

Summary of
SAGA STYLE IN SOME KINGS' SAGAS, AND
EARLY MEDIEVAL LATIN NARRATIVE

by Frederic Amory

The paper under the above title offers one or two second thoughts on the polemical thesis of "the two cultures" (Latinate European and Norse-Icelandic) in its application to the learned and Latin elements in the style of the kings' sagas, e.g., Ágrip, Sverris Saga, and Heimskringla. It is the general contention of the author that such influence as medieval Latin and clerical culture may have had on saga narrative and characterization corresponds to a reciprocal influence of ON prose and poetry on Latin chronicles of Viking history in the early and high Middle Ages, e.g., Dudo of St. Quentin's De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum and Saxo Grammaticus' Gesta Danorum. Elements of "den folkelige stil" in Latin balance the elements of "den laerde stil" in Old Norse. Thus one should not properly speak of influences of one culture on the other, but more exactly of a confluence of cultures, of their mutual interpenetration wherever northern Europeans and Vikings could settle down and live together for any length of time, as in Scandinavianized Normandy or, alternatively, in the Christianized regions of greater Scandinavia. The roving Norsemen plundering northern Europe were as much culture-bearers in this give-and-take process as the European missionaries to Scandinavia and Iceland.

Historically-minded modern linguists and philologists, among whom I would name especially Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Franz Blatt, have taught us that the literary development of the vernaculars in medieval Europe is not to be measured solely as a response to the prestige and inspiration of classical and medieval Latin, but obeys an inner logic of its own which structures regularly every innovation on them, linguistic and literary, and which may be called simply their grammar, irrespective of Latin. Only when Latin conspicuously succeeds in imposing on this logic do we have true Latinisms in them. The author has borne this idea in mind in his preliminary remarks on the linguistic and stylistic relationships between Latin and Old Norse, to be found in the vernacular writings of Norwegian and Icelandic clerks conversant with both tongues.

In the choice of medieval Latin texts for stylistic comparison with the kings' sagas, he has not attempted to combine style-study with source-study, primarily because the main Latin sources of the kings' sagas--Theodric's Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norvegiensium and the anonymous Historia Norvegiae--were not sources of their style. As sources of their historical content, they have been sufficiently discussed by Siegfried Beyschlag and Svend Ellehøj. He has chosen, rather, a more suitable book of the episcopal history of Hamburg by Adam of Bremen, which, with the chronicles of Dudo and Saxo, will establish the desired points of stylistic comparison. Adam's history in particular was a seminal text in the Bremen school of northern European historiography, to which the anonymous author of the Historia Norvegiae for one belonged.

Summary cont.

The points of stylistic comparison are these: 1) the prosimetra or prose and verse medleys in the chronicles of Dudo and Saxo, which are not imitative of late antique models; 2) the long speeches illustrating "Danish eloquence" which Dudo puts into the mouths of his historical actors; 3) the stichomythia in the dialogues of his chronicle and Saxo's; 4) the heroic poems and satiric riddles of Saxo; and 5) the syncrisis, or comparative characterization of two persons at once in the third book of Adam's history.

Any and all of these points evoke counterpoints in Norse-Icelandic or common Germanic literature, but the author of this paper has dwelt in detail on the syncrisis in point 5 since that figure of speech repeats itself frequently in well-defined contexts of the kings' sagas, where it enables us to observe how a Graeco-Latin stylism which descended to the Middle Ages through the biographies of Sallust was finally absorbed into the artistic construction of those sagas. It rejoins in them the iconism figure studied by Lars Lönnroth, and thus adds to the growing stock of classical figures of speech which, somewhat reluctantly, we have come to realize was at the disposal of Old Norse writers as well as medieval Latin stylists.

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Even if there were time enough and space, it would be unwise of me to expatiate too freely on any one aspect of the theme of "the two cultures" (the Latinate European vs. the Norse-Icelandic)—a theme which has been repeatedly taken up in controversy, as by Lars Lönnroth in the sixties, but which has never, I believe, been fully sustained in one acceptance or another by the whole body of Scandinavianists.¹ For though we may agree that the Latin clerical culture of the Middle Ages was midwife to the birth of a vernacular saga literature in Iceland, of several kinds, yet, in the words of Jakob Benediktsson, "the obvious fact of clerical influence has on the one hand tempted some scholars to draw too far-reaching conclusions from general considerations, often based upon rather slender evidence," and "on the other hand, the very unLatin character of the classical Saga-literature of Iceland has induced other scholars to minimize the foreign influence, sometimes on no less general grounds."² Between these two extremes of present-day scholarship—"millin skers ok báru," as a Norwegian cleric of the thirteenth century translated the Latin phrase "in medio Charybdis et Scyllae"³—we must steer a difficult course to the right understanding of the literary and linguistic confluence of Icelandic story-telling and poetry and European medieval Latin narrative in the kings' sagas—the titular subject of this paper.

In linguistic terms this is to distinguish first of all between "den folkelige stil" and "den lærde stil," after Marius Nygaard⁴—i.e., between the Old Norse language as it was spoken by the Norwegians and Icelanders of the Middle Ages and the literary adaptation of the same by Norwegian and Icelandic monks and clerks to the language and style of the Latin models of hagiography and historical biography upon which the kings' sagas were composed. The distinction is not meant to be invidious. As a vehicle for clerical learning, the vernacular still had a linguistic integrity of its own, despite the superficial Latinization of features of its inflection and syntax.⁵ Hence, in point of style, it is hardly possible to decide whether the alliterative pairing of words in learned prose, as in the "Grýla" portion of *Sverris Saga*, was a clerical Latinism or a Norse-Icelandic poeticism by origin, since in any case alliteration was so deeply ingrained in all the Germanic dialects that it may be considered integral to the North Germanic.⁶ Apart from artificial Latinisms, the learned style of writing in the kings' sagas was a natural elaboration on the popular style of speaking or telling stories in the vernacular, which was an oral style essentially only less long-winded and involuted than the written in its sentence structure and modes of discourse. Relying on the native resources of the vernacular, the monastic hagiographer or the royal biographer might, without explicitly Latinizing, approximate to the complex sentence structure of literary Latin and the architectonic

form of Latin literature in Christian hagiography and Roman biography. Then the vernacular writer would likely produce in Old Norse those alliterative descriptions of leading persons, or the longer speeches delivered by them, which remind us distinctly of Latin models of eloquence, but which must be said to be, not imitations, rather, duplications of them in another linguistic medium of expression.

Evidently, the Latin reading of the clerical class in Iceland and Norway would not have prompted the more independent-minded members who wrote in the vernacular to adapt Old Norse to certain Latin turns of speech unless their native tongue were in fact easily conformable to these, and conceivably these alone. The range of Latin expressions and stylisms which Old Norse could assimilate, and did, has not yet been canvassed by any means, but there were linguistic limits to what clerical stylists might do with the vernacular. The periphrastic oddities of style in the Fóstbraeðra Saga—e.g., the far-fetched conceit for Þorgeirr's Christian courage of heart, "hert af inum haesta höfuðsmíð í öllum hvatleik" ⁷—were presumably easier to contrive, congenial as they were to skaldic poets, than the balanced, antithetical Kunstprosa of classical and medieval Latin, which was quite foreign to the over-all ordonnance of literary Norse. The parallelism of alliterative phrases within sentences of Old Norse prose was not to be forced farther into antitheses between sentences, as in Ágrip: "...syrgði hann hana dauða, en landlýður allr syrgði hann viltan..." or, "Seig hon svá í ösko, en konnagr steig til ritzko ok hugði af heimsko, stýrði síþan ríki síno ok styrkþi, gladdisk hann af þegnom sínum ok þegnar af honom, en ríðit af hvöro tveggja." ⁸ These antithetical sentences are indeed exceptions to the habitual stylistic practice of clerical writers of Old Norse, for all their love of Latin. In comparison with Latin Kunstprosa, Old Norse prose remains unbalanced and unperiodic—what Aristotle would have called *λέξις ἀπομεινῆ*, a running style, merely additive of clauses, "which has no end in itself, unless the subject matter comes to an end." ⁹ In this unadorned style, however, subtleties were contained undreamt of in the philosophy of Aristotle.

Of late there have appeared a few fine style-studies of facets of the superimposition of Latin rhythm and rhetoric on learned and literary Old Norse. I refer not only to the initial publications of Lars Lönnroth on the Latinlike stylization of personal descriptions in Norse-Icelandic medieval biography and historiography, ¹⁰ but also to the papers of Jakob Benediktsson on the cursus in the old Norwegian book of homilies and Icelandic secular literature, and especially the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of Sverrir Tómasson on proemial topoi in Icelandic and Norwegian historical writing of the Middle Ages. ¹¹ Lastly, Ernst Walter has reviewed for us, in a helpful orientation essay, the cultural history of Latin literature in the Norse world up to the beginning of the thirteenth century. ¹² My contribution, if any, to the discussion will be in the stylistic areas of biographical characterization and historical narration, in Sverris Saga and the kings' sagas of Heimskringla, on the one hand, and in the chronicles of Dudo of St. Quentin, Adam of

Bremen, and Saxo Grammaticus, on the other. It will be seen at once that I am not going to combine source-study with style-study. The specific Norwegian Latin sources of the kings' sagas--Theodric's Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwegiensium and the anonymous Historia Norwegiae¹⁵--have left many verbal imprints on the content of those sagas,¹⁴ but neither of them has really affected their prose style.

The one conscious stylism which Theodric knows, and a clumsy one it is, is the "philosophical" digression, which he admired in Paul the Deacon of Monte Cassino and other "ancient" chroniclers.¹⁵ Consequently, when Theodric's pius Aeneas, the bestus Olavus, convenes with his brother, Haraldr Sigurðarson, and other jarls at Upplönd, the chronicler bethinks himself that there were "giants in the earth" in those days, but instead of giving us a proper description or characterization of the gathering, he strays into a digression on the putative "natural" causes why his contemporaries "in these wretched days" should be so much shorter and slenderer than the race of Óláfr inn digri Haraldsson.¹⁶ The historical "explanation" would have been as unacceptable in the kings' sagas as the lack of any characterization. The anonymous author of the Historia Norwegiae--perhaps a foreign-born clerk writing in Norway--is more straightforward in his history, once he is past the fragmentary, flowery preface to a friend¹⁷ and into the plainer narrative of events, which is of the topographical and biographical kind devised in the north by Adam of Bremen for Scandinavian historiography of the High Middle Ages. Then, at least, except for an occasional flourish of phrases, he sticks to his subject as a historian of the Bremen school should; but in his brief biographical sketches of the Norwegian kings he too has small room for characterization. As W. P. Ker once said, "These two books might be picked out of the Middle Ages on purpose to make a contrast of their style with the Icelandic saga."¹⁸

For a stylistic comparison worth the making with the kings' sagas, one must turn to Adam of Bremen himself, or to Saxo Grammaticus and Dudo of St. Quentin, in the other, rhetorical school of northern European historiography. The searching characterization of Archbishop Adalbert by Adam, the poetic virtuosity of Saxo, or even the rhetorical speechifying of Dudo will stand comparison with the satirical oratory of Karl Jónsson and his patron, the principal authors of Sverris Saga, or the classic, ironic reserve of Snorri and his assistants. For, despite divergences of taste, between these authors exist common literary forms and interests, a cross-cultural style which relates them together. If more positive historical relations are wanted for this authorial grouping, then one would say that the Latin and Norse biographical literature on the Viking kings mirrors the pervading interpenetration of Scandinavian history and European culture in Normandy, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland from the end of the Viking period (1066) through the High Middle Ages. Here the theme of "the two cultures" has its unification, which I can only touch upon lightly in passing.

At first glance, Dudo's De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum¹⁹ would seem

to be at the furthest removes from both the true history of the Viking raids on northern Europe and the Norse-Icelandic poetry and prose which celebrate the leaders of the expeditions. His history of the founders of Normandy is so rhetoricized as to be factually negligible qua history, but in its literary form of a prosimetrum--a prose and verse medley of dialogues and speeches interjected here and there with the author's versified apostrophes to this or that Norman hero of his--it reads like a crude clerical imitation of a saga rather than a purely rhetorical exercise in the late antique genre of prosimetra.²⁰ Certainly, the dialogue and declamation in this writing, the continual use of direct discourse, as if events were not to be related by the historian but recited by the historical actors, surpasses anything in the historiography of ancient Rome. Short sentences of the dialogue may have the dramatic incisiveness of spoken lines in the old Eddic and Germanic poetry,²¹ but the longer declamatory speeches, the sermōnes of the heroes, must be accounted for differently, by the native traditions of eloquence among the Normans.²² These were a Scandinavian (Norse-Danish) cultural heritage which stood over against the Latin learning of the clergy, without being in conflict with it. They were handed down to the dukes of Normandy in palace schools which taught "Danish eloquence" either as a gentlemanly accomplishment or as a verbal weapon of deceit for contending with future Scandinavian rivals in Normandy.²³

Not content in his adherence to these traditions that "Danish eloquence" should testify through his history to the conquest and settlement of Normandy, Dudo has turned that history with his overblown style into a prolix testimonial to the charms and wiles of such eloquence. In conjunction with the better-known rapacity and cruelty of the Normans, it also signalizes their trickiness and skill in negotiations and parleys, as shown by the treacherous cunning of Hasting at Luna, an Italian town which he mistook for Rome, and where he and his men murdered the bishop and the priests by a ruse during a funeral mass for his soul.²⁴ As I have said, the facts of Norman history are doubtless blurred and falsified in most of the speeches which Dudo's heroes declaim, but once in a while we hear an authentic note of the voice of the past, as in this dialogue, which the author, significantly, dated (to 876),²⁵ between the newer hosts of Vikings under Rollo (ON Hrólfr) and the old pirate chieftain Hasting, whom Charles the Simple enlisted at last in his service against his former compatriots. Perhaps he had grown a little rusty in the dōnsk tunga; he was accompanied by two officers "versed in the Danish language," who spoke with the invaders first.

Qui venientes super ripam fluminis, steterunt dicentes: "Regiae potestatis comites mandant vobis, ut dicatis qui estis, et unde estis, et quid quaeritis." Ipsi vero responderunt: "Dani sumus, Dacia advecti huc. Franciam expugnare venimus." Illi autem: "Quo nomine vester senior fungitur?" Responderunt: "Nullo, quia aequalis potestatis sumus." Tunc Alstingus scire volens quid de se dicerent, dixit: "Cuius fama huc advecti advenistis? Si unquam de quodam Alstingo vestrae patriae nato, huc cum plurimo milite adnavigato aliquid audistis?" Responderunt: "Audivimus. Ille enim bono omine auspicatus est, bonoque initio cepit; sed malum finem exitumque sortitus

est." 25

A conversation with a dying fall that might have graced the scanty chapter in Heimskringla on Göngu-Hrólfr (cf. Haralds Saga ins Hárfagra, ch. xxiv)--that Hrólfr who was the unnamed leader (Rollo) of the Danes above, whichever his precise homeland, Denmark or Norway. History, as so often in the sagas, has been generalized in the Latin passage, especially in the succinct answer of the Danes, "Nullo, quia aequalis potestatis sumus," so that the words of the speakers need not have been quoted verbatim in order to be true; which is to say that history has become literature in the Aristotelian sense and "tells not of things that happened, but of the sort of things that might happen." 27 Dudo, who can compose in passages like the sagamen or the early medieval Germanic poets, is not, after all, beyond the pale of Norse-Icelandic literature and culture.

The dramatized prosimetrum of his De Moribus et Actis was artistically perfected by Saxo Grammaticus in the Gesta Danorum, 28 of which the first nine books on the heroic legends and songs of the Scandinavian peoples were the most readily accommodated to the genre, either in its Latin form, or in the vernacular form of the formaldarsaga norðurlanda, in which numerous stories of Saxo's 29 were cast before and after him. As one of the most gifted Latinists of the High Middle Ages, Saxo was equally equipped to render the West Norwegian and Icelandic materials of his Scandinavian sources into very classical Latin, or conversely, to shape the classical language to the literary consistency of those materials, however seemingly intractable. He is much more sparing of declamatory speeches than Dudo, prunes them of the pious effusions and needless repetitions of ecclesiastical and monastic rhetoric, and balances their sentence structure antithetically in the classical manner.

A good example of the speech-writing of Saxo, but too long to quote entire, is the appeal of Hamlet to the Jutish nobility, asking to be acknowledged as their rightful king after he has rid the kingdom of the usurper and murderer of his father, Fengo. 30 But good as it is, the pathos of the appeal, and the tears with which it is heard by the Jutes, are in the noble Roman vein, and not the saga style at all. How an unsentimental clerical sagaman and his royal patron contemplated such emotionality may be inferred from a passage in the satirical funeral address which Karl Jónsson authoritatively attributed to King Sverrir at the grave of one of his enemies, Jarl Erling, whom he had killed:

"Se ec þaÑ nu margan her hrygan standa ifir þesum grepti, er fullcatr myndi vera ef sva staði yfir minum grepti, þo at hann voeri ecki vandliga buinn. En þat mal syniz mer scamsynlicr oc eigi goðgiarlicr eptir því sem iafnan hefir fyrir ypr birt verit til hvers ver hvarir aettim at hygia þaÑ tima er ver laetim lifit með slicum at-burðum. Syniz mer sem os hvarom-tvegiom maetti mikill fagnaðr a vera er sva hefir til script um lif manna sem sialfr guð vildi. Maettim ver lifa til noccors batnaþar oc með minna otta en her til, af því at nu munum ver eigi þa hraeðaz er nu stondu ver yfir greptinum." 31

Hamlet was in the same momentary predicament as King Sverrir, discoursing of an opponent's

death amidst potential friends and enemies, but his appeal to the audience is wholly emotional and rhetorical, as at the opening of his speech:

"Non vos moveat, proceres, praesens calamitatis facies, si quos miserabilis Horwendilli [Hamlet's father] exitus movet; non vos, inquam, moveat, quibus in regem fides, in parentem pietas servata est. Parricidae, non regis, intuemini fumes. Luctuosior siquidem illa facies erat, cum ipsi regem vestrum ab iniquissimo parricida, ne dicam fratre, flebiliter iugulatum vidistis..." 32

The joking sarcasm of Sverrir and the solemn pleading of Hamlet are in two disparate stylistic registers. Sverrir's sarcasm would be more in key with Dudo's "Danish eloquence."

It is in the poetic parts of the prosimetrum genre that Saxo is at his best and at the same time nearest to the Norse literature in his sources. The heroic and satiric poetry of the north has not only been successfully reproduced in his classical meters with great virtuosity,³³ but also deftly simulated in the prose stichomythia of the dialogue in the Gesta, e.g., between King Fróði and his Norwegian housecarl, Eiríkr inn málsþaki (bk. V, iii, 10-12 and 14). In this context Nitschke's supposition that the dramatic utterances of Germanic poetry gave the historical actors of Dudo their cues to speak the way they do³⁴ is even more apropos of the fancy talk of the legendary personages of Saxo. Compare with respect to his point the conversation, quoted above (p. 4f.), between Rollo's Danes and Hasting and his men with the following repartee of Fróði and Eiríkr:

Deinde Frotho Ericum alloqui sic orsus est: "Tu, qui verborum fastu ac phaleratae vocis ostentatione lascivis, unde hac te aut cur adventasse commemoras?" Ad haec Ericus: "A Rennesis proclii sedemque apud lapidem cepi." Contra Frotho: "Quo deinde concesseris, rogo." Cui Ericus: "Deverti a lapide trabe vectus identidemque apud lapidem locum cepi." Ad haec Frotho: "Quorsum inde cursum direxeris aut ubi te vesper exceperit, quaeso." Tum Ericus: "Profectus a petra ad saxum perveni itemque apud lapidem cubui." Cui Frotho: "Creber illic cautium numerus erat." Ad haec Ericus: "Crebrior arena patenter conspicitur." Contra Frotho: "Quid tibi negotii fuerit, aut quorsum illinc declinaveris, refer." Etc. 35

Their witty question-and-answer game reduces to absurdity Fróði's inquiry into Eiríkr's comings and goings, until at length Fróði exclaims helplessly that his mind has been befuddled "by too much circumlocution."³⁶ Then Eiríkr, relenting, lets on that he has been talking about a man-slaying of his.

Whether they were performed in jest or in earnest, these contests of wit and scorn at table or before battle, which were already highly stylized in Eddic poetry, continued to be cultivated in prose, wherever Viking culture had taken root, in northern Europe and the western Atlantic islands.³⁷ They entered into Saxo's version of the Hamlet story,³⁸ and they met a scene in the kings' saga of the sons of Magnús berfoettr (Magnússona Saga, ch. xxi), Eysteinn and Sigurðr, who all but fall out with each other in a boasting match of their accomplishments. Of this scene more anon, towards the end of this paper (see below p. 10 f.).

The Latin and Old Norse texts which I have been quoting or citing so far exemplify in the main indirect characterization of unchanging character types (Hamlet's excepted)

by means of direct discourse.³⁹ Typically, the characters of people in medieval history and literature do not change in the view of their spokesmen—unless an outer misfortune or some inner conversion factor has profoundly agitated them, as in the special cases of Hamlet, who has the double character of the *kolbittr*, which can change (from fool to hero), and of the sardonic Grettir, whose latter days are darkened under the curse of Glámr. But, if I'm not mistaken, catastrophic character changes are unattested in the kings' sagas, even after conversions to Christianity. If so, the characterization of the Norwegian kings up to the *Heimskringla* and in it was in line with the fixed-character typologies of much medieval Christian and ancient Roman biography⁴⁰—an assumption which does no injustice to the liveliness of detail in the finished portraiture of Snorri, surely none the less lively for being framed by fixed conceptions of character. At any rate, we know that the Icelandic biographers of the kings, like the sagamen generally, preferred indirect characterization to the direct, done with the explicit comments and descriptions of the author, in indirect discourse.⁴¹ In accordance with this preference, modern saga readers may be persuaded of the superiority of indirect characterization, but I do not think we have to take sides in this matter, and choose, say, between the artistic principles of Snorri and those of Adam of Bremen, whose characterization is direct.

Adam is perhaps the best medieval Latin writer to compare with Snorri and his clerical compatriots. Unlike Dudo and Saxo, he was a thoroughly prosaic annalist, a sober and painstaking topographer and geographer of the northlands, though he idealizes life out in Iceland,⁴² and withal an acutely sensitive student of human character in its variable as well as its settled disposition.⁴³ The poetic imaginations and rhetorical reactions of Dudo and Saxo were not particularly sensitive to character when face to face with it. Adam's prosaic outlook on the world and his psychological insight into the characters of its rulers resemble, rather, the diverse talents of an Ari Porgilsson and his Icelandic successors in the art of history-writing, who indeed probably owed something to Adam in their historiography through the anonymous *Historia Norvegiae* (see above, p. 3). But what is unique in this medieval Latin historian's position is that he was compelled to witness at first hand—and therefore dealt with directly in the *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, bk. III—the disintegration of character in his archbishop, Adalbert of Hamburg, during the civil strife of the Salian emperors with the Billunger dukes for control of Saxony. These political forces thrust Adalbert, as the foremost king's man, into ever greater prominence, corrupted him with missionary dreams of a Scandinavian-Slavonic patriarchate stretching from Iceland to lands beyond the Elbe, and finally crushed him in an iron grip when the dukes got the upper hand of the emperors in the regency of Henry IV. Adam's urgent search, out of his intimate acquaintance with the man, for the express causes of his deterioration is quite as impressive as Snorri's deliberate refraining from pronouncing judgements on the Norwegian kings.⁴⁴ In exploring the archbishop's motives Adam judges him variously and even contradictorily,⁴⁵ but un-

derstandably so, since aside from the classical exemplum of Sallust's Catiline he had no other precedent of character deterioration to guide him than the erratic behavior of the archbishop himself. This, I submit, was an unusual task in character analysis⁴⁶ which was never laid on Snorri.

There is one classical technique of characterization, nevertheless, in Adam's history of the Hamburger bishops—namely, σύνκρσις, or the comparative characterization of two persons⁴⁷—which was passed on to the Middle Ages by Sallust in his biographies of Catiline and Jugurtha,⁴⁸ and thereafter employed as often by the vernacular authors of kings' sagas as by the royal biographers and monastic hagiographers writing in medieval Latin. Adam, the compiler of Sverris Saga, the author of Agrip, and Snorri have each occasionally characterized or described their protagonists by the same comparative technique of syncrisis, whether the characters of those were fixed or changeable. Let us proceed with Adam first to his "syncretic" characterization of Adalbert and Anno of Köln, the antagonistic counsellors of the boy king, Henry IV, and "consuls" of the German empire, as Adam styles them, in Henry IV's regency.

The clerical satire in their double portrayal makes itself felt immediately. Anno, on the one hand, was so avaricious for the sake of the material splendor of his church in Köln that he was constantly "nibbling away" at the imperial exchequer to enrich it with more ornamentation. Moreover, he advanced many of his friends and relatives to posts of honor and dignity in the German church. Still, Adam concedes ironically, he has the reputation of having accomplished great things, human and divine, by his nepotism. "Our metropolitan," Adalbert, on the other hand, was beset by the sin of worldly vanity or cenodoxia and far too proud to let any of his dependents rise to his level in the church lest they should have to receive their favors then from the king or his ministers, who, as he was wont to reassure them, would have bestowed no less, no more on them than he could. His entourage swarmed with the social inferiors he welcomed—literati, mimes, flatterers, and hangers-on—and every penny of his largesse went to maintaining them. Thus he purchased his fame, and his bad disposition worsened daily by contact with the lowest.⁴⁹ From this syncrisis Adalbert comes off unfavorably even less well than Anno, although Anno was the implacable foe of the Hamburg see.

Mimic the artful satire, a somewhat similar double characterization of father and son—Sigurðr munnr and Sverrir—brings to a close the Sverris Saga (ch. cxxxii). Had Karl Jónsson or his royal patron had a hand in the writing of this portion of the saga, the syncrisis might have been more vivid; as it is, it seems a tame piece of descriptive characterization by some lesser talent beside the clever speeches in the first half of the saga.⁵⁰ According as father and son were like or unlike each other, the stylization of the piece is mechanically either anaphoric or antithetical:

...Sigurðr konungr ok Sverrir voro vlikið i skapshofnum, því at Sigurðr var lettlaatur ok aakaflyndr enn Sverrir var stadfastr ok stilltr vel, Sigurðr auð-trygr

ok talydinn [-talhljóðinn], Sverrir varudigr ok vin-vandr, Sigurðr huerfræðr ok mislyndr, Sverrir fast-vdigr ok iafn-lyndr, Sigurðr odlastr ok opin-spiallr, Sverrir fast-odr ok faalyndr... enn þe voro þeir i morganu líkri: þaðir voro stór-raadir ok stórlyndir, húortueði hárdrudr ok hegrir við vini enn stridur við v-vini, húortueði aast-saell við sína híd ok fylgd, þviat þaðir voro þrautgodir ok voru þeir mes-tir vinar húortueði er kunnastir voro þeira haatum. 51

One may call this writing Kunstprosa of a kind, if you will, but just as an imitation of Latin rhetoric it is nonetheless awkward, and runs counter to the style of the rest of the saga. The father-son relationship itself, however, may have been of Sverrir's invention.

As might be expected, the syncrisis of Snorri have been woven without a seam into the texture of his style and language, and thereby integrated with the total construction of the kings' sagas in Heimskringla. In other words, another foreign technique of direct characterization, together with the ἐκκονισμός studied by Lönnroth,⁵² has come in Snorri's work to supplement modestly the indirect characterization by speeches and dialogue which was native to both saga prose and Eddic poetry. Fortunately, it happens that Snorri has also given us the character of Sverrir's ^{supposed} father in a joint characterization of three sons of Haraldr gilli, of which Sigurðr munr was the oldest, a bastard and a begetter of such. He is paired "syncretically" with Eysteinn for description and characterization:

Sigurðr konungr gerðisk ofstopamaðr mikill ok óeirinn um alla hluti, þegar er hann óx upp, ok sva þeir Eysteinn báðir, ok var þat nokkuru naerr sanni, er Eysteinn var, en hann var allra fégjarnastr ok sinkastr. Sigurðr konungr gerðisk maðr mikill ok sterkr, vaskligr maðr sýnum, jarpr á hár, munljótr ok vel at görum andlitsaköpum. Allra manna var hann snjallastr ok görvastr í máli...

The "snilld Sigurðar"—his eloquence—is praised with a strophe of Einarr Skúlason's before the thumbnail sketch of Eysteinn in the next chapter:

Eysteinn konungr var svartr maðr ok dæklitaðr, heldr hár meðalmaðr, vitr maðr ok skynsamr, en þat dré mest ríki undan honum, er hann var sinkr ok fégjarn. 53

What an improvement of style and psychology in these passages over the other in the closing chapter of Sverris Saga! There the "iconistic" physical description of Sverrir (the ἐκκονισμός) is separated from the above-quoted "syncretic," moralizing characterization of him and his father (the σύνκρησις),⁵⁴ whereas in these passages, based on a briefer double characterization of Haraldr's sons in Ágrip,⁵⁵ the moral and the physical in human character and personal appearance are blended and nicely shaded so as to bring out the individuality of the contrasting characteristics of the two kings. There is more literary verisimilitude, if not an increase of historical veracity, in the syncrisis of Snorri.⁵⁶ Instead of the moralistic and physically colorless antitheses and anaphora in the Sverris Saga syncrisis, we have in Ágrip and to a greater extent in Haraldssona Saga of Heimskringla a piquant juxtaposition of qualities moral and physical, not merely between the two kings being characterized, but individually within the personalities of each of them in themselves. Thus Sigurðr munr has an ugly mouth, but an eloquent one, while Eysteinn, though more sensible than his brother, is ungovernably rapacious. Life, one

would willingly believe, creates such ironic inconsistencies—which is not to assert, of course, that they necessarily acquire any historical value on that account.

If we go back yet one more generation, to the father of Sigurðr annarr, Haraldr gilli, the Irish interloper and bastard son of Magnús berfoettr whose career foreshadowed Sverrir's,⁵⁷ we may read of his power struggle with his nephew, Magnús (blindi) Sigurðarson, in a concise "syncretic" kings' saga, Magnúss Saga Blinda ok Haralds Gilla, which begins with a classic syncretism:

Magnús var hverjum manni frjóari, er þá var í Nóregi. Hann var maðr skapstórr ok grimur, atgærfimaðr var hann mikill, en vinsæld föður hans heimti hann mest til alþýðu vinstu. Hann var drykkjumaðr mikill, fégjarn, óþýðr ok óðsall. Haraldr gilli var maðr léttilátr, kátr, leikinn, lítilátr, órr, svá at hann sparði ekki við vini sína, ráðþægr, svá at hann lét aðra ráða með sér öllu því, er vildu. Slíkt allt dró honum til vinsælda ok orðlofs. Þýddusk þá hann margir ríðismenn engum mun síðr en Magnús. 58

This introductory passage, which is not without irony too, is pregnant with the dreadful tragedy of Magnús, who was so rash as to wage civil war against Haraldr, and, refusing all sound advice during the campaign, eventually trapped himself in Bergen, where he was captured, deposed, and horribly mutilated by Haraldr's slaves, who reft him of his good looks. Their cruelty was licensed by the engaging Irishman, on the advice of his captains and counsellors, to which he was always scrupulously attentive, being a foreigner.

Is this gruesome biography at all Plutarchian in form? No, it would be misleading to suggest that the "syncretic" kings' saga of Magnús blindi and Haraldr gilli assumes in the narration of their story the form of a Plutarchian parallel vita, which was not a productive literary genre in the Middle Ages.⁵⁹ Medieval syncretism is at most an extended figure of speech, as in Sallust's biographies, and not itself a subspecies of biography. In the kings' sagas it was not usually employed schematically, for moralizing generalizations, as in Sverris Saga, ad fin., but more informally and circumstantially, to particularize rivalrous kings' sons, at their emergence into Scandinavian history. I have re-^{imagined} traced the/genealogy of Sverrir (loose as the linkage may seem) to the saga of the Irish Haraldr gilli and the luckless Magnús blindi in the Heimskringla, intending nothing else than to indicate how a Graeco-Latin stylism was gradually absorbed into the artistic construction of the kings' sagas.

Latinized "syncretic" characterization and "iconistic" description of persons had to compete in Icelandic biography and historiography with preferred native techniques of indirect characterization, of which the dramatic dialogue was the most important. In this connection I would cite again (cf. above, p. 6) the boastful dialogue between the two legitimate sons of Magnús berfoettr, Eysteinn and Sigurðr (father of Magnús blindi), who characterize themselves by matching up their abilities and accomplishments, according to "ale-custom,"⁶⁰ which permits the more famous Sigurðr to parade himself before the company as the "Jerusalem-traveller" who had gone a-viking against the Saracens in the Holy Land, while his brother ingloriously stayed home. Their exchange of words across the table

is the exact equivalent of a direct double characterization from the author. However, in the writing of history, be it the biographical history of the medieval Norwegian kings, it could not be altogether convenient, as the bad Latin example of Dudo demonstrated (cf. above, p. 4), to have the historical actors conversing, or speaking in public always, if events and actions were waiting to be narrated. The dialogue, the public speech, and the gnomic saying or apothegm which constituted the core of a scene in the fictional family sagas⁶¹ asked to be supplemented in turn with more direct characterization and narration in the historical kings' sagas. Thus an opportunity was afforded the clerical writers of Old Norse for adapting foreign, classical techniques of descriptive characterization to the practical demands of writing history in "den lærde stil."

In this paper my emphasis has been mostly on what the vernacular might have borrowed, and assimilated, from medieval Latin in the elaboration of "den lærde stil," but I should likewise stress in conclusion that "den folkelige stil" of Old Norse prose and poetry lent itself as invitingly to imitation in the Latin historiography of northern Europe—e.g., in the dialogued history of Dudo, the poems and riddles of Saxo. That is why one may speak of a mutual interpenetration of "the two cultures," of a confluence of styles, Latinate European and Norse-Icelandic. The pioneer Norwegian student of Old Norse syntax, Marius Nygaard, was saying this figuratively in 1896 when he wrote,

Naar en elv har flere tilløb, hænder det, at vandmasserne fra de forskjellige dalstrøg i lange strækninger flyder jevnslidet, tydelig skilte i farve, uden syn-
derlig at blandes sammen. Den norrøne litteratur ligner en saadan elv. Den har to
kilder [i.e., det kirkelige og literære liv...; folkets eget aandelige liv]....
Og de to strømme løber saagodtson fra den skrevne literaturs begyndelse, og til
den udtørres og forsvinder, ved siden af hinanden vistnok ikke uden gjensidig paa-
virkning, men dog hver med sine karakteristiske eiendommeligheder. 62

In its figurative way his simile expresses better than the linguistic terminology of current philology the cultural mingling of the Latin and Scandinavian languages and literatures at the High Middle Ages.⁶³

i.

1. See his summary of research on this theme in European Sources of Icelandic Saga-Writing (Stockholm, 1965), p. 11. Formerly of the University of California, Berkeley, and now literature professor at Aalborg University, Lönnroth began his study of these sources as a doctoral candidate at the University of Uppsala.
2. "Traces of Latin Prose-Rhythm in Old Norse Literature," a paper from The Fifth Viking Congress in Tórshavn (July, 1965), p. 17. Cf. his later "Cursus in Old Norse Literature," Mediaeval Scandinavia VII (1974), pp. 15-21.
3. Quoted by Fr. Passche, "Über Rom und das Nachleben der Antike im norwegischen und isländischen Schrifttum des Hochmittelalters," Symbolae Osloenses XIII (1934), p. 129.
4. See his "Den laerde stil i den norrøne prosa," in Sprog- og historiske studier tilegnet C. E. Unger (Kristiana, 1896), pp. 153-70, and Norrøn syntax (Kristiana, 1905); cf. M. Tveitane, Den laerde stil (Bergen, 1968), pp. 53-6, 67-76 (on alliteration).
5. E.g. the infinitive with accusative subject construction and other past and present participle constructions; see the magisterial article of Franz Blatt, "Latin Influence on European Syntax," in Classica et Mediaevalia XVIII (1957), 1-41, pp. 141-74.
6. Alliteration is the primary, and cursus rhythm a secondary consideration here. Cf. the inconclusive collections of alliterative word-pairs of G. Indrebø in the introduction to his edition of Sverris Saga (Kristiana, 1920), p. lviii f.; of Lönnroth in "Det litterära porträttet i latinsk historiografi och isländsk sagskrivning," Acta Philologica Scandinavica XXVII (1965), 1-ii, p. 69 ff.; or of T. Damsgaard Olsen in "Den høviske litteratur," a chapter from Norrøn fortællekunst by him et al. (Copenhagen, 1965), p. 110 f. On the "Grýla" portion of Sverris Saga, see in the Nordal Festschrift, Á göngu daegri (Reykjavík, 1951), the essay on "Grýla," pp. 173-207, by L. Blöndal, who counts only the first 31 chapters of the saga in it, p. 203, as against Indrebø's stylistic estimate of 43 chapters, "Innleiðing," p. lxxv, and Nordal's "fyrstu 40 kapitulana og þó namast svo langt," Um íslenskar forn sögur, trans. from the Danish by Á. Björnsson (Reykjavík, 1968), p. 45. On Sverris Saga as a whole, see the informative monograph, Studier i Sverres saga, by L. Holm-Olsen (Oslo, 1953).
7. Íslensk Fornrit VI, eds. B. K. Þórólfsson and G. Jónsson (Reykjavík, 1943), p. 128. On the style of this saga, see J. Kristjánsson, Um Forðbraeðrasögu (Reykjavík, 1972), pt. III.
8. Ed. F. Jónsson (Halle-Saale, 1929), p. 4 f.; cf. Narrative Saga in Hárfagra, ch. xxv.
9. Rhet. I, ed. W. D. Ross (Oxford, 1959), 1409 a, 29-31.
10. See the list of his articles in the bibliography to European Sources, cited fn. 1.
11. Forálar íslenskra sagnaritara á miðöldum, heimaritgerð til kandidatsprófs í Háskólanum Íslands, 1971. Cf. further his contribution to the Björn Sigfússon Festschrift (Reykjavík, 1975), "Tækileg vitni," pp. 251-87. Benediktsson's papers are cited above, fn. 2.
12. "Die lateinische Sprache und Literatur auf Island und in Norwegen bis zum Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts," Nordeuropa, Studien IV of the Nordic Institute of the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University in Greifswald (1971), pp. 195-230; on the Latin stylization of ON, p. 214f.

13. Both edited by G. Storm in Monumenta Historica Norvegiae (Kristiana, 1880), pp. 3-68 and 71-124, respectively.
14. Diligently examined by S. Beyschlag in Konungasögur: Untersuchungen zur Königs saga bis Snorri (Copenhagen, 1950) and re-examined, with some dissenting remarks on Ágrip, by S. Ellehøj in Studier over den ældste norrøne historieskrivning (Copenhagen, 1965), two volumes of the respective Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana publications, VIII and XVI.
15. "Digressiones etiam more antiquorum chronographorum non inutiles, ut arbitramur, ad delectandum animum lectoris locis competentibus adjunximus," p. 4 of Storm's Mon. Hist. Nor.; cf. the appreciation of Paul's Historia Langobardorum, "in qua multas utiles et non minus delectabiles facit digressiones," p. 32.
16. Ibid., ch. xviii, p. 36.
17. On which see P. Lehmann, "Skandinaviens Anteil an der lateinischen Literatur und Wissenschaft des Mittelalters," Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt. (1937), Hft. VII, p. 76 ff., and Tómasson, Formálar, pp. 93, 96, 159.
18. Collected Essays, ed. C. Whibley (London, 1925), II, p. 141; cf. further, Demasgaard-Olsen's chapter, "Kongekrøniker og kongesagaer," in Norrøn fortællekunst, pp. 48-52, 54 f., on the literary status of the two Historias.
19. As in Migne's Pat. Lat. (MPL), CXLII (Paris, 1880), cols. 609-758; of the secondary literature on Dudo's history, see A. Nitschke, "Beobachtungen zur normannischen Erzählung im 11. Jahrhundert," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte XLIII (1961), 3, pp. 265-98.
20. On the corresponding verse and prose medleys in the Germanic family of languages which could possibly have underlain his prosimetrum, see D. Hofmann, "Vers und Prosa in der mündlich gepflegten mittelalterlichen Erzählkunst der germanischen Länder," Frühmittelalterliche Studien V (1971), pp. 135-75. The oral basis of medieval prosimetra has yet to be investigated in depth.
21. So Nitschke, "Beobachtungen," p. 275 ff.
22. See Nitschke, p. 269 ff. and J. W. Thompson, The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages (reprint New York, 1963), p. 166 f.
23. William Longsword entrusted his son, Richard I, to a palace teacher with these words: "Quoniam quidem Rothomagensis civitas Romana potius quam Dacica utitur eloquentia, et Bajocacensis fruitur frequentius Dacica lingua quam Romana, volo tua custodia [i.e., Richard] et emutuetur et educetur cum magna diligentia, fervens loquacitate Dacica, tamque discens tenaci memoria, ut queat sermocinari profusius olim contra Dacigenas," MPL CXLII, cols. 690 D - 691 A. Richard proved an apt pupil in public speaking: "Arguebat secundum viri aetatis quidquid erat illicitum. Floccipendebat quidquid erat animae inventum. Vivaci lepore affluenter armabat linguam, facundaeque ubertatis colloquio insignibat eum. Peragrabat studio et retractabat quas ignorabat, nec addebantur ei quae sunt obscura.... Multimodis illum sermonibus libenter insignibat; et

- melliflue palatinae sermocinationis dulcamine erudiebant," cols. 697 C - 698 A.
24. Ibid., cols. 622 D - 625 A; cf. Nitschke, pp. 269-71 and 284-7, and J. de Vries, "Normanisches Lehnwort in den isländischen Königssagas," Arkiv för nordisk filologi XLVII (1931), p. 67 f.
25. MPL CXLI, col. 638 B—one of the four dates given in his work.
26. Ibid., cols. 639 C-D. Translation: "Approaching over the bank of the river, they stopped to speak: 'The king's officers command you to tell who you are, where you are from, and what you seek.' The same answered truly, 'We are Danes, brought hither from Denmark. We come to conquer France.' Those then [on the bank], 'Under what title does your leader go?' They replied, 'By none, since we are of equal authority together.' Thereupon Hasting, wishing to know what they would say about him, spoke up: 'At report of whom were you brought here? Did you ever hear anything of a certain Hasting who was born in your country [and] sailed hither with a large host?' They answered, 'We heard tell. A good fortune has been foretold of him, and he began well; but a bad outcome in the end is his lot.'"
27. Poetics, ed. R. Kassel (Oxford, 1965), 1451 a, 36-7; cf. to the same effect, K. I. Steblin-Kamenskij, Saga Mind, trans. K. H. Ober (Odense, 1973), ch. ii. Nitschke, due to a misunderstanding of the military egalitarianism of a Viking host, has wrongly imputed an "inner contradiction" to the passage in Dudo's history, as between the individual leadership of Rollo and the corporate authority of his host; see "Beobachtungen," p. 281 f.
28. Eds. J. Olrik and H. Raeder (Copenhagen, 1931); cf. in the translation of P. Herrmann, Erläuterungen zu den ersten Neun Büchern der dänischen Geschichte des Saxo Grammaticus I (Leipzig, 1901), the "Sprachliche Zusammenstellungen," pp. 444-492, together with the regular commentary on the work in Erläuterungen II (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 1-42. On pp. 57-8 of the commentary Herrmann hazards a doubt that Saxo ever saw Dudo's history.
29. E.g., of Hjálmar and Örvar-Oddr, bk. V, xiii, 4, or of Ragnar Loðbrók, bk. IX, iii-iv.
30. Ek. IV, 1, 2-7, pp. 85-7.
31. Sverris Saga, ed. G. Ladreb (as in fn. 6, above), ch. xxxviii, p. 43 (my punctuation). In J. Sephton's translation (London, 1899), p. 50 (slightly revised by me): "I see many now present here at this grave sorrowing who would have been overjoyed if they so stood over my grave, even though the place were not neatly laid out. That sorrow seems to me senseless and unkindly, according to what has always been revealed to you as to how each of us ought to think about the time when we leave life under such circumstances. It seems to me that it should be very welcome to you and to us both that God has thus willed to dispose of men's lives. We might live somewhat more profitably and in less peril than hitherto, because we shall no longer feel dread of him at whose

grave we now stand."

32. Gest. Dan. IV, 1, 2, p. 85. In the Oliver Elton translation, The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus (London, 1906), I, p. 224: "Nobles! Let not any who are troubled by the piteous end of Horwendil be troubled by the sight of this disaster before you: be not ye, I say, troubled, who have remained loyal to your king and dutiful to your father. Behold the corpse, not of a prince, but of a fratricide! Indeed, it was a sorrier sight when ye saw our prince lying lamentably butchered by a most infamous fratricide—brother, let me not call him."
33. See, e.g., Starkaðr's invective in Sapphics against Ingjaldr, bk. VI, ix, 3-16, with G. Dumézil's comments and translation in Mythe et Épopée (Paris, 1971), II, pp. 46 f., 392-402. Saxo's classical verse forms are tabulated by Herrmann in Erläuterungen I, pp. 489-92. Saxo is also the chief preserver of the Ejarkámi (Gest. Dan., II, vii, 4-28), to be read in A. Heusler and W. Ranisch's anthology, Eddica Minora (reprint Darmstadt, 1974), pp. 21-32, with other fragments pertaining to the poem from later ON prose and poetry.
34. Reference in fn. 21, above.
35. Gest. Dan. V, iiii, 10, p. 115. In Elton's stilted archaic English, The First Nine Books, I, p. 284: "Then Frode began to accost Erik thus: 'O thou, wantoning in insolent phrase, in boastful and bedizened speech, whence dost thou say that thou hast come hither, and why?' Erik answered: 'I came from Rennes Isle, and I took my seat by a stone.' Frode rejoined: 'I ask, whither thou wentest next?' Erik answered: 'I went off from the stone riding on a beam, and often again took station by a stone.' Frode replied: 'I ask thee whither thou next didst bend thy course, or where the evening found thee?' Then said Erik: 'Leaving a crag, I came to a rock, and likewise lay by a stone.' Frode said: 'The boulders lay thick in those parts.' Erik answered: 'Yet thicker lies the sand, plain to see.' Frode said: 'Tell what thy business was, and whither thou struckest off thence.'" Etc.
36. "...obscura admodum ambage," Gest. Dan., p. 116.
37. The former opinion of J. de Vries, "Das alte Heldenlied, oder wie Heusler es genannt hat, das doppelseitige Ereignislied, durch eine Mischung von epischer Darstellung und dramatischem Dialog gekennzeichnet, überlebt die Zeit des Glaubenwechsels nicht," Alt-nordische Literaturgeschichte (Berlin/Leipzig, 1941), I, p. 211, has rightly been given up in the second edition of his literary history (1964). It will hold good only of post-Eddic poetic developments in skaldic verse. On saga and Edda dialogue see now O. Bandle, "Isländersaga und Heldendichtung," in the Jón Helgason Festschrift (Reykjavík, 1969), p. 20 ff.
38. Gest. Dan. III, vi, 6-11; see my forthcoming article, "The Medieval Hamlet," II ("Am-

- lethus Danicus"), to appear in the Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift in the near future.
39. I follow in this paragraph the lead of Paul Kirn in his brilliant little book, Das Bild der Menschen in der Geschichtsschreibung von Polybios bis Ranke (Göttingen, 1955).
40. I would concur with Lönnroth's statement of research on the Olaf sagas, European Sources (as in fn. 1, above), that "almost everything in the sagas [of Óláfr Tryggvason] can be traced back to Latin biography, which takes its subject matter almost entirely from written literature, especially foreign literature about holy and powerful kings," p. 17.
41. The "iconistic" descriptions of persons, which are fairly frequent in the kings' sagas, found their way into the stylistic practice of Snorri and his fellow writers from abroad; cf. the Latin source materials in Lönnroth's article, "Det litterära porträttet" (cited above, fn. 6), p. 88 ff.
42. Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum IV, 36, in B. Schmeidler's edition, reprinted with translation and notes by W. Trillmich in Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, general ed. R. Buchner, XI (Darmstadt, 1968), pp. 484-8.
43. See on him and his characterization, Kirn, Das Bild der Menschen, pp. 64, 76 f., 119-25, and G. Misch, Geschichte der Autobiographie III, ii, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., 1959), pp. 168-214, pages somewhat marred by this great scholar's impression of a "mangelnde Einheit" of early medieval conceptions of character in Rather of Verona and Adam, p. 178 f.
44. A representative reflection of Adam's: "Cuius morbi causas cum diligenter et diu perscrutarer, inveni sapientem virum [Adalbert] ex illa, quam nimium dilexit, mundi gloria 'perductum ad hanc mollitiem animi' [cf. Sallust, De Con. Cat. LII, 28, and Terence, Eun., l. 222], quod in prosperitate rerum temporalium elevatus in superbiam ad laudem comparandam ignorabat modum, in adversitate autem plus iusto contristatus 'iracundiae aut merori frena laxabat' [Lucan, Phar. VII, l. 124 f.]," Gest. Ham. Eccl. Pont. III, 37, p. 374. By contrast, in his introduction to the revised Laing translation of Heimskringla (London, 1961), p. xxiv, Peter Foote would single out chapter iv of Jarl Hakon's story (-ch. ix of Haralds Saga Gráfeldar) as an "extreme example" of Snorri's artistic self-restraint: "only at the end does one suspect that the quarrel between the two brothers [Haraldr gráfeldr and Guðrøðr Eiríksson] was fabricated in order to allay the suspicions of their victims [Tryggvi Óláfsson and Guðrøðr Bjarnarson]." But this example is merely "extreme" because it leaves us guessing.
45. See Misch's criticisms in the above-cited volume (fn. 43) of his history of autobiography, pp. 193 ff., 209-10.
46. Kirn, Das Bild der Menschen, p. 77: "...in der Tat ist es im Mittelalter eine ein-

malige Leistung geblieben, wie sie von keinem zweiten Menschen je ähnlich versucht worden ist."

47. On which see Kirm's chapter III in Das Bild der Menschen ("Die vergleichende Doppelcharakteristik"), with reference to Gest. Ham. Ecc. Pont. III, 35-6.
48. Cf. the Caesar/Cato syncrisis in De Con. Cat. LIII-LIV, and the novus homo/nobility syncrisis of Marius in Bell. Jug. LXXXV, both texts edited by A. Ernout (Paris, 1947), pp. 114-116 and 227-231, respectively. Sallust, whom E. Walter underestimates, op. cit. (fn. 12), p. 208, was a canonical auctor in medieval Iceland as elsewhere, in Europe—so Lehmann, "Skandinavians Anteil" (as in fn. 17), pp. 12, 40, and Paasche, "Über Rom" (as in fn. 3), pp. 126 ff., 132. His influence on the work of Snorri has been needlessly questioned by Ursula Dronke in the Cambridge colloquium, Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 500 - 1500, ed. R.R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1971), p. 147.
49. See Gesta III, 35-6, pp. 370-372, and cf. on Adalbert's love of "mundi gloria" and his genecordia, pp. 328-330, and 374 (the passage quoted above in fn. 44). Misch pretends to discover "surprising" contradictions between these blocks of characterization, Gesch. der Autobiog. (as in fn. 43), p. 195 f.; e.g., in Gesta III, 1, Adalbert's character was good in the beginning, bad in the end, but in ch. 36 of the same book it was bad from the start, worse in the end. The contradictions are more apparent than real, and hardly "surprising" anyway, if one allows for the magnitude of Adam's biographical task. In his reading of the Anno/Adalbert syncrisis, Misch has evidently not felt Adam's satire.
50. Cf. Sverrir's funeral speech, ch. xxxviii, quoted in part above, p. 5, or the public address of Svina-Pétr to the townspeople of Bergen, ch. xcvi. Lönaróth takes the piece in ch. cxxxii to be an interpolation of the copyist, Styrmir Kárazon, "Det littefara porträttet" (as in fn. 6), p. 73 f.
51. Sverris Saga, ed. Indrebø, pp. 194-195, with the anaphoric pattern italicized. In Sephton's translation, pp. 232-233: "King Sigurd and Sverri... were unlike in disposition. Sigurd was light-hearted and impetuous, but Sverri was steadfast and calm. Sigurd was credulous and easily swayed, Sverri wary and cautious in the choice of friends. Sigurd was inconstant and variable in temper, Sverri staunch and even-tempered. Sigurd was headstrong and outspoken, Sverri true to his word and reserved.... Yet in many ways they resembled each other. Both were ambitious and magnanimous; both were courteous, obliging towards friends, but hard towards foes; both were popular with their Guardsmen and followers, for both were hopeful under misfortune, and their best friends were those who were most intimate with their ways."
52. Reference is to the article cited in fn. 6, above.
53. Íslensk Fornrit IXVIII, ed. B. Aðalbjarnarson (Reykjavík, 1951), Haraldssona Saga, chs. xxi-xxii, pp. 330-331. Revised Laing translation (cited in fn. 44 above), with a few more corrections of mine, p. 361 f.: "When King Sigurd grew up he was a very

ungovernable, restless man in every way; and so was King Eysteinn, but Eysteinn was the more reasonable of the two, though he was the most covetous and avaricious of all. King Sigurd was a stout and strong man, of a valiant appearance; he had reddish-brown hair, an ugly mouth; but otherwise a well-shaped countenance. He was well spoken in his conversation beyond any man, and was expert in all eloquence.... King Eysteinn was dark and dingy in complexion, of middle height, and a prudent able man; but what most deprived him of popularity in the kingdom was his covetousness and avarice."

54. Another reason perhaps for regarding the syncrisis as an interpolation; cf. the reference to Lönnroth's article in fn. 50, above.
55. See in F. Jónsson's edition (as in fn. 8), p. 55, which Lönnroth quotes, *loc. cit.* (fn. 50); he, however, has not identified the syncrisis in either Ágrip or Sverris Saga, and he has also overlooked the Heimskringla passages.
56. Cf. above the references to Aristotle and Steblin-Kamenskij in fn. 27.
57. See the unaltered historical résumé of the Norwegian royal succession in de Vries, Alt nord. Litgesch. (Berlin, 1942), II, p. 4 f. Cf. the longer, more critical exposé of G.M. Gathorne-Hardy's in A Royal Impostor: King Sverre of Norway (London/Oslo, 1956), pp. 1-74. He disallows, p. 80 ff., Sverrir's descent from Sigurðr munnr.
58. Ís. Forn. XXVIII, p. 278. Revised Laing translation, p. 320: "Magnus was the handsomest man then in Norway; of a passionate temper, and cruel, but distinguished in bodily exercises. The favor of the people he owed most to the respect for his father. He was a great drinker, greedy of money, hard, obstinate. Harald Gille, on the other hand, was very pleasing in intercourse, gay, mirthful, modest, and so generous that that he spared in nothing for the sake of his friends. He willingly listened to good advice, so that he let all who would consult with him and give counsel. With all this he obtained favour and a good repute, and many men attached themselves as much to him as to King Magnus."
59. See again Kirm, Das Bild des Menschen der Menschen, p. 72.
60. "Sá Ólsíðr hefir opt verið, at menn taka sér jafnaðarmenn," Sigurðr tells Eysteinn. "Vil ek hér svá vera láta," Magnússona Saga, ch. xxi, in Ís. Forn. XXVIII, p. 259.
61. See C. J. Clover, "Scene in Saga Composition," Arkiv för nordisk filologi LXXXIX (1974), pp. 57-83, and I. Netter, Die direkte Rede in den Sagas (Leipzig, 1935), passim.
62. "Den lærde still i den norrøne prosa" (as in fn. 4, above), p. 153. Translation: "When a river has several tributaries it will happen that the volume of waters from the different dale regions will flow side by side for long stretches, clearly divided in tone without markedly blending together. Norse literature is like such a river. It has two sources [*i.e.*, literary-clerical life and the people's own inner life]....