

The Wizard and the Soothsayer

Prophecies, Apparitions, Protecting Spirits, and Evil Demons in Oddr Snorrason's Óláfs Saga Tryggvasonar

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The first true Christian king of Norway, Óláfr Tryggvason, never had the glory and veneration bestowed on the holy king Óláfr Haraldsson. In the literature dealing with his figure, however, Óláfr Tryggvason is depicted as the ruler synthetising the earthly monocratic power and its Christian legitimacy. In this context, the foundation of royal power is not the result of the military supremacy, associated with the claim by right of blood, but it is based on the very nature of the king as a man of God and incarnation of a superior eschatological plan. Despite some contradictions, this concept finds its fulfilment in Oddr Snorrason's *Óláfs Saga Tryggvasonar* (Munch 1853, Finnur Jónsson 1932, Guðni Jónsson 1957, Holtsmark 1974, Ólafur Halldórsson 2006).

Even though this work contains several references to the Bible and to hagiographic literature, the presence and the influence of a pre-Christian background are also significant. In this study, the linguistic analysis of the saga will be used to highlight the contribution of those ancient religious practices and heathen rites in building the royal holiness, characterising the king. In the saga, the semantic re-elaboration of these elements, which does not obliterate their original meaning, is the most peculiar feature of the source, where linguistic complexity becomes the most evident proof of the deep travail experienced by Nordic society before the new Christian faith.

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We have little biographical information about the author of the saga, (Guðni Jónsson 1936: 270, Jakob Benediktsson 1986: 199) who is named in the text (Ólafur Halldórsson 2006: 358, 374; see also Ólafur Halldórsson 1958-2000, III: 66). Oddr was a monk in Þingeyrar, a Benedictine monastery that became one of the main cultural centres in Iceland. Oddr Snorrason's saga about Óláfr Tryggvason was originally written in Latin, (Guðbrandur Vigfússon & Unger 1860-1868, I: 516, Ólafur Halldórsson 1958-2000, III: 64) around 1190 and certainly after 1170. In fact, the saga contains a narration concerning Saint Sunnifa, (O'Hara 2009) whose relics were moved from Selje to Bergen in 1170. Furthermore, the text mentions Sverrir Sigurðarson, king of Norway in 1177. He became the only ruler after the battle of Fimreite in 1184. (Finnur Jónsson 1923: 391-392, Turville Petre 1953: 192).

The translation of Oddr Snorrason's Latin text should have been made in Iceland at the beginning of the 13th century because the saga is considered one of the main sources of Snorri Sturluson, who died in 1241, for his saga about Óláfr Tryggvason, in the *Heimskringla* (Finnur Jónsson 1923: 388, Turville Petre 1953: 83, 192, 225).

The Latin text of Oddr Snorrason's work did not survive, while there are three witnesses of the translation: the MS. *AM 310 4to* (AM), drawn up in Norway in the second half of the 13th century, the MS. *Stockholm perg. 4to n° 18* (S), of Icelandic origin and dating back to the early 14th century, and the MS. *De La Garde 4-7* (U), drawn up in Norway in the mid-13th century (Finnur Jónsson 1923: 385, Finnur Jónsson 1932: I-XXXIII, Gordon 1938: 17-18, Turville Petre 1953: 191, Andersson 2003: 26-27). It is believed that the original Latin text had a first translation and that the versions contained in the three witnesses stem from it. (Finnur Jónsson 1923: 385-386, Finnur Jónsson 1932: VIII, Gordon 1938: 18, Turville Petre 1953: 192). The MS. AM, without the initial part, is considered the closest to the original, as highlighted by expressions in Latin¹ not present in the text of the MS. S, which is also more concise and with fewer references to the oral tradition.

¹ E.g.: *Pro sustentatione rationem assumunt* (Ólafur Halldórsson 2006: 219). Saint Martin's name is translated by *Martinus* in the MS. AM, while in the MS. S it becomes *Marteinn* (Ibid.: 212, 231) In both witnesses a stanza in Latin is found, but the verses are attributed to Oddr only in the text of the MS. S (Ibid.: 308).

The existence of literary material in Latin and in Old Norse, concerning the king who had introduced the Christian faith in Iceland, highlights two different but converging purposes. The drafting in Latin gives a universal value to the figure of the ruler, and makes it possible for the whole Christian community to use the text, even outside the Scandinavian area.

In the translation of Oddr Snorrson's Latin text this purpose is indirectly highlighted when the meaning of some Old Norse words is explained:

*Þat bauð Óláfr konungr at allir fjölkunnigir menn ok þeir er með fornan átrúnuð fóru ok einkanliga þeir allir, hvárt er váru konur eða karlar er Norðmenn kalla seiðmenn [...] Þá var gefit nafn skipinu á norræna tungu ok kallaðr Ormr hinn langi. En á latinutungu heitir hann Longus draco eða serpens.*² (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 232, 275-276)

The presence of a translation denotes a precise strategy of use of the text. The work could be understood even outside the restricted circle of ecclesiastical scholars and, therefore, was an important tool for the creation of a widespread worship, an essential element for a holy king in which the Icelandic community could recognise itself (Lönnroth 1963, Fidjestøl 1997, Antonsson 2005, Bagge 2006, Phelpstead 2007, Dubois 2008, Antonsson 2012, Grønlie 2017, Lubik 2020, Brégaint 2021, Lebouteiller 2021, Phelpstead 2021, Wanner 2021).

The content of the narration is summarised by the author,

*Þat kalla menn at Óláfr Tryggvason hafi haft þrjár tíðir á sínum dögum. Var sú hin fyrsta er hann var í miklu ófrelsi ok áþján ok óvirðing. Önnur tíð aldrs hans skein með birti mikilli ok farsælu. Hin þriðja tíð með tign ok frægð ok mikilli áhyggju fyrir mörgum at bæta.*³ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 209)

This tripartite structure, a sort of narrative trinity ruled by a precise chronological scan, does not summarise the content of the text, which is

² "King Olaf banished all those who practiced magic arts and the old superstitions, and most particularly those, whether men or women, whom the Norwegian call sorcerers [*seiðmenn*] [...]. Then a Norse name was given to the ship, and it was called the Long Serpent. In Latin is called *longus draco* or *serpens*" (Andersson 2003: 85, 103).

³ "People say that Olaf Tryggvason's life was divided into three periods. During the first he was unfree and in great oppression and disgrace. The second period of his life shone with great brightness and good fortune. The third was a time of honour and fame, and a great desire to do reparations for many wrongs" (Ibid.: 74).

much more complex (Zernack 1998) and highlights all the effort of the translator of the original to mix biographical elements and the purpose of the work, Óláfr's celebration as instrument and witness of the divine omnipotence.

The supernatural events related to Óláfr Tryggvason, even before his birth, are ascribable to both heathen superstition and the Christian faith. Óláfr Tryggvason's birth is the subject of prophecy, like the coming of Christ,⁴ but is announced by a *spákona*, a seeress. The content of the prediction is depicted in a very different way in the two main witnesses of the saga:

Í þenna tíma réð fyrir Garðaríki Valdamarr konungr með miklum veg. Svá er sagt at móðir hans var spákona, ok er þat kallat í bókum phitonis andi er heiðnir menn spáðu. Þat gekk mjök eptir er hon mælti, ok var hon þá á ørvasa aldri. Þat var siðr þeira, at jólaaptan hinn fyrsta skyldi bera hana á stóli fyrir hásæti konungs. Ok áðr menn tæki til drykkju, þá spyrr konungr móður sína ef hon sæi eða vissi nökkvorn háska eða skaða yfir gnapa sínu ríki, eða nólask með nökkvorum ófriði eða ótta, eða aðrir ágirtisk hans eigu. Hon svarar: „Eigi sé ek þat, son minn, er ek vita þér horfa meinsamliga eða þínu ríki, ok eigi ok þat er skelfi þína hamingju. En þó sé ek mikla sýn ok ágætliga. Nú er borinn á þessum tíðum einn konungsson í Nóregi ok á þessu ári, sá er hér mun upp fæðask í þessu landi, ok sjá mun verða ágætligr maðr ok dýrligr hofðingi [...] Ok mun hann konungr vera ok skína með mikilli birti [...] Beri mik nú á brott, því at ek mun nú eigi frammar segja, ok ærit sagt er nú.“⁵ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 144-145; MS. AM)

⁴ “Therefore the Lord himself will give you this sign: the virgin shall be with child, and bear a son, and shall name him Immanuel” (*Isaiah* 7, 14). “For a child is born to us, a son is given us; upon his shoulder dominion rests. They name him Wonder-Counselor, God-Hero, Father-Forever, Prince of Peace” (*Isaiah* 9, 5). “As the visions during the night continued, I saw One like a son of man coming, on the clouds of heaven; When he reached the Ancient One and was presented before him. He received dominion, glory, and kingship; nations and peoples of every language serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that shall not be taken away, his kingship shall not be destroyed.” (*Daniel* 7,13-14). “But you, Bethlehem-Ephrathah too small to be among the clans of Judah, From you shall come forth for me one who is to be ruler in Israel; Whose origin is from of old, from ancient times” (*Micah* 5,1).

⁵ “At this time King Valdimarr ruled Russia with great honour. We are told that his mother was a prophetess, and that is called in books a Pythian spirit when heathen men prophesied. Things turned out much as she predicted. At that time she was aged. It was their custom on the first evening of Yule to carry her on a chair to the king's throne, and before the drinking began, the king asked his mother whether she could see any peril or threat looming over his realm, or whether any war or other grounds for fear

Nú á þessi tíð réð austr fyrir Garðaríki Valdamarr konungr, ok var hann ágætr maðr. Móðir hans var spákona, ok sá hon marga hluti fyrir, ok gekk þat eptir er hon mælti. Hon var ørvasa, ok var þat siðr hennar at hon var borin í hqllina hvern jólaaptan ok skyldi segja hvat þá væri tíðenda um heiminn, ok sat hon á stóli fyrir hásæti konungs. Ok er menn váru komnir í sæti sín ok búnir til drykkju, þá mælti konungr: „Hvat sér þú, móðir, eða er nokkut háskasamligt mínu ríki?“ Hon mælti: „Þat sé ekki, at eigi standi þitt ríki með sóma ok veg. Hitt sé ek, at á þessi tíð er borinn í Nóregi konungsson með björtum fylgjum ok hamingjum, ok er mikit ljós yfir honum [...]. Ok er hann er kvaddr af heimi, þá liggir fyrir honum miklu meiri dýrð en ek kunna um at tala, ok berið mik nú á braut, ok mun ek nú eigi segja framar.“⁶ (Ibid. MS. S)

The prophecy pronounced by a female figure is typical of heathen worship, as demonstrated by the *Völuspá* in the *Poetic Edda* (Kuhn 1983: 1-16), and by the figure of Hulð in the *Ynglinga Saga* (Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 2002, I: 31). In this respect, in the text of the MS. AM we find the expression *phítonis andi*. In Greek mythology Python is the dragon-serpent, son of Gaea, killed by Apollo at the oracle in Delphi. Apollo takes possession of the oracle and the priestess, endowed with divinatory powers, takes the name of Pythia (Kerenyi 1951: 135-136). The Latin term, *pythonissa* (“prophetess”), has precise biblical references: in the *First Book of Samuel*, according to the *Vulgate*, we read that Saul, before the battle of Gélboe against the Philistines,

were in the offing, or whether other men coveted his possessions. She replied: “I do not see anything, my son, that I think will turn out ill for you or your realm, nor do I see anything that will shake your good fortune. But I do see a great and momentous sight. At this time in this year has been born a prince in Norway who will be fostered in this land. He will become a distinguished man and a glorious leader [...] He will be a king and shine brightly [...] And now carry me away, for I will say no more” (Andersson 2003: 44).

⁶ “At this time King Valdamarr ruled Garðaríki, in the east, and he was a distinguished man in many respects. His mother was a prophetess, and she foresaw many events, and things turned out as she predicted. She was aged, and it was her custom that she should be carried into the hall every evening of Yule and should tell what was going on in the world. She sat on a chair before the king’s throne. When the people had been seated and were ready for drinking, the king said: “What do you see, mother, is there any peril looming over my kingdom?” She said: “I don’t see anything that doesn’t reveal the glory and honour of your kingdom. I see this: in this period of the year the son of a king was born in Norway, followed by bright protective spirits and beneficial tutelary geniuses, guardians of his fate, and there is a great light on him [...] When he takes leave of this world, so great will be his glory, that I can’t describe it in words, and now carry me away, I will say no more” (My translation).

“inquired of the Lord, but the Lord did not answer him by dreams or Urim or prophets” (“Consuluitque Dominum, et non respondit ei neque per somnia neque per Urim neque per prophetas” *First Book of Samuel* 28, 6). Saul then says to his attendants: “Find me a woman who is a medium, to whom I can go to seek counsel through her” (“Quaerite mihi mulierem habentem pythonem, et vadam ad eam et sciscitabor per illam” *Ibid.* 28,7).

It is significant that this woman (The Witch of Endor) is defined *kono er hafi phitonis anda* (Unger 1862: 491; “woman who has a Pythian spirit”) in *Stjórn*, a translation of biblical material written in the fourteenth century. The spirit appears to Saul announcing defeat in battle and death: “Thus Saul died because of his rebellion against the LORD in disobeying his command, and also because he had sought counsel of a necromancer” (“Mortuus est ergo Saul propter iniquitatem suam, eo quod praevaricatus sit mandatum Domini, quod praeceperat, et non custodierit illud, sed insuper etiam pythonissam consuluerit” 1 *Chronicles* 10, 13).

In the holy Bible there are female figures endowed with prophetic virtues, who are entrusted with proclaiming the word of God, such as the prophetess Culda (2 *Kings* 22, 14-19). In Luke’s Gospel we read of the prophetess Anna, a woman consecrated to God and able to reveal the divine plans (*Luke* 2, 36-39).

The announcement of Óláfr’s birth takes place at an extremely significant moment, the celebration of the winter solstice, following a custom established by tradition and during the ceremonial, before men begin the ritual libations.

In the MS. S, the protective spirits embodied in Óláfr are indicated with the noun f. *fylgja*, which defines a spirit following someone (see vb. *fylgja*). In Oddr’s text this meaning is found when Eiríkr, father of Óláfr’s mother, announces that Hákon jarl is coming: *En ek vilda eigi at þér yrðið hér hǫndum tekin, ok munum vér hér mæta í dag Hákon Sigurðarsyni, því at hér eru nú komnar hans fylgjur* (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 131).⁷ The *fylgja* often takes a theriomorphic shape, and appears above all when the fate of the human being followed by the spirit must

⁷ “I would not wish you are captured. We will encounter Hákon Sigurðarson today because his fetches have appeared” (Andersson 2003: 39).

be fulfilled (see *Brennu-Njáls saga*, Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1954: 64, 107, 170 and *Vatsndæla saga*, Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1939: 111).

In the Christian perspective, *fylgjur* become angelic entities, as in *Brennu-Njáls saga*, where Saint Michael is *fylgjuengill* (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1954: 257; “guardian angel”). Their presence reveal that the future king is a living testimony of the power of the Christian God.

Óláfr is also followed by tutelary geniuses who ensure him a good fortune (*hamingjur*). It has to be noted how the term *hamingja* (about the meaning of *hamingja* in Old Norse literature see Hallberg 1971) takes different meanings in the two texts of the saga: in the text of the MS. AM it means “luck”, “propitious fate”, and is referred to King Valdamarr. In the text of the MS. S, there is no royal fortune related to King Valdamarr, and the term, exclusively used to depict Óláfr Tryggvason, appears in the plural form (*hamingjur*), and defines premonitory elements that do not predict a fate but express the full identity between the fate of the future king and God’s providential plan.

In the text of the MS. S, moreover, is recurring the issue of light that follows Óláfr Tryggvason and it’s the heathen propheticess, who announces the founding principle of the new faith: “ the LORD will be your light forever” (*Isaiah* 60, 19) as we read in Isaiah, and “I am the light of the world” (*John* 8,12) says Jesus in Jon’s Gospel.

In the text of the MS. S the heathen seeress foreshadows a real Ascension of Óláfr Tryggvason, a hieratic representation, that heralds what will be read in the text of the saga about the mysterious disappearance of the king, wrapped in a bundle of light during the fatal battle of Svölðr:

Þá sá allir þeir er þar váru koma yfir lyptingina ok konunginn himneskt ljós, bæði mótstøðumenn hans, þeir er með jarli váru ok svá konungsmenn þeir er á lífi váru. Ok menn Eiríks jarls hjoggu í ljósit ok ætluðu at vega þann er Guð vegsamaði með ljósinu. Ok er á brott hvarf ljósit, þá sá þeir hvergi konunginn, ok leituðu þeir hans allt um skipit ok umhverfs hjá skipinu, ef hann væri á sundi. Ok finna þeir hann eigi.⁸ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 345-346)

⁸ “Everyone who was there, both his adversaries who followed the jarl and the king’s men who remained alive, saw a heavenly light descend on the poopdeck. Jarl Eiríkr’s men struck into the light, thinking to slay the man whom God honored with His light. When the light vanished, they could not see the king anywhere, and they searched for

Also in this case there are clear biblical references: “As they walked on conversing, a flaming chariot and flaming horses came between them, and Elijah went up to heaven in a whirlwind” (2 Kings 2, 11). “As he [Jesus] blessed them he parted from them and was taken up to heaven” (Gospel of Luke 24, 51). “So then the Lord Jesus, after he spoke to them, was taken up into heaven and took his seat at the right hand of God” (Gospel of Mark 16,19). “When he [Jesus] had said this, as they were looking on, he was lifted up, and a cloud took him from their sight” (Acts 1, 9).

The glory that surrounds Óláfr is so intense that it prevents the prophetess from go on with her prophecy, as the seeress questioned by Óðinn about the fate of his son Baldr in the *Baldrs draumar*, mythological poem contained in the *Codex Arnarnagæanus* (MS. AM 748 I 4^a) a manuscript written at the beginning of the 14th century: *Nauðug sagðac, nú mun ec þegia* (Kuhn 1983: 279); “Reluctantly I told you, now I’ll be silent” (Larrington 2014: 236). Similar words are pronounced, in the *Legendary Saga* dedicated to Óláfr Haraldsson, by the seeress who was asked to foretell the fate of the future holy king: *Nu er mer æigi læyft, mæira at sægia* (Heinrichs 1982: 64); “Now I am no longer allowed to add anything else”.

The second prediction concerning Óláfr’s birth is also formulated within the traditional worship, by men with prophetic powers (*spámenn*):

Í þenna tíma váru í Garðaríki margir spámenn, þeir er vissu fyrir marga hluti. Þeir sögðu af sínum spádómi at komnar váru í þetta land hamingjur nokkvors gófugs manns ok þó ungs, ok aldri fyrr höfðu þeir sét né eins manns fylgjur bjartari né fegri, ok sönnuðu þeir þat með mörgum orðum, en eigi máttu þeir vita, hvar hann var. En svá sögðu þeir mikils háttar vera hans hamingju at þat ljós er yfir henni skein, at þat dreifðisk um allt Garðaríki ok víða um Austrhálfu heimsins.⁹ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 150)

him everywhere in the ship and around the ship on the chance that he was in the water. But they did not find him” (Ibid.: 131).

⁹ “At this time there were many seers in Russia who could see clearly into the future. On the basis of their prophetic powers they said that the fetches of a distinguished, albeit youthful, man arrived in the country. Never before had they seen brighter or fairer fetches of any man. They confirmed that at length, but they could not tell where he was. But they said that his genius was so great that shone above it extended over all Russia and broadly over the eastern half of the world” (Ibid.: 47).

The young Óláfr is followed by fetches (*hamingjur*) and by intense and luminous protective spirits (*fylgjur hjartari*), from which comes a light that radiates over the eastern half of the world, just as those who were called to be the first witnesses of Jesus' birth were enveloped by the light: "The angel of the Lord appeared to them and the glory of the Lord shone around them, and they were struck with great fear" (*Gospel of Luke 2, 9*). Here we find the same linguistic material of the prophecy delivered by the mother of King Valdamarr present in the text of the MS. S. The prediction entrusted to men endowed with prophetic powers (*spámenn*) confirms the prophecy delivered by the seeress (*spákona*): the male and female elements find their synthesis, in which the magical aspect of pagan worship merges with the transcendent one of the Christian faith.

The prediction is also present in pivotal moments of Óláfr's life. The saga tells of a Lapp, as such a master of magic and sorcery (Page 1962, Mundal 1996, Pálsson 1999, Mundal 2000, Tolley 2006, Tolley 2009, Mitchell 2011) to whom the Christian king turns twice to obtain, thanks to the occult powers of which the Lapp is endowed, both the healing of his dog and news of his future fate:

Fíðrinn veit nú fyrir ferð þeira ok lýkr upp durum húss síns, at þeir mætti hitta byggð hans. Ok er þeir sá þangat ljós, þá hitta þeir leið sína þangat. Ok Finnrrinn mæltisk innan fyrir ok sagði svá: „Veit ek, Óláfr, hverr þú ert, eða hvers þú leitar eða hverr þú munt verða. En ekki þarft þú at ganga í hús mín, ok þungt hefir mér verit í dag fyrir þér, síðan er þú komt við land, ok eigi fara litlar fylgjur fyrir þér; því at í þínu foruneyti eru björt guð, en þeira samvistu má ek eigi bera, því at ek hefi annarskonar natúru. Ok fyrir því skalt þú utan fyrir mælask.“ Þá mælti Óláfr: „Seg nú, Finnrr, hvat vér skolum at hafask eða hvat tíðenda verða mun um vár viðskipti, eða hvárt mun ek fá ríki þetta eða eigi.“ Finnrrinn svaraði: „Á morgin árla mun Þórir heimta þik á tal ok biðja þik ganga á land ok vilja eiga við þik leyndartal, ok hann mun beiða at þér setizk niðr; hann mun ok leita at velja sér hæra sæti en þér. En þú skalt þat eigi vilja, fyrir því at tveir menn hans eru í skógi leyniliga, ok þegar er hann gerir þeim nokkvot mark munu þeir fram hlaupa ok drepa þik. En þú lát vera tvá þína menn í skógi með þessum hætti, ok þegar er þú gefr þeim mark hlaupi þeir fram ok drepi Þóri. Ok með þessum hætti mun Þórir veiddr verða í þeiri snöru er hann ætlaði þér, ok ferra þá sem makligt er. En litlu eptir þetta mun Hákon vera drepinn, en þú munt eignask ríkit. Ok er þetta er fram komit, er nú segi ek, at þú stýrir Nóregsveldi, þá munt þú bjóða nýjan sið

*ok ókunnan í þessu landi [...] Ok fór þetta allt eptir því sem Fiðrinn hafði sagt.*¹⁰ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 188-190)

As well as the seeress and the prophets of Garðaríki, the Lapp also detects the protective spirits of the Christian king, indicated in the text as *fylgjur*, in a remarkable and, in some ways, extraordinary synthesis between the virtues of the magician of the shamans' earth and those of the Christian prophet.

The Lapp warns Óláfr of an ambush that will be set against him, saving his life, and announces that Óláfr will be the architect of a great evangelising mission: another fascinating ambivalence in the evaluation of the shamanic world, both a source of salvation for the Christian king and an expression of the powers of the evil one. Óláfr's behaviour appears, in fact, in every respect, contrary to Christian precepts, which would impose to trust only in the divine providence and not in the powers of one who, given his "different nature" (*annarskonar naturu*), declares that he opposes the Christian message, a rejection expressed in the text by the impossibility for the Lapp to endure the light.

The Christian religion is defined by the term *siðr*, in Lapp's words. In the pre-Christian tradition, *siðr* expresses the osmosis between the sacral element of ritual behaviours, which constantly renew the relationship with the deities, and customs and traditions of the community, regarded

¹⁰ "The Lapp had foreseen their trip and opened the door of his house so that they could find his dwelling. When they saw the light from it, they found their way. The Lapp spoke from inside and said: "I know, Olaf, who you are, what you are looking for, and what you will be. But you do not need to enter my house, for I have had a dire foreboding today since you landed, and you are not preceded by insignificant fetches. Accompanying you are bright spirits and I cannot endure their presence because I am of different nature. For that reason you should say what you have to say outside". Then Olaf spoke: "Tell us, Lapp, what we should do and what is likely to happen, and whether or not I am likely to acquire this realm". The Lapp replied: "Early tomorrow morning Þórir will take you aside and ask you to go ashore to have a confidential talk. He will ask you to sit down and will try to sit a little higher than you. But you will not wish to allow that because two of his men will be hidden in the forest, and as soon as he gives them a sign, they will rush out and kill you. But you should have two of your men posted in the forest in such a way that, when you give them a sign, they will rush forth and kill Þórir. In this way Þórir will be trapped in the snare that he has laid for you, and that is as it should be. A little later Hákon will be killed, and you will acquire the realm. And when what I am now saying happens and you are ruling Norway, you will proclaim a new and unknown religion in this country" [...] Everything turned out as the Lapps had said" (Ibid.: 66).

as compulsory, because they exist since time immemorial, and their constant repetition reasserts both their strength and their immutability.

This meaning occurs frequently in the text (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 144, 165, 206, 211, 212, 216, 221, 222, 236, 237, 238, 264, 271) where, however, *siðr* indicates, as in the words of the Lapp, also the Christian faith and the worship related to it (Ibid.: 165, 174, 189, 206, 212, 216, 221, 223, 232, 248, 271).

This double meaning occurs, for example, when the author depicts the difficulties faced by King Óláfr in the work of evangelisation:

*En eigi var þess at ván at fólkit myndi verða hlýðit með siðum eða fullri trú við Guð, því at stundin var skömm, en fólkit hart ok styrkt í ótrunni ok vildi seint láta sið frænda sinna.*¹¹ (Ibid.: 271)

The polysemy of the linguistic element, mirrors and summarizes again, in the celebration of the Christian hero, the full coexistence of the values of the new faith and those expressed by the communities devoted to traditional worship.

It must be highlighted that the meetings with the Lapp take place after Óláfr's baptism, an event in which, instead, the Christian characterisation of the prophecy becomes apparent:

*Þess er getit at Óláfr heyrði sögur frá einum ágætligum manni er var í eyju nokkvorri, er Syllingar heita; þat er skammt frá Írlandi. Sjá var prýðdr gipt mikilli ok spáleiksanda almáttigs Guðs.*¹² (Ibid.: 166)

The abbot who baptises the future king has, according to the text, “great natural ability” (*gipt mikilli*) and “the prophetic spirit of Almighty God” (*spáleiksanda almáttigs Guðs*). The great natural ability of the abbot is defined by the term *gipta*, etymologically connected to the verb *gefa* (“give,” “grant”; Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874: 193-194, Ordbog: *gefa*), and refers to something that has been given or assigned to someone. This is the hallmark that the abbot has received as a gift from God his extraordinary qualities, and, in this sense, the *gipta*

¹¹ “But it was not to be expected that the people would be compliant in their ways and their total faith in God, because time was short and the people recalcitrant and hardened in false belief and reluctant to abandon the religion of their kinsmen” (Ibid.: 102).

¹² “We are told that Olafr heard reports of a distinguished man on a certain island called Scilly, not far from Ireland. He was gifted with great natural ability and the prophetic spirit of Almighty God” (Ibid.: 55).

summarizes the grace granted by God. The text highlights that it is not an embodied quality of the man endowed with divinatory powers, as in the case of the seers of traditional religion. In the Christian perspective, instead, the prophetic element has its source in the divine omnipotence, of which the seer is an instrument.

Alongside the Christian and heathen prophets, in the saga there is also the presence of a seer who has the features of the soothsayer present in the classical myth. He is “an old man who was blind” (Andersson 2003: 113; *Einn gamall maðr ok blindr* (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 302), who predicts the tragic outcome of king Óláfr’s military expedition, which will end with the fateful battle of Svǫldr: *Mikill skaði mun hér at höndum koma, er konungr várr mun a brott fara* (Ibid.).¹³

In Oddr Snorrason’s saga all the predictions mentioned above turn out to be true, and the text does not discriminate between the prophecies formulated by the witnesses of the Christian message and those coming from the followers of the traditional religion or, even, the outcome of arcane magic. In the text written by the monk Oddr Snorrason there is unconditional acceptance of the predictive element, unlike biblical teaching, where we find a clear distinction between divinatory powers and prophecy:

Let there not be found among you anyone who immolates his son or daughter in the fire, nor a fortune-teller, soothsayer, charmer, diviner, or caster of spells, nor one who consults ghosts and spirits or seeks oracles from the dead. Anyone who does such things is an abomination to the LORD [...]. I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their kinsmen, and will put my words into his mouth; he shall tell them all that I command him. If any man will not listen to my words which he speaks in my name, I myself will make him answer for it. But if a prophet presumes to speak in my name an oracle that I have not commanded him to speak, or speaks in the name of other gods, he shall die. (*Deuteronomy* 18, 10-22)

In the predictions announcing his coming and his fate, Óláfr Tryggvason is always linked to the light, and bright deities he meets during a worship, as reported by Þorkell, Óláfr’s friend:

¹³ “A great misfortune will come upon us now that our king is about to depart” (Ibid.: 114).

*Ok þá kom yfir hann ljós mikit, svá at varla kvazk hann í móti mega sjá. Ok þá kvazk hann sjá tvá menn skryðda dýrligum klæðum ok leggja hendr sínar yfir höfuð konungi.*¹⁴ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 269)

The mystical radiance is the feature of Óláfr's life and the bright glory that surrounds Óláfr is also witnessed by the physical appearance; the brightness of his gaze is a recurring element in the text: *Hann hefir ok augu svá snqr ok fqr* (Ibid.: 155).¹⁵

The light is the symbol of "the inexpressible and primal Power" ("lo primo e ineffabile Valore"; Dante Alighieri 2002: 173). In skaldic poetry on Christian subjects, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, God is "the light of the world" (*ljós heims*; Einarr Skúlason, *Geisli*, composed in 1153) and "the light of the sun of holy faith" (*ljós sólar heilags síðar*; *Ibid.*), and Jesus is "living light" (*lifanda ljós*; Anonymus, *Lilja*, composed between 1340 and 1360) (Clunies Ross 2007: 8-9, 588, Cheadle 2015: 128, 170). The spirits accompanying Óláfr are "bright" (*bjartar*; Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 150), and in skaldic poems God's words are "brighter and fairer than gold" (*bjartari ok fegri gulli*; Anonymus, *Líknabraut*, composed in the second half of the thirteenth century), and Jesus is "the bright sun" (*bjartr røðull*), born from "the bright star of the sea," the Virgin Mary (*bjartri stjörnu flæðar*; Einarr Skúlason, *Geisli*) (Clunies Ross 2007: 8, 237, see also Cheadle 2015).

As witness of the light, Óláfr fights against the darkness of pagan superstition, whose evil force manifests itself through the *fiqlkyngi*, the skill in witchcraft and magical arts, often depicted in the saga as expression of evil one's powers.

The prefix *fiql* derives from the Indo-European root **pel* (Pokorny 1959: 799-801; "to fill") and means "much, manifold" (Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874: 158) and the substantive *kyngi*, properly "knowledge", it's only used with reference to magic, *Ibid.*: 366). The corresponding adjective *fiqlkunnigr* literally defines who knows a lot, who has extensive knowledge and this is a virtue held by Óðinn: *Óðinn*

¹⁴ "There came over him [Óláfr] so great a light that he [Þorkell] said he could scarcely look at it. Then he said that he saw two figures clad in beautiful garments laying their hands on the king's head" (*Ibid.*:101).

¹⁵ "He also has eyes that are so sharp and fair" (*Ibid.*: 50).

var forspár ok fjölkunnigr (*Ynglinga saga* V, Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 2002, I: 14).¹⁶

In Oddr Snorrason's work, sorcery is evil's hallmark: the queen Gunnhildr, by using her sorcery, tries to kill Óláfr as soon as he was born (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 131). Gunnhildr was probably the daughter of the Danish king Gormr and, therefore, sister of Haraldr Gormsson, in turn father of Sveinn named 'forkbeard' (*tjuguskegg*), one of the architects of Óláfr's fall. According to *Fagrskinna*, instead, she lived with the Lapps: *Þá var hón á fóstri ok at námi með Mǫttul Finnakonunungi; sá var allra fjölkunnigastr* (Bjarni Einarsson 1985: 79).¹⁷ In Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* Gunnhildr says that she has been staying with the Lapps *at nema kunnostu af Finnum tveim* (Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 2002, I: 135).¹⁸

Also in Oddr Snorrason's saga Gunnhildr is a native from north-Norway: *Gunnhildr var dóttir gǫfugs manns, Qzurar tota, norðan af Hálogalandi* (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 127).¹⁹ We find, therefore, in Oddr's work, a sort of *Coincidentia Oppositorum*: a woman fostered by Lapps tries to kill Óláfr and a Lapp, as we have seen, saves his life. This denotes, again, a deep ambivalence towards magic, and this interpenetration of witchcraft, worship of heathen deities and powers of the evil one, is pointed out in the text in exemplary events, in which the Christian king fights those who use the arcane forces of evil to oppose his evangelising mission.

All those who practice magic arts (*fjölkunnigir menn*; Ibid.: 232), called *fornan átrunuð* (Ibid.)²⁰ are faithful custodians of the ancient religion: *Eyvindr kelda [...] kunni mesta fjölkyngi [...] með vélum djöfuligrar íþróttar* (Ibid.: 234).²¹ Eyvindr's nickname is *kelda* ("bog")

¹⁶ "Óðinn had prophetic and magical powers" (Finlay-Faulkes 2011: 8).

¹⁷ "She was being fostered and educated then with Mǫttul, king of the Finns (Lapps); he was very skilled in magic" (Finlay 2004: 60).

¹⁸ "In order to learn witchcraft from two Lapps" (Finlay & Faulkes 2011: 78).

¹⁹ "Gunnhildr was the daughter of a distinguished man from the north in Hálogaland, Qzurr toti" (Andersson 2003: 36). *Toti* means literally "teat" (Finlay 2004: 54). Hálogaland was the northernmost of the Norwegian districts, extending between the Namdalen valley in Trøndelag county and the Lyngen fjord in Troms og Finnmark county.

²⁰ "Old superstitions" (Andersson 2003: 85).

²¹ "Eyvindr [...] was the most adept at magic [...] with the trickery of devilish arts (Ibid.: 85).

and is very significant: according to some sources (Storm 1880: 13, Bjarni Einarsson 1985: 15, Þorleifur Hauksson & Marteinn Helgi Sigurðsson 2018: 25) the queen Gunnhildr, when arrived in Denmark, was taken and sunk in a bog. In Cornelius Tacitus' *De origine et situ Germanorum*, is reported that, among Germanic peoples, plunging into the mire of a bog is death penalty for cowards, unwarlike and men stained with abominable vices (Canali 1991: 16).

Other opponents of the Christian king as Eyvindr *kinnrifa* ("Torn Cheek") and his fellows are *blótmenn miklir ok vildu eigi láta sið frænda sinna* (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 237).²² Actually, Eyvindr *kinnrifa* is a spirit created by exercise of magic and, before dying, utters these words:

*Faðir minn ok móðir váru saman langa hríð með lögligum hjúskap ok áttu ekki barn [...] Fóru þau síðan til Finna með mikit fé ok báðu þá gefa sér nokkvorn erfingja af fjölkynngis íþrótt. Finnar kölluðu þá til hofðingja þeira anda er loptit byggja [...] ok sjá andi sendi einn óhreinan anda í þessa hina dökku myrkvastofu er at sonnu má kallask minnar móður kviðr. Ok sá hinn sami andi em ek, ok holdguðumk ek svá með þessum hætti, ok síðan sýndumk ek með mannligri ásjá [...] ok fyrir því má ek eigi skírask at ek em eigi maðr.*²³ (Ibid.: 257)

The constituent with which the text indicates Eyvindr's embodiment is the verb *holdgask*, which in Christian literature defines the union of human and divine nature in Christ at the moment of his conception, as we read in *The Icelandic Homily Book*, (De Leeuw van Weenen 1993: 61v-62v)²⁴ and in the *Mariu saga* (Unger 1871: 46).

The text doesn't just report events in which the supernatural element is a devilish device to oppose the holy mission of the Christian king, but also contains an extremely important assessment of an epistemological and philosophical kind:

En þó at þvílíkir hlutir sé sagðir frá slíkum skrímslum ok undrum sem nú var sagt, þá má slíkt víst ótrúligt þykkja [...] En þessa hluti, er vér segjum

²² "Confirmed heathens and did not want to abandon the religion of their kinsmen" (Ibid.: 87).

²³ "My father and mother spent a long time together in lawful wedlock and had no children [...] Then they visited the Lapps with a great deal of money and asked that they grant them an heir with the exercise of magic. The Lapps then called on the chief of their spirits, who dwell in the sky [...] The spirit sent an unclean spirit into the dark dungeon that in fact may be called my mother's womb. The same spirit am I, and I was incarnated in this way and then appeared in human form [...] I cannot be baptised for the reason that I am not a man" (Ibid.: 96).

frá slíkum hlutum ok dæmisögum, þá dæmum vér þat eigi sannleik at svá hafi verit, heldr hyggjum vér at svá hafi sýnzkt, því at fjándinn er fullr upp flærðar ok illsku.²⁴ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 259; MS. AM)
En allir vitu hvé mǫrg undr ok sjónhverfingar fjándinn hefir gert við sína menn, en trúum vér því af slíku sem oss sýnisk til þess fallit.²⁵ (Ibid.; MS. S)

It is worth noting the occurrence in the MS. S of the substantive *sjónhverfing*, not found in the MS. AM. The compound is formed by *sjón* (“the view”) and by *hverfing*, whose meaning can be traced back to both the strong verb *hverfa* (“have a circular motion” but also “disappear”) and the weak verb *hverfa* (“turn”). It is the same constituent that in *Gylfaginning*, the first part of Snorri’s *Edda*, indicates the devices put in place by the Æsir to deceive King Gylfi, as well as those implemented by Útgarðaloki against the god Þórr (Faulkes 2005: 7, 42). In Christian literature, *sjónhverfing* defines, as in the text of the saga, the evil apparitions created with magic against the witnesses of the Christian faith, so in the case of the pharaoh’s magicians in the biblical narrative (Unger 1862: 267, 269), and the devil tormenting Saint Martin (Unger 1877: 563). These remarks, both in the MS. AM and in the MS. S, need to be clearly highlighted, because they have a precise theoretical value, which helps to define the purpose of edification underlying the narration about the Christian king: sensitive knowledge is misleading and deceitful, and, indeed, becomes an instrument of evil to deceive believers in the true God. This is an evaluation that indirectly recalls one of the founding principles of scholastic philosophy, *fides quaerens intellectum* (Migne 1864: 225).

The holy mission of Óláfr is hampered by the apparitions of pagan deities, Óðinn and Þórr, living personifications of the evil one, as pointed out in the text of the saga (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 249-252 and 288-290), but in Oddr Snorrason’s work, symbolic and epiphanic visions are above all aimed at strengthening Óláfr’s role as man chosen by God

²⁴ “The sort of tales about such phantoms and prodigies as have just been related may surely seem less than credible [...] The matters that we have related with respect to such tales and exempla we do not judge to be true in the sense that they happened, but rather we believe that they appeared to happen because the devil is full of deceit and evil” (Ibid.: 97).

²⁵ “Everyone knows with what prodigious events and optical illusions the evil one has manifested itself to his followers, and we believe in these phenomenal manifestations based on the forms that appear and are perceived by the senses” (My translation).

to spread the light of the Christian faith. He is allowed to have a vision of the bliss of heaven and the cruel sufferings of hell (Ibid.: 162-164), just as of the angels of the Lord (Ibid.: 269) and of Bishop Martin, the most important holy fighter of the Christian tradition:

Ok er Óláfr konungr kom vestan, þá lá hann við ey þá í Noregi, er Mostr heitir. Ok um nótt, þá vitraðisk honum hinn helgi Martinus byskup ok mælti við hann: „Þat hefir hér verit siðr í þessu landi at gefa Þór eða Óðni eða qðrum ásum minni at veizlum. En nú vil ek at þú skiptir hinn veg til at mér sé minning ger at veizlum, en hitt falli niðr er áðr hefir verit. En ek heit þér því í móti, at ek skal tala með þér á morgin ok styrkja þitt orendi, því at margir ætla nú í móti at standa.”²⁶ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 212)

In the apparition, Martin gives the king a direct order: the saint must be venerated in the same way in which the deities of the ancient heathen religion were worshipped. Here is the toast a significant element (Cahen 1921), as can be seen from the precise regulation of the ritual, described in the *Hákonar Saga Góða* included in the *Heimskringla*: *Skyldi fyrst Óðins full – skyldi þat drekka til sigrs ok ríkis konungi sínum – en síðan Njarðar full ok Freys full til árs ok friðar* (Bjarni Aðalbjanarson 2002, I: 168).²⁷

The pattern is a symbolic expression of the basic functions within any community: sovereignty, military power and fertility (Dumézil 1959). It's a representation that reiterates, in essence, the same coexistence of a pre-Christian ritual and precise references to the new faith present in the saga. Bishop Martin, whose life was a model for all missionaries in medieval times, offers its help to the standard-bearer of the new faith, by imposing a ritual fully respectful of the same pagan superstition, that will be vehemently attacked by King Óláfr himself, as reported in *Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sogum*, where the same syncretism is found: *Felldi blót ok blótdrykkjur ok lét í stað koma í vild við lýðinn hátíðadrykkjur*

²⁶ “When king Olaf came east, he anchored by the Norwegian island that is called Mostr. That night he was visited by the sainted bishop Martin, who addressed him as follows: “Here in this country it has been the custom to celebrate drinking feasts for Thor, Odin, and the other Æsir. But now I wish you make a change in such a way that the drinking feast is for me and that the previous custom is abandoned. But I will promise you in return that I will lend you speech tomorrow and strengthen your delivery, for there are many who intend to oppose you” (Andersson 2003: 75).

²⁷ “First would be Óðinn's toast—that was drunk to victory and to the power of the king—and then Njarðr's toast and Freyr's toast for prosperity and peace” (Finlay-Faulkes 2011: 98).

jól ok páskar, Jóansmessu mungát ok haustöl at Míkjálsmessu (Bjarni Einarsson 1985: 22).²⁸

Thanks to Martin's help, King Óláfr's opponents are unable to oppose the preaching of the king, because they lose the ability to speak. The physical impossibility to reply to Óláfr's Christian message symbolically depicts the power of the word of God uttered through Óláfr himself. The enemies of the Christian king are defeated thanks to divine intervention, just as Óðinn neutralises his opponents on the battlefield:

Þat kann ec it þriðia, ef mér verðr þorð mikil haptz við mína heiptmogo: eggjar ec deyfi minna andscota, bítað þeim vápn né velir [...] Þat kann ec it fimta, ef ec sé af fári scotinn flein í fólki vaða: flýgra hann svá stint, at ec stöðvigac, ef ec hann síonom of séc (Kuhn 1983: 42).²⁹

A similar story deals with the already cited Eyvindr *kelda*, who becomes blind as soon as he sees the church where there is the Christian king:

*Ok nú ganga þeir af skipum sínum ok upp á eyna ok til þeirar kirkju er konungr ok byskup ok allt kristit fólk var þá at statt. Ok er Eyvindr sá heilaga kirkju, þá varð hann blindr ok allir hans menn.*³⁰ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 252-253)

The blindness affecting God's enemies is present in the Holy Bible, as in the aggression against Lot: "But his guests put out their hands, pulled Lot inside with them, and closed the door; at the same time they struck the men at the entrance of the house, one and all, with such a blinding light that they were utterly unable to reach the doorway" (*Genesis* 19, 10-11). Even in this case, however, the references in the mythical universe are

²⁸ "He abolished pagan feasts and sacrifices, in place of which, as a favour to the people, he ordained the holiday feasts Yule and Easter, St John's Mass ale and an autumn-ale at Michaelmas" (Driscoll 1995:31-33).

²⁹ "If there's great need for me that my furious enemies are fettered; the edges of my foes I can blunt, neither weapons nor cudgels will bite for them [...] If I see, shot in malice, an arrow fly amid the army: it cannot fly so hard that I cannot hinder it if I see it with my eyes". (Larrington 2014: 33).

³⁰ "They disembarked and went up onto the island to the church where the king and the bishop and all the Christian people were in attendance. But when Eyvindr saw the holy church, he and his men became blind" (Andersson 2003: 94).

also precise, as we read in *Ynglinga Saga*: *Óðinn kunni svá gera, at í orrostu urðu óvinir hans blindir* (Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 2002, I: 17).³¹

Other divine interventions to the rescue of Óláfr take place in ways similar to Óðinn's powers (Lassen 2021), as in the representation of the dominion over natural elements and meteorological conditions: a fierce opponent of the Christian faith, whose name is Hróaldr, is depicted as *blótmaðr [...] svá mjök var þessi maðr blekkðr affjándans teygingu at guðin veittu honum svqr fyrir sínar fórnir* (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 235).³²

Óláfr tries to meet Hróaldr but each time he prepared to set out, he encountered such a headwind that he could not reach the island where Hróaldr lived. According to the saga's text, Óláfr knew that the winds "were sent against him by the power of the devil" (Andersson 2005: 86).³³ The king called on God and immediately a helpful breeze sprang up, but out on the sea two countervailing winds arose.

Here is found the symbolic representation of the clash between opposing supernatural powers; both can unleash the natural elements or appease them. In the MS. S this strife is depicted as if it were a battle in the open:

*Þá kómi saman á sjáinn tvennir vindar. Annarr var eptir þeim, góðr byrr, en annarr í móti þeim, ok sem vindarnir berðisk. Ok sá sigraðisk er þeim var hagfeldri.*³⁴ (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 236)

Christian religion's establishment requires not only a choice of faith, but also and above all tangible signs that reveal the superiority of the Christian God over the forces of evil. The power over natural elements and meteorological events is, however, in the mythical universe, a prerogative of the supreme deity, as Óðinn says: *Ef mic nauðr um*

³¹ "Óðinn could bring it about, that in battle his opponents were struck with blindness" (Finlay-Faulkes 2011: 10).

³² "Heathen [...] so deceived by the temptation of the devil that the gods responded to his sacrifice" (Andersson 2003: 86). In the text of the MS. S. there is a full identity between the heathen deities and the devil: *Hann blótaði mjök guðum, ok svá veitti fjandinn honum svnr fyrir guðin* (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 235) "He often sacrificed to the gods and the devil responded to him on behalf of the gods" (Andersson 2003: 143).

³³ *Gerr var í móti þeim affjándans krapti* (Ólafur Halldorsson 2006: 236).

³⁴ "Then two windy currents formed on the sea at the same time. One was behind them and it was a favourable wind, and the other, instead, was moving against them. It was as if the windy currents were fighting each other and the one for them [Óláfr and the bishop] more favourable prevailed" (My translation).

stendr, at biarga fari míno á flóti: vind ec kyrri vági á oc svæfic allan sæ (Kuhn 1983: 43).³⁵

This problematic coexistence of mythical elements and biblical references makes useless the attempt to ascribe the saga of Oddr Snorrason to a particular category and, especially, to establish whether it falls under the scope of the sagas of kings or of the lives of saints.

The *Óláfs Saga Tryggvasonar*, written by the monk Oddr (and by his translators), is a work with uncertain boundaries, and the discussion regarding its belonging to a literary genre appears fruitless. It also threatens to overshadow the true meaning of a text whose hallmarks are precisely its tendency not to follow established patterns, its intrinsic contradictory nature, and its unfulfilled entelechy (ἐντελέχεια), highlighted by the persistent semantic ambivalence of the most significant constituents, by the bizarre syntax, not rarely baroque, and by the lexical kaleidoscope that moves in a geometric Brownian motion into the medium of the text, among courtly anachronisms, Viking reminiscences, and biblical quotations.

The saga, although it deals with a religious problem, does not reject the contribution of tradition and myth. Probably the author and the translators did not feel a drastic rift with the pre-Christian world, such as to justify a full and disdainful refusal. The image of the warrior king, who fearlessly faces his fate of death, knowing that he will not survive the battle, reflects the most original and archaic *amor fati* of the heroic tradition, permeated with desolate pessimism. In the saga, this pattern is contiguous with that of the Christian king, to whom, however, eternal salvation is given by the Almighty, after a death in bliss in the penitential hermitage.

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³⁵ "If I am in need, if I must save my ship when afloat; the wind I can quieten upon the wave and lull all the sea to sleep" (Larrington 2014: 34).

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