Gylfi, and they had a son, who was named Svafrlami. Sigrlami fell in battle, fighting against the giant Thjazi.¹

When Svafrlami heard of the downfall of his father he brought under his sway all the realm that he had held, and he became mighty. It chanced one day that King Svafrlami rode out hunting, and far on into the day he pursued a stag, without ever overtaking it before the time of sunset. By then he had ridden so deep into the forest that he scarcely knew which way to turn for home. At sunset he saw a great stone, and beside it two dwarfs. The king drew his graven sword over them, and with that sign held them outside the stone. They begged him to spare their lives, and Svafrlami asked them what their names were. One said he was called Durin, and the other, Dvalin.² Svafrlami knew that these were the most skilful of all dwarfs, and he laid this charge upon them, that they should make a sword for him, the best their skill could devise; its hilts were to be of gold and its grip also,³ and they were to make its scabbard and baldrick of gold. He said that this sword must never fail and never rust, must bite into iron and stone as if into cloth, and that victory must always come to him who carried it in battles and single combats; this was the price of their lives. On the appointed day Svafrlami returned to the stone, and the dwarfs delivered over to him the sword; it was very beautiful. But when Dvalin stood in the doors of the stone he said, 'May your sword, Svafrlami, be the death of a man every time it is drawn, and with it may three of the most hateful deeds be done; may it also bring you your death!'

Then Svafrlami struck at the dwarf with the sword, and the ridges of the blade were hidden in the stone; but the dwarf leapt back into it. Svafrlami kept the sword and called it Tyrfig; he bore it in battles and in single combats, and with it he slew the giant Thjazi; he took Thjazi's daughter Frid, and they had a daughter named Eyfura, most beautiful and most wise among women.

Now it must be told that Arngrim the berserk went out raiding, and he had command of a great company. He harried the kingdom of Svafrlami and fought with him, and they had a close fight together; Svafrlami struck off a part of Arngrim's shield, and the sword plunged into the earth. Then Arngrim swung his sword against Svafrlami's hand and struck it off; and he took Tyrfig himself and fought with it, and with it he slew Svafrlami. Then Arngrim took great plunder, and carried off with him Eyfura, Svafrlami's daughter; he went home to Bólm and wedded Eyfura.

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¹ In Norse the 'hilts' (hiölt, plural) were the guard and the pommel; the handle was called medal-kafl, 'middle-piece.'
The verses of the dialogue before the Battle on Sámsey
as found in Qrvar-Odds Saga

The text taken as the basis is the vellum A.M. 344a (M) of the later fourteenth century. The fifteenth-century vellums A.M. 343 (A) and A.M. 471 (B) do not contain verses 5 and 6.

The more important divergences from M in A and B are included in the textual notes, but readings rejected from M which are of no importance are ignored, where there is manuscript authority for the reading adopted in the text. A full variant-apparatus is given in R. C. Boer's edition, Leiden 1888.

(Hjálmar:)

(1) Hervarðr, Hjörvarðr,
    Hrani, Angantýr,
    Bildr ok Bófi, a
    Barri ok Tóki, b
    Tindr ok Tyrfringr,
    þeir Haddingjar,
    þeir í Bólm austr
    bornir váru
    Arngríms synir
    ok Eyfurú.

(2) Þá frá ek manna
    meinnúðgasta,
    ógjarnasta
    gott at vinna;
    þeir berserkir
    ból of fylldir
    tvau skip hruðu
    tryggra manna.

(Arrow-Odd:)

(1) Hervard, Hjörvard,
    Hrani, Angantýr,
    Bild and Bófi,
    Barri and Tóki,
    Tind and Tyrfring and the two Haddings:
    eastwards in Bólm
    their birthplace was,
    sons of Arngrím
    and Eyfura.

(2) I have heard of those men
    as the most malign,
    most unready
    for righteous deeds;
    that berserk band,
    all black-hearted,
    two ships emptied
    of their trusty crews.

(3) Menn sé ek ganga
    frá Munarvágum,
    gunnar gjarna
    í grám serkJum;
    þeir hafa reiðir
    rómu háða,
    eru okkur skip
    auð á ströndu.

   a Bagi AB
   b Tóki AB, Taki M

(3) Men I see moving
    from Munarvág,
    in their grey byrnyes
    for battle eager;
    they have raging
    raised up warfare,
    and our ships are lying
    on the shore empty.
(4) Dá var mér ótti einu sinni,
er þeir grenjandi gengu af ðskum
ok emjandi í ey stigui;
þá frá ek fyrða flárðasta
ok ótraudaðasta illt at vinna.

(4) Fear beset me for a single moment,
as they left the longships loudly bellowing,
crying terribly climbed the island;
I have heard of those men as the most untrue,
the keenest of all to compass evil.

(Hjálmars):

(5) Hliðum vit fyrr
hjaldriðum aldri,
þótt okkr
atalt a þykkj;
vit skulum þ aptan
Ódin gista,
tveir fóstbræðr,
en þeir þólf lifa. b

(5) Retreat we never from such trees of war,
although to us aweful it seems;
we shall be this evening under Ódin’s roof,
two sworn brothers, but the twelve shall live.

(Arrow-Odds):

(6) En ek þvi e einu
orði hneka:
þeir skulu þ aptan
Ódin gista,
tólf berserkir,
en vit tveir lifa.

(6) That I rejected with this only:
They shall be this evening under Ódin’s roof,
the twelve berserks; we two shall live!

(Angantyr):

(7) It eruð halir
hardír komnir
ór hlynviði;
fallnir eru ykkrir
þórðurautar. d

(7) You men of war from the maple-wood
are come boldly; killed are all now
that came with you.

a atalt em. Bugge, at halft M
b tveir . . . lifa added by seventeenth-century hand
c því at M
d after þórðurautar AB add: (ok A) farið í holl Viðris (Viðris, a name of Ódin)
Some fragments of this poem are preserved in Heiðreks Saga: the first half of verse 4; the second half of verse 5; verse 6; and verse 8 (though here Heiðreks Saga gives the two halves in separate verses); while the U-text has (in an extremely corrupt form) lines corresponding to the first half of verse 5 above. These are missing in R, though there is a trace of them in the prose (‘Let us never flee away from our enemies’). Analysis of these verses in the MSS of the two sagas is very revealing of the way in which a poem could, with progressive weakening and corruption, slowly fall to bits.

Although the Qvar-Odds Saga text is fuller, in individual verses it is no less badly damaged. No attempt is made here to rearrange neatly these ruins of a poem and produce an ‘original version’; it would serve no purpose. There is a thorough-going attempt in R. C. Boer’s critical edition of Qvar-Odds Saga (Leiden 1888), which was rightly dismissed by Heusler as arbitrary and unfounded; since quite ‘arbitrary’ insertions, expansions, and rearrangements have obviously been made, it is hard to see that any critic’s eye, however sharp, could undo the knot.

It is not even possible to say with certainty what sort of poem this once was; it has been thought that the verses descend from a narrative poem on the Battle of Sámsey, and it is certainly true that verses 1, 2, and 4 above do not at all give the impression of having always been used for the purpose to which the saga-writers have put them.

The name-verse (1) is clearly not at home in its present place in Qvar-Odds Saga. The whole of the prose passage in which it occurs is very unsatisfactory, and looks as though it had been constructed around odds and ends of verse that were not always fully understood. It is more than likely that verse 1 was an isolated ‘catalogue-strophe’ that was taken up into this saga and put rather awkwardly into the mouth of Hjálmar; in Heiðreks

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<sup>a</sup> after tIrálusaIr <i>adds</i> af tréskipum traustIr drengIr (cf. verse 2/1-2 in <i>RU</i>)

<sup>b</sup> orrostu heýja <i>AB, U</i>

<sup>1</sup> cf. verse 75 of the <i>Battle of the Goths and the Huns</i>, which obviously once existed independently of that poem.
Saga it was differently used, and resolved into prose. The R-text knows the names of only six of the berserk sons of Arngrím, whereas H and U give twelve; but the extra six are Seemir, Brámi, Barri, Reifsir, Tindr and Búi. The list reappears in part in the Eddaic poem Hyndluljóð (23), and this agrees with H and U except in giving Tyrfigr for Seemir; and Saxo has a version of it (ed. Holder 166), where the extra six are again quite different from other sources, except in the name Tiruingar. It is possible that Tyrfigr the berserk owed his existence to the sword itself having got into the name-list; but the matter is unimportant, since none of the younger sons of Arngrím seem to have had more than a shadowy existence in legend, whatever their names were.

Some of these names appear again in the lists of the heroes who fought at the Battle of Brávoll (see the conclusion of Heidreks Saga); and the author of the Waking of Angantýr uses the first two lines of the catalogue-strophe (verses 24 and 26).
Appendix A

III

Verses of Hjálmar’s Death-Song found only in Qvar-Odds Saga

The text and textual notes are here on the same basis as in the previous section of this Appendix.

(i) Fregna eigi þat
á föld konur,
at ek fyr húgum
hlifask léta;
hler eigi at því
at ek hlíða gerða,
snot svínhuguð
Sigtúnnum í.

(ii) Hvarf ek frá ungri
Ingibjörgu —
skjót réð um þat —
á skapadægri;
sá mun fljódi
fastnæmr tregi,
er vit sísan
sjámsk aldrigu.

(iii) Ber þú til sýnis —
sá er minn vili —
Hjálmars brynju
i höll konungs;
hugr mun gangask
hilmis dóttur,
er hon höggna sér
hlíf fyr brjósti.

(iv) Sá ek hvar sitja
Sigtúnnum á
fljóð, þau er lóttu
farar mik þaðan;
 gleðr eigi Hjálmar
i höll konungs
ðol née rekkar
um aldr sigðan.

(i) Ladies in that land
shall learn never
that from blows sheltering
I shrank backward;
she shall not taunt me
that I took to my heels
she the swift-minded
in Sigtúna.

(ii) From Ingibjörg
the young I parted
on the day foredoomed —
it was done quickly;
it will give her
grief hard-grasping
that on one another
we shall never now look.

(iii) To her sight bear you —
so I desire it —
Hjálmar’s hauberk
in the hall of the king;
changed will her heart be,
chieftain’s daughter,
when the blows she sees
on my breast’s armour.

(iv) I see them seated
in Sigtúna,
ladies reluctant
to let me depart;
but never again
shall gladden Hjálmar
cup or comrade
in the court of the king.

a láta M, gerða AB
b er vit . . . aldrigu M; at hon síðan mik sér aldrigi AB
c hjálm ok AB
d aldrí AB
Not only is the Örvar-Odds Saga version of this poem longer, but the order of the verses in the two sagas is totally different; there is a slight difference in the order between R and U also (H does not contain the poem, and merely refers the reader to the other saga). There is one place (verse 8) where the longer version is most curiously divergent from the shorter (see below), and another less important divergence (verse 9) where U agrees with Örvar-Odds Saga against R (see the textual notes to these passages in the main text).

To say which version is nearer the original seems to be impossible. Most critics have believed that the shorter version is the older, but some have been equally positive that the other one is. As for the original order of the verses, there have been almost as many suggested rearrangements as there have been critics.

I give here a résumé of the argument of the poem in the order of the longer version, numbering the verses by their equivalents in Heidreks Saga, and indicating the extra verses by Roman numerals.

5. Someone speaks to Hjálmar, and declares that he is mortally wounded. The death-song of Hjálmar

6. I am terribly wounded; Angantyr’s sword has pierced me.
(i) The women at home shall never hear that I flinched.
11. I left the songs of women and joyfully went east with Sóti.
9. I left the princess on Agnafit, and she told me that I would not return.
(ii) I turned away from her; her grief will be great that we shall not meet again.
(iii) Take my torn armour into the king’s hall; the princess will be moved when she sees it.
7. I owned five farms, but I was not contented; and now I must lie dead on Sámyey.
10. Take this ring to Ingibjörg; her grief will be great that we shall not meet again.
(iv) I see the women in Sigtúnir who warned me from the journey; I shall never again be glad in the king’s hall.
8. The jarls drink ale in the king’s hall at Uppsala (but: My father’s men drink in his house, Heidreks Saga); ale overcomes them, but wounds overcome me.
12. The carrion birds fly from the south; this is the last meal I shall set for them.

It seems quite clear that in the longer version verse 7 is in the wrong place, for it intrudes into Hjálmar’s dying commission to his companion; otherwise this ordering seems not to contain any real infelicity. In the R-
text verse 11 is pretty plainly in the wrong place: in sense it would go much better with verse 9, which also begins in the same way—it is in this point that U's order differs from that of R, placing verse 11 after verse 9. Apart from this, the sequence of the shorter version is not obviously wrong; the sequence of thought is different. It is not strange that it should be impossible to decide this question, for these verses are each essentially self-contained.

What is very strange is that whereas the longer version speaks in verse 8 of jarls in the Swedish king’s hall, the shorter refers to ‘housecarls’ in the house of Hjálmar's father. It is notable that in the extra verses of the Órvar-Odds Saga text the king appears several times: in verse iii Ingibjörg is hilmis dóttir, and Hjálmar tells his companion to take his armour into the king’s hall, while in verse iv he laments that he will never again drink ale there. Where Ingibjörg is called hilmis dóttir in verse 9 in the Órvar-Odds Saga version, there is a different reading in R.1

It is hard to be sure what has happened here. The editors of Edda Minor held that the maker of the shorter version had deliberately excluded or remodelled all these references to the king; but why should he have done so? The alteration (if it is one) of the king of Sweden into Hjálmar's father is a move away from the story of Heðreks Saga; it produces less coherence, not more. It is possible that in a very old form of the legend of Hjálmar, now represented only by his ‘death-song’ in Heðreks Saga, the hero had no connection with the Swedish king, which only came to be made later; the alteration to verse 8, and the extra verses, would then depend on this later development in the story.

1 Here U agrees with Órvar-Odds Saga against R, as also many times elsewhere (see the textual notes). U also mentions (in the prose) the name Sigtúmir (a place lying between Stockholm and Uppsala), which is absent from R. U's agreements with the other saga were brought about, I think, by direct knowledge of it (at some stage, perhaps early on, in the HU tradition).
IV

Verses of Hervör's dialogue with the Herdsman not found in R

The _HU_ redaction has seven verses here, against four and half in _R_. Of the extra ones, verse ii below is certainly a part of the original poem; i and iii are narrative in content, and some have held that they are later than the dialogue-verse. In the following citations the text of _H_ is followed; that of _U_ is essentially the same, but badly corrupt.

(i) The first half of verse 18:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hitt hefir mær ung</th>
<th>A maiden at sunset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>í Munarvági</td>
<td>in Munarvág</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>við sólarsetr</td>
<td>fell in with a herdsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>segg at hjörðu.</td>
<td>his flock minding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The close similarity of the prose wording in _R_ to these four lines may suggest that they are a part of the original poem.

(ii) After verse 20 the _HU_-redaction includes another verse:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men bjöðum þér</th>
<th>For your word's guerdon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máls at gjöldum;</td>
<td>I'll give you a necklace;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muna drengja vin</td>
<td>hard will it be to hinder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dælt at letja;</td>
<td>the heroes' comrade;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>før engi mér</td>
<td>none can give me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svá fríðar hnossir,</td>
<td>such gay adornments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fagra bauga,</td>
<td>or rings glittering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at ek fara eigi.</td>
<td>that go I will not.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That this verse is genuine is demonstrated by _R_'s arrangement of the two subsequent verses in order to obtain a regular interchange between the speakers; verses 21 and 22 are in reverse order in _H_ and _U_. That the _HU_ arrangement is right is seen from the fact that in this version the herdsman's words 'fires are moving' precedes, as it should, Hervör's 'We'll faint not nor fear at such fire's crackling.'

It is plain that this verse had already fallen out of _R_'s exemplar, and from this it is clear that there stood one copy (at least) between _R_ and the ultimate written source of all extant manuscripts of the saga.

The maker of the _H_-version took the first part of this verse to be the herdsman's and only the latter half Hervör's, which is absurd. Some early editors divided the verse between the two speakers in the opposite way, which is not unreasonable; but since otherwise each whole verse is given to one speaker only, the whole of this one should no doubt be given to Hervör.
(iii) The *HU*-redaction knows one other verse of this poem:

Var þá féhirðir
fljótr til skógar
mjók frá máli
meyjar þessar;
en harðsnúinn
hugr í brjóstí
um sakar slíkar
svellr Hervöru.

Fast then to the forest
fled the herdsman,
from the words of this woman
away hurrying;
but the hard-knit heart
in Hervör's breast
swelled up mightily
the more for that.

The right place for this narrative verse is at the end of the dialogue, which is where *U* has it, giving the unquestionably correct ordering of the poem thus (the verse numbers are those of the main text): i plus 18; 19; 20; ii; 22; 21; iii. *U* however puts iii into the mouth of the herdsman and alters the wording, though it is obviously really narrative, not speech; while *H* displaces it to a position after verse ii.


**APPENDIX A**

V

**Verses of The Waking of Angantýr not found in R**

The *HU*-redaction gives two verses of this poem between verses 33 and 34. In verse i the text given here is based on *U*; the form in *H* is rather different (see below). In verse ii I give the *H*-text; the divergences in *U* are insignificant.

(i) Ek vígi\(^a\) svá
    virða dauða
    at ér\(^b\) polið
    aldri kyrri,
    nema þú, Angantýr,
    selir mér Tyrfing,\(^a\)
    hlífum hættan,
    Hjálmars bana!

(ii) Kveðkat ek þik, mær ung,
    mǫnnum líka,
    er þú um hauga
    hvarfar á nöttum,
    grófnnum geiri
    ok með Gota málmi,
    hjálmi ok með brynju
    fyrir hallar dyrr.

(i) Spells I set on you
    O slain warriors,
    to give you for ever
    easeless resting,
    unless, Angantýr,
    you yield Tyrfing,
    peril to bucklers,
    bane of Hjálmar!

(ii) Unlike mortals,
    maiden, I call you,
    roaming in darkness
    around the barrows,
    with the ore of the Goths
    and graven lance,
    with helm and hauberkerk
    by the hall’s doorway.

That these two verses are left out in *R*, being part of the original poem, is clear from the beginning of verse 34: ‘A human indeed I was held to be’ has no point unless preceded by ‘Unlike mortals, maiden, I call you.’

The last two lines of verse i above reappear in *R* at the end of verse 34, at which point there are two lines in *HU* which have no counterpart in *R*:

**Verse i in HU**

hlífum hættan,
Hjálmars bana

**Verse 34 in HU**

dvergira smiði,
    dugin þér at leyna

**Verse i in R**

lacking

**Verse 34 in R**

hlífum hættan,
Hjálmars bana

\(^a\) vígi *H*, of ingi *U*  \(^b\) þér *U*  \(^c\) aldri kyrri liggja *U*

\(^d\) for lines 3-6 *H* has: at þér skuluð / allir liggja / dauðir með draugum / í dys fúnir (fynir *H*). / Sel mér, Angantýr, / út òr haugi, etc. (‘that you shall all lie dead among ghosts, rotting in the barrow. Give me, Angantýr, out of the mound,’ etc.)
If verse i had not been lost from R it would there conclude no doubt with dverga smiði, etc. ('dwarfs' handiwork—to hide it avails not'). This is probably the right arrangement, first because þann in verse 34/6 has no noun to agree with, smiði being neuter, and secondly because the first words of verse 35 are Liggr mér undir herðum / Hjálmars bani, which evidently connect with the last line of verse 34, Hjálmars bana, with an interlocking which is seen elsewhere in this poem (cf. verses 35–6).

It cannot be said what the original form of verse i was. Corruption seems plain in H's extra long line, with its repeated daudir.

It may be noted here that between verses 41 and 42 U has a verse not included in H, which is composed of the first five lines of verse 36, then the line úlfa grennir ('feeder(?) of wolves'), and finally the last two lines of verse 40.
VI

Riddles peculiar to the H-text

(H 7)¹
Hverr byggir há fjöll?
Hverr fellr í djúpa dali?
Hverr andalauss lifir?
Hverr æva þegir?²
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gátα þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þeirar; hrafn byggir jafnan á hám fjöllum, en dogg fellr jafnan í djúpa dali, fiskr lifir andalauss, en þjótandi fors þegir aldri.’

(H 10) Hvat er þat undra,
er ek úti sá
fyrir doglings³ durum;
hvíðr fljúgerdr
hellu ljósta,
en svartir í sand grafask?
Heiðrekr koningr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gátα þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þeirar; smækask⁴ nú gátunar,⁵ en þat er hagl ok regn, því at hagli lýstr á stræti, en regnsdropar sokkva⁶ í sand ok sækja í jórð.’

(H 11) Hvat er þat undra,
er ek úti sá
fyrir doglings durum⁷;
svartan gölt ek sá
í sauri vaða,
ok reis honum eigi burst á baki?
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

¹ In this phrase H always doglings, RU Dellings (cf. verses 48 ff. and note)
² thus 597, smættask 281 with same sense
³ thus 597, regndropar sokkvas 281
⁴ Hvatt er . . . durum om. H

¹ Throughout this section H refers to the two Hauksbok-copies, 281 and 597, in agreement (see Introduction p. xxix). Errors of no significance in one or other of the two MSS have been ignored. These riddles are here numbered according to their place in H’s complete riddle-series.
VI

Riddles peculiar to the H-text

(H 7) What lives on high fells?
What falls in deep dales?
What lives without breath?
What is never silent?²
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. The raven lives ever on the high fells, the dew falls ever in the deep dales, the fish lives without breath, and the rushing waterfall is never silent.'

(H 10) What strange marvel
did I see without,
before the great one's gate;
as silver fliers
on the stone beating,
but as dark ones sinking in the sand?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. Your riddles grow trifling.³ That is hail and rain, for hail beats upon the street, but raindrops sink into the sand and penetrate the earth.'

(H 11) What strange marvel
did I see without,
before the great one's gate;
a dark-hued boar
in the dirt wading,
but on his back no bristles rose?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

² This verse is of the form called Greppa-minni (cf. SnE. 233), and is closely paralleled by two verses of Jarl Rögnvald's poem Háttalykill (Skj. A I 521), in which the first four lines of each are unrelated questions, and the last four the answers to them. The solution to this riddle is the only one that looks as though it were once in verse.
³ But he is almost certainly wrong, nonetheless. The answer ought to be simply 'Hail'—'as white fliers they strike the rock (and rebound), but as black (having melted) they bury themselves in sand.'
‘Göð er góta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þeirar; þat er tordýfill, ok er nú mart til tínt, er tordýflar eru ríkra manna spurningar.’

(H 13)       Hvat er þat undra,
er ek úti sá
fyrir dóglings durum;
ofarlíga\(^a\) flýgr,
arhljóð\(^b\) gellr,
harðar eru hjálum greipr\(^c\)
Heiðorekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Göð er góta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þeirar; þor er þat,’ segir konungr.

(H 15)       Hvat er þat undra,
er ek úti sá
fyrir dóglings durum\(^d\);
lyðum lýsir,
en loga\(^e\) gleypir,
ok kepask um þat vargar ávalt?
Heiðorekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Göð er góta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þeirar; þat er sól; hon lýsir lönd öll ok skínn yfir alla menn, en Skalli ok Hatti heita vargar, þat eru úlfar, en annarr þeira ferr fyrir, en annarr eptir sólu.’\(^4\)

(H 30)       Hest sá ek standa,
hyðdi\(^5\) meri,
dúði dyndil,
drap hlaun und kvið;
ór skal draga
ok gjöpta at góða stund.\(^f\)

\(^a\) ofarlíga em. Grundtvig, óvarliga (‘unwarily’) H
\(^b\) arhljóð em. Bugge, armlóð H
\(^c\) hjálum greipr em. Edd. Min, hillm H
\(^d\) Hvat er . . . durum : Hvat er þat er H
\(^e\) loga em. Grundtvig, logi H
\(^f\) ör . . . stund entirely corrupt; suggested reconstructions in Edd. Min and by Kock NN § 3284

\(^1\) arhljóð is not in fact a recorded word, but cf. varghljóð ‘wolf-cry’ in Helg. Hund. I 41.
\(^2\) Among many conjectural restorations, this emendation at least suggests the sort of thing wanted: since the preceding two lines (as emended) could very well refer to a real eagle, the sixth should contain something to restrict the description to an arrow.
'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. That is the dung-beetle; but when great men ask questions about dung-beetles, they have talked too long.'

(H 13) What strange marvel
did I see without,
before the great one's gate;
on high it skims,
screams eagle-voiced,¹
and hard on the helm is its clutch?²
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. That is an arrow.'

(H 15) What strange marvel
did I see without,
before the great one's gate;
the giver of light,
but engulfer of flame,³
for which wolves unceasing strive?
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. That is the sun; it lightens all lands and shines upon all men; but the wolves are called Skalli and Hatti—those wolves, of which one goes before the sun, and the other follows after.'⁴

(H 30) I saw a stallion
bestride⁵ a mare,
with buttock under belly
and bobbing tail;

³ Grundtvig's emendation gives good sense and a paradox characteristic of the style: it gives light to men, but it swallows flame. The same idea is used in riddle H 33 below.
⁴ The two wolves appear as Skoll and Hati in Grímnismál 39 and in SnE. 18. Skoll pursues the sun and Hati, offspring of Fenrir the great wolf, pursues the moon (but in Vafþrudnismál 46-7 it is Fenrir himself who seizes the sun out of the sky).
⁵ The verb hýda, pret. hýði, means to 'take the hide off, flay, flog' (cf. English 'hiding'); but see Fritzner, Ordbog, s.v. hýda.
APPENDIX A

Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

Pá svarar konungr, ‘Dessa gátu skulu ráða hirðmenn mínir.’ Þeir gátu margs til ok eigi fagrs mjók. Pá mælti konungr, sem hann sót at þeir gerðu ekki at, ‘Hest þann kallar þú línvef, en skeið meri hans, en upp ok ofan skal hrista vefinn.’

(H 33)

Meyjar ek só
moldu Íkar,
þáru þein at beðjum bjorg,
svartar ok sómar*
í sólviðri,
en þess at fegri, er færa of sér.
Heiðrekr konungr,
hyggðu at gátu!

‘Góð er gáta þín, Gestumblindi, getit er þeirar; þat eru glæðr íólndaðar á arni.’

* svartur ok sómur H

¹ This solution is obviously wrong: the ‘mare’ is the web on the loom,
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

Then the king said, 'The men of my court shall solve this one.' They made many guesses, but none very good, and when the king saw that they could make nothing of it he said, 'What you call a "stallion" is a piece of linen, and his "mare" is the weaver's slay; up and down the web is shaken.'

\[ (H\,33) \]

Ladies I looked on,
in likeness of dust,
on bed of stone they slept;
black they are and swarthy
in sunny weather,
but the lighter the less one can see.
This riddle ponder,
O prince Heidrek!

'Your riddle is good, Gestumblindi,' said the king; 'I have guessed it. Those are embers grown pale upon the hearth.'

which is alternately raised up and pressed down by the rod or slay.
APPENDIX A

VII

Verses of The Battle of the Goths and the Huns not found in R

The following verses from U correspond to the prose passage in R between verses 80 and 81.

Heill kom þú Hlöðr,
Heidreks arfi, a
bróðir minn,
gakk á bekk sitja;
drekkmun Heidreks
hollar veigar
fóður okkrum
fyrtum manna,
vín eða mjöð
hvárþ þér vildara b þykkr.

Hlöðr kvað:
Til annars vör
hingat fórum
en qlí at drekkja;
þigg ek ei, c þjóðann,
þínar veigar,
nema ek hálft hafi
allt þat Heidrekr átti

(etc., as verse 81)

Hlöð, you are welcome,
Heidrek's offspring,
my own brother:
on the bench seat you;
let us drink the good
draughts of Heidrek,
drink to our father
the first of men
of wine or of mead
as the wish takes you.

Hlöð said:
For something else
have we sped hither
than for ale-drinking;
king, I care not
your cup to take
if I have not the half
of Heidrek's riches

(etc., as verse 81)

Some critics (Bugge, Heusler) have regarded this as a seventeenth-century composition from the transmitted prose (this prose itself being based on lost verses); Helgason on the other hand believes it to be 'certainly original.'

It does not seem necessary to dismiss the first of these verses at least as wholly the production of a later time. In a poem like this individual verses may have undergone through generations a continuous process of decay and regrafting, so that a distinction between 'old' and 'late' verses may be misleading if pressed.

a arfi em. Skj. (cf. verse 79/2), feduz U
b valdara U
c þigg ek ei em. foll. suggestion of Helgason, þiggja ef U
APPENDIX B

GUDMUND OF GLASISVELLIR

Neither Gudmund nor his dwelling are mentioned in the Prose or Poetic Edda, but Saxo has much to tell of him in his eighth book.¹ Saxo’s account concerns the journey of Thorkillus and his companions to seek the realm of Geruthus (Geirradr), a perilous attempt, of which

those who tried it declared that it was needful to sail over the Ocean that goes round the lands, to leave the sun and stars behind, to journey down into chaos, and at last to pass into a land where no light was and where darkness reigned eternally.

Eventually they came in ulteriorem Byarmiam, and there in this grim region they met Guthmundus, a man of extraordinary size, the brother of Geruthus. Guthmundus invited them to be his guests. They came to a river spanned by a bridge of gold, but Guthmundus forbade them to cross over by it, ‘telling them that by this channel nature had divided the world of men from the world of monsters, and that no mortal track might go further.’²

Throughout their sojourn with Guthmundus, Thorkillus was perpetually warning his companions against accepting the hospitality that was offered them: they must abstain from the food that was set before them, they must not speak to the inhabitants, they must not be tempted by the women whom Guthmundus offered them. Those of them who neglected Thorkillus’ warnings on this last matter went mad; but the rest Guthmundus finally transported across the river.

They came to a ‘gloomy, neglected town, looking more like a cloud exhaling vapour,’ a dark fortress with the heads of dead warriors impaled on the battlements, and savage dogs guarding the entrances. The conception of the halls of Geruthus is a grim one, and it has power even in Saxo’s swollen language: a picture of great riches amid hideous decay, almost as it were a great burial-mound, with gems and horns and golden vessels on a floor of snakes and dung, beneath a roof of spearheads, and everywhere a vile oppressive stench. ‘Bloodless, phantasmal monsters’ armed with clubs were yelling, others played a gruesome game with a goat’s skin which they tossed back and forth. At last they came upon Geruthus himself, an old man seated upon the high seat with his body pierced through, and beside him

² cf. the crossing of the Gjallarbrú, which was roofed with gold, by Hermóð in his ride to seek Balder, SnE. 66.
three women with their backs broken. As they turned to depart they were
overcome by the temptation to lay hands on the treasures they found there,
and at that the whole place rose against them; from the battle that followed
only a few escaped alive. These returned to Guthmundus’ land, and (all
save one) succeeded in resisting his blandishments and attempts to make
them linger there.

Many features of this strange story reappear elsewhere: thus, the journey
made by Thór to the dwelling of Geirröd the giant, during which Thór had
to ford the river Virmur, ‘greatest of all rivers,’ (SnE. 105 ff.), has close con-
nections with Saxo’s story of Thorkillus.¹

In Porsteins páтриr Baðarmagns ² Gudmund of Glasisvellir himself makes
the journey to Geirröd’s kingdom, accompanied by the hero, Thorstein. As
in Saxo, Gudmund and his men are of giant size (in Heiðreks Saga he was
king or lord in Jötunheimar). The geography is similar to Saxo’s account
in that Gudmund’s realm is adjacent to Geirröd’s, but divided from it by a
river, but in almost all other respects there is little to connect them; Gud-
mund, so far from being Geirröd’s brother, is his reluctant tributary, and he
appears rather as benevolent than as a cunning enchanter. According to
Porsteins páтриr Gudmund’s father was Úlfheðinn trausti, but was ‘called
Gudmund like all others who dwell in Glasisvellir’; Gudmund’s son was
Heidrek Wolfskin, who ruled over Geirrödargardar after Geirröd’s death.
The place-name Grundir (Grund in Heiðreks Saga) also appears in this work.

It is only possible to combine the accounts of Porsteins páтриr and Heiðreks
Saga of the geography of these legendary regions if one believes that the
latter account refers to the situation after the destruction of Geirröd and the
taking of his kingdom by Gudmund; but it is easier to believe that traditions
had become dim and confused by the time that these accounts were com-
posed, and the relations of the legendary localities were differently interpreted
by different writers. One must not think in terms of a great mythological
atlas of the northern world, with legendary lines of latitude and longitude.

Gudmund of Glasisvellir, as he appears in Helga páтриr Pórissonar³ bears
a much greater likeness to the Guthmundus of Saxo.

The name Glasisvellir is usually connected with Glasislúndr, the dwelling
of King Hjörvard in the Eddaic poem Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar (1), and
with the grove (lúndr) called Glasir, with leaves of red gold, which stood
before the door of Valhöll (SnE. 122). Glasir, Glasis- is then connected with
the group of words signifying ‘amber’ or ‘glass’ (Norse gler, O.E. glær, gleæ,
etc.), and Glasisvellir rendered as ‘the Glittering Plains.’

¹ The pierced body of Geruthus and the broken backs of the women were
due to Thór’s visit.
² Fornmanna Sögur III 175 ff.
³ Ibid., 135 ff.
Further reference may be made to Bugge, 'Iduns Æbler,' Arkiv V 13 ff.; Bugge, Studier 483 ff.; Herrmann 587 ff.; and to the very interesting essay by R. Much, 'Balder,' Z.f.d.Alt. LXI (1924) 99 ff.

As to the name Ódáinsakr: Saxo (ed. Holder 105) tells of a certain Fiallerus being driven into exile to a place called Undensakre 'which is unknown to our peoples.' There was a place in Iceland called Ódáinsakr, reputed to be so called because certain herbs grew there which were a protection against death (Olavius, Oeconomisk Rejse igjennem . . . Island, 1780, II 288); and a corrupt form of the name is recorded from Norway (O. Rygh, Norske Gaardnavne III 43). Finally, Ódáinsakr appears as the 'heathen' name of the earthly paradise in the East ('but Christians call it the Land of Living Men or Paradise') in Eiríks Saga Víðförla, without reference to Gudmund of Glasisvellir.

¹ Flateyjarbók I 29 ff.
APPENDIX C

THE REFERENCES TO ŌDIN

The expression which is used in verses 2 and 3, ‘to be Odin’s guest,’ implies ‘to die in battle’; it is found more than once elsewhere. Those killed in battle passed into Ōdin’s presence in Valhöll, the Hall of the Slain, and he himself was called Valföðr, the Father of the Slain. In the tenth-century poem Eiríksmál Ōdin speaks with the fallen princes in Valhöll of the coming of Eirík Bloodaxe to take his place there; and in the Eddaic poem Grimnismál (8) it is said:

Gladsheim the fifth is
where golden-bright
Valhöll spreading stands;
there does Ōdin
on every day
choose out the champions slain.

The remark that Angantyρ and Hjálmar ‘showed each other the way to Valhöll’ can be understood in connection with the later statement that Heidrek gave the slain of King Harald’s army to Ōdin, and with verse 100, where Gizur says, ‘May Ōdin let the dart fly as I prescribe it!’

There are many passages in saga-literature similar to these, in which an enemy or enemy army is in some way dedicated to Ōdin on the battlefield; more than once a javelin is said to have been shot over the enemy host. Thus in Eyrbyggja Saga ch. 44 Steinthór cast a spear over Snorri’s men at fornun sid til heillā sēr, ‘to bring himself luck, according to the ancient custom’; and in Styrbjarnar Pátrr (Flateyjarbók II 72) Eirík, after dedicating himself in Ōdin’s temple to die after ten years if he should be victorious over Styrbjörn, met a tall man wearing a long hood, who put a cane in his hand and told him to shoot it over Styrbjörn’s men, saying as he did so, Ōðinn á ýðr alla (‘Ōdin has you all!’)

The javelin is constantly associated with Ōdin; his own weapon was called Gungnir (SnE. 72, etc.), with a javelin he was himself marked before death (Ynglīnga Saga ch. 9), and Sigmund’s sword was broken on Ōdin’s spear (Volsunga Saga ch. 11).

Passages from Norse and other literatures that bear on this subject are gathered together and discussed by H. M. Chadwick, The Cult of Othin, 1899.
APPENDIX D

THE GAME OF ‘HNEFATAFL’

The name of the game is found in MSS constantly varying between the forms hnefatafl, hnefafl, and hnetfafl, besides forms without initial h, and in late MSS knottafl—a form which gave rise to the notion that the game was played with nuts.

There are a great many passages in the sagas where hnefatafl or other board-games are referred to, but none gives a clear account, and most offer only a passing reference. An article by F. Lewis in Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1941, 185 ff., casts however a good deal of light on the matter; he is primarily concerned with the elucidation of the Welsh Tafolbordd (a game derived apparently from Scandinavia, and the name from Norse tafbor̂ð), but clearly hnefatafl was essentially the same game.¹

These games belong to the type that have been called ‘hunt-games,’ in which one piece attempts to escape from the enemy, either with the help of defenders or without; but if with defenders, then these are outnumbered two to one by the attackers. They are thus altogether different in conception from ‘battle-games’ (chess, draughts), where there is an equal number of pieces on each side; for in the hunt-games the player wielding the attacking pieces will—given equal skill in both players—win, which no doubt accounts for their decay in esteem. The hunt-games are nonetheless games of skill and not of chance, and the statement, made time and time again, that hnefatafl was played with dice must be rejected.² It was played on a board of undifferentiated squares (either odd or even in number), with the hnefi on the central square (or central intersection) at the beginning of the game; the king’s men were grouped around him at the start, and the attackers (probably) in four groups at the margins of the board. The latter attempt to pen him in so that he cannot move, while he, with the help of his men, tries to reach the edge. Pieces are taken when hemmed in between two others on the same line; but the possibilities with regard to the king’s moves are unclear.

A board was discovered at Vimose in Sweden on which there seem to

¹ Another version is the Alea Evangelii or ‘Game of the Gospel’ (J. Armitage Robinson, The Times of St Dunstan, 1923, 69 ff., 171 ff., and frontispiece), and similar again in theme is the widespread popular game of ‘Fox and Geese’ (Norse refskō̄k).

² In the solution to verse 59 both R and H refer to the húmn (die) in hnefatafl. Either this is a mistake, or the name came to be applied to quite distinct board-games.
have been 324 squares (18 by 18), as in the *Alea Evangelii*, and another from the Viking period was dug up in West Meath, where there are 49 holes arranged 7 by 7, with the central hole specially distinguished; here the pieces must have been pegged to their places.

Finally it may be mentioned that in Scandinavia, as also in Wales, the sets were often very costly, possessing sometimes an importance over and above their function; thus in the North boards and men were used to adorn temples (*Sturlaug's Saga starfsama* ch. 18,\(^1\) of the golden set in the temple of Thórr). Pieces of silver and of walrus-ivory are recorded (*Gull-Póris Saga* ch. 14,\(^2\) *Króka-Ref's Saga* ch. 3\(^3\)); cf. also the golden *toflur* of the gods in *Völospá* 61. Among grave-goods have been found pieces of amber, bone, and glass; among the pieces there is sometimes one that is marked out from the remainder in one way or another.

\(^1\) *F.A.S. III* (1830) 627
\(^3\) ed. P. Pálsson (*S.T.U.A.G.N.L.* X, 1883)
APPENDIX E

THE RIDDLE OF THE SOW
WITH AN UNBORN LITTER

This enigma (verse 69) has a curious history. There is a legend told in the ancient poem Melampodia, ascribed to Hesiod, of a contest between Mopsus and Kalchas the seer.\(^1\) Mopsus asked Kalchas how many young there were in a sow that was just about to give birth, and when it would do so. When Kalchas did not answer, he said himself that there were ten, among which was one male, and that it would give birth to them on the next day. When it turned out as Mopsus said, Kalchas died of mortification.

This is obviously a piece of divination, not a riddle at all. The Norse form represents a stage halfway between divination and riddle, so to say; it occurs in a riddle-contest and has the outward form of a riddle, but it has not yet sloughed off the particular, once-occurring event which must accompany the divination and confirm its accuracy. Regarded as a riddle it is insoluble; there are insufficient limiting factors.

In England the development can be followed a stage further. Aldhelm's verse, De Scrofa Praegnante (Aldhelm vi 10; Opera ed. Giles 266), is unquestionably a riddle; the individual accompanying event has now disappeared, and only the particularising of the actual number of young remains to hint at its history.

Bibliographical information on this subject is given by F. Tupper, The Riddles of the Exeter Book, 1910, 155.

\(^1\) K. Ohlert, Rätsel und Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen, 1886, 36 ff.
APPENDIX F

FRÓDMAR

In verse 13/1-4 (as emended) hon ‘she’ must be Hervör’s mother; but who is Fróðmar? It is odd, too, that Hervör should only here get to know who her father was; but as her ignorance is only shown by the remark of the slave (‘the jarl forbids every man to speak to you of your parentage’), this might be possibly due to a misunderstanding of the verses, which do not necessarily presuppose it. The notion that Fróðmar was the name of the swineherd (‘I cannot boast of our noble line—even though my mother did win Fróðmar’s favour,’ spoken in irony), as has been suggested, is not very credible.

The adoption of U’s reading hefði fengit, making Hervör say, ‘even though I won Fróðmar’s favour,’ does not seem to help. The curious state-ment in R (p. 30) that the foster-father of Hervör the second was called Fróðmar may have some bearing on the puzzle, but it is hard to see what: H and U have Ormar here, as one would expect, since he is her foster-father in the Battle of the Goths and the Huns. Again, the dream that Hervör speaks of in verse 17 is referred to nowhere else.

The most likely explanation of these discrepancies is a shortening, conscious or unconscious, in the base-MS from which all the extant texts descend. Most critics have found these verses wanting1; but even if they are thought to be a late composition on the basis of a prose saga-text, the two obscure references in them must refer to something, and therefore that text does not now exist.

1 ‘Die äusserst platten Strophen,’ Edd. Min. lxxvii; ‘halt, tame, and spiritless,’ C.P.B. I 495.
GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS*

Alþingi  Great Assembly. About A.D. 930 the göðar of Iceland combined to form the Great Assembly, which met annually in June at Thingvellir. The details of its composition and organisation in this period are obscure. When the Constitution was revised, c. A.D. 963, Iceland was divided into geographical Quarters (Fjördungar), North, South, East and West, and the Assembly was composed of thirty-nine göðar, nine representing each Quarter, except the Northern one, which was represented by twelve. The twelve göðar from the Northern Quarter were not, however, able to exercise greater influence on the decisions of the Assembly than the nine representing each of the other Quarters.

The Great Assembly was divided into the Legislature (Logrétta) and the Judicial Courts, both of which were controlled by the göðar. The Judicial Courts numbered four, one to try cases pertaining to each Quarter, and were called Quarter Courts (Fjördungsdómar). About the year 1005, a Court of Appeal (Fimmtrardómur) was instituted.

All householders whose capital wealth was above a certain standard were obliged to attend the Great Assembly in the following of the gödi to whom they owed allegiance, or else pay a tax (pingfararkaup) to the gödi.

Provision was made for lesser assemblies, the várþing in spring and the leið in autumn, at local meeting places (pingsted), of which there were three in each Quarter, except in the Northern one, where there were four. Three göðar presided at each local assembly. (See Aage Gregersen, L'Islande. Son statut à travers les âges, 1937.)

Berserkr  a man capable of fits of frenzied rage, or running amok. Berserks were said to fight without corselets, raging like wolves with the strength of bears, and might be regarded almost as shape-changers, who acquired the strength and ferocity of beasts. During pagan times, berserks were highly prized as warriors, but under Christian law those who 'went berserk' were liable to heavy penalties. The word berserkr, 'bear-shirted,' implies perhaps that berserks sometimes disguised themselves as bears. The berserk-fury is described in Ynglingas., ch. 6.

Drápa  a sequence of strophes in scaldic form generally composed in praise of a king or great prince. The drápa is normally and properly embellished with a refrain (stef), which usually recurs at regular intervals in the central section of the poem (cf. the construction of Hofudlausn in Egilss., ch. 60). The flókr was a sequence of strophes without refrain and commonly shorter than the drápa. Because of its more intricate form the drápa was thought to be more suitable as homage to a king, but lesser princes must be content with a flókr, as in Gjölfaga Saga. The poet Þórarinn loftunga is said to have incurred King Knúts wrath by composing a flókr in his honour (a dræplingr, as the king called it). He saved himself by revising it and introducing a refrain, thus turning it into a

* This Glossary contains terms commonly employed in the Sagas and will be expanded as further volumes in this series are published.

93
drápa (cf. Óláfss. helga, ch. 172, in Hkr. II). (See J. de Vries, Altnordische Literaturgeschichte, 1941-2, I 87 ff.)

Festarkona a woman formally betrothed before witnesses in accordance with the provision of the law. The term heithona is not found in the laws, but seems to have been used for a bride promised without legal formalities. (See K. Maurer, Vorlesungen über altnordische Rechtsgeschichte, 1907-10, II 517-18.)

Fylgia a personification of the essential nature or power of an individual or family. It often appeared in the form of an animal whose nature corresponded to the name or character of the individual it represented. The family wraiths (ættaryfylgiur) were protective spirits who were often seen in female form. (cf. J. de Vries, Altgmanische Religionsgeschichte, 1935-7, II 351-5; G. Turville-Petre, 'Liggja fylgiur þínar til Íslands' Saga-Book of the Viking Society XII (1937-45), 119-26.)

Glima a form of wrestling still popular in Iceland. The combatants take a grip in each other's belt and attempt to make a throw by the use of various tricks, chiefly by rapid foot movements. (See Björn Bjarnason, Nordboernes legemlige Uddannelse i Óldtiden, 1905, 102 ff.)

Godi literally 'the godly one,' priest, and the title assumed by the chieftains of Iceland, whose office, called godórð, combined secular with religious authority. At the beginning each godi was sovereign ruler over his followers (þingmenn).

The godórð in Iceland probably numbered thirty-six when the settlement was first completed; their number was increased to thirty-nine c. A.D. 963 and to forty-eight on the institution of the Court of Appeal, c. A.D. 1005 (see Alþingi).

After the Conversion to Christianity (A.D. 1000) the godar maintained their titles and secular authority, presiding at local assemblies, acting as legislators and appointing judges at the Great Assembly. The office of godórð could be bought, sold, divided and even lent.

Hólmganga duel, literally 'island-going,' since duels were traditionally fought on islands, although a piece of ground, measured and marked out, was often substituted. Each principal might have a second, who protected him with a shield (hálfa skildi fyrir e-n). Blows were exchanged in turn, the challenged party striking first. A wounded dueller could escape further injury by payment of a stipulated sum, usually three marks of silver.

According to the sagas, the duel was a legal form of redress. Its abolition probably resulted from the institution of the Court of Appeal (see Alþingi), which greatly reduced the chance of legal deadlock. (See Gwyn Jones, 'Some characteristics of the Icelandic "hólmganga',' Journal of English and Germanic Philology XXXII (1933), 203-24; Eiríkr Magnússon, The Saga Library VI, 1905, 349 ff.)
GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

Jarl the original meaning was 'man of noble birth, warrior,' as opposed to the common people, karlar (cf. the Old English pair eorl : ceorl). As a title jarl was applied to hereditary Norse and Danish chieftains, many no doubt being in fact sovereign lords in earlier times; but with the reduction of all the petty chiefs to the status of liegemen under the king the word changed in meaning correspondingly. As a result the English word eorl was also affected in sense, whence ultimately Modern English 'earl.'

Logberg the eminence at Thingvellir, the site of the Great Assembly, where the Law-Speaker had his seat and where all important announcements were made, whether by him or by other speakers.

Logsogumaðr Law-Speaker, the highest officer of the Icelandic Commonwealth and President of the Great Assembly (see Alþingi). He was elected by the godar for a term of three years and could be re-elected for further terms. As his title implies, it was part of the Law Speaker's duty to recite the laws at the Great Assembly, one-third of the code each year, covering the whole code in his three years of office.

The term Logmaðr (Lawman) was at first applied in Iceland to anyone learned in law. In Norway, on the other hand, Logmaðr was the title of the President of an assembly. After Norwegian law was introduced in Iceland (A.D. 1271–3), the title Logmaðr replaced that of Logsogumaðr, in accordance with Norwegian practice.

Mork approximately half a pound in weight. It contained eight aurar, each eyrir weighing just under an ounce. Homespun cloth (vaðmál) formed, with silver, the chief staple of exchange and in the early period was Iceland's chief export. About A.D. 1000, one eyrir of refined silver was worth approximately twenty-four yards of vaðmál; unrefined silver had half the value of the refined. (See Þorkell Jóhannesson, Die Stellung der freien Arbeiter in Island, 1933, 37–42.)

Skáli originally small house, hut, hence apartment, room (cf. eldaskáli, kitchen), hall (cf. drýkkjuskáli, drinking hall). Skáli came later to be used especially for 'sleeping room' (also called svefnuskáli). A raised floor or dais (seti), which ran along the greater part of each side wall, was used as a sleeping place for the household. The chief persons of the family often slept in a separate bed-closet (lokrekki), which could be closed by a door or sliding panel. The lokrekki was commonly placed at the inner end of the dais (innar af seti), between it and the gable-end. (See Valtýr Guðmundsson, Privatboligen på Island, 1889, 206 ff.)
Stofa principal room of the house, where the inmates would dine and occupy themselves by day. Along each of the side walls ran a boarded dais (pallr, langpallr), while a cross-dais (þverpallr) often filled the gable-end. In early times the fire burned on the low earthen floor, which extended down the middle of the stofa between the raised flooring on each side. This raised floor sometimes rose in steps, which served as seats; sometimes, however, benches were placed upon it.

The central section of the dais on one side was called the (xödra) ondvegi, ‘(upper) high seat,’ and was occupied by the master of the house and his closest associates. The corresponding section on the opposite side was called the őæbra or annat ondvegi, ‘lower’ or ‘second high seat,’ and was commonly occupied by the chief guests. The cross-dais was often reserved for women. (See Valtýr Guðmundsson, Privatboligen på Island, 1889, 171 ff.)
# INDEX

## I PERSONAL NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Álfhildr Álfsdóttir</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Álfhildr Ivarsdóttir</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Álfur, king in Álftheimar</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alrekinn frøkni, Alrek the Valiant</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áma Ymisdóttir</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angantyr (I) Arngrimsson</td>
<td>3–8, 10, 11, 14–20, 22, 69, 70, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angantyr (II) Hofundarson</td>
<td>21, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angantyr (III) Heidreksson, king of the Goths</td>
<td>24, 26, 27, 43–9, 51–60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arngrimr, the giant (called Hergrimr in H)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arngrimr, the viking</td>
<td>3–5, 14, 19, 67–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ása Haraldsdóttir</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astdrödr Njalalsdóttir</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldur, the god Balder</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barri Arngrimsson</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauggerðr Starkaðardóttir (Baugeirðr in H)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bildr Arngrimsson</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bjarmarr jarl (Bjartmarr in HU)</td>
<td>4, 10, 20, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Björn at Haugi, Björn of the Barrow</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Björn Eiríksson</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Björn Járnisdóttir, Björn Ironside</td>
<td>60, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blot-Sveinn, see Sveinn</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bóti Arngrimsson</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bragi skáld</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dellingr</td>
<td>34, 35, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durin, the dwarf (Dulinn in H)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvalinn</td>
<td>15, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiríkr Bjarnarson</td>
<td>60, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiríkr inn sigsæli, Eiríkr the Victorious</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiríkr Refilsson</td>
<td>60, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiríkr Ónundarson</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyfura, wife of Arngrimr</td>
<td>2, 3, 14, 68, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eygrím bólmr, see Grímr</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eymundr Óláfrsson</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eysteinn inn illráði, Eystein the Wicked</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnr inn skjálgi, Finn the Squinter</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friðr Þjazadóttir</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fróðmarr (in verse 13)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fróðmarr, jarl in England</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gestumblindi</td>
<td>32–44, 80–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gizurr Grytingalíði</td>
<td>21, 50, 54–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gizurr, king of the Gautar</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grímur Hergrimsson</td>
<td>66, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grytingalíði, see Gizurr Grytingalíði</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guðmundr, king in Glassivellir</td>
<td>20, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gylfi</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haddingjar tveir Arngrimssynir, the two Haddings</td>
<td>3, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hákon, king of the Swedes</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hálfdan snjálfi, Hálfdan the Valiant</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallsteinn Steinkelsson</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harald harðráði Sigurðarson</td>
<td>62, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harald hilditónn, Harald War-tooth</td>
<td>59, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haraldinn granraði, Harald the Red-bearded</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haraldinn härfagri, Harald the Fair-haired</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haraldr, king of Reidgotaland</td>
<td>23–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heiðrek Gryfaddóttir</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heiðrekinn inn vitri Hofundarson, Heidrek the Wise</td>
<td>17, 21–50, 53, 55, 80–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heiðrekinn úlfhamr, Heidrek Wolfskin</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helga Haraldsdóttir</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hergrimr hálfröll</td>
<td>66, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hervarðr Arngrimsson</td>
<td>3, 7, 14, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hervarðr, name of Hervör (I)</td>
<td>12, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hervör (I) Angantýsdóttir</td>
<td>10, 11, 13–22, 77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Hervör (II) Heiðreksdóttir 30, 52, 53
Hildr Heiðreksdóttir 59
Hjálmarr inn hugumstóri, Hjálmar the Great-hearted 4–8, 10, 17, 19, 69, 70, 73, 78
Hjóvarðr Arngrímsson 3, 4, 7, 12, 14, 60
Hlér, god of the sea 40
Hlöðr Heiðrekssson 26, 46–8, 51, 52, 56–8, 60, 83
Hrani Arngrímsson 3, 7, 14, 69
Humli, king of the Huns 26, 46, 47, 51, 52, 56, 57
Humlungr, i.e. Hlöðr 49
Hvitserkr Ragnarsson 60
Hófundr Guðmundarson 20–2, 25, 26, 66

Ingi Hallsteinsson 63
Ingi Steinkelsson 62, 63
Ingibjorg Ingjaldsdóttir 9, 73
Ingígerðr Haraldsdóttir 63
Ingjaldr inn illráði, Ingjald the Wicked 59
Ingjaldr, king of the Swedes (called Yngvi in HU) 3
Ívarr inn beinlausi, Ívar the Boneless 60
Ívarr inn viðfaðmi, Ívar the Wide-grasping 59, 60

Kjárr, king of the Valir 46

Mær, wife of Ingi Steinkelsson 62

Njáll Finnsson 62

Oddr, see Órvar-Oddr
Óðinn, the god Ódin 6, 26, 32, 44, 56, 67, 70
Óláf Bjarnarson 61
Óláfr und helgi, Ólav the Saint 62
Óláfr skautkonungr or Óláfr senski, Óláfr Cloak-king or Ólav the Swede 61
Ormarr, foster-father of Hervör (II) 52, 53

Philippus Hallsteinsson 63

Ragnarr Loðbrók, Ragnar Hairy-breeches 60
Randvr Valdarsson 59, 60
Refill Bjarnarson 60, 61
Røgnvaldr inn gamli, Rögnvald the Old 62

Sifka Humladóttir (called Sváfa in U) 26, 28–30
Sigríðr in stórráða, Sigrid the Ambitious 61
Sigrlami, king of Gardar 2, 3, 14, 67, 68
Sigurðr hringr, Sigurd Ring 60
Sigurðr Ragnarsson 60
Sigurðr Sýr, Sigurd Sow 63
Sóti, companion of Hjálmar 9
Starkaðr áludrengr 66, 67
Steinkell Røgnvaldsson 62, 63
Stórvirkr, father of Starkad 67
Styrbjörn inn sterki, Styrbjörn the Strong 61
Sváfa Bjarnarsdóttir (called Tófa in H) 4, 14
Svafrlami Sigrlamason 68
Sveinn or Blót-Sveinn, Svein the Sacrificer 62, 63

Tindr Arngrímsson 69
Tóki Arngrímsson 69
Tyrfingr Arngrímsson 69

Valdarr, king of the Danes, (i) 46; (ii) 59

Ymir, the giant 66

Þjazi, the giant 68
Þjófr, follower of Svein the Sacrificer 63
Þór, the god Þórr 67

Ægir, god of the sea 41

Ǫgn álfasprengi 66, 67
Ǫnndr Ólafsson 62
Ǫnndr uppsali, Ónund of Uppsala 61
Ǫrvar-Oddr or Oddr inn viðforli, Arrow-Odd or Odd the Far-traveller 5, 6, 7, 10, 69–71
INDEX

2 PLACE NAMES

Agafat 9
Álfheimar 67
Álufossar 66
Árheimar 46, 47, 53, 56
Austrvíki, the Eastern kingdom 60

Bólm 3, 67–9
Brávöllr 60

Danarvíki, kingdom of the Danes 59, 60
Danaveldi, kingdom of the Danes 59, 60
Danmark, Denmark 59, 60
Danparstaðir, the banks of the Dnieper 46, 49
Dúnheðr, the Danube Heath 55–7, 60

Eiði 67
Eistland, land of the Esths 59
Elivágar 67
England 30, 59, 62

Fýrisvellir 61

Gandvík 66
Garðar (in Garðakonungr) 28–30
Garðaríki 2, 3, 28, 59, 67
Gautelfr 67
Gautland 59 (Eystra Gautland, Eastern Gautland 60, 63; Vestra Gautland, Western Gautland 63)
Glassisvellir 20, 66
Gotland, land of the Goths 52
Gotþjóð, land of the Goths 49, 50, 53
Grafá (Gripá, Gropá in U, Greipá in 203) 45
Grund 21, 66

Hálögaland 62, 66, 67

Harvaða fjöll, Harvad-fells 45
at Haugi (Haugr, the Barrow) 61
Húnamland, land of the Huns 26, 46, 51, 52
Jassarfjöll, Hills of Ash 55, 56
Jötunheimar 66
Kúrland 59
Mannheimar 66
Munavágr 5, 12, 14, 76
Myrkviðr, Mirkwood 49, 52, 53
Norðumbraland, Northumbria 59
Norðrland, the Northlands 66, 67
Nóregr, Norway 18, 60, 61
Ódáinsakr, Land of the Undying 66
Raumfélf 67
Reiðgotaland 23, 25, 26, 59
á Ræningi 59
Sámsey 4, 8, 10–12, 20
Saxland, land of the Saxons 26, 27, 59
Sigtúnir 73
Smáland 63
Stiklastaðir 62
Svíáríki, kingdom of the Swedes 6, 60–2
Svíaveldi, kingdom of the Swedes 59, 60
Svíþjóð, Sweden 7, 61–3

Uppsalir, Uppsala 3, 9, 10, 61, 62
Valhöll 6, 7

Ymisland 66

3 OTHER NAMES

Andaðr, name of a piece in a game 37
Asiämenn, men of Asia 66, 67
Danir, Danes 39, 46

Gautar 46
Gotar, Goths 46, 47, 53, 55, 57
Hatti, the wolf 81
Húnar, Huns 46, 51–7
Ítrekr, name of a piece in a game 37
Saxar (in Saxakonungr), Saxons 26
Sleipnir, the horse of Óðin 44
Skallí, the wolf 81
Sviðr, Swedes 61–3

4 NAMES GIVEN IN THE HU-VERSION TO PERSONS UNNAMED IN R

Barri Arngrímsson (3)
Brámi Arngrímsson (3)
Búi Arngrímsson (3)
Haki (in U only), king of the Saxons (26, 27)
Hálfdan, son of Harald of Reidgotaland (24, 25)
Herborg (in U only), wife of the king of Gardar (29, 30)

Hergerðr, daughter of the king of Gardar (30)
Herlaugr, son of the king of Gardar (28, 29)
Hrollaugr, king of Gardar (28–30)
Olof (in U only), daughter of the king of the Saxons (26, 27)
Refnir Arngrímsson (3)
Sæmingr Arngrímsson (3)
Tindr Arngrímsson (3)