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In connection with the 1929 debate about the possible change of the official name of the city of Trondheim to Nidaros, Didrik Arup Seip, joined by a team of scholars from Norway and Iceland, launched a massive investigation that traced the different names of the city in written sources from the 11th century onwards. The results of their efforts were published by Seip in the monograph "Trondhjems bynavn" (1930), and can be summarized as follows:

1. In foreign and native documents from the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century, the city was known as *Þrándheimr* (*Þ*), *Kaupangr í Þrándheimi* (*K*) or *Þrándheimskaupangr* (17, 37, 46).
2. The name *Niðaróss* (*N*), which originated as a geographical location (*Niðar óss* 'the mouth of Nið' [18]) first occurs as a proper name in a papal letter from 1172-3, and after 1189 *N* is the official name of the city in all ecclesiastical documents (26-7).
3. Old Norse laws and literature from the 12th century reflect that change: in works that originated before 1180-90 or drew on sources written before 1180-90, the name of the city is *K* or *Þ*, whereas works written after that period also use the name *N*, especially in connection with the archdiocese (41-54).
4. In 13th-century literature *K*, *Þ*, and *N* are all used as names of the city. Whereas *K* practically disappears after 1250, *N* is a characteristic of 13th-century texts, although the name occurs most frequently in connection with ecclesiastical affairs. Towards the end of the century, *Þ* is used more often as the name of the city (55-77).

Seip traced the change of the official name that took place around 1172 to archbishop Eysteinn (1161-88) and to the remodeling of the cathedral that was initiated in 1152 (40). According to him, both *K* and *Þ* were unsuitable names for the city: *K* is a common noun, and *Þ* was also the name of the district (Trøndelag) and the fjord (Trondheimsfjorden) (*ibid.*). His examination of Scandinavian and foreign documents shows that *N* is not used as the official name of the city until 1172. The question is, then, to what extent the change is reflected in 12th- and early 13th-century literature, and whether the presence or absence of *Þ*, *K*, and *N* can be used as a criterion for establishing the dates of such texts and of their sources.

Seip's examination of 12th- and early 13th-century literary texts focused on the Old Norse kings' sagas (including Theodoricus's Latin compendium) (41-65). He concluded that the name *N* does not occur in sagas predating 1170 (54) and that, when later authors and compilers of the kings' sagas drew on written sources, they tended to retain the place names of their exemplars (52, 57-65). In *Ágrip*, for example, which is generally believed to have been compiled around 1190 (*Ágrip* x-xi), both *K* and *N* refer to the city of Trondheim. According to Seip (52), the first name occurs in those parts of the text which are based on older written sources, whereas the author uses *N* when he draws on contemporary ecclesiastical tradition from the archdiocese. Seip (57-64) also examined the occurrences of *N* in *Morkinskinna* (*Msk*), *Fagrskinna* (*Fsk*), and *Heimskringla* (*Hkr*). As far as *Msk* is concerned, he counted ten occurrences of the name *N*. According to him, *N* is either found in sections that are later interpolations (7 times), and or it derives from a written exemplar ("Þingasaga"; Seip 1930:59).

Owing to the scope and the purpose of his work, Seip's discussion of the three royal compendia is brief. Furthermore, his conclusions are skewed by the then current state of the art of scholarship on the kings' sagas. The monograph itself has received little attention, and the implications of Seip's observations have not been pursued by later scholars. It is the purpose of the present study, then, to examine the use of the names *Þ*, *N*, and *K* in the earliest royal compendium, namely *Msk*, and to try shed light on one of the most vexing questions in *Msk* scholarship, namely, to what extent the author drew on earlier written sources in his narrative.

1. The Textual Transmission of *Morkinskinna*

Msk is preserved in a MS (GKS 1009 fol.) from around 1270. The MS is incomplete. It chronicles the lives of the kings of Norway from Magnús góði (1035) to the death of Eysteinn Haraldsson (1157), but it is possible that the original work continued down to the accession of

Sverrir Sigurðarson in 1177. Scholars agree that an older, no longer extant, version of *Msk* ("eldste Morkinskinna" [*ÆMsk*]) from around 1220 served as the source for both Snorri and the author of *Fsk* (*Hkr* iii-viii; Louis-Jensen 1977:66-70), but little is known about the possible written sources of that work. The author did use a version of Eiríkr Oddsson's *Hryggjarstykki (*Hrygg, from before 1170; see Bjarni Guðnason 1978), and the text also makes reference to "Jarlasögur" (FJ 31)—generally believed to refer to a no longer extant version of *Orkneyinga saga* (Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1937:151-2)—and to a saga about Knútr Sveinsson of Denmark (FJ 293). Finnur Jónsson (FJ xxxviii) believed that most of *ÆMsk* was based separate royal biographies that also were available to the author of *Fsk* and to Snorri. That view has found little support in later research (see Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1937:168-73, but many scholars are reluctant to reject out of hand the possibility that at least some separate sagas could have been available to the author of *ÆMsk* (*ibid.* 169-73; *Hkr* vi).

The royal biographies in the extant version of *Msk* (*MskMS*) contain a number of *þættir* and anecdotes that are not found in *Hkr* or *Fsk*, and, moreover, it is clear that the work has been interpolated from a version of *Ágrip* (Indrebø 1917:22-30; Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1937:139-45). Most scholars believe that some, if not all, of the *þættir* are later additions, but the extent of interpolation is debated (see Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1937:154-9; Louis-Jensen 1977:77-8). Most of the *þættir* and anecdotes are also incorporated into the *Msk* text of the 14th-century *Hulda* (*H*) and *Hrokkinskinna* (*Hr*) (deriving from a lost archetype *H; see Louis-Jensen 1977:13-5), and in the *Msk* version of "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" in *Flateyjarbók* (*Flat*). Because these works used a version of *Msk* that predated *MskMS*, it is clear that, if the extraneous material was not part of *ÆMsk*, the interpolation must have occurred at a stage between that version and *MskMS* (*Msk2*; see Louis-Jensen 1977:72).

II. The Use of the Place Names as a Source of Dating

If Seip's observations are correct, we would expect the city of Trondheim to be called *K* or *D* in those parts of the *MS* that were based on written sources predating 1180-90. Conversely, such sections would be characterized by the absence of the name *N* except when it designates the geographical location (the mouth of Nið). Unfortunately, the matter is not all that simple. First of all, the author of *ÆMsk* could have changed the names in accordance with contemporary use. Secondly, the names could have been changed in the course of the textual transmission—that is, either by the scribe/interpolator responsible for *Msk2*, or by the two scribes of *MskMS*. Although a comparison with the texts of the later versions of *Hkr*, *Fsk*, *Flat* and *H-Hr* obviates the second obstacle to some extent (with *Hkr* and *Fsk* representing the text of *ÆMsk* and the later compendia representing the text of *Msk2*), we cannot exclude the possibility of authorial changes at the stage of *ÆMsk*. If that were the case, however, we should expect a uniform distribution of the names in keeping with early 13th-century practice.

An additional problem is that *MskMS* contains several lacunae (see Louis-Jensen 1977:78-82). Sometimes the original text cannot be restored, but because *Flat* follows the *Msk* text fairly closely, the *Flat* version of "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" has been used in the present study to supply the missing text (indicated by an asterisk FJ *14-70, *141-8, *169-77). Again, the texts of *Fsk*, *Hkr*, and *H-Hr* must serve as a corrective.

III. "Haralds saga ok Magnúss"

This is the longest saga in *Msk* and it contains most of the *þættir* and anecdotes. There are no examples of the name *K*, but *N* occurs the following nine times:

- *FJ 20: Þeir Magnús fóru nú út til kaupþegarins í Niðarós.
Hkr: Magnús Ólafsson fór með liði sínu út til Kaupangs (9).
FmS VI, 24: út til Niðaróss.
- *FJ 20: síðan fær hann sér hirðar ok skipa ok sezk nú í Niðarós með miklu fjölmenni ok allskyns blíðu ok gleði.
Fsk: Var þá Magnús til konungs tekinn ok fekk sér hirð ok skip (209).
Hkr: Síðan tók Magnús sér hirð ok gerði lenda menn (9).
FmS VI, 24: tók hann sér hirð, ok sat þar í bænum með mikilli gleði ok skemtan ok fjölmenni miklu.
- *FJ 37: Síðan fór Magnús konungr aprt til Nóregs ok sat þar um vetrinn í Niðarósi ok veitti þar jól sín.

Fsk: Magnús konungr var um vetrinn í Nórøgi (220).

Hkr: Magnús konungr liði sínu norðr í Nórøg ok dvalðisk þar um vetrinn (38).

FmS VI, 53-4: Síðan um hausit fór Magnús konungr aprt til Nórøgs, ok allt norðr með landi, kom hann norðr til Þrándheims litu fyrir jólf, ok sat í Niðarósi um vetrinn.

4. *FJ 147: Síðan fara þeir Einarr norðr til Niðaróss.

Fsk: Einarr þambarskelfir með Þrændaher fór með líki Magnúss konungs norðr til Niðaróss (249).

Hkr: Einarr þambarskelfir fór með líki Magnúss konungs ok með honum allr Þrændaher ok fluttu til Niðaróss (107).

FmS VI, 235: norðr til Þrándheims.

Ágrip: En lík hans var færð norðr í Þrándheim ok nið(r) sett í Kristskirkju, þar sem faðir hans hvílfr (37).

5. *FJ 171: Haraldr konungr lét gæra Máriukirkju norðr í Niðarósi, ok stóð þar þá altarit sem nú eru graðmar hjá Kristskirkju (= *Fsk* 262).

6. *FJ 171: Hann lagði þar til próvendur miklar ok hann eflði mjök kaupstaðinn í Niðarósi.

Fsk: ok lagði til próvendur <miklar, ok> hann eflði ok staðinn mjök norðr í Niðarósi (262).

7. FJ 194: Ok eptir þessa veizlu ferr konungr til Niðaróss ok sitr þar.

FmS VI, 348: norðr til Þrándheims, ok settisk í Niðarósi.

Flat III, 355: ok síðan ferr konungr heim.

8. FJ 201: Hann kemr nú eitthvert sumar skipi sínu norðr í Niðarós ok var Haraldr konungr í bænum (= *Flat* III, 357)

FmS VI, 356: norðr við Þrándheim ok lagði skipi sínu inn í Niðarós; þá var Haraldr konungr í bænum.

9. FJ 283-4: ok skeytti honum jarðir austr við Konungahellu ok við Ósló, við Túnsberg, ok norðr við Niðarós (= *FmS* VI, 432; *Flat* III, 399; *Hkr* 198)

Fsk: Nú bað konungr hann nefna þær jarðir, > er hann vildi þiggja, ok svá gæði hann, nefndi sumar í Vík austr, [sumar á Hqrðalandi,] sumar í Þrándheimi (296).

In ##1 and 6, *N* refers to the geographical location and not to the city itself ("kaupbæjarinn í Niðarósi"; "kaupstaðinn í Niðarósi"). In both cases we are dealing with the *Flat* text, but as far as #6 is concerned, *Fsk* secures the presence of the name in *ÆMsk*. That is also the case in #5, where *N* is used about the city in an ecclesiastical context. Both ##5 and 6 occur in a section of the text that was written after 1172. Not only does it reveal local knowledge about the city itself, but it also presupposes the move of Mariekirken from Trondheim to Elgeseter: "Haraldr konungr lét gæra Máriukirkju norðr í Niðarósi, ok stóð þar þá altarit sem nú eru graðmar hjá Kristskirkju" (*FJ 171). Because archbishop Eysteinn was responsible for the demolition of Mariekirken and the subsequent move of that church (*Hkr* 121), this section cannot have been copied from a text predating his office.

Similar information is provided by the passage that contains #4: "Síðan fara þeir Einarr norðr til Niðaróss... . Líkit var jarðat at Kristskirkju fyrir utan kór, en nú er þat innan kórs fyrir rúmi erkibyskups" (*FJ 147). *Fsk* (249), too, contains some of that information ("...norðr til Niðaróss ok jarðaði hann at Kristskirkju fyrir utan kórin"), and we must assume it was part of *ÆMsk*. The clause "en nú er þat innan kórs fyrir rúmi erkibyskups" refers to the remodeling of Kristkirken that was closely connected with the new name of the archbishopric. Again, *Fsk* shows that we are not dealing with a later interpolation.

In ##2, 3, and 7, *N* is used as the name of the city as a royal residence. The name always occurs with the verbs *sitja* or *setjask* ("sezk nú í Niðarós," "sat þar um vetrinn í Niðarósi," "ferr... til Niðaróss ok sitr þar"). None of the phrases is recorded in *Fsk* or *Hkr*, but the text of *H-Hr* shows that, in ##3 and 7, the name must have been part of *Msk2*. All three sentences are found in narrative "notches," that is, they conclude one part of the narrative and set the stage for a new episode. As far as #2 is concerned, *Fsk* (209) follows the *Msk* text verbatim but omits the last part of the sentence, and we cannot know whether that clause is a later addition. #3 concludes the episode in which Sveinn Úlfsson swears allegiance to Magnús Ólafsson. The sentence is appended to a small extraneous section (a description of Jylland) which is omitted in *Fsk* (222) and *Hkr* (38). It is unclear whether that passage was part of *ÆMsk* or interpolated in *Msk2* (cf. *FmS* VI, 53). That is also the case in #4, which rounds off the *páttur* of Úlfr enn auðgi

of Oppland and relocates Haraldr harðráði in Trondheim, the stage of the next episode ("Brands þáttir qrva)." Neither of these *þættir* is included in *Fsk* or *Hkr*, and the place name *N* must have been added by the person who included the two episodes in the *Msk* narrative. Whether that was the author of *ÆMsk* or the interpolator of *Msk2* cannot be ascertained at this point.

#8 is found in the *þáttir* of Þorvarðr krákunef and is included in *Flat* and *H-Hr* (=Msk2). The wording suggests that we are dealing with the geographical location (cf. *FmS* VI, 357: "ok lagði skipi sínu inn í Niðarós"). It is impossible to know whether the *þáttir* was part of *ÆMsk*. That is not the case with #9, however. Based on the wording of *Fsk*, which has "í Þrándheimi" (296), Seip (1930:59) maintained that the sentence in *Msk* had been changed by a later interpolator. He failed to notice that Snorri follows the *Msk* text almost verbatim ("norðr við Niðaróss"; 198), which secures that reading for *ÆMsk*. Furthermore, the sentence occurs in a passage that traces the genealogy of Skúli "Tóstason" to Skúli jarl Bárðarson. Because Skúli Bárðarson received the title of jarl in 1217 and became duke in 1237, this section is generally used to establish a date post quem—ante quem for the composition of *ÆMsk* (Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1937:136). Thus the phrase "norðr við Niðarós" must be attributed to the author of *ÆMsk*, and the juxtaposition of *N* to the cities Kungälv, Oslo, and Tønsberg, shows that the name refers to the city of Trondheim and not to the geographical location.

The name *Þ* occurs ten times in the *Msk* version of "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" (FJ *20, *24, *25², *43², 111, *148, 153, 155). In four cases it refers to the district (FJ *20, *24, *25, *148), and in one sentence to Trondheimsfjorden (*25: "út ór Þrándheimi"; *Hkr* has "út eptir firði" [25]). Twice the name is used about the city in an ecclesiastical context:

*FJ 43: þá er þú heyrir hringt Glöð norðr í Þrándheimi.

*FJ 43: Ok í því bili heyrðu allir klukknahljóð upp í himininn yfir sik, ok kenfir Magnús konungr ok allir Norðmenn at þat hljóð var sem í Glöð norðr í Þrándheimi.

The sentences occur in the episode that describes St. Óláfr's intervention before the battle of Lyrskovshede, and only the second sentence is incorporated into *Fsk* and *Hkr*: "Litlu síðarr heyrðu þeir allir upp í loptit sem klukku hringdi, ok þóttusk allir Norðmenn kenna hljóðit, at Glöð hringdi norðr í Niðarósi" (221); "Þá heyrði allt fólk í lopt upp klukkahljóð, ok kenndu Magnúss konungs menn, þeir er verit hqfðu í Niðarósi, at svá þótti sem Glöð væri hringt. Þá klukku haíði Óláfr konungr gefit til Clemenskirkju í Kaupangi" (43). The *Fsk* text shows that the phrase "Clemenskirkju í Kaupangi" was Snorri's addition. Both *Fsk* and *Hkr* use the name *N*, and it is not clear which name was recorded in *ÆMsk*. If *N* was part of that version, however, it is difficult to see why it would have been changed by a later scribe who must have been familiar with the ecclesiastical use of *N*. It is more likely that *Þ* was the name recorded in *ÆMsk*, and that it was changed by Snorri and the author of *Fsk*. If that were the case, it would suggest that *ÆMsk* at this point followed an older, written account—perhaps connected with an early tradition of Óláfr's miracles.

In the remaining four cases it is not clear whether *Þ* refers to the district Trøndelag or to the city itself:

1. FJ 111: kom Þorsteinn utan ok hefir stoðhross ágæta góð. Kómu norðr í Þrándheim, ok styggðusk menn nú við Þorstein.

2. *FJ 148: Sem Haraldr konungr kemr aptir norðr í Þrándheim, stefnir hann Eyraþing (= *FmS* VI, 233; *Fsk* 250).

3. FJ 153: fóru... ok til Þrándheims, er á lífr sumarit.
FmS VI, 247: fóru norðr til Þrándheims, er á leið sumarit, ok sat konungr í Kaupangi um vetrinn.

4. FJ 155: síðan er þeir skildusk í Þrándheimi (= *FmS* VI, 251).

##1, 3, and 4 occur in *þættir*, but the *Fsk* text shows that #2 was part of *ÆMsk*. The name *K* (#3) in *H-Hr* is puzzling, and it is possible that the last part of the sentence was deleted in *MskMS*. The first three sentences are connected with travel and contain verbs of motion (*fara*, *koma*).

To sum up: The MskMS version of "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" contains no examples of *K* as the name of the city of Trondheim. Once *Hkr* has *K* where the *Msk* version has "kaupbær í Niðarósi." That change could have been made by Snorri, but it is also possible that *Hkr* reflects the wording of *ÆMsk*. In contrast, *N* is used six times to refer to the city. Sometimes it is difficult to establish whether the name was used in *ÆMsk* or whether it is a later interpolation (##7-8, above). The comparison of the texts of MskMS, *Hkr*, and *Fsk* does show, however, that *N* was used as the name of the city in this part of *ÆMsk*. Occasionally, *N* occurs in passages that can be connected with events that took place after 1172, such as the ongoing remodeling of Kristkirken, the move of Mariekirken, and the jarldom of Skúli Bárðarson. If these sections were composed by the author of *ÆMsk*, he obviously used *N* to refer to the city of Trondheim both in an ecclesiastical and in a secular context.

N is also used about the royal residence in the set phrase "sitja í Niðarósi." Sentences that contain this phrase always occur at the junction between two episodes, and the question of whether *N* here can be traced to the author of *ÆMsk* must remain open: the corresponding passages in *Flaʀ* and *H-Hr* show that the name was part of Msk2.

Þ is used unambiguously to refer to the city twice, both times in connection with St. Óláfr's miracles during the battle of Lyrskovshede. If the phrase "norðr í Þrándheimi" indeed were part of *ÆMsk*, the author could have relied on an older written account for this part of the narrative.

IV. "Óláfs saga kyrra"

In this saga, *K* occurs twice as the name of the city of Trondheim, once in an 11th-century skaldic stanza from Steinn Herðisarson's "Óláfsdrápa" ("sóknstrangr í Kaupangi"; FJ 286), and once in an ecclesiastical context: "Var mark gort um þessa .iii. langfeðga Harald konung, Ólaf konung ok Magnús konung berfoett á Márfukirkju norðr í Kaupangi, þeiri er Haraldr konungr lét gøra (FJ 291=*Fsk* 301; *Hkr* 230; *FmS* VII, 64). Snorri rearranges the narrative and places this section in "Magnúss saga berfoetts," but *Fsk* follows *Msk* verbatim and must reflect the text of *ÆMsk*. The passage must be old, because it contains information that predates the destruction of Mariekirken instigated by archbishop Eysteinn. The section is not found in *Ágrip*, and it is possible that the author of *ÆMsk* drew on an older written source.

N is also used twice in "Óláfs saga kyrra." In the first case, the name occurs in an interpolation from *Ágrip*: "Hann lét reisa steinkirkju at byskupsstólinum í Niðarósi yfir líkama ens helga Óláfs konungs" (FJ 291); "Hann gerði upp steinkirkju at byskupsstólinum í Niðarósi yfir líkam ens helga Óláfs konungs" (40). In the second instance, *N* refers to the geographical location: "Þá settisk sá kaupstaðr í Nóregi, er einn er vegsamligast þeira er áðr er getit at fráteknum kaupstað í Niðarósi, ok er sjá kaupbær kallaðr í Björgvyn. Gørðisk þar brátt mikitt setr auðigra manna..." (FJ 289). The *Msk* text is quite awkward, and Seip (1930:59, 62) maintained that the phrase "at fráteknum kaupstað í Niðarósi" is a later interpolation. However, the *Fsk* text shows that, if the phrase indeed was interpolated, it must have been interpolated in *ÆMsk* and not at a later stage in the *Msk* transmission: "Þá settisk sá staðr í Nóregi, er einn er vegsamligstr ok fyrr var getit, Niðaróss. Kaupstaðrinn í Björgvyn gørðisk þar brátt mikill ok setr auðigra manna" (299). The *Fsk* reading is clearly a corrupt rendering of the corresponding place in *Msk*, and unless we assume that *N* was interpolated independently in both versions, the name must have come from *Fsk*'s exemplar. Furthermore, it is clear that the phrase "er áðr er getit" in *Msk* refers to the cities listed at the end of "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" (Kungälv, Oslo, and Tønsberg; FJ 284). The fact that *Fsk* (296) at that point changed the text of *ÆMsk* and listed the districts and not the cities, explains the syntactic incoherence of the sentence above: the *Fsk* author started to copy the passage from *ÆMsk* in "Óláfs saga kyrra," but realized that the cities "mentioned previously" were indeed not mentioned in his narrative, and he abbreviated the sentence accordingly. If the section in "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" was composed by the author of *ÆMsk*, it follows that the same person was at work in "Óláfs saga kyrra," and that he inserted the information about Bergen in that saga.

The phrase "kaupstaðr í Niðarósi" recalls "kaupbær í Niðarósi" and "kaupstaðinn í Niðarósi" in "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" (*FJ 20, *171). These phrases could have been copied from an earlier, written exemplar, but it is also possible that they came from the pen of the author of *ÆMsk*. However that may be, it seems that both the author of *Fsk* and Snorri were reluctant to use the words *kaupstaðr* or *kaupbær* for the city of Trondheim. Consider the corresponding places in *Fsk* and *Hkr*: "út til kaupbæjarins í Niðarósi" (*FJ 20), "út til Kaupangs" (*Hkr* 8);

"kaupstaðinn í Niðarósi" (*FJ 171), "staðinn... norðr í Niðarósi" (*Fsk* 262); "kaupstað í Niðarósi" (FJ 289), "staðr...Niðaróss" (*Fsk* 299).

Þ occurs only once in this saga, in a section that records the death and burial of Óláfr kyrr. The texts of *Msk*, *Fsk*, *Hkr*, and *Ágrip* correspond fairly closely at this point, but the wording shows that *Fsk* followed *Msk*, and that Snorri combined the versions of *Msk* and *Ágrip*:

FJ 296: Óláfr konungr fekk banasótt í Vík austr á Haukstoðum, ok var flutt norðr í *Drándheim* ok jarðaðr at Kristskirkju.

Ágrip: Þá sýkðisk hann á þœ þeim, er heitir Haukbær austr á Ranríki, þar sem hann tók veizlu, ok andaðisk þar, ok var líkamr hans fluttur norðr í Niðarós ok var jarðaðr í kirkju þeiri, er hann hafði látit gera (41).

Fsk: Óláfr konungr tók banasótt, þar sem heitir Haukbær, ok var lík hans fœrt norðr til Niðaróss ok jarðat at Kristskirkju (302).

Hkr: austr á Ranríki á Haukbœ... Lík Óláfs konungs var flutt norðr til Niðaróss ok jarðat at Kristskirkju, þeiri er hann lét gera (209).

The three other versions use *N* in this particular context and, whereas that name in *Hkr* could have been caused by Snorri's use of *Ágrip*, the author of *Fsk* most likely changed the name in keeping with current ecclesiastical practice (cf. the battle of Lyrskovshede, above).

We may conclude, then, that *ÆMsk* apparently drew on an earlier, written source (or sources) at least for parts of "Óláfs saga kyrra" (the marks on the wall of Mariekirken, the death and burial of Óláfr), but the information about Bergen and the phrase "kaupstaðinn í Niðarósi" were most likely introduced by the author himself.

VI. "Magnúss saga berfœtts"

In "Magnúss saga berfœtts," *K* is used five times as the name of the city of Trondheim. Once the name occurs in a skaldic stanza attributed to Magnús (FJ 334: "enn til Kaupangs kvinna"). That stanza is also found in *Fsk* (313; = *ÆMsk*). The other examples all occur in the opening sections of the saga, in those episodes which record the dealings between Magnús and Hákon in Trondheim and the uprising of Steigar-Þórir. The name *N* is also used once in these passages. As earlier scholars have observed, there is such a close verbal agreement between the texts of *MskMS*, *Fsk*, and *Ágrip* at this point that we must be dealing with a written relationship. What complicates the matter is that the *Msk* and *Ágrip* versions sometimes differ from that of *Fsk*, and whereas, in other places, the texts of *Fsk* and *Ágrip* agree against the *Msk* version (see Indrebø 1917:34, 213-6; Kvålen 1925b:287-99; Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1937:137-50; Louis-Jensen 1977:92). Consider the following examples of *K* and *N* in the different versions:

1. FJ 297: En konungar váru sátir ok váru líft í einum stað. Þeir váru einn vetr báðir í *Niðarósi*, ok var Magnús um vetrinn í konungsgarði, en Hákon í Skúlagarði niðr frá Clemenskirki, ok helt Hákon þar jólavist.
Ágrip: Ok váru einn vetr báðir ok þann í Niðarósi, ok var Magnús í konungs garði, en Hákon í Skúlagarði niðr frá Klémetskirki, ok helt svá jólavist (42).
Fsk: Annan vetr ríkis þeira Magnúss ok Hákonar frændanna váru þeir báðir um jól norðr í Kaupangi, var Magnús konungr <í konungsgarði>, en Hákon konungr í Skúlagarði ofan frá Klémetskirki (302).
2. FJ 297-8: Magnús konungr helt allan vetrinn .vii. langskipum í einni vök í *Kaupangi*.
Ágrip: fyr því at hann helt allan vetrinn sjau langskipum í opinni vök í Kaupangi (42).
Fsk: ok helt allan vetrinn sjau langskipum í opinni vök í Kaupangi (302).
3. FJ 298: ok lét blása liði út á Eyra, ok sótti allr *Kaupangs* lýðr til .
Ágrip: ok lét blása liði út, ok sótti allr *Kaupangs* lýðr til (42).
Fsk: ok lét blása liði út, ok sótti allr bæjarlýðr til (303).
Hkr: Hann lét blása liðinu út, ok sótu allr *Kaupangs*lýðr til (212).
4. FJ 298: ok helt áðr mót í *Kaupangi*.
Fsk: ok átti mót í Kaupangi áðr (303); *Ágrip*: ok helt mót í Kaupangi áðr (42); *Hkr*: átti áðr mót í býnum (212).
5. FJ 302: Þeir Þórir fluttusk þaðan til *Kaupangs* ok hvorfuðu þar í firðinum.
Ágrip: þeir fluttusk til Kaupangs, ok hvorfuðu í firðinum þeir Þórir eptir (44).
Fsk: En þeir Sveinn ok Þórir fluttusk til Kaupangs ok hvorfuðu þar í firðinum (304).
Hkr: En þeir Þórir fóru til Kaupangs ok dvalðusk þar um hrif í firðinum (215).

Space does not permit a discussion of the possible relationship between the different versions, but, although *Msk* at this point may have been interpolated from *Ágrip* (which seems to be the case in #1), the verbal differences between *Ágrip* and *Msk* suggest that both versions could have relied on an older written source about Magnús and Hákon.

The place name *Þ* occurs four times in this saga. Twice it refers to the district (FJ 297, 299), and once it is used about Trondheimsfjorden (FJ 305). The fourth sentence, which is found in "Sveinka Þátrr Steinarsson," contains the phrase "komsk norðr til Þrándheims" (FJ 310), and it is unclear whether it refers to the city or to the district. *Þ* is never used unambiguously as the name of the city of Trondheim.

VII. "Sigurðar saga jórsalafara"

In this saga, Trondheim is known as *N* or *K*, and both names occur in the main narrative and in "Þingasaga" ("Þs": the latter occurrences will be dealt with separately). In the main text, *K* is found three times and *N* twice:

1. FJ 358: ...sem vér bræðr .iii. sætim allir á einum stóli fyrir Kristskirkju norðr í *Kaupangi* (= *FmS* VII, 107).
2. FJ 364: ok er hann [Óláfr Magnússon] grafinn at Kristskirkju norðr í *Kaupangi*.
Fsk: í Niðarósi at Kristskirkju (320); *Hkr*: at Kristskirkju í Niðarósi (257); *Ágrip*: andaðisk í *Kaupangi*... var jarðað í Kristskirkju (*JF* 29, 47).
3. FJ 388: ok var lík hans [Eysteinn Magnússon] flutt norðr til *Kaupangs* ok jarðat í Kristskirkju (= *Hkr* 263; lacuna *Ágrip*).
Fsk: norðr í Niðarós ok jarðat at Kristskirkju (320).
4. FJ 353. Eysteinn konungr lét gera Níkuláskirkju í *Niðarósi*.
Hkr: Hann lét ok gera í Niðarósi í konungsgarði Níkoláskirkju (255).
5. FJ 365: ok sat hann [Eysteinn Magnússon] optast í *Niðarósi*.

In ##1-3 *K* refers to the city in an ecclesiastical context. The name alliterates with Kristkirken and is modified by the adverb *norðr*. Both Snorri and the author of *Fsk* change *K* to *N* in #2, but *K* is retained in *Hkr* in #3. Thus *K* must have been part of *ÆMsk*, and the information about the kings' last resting places in that version could have been taken from an older written chronicle that recorded the years of the kings' reign and their places of burial (cf. "Catalogus regum Norwagiensium," *MHN* 44). However, because the same alliterating phrase occurs in the episode about Sigurðr's dream (#1), it is possible that *ÆMsk* here followed a more extensive written version about Sigurðr and his brothers.

The first occurrence of *N* is found in a passage that enumerates the accomplishments of Eysteinn Magnússon. The same section is found in *Hkr* and must have been part of *ÆMsk*. The list of accomplishments corresponds closely to those achievements which Eysteinn attributes to himself in the *mannjafnaðr* between him and Sigurðr (FJ 382-4; *Hkr* 259-62), and it could be that both sections were composed the author of *ÆMsk*.

In #5, *N* is used about the city as a royal residence, and the name is coupled with the verb *stíja*. The sentence occurs in the transition between two narratives, that is, between a shorter chapter (detailing the death of Óláfr (see #2 above), the genealogies of Sigurðr slombidjárn and Ingi Bárðarson, and the division of the country between Eysteinn and Sigurðr) and a long chapter about the bitter legal dispute between Sigurðr and Eysteinn ("Þs"; see Storm 1877). The sentence places Eysteinn in Trondheim and sets the stage for the ensuing events that take place in that region in "Þs." There can be no doubt that the sentence was introduced into the narrative by the person who included "Þs" in the saga of Sigurðr jórsalafari, and, moreover, the wording, as well as the narrative function of the sentence (bridging two episodes), suggests that we are dealing with the same person who was at work in "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" (see ##2, 3, 5 in that saga). The question is whether that person was the author of *ÆMsk* or a later interpolator.

It is not clear whether "Þs" was part of *ÆMsk* (for the most recent discussion, see Louis-Jensen 1977:94-108). The "saga" is not included in *Hkr* or *Fsk*, but a comparison of the texts of *MskMS* and *Hkr* reveals that, although Snorri did not include that chapter in his work, he did use

the *Msk* version as an outline for his narrative. Consider the following narrative correspondences (FJ 364-7; *Hkr* 257-8):

1. *Msk*: the mother of Sigurðr slëmbir is introduced; *Hkr*: the mother of Magnús Sigurðarson is introduced.
2. *Msk*: the kings are placed in the north and east of Norway ("ok sat hann [Eysteinn] optast í Niðarósi"); *Hkr*: the kings are placed in the north and east of Norway ("þá sat Eysteinn konungur lengi um vetrinn í Sarpsborg"; 257).
3. *Msk*: The location of Eysteinn introduces "Þs"; *Hkr*: the location of Eysteinn introduces the events that lead to the birth of Magnús Sigurðarson.
4. *Msk*: Sigurðr jórsalafari seduces Sigríðr, the sister of Sigurðr Hranason ("Þs"); *Hkr*: Sigurðr jórsalafari seduces Borghildr, the daughter of Óláfr í Dali.
5. *Msk*: the seduction of Sigríðr precipitates legal dispute in "Þs"; *Hkr*: The seduction of Borghildr precipitates her legal ordeal.

Thus, Snorri retained the narrative structure of his exemplar while changing the location of the events and the identity of the persons involved. We cannot, therefore, dismiss the possibility that Þs was part of ÆMsk and that the phrase "sitja í Niðarósi" was characteristic of the style of its author.

In "Þs" itself, *K* is used four times to refer to the city (FJ 368,² 369, 372), and *N* occurs three times (FJ 366², 374). In the first two instances *H-Hr* has *K* and *bær* for *MskMS*'s *N* (FJ 366; *FmS* VII, 124, 125), and it is not clear whether the changes were made in *MskMS* or in *H-Hr*. In the third instance, where all versions agree, *N* refers to the geographical location (FJ 374: "í bænum í Niðarósi" = *FmS* VII, 137). Most scholars agree that the *Msk* version of "Þs" derives from a written account (cf. Louis-Jensen 1977:99-105), and the place names in this part of *MskMS* suggest that that version (or its exemplar) must have been quite old.

Þ occurs six times, and four of those occurrences are found in "Þs" (FJ 365, 368², 375). Once the name is used about Trondheimsfjorden (FJ 368); otherwise it refers to the district of Trøndelag (FJ 337, 365, 368, 375, 384).

It would appear, then, that at least parts of the ÆMsk version of "Sigurðar saga jórsalafara" were based on earlier written sources. In some places, however, the use of the names is consistent with later practice, and it could be that the passages that contain the name *N* were introduced by the ÆMsk author.

VIII. "Sigurðar saga slëmbidjákns"

In this part of the narrative, ÆMsk drew on a written source that predated 1172, namely, Eiríkr Oddsson's *Hrygg (Bjarni Guðnason [1978:144] placed the composition of that work as early as 1146-55). Different versions of *Hrygg were also available to the author of *Fsk* and to Snorri (*ibid.*, 54-5). We should therefore expect that, unless the author of ÆMsk changed the names in keeping with later practice, the names of the city of Trondheim would be *K* or Þ, and such is indeed the case. There are no examples of the name *N*, but *K* is used twice: "sunnan ór Kaupangi" (FJ 426; = *Hkr*, 312); "í Kaupangi norðr" (FJ 429; *Hkr* 314: "norðr í Kaupangi"). In addition, *Hkr* uses *K* twice where *MskMS* has Þ (FJ 415, 425; *Hkr* 304, 314). It is not clear whether this discrepancy is due to the fact that *Hkr* and ÆMsk used different versions of *Hrygg, but both names are consistent with 12th-century practice. In a fourth instance, Þ refers to the bishopric: "er síðan var byskup í Þrándheimi norðr" (FJ 434 = *Hkr* 316). As we have seen, Þ is used only twice in the previous sagas to refer to the city in this context (the battle of Lyrskovshede in "Haralds saga and Magnúss"), and in "Sigurðar saga" it must reflect the text of *Hrygg.

IX. "Saga af Inga ok bræðrum hans"

The question of exactly how many kings' sagas *Hrygg contained has sparked considerable debate. Most scholars are of the opinion that it either included the sagas of Haraldr gilli, Magnús blindi, and Sigurðr slëmbir (the years 1130-1139) or contained the sagas of Haraldr, Magnús, and Sigurðr, as well as those of Ingi and his brothers (1130-61; see *Hkr* lxiv-lxvii). Eivind Kválen (1925a) maintained that *Hrygg encompassed the period from 1130 to 1177 (from Magnús blindi and Haraldr gilli to Magnús Erlingsson), and, more recently, Bjarni Guðnason (1978:26-8) attempted to show that *Hrygg was the saga of Sigurðr slëmbir and dealt only with

the years 1136-1139. The place names that occur in this part of *MskMS* should, therefore, be of particular interest.

In the saga of Ingi and his brothers, there are no occurrences of the place name *N. K.*, on the other hand, is used five times:

1. FJ 439: Ótarr birtingr var drepinn *norðr í Kaupangi* (= *Hkr* 322).
2. FJ 440: En frændr Ótarrs ok vinir kenndu ráðit Sigurði konungi, er hann var þá ok í *Kaupangi* (= *Hkr* 232).
3. FJ 454: ok mælti svá, at erkibyskups stóll skyldi vera í *Kaupangi norðr* at Kristskirkju, þar er enn helgi Óláfr konungr hvílir.
Hkr.: í Niðaróssi at Kristskirkju, þar er Óláfr konungr inn helgi hvílir (332).
4. FJ 454: at engi maðr skyldi vápn bera at ósekju í *Kaupangi*. (*Hkr* 332-3: "í kaupstöðum").
5. FJ 460: En naust þau, er Eysteinn konungr enn eldri hafði gera látit norðr í *Kaupangi* (= *Hkr* 342).

We see, then, that Snorri apparently changed the text twice: once when *K* occurs in an ecclesiastical context (332), and once in connection with the new laws promulgated during the visit of Nicholas Brekespear in 1152-3. Snorri's legal expertise could have prompted the latter change, but it is also possible that *K* in *MskMS* is a corruption of an earlier "kaupstöðum."

Þ is used six times in "Inga saga" (FJ 440, 446², 454, 459²). Twice the name refers to the district (FJ 440, 459), but in the remaining four examples it appears to refer to the city:

1. FJ 446: ok hann orti, ok færði *norðr í Þrándheimi* í Kristskirkju sjálfri.
2. FJ 446: en þetta var *norðr í Þrándheimi*. Hafði Einarr verit til Nunnsetrs á Bakka.
3. FJ 454: at vágja [Jón Bir]gisson til erkibyskups í *Þrándheimi* (= *Hkr* 332).
4. FJ 459: Siðan fór Grégóriús *norðr til Þrándheims* (= *Fsk* 338; *Hkr* 342: "norðr til Kaupangs").

In ##1 and 3, *Þ* is used about Trondheim in an ecclesiastical context, and in #4, the texts of *Hkr* and *Fsk* suggest that *ÆMsk* could have had *K*. ##1-2 occur in anecdotes about the Icelandic poet Einarr Skúlason, and these passages are recorded only in *MskMS*.

The absence of the name *N* in this part of *Msk* suggests that the author relied on an old written source, and the use of the name *Þ* about the city in both a secular and an ecclesiastical context is consistent with the use of that name in those parts of *ÆMsk* that drew on Eiríkr Oddsson's *Hrygg. It is impossible, however, to say whether that work or a work of similar antiquity served as the source of the *Msk* version.

X. Summary and Conclusion

The discussion above has shown that the change of the name of the city of Trondheim from *Kaupangr* or *Þrándheimr* to *Niðaróss* that took place in the 1170's is reflected in the separate sagas in the extant version of *Msk*. The distribution of the names is not consistent, and frequently it is not in keeping with early 13th-century practice. An Icelander writing around 1220 must have been familiar with the contemporary name of the archbishopric, and he would have used *N* rather than *K* or *Þ* when referring to Trondheim, especially in an ecclesiastical context. The fact that the older names occur throughout the *Msk* narrative suggests that the author drew on older written sources. The absence of *N* in the sections of the narrative that were copied from *Hrygg is particularly striking and shows not only that the author of *ÆMsk* himself followed his exemplar faithfully, but also that later scribes were reluctant to change the older wording.

The results of the present investigation thus corroborate those obtained by Seip in his 1930 study. It is clear, however, that most of the occurrences of the name *N* in *MskMS* are not later interpolations, as Seip maintained; rather, a comparison with the texts of *Fsk* and *Hkr* shows that *N* must have been part of the vernacular of the 13th-century author of *ÆMsk*, and that, in most cases, the name was introduced into the narrative by him. That is the case in those passages which contain contemporary information and also in those sections where the author joined two

episodes (e.g., the two *þættir* of Úlfr enn auði and Brandr enn qrvi, and the insertion of *Þs* into the saga of Sigurðr jórsalafari).

Thus the question of whether the *ÆMsk* author used older written sources can be answered in the affirmative. However, the distribution of the names in the individual sagas reveals a much stronger authorial presence in the first two sagas ("Haralds saga ok Magnúss," "Óláfs saga kyrra") than in the sagas from Magnús berfœttr to Ingi Haraldsson and his brothers. Furthermore, "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" is not only the longest saga in *Msk*, but also the saga which contains the most *þættir* and anecdotes, and in which the author relied most heavily on information from skaldic stanzas. Although we cannot exclude the possibility that there existed separate sagas of Haraldr harðráði and his nephew, Magnús, by 1220, the *Msk* version of "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" is a repository for Icelandic and Norwegian tradition about the two kings, and I would like to suggest that the person who was responsible for the composition of that saga was the author of *ÆMsk*.

As far as "Óláfs saga kyrra" is concerned, it seems that the author who provided the information about "Skúli Tóstason" in "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" was responsible for the section about Bergen. The texts of *Ágrip*, *Fsk*, and *Hkr* do indicate, however, that the author *ÆMsk* could have had access to a written source that recorded Óláfr's death and his place of burial.

The absence of the name *N* in the sagas from Magnús berfœttr to Ingi Haraldsson (except in connection with the insertion of *Þs*) is conspicuous indeed and can be explained in part by the circumstance that the author of *ÆMsk* used Eiríkr Oddsson's *Hrygg. However, the evidence suggests that the author of *ÆMsk* had access to more extensive written sources for this part of the narrative (sagas of Magnúss berfœttr, Sigurðr jórsalafari, *Hrygg?). Although it is impossible to say whether *Hrygg included the saga of Ingi Haraldsson, the place names used in this saga certainly indicate that *Msk* drew on a source or sources that predated 1180-90.

The author of *ÆMsk*, then, knew the city of Trondheim as *N*. The authorial comments in "Haralds saga ok Magnúss" and in "Óláfs saga kyrra" show that he must have visited the city and that he was familiar with its layout. Because he is particularly interested in the churches, he could have been a cleric, and he proudly flaunted his local knowledge when the opportunity presented itself. It would almost appear as if this Icelander had a special relationship to Trøndelag and to Trondheim, the city he considered to be the most glorious in all of Norway and far superior to such cities as Oslo, Tønsberg, and Bergen.

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