

Brynhildr den zentralen Platz ein. Die Verfasserin versucht, die Sicht der Männer auf kriegsische Frauen herauszufiltern, und kommt zum dem Schluß, daß eine Mischung aus Bewunderung, Furcht und Mißbilligung festzustellen sei. Die beiden Gestalten der "Rächerin" und der "Hetzerin" werden als zusammengehörig betrachtet und am Beispiel von Guðrún und Brynhildr erläutert. Hier stützt sich die Verfasserin weitgehend auf die Arbeiten von Rolf Heller, der den Terminus "Hetzerin" geprägt hat (*Die literarische Darstellung der Frau in den Isländersagas* [Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1958]), und von Theodore M. Andersson ("The Displacement of the Heroic Ideal in the Family Sagas," *Speculum* 45 [1970]: 575–93). Sie selbst stellt die Frage, wie Männer auf die Aufhetzung (*hvopt*) reagiert haben könnten und ob es im Island des 13. Jahrhunderts tatsächlich Hetzerinnen gegeben habe.

Zusammenfassend stellt die Verfasserin dann noch einmal die Verbindungen zwischen ihren beiden Untersuchungen heraus: die germanisch-nordische Kontinuität. Sie zieht den Schluß, daß Island im 13. Jahrhundert eine "heidnische" Renaissance erlebte, die zu vergleichen sei mit der christlich-klassischen Renaissance, wie sie auf dem Kontinent im 12. Jahrhundert zu beobachten ist.

Beide Bände sind mit einer Bibliographie, einem Register, einem Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Anmerkungen versehen. Sie sind vom buchtechnischen Standpunkt aus sehr schön und ansprechend ausgestattet.

Jenny Jochens hat sich ein hohes Ziel gesteckt (siehe *Images* S.xiv, Z.1–6): Sie möchte mit ihren Untersuchungen für die germanisch-nordischen Frauen das erreichen, was der Däne Vilhelm Grønbech 1909–12 mit seinem monumentalen Werk *Vor folkeæt i oldtiden* (*The Culture of the Teutons*, 1931) für die Männer erzielt habe!

Else Ebel

**M**atthew James Driscoll, editor and translator. *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum: A Twelfth-Century Synoptic History of the Kings of Norway*. Text Series 10. Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London, 1995. 151 pages.

Despite the rich historiographic tradition that flourished on Old Norse-Icelandic territory in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, manifested in such extant compendia and synoptic histories as *Ágrip*, *Morkinskinna*, *Heimskringla*, and the Latin *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagien-sium* (Theodricus monachus) and *Historia Norwegiae*, none of the early histories has been translated into English, with the sole exception of Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* (trans. Lee M. Hollander [Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1964]). Scholars from other disciplines thus tend to use *Heimskringla* in their research, but Snorri's sources, among them *Ágrip*, *Fagrskinna*, and an earlier redaction of *Morkinskinna*, remain a largely unexplored area. The present edition and translation of *Ágrip* is therefore a welcome contribution to the areas of medieval historiography and literary history.

As the title indicates, *Ágrip* is a brief history of the lives of the kings of Norway, dated to around 1190. It spans the period from Haraldr hárfagri to the reign of Haraldr gilli's sons (Ingi, Sigurðr, and Eysteinn, ca. 1150), but the manuscript is defective and the work could have covered the period from Halfdán svarti to the accession of Sverrir Sigurðarson (1177). The sources for the *Ágrip* version may have included Theodricus's history and a version of *Historia Norwegiae*, whereas an earlier version of *Ágrip*, in turn, served as a source for Snorri and possibly for the author of *Fagrskinna*, and sections from *Ágrip* were at some point interpolated into *Morkinskinna*.

The present edition and translation of *Ágrip* is an expanded and updated version of the author's B.A. dissertation (1979). It consists of a twelve-page introduction ("Manuscript and Provenance" [ix–xii], "*Ágrip*'s Sources" [xiii–xvii], "Style and Language"

[xvii–xx]), the textual corpus, with the Old Norse edited text and the English translation on facing pages (2–81), “Notes to the Translation” (82–108), and “Bibliography and Abbreviations” (109–15). The volume concludes with indexes of personal names, place-names, and “other” names, and three maps (116–26). The editorial principles and principles of translation are outlined in a section following the introduction (xx–xxv). This section also contains an overview of earlier translations and editions of *Ágrip*.

Driscoll’s Old Norse edited text presents a normalized version of the manuscript (AM 325 II 4<sup>o</sup>) along the lines of the Íslenzk fornrit-edition (xx; see *Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sögum, Fagrskinna — Nóregs konunga tal*, ed. Bjarni Einarsson, Íslenzk fornrit 29 [Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1985], 1–54), but it differs from that edition in punctuation, chapter numbers (after chap. 29 the chapter numbers are one higher than the *fornrit*-edition [xxiii n74]), and in the fact that aberrant morphological forms and individual spellings of interest have been retained (xxii). Errors and misspellings have been corrected in the text and the original readings are given in footnotes. The edition has been executed with extreme care; the only mistake I noticed was the Modern Icelandic form “maður” for ON “maðr” (18). In some instances, however, it is difficult to ascertain whether one is dealing with a typographical error or with an unnormalized spelling retained from the manuscript: for example, on page 54 the variants “hvǫrutveggja” and “hǫrutveggja” (in AM 325 II 4<sup>o</sup> “hvarǫ tvegia” and “hvarǫ tvegia” according to *Ágrip af Noregs konunga sögum, diplomatarisk udgave*, ed. Verner Dahlerup, Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur 2 [København: S.L. Møller, 1880], 63.20–21, 64.7, xix).

As far as the English translation is concerned, the author states that he has “endeavoured to reproduce as closely as possible the Old Norse original” (xxiv). The result is a readable, although occasionally somewhat awkward, rendering of the Old Norse text. To be fair, however, one must point out that the syntax of the *Ágrip* text is often convoluted and difficult to translate, and Driscoll has done a very good job of

producing a translation that remains true to the Old Norse original. The text contains extremely few typographical errors (e.g., “though” for “through” [51]), and I only noted the following minor inaccuracies in the English translation of the Old Norse prose text: “Síðan fór Sveinn austr í Garða” (36), “Thereafter Sveinn went [omitted: east] to Garðar” (37); “þvíat Ingigerðr dróttning stóð á móti” (46), “because Queen Ingigerðr prevented it” (47) [because Queen Ingigerðr was opposed]; “En nautin snørusk fyrst á frá” (50), “but the cattle turned back” (51) [but the cattle were the first to turn back]; “ok andaðisk þar vetri síðarr en Haraldr koemi í land” (54), “and died in Sjóland the winter following his uncle Haraldr’s return” (55) [and died there a year after his uncle Haraldr’s return]; “Hann gerði upp steinkirkju” (60), “he restored a stone church” (61) [he erected a stone church]; “ok hlaut þar mikla tígn af viðrtǫku keisarans ok stórar gjafir” (72), “and was received with great honour by the emperor and given great gifts” (73) [and received much honor there from the emperor’s reception and generous gifts]. These inaccuracies are, of course, comparatively insignificant and in no way detract from the merit of the translation.

Incorporated into the prose text of *Ágrip* are seven skaldic stanzas, half-stanzas, or couplets. In the present volume, the Old Norse text of the poems has been reproduced directly from the manuscript with emendations listed in footnotes; for example, “*hjalmar hlǫðnu*” most editors see this as a corruption of *hjálmþornuðu*” (44nb), “*gneyft*” frequently emended to *greypt*” (46nb), “*hnifta*” MS *hniftir*; frequently emended to *hneppa*,” etc. There are, however, no notes to explain the reasons for the emendations, nor any references to the versions of the stanzas in other manuscripts (e.g., the manuscripts of *Heimskringla*, *Morkinskinna*, and *Fagrskinna*) that served as a basis for Driscoll’s (and other editors’) emendations of the *Ágrip* text. The poetry has been translated into English in accordance with the emendations given in footnotes, and in some instances, Driscoll’s translations are slightly off. In stanza four, “þat er allir hárir menn, er ek heyri, ætla á móti skjǫldungi” (46; my prose paraphrase)

should be translated “when all the elders, as I hear, intend to rise against the king” (cf. Driscoll: “when all the elders, whom I hear, would rise against their king” [47]), and in the second half-stanza the word “heldr” has been omitted from the translation. In stanza 7, the translation “farmed land and lasting peace” (75) fails to account for the subjunctive of the verb *standa* (“byggt land ok friðr standi” [may the tilled land and the peace endure]). Again, these inconsistencies are very minor.

As stated above, the corpus of text/translation is prefaced by an introduction dealing with manuscript and provenance (ix–xii), the sources of *Ágrip* (xiii–xvii), and style and language (xviii–xx). Because this is the first edition (translation) of *Ágrip* available to an English-speaking audience, one could have wished for a more detailed and exhaustive introduction which, for example, also would have discussed such issues as *Ágrip*’s relation to the later histories (Morkinskinna, Fagrskinna, *Heimskringla*) and its authority within that tradition. Although the notes to the translation do mention parallel passages in *Heimskringla* and, more rarely, in Fagrskinna and Morkinskinna, aside from two short references to *Heimskringla* and Fagrskinna in the introduction (xii, xiii), no attempt has been made to familiarize the reader with these compendia and their relationship to *Ágrip*. Thus, one is left with the impression that the explanatory apparatus has been kept to a bare minimum (cf. the lack of notes to the poetic text noted above).

A similar parsimony of explanation is reflected in the section “Notes to the Translation” (82–108), and much more so in the notes to the sagas in the latter part of the volume (chaps. 34–60, the sagas of the kings from Magnús góði to Ingi Haraldsson) than in the first part (chaps. 1–33, the sagas from Haraldr hárfagri to Magnús). Although some notes are exhaustive, some are very short, and often (especially in the latter part of the text) information on historical events, as well as genealogical and chronological information, has been omitted. More importantly, historical inaccuracies presented by the *Ágrip* version have been left without comment. Sometimes the notes contain inaccu-

racies or misinformation. That is the case in the following instances:

90n29: The tenth-century poem *Eiríks-mál* was of course not “written,” but composed, in honor of Eiríkr blóðøx.

99n88: The author states that “legally, *níðingr* was the strongest term of abuse and was during the pagan period justification for homicide.” In Old Norwegian law the term *níðingr* designates a person who committed a crime that could not be atoned for (*níðingsverk*, *níðingsvíg*), that is, whose perpetrator had forfeited legal immunity and could be killed with impunity. The word is not included in those sections of the laws that deal with terms of abuse.

99n89: Ælfhelm, the father of Sveinn Knútsson’s mother Ælfgyfu, was not “Earl of Northumbria.” According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E* (year 1036), Ælfhelm was “ealdorman” of Northampton.

101n103: For an exhaustive discussion of the name *Hǫrðaknútr*, see Alistair Campbell, *Encomium Emmae reginae*, Camden Third Series 72 [London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1949], 97–98.

101n106: According to the author, Sveinn Úlfsson “went to England probably in the year 1039.” *Ágrip* is the only source of information about Sveinn’s stay in England directly before his arrival in Denmark, and the *Ágrip* text was apparently caused by a mistranslation of Theodricus’s “quod cum audisset Sueino filius Ulfs et Astridis sororis Kanuti regis Angliae” (*Monumenta historica Norvegiae: Latinske kildekrifter til Norges historie i middelalderen*, ed. Gustav Storm [Kristiania: A.W. Brøgger, 1880], 48), where the author of *Ágrip* took the genitive “Angliae” as a genitive of place rather than as belonging to the phrase “sororis Kanuti regis Angliae.”

101n106: Sveinn Úlfsson died in 1074 (according to Danish sources), not in 1047.

102n119: The episode with Haraldr and the snake is, as the author correctly states, not found in *Heimskringla*; it is, however, recorded in Morkinskinna (*Morkinskinna*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur 53 [København: J. Jørgensen, 1928–32], 204–5).

105n139: About Magnús berfœttr’s campaign(s) to Sweden, the author states

that “*Ágrip* is the only testimony to this Norwegian victory. According to Theodricus (61–62) there were two separate attacks, the second of which ended in defeat for Magnús, while in *Heimskringla* (III 225–29), *Fagrskinna* (310–11) and *Morkinskinna* (323–30) Magnús is defeated in both.” This information is incorrect: *Morkinskinna* (324, 328) records two battles against Ingi at Fuxerna, one in which Magnús was victorious (324 = *Ágrip*); the outcome of the second battle is not explicitly stated (328). According to *Fagrskinna* (Íslenzk fornrit 29, 310–11), Magnús went on two campaigns to Sweden and on the second fought one indecisive battle against Ingi at Fuxerna (= *Morkinskinna* 328). *Heimskringla* also records two expeditions and one battle against Ingi at Fuxerna, a battle which Magnús lost (*Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, vol. 3, Íslenzk fornrit 28 [Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1951], 226–28).

106n148: According to the author, “Both Scandinavian and foreign sources indicate that Sigurðr [Jórsalafari] left Norway in the autumn of 1107, spent that winter in England and arrived in Palestine in August of 1109.” The year Sigurðr left Norway is disputed (1107 or 1108). He arrived in Palestine in 1110, and the siege of Sidon took place from 19 October to 5 December 1110.

107n158: “*Sæheimr*” is not “the place now called Jarlsberg in Vestfold”; rather, it is modern Sem in Jarlsberg, Vestfold.

As stated at the beginning of this review, the present edition and translation of *Ágrip* is a welcome contribution to the field of medieval historiography and literature because it makes an important but hitherto rather obscure historical work available to an audience outside of a small circle of Old Norse–Icelandic scholars. Driscoll should be commended for his careful edition of the manuscript and for the faithfulness of his English translation. The work is, however, somewhat disappointing in the brevity of the introduction and the explanatory notes, especially in view of the volume’s long gestation period.

Kari Ellen Gade

Raleigh A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter. *The Vinland Map and the “Tartar Relation,”* Foreword by Alexander O. Vietor, New Edition, with an Introduction by George D. Painter and Essays by Wilcomb E. Washburn, Thomas A. Cahill and Bruce H. Kusko, and Laurence C. Witten II. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1995. 395 pages.

In October 1965, scholars at Yale University announced to an astonished world that they were in possession of a medieval world map showing America several decades before Columbus under the name of “Vinland” and described as having been discovered by the Icelanders Bjarni Herjólfsson and Leifr Eiríksson. The map — now known as the “Vinland Map” — had reached Yale in mysterious ways which are still not completely known. According to the experts, it had been drawn somewhere in the neighborhood of Basel, Switzerland, around 1440, evidently in ecclesiastical surroundings. In the media, the Vinland Map was hyped as the ultimate proof that Scandinavian Vikings, not Italians, were the first to make the long journey from the Old to the New World.

In fact, older and better sources existed already in the form of Icelandic sagas from the thirteenth century, telling about the journeys of Leifr Eiríksson and Bjarni Herjólfsson across the Atlantic to Vinland — and about their encounters with a foreign people, the “*skrælingjar*,” who seem to have been North American Indians. With the help of information provided in these sagas, and even before the appearance of the Vinland Map, the Norwegian Helge Ingstad had found a Scandinavian settlement in Newfoundland and dated it to the Viking Age, around 1000. But even if the newly discovered map really did not provide much new knowledge about the Vinland expeditions per se, its discovery nevertheless became a first-class sensation. It seemed to prove that these expeditions had been known not only in Iceland or Norway, but also further south on the European continent where Columbus