Snorri Sturluson — the author of *Egils saga*?

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Structure

- 1. Traditional philological aspects of the authorship of Egils saga
- 2. Early quantitative philology
- 3. Contemporary stylometry

Overlaps between Snorri and Egils saga

- Snorri Sturluson (1178/1779-1241) Icelandic author, chieftain, politician and diplomat
 - Prose Edda 1220-1225
 - Heimskringla ca. 1230 kings' sagas
- Egils saga:
 - Icelandic family saga
 - story between 850 1000, partially based on real events and people
 - Oldest fragment: θ (AM 162 A θ , fol.), ca. 1250
 - Most modern editions based on Moðruvallabók: AM 132, fol.; ca. 1350
- Snorri's lifetime might overlap with the time when the Egils saga have been created

- Snorri is related to Egil (Mýramenn family)
- He lived at Borg, homestead of Egil
- Claims of Borgarfjörður
 - Egils saga as a means for of making exaggerated territorial claims?
 LándnÓlsen 1904
- Intimate knowledge of geography of Borgarfjörður
- Knowledge of Norway's geography acquired through traveling
- Parallels between the conflicts of Snorri's life and depicted in Egils saga

To show:

Heimskringla ------ Egils saga

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Heimskringla ------- Egils saga

But:

Attribution of Heimskringla to Snorri is indirect! Based on two Swedish translations from 1550 and 1599

"Zwar wird Snorri in keinem der erhaltenen Manuskripte der *Heimskringla* als Autor des Werkes genannt, doch in den Übersetzungen zweier Norweger aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, Laurents Hanssøns Übersetzung des ersten Teiles der *Heimskringla* aus der Zeit um 1550 und Peder Claussøn Friis' Übersetzung des ganzen Werkes aus dem Jahr 1599, wird Snorri als Verfasser genannt." Haraldsdóttir 1989, S. 98

- "Eptir þat lagði Haraldr konungr undir sik Sunnmæri. Vémundr, bróðir Auðbjarnar konungs, helt Firðafylki ok gerðiz þar konungr yfir. Þetta var síð um haustit, ok gerðu menn þat ráð með Haraldi konungi, at hann skyldi eigi fara suðr um Stað á haustdegi. Þá setti Haraldr konungr Rognvald jarl yfir Mæri hváratveggju ok Raumsdal. Haraldr konungr sneri þá norðr aptr til Þrándheims ok hafði um sik mikit fjolmenni." Egils saga, Ch. 4. (my underlinings)
- "Haraldr konungr lagði undir sik Sunn-Mæri. Vémundr, bróðir Auðbjarnar konungs, helt Firðafylki. Þetta var síðla um haust ok gera menn þat ráð með Haraldi konungi, at hann skyldi eigi fara suðr um Stað á haustdegi. Þá setti Haraldr konungr Rognvald jarl yfir Mæri hváratveggju ok Raumsdal ok hafði hann þá um sik mikit fjolmenni." Heimskringla, Haraldz saga ins hárfagra, Ch. 12 my underlinings)

- "Norðimbraland er kallat fimtungr Englandz", Egils saga, Ch. 52.
- "Norðimbraland er kallat fimtungr Englandz". *Hmsk, Uphaf sǫgu Hákonar góða*, Ch. 3.

- Words that occur only in *Egils saga* and *Heimskringla*, but not in other family sagas:
 - afnám, formál, sjónleysi, finnkaup, landsmegin, landvegr, óró, ótili, viðstaða,...
 - málreitinn/-rætinn, innlenzkr, skóglaus, ættborinn, þjónustufullur, ...
 - frillusonr, múgi, flóttamaðr, ...

Discrepancies between Egils saga and Hmsk.

- Relationship to Norwegian kings:
 - Egils saga negative, Hmsk. rather positive.
- A driving force of the story in *Egils saga*: opposition to kings

- E.g.:
- King Harald Fairhair: Unifier of Norway, but why was he so easily deceived and convinced, that Þórólfr Kveld-Úlfsson might be a threat to his rule? Indirectly father of Icelanders, since by oppression forces them out of Norway.

Discrepancies between Egils saga and Hmsk. II

- Story behind the epithets hárfagra and lúfa of King Haraldr
- Only in Hmsk.: Gyða Eiríksdóttir rejects Haraldr, but she states, she will be his, when/if he unites Norway => Haraldr does not cut his hair or comb it until he unites Norway.
- "at hon mun því at einu játa at gerask eigin kona hans, ef hann vill þat gera fyrir hennar sakir áðr, at leggja undir sik allan Nóreg ok ráða því ríki jafnfrjálsliga" (Haraldz s. Kap. 3.)
- Not until chapter 13. hárfagra and lúfa:
- "var hann áðr kallaðr lúfa, en síðan gaf Rögnvaldr jarl honum kenningarnafn ok kallaði hann Harald hinn hárfagra"

Discrepancies between Egils saga and Hmsk. II

- Yet no Gyða in Egils saga
- First lúfa in Ch. 3.:
- "Hann hafði þess heit strengt að láta eigi skera hár sitt né kemba fyrr en hann væri einvaldskonungur yfir Noregi. Hann var kallaður Haraldur lúfa."
- In Ch. 22 hárfagra

To portray him with no redeemable traits?

Traditional Philology on Authorship (Selection)

- Berman 1982: Which came first: *Egils saga* or *Heimskringla*? "Dating *Egils saga* after *Heimskringla* seems to entail fewer problems and inconsistencies." Other discrepancies.
- Cormack 2001: some historical discrepancies.
- Nordal 2002: no single author, but several, bc. copies. Snorri is not the author of the *Egils saga* from *Mǫðruvallabók*.
- Tulinius 2014: possible parallels between Snorri's life and that of Egil.
 - Saga as a wedding gift to reconcile with the family?
- Males 2015: Ólafur Þórðarson (Snorri's nephew) is the author, because of historically incorrect account of runes in *Egils saga*. Ólafur Þórðarson seems to have been more interested in runes than Snorri.

Quantitative Philology

- Wieselgren 1927:
 - 25 stylistic elements, including optative vs. munu, optative vs. skulu: the ratios (opt. to munu/skulu) for *Prose Edda* and *Heimskringla* do not agree with *Egils saga*. Snorri is not the author of Egil's saga.
 - But: θ not studied
- van den Toorn 1959:
 - Sentence and syntax statistics
 - Sentence-initiating subordinate clause: *Egla* 11%, *Ólafs s.* 12.5%, *Hrafnkels s.* 2.4% *Fóstbræðra s.* 8.1%, ...
 - Asyndeton in verbs
 - But: weak selection of works for comparison., e.g. occasionally Laxdæla s., no Eyrbyygja s., Njáls s., Grettis s.

Quantitative Philology

• Hallberg 1962, 1968:

- Pairwords (parord) = words that occur in Hmsk. and only in one further text.
- Result: Heimskringla had more pairwords in common with Egils saga
- Low frequency of kveðask: Hmsk A 8, Hmsk B 5, Egla 7, Laxdæla 134, Eyrb. 55, Njáls 76, Grettis 92.
- between *ok er* vs. *en er* "as" Snorri prefers *en er*
- eptir um daginn instead of um daginn eptir

• West 1974, 1980:

- unlike Hallberg, West focused on the frequencies of most frequently used words.
- Egils saga, Ólafs s., Fóstbræðra s., Hrafnkels s., Njáls s.
- "Snorri text segments correlate well with themselves, poorly with non-Snorri text segments, and moderately with Egils saga" and "[Snorri's] statistical fingerprint is very clear from the data of this study."
- End section of *Ólafs s.* not written by Snorri. End part of *Egils saga* contains "non-Snorri" material.

Was Hallberg right?

For a long time: yes!

 No, according to Louis-Jensen(2006): Hallberg divided the Hmsk. wrong. Questionable authorship of Hmsk. Tested only additionally on Laxdæla s.

Was Hallberg right?

- Saga Corpus: 49 texts
 - 45 family sagas (incl. Egils saga)+ Sturlunga s. + Heimskringla + Landnámabók + Íslendinga þættir
 - 1.5 million words
 - Nefnir lemmatizer
 - By Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson and Sigrún Helgadóttir (2011)
- Based on *lemmata*
- Tagging ca. 93% correct, therefore still many misattributions
- Ignoring the composition of Heimskringla
- Normalization (same as Hallberg):
- (pairwords of a texts/length of text) * length of Egils saga
- Preliminary results

Was Hallberg right? (not normalilzed results)

Dan	Works	Pairwords
Ran	VVOIKS	resp. Hmsk.
1	Egils s.	161
2	Njáls s.	77
3	Laxdœla s.	71
4	Eyrbyggja s.	59
5	Grettis s.	51
6	Fóstbr. s.	37
7	Vatnd. s.	35
8	Fljótsd. s.	21

Rank	Works	Pairwords	
Nalik	VVOIKS	resp. Hmsk.	
1	Sturlunga s.	202	
2	Íslendinga þættir	110	
3	Egils. s.	99	
4	Laxdœla s.	47	
5	Njáls s.	36	
6	Eyrbyggja s.	30	
7	Fóstbr. s.	28	
8	Grettis s.	27	
9	Landn. b.	23	
10	Vatnsdæla s.	21	

>= 20 pairwords, only family sagas

Was Hallberg right?

Ran	Works	Pairwords	
Nall	VVOIKS	resp. Hmsk.	
1	Egla	161	
2	Grænlendinga þ	119	
3	Eiríks rauða	112	
4	Valla-Ljóts	98	
5	Eyrbyggja	95	
6	Bárðar	89	
7	Þorsteins S	80	
8	Laxdæla	77	

Rank	Works	Pairwords	
Nalik	VVOIKS	resp. Hmsk.	
1	Egla	99	
2	Jökuls þ	93	
3	Valla-Ljóts	72	
4	Íslendinga þ	63	
5	Fóstbræðra	55	
6	Kormáks	53	
7	Laxdæla	50	
8	Eiríks rauða	48	
9	Eyrbyggja	48	
10	Bárðar	47	

>= 20 pairwords, only family sagas

Asking further questions

• Does *Heimskringla* have more lexical 2-grams in common with *Egils saga* than with other texts from the corpus?

- Normalization:
- (Length of common 2-grams / length of text) * (length of unique 2-grams of Heimskringla)

n-gram

- S = "Úlfur hét maður, son Bjálfa og Hallberu, dóttur Úlfs hins óarga." (Egils saga, Ch. 1)
- Lexical 1-gram:
 - S_{1-lex-gram} = {"Úlfur", "hét", "maður, "son", "Bjálfa", ..., "óarga"}
- Lexical 2-gram:
 - S_{2-lex-gram} = {"Úlfur hét", "hét maður", "maður son", "son Bjálfa", "Bjálfa og", …, "hins óarga"}
- Character 4-gram:
 - S4-char_gram = {"Úlfu", "Ifur", "fur ", "ur h", ..., "rga."}

		Common			Common
Rank	Works	lexical 2-grams	Rank	Works	lexical 2-grams
Name	VVOIKS	resp. Hmsk.	IVALIK	VVOIKS	resp. Hmsk.
		(normalized freq.)			(normalized freq.)
1	Egla	2445	1	Egla	2282
2	Sturlunga	1935	2	Sturlunga	1810
3	Íslendinga þ	1554	3	Íslendinga þ	1459
4	Brennu-Njáls	1138	4	Brennu-Njáls	1106
5	Laxdæla	1045	5	Laxdæla	983
6	Landnámabók	1017	6	Grettis	961
7	Grettis	984	7	Landnámabók	940
8	Fóstbræðra	974	8	Fóstbræðra	903
9	Eyrbyggja	958	9	Eyrbyggja	894
10	Kjalnesinga	812	10	Egla	2282

excl. combinations w/ pairwords

incl. combinations w/ pairwords

Recent Quantitative Text Analysis

- Tulinius 2014:
 - Irony through *ekki er þess getið*. Rare *Egils saga*: 2, *Heimskringla*: 2, other works: 2.
- Þorgeirsson 2014:
 - faithful transmission of a prefrence for *en er* in manuscripts of *Egils saga*, although *Möðruvallabók* between Ch. 55–87 is an outlier.
 - High % en er in "Snorri-texts":
 - Heimskringla: 94%, Egils Saga: 89%, Prose Edda: 83%.
 - Other texts: 2%-79%

Computational Stylometric Contributions

Þorgeirsson 2018:

- Egils saga is closest to Heimskringla
- Burrows' (improved) Delta = robust intertextual distance measure
- Demonstrated to work well with modern Icelandic literature
- But: few works taken for comparison: 4 Icelandic sagas and 4 historical texts.
- Björnsson, Helgason, Kárason 2021
 - Egils saga is closest to Heimskringla (esp. second half of Ólafs s. h.)
 - Cosine Delta
 - 150 most used part-of-speech tags
 - 1000 most used 4-gram character features (after excluding nouns)
 - {"Egil", "gils", "ils " ls a", "s sa", " sag", "saga"}

Table 15: Burrows' delta for both parts of Heimskringla, 1000 MFW.

Heimskringla A	Delta	Heimskringla B	Delta
Egils saga	968	Egils saga	1013
Eyrbyggja saga	1243	Eyrbyggja saga	1232
Grettis saga	1285	Grettis saga	1329
Laxdæla saga	1309	Laxdæla saga	1423
Njáls saga	1343	Njáls saga	1464

Table 16: The two parts of *Heimskringla* compared to the five sagas of Icelanders **Table 19:** The two parts of *Heimskringla* compared to five historical texts.

Text	Lowest delta	Difference	Most frequent words
Heimskringla A	Egils saga	34.8 %	500
Heimskringla B	Egils saga	24.2 %	500
Heimskringla A	Egils saga	28.4 %	1000
Heimskringla B	Egils saga	21.6 %	1000
Heimskringla A	Egils saga	32.5 %	2000
Heimskringla B	Egils saga	22.4%	2000

Porgeirsson (2018)

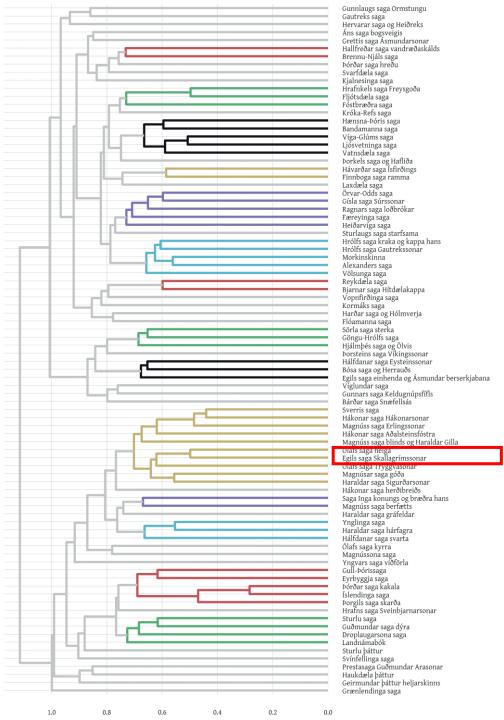
Table 18: Burrows' delta for both parts of Heimskringla, 1000 MFW.

Heimskringla A	Delta	Heimskringla B	Delta	
Egils saga	803	Egils saga	873	
Knýtlinga saga	936	Knýtlinga saga	897	
Íslendinga saga	1138	Íslendinga saga	1066	
Morkinskinna	1147	Jómsvíkinga saga	1248	
Jómsvíkinga saga	1149	Morkinskinna	1301	

Text	Lowest delta	Difference	Most frequent words
Heimskringla A	Egils saga	17.4%	500
Heimskringla B	Egils saga	6.2 %	500

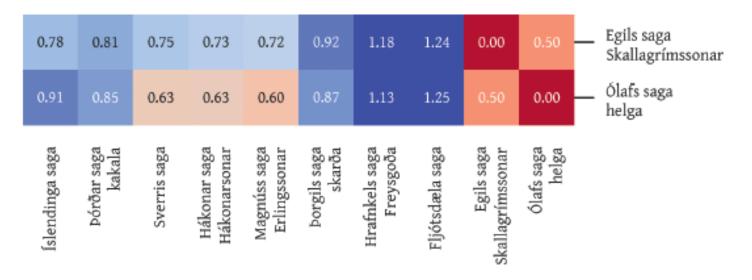
Table 19: (Continued)

Text	Lowest delta	Difference	Most frequent words
Heimskringla A	Egils saga	16.4%	1000
Heimskringla B	Egils saga	2.7 %	1000
Heimskringla A	Egils saga	12.6 %	2000
Heimskringla B	Egils saga	1.8 %	2000



"Sections from Egils saga generally measure close to the latter half of Ólafs saga helga, but less so to other parts of Heimskringla."

"None of the sagas that measure close to *Heimskringla* show a strong stylistic similarity to the first part of *Ólafs saga helga*. This may indicate that this part of *Ólafs saga helga* was composed by someone else than the composer of the rest of *Heimskringla* or copied from an independent source."

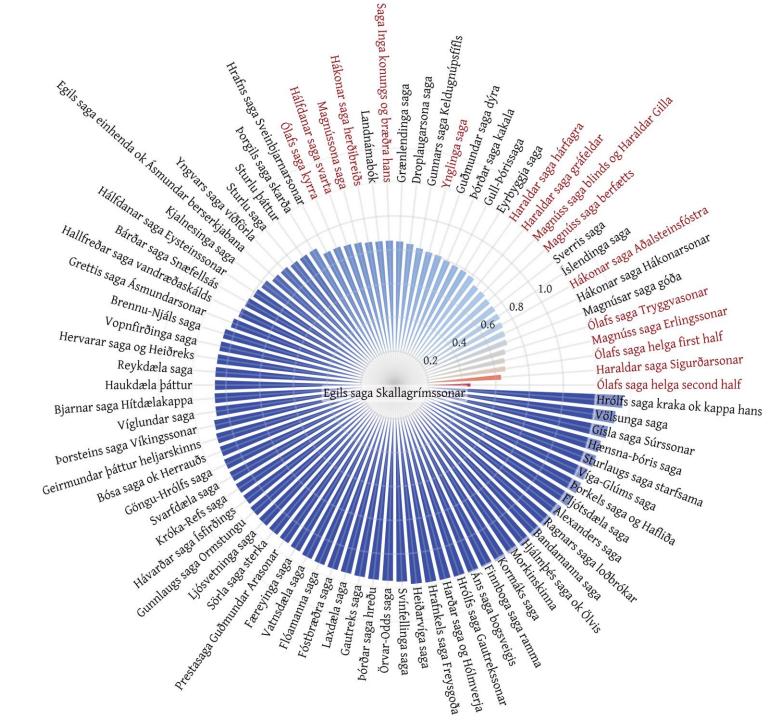


Björnsson, Helgason, Kárason 2021

Björnsson, Helgason, Kárason 2021

http://fingrafor.ullur.net/[25.12.2021]





My approach

- Saga Corpus
- 49 Texts
 - 45 family sagas (incl. Egils saga)+ Sturlunga s. + Heimskringla + Landnámabók + Íslendinga þættir
 - 1.5 million words
 - Nefnir lemmatizer
 - POS-tags: 93% correctness
 - By Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson and Sigrún Helgadóttir (2011)
 - Texts are either in modern Icelandic or were normalized to it

- Lexical 1-, 2-, 3- grams
- Burrows' Delta and Cosine Delta as an intertextual distance measure

- Excluding:
- *Íslendinga þættir* collection of texts

• using the stylometry package Stylo for R

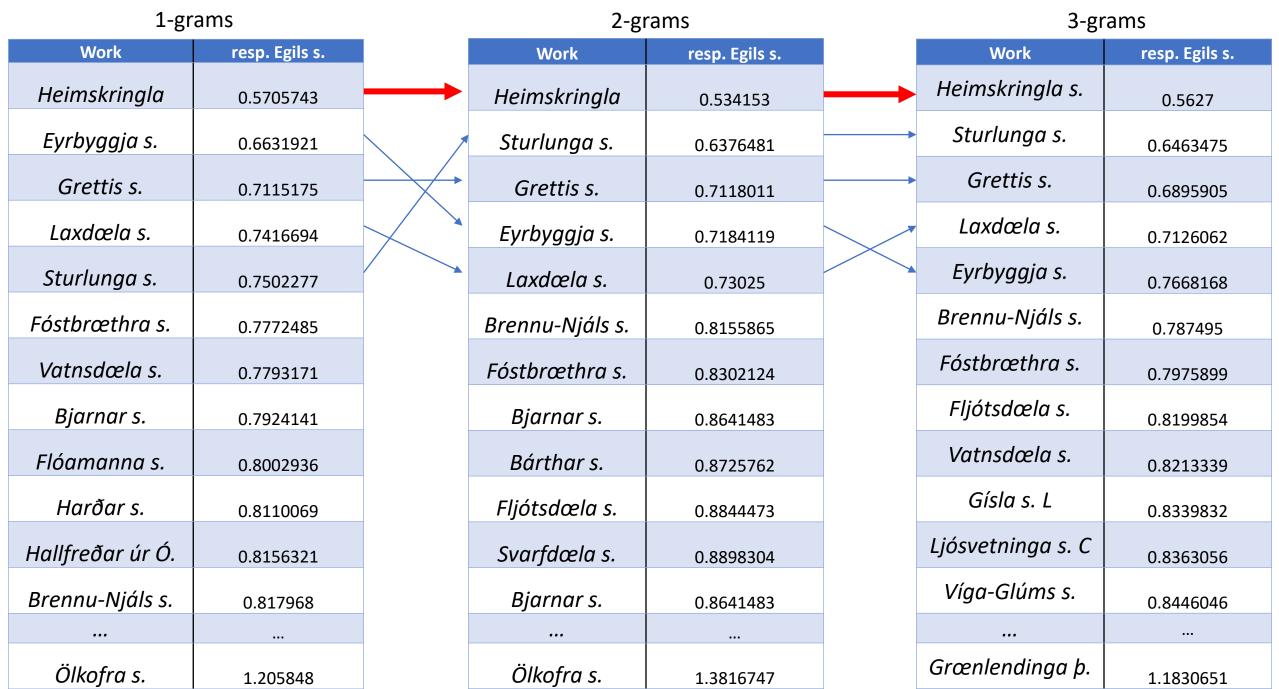
Burrows' (classic) Delta

1-grams & 500 MFW			2-grams & 300 MFF			3-grams & 150 MFF	
Work	resp. <i>Egils s</i> .		Work	resp. <i>Egils s.</i>		Work	resp. <i>Egils s.</i>
Heimskringla	0.57712097		Heimskringla	0.55923814		Heimskringla	0.49695746
Eyrbyggja	0.66790223		Eyrbyggja	0.65095502		Sturlunga	0.59320783
Grettis	0.72706594	,	Sturlunga	0.65130604		Íslendinga þættir	0.62287122
Íslendinga þættir	0.75073023		Grettis	0.74291163		Grettis	0.66919035
Laxdæla	0.770762		Íslendinga þættir	0.78028144		Eyrbyggja	0.67376747
Sturlunga	0.77384499		Laxdæla	0.78421216		Víga-Glúms	0.77439755
Harðar og Hólmverja	0.81807587		Fóstbræðra	0.85000229		Laxdæla	0.7796641
Fóstbræðra	0.82197157		Brennu-Njáls	0.85902616		Brennu-Njáls	0.78170574
Bjarnar	0.82269988		Gísla Súrssonar L	0.87470385		Bjarnar	0.79851313
Bárðar	0.82950892		Bárðar	0.87987419		Fljótsdæla	0.82046054
Flóamanna	0.83125701		Flóamanna	0.8882014		Fóstbræðra	0.82564176
Vatnsdæla	0.8351724		Bjarnar	0.90567995		Ljósvetninga C	0.83101133
						•••	•••
Landnámabók	1.28863884		Ölkofra	1.37138842		Ölkofra	1.36105445

Burrows' (classic) Delta

1-grams & 500 MFW 2-grams & 300 MFF 3-grams & 150 MFF Work resp. Egils s. Work resp. Egils s. Work resp. Egils s. Heimskringla 0.57415302 Heimskringla 0.56501985 Heimskringla 0.50677495 Eyrbyggja 0.6655066 0.64297971 0.61193908 Sturlunga Sturlunga 0.72840253 **Grettis** 0.70223387 Eyrbyggja 0.64414042 **Grettis** Sturlunga 0.77702982 0.70731028 **Grettis** 0.73268308 Eyrbyggja Laxdæla 0.77994382 Laxdæla 0.78477311 Laxdæla 0.77059254 Harðar og Víga-Glúms 0.79555269 Fóstbræðra 0.82232417 Hólmverja 0.8169439 Bjarnar 0.80176725 Brennu-Njáls 0.84452211 **Fóstbræðra** 0.81913 Brennu-Njáls 0.80668118 Bárðar 0.86810909 0.82076706 Bjarnar Fóstbræðra 0.83201454 Gísla Súrssonar L 0.87043882 Bárðar 0.82373531 Fljótsdæla 0.83883118 Flóamanna 0.87248234 Flóamanna 0.8296799 Ljósvetninga C 0.85653823 0.88913617 Bjarnar Hallfreðar Ó 0.83163064 Gísla Súrssonar L 0.88193914 Víga-Glúms 0.8989896 Brennu-Njáls 0.83395664 Ölkofra Ölkofra 1.39321084 Landnámabók 1.27965828 1.35400857

Burrows' (classic) Delta 1000 MFW & MFF



From 10 to 1000 MFW & MFF

• Burrows' Delta:

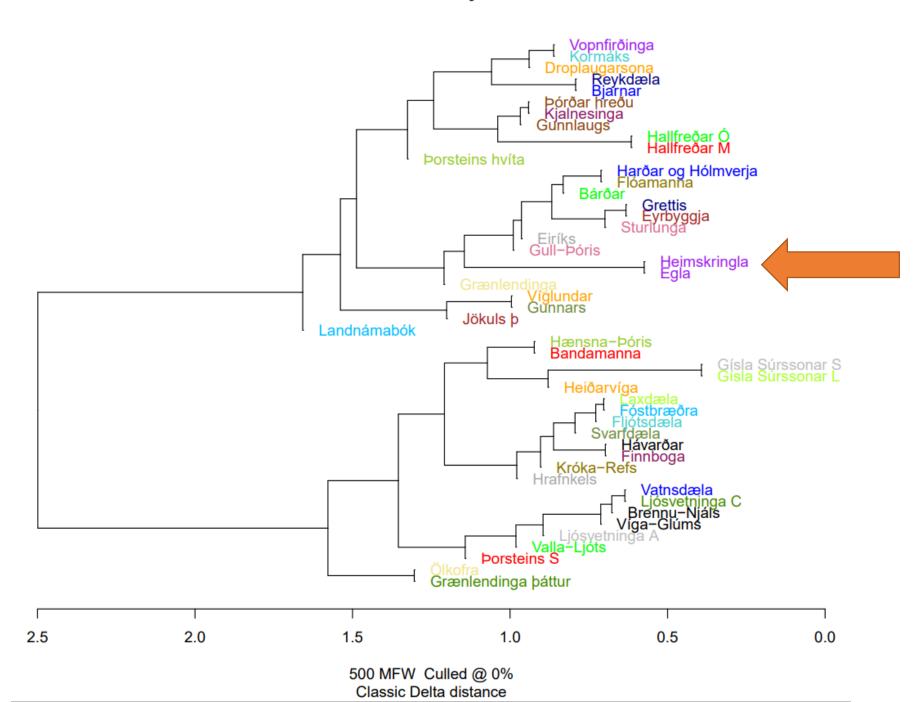
- 1-gram:
 - Closest to Egils saga: 989 Heimskringla, 2 Eyrbyggja s.
 - Closest to Heimskringla: 991 Egla
- 2-gram:
 - Closest to Egils saga: 986 Heimskringla, 5 Eyrbyggja s.
 - Closest to Heimskringla: 991 Egla
- 3-gram:
 - Closest to Egils saga: 974 Heimskringla, 5 Eyrbyggja s., 12 Sturlunga s.
 - *Sturlunga s.* < 25 MFF, Eyrbyggja <28 MFF,
 - Closest to Heimskringla: 597 Egla, Sturlunga s. 392, Landnámabók 2
 - Sturlunga s. dominates < 586 MFF, Landnámabók @ 11 & 12 MFF

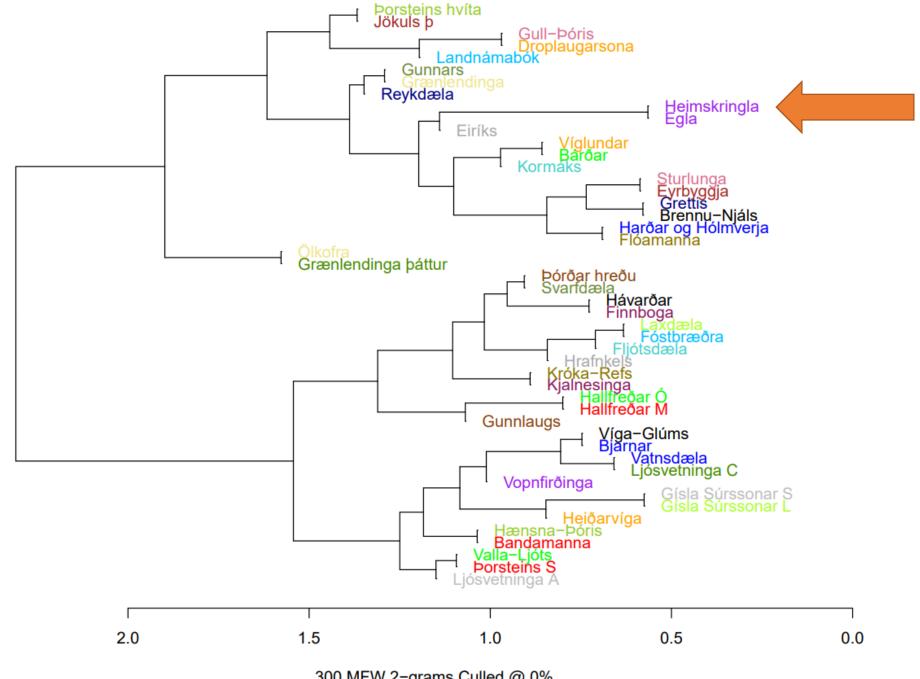
From 10 to 1000 MFW & MFF

Cosine Delta:

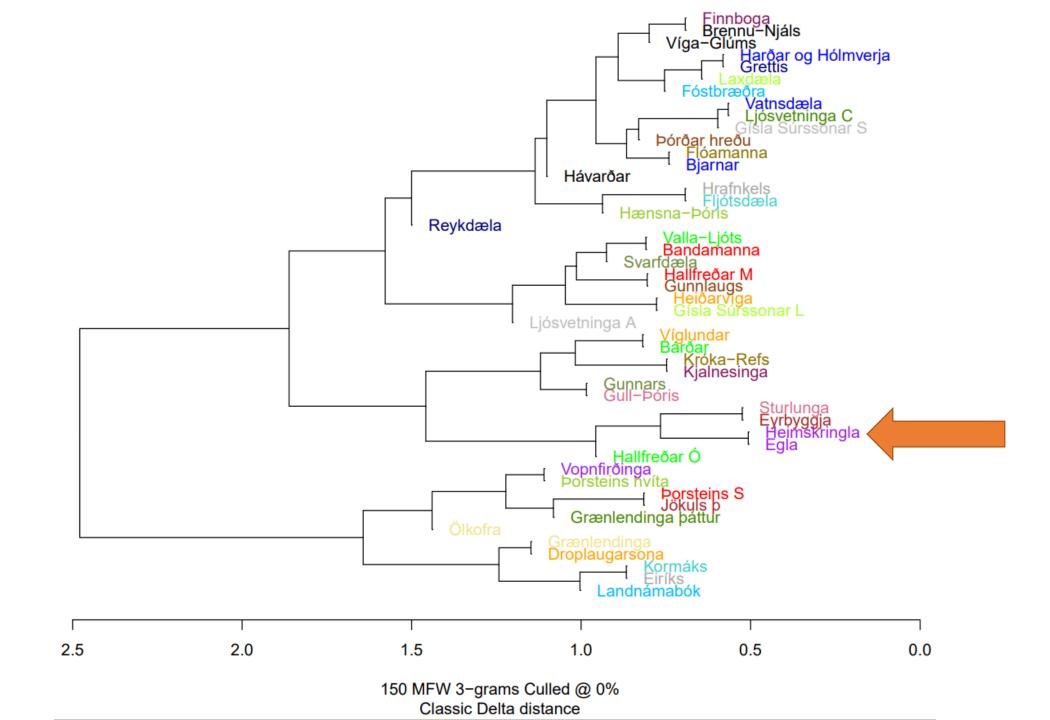
- 1-gram:
 - Closest to Egils saga: 991 Heimskringla
 - Closest to Heimskringla: 991 Egla
- 2-gram:
 - Closest to Egils saga: 986 Heimskringla, 5 Eyrbyggja s.
 - Closest to Heimskringla: 991 Egla
- 3-gram:
 - Closest to Egils saga: 981 Heimskringla, 5 Eyrbyggja s., 5 Sturlunga s.
 - *Sturlunga s.* < 25 MFF, Eyrbyggja <28 MFF,
 - Closest to Heimskringla: 972 Egla, Sturlunga s. 13, Landnámabók 6
 - Sturlunga s. & Landnámabók < 40 MFF

Cluster Analysis

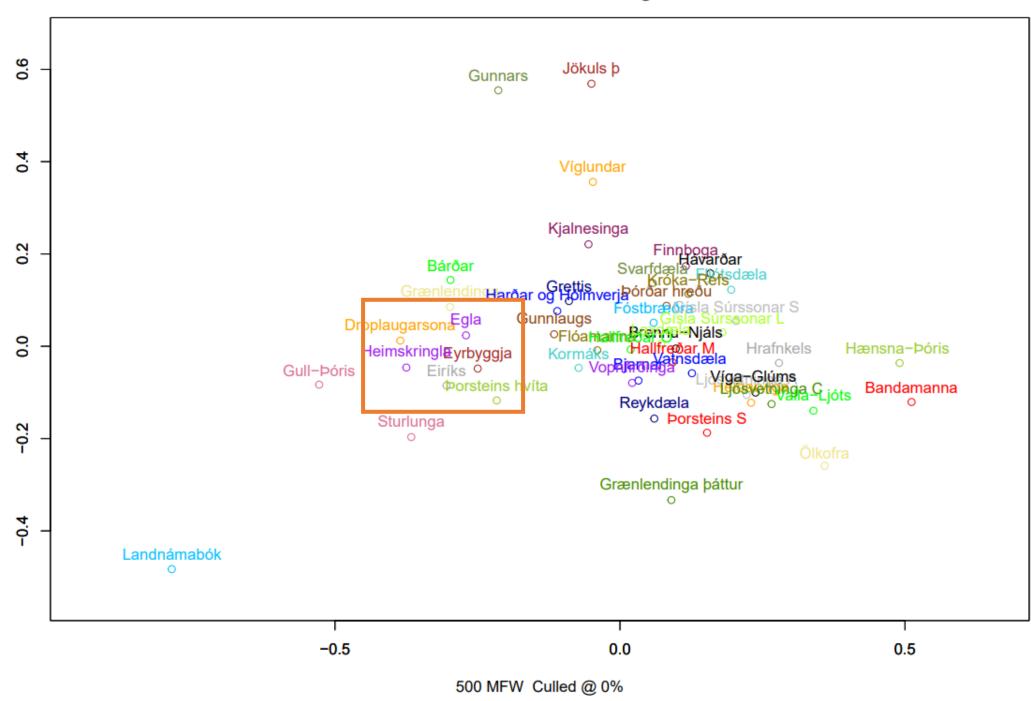




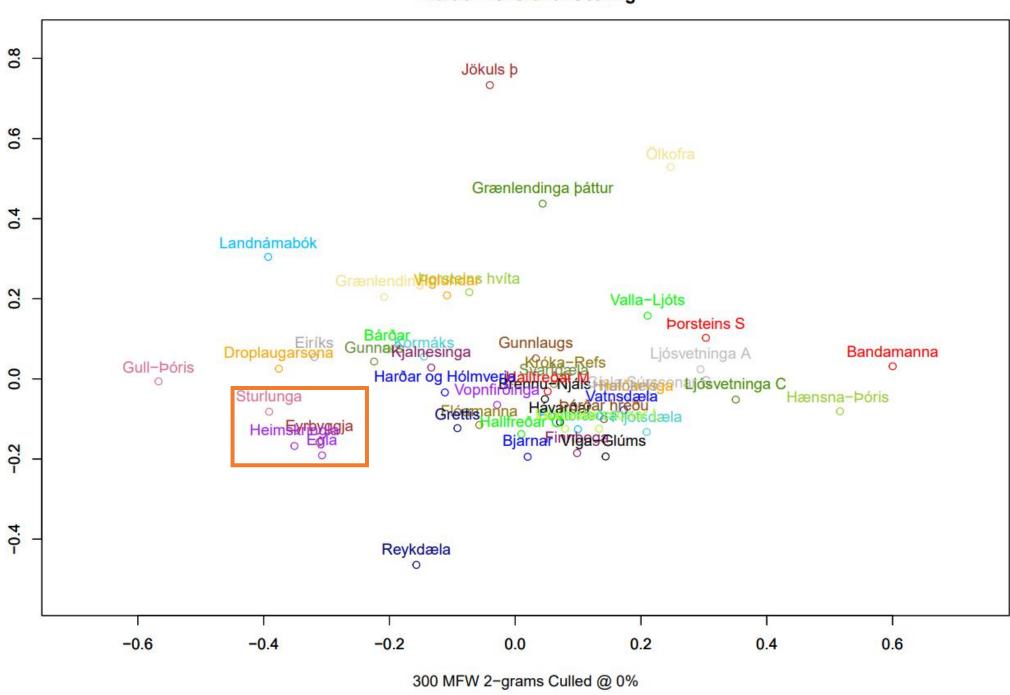
300 MFW 2-grams Culled @ 0% Classic Delta distance



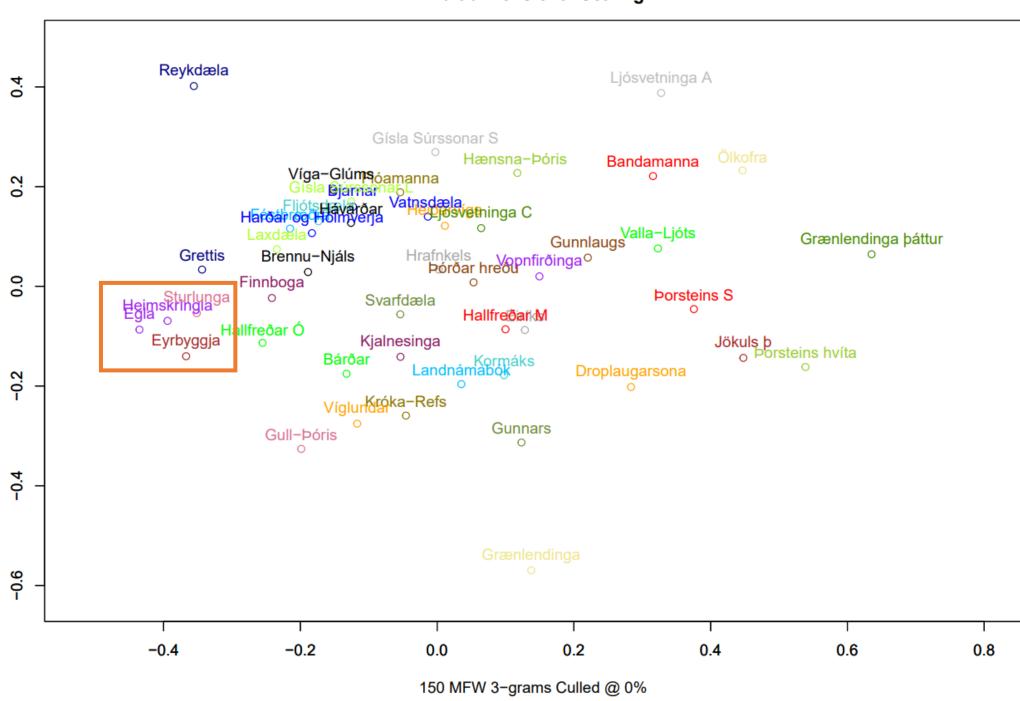
Multidimensional Scaling



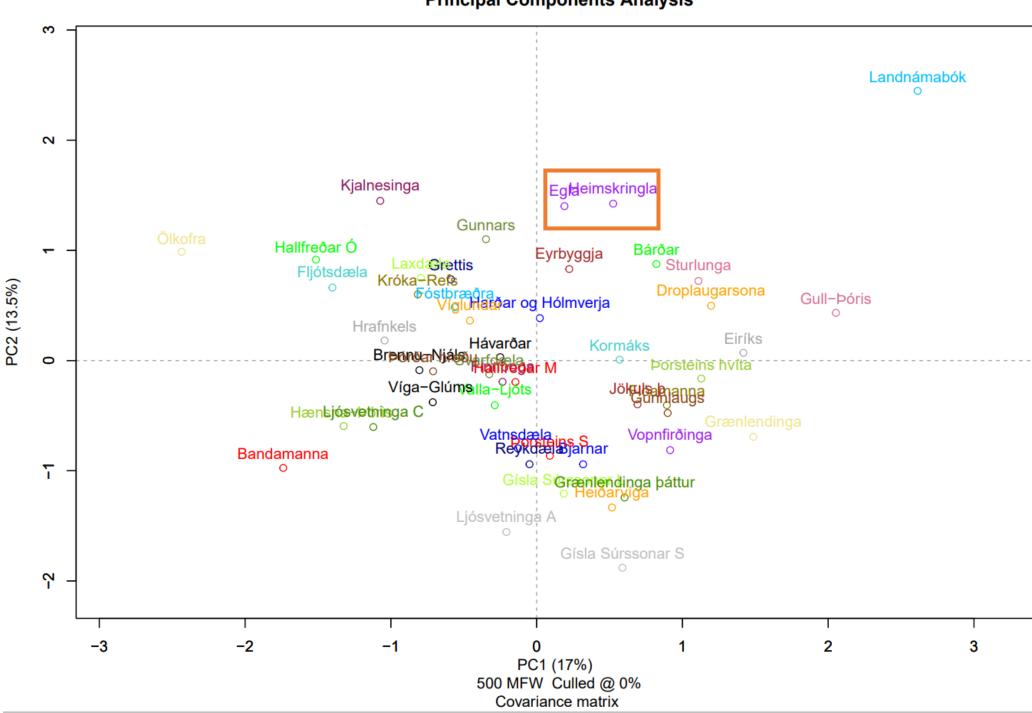
Multidimensional Scaling



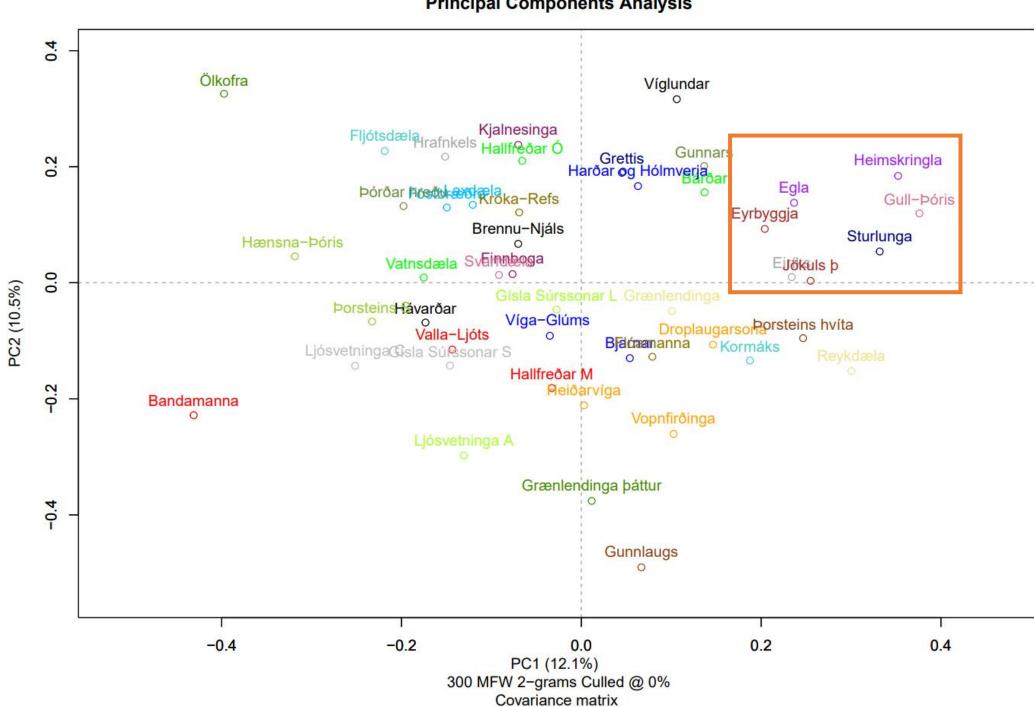
Multidimensional Scaling



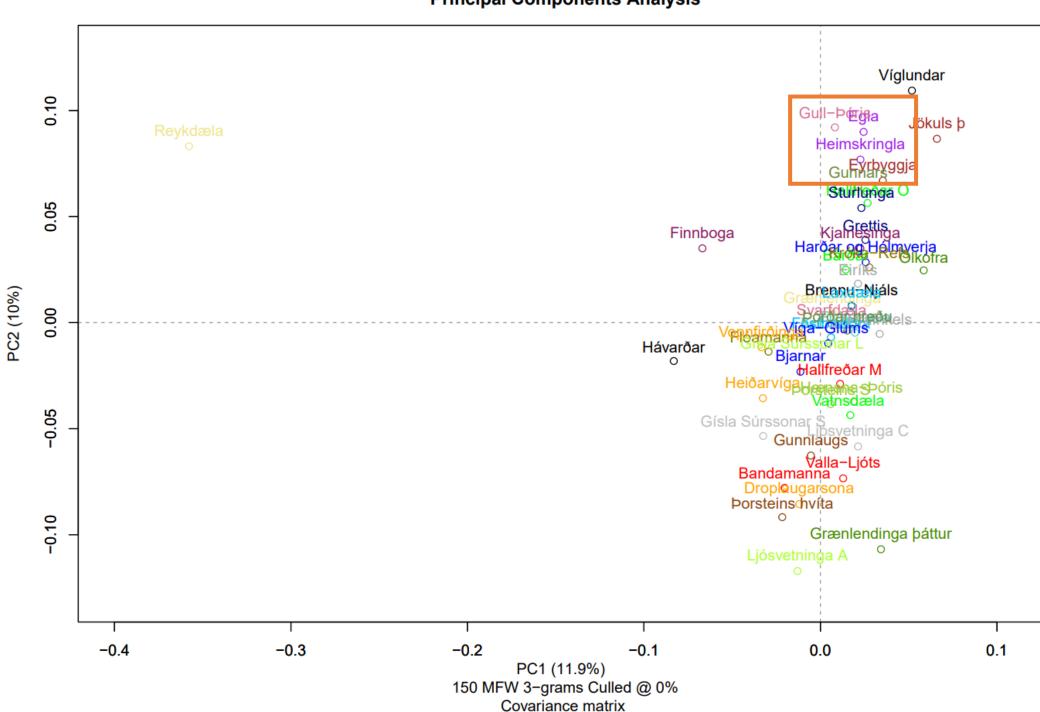
Principal Components Analysis



Principal Components Analysis



Principal Components Analysis



Open questions & problems

- Is our modern notion of authorship applicable to texts from the medieval period?
- How applicable are stylometric approaches to a corpus of predominantly anonymous texts?
- If *Egils saga* (e.g. from the *Mǫðruvallabók*) and/or *Heimskringla* have not been authored by Snorri or another single author, why are both texts closer to each other than to other works from the corpus?

• One of my preliminary hypotheses is that *Egils saga* could have been commissioned to a collective of authors who worked with the aim to reach some pragmatic purposes in favour of Sturlunga dynasty. The literary patterns elaborated in *Heimskringla* were implemented in Egils saga to reach essentially different political and practical aims (last but not least to claim ownership of lands)

More specific questions

- Can we infer authorship using normalized texts and modern Icelandic instead of Old Icelandic?
- Currently we have tools for modern Icelandic and lack them for Old Icelandic.

Literature (selection):

1. Snorri and Traditional Philology:

- Ólason 1968 [summary of research before 1968].
- Ólsen 1904 [p. 228 "Requirements' Checklist" for author of Egils saga]
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