

*Breta sogur* from AM 544 4to:  
an Edition and Translation

Russell C. Black

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Reading Committee:  
Paul Remley, Chair  
Leroy Searle  
Míceál Vaughan

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## Abstract

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Russell C. Black

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:  
Doctor Paul Remley  
Department of English

In the years following the turn of the fourteenth century, an Icelandic lawyer named Haukr Erlendsson worked as a legal representative to the King of Norway. Haukr preserved many Icelandic literary renderings in a manuscript known today as the Hauksbók, much of which was written in his own hand. In addition to being an important witness to such Icelandic texts as the *Eiríks saga rauða* and the *Landnámabók*, the manuscript also contains significant continental masterpieces such as an Old Icelandic translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*, known as the *Breta sǫgur*. The following text contains a diplomatic edition of the *Breta sǫgur* in which I attempt to capture the original layout and orthography of the text written in Haukr's own hand. Each page of the manuscript is represented by a page in this edition in which all the medieval letter forms are represented, as are Haukr's orthography and formatting. The edition is accompanied by a facing page translation of *Breta sǫgur* in English. The relationship between *Breta sǫgur* and Geoffrey's *Historia*, which bears a close affinity with the Latin Vulgate Version, is indicated by the apparatus.

## Dedication

To Chris with love,  
You have given me so much. Thank you.  
To Morgan and Maia with love,  
You helped me makes this.

To Patricia Conroy  
I wish I could share this with you.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Haukr Erlendsson and the *Breta sögur*

The manuscript that contains the Old Icelandic translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie* enjoys the distinction of having had an owner who is known to history. The first autograph of Haukr, the main scribe and original owner of the monument now known as Hauksbók, occurs in a genealogical emendation near the end of the included version of the *Landnámabók*. The scribe there includes his name as well as a brief description of his treatment of the two versions he used as sources: “ENN þessa bok ritada (ek)<sup>1</sup> Haukr Elliz svn. efter þeiri bók sem retad hafdi herra Sturla logmadr hinn frodasti madr ok eftir bok annarri er ritad hafdi Styrmir hinn fródi. ok hafda ek þat or hværi sem frammar greindi. enn mikill þori var þat er þær sogdu eins badar.”<sup>2</sup> [I, Haukr Erlendsson, wrote this book, from that book that was written by Lawman Sturla the most wise and from that other book that was written by Styrmir the wise, and I have expounded from each of them, and much of which is said here is from both].<sup>3</sup> Not only does this passage identify Haukr Erlendsson as the book's owner and principal scribe, it also identifies the editorial process by which the Hauksbók *Landnámabók* was synthesized from multiple sources. This identification and textual genealogy grants Haukr's production of the *Landnámabók*, and by association the manuscript housing it, a higher degree of authority. Furthermore, the names to which the source texts are associated contain a professional genealogy of lawmen with which Haukr and his own father would have associated. The first of his sources survives today as *Sturlubók*, written by Sturla Þórðarson, nephew of Snorri Sturluson, who presided as Lawspeaker of the *Alþingi* before the commonwealth was dissolved in 1262. The association is a worthy one for Haukr, who would eventually serve as king's Lawman to the Gulating for a number of years.

Haukr's name also appears in a genealogical emendation in the Hauksbók witness of *Eiríks saga rauða*, much of

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1. Although the first person pronoun appears to have been omitted in the manuscript, *ritada*, a verb in the first person supports the traditional reading that the phrase is in the first person. Helgason notes other passages in which Haukr habitually drops the subject pronoun. Jón Helgason, ed., *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnæan Manuscripts* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1960), p. XI, note 3.

2. Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson, eds., *Hauksbók* (København: Thieles bogtr, 1892), p. 124.

3. Translation mine.

which is also written in Haukr's hand. In the concluding genealogy, the lineage of Þorfinn Karlsefni, who according to the saga attempted to settle North America, is traced through the maternal line of Erlend, Haukr's father. The longer redaction to *Eiríks saga rauða* in the Skálholtsbók extends Karlsefni's line no farther than the generation of his grandchildren, whereas Haukr's rendering traces the line to Gudrid, Haukr's grandmother: "...Valgerðar modor herra Erlenz sterka favövr herra Hauks logmannz."<sup>4</sup> [...Valgerðer the mother of Lord Erlend the Strong, who was the father of Lord Haukr the Lawman]. Not only is the use of his professional title, *lögmaðr*, notable, the additional agnomen *herra*, applied not only to himself but to his father, appears unusual by the standards of the *Íslendingasögur*, and offers an ostensible allusion to his being knighted by the Norwegian king.<sup>5</sup> The copy of *Landnámabók* that begins the series of texts in Hauksbók is not merely a mechanical recapitulation of canonical Icelandic history; it is a text that has been edited and rewritten in a way that makes Haukr himself part of the canon. The inclusion of the *Landnámabók* established his noble credentials that justified his relationship with the Norwegian crown, a display that clarifies Haukr's expressed affinity with Norwegian society.

The documents that elucidate Haukr's life and his family are few in number, but those that survive are notably informative. His father, Erlend, was a prominent lawman in Iceland, and was instrumental in dealing with disputes among chieftains and issues regarding land rights of the church. The fact that Erlend's paternal lineage in the Hauksbók *Landnámabók* is missing could indicate a Norwegian heritage, which would be unsurprising considering that both father and son were lawmen and land owners in Norway. According to *Landnámabók*, Erlend was married to Járngerðr Þórðardóttir, a woman who was not Haukr's mother.<sup>6</sup> According to this genealogy, they had a daughter named Valgerðr, but there is no mention of Haukr. Either Haukr was born out of wedlock, or his mother, Jórunn, was Erlend's second wife. Jórunn was also prominent in Icelandic history; her heritage is mentioned in *Landnámabók* as a descendant of Gestr Oddleifsson ins Spaki, who plays a role in both *Laxdæla saga* and *Gísla saga Surssonar*. Nothing is known about the childhood or adolescence of Haukr or his father, or whether or not they were born in Iceland or in Norway. However, it is clear that Haukr could read and write clear, literary Icelandic, and that this language was an important element in his book—Haukr certainly did identify himself as an Icelander. Whatever the case, it was common for educated landowning Icelanders to travel regularly to Norway for their education, to foster political ties with the royal court, and to interact with powerful people abroad. If Haukr was born in Iceland, there is a good chance that he was fostered by a relative or powerful ally abroad as a child. Regular trips to Continental Europe were also not uncommon for land owning Icelanders.

Haukr's earliest historical appearance occurs in a document from 1294, the year in which he became a lawman in the southeast quarter of Iceland, where he appears to have held office for six years.<sup>78</sup> After this position was apparently

4. Jónsson and Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, p. 444.

5. A legal decision by "herra Haukr logmaðr," is mentioned in a letter from Aug. 2, 1329. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnæan Manuscripts*, p. vii.

6. Jónsson and Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, p. 22.

7. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnæan Manuscripts*, p. XX.

8. Gustav Storm, ed., *Islandske Annaler indtil 1578* (Oslo: Norst historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt, 1977), p. 189, 387.



terminated in 1301, he next appears in 1302 in a document from Oslo in which he issues a letter using the title, *Herra Haukr logmaðr*.<sup>9</sup> In 1303, we find a testimony issued along with one Ivarr, Lawman of Bergen.<sup>10</sup> In 1304 we find him back in Iceland in which his career appears to be engaged in the problem of Norwegian taxation, an issue for which Haukr would have been a useful intermediary between the locals and the crown.<sup>12</sup> That he worked as a representative for the crown is supported by the fact that he was assigned to Iceland for this deliberation and the fact that he is called a member of the “kingdom’s council.” In 1305 we find him back in Norway where he stayed for a few years. However, he must have returned to Iceland fairly soon after; as the Icelandic annals recorded that in 1308, he traveled *udenlands* to Norway.<sup>13</sup> Before his departure in the same year, he founded the “Hospital for Learned Men,” in Árnessýsla.<sup>14</sup> A letter survives from 1310 that exhibits a fine example of his handwriting.<sup>15</sup> In 1311 he appears to have received a promotion from the king, as he mentioned as the Gulating’s Lawman and Knight, a position that also supports an ongoing position as legal representative to the crown, and a title he carried at least until 1312. In 1319, he is named a witness to the election of King Magnús IV Eiríksson, and as the one to whom Magnús issued his oath on behalf of the Norwegian people negotiating the acceptance of the three-year-old king to rule over Norway and Sweden.<sup>16</sup> After the installation of the new king, Haukr’s documentation becomes more sparse. Someone else is named Lawman of the Gulating by 1322, and Haukr does not appear to have held any official office thereafter. It is also interesting to note that his tenure as lawman from his appointment in Oslo to his tenure as Gulating’s lawman is coincident with the reign of Haakon V Magnusson who ruled from 1299 to 1319, with whom Haukr probably had a close professional relationship.

Haukr reappears in 1330, at which time he was sent to Iceland for a legal errand to deliver a message from the king.<sup>18</sup> In 1332, a letter finds him in Bergen after a final trip to Iceland, where he seems to have stayed there until his death in 1334.<sup>19</sup> After his death, Haukr’s wife Steinúnn returned to Iceland, where she remained for the rest of her life. They had had a daughter Jórunn, who became an abbess in Kirkjubæur. Their son, Erlend, continued the family tradition and became himself a regional lawman in Svarfaðardalr.

The period in which Haukr thrived was a time when Iceland was still recovering from the tumultuous civil wars of the Sturling period, and during which Iceland was still finding its footing under continental rule. Many of the *Íslendingasögur*, most of which were written during the Sturling age, portray Icelandic individuality and convey a sense of distancing from the Norwegian crown. The idea of Icelandic independence from Norway as portrayed in the sagas is commonplace. However, the status of the island as an independent country was never clear. According to the sagas

9. P.A. Munch Gustav Storm and Ebbe Hertzberg, eds., *Norges Gamle Love*, vol. III (Christiana: Trykt hos C. Grondahl, 1846), p. 134.

10. Jónsson and Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, p. II.

11. Chr. C.A. Lange and Carl R. Unger, eds., *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. I (Christiana: P.T. Mallings Forlagshandel, 1852), p. 86.

12. Flateyjarannálar.

13. *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, vol. 2 (Reykjavik: Islenzka Bokmenntafélag, 1857), pp. 361-2.

14. Storm, *Íslandske Annaler indtil 1578*, pp. 149, 201, 341, 391.

15. Jónsson and Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, p. III.

16. Ibid.

17. *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, p. 495.

18. Chr. C.A. Lange and Carl R. Unger, eds., *Diplomatar Norvegicum*, vol. XII (Christiana: P.T. Mallings Forlagshandel, 1891), p. 59.

19. Jónsson and Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, p. IV.

themselves, many chieftains, and those from their families, regularly swore their allegiance to the Norwegian king. The dissolution of the Icelandic commonwealth in 1262, despite its tragic/romantic casting in the *Sturlungasaga*, was merely part of a greater pattern of consolidation of Scandinavian power, which Haukr himself had helped to oversee around 1319.

Much of Haukr's legal career appears to have been engaged first in the maintenance of Norwegian rule of law in Iceland, and the maintenance of Norwegian rule of law at the Gulating, a job which in many ways would have required him to navigate between older, and more local, patterns of power distribution at the assemblies and the growing centralization of aristocratic power. There is no question that Haukr saw himself as a participant in the stratified culture of Europe, and the mythologies that supported that power, yet he did so without discarding the distinctly Icelandic mythology of the *Íslendingasögur*. Although Haukr was in the first place an Icelander who was knowledgeable in the literary traditions of his heritage, he also identified himself as a European with an interest in the subjects given to him by an contemporary clerical education, of which Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britannie* would have formed a part. *Breta sögur* concludes with another genealogical emendation, although it is uncertain whether or not it was added to the Galfridian material by Haukr himself.<sup>20</sup> “eftir hann ríkti iatvardz fvn hanf .ííj. ar 7 .xx. Eftir hann aðalstein goði xi. ar 7 xx. 7 vi. vikv 7 þri daga hann fostradi hakon fvn haralz konungf.”<sup>21</sup> [After him, his son Edward ruled for twenty-four years. After him Æðelstan the Good ruled twenty nine-years, six weeks, and three days. He fostered Hákon, the son of King Harald Fairhair.] Just as *Landnámabók* and *Eiríks saga rauða* contain emendations that connect Haukr's family history to the sagas, so does this change likewise connect the contents of the *Historia regum Britannie* to the political institution by which he was employed and which he served to represent. The last figure in the list, King Harald Fairhair, is of course remembered to have been the first king of all Norway, an important figure in the foundation of the Scandinavian regnal histories, and the starting point in many genealogical lines in the *Íslendingasögur*. The implication of this maneuver is that the saga writer linked the heritage of the Norwegian kings to early British history by invoking those who invaded and whose reigns subsequently superseded native British rule. The legitimacy of central Norwegian rule is effectively indicated by alluding to a *translatio imperii* from King Æðelstan, thereby providing a bridge to the founding traditions of the Vergilian tradition.<sup>22</sup>

A fascinating historical interpolation occurs in this particular translation of the Galfridian narrative. *Breta sögur* does not begin with Geoffrey's text, but begins with an introduction with material from the *Aeneid* that includes a synopsis of Dido's story and Aeneas's war with Turnus. Early in *Breta sögur* one of Turnus's knights taunts the citizens besieged by his army, that, “þer 7 heyrtr at ecki folk er harðara en faxar 7 þvi heita þeir fem stein 7 þvi erv miok heimkír ef þer vilið beriaz við of.”<sup>23</sup> [You understand well that no tribe is harder than the Saxons, for because of this, that they are called, “stone”; you are stupid if you choose to fight us.] The saga writer in this case associates Vergil's Rutuli with the Saxons, which

20. Stefán Karlsson, “Aldur Hauksbókar,” in *Stafrókar* (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2000), pp. 303-9.

21. *Breta sögur*, 59r. ll. 19-21.

22. For more on the relationship between Scandinavian politics and *Breta sögur*, see A.G. Hamel, “The Old Norse Version of the *Historia regum Britanniae* and the Text of Geoffrey of Monmouth,” *Etudes Celtiques* I (1936): pp. 197-247.

23. *Breta sögur*, 37v, ll. 15-17.

effectively anticipates the Saxon invasion of Britain that is described later in the same text. This may reflect the organizational role that the feud plays in the structure of *Íslendingasögur*. The transgression of the invasion of Latium by Aeneas and the Trojans will eventually be avenged by the ancestors of those who were their victims. It is easy to speculate that the saga writer, and Haukr, may have identified more closely not with Arthur, whose story is substantially abridged in this translation, but with the Saxons who are seen as the legitimate heirs to the island. The translator also showed a particular interest in the pagan gods in the *Historia*, syncretically translating the classical deities to their Scandinavian names. In a reading the *Breta sögur*, Turnus's taunt certainly evokes Hengest's famous order to assassinate the British earls.

Not only does Hauksbók provide a cultural bridge between the mythological history of Britain and the content of Icelandic sagas, it also offers a link to the mythological genealogies of Scandinavian kingship. The manuscript contains *Skálda saga*, the Norwegian saga of Harald hárfagri, an appropriate inclusion that completes the evocation of Norwegian regnal line at the end of the *Breta sögur*, and an important account serving to reinforce the legitimacy of Haukr's patrons. One also finds *Þáttur af Upplendiga konungum*, which amounts to little more than a genealogical account that tells the story of Óláfr Trételgja, a figure whose story like King Harald's, was also compiled in *Heimskringla*. Ólaf was the son of the fabled Swedish King Ingjald of the legendary line of Uppsalla kings from which both Swedish and Norwegians kings traced their lineage. The inclusion of this tale is striking, given Haukr's involvement with the installation of King Magnus Eiriksson, who would have traced his own lineage, and his legitimacy, in both Norwegian and Swedish lines. Hauksbók's inclusion of *Ragnars sona þáttur*, the story of founding kings of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, is also evocative.

In addition to *Eiríks saga rauða*, other *Íslendingasögur* recorded in Hauksbók include *Kristni saga*, *Fóstbræðra saga*, *Heiðriks saga*, and a few other þáttur. Haukr also includes various treatises and philosophical works, all of which have been translated into Icelandic, such as the mathematical text *Algorismus*, an unnamed description of various stones, and the Icelandic *Elucidarium*, a piece that reminds us that Haukr's view of history was primarily informed by contemporary views of ecclesiastical history and cosmology. Many of the works contained in the Hauksbók circulated throughout the Continent in this period in various forms. Haukr would have first and foremost identified himself as a Christian, and in the course of his education he would have been exposed to the library of works central to clerical learning, among these Geoffrey's *Historia*. The *Historia* likewise embodied a medieval Christian view of history.<sup>24</sup> The *Elucidarium* and *Algorismus* are also works that are expressive of early currents of medieval philosophical and ecclesiastical thought. Haukr was the legal representative to the king, but he was also a well-read European and Christian, as were so many other Icelanders of the time. What distinguishes the collection in this manuscript is the choice of literary language. Instead of being recorded in Latin, the primary language of Roman Christianity, all these works were presented in the primary language of the *Íslendingasögur*.

24. Sverrir Jakobson, "Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View," *Saga Book XXXI* (2007): 22–38.

## 1.2 Adaptation and Style

Magnús Fjalldal bemoans the lack of literary quality in the Hauksbók *Breta sögur*.<sup>25</sup> He is correct in that much of the language falls short of the quality of Geoffrey's Latin style, or for that matter, the quality of most of the *Íslendingasögur*. *Breta sögur* is substantially shorter than the length of the complete Vulgate Version text of the *Historia regum Britannie*; and, given the fact that the Arthurian section appears to suffer more than other parts of the *Historia*, it is not hard to agree Fjalldal's judgement. Haukr's rendering contains no literary excess however it serves as a functional reiteration of the events in Geoffrey's *Historia*. On these terms, Haukr's text is successful. Not every part of *Breta sögur* is abbreviated as severely as the Arthurian section extending from the end of the prophecies to the conclusion. Indeed, the saga writer favors certain episodes from the *Historia* more than others, and throughout *Breta sögur*, the saga writer adapts the Latin source to the formal conventions of Icelandic literary style. The Hauksbók *Breta sögur* contains a complete rendering of the *Prophetie Merlini* to formal Icelandic skaldic verse, along with the attribution to Gunnlaugr Leifsson (d. 1219).<sup>26</sup> These verses are prominent, serving not only as a centerpiece for the saga, but appearing prominently in the manuscript as well. The Hauksbók *Völuspá* stands in close proximity to *Merlínúspá*, which shares common compositional elements and formulae.<sup>27</sup>

Formal Icelandic elements of prose are also used throughout *Breta sögur*. Information that may have seemed superfluous to the translation was ignored, and the remaining matter was presented in a vernacular style that conformed to the conventions of traditional saga writing. The longest and most prominent non-Arthurian episode in the *Historia* is King Leir's story, which suffers only a little abbreviation in the hands of the saga writer. What remains is a model for how one should begin a saga episode. In the original Latin, the style is typical for Geoffrey. His main concern is with placing his figures geographically, establishing associations through false etymologies which appear to be nearly as important to the narrative as the story itself:

Dato igitur fatis Bladud, erigitur Leir filius eiusdem in regem, qui .lx. annis patriam uiriliter rexti. Aedificauit autem super flumen Soram ciuitatem, quae Britannice de nomine eius Kaerleir, Saxonice uero Lerecestre nuncupatur. Cui negata masculini sexus prole natae sunt tantummodo tres filiae, uocatae Gonorilla, Regau, Cordeilla. Pater eas miro amore sed magis iuniorem, uidelicet Cordeillam, diligebat. Cumque in senectutem uergere coepisset, cogitauit regnum suum ipsis diuidere easque talibus maritus copulare qui eadem cum regno haberent; sed ut sciret quae illarum parte regni potiore dignior esset, adiuit singulas ut interrogaret quae ipsum magis diligeret.<sup>28</sup>

25. Magnús Fjalldal, *Anglo-Saxon England in Icelandic Medieval Texts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 83-7.

26. Similar to some Latin texts of the *Historia* as well as rendering by Wace, Laʒamon, and others, the Icelandic version in AM 573 4to and AM 764 4to omit the matter of the *Prophetie Merlini* entirely.

27. Svainbjörn Rafnsson, "Merlínúspá og Völuspá isögulegi samhengi," *Skírnir: Tímarit Hins íslenska Bókmenntafélags* 173 (1999): 377-419.

28. Michael D Reeve, ed., *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2007), [31], pp. 37, 39.

[After Bladud met his fate, his son Leir became king and for sixty years ruled the country well. He built a city by the river Soar, named after him Kaerleir in British, and Leicester in English. He had no male offspring, only three daughters, called Gonorilla, Regau and Cordeilla. Their father loved them with wonderful affection, especially Cordeilla, the youngest. When Leir began to grow old, he decided to share his kingdom with them and give them husbands worthy of themselves and their realm. In order to find out which of them deserved the largest share of the kingdom, he approached them, one after the other, to ask which loved him most.]<sup>29</sup>

The saga writer is uninterested in the etymological material, but more interested in setting up a binary dynamic between Leir and his daughter. The rhythmic parataxis common in the sagas is present, as well as common formulaic means for announcing characters at the beginning of an episode. As in the sagas, Leir is named, and then a description of his physical qualities (when he was younger) and a characterization of his temperament are followed by a similar pattern of introduction of Cordeilla. Not only does this approach announce the beginning of a new episode, it informs the reader the fact that these two figures are already counterbalanced in a saga-like, feud-like tension. The story that unfolds is essentially the same, but the language recasts the narrative to suit conventions of Scandinavian prose.

Svn *hans* tok *konungdom* eftir *hann* fa er leir het *hann* var ríkr 7 *hermaðr* mikill en fyrri lvt ævi finar *hann* vann vndir fig *cornbretaland* 7 *íkotland* ecki var *hann* vitr *máðr* kallaðr *hann* atti .iiij. dætr het ein ellzta *gorzonilla* en onnvr ragay en hin yngsta *gordoella* hon var þeira venast 7 vitrazt *konungr* vnni henni 7 *merft* vm langa stvnd En er *hann* tok at elldaz þa villdi *hann* profa hvelika aft *hann* atti hverri þeira at lavna<sup>30</sup>

[His son took the kingdom after him, he was called Leir. He was powerful and a great warrior in the earlier part of his life. He conquered Cornwall and Scotland. He was not called a wise man. He had three daughters. One was called Gonorilla, and another Ragau, and the youngest Cordeilla. She was the most beautiful and wisest of them. The king loved her most for a long time. When he grew old, he wished to test how much love he had from each of them, so that he could likewise reward them.]<sup>31</sup>

In other passages, much of the original content of Geoffrey's text is reduced in the saga through substantial selective omission. Passages seemed to have been dropped if they did not conform to the saga writer's aesthetics, or if he deemed their information superfluous. For instance, Geoffrey's long account of Arthur's coronation and the festival, sections [156] and [157] in the Latin text, a block of prose that fills nearly three pages of Wright's translation of the *Historia*, is reduced to a single sentence in *Breta sǫgur*.

*hann* bauð til fin at hvita fvnv ollvm *konungvm* hertogvm 7 *iozlvu* et ollvm *konungum* hertogvm 7 *iozlvu* 7

29. Ibid., [31], pp. 36, 38.

30. *Breta sǫgur*, f. 41v, ll. 18-22.

31. *Breta sǫgur*, [31], ll. 17R-21R.

ollvm hoþþingivm i finv riki 7 var hann þa krvnaðr 7 fva drottningin 7 er veizla viðfrægingv oððin a nozdzlondvm boðdi at fornv 7 nyiv.<sup>32</sup>

[During Pentecost he summoned to himself all the kings, dukes, earls, and all of the chieftains in the kingdom, and he was crowned, along with the queen, and this has become the most renowned banquet in the northern lands, from ancient times to the modern age.]<sup>33</sup>

It is perhaps unsurprising that anyone acclimated to the prose of the *íslendingasögur* would have little patience with the long, proto-courtly catalogue of attendees at the festival, and let alone the details of their seating arrangement. At the very least, the saga writer found it uninteresting and perhaps irrelevant to the chronological history, particularly considering the history might be best understood to have been read in terms of long, inter-generational feud. The mechanics of the long cycle of violence that Britain engaged with against the peoples of continental Europe is particularly relevant here. Just after Arthur's coronation, the war with the Roman empire is about to begin and the cycle of violence that begins with Aeneas's invasion of Italy comes full circle. In sum, *Breta sögur* offers a record of the translator's reading of Geoffrey, which was carried out in the context of the prose of his own language. The *Historia*, in effect, has been recast as an Icelandic saga.

That the saga writer was versed in continental hagiography is evident in an interpolation from an extra-Galfridian variant of the life of Saint Ursula. According to Geoffrey's account in the *Historia*, after the conquest and occupation of Armorica by Conanus Meriodocus, eleven thousand virgins were sent from Britain to Armorica to be wed to the British occupiers. Foremost among these was Ursula, daughter of the Cornish King Dionotus, who was reserved for Conanus himself. While crossing the channel, the ships hit tempestuous waters and most of the women were tossed overboard and drowned. The surviving women were captured in Germany by the Hunnish king Wanius and the Pictish king Melga, who then killed most of the remaining British women. According to the information given to us by Geoffrey, their story drops off at this point. Since Geoffrey's account was written (c. 1137-8), a popular German variant of the story began to circulate in support of Ursula's cult, which was particularly popular in Scandinavia. The saga writer adjusts the text to fit the canonical story of the saint by ignoring the Galfridian source and retelling the same story from the canonical saint life:

reð cononius fyri armonica þerfa ftund Ðionotus reð þa bzetlandi hann atti eina fríða dotta er vrfvla het hennar bað cononius 7 var hanvm iattað hon fo2 hon fo2 hon siþan svðr vm fio i faxland með .xi. þvfvn2að meyia 7 er þær komv i kolni þa var þar fyri attila konvngv hvalandz með her mikinn 7 villdv þrongva þeim til famviftv við þa en af þvi at þær varv kriftnar þa villdv þær eigi famþyckia við heiðna menn þa let attila konvngv halfhogva þær allar 7 erv þær kallaðar konifmeyia.<sup>34</sup>; Cononius ruled over Armorica during this time.

Dionotus ruled over Britain. He had one beautiful daughter who was named Ursula. Cononius asked for her

32. *Breta sögur*, f. 55r, ll. 19-21.

33. *Breta sögur*, [157], ll. 21R-23R.

34. *Breta sögur*, f. 47v, ll. 30-34, f. 48v, ll. 1-2.

hand in marriage and she agreed. She then went south over the sea into Saxony with eleven thousand virgins, and when they arrived in Cologne, King Atilla from Hunland was already there with a massive army, and he wanted to force them to have relations with them, but since they were Christian, they were not of the same mind as the heathen men. Then King Atilla had all of them beheaded, and they were called the Maidens of Cologne.<sup>35</sup>

The above interpolation to the narrative, which is actually slightly displaced from the original position of the account of the virgins in the *Historia*, offers a change from an archaic form of the story to one that refers to a recognizable, culturally relevant Germanic form of Ursula's hagiography. Just before this episode is inserted, in *Breta sǫgur* sections [81]-[87], during the account of Maximianus's arrival in Britain and his dealings, the saga material undergoes so much compression that a substantial amount of information is lost, and the narrative briefly breaks down. For the saga writer, it was more important to include the information about Ursula that seemed so important to him, and was recognizable to his audience, than to dwell too long on the details of British power transaction at this point in the history.

Another interpolation, from what appears to be another extra-Galfridian hagiographical source, appears in the saga's version of the martyrdom of Saint Oswald. The account of Oswald of Geoffrey's *Historia* contains a brief episode of Oswald that includes material derived from Bede. According to this version, after Oswald becomes king, Caduallo pursues him northward to the Roman wall, then sends Penda to fight him. While Oswald is surrounded by Penda's forces, he constructs a cross, prays with his men, and wins a miraculous victory the following day. After Caduallo learns this, he pursues Oswald himself and kills him at Burne. The saga writer, as in the episode on Ursula, likewise expands the treatment of Oswald's episode by the inclusion of additional hagiographic material. The beginning of the Icelandic version of this episode is not substantially different, but conspicuous changes occur after the account of the battle of Hefenfeld, when Cadwallo confronts the saint a second time.

En er kaðall fra þetta varð hann reiðr miok 7 famnar her 7 fo2 moti ofvalldi konvngi 7 tokz þar harðr bardagi hafpi ofvalld2 ecki liðf við En er ofvalld2 fa at engi viðstaða mvndi ver ða fettiz hann niðr 7 fa i gavpnir fer 7 bað til gvðf fyr i ollvm þeim er þar bo2ðvz 7 fiðan let hann þar lif fitt 7 fo2 fva til almattix gvðf 7 fegia menn at pendan yrði hanvm at bana flyði þa allt lið hanf þat er lifit þa En efter bardagan geck at konvnginvm ein gamall maðr af monnvm kaðalf hann hafpi fengit mikit far a hendi hann fkriðnaði 7 ftaek niðr hendinni i bloð ofvallz konvngf er hann ftoð vpp var heil hondin margar iartegnir 7 ftozar gerði gvð fyri hanf verðleika þo at þærfe eigi her ritaðar.<sup>36</sup>

[Oswald did not have a comparable force. When Oswald saw that no resistance could happen, he sat himself down, took his face into his palms and prayed to God for everyone who was fighting there, and then he gave up his life, and so went to Almighty God, and men say that Penda may have come to him and killed him.

35. *Breta sǫgur*, [88], pp. 49, 51.

36. *Breta sǫgur*, f. 58r, ll. 17-23.

Then, all of his surviving men fled. After the battle, and old man goes to the king from Cadualla's men; he had received a large wound on the hand. He tripped, and stuck his hand down into the blood of King Oswald, and when he stood up, his hand was healed. God made many great miracles because of this worthiness, although they are not written here.<sup>37</sup>

This block of interpolated matter contains two main parts: the account of the moment of Oswald's martyrdom, and of the miracle that concludes the passage, neither of which make an appearance in this form in the *Historia*, or in any known account of the Saint's life. Stefanie Würth suggests that the source for this final miracle could have been sine form of gloss accompanying the text of a Latin source.<sup>38</sup> The fact that the above block of the Icelandic text appears to have been a single block of text that has been "cut and pasted" from another vernacular source appears to support this proposition; however an unambiguous source for this narrative has not been identified thus far. Such a source could have appeared in a lost, Bedan-derived account of Oswald, or it could simply have been material that was incorrectly remembered. The cupping of Oswald's hands however, together with the details of the miracle, likely indicate an independent written narrative that is no longer extant. Whatever the case, this material was viewed by the saga writer as sufficiently important to include in his version of the *Breta sögur*.

As both of these saints were very popular in Northern Europe, it is unsurprising that the saga writer gave them special attention. The material was important enough to warrant a higher degree of redactional involvement, and this in turn is demonstrative of the fact that the saga writer and his readership had a close relationship with ecclesiastical currents of the time. Oswald, as a significant figure in the Anglo-Saxon line, was granted a greater amount of attention in the saga. The treatment of the saint here is further emphasized by the presence of its own chapter title, giving the saint a kind of prominence rare for other figures elsewhere in the saga. Directly following his story is the death of Caduallo, and then the conclusion containing the line of Anglo-Saxon kings culminating with Æðelstan and King Harald. Clearly Oswald was an important figure representing the transfer of the rule of the island to the English.

It is significant that most of the texts in Hauksbók are written in formalized literary Icelandic. The same Icelandic used to frame much of the material contained in the manuscript, from *Landnámabók* and *Kristni saga* to the *Íslendingasögur*, is used in *Breta sögur*. The saga offers a text that is distinctly Icelandic, not only in language, but in style. The *Breta sögur*, in the context of the rest of the manuscript, presents a text that expresses the story of Haukr's own lineage as a Scandinavian, and establishes his status and the power of his patrons in terms of a pan-European idea of power and kingship. As a legal representative to the Norwegian and Swedish crown, his status as a continental European was reinforced by the inclusion of such texts as the *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*. Like many in the sagas themselves, Haukr's status as an Icelander, even at court, was not in question, but he was also a provincial subject of Norway. As a Scandinavian, he and his patrons were not descended from Brutus, but they associated themselves more closely with the

37. *Breta sögur*, [199], ll. 21R-27R.

38. Stefanie Würth, *Der "Antikenroman" in der isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters : eine Untersuchung zur Übersetzung und Rezeption lateinischer Literatur im Norden*, vol. 26, Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1998), p. 77.



Anglo-Saxon line, who, if we believe the interpolation in *Breta sögur*, may have been descended from Turnus. The interpolations to the narrative are relatively few, but the method of translation and the editorial changes are notable in that they represent the linguistic redeployment of texts traditionally reifying currents of European power to the classical Scandinavian literary language.

### 1.3 The Manuscript

Hauksbók was physically separated into three codicologically distinct sections at a very early date. Considering the habit of dismantling manuscripts for distribution to heirs and other purposes, the depleted number of leaves and the poor condition of the surviving leaves, including those unexpectedly exposed to additional wear, is unsurprising. Today, the remains of the codex survive in three sections, which are catalogued AM 371 4to, 544 4to, and 675 4to. AM 371 4to is currently kept at Háskólinn í Reykjavík, and AM 544 4to and AM 675 4to is kept at Københavns Universitet. The complete contents of the surviving leaves from the codex are as follows:<sup>39</sup>

AM 371 4to

A. *Landnámabók*. 1r-14v. The book of the settlement of Iceland. Text incomplete. According to the calculations of Jón Jóhannesson, twenty-one leaves appear to be missing from this text.<sup>40</sup> Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.

B. *Kristni saga*. The saga of the conversion of Iceland. 15r-18v. Text incomplete. According to the calculations of Jón Jóhannesson, five leaves appear to be missing from this text.<sup>41</sup> Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.

AM 544 4to

A. *Heimslýsing ok helgifræði*. 1r-19v. A collection of treatises and miscellaneous items that Finnur Jónsson printed under this title in his edition. This section includes such items as various sermons, excerpts from Isidore, Biblical exegesis, an astronomical essay on the course of the sun, passages describing foreign lands, and extracts treating general philosophy and theology. A legal statement regarding how one may interact with an excommunicated person is also included. This section concludes with a map of Jerusalem. A lacuna between 14v and 15r, where a new gathering begins, is indicated by the fact that 15r contains the conclusion of a lost and unidentified story about a servant of God who upbraids a king for his poor behavior. Six distinct hands (Hands 2-6), appear in this section, but none of them are Haukr's.

39. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnaean Manuscripts*, pp. VII-XVIII.

40. Jón Jóhannesson, *Gerðir Landnámabókar* (Reykjavík: Félagsprentsmiðjan, 1941), pp. 10-11.

41. *Ibid.*

- B. *Vpluspá*. 20r-21r. A variant witness to the Eddic poem, known principally from the Codex Regius, GKS 2365 4to. The same hand appears to have produced the text in Codex Wormianus, AM 242 fol, which contains, the *Snorra-Edda*.<sup>42</sup> Written in Hand 7.
- C. *Trójumanna saga*. 22r-33v. An Icelandic translation of Dares Phrygius's synopsis of material from the *Iliad*.<sup>43</sup> Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.
- D. A description of seven stones and their alchemical qualities. 34r. Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.
- E. *Cisiojanus*, 35v. A church calendar. Written in Hand 8.
- F. *Breta sögur*. 36r-59r. Icelandic translation of a synopsis of the *Aeneid* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*. Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.
- G. Two allegorical dialogues rendered from chapter 26 of *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, falsely attributed to Walter of Châtillon, and *Soliloquium de arrha anime* by Hugh of Saint Victor. 60r-68v. The end of this work has been lost in a missing gathering between 68v and 69r. Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.
- H. *Hemings þáttr*. 69r-72v. A lacuna loses nearly one page from the beginning of this saga. Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.
- I. *Hervarar saga Heiðriks*. 72v-76v. The saga loses its conclusion in a lacuna that comprised one gathering that Helgason supposes to be five leaves long.<sup>44</sup> Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.
- J. *Fóstbræðra saga*. 77r-89r. The beginning is lost in the lacuna between 76v and 77r. 77r-80r is written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand and the rest is completed by four other hands. Hand 9 is the primary scribe from 80r, line 26 to the end of the saga. Hand 10 supplies 81r, lines 7-9. Hand 11 supplies 86r, lines 1-7, and Hand 12 supplies 86r, lines 7-13 and 87r. Helgason notes that Hand 12 continues to the top of 87v.<sup>45</sup>
- K. *Algorismus*. 90r-93r. Treatise on the function of arithmetic and Arabic numeration. Written in Hand 9.
- L. *Eiríks saga rauða*. 93r-101v. Most of it is in Hand 9, but Haukr's hand reappears near the end of the saga from 99r, line 14 to 100r, lines 1 and 2. Hand 13 supplies 100r, line 3 to 101r, after which Haukr finishes the saga.<sup>46</sup>
- M. *Skálda saga*. 101v-104v. The Norwegian saga of King Harald Fairhair. Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.

42. Karl G. Johansson, *Sudier i Codex Wormianus: skrifttradition och avskriftsverksamhet vid ett isländskt skriptorium under 1300-talet* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1997), p. 66.

43. Dictys Dares, *The Trojan War; the chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, ed. R.M. Frazer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966).

44. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnean Manuscripts*, p. IX.

45. *Ibid.*, p. X.

46. *Ibid.*, p. IX.

N. *Þáttur af Upplendiga konungum*. 104v-105v. A brief geneological þáttur on Óláfr Trételgja, a Swedish founder of the contemporary Norwegian Dynasty. Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.

O. *Ragnars sona þáttur*. 105v-107v. A brief account of Ragnar Loðbrók and his sons, founders of the Norwegian and Danish regnal lines. Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.

P. *Prognostica temporum*. 107v. An astrological tract falsely attributed to Bede. Written in Hand 14.

Q. At the bottom of 107v there also occurs a small text falsely attributed to Bede and an unidentified text on the apparent relationship between dreams and the lunar cycle. Written in Hand 14. The text here ends at the end of the gathering. Folio 101 remains as a single sheet and Helgason suggests the folio must have ended with a blank leaf.<sup>47</sup>

AM 675 4to

*Elucidarium*. 1r-16v. Text incomplete. The work is substantially abridged and would perhaps have been complete with one additional gathering of 8 leaves. It is unknown if additional material preceded or followed this text. Written in Hand 15.

Gatherings 1, 2, and 3 of AM 544 4to have been separated from the rest, and some of the sheets have been cut down the spine to form individual leaves (see above). All of them contain the philosophical and theological miscellany noted above. Gathering 3 begins with the end of an incomplete text, marking a lacuna, indicating the loss of at least one gathering. Ff. 15+21 of Gathering 3 are conjugate, and the last text contained in this gathering is the Hauskbók *Völuspá* that concludes on 21r, with 22v originally blank. The external margin is quite close to the page from 15r-18v, which may suggest that the gathering was recut to fit into Hauksbók.

Gatherings 4 and 5, ff. 22-29 and ff. 30-35, contain *Trójumanna saga*, which ends on 33v. The remaining blank pages of this particular gathering were filled out by two brief texts, the *Cisiojanus* and the description of stones. That *Trójumanna saga*, a translation of *De excidio Troiae* of Dares Phrygius, directly precedes *Breta sögur* is not surprising. This configuration, a Latin *De excidio Troiae* in close proximity to Geoffrey's *Historia*, appears often in the manuscripts.<sup>48</sup> The two were clearly meant to be associated with each other, but given that they are yet isolated in the groups of gatherings, the two texts still reflect, at least to some extent, separate redactional choices and need not be viewed as two parts of a single text. The *De excidio Troiae*, along with the Icelandic *Trójumanna saga*, are best understood to be satellite texts often closely associated with Geoffrey's *Historia*.<sup>49</sup>

47. Ibid.

48. Julia C. Crick, *The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages*, vol. IV (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1991), pp. 37-39.

49. For more on the relationship between *De excidio Troiae* and *Breta sögur*, see Stefanie Würth, "The Common Transmission of *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*," in *Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval / Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. 297-327.

*Breta sögur* spans the leaves of three gatherings: AM 544 4to, Gathering 6, ff. 36-43; Gathering 7, ff. 44-51; and Gathering 8, ff. 52-59. The two outermost leaves of Gathering 8 have been cut half way down the page.<sup>50</sup> The last leaf of Gathering 8, f. 59, which is also the last leaf of *Breta sögur*, has also been cut just below the termination of the text on 59r. The inscription of 1600 appears on 59v, which was originally a blank page.

The Icelandic sagas make up the remainder of AM 544 4to. They do not fall so neatly within distinct groups of gatherings, indicating the possibility that they were compiled altogether as a group. Gathering 9 contains the two philosophical dialogues. Gathering 10 contains *Hemings þáttr* and *Heiðreks saga*. As noted above, two missing gatherings disrupt the texts between Gatherings 9 and 10, and 10 and 11. *Fóstbræðra saga* spans Gatherings 11 and 12. The *Algorismus* fills Gathering 12 and terminates on the first page of Gathering 13 just before the beginning of *Eiríks saga rauða*. The ending of *Eiríks saga rauða* occurs on 101v of the first leaf of Gathering 14. *Þáttr af Upplendiga konungum*, *Ragnars sona þáttr*, *Prognostica temporum* fills the gathering.

The first documentary reference to the manuscript in the modern era occurs in the manuscript itself. On 59v, AM 544 4to, the reverse side of the page that concludes *Breta sögur*, we find the following: “Biarnni Einarsson a Hamre a þessa bók med rettu og hefur hann lied mier hana i bokaskiptum og skal hann fä hana aptur þad firsta eg kann heim med skilum.” [Bjarni Einarsson of Hamar owns this book rightly and he has lent it to me in an exchange of books and he is to have it duly back home as soon as I can].<sup>51</sup> It is not known if the book was ever returned to Bjarni. The next document referring to *Hauksbók* occurs in a correspondence conducted among the Bishop of Hólar Þorlákur Skúlason and Ole Worm from 1636 in which he mentions Lawman Haukr (*Hugo legum moderator*) and his history (*Hugonis historia*).<sup>52</sup> The history to which Þorlákur was referring was likely *Landnámabók*. Arngrímur Jónsson subsequently prepared a Latin adaptation of *Landnámabók* in 1637 in which he refers to Haukr in Latin as “Hauko sive Hako”.<sup>53</sup> In 1639, Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá, a landowner with literary talents, appears to have been the one who did the copy work for Þorlákur Skúlason and Ari Magnússon. At any rate, it appears he was the one who was in possession of the manuscript.<sup>54</sup> After 1652 the first section of the manuscript AM 371 4to, was given to Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson of Skálholt on loan, and the rest was given to him. The bishop employed his copyist Jón Erlensson to copy the first section. Helgason concludes that the bishop at this point considered AM 544 4to as his own property in that he sent it to Einarssnes where much of this section was touched up by Lawman Sigurður Jónsson and his secretary Sigurður Björnsson.<sup>55</sup> The details by which Árni Magnússon obtained AM 544 4to are obscure,<sup>56</sup> but the remainder of the *Hauksbók* appears to have been given to him by Bishop Brynjólfur’s heirs after his death sometime after 1702.<sup>57</sup> Helgason points out that *Skálda saga*, *Heiðreks*

50. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnean Manuscripts*, p. VIII.

51. The transcription and translation is from *ibid.*, p. XXVI.

52. *Bibliotheca Arnarnagæana*, vol. VII (Hafnia: C.A. Reitzels forlag, 1948), pp. 293-4, 296-7.

53. *Bibliotheca Arnarnagæana*, vol. XII (Hafnia: C.A. Reitzels forlag, 1951), pp. 420.

54. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnean Manuscripts*, p. XXVII.

55. *Katalog over den Arnarnagæanske håndskriftsamling*, vol. I (Köbenhavn.: Udg. af kommissionen for det Arnarnagæanske Legat, 1889), p. 686.

56. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnean Manuscripts*, p. XXVIII.

57. Jóns Haldórsson, *Biskupasögur* (Rekjavík: Prentsmiðjan Gutenberg, 1903-10), p. 300.

*saga*, and *Hemings þáttr* were in Norway and copied for publication.<sup>58</sup>

When AM 371 4to was returned to the West Fjords, it fell out of the hands of the scholarly community and its location at this point is unknown.<sup>59</sup> Sometime on or just before 1702, Ólafur Jónsson a student of Árni Magnússon, sent Árni fourteen surviving leaves of AM 371 4to, informing him that the leaves were obtained by his father from a farmer in his parish who had used the leaves to bind books. Árni procured the seven remaining leaves from various sources.<sup>61</sup> There is no historical record of the movements of AM 675 4to, or whether or not it was compiled independently by Árni Magnússon, or if it tended to accompany AM 544 4to as it was circulated. The fact that the initial inscription of 1600 was written on the back of the last leaf of AM 544 4to seem to indicate that the *Elucidarium* circulated independently; the outer wear of the last few pages of *Breta sögur* seems to confirm this. There is no information during or before Árni Magnússon's time regarding the Icelandic *Elucidarium*. The present state of the manuscript is essentially the same as when it was catalogued after Árni Magnússon's death. Finnur and Eiríkur Jónsson prepared a complete edition of the manuscript in 1898, with standardized orthography and corrections to the text. A facsimile edition of the surviving leaves was published in 1960 by Jón Helgason.

Hauksbók's extant leaves are approximately 24.3 cm x 15.8 cm.<sup>62</sup> The parchment is of average quality and nearly all the leaves contain holes of varying sizes frequently disrupting the text. Many of the leaves, particularly the leaves near the beginning of AM 544 4to, are darkened and appear to have suffered some sort of smoke damage. The text is written in a single column, and the script is the familiar, Insular-derived Icelandic script observed in saga manuscripts of the thirteenth century. There is virtually no punctuation in the copy apart from the occasional point at the end of very few sentences, which may in fact simply indicate pauses in scribal stints.

## 1.4 *Breta sögur*

The Hauksbók *Breta sögur* is a complete but synoptic translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*. The entire text of Geoffrey, from the landing of Brutus in Britain to the reign of Cadualadrus, is represented. The *Breta sögur* also contains an epitome of the matter of Aeneas ultimately derived from Vergil's *Aeneid*, none of which appears in Geoffrey's *Historia*.<sup>63</sup> This material is substantially abridged from the source, and includes numerous references to other classical sources and allusions from courtly romances.<sup>64</sup> The Vergilian primarily gives an account of Aeneas's dealings with Dido, much of which is derived from Ovid's *Heroides*, Aeneas's war with Turnus, followed by Aeneas's victory. The Trojan

58. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnæan Manuscripts*, p. XXVIII.

59. Det Arnamagnæanske Institut, *Arne Magnússons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser: med to tillæg* (København: Gyldendal, 1909), pp. 38-39.

60. *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling*, vol. I (København.: Udg. af kommissionen for det Arnamagnænske Legat, 1889), p. 590.

61. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnæan Manuscripts*, p. XXVII.

62. "AM 544 4to," <http://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/AM04-0544>.

63. For a thorough study of the relationship between the various versions of the Vergilian introduction, see Hélène Tétrel, "Trojan Origins and the Use of the *Aeneid* and Related Sources in the Old Icelandic *Brut*," *Journal of English and German Philology* 109 (2010): pp. 490-514.

64. In particular, see this edition of *Breta sögur*, note 27, p. 9.

heritage is traced from Aeneas to Brutus, after which the saga writer's treatment of Geoffrey of Monmouth immediately follows.

That the two other known manuscripts contain this Vergilian epitome is in itself evidence that all three versions likely share a common redactorial heritage. The other principal witness to *Breta sögur* is AM 573 4to. This manuscript contains *Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögur*, and the beginning of *Valvens þáttr*.<sup>65</sup> The text of AM 573 4to is longer and contains a more detailed rendering of Geoffrey's *Historia* from Brutus to the Arthurian material. However, the text is faulty in that it is disrupted with lacunae. The text of AM 573 4to appears to have been influenced by courtly romance.<sup>66</sup> In AM 764 4to, the Vergilian introduction is drastically abbreviated, and only traces Geoffrey's history up to Casibellanus.<sup>67</sup>

The Hauksbók copy of *Breta sögur* is divided into distinct chapters, with titles that bear no close correlation with the Latin source. The chapter titles were written in red ink, but much of the coloration of the original has faded, scuffed, or flaked off. The beginnings of chapters are also marked by large initials of varying size, which display black, red, and occasionally blue ink. The larger initials are occasionally decorated. The text is abbreviated, though not significantly. As expected, *r* and *f* are used liberally. The insular *ƿ* is used throughout. Tironian *ꝛ* is the dominate correlative, though *ok* appears occasionally as well. Haukr also used many commonplace abbreviations such as, *é* for *er*, *ƿ* for *þra*, *ƿ* for *þoru*, *h* for *hann*, *m*; for *mæð*, *t* for *til*, *þ* for *þa*, *ū* for *um*, and so on, as well as abbreviations particularly relevant to the text such as, *brut<sup>o</sup>* for *brutus*, and *t<sup>o</sup> m* for *troio manna*. Haukr's handwriting is clear, and on a whole quite easy to read where the fortunes of the manuscript have not obscured it. His language is standard Old Icelandic common to the language of Icelandic saga and laws, and it shows no noticeable influence from Norwegian or West Germanic dialects, nor is there any apparent continental influence in the orthography. In Finnur Jónsson's words, "Hauks retskrivning er, til trods for at det modsatte tidligere er blevet hævdet, på det nærmeste rent islandsk og svarer til den sædvandlige islandske fra tiden ved og efter år 1300."<sup>68</sup>

Hauksbók has been subject to significant damage, not least of all in the modern era. The manuscript has been stored, likely for a long time, in very humid, possibly wet, conditions. This is particularly apparent with the pages in which the text appears warped or shrunken, which may have occurred after periods of contact with water, followed by drying. Some leaves show signs of partial decomposition, particularly the leaves that have been separated from the rest of the manuscript, or otherwise exposed. On a few leaves, the ink appears to have been completely worn away. The book also shows signs of heavy usage. Certain pages appear to have been darkened by smoke. Much of the ink appears to have been flaked off, or worn by repeated manual contact. The colored inks in particular have suffered from heavy wear. The leaves have also suffered from the application of various reagents applied at some degree to nearly every page of *Breta*

65. Jonna Louis-Jensen, ed., *Trójumanna saga* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), pp. XXXI-XXXIII.

66. Marianne Kalinke, "The Arthurian Legend in *Breta sögur* Historiography on the Cusp of Romance," in *Greppaminni. Rit til heiðurs Vésteini Ólasyni sjötugum* (Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 2009), pp. 245-258.

67. Svanhildur Óskardóttir, "Universal History in Fourteenth-century Iceland, Studies in AM 764 4to" (PhD diss., University College London, 2000).

68. Jónsson and Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, p. XXXVI.

*sggur* when the manuscript was used and transcribed in 1839 by Jón Sigurðsson.<sup>69</sup> The reagent has all but destroyed some passages, particularly in places that have already been worn or suffered water damage. Many reagent applications have been undocumented and likely occurred repeatedly throughout the nineteenth century.

Another kind of intervention, though one that may have been successful in preserving some of the text, occurred with the retouching of Haukr's hand. This work was done in the seventeenth century when the book was in the hands of Lawman Sigurður Jónsson and his secretary Sigurður Björnson.<sup>70</sup> Árni Mangússon makes note of this tendency on the part of both men.<sup>71</sup> Whoever is responsible for most of the retouching has done Haukr's script a disservice. Much of the writing was done with a blunt, poorly sharpened pen that obscures much of what lies beneath. Nevertheless, a surprising amount of the original information can still be seen peeking from behind the modern lettering. In some pages, more than one hand is visible, and may indicate later periods of undocumented freshening up.

## 1.5 The Edition

The following text offers a diplomatic edition accompanied by a facing page translation in English. Each page is a typeset rendering of a page from the manuscript, reconstructing wherever possible the text originally written by Haukr. The line breaks from the manuscript are preserved. Given the damage of the text on a few pages, the precise location for the breaks are occasionally estimated. The orthography of the original text is generally preserved, however abbreviated word forms are expanded in italics. For instance, þ̅ is expanded to þeir, h̅ is written *hann*, l̅ð is written *land*, and so on. Haukr's use of tironian ꝛ is maintained, as is the use of ʀ and ʃ as they appear in the text. All other letters are standardized to modern Latin type. Chapter titles in the *Breta sggur* were written in red ink, and the chapter titles appear in red in this edition as well. The relative size and position of large capitals are also represented. Any irregularities to the text, obscurities, damage, or differences in Jónsson's edition are mentioned in notes.

Every fifth line is numerated, both in the edition and the text of the translation. The foliation is also indicated in large bold type, at the top of the page. The texts in the editions of *Historia regum Britannie*, including the editions of the so-called First Variant Version and the single manuscript edition, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568, as edited and translated by Michael Reeve and Neil Wright, have been divided into two hundred eight numbered sections.<sup>727374</sup> In the apparatus, the Vulgate text of the *Historia regum Britannie* is abbreviated HRB, and the Vulgate Version is abbreviated VV. These sectional numbers are indicated here along the left side of the translation in brackets.

Where the text is completely obliterated in the facsimile, I refer to Jónsson's edition. In these passages I take the

69. An overview of the reagents used to read the manuscript appears in *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* (Kjøbenhavn: J.D. Qvist, 1846–48), p. 107.

70. Helgason, *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnaean Manuscripts*, p. XXIV.

71. Jónsson and Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, p. XIV.

72. Reeve, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*.

73. Neil Wright, ed., *Historie regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568*, vol. I (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The, 1984).

74. Neil Wright, ed., *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, vol. II (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1988).

liberty to include  $\mathfrak{z}$  or  $\mathfrak{f}$  where I expect Haukr to have used them, such as in the words, *bʀutus* or *flíkr*.

This translation attempts to capture the quality and appearance of the original Icelandic text, and I make no effort to correct Haukr or improve the quality of his rendering. In the Hauksbók version of the *Breta sögur* the verb tense regularly moves to and from the past and the present, occasionally in the same sentence. I make no attempt to normalize and, to the best of my ability, I maintain the verb tenses as they appear in the manuscript. The prose is often rushed, functional, and does not appear to aspire to fine art. Nevertheless, I tried to capture the experience of what it would have been like to read the Old Icelandic translation of a seminal European text. Despite its imperfections, the spirit of Geoffrey of Monmouth would have been present to a fourteenth century reader.

Proper nouns in the English translation are generally normalized to match Wright and Reeve's edition and translation of the *Historia regum Britannie*. If a cognate name does not appear in the *Historia*, the original form is preserved. A few proper nouns appear to have been naturalized in an Icelandic form, such as Heinrek, Þór, Godmund, and Sighjalnr, and these forms have generally been preserved. Since the Anglo-Saxon names tend to appear in a Germanic form in *Breta sögur*, I have used the Old English form. For instance, the Anglo-Saxon king Æðelbert appears in *Breta sögur* as aðalbʀigt, showing no sign of the Latinized form. In this case, I use a common spelling of the Old English name in my translation. When a form is already common in modern usage, such as Gawain, that form is used. The text of *Breta sögur* contains many idiomatic linguistic forms, such as the use of *hoffingi*. For a word such as this I attempt to preserve the Norse overtones of the word by translating it to "chieftain."

This edition is typeset and formatted in X<sub>ƒ</sub>TeX, a variant of the TeX engine commonly used in mathematics and in the sciences to professionally format and typeset mathematical structures. X<sub>ƒ</sub>TeX allows the TeX engine access to Unicode fonts, giving the user the ability to generate a high-quality document ready for professional purposes.

This document was compiled using X<sub>ƒ</sub>TeX, Version 3.1415926 with the TeXworks editor for Arch Linux, Versionb 0.4.5 r.1280. The font is Junicode, Version 0.7.8-1.



## Chapter 2

# *Breta sögur* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie*

### 2.1 Introduction

The Old Icelandic translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*, known as the *Breta sögur*, are extant in two primary manuscripts, the Hauksbók manuscript AM 544 4to, and the lacunose version catalogued as AM 573 4to, both in the The Arnarnagnæan Collection at Københavns Universitet. The latter distinguishes itself from the Hauksbók version in that it is longer and less synoptic than Haukr's rendering, even with its lacunae, but also appears to display a more courtly style that departs in some respects from the model of standard Galfridian historical prose. Another substantially compressed and faulty version of *Breta sögur* in AM 764 4to, contains a brief but notably incomplete rendering of Geoffrey's *Historia*. None of these renderings is entirely independent of all the others, but their precise interrelationships need to be established. Each of these versions of the Icelandic *Brut* contains introductory material that enumerates material derived from the *Aeneid* preceding the beginning of the material rendered from Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britannie*.

Scholars currently identify two main categories of texts among the witnesses to the *Historia regum Britannie*, the so-called Vulgate Version,<sup>1</sup> and the First Variant Version.<sup>2</sup> According to Neil Wright's study, the Variant Version is a redaction that was not produced by Geoffrey himself, but by an unknown contemporary soon after the dissemination of the Vulgate text, at a point between 1138, the year that saw the publication of *Historia regum Britannie*, and 1150.<sup>3</sup> The use of the First Variant Version by Wace for his *Roman de Brut*, c. 1155, is a decisive dating criterion.<sup>4</sup> The Variant

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1. Reeve, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*.

2. Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*.

3. *Ibid.*, p. lxx.

4. Judith Weiss, ed., *Wace's Roman De Brut: A History of the British* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002).

Version is a reworking of Geoffrey's text that removes the dedicatory materials and first person references while adding many details, including from some various historical sources, and removing others, giving the work a more ecclesiastical world-view that modified the text to bring it into alignment with the reviser's historical outlook.<sup>5</sup> The most obvious defining characteristic is the Variant Version's exclusion of the dedications to various figures such as Robert of Gloucester, Waleran of Meulan, and King Stephen at the introduction, and a dedication to Alexander bishop of Lincoln.<sup>6</sup> Although the Icelandic text in the main follows the Vulgate Version, several editorial changes that occur in the Variant Version, that are relevant to *Breta sögur*, are catalogued below.<sup>7</sup>

The relationship between *Breta sögur* and Geoffrey's *Historia* has hitherto been largely unstudied. hundred seventeen extant manuscripts of the *Historia regum Britannie*, eight of them witness a redaction, the so-called First Variant Version, containing various alterations and exclusions, which distinguish it from the rest of the texts in the corpus. This study confirms that the ultimate source for the Galfridian material in the Hauksbók *Breta sögur* was not a manuscript preserving the First Variant Version; the translation follows some representative of the Vulgate text.<sup>8</sup> Although the Icelandic text in the main follows the Vulgate Version, several editorial changes that occur in the Variant Version, that are relevant to *Breta sögur*, are catalogued below.<sup>9</sup>

All versions of the Icelandic *Breta sögur* begin with a brief synopsis of the *Aeneid* from Aeneas's flight from Troy, including the romance between him and Dido, and the war against Turnus, to his death. The ultimate source for this synopsis of the *Aeneid* is unknown. None of this material appears in any known Latin *Historia*, nor has an independent synopsis of Vergil been identified as the sole source for the *Breta sögur's* introduction. Hélène Tétrel, in her study on the Vergilian introductory material, found that there is a close relationship between the introduction in Hauksbók and the cognate material found in AM 573 4to.<sup>10</sup> Both versions use a common source for each text, a pattern that indicates a probability that the Vergilian introduction was part of an earlier Icelandic *Brut*. Whatever the case, the relationship between Hauksbók and AM 573 4to is particularly complex considering each scribe made his own additions and editorial changes, each having been influenced by his own knowledge of the grammatical and historical materials available to them.

The confirmation that Hauksbók *Breta sögur* bears a closer relationship to the Vulgate Version of the *Historia* than the Variant Version is established below through a comparison of passages from the Galfridian texts with parallel passages in the saga. The saga is first compared to a list of passages from the Vulgate Version that are omitted by the Variant Version, and then with a list of passages from the Variant Version that do not occur in the Vulgate Version. The texts, viewed as the basis of this study are the Vulgate text of the *Historia regum Britannie* as edited by Michael D. Reeve and

5. Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, p. lxxi.

6. The names in some dedications do not appear consistently in all the manuscripts. See Reeve, 2007, ix.

7. For a more detailed analysis of the differences between the Vulgate Version and the First Variant Version, see Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, pp. xvii-liv.

8. The relationship between the *Breta sögur* of AM 573 4to, AM 764 4to, and the Galfridian sources is beyond the scope of this initial study.

9. For a more detailed analysis of the differences between the Vulgate Version and the First Variant Version, see Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, pp. xvii-liv.

10. Tétrel, "Trojan Origins and the Use of the *Aeneid* and Related Sources in the Old Icelandic *Brut*," pp. 490-514.

translated by Neil Wright, and the edition of the First Variant Version edited by Neil Wright.

## 2.2 Material Shared by the Vulgate Version and *Breta sögur*

The following is a list of passages containing material in the Vulgate *Historia* not found in the Variant Version but rendered in passages of the Hauksbók *Breta sögur*.

Wright catalogs nine chapters from the Vulgate Version which are wholly omitted in the Variant Version: [1], [2], [3], [4], [109], [110], [160], [185], and [187].<sup>11</sup> The first four sections contain introductory material from the prologue that includes Geoffrey's comments on the treatments of British kings in the works of Gildas and Bede, as well as an unnamed book reportedly given to him by Walter, archdeacon of London, followed by diverse arrangements of various dedications, depending on individual manuscripts. Many manuscripts contain a dedication to Robert of Gloucester; others contain a dedication to both Robert and Waleran of Meulan; one manuscript contains a dedication to both Robert and King Stephen; and others do not contain any dedication whatever. Another dedication to Alexander bishop of Lincoln precedes the *Prophetie Merlini*, in sections, [109], and [110]. In the Hauksbók *Breta sögur*, [1], [2], [3], and [4] have been essentially replaced by the Vergilian introduction mentioned above. However, Hauksbók *Breta sögur* rehearses some of the dedicatory material in passing at the close of the saga, where the saga writer gathers many of the names from both dedications. "Avll þerfi tíðindi er nú hafa fagð verið frá bætlandz bygð 7 þeira konunga við fkiptvm er þar varv yfir erv ritvð eftir bok er hiftozia batorvm heitir 7 er hon ger af fyri fogn alexandrf lvndvna byskvpf 7 valltara erki diakn or axna fvrðv 7 gilla enf froða"<sup>12</sup> It is notable that the saga writer included Walter and Gildas as recipients to the dedication despite the fact they were cited as sources by Geoffrey in his *Historia*. It is also notable that the actual dedicatees, Robert and Waleran, have been omitted. Although there appears to be enough material to establish a relationship between the dedicatory material and the Vulgate Version, the text is too corrupt to discern a relationship with any of the diverse forms of the dedications observed among the Vulgate Version manuscripts.

Section [10]; Brutus posts a garrison of six hundred knights in Sparatinum and retreats with the rest of his men into the forest. Pandrasus surrounds the walls and besieges the castle. The Vulgate Version contains additional details of the siege, but the episode is substantially abbreviated in the saga and contains no corresponding details.

Section [15]; After Brutus captures King Pandrasus, the king is compelled to cede to the Trojans' demands. He grants them provisions and offers Brutus the hand of his daughter Innogen. In the Vulgate Version Innogen falls into Brutus's arms and laments her departure, and Brutus affectionately consoles her. "Quam Brutus blandiciis mitigans nunc dulces amplexus, nunc dulcia basia innectit, nec coeptis suis desistit donec fletu fatigata sopori

11. Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, p. xix.

12. *Breta sögur*, f. 59r, ll. 9-12.

summittitur.”<sup>13</sup><sup>14</sup> A corresponding passage appears in *Breta sögur*, “innogen fell fva ner brotferðin at hon vissi nalega ecki til manna 7 hvgaði (Brvtvs) hana.”<sup>15</sup>

Section [22]; Brutus builds London. The Vulgate Version includes a passage from Gildas’s account of Lud changing the name of the city from Trinovantum to Kaerlud. This passage is expressed in *Breta sögur* by a passing mention of Kaerlud. “hon var lengi kallað Enouantum eftir þat carelvð en nv heitir hon lvndvna borg.”<sup>16</sup> The reference to Kaerlud does not appear in the Variant Version.

Section [30]; The reign of King Bladud. The Vulgate Version includes an historical alignment with Elijah’s prayer to stop the rain. This is paralleled in the saga, “þa var eliaf þpamaðr a gyðinga landi 7 bað hann þerf gvð at eigi skyldi regna 7 veitti gvð hanvm þat at eigi regnði vm halft .ííj. ár.”<sup>17</sup>

Section [34]; Dunuallo Molutius acquires Britain and establishes the Molmutine Laws. The Vulgate Version contains a reference to Gildas, however a corresponding passage does not appear in *Breta sögur*.

Section [37]; Brennius lands in Scotland and battles Belinus to recover the kingdom of Northumbria. The Vulgate Version includes details of the battle, including, “Multum diei in bellando consumpserunt, quia in utraque parte probissimi uiri dextras commiscebant.”<sup>18</sup> The detail of the duration of the battle is preserved in the saga; “tekz þar harðr bazdagi 7 bozðvz þeir allan dag en at kveldi flyðv nozðmenn til fkipa ...”<sup>19</sup>

Section [49]; The reign of King Gorbonianus. The Vulgate Version contains a description of his beneficence, including his maintenance of heathen temples, his pagan piety, and the abundance of wealth in the kingdom. The composer of the Variant Version removes all mention of his pagan qualities and only mentions that he was popular and just. *Breta sögur* preserves the fact that Gorbanianus was a great pagan in the passage, “hann var blotmaðr mikill þa var fva mikit ar i bzetlandi at engi mvnði annað flikt.”<sup>20</sup>

Section [52]; Chapter detailing a regnal succession of minor rulers. The Vulgate Version records Regin as Elidurus’s successor along with a brief description of his wise character. The Variant Version does not name him, but mentions him as Gorbianus’s son. The saga excludes Regin entirely, beginning the list with his successor Marganus.

Section [62]; Caesar enters Britain and battles Cassibellaunus with the aid of the Duke of London, Androgeus. After depleting his provisions, Cassibellaunus requests that Androgeus should broker a reconciliation with Caesar. The Vulgate Version contains a reference to Lucan’s praise of the Britons’ valor in fighting against Caesar, and details of

13. The Vulgate Version of the *Historia* will henceforth be abbreviated HRB, and the First Variant Version will be abbreviated VV.

14. HRB, [15], p. 19.

15. *Breta sögur*, f. 39r, ll. 13-14.

16. *Breta sögur*, f. 40r, ll. 12-13.

17. *Breta sögur*, f. 41r, ll. 11-13.

18. HRB, [37], p. 51.

19. *Breta sögur*, f. 43v, ll. 8-9.

20. *Breta sögur*, f. 44v, l. 22.

the Roman siege of a hill held by Cassibellaunus. A passage detailing Caesar's plan to starve the Britons deliberately, absent from the Variant Version, "Affectabat namque regem fame cogere, quem armis nequieverat."<sup>21</sup> finds a corresponding passage in *Breta sögur*, "ivlius 7 and2ogevs fettvz vm fiallit 7 ætlvðv at fitia þeim þar mat."<sup>22</sup>

Section [69]; The reign of Arviragus. The Vulgate Version contains a passage not present in the Variant Version describing the spread of Arviragus's fame, "Fama igitur per totam Europam diulgata, diligebant eum Romani et timebat ita ut prae omnibus regibus sermo de eo apud Roman fieret."<sup>23</sup> Mention of the king's popularity is preserved in *Breta sögur*, "Arviragus gerðiz þa friðfamn 7 vinfæll i finv riki 7 varð ellidavðz."<sup>24</sup>

Section [70]; King Marius and the war against the Pictish King Rodric. The Vulgate Version includes a passage not present in the Variant Version in which Geoffrey remarks his wish not to write too much about the Picts or Scots. There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sögur*.

Section [71]; The reign of King Coilus. The Vulgate Version describes elements of his congenial personality not present in the Variant Version. The description of Coilus is substantially abbreviated and contains no corresponding passage in the *Breta sögur*.

Section [77]; The reign of Asclepiodotus and an account of martyrs under Diocletian. Whereas Saint Alban is mentioned only in passing in the Variant Version, the Vulgate contains an account of Abans flight and exchange of clothes with Amphibalus.<sup>25</sup> The passage is preserved in *Breta sögur*, "albanvs tok þann mann i fitt valld er amprolabvs het 7 þa er alarar villdv taka hann þa skifti albanvs klæðvm við hann 7 geck fiþan glaðz til pißla fyri gvðz fakir."<sup>26</sup>

Section [79]; Roman refugees rush to Constantine and plead for him to free them from the tyranny of Maxentius. The Vulgate Version contains a speech containing some of the Romans' pleas, but this does not appear in the *Breta sögur*.

Sections [81, 82, 83]; Mauricus, as an envoy for his father Caradocus, offers Maximianus the British crown. The Vulgate Version contains a description of Mauricus's character as well as a direct speech to Maximianus. a description of Maximianus's arrival in Britain and his reception. The saga omits nearly the entirety of the Maximianus's arrival in Britain.

Section [85]; Maximianus captures Rennes and maneuvers to conquer France. The Vulgate Version contains much more detail regarding this engagement. The *Breta sögur* excludes all details of the capture of Brittany.

21. *HRB*, [62], p. 79.

22. *Breta sögur*, f. 46r, l. 9.

23. *HRB*, [69], p. 87.

24. *Breta sögur*, f. 46v, l. 15.

25. *HRB*, [77], p. 95.

26. *Breta sögur*, f. 47r, ll. 26-8.

Section [90]; Archbishop Guithelinus speaks to the Britons in London, telling them to learn to be self-reliant in their own defense. The saga is substantially abbreviated and contains no corresponding passages.

Section [91]; The retreat of Roman forces from Britain. The Vulgate Version contains an account of British skirmishes with invading Picts, Scots, and Norsemen. *Breta sögur* only refers to the incursions of Vikings and robbers at this time. “Eftir þetta la bætland lengi fíþan vndir hernaði vikinga 7 ranf manna.”<sup>27</sup>

Section [92]; Guithelinus sails to Armorica to ask King Aldroenus for help in recovering and defending Britain. The Vulgate Version contains long speeches by both kings. The saga is substantially abbreviated and contains no corresponding passages.

Section [101]; Vortigern marries Hengest’s daughter Ranwein; fleets of Saxon ships arrive on the coast. This section in the Variant Version begins with a brief account of the arrival of Saint Germanus and many miracles reported by Gildas. The account occurs in both the Vulgate and the Variant Versions, however the episode in the Variant Version is placed after Hengest asserts his familial influence on Vortigern and the large influx of Saxons into Britain.<sup>28</sup> *Breta sögur* places this episode in the same position as the Vulgate, “I þenna tíma kom germanus byskup 7 lypus byskup til bætlandz at boða trv því at þar var þa nalega alheiðit 7 ger ðv margar iartegnir.”<sup>29</sup>

Section [104] Hengist and the Saxons slaughter British nobles with hidden daggers. The Vulgate Version contains a passage in which the slain are given Christian burials. This section is substantially abbreviated in the *Breta sögur*, which does not contain a corresponding passage.

Section [119]; Ambrosius arrives in Britain. This section contains a long speech by Ambrosius, omitted in the Variant Version. The saga is substantially abbreviated and does not contain a corresponding passage.

Section [120]; Aurelius lands in Britain after which the Saxons retreat north of the Humber. The Variant Version is substantially shorter, and does not include a description that occurs in the Vulgate Version describing Aurelius’s valor in battle, piety, and kindness. These qualities appear in passing in *Breta sögur*, “þa ottaðiz hann avrelivm þvíat hann var mikill atgjozfi maðr.”<sup>30</sup>

Section [132]; Eopa promises Pascentius that he will assassinate Ambrosius. The Vulgate Version contains direct speech of their exchange. The direct speech is preserved in the saga in Pascentius’s reply to Eopa, “ek gef þer þvfvnd pvnda filfr 7 ef ek verð konungr íkalltv vera hvndraðf hofðingi.”<sup>31</sup>

27. *Breta sögur*, f. 48r, l. 2.

28. *HRB*, [101], p. 131; *VV*, [102], pp. 94-95.

29. *Breta sögur*, f. 48v, ll. 2-3.

30. *Breta sögur*, f. 53r, ll. 11-12.

31. *Breta sögur*, f. 53v, ll. 10-11.

Section [140]; Uther rises from this sickbed and orders a litter to be constructed for him so that he may lead his nobles in battle. The Variant Version is reduced to a single sentence that describes how Uther was carried on a litter before his nobles. *Breta sögur* likewise mentions no more than the fact that Uther was carried on a litter. The Vulgate Version elaborates more on the king's frustration with his nobles.

Section [141]; Uther expels the Saxons from Britain after besieging them at St. Albans. The Vulgate Version contains a brief pronouncement of victory by Uther. The speech is preserved in *Breta sögur*, “*konvngv varð glaðr við figr fin ȝ mællti helldr villda ek fivkr vega slikan figr en flyia heill.*”<sup>32</sup>

Section [146]; Arthur skirmishes with the Saxons. In the Vulgate Arthur rallies his troops with a speech. In the Variant Version, the speech is reduced to the closing remark, “*Quo cum peruenisset, armare militem iussit.*”<sup>33</sup> *Breta sögur*, although does not include any direct material from the speech, references it, “*þa taka vr konvngv fyrri herinvm ȝ eggjar þa til framgongv.*”<sup>34</sup>

Section [147]; Arthur arms himself and engages the Saxons. This section in the Vulgate Version begins with a rallying speech by Dubricius, which is omitted in the saga.

Section [156]; Arthur summons men of high station to Carleon. The Vulgate and the Variant Version differ in the catalogue of those in attendance, but the saga does not elaborate.

Section [157]; Description of the banquet. Additional details are included in the Vulgate, but *Breta sögur* omits all details.

Section [160]; Hoel's speech praising King Arthur's plan to engage Rome. This speech, which makes up the entirety of Section [160],<sup>35</sup> has been completely omitted in the Variant Version. The speech is preserved in a rather loose rendering in *Breta sögur*; “*Ða mællti hoel konvngf fyftvr fvn yðr biðiv ver fozmenn vera þerfar ferðar en ver vilivm allir fylgia yðr at forkia romania þviat fva hafá varir sþamenn fyrri fagt at .íj. bretzkir menn skyldv eignaz roma riki nv hafá .íj. eignaz en þv ert en þriði takið nv figrin er sialfr gengr heim at yðr man ek annað hvart falla i þerfi ferð eða fa figr skál ek fa yðr .x. þvfvndir valkra manna til þerfar ferðar.*”<sup>36</sup>

Section [166]; Gawain, Boso, and Gerinus attack the Roman camp. The Vulgate Version contains a detail of Gawain slaying Quintilius, by cleaving his sword through his head and into his torso. This detail is lost in *Breta sögur*, in which Gawain simply decapitates the Roman.

32. *Breta sögur*, f. 54r, ll. 17-18.

33. *VV*, [146], p. 141.

34. *Breta sögur*, f. 54v, ll. 10-11.

35. *HRB*, [160], 219.

36. *Breta sögur*, f. 55v, ll. 7-11.

Section [170]; Lucius's speech before his nobles. Following the speech in the Vulgate Version is an account of the disposition of his troops and a catalog of commanders. One detail which is omitted by the Variant Version, "Porro et illi .xii. cuneata agmina atque omnia pedestria fecerunt, quae Romano more ad modum cunei ordinata sex milia militum cum sexcentis .lxvi. singula omnia continebant."<sup>37</sup> finds a corresponding passage in *Breta sögur*, "En fva mikin her hofþv rvmverir at i hverri þeira fylking var .vi. þvfvndzað manna 7 .vi. hvndzvð 7 .vi. menn."<sup>38</sup>

Section [171]; The battle of Siesia in which Beduerus and Kaius in which both of them are morally wounded. The Vulgate Version contains additional descriptions of numerous figures who are present in the battle before the story of Beduerus's death begins, which describes the battle between Beduerus and Boccus, king of the Medes. "Nam dum Beduerus Bocco regi medorum obuiaret, lancea eiusdem confossus inter hostiles cateruas peremptus corruit."<sup>39</sup> Keius's then fails in his attempt for revenge and immediately returns to Arthur's standard. The Variant Version abbreviates the episode more succinctly and only mentions Boccus in the last sentence of the section. Although likewise abbreviated, Boccus and Kei's revenge matches the pattern found in the Vulgate. "vrðv þav tiðindi þar fyrft at bocko meðia konvngr reið moti boðvero 7 lagði þpioti i gegnim hann en fira kei villdi hefna hanf 7 var færðor bana."<sup>40</sup> The saga also captures more of the literary style of the Vulgate Version in this episode.

Section [173]; Gawain and Hoel attack Lucius. The Vulgate Version begins with a brief catalogue of the British slain. There is no corresponding passage in the Variant Version or *Breta sögur*.

Section [174]; Gawain attacks Lucius himself, and Arthur rallies his troops. The Vulgate Version contains a few details of the battle not found in the Variant Version, among which are the names of two kings beheaded by Arthur. *Duos reges, Sertorium Libiae Bithiniaeque Politetem, infortunium ei obuios fecit, quos abscisis capitibus ad Tartara direxit.*<sup>41</sup> The corresponding passage in *Breta sögur*: "hann felldi .ij. rvmveria hofþingia fertorius libia konvng 7 polite konvng af bithinia."<sup>42</sup> There is a corresponding passage in the Variant Version, however, the kings are not named, "Hic duos orientales reges obuios sibi infortunium dedit quos abscisis capitibus ad tartara misit."<sup>43</sup>

Section [176]; Aftermath of the battle of Siesia. A brief remark on the moral quality of the Britains. There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sögur*.

Section [177]; Arthur hears of the news of Modred's grab for power in Britain. In the Vulgate Version, Geoffrey refers to himself in the first person. *Breta sögur* does not contain a corresponding passage.

37. *HRB*, [170], pp. 239-241.

38. *Breta sögur*, f. 56r, ll. 38-39.

39. *HRB*, [171], p. 240.

40. *Breta sögur*, f. 56r, ll. 31-35.

41. *HRB*, [174], p. 247.

42. *Breta sögur*, f. 56v, l. 6.

43. *VV*, [174], p. 170.



Section [178]; Arthur skirmishes with Modred. The Vulgate Version includes dispositions of the troops, each side numbering six thousand six hundred sixty six. Arthur then encourages his troops, “His ita distributis, quemque eorum inanimabat, promittens ceterorum possessiones eis si ad triumphandum perstarent.”<sup>44</sup> The saga writer preserves both of these elements. “hann hafði þa eigi minna lið en .lx. þvfvndzaða þo hafði konvngur meira lið 7 egiaði hann faft fina menn...”<sup>45</sup>

Section [185]; A critique on the moral quality of the Britons. The entire chapter bemoans the inferior moral character of the British race. The chapter is excluded from both the Variant Version and *Breta sögur*.

Section [186]; The Africans lay waste to most of Britain, the British archbishops retreat to the forests of Wales and sail to Brittany. The section ends with Geoffrey’s intention to translate their account at a later time. Neither the Variant Version nor *Breta sögur* contain corresponding passages.

Section [187]; The end of British rule. A brief description the end of British rule in Britain. The British retreat to Wales and Brittany, and Saxon rule begins. “Amiserunt deinde Britones regni diadema multis temporibus et insulae monarchiam nec pristinam dignitatem recuperare nitebantur; immo partem illam patriae quae eis adhuc remanserat non uni regi sed tribus tyrannis subditam ciuilibus proeliis saepissime uastabant. Sed nec Saxones diadema insulae adhuc adepti sunt, qui tribus etiam regibus subditi quandoque sibi ipsi quandoque Britonibus inquietationem inferebant.”<sup>46</sup> The entire chapter is omitted in the Variant Version but a corresponding passage occurs in *Breta sögur*, “Geck fíþan bætland o2 bæta konvnga ætt til fozraða baro faxar þar þo eigi konvngf nafn 7 fkipti þa landit nafni 7 var fíþan kallat england.”<sup>47</sup>

Section [190]; Caduan becomes king of Britain and cedes territory to Æðelfrið. The Vulgate Version contains a brief description of Æðelfrið’s repudiation and banishment of his pregnant wife, and his taking of another woman as his queen. A corresponding passage appears in *Breta sögur*, “litlv fíþar let aðalrað2 konvngur eina konv fína en tok aðra i ftaðin En hon fo2 a fvnd kadvani konvngf 7 tok hann hana ífitt valld 7 fetti hana i háfæti.”<sup>48</sup>

Section [191]; Edwin requests the right to wear a crown and hold court. The Vulgate Version contains a speech by Brian lamenting the diminished state of the Britons. The passage is referred to in *Breta sögur*, but in a particularly corrupt and mistranslated form. “hann talaði þetta fyri fostra sinvm 7 fytvr er brian het en er hann sagði henni þetta þa kom fva mikill gratr at henni var fadormeþetta fþvrðiz vm allt rikit.”<sup>49</sup>

Section [193]; Caduallo retreats from Edwin to Guernsey. The Vulgate Version includes a long narrative detailing Caduallo’s illness during their stay on the island. Caduallo then falls ill from depression and lack of food. The king

44. *HRB*, [178], p 253.

45. *Breta sögur*, f. 56v, ll. 26-27.

46. *HRB*, [187], p. 259

47. *Breta sögur*, f. 57r, ll. 23-25.

48. *Breta sögur*, f. 57v, ll. 2-3.

49. *Breta sögur*, f. 57v, ll. 6-8.

calls on his nephew Brian to gather game. After an unsuccessful hunt, Brian carves out a section of his thigh and serves it to his uncle.<sup>50</sup> The corresponding passage in *Breta sögur* preserves much of the Vulgate's detail. “föll þá sva nær manna miðfir með finni vfiðsæli at hann átt ecki ne dæck .vi. dægr hann lagþiz i hvilv af þersv ollv saman En er sva var komit það at brian fostri hans fkyllði fara at veiða hanvm dyr i eyni hann fo2 allan dag at leita dyra 7 hann ecki En er hann kom heim þa fkar hann voðvan o2læri ser 7 steikti 7 gerði til matar konvngi 7 sagði hanvm dyra holdd vera konvngr át 7 þottiz ecki iamgott etið hafa 7 varð hann nalega heill a .iiij. dogvm.”<sup>51</sup>

Section [194]; Salomon of Brittany's speech. The speech is omitted from *Breta sögur*.

Section [195]; Caduallo's reply to Salomon. The entire chapter is omitted from *Breta sögur*.

Section [196]; Brian disguises himself and assassinates Edwin's augur. A passage details Brian's frustrated attempt to rescue his sister. The detail is not preserved in *Breta sögur*.

Section [202]; Cadualadrus becomes king. The Vulgate Version includes a passage in which Bede refers to him as Chedualla the Younger, and that he ruled for twelve years. *Breta sögur* does not mention Bede but preserves the duration of his rule. “En er .xij. vetr varv liðnir fra andlati kaþals þa tok konvngr vanmátt mikin 7 gerðiz ftionrlavst landit.”<sup>52</sup>

Section [208]; The conclusion of the *Historia* in which Geoffrey cedes the writing of Welsh history to Caradoc of Llancarfan and the writing of Saxon history to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntington. Geoffrey mentions the book from Brittany supposedly given to him by Walter Archdeacon of Oxford. In the Variant Version, Geoffrey simply leaves the rest of history to his successors without mention of Walter. *Breta sögur* combines this material with the dedicatory material from the beginning, Sections [1-3] and [109].

## 2.3 Material Shared by the Variant Version and *Breta sögur*

The following is a survey of sections from the First Variant Version that contains material not appearing in the Vulgate Version of the *Historia regum Britannie* and their relationship with the *Breta sögur*.

Section [6]; Aeneas leaves Troy with his son and lands in Italy. Ascanius's son Silvius has a child, Brutus, of whom it is prophesied will kill his father. According to the Variant Version, regarding the movement of the household gods, “Qui Ascanius derelicto nouerce sue Lauinie regno Albam Longam condidit deosque et penates patris sui Enee ex Lauinio in Albam transtulit. Simulacra Lauinium sponte redierunt. Rursus traducta in Albam, iterum repecierunt antiqua delubra. Educauit autem Ascanius summa pietate Postumum Siluium fratrem suum ex Lauinia procreatum

50. *HRB*, [193], p. 265-267.

51. *Breta sögur*, f. 57v, ll. 23-28.

52. *Breta sögur*, f. 58v, ll. 19-20.

et cum xxx annis et iiii regnassit, Siluium reliquid heredem.”<sup>53</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *HRB* or *Breta sqgur*; however the saga contains the length of Ascanius’s reign, which does not appear in *HRB*. The ultimate source for this information was likely Landolfus Sagax.<sup>54</sup> This detail may simply be associated with the common source of the Vergilian introductory material.

Section [39]; Belinus takes control of all Britain, builds roads, and establishes the Molmutine laws. In the passage describing Belinus’s road works, “Erat enim terra lutosa et aquosa, utpote insula intra mare sita; nec ante Dunwallonem patrem Belini extiterat quisquam qui uiarum aut pontium curam haberet in toto regno.”<sup>55</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *HRB* or *Breta sqgur*.

Section [43]; The Roman consuls Gabius and Porsenna give tribute to Britain. Belinus and Brennius march against Germany, and Rome reconsiders the original agreement, and Brennius invades Italy and besieges Rome. The Variant Version includes a detail regarding the moonlight reflecting from the British armor, “Et cum vallem armis hostium fulgere ad lune radios cernerent, stupefacti in fugam uersi sunt.”<sup>56</sup> The moon does not appear in the cognate Vulgate passage: “Et cum uallem armis hostium fulgere prospexissent, confestim stupefacti arbitrati sunt Brennum Senonque Gallos adesse.”<sup>57</sup> The glinting armor is represented in the *Breta sqgur* in, “En er dagr var fa rvmverir fyr fer fiolða manna með biortvm vapnvm 7 flo þa otta a þa 7 hvgbv at bzenir mvnði þar kominn.”<sup>58</sup>

Another passage idiomatic to the Variant Version appears in this section, “At Romani proteruiores propter contumeliam filiorum et nepotum effecti freti legatione consulum, Gabii scilicet et Porsenne, qui ut congregarent exercitum de Apulia et Ytalia precesserant, eadem die qua illos adesse nouerunt eis in auxilium statutis agminibus urbem egrediuntur et cominus cum ducibus congregiuntur.”<sup>59</sup> Neither the Vulgate Version nor *Breta sqgur* mentions Gabius and Porsenna’s expedition to Apulia and Italy.

Section [46]; King Gurguint grants Ireland to an exiled tribe of Basques and their king, Partholoim. Only the Vulgate Version calls the tribe by name, and when they arrive in Ireland, the Variant Version gives a brief description of the landscape, “Ubi cum uenissent, inuenerunt terram opimam et apream nemoribus ac fluminibus riuisque et omni Dei munere opulentam.”<sup>60</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sqgur*.

Section [54]; A speech in which Julius Caesar rationalizes the invasion of Britain to himself. The Variant Version contains additional material from Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*,<sup>61,62</sup> “Sic enim scriptum est: anno ab

53. *VV*, [6], p. 2.

54. Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, p. xlv.

55. *VV*, [39], p. 34.

56. *VV*, [43] p. 38.

57. *HRB*, [43] 182-183, p. 56.

58. *Breta sqgur*, f. 44r, ll. 14-15.

59. *VV*, [43] p.38.

60. *VV*, [46], p. 40.

61. Bede, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1969), I.2, and the date of the invitation is reiterated at V.24.

62. See Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, p. xlv-xlvi.

urbe condita sexcentesimo nonagesimo tercio, ante uero incarnationem Domini anno sexagesimo, Iulius Cesar primus Romanorum Britannias bello pulsauit, in nauibus onerariis et actuariis circiter octoginta aduectus.”<sup>63</sup> There is no corresponding passage in the *Breta sqgur*.

Section [59]; After two years, Caesar decides to cross the channel again and take revenge on Cassibellaunus.

Cassibellaunus fortifies the Thames with spikes of iron and lead. A passage from Bede incorporating Caesar’s order to manufacture a number of ships appears in the Variant Version.<sup>64</sup> “Paratis itaque omnibus que ad tantum negocium pertinebant biennio emenso nauibusque sexcentis utriusque commodi comparatis iterum Britanniam adiit.”<sup>66</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sqgur*.

Section [72]; King Lucius donates land to the Church previously owned by pagans. Before his death, he writes to Pope

Eleutherius for ecclesiastical aid in proselytizing the country. The Variant Version contains a brief sermonic inclusion, “Serenauerant enim mentem eius miracula que Christi discipuli et predicatorum per diuersas nacionum getnes ediderant. Et quidem in omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terre uerba eorum. Et quia ad amorem uere fidei hanelabat, pie petitionis effectum consecutus est.”<sup>67</sup> The chapter in the Variant Version also includes a passing description of earlier pagan practice, “Fuerunt tunc in Britannia per regiones constituti .xxviii. flamines et tres archiflamines qui thura diis ex ritu gentilium cremabant atque libamina de pecudibus litabant.”<sup>68</sup> There are no passages in *Breta sqgur* corresponding to any of these passages unique to the Variant Version.

Section [86]; King Maximianus invades greater France, setting up his throne at Trier. The Variant Version contains material from Bede, not found in *HRB*.<sup>69</sup> “Ipse uero Rome imperator creatus .xl. ab Augusto imperium rexit anno ab incarnatione Domini trecentesimo septuagesimo .vii.. Ualentinianus autem, frater Gratiani, ad Theodosium in orientem fugiens imperio per Theodosium restitutus est et maximianum subinde apud Aquileiam fratrem uindicans interfecit.”<sup>71</sup> There are no corresponding passages in *Breta sqgur*.

Section [94]; Vortigern places the crown of the Britons on the monk Constans. The Variant Version makes note of Uther and Aurelius’s young age, “Erant siquidem ambo adhuc pueri infra etatem tanti culminis regendi.”<sup>72</sup> The Variant Version is more verbose in its description of Vortigern’s interaction with Constans. The Vulgate Version simply describes Vortigern offering the crown to Constans, but the Variant Version elaborates, “Cumque diu contendissent et alii hunc, alii illum acclamarent, accessit uir gnarus quidem sed dolosus, Uortigernus, consul

63. *VV*, [54], p. 47.

64. Bede, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 1.2.

65. Also see Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, p. xlvi.

66. *VV*, [59], p. 52.

67. *VV*, [72], p. 64.

68. *VV*, [72], p. 64.

69. Bede, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 1.9.

70. Also see Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

71. *VV*, [86], pp. 76-77.

72. *VV*, [94], p. 83.

Gewisseorum, qui et ipse ad regnum toto nisu anhelabat, et persuasit optimatibus regni quatinus Constantem primogenitum, qui in monasterio Wintoniensi degebat, in regem eligerent. Quod cum quidam propter monasticum ordinem abhorrerent, ipse se ultro ad hoc opus presto esse atque iuuenem de monasterio exempturum spondidit. Relictis ergo illis Wintoniam tendit, monasterium ingreditur atque colloquium regalis iuuenis deponcit. Cumque extra claustrum eductus esset, uerba huiusmodi auribus illius secreto instillauit.”<sup>73</sup> There are no corresponding passages in *Breta sqgur*.

Section [101]; Hengest convinces Vortigern to cede British land to his son Octa and his cousin Ebissa, who arrive with three hundred ships. The Britons abandon Vortigern and receive Vortimer as king. A few minor passages distinguishes the Variant Version from the Vulgate Version. In Hengest’s speech, he mentions his country of origin by name along with additional colorful phrase, “Inuitemus igitur adhuc, si placet, Octam filium meum [e Germania] cum fratruale suo Ebissa; bellatores enim uiri sunt et expugnabunt nobiscum omnes inimicos tuos maris et terre.”<sup>74</sup> The coast of Kent is mentioned at the end of Vortigern’s third battle, “tercium bellum super litus maris Cancie iuxta naues ipsorum Saxonum.”<sup>75</sup> Another idiomatic passage in the Variant Version appears when Vortimer surrounds the invaders with arrows, At Britones nichilominus insequentes nauali prelio cottidie illos infestabant et undique telis ac sagittis circumueniebant.”<sup>76</sup> None of this information appears in *Breta sqgur*.

Section [130]; King Gillomanus of Ireland confronts the British forces on their campaign to secure Stonehenge. The British put Gillomanus to flight, and Merlin employs his skill to move the stones. Unlike the *machinationes* described in the Vulgate Version, the Variant Version contains an additional remark by Merlin, that appears to be a magical formula uttered by the magician. “Ut sciatis animi ingenium preualere fortitudini corporis, ecce lapidum hec structura, que uestris uiribus non cessit, leuius quam credi potest nostris iam machinacionibus deponetur.’ Et paulisper insusurrans motu labiorum tamquam ad oracionem precepit ut adhiberent manus et asportarent quo uellent. Depositis itaque mox lapidibus ad naues leuiter delatos intus locauerunt et sic cum gaudio et ammiracione in Britanniam reuertuntur.”<sup>77</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sqgur*.

Section [137]; Uther pacifies Dumbarton and subdues the Picts. During his coronation celebration he becomes smitten with Igera, the wife of Gorlois of Cornwall. Merlin devises a ruse by which Uther takes on the appearance of Gorlois while the real Gorlois is absent, enabling him to conceive Arthur with Igera. Variant Version contains a passage comparing Uther’s reaction to Igera to David’s reaction with Bathsheba. “Quam cum ex aduerso respexisset rex tamquam Dauid in Bersabee, subito Sathana mediante incaluit et postpositis omnibus curam amoris sui totam in eam uertit atque fercula multimoda sibi gratulando dirigebat, aurea quoque pocula familiaribus

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73. *VV*, [94], pp. 82-83.

74. *VV*, [101], p. 92.

75. *VV*, [101], p. 93.

76. *VV*, [101], p. 94.

77. *VV*, [130], p. 125.

internunciis cum salutationibus iocundis, sicut assolet inter amantes fieri, quandoque clam, quandoque palam mittebat,” and, “quis enim ignem celare potest, presertim flamma estuante?”<sup>78</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sġgur*.

Section [145]; Arthur and his nephew Hoel break the Saxon siege of Lincoln. They barricade the fleeing Saxons with timber, then negotiate for their return to Germany. In the passage in Variant Version, Arthur directs the Saxons to leave Britain without their arms and provisions. “At Britones curcumfusi partem silue cedentes egressum eis ea parte prohibuerunt atque tribus diebus ibidem obsidentes fame coactos dedicioni coegerunt, conuencione taliter facta ut relictis armis et sarcinis et omnibus que habebant tantum cum uita et navibus in terram suam redire sinerentur.”<sup>79</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sġgur*.

Section [146]; The invading Saxons land at Totnes; Arthur gives a rallying speech. Being deprived of their weapons, the Saxons acquire more from the locals, “...depopulantes colonos et armis suis priuantes de quibus ipsos letiferis uulneribus sauciabant.”<sup>80</sup> This does not appear in *Breta sġgur*.

Section [161]; Speech by Auguselus of Scotland. In the Variant Version, the speech is preceded by a description of Arthur asking for and gaining support for his campaign. “Interea Arthurus rex suos affatus poscit ab omnibus auxilia congregandi exercitus atque Romanorum superbie obuiare. Promiserunt ei mox grananter omnes sui suorumque famulatum fidelem in obsequium suum quocumque eos ducere uellet quatinus nomen suum in omnes terras celebraretur.”<sup>81</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sġgur*.

Section [164]; Arthur leaves the country to Modred and Guinevere, and Arthur dreams of a dragon fighting a bear. Arthur considers his dream in divine terms, “Uerum Arthurus se et somnium Deo committens spe bona fretus in meliorem partem eius significatum conuertebat.”<sup>82</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sġgur*.

Section [172]; After Beduerus’s death, his nephew Hirelgas charges the enemy ranks and kills king Boccus in revenge. The battle begins again and the Britons gain the field advantage. In this section the mixed religions of the Roman ranks appear to be an issue with the writer of the Variant Version, “Gentiles enim inimici Dei cum christianis erant mixti et idcirco nec ipsis christianis parcendum.”<sup>83</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sġgur*.

Section [186]; The material found in section [186] of the Variant Version is dispersed through sections [184] and [187]. Gormundus gives the larger portion of Britain, called Loegria, to the Saxons, and the remainder of the Britons retreat to the west. The archbishops Theonus and Tadioceus flee to the forest with other British clergy and others

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78. *VV*, [137], p. 132.

79. *VV*, [145], p. 140.

80. *VV*, [146], p. 140.

81. *VV*, [161], p. 156.

82. *VV*, [164], p. 157.

83. *VV*, [172]. p. 168.

fly to Brittany. The passage in the Variant Version, “Hinc Angli Saxones uocati sunt qui Loegriam possederunt et ab eis Anglia terra postmodum dicta est,”<sup>84</sup> finds a corresponding passage from *Breta sqgur* that does not appear and *HRB*, “faxar þar þo eigi konungf nafn 7 fkipti þa landit nafni 7 var siþan kallat england.”<sup>85</sup> Another passage in the Variant Version, “Creati sunt interea plurimi reges Anglorum Saxonum qui in diuersis partibu Loegrie regnauerunt; inter quos fuit Edelbertus rex Cancie, uir illustris et magne pietatis”<sup>86</sup> resembles the three kings in the *HRB*: “Sed nec Saxones diadema insulae adhuc adepti sunt, qui tribus etiam regibus subditi quandoque sibi ipsi quondoque Britonibus inquietationem inferebant.”<sup>87</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sqgur*.

Section [188]; The mission of Saint Augustine of Canterbury. When he lands, Augustine finds seven bishoprics and the large monastic house at Bangor. The Abbot Dinoot refuses to cede ecclesiastical power to Augustine. The Variant Version contains a passage on Æthelberht’s baptism that’s not attested in the *HRB*, “Deinde non multo post rex Edelbertus ipse cum ceteris baptismatis sacramentum consecutus est.”<sup>88</sup> However, the passage does have a corresponding passage in *Breta sqgur*, “...hann predicaði þar trv 7 fkiroði aðalbziht konung...”<sup>89</sup> The ultimate source for this material is, of course, Bede.<sup>90</sup>

Section [189]; Æthelfrith of Northumbria tries to subjugate Bangor for Æthelberht. After killing one thousand two hundred monks, he flees from the British forces. A passage in the Variant Version details the panicked response of Bangor’s hermits, monks, religious men, and most of the British when the Saxons arrived. “Edelfrido itaque ciuitate capta occurrerunt ciues et populi qui terrore suo se intra incluserant civitatem monachi et heremite, uiri religioni, quamplures ex diuersis Britonum prouinciis et maxime de Bangor ut pro salute populi sui intercederent apud regem Edelfridum et ceteros regulos.”<sup>91</sup> There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sqgur*.

Section [203]; Cadwaladr grows ill, a famine strikes the Britons followed by a plague. The king and the British survivors seek refuge in Armorica. Cadwaladr laments the closing of the British line and the diminishing of his people. The Variant Version provides additional details of the horrors of the plague, none of which appear in the Vulgate Version or *Breta sqgur*. Unlike the Vulgate Version, Cadwaladr boards a small boat before reciting his speech. Cadwaladr’s speech in the Variant Version is more concerned with the spiritual decay of the Britons. The Vulgate Version appears to be more concerned with the Briton’s political loss. The passage from *Breta sqgur*, “hafā gengit yfir rvmveriar allt bzeta riki 7 margar aðrar þioðir 7 hefir her þo alldzi flikt verið fem nv en fyri avðzv verðv ver nv at flyia,”<sup>92</sup> recalls the Vulgate Version, “Incumbit ergo illius potestatis ultio, quae nos ex natali solo extirpat,

84. *VV*, [186/7], p. 177.

85. *Breta sqgur*, f. 57r, ll. 24-25.

86. *VV*, [186/7], p. 177.

87. *HRB*, [187], 173-175.

88. *VV*, [188], pp.178-179.

89. *Breta sqgur*, f. 57r, l. 27.

90. Bede, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, I.XXV.

91. *VV*, [189], p. 179.

92. *Breta sqgur*, f. 58v. ll. 24-26.

quos nec olim romani cec deinde Scoti uel Picti nec uersutatae proditionis Saxones exterminare quiuerunt.<sup>93</sup> In the Variant Version, the Britons are simply dispersed by divine will.<sup>94</sup>

## 2.4 *Breta sögur* and its Latin Sources

Neil Wright catalogues fifty-eight sections in *Historia regum Britannie* containing material found in the Vulgate Version not found in the Variant Version.<sup>95</sup> Of the material in these fifty-eight chapters, thirty-eight contains material that corresponds in some form with text appearing in the Hauksbók *Breta sögur*. The introductory section was included by the saga writer, which acted as a historical and genealogical bridge linking the historical events of *Trójumanna saga*, the Old Icelandic translation of *De excidio Troiae* by Dares Phrygius, to the matter of Britain by means of a synopsis of the *Aeneid*, a pattern that does not appear in any of the Latin sources. The saga writer removes the introductory material familiar to the Vulgate *Historia* (sections [1], [2], [3], and [4]) for the sake of a seamless narrative from the Vergilian introduction. Coincidentally, these sections have also been omitted altogether from the Variant Version.<sup>96</sup> As noted above, the saga writer includes reference to the dedicatory material, including the dedication to Alexander of Lincoln ([109],[110]), occurring in the Vulgate Version before the *Prophetie*, albeit corruptly, in a passing remark near the close of the saga. The saga writer also omits, independently and for similar reasons, the *Descriptio Insulae* (Section [5]), which is included in both the Vulgate and the Variant Version. Although brief and incomplete, the presence of the dedicatory material itself is an indication that *Breta sögur* was produced in a milieu where there was recourse to material associated with the Vulgate *Historia regum Britannie*.

*Breta sögur* was a functional text that efficiently rendered most of the significant and striking events in Geoffrey's *Historia* in an abbreviated form, utilizing the literary vocabulary of traditional Icelandic saga. The rendering in the Icelandic appears to have been rushed, excludes some material, and contains many errors. Yet there are many passages that share material with the Vulgate Version, against the First Variant Version (and thus often against Wace), such as the entirety of Hoel's speech before Arthur's invasion of Rome (Section [160]), and the account of Brian carving out his thigh for his father Caduallo (Section [193]). Most of the corroborating material in the Hauksbók *Breta sögur* is substantially abbreviated from the source, and many passages in the saga allude to the corroborating source material only in passing, but there is enough to demonstrate a consistent textual relationship. Haukr also tended to remove most of Geoffrey's first-person expositions, a pattern that happen to be shared with the writer who produced the Variant Version. After the *Merlinússpá*, the saga appears to lose focus, the amount of information included from the source decreases substantially. Haukr appears to have lost interest in the material and introduces errors; for instance, account of the landing and dealings

93. HRB. 534-536, p. 277.

94. *VV*, pp. 188-189.

95. Reeve, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. xviii-xix, xxxviii-xlii.

96. Wright, *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*, pp. xcvi, xc.

97. Dares's *De excidio Troiae* was a text often associated with Geoffrey's *Historia*. Dares preceded the *Historiae* in many manuscripts. See also Crick, *The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 37-38.



of Maximianus in Britain have been dropped altogether (Sections [81, 82, 83]). Nevertheless, given the degree to which the saga abbreviates the source material, it is surprising it loses only one third of the corresponding material.

The Variant Version has twenty-five sections containing material not found in the Vulgate Version. Of these, at least three share this material with the Hauksbók *Breta sǫgur*. The first of these occurs in Section [6], in a passage that includes the duration of Ascanius's reign. The Variant Version includes a passage describing the movements of the royal family's household idols (Section [6]), a passage that is taken nearly verbatim from the *Historia Romana* of Landolfus.<sup>98</sup> The episode in *Historia Romana* terminates with the duration of his reign and the transference of the crown to Silvius. According to Landolfus, Ascanius's reign lasts thirty eight years, whereas the writer of the Variant Version only gives him thirty-four. The Hauksbók *Breta sǫgur* incorrectly records the duration of the reign as well by giving Ascanius a generous compromise with thirty-seven years, which may record a different error than the one found in the Variant Version, either in Haukr's own hand or his source, or it may have been recorded incorrectly.<sup>99</sup> It is also notable that the *Breta sǫgur* of AM 573 4to agrees with the duration recorded in *Historia Romanum*.<sup>100</sup> The episode with the household gods is entirely omitted from Hauksbók *Breta sǫgur*, only leaving the length of his reign and mention of his son, Silvius. Landolfus was the source of one passage near the end of the Vergilian introduction, just before the passage containing the length of Ascanius's rule, containing a characteristically garbled version of an etymology on the invention of the Latin alphabet by Latinus's daughter Lavinia. Another passage closely associated with Landolfus is only three lines earlier in the manuscript— a description of Aeneas's death by means of a lightning bolt. The source for this may be from the account of the death of Aeneas's descendant Agrippa, in Landolfus.<sup>101 102</sup> The two events are also very close to each other in Landolfus's history, and may have likely shared the same page. Not only did the saga writer know and use Landolfus independently from the Variant Version, it is also probable that he independently included the duration of Ascanius's reign. All of these passages, including the incorrectly copied duration, were recorded in a transformed form in the saga. The most reasonable explanation is that the duration of Ascanius's reign belongs not to the Galfridian material itself, but to the Vergilian introduction derived from Landolfus and other classical sources, and thus properly belongs in the reach of Tétrel's study. The Galfridian sourced material in the *Breta sǫgur* would then properly begin with the narrative of Silvius and the birth of his son.

The two other passages containing material common to the *Breta sǫgur*, and the First Variant Version, but not the Vulgate Version as edited by Reeve and Wright are in very close proximity to each other, sections [186] and [188]. In Section [186] of the Variant Version, "Hinc Angli Saxones uocati sunt qui Loegriam possederunt et ab eis Anglia terra

98. Landolfus, *Historia Romana*, ed. Amedeo Crivellucci (Roma: Forzani e C. Tipografi del Senato, 1913), I.2, ll. 7-10.

99. *Breta sǫgur*, f. 38r, ll. 28-29.

100. Tétrel, "Trojan Origins and the Use of the *Aeneid* and Related Sources in the Old Icelandic *Brut*," p. 502. The duration of Ascanius's reign is a point supporting Tétrel's thesis that the two primary *Breta sǫgur* drew their introductory materials from a common source.

101. Landolfus, *Historia Romana*, I.3, 7.

102. Tétrel notes that the compilers of these text would have likely known, and may have been influenced by multiple traditions of the account of Aeneas's death, including an influence from the French *Chroniques* Tétrel, "Trojan Origins and the Use of the *Aeneid* and Related Sources in the Old Icelandic *Brut*," p. 513.

postmodum dicta est,<sup>103</sup> does not appear to have an extra-textual source beyond its obvious derivation, and could be nothing more than a simple remark included by the individual who produced the source text. Nevertheless the passage finds a cognate passage in *Breta sögur* in an account relating events nearby, just before the arrival of Saint Augustine. Only five lines below in AM 544 4to, another passage common to the saga and the Variant Version occurs that describing Æðalberht's baptism by Augustine.<sup>104</sup> Given Æðalberht's belligerence in this section, this interpolation does appear out of place; however the event is well-known from Bede. Given their proximity, the probability is high that there must be a close relationship between this material and whatever source the saga writer used.

All three of these passages amount to a very small percentage of the total text. Although there does appear to be a little information from the Variant Version, the vast majority of the Galfridian text of the *Breta sögur* does not align with the textual patterns of the Variant Version. One possible explanation is that these brief passages originate in variations in hybrid or textually mixed versions found among fundamentally Vulgate manuscripts. From these variations, it may be possible to isolate the manuscripts that bear the closest affinities to the Hauksbók *Breta sögur* and find a close relative to the copy used by Haukr. On the other hand, the saga included many of his own remarks and suppositions, and included many narrative traits that were common to the narrative style of the *Íslendingasögur*. He also left out much of what the redactor of the Variant Version also omitted. Indeed, some passages are so abbreviated one gets the impression the latter part of the saga was merely a frame for Gunnlaugr Leifsson's *Merlínússpá*. Despite its pattern of compression, the *Breta sögur* of AM 544 4to, clearly does not follow the editorial patterns of the redactor of the Variant Version of the *Historia regum Britannie*, and does not contain a substantial amount of material differing from the Vulgate text as edited by Neil Wright. *Breta sögur* of AM 573 4to, although much longer, likewise appears to preserve a text that differs markedly from the Galfridian source. It does not contain the dedicatory passage, the *Prophetie*, or any of the material after Arthur's death. The prose appears to be more expansive, and in some sense more courtly. It is unknown whether or not the saga follows the same pattern with its sources as the introductory material, that it shares the same text as a common source, but this will be the subject for future study.

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103. *VV*, [186/7], p. 177.

104. Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, I.XXV-XXV.

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## Chapter 3

### AM 544, Breta sǫgur

## 36r

Nv er at fegia af enea envm **her hefr breta fogvr**  
 millda at hann rakz lengi i hafe þa er hann fo2 af troio 7  
 kom hann vm siðir fikiley þar varv þa fyri miklir hofþingiar 7 vinir troio manna erikneus  
 7 acestef þeir tokv með myklvm fagnaði við enea 7 var hann þar vm v  
 5 etrin en er vár kom byðf hann b2ott 7 lætr i haf 7 fengv þa en sva  
 mikin sto2m at fvm skipin fvckv nið2 en vm siþir bar þa at landi þeir hofðv  
 þa nockvr döggr verið matlavfer eneaf fer þa hiozt ein 7 skavt hann 7 var hann  
 matbvinn þeir sia þar mikit land 7 fagzt 7 margar bo2gir þeir fengv goða  
 hofn þeir sia þar nær fer ena merstv havfvð bo2g en a hennar vegivm var skrif  
 10 at fall troio manna þar fa eneaf hvar troilvf var d2epin með þeim hætti skrifat fem  
 vond2 væri fnvin i har hanvm þerfi syn angradi hann miok fyri þerfi borg reð en rikaz  
 ta drottning fv er dido het 7 er hon veit þarkvomu enea gengr hon sialf moti  
 hanvm 7 byð2 hanvm til sin 7 þat þiggr hann hon let gleðia hann með alzkynf leik 7 skemtan  
 en hann var iamnan vgláð2 Ok er d2ottning fann þat mællti hon þv en milldi eneaf  
 15 gvðen gefi þer glatt hiarta 7 mikin veg fva fem þv ert til bozin 7 alla þa  
 fæmð fem ver hofvm valld yfir skal yð2 heimol vera 7 yðrvm monnvum. Eneas svarar frv ek ma eigi  
 gláð2 vera fyri þeim harme er nv er end2 nyiað2 þvi at fyri minvm avgvum er a yð2vm borg  
 ar vegivm skrifað2 skaði minna ættmanna drottning bað hann segia fer fra þeim sto2  
 20 tiðindvm er þar vrðv 7 fva gerir hann. drottning let þa gera veizlv mikla 7 let þar fõra  
 fram allzkonar leika ecki fanz Eneas vm þat 7 er drottning fann þat þa bað hon hann at  
 pryða veizlv hennar með sinvm leikvm hann gerir fem drottning bað 7 leikr nv allan  
 strengleik með mikilli list framar en nocko2 maðr hefði þar fyr heyrtr drott  
 ning virðir hann vm fram alla menn 7 legr a hann mikla aft þviat hon hanvm vnne vm fram alla  
 25 menn 7 fva kemr at hann fær hennar 7 vnir hon nv vel sinv raði 7 var hann þar nocko2a  
 vetr Ok ein tima d2eymði Eneam at freyia kiæme at hanvm 7 mællti far til ita  
 lia landz 7 tak þar þa miklv sormð er gvðin hafa þer þa fyri hvgsað 7 eftir þat byr hann  
 skip sin leynilega þvi at hann vissi at hann kiormez eigi brott ef drottning y2ði vor  
 við 7 fo2 bv2t með leynð en er hon verð2 vo2at hann er b2ottv þa fendir hon  
 til fvnðar við Eneam 7 mælir til hanf Herra Enea fendir dido kartago borgar drot  
 30 ning qveðiv goðanna 7 fina elkv þerfi herfta borg heimfensf er þig gerði rikan er mi  
 ok þvrfandi þinnar fyrifionar bioðvm vier til flikarar sēmðar fem þv hafðir með o2f  
 mattv vel mvna þa er þv komt til var 7 þinir menn mattv eigi hialp af  
 þer fa en ek fagnaða þer með allri dyrð let ek aka þer i holl mina meþ allre  
 sormð 7 setta ek þig i mitt hafæti 7 minir menn stoðv vpp 7 þionvthv þier 7  
 35 þinvm monnvum gvll 7 silfr 7 allzkynf gerfimar gaf ek þinvm monnvum en sialfvm  
 þer allt rikit 7 þat veitta ek þier er mer var nanazt er ek var sialf en þv

1–36 Nv er at ... ek var sialf en þv ] Nearly the entire page has been freshened up. 1 N ] Not freshened up. 1 her hefr breta fogvr ] Not freshened up. 3 siðir fikiley ] Jónsson supplies siðir (við) fikiley. 5 er ] Not freshened up. 10 þeim ] Not freshened up. 16 ver ] Not freshened up. 26 hvgsað ] Jónsson suggests the original was hvgað. 31 flikarar sēmðar ] sēmðar appears to have been inserted above the line as an afterthought. Jónsson suggests the words were originally flikrar vegsēðar. 36 7 þat ] Not freshened up.



## Here Begins the Sagas of the Britons

Now it will be told about Aeneas the Kind, that after he left Troy he was adrift for a long time until he finally came to Sicily.<sup>1</sup> The great chieftains and friends of the Trojans, Erikneus and Acestes, were already there.<sup>2</sup> They gladly welcomed Aeneas, and he remained with them during the winter. And when spring came, he prepared his departure and set out to sea, and they encountered a storm so great that some of this ships sank, but they finally reached land. They had then been there several days without food. Then Aeneas sees a hart and shot it and it was prepared for eating.<sup>3</sup> There they see a vast and beautiful land and many cities. They found a good harbor. Nearby they see the greatest capital city, and on its walls were depicted the fall of the Trojans.<sup>4</sup> There Aeneas saw where Troilus was killed by twisting a stick in his hair.<sup>5</sup> These images grieved him very much. 5R

Over this city ruled a very powerful queen whose name was Dido, and when she learns of the arrival of Aeneas, she goes to meet him herself and bids him to come to her, and he complies. To cheer him, she arranged for all kinds of games and entertainment, but he remained unhappy. And when the queen noticed this, she said, “you, kind Aeneas, may the gods give you a glad heart and great glory, such as you have been born to, and all the honor that we have at our disposal shall be granted to you and your men.” Aeneas answers, “my Lady, I cannot be happy on account of the sorrow that has now been renewed before my eyes by the depiction on your city walls of the injury done to my kinfolk.” The queen asked him to tell about those great events, and he did so. The queen then had a great banquet prepared and put on all kind of entertainment. Aeneas was not interested, and when the queen noticed this she asked him to grace her banquet with his music. He does as the queen requested and now plays all the instruments with greater skill than anyone there had heard before. The queen values him above all men and she loves him deeply because she enjoys being with him more than with other men, and it so happens that they enjoy intimacy and she is pleased with his company, and he was there for about a year. 10R

One time Aeneas dreamed that Freyja came to him and said, “Go to Italy and claim there the great honor that the gods have ordained for you.”<sup>6</sup> And afterwards he secretly prepares his ships, because he knew that he would not get away if the queen found out, and he departed in secret, and when she finds out that he is gone, she sends [a messenger] to meet with Aeneas and he speaks with him, “Sir Aeneas, Dido, queen of Carthage sends the greeting of the gods and her love. This highest citadel in the world which made you powerful is in great need of your leadership.”<sup>7</sup> We offer the same honor you had among us. You may well remember when you came to us, and your men could not get any help from you, but I welcomed you with great glory, and had you brought into my hall with great honor and seated you in my high seat, and my men stood up and served you and your men. I gave your men gold and silver and all kinds of treasures, and to you the whole realm, and I granted to you that which was closest to myself, which was me. And you 20R

English»  
Contents

<sup>1</sup>*Aeneid*, V.1-1039. Aeneas sails for Sicily after his departure from Carthage. This episode is not attested in the *Roman d'Enéas*, nor does the following introductory material appear to be substantially influenced by the romance tradition. <sup>2</sup>Erikneus is not attested in ancient literature. According to Hyginus, Acestes was the son of the Sicilian river Crinisis (*Fabulae*, 273). The Erineus, (modern *Erineo*), is the name of another river in Sicily. <sup>3</sup>*Aeneid*, I.244. Aeneas shoots seven deer, one for each of his ships. <sup>4</sup>*Aeneid*, I.593. In Vergil, the images are painted on the walls of Juno's temple, where Aeneas revels in the memory of their heroic deeds. This episode does not appear in the *Roman d'Enéas*. <sup>5</sup>The source for this is uncertain. The practice of winding a captive's hair around a stick before a beheading appears in the saga literature. See, *Jómsvíkingarsaga*, chapt. 37. <sup>6</sup>*Aeneid*, V.313-360. Hermes performs this errand. <sup>7</sup>The ultimate source for this is Dido's letter to Aeneas from Ovid, *Heroides*, VII.

## 36v

forðir þig við gvð þin 7 fva við var gvð at þv skylldir min vera hvar fem þv værir  
 nv hefir þv fvikit mik 7 fva gvðin eð fama nv skyt ek ollv minv mali til  
 þeira at þav hefni min a þer gef gavm at að eigi virðiz fva þerfi þinni gerð at þv fyri  
 farir bōðe mer 7 þeim þinvm fýni er mer leyniz af þinni hervilt 7 þegar ek veit  
 5 at þv villt eigi til varf rikiv koma þa skalltv raðinn vita min bana 7 fva  
 barn finf þerf er ek fer með ger fva vel ef þv villt eigi mik finna meðan ek lifi  
 þa ger nv fyri menzkv faker 7 lat hylia leg mitt 7 lat dzecka erfi mitt þviat þat  
 þicki mer nv miklv mali skipta vale En er hon þvrdi at vift var at hann villdi  
 eigi til hennar koma þa fyri fo2 hon fer siolf 7 þerf þottiz hefna hanibal konungr a rvm  
 10 verivm þa er hann van rom 7 fva marga havþingia dzap hann i einni steinholl at hann let  
 fer leir bleyta með bloði rvmveria 7 gerði þar af borgar lim hann fendi 7 heim  
 til kartago bozgar .lxxx. vandlavpa fvlla með fingrgvllvm þeira rvmveria  
 er hann hafþi yfir vnið i þvi ftriði fra eneas 7 latinus stafrof 7 af hennar  
 Konungr reð fyri italia fa er latinvf dottir hanf het latina hon fan fyrft latinv  
 15 nafni heita aller lätinv menn þeir er þa tvngv kvnnv var þat 7 havfvð  
 tvnga rvmveria meðan riki þeira stoð 7 eigi at einf þeira helldr 7 iamvel allz  
 heimf drottning hanf blotaði lif latinvs fat þar er nv heitir rimina 7 ein tima fyndiz  
 drottning lif i fvefni 7 mællti bviz við eneaf at eigi gangi hann her yfir þetta riki þar fem er rekin  
 af finni foftriozðv 7 af oðzvm þioðvm. Nv ferr eneaf þar til er hann kemr til italia landz  
 20 7 tok þar land fem nv fellr tipr i fio þa var hanvm vitrað at hann skylldi hafa frid við eva  
 ndzvm konung hann rikir þar er þv skallt fetia borg fv verð2 hofvð borg allz italia landz þviat þv  
 skallt eiga allt italia riki 7 at þv trvir þerfv þa gef ek þer þetta teikn fva fem þv  
 ferr veg þin þa mantv finna vndir einv tre þvi er vlex heitir hvita gyllti með  
 .xxx. grifvm alhvitm 7 i þeim stað skalltv borg reifa 7 skalltv kalla albanf borg  
 25 þetta ferr allt fram eftir þvi fem nv var sagt 7 eneaf reifir borg i þerfv m stað fem hanvm var  
 fyri fagt a þan máta fem kartago borg var er dido drottning hafði gera latið hon var fter  
 kari en nockozonnvr i italia hon var 7 skipvð með miklv m kavppvm eneaf var 7  
 frægr við a vm land 7 vm alla þa menn þotti mikilf vert er af troio varv komnir af tur  
 Damivs het konungr er reð fyri tvkkania tvrnvs het fvn hanf en merfti kappi i no  
 30 italia hann fregn at eneaf hefir o2ð fent latinio konungi at biðia latinv dottvr  
 hanf þeirar er tvrnvs hefir fyr beðit 7 verð2 við þetta miok reið2 En konungr fegir at hann vill  
 eigi gifta dottvr fina vtlenzkvm manne þeim er flyð hafþi af finvm foftr iozðvm helldz  
 villdi hann gifta tvrno envm fremzta kappi 7 þar inlenzkvm af envm beztvm konunga  
 ættvm komin 7 kvez vilia at hann yrði yfir maðr þerf rikif helldz en vtlenz2 maðr  
 35 þviat fa verð2 yfir maðr þerfa landz er hana álvk hann fva finv mali at hann bað alla fina menn  
 þiona tvrno 7 iattaði hanvm dottor fina Her eftir famnar tvrnvs miklv liði en þerfir  
 varv kappar með hanvm mefapo2 7 nvmanvs magr tvrni rampvriaf konungr fesrapnvs 7 margir

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1–37 forðir þig við ... konungr fesrapnvs 7 margir] The condition of this page is very poor. The ink is worn and a liberal amount of reagent has been applied, but most of the text is still visible. Most of the text of this page has not been freshened up. 1–4 forðir þig við gvð... 7 þegar ek veit] Nearly illegible. The precise locations of the line breaks are unclear. 4 þeim þinvm fýni er mer leyniz] Jónsson, þeim þinvm fýni er (með) mer leyniz. 5 þv villt] Freshened up. 14 konungr reð fyri italia fa er] Jónsson, konungr reð fyri italia fa er latinvf (het). 18 þetta riki þar fem er rekin] Jónsson, þetta riki þar fem (hann) er rekin. 33 villdi hann gifta] Jónsson, villdi hann gifta (hana). 37 rampvriaf] Very difficult to read due to scouring, but the word appears to be correct.

swore by your gods and by our gods that you should be mine wherever you might be. Now you have betrayed me and so likewise the gods. I now hand over my entire case to the gods, so they might avenge me. Consider that this deed of yours will not be condoned, that you destroy both me and those sons of yours who I have been concealing since your time with me, and in that time when I know that you do not wish to return to our realm, then you will learn of the death of me and those children I carry. Go ahead if you don't want to see me alive again, but if you do, do this for the sake of decency: have my body wrapped in a shroud and hold a funeral feast for me, because it is very important to me. Farewell." And when she learned it was certain that he did not wish to return to her, she killed herself, and King Hannibal thought to avenge this upon the Romans when he conquered Rome and he killed so many chieftains in a temple, he had clay mixed with the blood of Romans and made mortar out of it for himself. He sent home to Carthage eighty water buckets full of the finger rings of the Romans he had conquered in this war.<sup>8</sup> 5R

## Aeneas and Latinus

A king ruled over Italy who was called Latinus. His daughter was called Lavinia. She was the first to discover the Latin alphabet, and all men who know that language call it Latin after her name.<sup>9</sup> That was the principal tongue of the Romans while their empire stood, not only in Italy but nearly the entire world. His queen worshipped Sif. Latinus ruled from that place, which is now called Rimini, and one time Sif appeared to the queen in her sleep and said, "get ready for Aeneas so that he cannot invade this realm, since he has been driven from his native land and from the lands of other peoples."<sup>10</sup> 15R

Aeneas now journeys until he comes to the realm of Italy and he landed where the Tiber meets the sea.<sup>11</sup> It was then revealed to him that, "he should have peace with King Evander, he rules where you will establish a city. This will become the capital city of all Italy, because you will possess the entire Italian realm, and so in order that you believe this, I will give you a token. As you continue on your way, you will find under a tree called *ilex* a white sow with thirty pure-white sucklings, and at that place you shall raise a fortress and call it Albany."<sup>12</sup> 20R

This happens as now had been said, and Aeneas builds a city at this place, as he had been told, in the same manner as Carthage, which Queen Dido had built. It was stronger than any other in Italy. It was also manned by great champions. Aeneas was also famous throughout the realm and all those men who had come from Troy were thought to be of great merit.

## Turnus

The king who ruled over Tuscany was called Daunus.<sup>13</sup> His son was named Turnus, the greatest champion in Italy. He hears that Aeneas sent word to King Latinus to ask for his daughter, for whom Turnus already asked, and he becomes very angry at this. The king says that he will not marry his daughter to that foreign man who had fled from his fatherland, but he would rather marry her to the greatest champion, Turnus, who was descended from one of the most noble native families; and he explained that Turnus should become ruler of this kingdom instead of a foreigner, because if that foreign man married his daughter, he would become ruler of this land instead. He ended his speech by commanding all the people to serve Turnus and he consented to give him his daughter. 30R

After this, Turnus assembles a great army, and these champions were with him: Messapus and Numanus King Ramurias the in-law of Turnus, Sesarapnes, and many

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<sup>8</sup>An inclusion made by the Icelandic author. See Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 23.42. Vergil anticipates Hannibal's invasion in her plea to the gods for vengeance, *aeneid*, I.26-30, and IV.675-692. <sup>9</sup>A similar passage appears in *Veraldarsaga*, 46, (pp. 83-85), and indicates a probable relationship to the source used by the saga writer for *Breta sogur*. Tétrel, "Trojan Origins and the Use of the *Aeneid* and Related Sources in the Old Icelandic Brut," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 2010, pp. 490-514, suggests a relationship with Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romanum* in which there is an etymology attributing the discovery of the Latin alphabet to Latinus's mother, Carmentis Nicostrata. The saga writer may have accessed the same material from the *Historia Romanum* of Landolfus Sagax. <sup>10</sup>Amata, influenced by the Fury Allecto, urges Turnus and the Rutuli to war. *aeneid*, VII.405-640. <sup>11</sup>*Aeneid*, VII.25. <sup>12</sup>*Aeneid*, VIII.44-82. The river Tibernus appears to Aeneas with this prophecy. <sup>13</sup>A scribal misreading likely transforms his name to Damius. *Breta sogur* of AM 573 4to and *Veraldarsaga* names him Dullunus.

## 37r

aðrir havþingar En i borginni með eneas varv þerfir havþingiar biffa pandacvs filvanus menefteus  
 fereftas tupidus foftri alkanij 7 er eneaf fregn þetta þa a hann tal við fina menn 7 fegir  
 þeim þerfi tíðindi hann fegir at hann vill fara fvnd evandri konungf 7 pallaf fvnar hanf 7 fa fty  
 rk af þeim en hann fetti alkanivm fvn fin havþingia yfir borgina 7 gefit allðri vpp borgina fyr  
 5 en ek kem aftr. Siðan fer hann brott af borginni til þeira feðga 7 tokv þeir veglega við hanvm  
 hann fegir þeim fin erindi þeir heita hanvm finni liðveizlv pallaf var en .íij. maðr meftr 7  
 Lavinvus konungr 7 tvrnvs fámna liði fall pallas konungf fvnar fterkaztr i landinv  
 er þeir fþyria at eneaf er brott 7 fara til borgar Eneas 7 fetiaz vm hana 7 fia hverfv to  
 rfottleg hon er tvrnvs talar þa fyri folkinv 7 mælti yðr er kvnigt hver fkyllða o2f  
 10 rekr til at rinda þersvm monnvum af o2f er fetz hafá i vart riki vitv þer 7 þeira fkaplyndi  
 at eigi letta þeir her helld2 en annarf ftaðar fyr en þeir hafa her flikt fem þeir vilia  
 hafá þeir nv rekiz nalega vm allan heim þviat engi villdi þola þeim yfir gang fem ravn varð  
 a þa er girkir rakv þa brott Eneas hefir 7 beðit þeira konv fem mer var aðr heitin hann biðr menn fina  
 fara fyrft til 7 þzenna fkip Eneas þav er ftoðv vndir borginni þeir tvrnvs fōrkia at borginni með ol  
 15 lvm b2ogþvm en þeir vozðvz fkozvlega 7 er þeir hofþv lengi fott borgina þa gerðv borgar  
 menn rað fitt þeir varv .ij. menn i borginni er fyrifiaztir varv 7 meftr kappar i liði eneaf het annar  
 nifvs en anar ervlevs þeir veliaz til at riða vt af borginni 7 fegia enea þenna vfrið  
 þeir herklæðaz nv 7 fara leynilega vt af borginni 7 er þeir komv i herin varv margir vindrv  
 knir 7 fofnaðir þa brigðr nifvs fverði 7 hogr a tvær hend2 7 fva eð a fama gerir ervlevs  
 20 7 d2epa nv mikin fiolða riddara 7 fara nv fva vt af herinvm 7  
 fva margan mann hofþv þeir d2epit at þeir viffv eigi fialfir  
 tolv á 7 fva varv þeir moðir at nalega mattv þeir eigi ganga 7 þeim  
 figri er við b2vgðit viða i bokvm er þeir fengv þa En er þeir komv vt af herinvm 7  
 mozna tok 7 lioft var o2ðit 7 mo2gon folin fkein a hialma þeira fa þeir mikinn  
 25 her riða i moti fer þar var fa hofþingi fyri er volcent het hann ætlaði til liðf við tvrni hann fer  
 þerfa .ij. riddara 7 kennir a vapnv þeira at þeir af troio monnvum nifvs fōrkir nv vndan 7 til fskogf  
 En ervlevs var þvngfōr 7 komaz þeir millim hanf 7 fskogf 7 fōrkia nv at hanvm alla  
 vega en hann verft fterklega 7 af þvi at ecki ma við marginvm þa d2epa þeir hann 7 er nifvs  
 fer þetta þa liop hann o2 fskoginv 7 hogr a tvær hend2 fva at ecki feftir við hann ryðr fer  
 30 gotv fram at havþingia þeira volvent 7 lagþi hann með fverði igegnvm 7 allar erv hanf hendr  
 bloðgar vpp at oxl Nv fōrkir fva moðin i likam hanf af fokn 7 farvm at hann ma eigi fta  
 nda kemr hann nv þar at fem felagi hanf var fallin 7 legtz a hann ofan 7 mælti minn goði vin  
 ervlevs i einvm ftað fkvlv vit davða þola 7 var þar fāxaðr fīþan tokv þeir havfvð þeira  
 7 barv a ftongvvm fyri tvrni 7 fegia hanvm þerfi tíðindi 7 verðr hann við þat harðla glaðr hann  
 35 lætr nv blafa ollvm herinvm til borgarinnar 7 hofþv hofvðin fyri merki þeir ganga  
 nv at fva fterklega at tvrnvs getr b2otið borgar vegin 7 fva var hann oðr at hann biðr eigi  
 finna manna 7 liop in íborgina 7 d2ap þegar .ij. havþingja en .íij. greip hann 7 fnarar hann i fvnd2

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1–4 aðrir havþingar ... borgina fyr ] The rightmost side of these lines is obscured by reagent. 3 fara fvnd ] Jónsson, fara (a) fvnd. 13 þeira konv ]  
 Jónsson, þeira(r) konv. 19–24 knir 7 fofnaðir ... þeira fa þeir mikin ] The last one-sixth of these lines is obscured by reagent. 26 þeir af troio monnvum ]  
 Jónsson, þeir (erv) af Troio monnvum. 34–37 7 barv a ftongvvm ... fnarar hann i fvnd2 ] The rightmost side of these lines is obscured by reagent.

other chieftains.<sup>14</sup> These chieftains were in the city with Aeneas: Bitias, Pandarus, Silvanus, Menestheus, Serestus, and Tupidus the foster-son of Ascanius.<sup>15</sup> And when Aeneas learns of this, he has a conversation with his men, and tells them this news. He says that he wishes to go and meet King Evander and his son Pallas, and to get help from them; and he made his son Ascanius chieftain over the city, and, “never give up the city before I come back.” He then goes from the city to that father and son, and they received him honorably. He tells them his errand. They pledge their support to him. Pallas was the third largest and strongest man in the country. 5R

### The Death of the King's Son Pallas

King Latinus and Turnus assemble an army when they hear that Aeneas left, and they go to Aeneas's city and surround it to see how difficult it is to overcome it. Turnus speaks to the people and said, “You know what mischief will happen to our people, that will be done by those men who have settled in our kingdom. You know what they are like. Like elsewhere, they will not leave before they get what they want here. They have now wandered across most of the world because no one wanted to endure the same kind of misery [the Trojans] endured when the Greeks drove them away. Furthermore Aeneas has asked for the woman who was already promised to me.” He then orders his men to go and quickly burn Aeneas's ships, that were moored alongside the citadel. Turnus and his army attack the city with all kinds of maneuvers, but Aeneas's men defended themselves bravely, and after they had been attacking the city for a long time, the men of the city made their plan.<sup>16</sup> 10R 15R

In the city there were two men who were the greatest champions in Aeneas's army, and they were the most eager. One was called Nisus and the other Euryalus. They volunteered to ride out of the city, and report to Aeneas about this threat. And now they arm themselves and stealthily leave the city, and when they came to the army, many were wine-drunk and sleeping. Then Nisus unsheathed his sword and he hewed to both sides, and Euryalus did the same, and they kill a great number of knights, and then they leave the army, and they had killed so many men that they could not count them themselves, and they were so weary that they could hardly walk, and this victory they had won is often mentioned in books. When they came out from the army, as morning broke, when it had become light and the morning sun shone on their helmets, they saw a great host ride toward them.<sup>17</sup> Before them was the chieftain called named Volcens. He planned to join Turnus' army. Volcens sees these two knights, and recognized by their weapons that they were Trojans. Then Nisus flees into the forest. But Euryalus was too slow and they position themselves between him and the forest, and then they attack him from every direction, but he defended himself bravely; but, because nothing can avail against a multitude, they kill him. When Nisus sees this, he ran out of the forest and hews to both sides so that nothing could touch him. He rides out through an opening toward the chieftain named Volvent,<sup>18</sup> and he ran a sword through him, and his arms were bloody up to the shoulder. Now he is so tired from the battle and his wounds, that he can not stand. Then he comes to the place where his comrade was slain, and he bends over him and says, “My good friend Euryalus, we must suffer death together,” and then he was run through with a sax.<sup>19</sup> Then they took their heads and carried them on a pike before Turnus, and told him what happened, but he was extremely happy with this. Now he had the trumpets sound the attack for the entire army against the city, and he used the heads for banners.<sup>20</sup> 20R 25R 30R

And then they attack so fiercely that Turnus breaks the city wall, and he was so angry that he didn't wait for his men, and he ran into the city where he killed two chieftains, then he grabbed a third man and twists him apart.<sup>21</sup> 35R

<sup>14</sup>The source for these names, Rampurias and Sesrapnes, is uncertain, and unique to this text. <sup>15</sup>The source for the reference to Tupidus is also unknown. <sup>16</sup>*Aeneid*, IX.56-218. <sup>17</sup>*Aeneid*, IX.456-468. In Vergil, the sun shining off the armor of their slain alerts their presence to Volcens. <sup>18</sup>*Aeneid*, IX.546. In Vergil, this figure is Volcens. The saga writer gives this figure an independent introduction. It is possible he confused or associated Volcens with Scandinavian Valvent. <sup>19</sup>A long one-sided dagger generally associated with the Saxons. <sup>20</sup>*Aeneid*, IX.573. <sup>21</sup>*Aeneid*, IX.888. Pandarus throws open the city gates, allowing Turnus to enter the city.

## 37v

Einn hofþingi i borgin het vefþidus hann kaftar at tvrno skriðliofi við þat varð hann fva reið2 at hann hœgr a tvær hendr bifla hertogi reðf fyft i moti hanvm 7 hog2 i fkiold tvrni 7 hallaz hann eftir en er tvrnus fer at af hanvm berr fkioldin þa legr hann kiefivnni i fmaþarmana 7 þegar eftir pelagius felaga hanf lagþi hann i gognvm með fverði

5 Þetta fer merftus 7 angraz miok 7 mællti Eilif fkom er at þola at ein maðr gangi fva fram þa lvpv mote hanvm .ij. kappar fereftevs 7 menenus 7 drap tvrnus þa baða Nv finna borgar menn at litið lið var komið i borgina þeir byrgia þa aftr oll lið borgarinar 7 fœkia þa at hanvm alla vega en hann varðiz fva at þeir komv engv fari a hann 7 er nattaði þa varð hanvm fem oðzvm monnvm at þre ytvz oflin af mœðinni þa hogaði hann vndan at arbackanvm 7 var hann þa fva moð2

10 at hann fteyptiz vt a ána 7 þar var vndir ein batr 7 kom hann þar nið2 i 7 fo2 hann i myrkrinv ofan eftir anni 7 kafaði vt vndir mvrin 7 kom fva til finna manna 7 þegar egjar hann þa at fœkia at borginni 7 fegir at hon er iamgoð 7 vnnin þa mællti ein riddari tvrni þer heimfkir menn 7 vfroðir ge fit borg yðra 7 fialfa yðr i valld tvrni þvi at þer vitið at þer ervð meir vanir fællifi 7 fkemtan leik 7 dryckiv 7 kvenna halfongvm en ftriði 7 bardogvm hafi þer 7 heyr

15 at ecki folk er harðara en faxar 7 þvi heita þeir fem stein 7 þvi erv þer miok heimfkir ef þer vilið beriaz við of þa fvaraði en vngi alkaniaf fvn enea 7 mællti eigi er þat fatt goð2 maðr at varir landz menn kvnni eigi nockot við ftrið en litlar miniar mattv her fia at en fie nockot eftir troio manna hann fkvat til hanf með fþioti 7 igegnvm hann 7 fell hann davð2 nið2 hefz nv ozrosta af nyiv Nv kemr eneaf i þerfv 7 tarton konvngr alreftus 7 mecencius

20 með miklvm her þar var 7 pallaf fvn avandri konvngs þerfi er onnvr frægivz ozrosta en troio manna allir ræddvz pallaf 7 hanf eð ogvrlega afl ecki hafði hann fyr i her komit hvark ftenz við hanum lifar ne herftar hann fer kallandi vm herin 7 fþyr eftir tvrnus 7 er tvrnus fer hverfv mikin fkaða hann gerir 7 hverfv ogvrlegr hann er 7 rið2 nv mote hanvm Ok er pallaf fer þat fkytr hann til hanf

25 með fþioti þat kom vndir hond tvrni 7 igegnvm þrefallda bzynivna 7 rennir fyri vtan rifin 7 þar i gegnvm 7 er tvrnus feck þetta far þa fkytr hann til pallaf þvi fþioti er fkaptið var eigi miara en hinn digrazti aff þat kom a pallaf miðian 7 let hann þar lif fitt þa fkilr nott bardagan Eneaf let iarða lik pallaf með miklvm veg 7 let fmyria með iv rtvm fva at eigi matti fvna enn a dogvm figvrðar konvngf iozfala fara 7 þerf keifara

30 dogvm er heinrekr het annar með þvi nafni þa var grafinn grvndvollr i rom til herber gia nockoza þa fvdv þeir þenna hanf likama fvvinn i fteinþroni hann hafþi eitt hol far a miðivm likama þat var .iiij. fota a lengð 7 lofðar hanf haleikr figraði rvma borgar mvra loganda liofker ftoð at havfði hanvm þat er hvarki matti flocna fyri affli vaz ne vinz eigi matti þat 7 braðna ne eyðaz enn at gerri einni bozv með fтали vndir logan þa

35 floknaði þetta liof vm þa bozv er nv var fra fagt af loftinv innanleiddv 7 millim kom andi vndan loganf 7 lampanf þetta var fkrifat a fteinþroni at fotvm hanum her ligr pallaf með fið finvm fvn Avandri konvngf 7 hætti fa fem d2ap fþiot tvrni riddara hann mvn finn

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1–5 Einn hofþingi ... gangi fva fram ] Obscured by reagent. 1 borgin ] Jónsson, borgin(i). 11–18 ofan eftir ... davð2 nið2 ] Obscured by reagent. The leftmost quarter of these lines are difficult to read. 22 hvark ] Jónsson, hvark(i). 23–28 herftar hann ... nott bardagan ] The leftmost side of these lines are obscured by reagent. 28–37 Eneaf let iarða ... hann mvn finn ] Freshened up. 36 vndan ] Jónsson notes that this word is incorrect. Given that the features of a *d* and *r* are visible, the word may originally have been, *vindr*.

One cheftain in the city was named Cupidus. He casts lantern light onto Turnus, and because of this Turnus became so angry that he hews on both sides.<sup>22</sup> Duke Bissa attacked him first, and hews into Turnus's shield, but Turnus pushed back against him, and when Turnus sees that Bissa's shield was open, he thrusts a spear into his gut, then immediately ran his comrade Pelagius through with a sword. Menestheus sees this and becomes very angry, and said, "To allow that one man prevails so is an eternal shame." The two champions, Serestus and Menestheus, ran against him, but Turnus killed them both. 5R

The men of the city notice that a small army has come into the city. They seal Turnus inside the city, and they attack him from all sides, but he protected himself so that they could not inflict any wounds upon him, and when night fell, he became, like other men, very worn out from exhaustion. Then he retreated toward the riverbank, and he was so tired that he tumbled into the river, but under him was a boat, into which he fell, and he went down the river under the cover of darkness; he dove into the water and swam under the wall, and returned to his men; and he immediately urges them to attack the city, and he tells them that it is as good as conquered.<sup>23</sup> 10R

Then one of Turnus's knights spoke [to the citizens], "You who are foolish and stupid, surrender your city and yourselves to the might of Turnus, because you know that you are more accustomed to an easy life, entertainment, play, drink, and the embrace of a woman than with fighting and battle. You understand well that no tribe is harder than the Saxons, for because of this, that they are called, "stone;" you are stupid if you choose to fight us." Then the young Ascanius, Aeneas's son, answered, "That is not true, good man, that our people do not understand anything of war. Here, you can have a token, to show you that there are some Trojans remaining," He shot at him with a spear, it went through him, and he fell down dead.<sup>24</sup> 15R

The battle begins anew. Now Aeneas comes into it, and also King Tarchon, Aulestes, and Mezentius with a mighty force, and there was also Pallas, son of King Evander. This is the second most renowned battle of the Trojans. Everyone was afraid of Pallas and his terrible strength. He had not come into the battle before this. Neither infantry nor cavalry prevailed against him. He goes, shouting through the army, and Turnus gets wind of this, and when Turnus sees how much injury he inflicts, and how terrible he is, he rides toward him. And when Pallas sees this, he throws a spear at him. The spear hit Turnus under his arm through the triple-layered breastplate, and grazes his ribs. After Turnus received this wound, he shoots Pallas with a spear so large, that its shaft is no smaller than the thickest beam. That hit Pallas in the gut, and he lost his life. Night finishes the battle.<sup>25</sup> 20R 25R

Aeneas had Pallas's body buried with great honor, and had the body embalmed with herbs so that it would not corrupt, and in the days of King Sigurð the Crusader<sup>26</sup> and Kaiser Heinrich the Second,<sup>27</sup> a foundation for a building was dug in Rome, someone discovered this, his body, incorrupt inside the stone sarcophagus. He had one mortal wound in the middle of his torso, that was four feet long and a hand's breadth. His height surpassed even the city walls of Rome. A blazing lamp was placed near his head, that neither water nor wind could extinguish. It could neither diminish nor die out. Someone drilled a hole with steel under the flame, which extinguished the light, because of this hole, from the rushing air coming between the flame and the lamp. This was written on the stone sarcophagus at his feet: "Here lies Pallas according to custom, the son of King Evander. The spear of Sir Turnus killed him."<sup>28</sup> He would be discovered 30R 35R

<sup>22</sup>The source for this figure, and the episode with a lantern, is unknown. <sup>23</sup>*Aeneid*, IX.960-1011. In Vergil, Turnus does not kill Serestus and Menestheus.

<sup>24</sup>This taunt does not appear in Vergil, or any known source, but the etymology associated the Saxons with the Latin word for stone (*saxum*). The saga writer appears to have associated those who fought against the Trojans, by prefiguring the Saxon invasion of Britain. <sup>25</sup>*Aeneid*, X.576-671. In Vergil, Turnus's spear pierces through layer after layer of armor through Pallas's breastplate. <sup>26</sup>An interesting inclusion that contextualizes this for a Scandinavian readership. <sup>27</sup>The main subject of Eberhard's popular German epic, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*. <sup>28</sup>This tableau was common in medieval folkore. The earliest extant example is in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, I.234, as well as *Roman d'Eneas*, 7531-60. In the Middle High German adaptation *Eneas*, 8350-400. by Heinrich von Veldeke, Heinrich similarly assigns the tomb's discovery to the reign of the Emperor Friedrich.

## 38r

az a dogvm heinrekf keifara annarf með því nafni **fall tvrnvf enf agiæta**

- N**V er ozrosto tíð kemr þa kemr nv til liðs með tvrno en agiæti mefencius 7 fvn hanf lafus þeir beriaz nv ogozliga tvrnus dzap margan mann eneaf dzap íj. hofþingia þa kemr moti hanvm en kvrtæifi laffvf 7 er þeir hofðv barðf vm rið mællti eneaf laffvf lif orkv þinne 7
- 5 þreyt eigi við mik hann er æ því akafari 7 vm síþir fell hann fyri enea þat harmaði eneaf stozelega ok fva allr herrinn var þa fettr friðr með þeim vm stvnd en er ozrosto time kom þa fkipa þeir fyl kingar 7 ganga nv lvðzar vm allan herinn tvrnus forkir fva hart fram at allt flyr vndan hanvm þar fem hann ferr 7 marga kapp dzap hann Slikt eð fama gerir eneaf hann mottir envm mikla mec encio 7 beriaz þeir lengi 7 lykr fva at mecencius fell Nv er en harðazti bardagi 7
- 10 fellr nv hvndzvðvm folkit fva at engi kvnni at telia 7 nv fvnz mann fallið a tvrno en er hann fer þetta vill hann finna sialfan eneam 7 i því breftir flotti a hanf monnum 7 varð hann þa navðigr vndan at hallda 7 var hann fyri vtan rikit vm rið.
- Eneaf legr nv vndir sig þetta riki mozg tíðindi 7 sto2 vrðv þar me ðan tvrnus var burttv af viðr skiftvm þeira eneaf 7 lavvinikonvngs 7 feck eneaf
- 15 iamnan en betra lvt konvngr fendi þa ozð nestoz envm fþaka at hann fkyllði ganga moti enea 7 bavð hanvm þar til mikit goðf 7 er þerfi boð komv til nestoz þa mællti hann ek fa þa handa ferð en eaf i troio at ek kemi ecki til ftríðf mote hanvm er 7 fam monnum kvnnigra hvelikir troio menn varv enn mer 7 kem ek ecki þar Nv verða þav tíðindi at tvrnus kemr afr i landit með miklvvm her 7 fara þeir má gar lavvinus 7 tvrnus moti eneaf með vvgian her hann famnar 7 liði i moti 7 tekz með þeim enn fnar
- 20 pazta ozrosta 7 gengr betr eneaf monnum Nv fer tvrnus at eneaf man figr fa ef fva fer fram veit hann 7 ef hann gefr vpp vapn fín þa er eneaf fva mildr at hann helldr lifi fínv 7 þat fama ætlar 7 eneaf 7 er fer tvrnus 7 þat eð dyrlega bellti er hann hafði tekít af pallaf þa brigðr hanvm fva miok við at reiðin hitnar leypr nv hvar at avðvum 7 bervaz fva fterklega at engi þenna veg girklanz haf f hafpi anað flikt feð matti þar fía morg hog 7 ffor en fva
- 25 lvkr at tvrnus fellr en eftir þenna bardaga fær eneaf latinv er tvrnus hafpi att dottvr lavvini konvngf 7 tok hann síþan vndir sig allt þeira riki 7 reð því til davða dax en ellding flo hann til
- E**ftir eneam tok riki askaniv fvn hans hann let avka **af fvnvm enea 7 af bztvts bana** albanf borg við tífr þat er nv i rvma borg Eneaf reð íj. vetr italia en askaniv fvn hanf .xxx. 7 .vij. vetr hann atti fvn er het filvius hann kvangaðiz vngr 7 feck kono
- 30 þeirar er lavvina het En er filvius víffi at kona hanf var eigi ein faman þa fendi hann eftir vífinda monnum 7 fþvrði með hvart hon forri helldr fvn eða dottvr en þeir fogþv at hon mvndi fvn forða þann er mikill ævi maðr mvndi vera 7 mart illt gera bæði dzepa fo ðoz fín 7 moðoz en þo mvndi hann lengi lifa 7 agiætr verða þetta geck allt eftir þviat moðir hanf do þa er hon forðdi hann hann var kallaðr brvtvs hann fædziz vpp með foðoz fínvm til þerf er hann var
- 35 xv. vetra 7 nam allzkynf atgiozvi Ok ein tima er hann fo2 a dyra veiðar með foðvr fínvm þa fa hann híozt ein 7 fkvat at hanvm 7 er at var leitað þa stoð ozin i geg nim filvivm foðvr hanf 7 er menn vrðv þerfa varir þa rakv þeir hann brott of italia fo2 hann til

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1–20 az a dogvm heinrekf ... monnum Nv] Freshened up. 2 **N**] Not freshened up. 10 nv] Freshened up to vm. 10 tvrno en er] Freshened up to turnonem. 14 burttv] This word is split by a large hole in the manuscript between the r and the first t. Jónsson suggest this may not have been the original spelling under the refreshed ink. The letter forms of the b,r, t, and t are visible. 21 vpp vapn fín þa er] freshened up. 22 7 er fer] Jónsson, 7 er (hann) fer.



## The Death of Turnus the Great

Now when it's time for battle, Mezentius and his son Lausus join the army against Turnus the Mighty. They they fight furiously. Turnus killed many men. Aeneas killed three chieftains. Then Lausus the Courteous goes up against him, and after they fought for a time, Aeneas said, "Lausus, stop fighting me and live out your youth." Because of what he said, he becomes more aggressive, but he soon died before Aeneas. This aggrieved Aeneas and the army very much.

5R

Peace was brokered for a while, but when it was time for battle, they split the ranks and the sound of trumpets is heard over the entire host.<sup>29</sup> Turnus charges onward so fiercely, everyone flees from him wherever he goes, and he killed many champions. Aeneas does the same. He meets Mezentius the Great, and they fight for a long time, but in the end Mezentius died. The battle now becomes most fierce and hundreds of men die, so many that no one could count, but the advantage turns away from Turnus. When he notices this, he desires to meet Aeneas himself, but his men break out in flight and he was reluctant to be captured, so he retreated from the kingdom for a time.<sup>30</sup>

10R

Aeneas now subjugates the kingdom. Many great things regarding the dealings of Aeneas and the Lavinian Kings happened after Turnus departed, but Aeneas got the greater share of power. The king sent a request to Nestor the Wise, that he should go against Aeneas, and he offered him many treasures, but when this message came to Nestor, he said, "Since I for one witnessed Aeneas's tour in Troy, I will not go against him in battle. There are few who know better than me what kind of people the Trojans were, and I will not go."<sup>31</sup> Now it so happens that Turnus comes back to the land with a great army, and those in-laws, Latinus and Turnus, move against Aeneas with an insurmountable force. He assembles an army against them, and between them there is a very fierce battle during which Aeneas's men have the advantage. Turnus now realizes that Aeneas will take victory if this continues, and he also knows that Aeneas is so kind that he would rather preserve his life if he puts down his weapons, and Aeneas plans the same thing, but when he sees Turnus wearing the precious belt he had taken from Pallas, he becomes very angry with him. They charge at each other and fight so fiercely that no one this side of the Greek Sea has ever seen anything like it. One could see many massive blows, but it so ended when Turnus died.<sup>32</sup> After this battle, Aeneas married Lavinia, the daughter of King Latinus, who had been married to Turnus, and Aeneas took power over the entire realm, and he ruled it until his dying day, when a bolt of lightning struck him dead.<sup>33</sup>

15R

20R

## The Sons of Ascanus and Brutus

- [6] After Aeneas, his son Ascanius took over the kingdom. He had Alba on the Tiber expanded, which is now called Rome. Aeneas ruled over Italy for four years, but Ascanius, his son, ruled thirty-four.<sup>34</sup> He had a son called Silvius. He married young, and took the woman who was named Lavinia.<sup>35</sup> When Silvius learned that his wife was pregnant, he sent for wise men to learn whether she carried a son or a daughter. They said that she will bear a son who would be a great man; he would be a great man in life but will commit much evil and kill both his mother and father, yet he will live a long life and become renowned. All this came to pass after his mother died when she gave birth to him. He was named Brutus. He grew up with his father until he was fifteen years old, and he accomplished all kinds of mighty deeds. One time when he went hunting for game with his father, he saw a hart and shot at it, but when struck, the arrow was lodged in his father Silvius. When men discovered this, they threw him out of Italy. He went first to

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<sup>29</sup>*Aeneid*, XI.128-1546. In Vergil, a truce was brokered after the death of Mezentius. <sup>30</sup>*Aeneid*, X.997-1190. This section, substantially abbreviated, reads much like an account of Vergil written from memory. <sup>31</sup>*Aeneid*, IX.299-394. In Vergil an envoy was sent to the Greek veteran Diomedes, followed by his refusal. <sup>32</sup>*aeneid*, XII. The whole of Book XII enumerates the battle between Aeneas and Turnus. The poem closes as Aeneas sees Turnus wearing Pallas's belt after which he promptly kills him. The Vergilian material ends here. <sup>33</sup>According to Livy, *Ab urbe condita libri*, 1.3, Aeneas's ancestor Agrippa, six generations removed, was killed by a bolt of lightning. This detail was available to the saga writer from Landolfus's *Historia*, I.3.5. Tétrel, pp. 511-514, suggests this passage reveals a complex relationship with many other sources. <sup>34</sup>Ascanius's thirty-four year reign is mentioned in *VV* [6], p. 2, but does not appear in *HRB*. This detail does appear in *Historia Romana*, I.2, 7-10. According to Landolfus, the duration of Ascanius's reign was thirty-seven years, and according to the *VV*, thirty-four. <sup>35</sup>*HRB* [6], I.54. According to *HRB* and *VV*, Silvius secretly sleeps with a niece of Lavinia's.

## 38v

fraenda sinna fyrft þeira komnir varv af troio 7 þa varv þiaðir a girklandi 7 gerðiz hann fo2maðr ðeira 7 leyfti  
 þa alla vt gerðiz hann b2att ríkr havþingi 7 sto2rað2 hann var manna avrvaztr d2eif nv til  
 hanf fva mikít lið at hann hafþi nær .vij. þvfnd2að manna vtan bo2n 7 konvr Sa maðr var i gir  
 klandi er aiffirius het hann var girzkr at foðvr kyni en troio manna at moðo2 æt þerfi maðr fty  
 5 rkir b2vto at fe 7 fiolmenne 7 rvddv þeir þa merkr 7 gerðv fer þar kaftala 7 vrvv vigi  
 en er þeir þottvz vrvgir vera þa fendv þeir b2ef til girkia konvngf með þerfvm o2ðvm Pandarato  
 girkia konvngi fendir b2vtvs vtlægð2 hoþþingi troio manna ættar Vndarlega geri þer er þer fkaþið fva ha  
 rðan rett þeim monnvum er af troio manna ætt erv at þeir fkvlv verða at bygia eyðimerkr 7  
 lifa þar við grafa røtr 7 dyra holld en þer fitið i allzkynf fællifi 7 hafit hve  
 10 tvetna þat er hvgr girniz latið nv verða enda vm fþir a þeira vefold gerið nv anað  
 hvart at takið þa i fætt ella bøtið þeim þær sto2v fakilr er þer  
 hafit við þa gert .íij. at þer gefit þeim frelli at fara b2ott 7 legiz  
 þa fyrri flikt fem ma En er konvngf hafþi lefið b2efit þa varð hann reið2  
 miok 7 famnar her faman 7 ferr at þeim b2vtvs verð2 var við þetta 7 fer vt af  
 15 kaftalanvm með .vi. þvfnd2að manna 7 a fskog þan er konvngf fkyllði vm fara 7 kemr at hanvm  
 vm nott a vvar 7 d2epr fiolþa folkfflyr nv konvngf 7 hanf menn yfir a þa er callon het 7  
 tyndiz þar i fiolþi folkf en fvmt var d2epit en fvmt flyði hingað 7 þingat  
 i þvi liði var b2oðir konvngf fa er antegon het hann fnyr moti með finvm monnvum 7 varð þar ho2ð  
 o2rosta 7 eigi long að2 merftr lvti hanf manna var d2epin en hann fialfr handtekin 7 fettr i iarn  
 20 7 fa maðr með hanvm er anakletus het b2vtvs hefir fett eftir þvfndrað manna at geyma ka  
 ftalans at konvngi d2eif nv mikill herr 7 hvþi hann b2vmvm vera komin i kaftalann 7 fteztiz hann  
 nv þar vm 7 fotti með allzkynf vigvelvm en hinir vo2ðvz vel 7 d2engilega 7  
 barv vt a þa vellanda bik 7 gloanda griot en er b2vtvs fra þerfi tiðindi þa let hann leiða  
 fyrri fig anacletvm hann b2igð2 fverði 7 mælti þav tiðindi hefir ek fþvrt af konvngi 7 varvm monnvum at  
 25 annað hvart fcalltv þer lif kavpa eða deyia i ftað anacletus fvarar hvi man ek mer eigi  
 lif kavpa 7 minvm kumpanvm ef koftir er a b2vtvs mælti þv fcallt koma mer i herbvðir pand2  
 asi konvngf 7 minvm her en ek man fetia rað til anacletus eigi vin ek þat til liff at rada konvngi ba  
 na rað b2vtvs legr rað til anacletus fer 7 hitti varðmenn konvngf er þeir kendv hann þa fþvr  
 ðv þeir hvar antigonus konvngf b2oðir var en hann fagþi at hann hefþi komit þeim baðvm o2  
 30 myrkva stofv 7 kvez eigi koma af hanvm fiotrvm 7 fagþi hann þar vera i fskoginvm  
 fkaft fra þeim forv þeir þa með hanvm i fskogin 7 var þar fyrri b2vtvs 7 varv fvmir d2epnir en fvmir hand  
 teknir b2vtvs ferr þa með fin til herbvða konvngf 7 verða þar eigi fyr varir við en þeir heyra lvð2 b2vtvs  
 vrðv þeir felmf fvllir er þeir vocknvðv vindzucknir 7 fengv engir nær vopnin 7 var  
 d2epin merftr lvtr herf konvngf en hann var fialfr handtekin 7 leidi fyrri b2vtvs þa mælti b2vtvs til konvngf  
 35 .íj. koftir erv þer gervir fa annar at þv ert her d2epin i ftað ella gift mer innogen dottvr þina  
 7 lofa þeim ollvm b2ott or rikinv með mer fem af troio manna ætt erv komnir 7 fa o2f fkip 7 alla  
 lvti aðra þa er ver þvrfvm at hafu konvngf fvarar fe ek nv at gvðin erv mer miok reið o2ðin er

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1 þeira komnir varv af troio ] Jónsson, þeira (er) komnir varv af troio. 7 ættar Vndarlega ] Jónsson, ættar (kveðiv sina) Vndarlega. 11 hvart at takið ]  
 Jónsson, hvart at (þer) takið. 21 b2vmvm ] Jónsson emends to b2vtvm. 21 fteztiz ] Jónsson emends to settiz. 27 til anacletus eigi ] Jónsson, til  
 anacletus (svarar) eigi. 32 með fin ] Jónsson, með (her) fin.

his kin, who were descended from Trojans, who were enslaved in Greece, and he made himself their leader and freed them. He soon made himself a mighty and powerful chieftain. He was most generous of men. The multitude was so large that nearly seven thousand men thronged to him, not counting the women and children.<sup>36</sup>

- There was a man in Greece named Assaracus. He was Greek by his father's family, but his mother was of Trojan men.<sup>37</sup> This man supports Brutus with provisions and many men, and they cleared the forest and built castles and fortifications for themselves.<sup>38</sup> When they thought themselves sufficiently strong, they sent a letter to the Greek king with these words: "Brutus, the outlawed chieftain of the Trojans sends his regards to Pandrasus, the king of the Greeks. It is strange that you impose such harsh rule upon those men who are of the Trojan nation, that it comes to pass that they inhabit the desert and live there on grass roots and wild animal flesh while you sit in all kinds of luxury and can have anything whatsoever you desire. Have this custom of maintaining their oppression put to an end. Let us now finally put an end to this misery. Either agree to a reconciliation, or compensate them for the harm you have done to them. Or you may give them a third option: the freedom to leave, and let things happen as they may."<sup>39</sup> When the king had read this letter, he became very angry and he assembles an army, and then he goes to them. Brutus becomes aware of this, and he goes out of the castles with six thousand men and into the forest that the king is going to cross, and he came to him in the night unawares, and he kills many people. The king and his men now flee over the river which is called the Akalon, and a multitude of people were lost there—some were killed, but some ran away in every direction. The king's brother, who was named Antigonus, was in this force. He turns back to fight with his men, and there was a fierce battle, but it was not long before most of his men were killed and he himself was captured and put into irons, and he was with a man who was named Anacletus. Brutus left a thousand men to guard the castle. A mighty force rushed to the king, and he thought that Brutus has gone into the castle and [the king]<sup>40</sup> surrounded it, and fought with all kinds of maneuvers, but they fought well and heroically, and they brought out boiling pitch and red-hot stones. But as Brutus learned of these events, he had Anacletus led before him. He draws his sword and said these things, "I learned about the king and our men, and you must either bargain for your life, or die on the spot."<sup>41</sup> Anacletus answered, "Why would I not bargain for my life and the life of my people when there is the choice?" Brutus said, "You shall come with me and my force into King Pandrasus's camp and I will implement a plan," Anacletus answered, "I will not survive that I should execute this plan to murder the king." Brutus implements his plan.<sup>42</sup>

- Anacletus goes and meets the king's watchmen. When they recognized him, they asked where the king's brother Antigonus was, he explained that he had both of them released from the dungeon, but he asserted that he was not able to free him from his bonds. He said that Antigonus is in the forest nearby. They went with him into the forest, but Brutus was there first, and some were killed and some were captured. Brutus goes there with his army to the king's camp, but none were aware of this until they hear Brutus's trumpets. They became frightened when they awoke wine-drunk, and couldn't use their weapons.<sup>43</sup> Most of the king's army was killed, and he himself was captured, and he was lead before Brutus.<sup>44</sup> Brutus said to the king that there there are two choices, "either you will be killed here on the spot, or you permit me to marry your daughter Innogin, allow those who have come from the Trojan nation to depart this kingdom with me, and give us ships and all the other things that we need to have." The king answered, "I know now that the gods are very angry with me,

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<sup>36</sup>A passage much abbreviated from the *HRB* and *VV*, using the formulae and parataxis of *Íslendingasögur*. *HRB*, I.88-103 [8]. <sup>37</sup>In *HRB* and *VV*, Assaracus's introduction and mention of his heritage occurs earlier. *HRB*, I.79-80 [7]. <sup>38</sup>*HRB*, I.88-90 [8]. Brutus orders the multitude to occupy the hills and forests and fortifies the towns of Assaracus. <sup>39</sup>The relationship that this treatment of the account has to the sources is obscure. The choice of three options appears unique to the saga. <sup>40</sup>That is, Pandrasus. <sup>41</sup>The relationship between this dialog and the sources is obscure. Brutus enumerates his plan to use Anacletus to divert the siege force away from the town on the pretense that Antigonus is shackled in the forest. *HRB*, I.155-167 [11]. <sup>42</sup>Anacletus's response, bemoaning the probability he will not survive, is unique to the saga. <sup>43</sup>Their drunkenness is unique to the saga. <sup>44</sup>The entirety of *HRB*, I.209-241 [14] is missing. Mempricius's suggestion that Innogen be given to Brutus and that the Trojans be set free is expressed directly by Brutus. This exchange is implied in *HRB*, I.242-246 [15].

## 39r

er broðir minn skyldi fyft vera hertekin 7 síþan sialfr ek hefir ek 7 latið merstan þoza liðf minf  
 þa em ek nv varla flik2 til raða gerðar sem fyr þa er ek fat með heili i minv riki Nv þo at eigi  
 lægi líf mitt við þa geriz þv b2vtus fva agiætr mað2 7 raðvgr 7 sigrfæll at ek veit var  
 la þanm mann i heimenvm at litilræði fe i við þig at tengiaz Nv man ek þat til raðf taka at  
 5 ganga glaðlega at þerfvm kostvm er þat 7 min ætlan at b2vtus nafn man lengi vppi i ver  
 olldinni 7 hanf kynf manna ma 7 vera at var við2 fkipti verði i fogvr fett Nv fyniz mer þat vir  
 ðingar venaz at efla þig með ollv þvi er ver megvvm 7 raða þerfvm raðvm ventir mik at margir ga  
 vfgir menn eigi fina ætt að til þín man ek þo en manne firr vera i þeiri ættar tov Vil ek nv at  
 þv kiosir hvartþv villt hafá innogen dottvr minni i heiman fylgiv þriðivng allz minf rikif eða  
 10 villtv at ek bva yð2 b2ott eftir yð2vm vilia Ek man 7 vera i gífling með yð2 þar til er þat er allt  
 fram komit fem ek hefir yð2 heitið her eftir fættvz þeir b2vtus með þerfv 7 er nv inogen gift  
 brvto En eftir þat byz b2vtus til b2ottferðar konvngf feck hanvm .ííij. fkip 7 .xx. 7 .ccc. fkipa 7 þat allt  
 annað sem hann hafþi iáttað hanvm en er byr gaf siglir b2vtus brott innogen fell fva ner b2ottferðin  
 at hon vissi nalega ecki til manna 7 hvgaði hana þeir varv vti .vi. dögf að2 þeir tokv ey þa er liog  
 15 ocia heitir hon hafþi verið fiolbygð en þa var hon miok fva avð fakilf vikinga b2vtus let ka  
 nna eyna 7 fvnnv þeir engan man en fiolþa dyra a fskogvnm 7 tokv þeir mozg þar hittv  
 þeir eit hof fozt 7 mikit 7 var þar i likneski giefvnar 7 satvrnv 7 ivpifers þeir fogðv b2vto 7 ba  
 ðv hann a land ganga hann geck vpp síþan við .xij. mann. með hanvm var fa vífinda maðr er geron het hann var annar  
 gofgaztr maðr með hanvm. þeir hosþv bvndit tignar d2eglvvm vm enni fer 7 er þeir komv i hofit  
 20 þa gerdv þeir ellda .íij. ein fyri oðni anan fyri þo2 .íij. fyri gefion síþan geck b2vtus fyri ftalla ge  
 fionar 7 hafþi ker i hendi 7 i vin 7 bloð hvitrar hiartkollo 7 mællti þv ert veitz himinf  
 ðindi 7 fetning allrar veralldar 7 kant helvitif deili feg mer min forlog 7 hvar ek skal  
 bygia at yð2v raði 7 hvar ek skal þig gvþleg meyia lata dyrka at eilifv fva mællti hann  
 íx. finnvvm 7 geck .ííij. finnvvm vm ftallan 7 helkti af kerinv i elldin Síþan var bzeit nið2 hi  
 25 artkollo fkinntit fyri ftallan 7 lagþiz b2vtus þar a 7 sofnaði hann þottiz þa fia gefivn  
 hía fer 7 mællti i vestrhalfv heimfens við gallia riki ligr ein ey vt i hafit vbygð þar bygðv  
 fyr meir risar þar hofir þer at bygia 7 þinv liði at eilifv 7 þitt kyn man hafá valld yfir  
 ollvm heime En er hann vaknaði þa fagþi hann finvm monnvvm dravm sinn en þeir vrðv fegnir 7 forv til fki  
 pa 7 siglþv þegar byr gaf til affrika þaþan siglðv þeir til hova philiastea 7 þaþan til grafar fal  
 30 macvm þaþan forv þeir til mavritaneam 7 þaþan til ftolpa ercvles þaþan forv þeir til haff þerf er tirenvvm  
 heitir þar fvndv þeir .ííij. þvfvnd2vð troio manna þeira er flyð hosþv með antenoze hosþingi þeira  
 var cozinevs hann var hogvæf hverf daglega en hin diarfazti til vapn 7 fva fterkr at hann haf  
 þi kaftað rífa einvm sem barni Ok er þeir b2vtus fvndv 7 bvndv þeir fin vinskaf faman  
 7 forv síþan þar til er þeir komv i aqvítania þar reð fyri fa konvngf er gofariuv het fo2inevs var farin fra fkipvm  
 35 með .ccc. manna at veiða dyr. konvngf menn fvndv þa 7 fogðv at konvngf lofaði engvm manne at veiða  
 þar dyr Co2nevs var þar þa komin 7 mællti fva mvnv ver gera fem að2 hofv ver ætlað hvat fem hann fegir  
 Sa er fyri var konvngf monnvvm bendir vpp boga 7 ætlar at fkiota coznevs hann þrifir þann 7 brytr bogan 7

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1 er] This word is reduplicated from the end of 38v. 8 að til] Jónsson, að (telia) til. 9 þv villt hafá innogen] Jónsson, þv villt hafá (með) innogen.  
 14 hvgaði hana] Jónsson, hvgaði (Brvtvs) hana. 21 ert] Jónsson normalizes to er. 26 bygðv] ð is written directly over the g. 32 vapn] Jónsson,  
 vapn(a). 34 fo2inevs] Jónsson cozineus.

because first my brother should be captured, and then myself.<sup>45</sup> And furthermore, I have lost most of my men. I am hardly able to govern as I did before when I sat in strength over my kingdom. I will not forfeit my life, and you will become so famous, and you are so shrewd and victorious, I hardly know anyone in the whole world for whom it would be a humiliation to follow you. I will gladly agree to follow these conditions. Furthermore, it is my estimation that the name Brutus will be long exalted in the world, along with his descendants.<sup>46</sup> It could even be that our dealings will be set in sagas.<sup>47</sup> Now it seems to me that it promises the most fame, in accordance with my station to support you, and to agree to this marriage. I hope that many noble men have their heritage traced to you, then I will be only one part removed from this lineage. I wish now that you choose whether you wish to have as dowry with my daughter Innogen, a third of my kingdom, or whether I should prepare you for your departure after your wishes. I will remain your hostage until everything I promised you comes to pass.” Then he and Brutus came to terms with this matter, and Innogen married Brutus. And then Brutus prepares for his departure. The king gave him three hundred twenty-four ships, and everything else he had promised him, and when the wind blew, Brutus sails away. Soon after his departure, Innogen was beside herself, but Brutus comforted her.<sup>48</sup>

- [16] They were out for six days before they landed on the island called Leogetia. It had been densely populated, but was later deserted because of vikings. Brutus had explored the island and they found no one but for a multitude of animals in the forest, and they took many of them. They found an enormous ancient temple there and inside there were idols of Gefjon, Saturn, and Jupiter.<sup>49</sup> They spoke to Brutus and told him to go to land. He went ashore with twelve men, and that wise man named Gerio was with them. He was another noble man who followed Brutus. They had bound ceremonial ribbons around their heads, and they went into the temple, where they lit three fires, one for Oðin, one for Þór, and another for Gefjon. Then Brutus went before Gefjon’s stall with a goblet in hand, with wine and the blood from a white doe and said, “you who know heaven’s tidings, the order of the entire world, and know Hell’s dominion. Tell me my fate and, by your advice, where I will settle, and where I can glorify you, eternal maid, forever.” He said this nine times, walked four times around the stall and poured out the goblet onto the fire. Then the doe skin was spread before the stall, and Brutus laid himself down and slept. It seemed to him that he saw Gefjon before him, and she spoke, “In the western half of the world, near Gaul, lies an island out in the sea, which was once inhabited by giants. You and your people will live there forever, and your ancestors will have power over all the world.” When he awoke, he then told his men his dream, and they rejoiced, went to the ships, and sailed at once with a good wind to Africa. From there they sailed to the temples of the Philistines, and from there to the graves of Salmacum,<sup>50</sup> from there they went to Mauritania, and from there to the Pillars of Hercules, from there they went to the sea which is called the Tyrrhenian. There they found four thousand Trojan men who had fled with Antenor. Their chieftain was Corineus. On usual days he was affable, but most daring in battle, and was so strong, he had thrown a giant as easily as if he were only a child. When he met Brutus, they bonded in friendship, and they went on until they landed in Aquitaine.
- [17] A king by the name of Gofarius ruled there. Corineus had left the ship with three hundred men to hunt game. The king’s men met them and said that the king allowed no one to hunt game there. Then Corineus came and said, “we will keep doing what we intended, despite what he says.” The captain of the king’s men aims his bow and plans to shoot Corineus. He grabs it and breaks the bow and
- [18]

<sup>45</sup>HRB, I.247-248 [15]; *Quoniam aduersi dii me meumque fratrum Antigonum in manus uestras tradiderunt...* Pandrasus does not mention his relationship to the gods in *VV*. <sup>46</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>47</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>48</sup>HRB, I.273-275 [15]. *Quam Brutus blanditiis mitigans nunc dulces amplexus, nunc dulcia basia innectit, nec coeptis suis desistit donec fletu fatigata sopori summittitur.* Brutus’s consolation of Innogen does not appear in *VV*. <sup>49</sup>According to *HRB* and *VV*, the temple contained images of the Jupiter, Mercury, and Diana, whom medieval Scandinavians associated with Þór, Oðin, and Gefjon. The saga writer appears to have confused the names here. In *VV*, the only deity mentioned in this episode is Diana. <sup>50</sup>Possibly a misreading of *lacum Salinarum*, *HRB*, I.321 [17].

## 39v

rifr af *hanvm* hendznar 7 flitr *hann* allan fvdz i ftycki en er *hanf* kvmpanar sia þat þa flyia þeir 7 fog  
 ðv *konvngi* *hann* varð reiðz miok 7 samnar miklv liði þetta fregn bztvz 7 gengr a land með sinv liði i mot  
*konvngi* 7 tekz þar hardðz bardagi 7 mikit mannfal coznevz gengr i gegnim fylkingar *konvngf* 7 hogr a tvær  
 hendz 7 þersv slaz *konvngf menn* a flotta en *hann* leypr eftir þeim með bztvðit sverð 7 opti a þa 7  
 5 mællti fvið aftr veslingar 7 verðit eigi allir at skommvm er þer flyið þvfvndvm fyri mer einvm i þersi  
 fneri moti *hanvm* kapp fa er fvardvz het með .dc. riddara 7 er *hann* fer coznevz hogr *hann* til *hanf* en Coznevz  
 bza við skilldinvm 7 hogr *hann* fvdz i miðiv kom þa bztvz til með .c. riddara 7 dzepa þeir þa dzivgvm  
 hvert þat barn er eigi flyði 7 attv þeir at rófa fogrvm figri 7 miklv herfangi af bztvto 7 coznevz

I þenna tima reðv .xij. *konvngar* fyri gallia 7 fœkir giofariuz *konvngr* a þeira travft 7 hetv þeir at koma  
 10 *hanvm* aftr i riki fitt 7 reka hina bztvtt þeir bztvz 7 cozineuz logðv nalega allt eqvtaniam vndir  
 sig brendv borgir 7 dzapv menn en ræntv fe þeir komv i þan stað er nv stendz tvronf borg  
 7 bztvz let *hana* fyft gera 7 bioqvz þar vm þviat þeir ventv bztvtt herf a hendz fer þeir .xij.  
*konvngar* reðvz i her með giofario *konvngi* 7 forv dag 7 nott þar til er þeir mœttvz 7 fylktv hvarir tv  
 egiv sinv liði 7 tekz þar en snarpazta ozrosta 7 i fylta ryck fellr af *konvnginvm* giofariuz  
 15 .ij. þvfvndrvð manna slær þa ræzlv a folkit 7 flyr *hann* þa 7 *hanf* menn i þvi komv *konvngar* með sinar fy  
 lkingar 7 hrvcv þier þa allir við þa var sva mikill liðsmvnr at galli varv .iiij. vm ein  
 vrðv troio menn þa ofrlíði boznir 7 forv a hæl 7 naðv þo herbvðvm sinvm 7 settvz þeir nv vm  
 herbvðirnar 7 hũga nv at pina þar troio menn til bana Ðerfa nott ferr coznevz a skoginn  
 leynilega með .iiij. þvfvndrvð manna en er mozgin kom þa reið bztvz vt oz herbvðvm sinvm  
 20 með fylktv liði en galli reðvz i moti 7 tokz þar hozð ozrosta 7 mikit manfall af  
 hvarvm tvegvm Sa var kappi merftr með bztvto er tvrvuz het annar en coznevz *hann*  
 var fyftvr fvn bztvz *hann* geck hardazt fram allra manna *hann* dzap með sinni hendi .dc.  
*manna* 7 þa fell *hann* af farvm 7 mœði En er bardagin var fem hardaztr þa kemr  
 cozineuz i opna skioldv *konvngvm* með fitt lið 7 fnyr þa skiott mannfalinn a landherin flo þa  
 25 a þa opi 7 fogþv vgrynni herf vera komit a bak fer slær þa felmt a folk 7 flyðv  
 siþan allir en troio menn fylgþv þeim 7 dzapv þa þvfvndzvðvm 7 forv siþan aftr til herbvða með  
 figri En þo at bztvz hefði fengit figr mikin 7 ftozt herfang þa þotti *hanvm* þat litilf  
 vert fakir missfv tvrni frænda sinf. *hann* iarðaði *hann* þar 7 tok borgin nafn af *hanvm* 7 heitir  
 æ siþan tvronf borg Brvtvz mællti mikit manlat hofv ver her fengit a varvm mm er ós  
 30 7 feint til leiðzettv þviat landherrin kemr margr við hvern dag nv er þat mitt rað at leita brott  
 með slikv herfangi fem nv hofv ver 7 vitia vara fozlaga 7 þeira landkofta fem gv  
 ðin hafa orf til vifað þetta samþytv allir forv þeir siþan til skipa sinna með vgrynni fiar 7  
 siglðv til þeirar eyiar er þeim var til vifað þeir lendv þar fem heitir nefio sv ey var þa kall  
 að albio þar var nalega engi bygð nema rifar nockorir þeir þottvz ecki land seð hafa fegra  
 35 eða byggilegra þar var hver a fvll með fíkv 7 allzkynf gjæzkv bztvz lætr nv ry  
 ðia landit 7 hvfa en rifar flyðv vndan i fioll 7 hella þa var fvið nafni bztvto  
 7 var kallaðr bztvto 7 af *hanf* nafni var landit siþan kallat brittania Coznevz for nozðar

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2 ðv] Illegible. 5 þersi] Jónsson emends to þersv. 29 mm] Jónsson, m(onnv)m. 30–37 7 feint til leiðzettv ... nevz for nozðar] Obscured by reagent. The middle portion of line 30, and the rightmost side of lines 35–37 is clear. 32 ytv] Jónsson, y(k)tv.

snatches it from his arms and shreds it into pieces.<sup>51</sup> When his company sees this, they flee and told the king. He became very angry and he assembles a great army. Brutus learns this and lands with his army against the king, and a fierce battle begins, and there is a huge loss of life. Corineus charges into the king's ranks, and hews to both sides, and because of this, the king's men retreated in flight, but he runs after them with a drawn sword shouting that them, saying, "come back, you wretches! Are you not ashamed that you flee by the thousand from me alone?" After this that champion named Svardus, along with six hundred knights turned against him, and when he sees Corineus, he strikes at him, but Corineus blocks him with his shield, and hews him asunder through the middle. Brutus arrived along with one hundred knights, and they kill, in large numbers, every man who did not flee, and they won the right to boast a marvelous victory, and much booty.

5R

## Brutus and Corineus

[19] In this time, twelve kings ruled over Gaul, and King Gofarius seeks protection from them, and they promised to return him to power and expel the others. Brutus and Corineus conquered nearly all of Aquitaine, burned down cities, killed the people, and took all their belongings. They came to that place where Tours now stands, which Brutus had built, and they [20] fortified themselves there, because they soon expected enemy forces. The twelve kings joined the army of King Gofarius, and they traveled day and night, until they met, and both sides positioned their troops, and a fierce battle erupts, and in the first onslaught, two thousand of King Gofarius's men died. Then the people were struck with fear, and he and his men flee. At that moment, the kings arrived with their men, and they drove them back. There was such a great difference in the number of men; there were four Gauls for every Trojan.<sup>52</sup> The Trojans became overwhelmed by the superior force, and they took to their heels, yet they reached their camp, and now the kings decide that they will torture the Trojan men to death. That night, Corineus secretly goes into the forest with three thousand men.

10R

15R

When morning broke, Brutus rode with his troops from his camp, and the Gauls rushed him, and a fierce battle begins with great losses on both sides. The greatest champion under Brutus, besides Corineus, was named Turnus. He was the nephew of Brutus. Of all men, he fought hardest. With only his hands, he killed six hundred men, and he fell on account of his wounds and his fatigue. When the battle was the most severe, Corineus comes toward the kings with his army into the opening between shields and the number of dead turns quickly against the local forces. They began to cry out, and said that a monstrous army is rushing at them from the rear. Fits of terror fell upon the people, and they all fled, but the Trojans followed them, and killed them by the thousands. Then they returned to the camp with victory. Although Brutus had taken a great victory and much booty, this seemed to be of little value to him because he lost Turnis, his kin. He buried him there, and the city took the name from him; since then it is called Tours. Brutus said, "We have suffered a great loss among our people, and it will be hard for us to recover because the local forces receive daily reinforcements. I therefore propose we retreat with the booty which we have now have, and to seek our fate and that land-claim which the gods have shown us." Everyone agreed with this. Then they went to their ships with a huge amount of wealth, and sailed to that island which was shown to them. They landed in a place called Nesio.<sup>53</sup>

20R

25R

30R

[21] That island was called Albion. There were few settlements, except for some giants. They thought that they have never seen a land so beautiful and habitable. Every river was full of fish and all kinds of good things. Brutus has the land cleared and houses built, but the giants fled to the mountains and in caves. Then the name of Brutus was changed, and he was now called Britus. From his name the land was since called Brittania.<sup>54</sup> Corineus continued on to the north

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<sup>51</sup> *HRB*, I.348-349 [18], Corineus strikes the bow over Imbertus's head. <sup>52</sup> *HRB*, I.418 [20]; the ratio is thirty-to-one. *VV* does not specify. <sup>53</sup> *HRB*, [20], 451. ... in *Toonesio littore applicuit*, that is, Totnes. The word form, Nesio, is peculiar. <sup>54</sup> In the *VV*, [21] pp. 16-17, the material enumerating the settlements of Britain and Cornwall, and their etymologies occurs after Goemagog's killing. The saga follows the pattern of the *HRB*, I.453-489 [21].

## 40r

meir i landit j byggi þar fem nv er kallað coznbretaland þar varv fleftir rifar ein þeira rifanna var  
 merltr j fterkaztr fa het goemagog hann var .xv. alna har þat hofðv menn feð at hann reif sto2  
 tre vpp með rotvm fem litin kvist En er b2vtvs gerði hatið gvðvm finvm þa kom þerfi rifi  
 þar j með hanvm aðri2 .xx. j d2apv marga menn fyri b2vto hann samnar þa liði mote þeim j varv  
 5 d2epnir .xx. en goemagog var handtekin j varðveitr þar til er coznelvs kiæme þvi at b2vtvs  
 villdi fia fanglokv þeira j rifanf En er coznelvs kom þa vard hann glað2 er hann skyllði reyna fig  
 Takaz þeir nv j sviptaz fterklega rifin tok hann fva fast at új. rifin gengv i fvnd2 i coznelvs  
 þa varð coznelvs reið2 j fœriz i alla avka amlf finf j hefir hann siðan rifan vpp a b2ingv  
 fer j leypr siþan með hanvm a fiofar gnípvv nocko2ar j kaftaði hanvm þar ofan fyrir j b2ot  
 10 naði hvert bein i hanvm fa staðr er kallað2 er i dag risa fall B2ito let borg gera i liking eftir  
 troio hon var fett við a eina þar fem vellir flettir varv nær j skamt var til fiofar hann let þa borg kalla troio ena  
 nyiv hon hefir fengit fleiri nofn af atbvrðvm þeim er siþar komv til hon var lengi kallað  
 Enouantum eftir þat carelvð en nv heitir hon lvndvna borg I þenna tima var heli kenni maðr a  
 io2sala landi j var hann tekin af philistæi monnvmpa varv fynir ectozi i troio En silvius fvnar fvn  
 15 eneaf italia moðo2 b2oðir b2vtvs b2ito atti .új. fyni með innogen konv finni het  
 en ellzti locrinus en annar albanactvs .új. camb2an en er þeir varv vaxnir þa tok b2vtvs  
 fott hann skipti þa riki með fvnvm finvm þat skipti helldv þeir siþan b2itvs andaðiz af þerfi fott  
 þa hafpi hann verið i b2etlandi .úúj. vetr j .xx. fynir hanf giozðv veglegan hanf groft i þeiri borg  
 er hann hafpi sialfr gera latið hann var miok harmað2 af finvm monnvvm j allri alþyðv af b2e  
 20 Locrinus tok þat riki eftir foðvr fin fem hanvm var skipat j var fa lvtr rikif af ta konvngvm  
 hanf nafni loegrea kamb2a tok þann lvt er ligr við a þa er hæf fabrin egvalia en eftir hanf daga  
 var hon kallað kamb2a En albanactvs tok þat riki er þa het af hanf nafni albaniam þat heitir nv  
 skotland konvngr reð fyri hvnalandi fa er hvmbvs het hann var harð2 j illgiarn hann fer með her a hendr  
 25 albanaf2o j byðr hanvm til bardaga j fell albanactvs i þeiri o2rosto en þat folk er vndan komz  
 fotti a fvnd locrini j fogðv hanvm þerfi tiðindi. hann ferr til motz við kamb2an b2oðor fin j famna  
 þeir liði þeir mœtvz við a þa er hvmb2a heitir nv j tokz þar ho2ð o2rosta j mikit manfall  
 b2etar fottv fram fterklega fva at hvnir letv fyri þeim var hvergi koft at flyia vtan a ana  
 út j var hon boði divp j fstrong hvmbvs konvngr liop vt a ana j hanf menn j tyndvz þar j er land  
 it er hia ligr af þvi kallað no2ðhvmb2a land tokv þeir b2oð2 þar þa mikit herfang locrinus  
 30 tok þar .új. meyar j var ein venft allra fv het efrilldif fva var hon ho2vnd liof fem f2io2  
 eða fillbein locrinus felldi fva mikin astar hvg til hennar at hann villdi þa þegar fa henn  
 ar ef hann treyftiz en hann hafði að2 feft gvendelionem dottvr cozneli konvngf er fyr var fra  
 fagt af coznb2eta landi j villdi þa þerfa eiga helld2 en er coznelvs fra þetta þa varð hann  
 miok reið2 j for þegar a fvnd locrini j geck in i holl hanf með b2vgv fverði j mælti  
 35 mikla skom ætlar þv locrinus at gera til min ef þv ræðr j litt minniz þv þeira lvta hver  
 fv oft ek hefir fyri þinvm foðvr bloðgar hend2 bo2it j mo2gvvm fogvm figri hanvm i hen  
 d2 komit j margan rifa hefir ek fellt hanvm fyri fo2tr þar fem þv ættlar at flita feftvm við

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5 coznelvs] Jónsson emends to corneus. 6 coznelvs] Jónsson emends to corneus. 7 coznelvs] The r is illegible. 8 coznelvs] Jónsson emends to corneus. 8 amlf] Jónsson, affl. The scribe corrects the error by indicating an f with an additional low descender on the first stroke of the m. 10 er] Jónsson emends to enn. 21 nafni loegrea] Jónsson, nafni loegrea (kallaðr). 21 kamb2a] Jónsson, kambra(n). 21 daga] Obscured by reagent. 22 þat heitir nv] Obscured by reagent. 23 konvngr] The abbreviated figure is mistakenly in the form of an h. 23 hann fer með her a hendr] Obscured by reagent. 24 albanaf2o] Jónsson emends to albanacto. 24 en þat folk er vndan komz] Obscured by reagent. 25 við kamb2an b2oðor fin j famna] Obscured by reagent. Each r rotunda is visible. 27 ana] Obscured by reagent. 32 cozneli] Jónsson emends to cornei. 33 coznelvs] Jónsson emends to corneus. 35 þeira lvta hver] Illegible. 36 bo2it] The t is freshened up. 36 i hen] Illegible. 37 feftvm við] Illegible.



and settled in that place with is now called Cornwall.<sup>55</sup> Most of the giants were there. One of those giants was the largest and strongest. His name was Goemagog. He was fifteen ells tall. Men had seen how he tore up huge trees, along with the roots, as if they were small twigs. As Brutus held a celebration feast for their gods, this giant came, accompanied by twenty others, and they killed many men before Brutus. Then he assembles his men against them, and twenty of them were killed, but Goemagog was captured and detained until Corineus came, because Brutus wants to see him and the giant wrestle. When Corineus came, he was happy that he should challenge him. They grab each other and wrestle hard. The giant grabbed Corineus so tightly, that three of his ribs break. Then Corineus became angry, and he gathered up all his strength, and then he lifts the giant up to his chest, and then runs with him to a certain rocky crag upon the sea, and he threw him down on it, and he broke every bone in him. This place is still called Giant-fall today.<sup>56</sup>

[22] Brutus had a city built in the image of the Troy.<sup>57</sup> It was built next to a river, where there were many fields nearby, and was a short distance from the sea. He named the city New Troy. It has taken many names from those events which subsequently occurred. For a long time it was called Trinovantum,<sup>58</sup> then Kaerlud, but today it is called London.<sup>59</sup> In this time, the high priest Eli was in Jerusalem, and he was kidnapped by the Philistines. Hector's sons ruled in Troy, but Silvius, the uncle of Aeneas, and uncle of Brutus, was in Italy. Brutus had three sons with his wife Innogen. The oldest was called Locrinus, the second Albanactus, and the third Kambran. When they were grown, Brutus became sick. He then divided the kingdom between his sons. They since kept this agreement. Brutus died from this sickness. At the time, he had been in Britain twenty four years. His sons built his magnificent grave in the city which he himself had built. He was greatly mourned by his men and by the entire nation.

## The British Kings

[23] After his father, Locrinus took over the kingdom, which was given to him, and that part of the kingdom was called Loegrea, from his name. Kambran took the part which lies on a river called the Severn. That part of the kingdom was called Loegrea from his name, but after his days, it was called Cambria. Albanactus took that kingdom which was called Albany after his name. Today it is called Scotland. A king ruled over Hunland who was named Humber. He was hard-hearted and ill-tempered.<sup>60</sup> He goes against Albanactus with an army, and challenges him to fight, and Albanactus fell in this battle, but the people who were under him went to meet Locrinus, and said to him these things. He goes to meet with his brother Kambran, and they assemble an army. They met each other along the river, which is called the Humber, and then begins a severe battle, and a great loss of life. The Britains fought so hard the Huns retreated. There was no option for them but to flee into the river, but it was both deep, and the current was strong. King Humber and his men ran into the river and died there, and for this reason, the land which lies nearby is called Northumberland. The brothers took great booty there.

Locrinus took three maidens, and one was most beautiful. She was called Estrildis. She was so light in complexion, it was like snow or ivory. Locrinus fell so deeply in love with her that he wanted to take her right there if he dared, but he had already married Guendoloena, the daughter of King Corineus from Cornwall, who was previously mentioned, but he wished to have her instead. When Corineus heard this, he became very angry and immediately went to meet Locrinus, and went into his hall with a drawn sword and said, "Locrinus, you plan to make a great insult to me if you decide this, for you remember few of these things: how I have often had bloody hands for your father, and how many splendid victories came to him,<sup>61</sup> how I have cut down many giants for him before his feet, yet you plan to break your engagement with

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<sup>55</sup>This geography is unique to the saga. The saga writer's ignorance of British geography is apparent. <sup>56</sup>The name of the location is not specified in *VV*. <sup>57</sup>The saga writer uses an alternative name, Britus. <sup>58</sup>The manuscript records, *Enouantum*, possibly a scribal error. <sup>59</sup>This is much abbreviated from *HRB*, I.492-499 [22], and is not attested in the *VV*, which is a tangent explaining the change of the city's name in the time of King Lud. <sup>60</sup>This sentence is unique to the saga. It is a common formula in *Íslendingasögur*. <sup>61</sup>Unique to the saga.

## 40v

dottoz mina 7 miok em ek gamall 7 ozvasi ef þer dvgir þat 7 ætlaði þa at vaða at hanvm  
 menn stoðv þa millim þeira 7 varð sættvm a komit með þeim hætti at loczinvs skylldi fa gven  
 deloenam fem fyr var ætlað 7 feck hann hennar en eigi gleymði hann aft eftrilldef helldz  
 en aðz 7 let hana varðveita leynilega i lvdvvnv vm .vij. ár fva at þat var a fara manna  
 5 viti hann kom til hennar oft 7 leynilega En kona hanf gvendeloena grvnaði 7 þv  
 rði hvar hann væri þa er engi maðz varð var við hann en hann kvez þa blota gvð fin a  
 lavn 7 kvað þa eina at fvlv fa gott af þeim er fva gerðv hon let fer þat vel lika. sva  
 er fagt at aftrilldef forðdi mey eina fva fagra at allir vndzvðv henar fegrð  
 þeir er fia náðv henni var nafn gefit 7 kollvð hábzen 7 var hon leynilega vpp forðd  
 10 at engan grvnaði nv helldz en aðz hvat titt var litlv fþar forðir gve  
 doloena svn þann er lozicus atti 7 var hann kallaðz madann hann foz til moðoz foðor  
 finf coznelio 7 vox þar vpp coznelvs lifþi eigi lengi fþan hann var miog harmdav  
 ði 7 þotti hanf monnvm fem þeir mvndv hans eigi iðgiolld fa en er loczinvs fra anlat  
 coznevz þa fryi let hann gvendeloenam kono fina en gerði þa bzvllavp til aftrilldef með  
 15 allri forð 7 fetti hana drottningv allz finf rikis gvendeloena fer þa til coznbzeta landz 7  
 fetz i fina foðvr leifð 7 vnr illa finvn lvt 7 hvgsfar þat iamnan hverfv hon mætti hef  
 na finnnar fvivvðingar hon let nv heria a riki locrini 7 let bzenna landit ræna fe en dzæ  
 pa menn 7 er locrinvs fþyr þat famnar hann liði at fer 7 ætlaði at friða riki sitt 7 sættaz við  
 gvendeloenam. ok er henni kom niofn af þerv þa famnaði hon her at fer 7 fagþi finvm monnvm at hon  
 20 villdi engan sættir taka vtan hon fiolf kvez anað hvart falla skylldv eða vi  
 nna vndir fvn fin boði rikin. þav moztvz þar fem heitir ftrvann 7 varð þar en harð  
 afta ozrosta 7 er litla rið var barðs þa var locrinvs skotin arvr i gegnim til bana hann ha  
 fþi þa konvngv verið .x. ár. en er konvngv var fallin þa gafvz menn vpp 7 lagþi hon þa allt rikit  
 vndir þav moþgin 7 hafþi hon rikif alla medan maddan var vngv hon var grimly  
 25 nd 7 stozað hon let taka þær moðgvv eftrillde 7 habzen dottvr henar i a þeiri er þa het  
 fábrina en nv heitir ~~en nu hett~~ habren af nafnimeyia rennar af madan  
 Nv er gvendeloena hafþi raðit riki .xv. ár þa feck hon maddan fyni finvm  
 foðoz leifð fina En hon reð coznbzetalandi allt til davða dax I þann tima  
 var samvel fþamaðr a gyðinga landi 7 allt þar til hafþi lifat filvius fvn enez 7 brodir  
 30 afkanvs i þann tima var 7 homervs skalld Maddan var hogvæv 7 vinsæll 7 er af hanvm  
 engi faga ger hann feck konv 7 atti með henni .ij. fyni het annar inpricivz en annar manlnun  
 þeir varv þa fvlltiða er faðir þeira maddan andaðiz En er hann var allr þa villdi hvar þeira  
 hafá allt rikit en vargi villdi vnna iamnaðar oþzvm menn geymðv þeira fva vm nockoza  
 ftvnd at þeir náðv eigi at beriaz 7 hvargi matti anann fvikia inpricivz fendir þa ozð ma  
 35 lunn bzoðoz finvm at þeir skylldv finnaz 7 femia fætt fina 7 frændfeme fagði þat vfk  
 aplegt at þeir væri lægri finvm vndir monnvm. þetta likar malnun vel 7 finnaz þeir bzoðz 7

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10–11 gvedoloena] Jónsson emends to gve(n)doloena. 11 lozicus] loczinvs. 12 coznelio] Jónsson emends to corneo. 12 coznelvs] Jónsson  
 emends to corneus. 17–18 dzæda] drepa 24 rikif alla] Jónsson, rikis (stjorn) alla. 25 henar i] Jónsson, henar (ok drekkia) i. 26 ~~en nu hett~~  
 This text stricken by the scribe. 32 þeir] Freshened up.

my daughter; I will be old and decrepit before you do this,”<sup>62</sup> and then he intended to rush at him.<sup>63</sup> Men stood between them, and became reconciled in that Locrinus should take Guendoloena as was planned before, and he married her, but he could not forget his love for Estrilldes as before, and he had her secretly quartered in London for seven years, so that this was known to few men. He came to her often, and in secret. But his wife Guendoloena suspected something, and asked where he might be when no one knew where he was,<sup>64</sup> but he answered that he was secretly making offerings to his gods, and said that only those who do this, receive all blessings from them. She was satisfied with this answer.<sup>65</sup>

5R

It is said that Estrilldes gave birth to a girl so beautiful that everyone whoever looked at her, marveled at her beauty. A name was given to her, and she was called Habren, and she was raised in secret, so, even more than before, no one suspected what had happened. Soon after, Guendoloena gave birth to the son she had with Locrinus, and he was called Maddan.

[25] He went to his maternal grandfather, Corineus, and grew up there. Corineus didn't live long after this. He was very much

10R

lamented, and his people thought they would never again have his his equal. When Locrinus learned of Corineus's death, he immediately left his wife Gwendoleona, and arranged for a wedding with Estrillda with much splendor, and placed her as queen over the entire kingdom. Then Gwendoleona goes to Cornwall, settles down with her paternal inheritance, was

most unsatisfied with her fate, and continually thinks how she might avenge her shame. She had the realm of Locrinus attacked, burned the land, possessions looted, and the people killed. and when Locrinus learns this, he gathers an army

15R

to himself, and planned to restore peace his realm and come to terms with Gwendoleona. And when the news of this came to her, she gathered an army to herself, and said to her men that she did not wish to reconcile except, she explained, if she

were to die, or if he were to subjugate both kingdoms. The two armies met in a place called Straur, and it came to a very severe battle, and after fighting for a while, Locrinus was shot to death with an arrow. At the time, he had been king for

20R

ten years. After the king was dead, the men yielded, and Gwendoleona subdued the whole kingdom for her and her son, and she had complete rule of the kingdom while Maddan was young. She was ambitious and severe. She had the mother

and daughter, Estrillde and Habren, taken into the river called the Sabrina, which is now called the Habren after the name of that maiden.<sup>66</sup> After Gwendoleona had ruled the kingdom for fifteen years, she gave to her son Maddan his paternal

[26] inheritance. But she ruled all Cornwall until her dying days. In that time, the prophet Samuel was in Israel, and until this

time, Silvius the son of Aeneas and the brother of Ascanius had lived. In that time was also Homer the skald. Maddan

25R

was affable and beloved, but no sagas about him have been written. He married a woman and had two sons with her. One

was named Mempricius and the other Malim. When their father Maddan died, both of them were grown up. After he was gone, each wished to have the whole kingdom to themselves, but neither wished to give an equal share to the other.

People watched them for some time so that they were not able to fight, nor could they betray the other. Then Mempricius sends his brother Malim a message, that they should meet and make their peace and mend their kinship. And he said,

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that it is unnatural, that they would be placed lower than their own men. Malim likes this well, and the brothers met and

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<sup>62</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>63</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>64</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>65</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>66</sup>Jónsson's addition to the text in the manuscript here translates, "She had the mother and daughter, Estrillde and Habren, taken into the river called the Sabrina and drowned, which is now called the Habren after the name of that maiden."

## 41r

ganga a einmæli .ij. saman með samþykkt annara manna þar nær varv a lavn menn inpricius j með hanf  
 raðvm lypv þeir fram j dzapv malunn en eftir hanf davða tekr inpricius vndir fig allt rikit  
 j fer með her yfir allt rikit j dzepr velflesta ena tignvztv menn j gofgvztv innan landz  
 þviat hanvm þotti þeir lengi moti hafá staðit þvi úráði er hann hafpi þa latið fram koma viffi hann j  
 5 at þeim mvndi fitz a vvarv koma allar hanf illgerdir. eyddi hann j nalega allri finni ætt þviat hann  
 viffi giozft sialfr at eigi mvndi langt liða aðz en hvert mvndi annara hanf frændi  
 þickia betr til fallin riki at hafá þar j konvngf nafn at bera en hann gaf hann þar i staðin ftozar  
 eignir j tignar nofn þeim monnum er aðz varv litilf verðir en fer letv allt þat foma er hann villdi  
 hann var kvangadz betr en hanvm somði þviat hon var vel at fer i alla staði. fvn attv þav þann er  
 10 ebzavtv het hann var manna merftr j fterkaztr a finvm alldzi j vlikr foðoz finvm i fkaplyndi  
 j foz hann meir fram heilvm radvm moðoz finnar en firnvm foðvr finf. hann het ebzaicvs  
 hann var vinfæll af alþyðv En er ebzaicvs var vngr þa let inpricius eigna konv fina j varð  
 hann siþan allr at vndzvm tok hann þa at þyþaz karla j framþi við þa lostafeme  
 samþykktv þeir þat þa með hanvm er þa varv hanf menn þviat þeir þottvz i þeiri samþykkt  
 15 lavna hanvm miklar virþingar j ftozar gjafer En er hann hafpi .xx.  
 vetr konvngv kallaðz verið þa for ein dag a dyra veði með hirð fini j verðz hann þeim fra  
 fcala j varð ftaddz einfáman þa kemr hann i dal ein. þar dzeif at hanvm varga fkreið  
 mikil j reðv þegar a hann j rifv hann allan fvndz j var þat makligt at fa dæri illa j fcam  
 liga er illv lifi hafpi lifat hofz hanf riki með gløpvm j foz fram með fkemð j endiz með  
 20 fsvirðing I þenna tima var favl konvngv yfir gyðingalyð Evbracvs fvn hans tok riki eftir  
 hann j fkipaði hann fyrft riki þar inboznm monnum j hof j fómði alla fina frændzen  
 er hann hafpi rikit fkipat eftir finvm vilia þa mintiz hann verfv enir fyri frændz hans  
 hofsv heriað i gallia j latið þar fina aftvini j nafrændz j komiz sialfir navðv  
 lega vndan j þottiz hann fkylldz þerfa at hefna foz hann siþan með her i gallia j atti þar  
 25 margar ozrostoz j van þar mikin figr j feck mikit herfang j foz með þvi heim með fogrvm  
 figri j nogv fe En er hann hafpi eigi lengi heima verit þa let hann gera borg eina mik  
 la j kalladi eftir finv nafni ebzaicvm. fv er nv kallað iozk j er þar nv annar erki  
 ftoll margar borgir fterkar let hann reifa aðzar hann let gera a fskotlandi vigi þat er hann kallaði  
 meyde clavftr þa var J iozfala landi david konvngv en filvius latinvs a italia j gatna  
 30 than ofáþhat fþamenn evbratvs atti .xx. konvr j með þeim .xx. fyni j .xx. døtr  
 þerfer erv .f.ynir hans nefndir bzvts grønkiolld margaðvð filvius regin mv  
 rvið bladvd gayl dandan elldað afarat brvach en eigi erv nefndir fleiri en  
 døtr hans Glozigin innogen dvdaf gvenban ragav ftadað gladiað aga  
 ef ftadiael hon var allra meya fegrft þeira er i bzetlandi varv ebavtv fendi døtr  
 35 finar allar fvðz vm fiall i italia til filvius fvnar albanier þar rikti j bað hann gifta þær  
 þar Silvius gifti þær þar gavfgvm monnum af troio manna ætt þeim fem þar attv riki j goðf

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3 tignvztv ] A stroke resembling an accent mark appears over the n. It is likely to be accidental, given its dissimilarity to the other accent marks. 9  
 er ] An awkward mark Jónsson interprets to be a misplaced abbreviated her. He emends it to (er). 12 eigna ] Jónsson emends to eina. 16 for ein ]  
 Jónsson, for (hann) ein. 29 J ] A large, freshened up capital J. Jónsson suggests it is a correction for a small a. 30 døtr ] Obscured by reagent.  
 31 .f.ynir ] A stylized s representing an abbreviated form, synir. Jónsson adds, s(ynir). 31 mv ] Obscured by reagent. 32 fleiri en ] Obscured by  
 reagent. 34 døtr ] Obscured by reagent. Type of r is not visible. 36 þeim fem þar attv riki ] Obscured by reagent.

both went together for a discussion regarding the other men. Nearby, men of Mempricius were hiding, and by his command they ran out and killed Malin, but after his death Mempricius takes under his command the entire kingdom. He goes with his army over the entire realm, and kills the greater portion of the most honorable and noble men in the land, because it occurred to him that they will always wish to replace him for these misdeeds, which he had then committed. And he knew that all of his wickedness would since come to them by surprise. He destroyed nearly his entire family, because he himself knew full well that it would not be a long time before every one of his relatives would think themselves more worthy to take the kingdom and bear the king's title than he. Instead, he gave large portions of land and noble titles to those men who were of little worth before, but they were pleased with what he wanted.<sup>67</sup>

5R

Because his wife was distinguished in every respect, he was married to more than his own worth.<sup>68</sup> They had a son who was named Ebraucus. He was the greatest of men and strongest of anyone of his age, and unlike his father in temperament, and he followed the sound advice of this mother rather than his father's. He was named Ebraucus.<sup>69</sup> He was beloved by the people. When Ebraucus was young, Mempricius left his wife, and then everyone became shocked. He took to making love with men and furthered his lustfulness.<sup>70</sup> His men agreed to this behavior, because they thought that only he would reward their consent with great honors and and rich gifts.<sup>71</sup> When he had been called king for twenty years, he went hunting for game with his followers, and he becomes separated from them, and came to be alone. He comes into a valley. A great pack of wolves rushed at him, immediately killed him, and ripped him to shreds, and it was fitting that he should die horribly and shamefully, because he had lived a horrible life. His rule began with crimes, continued with shame and ended with disgrace.<sup>72</sup> In that time, King Saul ruled over Israel.

10R

15R

[27] His son Ebraucus took the kingdom after him, and he immediately assigned power to native men, and elevated the status of all of his relatives.<sup>73</sup> But after he had arranged the kingdom after his wishes, he then remembers how one of his his relatives had harried Gaul, lost his beloved friends and close relatives, and escaped with difficulty. And he thinks that he should avenge this. After this, he went with his army into Gaul, had there a great battle, won a great victory and took much booty. He went home with all this: a noble victory and much wealth. Shortly after he had been home, he had a great city built, and called it after his name, Ebraucus. It is now called York, and it is the other bishopric.<sup>74</sup> He had many other great cities raised. In Scotland, he had a stronghold which he called Meyde Claustr built.<sup>75</sup> King David was in Jerusalem, Silvius Latinus was in Italy, and the prophets Gad, Nathan and Asaph lived in this time.<sup>76</sup> Ebraucus had twenty wives and, with them, twenty sons and twenty daughters. These were his sons mentioned: Brutus Greenshield, Margadud, Sisillius, Regin, Morvid, Bladud, Gaul, Dardan, Eldad, Asarach, and Buel, but there were many not mentioned.<sup>77</sup> But his daughters were Gloigin, Innogen, Oudas, Guenlian, Ragan, Stadud, Gladus, Angaes, and Stadiald. She was the most beautiful of those who were in Britain.

20R

25R

30R

Ebraucus sent all of his daughters south over the mountains to Italy to Silvius, Albanus's son,<sup>78</sup> who ruled in that place, and asked him to marry them there. Silvius married them to noble men from the Trojan race who had power and wealth.

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<sup>67</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>68</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>69</sup>A strange repetition of the name. This could be a correction of an initial misreading of *Ebrautus* to *Ebraucus*. <sup>70</sup>The implication of homosexuality in the source is made explicit in the saga. <sup>71</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>72</sup>This episode is slightly expanded, and the possible moral judgment has been added by the saga writer. <sup>73</sup>The political changes made here are unique to the saga. <sup>74</sup>That is, the other bishopric besides London. The saga writer once again struggles with British geography. According to the *HRB* and *VV* the city founded in the north, the city of Ebraucus, is Kaerebrauc, not York. *HRB*, II.90 [27]. Perhaps this interpretation is due to a Scandinavian point of view in the reading of the text. <sup>75</sup>The relationship this name has with the text is also uncertain. Another town built by Ebraucus according to the *HRB* and *VV* was Alclud (Dumbarton), Mount Agned (Edinburgh), and Mons Dolorosus. <sup>76</sup>Gad and Nathan appear to be combined in a single name, Gatnathan. <sup>77</sup>This last remark unique to the saga. <sup>78</sup>In *HRB* and *VV*, this is a single name, Silvius Alba, who was son of Silvius Latinus. *HRB*, II.106-108 [27].

## 41v

hann fendi fvnv fina til faxlandz at vinna þat 7 fetti affarakvm hertoga yfir þeim b2oð2vm 7 forv  
 þeir með styrk silvínialb2 vsítill faxlandz 7 gatv þat allt vnder fig lagt 7 reðv þvi  
 ríki síþan. b2vtvs var heima með feð2 sínmv en er ebravtus hafði ríkt vm .ix. ar 7 .xx.  
 þa andaðiz hann 7 biogv þeir b2vtvs 7 grónskioll vegliga groft hans þeir tokv ríki eftir  
 5 hann 7 er engi faga fra þeim ger b2vtvs atti fvn er leil het er ríki tok eftir hann fa let  
 gera borg a nozðan verðv b2itania er þa var kallað af hans nafni kaerleil i þann tima  
 reð falomon vífi fyri iozfala landi 7 þa kom fabba drottin 7 til hans 7 þa var reift templvm  
 domini leil reð ríki .v. ar 7 .xx. Svn hans tok ríki eftir hann fa er lvð hvdib2af het hann let gera  
 10 ftozar borgir kantara borg 7 gvtoniam 7 kaftala þan er hann kallaði baladyr en þa  
 er kaftala vegir varv laðnir heyrðv menn aran tala en ecki kom þat þar eftir at nockot hef  
 þi at þyða hann let gera borg þa er hann kallaði bado hann ríkti .ix. ár 7 .xxx. þa var eliaf íþamaðr a  
 gyðinga landi 7 bað hann þerf gvð at eigi fkyllði regna 7 veitti gvð hanvm þat at eigi regnði  
 vm halft .ííij. ár. hans svn het bladvð er ríki tok eftir hann 7 var hann miok folkvngr  
 7 namv menn þat miok af hanvm þar i landi En er hann hafði .xx. vetr konvngr verit þa let  
 15 hann gera fer fíað2ham 7 villdi hann flivga 7 fia yfir ríki sitt 7 þotte fer þa síþr no  
 oko2r lvtr a vart mega koma En er hann fkyllði flivga i hamnmv þa bilaði hamrin  
 7 fell hann ofan yfir lvndvnmv 7 kom nið2 a þat merfta hof er i var landinv 7 flitnaði allr  
 fvnd2 i ftycki SvN hans tok konungdom eftir hann fa er leir het hann var ríkr 7 hermaðr mikill en fy  
 20 ð2 hann atti .íij. dōtr het ein ellzta gozdonilla en onnvr ragay en hin yngfta  
 gozdoella hon var þeira venazt 7 vitrazt konvngr vnni henni 7 merft vm langa ftvnd En  
 er hann tok at elldaz þa villdi hann profa hvelika aft hann aft hann atti hverri þeira at lavna let  
 hann þa kalla til fin ena ellztv dottvr sína gozonillam 7 mælti Sva em ek nv gamall at ek  
 man b2att mitt líf enda 7 mitt ríki man koma yð2 i hond dōtrvm minvm 7 vil  
 25 ek nv vita hvat þv ant mer hon fvarar þerf ma ek fveria at ek ann þer meira en lifi  
 minv konvngr mælti mikilf a ek þat að virþa at elf kar meir elli mina en ořkv þina  
 fkal ek 7 þer þat fva lavna at þv 7 þin bondi fkvlv haf2 þriðing allz minf rikif þvi ne  
 ft let hann kalla til fin ragav 7 fþvrð hvat hon ynni hanvm hon fvarar eigi kann ek at greina  
 avð2v víff aft víð þig en ek an þer meira en allv avð2 i heimenvm konvngr fvarar hvat  
 30 ma þerfi aft lígt verða 7 fkal her mikit gott i moti koma fkal ek gefa þer annan þriðingvng ríkis  
 minf 7 þan mann er þv kyf þer síþan let hann kalla til gozdoello 7 fþvrði hann flikf enf  
 fama en hon fvarar hvat ma dottir vna foðo2 sínmv meira en fva fém fōmir 7 fva  
 vil ek þer vnna fém bezt famir at goð dottir vnni goðvm foðvr 7 fva mikit gott fém ek  
 ma þat vil ek þer vnna hann fvarar reiðvlega þv fþottar elli mina 7 eigi þarf mik at kalla  
 35 einvallz konvngr yfir englandi ef ek fkal eigi gera aftar mvn með yð2 fyftrvm 7 þv fkalte ecki vera  
 min dottir heðan fra 7 ecki fe fkal ek þer gefa 7 enga virðing fkalte her haf2 En fyftr

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7 drottin 7 Jónsson, drottin(n)g. 16 oko2r] This o is redundant. 16 vart] Jónsson, (v)vart. 21 gozdoella] Obscured by reagent. The r rotunda is visible. 21 langa] The a and the first stem of the n is freshened up. 22 er hann tok at elldaz þa villdi] Obscured by reagent. 22 aft hann] Redundant. 23 hann þa] Obscured by reagent. 23 gamall] the a is freshened up. 26 at elf] Jónsson, at (þv) elf. 27 at þv 7 þin] Illegible. 28 fþvrð] Jónsson, fþvrð(i). 29 avð2] Jónsson, avð2(v). 30 ma þerfi aft lígt verða 7 fkal her mikit] Obscured by reagent. Jónsson notes a correction from þini to þersi. 31 minf 7 þan mann er þv kyf þer] Obscured by reagent. 31 til gozdoello] Jónsson, til (fin) gozdoello. 32 fama en hon fvarar hvat ma dottir] Obscured by reagent. 33 vil ek þer vnna fém bezt famir at] Obscured by reagent. 34 ma] The m is illegible. 34 eigi þarf mik] Obscured by reagent.

[28] He sent his sons to Saxland to conquer it, and placed Duke Assaracus over those brothers, and they went with Silvius's army to Saxland and conquered all of it, and since then, and so they since ruled the kin. Brutus was home with his father. When Ebraucus had the kingdom twenty-nine years, after which he died, and Brutus Greenshield built his magnificent grave.<sup>79</sup>

They took the kingdom after him, but no sagas were made about them.<sup>80</sup> Brutus had a son who was called Leil, who took the kingdom after him. He had a city built in North Britain which was called Carlisle after his name. In that time Solomon the Wise ruled Jerusalem, and the Queen of Sheba came to him, and then the Temple of the Lord was built. [29] Leil ruled the kingdom for twenty five years. His son took the kingdom after him, who was called Rud Hudibras. He had the great cities Canterbury and Winchester built, and a castle which he called Shaftesbury, and when the castle walls were built, men heard an eagle speak. Nothing came of that, or of what that could have meant.<sup>81</sup> He had a city built, which he called Bath. He ruled for thirty-nine years. The prophet Elijah was in Israel, and he asked God that there should be no [30] rain, and He gave this to him, that it did not rain for three and a half years.<sup>82</sup> His son was called Bladud, who took the kingdom after him, and he was very skilled in magic, and men learned much from him in the land. When he had been king twenty years, he had himself a feather skin made, and he wished to fly and see over his kingdom, and he thought to himself, at least that he could move about without anyone knowing. When he should have flown in the skin, the skin [15R] failed, and he fell down into London, and crashed onto the largest temple in the land, and was dashed to many pieces.

[31] His son took the kingdom after him, he was called Leir.<sup>83</sup> He was powerful and a great warrior in the earlier part of his life. He conquered Cornwall and Scotland. He was not called a wise man.<sup>84</sup> He had three daughters. One was called Gonorilla, and another Ragau, and the youngest Cordeilla. She was the most beautiful and wisest of them.<sup>85</sup> The king loved her most for a long time. When he grew old, he wished to test how much love he had from each of them, so that he could likewise reward them. When he had his oldest daughter Gonorilla called to him and said, "I am now so old, that I will soon be at the end of my life, and my kingdom will come into the possession of my daughters, so I now wish to know how much you love me." She answers, "May I swear this, that I love you more than my life." The king said, "I reckon this much, that you love my old age more than your youth. I shall so reward you, that you and your husband shall have a third of my kingdom." Then he had Ragau called to him, and asked how much she loved him. She answered, "I can not accurately describe my love for you, but for the fact I love you more than anyone else in the world." The king answers, [20R] "What can equal this love? Many rewards shall come to you. I shall give you and the man whom you choose, another third of my kingdom." And then he had Cordeilla called to him and he asked the very same thing, but she answers, "How can a daughter love her father more than that which is granted? Therefore, I shall love you so far as it is befitting that a good daughter loves a good father, and I will love you as much as I can." He answers angrily, "You mock my old age, and it is unnecessary to call me the absolute ruler over England if I cannot discern the differences in the love of you and your sisters, [25R] you shall not be my daughter anymore, and I shall give you no wealth, and you shall have no honor. But your sisters

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<sup>79</sup>Ebraucus's grave is unique to the saga. According to *HRB* and *VV*, Ebraucus ruled for thirty-nine years, *HRB*, II.85-86 [27]. <sup>80</sup>It is unknown to whom this is referring. <sup>81</sup>In *HRB*, II.120-121 [29] Geoffrey remarks that the eagle recites prophecy, but he would have recorded them if he thought they were true. <sup>82</sup>This mention of Elijah appears in *HRB*, II.129-130 [30], but does not appear at all in *VV*. *HRB*, II.122-123 [29] mentions Haggai, Amos, Jehu, Joel, and Azariah. <sup>83</sup>Leir's episode is faithful to the version contained in *HRB*. The style is quite different and departs from the source. The saga contains more direct dialog, and is told more in the mode of a popular story rather than a chronicle. It is possible that the saga writer used a different source, or that he simply took more care in crafting one of the most interesting episodes from the *Historia*. Much of the style is similar to the formulaic patterns that appear in the *Íslendingasögur*. <sup>84</sup>Much abbreviated from the *HRB* and *VV*. This, and the previous two sentences are unique to the saga. <sup>85</sup>Unique to the saga.

## 42r

þinar skulv her hafá virðing 7 ríki. hon maelli þat man mer fyri beztv fem þv villt vera lata hann gifti dōtr finar enar ellri iozlv̄m .ij. 7 let fylgia þeim heiman halft ríki sitt meðan hann lifsi en þeir skylldv̄ ei ga allt eftir hans dag annar þeira fat a bzetlandi en anar a skotlandi Aganippius het konvngtr i franz vitr maðr 7 vinfæll hann sþvrði at leir konvngtr hafsi gift dōtr finar enar ellri en fv̄ var v

5 gift en yngfa er aller kollvðv̄ beztan kost i vera fendi hann þa menn til englandz at biðia gozdeillam til handa fer 7 barv þeir upp erindi sin fyri leir konvng konvngtr svarar þo at aganippius fe viðlendz 7 ríki þa er hann þo eigi vitr ne frettin er hann veit eigi at ek hefir gift dōtr minar i goða kosti en þerf i er nv er eftir er vvittr 7 metnaðar fvll 7 ek veit eigi hvart er hon er min dottir eða eigi man ek henni 7 ecki goðf heiman gefa þicki mer konvngi yðrv̄m þetta rað

10 ecki fva formelegt fem tign hans byriar en þvi betz þicki mer er mið erv̄m fyr sk̄ ilð fendi menn forv aftz 7 fogþv̄ sin erindif lok 7 þat með at þier kollvðv̄z ennga ivngfrv̄ feð hafá friðari eða profat vitraði 7 matti henni eigi þat vallda at henni væri til virðingar halldit Konvngtr svarar eigi em ek vrikari en leir þo at hann gefi ecki heiman með dottoz sinni 7 skal mer ecki þat fyri goðv̄ raði standa hann fendi nv þegar menn a fvnð leirf konvngf með gvlli 7 gerfimv̄m 7 bað

15 þa forra til sin dottur konvngf ef hon villdi með þeim fara En er þeir koma til englandz bera þeir fram fin erin di þa þotti leir konvngi mikít at hennar forlog skylldv̄ fva ha verða en þo kvnni hann eigi moti þvi mæla fem aðz hafsi hann iattað 7 var þat rað gert at hon foz heim til franz með fendimonnv̄m 7 let konvngtr gera bzvllavp virþvlegt til hennar 7 þotti hon vera en vitrazta drottning 7 en virðv̄ lexta 7 varv samfarar þeira goðar 7 vnðv̄ þav vel fina raði **af leir konvngi i englandi**

20 Nv er þar til malf at taka at leir konvngtr i englandi tekr miok at elldaz þa hafá magar hans stefnv̄ sin i milli 7 forv siþan a konvngf fvnð 7 maelltv̄ liðnar mv̄nv̄ nv þær stv̄ndir er þer er at landraðv̄m sormð þviat nv er fazin stiozn rikif þinf 7 vill nv engi sinna þvi er þer segit fakir elli viliv vit nv hafá ocka2n skildaga at mið skylldv̄m taka ríki eftir þin dag ertv̄ nv davðz i virðingv̄ hofv̄ vit nv 7 allt yðart ríki v̄ndir ockz tekit varð þa konvngtr

25 navðigr at lata ríki sitt 7 konvngdom 7 foz hann siþan heim til skotlandz með maglavio iarli er atti gozonillm̄ dottur hans 7 tok hon feginfamlega við hanv̄m at yfir fyn hann hafsi með fer .xl. riddara en er hann hafsi þar verit .ij. vetr þa mælti drottning við iarlinn hvat skal foðoz minv̄m fva mikít folk af gomlv̄m þicki mer rað at þv̄ fendir brott ein 7 ein fer þinna erinda 7 lat engan aftr koma til hanfialinn let fva gera fem hon gaf rað til En er halfnaðir varv riddarar leirf þa varð hann reiðz

30 7 for brott þaþan með .xx. riddara 7 foz hann þa til henimv̄s annf magf sinf a coznb2eta land 7 to kv þav við hanv̄m virðvlega i fyrftv̄ en eigi hafði hann þar lengi verið aðz en þav settv̄ rað til at skilnaðz varð millim konvngf riddara 7 iallsins 7 settv̄ konvngf menn v̄ndan þar til er eigi vrðv̄ fleizi eftir en .v. konvngtr varð þa reiðz 7 foz aftr til skotlandz 7 hv̄gþi at dottir hanf̄ mv̄ndi eigi vilia lata sormð hanf̄ minka oz þvi fem þa var er hann for þaþan En þat var varla fem hann hv̄gþi þviat hon villdi eigi með hanv̄m

35 taka vtan hann hefði ein fvein með fer 7 þo þa hann þat hon tok þa at afaka hann vm elli vom 7 vvirþing 7 kallaði hann ættar skom konvngtr varð þa rygr miok 7 hv̄gfaði sitt mal 7 mæltiz

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7 viðlendz 7 ] Jónsson emends to viðlendz at. 12 vitraði ] Jónsson emends to vitrari. 19 fina ] Jónsson emends to finv. 26–36 gozonillm̄...mæltiz ] These lines are badly stained with reagent. Most of the text is still visible. 29 varð ] The type of r is not visible. 30 7 for brott þaþan með ] Obscured by reagent. 30 annf ] Jónsson, ann(r)f. 30 magf sinf a ] Obscured by reagent. 33 aftr ] Obscured by reagent. The type of r is not visible. 34 þvi fem þa var er hann for þaþan ] Obscured by reagent. The type of r is not visible. 36 ættar ] Obscured by reagent. The type of r is not visible.



shall have honor and power here. She said, “whatever you wish for me will be best.” He married his older daughters to two earls, and as a dowry he gave them one half of his realm while he lived, but they will have all of it after his death. One of them lived in Britain, the other in Scotland.

There was a king named Aganippus in France, who was wise and popular. He learned that King Leir had married off his oldest daughters, but the youngest, whom everyone called the best choice, was unmarried. He then sent men to England, to ask for Cordeilla’s hand in marriage, and they put forth his message before King Leir. The king answered, “Although Aganippus might have broad lands under his power, he is neither wise nor knowledgeable if he does not know that I have married off my better daughters, and that which is left over is now stupid and arrogant, and I don’t know whether she is my daughter or not. I will not give her a dowry. I do not consider this match very honorable for your king, as befitting his position, but I will consider it better when she who was already with me departs.” The messengers returned and told him the outcome of their errand, and then, they explained there was no maiden more beautiful or demonstrably intelligent, and this was hardly due to the fact that she was [in any way] valued there.<sup>86</sup> The king answered, “my power is not lesser than Leir’s, even if he does not give a dowry with his daughter, and that shall be a good match for me, and this will not hinder me.” Now he sent men with gold and jewels to meet King Leir, and he tells them to bring to him the king’s daughter if she wanted to come with them. When they arrive in England, they perform their errand. It seemed amazing to King Leir, that his daughter should be chosen for such a high position, but he could not take back what he agreed to before and it was agreed that she return to France with the messengers, and the king had a magnificent wedding made for her, and she appeared to be very noble and respectable queen.<sup>87</sup> The relationship between them was good, and they loved each other very much in their marriage.<sup>88</sup>

### King Leir in England

Taking up the story again in England, King Leir becomes very old. Then his sons-in-law spoke with one another, went to meet the king and said, “The time is now passed when honorable control over your realm is now gone, and no one wants to heed what you say because of your age. We now demand the fulfillment of the agreement that we should take over the rule after your time. You are already dead in your worth. Furthermore, we have subdued your entire realm under us.” Then the king was forced to relinquish his crown and kingdom, and then he went home to Scotland to Earl Maglaunus, who was married to his daughter Gonorilla, and she ostensibly received him joyfully. He had forty knights with him, while he had been there for two winters. The queen spoke to the earl, “What can my decrepit father do with so many people? I would find it advisable, if you dismiss every other soldier in their appointment and do not let any one of those come back.” The earl had all of them removed, as she advised.

When the number of his soldiers were cut in half, Leir became very angry, and he departed with twenty soldiers and went to Henuinus, his other son-in-law in Cornwall, and at first they received him honorably, but not long after he was there, they planned to incite discord between the king’s knights and the earl’s, and the king’s men gradually escaped until no more than five remained. Then the king became very angry and went back to Scotland, and believed that his daughter would not wish to allow his honor diminish from the time when he departed from there. But that went hardly as he thought, because she didn’t wish to receive him unless he had only one boy with him; nevertheless, he agreed to it. She began to reproach him on account of his age and his miserable appearance, and called him a shame to the family. The king became much aggrieved, considered his situation, and said to himself,

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<sup>86</sup>This exchange with the messengers and Aganippus’s response is not attested in *HRB* and *VV* and is unique to the saga. <sup>87</sup>Unique to the saga.

<sup>88</sup>Unique to the saga.

## 42v

.við ein faman mikla fkom mællir dottir min til finf foðor fva gott fem hon a mer at lavna  
 en of mikit hefir hon til finf malf at ek em nv miok orvali orðin þar fem ek lagþa vndir mik  
 annara konunga riki 7 bar ek ægishialm yfir morgvm þioðvm Minnvmz ek nv er ek fþvrða dætr  
 minar hverfv mikit hver þeira vnni mer ma ek þat nv fia at þerfv .ij. minvm dætrvm hefir allt ann  
 5 að i hvgr verit enn þær hafá talað hafá þær hæpilega fþottað af mer mitt riki ma ek nv fanna  
 eð fo2nkveðna o2ð at eftir koma vfvnvm rað i hvgr a þat er nv at minnaz hvat gozdoillam  
 mællti þo at mer giættiz eigi þa at ma at mer hafi rangfyni gefit vm þetta fem vm þat er ek hefir  
 nv reynt hon fagþiz mer fva unna fem bezt femði 7 hon mvndi mer þvi meira gott vilia fem  
 hon ætti meira kofti man nv þerf vitia verða þo at vverðvgt fe meiri giæfv mann er hon nv  
 10 enn fýftr hennar ma 7 at þat verði fleirvm gagn at. fo2 konvngþ þa fvð2 vm fio til franz 7  
 hafði vond klæði 7 einn fvein 7 nalega hverr maðr at hanvm 7 fþottaði hann þar fem hann kom hann fendi  
 þa fveininn til dottur finnar 7 fegia henni hvat titt var vm hanf ferð 7 hann þo2ði eigi með hofþ  
 ingivm lata fia fig. En er hon fþvrði þat þa varð hon miok ryg 7 bað leyna konvng fendi hon þa  
 mote hanvm .lx. riddara 7 alla þa lvti er hann þvrfti at hafá 7 er fva var komit fagþi hon konvngi at fo  
 15 þo2 hennar var þangat von a fara natta frefti konvngþ fialfr reið þa vt moti hanvm með  
 allri hirð finne 7 tok með hanvm af allri virðing 7 fetti hann i hafæti 7 formði hann i ollv fem fram  
 az matti hann. leir konvngþ fagþi hanvm þa alla vvirðing er magari hanf hofþv gert hanvm 7 hann var þvi or rik  
 i ftockinn Aganipp konvngþ ftefnir þa þing fiolmennt 7 mællti þer hafid mer vel verið lyðnir 7 eftir latir  
 fþan ek tok her við rikif ftio2n er her nv kominn leir konvngþ magr minn 7 er ftockinn o2 finv  
 20 riki enn ver ervm allir fkylldir fakir drottningar at sorma hann Nv vil ek biðia at þer takið hann til konvngf yfir  
 yð2 7 þionið hanvm fem mer en ek vil afla mer annarf rikif þar fem avðit ma verða þviat  
 ek vil eigi leiða yð2 i þann hafka at beriaz oð2vm monnvm til rikif þa fvo2vðv landz menn engann konvng  
 viliv ver annann hafá enn þig enn beriaz viliv ver með þer þar fem þv villt. konvngþ bavð þa her vt  
 vm allt fitt riki 7 fo2 með þann her til bzetlandz 7 van þat allt vndir leir konvng 7 felldi baða iarlana  
 25 7 for fþan aftr i riki fitt. leir konvngþ rikti þa yfir ollv bzetlandi með flikri virþing fem fyr  
 hafði hann merfta haft. hann lifþi fþan .iiij. vetr 7 andaðiz i fvllvm veg sínvvm þa haf  
 þi hann konvngþ verit .lx. vetra. hanf leizla var vegliga ger en erfi hanf var fva rikvlegt at  
 ftoð yfir .ij. manvðr. Aganippv konvngþ lifþi 7 litla ftvnd fþan er hann hafþi vnnið bzetland  
 7 var hann hverivm manni miok hazmdavði. fvn hanf tok riki eftir hann en gozdoella fo2  
 30 fþan til bzetlandz 7 lagþi vndir fig allt bzetland 7 reð fyri þvi riki .v. ar. hon var vinsæl við  
 landz folk 7 er fva var komit þa rifv vpp mote henne .ij. fýftra fýnir hennar het annar  
 marganus enn annar enedagus þeir hofþv tekít iarloma eftir feð2 fina en þottvz a  
 henni eiga finna harma at reka fámna nv hverir tvegiv liði mo2ttvft 7  
 7 harðr bazdagi 7 lavk fva at gozdoilla varð handtekinn ok fett i myrkva  
 35 ftofvm minntez hon þa a harma fina 7 hverfv miok var þrongt hennar  
 virþingv 7 af þeim harmi lagþi hon a fer faxi 7 lavk fva hennar ævi.

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1–3 við ein faman.. i oðvm] The first two and half lines are quite faded and illegible. The line breaks are approximated. 3–36 Minnvmz ek nv ...fva hennar ævi.] Most of the remaining page has been freshened up. 6 vnnvm] Jónsson, v(i)nnvm. 9 mann] Jónsson suggests the original reads maðr. 10 þat] Jónsson suggests the original ink reads þar. 11 7 nalega] Jónsson, 7 (hlo) nalega. 13 hon] The later hand incorrectly freshened the abbreviation for hon to hann. The superscript o is clearly visible in the original hand. 18 Aganipp] The large capital A is not freshened up. Jónsson suggests the original read Aganippius. 24 til bzetlandz] Awkwardly freshened up to til englandz. 27 ger en] Freshened up to ger 7. The en is written over the line. 34 7 harðr] Incorrectly refreshed. Jónsson hypothesizes the text should read, (7 tokz þar ha)rðr. The refreshed text reads, over the line break, o<sup>c</sup> bo2ðuft. 34 bazdagi 7] Illegible; not freshened up. 34 lavk fva] Jónsson emends from, fva lykír. 35 ftofvm minntez hon þa a harma fina 7 hverfv] Illegible; not freshened up. 36 7 af þeim harmi] Illegible; not freshened up. 36 lagþi] Emended to þalagr.

“My daughter, you say shameful things to your father, and you have likewise rewarded him; she says that I have become decrepit, though I conquered the realms of other kings and held my helm of terror over many nations.<sup>89</sup> I remember now how I asked my daughters how much they loved me. Now I understand that both of my daughters thought something different than what they have proclaimed. They have mocked me terribly with my power. Now I can affirm the old adage, that one becomes wise after folly. I now remember what Cordeilla said, although I did not like it. It may be that I have been mistaken about those decisions for which I am now paying. She said to me she loved me as was befitting, and she would do so much more good to me, if she would have another opportunity to do so. I will now visit her, although I am unworthy. She is more fortunate than her sisters, and that might be a greater advantage.”<sup>90</sup>

5R

Then the king journeyed to the south over the sea to France, and he wore bad clothing and had one attendant, and nearly everyone laughed and mocked him wherever he went. He sent the attendant to this daughter, to tell her what had happened on his journey, and that he dared not show himself before the chieftaincy. When she heard this, she became very distressed and ordered this to be kept secret from the king. Then she sent sixty knights to meet him, and everything else he required to have, and after this came to pass she said to the king that her father was a few night’s journey away. The king himself rode out to meet him with his entire retinue, met him with all due respect, set him on the high seat,<sup>91</sup> and honored him in any way he could. King Leir told him the shame, which his sons-in-law perpetrated, and because of this was driven from the realm. After this, King Aganippus summoned a great Thing<sup>92</sup> and said, “You have always been very dutiful and then loyal to me ever since I took the helm of power.<sup>93</sup> Now King Leir has come here, my father in law, who was driven from his realm. And we are all obliged to honor him, for the sake of the queen. Now I bid you that you take him to be your king and serve him as you serve me, but I wish to obtain a kingdom elsewhere, wherever it may happen to be, because I do not wish to lead you to that peril—to battle against other men for that kingdom.” But the land’s men answered, “we do not want to have any other king but yourself, and we wish to fight with you, wherever you wish.” Then the king levied an army from his entire kingdom, went with this army to Britain, subdued it completely for King Leir, killed both of the earls, and then went back to his realm.

10R

15R

20R

Then King Leir ruled over all of Britain with the same amount of power he once had at the peak of this reign. After this, he lived for three winters and died in the highest esteem. He had been sixty years old.<sup>94</sup> His monument was honorably erected, and the funeral was so splendid, it lasted for two months.<sup>95</sup> King Aganippus lived for only a short time after he had conquered Britain, and he was sorely missed by everyone. His son took the kingdom after him, but Cordeilla then went to Britain, took control over all of Britain, and ruled it for five years. She was popular with the people, but it so happened that two of her nephews rose up against her. One was called Marganus and the other Cunedagius. They had taken the earldom after their father, and they believed her to be accountable for their misery. Both of them assemble an army. They met each other and a severe battle begins, and when it was over, Cordeilla was captured and thrown into a dungeon. Then she thought about her misery and how much her power diminished, and because of her suffering, she set a sax upon herself, and so ended her life.<sup>96</sup>

25R

30R

[32]

English»  
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«English

<sup>89</sup>The word used here is *ægishialm* (helm of terror), is a poetically significant word representing military, political, or supernatural might. It is often compared with the Greek *égis*, however the etymologies are unrelated. <sup>90</sup>This speech is substantially paraphrased from the source. *HRB*, II.214-230 [31]. <sup>91</sup>The kingdoms are described in the political terms of the chieftaincies familiar in the sagas. Likewise, Leir is seated in a chieftains high seat. <sup>92</sup>An Old Icelandic term for a general assembly. <sup>93</sup>This direct quotation and dialog between Aganippus and his men is unique to the saga. <sup>94</sup>His age isn’t mentioned in this position in the *HRB* and *VV*. The figure is misplaced from the beginning of the Leir episode, where it is mentioned that his reign spanned sixty years. *HRB*, II.134 [31]. <sup>95</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>96</sup>The means by which she killed herself is not mentioned in the *HRB* and *VV*.

## 43r

þeir bróðr skiptv þa ríki með fer lavt marganus nozðr fra hvmrv en enedegvus en fyðza  
 lvt þeir ríktv baðir .ij. vetr þa dzo marganus lið saman 7 heriaði a ríki bzoðo2 finf en  
 er enedagvus fra þat fo2 hann imote með her 7 tokz þar harð2 bardagi 7 endiz með því at  
 marganus flyði 7 var fangin in flottanvm 7 dzevin við þan stað er nv heitir margan  
 5 en að2 het kambaria tekr nv enedagvus allt ríkt vnder fig 7 reð .íij. vetr 7 .xxx.  
 7 var hann miok harmað2 af finvm monnvum I þenna tima varv þersir þpamenn a gyðingalandi yfaial  
 7 oze2 þa var rvma borg reift a .xi. kalendas maii manaðar af .ij. bzoðrum remo 7 romvlo  
 Svn enedago tok ríki eftir hann fa het runvallo a hanf dogvm rigandi .íij. daga bloði 7 kom  
 þar eftir manndavð2 mikill eftir hann tok ríki svn hanf er het gargvftius þa hanf svn sífillius þa ri  
 10 go þa kirmaevs svn sífilli þa gosbodaga þa fynir hans ferevxn 7 porex þeir deil  
 dv bzatt vm ríkt 7 stock ferevxn o2 landi til franz 7 eflðiz þapan at liði 7 fo2  
 síþan aftr til bzetlandz 7 varð með þeim bzoðrum mikill barðagi 7 fell i þeim ferevxn 7 merftr  
 lvti liðf hanf Moðir þeira het vedo 7 varð hon miog ryg er hon þpvrði fall pozex þviat hon vnri  
 hanvm yfir alla menn fram hon fo2 þegar i stað at finna ferevxn svn sin 7 var hann þa i svef  
 15 ni hon geck i þat herbyrgi er konvngv svaf i hon vífti vt oðzvm monnvum þa bavð hon þionvftv  
 meyvum sínvum at legia konung með þeim handfoxvm er hon feck þeim 7 fva gerðv þær at þær  
 dzapv hann þar Eftir þetta eð illa verk varð mikill vfríð2 i landinv vm .v. konvnga ævi 7 fo2 ríkt  
 litt at skilvm þar til er fa maðr hofz vpp er dvnnovallus het hann var svn lothenif konvngs af choznbreta  
 landi hann var diarfr maðr 7 framgiarn þa varv .v. konvngar yfir bzetlandi het ein piner þan dzap  
 20 hann fyrft þar neft rífv moti hanvm radaciv konvngv af cambaria 7 staciv konvngv af albania 7  
 er þeir fvndvz varð þar harð2 bardagi 7 mikít mann fall af hvarvm tvegivum en fva lavk  
 at baðir konvngar fellv 7 merftr lvti liðf þeira 7 lagþi vndir fig síþan allt þeira ríki hann let fyftv  
 þeira landz konvnga gera fer koronv af gvlli hann fetti log þav er kollvð erv malmvtini 7 hel  
 dvz þav þar lengi síþan at engi maðr skyllði fva illt gert hafá ef hann kvæme til hans þann dag  
 25 er hann bar kozono at hann skyllði eigi gríð hafa hann let 7 víða ryðia landit til bia 7 ackra hann  
 eyddi ollvm ranfmonnvum 7 hernaði hann ríktí .xl. ara 7 andaðiz i lvndvnm 7 var iarðað2 i hof  
 vð hofi því er hann hafþi fett til laga stíornar i landinv af breniv 7 belinvf  
 Synir dvnvallus tokv ríki eftir hann het annar belinv en annar bzenniv þier vrðv  
 bzatt eigi fámhvga 7 villdi hvartvegi heita yfirkonvngv en þo fættvz þeir  
 30 með því at belinv skyllði heita yfir konvngv af því at hann var ellri 7 hafá en fyðza  
 lvt ríktí en bzenir en nerðza 7 stoð fva þeira fætt vm .v. ar. þat varv log með troio  
 monnvum at fa skyllði oðri heita er ellri var tollþv menn þat þa fyri bzenni at hann skyllði fara til  
 nozex 7 bíðia dottvrf elfogii konvngf 7 fa þapan fvllan styrk moti bzoðo2 sínvum Síþan fo2 hann til  
 hozðalandz 7 bað dotto2 konvngf 7 feck hennar 7 var þar vm vetrin en er belinv þpvrði þetta 7  
 35 hann var ecki eftir þersv raði þpvrð2 þa ferr hann með her til nozðhvmbzalandz 7 legr þat allt vndir  
 fig þetta þpvr bzennir 7 fámnar vvgivum her saman En er gvðzíktr danakonvngv þpvr til hanf  
 ferðar

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1–37 þeir bróðr skiptv...ferðar] The entire page is freshened up. 9 rigo] Jónsson suggests the o could be a v. 13 pozex] Jónsson emends to ferevxn. The original hand may have represented this name. 14 ferevxn] Jónsson emends to porex. 15 konvngv] The abbreviation is freshened up as þeir. 15 oðzvm] Not freshened up. 15 ltv] Not freshened up. 22 lagþi vndir fig] Jónsson, lagþi (Dvnvallus) vndir fig. 27 af breniv 7 belinvf] Not freshened up. 28 S] Not freshened up. 31 lvt] In the refreshed copy, this word occurs at the end of the previous line.

The brothers divided the kingdom among themselves. Marganus obtained the north of the Humber, and Cunedagus the southern portion. Both ruled for two years. Then Marganus drew his army together and harried his brother's realm, but when Cunedagus learned of this, he went against the army and a severe battle began. It ended when Marganus fled, was captured on the run, and was killed in that place which is now called Margan, but was earlier called Kambria. Now Cunedagus subdues the entire realm under him, and he rules for thirty-three years, but [Marganus] was sorely missed by his men. 5R

[33] In this time the prophets Isaiah and Hosea were in Israel. Then, it was the eleventh day of May, when the city Rome was built by the brothers Romulus and Remus. Cunedagus's son took the realm after him. His name was Riuallo. In his days, it rained blood for three days, whereupon a great number of people died. After him his son took the realm who was called Gurgustius, then his son Sisillius, then Iago, then Kinmarcus the son of Sisillius, then Gorbodugo, then his sons Ferreux and Porrex. They argued with difficulty over the kingdom, but Ferreux fled from the land to France, reinforced his army, then he returned to Britain, and it came to a fierce battle between the brothers, and Ferreux, along with most of his army, were killed. Their mother was called Iudon, and she became much aggrieved when she learned of Ferreux's death because she loved him more than any other man. She immediately went to that place to meet Porrex and his son, and he was there sleeping. She went into the chamber, where the king slept, and pointed out the other people. Then she ordered her maids to kill the king with a hand-sax, which she gave them, and so they accomplished his murder.<sup>97</sup> 10R

[34] After this outrage, much war was upon the land in the time of five kings, and the kingdom was of little account,<sup>98</sup> until a man named Dunuallo rose to power. He was the son of King Clotenis from Cornwall. He was a brave and noble man. There was at the time five kings in Britain. One was named Pinner. Dunuallo killed him first. But then King Rudaucus from Cambria and King Staterius from Scotland rose against him, and as they met one another, it came to a fierce battle with great losses on both sides, and it ended when both kings and the greater part of their armies fell and Dunuallo subdued the entire realm. He was the first of all the kings of the land to have a golden crown made.<sup>99</sup> He enacted the laws which are called the Molmutine, and they have long since held that no one could commit a crime so severe, that it wouldn't be pardoned if he came to the king on a day he wore his crown.<sup>100</sup> He had the land widely cleared for agriculture and husbandry, and put all raiding and plundering to an end. He ruled for forty years long and died in London and was buried in the great temple, which he had dedicated to the establishment of his rule over the land.<sup>101</sup> 20R

## Brennius and Belinus

[35] Dunuallo's sons took power after him. One was named Belinus and the other Brennius. They quickly became at odds with each other, and each of the two wished to be called High King. They finally agreed that Belinus should be called High King because he was older, and have the southern part of the kingdom, and Brennius the northern part, and this settlement lasted for five years. It was a Trojan law, that the oldest should have the higher title. Then the men said before Brennius that he should go north and ask for the hand of the King Elsingius's daughter, and thence augment his strength against his brother. Thereupon, he journeyed to Hordaland, petitioned the king for his daughter, married her, and stayed there for the winter.<sup>102</sup> When Belinus, who was not consulted about this marriage, heard of this, he went with his army to Northumberland and subdued it completely. Brennius heard this and assembled a formidable army. When the Danish King Guðrik heard these deeds,<sup>103</sup> 30R

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<sup>97</sup>As with Cordeilla's sax above, the implement of murder is not mentioned in the *HRB* and *VV*. According to *HRB*, II.302 [33]. Iudon's handmaidens tear him apart with their bare hands. <sup>98</sup>*HRB*, II.303 [33]. The explanation of the five kings follows. <sup>99</sup>The *HRB* and *VV* mention his construction of a golden crown, but the detail that it was an innovation on Dunuallo's part is added by the saga writer. <sup>100</sup>A misreading on the part of the saga writer. Dunuallo decreed that any fugitive or criminal who sought sanctuary in one of the gods' temples received pardon. *HRB*. II.331-333 [34]. <sup>101</sup>According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Dunuallo dedicated the temple to the goddess Concordia, the goddess of harmony. <sup>102</sup>The location, Hordaland, is not mentioned in the *HRB* and *VV* and is unique to the saga. <sup>103</sup>Guichtlacus in the *HRB* and *VV*.

## 43v

1 fafnaði her saman þviat hann fyrirvndi hanvm hvanfangf þerf er hann hafði fengit tekz her harðz  
 bardagi danir fottv merft þat skip er drottningin var a þat gatv þeir vnnið þ fengit  
 hana þ þegar logþv þeir bztott þ siglðv i haf þa rak veðz til nozðhvrvv landz með .viij. fkipv  
 Brener figlði eftir þ kom at fskotlandi þ þþvrði hvat hervirki broðir hanf hafði gozt a hanf riki  
 5 þ fva at kona hanf þ dana konvngv var a hanf valldi fendi hann þa menn til bzoðor finf þ það hann gefa  
 aftr riki fitt þ kono ella mvndi hann heria i rikinv þ þyrma ongv Beler varð reiðz  
 við þerfi ozð þ famnaði liði þ foz mot bzenne með vvgian her þeir hittvz við fskog þann er  
 kalaterivs hetir tekz þar harðr bazdagi þ bozðvz þeir allan dag en at kvelli flyðv  
 nozðmenn til fkipa þ dzap beler af þeim .xv. hvndzvð manna Brenner komz a fkip þ flyði  
 10 til saxlandz en belir tekr vndir fig allt rikit af nyiv hann gerir fætt við gvðzik dana konung  
 þa at hann for belir konungi trvnaðar eiða þ hann skyllði af hanvm hallða riki i danmozk kona  
 bzennis skyllði þ hanvm fylgia enda skyllði hann lvka bela fskatt a hveriv ari þ gaf þar  
 gifla til belir let gera vegv þ bzvar vm allt bzetland þ fetti þav log at a þeim gotvm fky  
 lldi hverr við annan frið hafða fem hann hafði gert ok hellz þat en i dag. þozði þa engi  
 15 maðr hanvm moti at mæla Nv er at fegia af bzenni at hann heriar i franz þ feck þar þo en  
 gan ftyrk hann for þa a fund iarlf þerf er seginvv heitir hann reð fyrir ovrgvnia hann tok  
 við hanm með allri virðing þ bavð hanvm með fer at vera fva lengi fem hann villdi hann dvaldöiz  
 þar vm ftvnd virði iarlinn hann þvi meira fem hann var lengr með hanvm þ vm fþir gifti iarlinn hanvm  
 dottur fiva með þeim kavpmala at hann skyllði taka allt riki eftir iarlinn ef hann ætti engan  
 20 fvn eftir en ef iarlinn ætti fvn þa skyllði hann ftyrkia hann til finf rikif i bzetlandi allir ho  
 fþingiar i landinv bvndv þetta með fafvmælvv iarlinn lifþi eitt ar siþan þ tok þa bzenir  
 vndir fig allt rikit iallinn hafði verið faftr maðz en bzennir var fva ozr at hann gaf a tv  
 ær hendz hverivm er þigia villdi gerðiz hann þa vinfæll fva at þa villdi hverr fitia þ  
 ftanda i landinv fem hann villdi hann mintiz þa hvelika vinattv hann atti bzoðoz fvnv  
 25 at giallda byðz hann þa her vt þ fer til bzetlandz þ er belir fþyr þat famnar hann her þ foz mo  
 ti hanvm moðir þeira lifþi þa en er tonema het hon foz millim þeira þ villdi fætta  
 þa en er hon gat þat eigi giozt þa foz hon fram millim herfinf þ gengr at bzennir legr ba  
 ðar finar hendz vm half hanvm þ berar bzioft fin bæði þ fyndi hanvm þ mællti grata  
 ndi minztv þerf fvn min at þerfi bzioft dzacktv iþinni bernfkv þ fyri þerfv bziofti  
 30 bar ek þig þa er fkaparen let þig at manne verða en nv færir þv þetta bzioft a minvm  
 harme minz a fvn min hvat ek þolþa fyri þig læg reiði þina við bzoðoz þinn  
 fyri mina bõrn þ þo at þv yrðir fyri hanvm land flotta þa er þer þat nv fkemðarlavft þviat  
 þv ert nv eigi minni maðr en hann ne vviðlandari Nv er hitt betr at virða fva fem  
 þv hafir þetta af hanvm lotið at þv ert nv ozðin mikill konvngv oz litlvv fmafveini  
 35 en ef þv villt hvazki giæta bzoðvrligrar aftar þ moðozlegrar gleði þa man  
 hamingian fra þer hverfa þ fylgia þeim er hana vill elfka En er bzener hafði heyzt þetta

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1–36 fafnaði (hann) her... hafði heyzt þetta] The entire page is covered with reagent and freshened up. All of the text is legible. 1 fafnaði her] Jónsson, fafnaði (hann) her. 2 bardagi] The text is obscured in the middle of the word. The kind of r is not visible. 6 ongv] Jónsson suggests this could also be engv. 16 ovrgvnia] Jónsson, bvgvnia. 17 aldöiz] Not freshened up; illegible. 21 hofþingiar] Very poorly freshened up; illegible. 23 þa] This word is placed above the line, above a horizontal dash. 27 bzennir] Jónsson suggests the original text should read Bzenni. 29 iþinni] Obscured. The ink appears smudged. 30 en nv] Not freshened up. 30 minvm] Jónsson suggests this originally was nyivm, from Jón Sigursson. 36 þetta] Only the þ is legible.

he assembled an army, because he resented Brennius for this abduction, which he had committed. A severe battle begun. The Danes most fiercely attacked the ship carrying the queen, knowing they could win it. They took her and immediately they shoved off and sailed into the sea.<sup>104</sup> The wind drove them to Northumberland with eight ships.

[37] Brennius sailed back, came to Scotland, and learned of the devastation his brother wrought upon his kingdom, and that he had his wife and the Danish king in his power. He sent men to his brother and asked him to give back his kingdom and his wife, or he would harry the kingdom and spare no one. Belinus became angry with these words, assembled an army and went against Brennius with an overwhelming force. They met next to that forest which is called the Calaterium. A severe battle begun, and they fought all day, but that evening the Northmen fled to the ships, and Belinus killed four hundred of those men. Brennius procured a ship and fled to Saxony,<sup>105</sup> and Belinus conquers the whole kingdom again. King Belinus makes peace with the Danish King Guðrik, and Guðrik pledged an oath of allegiance to Belinus, and Guðrik would rule the Danish kingdom for him. Brennius's wife would finally go with Guðrik, and that he would pay Belinus a yearly tribute; Guðrik surrendered hostages [to close the agreement]. Belinus had roads and bridges built over all Britain, and established the laws that on those roads which he had built, everyone shall have peace with one other, and those laws still hold today. No one ever dared to speak against him.

[40] Now it will be told of Brennius, that he undertakes a campaign in France, but he took no power there. He sought an earl by the name of Seginus, who ruled over Burgundia.<sup>106</sup> He received Brennius honorably, and bade him to stay with him as long as he wished. He lived there for a while. The longer he stayed with him, the more the earl loved him, and after a while the earl married him to his daughter, but on the condition that he would take over the entire realm after the earl's death if he didn't have a son. But if the earl had a son, then Seginus would strengthen his own kingdom in Britain. All the chieftains in the land agreed to this with binding oaths.<sup>107</sup>

[41] After this, the earl lived for one year, Brennius took to being so generous that he gave by the handful to anyone who wanted anything from him. For this reason, he was so beloved, that everyone in the land would sit and stand at his command. He thought to himself to reward his brother with the same kind of friendship he received from him. Then he mobilizes an army and goes to Britain. When Belinus, hears of this, he assembles an army and went against him. Their mother lived at the time, and her name is Tonwenna. She went between them and wished to reconcile them, but she could not get this done.<sup>108</sup> Then she went right in between the ranks and went to Brennius. She puts both of her hands around his neck, bares both of her breasts, showed them to him, and said tearfully, "Do you remember, my son, that you suckled from these breasts in your infancy, and I carried you against them as soon as the Creator allowed you to be among men. But now you injure these breasts by my misery.<sup>109</sup> My son, remember what I endured for you. By my plea, lay aside your anger with your brother. Although you had to flee the land, when you were there, you were without shame because you are now not a lesser man than he, nor are you without land. Now it is better to consider that you owe this to him, now that you have developed from a small child into a great king. But if you wish to cast away brotherly love and motherly joy, Fortune will turn away from you and turn toward one who will love her."<sup>110</sup>

When Brennius had heard this,

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<sup>104</sup>The characterization of Guthrik is written in more heroic terms than in the *HRB* and *VV*. In *HRB*, he is simply finds the good luck to grapple the ship holding the girl and drag it among the ships of his followers. ... *cepit forte nauem qua praedicta puella fuerat illatisque uncis illam inter consocios attraxit. HRB, III.32 [36]* <sup>105</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, Brennius comes upon a single boat by luck, and sails to Gaul. *HRB, III.33 [20]*. <sup>106</sup>According to the *HRB* and *VV*, he ruled over Allobroges. *HRB, III.98 [40]*. <sup>107</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>108</sup>Tonwenna's initial frustrated attempt is unique to the saga. <sup>109</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>110</sup>Unique to the saga.

## 44r

þa minkaðiz reiði hans 7 villdi hann hvga hana 7 lagði af fer vapnin 7 geck með bliðv  
 anliti at b2oðo2 sinvm 7 er beler fa þat þa lagði hann af fer sin vapn 7 mintiz þa  
 hvar við annan 7 festv þa frændseme fina at füllv sem vera atti Siþan forv þeir  
 baðir saman til vallandz 7 þaþan til franz 7 herivðv þar 7 oll þav riki er fyri nozðan fioll erv  
 5 logþv þeir vndir fig 7 fettv þar fina menn yfir Eftir þat forv þeir fvð2 vm fiollin allt til ro  
 maborgar þa varv .ij. consulef yfir rom 7 italia het anar fabivs en annar þozfenna  
 7 er rvmverir visfv afla þeira sva mikin b2oð2a þa gafvz þeir i valld þeira 7 lv  
 kv þeim skatta 7 fengv þeim gifla til trvnaðar at sva skylldv þeir gera iamnan Siþan forv  
 þeir nozð2 vm fiall til faxlandz 7 fomnvðv faxar her saman i moti 7 bozðvz þeir  
 10 7 fengv þeir b2oð2 iamnan figr en er rvmveriar spvrðv þat þa rvfv þeir sættir við þa  
 b2oð2 7 reðuz til liðf með soxvm En er þeir b2oð2 spvrðv þat þa gerðv þeir þat rað at b2ennir  
 skylldi fara með her sinn til rvmaborgar en belir skylldi vera eftir a faxlandi en er rvmverir vr  
 ðv þerfa varir ætlvðv þeir at gera fat fryi b2enni er hann hyrfi aftr belir varð varv við þetta  
 7 for vm nott með her sin i dal þann er leið rvmveria la vm En er dagr var fa rvmverir fyri fer  
 15 fiolða manna með biortvm vapnvm 7 slo þa otta a þa 7 hvþv at b2enir mvnði þar kominn  
 varv þeir þa ecki við bvnir b2aðvm bardaga belir veitti þeim harða at fokn 7 fellv  
 margir rvmverir en allir flyðv þeir er lifit þagv tok þa at natta 7 skilði sva með  
 þeim belir fo2 þa a fvnd b2enif 7 forv þeir baðir til rvmaborgar 7 settvz vm hana þeir letv rei  
 fa galga fyri borg liðvm 7 letv leiða þangat giflana ecki gafv borgar menn vpp vozni  
 20 na at helld2 letv þeir b2oð2 þa hengia .xx. ena rikvztv manna fyni er varv i gillingv  
 við þerfa fyn bra þeim sva at þeir varv bvnir at gefaz upp 7 i þvi kom lið þat er flyð hafði  
 fyri belir 7 reðv þeir þa vt o2 borginni til ozrosto við þa b2oð2 7 lavk sva at rvmveriar flyþv  
 vndan 7 fengv mikin mannkaða hvarir tvegiv þar fellv baðir hofþingiar rvmveria pozsenna  
 / 7 galltv tokv þeir b2oð2 þa en borgina i sitt valld 7 fettv fina menn yfir þeir attv  
 25 margar ozrosto2 i italia aðr þeir giæti þat vnnið 7 gerðiz b2enir þar havþingi yfir er ecki  
 her lengra fagt af hanvm En belir sner i heim til b2etlandz með her sinn 7 fettiz þar at riki hann let þar  
 gera margar borgir 7 kaftala hann let gera ein hafan tvrn yfir þvi liði i lvndvnm er vt  
 veit a ana temf 7 gylltan knap a ofan verðv með miklvvm hagleik en er hann an  
 daðiz þa var likame hanf b2end2 7 latin askan i eitt gvlder 7 sett vpp a knappin  
 30 þann er var a tvrninvm þviat hann bar hæft 7 yfir alla borgina af af gyrgvi konungi  
 Svn beles het gyrgvir hann tok riki eftir foðo2 sin hann var manna hogværaztr 7  
 vitraztr menn varv hanvm fyst miok vlyðnir i landin reiftv mote hanvm bardaga  
 en þo at hann væri daglega hogvæz þa var þat eigi minna fvrþa er hann tok til hverfv gr  
 imr 7 vapndiarfr hann var þa 7 feck hann þvi iamnan figr 7 logþvz með þvi bardagar innan landz

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Contents

1–34 þa minkaðiz... innan landz] The entire page is freshened up and covered with reagent. Most of the text is visible, but badly worn in some passages.  
 6 þozfenna] Incorrectly freshened up. The original read pozfenna. 8 trvnaðar at] The refreshed ink has flaked off of ar at. 14 var] Written above  
 the line. 17 margir rvmver] The refreshed ink appears flaked off; illegible. 21 hafði] Obscured by reagent. 22 flyþv] Obscured by reagent. 23  
 pozsenna] An unrefreshed vs abbreviation appears above the line. The rest of the name is Jónsson's reconstruction. 24 /] An ambiguous slash appears  
 at the beginning of the line. It is uncertain if it represents a character from the original hand. 27 tala hann let] The refreshed ink has flaked off;  
 illegible. 27 vt] Very worn; illegible. 28 gylltan knap a ofan] Most of the refreshed ink has flaked off; mostly illegible. 28 hann an] Very worn;  
 illegible. 29 hanf b2end2 7 latin] Most of the refreshed ink has flaked off; mostly illegible, but the r rotunda are visible. 30 af af gyrgvi konungi]  
 Not freshened up; illegible. 31 S] The large capital is not freshened up. 32 i landin] Jónsson, i landin(v 7). 33 en] The e is not freshened up.  
 34 imr] Not freshened up; illegible. 34 vapndiarfr] The initial va is not freshened up; illegible. 34 með þvi bardagar innan landz] Very worn;  
 illegible.



- his anger lessened and he decided to listen to her, and he laid down his weapons, and went to his brother with a happy demeanor; and when Belinus saw that, he laid down his weapon and they remembered each other, and they affirmed their kinship completely, as it had been before. After this, they both went to Valland,<sup>111</sup> and then to France, and raided there, and they conquered all those kingdoms which were in the northern mountains, and appointed their men to govern them.
- [42] After that, they went south over all the mountains to Rome. At the time, there were two consuls ruling in Rome and Italy.<sup>112</sup> One was named Gabius and the other was named Porsenna. When the Romans saw how formidable the brothers' army was, they gave themselves over to their power, paid them tribute, and gave them hostages for good faith in order to maintain this relationship. Then they traveled north over the mountains to Saxland,<sup>113</sup> and the Saxons assembled an army against them; they fought, and the brothers took the same victory. But when the Romans learned that, they retracted their peace agreement with the brothers and they joined the host alongside the Saxons. When the brothers learned that they did this, they decided that Brennius would go with his force to Rome, and Belinus should remain in Saxland. When the Romans became aware of this, they planned that they would ambush Brennius as soon as he turned back. Belinus became aware of this and traveled during the night with his army in that valley through which the road led to Rome. When day breaks, the Romans saw a multitude of men with shining weapons before them, and fear struck them, and they thought that Brennius had come. They were not yet prepared for a sudden battle. Belinus attacked them fiercely, and many Romans fell, but those who lived ran away. Night fell, and both sides separated.
- [43] Then Belinus went to meet Brennius, and they both went to Rome and situated themselves there. They had a gallows built before the city gates, and lead the hostages there. The citizens were even more disinclined to give up their defense. Then the brothers had had twenty sons of the most powerful men hang, who were among the hostages. With this demonstration, they were so shocked, that they were prepared to give themselves up, and the army that [once] fled from Belinus, and they rushed out of the city to battle with the brothers, and it ended when the Romans ran away; each side suffered a great loss of men. Both of the Roman Chieftains Porsenna and Gabius died there. Then the brothers took the city into their power, and put their men in charge. They had many battles in Italy before they could take it, and Brennius made himself chieftain over it. Nothing more is written about him.<sup>114</sup> When Belinus turned homeward to Britain with his army, he put himself in power. He had many cities and castles build. He had a high tower built with much fine workmanship above the gate in London, which leads out toward the river Thames. When he died, his corpse was cremated, and the ashes were placed in a golden vessel, and set up in this knob which was on the tower because he bore the highest station over the entire city.<sup>115</sup>

### King Gurguint

- [45] Belinus's son was named Gurgint. He took power after his father. He was the most gentle of men and wisest. At first the people were very rebellious in the land, and they started to fight, but although he could be kind in his daily life, it was no surprise when he became wrathful and weapon-bold when he needed to be. Because of this, he always took victory and put down the rebellions in the land.

<sup>111</sup>An early Scandinavian name for Normandy. <sup>112</sup>Although this episode is noticeably abbreviated, it closely follows the text of *HRB*, III.164-240 [43], [44] and [45]. <sup>113</sup>Translated from *Garmania*. <sup>114</sup>Another formula that is common in the sagas. In the *Historia*, Geoffrey remarks that he omits Brennius's dealings in Rome because they are recorded in the Roman histories. *HRB*, sect.44, III.212-216: *VV*, p. 39 [44]. <sup>115</sup>This last remark is unique to the saga.

## 44v

Danakonvngur hellt skottvnm þeim fyri hanvm er hann hafði gollit feðr hanf bavð hann þa her vt 7 fo2 til ðan merkr 7 varð þar harðr bardagi 7 fell þar danakonvngur enn lagði land allt vndir fig. Enn er hann fo2 heim kom hann til o2neyia 7 var þar fryi fa maðr er partholomif het með .xxx. fkipa hann ha fpi flyð af fpania 7 rekiz .ix. manvðr i hafi 7 bað hann konvng veita fer nocko2ar hia

5 lpir en hann vifaði þeim at bygia þat land er nv heitir irlanð siþan forv þeir þangat 7 bygþv þar 7 þeira af fþringi siþan 7 litlv siþar andaðiz grygir konvgr 7 var hann miok harmaðr Eftir hann tok riki f vn hanf er gvtilinvs hanvm vnri allt landz folk kona hanf het marcia hon var fþærnk at ætt konvng lifsi litla stvnð 7 varð fott davðzeftir hann tok riki kananvs fvn hanf víj. vetra. drottning reð fyri riki meðan hann var i barndome hon fetti log i landinv þav er kollvð erv marciane 7 varv þav siþan

10 þar lengi vel halldinn eftir cananus tok riki fvn hanf er fifillius het enn eftir hann b2oðir hanf 7 er fa eigi nefnðzenn eftir hann mo2idivs frillv fvn canani Enn er hann hafði eigi lengi rikt kom einn herkonvng af no2ðhvmrvlandi 7 heriaði 7 er mo2idivs fra þat þa varð hann reiðr miok hann fo2 með her finn i mo ti hanvm verðr þar harðr bardagi 7 eigi langr aðr mo2idivs hafði figr enn fva var hann reiðr o2ðinn at hann villdi engvm manne lata grið gefa let hann þa leiða til fin þa er fangnir varv 7 hio fialfr

15 havfvð af ollvm þa til er hann var fva moðr at hann matti varla ganga þa bað hann siþan þa fem eftir varv at hvð fkyllði fla af þeim kvikvm 7 bzenna siþan i ellði. enn er menn fþvrðv þetta þa þo2ði en gi maðr a hanf riki at ftriða siþan. A hanf ðogvm i rikinvm var vnðarlegr atbvrd2 at vpp o2 fio kom eitt mikit dyr 7 fva olmt at þat reif 7 fleit allt þat er fyri þvi varð 7 eyddi landit allt þar fem þat fo2 konvng for mote þvi 7 fkvat a þat mo2g fkot 7 beit ecke a enn er hann fa þat þa geck

20 hann nær 7 ætlaði at hogva þat 7 er hann kom at dyrinv þa fvalg þat hann fem einn einn litin fílk 7 lavk fva hanf ævi. hann atti eftir fig .v. fyni. fa var ellztr er gozlomanus het 7 var fa til konvngf tekinn hann var blotmaðr mikill þa var fva mikit ar i bzetlandi at engi mvnði annað flikt hann var 7 allra manna vinfælaztr 7 ecki varð þat a hanf dogvm er hanf far fæld hinðzaði 7 andaðiz hann i fvllvm veg finvm 7 var heygðr i lvnðvnm eftir hann tok riki argallo b2oðir hanf

25 7 var hann vand2 7 illgiarn þviat hann fyridiarfaði allt rikif folk a landinv en hof þa til rikif er enki f varv verðir 7 fva kom hanf vvinfælld at hann varð at flyia landit en þeir tokv til konvngf b2oðo2 hanf er ellidvrvs het 7 gerðiz hann fkiott vinfæll argallo fo2 til vina finna at biðia fer fty rkf en hanvm villdi engi lið veita Siþan fo2 hann afr i bzetland 7 lagþiz vt a fskog þann er kaliterivs heitir með tivnda mann 7 ein tima er ellidvrvs for i þann fama fskog a dyra

30 veiði þa fan hann þar gallo broðo2 fin 7 mintiz við hann 7 hafði hann heim með fer fva at þat vi ffi engi vtan hanf fkofvein 7 var hann varðveitr i fialff hanf herbergi konvng tok fott 7 let þa gera o2ð ollvm hofþingivm i landinv Ok er varv til hanf komnir þa let konvng kalla til fin ein i fenn konvng þegar gripa hvern fem kom 7 mælti vmakliga geri ek með yðr en ek vil yðr kvnngit gera at broðir

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Contents

1–24 Danakonvngur hellt...b2oðir hanf] Freshened up. The last two lines are covered with reagent, but visible. 7 gvtilinvs hanvm] Jónsson, gvtilinvs (het) hanvm. 16 ellði.] The period appears in the refreshed hand. 20 einn] The word appears twice. 25–33 7 var hann ...gera at broðir] Covered with reagent. Most of the text is not freshened up, and in very poor condition. 25 7 var hann] Obscured by reagent. 25 allt rikif folk a landinv] Freshened up. 26 varv verðir] Obscured by reagent. 26 tokv til konvngf b2oðo2 hanf er] Freshened up. 27 ellidvrvs h] Obscured by reagent. 28 rkf en hanvm] Obscured by reagent. 28 7 lagþiz] Obscured by reagent. 30 7 mintiz við hann 7 hafði] Obscured by reagent. 31 varðveitr i fialff hanf herbergi] Obscured by reagent. 32 Ok er varv] Jónsson, Ok er (þeir) varv. 32 hanf komnir] Obscured by reagent. 32 konvng þegar] Jónsson, konvng (let) þegar. 33 gripa] Obscured by reagent.

[46] The Danish king withheld that tribute from him which he had paid to his father. He ordered his army out, went to Denmark, a severe battle occurred, the Danish King fell, and he conquered the entire kingdom. When he traveled homeward, he came to the Orkney Islands, and a man who was named Partholoim was already there with thirty ships. He had fled from Spain and wandered for nine months across the sea, and he asked the king to grant him some help, then he directed them to settle that land which is now called Ireland, then they went there, and settled, and from them lived their offspring. Shortly after this, King Gurgint died, and he was very much missed. 5R

[47] After him, his son, who was named Guithelinus, took power. All the people in the land loved him. His wife was named Marcia, and she was of Spanish heritage.<sup>116</sup> The king lived a little while, and died of an illness. After him, his seven year old son Kimarus took power.<sup>117</sup> The queen ruled the kingdom while he was in his childhood. She laid down those laws in the land which were called the Marcian Laws, and they were recognized for a very long time. After Kimarus, his son who was named Sisillius took power, but after him, his brother took power, but he is not named.<sup>118</sup> And after him [48] Kimarus's illegitimate son Morvidus took power.<sup>119</sup> But not long after he ruled, a warlord came from Northumberland and harried, and when Morvidus learned this, he became very angry.<sup>120</sup> He went with his army against him. A severe battle began, and it was not long before Morvidus won victory; because he was so angry, he didn't wish to have anyone pardoned. He had those who were captured lead to him and he himself chopped the heads from all of them until he was so exhausted, he could hardly walk. Then he ordered that those who remained should have their skin flayed from them alive and then burned in a fire. When the people heard this, no one dared challenge his power. 10R 15R

During his reign, a strange event happened: a huge animal came up out of the sea, and it was so savage that it rose up and shredded everything that happened to be near it, and destroyed the land completely wherever it went. The king moved against it, and shot many darts at it, but none injured it. When he saw that, he went near, and planned to strike it, and [49] when he came at the animal, then it swallowed him as if he were a little fish. This ended his life. He left behind five sons. The oldest was named Gorbonianus, and he was accepted as king. He was a great heathen.<sup>121</sup> That year in Britain was so fruitful, that no one could remember another like it.<sup>122</sup> And he was the most beloved of men, and nothing happened in his days that hindered his peace and happiness, and he died in the peak of his strength, and was buried in London. 20R

[50] After him, this brother Arthgallo took power, and he was wicked and spiteful because he demoted all the powerful folk in the land but promoted those to power who were of small rank, and because of this, he became so unpopular that he fled the country, but [the people] accepted his brother who was named Elidurus, and he quickly made himself popular. Arthgallo went to his friends to ask for support, but no one wished to give him troops. After this, He went back to Britain and retreated into the the forest called the Calaterium with ten men, and one time when Elidurus went into the same forest to hunt game, he met his brother Arthgallo, and he kissed him, and he took him home with him so that no one knew except his servant, and he was kept to himself in his quarters. The king became sick and the had sent word to all the chieftains in the land. And when they came, the king had them called to him at once. The king immediately had everyone who came seized, and said, "I deal with you unworthily, but I want you to know that my brother 25R 30R

«English

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<sup>116</sup>Marcia's Spanish heritage is unique to the saga. <sup>117</sup>The saga writer confuses the names, Kimarus and Sisilius. According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Sisilius is Marcia's son, and Kimarus is Sisillius's son. *HRB*, III.262-267 [47]. <sup>118</sup>The *HRB* and *VV* name the brother Danius. *HRB*, III.267 [47]. <sup>119</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, Morvidus is the the son of Danius. *HRB*, III.267 [47]. <sup>120</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, a Flemish warlord lands in Northumberland. *HRB*, sect. 48, III.273 [48]. <sup>121</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, he built and repaired many temples. *HRB*, III.292 [49]. <sup>122</sup>The high agricultural yields in Britain during Gorbonianus's reign appears in *HRB*, III.293 [49]. This passage does not appear in *VV*.

## 45r

minn er her komin fa er landflæmðo varð fyrri mer 7 af því at ek veit at var skilnaðo man  
 skíott verða þa vil ek þetta ríki gefa aftr argallo vili þer eigi þetta iatta mer þa skal ek lata  
 halfhogva alla yðr 7 þo at þeim þætti hvargi goðr þa iattv þeir ollv því er konvngr beiddiz  
 5 7 var þetta með eiðvm bndit fara þeir síþan til iozkar 7 tok þar kozonv af hofði fer 7 fe  
 tti a havfvð argallo b2oðo2 sinvm en ellidrvs fat þa sva sem ein ivftif argallvs tok  
 þa allan annan hatt vm rikif stio2n en fyr hafþi hann haft gerðiz hann þa maðr vinfæll hann ríkti  
 x. ár 7 andaðiz i borg þeiri er leira heitir þa tokv Bretar til konvngf anan tima ellidrvs hann haf  
 þi enn fama hátt sem fyr vm rikif stio2n .ij. b2oðo2 hanf rifv i mote hanvm het ann  
 10 ar vigenivs en annar peridrvs þeir komv at konvnginvm a vvar 7 gripv hann þviat hann venti  
 engra fvíka af þeim 7 fettv hann i stein i lvndvnm en þeir skiptv ríki með fer 7 reðv .vij.  
 vetr síþan andaðvz þeir baðir Eftir þat tokv b2etar ellidrvs o2stainvm i lvndvnm 7  
 var hann þa eð .íij. finn til konvngf tekinn 7 reð hann þar fryi alla ævi síþan með veg 7 vinfæll 7 an  
 daðiz elligamall með goðvm o2ðftir 7 var hann barnlavf þa fo2 síþ an ríkit litt at skilvm  
 þviat þa varv ymfer konvngar 7 er engi sága fra þeim ger var fyrft marganus þa ermianvs þa te  
 15 divallvs þa noze katellvs pozrex kervi þa fulgencivs þa eltvrsv klenðacvs þa canotvs  
 þa gvgicivs þa marianvs þa castenvs þa rillvs þa beredabel þa dolvar þa helivs hann var ætt  
 sto2r maðr. hann ríkti .xl. ara. hann atti íij. fyni eftir. het einn lvðo2 annar casibellvs .íij. venivs  
 Lvðo2 tok konvngdom eftir foðvr sinn þviat hann var ellztr hann let gera nyia vegi vm lvndvnborg  
 20 7 iok hana bæði með kaftalvm 7 tvrvnm hann var þarfligr ríkinv 7 en vafkazti til vapna  
 hann reð litla stvnd ríki 7 var iarðaðo2 i lvndvnm hann atti eftir .ij. fyni vnga het annar  
 androgenvs enn annar tenvancivs kasibellanvs tok ríki eftir hann enn b2oðo2 fynir hanf varv noc  
 kot vaxnir þa fetti hann androgevvm yfir lvndvnir en tenvantivm yfir kornbreta land  
**I** þenna tima for ivlivs gaius cefar norðr vm fiáll 7 lagði af iulio cefare  
 vndir sig allt gallia hanvm var fagt at ein ey la þaþen skamt 7 fv þioð bygði er  
 25 komin var fra enef sem síalfir rvmveriar 7 þat at fv þioð mvndi miok vera ætlera 7 kv  
 nna ecki at beriaz 7 þat land mvndi lavft fyrri licia ivlivs fendi casibellano eit b2ef með  
 þerfvm o2ðvm at þeir gialldi rvmverivm skatt 7 iatti sig vndir þeira lyðni þviat þat var þann tima  
 er þeir vnnv yfir alla veroldina Casibellanvs let fenda annað b2ef i moti 7 mællti sva  
 vnvdarleg er agirni yðvr rvmveria er þer krefit af o2f skatta þar sem ver hofvm rvðt  
 30 merkr 7 vbygðir orf til atvinnv væri yðo2 betra at binda við o2f fríð 7 fara til var 7 f  
 tyrkia vart ríki með yðrvm mikla styrk en þo at ver hafim at varv ríki navðvlega  
 komiz þa erv ver nv vvitandi allz vfrelfif 7 þo at gvðin síalf vili o2f þrælka  
 þa sklvv ver með ollv megni moti standa hverfit fra þerfi ætlan þviat ver sklvvm með vilia

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1–33 minn er her komin...með] The entire page is covered with reagent, and intermittently freshened up. There appears to be two different hands refreshing the page, an earlier one and a more recent one. 3 halfhogva alla yðr 7 þo at þeim þætti hvargi goðr þa iattv þeir ollv því er ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 4 7 var þetta með eiðvm bndit fara þeir síþan til iozkar 7 tok þar kozonv ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 4 iozkar] The second r is not freshened up. 5 tti a havfvð argallo b2oðo2 sinvm en ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 6 annan hatt vm rikif stio2n ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 6 gerðiz hann ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. Incorrectly written, gerþa hann. 7 andaðiz i borg þeiri er ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 7 heitir] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 8 enn fama hátt sem fyr vm rikif stio2n .ij. b2oðo2 hanf] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 9 þeir ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 10 engra fvíka af þeim 7 fettv hann i stein i lvndvnm en þeir skiptv ríki með fer ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 11 vetr síþan andaðvz þeir baðir Eftir þat tokv ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 11 vetr fi ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 11 v ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 12 var hann þa eð .íij. finn til konvngf tekinn 7 reð hann þar fryi alla ævi síþan með veg ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 12 var hann þa ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 13 daðiz elligamall með goðvm o2ðftir 7 var hann barnlavf þa fo2 síþ ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 14–33 þviat þa varv...með vilia ] The remainder of the page is freshened up by the second hand. 23 **I**] Not freshened up. 23 af iulio cefare ] Not freshened up. 31 nav ] Incorrectly refreshed to með. 31 ðvlega ] Not freshened up. 32 síalf ] Incorrectly refreshed up síe. 32 f vili o2f þrælka ] Not freshened up. 33 sklvvm með vilia ] Not freshened up.

who has come here, who became exiled because of me, and because I know that we will quickly become separated, I wish to give this kingdom back to Arthgallo. If you do not wish to agree to this, I will have all of your throats slit.” Although it appeared to them that neither of these things to be good, they agreed to everything the king asked for, and this was bound by oaths. Then they went to York and the king took the crown off his head and put it on the head of his brother Arthgallo, but Elidurus still acted as judge.<sup>123</sup> Then Arthgallo took the helm of power with an entirely different philosophy than he did before. He made himself a popular man. He ruled for ten years and died in that city which is called Leicester. Then the Britons received Elidurus as king for a second time. He had the same philosophy regarding the helm of power as he did before. His two brothers rose against him. One was named Iugenus and the other was named Peredurus, and they came against the king unawares and they grabbed him because he didn’t expect treason from them, and then they imprisoned him in London, divided the kingdom between them, and ruled for seven years. Eventually, they both died. After that the Britons released Elidurus from the prison in London, and for the third time he was received as king. He ruled ever since for the rest of his life with honor and popularity, and he died at a very old age with a good reputation, but he was without a son.<sup>124</sup> After this, the kingdom was of little account because there were various alternate kings and no sagas were composed about them.<sup>125</sup> The first of these were Marganus, then Enniaunus, then Tedivallus,<sup>126</sup> then Gerontius, Catellus, Porrex, Cherin, then Fulgenius, then Eluid, Cledaucus, then Clotenus, then Gurgintus, then Merianus, then Catellus, then Redion, then Bledgabred, then Capior, then Heli.<sup>127</sup> He was a high-born man. He ruled for forty years. He had four sons after him. One was named Lud, another Cassibellaunus, and the third, Nennius. Lud took the kingdom after his father because he was the oldest. He had new roads constructed in London and strengthened the city with both castles and towers. He was useful in the kingdom and most valiant with weapons. He ruled the kingdom for a short while and was buried in London. He left two young sons. One was named Androgeus and the other Tenuantius. Cassibellaunus took the kingdom after him, and when his nephews were almost grown up, he appointed Androgeus to rule over London, and Tenuantius to rule over Cornwall.

## Julius Caesar

In this time, Julius Gaius Ceasar went north over the mountains, and conquered all of Gaul. It was said to him that an island lay a short distance away, and those people were descended from Aeneas like the Romans themselves, and that these people have become very corrupt and could not fight, and that land will fall easily. Julius sent a letter to Cassibellaunus with these words: that they should pay tribute to the Romans and that they should agree to be subject to their people, for this was that time when they vanquished the entire world. Cassibellaunus had another letter sent in return, and said, “so unusual is your greed, Romans, that you crave tribute from us, where we have cleared the forest and make uninhabited places fruitful. It would be better for you to make peace with us, come to us, and strengthen our kingdom with your great power.<sup>128</sup> Although we have obtained our kingdom with difficulty, we are now unaccustomed to captivity, and even if the gods themselves wish to enslave us, we shall stand against them with all our might. Withdraw from this plan because we shall, by the will

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<sup>123</sup>Elidurus being retained as judge is unique to the saga. The *HRB* and *VV* remark how he was fair and just. *HRB*, III.329 [50]; ...*quod suum erat unicuique permittere, rectamque iusticiam exercere*. <sup>124</sup>His lack of an heir is unique to the saga. According to the *HRB* and *VV*, the crown was passed to Gorbonianus’s son Regin., *HRB*, III.345 [52]. *VV*, 52. p. 44 [52] records this succession but does not mention Regin by name. <sup>125</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>126</sup>The source for this name is uncertain. <sup>127</sup>This succession is only moderately accurate to *HRB*, and excludes a few narrative remarks. <sup>128</sup>That is, that they should strike an agreement of friendship. *HRB*, IV.25 [55].

## 45v

goðanna moti rífa En er cefar hafði lefit þetta bref varð hann miok reiðr 7 fær fer  
 nv skip 7 fer með her sínum til bzetlandz 7 legr vpp i ana temf cafibellanvs hafði mikinn  
 viðbvnad boði a fio 7 a landi þar var þa með hanvm c2idvofvf danakonvngv gvendagvs ira konvngv  
 5 7 brittevs skota konvngv þar var 7 fa hofþingi er beligvs het hann gaf þat rað vt at renna a her  
 ivlij riðlvm en fylkia ecki 7 fva gerðv þeir 7 komv a þa vvara fneri þa mann falli i her  
 ivlij en er þeir hofþv lengi barz þa moerttvz þeir ivlius 7 nenivs b2oðir cafibellanvs 7  
 hogr ivlius i hialm nenivs 7 fefti fverðit nenivs skavt skilldinvm neðan vndir fverðit 7 varð  
 ivlio þat lavft af því nenevs gripr fverðit en kastar b2ott sínv fverði 7 hogr a tvær hendr  
 10 7 dzepr margar mann þa kemr moti hanvm fa hofþingi er labienvs het 7 hio nenivs hann ba  
 na hog 7 i þerfv b2eftr flotti a rvmverivm 7 flyðv þeir til fkipa 7 forv afr til saxlandz nenivs  
 var far orðin i hofþi af fverði ivlij 7 flo i þat far verk 7 do hann fam nottvm síþar þviat fverðit  
 var eit2 hert Cafibellanvs harmaði miok anlat b2oðo2 sínf ivlius vnni ftozilla sínv lvt 7 d2o  
 her faman annan tíma af gallia 7 faxlandi ætlar til b2ettlandz þetta fþyr cafibellanvs hann hefir  
 15 þa mikinn viðbvnad i bzetlandi at borta kaftala 7 bva vapn 7 vernder hann fetti 7 hofþingia  
 at geyma hverrar hafnar a bzetlandi hann let 7 ftika ana temf með bly 7 iarni 7 hafði þar virki  
 7 við2 bvnad En er .ij. ar varv liðin þa kom ivlius til bzetlandz með vvgian her 7 er hann lagði  
 i ana temf þa rendv fkipin a flikin þviat þav varv i kafi 7 gengv þegar in i gegnv 7 fo2 þar  
 mikill rvmveria hers mikill komz 7 a land með ivlio 7 reðv þegar til bardaga við b2eta  
 20 7 gerðv a þeim mikin mannfskaða en af því at .iiij. varv b2etar vm ein rvmverfkan þa mattv þeir  
 eigi við ofrefli 7 kom gaius ivlius a flotta til fkipa sínna 7 fo2 til vallandz 7 dvalþiz þar vm rið  
 Cafibellanvs gerði blot mikit eftir þenna figr 7 bavð til sín ollym hofþingivm 7 i hanf riki varv til lvndvna þar varv  
 d2epin .xl. þvfvndraða navta 7 .xxx. þvfvndraða fskogar dyra fma fveinar .ij. lekv i  
 konvngf hollini het annar hirelgif hann var fystv fvn cafibellanvs annar het enelius hann var fystv fvn  
 andzogevs 7 varð hann vfrøknari 7 verðr reiðr 7 gripr fverð 7 hogr hofvð konvngf frænda 7 líop  
 25 síþan a naðir andzogivs frænda sínf En er konvngvinn Cafibellanvs fra þetta þa varð hann reiðr 7 bað an  
 dzogivm fa fer fveinin en androgivs bavð konvngi fættir konvngv neittaði því androgivs rymði þa  
 vndan þviat hann þottiz eigi mega hallda moti konvngi let konvngv þa b2enna allar hanf eignir 7 tok  
 fvmar vnder fig androgivs fendi þa b2ef til cefarif 7 fegir hanvm allan þenna atbvrð 7  
 ef þer vilið gera min vilia þa ma ek fva fkipa at þer eigniz allt bzetland af minvm  
 30 raðvm Nv virð meira yfirbot til agiætz figrf en liðna mina moti ftoðv er þat veral  
 ldar hatr 7 vili goðana at þeir verða oft vinir er að2 hafá moti ftaðiz 7 hefir þat oft  
 fkiotan figr gefit geymið nv meir hyciandi en heipt En er ivlius hafði þetta  
 b2ef lefið þa þotti hanvm vant at trva b2etvm helldz en fvr enda þotti hanvm vant at  
 nita þerfv boði tok hann þa gifla af andzogevm þviat hann fendi hanvm dottor fína er fegerna het

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9 margar] Jónsson emends to margan. 10 7 flyðv þeir til fkipa 7 forv afr til saxlandz] Freshened up. 11 hofþi af fverði ivlij 7 flo i þat far verk 7  
 do hann fam nottvm síþ] Freshened up. 12 vnni] Jónsson emends to vnði. 13 7 faxlandi ætlar til b2ettlandz þetta fþyr cafibellanvs hann hefir]  
 Freshened up. 14 bzetlandi] Freshened up. 14 kaftala 7 bva vap] Freshened up. 15 at] Worn; illegible. 17 flikin] Jónsson emends to ftikin.  
 18 mikill rvmveria] Jónsson, mikill (lvti) rvmveria. 34 andzogevm þviat hann fendi hanvm dottor fína er fegerna het] Freshened up. The line ends  
 with an odd marking followed by a period.

- [56] of the gods, resist.” When Caesar read this letter, he became very angry, procures ships, goes with his army to Britain, and ventures up the river Thames. Cassibellaunus made massive preparations both on the sea and on land. The Danish King Cridious, the Irish King Gueithaet, and the Scottish King Britahel were there with him.<sup>129</sup> There was also the chieftain who was named Bellinus. He gave the suggestion that they should rush Julius’s army with small detachments and not against the host,<sup>130</sup> and so they did this, and came upon them unawares. The number of casualties became greater in Julius’s army. They had fought each other for a long time before Julius met Nennius, Cassibellaunus’s brother. Julius hewed into Nennius’s helmet, and the sword stuck. Nennius pushed the shield under the sword, and because of this, Julius’s sword was freed [from Julius’s grip]. Nennius grips the sword and throws his [own] sword away, then hews on both sides, and kills many men.<sup>131</sup> Then that chieftain named Labienus comes against him, but Nennius struck his death blow, and in this outburst, the Romans ran away, and they fled to their ships, and then they went back to Saxland. Nennius was severely wounded in the head by Julius’s sword, pain struck in the wound, and he died in the same night because the sword was tempered with poison.<sup>132</sup> Cassibellaunus greatly mourned the death of this brother. Julius enjoyed his situation very little, and drew together for a second time an army from Gaul and Saxony, and [he once again engineers] plans for Britain. 5R
- [57] Cassibellaunus learns of this. He begins much preparation in Britain by strengthening castles and preparing weapons and defense.<sup>133</sup> He put chieftains to keep watch over each port in Britain. He had piles put in the river Thames made from lead and iron for defense and reinforcement. 10R
- [59]
- [60] After two years had passed, Julius came to Britain with a formidable army, and when he ventured into the river Thames, the ships were torn on the posts because they were under water and the points of of these piles quickly pierced the hulls of the greater portion of the Roman army. Many people came to land with Julius, and planned to fight against the Britons, and they inflicted upon them many wounds. But since there were three Britons for every Roman, they could not prevail against the odds.<sup>134</sup> Gaius Iulius came to his ships and went to France and remained there for a time. Cassibellaunus made a great sacrifice after this victory and summoned all the chieftains in the kingdom to him in London. Forty thousand heads of cattle were killed, along with thirty thousand forest animals. Two young youths played in the kings hall.<sup>135</sup> One was named Hirelgas, the nephew of Cassibellaunus. The other was named Cuelinus, and he was the nephew of Androgeus and he was more timid, and he becomes angry, and takes a sword, and hews the head of the king’s kin, and runs immediately to the protection of his kin Androgeus.<sup>136</sup> When King Cassibellaunus learned this, he became very angry, and ordered Androgeus to hand over the boy. Then Androgeus offered the king a peace agreement, but the king refused. Androgeus departed away from the country because he thought he could not stand against the king. The king had all of his possessions burned, but took some for himself. Androgeus then sent a letter to Caesar, in which he told him about the entire event, and, “if you follow my wishes, then I will arrange that you could have all of Britain if you follow my advice. Now my compensation is in the form of a magnificent victory, that will be of greater value than my earlier resistance. It is the way of the world and the will of the gods that those who had once stood against each other often become friends, and this has often produced a quick victory. Be mindful now more of wisdom rather than war.” When Julius had read this letter, it appeared to him difficult to trust the Britons even more than before. But in the end, it appeared to him just as difficult to reject the offer. He took hostages from Androgeus, because he sent his daughter to him, who was named Segerna 20R
- [61]
- [62] 25R
- 30R
- 35R

<sup>129</sup>*HRB* IV.40-42 [56] notes that these kings are from Scotland, Gwynedd, and Dyfed. The saga writer was clearly unfamiliar with the geography. The Danish designation for Cridious is curious. <sup>130</sup>The wording here is obscure. This suggestion also appears to be unique to the saga. <sup>131</sup>That is, Julius’s sword is lodged in Nennius’s helmet, and Nennius pushes Julius away, thereby obtaining his sword. *HRB*, IV.56-64 [56]. <sup>132</sup>The poisonous sword is unique to the saga. <sup>133</sup>In *HRB*, IV.86-98 [58], Caesar quells an uprising in Gaul by paying off the local chieftains. The saga writer skips this episode. <sup>134</sup>The *HRB* and *VV* count the odds as thirty to one. *HRB*, IV.123 [60]. <sup>135</sup>Part of the victory celebration included competitive games. *HRB*, IV.144-150 [61]. <sup>136</sup>The two boys appear to be much younger than their counterparts in *HRB* IV.143-147 [61].

## 46r

1 j með henne .xl. riddara Sifan bavð iuvliu her vt eð .iij. sinn Enn er cafibellanus varð þerf var  
 þa fo2 hann moti hanvm hann hafði fett iulius herbvðir finar við þa borg er dvrverina heitir  
 fva fem andzogeus hafði rað fyri gozt þar var fko2gr fkomt i fra j i þeim fko2gi var andzogeus j með .v.  
 þvfyndzað manna Cafibellanus fofkir at herbvðvm ivlus með sinn her j tekz þar harðbardagi j fellr  
 5 mart folk af hvarvm tvegivm j er þerfi barðagi var fem akafaztr þa kom andzogeus með  
 finv folki j veita bzetvm sto2 bakfoll j fnyr nv ollv mannfalli a bzeta Ok er Ca  
 fibellannus fa þat þa flyði hann vndann i eitt fiall með finvm monnum þar vantaði eigi nogt griot j var  
 vigi gott ivliu j andzogeus settvz vm fiallit j ætlvðv at fitia þeim þar mat enn er cafibellannus  
 fa fig yfirfuginn þa fendi hann mann til andzogeus at hann fkyllði koma fætt millim hanf j cefarif j bavð  
 10 hanvm fvlla fomð fina at hafða eftir finvm vilia en er þerfi orð komv andzogeus þa gekk hann fyri cefarus  
 j mællti illa er þeim hofþingia fallit er hann er i vfríði fem eitt lamb einn i fríði grimmr fem lion j  
 fløgr fem varg2 Cafibellanus er nv vfir komin j veitið hanvm nv miokv j latið hann hafða riki fitt með  
 fskattgialldi megv þer j mvna hvat ek hefir yðr veitt þviat þer hefðit alldzi þetta riki vnn  
 ið ef ek hefða eigi rað tiil gefit j eigi fai þer þvi halldit ef ek fteud i moti j veitið mier  
 15 fyrftv born er ek bið yð2 ivliu fa at andzogeus var reið2 j gerði fætt við cafibellanus með þvi mo  
 te at cafibellanus lavk sifan rvmverivm fskatt a hver(v) are j varð cafibellanus sifan en merfti vin rvm  
 veria Gaius fat vm vetrin a bzetlandi þa hafði hann .x. vetr ftritt fyri no2ðan fioll j for hann sifan  
 vm fvmarit eftir til romaborgar j með hanvm andzogeus j eftir þat varð ftrið þeira maganna pom  
 peius magnus j varð ivliu gaius cefar sifan einvallzherra yfir ollvm heime fva fem fegir i romveria  
 20 fogvm enn cafibellanus lifpi litla ftvnd sifan hann andaðiz i io2k þa tok tenvancius broðir hans  
 riki eftir hann enn eftir hann bellinus fvn hans j var hann með avgvftus keifara hann var i fva miklvm kiær  
 leikvm við keifarann at hann gaf hanvm vpp allann fskatt meðann hann lifpi j a hanf ðogvm let varr  
 herra Iesus Christus beraz i þenna heim. hann rikti .x. ar hann atti eftir fig .ij. fnyi het annar gvidir  
 enn annar arpiragus enn eftir belinus tok gviðir riki Hann hellt fskottvm fryi rvmverivm  
 25 þa var Clavdius ceifari hann fo2 með her til bzetlanz j tok land við hvrmv j fettiz þar vm borgina  
 enn er gvidir fra þat famnar hann her faman j finnaz þeir j ganga bretar þegar i gegnim fylking  
 romveria j braft þa flotti i keifarans liði leliu het einn volldvgr maðr með keifar hann tok  
 bzetzkan bvning hann kvnni j þeira tvngv hann let fem hann fofki til motz við konvng til liðz j er hann  
 kom þar fem konvngv var þa legr hann gegnim hann með fverði j fneriz sifan til sinna manna enn er hann naði eigi fkip  
 30 vnm þa flyði hann i einn fko2g arviragus b2oðir konvngf fa þetta þa flettir hann b2oðo2 finn j kl  
 æðir fig með hans vapnm j fer nv i her rvmveria a fko2ginn þvi at þeir hvþv at keifarinn  
 hefði þangat flyð j i þerfari fokn d2ap arviragus lelivm Sifan fer hann i borg þa er fili  
 ftria heitir keifarinn hellt þangat ollvm finvm her j settvz vm borgina með ollvm finvm her j  
 velvm enn er arviragus fa hverfv navðvlega hann var kominn þa lykr hann vpp borgina

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1–34 j með henne...vpp borgina] Nearly the entire page is freshened up. 3 fkomt] Freshened up to fkomtt. 4 harðbardagi] Jónsson, harð(r) bardagi.  
 11 lion j ] j not freshened up. 16 hver(v)] Jónsson, hver(v). 24 arpiragus] Or arfiragus. 27 keifar] Jónsson, keifar(a). 29 naði eigi fkip] Not  
 freshened up.



and with her, forty knights.<sup>137</sup>

Julius ordered his army out for a third time. When Cassibellaunus became aware of this, he went against him. Julius had set his camp alongside that city which is named Canterbury, just as Androgeus had suggested. Not far from there there was a forest, and in this forest was Androgeus with five thousand men. Cassibellaunus attacks Julius's camp with his army, and a severe battle begins, and many people from both sides die, and when this battle became fiercer, Androgeus came with his people and fiercely attacked the Britons from behind, and then the loss of life turned against the Britons. And when Cassibellaunus saw that, he fled away up a mountain with his men. In that place there were no lack of stones, and it was good for battle. Julius and Androgeus laid a siege around the mountain, and planned to to keep food from them. When Cassibellaunus saw that he was defeated, he sent a message to Androgeus, that he should bring about a truce between he and Caesar, and offered him to have all honor after his wishes. When this news reached Androgeus, he went before Caesar and said, "evil comes to those chieftains, who is like a lamb in war, but grim like a lion and sly like a wolf in times of peace. Cassibellaunus is now defeated. Now give him compassion and let him have his kingdom along with payment of tribute. You can remember what I have done for you, because you never would have conquered that kingdom if I did not give you help, and you would not be able to keep it if I stand against you. But first, grant me this request, which I ask of you." Julius saw that Androgeus was angry, and made an agreement with Cassibellaunus, in that he would pay the Romans a yearly tribute from then on. Consequently, Cassibellaunus became one of the greatest allies of the Romans.

Gaius remained in Britain over the winter, and after he had campaigned for ten years north of the mountains, he returned back to Rome in the summer with Androgeus. After this that fight between Pompeius Magnus occurred, after which Julius Gaius Caesar became the sole ruler of the whole world, as it is accounted in the *Romverja saga*.<sup>138</sup> But Cassibellaunus lived only a short while after this. He died in York. Then his brother Tenuantius took power after him, and after him, his son Kimbelinus [took power], and he was with Augustus Caesar.<sup>139</sup> He was in such good terms with the Caesar, that he forgave him of all tribute as long as he lived. In his time, our Lord Jesus Christ was born into this world. He ruled for ten years. He had two sons after him. One was named Guider and the other Arviragus, but Guider took power after Kimbelinus. He withheld tribute from the Romans. At this time Claudius was Caesar. He went with his army to Britain and took all the land up to the Humber, and surrounded the city.<sup>140</sup> When Guider learned this, he assembled an army together. They met each other, and the Britons fight against the Roman people, then the Caesar's people broke into flight. Laelius was the name of one powerful man with the Caesar. He took British clothing. And he knew their language.<sup>141</sup> He made himself up as if he were going to meet with the king and ask for support, but when he came to where the king was, he ran him through with a sword, then immediately returned to his men. Because he couldn't obtain a ship, he fled into the forest. Arviragus, the king's brother, saw this, stripped his brother of his arms and dressed himself with them. Then he goes into the Roman army in the forest, because they thought that the Caesar had fled there. In this battle Arviragus killed Laelius. After this, he went to the city which is called Winchester. Then Caesar set out to there with his arms, and surrounded the city with his all of his troops and war engines. When Arviragus saw how how dire his situation was, he closed up the city gates<sup>142</sup>

<sup>137</sup>According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Caesar sends him his son Scaeva along with thirty men from his own family. *HRB*, IV.195 [62]. <sup>138</sup>The reference to the *Romverja saga* is, of course, unique to the saga. <sup>139</sup>That is, he was fostered in Rome by Augustus. *HRB*, IV.272-4 [64]. <sup>140</sup>*HRB*, IV.284 [66]. Claudius lands in Portchester. <sup>141</sup>Laelius Hamo was raised among the Roman hostages in Britain. *HRB*, IV.295 [66]. <sup>142</sup>Unique to the saga.

## 46v

1 7 byðft til bardaga 7 er keiflarinn fa þat fendi hann menn a hanf fvnd at bioða hanvm lætt  
 þa fem fyr hofþv þier gozt ivlius 7 cafibellanvs 7 þar með mvndi keiflarinn gifta hanvm  
 dottvr fina með miklv fe 7 er vinir hvara tvegiv gengv i millvm þa tokz þerfi þeira  
 lætt 7 þar með fvll vinatta. 7 i þerfi ferð van keiflarinn vndir fig ozkneijar með raðvm ar  
 5 viragus 7 for siþan heim til rvmaborgar 7 fendi menn til bzetlandz með dottvr fina er gepiffam  
 het 7 feck konvngr hennar 7 þar fem brvðlavp þeira var let hann gera eina borg til minn  
 if I þenna tima fetti enn helgi petr postoli byskvpftol fin i anthiochia 7 a hans dogvm foz hann til rvmaborgar 7 fetti þar  
 finn pava stol 7 þa fendi hann marchvm gvðsþialla mann til egip  
 talandz at boða þar trv en er arviragus hafþi fengit dottvr keifarans þa nigv til hanf allir þeir konvng  
 10 ar er þar varv 7 leiddiz hanvm þrælkan rvmveria 7 hellt fkottvm fyri þeim keiflarinn fendi þa vef  
 pafianvm at heimta þenna fkatt annað hvazt með goðv eða illv. en er hann kom til bzetlandz  
 þa settiz hann vm þa borg er exonia heitir 7 litlv siþar kom þar arviragus konvngr með finn her 7 tokz  
 þar harðz bardagi 7 var fioldi far 7 fva dzepit 7 stoð til nætr Enn vm morgvninn  
 eftir gat drottningin fætta þa 7 hvarf vesþafianvs aftr til roma 7 vndi vel við fina ferð  
 15 Arviragus gerðiz þa friðlamr 7 vinsæll i sinv riki 7 varð ellidavðz hann var iarðaðz i borg þeiri  
 clavdiocefra heitir fem hans bzvllavp var gert Svn hans het marius er riki tok eftir hann fa konvngr geck  
 a riki hans af peito er rodzie het hann hafþi mikinn her 7 varð þar hozð ozrosta 7 long aðz rodzie fell  
 þar let marius gera hafan steinstollpa til figrmarkf hann ftendz i þvi heraði er veltmaria heitir  
 hann gaf sinvm monnvm eitt nef af landinv 7 let þa ryðia 7 bygia þat heitir nv katanef mi  
 20 kla vvirðing logþv bzetar a þerfa þioð 7 villdv eigi gifta þangat dørtr finar. enn varð þar bratt  
 mikill fiolþi stoættaðza manna 7 er mikil saga fra þeim þo at eigi fe hon her skrifvt hann hellt vin  
 gan við rvmveri e meðan hann lifþi 7 andaðiz við goðan ozðz tir Svn hans tok riki eftir hann er  
 coilvs het hann hafþi foz vpp i rom 7 var enn merfti vin þeira alla ævi **af lvcivf**  
 Lvcivus het svn hans er riki tok eftir hann en er hann hafþi eigi lengi konvngr verið þa sþvrði hann at  
 25 nockozir menn i rvma borg hofþv annan sið en almygrin 7 þeir menn gafv monnvm lif 7 hei  
 lfv 7 fogþv þa mega gera fer eilifann fagnað með goðvm verkvm Siþan fendi hann bzf til  
 elevtherius papa 7 bað hann fenda fer lærða menn at koma kristni a hanf land papa varð þerfvvm ozðvm  
 miok feginn 7 fendi þangat agiæta kenni menn faganvm 7 divianvm 7 boðvðv þeir  
 gvðs nafn vm allt bzetland i konvngf travfti skirþv menn enn snerv hofvm i kirkivr þar varv aðz  
 30 .viij. hof 7 .xx. 7 .iiij. havfvð hof vm fram varv þeir yfir menn allra manna i landinv er þeim var  
 ðveittv konvngr sneri allri þerfi villv i kristni 7 let vera fva maꝝga byskvpa i landinv fem aðr  
 varv blotgvþar varv .iiij. erkibyskvpar einn i lvndvnm annar i cantarabyrgi .iiij.  
 i iozk 7 gaf hann til agætar eignir forv þeir faganvs iamnan millim rvma borgar 7 bzet  
 landz 7 fnerv morgvm manne til retrar trvar með sinvm kenningvm konvngr andaðiz i borg þeiri

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1–34 7 byðft til bardaga...borg þeiri] Nearly the entire page has been freshened up. 2 cafibellanvs] Incorrectly freshened up to cafabellanvs. 4  
 ozkneijar] Jónsson emends to ozkneyjar. The refreshed text is incorrect; the original word form is visible. 15 gerðiz] Freshened up to gerðz. 15  
 varð] Obscured by an ink blot. 15 þeiri] Jónsson, þeiri (er). 16 clavdiocefra] Not freshened up. 17 fell] Freshened up to fellur. 20 enn  
 varð] Jónsson, enn (þo) varð. 21 skrifvt] Poorly freshened up to skrift. 23 coilvs] Not freshened up. 23 foz] Jónsson suggests this may be  
 incorrectly freshened up to forz. 23 vpp] The abbreviated second p is not freshened up. 23 af lvcivf] Not freshened up. 31 konvngr] Freshened  
 up to þeir. 31 fva] The a is omitted in the freshened up copy. 34 7 fnerv morgvm manne til re] Not freshened up. 34 trvar] The freshened up  
 word is illegible.

and prepared for battle, and when the Caesar saw this, he sent men to meet with him to request the same conditions which Julius and Cassibellanus agreed to before,<sup>143</sup> and in addition to this, the Caesar wished to marry his daughter to him, along with a substantial dowry. And when each became friends with each other, they agreed to this settlement, which [68] included a bond of firm allegiance. During this journey, the Caesar conquered the Orkneys with Arviragus's support. He then went home to Rome and sent men to Britain with his daughter, who was named Gewissa. The king married her and in that place where their wedding was, he had a city built to commemorate the event.<sup>144</sup> In that time, the Blessed Apostle Peter set his bishopric in Antioch, and in his days he went to Rome and set his Papal seat there, and then he sent the Gospel of Mark to Egypt in order to preach the Faith. 5R

[69] After Arviragus had married the Caesar's daughter, all those kings who were there submit to him, but he became weary of servitude by the Romans, and withheld tribute from them. The Caesar sent Vespasian to demand the tribute, either in good terms, or in bad. When he came to Britain, he surrounded that city named Exeter, and shortly afterward, King Arviragus came with his army, and a severe battle began, and very many were injured and also killed, and it lasted until nightfall. In the morning the queen made peace. Vespasian returned to Rome; he succeeded in his errand.<sup>145</sup> Arviragus became peaceful and popular in his kingdom, and died in his old age. He was buried in that city which named Gloucester, [70] where his wedding took place. His son was named Marius and he took power after him. That king, who was named Rodric from Pictland,<sup>146</sup> attacked the kingdom. He had a huge army, and a severe battle occurred, which lasted a long while before Rodric fell. Marius had a high stone pillar built there as marker for victory. It stands in that district which is called Westmorland. He gave his men a promontory of land, so that they would had it cleared, and settled. That place is now called Caithness. 10R 15R

The Britons harbored much contempt for these people, and did not wish that their daughters be married away to them. There was soon a great multitude of these noble men, of whom there was a great saga, however, it is not written here.<sup>147</sup> [71] He kept friendship with the Romans while he lived, and he died with a glorious accounting of his life. His son, who was named Coilus, took power after him. He had been raised in Rome, and remained their greatest ally so long as he lived. 20R

## Lucius

[72] His son was named Lucius, who took power after him, but shortly after he became king, he heard that some people in Rome had a new religion in common, and they gave to men life and health, and said that it gives one eternal happiness for good works. He then sent a letter to Pope Eleutherius and asked him to send to him learned men so that they could bring Christianity to his land. With these words, the pope became very happy and sent there the famous priests Faganus and Duvianus, and they proclaimed God's name across all Britain in the king's trust. People became baptized and temples were turned to churches. Before this there were twenty-eight temples and of these, three grand temples. There were men, who were in charge of the grand temples, who oversaw [all] the others. The king converted all these confused ones to Christianity, and he established the same number of bishops in the kingdom as there were arch-priests before. There were three archbishops. One in London, another in Canterbury, and a third in York, and he gave them prominent estates. Faganus and Duvianus always traveled to and from Rome, and converted many people to the true faith with their teachings. 25R 30R

[73] The king died in that city

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<sup>143</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>144</sup>HRB, IV.335 [68]. Gloucester. <sup>145</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>146</sup>The saga names this place Peito. HRB, describes Rodric as a Pict from Scythia. HRB, IV.374 [70]. <sup>147</sup>The saga writer is responding to a passage in which Geoffrey is reluctant to write on the history of the Scots and Irish people. *Sed haec bactenus, cum non proposuerim tractare historiam eorum siue Scotorum qui ex illis et Hibernensibus origenem duxerunt.* HRB, IV.386-8 [70].

## 47r

er cladyocestra heitir ok er þar iazðaði i þeiri havfvöskirkiv er hann let fialfr gera þa var liðit  
 fra bvrð varf herra Iesv christi .c. vetra j halfr fetti tvgr vetra hann atti engann fvn eftir sig  
 En er rvmveri spvrðv þat sendv þeir til bzetlandz hofþingia þan er severarvs het at vinna landit vndir  
 þa fem fyr hafþi verit En iarl fa reif mote hanvm er fvlgencius het en af þvi at rvmverir hof  
 5 þv afla mikinn þa fo2 fvlgencius fvð2 vm fio j effðiz þapan at liði j kom siþan afr til bzetlandz a  
 vvar j settiz þegar vm borgina iozk enn er severvs fra þat ferr hann með her mote hanvm j tokz þar  
 harð2 bardagi j fell severarvs i þeim bardaga en fvlgencius varð far til vlifif Severvs  
 atti eftir sig .ij. fyni het annar geta j var moðir hans rvmverkf enn annar bassianvs j var  
 hans moðir bzet j villdv hvarir efla sin frænda til rikif þar til er með þeim varð harð2 bar  
 10 dagi j fell geta en bassianvs tok konungdom j allt rikit I þenna tima vox vpp a bzetlandi  
 vngr maðr j ættfio2r j agiætr er cassius het j er hann þottiz þar onga virðing fa þa fo2 hann til  
 motz við rvmveria bavðf þeim til landvarnar j heimta skatt af bzetvm j þetta starf fa  
 þeir hanvm með finvm bzetvm fer hann með her sinn til bzetlendz j heriar þar j þa er þetta spyr baf  
 fianvf þa ferr hann moti hanvm j tekz þar harðr bardagi j fell þar bassianvs enn er rvmveriar spyr  
 15 ia þetta þa verða þeir reidir carasio j senda siþen þann mann er allectvs het j er hann kom til bzetlendz  
 fo2 karicius moti hanvm j varð þar enn merfti bardagi fell þar carafius Tok allectvs þa allt riki  
 vndir sig j gerði hann landz monnum mikit harðzetti en þeir kvnnv þvi illa j tokv fer konung annann  
 fa het clepidotvs j effðv hann mote allecto þa var fo2maðr fyri rvmverivm Gallius hann naði  
 lvndvnaborg enn er clepidotvs fra þat þa samnaði hann at fer vvgivm her taka nv j bziota  
 20 borgina gafz þa gallius j ætlaði vndan at komaz j er þeir komv vt af borginni þa gengv at  
 þeim þioðir þær er venodoti heita j dzapv alla rvmveria a einvm degi lagþi þa cle  
 pidotvs allt bzetland vndir sig j reð .x. ár. A hans dogvm hof dioclecianvs keifazi vfrið vm  
 allann heim cristnum monnum tok þa miok at eyðaz oll kristni a bzetlandi þviat þa kom enn  
 af rom fa hofþingi er maximianvs het j var hann til þerf send2 at bziota kirkiv2 j Bzena hof  
 25 dzap hann fvma cristna menn enn vtlægþi fvma þerfa helga menn pindi hann i alkialnva  
 borg albanvs ivlius j aaron albanvs tok þann mann i sitt valld er amprolabvs het j þa er kv  
 alarar villdv taka hann þa skifti albanvs klæðvm við hann j geck siþan glað2 til pipla fyri gvðz  
 sakir I þenna tima reif vpp hertogi fa af lincolni er coel het hann bazðiz við clepidotvm j  
 felldi hann en koel tok konungdom yfir bzetlandi j er rvmveriar spvrðv þat sendv  
 30 þeir fvnnan olldvng þann er constantinus het hann var vitr maðr j vinfæll hann ha  
 fði vnnit allt spania vndir rvmveri coel fendi hanvm sættar boð j bavð hanvm skatt eftir  
 þvi fem fyr var j tokz þerfi sætt. coel andaðiz litlv siþar tok þa constantinus konungdom j feck  
 hann elinv dotto2 coelf hon var allra kvenna friðvz j vitrvz hon var einberni coelf þav attv  
 fvn þann er constantinus het j gerðiz b2att mikill atgervi maðr constantinus rikti .x. vetr hann and  
 35 aðiz i iozk j er þar grafin

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3 feverarvs] The original hand reads feverarvs. The freshened up copy corrects the error. 5 fvlgencius] The c is freshened up to t. 11 þottiz] Freshened up to þottz. 13 þa] Freshened up to æ. 13 er] Freshened up to gr. 14 ianvf] These letters are compressed above the line in the original hand. 14 bassianvs] Written and freshened up to cassianvs. 26 amprolabvs] Jónsson suggests the original read amprolalvs. 26 kv] Incorrectly freshened up to hi. 27 alarar] Incorrectly freshened up to nevar. 27 glað2] Freshened up to glaður. 27 fyri] Obscured by the refreshed hand. 28 lincolni] Freshened up to lincolin. 28 epidotvm j] Not freshened up. 33 hon var einberni] Not freshened up. 33 þav attv] Not freshened up. 34 fvn þann er] Not freshened up.

which is called Claudiocester, and he was buried in that high-church which he had built himself. This was one hundred fifty-six years after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. He had no sons after him.

[74] When the Romans heard of this, they sent the chieftain<sup>148</sup> who was named Severus to conquer that land, as it was done before. Then the earl who was named Fulgenius rose against him. But because the Romans had enormous strength, Fulgenius went south over the sea and procured an army there, and came secretly back to Britain, and surrounded the city York. But when Severus learned that, he confronts him with his army, and a severe battle begins. Severus died in his battle and Fulgenius received a fatal wound. Severus had two sons after him. 5R

[75] One was named Geta and his mother was Roman. The other was named Bassianus and his mother was British. Each side wished to promote their own kin to the throne, until a severe battle erupted between them. Geta died, but Bassianus took the kingdom and complete power. In this time, a young, noble, and famous man named Carausius grew up in Britain. Because he thought there was no honor there, he went to meet the Romans and offered them an agreement to defend the country in exchange for the collection of taxes, and they gave him this job as soon as they received this letter.<sup>149</sup> He went with his army to Britain and harried there. And when Bassianus hears of this, he attacks him and a severe battle begins, and Bassianus died there. But when the Romans hear of this, they become very angry with Carausius and immediately send that man who was named Allectus, and when he came to Britain, Carausius attacked him and there was a severe battle. Carausius died there. Allectus conquered the entire kingdom, and he inflicted hardship against the population. But they were unhappy with this and they took for themselves another king named Asclepiodotus, and stood up against Allectus. At this time, the leader of the Romans was Livius Gallus. He occupied London, but when Asclepiodotus learned this, he assembled an insurmountable army to retake and break the city. Livius Gallus capitulated and planned to escape, but when they came out of the city, the tribe who are called the Venedoti attacked them and killed all the Romans in a single day. 10R

[76] Asclepiodotus conquered all of Britain and ruled for ten years. During this time, Diocletian began to wage war against Christians throughout all the world. Christianity nearly died away in all Britain because that chieftain named Maximianus came from Rome; he was sent there to destroy the churches and burn chapels. Some Christians he killed, and some he sent into exile. He tortured these holy men in Caerleon: Alban, Julius, and Aaron. Alban took that man who was named Amphibalus in his power, and when the tormentors wished to take him, Alban changed clothes with him and went to their torture happily for God's sake.<sup>150</sup> 15R

[77] In this time there arose a warlord by the name of Coel from Lincoln. He fought with Asclepiodotus and he fell, and Coel took over the kingdom in Britain, and when the Romans heard this, they sent from the south a senator named Constantius. He was a wise man, and popular. He had conquered all of Spain for Rome. Coel sent him an offering of peace and offered him tribute as there was before, and they each agreed to this pact. Coel died a little while after. Constantius then took the kingdom and he married Helena, Coel's daughter. She was the most beautiful and intelligent of women. She was Coel's only child. They had a son who was named Constantine, and he soon became a man of great accomplishments. Constantius ruled for ten years.<sup>151</sup> He died in York where he was buried. 20R

[78] 25R

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<sup>148</sup>HRB, V.11 [74]. From the Icelandic translation of *Senatus*. <sup>149</sup>HRB, V.38-43 [75]. Carausius's proposition stipulated his defending the coastline from pirates. <sup>150</sup>HRB only refers to Saint Alban in passing, and does not include this brief synopsis of the story from Bede, including Alban's exchange of his clothing with Amphibalus's, and his happy acceptance of his torture and martyrdom. This material is common to the Vulgate and the saga. HRB, V.113-121 [77]. <sup>151</sup>HRB, V.143 [78]. Constantius ruled for eleven years.

## 47v

Eftir constantinus tok ríki constantinus fvn hanf hann var vitr af maxencivf  
 maðr 7 stioznfamr rettlatr 7 stilltr vel grimr við hann við sína vvini hann reffti  
 miok ran 7 stvlði þa striddi vpp a ríki hans fa maðr rvmverfkr er maxencius het  
 5 7 van mikít illt a bzetvm boði i stvlð 7 i ranvm 7 rak constantinus hann hæðilega brott rvm  
 veriar frændr hans tolv oft fyri hanvm at hann skyllði fara með her sín til roma borgar 7 vinna  
 aftr þa annavð er rvmveriar hofpv lagt a bzeta 7 af þeira aegian byðr konvng her vt  
 vm allt bzittania 7 ferr fvdzvm fioll 7 legr vndir sig allt italia 7 rom 7 litlv síðar  
 varð hann keisari yfir ollvm heime með hanvm var þa foðo2bzqðr eleno drottningar moðo2  
 hans er hetv tofolivm 7 trahan 7 marivm 7 gerði hann alla þa rvma borgar olldvnga Eftir  
 10 þetta heriaði octavius hertoge a bzetland 7 van þat vndir sig 7 gerðiz konvngr yfir En er keifarinn constantinus  
 fsvrði þat þa fendi hann trahen frænda sín til bzetlandz at vinna þat aftr En er tra  
 hen kom til bzetlandz þa settiz hann vm borg þa er postestria heitir 7 er octavius fra þers i tíðin  
 fo2 hann mote trahen 7 tokz þar ho2ð orrosta 7 hafpi octavius sigr en trahan flyði til fki  
 pa sínna 7 figldi hann til skotlandz 7 heriaði þar 7 bzennir 7 er octavius fsvrði þat ferr hann til skotlandz  
 15 með her sín þeir fvdvz þar fem heitir vestmar 7 bo2ðvz þar annað sín hafpi trahen þa  
 sigr en octavius flyði trahen þa sigr en octavius flyði trahen fotti þa eftir hvar fem hinn for vndan þar til er hann flyði  
 o2 riikinv trahen lagpi vndir sig bzetland 7 gerðiz konvngr yfir octavius flyði til no2egs til gunber  
 tvmm konvngf er þar ríkti trahen varð agiarn við landz menn En er hann fo2 vm dag vm volla nocko2a hia  
 lvndvnm þa liop þar fram .c. manna með vapnm 7 d2apv konvng Eftir þat gerðv landz menn o2ð octa  
 20 vio for hann þa til bzetlandz 7 tok hann þar þa konvngdom annat sín hann rak alla rvmveria brott af brettlandi  
 7 fíelfti landit af þeira skottvm octovianus atti dotto2 en engan fvn hennar feck  
 fa maðr er maximianus het hann var fvn leoncij foðo2 b2oðo2 elenv drottningar hann tok ríki  
 eftir hann Cananivus fystir fvn octavi hofz til rikif moti hanvm 7 attv þeir margar o2rosto2  
 7 fættvz vm síþir 7 vrðv goðir vinir Maximianus for síþan fvdv vm sío 7 vann allt valld  
 25 hann d2ap gracianvm keisara 7 rak brott valentinvm b2oðo2 hans af rom 7 einvm vetri  
 síþar 7 einvm vetri síþar var maximianus dæpin i borg þeiri er aquila heitir hann hafpi haft  
 meftan lvta folkf með sér af bzetlandi fva at þar var miok avðn eftir þa forv .ij. iarllar  
 til bzetlandz af peito het annar gnaius en annar melga þa baða d2ap fa maðr er gracianus  
 het hann hafpi lengi fylgt maximiano 7 var þa til konvngf tekinn yfir bzetland 7 bað  
 30 hanvm hverr maðr illz 7 síþan d2apv þeir hann síalfir þa reð canonivus fyri armoni  
 ca þerfa stvnd Dionotus reð þa bzetlandi hann atti eina fríða dotto2 er vrfvla het hennar  
 bað cononivus 7 var hanvm iattað hon fo2 hon síþan fvdv vm sío i faxland með .xi. þvfvn2að mey  
 ia 7 er þær komv i kolni þa var þar fyri attila konvngr hvnalanz með her mikinn 7 villdv þrongva  
 þeim til samvistv við þa en af þvi at þær varv kríftnar þa villdv þær eigi samþyckia við

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1–34 Eftir constantinus...samþyckia við] This page is not freshened up. Various parts are covered with reagent, but just a small portion of the text is obscured. 1 Eftir constantinus tok ríki constantinus fvn hanf] Obscured by reagent; fvn hanf illegible. 2 við] Jónsson emends to var. 12 tíðin] Jónsson, tíðin(di). 13 fo2 hann] Worn and obscured by reagent. 21 fíelfti] Obscured by an ink blot. 24 valld] Jónsson, vall(an)d. The abbreviation is not visible. 26 7 einvm vetri síþar] Written twice.

## Maxentius

[79] After Constantius, his son Constantine took power. He was an intelligent man, and a wise ruler, just, and very moderate in temperament. He was unforgiving with his enemies. He severely punished robbery and theft. Then that Roman man who was named Maxentius began to make violence in his kingdom, and wreaked much ill upon the Britons with both robbery and theft, but Constantine drove him away in disgrace. His Roman relatives often would persuade him to travel to Rome with his army, so that he would reverse the oppression which the Romans had inflicted upon Britain, and from [80] their urging the king orders his army out of all Britain, and he goes southward over the mountains, and conquers all of Italy and Rome, and he shortly after became Caesar of the whole world. The uncles of his mother, Lady Helen, were there with him, who were named Loelinus, Trahern, and Marius. He made all of them Senators of the municipality of Rome. 5R

After this, the warlord Octavius harried Britain, and made himself king.<sup>152</sup> When the Caesar Constantine heard this, he sent his kin Trahern to Britain to win it back. When Trahern came to Britain, he surrounded the city named Kaerperis.<sup>153</sup> and when Octavius learned these tidings, he went against Trahern and a severe battle began, and Octavius won but Trahern fled to his ships, and he sailed to Scotland, and he harried there, and burned the countryside. But when Octavius heard this, he goes to Scotland with his army. They met each other in that place named Winchester, and they fought each other a second time. Trajan had won but Octavius fled. Trajan followed wherever he ran, until he fled from the kingdom. Trajan subdued all of Britain and made himself king. Octavius fled to Norway, to king Gumbertus, who ruled there. Trajan became unduly ambitious with the population. One day, when he traveled over a certain field near London, a hundred men with weapons ran from the city and killed the king. After this, the people sent word to Octavius. He went back to Britain and took the kingdom a second time. He drove all the Romans away from Britain, and relieved the land of their tribute.<sup>154</sup> 10R

[81] Octavius had one daughter, but no son. That man who was named Maximianus married her. He was the son of Loelinus, the uncle of Lady Helena. He took power after him. Conanus, the nephew of Octavius, promoted himself to power in opposition, and they had fierce battles, but after a while they made peace and became good friends.<sup>155</sup> Maximianus then went south over the sea, and conquered all Valland.<sup>156</sup> He killed the Caesar Gratianus and drove his brother Valentinus away from Rome, but a year later Maximianus was killed in that city which is called Aquila.<sup>157</sup> He had taken the greater [82-83], [84-86] portion of the people with himself, so that much uninhabited land remained. Two earls went to Britain from Pictland. [88] One was named Wanius and the other Melga.<sup>158</sup> They both killed the man who was named Gratianus.<sup>159</sup> He followed [89] Maximianus for a long while, and was eventually chosen to be king over Britain, but the people wished ill of him and soon they killed him themselves.<sup>160</sup> Conanus ruled over Armorica during this time.<sup>161</sup> Dionotus ruled over Britain. He had [87] one beautiful daughter who was named Ursula. Conanus asked for her hand in marriage and she agreed.<sup>162,163</sup> She then [88] went south over the sea into Saxony with eleven thousand maidens, and when they arrived in Cologne, King Atilla from Hunland was already there with a massive army, and he wanted to force them to have relations with them, but since they were Christian, they were not of the same mind as the 20R 25R 30R

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<sup>152</sup>*HRB*, V.167 [80]. A duke of the Gewissei. <sup>153</sup>In the saga, Postestria. Portcestria in *HRB*. <sup>154</sup>Although naturally implied by these developments, the withholding of Roman tribute is unique to the saga. <sup>155</sup>The saga begins to substantially abridge the Galfridian material here. The saga writer appears to have been uninterested in Maximianus's campaign on Rome. <sup>156</sup>An early Scandinavian term for Normandy. <sup>157</sup>That is, Aquitaine. These events are garbled in the saga. According the *HRB* and *VV*, Maximianus was murdered by friends of Gratianus, who seized the crown of Britain for himself.*HRB*, V.409 [88]. <sup>158</sup>*HRB*, V.390 [88]. Wanius was king of the Huns, and Melga king of the Picts. <sup>159</sup>They were allies of Gratianus. <sup>160</sup>The wording here is obscure. After seizing the crown, Gratianus is killed by a crowd of commoners. *HRB*, VI.1-3 [89]. <sup>161</sup>The saga picks up this story earlier in the *Historia*. The saga writer is continuing a thread relevant to the life of Saint Ursula. <sup>162</sup>This marriage proposal is not explicitly mentioned in *HRB*, but is consistent with a common hagiography of Saint Ursula. <sup>163</sup>The material from *HRB*, V.373-411 [88] is located in two different locations in the saga in order to accommodate the additional material from the life of Saint Ursula.

## 48r

heiðna menn þa let attila konungr halfhogva þær allar 7 er þær kallaðar konif mey  
 ia Eftir þetta la bzetland lengi síþan vndir hernaði vikinga 7 ranf manna hófþv bzetar þa  
 ecki travft af rvmverivm I þenna tima fo2 gvitilinus erkibyskup at lvndvnm til ar  
 monica armenia konvgf 7 það hann hialpræða vm landinf navðsfyniar 7 fendi hann heim með  
 5 hanvm b2oðo2 sín er constantinus het til bzetlandz 7 þegar þeir komv þar ða dzeif til hans allt landz  
 folk 7 tokv constantinus til konungf 7 rak hann b2ott allt ilþyðif folk af bzetlandi 7 hafþi  
 hann síþan goðan frið meðan hann lifþi hann atti rvmverfka konv 7 með henni .íij. fyni het ein con  
 stant anar avrelius .íij. pendragon constancius geck i klavftr 7 varð mvnkr  
 En er constantinus hafþi .x. ár konungr verið þa kom til hans vm dag ein fkozkr maðr 7 kvez eiga fky  
 10 llt erindi við konung 7 er þeir komv .ij. eitt hvf legr fa maðr konung með knifi 7 leypr síþan vt  
 7 forðar fer en konvgf menn tokv lik konungf 7 grofv þat með miklvvm harm af vortigerno  
 Uortigernus het ein rikr iarl a skotlandi 7 hófþv menn þat fyri fatt at hann 7 merlino fþamanni  
 hefþi raðit konung en hann fynaði þerfSíþan fer iarlinn a fvnd constantif mvnkr 7  
 talði þat fyri hanvm at hann leti taka fig til konungf 7 fva fylgþi hann þerfv mali at hann var til konungf tekinn  
 15 en engi þyskup villdi hann kozo2na með konungf vixlv Síþan tekr vortigernus þat valld a fig að hann  
 fetr a havfvð hanvm kozo2nv 7 var hann síþan i miklvvm kíarleikvm við konung villdi 7 konungr hanf rað  
 hafá vm alla rikifstíorn vortigernus lavft þeim kvitt vpp at herr væri komin i landiþ 7 það gera  
 eftir skotvm til landvarnar 7 fva var gert 7 er þeir komv gaf hann þeim fe til þerf at þeir fegþv hann  
 betr vera til konvgf fallin en þan er þa var iallinn let þa gera eina mikla veizlv 7 at þeire  
 20 veitzlv drapv fkotar konung finn Enn vortigernus let fem hann yrði miok reið2 þeim 7 let taka  
 þa alla 7 dze2pa Eftir þat tok hann riki 7 konungdom i bzetlandi 7 var hann þar lengi konungr síþan en þeir avrelius  
 7 pendragon flyðv til litla bzetlanddz til þerf konungf er benidictus het 7 varv þeir með hanvm langa ftvnd  
 síþan I þenna tima komv bróþr .ij. af saxlandi het annar heingestr enn annar horfus en þi  
 ðzik het enn .íij. þeir forv a konungf fvnd 7 bvdvz hanvm til landvarnar með .ccc. manna 7 fogþv merkvm  
 25 rivm fer þangat vífað hafá konungr fþvrði hvat merkvrivus væri. heingestr fvarar þann kalla  
 fvmir oðinn 7 hafá varir fo2ellrar mikin trvnað a hanvm haft fva 7 a þór 7 ty frig 7 fr  
 eyiv hofvm ver þvi trvað at þav raða heime þerfvvm 7 fo2logvm manna tokv þeir konungr þat rað at eigna  
 þeim daga i hverri vikv at þav þættiz at fkylldari til at giæta allz faman manna 7 mif  
 fera 7 þvi kollvðv þeir oðinf dag 7 tyf dag 7 freyiv dag litlv síðar kom mikill  
 30 herr af peito til bzetlandz þetta fþyrr vortigernus 7 ferr moti þeim með her 7 verð2 þar harð2  
 bardagi gengv saxar vel fram flyðv vikingar vndan eftir þat veittv konungr þeim lindif  
 herað 7 gerðv fer þar fterka borg konungr let fenda til saxlandz eftir meira liði 7 kom þa með þeim dottir  
 heingestz hon het ranvæn hon var hverri mey fegri heingestr gerði moti þeim fagra veizlv 7  
 bavð þangat konungi 7 allri hirð hanf ranvæn fkenkti konungi með gvlfkeri konungi b2a fva miok við at

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1–2 meya ] Jónsson, meya(r). 4 landinf ] Jónsson, land(z)inf. 8 avrelius ] The rel has been freshened up. 11–29 Uortigernus het... 7 freyiv dag  
 litlv ] This portion of the page is freshened up. 11–12 af vortigerno 7 merlino fþamanni ] Freshened up in black ink. The abbreviation in vortigerno  
 is spelled out. 12 rikr ] Freshened up to rikvr. 15 engi ] Freshened up to eingi. 16 konungr ] Freshened up to konung. 18 fegþv ] Jónsson  
 suggests the original text read fegþi. 21 konungr ] Not freshened up. 21 síþan ] Freshened up to sidan. 22 pendragon ] Not freshened up. 23  
 síþan I ] Not freshened up. 23 horfus en þi ] Not freshened up. The letters appear smeared; illegible. 24 forv ] Abbreviation mark not visible. 26  
 fva ] Freshened up to fvo. 28 þættiz ] Freshened up to þittiz. 28 til ] Not freshened up. 29 síðar ] Freshened up to síðar. 29 kom mikill ] Not  
 freshened up. 30 til bzetlandz þetta fþyrr vortigernus ] Freshened up. 30 her 7 verð2 ] Freshened up. 31 bardagi gengv saxar vel fram ] Freshened  
 up. 31 veittv ] Jónsson emends to veitte. 32 7 gerðv fer ] Freshened up.



heathen men. Then King Atilla had all of them beheaded, and they were called the Maidens of Cologne.<sup>164</sup>

- [91] After this, Britain was subjected to the raids of Vikings and robbers for a long time.<sup>165</sup> At this time, Britain had no  
 [92] protection from the Romans. In this time, Archbishop Guithelinus in London went to King Aldroenus in Armorica, and  
 [93] asked him for advice regarding the land's distressing condition, and he sent his brother, who was named Constantinus,  
 home with him to Britain, and after they arrived, all the land's folk rushed to him, and they received Constantinus as their 5R  
 king, and he drove all the marauding gangs out of Britain, and after this, he ruled in peace for the rest of his life. He had  
 a Roman wife, and with her he had three sons. One was named Constans, the second was named Aurelius, and the third  
 was named Pendragon. Constans went into the monastery and became a monk. One day, when Constantinus was king  
 for ten years, a Scottish man came to him, and said that he had a pressing errand with the king, and when both of them  
 went into a house, the man stabs the king with a knife, and then runs away and saves himself, but the king's men took the 10R  
 king's body, and buried him with much mourning.<sup>166</sup>

### Vortigern and the Prophet Merlin

- [94] A powerful earl in Scotland was named Vortigern.<sup>167</sup> The people were confident that he devised the king's death, but  
 he denied this.<sup>168</sup> After this, the earl goes to meet with the monk Constans, and persuaded him that he should allow  
 himself to be received as king, and he advocated his case so that he was received as king, but no bishop would crown him  
 with all the faculties of king. After that Vortigern takes this power for himself, so that he sets the crown on [Constans']  
 [95] head, and he was since in very high regard with the king. The king wished to have his advice on everything regarding the 15R  
 decisions of state. Vortigern circulated rumors that an army might have arrived in the land, and he ordered the Scots to  
 pretend to come to the country's defense, and so it was done, and when they came, he gave them wealth, by which they said  
 that he is better suited to be king than the one who was king. Then the earl had a great banquet prepared, and during this  
 [96] banquet, the Scots killed their king. But then Vortigern pretended as if he were very angry, and had all of them captured 20R  
 and killed. After this, he took power and the kingdom in Britain, and he was king for a long time after this, but Aurelius  
 and Pendragon fled to Brittany, to that king who was named Budicius, and they were with him for a long while after.
- [98] In this time two brothers arrived from Saxland, one was named Hengist, and the other was named Horsa, and a third  
 was named Þiðrik.<sup>169</sup> They went to meet the king, and offered to defend the land with three hundred men,<sup>170</sup> and they  
 said that Mercury had directed them there. <sup>171</sup>
- The king asked who Mercury might be. He answered, "some call him Oðin, and our ancestors have believed in him, 25R  
 just as they have believe in Þór, Tyr, Frigg, and Freya. We believe that they guide this world, and the destinies of mankind.  
 They took council, oh king, that they dedicate the days in every week, so that they thought themselves more obliged to  
 observe the same days everyone else observed, and to observe the yearly cycle, and because of this, they were called Oðin's  
 day, Tyr's day, and Freya's day."<sup>172</sup>
- After a while, a great army came from Pictland to Britain. Vortigern learns of this, and he goes against them with an 30R  
 [99] army, and a severe battle occurs there. The Saxons went forward bravely. The Vikings fled.<sup>173</sup> After that the king granted  
 [100] them the district of Lindsey, where they built themselves a strong city. The king had more reinforcements sent from  
 Saxland, and with them came Hengest's daughter. She was named Ronwein. She was more beautiful than other maidens.  
 Hengest made for them a grand banquet, and he invited the king to come there, along with all of his attendants. Ronwein  
 served the king with a golden vessel. The king was so struck by emotion 35R

<sup>164</sup>The virgins' beheading and the encounter with Atilla do not occur in Geoffrey. The saga writer correctly identifies this episode from the life of Saint Ursula. *HRB* does not account the maidens' delivery into Cologne. <sup>165</sup>The saga writer skips over Rome's military withdraw from Britain after which the island is harried by northern barbarians. *HRB*, VI.1-86 [89]-[90]. <sup>166</sup>This episode is somewhat expanded from Geoffrey, VI.146-7 [93]. <sup>167</sup>Geoffrey describes Vortigern as an earl of the Gewissei. *HRB*, VI.151 [94]. <sup>168</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>169</sup>Þiðrik is not mentioned here in the *HRB* or *VV*. <sup>170</sup>*HRB*, VI.248 [98]. The Saxons arrive in three keels ships. <sup>171</sup>According to Gildas, there was a soothsayer among the Saxons who prophesied that they would rule the island for three hundred years. *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, 23. <sup>172</sup>*HRB*, VI.277-284 [98]. Along with Mercury, whom the Saxons call Woden, only Jupiter and Saturn are mentioned. The inclusion of the other gods and the etymology of the days of the week do not appear in *HRB*. This etymology of the god's usage for the days of the week appears elsewhere in *Hauksbók*, in an Icelandic translation of Ælfric's sermon, "De falsis deis," AM 544 4to, 5r; Jónsson, p. 159. Note the exclusion of Þór and Thursday in this etymology. The god may still have held a position of reverence on the part of the saga writer. The pattern is identical to the list mention of the same gods in the *Hauksbók* translation of *De falsis diis*. See Taylor, A. "Hauksbók and Ælfric's De Falsis Diis," *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 3 (1969), pp. 101-9. <sup>173</sup>That is, the Picts.

## 48v

hann bað hennar þar i stað 7 þat varð araðit at hann feck hennar 7 vnni konungr henni fva mikít  
 at hann gaði enkið fyrri henni konungr atti aðr .ij. fyri het annar vortimer 7 annar pacencius I þ enna  
 tima kom germanus byskup 7 lvpus byskup til bzetlandz at boða trv því at þar var þa nalega alheiðit  
 5 7 gerðv margar iartegnir þa kom 7 fvnnan af saxlandi otta fvn heingestz með .ccc. skipa  
 til konungr en bzetar hotvðvz miok við saxa 7 baðv reka þa brott en konungr villdi þat eigi fakir  
 tengða Siþan tokv bzetar til konungr vortimer fvn hans 7 attv þeir margar orrostor við heingest 7  
 fvnv hans 7 dzapv .ij. 7 mikít folk annað flyði þa heingestr til faxlandz var þa goðz friðz  
 i brettlandi með raðvm germanus enf helga stivpmoðir vortimer reð hanvm bana 7 gaf hanvm  
 eitr at dzecka Enn eftir anlat hanf tok vortigernus annað finni konungr dom hann fendi boð hein  
 10 gefst at hann kiæme til hans með fa menn en heingestr kom með .iiij. þvfndrað manna 7 var bzetvm  
 engi þock a hans kvámv konungr kallaði til fin marga hofþingia til stefnv 7 er þeir koma þar  
 þa setz heingestr neft konungr 7 er bzetvm var mínzt von þa lavpa faxar vpp með stozvm kn  
 ifvm 7 handfoxvm 7 dzapv þar .ix. hvndzvd manna 7 varv þar margir iarlar 7 barvnar 7 því hell  
 dz er botar maðr var i landinv þar var þa inni elldon iarl en sterki hann þreif vpp ein stavr  
 15 7 varðiz með hanvm 7 þar með drap hann .lxx. manna af soxvm 7 komz vndan fialfr her eftir villdv  
 faxar dzeþa vortigernvm hann bavð þeim lavfn þa alla þeir villdv taka tokv þeir þa vn  
 der fig allar enar sterkvztv borgir i brettlandi 7 rakv þeir þapan brott alla bzeta Vortigernvf  
 varð rygr við þerfi tiðindi 7 ætlaði at lata gera fer vrvgt vigi i einni fiallz lið 7 er þeir  
 hofþv grafit grvndvollinn þa rakv þeir niðz stozza steina 7 er til var komit varv þeir hozfnir  
 20 þerfe vndz varv fogð konungr. hann kallaði til fin vifinda menn 7 bað þa fegia hvat þerfv völdi þeir  
 baðv leita at þeim manne er en ga ætti foðvr 7 blanda hanf bloði við limið Siþan fendi  
 konungr hvervetna vm lond at leita þerfa mannz. þeir komv þa borg er mozlangf heitir þar lekv  
 .ij. vngir fveinar het annar dinabvcus enn annar merlonus 7 reidiz dvnabvcus 7 mællti ecki  
 fskalltv kepþa við mik þviat ek em konungr fvn enn þv att ongann foðoz fendi menn hey  
 25 rðv þetta 7 þvrvðv hverfv við vifvi enn þeir fogþv at engi maðr vifvi foðvr merlinus enn  
 moðir hanf er dottir domovarfiþ konungr 7 var hon þa nvnna er hon fæddi hann fendi fogþv konungr fitt  
 erindi 7 let hann kalla til fin merlinus 7 moðoz hanf konungr þvyr hverr faðir er þerfa fveinf en hon sag  
 þiz þat eigi vita Enn fa var atbvrðz hans getnaðar at ek fvaf i herbergi minv læftv með  
 meyvum minvm þa kom til min vngr maðr 7 var hann þeim famviftvm hia mer at hann hyg ek vera  
 30 hans foðvur konungr let kalla til fin magancivm þpekung 7 þvrvði hvart fva mætti vera 7  
 fagþi þat finnaz i bokvm at þav erv dyr i lofti millim tvnglf 7 iarðar anda 7 bzigþa  
 mætti a fig mannz likivm 7 mættv born geta Enn er merlinus kom til konungr þvrvði hann hvat hann villdi  
 hanvm konungr fagþi hvat þpekungar hans hofþv fagt merlinus bað at þeir fkylldv við talaz 7 fva  
 var gert hann mællti hvi til fogþv þer heimskir menn at bloði minv fkylldi blanda við lim til grvnd

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1 hann bað hennar þar i stað 7 ] Illegible. 1 hennar 7 ] Illegible. 1 ikit ] Illegible. 2 at hann gað ] Illegible. 2 7 annar pacencius I þ ] Illegible.  
 3 7 lvpus ] Illegible. 3 trv því at þar var þa nalega alh ] Illegible. 4 ðv margar iartegnir þa ] Illegible. 4 ftz ] Obscured by an ink blot. 5 konungr ]  
 Obscured by an ink blot. 6 tengða ] Not freshened up. 6 Siþan tokv bzetar til konungr vortimer fvn ] Freshened up. 6 hans 7 attv þeir margar  
 orrostor við heingest 7 ] Not freshened up. 6 rostor við heingest 7 ] Illegible. 7 fvnv hans 7 dzapv .ij. 7 mikít folk annað flyði þa heingestr ] Freshened  
 up. 7 dzapv .ij. 7 ] The refreshed ink appears flaked off. 7 flyði ] The refreshed ink appears flaked off. 7 þa goðz friðz ] Illegible. eitr at dzecka  
 Enn eftir anlat hanf tok vortigernus annað finni konungr dom hann fendi boð hein ] Freshened up. 10 gefst at hann ] Freshened up. 10 kiæme til ]  
 Illegible. 11 engi ] Illegible. 12 þa setz ] Illegible. 12 mínzt von þa lavpa faxar vpp með stozvm kn ] Illegible. 14 otar maðr var ] Illegible. 16  
 þeir villdv taka tokv ] Illegible. 17 borgir i brettlandi ] Freshened up. 17 þeir ] Freshened up. 18 varð ] Freshened up. 18 7 ætlaði at lata gera  
 fer vrvgt vigi i einni fiallz lið 7 er þeir ] Freshened up. 30 alla til fin magancivm ] Not freshened up. 31 fagþi þat ] Jónsson, fagþi (hann) þat. 31 7  
 iarðar anda 7 bzigþa ] Not freshened up. 31 iarðar anda ] Jónsson, iarðar (er) anda. 34 heimskir menn ] Not freshened up.

he propositioned her on the spot, and it became necessary that he marry her, and the king loved her so much, that he payed little attention to anyone but her. The king had two sons, one was named Vortimer and the other was named Paschent.<sup>174</sup>

[101] In this time Bishop Germanus and Bishop Lupus came to Britain to preach the faith because the country was almost completely heathen, and there were many miracles. Then Octa, Hengist's son, came from the south with three hundred ships to meet the king, but the Britons were full of much hatred toward the Saxons and asked that they be driven out, but [Octa] didn't wish this on account of his familial ties. After this, the Britons received Vortimer, his son, as king, and they had many battles with Hengest and his sons, and they killed two, and many other people. Then Hengest fled to Saxland. 5R

[102] There was much peace due to the instruction of the holy Germanus. Vortimer's step mother planned to kill him, and gave [103] him poison in his drink.<sup>175</sup> But after his death, Vortigern took the kingdom again. He sent a message to Hengest that he could return with his men, but Hengest came with three thousand men, and no one among the Britons were pleased by [104] his arrival. The king summoned many chieftains to him for a meeting, and after they came, Hengest sat himself next to the king, and when the Britons least expected, the Saxons jump up with enormous knives and hand-saxes, and there they [105] killed nine hundred men, and there were many earls, barons, who were rather valuable people in the land.<sup>176</sup> The Earl Eldol the strong was there, he pulled up a stake, and defended himself with it and killed seventy men of the Saxons, and he himself escaped. 15R

[106] Hereafter the Saxons wished to kill Vortigern.<sup>177</sup> He offered them whatever they wished to take for ransom. They conquered all of the strongest cities in Britain, and they drove away all of the Britons. Vortigern became very sad with these tidings, and he planned to have a secure stronghold built on the side of a mountain, and after they had dug the foundation, they set down an enormous stone, but when they came back, it was gone. These wonders were described to the king. He summoned wise men to him, and asked them to explain the cause. They asked him to look for a man who did not have a father, and mix his blood with mortar. Then the king sent men all over the kingdom to look for this man. They came to that city which is called Kaermerdin.<sup>178</sup> Two young boys played there. One was named Dinabutius, and the other was , and Dinabutius was angry, and said [to Merlin], "you ought not compete against me because I am a king's son, but you have no father." The messengers heard this, and asked how they knew this, and they said that no one knew Merlin's father, but his mother is the daughter of King Domoarsius,<sup>179</sup> and she was a nun when she gave birth to him. 20R

[107] The messengers described to the king their errand, and he had Merlin and his mother summoned to him. The king asked who the boy's father was, but she declared it to be unknown. "His conception just so happened that I slept, locked in my chamber with my maids, until a young man came to me, and he was with me in such a conjugal way, that I take him to be his father." The king had the wise Maugantius summoned to him, and asked whether such a thing could be, and he said that there can be found in books that there were creatures in the sky, which live between the moon and the earth, [108] can change their appearance to the likeness of a man, and they can procreate."<sup>180</sup> Thereupon when Merlin came to the king and he asked him what he wished with him. The king said what his wise man said. 25R

Merlin asked if they could speak with one another, and this was done.<sup>181</sup> He said, "foolish men, why was it said that my blood be mixed with mortar for the 30R

<sup>174</sup>The saga ignores Vortigern's third son, Katigern. in the Latin *HRB* and *VV*, all three were born before Vortigern takes Ranwein. *HRB*, VI.368 [101].

<sup>175</sup>That is, Ronwein, *HRB* VI.415 [102]. <sup>176</sup>*HRB*, VI.470 [104]; the Saxons kill four hundred and sixty barons and earls. <sup>177</sup>*HRB*, VI.490 [105].

The Saxons are reluctant to kill him, but they bind him and threaten to kill him unless he surrenders his cities and castles. <sup>178</sup>In the MS, Morlong.

<sup>179</sup>Merlin's mother is the daughter of the king of Demetia. *HRB*, VI.252 [106]. <sup>180</sup>The saga writer appears to be referring to something other than what appears in the *Historia*. According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Maugantius describes incubi that are part human, part angel. *HRB*, sect. 107, VI.544-550 [107]. <sup>181</sup>He asks if he may speak with Vortigern's wise man.

## 49r

vallar leitið helldi hvat vndir er þeim grvnd velli hann bað grafa grvndvoll divpara  
 7 sagði at vatn var vndir 7 sagði því steinana fokva merlunús bað þpekinga segia  
 hvat vndir var vatninn enn þeir þogþv merlinús mælti vndir því vatni erv .ij. berg 7 þar  
 5 erv i hellar 7 i hellvm sofa .ij. o2mar. konvngt let veita brott vatninn 7 síðan varv ber  
 gin o2 stað forð þa fkríðv þar vndan .ij. o2mar annar hvitr enn anar ravð2 þeir  
 blefv eitri fva sem elldar b2ynni 7 kom enn ravði a flotta síþan fnyz enn ravði mo  
 ti 7 kom þa enn hviti a flotta en er konvngt fa þetta þa þvrdi hann merlinús hvat þetta  
 vig hafði at þyða síðan sagði merlinús langt fram vm konvnga æfi 7 mo2g onnvr  
 10 stoztiðinði þav er en erv eigi fram komin. her eftir hefir gvðlavgr mvnkr o2  
 kvæði þat er heitir merlinús spá **merlinús spá**  
 Ráþvmz segia fvnbalv við vm spar spakligar spamannz gofvgf þerf er a bæi  
 ðv b2etlandi het merlinús margvitr gvmi Sagð2 var lyðvm 7 land2ekvm  
 myrk at raða mo2g rok fyri kiær var hann kriftnv kyni þio  
 ðar varað a molldv maðr vitrari Leita ytar o2ð at van  
 15 da viti flotnar þat frøðif þerfa helld2 fyfvmz nv foznra minna  
 miðfámilig rok monnvum segia liof man lyðvm lioðbo2g vera þo er i frøði flest að  
 raða þat er fyri iofvr olldvm sagði brezkrí þioðv nv skal b2ag kvæða Varv i viðzi  
 vintonia þat er borgar nafn b2vnnar þrennir þeir mvnv laði lorkivm skifta þrir vlikir  
 i þria staði Ein er b2vnnar beztr at reyna eikr avðstofvm all2 ef d2ecka ne  
 20 fott hofvg sorkir havlþa þa er bergt hafá beifkv vatni Illr er ann allir svellta þeir  
 er af beckiar bergia d2eckv þo er enn þ2iðia þyngft at reyna deya þeir allir er  
 þar d2ecka af ne hrægvm hyliaz folldv Uilia havlldar hylia b2vnnar þa er  
 fleftvm hal fior spell gera en þat lyðir a log bera allt verð2 at oð2v en að2 fe grvnd  
 at grioti griot at vatni við2 at avf en at avf kv vatn  
 25 farið er at meyv margfroðaztri i kapf  
 avðga knvtz skogar borg at hon læk  
 ningar leiti þioðvm 7 hon firi menn  
 fari flikv Tekr hon at reyna  
 7 at raða fiold tekr hon iþrottir  
 30 allar fremia andar síþan fnot  
 a b2vnnar 7 hon b2vð þv  
 ra baða gervir Hon þa  
 dreckr eð dyra vatn 7  
 mattv við þat magnaz brvðar

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1–17 vallar leitið. Varv i ] Freshened up. 4 hellvm ] Jónsson, hell(vn)vm. 8 langt fram vm ] This appears to have been freshened up, but the fresh ink has been worn. The original ink is visible. 9 eftir ] Awkwardly freshened up by a different hand. 9 hefir ] Not freshened up. 9 gvðla ] Awkwardly freshened up by a different hand. 9 vgr mvnkr o2t ] Not freshened up. 10 þat ] Awkwardly freshened up by a different hand, followed by an illegible smudge. 10 merlinús spá ] Very little of the original ink is visible, but the remains of merl is visible followed by a long sequence of red marks that may originally have been ornaments that filled the remainder of the line. The hand that refreshed the page wrote MERLINUS SPaa, offset from the original title, with the last word running out from the margin. The word, ðlæs is written directly below SPaa. 12 b2etlandi het ] Jónsson, b2etlandi (sat) het. 12 Sagð2 ] Freshened up to Sagði. 13 myrk ] Freshened up to myrkt. 13 kriftnv ] Freshened up to kristin. 17 fyri ] The freshened up abbreviation is poorly written and illegible. 17 Varv i ] Freshened up to Sar er. 18 vintonia þat er borgar nafn b2vnnar þrennir ] Freshened up. 18 laði lorkivm skifta ] Freshened up. 19 þria staði Ein er b2vnnar beztr at reyna eikr avðstofvm all2 ef d2ecka ne ] Freshened up, except the initial i. 19 staði ] Freshened up to staðaz. 19 beztr ] The freshened up r is thick and difficult to read. Jónsson suggests an er is written over the r. 20 fott hofvg sorkir havlþa þa er bergt hafá beifkv vatni Ill ] Freshened up. 21 er af beckiar bergia d2eckv þo er enn þ2iðia þyngft at reyna deya þeir allir e ] Freshened up, except the final r. 22 þar d2ecka af ne hrægvm hyliaz folldv Uilia havlldar hylia ] Freshened up. 23 fleftvm ] Freshened up. 23 spell gera en ] Freshened up. 23 a log bera allt verð2 at oð2v en að2 ] Freshened up. 23 bera ] The b appears freshened up to h. 24 grioti ] Worn; grio illegible. 24 avf ] Jónsson, avfv. 24 at ] Jónsson suggests this is a mistake for af. 26 avðga ] Worn; illegible. 26 borg ] Freshened up. 27 iti þioð ] Worn; illegible. 28 fari ] Illegible. 28 Tekr hon at reyna ] Freshened up. 29 7 at raða fiold tekr ] Freshened up. 29 þrottir ] Freshened up. 34 ttr ] Freshened up.

foundation? Rather, look what might be swarming below the ground.” He ordered that the foundation be dug deeper, and exclaimed that there was water down below, and he explained that this is why the stones did sink. Merlin asked the wise men what was under the water, but they hushed up. Merlin said, “under the water are two boulders, and in them there are hollows, and in these hollows sleep two dragons. The king had the water diverted, and then the boulders were removed from the spot. Down there crept two dragons, one dragon was red, and the other was white. They breathed poison like burning fire, and the red one took off in flight. Then the red one turned itself around to meet the other, then the white one took off in flight. When the king saw this, he asked Merlin what this battle signified. After this Merlin spoke at length about the lives of kings and many other great events which have not yet happened. Hereafter the monk Gunnlaug has written poems, which are called *The Prophecies of Merlin*.<sup>182</sup>

### Prophecies of Merlin

1 I shall speak to the sea-fire-trees<sup>183</sup> the sagacious stories of that expert seer who lived in Britain’s fields; he was named 10R  
 2 Merlin, wisest of men. / It is said, that he told to people and kings many dark things about the future; he became beloved  
 3 of all Christians in this world, no one was wiser. / I seek no artful words for this poem about warriors. I say this to you:  
 4 it is much better to aim for primal old wisdom, to tell you about old things. / The word-city is all insightful; there is  
 5 much to enumerate in this song which was once spoken to the British folk; now here follows the poems: / Three different  
 6 fountains well up in wide Winchester (so called is the city); they break into different watersheds; none of these three 15R  
 7 resembles the other in the three regions. / One of the springs shows itself as the best because it preserves the lives of  
 8 those who drink it; it wards off sickness and disease, the pains of mankind, when they quaff the bitter drink. / Another is  
 9 evil because whoever drinks the water from this river hungers; the third can be seen, but it is the worst; whoever drinks  
 10 from it dies; their corpses cover the earth. / Men wish to cover the spring which causes corruption, whatever plunges in  
 11 it becomes transformed; nothing is as was before. The field turns to mountains, the mountains to water; the forest to 20R  
 12 ashes, the ashes to water. / The maiden finds all kinds of grain out in the nut forest, in the battle-strong burg; she should  
 13 provide healing to the heroes and extricate them from such danger. / She seeks to examine and to advise the multitude;  
 14 she seeks the skill of all crafts; then the lady breathes from the fountain and then they both dry up. / Then she will drink  
 15 the precious water to strengthen the power of the woman;

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<sup>182</sup>The attribution refers to the scholar hagiographer, and monk Gunnlaugr Leifsson, who lived in the north of Iceland at Þingeyrar and died in approximately 1219. The attribution to Gunnlaug also exists the other witness to *Breta sögur*, AM 573 4to. The Hauksbók *Breta sögur* is the only witness, and Hauksbók the only extant manuscript, that contains Gunnlaugr’s skaldic composition. The *Mérlínuspá* originally circulated as an independent work.  
<sup>183</sup>men

## 49v

berr hon i hǫrgri hendi sinni kynsto2 kona kolidonif ƒkog en i lofa man lvndvna bo2g  
 Gengr hon ƒþan gott fron yfir ƒva at ƒþornvm ƒnotar ƒþrettr vpp logi með romvm reyk rvteneof  
 ƒa vekr 7 verk verþioðv gert Geriz ogvrlegt op i landi er gvllfogvl grætr háftofvm 7 þiota  
 tekr þioð með henni innan vm alla ey með ringvm Hiortr dæpr hana hin er tvenna .v.  
 5 hræf a havfi ho2n kvftv berr hafa ko2onv kviftir .iiij. enn .vi. aðzir ƒialfir verða at vífvndar  
 verftvm ho2nvm Þeir þiotandi þrir vm ræra bvnir at beriaz b2etlandz eyiar þa man vakna  
 við2 en danski 7 manz roddv mæla ƒialfri kom þv cambria með co2nb2etvm ƒegþv  
 vintoni vollr þig vm gleypir forðv hirðif ƒiot hínig er lengra lvng at laði mvnv  
 liðir allir havþi fylgia þat er hialp gvma En sætaz ƒvndi fagna hanfman ftoll vera yfir  
 10 ƒtoðvm tvennvm þo hefir gvmnvm grandað mo2gvvm hvittrar vllar hverfkynt litir bo2g man  
 falla veit ek bana þioðvm þviat hon eið2ofa að2 vm gerðiz mvnv griðbitar gjo2la dæpnir  
 gelld2 vintona vand2a manna Mvn biazn igvll borg vpp gera ƒmiðar hæfta holl land2eki  
 hana mvn remma rikr oddviti .D. fagra tvrna Ðat lvndvnm  
 likar illa eykr hon .iiij. lvtvm þycka vegi koftar hon keppir við konvgiðnir  
 15 ferr ƒvð2 vm ƒiall frægð af ƒmiði en tems vm borg tekr at geifa  
 Enn et ho2fka dyr hleðft alldini harðla goðv þvi er hilmir velr koma fvglar þar flivg  
 andi til af vogvm við2a vitia epla Enn biarnigvll byr vm velar leynir hann eplvm  
 lvndvnm i grefir i grvndv gavtv haligar ƒyftir til fengiar flaraðvg2 dyr  
 Þa man o2 molldv mæla ƒteinar 7 ver þioðar v2l vppkoma ey man við2az en valir  
 20 ƒkialfa 7 ƒio2 ƒaman ƒækia fikivm ƒva at millim landa mal vm heyri Kemr o2 ƒk  
 ogi kalaterio fvgl flivgandi ƒa er ƒira villir flygr vm nottvnm nyfir gerla kallar  
 hegri hvern fvgl til ƒin er vm tvivetri talráð ƒamið flyckiaz fvglar fara þeir  
 i ƒæði eyða þeir ockrvm 7 alldini svlltr verð2 7 fott ƒe ek mart fyrir man  
 davðr mikill meín gengr vm þioð Enn fvgl eftir þat ferr ve  
 25 ƒtr i dal þan er galabef gvmnar kalla hann man  
 hefiaz i eð hæfta ƒiall 7 þar vppi i  
 eikrlimv eið2az hegri hann er fvlg  
 la veftir þria klekr hann vnga  
 þvi reið2i i eigi er hegra kyn hvlg  
 30 þekt firvm þar er vargr 7  
 bio2n 7 að vífv  
 refr flægr 7 ƒinvm ƒialld  
 an verr alin uaxa þar allir  
 vpp brøðr ƒaman er

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2 ƒpor] Worn; illegible. 3 verk] Freshened up. An ambiguous mark follows this resembling an h. The meaning of this is obscure. 3–34  
 hefiaz...faman er] The remainder of the page is not freshened up and is very worn and difficult to read. 5 kvftv] Freshened up to kviftv. 5 berr]  
 Freshened up to brr er. 8 vintoni] Freshened up to vontoizi. 8 vm] The freshened up abbreviation mark for m is irregular. 8 gleypir] Freshened  
 up to skyfir, with a short s. 8 ƒiot hínig] Not freshened up. 9 havþi] Not freshened up. 9 man ftoll vera yfir] Not freshened up. 10 vm tvennvm  
 þo hefir] Not freshened up. 10 litir bo2g man] Not freshened up. 11 io2la dæpnir] Not freshened up. 12 gelld2 vintona] Not freshened up.  
 13 hana mvn remma] Not freshened up. 14 likar illa eykr] Not freshened up. 15 ferr] Freshened up to -. 15 ƒvð2 vm] Not freshened up. 17  
 biarnigvll byr] Not freshened up. 18 haligar] Not freshened up. 18 fengiar] Not freshened up. 19 ey man við2az en valir] Not freshened up.  
 20 fikivm] Not freshened up. 20 at millim landa mal vm heyri Kemr o2 ƒk] Not freshened up. 21 ogi kalaterio] Not freshened up. 21 ƒira villir]  
 Not freshened up. 21 kallar] The k is not freshened up. 22 tvivetri talráð ƒamið] Not freshened up. 23 ƒe ek mart fyrir] Not freshened up;  
 worn. 24 þat ferr ve] Not freshened up; worn; illegible. 25 ƒtr i da] Not freshened up. 26–27 ...hann er fvlg] This portion of the page is mostly  
 freshened up. 26 i eð] Not freshened up; illegible. 29 hegra] Freshened up. 30 þekt firvm þar er vargr 7] Illegible. 31 7 að] Freshened up.  
 31–32 vífv refr] Many of the letter forms are illegible; the line break is approximated.

12 on her right side she becomes preserved in the forest Calidon, and her right in London. / Then she walks on good ground  
 13 to ignite the fire, the tracks of the woman; with acrid smoke it arouses Ruteni, and inflicts such pain to people. / A horrible  
 14 scream resounds in the land; Gold Skögul's laments are widely heard; the wailing begins and the whole nation begins to  
 15 howl with her across the island. / She kills a stag which carries two times five horn-branches; for of these points adorns 5R  
 16 one crown and the remaining six transforms itself into the horrible horns of a wisent. / Prepared for battle, they move with  
 17 a loud roar, three British islands; then the Danish forest matures; the voice of men says, / "Come Cambria to the Cornish;  
 18 speak to Winchester; feed upon the ground; the herd's home lies on the shore; all the people follows upon the headland  
 19 to help the people. / And the bay sea-tree rejoices; his high seat of two pillars; but the many miseries to the men turns  
 20 white wool into every color./ The city wall will fall; I know the death of the people because she<sup>184</sup> has already broken the 10R  
 21 vow; the destroyers of peace will die; Winchester will pay for vicious men. / The hedgehog will erect a burg, the highest  
 22 hall of the powerful prince, with five hundred fair towers. / London does not like this, the thick walls are strengthened,  
 23 craftily assembled for the king's work; the buildings advance their glory up to the south and the Thames rushes around 15R  
 24 the burg. / And the wise animal, ladens itself with fruit, excellent wares, chosen by the king himself; then the birds come,  
 25 they fly there from the wide forests to search for apples. / But the hedgehog spins the scheme and buries the apples in  
 26 London, buried in the earth by secret means greedy after booty, the dangerous animal. / Stones on the ground will then 20R  
 27 speak, the plots of men will be discovered, the island will increase, the Welsh tremble, and the sea becomes narrower; in  
 28 the middle of the land a voice is heard. / Kalaterius comes from the forest, the flying bird, men wish to see it; it flies in  
 the night, it sees keenly, the heron calls each bird to himself, plotting deception. / The birds assemble themselves, the  
 crop rots, the field is destroyed, and also the fruit; I see hunger and sickness, I see into the future the deaths of many men  
 and misery to people. / Then the bird flies to the west in the valley called by men Galabes; it becomes lifted to the highest  
 mountains and up there on the oak branches the heron nestles, he is the worst of the birds. / Three youths hatch in in  
 this nest, the heron race is not endeared to men; there is a wolf and a bear, and certainly a sly fox—the [situation] is bad  
 for all of them. / All the brothers grow up there together,

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<sup>184</sup>The city.

## 50r

at giarnir þeir gott að vinna refr af moðo2 ræðo2 grimlega tapar henni fá tynir fá  
 vða er grenbvi giarn a ríki B2æðo2 vill hann sína beita velvm tekr hozf hofvð  
 hilldingr a fig enn hoddfkata ræðaz baðir flyia barmar brott o2 landi 7 fvðo2  
 5 lál fveitar leita vekt vargr 7 bio2n villigallta en gallti þeim gengi sínv he  
 itr hvatlega þviat hann hvgr trvir ðeir snarlega fsvnd2avkn bva dzagas litinn þeir landher  
 faman gnyr er manna gengr lið roa hylr hogna fiot herko2n skipa Hallda þeir fvn  
 ann vm fvalann ægi bzetlendz a vit bvaz til romo enn refr hinig með recca lið ferr fralega  
 folld at veria hrið geriz hialma hlifar klofna erv ramlega randir kniðar gnefta  
 geirar er gvðo2 vakin verðo2 við a lið at vallroði D2egr el yfir ognar lioma gerir drivgan  
 10 dyn dyrra malma gnyr er a glæftvm gondla2 himni 7 i hozðvm hlam hlackar tiolldvm  
 erað skiofámar skavglar kapvr hrytr hagl boga hlif i gegnim Grenia graner garmar  
 flíðza bitr fran freki ferðo2 halferðar ryfr gramr gvma gollo2 hallir bzegðo2 benlogi  
 bygðvm hiarna ero bzotnar miok borgir heila Se ek ve vaða verðo2 mitt skaða fýngr fá  
 raklvngr fnyrti dzengivm en a leið fara lægio2n ara ioð 7 ylgjar en til fylgjar hrpa her  
 15 nvmin hvartvegi bo2n Enn refr gerir raða a gallta þviat hann reifa matt rond við hanvm  
 fva lætr foglingr fem hann davðr fe erað lik hvlið lofþvngf bzeta Enn gallti þat eggjar at re  
 yna blæf hann i anlit 7 i avgv gram en refr við þat ræðr a gallta fær hann af hanvm fot enn vinstra  
 hlvftina horgri fyrri hrydiar nef Enn i fialli nef fadygt hofvð hvgr þær iofvðr flærðo2  
 at o2xla en villigolltr vargi 7 birni segir farlega fo2g 7 missv Enn hravftir bzæðo2  
 20 hvgga gallta kveðaz far mvnv fialfir groeða fara sklvvm baðir fotar at leita hlvftar  
 7 hala þer her bittv gallti En refr ofan renn or fialli ferr fáhvgaðr finna gallta hann  
 byðo2 sættir af fvikvm einvm kvez hann mart við fvin mæla vilia Trvþv mer gallti ek  
 ek man heill vera fvik ek alldzegei fvin i trygðvm fvnd sklvvm legia 7 friðo2 gera skalltv  
 ein gera ockar imillim Er fvndz lagiðo2 7 friðr famiðo2 koma milldingar malstefnv  
 25 til en a fvndi þeim flærðir reynaz banar hertoga bzezkr landzekei Ok a fialfan fig  
 fíþan feftir lparðz hofvð lofðvngtr at þat ræðr hann lyðvm 7 lofpa fiolð þar þrytr þerfa  
 þengils fogv 7 fvinf at þat a fig hame brigðr 7 bzæðza biðo2 florglega En er þeir  
 koma kofti at ferra bitr hann baða .ij. 7 banar hlyrvm Er a hans dogvm hogo2mr alin  
 fá er fyrðvm vill fio2fþell gera fva er hann langr at vm lvndvnr heiðar hvalr hring  
 30 of mæler 7 fva oðr at vrðar figðr vmlíðendr alla gelypír Hann cambzie kallar  
 fveitir 7 norðhvrmv nanar hiarðir 7 vtravt tems at ð vrv dzengf dolgþozinf  
 dzECKa lyðir Uerða fíþar a fama landi lepartar .vij. linni bo2nir þeir hafá bzvfa bol  
 gio2n hofvð erv daðlavfer doglingf fýnir Þeir fleft taka flíoða fveitar hervigf  
 famir 7 hora mengi 7 fameignar finnir kvanar gera geirvanir geigr er i slikv

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1 refr af moðo2ræðo2] Not freshened up. 1 moðo2] A superfluous *ir* abbreviation appears over the o. 1 tapar] Not freshened up. 1 tynir fá] Not freshened up. 2 vða] Not freshened up. 2 grenbvi giarn a ríki] Not freshened up. 4 gengi] Not freshened up. 4 he] Not freshened up. 6 manna] Freshened up to *mannr*. 7 ægi] The freshened up text is blotted by ink. ægi is written above the line as a correction. 8 erv ra] Not freshened up. 8 kniðar gnefta] Not freshened up. 9 verðo2] Abbreviation mark not freshened up. 9 gerir drivgan] Not freshened up. 10 i hozðvm hlam hlackar tiolldvm] Not freshened up. 11 kapvr hrytr] Not freshened up. 11 graner] Not freshened up. 12 flíðza] The a is not freshened up. 12 halferð] Worn; nearly illegible. 12 ryfr gramr gvma gollo2 hallir] Not freshened up. 13 bygðvm] Not freshened up. 13 ve vaða verðo2] Not freshened up. 14 lægio2n ara ioð 7 ylgjar en til fylgjar] Not freshened up. 15 þviat hann reifa matt rond] Not freshened up. 16 erað] Freshened up to *bzað*. 17 hann i anlit 7 i avgv gram en refr] Not freshened up. 17 vinstra] Worn; nearly illegible. 18 fyrri] Jónsson emends to 7. The original ink is illegible. 18 hrydiar] Jónsson emends to hrygiar. Incorrectly freshened up. 18 iofvðr flærðo2] Worn; illegible. The i is illegibly freshened up. 19 en] Freshened up to *ef*. 20 llta] Freshened up. 20 sklvvm baðir] Freshened up. 23 ek] Repeated from the previous line. 25 rðir reynaz banar her] Worn; illegible. 26 lofðvngtr at þat ræðr hann lyðvm] Worn; illegible. 27 at a fig hame brigðr 7 b] Worn; illegible. 28 hann baða .ij. 7 banar] Worn; illegible. 29 fþell gera fva er hann] Worn; illegible. 30 fva oðr at vrðar figðr vmlíðendr] Worn; illegible. 31 7 vtravt tems at ð] Worn; illegible. 32 r a fama landi lepartar .vij.] Worn; illegible. 34 hora] The r is obscured by a crease on the page.



29 They were eager to do good; the fox speaks ill of this own mother, he kills her, the sheep destroyer, he longs for power in  
 30 his foxhole. / His brothers will twist with schemes, the warrior takes a horse head for himself; and the treasure-payer<sup>185</sup>  
 31 fears both, they flee away from the land. In the south one must seek company, the wolf and the bear wakes the wild  
 32 boar; then the boar goes to them quickly asking for allegiance. / They quickly prepared the bay-mules, also seen departing  
 33 was the land-army altogether; roar to the ears of men, a man grasped the rudder; the seeds of the army covers Hogni's 5R  
 34 realm.<sup>186</sup> / Coming from the south, through the cool waves, upon the coast of Britain, primed for battle, the fox goes  
 35 eagerly against them with brave followers, to defend the earth. / Cracked are the helms, bursting serkins, strongly struck  
 36 are the shields, crackling spears, it wakes the god, the wide plain becomes reddened by the dead. / A hail storm covers the  
 37 terror-light,<sup>187</sup> produces a great din of precious ore,<sup>188</sup> the clash is accompanied by Gondul's sky,<sup>189</sup> and in hard thumps,  
 38 the drapery of Hlokk<sup>190</sup> were a cover, the gown of Skögul offers little protection, the hail of bows<sup>191</sup> breaks against the 10R  
 39 shields. / The vicious dog howls unsheathed, the cloak-clasp wolf<sup>192</sup> bites the warrior, Gram sticks deep in the hero's heart,  
 40 the wound-flame meets the house of the brain,<sup>193</sup> the brain home is now broken. / I see a standard wading<sup>194</sup>, misery  
 41 to brave men approaches, the wound-thorn sings, but that already releases that baneful brood, the wolf and eagle, they  
 42 come down to greedily suck blood. / The fox now approaches to murder the boar, but his power does not avail, thus the  
 43 king is already dead; no one dresses the British prince. / But the boar will desire to know; he angrily snorts into the face 15R  
 44 and eyes of the ruler; the fox grapples with the wolf and bereaves him of the joints of his legs, of his right ear, and also  
 45 his member. / Hidden in the nest is the clever head,<sup>195</sup> a vixen plans to increase deceit; and the wild boar tells the wolf,  
 46 and the she-bear of pain and misery. / Stalwart brothers comfort the boar, and promise to heal the wounds. "We both  
 47 shall go to retrieve the leg, the ear, and the member, wait here boar!" / The fox then runs down from the mountain with  
 48 his sly wits, and looks for the boar; he offers reconciliation but only in appearance. He wishes to say more to the pig. / 20R  
 49 "Trust me boar! I will be honest, I will never betray the pig's trust; we will meet and make peace; you alone should rule  
 over us." / The nobles appear at the meeting place and made peace, but deception appears at this meeting; the British lord  
 kills the duke. / The praiseworthy prince carries on his shoulders the leopard head; after that he rules the realm and the  
 people, and then this saga of this prince comes to an end. / In the skin of the boar, he ambushes the brothers; they come  
 there to bring alms, they both take the bait and he kills the brothers. / A worm was born to his days who was called by 25R  
 everyone Death and Decay; this animal is so long that it surrounds London; the field-whale<sup>196</sup> winds in a circle so fast  
 the stone-belt<sup>197</sup> voraciously swallows everything. / He orders the Cambrian flock from the Northumbrian shepherds; the  
 men fearlessly drink from the bed of the Thames. / In the same year, seven leopards were born from the worm; they have  
 the heads of angry bucks; the children of princes are without power. / They quickly take most of the women, with much  
 depravity, and deal with a multitude of whores, and contend with their women with such calamitous behavior. 30R

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<sup>185</sup>King. <sup>186</sup>The sea. <sup>187</sup>Armor reflected in the sun. <sup>188</sup>Swords. <sup>189</sup>Shield. <sup>190</sup>Armor. <sup>191</sup>Arrow volley. <sup>192</sup>Sword. <sup>193</sup>Skull. <sup>194</sup>In the sea  
 of an army. <sup>195</sup>The Fox. <sup>196</sup>Snake. <sup>197</sup>Snake.

## 50v

Langt er at tina þat er lofða vinr vm alldar far ytvn fagði er fæft i því fagrt at heyra  
læt ek liða þat 7 lok segia Verðr a folldv kvað en froði halr stýriolld mikil stozir  
ognir vig 7 velar vargollð 7 kolld hrimi hverfkonar hioztv lyða Ða munn gley  
maz galavfer menn 7 fjellifir segir dzecka leita að fagna 7 við fe vna vell að oxla ok  
5 vexmuni hagr geriz havlda hættir i mozgv mvnað fyrða rað fagr at reyna  
dyliaz dzivgvn dzamf i vaðendz við sialfa sig siaz ecki at Verft er i heime veitað  
fvn foðvr flita þeir lifivm fva fynir við feðza kannaz engi við kvnna menn ne nana frá  
nðz nirðir bavga Havfvgt er að heyra þatz vm her geriz lifa fenaðar fyrðar  
lifi hycia a þenna þragiarnan heim 7 hverfkonar hafna gjæzkv Mvn eðhvita fil  
10 fr havlldvm granda 7 gvll gera gvmna blinda himni hafna en a havðz sia fvikr  
ofdzycia yta mengi Lifir en danska drott at holldi gerir eyvið fer ollð at moti því  
munn en tignv tiðmozk himinf lifi fiv fra lyð fva Enn grvnd eftir þat groða ha  
fnar ne fkv ofan ozfkyvm kemr fol 7 mani sialf annan veg fara fagz fkvð en þav  
fyr hafe Ok þar a hlurni heiðar stioznvr ma marka því molldar hvergi fvmar fara  
15 ofgar fvmar annan veg af enne gomlv gongv sinni Svmar fvkiaz at en fvmar firaz  
bzegða lifi 7 litvm fogrvm beriaz vindar þav erv veðz mikil 7 hliom gera meþal himin  
tvngla Geifar geime gengr hann vpp i lopt slikt er ogvrlegt yta boznm slikt er ogvrlegt  
vpp at telia man en fozna molld af firvm verða Uæri mart monnum kynna oz folk  
staff fornv kvæði ek munn þo þeygi fleira þrottar þingf þollvm segia Þo hefir ek fa  
20 gt segia kindvm slikt er bok bzognvm kynner nyti fer níotar ftala slika fogn 7 fez fyri  
Sia við fynd 7 fvika raðvm 7 allzkynf illvm verkvm dzygivm dað drottin elfkv hrindvm ozt illv ráðe  
Skrvpt er lif lyða barna vndir hregfka hliðar tialldi en lif lavfn liða eigi goð eða  
ill gvmna mengif Gleðivmz oll i goðvm hvz 7 við ván vex 7 dyrðar gjætvn goðf gley  
mvm illv ofvm optt andar pryði Biðivm opt bzagna stilli oztan eflð ollv hiarta at  
25 viðfrægr virða stiozi dörgr 7 dag drottar gjæti Ok herþarfr hrindi herla gvmna liðf gran  
di hveriv fva at til lif leiði gerfva þioðar vozðz þetta mengi merlinvf fpa  
NV skal ek flotnm þat er fozðvm var lyði froðir mer fyrðar segia at bvðlvngr fat  
bzetlandi at het vellfkati vortigernvs iozð var fozðvm fyr kend bzetvm fv er  
englvn er eignvð fpan þviat en enfka þioð aðan velti bzekfvfama bzetzka hale  
30 Ok lad þeira með liði miklv sialf eignaðiz i fogvm foznm 7 þar er kristnir kiænr by  
gia aðz tok heiðin þioð hallir fmiða er attbogi enkrar þioðar faxnefkr fagaðz i  
fogvm þapan eflvz þeir til þrimv geira landi at ræna lofvng bzeta Enn herf  
iaðar hallda mattið bzekri iorðv ne bavga fiold allt foz en heiðni herr eð eyfra elldi  
7 iarni eylandz iaðar en hertogi hœlif leitar geriz travftan tvrn tiggi að fmiða 7

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1–18 Langt er at...firvm verða] Freshened up, except some capitals. 3 Ð] Not freshened up. 5 fagr] Jónsson, fagr(t). 6 dzamf] Jónsson, dra(v)mf. 6 heime] The freshened up hand omits the stem of the i. 7 feðza] Jónsson suggests this should be feðz. 12 E] Not freshened up. 14 O] Not freshened up. 14 þar] Abbreviation mark not freshened up. 15 S] Not freshened up. 17 G] Not freshened up. 19 kvæði ek munn þo] Freshened up. 19–20 gf þollvm segia Þo hefir ek fagt] Freshened up. 20 fer] Freshened up. 21 dzygivm dað drott] Freshened up. 22 hliðar tialldi] Freshened up. 22 lavfn] Jónsson emends to lavn. 23 Gleðivmz oll i goðvm hvz] Freshened up. 24 Biðivm opt] Freshened up. 24 ftilli] Freshened up. 24 at] Illegible. 26 vozðz] Freshened up. 27 V] Freshened up. 27 þat er fozðvm var lyði froðir] Freshened up. 27 segia at bvðlvngr fat] Freshened up. 28 bzetlandi at het vellfkati vortigernvs] Freshened up. 28 fyr kend] Freshened up. 29 en enfka] Illegible. 32 Enn herf] Freshened up.

50 The men say, "It takes a long time to tell the story of they who are illustrious of ancient deeds; regarding this it is good  
 51 to hear, let us get past all this and say the ending." / The wise man said, "The world threatens the hearts of those violent  
 52 with war, terrible fear, robbery and intrigue; wolf-time and ice-time through various frosts." / In their wantonness, lusty  
 53 men, drunk and senseless, seek their luck and cheerfulness in gold, and increase their affluence and earthly power. / Many  
 54 men attempt to retrieve the hidden treasure which also brings suffering; their own goods do not afflict them while sunk 5R  
 55 in a dream. / Worse is the world, when the son must support his father in such a relationship as fathers ought with sons;  
 56 no one but good friends know them nor kin under the sky. / It is difficult to hear what happens next: men live the lives  
 57 of livestock, trapped in this fiendish world, they completely abandon any good. / White silver shall harm men and gold  
 58 trinkets shall blind men; many men degenerate to intoxication and spurn heaven for the earth. / The Danish folk live in  
 59 corporal lust, no one has an appetite to abstain; therefore the sun and the moon abandon the people of their light. / The 10R  
 60 ground become sterile, no shower falls from the clouds; the sun and the moon move themselves on different paths. / No  
 61 one on earth can assign a position for the bright stars up in heaven; they move backwards, the move differently from their  
 62 predictable paths. / They draw together, they move far away changing their light, their beautiful colors; they fight the  
 63 winds—powerful storms and generate music. / Then the sea wells and sprays high in the air, causing terror to the children  
 64 of men; the primal earth exposed; it is terrible to say this. / Much can be taught to men from old poems; I would remains 15R  
 65 silent, but I will tell more to the fir-trees.<sup>198</sup> / But I have told much to men; what is written in books is learned by the  
 66 listeners; the servant of steel<sup>199</sup> ought to learn from such stories and gain insight. / They avoid evil and shameful deeds  
 67 and any kind of ill works; when we bravely love the Lord we quickly throw away bad council. / Life is miserable for the  
 68 children of men, in the tent whose side is buffeted by storms; life's reward does not go to many good or bad men. / We 20R  
 rejoice in glory and honor with a happy heart filled with hope; we heed God, we spurn evil, we acquire the nobility of the  
 soul. We often pray to the Lord of men, the highest in power with our whole heart; the famous shepherd who protects  
 day and night. / The lord shall lead men from danger and keep us from evil; the shepherd of people guides his flock to  
 have a just life, easily or with difficulty. /

## Prophecies of Merlin II

1 Now I shall speak about sea-journeys that happened long ago; wise men listen to me; A king ruled over Britannia  
 2 who was called Vortigern, gentle prince. / The land was once named after the Britons, which now is the property of the 25R  
 3 Angles; because the English people soon betrayed the British people with uncouth desire. / And with a great army they  
 subdued their land; so it says in the old sagas; in that place where there were once Christians, wise ones, lived a heathen  
 folk who once built halls.

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<sup>198</sup>Men. <sup>199</sup>Man.

## 51r

þangat til þeirar gerðar fámnað mozgvm milldingr fmiðvm komv til fmiðar þpakir volvndar  
þat er ytvv fagt vppi i fialli en þat er dzengir a degi gerðv fa þerf engan ftað anan mozgin  
Kalla let fylkir froða feqi fra gvnþozinn gramr hvat volldi er gerla hvarf grvndvollr  
fa brott fem grvnd gomvl gleypti steina eða hamloðin harmin felldi Einn var maðr fa er  
5 myrkva frett fyri fkata skyrvv fkyntia kvnni het yngva vinr ambrofius en enn agiæti oð  
rv nafni Merlinvs fa maðr kallaðiz þat kvað vallda verdax havtvðz at þar vndir var vlitioð vatn  
Bavð grvnd grafa gvmna ftiozi reyniz þpaklig þpamannz saga Ok en froði halr fretti lofða  
hvat vndir vatni væri niðzi 7 engi þat annar viffi fagþi Fylki fleinþollr  
þpokvm Sofa þar i dimmv divpi niðzi tvenir o2mar tveimr hellvm i þeir erv lindar  
10 landz vlikir fe ek ravða feil raf 7 hvita Lattv grvnd grafa gera fkozninga fagði merlinvs  
menia deili veitioð vatni 7 vitið fipán hvat fpað hafi fþillir bavga þat er nylvnda  
nðz o2 fialli Gerðv greppar þat er gvmnvm bavð varð vatni niðz veitt o2 fialli 7 feim  
gefendz fnaka þectv trygðar lavfa fem tyr firvm hafþi hristar hvgsþar fagat  
Ok dzivglegir drekar voknvðv gerðvz baðir b2ott o2 rvme rennaz fipán ffnart at moti frons  
15 fafyner frøknir bavgar Geriz fokn mikil fnaka .ij. gapa grimlega grvndar belkti  
havgvaz hørknir havðrf gyrðingar blafaz eitri a 7 blám elldi Fozflotti var frá en ravði  
bar en liofi hann liðz at backa en hann hagliga hrockr at moti ellti hann en hvita hvgrtrvr  
dzeka þeir vig gera vaz farveg i 7 lengi hvat linnar beriaz mega o2mar þar ymfer  
meira 7 ymfer þeir vndan legia Segþv merlinvs kvað menb2oti erttv froðari fy  
20 ðvm avðzvm hvat takna man .ih j. o2ma ogvrlegt vig alldar bo2nvm Gret gvmna vinr  
er hann greiða bað þengill gofvgr þerfa hegiv 7 eftir þat alldar fnytrir ravkftællta fpa  
reckvm fagþi Taknar en ravði raf fagrfilei hvað bioðz b2agar b2ezka lyði en hinn  
hviti maðr þa ena heiðna þioð er bygia man b2ezkar iarðir Er harmr mi  
kill havlþvm fegia feqi ek figr hafá fnac en hvita lað man legiaz 7 lyða fiolþ  
25 mvnv dzeyrgar ar o2 dolvm falla Faraz mvn kriftni kirkivr falla fa er har  
mr hofvgr herr i landi þa man en eflaz en avma þioð aðz er harðla hnekt hennar  
kofsti Mvn þar i liki lofþvngv koma fa er vegligaztr villigalltar hann fvlltingir fara  
ðvm her 7 vndir fotvm treðz ferðir faxa ferft vndir hann folldv grøni 7 eyia fiolð i vt  
hafi ira 7 engla 7 vt fkota viðvm longvm valkra þioða no2ex fipv 7 no2z dana  
30 Ok rvmveriar ræfi vga megvð reifa þeir rond við ftilli mart veit ek anað vm menbrota  
en ek vglotg feg ozlog konvngf Han mvnv tigna tvngvr lyða fa mvn gramr vera gvmnvm  
tiðaztr ey mvn vppi oðlingf frame 7 hanf hroðz fara með himínfkavtvm Ok attbngar enf  
itra gramf laða at lofþvngi landi 7 þegnvv en eftir þat o2mf enf hvita verðz meira valld  
en verið hafþi hanvm fvlltingir ferner fiofar þeim er affrikar vtan fylgia verðz kriftni

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1-7 ...halr fretti lofða] Covered with reagent; most of the text is visible. 1 þangat] Obscured by reagent; illegible. 1 til þeirar gerðar fámnað mozgvm milldingr fmiðvm] Freshened up. 2 þat er ytvv fagt vppi i fialli en þat er dzengir a degi gerðv] Freshened up. 3 Kalla let fylkir froða feqi fra gvnþozinn] Freshened up. 4 fa brott fem grvnd gomvl gleypti steina eða hamloðin harmin fe] Freshened up. 4 Einn] Jónsson, Ein. The descending stems for each n is visible. 4 var maðr fa er] Illegible. 5 myrkva frett fyri fkata skyrvv fkyntia kvnni het yngva vinr ambrofius] Freshened up. 5 oð] Illegible. 6 rv nafni] Freshened up. 6 kallaðiz þat kvað vallda] Freshened up. 6 havtvðz at þar vndir] Freshened up. 7 avð grvnd grafa gvmna ftiozi reyniz þpaklig þpamannz saga Ok en froði halr fretti lofða] Freshened up. 14 frons] The short s is written into the right margin, a possible correction in the original hand. 22 b2agar] Illegible abbreviation mark. Jónsson suggests it was emended from b2agra to b2agar. 23 maðr] Jónsson emends to naðr. 23 heiðna] Jónsson suggests this is an error for heiðnv. 24 hvita] The accent is placed over the v. 29 fipv] The v is emended from an r in the original hand.

4 The line of ancestors of the English folk were known as Saxon in the old sagas; there they found the craft in brave  
5 battle to feud with the British kings. / The British earth, the rich territory, cannot stop the front-of-the-army;<sup>200</sup> the  
6 heathen army migrates from the east with fire and iron, onto the rim of the island. / The army's leader sought after a  
7 / Crafty Volunds<sup>201</sup> came to the building, it is said by men, high in the mountains; and the brave ones gone in a single 5R  
8 day, they were not there the following morning. / The skillful men were called by the kin, the battle-ready<sup>202</sup> asked  
9 how this happened, "how did the foundation disappear? How did the old earth swallow the stone and the home-cloak<sup>203</sup>  
10 fell?"<sup>204</sup> / There was one man who was capable of explaining this wonder clearly to the men; the Lord's friend, who was  
11 called Ambrosius, he became known by two names, the same man was also called Merlin. / The wards told the king 10R  
12 there was too much water; they bade the great men to dig into the ground; this proved he story of the wise seer. / And  
13 then the wise man told to the other men what they would surely find under the water; and the wise one said that which  
14 was not known to spear-trees:<sup>205</sup> / "Sleeping under there in the dim deep are two worms in two caves; they are ribbons 15R  
15 from strange lands; I see one string coursing and one white. / "Have the ground dug, to the ribbons," said Merlin to the  
16 ring-dealer,<sup>206</sup> "channel the water under the mountain, then you will see what is prophesied, that which is astounding  
17 to the ring-breaker."<sup>207</sup> / The men accomplished what the king bade them to do, the water was channeled downward, 15R  
18 drained down from the mountain, and the honeycomb-giver<sup>208</sup> learned about the snakes, truceless like Týr and Hrist—the  
19 wise prophet told them. / Then the giant dragons awoke, they both got themselves away from bed; after this they quickly  
20 ran against each other on the lonely earth of the valiant rings. / The two snakes made a great attack, the ground-belts.<sup>209</sup>  
21 grimly gape, the earth-girdles<sup>210</sup> bite one another and breathe poison and blossom fire. / The red one evaded the gleaming 20R  
22 turmoil, bore burning fire to bake his limbs; but he handily recoiled from him, he eagerly chased the white dragon. /  
23 They made battle in the water-road,<sup>211</sup> and the bold snakes fought long; the first one was greater then the other, and so  
24 knocked him down. / "Say Merlin," spoke the ring-bearer,<sup>212</sup> "you are superior to other men. How should the age-born<sup>213</sup>  
25 understand these snakes' battle?" / The friend-of-people<sup>214</sup> wept as the noble prince asked him to interpret this event;  
26 then the wise seer gave the men his explanation. / The song-caller spoke, "It means that the red treasure-ring<sup>215</sup> was the 25R  
27 British people, and the white worm was the heathen folk; the British earth will soon be settled." / "Powerful misery is  
28 coming to you; I say the white snake will prevail and oppress the land and the people, bloody rivers will stream through  
29 the valleys. / Christianity gives way, churches decay, this song becomes painful, an army comes to the land; the once noble  
30 folk will strengthen, but they were earlier burdened through hard fate. / A king will come to them, one more honorable,  
31 in the shape of a boar; he stands by them, the helpless flock; he treads with his feet upon the people of the Saxons. /  
32 He subdued the green earth and the entire island up to the ocean; also the Irish and the Angles, the Scots, the broad 30R  
33 territories of the Welsh, and Norway's coast, north of Denmark. / The Romans also feared the nobleman, and craftily  
34 afflicted her lords; I know yet more about the ring-breaker, but the king's end remains unclear. / The folk's tongue will  
35 honor him, the prince is beloved by all men; the ruler's praise will live forever, his glory will extend to the rim of heaven.  
36 / All the relatives of the great prince, and also the people of the land, gather to the ruler; and then the power of the white  
37 worm increases as never before. / The Fenrir of the sea helps him, Africans follow them abroad; the Christian faith 35R

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<sup>200</sup>King. <sup>201</sup>Craftsmen. <sup>202</sup>King. <sup>203</sup>Facade. <sup>204</sup>Got damaged. <sup>205</sup>Men. <sup>206</sup>King. <sup>207</sup>King. <sup>208</sup>King. <sup>209</sup>Serpents. <sup>210</sup>Serpents. <sup>211</sup>Sea.  
<sup>212</sup>King. <sup>213</sup>Men. <sup>214</sup>King. <sup>215</sup>Serpent.

## 51v

b2ot vm kyni þjóðar þo mvnv sialfir nockvi enfskir lyðar allir skiraz Liðr byskvpf  
 ftoll lvndvnm o2 i ena bæiðv borg cantara 7 langa tign legionvm taka mvn en  
 mæta menelogia Stor verða rok rigniir bloði har snarpr at þat fvltr mannkyni en  
 en ravði fnakr efliz sþan fær hann af miklv matt erfði Liðr navð yfir naðr en hv  
 5 ita er hanf kyn kvalið 7 konvr riftnar ræntr er hann borgvm 7 bvi mo2gv fe hverfkonar folldv  
 grœnni erv grimliga gvmnar dzeþnir hniga fyri bzezkvm bzagninga kon fiklingar .vij.  
 figri nvmnir 7 heilagr verðzheria deilir ein af enfkvm avðlingvm Siav fa er slikt gerir man  
 sialfr taka eirmann a sig alldar stiozi 7 of ha hliði hilmir sþan eirhefti a itarlegr fitr  
 Getr lvndvna loffæll konungr þa gerviz þat vm þioð bæta er þeim en hefir að2 vm grandað at þeir  
 10 sialfir sitz fattir verða Deila þeir vm velldi 7 vm við2 folld erv kappfamar kínder bzezkar  
 Kemr bardagi bvðlvng hímínf akafr vm her ari feypir kvelr en harði helverkr fira meg  
 vð davdan her drottir hylia lið2 fvltr 7 fott at figr viðvm missir manna morg strið hofvg  
 Lad mvn lata þeir er lifa eftir ferr en þingdarfa þioð o2 landi byr blezað2 gramr fa er b2  
 ezkr iofvr skip sin a brott 7 hann fkiotla verð2 talidr ringofvg i tolfra holl sæll með sæ  
 15 lvm fettr gvðf vinvvm Sva tormir lsð lyða boznm dzifr hrygr heðan herr ó2landi at fkiot  
 la þar fkioufla vaxa er arfamir ackrar varv fyr með fyrðvma folld bæta Þa mvn en hviti  
 hiarl þvengr fara fnot faxnefka fnarrað2 laða 7 með miklvmm mannfioða kemr fiarðbygf  
 fkgovl folld at bygia Man fað koma sinni avðrv vtlent yfir o2a garða en fvmr yfir a  
 fvalvm barmi eylandz þrvmir o2mr en ravði Fær hann þo litið af landinv þa kozonaz kapf  
 20 hvitd2eki 7 saxneskir segir rikia en eiriofvr ofan at ftiga verð2af brottvm borgar arme  
 Erv lavfviðar liofvm fiotri takmo2k gefin i tali ara mvnað hann rikia vm en romv fskop  
 ne þvio env fagra froni ráða Uera mvnv ara i aga myklvm .xv. tigi folldar bellti  
 en tirorþ tiri gavfgað2 hvnd2vð .íij. hann man fitia lvndvnm at 7 lyða fiolþ Þa  
 man gvmnvm gana at mote landnyrdingr hvass lvndar fiotri 7 bloma þa abrott reka  
 25 er vestrœnir vindar græddv Man gvll gloa gvðf hvsvm a en logþif veð2 lægir þeygi  
 man travt taka talfamr dzeki hið sin mega þviat hanvm nalgaz viti fyri velar þatz hann verðr  
 bera Fa man hann vppgang afar litla stvnd hneckir hanvm hringferkiað lið kemr fvnnan fv  
 fveit vm ōgi er hann riki mvn ræna myklv Sa man lofþvngv er liði styfir bætt bæz  
 kvm her bygia iarðir mvn fað tekid fnakf enf hvita end2 o2 vfam alldin gozðvm Þa  
 30 man hann giallda grimra raða er hans tivndað talavkið kyn verð2 hann grœna grvnd að vi  
 nna 7 hann vpp fra þvi alld2i rikir tekr hann fva fyri fvik farar hefndir Rikir en at þat o2mar tve  
 nnir missir annar þar alld2f fyri fkeyti en annar man aftr vm hverfa vndir fkvga nafnf  
 at fskopvm vinna Ða man rikia rettletif dyr þat er eyverfir o2mar2 ræðaz 7 fyri fvnan sæ  
 sialfir vga viz ramlegir valfskir tvrnar þa man gvll fnarað af grafi mo2gv flytr o2

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1–13 b2ot vm kyni...gramr fa er b2] Half of the first line and the right margin of these lines are covered with reagent. 1 byskvpf] Illegible. 2 en] Illegible. 3 en] Stricken by a later hand. 5 lldv] Illegible. 9 Getr] A superfluous *ir* abbreviation appears over the t. 11 bvðlvng] Jónsson emends to bvðlvngf. 14 ringofvg] Jónsson emends to tirgofvgr. 15 dzifr hrygr heðan herr ó2landi] Freshened up. 16 fkioufla] Jónsson, fkgogar. 16 a folld bæta Þa mvn en hviti] Freshened up. 17 hiarl þvengr fara fnot faxnefka fnarrað2 laða 7 með mik] Freshened up. 19–27 fvalvm barmi...kemr fvnnan fv] The area near the right margin is covered with reagent. 19 hann þo] þo is written in red ink, above the line. The hann appears splotchy. Jónsson suggest Haukr intended to cross out with the correction. 23 Þa] Freshened up. 24 reka] This word is compressed along the bottom of a hole. 27 bera Fa man hann vppgang afar] Covered with reagent. 28–34 fveit vm...mo2gv flytr o2] The right one-third of these lines are covered with reagent. 28 fveit vm ōgi er hann riki mvn] Covered with reagent. 28 ōgi] Illegible. 29 kvm her bygia iarðir mv] Covered with reagent. 29 alldin gozðvm Þa] Freshened up. Only the ascender of the capital thorn is freshened up. 30 að vi] Illegible. 31 tve] Illegible. 32 ga nafnf] Illegible.

30 is broken from the people, but for a short time the English tribe will hold Christening. / The bishop's seat will go from  
 31 London to famous Canturbury; the noble Menelogia now overtakes the long continued glory of Legionum. / Great events  
 issue forth; blood rain falls, famine plagues the race of men; the red snake becomes strong again; with greater toil, and  
 32 ekes his power. / Pain befalls the white worm; the tribe is harried, the women dissected, the cities and homesteads robbed,  
 33 everything good and the green earth will become gray, and the men killed. / Then the British princes fall, seven of the 5R  
 34 rulers robbed of victory; then the army-handler<sup>216</sup> becomes hallowed, one of the seven English nobles. / He who causes  
 this will obtain a brass robe, the king of the people; high over the door sits the ruler on a brass horse in all nobility; the  
 35 praiseworthy king keeps watch over London. / Then it happens that the British folk will mightily harm him; he will not  
 36 be able to find accord, they will battle for power over the whole land; the sons of the Britons are aggressive. / The folk  
 meet a harder blow from the heaven-lord; the harvest dies, the people are plagued with deadly pain, the dead tribe cannot 10R  
 37 be buried, hunger and sickness, among the battle-trees<sup>217</sup> many men are dead from fearful disease. / Whoever survives this  
 will lose their land; the battle-keen folk depart from the island; the British king will equip the ships, in the near future he  
 38 will become widely famous, numbered as the twelfth, the blissful friend of God. / Barren is the earth without residents;  
 filled with sorrow, the land is abandoned, in a short time a forest grows, where the fields used to be filled with yield for  
 39 all the people of the British land. / Then the white land-ribbon<sup>218</sup> shall be drawn to the Saxon woman, along with her 15R  
 40 comes amber's Skögul<sup>219</sup> to settle the land. / Foreign seed becomes renewed, lain into our garden, but now, there on a  
 41 cool shore of the island, comes crawling the red worm. / He achieves little from the land, then the white battle-dragon  
 42 will be crowned; the Saxon men will be in control; the noble prince must climb up the steep walls of his city. / The days  
 of the shimmering band<sup>220</sup> of the green forest are preordained; it cannot pay the power of fate, and cannot rule the pretty  
 43 land. / The earth-fetters<sup>221</sup> will have much unrest for one hundred fifty years; but be honored for three hundred, when he 20R  
 44 shall sit over London and rule over the folk. / The sharp northeast wind blows against the men and the forest-chains;<sup>222</sup>  
 45 he will drive out the prosperous life that was once arrived by the west wind. / Gold will indeed glimmer in Gods houses,  
 the sword-storm<sup>223</sup> does not quiet; the deceitful worm will hardly be able to make his hole; already he earns misery for  
 46 his betrayal. / Merit and ascension are shortly granted to him, then an armed troop draws back to him; they came from  
 47 the south, the army, over the sea, wishing to rob him of the great realm. / The ruler who leads the army will soon settle 25R  
 48 the land with the Britons, the seed of the white worm will be renewed, weeded from many gardens. / He will pay for the  
 horrible deeds; one tenth of the unfaithful tribe will die; he must till the greened earth, he will rule no more there; he is  
 49 now painfully punished for perjury. / The two snakes rule; an arrow from one kills the other; then the other will fight  
 50 back with a false name, and take victory. / The righteous animal will rule, the island snakes fear him; the towers of the  
 51 Welsh, bulkily built, fear the southern sea. / There shall be spun gold from much grass, 30R

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<sup>216</sup>King. <sup>217</sup>Warriors. <sup>218</sup>Serpent. <sup>219</sup>Woman. <sup>220</sup>Serpent. <sup>221</sup>Serpent. <sup>222</sup>Serpent. <sup>223</sup>Battle.

## 52r

klavfvm kalfættar filfr erv fagrþvin flíioð i landi verðrat fnotvm fiðbot at þvi Sprett er  
 i miðiv mot penningvm mvn gíozft gleði glataz ranfeme tennr mvnv gylþif travfti  
 nvnnar j leo vargar verða at filkvm hvassir hvelpar hvaltvm i Verðr meinlega mæki þv  
 gðit fe ek bloði ben blafa mðo2 liðr margt havfvgt yfir lyða kyn ryð2 barðar bloð  
 5 venedociam j sþan .vi. snarpir lifra kynf menn dæpa cozineusa Ða mvnv gvmnar grata a no  
 ttvm j þioð gera þorgiar bœnir þa mvnv havlldar til hímínf kofta fa eð langa líf  
 loðar nytir En mvn i skogi skœðir sþan vargar vakna veiða i borgvm þeir mvnv fina fia  
 lfir dolga fella eða flotra fair mvnv verða þeir er tryftaz þeim telia at moti Ein fitr  
 nytaztr nevfríe englandi at avðar skelfir þo fiklingar svnan komnir fimm eða fleiri  
 10 folldv að raða Sa biartar þytr borgir ira j folldar til fellir skoga gerir ræfir eitt ríki  
 margra tekr leonif lavarð havfvð Er i reiðingv rað þioð konungf en fyra lvt fylkif  
 ævi en en œfri allð2 avðvarpaðar likar helgvm hímín stilli vel Mvn hann byskupa borgvm  
 skryða j helgan stað hefia margan tignar borgir tvær pallio gefr hann þygivm kristz  
 þægiar nosfer Uerðr af flikv sverðelf havtvð2 himna ferðar hvgþeckr grame j at þetta  
 15 líf þingdiarfr konungr talið2 er tigia tvnglf með englvn Glikgt man gavpa gramf ioð vera vill  
 þat finni þioð sialfri steypa en af þeim fokvm þremlaz hann bœði ira j engla avðgrar iarðar  
 nevfría j nvmin tignvm En eftir þat oðalf a vít fara fralega fyrðar bzetzkir þo er illa að2  
 ært i landi erv vfattar enkar þioðir Riðr en prvði til peritonif ár hvitvm herfti hvatr avlldvr  
 maðr j hvitvm þar hann markar staf allð2œn yfir akvernar hvf Kalla man konan caðvalod2ia j skil  
 20 vingar skotlandi af rykr af grimv gavndlar eli verð2 eð mikla malmþing haið Svifr eð  
 hvaffa hagl tviviðar hnigr havlda lið hart af strengivm en geyft hinig gaflok fara megvð  
 skoglar sky við skotvm hallda Brefta þzynivr bita málmur erv dæyrfað do2r a lopti flein  
 a flavgvn folk i dæyra billd2 i benivm b2odd2 a skilldi hialmr a hofþi hlif fyri b2iofti ge  
 ir a gangi gvð2 i vexti Hittiz targa j en togni hio2r hialmr j hneitir hlif j o2var bry  
 25 nia en b2ezka j b2and2 toðinn mannz mattvg hond j meðal kaffi hvitmylingar j havll  
 da b2ioft rapa ræfa gíoz hatt gialla sþio2 er málm þrima merft a hialli verð2 ein við ein val  
 koft hlaðin mvnv bloðgar ár af bioðvm falla en vigoða verþr a lyní Falla fyrðar  
 i fleindrifv verð2 enskri þioð allðr sþell skipað er vollr roðin en víg boðin lytr hafan fi  
 gr helmíngv b2eta Ypper fiollvm flíot valb2eka mvnv b2vtus þav bera ko2onv grœnaz av  
 30 flgar eikr ko2nb2eta fagnar flikv fvf cambria Eyðiz eyiar eð enska nafn mvn  
 hon anglia eigi kollvð hlytr hon at hallda heiti env fo2na kend er við b2vtvm b2ittania Man  
 villigolltr vigdiarfr koma or kynsto2ri konanvs ætt fa víga konr villdi a hegr yngva  
 svn eikr o2 skogi þo mvn hilmir hollr smaviði Mvnv rabitar ræfi vggv vt i heime j  
 affrikar fa2 mvn vífir viðlend2 gera a eð ytra œgr hispaniam Sitr efter hilmí hafr at  
 35 londvm hans er at skilia skap fra vífni berr hann a havfþi ho2n or gvlli er skeg skata skapað  
 o2 filfri Blæf mihtar vinr edtextj nofvm tiosfa þokv þvilikri at þekr vm ey fríð2 vm fylkif fafr lifdaga  
 b2eftv eigi þar i lande

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9 nevfríe englandi] Jónsson, nevfríe (or) englandi. 9 þo fiklingar] Jónsson, þo (erv) fiklingar. 11 lavarð] Jónsson, lavarð(r). 23–26 folk i dæyra...havllda b2ioft] Freshened up. 30–34 nafn mvn...fa2 mvn vífir v] Freshened up.



52 from calves hooves, silver; the land-women dress themselves nobly, but they do not improve their morals. / He runs  
 53 through all coins, will gladly grin losing his rapaciousness, his teeth will become ineffectual, and the lion-wolf cubs  
 becomes like a guppy in whale-town.<sup>224</sup> / Bringing misery, the sword is drawn; I see blood stream from the mother's  
 54 wound, the people are plagued by severe pain; the blood of women reddens Venedocia; six of his brothers kill Corineus.  
 55 / Then the men cry in the night, the folk prays with beseeching words; then the heroes strive for eternal life and obtain 5R  
 good things. / Then the baneful wold awakens again in the forest, wild in the cities; they will be enemies to everyone,  
 56 to kill and capture; not many will dare to resist. / A noble lord rules well in Neustria over all England; but there is a  
 57 prince coming from the south, five or more wish to rule the earth. / He destroys the glimmering Irish cities, and he  
 58 fells the forest to the ground; the prince consolidates the realm, he crowns himself with the lion head. / In the first  
 part of the king's life, his command is in confusion; in the advanced age of the king, the heaven-prince<sup>225</sup> finds favor. / 10R  
 59 He becomes a decoration for the Bishop's burg, he builds many sanctified places, the gives the pallium to two cities, the  
 60 maidservants-of-God<sup>226</sup> spends the treasure. / For this reason the heaven-flock<sup>227</sup> loves the sword-hail-agitator;<sup>228</sup> the  
 61 Moon-Lord<sup>229</sup> measures the days of the battle-keen prince along with the Angels. / The lynx will become similar to the  
 king's child; it will destroy its own people; but for this reason he will lose the Irish and the Angel's<sup>230</sup> precious earth,  
 62 Neustria also, robbed of glory. / And then the British nation quickly journeys to visit their ancestral home, but sin rules 15R  
 63 the land; the English folk are untrustworthy. / He rides nobly, to the river Peritonis, the keen prince on a white horse;  
 64 he marks with a white staff on another shore an ancient mill. / Conan calls Cadualadrus and from Scotland he comes to  
 65 the grim storm, Gondul's tempest<sup>231</sup>, a powerful steel-þing<sup>232</sup> finds a place there. / The bow-hail<sup>233</sup> cut hard from the  
 66 strings and from the sinews; they fly here rapidly; Sögul's cloud<sup>234</sup> cannot resist the volleys. / Coats of mail burst, swords  
 cut, blood red spears pierce the air; an arrow in flight, a man with blood, weapons in wounds, skewers in shields, a helm 20R  
 67 on the head, breast in mail, a stick in a spear, the battle has begun. / The drawn sword walks on the shield, the blow  
 on the helm, the arrow on the armor on British mail, blood red blades, the sword's handle in a crafty hand, glimmering  
 68 arrows in the hero's chest. / The corpse army goes, clanging spears, the weapon-thunder resounds there, the dead pile up  
 69 high onto one another, a river of blood flows through the field, heaven is reflected in the battle red. / Heroes fall in the  
 arrow-hail, the English folk bewail the dead, a red slaughter-field decorated with corpses, a heroic victory for the British 25R  
 70 side. / The blood-storm of the corpses climbs the mountains and they will carry the crown of Brutus; the Cornish oaks  
 71 bud verdantly, all of Cornwall rejoices in this. / The English name eclipses the island, no longer will it be called Anglia,  
 72 they shall maintain the old appellation; Britannia is named after Brutus. / The battle keen boar will come, highly born of  
 73 Conan's race; with sharpened teeth Yngvi's sons cut down the oaks in the forest; weak growth guards this prince. / Arabs  
 74 will fear this prince, in far lands, also Africans; the rich lord goes on a journey, the formidable one travels to Spain. / A 30R  
 goat rules in the land after the king, he cannot suffer polygamy, he carries on his head a golden horn, his beard is made  
 75 out of silver. / The friend-of-the-mist,<sup>235</sup> blows such a fog that it covers the island; enduring peace rules for this prince,  
 and the crops do not fail.

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<sup>224</sup>Ocean. <sup>225</sup>King. <sup>226</sup>Clergy. <sup>227</sup>Clergy. <sup>228</sup>King. <sup>229</sup>God. <sup>230</sup>There appears to be a punning of "Angels," with "Angles" (The English).  
<sup>231</sup>Battle. <sup>232</sup>Battle. <sup>233</sup>Arrow volley. <sup>234</sup>Shield. <sup>235</sup>Warrior.

## 52v

Þa munn folldv fogr víf daga bliftrar meyvum metnvöð i sþo2 munn kvenfeme castra  
 fmiðvt fvikr gvmna vín girnd en ranga Uerð2 at bloði b2vnr en fagri þo er a grvndv  
 gnott hverfkonar En a holmi hilldingar .íj. beriaz vm b2vði biarthaddaða sv er i viðzi vað  
 batvli Sia þerfi rok þrennar alldir þo er lyða rað líott fyrri drottnei vnz lanredar lvndvnm i grafnir  
 5 o2 grvndv gvmnm vitraz Kemr argalli en hin mikli 7 meinliga mann davð2 vm her eyðaz  
 borgir við b2agna tion er avðn mikil nytra manna flyr margr a brott maðr o2 landi Kemr kavpskapar  
 kappgod2 þinig villigallti virðvm samna þeim er af froni flyði aðan lætr hann bygia þa  
 b2ezkar iarðir borgir eyddar bol gologvz Mvn hans b2ioft vera b2ognum forzla þeim er fatt haf2a fiar  
 með hondvm 7 en tallavfa tvnga hilmif flockvir þiofta þioðanf liði Falla o2 o2ða  
 10 almæri vok dnyiandi ár d2ottar styriþ þær munn doggva dyrar iarðir geðf i gl  
 æftvm gollo2 heime 7 þvrrar kverkr þioðar margrar Upp ren sþan fe ek þat fyrri travft i tvrni  
 tre lvndna þrir erv kviftir þeim lvndi a en hann lavfi þekr land með ringvm Kemr þar af  
 lægi landnyrðingr hvaff lyftir hann illvm byl eik af stofni þeir munn kviftir er þrvma eftir  
 þerf vvm taka þat fe ek giorla Hylia þeir alla ey með lavfi vnz anar þar avð2vm borgir 7 hann eyðir hans  
 15 olly lavfi tekr hann .íij. vvm þrekftozr haf2a Ok hann sþan þeckr thyckv lavfi ein vm alla eykarmf  
 fiozv megvð þa flivga fvglar i landi þviat hann orgir þeim en hann en til sin laðar fvgla fliott ferdh vt  
 lend2a Þa man illingar afni rikia fa er fliotr taka fe gvllfmiða er lofþa vinr latr at hef  
 na gyldif barna gramr tanfeme Ok a hans dogvm harðla b2ena off ramligar eikr o2 skogvm  
 en a litvm lindar kviftvm vex avrlega akarn i lvndi Ok ranar vegr renn vm afa fabrvns  
 20 .vij. fe ek þat fyrri en oskar á þat er vnd2 mikit man manvð2 .vij. mattvg vella gervif filkvvm  
 fioztion at þvi er o2 sialfvm þeim snákar verða Munn badonif borgar verða lið2 mart yfir lavgar  
 kalldar 7 hennar votn heilnæm firvm gera þa davða d2ivgt mannkyni Verðr .xx. tion þvf  
 vnda líona ferðar lvndvnm i þeir munn dzengir dzepnir aller gerir karla tion tem at bloði  
 munn kapf monnum kvanfong boðin erv eckivr þar o2ðnar margar En a kolldvm kall þeira  
 25 neft menn mvndio montvm heyra her mvn ek letta líoð at femia 7 sþafogv sþillif bavga  
 þo erv fleiri o2ð enf frða mannz hefi ek svmt af þeim samit i kvæði Þav erv onnvr líoð  
 vpp fra þerfvm alviz eigi avðf bend2avgar bið ek þioðir þerf við þenna b2ag þo at ek mynt haf2a mal  
 að hætti þeim er sþár fyrri sþioll vm rakti malmþingf hvatvð2 i mo2gvm stað Uiti b2agnar þat þeir er bok  
 lesa hve at sþiollvm fe sþamannz farið 7 kvnni þat kalldyrf viðvm hvern fyrða fe framfynna hattr mal  
 30 að rekia þav er menn vitvð Lefi falma sþioll lefi sþamanna lefi biartar þeir b2okr 7 roðla 7 finni þat at  
 en froði halr hefir horfklega hagað sþafogv fem fyrri hanvm fyrðar helgir Uirði engi þat vitlavfv  
 þott hann hoddskotvm heiti giæfe viðar eða vatna eþa veð2f mikilf eða allzkonar o2ma  
 eða dyra taknar eðli talþrar lkepnv sþiozraðanda sþioll eða costi Segir daniel dzavma  
 fína marg hattaða merkivm stvdda kvez hann dzivglig fia dyr a io2ðv þav þav er taknvðv tiggia  
 35 ríki þav er a havðzi hofvz sþan Rekr en dyri david konvngv margfallda sþa 7 mælvir sva fioll munn fa  
 gna 7 en fríði skogr enn lkæðar ár skella lofvm 7 dalir ymna drottnei fygia Hirtiz

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30–34 ] Jónsson, or. 6 avðn ] Jónsson, navð? 9 hondvm ] The o is emended from e in the original hand. 9 þiofta ] þofta. The error is indicated with a point. 14 k giorla Hylia þeir ] Freshened up. 14 lavfi vnz anar þar avð2vm borgir 7 hann eyðir hans ] Freshened up. 19 afa ] Jónsson emends to ofa. 25 bavga ] Freshened up. 26–36 svmt af þeim...fyngia Hirtiz ] Freshened up. 27 alviz ] Not freshened up. 28 vatvð ] Not freshened up.

76 Beautiful maidens travel across the land, behind the maidens gentle pride follows, a temple is built to the maiden's lust  
77 and perverse desire deceives the people-friend.<sup>236</sup> / The fair fountain turns into blood; but there is enough in the land  
78 for all; two princes on the island fight over one maiden with bright yellow hair, dressed in white batuli thread. / This  
79 is seen for a triple age, the folk's fate is bad before the ruler, until the kings buried in London appear from their graves.  
80 / The chanticleer now comes, and the troublesome loss of men, destroys many cities, the fleeing men are in great need, 5R  
81 some depart and abandon this land. / He nourishes his people from his breast, those who have few belongings in hand;  
82 the prince's tongue remains free of deceit, the thirst of the people is quenched. / Rushing rivers effuse from the eloquent  
83 word-bay<sup>237</sup> of the land-ruler; they bedew the precious ground, into the mind's glittering heart-space, and into the dry  
84 troughs of many people. / I saw this before me; from there a robust tree springs up in the London Tower; three branches  
85 contain the growth, their leaves decorate the land. / From the north the harsh wind blows; the fierce gusts meet the tree, 10R  
86 but the branches resist the wind, I see it clearly. / They wrap the whole island in greenery, until one of them snaps, and  
87 it empties the other of leaves, he completely claims the threefold, land. / And then appears one of the island-parapets<sup>238</sup>  
88 thick with leaves, the birds in the land cannot fly, because he threatened them, but he in turn invited quick birds, foreign to  
89 the regions. / Then the malicious fool rules, who quickly brings to himself goldsmiths; but the people-friend<sup>239</sup> neglects 15R  
90 to avenge the angry malice of the wolf's kin. / In these days he burns nearly every strong oak in the forests; but on this  
91 small branches of the leafy tree, the rich fruit of the forest grows. / The street of Rán<sup>240</sup> storms through seven bays of  
92 Sabrina; I say this here; the river Usk; such a great marvel; will powerfully boil for seven months, this decay will bring  
93 fish, and they will turn into snakes. / The warm springs on Mount Badon (so much is happening) became cold, and the  
94 water that once restored her people will bring quick death. / Twenty thousand of all the people in London lose their  
95 lives; all these men will be killed and the Thames will turn to blood. / The cowl-wearers<sup>241</sup> are allowed for marriage; 20R  
96 there are many widows there, and in cold mountains their cries will soon be heard. / Here I will stop singing the strophes  
97 of the oracle of the ring-breaker,<sup>242</sup> but there are more words to the wise remaining in this poem. / Another song will  
98 be set here;<sup>243</sup> I ask the wealth-wearers<sup>244</sup> not to be annoyed; I also form these words in this way, like the prophetic  
99 steel-þing's-wrecker<sup>245</sup> who earlier sang in many places). / People learn, who read this book, how these prophecies turn 25R  
100 out, they wish to announce to the people-trees,<sup>246</sup> how such men see the future, set in words, the things others do not  
101 know. / Read the Psalms, read the Biblical Prophets, also read the clear holy writings and find therein, quite clearly, that  
102 the knowing man prophesied like the holy men before him. No one judges it to be senseless, if the protection-warden<sup>247</sup>  
103 once named all kinds of things, such as worm, animal, tree, water, or strong storm. / Daniel interpreted dreams with all  
104 kinds of skill, foreseen with signs, there is in the world great animals to be seen, these represent the power of the princes  
105 who later appeared upon earth. / The precious words of King David still sings many prophecies, which he wrote, "Let 30R  
106 the mountains rejoice, and the tranquil forest and wild rivers clap their hands, and sing to the Lord." One  
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<sup>236</sup>King. <sup>237</sup>Mouth. <sup>238</sup>Tree. <sup>239</sup>King. <sup>240</sup>Sea. <sup>241</sup>Monks. <sup>242</sup>Man. <sup>243</sup>This is referring to the second group of poems, which precedes the first in the manuscript. <sup>244</sup>Men. <sup>245</sup>Man. <sup>246</sup>Men. <sup>247</sup>King.

## 53r

havldar at hæða þókr neme skynfeme 7 skili gíozla hvat taknað man i tolv þerfi erað en  
 liðin oll þpafaga þo erv mozigvm myrk mal propheta Fretti fyrðar þeir er a folld bva en at oza  
 ævi liðna hvat vm her geriz 7 hvga leiði beri en nyiv þpioll við þpafogv fe siþan þat hve faman falli  
 Uarð fv en enka ætt fyri stvndv velldif missa nv er valkr konvngv þo er þeygi en þeira hætti liðit  
 5 af laði ne lyðf b2eta hvozfvm mæki hiall eignaðiz Heilir allir þeir er hlytt hafu fleinvarpaðir fror  
 ði þerfv geri gott gvmar en glati illv biði b2aða bót afrvna hafi hylli gvðf 7 himinriki amen  
 Uortigernvs þvvrði þa merlinvs hvat hanvm mvndi at bana verða Mer fvarar fe þv við elldi fvna con  
 stantinvs ef þv matt a mozigin mvn vhorgra þeir avrelivs 7 ydir mvnv hefna foðo2 sinf 7  
 10 b2enna þig inni 7 eyða ollvm fava her Geck þetta eftir fem hann fagþi at avreliuf kom til b2etlandz 7 var hann  
 til konvngf tekin 7 kom at vorzigernvs um nottina 7 geck með her at kaftalanvm hanf i kambzia 7 b2enna 7 bzi  
 ota kaftalann 7 b2ann þar vorzigernvs inni 7 allt hans folk heimgeftv þvvrði fra fall konvngf þa ottaðiz  
 hann avrelivm þviat hann var mikill atgíozfi maðr ferr hann þa no2ð2 vm hvmrv 7 fengv fer þar lið av  
 relivs forkir eftir 7 finnaz þeir 7 verð2 þar harð2 bazdagi með þeim fem nv heitir konvnga borg fax  
 ar gengv fva fram hart at hellt við at b2etar mvndv flyia þa kom lið avrlivs i opna  
 15 skioldv 7 b2aft þa flotti a foxvm með avrelío var elldon iarl hann mortir heimgeft i flotta  
 nv 7 var þar eigi at fryia með þeim storra hogva 7 matti varla sia hverfv riða mvndi Siþan kemr  
 þar gozlin iarl af ko2nb2eta landi var heimgeftv þa handtekin otta fvn heimgestz flyði i  
 iozk með sinvm monnvvm 7 cofsa magr hans með mikin her avrelivs kallaði til sin havfþingia fva  
 til raðf hvat gera skyldi með heimgeft. elldon iarl fvarar hefir marga moðo2 græt 7 skal nv hans  
 20 moðir grata eiga 7 liop vpp 7 bza fverði 7 hio af hanvm havfvð 7 var hann siþan i havg lagð2 for  
 Avrelivs fer nv með her til iozkar 7 fetz vm borgina otta fa at ddr artvr konvngv  
 mikill kraftr fylgði trv avrelivs 7 hann mvndi vinna borgina 7 með ráði sinna manna 7 geck  
 vt 7 hafþi fíotvr i hendi 7 graf hátt a havfþi fer hann geck fyri avrelivm 7 mælti Sigrvð erv  
 gvð min af yðzvm gvði nv takið fíotvr þenna 7 leg a mik eda þat anað er þv villt nema þv  
 25 vilir ozf meiri miokvn gera þa mælti elldalldvs byskvp galiane komv til gyðinga lyðs 7 fengv  
 miokvn eftir mikil af b2ot 7 horfir yðr herra eigi verr at gera en þeim konvngv gerði fem byskvp bað gaf  
 þeim ollvm gríð 7 helldv þeir vel trv við hann siþan þaþan fo2 konvngv til lvndvna 7 er hann kom i þat mvnkli er hein  
 geftr hafði foþvr hans dzepit þa felldi hann tar 7 villdi þar nocko2a minning gera var  
 þa kallað2 merlinvs þpamaðr. konvngv fagða at hann villdi lata bva vm leg foðo2f sinf merlinvf  
 30 mælti ef þv villt þerfa vmbvð fva miok vanda þa lat fara a land a irlandi þar erv miok  
 agiætir steinar 7 skioplaz alldri ef vel verða settir konvngv hlo at 7 mælti vantar her griotið  
 i englandi þo at ver takim þat eigi o2oðzvm londvm merlinvs mælti engir erv her slikir steinar fyri þvi  
 at þeir erv settir við ollvm meinvm i heimenvm 7 færðv rifar þa vtan af ferklandi  
 Siþan gerði konvngv pendzago eftir þerfvvm steinvm 7 með hanvm .xx. þvfvndir manna merlinvs fyl  
 35 gði þeim 7 er þeir komv til irlandz 7 er gallimanvs fra þeira erindi famnar hann her faman  
 7 vill veria steina þerfa verþ2 þar harðr bardagi 7 hafu b2etar figv en konvngv flyði

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1–36 ... konvngv flyði ] This page has not been freshened up and is in very good condition. 7 Mer ] Jónsson, Mer(linvs). 14 avrlivs ] Jónsson, avr(e)livs. 27 mvnkli ] mvnkli(fi). 29 fagða ] The A appears to have been rubbed out. Jónsson emends to fagði. 30 a land ] Between these words appear an empty, erased space.

should wary to jeer at books, reason is learned, so the meaning of this oracle might be clearly understood; the entire oracle is not yet fulfilled, some of them remain in darkness, the prophet's word. / Learn, you men who live on the earth, you should also consider [these] things that happen, and measure them to the oracle; then see if it accords. / The English folk lost power then, the Welsh are not kings, but in no way are their customs extinguished from the land, also, Wales was not to be taken by the sharp sword. / Blessed are all the spear-throwers<sup>248</sup> who appear in this poem; men, do well, forget evil, seek after better things than your unrighteousness and receive God's mercy and the kingdom of heaven.

[118] Then Vortigern asked Merlin what will be the cause for his death. Merlin answered, "beware of the fire of the sons of Constantine, if you can; tomorrow will be unpleasant. Aurelius and Uther will avenge their father, burn your house, and destroy the entire Saxon army." Everything he said came to pass, that Aurelius came to Britain, he was received as king, he came to Vortigern in the night, went with his army to his castles in Cambria, and they burn and break the castle, and Vortigern burned inside it, along with all his people. Hengest heard about the king's death. He was afraid of Aurelius because he was a very accomplished man. Then he goes north over the Humber and gets support. Aurelius follows him, and they meet each other, and it came to a severe battle between them in that place now called Conisburg.<sup>249</sup> The Saxons attacked the fore so hard, that the Britons there had to flee, and then came Aurelius's army into the flank, and then the Saxons break into flight.

[122] Earl Eldol was with Aurelius. He meets Hengest in flight, and there was no question that there was very heavy blows against them, and it was hardly apparent, how the battle would sway.<sup>250</sup> After this, Earl Gorlois arrives from Cornwall. Then Hengest was captured. Octa, Hengest's son, fled to York with his men, along with his brother-in-law<sup>251</sup> with a massive army. Aurelius summoned all of his chieftains to him to decide what should be done with Hengest. Earl Eldol answered, "many a mother has wept, and now shall his own mother have to shed tears," and they ran to him, drew their swords, and hewed off his head, and then he was then buried in a mound.

### Arthur's Childhood

[126] Now Aurelius goes with his army to York, and they besiege the city. Octa saw that Aurelius's faith was followed by a great power, and he wished to take the city, and with the advice of his men, he goes out, and had fetters in his hands and a straw hat on his head.<sup>252</sup> He went before Aurelius and spoke, "my gods are vanquished by your God. Now take these fetters and put them on me, or anything else that you wish, unless you wish to show us more mercy." Then Bishop Eldadus said, "the Gibeonites came to the Jewish People, and they were given mercy for their great crime, it would behoove you, Lord, to not do worse than they." The king did as the bishop asked, and pardoned all of them, and they kept good faith with him from ever since. The king went over to London, and then he came to that monastery where Hengest had killed his father, and he shed tears there, and he wished to build some kind of monument.<sup>253</sup>

[128] The prophet Merlin was called there. The king said that he wished to have his fathers grave prepared. Merlin said, "If you wish so much to prepare this burial with such care, then have this be done: go to Ireland, where there are very excellent stones, that never crumble if they are carefully put in place." The king laughed at him and said, "there lacks such stones here in England, but we cannot take such a thing from other lands." Merlin said, "there are no such stones here, for they are placed there against all the miseries of the world,<sup>254</sup> and giants carried them from Africa."<sup>255</sup> After this, the king sent Pendragon after these stones, and with him, twenty thousand men.<sup>256</sup> Merlin followed them, and when they arrived in Ireland, and when Gillomanius heard of their errand, he assembles an army, and wishes to defend those stones.

It comes to a severe battle, and the Britons win, but the king fled.

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<sup>248</sup>Men. <sup>249</sup>*HRB*, VIII.86 [121]. Aurelius and Hengest meet in the plain of Maisbeli. Hengest later retreats to the city of Conisburg, VIII.114 [123].

<sup>250</sup>The material here is substantially abridged. The saga writer excludes *HRB*, VIII.106-132 [123]. <sup>251</sup>Hengest's kin, Eosa. *HRB*, VIII.152 [124].

<sup>252</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, Octa has gravel in his hair. *HRB*, VIII.172-4 [126]. ...gestans in catenam in manu et sablonem in capite. *HRB*, VIII.172-4 [126]. <sup>253</sup>Aurelius attempts to find someone able to construct a worthy monument. There does not appear to be anyone with sufficient skill, but,

"... omnes ingeniis suis diffidentes repulsam intulissent." *HRB*, VIII.214-5 [128]. <sup>254</sup>Apparently, the stones originally had a medicinal function. *HRB*, VIII.245-248 [129]. <sup>255</sup>The saga uses the place name Serkland, which originally referred to the region controlled by the Abbasid Caliphate. Like the word, "Saracen," the word could also imply anyone from the Middle East. <sup>256</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, fifteen thousand men. *HRB*, VIII.252 [129].

## 53v

bzetar forv a fiallit 7 hittv steina þerfa 7 tokv sto2 reip 7 forðv a steinana 7 gengv a mo2g hv  
 ndvð 7 fengv þa hvergi rørt þa fo2 til merlinus 7 forði litla stvnd þerfa steina til skipa 7 sig  
 ldv þeir síþan heim til bzetlandz 7 þackaði konvngr þeim sína ferð 7 var nv þvíð vm groft constantinus konvngf  
 með þerfvm steinvm 7 veitti konvngr þar þriggia vikna veizlv ollvm envm hæstvm monnvum i landinv ytir  
 5 Eftir er vorzigernus var fallin flyði pacencius svn hans til faxlandz 7 feck fer þar tok konvngdóm  
 lið 7 fo2 aftr til bzetlandz 7 villdi hefna foðvr sínf avrelius ferr moti hanvm með her 7 varð þar  
 harð2 bardagi 7 flyr pacencius til irlandz til gallomanus konvngf 7 eflaz þeir baðer at liði 7 fara aftr  
 til bzetlandz þa la avrelius konvngr krankr i tonicam en yðer 7 prendzago forv mote þeim með her en  
 er þeir sþvrðv krancleik avreli þa geck fram ein irfkr maðr fyri konvnga 7 sþvrði hvat þeir villdi ge  
 10 fa til at hann reði avrelio bana pacencius svarar ek gef þer þvfvnd pvnda filfrf 7 ef ek verð konvngr ska  
 lltv vera hvndraðf hofðingi Eoppa sker þa hár fitt 7 tekr mvnkf klæði 7 letz vera læknir  
 7 ferr síþan i tomiam 7 baðv menn hann ganga til konvngf 7 er hann kom þar gerði hanvm dzyck 7 er konvngr hafði dzyckit  
 sofnaði hann 7 er hann vaknaði kendi hann at eitr fo2 vm likam hans 7 andaðiz hann litlv síðar eoppa  
 15 komz til sinna manna 7 sagði þeim fitt erindi En þegar konvngr var andað2 var fen biozt stiarna a himní  
 7 stoð af henni biatrv geifli vaxin fem dzekei 7 rvnvv or mvnvi dzekanf .ij. geiflar 7 skein en  
 meiri svðr yfir allt fracland en annar tok yfir irland 7 greindiz i .vij. geifla en er þerfi tidindi komv  
 fyri yði þa sþvrði hann merlinus hvat þat merkti merlinus svarar o ho mikill harmr nv er avrelius davð2 7 er þat hverf  
 mannz skaði far nv 7 stríð þviat þv fær figr 7 stiarna sv er syndiz i dzeke liki merkir þig en geifli fa  
 er yfir frackland stoð merkir svn þín þviat hann verð2 sva völdvgr at hann eignaz oll þav riki er geiflin stoð yfir  
 20 En annar geifli merkir doto2 þina hon mvn giftaz a irland 7 mvnv .vij. kyn fra henni koma yðir ifa  
 ði hvart sva mvndi vera en þo fo2 hann mote þeim gallimanus 7 pacencius 7 tokz þar harð2 barda  
 gi 7 fellv þeir baðir gallimanus 7 pacencius en yter hafði figr 7 tok konvngdom yfir ollv brettania  
 hann let gera .ij. dzeke ór gvlli 7 let hangia vpp yfir leg foðvr sínf i ambzi en annan let hann bera fyri  
 25 samnar otta heimgeftz svn her saman 7 ferr til bzetlandz 7 fetz vm io2k 7 þar kemr mote hanvm yter  
 með bzeta her 7 tekz þar ozrosta 7 bozðuz til netr þa tokv bzetar at flyia a eitt hátt fialli þat var  
 allt lvkt með homrvum hafvm faxar fettvz vm fiallit En er natta tok 7 myrkt var ozðit þa  
 steyptiz ytir með her sin ofan af fiallinv a faxa vvarandi fell þar fiolþi af foxvm en otta varð  
 handtekin 7 fettr i iarn 7 forð2 i ytoniam en at paskvm gerði konvngr veizlv ollvm rikif monnvum i  
 30 landinv Gorlois ko2nbzeta konvngr var þa þar 7 hans kona hon var allra kvenna friðvft konvngr rendi hvgr sínv  
 til hennar 7 talaðe við hana leynilega þetta fann hertogin 7 fo2 brott fra veizlvni með konv sína vtan  
 konvngf ozlof 7 fetti hana i tvrn ein. en er gozloif villdi eigi fara aftr til veizlvnnar varð konvngr reið2 7 se  
 ndi mann til at sitia vm kastalann sva at hvarki kiømez menn þapan til eða fra konvngr fegir merlinus at hann ma  
 eigi heilfv sinni hallda ef hann nær eigi konv hertoganf merlinus maelli þat er eigi miok høgt þviat þangat er eitt  
 35 þrongt einstigi þat er veria megv fyri ollvm bzeta her .íij. riddarar þeir er þar vaka yfir boði  
 netr 7 daga En þo ma ek sva gera at þar syniz gozloif fem þv ert en vlfín raðgiafi

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1–36 bzetar forv...en vlfín raðgiafi] This page has not been freshened up and is in very good condition. 7 pacencius] Jónsson emends to pacencus.  
 12 gerði hanvm] Jónsson, gerði (hann) hanvm. 26 fialli] Jónsson emends to fiall.

The Britons went into the mountains, found those stones, took a great rope, and fastened it to the stones, many hundred pulled, but it could not be moved anywhere. Then Merlin went there, and quickly moved the stones to the ships, and then they sailed home to Britain, and the king thanked them for their journey, and with these stones, the tomb of King Constantine was built, and the king arranged for a three-week long banquet for all the noblest men in the land.

## Uther Took the Kingdom

- [131] After Vortigern was killed, his son Pascentius fled to Saxony, obtained for himself an army, and went back to Britain; 5R  
 [132] he wished to avenge his father. Aurelius moves against him with an army, and it comes to a severe battle, and Pascentius 5R  
 flees to Ireland to King Gillomanius; both of them strengthen their forces, and they go back to Britain. In this time, King 5R  
 Aurelius lie sick in Winchester, but Uther Pendragon went against them with an army. When they heard of Aurelius's 5R  
 sickness, and an Irish man went before the king, and asked what he would give to him if he caused Aurelius's death.<sup>257</sup> 5R  
 Pascentius answered, "I will give you a thousand pounds of silver, and if I become king, you shall become a chieftain with 10R  
 hundreds of subjects." Then Eopa cuts his hair, takes the clothing of a monk, made himself as if he were a physician, and 10R  
 then goes to Winchester, and the men asked him to go to the king, and when he came there, he prepared a drink for him, 10R  
 and when the king had drunk, he slept, and when he awoke, the knew that poison coursed through his body, and he died 10R  
 shortly after. Eopa returned to his men, and told them what happened on his errand. 10R  
 After the king was dead, a bright star was seen in the sky, and a bright beam was formed in the likeness of a dragon, 15R  
 and from the mouth of the dragon ran two rays, and the brightest shone over all of France, and the other reached over 15R  
 [133] Ireland, and it split itself into seven beams. When these tidings came before Uther, he asked Merlin what this signified. 15R  
 Merlin answers, "Oh, it is a great tragedy now that Aurelius is dead, and that will be a serious blow for everyone. Go now 15R  
 and fight because you will take hold of victory; the star, which has the form of a dragon, represents you, but the beam 20R  
 which spread over France represents your son; because he will become so powerful, he will conquer all the nations over 20R  
 which the beam spanned. But the other beam represents your daughter, she will be married off in Ireland and seven of 20R  
 [134] your kin will come from her." Uther doubted whether such things would come to pass, but he attacked Gillomanius and 20R  
 Pascentius, and a severe battle took place, and both Gillomanius and Pascentius fell, and Uther received victory and he took 20R  
 [135] the kingdom over all Britannia. He had two dragons made from gold, and had them hung over his father's grave, and he 25R  
 had another made from amber carried before himself whenever he went into battle, wherever he fought.<sup>258</sup> From then on, 25R  
 he was called Uther Dragon-Head. 25R  
 [136] Now after the death of Aurelius, Hengest's son Octa assembles an army, and goes to Britain, and he surrounds York, 30R  
 and Uther goes there against him with the British army, and a severe battle erupts, and they fought until nightfall. Then 30R  
 the Britons took to flight up a high mountain, that was completely surrounded by high crags. The Saxons surrounded the 30R  
 mountain. When night fell, when it became dark, Uther and his army suddenly plunged down from the mountain upon 30R  
 [137] the Saxons unawares. Many of the Saxons fell there, but Octa was captured, bound in irons, and brought to Dumbarton;<sup>259</sup> 30R  
 on Easter the king arranged a banquet for all the powerful men in the land. The Cornish King Gorlois was there, as well 30R  
 as his queen. Of all women, she was most beautiful. The king was taken with her, and he spoke with her secretly. The 30R  
 duke discovered this, and departed from the banquet with his wife without the king's leave, and put her in a tower.<sup>260</sup> 30R  
 Because Gorlois did not wish to go back to the banquet, the king became furious, and he sent men to surround the 35R  
 castle so that no one could go in or out. The king says to Merlin that he will not keep his health if he cannot be near 35R  
 the duke's wife. Merlin said, "that is not easy, because there is only one narrow path, where four knights are able to guard 35R  
 against the entire British army; they watch over it both day and night. Nevertheless, I will make this happen, that you will 35R  
 be like Gorlois in appearance, and your man, the counselor Ulfin, 35R

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<sup>257</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, the man is Eopa, one of Hengest's kinsmen. *HRB*, VIII.321 [132]. <sup>258</sup>According to the *HRB* and *VV*, both dragons were fashioned from gold. *HRB*, VIII.394-395 [135]. <sup>259</sup>Uther settled with the region after the battle in Dumbarton. Octa and Eosa are imprisoned in London. *HRB*, VIII.447 [137]. <sup>260</sup>Tingael. *HRB*, VIII.470 [137].

## 54r

þin man fýnaz 7 fva ek fem hennar .ij. þionvftv menn 7 megv ver þa fa ozlof i tvrnin þetta  
 rað þiggr konvngr fara þeir síþan til kaftalanf 7 verð2 þetta allt fva fem merlinus gaf rað til hvgði igerna  
 þa nott at hon fvaði hia gozloif bonda sínm En er herin faknaði konvngf þa hvgðv þeir hann fvikin  
 vera 7 liopv a hendr gozloif 7 dzapv hann 7 merftan þoza liðf hanf menn fogþv igerne konv hanf þav tinðoi  
 5 en hon vissi eigi hverfv þetta kom til þviat hon þottoz hia hanvm fofið hafa þa nott konvngr maelli þa fia mattv at  
 ek lifi 7 man þat rað likaz at fara a konvngf fvnd 7 biðia miðkvnar gengr konvngr þa brott 7 til liðf sínf  
 7 tekr þa aftr allan slikan hátt fin fem að2 hafþi hann hann gengr síþan til kaftalans 7 segir  
 igerne allt eð fanna hon famþyckir þa við konvng 7 feck hann þa hennar þav attv .ij. bozn  
 het fvn þeira artvrvf en dottir anna ok litlv síþar feck konvngr kranleika mikin 7 moðelagan  
 10 7 meðan konvngr la sívkr var þeim otta leypt brott o2 myrkva stofv 7 forv til faxlandz 7 forv aftr  
 til bzetlandz með vvgian her 7 er þetta spvrðv bzetar fýftv þeir konvng at gifta annv dotto2 sína  
 loð konvngi af irlandi 7 þat var til raðf tekit 7 ferr hann síþan með her moti foxvm 7 varð þar harð2 bardagi  
 7 lavkft með þvi at bzetar flyðv Ok er yter konvngr spyr þat stefnir hann til fin ollvm havfþingium 7 let  
 bera fig i bozvm mote her faxa þetta þotti foxvm mikil skom at þeir skylldv beriaz við sívk  
 15 an mann. þeir forv þa i borg þa er værolamm heitir 7 bioggvz þar fyri bzetar bztvtv borgina  
 7 er faxar fa þat gengv þeir út af borginni 7 varð þar harð2 bazdagi fell þar  
 otta 7 fleft hanf folk en þeir flyðv er lifit þagv konvngr varð glað2 við figr fin 7 mælli  
 helld2 villda ek sívkr vega slikan figr en flyia heill Ein faxneskr maðr blandaði  
 eitri i dzvck hanf 7 do hann litlv síþar 7 flvttv þeir lik hanf til þerf mvnklifif er bzoðir hanf hvilir  
 20 i 7 var bvið vm hanf groft með mikilli virðing 7 var hann mozgvm manne miok harm  
 At þrim vikvm liðnm eftir anlat yter var artvr fvn hann artvr til davð2  
 til konvngf tekinn 7 kozo2ad2 i borg þeiri er celestria heitir hann var þa .xv. vettra konvngf tekin  
 gamall hann var mikill a voxt venn at aliti spekingr at viti avr af fe sterkr  
 harð2 7 vapndiarfr glað2 7 goð2 vinvm en grimr vvinvm fastnæmr 7 fo2  
 25 síall síðatr 7 sígrfæll víðfrægr 7 at ollv vel mennt En litlv síþar en hann var til konvngf te  
 kin spvrðiz at faxa herr var komin i landit 7 hafþi eytt allt rikit fra katanesi 7 fvd2  
 til hvmrv Síþan for artvr með her moti þeim havfþingi faxa het kolgrimr þeir  
 hittvz þar fem þveráheitir 7 varð þar mikil bardagi 7 flyðv faxar i borgina iozk  
 konvngr fettiz vm borgina þetta spvrði balldvlfr bzoðir kolgrimf famnar hann at fer  
 30 vi þvfndvm manna 7 ætla til liðf við kolgrim 7 er þeir koma .x. milvr fra iozk  
 namv þeir staðar konvngr varð var við þeira ferð 7 gerir i moti þeim cado2 iarl  
 með mikin her 7 reðv þeir þegar til bardaga 7 fellv fvmir faxar en fvmir  
 flyðv balldvlfr vndi illa við sín vsigr 7 let klippa hár sitt 7 raka  
 skeg sitt a leikara hatt hann fær fer ho2pv 7 ferr i herbvðir konvngf 7 skem  
 35 ti þar 7 eina nott kom hann fer með fefti i borgina 7 varð bzoðir hanf hanvm  
 fegin gerðv þeir þa menn til faxlandz at biðia liðf kolldzik hertoga 7

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1–36 þin man fýnaz...þin man fýnaz ] This page has not been freshened up and is in very good condition. 21 hann ] Jónsson emends to hanf. 25 síðatr ] Jónsson, síð(l)atr. 26 herr ] Obscured by an irregularity on the page. 27 hvmrv ] Above the v is a redundant abbreviation mark for m. 27 artvr ] The a is obscured by an irregularity on the page. 29 borgina ] The ina is obscured by an irregularity on the page. 30 7 ] Obscured by an irregularity on the page. 30 ætla ] Jónsson, ætla(r).



and I will appear like both of her servants, and then we will then have control of the tower.” The king agrees to this suggestion.

- [138] They immediately go to the castle and everything that Merlin predicted came to pass. That night, Igera thought that she slept with her husband Gorlois. But when the army realized the king was missing, they thought that he was betrayed, and they rushed Gorlois and killed him along with the greater portion of his men. Some men told these tidings to his wife, Queen Igera, but she didn't know how this could have happened since she thought that she slept next to him that night. The king said, “you can see that I live, and it might be good advice to meet with the king and ask for forgiveness.” The king leaves, goes to his men, and takes back the same appearance that he had before. Then he goes to the castle and tells Igera the truth. She agreed with the king about what should be done, and so he married her. They had two children. Their son was named Arthur, and the daughter was Anna. 5R
- [139] Shortly after, the king got a severe and painful illness, and while the king lay sick, Octa and his men escaped from the dungeon, went to Saxland, and returned with an insurmountable army. And when the Britons learned this, they pressured their king to marry off his daughter to Loth, the king of Ireland,<sup>261</sup> and so it was arranged, and after this he goes with his army against the Saxons, and it came to a severe battle, which ended as the Britons fled. When King Uther learns of this, he summons all the chieftains to himself, and has himself carried in a litter toward the Saxon army. The Saxons considered this a great shame, that should do battle against a sick man. They went into the city which is called St. Albans, and there they set up camp. The Britons broke the city walls,<sup>262</sup> and when the Saxons saw that, they ran out of the city, and it came to a severe battle. Octa fell there,<sup>263</sup> along with most of his people, but those who preserved their life fled. 10R
- [141] The king rejoiced in his victory and said, “I would rather win such a victory in sickness than flee in health.” One Saxon man mixed poison in his drink, and he died shortly after, and they whisked his body away to the monastery where his brother rests, and his tomb was prepared with much honor, and he was greatly mourned by many people. 15R
- [142] 20R

### Arthur is Received as King

- [143] Three weeks after Uther's death, his son Arthur was received as king, and he was crowned in that city which is named Silchester. He was fifteen years old. He was great in size, beautiful in appearance, sharp in mind, generous with his wealth, strong and hardy, gallant in arms, good with his friends, but grim with his enemies, trustworthy, foresighted, well-mannered, victorious, renowned, and well educated in all things. And a little later, after he was received as king, he learned that the Saxon army landed and had laid waste all the land from Caithness southward to the Humber. Arthur then went with his army against them. The Saxon chieftain was named Colgrimus. They met each other in that place called Duglas,<sup>264</sup> and it came to a severe battle, and the Saxons fled into the city of York. The king surrounded the city. Badulfus, Colgrimus's brother learned this, and he assembled six thousand men to himself and planned to join Colgrimus in support, and when they came ten miles away from York, they stopped. The king became aware of their journey, and Earl Cador moves against them with a great army, and rode there to fight, and some Saxons fell, but some fled. Badulfus was very unsatisfied with his loss, and had his hair cut, and combed his beard in the appearance of a fool.<sup>265</sup> He takes for himself a harp, and goes into the king's camp, and entertains there, and one night he goes into the city with rope, and his brother rejoiced in meeting him. They sent men to Saxland to ask Duke Chelricus for support,<sup>266</sup> and 25R
- 30R

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<sup>261</sup>That is, Loth of Lothian. According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Uther is so impressed with Loth's performance, he offers him his daughter's hand. *HRB*, VIII.546-548 [139]. <sup>262</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, the Saxons, in their pride, leave the city gates open. *HRB*, VIII.567-568 [141]. <sup>263</sup>As did Eosa. *HRB*, VIII.585 [141]. <sup>264</sup>In the saga, Thverra. <sup>265</sup>A plan devised to allow Badulfus to cross the siege lines and enter the city so that he may speak with his brother Colgrimus. <sup>266</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, Chelricus's sudden appearance is unrelated to Colgrimus and Badulfus's plans. *HRB*, VIII.42 [143].

## 54v

fámnar hann síðan her 7 ferr til bzetlandz með .dc. skipa þeir koma við skotland. þetta sþyr artvr konvng 7 gerer hann boð eftir koel fyftvr syni finvm 7 kom hann til konvngf með .xv. þvfvnd2að hermanna forv þeir síþan baðer fá man mot heiðingivm 7 mœttvz þeir við áeina tokz þar harð2 bardagi að2 heiðingiar fly ðv konvng rak flottan i skog þann er callidonivus heitir þar tokv heiðingiar mote 7 felldv þar mart af bzetvm síþan let konvng fella mozkina at þeim sva at þeir mattv hvergi brott komaz heiðingiar sía nv at þeir varv vpp gefnir fendv nv boð til konvngf 7 bvðv hanvm gvll 7 filfr fer til lavfnar 7 varð fv þeira sætt at þeir skattgilldv 7 gafv hanvm þar gifla til en er þeir komv brott mintvz þeir sínf mannikaða 7 rvfv sættina við konvngs 7 herivðv a riki en er konvng varð þerf var let hann d2epa alla giflana 7 fo2 síðan moti þeim með her hoel fyftvr svn hanf var sívkr 7 matti hanvm eigi lið veita 7 er þeir fá herbvðir heidingia þa taka art vr konvng fyri herinvm 7 eggjar þa til framgongv hann var sva herklæd2 at hann hafþi fio2 fállda byzniv hann hafði hialm af env sterkazta stali 7 grafin a ein o2mr með vndar legvm hagleik hann hafþi þat sverð er kalebrnm het þat var sva mikit at þat var fam monnum vapnhor ft hanf skiold2 var ger af envm sterkvztvm hvðvm 7 pantað a likneski varar sírv þviat hann kallaði a hana iamnan fer til travftz hanf sto2a sþiot het ron nv lyftv saman liðinv 7 bo2ðvz þann dag allan 7 skilði nott bardagann Um mozgonín er vglíofst var hofz o2rosta með þeim af nyiv 7 fell mart folk af hvarvm tvegivm 7 fleira af bzetvm 7 er konvng fer fall sinna manna verð2 hann akaflega reið2 7 b2egð2 sverði sínv 7 hogr a tvær hend2 7 felldi a litilli stvndv .lxx. manna 7 .cccc. 7 i þeiri svipan fellv þeir baðir b2oð2 kolgrimr 7 balldvlfv 7 margar þvfvndir manna flyði þa kell d2ik hertogi 7 allr faxa herr konvng let reka flottan 7 fell keld2ik i flottanvm 7 mefr þozi liðf hanf konvng fo2 þa til irlanz 7 lagði þat vndir sig 7 sva skotland með fama hætti Systvr sýnir artvrf konvngf varv þa með hanvm hoel 7 mod2ed valveín 7ancelot 7 yveín hanf faðir var loth havrða landz konvngv alrexstoðvm i no2egi kona artvrf konvngs het gvno2 hon var dotter kadozif hertoga artvr konvngv fo2 en að2a herferð til irlanz 7 lagði þat vndir sig 7 i þeiri ferð vann hann o2kneyiar 7 hialltland 7 svð2eyiar danmo2k 7 no2eg færeyiar 7 gotland 7 lagþi skatt a oll þerfi lond síþan sneri hann heim til bzetlandz 7 d2ifv þa til hanf margra havfþing ia sýnir 7 gerðvz hanvm handgengnir 7 eiðsvarar hanf þenna tima andadiz sighthialmr no rex konvngv hann var b2oðir lothz kf er þa atti onnv fyftvr artvrf konvngf sighthialmr hafþi fo strað valveín b2oðo2 svn sín 7 fyftvr svn artvrf konvngf hann gaf hanvm allt riki efter efter sig þviat hann var svnlavf en no2ðmenn villdv eigi hafa b2ezkan konvng yfir fer 7 to kv þeir til konvngf þann mann er rikvlfv het en er þetta fra artvr konvngv þa ferr hann til no2ex með mik lvm her varð þar harð2 bardagi 7 fell þar rikvlfv vann nv artvr konvngv allan no2eg 7 danmo2k vndir valveín Síþan ferr artvr konvngv til fracklandz leo keifari ha sþi þan havfþingia fett yfir franz er frollo het hann var trollvm likari en monnum fyri affl sakir hann fer moti artvri konvngi 7 atti strið við hann 7 flyði vndan i parif

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1–36 fámnar hann síðan...vndan i parif] This page is not freshened up and is in very good condition. 3 mœttvz] The *σ* is written over an *e* in the original hand. 4 heiðingiar] After the *n*, the rest of the word is represented by a crossed thorn. 8 konvngs] Jónsson emends to *konvng*. 10 taka] Jónsson emends to *talár*. The error is awkwardly altered with a dot under the *k* and an *l* placed where the *r* should be. 29 kf] Jónsson, *k(onvng)f*. 31 efter] Written twice.

- [144] then he assembles an army and goes to Britain with six hundred ships. They land in Scotland. King Arthur hears of this  
 [145] and sent a message to his nephew Hoel, and he came to the king with fifteen thousand warriors. Together, both of them  
 went against the heathens and they met alongside a nearby river.<sup>267</sup> A severe battle erupted but the heathens fled. The  
 king pursued the flying host into that forest which is called Caledonia. The heathens resisted, but most of the Britons fell  
 there. Then the king had the forest frontier cut down so that they could not escape by any means. The heathens now see 5R  
 that they were defeated, so then they sent a message to the king, and offered him for gold and silver for ransom; this was  
 [146] agreed, that they paid tribute, and gave him hostages, but they remembered their injury and so they broke their agreement  
 with the king, and they harried the kingdom, but when he became aware of this, he had all of the hostages killed, then  
 he went against them with an army. His nephew Hoel was sick, and he could not support him, but when they saw the  
 [147] heathen camp, King Arthur speaks before the army, and eggs them on to advance.<sup>268</sup> He was dressed in quadruple linked 10R  
 hauberk,<sup>269</sup> and he had a helmet made from the strongest steel, onto which a dragon was engraved with wondrous skill;  
 he had that sword which was called Caliburnus. It was so huge, that few men could use it as a weapon.<sup>270</sup> His shield was  
 made from the strongest hide,<sup>271</sup> and upon it was painted an image of Our Lady, because he always called upon her for  
 his protection. His great spear was called Ron.  
 Now the armies come to blows, and they fought all day until night ended the battle. In the morning, when it was light 15R  
 enough for fighting, the battle between them resumed, and many men fell on both sides, but most of them were British,  
 and when the king sees his men fall, he became vehemently angry, and he draws his sword, and hews with both hands,  
 and in a short time four hundred seventy men fell, and in this sudden onslaught both brothers, Colgrimus and Badulfus,  
 [148] fell, along with many thousand men. Then Duke Chelricus fled, along with the entire Saxon army. The king pursued  
 those who fled and Chelricus was killed in flight along with the greater portion of his men. 20R  
 [149-151] Then the king went to Ireland and conquered it, and also Scotland in the same manner.<sup>272</sup> King Arthur's nephews  
 [152] were with him, Hoel, Modred, Gawain, Lancelot, and Ywain.<sup>273</sup> Gawain's father was King Loth of Hordaland in Alrekstad  
 [153] in Norway.<sup>274</sup> Arthur's wife was named Guinevere; she was the daughter of Duke Cadbor. King Arthur went on another  
 campaign in Ireland, and conquered it, and in this journey he won the Orkneys, Shetland, the Hebrides, Denmark, Norway,  
 the Faroe Islands, and Gotland, and obligated all of these lands to pay tribute.<sup>275</sup> After this he went back home to Britain, 25R  
 many chieftains' sons thronged to him in support, submitted themselves to him and bound themselves by oaths to him.  
 [154] In that time the Norwegian King Sighjalm died.<sup>276</sup> He was King Loth's brother,<sup>277</sup> who was married to Anna, King  
 Arthur's sister.<sup>278</sup> Sighjalm had fostered his and King Arthur's nephew Gawain.<sup>279</sup> He bequeathed the entire kingdom to  
 him because he had no heirs, but the Northmen did not wish to have a British king over them, and to they received as  
 king that man who was named Riculf. When King Arthur learned of this, he goes to Norway with a massive army. A 30R  
 severe battle begins, and Riculf fell there. King Arthur conquered all of Norway and Denmark for Gawain.  
 [155] After this, King Arthur goes to France. Caesar Leo had set that chieftain named Frollo over France. He was more like  
 a troll than a man in strength. He went against King Arthur and had a fight with him, but he fled away to Paris,
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<sup>267</sup>They meet near Lincoln, on a hill between two rivers. *HRB*, IX.59 [144]. <sup>268</sup>According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Saint Dubricius encourages the Britons from a nearby hilltop. *HRB*, IX. 96-105 [147]. <sup>269</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>270</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>271</sup>The materials out of which the shield is constructed is unique to the saga. <sup>272</sup>Arthur defeats Scot, Pictish, and Irish forces along with the Saxon in the north. The writer also skips over the marvelous accounts of Loch Lamond and other British water features. <sup>273</sup>This sentence appears to be synthetic, and is unique to the saga. <sup>274</sup>As recorded above, was king of Lothian in Scotland. This placement of Loth to a location well known by any Scandinavian reader is interesting, but unique to the saga. <sup>275</sup>The exclusion of Iceland in this list of subjugated Norse lands is notable. *HRB*, IX.219 [153]. <sup>276</sup>The Scandinavian form of this name is retained. The *HRB* and *VV* record Sichelmus. <sup>277</sup>The *HRB* and *VV* record that Loth is Sichelmus's nephew. *HRB*, IX.237-239 [154]. <sup>278</sup>The familial information is unique to the saga. <sup>279</sup>The saga writer appears to be confusing Sighjalm's name with that of Pope Sulpicius, to whom Loth places his son Gawain to serve. *HRB*, IX.241-243 [154].

## 55r

en *konvng* fettiz vm *borgina* en *er* *franzefvm* þröngþi hvng<sup>1</sup> þa bavð frolo a *konvngi* til einvigif  
 7 þat iattaði *konvng* glaðlega 7 riðvz þeir sþan at með sþiotvm 7 skavt *konvng* frolo af hersti en þo  
 varð hann ecki fárr frolo liop vpp 7 lagþi heftin vndir *konvngi* 7 fell *konvng* þa til iarðar 7 hvgrv  
 5 bretar at *konvng* væri farr vorðin *konvng* liop skiot a fortr 7 bozþvz þeir lengi en sva lavk  
 at *konvng* klavp havfvð frollo með hialmíallt i herðar niðz 7 eignaðiz *konvng* sþan allt fra  
 kland hann gifti biaðvozv *dottur* sína *eftrviam* skenkiara sínm en adenagiam gifti hann kiæi raðf  
 manne sínm skipti hann sþan ollv fraklandi með sínm monnum Rikion het kappi ein i franz hann var nal  
 ega rífi at afli 7 vexti hann navðgaði *konvnga* til þerf at þeir flægi af hanvm skeg sin 7 fendi hanvm i  
 10 di hanvm skeg sitt 7 þvi meiri sem hann var en aðrir *konvngar* þa skyldi hanf skeg til kiolf a þetta klæði  
 En *er* *konvngi* komv þerfi oðð mælti hann fyrir man ek gefa hann ollvm trollvm en hann fai mitt skeg eða k  
 ampa fer þa *konvng* til motz við rikonem Tekz með þeim harðz bardagi rikon hio eitt mikit hog  
 i skollð *konvngf* 7 klavf hann allan niðz at gvðs moðoz liknefkiv þa beit eigi lengra *konvng* hio þa i hof  
 vð rífanvm 7 beit ecki en þo varð hogit sva mikit at havfin lamðif rífin greip þa *konvng*  
 15 sva fast at *konvng* hrog vndan þotti monvm þa vfynt hverfv fara mvndi en sakir þerf at havf hanf var  
 lamiðz þa fell hann fyrir *konvngi* .a. *konvng* gerði þa boð ollvm *konvngvm* at hvert torki sitt skeg en þeir þozþv eigi at  
 sorkia 7 iattv sig vera i þvi hanf vndir menn En eftir þenna sigr fat artvr *konvng* i bzetlandi kyr .v. ár  
 hann let reifa eina mikla borg við a þa er oska heitir 7 sva stozar .ii. hallir at engar erv störi  
 landinv 7 gervar a rvmverfkan hátt hann bavð til sin at hvita sfnv ollv(m) *konvngvm* hertogvm 7 iozlvvm  
 20 7 ollvm hofþingivm i sínv riki 7 var hann þa krvnaðz 7 sva drottningin 7 *er* vezla viðfrægivz  
 oððin a nozdzlondvm boði at fornv 7 nyiv **af artvri *konvngi* 7 hanf monnum**  
**R**vmveriar vndv storilla við at þeir hofþv latið allt gallia fyrir artvri *konvngi* en þeir fe  
 ngv enga skatta af bzetlandi leo keisari var þa farin i avstr veg en yfir rvmman  
 ia hafþi hann fett þan havþingia *er* lvcivs het En þav tíðindi vrðv at enne stozv vezlv .a. *konvngf*  
 25 at þar kom fendi menn af rom með bzeþi þvi *er* sva sáþi lvcivs rvmveria hofþingi fendir artvro  
 slika qvediv sem hanvm formir Miok vndzvmz ver yðza dirfð *er* þer þozíð at hallda þeim skattlondvm  
*er* varir fozellrar vvnv af yðrum frændvm ozf rvmverivm til styrkf 7 travftz  
 nv stefni ek yðz til sialff keifarans at borta þar yðvr en stozv bnot sva sem hanf *er* miðkv  
 til en ef þv fyrir nemz þerfa ferð þa man ek her koma 7 heimta þetta allt miðkv  
 30 arlavft af yðz en *er* *konvng* hafþi lefið bzeþið reðf hann vm við vini  
 sína hvat til raðf skyldi taka þa svarar cadoz cozn  
 bzeta *konvng* þat hefir ek ottaz at þerfi vezlv at ver mv  
 ndvm sakir sællifil tyna vari vígfimí ho  
 fv ver 7 a þerfvm .v. vetrvm ecki gert vtan te  
 35 ft 7 leikit eða faðmað konvr 7 fyrir slikt  
 tapar margr veg 7 virðing mvnv

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1 hvng<sup>1</sup>] Emended from hvndr in the original hand. 1 a] Jónsson, a(rtvr). 5 klavp] Jónsson emends to klavf. 5 frollo] Jónsson emends to frolo. 8 hanvm] Jónsson emends to fer. 13 skollð] Jónsson, sk(i)ollð. 16 .a.] Jónsson, a(rtvr). 18 .ii.] The second character is in the form of a j, however, j acute is not currently supported by Unicode. 20 *er* vezla] Jónsson, *er* (fv) vezla. 24 .a.] Jónsson, a(rtverf). 31 cadoz] Corrected from fadoz in the original hand.

but the king surrounded the city, but when hunger afflicted the French, Frolo challenged the king to a duel, and the king happily agreed to it, and then they attacked each other with spears, and the king shot Frolo off his horse, but he did not become wounded. Frolo jumped up and put down the horse from under the king, and the king fell to the ground there, and the Britons thought the king to have been sorely wounded. The king jumped quickly on his feet and they fought one another for a long time, but it ended when the king split Frolo's head, along with the helmet, all the way down into the shoulders, and then the king had all of France for himself. He gave his daughter Beduerus to his cup bearer Estrusias,<sup>280</sup> and he gave Anjou to his advisor Kei.<sup>281</sup> Then he divided all of France among his men.

[165] One champion in France was named Ritho.<sup>282</sup> He was nearly like a giant in power and size.<sup>283</sup> He forced kings to do this, that they would flay their beards from themselves, and send them to him in tribute. After this he had them made into a lining for a cloak. He sent a message to King Arthur that he should send him his beard; although he was himself greater than other kings, he should send him his beard to adorn his coat. After this message came to the king he said, "I will send him off to the trolls before he will be able to see my beard or mustache." Then the king goes to meet with Ritho. A severe battle erupts. He struck a mighty blow into the king's shield, and he split the shield all the way down to the image of God's Mother, where the break could no longer run.<sup>284</sup> The king struck the head of the giant, but it did not cut, but the blow was so great the skull was smashed. Then the giant took hold of the king so firmly that the king gave way. It appeared to the men uncertain how it would turn out, but because his skull was smashed, he fell before the king.<sup>285</sup> Then King Arthur sent a message to all the kings that each should take back their beard, but they dared not fetch them and agree to be his subjects.<sup>286</sup>

[156] After this victory, King Arthur sat in Britain peacefully for five years. He had a great city raised near a river which is called the Usk, with two halls so large, that there were none greater in the land, and they were made in the Roman style.

[157] During Pentecost he summoned to himself all the kings, dukes, earls, and all of the chieftains in the kingdom, and he was crowned, along with the queen, and this has become the most renowned banquet in the northern lands, from ancient times, to the modern age.

## King Arthur and His Men

[158] The Romans became very dissatisfied with with the fact that they lost all of Gaul to King Arthur and that they took no tribute from Britain. Caesar Leo was away into the East, and he had sent a chieftain named Lucius across Rome. And these things came to pass at King Arthur's great banquet, that messengers came from Rome with a letter which said, "Lucius, chieftain of the Romans, sends Arthur such greetings that honor him. We are amazed by your boldness, that you dare retain our tributaries, which our ancestors took from your people for us Romans to strengthen and protect. Now I summon you to the Caesar himself so that you can make amends there for your great crime as according to his mercy. In the case that you refuse this journey, then I will come here and mercilessly collect everything from you." After the king read this letter, he consulted his friends about what should be done. Then Cador, the King of Cornwall, answered, "I have feared during this banquet that we might have lost our war skills for the sake of a life of luxury. In these five years we have done nothing except play at draughts, entertain ourselves or embrace women, and because of this we have lost much glory and honor. The Romans will

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<sup>280</sup>Clearly a misreading on the part of the saga writer. According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Arthur presents Estrusia, now called Normandy to his cup bearer Beduerus. *HRB*, IX.301 [155]. <sup>281</sup>Given the misunderstanding of Estrusia, it is likewise unclear whether or not the saga writer is referring to the region in France or to an individual. <sup>282</sup>This episode is included out of order. In the *HRB* and *VV*, Arthur encounters the giant, who has abducted Hoel's daughter Helena, after they depart on their campaign against Caesar Lucius. *HRB*, X.33-109 [165]. It is possible the saga writer conflates Arthur's battle against Frolo with the battle against Ritho. <sup>283</sup>The saga writer changes the giant into a human warrior. <sup>284</sup>The image of Mary interrupts the movement of a crack across Arthur's shield. Unique to the saga. <sup>285</sup>The description of this battle only marginally resembles the battle as described in *HRB* X.74-109 [165]. <sup>286</sup>That is, the owners of the beard would be forced to become Arthur's subjects by claiming their beard?

## 55v

rvmveriar engan figr vinna yfir ozf konungr mælti þat vitv ver allir at ivlius cesar eignaðiz brretland  
 með fvikvm vara landzmannna en með engvm rettindvm þo at þeir hafi nockoza rið heðan skatt  
 tekít fýniz mer þav mala efní vár litlv minni at heimta skatt af þeim en þeir af ozf þviat fr  
 ændz varir brennir 7 beler hengþv .xxx. rvmveria a einv tozgi i rom 7 eignvðuz  
 5 síþan allt romania Conftantinvs elenv fvn var frændi eignaðiz þat ríki 7 hanf fýnir hvi  
 er þat nv eigi rett at ver heimtem ftvndvm skatt af þeim en þvi iatti ek at franka ríki hofv ver  
 af þeim vnrið 7 þat hafa þeir at kíera Ða mælti hoel konungr fýftvr fvn yðz biðiv ver fozmenn vera  
 þerfar ferðar en ver vilivm allir fylgia yðz at forkia romania þviat fva hafa varir þþamenn fýri fagt  
 at .íij. bzetzkir menn skylldv eignaz roma ríki nv hafa .ij. eignaz en þv ert en þriði takið  
 10 nv figrin er fialfr gengr heim at yðz man ek annað hvart falla i þerfi ferð eða fa figr skal ek  
 fa yðz .x. þvfndir valkra manna til þerfar ferðar En er konungr heyrir þerfa a eggian þa byðz hann her útil  
 af ollv sínv ríki Sva er fagt at hann hafþi eigi minna her en .xl. þvfndzæða 7 vm fram fotgo  
 ngv folk þerfir hofþingiar varv með hanvm Cadoz coznbzeta konungr gillimar ira konungr gvnnafius  
 fvdzeyia konungr palpanvs nox konungr askell dana konungr angvffelvs skota konungr hoel konungr fræn  
 15 di malvafius tile konungr þat heitir nv island .a. konungr bað fendi menn lvcij fegia fva hanvm at hann mv  
 ndi til hanf koma 7 heimta skatt af rvmverivm En er lvcivs fra þetta famnar hann her vm allt rvma  
 ríki 7 varv með lvcio þerfir hofþingiar philippvs girkia konungr manafar ferkia konungr cozobia þpanlandz konungr  
 Sirif media landz konungr 7 margir aðzir hofþingiar boði hertogar 7 iarlar þeir hofþv fva mikin her at  
 tolv fem .ccc. þvfndzæða 7 .xij. hvndzvð manna artvr konungr fetti eftir til landz giæzlv  
 20 modzed fýftvr fvn fvn fin með gvnnvorv drottningv **ftrið rvmveria 7 artvrf konungr**  
 Hena fýrtv nott er hann hof ferð fína a englandi dzeymði hann at hann fa ein biozn  
 mikin flivga i lopti hanvm þotti oll iozð pipra 7 skialfa 7 allt þat fem a henni var  
 af emivn þerfa enf mikla dyrf konungr þottiz fía ein mikin dzeka er kom moti birni  
 nv hann flavg oz veftri 7 lyfti af hanvm langa leið vm himínin 7 tekz með þeim harðz bar  
 25 dagi en fa varð skilnaðz þeira at dzekin blef eitri a bioznin fva at hann fell til iarðar  
 konungr þþvrði þþekinga fína hvat þetta hefþi at fegia þeir fogðov at hanf fylgia var dz  
 ekin en bioznin rífa fylgia 7 konungr mvndi figra rífan Konungr þþvrði er hann kom  
 i franz til þerf rífa er Innvif het hann var þar fem mikialf fiáll heitir allt  
 var við hann rætt hann hafþi tekít til fin þa mey er elin het hon var fræn  
 30 ndkona artvrf konungr En er konungr þþvr þat for hann bzott fra finvm  
 monnvum eina nott með .íij. mann 7 er þeir komv at fialli  
 nv fía þeir ellda .ij. i helli bzenna konungr geck  
 til hellifinf 7 fa at innvif rífi fat við  
 elld 7 steikti ein villigollt konungr bað  
 35 þa biða vti konungr geck inn 7 er þetta  
 fa rífin tekr hann klvbbv fína

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13 ira] This may also be fra. 14–15 frændi] A cross lies above the i, possibly referring to text written in the margin, which has been carefully cut out. 15 .a.] Jónsson, a(rtvr). 20 fvn] Written twice. 21 Hena] Jónsson suggest this is an error for Hina or Enn. 31 fialli] Worn off.

- [159] take no victory over us.” The king said, “we know full well that Julius Caesar obtained Britain by means of the betrayal of our land’s men, and with little legal justification, although they might have subsequently taken tribute. It seems to me that there is little reason for us not to collect tribute from them rather than they from us because our ancestors Brennius and Belinus hung thirty Romans in a market in Rome, and then conquered all of the Roman Empire. Our ancestor Constantine, Helen’s son, held the kingdom, along with his sons. Why is it not right that we now collect tribute from
- [160] them for a while; I agree that we have taken France from them, and for that they must complain.” Then Hoel, the king’s nephew said, “We ask you to be the leader of this journey, and all of us will follow you to seek the Roman Empire because our prophets have said earlier that three British men shall conquer the Roman realm. Two have already taken it, and now you are the third. Take victory, which itself comes to you. I will either fall in this journey or I will take victory. I shall give you ten thousand valiant men for this journey.”
- [162] Then the king hears this during the course of this egging, he commands his army to go all the way out of his kingdom.<sup>287</sup> It is said that he had no fewer men than forty thousand, not including the footmen.<sup>288</sup> These chieftains were with him: the Cornish king Cador, Gillimar of Ireland, King Gunasius of the Hebrides, the Norwegian King Palpanus, the Danish King Askel, the Scottish King Auguselus, the king’s kin Hoel, and Malvasius, the king of Thule.<sup>289</sup> That place is now called Iceland. King Arthur told Lucius’s envoys to say this to him, that he will come to him and collect tribute
- [163] from the Romans. But when Lucius hears of this, he assembles an army throughout the Roman Empire; these chieftains accompanied Lucius: the Greek King Philippus, the Saracen King Manasar, the Spanish King Corobia, the Median King Siris, and many other chieftains, both dukes and earls. They had an army so great that it was three thousand twelve
- [164] hundred men in number.<sup>290</sup> In order that the land be guarded, King Arthur had his nephew Mordred to be with Lady Guinevere.

### The Battle Between the Romans and King Arthur

During the night before he began his journey into England, he dreamed that he saw a great bear flying across the sky. It appeared to him that all the earth trembled and shook, along with all that was on her, from the howling of this enormous animal. The king thought he saw an enormous dragon, which attacked the army. He flew from the west and shone far across the sky, and a severe battle erupted between them, but it ended between them after the dragon blows poison at the bear, after which he fell to the earth. The king asked his wise men what this had meant. They said that his fetch was a dragon and the bear was a giant, and the king will be victorious over the giant.<sup>291</sup>

- [165] The king learned about a certain giant who was named Innius<sup>292</sup> when he came to France.<sup>293</sup> He was in that place called Michael’s Mountain.<sup>294</sup> Everyone was afraid of him. He had taken for himself a maiden who was named Helena. She was a kinswoman of King Arthur.<sup>295</sup> When the king learned about this, he departed one night from his army with three men, and when they came to the mountain they saw two flames burning in a cave.<sup>296</sup> The king goes inside and when the giant saw this, he takes his club,

<sup>287</sup>The saga writer omits section 161, a speech delivered by the Scottish king Auguselus. *HRB*, IX.504-518 [162]. <sup>288</sup>Sixty thousand, according to the *HRB* and *VV*. *HRB*, IX.521 [162]. <sup>289</sup>This catalog resembles, but is dissimilar to the list in *HRB* in which is a longer list of nations without the names of their rulers. *HRB*, IX.522-530 [162]. <sup>290</sup>The figure in the *HRB* and *VV* is, four hundred sixty thousand one hundred. *HRB*, X.10-11 [163]. <sup>291</sup>A particularly Scandinavian idea of a man’s spirit animal, or *fylgja*, seems to be implied here. For a vivid literary portrayal of various Icelandic chieftains and their *fylgiur*, see *Heimskringla*, VII.33. <sup>292</sup>The giant is named Innius only here. The new name appears to be for the sake of continuity. <sup>293</sup>A doubling of the giant battle, already mentioned in the saga above, in a different version. Both refer to the single episode from the source, and the information from each section in the saga is complimentary. *HRB*, X.33-109 [165]. <sup>294</sup>St. Michael’s. <sup>295</sup>Helena is Hoel’s niece. *HRB*, X.34 [165]. <sup>296</sup>They observed a flame burning on a mountain, and another burning on a smaller hill. *HRB*, X.43-45 [165].

## 56r

þa er fva var þvng at eigi lettvi .ij. menn af iozðv konvngr hio til rifanf með fverði i ennið en rifin  
lavft kylfvnni til konvngf en konvngr veik fer vndan 7 kom hogit nið2 a iozðina hia konvngi  
varð þat fva mikitt hog at allt fiallið fkalf við en þo at fár rifanf væri eigi mikitt þa liop  
þo af hanvm ftot2 bloð rifin kaftar þa kylfvnni 7 liop at konvngi 7 greip hann fva faft at  
5 konvngr fell a kne vm fipir þa moðir rifan fva bloð2af at hann gat þa eigi vpp ftaðit 7 liop  
þa konvngr vpp 7 hio af hanvm havfvð hann let geyma havfvðit til fyniz þviat konvngr hafþi  
alldri fyr i lika ravn komit nema þa er hann atti við rikonem fo2 hann fipan til fkipa 7 varð  
miog frágr vm alla nozð2 halfv heimfenf af þervf ftozvirki Sipan flytr .a.  
konvngr her fin moti rvmverivm 7 er hvarir fia að2a þa fendi .A. konvngr .íij. havfþingia til rvmveria  
10 Galven gamla 7 berfo fterka 7 gervin en frøkna 7 bað rvmveria ryma b2ott af gallia en er  
lvcivs fra þetta mællti hann þvi fipr mvnv ver flyia at ver fkvlvvm taka allt riki artvrf konvngf 7 Sva  
fialfan hann. þa mællti fa maðr er kvintus het mikla dvl hafi þer b2etar at þer ætlið að ta  
ka riki vart rvmveria Galvein varð reið2 7 b2a fverði 7 hio hofvð af kvintus 7 fo2 fipan  
aftir til fina manna en rvmveriar fottv eftir 7 varð þar mikill bardagi 7 fiell fiolði af  
15 hvarvm tvegivm að2 þeir komv aftir til finna manna Nv fþyr .a. konvngr at lvcivs var komin i þa  
borg er avgvftidvnm heitir 7 ætlaði annan dag at fara til langvionif borgar 7 þa fomv  
nott bað let konvngr fina menn herklæðaz 7 fetti konvngr .vij. fylkingar finna manna i dal þeim er lvcivs fk  
ylli fara þetta folk var at tolv .xl. þvfvnd2aða 7 .vij. þvfvnd2að ok atian menn konvngr let þar  
fegia merfv 7 vigia kirkiv garð til graftar þeim monnvvm er þar felli lvcivf verð2 var fyræt  
20 lanar .a. konvngf 7 fetr hann nið2 merki fitt a ein fagran voll þat var fva fskapat fem væri ein  
ari or gvlli 7 let fiðan fkipa finar fylkingar 7 atta ftaði Sipan talaði lvcivs fyri heri  
nvm yð2 man kvnigt vera vm þat ranglega tilkall er artvr konvngr hefir vpp a vart riki  
7 hve mikla fkom eða manna miffi er ver 7 vart riki hefir fyri hanvm 7 hanf frændvm farið  
væri ozf nv hitt betra at reka þenna fianda flock af hondvm ozf með fómð helldr en leg  
25 iaz vndir foetr þeim með fkemð míniz 7 a at þerfi dørme giorðv af fer varir hinir fyri  
frænd2 at þeir tokv fyri fómð með figri en peninga með fkemð fengv þeir þa iam  
nan figr er þeim þotti davði fynni mvn þerfi nott nv b2att liða 7 kemr fa dagr er ver re  
kvmm þerfar vánmennvr af hondvm En fva mikin her hofþv rvmverir at i hverri þeira fylking  
var .vi. þvfvnd2að manna 7 .vi. hvnd2vð 7 .vi. menn Eftir þetta riða rvmveriar fram i dalin  
30 7 moztaz þar þeira fylkingar 7 tokz þar harð2 barda  
gi 7 vrðv þav tiðindi þar fyrft at bocko  
meðia konvngr reið moti boðvero 7 lag  
ði fþioti i gegnim hann en  
fira kei villdi hefna hanf 7 var færðr bana fari hireglaf frændi boðveri varð reiðr miok er  
35 hann fa fall hanf geck hann fva hart fram at hann d2ap bocki konvng gerðiz þa hozð ozrosta 7 mannfkorð

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8 .a.] Jónsson, a(rtv). 9 .A.] Jónsson, a(rtv). 15 .a.] Jónsson, a(rtv). 17 bað let] Jónsson omits let. 18 ok atian] ok was originally written vk, but corrected in the original hand. 20 .a.] Jónsson, a(rtvrs). 21 7 ] Jónsson emends to i. 29 7 .vi. hvnd2vð] Jónsson emends to .xi. 31–35 gi 7 vrðv þav...mannfkorð] The rightmost side of lines 31–34 are covered with reagent; most of line 35 is covered with reagent. 32 7 lag] Worn; obscured by reagent; illegible. 33 en] Obscured by reagent. 34 kei] An abbreviation line appears over the e (kemi). It likely was written from habit. 34 varð reiðr] Letters compressed under a hole in the page; obscured by reagent.



which was so heavy that two men could not lift it from the ground. The king swung at the giant with his sword onto his brow, and the giant struck at the king but the king turned aside, and the blow came down upon the earth next to the king. It was such a great blow that the entire mountain shook, and although the giant's wound was not great, much blood erupted from him. The giant threw the club away, rushed at the king, and grabbed him so firmly that the king fell to his knees. After a while, the bleeding exhausted the giant so much he could not get up, and the king jumped up, and hewed off his head. He had the head kept as a token, because the king had never before experienced such a trial except when he had against Ritho. Then he went to the ships, and he became much renowned across all the northern half of the world for these great deeds.<sup>297</sup>

5R

[166] After this, King Arthur charged his army against the Romans, and when each saw the other, King Arthur sent three chieftains to Rome, the old Gerinus, the strong Boso, and the brave Gawain, and told the Romans to clear out of Gaul. But when Lucius learned this he said, "we will in no way flee because we shall take all of King Arthur's realm, as well as he himself." Then that man named Quintilianus said, "you Britons have so much arrogance if you plan to take our realm away from us Romans. Gawain became angry, drew his sword, hewed the head from Quintilianus, and then went back to his men but the Romans followed him, and it came to a great battle, and both sides lost a multitude before they returned to their men.

10R

[168] Now King Arthur learns that Lucius had come to the city which is called Autum and planned to go to Langres the next day,<sup>298</sup> and that same night the king ordered his men to dress themselves for battle,<sup>299</sup> and the king set seven of his ranks into that valley into which Lucius wished to cross. The number of these people was forty seven thousand eighteen

15R

[170] men. The king had mass sung there, and consecrated a church yard for those men who would fall there.<sup>300</sup> Lucius became aware of King Arthur's plan, and then he put down his banner in a lovely field, which was shaped like an eagle made of gold, and then he maneuvered his men into eight positions.<sup>301</sup> Then Lucius spoke before the army, "you remember well that unjust claim, which King Arthur raises against our realm, and how much shame or how many men we and our kingdom have lost to him and his kin. It would be better for us to drive that fiendish mob from our clutches in honor than to fall under their foot in shame. Also remember that our forefathers made this example, that they took honor with victory instead of money with shame; they always took victory although it appeared to them that death was near. This

20R

[171] night will soon fall, and that day will come when we drive these worthless people from our hands." The Romans had an army so great that in each of their legions they had six thousand six hundred and six men. After this the Romans ride out into the valley, and the men encountered each other, and a severe battle erupted, and it so happened that the Median King Boccus immediately rode against Beduerus and ran a spear through him, and then Sir Kei wished to avenge him, but

25R

[172] he became mortally wounded. Hirelgas, Beduerus's nephew, became very angry when he saw his defeat. He charged so mightily that he killed King Boccus. Then it came to a severe battle with many losses of life.

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<sup>297</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>298</sup>A substantial amount of text is abridged here, from Autum (*HRB*, X.111 [166]) to Langres (*HRB*, X.239 [168]). The saga writer skips over the material from *HRB*, X.198-266 [167]. <sup>299</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>300</sup>Unique to the saga. An odd addition. According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Arthur plants his dragon standard into the ground as a marker for sanctuary for the wounded. *HRB*, X.262-266 [169]. <sup>301</sup>According to the source, Lucius places the eagle standard on the ground following his speech *HRB*, X.334-337 [170].

## 56v

- i þeiri oꝛrosto fell romithel sþanlandz konvngꝛ af rvmverivm ꝛ quintvs marcivs lepidvs rvmveria olldvngar ꝛ .iij. hertogar af bꝛetvm Nv kemr lvcivs með sína sveit ꝛ raðaz mote hanvm caðoꝛ ꝛ hoel ꝛ rvckv þeir caðoꝛ vndan Nv fer artvr konvngꝛ vfarar sína manna bꝛigðoꝛ hann nv fverði sínv calebvrnv ꝛ mællti latvm engan nv líff vndan koma fallið helldz með sormð en flyið
- 5 með skomm konvngꝛ hio síþan a tvær hendz ꝛ fyrri hveriv hanf havgvi fell annað hvart maðr eða herftr hann fellði .ij. rvmveria hofþingia fertorivs libia konvngꝛ ꝛ polite konvng af bithínia var þa mikít man fall af hvarvm tvegivm lvcivs hio með hǫgri hendi fverði en lagði með sþiotti vinftri hen di en þar fem artvr fóꝛ þa ravck allt vndan I þenna tíma kom moꝛvið i oppna
- 10 skiolldv rvmverivm ꝛ fell þa þvfvndzvdvm rvmveria lið ꝛ i þerfari oꝛrosto fell lvcivs með goð an oðf tír bꝛaft þa flotti a rvmverivm .A. konvngꝛ let reka flottan þar til er þeir gafvz i valld hanvm ꝛ sozv konvngi trvnaðar eiða .a. konvngꝛ let bva vm lík allra þeira manna fem þar hofþv fallit sva rvmveria fem sína manna fat konvngꝛ þann vetr i gallia en vm svmarit eftir foꝛ hann til rvmaborgar ꝛ lagþi hana vndir sig ꝛ oll þav ríki er þar til lagv **af artvr konvngi**
- 15 **En** er þetta var tíðinda þa komv fendi menn af bꝛetlandi ꝛ fogþv konvngi at modzeð sýftvr fvn hanf lagþi vndir sig bꝛetland ꝛ hann hafþi bꝛvllavp gozt til gvnvvarar dꝛotningar kono artvrf konvngf ꝛ hann hafþi samnad at fer heidingivm at veria landit við þerfi tíðindi var konvngꝛ miog rygr ꝛ sneri hann heim til bꝛetlandz með merftan þoꝛa herfínf en hann fendi hoel fr ænda sín til keifarans at fættaz við hann geck hanvm þat mal vel tokz þar fætt ꝛ fvllr fríðoꝛ
- 20 **En** er konvngꝛ kom til bꝛetlandz kom modzet moti hanvm með her ꝛ varð þar hoꝛð oꝛrosta fell konvngi þv ngt ꝛ let hann marga sína menn en sva lavk þo at modzet flyði i borg þa er p vin tonia heitir konvngꝛ let bva vm lík sína manna ꝛ var miog ryggr af sínv mikla fk ða en er gvnvoꝛ sþyr þetta ferr hon vm nott a lavn til lvndvna ꝛ geck þar i nvnv klavftr ꝛ endi þar sítt líf. þrim dogvm síþar fvndvz þeir artvr konvngꝛ ꝛ modzet ꝛ tokz þar þa harðoꝛ bardagi ꝛ mikít manfall letti modzet þa en vndan gaði konvngꝛ þa en
- 25 eigi at iarða sína menn rak hann þa flottan allt til ar þeirar er kamla heitir þar nam modzet við ꝛ fylki sínv liði hann hafþi þa eigi minna lið en .lx. þvfvndzaða þo hafþi konvngꝛ meira lið ꝛ egiaði hann fast sína menn ꝛ sneri síalftr at þeiri fylking er modzet var fyrri konvngꝛ geck sva i gegnim hanf fylking fem hann væði mioll fell modzet i þerfv m bardaga ꝛ moꝛg þvfvndzat manna með hanvm ꝛ þerfir hofþingiar kelldzik ꝛ elafivs erlingtv bꝛvnigvs saxon gilla patrik ꝛ fiolþi ira ꝛ
- 30 skota ꝛ ozkneyinga konvngꝛ bavð nv gríð ollvm er þiggia villdv en af hanf liði fellv þerir havþingiar loth noꝛex konvngꝛ askell dana konvngꝛ caðoꝛ ꝛ cafi bellanvs ꝛ margar þvfvnndir annar manna I þerfv bardaga feck konvngꝛ fár þat er hann
- 35 leiddi til bana hann var forðoꝛ til avolla eyiar la konvngꝛ þar litla stvnd aðoꝛ hann andadiz ꝛ var ha rmaðoꝛ miok af sínv monnum lík hanf var iarðat at kríz kirkiv i cantara byrgi er þat mal manna at hann

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6 konvngꝛ] Jónsson emends to konvng. 10 .A.] Jónsson, Artvr. 11 .a.] Jónsson, a(rtrv). 18 keifarans] The abbreviation is indicated with a horizontal line over the e. 20 er p] The p is clearly superfluous, and is followed by an erased space. 21–22 fkða] Jónsson, fk(a)ða. 26 fylki] Jónsson, fylk(t)i. 31 þerir] Jónsson, þer(s)ir. 34 annar] Jónsson, annar[a]. The r is reduced to a small scribble next to a hole. 34 v] Jónsson, v(m).

In this battle, the Spanish King Aliphatima, the Roman elder Lepidus, and three British dukes died.

- [173], [174] Now Lucius comes with his band, and Gawain<sup>302</sup> and Hoel rushed against him, but Gawain and his men<sup>303</sup> retreated. Now King Arthur sees the defeat of his men, he immediately draws his sword Caliburnus, and said, “let us not escape with our lives, but we should rather die with honor than flee with shame.” And now the king swung his sword on both sides, and by each of his swings either a man or a horse fell. He killed two Roman chieftains, the Libyan King Sertorius and Politetes, the king of Bithynia. There was then a great loss of life on both sides. Lucius swung with his right hand, [175] and pierced with a spear on his left, but wherever Arthur went, everyone retreated. At this moment Morvid came into an opening between the Roman shields, and then thousands of Roman troops fell, and in this battle Lucius fell, but leaving [176] much fame.<sup>304</sup> Then the Romans broke into flight. King Arthur had the fugitives pursued until they gave themselves into his power and swore allegiance to him. King Arthur had buried all those men who had fallen there, Romans, as well as his own men. The king remained that winter in Gaul, but in the summer he went to Rome, and conquered it as well as everything that belonged to it.<sup>305</sup>

## King Arthur

- [177] After this happened, messengers came from Britain and told the king that his nephew Modred subdued Britain and he had celebrated a wedding with Queen Guinevere, King Arthur’s wife, and he had assembled heathen men to himself to guard the land. The king was very angry with these tidings, and he returned home to Britain with most of this army, but he sent his kin Hoel to Caesar to make a peace agreement with him. This meeting went well for him.<sup>306</sup> Peace was made in good terms.<sup>307</sup> When the king arrived in Britain, Modred moved against him with an army, and it came to a severe battle. It fell heavily on the king, and he lost many of his men, but it ended when Modred fled into that city which is called Winchester. The king had the bodies of his men buried, and was much aggrieved from his severe wounds. But when Guinevere sees this, in the night she secretly goes to London, went into a monastery there, and ends her life there. [178] After three days, King Arthur and Modred met each other and a severe battle begun, and there was much loss of life. At this time, Modred would surrender. But the king didn’t bother to bury his men then, but he followed all the fugitives all the way to that river which is called the Camblan. Modred resisted there and drew up his troops. This time he had no fewer than sixty thousand men. But the king had more troops, and he aggressively egged his men on, and turned himself toward the battle array that Modred was leading. The king moved against his ranks as if he were wading through fresh snow.<sup>308</sup> Modred fell in this battle, as well as many thousands of men with him, which included these chieftains: the Saxons Chelricus, Elafius, Egbrictus, Bruningus, the Irishmen Gilla, Patrick,<sup>309</sup> and a multitude of other Irish, Scots, and Orcadians.<sup>310</sup> The king offered to pardon everyone who wished to accept it.<sup>311</sup> But from his army these chieftains fell: King Loth from Norway,<sup>312</sup> the Danish King Cador, Cassibellaunus, and many thousand other men. In this battle the king received the wound which burdened him until death. He was carried to the island Avalon. The king remained there for short time before he died, and was missed very much by his men.<sup>313</sup> His body was buried at Christchurch in Canterbury.<sup>314</sup> It would be said by men that

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<sup>302</sup>In the saga, Cador is in this position instead of Gawain. *HRB*, X.394 [173]. <sup>303</sup>Including Hoel. <sup>304</sup>The mention of Lucius’s posthumous fame is unique to the saga. <sup>305</sup>Unique to the saga. According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Arthur’s campaign on Rome is interrupted in the Alps when he hears of Modred and Guinevere’s transgression, at which point Arthur immediately turns back toward Britain. *HRB*, XI.5–9 [177]. <sup>306</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>307</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>308</sup>This Icelandic idiom is unique to the saga. <sup>309</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV* the elements of the name of one warrior, Gillapatric. *HRB*, XI.77 [178]. <sup>310</sup>A transformation of the name of the Norwegian King Odbrictus, who is also listed among the dead. *HRB*, XI.78 [178]. <sup>311</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>312</sup>Loth appears to fill the missing position originally filled by King Odbrictus. <sup>313</sup>The explicit mention of Arthur’s death, and the formula of how he was missed, is unique to the saga. <sup>314</sup>Unique to the saga.

## 57r

hafi allra breta konunga merft styrkt kristni a bzetlandi þa er A. konungr andaðiz varv liðnir fra bvrð varf herra Iesu Christi .d. ara 7 .xl. tvav ár ofarlega a dogvm leonif keifara **anlat artvrf konungf**

Eftir anlat artvrf konungf tok riki yfir bzetldi constantinus fvn cadozf hertoga fem sialfr

A. konungr hafði skipat atti hann litla stvnd vm kvirt at fitia aðz faxar gengv a rikit varv fyri

5 þvi liði .ij. havfþingiar fynir modzet þeir vnnv lvnðvna borg 7 viton 7 fatv þar i vm stvnd I þenna tima

andaðiz daniel byskvp 7 davið byskvp i cantara byrgi Constantinus dzo mikin her samn 7 for

mote þeim bzoðzvm tokz þar hoðz ozrosta 7 eigi langr aðz faxar fellv en þeir bzoðz flyðv ima

riv kirkiv i lvnðvnm Constantinus liop in eftir þeim 7 dzap fyri sinv alltari hvarn þeira Con

stantinus rikti vm .xx. ár hann varð bzaðdavðz 7 er grafni i þeim stað er siþan er kallaðz anefko Eftir hann tok

10 riki fvn hanf er avrelivus het ecki var hann vitr maðr til rikif stioznar hann let dzepa foðvr bzoðoz sin er

avreliva het 7 .ij. fvnv hanf 7 eignaðiz siþan allt rikit 7 reð .xxx. ara Eftir hann tok riki vorztiporius

7 herivðv faxar miok vm hanf daga i landit Eftir hann tok rikit malgo hann lagði vndir sig allt bret

land 7 skotland irland island orkneyiar danmozk 7 gotland 7 varv þerfi lond oll hanvm skatt gilld en

karlmenn þyddiz hann en eigi konoz 7 þvi varð gvð hanvm reiðz Eftir hann tok riki karsivus hann var vvitr

15 maðr 7 grimr við fina menn varð hann af þvi hvarki kiær gvði ne monnum þollþv landzmenn hanvm illa vfrið 7 lei

ta fer travftz i onnvr lond en er faxar fregna þetta samna þeir liði 7 fara fyrft til irlandz þar

reð fa konungr frji er gvðmvdz het 7 fengv þapan mikin styrk 7 forv siþan til bzetlandz 7 eyddv allt

landit noððan karfivus samnar her i moti þeim 7 varð þar harðz bardagi 7 eigi langr aðz konungr flyði

i borg þa er cirestria heitir faxar settvz vm borgina 7 fa eigi fotta þa kemr til motz við irakonvg iikardv

20 fystvr fvn hanf 7 vinna þa borgina Geck þa carencivus vt með sinvm monnum 7 hio til begia handa verðz

nv carencivus ofrliði bozin flyr hann þa til skipa 7 foz or landi 7 kom alldri afr siþann

Ðeir gvdmvdz konungr 7 faxar logþv nv allt land vndir sig bzenv þeir boði borgir 7 kirkivr 7 eyddv

kristninni flyðv þa byskvpar bzott með alla helga doma 7 fvðz vm fio Geck siþan bzetland oz

bzeta konunga ætt til forzaða baro faxar þar þo eigi konungf nafn 7 skipi þa landit nafni 7 var siþan kallat

25 england Var þaðalbrikt konungr yfir fyðza lvta landz en aðalraðz 7 ella fyri noððhvmrvlandi en krist

ni var þa viðaz eydd 7 niðz fallin vm allt landit **kristnað england af avgvftino**

I þenna tima var en helgi gregorivus papa i romaborg 7 þvrði hann hvat fram for vm kristnina i englandi

hann fendi þangat ein agiætan sin lærifvein en helga avgvftinvm 7 marga aðza kenni menn

hann predicaði þar trv 7 skirði aðalbrikt konung 7 var hann siþan mikill styrkf maðr heilagrar kristni hann fetti fin

30 erkiftol 7 klavfr i borg þeiri er bavgoz het þeim var skipi i .vij. staði 7 var aboti yfir þeim ein læri

fvein avgvftini fa er dinot het 7 varv vndir hanvm .ccc. mvnka þeir vnnv iozð fer til matar

Þa varv konungar yfir noððhvmrv landi aðalraðz 7 ella fem fyr var ritað 7 villdv þeir þvi siþr við trv taka

at þeir gerðv fvllan vfrið kristnvm monnum hvar fem þeir naðv þeim þviat þeir letv dzepa ein dag

.xij. c. mvnka varv þeir siþan dyrkaðir af kristnvm monnum fva fem aðzir gvðf pin

35 ingar vattar Eftir þat tokv bzetar fer þan konung er cadverus het 7 foz hann með her i

moti aðalrað konungi tokz þar harðz bardagi 7 fell þar eigi færa lið en .x. þvfvdzad Siþan var

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1 A.] Jónsson, A(rtvr). 2 anlat artvrf konungf] Jónsson points out that this is the incorrect title. 3 bzetldi] Jónsson, bzetl(an)di. 4 A.] Jónsson, A(rtvr). 7 langr] Jónsson suggest this should be lang. 13 orkneyiar] The initial o is corrected from an e in the original hand. 17 forv] An ey was originally written here but erased. Jónsson suggests the word originally was intended to be eyddv. The ey is still visible and the y is emended to the f of the abbreviation.

of all the British kings, he supported Christianity the most.<sup>315</sup>

When King Arthur died, it was five hundred forty two years from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, during the final days of the Caesar Leonis.

## The Death of King Arthur

- [179] After King Arthur's death, Constantinus, the son of Duke Cadur, whom King Arthur himself chose, took power over Britain. He had a short while to sit in peace before the Saxons came upon the realm. Before this army were two chieftains who were the sons of Modred. They conquered London and Winchester, and remained there for a while. In this time the bishops Daniel and David died in Canterbury. Constantine drew together an enormous army, and went against those brothers, and a severe battle erupted there, and soon Saxons fell there and the brothers fled into Mary's Church in London.<sup>316</sup> Constantine ran in after them, and killed each of them before the altar. Constantine ruled for twenty years. He suddenly died and is buried in that place which has since been called Anesko.<sup>317</sup>
- [181] His son, who was named Aurelius, took the realm after him. He was not a wise man in ruling the kingdom. He had his uncle, who was named Aurelia,<sup>318</sup> and had his two sons killed and ruled for thirty years.<sup>319</sup> After him Vortiporius took the realm and the Saxons harried the land during his time. After him Malgo took the realm. He subdued all of Britain, Scotland, Ireland, Iceland, Orkney, Denmark, and Gotland, and these lands were subjected to tribute, but he had sexual affairs with the land's men instead women, and because of this, he received God's anger. After him Kareticus took the realm. He was an unwise man and stern with his subjects. Because of this he became neither beloved by God nor men; the land's men were miserable under him, and they sought for themselves protection in other lands. When the Saxons hear of this, they assemble their army, but they go first to Ireland, where that King who was named Gudmund ruled there,<sup>320</sup> and took from there much military force, and then went to Britain, and laid waste all of the land in the north. Kareticus assembles an army against them and it came to a severe battle, and it was not long before the king fled into that city which is called Cirencester. The Saxons surrounded the city, but they did not attack. Then Isembardus, his nephew,<sup>321</sup> comes to join with Irish king, and conquer the city. Kareticus goes out with his men, and hewed with both hands. Kareticus now becomes overpowered, and then he flees to the ships, and departed from the land, and never after came back.<sup>322</sup> King Gudmund and the Saxons subdued the entire land under themselves, and they burned both cities and churches, and laid waste to Christianity.<sup>323</sup> The bishops fled away along with all the holy relics southward across the sea.<sup>324</sup>
- [187] From then on Britain abandoned leadership of British kings. The Saxons, on the other hand, did not carry the king's title, and the land changed names, and it was ever since called England. At this time King Æðelberht was over the southern part of the land but Æðelfrið alred and Ælla over Northumberland, but Christianity was mostly destroyed, and collapsed everywhere in the land.<sup>325</sup>

## The Conversion of England by Saint Augustine

- In this time, the holy Pope Gregory was in Rome, and he heard how Christianity was faring in England. He sent there his excellent teacher, the holy Augustine, along with many other learned men. He preached the faith there and baptized King Æðalberht, who subsequently was a great supporter of the Holy Church.<sup>326</sup> He put his Archbishopric and a monastery in that city which is called Bangor. This was divided into seven parts, and the abbot over it was a teacher of Augustine who was named Dinoot, and three hundred monks were under him. They worked the earth for their food.
- [189] At this time Æðelfrið and Ælla were kings of Northumberland, as was already written, and they wished to receive the faith in this way: they engaged in full war with the Christian men whenever they met them, for one day they had killed one hundred twelve monks. [These monks] have since been exalted by Christian men just as other martyrs of God were venerated.
- [190] After that the Britons received for themselves that king who was called Caduan, he went against King Æðelfrið. A severe battle erupted, and no fewer than ten thousand men fell there. After this

<sup>315</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>316</sup>The church of Saint Amphibalus. *HRB*, XI.99 [180]. <sup>317</sup>According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Constantine was struck down four years later and buried next to Uther on Salisbury plain. *HRB*, XI.101-104 [180]. The source for Anesko is uncertain. <sup>318</sup>A misreading. His uncle is not named in the *HRB* and *VV*. <sup>319</sup>Another misreading. He ruled for three. *HRB*, XI.109 [181]. <sup>320</sup>A Scandinavian transformation of the name of the African king Gormundus? *HRB*, XI.124 [184]. *VV*, [184/6], p. 176, records his name, Godmundus. <sup>321</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, the nephew of the French king is Lodewicus. *HRB*, XI.130-131 [184]. <sup>322</sup>*HRB*, [185], p. 256, is a pious exposition on the corruption of the Britons, and is replicated in neither *VV* nor *Breta sggur*. <sup>323</sup>*HRB*, XI.141-154 [185], is an exposition on the diminished moral character of the British people, and is not included in the saga. <sup>324</sup>Much of this is so altered, it's difficult to discern the relationship this passage has with the *HRB* and *VV*. Section [186] is dispersed through [184] and [186] in *VV*, [184/6], [186/7], pp. 176-177. There is an additional passage unique to *VV*, which closes the sequence with Æðelberht, "uir illustris et magne pietatis." <sup>325</sup>Æðelfrið is incorrectly recorded as Æðalred. Ælla, another Anglo Saxon king attested by Bede in close historical proximity to Æðalberht, is a synthetic inclusion made by the saga writer. See *HEGA*, II.V. <sup>326</sup>Æðalberht's baptism is not explicitly mentioned in *HRB*. See *HEGA*, I.XXVI.

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fætt ger at cananus skildi hafa land fyri fvnnan hvmrv vrðv þeir sþan goðir vinir litlv sþar let aðal raðzkonvngr eina konv sına en tok aðra i staðin En hon fo2 a fvnd kadvani konvngf 7 tok hann hana ifitt valld 7 feti hana i háfæti hia drottningv þær forv baðar fen at hvila 7 forddv .ij. sveina het fvn kadvanus kaðall en aðalraðf edvin 7 voxv þeir baðir vpp með konvngi þeir vnnvz mikit

- 5 I þenna tima andvðvz feðz þeira forv þeir þa til sínar foðvrleifdar tok kaðall noðhvmmv land 7 er hann hafpi riki haft vm .ij. ár villdi hann lata kozona fig til konvngf hann talaði þetta fyri fostra sinvm 7 fyftvr er bzian het en er hann sagpi henni þetta þa kom fva mikill gratr at henni þat var faðorme þetta sþvrðiz vm allt rikit konvngr sþvrði hvat volldi hrygleikr fa er a henni var hon fvarar mer þickir hozmvleg þin fyrætlan 7 meir af litil mennzkv en af viti mvndi fva þickia envm fy
- 10 rvm þinvm frændvm þinvmat beiðaz kozonv en hafa eigi þrek til þerf at vinna vndir fig landit með fverði man þetta riki formðar lavft þickia meðan faxar hafa valld her i landi hafa þeir iamnan verið ozf 7 varvm ætmonnvm vtrvir fyrft vortigernv 7 hanf ætmonnvm 7 nv sþan gríðniðingar er þeir forv i sveit með modzedo 7 vnnv þann skaða er alldzi var her vnnin annar slikr 7 fva mvn æ vera me ðan þeir erv her i landi Eftir þat fendi eddvin ozð kaðali at hann villdi taka kozonv 7 fylla
- 15 konvngf tign 7 heita yfirkonvngr en konvngr iattaði þvi eigi Edvin varð þa reiðz 7 sagpi at hann mvndi eigi va rða hvart hann lofaði eða eigi en er kaðall sþyr ætlan edvinf fendi hann þa menn til edvin at þat kostaði hanf havfvð ef hann leti fig til konvngf taka sþan samnaði hvartvegi liði 7 hittvz við hvmrv 7 varð þar harðr bardagi 7 flyði kadall til irlanz 7 let margar þvfvndir folkf eddvin heriaði nv i riki aðalraðf konvngf 7 fotti þat oddi 7 egiv 7 dzap alla þa menn er hann naði kaðall samnar her 7
- 20 ferr til englandz 7 naði hvergi a land at koma fyri samnadi landz manna Edvin hafpi með fer þann mann er viffi allt vm þeira ferð 7 nær sigr dagar varv 7 bavrðvz þeir þa at einfkaðal for þa at finna folomon konvng er þa var vitraðstr maðr 7 hann hafpi vpp fott 7 tok þa vedz mikit 7 rak þa til eyiar þeitar er grandzegia heitir með .ij. skipvm hanvm fell þa fva nær manna misfir með sínni vfigrfæli at hann átt ecki ne dzack .vi. dørgr hann lagþiz i hvilv af þerfv ollv saman
- 25 En er fva var komit bað at bzian fostri hanf skylldi fara at veiða hanvm dyr i eyni hann fo2 allan dag at leita dyra 7 fann ecki En er hann kom heim þa skar hann voðvan ozlæri fer 7 steikti 7 ger ði til matar konvngi 7 sagpi hanvm dyra hold vera konvngr át 7 þottiz ecki iamgott etið hafa 7 varð hann nal ega heill a .iiij. dogvm forv þeir sþan 7 fvndv salvmmon konvng 7 sþvrði hann raða gerðv þeir þat rað at bzian for brott 7 skylldi freifsta ef hann næði sþamanne edvinf brian tekr a fig stafkalf
- 30 bvning 7 lætr gera fer hvaffan iarnstaf ferr hann sþan þar til er hann kemr i iozk var þar fyri edvin konvngr með mikin þrif brian slæz i stafkarla sveit 7 fettiz við hallar dyr 7 bað fer matar Ok er hann hafpi litla stvnd fetið geck kona ein oz hollini hon var fyftir bzianshon sk ylldi taka vatn þviat edvin hafpi hana hertekit kendi hon bzian þegar hon fa hann 7 bað hon hann skv nda brott aðr konvngf menn kendi hann sagpi hann þa henni hverfv hanf ferð viffi við 7 bað hana gera
- 35 sva rað fyri at herbergi sþamannz væri eigi læft þa nott hon het hanvm þvi 7 gerði sem hann bað Brian var með stafko2lvn til netr en er allt folk var i svefni fo2 hann til herbergif sþamannz

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3 háfæti ] The á is corrected from i in the original hand. 7 henni þat ] Jónsson, henni (at) þat. 10 þinvm ] Redundantly written twice after frændvm. 25 bað at ] bað (hann) at. 26 7 steikti 7 ] Worn; illegible. 27 ott etið ] Worn; illegible.

an agreement was made so that Caduan should have the land south of the Humber. After this they became good friends. Shortly after, King Æðelfrið left one wife and took another in her place. But [ Æðelfrið's banished wife] went to meet King Caduan, and he took her into his protection, and he set her in the high seat next to the queen.<sup>327</sup> They both went to bed with him at the same time and they gave birth to two boys. Caduan's son was named Caduallo and Æðelfrið's son

[191] was named Edwin, and they both grew up with the king. They loved each other very much. In that time their fathers died. They went there for their paternal inheritance. Caduallo took Northumberland, but after he had held the kingdom for two years, he wished to crown himself king.<sup>328</sup> He explained this to his caregiver and sister who was named Brian, but when he said this to her, so much wailing came to her it was horrible.<sup>329</sup> This was known throughout the realm.<sup>330</sup> The king asked what caused this grief which was upon her. She answered, "it seems to me that your plan is distressing, a plan which was devised more by one of little humanity than one with any sense. It would seem to your forefathers that you request the crown but have not the courage to subdue the land by sword. This decision will appear ignoble so long as the Saxons have power here in this land. They have always been faithless with us and our family; first Vortigern and his kin, and since then Modred joined that company of truce-breakers, who committed that crime, of the like which has never been committed before, and so it will always be while they are here in this land." After this, Edwin sent a message to Caduallo that he wished to take the crown as well as the king's full rank, and he wished to be called Over-king, but the king did not agree to this.<sup>331</sup> Then Edwin became angry and said that it would not matter whether he wished it or not.

[192] But when Caduallo heard about Edwin's plan, he sent men to Edwin, to tell him that it would cost him his head if he allowed himself to be taken as king. After this, each side assembled an army, and they met each other along the Humber, and it came to a severe battle there, and Caduallo fled to Ireland, and lost many thousand men. And now Edwin harried in Æðelfrið's kingdom with point and edge,<sup>332</sup> and killed everyone he approached. Caduallo assembles an army and goes to England, but could not approach the land anywhere because the land's men massed together. Edwin had with him a man who knew everything about their journey,<sup>333</sup> knew when they would have a victorious day, and knew when they would lose. And then Caduallo went to visit King Solomon, who was in this time the wisest man, and he raised him, and a great storm began, and drove them to that island named Guernsey with two ships. And now the loss of this men, along with his losses, hit him so hard that he did not eat or drink for six days. He lay in bed for the entire duration. And when it did come, he asked that this foster son Brian go out to hunt an animal for him on the island.<sup>334</sup> He journeyed all day to look for an animal, but he found nothing. And when he came home, he cut muscle from his thigh, cooked it, prepared it for a meal, and told him that the animal was meat. The king ate, and it seemed to him that it was just as good to eat, and he became almost completely healthy in three days. After this they went to meet with King Solomon, and he asked his advise. They decided that Brian go out and try to capture Edwin's seer.<sup>335</sup> Brian puts on the clothes of a beggar, and makes himself a sharpened iron rod. After this he journeys until he arrives in York. Edwin was there, with much pomp. Brian put on his beggar cloak, set himself near the hall doors and begged for food. When when he had sit there for a while, a woman came out of the hall. She was Brian's sister. She had to carry water because Edwin had captured her. She recognized Brian as soon as she saw him and she asked him to run away before the king's men recognized him. He told her the reasons for his journey, and asked her to follow this plan, that the seer's room would be left open that night. She promised him this, and did what he asked. Brian was with the beggars until that night when everyone was sleeping; he went into the seer's room

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<sup>327</sup>The placement of Æðelfrið alongside Caduan's queen is unique to the saga. <sup>328</sup>In the *HRB* and *VV*, Edwin wishes to be crown himself king. *HRB*, XI.248 [191]. <sup>329</sup>The saga writer changes Brian's gender to female. <sup>330</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>331</sup>According to he *HRB* and *VV*, Caduallo initiates the exchange by informing Edwin that according to the law and tradition of the land, only one should wear the crown. *HRB*, XI.278-281 [192]. <sup>332</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>333</sup>That is, he had prophetic talent. *HRB*, XI.295-296 [193]. <sup>334</sup>Brian's gender reverts to male. <sup>335</sup>Most of *HRB*, XI.228-383 [194], [195] is a pair of formal speeches between Caduallo and Solomon, much of it involving the declining character of the British people, and is not included in the saga.

## 58r

þat var vlæft brian geck inn 7 at hvilv hanf 7 lagði iarnstafnmv fyrri brioft hanvm 7 i gegnim hann 7 let þar fta  
 nda eftir stafin síþan geck hann til stafkarla 7 var hia þeim þar til er yfir dofnaði 7 fo2 hann síþan brott leyni  
 lega 7 kemr hann a fvnd kaðalf 7 sagði hanvm sitt erindi 7 þotti hanvm þat gott vera síþan ferr brian heim i borg  
 5 sína 7 litlv síþar kemr þar fa maðr er pendzak het með faxa her kaðall fendi hanvm mikinn her 7 varð þar  
 hoð ozrosta 7 eigi long að2 pendzak varð handtekinn 7 dæpin merftr lvti liðf hanf Ðetta sþyr edvin  
 7 samnar liði 7 ferr til fvndar við kaðal 7 hittaz þeir a velli þeim er holuel het tokz þar mikill  
 bardagi 7 harð2 fell i þerfvn bardaga edvin 7 fvn hanf vfvíð 7 fa konvngv er balld2 het 7 nalega allt  
 þeira folk Síþan fo2kaðall vm allt england 7 lagði vndir sig 7 d2ap alla faxa boði bozn 7 konvr  
 eftir þat fo2 hann i skotland 7 d2ap þar eadan skota konvngv 7 .ij. hanf sýstvr fyni af ofvalldi konvngve  
 10 Eftir hann tok riki en helgi ofvalld2 konvngvr yfir noðhvmrv landi hann var yfir þvi riki .ix. ár. hann var friðgiarn  
 7 fálynd2 avr við fatorkia menn kaðall gieck miok a hanf 7 letti ofvalld2 konvngvr vndan til  
 skotlandz þar er moztiz 7 england. þetta sþyr kaðall 7 gerir síþan her a hend2 ofvalldi konvngvr var þar fo2maðr  
 fyrri pendan konvngvr 7 er þetta sþyr ofvalld2 konvngvr let hann fetia nið2 a einvm velli kroff varf herra  
 Iesv Christi hann bað þangat forkia alla sína menn 7 bað þa falla a kne 7 biðia almatkan gvð at  
 15 þeir vegi sigr a finvm vvínvm þeir gerðv fem hann bavð Gengv síþan i bardaga 7 gerði gvð þat eftir  
 þeira bozn fyrri verðleika enf helga ofvallz konvngf at b2etar flyðv En er kaðall fra þetta varð hann reið2 miok  
 7 samnar her 7 fo2 moti ofvalldi konvngi 7 tokz þar harð2 bardagi hafði ofvalld2 ecki liðf við  
 En er ofvalld2 fa at engi viðstaða mvndi verða fettiz hann niðr 7 fa i gavpnir fer 7 bað til gvðf  
 fyrri ollvm þeim er þar bo2ðvz 7 síþan let hann þar lif sitt 7 fo2 fva til almattix gvðf 7 fegia menn at pen  
 20 dan yrði hanvm at bana flyði þa allt lið hanf þat er lifit þa En efter bardagan geck at  
 konvnginvm ein gamall maðr af monnvvm kaðalf hann hafði fengit mikit far a hendi hann skriðnaði  
 7 stack nið2 hendinni i bloð ofvallz konvngf 7 er hann stoð vpp var heil hondin margar iarteg  
 nir 7 ftozar gerði gvð fyrri hanf verðleika þo at þær fe eigi her ritaðar Eftir hann tok riki yfir no2  
 ðhvmrv landi ofið b2oðir ofvallz konvngfhann fættiz við kaðal fva at hann skylldi hafa riki sitt i friði  
 25 Síþan fetti Kaðal frið vm allt b2etland fva at fa skylldi af hondvm 7 fotvm er frið b2yti innan  
 landz I moti vfið reif vpp alfrið fvn hanf 7 ozðvalld b2oðvr fvn hanf en þeim varð boði við hann  
 afla fatt 7 fva giæfv fko2tr flvðv þeir vndan 7 fottv a fvnd pendrax 7 baðv  
 hann fvlltingf moti vfið En hann var fvllr vela 7 fvika 7 villdi giarna hialpa þeim en  
 þo2ði eigi þo at b2iota frið konvngf 7 hvgsaði vm velar I þenna tima gerði kaðal konvngvr eina sto  
 30 ra veizlv 7 varv þar allir engla konvngar nema vfið ein pendzak sþvrði konvngv hvi vfið væri eigi þar  
 En konvngvr sagði hann sívkan vera er anað hvart sagði p. ella hefir hann sent menn til faxlandz eftir herliði  
 7 hyggz hefnaz ofvallz b2oðo2 sínf hefir hann nv b2otið frið þann er þer fettvðNv er yð2 þat rað  
 at taka hann af lifi eða reka hann o2 landi. konvngvr talaði við sína menn hvat hann skylldi til raðf taka þat  
 at hann b2yti eigi síalf sínf grið þav er hann fetti þa fvarar makadvð konvngvr eigi mvni þer gerl hvat land  
 35 vart hefir þolað af þerfi þioð eða hvern trvnað ver eigvm henni at lavna hofv ver alldri síþan  
 i friði fetið síþan faxar komv i þetta land konvngvr gaf i vald pendzak at fara með þerfv mali fem hanvm

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4 fendi hanvm ] Jónsson, fendi (moti) hanvm. 10 var yfir ] Worn; illegible. 11 a hanf ] a (riki) hanf. 11 7 letti ] Worn; the letters are still legible.  
 12 a hen ] Worn; the letters are still legible. 12 konvngvr ] Jónsson, konvngi. 31 p. ] Jónsson, p(endrag). 34 gerl ] Difficult to read. The g and  
 the abbreviation mark is small and written under a hole. Jónsson, gerl[a].



which was unlocked. Brian went inside and next to his bed, and presses the iron spike onto this chest, and then thrusts it into him, and afterward left the spike sticking out of his chest.<sup>336</sup> After this he returned to the beggars, and was among them until things calmed down, and then he secretly left, and he comes to meet Caduallo, and he told him about his errand, and that seemed good to him. After this, Brian goes home to his city, and soon a man who was named Penda arrives with a Saxon army.

- [197] Caduallo sent a great army against him, and it came to a severe battle, and it was not long before Penda was captured and the greater part of his army was killed. Edwin learned of this, he assembles an army, goes to meet with Caduallo, and they meet each other in that plain called Hedfeld. A severe and harsh battle erupts. Edwin fell in this battle, along with his son Offridus, and that king who was named Balldr,<sup>337</sup> and nearly all of their people. After this, Caduallo went across all of England and subdued it, and killed all the Saxons, including women and children. After this he went to Scotland and killed the Scottish king Eadanus and his two nephews.

### King Oswald

- [199] The holy King Oswald took power over Northumberland. He was in charge of this kingdom for nine years.<sup>338</sup> He was peaceful, reserved, and generous with poor men.<sup>339</sup> Caduallo followed him and King Oswald retreated toward Scotland, where the two countries meet. Caduallo hears of this and then assembles an army against King Oswald. King Penda was the general. And when King Oswald hears of this, he had a cross of our Lord Jesus Christ erected on a plain. He ordered all of his men to go there, and ordered them to fall upon their knees and ask Almighty God that they might win the victory over their enemies. They did as he ordered. After this they went into battle, and because of King Oswald's merit, He did what they prayed for and the Britons fled. When Caduallo learned of this he became very angry, and he assembles an army and went against King Oswald, and a severe battle begun. Oswald did not have a comparable force.<sup>340</sup> When Oswald saw that no resistance could happen, he sat himself down, took his face into his palms, and prayed to God for everyone who was fighting there, and then he gave up his life, and so went to Almighty God, and men say that Penda may have come to him and killed him.<sup>341</sup> Then, all of his surviving men fled.<sup>342</sup> After the battle, an old man goes to the king from Caduallo's men; he had received a large wound on the hand. He tripped, and stuck his hand down into the blood of King Oswald, and when he stood up, his hand was healed. God made many great miracles because of this worthiness, although they are not written here.<sup>343</sup>

- [200] After him, Oswi, king Oswald's brother took power over Northumberland. He made an agreement with Caduallo, so that he should keep his realm in peace. After this, Caduallo instituted a peace throughout Britain, in that one's hands and feet would be cut off if they broke the peace of the land.<sup>344</sup> Oswi's son Alfred and his nephew Oidwald rose up against him, but both of them did not have enough force, so their campaign fell short. They ran away and went to meet Penda, and asked him for support against Oswi. But he was full of deception and treachery, and wished to help them happily but did not dare break the king's peace, and so he thought of a deception. In that time, King Caduallo prepared a great banquet, and all of the English kings were there except Oswi. Penda asked the king why Oswi could not be there. But the king said that he was sick. "Either that," said Penda, "or he has sent men to Saxony to seek military aid, and intends to avenge his brother Oswald. He has now broken the peace that you have instituted. Now it is advisable for you to either take his life or drive him out of the land." The king spoke with his men about what he should do so that he not break his own peace which he himself instituted. Then King Margadud answered, "clearly you can not remember what our land has endured from these people, or what allegiance we owe to them. We have never remained in peace since the Saxons came into this land." The king gave Penda the power to manage with case with his discretion.

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<sup>336</sup>This detail is unique to the saga. <sup>337</sup>A Scandinavian approximation of the name for King Godboldus of the Orkneys in this position. *HRB*, XI.431 [197]. <sup>338</sup>Unique to the saga. This may belong to the hagiographic material <sup>339</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>340</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>341</sup>Unique to the saga. According to the *HRB* and *VV*, Penda simply attacks Oswald and kills him. *HRB*, XI.453-456 [199]. <sup>342</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>343</sup>This miracle does not appear in *HRB*. Although numerous miracles are attributed to Oswald, the source for this particular miracle is unknown. <sup>344</sup>Unique to the saga.

## 58v

lkaði þendzago fannar liði miklv j heriar a riki ofvið konvngf j þzendi borgir j þori j dzap þorði bozn  
 j konvr en er konvngfr þvrði þenna vfríð þa reðf hann vm við fina menn hvat til raðf skyllði taka en þeir  
 fystv hann at leita sætta ef koftr væri þvi at ekki var lið til moti ftoðv j bavð hann til sætta þorði  
 gvll j filfr j enna beztv manna dom a ollvm þeira malvm þendzago neittaði þerfv j kvez ætla  
 5 fer riki en hanvm davða en er ofvið þvrði at engar fengvz sættir þa mælli hann til finna manna off mvn þat  
 fyrri betra er þeir neita sættv skvlv ver þangat fækia til travft fem vrvgt er heitvm a almatt  
 kan gvð off til fvlltingf j mvnv ver íhanf travfti fagran figr vega Gongvm fram rofkle  
 ga j fýnmv enga ræzlv a ozf þvi at gott er hvart fem heldlz kemr vpp at ver falliom a fo  
 ðozleifð vari ella figrimz síþan tokz harðz bardagi með þeim j eigi langr aðz þendan fellr j  
 10 með hanvm .xxx. iarla en vfríð j hanf menn lofvðv gvð fyrri fagran figr eftir þendzag tok konvng dom  
 villifer fvn hanf j reðf hann þegar til bardaga við vfríð j með hanvm iarlar .ij. ebba j edbozt en  
 kaðal fyrri bavð þeim at beriaz j sætti þa heilvm fattvm j fat vfið síþan með fríði at finv riki **and**  
**NV** er kaðall hafsi konvngfr verið atta vetr j .xl. tok hann fott j **lat kaðalf konvngf**  
 andaðiz j var hann iardaðz i lvndvnmv j var þar kirkia ger j vigð envm helga mar  
 15 tino j er þar hvern dag lefin falv merfa fyrri hanf fal Síþan var þar fteypr af kopar ein  
 herfr j þar mæðr a baki með ollvm herklædvvm af eiri j gert fem likaz konvnginvm j fettr síþan yfir borg  
 arlið i lvndvnmv. þetta likneski var allt gyllt fem logi var þetta gozt konvngi til fómðar er hanf  
 artið .xv. kalendas decebrif Eftir hann tok riki fvn hanf er beda þreftr nefnir tedvallvm hann var þorði  
 vinfæll j fríðfámr En er .xij. vetr varv liðnir fra andlati kaþalf þa tok konvngfr vanmátt  
 20 mikin j gerðiz ftiornlavft landit var þa váran mikit j fvlltr j manndavðz fva mikill  
 at eigi varð halft iarðat flyðv þa bzozt allir þeir er þvi komv við konvngfr foz j brott með no  
 ckvt folk en er hann skildiz við england mælli hann með tara felling til illz hafá fparaz varir  
 lifdagar af fyndvm varvm j fozfio leysi j aftleyfi við gvð er nv skvlv þav vðome  
 her yfir ganga er alldri vrðv fyr j megv ver eigi dyliaz við at þetta er gvðf hefnd her hafá gengit  
 25 yfir rvmveriar allt bzeta riki j margar aðrar þioðir j heftr her þo alldzi slikt verið fem nv en fyrri  
 avðzv verðv ver nv at flyia eigi þrongva ozf nv heiðnar þioðir j eigi annar vfríðr helldz  
 verðv ver at flyia með gvðf vilia j hanf mætti j þvrfv ver at þerfi annavð fmviz ozf til  
 fynda lavfnar konvngfr kom til armonia rikif með fínmv monnvvm j var þar með alanvs konvngi .xi.  
 vetr hann var fvn falomonf konvngf fofta foðvr hanf j var hann þar meðan volld hellzt a englandi  
 30 **I** þenna tima kom til nozðhvmrv landz drottning fv er fæbvrg het með mikit **bygðiz england**  
 lið hon lagþi vndir fig allt nozðhvmrv land Ok er thedvallaf konvngfr fþyr hvat **annat finn**  
 titt var i englandi j þar tok ævi at batna j þar var komit nytt riki yfir bað hann alanvm konvng  
 fa fer lið j fkip þviat hann fyftiz aftr til englandz konvngfr iattaði hanvm þat j er fkipin biogvz  
 vitrað theovallo konvngi gvðf engill j bað hann eigi fara aftr til englandz j fagþi þat vera moti  
 35 gvðf vilia j bavð hanvm at fara til rvmaborgar a fvnd fergij papa j taka fkrípt af  
 hanvm j kvað hann þa mvndv hittaz i heilagra manna tolv fagþi at alldzi síþan mvndv hanf kynf

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21–22 nockvt] The vt is illegible. 29 a englandi] Worn; illegible. 30 england] Worn and difficult to read. The n and g appear to be written together. 31 hvat] Worn; nearly illegible. 32 bað hann alanvm konvng] Worn; illegible. 33 biogvz] Illegible. 34 vitrað] Jónsson, vitrað[iz]. 34 theovallo] Jónsson, thedvallo. The t is almost entirely obscured by a hole. 34 moti] Illegible.

Penda assembles a great army and harries in King Oswi's realm, and he burned cities and farms, and killed both women and children. When the king heard of this enmity, he speaks with his men about what should be done about this, but they urged him to seek an agreement, if there were a choice, because there were no troops for a resistance, and he offered him an agreement with both gold and silver, and by all of their estimations, the best men. Penda rejected this and proclaimed that he planned the kingdom for himself, and that he will kill him. But when Oswi learned that no agreement was made, he said to his men, "that will be better for us if they reject an agreement. We should go there for protection, where it is safe, call upon Almighty God for help, and where we will win a splendid victory by his power. Depart quickly, and show no fear among us, because whatever will happen it will turn out for the best, whether we fall away from our patrimony or gain victory."<sup>345</sup> And then a severe battle erupted between them, and it was not long before Penda dies, and with him thirty earls, and Oswi and his men praised God for the splendid victory. After , his son took the kingdom, and to battle with Oswi, and the two earls, and , were with him, but Caduallo forbade them to fight, and reconciled them in a firm agreement, and after this, sat in peace in his realm. 5R 10R

### The Death of King Caduallo

[201] Now when had been king for forty eight years, he became sick and died, and he was buried in London, and a church was built there and it was consecrated to Saint Martin, and every day a mass for the dead was read for his soul. There was since a horse cast out of copper, and a man on the back with full armor made out of brass, and made in the likeness of the king, and it is placed over the fortress in London. This likeness was completely gilded, like fire.<sup>346</sup> This was done to honor the king.<sup>347</sup> He died on the fifteenth of December. After him his son took the realm, who the priest Bede names . He was both popular and peaceful. After twelve years elapsed from the death of , then the king took very ill, and the land came to be without government. That spring there was much hunger and so much loss of life that one could bury only half of the dead. Then everyone who followed him departed.<sup>348</sup> The king left with some people, but as soon as he departed from England he said tearfully, "it is most unfortunate for us that, due to our sins, lack of foresight, and our contempt for God, that we have spared our lives, and when we confront this approaching monstrosity, which was never confronted by us before, we cannot deny that this is God's vengeance. The entire British nation has been taken over by the Romans and many other nations, and for this reason we must flee before this happens again. No heathen people or any other unfriendly people will coerce us, but we will flee by God's will and his power, and because of this oppression, we must seek the redemption of our sins."<sup>349</sup> The king came to the kingdom of with his men, and he was there for eleven years with King , who was the son of King and his foster-father, and he was there while that power remained in Britain.<sup>350</sup> 15R 20R 25R

### England Builds Itself Up Again

[205] In this time, a queen came with a great army to Northumberland who was named . She subdued all of Northumberland.<sup>351</sup> And when King hears what had happened in England, and that the situation began to improve, and a new government was installed, and he asked King for military support and ships because he desired to return to England. The king consented to this, but when the ships were being prepared, angels of God revealed themselves to King , and ordered him to not go back to England, and they said this was against God's will, and they ordered him to go to Rome to meet with Pope and receive penance from him, and he said that he would find himself on the list of saints, and he said that his kin would never more 30R

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<sup>345</sup>This speech is unique to the saga. <sup>346</sup>The reference to fire is unique to the saga. <sup>347</sup>Unique to the saga. <sup>348</sup>Chedualla, or Cadualarus, along with his followers, left Britain and sailed for Brittany. *HRB*, XI.524-544. [203]. <sup>349</sup>The *VV*, [203], pp. 188-189, is more expanded from *HRB*, with more ecclesiastical hyperbole, "*miserabile ac pauendum spectaculum!*", and a longer more languishing speech by Cadualadrus. None of this material is common to *Breta sggur*. <sup>350</sup>Section [204] is a bit expanded in the *VV*, p. 190, in which , the first Saxon King to wear the crown of Britain, is mentioned. The comparable passage in *HRB* appears at [207], XI.596. The passage does not appear in *Breta sggur*. <sup>351</sup>An odd inclusion not related to *HRB*. The name could have originated with Sæberht, a king of Sussex mentioned by Bede, *HEGA*, II.3,II.5. Otherwise, this reference is unknown.

## 59r

menn ríki hafá yfir englandi nema þeir nyti hanf verðleika við En konungr kendiz við at þa gekk eftir  
 sþa merlinus sþamanz ef sva fœri virði konungr meira boð gvdf en fyfi sına var  
 þa rofin þerfi fkipabvnaðz 7 sv ætlan er aðz var ger Bio þa konungr ferð sına til romf 7  
 kom a fvnd fergij papa 7 tok hann feginfamlega við hanvm 7 styrkti hann i mozgvvm fogrvvm  
 5 oðvm 7 dyrlegvm dœrmvm i sinni trv 7 sva fegiz at hann gaf þar vpp sitt konungsnafn 7 allt  
 ríki 7 sþan vigði fergius papa hann til byskupf hann lifði sþan eigi lengr en atta daga 7 andadiz í  
 romaborg til eiliff fagnaðar .xij. kalendas maíj þa var liðit fra bvrð varf herra Iesu Christi  
 dc. ara 7 .lxx. 7 .ix. ar Sva er fagt at sþan var ecki bzeta konunga ríki yfir englandi vtan  
 af þeira sialfra ætt fyrir noðhvrmv landi reð fæbozg drottning eitt ár Avll þerfi  
 10 tíðindi er nv hafá fogð verið fra bzetlandz bygð 7 þeira konunga við fkiptvm er þar varv yfir erv ritvð  
 eftir þeir bok er hiftozia bzitorvm heitir 7 er hon ger af fyri fogn alexandzf lvndvna byskupf  
 7 valltara erkibyskup diakn or axna fvrðv 7 gilla enf froða kaðvalla var konungr  
 xxx. 7 víj. ar. hann lagði fyrfr roma skatt a allt england a hveriv ari at giallda  
 Eftir hann var adalraðz .xíj. ar þa var fimbvr drottningeitt ar þa kínívlfr konungr .víj.  
 15 ár 7 .xx. þa bzicivus .xvíj. ár þa Eggbrigtvs .xxx. ara 7 .víj. manvðr hann lagði mozg  
 ríki vndir fig þa eidvlfr svn hanf er ríkti halft anað ár þa edelalldz svn hanf .v. ar  
 þa aðalbzigbt bzodir eiðvlff .ví. ár þa alfriðz bzodir þeira .víj. ár 7 .xx. hann eig  
 naðiz fyft þerfa konunga allt ríkit 7 rak brott alla vfriðar menn 7 styrði ríkinv vel 7 lengi  
 eftir hann ríkti iatvardz svn hanf .ííj. ar 7 .xx. Eftir hann aðalstein goði xi. ar 7 xx. 7  
 20 ví. vikvr 7 þri daga hann foft radi hakon svn haralz konungf harfara  
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8 Sva ] The S is stylized with three extra horizontal curves. 11 þeir ] Jónsson, þeir(i). 14 drottning ] Jónsson, drottni(n)g. 20 þri ] Jónsson, þri(a).  
 20 harfara ] Jónsson, harfa(g)ra.

[206] have power over England if they could not garner his worthiness. But the king recognized that this would follow the prophecies of the prophet Merlin if this happened. The king considered the commandment of God more than his desire. The ship's preparations were halted, along with the plan which was made earlier. The king made ready for his journey to Rome, and he arrived to his meeting with Pope Sergio, and he received him joyfully, and he strengthened him with many kind words and valuable examples for his faith, and it was said that he gave up his king's title and the entire realm, and after this, Pope Sergio consecrated him to be a bishop. After this, he didn't live longer than eight days, and he died in everlasting joy on the twelfth of May. That was six hundred seventy-nine years after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. So it is said that there were no British kings with power over England after this, except those who ruled their own kin.<sup>352</sup>

5R

Queen ruled over Northumberland for one year.<sup>353</sup>

[208] All these events, which have been accounted here, about Britain's settlement, and regarding the deeds of those kings  
[109], [2] are written in that book which is called *Historia britonum*, which is dedicated to Alexander, the Bishop of London, Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford, and Gillus the Wise.<sup>354</sup>

10R

Caduallo was king for thirty-seven years.<sup>355</sup> He marked himself as the first to pay Roman tribute to all of England every year.<sup>356</sup> After him was Æðelred for thirteen years. Then was Queen Simbur<sup>357</sup> for one year, then Cynewulf<sup>358</sup> for twenty eight years, then Baldred for seventeen years, then Egbert for thirty years and seven months. He subdued many kingdoms. Then this son Æðelwulf, who had the realm for half a year, then his son Æðelbald for five years, then Æðelbert, Æðelred<sup>359</sup> brother for six years, then their brother Alfred for twenty eight years. He was the first of these kings to acquire the entire realm, and he drove away all of his enemies, and ruled the kingdom well, and for a long time. After him, his son Edward ruled for twenty four years. After him Æðelstan the Good ruled twenty nine years, six weeks, and three days. He fostered Hákon, the son of King Harald Fairhair.

15R

20R

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<sup>352</sup>A similar statement is made at *HRB*, XI.558-559 [204]. <sup>353</sup>Unique to the saga. See note 290. <sup>354</sup>Refers to Geoffrey's dedicatory material. Geoffrey includes an address to Alexander Bishop of Lincoln in the preface before the *Prophetiae*, 1-24. Certain manuscripts of *HRB* include a dedication to Robert of Gloucester and Waleran count of Meulan. It is uncertain to whom *gilla enffroða* is referring. The name may refer to Waleran, Gildas, or a misreading of Latin *Guallius*. The *VV* contains none of this dedicatory material. <sup>355</sup>The saga does not include Geoffrey's closing, *HRB*, XI.587-607 [207],[208]. <sup>356</sup>That is, as supposed by the saga writer, he was the first of the Welsh kings to owe tribute to the English. <sup>357</sup>The source for this figure is unknown. See note 290. <sup>358</sup>Or Coelwulf? <sup>359</sup>The saga writer repeats the name Æðelwulf (Eidulf), their father in this position.