Breta sögur from AM 544 4to: an Edition and Translation

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Abstract

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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 Britanniae, known as the Breta sogur. The following text contains a diplomatic edition of the Breta sogur 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 sogur in English. The relationship between Breta sogur 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 make 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 sǫgur

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 þersa bok ritada (ek) Haukr Elliz svn. efter þeiri bók sem retad hafdi herra Sturla logmadr hinn fróði madr ok eftir bok annarri er ritad hafdi Styrmir hinn fródi. ok hafða ek þat or hvaði sem framargreind. enn mikill þori var þat er þær sogdu eins badar.”¹ [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.]² 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 rauda, much of

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.
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 favðvr herra Hauks logmannz.”

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. 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 Landámabók, Erlend was married to Járngerðr Þórðardóttir, a woman who was not Haukr's mother. 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. After this position was apparently

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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*. In 1303, we find a testimony issued along with one Ivarr, Lawman of Bergen. 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. 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. Before his departure in the same year, he founded the “Hospital for Learned Men,” in Árnessýsla. A letter survives from 1310 that exhibits a fine example of his handwriting. 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. 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. 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. 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 Kirkjubøur. 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...

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10. Jónsson and Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, p. II.
12. Flateyjarannálar.
16. Ibid.
17. *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, p. 495.
themself, 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 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. Breita sogur concludes with another genealogical emendation, although it is uncertain whether or not it was added to the Galfridian material by Haukr himself.
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 Ælendinga saga. 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 saga, 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 Skáld saga, the Norwegian saga of Harald hárfagri, an appropriate inclusion that completes the evocation of Norwegian regnal line at the end of the Breta saga, and an important account serving to reinforce the legitimacy of Haukr’s patrons. One also finds Þáttr af Upplendiga konungum, which amounts to little more than a genealogical account that tells the story of Óláf Trételgja, a figure whose story like King Harald’s, was also compiled in Heimskringla. Óláf was the son of the fabled Swedish King Ingjald of the legendary line of Uppsala 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 Eiríksson, who would have traced his own lineage, and his legitimacy, in both Norwegian and Swedish lines. Hauksbók’s inclusion of Ragnars sona þáttr, the story of founding kings of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, is also evocative.

In addition to Eiríks saga rauða, other Ælendinga saga recorded in Hauksbók include Kristni saga, Fóstbræðra saga, Heiðrik’s 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. 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 Ælendinga saga.

1.2 Adaptation and Style

Magnús Fjalldal bemoans the lack of literary quality in the Hauksbók *Breta sǫgur*. 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 sǫgur* is substantially shorter than the length of the complete Vulgate Version text of the *Historia regum Britanniae,* 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 sǫgur* 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 sǫgur,* the saga writer adapts the Latin source to the formal conventions of Icelandic literary style. The Hauksbók *Breta sǫgur* contains a complete rendering of the *Prophetie Merlinsi* to formal Icelandic skaldic verse, along with the attribution to Gunnlaugr Leifsson (d. 1219). 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.

Formal Icelandic elements of prose are also used throughout *Breta sǫgur.* 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 suum implicare etiam etiam sensum habere; sed ut sciret quae illarum parte regni potiore dignior esset, adiuit singulas ut interrogaret quae ipsum magis diligere.

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26. Similar to some Latin texts of the *Historia* as well as rendering by Wace, Laȝamon, and others, the Icelandic version in AM 573 4to and AM 764 4to omit the matter of the *Prophetie Merlinsi* entirely.
1.2. ADAPTATION AND STYLE

[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.]

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 rikr y hermaðr mikill en fyrra lvt ævi finar hann vann vndir sig cornbretalánd j fskotland ecki var hann vitr maddr kallaðr hann atti iij. dortr het ein ellzta goðonilla en onvragay en hin yngfla goðdoella hon var þeira venazt y vitrazt konungr vinni henri y merfl vm langa Ïvnd En er hann tok at elldaz þa vildi hann profa hvelika aft hann atti hverri þeira at lavn.]

[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.]

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 baðti Þín at hvita þínu øllvm konungum hertogvm þ iózlem et øllvm konungum hertogvm þ iózlem þ
[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.]

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 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 saga* 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:

> red canoni in armonica þerla flund Dionotes red þa bretlandi hann atti eina fríða dottor er vefla het hennar bad canoni in þar var hannum iattad hon fós hon hon fífan fíði vm fio i faxland med xi. þøvínað meyía þar er þar konv in kolni þar var þer firi attila konung hvnalandað med her mikinn þ vildv þronga þeim til famvílf við þa en af þer at þar varv kriftnar þar vildv þar eigi famýckia við heiðna menn þa let attila konung halhoça þar allar þ er þar kalliðar konifneía. Cononius ruled over Armorica during this time.

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

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.

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 saga* 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.

*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.*
Then, all of his surviving men fled. After the battle, and 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.  

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 a form of gloss accompanying the text of a Latin source. 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 Bretra sǫgur.

As both of these saints were very popular in Northern Europe, its is unsurprising that the saga writer gave them special attention. The material was important enough to warrant a higher degree of redactorial 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 Ælendingasögur, is used in Bretra sǫgur. The saga offers a text that is distinctly Icelandic, not only in language, but in style. The Bretra sǫgur, 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 Bretra sǫgur. 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. Bretra sǫgur, [199], II. 21R-27R.  
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:

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. 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. Written in Haukr Erlendsson's hand.

AM 544 4to

A. *Heimsóying ok helgifrœði*. 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 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.

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B. *Völsþá*. 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*. Written in Hand 7.

C. *Trójumanna saga*. 22r–33v. An Icelandic translation of Dares Phrygius's synopsis of material from the *Iliad*. Written in Haukr Erlendsson’s hand.

D. A description of seven stones and their alchemical qualities. 34r. Written in Haukr Erlendsson’s hand.


F. *Breta sǫgur*. 36r–59r. Icelandic translation of a synopsis of the *Aeneid* and Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae*. 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. Written in Haukr Erlendsson’s hand.

J. *Fóstbrœðra 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.


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.


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45. Ibid. p. X.
46. Ibid. p. IX.
1.3. THE MANUSCRIPT

N. Þáttr af Upplendiga konungum. 104v-105v. A brief genealogical þáttr on Óláfr Trételgja, a Swedish founder of the contemporary Norwegian Dynasty. Written in Haukr Erlendsson’s hand.

O. Ragnars sona þáttr. 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.


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.

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 Vǫluspá 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 Hauskbók.

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 sǫgur is not surprising. This configuration, a Latin De excidio Troiae in close proximity to Geoffrey’s Historia, appears often in the manuscripts. 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 redactorial choices and need not be viewed as two parts of a single text. The De excidio Troiae, along with the Icelandic Trojumanna saga, are best understood to be satellite texts often closely associated with Geoffrey’s Historia.

47. [Ibid.]
Breta sǫgur 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. The last leaf of Gathering 8, f. 59, which is also the last leaf of Breta sǫgur, 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 Hemingbs 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 sǫgur, we find the following: “Biarni Einarrson a Hamre a þessa bök med rettu og hefur hann lied mier han i bokaskiptum og skal hann fá 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]. 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). 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.” 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. After 1652 the first section of the manuscript AM 371 4to, was given to Bishop Brynjólfs 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 Einarsnes where much of this section was touched up by Lawman Sigurður Jónsson and his secretary Sigurður Björnsson. The details by which Árni Magnússon obtained AM 544 4to are obscure, but the remainder of the Hauksbók appears to have been given to him by Bishop Brynjólfs heirs after his death sometime after 1702. Helgason points out that Skálda saga, Heiðreks
1.4. BRETA SǪGUR

BRETA SǪGUR saga, and Hemings þáttir were in Norway and copied for publication.

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. 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. 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 Breita sǫgur 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. 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 Breita sǫgur

The Hauksbók Breita sǫgur 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 Breita sǫgur also contains an epitome of the matter of Aeneas ultimately derived from Vergil’s Aeneid, none of which appears in Geoffrey’s Historia. This material is substantially abridged from the source, and includes numerous references to other classical sources and allusions from courtly romances. 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 Aneas’s victory. The Trojan

64. In particular, see this edition of Breita sǫgur, 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 Bretha sögur is AM 573 4to. This manuscript contains Trójumanna saga, Bretha sögur, and the beginning of Valvens þáttr. 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. In AM 764 4to, the Vergilian introduction is drastically abbreviated, and only traces Geoffrey’s history up to Casibellanus.

The Hauksbók copy of Bretha 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, ɔ and ʃ are used liberally. The insular ᵣ is used throughout. Tironian ʢ is the dominate correlative, though ɑk appears occasionally as well. Haukr also used many commonplace abbreviations such as, ɛ for er, ʜ for pra, ʝ for pra, ʀ for hann, m for með, t for til, ʢ for þæ, ʊ for um, and so on, as well as abbreviations particularly relevant to the text such as, brut for brutus, and ʢm 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.”

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 Bretha

68. Jónsson and Jónsson, Hauksbók, p. XXXVI.
1.5. THE EDITION

sǫgur when the manuscript was used and transcribed in 1839 by Jón Sigurðsson. 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. Árni Magnússon makes note of this tendency on the part of both men. 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, þ³ is expanded to þeið, ᶠ is written hann, Íb is written lann, and so on. Haukr’s use of tironian ȝ is maintained, as is the use of ȝ and Ꝝ as they appear in the text. All other letters are standardized to modern Latin type. Chapter titles in the Breta sǫgur 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. 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

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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-Magnæan Manuscripts, p. XXIV.
71. Jónsson and Jónsson, Hauksbók, p. XIV.
72. Reeve, Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain.
liberty to include ꝛ or ſ where I expect Haukr to have used them, such as in the words, brutus or flirk.

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 sǫgur* 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 Sighjalmr, and these forms have generally been preserved. Since the Anglo-Saxon names tend to appear in a Germanic form in *Breta sǫgur*, I have used the Old English form. For instance, the Anglo-Saxon king Æðelbert appears in *Breta sǫgur* as aðalb长途, 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 sǫgur* contains many idiomatic linguistic forms, such as the use of hofþingi. 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 XƎTEX, a variant of the TEX engine commonly used in mathematics and in the sciences to professionally format and typeset mathematical structures. XƎTEX 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 XƎTEX, Version 3.1415926 with the TEXworks editor for Arch Linux, Version 0.4.5 r.1280. The font is Junicode, Version 0.7.8-1.
Chapter 2

*Breta sǫgur* 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 sǫgur*, 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 Arnamagnæan 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 Gafroidian historical prose. Another substantially compressed and faulty version of *Breta sǫgur* 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, and the First Variant Version. 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. The use of the First Variant Version by Wace for his *Roman de Brut*, c. 1155, is a decisive dating criterion. The Variant

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3. Ibid., p. lxx.

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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. 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. Although the Icelandic text in the main follows the Vulgate Version, several editorial changes that occur in the Variant Version, that are relevant to Bretha sǫgur, are catalogued below.

The relationship between Bretha sǫgur 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 Bretha sǫgur was not a manuscript preserving the First Variant Version; the translation follows some representative of the Vulgate text. Although the Icelandic text in the main follows the Vulgate Version, several editorial changes that occur in the Variant Version, that are relevant to Bretha sǫgur, are catalogued below.

All versions of the Icelandic Bretha sǫgur 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 Bretha sǫgur’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. 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 Bretha sǫgur 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

6. The names in some dedications do not appear consistently in all the manuscripts. See Reeve, 2007, ix.
8. The relationship between the Bretha sǫgur of AM 573 4to, AM 764 4to, and the Galfridian sources is beyond the scope of this initial study.
10. Tétrel, Trojan Origins and the Use of the Aeneid and Related Sources in the Old Icelandic Brut, pp. 490-514.
2.2 Material Shared by the Vulgate Version and *Breta sǫgur*

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 sǫgur*.

Wright catalogs nine chapters from the Vulgate Version which are wholly omitted in the Variant Version: [1], [2], [3], [4], [109], [110], [165], [185], and [187]. 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 *Prophetic Merlini*, in sections, [109], and [110]. In the Hauksbók *Breta sǫgur*, [1], [2], [3], and [4] have been essentially replaced by the Vergilian introduction mentioned above. However, Hauksbók *Breta sǫgur* rehearse 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 tóðindi er nv haði fogð verið fra brétlandz bygð þetra konunga við fíktvm er þar varv yfír erv ritvð eftir bok er hífþóia bítorvm heitir þer hon ger af fýri fogn alexandrís lýndvna byskopf þaltrær erki diakn or axna fyrðv þ gilla enf froðr”

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 innecit, nec coeptis suis desistit donec fletu fatigata sopori
A corresponding passage appears in *Breta sogur*, “innogen fell íva ner brøtferðin at hon vissi nalega ecki tíl manna þ hvæði (Brvtvs) hana.”

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 sogur* by a passing mention of Kaerlud. “hon var lengi kallað Enouantu mëft að barlveð en nv heitir hon lëndvna borg.” 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 eliæf þamadær a gyðinga landi þ bað hann þerf gvð at eigi fskyldi regna þ veitti gvo hanum þat at eigi rengði vmi halft .iiii. ár.”

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 sogur*.

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.” The detail of the duration of the battle is preserved in the saga; “tekz þar harþr baxdagi þ boþdøv þeir allan dag en at kvelldi floyð nordømenn tíl íkipa ...”

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 sogur* preserves the the fact that Gorbanianus was a great pagan in the passage, “hann var blotmaðr mikill þa var íva mikit ar i bretlandi at engi mnði annað flikt.”

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
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 nequiere.” finds a corresponding passage in Breta sogur, “ivlius γ andrọgos ϝ fettvz vm fiallit γ ἀετνῶν at fitia ῥείμ γαρ ματ.”

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 diuulgata, diligebant eum Romani et timebat ita ut prae omnibus regibus sermo de eo apud Roman fieret.” Mention of the king’s popularity is preserved in Breta sogur, “Arviragσ gerδσj ᾣ frīδfamr γ vинфell i vинф sики γ varδ ellidavδ.”

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 sogur.

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 sogur.

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. The passage is preserved in Breta sogur, “albanσ tok ᾣ hann mann i fitt valld er aṃprolabes hεt γ ᾣ er alarar villdv taka hann ᾣ fktiti albans klėδvm vιδ hann γ geck fiŋan glαδz til piŋa fyi vgyz fakir.”

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 sogur.

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 sogur excludes all details of the capture of Brittany.

21. HRB, [62], p. 79.
22. Breta sogur, i. 46r, l. 9.
23. HRB, [69], p. 87.
24. Breta sogur, i. 46v, l. 15.
25. HRB, [77], p. 95.
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 contain 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 sǫgur only refers to the incursions of Vikings and robbers at this time. “Eftir þetta la brêtland lengi sífan vndir hernaði vikinga þ ráf manna.”

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. Breta sǫgur places this episode in the same position as the Vulgate, “I þenna tima kom germanus byskvp þ lypes byskvp til brêtlandz at boða trv þvi at þar var þa nalega alheiði þ ger ðv margar iartegn.”

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 sǫgur, 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 sǫgur, “þa ottaðiz hann avrelivm þviat hann var mikill atgioþri madr.”

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 þfvnd þvnda fllf þ ef ek verð konungr þkallað vera hvndraði hofðingi.”

27. Breta sǫgur, f. 48r, l. 2.
28. HRB, [101], p. 131; VV, [102], pp. 94-95.
29. Breta sǫgur, f. 48v, ll. 2-3.
30. Breta sǫgur, l. 53r, ll. 11-12.
31. Breta sǫgur, l. 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 sǫgur* 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 sǫgur*, “konungr varð glaðr við figr fín þat mæliti helldví illida ek fivkr vega líkan figr en flyia heill.”

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.” *Breta sǫgur*, although does not include any direct material from the speech, references it, “Þa taka vr konungr fyrri herinnm þat eggjandi þa til framgongv.”

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 sǫgur* omits all details.

Section [160]; Hoel’s speech praising King Arthur’s plan to engage Rome. This speech, which makes up the entirely of Section [160] has been completely omitted in the Variant Version. The speech is preserved in a rather loose rendering in *Breta sǫgur*, “Da mæliti hoel konungf sýftrr ívn yða bíðiv ver þoþmenn vera þerfar ferðar en ver vilivm allir fylgja yða at forkiromania þviat íva hafa varir þoþmenn fyrri fagt at .íi. bretzkir menn kýlldv eignaz roma riki nv hafa .íj. eignaz en ívn eða thrimi takið nv sigrin er slafir gengr heim at yða man ek annad hvart falla í þerki ferð eða fa figr íkal ek fa yða .x. þfýndir vatkra maonna til þerfar ferðar.”

Section [166]; Gawain, Boso, and 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 sǫgur*, in which Gawain simply decapitates the Roman.

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32. *Breta sǫgur*, f. 54r, ll. 17-18.
33. VV, [146], p. 141.
34. *Breta sǫgur*, f. 54v, ll. 10-11.
35. HRB, [160], 219.
36. *Breta sǫgur*, 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.” finds a corresponding passage in Breta sogur, “En íva mikin her hoﬂv rvunverir at i hverri þeitra fylkving var .vi. þvvenðað manna ʃ .vi. hvndvð ʃ .vi. menn.”

Section [171]; The battle of Siesia in which Beduerus and Kauis 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.” 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. “vnð færv tæðindi þar fyrft at bocko meðia konungr reið moti boðvero ʃ laðði ðpioti i gegnim hann en íra kei villdi hefna hans ʃ var farðr bana.” 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 sogur.

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 Poliétém, infortunium ei obuis fecit, quos abscisis capitibus ad Tartara direxit.

The corresponding passage in Breta sogur: “hann felldi .i.j. rvunveria hoﬂvngia sfortories libia konungr ʃ polite konung af bithinia.” There is a corresponding passage in the Variant Version, however, the kings are not named, “Hic duoß orientales reges obuios sibi infortunium dedit quos abscisis capitibus ad tartara misit.”

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 sogur.

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 sogur does not contain a corresponding passage.

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37. HRB, [170], pp. 239-241.
39. HRB, [171], p. 240.
40. Breta sogur, f. 56r, ll. 31-35.
41. HRB, [174], p. 247.
42. Breta sogur, 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 pertarent.” The saga writer preserves both of these elements. “hann hafþi þa eigi minna lið en .lx. þvfvndzæða þo hafþi konvngr meira lið þ eciaði hann faft þina menn.”

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 sǫgur*.

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 sǫgur* 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.” The entire chapter is omitted in the Variant Version but a corresponding passage occurs in *Breta sǫgur*, “Geck þifan þrettland ot þreta konvngag ætt til foðraða baro fæxar þar þo eigi konvngř nafni þ skipti þa landt nafni þ var þifan kallat england.”

Section [190]; Caduan becomes king of Britain and cedes territory to Æðelfrið. The Vulgate Version contains a brief description of Æbelfrið’s repudiation and banishment of his pregnant wife, and his taking of another woman as his queen. A corresponding passage appears in *Breta sǫgur*, “litv þifak let ædralði konvngg eina konv fina en tok ædra i flæðin En hon fòr a fvnf kadvani konvngř þ tOk hann hana ifitt valld þetti hana i háfætti.”

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 sǫgur*, but in a particularly corrupt and mistranslated form. “hann talaði þetta fyri foðra finvm þ fytrv er brian het en er hann fagþi henni þetta þa kom fva mikill gratr at henni var fadormþetta þvðriz vm allt rikiz.”

Section [193]; Caduallo retreats from Edwin to Guernsey. The Vulgate Version includes a long narrative detailing

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44. HRB, [178], p 253.
45. *Breta sǫgur*, I. 56v, II. 26-27.
46. HRB, [187], p. 259
47. *Breta sǫgur*, I. 57r, II. 23-25.
49. *Breta sǫgur*, I. 57v, II. 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. The corresponding passage in *Breta sǫgur* preserves much of the Vulgate’s detail. “fell þa sva nær manna mifflir með finni vígræli at hann átt ecki ne drack .vi. dörgr hann lagðiz i hvilv af þersv olv saman En er sva var komit bað at brian fostri hans fskyldi fara at veiða hannm dyr i eyni hannf òfæ allan dag at leita dyra þ fann ecki En er hann kom heim þa ðkar hann voðvan oflæri ser þ steikt þ gerði til matar konvngi þ sagði hanvm dyra holld vera konvng ðat þ ðoxtiz ecki iamgott etið hafa þ varð hann naleza heill a .iij. dogvm.”

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

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

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 sǫgur*.

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 sǫgur* does not mention Bede but preserves the duration of his rule. “En er .xíj. vetr varv liðnir fra andlati kaþals þa tok konvng ðanmátt mikin þ gerðiz fltorlvast landit.”

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 sǫgur* 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 sǫgur*

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 sǫgur*.

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. Educurt autem Ascanius summa pietate Postumum Siluium fratrem suum ex Lauinia procreatum”.

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et cum xxx annis et iii regnassit, Silium reliquid heredem." There is no corresponding passage in HRB or Breta sǫgur; 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. 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 quicum qui uiarum aut pontium curam haberet in toto regno." There is no corresponding passage in HRB or Breta sǫgur.

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." The moon does not appear in the cognate Vulgate passage: “Et cum uallem armis hostium fulgere prospexissent, confestim stupefacti ab turbante sunt Brenniium Senonque Gallos adesse." The glinting armor is represented in the Breta sǫgur in, “En er dagr var fyrir fer fioða manna með biortvm vapnvm þið flo þa otta a þa þ hvgþv at þenir mvndi þar kominn." Neither the Vulgate Version nor Breta sǫgur 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 aprecam nemoribus ac fluminibus riuisque et omni Dei munere opulentam." There is no corresponding passage in Breta sǫgur.

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. Sic enim scriptum est: anno ab
urbe condita sexcentesimo nonagesimo tercio, ante uero incarnationem Domini anno sexagesimo, Iulius Cesar primus Romanorum Britannias bello pulsuit, in nauibus onerariis et actuariis circiter octoginta aduectus. There is no corresponding passage in the Breta sǫgur.

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. “Paratis itaque omnibus que ad tantum negocium pertinebant biennio emenso naubusque sexcentis utriusque commodi comparatis iterum Britanniam adit.” There is no corresponding passage in Breta sǫgur.

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, “Serenaerant enim mentem eius miracula que Christi discipuli et predicatores per diversas nacionum gentes ediderant. Et quidem in omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terre uerba eorum. Et quia ad amorem uere fidei hanelabat, pie peticionis effectum consecutus est.” 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.” There are no passages in Breta sǫgur 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. “Ipse uero Rome imperator creatus .xl. ab Augusto imperium rexit anno ab incarnacione 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.” There are no corresponding passages in Breta sǫgur.

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.” 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 aliui hunc, aliui illum acclamarent, accessit uir gnarus quidem sed dolosus, Uortigernus, consul

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63. VV, [54], p. 47.
66. VV, [59], p. 52.
67. VV, [72], p. 64.
68. VV, [72], p. 64.
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 spopondit. Relictis ergo illis Wintoniam tendit, monasterium ingreditur atque colloquium regalis iuuenis deposcit. Cumque extra clastrum eductus esset, uerba huiuscemodi auribus illius secreto instillauit. There are no corresponding passages in Breita sogur.

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 fratruelae suo Ebissa; bellatores enim uiri sunt et expugnabunt nobiscum omnes inimicos tuos maris et terre.” The coast of Kent is mentioned at the end of Vortigern's third battle, “tercium bellum super litus maris Cancie iuxta naues ipsorum Saxonum.” 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. None of this information appears in Breita sogur.

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 insusurran motu labiorum tamquam ad oracionem precepit ut adhiberent manus et asportarent quo uellent. Depositis itaque max lapidibus ad naues leuiet delatos intus loquerunt et sic cum gaudio et ammiracione in Britanniam reuertuntur. There is no corresponding passage in Breita sogur.

Section [137]; Uther pacifies Dumbarton and subdues the Picts. During his coronation celebration he becomes smitten with Igerma, 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 Igerma. Variant Version contains a passage comparing Uther's reaction to Igerma to David's reaction with Bathsheba. “Quam cum ex aduerso respexisset rex tamquam Duid in Bersabee, subito Sathana mediante incaluit et postpositis omnibus curam amoris sui totam in eam uerit atque fercula multimoda sibi gratuando dirigebat, aurea quoque pocula familiaribus

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? There is no corresponding passage
in Breza sgur.

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 par tem silue cedentes egressum eis ea
parte prohibuerunt atque tribus diebus ibidem obsidentes fame coactos dedicioni coegerunt, convencione taliter
facta ut relictis armis et carcinis et omnibus que habebant tantum cum uita et navibus in terram suam redire
sinerentur. There is no corresponding passage in Breza sgur.

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. This does not appear in Breza sgur.

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 max gratanter omnes sui
suorumque familatum fidelem in obsequium suum quocumque eos ducere ulilet quatinus nomen suum in omnes
terras celebraretur. There is no corresponding passage in Breza sgur.

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 convertebat. There is no corresponding passage in Breza sgur.

Section [172]; After Beduerus’s death, his nephew Hirelglas 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. There is no corresponding passage in Breza sgur.

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
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,” finds a corresponding passage from *Breta sogur* that does not appear and *HRB*, “faxar þat þo eigi konung þafn þa þkipþ þa landit þafni þar þifþan kallat england.” Another passage in the Variant Version, “Creati sunt interea plurimi reges Anglorum Saxonum qui in diuersis partibus Loegrie regnauerunt; inter quos fuit Edelbertus rex Canicie, uir illustris et magne pietatis” resembles the three kings in the *HRB*: “Sed nec Saxones diadema insulae adhuc adepti sunt, qui tribus etiam regibus subditi quandoque sibi ipsi quonque Britonibus inquietationem inferebant.” There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sogur*.

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.” However, the passage does have a corresponding passage in *Breta sogur*, “…hann predicaði þar trv þi kirdi aðalbrikt konung…” The ultimate source for this material is, of course, Bede.

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 terrre suo se intra includerant civitatem monachi et heremite, uiri religionsi, quamplures ex diuersis Britonum prouinciis et maxime de Bangor ut pro salute populi sui intercederent apud regem Edelfridum et ceteros regulos.” There is no corresponding passage in *Breta sogur*.

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 sogur*. 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 sogur*, “hafia gengit yfir rvnveriar allt breta kiki þ margar aðrar þioðir þefir her þo allði flkt verðv fem þv en fyri avðen verðv ver nvn at flyia,” recalls the Vulgate Version, “Incumbit ergo illius potestatis ultio, quae nos ex natali solo exstirpat,
CHAPTER 2. BRETA SǪGUR AND HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIE

quos nec olim romani cec deinde Scoti uel Picti nec uersutatae proditionis Saxones exterminare quierunt. In the Variant Version, the Britons are simply dispersed by divine will.

2.4 Breta sǫgur 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. Of the material in these fifty-eight chapters, thirty-eight contains material that corresponds in some form with text appearing in the Hauksbók Breta sǫgur. 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.

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 sǫgur was produced in a milieu where there was recourse to material associated with the Vulgate Historia regum Britannie.

Breta sǫgur 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 sǫgur 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.
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 *Bretna 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. 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 *Bretna 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. It is also notable that the *Bretna sǫgur* of AM 573 4to agrees with the duration recorded in *Historia Romanum*. The episode with the household gods is entirely omitted from Hauksbók *Bretna 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. 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 *Bretna 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 *Bretna 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

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100. Tétrel, "Trojan Origins and the Use of the *Æneid* 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 *Bretna sǫgur* drew their introductory materials from a common source.
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 *Æneid* and Related Sources in the Old Icelandic *Brut*," p. 513.
postmodum dicta est;\textsuperscript{103} does not appear to have an extra-textual source beyond it’s 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 \textit{Breta sǫgur} 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\textsuperscript{104}. 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 \textit{Breta sǫgur} 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 \textit{Breta sǫgur} 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 \textit{Íslendingasogur}. 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 \textit{Merlínússpá}. Despite its pattern of compression, the \textit{Breta sǫgur} of AM 544 4to, clearly does not follow the editorial patterns of the redactor of the Variant Version of the \textit{Historia regum Britannie}, and does not contain a substantial amount of material differing from the Vulgate text as edited by Neil Wright. \textit{Breta sǫgur} 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 \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{103} VV, [186/7], p. 177.
\textsuperscript{104} Bede, \textit{Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People}, LXXV-XXV.
Bibliography


Chapter 3

AM 544, Breta sögur
36r

10 er at segja af enem envm her hefr bretas ñogur

15 milldla at hann rakz lengi i hafe þa er hann fói af troio γ

kem hann vm fríðir fríkyle þar varav þa fyrir miklið þofingjar γ vini troio manna eriknæus

15 aceftel þeir tokv með mykvlv fagnaði við enea γ var hann þar vm v

etrin en er vár kom byði hann brot γ lettr i haf γ þengy þa en sra

mikin fólm at fvm fíkipin fíckv niðr en vm fríðir þar þa at landi þeir hofþv

þa nokkr vorg verði matlaver ennef fær þa hiostr ein γ þkatt hanc þar hann var hann

mattvinn þeir þa þar mikit land γ fagteγ þar margar borgir þeir fengy goða

hofþ þa þur fer ena mertliv hafvð borg en a hennar vegaþm var þkrif

at fál troio manna þar fæ ennef lwar troilvþ var dreipin með þeim hattti þkrist fém

vondz væri fívin i har hannem þeirri fýn angruddi hann miok fyrir þerri borg red en ríkak

ta drottning fær er dido het γ er hon veit þarkvomv enea gengr hon fálr moti

hanem γ byði þanavm til fín γ þat þíggar hann hon let gleðia hann með alzkynleif þeik þíkemtan

15 hann var iammav vgladyð er Ok er drottning fann þat mælri þon þv en milldli ennef

15 gyðen geiti þer glatt hiarta γ mikin veg þv fém þv eðr til bózin þa alla þa

fæmð fém ver hofþm valld yfir fíklð yðr heimol vera γ yðr um mannum. Þeinn fvarar frv er ek ma eigi

15 glæð vera fyrir þeim harse er þv er endr niðrað þui at fyrir minum avyvm er a yðrur borg

ar vegvism þkristfði íkadi minna ættmanna drottning bæð hann fegjia fer fra þeim fóti

tidindvem þar þur vrv γ þva gerir hann. drottning let þa gera veizia mikla þeð þar fórra

fram allzkonar leika ecki fand Þeinn vm þat γ er drottning fann þat þa bæð hon hann at

þryða veizl hennar með finnm leikvam hann gerir fém drottning bæð þeik vnr allan

franglek með miklili lið framan en nokkoi niðr heði þar fyr heyrþ drott

ning vörðir hann vm fram alla menn γ legr a hann mikla ætt jfaut hon hannum vne vm þfram alla

15 menn γ þva kemur at hannar fær hennar γ fyr hor hennar γ vnr honu vn v elin raði γ var hann þar nokkova

15 vetr Ok ein tima dreyndi þeinn at hahvum γ mælri þat til ita

lia landz þ tak þar þa mikv fornþ er gyðin hafa þer þa fyrri hagold Þa eftir þat byr hann

fíkip fín leyninga þti at hann vili at hann kiormez eigi bort ef drottning ydi vok

við þa fóðr við leynd er en er hon verði vorat hann er brottr þar fändir hon

til fvinðar við Þeinn γ melri til hannaf Herna Þeinn fendir dido kartago borgar drot

ning veðirš godanna þa fina elikv þeirri herlta borg heimlenþ er þig gerði rikan er mi

ok þarfanda þinizar frílsjonar bóðvum við til fíkkvar semðar þem þeir hagðir með of

mattv vel mena þa þar þv kom til var þ þínir menn mattr eigi hialp af

þer fæ en ek fagnaða þer með allri yðr let ek aka þer i holl mina með allre

fornþ þetta ek þig i mitt hafæti þ minir menn fóðr vpr þ þíonvþ þíer γ

þínvm mennem gyvλ þillir γ alzkynleif gerðmar gaf ek þínvm mennem en hafvlvm

þer allt ríkt þat veitta ek þíer er mer var nanaz er ek var fialf en þv
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. The great chieftains and friends of the Trojans, Erkineus and Acestes, were already there. 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. 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. There Aeneas saw where Troilus was killed by twisting a stick in his hair. These images grieved him very much.

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.

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.” 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. 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

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1 *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. 2 Erkineus is not attested in ancient literature. According to Hyginus, Acestes was the son of the Sicilian river Crinisus (*Fabulae*, 273). The Erineus, (modern Erineo), is the name of another river in Sicily. 3 *Aeneid*, I.24. Aeneas shoots seven deer, one for each of his ships. 4 *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*. 5 Aeneas from Ovid, *Heroides*, VII. 6 The ultimate source for this is Dido’s letter to Aeneas from Ovid, *Heroides*, VII.
36v

fóðir þig við vyð þin 7 fva við var vyð at þv skylldir min vera hvar fem þv værir
nv hefir 7v fúðik mik 7 fva vyðin eð fama nv fúkt ek ollv minv malv til
þeir at þav hefni min a þer gef gavm at ægii virði 7va þerði þinni gerð at þv fyri
færi borðe mer 7 þein þinvm þyni er mer leyniz af þinni hervílt 7 þegar ek veit
at þv vilt eigi til varf ríkvin koma þa íkalttv ráðinn vita min bana þ fva
barn finn þer er ek fær með gva vel ef þv vilt eigi mik finna meðan ek lífi
þa ra ger nv fyri menzv fáker 7 lat hylia leg mitt 7 lat dzieka erfi mitt þuvat þat
þicki mer nv mykkali fúlptale Vale En er hon þfródi at vilt var at þann villdi
eigi til hennar koma þa þyri fóð hon fer fólf þ þerf þöttiz hefna hanibal konungir a rvm
vervum þa er hann van rom 7 fva marga hafvþingia drap hann i einni færinhol to hann let
fer leir blyta með bloði rímvveria 7 gerði þar af borgar lim hann fendi 7 þeim
til kartago borgar 7xx. vandlavpa fúlla með fíngryllvm þeira rímvverìa
er hann haði yfir vnið i þeim þfródi fræ einaes 7 latinnus fálfrôf 7 af hennar
Konungs rð fr fyri ítalia fá er latinví dottir hann lét latina hon fann fyrti latinv
nafti heita allor látvinn menh þeir er þa tyngtv kvinn var þat 7 havfvið
tvnga rímvveria meðan tik þeira flóð 7 eigi at eint þeirra helldr 7 íanvel allz
heinir dörtning hant blotaði fíl látmav fat þar er nv heitir rímvina 7 ein tima fýndiz
dörtning fí i fvefn 7 melitt tviz við veina at eigi gangi hann her yfri þetta tikl þar fem er rekin
af fínni fóstróðv 7 af óðvim þjóðvm. Nv ferr teinae þar til er hann kemur til ítalía landz
7 þok þar land fem nv felfi típ er í fío þa þar hannum vítrað at hann skylldi haða fríð við eva
nðtvvm konung hant þeir vann þar er þa íkáltletiá borg fír fýrðn hofvð borg allz ítalía landz þuvat þv
íkált eiga allt ítalía tikl þat at þv tvrv þerlýr þa gef ek þer þetta teikn ífa fem þv
ferr veg þin þa mantv finna vndir einv tre þíð er vlex heitir hvita gýllti með
7xx. gríðfrv alltvívim 7 þeim þlað íkalttv borg reifra þa íkalttv kalla albann borg
þetta fóði allt frám eftir þeim fem nv var fagt 7 einae reifir borg í þérfum þlað fem hannum var
fyrri fági a þan máta fem káptako borg var er dido dörtning haði gera laðið hon var fler
kari en nokkonvnr í ítalía hon var þ inkopð með miklvm kappvþvm einae var þar
fægr viða vm land 7 vm alla þann þotti miklif vert er af troiþ varv konnur af tur
Dánirís het konungir er rð fr fyri tvlkania tvnxı het ínþ Hann en mélfh kappi i no
ítalía hann fregn at einae heiti orð fent latinvní konungir at bíðia latinví dottur
hant þeirr er tvnxı heiti fyr fyr beðit 7 veðr við þetta miok reídþ En konung fígir at hann vilt
eigi gíta dottur fína vtlnndkvm manne þein er fáði haði af fínnum fóstíð ioðvðm helldz
villti hann gíta tvnxı envm fremþa kappza þar inlenkvm af envm bættvm konunga
áttvm konun þeis kveg vila at hann yrði yfir máðr þerf riðit helldz en vtlnnd máðr
þuvat fá verða yfir máðr þerf þa landz er hann alav hann fína fínv malv at hann bað alla þína menn
þiona tvnxı 7 jattadþ hanvm dottur fína Her eftir fámmar tvnxı miklly líði en þerf
varv kappar með hanvm meðapot þ ínmanus mágr tvrxı rampvriafr konungur frægnus þ margir

1–37  fóðir þig við ... konung frægnus þ 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  fóðir þig við vyð... þ þegar ek veit.} Nearly illegible. The precise locations of the line breaks are unclear. 4  þeim þínav þyni er mer leyzin[. Jónsson, þeim þínav þyni er (með) mer leyzin. 5 7v vilt.} Freshened up. 14 konung reð fr fyri ítalía fá er Jónsson, konung reð fr fyri ítalía fá er latinví (het). 18 þetta und þar fem er rekin Jónsson, þetta und þar fem (hann). 33 villti hann gíta] Jónsson, villti hann gíta (hanna). 37 rampvriafr] 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.8

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.9 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.”10

Aeneas now journeys until he comes to the realm of Italy and he landed where the Tiber meets the sea.11 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.”12

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.13 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.

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

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8 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, 1.26–30, and IV.675–692. 9 A similar passage appears in Veraldarsaga, 46, (pp. 83–85), and indicates a probable relationship to the source used by the saga writer for Breita sigur. 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. 10 Amata, influenced by the Fury Allecto, urges Turnus and the Rutuli to war. aeneid, VII.405–640. 11Aeneid, VII.25. 12Aeneid, VIII.44–82. The river Tiberinus appears to Aeneas with this prophecy. 13 A scribal misreading likely transforms his name to Damius. Breita sigur of AM 573 4to and Veraldarsaga names him Dullunus.
37r

aðrir havþingar En i borginni med eneas varv þefir havþingiar biffa pandacus silvanus menefteus ferellis tvpdis folri alkanij þ er eneaf fregn þetta þa a hann tal við fina menn þ lefir þeim þefi tóindi hann legir at hann vill fara fvnrd evandri konungf þ pallafl fvnar hann þa f fly rk af þeim en hann fetti alkanivm fvn fin havþingia yfir borgina þ gefti alldri vpp borgina fyr en ek kem afr. Síðan fer hann brott af borginí til þeira føðga þ tokv þeir veglega við hannm hann legir þeim fin erindi þeir heita hannm finni liðeivl pallaf var en þ. með mefn þ Lavinus konung þ tvrus fannma líði full pallas konungf fvnar flerkastr í landinb er þeir lýria at eneaf er brott þa fára til borgar Enecas þa fetiaz vn mana þa fá hverf tv riottleg hon er tvrus talar þa lýri folkvn þ melitli yðr er kvnti hver fyllda ofr rekr til at rinda þersvm monuvm af ofr er fett hafá i vart niki vitv þeir þeira lýklyndi at egi letta þeir her helleri en annarf lflaðr fyr en þeir hafá her flíkt fém þeir vilia hafá þeir þv rekið naleza vn allan heim þviat engi villdi þola þeim yfir gang fém ravn vörð a þa er girkir rakv þa brott Enecas hefr þ beðit þeira konw þem mer var aðr heitin hann biðst menn fina fara fyrft til þeina skip Enecas þav er flóðv vndir borginí þeir tvrus ferka at borginni með ol lvm brogjum en þeir vodðv íkvmlega þa er þeir hoðv lengi fott borgína þa gerðv borgar menn rað fítt þeir varv þ.j. menn í borginí er lýklastr varv þ mefnf kappar í líði eneaf het annar nifvs en ann erlevis þeir veliazi til at ríða vt af borginni þa féga enea þeina fyrði þeir herklæðaz þa fára leyndega vt af borginni þar er þeir konw í herin varv margir vindrvt knit þ foðnadir þa brígot nifvs fverði þa hoðr a tvar hendr þa fva eð a fama féira erlevis þeir þepa nv mikin fíldá kíddara þa fára fva vt af herinvm þ fva margan mann hoðv þeir drepit at þeir vifv eigi fialfír tolv áþ þa fva varv þeir modir at naleza mattv þeir eigi ganga þ þeim sigri er við byggvit viða í bokvm er þeir fengþ þa En er þeir konw vt af herinvm þ moznka tok þa liost var oðst þa mongon fólin fíken a hialma þeira fá þeir mikinn her riða í moti fer þar var fá hoðpingi fíry er volcenf het hann æðlaði til líði við tvrni hann fer þerla þi. kíddara þ kennir vavnm þen þeir at þeir af troio monuvm nifvs ferka þv vndan þ til íkogi En erlevis var þvngforn þ komaz þeir millim hann þ íkogi ìf þ ferkia þv at hannm alla vegu en hann verfl flerkastr þa af at ekkvi ma við marginmn þa þeira þeir hann þa er nifs fer þetta þa liop hann oþ íkoginu þa hoðr a tvar hendr fva at ekkvi félir við hann rÝðr fer gotv fram at havþinga þeira volvent þa lagði hann med fverði ìegnm þallar erv hann hendr blóðgar vpp at oxt Nv ferkia þva meðinn í likam hann af fokn þa farnm at hann ma eigi fla nda kem hann nþ þar at fém felagi hannvþar fallin þ legzt a hann ofan þ melitli mín viðoddvin erlevis í einvm flóð skvðr við davða þola þar þar fákði ðífan tokv þeir havÝðv þeira þar var a flógygum fyrri tvrni þa fegia hannm þefi tóindi þ verðr hann við þat harðla gláði hann lætr nv bláfa óllvm herinvm til borgarinnar þ hoðv hoðvín fíry merki þeir ganga nv at fva flerkastr at tvrus fget bróðið borgar vecin þ fva þar hann oðr at hann biðst eigi finna manna þa liop in íborgína þ diaþ þegar þi. havþingia en þi. greip hann þ fnarar hann i fvnrd
other chieftains. These chieftains were in the city with Aeneas: Bitias, Pandarus, Silvanus, Menestheus, Serestus, and Tupidus the foster-son of Ascanius. 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.

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.

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. 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, 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. 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.

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.

The source for these names, Ramparias and Sesrapnes, is uncertain, and unique to this text. The source for the reference to Tupidus is also unknown. In Vergil, the sun shining off the armor of their slain alerts their presence to Volcens. 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. A long one-sided dagger generally associated with the Saxons. Pandarus throws open the city gates, allowing Turnus to enter the city.
Einn höfðingi í borgin het evþhidus hann kaftar at tvrno skriðliði við þat varð hann í vna reiðr at hann horðr a þver hendr biffa hortagi redi fjót í moti hannon þ hóça í skjold tvrni
hann þallaz hann eftir en er eftir fer at af hannum þerr fíkiðtin þa leið hann kievinni
í snaþarma þ þegar eftir pelagius felaga hanni lagði hann í gognvum mæð íverði
þetta fer merlaþ. ángraz miðk  þ mellir Eilid íkom er at þola at ein mæð gangi vna fram
þa lyvp mote hannum íj. kappar ferfeþus þ menenz þ drap tvrnu þa báða ñu finna borgar menn at
litið lið var komið í borgina þrýr byrgja þa aftir oll líð borgarinar þ forka þa at hannum alla vega
e hann varður íva at þer konu engv fari a hann þ er nattáþ þa varð hannum fæð oðrum mannum at þre
ytv ofin af morgini þa hopáði hann vndan at arbaðkanvini þ var hann þa í vna móðr
at hann fleysipti vt a án þar var vndir ein batr þ kom hann þar niðr i þ fló hann í myrknin
ofan eftir anni þ kafáþ við vndir mnrin þ kom íva til finna manna þ þegar egiar hann þa at
förka at borginni þ legir at hon er læmuð þ vunn þa mellir ein riddari tvrnu þer heimikir menn þ vfróðir ge
fit borg yóa þ lífala yðr í vall tvrni þu at þer vítið at þer ervð meir vanaí felllit þ
fekntan leik þ dryckr þ kvenna halftögrum en fírið þ bardoghvn hafi þer þa heyr
at eiki folk er hafara en fáæar þu þa heið þer fém fítein þu er þer miök heimikir
ef þer vilið beriai við of þa fvarðið en vgni afkaniþ fvn eina þ mellir eigi er þat fatt godð
mædr at varí landz menn kvinni eigi nockot við fírið en litlar mniðar mættr her fia at en
þe nockot eftir troio manna hann skauvt til hann með þiði þa ígegnvum hann þ fell hann davði niðr
hefri n vnorva af niý ñu kemur eina í þerfi þa tarton konunga allreiðus þ meccencvus
þe móðkvin her þar var þa pallaf fvn avandri konungs þerfri er onvnr
fregvið ororva en troio manna allir ræðdrav pallaf þan eð ogvrlaga
af eki haði hann fyna í her komit hvark flenaz við hannon lífar ne
herfari hann fen kallandi vm herin þ þnu eftir tvrnu þ er tvrnu fer hverfrv mikin skáda
hannon gerir þ hverfrv ogvrlag er hann er þ riða þv mote hannon Ok er pallaf fer þat fkytr hann til hann
þe þiði þat konu vndar honz tvrni þa ígegnvum þrefallada bryninn þ rennir fyrri vn
riðin þar í geignvum þ er tvrnu fekk þetta far þa fkytr hann til pallaf þe þiði er fÆptið
var eigi miðara en hiða dígrastt all þat kom a pallaf miðrían þa þet hann þar lið fítt þa fikir
nott bardagan Eneaf let liða lik pallaf með miklvun veg þa þenýr med þv tvm vna at eigi mtti fзна enn a dogvn fígvdrar koningv ísofala fara þerf keifara
dogvn er heinrekur het annar með þvi nafni þa var grafnan grýndvollr í rom til herber
þa niðr koær þa þenvd þir þenna hannli líkama fvninni í tæinþroni hann hafið eitt hol
far a miðvum líkama þat var. ið. fota a lengþ þorðar hannaleirik fígrabi rvmna borgar
mvr loganda liolker fdro at hafði hannum þat er hvarki mtti flocna fyrri afti væn ne
vinz eigi mtti þat þa þraðna ne eyðaz enn at gerri einni bsn med þlali vndir logan þa
þloknad þetta liof vnm þa bsvn er n vna fagr af loftin innaleidd þ millim kom
and Vindan loganf þetta var fígrat a tæinþroni at fotvum hannum her lið
pallaf med þó finvum fvn Avandri konungv þa hætti fæ þm drap þiði tvrni riddara hann með fíninn

1–5 Eininn hofþingi ... ganga ívna framen. Í Obscured by reagent. 1 borgin] Jónsson, borgin(i). 11–18 ofan eftir ... davði niðr] Obscured by reagent. The leftmost quarter of these lines are difficult to read. 22 hvark] Jónsson, hvark(i). 23–28 herfar hann ... natt bardagan] The leftmost side of these lines are obscured by reagent. 28–37 Eneaf let iarða ... hann mnn finn] Freshened up. 36 vindan] Jónsson notes that this word is incorrect. Given that the features of a d and r are visible, the word may originally have been, víðr.
One cheiftain in the city was named Cuspidus. He casts lantern light onto Turnus, and because of this Turnus became so angry that he hews on both sides.\textsuperscript{22} 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.

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.\textsuperscript{23}

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.\textsuperscript{24}

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.\textsuperscript{25}

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\textsuperscript{26} and Kaiser Heinrich the Second,\textsuperscript{27} 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.”\textsuperscript{28} He would be discovered

\textsuperscript{22}The source for this figure, and the episode with a lantern, is unknown. \textsuperscript{23}\textit{Aeneid}, IX.960–1011. In Vergil, Turnus does not kill Serestus and Menestheus.
\textsuperscript{24}This taunt does not appear in Vergil, or any known source, but the etymology associated the Saxons with the Latin word for stone (\textit{saxum}). The saga writer appears to have associated those who fought against the Trojans, by prefiguring the Saxon invasion of Britain. \textsuperscript{25}\textit{Aeneid}, X.576–671. In Vergil, Turnus’s spear pierces through layer after layer of armor through Pallas’s breastplate. \textsuperscript{26}An interesting inclusion that contextualizes this for a Scandinavian readership. \textsuperscript{27}The main subject of Ebernand’s popular German epic, \textit{Heinrich und Kunegunde}. \textsuperscript{28}This tableau was common in medieval folklore. The earliest extant example is in William of Malmesbury’s \textit{Gesta regum Anglorum}, L.234, as well as \textit{Roman d’Eneas}, 7531–60. In the Middle High German adaptation \textit{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 heinrekfl keifara annarf med þrei naufl fall tvrns enf aðgiæta

Nið er orustfl þio kemr þa kemr ni til líðið med tvrns en aðgiæti melencios þ sfn hafi láfus
þer beriax ðu ogoliga tvrns drap margan mann eneaf drap ûij. hofþingla þa kemr moti
hanem en kvertiði láfus þ er þer höfði barðl við ríð meðlit enaef láfus líf orkv þinne þ
þreyt ægi við mik hann er æ þrei akafri þ vm ûbir fell hann firi enaef þat harmadari enaef flóðlega ok
þva allr herinn var þa ðettir fröðið þeim viðv en er orustfl time kom þa skipa þer fyl
kingar þa ganga þa lvðr viðv viðv allan herinn tvrns forðik þva hatt fram at allt ûjr vndan hannen
þar fem hann ten þ margar kappa drap hann Slikr eð fama gerir enaef hann mortir envm míkla meck
encio þ beriax þreit lengi þ lykr þeis meccius fell Nið er en harþæti bardagi þ

fellr nið huvndðsvum foltik ñva at engi kveni at telia þ niðvinni þann fíll b a tvrns en er
hann fer þetta will hann ñinna fulfan enaem þ i þrei breftir flotti a hann þættum
varð hann þa náðgr vndan at hallid þar þat hann firi þtan ríkít við ríð.

Eneaef lecr nið vndir þig þetta nikíi morg tibíndi þ úró viðv þar me
ðan tvrns var burttv af víðr ikifttvm þeita enaef þa lavvinokungw þ feck enaef

iarnman en betra lvt konungr fendí þa os néftor envm fiska at hann skylldi ganga moti enaef þ
havð hannem þar til mikit góðs þ er þerið bóð konufl til néftor þa meðlíti hann ek þa þanda férd un
eaf í þraido at ek kemi eckli til þríðið mote hannem er þ fám þættum kvningar hvarlik þrho þenn unn venn
mer þ kem ek ecki þar Nið verða þar tibíndi at tvrns kemr aftr Háland misc miðkvinm her þ fara þeir má
þar lavinis þ tvrns moti enaef med vígjan her hann láman þ líði i moti þ tekið med þeim en þnfr
pætra orustta þ gengr betr enaef þættum Nið fer tvrns at enaef man legr fá af ñva fer
fram veit hann þ ef hann geir þpp vafni þa er enaef ñva míldits at hann helldi líti lífvin þ þat
fama æktar þ eð þeita tvrns þat eð dyrlega bælti er hann haði tekít at pallaf þa
þrigít hannem þa miok við at reðrín hitnar leyrur niðv ár vask at svotum þ bervalv ña flerlega at
þegi þøna veg girklanga haði haði anð fíkt fóðr þat fia morg hoi þ úró fand þa
lvkr at tvrns fellr en eft þennara bardaga fær enaef laðtin er tvrns haþi at dottur

lavvin konung þ tok hann fípan vndir þug allt þeita nikíi þ þred þó til dæða dax en efling flo hann til

Eftir eneach tok níkí afkanis sfn hann hann let avka af þvinnm enaef þ af brvts bana
ábbart borg viður þífr þar er ni í rvma borg eneach þeir iij. vetr itália en afkanis
sfn hann.xxx. þiij. vetr hann atti þer er heit slvvis hann kvangadír vngr þ fekk kono
þeitar er lavvina hät en er slvvis vifl at kona hann var ægi ein saman þa fendi hann eftir
vitinda þættum þ íþverði med hvart hon fórri helldi sfn eða dottur ð þeir loggv at hon
mviði sfn feða þann er mikil ævi medr mviði verða þart í mart ìlt gera bæði dþpa ðo
ðor fínr þ modor en þó mviði hann lengi lífa þ ægarr verða þetta geck allt eftir þriðr modir
hann do þa er hon ferdli hann var kulladís brvts þann fíðizi þpp med fóðr þvinn ð ef þer er hann vann
xn. vetrar þ ann allzhyn þat ioci. Ok en ínta er hann fóði a dyra veðar med
fóðr þvinn þa fá hann hiozt ein þ íkvar at hannem þ er at var leitað þa ñóði ozn í íeg
nimi slvvis fóðr hann þ er mern vrið þerfá varþir þar raky þeir hann brott af itália fóð hann til

1–20 az a dogvm heinrekfl... monnum Nið | Freshened up.  2 Nið | Not freshened up.  10 nið | Freshened up to við.  10 tvrns en er | Freshened up to tvornem.  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 þpp vafni þa er | freshened up.  22 þer fer | Jónsson, þer (hann) fer.
in the days of Heinrich the Second.

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 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.

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. 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. 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.” 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. 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.

The Sons of Ascaneus and Brutus

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. He had a son called Silvius. He married young, and took the woman who was named Lavinia. 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 the days of Heinrich the Second.
38v

Fraenda finna fyrfi þeira komnir varv af troio þa varv þiðdir a girikandi þ gerðiz hann foðmaðr þeira þ leyfli þa alla vt gerðiz hann brett ríkr havfingi þ ýttraði hann var manna avravat dreif ní til hann íva mikit líð at hann haði nær v. Þvýndráð manna vtan þorh þ konur Sa maðr var i gir klandi er aðfiriris het hann var girzkur at fóður kyni en troio manna at meðað at þerli maðr fly kirk bvatvo at fe þilomeyn þ rvdfv þer þ meðr kr þ gerð oð fer þar kaftala þ vrvg vigi en er þeir þottu vorð vera þa þenn þeir bræk til girkia konungf með þerfrum orðum Pandarato girkia konungf þendir bvatvo tlaegði hofþingi troio manna ættar Vndarlega geri þer er þer þkapib íva ha róan reit þem mannum er af troio manna ætt er at þer þkvld verða at hycia eyðimerkr þ life þar við grafa rørt þ thyra holdi en þer fíttu í allakynf félífi þ haft hve tvetna þat er hvgr gírnis laðið ín verða enda vn fíðir a þeira velold gerði ín anað hvart at takio þa í fétta ella bøttb þeim þer ítovv fákir er þer hafði við þa þert þi. at þer gefri þeim þrelí at fara brótt þ leciþ þa fíry flíkt fem ma En er konungf hafí leðið þeiri þa varð hann reidí miok þ samnar her famán þ fer at þeim bvatvo verði var við þetta þ fer vt af kaftalanum með vi. þvíþudráð manna þ a fkg þan er konungf skylldi vn fura þ kemr at hvanum vn nort a vrat þ drepr fjolþa folkflýr vn konungf þ hans mann yfir a þa er callon het þ tyndiz þar í fjolþa folkf en fvm var dreipit en fvm fjóði hingad þ hingat í þuí viþi var þrådir konungf ía er antegon het hann fínyr motið með fínum mannum þ varð þar hóð orsesta þeir ægt lang áði merðr ítví hann manna var dreipun en hann fíllað handtekun þ fétta í farr þa maðr með hvanum er anakletes het bvatvo heðir fett eftir þvíþudráð manna at geyma ka flálanus at konungf dreif nív miðill heyr þ hygði hann bremvmm vorð komun í kaftalanum þ flétit hann vn þar vm þ ferti með allakynf vígvelvn en hinir vøðþeg vel þ džengilega þ barv vt a þa þevellandala bið þ glando gríot en er bvatvo frá þerli þíndi þa let hvanu leíða fíry sig anaklevo hann bziôð sverði þ melíþ þav þíndi heðir er þprvt at konungf þar varvm mannum at annad hvart íflktv þer líf kepva eða deyja í fíla anakletes fívar hvi man ek með egi líf kepva þ minn kumpavnem ek koft er a bvatvo melíþ þeir islall koma mer í herðdir pandz así konungf þ minn þer en ek man fétia raði til anacletes egi við ek þat til liðf at rada konungf ba na rað bvatvo leir raði til anacletes fer þ híttar várðmann konungf er þeir kennv hann þa þprvt ðv þeir hva antigon konungf þrådir var en hann fagbi þat hann heðri þeim baðvm 02 myrka fílof þ kvez egi koma af hvanum fítrvmm þ fagbi hvan þar vera í ikogínvm skamt fra þeim forv þeir þa með hvanum í ikogín þa þar fíry bvatvo þ varv fvmir dreipnir en fvmir hand tekir bvatvo fer þa með fin til herðdir konungf þ þeir þar egi fyr varir við en þeir heýra lvoð bvatvo vóð þeir felm þvillr er þeir vokcaðv vindvúskur þ fengý engir nér vopnin þ var dreipin merlr lívr høf þ konungf en hvan var fíllað handtekun þ leðr fíry bvatvo þa melíþ bvatvo til konungf þi. koðr er þeir gervir fa annar at þeir eð her dreipin í fláð ella gift mer innogen dottur þina þ lofa þeim olvmm brett or tikinýr með mer fém af troio manna ætt er komnir þa er orf íkip þa allla líti áðra þa er er þprvfom at hafà konungf fívarar fe ek ná at gyvín erv mer miok reik orðin er

1 þeir komnir varv af troio Jónsson, þeira (er) komnir varv af troio. 7 ættar Vndarlega Jónsson, ættar (kieðvið sina) Vndarlega. 11 hvart at takó Jónsson, hvarat (ber) takó. 21 bremvm Jónsson emends to brtvmm. 21 flétit Jónsson emends to settiz. 27 til anacletes eigi Jónsson, til anacletes (svað) eigi. 32 med lín Jónsson, med (her) lín.
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 chiefain. 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.36

There was a man in Greece named Assaracus. He was Greek by his father's family, but his mother was of Trojan men.37

This man supports Brutus with provisions and many men, and they cleared the forest and built castles and fortifications for themselves.38 When they thought themselves sufficiently strong, they sent a letter to the Greek king with these words: “Brutus, the outlawed chiefain 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.”39

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]39 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.”41 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.42

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 they couldn't use their weapons.43 Most of the king's army was killed, and he himself was captured, and he was lead before Brutus.44 Brutus said to the king that 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,
er broðir minn skyldi fyrt vera hortekin.] Lýðan fialfr ek hefir ek þat latið merstan þóta liðið minn.

þa em ek nu varla fíkt til ráða gérðar sem fyr þa er ek fát med heiði in minn kiki Ýv þo at eigi læg mið mitt við þa geriz því þvottu fá aqvítr medad þægri þr ígfríði at ek veit var la þann mann in heimennum at litilráði þe i við þig at tengiaz Ýv man ek þat til ráði taka at
ganga gláðlega at þefnvi kostvna er þar þ min ætlan at þvottu nafn man lengi vþp þi ver oldinni.] hafni kynf mannna þa þ vera at var viðr fíkti verði i fogyr fett Ýv fyniz mer þat vir díngar venaz at efla þig med allv þo þe er megyn þa ráða þefnvi ráðvinn ventir mik at at margir ga
vígir menn eigi fína at þa til þin man ek þo en manne þirr vera i þeiti ættar tov Ýl ek nu at þv kíofr hvarfrv villt hafna innogn dottinni minni in heiman fylgiv þríðing allz minn kiki eða
viltv at ek bá vói brót eftir yðavnum vília. Ýk man þat vera in gilling med yða þar til er þat er allt
fram komit fém ek hefir yða heitð her eftir fétizv þeir þvottu med þerfv þer er in innogn gift
þvottu. En eftir þat þyv þvottu til þrottferðar konungur fekk hanum. íj. íkip þa xx. íj. íkipa þat allt
annað fém hann hafni íttað hanam en er þy raf gaf filgir þvottu þrott innogn fell fáa er þrottferðin
at hon vissi nalega ecki til mannna] hvacadi hana þeir varu vi. drögr að þeir tokv ey þa er liog
ocia heitir hon hafni verði fíoðbygð en þa var hon miðk fáav fákað vikinga þvottu let ka
nra eya þú fínnum þeir engan man en fíoða dyra a íkogynvm] þokv þeir mog þar hittv
þeit eit hof fóxt þ mikit þar þar i likenki fíevinvar] satnvm] íspiter þeir fógð þvottu þa
ðv hann a laund ganga hann geck vþp lýðan við xij. mann. med hanum var fá viðinda maðr er geron het hann var annar
gofgastr maðr med hanum. þeir hofðið bvnndit tignar drekgym vni enn fer þer] er þeir konv i hoft
þa gerðy þeir elldia. íj. ein fyrri ótti anan fyrri þot. íj. fyrri gefion lýðan geck þvottu fýri íllama ge
fionar] hafni ker i hendi] þ i vin þ bóð hvitrar híartkollo] mælli þér æft veitz himininf
þindi] fíetning allar veraldar] kant helvitif deli feg mer min forlog] þar her ek íkali
bycia at yðav ráði] þar ek þal þig yfleg meyia lata dyrka at eili vív fáa mælli hann
ix. fínnum] þeir ] íkiki. fínnum vni íllama þeir ] helti af kerinn i elldin Sífan var þreit niði hi
artkollo skinnit fíyri íllama] laghiz þvottu þar a þ fofnaði hann þottiz þa fá gefvin
þia fer þal mælli i velthálfh heimfendi við gallia niki liær ein ey vt i hafri vbygð þar byggð
þyr meir risar þar hofri þer at bycia þuvin bóði at eilivír þ þitt kyn man hafna valdr yfri
ollvm heimae. En er hann vaknadi þa lýðu þeir hafna fínnum monnvin dravm sinn en þeirr vfr vegg tendr] þorv til iðki
þa þu fígð þegrar þyr gaf til afirika þafan fíglð heir þer til hova hílaestæa] þafan til grafar fál
macvm þafan forv þeir til mavritanem] þafan til íllolpa ercliðe þafan forv þeir til haf þerf er treynvm
heitir þar fvnv þeir. íj. ífvinðvø troiio manna þeira er fýð hofþv med antonxe hofþvngi þeira
var cozinnes hann var hogvæs hverf daglega en hin diarfiati til vþp þa fíeðr er hann haf
þi kaðad riða einum fém barni Ok er þeir þvottu fjandesi þþ fynv þeir fin viðkap fáman
þor fíþan þar til er þeir konv in æstiania þar reð fyrri fá konungur er göfarvis set hófnes var fárin fra íkipvm
med .ccc. manna at veiða dyrr. konungum fennv fvnv þa þ fóggav at konungr lofðið engvm manne at veiða
þar dyrr Coziness var þar þa komin] þal mælli fáa mýn vnr ver gera fém að þo hof þeir etlað hvat þem hann fegur
Sa er fyrri var konungum monnvin bendir vþp boga þeir at atkiota coziness hann þfr þann þ þryt bogan þ
because first my brother should be captured, and then myself. 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 estimations that the name Brutus will be long exalted in the world, along with his descendants. It could even be that our dealings will be set in sagas.

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.

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. 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 and 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, 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 Tyrrenian. 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.

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

45 HRB, I.247–248 [15]; Quoniam adversi dii me meumque fratrum Antigonum in manus uestras tradiderunt…. Pandrasus does not mention his relationship to the gods in VV. 46 Unique to the saga. 47 Unique to the saga. 48 HRB, I.273–275 [15]. Quam Brutus blandiciis mitigans nunc dulces amplexus, nunc dulcia basia innovit, nec cupit suis desitis dones flutu fatigata sepoti summittitur. Brutus’s consolation of Innogn does not appear in VV. 49 According to HRB and VV, the temple contained images of the Jupiter, Mercury, and Diana, whom medieval Scandinavians associated with Þór, Ófin, and Gefjon. The saga writer appears to have confused the names here. In VV, the only deity mentioned in this episode is Diana. 50 Possibly a misreading of lacum Salinarum, HRB, I.321 [17].
39v

rífr af hannum hendiðar 3 flitr hann allan fíndi í flycki en er hansi kvenpanar fía þat þa flyia þeir 4 fóg. ðv konungu hann varð reiði miðok þa fannar mikil líði þetta fregn báttu 5 gengr a land með finn líði í mot konungu þekz þar hárðhér hárdragi þa mikl húgnfall corrus gengr í gengni fyllkingar konungu þar hóc a tvar hendið þar hervflaz konungu mennt a flotta en hann leypt eftir þeim með brygðit fverð þa opti þa þa.

mælti fvinði af æflaðingur þó verðit eigi allir at íkommum er þer flyfið þvifundum fyrir mer einvum í þersi snæri moti hannum kapp fír er fárvart hét með oc. sidðarar þar þa hann fer corrus hóc hann til hann eru Ingverfað og bæði þar hvarum tvegvið leynilega mælt þar var þeir byggileg.

I þenna tíma reðv. 8n. konungar fyrir gallia þer kongofiaris konungur a þeirra travlt þat hét heit a koma hannum æftir í súi fitt þó reka hina brott þeirna brottus þa corrusin legiðu nalega allt eft anvikandam vandir fíg brenduð borgir þar dæp mennt en rennt fe þeir komnu þði þan flæð er ní flyntu tronfrí borg þar báttu leið hana fyll gera þó biocvi þar vm þuþiat þeir ventu brott herf a hendið þeir xíj. konungar reðvur í her með kongofiaris konungu þor dag þott þar þor er þor mörptu þor fylkvt hvarri tv eíðin líði þó teki þar a ínarpaþa orrata þa i sýlfa rykki fellir af konungumvinn kongofiaris.

10 .íj. þifundruð manna flæð þa rexlív a folkit þó þyr fyr hanni þa þa hannu menn í þei komnu konungur með finnar fy líkningar þó hrickv þeir þa allir við þa var íva mikill líðinum at galli varri. Þí. vm ein vðuð troið mennt þó orflíði boxtir þor fóru a hál þó náð þó herbjóðu finnu þó fтверж þeir hér er þeir fyr þeir mennt með þeir manna en er morgi men þa reiði brottus þó oc herbjóðu finnu með fylktli líði en galli reðvur í moti þó tokg þar hóð orratta þó mikil mannafall af hvarnu tvegviðu. sa þar var kappi meirfr með brottu er tvrunu het annar en corrusin hann var fyltru fínu brottu hann getr hardaþram allra manna hannu dæp með finniu hendið oc. manna þa þa fell hann a fárnu þó modi En er bardagin er fém hardaþram þa kemr corrusins í opna íkolluv konungum velð fitt líð þó fyr þó fikkt mannfallinnu a landherrinu fío þa a þó opí þogu gyvrií hérfr vera konum a bak fer flæð þar félmt a folk þó floyð fjara allir en troið mennt fylgvy þeim þar dæp þó þifundruðu þó foru þíhan æftir til herbjóða með figri En þó ðat brottu hefi fengit fígar mikin þó fikkt herfrjánd þó otti hannum þat lítilf vert fakir míðflið tvinnu franda finn. hann iarðadí hannu þar þó tok borgin nafn af hannum þó heitir æ þíhan tronfrí borg. Bruttu mælti mikit manlat hofv ver her fengit a varnu um er ós.

30 þó feint til leiðettu þuþiat landherrin kemur margur við hvern dag nu þar mitt rað a leita brótt með líkif herfrangi fém nu hofv ver þó vitia vaka fadlaga þó þeirra landkofla fém guðin hafa orfr til viðað þetta fámýtvu allir foru þíhan fíljan til Íkipa finna með gyvriíu fígr þó fíglíð tví þeirrar er þó þeim var til viðað þeir lenda þá fem heitir nefri sv ey þar þall að albí þar var nalega engi byggðu nema rifar nökkortir þeir þóttu þekk ecki land núð hafa fegra fíða byggilegra þar var hær a fúll með fílkm uðallakynf grízkr brottu læt nu ryða landit þó hva en rifar floyð vndan í fíoð þó hella þar var fíndu nafni báttu þó tvar kallár brótt þó af hanni nafni var landið þíhan kallat brittania corrusin for nótdar.

2 ðv] Illegible. 5 {hersi} Jónsson emends to hersv. 29 mm] Jónsson, m(onv).m. 30–37 {feint til leiðettu ... nuna for nótdar} 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. 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.

Brutus and Corineus

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 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. 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.

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.

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 Britannia. Corineus continued on to the north
40r

meir i landit þy bygði þar fem nv er kallað cönnbretaland þar varv fleltir rifar ein þeira rifanna var mertr þy fælkarv fæt hæt goemagog hann var xlv. aðna har þat hofðv menn leð at hann reif físt tre vpp með rott folv fem lét kvíll en þat brvts greði hæti grjóvnfinn þa koni þerli rifi þar þ þ kallmum æfri xx. þi dëpp margu menn fyrir brvtto hann fæmnar þa liti mote þeim þar varv
dëppnr. xx. en goemagog var handtekin þy várveitir þar til er cönnels kiamme þvi at brvtes
villldi þa faglokvi þeirra þi ránf er er cönnels kon þa vart hann gláða er hann fóklldi reyna fig
Takaz þeirn þv fútvats fælkarv rifin en þom føva þat at iji. rifin gengi i Fvndin i cönnels
þa vár cönnels reidþ þa fórtiz i alla aukv onl unv þeir hann fíðan ríían vpp a brungý
þer þ leytr þifan með hannum a fiofar gníprv nokkozar þ kallæði hannum þar ofan fyrir þr brot
náði hvrt bénin i hannum fæ fá fláðr er kallæði er i dag risa fál Bíttot let borg gera i liking eftir
troði hon var fett við a einna þar fem velliir fleltir varv nuer þi ikant var til fiofar hann let þa þorg kallla troób ena
nyvi hon hefr fengir fleiri nofni at atbróðum þeim er þifan konv til hon var lengi kallæð
Enouantum eftir þat careldv en on heittur hon lundvna borg I þenna tima var heli kenni maðr a
iorsala landi þar hann tekin af philiftei monningva varv lýnr erectedi i troði En Fvlinus lýnr fín
eneal itali moður brvts brvts brito atti. iij. lýni með innogun konu fínni het
en ellzti locrins en annar albanactus .iij. cambran en er þeir varv vaxið þa tok brvts
fott hann íkapti þa riðk með lýnr lýnr þat íkapti helldv þeir þifan brvts andaziz of þerli fott
þa hafði hann verið i breitlandi .iij. vetr .xx. lýnr haufl gúþv legelgan haufl groft i þeiri borg
er hann haufl fáttir gera latib þann haufl var miok harmadzi af lýnr monningum þa ðallir allýðv af br
Locrins tok þat riðki eftir foðvri fín fem hannum var íkaptat þar var fá ltvr niðkif af ta konungum
haufl nafni loegrea kambraka tok þann lvet er lícr við a þar er hét fábrin egvala en eftir haufl daga
var hon kallað kambraka En albanactus þorloc þat riðk er þa hef at haufl nafni albaniam þeitir nv
íkotland konungur reð fyrir hvíitlandi fá at er hvíburs hett hann var hárðr þi illgíarn hann fex með hór a hendr
albanatofh þ byðr hauflum til bardaga þ fell albanatvst in þeiri ovrtato en þat folk er vndan konz
fottó a Fvnd locrini þ þogðu hauflum þerli tíðindi. hann fótt til mota við kambran broidor fín þar lýmna
þeir líði þeir mortvz við þar æ er hvíbura heittur nið þar tokk þar hoðd orosta þa miðk manfall
bætrar fottv frám fælkarv fá at hvíntur letv fyrh þeim var hvírgri kolfr at flýta vtan a ana
út þar hon boði divp þ frong hvíburs konungur liop vt a ana þa haufl menn þr tyndv þar þer land
it er hia lícr af þeir kallað nóðh hvíbura land tokv þeir broidor þa þa miðkit hvíztó fælcrins
tok þar .iij. meyjar þar var ein venft allra fþhet eftirldif fáva þar hon hovvnd liof fem fíniz
eða fillþen locrins felldi fá mikin aftar hvig til hennar at hann vallldi þar þegar fá henn
er ef hann treyfliði þann haufl hæði æði felft gvendlonem dovver conelni konungur er fyn var fra
fagt af cönnbretæ laði ð þallíl þa þerla eiga helldin en er cönnels fra þetta þar varð hann
miok reibð þor þegar a Fvnd locrini þ geik in i holl haufl með brvgtvn fverði þa melldi
miðka líkorn atlar þrv locrins at gera til min ef þv reðr þ lít minuz þv þeira lvtta hver
fþ oft ek hett fyrh þívum fodor blodgar hendt bozit þa moðgum fògum fígrí hauflum i hen
ða konim þa marnan riða hefr ek fellt hauflum fyrir fort þar fem þv ættlar at íltta féltvin við
and settled in that place which is now called Cornwall. 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 this ribs break. Then Corineus became angry, and he gathered up all this 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.

Brutus had a city built in the image of the Troy. 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, then Caerluf, but today it is called London. 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

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 Humbus. He was hard-hearted and ill-tempered. 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 Humbus 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, how I have cut down many giants for him before his feet, yet you plan to break your engagement with

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55 This geography is unique to the saga. The saga writer’s ignorance of British geography is apparent. 56 The name of the location is not specified in VY. 57 The saga writer uses an alternative name, Britus. 58 The manuscript records, Enovantum, possibly a scribal error. 59 This is much abbreviated from HRB, I.492-499 [22], and is not attested in the VY, which is a tangent explaining the change of the city’s name in the time of King Lud. 60 This sentence is unique to the saga. It is a common formula in Íslendingasögur. 61 Unique to the saga.
40v
dottor mina ña miok em ek gamall ña ovasi ef þer dvgir þat ña ætilði þa at vads at hannum
menn þod þa þmillim þeirra þar varð lettvm a komit med þeim hettti at locinis skylldi fa gven
deloënam fenn þyr var ætilð þar feck hann hennar en eigi gleymôi hann allt elfrillde helldþ
en aðr ñ let hanna varðveita leynilega i lndßvnvm vij. þar fva at þat var a fara manna
viti honn kom til hennar oft þa leynilega En kona hanna grenleöna grvnaði þa þnar
rôi hvar hann varri þar en engi maddi varð var við hann en hann þem þa blota gvo ða fín a
lavn þ kvad þa einna at fîllva fa gott at þeim er fva gerto hon let fer þat vel lika. sôa
er fagt at elfrillde fôrdi mey einna fva fagra at allir vendvôn henar fegð
þeir er þa náði henni var nafn geft þa kollv hâblen þar var hon leynilega vpp fôrð
at engan grvnaði ñv helldþ en aðr hvart titt var litlî fîþar fôrði gyð
deloëna svn þann er loccinus atti þar var hann kalladz madann hann fôi til modôr fôðor
finn cornelio ð vox þar vpp þenn locinuð liði eði lengi þifan hann var mìog hrrmdav
ði þ òtti hann munnm fenn þeir mnev hanna eði ðgjollld fua en er locinuð fræ anlat
cornen þa þryi let hanna gyndleleoënem konu fina en gerði þa bavavv until elfrillde med
allri fôrdôf þetti hanna drotningv all fînir sîkis gyndleleoënerr fêr þa til cornbreta landz þ
setz in fena vdr leifð þa vnir illa fînir fvt þa hvgfr þat iamman hverf hon mætti hef
na finnâr fûvirdingar hon let ñv heria a sîki locrini þar brenda landit rêna ðe en dze
þa munn þar er locinuð fîþar þat fannar hann lôdi at fer þa ætilði at frîda sîki fût þa settað vîð
gyndleleoën. ok er henni kom nôfin af þerfr þa ðannði þen her at fer þ fagði fînir munnm at hon
villið engar fêtir taka vnan hon fôiið kveð anad hvart falla skylldv eða ði
nnam vendir fvn fyn þorði riki. þar mottvz þar fenn heitir fhrvan hanna þar var eðr
alta osvotu ðer er litli rô ðar bardo þar var locrinuð fiskot arvr en í gegnim til bana hanna ha
þbi þa konung var fêr. x. ár. en er konung var fallin þa gafz fenn vpp þar lagði hon þar allt sîkik
vndir fôrþt marþgîn ða hefri hon rôði ðall meðan maddan var vngôr hon var grimly
nd þôrðôf hon let taka þer fôrþgirv elfrilleð þa habben dotter henar i a þeiri er þa het
fbrina en n heitir en u hett hâblen af nafnimeyariennar af madan
Îv er gyndleöna hafþi rôði riki . xv. ár þar feck hon maddan fynir fînir
fðði leifð fīna En hon reð cornbretalandi allt til davða dax I þann tima
var fannv elþamadr a gyþinga landi þall þar til hafþi lîft fîlvu fvn enesi þ broðir
alþnas i ðann tima var þ homeres skald Maddan var hovyxn þ vinsell þ er af hannum
engi faga ger hann feck konu þatti med henni iþ. fyni hit annar inpiricius en annar mánínu
þeir vavp þa fîllvôa er fôðir þeira maddan andáðs En er hann var allr þa vîldi hvar þeira
hafa allt rôði en varði vîldi ðannaðar ofþum fenn geyndv þeira fva vmp toskota
fïndv at þeir náði eði at borià ðh vârði matti annan fôvika înpiricius fendir þa orð ma
lunn þrôðôf fînir at þeir fôkîlbv fÎnnað þa fêmia fêtir ðinna þ frîndfene fagðô þar vîk
aplegt at þeir vêri legri fînir vendir munnm. þetta likar málnun vel þ fÎnnað þeir brôðir þa
my daughter; I will be old and decrepit before you do this,” and then he intended to rush at him. 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 Estrildes 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, 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.

It is said that Estrildes 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. He went to his maternal grandfather, Corineus, and grew up there. Corineus didn’t live long after this. He was very much 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 Gwendeloena, and arranged for a wedding with Estrildda with much splendor, and placed her as queen over the entire kingdom. Then Gwendoleena 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 and army 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 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. After Gwendeloena had ruled the kingdom for fifteen years, she gave to her son Maddan his paternal 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 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, that it is unnatural, that they would be placed lower than their own men. Malim likes this well, and the brothers met and

62Unique to the saga. 63Unique to the saga. 64Unique to the saga. 65Unique to the saga. 66Jonsson’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 íj. Æman medð fambykt annara manna þar nær varv a lavn menn inclincis þ medð hannf raddan lafr þt fram þ daþr malunni en eftir hann davða tekð inclincis vndir tíg allt rikit
þ fek medð her yrfr allt rikit þ daþr velfeltu eina tignztv menn þ göfgztv innan landz þvat hanun þttni þer lengi höf þaf þær í úrði er hann halp þa latið fram koma vili hann þ
at þeim mvdít fitt a svart koma allar hann ilgirdir. eydli hann þ nalaeg allr innis att þvat hann
villi gisflið aflar fr eigi mvdíi langt liða ætu en hvert mvdíi annara hannf frændi
Þickia betr til fálinn kiki at höf þar þ konung afna at bera en hann Gaf hann þar i fláðin flótar
egnr þ tegnar noti þeim mvennum er áðr varv létit verðir en fer letv allt þat foma er hann villdi
hann var kvangad betr en hannum somði þvat hon var vel at fer i alla fláði. fvn attv þav hann er ebravtus het hann var manna merîr þ flerkatx a flótum alþær þ vikir fóððr flótum i íkaplyndi
þ fóri hann meir fram hlevm raddvm modoð flinna en flinna fóðfr fliní. hann hét ebracíus
hann var vinfell af alþýðv En er ebracíus var vng fr let inclincis eigna konv flina þarð hann flían allr at vndvm tok hann þat þat þaf þarla þ flampaþtv þer þat þa med hannem er þa varv hann meir þvat þeir þottvz í þeiri fambykt
lavna hannum miklar virþingar í flótar gisfær En er hann halþi xx.
vetr konungr kallat verð þa for ein dag a þyra vedí med híðr flini þ vörð þann þeim frá
skila þ varð þladd vætmaðan þa kemir hann i dal ein. þar dreif at hannum varga íkretð
mikil þ reð þegar a hann þ rifv hann allan fvnð þar þat makligt at þa dori illa þ ðam liga er íll lífi halþi lífþt hoði hann kiki með glorvum þfor fram med íkem þendís með
svirþing I þenna tíma var fái konung þfr gyðingalþ Erðbracs fvn hann tok kiki eftir
hann þ ikipadi hann fríð niki þar inboðr monnum þ hof þ þorði alla flina frændren er hann halþi kiki ðkapat eftir flinum vila þa mintiz hann verfr eftir þyri frændz hann
hoðv heroin í galla þ latið þar þina aflviní þ nafrændþ þ kotiz fálþr navv
lega vndan þottiz hann þkylld þróa at hæfr for hann flían þer í galla þ atti þar
margar ovravþ þ van þar mikin fíg þ fekk mikit herfang þ fó þar þi þeim með fgrvum
fígr þ nogy fe En er hann halþi eigi lengi heima verþ þat let hann gera borg eina mik
þa þ klalli eftir fín navn ebracíum. fvr er ntv kallóð íok þ er þar navn annar erki
foll margar borgir flerkar let hann reía aðþar hann let gera á íkotlandi vigi þat er hann kallati
meýde claftr þar var þ iorðaða landi david konung en silvíus latíns a italiþ þatn
þan ofáphat þflamen ebravors ati xx. konv þ með þeim xx. fyr þ xx. dorrþ
þerlar erv þynnir hann nefndir bavtrt grónkolað margavðr silvíus regin mvr
rvið bladv dygl gandav ellðað afarát brvach en eigi erv nefndir fleirí en
dorr hann Gloçinj innog vdnaf gvenban ragav fladað gladið aga
efladaiel hon var allra meýia fegrfr þeira er í íkotlandi varv ebarvus fendí d Orr
fínar allar fúðz vmb flall í itali til silvíus fínar albanier þar rikti þ báð hann gífst þer
þar Silvíus gífst þer þar gavgvum monnum af troio manna att þeim fém þar attv ríki þ godî
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.  

Because his wife was distinguished in every respect, he was married to more than his own worth. 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. 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. His men agreed to this behavior, because they thought that only he would reward their consent with great honors and rich gifts. 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.

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. But after he had arranged the kingdom after his wishes, he then remembers how one of 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. He had many other great cities raised. In Scotland, he had a stronghold which he called Meyde Claustr built. King David was in Jerusalem, Silvius Latinus was in Italy, and the prophets Gad, Nathan and Asaph lived in this time. Eubraucus 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. 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.

Ebraucus sent all of his daughters south over the mountains to Italy to Silvius, Albanus’s son, 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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67 Unique to the saga. 68 Unique to the saga. 69 A strange repetition of the name. This could be a correction of an initial misreading of Ebrautus to Ebraicus. 70 The implication of homosexuality in the source is made explicit in the saga. 71 Unique to the saga. 72 This episode is slightly expanded, and the possible moral judgment has been added by the saga writer. 73 The political changes made here are unique to the saga. 74 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 Kaerbeauc, not York. HRB, II.90 [27]. Perhaps this interpretation is due to a Scandinavian point of view in the reading of the text. 75 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 Aged (Edinburgh), and Mons Dolorous. 76 Gad and Nathan appear to be combined in a single name, Gatnathan. 77 This last remark unique to the saga. 78 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 sín í taxlandi at vinna þat fótt að af þatv. Herto að þeim býðim þorv þeir með þrýrk sylvítíabrá viðví taxlanda. Þav þat allt vnder fug lægt þar þvi

kíli lípan. býttas var heima með þeð hvin en er ebrýttus hafþi vikt vm. íx. ær þar xx.

þa andáði hann þau þið þorv þeir þrotnikall vegliga groft hans þeir tokv ríki eftir

hann þaug er engi þaga frá þeim ger býttus ætri þin er leil hét er ríki þok eftir hann fá let
gera borg a norðri verður báttina er þa var kallað að hans nafni kaerleik í þann tíma

red falómon vífi fyrri ísóla landi þa þa kom fábba drottning til þeins þa þar reft templeum

dominíi leil red ríki v., ær þar xx. Svn hans tok ríki eftir hann fá er ldv hvildabæt hét hann let gera
flozor býgir kantara borg þegítionam þa kaftala þan er hann kallaði baladýn en þa

er kaftala vegir varð laðmir heyrdv með en tala en ecki kom þat þar eftir at nokot hét
þi þat þýða hann let gera borg þar er hann kallaði bado hann þíkti íx. ær þar xxx. þa var eliat þlámadr a

gýðinga landi þa þá hann þerf gýð a þeig ískyldi regna þeit gýð hanner þat a þeig regndaði

vm halft .iii. ár. hans svin þat bladvö er ríki þok eftir hann þar var hann miok fólkvinigr

þarn með þat miok af hannam þur í landi En er hann hafþi .xx. veðr konungur verit þa let

hanna ger fer fiðþam þau villsd hann flývga þa þía yfri ríki sitt þotte fer þra þirr no

okotu lvtv a vart meða koma En er hann skyldi flývga í hannonum þar bilaði forinum

þall hann atti .iij. dorh þet ein elfta gudonilla en omnv ragay en hin yngfa

goðdæla hon var þeirra venazt þirraz konungur vni henni þat merfl vm langa lvtv En

er hanner þat að elldæt þara villsd hann profa hvélika afl hann afl hann þar hærri þeira at lava lett

hann þa kalla til fin ena elfta dotttor fina gudonillam þer þallit Sva er ek av ko gmall at ek

man baxt mît lif enda þmitt ríki man koma þóð í hond dorðvinn minnvm þar vil

ek nu vita hvat því ant mer hon vfarar þerf ma ek ðveria at ek ann þer meira en lifi

minn konungur mertið miklir a ek þat ÿð virha at elf kar meir eli mina en orðv þína

þkal ek þar þat fva lava at því þin bondi flkv hafþa þríðung allí miok ríki því ÿt

ilt le hann kalla til fin ragay þar þþrði hvat hon yunum hanner hon vfarar eigi kann ek at greina

avðv vig allt ÿtí þig en ek an þer meira en allv avðv í heimevn konungur vfarar hvat

ma þerfí að ligt verða því þkal her mikit gött í moti koma þkal ek gefa þer annan þríðving ríkið

min þan mann er því kyfr þer aflf SIðan let hann kalla til goðdæla þþrði hanner fílfrk enf

fama en hon vfarar hvat ma dottor vna fóðor fvinn meira en fva fem fórmir því fva

vil ek þer vnaa fem bezt famir at goð dottir vni godvøn fóðor því mikit gött fem ek

ma þat vil ek þer vnaa hanna vfarar reivlega því ðbotar eli mina þeig þarf mik a kalla

einvalz konung yfir englandi ef ek ðkal eigi gera aflar mven með ýðr yfirvinn því þkallt ecki vera

min dottir hædan frá þegi ðekk eðl kal þer geya þeng virding ikalltv her hafþa En yfýr

7 drottning Jónsson, drottning (nsg). 16 oksvar This o is redundant. 16 var Jónsson, (v)var. 21 gondöll Jónsson. 23 navn Jónsson. 25 navn Jónsson, (v)navn. 26 at elf Jónsson, at (þ) elf. 27 at þþ þínr Illegible. 28 þþrði Jónsson, þþrðið. 29 avðv Jónsson, avðvi. 30 þa þóð að vörða þíð ðkal her mikiti Jónsson. 31 þóð að vörða þíð ðkal her mikiti Jónsson. 32 fama en hon vfarar hvat ma dottir Jónsson. 33 vil ek þer vnaa fem bezt famir at Jónsson. 34 ma Jónsson, The m is illegible. 34 eigi þarf mik Jónsson. 35 Observed by reagent.
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.\textsuperscript{79}

They took the kingdom after him, but no sagas were made about them.\textsuperscript{80} 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.

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.\textsuperscript{81} 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 rain, and He gave this to him, that it did not rain for three and a half years.\textsuperscript{82} 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 failed, and he fell down into London, and crashed onto the largest temple in the land, and was dashed to many pieces.

His son took the kingdom after him, he was called Leir.\textsuperscript{83} 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.\textsuperscript{84} He had three daughters. One was called Gonorilla, and another Ragau, and the youngest Cordella. She was the most beautiful and wisest of them.\textsuperscript{85} 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. 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, “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 Cordella called to him and asked the very same thing, but she answers, “How can a daughter love her father more than 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, you shall not be my daughter anymore, and I shall give you no wealth, and you shall have no honor. But your sisters...
42r

þinar félhv her háfu vörting ȝ riki. hon maellit þat man mer fyrri bettv fém þv villt vera late hann gifti dortr sinar enar ellri ioxlim. Þ. let fylgia þeim heiman hafli fiki fitt meðan hann lítþi en þeir fyllyvð ev ga allt eftir hans dag annar þeira fat a þretlandi en annar a ikotlandi Aganippis het konungur i franz vatr mæð þvinfell hann þvíaði at leir konungur hafli gift dortr sinar enar ellri en þv var v

gift en yngfa er allr kollvð beztan kofl í vera fendi hann þa menn til englandz at bídía
gódeillam til handa Þ barv þeir upp erindi fin fyrri leir konung konungr fvarar þo at aganippis
fe vísþenda þ riki Þ er hann þo eigi vetr ne frettin er hann veit eigi at ek hefur gift dortr minar í göða kolfi en þerl í er þv er eftir er vtrir þ metnadar flíl Þ ek veit eigi hvart er hon

er min dottir eða eigi man ek henni þ riki godfí heiman gefa þicki mer konungi yðrum þetta rae

ecki fva fórmelegt fem tign hans byriar en þeir betv þicki mer er mið ervrn fyr ík

ið fendi menn forv aftar þ flogfí fin erindið lok þat með at þeir kollvðs engva ivngfrv féð hafva
fríðari eða þeir profat viraði þ matti henni eigi þat vallda at henni varri til virðingar halldit
Konungr fvarar eigi em ek vrikari en leir þo at hann gefi ecki heiman með dottoþ finni þ jkal mer
þeir þyri gøðv ræði flanda hann fendi nv þegar menn a fvnð leirf konungf með gylli þ gerlum þ að
þa förra til þin dottir konung ef hon villdi med þeim fura En er þeir koma til englandz bera þeir fram fin erin
dia þotti leir konungmi mikit at hennar forlog fyllyvð fva ha verða en þo kvinni hann eigi mott þei
mæla fem aðh halþ þann iattað þar þat þeir gert at hon þr for him at franz med fendiðornnum þs let konungr gera bylæpp vörþvlegt til hennar þotti hon vera en vitraþta drotting þ en vörð

lexta þ vare lámfarar þeira gøðar þaþ van þvan vel fína rata af leir konungi i englandi

20 Þv er þar til malf at taka at leir konung i englandi tek miok at eilldaz þa fáþa magar
hans fflævn fin i milli þ foveþa a konungf fvnð þ maellit líðnar mnnv þer fvnðir er
þer at landravn fomfotat þat nv er fázin fíori fikufiþin þ vili nv engi finna þui
þer þog fegir fakir elli vili viti nv þaþa hafva okarx skilðaga at mið fyllyvdv taka riki eftir þin
dag ervn nv davda í vörðingv hofv vit sv Þ allt ylfrat wiki vndir okki tekit varð þa konungfr

25 náðgir at lata riki fitt þa konungdom þ for hann fíþan heim til ikotlandz med maglaviæ oarli er atti
gosonillm dottor hans þ tok hon fegísalmega við haunem at yfir lý hann halþi með fer .xl. siddara en er
hann halþi þar verit .i. vetr þa máelli drotting við iarlinn hvat fkal fóðor minvm fva mikit folk af
golvm þicki mer ræð at þv fendir brott ein þ ein fer þína erinda þ lað engan aftar koma til
hanfigaþlum fva þaþa fém hon gaf ræð til En er hfillnafir varv siddara leirf þar varð hann reißa
þ for brett þaþan með .xx. siddara þ for hann þa til heminu annf magf finf a cornþeta land þ to
kvþ þau við haunum vörþvlega í fyrftv en eigi halþi hann þar lengi verði aðr en þau fettv rað til at
skinaþa varð milli konungf siddara þ jallsins þ fettv konungf mnnv tand þar til er eigi røð fleiti eftir en
v. konung frar þaþi efta þar til ikotlanda þ hvghi at dottir hann mndti eigi viða latu fomfot
hans minka þi þau fém þar er for þar for þaþan En þar varla fem hann hvghi þvít hon villdi eigi með haunum
taka vtan hann helði ein fvein med fer þ þo þa hann þat hon tok þa þa afaka hann vm eilı vom
þ vörþing þ kalladi hans ættar ikom konungar varð þa rycar miok þ hvigði fitt mal þ mæltiz

MS

7 vísþenda þ Jónsson emends to vísþenda at. 12 viraði] Jónsson emends to viraði. 19 fína] Jónsson emends to fína. 26–36 gozonillum...mæltis.] These lines are badly stained with reagent. Most of the text is still visible. 29 várð] The type of r is not visible. 30 þ for brett þaþan með] Obscured by reagent. 30 annf Jónsson, ann(e)ft. 30 magf finf a] Obscured by reagent. 33 aftar] Obscured by reagent. The type of r is not visible. 34 þei 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 the 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. 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. The relationship between them was good, and they loved each other very much in their marriage.

**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,
42v

.þíð ein faman mikla íkom mælir dottir min til sín fóðor fva gott fem hon a mer at lavna
en of mikit hefr hon til sín maff at ek en nv miok orvali orðin þar fem ek lagða vndir mik
anna konunga riki þar ek agishlarm yfir morgvun þiðtvun. Minimunna ek n v er ek þyrf ra dækr
minar hverf mikir hver þeir vnið mer ma ek þat n v fia a þerfrtvn. þj. minmum dætrtvn hefr allt ann
6 aþ í hvg verði enn þar hafja talad hafja þar hafjilega þoppad af mer mitt riki ma ek nv fanna
eþ doñveðna orð af eftir koma þiðtvunum raði í hvg a þat er n v at minnau hvat goðoìllam
mæliti þo at mer gietiz eigi þa at ma at mer haf riðyni gefið vm þetta fem n v þat er ek hefr
nv reýnt hon hafger m ðra fem unna fem bæst þemði þj hon myndi mer þa meira gott vilja fem
hon ætti meira kolli ma n þerf vitið verða þo at verðsvæg þe meiri gieðv mann er hon n v
enn fylfr hennar ma þat at þat verði fleirvun gagn at. þor konungur þa þvör vm lío til franz þ
hafði vond keldi þa einn þeinn þa nalega hvert maðr at hannum þ þoppad þann þar fem hann kom hann fendi
þa þeinninn til dottur fínnar þa þegja henni hvat titt var vm hann ferð þj hann þorði eigi með hofþ
ingvun lata þa fag. En er þon hþvðri þat þa varð hon miok yrc það leyra konung fendí hon þa
mite hannin. þx. siddara þ þa þa þtvi er hann þvrtti at hafja þa þar fva var komit fæði hon konungi at fo
þor hennar var þangat von a þara natta freðti konungur fældir reið þa þt moti hannem með
allri hirð finne þa þok með hannem af allri virðing þ tetti hann in hafæti þ formði hann in ollv fem fram
az matti hann. leir konungur fæði hannum þa þalla virðing er magar hann hoftv gert hannem þ hann var þri eðr vík
i þloktinn Aganipp konungur fædnar þ þing fiðmunt þ þeili þer hafði mer vel verði lyðnir þ eftir latir
þifar ek þok her virði rikil þonum er her n v kominn leir konungur maðr minn þa þeir þloktinn or fínn
verð þið enn ver ervm allir flkjaldur fakir drotningar at sorma hann n v vil ek biðja at þer takið hann til konungl yfir
þ þj þiond hafnum þem fer en ek vil alfa mer annar rikil þar fem avót ma verða þviat
ýk ek vil eigi áðar yða i þann hafaka at beriæ oðvum monnum til ríkis þa fávörðu landz. menn engann konung
viliv ver annanh hafja þann þeir þig enn beriæ viliv ver með þer þar fem þ þvilt. konungur bað þa her v
þat allt fritt þor þann þer til breltlanda þ van þat allt vndir leir konungur þj fellði þaða íarlana
þa þor þifar aftir i riði þið. leir konungur ríkti þa þyrir ollv breltlandi með þakri virðing fem fyr
hafþi hann merefta haft. hann liði þið þj. vetr þ andaðís i fylvum veg sinvn þa haf
þi hann konungur verði þx. vetr. hann leiðla vor vegligh ger en erfi hann vor fva rikvlegt at
flok yfir þj. manorðr. Aganippol konungur liði þ þíla þínvand þifar er hann hafþi vnnið breltland
þa þar hann hvervum manní miok harmðavíði. ívn hann tok ríki eftir hann en goðorolla fóx
þifar til breltlanda þ lagði vndir þig allt breltland þ redy fyrir þo riki þ. v. ar. hon var vinsal við
t þor þama þ þar fva var komit þa rív vpp mote henne þj. fyttra fynir hennan hett annar
marganes enn annar enedages þer hoftv tekt iarloma eftir fðaða fina en þottv a
henni eiga finna harma at reka famna nv hverir þveig litið motvilt þ
þ þarðr þarthið þalið fva at goðorilla vand handtekinn ok fett i þyrkver
þforð minnete hon þa þa harma fina þ hverf miok var þrangt hennar
virðing þ af þeim harmi lagði hon a þer fáxi þ lað fva hennar ævi.

1–3 við ein faman... ioðtvun] The first two and half lines are quite faded and illegible. The line breaks are approximated. 3–36 Minimunna ek n v...fva hennar ævi.] Most of the remaining page has been freshened up. 6 vinnvar] Jónsson, viðvinnur. 9 mann] Jónsson suggests the original reads maðr. 10 þar] Jónsson suggests the original ink reads þar. 11 þalega] Jónsson, þ (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 Aganippur] The large capital A is not freshened up. Jónsson suggests the original read Aganíppus. 24 til breltlanda] Awkwardly freshened up to til englenda. 27 ger en] Freshened up to ger þ. The en is written over the line. 34 þ þarðr] Incorrectly refreshed. Jónsson hypothesizes the text should read, (þ toka þar þarðr). The refreshed text reads, over the line break, of boðulf. 34 þarthið þalið] Illegible; not freshened up. 34 þahl} Jónsson emends from, þa lýkur. 35 þfarð minnete hon þa a harma fina þ hverf miok var þrangt hennar virðing þ af þeim harmi lagði hon a þer fáxi þ lað fva hennar ævi.
“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. 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 Cordelia 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.

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, 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 Agrippus summoned a great Thing and said, “You have always been very dutiful and then loyal to me ever since I took the helm of power. 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.

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. His monument was honorably erected, and the funeral was so splendid, it lasted for two months. King Agrippus 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 Cordelia 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, Cordelia 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.

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89 The word used here is ægishjálmr (helm of terror), is a poetically significant word representing military, political, or supernatural might. It is often compared with the Greek ægis, however the etymologies are unrelated. 89 This speech is substantially paraphrased from the source. HRB, II.214-230 [31]. 89 The kingdoms are described in the political terms of the chieftaincies familiar in the sagas. Likewise, Leir is seated in a chieftains high seat. 92 An Old Icelandic term for a general assembly. 93 This direct quotation and dialog between Agrippus and his men is unique to the saga. 94 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]. 95 Unique to the saga. 96 The means by which she killed herself is not mentioned in the HRB and VV.
Ætr broða ikiptv þa riki með fer latt marganas norðr fræ hvirv en enedēgus en fjóra
lvt þeir riktv báðir .i;j. vetr þa dvo marganas lið faman þ heríaði a riki broðoð finn en
er enedēgus fræ hann imote með her þ j tokz þar harðoð bardagi þ endiz með því at
marganas flyði þar var fangin in flottanvin þa drepin við þau það er ne hētit margan
en að þat kambaria tvekt an nedagat allt riktv vnder fig þ reð .i;j. vetr þ xxx.
þar var hann miok harmaði af findum monnum I þerna tima vara þerfr þamenm a gýgingalandi yfiaf
þ þace þa ef rvo borg riefi a .xl. kalandas maii manahar af .i;j. broðrom remo þ romvlo
Svn enedago tok þeir eftir hann fá þet harun við hann doqvit rigandi .i;j. daga blodi þ kom
þar eftir manandavð miðk eftir hann tok þeir frn hann er hét gægtvitv þa hann frn fíullið þa ri
go þa kirmaes frn fíullið þa godbodaga þa fynir hans ferexvä þa porex þeir deil
dv bratt vm riktv þ flock ferexvä ov landi fræ franz þ erði þaðan at liði þ för
þaðan aftir fr bretlanda þ varð með þeim þroðrum mikill bardagi þ fell i þeim ferexvä þ merfr
lvti lið hann Moðir þeira hét vedo þ varð hon miog ryco er hon þyrði fáll porex þviat hon vnni
hannm yfir alla menn fram hon fógar fr í fíaat fr fínnna ferexvä frn þi þar hann þa i sue
ni hon geik i þat herhýrgi er konungv þiav i hon vfiít fr oðum monnum þa havð hon þónvintv
mejumr findm at lecia konung með þeim handfóxvm er hon fók þeim þ þa gerð þar þat þer
dræp hann þar Eftir þetta eð illa verð varð miðk vfiðið i landin vm þ. konunga xvi þ fors riktv
litt at fílkum þar til er fá maðr hofi þpp fr dvunavalls hett hann var frn lothenif konungs af chonbretha
landi hann fr drarfor maðr þa fírdi þa at framiþ þa varv þ. konungar yfr bretlandi héi ein píner þan dræp
hann fyrð þar nell rív moði hannm radacies konungv af cambaria þ fracies konunga af albania þ
þ eir þeim frñvíð varð þar harðoð bardagi þ mikit mann fall fr avarvm rvegvum frn en fála
at báðir konunggar felly þ merfr lvti lið þeira þ lagði vndis frg fr þían allt þeira riki hann lett fyft
þeira landa konungga ger foronv fr gyvli hann frtti log þar er kollvð evr malvmtni þ hel
dvz þar þer lengi þfran at engi maðr sikuð frv illt gort hafa ef hann kværme fr tí hann þann dag
þ er hann bar kozono at hann sikuð eigi gróð hafa hannn lett þ þiða ryði landit fr bó þacka hann
eyddi olvvm ranfronnum þ hernadí hann siki þ xl. ara þ andadíð i lvnvnvm þ var iarððað i hof
þo hofi þi þar er hann hafjí fett fr laga fíhornar i landinfr af breinis þ beliniv
Synir dvnvalls tokv þeir eftir hann hett annar belinis en anñar breinis þir vrvv
bratt eigi frámlyga þ villið hvarvaci heita yfrkonung fr þo fettvþ þeir
með þr at belinis sikuði heita yfr konungv fr þi at hann fr ellri þ hafa en fýóra
lvt sikið fr breiðir er nerða þ flód fva þeira fett frv þ. ar þat varv log með troio
monnum at fr sikuði Índri heita er ellri var tolvv menu þat þa fyrir breini at hann sikuði fara fr
notex þ bídia dottor elfogii konungf þa þahán fyllan fyrkt moði broðoð frnwm Síshan fr hann fr
horðalanda þ bað dottor konungf þ frk heann þar þar þa frv vetrin er en belinis þyrði þetta þ
hann fr ekki eftir þerfr ráði þyrði þa fer hann með her fr nóðríwmbrandalzd þ legþ þat allt vndir
frg þetta fyrk breiniþ þ fánnar vvigvum her faman Er fr gýðafr danakonung frýr fr hann
ferðar

1–37 þeir broða ikiptv...ferðar] The entire page is freshened up. 9 rigo] Jónsson suggests the o could be a v. 13 porex] Jónsson emends to ferexvä. The original hand may have represented this name. 14 ferexvä] Jónsson emends to porex. 15 konung] The abbreviation is freshened up as þot. 15 oðum] Not freshened up. 15 fr] Not freshened up. 15 tv] Not freshened up. 22 lagði vndir fig] Jónsson, lagði (Dvmallus) vndir fig. 27 af breinis þ beliniv] 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.

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 Riualllo. 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 Gorbobudo, 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.

After this outrage, much war was upon the land in the time of five kings, and the kingdom was of little account, 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 Rudauscus 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. 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. 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.

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. 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, he assembled his army and marched to Northumberland and subdued it completely.
43v  

fnaði her faman þvat hann þyrimvndi hannum hvansangf þerf er hann haði fengir tekz her harði  

bardagí danir fottv merði þat ikip er drottingin var a þat gatv þerir vniði þat fengit  

hana þ þegar logby þeir brøtt þat fglóv í haf þa rak veðr til norðvmv landz með þ. við. ikipv  

Brener fuggi eftir þat kom at iktoland  þat hrverkri broðir hannu haði gozt a hannu riki  

þa at konu hann þa dana konung var a hannu vallti fendu hannu þa menn til þroðið sarfin þa bad hannu gefa  

afri riki fitt þa konu elva mvidli hannu heria i riknir þyram ong. Beler váð reiði  

við þerri oný þa fanaði líði þa þor mot þræn með viggian þerir híttvi við skog hann er  

kaltleriði hítt þat þa harði bardagi þa þroðvþ þeir allan dag en at kveldli flyðið  

noðsímen til ikípa þat đap beler af þeim xv. hvndvðu manna Brenner koma a ikip þa flyðið  

til saxlandz en belir tekri vndrìg fig allt rikit af niýv hannu gerir fett við gviðik dana konung  

þa at hann for belir konungat trvnadar eíða þa hann íkylldi af hannum hallda riki í danmorki kona  

þrænis íkylldi þa hannum fylgia enda íkylldi hannum lóka beta lkatt a hverfur ar þat gaf þar  

gilta til belir let geri vegg þa þvan með þat bæði land þetti þav log at þa þeim gotum íkly  

lídli hverr við annan fríoð haði fem hannu haði gert ok helzi þat en i dag. þeði þa engi  

máðr hannum moti at mala Nv er at sgeia af brænni at hannu heriari í franz þ fekk þar þo en  

gan flyrðu hann for þa a fundu iarli þerf er seginus heitir hannu reð fyrir óvgvnia hannu tok  

við hannum með allri virðing þa báð hannum með fer at vera fva lengi fem hannu villdi hannu dvaldbið  

þar vnr hvnd vörði iarliðu hann þeir meira fem hannu var lengr með hannum þa fiðir gifti iarliðu hannum  

dottur ína með þeim kavpmala at hannu íkylldi taka allt riki eftir iarliðu af hannum setti engan  

ðv en eftir en af iarliðu setti ínv þa íkylldi hannu flyrðu hannu til fiðir rikið í bæði landli allir ho  

þjöngjar í landina hvndvi þetta með fátmelvni iarliðu líði eitt er sífan þat þa þenir  

vndrìg fig allt rikit ílaðinn haði verðið faltr máðr en brænnir var þav or ðat hannu gaf a tv  

þær hendri hverinum þér þiga villdi gerði hannu þa vinfel á þa þav villdi hverr fúta þa  

þlanda í landin fimndi vallti hannum mitz þa hvelika vinntatt hannu þróðreiðu fínuvm  

at giðlaða byði hann þa hr tr þes til bæði landz þ þerir þvyr þat fannar hannu þer þor mo  

ti hannum móðir þeira líði þa en þor tonema het hon fró millim þeira því villdi fúta  

þa en er hon got þat eiga göst þa þa hon fram millim herfin þageng at brænnir leer þa  

þar fínar hendri vnr halfr þunnan þar þerar þröfsvin þa þíndi hannum þa miðli grata  

ndi súntst þerf ínv min at þerfri þröfsvið þínum berfnir þyri þerfri þröfsvið  

bar ek þí þa er íkaparen let þíg at manne verða en nrv fyrir þv þetta þröfsvið a minvVm  

harme miða þa ínv min þat ek þölþa þíri þág leg reiði þína við þröður þínum  

fýrri mina born þ þo at þv yvirð þyri hannum land flotta þa er þer þat nrv stóðarlafti þviat  

þtr nv eiga miðað þær enn hannu ne víslandari ðær er hitt betr at víðra íva fem  

þv haðir þetta af hannum lotið at þv er ntvði mikill konungur úr litvMr fúmaði  

en en þv villt hvarki giða þróðvglirgr altarj þróðovglirgr gleði þa man  

hamingið íra þer hverva þyri þeim er hannu vill elîka En er brener haði heyst þetta  


1–36 fnaðiði (hannu) her... haði heyst þetta] The entire page is covered with reagent and freshened up. All of the text is legible. 1 fnaðiði her] Jónsson, fnaðiði (hannu) her. 2 bardagi] The text is obscured in the middle of the word. The kind of r is not visible. 6 ongy] Jónsson suggests this could also be engy. 16 óvgvnia] Jónsson, bvgvnia. 17 aldþí] Not freshened up; illegible. 21 holþingjar] Very poorly freshened up; illegible. 23 þa] This word is placed above the line, above a horizontal dash. 27 brænnir] Jónsson suggests the original text should read Brænni. 29 þínum] Obscured. The ink appears smudged. 30 en ntv] Not freshened up. 30 minvVm] Jónsson suggests this originally was nyivm, from Jón Sigurson. 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. The wind drove them to Northumberland with eight ships.

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, 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.

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. 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.

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. 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. 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 then 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.”

When Brennius had heard this,
44r

þa minnabíz reiði hans þa villdi hann hvca hans þa lagði af fer vapnin þa geck með bliðv
alliti at broðs hlinum þa er beler fa þat þa lagði hann af fer sin vapn þa minniz þa
hvar við annan þat þa frændseme finta at fyll fæm vera atti Sifan forþ þeir
báðir faman til vallandz þa þapan til franz þa herðv þor þa ill þav þiki er fyrri norðan fioł
logþv þeir vndir frig þa ferri þa finn með þir Eftir þat forþ þeir fóða þm fiołlinalltil ro
maborgar þa varv þest confuðre yfir rom þia ita het anar fabius en annan þofenna
þ er runverir viðv alla þeira fva mikin broðsia þa galgv þeir í vallð þeira þa lv
kv þeím katta þa fengv þeim gilla at trýnaðar at þva skylld þeir gera iaman þan Sifan forþ
þeir norða þm hall til Faxlandz þamnvödu þaxar her faman í moti þa broðþ þeir
10 þa fengv þeir broðs iaman þiðg en er runverir hlyrv þat þa rýð þeir fêttr við þa
broðs þa redud til líði með soxum En er þeir broðs hlyrv þat þa gerð þeir þat rað at brennir
skylld þara með her fann til rvmaborgar en belir skylldi vera eftir a faxlandi en er runverir vr
av þerla varir ættvþ þeir at gera fyrþ brenni er hann hyrfi aftr belir vardo vat þetta
þ for þm nort með her fin í dal þann þeir er leíd runveria la þm En er dagar var þa runverir fyrri fer
floða þanna með biörtum vapnvm þa flo þa otta þa þa hlygv at brennir minvdi þar kominn
varv þeir þa ecki við lvnir bráðum bardaga belir vetti þeim harda at fókn þa felly
margir runverir en allir flevþ þeir er lifit þagv top þa at natta þa skilði fva með
þeim belir fóþ þa a výnd brenti þþ forþ þeir baðir til rvmaborgar þa fettv þm hana þat leiti rei
fa gálfa fyrri borg lóðum þa leit leða þandg gilfana ecki galv borgar með þv þvoni
20 na at helldi leiti þeir broðs þa hengia.xx ena rikenv manna fyna er varv í gillingv
við þerla fyn þau þeim fva at þeir varv lvnir at gefaz upp þi þeir kom líð þat er fóð hafþi
fyrir þeir þa vnt os borginni til orrosto við þa broðs þa lakk fva at runverir flygv
vndan þa fengv mikin mannabídna hvarir tvevell þar felly baðir hofþingir runveria þoseanna
/ þ jalltus tolv þeir broðs þa en borgina í sitt valld þa fettv þina með þir þeir attv
25 margir orrostos í tóti aðr þeir gjæti þat þv nið þeir gerði brentir þar hafþingi yfir er ecki
her lengra fagt af hannum En belir þörn í heim til bæðland með her sinn þa fettiz þar at riki hann leit þar
gera margir borgir þa kaftala hann let gera ein hafan tvrn yfir þar liði í lvnvnnm er vt
veit a ana teðm þa gylltan knap a ofan verð með miklum hagtlik en er hann an
daid iz þar viktame þa þeir gerði brentir þar hafþingi yfir er ecki
30 hann er var a tvrninnm þvat hann bar haft þ yfir alla borgina af af gyrgvi konungi
Svn beles het gyrgvir hann tok þiki eftir fóðs þin hann var manna høggvæ expans þi
vittraz menn varv hannum fyst miðk yðnir í landin reývn mote hannum bardaga
en þo at hann véri daglega høggvæ þar var þat eigi minna fyrþa er hann tok til hverfar gr
imr þa vandfarþ hann var þa þa lekk hann þei iaman þiðg þa logþv með þei bardagar innan landz

1-34 þa minnabíz... 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 þofenna [ Incorrectly freshened up. The original read þofenna. 8 rvmabær at ] The refreshed ink has flaked off of ar at. 14 var ] Written above the line. 17 margir runverir [ The refreshed ink appears flaked off; illegible. 21 hafti ] Obscured by reagent. 22 flygv ] Obscured by reagent. 23 þofenna [ 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 talan 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 had brænd þa ] Latin. Most of the refreshed ink has flaked off; mostly illegible, but the r rounda 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 þ). 33 en ] The e is not freshened up. 34 imr ] Not freshened up; illegible. 34 vandfarþ ] The initial va is not freshened up; illegible. 34 þei 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, 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. After that, they went south over all the mountains to Rome. At the time, there were two consuls ruling in Rome and Italy. 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, 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.

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. 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.

King Gurguint

Belinus's son was named Gurguint. 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.

111 An early Scandinavian name for Normandy. 112 Although this episode is noticeably abbreviated, it closely follows the text of HRB, III.164-240 [43], [44] and [45]. 113 Translated from Garmania. 114 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: VII, p. 39 [44]. 115 This last remark is unique to the saga.

44v

BRETA SǪGUR, AM 544 4to
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 Partholoiim 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.

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. The king lived a little while, and died of an illness. After him, his seven year old son Kimarus took power.

Kimarun's illegitimate son Morvidus took power. But not long after he ruled, a warlord came from Northumberland and harried, and when Morvidus learned this, he became very angry. 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, the 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.

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 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.

But not long after he ruled, a warlord came from Northumberland and harried, and when Morvidus learned this, he became very angry. 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, the 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.

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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 Eldurus, 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 Eldurus 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
minn er her komin fà er landflæsdar varð fyrir með þó af því at ek veit at var félínaði man ðukott verða þa vil ek þetta ríki gefa að argallos vili þer eigi þetta laetta með þá ðuk ek lata halldócrva alla yfir þó at þeim þætti hvaðgi göðr þa latt þeir ollv þóvi er konungr beiddiz þar þetta með eðum þvindt fara þeir fíðan til íokar þó tok þer konos af hofði fer þé fer þeir að hafð þóð finnum en ellíduruð fat þá fíva fæm ein ivfíh argallus tok þá allan hann hatt vm ríki fíðon en fyr hafði hann haft gerðið hann þá maðr vinfélh henni ríki x. ár þandaði í borg þeir er leira heitir þa tokv breitar til konungfþ þarnan tilla ellíduruð hann hafr þá enn fáma hátt fém fyr vm ríki fíðon. íj. bróðr hann rífi í mote hannum heit annar vigenís en annar perídurað þeir konuvs að konunginum a svart þó gripw hann þeirat hann venti engra fívka af þeim þó fettv hann fæm í ðónrvum þeir fíktir ríki með fer þó reð þvíj. vetr fíðan andáðir þeir báðir Eftrir þat tokv breitar ellíduruð orsteiningum í ðónrvum þar hann þá eð. íj. fínn til konungf tekkinn þó reð hann þar fyrri alla xvi fíðan með veg þó vinfélh þan dáiðillilll með gøðum oðfíhir þar hann barnlaví þa fói fíþ at rifk litigation þeir hvar ymir konungar þar er engi fága fra þeim ger var fyrír marganes þar ermanæs þar te dívallo þó noxe katellos porrex kervi þal fülgencis þal elftri æknadacu þal canonís þá grýgjics þar mariann þa cafenus þar ríllis þar beredel þa dolvar þal helius hann var ætt fíoró maðr. hann ríki xi. ara. hann atti íj. fíni eftir. heit einn lvoð annar calibellum. íj. veníüs lvoð. tok konungdom eftir roðir fínn þeirat hann var eftir hann let gera nyja veci vm ðónrvumáborg þó isk hanna bæði með kalftalvim þó hannar var þarfírill ríkinn þar en valkásti til þapna hann reð líta ílndvvi ríki þar var írðarhíði í ðónrvum hann atefir íj. fíni vinga heta annar argronegen annar tenvances kalibellunnus toki eftir hann enn broðr fínish vandarvoc nock vatnir þó fettí hann androgevni yfir ðónrvum er tenvnætví yfir kornbreta land í þonna tima for ívlius gaisf cesfar norðr vm falli þó lagði af jülius cefare vandir fíg allt gailia hannum var fágt at ein ey laðaðen þó fóir þóðbygði er komin var fra einaef fém fíalfr rørvverir þó hat at fýr þóð hvondi miok vera æktlera þó kv nna eckt at beriaþ þó hat land meðliv látir lícia ívlius fendi calibellano eit bref með þerfum oðvum at þeir gíalldi rørvverim fíkat þó iattig fíg vandir þeirta lyðini þeirat þat var hannum tímam þó er þeir fívr fíyra alla veroldina calibellanus let fenda annað bref eit moti þal meliti íva vandarleg er agírei þýrv rørvveria er þer krefit af orf íkatta þat fém ver hofvm røtv merkr þó výggðir orf til ætvinnur vari yðr betrata at binda vîð orf fríð þar fára til þar fík þyrkia var ríki með þróðum mikla fljork en þó at ver hafin at varþ ríki naðvölega koníz þa erv ver nsv vitandi alls vísrlíf þó at gyðin fíal fíl vís þrántika þá þólf ver með ollv megni moti flanda hverfír fíra þerli æktlan þeirat ver þrálfvm med vilia

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 halldócrva alla yfruit þó at þeim þætti hvaðgi göðr þa latt þeir ollv þó er ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 4 þar þetta með eðum þvindt fara þeir fíðun til íokar þó tokk þar konunn ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 4 íokar ] The second r is not freshened up. 5 þá að hafð þóð broðr finnum en ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 6 annan hatt vm ríki fíðon ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 6 gerðið hann ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. Incorrectly written, gerða hann. 7 andaðið ðar borg þeiri er ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 7 heitir ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 8 enn fáma hátt fém fyn vm ríki fíðon. íj. broðr hannf ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 9 þeir ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 10 engra fívka af þeim þó fettv hann fæm í ðónrvum en þeir fíktir ríki með fer ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 11 vetr fíðan andáðir þeir báðir Eftir þat tokv ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 11 vetr fíþ ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 11 fíþ ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 12 var hann þá eð. íj. fínn til konungf tekkinn þó reð hann þar fyrri alla xvi fíðan með veg ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 12 var hann þá ] Freshened up; the most recent hand. 13 dáðir ellídurmeg með gøðum oðfíhir þar hann barnlaví þa fói íþ ] Freshened up; the earlier hand. 14-33 þeirat þar varv...med vilia ] The remainder of the page is freshened up by the second hand. 23 fíþ ] Not freshened up. 23 af jülius cefare ] Not freshened up. 31 nav ] Incorrectly refreshed to með. 31 óvölega ] Not freshened up. 32 fíþ ] Incorrectly refreshed up lie. 32 f vili osf þrántika ] Not freshened up. 33 skálfvm med 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. 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 Iugenius 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. After this, the kingdom was of little account because there were various alternate kings and no sagas
were composed about them. The first of these were Marganus, then Enniaunus, then Tedivallus, 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. 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 Caesar 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. 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

\[121\] 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]; \quad \textit{quod suum erat unicuique permittere, rectamque uisticiam exercere}. \[123\] 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. \[125\] Unique to the saga.
\[127\] The source for this name is uncertain. \[129\] This succession is only moderately accurate to HRB, and excludes a few narrative remarks. \[131\] That is, that they should strike an agreement of friendship. HRB, IV.25 [55].
goðanna moti riða En er cesaf haðði leift þetta bref varð hann miok reiðr þær fer
nv ikip þær með her fimnum til bretlandz þær fer vpp i ana temf caðibellanes haðði mikinn
vîðbnað borði a fløg þæs landi þar var þæs með hannum ciððofvís danakonvurgr gêndagos íra konvurgr
þær þettingu þar var þæs holþingi er beðilegs heiti þann ger þat râð við at renna a her
5 ivlið rîðvum en fylkia ecki þa gerð þeir konuva þæs vâra snæið þæs mannu falli í her
ivlið en eð þeir hovf borgi þar með hofvþvþ guður sinnur við snað þæs caðibellanes þær
hoc ivlið snað halmanns þær fréður neniði skæft skiltalinnum náðan vnþsferð þæs varð
ivlið þat lâvð af þrei neniðs grípur þeir eði en kastar brettu sâvið þeir þær hoc a þær hendr
þ þeir margan manna þa kemt moti hannum þa holþingi er labiðens her þæs neniðs hann þá
na hof þæs þeir fréðu þeir í bref þeir eði þeir rúmvern þum þoðv þeir til skipa þeir forn aftr til slaxlandz neniðs
vær þar ordin í hofþi af sverði ivlið þá fêl þar ferður þà þeir hann fom nottum sîðar þeir sverður
vær eitt caðibellanes harmaði miok anlagt brotós þinf ivlið vnni flózillu finnum öft þâ hmr
her faman annan tima af gallia þæs slaxlandz ætlar til bretlandz þetta þîrþr caðibellanes hann hefir
þær mikinn vîðbnað í bretlandi at borta kaftala þa vâp þær vörðer hann fetti þa holþingia
at geyma hvernir hafnar a bretlandi hann let þa flêka ana temf með þrill þæs hafþir þar virki
15 þæs vîðvnað En er íj ar varv lîðin þa konuvið til bretlandz með virgian her þæs hann lagði
i ana temf þa rendva ikippa a fikkin þeir varv þar in kað gengv þegar in í grinnv þaeir þær
mikill rúmverðia hers mikill konuva þæs land með ivlið þæs reðv þegar til bardaga við bræta
þæs gerð þeir þeim mikinn mannikdæð en af þrei at íj varv þeir þeir bretvum ein rúmverðkan þá mebb þeir
20 eigi við orffeð þa gom kaðs ikívslu a flotta til ikippa finna þa fott til vallandz þa dvalþir þar vm rið
caðibellanes gerði blot mikit eftir þenna fírgr þa bavð til fin lâatv holþingism þîr hansi bavð til lvenva þar varv
drepín xl ðeþvandaða navta þa xxx ðeþvandaða ðokgar dyra fma fveinor íj leikv i
konuvgi hollini heini annar hregilpt hann var þeirþr fenn caðibellanes annar heini enn hann var þeirþr fenn
andrógus þeir varv hann vfrornari þeir reða þa grípur þeirð þær hovf hkonungf frænda þaeir liop
þîfum a náðir androgyus frænda fenn En er konungginn caðibellanes þra þetta þar varð hann reiðr þá bâð an
25 dzoviþm fað fer fveininn en androgyus bavð konuvgi fettir konungur neittadði þeir androgyus raðnda þa
þendan þeir hann þottiz eigi meiga haldka moti konuvgi let konung þa brenda allar hann eignz þok
þvarm vnder fíg androgyus fendi þeir þerfer til þeir fefur caðibellanes þa þottiz þeir þeir tíþ þeir
ef þer vîlið gerð min vîla þa ma ek fva ikippa at þer eigniz alþt bretland af minvum
30 râðvum Nv virð meira afirbot til ágætþ fígr en lîðna mina moti fløgv er þat veral
ldar hatt því goðana at þeir verða ofta vinir er æðs hafþi moti þflûð þeir þeir þueoft
þketor fígr gefið geymið nv meir hyciandí en heip En er ivlið haðþi þetta
bref left þþott hannum vant at þrá breþve helldæ en fyr enda þotti hannum vant at
nita þeirð bøði tok hann þa gîlfa af andrövægum þeir hann fendi hannum dottr fina er fegorna her

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. 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, 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. 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. 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.

Cassibellaunus learns of this. He begins much preparation in Britain by strengthening castles and preparing weapons and defense. 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.

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. 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. One was named Hirelglas, 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. 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.
46r

1–34 3 med hene...vpp borgina | Nearly the entire page is freshened up. 3 (kant) | Freshened up to kanttt. 4 harðbardagi | Jónsson, harð(e) bardagi. 11 lion 3 | 3 not freshened up. 16 hveri(v) | Jónsson, hveri(v). 24 arpiragas | Ór arpiragas. 27 keifár | Jónsson, keifár(a). 29 naði eigi ikip | Not freshened up.
and with her, forty knights.\footnote{According to the \textit{HRB} and \textit{VV}, Caesar sends him his son Scaeva along with thirty men from his own family. \textit{HRB}, IV.195 [62].}

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 \textit{Romverja saga}.\footnote{The reference to the \textit{Romverja saga} is, of course, unique to the saga.} 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.\footnote{That is, he was fostered in Rome by Augustus. \textit{HRB}, IV.272-4 [64].} 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.\footnote{HRB, IV.284 [66]. Claudius lands in Portchester.} 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.\footnote{HRB, IV.295 [66]. Laelius Hamo was raised among the Roman hostages in Britain. \textit{HRB}, IV.272-4 [64].} 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.\footnote{Laelius Hamo was raised among the Roman hostages in Britain. \textit{HRB}, IV.295 [66].} 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.\footnote{Unique to the saga.}
46v

4  Lýð af til bardaga þer heifariðn fa þar féndi hann menn a hafn svið at biða hannum sætt
5 þar feim fer hofþi þer gof til lýðs calbehellanus þar með mjendi heifariðn gifta hannum
dottur fina með mikly fe þer fer vinir hvaða tvegýr gengv í millvin þa tokk þerfi þeira
6 sætt þar með fylv vinatta. þar í þerfi ferð van heifariðn vinhir í sigum mjendum med ráðum ar
7 virágar þar fríðan heim til rvnmborgar þendi með til brælandz með dottur fina er gepilfran
8 heit þar feck konungre þar fer feim brövlavþa þar fer let hann eina borg til minn
9 if I þenna tima fetti enn helgi petur póstol hvarkotól fin in antihiocnia þa hans dogum fót hann til rvnmborgar þ fetti þar
10 finn pava fót þar féndi hann marchvin goðþjalla man þeg til eipig
talanda at biða þar trv en er arvirágar hafþi tengit dottur heifaran þa nígy til hann allir þeir konung
11 Arvirágar gerði þar fríðam þ jainfall í finn siki þar elídavoði hann var iarðad i borg þeiri
12 clavdioceti heitir fer em hans blívallav var gert Svinn hans het maris er siki tok eftir hann þa konungr geck
13 a siki hans af peito er roðie het hann hafþi mikið þar varð þar hóð oþrast þ long ðþ roðie fell
14 þar let maris gera hafan feinflotlalp til líigmarkf hann flenda í þið herði er velmari heitir
15 hann gaf finum monnum eitt naf af landinj þa þar ryða þ bycia þar heitir ev katane mi
16 kla výring logv þeret a þerfa þioð þ vilðv eigi gifta þangar dórtr finar. enn varð þar bratt
17 mikill fiolþi þóttstreða manna þar er mikil faga tra þeim þo at eigi fe hon her skrifv hórn helit vin
gan vó rvnveri e meðan hann litið þa andadís við goðan oþrur þar Svinn hans tok siki eftir hann er
18 colins het hann hafþi fóx vórið í rom þ var enn merlí vin þeira alla ævi af hvicvf
19 L.Vcinn het fnn hans er siki tok eftir hann en er hann hafþi eigi lengi konungr verð þa þverði hann at
20 nokcokir menn í rvnmb hofþv annan níð en ein almugrinn þ þeir menn gafv monnum lif þ heia
21 lív þ jofv þa mega king fer elífrann fagnað með godvmen kerðv. Sífran féndi hann brei til
elevtheirp papa það hann fénda fer kerða menn at koma krífti a hann land papa varð þerfrum oþðv
22 mkiok fegini þ fendi þangar agiæta kenni menn fagarni þ divianv þa þodv þeir
23 þodv naft vmm allt bræland í konungf tráfi í skrýþv menn enn ínerv hofvum í kirkvur þar varð að
24 .vii. hof þ. xx. þ íj. hafvý hof vmm variár þeir yfir menn allra manna í landinj er þeim var
25 dveיטtv konungr sneri allri þerfi villi í krífti þa כי vera ínvar margþa bysekpa í landinj em aðr
26 varð blotgývar variár íj. erbykeþpere einn í lýndvumann í cantarab yrj. .íj. í jórkg. þa gaf hann til agþætar eignir foru þeir fagarni ínan millin rvnmb borgar þ bret
27 landz þ ínerv morgvum manne til retrar trvar með ínvm keningvum konungr andadís i borg þeiri

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1–34 þ byði til bardaga...borg þeiri] Nearly the entire page has been refreshed up. 2 calbellanus] Incorrectly refreshed up to calbellanus. 4 okneifj] Jonsson emends to okneifjor. The refreshed text is incorrect; the original word form is visible. 15 gerð] Freshened up to gerð. 15 varð] Obscured by an ink blot. 15 þeiri] Jonsson, þeiri (er). 16 clavdiocetv] Not refreshed up. 17 fell] Freshened up to fellur. 20 enn varð] Jonsson, enn (po) varð. 21 skrifv] Poorly refreshed up to skrif. 23 colins] Not refreshed up. 23 foz] Jonsson suggests this may be incorrectly refreshed up to forz. 23 fvg] The abbreviated second p is not refreshed up. 23 fveicv] Not refreshed up. 31 konung] Freshened up to þeir. 31 hva] The a is omitted in the refreshed up copy. 34 þ ínerv morgvum manne til re] Not refreshed up. 34 trvar] The refreshed 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 Cassibellaunus agreed to before,\textsuperscript{143} 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 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.\textsuperscript{144} 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.

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.\textsuperscript{145} Arviragus became peaceful and popular in his kingdom, and died in his old age. He was buried in that city which named Gloucester, where his wedding took place. His son was named Marius and he took power after him. That king, who was named Rodric from Pictland,\textsuperscript{146} 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 have it cleared, and settled. That place is now called Caithness.

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.\textsuperscript{147} 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.

Lucius

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.

The king died in that city

\textsuperscript{141}Unique to the saga. \textsuperscript{142}HRB, IV.335 [68]. Gloucester. \textsuperscript{143}Unique to the saga. \textsuperscript{144}The saga names this place Peito. HRB, describes Rodric as a Pict from Scythia. HRB, IV.374 [70]. \textsuperscript{145}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 haece bactaeus, cum non proposuerim tractare historiam eorum siue Scotorum qui ex illis et Hiberniisus originem ducerunt. HRB, IV.386-8 [70].
er cladyoceflra heitir ok er þar iæðaði í þeiri havfóðskirkv er hann let hálfr gera þa var lítit fra bfrv varr herra lev christi .c. vetra 47r hálfr fett tvgr vetra hann atti engann friν eftir fig En er rvmveri fþrovð þar fenvd þeir til bretlandz hofþinga þan er leverærs het at vinna landið vndir þa fæm fyr hálfr veti En iarl fær reif mote hungum er fвлgencies het en af þi at rvmverir hof

þv aða mikinn þa þar fвлgencies fþði vm fio 47v eðir ðapan at liti þi kom þþan aftr til bretlandz a v-vart þa fettiz þegar vm borgina iörk enn er leveres fra þat fer hann méð her mote hungum þ tok þar harðr bardagi þi fell leveræs í þeim bardaga en fвлgencies vðð fær til vilf í Severus atti eftir fig .i.f. lýni het annan geta þar þar moðir hans rvmverk skennar annan bafianus þar hans moðir bezt þí vildv hvarrv efla fín frænda til riki þar til er méð þeim vðð harðr þar dagi þi fell geta en bafianus tok konungdom þall riki I þeina tima vox vpp a bretlandi

vngr mðr þi ættloþ þi ægiktr er caflis het þar er hann þottis þar onga virðing fa þa fær hans til motið víð rvmveria bavði þeim til landvarnað þi heimta ikatt af bretvíþ þetta ilfarð fa þeir hungum méð fvinne bretvíþ fer hann méð her fann til bretlandz þi heriar þar þi þar er þetta flykr baf flanví þa fer hann moti hungum þ tekþ þar harðr bardagi þi fell þar bafianus enn er rvmveriar spyr

ia þetta þa verða þeir reídhr carafio þenda þþan þann mann er allectus het þar er hann kom til bretlandz þar karicsi moti hungum þar þar þar enn merfli bardagi fell þar carafius tok allectus þall riki vndir fig þ gerði hans landz maŋnum mikir hvarðetti en þeir kvnum þei illa þ tok ír konung annann

fa het lepidotus þi eðir hann mote allecto þar þar föðarðr fyr fvmveríþvm Gallius hann náði lyndvöndborg enn er lepidotus fra þar þa liðmáði hann at fær vvigíþm her taka ný þri brolla

borgina gafþ þa gallinis þi æltlæði vndan at komaz þar þer konví at fýri borginni þa gengv at þeim þíðir þar er venodoti heita þa dráp alla rvmveria a einnum degi lagið þa cle-

pidotus allt bretland vndir fig þi reð .x. ár. A hans dogvm þof diocleciusis keifari vfrði vm allan heim criðfnm monnum tok þa miok at eyðað oll kriflni a bretlandi þuþat þa kom enn af rom fær hofþingi er maximianæs het þar var hann til þerf fendað til brolla kirkvþ þenna hof

drap hann fvm fyr fyr fyr halg þa helga men þeina þindu þeina in álkalanva

borg albanus iðvis þaron albanus tok þann mann í fitt valld er asþrolæði het þar þa er kþ

alara vildv taka hann þa sklæði albanus klæðv þiði hann þ þeir fíananna glaðr til pilla fyr fyr vðð 

fakir þa þeina tima reif vpp hertogi þa af lincolnri er coel het hann bavði vndí þe lepidotwm þi fellði hann en koel tok konungdom fýr bretlandi þer rvmveria fþrovþ þat fendað 

þeir fíananna oldvøg þann er confrantinus het hann var vtrr mðr þi vinfall hann ha

þi vnnit allt þnanna vndír rvmverir coel fendi þannum fættar boð þa bavði þannum ikatt eftir 

þei fæm þar þar þokk þeri fætt. coel andadíz litv sþar tok þa confrantinus konungdom þ feck

hann elinv dottor coel hver var allri kvennna fríðv þi vitrv hver var einbarni coel þav attv 

þv þann er confrantinus het þ gerði þratt mikill atguven mðr confrantinus nikis .x. vtrr hann and 

aðiz i irk þ er þar grafin
which is called Claudioester, 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.

When the Romans heard of this, they sent the chieftain 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 came 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.

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. 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.

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.

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. We 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. He died in York where he was buried.
Eftir constantein tok riki constantein tvn hann tvr af maxencivf

madr 1 fleomam flirttir 2 flillir vel grimm við hann við lina vvinu hann rettli
miok ran 1 fleiði 3 þ fljóði 4 vpp a riki hans fa madr rvrmverkr er maxencius het
1 van mikiti ilt a brettv bordi i i fljóð 7 i ranvi 8 r ak constantein hans hæðilega brett rvm
verið frændr hans tolvf oft fyrri hannum at hann flylildi fura màð her sin til romar borgar 9 vinna
aftri 10 þannavd er rveurniðar hofv lagt a bretta 11 af þera aecian byði konverg her vt
vm allt brettania 12 fer sýðum fioll 13 þear vndir fíg allt itali 14 rom 15 þittr sýðar
várð hann keinri yfri öllum heime þar hannum var þa foðorþöð eno drottningar móður
hans er hvet tofolvum 16 þraðan marvin 17 þeriði hann alla þa ríma borgar olldunga Eftir

þetta heriaði octavius hertgo a bretland 18 þar þat vndir fíg 19 þerði konveng yfri En er keifarrinn constanteinus
þvörði þar þa fendi hann tvra ekran frin til bretlandzf tvna þat aftar En er gra
hen kom til bretlandzf þa fettiz hann vm borg þa er rpolletrria heitir 21 er octavius frá þers i tíðin
fór hann mote træð þar þokz þar hordr orrost 22 þalþi octavius fígr en træða flyði til þiki
þa þinnu 23 þfgldi hann til þikoðlandzf þeriaði þar 24 þrennir er octavius þvörði þat fær hann til þikoðlandzf
mð er her sin þar þer þvndv þar fem heitir veitmar 25 þorðv þar annad þin hafþi þraðen þar
fígr en octavius flyði þrað þa fígr en octavius flyði þraðen fotti þa eftir hvar fem hinn for vndan þar til er hann flyði
øi villþyckia við þær er annðal þin hafþi þraðen þar

vnm konving er þar riki þraðen värð agaðarn við landz menn En er hann fór vm dag vm vellv nokvaða hia
lvndvnm þa liop þar fraðm .c. manna með vamvn þar dravÞ konving Eftir þar gerð landz menn orð octa

vio for hann þa til bretlandzf þok hann þar þa konvingdom annat frin hann rak alla rvmveria brott af bretlandzf
þi fleiði landzt af þeira ïkottvum octovianus atti dottor en engan frn hennur fekk
fa madr er maximianus het hann tvv fn rleocinj fodoð broðof elen vrottningar hann tok riki
eftir hann Cananis fylfr frn octavi hofz til rikkis moti hannur þar attv þeir margar orrost 26
þa fettiz vm fígr þrvö godir vinir Maximianus for íþan fídr vm fio þar þann allt vidld

hann drep gracianum keifara þar rak brott valentvinbroðoð hars fr rom þar einmv vetri
þar eftir vnær vtfar þar var maximianus dræpin i borg þeir er æqila heitir hann hafþi haft
meftan lvta fokls með fer af bretlandzf íva at þar var miok aðvinn eftir þar forv .i. iarlar
þil til bretlandzf af peito het annar gnaives en annar melga þa báða draf fa madr er graciunus
het hann hafþi lengi fylgt maximiano 27 þar þa til konvingt tekinn yfri bretlandzf það

hann hvert madr illz þar íþan drapv þeir hann hafþir þar rð canonius fyrri armoni
ca þerla fylv Diónotus rð þa þretandi hann er aina fríða dottor er vrvla hét hennar
báða canonius þar var hannum iattad hon for hon íþan fídr vm fio i fæxlend med .xi. þvívnað mey
ia þar þar konv in kolni þa var þar fyrri attila konving hvnlandzf med her mikan 28 þilvð þrongra
þeim til fæmvtv við þa en af þú at þær varv knitrar þa vllvð þær eigi fæmþyckia við

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1–34 Eftir constantein...fæmþyckia 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 constantein...fæmþyckia við | Obscured by reagent; fn hannr illegible. 2 við | Jónssen emends to var. 12 tíðin | Jónssen, tíðin.(d). 13 for hann | Worn and obscured by reagent. 21 fællh | Obscured by an ink blot. 24 vall | Jónssen, vall(an).d. The abbreviation is not visible. 26 þ einmv vetri íþan | Written twice.
Maxentius

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 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.

After this, the warlord Octavius harried Britain, and made himself king. 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, 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 want 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. 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. Maximianus then went south over the sea, and conquered all Valland. 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. He had taken the greater portion of the people with himself, so that much uninhabited land remained. Two earls went to Britain from Pictland. One was named Wanius and the other Melga. They both killed the man who was named Gratianus. He followed 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. Conanus ruled over Armorica during this time. Dionotus ruled over Britain. He had one beautiful daughter who was named Ursula. Conanus asked for her hand in marriage and she agreed. She then 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

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152 HRB, V.167 [80]. A duke of the Gewissei. 153 In the saga, Postestria. Portcestria in HRB. 154 Although naturally implied by these developments, the withholding of Roman tribute is unique to the saga. 155 The saga begins to substantially abridge the Galfridian material here. The saga writer appears to have been uninterested in Maximianus's campaign on Rome. 156 An early Scandinavian term for Normandy. 157 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]. 158 HRB, V.390 [88]. Wanius was king of the Huns, and Melga king of the Picts. 159 They were allies of Gratianus. 160 The wording here is obscure. After seizing the crown, Gratianus is killed by a crowd of commoners. HRB, V.1.1-3 [89]. 161 The saga picks up this story earlier in the Historia. The saga writer is continuing a thread relevant to the life of Saint Ursula. 162 This marriage proposal is not explicitly mentioned in HRB, but is consistent with a common hagiography of Saint Ursula. 163 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.
heīðna menn þa let attila konung halshocva þær allar þ er þær kallaðar koníf mey
ia Eftir þetta la bretelei lægi þífan vndir hernaði vikinga þ ranf manna hólfv breter þa
ecki travl af vømverið í þenna tíma fór gytilinnis erkiðseyk að lýndvmn til ar
monica armenia konígl það hann hialpræda við landinavnavfýnar það fendi hann heim með
hannem þæðor fin er constlentius het til bretelei þ þegar þir konv þar þa dreif til hans allt landz
folk þa tolv constlentius til konung það ræk hann þrott að þiluðf folk af bretelei þa hafþi
hann þífan godan fríð meðan hann líði hann ati vømveriðka konv það með henni .iðj. þyni het ein con
flant annar avrelis .iðj. pendagona constlentius geik í klavfr þa varð mnkr
En er constlentius hafþi .x. að konungur verð þa kom til hans vm dag ein íkózkur maðr þ kvei eiga ský
litr erindi við konung þær þir konv þið. eitt hvíf lcax fa maðr konung með knífi þi leyrir þífan vt
þ forðar fer en konungí menn tolv lik konungf þ groð þat með miklvm hann að vøtigernomo
Vøtigernomo het ein ríkr iarla þ skotlandi þ þiluðf menn þat þyri fatt at hann þ merlino þamanní
hefþi ráðit konung en hann þynæði þerSiðan þor lærinn a fvnð constlentís mnkr-
þaði þut þyri hannum at hann leti taka þig til konungf þa þæir þífan gaf hann þeim fe til þerl at þeir fegþ hann
þet vera til konungf fallin þan þar en þal írann let þa gera einu mikla veizly þ at þeirre
veizly dravp íkotar konung fimm enn vøtigernomo let þem hann þryði miok reðir þeim þet taka
þa alla þ datþa Eftir þat tok hann ríki þið konung í bretelei með konungf þífan en þeir avrelis
þ pendragon flyðv til þíttva breteleiðs til þerl konungf er bennidicetes þet þa vare þeir með hannum lanega fvnð
þífarn þan þenna tíma konv þrófr .iðj. af saxlandi þet annar heingeðir enn annar hofþu en þi
ðíkr het eni .iðj. þeir forv a konungf fvnð þá ðrónv hannum til landvarnar með .ccc. manna þ fegþ merkv
rvm fer þangat viðað hafþa konungf þrøði hvat merkvíris verí. heingestr svarar þann kalla
viður óðan þa þafar varir þorlezlir mikin trnavða a hannum hafþa vfa þa þor þþ fric þ fr
eyið hofþvun ver þei trnavð a þar ráða heime þerlun þ þõglovyn manna tolv þeir konungfr þat ráð a eigna
þeim daga í hverri við þau þetritz a þilkaðri til a þíðer allu þaman manna þ mif
þera þ þei kollvðið þeir óðina dag þ þy dag þ þreyð dag liðly þodar kom miðíll
þerr a þélo til bretelei þetta þeyfr vøtigernomo þ err moti þeim með her þ verði þar hárði
þardu genvxy saxar vel þrám þeyfr vikingar vndan leifar þat veitv konungf þeim lindif
herad þ gerð fer þar ðlerka þorg konungfr let þenda til saxlandz eftir meira ðili þa þom þa með þeim dottir
heingestri hon þet ranvæn hon var hverri mey fegri heingestr gerði moti þeim fagra veizly þ
þavð þangat konungi þallir híðar þann ranvæn þkenkri konungi með gyvkeri konungi þva þa miok við at

heathen men. Then King Atilla had all of them beheaded, and they were called the Maidens of Cologne.\textsuperscript{164}

After this, Britain was subjected to the raids of Vikings and robbers for a long time.\textsuperscript{165} At this time, Britain had no protection from the Romans. In this time, Archbishop Guithelinus in London went to King Aldroenus in Armorica, and 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 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 king’s body, and buried him with much mourning.\textsuperscript{166}

\textbf{Vortigern and the Prophet Merlin}

A powerful earl in Scotland was named Vortigern.\textsuperscript{167} The people were confident that he devised the king’s death, but he denied this.\textsuperscript{168} 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’s] head, and he was since in very high regard with the king. The king wished to have his advice on everything regarding the 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 banquet, the Scots killed their king. But then Vortigern pretended as if he were very angry, and had all of them captured 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.

In this time two brothers arrived from Saxland, one was named Hengist, and the other was named Horsa, and a third was named Þiðrik.\textsuperscript{169} They went to meet the king, and offered to defend the land with three hundred men,\textsuperscript{170} and they said that Mercury had directed them there.\textsuperscript{171}

The king asked who Mercury might be. He answered, “some call him Oðin, and our ancestors have believed in him, 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.”\textsuperscript{172}

After a while, a great army came from Pictland to Britain. Vortigern learns of this, and he goes against them with an army, and a severe battle occurs there. The Saxons went forward bravely. The Vikings fled.\textsuperscript{173} After that the king granted 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

\textsuperscript{164}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. \textit{HRB} does not account the maidens’ delivery into Cologne.\textsuperscript{165}The saga writer skips over Rome’s military withdraw from Britain after which the island is harried by northern barbarians. \textit{HRB}, VI.1-68 [86]-[90].\textsuperscript{166}This episode is somewhat expanded from Geoffrey, VI.146-7 [93].\textsuperscript{167}Geoffrey describes Vortigern as an earl of the Gewissei. \textit{HRB}, VI.151 [94].\textsuperscript{168}Unique to the saga.\textsuperscript{169}Þiðrik is not mentioned here in the \textit{HRB} or \textit{VV}. \textsuperscript{170}HRB, VI.248 [98]. The Saxons arrive in three keels ships.\textsuperscript{171}According to Gildas, there was a soothsayer among the Saxons who prophesied that they would rule the island for three hundred years. \textit{De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae}, 23. \textsuperscript{172}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 \textit{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 \textit{De falsis diis}. See Taylor, A. “Hauksbók and Ælfric’s \textit{De Falsis Deis},” \textit{Leeds Studies in English}, n.s. 3 (1969), pp. 101-9.\textsuperscript{173}That is, the Picts.
hann bað hennar þar í fláð 7 þat varð aradit at hann fekk hennar 7 vnni konungr henni fva mikit at hann gáði enkí fyrí henni konungr atí aðr. fjný het annar vortimer 7 annar pacencias 1 þ enna tíma kom germanus byskeyp 7 lyþs byskeyp til bretlandz at boða trv þi þat þar var þa nalega alheiðit þa gerd margar iartegnir þír kom þíþ ívann af saxlandi otta fvn heingelt með. ccc. íkipa

til konungv en bretat hotvarv miisk við saxa 7 baðv reka þa brett en konungv vildli þat eigi faktir tengða Siþan tokv bretar til konungv vostimer fvn hans 7 attv þeir margar orroror við heingelt þa þvans þa þavþ i. þeir mikit folk annaðh lóði þa heingelt til saxlandz var þa góðr fríðs í bretlandt með ráðv. germanus en/ helga fivm móðir vostimer reð hannum bana 7 gaf hauvn eitir at dække Enn eftir anlat hann tók vortigerns annáþ fínni konung dom hann fendi boð hein

gefþ at hannn kix þame til hans með fæ menn en heingelt kom með. iij. þvindrað manna þar var brettv engi þok a hans kvánv konungr kallati til fin marga hoþfingia til flefnir 7 er þeir koma þar þa þet heingelt nélt konung 7 er brettv var minzt von þa larva fæxar vpp með flósum kn ifvn þa handþfóvxn þa þavþ i.x. hnvdrð manna þar var margir íarlir þar heirnar þiþ hell þeir er botar máðr var í landinþ þar var þa inni ekkóni en þa ferkri hattn þreyf vpp ein flár

þvarði með hann 7 þar með drap hann. lxx. manna af soxvxn þa komz vandn fialfr her eftir vildv saxar dvepa vortigerns hann bað þeim lóði þa alla þeir vildv taka tokv þeir þa vnr der fíg allar en færðrvar þorgr i bretlandt 7 rakk þeir þáþan brett all bretta Vortigerns rýki við þerr tilandi þa æktli at lata ger fr vrvgt vigi i eins fiall lóð 7 er þeir hoþlv grafitg grundvollinn þa rakk þeir niðr floxa fleina þeir er til vnr komit vur þeir hoþfínr

þerl vndt vurð var fóð konungri. hannn kallati til fin viðinda menn þa það þeir fegia hvat þerf voldli þeir baðv leita at þeim manne er en gati fóðor þa blanda hattn bróði við limið Siþan fendi konungv hvert vue forestv vn lond at leita þerla manns. þeir komv þeir borg er moslang heitir þar levk þeir hnvgr fveinar het annar dinabvcs enn annar merloun þeir reidiz dinabvcs þalætt ecki skállet við mið þeit ek em konung fvn enn þe at ongann fóðor fendí menn hey

røv þetæ þa þþþrað hrvor við viði enn þeir fóður at engi máðr viði fóður merlouns enn móðir hattn er dottir domovarfi konungf 7 var hon þa ÿnna er hon faddi hann fendi menn fóður konungvi fitt erindi þa lett hannn kalla til fin merlouns þa móðir hattn konungf þyrk hvert fáður er þeirla fveïnt en hon fag þis þat eigi viða Enn fá þar at að þeir þeir hauð heitnar at ek ívat í herbergi minn léttv með meýr var þa kom til min vnr máðr 7 var hann þeim fámvilum hia mer at hann hyc ek vera

hans föður konungur letta til fin magancivm þecking þa þþþri hvart fva mætti vera þa þagí þat finaz in bókvum at þav erv dyk í lofti milli tnvgr 7 íardar andar þa þriðgva mætti at fíg manns likinv 7 mættv born geta Enn er merlouns kom til konungf þþþri hann hvat hannn vildli hannn konungur þagí hvat þeckingar hans hoþlv fagt merlouns bað at þeir skylld við talaz 7 þa var gert hann mættí hvi til fóður þer heimikir menn at blöði minn skylldi blanda við lim til grvnd

1 hann bað hennar þar í fláð 7 Illegible. 1 hennar 7 Illegible. 1 íktir Illegible. 2 at hann gáð Illegible. 2 annar pacencias 1 þ Illegible. 3 lyþs Illegible. 3 trv þei at þar þar var þa nalega all. Illegible. 4 ðv margar iartegnir þa Illegible. 4 ðt. Obscured by an ink blot. 5 konungr Obscured by an ink blot. 6 tengða. Not refreshed up. 6 Siþan tokv bretir til konungf vostimer fvn. Freshened up. 6 hans þ attv þeir margar orroror við heingelt þa Not refreshed up. 6 ravor við heingelt 7 Illegible. 7 þvans þa þavþ i. mikit folk annaðh lóði þa heingelt Freshened up. 7 drapv i. 7 þa refresh ink appears flaked off. 7 fializ. The refreshed ink appears flaked off. 7 þa góðs fríðs Illegible. eitir at dække Enn eftir anlat hann tok vortigerns annáþ konung dom hanns boð hein. Freshened up. 10 geft at hann. Freshened up. 10 kix þame til Illegible. 11 engi Illegible. 12 þeir 7 Illegible. 12 minzt von þa larva fæxar vpp með flósum kn Illegible. 14 orar máðr var. Illegible. 16 þeir vildv taka tokv Illegible. 17 þorgr i bretlandi Freshened up. 17 þeir Freshened up. 18 varð Freshened up. 18 þa æktli at lata gera fer vrvgt vigi i eins fiall lóð 7 er þeir Freshened up. 30 alla til fin magancivm Not refreshed up. 31 fagí þar Jónsson, fagí (hann) þast. 31 þa íardar andar þa þriðgva Not refreshed up. 31 íardar andar Jónsson, íardar (er) anda. 34 heimikir menn Not refreshed up.
he propositioned her on the spot, and it became necessary that he marry her, and the king loved her so much, that he paid little attention to anyone but her. The king had two sons, one was named Vortimer and the other was named Paschent.\textsuperscript{174}

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.\textsuperscript{175}

There was much peace due to the instruction of the holy Germanus. Vortimer’s step mother planned to kill him, and gave him poison in his drink.\textsuperscript{175} 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 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 killed nine hundred men, and there were many earls, barons, who were rather valuable people in the land.\textsuperscript{176} 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.

Hereafter the Saxons wished to kill Vortigern.\textsuperscript{177} 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.\textsuperscript{178} 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 Domovarsius,\textsuperscript{179} and she was a nun when she gave birth to him.

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, can change their appearance to the likeness of a man, and they can procreate.”\textsuperscript{180} Thereupon when Merlin came to the king and he asked him what he wished with him. The king said what his wise man said.

Merlin asked if they could speak with one another, and this was done.\textsuperscript{181} He said, “foolish men, why was it said that my blood be mixed with mortar for the...
vallar leitið helldi hvat vndir er þeim grvnd velli hann bað grafa grvndvoll divpara
þ fagni at vatn var vndir þ fagni þei þeinana fokva merlinsis bað þpekinga fegia
hvat vndir var vatnvin enn þeir pogu merlins meliti vndir þeir vatnri erij. berg þ bar
ervi hellað þi i helvinn sofå erij. omar. konungur let veita brottvatnvin þiðan vav varv her
gin òt þafð forð þa íkröð þar vndan erij. omar annar hvitri enn annar ravð þeir
bléf eitri sva fem eiljdar bryndi þ kom enn ravði a flotta fjan finyz enn ravði mo
ti þ þom þa enn hviti a flotta er en konungur fá þetta þa íþróði hann merlins hvat þetta
vig hafi þ at þyða þafði bagnia merlinsins langt frá vm konunga æti þið megin onnir
flóttindí þau er en evi eigi fram komin. her eftir hefir gøvlaevr mavnkr özt
kvaði þar er hefur merlinsis þpa merlinsis þpa
10 Rafvnuþ fegia fynhalv viss frm þpar þpáliga þpamanz golfvg þerf er a þrei
væ bretlandi het merlins margvitri gvmi sagdó var hlyvm þ landheksv
myrk at raða morg rok lýri kíxar var hann kriftv kyni þio
dar varað a molldv már vitrari Leita ytar oði at van
da viti flotnar þar froððir þerf ðofðaði fynvum nø frønna minva
miðfamlig rok munnem fegia liof man hlyvm lidðborg vera þo er i frøði flett að
ræða þar er lýri isofr olldvm fagni breyndri þioðv riðal bagni bøarða vav i vibiðr
vintonia þar er borgar nafir bvinna þrennir þeir mavn ladi lorkv um íkfta þir vikir
i þia láði Ein er bvinna beztr at reyna eikr avðholvum allð ef drecka ne
20 fott hofvog sorkir hvalþa þa er borgt hafa beikv vatni Illr er ann allir féllta þeir
ar af bekkjari borgia dreckv þo er enn þiaðia þymbgt at reynia deyia þeir allir er
þar drecka af ne hregvma hlyia folldv Uilia hvalldar hlyia bvinnda þa er
flettvm hal hior þflul gera en þar lýðir a leg bora alltt véðr at ðöv en aðið e ge grvnd
at griott giott at vatni vðð at avv en at aviðvatn
25 farið er at meyv mig groðaxtri i kapf
avðga knvitz íkogar borg at hón lek
ningar leiti þioðv um þ honisi menn
fari íflk vekr hon at reyna
þ at ræða folð tekr hon þróttir
30 allar fremia andar þpar fnot
a bvinnda þh honn þvð
ra hæða gervfr Hón þa
drecker eði þryra vatt þ
mattir viss þar magnaz brvðar

1–17 vallar leitið. Varv i | Freshened up. 4 hellvum | 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 gøla | Awkwardly freshened up by a different hand. 9 vgr mavnkr ost | Not freshened up. 10 þar | Awkwardly freshened up by a different hand, followed by an illegible smudge. 10 merlinsis | Very little of the original ink is visible, but the remains of mer 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 MERÌNVSPÁá, offset from the original title, with the last word running out from the margin. The word, öcles is written directly below SPÁá. 12 bretlandi | Jónsson, bretlandi (sat) het. 12 Sagði | Freshened up to Sagði. 13 myrk | Freshened up to myrkt. 13 kriftv | Freshened up to krístin. 17 lýri | The freshened up abbreviation is poorly written and illegible. 17 þar | Freshened up to Sar er. 18 vintonia þar er borgar nafir bvinnar þrennir | Freshened up. 18 ladi láði íkfta | Freshened up. 19 þia láði Ein er bvinna beztr at reyna eikr avðholvum allð ef drecka ne | Freshened up, except the initial i. 19 láði | Freshened up to láða. 19 þer | The freshened up r is thick and difficult to read. Jónsson suggests an er is written over the r. 20 fott hofvog sorkir hvalþa þar er borgt hafa beikv vatni Illr | Freshened up. 21 er af bekkjari borgia dreckv þo er enn þiaðia þymbgt at reynia deyia þeir allir e | Freshened up, except the final r. 22 þar drecka af ne hregvma hlyia folldv Uilia hvalldar hlyia | Freshened up. 23 flettv | Freshened up. 23 þflul gera en | Freshened up. 23 a log bora allt véðr at ðöv en aðið | Freshened up. 23 bora | The b appears freshened up to h. 24 griott | Worn; gri illegible. 24 afv | Jónsson, afv. 24 at | Jónsson suggests this is a mistake for af. 26 avðga | Worn; illegible. 26 þar | Freshened up. 27 iti þbð | Worn; illegible. 28 farri | Illegible. 28 Tekr hon at reyna | Freshened up. 29 þ at ræða folð tekr | Freshened up. 29 þróttir | Freshened up. 34 þar | 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*. 182

**Prophecies of Merlin**

I shall speak to the sea-fire-trees the sagacious stories of that expert seer who lived in Britain’s fields; he was named Merlin, wisest of men. It is said, that he told to people and kings many dark things about the future; he became beloved 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: it is much better to aim for primal old wisdom, to tell you about old things. The word-city is all insightful; there is much to enumerate in this song which was once spoken to the British folk; now here follows the poems: Three different fountains well up in wide Winchester (so called is the city); they break into different watersheds; none of these three resembles the other in the three regions. One of the springs shows itself as the best because it preserves the lives of those who drink it; it wards off sickness and disease, the pains of mankind, when they quaff the bitter drink. Another is evil because whoever drinks the water from this river hungers; the third can be seen, but it is the worst; whoever drinks from it dies; their corpses cover the earth. Men wish to cover the spring which causes corruption, whatever plunges in it becomes transformed; nothing is as was before. The field turns to mountains, the mountains to water; the forest to ashes, the ashes to water. The maiden finds all kinds of grain out in the nut forest, in the battle-strong burg; she should provide healing to the heroes and extricate them from such danger. She seeks to examine and to advise the multitude; she seeks the skill of all crafts; then the lady breathes from the fountain and then they both dry up. Then she will drink the precious water to strengthen the power of the woman;

182The 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 saga, AM 573 4to. The Háskbók Breta saga is the only witness, and Hauksbók the only extant manuscript, that contains Gunnlaugr’s skaldic composition. The Mérlinaþa originally circulated as an independent work.
183men
bœt hon í horgi hendi sinni kynnist konan holdinaf skog ein í lofa man lundvna borg
Gengr hon íðan gott fron yfir fva at íþornum sitat þrettir vpp logi með romvm reyk rvteneof
fa veir þ verðið vyr Geri orgrlegt op í landi er gyllögri gretr hafiðofm þ piota
tek þioð med honni innan vm alla ey með ringvm Hörrr dnepr hana hin er tvæna. v.
hrafl a havi hoxn kvlt vber hafa konson kvítlur iði. enn. vi. aðrir haffir verða at vifvndar
verðinum hovanum þir þiötanri þir vm rera bnvir at beriaz bretlands eyjar þa man vakna
vixoð en danskii þ manz roddy mêla hafvri kom þv cambria med cobnbevtvri feðv
vintoni volli þir þg vglypir forðið hirðið íot hini er lengra lynv at ladi menv
livir allir haffi lýgia þat er hialp gyna En sætaz lýnda fagna hundman floll vera yfir
flóðvum tvemvum þo hefur gimvum grandad mogvum hvitvlar villar hverknynlitir borg man
falla veit ek banu þioðvum þuat hon eðisfia æði vm goði mven gripsitir giorla drepnir
gelða vintona vandra manna Mvn biann igvill borg vpp getr fimbar hafta hold landzki
hana mven remma ríkr oddviti æð. fagra tvrna ðat luvndvum
likar illa eykr hon .iij. lvtrm þycka veigi koftar hon keppir við konungönir
fert vvo vcfí full frégg of fminbi en tems vm borg tekir at geiða
Enn et hovkla dyr hleðt alldini harðla goði þeir er hílnir velt koma fvglar þar fligg
andi til af vôgvm vída vitia epla Enn biarningvill byrn vm velar leyri hann ephvn
luvndvum í grefr í gavrnl gavrir harilag fyðr til fengiar flaradverd dyr
þa man ót molfuv mêla fellina þ ver þiöbar vel vppþkoma ey man vîðaz en valir
kiflaka þ þo faman fakkia fikvvn íva at mildum landa mal vm heyri Kemr of ík
ogi kalârtier fvgv fliggandí ða er fira villir flygr vm nottum nyâr gera kallar
hegri hvern fvg til fin en vm tvãvetri talrâð famið flyckzaas fvglar fara þeir
i fâði eyða þeir ockrvm þ alldini vîlvt verða þ fott fe ek mart fyrir man
davâr mikill mein gengr vm þiðo Enn fvgv efír þat fert ve
fyr í dál þan er galabef gimvart kalla hann man
hefaz í eð hastla fiall þÞar vppi í
eikrlímn eðiðaz jegri hann er fvg
la veifr þria klekr hann vnga
þri reðíi í eðg er hegra kyn hvng
þek firkm þar er vargr þ
þiost þ að vifv
refr fleg þ innm fialld
an vrrk alin uaxa þar allir
vpp broðr faman er
on her right side she becomes preserved in the forest Calidon, and her right in London. / Then she walks on good ground to ignite the fire, the tracks of the woman; with acrid smoke it arouses Ruteni, and inflicts such pain to people. / A horrible scream resounds in the land; Gold Skögul’s laments are widely heard; the wailing begins and the whole nation begins to howl with her across the island. / She kills a stag which carries two times five horn-branches; for of these points adorns one crown and the remaining six transforms itself into the horrible horns of a wisent. / Prepared for battle, they move with a loud roar, three British islands; then the Danish forest matures; the voice of men says, / "Come Cambria to the Cornish; speak to Winchester; feed upon the ground; the herd's home lies on the shore; all the people follows upon the headland to help the people. / And the bay sea-tree rejoices; his high seat of two pillars; but the many miseries to the men turns white wool into every color./ The city wall will fall; I know the death of the people because she\textsuperscript{184} has already broken the vow; the destroyers of peace will die; Winchester will pay for vicious men. / The hedgehog will erect a burg, the highest hall of the powerful prince, with five hundred fair towers. / London does not like this, the thick walls are strengthened, craftily assembled for the king’s work; the buildings advance their glory up to the south and the Thames rushes around the burg. / And the wise animal, ladens itself with fruit, excellent wares, chosen by the king himself; then the birds come, they fly there from the wide forests to search for apples. / But the hedgehog spins the scheme and buries the apples in London, buried in the earth by secret means greedy after booty, the dangerous animal. / Stones on the ground will then speak, the plots of men will be discovered, the island will increase, the Welsh tremble, and the sea becomes narrower; in 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,
50r

at giarnir þeir gott að vinna refr af moðor ræði grímlega tapar henni fà tynir fá 
víða er grenví giarn a æki Æsrið vill hann lína beita velvm tekur horfl hofvð 
hildinga a fig enn hoddikata ræða báðir flyla barmar brott or landi þ fviði 
fól fheirta leita värge þa þbion villgallta en gallta þeim engi finv he 

itr hvattlega þvát hann hvg tvrir Þeir farlega fsvndavkn bva dрагas litinn þeir landher 
faman gnyr er manna gengi lið roa hrygna fiot herkoþm íkipa Hallda þeir fvnv 
ann vn fvalann ægi bretendz a vit bvas til remo enn refr hinig med rekka lið fett fralega 
fóll at veria hrið geriz hialma hilfar klofnar erv ramlega randir fniðar gnefla 

giær er gýða vakin verðr víða lið at vallroþi Þægr el yfir ognar lióma gerir drivgan 
dyn dyrra malma gnyr er a glæftv bcondar himni þ i hoðtvvm hlam hlaðkar tiofdvum 
eráð Íkildfamær íkvanglar kapyr hrytr hagl boga hlif i gegnim Grenia græner garnar 
flóþa bír frá fréki ferð haltvgsdarr yfrfr grimr gynma gollor hollir þræðgð benlogi 
yngvði þíarna ero bzoðnar miök borgri heila ße ek ve vanda verðr mitt íkáða fýngr fá 
raklungr fnfirti dzengwm enn a leit fura legion受害 òa íðy fýgir en til fúlgeri hrapa her 

5 mvninn hvartvegi þon enn refr gerir ráða a gallta þvát hann reifla mott rond við hannvm 
þa lítr fgglngr fen hann davdr ße eðr lík hvlið lofþvngf breta Þenn gallta þeir eggdr at re 
yna blaf hann i anlit þ i avgv gram en refr við þat ráðr a gallta fær hann af hannum fót enn vinflbra 
hlfþina horgri fýri hrydjar nef Þenn i fialli neft fádgyt hofvð hygr þeir ísofr flærð 
at øxla en villgollur vangri þi þínar segir farlega forð þi migfr Þenn hravflr þræðlum 
hyggja gallta kvéðr fá mvv hflar græða fura íkvmv báðir fotar at leita hlvtar 
þa hela þer bitt gallti En refr ofan renn or fialli fér fáhvgaðr finna gallta hann 
byðþ sáttir af íkvmv einum kvse hann márt við fvin maða vília tjrfrv mér gallti ek 
me man himl verá fvi fík ek allfegri fvin í trygovm fývnd íkvmv lecia þa ftrða ger íkalltv 
ein gora okkumillili Er fnnði lagöþ þa ftrð fámði koma mulltingar málflém

til en a fndv þeim flærðr reynz banar hertoga bæzkr landseki Ok a ðallan þig 
þiðn ferð ílpar hofvð hofvð lofþvngre at þat ráðr hann lýðvm þa loða fioðl þar hrytr þerfa 
þengils fogy þa fvin af þat a fíg hame brígðr þ þróða báðí flóryglega En er þeir 
koma koði af fóra bír þann þáða .i.o. þa banar lýðvm Er a hanns dogvm hoðumr alin 
fa er fyrðvm vilt fioðþell gerða íva er hann langt at vn lýðvnr heiðar hvalr hring 

20 af mélar þa íva oðr at vþðar fígrs vnilþendr allá gelyþþr hans cambrie kallar 
þeitir þa norðhvmr nanar hiardir þat vtrav tems at d vvn dzengf dolgbosinf 
drekkja lúðr Þeirða þísar a fáma landi lepartar .v.j. linni boðir þeir hafa bryþa bol 
gíóio hofvðo vor daðlavler doglingf fynir þeir frétt taka fioða þeitir hervigf 
famir þa hora mengj ða fáméignar fíllnar kvaran gera gerivan þeir er í fikv 

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 his foxhole. / His brothers will twist with schemes, the warrior takes a horse head for himself; and the treasure-payer fears both, they flee away from the land. / In the south one must seek company, the wolf and the bear wakes the wild boar; then the boar goes to them quickly asking for allegiance. / They quickly prepared the bay-mules, also seen departing was the land-army altogether; roar to the ears of men, a man grasped the rudder; the seeds of the army covers Hogni's realm. / Coming from the south, through the cool waves, upon the coast of Britain, primed for battle, the fox goes eagerly against them with brave followers, to defend the earth. / Cracked are the helms, bursting serkins, strongly struck are the shields, crackling spears, it wakes the god, the wide plain becomes reddened by the dead. / A hail storm covers the terror-light, produces a great din of precious ore, the clash is accompanied by Gondul's sky, and in hard thumps, the drapery of Hlokk were a cover, the gown of Skögul offers little protection, the hail of bows breaks against the shields. / The vicious dog howls unsheathed, the cloak-clasp wolf bites the warrior, Gram sticks deep in the hero's heart, the wound-flame meets the house of the brain, the brain home is now broken. / I see a standard wading, misery to brave men approaches, the wound-thorn sings, but that already releases that baneful brood, the wolf and eagle, they come down to greedily suck blood. / The fox now approaches to murder the boar, but his power does not avail, thus the king is already dead; no one dresses the British prince. / But the boar will desire to know; he angrily snorts into the face 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 his member. / Hidden in the nest is the clever head, a vixen plans to increase deceit; and the wild boar tells the wolf, and the she-bear of pain and misery. / Stalwart brothers comfort the boar, and promise to heal the wounds. “We both shall go to retrieve the leg, the ear, and the member, wait here boar!” / The fox then runs down from the mountain with his sly wits, and looks for the boar; he offers reconciliation but only in appearance. He wishes to say more to the pig. / “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 everyone Death and Decay; this animal is so long that it surrounds London; the field-whale winds in a circle so fast the stone-belt 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.

185 King. 186 The sea. 187 Armor reflected in the sun. 188 Swords. 189 Shield. 190 Armor. 191 Arrow volley. 192 Sword. 193 Skull. 194 In the sea of an army. 195 The Fox. 196 Snake. 197 Snake.
Langt er at tina þat er losða vín vín alðrar fár ytum fágði er fælt í því fagt st há hét ek líða þat þó lok fegía Verða a fólðvu kvað í fróði hálr flýrómld mikil flórir ognír víg 7 velar vágolld 7 kold þrími hveitkonar hiozt lyða. Da mnvn gley maz galavér menn 7 fílllífr fegír drekkja leita að fagna 7 við f vna vell að orxla ok vexumni hágar geríz havlka hattir í moskg mnnað fyrða ráð fagrt st reyna dýliaz dýggým dánm>f í valendvið við sílfuð fíg fígr ecki að Verf er í heime veitað fín fóðr líttar þír í slíðvið fígv í fígvir við fóðra kannar engi við kunna menn ne nana fræ nídir bavga Hafvigt er að heyra þat vín her geríz lífa fenadar fyrðar lífi húcia at þenna þragniðan heim 7 hveitkonar hafna gëækv Mnv eðhívita fíl fr hávldvmm grinda 7 gyll gera gvmna blinda himni hafna en a havðví fia fíkkr ofdýckia yta mengi Lifir en danska drott a hólldi gerír eyvíð fr ollð a mati því mnvn en tignw tømsoð híminn liofír fínv fra lyð fíva Enn grönd eftir þat gróða ha fnar ne fíkr ofan of líðvím kemr fol 7 mani fáll annan vég þára fágð íkópfr en þáv fyr fáfe Ok þat a hlyni heiðar fítnnur ma marka þóði molldar hvegni fívar fímar ofgur fínum annan vég af enn gomlv gungv fínni Svmar fórkiazt a en fímar fírað bræðða liofí 7 lítvvm fògvmv béríað vindað þáv erv védí mikil 7 hliom gera meðal hímin tvíglæ Geínar geímr hann vpp i íoþt fíkkt er ogvrelgt yta bòvnm fíkkt er ogvrelgt vpp a telia man en fóna moloð af fírm verða Uetí mart moømum kynna of fólk fíllfír fórna kvæði ek mnv þó þeygi fíeira þrostar þíngf þollvmm fegía þó hefír ek fá 7gt fácia kindvmm fíkkt er bok bøgvmv kíñnarr nytí fer niota ítala fílka fogn 7 fey fári Sía við lýnd 7 lýka røðvm 7 allkynfír illtvvm vørkvmv dýggvmv dað drottín ellkvvm híndvmv ott illv råde Skrýpt er líf lýda barna vndír hreikla hílaríar talúldi en líf lív lýða eigi gða þí í gvmna mengi íhíð Gréðvism oli í godvm hvv 7 við ván vex 7 drýdar gatvmm godþí gley mnv illv ofvtm ottír andáy þóði Biðvism ópt bøgma íllíi oorfír ollv höfða aþtrat at viðfjærgr fyrða híði dørg 7 dag drottár gítið Ok herðarrí hórði hórða gvmna líðvð braðði di híver fáva a til líff leíði geríva þíðar vodðí þetta mengi merlávfi fípa fívmv íkla ek fótvm þat er foðvmv var lýði froðír með fyrðar fegía a þrólvungr fár breitlandi a het velllítaki vóstíguvnar íoðr var foðvmv fík kend breitvmv fr er engvím er eignð ífán þvitit en enkla þíðar aðan velti brefsvíma bretzka hale 30 Ok láð þíra méð líði mikl fíllfír eignadír í fògvm fózvmv 7 þat er krísþír kíenír by gia að tok heíðin þíð hálir fímða er atþegi enkfrar þíðar fáxnekþ fáðar í fògvm fáþan elfðý þír þilví þrínum gíra landi a het ræna lofþvng bretta Enn herð íðar haldla mättíð brefkari iðrðv ne bavga fóld allt fór en heíðin herð eð eyþra eldli 7 íarni eylandz íðar a en hertogi hoþli leitar geríz travflan tvrn tígði að fímða 7
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 to hear, let us get past all this and say the ending.” / The wise man said, “The world threatens the hearts of those violent with war, terrible fear, robbery and intrigue; wolf-time and ice-time through various frosts.” / In their wantoness, lusty men, drunk and senseless, seek their luck and cheerfulness in gold, and increase their affluence and earthly power. / Many men attempt to retrieve the hidden treasure which also brings suffering; their own goods do not afflict them while sunk in a dream. / Worse is the world, when the son must support his father in such a relationship as fathers ought with sons; no one but good friends know them nor kin under the sky. / It is difficult to hear what happens next: men live the lives of livestock, trapped in this fiendish world, they completely abandon any good. / White silver shall harm men and gold trinkets shall blind men; many men degenerate to intoxication and spurn heaven for the earth. / The Danish folk live in corporeal lust, no one has an appetite to abstain; therefore the sun and the moon abandon the people of their light. / The ground become sterile, no shower falls from the clouds; the sun and the moon move themselves on different paths. / No one on earth can assign a position for the bright stars up in heaven; they move backwards, the move differently form their predictable paths. / They draw together, they move far away changing their light, their beautiful colors; they fight the winds—powerful storms and generate music. / Then the sea wells and sprays high in the air, causing terror to the children of men; the primal earth exposed; it is terrible to say this. / Much can be taught to men from old poems; I would remains silent, but I will tell more to the fir-trees. / But I have told much to men; what is written in books is learned by the listeners; the servant of steel ought to learn from such stories and gain insight. / They avoid evil and shameful deeds and any kind of ill works; when we bravely love the Lord we quickly throw away bad council. / Life is miserable for the 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 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

Now I shall speak about sea-journeys that happened long ago; wise men listen to me; A king ruled over Britannia who was called Vortigern, gentle prince. / The land was once named after the Britons, which now is the property of the 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.
51r

jangat til þeirar gerðar fámnar móygja milldinsfr þrínðaða komv til þrínðaða þakir volvndar þat er ytvon fagt vþpþi i fialli en þat er dreggr a degi gerðr fá þorðr engan þorð anan móygja
Kalla let fylkir fröða fécìi frá gvynþosin gramr hvat voldli en gerða hvarf grundvólnr þa þvðt fém grund gmbl gylepti steina eða hamloðin hamrin harðli Einn var mādr fá er
myrka frett fryr ikata skyrvon fknina kvnitn heyt yngva vinr ambrofus en enn agiati od
rv nafnið Merlins fáðar kalladís þat kvadr válda verdax havtvñta at þar vndir var vlitð vatin
þavð grund grafa gmyna fhlóti renýt þakligr þamanm saga Ok en fröði haurfr faltið hvat vndir vatrni vnuði þin þa þat annar visti fagni Fylki fleyfjóllr
þþokvm Sófa þar i dimmiv divipi þinuþi vunr oþmar vteîm vellvm i þeir erv lindar
landz vëlkr fek evaða fiel raf þj hvrita Lattv grund grafa gerða íkozninga fagði merlinus
menia deili veitðr vatrni þ vitði fíșan hvat þpað hafi þíllir havyag þat er nylvnda
nð þo þialli Gerðr ggrepþar þat er gmynm huvð varð vatrni þinð vëitt os þialli þeim
gefeðr fñaða þeicv trygðar lâva fém tyr fírvn hafþi hriðlart hvglþar fagat
Ok dívlegir drekur vóknþ grëðor baðr þvðt or rvme rennað fíðan físnart at moti frons
faþner froknir havyag Geriz fokn mikil fñaða .i.j. gapa grimlega gruðndar bëllti
havcvaz hóknir havoðr gýrðingar bláfaz eicr a þ blám elldi Forþlotti var fran en raðvi
bar en lioþi hann lóða þat ena huvða þíðr er bycia man bæzkar irðir Er harmir mi
kill hafþvm fegja fegi ek fígr hafþ ñac en hvita lað man lecia þj lyða fíloþ
mnuvn dseggrar ar os dolve mllal Faraaz mnuv kriðtni kirkvvr fallsa fá er har
mør hofvgr hert i landi þa man en eflaz en avna þíðr aðr er harðla hnekt hannar
kofti Mnuv þar i liki loþvyngr koma fá er veþlagæmr villisgaltur hann fylltingir fára
þvm hér þ vndir fóvnm tredþ þerdír fáx ferð vndir hann fóldv grôni þ eicþa fóldi i vtr
hafi ira þ en gnlg þ vit fókta vínvm lóngvm valldv þíða ñoxë fíðþ þ norþð dana
30 Ok rnuverinar ræt vca meðgr ðeifþ þeir rond við fílll mart veit ek anað vnt mnebrotu
en ek vuglegt feg oþlag konungl Han mnuv tigna tvngfr lyða fá mnuv gramr vera gmynm
tíðaztr ey mnuv vþpíi ðóðing frume þ hann hroðþ fára með hîminforktvnn Ok atþngar enf
ítra grumlf laða at loþvyngr landi þ þegvn un en fíþ þat oþmvi enf hvita verðið meira vallld
en verði hafþi hanem fylltingir fennr fiofar þeim er afþrakkri vtan fylgja verðð kriðtni

1–7 ...haur frætti loðfa] Covered with reagent; most of the text is visible. 1 jangat ] Obscured by reagent; illegible. 1 til þeirar gerðar fámmar móygjar milldinsfr þrínðaða komv til þrínðaða þakir volvndar ] Freshened up. 2 þat er ytvon fagt vþpþi i fialli en þat er dreggr a degi gerðr fá þorðr engan þorð anan móygja ] Freshened up. 3 Kalla let fylkir fröða fécìi frá gvynþosin ] Freshened up. 4 fá þvðt fém grund gmbl gylepti steina eða hamloðin hamrin harðli ] Freshened up. 4 Einn ] Jónsson, Ein. The descending stems for each n is visible. 4 var mādr fá er ] Illegible. 5 myrka frett fryr ikata skyrvon fknina kvnitn heyt yngva vinr ambrofus ] Freshened up. 5 vunr ] Freshened up. 6 hvatvñta at þar vndir ] Freshened up. 6 kalladís þar kvadr válda ] Freshened up. 6 hvatvñta at þar vndir ] Freshened up. 7 avð grund grafa gmyna fhlóti renýt þakligr þamanm saga Ok en fröði haurfr faltið hvat vndir vatrni vnuði þin þa þat annar visti fagni Fylki fleyfjóllr ] Freshened up. 14 fíhn ] The short s is written into the right margin, a possible correction in the original hand. 22 þaker ] Illegible abbreviation mark. Jónsson suggests it was emended from þagra to þragar. 23 mādr ] Jónsson emends to naðr. 23 heifna ] Jónsson suggests this is an error for heifnv. 24 hvita ] The accent is placed over the v. 29 fíh ] The v is emended from an r in the original hand.
The line of ancestors of the English folk were known as Saxon in the old sagas; there they found the craft in brave battle to feud with the British kings. / The British earth, the rich territory, cannot stop the front-of-the-army; the heathen army migrates from the east with fire and iron, onto the rim of the island. / The army's leader sought after a hiding place; the duke built a safe tower, the chieftain to build; there he collected many with that generous construction. / Crafty Volunds came to the building, it is said by men, high in the mountains; and the brave ones gone in a single day, they were not there the following morning. / The skillful men were called by the kin, the battle-ready asked how this happened, "how did the foundation disappear? How did the old earth swallow the stone and the home-cloak fell?" / There was one man who was capable of explaining this wonder clearly to the men; the Lord's friend, who was called Ambrosius, he became known by two names, the same man was also called Merlin. / The wards told the king there was too much water; they bade the great men to dig into the ground; this proved he story of the wise seer. / And then the wise man told to the other men what they would surely find under the water; and the wise one said that which was not known to spear-trees: "Sleeping under there in the dim deep are two worms in two caves; they are ribbons from strange lands; I see one string coursing and one white. / "Have the ground dug, to the ribbons," said Merlin to the ring-dealer, "channel the water under the mountain, then you will see what is prophesied, that which is astounding to the ring-breaker." / The men accomplished what the king bade them to do, the water was channeled downward, drained down from the mountain, and the honeycomb-giver learned about the snakes, trueceless like Tyr and Hrist—the wise prophet told them. / Then the giant dragons awoke, they both got themselves away from bed; after this they quickly ran against each other on the lonely earth of the valiant rings. / The two snakes made a great attack, the ground-belts, grimly gape, the earth-girdles bite one another and breathe poison and blossom fire. / The red one evaded the gleaming turmoil, bore burning fire to bake his limbs; but he handily recoiled from him, he eagerly chased the white dragon. / They made battle in the water-road, and the bold snakes fought long; the first one was greater then the other, and so knocked him down. / "Say Merlin," spoke the ring-bearer, "you are superior to other men. How should the age-born understand these snakes' battle?" / The friend-of-people wept as the noble prince asked him to interpret this event; then the wise seer gave the men his explanation. / The song-caller spoke, "It means that the red treasure-ring was the British people, and the white worm was the heathen folk; the British earth will soon be settled." / Powerful misery is coming to you; I say the white snake will prevail and oppress the land and the people, bloody rivers will stream through the valleys. / Christianity gives way, churches decay, this song becomes painful, an army comes to the land; the once noble folk will strengthen, but they were earlier burdened through hard fate. / A king will come to them, one more honorable, in the shape of a boar; he stands by them, the helpless flock; he treads with his feet upon the people of the Saxons. / He subdued the green earth and the entire island up to the ocean; also the Irish and the Angles, the Scots, the broad territories of the Welsh, and Norway's coast, north of Denmark. / The Romans also feared the nobleman, and craftily afflicted her lords; I know yet more about the ring-breaker, but the king's end remains unclear. / The folk's tongue will 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. / 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 worm increases as never before. / The Fenrir of the sea helps him, Africans follow them abroad; the Christian faith
Er lýsir lín, þótt við það er í sjóninum að fylla.
is broken from the people, but for a short time the English tribe will hold Christening. / The bishop's seat will go from
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
ekes his power. / Pain befalls the white worm; the tribe is harried, the women dissected, the cities and homesteads robbed,
everything good and the green earth will become gray, and the men killed. / Then the British princes fall, seven of the
rulers robbed of victory; then the army-handler\(^{216}\) 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
praiseworthy king keeps watch over London. / Then it happens that the British folk will mightily harm him; he will not
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
be buried, hunger and sickness, among the battle-trees\(^{217}\) 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
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
all the people of the British land. / Then the white land-ribbon\(^{218}\) shall be drawn to the Saxon woman, along with her
comes amber's Skögu\(^{219}\) to settle the land. / Foreign seed becomes renewed, lain into our garden, but now, there on a
cool shore of the island, comes crawling the red worm. / He achieves little from the land, then the white battle-dragon
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\(^{220}\) of the green forest are preordained; it cannot pay the power of fate, and cannot rule the pretty
land. / The earth-fetters\(^{221}\) will have much unrest for one hundred fifty years; but he honored for three hundred, when he
shall sit over London and rule over the folk. / The sharp northeast wind blows against the men and the forest-chains;\(^{222}\)
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\(^{223}\) does not quiet; the deceitful worm will hardly be able to make his hole; already he earns misery for
his betrayal. / Merit and ascension are shortly granted to him, then an armed troop draws back to him; they came from
the south, the army, over the sea, wishing to rob him of the great realm. / The ruler who leads the army will soon settle
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
now painfully punished for perjury. / The two snakes rule; an arrow from one kills the other; then the other will fight
back with a false name, and take victory. / The righteous animal will rule, the island snakes fear him; the towers of the
Welsh, bulkily built, fear the southern sea. / There shall be spun gold from much grass,
klavfyrn skelfættar fillir evr fagrbvin flíöð í landi verðvat fnotvum frábot at þei Sprett er í miðið með pennaðum mun gíðaf greiði gíáta ranlæme tenir munn gyflif travlfi

5

numnar þleo vargar verða at fíkkvun hvalfæl hvelaðar hvaltvum í Verðr meinlega mæki þuv gött fæ ek skoldi ben blnda nóður líður margt hafvigt yfir lyða kyndirði barðar broð

venocianum þifjan vi. ínaðir þifra kyn man dæpa corinense Þa man menny grínmur grafa a no

tvum þþioð gera hörur þa man hálvlar til himinsk kofta fa eð langa líf

loðar nytir En mnn í skogur þifjan vargar vakna veiða í borgyn þer mnn fina fia

7

lífur dolga féla eða flótra fær man verða þer er tryttla þeim telia at moti Ein frir

nyttari neðfriðri englanti at avðar skelfir þo fíklingar þavna komnir fimn eða fleiri

10

folldv að ræða Sa báðtara bytr borgir íra þolkkar til fællir íkoga gerir reðir eitt kiki

margina tekru leonið lavar hafvðr Er í reiðungv ræð þþioð konungu en þyka lít fylkif

axi en en orfr allð ávðarvæðar líkar helgvin himinn félli vel Mnn hann byskupa borgyn

íkryða þ helgan fláð hefa margan tígnar borgir tver pállio geir hann þýgvin kríftz

þegjir noffir Uerðr af fíkkv fverðelf hauftvölu himna fæðar hýghecxkr grame þat þetta

líf þengiðarár konungu talðr er tíga tvnglíf með englvm Glikgt man gavpa gramf íóð vera vill

þat fínnu þioð fialfir fleypa en af þeim fíkvm þremlað hann borgi íra þ engla avðgar íarðar

neðfriðri þavní tígnvm En eftir þat oðald a vit ðara fræglag fyrðar bretzkir þo er illa að

ært í landi erv váttar enkvar þioðir Rîðr en prvíði til peritonif ár hvítvum herfrí hvatv avjldtv

máðr þ hvítvum þar hann markar flá allldón yfir akvernar hér Kalla man konan caðvaldrá þaðil

15

vingar skotlándi af eyrkr af grímn gavnlar eli verðr eð mikla málmping háð Svîfr eð

hvalfa hágl tvíðar brinigr haviða líð hart af fíkbrengvin en geult hínig gaflok fara megvð

fíkglar ský við fíktvm hállda Brefta báynir bita máðmar evr dæyrfað doar a lopti flein

a flavgyn ffolk í dæray billda í benívum bróddi a skilði hialmr a hoþfi hifli hry fór biðlif ge

in a gangi húsi í vexti Hítér targa þa en tegni híor híamlr þa hneitir hílf þosar bry

nía en þrekkja þ brandz toðinns mænna mættvg hönd þ medal kafl fíktvm mylingar þ havl

19

díð fíuða rapti fæða gótt hatt gialla þröor er málm þróaða meðt híallí verðr ein við ein val

koftr hlaðin mnn broðgar ár er fíktvm falla en vigrðra verpr a lyrní Falla fyrðar

i fleiðrfr tvver erlukk þþioð allðr íþell íkípað er vóllr roðir en vig boðin lytr hafan fí

gre helmingr þæta Ýpper fíolvum flov tvalthrea mnn brets þav hera konón groðnax av

25

fígur eikr konhlanda fagnar flíkv fív cambria fíydís eytar eð enlka nafn mun

hon angla eigi kollvö hlytr hon at hállda heiti evr fóna kend er við brettvum híttanía Man

villgollir fíkgdríðar koma o reynnur konanu xætt er fíga konr villdi a hecr yngri

sínu eikr þ skogi þo mnn hilmir hóllr frávnaði Mnn vbítar reði vggga vi í heime þ

affrikir fæ mnn viðr viðlénti gera a eð ytra orgr hífandam Sítr eftir hímill hafir at

londnum hán er at skilia íkírap skap fr víþr bárr hann a hafþr hózn or gylri er sæk íkata íkapað

29

öf fílflir Bláf miðlars vínr edtxtýr nafívum fíolfa þokk þolkið at þekr vm ey þísð vm fyldif fátr lifðaga

bræflr eigi jár í lande
from calves hooves, silver; the land-women dress themselves nobly, but they do not improve their morals. / He runs 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. 224 / Bringing misery, the sword is drawn; I see blood stream from the mother's wound, the people are plagued by severe pain; the blood of women reddens Venedocia; six of his brothers kill Corineus. / Then the men cry in the night, the folk prays with beseeching words; then the heroes strive for eternal life and obtain good things. / Then the baneful wold awakens again in the forest, wild in the cities; they will be enemies to everyone, to kill and capture; not many will dare to resist. / A noble lord rules well in Neustria over all England; but there is a prince coming from the south, five or more wish to rule the earth. / He destroys the glimmering Irish cities, and he falls 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 finds favor. / He becomes a decoration for the Bishop's burg, he builds many sanctified places, the gives the pallium to two cities, the maid servants-of-God 226 spends the treasure. / For this reason the heaven-flock 227 loves the sword-hail-agitator; 228 the Moon-Lord 229 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 Angels' precious earth, Neustria also, robbed of glory. / And then the British nation quickly journeys to visit their ancestral home, but sin rules the land; the English folk are untrustworthy. / He rides nobly, to the river Peritonis, the keen prince on a white horse; he marks with a white staff on another shore an ancient mill. / Conan calls Cadualadrus and from Scotland he comes to the grim storm, Gondul's tempest, a powerful steel-þing finds a place there. / The bow-hail cut hard from the strings and from the sinews; they fly here rapidly; Sögul's cloud 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 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 arrows in the hero's chest. / The corpse army goes, clanging spears, the weapon-thunder resounds there, the dead pile up 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 side. / The blood-storm of the corpses climbs the mountains and they will carry the crown of Brutus; the Cornish oak bud verdantly, all of Cornwall rejoices in this. / The English name eclipses the island, no longer will it be called Anglia, they shall maintain the old appellation; Britannia is named after Brutus. / The battle keen boar will come, highly born of Conan's race; with sharpened teeth Yngvi's sons cut down the oaks in the forest; weak growth guards this prince. / Arabs will fear this prince, in far lands, also Africans; the rich lord goes on a journey, the formidable one travels to Spain. / A goat rules in the land after the king, he cannot suffer polygamy, he carries on his head a golden horn, his beard is made out of silver. / The friend-of-the-mist blows such a fog that it covers the island; enduring peace rules for this prince, and the crops do not fail.

52v

Þa msnv follv fagr víf draga blífrar meyvn metnvóði í ðþor msnv kvenfemne caltra
fniðtv ívíkry glmna vín gírn dvr eðla ðurði ár dþrott gnotv híllkonar En a holmi hílldingar .iþ. beriax vm bavði biarthaddadá fů er í víði vánd
bavði Sia þer f rok þrennur allid þor er lýða ráð líott fýri drottni vns lanreðr lvndvým í grafnr
5 og grvndv gyrmn vitrax Kemr argalli en hin mikli þ mejlniga mnnn davði vm her eyða
borgir við bragna tion er avðn mikil nyttra manna fylr margr a brott máðr oþ landi Kemr kavþkapar
kappgodþ þinig villiggaldvirð býtym fannma þeim er af fróni flyði aðan letr hann bycya þa
10 brekktar iarðar borgir eyddar bol goligý Msn hns bíoft vera brgvmn výrla þeim er fatt háf þar
mð hONDVM þ eðl tlavþa tvnga hilmf flovskv þifska þifsand lífi Þalla oþ oðða
almxai vok dyniändi ær dþrottar flovriþ þar msnv døgyva dyrar iarðar geði í gl
avtvvm gollv heime þ þrrar kverkr þísðar margrar Úpp ren ðþan fakr fe ek þat fýri travft í tvrni
tre lvndvna þrir erv kvfltr þeim lvndi æn hann lavy þekr luvð med ringvm Kemr þar af
lagi hvødnþing hvass lýþr hann ilvnm býl eði af flovni þeir msnv kvfltr er þvna eftir
þer rvm taka þut fe ek giorla Hylia þeir æl ta ey med laff vns anað þar avðvnm borgir þ hann eyðir hans
15 olv laff tekr hann .iþ. rvm þrektostr hafa Ók hann ðþan þeckr thycvk lavy ein vm æl eaðkarmf
fíøy megvð þa fílyva fylvglar í landi þvíat hann orgir þeim en hann en til fín laddar fylvgl fløtt ferdí þt
lendþa þa man illingar aþsir rikia fð er fløtt taka fe gylvðmða er loþa vínr laðr at hef
na gyðlif barna grumr tanfemne Ók a hans døgvum hårðla brena off ramligare eþr oþ íkgvm
en a litumð lindar kvfltvvm vex avrlega akarn í lvndi Ók ranar vegr renn vm af að ðþann
.víj. fe ek þat fýri en olkar æ þat er vndý mikit maðanvð. víj. mattsigg vella gerviþ fíkvm
fioxtion at þeir er oþ fialtvvm þeim fíkakr výrða Msnv badoníþ borgar výrða líða mart yftr avgur
kaldar þæn vøtt hitim fíyrmn gera þa døvða diuvgt mnnkyni Þýro .xx. tion þv
vnda liuna fóðar lvndvým í þeir msnv døgngi drspnir ællr gerir karla tión tem at blöði
mfnv kap marrhlvg kvanfong boðin erv ekvkk þar oþðar margar Ón a kollvm døl kall þeirà
20 neið mnuñ mvdio mntvnm hæyr herv mfn en letta liðð at fémia þ þíafaði þífliði bavga
þo erv fliðri eþr en fýðr marrh hefi ek fvmr af þeim fámít í kvæði þau erv onnvrlið
vpp fðr þrífvm alvíþ eígi avði bendtvagar býð ekþ þísðir þervið þeina brag þo at ek mynt háf þa mal
að báttu þeim er þíðr fýri þíflll vms rakti malmþíþví hvøtvíði í morgvm íðað Útti bragnar þat þeir er bok
lesa hve at þíflvmn ve þápmannn fardí þ vynnþ þák kaldþíþ þíðvmn hýftr fyrða fðe framlýnna hattr mal
25 að rekia þau er mnuñ vitvð Lefti fálma þífloþ lef þápmannn lef biartur þeir børkr þ roðla þfinn þat at
en fróði hæft hếf hørfkleaga hagðaþ þíflovog fém fýri hannv fyrðar helgír Úþirdi ængi þat vitlavð
þott hann høddíkhoþtn hiti giæfe vísar ða vaþna ða peð fýðr mikil fða allzkonar ðoms
eða dyra taknar eðli tålþar fkepín þíflovradandþ þíflll eða coðli Segíðr daniel døvma
fína marg hattadý merktým hvldda kvæ hann døvglig fía dyr a lond þau þau er taknvð tiggia
30 ríki þau er a havoþ vofv þíðan Rekr en dyri david konungr margfallad þa þ melír fva fíóll msnv fá
gni þ en fríði íkogur eþr enkåðar ar fíkla lofvVm þ dalir ymna drottni fýngia Hirtiz

MS

Beautiful maidens travel across the land, behind the maidens gentle pride follows, a temple is built to the maiden’s lust and perverse desire deceives the people-friend. The fair fountain turns into blood; but there is enough in the land for all; two princes on the island fight over one maiden with bright yellow hair, dressed in white batuli thread. This 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.

The chanticleer now comes, and the troublesome loss of men, destroys many cities, the fleeing men are in great need, some depart and abandon this land. He nourishes his people from his breast, those who have few belongings in hand; the prince’s tongue remains free of deceit, the thirst of the people is quenched. Rushing rivers effuse from the eloquent word-bay of the land-ruler; they bedew the precious ground, into the mind’s glittering heart-space, and into the dry troughs of many people. I saw this before me; from there a robust tree springs up in the London Tower; three branches contain the growth, their leaves decorate the land. From the north the harsh wind blows; the fierce gusts meet the tree, but the branches resist the wind, I see it clearly. They wrap the whole island in greenery, until one of them snaps, and it empties the other of leaves, he completely claims the threefold, land. And then appears one of the island-parapets thick with leaves, the birds in the land cannot fly, because he threatened them, but he in turn invited quick birds, foreign to the regions. Then the malicious fool rules, who quickly brings to himself goldsmiths; but the people-friend neglects 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 small branches of the leafy tree, the rich fruit of the forest grows. The street of Rán storms through seven bays of Sabrina; I say this here; the river Usk; such a great marvel; will powerfully boil for seven months, this decay will bring fish, and they will turn into snakes. The warm springs on Mount Badon (so much is happening) became cold, and the water that once restored her people will bring quick death. Twenty thousand of all the people in London lose their lives; all these men will be killed and the Thames will turn to blood. The cowl-wearers are allowed for marriage; there are many widows there, and in cold mountains their cries will soon be heard. Here I will stop singing the strophes of the oracle of the ring-breaker, but there are more words to the wise remaining in this poem. Another song will be set here; I ask the wealth-wearers not to be annoyed; I also form these words in this way, like the prophetic steel-þing’s-wreaker who earlier sang in many places. People learn, who read this book, how these prophecies turn out, they wish to announce to the people-trees, how such men see the future, set in words, the things others do not know. Read the Psalms, read the Biblical Prophets, also read the clear holy writings and find therein, quite clearly, that the knowing man prophesied like the holy men before him. No one judges it to be senseless, if the protection-warden once named all kinds of things, such as worm, animal, tree, water, or strong storm. Daniel interpreted dreams with all kinds of skill, foreseen with signs, there is in the world great animals to be seen, these represent the power of the princes who later appeared upon earth. The precious words of King David still sings many prophecies, which he wrote, “Let the mountains rejoice, and the tranquil forest and wild rivers clap their hands, and sing to the Lord.” One
lavdar at hæða borkr neme ískynleme, þá kiligio síla hvat taknað man í tolv þerfi erað en
þinn òll þafaga þo morgyn myrk mal prophéta fætti fyrðar þeir er a folld bva en at öza
ævi liðna hvat vm her gerir þega líðið eri en nyv þioll við þafoge fe ðipan þar he faman falli
Uarð fyr en eruðka att fyrð þafnd velldí miðla þv er valkir konungi þo er þegi en þeira hætti liðið
af laði ne lýð þeta hvoðfrv máeki hiall eigniðið Heilir allir þeir er hlytt hafa fleinvarðad írófr
þi þeirð geri gött gymsar en glati illi þiðra bóta árrna háfi hylly gyði 1 himinritki amen
Uortigarðn þeirða þar merlinis hvat hannum þvandi at bana verða Mer þarfar þe þv þiðði fína con
fæltinge ðo þenni morgin mfn þega þeir avrelops 1 yðir mfn hfeina fóðor fimf 1
þonna þig inni 1 eyða ollvm fáxa her. Geck þetta eftir þem hann fáðið at avreliðf kom til hvettland þar hann
til konung til tekinn þom at vortigarðn um nöttina þeg þeir hær at kaftalannum hann i kambíta þar þonna þið
otta kaftalann þar þar vortigarðn inni þar allt hans folk heimgift þeirði frá fál konung þa ottáðið
hann avrelið þeit hann þar mikill ægjóði mikdr farr hann þar noðri vm hvnrfr 1 gyðri fr þar lyðið av
reliðv fórker eftir þar þenni þeir þar verði þar hárðr bádagi með þeim þem ne heitir konunga borg fáx
at gengv fáa fram hatt at helli þið at þeiræt mndv flyja þa kom líð avréliðs i opin
fællðvi þa bráfla fóttu með avrélið var eîldon iar Hann mortir heimgift i flotta
þm 1 þar þeir eigi at frysia með þeim flora hovn 1 þatti varla fía hverfr ríða mndv Siðan kemr
þar goðlin iar af konbráta landi þar heimgift þar handtekin öfta frn heimgest flyði i
ioði með þunum monnum þar cofÓa magr hans með mikin her avrelius kaldrái til finn havþinga fína
þiði ráði hvat gera fíklyði með heimgift. eîldon iar þarfar heitir marga móðor græt 1 ðrul ne hans
móðir grata eiga 1 lið þrá þa ðra ðerði þar þíó at hannum havvíð 1 þar hann siðan i havg lagið 1 fdr
Avrelius fer fr með her til ioðkar þar fízt vm borgína öfta fá at
ddr artver konungi
mikill kraftir fylgði trv avrelius þar hannum þvandi vinna borgína þar með ráði fína manna þar geck
vt þar hafði fíotrur i hendi þa graf hátt a hafði fer hann geck fíyri avreliðs þ asleit Sigurð erv
gyði min af ýðrum gyði þav takði fíotrur þenna þar leg a mik eda þar ann þar þv villt nema þv
vþitir ofr meiri milkn gera þa meliti eldaldís byskey galíante konm til gyðinga lyðs þa ðengy
milkn eftir mikil af brot þar hafðir ýðr hera eigi vort at gera en þeim konungur grøði þem byskyb báð gaf
þeim ollvm grøði þar helldv þeir vel trv við hann þipan þapam fór konung til lvidvna þar er hannum þar i þat mndvki er hein
geftr hafði fóþr hans dvekt þar feldi hann þar þildi þar nockoz minning gera var
þa kalldrá merlínis þamadhr. konungi fáða at hannum villði láta bva þm leg fóðorf fíns merlínv
þasleit ef þv villt þerfa vmbvð fva miðk vanda þa lat fára a land a írlandi þar erv miðk
agiztir fleinar þa fíkplas allðri ef vel verða fettir konungur hio at þa meliti vantar her gríotið
i englandi þo at ver takim þat þar eignum larðnum merlínus meliti engir erv her fílikr fleinar fyrri þeir
at þeir erv fettir við ollvm meinnum í heimenv þar ferðv risfr þa vtan af lerðandi
Siðan grøði konungi þeir fídru avrelops þar avrelops þar konm til írland þar er gallúmar frá þeirra erindi famnarn hann her fáman
þar vill vería fleina þerfa verði þar harðr bardagi þa hafa ðeirat frígr en konungi flyði
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 form the land, also, Wales
was not to be taken by the sharp sword. / Blessed are all the spear-throwers 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.

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. 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.

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. After this, Earl Gorlois arrives from Cornwall.
Then Hengest was captured. Octa, Hengest's son, fled to to York with his men, along with his brother-in-law 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

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. 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.

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, and giants carried them from Africa." After this, the
king sent Pendragon after these stones, and with him, twenty thousand men. Merlin followed them, and when they
arrived in Ireland, and when Gillomanius heard of their errand, he assembles and army, and wishes to defend those stones.

It comes to a severe battle, and the Britons win, but the king fled.
bretar forv a fleina þerfa þoktok floiz reip þ forði a fleinana gengv a morg hv
ndvð þengv þar hvergi rort þa foz til merlinn þ forði litla hvnd þerfa fleina til ikspa þig
ldv þer fipan heim til bretlandz þ hackaði konungr þeim fina ferð þar vnr vnið vm groft conultanthus konung1
með þerfvm fleimn þ veitti konungr þar þriggja vikna veivl ollvm ienvm hæftvm monnsma i landinn yfir
5 Æfir er vestogn var fallin flyði pacencias fvn hanf til faxlandz þ fek fer þar
tok konungdóm

1–36 bretar forv...en vlin raðgjafi | This page has not been freshened up and is in very good condition.  
7 paceneir | Jónsson emends to pacenciu.
12 gorði hanem | Jónsson, gorði (han) hanem. 26 fialli | Jónsson emends to fialli.
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**

After Vortigern was killed, his son Pascentius fled to Saxony, obtained for himself an army, and went back to Britain; he wished to avenge his father. Aurelius moves against him with an army, and it comes to a severe battle, and Pascentius flees to Ireland to King Gillomanius; both of them strengthen their forces, and they go back to Britain. In this time, King Aurelius lie sick in Winchester, but Uther Pendragon went against them with an army. When they heard of Aurelius's sickness, and an Irish man went before the king, and asked what he would give to him if he caused Aurelius's death. Pascentius answered, "I will give you a thousand pounds of silver, and if I become king, you shall become a chieftain with hundreds of subjects." Then Eopa cuts his hair, takes the clothing of a monk, made himself as if he were a physician, and 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, and when the king had drunk, he slept, and when he awoke, the knew that poison coursed through his body, and he died shortly after. Eopa returned to his men, and told them what happened on his errand.

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, and from the mouth of the dragon ran two rays, and the brightest shone over all of France, and the other reached over Ireland, and it split itself into seven beams. When these tidings came before Uther, he asked Merlin what this signified. Merlin answers, "Oh, it is a great tragedy now that Aurelius is dead, and that will be a serious blow for everyone. Go now and fight because you will take hold of victory; the star, which has the form of a dragon, represents you, but the beam which spread over France represents your son; because he will become so powerful, he will conquer all the nations over which the beam spanned. But the other beam represents your daughter, she will be married off in Ireland and seven of your kin will come from her." Uther doubted whether such things would come to pass, but he attacked Gillomanius and Pascentius, and a severe battle took place, and both Gillomanius and Pascentius fell, and Uther received victory and he took the kingdom over all Britannia. He had two dragons made from gold, and had them hung over his father's grave, and he had another made from amber carried before himself whenever he went into battle, wherever he fought. From then on, he was called Uther Dragon-Head.

Now after the death of Aurelius, Hengest's son Octa assembles an army, and goes to Britain, and he surrounds York, and Uther goes there against him with the British army, and a severe battle erupts, and they fought until nightfall. Then the Britons took to flight up a high mountain, that was completely surrounded by high crags. The Saxons surrounded the mountain. When night fell, when it became dark, Uther and his army suddenly plunged down from the mountain upon the Saxons unawares. Many of the Saxons fell there, but Octa was captured, bound in irons, and brought to Dumbarton. On Easter the king arranged a banquet for all the powerful men in the land. The Cornish King Gorlois was there, as well as his queen. Of all women, she was most beautiful. The king was taken with her, and he spoke with her secretly. The duke discovered this, and departed from the banquet with his wife without the king's leave, and put her in a tower. Because Gorlois did not wish to go back to the banquet, the king became furious, and he sent men to surround the 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 the duke's wife. Merlin said, "that is not easy, because there is only one narrow path, where four knights are able to guard against the entire British army; they watch over it both day and night. Nevertheless, I will make this happen, that you will be like Gorlois in appearance, and your man, the counselor Ulfin,
54r

þin man fynnaz 1 vfa ek fem hennar i æ. þionvltv menn 2 megy ver þa fa ølöf i tvrin þetta 
rað þígg konungfar fare þiðan til kaflalanf 1 verð þetta allt vfa fem merlins gaf rað til hvgði igerna 
þa nott at hon þfáði hia gollföld bonda þinvm En er herin faknadv konungf þa hvgð þeir hann vikin 
vera 1 líop a hendr goslið 1 þ drapv hann 2 merltan þosa líði hafn menn fogen gírneg konv hafn þav tivedi 
en hon vesi eigi hvertv þetta kom til þéata hon þottóz hia hafnði hafa þa nott konung macelit 1 þa fia mattv at 
ek liði 1 þan þat rað líkað at ðara a konungf frvndi 1 þ btiaða milkvnar gengr konungfar þa brott þ til líðs finn 
þ tek þa aftr allan þíkað hitt þin fem æð hafri þann hann hengr þiðan til kaflalanf 1 segir 
igernar allt æð fanna hon famlyckir þa við konung 3 feck hann þa hennar þav attv i æ. þon 
het fín þeir araðtvv en dottir anna ok líði þiðar feck konung fr kranleika mikin þ mordelagan 
þ medan konunga la fivkr var þeim otta leypt brott os myrku hofv þ for v tvl ðandar 1 þor forv aftr 
til ðandað med viðgan her 1 er þetta þræðv ðestar fylv þeir konung at gifta ann dottor fina 
loð konungir af ðandar 1 þat var til raðs tektil 1 þert hann þiðan med her moti foxvm þ varð þar hårðr bardagi 
þ lavkr med þei at þestar flyðv Ok er yter konungir flyr þar þlefinn hann til fínn ollvm havlpljningum 1 let 
befafig í bvnvm mote her fáxa þetta þotti foxvm mikil íkorn at þeir skylldv beriav við fív 
an menn. þeir forv Þa i börgr þa er váralammi heitir 1 þ biogvæ þar fyrði ðestar brrtv þorgina 
þ er fakar fá þat gengv þeir út af þorginmi 1 þarð þar hårðr bárdagi fell þar 
otta 1 flet hafn folk en þeir flyðv er líft þagv konunga þarð glaðr við fígr fín Þ møëlti 
helldi vildka ek fivkr vega þíkana fígra en þíkaða flyða hella Ein fakmeskr máðr bárdandi eitri í dýk hafn 1 þoð hanlí fíkar 1 fíttv þeir lík hann til þerf membrilli ef þrodir hafn hvílir 
i þ vbrv þm hafn groft með mikillir vyrðing 1 var hann morgvm manne miok harm 

At þrim vikinó línvm en antl yter var artvër fín hann artvr til dàvôs 
til konung rektan 1 þoronaðs í börgr þeir er celeftia heitur hann var þa xv. vettra konungf rektan 
gamal hann var mikill a vort venn at alli þikipingar at viti avv ef ðeirkr 
hårðr 1 vopandirfrr gláðr 1 gôðr vinnm en grímr vinnm fálnæmr 1 fôs 
fsall þðatr 1 þræðvll vidfrægg 1 at ollv vel menntr En litl fíkar en hann var til konungf te 
kin þræðv a fáxa hver var komin í landit 1 þafli eytt allt rikiti fra katanei þ fôs 
v hvmvr Sífan for artvær med her moti þeim havpljninga fáxa héta kolgvinm þeir 
hittv þar fem þverheitar 1 þarð þar mikil bardagi 1 flyðv fakar í þorgina ðeark 
konungf fettiz vm þorgina þetta þræði bálldílr þroðir kolgrímir fánnar hann at fer 
vi þvöndum manna 1 æta til líðið við kólgrið 1 er þeir koma x. milv fru ðeark 
namn þeir fíðar konunga þarð var við þeirra ferd 1 gerir í moti þeim cadoz iar 
med mikin her 1 þøð þeir þegar til bardaga 1 felly fvmir fakar en fvmir 
flyðv bálldílr vndi illa við fín vfrgr 1 let klippa hár fitt 1 raka 
þekc fitt a leikara hatt hann fær fer hofv 1 frrl í herþvðir konungf 1 íkem 
þi þar 1 ein a nott kom hafn fer fer fíði í þorgina 1 þard bðóðir hafn hafnarm 
fegin gerðv þeir þa menn til fandar land at bðía líði kollldzik hertoga 1
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.

They immediately go to the castle and everything that Merlin predicted came to pass. That night, Igerna 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 Igerna, 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 and takes back the same appearance that he had before. Then he goes to the castle and tells Igerna 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.

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, 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, and when the Saxons saw that, they ran out of the city, and it came to a severe battle. Octa fell there, along with most of his people, but those who preserved their life fled.

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.

Arthur is Received as King

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, 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. 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,
54v

fannar hannu þíðan her þ j fert til þætlandi med . dc. fikja þær komna við Íkotland. þetta þýður artvr konungvr þ j gerar 
hannu þóð eftir koel fyllvr fjóri fremm þ j kom hannu til konungví med . sv. þvíndvðað hermanna þóri þær þíhan þader þa 
mna mot heiðingvir þ j mottvþ þeir við aéina toks þar þárði bardagi aði heiðingjar flý 
 þv konungvr rak flottan i skog þannu er callidonis heitir þar toks heiðingvir motþ j felldv þar mart 
af bætnvr þíhanu let konung vr fella markina æt þeim þva æt þeir mattv hvergi brott komaz heidningar 
þa ni æt þeir varþ þegnr fenyv þóð þóð hannu þóð við heidningvir þ j mottvþ þeir við aéina toks þar þárði bardagi aði heiðingjar flý 
þv konungvr rak flottan i skog þannu er callidonis heitir þar toks heiðingvir motþ j felldv þar mart 

10 af bætnvr þíhanu let konung vr fella markina æt þeim þva æt þeir mattv hvergi brott komaz heidningar 
þa ni æt þeir varþ þegnr fenyv þóð þóð hannu þóð við heidningvir þ j mottvþ þeir við aéina toks þar þárði bardagi aði heiðingjar flý 
þv konungvr rak flottan i skog þannu er callidonis heitir þar toks heiðingvir motþ j felldv þar mart 

15 af bætnvr þíhanu let konung vr fella markina æt þeim þva æt þeir mattv hvergi brott komaz heidningar 
þa ni æt þeir varþ þegnr fenyv þóð þóð hannu þóð við heidningvir þ j mottvþ þeir við aéina toks þar þárði bardagi aði heiðingjar flý 
þv konungvr rak flottan i skog þannu er callidonis heitir þar toks heiðingvir motþ j felldv þar mart 

20 af bætnvr þíhanu let konung vr fella markina æt þeim þva æt þeir mattv hvergi brott komaz heidningar 
þa ni æt þeir varþ þegnr fenyv þóð þóð hannu þóð við heidningvir þ j mottvþ þeir við aéina toks þar þárði bardagi aði heiðingjar flý 
þv konungvr rak flottan i skog þannu er callidonis heitir þar toks heiðingvir motþ j felldv þar mart 

25 af bætnvr þíhanu let konung vr fella markina æt þeim þva æt þeir mattv hvergi brott komaz heidningar 
þa ni æt þeir varþ þegnr fenyv þóð þóð hannu þóð við heidningvir þ j mottvþ þeir við aéina toks þar þárði bardagi aði heiðingjar flý 
þv konungvr rak flottan i skog þannu er callidonis heitir þar toks heiðingvir motþ j felldv þar mart 

30 af bætnvr þíhanu let konung vr fella markina æt þeim þva æt þeir mattv hvergi brott komaz heidningar 
þa ni æt þeir varþ þegnr fenyv þóð þóð hannu þóð við heidningvir þ j mottvþ þeir við aéina toks þar þárði bardagi aði heiðingjar flý 
þv konungvr rak flottan i skog þannu er callidonis heitir þar toks heiðingvir motþ j felldv þar mart 

35 af bætnvr þíhanu let konung vr fella markina æt þeim þva æt þeir mattv hvergi brott komaz heidningar 
þa ni æt þeir varþ þegnr fenyv þóð þóð hannu þóð við heidningvir þ j mottvþ þeir við aéina toks þar þárði bardagi aði heiðingjar flý 
þv konungvr rak flottan i skog þannu er callidonis heitir þar toks heiðingvir motþ j felldv þar mart 

1–36 fannar hannu þíðan…vndan i pariþ] This page is not freshened up and is in very good condition. 3 mottvþ] The r is written over an e in the 
original hand. 4 heidningar] After the n, the rest of the word is represented by a crossed thorn. 8 konung] Jónsson emends to konung. 10 taka ] 
Jónsson emends to talar. The error is awkwardly altered with a dot under the k and l placed where the r should be. 29 kþ] Jónsson, k(omng).f. 
31 after ] Written twice.
then he assembles an army and goes to Britain with six hundred ships. They land in Scotland. King Arthur hears of this 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. 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 that they were defeated, so then they sent a message to the king, and offered him for gold and silver for ransom; this was agreed, that they paid tribute, and 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 heathen camp, King Arthur speaks before the army, and eggs them on to advance. He was dressed in quadruple linked hauberks 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. His shield was made from the strongest hide, 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 enough for fighting, the battle 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, 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.

Then the king went to Ireland and conquered it, and also Scotland in the same manner. King Arthur’s nephews were with him, Hoel, Modred, Gawain, Lancelot, and Ywain. Gawain’s father was King Loth of Hordaland in Alrekstad in Norway. Arthur’s wife was named Guinevere; she was the daughter of Duke Cador. 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. After this he went back home to Britain, many chieftains’ sons thronged to him in support, submitted themselves to him and bound themselves by oaths to him.

In that time the Norwegian King Sighjalm died. He was King Loth’s brother, who was married to Anna, King Arthur’s sister. Sighjalm had fostered his and King Arthur’s nephew Gawain. 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 severe battle begins, and Riculf fell there. King Arthur conquered all of Norway and Denmark for Gawain.

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.
55r

en konung fèttiz vm borgina en er franzefvin þróngi hvngr þa bavð frollo a konung til einvígis
1 þat iattadí konung glæðega þ rðvz þeir þifan at með lþiottun þ skaut konung frollo af herfi en þo
2 varð hann ecki farr frollo liop vþ þ lagði hefthin vndir konung þ fell konunga þ til iðår þ gyfø
3 bretar at konung vor þár þæðir konung liop liot a fortr þ þoðvþ þeir længi en ýva lavk
4 at konung klæv hafvðð frollo með hialmagið í herðar nýði þ eignadís konung þifan allt fra
5 klænd hann giffi búðov ðottur fina erfðiðv samënka ðimv en adænam giffi hann kæti raðð
6 manne ðimv skipti hann þifan olv frælandi með ðimv monuvun Rikon hett kappi ein í franz hann var nál
7 ega ríði at þ þe tæ konungur til þerf at þeir flegi af hannum íkce fin þ þendi hannum í
8 skatt þifan let hann þat geri til þóðvþ vndir eina ikikkv hann ðendi þa orð artvr konungori at þann
9 di hannem íkce sitt þ þe meir fém hann var en aðrir konungor þa skylldi hann íkce til kíoll þ þetta klæði
En er konung konv þerfi orð melli þann þaði man ek gefa hannum olvum trolvm en hann fátt mikit eka k
10 ampa fer þa konung til motzi við rikonem Tæk með þeim harði bardági rikon hio eitt ríkt hoc
i ikollí konunggr þ klæv hann allan níða at gýrð modor líknæktiv þa þeit egí lengra konungri hio þa þi hof
vð ríðum þ þeit eckí en þ varð hocit ýva mikit at hunnu lámðið ríðin greip þa konung
15 þva þaft at konung hroc þvand þottt monum þa víft yvert yvatara mverdi en faktir þerf at hafv hann var
lámði þ þa fell hann þyri konunggir a. konungur gerði þ þoð olvum konungvum at hvart torki sitt íkce en þeir þoðvþ egí at
þorkia ð iattv sig vera í þi hannum vöðu. En eftir þenna sigr fát artvr konungir í bretlandi þr. ár
þann let reifá eina mikla þorg við þa þa er ofka heitir þ þva þflóar .íi. hallir at engar er þflóri
landir þ gennar a ravnverkan hätt hannum bavð til en hiva línv olv(m) konungum hertogvin þa íslov
20 þa olvum hofþingvum í línv liki þ var hann þa kvennda þ þa drottingvin þ er veida viðfrægiv
þóði a northlandvum borið at fornþ þ nyv af artvri konunggir þ hann monum
Ravnverið vorð florilla við at þeir þofvø laði allt gallia þyri artvri konunggir en þeir fe
ýng enga íkka af bretlandi leð keisari var þa farin í avlir veg en yfir rvmán
ia hafli þann henn fett þan havþvinga er lvcis hét En þav tísnið við at enne þflós vejlv .a. konungfr
25 at þar kom fendi menn af rom með þreð þei er þa fagbji lvcis rvmveria havþvinge lendir artvrog
þlika quðði þem þannem þorðir. Míok vndvunum ver ýða þrifr þ er þorði at hallda þeim íkattrondum
þ er varir þeirar larb þannum af ýðrum frældum or rvmverinum til hlykfr þ travltz
þv löffni ek ýð til flels þaðarana en börta þar ýðr en þflóor þatro ýva fém hann er milku
þ en en þv þyri nemz þeir þerð þa man ek her koma þ þeimta þetta allt milku
30 arþvft af ýðr en er konunggir hafli þeirð þeirð redþ hannum við vini
þina hver til rafð skyllði taka þa þvarar cador cont
þreta konunggr þat hefði er ottaz at þerfr þeirld vejlv at ver ný
nðomm faktir þellinís tyña vasi vilgmí ho
þv ver þ þerfrv .v. retvrm ekið geri vtan te
35 þi þ leikfr þaða fóððu konv þ þyri líkt
þapar margr veg þa vírðing mnuv
but the king surrounded the city, but when hunger afflicted the French, Frollo 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 Frollo off his horse, but he did not become wounded. Frollo jumped up and put down the horse from under the king, 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 Frollo’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, and he gave Anjou to his advisor Kei. Then he divided all of France among his men.

One champion in France was named Ritho. He was nearly like a giant in power and size. 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 massage 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. 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. 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.

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. 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

The Romans became very dissatisfied 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

280 Clearly a misreading on the part of the saga writer. According to the HRB and VV, Arthur presents Estrusias, now called Normandy to his cup bearer Beduerus. HRB, IX.301 [155].
281 Given the misunderstanding of Estrusias, it is likewise unclear whether or not the saga writer is referring to the region in France or to an individual.
282 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 Frollo with the battle against Ritho. The saga writer changes the giant into a human warrior.
283 The image of Mary interrupts the movement of a crack across Arthur’s shield. Unique to the saga.
284 The description of this battle only marginally resembles the battle as described in HRB X.74–109 [165].
285 That is, the owners of the beard would be forced to become Arthur’s subjects by claiming their beard?
55v

rvnveriar engan figr vinna yfir ofl konung mætti þat vitv ver allir at ivlius cefar eignaðiz brettand m Goldberg vara landanna en med engym rettindum þo at þeir hafi nokloka rói heðan ikatt tekir sýnir mer þar mala efní vár litlvi minni at heimta ikatt af þeim en þeir af ofl þvat fr ændr varir brennir j beiter hengv.xxx. rvnveria a einv togi i rom j eignaðuz

þan allt romania Conffantis elevant ín var frændi eignaðiz þat sýki j hafni sýnir hvi er þat av eigi rett at ver heintem ffvndvm ikatt af þeim en þi iatti ek at franka sýki hofv ver af þeim vinnið þar hafa þeir at kiara Da mætti hoel konungl fyllv ín yðri bidv ver foðmenn vera þeirfar ferðar en ver vilvim allir fylgja yðri at farkia romania þvat ín hafja varir þpamenn fyrí fagt at .i.j. bretzkrí menn skylldv eignaz roma sýki av hafja .i.j. eignaz en þeért en þríði takið

1v fígrin er sálfr gengr heim at yðri man ek annad hvart falla i þerli ferð eða fa fígr skal ek fá yðri .x. þvßndir valkra manna til þerfar ferðar En er konungr heytir þeirfa a eggan þa byði hann her util af ollv sínv sýki Sva er ígat at hann haþfi eigi minna her en .x.l. þvþndáða j vm fram fotgo ngv folk þerfir hoffiþingar varð með hannm Cadoz conßheta konungr gillimar ira konungr gynnauðs þvþeyia konungr palpanes noxes konungr alkkell dana konungr angvifleðs skota konungr hoel konungo fræn di malvalvs til konung þat heitir nv islænd .a. konungr þav fendi menn lvcið fega ín hannm at hann nv ndi til hafni koma j heimta ikatt af rvnveriðm En er lvcið frá þetta famnar hann her vm állt rvma sýki j varð með lvciþ ferðir hoffiþingar philippus girka konungr manafar farkia konungr cœsobia þplanðuz konungr Siríf media landz konung r þagir æþþir hoffiþingar boði hertogar j iarlar þeir hoþv ín mikin her at tolv fem .c.c. þvþndáða j .x.j. hvndvindu manna artvr konungr letti eftir til landz gívuzv modrédf fyllv ín fín með gynnauþ trøttinng fríður rvnverja þ artvr konungip

Hena fyrtví notre er hann hof ferð fína a englandi dseymði hann at hann fá ein bioz mínin migviga í lopti hannm þotti oll ioðþ pipra j ðkalaf þa allt þat fem a henni var af emvin þerfa enf mikla dyrf konungur þottiz fá a ein mikin dseka er kom moti birni nvm hann fľavg og felfri j lyfri af hannm langa leid þvm hiníní j þekk með þeim handði bar dagi en fa varð ðkalnaði þeira at dsekin blei eitri a biozina ín a hann fell til iarðar konungur fþvriti þeikingsa ínva hvar þetta heþi at fega þeir logðv at hafni fylliga varð at ekin a biozina ría fylliga j konungur mnvði sigra rifan Konungur fþvriti er hann kom i fræn til þerf rífa er ðnvíf hat henn var þar fém mikialf fíall heitir allt var við hann rætt hann hafí tekit til fín þa mey er elin heit hon var fraen

ndkona artvrf konungr En er konungur fþvri þat for hann broot frá fínavm mommín eina aott .i.j. mann j er þeir konv at fíallí nör fá þeir fílla .i.j. í helli brenna konungr geck til hællífni fá a innvíri þif fat við elld j þefiktj ein viliðoll konungr þáð

þa þiða vti konungr geck inn þa er þetta fa rífin tekr hann klíbbv fína
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 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.”

Then the king hears this during the course of this egging, he commands his army to go all the way out of his kingdom. It is said that he had no fewer men than forty thousand, not including the footmen. 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. 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 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 army so great that it was three thousand twelve hundred men in number. In order that the land be guarded, King Arthur had his nephew Mordred to be with Lady Guinevere. 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. The king learned about a certain giant who was named Innius when he came to France. Everyone was afraid of him. He had taken for himself a maiden who was named Helena. She was a kinswoman of King Arthur. 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. The king goes inside and when the giant saw this, he takes his club,
56r

þa er fva var þving at eigi lettv. .ij. menn af iordv konungr hio til riðanf með fverði í ennif en rifin
lavft kyltvñ til konung ñ konung feilk þer vndan þ kom hovið niðr a iordvina hia konungi
varð þat fva mikir hoc at allt fallið ikalf við en þo at fár riðanf var þei eigi mikir þa liop
þo af hanaen íoft blóð riðin kaftar þa kyltvñni þ liop at konung þ greip hann fva falt at
konung ferk a kne vn fipir þa moðir riðan fva blóðzaf at hann gat þa eigi vpp flæðit þ liop
þa konung vpp þ hio af hanaen hafvðv hanna let geyma hafvðvit til vfinn þvatt konungr hafþi allþri fyr í lika ravn konit nema þa er hana atti við rikonom fò hanna þifan til skipa þ varð
miog fregx vn alla norðs hafvñen af þer flæðvirki Siðan flyr .a.
konung her fin moti rvnveriðm þ er hvarri fia aðsa þa fendi .A. konungr .ij. hafvþingia til rvnveri
10 Galven gamla þ berfo flerka þ gerfin en frokrna þ bad rvnveriða ryma brótt af gallia en er
lvceis frá þetta mælli hanna þet fíþr mæv ver flæja at ver íklyvm taka allt siki artvfr konungf þ Svá
fialfan hanna. þa mællið ða máðr er kvíntuð het mikla dvl hafi þer bretar at þer æxlið að ta
ka siki vart rvnveriða Galven varð reiða þ þva fverði þ hio hofvð af kvíntuð þ for þifan
aftr til finna manna en rvnveriðar fottv eftir þ varð þar mikill bardagi þ fiell fiöldi af
hvarvm tvegvim aðs þeir konv aftr til finna manna Nv flýr .a. konungr at lvceis var konin í þa
15 borg er avgylvhdvinði heitur þ æxlið annan dag at fara til langzionið borgar þa form
ott bad let konungr fina menn hervildarau þetti konungr .vi. fylkingar finna manna í dal þeim er lvceis ík
yldi fara þetta folk var at tolv .xl. þvindraða þ .vi. þvindrað ok attan menn konungr let þar
legia merfi þ vigia kirkvi garð til grafat þeim ðonnun er þar felli lvceis verði var rýkst
lanar .a. konung þa fetr hann niðr merki litt a ein fragað vall þat fva ikapam fém væri ein
ari or vylli þ let sifan fíþra fínar fylkingar þ atta flæði Siðan talaidi lvceis fíri heri
nuv yðr man kvíntið vera vn þat ránlega tilkall er artv konungr hefir vpp a varþ siki
þa heve mikla íkóð eða mappa þeirfri er ver þar vart þeir hefr frið hanna þ ang friðvndm farið
þeirri verði niðr hafþi at reka þenna fianda flock af hondum of þeim ðarðard helldr í lec
1a þvind færð þeim mðð íkemð míniz þ a þeir fírða gíorð af fær varir hír tví
frenduð at þeir tokv fístið ferðvð af þegvi en peninga mðð íkemð fengv heir þa iami
nan niðr er þeim þotti davði fínni nuv þerði niðr niðr ÷ð hafþi þeim fá dagr er ver re
vrm þeirfana vannmenuv af hondunm En fva mikin her hofv rvnverir at í hverri þeirra fylking
var .vi. þvindrað manna þ .vi. hvnðvð .vi. meinn Eftir þetta riða rvnveriðr fram í dalin
30 þ motaþ þar þeirra fylkingar þ tokx þar hardið barða
gi þ vrv þav tilbíndi þar rýft at bocko
meðia konungr reið moti boðvero þ lag
ði þþriði í gegnum hann en
fira kei vildið hefnú hantl þ var farðar bana fara hirgelaf frændi boðveri varð reiðr miok er
35 hann fá fall hant geck hann fva hart fram at hann drap bocki konung gerðiz þa hord oþrsta þ mannokoð

8 a.] þonson, a(rtvr). 9 .a.] þonson, a(rtvr). 15 a.] þonson, a(rtvr). 17 bað let.] þonson omits let. 18 ok atian.] ok was originally written
vk, but corrected in the original hand. 20 a.] þonson, a(rtvr). 21 ] þonson emends to i. 29 .vi. hvnðvð.] þonson emends to xi. 31–35
gr .v.] þrð þav .men[.mannskoð.] The rightmost side of lines 31–34 are covered with reagent; most of line 35 is covered with reagent. 32 ] 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.

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.

Now King Arthur learns that Lucius had come to the city which is called Autum and planned to go to Langres the next day, and that same night the king ordered his men to dress themselves for battle, 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 men. The king had mass sung there, and consecrated a church yard for those men who would fall there. 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 into eight positions. 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 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 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.

297 Unique to the saga. 298 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]. 299 Unique to the saga. 300 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]. 301 According to the source, Lucius places the eagle standard on the ground following his speech HRB, X.334-337 [170].
56v
i þéri oþoro fell romithel ðpanlandz konungr af rvmverivm 1 quintus marcius lepidus rvmveria oldvngar
þa tiri b른 þa flotti a rv sns hngt þ let hleiddi tîn 35 etaði latvm engan nlif vndan koma fallið helldz med formð en flyði
med skomm konungr hio sfran a tvar hendz þyri hervir hant{havgoi fell annad hvart madr eða herfr hann fellldi ij. rvmveria hofþiŋa fertoris libia konungr þ polite konung af bithinia var þa mikit man fall af hvarvm tvecivm lcvicis med hørgi hendz hervir en lagði med þioti vinfrí hen
di en þar fem arvt for þa raevc allt vndan I þenna tima kom morvði i oppna
skioldv rvmverivm þ fall ell þrącndvðvm rvmveria lið þ i þerfri oþoro fell lcvicis med god
an orði tir bælt þa flotti a rvmverivm .A. konungr let reka flottan þar til er þerir gafví
i valld hannm þ forv konungr trvaðar eðda .a. konungr let bva mv lik allra þeira mannna þem þar hofþi fellit ðva rvmveria ðem ðinna mannna fat konungr hann vetr i gallia en mv tvmarit
eftir for hann til rvmaborgar þ lagði hana vndir fig þ oll þav niki er þar til lagv af artvr konungi
Én er þetta var tînða þa konv sendi mnna af bretlandzi þ logby konungi at modrød bjtvrv
þvn hant{lagði vndir fig bretlandi þ hann hafþi bryllev gozt til gvnvarar drottningar
kono artvr{konungi þ hann hafþi famnad at fer heidingvm at veria landit við þerfr tînði var konungr
miog ryrc þ ñeri hannm heim til bretlandzi med mørflan þoar herfní er hann fendi hoel fr
ænda fin til keifarans at fettaz við hann geck hannm þar mal vel tokz þar fætt þ fjllr friðs
Én er konungr kom til bretlandzi kom modzet moti hannm med her þ varð þar hord oþrota fell konungi þv
ngt þ let hann marga ðina en ðva lâk þo at modzet flyði i borg þa er p vin
tonia heitir konungr let bva mv lik sînna mannna þ var miog ryyg af ðinvm mikla fk
ða en er gvnvo þyra þetta ðerr hoen mv nott a lavn til lvdvna þ geck þar i
nvnvn klâвþ fr eiði þar fitt líf. þrinn dogm sfran sfrandv þeir artvr konungr þ modzet
þ tokz þar þa hâðð bardagi þ mikit manfall letti modzet þa en vndan gabi konungr þa en
egi at iarða ðina menn rak hann þa flottan allt til er þeirar er kama heitir þar þam modzet við þ
þyli ðinu lîði hann hafþi þa eði minna lîð en .lx. þrącndvâða þo haða konungr meira lîð
þ egáði hann fall ðina menn þa ñeri fallfr at þeirri rylkíng er modzet var þyri konungr geck ðva i gegninn
hant{fylkíng fem hann væði miöll fell modzet i þrącvm bardaga þ mogþ þrącndat mannna med
hannm þ þerfr hofþingar kellðrik þ elafis erlingtis bvinngus saxon gilla patrik þ fiolþi ira þ
þkotz þ oþkneýinga konungr báðv ðv grid oðlvvm er þiggja
vîlldv en af hann{liði fêlly þerir hafþingar loth
noex konungr akell dana konungr cadoz þ cafí
bellann þ margar þrącndvîr
annar mannna þ þerîv bardaga feck konungr far þar er hann
leiddi til hana hannvar forðr til avolla yayr la konung rør líttla flvnd æðz hann andadiz þ var ha
þmað miok af ðinvm monnum lið hann var iarðat at krik kirkiv in cantara byrgi er þat mal mannna at hann

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\(^{302}\) and Hoel rushed against him, but Gawain and his men\(^{303}\) 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, 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 much fame.\(^{304}\) 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.\(^{305}\)

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.\(^{306}\) Peace was made in good terms.\(^{307}\) 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.\(^{308}\)

[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.\(^{309}\) 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,\(^{310}\) and a multitude of other Irish, Scots, and Orcadians.\(^{311}\) The king offered to pardon everyone who wished to accept it.\(^{312}\) But from his army these chieftains fell: King Loth from Norway,\(^{313}\) 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.\(^{314}\) His body was buried at Christchurch in Canterbury.\(^{315}\) It would be said by men that

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\(^{302}\) In the saga, Cador is in this position instead of Gawain. HRB, X.394 [173].

\(^{303}\) Including Hoel.

\(^{304}\) The mention of Lucius’s posthumous fame is unique to the saga.

\(^{305}\) 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].

\(^{306}\) Unique to the saga.

\(^{307}\) This Icelandic idiom is unique to the saga.

\(^{308}\) In the HRB and VV the elements of the name of one warrior, Gillapatric. HRB, XI.77 [178].

\(^{309}\) A transformation of the name of the Norwegian King Odbrictus, who is also listed among the dead. HRB, XI.78 [178].

\(^{310}\) Unique to the saga.

\(^{311}\) Loth appears to fill the missing position originally filled by King Odbrictus.

\(^{312}\) The explicit mention of Arthur’s death, and the formula of how he was missed, is unique to the saga.

\(^{313}\) Unique to the saga.
hafi allra bræta konunga merfl fleyrt kriftni a brætlandi þa er A. konungr andadís varví liðinir fra því varf hrerra leu *Chri* .. d. ara þ xl. tvav ár ofarlega a dogvm leoniil keífara anlat artvr konungf

Eftir anlat artvr konungf toki siki yfir bætli conftantines fvn cadoś hertoga fem fialfr A. konungr hafi fikpat atti hann litla ítvnd vm kvírt at sitia aði fíxar gengv a sikit varf fyri

þvi liði .i. havfingiar sýnið modnet þeir vnnv lýndvna borg þ viton þá faþ þar í vm ítvnd I þenna tima andadís daniel býskyp í cantara býrgi Conftantinius dzo mikin her faman ʒ för meld kríststv i on gær þeim þá hóða ozrasta ʒ eigi langr aði fíxar fellv en þeir bróði fleyðv íma

riv kirkv í lýndvnm Conftantinis liop in eftir þeim ʒ deap fíyri fínn alltari hvarn þeira Conflantines sýkií vm .xx. ár hann varð bráðadví ʒ er gráfin í þeim fláð er fífan er källað anelko Eftir hann tok siki fvn hann er avrelis hét eckí var hann viþr móðr til fíkífl fítonnar hann let drepa fóðvr fðodosh fin er avrelis hét ʒ .i. fvnv hann ʒ eignadís fífan allt sikit ʒ red .xxx. ara Eftir hann tok siki vóstiporis

þeirívð fíxar miok vm hann daga í landit Eftir hann tok ríktí malgo hann lagði vndir fíg allt bret land ʒ íktordland ílind orkneyiar dánmork ʒ gotland ʒ vavn þerði lond oll hannm stakt glíld en karlmen þýdiz hann en eigi konoz ʒ þeir varð gýð hannem reðið Eftir hann tok siki karsíss hann var viþr móðr þ grinn við fína menn varð hann af þeir hvarki kíær gýði ne monnus þollv landzmenn hannum illa vfríð ʒ lei tæ fer travflíz í onnvr lond en er fíxar fregna þetta fámana þeir liði ʒ fára fyrfl til írlandz þar

reð fá konungf fyrí er gyðmendi hét ʒ tengv þañan mikin fleyk ʒ fórv fífan til bætlandz þar eydv allt landit norðan karfısı fínamar her í moti þeim ʒ varð þar hóðr bardagi ʒ eigi langr aði konungf fleyði í borg þa er círelfria heír fíxar fleytví vm borgina ʒ fá eigi fotta þa kemr til motví við irakonung íllárdes

fylftr fvn hann ʒ vinna þa borgina Geck þa carencvís vt med fínm monnus ʒ hío til becia handa verðí

fíriv carencvis ofriði boyn fírían hann þá til fíkaþ þi or lándi þ kom alldri aftir fíhann

Deir gyðmendi konungf ʒ fíxar logtví nv allt lond vndír fíg brendv þeir bróði ðborgir ʒ kírkvír ʒ eydvð kríftinní fleyða þa býskpat brett med alla helga doma ʒ fðrvm fío Geck fífan bætlandz og bætra konunga att til fíxordá bæo fíxar þar þo eigi konungf nafn ʒ ikiþi þa landit nafni þar var fíhan kallat

england var þaðabríkt konungf yfir lýðra ílta landz en aðalråði þa ella fíri norðhvmvlandí en kríft ni þar var þa víða eyði ʒ niðr fallím vm allt lándit kríftnáð england af avvítíno

I þenna tima var en helga gregorius papa í romarborg ʒ fyrði hann hvatt fram for vm kríftína í englandi hann fendi langar ein agiptan fínn lærifvein en helga avvítínuvm ʒ marga aða kennis menn hann predicaði þar trv ʒ íkírði þaðabríkt konungf ʒ var hann fíhan mikill fleykír móðr heílagrar kríftínni hann fetti fínn

erkríftið ʒ klavþi í borg þeir er báygoz hét þeim var fíkípt í vjí. fláði þar var abotí yfir þeim ein lári

svéin avvítífinn fá er dinot hét ʒ varví vndír hannum .ccc. mlnka þeir vnnv íorð fer til matar

þa var konungar yfir norðhvmv orig lándí aðalråða þa ella fem fír var ritad þillðv þeir þei ífr þríðv trv taka at þeir gøþv ífílan fírðr kríftínuvm monnus hvar fem þeir naðr þeim þvat þeir letv drepa ein dag .xj. c. mlnka þeir fíhan dyrkadir af kríftínuvm monnus ívá fem aðir gýði pin

ingar vattar Eftir þat tokv bæträ fer þan konung er cadvers hét ʒ fórv hann með her í

moti aðalråð konungi tokv þar hóðr bardagi þ fell þar eigi fíra lið en .x. þfnvndåd fíhan var

1 A. Jónsson, A(rtvr). 2 anlat artvr konungf ] Jónsson points out that this is the incorrect title. 3 bredda ] Jónsson, bredd(n)di. 4 A. Jónsson, A(rtvr). 7 lange ] Jónsson suggest this should be lang. 13 orkneyiar ] The initial o is corrected from an e in the original hand. 17 fórv ] An ey was originally written here but erased. Jónsson suggests the word originally intended was to be eydv. 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.\textsuperscript{315}

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.

\section*{The Death of King Arthur}

[179] After King Arthur's death, Constantinus, the son of Duke Cador, 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 want against those brothers, and a severe battle erupted there, and soon Saxons fell there and the brothers fled into Mary's Church in London.\textsuperscript{316} 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.\textsuperscript{317}

[180] 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,\textsuperscript{318} and had his two sons killed and ruled for thirty years.\textsuperscript{319} 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,\textsuperscript{320} 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 Cirenchester. The Saxons surrounded the city, but they did not attack. Then Isembardus, his nephew,\textsuperscript{321} 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.\textsuperscript{322} King Gudmund and the Saxons subdued the entire land under themselves, and they burned both cities and churches, and laid waste to Christianity.\textsuperscript{323} The bishops fled away along with all the holy relics southward across the sea.\textsuperscript{324}

[181] 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 Æðelfrith was over the southern part of the land but Æðelfrith alred and Ælla over Northumberland, but Christianity was mostly destroyed, and collapsed everywhere in the land.\textsuperscript{325}

\section*{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 Æðelberht, who subsequently was a great supporter of the Holy Church.\textsuperscript{326} 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. At this time Æðelfrith 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.

[189] After that the Britons received for themselves that king who was called Caduan, he went against King Æðelfrith. A severe battle erupted, and no fewer than ten thousand men fell there. After this
fett ger at cananus skildi hafa land fyri fvnna hvmrv vrðv heir spjan godir vinir lítv spjar let atal rðkunung eina konv lina en ein tok aðra i fðbaín En hon fori a fvnnd kadani konungf 7 tok hann hana ifitt valld 7 fettu hana haftr hia drottningv þer forv baðar fën at hvila 7 forðv 10 ije. fveina het fvn kadvans kaðall en aðalrðfr edvin 7 voxv heir baðir vpp með konungi heir vanvf mikit

Þenna tima andvða feði þeira forv þeir þa til finar forðveileflar tok kaðall noðhvmrv

land 7 er hann hafpi haft vz 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45

land 7 er hann hafpi haft vz 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45
an agreement was made so that Caduan should have the land south of the Humber. After this they became good friends. Shortly after, King Æðelfríd left one wife and took another in her place. But [Æðelfríd’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.327 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 Æðelfríd’s son 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.328 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.329 This was known throughout the realm.330 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 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.331 Then Edwin became angry and said that it would not matter whether he wished it or not.

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 Æðelfríd’s kingdom with point and edge,332 and killed everyone he approached. Caduallo assembles and 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,333 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 these men, along with his losses, hit him so hard that the 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.334 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.335 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
58r

þat var vlaeft þrian geck inn þ at hvílv hanti þ lagði iarfræðinum fyrir brioð hannum þ í gegnum hann þ let þar fla nda eftir þlafin þiðan geck hann til þflakara þar var hia þein þar til er yfir dósnaði þar fóð hann þiðan brott leyni lega þ kemð hann þ a fvnð kádal þ lagði hannum sitt erindi þ þotti hannum þat gott vera þiðan farr þrían heim i borg fína þ litv þiðan kemð þar þar fá mæðr er pendazk hit með fáxa hér kádal fendi hannum mikinn þer þ vard þar

hóð oþrasta þegi lóng að þendet sag þendetkinn þ dreipin merþr lvti lóði hanti Þetta þýr edvin

þ fæmmr lóði þarr til fjndar kádal þ hitaz þar a þéli þeim er hóloel het tokt þar mikill bardagi þ hard þfell i þfrvmen bardaga edvin þ þfn hanti vvíð þa konvnger er balld þet þa naleza allt þeira folk Sþiðan fóskádal vm allt england þ lagði vndur þig þ drap alla fáxa bórði bón þ konavr eftir þat fóð hann i þskotland þ dia þar eadan ðkota konvng þið. hanti fýlþr þýni af ovalladl konvng

Eftir hann tok siki en helgi ovalladl konvnger yfir norðnvírv landi hann var yfir þri siki .ix. ár. hann var friðgiarn þa fálndz av þði fáþkia menn kádal geck mið a hant þi letti ovalladl konvnger vndan til þskotland þar er mótþi þ england. þetta þýr kádal þ gerir þiðan her a hendz ovalladl konvnger þar þar fómsdr fírði pendan konvnger þ er þetta þýr ovalladl kon ðhat hann fetaia niðra a einum velli krofl vasf þarrhra

Lesi Þrisri hanti báð þangat fórka alla fína þenn þið þa þalla a kne þiða almátkan þyð a þeit vegi þír a sínnum sínnum þeir gerð þem hani báð Gengv þiðan i bardaga þ gerði þýð þat eftir þeira bórði þýr verðleika enþ helga ovalladl konvnger at þætari flyð En er kádal þra þetta várð hann reðið miðk þa fæmnr her þ þo mioð ovalladl konvngi þ tozk þar hard þarði hafþi ovalladl ecki lóði þíð En er ovalladl þa at engi viðflétaða vndmi verða fettiti þann niðer þ þa í gavþnir fer þ báð til þyð fýri ollvmen þeim er þar bórðvþ þiðan let þann þar lít þitt þ þo fóða til almátnir þyð þegna þenn a þenn pen dan þrói þat hann a þana flyði þa allt lób hanti þar er lít þa En eftir bardagan geck at konvngvmen en gamall mæðr af monnum kádal hann hafþi fengt mikit far a hendi hann fkríðaði þa flack niðri þenninið í błoð ovalladl konvnger þ er hann flóð vpp þar heil hondin margar iaræg nír þ þlovar gerði þyð fýri hann verðleika þo at þar far eigi her ritadar Eftir hann tok siki yfir nóor ðnvírv landi öðr bórðir ovalladl konvngzhann fettiti þar kádal þat hann hafþi þaði þíði fók þat í friði

Sþiðan fetti Kádal fríð vm allt þreitland þa fá a þkyldi af hondvmen þa fótm er fríð brýti innan landi. I moti þíð fóð þþv þþv þrían þáðv þiðan þeim þar várð bórði þiðan fulltreið moti þíð En þann þar vflir vela þ þika þ vîldi giarna hîalpa þeim en þôði eigi þ þat bróða fríð konvngj þ heglði vnr velar I þenna þima gerði kádal konvngþina eina Þto ra sveilz þ þar þar allir engla konvnger nema þíð eftir þvarðad þýrþið konvnger hvi þíð verð eigi þar En konvnger fagði hann þívkan vera er anóð hvart þagði p. ella hefr hanni fent þenn til faxlandz eftir herlîði þ hygg þeim fagði þaðon þiðann þann þer þeim fóð þann er þer fettvðnþv er yðð þat þar það at taka hann af lífi eða reka hann os þandi. konvngar talaði í þina fína men hvat hann skýldi til ráði taka þat at hann brýti eigi fílþr fílþr þf hær þar hann fetti þa fvarar makavð konvnger eigi mni þer gerl hvat land vart hefr þolða af þerli píoð eða hvern þrýnað ver eigyn henni at lagna hofv ver allðri þiðan i friði fettð þiðan fakar konv í þetta land konvng grf í vld pendrag at fára með þerfív malí fem hannun

\[4\text{ fendi hannum]} Jónsson, fendi (moti) hannum. 10\text{ var yfir]} Worn; illegible. 11\text{ a hanti]} a (riki) hanti. 11\text{ ðaletti]} Worn; the letters are still legible. 12\text{ a hent]} Worn; the letters are still legible. 12\text{ konvnger]} Jónsson, konvngi. 31\text{ p.]} Jónsson, p(endrag). 34\text{ 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. 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 Caduallio, 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.

Caduallio 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 Caduallio, 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, and nearly all of their people. After this, Caduallio 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.

The holy King Oswald took power over Northumberland. He was in charge of this kingdom for nine years. He was peaceful, reserved, and generous with poor men. Caduallio followed him and King Oswald retreated toward Scotland, where the two countries meet. Caduallio 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 Caduallio 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. 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. Then, all of his surviving men fled. After the battle, an old man goes to the king from Caduallio’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.

After him, Oswi, king Oswald’s brother took power over Northumberland. He made and agreement with Caduallio, so that he should keep his realm in peace. After this, Caduallio instituted a peace throughout Britain, in that one’s hands and feet would be cut off if they broke the peace of the land. 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 Caduallio 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.
58v

Ikaði pendrago fämnar lýði miklý þerr í konung. Þær vorði þennu vérð þa réð hanna við lína menn hvat til rafía ákildi taka en þeir fystu hanna at leita fætt við konung þeir semalvýn pendrago níttaði þær valmyk þeir ákild.

fer súk í konum dáða en er súk fyrir at engar féngu fættir þa mælti hanna til finna manna af þeir hanna yfjir

fýri betra er þeir neita fætt skýlv ver þangar fækt til fjárvelt feð hvat er heitum á almatt kan gýv off til flýtting

Ýmnu ver þan flýtvat fægan fýri veiga Gongvam frám roikt
gu þa fýnv ver enga rázv a of þeir at eða hvart fémt vpp at ver falliom a foðilefly væi ella fígirna þipan tozk hardi bardagi með þeim þegi langr að þeir pendan fælt

með hanna xxx. iarla en fývð þa hanna með loftvýr gývi fýri fægan fýri eftir pendrago konung dom

villfer ívna hanna þegar til bardaga við fývð þa með hanna iarlar .i. eðba þeg sam edboñt en káðal fýri báð þeim at bæriat þa fætti þa heilum fjattum þat fývð þipan með frói at fínu súk and

Ív konung verið atta vetur þat xal. tok hanna fott þat kaldal konung.

andaði þar var hanna i lýndum þar var þar kirkia got þag yfjir enm hvart helga mar

tino þar þar hvorn dag leifin fálu mérfru fýri hanna íl. Síðan var þar fleyptr af konar ein

herfr þar maðr a baki með ullum herklæðum af eiri þegi sem likaz konunginum þettu físan yfjir borg

arlóð í lýndum. þetta likneski var allt gylt með logi með þetta gott konung til formorar er hanna

artid xv. kalendi decebrif. Eftir hanna tok súk ívna hanna er beda preftr nefnir tedavallum hanna var bórði

vinfelfi þa fróðann. En er xij. vetr varu líðir fran andliti káðal þar tok konung vanmatt

mikin þegiðið þornlæft landir var þa váran mikit þívlltr þarnanadvið íva mikill

at eigi varð haiðt iarlat flývva þat brótt allir þeir er þei konum við konung fór þat brótt með no

ckv folk en er hans ikildis við england meðtli hanna með tara felling til illz hafa þaraðar varir

lífðagar af lýndum varum þa fostr fýjum þa attlyfis við gýv er ívna skýlv þar vormme

her þýr ganga er allðri vörð fyr þegi meðg vetr eigi dyliax við at þetta er gýði hefn hafa genug

yfjir rýmaerir allt súk eigi þegi margr aðrar þioðir þegi heðir her þo allðri flikit verið fimn en ívna fýri

avð svöð verð ver vnt at flývi eigi þrongga osf en heinðar þioðir þegi eigi annar vörður helldr

verð ver at flýva með gývða wila þar hann mætti þegið er vetr ver þerfr annavva fínsv osf til

þynda lafvnarn konung kom til arminna ríkið með fimnum mannum þar þar með álann konung xi. vetr hann var ívna fólomfni konungf follhra føðr hann þar hann þar meðan voldi hellzt a englandi

I þenna tímna kom til norðurhæð landi drottning þv er brótt heta með mikilt byggðið england

líð hon lagði vndir þegi allt norðurhæð landi. Ok er thevallaf konungf flýtv hvat annat fimn

titt var i englandi þar tok ævi at batna þar var komit nýtta súk yfir þáð hana álann konung

fa fer líði þ ðik þat hanna súkú hvat til englandk konung fóttat hannem þat þegi skýlvþann konungf

vitrð theovallo konungf gývð engill þá það hanna eigi fara að til englandz þegi þat vera möti

gývð villa þar það hanna at fara til rvmaborgar a þynd sergi papas þar tað fljótr af

hannem þ kvað hann þa mndv hittaz í heilagra manna tolv fagbi at allðsi þísan mndv hann kenf

21–22 nokvetr. 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 hanna álann konung | Worn; illegible. 33 biozva | Illegible. 34 vitrað | Jónsson, vitrað[iz]. 34 theovallo | Jónsson, theovallo. 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.” 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.

The Death of King Caduallo

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. This was done to honor the king. 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. 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.” 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.

England Builds Itself Up Again

In this time, a queen came with a great army to Northumberland who was named . She subdued all of Northumberland. 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

345This speech is unique to the saga. 346The reference to fire is unique to the saga. 347Unique to the saga. 348Chedualla, or Cadualarus, along with his followers, left Britain and sailed for Brittany. HRB, XI.524-544. [203]. 349The V7, [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 sǫgur. 350Section [204] is a bit expanded in the V7, 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 sǫgur. 351An 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.
menn riki hafa yfir englandi nema þeir nyt haf fór bleika við. En konungr kendiz við at þa gekk eftir þa merlinus lamanze ei fva forri viði konungur meira bót gyði en fyri fina var þa röfin þerli íkipabnaðr jfv ætlan er aði var ger Bio þa konungur férð fina til romf þ kom a fsnd fergi papa þ jok hann feginnamlega við hannum þ flyrkti hann i moðum fogenm

móðum þ dyrlégvm dornvm i finni trv jfv fegiz at hann gaf þar vpp fitt konungfnað þ allt riki þ fíþan vigði fergi papa hann til hyskarf hann lífði fíþan eigi lengr en atta daga þ andadiz í romaborg til eliff fagnaðar .xij. kalendas mað þa var líðit frá hvord varf herri los chrísti dc. ara þ .lxx. .i.x. ar Sva er fagt at fíþan var ecki breta konunga riki yfir englandi vtan af þeira fialtra ætt fyrr norðvirmv landi reð fæborg drottning eitt á Avll þerli tóðandi er hv hafa fógð verðð frá bretlanda byggj þeira konunga við ikiptvm er þar varv yfir erv ritvð eftir þeir bok er híftoría bitorum heitir þ er hon ger af fyrri fogn alexandr levdvna hyskarf þ valltara erklárþep diakn or axna frtv ð gilla enf froða kaðvalla var konungr xxx. því. ar. hann lagði fyrlfr romá skatt a allt england a hveriv arí a giallda Eftir hann var adalrad þiix. ar þa var fimbr drottningeitt ar þa kinívlfr konungr .viiij.


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.

Queen ruled over Northumberland for one year.

All these events, which have been accounted here, about Britain’s settlement, and regarding the deeds of those kings 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.

Caduallo was king for thirty-seven years. He marked himself as the first to pay Roman tribute to all of England every year. After him was Æðelred for thirteen years. Then was Queen Simbur for one year, then Cynewulf 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 Æðelhald for five years, then Æðelbert, Æðelred 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 Hálkon, the son of King Harald Fairhair.

352 A similar statement is made at HRB, XL558-559 [204].
353 Unique to the saga. See note 290.
354 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 enf fraða is referring. The name may refer to Waleran, Gildas, or a misreading of Latin Gualliis. The VV contains none of this dedicatory material.
355 The saga does not include Geoffrey’s closing, HRB, XL587-607 [207],[208].
356 That is, as supposed by the saga writer, he was the first of the Welsh kings to owe tribute to the English.
357 The source for this figure is unknown. See note 290.
358 Or Coelwulf?
359 The saga writer repeats the name Æðelwulf (Eidulf), their father in this position.