

OVID, VERGIL, DARES AND HAUKR: THE STORY OF THE TROJAN WAR IN  
14<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY ICELANDIC LITERATURE

OVIDIO, VIRGILIO, DARETE E HAUKR: LA STORIA DELLA GUERRA  
TROIANA NELLA LETTERATURA ISLANDESE DI QUATTORDICESIMO  
SECOLO

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**Abstract:** The present study aims to analyse the reception and reworking of the Trojan myth in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Icelandic literature. I chose as a case study the version of the *Trójumanna saga* composed by Haukr Elrendsonn at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This text was chosen for its extraordinary nature and the lack of scholarship about it. We had at least two complete editions, which allowed full access to the text. The nature of the manuscript, the author, the date of composition and, therefore, the historical context of this redaction are known. All these details give us a complete picture of the reception of Trojan matter in this period. It is also possible to prove Haukr's direct knowledge of these sources, bringing exciting insights into the study of Latin in the Scandinavian context. This article focuses on the analysis of the text, and underlines passages derived from Latin sources other than Dares Phrygius.

**Keywords:** Trojan matter, Hauksbók, Trójumanna saga, classical reception.

**Risunto:** Il presente studio mira ad analizzare la recezione e la rielaborazione del mito troiano nella letteratura islandese di quattordicesimo secolo. Come caso di studio è stata scelta la versione della *Trójumanna saga* composta da Haukr Elrendsonn all'inizio del quattordicesimo secolo. La scelta è caduta su questo testo data la sua straordinaria natura e allo stato degli studi dell'opera. Si attestano almeno due edizioni complete che permettono l'accesso completo al testo. Inoltre, si conosce la natura del manoscritto, l'autore, la data di composizione e quindi il contesto storico di redazione. Tutti questi dettagli permettono di avere un quadro completo della recezione della materia troiana in questo periodo. Inoltre, è possibile anche provare la conoscenza diretta di queste fonti da parte di Haukr, portando spunti interessanti riguardo allo studio del Latino in contesto scandinavo. Il presente articolo si concentra sull'analisi del

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testo portando in evidenza i passaggi chiaramente derivanti dalle altre fonti latine diverse da Darete Frigio.

**Parole chiave:** Materia Troiana, Hauksbók, Trójumanna saga, recezione dei classici.

### Introduction

This article aims to investigate a case study about the penetration of classical texts and the Trojan matter in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Icelandic élite. Ovid and Vergil were popular and studied during the Middle Age, as Birger Munk Olsen has demonstrated (Munk Olsen, 1989; 1991). It is possible to believe that their texts reached even Medieval Iceland and influenced its literature. Unluckily, only a few Latin fragments have survived (Jensson, 2004; Ommundsen, 2016). There are only a few instruments which help us to understand the reception and the study of Latin Literature in Medieval Iceland. First, there are some references to Latin texts in *Biskupa sögur*. *Jóns saga Helga* usefully demonstrates the knowledge of Ovid's texts, or at least their presence in Medieval Iceland. In the saga, it is reported how bishop Jón found Klængur Þorsteinsson, the future bishop of Skálholt, reading Ovid: 'las versabók þá, er heitir Ovidius de arte'.<sup>2</sup> Second, there are also the so-called "Antikenroman"<sup>3</sup> sagas (Würth, 1998), of which the *Trójumanna saga* is comprised. These sagas are translations of classical or Latin texts.

For this purpose, I analysed the *Trójumanna saga*, specifically its *Hauksbók* version. The *Trójumanna saga* is the 'Saga of the Troy-men', a 'retelling of the Matter of Troy, that is the legends of the Trojan War that pervade medieval literature in many vernaculars' (Eldevik, 1993, p.658), and it is an Icelandic translation of the *De excidio troiae historiae*<sup>4</sup>. Still, there is evidence of other Latin sources, including Ovidian texts.

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<sup>2</sup> Jón Sigurðsson, *Biskupa Sögur* 1. B (Copenhagen 1858), pp. 237-238. "he was reading a book in verse, which was called Ovidius de arte." The saga refers that the Jón forbade Klængur to read the text because "the book teaches tricks to use to accomplish lechery and pleasure" (Cormack, 2021. p. 42)

<sup>3</sup> Ancient roman saga

<sup>4</sup> The author of this source is Dares Phrygius, and his text was the most famous historical source for the Trojan war, overpassing even Vergil. Valentina Prosperi has observed that 'Nani per non dire gnomi sulle spalle dei giganti, questi testi (Dares' *De Excidio* and Dictys Cretensis' *Ephemeris belli Troiani*) hanno sconfitto Omero, hanno contestato e messo in crisi Virgilio e per secoli hanno alimentato una tale massa di letteratura e di storia' (Prosperi, 2013, pp. 2-3). The nature of the *De Excidio* made it the perfect

This saga survives in eight manuscripts and four fragments, proving that it was quite popular at that time. Jonna Louis-Jensen (1963) and Würth (1998 and 2006) have divided this corpus of texts in two main recensions, the  $\alpha$  and the  $\beta$  versions. According to them, the *Hauksbók* version belongs to the latter.<sup>5</sup> “Version  $\alpha$  is closer to the original translation from the beginning of the thirteenth century, but it is preserved only in post-medieval manuscripts. Version  $\beta$  is a younger, revised and interpolated version of the *Trójumanna saga*”. (Würth, 2006, p. 297). Randi Eldevik considers the *Hauksbók* to be a third, separate version. In my opinion, Eldevik is right to consider the *Hauksbók* as another version because of its peculiarity. All versions share many similarities, and one of the most important ones is the use of the same source, Dares Phrygius. Nevertheless, in the *Hauksbók* version, there are attestations of more than one Latin text, making it an example of interpolation with other Latin sources, which have only been analysed in part. Most of the scholarly focus had been on the relationship between the saga and the primary Latin source, Dares Phrygius’ *De Excidio Troiae Historia*, than on the other sources, but there are heavy interpolations from other Latin sources, which I aim to underline.

The choice of the *Hauksbók* version is also due to the manuscript's exceptional nature. This manuscript is one of the most famous and well-studied from medieval Iceland, which allows a better understanding of the context of the saga. Finnur Jónsson published a complete edition in 1892-1896, allowing access to the text. Unusually, the identity of the compiler of the manuscript is known: Haukr Erlendsson wrote the *Hauksbók* between 1265 and 1334. This is

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historical source for the narration of the Trojan war: it is a short dry text, a sort of a war report, which the author himself defines as an *acta diurna* - An *acta diurna* is a sort of documentation and not a diary or a chronicle as Lentano notes: ‘l’espressione *acta diurna* indica in latino documenti ufficiali, bollettini o registri pubblici, e non diari o cronache composte da privati’ (Lentano, ‘2014, p. 3, note 3.). This fact made Dares the perfect historical source since the fact that Dares was a real historian for medieval intellectuals. This is also underlined by the fact that Isidore of Seville defined Dares as the first historian among the gentiles, and he composed a story about the war between the Greeks and the Trojans (Book 1, chapter 42, entitled “*De primis auctoribus Historiam*”). His text was considered the historical source for the Trojan war.

<sup>5</sup> **Alfa Version:** AM 176a fol.; AM 176b fol.; ÍB 184, 4to; AM 598 4to II  $\alpha$ . **Beta Version:** Hauksbók; Ormsbók (Uppsala University Library R706 (17th century); Uppsala University Library Yours 76; Stockh. Cardboard 4to no. 29; Stockh. Cardboard fol. no. 58); AM 573, 4to; AM 598, 4to II  $\beta$ .

one of a small number of cases where the compiler and the commissioner of a manuscript are known.

### **Haukr Erlendsson<sup>6</sup> and his Hauksbók**

Haukr Erlendsson was an important member of Hákon Magnússon's court (1299-1319). His father was made knight by the Norwegian king Eiríkr Magnússon, the older brother of Hákon. Haukr started his career as *lögmaðr* in 1294 in Iceland. After that, he moved to Norway, where he found his fortune: he was first a magistrate in Oslo and later in the region of Gulapíng, near Bergen, on the western coast of Norway. He lived his entire life there, except for the years between 1302 and 1310 when he was on a diplomatic mission in Iceland. During his service to the Norwegian king, he started the composition of the Hauksbók.

The nature of the manuscript's redaction and the reasons for it are widely debated. Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson defined the *Hauksbók* as "from its inception... an entire private library." (Gunnar and Stefan, 1993, p. 271). In my opinion, this definition is relevant and it could be used to better understand which kind of education was given to the members of the Icelandic élite, such as Haukr. Alternatively, it contributes to an understanding of what was considered the primary knowledge of this élite.

Würth (2006) defines the *Hauksbók* as an encyclopaedic work or a sort of schoolbook. She has claimed that: "the character of an encyclopaedia is reflected in the conception of the *Hauksbók* as a substitute for a library: it combines the contents of many books containing a large spectrum of knowledge" (Würth, 2006, p. 303). The nature of the manuscript is unique because of its heterogeneity of texts. It contains historical and semi-historical texts, including the *Trójumanna saga* itself. It also contains mathematical treatises, philosophical and theological dialogues, and a collection of treatises and excerpts on geographical, chronological and theological subjects. It contains a map of Jerusalem, the *Völuspá* and the *Elucidarius*.<sup>7</sup> For this reason, Sverrir Jakobsson (2007) argues that the *Hauksbók* represents a worldview of the élite society of Iceland between 1100 and 1400 as a "collective product of Icelandic culture dispersed in space and time" (Sverrir, 2007, p. 24).

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<sup>6</sup> For a complete biography of Haukr Erlendsson: Gunnar, 1995

<sup>7</sup> For a complete list and analysis of *Hauksbók*'s text, read the article of Ashman Rowe, 2008

All of these characterisations are accurate to some extent. To this, there is also the fact that the manuscript was composed while Haukr was at the Norwegian court. The manuscript could be considered as a product of a mix of reasons because the author started its composition when he was working for the Norwegian court, as Gunnar Harðarson (1995) has written. Following this statement, it is possible to agree with Helgi Þorláksson (2004), who has emphasised that the political aspect of the manuscript is due to the role of Haukr in Norway. Helgi has said that Haukr had written this book to demonstrate to the King and his court not only a complete knowledge of Icelandic matters but also to demonstrate his knowledge of the North Atlantic Area in general and its history. Haukr might want to show his lineage to prove his élite origin. However, his belonging to the élite is not difficult to demonstrate. If we look only at the content of the text and not at the author, the text could be the work of an ecclesiastic or a powerful man. Haukr was a man of law, and his father was a knight.

Today, the manuscript is preserved in three parts: AM 371 4to, AM 544 4to and AM 675 4to. The first is in Reykjavík at the Árni Magnússon Institute. The last two are in Copenhagen at the Arnarnaganaean Institute. We have lost a significant part of AM371 4to, about at least 60 folia of the original 210 leaves. The *Hauksbók* is unusual, as Elizabeth Ashman Rowe has said, because the "writer is known with certainty" (Ashman Rowe, 2008, p. 51). Hand 7, of the 15 different hands identified, should be the hand of Haukr himself. This is demonstrable thanks to the letters written between 28 January 1302 and 14 October 1310, known to have been written by Haukr Erlendsson himself (handrit.is). He is the mind behind the book and was also one of the hands who wrote the main part of the book.

The *Trójumanna saga* is in the AM 544 4to, from fol. 23r to fol. 33v. The scribe of this part is identified as the Hand of Haukr Erlendsson himself. The script is Gothic Textualis. For all these reasons, Stefán Karlsson (1964) dated the redaction of the saga to between 1302 and 1310<sup>8</sup>, when Haukr was in Iceland on a mission for the Norwegian court.

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<sup>8</sup> Scholars such as Gunnar Harðarson, Stefán Karlsson (1993), and Asham Rowe (2008) date the AM 371 4to and the AM 544 4to (fol. 22-59 and 60-107) between 1306 and 1308 when Haukr was on a mission in Iceland for the Norwegian crown.

### ***Hauksbók* version of the *Trójumanna saga***

The *Hauksbók* version of the *Trójumanna saga* is the shortest of all the versions, although it is the most interpolated. Haukr mainly follows the text of Dares, but he “plays” with other sources, creating something utterly original compared to the primary source. These sources are other classical Latin texts: Vergil's *Aeneid*, the *Heroides* and the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and the *Ilias Latina*. Even the other saga's versions present interpolations with other sources, as in the case of the Alpha version, where these influences are mainly from other Icelandic chivalric sagas, the *Þiðreks saga af Bern* or the *Alexanders saga* and not from different Latin sources. My analysis instead underlines the Latin references and shows that Haukr would have known these Latin texts so well that he was able to mix them. I will look at only on a few episodes of the saga not derived from Dares but from other Latin sources.

#### *Prologue:*

The prologue is the first example of an extensive use of different Latin sources since it is not attested in other versions of the saga. It is an unicum, and there are no references to Dares.<sup>9</sup> Here, the sources are the Ovidian texts, the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides*, together with some influences from the *Aeneid*. Overall, the prologue could be seen as an elaboration and translation of the *Metamorphoses* of Jupiter as narrated by Ovid.

The saga is introduced as the other versions by the title, “Her hefr Troio manna sögu” [“Here begins the saga of the Trojans”]<sup>10</sup> (p. 193)<sup>11</sup> but a different kind of narration follows. Haukr does not open the saga with Pelias' plot to kill Jason, but he tries to create a sort of *Archaeologia* for the saga. Indeed, the story starts with “a dogum Iosue er höfðingi var Iorsala landi yfir Gyþinga lyð eftir Moyises” [“In the days of Joshua, who after Moses was the leader of the Jewish people in Jerualem”] “i ey þeirri i Iorsala hafi er Krit heitir” [“an island called Crete in the Jordan Sea”](p.193). So, the prologue is set on the island of Crete at the time of the

<sup>9</sup> *De Historia* is opened by the letter of Cornelius Nepos to Sallust, which is absent in all the saga versions.

<sup>10</sup> Rubric in fol 23r. While in Alpha version is reported: *Her birst Troiu manna sögu* (Here begins the Trojans (Troy-men) saga in the alpha version); and in Beta version: *Her byriaz Troiomanna sögu oc þeirra afrex verk* (Here begins the Troy-men's saga and their achievement deeds).

<sup>11</sup> I am using the edition of Finnur Jónsson, 1892-1896.

kingdom of Joshua, the Jewish warrior and conqueror who led the conquest of Palestine, around the 13th century BC.

Haukr narrates the deeds of Jupiter and the golden age of his father, Saturn. In the prologue, all the gods are presented in a Euhemeristic way: they lost their divine nature, and they are described as heroes and kings, and their deeds are historical facts. Haukr was writing history and they were God only for the people of that time, who Haukr defined pagans because they lived before Jesus. Haukr also reported all the Latin names followed by the corresponding Norse name. Saturn "ver kollum Frey" (we call him] Frey) (p.193), Jupiter is related to Thor and his wife Juno to Sif. This could be interpreted as the fact that the Roman-Greeks culture is elaborated to be understood and interiorised by the Icelanders.<sup>12</sup>

Haukr did not simply translate the sources. He brought some adjustments to the story. The era of Saturn is presented exactly like the Golden Age described by Latin authors. Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* writes that Saturn is the god of the Golden Age, during which there are no laws or violence, no judges nor armies, and men ate the food the Nature gave them spontaneously. This era is destined to end when Jupiter exiles Saturn. These are the words of Ovid:

Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo, / sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque  
colebat. / poena metusque aberant, nec verba minantia fixo / aere legebantur, nec supplex  
turba timebat / iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine vindice tuti. / nondum caesa suis, peregrinum  
ut viseret orbem, / montibus in liquidas pinus descenderat undas, / nullaque mortales praeter  
sua litora norant; / nondum praecipites cingebant oppida fossae; / non tuba derecti, non aeris  
cornua flexi, / non galeae, non ensis erat: sine militis usu / mollia securae peragebant otia  
gentes. / ipsa quoque immunis rastroque intacta nec ullis / saucia vomeribus per se dabat  
omnia tellus, / contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis / arbuteos fetus montanaque fraga  
legebant / cornaque et in duris haerentia mora rubetis / et quae deciderant patula Iovis arbore  
glandes. / ver erat aeternum, placidique tepentibus auris / mulcebant zephyri natos sine  
semine flores; / mox etiam fruges tellus inarata ferebat, / nec renovatus ager gravidis canebat  
aristis; / flumina iam lactis, iam flumina nectaris ibant, / flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice

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<sup>12</sup> In the same way, Haukr tries to affirm that the Icelanders, broadly the Scandinavian, share a common past with the rest of the continent, claiming that they share the same ancestors as the Latin ones and had the same cultural and "religious" background. The only difference is the names they used to identify them. This transformation of the Roman gods into German gods is typical of Icelandic literature.

mella. / Postquam Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso / sub Iove mundus erat, subiit argentea proles, / auro deterior, fulvo pretiosior aere. (*Metamorphoses*, 1, vv 89-115)<sup>13</sup>

Following that, Haukr narrated that, in the beginning, Saturn is neither rich nor powerful, but Saturn is a clever man, and he finds a way to learn how to work gold from the Jews, who were good at this skill. So, he decides to steal this skill and bring it back to his kingdom. In this way, he become a mighty man. The reference to the Jews is absent in Ovid. Haukr probably added the episode of the Jews to give another historical background to his narration. The story goes on with the deeds of Saturn: he builds many cities in his land, becoming the king of the kingdoms. The beginning of the Golden Age is represented by "hann let gullpening ganga un eyrna" (p.193), which means "he let circulate a Golden-Coin" (*gullpening*). Furthermore, the text says he is great, and there is no mention of kin before him, so the heathens call him creator (*upphaf*) and God (*guð*).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> First to be born was the Golden Age. Of its own free will, / without laws or enforcement, it did what was right and trust prevailed. / Punishment held no terrors: no threatening edicts were published / in tablets of bronze; secure with none to defend them, the crowd / never pleaded or cowered in fear in front of their stern-faced judges. / No pine tree had yet been felled from its home on the mountains and come down / into the flowing waves for journeys to lands afar; / mortals were careful and never forsook the shores of their homeland. / No cities were yet ringed round with deep, precipitous earthworks; / long straight trumpets and curved bronze horns never summoned to battle; / swords were not carried nor helmets worn; no need for armies, / but nations were free to practise the gentle arts of peace. / The earth was equally free and at rest, untouched by the hoe, / unscathed by the ploughshare, supplying all needs from its natural resources. / Content to enjoy the food that required no painful producing, / men simply gathered arbutus fruit and mountain strawberries, / cornel cherries and blackberries plucked from the prickly bramble, / acorns too which they found at the foot of the spreading oak tree. / Spring was the only season. Flowers which had never been planted / were kissed into life by the warming breath of the gentle zephyrs; / and soon the earth, untilled by the plough, was yielding her fruits, / and without renewal the fields grew white with the swelling corn blades / Rivers of milk and rivers of nectar flowed in abundance, / and yellow honey, distilled like dew from the leaves of the ilex. / When Saturn was cast into murky Tártarus, Jupiter seized / the throne of the universe. Now there followed the age of silver, / meaner than gold but higher in value than tawny bronze. (Translation of David Raeburn, 2004)

<sup>14</sup> The *Metamorphoses* were felt as the prophecy of the advent of God, because Ovid at the beginning of his opera talks about one creator God who made everything. This god here is associated with Saturn, because before him there was no one. In this way it is possible to assume that Haukr read the *Metamorphoses* and the *Aeneid*. For references, look at the note before and the *Metamorphoses*, Liber I.



However, the golden kingdom of Saturn is not destined to last: Haukr narrated the betrayal of Saturn's sons and the rise of Jupiter and his silver age. He started by introducing Saturn's sons, Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto. The theme of the Trinity and the number three are strongly reported. Haukr intensely repeated the number three and presented the sons of Saturn as the Trinity of the sky ("*himna þrenning*" (p.194)). *Þrenning* is actually the Old Norse term for the Christian Trinity. In classical mythology, Saturn has many children, Juno, the wife of Jupiter, is a daughter of Saturn too, but Haukr mentioned only three of them. Even their attributes are linked to the theme of the Trinity: Jupiter is granted Heaven and the power of creating fire and thunderbolts, and he always sent them three at a time, just like the sign of the Trinity, "*lat fara iamnan sva at þat megi allir sia marking þrenningar rikir þins*"<sup>15</sup> (p.194); Neptune is granted control over the drying land, "*þersum heimi*" (p.194), and Saturn gives him as a gift a Trident as the mark of the Trinity; in the end, Pluto is granted the control over Hell and as a gift and a sign of the Trinity he receives a watchdog, "*varðhund*" (p.194), Cerberus, who has three heads. The recurrence of the number 3 and the theme of the Trinity is strongly attested in this passage.

There are evident similarities with the Latin sources: Jupiter is presented as the most powerful God, the king of the Gods, and his weapon is the thunderbolt. Neptune is identified as his brother, and he has control over the sea and waves, and is often represented with his trident, as it also is attested in the *Aeneid*. Indeed, from the beginning of Book 1, Neptune is shown with his trident ("*levat ipse tridenti*"<sup>16</sup>). Last, Pluto is the Latin god of the Underworld.

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<sup>15</sup> "Always hurl three at the same time so that everyone can see the meaning of the trinity of your kingdom" (my translation)

<sup>16</sup> *Aeneid*, 1, v.145 "he raises his trident" (translation of Fitzgerald, 1993)

He is represented as the king of Hell, and he possesses a watchdog ("ingens ianitor... latrans"<sup>17</sup>), Cerberus<sup>18</sup>, who has three heads ("tria Cerberus extulit ora"<sup>19</sup>).

The Golden age of Saturn is destined to end with the rise of Jupiter. The Silver Age of Jupiter starts. The story of the fight against the father can also be found in Latin sources: *Metamorphoses*, 1, vv 89-115,<sup>20</sup> but also Vergil in the *Aeneid*, narrates the exile of Saturn in Italy by the end of his son Jupiter, as follows:

primus ab aethero venit Saturnus Olympo/ arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul adeptis./ is  
 genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis/ composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari/  
 maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris./ aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere/ saecula:  
 sic placida populos in pace regebat,/ deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas/ et belli rabies  
 et amor successit habendi.<sup>21</sup>(*Aeneid*, 8, vv. 319-327)

On the other hand, the saga tells that Jupiter wants to display off his father, and he decides to attack him with the help of his brothers. When they are about to win, they offer Saturn two options: exile or fight. Saturn decides spontaneously to go into exile: "Saturnus segir ofsialfreða sunu sina verit hafa ok ofmikit len þeim gefit. Stockr hann undan hingat i Italiam"<sup>22</sup> (p.194).

<sup>17</sup> *Aeneid*, 6, v. 400 "the huge guardian ... dog" (translation of Fitzgerald, 1993)

<sup>18</sup> Another description of the watch-dog is in *Aeneid*, 6, vv. 416- 423: "Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci/ personat aduerso recubans immanis in antro./ cui uates horrere uidens iam colla colubris/ melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam/ obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens/ corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resoluit/ fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro." ("Cerberus barking with his triple throat/ makes all that the shoreline ring, as he lies huge/ in a fencing cave. Seeing his neck begin/ to come alive with snakes, the prophetess/ tossed him a lump of honey and drugged meal/ to make him drowse./ Three ravenous gullets gaped/, and he snapped up the stop. Then his great bulk/ subsided and lay down through all the cave.") (Translation of Fitzgerald, 1993)

<sup>19</sup> *Metamorphoses* 6, v. 450 "Cerberus lifted the three mouths" (Raeburn, 2004)

<sup>20</sup> Look at notes 27.

<sup>21</sup> *Aeneid*, 8, vv. 319-327: In that first time, out of Olympian heaven, Saturn came here in flight from Jove in arms,/ an exile from a kingdom lost; he brought/ these unschooled men together from the hills/ where they were scattered, gave them laws, and chose/ the name of Latium, from his latency/ or safe concealment in this countryside./ In his reign were the golden centuries/ men tell of still, so peacefully he ruled, / till gradually a meaner, tarnished age/ came on with fever of war and lust of gain." (Fitzgerald, 1993)

<sup>22</sup> "Saturn said that his sons have been independent, and he has given not great royal grant to them. Then, he fled away hither in Italy." (my translation)

The age of violence begins: the first act of violence is the fight between the sons and the father. Moreover, Haukr wanted to represent this era's change symbolically: Jupiter withdraws the golden coins, and he circulates a silver coin, "hann tekr af gullþenning (golden coin) en lætr ganga silfr þenning (silver coin)" (p. 194).<sup>23</sup> Now the new king is Jupiter, the most powerful of them all, and from now on, Haukr used Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to describe the deeds of Jupiter as king.<sup>24</sup>

One of the first deeds of Jupiter is fighting the sons of Titan, brother of Saturn. Because they have great power and go harrying and doing evil things, Jupiter decides to banish them. He assembles his troops and takes them to war, "konungr samnar her i moti" (p.194).<sup>25</sup> They surrender to Jupiter, and he sets them free. Then, they set off to Mount Etna, where they are left to die by starvation, "Iupiter soekir at ok lettir eigi not fyr en þeir gefa sig upp. Hann lætr þa handtaka ok setia i fiallit Etna ok let þa þar svellta til heliar" (p.195).<sup>26</sup> This war between Jupiter and Titan's sons is narrated in both Ovid and Vergil, but, in my opinion, the real source is Book 1 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where the fight between the Gods and the Titans, called by Ovid as Giants, is reported similarly to Haukr's version does:

"Neve foret terris securior arduus aether,/ adfectasse ferunt regnum caeleste  
gigantas/ altaque congestos struxisse ad sideera montis./ tum pater omnipotens misso  
perfregit Olympum/ fulmine et excussit subiecto Pelion Ossae./ obruta mole sua cum corpora  
dira iacerent,/ perfusam multo natorum sanguine Terram/ immaduisse ferunt calidumque  
animasse cruorem/ et, ne nulla suae stirpis monumenta manerent,/ in faciem vertisse  
hominum."<sup>27</sup> (*Metamorphoses*, 1, vv. 151-160)

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<sup>23</sup> "He took off the gold coin and let circulate a silver-coin." (My translation)

<sup>24</sup> These episode are the Gigantomachia, Io, Lycaon, and Europa and Cadmus.

<sup>25</sup> "The king collected the troops to fight them." (my translation)

<sup>26</sup> "Jupiter sought to, and he did not desist before until they gave themselves up. Then he let them free and they set in mountain Etna. There he let them to starve to death." (my translation)

<sup>27</sup> *Metamorphoses*, I, vv. 151-160: "The story goes that the giants aspired / to the throne of heaven and built a path to the stars on high, / by piling mountain on mountain. Then it was that almighty / Jupiter launched his lightning bolts to shatter Olympus, / and shook Mount Pélion down from its base on the ridges of Ossa. / When, crushed by the mass they had raised, those fearsome bodies lay prostrate, / Mother Earth, as the story continues, now steeped and drenched / in the blood of her offspring, gave fresh life to the seething liquid. / Unwilling that all the fruits of her womb should be lost and forgotten, / she turned their blood into human form; but the new race also looked on the gods with contempt." (Translation of David Raeburn, 2004)

Ovid writes about giants but not about the descendant of Titan. However, it is possible to find a reference to them in Vergil when he writes about Aeneas' journey in the Underworld, in Tartarus. ("tum Tartarus ipse/ (...) hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes, / fulmine deiecti fundo voluuntur in imo").<sup>28</sup>

The first chapter of the saga ends with Haukr putting in correlation the figure of bull and Jupiter. This correlation is created through the construction of an excellent ship, which has the head of a bull on the prow. Jupiter carries out all his military expedition with this ship, and the pagans describe this fact as "þvi trudu heiðnir men at hann foeri i gríðungs liki yfir stor hof" (p.195).<sup>29</sup> Moreover, Jupiter is skilful in witchcraft, and he can change his appearance into that of a bull, "enda hafði hann ok fiolkyngi til at hann matti gríðungr synaz" (p.195).<sup>30</sup> This identification of Jupiter with the bull could be linked with the location of his kingdom in Crete. Probably, Haukr decided to unite the godly figure of Jupiter and the king Minos into this one character. Crete is the kingdom of Minos and the minotaur, the mythological beast with the body of a man and the head of a bull. Also, in *Metamorphoses* 8, vv. 99-100, Minos himself speaks of Crete and his kingdom as "Iovis incunabula, Creten,/ qui meus est orbis" (*Metamorphoses*, 8, vv. 99-100), literally "the cradle of Jupiter, Crete, which is mine kingdom". Another proof of Haukr's knowledge of the *Metamorphoses* is in book 8, where it is said that Minos usually offers one hundred bulls to Jupiter as a sacrifice. These similarities suggest that Haukr fused these two figures into one, or at least understood that the sacral animal, and so the symbol of the God, was the bull.

The chapter ends with the introduction of Mercury as the son of Jupiter and his concubine Maia. In this case, it is noticeable an actual translation of *Metamorphoses* 2, vv.685-686, where Ovid reported about Mercury, who "videt as Atlantide Maia/ natus et arte sua silvis occultat abactas" (*Metamorphoses* 2, vv.685-686),<sup>31</sup> while in Haukr's text it is written: "hann

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<sup>28</sup> *Aeneid*, 6, vv. 577-581: "then the Tartarus itself (...) here is Earth's ancient race, the brood of Titans, hurled by the lightning down to roll forever in the abyss" (translation of Fitzgerald, 1993)

<sup>29</sup> "That is why the heathen believed that he sailed across the vast seas in the shape of a bull" (my translation)

<sup>30</sup> "and he was so magical, indeed, that he could assume the shape of a bull." (my translation)

<sup>31</sup> "the son of Maia Atlantean espied them, and by his cunning drove them off and hid them in the woods"

atti sun er Mercurius het. Hans modðir het Maia, hon var frilla hans. Mercurius var mikill i þrotta maðr ok vitr" (p. 195).<sup>32</sup>

Haukr elaborated Chapters 2, 3 and 4 on three episodes of the *Metamorphoses*: Io and Jupiter, Lycaon, and Europa and Jupiter. They are more elaborating on the classical story than a real translation since Haukr decides for some changes, as I will bring in light.

Chapter 2 narrates the story of the kidnapping of Io, which is narrated in the *Metamorphoses*, 1, vv. 568-687 and 714-746. Io is the daughter of Inachus, a powerful man in Greece. She is famous for her beauty, so Jupiter decides to have her. Jupiter/Thor kidnaps her. After that Juno/Sif, Jupiter's wife, becomes jealous and takes revenge on Io turning her into a heifer and forcing the husband to give her the poor girl. Io, as a heifer, is then assigned to be watched to Argo, a monster with hundreds of eyes. Later, Mercury, sent by Jupiter/Thor, sets the young girl free, who then gives birth to Hercules. This was Haukr's version.

There are important points to underline. First, Jupiter is no longer called by his Latin name at a certain point in the chapter, but he is identified as Crete-Thor, while his wife is Sif. From this moment on, Jupiter disappears, and the author mainly uses Thor as the king's name. Second, Io's rape is not explicitly reported by Haukr, who reported only Jupiter/Thor kidnapping her. Third, in the Latin text Jupiter turns Io into a heifer and not Juno, as Haukr claimed. The last difference is that, in the Latin version, Io is not the mother of Hercules. Her son was Epaphus, another demi-God. Haukr probably wanted to introduce the warrior before the start of the Trojan war since Hercules was the protagonist of the first attack against Troy.

Chapter 3 of the saga is dedicated to the story of Lycaon, which derives from *Metamorphoses*, 1, vv. 163-252. The saga reports the trick Lycaon wants to play on Jupiter and Lycaon's consequent transformation into a wolf. Haukr wrote that Lycaon is a cannibal or a troll, and Jupiter wants to know if this is true, so he goes to Lycaon's house. The troll wants to trick Jupiter, serving him human flesh for dinner ("ok hit fysta kveld ser hann at þar var mannaslatr i katli ok nu grunar bondan hverr gastrin man vera ok vill nu svikia hann", p.196)<sup>33</sup>. After that, Jupiter sends his men to Lycaon's house to kill him. In the Latin text, Jupiter makes

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<sup>32</sup> "He had a son named Mercury, whose mother was named Maia; she was Jupiter's concubine. Mercury was a very skilled and clever man. " (my translation)

<sup>33</sup> "On the very first evening he discovers that there is human flesh in a cauldron. Now the landlord suspects who this guest is and wants to outsmart him. " (my translation)

the house fall, and while Lycaon is running away, he is transformed into a wolf. Haukr reported the story as a historical event, and the transformation is defined as a belief of the pagan, as in the other cases, with the classical form: "þvi truðu heiðnir menn at" [as the heathens believed]. This episode in the *Metamorphoses* follows the Gigantomachia, while Haukr postponed it after Io's kidnapping.

Chapter 4 narrates the story of Europa and her brother Cadmus. This is another episode reported in two books of the *Metamorphoses*: book 2, vv. 833-875, and book 3, vv. 1-137<sup>34</sup>. In this version, Jupiter turns himself into a bull, and in this form, Jupiter kidnaps Europa and brings her to his kingdom, Crete. Cadmus, her brother, is exiled because he fails to protect his sister. He is condemned to travel away from home until he can bring Europa back home. In Haukr's version, Cadmus goes to see Jupiter for a meeting, and they come to terms: Jupiter marries Europa and Cadmus obtains a third of the kingdom. The chapter ends the birth of Apollo, the God of the sun. He is good at witchcraft and creating monsters, so Jupiter/Thor, scared by him, sends his men and hurls a bolt of lightning at him ("gerir at hann ellding", p.197). Overall, the version of the story about the kidnapping of Europa is quite similar to the *Metamorphoses'* text. The episode of the bull is notably similar, except for the description of the bull itself which is more detailed in the Icelandic text than in the Latin one.

In both versions, Cadmus is exiled by his father after the rape of Europa, but in the *Metamorphoses*, he finds another kingdom, Thebes, without meeting his sister again, neither coming to terms with Jupiter. Another relevant difference is that in the saga, Europa gives birth to Apollo, while in the Latin tradition, the mother of Apollo is Leto. Indeed, in Ovid's text, Europa marries the king of Crete, Asterius, and he adopts her children, Minos, the future king of Crete. Haukr probably decided to make another fusion between king Asterius and Jupiter because, in his version, it is said that Europa marries the king of Crete, which also happens in the Latin text, but they are two different characters. Apollo is also attested in the *Metamorphoses*, but he appeared at the end of the tale, helping Cadmus to find the new kingdom, Thebes. It is reasonably clear that Haukr made a very accurate and peculiar revision of every tale of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Aeneid*.

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<sup>34</sup> The episode dedicated to Cadmus is far longer than the saga.

Chapter 5 is the last of this extended prologue, and it reports the fight between Solomon and Jupiter. I suppose it represents the killing of Solomon by the hand of Jupiter/Thor: "ok þar af þa dó hann ok mikill luti folks hans ok syndiz Þor hanum þat maklig script" (p.197).<sup>35</sup> This part cannot be found in any of the classical sources of Ovid or Vergil. It is probably a construction of Haukr himself. This part needs to be deeply investigated in the future.<sup>36</sup>

It is noticeable that the inspiration for the saga's prologue comes from Ovid and his *Metamorphoses*, but it is not a passive reception. Haukr played with the Latin source, creating something new. He respected the tradition, but he decided to report it with changes. At this point of the research, I can not rule out if these changes are mistakes presented in a version he has read or Haukr's own creations. In any case, it is undeniable that Ovid was known, and Haukr knew it.

"*Fra Edelon*"

A new section starts with the rubric "*Fra Edelon*" (p.197).<sup>37</sup> In this new section, Haukr started to narrate/translate Dares' text, but the introduction of this part is still related to the *Metamorphoses* of Jupiter. Indeed, chapter 6 narrates another transformation of Jupiter, which is the last one of the saga. *Alkonion Amphitryon* [Alcmena], daughter of Edelon is the female protagonist. In this case, Haukr completely elaborated Ovid's original version of the episode. The main event is still a metamorphosis of Jupiter for the kidnapping of a woman, but in this case, he turns into a golden rain (*gulldropum*). However, Haukr made a mistake: in the Latin text, the episode of the golden rain is not related to Alcmena, who in the original story is raped

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<sup>35</sup> "Killing him (Solomon) and a large part of his people, which, in Thor's opinion, is a deserved punishment for him." (my translation)

<sup>36</sup> This part still needs to be deep investigated.

<sup>37</sup> Edelon is a problematic term. I do not know what the translation of the term Edelon can be because it does not appear in any Latin sources. I suppose it could be a misunderstanding of the author, even if this word is attested in all the saga versions. In that case, I supposed it could be maybe related to the Latin/Greek term eidolon, which means idol, phantom, simulacrum, idea. If this is the case, it is hard for me to define this term correctly. However, I consider this first option quite improbable since, in the line after the rubric, Haukr reports the name Edelon (madr het Edelon) again. So, probably the rubric reports the name of this man. So, it could be an error in the original version about the name of the father of Alcmena, the protagonist of the first episode of the chapter. In that case, the name should be Electryon.

by Jupiter in the guise of her husband Amphitryon (*Metamorphoses*, 9, vv.275-325). Danae is the real victim of the rain (*Metamorphoses*, VI, vv. 112-114). However, Haukr wrote:

Maðr het Edelon ok dottir hans Alkonía Ampitrion . Ivpiter spyr þetta ok vill na henni ok leita ser raðs. hann kemr a lavn ok er hon sat i skemmv sinni verða þav vndr at rignir gylldropvm kne henni. hon gengr vt ok ser mikla skýr hvar ofan rigndi ok gengr þar eftir ok i þessv gripr Ivpiter hana ok leiðir til skips en faðir hennar biðr eigi leita hennar ok þickiz vita hverr hana man hafa brott nvmit . ok er Ivpiter kemr til skipa með hana lætr hann verða saman .ij . netr ok engan dag i millim. (p.197)<sup>38</sup>

Here, he probably confused the two protagonists because he did not understand Ovid's text or the mistake was already in the original manuscript. The episode of the golden rain is narrated in *Metamorphoses* Book 6, vv. 112-114, which includes the following: "Amphitryon fuerit, cum te, Tirynthia, cepit,/ aureus ut Danaen"<sup>39</sup>. The nearness of the name *Amphitryon* and *aures ut Danaen* is probably the reason for this misunderstanding.

From Chapter 7, the *Trójumanna Saga* begins: from now on, Haukr wrote the saga following the timeline of Dares' text. The journey of Jason for the Golden Fleece is narrated in this chapter.<sup>40</sup> The saga presents some differences from Dares, because, in this case, details from the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides* of Ovid can be found. Chapter 7 opens with Pelias' plot to kill his nephew, Jason, who is more popular than him in their kingdom. The king is worried about a possible usurpation by the hand of Jason. So, he challenges him to find the Golden Fleece, a great trial, hoping Jason can die during this travel. Otherwise, the plot is the same, but there are several differences between the original version of Dares and the *Hauksbók*'s. For example, the Icelandic text shows a detailed description of the characters, while

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<sup>38</sup> "One man was named Edelon, and his daughter Alkonía Ampitrion. Jupiter finds out about it, wants to own her and thinks about an expedient. He goes there secretly, and when she is sitting in lady's bower, a wonder occurs that it rains gold drops on her lap. She goes out, sees a tremendous shower cloud from which it is raining down, and walks towards it; at that moment Jupiter grabs her and brings her to the ship. But her father orders her not to be pursued because he thinks he knows who kidnapped her. When Jupiter comes to the ships with her, he causes two nights to follow each other without a day in between. " (my translation)

<sup>39</sup> "You could see how he caught Alcmena disguised as her husband Amphitryon / then how he stole fair Danae's love in a shower of gold. " (Translation of David Raeburn, 2004)

<sup>40</sup> This expedition is crucial to explain the causes of the war: the first destruction of Troy by the hand of Hercules after Jason's journey. This event will create the first big break between the Greeks and the Trojans.



the Latin one does not. The latter is shorter than the Icelandic version, mainly because it does not report the dialogues between Jason and his uncle Pelias. It is said only that: "Pelias rex ut vidit Iasonem tam acceptum esse omni homini, veritus est, ne sibi iniuras faceret et se regno eiceret. Dicit Iasoni Colchis pellem inauratam arietis esse Dignam eius virtute: ut eam inde auferret omnia se ei datum polliceretur."<sup>41</sup> This quotation is replaced by a long speech found in the Icelandic version. This tendency to add speeches and descriptions of characters and then battles is typical of Icelandic literature, and the other versions of *Trójumanna saga* present the same, in different ways, but all of them have additions of this kind.

After a brief introduction of the Argonauts,<sup>42</sup> Haukr adds to the *Historia* two myths: the dream of Hecuba about the destiny of Paris as the cause of the destruction of Troy; and the myth of the marriage of Thetis and Peleus. These two myths are not found in Dares' version. Both tales are based on the Ovidian texts: the first is narrated in *Heroides* 16, which is the letter sent by Paris to Helen; while the second is from the *Metamorphoses*, 12, vv. 193-195. Haukr made a mistake saying that Paris is the husband of Thetis, because Ovid said that Peleus was the real husband of the goddess. Würth (2006) has underlined that this part is derived mainly from the *Heroides*,<sup>43</sup> to which, I would argue, Haukr added some references from the *Metamorphoses*. He took inspiration from letter 5, the letter written by Eson to Paris, when the prince left her for Helen. This letter narrates their marriage and love before he meets the beautiful Greek queen. Here, the episode of the golden apple and the quarrel for the most beautiful is described. Both the episodes are traditionally linked to Thetis and Peleus's wedding.

Borrowings from Ovidian texts are found also in Chapter 8, which continues with another episode not found in Dares' text: the Judgement of Paris. Letter 16 of Ovid's *Heroides*

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<sup>41</sup> "When King Pelias saw that Jason was popular with everyone, he feared that he might do him some harm or drive him out of the kingdom. Accordingly, he told Jason that there was something worthy of his prowess at Colchis: the golden fleece of a ram. If Jason would bring it back, he would give him complete control of the kingdom" (translation Frazer, 1966) (chapter 1). This quotation is replaced by a long speech found in the Icelandic version. This tendency to add speeches and descriptions of characters and then battles is typical of Icelandic literature, and the other versions of *Trójumanna saga* present the same, in different ways, but all of them have additions of this kind.

<sup>42</sup> He adds the list of the Argonauts and he also introduces other characters as Helen, Menelaus, Clymnestra and Agamemnon, while Dares did not. Probably Haukr recreates these details from chapter III of the *De Historia*.

<sup>43</sup> "This passage (the competition among Sif, Freya, and Frigg) in *Hauksbók* is tied not to Dares' text, but Ovid's *Heroides* and other, unknown sources". Würth 2006, 306

could be the source for this passage since the story is entirely the same. The three goddesses are conducted, in this case by Saturn and not by Mercury, to Paris on mount Ida. Here, after his father recognises him as his son (*Heroides*, 5), the prince judges the goddesses who promise him a prize. Minerva pledges wisdom to him, Juno promises him power and strength, and Venus grants him the love of the most beautiful Greek woman, who was Helen. He chooses Venus, making Juno an enemy of the Trojans. The only significant difference between the two texts is the name of the goddesses because Haukr used the name of the Nordic goddesses, Sif (Juno), Freya (Venus) and Frigg (Minerva), as he already did in the prologue for Jupiter and the other gods.

Chapters 9 and 10 summarise Dares' version, but a long addition derived probably from Ovid is noticeable. This chapter starts with the arrival of the Argonauts to Laomedon's land and the struggle between the king and the Greeks. This latter event will bring Hercules to destroy the city for the first time after this expedition. After that, the Argonauts arrive in Colchis, and here Haukr borrowed the story of the Golden Fleece again from Ovid. Dares only reported the fact in an arid way "Colchis profecti sunt, pellem abstulerunt, domum reverse sunt" (*De Excidio Troiae*, 2)<sup>44</sup>; this is a sort of "veni, vidi, vici" because he only listed the event without description. On the opposite, Haukr narrated the entire episode of the Golden Fleece as narrated in the *Metamorphoses* book 7.

The saga narrates the meeting between Jason and king Medius, who is called Eeta in the Classical tradition. At this point, Medius describes the trials to Jason to dissuade him from trying, while in the *Metamorphoses*, Medea introduces the trials after falling in love with the hero:

dumque adeunt regem Phrixearque vellera poscunt / lexque datur Minyis magnorum  
horrenda laborum, / concipit interea validos Aetias ignes / et luctata diu, postquam ratione  
furorem / vincere non poterat (*Metamorphoses*, book 7, vv. 7-11)<sup>45</sup> [...] at nisi opem tulero,

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<sup>44</sup> De Excidio Troiae, 2 "And arrived in Colchis, and stole the fleece, and returned to their homeland". (translation Frazer, 1966).

<sup>45</sup> "On reaching Aeëtes' palace, they laid their claim to the Golden /Fleece, and the king dictated his terms to the heroes, a series / of hard and dangerous tasks. / Meanwhile, his daughter Médéa / fell deeply in love with the handsome Jason. Despite a long struggle /against her feelings, her reason was powerless to master her passion. " (Translation of David Raeburn, 2004)

taurorum adflabitur ore / concurrentque suae segeti, tellure creatis / hostibus, aut avido  
dabitur fera praeda draconi. (*Metamorphoses*, book 7, vv. 29-31)<sup>46</sup>

Medea's infatuation happens in different moments. In the *Trójumanna saga*, Medea falls in love with the hero after she meets him in the wood, as she has planned. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the infatuation happens the very first moment she sees him. Haukr also changed the order of the attempts. In the first trial, Jason makes bulls and the dragon fallen asleep. In the Latin text, this is one of the last trials. In the *Metamorphoses*, all the attempts are public. In the Old Icelandic version, Medea and Jason accomplish the challenge without no one seeing them.

The result is the same. Jason conquers the Golden Fleece. His men destroy the city, while Medea takes her father's treasure. Eventually, all of them start their journey home. One night they stop on an island, where they spend the night. There, Medea will be abandoned the day after. When she wakes up, she finds out that everyone has left. She is furious and curses Jason, who returns home safely, becoming a great king after Pelias.

Chapter 11 of the *Trójumanna saga* is similar to Chapter 3 of the *De Excidio Troiae*. Hercules reunites his friends and troops, and they take revenge against Laomedon for the *úvirðing* [disgrace](p.202) when they came for the first time to his kingdom during the Golden-Fleece's expedition. The chapter ends with the destruction of the city, Laomedon's death, and the kidnapping of Hesione by Telamon. The latter is presented as one of the causes of the Trojan War.

#### "*Fra Erkules*"

This section is another deviation from Dares' text, and Haukr borrowed it from Ovid: Chapters 12 and 13 focus on Hercules ("*Fra Erkules*", p.203) and his deeds, as is noticeable by the rubric. The primary source is *Heroides* 9, which is the letter Deianira wrote to Hercules after he left her for another woman. Chapter 12 starts after the defeat of Laomedon. After that, Haukr summarised all the most famous quests of the Greek hero, such as the killing of a great

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<sup>46</sup> "But unless I assist him, those fire-breathing bulls will blast him to ashes; / the warriors sprung from the seeds which he sows in the earth will fight / and destroy him; or else the greedy dragon will make him its prey. " (Translation of David Raeburn, 2004)

lion (possibly the lion of Nemea). ("hann drap með höndum sèr einn mikinn leo", p.203)<sup>47</sup>; the killing of the Idra ("ormr með mörgum höfðum, ok ef eitt var af honum höggvit, þá komu ij í staðinn", p.203)<sup>48</sup>; the theft of the golden apples; the killing of Geryon. His journey to the Strait of Gibraltar, or Norvasund, as Haukr wrote, is also narrated. Haukr mentioned the death of Cacus and the killing of the Centaurus and the Harpies. All these deeds are narrated in Book 9 of the *Metamorphoses*, from verses 182 to 199, and in *Heroides*, 9. Chapter 12 ends with Hercules' ascension to the sky, as narrated in Book 9 of the *Metamorphoses*. As it is possible to see if we compare the two texts:

interea quodcumque fuit populabile flammae, / Mulciber abstulerat, nec cognoscenda  
 remansit / Herculis effigies, nec quicquam ab imagine ductum / matris habet, tantumque  
 Iovis vestigia servat. / utque novus serpens posita cum pelle senecta / luxuriare solet,  
 squamaque nitere recenti, / sic ubi mortales Tiryntius exuit artus, / parte sui meliore viget,  
 maiorque videri / coepit et augusta fieri gravitate verendus. / quem pater omnipotens inter  
 cava nubila raptum / quadriiugo curru radiantibus intulit astris. (*Metamorphoses*, 9, vv. 262-  
 272.)<sup>49</sup>

Chapter 13 reports the episode of the betrayal of Deianira, the hero's first wife, taking inspiration from letter 9 of *Heroides*. It seems that Haukr summarised the letter, and he turned it into a long speech made by the woman. She lists other deeds of Hercules. Then, she sends this letter to the hero with a tunic soaked with her blood. This will be the deadly weapon which will kill the hero. These two Chapters, 12 and 13, represent a sort of an arrangement of the Ovidian texts, specifically Book 9 of the *Metamorphoses* and Letter 9 of the *Heroides*. These chapters demonstrate Haukr's knowledge and ability to use Latin sources, particularly his knowledge of Ovid.

<sup>47</sup> "With his bare hands he killed a huge lion." (my translation)

<sup>48</sup> "At one spring there was a serpent with numerous heads, and if one was cut off, two new ones were created instead. Erkules killed this snake." (my translation)

<sup>49</sup> "Meanwhile, all that the flames could ravage had been disposed of / by Vulcan. Hercules' body no longer survived in a form / which others could recognize. Every feature he owed to his mother / had gone, and he only preserved the marks of his father Jupiter. / Just as a snake which has shed old age with its sloughed-off skin / will frolic in youthful freshness, its new scales brilliantly glinting, / so when the hero of Tiryns discarded his mortal frame, / he gathered strength in his better endowment, he grew in stature, / and now was invested with majesty, weight and an awesome authority. / Jove, his almighty father, swept him up through the hollow / clouds in his four-horsed chariot, home to the glittering stars." (Translation of David Raeburn, 2004)

“Er Troo var eflð annan tima”

After this parenthesis, the saga follows again the timeline of Dares' text. The rubric "Er Troo var eflð annan tima" (p.204), which means "when Troy was reinforced another time", indicates the beginning of the Trojan war. Chapter 14 tells the main plot of the *De Excidio* and opens with the city's first destruction by the hand of Hercules. Troy is destroyed by the Greeks. Priam is safe because he was not in the city at that time. After his return, he rebuilds the city. However, in this case, Haukr borrows a simple detail from *Metamorphoses*, Book 11, vv. 194-204:

Ultus abit Tmolus liquidumque per aera vectus / angustum citra pontum Nephelidos  
Hellas / Laomedontei Latioius adstitit arvis. / dextera Sigei, Rhoetei laeva profundi / ara  
Panomphaeo vetus est sacrata Tonanti: / inde novae primum moliri moenia Troiae /  
Laomedonta videt susceptaque magna labore / crescere difficili nec opes exposcere parvas  
cumque tridentigero tumidi genitore profundi / mortalem induitur formam Phrygiaeque  
tyranno / aedificat muros pactus pro moenibus aurum.<sup>50</sup>

There are similarities between the two. The only significant difference is the change of setting: Haukr changes the story's timeline because, in the Ovidian text, the construction of the high walls happens during the kingdom of Laomedon and not during the one of Priam.

Chapters 15 and 16 are both elaborations and translations of Dares' text, and neither presents any borrowings from other Latin sources. They narrate the diplomatic expedition of Antenor. After that, the Trojan assembly reunites to decide about a possible war with the Achaeans. Those are also the chapter where the kidnapping of Helen by Paris is narrated and, so, the start of the Trojan war. Overall, in these two chapters, Haukr summarised chapters from 6 to 11 of the *De Excidio Historiae Troiae*.

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<sup>50</sup> "His vengeance completed, divine Apollo took off from Tmolus. / He flew through the sky towards the straits of Néphelé's daughter, Helle, and landed on Trojan soil, Laomedon's country. / Close to the sea, to the right of Sigéum, the left of Rhoetéum, / there stands an old altar of Jove the oracular, god of the thunder. / Here Apollo could see Laomedon starting to build / the walls of recently founded Troy. The great undertaking / was only progressing slowly and help was certainly needed. / So he and Neptune, the god of the trident and lord of the swelling / ocean, took on the appearance of mortals and struck a bargain / with Phrygia's king to construct his walls for a sum of gold." (Translation of David Raeburn, 2004)

*"Fra hefred til Troio"*

Finally, the Trojan war starts. Haukr introduced it with the rubric "Fra hefred til Troio" (p.207), which means "about the military expedition to Troy". The extended prologue to the Trojan War ends with the arrival of Helen in Troy. The following chapter narrates the war, from the preparation of the troops to the fall of the Trojans.

Chapter 17 corresponds to Chapters from 11 to 16 of Dares' text. Haukr described the preparation of the Greek army, and he presented a brief list of the main Greek heroes, but he omitted the famous catalogue of the ships. In this chapter, he also talked about the expedition of both sides to the Oracle of Delphi. They are sent there to discover the future of the war.

Chapter 18 opens with the episode of Criseus. This event is not found in any of the previous sources, Ovid, Vergil or Dares. Haukr used the *Ilias Latina*, verses from 13 to 65, as a source in this case. Criseus is a priest of Apollo. King Agamemnon has taken Criseides, his daughter. Because of that, he is sorrowful and asks the God to help him punish his enemy. Apollo supports his priest by sending a plague against the Achaeans. Many of them die. Because of this tremendous death toll, the Achaeans convince Agamemnon to send Criseides back to her father. This is a clear borrow from the *Ilias Latina*.

After this parenthesis, Haukr summarized Dares' text again. Priam declares war to the Greeks, refusing to send back Helen and the treasure. In Chapter 19, the real fight starts. In this chapter, Haukr omitted the narration of the death of Patroclus, which is postponed to later in the narration, while Dares did not give relevance to the hero's death. He did not consider this event relevant for the war. The death of Patroclus is reported in a simple list of other dead heroes.

Chapter 20 is a fairly close translation of the *Historia* and corresponds to Chapters 20 and 21. It starts with the discussion of the power between Agamemnon and Palamedes. However, this first discussion ends by recognising Agamemnon as the leader. The battle that follows this part is another quite good translation. No particulars or differences are attested. Agamemnon called the troops into assembly to incite them to kill Hector, the very protector of the city. However, the core of this assembly is that Menelaus declares that he wants to fight in a single battle with Paris to decide the result of the war. The assembly accept this idea, but Paris refuses this duel because Helen dissuades him. This part about Menelaus' proposal

cannot be found either in Dares or the *Ilias Latina*, probably because it is a construction of Haukr himself. After more days of battle and death, long periods of peace follow.

From Chapter 21, which corresponds in part to Chapter 23 of Dares, Haukr started introducing another variation to Dares' Text. The first part of the chapter is similar to the Latin verses: both narrate other periods of fighting and peace. Haukr summarised Dares' chapter. After this, in the Icelandic text, an extraordinary battle is presented: this time, Menelaus and Paris meet each other on the battlefield. The Achaean challenges to fight the Trojan, who has been persuaded by Hector to accept. Single combat starts, and as predicted, the victory seems to be gained by Menelaus, but the Goddess Freya saves Paris and brings t him to Helen. After that, Pandarus shoots Menelaus, who will be brought to his camp to heal his wounds, while the battle resumes more vehemently. This part is not found in the *Historia*: Haukr used the *Ilias Latina* as a source, verses from 252 to 358. The two texts are quite similar; Haukr omitted only the part about the pact, which establishes that the war will be won with this fight between the two men and no other man could act against them in this duel. He anticipated this part in the previous chapter, even if Paris refused this pact the first time.

Chapter 22 represents a sort of prologue to the death of Patroclus. Also, this chapter is absent in Dares' text since the Phrygian reported the hero's death in a list with other Greek champions, and his death has no relevance to Achilles. I find the initial image of Achilles playing his stringed instrument to his men fascinating. This image is entirely taken from the *Ilias Latina*, particularly verses 585 and 586, where it is written: "aberat nam Troum terror Achilles / et cithara dulci durum lenibat amorem."<sup>51</sup> This detail could prove that Haukr knew or, at least, had read the *Ilias Latina*. While Achilles is in his camp, the battle rages harder between the two sides. Because there are many dead, in an assembly, the Trojans decide to give back Helen and all the booty stolen from Paris to Menelaus to conclude the war. Still, Menelaus opposes this offer since he wants to fight until the city's destruction.

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<sup>51</sup> "Achilles, terror of the Trojans, was not there / he was playing is stringed instrument for alleviating his hard pangs of love" (my translation)

This also is not found in Dares. In this case, Haukr summarised part of *Ilias*, vv. 636-640, as he already has done at the beginning of the chapter. He reported the episode of Briseide, which is absent in Dares' text. The story tells that Achilles refuses to fight, even if the commanders ask him for help, promising to give her back. He is too proud: Agamemnon has taken Briseide from him after forsaking the daughter of Criseus, hurting the hero's honour. Probably Haukr took inspiration from the *Ilias*, verses 688-695. Another inspiration from the *Ilias*, 779-781<sup>52</sup> is when he described the battle between Ajax and Hector: the Greek hero hits the prince with a stone, as the *Ilias* reports. The war continues until Agamemnon returns to his ship with his troops, ending the chapter.

Chapter 23 is entirely derived from *Ilias Latina*: it opens with the narration of the famous episode of the wrath of Achilles after the death of Patroclus. Dares did not report any of these events since he entirely omitted this part. Dares dedicated only one line to the death of Patroclus in chapter 19, when he said, "Hector Patroclum occidit et spoliare parat". In the *Trójumanna saga*, the death of the young hero instead has an epic tone, which is typical of the world of the *Ilias* and the saga. It is noticeable that the scribe adapted these verses from 805 to 838 in Old Icelandic, from when Patroclus declares war to the moment when Ajax saves the armour and body of the young hero from the battlefield. After the death of the Patroclus, the news arrives to Achilles: he falls crying, and he lies down on a mound tearing off his clothes and kissing the dead body, vowing revenge against Hector: "þú hinn mikli ok hinn máttugi Ektor, er vegr ok prýði er alls Frigíalands! svâ sem nú erttu glaðr af sigrinum ok lofaðr af öllum Tyrkjum, þá skalttu skjótt fá þess nekkíng!" (pp. 212-213).<sup>53</sup> This speech corresponds to the verses "non impune mei laetabere caede sodalis/ Hector - ait - magnoque meo, violente, dolori/ persolves poenas atque istis victor in armis,/ in quibus exsultas, fuso morire cruore"

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<sup>52</sup> Hector ubique ferus violento pectore saevit, quem saxo ingenti percussum maximus Ajax depulit et toto prostratum corpore fudit "Wherever Hector ferociously rages with a violent heart, but Ajax hits him with a big stone, and he shot him down with all his body"

<sup>53</sup> "You great and mighty Ektor, to whom you are the honor and adornment of all Frigialand. Even if you are now enjoying victory and are praised by all Tyrkir, you will soon experience a setback." (my translation)



(vv. 850-853).<sup>54</sup> After that, Haukr summarised the following verses of the *Iliad*, omitting the part about the weapons procured by Thetis, Achilles' mother. After this speech, Achilles goes to the battle and starts fighting against Aeneas. The latter can save himself because he is under the protection of the gods, "ef Eneas hefði eigi undan snúit", because from him, Empires will be built, "þá hefði eigi tróversk ætt upp hafizt, ok eigi sjálfir keisararnir sínar ættir átt til hans at telja".<sup>55</sup> This part is present in the *Iliad*, too, although it is further explained how he gets help: the god Neptune saves him because he will be the ancestor of great leaders, in particular, Octavian Augustus, "quem nisi servasset magnarum rector aquatum, / ut profugus laetis Troia repararet in Arvis / Augustumque genus Claris sunmitteret astris, / non clarae gentis nobis manisset origo" (vv. 899-902).<sup>56</sup> After this, all the Trojans run back to the city, and the battle ends.

In Chapter 24, the scribe returned to Dares' text, and, for the first time, he cited Dares' name, "Svâ segir meistari Dares" (p. 213) [as master Dares said]. For Haukr, the primary source was Dares. More proof of that is Chapter 24, which is quite a good translation and re-elaboration of Chapter 24 of Phrygian's text. The text narrates the dream of Andromache, which prophecies Hector's death. Due to this, Hector is not present at the beginning of the battle.<sup>57</sup>

Haukr reported that Hector accepted the order of Priam. The battle starts again, and the Greeks are winning thanks to the absence of the Trojan prince. When Hector discovers that his troops are losing and many Trojans are dying, he goes to the battlefield and meets his

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<sup>54</sup> "you will not rejoice with impunity at the death of my companion, Ettore, but it will be you, violent, who will pay the penalty for my great pain and, shed your blood, you will die in this armor in which you boast your victory" (my translation)

<sup>55</sup> "he would not have become the ancestor of a Trojan family, and the emperors could not have traced their ancestors back to him." (my translation)

<sup>56</sup> "if the god of the great sea had not saved him, so that the fugitive refounded Troy in fertile land and gave the lineage of Augustus to the light of the shining stars, the progenitor of the illustrious descent would not have survived for us." (my translation)

<sup>57</sup> This part is very similar to Dares' text. Both present the narration of the dream, Andromache's concern and Priam's attempt to prevent Hector from going to the battle. However, there are only a few differences: the Icelandic text does not report the episode in which Andromache asks Hector to not go to the battle showing him their son Astyanax. Even the understandable anger of the hero is not reported.

destiny: Achilles. The description of the duel between Achilles and Hector is taken from the *Ilias* and not from Dares', who only says, "Hector Achillis femur sauciavit. Achilles dolore accepto magis eum persequi copit nec destitit, nisi eum occideret."<sup>58</sup> (Chapter 24). At the same time, the Icelandic text describes a very long fight between them, as mentioned in the *Ilias*, in the verses from 935 to 1003. Haukr probably preferred the epic tone of the *Ilias* to the dry and short report of the Phrygian. After a long battle, Achilles wins and injures the body of the Trojan prince, tying the body to his carriage and dragging him three times around the city. In Dares' text, this part is absent.

Even Chapter 25 is based on the *Ilias Latina* since Dares did not report the event related to the death of Hector. Dares said that Achilles kept the body of the Trojan prince. While Chapter 25 of the saga narrates the meeting between the Greek hero and Priam, who wants his son's body back. The source could only be *Ilias Latina* because the narration is noticeably similar. In the *Ilias*, it is written: "nunc sis mittissimus oro et patris afflictis genibus miserere precantis dona que quae porto miseri pro corpore nati accipias, si nec precibus nec flecteris auro, in senis extremis tua dextera saeviat annis: salve saeva pater comitabor funera nati!"<sup>59</sup> (vv. 1031-1036) which corresponds to the Old Icelandic "En ef þú vilt eigi mýkja reiði þína fyri böen mína, ok eigi fyri fægjafar, þá herð þína hægri hönd ok lát mik fylgja hinum ágæta Ektori syni mínum til helvíta"<sup>60</sup> (p.215).

Only in Chapter 26, Dares' text and Haukr's share the same timeline again. This chapter summarises Chapters 25, 26, 27 and 28 of the *Historia*. In both, two main episodes of the war are narrated: the change of leadership (Pelemedes becomes the new leader of the Greek army) and Achilles' love for Polyxena, the daughter of Priam.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> "Hector wounded Achilles' leg. But Achilles, though pained, pressed on all the harder and kept pressing on until he had won" (translation by Frazer, 1966)

<sup>59</sup> "Now, I pray you to be most merciful and to have mercy of a father praying on his knee, and you accept the gift, which I bring for the dead body of my unfortunate son. If prays and the gold does not move you, so your right hand hit me on my ultimate old age: at last, I, father, will accompany my son in the obsequies."

<sup>60</sup> "and if you want not to smooth your anger in front of my petition and not for gifts, then clench your right hand and let me accompany the excellent Hector, my son, to the hell." (my translation)

<sup>61</sup> This last episode was essential for the war and signed the Greek hero's destiny. He was so in love with her that he could not leave the bed. He decided to ask the hand of the girl to Hecuba the wife of Priam. In exchange, he promised to leave the war with his men. The queen delivered the message to Priam, who refused: he would give him his daughter only if all the Greeks left his land. When Achilles

At the beginning of Chapter 27, Haukr summarised the beginning of Chapter 29 of Dares' *Historia*: Pallamedes dies in battle, and so Agamemnon becomes the chieftain of the Greek troops again. The summary of Chapters 29, 30 and 31 of the *Historia* follows this part: Haukr narrated the battles and the same period of peace and the return of Achilles to war after the killing of his men, the Myrmidons, by Troilus, who will die by the hand of the Greek hero.

Chapter 28, like the previous one, summarises Chapters 34, 35 and 36 of the *Historia*. The events described are the same; the only difference is that Haukr summarised these passages. This chapter narrates the plot of Hecuba and the death of Achilles by the hand of Paris.<sup>62</sup> After the death of the Greek champion, Agamemnon decides to convoke Neoptolemus Pyrrhus, Achilles' son, to revenge for his father. The chapter ends with Alexander and Ajax killing each other. The end of the war is near: Troy is doomed.

#### *"Svikin Trója"*

The end of Troy is near: "Svikin Trója", which means "the betrayal of Troy", as the rubric reports. *Svikin* is the correct term since the war is won thanks to trickery and not in a proper battle. The relevant and unique part of this saga is that Haukr decided to report two versions of the defeat of Troy: the betrayal of Aeneas and Antenor, which is Dares' version, and the wooden horse, narrated in book 2 of the *Aeneid*. Indeed, Chapters 29 and 30 tell the final fights and the betrayal of some Trojans, among them Aeneas, and Antenor, who let the Greeks into the city, while chapter 33, 34 and 35 narrates the episode of the wooden horse.

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heard this, he begged the commanders to leave the land and finish this long war without any sense since, in his opinion, fighting for a woman was insane. Palamedes and the other Greek commanders refused to leave. The battle restarted without Achilles, who refused to fight. The chapter ends with the death of Palamedes and the fleeing of the Greeks to their camp. So, ok sleit þá nótt bardagann (p.216), "the night felt down on the battle".

<sup>62</sup> Since the Greek hero killed two of her sons, Hecuba decided to take her revenge, deceiving him into killing him. She and her son Paris promise Achilles the hand of Polyxenna and to meet at the temple of Apollo. In exchange, he and his men should leave the land. Achilles accepted the invitation, finding his death in the temple outside the city. There, Paris and his men waited for him, hiding. Antelocus, son of Nestor, came with him. Here they were both killed, and the bodies, thanks to the intercession of Helenus, Paris' brother, were sent back to the Greek camp. The description of the two Greek heroes' arrival and their deaths are similar in both versions, as Haukr had translated from the original one of a previous version of the Trojuamanna saga.

These two Chapters, 29 and 30, are similar to Dares' version and summarise Chapters 38, 39, 40 and 41. This is Dares' version of the end of the war. Antenor and Aeneas, with the help of other Trojans, decide to betray Priam since he does not listen to their reasons to end the war. So, they plot with the Achaeans: they open the doors at night, letting the enemy enter the city and destroy it. Chapter 31 describes the aftermath of the war and the destiny of the survivors, among them Aeneas, who is destined to be the founder of a new Empire. Moreover, Haukr also reported the statistics of the losses referred by Dares at the end of his *acta diurna*<sup>63</sup>.

As I noted above, Chapters 33, 34 and 35 contain another version, the episode of the wooden horse. This fact is noteworthy. It seems that Haukr was behaving like a real historian documenting all the versions he knows, reporting the name of all the other sources for his text, which is a saga, the *Rumeria saga* (p. 222), which is a clear reference to the *Aeneid*, in my opinion. Indeed, the story comes back to the murder of Achilles. After that, Agamemnon summons the assembly to decide the destiny of the war. No one wants to give up, but no one knows how to resolve the conflict quickly.

After a few days of thinking, only Ulysses comes up with a solutions: the construction of a giant wooden horse, in which they will hide part of the troop, while the rest pretends to leave the land to return home. And they do it.<sup>64</sup> When the Trojans see the Greeks' empty camp, they rejoice, but they are surprised when they see the giant wooden horse. After that, a Greek warrior reaches them on the beach. He is Sinon, and he is tied up and marked as he is ready to be sacrificed. After interrogating him, they discover that the Greeks have left the land to return home because they were tired of the long years of war. They have built the wooden

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<sup>63</sup> The chapter begins with information about the duration of the war, "the Greeks stayed in Troy 10 winters, six months and 12 days, as is said by the scholar Dares" ("svâ segir meistari Dares, at Girkir sæti um Tróju x vetr ok vj mánuði ok xij daga", p.221). Furthermore, the number of dead ones for both parts is reported: 886 thousand Greeks ("Af Girkjum féllu DCCC þúsunda ok átte tigr þúsunda, ok vj þúsundir", p.221) and 676 thousand Trojans without the number of the dead in the city, because they are too many ("en af Trójumönnum féllu, áðr en borg væri unnin, DC þúsunda, ok vij tigr þúsunda, ok vj þúsundir, en þat veit engi töl á, hvat Girkir drápu um nóttina, þá er þeir unnu borgina" ,p.221). The number corresponds to the Latin source. All the numerical information is the same in both versions. The only difference is the list of the dead heroes made by Haukr and the corresponding killer. The chapter ends with the prophecy about Aeneas' descendants, who will be emperors and chiefs worldwide ("keisararnir, er höfuðsmenn eru allrar veraldarinnar" P.222).

<sup>64</sup> Ulysses and part of the army hide inside the wooden horse outside the city walls, while the rest go to a neighbouring island, waiting for the night.

horse to pray to the Gods for a safe return and as a gift for the Trojans. Sinon declares he has been left there because he disagreed with Ulysses and his plan to leave the war: he was chosen to be sacrificed. This is the explanation for why he is tied up and marked. The Greeks and Ulysses were sure the Trojans would kill him. This do not happen. The Trojans believe in his version, despite the words of Cassandra and of a heathen priest, whose name is not reported, but in the classical tradition, he is Laocoon, the priest of Neptune. He is against the idea of taking the horse inside the city, but two snakes come out from the sea and kill him and with him, his two sons, too. This is read as a sign. The Trojans bring the horse and their destruction into the city. The horse was too big to pass under the door, so they destroy part of the walls. When the night falls, and all of them are sleeping, the Greeks arrive in the city and kill many citizens. Priam himself is killed in front of Thor's altar. Only Aeneas can save himself, his father and his son, running away from the city following the prophecy to go to Italy. All these events derive from Book 2 of the *Aeneid* when Aeneas describes the story of Troy's fall to queen Dido. The aftermath of the war is the same as that narrated by Dares.

The last two chapters of the *Trójumanna saga*, 35 and 36, are dedicated to the events following the war, but Dares did not report them. The saga tells that Neoptolemus Pyrrhus returned to Epirus with Andromache and Helenus. Here, Neoptolemus Pyrrhus marries Andromache. The problem is that after a few years, he falls in love with Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen. They refuse to give her to Neoptolemus because she was already promised to Orestes, son of Agamemnon. There is a fight in which Orestes kills Neoptolemus Pyrrhus: Andromache is free, and she marries Helenus. Together, they rule over Epirus. Here, they build a great city in honour of Troy. The actual end of the saga is the story of Andromache and Hector's sons' return to Troy. Here, they rebuild a new Troy in honour of their ancestors.

This part is peculiar and is also found in the French tradition of the *Roman de Troie*. However, Eldevik has claimed that it is impossible that the Icelandic redactors could have used the French text only for the conclusion since 'None of the saga-redactions exhibits traces of influence from the French *Roman de Troie* in any other part of the story, and it seems improbable that the Icelandic redactors should draw upon only one section of the *Roman de Troie* and ignore the rest [...]' (Eldevik, 1993, p.38). I agree with her since this passage is partly

found in book 3 of *Aeneid*, where Vergil says that Helenus and Andromache established a New Troy in Epirus.

The saga ends with the declaration of the end of the story. Here Haukr anticipates that after this saga, the story about Aeneas and his descendants who settle in England will follow, which means the *Breta sögur*: “Ok er nú yfir farit þá sögu er ágætust hefir verit í veröldunni í heiðni, at allra manna virðingu, þeirra er vitrir eru, ok flestar frásagnir eru kunnar, en hær eftir hefr sögu frá Enea, ok þeim er Bretland bygðu”.<sup>65</sup> (p. 226)

### Conclusions

This analysis shows that Haukr used and read other Latin sources than Dares Phrygius. The principal source used after the Phrygian is surely Ovid. It is not surprising. The popularity of Ovid in Europe is well-known and strongly attested by several manuscripts. From the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Ovid became so popular in European literature that Ludwig Traube defined this period as the *Aetas Ovidiana* and Ovid was considered one of the *Auctores Maitores* of the scholastic canon. This popularity survived until the 14<sup>th</sup> century and it proves that Haukr, as an erudite, might have known Ovid. Two important points support this fact.

First, in Iceland, as well as in Norway, education was similar to the one on the rest of the continent. Unfortunately, there are few Latin fragments or texts to prove entirely which texts were read and which not, which texts were copied and which not.<sup>66</sup> However, Latin was considered important because it was the language of the Church. As Åslaug Ommunsden has said: “Whether teachers were multi-talents or barely holding their heads above water, it is most likely that they reached for the same teaching-aids as their colleagues further south, and that education in the Old Norse world followed that of the rest of Europe” (Ommunsden,

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<sup>65</sup> “So now the story is gone above then, which the glory has been in the world in the Heathen country, that the reputation of all their wise men and most the act of relating are known, and hereafter, you have the saga about Aeneas and them, who settled England”. (my translation)

<sup>66</sup> Luckily, “The knowledge base concerning Latin education and the availability of Latin learned texts in western Scandinavia is constantly growing as more of the texts and the fragmented source material in Latin is identified and analysed.” (Ommunsden, 2016)

2016). Ryder Patzuk-Russell (Patzuk-Russell, 2021) supports that. He has said that the study of *Grammar*<sup>67</sup> was central in Icelandic schools, both religious and not, since Christianization. Through the study of the *Grammar*, students became probably able to read a variety of Latin literature and texts from the *Auctores Maiores* and then learn rhetoric. The educational curriculum was the same as in the continent. Therefore, Ovid, too, would have been read and known in Medieval Iceland. Unfortunately, there are only two direct references to Ovid in Iceland, a 12th-century saga, *Jóns saga Helga*, and a 16th-century *máldagar* of Holar, an Icelandic booklist (Patzuk-Russell, 2021. p. 182). Between the 12th-century episode of *Jóns saga Helga* and the 16th-century list, there are no other attestations of Ovidian texts in Iceland.

Second, the cultural and political influences from the continent and Scandinavia are known. Gunnar Harðarson (Gunnar, 2016), for example, has pointed out the strong relation between the Norwegian court of Hakon V and the Monastery of Saint-Victor in France. The *Hauksbók* is one of the manuscripts taken into consideration by Gunnar's analysis of the *De Arrha Animae* of Hugo of Saint-Victor, because Haukr translated it. Moreover, in the years when Haukr composed the saga, an anonymous French poet was working on the translation and moralisation of Ovid's texts, the *Ovide Moralisé*, proving the popularity of the Ovidian texts on the continent at that time. The influence from the continent is also shown by the fact that Haukr's inspiration for the *Hauksbók* might have come from the *Liber Floridus*, compiled between 1090 and 1120 by Lambert, [Canon](#) of [Saint-Omer](#), as Rudolf Simek (1990) and Rowe (2008) have declared.

Not only the knowledge of Ovid is attested in the *Hauksbók*, but also the *Ilias Latina* and Vergil are frequently reported, showing a vast knowledge about the Trojan Matter. Those are the classic texts of the Trojan myth. The *De Excidio Troiae Historia* was reported together with the *Ilias Latina*, at least before the 10<sup>th</sup> century, as it is proved by ancient booklists, like the booklist of St. Quier. Later, the destiny of these two texts split, as Marco Scafai (Scafai, 1997) has demonstrated: Dares' text is copied in *Libri Manuales*, while the *Ilias* is attested in *Libri*

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<sup>67</sup> For the study of Latin, the ars of Donatus and *Disticha Catonis* were relevant texts. There are actually attestation of the latter in Reykjavik. Þjms. fragm. 103 and 104 are two fragments apparently an attestation of *Disticha Catonianis*.

*Catonianis*, where it is attested until copies of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, the last example of the *Ilias* in a *Liber Catonianus* is the manuscript *Divionensis* 497, a text of the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The tradition of the *Ilias Latina* could explain Haukr's knowledge of the text. Maybe he had access to a *Liber Catonianus* where the *Ilias* was reported. It is not surprising because the redaction of the *Hauksbók* is attested at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, few years after the disappearance of the *Ilias Latina* from the *Libris Catonianis*.

Haukr should have been educated like other students from the continent, and consequently, he probably had the chance to learn Latin because there are no attestations of translations in Iceland of the Latin sources I mentioned earlier. Only Dares' text, in the shape of the *Trójumanna saga*, was translated in Old Norse before. The *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides* do not have any translation into Old Norse, neither the *Aeneid* nor the *Ilias Latina*. There are Old Norse translations of other Latin texts, which started to be compiled in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, as Würth has shown in her analysis of the "Antikeroman" sagas (Würth, 1998). Moreover, there were also translations of Chivalric narration from France and England, defined as *riddarasögur* and *fornaldarsögur*, which are proof of strong influences from the European literature of that time. This demonstrates the strong cultural connections and influences between the rest of Europe and Scandinavia.

Haukr's *Trójumanna saga* could be used as another proof of these connections. It is useful to demonstrate the study of Latin in Iceland or at least that there was a good knowledge of those texts, considered crucial for the education of the dominant class. This case study shows also that these texts were not only studied for learning Latin, but these texts were quite interiorised, at least by Haukr and the élites. Haukr moved naturally among them, passing from Dares to Ovid without relevant difficulties. The story is fluid. There are only a few moments of confusion, such as the mistake about Danae and Alcmena in the section of Fra Edelon. Nevertheless, even in this case, it is possible to assume that Haukr was reading the *Metamorphoses* during the composition of the saga since a misunderstanding of the Latin text could explain this mistake.



Haukr should have access to these Latin sources for the composition of his saga. This is the only possible explanation for the nature of the text. In conclusion, the *Hauksbók* version of the *Trójumanna saga* could be used to prove the presence or the knowledge of Ovidian texts and *Ilias Latina* in Medieval Iceland and in Scandinavia.

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