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## HRAFNS SAGA SVEINBJARNARSONAR AND STURLUNGA SAGA

*On the working method of the compiler of Sturlunga  
saga when including Hrafns saga in his anthology*

Guðrún P. Helgadóttir earned her Ph.D. from Oxford University in 1968 with a critical edition of *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, publishing a revised version of her edition some nineteen years later (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1987). Not included in the 1987 edition is her discussion of the treatment of *Hrafns saga* by the compiler of *Sturlunga saga*, which is the subject of the following essay.

IN HER PREFACE Guðrún P. Helgadóttir gives an account of the preservation of *Hrafns saga*'s two versions (see pp. cviii–cxi). Version A has been edited by Agnete Loth, with a comprehensive description of its manuscripts, in *Membrana Regia Deperdita*, Editiones Arnarnæanae, series A, vol. 5 (Kbh., 1960), pp. lxi–lxxviii and pp. 179–238. The principal manuscripts of Version A are the following: AM 155 fol., written in the period between 1639 and 1662 (in the following called *A*<sup>1</sup>); AM 154 fol., written c. 1688–1702 (in the following called *A*<sup>2</sup>); and AM 487 4to, written c. 1688–1697 (in the following called *A*<sup>3</sup>). Version B has been edited by Annette Hasle, who also dealt extensively with the preservation of its manuscripts, in *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar B-redaktionen*, Editiones Arnarnæanae, series B, vol. 25 (Kbh., 1967). The principal manuscripts of Version B are AM 552n 4to, written by Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá, who died in 1655 (in the following called *B*<sup>1</sup>); and British Library, MS Add. 11.134, written c. 1811–1827 (in the following called *B*<sup>3</sup>).

In the following essay, all references to *Hrafns saga* are in accordance with Guðrún P. Helgadóttir's 1987 edition, the title of which is abbreviated as *HrsGPH*.

The manuscripts of *Sturlunga saga* used as an additional and comparative source for the text of *Hrafn saga*, edition Oxford 1987 are as follows: AM 122a fol., *Króksfjarðarbók* (here called *St. I*) and AM 122b fol., *Reykjarfjarðarbók* (here called *St. II*). *Reykjarfjarðarbók* proper is not available for the *Hrafn saga* passage in *Sturlunga saga*, so the paper manuscripts (Iip) derived from it had to be consulted instead. Those paper manuscripts (Iip) used here are: British Library Add. 11.127 (here called Br.); Stock. pap. 8 4to (here called H) and AM 439 4to; two manuscripts have also been used, belonging partly (see below) to the Iip group: Advocates' Library 21-3-17, here called V (*Vallabók*), and Ny kgl. saml. 1234 fol.

The textual edition of Kr. Kålund is used as a basis for consultation of these manuscripts apart from British Library Add. 11.127. The reference to Iip collectively in footnotes to present text represents: Br., H and V (not always including all). Kålund quotes Iip as consisting of Br., H, AM 440 4to and V, 1234 and 439,<sup>1</sup> but 440 4to is not available for the *Hrafn saga* passage in *Sturlunga saga*.<sup>2</sup> Br. has here been quoted direct from the manuscript.

a) *Króksfjarðarbók* AM 122a fol. (*St. I*).

The original manuscript of *Sturlunga saga* is now lost. In the earlier part of the seventeenth century two versions of it on vellum were extant, more or less complete.<sup>3</sup> One of these two, *Króksfjarðarbók* (*St. I*) is so called from the place Króksfjörður in the Barðastrandarsýsla, where the manuscript is thought to have been about the year 1400.<sup>4</sup> The manuscript was probably written about the middle of the fourteenth century<sup>5</sup> and is written in four different hands. Only 110 leaves are now extant of this manuscript, originally supposed to have con-

<sup>1</sup> *Sturlunga saga* efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók udfyldt efter Reykjarfjarðarbók I, [ed. Kr. Kålund], Kbh., 1906–11, pp. lxxii–lxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> The text of AM 440 4to ends in Kålund's edition, op. cit., I 236, cf. footnote, line 28.

<sup>3</sup> Jón Jóhannesson, *Sturlunga saga* (1946), II, p. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Kr. Kålund's Preface to *Sturlunga saga* is contained in vol. I, pp. i–lxxiv, reference in this case to p. iv, cf. also Jón Jóhannesson, op. cit., p. xiv. The manuscript has been published in facsimile with an introduction by Jakob Benediktsson: *Sturlunga saga*. Manuscript No. 122 A fol., edited by Jakob Benediktsson (Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile I, here after *EIM*), Cph., 1968.

<sup>5</sup> Kålund, *Sturlunga saga* I, p. ii; Jón Jóhannesson, *ibid.*; *EIM* I, Introduction, p. 11.

tained 141 folios.<sup>6</sup> The *Hrafn saga* part is preserved in *St. I*, partly written by hand one<sup>7</sup> and partly written in hand two.<sup>8</sup> Several paper manuscripts derive from *St. I*, none of which are used for the text in the *Hrafn saga* edition, Oxford 1987. For a description of *Króksfjarðarbók* and its orthography, see Kålund, *Sturlunga saga I*, pp. ii–xxxii, and Jakob Benediktsson, Early Icel. Manusc. I, Introduction, pp. 7–17.

b) *Reykjarfjarðarbók* AM 122b fol. (*St. II*).

The manuscript called *St. II* (AM 122b fol.) is the remains of a vellum which was complete as late as the early seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> The name of the manuscript derives from Reykjarfjörður which runs northward into Arnarfjörður in the Westfjords, where it was owned by Gísli Jónsson (died 1679).<sup>10</sup> Only thirty leaves are now extant, which is considered to be about one sixth of the original size (ca. 180 leaves).<sup>11</sup> The *Hrafn saga* passage of *Sturlunga saga* is not, as mentioned earlier, among the thirty leaves still extant. For a description of this manuscript and its orthography see Kålund, *Sturlunga saga I*, pp. xxxii–xlii.

Copies on paper of both vellums were made while they still were more or less complete.<sup>12</sup> These copies fall into two main groups, Ip and Iip. The Ip group has not been made use of for this present text, as *St. I* (*Króksfjarðarbók*) is available for the relevant passage from *Hrafn saga*. For the description of the manuscripts in group Ip see Kålund pp. xlii–lv.

c) Paper manuscripts of *Sturlunga saga* used in the text of *Hrafn saga Sveinbjarnarsonar* (Oxford 1987).

The manuscripts in the Iip group are all derived from a copy made

<sup>6</sup> *EIM I*, Introduction, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. vi.

<sup>8</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. xvi.

<sup>9</sup> Jón Jóhannesson, *ibid.* On the age of this vellum, ca. 1350, see Guðbrandur Vigfússon, *Sturlunga saga*, Oxford edition, I, p. clxxiv. In his article „Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar“ Stefán Karlsson argues that the manuscript was written by a man from Skagafjörður in the second half of the fourteenth century (see *Opuscula IV*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana XXX, (Kbh., 1970), p. 130; and also *Árna saga biskups*, edited by Þorleifur Hauksson (Rvk., 1972), p. ix).

<sup>10</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. xxxvi; Jón Jóhannesson, *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Kålund, op. cit., pp. xxxii–xxxiv; Jón Jóhannesson, *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. ii; Jón Jóhannesson, *ibid.*

by Björn Jónsson on Skarðsá from the vellum (AM 122b fol.), probably in the years 1635–1637.<sup>13</sup> According to Jón Jóhannesson,<sup>14</sup> Björn had AM 122a fol. (*Króksfjarðarbók*) as well, from which he took additions and variants which Björn inserted in the margin of his copy (see below) or on separate pages. Björn might also have interpolated the text of both *Króksfjarðarbók* and *Reykjarfjarðarbók* towards the end of his copy, but this, however, is rather unlikely.<sup>15</sup> Björn Jónsson's copy is unfortunately lost, but from it are derived several paper manuscripts. The most important of these are: British Library Add. 11.127 (Br.), Stock. pap. 8 4to (H), AM 439 4to and AM 440 4to;<sup>16</sup> the last-mentioned manuscript is not used here, since it does not contain the relevant passage from *Hrafns saga*.

There is one further group of manuscripts, of which the following are used: Advocates' Library 21-3-17 (V) and Ny kgl. saml. 1234 fol. (1234). This group, according to Kålund,<sup>17</sup> falls partly under the IIp group in that the manuscripts derive from a combination of Br., one manuscript from the Ip group and one unclassified manuscript. Jón Jóhannesson,<sup>18</sup> however, thinks that they should be classified as a separate group.

*British Library Add. 11.127 (Br.)* is written by six different hands in the year 1696 or thereabouts. In the manuscript this note is to be found written in hand II: 'Skrifud a Oddastad ä Rangärvóllum Anno 1696, D. 20 Aprilis.'

This manuscript contains four sagas, the first and longest of which is *Sturlunga saga*. The relevant passage from *Hrafns saga* is contained on leaves 73r–78r and is written in hand II.

According to Kålund<sup>19</sup> there is no doubt that this manuscript was written for Síra Björn Þorleifsson in Oddi, later bishop of Hólar (1697–

<sup>13</sup> Kålund, op. cit. p. xxxvii; Jón Jóhannesson, *ibid.*; *Árna saga biskups* 1972, pp. xviii–xix.

<sup>14</sup> Jón Jóhannesson, op. cit., pp. xiv–xv.

<sup>15</sup> Jón Jóhannesson, *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Jón Jóhannesson, op. cit., p. xv.

<sup>17</sup> Kålund, op. cit., pp. lv, lxii, lxiii.

<sup>18</sup> Jón Jóhannesson, *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. lvii; cf. also *Árna saga biskups* 1972, p. xix.

1710). Further, according to Kålund,<sup>20</sup> the characteristic marginal notes (see above) prove that Br. is a copy from the one made by Björn Jónsson on Skarðsá from *Reykjarfjarðarbók* (St. II). Kålund also states that Br. is the only direct copy of Björn's unabridged copy of the vellum.<sup>21</sup>

Finnur Magnússon (died 1847) owned Br. and sold it as a part of a collection to the British Museum in 1837.

In Kålund's edition of *Sturlunga saga* he deplors the fact that he had not full access to this manuscript.<sup>22</sup> Kålund quotes Br. in several ways<sup>23</sup> and from the footnotes in the *Hrafns saga* part of his *Sturlunga saga* edition it can be seen that he relies on Guðbrandur Vigfússon's Oxford edition almost entirely (references in Kålund op. cit. marked Bx). In a very few cases<sup>24</sup> in the *Hrafns saga* part Kålund refers to the manuscript as Br\*, which means that the Oxford edition explicitly refers to the British Library's manuscript. Since Kålund apparently has not compared this relevant passage to Br. direct, it follows that there are some inaccuracies in his edition of *Sturlunga saga*.

*Stock. pap. 8 4to (H)* was written by Halldór Guðmundsson on Síla-staðir in Eyjafjörður in the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup> It contains *Sturlunga saga* under the heading: 'Íslendinga saga' and 'Saga af Arna biskupe'.

According to Kålund the common original of this manuscript and AM 440 4to was copied from Björn Jónsson's transcript of the vellum (AM 122b fol.).<sup>26</sup> Kålund's opinion is supported by J. Simpson and I.R. Hare in their essay: Some Observations on the Relationship of the II-Class Paper MSS of *Sturlunga saga*.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand U. Brown is of the opinion that the common original for Br., H, and AM 440 4to is Björn Jónsson's copy itself.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Kålund, *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Kålund, *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. lxxiv.

<sup>23</sup> Op. cit., p. lxxiii.

<sup>24</sup> Kålund's edition, I, 299 (twice), 307, 311, 316.

<sup>25</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. lviii; Stefán Karlsson, Halldór Guðmundsson, norðlenzkur maður, *Opuscula IV* (Bibliotheca Arnarnagæana XXX), Kbh., 1970, p. 94.

<sup>26</sup> Kålund, Om Håndskrifterne af Sturlunga Saga, in *Aarbøger*, 1901, pp. 271ff., 273ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Opuscula I*, in *Bibl. Arnarnagæana*, XX, Kbh., 1960, p. 200.

<sup>28</sup> U. Brown, A Note on the MSS of *Sturlunga saga*, in *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* XXII, 1952, pp. 35-40.

Stock. pap. 8 4to was brought to Sweden, possibly by the Icelander Jón Rúgmann, where it had several owners before it was bought by the Stockholm College of Antiquities in the year 1741 whence it came to the Royal Library in Stockholm.<sup>29</sup>

AM 439 4to is written by Björn Jónsson on Skarðsá before 1646 and probably somewhat earlier.<sup>30</sup> Björn Jónsson seems to have written the manuscript for Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason at Hólar.<sup>31</sup>

AM 439 4to contains a summarized and sometimes drastically abridged version of *Sturlunga saga*. It is based, according to Kålund, on Björn Jónsson's copy of the vellum *Reykjarfjarðarbók* (AM 122b fol.), but includes occasional details from *St. I* (*Króksfjarðarbók*).<sup>32</sup>

AM 439 4to contains several marginal notes and comments, similar and sometimes identical to those found in Br. (see above).<sup>33</sup> In AM 439 4to Árni Magnússon has written in Latin that the manuscript was a present to him from Torfæus. A letter from Torfæus to Árni Magnússon, now contained in AM 284 fol., shows that AM 439 4to was sent by ship from Stavanger in the year 1697.<sup>34</sup> AM 439 4to is very rarely referred to in the present text and quoted as such.

*Advocates' Library 21-3-17 (V)* belongs to a somewhat separate group from Iip (see above). The manuscript derives from an original (now lost) compiled and written before 1729 by Síra Eyjólfur Jónsson at Vellir (1670–1745). According to a letter to Árni Magnússon written on the seventh of October 1729 by Síra Eyjólfur this now lost original was then in his possession. Síra Eyjólfur also states that it was compiled from three sources, i. e., from a manuscript written by Pétur Einarsson, and from Br. (not mentioned directly in the letter) and from a manuscript owned by Páll Vídalín.<sup>35</sup> This last-mentioned manuscript, British Library Add. 4865, was written in 1696–1697 and belongs to the Ip group.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. lix.

<sup>30</sup> Kålund, op. cit., pp. lxx–lxxvi.

<sup>31</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. lxxvi.

<sup>32</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. lxx.

<sup>33</sup> Kålund, op. cit., p. lxxvi.

<sup>34</sup> Kålund, *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Kålund, op. cit., pp. lx–lxiii.

<sup>36</sup> Kålund, op. cit., pp. liv–lv.

Advocates' Library 21-3-17 was, according to Kålund, written for Síra Eyjólfur in the early eighteenth century by Síra Þorsteinn Ketils-son, who also wrote *Ny kgl. saml. 1234 fol.* (see below).<sup>37</sup>

The manuscript was bought by Finnur Magnússon in 1816 and used as a main source for the first edition of *Sturlunga saga* (København, 1817–1818). The manuscript contains *Sturlunga saga* alone, divided into twelve þættir, among which *Hrafns saga* is the sixth.

The manuscript is heavily annotated by Síra Eyjólfur himself. He often writes out in full the abbreviations of the scribe, adds dates and comments, some of which refer to his like or dislike of the events described in the saga.

*Ny kgl. saml. 1234 fol.* is very rarely referred to in the present text. For information on this manuscript see Kålund, *Sturlunga saga* I, pp. lxiii–lxiv.

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TEXT OF *HRAFNS SAGA* AS TAKEN UP IN *STURLUNGA SAGA* AND THE TEXT OF *HRAFNS SAGA* PROPER

Little is known for certain about the origins or the compiler of *Sturlunga saga*. Several theories have been put forward, some conflicting.<sup>38</sup>

Most scholars, however, agree that *Íslendinga saga* by Sturla Þórðarson is the nucleus of the work, and that after Sturla's death (in 1284), a relative, first identified by Guðbrandur Vigfússon<sup>39</sup> as Þórður Narfason of Skarð (died 1308), compiled what is now known as *Sturlunga saga*.

The compilation known as *Sturlunga saga* includes several sagas (or parts of sagas) and genealogies. Among these is the latter half of *Hrafns saga*, most likely incorporated before the division into A- and B-recensions became as evident as the separate text now shows (see below).

<sup>37</sup> Kålund, *op. cit.*, pp. lx, lxiii.

<sup>38</sup> The main essays on *Sturlunga saga* are: Guðbrandur Vigfússon's *Prolegomena*, in his edition of *Sturlunga saga*, Oxford, 1878, I, pp. xvii–ccxix; *Um Sturlungu*, by Björn M. Ólsen, in *Safn* III, pp. 193–510; *Um Íslendinga sögu Sturlu Þórðarsonar*, by Pétur Sigurðsson, in *Safn* VI, No. 2, pp. 1–177; *Um Sturlunga sögu*, by Jón Jóhannesson, in his edition of *Sturlunga saga* (1946), II, pp. vii–lvi.

<sup>39</sup> *Sturlunga saga*, Oxford edition, I, pp. ciii–cv.

The compiler has tried to assimilate the different sagas into a whole, rewriting as little as possible, except where he has to shape them to fit into his work, sometimes taking the text up more or less *verbatim*. The compiler has, however, occasionally had to divide the works to fit them into the correct chronological order, sometimes dropping passages from one, where two works relate the same thing. The compiler has also written several sentences, passages and *þættir*, which are interspersed throughout his work.

This kind of compilation or collection such as *Sturlunga saga* is almost unknown until a comparatively late stage in Icelandic literature; so *Sturlunga saga* was most likely not compiled before ca. 1300.<sup>40</sup>

A close comparison between the text of *Hrafn saga* as taken up into *Sturlunga saga* and the relevant text of *Hrafn saga* proper gives a good idea of the compiler's working methods and his treatment of his material, since *Hrafn saga* is still extant as a separate saga.

The differences between the text of *Hrafn saga* as taken up into *Sturlunga saga* and *Hrafn saga* proper are here divided into the following groups: I. Fuller reading in *Sturlunga saga* than in *Hrafn saga* proper (either recension); II. Shorter texts in *Sturlunga saga* than in *Hrafn saga* proper (as shown in HrsGPH); III. Different wording in *Sturlunga saga* from that in *Hrafn saga* proper.

#### I. Fuller readings in *Sturlunga saga* than in *Hrafn saga* proper (either recension)

In some instances the text in *Sturlunga saga* has a fuller reading than either of the two recensions of *Hrafn saga* proper. In some of these cases the fuller reading consists of only a few additional words which do not change the context to any great extent. In other cases the fuller reading contains information not found in *Hrafn saga* proper.

The fuller reading in *Sturlunga saga* falls mainly into four groups:

*I a.* Firstly, since the compiler of *Sturlunga saga* only takes the latter half of *Hrafn saga* into his work, he adds information (on people), given in the part of *Hrafn saga* not contained in his work. This kind of

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Jón Jóhannesson, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii, xix; for the date, ca. 1300, cf. also Kålund, *Sturlunga saga* I, p. i.

addition is particularly common in the first few passages from *Hrafns saga* in *Sturlunga saga*. It is clear that the compiler had the complete *Hrafns saga* before him, since the information given is sometimes taken almost verbatim from the earlier part of *Hrafns saga* not included in *Sturlunga saga* (see examples I a 1–6 below).

*I b.* Secondly, as the compiler attempts to connect the *Hrafns saga* material up with the other parts of his work, he sometimes adds references to material found elsewhere in *Sturlunga saga* (see examples I b 1–3 below).

*I c.* Thirdly, the compiler occasionally adds a few words, as it seems, to the reading of *Hrafns saga* proper, most of which are fairly insignificant. Sometimes these occasional words are a result of his general abridgement of the text, when he has to rewrite a passage, sometimes in his own words (see examples I c 1–5 below).

*I d.* Fourthly and finally, there is occasionally to be found a fuller reading in *Sturlunga saga* than that found in *Hrafns saga* proper, which does not seem to fall under any of the above-mentioned groups (see examples I d 1–8 below). For conclusions drawn from examples I d, see pp. 67–68.

*I a.* Examples of added information sometimes taken *verbatim* from the earlier part of *Hrafns saga* not included in *Sturlunga saga*.

*I a 1.* *HrsGPH* text reads: Í Selárdal kom reyðarhvalr góðr ok mikill á land þat, er Ragnheiðr átti.<sup>41</sup> In *Sturlunga saga* the corresponding passage reads: Ragnheiðr hét kona, dóttir Árons Bárðarsonar ins svartar. Hon bjó í Selárdal.<sup>42</sup> Þar kom reyðr (reyðarhvalr *St. Iip*).<sup>43</sup>

*I a 2.* *HrsGPH* text reads: beiddi hann Lopt at gjalda;<sup>44</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: bróðr sinn after Lopt.<sup>45</sup> A little later *HrsGPH* text (*loc. cit.*) reads: Loptr galt féin af hendi, svá sem Gísli beiddi, bæði lönð ok lausa aura. *Sturlunga saga* (*loc. cit.*) reads: Loptr greiddi, sem Gísli beiddi, bæði lönð ok lausafé (lausa aura *St. Iip*), and *St. Iip* adds: Því at Loptr var laungetinn.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 24.

<sup>42</sup> This information has already been given, cf. *HrsGPH*, pp. 16–17.

<sup>43</sup> *St. I*, 298.

<sup>44</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 24.

<sup>45</sup> *St.*, *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> This information about Loptr has already been given, cf. *HrsGPH*, p. 7.

I a 3. *HrsGPH* text reads: ok hans fõrunautar, Tõmas Þõrarinsson ok Sturla Bårðarson.<sup>47</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: Ragnheiðarson instead of Þõrarinsson, which seems to be because the compiler of *Sturlunga saga* does not mention either of the husbands of Ragnheiðr in Selárdalr; but in the *Hrafns saga* part of *Sturlunga saga* Tõmas's brother Eyvindr is said to be Þõrarinsson<sup>48</sup> without further explanation. Tõmas is said to be his brother,<sup>49</sup> but later on in *Sturlunga saga* he is identified as: Tõmas í Selárdal.<sup>50</sup>

I a 4. *HrsGPH* text reads: sendi hann menn til Selárdals, at Ragnheiðarsynir kæmi.<sup>51</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: sendir hann menn til Selárdals sonum Ragnheiðar, Eyvindi ok Tõmasi,<sup>52</sup> at þeir kæmi.<sup>53</sup>

I a 5. *HrsGPH* text reads: Gunnarsdóttir Bårðarsonar, bræðrunga Hrafns.<sup>54</sup> *Sturlunga saga* has: svartar St., *ibid.* instead of: bræðrunga Hrafns, perhaps because the compiler did not take up the Hrafn's genealogy from the opening of *Hrafns saga* proper.

I a 6. The opening passage of the *Hrafns saga* part in *Sturlunga saga* is a shortened account of Bishop Guðmundur and Hrafn's arrival in Iceland after their year's stay in Norway, and the gifts Bishop Guðmundur gave Hrafn before they parted.<sup>55</sup>

I b. Examples of connecting references with other parts of *Sturlunga saga*, which seem to be inserted by the compiler in the *Hrafns saga* part.

I b 1. *HrsGPH* text reads: ok Þorvald, bróður hans.<sup>56</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: ok Þorvalds Gizurarsonar, bróður Halls,<sup>57</sup> probably because this is the first time Þorvaldur is mentioned in the *Hrafns saga* part in *Sturlunga saga*, whereas Þorvaldur is often mentioned elsewhere in *Sturlunga saga*.

<sup>47</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> *St.* I, 309 (twice), 310.

<sup>49</sup> *St.* I, 309.

<sup>50</sup> *St.* I, 313.

<sup>51</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 31.

<sup>52</sup> Ragnheiðr's sons have already been named in *HrsGPH*, p. 17.

<sup>53</sup> *St.* I, 305.

<sup>54</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 31.

<sup>55</sup> *St.* I, 297.

<sup>56</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 33.

<sup>57</sup> *St.* I, 307.

I b 2. *HrsGPH* text reads: synir Hrafns váru þá svá ungir, at þeir máttu eigi vera vígsakaraðilarnir.<sup>58</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: En þó man noðkutt verða sagt frá þeim síðar.<sup>59</sup>

I b 3. In *HrsGPH* text the slaying of Hrafn is said to have happened: átta nóttum eptir Matthiasmessu.<sup>60</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: allan einn vetr ok veginn var Hallr Kleppjárnsson á jólafostu. Þá er Hrafn var veginn.<sup>61</sup>

I c. Examples of added word(s) in *Sturlunga saga* as it seems to the text of *Hrafns saga* proper.

I c 1. When Hallkatla Einarsdóttir sees a mysterious light the compiler of *Sturlunga saga* omits the description as it appears in *Hrafns saga* proper,<sup>62</sup> and simply says that the light was: mikit (great) and adds: eitt sinn (once).<sup>63</sup>

I c 2. *HrsGPH* text reads: písl Andreas postula.<sup>64</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: heilags, before Andreas.<sup>65</sup>

I c 3. *HrsGPH* text reads: gekk inn (i.e. Hrafn gekk inn) ok sagði at menn.<sup>66</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: monnum til, after sagði.<sup>67</sup>

I c 4. *HrsGPH* text reads: ganga suðr til hjálpar.<sup>68</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: til Róms, after suðr.<sup>69</sup>

I c 5. *HrsGPH* text reads: var hann (i.e. Hrafn) tekinn ok haldinn.<sup>70</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: þegar, after hann; and *St.* I furthermore adds: gjör hand-.<sup>71</sup>

I d. Examples of a fuller reading in *Sturlunga saga*, which does not fall under any of the previous groups (see below).

<sup>58</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 45.

<sup>59</sup> *St.* I, 317.

<sup>60</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 43.

<sup>61</sup> *St.* I, 315.

<sup>62</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 39.

<sup>63</sup> *St.* I, 311.

<sup>64</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 41.

<sup>65</sup> *St.* I, 313.

<sup>66</sup> *HrsGPH* p. 41.

<sup>67</sup> *St.* I, 313.

<sup>68</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 42.

<sup>69</sup> *St.* I, 314.

<sup>70</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 43.

<sup>71</sup> *St.* I, 314.

I d 1. *HrsGPH* text reads: sá þeir ljós mikit ór austri frá bœnum á Eyri.<sup>72</sup> In *Sturlunga saga* the sentence reads: sá þeir ljós mikit fara ór austri í móti sér frá bœnum á Eyri.<sup>73</sup>

I d 2. *HrsGPH* text reads: kveikti fyrir þeim durum, er honum þótti minnst vörn fyrir verða.<sup>74</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: ok í þekjunni víða.<sup>75</sup>

I d 3. *HrsGPH* text reads: at þeir skyldi beiða Ámunda at fara at Hrafni, með þeim.<sup>76</sup> In *Sturlunga saga* the corresponding sentence reads: at þeir skyldu beiða Ámunda at fara með þeim ok vera í heim-sókn með Þorvaldi til fundar við Hrafn.<sup>77</sup>

I d 4. *HrsGPH* text reads: en þeir svöruðu ok kváðu eigi mundu þurfa vörð at halda (vörð at halda om. B<sup>1</sup>), er fjúk var úti (+ ok frost B<sup>1</sup>), sögðu ok, at eigi mundi menn (slightly different in B<sup>1</sup>).<sup>78</sup> In *Sturlunga saga* this passage is longer and reads: En þeir kváðu þá eigi þurfa mundu at halda vörð (vörð om. *St. IIp*), er vont veðr var úti (úti om. *St. IIp*) ok fjúk; sögðu engan mann fara mundu (engan mann fara mundu: engum manni fært *St. IIp*) millum heraða í því illviðri, er þá var úti; sögðu ok, at menn mundu eigi.<sup>79</sup>

I d 5. *HrsGPH* text reads: ok lyptu skildinum (honum B<sup>1</sup>) upp á spjótaoddum á virkit.<sup>80</sup> In *Sturlunga saga* this passage reads: ok hófu hann upp á skildinum með (hófu hann upp á skildinum með: lyptu skildinum upp á *St. IIp*) spjótaoddum, svá at hann mátti klífa af skildinum (+ upp *St. IIp*) í (á, H) virkit.<sup>81</sup>

I d 6. *HrsGPH* text reads: ok mælti skriptagang (om. B).<sup>82</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: fyrir honum (fyrir honum om. Br., H) trú orð ok, after mælti.<sup>83</sup>

I d 7. *HrsGPH* text reads: skyldi þeir fara á brott (á brott om. B)

<sup>72</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 29.

<sup>73</sup> *St. I*, 303.

<sup>74</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 31.

<sup>75</sup> *St. I*, 305.

<sup>76</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 34, cf. p. 53.

<sup>77</sup> *St. I*, 308.

<sup>78</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 40.

<sup>79</sup> *St. I*, 312.

<sup>80</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 41.

<sup>81</sup> *St. I*, 313.

<sup>82</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 43.

<sup>83</sup> *St. I*, 314.

fullum dagleiðum.<sup>84</sup> *Sturlunga saga* adds: sem fyrst með spekt, after á brott (brott om. *St. I*).<sup>85</sup>

I d 8. *HrsGPH* text reads: þá fundu heimamenn á Eyri sólarsteininn þar, er.<sup>86</sup> *St. I* adds: í flæðarmáli, and *St. II* adds: við sjó niðri, þann er þeir höfðu tekit, after sólarsteininn.<sup>87</sup>

*Conclusions drawn from the fuller readings  
in Sturlunga saga (examples I a–I d)*

The first two groups (I a and I b) are for the most part instances of adjusting the text from *Hrafns saga* to the rest of the material of *Sturlunga saga*, both by explanations necessary because the earlier half of *Hrafns saga* is omitted, and by references to other parts of *Sturlunga*.

The second two groups (I c and I d) consist of longer (I d) and shorter (I c) additions, and since the usual method of *Sturlunga saga*'s compiler is to shorten (see below) rather than to elaborate on his available material, one possible reason for this fuller reading might be that the additional words were contained in the early text of *Hrafns saga* that the compiler used as a source, rather than additions of the compiler himself. This fuller reading (especially in examples I d) suggests, that there existed an earlier version of *Hrafns saga*, containing a longer text than the A- and B-recensions as we now know them. It is suggested in *HrsGPH*, that this version existed.<sup>88</sup> Since some of the information found in *Sturlunga saga* is neither to be found in the A-text of *Hrafns saga* nor the B-text, it might be assumed that there had been at least one intermediate link between this suggested version on the one hand and A and B on the other, in which those words were not included. It is not likely that the scribes of A and B respectively would omit exactly the same words, in an identical place, although both are somewhat shortened from the original. This again suggests that the compiler of *Sturlunga saga* took the *Hrafns saga* passage from a fuller text found in an early version, and when the text of *Hrafns saga* was

<sup>84</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 44.

<sup>85</sup> *St. I*, 316.

<sup>86</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 43.

<sup>87</sup> *St. I*, 315.

<sup>88</sup> See stemma in *HrsGPH*, p. cix.

not yet divided into the different recensions as we now know them, as has been said above.

## II. Shorter text in *Sturlunga saga* than in *Hrafn saga* proper as given in the *HrsGPH* text

The part of *Sturlunga saga* which covers the material from *Hrafn saga* consists of about two-thirds of the relevant part in *Hrafn saga* proper. This consistent abridgement throughout the text seems to be intended mainly to make the text more concise, in some cases without changing the context (see examples II a below). Sometimes the compiler leaves out detailed information such as names of persons, places and precise details of Hrafn and his men (see examples II b below). On rare occasions the compiler leaves out material, because it is used or referred to elsewhere (see examples II c below). The compiler shortens or leaves out accounts of supernatural events or wonders (see examples II d below). The compiler leaves out phrases or passages in didactic style, often including religious phrases and /or praise of Hrafn (see examples II e, nos. 1–6 below). Since the compiler also tends to leave out accounts of Þorvaldr's evil doings (see examples II e, nos. 7–10 below) it might be suggested that this was done on purpose to achieve impartiality (see examples II e below).

II a. Examples of a shortened or abbreviated text in *Sturlunga saga* without the context being much altered. The wording is given according to *HrsGPH* text (for difference between A and B see Textual Notes in *HrsGPH* . The words in square brackets are omitted in *Sturlunga saga*.

II a 1. fór hann [í Selárdal] ok bað Ragnheiði [at hon skyldi] selja honum (sér *St.*) [nökkurar vættir] hvals (hval *St.*), en Ragnheiðr (hon *St.*) lét hann hafa tólf vættir [hvals] ok mælti, at hann skyldi gjalda henni jafnmikinn [hval síðar], þá er ræki á fjörur hans. [Fyrir] þann hval galt Þorvaldr aldri síðan.<sup>89</sup>

II a 2. En er (er om. *St.* I) Loptr vissi, at Þorvaldr (Þorvald *St.*) hafði ekki skeink (sakat *St.*), þá vildi hann eigi (ekki *St.*) fégjöldum (gjöldum *St.*) upp halda [sem þeir höfðu heitit. Svá gørði ok Gísli], en Hauki þótti þeir eiga at efna mælt mál við sik (eiga . . . sik: bæta eiga *St.* I;

<sup>89</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 24; *St.* I, 298.

gjöldum eiga uppi at halda *St. IIp*), þar er (sem *St.*) hann hafði ráðit (hafði ráðit: réð *St.*) til Þorvalds [þótt hann hefði eigi skeinzk. En því vildu þeir eigi fé gjalda, er Þorvaldr hafði ekki skeinzk af tilræði Hauks].<sup>90</sup>

II a 3. Hrafn spyr (spurði *St.*), hvat hann gæfi honum at sök (hvat . . . sök: at sökum *St.*), er hann bar eld at húsum hans. [Þorvaldr kvað margt til saka. Hrafn spurði, hvat þat væri]. Þorvaldr [svarar], kvað Hrafn.<sup>91</sup>

II a 4. Þorvaldr var þá fúss til sætta (sátta *St.*), [er hann sá lið vápnat fara til fulltings við Hrafn]. Þau urðu málalok [þessa fundar], at Þórðr Sturlus(on) skyldi göra [milli þeira Hrafns ok Þorvalds bæði um heim-sókn ok allt þat, er honum þætti gørðar þurfa í milli þeira]; instead of the contents of the last square brackets *Sturlunga saga* reads: of öll þeira mál. [Þegar er þessi sætt var handsöluð] (Þegar . . . handsöluð: eptir þetta *St.*; þetta om. *St. I*), fór Þorvaldr [í] brott með skyndingi (skyndingu *St.*), [ok er Þorvaldr var skammt í brott farinn], þá dreif (Drífr þá *St.*) [mikit] lið at Hrafn.<sup>92</sup>

II a 5. ok hefði hann þar fest (fyrst *St. I*) lögfesti (+ af skorit *St. I*) [hvalinn. En þat gegndi engu]. Þá fór Þorvaldr til [með sína menn] ok lét skera hvalinn ok flutti (flytja *St.*) heim [til sín, en sumum hvalnum skipti hann með mönnum sínum].<sup>93</sup>

II b. Examples of details left out by the compiler, such as names of persons, places and many details concerning Hrafn and his men.

II b 1. Loptr sá, at Guðmundr tók hestinn hjá garði (at . . . garði V; þat *St. I*), ok fór eptir honum við fjórða mann. [Gestr hét maðr ok Gunnarr, Galti inn þriði. Þessir menn fylgðu Lopti]. Peir Loptr [ok Gunnarr] vágu Guðmund.<sup>94</sup>

II b 2. Þorvaldr færði ómaga þingmanni Hrafns, [þeim er Bárðr hét. Hann bjó í Reykjarfirði í Arnarfirði. Þorvaldr setti þar niðr ómagann at Bárðar ok fór brott síðan, en Bárðr] (*Sá St.*) fór á fund (at finna *St.*) Hrafns (Hrafn *St.*) ok bað.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>90</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 25; *St. I*, 299–300.

<sup>91</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 31; *St. I*, 305.

<sup>92</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 32; *St. I*, 306.

<sup>93</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 33; *St. I*, 307.

<sup>94</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 28; *St. I*, 302.

<sup>95</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 28; *St.*, loc. cit.

II b 3. The enumeration of the men following Þorvaldr in his onslaught on Eyrr<sup>96</sup> is omitted in *Sturlunga saga*, whereas it is stated (in *St.*) that there were thirty-two (i.e., II menn ins fjórða tigar).<sup>97</sup>

II b 4. at maðr sá (sá maðr *St.*), er Þórarinn hét, [Höskuldsson, Þorbjarnarsonar, ok Birnu Ámundadóttur, hann] sá mann standa.<sup>98</sup>

II b 5. ok (+ þá *St.*) Hrafn sǫng með (við *St.* I) þeim óttusǫnginn (óttusǫng *St.*) (different construction in *St.*), [en menn hans, þeir er ólærðir váru, vǫrðu húsin með vatni ok sýru, slíkt er þeir máttu at gøra. Svá höfðu þeir Þorvaldr óvart komit, at engi pati hafði farit af ferð þeira. Þetta sannar Guðmundr skáld].<sup>99</sup> *St.* also omits the following stanza (no. 33).

II c. Examples of material left out from the part of *Sturlunga saga*, which covers the material from *Hrafn saga*, because it is used or referred to elsewhere.

II c 1. The description of the battle in Víðines (1208), between Bishop Guðmundr and Kolbeinn Tumason and its aftermath is omitted in the part of *Sturlunga saga* which covers the material from *Hrafn saga*.<sup>100</sup> This battle and its aftermath is described in great detail in the *Íslendinga saga* in *Sturlunga saga*.<sup>101</sup>

II c 2. *HrsGPH* text reads: Þorvaldr kom út þá er hann hafði þrjá vetr útan verit [ok gengit suðr] ok bjó [síðan] í Vatnsfirði [meðan hann lifði].<sup>102</sup> Most likely the compiler drops: *meðan hann lifði*, because Þorvaldr plays an important role in later events of *Sturlunga saga*, and this omission seems to be in accordance with the general working methods of the compiler of *Sturlunga saga*.

The sentence: *ok bjó í Vatnsfirði* in *Sturlunga saga* seems to be slightly unnatural and unnecessary since Þorvaldr is identified several times both before and after as: Vatnsfirðingr or as living in Vatnsfjörðr.

<sup>96</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 40.

<sup>97</sup> *St.* I, 312.

<sup>98</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 39; *St.* I, 311.

<sup>99</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 42; *St.* I, 314.

<sup>100</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 29; *St.* I, 303.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. *St.* I, 280–287.

<sup>102</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 45; *St.* I, 317.

II d. Examples of descriptions of supernatural events (miracles and wonders) being shortened or omitted.

II d 1. [Ok er lokit var boðinu, þá var Hrafn eptir í Haga, en] Eyvindr fór (+ frá boðinu út *St.*) um (yfir *St.*) heiði til Arnarfjarðar [ok fõrunautar hans]. Ok er þeir fóru (fara *St.*) [út] með Forsfirði [til Dufansdals síð um kveld, þá] sá þeir eld brenna á (ór *St.*) sjávarbrekkunum (sævar-þökkunum *St.*) [fyrir útan Dufansdalsá. Þeim sýndisk eldrinn bjartir ok] víðr (svá víðan *St.*) sem stakkgarðsvídd (stakkgarðvídd *St.*) [væri]. Þeir sá lengi [eldinn] ok ætluðu til at fara [ok vita, hverju gegndi], en flóð var í ánni niðri (niðri om. *St.*) [ok máttu þeir þar eigi yfir komask], fara (+ þeir síðan *St.*) upp með ánni ok sá jafnan eldinn (+ Þetta var um kveld, ok var fjúkviðri, ok *St.*). Áin [var ill yfirferðar ok] upp gengin [af frosti]. Fjúkviðri var á (different construction in *St.*) [ok snækváma]. En er þeir kómu (kómu: váru komnir *St.*) yfir ána, [hugðu þeir at eldinum, ok] var [þá] horfinn eldrinn. [Þeir fóru til húss í Dufansdal ok váru þar um nóttina ok sǫgðu þar sýn eldsins, en engi þóttisk vita, hví sú sýn mundi gegna, er þeir sá].<sup>103</sup>

II d 2. Í Selárdal varð sá atburðr, at húskarlar Ragnheiðar váru rónir á sjá. En er þeir váru mjök langt komnir frá landi, þá sjá þeir á sjánum út til hafs eld upp brenna ok skjótt hverfa. Þeir sá allir þessa sýn ok eigi meir senn en tveir, en þeir sá svá opt, at þó sá þeir allir. Eptir þessa sýn sá þeir blóð á klæðum sínum ok vissu eigi, hvaðan at var komit. Um kveldit, er þeir kómu at landi, sǫgðu þeir mǫnnum þessi tíðendi, ok ǫllum þótti þessi atburðr undarlig.<sup>104</sup>

Instead of this description *Sturlunga saga* reads: Menn váru rónir á sæ í Selárdal. Þeir sá eld á sænum út (út om. *St.*) til hafs. Ok litlu eptir þetta sá þeir blóð á klæðum sínum, ok vissu eigi, hvaðan at var komit.<sup>105</sup>

II d 3. The description of the next three wonders (of blood being seen) in *Hrafns saga*<sup>106</sup> is omitted. Instead *Sturlunga saga* reads merely: Blóð sásk víða, þar sem menn vissu enga ván til.<sup>107</sup>

II d 4. The description of the visions seen by Þorbjörn Magnússon,

<sup>103</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 38; *St.* I, 310–311.

<sup>104</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 38.

<sup>105</sup> *St.* I, 311.

<sup>106</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 38.

<sup>107</sup> *St.*, *ibid.*

Þórarinn Höskuldsson, Hallkatla Einarsdóttir and Steingrímur Ólafsson (called Jón in *St.*) are also shortened in *Sturlunga saga*, especially the first-mentioned, which is the longest of the four.<sup>108</sup>

II d 5. *HrsGPH* text reads: Sá atburðr varð þar undir virkinu, er ljós-it hafði sézk um vetrinn áðr. Þar var þá jörðin, er Hrafn var höggvinn, hrjóstrug, en um sumarit eptir var þar grænn völlr.<sup>109</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: Þessi atburðr varð þar undir virkinu, er ljósit hafði sézk (+ opt Br., V) áðr um vetrinn,<sup>110</sup> omitting the description of the miracle.

II d 6. *HrsGPH* text reads: Því at þeir höfðu honum (i.e., the sólarsteinn) í brott kastat ok kōlluðu vera hégeitil. Svá ok kyrtillinn höfðu þeir eptir látit ok kōlluðu vera vandan slopptōtur, ok eigi fengu þeir sét á búninginn.<sup>111</sup> *Sturlunga saga*<sup>112</sup> does not include this passage, and the kyrtill is neither mentioned a few lines above nor in the description of the gifts Bishop Guðmundr gave Hrafn on their arrival in Iceland.<sup>113</sup>

II e. Examples of phrases or passages left out in *Sturlunga saga* perhaps for the purpose of impartiality (see above).

II e 1. *HrsGPH* text reads: Nú fyrir því at Hrafn var leitt at kveða nei við þeim, er hans þurfti, þá varð þat, at hann tók við Lopti.<sup>114</sup> Instead of this passage *Sturlunga saga* reads: Tekr Hrafn nú við Lopti.<sup>115</sup>

II e 2. *HrsGPH* text reads: svá berr sem hann gōrðisk í (gōrðisk í: varð at *St.*) fjōrráðum við Hrafn, [er hann vildi brenna hann inni. En þat sýndisk opt, at Hrafn var ógrimmr maðr ok hann vildi heldr deyja fyrir tryggðar sakir en fyrir ótryggðar.] Nú vildi hann (Þat vildi Hrafn *St.*) eigi [gōra eptir þeim Þorvaldi né drepa hann, svá sem hann átti þá kost, ef hann vildi, því at hann vildi eigi vinna þat til fára vetra virðingar, sem opt kunnu manna ráð verða, heldr vildi Hrafn hafa svívirðing af mōnnum í orðlagi fyrir guðs sakir ok hætta svá lífi sínu til eilfrar miskunnar almáttigs guðs].<sup>116</sup>

II e 3. *HrsGPH* text reads: at berjask eigi við Þorvald, ok hann (i.e.

<sup>108</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 38–39; *St.* I, 311–312.

<sup>109</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 43.

<sup>110</sup> *St.* I, 315.

<sup>111</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 43–44.

<sup>112</sup> *St.*, *ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *St.* I, 297.

<sup>114</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 27.

<sup>115</sup> *St.* I, 301.

<sup>116</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 32–33; *St.* I, 306.

Hrafn) kveðsk aldri mundu um líf hans síþja. Þetta var um kveldit fyrir Jákobsmessu.<sup>117</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: at berjask eigi við Þorvald. Þetta var aptaninn fyrir Jákobsmessu.<sup>118</sup>

II e 4. *HrsGPH* text reads: Þá bauð Hrafn Þorvaldi ok öllu fǫruneyti hans til matborðs. Þá hafði Þorvaldr ok flokkur hans dǫgurð á Eyri. Hrafn lét skera húð til skúa fǫrunautum Þorvalds, því at þeir vǫru margir skólausir, er langa leið hǫfðu farit þangat.<sup>119</sup> Instead of this passage *Sturlunga saga* reads: Þeir Þorvaldr hǫfðu þar allir dagverð (dags-Br.) at boði Hrafns.<sup>120</sup>

II e 5. *HrsGPH* text reads: ef þér þykkir þá (þat *St.* I) þinn sómi meiri (meiri þinn sómi *St.*) en áðr. [Þorvaldr neitaði þessu. Þá bauð Hrafn at gefa sik upp til friðar öllum mönnum öðrum, þeim er þar vǫru í bænum, at hann væri eigi brenndr].<sup>121</sup> *Sturlunga saga* omits the contents of the square brackets and also the stanza referring to Hrafn's offer (no. 34), which follows a few lines later.<sup>122</sup>

II e 6. *HrsGPH* text reads: Hrafn hræði hvárki hǫnd né fót, er hann sæfðisk, heldr lá hann á knjánnum ok ǫlbogunum, sem hann var vanr at liggja til bænar.<sup>123</sup> *Sturlunga saga* omits this description.<sup>124</sup>

II e 7. *HrsGPH* text reads: vǫru í fyrstu öll vitni borin í hag Hrafni, svá sem málaefni vǫru til, en Þorvaldr knokaði sína menn til ljúgvitna ok eptirmælis við sik.<sup>125</sup> *Sturlunga saga* omits: svá . . . sik.<sup>126</sup>

II e 8. A few lines later in the *HrsGPH* text: Þar varð ekki gǫrt um mál þeira Hrafns ok Þorvalds, því at Þorvaldr helt ekki þat, er þeir hǫfðu á sætzk sín í milli.<sup>127</sup> Instead of this passage *Sturlunga saga* reads: Ekki varð greitt (gǫrt *St.* IIp, + þar H, + þá Br., V) um mál þeira á því þingi.<sup>128</sup>

II e 9. *HrsGPH* text reads: Síðan fóru þeir (síðan fóru þeir: ok fóru

<sup>117</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 36.

<sup>118</sup> *St.* I, 309.

<sup>119</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 37.

<sup>120</sup> *St.* I, 310.

<sup>121</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 42.

<sup>122</sup> *St.* I, 314.

<sup>123</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 43.

<sup>124</sup> *St.* I, 315.

<sup>125</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 33.

<sup>126</sup> *St.* I, 307.

<sup>127</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 33.

<sup>128</sup> *St.* I. 307.

síðan *St.*, síðan om. *St.* IIp) til fundar við Þorvald ok sǫgðu honum vígit (i.e., of Ámundi), [en hann lastaði eigi verkit].<sup>129</sup>

II e 10. *HrsGPH* text reads: Til þessa fundar kom [Hrafn, en] Þorvaldr eigi. [Þá þóttusk menn sjá, at Þorvaldr vildi enga sætt við Hrafn].<sup>130</sup>

II e 11. *HrsGPH* text reads: Þat vígsmál var lagt undir gørð Sighvats Sturlusonar, því at hann var kallaðr vinr hvárs tveggja þeira Lopts ok Gísla.<sup>131</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads only: Þat vígsmál (vígs Br., V, om. *St.* I) var lagt undir Sighvat Sturluson.<sup>132</sup>

II e 12. When the compiler of *Sturlunga saga* omits the description of the battle at *Víðines*, he also omits<sup>133</sup> a sentence following the description in *Hrafn's saga* proper, which in the *HrsGPH* text reads: Eptir þetta þóttisk Hrafn ok hans vinir kenna nokkurn kulða af ráðum Sighvats í skiptum þeira Þorvalds.<sup>134</sup>

The compiler of *Sturlunga saga* also omits eight of the stanzas found in the *HrsGPH* text of *Hrafn's saga*. These stanzas are in the *HrsGPH* text nos: 21, 23, 24, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.

The main reasons for shortening the text have already been suggested. The work is on the whole carefully and thoughtfully done, which can be seen from the examples given above. The compiler seems to have followed certain rules for shortening and to have known *Hrafn's saga* well and had apparently decided beforehand which material to use and which to leave out.

The compiler of *Sturlunga saga* does not, as said before, include the earlier part of *Hrafn's saga* in his work; this is therefore the main shortening of the saga. In the latter half the compiler seems to omit things concerning Hrafn's private life, as far as possible, without changing the context, which is probably the reason for his omitting the earlier part which contains a great deal of personal information about Hrafn's early life. The compiler seems not to use *Hrafn's saga* in his collection until the point where the saga concerns a wider circle.

<sup>129</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 34; *St.* I, 308.

<sup>130</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 37; *St.* I, 310.

<sup>131</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 28.

<sup>132</sup> *St.* I, 302.

<sup>133</sup> *St.* I, 303.

<sup>134</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 29.

### III. Different wording in *Sturlunga saga* from *Hrafns saga* proper

Several examples of different wording from *Hrafns saga* are to be found throughout the text of *Sturlunga saga*, usually not affecting the context. Different names of persons can be seen in a few instances; sometimes the different wording is a result of the general shortening of the text, and sometimes this might be a misreading of an illegible text. The compiler also on occasion seems to prefer words of his own instead of those found in *Hrafns saga*.

Some examples of this are:

III 1. In *Hrafns saga* Gísli Markússon asked his illegitimate brother, Loptr, to hand over his (i.e., Gísli's and his younger brother Magnús's) inheritance, which Loptr had looked after until his brothers came of age. *HrsGPH* text reads here: er þeir Markússynir (i.e., Gísli and Magnús) áttu.<sup>135</sup> *St. I* reads: Magnús instead of Markússynir and *St. IIP* adds bræðr after Magnús.<sup>136</sup> Magnús is mentioned a little later<sup>137</sup> in the part of *Sturlunga saga* which covers the material from *Hrafns saga*, but nowhere else in *Sturlunga saga*, so this must be another echo from the earlier part of *Hrafns saga* not included in *Sturlunga saga*, where all three brothers are mentioned.<sup>138</sup>

III 2. Eyjólfur Þorsteinsson, Loptr's father-in-law is called goði in *Hrafns saga* A<sup>1-3</sup> (om. B<sup>1</sup>).<sup>139</sup> *St. I* and H read<sup>140</sup> ins auðga instead of goða Þorsteinssonar. Br. and V have ins óða Þorsteinssonar. Eyjólfur Þorsteinsson is mentioned elsewhere in *Sturlunga saga*,<sup>141</sup> where both *St. I* and *St. IIP* call him inn óði.

III 3. A strophe (no. 27) is recited in a dream, to a man, in the *HrsGPH* text<sup>142</sup> named Guðbrandr, with the reference: er fyrr var getit. A man named Guðbrandr Gestsson has been mentioned before in

<sup>135</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 24.

<sup>136</sup> *St. I*, 298.

<sup>137</sup> *St. I*, 301.

<sup>138</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 7.

<sup>139</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 26, cf. p. 52.

<sup>140</sup> *St. I*, 300.

<sup>141</sup> *St. I*, 205.

<sup>142</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 30.

*Hrafns saga* (at the beginning of chapter 7), also in connection with a dream strophe (no. 5). *Sturlunga saga*, however, names the man (twice) Guðmundr.<sup>143</sup>

III 4. The man who recites the strophe (no. 27) to Guðbrandr (see above) is called Vígólfr<sup>144</sup> in B<sup>1</sup> and *St.* IIp;<sup>145</sup> in *St.* I he is called Ingólfr; A<sup>1-3</sup> omits the name; in strophe no. 5 an Ingólfr is referred to (see above).

III 5. One of the men who are said to have seen visions of light near the fortifications at Eyrr, where Hrafn is later slain, is identified in both recensions of *Hrafns saga* as Steingrímur Ólafsson,<sup>146</sup> one of Hrafn's men. In *Sturlunga saga* (both versions), however, his name is Jón.<sup>147</sup> Later in *Hrafns saga* in the description of the night when Hrafn was killed, Hrafn asked a man to recite the *drápa* of St. Andrew to him. That man (who may be the same one) is also named Steingrímur, both in the *HrsGPH* text<sup>148</sup> and *Sturlunga saga*.<sup>149</sup>

III 6. The man whom Pétur Bárðarson killed for his participation in the slaying of Hrafn is identified here in A<sup>1</sup> and B as Ími Þorkels-son.<sup>150</sup> In *Sturlunga saga* this man is only named once. In *St.* I his name is Má<sup>151</sup> (in acc.), which AM 439 4to, Br. and V have also; H, however, has Una (as found in A<sup>2-3</sup>). In *Hrafns saga* this man is also mentioned as one of the men who went with Þorvaldr to Eyrr, where he is also called Ími<sup>152</sup> in A<sup>1</sup>, but Uni (see above) in A<sup>2-3</sup>, and Ívar in B<sup>1</sup>. The name Ími is a highly unusual one, which might account for the misreadings in the various manuscripts.

III 7. *HrsGPH* text reads: Þorvaldr kom á Eyri með hundrað manna, ok er hann sér viðrbúning Hrafns, bæði virkit ok fjölmenni mikit, þá sýndisk honum (i.e., Þorvaldi) óárenniligr bálkr þeira.<sup>153</sup> In-

<sup>143</sup> *St.* I, 303.

<sup>144</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 30, cf. also p. 52.

<sup>145</sup> *St.*, loc. cit.

<sup>146</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 39.

<sup>147</sup> *St.* I, 311.

<sup>148</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 41.

<sup>149</sup> *St.* I, 312.

<sup>150</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 45.

<sup>151</sup> *St.* I, 317.

<sup>152</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 40, cf. also p. 54.

<sup>153</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 36.

stead of this passage *Sturlunga saga* reads: Síðan kom Porvaldr á Eyri með hundrað manna, ok er hann sér viðbúning (um- *St. IIp*) Hrafns, leizk honum torsóttligr (torsóttligt *St. IIp*).<sup>154</sup>

III 8. *HrsGPH* text reads: Þá er lokit var óttusöng.<sup>155</sup> The corresponding sentence in *Sturlunga saga* reads: en er sunginn (sungit *St. IIp*) var.<sup>156</sup>

III 9. *HrsGPH* text reads: sá þeir eld brenna á sjávarbrekkunum (ströndinni B).<sup>157</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: sá þeir eld brenna ór sævarbökkunum.<sup>158</sup>

III 10. *HrsGPH* text reads: sá hafði rauðan hest.<sup>159</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: sá hafði hest svartan (svartan om. Br., H).<sup>160</sup>

III 11. Later in the same vision (as III 10.) *HrsGPH* text reads: kol svart klæði.<sup>161</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: kolmerkt (-merk *St. I*) klæði.<sup>162</sup>

III 12. *HrsGPH* text reads: en í þann tíð (í þann tíð: þá *St. IIp*) var Sighvatr mikill vinr Hrafns.<sup>163</sup> *St. IIp* reads: kallaðr instead of mikill.<sup>164</sup> This sentence is omitted in *St. I*.

III 13. *HrsGPH* text reads: ok var síðan lengi (lengi síðan *St.*) undir áraburði Oddaverja.<sup>165</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: trausti instead of áraburði.<sup>166</sup>

III 14. *HrsGPH* text reads: Símon átti barn ok byrgiskonu á Kúlu. Jón fifldisk at þeiri konu. Einn helgan dag fór Símon til fundar við fylgjukonu sína.<sup>167</sup> Instead of byrgiskonu and fylgjukonu respectively *Sturlunga saga* has: frillu (in both cases).<sup>168</sup>

<sup>154</sup> *St. I*, 308.

<sup>155</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 42.

<sup>156</sup> *St. I*, 314.

<sup>157</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 38.

<sup>158</sup> *St. I*, 310.

<sup>159</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 39.

<sup>160</sup> *St. I*, 311.

<sup>161</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 39.

<sup>162</sup> *St.*, loc. cit.

<sup>163</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 27.

<sup>164</sup> *St. I*, 301; cf. also examples II e 11–12 above.

<sup>165</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 28.

<sup>166</sup> *St. I*, 302; cf. also examples II e 11–12 above.

<sup>167</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 31.

<sup>168</sup> *St. I*, 304.

III 15. Hallr Gizurarson is twice called *lōgsōgumaðr*<sup>169</sup> in the A-recension of *Hrafns saga*, where his father Gizur bears the same title.<sup>170</sup> When Hallr and his father Gizur are mentioned for the first time in B-vellum their title is *lōgmaðr*,<sup>171</sup> but when Hallr is mentioned later in B<sup>1</sup> he is called *lōgsōgumaðr* as in the A-recension.<sup>172</sup> In *Sturlunga saga*, however, he is called *lōgmaðr*.<sup>173</sup> The reason for this different wording might be that the title of the holder of this office (president of the general assembly) was changed from *lōgsōgumaðr* to *lōgmaðr* in 1271<sup>174</sup> with the introduction of Norwegian law into Iceland.<sup>175</sup> This suggests that *Hrafns saga* was written before that time.

III 16. In the HrsGPH text the word *hvarf* is twice<sup>176</sup> used, when Hrafn and Þorvaldr take leave of each other. In the former instance *St. I* reads: *minntisk, St. II* *p seildisk*, and in the latter both have *minnisk*.<sup>177</sup>

III 17. *HrsGPH* text reads: *ok renndi* (i.e. *Bárðr renndi*) frá slán-um.<sup>178</sup> *Sturlunga saga* reads: *lokunum* instead of *slánum*.<sup>179</sup>

III 18. *HrsGPH* text reads: *Í því bili* (*bili om. St.*) *reis Hrafn upp, því at hann mátti eigi sofa, ok gekk út*.<sup>180</sup> Instead of *gekk*, *Sturlunga saga* has: *sá*,<sup>181</sup> which fits better into the context.

III 19. In the description of Þorvaldr and his men's robbery at Eyrr after Hrafn's slaying, *HrsGPH* text reads: *ferju* and *eykinn* respectively.<sup>182</sup> *Sturlunga saga*, however, reads: *skip* and *skipit*.<sup>183</sup> This might have been done on purpose by the compiler of *Sturlunga saga*, especially in the latter case.

<sup>169</sup> *HrsGPH*, pp. 2, 33.

<sup>170</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 2.

<sup>171</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 2, cf. Textual Notes, p. 47.

<sup>172</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 33, cf. Textual Notes, p. 53.

<sup>173</sup> *St. I*, 307.

<sup>174</sup> Jón Jóhannesson, *Íslendinga saga* I, 66.

<sup>175</sup> P.G. Foote, ed., *The Saga of Gunnlaug Serpent-Tongue*, (London, 1957), p. 43.

<sup>176</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 27; B<sup>1</sup> reads: *hverfr*; cf. p. 52. and *HrsGPH*, p. 37.

<sup>177</sup> *St. I* 301, 310.

<sup>178</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 41.

<sup>179</sup> *St. I*, 313.

<sup>180</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 41.

<sup>181</sup> *St.*, loc. cit.

<sup>182</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 43.

<sup>183</sup> *St. I*, 315.

III 20. In the description of several wonders *Hrafns saga* twice uses the word *sýn* (vision).<sup>184</sup> In both cases *Sturlunga saga* reads: *atburðr*.<sup>185</sup> (event). This might be intended by the compiler of *Sturlunga saga* to lessen the supernatural tone, since he does tend to leave out or shorten supernatural things (cf. examples II d. above).

III 21. Ormr Skeggjason is said in *HrsGPH* text to be outlawed from Dýrafjörðr and Ísafjörðr.<sup>186</sup> *St. I*p reads: Arnarfjörðr<sup>187</sup> instead of Dýrafjörðr. The relevant sentence is omitted in *St. I*.

*Conclusions drawn from the differences between the text of  
Hrafns saga as taken up in Sturlunga saga and Hrafns saga proper*

The fuller reading in *Sturlunga saga* is sometimes a result of adjustment of the text of *Hrafns saga* to fit it into the collection of *Sturlunga saga*. In some cases (cf. above) the fuller reading might lead to the inference that there had existed an earlier version of *Hrafns saga*, not yet as divided into the two versions as now known, but containing a fuller text than that used by the compiler of *Sturlunga saga* as a source (cf. above), since the compiler does not usually elaborate on his material, but rather the opposite. There might even, as has been suggested above, have existed a further intermediate link between this earlier version and the A- and B-recensions respectively.

The compiler of *Sturlunga saga* seems to be attempting to make the text of *Hrafns saga* more concise and, on occasion, leaves out material intended for use elsewhere. The compiler omits or shortens most descriptions of supernatural events or phrases in religious and/or didactic style, and on the whole tries to achieve impartiality, in which case he might be following the example of *Íslendinga saga* by Sturla Þórðarson, also included in his collection.

The different wording in the passage of *Sturlunga saga* which covers the material from *Hrafns saga* and *Hrafns saga* proper seems to be a result of similar working methods of the compiler as suggested above,

<sup>184</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 39.

<sup>185</sup> *St. I*, 311.

<sup>186</sup> *HrsGPH*, p. 44.

<sup>187</sup> *St. I*, 316.

and sometimes the compiler seems to find his own words preferable to those found in *Hrafns saga* proper.

On the whole, there is not much difference between the text found in that part of *Sturlunga saga* which covers the material from *Hrafns saga* and the text in *Hrafns saga* proper, apart from the shortening of the text, either done by the compiler himself or already existing in the text he used as a source.

### ÁGRIP

Greinarhöfundur sýnir með dæmum mismun á texta Hrafns sögu, annars vegar eins og hún er tekin upp í *Sturlungu* og hins vegar Hrafns sögu hinnar sérstöku. Helstu niðurstöður eru:

Í sumum tilvikum virðist mega rekja fyllri texta Hrafns sögu í *Sturlungu* til viðbóta sem safnandi hefur gert til þess að aðlaga efni úr Hrafns sögu öðru efni í *Sturlungusafninu*.

Í öðrum tilvikum sýnist mega ráða af fyllri lesháttum í *Sturlungu* að til hafi verið eldri gerð sérstakrar Hrafns sögu, sem ekki hafi að öllu verið eins og þær gerðir sem nú þekkjast. Þessi eldri gerð hefur líklega haft fyllri texta en þann sem safnandi *Sturlungu* notaði, en safnandi virðist sjaldnast lengja textann efnislega heldur þvert á móti stytta hann. Hugsanlegt er að einn milliliður hafi verið milli þessarar ætluðu eldri gerðar Hrafns sögu og A- og B-gerða sem til eru af sögunni.

Safnandi *Sturlungu* virðist stytta eða fella brott atriði sem varða einkalíf Hrafns, ennfremur frásagnir af yfirnáttúrulegum atburðum og guðrækilegar klausur og hann virðist reyna að hnitmiða frásögnina og leggja yfirleitt áherslu á hlutleysi og kynni að því leyti að fylgja fordæmi Íslendinga sögu *Sturlu Þórðarsonar*.

Athugun greinarhöfundar leiddi í ljós að ekki er mikill munur á Hrafns sögu texta í *Sturlungu* og Hrafns sögu hinni sérstöku nema að því er varðar styttingar sem safnandi *Sturlungu* hefur sjálfur gert eða hafa verið fyrir í þeim texta sem hann notaði.