

Note: This is the accepted version of the paper, not the published version. It incorporates corrections but may include formatting errors. If you wish to quote from this article (especially its edited Norse text-extracts), to ensure complete accuracy I would be grateful if you could use the published article. If you cannot access the published text, please contact me, the author (ralph.j.oconnor[-at-]gmail.com).

Published in *Opuscula* 20 (2022), 1–99. This volume of the journal *Opuscula* is (simultaneously) vol. 55 of the book series *Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana*, published in Copenhagen by Museum Tusulanum.

Reconstructing Recension 2 of *Mágus saga jarls*, ca. 1400. AM 590 a 4to, AM 152 fol. and the earliest fragments

Ralph O'Connor

MÁGUS SAGA JARLS (The Saga of Jarl Mágus) was probably the most popular Icelandic saga of all time. In whole or in part, it survives in more copies than any other saga: I know of at least 89 manuscripts,¹ of which I have seen 77. To put this figure in perspective, consider that Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* – the most frequently copied narrative text in Middle English, produced in a country with a post-Plague population more than fifty times as large as

Much of the research underpinning this article was supported by a Research Fellowship from the Leverhulme Trust (2015–2017). I thank the Trust for their generous support. I also thank the staff of the Arnamagnæan Institute, Copenhagen, the Árni Magnússon Institute, Reykjavík, the National Library of Iceland, the Royal Libraries of Copenhagen and Stockholm, the British Library, the Royal Archives in Stockholm and the National Library of Scotland for making their resources available to me. I am grateful to Paul Bibire for comments on an earlier draft; Alaric Hall for bibliographic advice; Ragnheiður Mósesdóttir and Tarrin Wills at the University of Copenhagen for help with digital resources; Patrik Granholm and Karin Sterky at the Royal Swedish Library, Stockholm, and Sigurgeir Steingrímsson at the Árni Magnússon Institute, Reykjavík, for providing me with manuscript scans; and to the anonymous referee and staff of *Opuscula* for valuable feedback and assistance. I am especially grateful to Beeke Stegmann for discussing the manuscripts of *Mágus saga* with me, providing detailed comments on a previous draft, and generously sharing her codicological expertise, and to Matthew Driscoll for palaeographical advice. All errors and overstatements are my responsibility.

¹ This number includes two eighteenth-century manuscripts of partial Swedish translations. The fullest list published (76 manuscripts, including the Swedish translations) is in Kalinke and Mitchell 1985: 77–79, reproduced by Alaric Hall at “Mágus saga jarls”, *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, 14 May 2018, 17:04 UTC, <en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mágus_saga_jarls&oldid=841217553> (accessed 14 June 2019, to which the link refers).

Iceland's – survives in 84 manuscripts.² Eight of these 89 copies of *Mágus saga* were written before 1600. It is usually grouped among the original rather than translated *riddarasögur*, although it shares a significant part of its narrative core with a now-lost version of the *chanson de geste* known as *Renaud de Montauban* or *Les quatre fils Aymon*. *Mágus saga* is conventionally divided into two very different recensions, usually known as the shorter (or older) and the longer (or younger). I refer to them here as Recensions 1 and 2.

By “recension” I mean a rendering of the saga which is significantly different from another in terms of structure, content and/or style, as opposed to a “text”, by which I mean a specific manuscript's presentation of the saga. The words “version” and “redaction” are used in opposite ways by different scholars to denote either category, so I hope that my usage (adopted from Celtic studies) helps to avoid at least some confusion. The distinction is far from watertight, as not everyone will agree on the borderline between significant and insignificant differences (Kalinke 1982: 48–51). It reflects the commonsense notion of a difference between a copy (exact or not) and a new literary work – a distinction which, as will become clear, is tested to its limits by *Mágus saga*.

The second recension is the subject of the present article. It is generally thought to have been composed in the second half of the fourteenth century. To date, literary and historical scholarship on this recension has tended to approach it as a fourteenth-century literary work. It is best known from the sixteenth-century manuscript Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, AM 152 fol. (1500–1525), where its oldest physically surviving complete text is found. I designate this text 152 in what follows. Building on and departing from the invaluable text-critical research of the late J. Brian Dodsworth in his unpublished edition (Dodsworth 1963),³ I will argue that 152 is not the best text through which to analyse this recension as a fourteenth-century work. 152

² For Iceland's population see Tomasson 1977. To do Chaucer justice, pre-Reformation manuscripts of his *Canterbury Tales* (mostly now fragmentary) far outnumber those of *Mágus saga*. Icelandic figures are skewed by its long post-mediaeval manuscript tradition.

³ This can be consulted at Cambridge University Library. At the time when I first drafted this study (2019), a complete photocopy was available for purchase from the library's Digital Content Unit. Beeke Stegmann at the Árni Magnússon Institute, Reykjavík, is working towards publishing an edition of *Mágus saga jarls*, building on Dodsworth's groundwork.

is, of course, fascinating for what it reveals about the saga's later transmission and reception: it was when researching the saga's reception history, along the lines of the "New Philology", that I conducted the present text-critical study to gain a clearer sense of what the compiler(s) of 152 were working with, and what their purposes were when they copied *Mágus saga*. This study therefore takes a resolutely "Old Philological" approach to the saga, exploring its textual history to facilitate ongoing "New Philological" research into one of its most important manuscripts, as well as (I hope) aiding studies of the saga as a fourteenth-century literary work.

In my view there are two main alternatives to 152 as a window onto the fourteenth-century saga from which 152 ultimately descends. Both are seventeenth-century paper copies and are best used in conjunction with each other. One is the copy of *Mágus saga* in the now-lost manuscript **Ormsbók* (associated with Ormr Snorrason *lögmaðr*, written ca. 1350–1400) preserved in Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Holm papp 58 fol., and written in 1690 by Jón Vigfússon for the Antikvitetskollegiet in Stockholm (referred to here as S58). Its credentials as a copy of the **Ormsbók* text will be discussed in a companion-piece to the present article. It is not an exact copy, but it contains valuable information about the saga's early textual history. The other is a copy of *Mágus saga* in Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, AM 590 a 4to, written by an unknown scribe in Iceland between 1600 and 1670 (referred to here as 590a). I will argue that this text is a close copy, or very near descendant, of a parchment-manuscript written around 1400. That manuscript is not the archetype of the second recension (if there ever was a single archetype), but for now it is as close as we are likely to get.

1.1. The textual history of *Mágus saga*

Before proceeding with my text-historical discussion of 590a, it is important to correct some widespread misconceptions about the textual history of *Mágus saga* which have become standard doctrine in literary scholarship and have contributed to the unquestioned primacy of 152 as "best text". In so doing I will also supplement Dodsworth's gazetteer of manuscripts containing *Mágus saga*.

The situation regarding the mediaeval recensions of *Mágus saga* is usually assumed to be simple. There are two recensions. The first, its “shorter” or “older” recension, was composed in the late thirteenth century in the laconic style of the older family sagas. It survives in three mediaeval manuscripts, one mediaeval fragment and numerous post-mediaeval manuscripts, and was edited in 1877 by Gustaf Cederschiöld (see Cederschiöld 1884).⁴ In the mid- or late fourteenth century it was amplified and reworked in a more rhetorically elaborate style, with further generic blending, to produce the “longer” or “younger” recension, surviving in two mediaeval manuscripts, two mediaeval fragments and many post-mediaeval manuscripts.⁵ The principal means by which the “shorter” recension was amplified into the “longer” recension is usually assumed to be the addition of several loosely connected sequels (often labelled *þættir*), centring on the descendants of Mágus’s ally King Heinrekr of England: Lais Heinreksson, Vilhjálmr Laisson, Lais Vilhjálmsson (known as Geirarðr) and Vilhjálmr Geirarðsson, with Hrólfur skuggafífl (coal-biter grandson of the first Lais) occupying his own *þáttir* in some versions. As Marianne E. Kalinke has put it (1982: 47), “The significant clue for determining whether a manuscript [...] contains the older or younger version is mention of the *þættir*”.⁶

But the reality is much more complicated. The addition of these sequel-episodes may have taken place *before* the creation of the second recension as we know it. They are present (in divergent forms, and grafted in different ways onto the main saga) immediately following *Mágus saga* in two late fifteenth-century texts of the *first* recension, 533 and 556b. These two texts are generally

⁴The manuscripts are described below (section 2). In what follows, “580” refers to AM 580 4to, “533” to AM 533 4to, and “556b” to AM 556 b 4to.

⁵The manuscripts are introduced below (section 2). On the dating, see Finnur Jónsson 1894–1902: iii, 106–07 (dates the first recension to around 1300, the second to 1350–1400); Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1964: ccii–cciii (dates the second recension to “the middle of the fourteenth century”); Glauser 1993: 402–03 (“around 1300 and 1350, respectively”); Kalinke 2017: 63–64 (“toward the end of the thirteenth century” and “in the fourteenth century”); Clunies Ross 2017: ii, 598 (ca. 1300 and ca. 1350). Dodsworth (1963) does not suggest dates of composition for either recension. Richard Cole’s statement (2015: 222) that the shorter version is an “abbreviation” of an earlier, longer version is based on a misreading of Glauser 1993.

⁶Similar views are implicit in most older scholarship not directly concerned with the saga’s transmission, and explicit in Glauser 1983: 269 and 273; Kalinke 2017: 76 and 79.

viewed as the second and third most important witnesses of the first recension.⁷ In other words, the so-called shorter recension itself exists in both an older, shorter version (as preserved in 580 and seen in modern editions based on Cederschiöld's) and a younger version almost twice as long. Following the above definition of a recension, this major structural difference warrants treating 580 as a different recension from 533 and 556b. However, with some localised insertions and omissions, the text of the first part of the saga follows the same general arrangement in 580, 533 and 556b in both style and structure. To reflect these levels of similarity and difference I propose naming the shorter version Recension 1a, and the longer version 1b.

Because 1b is already much longer than 1a, we should stop referring to the text represented by 152 as “the longer (or younger) recension”. Calling it Recension 2 sidesteps this problem. That said, mediaeval texts (or direct copies thereof) of Recension 2 also show significant structural variation between themselves, for example regarding whether or not the opening episode of the saga is included, and whether the sequel-*þættir* are dovetailed with the main saga or follow it after a clear break.⁸ Furthermore, one of the points I will argue below is that 152 is a considerably condensed rendering of the (or a) fourteenth-century Recension 2.

⁷These additional narratives are not consistently referred to as *þættir* in the manuscripts, and are variously divided up. S58 groups them into two distinct “sagas”, *Lais saga* (including what scholars usually call *Lais þáttir*, *Hrólf's þáttir skuggafls* and *Vilhjálm's þáttir Laissonar*) and *Sagann af Geirarð jarli* (also including *Vilhjálm's þáttir Geirarðssonar*). In post-mediaeval manuscripts they were occasionally transmitted individually, without *Mágus saga*. At least one lost mediaeval manuscript (listed in a 1461 inventory of the Möðruvallaklaustur library) seems to have included *Lais saga* and *Geirarð's saga* as independent sagas (Dodsworth 1963: lxxiv–lxxv). The redactor of the 533 text of Recension 1 (introduced below) treated the first and second halves of the saga as separate sagas. 533's *Mágus saga* proper concludes “lýkur hier savgv Magus iarls”. A red-inked rubric in the same hand then introduces “Lais þattur” (f. 28r). The final sequel is introduced as “Vilhjálm's þattur” (f. 44v), but concludes “nv endizt hier þessi saga” (here ends this saga, f. 45v), suggesting that the sequel-episodes were here envisaged as one sequel-saga distinct from *Mágus saga*. The contents-list added by a later (possibly mediaeval) hand on ff. 39v–40r, just where *Geirarð's þáttir* begins with a very large initial capital, refers to the two concluding episodes as “Geirardz saga” and “Wihjálm's þattur” (f. 39v).

⁸The opening episode was omitted from 534 (see below on this text). 152 and 590a dovetail the first sequel-*þáttir*, *Lais þáttir*, with the main body of the main saga by inserting the first part several chapters before the end of *Mágus saga* proper. *Lais þáttir* remains undivided in 534 and

Depending on how significant these differences are felt to be in structural or stylistic terms, there may be a case for dividing Recension 2 into Recensions 2a, 2b and so on. But the differences between the “Recension 1 group” and the “Recension 2 group” are, in my view, more significant and wide-ranging than any of the differences between individual texts of the “Recension 2 group”. The latter, taken together, display consistent and large-scale amplification at the level of both style and plot, resulting from the reworking of a text of Recension 1 (perhaps 1b) at some point in the fourteenth century.⁹ The thorough and deliberate recomposition which Kalinke has shown in the relatively condensed 152 text (Kalinke 1982: 46–48; Kalinke 2017: 66–75) is visible in all other mediaeval texts assigned to the second recension, even when they differ from each other on local structural features and degrees of amplification.

The saga’s post-mediaeval textual history is even more complicated. Before discussing it, I will supplement Dodsworth’s descriptions of the sixty post-mediaeval texts of *Mágus saga* known to him in 1963 (Dodsworth 1963: vii–lxxii) by listing the others which have since come to light, some of which Dodsworth himself subsequently consulted.¹⁰ These include two manuscript translations made by Scandinavian humanists. Several of these additional texts are included in the list of *Mágus saga* manuscripts in Kalinke and P. M. Mitchell’s *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Romances* (1985: 77–79). However, their list gives only shelfmarks and datings. I include the ones which they add to Dodsworth’s survey and update their shelfmarks and datings. I have consulted nine of these myself. All were written in Iceland unless otherwise specified. They are, in approximate chronological order:

- Copenhagen, the Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 590 b–c 4to (1600–1670), f. 27r: an inserted slip containing what looks like a rough draft of the opening of Recension 2 of *Mágus saga*, with dashes indicating gaps (an

S58, and in Recension 1a (although one text of Recension 1a introduces *Lais* several chapters earlier). On these differences see Dodsworth 1963: xvi, xx and cii, and pp. 91–94 of this article.

⁹ Dodsworth argued (1963: ci–cii) that the version of 1b used for this purpose was an antecedent of 556b specifically.

¹⁰ See the short note from Dodsworth in the box in Reykjavík’s Árni Magnússon Institute containing the manuscript SÁM 133, addressed to its previous owner Jón Marinó Samsonarson.

illegible exemplar?), the whole subsequently crossed out. This slip, an octavo leaf, is bound into the text of *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar* which follows *Mágus saga* in AM 590 a 4to. It comes just after another octavo leaf in the same hand which supplies a lacuna in *Hrólfs saga* (f. 26). The text of the opening is closely related, but not identical, to the versions in 590a, 152 and S58. It has previously been mistaken for an insertion filling a lacuna in *Hrólfs saga*, a misunderstanding which may have led to its being bound in with that saga.¹¹

- Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Holm papp 98 fol. (1700–1750): rough draft of a Swedish translation of the prologue (“Företal”) to *Mágus saga*, in the hand of Nils Hufwedsson Dal (1690–1740), with emendations possibly in Dal’s hand, ff. 403r–405r. The manuscript, made in Sweden, is a collection of texts and Swedish translations of Icelandic sagas and treatises in the hands of Dal and the Icelandic scholar Þorvaldur (Grímsson) Brockmann.
- Stockholm, Swedish National Archives, Säfstaholmssamlingen i Papp. 4 (1700–1758): Swedish translation of the prologue (“Företal”) to *Mágus saga*, probably in the hand of Carl Hagelberg (1699–1758),¹² with emendations in the same hand, ff. 104r–107r, intercalated into a Swedish translation of *Vápnfirðinga saga*. The manuscript, made in Sweden, is a collection of Swedish translations of Icelandic sagas and other prose works in the hands of Hagelberg and (for the most part) the manuscript’s then owner, Swedish antiquary and statesman Gustaf Bonde (1682–1764).
- Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, Lbs 3869 4to (1850–1900): acephalous text of *Mágus saga* without the sequel-episodes, except for parts of *Lais þáttr* woven into the main saga, ff. 25r–106v. The manuscript is a composite miscellany of sagas, *rímur* and other Icelandic texts, in several unknown hands, ca. 1800–1900.

¹¹ For this mistake see “Fylgigögn” at <handrit.is/manuscript/view/en/AM04-0590-b-c> (last accessed 22 September 2022).

¹²Hagelberg’s hand is identified in Jón Marinó Samsonarson 1969: 203–04.

- Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, Lbs 3934 8vo (1800–1900): complete text of *Mágus saga*, including the sequel-episodes, in 100 chapters. This is the sole text in the manuscript, written in two unknown hands.
- Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, Lbs 4412 4to (ca. 1850): complete text of *Mágus saga*, including the sequel-episodes, in 63 chapters, in the hand of Jón Halldórsson í Lækjarkóti (1815–1873), ff. 21v–56r.¹³ The manuscript is a miscellany of sagas and poetry in the hands of Jón and his father Halldór Guðmundsson í Suðurríki.
- Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, SÁM 133 (1851–1857): complete text of *Mágus saga*, including the sequel-episodes, in 100 chapters, in the hand of Jóhannes Jónsson á Smyrlahóli (dated 1855), pp. 1–175. The manuscript is a large saga-collection in the same hand. It was only recently assigned its current shelfmark; two boxes of photographs of its contents in the Arnamagnæan Institute, Copenhagen, are labelled with the shelfmark “Jón Samsonarson priv. samling”. Kalinke and Mitchell list it as “Uncatalogued MS”.
- Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, Lbs 4718 4to (ca. 1875): complete text of *Mágus saga*, including the sequel-episodes, in 79 chapters, in the hand of Magnús Jónsson í Tjaldanesi, pp. 163–398. The manuscript is a collection of eight sagas in the same hand, dated ca. 1875 by Matthew Driscoll (2021: 222).
- Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, Lbs 4370 8vo (1875–1899): acephalous text of *Mágus saga*, including the sequel-episodes, in 52 chapters (dated 1884), ff. 177r–235v. The manuscript is a composite miscellany of *rímur* and sagas in two main (unknown) hands.

¹³ For the date, and on the scribe, see Driscoll 1997: 52.

In addition, there exist at least four further texts or extracts which I have not seen (there may well be others):¹⁴

- The miscellany Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Holm papp 25 8vo, mostly in the hand of Jón Rugman and dated to ca. 1665, containing three verses spoken by Mágus, in Rugman's hand (f. 83v).¹⁵
- The mid-eighteenth-century miscellany Oxford, Bodleian, MS Boreal 119, containing extracts from many Icelandic texts including *Mágus saga* (Ólafur Halldórsson n. d.: part 1 (Bodleian)).
- A text of *Mágus saga* in a manuscript formerly belonging to Böðvar Kvaran, labelled Tjaldanes, MS 1.2.b., written in 1911 and entitled *Fornmannasögur Norðurlanda*. From the combination of date, location and manuscript-title it is clear that this manuscript was written by the farmer Magnús Jónsson í Tjaldanesi (confirmed in Driscoll 2021: 219). The manuscript has recently been acquired by the National Library of Iceland, where it has been given the shelfmark Lbs 5767 4to.
- A scholarly copy of text 580 of *Mágus saga* (Recension 1a), sole text in the nineteenth-century manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. qu. 906, apparently owned by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (Degering 1925–1932: ii, 154).¹⁶

The sheer variety of arrangement seen in the post-mediaeval texts of all or part of *Mágus saga* so far identified plays havoc with any notion (reflected in

¹⁴ Since this article went to press, I have learned of eight more post-1775 manuscript-texts of *Mágus saga*. Constraints of space preclude proper descriptions here. The shelfmarks are: Copenhagen, the Arnamagnæan Institute, Acc. 62; Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, ÍB 362 8vo, Lbs 5747 4to, Lbs 4776 8vo, Lbs 4902 8vo, Lbs 4978 8vo and Lbs 5134 8vo; Gimli, Manitoba, New Iceland Heritage Museum 020012.3301 (Parsons 2019: 28).

¹⁵ This manuscript was used in Clunies Ross's 2017 edition of the verses. It is not listed in published catalogues of Stockholm's Norse-Icelandic manuscripts, but is discussed in Stefán Karlsson 1970: 90–94. This manuscript was not listed by Kalinke and Mitchell, presumably because it contains so little of the saga.

¹⁶ If the manuscript was owned by the Grimms as Degering's brief notice seems to suggest, it must have been written before Jacob Grimm died in 1863.

many manuscript-catalogues) of a simple choice between shorter and longer recensions, and even with my proposed identification of Recensions 1a, 1b and 2. The problem is that many of the surviving post-mediaeval copies do not belong straightforwardly to any of these three recensions. Many of them are not copies at all in the ordinary sense of that word, but creatively combine different parts of pre-existing recensions, in some cases producing new recensions in their own right (Dodsworth 1963: xxx–lxxvii and cii–cix). In one early example, surviving in many manuscripts from the seventeenth century onwards and named “L” in this study, a divergent text of Recension 2’s opening *þáttr* is joined onto all or part of Recension 1b, sometimes with additional passages.¹⁷ In another widespread recombination (here labelled “K”), also extant from the seventeenth century onwards, a text of the sequel-episodes belonging to the Recension 2 group is joined onto a slightly expanded text of Recension 1a.¹⁸ Some later texts present a greatly amplified reworking of Recension 2 including new content as well as substantial stylistic embellishment (Dodsworth 1963: liii–lvi).¹⁹ Other recombinations are more eccentric. In the eighteenth-century manuscript Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, ÍB 106 4to, a text of *Mágus saga* close to 1a is followed by two of 1b’s sequel-episodes, then by the verse narrative *Geiralds rímur* (instead of the usual *Geirarðs þáttr*), then by the final sequel-episode in a form closely resembling the end of Recension 2, ending with a largely recomposed text of Recension 2’s epilogue.²⁰

ÍB 106 4to is an extreme example. But in terms of both content and structure, in its mediaeval and post-mediaeval forms *Mágus saga* is one of the most textually unstable of all the sagas outwith the notoriously fluid *konungasögur*.

¹⁷ Divergent texts of this recension, of varying lengths, survive in Copenhagen, the Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 592 a 4to; Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Holm papp 5 4to; Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, GKS 1002 fol.; Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, Thott 978 fol; and some later texts. See Dodsworth 1963: cviii.

¹⁸ The manuscript to be used below, the oldest extant to preserve this recension, is Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Holm papp 17 4to. On this group see Dodsworth 1963: civ–cv.

¹⁹ The earliest extant text of this recension is Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, Lbs 514 4to.

²⁰ ÍB 106 4to, ff. 55r–94r. *Geiralds rímur* ends on f. 91v by signalling that the *rímur* stand in for the prose narrative: “Her endast Rýmur af Geiralls þætte enn kiemur aptur til sögunnar” (here end the *rímur* of *Geiralds þáttr*, and now back to the saga).

This means that we cannot assume that any extant text necessarily reflects the structure or style of an earlier exemplar unless we have evidence that it does.

1.2. Mediaeval witnesses to Recension 2

Recension 2 of *Mágus saga* survives in four mediaeval texts, all written in Iceland:²¹

- Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, AM 567 xvii β and γ 4to (Dodsworth's texts I and H), referred to here as β and γ: two fragments amounting to four leaves in plain single-column layout, written ca. 1400. Fragment γ (one leaf only) contains part of the saga's opening *þáttr*. Fragment β contains the end of the *Víðförull* episode and the beginning of the *Hálfliti-maðr* episode (ff. 1r–2v) and part of the battle with Príamus in the sequel-tale *Geirarðs þáttr* (f. 3r–v). The leaf of β containing f. 1r–v has been cut in half vertically so that only the inner half remains, removing half of each line. A few lines have been cut away from the bottom of ff. 1–2 of β. The upper part of f. 3 of β has been cut away, resulting in a considerable lacuna within this passage too. As Dodsworth observed, the two fragments are in the same hand, which varies considerably (within both fragments) both in the size of its letters and in the degree of abbreviation used. β and γ
- Copenhagen, the Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 534 4to (Dodsworth's text E), referred to here as 534: a text containing about three quarters of the saga, but with six substantial lacunae, and beginning without the saga's usual introductory *þáttr*. The manuscript contains only this saga, in two-column layout and with occasional ornamentation but rather hastily written, ca. 1400–1500. 534
- Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, AM 152 fol., ff. 159v–196r (Dodsworth's text F), referred to here as 152: a complete text in two 152

²¹ For more details about these four texts of *Mágus saga*, see Dodsworth 1963: xviii–xxiv and xxvi–xxix. However, for manuscript datings, unless otherwise noted, I follow Degnbol et al. 1989, which itself draws on subsequent personal communications from Dodsworth.

columns with wide margins and very neat lettering, written ca. 1500–1525, probably in northwest or northern Iceland, in a large and handsomely produced saga-manuscript closely associated with the Skarðverjar family.²² The text begins with an elaborately ornamented capital, and most subsequent chapters begin with space for ornamented capitals that were never executed.

Since AM 152 fol. is the only mediaeval manuscript containing a complete text of the second recension of *Mágus saga*, it is not surprising that 152 has been given unquestioned priority in scholarly discussions of this work. It has been widely disseminated in Bjarni Vilhjálmsson's much-reprinted *Riddarasögur* series, from which almost all recent scholars cite it (Bjarni Vilhjálmsson 1953). That edition in turn was based, not on 152 directly, but on a popular (but inaccurate) edition of 152 produced by Gunnlaugur Þórðarson in 1858.²³ Because of its historical priority, Gunnlaugur's edition is the edition of reference for Recension 2 of *Mágus saga* in the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*.

Gunnlaugur Þórðarson does not appear to have known any other parchment-manuscripts containing Recension 2, so 152 was a natural choice for his “best text” (Gunnlaugur Þórðarson 1858: [iii]–[iv]). AM 152 fol. enjoyed considerable prestige in scholarly circles in Iceland and Copenhagen, having been owned by some of Iceland's leading families and copied by its most eminent scholars. By 1550 it had passed from the Skarðverjar to the family of Ari Jónsson *lögmaðr* (son of the last Catholic bishop of Hólar, who had been executed that year). It left that family around 1700 when Vigfús Guðbrandsson of Skálholt gave it

²²On AM 152 fol., see Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir 2014: 87–128, with further references. I am most grateful to Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir for sharing her findings about AM 152 fol. with me at an early stage of the present project.

²³This edition's textual inaccuracies, shared by and added to in Bjarni Vilhjálmsson's edition, concern content as well as wording: for example, the realm of Smálönd, listed among the realms ruled by Vilhjálmr at the very end of the saga, is omitted from both editions (pp. 175 and 426). On published editions before 1963, see Dodsworth 1963: cx–cxi. The three stanzas of *fornyrðislag* verse in Recension 2 have been separately edited, most recently and authoritatively by Clunies Ross (2017). As she points out (*ibid.*: 597), *Mágus saga* is unique among *riddarasögur* in including verses of this kind, which are usually associated with *fornaldarsögur*.

to Árni Magnússon.²⁴ The catalogue in which Árni mentioned this acquisition predates 1727, so the manuscript left Iceland at some point between 1685, when he made his earliest collecting forays, and 1727 (Kålund 1888–1894: i, 106 and 634). The manuscript was still in Iceland when Eyjólfur Björnsson (1666–1746) copied its text of *Mágus saga* for Árni Magnússon: this copy (Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, AM 535 4to) was dated to around 1700 by Kristian Kålund (1888–1894: i, 681).²⁵ AM 152 fol. then remained in Copenhagen until it was returned to Iceland in the late twentieth century, and while in Copenhagen it spawned a number of scholarly copies. But before Árni Magnússon acquired it, AM 152 fol. had already served as an exemplar for copies of sagas made in Iceland. Several of its texts, apparently including that of *Mágus saga*, were copied around 1680 into the equally ambitious saga-collection *Vigrarbók* (Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, ÍBR 5–6 fol.) by the wealthy farmer and antiquary Magnús Jónsson of Vigur in northwest Iceland. This manuscript, and others owned by Magnús, played a significant role in the post-mediaeval transmission of sagas generally, as well as serving as exemplars for nineteenth-century popular saga-editions.²⁶

The two essential reference-points for any discussion of this saga's textual history are Cederschiöld's introduction to his edition of Recension 1 in *Fornsögur Suðrlanda*, including detailed discussions of both recensions (Cederschiöld 1884: lxxx–cxxxviii), and, more comprehensively, Dodsworth's unpublished 1963 edition of Recensions 1 and 2, which corrects Cederschiöld on several points and presents provisional stemmata for both recensions. Both

²⁴ On the manuscript's owners in this period, see Kålund 1888–1894: i, 106; Margrét Eggertsdóttir 2010: 86–87; Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir 2014: 95. I thank Margrét Eggertsdóttir for sending me a copy of her article.

²⁵ On Eyjólfur Björnsson's copying activities and his communication with Árni Magnússon, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2001: 97–108.

²⁶ Wilhelm Ranisch (1900: viii) argued that AM 152 fol. was an exemplar or ancestor of one of the other sagas in *Vigrarbók*. On the importance of Magnús Jónsson's manuscripts in post-Reformation Icelandic scribal networks, see Hufnagel 2016: 404, Driscoll 2013: 53–54, and the website of Sheryl McDonald Werronen's project at the University of Copenhagen, "Icelandic Scribes: Scribal Networks in 17th-Century Iceland: The Patronage of Magnús Jónsson í Vigur", <icelandicscribesproject.com/about/> (last accessed 27 September 2022). An example of a later printed text based on *Vigrarbók* is Einar Þórðarson 1883.

scholars privileged 152 as chief witness to Recension 2, although they both pointed out some of 152's divergences from earlier extant texts preserving parts of this recension, namely β , γ and 534. In Dodsworth's edition, these are presented as variants to 152 in endnotes and, for one passage in 534, a short appendix.

Dodsworth's main findings about the textual history of Recension 2 may be summarised as follows:

- The two fragments β and γ are in the same hand, and are likely to belong to the same original manuscript (although this is not certain because of the poor state of preservation of β) (Dodsworth 1963: xxviii, c);
- 534 and 152 are independent of each other (Dodsworth 1963: xciii–cxv);
- β and γ are closer in their wording to Recension 1 than are either 534 or 152, and (even without considerations of dating) cannot derive from 534 or 152 (Dodsworth 1963: xcv–xcix);²⁷
- the manuscript to which β and γ probably belonged is likely to be the ancestor of both 534 and 152, probably their direct exemplar (Dodsworth 1963: c–ci).

Dodsworth's arguments are based on an analysis of almost all of the textual divergences between 152, 534 and the fragments. They are robust, and in this article I will challenge only the suggestion that 534 descends from the manuscript that once included β and γ . As a starting-point, if we begin with Dodsworth's stemma for Recension 2's mediaeval witnesses, β and γ emerge as both chronologically and text-historically closest to the original composition of Recension 2. Since they contain only four leaves between them, they hardly form the ideal basis for a critical edition of such a long text. The choice then falls on 534 and 152. 534, the older of the two, has substantial lacunae, as well as the structural peculiarity of beginning without the opening *þáttir*, which is

²⁷ While 534 and 152 agree on many readings, nowhere do they share a reading with Recension 1 against β or γ , whereas Recension 1 shares several readings with 534 and either β or γ against 152, with 152 and either β or γ against 534, or with β or γ against 534 and 152.

present in γ , 152 and Recensions 1a and 1b, and which was present in 534's own exemplar as indicated by a cross-reference to it in 534 (Dodsworth 1963: xcii). 152's completeness makes it a natural choice as proxy for a fourteenth-century Recension 2.

The problem with using 152 in this way is that, in it, the saga's wording has been significantly altered throughout. The same is true of 534, beyond its omission of the opening tale. Dodsworth's variant apparatus confirms this sense of textual distance from any putative archetype, especially in those places where β and γ preserve text. This makes 152 and 534 fascinating codicological artefacts in their own right, valuable in studies of sagas' transmission and reception, but unreliable witnesses to a text composed several decades earlier, perhaps (certainly for 152) more than a century earlier. Dodsworth (1963: xcvi) acknowledged the possibility that 152 shortened its exemplar in four passages found in much longer form in fragment γ . My subsequent investigations have found that 152 contains numerous innovations of this kind and presents a consistently abbreviated version of Recension 2. I will present some of this evidence below.²⁸

If, therefore, one were able to find a post-mediaeval text of the saga which descends from text β - γ (in its original state) independently of both 534 and 152, and whose readings stay closer to β and γ than do those of 534 or 152, then that text would have a claim to being a more reliable window onto the fourteenth-century saga than either 534 or 152, and a firmer basis than these for literary-critical analysis of Recension 2 as a fourteenth-century work. I believe that 590a is such a text. I will argue that it is a close descendant, probably a copy, of the text which now survives only as fragments β and γ , and that its differences from that lost fourteenth-century text are minimal by comparison with the innovations seen in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century versions surviving in 152 and 534.

²⁸I will present further evidence of this in a companion-article about **Ormsbók*, which focuses on the saga's epilogue.

2. Parallel-text edition of passages from β , γ , 590a and 152

What I am claiming about the fragments, 590a and 152 would be most comprehensively demonstrated by a full edition of β and γ with variant readings from all the other manuscripts. Within the constraints of even a long article like this, such a presentation is unfeasible. Instead, I offer a selection of segments of narrative to support my view. I have selected at least two passages from each side of each leaf. I have tried to include most of the passages showing particularly striking divergences between the fragments and 152, as well as displaying the background frequency of shared readings and smaller divergences. I also include passages which display some of the rare divergences between the fragments and 590a. In order to show more clearly how β and γ compare with 590a and the currently accepted “best text”, 152, I present the testimony of 590a and 152 in two ways: in parallel diplomatic transcriptions (to show the whole passage juxtaposed with that in β or γ) and as variant readings to my transcriptions from β and γ (to flag up where divergences occur). Further, as will be outlined below, I include variant readings from 534 and the most important post-mediaeval texts preserving all or part of Recension 2. Finally, after discussing these edited extracts I will briefly survey all the divergences between the fragments and 590a not included in those passages.

590a 590a and the other post-mediaeval manuscripts on which I will draw for variant readings must now be described. The 590a text of *Mágus saga* is the sole text surviving in AM 590 a 4to, a neat manuscript in a single main hand with explanatory marginal annotations indicating scholarly use, written (presumably in Iceland) ca. 1600–1670 before being acquired by Árni Magnússon. Marginalia in the hand of Árni’s grandfather Ketill Jörundsson (d. 1670), priest in Dalasýsla, provide a *terminus ante quem* (Dodsworth 1963: xxxii). Árni may have been given the manuscript by Ketill or inherited it from him. AM 590 a 4to was originally part of the same manuscript as AM 590 b–c 4to, which contains a longer version of *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar* (i. e. with *Gautreks saga* as prelude) in the same hand, similarly annotated. AM 590 b–c 4to is held in the Arnamagnæan Institute, Copenhagen, and is a single codicological unit (beginning on a new quire) despite its double shelfmark. The separate shelfmarks a, b and c were made in the late eighteenth century, and it could have

been then that AM 590 a–c 4to was first broken into two units.²⁹ Alternatively, Árni Magnússon himself could have broken it up. He frequently dismembered saga-manuscripts in his possession in order to reorganize their contents, often recombining them in new manuscripts. The fact that this manuscript was owned by Árni’s revered mentor and grandfather would not have stopped him reaching for the knife: Beeke Stegmann has shown how unimportant a manuscript’s origins or personal associations were to Árni when guiding his curatorial decisions.³⁰ Either way, it seems highly likely that AM 590 a–c 4to came to Árni Magnússon as a single manuscript, and this is worth bearing in mind when interpreting the slips that he wrote to accompany it (discussed below).

There are a few points where 590a does not straightforwardly replicate the text of its exemplar. It incorporates some adjustments, or recommendations for adjustment. The first is accidental and easily remedied; the others, with the possible exception of no. 4, are purposeful and clearly signalled to the reader, rather than being silently incorporated into a homogeneous textual surface as with many non-scholarly saga-manuscripts:

1. Ff. 33–38 have been accidentally misbound and belong after f. 27.
2. Marginal annotations by Árni Magnússon on ff. 39r and 47r state that the first chapter of *Lais þátrr* (which in 590a is dovetailed with the last part of *Mágus saga* proper, as it is in 152) ought to occupy a later position in the saga (which it does occupy in 534, S58 and some texts of Recension 1b). In 590a, however, that chapter has been left in its original position.
3. A short additional passage in Ketill Jörundsson’s hand has been inserted as a small leaf, f. 29, with the place where it belongs indicated by a finger-sign on f. 30r (just after the announcement of Mágus’s feigned death); as

²⁹I am indebted to Beeke Stegmann (pers. comm.) for this information about the shelfmarks, and for confirming that surviving quire signatures and a shared method of marking the text area indicate that AM 590 a–c 4to was once a single manuscript.

³⁰On this aspect of Árni’s scholarly procedure, see Stegmann 2017: 235–39; Stegmann 2018. I am grateful to Beeke Stegmann for discussing these issues with me and for sharing her PhD dissertation; a revised published version is forthcoming.

Dodsworth shows (1963: xxxiv), it probably derives from 556b's text of Recension 1b.

4. The first page (f. 1v) is in a larger and slightly different hand (which may, however, have belonged to the same person). There are indications that the exemplar was difficult to read here, perhaps due to a damaged opening leaf, and the larger hand may even indicate a secondary exemplar as it does at items 5 and 6 below; the precise wording of this passage is otherwise found only in direct copies of 590a, although it is related to that seen in 152 and S58. The text on f. 1v also shows some parallels, but also important differences, compared to the crossed-out slip containing parts of the saga's opening (in a similar but not identical hand) bound in as f. 27r of 590b–c's text of *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, but the filiation of that slip and the relationship between it and 590a must await further study.³¹
5. The text from f. 43v (five lines from bottom) through 44v, in which Vígvarðr becomes king of Denmark and Ubbi betrays Emperor Karl, has been inserted from Recension 1, initially in the same larger hand as passage 4 above, presumably to fill a lacuna in 590a's exemplar.
6. The gap left in the opening *þáttur* by a lacuna (perhaps one leaf) in 590a's exemplar after f. 8v has been supplied by the insertion of two new folios (9r–v and 10r–v) and an additional line at the bottom of f. 8v, in a later, larger hand (different from those mentioned already).³² This insertion appears to have been copied from a text of *Mágus saga* preserved in the seventeenth-century parchment-manuscript Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, GKS 1002 fol., with marginal variants

³¹ It may be relevant that 152, too, is particularly garbled at this point in the saga. Examples include its mention of three brothers with only one name (Pippin), its mixing-up of Sigurðr with Hlöðvir just before the first mention of Hlöðvir's feast, and its muddling-up of the king's (or advisor's) marital status in the same passage (152, f. 159v).

³² The fact that the lacuna begins after the first word on the last line of f. 8v confirms that the passage was already missing in 590a's exemplar rather than only in 590a itself.

from the closely related text in another seventeenth-century parchment-manuscript Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, Thott 978 fol. (Dodsworth 1963: xxxiii). Both seventeenth-century exemplars belong to the mixed L-recension of the saga which, at this point, follows a Recension-2-type text.

Two slips in Árni Magnússon's hand included in 590a contain observations about the text's exemplars. These are transcribed on <handrit.is>, but without the context that indicates what they refer to.³³ The second slip, bound in just after f. 5, is the most straightforward. It reads:

Þetta er uppskrifad ur nyrre membranâ er Mag Biörn gaf Kong C 5.^{to} og confererad vid nya membranam Bryniolfs Þordarsonar. Variæ lectiones in marginibus her *inn* til Cap. 12. eru ur Codice Bryniolfs, & mun þeim og samanbera vid Codicem Regium.

(This is copied from a more recent parchment-manuscript that Magister Björn gave to King Christian v, and [is here] collated with Brynjólfur Þórðarson's new parchment-manuscript. Variant readings in the margins from here to chapter 12 are from Brynjólfur's codex, and they will be compared with the royal codex.)

As Dodsworth pointed out, "Þetta" here refers solely to the two-folio insertion (ff. 9–10) described under point 6 above, and not, as Kålund believed (1888–1894: i, 756), to the copy of *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar* following *Mágus saga* as AM 590 b–c 4to. This is confirmed by the fact that marginal variant readings from Thott 978 fol. are also included on the part of the main text of 590a (ff. 6r–8v) intervening between Árni Magnússon's slip and the newly inserted leaves. In Dodsworth's view (1963: xxxiii), the whole insertion was made on Árni's instructions.

Árni Magnússon's other slip is a covering note describing AM 590 a–c 4to. In my view it shows that Árni believed the main text of 590a (i. e. discounting the seventeenth-century insertions listed above) to have had a single mediaeval exemplar. This cover-slip reads: "Magus saga og Rolfs saga Gautrekssonar, sem

³³ <handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/AM04-0590a> (last accessed 22 September 2022).

eg hefi, eru, öefad, skrifadar epter membranâ, og meina eg þær bädar ä einni bok stadi hafa” (*Mágus saga* and *Hrólf’s saga Gautrekssonar*, which I have, are doubtless copied from a parchment-manuscript [or “from parchment”], and I consider both of them to have been present in a single book). He adds: “ræd eg þat af þeim innlagda sedli sem defectin ä standa” (I can tell from the inserted slip that it is defective).³⁴ Árni must have been referring to a slip inserted by someone other than himself, of which there are four: one fills a lacuna in *Mágus saga* (item 3 above, in Ketill Jörundsson’s hand), two more fill a lacuna in *Hrólf’s saga* (590b–c, ff. 25r and 26r–v), and a fourth, crossed-out slip in the same hand (590b–c, f. 27r) has already been mentioned under item 4 above. All four slips indicate or fill lacunae, although the fourth does not necessarily relate to the same exemplar. Árni Magnússon could have been referring to any of the first three of these in his cover-slip. However, the lacunae are all filled (in one way or another) in the passages to which those slips relate, so it seems most likely that the manuscript which Árni considered defective was the exemplar of 590a, rather than 590a itself. Again, if Árni was the one who dismembered the manuscript now preserved as AM 590 a–c 4to, his reference to the “single book” must similarly refer to the parchment-manuscript that Árni thought was the exemplar of 590a and its companion-saga, as Kålund suggested (1888–1894: i, 756). This, too, makes sense of Árni’s use of the singular “membrana”.³⁵ I will provide further evidence that Árni Magnússon was correct: that the main text of 590a was based on a single mediaeval exemplar of which only β and γ survive.

Besides 590a, several other post-mediaeval texts of *Mágus saga* are likely to have independent text-critical value in reconstructing the outlines of Recension 2 as it existed in the fourteenth century, so I have provided variant readings from some of these. As already noted, however, the outlines of any fourteenth-century version of Recension 2 become very hard to discern through the successive creative transformations that the saga underwent in the modern period. So, in the absence of a systematic study of its labyrinthine post-mediaeval

³⁴ AM 590 4to, slip included just before f. 1.

³⁵ Árni Magnússon elsewhere used the plural form when referring to multiple manuscripts (Gödel 1912: 270, “in membranis”). Nevertheless, in my translation I acknowledge the possibility that he was referring to the material rather than to a discrete physical object.

transmission history, I here take account of (and give full variants from) all post-mediaeval witnesses to Recension 2 written before 1700, discounting only direct descendants of 152 because it already survives in full.³⁶ This will help us to locate β , γ , 590a and 152 within the wider constellation of texts of *Mágus saga*. It will also provide some pointers for tentative speculation about the textual history of Recension 2 as a whole.

For completeness, I also take account of texts belonging to the two seventeenth-century “mixed” recensions mentioned above, where a text close to Recension 2 is followed in part. Of these, the K-recension contains the highest proportion of Recension-2-type text, since its second half follows Recension 2; I provide variant readings from all three texts belonging to this recension that definitely predate 1700. The L-recension follows a Recension-2-type text only for the saga’s opening *pátttr*, and that in a version which diverges both from the mediaeval texts of Recension 2 and between individual L-recension texts. For the passages taken from the beginning of the saga, I therefore provide additional variant readings from a representative example of the L-recension, the text in Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, GKS 1002 fol. (in a luxurious parchment-manuscript written by Páll Sveinsson in Iceland in 1667), referred to here as 1002.³⁷ L-texts aside, none of the remaining pre-1700 texts of *Mágus saga* follows a Recension-2-type text in any of the passages surviving in fragments β or γ .

1002

³⁶ These are the scholarly-humanist copies Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, AM 187 fol. (Iceland, 1662–1672) and AM 535 4to (Iceland, 1690–1710), on which see Dodsworth 1963: xxxvii–xxxviii and xlvii; and the slightly freer copy in Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, ÍBR 5–6 fol. (*Vigrarbók*: Iceland, 1680), on which see p. 3 above.

³⁷ Besides 1002 I have, however, consulted the text of this recension in Copenhagen, the Arnarnagæan Institute, AM 592 a 4to (Iceland, 1600–1700), referred to here as 592a. I give brief comments on how 592a relates to 1002 in my discussion of each passage below. I have not been able to consult the texts in Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Holm papp 5 4to (Iceland, 1650) or Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, Thott 978 fol. (1650–1700), which according to Dodsworth are very close to 1002 and to each other at this point in the saga. On these four texts of the L-recension, see Dodsworth 1963: xxxi–xxxii, xxxiv–xxxvii and xli–xlii. On GKS 1002 fol., see Slay 1960: 143–50.

592a

The other post-mediaeval texts of Recension 2 or the K-recension for which I provide variant readings are as follows:³⁸

- S17 • Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Holm papp 17 4to (1640–1650),³⁹ ff. 136r–180r, referred to here as S17: a complete text of the K-recension in an unidentified hand. Most of its first half follows a curtailed version of Recension 1b; its second half (from Rögnvaldr’s arrival in Basel on f. 155r, line 2) follows a version of Recension 2 which is close to the main text of 590a (disregarding the portions of 590a in other hands). As in other K-texts, its Recension-1-type first half also includes a substantial sequence from a Recension-2-type text, interpolated to dovetail the story of Lais Heinreksson (protagonist of the first sequel-tale) with *Mágus saga* proper. The manuscript is a densely abbreviated, close-packed and heavily used collection of twenty sagas written in Iceland, presumably for domestic use.⁴⁰ Dodsworth (1963: lxxv) considered it the oldest of the surviving paper copies of *Mágus saga*, but no evidence has been cited to indicate that it predates 590a.
- S6 • Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Holm papp 6 4to (1650–1664), ff. 352r–384v, referred to here as S6: a complete text of the K-recension of *Mágus saga* almost identical to S17, written in the earliest of the manuscript’s seven hands. Here the final transition from Recension 1 to 2 takes place at f. 362r, line 29. Its scribe has been identified as Brynjólfur Jónsson of Efstaland, who also wrote part of the manuscript containing S17 (at some point after S17 itself had been written into that manuscript by a previous scribe), leading Dodsworth (1963: xl–xli) to suggest that S6 might be a copy of S17.⁴¹ The manuscript is a neat but densely abbreviated and close-packed collection of fourteen sagas with other short legendary

³⁸ My descriptions draw on and supplement Dodsworth 1963: xxx–xliv.

³⁹ Datings for this manuscript vary between 1640–1650 and 1640–1699. The manuscript’s chief compiler, Þorlákur Sigfússon, died in 1693. It has been argued, from an inscription dated 1654 by one “Wigfus Jonsson”, that the older part of the manuscript, including *Mágus saga*, was written before 1654 (Gödel 1897–1900: 282–87; Dodsworth 1963: xxx).

⁴⁰ See also Lansing 2011: 92.

⁴¹ On the manuscript see also Gödel 1897–1900: 267–69.

narratives, presumably for domestic use. S6 is signed off with the date “Annö 166:” (f. 384v), which Gödel and Dodsworth took to mean 1666 (Gödel 1897–1900: 269; Dodsworth 1963: xl). But Brynjólfur Jónsson was dead by 1664, which is therefore the *terminus ante quem* for S6.⁴²

- Reykjavík, National Library of Iceland, Lbs 325 fol. (1660–1680), ff. 18v–39v, referred to here as 325: a near-complete text of the K-recension, written in Iceland in an unidentified hand, close-packed and with frequent abbreviation, in a manuscript also containing five other sagas and sets of *rímur*, presumably for domestic use. Some pages have been refreshed and overwritten in a nineteenth-century hand (suggesting continued domestic use), but these do not affect the passages to be discussed. In the passages analysed, its text is often close to S17 and S6, but sometimes goes its own way entirely and is often condensed. Damage to leaves has removed the ends of some lines. The dating “1660–1680” is given on a more recently added title-page (Dodsworth 1963: xxxviii–xxxix). 325
- Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Holm papp 58 fol., ff. 218r–472v, referred to here as S58: a complete text of Recension 2, written in 1690 by Jón Vigfússon for the Antikvitetskollegiet in Stockholm as part of a large saga-book designed to contain Swedish facing translations (which were never written). Its exemplar was the now-lost parchment-manuscript known as **Ormsbók* or “Ormr Snorrason’s Book”. It displays numerous small-scale scribal innovations, but fewer large-scale alterations than one might guess from some of the scholarship about Jón Vigfússon’s scribal practices.⁴³ Its text of Recension 2 is closer to 590a, S17, S6 and 534 than it is to 152. S58

Recension 1, both in shorter (1a) and longer (1b) forms, is also part of the wider text-historical constellation in which 590a, 152, β and γ must be situated, because in several of the passages discussed its readings are very close to some

⁴² Degnbol et al. 1989: 20 give 1650–1700 as the date-range for the whole manuscript.

⁴³ Valuable correctives are offered by Hjorth 1960 and Sanders 1979.

texts of Recension 2. Recension 1's readings will be presented either as variants to the text of Recension 2, or (where its wording is more distant from Recension 2) separately below each passage of parallel text. I will use the four mediaeval texts of Recension 1. All are in the Arnamagnæan Collection, divided between Reykjavík and Copenhagen:⁴⁴

- 580 • Copenhagen, the Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 580 4to, ff. 23r–34v (Dodsworth's text A), here referred to as 580: an acephalous text of Recension 1a (i. e. without the sequel-episodes) in one hand, within a large saga-book in three hands (to which the Stockholm manuscript Royal Swedish Library, Holm perg 7 4to also originally belonged) written ca. 1300–1325. This is the oldest surviving text of *Mágus saga* in any form, and is the main basis of Cederschiöld's and Dodsworth's scholarly editions of Recension 1. It is handsomely produced, with some decoration and red-inked initials, but is damaged; some passages are illegible.
- 533 • Copenhagen, the Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 533 4to, ff. 1v–45v (Dodsworth's text B), here referred to as 533: a near-complete text of Recension 1b (i. e. with the sequel-episodes), written in a single hand ca. 1450–1500, in a handsomely produced manuscript containing several sagas written mostly in the same hand, with red initials and chapter-headings, some decoration, wide margins and limited abbreviation. It has some short lacunae, two of which are filled by intercalated leaves written in another hand ca. 1500 (these are not relevant to the present study).
- 556b • Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, AM 556 b 4to, ff. 1r–24v (Dodsworth's text C, referred to here as 556b), a near-complete text of Recension 1b in a two-volume saga-book (AM 556 a–b 4to) written in a single, large, close-set hand ca. 1475–1500. It is missing two separate leaves towards the end of the saga.
- α • Copenhagen, the Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 567 xvii α 4to (Dodsworth's text G, referred to here as α), a sixteenth-century four-leaf frag-

⁴⁴ My descriptions draw on and supplement Dodsworth 1963: vii–xviii and xxiv–xxvi.

ment of Recension 1 preserving part of the narrative also contained in 580. Only the end of f. 4v (passage 5 below) includes any part of the saga preserved in the Recension 2 fragments.⁴⁵

Dodsworth (1963: ci–cii) found that the mediaeval texts of Recension 2 shared more readings and a closer overall arrangement with 556b than with the other mediaeval texts of Recension 1. This led him to suggest that Recension 2 was first composed by adapting a now-lost text of Recension 1b which was an antecedent of 556b. However, in the passages preserved in fragments β and γ , Recension 2 shares a greater number of readings with 533 than with 556b. These passages are also less affected by lacunae or damage in 533 than they are in 580 or 556b. For these reasons alone (i. e. without making any implicit claims about the textual history) I treat 533 as my main text of Recension 1, with variants from the other three.

As the focus of this article is on Recension 2 rather than Recension 1, I will not present variant readings from post-mediaeval texts of Recension 1 itself, or from the first half of the K-recension (S17, S6, 325) or the bulk of the L-recension (1002) where these texts clearly follow Recension 1 rather than Recension 2. However, for future research it is worth noting that the relationship between the first half of the K-recension and Recension 1 is not simple. For instance, neither S17's nor S6's first half is a straight copy of any extant mediaeval text of 1a or 1b. Both are very close to 556b in the opening *þátttr* and fairly close to 580 in the *Víðförull* episode, but are radically condensed compared to both Recensions 1 and 2 in the passages about Mágus's faked death (6 and 7 below). I include the K-recension's witnesses from passage 9 onwards.

My transcription procedure is as follows. My main texts (β and γ , 590a, 152) are presented in semi-diplomatic transcription. Here abbreviations are expanded in italics, using forms used elsewhere in the manuscript by the same scribe, except where the expansion is ambiguous (e. g. “*segir*”/“*sagdi*”) in which cases I mark the abbreviation with a full stop (“s.”). I use the expanded roman typeface found in normalised editions of Old Norse-Icelandic texts where these

⁴⁵This dating is Dodsworth's, included in a 1985 personal communication to the editors of Degnbol et al. 1989: 455.

forms are written in the manuscript, but I do not “translate” one form into another (e. g. turning a seventeenth-century “ö” into “ó”). I ignore upward-diagonal length-marks throughout, because in 152 these are widely used over consonants as well as vowels and are not necessarily to be interpreted as length-marks in every case. I leave unmarked the many late-mediaeval and early modern Icelandic diacritics which have no clear and consistent modern equivalent, such as “o” with a hook over it, but I do include the double-a digraph “æ”. In the interests of legibility and to facilitate clear comparison between the texts, I ignore the texts’ original punctuation and impose my own, and for the same reason I sometimes also ignore a space in the middle of a compound word where some texts have no space for that word (e. g. “Stransborg” for “Strans borg”).⁴⁶ A few letters, especially in β and γ , are very unclear, and I have surrounded these with square brackets. Where a letter or letters cannot be read, through loss or damage, I use small noughts [000], the number of noughts typically indicating the probable number of letters missing.

In the variant apparatus I follow the same procedures, except that here, to avoid cluttering up the smaller typeface, I silently expand unambiguous abbreviations. Where a variant reading is present in more than one text, I cite it using the orthography in which it appears in the first text listed after the reading. In order to focus attention on variants which are more likely to result from divergent textual traditions than unconscious scribal variation (although that often cannot be ruled out), I have not noted lower-level kinds of variation such as orthographic differences in rendering the same word (including divergence between mediaeval and early modern usage such as “eigi” versus “ei”), the presence or absence of an article-suffix on a noun (although I do note self-standing definite articles), or a change to the tense of a speech-marker such as “segir” versus “sagði” (although other tense-changes are noted). I also ignore the chapter-headings in 533 and S58, but I do note differences in the placing of chapter-breaks.

⁴⁶These procedures differ in several respects from those used in Dodsworth’s transcription of 152. His edition silently expands unambiguous abbreviations, reproduces more manuscript letter-forms, and retains original punctuation to the extent of representing as a full stop the multi-purpose dot used by mediaeval scribes. My punctuation procedure reflects my view that mediaeval and modern punctuation systems are not commensurable: to have any punctuation at all, one must impose it.

In the analysis below each edited passage, I use semi-diplomatic transcription in the lists of highlighted variants for analysis, but in the discussion itself I silently expand abbreviations when quoting individual words unless the abbreviation itself is under discussion.

Instead of presenting the three texts continuously, I have broken them up into sections presented in parallel. This will make it easier to see how the three texts present the same passages in different ways, especially where the results vary in length.

By its very nature, what follows will make pretty dry reading, but my conclusions cannot proceed without it and it is necessary to build the argument from the ground up. The reader who wishes to cut to the chase may wish to skim over the main body of this study and read my conclusions in section 3, and then return to the details.

2.1. The opening *þáttr* about Hlöðvir's marriage to Ermenga

Fragment γ contains part of the opening *þáttr* of the saga, and passages 1–4 are taken from it. That *þáttr* was omitted from 534's text of Recension 2, and 580's text of Recension 1a is acephalous and lacks this part of the *þáttr*, so these two texts are not used in passages 1–4. S17, S6 and 325 are also not included here because the K-text follows Recension 1 at this point. However, variant readings from 1002 are included as a representative of the L-recension, which follows a text similar to Recension 2 at this point.⁴⁷

1. This passage comes just after the arrival of the emperor or king Hlöðvir of Saxland, seeking the hand of King Hugon's daughter Ermenga in marriage. Recension 1 (in which the emperor is Játmundr and the king is Hrólfr) has almost nothing resembling this first passage, so its text is given below the parallel texts. Variants to γ are given from 590a, 152, S58 f. 232r–v, and 1002 f. 62r.

⁴⁷ The other pre-1700 L-text to which I have had access, 592a, is acephalous and does not preserve this passage.

γ, f. 1r	590a, ff. 3v–4r	152, f. 161r
1. <i>Síþan voru tekin dryckiu bord,</i> tekin] sett vpp 1002	<i>Síðan voru tekenn drickju bord,</i>	<i>Síðan uoru tekinn dryckiu bord,</i>
2. <i>ok kom inn margr dryckr agiætur med fasenum sendingum,</i> kom] + þä S58 dryckr agiætur] agiætur dryckur S58, 1002 med fasenum sendingum] med ymsum sendijngum fasenum 152; ÷ 1002	<i>og kom inn margur drickur ägiætur med fasenum sendingum,</i>	<i>oc kom inn margr dryckr agiætur med ymsum sendijngum fasenum,</i>
3. <i>ok er þeir haufdv setid ok druckit ok menn toku at glediazt, var keisari helldr far.</i> ok ^l –menn] oc er menn 152; ok sem menn S58; enn sem menn 1002 toku] taka 1002 keisari] konungur 152	<i>og er þeir hofdu seted og drucked, og menn töku ad gledjast, var keisare helldr fär.</i>	<i>oc er menn toku ath glediazt, war konungur helldr far.</i>
4. <i>Hugon mæli til keisara, “Herra,” sagdi hann, “þer erut komnir at minu bodi i uara hall, ok allt yduart fauruneyti,</i> Hugon] Köngur S58, 1002 keisara] konungs 152; hans 1002 Herra–hann] ÷ S58, 1002 erut] + hier S58 uara] þessa 1002 allt] ÷ 152, 1002 fauruneyti] riddarar 1002	<i>Hugon mælli til keisara, “Herra,” s. hann, “þier erut komner at minu bode i vora holl, og allt ydvart foruneite,</i>	<i>Hugonn mælti til konungs, “Herra,” s. hann, “þier erut komnir ath mijnu bodi ij uora hall, oc yduart foruneyti,</i>
5. <i>ok þvi villdu uer hafva blidan yduarn þocka til war.</i> ok] ÷ 152, 1002 villdu] uilldum 152, 1002; vilium S58 blidan–þocka] ydra blidu S58; blyðan gledi þotta 1002 til war] af ydur aptur 1002	<i>og þui villdu vier hafa blidan ydvarn þocka til vor.</i>	<i>þuij uilldum wer hafa blijdann ydarnn þocka til uor.</i>

γ, f. 1r	590a, ff. 3v–4r	152, f. 161r
6. <i>Ok huat er ver megum gera ydr til sæmdar, þat skal þr. til reidv, ok [ver] fam þar sanna uissu af.”</i> er] ÷ 152; sem S58, 1002 sæmdar] söma S58 þat skal þr.] þat skal þier 590a; þa skal þath 152, S58; skal vera 1002 ok ²] er 590a; þegar at S58 ok ² -af] ÷ 152, 1002 þar-af] sanna vissu þar af S58	Og <i>huat</i> er vier meigum gera ydur til sæmdar, þat skal þier til reidu, er vier fäum þar sanna vissu af.”	<i>Oc huat uier megum giora ydr til sæmdar, þa skal þath til reidu.”</i>

Recension 1 (533, f. 2v, with variants from 556b, f. 1v):

Sidan var geingid til dryckiv.

Sidan-geingid] Nu ganga þeir 556b

This passage contains fewer large-scale variations between β-γ, 590a and 152 than the others included here. It is fairly typical in showing S58’s numerous small-scale rewordings, as documented in other studies of Jón Vigfússon’s scribal practices. 1002 also shows some small-scale variation, typically using fewer words.

590a and γ agree throughout except for the following:

- a. Row 6: *þat skal þr. til reidv, ok ver fam þar sanna uissu af γ] þat skal þier til reidu, er vier fäum þar sanna vissu af 590a; þa skal þat til reidu, þegar at vier fäum sanna vissu þar af S58; þa skal þath til reidu 152; skal vera til reidu 1002*

As each text diverges individually here, scribal revision cannot be ruled out in 590a, which uniquely has “er” for γ’s “ok”. The possibility that γ was 590a’s exemplar remains open. There are no readings in which γ and 152 agree against 590a.

γ and 590a share the following readings against 152, besides their repeatedly shared reading “keisari” for 152’s “konungur” when referring to Hlöðvir in this *þáttr*. I indicate where S58 stands in the following (it too shares “keisari”):

- b. Row 2: *fasenum sendingum γ, 590a, S58] ymsum sendijngum fæsenum 152; ÷ 1002*

- c. Row 3: þeir haufdv setid ok druckit ok menn toku γ , 590a] menn toku 152, S58; menn taka 1002
- d. Row 4: allt yduart fauruneyti γ , 590a, S58] yduart foruneyti 152; ydvart riddarar 1002
- e. Row 5: ok því γ , 590a, S58] þuij 152, 1002
- f. Row 6: huat er ver megum] huat uier megum 152; hvat sem vier meigum S58, 1002
- g. Row 6: ver fam þar sanna uissu af γ , 590a, S58 (repositioning “þar”)] ÷ 152, 1002

In five of these six phrases, S58's readings agree with γ and 590a against 152 either precisely or, at (f) and (g), with minor reordering or a substituted particle. S58's reading is close to 152's only at (c). In all phrases except (b), 152 has briefer readings than γ and 590a. 1002 shares its brevity; three of these six readings here are identical or similar to 152's, but the other three are quite different.

An ambiguous variant concerns an unorthodox abbreviation in γ :

- h. Row 6: in the word “þr”, the vertical stroke of the “þ” is cut through near its top by a horizontal line extending to the right over the “r”. The abbreviated “þ” by itself would read “þat” in this and many other mediaeval manuscripts, but with the added “r” it looks like an error.⁴⁸ For the whole phrase “þat skal þr.” in γ , 590a has “þat skal þier”, 152 and S58 have “þæ skal þath”, and 1002 has “skal vera”. Where 152 and S58 offer one completely new phrase and 1002 another, 590a's reading is not inconsistent with the idea that its scribe was interpreting an exemplar's “þr” without wishing to alter the exemplar's other words.

2. Ermenga, having whitened her face to tone down her beauty, dresses to appear before Hlöðvir at the feast in her father's hall. This passage is not in Recension 1. Variants to γ are given from 590a, 152, S58 f. 233r–v, and 1002 f. 62v.

⁴⁸Dodsworth (1963: 414) tentatively suggested reading “þar” or “þegar”, but “þér” is also possible, albeit unorthodox.

	γ, f. 1r	590a, f. 4r	152, f. 161r
1.	<p>þar yfir kastadi <i>hun sva</i> <i>dyrum mautli er ofuinn</i> <i>var af micklum hagleik</i> <i>ok af storum gullofnvm</i> <i>fuglum.</i></p> <p>kastadi] clæddi 152, 1002 sva] sic 152, 1002; ÷ S58 dyrum–var] dyrmætum mottli hann var ofen 1002 af¹] med 152, 1002 ok af²] ok af morgum 590a; medur S58 ok–fuglum] ÷ 152, 1002</p>	<p>þar yfer kastade hün so dörum mottle er ofvinn var af miklum hagleik og af morgum störum gullofnvm fuglum.</p>	<p>þar yfir clæddi hunn sic dyrum motle er ofinn uar med miklum hagleic,</p>
2.	<p>Hann uar settr [a]f maurgum agætum steinum. Hann uar] ÷ 152, 1002 af] med 152; ÷ S58, 1002 maurgum agætum steinum] agiætum gimsteinum 152, 1002</p>	<p>Hann var settr af morgum agiætum steinum.</p>	<p>settr med agiætum gimsteinum.</p>
3.	<p>Sidan gyrði mærin sik med einv riku bellti, giort med likneskium allra kvikenda; uar þat til at lita sem ein gullgiord væri. ÷ 152, 1002 sik] um sik S58 til at lita] sva til at siä S58</p>	<p>Sidan girde mæren sig med einu riku bellte, giort med likneskium allra qvikenda; var þat til at lita sem ein gullgiord være.</p>	
4.	<p>Har hennar var hardla fagurt ok heck medal herda henne i skinundum flettingum. ÷ 152, 1002 i skinundum flettingum] ÷ S58</p>	<p>Här hennar var hardla fagurt og hieck medal herda henne i skinnudum flettingum.</p>	
5.	<p>Holld hennar var sem en huitazsta lilia, þar sem hennar likam sa; Holld hennar] Hennar holld 1002 en] ÷ 1002 þar–sa] þar er þat saä 152; ÷ 1002</p>	<p>Holld hennar var sem en hvitasta lilia, þar sem hennar likam sa;</p>	<p>Holld hennar uar sem hin huijtazta lilia, þar er þat saä;</p>

γ , f. 1r	590a, f. 4r	152, f. 161r
<p>6. <i>hun var sva riöð i andliti sem faugur rosa væri blandin vit hina huitu liliu.</i></p> <p>hun–liliu] hennar andlit var þuilíkt at sia sem samtemprat væri hin blöðraudu blödurösa ok hit sniöhvita grasliliumm S58 hun var sva] oc suo 152; ok 1002 sem–liliu] ÷ 1002 vit hina] ij 152</p>	<p><i>hün var so riöd i andlite sem fogur rösa være blandinn vit hina hvitu lilju.</i></p>	<p><i>oc suo riöð ij anndlite sem fogr rosa ueri blandinn ij huijta liliu.</i></p>
<p>7. <i>Sem hun var buin at klædum sem hun villdi, anduarpadi hun af nauckurvm ecka hiartans</i></p> <p>Sem] Ok er S58, 1002 at klædum] ÷ 152, S58, 1002 sem hun villdi] ÷ 152, 1002; + þä 590a anduarpadi] varpadi 152 hun³] + sem S58 nauckurvm] miklum 1002 hiartans] ÷ 152, 1002</p>	<p><i>Sem hün var büenn at klædum sem hün villde, þä andvarpade hün af nockrum ecka hiartanz</i></p>	<p><i>Sem hun uar buinn, varpadi hun af nockrum ecka</i></p>

590a and γ agree except for the following:

- a. Row 1: af *storum gullofnvm fuglum* γ] af *morgum störum gullofnum fuglum* 590a; ÷ 152, 1002; medur *störum gullvofnnum fuglum* S58
- b. Row 7: *anduarpadi hun* γ , S58, 1002] *þä andvarpade hün* 590a; *varpadi hun* 152

590a’s “morgum” at (a) is not shared by the other texts, and may be explained as scribal repetition from seeing that same word in the very next phrase of the exemplar’s description. At (b), 590a’s “þä” is readily explicable as a scribal insertion. These two readings do not exclude the possibility that γ was the exemplar of 590a. There are no readings in which γ and 152 agree against 590a.

γ and 590a share the following readings against 152:

- c. Rows 1–4: apart from one word, the entire 47-word sequence beginning “af [morgum] *storum gullofnvm fuglum*” is shared by γ and 590a, and by S58 with the exception of eight variant words, against 152 and 1002 which have nothing except one divergent three-or-four-word phrase (next example)

- d. Row 2: *Hann uar settr [a]f maurgum agætum steinum* γ , 590a, S58 (lacks “af”)]
settr *med* *agiætum gimsteinum* 152; settr *agiætum geimsteinum* 1002
- e. Row 5: *sem hennar likam* γ , 590a, S58] er þat *saa* 152; ÷ 1002
- f. Row 6: *blandin vit hina huitu liliu* γ , 590a] *blandinn ij huijta liliu* 152; *samtem-
prat ... ok hit sniöhvita grasliliumm* S58; ÷ 1002
- g. Row 7: *buin at klædum sem hun villdi* γ , 590a] *buinn* 152, 1002; *büinn sem hün
villdi* S58
- h. Row 7: *anduarpadi hun* γ , 590a, S58, 1002] *varpadi* hun 152
- i. Row 7: *ecka hiartans* γ , 590a, S58] *ecka* 152, 1002

In all these examples, 152’s readings result in a shorter text than γ and 590a, substantially so as a result of the differences at (c). In all but one of these examples (h), 1002 either displays the same or nearly the same phrasing as those of 152, or abbreviates still further.⁴⁹

Apart from a completely divergent reading in phrase (f), S58 shares γ and 590a’s readings against 152 either exactly or approximately, sometimes with minor alteration tending towards localised abbreviation, especially at the long passage (c). At (g), S58’s reading stands equidistant between a fuller wording in γ and 590a on the one hand and a much shorter wording in 152 on the other hand. None of 152’s readings is shared verbatim by S58. However, 152 and 1002 are strikingly close in this passage.

3. Hlöðvir responds to Ermenga’s request that he carve the chicken. The wording of Recension 2 is sometimes close to that of Recension 1 here, so variants are included from the mediaeval witnesses of Recension 1 which have this part of the text. Variants to γ are given from 590a, 152, S58 f. 234v, 533 f. 2v, 556b f. 1v, and 1002 f. 62v.

⁴⁹ 592a f. 1r, not included in the variant apparatus, here follows a text similar to 1002 (and thus to 152), but with some variants not shared by either.

γ, f. 1v	590a, f. 4v	152, f. 161r–v
<p>1. “til annars var ek skipadr meirr heima i Saxlandi en at skipta krasvm sem steikar[ar].”</p> <p>var–i] for ec heiman ur 152, 1002 skipadr meirr] ætladvr 533, 556b en] + þess 152 at–steikarar] vera her steikare j Gardariki, ok skal slikt giallda þer, drotning, þott sidar se 533; at uera steikare hier j Gardariki. Skal ek giallda þer þetta sidar 556b; + hier j Miklagardi 1002</p>	<p>“til annarz var eg skipadur meir heima i Saxlande enn ad skipta kräsum sem steikarar.”</p>	<p>“til annars for ec heiman ur Saxlande enn þess ath skipta krasum sem steikarar.”</p>
<p>2. <i>Fruin mælti</i>, “Herra,” sagdi <u>hon</u>,</p> <p>÷ 533 Fruin–hun] Hon bad hann rada 556b Fruin mælti] ÷ S58 Herra–hun] ÷ 152, 1002</p>	<p>Früenn mælti, “Herra,” s. <u>hiin</u>,</p>	<p><i>Fruinn mællti</i>,</p>
<p>3. “eckj bid ek at þer snidit þenna hana med knifui, helldr bid ek at þer snidit ok sundr skiptir þu hann med vidrkuæmiligum uizsku ordum.”</p> <p>÷ 533, 556b bid¹ ek] + ydur 1002 þenna hana] hann 1002 knifui] saxe edur knijfe 1002 bid²–hann] ÷ 152, 1002 snidit²] + hann S58 skiptir þu hann] skiptit S58 vidrkuæmiligum uizsku ordum] snilld ok visku 1002</p>	<p>“eckj bid eg ad þier snided þenna hana med knife, helldur bid eg ad þier snided og sundurskipter þu hann med vidurqvæmelegum vitsku ordum.”</p>	<p>“Eckj bid ec at þier snjidit þenna hana med knijfe, helldr med uidrkuæmiligum uizku ordum.”</p>
<p>4. <i>Keisari mælti</i>, “Halsinum ok haufdinv skipti ek fedr þinum, þviat hann er haufud yduar allra ok ydvarrar ættar.”</p> <p>Keisari mælti] Þa mællti keysarinn S58; + þa 533; ÷ 556b þviat] þvi 1002 yduar–ættar] ættar ydarrar 533 ok²–ættar] ÷ 152, 1002; oc eigi sidur ydvarrar ættar S58</p>	<p><i>Keisare mælti</i>, “Hälsenum og hofdenum skipte eg fedur þinum, þviat hann er hofud ydvar allra og ydvarrar ættar.”</p>	<p><i>Konungur mælti</i>, “Halsinn oc hofudit skiptj ec fedr þijnum, þviat hann er hofut yduar allra.”</p>

590a and γ agree throughout. They share the following readings against 152:

- a. Row 1: *var ek skipadr meirr heima i Saxlandi* γ , 590a, S58] for *ec heiman ur Saxlande* 152, 1002; *var ek ætladvr heima j Saxlande* 533, 556b
- b. Row 1: *en at skipta* γ , 590a, S58, 1002] *enn þess ath skipta* 152; *no equivalent in Recension 1*
- c. Row 2: “Herra,” *sagdi hun* γ , 590a, S58 (“segir”)] ÷ 152, 1002; *no equivalent in Recension 1*
- d. Row 3: *helldr bid ek at þer snidit ok sundr skiptir þu hann med vidrkuæmiligum uizsku ordum* γ , 590a, S58 (*lacks “þu” and orders some words differently*)] *helldr med uidrkuæmiligum uizku ordum* 152; *helldur med snilld ok visku* 1002; *no equivalent in Recension 1*
- e. Row 4: *haufud yduar allra ok (+ “eigi sidur” S58) ydvarrar ættar* γ , 590a, 556b] *hofut yduar allræ* 152, 1002; *hofvd ættar ydarrar* 533

Apart from the extra “þess” in phrase (b), all 152’s readings here result in a shorter text.

S58 remains either identical or very close to γ . Where the Recension 1 texts have equivalent passages, at (a) and (e), they do not coincide exactly with Recension 2, but are closer in wording to γ , 590a and S58 than to 152. None of 152’s readings here are shared by S58 or Recension 1. However, all but one of them are shared in whole or in part by 1002, and the exception (b) is consistent with the L-recension’s tendency to abbreviate further.⁵⁰

4. The feast proceeds on the following evening (or later that same evening in Recension 1). Recension 1 here displays such extensive differences from Recension 2 that its text is given below the parallel texts. Variants from γ are given from 590a, 152, S58 ff. 235v–236r, and 1002 ff. 62v–63r.

⁵⁰592a f. 1v, not included in the variant apparatus, is virtually identical to 1002 in this passage.

γ, f. 1v	590a, f. 4v–5r	152, f. 161v
1. Sidan lætr Hugon konungr stofna þat sterkazsta festar aul. Sidan–sterkazsta] Epttir þetta liet konungur efla hid ägiætasta 1002 þat] þar hit S58	Sidan lætur Hugon konungur stofna þat sterkasta festar aul.	Sijdann lætur Hugon konungur stofna þat sterkazta festar aul.
2. Er nauckurn tima hefvir veitt verid, margir leikar ok m[ar]gskyns gledi var þar framit. Er] sem at S58 veitt] ÷ 1002 verid] + i Miklagarde S58; + ä nordurlöndum 1002 margir–framit] med margs kynns gledi oc prijs 152; margskyns pris ok glede mätti þar siä S58; med allzkonar gledi ok skiemtun sem heimurinn kann ad öska 1002	Er nockurn tíma hefer vejtt vered, marger leikar og margz kinz glede var þar framed.	Er nockurn tíma hefir ueitt uerith med margs kynns gledi oc prijs,
3. Þar matti sia i hallinni marga dyra retti, ikorna, traunur ok elptr, ok margar adrar villibradir fylgiand sæmiligr dryckr i stor[um] gullkerum, jnn berandi jarlar, baronar, riddarrar. Þar–riddarrar] bædi med dyrum krasum ok allzkonar godum dryck 152; ÷ 1002 Þar–i hallinni] Þar komu þä inn S58 ikorna] ÷ S58 baronar, riddarrar] barönar og riddarar 590a; ok barünar S58	Þar mätte siä i hollenne marga diira rette, ikorna, traunur og elptur, og margar adrar villebräder filgjande sæmelegur drickur i störum gullkerum, inn berande jallar, barönar og riddarar.	bædi med dyrum krasum oc allzkonar godum dryck,
4. Marga ok stora tortisa ok stor kerti matti þar sia. ÷ 152, S58, 1002 tortisa] cortisa 590a	Marga og störa cortisa og stor kerti mätte þar siä.	
5. Ok er menn uoru sem gladazstir ok at kvelli leid, fylgdi drottning dottur sinni til sængrinnar. ÷ 152, 1002 Ok–gladazstir] ÷ S58 ok at] ok er at S58 drottning] drottnings S58 sængrinnar] sængur S58	Og er menn voru sem gladaster og ad kvelli leid, filgde drottning döttur sinne til sængurennar.	

	γ, f. 1v	590a, f. 4v–5r	152, f. 161v
6.	<i>Gerdu þa ungir menn danzsa fagra i hallinni ok sva i svefnherberginv. ÷ 152, 1002 Gerdu þa ungir Slogu þa ok margir S58</i>	<i>Giordu þa unger menn dantza fagra i hallenne, og so i svefnherbergenu.</i>	
7.	<i>Geck þa huerr annarra til sins herbergis med mikilli gledi. ÷ 152, 1002 annarra ÷ S58</i>	<i>Gieck þa hver annarra til sinz herbergis med mikille glede.</i>	
8.	<i>Var þetta brvdlavp veit med mikilli hreysti ok dreingskap. Var þetta var þat mælt ad þetta 1002 veit–dreingskap halldith med allz konar soma 152; hafdi verid halldit med so miklum söma j Miklagardi ad eckert mundi slijkt veitast vegna keisarans metnadar, enn 1002; gertt med hinni mestu sæmd ok þryði S58</i>	<i>Var þetta brudlaup veitt med mikelle hreiste og dreingskap.</i>	<i>war þetta brullaup halldith med allz konar soma.</i>
9.	<i>Sem keisari uar i kominn i brudar sængina, breiddi hamm adra blæiu a sik en aþra a fruina, ok svafv sva vm nottina. Sem + nü S58 keisari konungur 152 uar i kominn war kominn 152, 590a, S58; kom 1002 brudar sængina sæng brudarinnar 152, 1002; brüdhúfluna S58 fruina hana 152, 1002 sva af 1002</i>	<i>Sem keisare var kominn i brüdar sængena, breidde hamm adra blæu ä sig enn adra ä fruena, og sväfu so um nöttena.</i>	<i>Sem konungur war kominn ij sænng brudarinnar, breiddi hamm adra blæiu aa sic enn adra aa hana, oc suafu suo vm nottinna.</i>
10.	<i>Konungsdottir gaf ser ecki. ser sik S58, 1002 eckj + ath 152; + ad þessu 590a, S58, 1002</i>	<i>Konungsdottir gaf sier eckj ad þessu.</i>	<i>Konungsdottir gaf ser eckj ath.</i>
11.	<i>At þessi veizslu aflidinni, fer huer heim sæmdr uirdvligum giofum, sem hvers metordum hæfði. At Oc ath 152 þessi veizslu aflidinni lidinne ueizlunne 152, 1002; aflidinni þessari veitslu S58 heim + til sijn 1002 uirdvligum giofum vegligum gripumm ok giofvumm S58; gödum giofum 1002 sem–hæfði ÷ 152, 1002; sem at hvers metordumm sömdi S58</i>	<i>At þesse veitslu aflidenne, fer hvor heim sæmdur virdulegum giofum, sem hvorz metordum hæfde.</i>	<i>Oc ath lidinne ueizlunne, fer huer heim sæmdr uirduligum giofum.</i>

Recension 1 (533 f. 3r, 556b f. 1v):

ok fer veizlan allvel fram. Vorv þav leidd vm kveldit j eina sæng keisari ok drottning, ok er þionvstvmenn vorv brvtt geingnir, tekvr keisari eina blæiv, ok breidir adra yfir sik en adra æ konvngsdottvr. Sidan legzt hann nidvr ok snerizt eigi at henne.

ok–allvel] Ueizlan for uel 556b

vm kveldit] ÷ 556b

drottning] konungs dotter 556b

ok er–keisari] enn er þav hofdu litla hrid legit, þa sprettur keisare upp ok tok sier 556b

adra yfir] æ 556b

konvngsdottvr] hana 556b

Sidan legzt] Enn sidan lagdizt 556b

nidvr] uidvr 556b

henne] drottingu æ þeirre nott 556b

590a and γ agree except for the following readings:

- a. Row 3: *baronar, riddartar* γ] *barönar og riddarar* 590a; ok *barünar* S58; ÷ 152, 1002
- b. Row 4: *tortisa* γ , S58] *cortisa* 590a; ÷ 152, 1002
- c. Row 9: *i kominn i* γ] *kominn i* 590a, 152, S58; *kom* 1002
- d. Row 10: *gaf ser ecki* γ] *gaf sier eckj ad þessu* 590a, S58, 1002; *gaf ser eckj* ath 152

In none of these readings do γ and 152 agree against 590a. In phrase (c), 152 and S58 agree with 590a against γ : here independent scribal revision or correction cannot be ruled out, because γ 's reading presents, in erroneous or less common forms, a phrase found more commonly in the form seen in the majority reading. The same applies more broadly to phrase (d): γ 's self-standing use of the construction “gefa sér” is unusual compared with the reading shared by 590a, S58 and 1002 on the one hand, and 152's reading on the other hand, all of which include the preposition “at” and could have been carried out independently by any of these scribes. Independent revision can also not be ruled out for 590a's “og” in phrase (a), where γ erroneously lacks a conjunction. At (b), 590a's unique reading “cortisa” for “tortisa” is a clear scribal slip, given the similarity of “c” to “t” in late mediaeval Icelandic orthography (e. g. at this point in γ where the initial “t” of “tortisa” is slightly fainter than the rest of the word). None of these readings is inconsistent with the hypothesis that γ was the exemplar of 590a, and some of them support that hypothesis.

γ and 590a share the following readings against 152:

- e. Row 2: *margir leikar ok m[ar]gskyns gleði var þar framit* γ , 590a] *med margs kynns gleði oc prijs* 152; *margskyns prís ok glede mätti þar siä* S58; *med allzkonar gleði ok skiemtun sem heimurinn kann ad öska* 1002
- f. Rows 3–7: for the 75-word description of the feast in γ (76 in 590a, adding “ok”), 152 has just eight words of summary, “*bædi med dyrum krasum oc allzkonar godum dryck*”; 1002 has nothing at all; and S58 has a similar passage to the one shared by γ and 590a, with some rewording and localised abbreviation, numbering 68 words in total
- g. Row 8: *veit med mikilli hreysti ok dreingskap* γ , 590a] *halldith med allz konar soma* 152; *gertt med hinni mestu sæmd ok prýdi* S58; *halldit med so miklum söma j Miklagardi ad eckert mundi slijkt veitast vegna keisarans metnadar* 1002
- h. Row 9: *brudar sængina* γ , 590a] *sæng brudarinnar* 152, 1002; *brüdhúfluna* S58
- i. Row 9: *a fruina* γ , 590a, S58] *a hana* 152, 1002
- j. Row 11: *At þessi veizslu aflidinni* γ , 590a] *Oc ath lidinne ueizlunne* 152; *Ad lidenne veislunne* 1002; *At aflidinni þessari veitslu* S58
- k. Row 11: *sem hvers metordum hæfði* γ , 590a] \div 152, 1002; *sem at hvers metordumm sömdi* S58

Wherever there is any difference in length (i. e. in four of these instances), 152’s readings result in a shorter text than γ and 590a; in the whole passage 152 (with 1002) is radically shorter.

S58 is again either identical or close to γ and 590a, and even at its most divergent – phrase (e) and the long passage (f) – it remains syntactically closer to γ than to 152, even at (e) where the word “*prís*” aligns one element in S58’s wording with 152.

1002 shares, in whole or in part, most of 152’s readings against γ and 590a. Where it does not, it goes very much its own way, sometimes in the direction of amplification.⁵¹

⁵¹ 592a f. 2r, not included in the variant apparatus, is very close to 1002 (and to 152) but presents some unique readings of its own.

2.2. Mágus's stratagems: Viðförull's illusions, Mágus's faked death, and Hálfliti-maðr in Denmark

The first two leaves of β contain parts of these episodes which come near the end of the main body of *Mágus saga*, before the sequel-*þættir*. Passages 5–10 display passages from these episodes, all of which are present – sometimes with considerable variation – in all the non-fragmentary texts of Recensions 1b and 2 covered here. Recension 1a (580) lacks the Danish episode represented by passages 9 and 10, and fragment α of Recension 1 includes only the first part of passage 5. The K-recension (S17, S6 and 325) is not included in my discussion of passages 5–8 because its text here clearly belongs to the Recension 1 group and is too distant from Recension 2. However, in passages 9 and 10 (the Danish episode) the K-recension is either very close to Recension 2 or clearly belongs to the Recension 2 group, so in these passages it has been included in the variant apparatus.

Much text is missing from the first leaf of β : half of the leaf has been cut away so that the right-hand half of the page is missing on f. 1r and the left-hand half is missing on f. 1v. The missing half-lines are represented by [000 000], and to make this clearer I have separated lines in the original manuscript with blank lines. For this reason, passages 5 and 6 use 590a as the base text from which variants are given. In order not to pre-empt any conclusions, my analyses of the variants following each passage from this leaf (passages 5 and 6) are based only on text appearing in β , with minimal conjectural emendation to make variants visible.

5. Mágus's *son-et-lumière* displays of ancient heroes seem to break out of the cinema-screen and threaten Emperor Karl and his men. The wording of Recension 2 is sometimes close to that of Recension 1 here, so variants are included from all four mediaeval witnesses of Recension 1, including fragment α (which includes the first part of this passage). Variants to 590a are given from β , 152, 534 f. 12v, S58 f. 361r–v, 580 f. 31v, 533 f. 22r, 556b f. 12v, and α f. 4v.

β, f. 1r	590a, f. 28v	152, f. 180v
1. Þeir kaullud[u] [000 000] heyrt hafva i odæmum sem læt[i] [000 000]	<p>Þeir kolludu so <i>med</i> ögurligre roddu ad <i>keisare</i> þottest <i>eckj</i> slíkt heirt hafa i <u>ödæmum</u> sem læte þeirra, Þeir–ad] med ofurlegri rod[u] ok miklu kalli <i>α</i> kolludu] tavlvdv 533 so med] med svo 533, 556b, 580, S58 ögurligre roddu] mikilli rauddu oc ogurligri 580, 533; auskurligum latum ok harre rauddu 556b keisare] konungur 152, 533 eckj–ödæmum] eingi slik odømi heyrt hafa 580; eingi odæmi slik hafa heyrt 533; eigi slíka heyrt hafa 556b; alldri þuilik odæme heyrt hafa <i>α</i>; alldre slijet fyrr sied hafa 152; þá einginn slik ödæme heyrt hafa S58 sem–þeirra] ÷ 152, 580, 533, 556b, <i>α</i></p>	<p>Þeir kaulludu <i>suo med</i> ogurligri roddu at <i>konungur</i> þotizt alldre slijet fyrr sied hafa,</p>
2. [000 000] haund ser, þuiad þa voru allir <i>hans menn</i> [000 000]	<p>og nú er þat jafn snemma ad <i>keisare</i> tekr hlaup ä hond ser, þuiat þa voru <u>aller hans menn</u> ä brottu. og] ÷ 533 þat] + allt 534, 556b; allt S58 keisare] konungur 152, 533 tekr–brottu] ætlar upp at stannda ok flyia sem hann gerði 580, 533; ætlar vpp standa ok flíja sem hann giordi <i>α</i>; stenndr upp ok ætlar at flyia sem hann giorde 556b hlaup–ser] til hlaups S58 þuiat–ä] þá er allir hans menn voro i brottu S58</p>	<p>oc nu er þat iafn snemma at <i>konungur</i> tekur hlaup ä haunnd ser, þuijat þa uoru allir <i>hans menn</i> ä bruttu.</p>

Þ, f. 1r	590a, f. 28v	152, f. 180v
3. [000 000] fast a glerhiminenn ok sua mic[ill] [000 000] mega.	Og þá listr Vidölfr mittumstangan staungenne so fast ä glerhimenenn og so mikell brestur vard af þessu, ad keisara hellt vit hvort hann munde standast [<i>a ends</i> <i>here</i>] mega. þá-mittumstangan] Uijdolfur lystur 152; Vidölfr mittumstangan lystr 580; Midolfvr mittvmstangi lystvr nidvr 533, 556b; Vidolfr mittulstangi [000] <i>a</i> Vidölfr] Midolfr 534 staungenne] stong sinni 580, 533, <i>a</i> , 534 so fast-og so] ä glerit suo fast at suo 152; sva fast ä glerhimininn at sva S58; a glerhimininn ok sua 580, 533, <i>a</i> ; ä glerhiminn suo at 556b vard] verðr 580, <i>a</i> af þessu] af 580, 533, 556b, <i>a</i> ; þar af S58 ad] ÷ 556b keisara] konungi 152, 533 vit] + sialft 533 hvort] hvat 534 munde] skyldi 580, 533, <i>a</i> mega] eda eigi 152, 556b; + eða eigi 580, 533	Oc Uijdolfur lystur stoginne ä glerit suo fast at suo mikill brestr uard af þessu, at konungi hiellt uit huort hann munde standast eda eigi.
4. Þat ser hann at ofuan fellr a[llr] [000 000] keisari ferdina vit slikt.	Þat ser hann at ofan fellur allur glerhimenenn, og aller brotna stölparner, og eckj minkar keisare ferdina vid slikt. Þat-hann] Þa ser keisari 580; Þa sier konvngvr 533; Ok sier keisare þa 556b ofan fellur] fellur ofan 556b allur glerhimenenn] glerhiminenn 152, 580; glerhimininn allvr 533 og ¹ -brotna] ok allir hans 580, 533; ok 556b brotna stölparner] stölparmir brotnudu S58 og ²] ÷ 534, 152, S58, 580, 533, 556b eckj-keisare] Mijskar konungur eigi 152; Ecki minkar konvngvr 533; Ecke seinkar keisare 556b; Ecki minkadi keysarinn S58 vid slikt] ÷ 556b	Þat sier hann at ofan fellr glerhiminenn oc allir brotna stolparner. Mijskar konungur eigi ferdina uit slijct.

β, f. 1r	590a, f. 28v	152, f. 180v
5. [000 000]	<i>Og ei gefur hann nu gaum ad Markvardi, og verdr hann nü þar epter eirnsaman.</i> Og–ad] Eckj geymir hann at wm 152; Ok gefvr avngvan gavm at 533; ok gefur hann gaum at 556b nu ¹] ÷ 580 og verdr–eirnsaman] ÷ 580, 533, 556b nü ²] ÷ 534, 152	<i>Eckj geymir hann at wm Markuard. Uerdr hann nu þar eptir einn samann.</i>
6. [000 000] <i>vit aullu sinu lidi skundar til Uern[inzu]</i> [000 000]	<i>Enn keisare vid ollu lide sinu skundar til Verminnzu borgar.</i> ÷ 580, 533, 556b Enn] ÷ 534 Enn–borgar] Keysarinn flýtir nü sinni ferd at hann geymir varla fyrir otta huersu hann fer S58 keisare] konungur 152 vid] med 152 lide sinu] sinu lidi β, 152, 534 skundar] + heim 534 Verminnzu] Uernizu 152; Vermisu 534	<i>En konungur med ollu sijnu lide skundar til Uernizu borgar.</i>

Where β is visible, 590a agrees with it throughout, except for the following reading:

- a. Row 6: *sinu lidi β, 534, 152] lide sinu 590a; no equivalent in S58 or Recension 1*

This is the first example, in all the passages discussed so far, of a reading shared by β or γ and 152 against 590a. β's reading is also shared by 534. Unsupported by the other texts, 590a's reading can be explained as a low-level scribal reordering and does not challenge the hypothesis that β was its exemplar.

β and 590a share the following readings against 152. Some of these readings are difficult to present as intelligible phrases because of the state of preservation of β. In some cases I present conjectural readings in angle brackets of one or two of its missing words, where the word-order of variant readings makes it necessary to show slightly more text than is actually visible in β in order to show comparable variants:

- b. Row 1: *heyrt hafva i odæmum sem læt<i> β, 590a, 534] fyrir sied hafa 152; ödæme heyrtt hafa S58, 580, α; odæmi ... hafa heyrt 533; heyrt hafa 556b*
- c. Row 3: *glerhiminenn β, 590a, 534, S58, 580, 533, 556b, α] glerit 152*
- d. Row 3: *ok sua β, 590a, 534, 580, 533, α] at suo 152, S58; svo at 556b*
- e. Row 3: *<standast> mega β, 590a, 534, S58] standdazt eda eigi 152, 556b; standdaz mega eða eigi 580, 533; α ends after first word*
- f. Row 4: *ofuan fellr a<llr glerhiminenn> β, 590a, 534, S58] ofan fellr glerhiminenn 152, 580; ofan fellvr glerhiminenn allvr 533; fellur ofan allur glerhiminenn 556b*
- g. Row 4: *<ei minkar> keisari β, 590a, 534, S58 (“minkadi”), 580] Mijskar konungur eigi 152; Ecki minkar konvngvr 533; Ecke seinkar keisare 556b*
- h. Row 6: *vit aullu β, 590a, 534] med ollu 152; no equivalent in S58 or Recension 1*

Phrase (b) shows 152 presenting an abbreviated text as well as one which departs most radically from the sense of the other texts, but most of the other variants are minor. 152 is still a shorter text overall, but only by eight words in comparison with 590a.

Given the textually insignificant nature of most of these variants and the readiness with which words and phrases like these could be changed by scribes, it is striking how consistently 534 retains the same wording as β and 590a here. In four of these six instances – (b), (c), (g) and (h) – 152 stands alone, but in phrases (d), (e) and (f) its reading coincides (albeit trivially) with S58, 556b and 580 respectively. Overall S58 and the texts of Recension 1 are closer here to β and 590a than they are to 152.

6. Emperor Karl is told of Mágus’s impending death and instructs Úlfr to visit Mágus in Strassburg. Here it is the left-hand half of the leaf of β that is missing, again with gaps represented below by [000 000], so I continue appending the variants to 590a rather than to β. Recension 1 has such extensive differences from Recension 2 here that its text is given below the parallel texts. Variants to 590a are given from β, 152, 534 f. 13r, and S58 ff. 364v–365r.

	β, f. 1v	590a, f. 30v	152, f. 181r
1.	[000 000] vor radgiafi, at heyra þa h [000 000]	“Þa munu vier senda Ülf, er verit hefer vor rädgiafe, ad heira þa lute af honum sem hann vill giqra oz i kunnleika.” Þa] Fa 534 munu] munum 152, S58 er] sem at S58 vor rädgiafe] radgiafe uor adr 152 af honum] ÷ 152 sem] er 534 giqra–kunnleika] os giora til kunnleikaa 152; oss giora j kvnnleika 534; oss kunna giqra S58	“Þaa munum uier senda Ulf, er uerith hefir radgiafe uor adr, ath heyra þaa hlute sem hann uill os giora til kunnleikaa.”
2.	[000 000] i brott ok allt þar til er hann kemr til motz vit [000 000]	Einar fer nu i brott og allt þar til er hann kemur til mötz vit Ülf. i–kemur] ÷ 534, S58 allt–hann] ÷ 152	Einar fer nu ij burt oc kemur til motz uit Ulf.
3.	[000 000]	Hann seger honum tilskipan keisara. Hann] ok 534, S58 tilskipan keisara] tilskipann konungs 152	Hann segir honum tilskipann konungs.
4.	[000 000] Einari þar til er þeir koma til Stransborgar [000 000]	Ulfur bregdr vit skiött og fer med Einare þar til er þeir koma til Stranzborgar süd dagz. Ulfur] Enn Vlfur 152 bregdr–og] ÷ S58 fer–koma] fara þeir 534 þar–koma] ÷ 152 til?] i (faint) S58 Stranzborgar] + þat var 534, S58; + oc koma 152	Enn Vlfur bregdr wit skiott oc fer med Einare til Stransborgar oc koma sijd dags.
5.	[000 000]	Þeir ganga til þess hüer er Magus lä i. ganga] geingu S58 þess huz] hus 152; herbergis 534; þess herbergis S58 er] sem at S58	Þeir gannga til hus er Magus læ ij.

Recension 1 in 533 f. 23r (variants from 580 f. 32r, 556b f. 13r):

“Nv skal *gera* ord Vlfí,” s., “*ok skal hann fara vid .xij.ta mann.*” Einar fer nv til motz vid Vlf ok segir honvm. Vlfvr byzt skiott. Fara þeir nv til þess er þeir koma til Stransborgar. Hvs þat var eitt saman er Magus la j.

Nv] Enn nu 580, 556b

ok skal] [000 000] (*illegible*) 580

s.] segir keisare 556b

skal] seig at hann skal 556b

.xij.ta] .xij. 580, 556b

Vlfvr byzt] Hann byz 580; Ulfur byzt nu 556b

Fara–nv] ok fara þeir nu 580; Þeir fara 556b

til²–þeir] til þe[000 000] (*illegible*) 580; þar til er þeir 556b

Hvs–saman] Hus var eitt ser 580; Hus uar þat eitt sier 556b

Where β is visible, 590a agrees with it throughout. β and 590a share the following readings against 152. As above, because of the state of preservation of β I expand some of its readings conjecturally with angle brackets in order to provide comparable variants:

- a. Row 1: vor radgiafi β , 590a, 534, S58] radgiafe uor adr 152
- b. Row 2: <fer nu> i brott ok allt þar til er hann kemr β , 590a] fer nu ij burt oc kemur 152; ÷ 534, S58
- c. Row 4: þar til er þeir koma til Stransborgar β , 590a, S58 (“i Stransborg”)] til Stransborgar oc koma 152; til Stransborgar, þat uar 534

Except for phrase (a), where it is one word longer, 152’s readings are shorter by several words than those of β and 590a, and its text is shorter overall here.

S58’s readings stay close to β and 590a where they have equivalent text. Where it has equivalent text, 534 agrees with β , 590a and S58 against 152 at (a), but goes its own way at (c).

7. Just after Mágus’s supposed death Úlfr questions his widow about the funeral arrangements. Recension 1 is too divergent to be included in the variant apparatus, so is printed below. Variant readings to β are given from 590a, 152, 534 f. 13r, and S58 f. 366r–v.

β, f. 2r	590a, f. 30v	152, f. 181r
<p>1. <i>Ok er nattin leid en dagrinn kom, var likami jarls borinn til kirkiu med favgrum yfvirsaungum, ok buit um med allri virðingv. leid] + af S58</i> likami] lik 534 jarls] hanns S58 borinn til] borit j 534 yfvirsaungum] savngum 534 ok buit–virðingv] ÷ 152 buit um med] ÷ 534; medur S58</p>	<p>Og er nättenn leid enn dagurenn kom, var likame jallz borenn til kirkju med fogrum yfersongvum, og büed um med allre virðingu.</p>	<p><i>Oc er nattin leid en dagurinn kom, var lijkaminn jarlsins borinn til kirkiu med fogrum yfirsongum.</i></p>
<p>2. <i>Þa geck Vlfr til drottningar ok mælti, “Fru,” sagdi hann, “ek vil taka orlof af ydr til heimferdar ok at segia þessi tidendi,</i> Þa geck Vlfr] Wlfr geck 152 orlof af ydr] af ydr leyfi 534 ok at] oc 152; at 534, S58</p>	<p>Þa gieck Ulfur til drottningar og mælti, “Frú,” s. hann, “eg vil taka orlof af ydur til heimferdar og at segia þesse tidende,</p>	<p>Wlfr geck til drottningar oc mælti, “Fru,” s. hann, “ec uil taka orlof af ydr til heimferdar oc segia þesse tijdenndi,</p>
<p>3. <i>Þviat ek þickiunz uita ad þu munt Magus jarl lata flytia til Verminzsvborgar.”</i> þu–Verminzsvborgar] konungur mun uel oc sæmiliga giora hans utferd 152 Magus–flytia] lata flytia lik jarls 534</p>	<p>þuiat eg þikjunst vita ad þü munt Magus jarl läta flitja til Verminzuborgar.”</p>	<p>þuiat ec þikiunnzt uita ath konungur mun uel oc sæmiliga giora hans utferd.”</p>
<p>4. <i>Drottning mælti, “Ei uil ek þat, ei fyrir þvi vita þickiunz ek ad keisari mun uel ok sæmiliga gera hans gravft ok utferd,</i> Drottning mælti] S. hun 534; Hon mællte S58 þat] + ok S58 ei fyrir–ek] enn uita þikiunzt ec 152; eigi af þvi at ek veit 534 keisari] konungur 152 ok sæmiliga] ÷ 152 gravft ok] ÷ 152, 534</p>	<p>Drottning mælti, “Ei vil eg þat, ei firer þui vita þikjunst eg ad keisare mun vel og sæmelega giöra hans grauft og ütferd,</p>	<p>Drottning mælti, “Ei uil ec þat, enn uita þikiunzt ec at konungur mun uel giora hans utferd,</p>

	β, f. 2r	590a, f. 30v	152, f. 181r
5.	<p>en ei vil ek at <i>Vbbi jarl</i>, eda adrar mannskraefur þær sem adr hafva hropat hann vit keisara, hafi <i>yfvirgang vm hans leidi.</i>” at] + ath 152 eda] ok S58 þær–hann] er leingi hafa rækt hann 534; þær sem at hönnum hafva leingi röpat S58 keisara] konung 152; + at þeir 534 hafi] + nu heldr 534, S58 vm] yfir 534</p>	<p>enn ei vil eg ad <i>Ubbi jarl</i>, eda adrar mannskraefr þær sem ädr hafa hröpad hann vit keisara, hafe yfergäng um hans leide.”</p>	<p>enn <i>eigi</i> uil ec ath ath <i>Ubbi jarl</i>, eda adrar manskrefur þer sem adur hafa hropat hann uit konung, hafi yfirgang um hanns leide.”</p>
6.	<p>Vlfr <i>mælti</i>, “Villt þu þa at hann se her <i>grafinn</i> i <i>Stransborg?</i>” mælti] s. 534 hann] ÷ 152 i Stransborg] ÷ 534</p>	<p>Ulfur <i>mælti</i>, “Villtü þa ad hann sie hier <i>grafenn</i> i <i>Stranzborg?</i>”</p>	<p>Ulfur <i>mælti</i>, “Uilltu þa ath se hier <i>grafin</i> ij <i>Stransborg?</i>”</p>
7.	<p><i>Drottning mælti</i>, “<i>Fiarri fer þat. Kemr þat</i> þ[00]² mest til þess at ek hefi sua mikit vnnat <i>Magus</i> at þat ma ek ei nyta at sia dagliga uppa <i>hans</i> leg, þviat þa græt ek mer allr[i] þegar ek lit þetta leg.” mælti] s. 534 fer–þess at] fer [00] þess þviat 534 þat²–þess] þat mest til þess 590a, S58; þat mest til 152 sua–Magus] unnat suo mikith Magus 152; vnat honum svo mikit 534; + jarli S58 þat ma ek] ek mä þat S58 nyta at] ÷ 152 uppa] umm S58 leg¹] leide 152 þviat–allri] þviat þa get eg mier alldrei sorglaust hallded 590a; fyrir grate 152; ÷ 534; þviat ek grætur mier allrj S58 þegar] ÷ 534, 152; þa er S58 ek lit–leg] ÷ 534, 152; ek litur hanns leidi S58</p>	<p><i>Drottning mælti</i>, “<i>Fiarre fer þat. Kemur þat</i> mest til þess ad eg hefe so miked unnad <i>Magus</i> ad þad mä eg ei nita ad sia daglega uppa <i>hans</i> leg, þuiat þa get eg mier alldrei sorglaust hallded þegar eg lit þetta leg.”</p>	<p><i>Drottning mælti</i>, “<i>Fiarre fer þat. Kemur þat</i> mest til at ec hefi unnat suo mikith <i>Magus</i> ath þat mä ec ei sia dagliga uppa hanns leide fyrir grate.”</p>

⁵² Abbreviation illegible: could be “þvi” or an accidentally repeated “þat”.

Recension 1 in 533, f. 23r (variants from 580 f. 32r, 556b f. 13r):

Vlfvr spvrdi drotningv hvort lík Magus skyldi flytia til Vernizuborgar. Drotning svarar, “Eigi vil ek þat. Veit ek at þeir mvnv vel hallda bænm fyrir honvm, en ecki vil ek at Vbbi hafi yfirsokn vm leidi hans.” Þa spyr Vlfvr hvort hon vill at hann se heima þar grafinn. “Eigi skal þat,” segir hon. “Ek hefi svo mikít vnnad Magvs at ek græt mer allri ef ek kem til leidis hans.”

spvrdi] spyr 580; frette 556b
 flytia] færa 580; fara 556b
 svarar] s. 580; mælti 556b
 Eigi vil ek] Ek vil eigi 580
 þeir mvnv] þer munuð allir 580; aller munu þar 556b
 bænm–honvm] fyrir honum þonum 580; bænum fyrer Magus 556b
 vil²] mun 556b
 at Vbbi hafi] lata Ubba hafa 556b
 yfirsokn–hans] yfirsokn leiði hans 580; bænar yfer honum 556b
 Þa spyr–leidis hans] ÷ 556b
 hvort²] ef 580
 þar] ÷ 580
 ef] þegar 580

590a and β agree throughout, with the following exceptions, both from row 7:

- a. Kemr þat þ[00] mest β] Kemur þat mest 590a, 152, S58; ÷ 534; *no equivalent in Recension 1*
- b. þviat þa græt ek mer allri β] þuiat þä get eg mier alldrei sorglaust hallded 590a; fyrir grate 152; ÷ 534; þuiat ek grætur mier allrj S58; at ek græt mer allri 533, 580; *no equivalent in 556b*

In both cases 590a’s reading is likely to be a scribal intervention. In the first instance, interpretation depends on what we conjecture β’s illegible “þ[00]” to have read, but by far the commonest wording for this idiom in Icelandic is that found in all the other texts which contain any equivalent to this phrase. All three texts can be seen as independently correcting or simplifying the unusual and/or illegible syntax of β. This instance does not challenge the hypothesis that β was the exemplar of 590a. The second phrase is subject to much wider variation. β and 590a begin syntactically very close to each other, even where the wording of 590a starts to vary, but 590a ends in a completely different way. The hypothesis that β was 590a’s exemplar is not challenged by this variant: the

most likely explanation is that the scribe of 590a misread “græt” as “get” and “allri” as “alldrei”, then tried to make sense of the result by inserting the new words “sorglaust hallded”. The fact that both texts of Recension 1 (1a as well as 1b) that contain this passage share β 's word-choice with S58 suggests that S58's reading is as close as β 's to a fourteenth-century text of Recension 2.

β and 590a share the following readings against 152 (not counting 152's “ath ath” in row 4, clearly a scribal slip). Readings from Recension 1 are given only where the text has any comparable wording, as it is so divergent in this passage overall:

- c. Row 1: *ok buit um med allri virðingv* β , 590a] ÷ 152; *ok allri uirðingu* 534; *ok medur allri virðingu* S58
- d. Row 2: *Þa geck Vlfr* β , 590a, 534, S58] *Wlfrur geck* 152
- e. Row 2: *ok at segia* β , 590a] *oc segia* 152; *at segia* 534, S58
- f. Row 3: *ad þu munt Magus jarl lata flytia til Verminzsvborgar* β , 590a, S58] *ath konungur mun uel oc sæmiliga giora hans utferd* 152; *atu munt lata flytia lik jarls til Vermizuborgar* 534
- g. Row 4: *ei fyrir þvi vita þickuinz ek* β , 590a, S58] *enn uita þikiunzt ec* 152; *eigi af þvi at ek veit* 534
- h. Row 4: *keisari mun uel ok sæmiliga gera hans gravft ok utferd* β , 590a, S58] *konungur mun uel giora hans utferd* 152; *keisari mun vel ok sæmiliga giora hans utferd* 534
- i. Row 5: *vit keisara* β , 590a, 534, S58] *uit konung* 152
- j. Row 6: *at hann se* β , 590a, 534, S58, 533, 580, 556b] *ath se* 152
- k. Row 7: *til þess at* β , 590a, S58] *til at* 152; [00] *þess þviat* 534
- l. Row 7: *sua mikit unnat Magus* β , 590a, S58, 533, 580] *unnat suo mikith Magus* 152; *vnat honum svo mikit* 534
- m. Row 7: *ei nyta at sia dagliga uppa hans leg* β , 590a] *ei sia dagliga uppa hanns leide* 152; *æigi nyta at sea dagliga umm hanns leg* S58; ÷ 534

Wherever there is any difference in length (i. e. in eight of these eleven phrases), 152's readings are briefer than those of β and 590a, and 152 has a briefer text of the whole passage than in β and 590a.

None of 152's readings here are shared by 534 or S58. Those two texts remain either identical or close to β and 590a, except for phrases (g) and (l) where 534 goes its own way. At (h), 534's reading stands equidistant between the fuller reading in β , 590a and S58 and the briefer reading in 152. This is consistent with

the possibility that 534 and 152 have each condensed their exemplar to differing degrees. Phrase (j) is the only one here for which comparable wording exists in Recension 1; its reading supports β , 590a, 534 and S58 against 152.

8. Mágus's supposed corpse is borne away and Úlfr returns to Worms. Recension 1 is too divergent to be included in the variant apparatus, so is printed below. Variants to β are given from 590a, 152, 534 f. 13v, and S58 f. 367r–v.

	β , f. 2r	590a, f. 30v	152, f. 181r
1.	En ei er oss stadr tilnefndr hvert drottning let þenna líkam flytia, oss] ÷ S58 stadr tilnefndr] stadr tilgreindr 152; sa stadr nef[n]dr 534, S58 hvert] er 534; sem at S58 þenna–flytia] fara med líkam Magus 152; flytia þenna líkam til 534; líkamann flytia S58	Enn ei er oz stadr tilnefndur hvort drottning liet þenna líkam flitja,	Enn ei er oss stadr tilgreindr huert drottning liet fara med líkam Magus,
2.	en hitt er sagt ad þeim forst vel ok greidliga eptir bodi drottningar, greidliga] + oc 152 eptir–drottningar] ÷ 534	enn hitt er sagt ad þeim först vel og greidlega epter bode drottningar,	enn hitt er sagt ath þeim forst uel oc greidliga oc eptir bodi drottningar.
3.	ok komu med heilu apr i Stransborg eptir sva langan tíma sem þeir mattu þessv vel orkat hafva. ok] ÷ 152 i] til S58 eptir–hafva] ÷ 534 sem] + at S58 þessv vel] þui qlu þä S58 orkat hafva] fá orkat 152	og komu med heilu apr i Stranzborg epter so langann tíma sem þeir mättu þessu vel orkad hafa.	Komu med heilu aptur ij Stransborg eptir suo langann tíma sem þeir mattu þessu uel fá orkat.
4.	I annan stad þessv iafnframm byzt Vlfur til heimreidar vit aullum sinum monnum. I–monnum] Þessu næst byst Ulfvur jarl ok hanns menn til heimferdar S58 I–iafnframm] Nu þessu iafnfram 152; J anan stad 534 til heimreidar] til heimferdar 590a, 152, S58; heim 534 vit aullum] med 152; med ollvm 534	J annan stad þessu jafnframt bißt Ulfur til heimferdar vid ollum sinum monnum.	Nu þessu iafnfram byzt Ulfur til heimferdar med sijnun monnum,

	β, f. 2r	590a, f. 30v	152, f. 181r
5.	<p><i>Lettir hann ei fyrr sinni ferd hann kemr til Verminzsvborgar.</i></p> <p>Lettir–ferd] oc lettir ei sinne ferd fyrr 152; Liettir hann nü æigi fyrr S58 hann kemr] enn hann kemur 590a, 152, 534, S58 til] heim til S58</p>	<p><i>Letter hann ei firr sinna ferd enn hann kemur til Verminzuborgar.</i></p>	<p><i>oc lettir ei sinne ferd fyrr enn hann kemr til Uernizuborgar.</i></p>

Recension 1 in 533 f. 23r–v (variants from 580 f. 32r, 556b f. 13v):

*Sidan var kista gior at likinv ok borid a skip vt, ok letv j haf, ok forst þeim vel. Vlfvr reid
til Vernizvborgar.*
likinv] liki hans 580
vt] ÷ 580, 556b
ok²] ÷ 580
letv] + þvi 580; + þeir 556b
ok forst þeim vel] Forst þeim et bezta 556b
reid] fer 556b

590a and β agree throughout, with the following exceptions:

- a. Row 4: *til heimreidar* β] *til heimferdar* 590a, 152, S58; *heim* 534
- b. Row 5: *Lettir hann ei fyrr sinni ferd hann kemr* β] *Letter hann ei firr sinna ferd
enn hann kemur* 590a, 534; *lettir ei sinne ferd fyrr enn hann kemr* 152; *Liettir
hann nü æigi fyrr enn hann kemur* S58

In neither case is a reading shared by β and 152 against 590a or against the other texts of Recension 2. At (a) alone, 590a and 152 agree against β. Here the elements “-reið-” and “-ferð-” are easily mistaken for each other, so it is difficult to attach text-critical significance to this variant. Scribal inattention (in any of the texts) cannot be excluded. At (b), the phrase “léttu fyrir [...] en” is so common that it seems clear that “en” was accidentally omitted in β (perhaps because “ferd” here comes at the end of a line) and that all the other manuscripts present either the original or a corrected wording. There is nothing in either (a) or (b) to rule out β as 590a’s exemplar.

β and 590a share the following readings against 152:

- c. Row 1: *tilnefndr* β, 590a] *tilgreindr* 152; *nef[n]dr* 534, S58

- d. Row 1: *let þenna líkam flytia* β, 590a] *liet fara með líkam Magus* 152; *flytia þenna líkam til* 534; *liet líkamann flytia* S58
- e. Row 2: *eptir bodi* β, 590a, S58] *oc eptir bodi* 152; ÷ 534
- f. Row 3: *ok komu* β, 590a, 534, S58] *Komu* 152
- g. Row 3: *orkat hafva* β, 590a, S58] *faa orkat* 152; ÷ 534
- h. Row 4: *I annan stad þessu íafnframm* β, 590a] *Nu þessu íafnfram* 152; *J annan stad* 534; *Þessu næst* S58
- i. Row 4: *vit aullum sinum monnum* β, 590a] *med sijnum monnum* 152; *med ollvm sinvm monnum* 534; *ok hanns menn* S58
- j. Row 5: *Lettir hann ei* β, 590a, 534] *oc lettir ei* 152; *Liettir hann nú æigi* S58

In this passage as a whole, 152's level of abbreviation is less striking than in some of the other passages discussed: overall it is only two words shorter than the equivalent in β and 590a, and two of the phrases listed here have slightly longer readings in 152 than in β and 590a.

All 152's readings stand alone compared to the other texts. 534 presents a briefer version of this passage than the other texts. It does not have equivalent wording at phrases (e) or (g), but where it does have equivalent wording it is closer to β and 590a than to 152 (except for phrase (h), where all the texts diverge widely except β and 590a). S58 remains closer to β and 590a than to 152 in all phrases except for (h) and (i), where S58's wording stands alone but shares a similar degree of brevity with 152.

9. The situation at the court of King Eysteinn of Denmark is described before Mágus visits it as Hálfliti-maðr. This Danish episode is not included in 580 (Recension 1a). In Recension 1b it occupies two alternative positions: in 533 it occupies a similar position to that in Recension 2, but in 556b it comes just before the above episode of Mágus's feigned death. Both texts of Recension 1b come close enough to Recension 2 here to be included in the variant apparatus, and the K-recension (S17, S6 and 325) here follows a Recension-2-type text. Variants to β are given from 590a, 152, 534 f. 13v, S58 f. 369v, 533 f. 28v, 556b f. 13v, S17 f. 150r, S6 f. 357r, and 325 f. 25v.

	β, f. 2v	590a, f. 31r	152, f. 181v
1.	<p><i>Hann atti eina dottur er Helga het. Hun uar væn ok uinsæl.</i></p> <p>Hann atti] + ser 152, 533; H[00]tti⁵³ 534 eina dottur] dottvr eina 533; + barna S17, S6, 556b er] sem S58 Hun uar] + bæde 556b; ÷ 325 væn] frid 533; uitur 556b; þa uænst kuenna, vitur S17; vænst kuenna þar, vitur S6; kuenna vænst, vitur 325 uinsæl] + og vel ad sier vm alla hluti S17, S6</p>	<p><i>Hann ätte eina döttur er Helga het. Hün var væn og vinsæl.</i></p> <p>Hann ätte eina döttur er Helga het. Hün var væn og vinsæl.</p>	<p><i>Hann atti ser eina dottur er Helga het. Hun uar uænn oc uinsæl.</i></p> <p>Hann atti ser eina dottur er Helga het. Hun uar uænn oc uinsæl.</p>
2.	<p><i>Þat er sagt at einum vetri fyrr haufdu þar komit tueir berserkir i riki Eysteins konungs.</i></p> <p>Þat er nu ad seigia ad vykingar komu vid Danmerki S17, 325; Þad er nu ad seigia ad ij vykingar komu vid Danmørk S6; Þat er nu at segia er einum uetri uard sidar edur fyrr, at berserker .ij. komu til Danmerkur 556b er] var S58 sagt–vetri] sagt at þar koma 533 at] ä 590a; ÷ 152 fyrr] adr 534 tueir–konungs] tueir berserkir 152, 533; j riki konungs berserkir 534; berserkir i rikit Eysteins kóngss S58</p>	<p><i>Þat er sagt ä einum uetre fir hofdu þar komed tveir berserker i riki Eisteinz konungs.</i></p> <p>Þat er sagt ä einum uetre fir hofdu þar komed tveir berserker i riki Eisteinz konungs.</p>	<p><i>Þat er sagt einum uetri fyrr hofdu þar komit tueir berserkir.</i></p> <p>Þat er sagt einum uetri fyrr hofdu þar komit tueir berserkir.</p>
3.	<p><i>Het annar Gydr en annar Atli. Þeir vor[<u>u</u> sva] micklir garpar at engir viking[ar] reistu raunnd vit þeim.</i></p> <p>Het] og het S17 Þeir voru] ÷ S17, S6, 325 garpar] kappar 152, 534, S58 at] + nær 556b engir vikingar] avngvir berserkir 533; einginn vykingar S17; einginn vykingur S6; einginn 325</p>	<p><i>Het annar Girdr enn annar Atle. Þeir voru so mikler garpar ad eingir vikingar reistu rønd vit þeim.</i></p> <p>Het annar Girdr enn annar Atle. Þeir voru so mikler garpar ad eingir vikingar reistu rønd vit þeim.</p>	<p><i>Het annar Gyrrdr enn annar Atle. Þeir uoru suo miklir kappar at onguir uikijngar reistu raunnd uit þeim.</i></p> <p>Het annar Gyrrdr enn annar Atle. Þeir uoru suo miklir kappar at onguir uikijngar reistu raunnd uit þeim.</p>

590a and β agree throughout, with one exception:

- a. Row 2: at *einum vetri* fyrr β, S58] ä *einum uetre* fir 590a; *einum uetri* fyrr 152; ad S17, S6, 325, 533; *er einum uetri uard sidar edur* fyrr 556b

⁵³ Damage to leaf here.

Here, the information that the *berserkir* had arrived one winter before Mágus's disguised arrival is syntactically clearest in β and S58. Where those texts have "at", 590a uniquely has "ä", which makes little sense coming just after "Þat er sagt". S17, S6, 325 and 533 lack any phrase about the winter and have just the relative particle "at", giving simpler syntax. 556b goes its own way entirely and seems undecided about how the winter relates to the story's chronology, while 152 has the same phrase as in β but (awkwardly) without any connecting word. 590a's divergence from β is most easily explained as a scribal slip in copying a passage more accurately preserved in β and S58. That passage has been condensed in one way in the K-recension (S17, S6, 325) and in another way in 152. There is nothing here to rule out β as 590a's exemplar.

590a and β share the following readings against 152:

- b. Row 1: *Hann atti* ("H[00]tti" 534) *eina dottur* β , 590a, 534, S58, 325] *Hann attiser eina dottur* 152; *Hann ätte eyna dottur barna* S17, S6, 556b; *Hann atti sier dottvr eina* 533
- c. Row 2: *i riki Eysteins konungs* β , 590a, S58] ÷ 152, 533; *j riki konungs* 534; *vid Danmerki/Danmørk* S17, S6, 325; *til Danmerkur* 556b
- d. Row 3: *garpar* β , 590a, S17, S6, 325, 533, 556b] *kappar* 152, 534, S58

As in passage 9, the level of divergence is minor and does not affect length significantly – in (b) 152 actually presents a slightly longer text – but overall this passage is several words shorter in 152 than in β and 590a.

Three elements in 152's readings – its additional "ser" at (b), the absence of phrase (c), and the word-choice at (d) – are shared by at least one other text, including (twice) the 533 text of Recension 1b, but none of these is significant enough to exclude independent scribal variation. S58 agrees with β and 590a against 152 at both (b) and (c), but with 152 against β and 590a at (d). 534 shows a similar pattern, being close to β and 590a at (b) and (c) but agreeing with 152 against β and 590a at (d).

The K-recension's readings at these points (including (a)) show affiliation with Recensions 1b and 2, underlining how close the texts of Recensions 1b and 2 are at this point. S17 and S6 agree with β and 590a against 152 at (d) – here they are followed by 325 – but agree with none of the texts of Recension 2 at (b) and (c), followed in the second instance by 325. All three of S17's and S6's shared

readings are also shared with (or very closely approximated by) the 556b text of Recension 1b. 325's one departure from the S17 and S6 text of the K-recension in these readings (lacking "barna" at (b)) is consistent with the condensing seen generally in 325 in this passage and elsewhere (see passages 10 and 12–14 below). The fact that both texts of Recension 1b agree with β , S17, S6 and 325 in having "garpar" at (d) may suggest that "kappar" is a secondary rewording, but the words are so similar in sound and meaning that such rewording could have been done independently in either direction by any of these scribes.

10. Mágus and his kinsman ask Eysteinn for winter quarters. Here Recension 1b is too divergent to include in the variant apparatus, so its text is printed below. The K-recension (S17, S6 and 325) continues to follow a Recension-2-type text. Variants to β are given from 590a, 152, 534 f. 14r, S58 f. 370r–v, S17 f. 150v, S6 f. 357r–v, and 325 f. 25v.

	β , f. 2v	590a, f. 31v	152, f. 181v
1.	<i>Konungr tok því uel ok spurdi hverir menn þeir væri.</i> þvi] honum 152; þeim S6 hverir] huada 325 menn þeir] þeir menn 152; menn at þeir 534	<i>Konungur tok því vel og spurdi hvorer menn þeir være.</i>	<i>Konungur tok honum uel oc spurde huerir þeir menn uere.</i>
2.	<i>Þeir saugdu at annar het Bryniarr en annarr hinn Halfliti Madr.</i> Þeir saugdu] Hann s. 534; Hann sagdi S58 at] ÷ 325 annar ¹] + þeirra S58 hinn] ÷ 152, 534, 325 Halfliti] Haliti 534; Halflitur 325 Madr] ÷ 325	<i>Þeir sogdu ad annar het Bryniar enn annar enn Halflite Madur.</i>	<i>Þeir sogdu ath annar het Bryniar enn annar Halflite Madur.</i>

	β, f. 2v	590a, f. 31v	152, f. 181v
3.	Bryniar <i>mælti</i> , “Her uilldvm ver, herra, þiggia vetrsetu med ydr fyrir fvlla penninga, þviat fe skortir ock[r] ei.” Her–herra] Herra, hier villdum vier S17, S6; Hier vilium vier 325 þiggia] + nü S58 vetrsetu] vetrvist 534 med ydr] ÷ 325 þviat–ei] ÷ 325 ockr ei] ockr 152; os eigi 534; eigi S17, S6	Bryniar <i>mælti</i> , “Hier villdum vier, herra, þiggia vetrsetu med ydur firer fulla penninga, þuiat fe skorter ockr ei.”	Bryniar <i>mælti</i> , “Hier uilldum uier, herra, þiggia uetursetu med ydr fyrir fulla peninga, þuiat fe skortir ockr.”
4.	Konungr <i>mælti</i> , “Litid er mer vm kyniamenn alla. Konungr] Eysteyn konungr S17, S6 mælti] s. 534; svarar S58 kyniamenn alla] okunna menn 152; leigna menn 325	Konungur <i>mælti</i> , “Lited er mier um kyniamenn alla.	Konungur <i>mælti</i> , “Lijtid er mier um okunna menn.
5.	En ef þit vilit frelsa riki [ua]rt ⁵⁴ ok beriazst vit berserki þa er fa uilia dottur minnar fyrir vtan minn uilia, þit] þier 590a, 152, 534, S58 vilit] villdut S58 uart] mitt 152, 534, S58, S17, S6, 325 þa er] þa sem at S58; þa sem 325 minnar] mijna 152, 534, S58, S17, S6, 325 fyrir–uilia] ÷ 534, 325	Enn ef þier vilit frelsa riki vort og berjast vid berserke þa er fa vilia dötr minnar firer utan minn vilja,	Enn ef þier uilit frelsa riki mitt oc beriazst uit berserki þa er fa uilia dottur mijna fyrir utan minn uilia,
6.	þa mun ek iata yckr hirduist.” mun–hirduist] skulu þier v[e]ra ⁵⁵ hier i vist 325 iata] veita 534 yckr] ydur S17, S6	þa mun eg jäta ydur hirdvist.”	þa mun ec iata yckr hirduist.”

In Recension 1b the king is speaking to his messengers, rather than directly to Mágus and Einar as in Recension 2. Recension 1b in 533 f. 29r (variants from 556b ff. 13v–14r):

⁵⁴ Beginning of word unclear: it is perhaps overwritten.

⁵⁵ Conjectural reading: edge of leaf cut off in mid-word.

Spvrdi *konvngvr hverir þessir menn væri, en þeir sogdv at annar het Bryniar en annar hinn Halfliti Madr. "Enda er hann svo," sogdv þeir. Konvngvr mælti, "Litid er mer vm kyniamenn alla, en þo mvn nv svo bvid standa verda."*

spvrdi–hverrir] Konungur spurde huat 556b

væri] hete edur huort þeir þektizt bodit 556b

en^l–sogdv] Senndemenn sogdu þa þegit hafa, ok sogdu 556b

hinn] ÷ 556b

hann–þeir] þat svo 556b

Litid] Ecke 556b

en þo–bvid] Nu mun svo 556b

590a and β agree throughout except for two readings concerning dual pronouns:

- a. Row 5: þit vilit β , S17, S6, 325] þier vilit 590a, 152, 534, S58 (with past tense)
- b. Row 6: iata yckr β , 152, 534, S58] iata *ydur* 590a, S17, S6; *no equivalent in 325*

Phrase (a) is only the second reading seen so far where 152 and 590a agree against β (and, in this case, against S17, S6 and 325 which are otherwise closer to 590a in passages 10–14). This does not challenge the hypothesis that β was 590a's exemplar, since it was so common for the older dual form "þit" to become the plural "þér" in later copies. At phrase (b), all texts except the closely related 590a, S17 and S6 have the plural pronoun instead of the dual (with 325 rewording the sentence entirely). Both usages are equally correct, being addressed to the two visitors. In both 590a and S17 the crucial word in (b) is not written out in full, but abbreviated using the same sign as for "ydur" a few lines earlier (row 3): this looks very much like a scribal slip or adjustment in one or both texts, while S6's partially expanded "ydur" is either a secondary expansion or an independent example of the same scribal slip or adjustment. This example, too, does not dislodge the hypothesis that β was 590a's exemplar.

590a and β share the following readings against 152, with readings from Recension 1b included where equivalent phrasing exists:

- c. Row 1: spvrdi hverir menn þeir væri β , 590a, S17, S6, 534, S58] spurde huerir þeir menn uere 152; spvrdi huada menn þeir være 325; Spvrdi ... hverir þessir menn væri 533; spurde huat þesser menn hete edur huort þeir þektizt bodit 556b

- d. Row 2: hinn Halfliti *Madr* β, 590a, S17, S6, S58, 533] Halflite *Madur* 152, 556b; Haliti *Madr* 534; Halflitur 325
- e. Row 3: fe skortir ock[r] ei β, 590a, S58] fe skortir ockr 152; fe skortir os eigi 534; fie skorter eigi S17, S6; ÷ 325
- f. Row 4: kyniamenn alla β, 590a, S17, S6, 534, S58, 533, 556b] okunna menn 152; leigna menn 325
- g. Row 5: riki [ua]rt β, 590a] riki mitt 152, 534, S17, S6, S58, 325
- h. Row 5: dottur minnar β, 590a] dottur mijna 152, 534, S17, S6, S58, 325

152's text of the whole passage is just two words shorter than in β and 590a.

The above divergences are small-scale but show 590a consistently following β. This is striking at (g) and (h), where 152's reading is shared by all the texts except β and 590a. At (g), β and 590a share an unexpected reading. King Eysteinn refers to himself elsewhere in this passage in the first person singular, so β's "riki [ua]rt" at (g) strikes a slightly odd note, yet 590a follows it. Again, at (h), 590a and β have Eysteinn alluding to the vikings' wish to "fá" (take) his daughter Helga in a phrase where she is placed in the genitive form ("dottur minnar"), as is common when implying marriage. But all the other texts place her in the accusative ("dottur mína"), framing the vikings' action as mere theft or taking possession – marginally more appropriate to the episode's context and the speaker's identity. In both examples, β and 590a share a reading which seems slightly out of place, whereas the other texts present the more expected reading (whether by scribal revision or fidelity to an exemplar). Neither reading in β and 590a is erroneous, but in their small ways these two instances strengthen the hypothesis that β was 590a's exemplar.

In all but (g) and (h), β and 590a are supported by S58. β and 590a are supported by S17 and S6 at phrases (c), (d) and (f). S17 and S6 are identical throughout even when differing from the other texts, with one insignificant exception in row 1 where S6 has "þeim" instead of S17's "þui". 325 either stays close to the other K-texts (S17 and S6) or goes its own way, often condensing. 534 stays closer to β and 590a than to 152, except for the minor variant at (d) where it agrees with 152 in lacking "hinn". 534's spelling "Haliti *Madr*" is consistent throughout this text. 152's unique readings at (c) and (e) can be explained in terms of scribal inattention; at (e), 152's omission of "ei" makes a nonsense of Brynjarr's request. 152's unique reading at (f) can be explained by inattention

or conscious rewording. Independent scribal revision cannot be ruled out as an explanation for its agreements with 534 at (d) and with all the texts except β at (g) and (h).

2.3. The battle with Príamus in *Geirarðs þáttir*

The final leaf of β contains part of the sequel-episode known to us as *Geirarðs þáttir*, represented here by passages 11–14. This leaf has been cut away horizontally so that only the bottom half remains, resulting in a lacuna in mid-episode. 534 also lacks this part of the saga due to lost leaves. Of the texts of Recension 1, only 533 has all four passages below. 556b lacks a leaf at passages 11 and 12, while 580 does not have the sequel-*þáttir* at all. By contrast, S17, S6 and (with more freedom) 325 continue to follow Recension 2 at this point, so they are included in the variant apparatus of all four passages.

11. Geirarðr fights the enemy king Príamus's brother Baldvini frægi. Recension 1b is close enough to Recension 2 here to be included in the parallel-text variants (but only 533 preserves this passage). Variants to β are given from 590a, S17 f. 175r, S6 f. 380r, 325 f. 39r, 152, 533 f. 42v, and S58 f. 461v.

β , f. 3r	590a, f. 57v	152, f. 194r
1. Geirardr helldr fra ⁵⁶ ser skilldinvm, en ecki bognadi hans handleggr, sva var hann sterkr. Geirardr] + jarl S58; + bar af sier lægid og 325 Geirardr-sterkr] hann helldvr fram fyrir sik sterkliga svo at eigi bognar hans armleggr 533 helldr] hiellt 325 fra] fyrir S58 en] svo 325 en-sterkr] ÷ S58 hans-sterkr] hanndleggr hans 325	Geirardur helldur fra sier skilldenum, enn eckj bognade hans handleggr, so var hann sterkur.	Geirardur helldr frá sier skilldinum, enn eckj bognade hans handleggr, suo war hann sterkr.

⁵⁶ Dodsworth (1963: 507) took this as “fyrir”. The abbreviation is slightly obscured, but with its long horizontal stroke it resembles the clearer abbreviation for “fra” as seen on f. 2r, line 2, and bears no resemblance to the vertical-stroke abbreviation for “fyrir” as seen on the bottom line of f. 3r.

	β, f. 3r	590a, f. 57v	152, f. 194r
2.	En annarri hendi [þri]fr hann Ballduina frægia, ok steypir hans haufdi med hialminum ok aullum buk bryniudum [i] einn fulan pytt, ok vard þat hans bani. hendi] + sinni S58 frægia] ÷ 152, 325; hinn frækna S58 hans haufdi] honum æ hofdinu 152, S6, 325; honvm nidvr 533 med–bryniudum] ÷ 152, 533; med øllum bv̄k bryniudum S6; + ofann 325 fulan pytt] pitt fūlan S58; savrpytt at hofdin̄v 533 vard] uar 152, 533, 325	Enn annarre hende þrifur hann Balldvina fræga, og steiper hans hofde med hialmenum og ollum bük brinjudum i einn fūlan̄n pitt, og vard þat hans bane.	Enn annare hende þrijfr hann Ballduina, oc steypir honum æ hofdinu ij einn fulann pytt, oc uar þat hans banne.
3.	En þeir Niceta ok Frankir haufdu drepit Kabua merkismann Balldvina. þeir–Frankir] sveinar hans 533; þeir sueinar hans 325 Frankir] Francis sveinar hanns S58 haufdu drepit] drapu 152, S58, 533, 325 Kabua] Büa S58; ÷ 325 Balldvina] hans 152, 533	Enn þeir Niceta og Francker hofdu drepit Kabua merkismann Balldvina.	Enn þeir Niceka oc Frankir drapu Kabua merkisman hans.

590a and β agree throughout. They share the following readings against 152:

- Row 2: *Ballduina frægia* β, 590a, S17, S6, 533; *Ballduina* 152, 325; *Balldvin* hinn frækna S58
- Row 2: *steypir hans haufdi med hialminum ok aullum buk bryniudum [i] einn fulan pytt* β, 590a, S17, S58 (“pitt fūlan”)] *steypir honum æ hofdinu ij einn fulann pytt* 152; *steypir honvm nidvr j einn savrpytt at hofdin̄v* 533; *steyper honum æ hofdi med øllum bv̄k bryniudum j einn fvlan pytt* S6; *steipir honum æ hofdid med hialminum og ollum buk briniudum ofann i eirn fulann pitt* 325
- Row 2: *vard þat hans bani* β, 590a, S17, S6, S58] *uar þat hans banne* 152, 533, 325
- Row 3: *haufdu drepit* β, 590a, S17, S6] *drapu* 152, S58, 533, 325
- Row 3: *merkismann Balldvina* β, 590a, S17, S6, S58, 325] *merkisman hans* 152, 533

152’s readings again result in a slightly shorter text than the others, especially when compared with β.

All the readings shared by β and 590a against 152 are also shared by S17; all except (b) are also shared by S6; and all except (d) are shared by S58 as well if

we ignore its near-consistent and unique variant nickname for Baldvini frægi (“frækni”) at (a) and the inversion of two words at (b) which is typical of its scribe’s treatment of his exemplar. At (d) S58 and 325 agree with 152 against the other texts of Recension 2. 325 shows no consistent affiliation, and its text abbreviates and amplifies at different points. At (a) and (c) 325 alone agrees with 152 against the other texts of Recension 2, but at (b) and (e) 325 is much closer to β and 590a.

The presence of several agreements between 152 and 533 against β raises the question whether some of 152’s shortenings derive from its own exemplar: it shares readings (c), (d) and (e) with the 533 text of Recension 1b (also sharing two of these with 325) and, at (b), 152 shares with 533 both the construction “steypir honum [...] á (or “at”) hofdinu” and the absence of “ok öllum bók brynjuðum”. But given 152’s already-documented tendency to abbreviate, and the trivial nature of the other variants, it cannot be excluded that these divergences were arrived at independently. The fact that 152’s version of phrase (b) is shorter than all the others including 533 is consistent with the possibility that 152’s own scribe shortened this passage.

12. The end of the above sequence, and the beginning of the next chapter in which Geirarðr and Príamus prepare to fight. Recension 1b is included in the variant apparatus, but only 533 preserves this passage. Variants to β are given from 590a, S17 f. 175r–v, S6 f. 380r, 325 f. 39r, 152, S58 f. 462r–v, and 533 f. 42v.

	β, f. 3r	590a, f. 57v	152, f. 194r
1.	<p>Nu <i>ser Priamus hvergi</i> <i>Ballduina</i> fræ[<i>gia</i>] <i>brödur</i> <i>sinn</i>; þickiz ei uita huatt þvi uelldr. <i>Fer</i> nu <i>til</i> <i>herbuda ok er illt i hug.</i></p> <p>Nu¹-uelldr] Nv er Priamvs sagt fall broðvr sins ok hversv at hefir borizt vm hans liflat 533 ser] fer 152 Priamus] + konungur S17, S6, S58 hvergi-nu²] ÷ 152 frægia] hinn frækna S58; ÷ 325 sinn] + og S17, S6 þickiz-uelldr] ÷ 325 ei-þvi] hann nü æigi vita hvat S58 Fer-hug] Hann vnir allilla vid sik ok fer þo til herbvda vm kvelldit 533; Fer þo til herbuda med jllum huga vt af brædrum synum 325 nu²] so S6; hann þö S58 herbuda] + sinna 152; herbergia sinna S58 er-hug] er nu jllt j hug S17, S6; unner ser illa 152; er nü i miçk jllumm hugs S58</p>	<p>Nü sier <i>Priamus hvorge</i> <i>Balldvina</i> fræga brödur <i>sinn</i>; þikest ei vita hvat þui velldur. <i>Fer</i> nü <i>til</i> <i>herbüda og er illt i hug.</i></p>	<p>Nu <i>fer Priamus til</i> <i>herbuda sinna oc unner</i> <i>ser illa.</i></p>
2.	<p>[<i>New chapter</i>] Vm <i>morguninn eptir fer</i> <i>Priamus</i> geustr <i>til bardaga,</i> <i>ok eirir illa fall brædra</i> <i>sin[00], ok ætlar at hefna</i> <i>þeira greypi[li]ga.</i></p> <p>Vm-ferr] Eptir vm morgvninn for 533 Priamus] + köngur S58, S6, 325 geustr] fyrstur S58; ÷ 533, 325 eirir] + hqnumm nü S58 brædra sin[00]] brædra sinna 590a, S17, S6, 325, 533; sinna manna 152, S58 ætlar] + nu S6, 325 þeira] brædra sinna S58 greypiliga] geyselega S17; ÷ 152, 325; nv 533</p>	<p>[<i>New chapter</i>] Um <i>morgunenn epter fer</i> <i>Priamus</i> geistur <i>til</i> <i>bardaga, og eirer illa fall</i> <i>brædra sinna, og ætlar ad</i> <i>hefna þeira greipelega.</i></p>	<p>[<i>New chapter</i>] [U]m <i>morgininn eptir fer</i> <i>Priamus</i> geustr <i>til bardaga,</i> <i>oc eirir illa fall sinna</i> <i>manna, oc ætlar at hefna</i> <i>þeira.</i></p>

	β, f. 3r	590a, f. 57v	152, f. 194r
3.	Nv [ridr] Geirardr, Frankir ok Niceta til hers Frankismanna ok fylkia lidi a þann hatt [00] miost er <u>framan</u> , Nv] Þa 533 Geirardr] + jarl S58, S6, 325 Frankir ok Niceta] fram oc hans forunautar 152; og sveinar hans S58, 325; og hanzz menn S6; fram 533 til hers] til 152; til lids S58; + vid S17; i her 325 fylkia] + nü S58 [00]] ad 590a, S17, S6, 152, S58, 533, 325 er] var S58, 533 framan] + fylkinginn S6; j framanvert 533	Nü ridur Geirardur, Franker og Niceta til herz Frankismanna og filkia lide ä þann hätt ad miöst er <u>framan</u> ,	Nu rijdr Geirardur fram oc hans forunautar til Frankismanna oc fylkia lide æ þann hatt at miost er framann,
4.	en þvi breidari sem aptar uar, ok kalla menn þat svin fylkt. Þetta hafdi Priamus ei fyrir seed. en-uar] oc breidazt aptann 152; ÷ 325 sem] + at S58 aptar uar] framar uar S17; ofar er 533 kalla] + nü S58 menn þat] ÷ 325 fylkt] fylking 533, 325 hafdi] ÷ 152; hefir 533, 325 Priamus ei] Priamus köngur æigi S58; ei Priamus 325	enn þui breidara sem aptar var, og kalla menn þat svín filkt. Þetta hafde Priamus ei firr sed.	oc breidazt aptann, oc kalla menn þat suiñ fylct. Þetta Priamus ei fyrir sied.
5.	Þeckir hann at nv erv komnir þeir er enn fyrra dag drapu Balldvina brodur hans. Þeckir hann] Ueit hann 152; en kenner 533 at-hans] þar kominn brædra bana sinn 325 at-þeir] nu ad þar mune komner þeir menn S17, S6; nu at þeir eru enn komnir 152; at þar voru komnir þeir menn S58; nv at her erv komnir þeir menn 533 er] sem S58, S6 enn] ÷ S6 enn-drapu] drepit hafa 152, 533; drepit hofdu S58 Balldvina] ÷ 152, 533 brodur] brædur 152, S58, 533	Þecker hann at nü eru komner þeir er enn firra dag dräpu Balldvina brödur hans.	Ueit hann nu at þeir eru enn komnir er drepit hafa brædur hans.

β, f. 3r	590a, f. 57v	152, f. 194r
<p>6. Hugsar <i>hann</i> at <i>hann</i> <i>skal</i> ei fyrir sofa en þeir se drepnir, en þo þickiz <i>hann</i> ei v[i]ta nema þetta se Geirardr jarl ok sveinar <i>hans</i>. ÷ 152 Hugsar-hans] og grunar ad þad muni vera Geirall jarl 325 hann¹] + nü S58, S6; nv 533 hann skal ei] ÷ S6; eigi skal hann 533 fyrir sofa] sofa firr S17; sofa eij fyrr S6; sofa fyrri 533 se¹] erv 533 en þo] enn þa S17; ok 533 hann³] ÷ 533 sveinar hans] hans sveinar 533</p>	<p>Huxar <i>hann</i> ad <i>hann</i> skal ei firr sofa enn þeir se drepner, enn þö þikest <i>hann</i> ei vita nema þetta sie Geirardur jall og sveinar <i>hanz</i>.</p>	
<p>7. Geirardr hefir nu svart hesta Geirardr] + jarl S58; Þeir Geirall 325 svarta] rauda S17, S6, 325</p>	<p>Geirardur hefer nü svart hesta</p>	<p>Geirardur hefir nu svart hesta</p>

590a and β agree throughout as far as β is legible. There are two places where approximately two letters of β are illegible through damage, in rows 2 and 3, and these will be noted where relevant below. β and 590a share the following readings against 152, assuming that β's illegible two letters in row 2 may be supplied by the correct case-ending:

- a. Row 1: Nu *ser Priamus* (+ “konungur” S17, S6) *hvergi Balduina fræg[ia] brodur sinn*; (+ “og” S17, S6) *þickiz ei uita huatt því uelldr. Fer* nu (“so” S6) *til herbuda β, 590a, S17, S6] Nu fer Priamus til herbuda sinna 152; Nü ser Priamus köngur huergi Balldvin hinn frækna brödur sinn; þykist hann nü æigi vita hvað velldr. Fer hann þö til herbergia sinna S58; Nu sier Priamus huorgi Balduin brodur sinn; fer þo til herbuda 325; Nv er Priamvs sagt fall brodvr sins ok hversv at hefir borizt vm hans liflat. Hann vnir allilla vid sik ok fer þo til herbvda 533*
- b. Row 1: *er* (+ “nu” S17, S6) *illt i hug β, 590a, S17, S6] unner ser illa 152; er nü i miök jllumm hugs S58; með jllum huga vt af brædrum synum 325; vm kvelldit 533*
- c. Row 2: *fall brædra sin[na] β, 590a, S17, S6, 325, 533 (last two letters illegible in β)] fall sinna manna 152, S58*

- d. Row 2: hefna þeira greypi[li]ga þ, 590a, S6] hefnna þeira 152, 325; hefna þeira geyselega S17; hefna brædra sinna greypeliga S58; hefna þeira nv 533
- e. Row 3: Nv ridr Geirardr, Frankir ok Niceta þ, 590a, S17] Nu rijdr Geirardur fram oc hans forunautar 152; Nü ridur Geirardur jarl ok sveinar hans S58, 325; Nu rydur Geijrard jall og hanz menn S6; Þa ridvr Girard fram 533
- f. Row 3: til hers (+ “vid” S17) Frankismanna þ, 590a, S17, S6, 533] til Frankismanna 152; til lids Franzismanna S58; i her Frankismanna 325
- g. Row 4: en þvi breidari⁵⁷ sem aptar uar þ, 590a, S6, S58 (“sem at”)] oc breidazt aptann 152; enn þvi breydara sem framar uar S17; ÷ 325; en þvi breidara sem ofar er 533
- h. Row 4: Þetta hafdi Priamus (+ “köngur” S58) ei fyrr seed þ, 590a, S17, S6, 533 (“hefir”)] Þetta Priamus ei fyrr sied 152; Þetta hafur ei Priamus fir sied 325
- i. Row 5: Þeckir hann at nv erv komnir þeir þ, 590a] Ueit hann nu at þeir eru enn komnir 152; Þecker hann nu ad þar mune komner þeir menn S17, S6; Þeckir hann at þar voru komnir þeir menn S58; Þeckir hann þar kominn 325; en kenner nv at her erv komnir þeir menn 533
- j. Row 5: er enn fyrra dag drapu Balldvina brodur hans þ, 590a, S17] er drepit hafa brædur hans 152, 533; sem drepit höfdu Balldvina brædur hanz S58; sem fyrra dag dräpu Ballduin brodur hanz S6; brædra bana sinn 325
- k. Row 6: Hugsar hann (+ “nü” S58) at hann skal ei fyrr sofva (“sofa firr” S17) en þeir se drepnir, en þo þickiz hann ei vita nema þetta se Geirardr jarl ok sueinar hans þ, 590a, S17, S58] ÷ 152; Huxar hann nu ad sofa eij fyrr enn þeir sieu drepner, enn þö þikist hann eý vita nema þetta sie Geyrard jall og sueinar hanz S6; og grunar ad það muni vera Geirall jarl 325; Hvgsar nv at eigi skal hann sofa fyrri en þeir erv drepnir, ok þickizt eigi vita nema þetta se Girard jarl ok hans sveinar 533

A few of these phrases show readings in 152 which are one word longer than those in þ and most of the other texts, but overall 152's tendency is to shorten the text, generally by 1–3 words per phrase highlighted. In the first and last portions of the passage, the shortening is extensive: compared to þ, 152's text is shorter by 12 words at (a) and by 26 words at (k).

⁵⁷Although I am not counting variation in adjective-endings as significant for the purpose of my variant readings (compared to omission of the word or substitution by a verb), 590a generally follows þ so closely that it is worth mentioning that here þ, S6 and S58 have “breidari”, while 590a, S17 and 533 share “breidara”.

Because 152's missing sentence at (k) is present in some form, however variable, in all the other texts of Recension 2 and in the text of Recension 1b which contains this passage (533), omission by the scribe of 152 seems likely here. In eight of the eleven phrases listed – all except (c), (d) and (j) – 152's choice of (included or omitted) words is either wholly or partly unique and stands alone among the other texts. One obvious scribal error in 152 is its omission of the auxiliary verb at (h), producing garbled syntax. 152's reading at (c) is shared by S58, while 152's reading at (j) is shared by 533 and in part by S58 (which here stands equidistant between β and 590a on the one hand and 152 on the other), but both these divergences could have been produced independently. The same can be said of 152's reading shared with 325 at (d), omitting the qualifying adverb.

Leaving 590a aside, S17 and S6 are the texts which stand closest to β , often with minor divergences from it or each other, followed by S58 whose divergences sometimes affect more words but rarely the meaning (and share some of S6's divergences from S17). As in the other passages analysed, S17 and S6 are closer to each other than either of them is to any other text. 325 is overall closer to S17 and S6 than to the other texts, but often goes its own way in readings which sometimes expand but more typically condense, in ways which are almost always different from the abbreviated wordings in 152.

533's readings here coincide with 152 less than in passage 11 above. At (j) their readings are shared, and at (d) and (e) 533 is fairly close to 152. But 533 is more often closer to β than to 152 (at (c), (f), (g), (h), (k)), and it goes its own way at (a) and (b) as well as in many other places in the passage overall. The one remaining phrase, (i), shows 533 agreeing more with S58, S17 and S6 than with either β or 152. Altogether, 152 is very much the outlier in this passage.

13. Geirarðr kills Príamus. Here 556b comes back on stream, so both the mediaeval texts of Recension 1b are included in the variant apparatus. Variants to β are given from 590a, S17 f. 175v, S6 f. 380v, 325 f. 39r, 152, S58 f. 463v–464r, 533 f. 43r, and 556b f. 24r.

	β, f. 3v	590a, f. 58r	152, f. 194v
4.	<p><i>Priamus</i> havggr nu til <i>Geirards ok</i> i sundr hestinn fyrir framan savdvlinn, <i>ok</i> i vavllinn nidr, Priamus] + köngur S58, 325 nu] ÷ 533; 556b illegible Geirards] + jarls 152, S58, 325 ok¹] + snidvr 533; + tekur S58 i sundr] sundr 152, 325 savdvlinn] boguna 152, 533, 556b, 325 ok²-nidr] ÷ 533; og so j vollinn 325</p>	<p><i>Priamus</i> hoggur nü til <i>Gerards</i> og i sundur hestenn fyrer framan sodulenn, og i vollenn nidr,</p>	<p><i>Prijamus</i> hoggur nu til <i>Geirards jarls</i> oc sundr hestinn fyrir framan bogunna, oc ij uollinn nidr,</p>
5.	<p><i>en Geirardur</i> stiklar af baki <i>ok</i> hauggr a hals <i>Priamo sva</i> at af fauk haufudit <i>ok</i> hendir þat a lopti. En] ÷ 533, 325 Geirardur] ÷ 152; Jarl 325 stiklar] stockr 533, 556b, S58 af baki] af hestinv 533; 556b illegible ok hauggr-lopti] Hann hoggur j þeirre suipan j hialminn Priamus konungs, ok sneid hann sem einn lavks hofud, so hofudit, bukinn ok bryniuna, ok ofan epter badum fotunum ok brynhosurnar svo at sucku bæde hiolltin j iordina a suerdinu, ok tok pukinn salina 556b Priamo] Priamus 152; + konungi S17, S6, 533, S58; Priamus konungs 325 at af fauk] ad af tök 590a, 533, S58; af tok 152, 325 hendir] henti hann 325 þat] ÷ 533, S58</p>	<p><i>enn Geirardur</i> stiklar af bake og hoggur ä hälz Priamo so ad af tök hofuded og hender þat ä lopte.</p>	<p><i>en</i> stiklar af bake <i>oc</i> hoggr æ hals <i>Priamus</i> suo af tok hofudit <i>oc</i> hendir þat æ lopti.</p>

β and 590a agree throughout except for the following readings:

- Row 2: *keyrir framm* β, 152, S17, S6] *keirer nü framm* 590a; *keyrir sidan* S58; ÷ 325; *keyrir* 533, 556b
- Row 2: *filinn þann er hann reid* β, S17, S6] *filenn er hann reid* 590a, 556b; *filinn* 152; *fylinn sem at hann sat ä* S58; ÷ 325; *filinn er hann sat æ* 533
- Row 2: *lagdi til Geirards* β, 152, S17, S6, S58, 325] *lagde til* 590a; *leggvr til Girards* 533; lag[0000] [*Geirards*] (partly illegible) 556b
- Row 5: *af fauk haufudit* β, S17, S6] *af tök hofuded* 590a, 152, S58, 325, 533; 556b has completely different sentence here, including the words *sem einn lavks hofud*, so *hofudit*

In phrases (a) and (c), 152 agrees with β , S17 and S6 against 590a. In both cases 590a's reading stands alone among the other texts. The fact that β 's readings are shared by S17 as well as by 152 suggests that the additional "nü" and the missing "Geirards" are scribal revisions or errors by the scribe of 590a, and have no text-critical significance. At phrase (b) all the texts except 152 divide into those with "reið" and those with "sat á": 590a and 556b share "reið" with β and S17 with the minor difference that they have "er" instead of "þann er". That difference is small enough to allow the possibility that it arose independently in 590a and 556b. 152's reading here stands alone in having no subclause about the elephant at all, and this looks like another example of compression by the scribe of 152.

Phrase (d) shows β agreeing with S17 and S6 against all the other texts, of which 590a, 152, 325 and 533 share the phrase "af tók höfuðit". It is not impossible that the scribe of 590a misread "fauk" in his exemplar as "tök", since the phrase with "tók" is more frequent in Old Norse, and that the same misreading was independently made in the other texts and/or their exemplars. It is also possible that "fauk" in β was itself a misreading of "tók" in its own exemplar, but 556b's radically divergent and expanded wording at this point (see the whole passage in the parallel-text variants in row 5) may suggest that 556b's scribe misread "fauk" as "lauk(s)" and then rewrote the whole sentence to make sense of the surrounding wording. On balance it seems more likely that "fauk" represents the original wording and was found problematic by subsequent scribes. Either way, none of these readings challenges the hypothesis that β was the exemplar of 590a, and combined with readings (e) to (m) below they suggest that S17 and S6 (at this point) have a close relation to β as well.

β and 590a share the following readings against 152:

- e. Row 1: *hardla miok* β , 590a, S17, S6] *mioc* 152; ÷ 325, 533, 556b; S58 has completely different, much longer sentence
- f. Row 2: *er hann reid*: see phrase (b) in the above list of readings (β and 590a do not agree exactly but agree on "reið" against 152)
- g. Row 2: *sva sterkliga* β , 590a, S17, S6, S58, 325, 533, 556b] *suo hart* 152
- h. Row 2: *var þat allt iarni vafvit* β , 590a, S17, S6, 556b] *uar þat iarne uafit* 152; *þat var allt járne vafvit* S58; *var þo allt jarni vafid* 325; *allt þat er vafid var af jarni* 533
- i. Row 3: *leggr nu i moti* β , 590a, S17, S6 (*with dittography*)] *leggr ij moti* 152, S58; *lagdi* 325; *leggr* 533, 556b

- j. Row 3: *i sidu filsinns* β, 590a, S17, S6, S58, 325, 533, 556b] *oc sijdu filsinns* 152
- k. Row 4: *til Geirards* β, 590a, S17, S6, 533, 556b] *til Geirards jarls* 152, S58, 325
- l. Row 4: *fyrir framan savdvlinn* β, 590a, S17, S6, S58] *fyrir framan bogunna* 152, 325, 533, 556b
- m. Row 5: *Geirardur stiklar* β, 590a, S17, S6] *stiklar* 152; *Geirardur stock* S58, 533, 556b; *Jarl stiklar* 325

None of these readings dramatically affects the passage's length or meaning, although its text is shorter overall in 152 than in the other texts of Recension 2 except the more radically (and independently) abbreviated 325.

All of β's readings here are shared by S17 and S6 as well as by 590a. In six of these nine phrases, S58 shares with β against 152 either identical wording or the most significant element of the phrase: the subclause specifying that Priamus was on the elephant at (f), the word "allt" at (h), the naming of Geirarðr at (m). A scribal error at (j) has produced garbled syntax in 152.

Recension 1b has a comparable proportion of readings agreeing with β, 590a, S17 and S6 against 152, doing so for six of the nine phrases listed (not all the same six as with S58). S58 agrees with 152 against β at (i) and (k), but independent scribal alteration in both 152 and S58 (and 325, which shares their reading at (k)) cannot be excluded and seems likely for the two words in question ("jarls" and "nú"). The only other place where a Recension-2-type text (here 325) agrees with 152 against β is (l): here also 152's reading is uniquely shared by both texts of Recension 1b as well as by 325. But the variation concerns just one word which refers to either the horse's saddle or the back part of the saddle ("bögunna" or "söðulinn"). Recension 1b's other departures from β, those at (e) and (i), are identical or very close to 325's readings but are more abbreviated than 152's readings.

S58's reading in row 1 has no bearing on 590a or 152, but is worth noting as S58's single most substantial unique variant reading in the passages analysed here, whether it was the work of its scribe or his mediaeval exemplar.⁵⁸

⁵⁸S58's expansion here is not quite as "devoid of content" as similar expansions observed in Jón Vigfússon's copies by Hjorth (1960: 249), so it cannot be assumed to be Jón's work. Further analysis of S58 is required.

14. The Franks and their queen Elínborg await the return of Geirarðr and his squires from battle. Here again both mediaeval texts of Recension 1b are included in the variant apparatus. Variants to β are given from 590a, S17 f. 176r, S6 ff. 380v–381r, 152, S58 f. 464r–v, 325 f. 39v, 533 f. 43r–v, and 556b f. 24r.

	β, f. 3v	590a, f. 58r	152, f. 194v
1.	En þottuz vita at þessir þrír mundv ei til eingis <u>barizt hafva.</u> ÷ 556b, 325 En–hafva] en hinir mvnv eigi ok til einskis vilia vnnid hafa 533 En–vita] þui at þeir vissu S58 þessir þrír] þessir menn 152; þeir S17; þesser, þeir S6; þeir þrír menn S58 eingis] einnuijgis 152 hafva] + þrijr 152	Enn þöttust vita ad þesser þrír mundu ei til einkis barest hafa.	Enn þottuzt uita at þessir menn mundu eigi til einnuijgis barizt hafa þrijr.
2.	Drottning mælti ok bad sina menn vel vm mælaz, “þviat vel mun oss nv veita sidan Priamus er drepinn.” Drottning–drepinn ÷ 556b; Leyd nu af nottinn 325 Drottning] + Elinnborg S58 mælti ok] ÷ 152, S6, 533 mælti–mælaz] mællte mælist vel umm S58 sina menn] þa þa 152 vel vm–drepinn] vera kata, “ok mvn en vel verda,” sagdi hon 533 vel mun oss nv] uel mun nu 152; nü mun vel S58 sidan–drepinn] eptir Priamus fallinn 152; er Priamus köngur er drepinn S58	Drottning mællti og bad sina menn vel um mælast, “þuiat vel mun oz nü veita sidan Priamus er drepenn.”	Drottning bad þa þa uel um melazt, “þuiat uel mun nu ueita eptir Priamus fallinn.”
3.	[New chapter] [Ð]egar sem nottin lidr, vaknar herinn hvart[v]eggi, [New chapter] 556b continues without a break Þegar–hvartveggi] Enn um morguninn er herrinn vaknade 556b; Þegar ad morgni vakna huoru tueggiu 325 Þegar sem] Nü sem at S58 lidr] + þä S58 herinn hvartveggi] hvortveggi herrinn 533	[New chapter] Þegar sem nottenn lidur, vaknar herenn hvortveggie,	[New chapter] [Ð]egar sem nottinn lijdr, uaknar herrinn huortueggi,

	β, f. 3v	590a, f. 58r	152, f. 194v
4.	<i>ok þat sia borgarmenn at þessir env frægiu menn þrir rida hvitvm hestum med gyllda hialma ok skiolldv,</i>	<i>er þat siä borgarmenn ad þesser ener frægu menn þeir⁵⁹ rida hvitum hestum med gillda hiälma og skiolldu,</i>	<i>oc þat sia borgarmenn at þessir enu frægu menn þrijr rijda æ huijtum hestum med gyllta hialma,</i>
	<p>ok .. sia] er þat siä 590a; ok þa sa 533; sia 556b; Þä siä nü S58; þad sia 325 þessir] þeir S58 env frægiu menn] eru somu menn S17; enu somu menn S6; .iij. menn 556b; somu menn 325 þrir rida] þeir rida 590a; þeir rýda æ S17, S6; + æ 152; rida 556b, 325; ridv .iij. til orosto 533 gyllda–skiolldv] gyllta hialma 152; forgyllta hiälma ok smellda skiolldu S58; gilltum hialmum 325; gylltvm savdlvm 533; gylltum skiolldum 556b</p>		
5.	<i>ok til herbvda. Allr herrinn var buinn til bardaga.</i>	<i>og til herbüda, og allur herenn var büenn til bardaga.</i>	<i>oc til herbuda. Allr herrinn uar buinn bardaga.</i>
	<p>ok–bardaga] Þeir sia j annann stad at allvr herrin fer fra herbvdvm sinvm svo sem til orosto 533 ok] ÷ 556b, S58, 325 herbvda] + og 590a; + Frankismanna 556b; bardaga herbuda 325 Allr–bardaga] ÷ 325 Allr–buinn] Voru þä allir hermennerner büinir S58 var buinn] er buinn sem 556b til?] ÷ 152</p>		

590a agrees throughout with β except for the following readings, in both of which 152 agrees with β against 590a:

- Row 4: *ok þat sia borgarmenn* β, S17, S6, 152] *er þat siä borgarmenn* 590a; *þä siä nü borgarmenn* S58; *ok þa sa borgarmenn* 533; *þad sia borgarmenn* 325; *sia borgarmenn* 556b
- Row 4: *þessir env frægiu menn þrir rida* β, 152] *þesser ener frægu menn þeir(?) rida* 590a; *þesser eru* (“enu” S6) *somu menn þeir rýda* S17, S6; *þessir somu menn rýda* 325; *þeir hinir frægu menn þrir rida* S58; *þessir hinn frægv menn ridv* .iij. 533; *þesser .iij. menn rida* 556b

At (a), 590a’s reading “er” is likely to be a simple scribal error, as it is unique and does not make syntactic sense compared to the other texts. It is noteworthy that the “ok” in β, here formed as a z-like abbreviation with a horizontal line through

⁵⁹ Expansion uncertain, but most likely to be an erroneous “þeir”. S17 and S6 here clearly read “þeir”.

it, is not as neat as is usual in this manuscript and has a squiggle on its left which makes “er” an understandable misreading, consistent with the hypothesis that β could have been 590a’s exemplar.

590a’s divergence from β in phrase (b) – if my reading of its abbreviation is correct – also seems likely to reflect a scribal error, with an incorrect abbreviation (a superscript $\bar{\text{r}}$ for “ei” instead of a superscript r for “ri”) giving an erroneous “þeir” rather than “þrir”. The error may have arisen because the next word, the verb “ríða”, seemed by itself to take the pronoun “þeir” as its subject than the numeral “þrir”. S17 and S6 share 590a’s erroneous “þeir”, either because they descend from an exemplar containing the same error, or because they all made the same mistake – perhaps because, in their exemplar(s), the word “þrir” was abbreviated rather than written out in full. The mistake is not uncommon, so it alone has little text-critical significance, but it is consistent with the hypothesis that β was 590a’s exemplar; β here has the abbreviated form “þr”. 325, the other early text of the K-recension, omits this word entirely, as part of its fairly consistent pattern of abbreviation throughout, so its reading has no bearing on whether or not its exemplar contained the word “þrir” or “þeir”. The whole phrase at (b) seems to have puzzled several scribes: S58 has a slightly awkward “þeir” instead of the other texts’ “þessir” (perhaps because its scribe misread an exemplar’s abbreviated “þessir”), while the K-texts S17, S6 and 325 have “somu” in place of the other texts’ “frægu” (S17’s reading here, with “eru” instead of “enu”, makes different sense of the syntax if one imagines a punctuation mark between “menn” and “rýða”, and may be a scribal intervention).

590a and β share the following readings against 152:

- c. Row 1: þessir þrir β, 590a] þessir menn 152; þeir þrir menn S58; þeir S17; þesser, þeir S6; hinir 533; *no equivalent in 325 or 556b*
- d. Row 1: til eingis barizt hafva β, 590a, S17, S6, S58] til einnuijgis barizt hafa þriir 152; til einskis vilia vnnid hafa 533; *no equivalent in 325 or 556b*
- e. Row 2: Drottning mælti ok bad sina menn β, 590a, S17] Drottning bad þæ þæ 152; Drottning bad sijna menn S6, 533; Drottning Elinnborg mællte S58; *no equivalent in 325 or 556b*
- f. Row 2: vel mun oss nv veita β, 590a, S17, S6] uel mun nu ueita 152; nü mun vel veita S58; mvn en vel verda 533; *no equivalent in 325 or 556b*

- g. Row 2: *sidan Priamus er drepinn* β, 590a, S17, S6] *eptir Priamus fallinn* 152; *er Priamus köngur er drepinn* S58; ÷ 533; *no equivalent in 325 or 556b*
- h. Row 4: *rida hvítvm hestum* β, 590a, S58, 325, 556b] *rijda æ huijtum hestum* 152, S17, S6; *ridv .ij. til orosto hvítvm hestvm* 533
- i. Row 4: *med gyllda hialma ok skioldv* β, 590a, S17, S6] *med gyllta hialma* 152; *medur forgyllta hiälma ok smellta skiöldu* S58; *med gilltum hialmum* 325; *med gylltvm savdlvm* 533; *med gylltum skioldum* 556b
- j. Row 5: *buinn til bardaga* β, 590a, S17, S6, S58] *buinn bardaga* 152; ÷ 325; *svo sem til orosto* 533; *buinn sem til bardaga* 556b

All 152's readings here, except the very minor variant at (h), are unique and result in a slightly shorter text overall than in the other texts of Recension 2, again with the exception of 325 which, like the 556b text of Recension 1b, is less than half as long as any of the other Recension 2 texts.

Scribal error is the best explanation for 152's "einnuijgis" in phrase (d), its absent "er" in phrase (g), and its syntactic awkwardness at (j). Two of 152's readings are not dissimilar to S58 (the word "menn" at (c) and the choice of words at (f)), but these variants are too trivial to exclude independent scribal variation, as is 152's agreement with S17 and S6 against the other texts in using the preposition "á" at (h).

As before, S17 agrees with β and 590a throughout, except for the trivial variant at phrase (h), and phrase (c), where several texts present unique readings of a problematic point in the text. Here S17's reading is the simplest rendering among all the texts which contain this passage in any form. S6's reading at this point is also unique. Elsewhere S17 and S6 agree with each other, except for S6's lack of the words "mælti ok" at (e), which could be explained as inadvertent or deliberate streamlining to create a simpler speech-opener (S6's reading is here shared with 533, but this is not text-critically significant).

S58 agrees with β and 590a against 152 at phrases (d), (h) and (j), and shares key elements of wording or syntax with them in its uniquely divergent readings at (c), (e), (g) and (i). Only at (f) is S58 close to 152. The texts of Recension 1b behave differently to each other. 533 goes its own way, staying close to the readings in β and 590a at (d) and (h) but generally displaying limited resemblance to any text of Recension 2. 556b is radically abbreviated in this passage and has equivalent readings for only three of these phrases: two of these ((h) and (j)) are

identical or near-identical to β and 590a, and the last (i) is closer to β and 590a than to 152. 325 is the most abbreviated text of all and, in consequence, is distant from S17 and S6 in this passage. It shares one fairly trivial variant reading (h) with β (in this case against S17 and S6), and in another reading (i) it is somewhat closer to 152, but for all the other readings, the equivalent phrases are entirely lacking.

3. Text-historical conclusions

3.0.1. 590a, γ and β , and *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*

In the passages analysed, 590a stays very close to the fragments γ and β . 590a and the fragments are much closer to each other than either of them is to the other texts of Recension 2 (or indeed Recension 1). If γ and β were originally part of the exemplar of 590a, then 590a's overall level of accuracy ("replication" would be a less loaded way of putting it) would be more characteristic of scholarly copying in the seventeenth century than of the freer copying techniques employed by most scribes for domestic use in this period. Its orthographic freedom does set it apart from the stricter standards of replication adopted by Árni Magnússon or Jón Erlendsson, but those two scholars were the exception rather than the rule. Other features of 590a – its marginal annotations, its extremely clear main hand – confirm its identity as a scholarly copy for study rather than a fresh reworking for entertainment. In the passages presented, 590a fails to replicate the text of γ and β in only 21 readings, 19 of which concern a single word (usually a particle, preposition or conjunction). Of the two remaining non-replications, one is a two-word phrase ("ad þessu": passage 4, variant phrase (d)), and the other is a six-word phrase apparently rewritten as a result of a copying error in its main verb ("get" for "græt": passage 7, variant phrase (b)). As has been shown, all these variants can be explained as conscious or unconscious scribal revision, and none of them challenges the hypothesis that fragments γ and β were 590a's exemplars. The possibility does remain open that 590a was copied from a copy of, or from the exemplar of, γ and β , but there is nothing to compel either alternative to the simpler filiation I propose until further investigation dislodges it.

The hypothesis that γ and β were 590a's exemplars is strengthened by the few examples I have found of errors or unusual wording shared only by these texts. Two examples have been discussed above: these are variant phrases (g) and (h) in passage 10, in which β and 590a alone share, first, King Eysteinn's unexpected swerve from referring to himself in the first person singular to the first person plural (singular in all the other texts) and, second, the genitive "dóttur minnar" for the female object of "fá" who is placed in the contextually more appropriate accusative form in all the other texts. One striking orthographic peculiarity in β , not included in the above passages, is retained in 590a where one would expect a scribe to correct to the more usual form. This is the word "vedrædi" (difficulties) on f. 2v of β . Mediaeval and modern scribes almost always spelt this word with an "n" after the initial vowel ("vandræði", "vendredi" etc.); of the 191 attestations listed by the online *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*, only one lacks "n".⁶⁰ The word appears as "uandræde" in 152 (f. 181v), as well as in 534, S17, S6 and S58. But 590a bucks the trend and spells it "vedræde" (f. 31r) even though its scribe generally did not hesitate to modernise orthography (as in the final -e in this very word). It is possible that the scribe of 590a took it for a different word, did not understand it, but chose to reproduce what he or she read in the exemplar.

A brief glance at the rest of γ and β (beyond the extracts analysed above) shows a similar level of agreement between the fragments and 590a against 152. Space precludes full documentation or analysis, but I now summarise my observations on each leaf of the fragments and how their text relates to the other main texts of Recension 2 (590a, 152, 534, S58, S17 and S6).⁶¹ I present each leaf separately because of the skewed data resulting from the very poor state of preservation of two of the leaves. To enumerate numbers of readings, as I do here, gives only a rough picture, because (as above) an individual "reading" could relate to anything from a single word to a whole phrase or sentence; but most of these relate to passages of four words or fewer, and there is nothing on the same

⁶⁰ *ONP: Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* (University of Copenhagen), <onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o83980> (last accessed 26 September 2022). The second recension of *Mágus saga* is not cited among these 191 attestations. The sole exception cited ("væðreþi") is from the text of *Sturlunga saga* in the late fourteenth-century manuscript AM 122 a fol., which contains many other attestations of the same word including the "n".

⁶¹ I omit 1002 and 325 from this overview. They are discussed on pp. 84–88 below.

scale as the longest variant readings discussed above. As above, I define verbatim agreement between texts in a way which discounts orthographic variation and suffixed articles.

The remaining parts of γ (from the opening *þátttr* about Ermenga) show 90 further divergences from 152. 590a agrees verbatim with 80 of these, and in three more is closer to γ than to 152. Of the remaining seven readings, all but one concern single words. In that one multi-word reading, a phrase written in the margin of γ (“*sidan geck jungfruin til sætis sins*”, f. 1v) is present with minor variation in S58, but is not in 590a. That is also the only place in γ where a reading’s divergence from 152 is shared (with minor variation) by S58 but is not also shared, in whole or in part, by 590a, and it is consistent with the hypothesis that γ was 590a’s exemplar at this point: 590a’s scribe could have missed it because of its position on the page. S58 agrees with just over half of γ ’s divergences from 152, but has many other small-scale divergences of its own.

Severe damage to the first leaf of β (with *Víðförull*’s illusions and *Mágus*’s last rites), resulting in the loss of half the leaf’s text and curtailment of almost all complete sentences, produces a much lower frequency of visible divergence from 152 here. In addition to the variants in the passages discussed above, this leaf shows 20 readings which diverge from 152. 590a agrees verbatim with 17 of these, but in two more (concerning one word each), 590a shares β ’s word-order or word-choice against 152. The remaining reading where β and 590a do not agree at all is a clear scribal error in 590a: here a whole line representing *Mágus*’s allegedly final utterances has been omitted by 590a’s scribe (a later hand has supplied it in the margin from a different exemplar).⁶² The scribe’s eye must have skipped a line because of the repeated phrase “*hraut upp orð*”. That is the only instance on this leaf of β where β ’s divergence from 152 is shared (with minor variation) by S58 but is not also shared, in whole or in part, by 590a. Similarly, on only one occasion is β ’s divergence from 152 shared by 534 and not also shared by 590a: this concerns a tense-choice (“*muni*” or “*mundi*”) and is easily explicable as scribal variation. A little under half of β ’s divergences from 152 are shared by S58, and a little over half are shared by 534, although both S58 and 534 present several individual divergences.

⁶² 590a f. 30v, line 9 and left margin; β f. 1v, penultimate line.

The second leaf of β (narrating Mágus's "death" and arrival at Denmark) is complete except for a few lines cut away at the bottom. Here, in addition to the passages discussed, β has 66 further readings which diverge from 152. 590a agrees verbatim with 58 of these, and in two more it is closer to β than to 152. The remaining six concern only 1–2 words or part-words each, mostly particles, pronouns and prepositions. On three occasions, β 's divergence from 152 is not shared by 590a but is shared by one or more of 534, S58, S17 and S6. S58 agrees with just over half of β 's divergences from 152, and 534 agrees with just under half of β 's divergences from 152; both texts have several small-scale divergences of their own.⁶³

The third leaf of β (on Geirarðr's combats) has been horizontally cut away, so presents only half a leaf of text and thus a much lower frequency of visible variation from 152. In addition to the passages discussed, β here displays 23 further divergences from 152, 21 of which are shared verbatim by 590a. S6 shares β 's remaining two divergences from 152 that are not shared by 590a (briefly discussed below in relation to S6). Just over one third of β 's divergences from 152 are shared by S58, although S58 has several individual small-scale divergences which do not relate to β or 152. All of β 's divergences from 152 are shared by S6, and all of β 's divergences from 152 which are shared by 590a are also shared by S17 (nine-tenths of the whole). This counterbalances the impression occasionally arising from the passages discussed (on this leaf of β) that S17 and S6 deviate more frequently from β .

Counted by number of readings, in the parts of the text discussed in these paragraphs the proportion of γ 's and β 's divergences from 152 that are shared by 590a lies between 85 % and 91 % on each individual leaf of γ and β . The match is closest between the only two complete or near-complete leaves, β f. 2 and γ : in both cases 590a shares 88 % of the fragments' divergences from 152. Even allowing for the variation in number of words affected, this is a remarkably stable proportion. All in all, the consistency with which 590a agrees with γ and β , in the passages surveyed in the above four paragraphs, reinforces the hypothesis that γ and β served as exemplars for 590a and were reproduced there rather closely. This data thus points in the same direction as my analysis of the edited passages above.

⁶³ S17 and S6 are not included in this discussion because part of their text corresponding to this leaf of β belongs to Recension 1.

The question then arises: was the exemplar of the main text of 590a a *single* parchment-manuscript, as Árni Magnússon seems to have suggested? The fact that 590a follows β and γ so closely where they preserve text does not prove that 590a follows a single exemplar throughout. Indeed, its insertions in larger or later hands show that at several localised points it did follow other exemplars, filling lacunae or supplying perceived omissions. Yet all the points where we know 590a followed a secondary exemplar are flagged up using visual signals in script and layout, in contrast to many early modern saga manuscripts in which scribes moved from one exemplar to another without advertising the fact (because they did not place such a high value on the importance of tracing a single exemplar). This encourages confidence in the likelihood that elsewhere 590a's exemplar remained the same. Similarly encouraging is the fact that fragments γ and β represent not just one isolated sequence, but widely separated passages from the saga's preliminary *þáttir*, mid-point and final episodes. If Dodsworth's argument that γ and β are in the same hand is accepted, it is reasonable to infer from all this evidence taken together that γ and β were originally part of the same parchment-manuscript containing *Mágus saga*, and that 590a was a copy made from that manuscript when it was in a near-complete state. I will now refer to the fragments as a single fragmentary text of *Mágus saga*, β - γ .

Further support for this view is provided by the textual history of *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*. As already noted, a longer recension of *Hrólfs saga*, with *Gautreks saga* as its prelude, is written in the manuscript preserved alongside 590a: Copenhagen, the Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 590 b–c 4to (henceforth 590b–c). It is in the same main hand as 590a, with similar chapter-rubrics; it displays a similar (although less palaeographically pronounced) transition to a different hand on its final pages, ff. 39r–44r; and it has marginalia in Ketill Jörundsson's hand, just like 590a. As suggested above, 590a and 590b–c were probably a single book when Árni Magnússon acquired them; his cover-slip for 590a states that both sagas were “skrifadar epter membranâ” (copied from [a] parchment) and that both were present “ä einni bok”, which probably refers to the parchment exemplar.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ AM 590 a 4to, cover-slip, discussed on pp. 19–20.

Carl Christian Rafn (1829–1830: iii, vi) used 590b–c, divided into two sagas according to more recent scholarly convention, as the basis for his editions of *Hrólfs saga* and *Gautreks saga* in *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda*. He observed that one mediaeval fragment of *Hrólfs saga* (Reykjavík, the Árni Magnússon Institute, AM 567 xiv α 4to, henceforth xiv α) shared almost exactly the same wording and orthographic peculiarities with the equivalent portion of 590b–c. Ferdinand Detter’s subsequent critical edition of *Hrólfs saga* focused on the older, shorter recension of the saga and did not speculate further on the relationship between xiv α and 590b–c, but Detter’s stemma has these two texts descending from a common exemplar (Detter 1891: v–vii and xxix). More recently, and in my view more reasonably, Michael Chesnutt has argued that xiv α was the exemplar of 590b–c (Chesnutt 2009: 93). xiv α has been dated to ca. 1400.⁶⁵

The reason this is important is that xiv α appears, according to Stefán Karlsson and Dodsworth, to be in the same hand as the contemporaneous fragments β and γ of *Mágus saga*.⁶⁶ Although page-sizes and text-widths vary slightly, Dodsworth (1963: xxviii) raised the possibility that these fragments of *Hrólfs saga* and *Mágus saga* once belonged to the same single manuscript. These connections may become clearer once further work is done on three Stockholm manuscripts that contain, or used to contain, both *Hrólfs saga* and *Mágus saga*. In his edition of *Gautreks saga*, Ranisch argued that the text of the longer *Hrólfs saga* (i. e. including *Gautreks saga*) in 590b–c and in the copy of *Hrólfs saga* in Stockholm, Royal Swedish Library, Isl. Holm papp 11 8vo were so closely related that they must share a common ancestor distinct from the texts of *Hrólfs saga* and *Gautreks saga* in AM 152 fol., against which they shared several errors (Ranisch 1900: viii–x). If Chesnutt is right about 590b–c, the common ancestor of 590b–c and the text of *Hrólfs saga* in Holm papp 11 8vo is probably xiv α . Ranisch also believed that the text of *Hrólfs saga* in Holm papp 11 8vo was closely related to two texts of the longer recension of *Hrólfs saga* in two other seventeenth-century Stockholm manuscripts, Holm papp 17 4to and

⁶⁵ For this date, see Dodsworth’s own pers. comm. (1985) cited in Degnbol et al. 1989: 455, confirming the date assigned by Kålund.

⁶⁶ Dodsworth (1963: xxvi–xxviii) cited a pers. comm. from Stefán Karlsson.

Holm papp 6 4to (the manuscripts containing S17 and S6). He proposed that the text of *Hrólfs saga* in Holm papp 11 8vo was the exemplar or ancestor of the copies in Holm papp 17 4to and Holm papp 6 4to (Ranisch 1900: iv–x). A surviving contents-list in Holm papp 11 8vo, a manuscript dated ca. 1650, shows that when it was in a more complete state, its text of the longer *Hrólfs saga* was preceded by *Mágus saga*, just as it is in AM 590 a–c 4to.⁶⁷ My analysis above indicates that the S6 and S17 texts of *Mágus saga* are very closely related; I argue below that they probably descend from β - γ through an intermediate exemplar, mirroring Ranisch's filiation for these three Stockholm texts of the longer *Hrólfs saga*.

The possibility begins to take shape that the lost parchment-manuscript now represented only by fragment xiv α of *Hrólfs saga* and fragments β and γ of *Mágus saga* was the ancestor or exemplar of the texts of both sagas in AM 590 a–c 4to and in the three Stockholm manuscripts. For now, this is only a possibility. These considerations lend weight to the argument that γ and β formed part of the same mediaeval text of *Mágus saga* which was the exemplar of 590a as well as (I argue below) of 152, but that argument does not depend on identifying xiv α as belonging to the same original parchment-manuscript as β and γ .

3.0.2. The other texts of *Mágus saga*

I now summarise how the other texts of Recension 2 fit into this picture. We have seen that 152 is, by some margin, the outlier among witnesses of Recension 2 proper. Overall, in the passages discussed 152 presents a consistently shortened text, in some cases radically so. At various points I have considered whether 152's numerous divergences from β - γ result from its own scribe's revisions or from an exemplar already containing some of those changes. If we discount 1002 (discussed below), 152's reading is supported wholly or partly by at least one other text of Recension 1 or 2 in 29 of the 110 readings listed after each edited passage above in which 152's reading differs from β - γ .⁶⁸

⁶⁷ For the contents-list, see Gödel 1897–1900: 372. For the date, see Degnbol et al. 1989: 252.

⁶⁸ The instances in which 152's reading is shared either wholly or with striking closeness by another text, except 1002, are passage 1 phrase (e), 1(h), 4(c), 4(e), 5(d), 5(e), 5(f), 7(a), 9(b),

However, as has been shown, almost all the readings shared by 152 and another text against β - γ are so trivial that they have no text-critical value in reconstructing a fourteenth-century Recension 2, especially as they show no consistent proximity to a surviving text. Their variation hinges on such matters as tense-shifts, absent or added pronouns or particles, reversed word-order, pronouns substituted for nouns, the presence or absence of common qualifiers such as “allr”, and similar commonplace phrase-elements. Examples include:

- Passage 5, listed phrase (d): 152 and S58 share “at suo” against “ok sua” in β , 590a, 534, 580, 533 and α
- Passage 5 phrase (e): 152, 556b, 580 and 533 share the phrase “*eda eigi*”, which is absent in β - γ , 590a, 534 and S58
- Passage 9 phrase (c): 152 and 533 share the absence of “i riki Eysteins konungs” which is present in β - γ , 590a and S58, and present in more approximate wording in 534
- Passage 10 phrase (d): 152 and 534 share the lack of an article before the appellation “Halfrite *Madur*”, against “hinn” in β , 590a, S17, S6 and S58 (325 abbreviates further)
- Passage 11 phrase (c): 152, 325 and 533 share “uar þat” against “*vard þat*” in β , 590a, S17, S6 and S58
- Passage 12 phrase (c): 152 and S58 share “sinna manna” against “*brædra sin[na]*” in β , 590a, S6, 325 and 533
- Passage 14 phrase (h): 152, S17 and S6 share “rijda æ” against “rida” in β , 590a, S58, 325 and 556b

Scribal variation is the most plausible explanation of these divergences. Again discounting 1002, the least trivial agreements between 152 and one or more other text against β - γ are the following:

9(c), 9(d), 10(a), 10(d), 10(g), 10(h), 11(a), 11(b), 11(c), 11(d), 11(e), 12(c), 12(d), 12(j), 13(d), 13(i), 13(k), 13(l), 14(h) and 14(i).

- Passage 4 phrase (e): without agreeing verbatim, 152 and S58 share “prijs” as a doublet with “gledi”, against “leikar” in γ and 590a
- Passage 9 phrase (d): 152, 534 and S58 share “kappar” against “garpar” in β , 590a, S17, S6, 325, 533 and 556b
- Passage 13 phrase (l): 152, 325, 533 and 556b share “bogunna” against “savdvlinn” in β , 590a, S17, S6 and S58

All three readings relate to stock phrases or terms on which descriptions of feasting and combat ring the changes throughout the corpus of Norse-Icelandic *riddarasögur*. Scribal variation could have produced all three, so they, too, cannot be seen as compelling evidence that 152 was copied from an intermediary exemplar. Furthermore, most of 152's divergences from β - γ are unique to 152, and some result in awkward syntax or garbled narrative.⁶⁹ This, too, tells against the notion of an intermediary exemplar in which the changes visible in 152 were already present. Rather, I suggest that the scribe of this part of AM 152 fol. aimed to condense the wording of the exemplar, sometimes at the expense of intelligibility. As I argue elsewhere, a similar pattern is seen in 152's presentation of the saga's epilogue, which is longer and more intelligible in 590a, S17, S6 and (in the position of a prologue) in S58 than it is in 152.

1002 is an exception to this pattern, but seems likely to descend from 152 itself. In its opening *þáttur* (the only part of the L-recension which resembles Recension 2), 1002 shares many further readings with 152. Several of these are much more significant and larger-scale than those just listed, such as their shared patterns of large-scale omission and partial substitution in passage 2.⁷⁰ However, despite numerous divergences from β - γ , 1002 shares no significant divergences with any text except 152 and other texts of the L-recension. In the passages analysed, 1002 either maintains 152's differences from the other texts or presents unique readings unrelated to the other non-L-texts of Recension 2, typically extending some of 152's abbreviation strategies or rephrasing in its own

⁶⁹ For example, passage 10 phrase (e); 12(h); 13(j); 14(d), (g) and (j).

⁷⁰ These readings are at passage 1 phrase (g), 2(c), 2(d), 2(g), 2(i), 3(a), 3(c), 3(d), 3(e), 4(f), 4(h), 4(i) and 4(k).

way. The four trivial exceptions to this rule, where 1002 shares a reading with another non-L-text against 152 (at passage 1 rows 2 and 6, passage 2 row 7, and passage 4 row 10), are explicable by scribal revision: a reversal of two words, substitution of conjunctions, and addition of “þessu” in the direction of more idiomatic Icelandic. There is nothing here to indicate that any of 152’s differences from β - γ derive from an ancestor of the L-recension, and there are also no pre-1600 witnesses to the L-recension as a whole or to its version of the opening *þátr*. Fuller analysis of the L-recension may unearth such evidence in future, but the evidence here suggests that the L-recension’s version of the opening *þátr* derives from 152 and has undergone further adjustment in the process. In short, Dodsworth’s conclusion (1963: xcix–c) that 152 was copied from β - γ remains unchallenged.

The relationships between the other texts of *Mágus saga* have not been analysed as systematically here as have those between β - γ , 590a and 152. Instead, those texts have provided text-critical background for analysing the three main texts. 534 and/or S58 often agree exactly or approximately with β - γ and 590a against 152 (and quite often with each other), and most of 152’s more radical excisions are not visible in these two texts. However, as the parallel-text edition shows, 534 and S58 also display many other variant readings which differ from the other texts, although sometimes agreeing with each other here too. In a handful of readings, one or both of them agrees with 152 against β - γ and 590a. In terms of textual similarity (not necessarily filiation) 534 and S58 occupy different intermediate positions between β - γ at one extreme and 152 on the other, but S58 is closer overall to β - γ than to 152.

Both 534 and S58 are interventionist in different ways. As Dodsworth has shown, 534 omits the opening tale altogether, and in places it is quite condensed (but not in the same ways as 152). Its large lacunae make it difficult to judge its overall shape. S58 displays much freedom to reword, especially in small amplifications, in a way that other scholars have shown to be characteristic of its scribe, Jón Vigfússon (Hjorth 1960: 249; Louis-Jensen 1963: xi–xxx; Sanders 1979; Sanders 2001: xlii–lii). A rare example of a substantial expansion is seen in passage 13, row 1. A clearer assessment of S58’s testimony requires a fuller study, but it is worth noting that many of S58’s divergences from 152 – and indeed from 534, β - γ and 590a – in fact result in shorter rather than longer

constructions. Combined with the fact that S58 often agrees with β - γ and 590a against 152 and 534, this suggests that many of the peculiarities of S58 were not introduced by Jón Vigfússon, but were present in his exemplar in **Ormsbók*. I have followed up this line of inquiry in a separate study of the saga's epilogue (or, in S58, prologue). In other parts of the saga, 534 and S58 also share two structural peculiarities against all the other texts of Recension 2 of *Mágus saga* discussed here; these will be briefly discussed below in order to build all these text-critical observations into a tentative partial stemma.

More must be said here about the K-recension, represented here by its earliest witnesses S17, S6 and 325. Of all the other texts of Recension 2 discussed here besides 590a, the second halves of S17 and S6 stay closest to β in their Recension 2 portions. 325 is a maverick text which generally follows S17 and/or S6 but otherwise presents (sometimes radically) unique, often condensed readings – a combination suggesting an individual scribe reworking S17, S6 or another lost K-text.⁷¹ None of these K-texts shares any striking errors with β against 590a, but in any case their independent descent from β is made likely by the following considerations. First, 590a shares none of S17's divergences from β in the passages discussed, with one insignificant exception.⁷² Second, in some instances S17 and S6 are the only texts to agree with β against 590a and the other texts. Examples include passage 13 phrases (b) and (d), and especially passage 10 phrase (a) where S17 and S6 (here followed by 325) preserve β 's dual "þit" against the other texts' modernised plural "þér".⁷³ Third, at two points between passages 13 and 14 above (hence not discussed above), at f. 380v, S6 shares wording with f. 3v of β which is not shared by any other text, including S17 or 590a:

⁷¹ On the few occasions where 325 shares another text's reading against both S17 and S6 (at passage 10 rows 2 and 5, 11 rows 2 and 3, 12 rows 2 and 3, 13 rows 4 and 5, 14 rows 1, 4 and 5), the variants are trivial and explicable by independent rewording or condensing.

⁷² At passage 14 phrase (b), the word "þeir" in S17 and S6 appears to be shared by 590a against the "þrir" in β , 152 and S58, but as already noted, the whole clause clearly baffled several scribes, and it is easy to mistake one form of abbreviated "þr" for another.

⁷³ This did not prevent 590a, S17 and S6 from modernising another dual pronoun into a plural form later in the same passage, which the other texts retained as a dual: see the discussion of passage 10 phrase (b) above.

- *voru þeir þar um nottina* β, S6] *uoru þar um nottina* 152, S17, S58; *uoru þar |allt til qvældz| um nöttina* 590a
- *uita þat at* β, S6] *uita at* 152, 590a, S17; *S58 lacks the clause in which this phrase occurs*

Here β and S6 contain, respectively, a pronoun and an adverb which are not strictly necessary for the sentence to make sense, and which alliterate or rhyme with adjacent words in a slightly awkward way. By not including those words, 152, 590a and S17 here read more smoothly. Even without considerations of dating, the more streamlined readings are likely to be secondary developments (in some cases perhaps made independently), with S6 here preserving the original, longer formulations. Further suggesting that S17 and 590a omitted the pronoun “þeir” from their exemplar(s) in the first phrase, the word “þar” comes at the bottom of the page in S17 (a natural point for a lapse of attention), while the scored-out words in 590a (accidentally repeated from the end of the previous line) show that its scribe’s attention was slipping here too. More extensive lists of examples would enable this point to be properly tested, but the evidence seen here is consistent with the “Recension 2” portions of S17 and S6 having derived from β independently of 590a.

The question then arises how S17 and S6 relate to each other. They clearly have a close textual relationship: they share with 325 and each other the same complicated way of dovetailing Recensions 1 and 2, and the texts of both the “Recension 1” and “Recension 2” portions of S17 and S6 are closer in wording to each other than either of them is to any of the other texts discussed (although, as we have seen, they diverge from each other in small ways). In terms of manuscript dating, either could be a copy of the other: the datings discussed above leave room for the possibility that both manuscripts were written around 1650, even though S17 is usually taken to be the older of the two (Degnbol et al. 1989: 20, 252; Dodsworth 1963: lxxv). The fact that the scribe of S6, Brynjólfur Jónsson of Efstaland, also wrote part of the manuscript containing S17 (at some point after S17 itself had been written into that manuscript by a previous scribe) led Dodsworth to suggest that S6 might be a copy of S17 (Dodsworth 1963: xl–xli). But this suggestion is undermined by examples in which S6 does

not follow certain alterations or omissions in S17 and, instead, holds to the wording of β . Two of these examples were provided in the previous paragraph. Another comes in passage 12, variant phrase (d), where β 's reading "hefna þeira greypi[li]ga" (shared by 590a and S58) is rendered using the quite different adverb "geyselega" in S17, a perfectly intelligible and idiomatic alteration; but S6 has β 's reading ("greypelega"), not S17's.

These are small examples, and more research is needed on S17 and S6. But on the present state of evidence it seems relatively unlikely that S6 is a copy of S17, and a similar set of examples makes the reverse possibility – that S17 is a copy of S6 – equally unlikely.⁷⁴ The two texts seem more likely to derive independently from a common, now-lost exemplar which shared their way of combining Recensions 1 and 2. This would rule out the lost (near-)complete text of β - γ itself as an exemplar for S17 and S6 as a whole, because β - γ follows Recension 2 throughout as far as we can see from its surviving fragments and 590a. It might be countered that S17 and S6 could have drawn on β - γ only in their second halves after following a different exemplar for their first halves (the Recension 1 portions), and that both scribes switched exemplars at the same point in mid-chapter because their common exemplar for Recension 1 cut off at that point. But S17's and S6's dovetailing between Recensions 1 and 2 is more complex than this model allows, inserting a substantial passage from Recension 2 towards the end of the otherwise-Recension-1 first half. Given this shared structure and the idiosyncratic readings shared by S17 and S6 against 590a, the most likely explanation is that S17 and S6 derive independently from a now-lost mixed text of *Mágus saga* whose second half (and the other inserted Recension-2-type passage) derived from β - γ , but whose first half derived from a Recension 1 exemplar. Whether 325 derives from that exemplar independently or is a reworked copy of S17 or S6 remains to be seen, but it clearly belongs to the same family of texts.

⁷⁴This possibility is undermined by S17's failure to replicate wording where S6 deviates (often uniquely) from β , but where S17 holds to β . Examples can be seen above at passage 10 row 1, 11 row 2, 12 rows 1–3 (besides the example discussed here), 12 row 6, and 14 row 2. Individually some of these are minor, but together they point in the same direction.

The filiation I am suggesting for S17 and S6 would be in keeping with Ranisch's study of the manuscripts of the longer recension of *Hrólf's saga Gautreks-sonar*. As mentioned above, Ranisch argued (1900: iv–x) that the texts of that saga in the two Stockholm (Royal Swedish Library) manuscripts Holm papp 17 4to and Holm papp 6 4to derive from Holm papp 11 8vo, which used to contain *Mágus saga* too.⁷⁵ That manuscript could have contained the exemplar of the S17 and S6 texts of *Mágus saga*, and that exemplar (depending on how 325 and the other K-texts are placed) could have been the archetype of the K-recension. These proposed filiations may be confirmed or refuted by future text-critical comparison of the texts of *Hrólf's saga* in Holm papp 11 8vo, AM 590 b–c 4to and xiv α , but the evidence currently points in the direction of S17 and S6 sharing a common exemplar descended wholly or partly from β - γ .

As for the mediaeval texts of Recension 1 proper, only in passages 5, 7 and 9–14 do these come close to the readings in Recension 2, and most of these passages relate to the part of the saga which is not included in Recension 1a but is only in 1b. Lacunae in 556b make direct comparison difficult, but the 533 and 556b texts of Recension 1b clearly diverge from each other in non-trivial ways and show no consistent affiliation with any one extant text of Recension 2. Seven of 152's disagreements with the other Recension-2-type texts are shared by one or more text of Recension 1,⁷⁶ but these variants are all explicable by independent rephrasing and do not challenge Dodsworth's suggestion that 152 was copied directly from β - γ . Dodsworth (1963: ci–cii) suggested that the archetype of Recension 2 was created by reworking a version of Recension 1b which resembled 556b more closely than it resembled 533. This suggestion may need revisiting, since the evidence cited by Dodsworth would be equally consistent with 556b (a late witness) or its exemplar having been produced under the influence of Recension 2. Furthermore, until further study is carried out we cannot exclude the possibility that Recension 1a was first expanded as Recension 1b by drawing on, or with knowledge of, Recension 2, especially as we can see this mixed approach to recension-building giving rise to the K- and L-recensions by the early seventeenth century.

⁷⁵ See the discussion on p. 81–82 above.

⁷⁶ Passage 5 rows 1–3, 9 rows 1 and 2, 11 rows 2 and 3, 12 row 5.

3.1. Possibilities and speculations to be tested by future research

The supposition that 590a is a copy of a more complete β - γ manuscript may be further tested in future by more systematic comparison between the texts discussed here. For the present, 590a seems a more reliable basis than 152 on which to frame observations about Recension 2 of *Mágus saga* as a fourteenth-century literary work.

This is not to dismiss the still-pressing need for the publication of a scholarly edition of 152, as seen in Dodsworth's unpublished edition. AM 152 fol. is a vitally important document of Icelandic textual, reception and literary history. But 152 is a sixteenth-century document, significantly altered and condensed to suit the purposes of its manuscript's scribes, patron and intended audience. Some of those purposes have been explored by Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir's 2014 study of AM 152 fol. While not free of alterations (or purposes of its own), 590a is a more transparent lens through which to see how the second recension of *Mágus saga* looked during the century when it was composed. It is not the only such lens – S58, as I argue elsewhere, provides important further information – but it is the least altered in relation to its exemplar. It is also less prone to grammatical or syntactic errors, which I suggest are often the result of a desire to condense: as Cederschiöld put it (1884: cviii), the exemplar of 590a was textually not so very distant from 152 “men delvis korrektare skrifven” (but, in parts, more accurately written). As yet there is no published edition of 590a, which may make my suggestion appear impractical; but fortunately, thanks to the University of Copenhagen's recent digitisation of the Arnamagnæan Collection's photographs of this neatly written text, it is accessible to anyone with the Internet.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ See the University of Copenhagen's “NorS Sprogsamlinger” website, <sprogsamlinger.ku.dk/q.php?p=ds/hjem/mapper/4544> (last accessed 27 September 2022). All AM-coded manuscripts used in this article are accessible here, as is 1002. Scans of S58 and S17 are here too, but as the Stockholm scans use various shelfmark systems I provide the direct links at the time of writing (27 September 2022): <sprogsamlinger.ku.dk/q.php?p=ds/hjem/mapper/39733> and <sprogsamlinger.ku.dk/q.php?p=ds/hjem/mapper/39088>. S6 is not yet available on this site and the original photographs of it in the Arnamagnæan Institute, Copenhagen, are lost, so at the time of writing the only way to read S6 is to apply directly to Stockholm's Royal Swedish Library. I am very grateful to Patrik Granholm and Karin Sterky for sharing images

It is hoped that the literary qualities of *Mágus saga* might be more appreciated once literary-critical attention broadens to encompass the smoother and less doctored text in 590a as well as, or instead of, the condensed rendering in 152. Scholars have tended to agree that the saga's first recension is a marvel of literary craftsmanship with its terse structure and tight-lipped protagonists; it is one of the very few *riddarasögur* to have won such plaudits in the genre's dark days between 1870 and 1930. The more garrulous and digressive Recension 2 is sometimes thought to be a let-down by comparison.⁷⁸ But even Finnur Jónsson, a diehard adherent of the degeneration model, had to admit that Recension 2 was nevertheless “læselig og underholdende” (readable and entertaining) (Finnur Jónsson 1894–1902: 107; Glauser 1983: 271). More recently, Richard Hamer (1979, 1996), Kalinke (2017: 63–79) and Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (2020) have shown on different levels that its author “developed the relatively simple, straightforward plot of the older version into an amplified and elaborated psychological drama” (Kalinke 2017: 66–67). These are almost the only scholars in the past half-century to have offered any sustained literary-critical analysis of either recension as a whole. Several of their points come across even more powerfully when applied to the text of 590a and the fragments.⁷⁹

If we treat 590a as a window onto a once-complete β - γ , it becomes possible to hypothesise a more detailed (partial) stemma for Recension 2 of *Mágus saga* than has hitherto been attempted. What follows is intended as speculation, sketching out some of the possible implications of treating 590a in this way. Dodsworth proposed that 152 and 534 descended independently from β - γ . This now seems unlikely if the main text of 590a represents the original arrangement of the saga

of S6 and S58 with me. Scans of 325 are accessible on <handrit.is> at <handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs02-0325> (last accessed 27 September 2022).

⁷⁸ For a survey of critical assessments, see Glauser 1983: 270–71. A similar view was expressed by Dodsworth (1963: cli and clviii).

⁷⁹ The identification of folkloric and literary sources for the saga's many narrative motifs, a valuable exercise in its own right, has dominated literary discussions of this saga. Other recent literary-critical assessments of particular motifs include Kruse 2017: 667–73, focusing on the cinematic episode in which Víðförull displays ancient heroes in moving pictures on a crystalline screen (*glerhiminn*), and Cole 2015: 222–30, on the regeneration of Mágus in different wanderer-personae.

in β - γ . As briefly mentioned above, an important structural feature distinguishes texts 152 and 590a from 534. In 152 and 590a the first sequel-tale, *Lais þátrr*, is dovetailed with *Mágus saga* proper by placing Lais Heinreksson's first adventure (his encounter with Barus) before Mágus reconciles Emperor Karl with the sons of Amundi, several chapters before *Mágus saga* proper ends and *Lais þátrr* can be properly said to begin. In 534, by contrast, Lais's first adventure occupies its more natural chronological position after Karl's marriage to the Frankish princess Konstantia, the event that brings *Mágus saga* proper to a close. The greater simplicity of the more natural ordering, combined with the fact that it is also found in divergent ways in the 533 and 556b texts of Recension 1b, may indicate that 534's way of joining the sequels to the saga reflects an earlier phase in the development of Recension 2, as Dodsworth suggested (1963: cii), and that what we see in 152 and 590a is a later development, perhaps designed to bind the sequels more closely into the saga. Dodsworth's suggestion would imply that 534's simpler arrangement was also present in β - γ . We cannot rule this out for certain: 590a's dovetailed arrangement could, in theory, represent a silent change by its redactor. But the balance of probability lies on the opposite side, given the unusually high level of replication seen between 590a and the extant fragments β - γ and the use of different hands to indicate known departures from the main exemplar. If 590a's arrangement, as well as its wording, replicated its exemplar, then the original β - γ dovetailed *Lais þátrr* with *Mágus saga* in a similar way to 152.

This hypothesis is strengthened by consideration of S58, if we take S58's overall structure to reflect that of its lost exemplar in **Ormsbók* (a position I will defend in my forthcoming study of S58). S58 shares the simpler arrangement of *Lais þátrr* with 534 against 152 and 590a, but it clearly does not descend from 534. For example, S58 has the saga's opening tale, which 534 lacks,⁸⁰ and S58 shares many readings with β - γ and/or 152 against 534 despite not sharing their structure for *Lais þátrr*. S58 has other structural idiosyncrasies which distinguish its arrangement from 152 and 590a: some of these correspond to lacunae or omissions in 534, but one of them is shared by 534. This is a premonitory

⁸⁰The opening tale was present in 534's exemplar, because 534 includes a later cross-reference back to that opening tale, as observed by Cederschiöld (1884: cxiii).

dream which Queen Ermenga has shortly before the fatal quarrel between her husband Hlöðvir and Rögnvaldr Amundason, absent from 152 and 590a but present in S58 and 534. Dodsworth suggested (1963: xcii–xciii) that this passage was likely to be a later interpolation in 534 and was not included in the original Recension 2, on the stylistic grounds that it is not as smoothly embedded in the surrounding narrative as are the other expansions made by the redactor of Recension 2 to the framework provided by Recension 1. This logic depends on the dubious assumption that a skilful redactor would never resort to more mechanical methods of amplification. Given that S58 shares with 534 the premonitory dream and the simpler arrangement of *Lais þáttr*, against 152 and 590a which lack these features, we may at least hypothesise that S58 and 534 descend independently from an archetype anterior to β - γ , in which the premonitory dream and the simpler ordering of *Lais þáttr* were both present, and that β - γ (with 152, 590a and the second half of the K-recension) descends from that same archetype but omitted the dream and adjusted the structure.⁸¹

Where one places 152 in relation to β - γ in this emerging hypothetical stemma of Recension 2 of *Mágus saga* depends, in part, on whether or not one believes that the two structural features shared by 152 and 590a – the splicing of *Lais þáttr* and the omission of the premonitory dream – could have been arrived at independently. That possibility cannot be excluded, but I find it unlikely when the two features appear together. It seems more plausible that 152 descends, either from β - γ , or from the exemplar of β - γ which was itself descended from the ancestor of the 534 and **Ormsbók* texts. 152's direct descent from β - γ could be ruled out were we to find readings shared by 152 with 534, S58 or a recension-1 text against β - γ which cannot be explained as independent scribal revision, but Dodsworth has shown that there is no compelling evidence of this kind in 534,

⁸¹ Considerations of dating do not challenge this hypothesis: β - γ is dated ca. 1400, while **Ormsbók*, the putative exemplar of S58, is generally dated to the second half of the fourteenth century. Note that the K-texts (S17, S6 and 325) do not provide independent evidence of how their exemplar arranged the transition to *Lais þáttr*: they contain a dovetailed arrangement, but it is the result of an idiosyncratic mixing of Recensions 1 and 2 at this very point. The K-recension has nothing corresponding to Ermenga's premonitory dream because at that point it follows a Recension-1-type text.

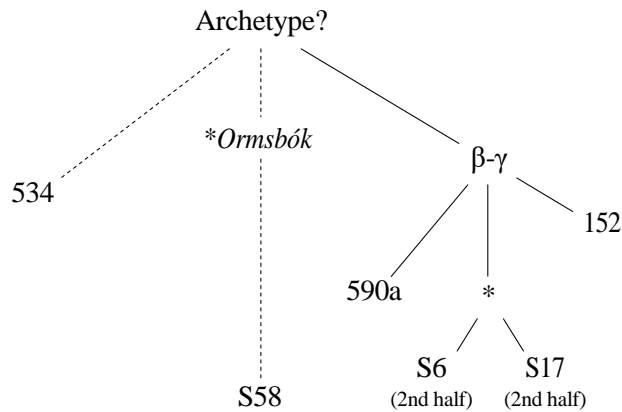
and I have argued that the other texts, too, present no compelling evidence in this direction.⁸² 152 thus seems on present evidence to derive directly from β - γ . Before leaving the subject of *Lais þátttr*, it deserves emphasising that the question of how and when to introduce Lais into the story was an ongoing scholarly challenge in the transmission history of all the longer versions of *Mágus saga*. My working distinction between “simple” and “dovetailed” arrangements to some extent oversimplifies a complex situation which different redactors approached in diverse ways. On the margins of 590a itself we see Árni Magnússon objecting to 590a’s dovetailed arrangement and advising that the offending chapter introducing Lais be repositioned in the simpler manner.⁸³ The two surviving mediaeval texts of Recension 1b share the simpler arrangement in the main, but in its late fifteenth-century text 556b, Lais is introduced by name and description at the very point in the saga when 590a and 152 also narrate his early adventures in order to dovetail his story with *Mágus saga*. In 556b Lais’s adventures are not narrated here, but a lower-level dovetailing gesture is nonetheless included (raising the question whether the redactor of 556b or its exemplar knew one of the “dovetailed” texts of Recension 2).⁸⁴ The K-recension presents yet another approach to dovetailing *Lais þátttr*, inserting a chunk of Recension 2 at this same point in the story before reverting to Recension 1 for several more episodes. Further attention to this structural crux across the extant texts will shed valuable light on the saga’s reception and textual history.

On the present state of knowledge, the structural patterns discussed here, my argument that the main text of 590a is a reliable reflection of the arrangement of β - γ and my analysis of the variants in 152, S17 and S6 all combine to suggest the following stemma:

⁸² Dodsworth (1963: xcix–c) discusses a few readings shared by 534 and 152 against β - γ . See also pp. 76–89 above.

⁸³ 590a, ff. 39r and 47r.

⁸⁴ 556b, f. 13r, edited in Dodsworth 1963: 244. In 533, f. 28v, the same passage comes after the end of *Mágus saga* proper (edited in Dodsworth 1963: 253) and leads directly to the introduction of King Eysteinn of Denmark as seen in passages 9–10 above.



This stemma shows filiation only: distances between texts along the horizontal axis are not meant to convey greater or lesser degrees of similarity. My stemma is even more provisional than such constructions usually are. It is meant as a work in progress, more consistent with the evidence so far analysed (both by Dodsworth and above) than is Dodsworth's earlier, simpler stemma in which 152 and 534 each descend independently from β - γ . The dotted lines represent relations subject to more uncertainty than those seen in the continuous lines. If the present study sparks off further research into this wonderfully entertaining, multi-faceted and skilfully constructed saga, and into its rich and complex textual history, its purpose will have been served.

Bibliography

- Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, ed. (1953). *Riddarasögur ii*. Reykjavík.
- Cederschiöld, Gustaf, ed. (1884). *Fornsögur Suðrlanda*. Lund.
- Chesnutt, Michael (2009). “The Content and Meaning of *Gjafa-Refs saga*”. Agneta Ney, Ármann Jakobsson & Annette Lassen, ed. *Fornaldarsagaerne: myter og virkelighed*. Copenhagen: 93–106.
- Clunies Ross, Margaret, ed. (2017). “*Máguss saga jarls*.” Margaret Clunies Ross, ed. *Poetry in Fornaldarsögur 1–2*. Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages 8. Turnhout.
- Cole, Richard (2015). “When Did the Wandering Jew Head North?”. *Scandinavian Studies* 87 (2015): 214–33.
- Degering, Hermann (1925–1932). *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek 1–3*. Leipzig.
- Degnbol, Helle et al., ed. (1989-) *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog. Registre*. Copenhagen.
- Detter, Ferdinand, ed. (1891). *Zwei Fornaldarsögur (Hrólfssaga Gautrekssonar und Ásmundarsaga kappabana) nach Cod. Holm. 7, 4^o*. Halle a. S.
- Dodsworth, John Brian, ed. (1963). “*Mágus saga jarls*, Edited with Complete Variants from the Pre-Reformation Manuscripts.” PhD dissertation. University of Cambridge.
- Driscoll, Matthew (1997). *The Unwashed Children of Eve: The Production, Dissemination and Reception of Popular Literature in Post-Reformation Iceland*. Enfield Lock.
- Driscoll, Matthew (2013). “The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland.” Anna Kuismin and Matthew Driscoll, ed. *White Field, Black Seeds: Nordic Literary Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Helsinki: 50–63.
- Driscoll, Matthew (2021). “Writing in the Twilight: The Manuscripts of Magnús í Tjaldanesi.” Matthew Driscoll and Nioclás Mac Cathmhaoil, ed. *Hidden Harmonies: Manuscript and Print on the North Atlantic Fringe, 1500–1900. Opuscula* 19: 187–223.
- Einar Ólafur Sveinsson (1964). “*Viktors saga ok Blávus*: Sources and Characteristics.” Jónas Kristjánsson, ed. *Viktors saga ok Blávus*. Reykjavík: cviii–cex.
- Einar Þórðarson, ed. (1883). *Sagan af Sigurði þögula*. Reykjavík.

- Finnur Jónsson (1894–1902). *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie* 1–3. Copenhagen.
- Glauser, Jürg (1983). *Isländische Märchensagas: Studien zur Prosaliteratur im spätmittelalterlichen Island*. Basel.
- Glauser, Jürg (1993). “*Mágus saga jarls*.” Philip M. Pulsiano and Kirsten Wolf, ed. *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. New York: 402–03
- Gödel, Vilhelm (1897–1900). *Katalog öfver Kongl. bibliotekets fornisländska och fornorska handskrifter*. Stockholm.
- Gödel, Vilhelm (1912). “Arne Magnusson till Johan Peringskiöld: ett bref från 1699”. *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 28: 269–71.
- Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2001). “Leiðbeiningar Árna Magnússonar”. *Gripla* 12: 95–124.
- Gunnlaugur Þórðarson, ed. (1858). *Bragða-Mágus saga með tilheyrandi þáttum*. Copenhagen.
- Hamer, Richard (1979). “*Mágus saga – riddarasaga or fornaldarsaga?*” *Fourth International Saga Conference, München*. Munich: unpaginated.
- Hamer, Richard (1996). “*Mágus saga jarls: Invisible Spouses and Saga Relations.*” Helga Kress, ed. *Litteratur og kjönn i Norden*. Reykjavik: 59–66.
- Hjorth, Poul Lindegård (1960). “*Ferakuts Saga, an Icelandic Fierabras*”. *Opuscula* 1: 247–66.
- Hufnagel, Silvia (2016). “Texts and Contexts: Bjarni Pétursson and His Saga Manuscript Lbs 2319 4to (1727–1729).” *Scandinavian Studies* 88: 393–422.
- Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (2014). “Ideology and Identity in Late Medieval Northwest Iceland: A Study of AM 152 fol.” *Gripla* 25: 87–128.
- Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (2020). “‘With mirthful merriment’: Masquerade and Masculinity in *Mágus saga jarls*”. Gareth Lloyd Evans and Jessica Clare Hancock, ed. *Masculinities in Old Norse Literature*. Cambridge: 77–93.
- Jón Marínó Samsonarson (1969). “Drög að handritaskrá um íslenzk handrit og handrit sem varða íslenzk efni í söfnum í Stokkhólmi og Uppsölum.” Unpublished typescript held at the Arnarnagæan Institute, Copenhagen.
- Kalinke, Marianne E. (1982). “Scribes, Editors, and the *riddarasögur*”. *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 97: 36–51.
- Kalinke, Marianne E. & P.M. Mitchell (1985). *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Romances*. *Islandica* 44. Ithaca.

- Kalinke, Marianne E. (2017). *Stories Set Forth with Fair Words: The Evolution of Icelandic Romance*. Cardiff.
- Kruse, Matthias (2017). *Literatur als Spektakel: hyperbolische und komische Inszenierung des Körpers in isländischen Ritter- und Abenteuersagas*. Munich.
- Kålund, Kristian (1888–1894). *Katalog over den arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling 1–2*. Copenhagen.
- Lansing, Tereza (2011). “Post-Medieval Production, Dissemination and Reception of *Hrólfs saga kraka*”. PhD dissertation, University of Copenhagen.
- Louis-Jensen, Jonna, ed. (1963). *Trójumanna saga*. Editiones Arnamagnæanæ A 8. Copenhagen.
- Margrét Eggertsdóttir (2010). “Handritamiðstöðin í Skálholti.” Kristinn Ólason, ed. *Menntun og menning í Skálholtsstifti 1620–1730*. Skálholt: 79–88.
- Ólafur Halldórsson (n. d.). *Skrá yfir íslensk handrit í Oxford*. Unpublished, unpaginated typescript held at the Arnamagnæan Institute, Copenhagen.
- Parsons, Katelin (2019). “Albert Jóhannesson and the Scribes of Hecla Island: Manuscript Culture and Scribal Production in an Icelandic-Canadian Settlement”. *Gripla* 30: 7–46.
- Rafn, C.C., ed. (1829–1830). *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda 1–3*. Copenhagen.
- Ranisch, Wilhelm, ed. (1900). *Die Gautrekssaga in zwei Fassungen*. Berlin.
- Sanders, Christopher (1979). “The Order of Knights in *Ormsbók*”. *Opuscula* 7: 140–56.
- Sanders, Christopher, ed. (2001). *Beyers saga*. Rit 51. Reykjavík.
- Slay, Desmond (1960). “On the Origin of Two Icelandic Manuscripts in the Royal Library in Copenhagen”. *Opuscula* 1: 143–50.
- Stefán Karlsson (1970). “Halldór Guðmundsson, norðlenskur maður”. *Opuscula* 4: 83–108.
- Stegmann, Beeke (2017). “Árni Magnússon’s Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts”. PhD dissertation. University of Copenhagen.
- Stegmann, Beeke (2018). “Árni Magnússon’s Rearrangement of *fornaldarsaga* Manuscripts”. Matthew Driscoll *et al.*, ed., *The Legendary Legacy: Transmission and Reception of the Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*. Odense: 161–86.
- Tomasson, Richard (1977). “A Millennium of Misery. The Demography of the Icelanders”. *Population Studies* 31: 405–27.

Ágrip

Mágus saga jarls er til í (að minnsta kosti) þremur miðalda gerðum og í nokkrum síðari gerðum og blendingsgerðum sem hafa aðeins varðveist í pappírshandritum. Þessar gerðir sýna verulegan mun á lengd, uppbyggingu og stíl. Í þessari grein er fjallað um aðra gerðina. Hún er þekktust af textanum sem varðveist hefur í 16. aldar skinnbókinni AM 152 fol., en fræðimenn eru sammála um að þessi gerð hafi upphaflega verið samin á fjórtánda öld. Brot úr annarri gerð *Mágus sögu* eru einnig varðveitt í AM 567 xvii β og γ 4to (ca. 1400). J. Brian Dodsworth hélt því fram að þessi skinnbrot væru skrifuð af sama skrifara, og hann lagði til að þau væru upphaflega hluti af sömu skinnbók. Texti *Mágus sögu* í brotunum er töluvert fyllri en textinn í AM 152 fol., sem (eins og hér er haldið fram) hefur verið stytur. Hér er lagt til að texti *Mágus sögu* í 17. aldar pappírshandritinu AM 590 a 4to sé eftirrit af týndu skinnbókinni sem nú aðeins er varðveitt í brotunum β og γ, og að AM 590 a 4to gefi því réttari mynd en AM 152 fol. af annarri gerðinni sem fjórtánda aldar texta. Til þess að sýna fram á þetta er hér settur fram textafræðilegur samanburður á köflum úr brotunum AM 590 a 4to og AM 152 fol. með samhliða textaútgáfu, ásamt lesháttum úr öðrum handritum annarrar gerðar *Mágus sögu* sem skrifaðir voru fyrir 1700, auk miðaldertexta hinna tveggja gerðanna. Að lokum verður fjallað hvaða áhrif þessar niðurstöður hafa fyrir varðveislusögu texta og *stemma* annarrar gerðar *Mágus sögu*.

Abstract

(translation of the above, included in the accepted version but not in the published article)

Mágus saga jarls survives in at least three mediaeval recensions, and in several later recensions and mixed recensions preserved only in paper manuscripts. These recensions vary in length, structure and style. In this article the second recension is discussed. It is best known from the text in the sixteenth-century parchment-book AM 152 fol., but scholars agree that this recension was first composed in the fourteenth century. Fragments of the second recension of *Mágus saga* are also preserved as AM 567 XVII β and γ 4to. J. Brian Dodsworth argued that these parchment-fragments were written by the same scribe, and he suggested that they originally formed part of the same parchment-manuscript. The text of *Mágus saga* in the fragments is considerably fuller than the text in AM 152 fol., which (it is argued here) has been compressed. It is here suggested that the text in the seventeenth-century paper manuscript AM 590 a 4to is a copy of the lost parchment-book that now survives only in fragments β and γ, and that AM 590 a 4to therefore gives a more accurate picture than AM 152 fol. of the second recension in its fourteenth-century form. In order to demonstrate this, a text-critical comparison of passages from the fragments, AM 590 a 4to and AM 152 fol. is here presented with a parallel-text edition, and variant readings from other witnesses of the second recension written before 1700 and from mediaeval texts of the other two recensions. In conclusion, the implications of this evidence for the transmission history and *stemma* of the second recension of *Mágus saga* will be discussed.