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LITERARY, CODICOLOGICAL,
AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES
ON *HAUKSBÓK*

1. Introduction

THE FRAGMENTARY manuscript *Hauksbók* (now AM 371 4to, AM 544 4to, and AM 675 4to), compiled by the Icelandic *lögmaðr* Haukr Erlendsson (ca. 1265–1334) in the first decades of the fourteenth century, is an unusual book for at least three reasons. The first is that it is the oldest Icelandic manuscript whose writer is known with certainty. The second is that this Icelandic writer had a most remarkable career outside of Iceland: Haukr became Norway's first non-Norwegian *lögmaðr* and was appointed to the Norwegian royal council.¹ The third is that he assembled a truly diverse collection of texts, ranging from theological dialogues to *fornaldarsögur*, from a history of Troy to histories of Iceland, and from the prophecies of Merlin to an explanation of how to do decimal arithmetic. Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson (1993, 271) contented themselves with characterizing *Hauksbók* as “from its inception ... an entire private library”, but *Hauksbók*'s heterogeneity has been a temptation for other scholars who sense a deeper unity to the compilation and who seek to contain its wild variety through a more specific explanation than “library” that would account for its contents. Most of these scholars emphasize the non-Icelandic aspects of *Hauksbók*. For example, Rudolf Simek (1991) argued that Haukr modelled his compilation on the *Liber floridus*, an encyclopedic collection of extracts assembled by the Flemish monk Lambert of Saint Omer around 1120. Gunnar Harðarson (1995, 177) concurred in seeing Haukr as an “encyclopédiste”, but he noted that Haukr's literary activities took place in the milieu of the royal administrators in Bergen. Helgi Þorláksson (2004) foregrounded the political factors, suggesting that *Hauksbók* was

¹ The most recent detailed biography of Haukr is that by Gunnar Harðarson (1995, 168–183).

compiled to prove to the king's men that Haukr not only possessed a profound understanding of Icelandic matters but also had a vast knowledge of the North Atlantic area in general, including the north of Norway, Greenland, and even Vinland. Such knowledge would have made him a good man to confer with on matters concerning the northern regions. In contrast, Sverrir Jakobsson (2005, 49–50) sought Hauksbók's Icelandic roots. He proposed *Membrana Reseniana* 6 as a possible model for Hauksbók, with parallels for the contents of both compilations to be found in foreign medieval schoolbooks rather than in encyclopedias.² Continuing his argument for a pedagogical element to Hauksbók, he recently contended that its redactor be regarded as an interpreter and teacher of a world-view (Sverrir Jakobsson 2007, 22). I, too, suspect that—as big as Hauksbók is—there must be “more to it”. The present essay offers a critical discussion of these perspectives on the problem, in an effort to evaluate the various explanations that have been put forth.

2. The Codicology of Hauksbók

A helpful starting point is a review of Hauksbók's codicological composition.³ In addition to the extant fragments of the manuscript, the material reviewed includes the texts of some of the now-lost leaves, which are preserved in the extracts that Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá copied from Hauksbók in the first half of the seventeenth century.

AM 371 4to is believed to have originally been comprised of six quires, but one is now missing, and none of the others is complete:

- The first quire is largely lost. What is now folio 1 was folio 4 of the beginning of *Landnámabók*.
- The second quire is also largely lost. What is now folio 2 was the fourth leaf of this quire. The contents continue *Landnámabók*.

² With respect to medieval compilations, the word “encyclopedic” can be used in a general way to indicate the presence of subjects such as astronomy, computistics, and geography, so that “encyclopedia” becomes almost synonymous with “schoolbook”. However, there is no evidence that Hauksbók was actually used for teaching. For a stricter definition of “encyclopedic”, see Section 4, below.

³ Where not otherwise noted, this information is drawn from Finnur Jónsson (1892–1896, v–cxxxvi), Jón Helgason (1960, vii–xxii), and Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson (1993, 271).

- The third quire of *Landnámabók* is entirely lost.
- The fourth quire (3r–9v) originally consisted of eight leaves, but the last leaf is now missing. It contains the further continuation of *Landnámabók*.
- The fifth quire (10r–14v) originally consisted of eight leaves, but now only its second, third, fifth, sixth, and seventh leaves remain. This quire formed the last part of *Landnámabók*.
- The sixth quire originally consisted of four bifolia but is now missing the two outermost pairs (i.e., 1 and 8 and 2 and 7). What are now 15r–18v comprised the quire's two innermost bifolia and contain the middle of *Kristni saga*.
- As *Kristni saga* is not thought to have taken up all of the last two leaves, Finnur Jónsson (1892–1896, x and cxxxvii) suggests that some of Björn Jónsson's extracts, especially Haukr's genealogy and the list of the bishops of Greenland, could have been written in the remaining space. Jón Helgason (1960, viii) argued that the extracts could not have been contained in a single leaf, and therefore there must be some leaves missing that followed this quire.

According to Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson (1993, 271), minor paleographical variations between the charters in Haukr's hand indicate that AM 371 was written by Haukr himself ("Hand 1") during the same period that he wrote folios 22–59 and 69–107 of AM 544 (see below). The date may have been between 1306 and 1308, when he was on a mission to Iceland. Stefán Karlsson (1964, 119) dates it from around 1302 to 1310. Further support for a date of 1302 or later is provided by Jón Helgason (1960, xx), who notes that Norwegian influence on Haukr's orthography is found even in the first part of Hauksbók. This suggests that it was probably written after he had settled in Norway. (Haukr is known to have been *lögmaðr* of Oslo in 1302.) A reference in *Landnámabók* to Kolbeinn Auðkýlingr's wife having the title *frú* (lady) must be no earlier than 1300 or 1301, when Kolbeinn was knighted.

AM 544 4to is believed to have originally been comprised of at least seventeen quires, but three or more are now missing:

- The first quire consists of four bifolia. It is in Hand 2, most likely that of a Norwegian in Haukr's service at the beginning of the fourteenth century (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271). Jón Helgason (1960, x–xi, xx) dates it from around 1290 to 1334 and notes that the scribe could have been Norwegian or Færeese.
- 1r–1v: No rubric (the first words are “Brunnr er einn i paradiso”)

This chapter about springs and rivers is an Icelandic extract of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Bk. XIII, chs. 21, 19, and 13).
- 1v–2r: “Prologus”

This chapter about Moses, the first historian, is an expanded Icelandic rendering of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Bk. I, ch. 42).⁴
- 2r: “Fra paradiso”

This chapter about paradise is an Icelandic version of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Bk. XIV, ch. 3, sections 2–3).
- 2r–4r: “Her segir fra þui huersu lond liggia i veroldenni”

This description of the world is an Icelandic translation of an unknown Latin original.
- 4r–8r: “Vm þat huaðan otru hofst”

This chapter about the origins of heresy is a translation of Ælfric's Old English homily *De falsis diis* (Taylor 1969), supplemented with material from Peter Comestor's *Historia scolastica*.
- 8r–8v: “Fra þui huar huerr Noa sona bygði heiminn”

This chapter about how Noah's sons divided the world amongst themselves is an Icelandic version of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Bk. IX, ch. 2).
- 8v: The beginning of “Her segir fra marghattaðum þioðum”

This description of strange peoples is an Icelandic expansion of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Bk. IX, ch. 2, and Bk. XI, ch. 3).

⁴ Sverrir Jakobsson (2007, 27) supposed that the historiographical theory presented in this passage is the work of Hauksbók's redactor, but in fact it is present in the original Latin, as Ruth Morse (1991, 97) noted: “Influential writers like Isidore of Seville ... continued to claim Moses as the first historian, followed by ‘Dares’... and only later Herodotus; sacred history preceded, but never finally displaced, secular models.”

- The second quire also consisted of eight leaves at first but is now missing the last two. It is also in Hand 2, of the same date as the first quire.
 - 9r: The rest of “Her segir fra marghattaðum þjóðum”
 - 9v–10v: “Her segir [illegible]”
This sermon against witchcraft and heathenism is attributed to Augustine but is derived from Ælfric’s Old English homily *De auguriis* and is probably a translation (Abram 2004, 8).
 - 10v–11r: “Her segir huaðan blot skur guða hofust”
This text on the origin of sacrifices to idols is an excerpt from the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis.
 - 11r: “Her segir fra draumum”
This text on the origin of dreams is an excerpt from the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis.
 - 11r–11v: “Her segir fra Antichristo”
This text about the Antichrist is an excerpt from the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis.
 - 11v–12r: “Vm uprisu kuicra oc dauða”
This text about Judgment Day is an excerpt from the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis.
 - 12r–13r: “Vm imbru daga hald”
This sermon about the observance of the Ember Days is of unknown origin.
 - 13r–13v: “Vm regnboga”
This text about the rainbow is of unknown origin.
 - 13v: “Vm solstoðr”
This text about the course of the sun is from *Stjörnu-Odda tal*.
 - 13v–14r: “Vm vppstigning solar oc niðr stigning”
This text about sunrise and sunset is from *Stjörnu-Odda tal*.
 - 14r–14v: “Vm borga skipan oc legstaðe heilagra manna”
This description of pilgrimage sites is of unknown origin.
- Jón Helgason (1960, viii) argued that there must have been a quire here that is now missing, which contained the beginning of the text that ends on what is now 15r. Sveinbjörn Rafnsson (1992) confirmed this by demonstrating that Hauksbók probably once

contained an abridged version of this text, which is an Old Norse translation of Petrus Alphonsus' *Disciplina clericalis*.

- What is now the third quire has always consisted of only seven leaves, of which 1 and 7, 3 and 6, and 4 and 5 were originally conjoint. The second leaf of this quire is a singleton and was from the beginning inserted into the quire as a loose leaf. The first four leaves of this quire are in Hand 3. The scribe may have been a Norwegian in Haukr's service at the beginning of the fourteenth century (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271), but the trimming of the leaf suggests that it may have been written independently and then obtained by Haukr and cut down to fit the manuscript. Jón Helgason (1960, xi, xx) also attributes this to a Norwegian scribe but dates it from around 1290 to 1334. The last three leaves were originally left blank.
- 15r: The end of an exemplum about how a saint fearlessly upbraids a king for his conduct and is allowed by the king to go in peace.
This exemplum is from a translation of Petrus Alphonsus' *Disciplina clericalis* (Sveinbjörn Rafnsson 1992).
- 15r–16r: “Fra heilræðum spekinga”
This didactic dialogue between a teacher and his student is of unknown origin.
- 16r–17r: “Af nattu mannzins ok bloði”
This text about the nature of man and of blood is derived from Bede's *Constitutio mundi*.
- 17r–18v: “Huaðan kominn er Christus drottin”
This text about Seth's journey to paradise is drawn from a variety of sources, including an anonymous Latin text from the end of the thirteenth century (Meyer 1882, 128–149), Peter Comestor's *Historia libri regum* (Bk. III, ch. 26), and Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*.
- [18v, lines 31–35: An Icelandic writer (“Hand 4”) filled the blank space at the bottom of 18v with an unrubricated text that begins “Þesser eru xij heims osomar”. This is an Icelandic rendering of *De duodecim abusivis sæculi*. The Latin original is

found in a variety of places, including the *Liber floridus* (Simek 1991, 111). Degnbol et al. (1989, 454) date this to around 1350, and Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson (1993, 271) state that it is most likely in an Icelandic hand from the middle of the fourteenth century but is undoubtedly from after Haukr's death in 1334.]

- [19r: A plan of Jerusalem that is also found in the *Liber floridus* (Simek 1992). This is in Hand 5. Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson (1993, 271) state that it may date from the middle of the fourteenth century but is undoubtedly from after Haukr's death in 1334.]
- [19v: This unrubricated text begins "Uær vilium þat birta fyrri folke af huerium til fellum þeir menn megu lavglega af sakaz sem ban settum monnum samneyta sua at þeir falla i ecke bann eða forboð fyrri þa skyld" and is about relations with people who have been excommunicated. It is a fragment of a translation of the *Summa decretalium* by the glossator Gofridus Tranensis (d. 1247). The bottom part of the leaf has been cut off, leaving the tops of some letters. It is in Hand 6, which Degnbol et al. (1989, 454) date to between 1300 and 1350. Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson (1993, 271) state that it may be Icelandic from the middle of the fourteenth century but is undoubtedly from after Haukr's death in 1334.]
- [20r–21r: A line and a half of writing at the top of 20r can be faintly seen. This may be the continuation of the text that is cut off on 19v. An Icelandic writer ("Hand 7") added *Völuspá* on these leaves around 1350.]
- [21v was originally left blank but was later used for various jottings.]
- What is now the fourth quire consists of four bifolia. It is in Haukr's hand and was possibly copied down between 1306 and 1308 (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271). Stefán Karlsson (1964:119) dates it from around 1302 to 1310.
- 22r–29v: *Trójumanna saga* from the beginning of the saga to the middle of ch. 25

- What is now the fifth quire consists of six leaves. Probably all were bifolia originally, but the second pair has become separated. 34v and 35r were originally left blank.
 - 30r–33v: *Trójumanna saga* from the middle of ch. 25 to the end of the saga.
This is in Haukr's hand, written at the same time as the first part of the saga.
 - 34r: No rubric (the first words are "Emmatistvs hefir pvr-pvralit sem vindropi")
This is an Icelandic rendering of Bishop Marbodius of Rennes' *Liber lapidum* (sections 16, 60, 30, 19, 1, 3, and 17). It is also in Haukr's hand, and Stefán Karlsson (1964, 118) dates it to before 1302.
 - [34v and 35r were originally left blank but were later filled with various jottings.]
 - 35v: No rubric (the first words are "Cicio ianus")
This is a guide in Latin verse to the Church feasts in each month of the year. It is in Hand 8, which Stefán Karlsson (1964, 118) thinks belongs to one of Haukr's scribes.
- What is now the sixth quire consists of four bifolia. It is in Haukr's hand, of the same date as the fourth quire and Haukr's part of the fifth quire.
 - 36r–43v: *Breta sögur* from the beginning of the saga to the middle of ch. 16
- What is now the seventh quire consists of four bifolia. It is in Haukr's hand, of the same date as the sixth quire.
 - 44r–49r: *Breta sögur* from the middle of ch. 16 through ch. 27
 - 49r–51v: *Merlínussþá* from the beginning of the text to the middle of v. 51 (the editors count this as chs. 28 and 29 of *Breta sögur*)
- What is now the eighth quire consists of four bifolia. The first and last leaves of the eighth quire are now separated, but they were originally conjoint. The last page was originally left blank, and nothing seems to be missing between the eighth quire and what is now the ninth quire. It is Haukr's hand, of the same date as the seventh quire.

- 52r–53r: *Merlinusspá* from the middle of v. 51 to the end of the text
- 53r–59r: *Breta sögur* from ch. 30 to the end of the text
- [59v was originally left blank but was later filled with various jottings.]

What is now the ninth quire consists of nine leaves, of which the eighth is an insert. It is in Haukr's hand and may have been copied down around or after 1310 (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271).

- 60r–61v: *Viðræða líkams ok sálar*
Despite the rubric, this is *Viðræða æðru ok hugrekkis*, a translation of the Pseudo-Senecan dialogue *De remediis*. As it contains some Norwegian word forms, the exemplar may have been Norwegian (Stefán Karlsson 1964, 119), but Gunnar Harðarson (1995, 73) cautions that the exact nature and provenance of the exemplar remain uncertain.
- 61v–68v: The beginning of the actual *Viðræða líkams ok sálar*
- This is an expanded translation of Hugh of St. Victor's *Soliloquium de arrha animae*. It also contains some Norwegian word forms, and the suggestions and warnings about its exemplar are the same as those for *Viðræða æðru ok hugrekkis*.

Stefán Karlsson (1964, 118) suggested that two quires are missing here, as he found no reason to think that the end of *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* and the beginning of *Hemings þáttr* were in the same quire. Finnur Jónsson had implied the contrary when he stated that the last leaf of this quire (Finnur Jónsson 1892–1896, xi) was extant in Árni Magnússon and Ásgeir Jónsson's time, as the beginning of Ásgeir's copy of *Hemings þáttr* corresponds to exactly one leaf. Jón Helgason (1960, ix) was also inclined to think that only one quire is missing here.

What is now the tenth quire consists of eight leaves. It is in Haukr's hand and was possibly copied down between 1306 and 1308 (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271). Stefán Karlsson (1964, 119) dates it from around 1302 to 1310.

- 69r–72v: *Hemings þáttr* from the last part of ch. 17 through to the end of the text

- 72v–76v: *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* from the beginning of the saga through the beginning of ch. 11

At least one quire is missing here, which contained the rest of *Hervarar saga*. Two of its leaves were still in existence in the seventeenth century, as the contents are found copied by Sigurður Jónsson of Knör. Finnur Jónsson (1892–1896, xi) calculated that the missing beginning of *Fóstbræðra saga* would have filled about six leaves, so that the end of *Hervarar saga* and the beginning of *Fóstbræðra saga* together could have comprised the contents of the lost quire. Jón Helgason (1960, ix) noted that if this were the case, the end of *Hervarar saga* would have to have been significantly abbreviated. Although he did not dismiss this possibility, he suggested that there might have been two or more quires here that are now missing, with one or more unknown texts between the two sagas.

What is now the eleventh quire consists of eight leaves.

- 77r–84v: *Fóstbræðra saga* from the middle of ch. 11 through the middle of ch. 23
- Folios 77r through 80r, line 26, are in Haukr's hand, and 80r, line 26, through 84v are in Hand 9 ("the first Icelandic secretary"), with the exception of 81r, lines 7–9, which are in Hand 10. The saga was possibly copied down between 1306 and 1308 (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271). Stefán Karlsson (1964, 119) dates this from around 1302 to 1310, but Jón Helgason (1960, xxi) pointed out that a reference to the consecration of Bishop Árni Helgason of Skálholt on 77v means that this can be no earlier than October 25, 1304.

What is now the twelfth quire consists of eight leaves.

- 85r–89v: The rest of *Fóstbræðra saga*
This is also in Hand 9, with the exception of 86r, lines 1–7, which are in Hand 11, and 86r, lines 7–13, 87r, and some lines in the upper part of 87v, which are in Hand 12.
- 90r–92v: *Algorismus* from the beginning of the text through the middle of ch. 17 (the last chapter)
This explanation of how to do decimal calculations is a translation of the Latin poem *Carmen de algorismo* by Alexander

de Villa Dei (fl. 1200). This is also in Hand 9 and was copied down possibly between 1306 and 1308 (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271).

What is now the thirteenth quire consists of eight leaves.

- 93r: The rest of *Algorismus*
This is also in Hand 9, written at the same time as the first part of *Algorismus*.
- 93r–100v: *Eiríks saga rauða* from the beginning of the saga through the middle of ch. 11
- 93r through 99r, line 14, are in Hand 9, and folios 99r, line 14, through 100r, line 2, are in Haukr's hand. 100r, line 3, through 101r is in Hand 13 ("the second Icelandic secretary"). The saga was possibly copied down between 1306 and 1308 (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271).

What is now the fourteenth quire consists of seven leaves. The first is a singleton, and the remaining six are three bifolia. There is no reason to think that the first leaf was originally a singleton, and Finnur Jónsson (1892–1896, xi) believed that originally it was one half of a bifolium, but the other half was blank and was eventually cut off.

- 101r–101v: The rest of *Eiríks saga rauða*
- Folio 101v is in Haukr's hand (Gunnar Harðarson 1995, 41). The rest was written by another Icelander. The genealogies at the end of the saga include Haukr's title of *herra* (sir), so this folio must have been written no earlier than 1306, when Haukr was knighted (Jón Helgason 1960, xxi).
- 101v–104v: *Skálda saga*
This is in Haukr's hand and was possibly copied down between 1306 and 1308 (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271).
- 104v–105r: *Þáttr af Upplendinga konungum*
This is also in Haukr's hand, with the same date as for *Skálda saga*.
- 105r–107v: *Ragnarssona þáttr*
This is also in Haukr's hand, with the same date as for *Skálda saga*.

- 107v: No rubric (the first words are “Si prima feria fuerit”) This method of fortune-telling is recorded by Bede under the name of *Prognostica temporum*. It is followed by other texts that are half-illegible. The first of these is in Latin and is attributed to Bede. The next item (which may possibly be two items) is in Icelandic. The reading of this text is uncertain but it appears to be a discussion of how the significance of dreams is affected by the age of the moon. All these are in Hand 14 and were possibly copied down between 1306 and 1308.

Jón Helgason (1960, xxii, nt.15) speculated that the two Icelandic “secretaries” were Bishop Árni Helgason and the priest who would have accompanied him on his travels. They could have stayed with Haukr in Bergen for a time, perhaps while waiting for a ship to Iceland, and at that time they could have helped their host with the copying. Some support for the assumption that the “first Icelandic secretary” worked in Norway can be found in *Eiríks saga rauða*, where *út hér* is altered to *a Islandi*. Jón also raised the possibility that although folios 1–14 (the first two quires) may have been obtained from others and inserted into the manuscript, folios 15–21 are especially likely to have come from a different scriptorium, as folios 15–18 are not only on thicker parchment than the other quires but have almost no outer margin (Jón Helgason 1960, vi). It would appear that these folios originally were in a larger format than their fellows and had to be trimmed to fit into Hauksbók. Further support for this view is provided by the rubrics, for although they were generally written by Haukr, even in those parts of 544 that were otherwise written by other people, the rubrics on folios 1–21 were written by someone else (Jón Helgason 1960, xxii).

AM 675 4to consists of two sequential quires of eight leaves each and contains the beginning of *Elucidarius*, an Old Norse translation of Honorius Augustodunensis’ Latin work on Christian cosmology. Haukr had access to more of *Elucidarius*, inasmuch as Hand 2 copied excerpts of it, but it is not known how much is missing here; it is probably one quire. The text is in Hand 15. The orthography is irregular and mixed, but the scribe was most likely Icelandic (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993, 271). Jón Helgason (1960, vi) suggested that these quires, too, may have been obtained from others and inserted into the manuscript. He dates

this from around 1290 to 1334 and notes that the scribe may have been Icelandic or Norwegian (Jón Helgason 1960, xi, xx).

Finally, there is some question as to where in the original manuscript Björn of Skarðsa found some of the items that he copied.⁵ The two excerpts from *Landnámabók* came from AM 371, and Haukr's genealogy and the list of the bishops of Greenland may have been located after *Kristni saga*. This leaves the so-called *Grænlands annáll*, an addition to *Landnámabók*, a list of the dioceses in Norway, a list of the dioceses in England, a list of the dioceses in Scotland, the lengths of the stages from Lübeck to Rome, a list of chronological terms, a list of the territories ruled by Norway, a list of the districts of Norway, a discussion of Norse names, and genealogies of the descendants of Sigurðr Fáfnisbani and Ragnarr loðbrók without obvious locations in the manuscript. There must also have been a list of the bishops of Oslo, which Björn omits in these excerpts but copies into AM 258b VI 8vo with a reference to a divergent detail in Hauksbók (Jón Helgason 1960, ix, nt. 4). Finnur Jónsson (1892–1896, x–xi) supposed that there were two places in AM 544 where entire quires were missing, but he was persuaded in each case that most likely the gaps contained only the ending of the text found before the gap and the beginning of the text found after the gap. Stefán Karlsson (1964, 118) disagreed, arguing that in one of these places — between what is now the ninth and tenth quires — two quires were missing, not one. This would leave room for the excerpts whose locations are unaccounted for, and one could speculate that the list of the bishops of Oslo, the lists of dioceses, the lengths of the stages from Lübeck to Rome, and the list of chronological terms came after the end of *Viðræða líkams oksálar*, and that the *Grænlands annáll*, the addition to *Landnámabók*, the lists of Norway's territories and districts, the discussion of Norse names, and the genealogies of the descendants of Sigurðr Fáfnisbani and Ragnarr loðbrók preceded the beginning of *Hemings þáttir*. Jón Helgason (1960, xxxiii), however, held that the excerpts most probably followed *Kristni saga*, and he also considered that they were written in Haukr's hand.

⁵ It is of course not certain that all these texts were in Hauksbók, but Finnur Jónsson (1892–1896, cxxxiii) thought that it was most likely that this was the case, and Jón Helgason (1960, xxxii–xxxiii) concurred.

3. Phases of Composition

As emerges from the dates above, Hauksbók appears to have been assembled in six phases, five carried out by Haukr and his scribes, and one carried out by a continuer around 1350:

1. Folio 34r of AM 544 has been dated to before 1302 by Stefán Karlsson (1964, 117–118). To explain how 34r could contain text that is earlier than the writing around it, he suggested that in this quire, Haukr used bifolia that already had writing on them. What is now folio 34 had the lapidary written on 1r of the bifolium. 1v, 2r, and 2v were blank. What is now folio 35 had *Cisiojanus* written on 1v. 1r, 2r, and 2v were blank. In putting these pairs of leaves into the quire, Haukr refolded them so that the leaves that were blank on both sides appeared in the first half of the quire. Although Stefán did not address the question of the date of folio 35v, it is reasonable to assume that it, too, is earlier than 1302.
2. Folios 1–19 of AM 544 and all of AM 675 have been dated by Jón Helgason (1960, xx) to between 1290 and 1334, but Gunnar Harðarson (1995, 42) dates them to between 1302 and 1310, a dating I prefer because it is based on the research of Stefán Karlsson (1964). It is possible that folios 15–18 of AM 544 were not written by scribes under Haukr's direction (Jón Helgason 1960, vi), but this does not affect our understanding of the compilation's overall chronology. In any case, these folios contain encyclopedic items and *Elucidarius*. Some of the scribes of this part of AM 544 were certainly Norwegian, and the others probably were as well. Opinion varies as to whether the scribe of AM 675 was Norwegian or Icelandic. This phase of the compilation took place after Haukr became a *lögmaðr* in Iceland (1294), and it may even date to the beginning of his career in Norway. Haukr was *lögmaðr* of Oslo in 1302, and in 1306 and 1309 he is referred to as a member of the king's council.
3. AM 371 and folios 22–33, 34v–35r, 36–59, and 69–107 of AM 544 have been dated to between 1302 and 1310 by Stefán Karlsson (1964, 119) and to between 1306 and 1308 by Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson (1993, 271a). The two sets of dates were both arrived at by Stefán Karlsson (1964, 119), who argued for a date between 1302 and 1310 on the basis of other documents written by Haukr. Stefán

further noted that not only were most or all of the texts in this section Icelandic, but that the six scribes who helped Haukr with the copying were most likely all Icelanders as well, and he concluded that the work could well have been done between 1306 and 1308, when Haukr was in Iceland. This is in agreement with the dating of these folios on external evidence. The reference to the consecration of Bishop Árni Helgason of Skálholt on 77v means that it can have been written no earlier than October 25, 1304, and the inclusion of Haukr's title of *herra* (sir) in the genealogies on 101v mean that this can have been written no earlier than 1306, when Haukr was knighted (Jón Helgason 1960, xxi). These folios contain *Landnámabók*, *Kristni saga*, *Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögur*, *Merlínussþá*, *Hemings þáttur*, *Heiðreks saga*, *Fóstbraðra saga*, *Algorismus*, *Eiríks saga rauða*, *Skálda saga*, *Þáttur af Upplendinga konungum*, *Ragnarssona þáttur*, and *Prognostica temporum*. Stefán Karlsson (1964, 117–118) divided this material into four subgroups (AM 371; AM 544, fols. 22–59; 544, fols. 69–76; and 544, fols. 77–107) and observed that there are some differences in their hands. In his view, it is not certain whether all four subgroups were written at one time or in their current order, which may only date from the days of Árni Magnússon. Folios 69–76 of AM 544 (*Hemings þáttur* and *Heiðreks saga*) could be the youngest subgroup. A different order from the current one may explain the presence of *Algorismus* here, whereas *Prognostica temporum* was arguably put where it was because there was a blank space of the right size there.⁶ Although this phase of the compilation seems to have taken place in Iceland, Haukr was there only temporarily. He was a *lögmaðr* in Norway at this time and served on the king's council.

4. Folios 60–68 of AM 544 are dated to around or after 1310 by Stefán Karlsson (1964, 119), who specified that because the exemplar for these leaves seems to have been Norwegian, Haukr probably wrote them after he had returned to Norway. These folios contain *Viðraða æðru ok hugrekkis* and *Viðraða líkams ok sálar*. This phase of the compilation took place after Haukr moved to Bergen and was *lögmaðr* of the Gulaping district.

⁶ Stefán Karlsson (1964, 117) did not mention *Prognostica temporum* specifically, but he did state that in this part of the manuscript, the division of the contents seems to have partly followed the division of the quires and partly the availability of blank spaces.

5. The list of bishops of Greenland was updated with the name of Árni, who received the see in 1314 (Jón Helgason 1960, xxi).
6. Hauksbók probably came to Iceland shortly after Haukr's death in 1334 (Jón Helgason 1960, xxvi). Around 1350, according to Degnbol et al. (1989, 454) who cite Stefán Karlsson as authority, a blank space on what is now 18v of AM 544 and the blank pages of what is now folios 19–21 of 544 were filled with additional texts: the translation of *De duodecim abusivis sæculi*, the plan of Jerusalem, the fragment of the *Summa decretalium*, and *Völuspá*. There is some uncertainty here, for while Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson (1993, 271) stated that the texts on folio 19 may have been written after Haukr's death, Gunnar Harðarson (1995, 179) set the fragment of the *Summa* into the context of Haukr's milieu in Bergen and implied that it was of interest to Haukr because Haukr's father had been excommunicated several times in the course of his disputes with the Church.

4. The Clerical Nature of Hauksbók

Putting Haukr's parts of Hauksbók in their most likely chronological order shows clearly that his first interest was in copying and collecting texts on natural history (the lapidary) and religious practice (*Cisiojanus*), such as might be found in an encyclopedia. This evidently took place earlier than 1302, before Haukr is known to have moved to Norway. Because both these texts are also found in other Icelandic manuscripts, and because *Cisiojanus* refers to Icelandic saints, it seems most likely that Haukr copied the one and obtained the other in Iceland. He seems to have continued in the same vein once he became a *lögmaðr* in Norway, for the next set of additions (AM 544, fols. 1–19, and all of AM 675) contain a similar combination of theology (*Elucidarius*, the *Disciplina clericalis*, sermons, homilies, and a didactic dialogue) and texts from encyclopedic genres such as astronomy, geography, and meteorology. The fact that some of the scribes of these leaves of AM 544 were undoubtedly Norwegian and the others were probably Norwegian supports the view that Haukr used their services after he received an appointment in Norway. This activity may have occurred in Norway, in contrast to the third part of the manuscript (AM 371 and AM 544, fols. 22–33, 34v–35r, 36–59, and 69–107), which has a

markedly Icelandic character as regards both content and scribal practice, as Stefán Karlsson (1964, 119) pointed out. His suggestion that this part of the manuscript was written between 1306 and 1308, when Haukr was in Iceland, seems eminently reasonable.⁷ Folio 101v of AM 544, at least, was written no earlier than 1306. Haukr's continuing interest in clerical texts is shown by the presence of *Algorismus* and *Prognostica temporum* here, but a new, historical turn appears, with classical, British, Scandinavian, and Icelandic history being represented by the inclusion of *Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögur*, *Merlínussþá*, *Heiðreks saga*, *Þáttur af Upplendinga konungum*, *Ragnarssona þáttur*, *Skálda saga*, *Hemings þáttur*, *Landnámabók*, *Kristni saga*, *Fóstræðra saga*, and *Eiríks saga rauða*.⁸ Perhaps we may see a connection between this interest in kings and the deeds of great men and Haukr's appointment to the Norwegian royal council, which we know had occurred in or by 1306.⁹ But if these texts were copied in Iceland, then the fourth part of the manuscript (AM 544, fols. 60–68), dated to around or after 1310, was probably written after Haukr returned to Norway (Stefán Karlsson 1964, 119). Containing *Viðræða æðru ok hugrekkis* and *Viðræða líkams ok sálar*, these folios return to theological matters. From first to last, therefore, Hauksbók is primarily a clerical compilation, but as Sverrir Jakobsson (2005, 49 and 359) noted, this is one of its most puzzling aspects. If we did not know that it was compiled by Haukr Erlendsson, we would assume that it had been compiled by a cleric, yet Haukr was a layman who received no ordination of any kind.

Two attempts have been made to solve this puzzle. Sverrir Jakobsson (2005, 49–50) proposed *Membrana Reseniana 6* as a possible model for Hauksbók, and certainly there are resemblances between these compila-

⁷ Helgi Guðmundsson (1967, 68, nt. 3) suggested that Haukr made use of the library of the monastery at Viðey, and although Gunnar Harðarson (1995, 178) did not dismiss this hypothesis, he pointed out that it is equally possible that Haukr was using the library at the cathedral of Skálholt, because it was with Bishop Árni Helgason of Skálholt that Haukr founded a hospital at Gaulverjabær for clerics in 1308.

⁸ Sverrir Jakobsson (2005, 72) stated that various kinds of Hauksbók's contents, including *Íslendingasögur* and *fornaldarsögur*, are not among those usually counted as a sign of clerical ideology, but in fact a *fornaldarsaga* such as *Thorsteins saga Víkingssonar* could certainly be informed by clerical ideology (Rowe 2004).

⁹ Sverrir Jakobsson (2005, 191) remarked on Haukr's apparently inexplicable interest in the history of Scandinavia before the settlement of Iceland, but it is arguably related to his involvement in Scandinavian affairs. Rowe (forthcoming) makes a case for the relevance of *Ragnarssona þáttur* for the reign of Hákon V.

tions. *Membrana Reseniana 6* is known to have contained a brief history of the world in Latin by Isidore of Seville; a continuation tracing the Byzantine emperors into the twelfth century; lists of popes, patriarchs, and the abbots of Monte Cassino; two short catalogues of the German emperors in Icelandic; Icelandic annals; a Latin text dealing with the rules of geometry; a map of the known world; a short year-by-year sketch of the life of Bishop Guðmundr Arason of Hólar; a fragment of a memorial poem about King Magnús VI of Norway; a Latin text dealing with astronomy and the paths of the heavenly bodies; genealogies of Óðinn's ancestors and descendants; lists of the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Norway going back to Ragnarr loðbrók; a list of the kings of Anglo-Saxon England; a list of eclipses; a Latin calendar annotated with the names of Icelanders who died on various days of the year; a Latin text dealing with the rules of arithmetic; and a selection of short texts dealing with chronological calculations relating to Church history and religious observance (Stefán Karlsson 1988, 40–52). The closest similarities are therefore the presence of a map; texts about arithmetic, astronomy, and the church calendar; and genealogies involving Ragnarr loðbrók. Broader similarities also exist, such as the interest in world history and Scandinavian history and the use of works by Isidore of Seville, but the differences here are striking. Whereas *Membrana Reseniana 6* avoids narrative historiography almost completely, relying instead on lists, catalogues, and annals, *Hauksbók* is the reverse. Its histories are almost entirely narrative, with the lists of the bishops of Greenland and Oslo forming the sole exceptions. Whereas *Membrana Reseniana 6* looks to Isidore of Seville for world history, *Hauksbók* looks to him for geography. And whereas *Membrana Reseniana 6* is very much concerned with the history of the Church, it completely lacks the interest in theology that is one of *Hauksbók*'s most prominent features.

The second attempt to solve the puzzle of *Hauksbók*'s clerical nature was made by Rudolf Simek. He first suggested that the *Liber Floridus* may have served as a general model for *Hauksbók* (Simek 1990, 377–383), but the same could be said for almost any other medieval encyclopedia, such as Hrabanus Maurus' *De rerum naturis* (Clunies Ross and Simek 1993, 165). Over the next two years, Simek strengthened his argument, showing that material from the *Liber floridus* appears in several Icelandic manuscripts. AM 736 III 4to and AM 732b 4to each contain a diagram of the Labyrinth

that corresponds to the one in the *Liber floridus* (Simek 1991, 113–114), and AM 736 I 4to contains a plan of Jerusalem that is also found in the *Liber floridus* (Simek 1992, 123).¹⁰ He also demonstrated the extraordinary degree of similarity between the *Liber floridus* and Hauksbók: both compilations contain a plan of Jerusalem, prophecies made by women, a lapidary, histories of Troy and Britain, histories of the compiler's own locale, *Elucidarius*, *De duodecim abusivis sæculi*, and texts about astronomy, rivers, paradise, regions of the world, false gods, the division of the world among the sons of Noah, strange races, false prophets, the four fasts, the rainbow, pilgrimage sites, and the four elements (Simek 1991, 1992). To this list can be added the compilers' own genealogies, extracts from canon law, accounts of vikings, lists of bishops, and texts about arithmetic, chronology, divination, the Antichrist, and sunrise and sunset. That the process of reproducing the *Liber floridus* in Hauksbók appears to have occurred in more than one stage does not detract from the force of Simek's argument, a point that will be returned to below. Simek noted that Hauksbók seems to have been not an exact Icelandic translation of the *Liber floridus* but a fairly close Icelandic version of it. In the case of arithmetic, cosmology, geography, natural history, theology, and eschatology, there is little difference between Iceland and the rest of Christendom, so in these subjects Haukr keeps close to his putative model. When it comes to astronomy, however, Haukr includes items written by the Iclander Stjörnu-Oddi, as Clunies Ross and Simek (1993, 165) pointed out. And where "local history" is involved, Haukr amasses a considerable number of items about the Icelandic, Greenlandic, and Scandinavian past: *Landnámabók*, *Kristni saga*, *Eiríks saga rauða*, *Hemings þáttur*, *Heiðreks saga*, *Fóstbræðra saga*, *Skálda saga*, *Ragnarssona þáttur*, *Þáttur af Upplendinga konungum*, lists of the bishops of Greenland and Oslo, and the genealogies of himself and his wife.

If Haukr was using the *Liber floridus* as a model, his practice of following its outlines but not every detail of its content would have been perfectly in keeping with the nature of medieval encyclopedias, which in one widespread contemporary metaphor were considered mirrors of God's creation. From this point of view, it would be strange indeed if Haukr saw in his mirror exactly the same things that Lambert saw in his. A more tech-

¹⁰ This map is also found in Hauksbók, but that copy is dated to after 1334, whereas AM 736 I 4to is from the beginning of the fourteenth century.

nical definition of the genre is provided by Bernard Ribémont, who argued that medieval encyclopedism combined “networks of ‘required’ matter” such as the wonders of the East, stars and planets, God and angels, and animals and monsters, etc.” with “a process of ‘didactic transposition’” that modified the objects to be taught into the objects that are actually received (Ribémont 1997, 50–54). Hauksbók fits this definition exactly, with the “required matter” being represented by the extracts in AM 544 and by *Elucidarius*, and with the “didactic transposition” being represented by the many translations into Icelandic, the use of Icelandic subject matter wherever possible, and substitutions such as *Trójumanna saga* for the *Historia Troianorum* and *Breta sögur* for the *Historia Anglorum*. As Ribémont (1997, 54) observed, the transposed knowledge is always the fruit of compilation, and this is certainly true of Hauksbók.

The extensive parallels between Haukr’s parts of Hauksbók and the *Liber floridus* make it plausible that the latter was his model, and in that case, we might imagine the process of compilation as something like the following. Haukr came across the *Liber floridus* in Iceland, perhaps when he was working on his redaction of *Landnámabók*, and he was inspired to make an Icelandic version of it. He started by assembling a collection of texts on astronomy, geography, theology, and so forth, and this work — whether carried out in Iceland or Norway — took several years. Next, most likely when he was in Iceland again, he took the opportunity to gather the texts corresponding to the many historiographical works in the *Liber floridus*, and he put his *Landnámabók* in pride of place at the front of the manuscript, just like the local history that begins the *Liber floridus*. Some years later, *Viðræða æðru ok hugrekkis* and *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* were added to the collection, still in keeping with the spirit of the *Liber floridus*, which contains excerpts from Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues* and the *Moralia in Job*. Presumably the compilation for a long time took the form of unbound quires or pamphlets, because the quire(s) with the *viðræður* wound up in the middle of the quires with the sagas, which were written down earlier.

However, the proposed dependence of Hauksbók on the *Liber floridus* does not end there. Hauksbók probably came to Iceland shortly after Haukr’s death in 1334 (Jón Helgason 1960, xxvi), and around 1350 (Degnbol et al. 1989, 454), a blank space on what is now 18v of AM 544

and the blank pages of what are now folios 19–21 of AM 544 were filled with additional texts: the translation of *De duodecim abusivis sæculi*, the plan of Jerusalem, the fragment of the *Summa decretalium*, and *Völuspá*. *De duodecim abusivis sæculi*, the plan of Jerusalem, and extracts from canon law are also found in the *Liber floridus*, which suggests that whoever was adding to Hauksbók after Haukr's death also had access to the *Liber floridus* and continued to reproduce it. Furthermore, the inclusion of *Völuspá* was arguably inspired by something in the *Liber floridus* as well. Simek (1991, 112–113) suggested that its proximity to the map of Jerusalem in Hauksbók was modelled on the proximity of the Sibylline prophecy to the map of Jerusalem in the *Liber floridus*.

5. Conclusion

With this information in mind, we are now in a better position to evaluate the interpretations of Hauksbók. Helgi Þorláksson (2004) offered persuasive political explanations of why Haukr made his own redaction of *Landnámabók* and how much of Hauksbók could have helped him to political promotion. Like Sturla Þórðarson and Snorri Markússon, who also made their own versions of *Landnámabók*, Haukr probably wanted people — Icelandic upstarts as well as Norwegians seeking offices of royal administration in Iceland — to be able to consult *Landnámabók* in order to find out which Icelanders were worthy of becoming officials there after the collapse of the Commonwealth in 1262. As Helgi explained, this seems to have been especially important for the Icelandic aristocracy around 1300, when certain Norwegian officials were a real threat to them. The son of a knight, Haukr obviously defined himself as an Icelandic aristocrat and was able to gain powerful positions, first in Iceland and then in Norway. Helgi therefore argued that Haukr's noble ancestry helped him to establish himself in Iceland and that his *Landnámabók* helped him to get this promotion. Helgi acknowledged that the Hauksbók *Landnámabók* was probably written down more than a decade after Haukr became a *lögmaðr* in Iceland, but there is no obstacle to assuming that he began work on it in the 1290s. As regards the rest of Hauksbók, Helgi suggested that much of it attests to Haukr's learning, both in general and about Iceland and the

North Atlantic specifically and practically, and that this learning would have been a great advantage in the competition for administrative positions.

Here it is worthwhile bringing in Gunnar Harðarson's observation that other royal officials in Haukr's circle wrote or collected books as well (Gunnar Harðarson 1995, 181–183). In Bergen, where Haukr was *lögmaðr* from at least 1311 to 1322, his contemporary Snara Ásláksson, the keeper of the seals, probably owned the manuscript De la Gardie 4–7, which contains a fragment of *Viðráða æðru ok hugrekkis* (Gunnar Harðarson 1995, 43 and 179).¹¹ Gunnar emphasized that at this time, Norway was a single, centralized state whose districts and tributary lands were governed by administrative personnel, some of whom were clerics and some of whom were laymen. Their actions were unified by a common ideal of the Christian monarchy that was exemplified in the reign of the Norwegian kings beginning with Magnús Hákonarson and that was particularly apparent under the rule of Hákon V. As Gunnar did not discuss the relationship between the literary culture of these functionaries and the Christian monarchy they serve, we are led to suppose that the former simply reflects or upholds the latter.

However, Helgi's arguments suggest that this relationship was not so innocent. In Haukr's case, at least, most if not all of Hauksbók appears to have been compiled out of ambition, rather than dedication to the Christian monarchy of Norway. For example, Jón Helgason (1960, xii) noted that Haukr did not do a very good job of his redaction of *Landnámabók*, and Helgi took this as evidence for Haukr's lack of real interest in genealogies other than his own. The dating of the parts of Hauksbók also supports this view, because most of the manuscript seems to have been written between 1302 and 1308, when Haukr was *lögmaðr* of Oslo. This is precisely the period of his knighthood and appointment to the royal council. One might imagine Haukr taking advantage of his secretaries and access to libraries to try to cement his remarkable position in Norway by physically piling up

¹¹ Gunnar Harðarson (1995, 182–183) also compared Hauksbók to the lost manuscript Ormsbók (ca. 1350–1375), associated with the *lögmaðr* Ormr Snorrason, son of Haukr's contemporary, the *lögmaðr* Snorri Narfason. Like Hauksbók, Ormsbók contained *Trójumanna saga* and excerpts from a translation of Petrus Alphonsus' *Disciplina clericalis*, but because Ormsbók is later than Hauksbók and its translation of *Disciplina clericalis* is not the same one as Hauksbók's, it sheds less light on Hauksbók than Hauksbók sheds on it.

evidence of his qualifications to be there.¹² But once his long-term role in the royal administration was securely confirmed by his appointment as *lögmaðr* of the Gulapíng district, his need to accumulate textual qualifications seems to have subsided. The last major addition to Hauksbók, the *viðráður*, is dated to 1311 — the first year that Haukr is referred to as *lögmaðr* of the Gulapíng district. Although he would be part of the book-loving milieu of the officials in Bergen for another ten years, Hauksbók grew no larger. Presumably it had served its main purpose.

Gunnar Harðarson (1995, 181) asserted that Hauksbók should be considered a manifestation of the literary culture of the magistrates in the service of the State, and indeed most of the manuscript was written while Haukr was a *lögmaðr* based in Norway, but the manuscript's roots in Icelandic ambition and Icelandic literary culture complicate this assessment. Regardless of its specific model, Hauksbók does seem to have been inspired by a manuscript that was in Iceland, and it is a compilation of texts that are almost entirely in Icelandic and that are the work of Icelandic writers, adapters, and translators. To this degree, Sverrir Jakobsson (2005, 2007) was perfectly correct to think that Hauksbók represents Haukr's world-view. As was mentioned above, medieval encyclopedias were thought of as mirrors of God's creation, and Hauksbók reflects the world as Haukr saw it. But Simek's and Helgi Þorláksson's conclusions complicate this assessment as well. If Helgi is to be believed, Haukr early on decided to make a version of *Landnámabók* to showcase his genealogical qualifications for royal appointment, and if Simek is to be believed, probably before 1302 but certainly shortly after, Haukr decided to deploy his *Landnámabók* within an Icelandic version of a large monastic encyclopedia. If Helgi is to be believed further, Haukr constructed what was intended to be a material testament to his learning and knowledge, again in the pursuit of royal office. Hauksbók is thus not a transparent, disinterested, or objective representation of Haukr's world-view. Instead, its form and its contents are the result of deliberate, self-serving selection.

¹² It is possible that Haukr's "marked inclination to shorten" and "the economy which is revealed in the use of damaged parchment and the increasingly severe compression of the writing" (Jón Helgason 1960, xviii) are signs of a need to produce a large manuscript quickly. See Sveinbjörn Rafnsson (1992, 82) for a list of the scholars who have demonstrated Haukr's inclination towards abbreviation, and see Sverrir Jakobsson (2007, 29) for other explanations for this tendency.

Haukr sought power through the imitation and replication of an authoritative European cultural model, and he chose one of the most authoritative models available to him, for the authority embodied in his clerical material was much greater than that embodied in the king: it was the authority of the Church, whose domain dwarfed that of the king of Norway. It is little wonder, then, that Haukr's efforts were rewarded with success.

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EFNISÁGRIP

Hauksbók reynist hafa verið sett saman í sex áföngum. Hún er fyrst og fremst samsteypa við hæfi lærdómsmanna, enda er margt líkt með henni og alfræðiritinu *Liber floridus* (um 1120). Þegar áfangar í bókagerðinni eru bornir saman við lífshlaup Hauks, virðist ljóst að metnaður hans hafi verið hvatinn að bókinni. Bróðurpartur hennar er að líkindum skrifaður milli 1302 og 1308, þegar Haukur var lögmaður í Osló. Ef til vill nýtti hann sér greiðan aðgang að bókum og skrifurum til þess að treysta stöðu sína í Noregi með því að setja beinlínis saman vitnisburð um margvíslega hæfni sína. Þegar staða Hauks innan konunglegrar stjórnsýslu hafði verið tryggð til langframa með skipun hans í embætti lögmanns Gulapings, hafði Hauksbók þjónað hlutverki sínu. Síðasta meginpóstinum er bætt í bókina árið 1311, sem var líklega fyrsta ár Hauks í nýju embætti, og hún varð ekki lengri þótt hann sæti enn áratug í sæmdum sem bókhneigður embættismaður í Björgvin.

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