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THE BUCHANAN PSALTER AND ITS ICELANDIC TRANSMISSION*

1. Introduction: The Buchanan Psalter

IN 1585, NATHAN CHYTRAEUS (1543–1598), a Rostock professor and later rector of the Bremen Gymnasium, published a new edition of *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica*, Latin psalm paraphrases in classical meters by the Scottish poet and humanist George Buchanan (1506–1582).¹ The psalms, mostly written during the poet's imprisonment in Portugal by the Inquisition, had been published before. The first edition appeared in Antwerp, Paris and Strasbourg in 1566, but Chytraeus's volume included new elements. Besides the Rostock professor's own annotations, it contained 40 four-part homophonic pieces compiled (and, in part, composed) by Chytraeus's colleague, the Rostock cantor Statius Olthof (1555–1629).² 35 of these were to Bu-

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¹ The definitive biography is I. D. McFarlane's *Buchanan* which devotes an entire chapter to the psalm paraphrases. For a useful discussion of Buchanan's poetry in the context of the Neo-Latin poetic tradition, see Philip J. Ford, *George Buchanan, Prince of Poets*.

² Walter Blankenburg, “Statius Olthof [Althof],” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition [NG2], eds. p. Sadie and John Tyrell, vol. 18, 402. As Chytraeus admits in his preface, the melodies were not all Olthof's own (“... partim iam olim ab aliis usurpatis, nonnullas etiam à se ipso modulatas,” “Praefatio,” *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica*, a 2 v). Sixteen of the settings in the Chytraeus/ Buchanan psalter were taken from a 1554 ode collection by Johannes Reusch (*Melodiae odarum Georgii Fabricii*), and another

chanan's psalm paraphrases; an appendix provided five additional settings of odes by Horace. Like its 1566 predecessor, the Buchanan/Olthof psalter enjoyed enormous popularity. It was reprinted at least 17 times in Herborn up to 1664 and once in Bremen in 1618.³ This large circulation was not least due to the widespread use of the volume as a pedagogical tool. The humanist ode was a significant trend in sixteenth-century pedagogy. Its cultivation was encouraged by the belief that students would learn the classical Latin meters more easily if they were set to music. Humanists composed simple melodies to examples of the most prominent meters, in which they realized the 2:1 relationship of long and short syllables in Latin poetry through the rhythmic values of breve and semibreve.⁴ Like the humanist ode settings that served as models for both Buchanan and Olthof, their volume served the double purpose of teaching the rudiments of singing while at the same time inculcating the principles of Latin prosody. The Buchanan/Olthof psalter had the added virtue of its spiritual subject matter, which may have been deemed more appropriate (and useful) than the secular poetry of Latin classical authors used in other ode collections.

Although no documents have survived to tell us exactly when or how the Buchanan/Olthof psalter was introduced in Iceland, this may have taken place shortly after its initial publication. Several Icelanders studied in Rostock — where Nathan Chytraeus, the publisher of the volume, lived and worked — in the last decades of the sixteenth century.⁵ Arngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648)

four were composed by Martin Agricola. In the discussion that follows I will refer to the musical settings of the Buchanan psalter as if they were all by Olthof. See Renatus Pirker, "Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der vierstimmigen Humanistenode," *Musicologica Austriaca* 1, 152; Thomas Schmidt-Beste and Karl-Günther Hartmann, "Ode," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edition [MGG2], ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil vol. 7, col. 565; Blankenburg, "Status Olthof".

³ Blankenburg, "Status Olthof." For an edition of Olthof's pieces with commentary, see Benedikt Widmann, "Die Kompositionen der Psalmen von Statius Olthof," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5, 290–321. See also Max Seiffert, "Nachtrag zu den Psalmenkompositionen von Statius Olthof," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 6, 466–468, and Rudolf Schwarz, "Magister Status Olthof," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10, 231–232.

⁴ The most widely known of these settings (by Tritonius, Senfl, and Hofhaimer) are published in Rochus von Liliencron's "Die Horazischen Metren in deutschen Kompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 3, 26–91. A more comprehensive study is Karl-Günther Hartmann's *Die humanistische Odenkomposition in Deutschland*.

⁵ Páll Eggert Ólason, *Menn og menntir siðskiptaaldarinnar á Íslandi* [MM], vol. 4, 8–9.

also travelled to Rostock in October 1592. There he became acquainted with the famous theologian David Chytraeus (1530–1600), as well as his younger brother Nathan and his son-in-law, the theologian Johannes Freder (1544–1604).⁶ It was the elder Chytraeus who, after reading Arngrímur Jónsson's *Brevis commentarius de Islandia* (Copenhagen, 1593) encouraged him to write the more detailed description of Iceland and its history found in *Crymogæa* (1609).⁷ The two remained in contact after Arngrímur Jónsson's visit, and several letters to him from the elder Chytraeus and from Freder have survived.

The Buchanan psalter had made its way to the Latin school at Skálholt by 1630 at the latest. The letters of Gísli Oddsson, bishop at Skálholt, include a book-list dated 6 November 1633.⁸ The list contains 98 items sent by the bishop to his brother, Árni Oddsson *lögmaður*, who resided in Haukadalur. Number 96 on the bishop's list is "Bucchananus in psalmos Davidis." A register of books belonging to Gissur Bjarnason, who died in 1672 during his studies in Copenhagen, has also survived. Gissur Bjarnason's belongings were shipped back to Skálholt following his death and appraised there on 23 July 1674. The Skálholt inventory lists 34 volumes formerly in his collection, of

⁶ *Arngrimi Jonæ opera latine conscripta*, vol. 4, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 11 and 13 (see also *Arngrimi Jonæ opera latine conscripta*, vol. 3, 91–92, 96, 98, 105–106). Arngrímur Jónsson was at least familiar with another of Nathan Chytraeus's publications, the 1594 *Fastorum ecclesiæ Christianæ libri XII* (*Arngrimi Jonæ opera latine conscripta*, vol. 4, 468). David Chytraeus's *Chatechisis* (Rostock, 1554) was translated and published by Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson in 1600, in conjunction with the *Enchiridon* by Martino Chemnitius (Hörður Ágústsson, "Bækur," in *Skálholt – skróði og áhöld*, eds. Kristján Eldjárn and Hörður Ágústsson, 348).

⁷ David Chytraeus himself wrote a description of Iceland as part of *Saxonia*, an ongoing historical/topographical project modeled on the writings of his Rostock predecessor Albert Krantz (1448–1517). An early version of Chytraeus's description appeared in his *Chronicon Saxoniae* (1588); it went through several editions and revisions before it appeared in its final form as *Saxonia* in 1599. It has been suggested that Chytraeus's description relied heavily on information gathered from his Icelandic acquaintances; see Helge Bei der Wieden, "Die Darstellung Islands in der 'Saxonia' des David Chytraeus," in *David und Nathan Chytraeus: Humanismus im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, eds. Karl-Heinz Glaser, Hanno Lietz, and Stefan Rhein, 88–90.

⁸ AM 246 4to, 286 r/v, continued on 299r. The heading reads: "Anno 1633 þann 6. Novembris hafde Björn Höskuldson med sier þessar Bækur ur Skalholltte sem Lógmánninum tilheirdu." Björn Höskuldson was a cousin of the brothers Árni and Gísli Oddsson and in their service during the 1630s. See Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstímum til ársloka 1940* [LÆ], vol. 1, 222–223.

86 PSALMVVS XXVII.

Te mens anhelat, vultus ad vultum tuum
Intentus vsq; respicit.
No 9 cōdo vultus lumen a me amabilis,
Nen me in tenebris deſere.
Seruum per iram ne sine opprobriū tuum:
Vizantiq; quam debet tibi,
Tuere ab hoste, q̄ ē periculi cripe.
O spes salutis unica.
Me 10 cari amici, me propinqui, me pater,
Me blanda mater liquerat:
At non reliquit, qui pio in asperis
Non defersit rebus, Deus.
Parens 11 benigne me vias doce tuas,
Reclatq; deduc semitā:
No vis motusq; ab hoste me deterritum
De calle recti decurhat.
No 12 me impiorum obsecrum libidine
Relinque. Testes impij
Fingunt maligne falsa de me crimina,
Armanq; semendacis.*

Carm. genus xvi.

Dis. *Princeps stelliferis altior orbibus,*
Alt. *Princeps stelliferis altior orbibus,*

87 PSALMVVS XXVII.

* Ment 13 vultu tantis iam fassiceret malis,
Ni spes foueret me tua
Benignitatis, post labores anxios
Mox assuitum gaudium.
Vimq; cūis inter ipse commoda
Vra beata 14 prestolor.
In 14 rebus ergo turbidis ne concede,
Sed fortis vsq; sustine.
Terorabatur Dominus, q̄ cor fulciet:
Tu fortis vsq; sustine.

PSAL. XXVIII. Ad te Domine clamabo, &c.

Cum vidisset Propheta regius saepe factum esse,
vt iusto Dei iudicio pii simul cum impijs supplicio ob-
ruerentur, videt quic sibi in praesentia cum malis &
fraudulentis hominibus negotium esse: orat Deum, vt
certana contagio non indicetur, sed ab huiusmodi so-
licitate & commercio liberetur, atq; ita ipi soli tuorum
fœderum iustas poenas luant. Simul etiam, quæ & qua-
lia ipsorum peccata sint, & quæ poenæ earum coniec-
tura ostendit. Dei deinde benignitati, quæ fiat vt tam
prompte exaudiat, gratias agit; eiusq; patrocinio val-
ueram Ecclesiæ commendat.

Tc. *Princeps stelliferis altior orbibus,*
Baf. *Princeps stelliferis altior orbibus,*

The opening of *Princeps stelliferis* (Psalm 28), from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter.

which no. 29 is “Buchananus gamall uppbundinn” [Old Buchananus, re-bound].⁹ Since the young student had borrowed money from Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson, the books remained in the Bishop’s possession even though Gissur Bjarnason’s other belongings were sent to his father, the renowned poet Rev. Bjarni Gissurarson of Pingmúli.

Inventories of the Skálholt library were made rather frequently in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These invariably mention a Buchanan volume owned by the cathedral. As is true of many other volumes found in these listings, the Buchanan psalter enjoyed a remarkably long shelf-life in the Skálholt library. It first appears as “Paraphrasis Buccanani” in the 1698 register, and is again recorded in 1722, 1744, 1747, 1754, 1764, and 1785.¹⁰

⁹ AM 281 fol. 11v; quoted in Jón Helgason, “Bókasafn Brynjólfs biskups,” *Árbók Landsbókasafns Íslands* 3–4, 139.

¹⁰ Hörður Ágústsson, “Bækur,” 345. The National and University Library in Reykjavík owns two copies of the Buchanan psalter, but the provenance of neither can be established. One is



The opening of *Toto pectore diligam* (Psalm 116), from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter.

Jón Helgason has suggested that since Bishop Sveinsson had to wait for the consent of Gissur Bjarnason's father before he could seize his library as school property, the books could hardly have been included in an inventory made in 1674.¹¹ Since the next register to survive is the one made in 1698, in which the Buchanan psalter appears for the first time, it seems plausible that this copy originated in Gissur Bjarnason's collection.

missing the title page, but the other is a copy of the 1646 edition. The latter contains handwritten annotations on Buchanan's texts as well as changes to Olthof's musical settings. In the music to Psalm 1 (*Felix ille animi*) and Psalm 26 (*Ut exa flammis*), many of the semi-breves have been turned into minims by filling in the noteheads. Two measures have been added in black ink to Olthof's setting of Psalm 5 (*Omnipotens rerum Deus*, p. 15) — but only in the tenor and bass parts. Page 408 contains an ink drawing of an individual identified as J.C.G. Ackermann, complete with pipe, sword, and feathered hat. This volume needs to be studied further. I am grateful to Örn Hrafnkelsson of the National and University Library for his attempt to trace the provenance of these copies.

¹¹ Jón Helgason, "Bókasafn Brynjólfs biskups," 139.

None of the Skálholt inventories refers specifically to the Chytræus edition of the Buchanan psalter. Yet is highly probable that they all denote the Buchanan/Olthof volume first published in 1585, since the transmission of Olthof's music in Icelandic manuscripts is far more extensive than has previously been acknowledged.¹² A closer examination of the sources has revealed that the Buchanan/Olthof psalter was a significant resource for sacred and secular singing — both monophonic and polyphonic — in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Iceland. Table 1 (pp. 31-42) lists the appearances of music and texts derived from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter in Icelandic manuscript sources.¹³

Judging from the surviving manuscript evidence (eighteen manuscripts containing musical notation have thus far come to light), Icelanders treated Olthof's compositions with far greater flexibility than did their continental counterparts. In Iceland, performances of these pieces could involve only a single melodic line (most frequently the tenor, although two sources transmit single bass lines), or consist of singing in two or four parts. Besides being sung to Buchanan's Latin paraphrases, Olthof's tunes were sung to Icelandic translations and to a variety of newly fashioned Icelandic texts, many of which were written by leading poets and scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These *contrafacta* frequently appear without notation in manuscript sources, in which case a rubric above the text often serves to identify the melody as that sung to Buchanan's Latin original. That performances of Olthof's music were not always dependent on a musical score suggests that an oral tradition played a role in the transmission of these settings, as it did in the hymnody that appears in many of the same manuscript sources. The spe-

¹² In a 1939 article, the Norwegian scholar Erik Eggen was the first to identify the Buchanan psalter as the source of two four-part pieces in AM 102 8vo (see Table 1 and my discussion of this manuscript below), but he appears to have been unaware of the much broader reception of the volume in Iceland (Eggen, "Isländische Volkslieder," in *Zeitschrift für Musik* 106, 935-936). Apart from a contemporaneous response by the composer Jón Leifs in which he dismissed Eggen's findings as irrelevant, the article does not appear to have drawn much attention (see Jón Leifs, "Musik in Island," *Zeitschrift für Musik* 107, 266-268).

¹³ Table 1 is a comprehensive listing only of notated music from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter in Icelandic sources. Due to the large selection of manuscripts consulted, it can also be viewed as representative of cases in which Icelandic texts refer directly to the original melodies, but without notation. The use of second or third-generation texts to Olthof's music (i.e., when a rubric refers to an Icelandic text which in turn refers to a melody from the Buchanan psalter) is only rarely included in Table 1. Tracing the composition of texts further than this is an enormous task and has not been attempted here.

cific ways in which this may have taken place are difficult to pin down. In the nineteenth century, however, one of the pieces from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter demonstrably entered a nation-wide tradition in which transmission was at least partly oral; this particular example will be discussed in greater detail below.

2. Manuscript sources: Icelandic texts

Six pieces from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter appear in Rask 98, one of the most important surviving musical manuscripts written in Iceland. A paper manuscript of 95 pages in oblong octavo format, it was written in the mid-seventeenth century, probably no later than 1660–1670.¹⁴ The title page reads: “MELODIA: A few foreign tones with Icelandic poetry, and many of them useful for spiritual edification.”¹⁵ The manuscript contains a total of 223 songs, nine of which are in two parts.¹⁶ Of the polyphonic pieces in Rask 98, three consist of tenor and bass parts from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter.¹⁷ Although they differ markedly from the other polyphonic settings in Rask 98 for their melodic shape (which presupposes a four-part texture not evident in this source), they have long been taken as authentic examples of the Icelandic *tvísöngur* genre of two-part singing. In his anthology *Íslenzk þjóðlög*, Bjarni Þorsteinsson had no qualms about claiming them as “authentic” *tvísöngvar*, although he did note that the lower voice in one of the songs (“Guðdómsins góð þrenning”/*Quid frustra rabidi me*) “bears more resemblance to an ordinary bass line, as it is customarily found today, than to an old *tvísöngur* part, and thus these songs are quite remarkable examples of their kind.”¹⁸

¹⁴ Jón Helgason, *Íslenzk fornkvæði* vol. 4, xxvi.

¹⁵ “MELODIA/Nockrer ütlandske Tönar med jislendskum/skälldskap, og mager af þeim nit-samleiger/til andlegrar skiemtunar.” See also Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling*, vol. 2, 556–557.

¹⁶ Transcriptions of virtually the entire manuscript are found in Bjarni Þorsteinsson, *Íslenzk þjóðlög* [*ÍP*], 206–315.

¹⁷ They are “Guðdómsins góð þrenning” (no. 160–161), “Allt það sem hefur andardrátt” (no. 162–163), and “Liðugan lofgjörðar vör” (no. 164–165); see *ÍP*, 288–289. Uniquely for the polyphonic settings in this manuscript, each part of Olthof’s settings is given its own number. Perhaps this suggests that performing the parts separately was also a viable option.

¹⁸ *ÍP*, 288: “...neðri röðdin í þessu lagi líkist fremur reglulegum bassa, eins og nú tíðkast, heldur en gamalli tvísöngsrödd, og eru þessi lög því töluvert merkileg í sinni röð.”

Rask 98 also contains three single-voiced pieces from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter: two tenor parts and a bass part. “Guð, himna gæðum” (no. 149) is the lowest voice of Olthof’s setting of Psalm 26 (*Me vi tyrannus*).¹⁹ The other two single-voiced parts in Rask 98 are notated at different pitch levels than the original Olthof settings. “Öll jörð frammi fyrir Drottni” (no. 177) is the tenor line of *Secum insania*. Whereas the original mode of Olthof’s setting is A-Aeolian, the manuscript version is written a perfect fifth too low, which changes its modality of the piece to a Dorian mode on D. “Viljir þú varast hér” (no. 190) is the tenor part of *Si vitare velis*, but written a whole step too low, turning the original mode of G-Aeolian into F-Lydian.²⁰ It is not clear why the scribe of Rask 98 would notate these tenor parts in modes different from the original. Since this manuscript contains few errors, scribal incompetence seems an unlikely cause. One possible explanation might be that the scribe was not copying from a written source, but rather transcribing from an oral one. In that case he may have been correctly notating a manner of singing the melodies that was no longer fully compliant with Olthof’s original score.²¹

Six two-part pieces from the Olthof/Buchanan psalter (to Icelandic texts) appear in JS 643 4to, a paper manuscript written around 1700 that contains ten two-part polyphonic pieces. According to Páll Eggert Ólason, JS 643 4to is in the hand of Sigurður Jónsson of Holt in Öundurarfjörður (1643–1730).²² However, the 198-page manuscript appears to be the work of more than one scribe, and only a small part of it (145r–151v) contains musical notation. Whether or not the part containing music was written by Sigurður Jónsson, the notation

¹⁹ *ÍP*, 284–285 (here the bass line is transposed up a whole tone to G major, for no apparent reason). Bjarni Þorsteinsson recognized the obviously non-melodic character of this piece, calling it a “kind of Bass-solo” (“nökkurs konar Bas-sóló”). He also pointed to the similarity between this piece and the equally bass-like *Vera mátt góður* (Rask 98 no. 138; *ÍP*, 280–281), for which no source has yet been discovered. Other pieces of unknown origin in Icelandic post-Reformation manuscripts may well turn out to be the lower voices of four-part compositions. Among likely candidates from Rask 98 are *Kónginum kónga kónglegt lof* (no. 56, see *ÍP*, 234–235), and *Sem trú mín eins er í raun* (no. 181, see *ÍP*, 297).

²⁰ *ÍP*, 295, 301.

²¹ The oral component involved in the transmission of music in Icelandic manuscripts should not be underestimated. Leo Treitler has argued that musical transmission during the Middle Ages should be seen as “a process of repeated and successive re-creation” in which the scribe was “copying and remembering and composing, all at once” (“The Transmission of Medieval Music,” *Speculum* 56, 482). The modal transpositions in Rask 98 may reflect a similar attitude to writing and copying music.

²² Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá um handritasöfn Landsbókasafnsins*, vol. 2, 615–616; *MM* vol. 4, 672. See also *ÍÆ* vol. 4, 234–5.

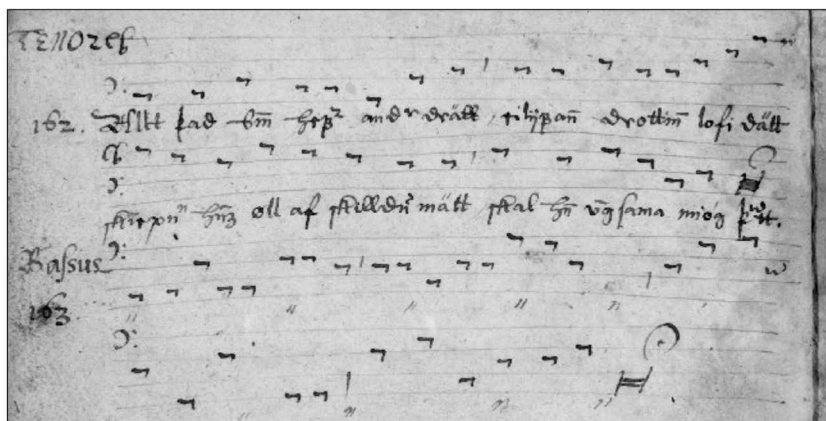
suggests that the scribe had received considerably less musical training than the scribes of other major sources of post-Reformation polyphony, such as Rask 98 or AM 102 8vo. It is no exaggeration to describe the notation in JS 643 4to as being crammed with mistakes. One is often inclined to view the scribe's work as a purely visual (though often highly inaccurate) reproduction of a graphic design rather than an intelligible attempt to reproduce a musical text. Even though the Olthof pieces are among the scribe's finer efforts, many of them make little sense as they appear here. Rhythmic values are rarely consistent between the two parts, and in "Liðugan lofgjörðar vír"/*Ut exta flammis* the bass part randomly alternates rhythmic and non-rhythmic notation. In "Minn andi, guð minn, gleðst í þér"/*Secum insania* the tenor part is written a step lower than Olthof's setting, effecting a modal switch similar to that observed in Rask 98 (in this case from A-Aeolian to G-Mixolydian). Yet in the bass part that follows, this transposition is maintained only for the first half of the piece. In the second half the bass is transposed a whole step upward, which results in bizarre intervals both melodically (diminished fifths) and harmonically (parallel seconds between the two parts).

Seven texts to Olthof's music appear without notation in Lbs 837 4to, a 536-page manuscript hymnal probably written around 1700.²³ Five of these also appear in JS 643 4to, with two-part notation. Lbs 837 4to is the only source that attributes authorship to these texts. Here they are preceded by the annotation "Now follow the minor poems of the late Guðmundur Ólafsson."²⁴ Guðmundur Ólafsson (b. ca. 1590–1600) was the son of the Rev. Ólafur Jónsson of Sandar in Dýrafjörður in Vestfirðir (1560–1627). He is said to have been learned in music and to have taught singing. One of his students was the Rev. Guðbrandur Jónsson of Vatnsfjörður, who may have been the scribe of at least part of AM 102 8vo, a major source of post-Reformation polyphony that also includes two Olthof settings (see below).²⁵ Guðmundur Ólafsson's poems

²³ *Skrá um handritasöfn Landsbókasafnsins* vol. 1, 367–368. The first part of the manuscript is a copy of Ólafur Jónsson's song-book. Páll Eggert Ólason states in his catalogue that this part of the manuscript, as well as the poetry of Guðmundur Ólafsson that follows it, is written by two hands, one from ca. 1680–1700, the other considerably younger.

²⁴ Lbs 837 4to, p. 334: "Nu epter fylgia quedlingar sal. Gudmundar Olafs sonar." The conclusion of this section of the manuscript is marked on p. 404: "Hier endast quedlingar Gudmundar Olafs sonar."

²⁵ Lbs 186 4to (The genealogies of Bishop Steingrímur Jónsson [1769–1845]), p. 1860: "hann er ógiptur, var minn Skolameistare til Söngs (svona skrifar Sra Gudbrandur Jonss. i Vatnsfirði)." See also *MM* vol. 4, 616.



The tenor and bass lines to Olthof's *Toto pectore diligam*, to an Icelandic text ("Allt það sem hefur andardrátt") from Rask 98 (*Melodia*), 53v. In Lbs 837 4to this poem is attributed to the seventeenth-century poet Guðmundur Ólafsson.

to Olthof's music in Lbs 837 4to are not translations of Buchanan's originals, but the manuscript indicates the original melodies by giving the incipit of the original Latin text beneath the heading for each psalm.

Other renowned poets and scholars were also familiar with Buchanan's psalter. Rev. Ólafur Einarsson of Kirkjubær (ca. 1573–1651) was one of the most learned Icelanders of his time. His father, Rev. Einar Sigurðsson of Eydalir, was also renowned for his poetic skills, and his half-brother was Oddur Einarsson, rector of Hólar (1586–1588) and Bishop of Skálholt (1589–1630). Ólafur Einarsson studied at Hólar during the rectorate of his brother and later followed him to Skálholt (1589–1594). Once he had completed his studies there, he spent four years at the University of Copenhagen. Upon returning to Iceland he administered the cathedral school at Skálholt for ten years; two as conrector (*heyrari*, 1598–1600), and eight as rector (1600–1608).²⁶ Among Ólafur Einarsson's prodigious poetic output are Icelandic translations of Buchanan's Psalms 127 and 133, and an original paraphrase of Psalm 144 (also to Olthof's melody).²⁷ Ólafur Einarsson also translated a morning hymn by Buchanan, "Sonur föðurins signaða"/*Proles parentis optimi*. The original Latin

²⁶ A biographical account and list of his poetry is found in *MM* vol. 4, 669–687.

²⁷ The text "Á millum bræðra elskulegra ekkert er" is a translation of Buchanan's paraphrase of Psalm 133, "Nil caritate mutua fratrum." Like Buchanan's original it consists of an iambic

hymn was not part of Buchanan's psalm paraphrases proper, but it was included in Chytraeus' edition nonetheless.²⁸ Ólafur Einarsson's son Stefán Ólafsson (ca. 1619–1688) was also a renowned poet. Among his hymn texts are “Mörg vill hrella hugann þín” (to the melody of one of the Horatian odes included in the Buchanan psalter) and “Upphaf og hertoginn,” a translation of the Easter hymn *Inventor rutili*, by Aurelius Clemens Prudentius (ca. 348–410). This text was sung to Olthof's *Princeps stelliferis*, as was another translation of the same Latin hymn, “Frægsti frumsmiður þess” by Oddur Oddsson, priest at Reynivellir (ca. 1565–1649). The latter text appears to be the first in a long line of Icelandic hymns written in the poetic meter of Buchanan's Psalm 28 (First Asclepiadean) and intended to be sung to Olthof's musical setting.²⁹

Two poems to Olthof's melodies survive by Jón Einarsson (ca. 1674–1707), a brilliant young student whose promising career was cut short by an early death. After studying at Hólar he became *attestatus laudabilis* from Copenhagen University in 1694, and began serving as conrector at Skálholt in

trimeter followed by an iambic dimeter — Buchanan's “tertium genus” — which first appears to Psalm 4 (*Heu quanta numero*). The Icelandic text is found in JS 229 8vo, JS 643 4to, and AM 191 b 8vo, but the latter two contain corrupt readings of the opening line (see Table 1). This, along with the heading in JS 229 8vo (which mistakenly refers to the original as Psalm 50), led Páll Eggert Ólason to regard these as translations of two different texts (see *MM* vol. 4, 673, 681–682, 686). That Ólafur Einarsson's text was intended to be sung to Olthof's melody is suggested by the heading in AM 191 b 8vo: “Same psalmur Davyds utlagdur af S. Olafe Einarssyne epter lätynesku Buccanans lage”. Two other melodies to the same poetic meter survive in Lbs 1529 4to (p. 114) and Lbs 2057 8vo (p. 127). The substantial number of Icelandic hymn texts that employ this meter have not been included in Table 1, since it has not been possible to determine to which of these melodies they refer.

²⁸ *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica*, 390: “Eiusdem Georgii Buchanani Hymnus matutinus ad Christum.” The psalter does not indicate a melody for this text, but it was most likely intended to be sung to the music of *Quousque rector unice* (Psalm 13, “genus decimum”), also in Ambrosian meter. At least four manuscripts transmit the Icelandic translation: Lbs 495 8vo (148r–v), ÍBR 26 8vo (p. 431), Lbs 847 4to (49r–v), and Héraðsskjalasafn Akureyri, G-1/3 (p. 376); see also *MM* vol. 4, 686. The latter two manuscripts both refer to it as an evening hymn, and identify the melody as *Dagur og ljós þú drottinn ert*, an Icelandic translation of the Latin hymn *Christe, qui lux est et dies*. This melody had appeared in the 1589 *Sálmabók* and was sung to several morning and evening hymns in Ambrosian meter (see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Uptök sálma og sálmalaga í lútherskum sið á Íslandi*, 179 and 256). In Iceland this melody may have replaced the one in the Buchanan/Olthof psalter.

²⁹ “Upphaf og hertoginn” consists of ten stanzas, of which only the first has been printed; see Stefán Ólafsson, *Kvæði*, vol. 2, 534. The text to the two-part song *Lánið drottins lítum mæta* (in AM 102 8vo, 127r–127v) is also attributed to Stefán Ólafsson.

1694 or 1695. Later he served as rector of Skálholt (1696–1698) before moving to Hólar, where he was conrector until his death.³⁰ ÍB 669 8vo (1735) contains two of Jón Einarsson's translations of Buchanan's poetry. Buchanan's Psalm 128 (*Felix o ter et amplius*) is translated as "Ó hvað farsæll er sá mann," but the translation employs a different meter (and thus a different Olthof melody) than Buchanan's original.³¹ A translation of Psalm 23 ("Forgefins muntu mér"/*Quid frustra rabidi me*) follows immediately in the manuscript, to the same melody as the Buchanan paraphrase. Jón Einarsson was not the only high-ranking Hólar official to translate Buchanan's poetry. Steinn Jónsson (1660–1739), was elected bishop of Hólar in 1712.³² His prodigious literary output includes a translation of Buchanan's paraphrase of Psalm 66 (*Incolae terrarum*), which is transmitted along with Olthof's tenor line in ÍBR 111 8vo.

Icelandic poets continued to produce texts to Olthof's melodies throughout the eighteenth century. The most prolific was Eggert Ólafsson (1726–1768), a leading champion of enlightenment ideals and renowned both for his poetry and for his landmark contributions to natural history. Of his 14 poems to Olthof's melodies, nine are part of an extensive cycle of wedding poetry. Three of the wedding poems appear in his 1757 document titled *Uppkast til forsagna um brúðkaupssiðu hér á landi* (Draft for Instructions for Wedding Ceremonies in our Country), a detailed prescription for an elaborate three-day wedding that contains speeches and texts to be sung at various points in the ceremony.³³ Another three texts by Eggert Ólafsson to Olthof's melodies appear in a 1763 appendix to his Wedding Instructions.³⁴ The only source to transmit his complete cycle of wedding poetry is JS 1 4to, a manuscript be-

³⁰ ÍÆ vol. 3, 97.

³¹ Buchanan's paraphrase uses "carminus genus XXV," which first appears to Psalm 113 (*Psallite Dominum*). Since the Icelandic translation is written to "carminus genus XXVI" (*Toto pectore diligam*), the rubric in the Icelandic manuscript is thus misleading (p. 270: "CXXVIII Psalmur Davids úr Latinskum liödum ä Islensku útsettúr, under sømu Melodiu, af Jone Einarssyne, Skálholts skoola Heyrara" ["Psalm 128 translated from Latin to the same melody, by Jón Einarsson, conrector of the school at Skálholt"]).

³² See ÍÆ vol. 4, 351–352.

³³ Eggert Ólafsson, *Uppkast til forsagna um brúðkaupssiðu hér á landi*, eds. Þorfinnur Skúlason and Örn Hrafnkelsson. The poems are "Hér er innborin hjóna skál," "Vær gefum góða nótt," and "Að bónda minni biðjum vér." Two manuscripts preserve the text of Eggert Ólafsson's Wedding Instructions: Lbs 551 4to (autograph) and JS 138 4to.

³⁴ JS 138 4to, 278–290. The poems are "Minn vinur maklegt er," "Vor góði vinur nú," and "Mörg eru mungáts orð."

lieved to have been written ca. 1780–90 by Guðmundur Magnússon and Benedikt Gröndal.³⁵ It contains a total of 32 poems for weddings and other feasts (including nine to melodies from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter), as well as five poems by Eggert Ólafsson to Olthof's songs that are not part of the wedding cycle.³⁶

Besides stipulating the performance of at least three of Eggert Ólafsson's wedding poems, the Wedding Instructions also allow for performances of two Olthof settings to Buchanan's original Latin poetry. As the bridal procession moves towards the church, Eggert Ólafsson presents three choices regarding the musical accompaniment. *Felix o ter et amplius* (Buchanan's Psalm 128), should only be sung if the groom has some knowledge of Latin.³⁷ If this was not the case, it could be substituted with either the hymn *Hver sem að reisir hæga byggð*, or a *Sanctus*, "as was the custom in the old days."³⁸ He also allows for the use of instruments to accompany the singing, so that the "dark and heavy ones are in *basso* but in *alto* the bright and thin ones."³⁹ Following the ceremony, as the bride and groom make their way out of the church, he

³⁵ *Skrá um handritasöfn Landsbókasafnsins* vol. 2, 491.

³⁶ JS 1 4to, 595–653 ("Nockr smá qvæði at síngja í brúðlaupum og öðrum samqvæmum á Íslandi"). Only 17 of these poems are printed in Eggert Ólafsson's, *Kvæði*, 181–187. In JS 1 4to each of the wedding poems is given a heading that describes its function within the ceremony as a whole: *Söngur fyrir bónda-minni* ("Að bónda minni biðjum vér"), *Vina-full* ("Minn vinur, maklegt er"), *Vinfengis-minni* ("Vors góða vinar nú"), *Virðingar-minni* ("Mörg eru mungáts orð"), *Landstjórnar-minni* ("Búeldur hlýr í skotunum skír"), and *Dauða-minni* ("Ó, hvað maðurinn misjafnt sér").

³⁷ Eggert Ólafsson, *Uppkast til forsagna um brúðkaupssíðu*, 30. Buchanan's incipit is itself a paraphrase of the concluding stanza of Horace's Ode I/13 ("Felices ter et amplius"); see also Table 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*: "... ellegar *Sanctus* sem fyrrum var síður með tvísöng eður fersöng af báðum raustum með tempruðu hljóðsmagni." This may well be a reference to the *Stimmtausch* *Sanctus*-melody found in ÍB 323 8vo (to its original Latin text) and in a large number of other manuscripts to an Icelandic trope ("Heyr þú oss himnum á") by Rev. Ólafur Jónsson of Sandar. The origins of this melody were traced by Róbert Abraham Ottósson in "Ein fægur Saung Vijsa" in *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar* 30. júní 1969, 251–259. *Stimmtausch*, or voice-exchange, is a medieval polyphonic technique that involves two voices of equal range in a mutual alternation of phrases. It was most widely practiced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and its most common feature, aside from voice exchange, is counterpoint moving in contrary motion (see Ernest H. Sanders, rev. Peter M. Lefferts, "Voice-exchange," in *NG2*, vol. 26, 871).

³⁹ *Uppkast til forsagna um brúðkaupssíðu*, 30: "svo að dimm og digur séu í *basso* en í *alto* hin skæru og mjóu." In a previous passage, he places horns, oboes, and *langspil* in the bass category and assigns the alto part to clavier, viols, and flutes (*Ibid.*, 27). It is highly unlikely that instruments were generally available for wedding performances. A contemporaneous

stipulates that Buchanan's *Princeps stelliferis* should be sung (in Latin), or the Icelandic hymn *Heimili vort og húsin með*, the latter presumably if the groom had not received a Latin-school education.

Eggert Ólafsson's own texts to Olthof's music appear later in the ceremony. "Hér er inn borin hjónaskál" (to the music of *Incolæ terrarum*) was intended to be sung following dinner on the first day, as a musical toast to the bride and groom.⁴⁰ "Vær gefum góða nótt" (to *Rerum certa salus*) was to be sung by the youngest of the bridesmaids, with instrumental accompaniment, as the newlyweds retired at the conclusion of their wedding day.⁴¹ Finally, during the dinner toasts of the second day, "Að bóndaminni biðjum vér" was sung in the groom's honor, in "two or four parts" ["með tví- eður fersöng"], again to *Incolæ terrarum*.⁴² He also allows for this to be followed by another one of his poems to the same music, "Fullsæla manns í þessu lífi."⁴³

If Eggert Ólafsson's detailed instructions were ever observed, it can only have been within the means of an educated and well-to-do elite.⁴⁴ Poetry fashioned to Olthof's music for less joyful occasions also seems to have been primarily written for, and sung by, the upper crust of society. At least ten poetic eulogies survive to music from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter, of which the oldest is composed in memory of Rev. Jón Halldórsson (1665–1736), who studied at Skálholt and in Copenhagen (he earned the rare distinction of graduating "haud illaudabilis"), and was priest at Hítardalur from 1692 until his death.⁴⁵ Four eulogies to Olthof's music appear in Lbs 52 fol, a collection

description of Eggert Ólafsson's own wedding (to Ingibjörg Guðmundsdóttir in 1767) mentions singers, but no instruments (*Ibid.*, 137–141).

⁴⁰ *Uppkast til forsagna um brúðkaupssiðu*, 79.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁴² *Uppkast til forsagna um brúðkaupssiðu*, 111. Eggert Ólafsson makes two other references to an *ad libitum* "chorus of singers in two or four parts" ["söngvarakór með tví- eður fjórskiftum söng (ef vill)"]. One of these is for his own text to the hymn tune *Himneski Guð vor herra* (*Ibid.*, 82–83; the melody is no. 158 in Rask 98 and is printed in *ÍP*, 287); the other is his hymn of departure at the conclusion of the festivities, to *Hjarta, þankar, hugur, sinni* (*Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben*, see *Uppkast til forsagna um brúðkaupssiðu*, 133).

⁴³ In an interesting overlap between Eggert Ólafsson's volume and the sixteenth-century repertory of humanist metrical ode settings, this poem is a gloss on an epigram of Martial (Book 10, no. 47). The original epigram (*Vitam quae faciunt*) employs a different poetic meter, but was itself a favorite poem of Renaissance ode composers.

⁴⁴ *Uppkast til forsagna um brúðkaupssiðu*, xi.

⁴⁵ Adv 21.7.17, 79r: "Helgar mollder þess vel æruverðuga og hálærða manns prófastsins í Þverárþinge og sökna-herra ad Hytardal ... Sal. Hr. Jóns Halldórssonar, Beatae Memoriae," to the music of *Rerum certa salus*. See also *ÍÆ* vol. 3, 142–143.

of wedding and funeral poetry from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The oldest of these, to the melody of *Incolæ terrarum*, was written for Þórunn Ísleifsdóttir (ca. 1689–1746) by her husband, Rev. Bjarni Þorleifsson (ca. 1680–1758).⁴⁶ Bjarni Þorleifsson, who was priest at Kálfafell from 1707–1749, was a graduate of Skálholt and had most likely become familiar with the Buchanan psalter during his studies there.⁴⁷ The melody of *Princeps stelliferis* is employed for two poems (one in Latin, the other in Icelandic), written in memory of Guðlaugur Þorgeirsson (1711–1789), also a graduate of Skálholt and conrector there from 1734–1742.⁴⁸ An Icelandic eulogy for Kristín Halldórsdóttir (1738–1810, wife of Steindór Finnsson *sýslumaður*, who was the son of Bishop Finnur Jónsson), is the very last text to Olthof's music documented in Icelandic manuscripts, to Olthof's *Rerum certa salus*.⁴⁹ 44 years earlier, a eulogy to Kristín Halldórsdóttir's mother-in-law, Guðríður Gísladóttir (1707–1766, the Bishop's wife) had also been written to this same melody.⁵⁰

Three other funeral poems composed to *Rerum certa salus* have also survived. Two appear in Lbs 2194 8vo: one in memory of Rev. Jón Steingrímsson (1721–1791), the other commemorating Rev. Páll Guðmundsson of Vallanes (1725–1782).⁵¹ Finally, Lbs 462 4to contains a poem to *Rerum certa*

⁴⁶ Lbs 52 fol, p. 19: “Útfararminning þeirrar æruverdigu og digder-elskande höfðings kvennu sál. Þörunnar Ísleifsdóttur, i stírdum og einfóldum, þö vel meintum ljódmælum framsett af hennar sorgande ecta-herra prófastsins velæruverdigs Sr. B.Þ.S.”

⁴⁷ See *ÍÆ* vol. 1, 198.

⁴⁸ Lbs 52 fol, p. 46 and 49–50. The cycle of eulogies for Guðlaugur Þorgeirsson contains four poems in Latin, each of which is also translated into Icelandic (verse) and Danish (prose). The Latin poem “*Volvuntur miseri*” (headed “*Responsorium et qvasi echo sepulchralis*”) is written to the melody of *Princeps stelliferis*. The Icelandic version of this same poem refers to Stefán Ólafsson's hymn “*Upphaf og hertoginn*” for the music (see p. 17, above). The last poem in the cycle is an epitaph (“*Epitaphium/Grafskrift*”) that was intended to be sung, though not to music from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter. On Guðlaugur Þorgeirsson see *ÍÆ* vol. 2, 120–121.

⁴⁹ Lbs 52 fol, p. 61: “Sorgar þaankar yfir burtkøllun þeirrar ad dygdum og mannkostum þiodkunnu höfðings-qvinnu Mað^{me} Christínar saal. Halldórsdóttur.”

⁵⁰ JS 479 8vo, pp. 1–5: “Skyldug og ó-gleymi minning sem medal mannanna blifur j blessan efter þaa riettdaatu og j lijfenu haa-edla margdygdauduga frí, nú i Gude sælu frí Gudrijde Gísladottur.”

⁵¹ Lbs 2194 8vo, p. 153: “Stutt og stírdkvedenn þö einlæg æruminng epter þann i lijfenu dijgdum og dadumm þrijdda, enn ä himnumm signudumm söma skirijdda gudmann saal. Sra Jon Steingrijmsson”; p. 335: “Erfe liöd epter ædla hr. Profastenn Sra Paul Gudmundsson.”

salus written in memory of Egill Sveinbjörnsson (1741–1808) of Innri Njarðvík, whose son Sveinbjörn Egilsson was one of the most eminent scholars of his day and rector of the Latin school upon its relocation to Reykjavík in 1846.⁵²

3. Manuscript sources: Four-part and Latin settings

Only two Icelandic sources transmit complete 4-part settings from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter. AM 102 8vo is a paper manuscript written in the second half of the seventeenth century, most of which (until the final leaves, 124r–130r; 130v has been left blank) consists of hymn texts without music. The final section of the manuscript contains nine two-part pieces of diverse origin, as well as two 4-part Buchanan/Olthof pieces to their original Latin texts: *Felix ille animi* and *O pater, o hominum*.⁵³ The manuscript concludes with *Luce voco te*, Buchanan's paraphrase of Psalm 88, but this last text is incomplete and no music is provided for it, although two empty staves have been drawn at the bottom of the page.

The second source of Olthof's settings in four parts is Lbs 508 8vo, a manuscript presumably written in the mid-eighteenth century.⁵⁴ Previously overlooked with regard to its musical content, this is the largest single manuscript collection of Olthof's music to have been preserved in Iceland. The 77-leaf manuscript is divided into three sections. The first of these (fols. 1r–45r) consists of fourteen Olthof settings, all but the first of which are in four parts. The heading "Vikupsalmar utaf Lass: Bæn." [Hymns for the week, from the prayers of Lassenius] at the top of each page indicates that the Icelandic texts are paraphrases not of Buchanan, but of the Copenhagen pastor Johann Lassenius (1636–1692), whose prayer collection *Gudrækelegar VIKV Bæner, Med Morgun og Kvöld Versum* was first published at Hólar in 1728

⁵² Lbs 462 4to, no. 26 (single sheet, r/v): "Liödmæli qviedinn eptir Eigil sál. Sveinbjörnsson í Innriniardvík árid 1808."

⁵³ These pieces were transcribed by Bjarni Þorsteinsson in *ÍP*, 171–174. Unable to make much sense of the pieces (and scrambling to interpret the original clefs), he noted that both text and music "appear to be defective" ["Bæði textinn og músikin virðist vera defekt"]. Bjarni Þorsteinsson also gives the first two lines of *Luce voco te*, although he was unaware of the origins of the text and believed it to be the conclusion of *O pater, o hominum*.

⁵⁴ *Skrá um handritasöfn Landsbókasafnsins* vol. 2, 105.

and reprinted in 1733 and 1740. The Icelandic texts to the first nine hymns (i.e. morning and evening hymns from Sunday through Thursday morning) were written by Rev. Guðmundur Jónsson, priest at Steinholt (ca. 1680–1707), whose early death from the plague hindered the completion of the projected cycle.⁵⁵ His work was later completed by Rev. Jón Bjarnason of Rafnseyri (1721–1785).⁵⁶

The first part of Lbs 508 8vo (which contains the Olthof pieces) is missing the first page. The manuscript begins with the tenor part of the first piece (“Lof, dýrð og þökk sé þér,” to Olthof’s *Princeps stelliferis*); the discant part and the heading for this hymn are missing. The remaining pieces are all in four parts, and each begins with the discant part. Unlike the published volume of the Buchanan/Olthof settings, the four voices in Lbs 508 8vo are not always copied onto a single v/r opening. The discant and tenor parts are sometimes written on one opening while the alto and bass parts appear only after a page turn; thus, four-part singing from this manuscript alone is virtually impossible.⁵⁷ This may suggest that the manuscript was meant for one performer (or voice part) only, or that it was not intended for performance at all. Since performance of the Olthof pieces in less than four voices is documented in other Icelandic sources, it is also possible that certain voice parts were copied merely for the sake of “completeness.”

The last example of a notated part from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter in an Icelandic manuscript appears in the *Hymni scholares* manuscript ÍB 323 8vo: the bass line to Buchanan’s paraphrase of Psalm 131, *Te regem dominumque canam*. This manuscript, most likely a notebook written by a student at one of the two cathedral schools, is believed to have been written between 1760–1800.⁵⁸ It is thus a remarkably late witness to the tenacious school tradition of

⁵⁵ *ÍÆ* vol. 2, 161–162.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 69–70; see also Hálfán Einarsson, *Sciagraphia historiae literariae Islandiae*. The latter gives an extensive listing of Icelandic poets who paraphrased the writings of Lassenius, and includes the following remark: “... Gudmundus denique Johannis, parochus Steinholtensis usque ad ann. 1707, qvi etiam ex Lassenii Libro precum materiam mutuatus est, sed cum operi tantum affecto immoreretur, telam, qvam exorsus est, ad finem perduxit Johannes Bernhardi parochus Rappseyrensis” (p. 70).

⁵⁷ See, for example, the two Wednesday hymns (19v–21r; 22v–24r), and those for Friday evening (35v–37r) and Saturday morning (38v–39v). Had it survived intact, this would also have applied to the first hymn.

⁵⁸ The manuscript is incomplete. At least one page containing musical notation has been torn off and does not survive. The first ten pages of the manuscript as it exists today contain music, including the two-part Sanctus mentioned in fn. 38, above. This is the most recent Icelandic



A morning hymn for Monday, from the cycle of morning and evening hymns by Guðmundur Jónsson, based on the prayers of Johann Lassenius (Lbs 508 8vo, 6v–7r). The music is Olthof's setting of *Toto pectore diligam*.

Latin-texted singing that continued even after a flurry of native *contrafacta* had brought Olthof's melodies out of the narrow confines of the school environment and into weddings, church services and private devotions of Icelanders in various parts of the country.

The preservation of the Olthof settings in such varied form raises the question of where these pieces were sung, and by whom. A performance of all

manuscript to contain simple polyphony. The three following pages contain empty staves; the remainder of the manuscript contains theological notes in Icelandic and in Latin, a list of Latin poetic meters, and other items that seem unlikely to have originated anywhere but at Skálholt or Hólar. Páll Eggert Ólason suggested that the manuscript might in the hand of Halldór Finnson, priest at Hítardalur (1736–1814), but this seems unlikely based on other manuscript sources in his hand. *Skrá um handritasöfn Landsbókasafnsins* vol. 3, 75; see also *ÍÆ* vol. 2, 252–253.

four parts could hardly have been expected to take place outside the environment of the Latin schools, where there might have been a large enough group of literate young men to attempt the task. Presumably the discant part would have been sung by boy sopranos, as it was on the continent. But here the Icelandic Latin schools were at a distinct disadvantage. Although treble voices broke significantly later in the eighteenth century than today (at over 17, on average), students at Skálholt and Hólar seem generally to have been between the ages of 15 and 23, while in Germany Latin schools admitted boys aged 7–24.⁵⁹ The Icelandic schools must therefore have faced a more or less constant shortage of upper voices for performing music in more than two parts.

The survival in two sources (Rask 98 and JS 643 4to) of only the lower two voices indicates that performing the tenor and bass parts together was considered a viable option. From a musical standpoint this is most unusual. Since the effect of the Olthof settings largely depends upon their four-part realization, a performance of the lower voices by themselves would suggest a minimum level of musical discernment.⁶⁰ Such a practice only makes sense when considered in the context of other polyphonic singing in Iceland during this period. In this case, it must have been the firmly established tradition of singing two-part note-against-note polyphony — as evidenced by the *cantus planus binatim* settings found in Rask 98 and AM 102 8vo⁶¹ — that encouraged the appropriation of new pieces as part of its continued cultivation,

⁵⁹ S. Daw, “German Lutheran Choirs of Bach’s Time: Their Constitution, Performance Practice and Repertoire,” *Organists’ Review*, April 1973, 14; cited in Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, 13. Listings of Skálholt students in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are printed in Hannes Þorsteinsson, *Skólaraðir frá Skálholtsskóla, Hólaskóla og Hólavallarskóla*.

⁶⁰ German adaptations of single voices from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter made use of the discant part, not the tenor. The German hymn tune *Wend ab deinen Zorn, lieber Gott, mit Gnaden*, which appears in several German hymnals including J.A. Freylinghausen’s *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* (1741), is an adaptation of the discant part to Olthof’s *O potens rerum Deus*. See Widmann, “Die Kompositionen der Psalmen von Statius Olthof,” 292 and 299.

⁶¹ *Cantus planus binatim* — ‘doubled plainsong’ — is a term taken from a 1404 treatise by Prosdocius de Beldemandis, *Expositiones tractatus praeceptis cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris*. It is commonly used to denote the simple, mostly note-against-note non-mensural polyphony found in continental sources from the fourteenth century and beyond. A substantial number of such pieces are found in Icelandic sources from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. See John Bergsagel, “The Practice of *Cantus Planus Binatim* in Scandinavia in the 12th to 16th Centuries,” in *Le polifonie primitiva in Friuli e in Europa*, eds. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli, 63–82.

even if these pieces were not (as the earlier ones had been) “complete” musical works.⁶²

4. Lutheran Hymnals and oral transmission

The manuscript transmission of Olthof’s melodies and texts to them ceased around the turn of the nineteenth century, as musical literacy in Iceland reached its nadir. Yet one melody from the Olthof/Buchanan psalter outlived the others by at least a century, and enjoyed a much wider dissemination. “Upp hef ég augun mín” — Rev. Þorlákur Þórarinnsson’s (1711–1773) text to the tenor part of *Princeps stelliferis* — first appears in JS 138 8vo, a manuscript in the hand of Rev. Ásgeir Bjarnason (1703–1772). Both melody and text were printed in the 1772 Hymnal commonly referred to as *Höfuðgreinabókin*.⁶³ A new text to this melody appeared in Magnús Stephensen’s Enlightenment Hymnal of 1801 (“Grát, auga, guðs son dó”) and was printed again, with musical notation, in Pétur Guðjónsson’s Hymnal of 1861.⁶⁴ The melody also appeared with letter notation in Ari Sæmundsen’s manual for playing the monochordal *langspil*, published in 1855.⁶⁵

As was common for hymn melodies in the nineteenth century, the melody to “Grát, auga, guðs son dó”/*Princeps stelliferis* entered an oral tradition and was sung in versions often far removed from the notated ones. Bjarni Þor-

⁶² Another question — hardly less pressing — has to do with the rhythmic transmission of Olthof’s melodies, whether in one or more parts. Since the pedagogical effect of these pieces depended on the exact rhythmic differentiation between breves and semibreves, one would not expect to see the inconsistent application of rhythmic values found in AM 102 8vo, let alone non-rhythmic notation, as is the case in Rask 98. Whether, and how, these rhythmic values changed when the melodies were sung to Icelandic texts requires further study. It should be noted, however, that Lbs 508 8vo, which contains four-part versions to Icelandic poetry, as well as Lbs 1245 8vo and ÍB 323 8vo, each of which transmits a single part to Buchanan’s Latin poetry, are impeccable in this regard.

⁶³ *Þeirrar Íslensku Psalma-Bookar Sijdari Partur* (Hólar, 1772), 225–229. This source refers to “Upphaf og hertoginn” (i.e. *Princeps stelliferis*) as the melody.

⁶⁴ *Evangelisk-kristileg Messu-saungs- og Sálma-bók*, 69–70; Pétur Guðjónsson, *Íslensk Sálmasaungs-og messubók með nótum*, 107; see also ÍP, 481–482. In an appendix, Pétur Guðjónsson stated that he had not found the melody in any of the foreign sources he had consulted (*Íslensk Sálmasaungs-og messubók*, 164). *Princeps stelliferis* was also sung to the texts “Skaparinn ljóssins skær” (by Þorsteinn Sigurðsson, printed in *Daglegt Kvöld og Morgun-Offur*, 1–3) and “Kom sæl, mæt morgunstund” (ÍP, 482).

⁶⁵ Ari Sæmundsen, *Leiðarvísir til að spila á langspil og til að læra Sálmalög eftir nótum*, 67.

steinsson's *Íslenzk þjóðlög* includes a transcription of this melody in highly ornamented form, as it was sung by Sigurveig Árnadóttir (1828–after 1903) from Lundur in Fnjóskadalur.⁶⁶ In the nineteenth century, Olthof's melody was also transmitted orally among the students at Bessastaðaskóli, who sang it to a Horatian ode text in the same poetic meter, *Maecenas, atavis edite regibus*.⁶⁷

Princeps stelliferis remains in the hymnody of the Icelandic Lutheran church, although its popularity has diminished somewhat during the past century. The 1886 *Sálmabók* contained four texts to the melody of *Princeps stelliferis*/"Upp hef ég augun mín."⁶⁸ Only one of these was retained in the revised 1945 edition ("Lát opnast augu mín" by Valdimar Briem) but another text was added: "Sólin til fjalla fljótt," attributed to Hallgrímur Pétursson.⁶⁹ In the most recent edition of the Lutheran Hymnal (1997), the two texts from the

⁶⁶ *ÍP*, 699–700. Bjarni Þorsteinsson's version in *ÍP* is a rhythmically altered version of a transcription made for him by Rev. Einar Pálsson of Hof in Fnjóskadalur, and which accompanied the Reverend's letter to him dated 11 November 1903 (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Bjarni Þorsteinsson collection, folder 1). A complete analysis of the variants between the written and oral versions is beyond the scope of the present study. The following remarks must therefore suffice. Of the eight phrases of Olthof's melody, only the fifth and sixth are substantially the same in both versions. Within each version, the fourth and eighth phrases are more or less identical. The modal setting has been substantially altered, however: Olthof's F major (transposed to C major in Pétur Guðjónsson's 1861 Hymnal) is transformed into an ambiguous E-mode without a second scale-degree (thus allowing for a modal interpretation of either E-Phrygian or E-Aeolian). In the oral version a C-cadence (in Pétur Guðjónsson's Hymnal) is always replaced by an E-cadence (maintaining the basic transpositional interval of a third), but G-cadences are replaced by cadences on C (transposing up a fourth). The first phrase is an exception: here G-cadence in the 1861 Hymnal becomes a cadence on E in the oral version. The example of "Grát, auga, guðs son dó" confirms the tendency (first observed by Róbert A. Ottósson) for major-mode pieces to be transformed into the Phrygian mode in the Icelandic oral tradition, and for minor-mode pieces to become Lydian. See Róbert A. Ottósson, "Tvesang," in *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, vol. 19, cols. 84–85.

⁶⁷ *ÍP*, 574. Our information regarding the pieces sung by students in the first decades of the nineteenth century comes from Páll Melsteð (1812–1910), a historian and student at Bessastaðaskóli from 1828–1834. An 1895 list of melodies sung at Bessastaðaskóli during Páll Melsteð's years of study has survived; it consists of 57 items (51 Icelandic texts followed by six Latin texts). See *ÍP*, 572–574; the original is in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Bjarni Þorsteinsson collection, folder 6.

⁶⁸ *Sálmabók til kirkju- og heimasöngs*, no. 248 ("Í dag er dýrmæt tíð" — Helgi Hálfðánarson); no. 274 ("Með iðrun, auðmýkt, trú" — Páll Jónsson); no. 304 ("Hve sælt er sérhvert land" — Valdimar Briem); no. 306 ("Lát opnast augu mín" — Valdimar Briem).

⁶⁹ The attribution to Hallgrímur Pétursson is questionable. The text first appears, without attribution, in *Hymnodia sacra* (1742), copied nearly seven decades after Pétursson's death.

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Nr. 84. Upphef eg augum mín.

Grát, aug - a! guðs son dó, sem gjörð - i þó vel

allt, hjálp í neyð heim - i bjó, heill út - breidd - i áv -

allt. Kenn - ar - inn sann - leiks klár á kross - i deydd - ur

er. Veg - ur er herr - ans hár, hann ekk - i skilj - um vér.

2.

Jeg fagna, Jesús dó,
 jeg veit sú menn fékk grætt
 ógn dauðans eydd burl fló,
 Adams má gleðjast æt!
 Lífs morgunroðinn ljós
 heims leiðtrar ættum hér,
 vors guðs úthrópar hrós:
 hans gæzka eilíf er.

3.

Full vonar venda mín
 vætt lárum augu sör
 í himin upp til þín,
 ó guði hvers mildin er
 eilíf, og heiður hár.
 Hvað er lífs söknuð ró?
 Hvað er heims freistin' og fár?
 mig fyrir Jesús dó.

Grát, auga, Guðs son dó, from Pétur Guðjónsson's 1861 Hymnal (*Íslenzk Sálmasaungs- og messubók með nótum*, p. 107). The melody is the tenor line of *Princeps stelliferis* from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter. The text first appeared in print in Magnús Stephensen's Hymnal, published in 1801.

1945 edition both appear to the tenor part of *Princeps stelliferis*, which is cited as an “Icelandic melody.”⁷⁰

There is no obvious explanation for the overwhelming popularity of the melodies from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter in Iceland for well over two centuries. The enthusiasm with which they were received suggests that the repertory of hymn tunes in circulation via the 1589 and 1619 *Sálmabækur* and the 1594 *Graduale* (and subsequent reprints) may have been somewhat restricted, at least compared to the immense poetic activity of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The simplicity of the homophonic settings, and the flexibility with which their four-voice texture could be handled, can only have added to their appeal. Most of all, however, the tenacious local transmission of pieces from the Buchanan/Olthof psalter testifies to the primary role of the Latin schools, for which the volume was primarily intended, as centers of musical transmission in post-Reformation Iceland.

⁷⁰ *Sálmabók íslensku kirkjunnar*, nos. 190 and 473. Although the Hymnal cites Lbs 1927 4to (*Hymnodia sacra*) as its source for this melody, it relies on Guðjónsson’s 1861 Hymnal regarding choice of key (C major) as well as numerous melodic details that differ both from *Hymnodia sacra* and the original Olthof setting.

Table 1. The transmission of texts/music based on the Buchanan/Olthof psalter in Icelandic manuscripts.

Source	Psalms (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalms (in Buchanan)	Parts
Rask 98 (<i>Melodia</i> , ca. 1660)				
47v-48r	Gud himna gjæðum (no. 149)	?	Me vi tyrannus [XXVI]	B
52v-53r	Guddömsins göd þrenning (no. 160-161)	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Quid frustra rabidi me [XXIII]	TB
53v	Allt það sem hefur andardrátt (no. 162-163)	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	TB
54r	Lidugann lofgjörðar vjör (no. 164-165)	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Ut extra flammis [XXXVI]	TB
58v	Öll jörð framme fyrir drottne (no. 177)	Oddur Oddsson	Secum insania [XIV]	T
64v	Vilur þu varast hjer (no. 190)	?	Si viare velis [Genus Phalaecium]	T
AM 102 8vo (ca. 1680)				
129v-130r	Felix ille animi	George Buchanan	Felix ille animi [I]	DATB
130r	O pater, o hominum	George Buchanan	O pater, o hominum [IV]	DATB
130r	Luce voco te	George Buchanan	Luce voco te [LXXXVIII]	no music ^a
Lbs 1516 4to (1689)				
124r	Guddömsins göd þrenning	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Quid frustra rabidi me [XXIII]	no music
125r	Lof seig þu drottne sætt með mjer	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	no music
125r-126r	Hefum enn hljóðinn tuenn	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
126r	Minn ande gud minn gleðst í þjer	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Secum insania [XIV]	no music
AM 191 b 8vo (17th century)				
75v	Eckert er bræðra elskulegra	Ólafur Einarsson	Heu quanta numero [III]	no music
ÍBR 7 8vo (1693)				
83-85	Þeim nýa kongi nýann saung	Þorsteinn Jónsson	Heu quanta numero [III] ^b	no music

^a Two empty staves only; the manuscript breaks off in the middle of the text (after “alme parens”).^b The rubric for this text refers to the melody of “Eckert er bræður” [*Heu quanta numero*]; see AM 191 b 8vo.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
85-86	Sveirn er oss gíefinn og sonur fæddur	Þorsteinn Jónsson	Heu quanta numero [III]	no music
JS 643 4to (ca. 1700)				
74r	Atburde þjina utann Drottinn eðle trúr (Ps. 127)	Ólafur Einarsson	Heu quanta numero [III]	no music
74r-75v	Herrans þjónar sem hans i midium helgedöm	Ólafur Einarsson	Heu quanta numero [III] Secum insania [XIV] ^c	no music no music
79r	Øll jórd framme fyrir Drottne	Ólafur Einarsson	Heu quanta numero [III]	no music
82v	Eckert er brædur elskulegra eckert er	Ólafur Einarsson	Heu quanta numero [III]	no music
145r-146v	Guddömsins göd þrenning	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Quid frustra rabidi me [XXIII]	TB
146v-147r	Allt það sem hefur andardrátt	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	TB
147(i)r ^d	Lidugann lofgjörðar vjör	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Ut extra flammis [XXXVI]	TB
147(i)r-147(ii)v	Lof seig þú drottne sætt með mier	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	TB
150r-151r	Jesus guds sonur sá	?	Rerum certa salus [IX]	TB
151r-151v	Minn ande gud minn gledst i þjer	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Secum insania [XIV]	TB
Lbs 837 4to (ca. 1700)				
360-363	Guddömsins göd þrenning	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Quid frustra rabidi me [XXIII]	no music
363-364	Lof seigdu drottne sætt með mier	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	no music
364-365	Emanuel mitt einka traust	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Quousque rector unice [XIII]	no music
365-367	Allt huað sem hefur andardrátt	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	no music
367	Lidugann lofgjörðar vjör	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Ut extra flammis [XXXVI]	no music
367-369	Hefium enn hliðenn tuenn	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
370	Minn ande gud minn gledst i þjer	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Secum insania [XIV]	no music

^c The rubric for this text (a paraphrase of Ps. 100) refers to the melody of “Minn andi Gud minn gledst” [*Secum insania*], which appears later in the manuscript.

^d The number 147 appears on two consecutive leaves.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
Lbs 1485 8vo (ca. 1700) 106-107	Kjærleik mier kenn	Oddur Oddsson	Solvitur acris [Horace, I/4]	T
ÍB 380 8vo (ca. 1700) 167-168 168-169	Kjærleik mier kenn Hier hefur margur so hættulegt priäl	Oddur Oddsson ?	Solvitur acris [Horace, I/4] Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	T no music
ÍB 660 8vo (ca. 1700) 54r-54v 70r	Upphaf og hertoginn Sem fugl ä köldum kvist	Stefán Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII] Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music no music
Lbs 1422 8vo (1701) 129-131	Kjærleik mier kenn	Oddur Oddsson	Solvitur acris [Horace, I/4]	T
ÍBR 103 8vo (early 18th century) 153-154	Mörg vill hríggja hugann pijn	Stefán Ólafsson	Non ebur neque aureum [Horace, II/18]	no music
ÍB 669 8vo (1735) 270-271 271-273	O hvad farsæll er sa mann (Ps. 128) Förgiefens muntu mier (Ps. 23)	Jón Einarsson Jón Einarsson	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI] Quid frustra rabidi me [XXIII]	T T
Boreal 113 (1740) 127v-129v 226v-227v 228r-229r 230v-231v 329v-330r	Lidenn er veturenn vüst (Sumar Liöd) Skaparenn liosenns skær Lios dagsens lyded er Dags liösid nöttin burtu ber Hier hefur margur so hættulegt priäl	? Þorsteinn Sigurðsson Þorsteinn Sigurðsson Þorsteinn Sigurðsson? ?	Felix ille animi [I] Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII] Rerum certa salus [IX] Incolae terrarum [LXVI] Felix o ter et amplius/ Toto pectore diligam [CXVI] Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music no music no music no music no music no music no music
453r-454r	Pier Drottenn þacka eg	Gottskálk Þorðarson		

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
ÍB 104 8vo (ca. 1740)				
58-60	Mörg vill hríggja hugann [pin]	Stefán Ólafsson	Non ebur neque aureum [Horace, II/18]	no music
120-121	Sig gleður saala mín	?	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
175-176	Heilage hinnum aa		Rerum certa salus [IX] ^e	no music
JS 138 8vo (ca. 1740-50)				
412-416	Upp hef eg augun mín	Þorlákur Þórarinnsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
Lbs 1158 8vo (ca. 1740-80)				
64r-64v	Þeim nýja kónge nýan saung	Þorsteinn Jónsson	Heu quanta numero [III] ^f	no music
Lbs 1927 4to (<i>Hymnodia sacra</i> , 1742)				
33-35	Frægsti frumsmíður þess	Oddur Oddsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	T
35-36	Leitdögi lífsins skær	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
41-44	Andi Gvuds Eilífur er	Þorsteinn Oddsson?	Felix ille animi [I]	T
121-122	O þrisvar farsæll og frammar	?	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	T
122-123	Farsæll madurinn sérhver er sa	?	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	no music
177-178	Abrahams, Isaacs	?	Rerum certa salus [IX] ^g	no music
256-259	Þer Drottin þacka eg	Gottskálk Þorðarson	Rerum certa salus [IX] ^h	T
278-280	Mörg vill hríggja hugan þin	Stefán Ólafsson	Non ebur neque aureum [Horace, II/18]	T
309-313	Blessadur sert þu goður Gvud	?	Secum insania [XIV]	T
463-464	Upprunnin er nu sol	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII] ⁱ	no music

^e The rubric for this piece refers to the melody of “Þier Drottinn þacka eg” [*Rerum certa salus*]; see Lbs 1027 4to.

^f The rubric for this text refers to the melody of “Eckert er brædur” [*Heu quanta numero*]; see AM 191 b 8vo.

^g The rubric for this piece refers to the melody of “Þer drottin þacka eg” [*Rerum certa salus*]; see pp. 256-259 in this same manuscript.

^h The melody contains a variant found in the 1619 publication of the Buchanan/Olthoff psalter (see Widmann, “Die Kompositionen der Psalmen von Statius Olthof,” 301).

ⁱ The rubric for this piece refers to the melody of “Frægsti frumsmíður þess” [*Princeps stelliferis*]; see pp. 33-35 in this same manuscript.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
464	Solin til fialla fliótt	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
Lbs 508 8vo (ca. 1750)				
1r-4r	Lof dyrd og þøck sie þier	Guðmundur Jónsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	ATB
3v-7r	Himneske Gud og herra minn	Guðmundur Jónsson	Secum insania [XIV]	DATB
6v-10r	O þu myskunar ørläte Gud	Guðmundur Jónsson	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	DATB
9v-13r	Minn giæskuriþke Gud	Guðmundur Jónsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	DATB
13r-16v	O þu elskuleige endurlausnare minn	Guðmundur Jónsson	Quid frustra rabidi me [XXII]	DATB
16v-19v	O herra Jesu hialþräd mitt	Guðmundur Jónsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	DATB
19v-23r	Himneske Herra [vel: Jam satis terris!]	Guðmundur Jónsson	O potens rerum Deus [V]	DATB
22v-26r	Himneske Gud	Guðmundur Jónsson	Heu quanta numero [III]	DATB
25v-29r	Astkiære Fader eyliffe Herra	Guðmundur Jónsson	Affer opem servator [XII]	DATB
28v-32r	Herra Gud, himneske Fader	Jón Bjarnason	O beatos, qui sequuntur [CXIX]	DATB
31v-36r	O þu elskulege, og minn sætaste Lausnare	Jón Bjarnason	Felix ille animi [I]	DATB
35v-39r	Vijdfregt, lofad og vegsamad	Jón Bjarnason	Quousque rector unice [XIII]	DATB
38v-42r	Myskunsame Gud minn	Jón Bjarnason	Luce voco te [LXXXVIII]	DATB
42r-45r	O minn Gud naaduge nu	Jón Bjarnason	Affer opem servator [XII]	T ⁱ
46r-47r	Skaparinn liossins skær	Þorsteinn Sigurðsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
47r-48r	Liðs dagsins liðid er	Þorsteinn Sigurðsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
49r-49v	Dags liðsid nöttin burtu ber	Þorsteinn Sigurðsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	no music
JS 229 8vo (ca. 1750)				
66r-66v	A millum brædra elskulegra eckert er	Ólafur Einarsson	Heu quanta numero [III]	no music
82r-82v	Hier hefur margur so hætilegt priaal	?	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	no music

j The tenor part is written out only to demonstrate a different phrasing from that found earlier in the manuscript, where the same piece (*Affer opem servator*) is given in all four parts.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
BLAdd 11.175 (ca. 1750) 279v-281r	O hvað vort lifjed er	Póður Sveinsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
Hérðsskjalasafn, Akureyri, G-1/3 (ca. 1750) 333-335	Veitandi góði Gud	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	T
Lbs 496 8vo (ca. 1750) 53r-53v ^k	Kongur himnanna haar	Ólafur Brynjúlfsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
Boreal 109 (ca. 1750-1800)				
20	Köngur kónganna klär	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
20	Köng vorn o Christe þü	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
22v	Upprunnem er nu söl	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
22v	Sölenn til fialla fliött	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
24r-26r	Mörg vill hríggia hugar pijn	Stefán Ólafsson	Non ebur neque aureum [Horace, II/18]	no music
37r	Hinc cor gestit ovens	Brynjólfur Sveinsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
42v	Brúðíönumm ungumm eg bíð þess af röt	?	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	no music
Lbs 1536 8vo (ca. 1760) 122-124	Kiærleik mier kenn	Oddur Oddsson	Solvitur acris [Horace, I/4]	T
ÍBR 111 8vo (ca. 1760) 166-169 ⁱ	Heimsins þíood i øllum Attum (Ps. 66)	Steinn Jónsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	T
Lbs 885 4to (ca. 1760) 2r	Ver gefum göða nöit	Eggert Ólafsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music

^k The manuscript consists of two seperately paginated parts; the Buchanan piece appears in the second part.

ⁱ The manuscript consists of two seperately paginated parts; the Buchanan piece appears towards the end of the second part.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
Lbs 1177 4to (ca. 1760-80)				
32	Upphaf og hertogen	Stefán Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
ÍB 323 8vo (ca. 1760-1800)				
2r	Te regem dominumque canam	George Buchanan	Te regem dominumque canam [CXLV]	B
8r-8v	Brudhionum ungum eg bid þess af röt	?	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	no music
ÍBR 8 8vo (1766)				
II-VI	So sem einn sakamann	Þorvaldur Magnússon	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII] ^m	no music
ÍBR 26 8vo (1767 and later)				
484-486	Upphaf og hertoginn	Stefán Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
513-514	Veitande góðe Gud	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
516-518	Frægste frumsmidur þess	Oddur Oddsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
Adv 21.7.17 (ca. 1770)				
64v-65v	Því gírniz heimr her	Þorsteinn Bjarnason	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
70v-71r	Kongr himnanna haar	Ólafur Brynjúlfsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
79r	Hvad velldur harmr þið	?	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
Lbs 852 II 4to (1777-1778)				
74	Sölen til fialla flíótt	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
ÍB 300 8vo (ca. 1780)				
103r-104r	O fader himneske og eilyfe Gud	Jón Guðmundsson	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI] ⁿ	no music

^m The rubric for this piece refers to the melody of “Upphef eg augun mín” [*Princeps stelliferis*]; see p. 17 above.

ⁿ The rubric for this piece, a hymn for Thursday evening from the vikusálmur of Jón Guðmundsson (ca. 1709-1770) refers to the melody of “Híer hefur margur svo hættulegt þrjá” [*Toto pectore diligam*]; see JS 229 8vo.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
ÍB 213 8vo (1783-1791) 53-54	Kongur himnanna här	Ólafur Brynjúlfsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
Lbs 495 8vo (1784) 170r-170v	Veitande göde Gud	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
240v-241r	Minn ande Gud minn gledst i þer	Guðmundur Ólafsson	Secum insania [XIV]	no music
JS 1 4to (ca. 1780-90) ^o 35-41	Þú vilder Damon vita það	Eggert Ólafsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	no music
41-49	Þú heidinn madur hefir sagt	Eggert Ólafsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	no music
385-387	Jam jam Thyrsigeræ	Eggert Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
387-402	Fared aa fætur braat	Eggert Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
603-604	Hér er innborin hióna skál	Eggert Ólafsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	no music
607	Vær gefum góða nótt	Eggert Ólafsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
612-613	At bonda minni bidium vér	Eggert Ólafsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	no music
634-635	Minn vinr! makligt er	Eggert Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
635	Vors góða vinar nú	Eggert Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
636-639	Maug eru munngáts ord	Eggert Ólafsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
639-640	Þeim gófga manni giörum þó	Eggert Ólafsson	Felix o ter et amplius/ Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	no music
641-643	Búelldr hlyr í skotunum skír	Eggert Ólafsson	Affer opem servator [XII]	no music
649-651	O! hvað madrim misiafnt sér	Eggert Ólafsson	Incolae terrarum [LXVI]	no music
654-675	Syrtir at elíum enn	Eggert Ólafsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music

^o Since it transmits the largest number of Eggert Ólafsson's poems to Olthof's melodies, this manuscript has been selected to represent the large number of surviving manuscripts of his poetry. Of the several autograph collections (including JS 3 4to, JS 253 4to, Lbs 1513 4to, and [in part] Lbs 249 4to), none contains the complete wedding cycle.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
Lbs 830 8vo (1799)				
85-87	Kjærleik mér kenn	Oddur Oddsson	Solvitur acris [Horace, I/4]	T
JS 235 8vo (ca. 1800)				
40-42r	Allt hvað þu gjörir so þeinktu umm	?	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	no music
131r-132r	Sæll Jesus son guds kær	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
Lbs 2057 8vo (ca. 1800)				
203	Kjærleik mæir kenn	Oddur Oddsson	Solvitur acris [Horace, I/4]	T
ÍB 659 8vo (18th century)				
***p	Alglader aller senn (Musicu Lof)	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	T
JS 202 8vo (18th century)				
193v-195r	Tyme er til að sa	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
JS 446 8vo (18th century)				
20-23	Ábítar folldar uppgang frá (Ps. 66)	?	Incolæ terrarum [LXVI]	no music
62-64	Því gírnæst heimur hær	Þorsteinn Þjarnason	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
68-70	Upphaf og hertögn	Stefán Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
158	Læt nú Gud lueinn þínn (Nunc dimittis)	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
JS 479 8vo (18th century)				
1-5	Æ hvað er æfi manns	?	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
13-16	Mörg eru manna meín	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music

p ÍB 659 8vo is a collection of loose, unordered leaves dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The music and text to "Musiku lof" (a poem in praise of music) is on a single loose leaf, probably from the second half of the eighteenth century.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
25-28	I þøgn og harma hyl	?	Rerum certa salus [IX] ^q	no music
Lbs 1245 8vo (18th century)				
63	Felex [sic] o ter & amplius	George Buchanan	Felix o ter et amplius/ Toto pectore diligam [CXVII]	T
185-187	Frægste frumsmidur þess	Oddur Oddsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
290-291	O hvad farsæll er sá mann	Jón Einarsson	Felix o ter et amplius/ Toto pectore diligam [CXVII]	no music
291-292	Innelega eg elska vil	?	Toto pectore diligam [CXVII]	no music
292-294	Heimsins þjöd i øllum áttum	Steinn Jónsson	Toto pectore diligam [CXVII] Incolæ terrarum [LXVI]	no music
Lbs 1262 8vo (18th century)				
384-386	Af gjædsku en engri stígd	Torfi Jónsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
Lbs 1294 8vo (18th century)				
199-206	O þu öþyrmed haf	Einar Jónsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
Lbs 1526 8vo (18th century)				
22v	Upprunnenn er nu sól	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
22v	Sölin til fjalla fliðt	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
Lbs 1600 8vo (18th century)				
93r-94v	Upphaf og hertoginn	Stefán Ólafsson	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
109v-110r	Sætum öll svipt af blund	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
110r-110v	Sunnudags komid qvöld	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music

^q The rubric for this piece refers to the melody of “Líos dagsens líded er” [*Rerum certa salus*]; see Boreal 113.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	Parts
Lbs 1825 8vo (18th century) ^r 117r-117v	Øll Jörd framme fyrir drottne	Oddur Oddsson	Secum insania [XIV]	T
Lbs 2194 8vo (18th century)				
142-144	Felix ille animi	George Buchanan	Felix ille animi [I]	no music
153-156	Einum stad utvisar	?	Rerum certa salus [IX] ^s	no music
193-196	O' þu eýljífa däd	?	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
196-199	O! fader himneske og eýljífe Gud	?	Felix o ter et amplius/ Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	no music
291-301	Däsamur dýrdar skær (Sumar Ösk)	?	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
335-347	Hvi sorgar heijrest kvein?	?	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
355-357	Mörg vill hriggia hugann þijn	Stefán Ólafsson	Non ebur neque aureum [Horace, II/18]	no music
ÍBR 32 8vo (18th century) 64	Sötenn til fialla fliött	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII] ^t	no music
Lbs 52 fol (18th/19th century) 19-20	Ölyk er sorgenn yndeshag	Bjarni Þorleifsson	Incolæ terrarum [LXVI]	no music
Lbs 1262 8vo (18th century) 46 49-50	Volvuntur miseri Veltist svo vessællrar	? ?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII] Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music no music

^r Next to a melody to another of Oddur Oddsson's poems in this manuscript ("Upp til þýn Gud," 70v-73r), a marginal note reads „Melod. Princeps stelliferis." The notated melody is not by Olthof, but the poetic meter is the same for both pieces (Asclepiadean). In this case the Olthof setting may have been used as an alternate melody. The extent of this practice is not known and requires further investigation.

^s The rubric for this piece refers to the melody of "Þer Drottinn þacka eg" [*Rerum certa salus*]; see Lbs 1027 4to.

^t The rubric for this piece refers to the melody of "Upphaf og hertoginn" [*Princeps stelliferis*]; see p. 17 above.

Source	Psalm (in MS)	Author/translator	Psalm (in Buchanan)	parts
61-63	Af gíæsku en engri stígd	Torfi Jónsson	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
Lbs 462 4to (18th/19th century) no. 26	Vor manna æ hvad er	?	Rerum certa salus [IX]	no music
JS 235 8vo (1800-1802) 40r-42r	Allt hvad þu gjørir so	?	Toto pectore diligam [CXVI]	no music
100r-101r	Mørg vill hríggja hugann þijn	Stefán Ólafsson	Non ebur neque aureum [Horace, II/18]	no music
131r-132r	Sæll Jesus son guds kær	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
Lbs 511 8vo (ca. 1820) 32r	Upprunninn er nú sól	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII] ^u	no music
32r	Sólin til fialla fljótt	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
Lbs 504 8vo (ca. 1820-1830) 71	Upprunninn er nú sól	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music
71	Sólin til fialla fljótt	?	Princeps stelliferis [XXVIII]	no music

^u The rubric for this piece refers to the melody of “Upp hef eg augun mín” [*Princeps stelliferis*], see p. 17 above.

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Bjarni Þorsteinsson	Lbs 1245 8vo	ÍBR 111 8vo
collection, folder 6	Lbs 1262 8vo	JS 1 4to
Lbs 52 fol	Lbs 1294 8vo	JS 3 4to
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Lbs 462 4to	Lbs 1526 8vo	JS 643 4to
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Lbs 837 4to	Lbs 1600 8vo	JS 202 8vo
Lbs 847 4to	Lbs 1825 8vo	JS 229 8vo
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EFNISÁGRIP

Árið 1585 kom út í Rostock kver með Davíðssálmum sem skoska skáldið George Buchanan (1506–1582) hafði umort á latínu undir klassískum bragarháttum. Útgáfunni fylgdu 40 lög sem eignuð voru kantornum Statíusi Olthof (1555–1629) en komið hefur í ljós að a.m.k. helmingur þeirra er verk annarra tónskálda. Saltari Buchananans barst til Íslands ekki síðar en á öndverðri 17. öld. Má vera að kynni Natans Chytraeusar (sem stóð fyrir útgáfunni) og Davíðs bróður hans af Arngrími Jónssyni og íslenskum nemendum í Rostock hafi orðið til þess að hann barst til landsins svo skjótt sem raun varð. Lög úr Buchanan-saltaranum er að finna í a.m.k. átján íslenskum handritum frá 17. og 18. öld. Ýmist er um að ræða stakar raddir, eða tvær eða fjórar saman. Í þremur handritum eru lög in rituð við latneska texta Buchananans, en í hinum við íslenskar þýðingar þeirra eða frumort kvæði. Heiti laganna úr Buchanan-saltaranum koma einnig fyrir í fjölda handrita sem lagboðar við íslenska texta og er þá hægt að rekja notkun þeirra enn lengra.

Ekki er vitað með vissu hverjir iðkuðu helst að syngja lög in úr Buchanan-saltaranum á Íslandi. Fjórraða flutningur hefur þó væntanlega helst tíðkast innan veggja latínuskólanna. Íslenskir sveinar voru eldri en þýskir þegar þeir hófu nám í latínuskólanum og því fylgdi væntanlega skortur á sópranróddum. Ef til vill er þetta orsök þess að nótur við efri raddimar tvær fylgja sjaldan með í íslenskum handritum. Eggert Ólafsson var meðal síðustu Íslendinga til að yrkja við lög Olthofs. Fjórtán kvæða hans vísa á lagboða úr Buchanan-saltaranum og eru flest úr flokki brúðkaupsljóða skáldsins.

Princeps stelliferis er langlífast laganna úr saltara Buchananans. Við það lag eru til a.m.k. þrjár þýðingar frá 17. öld á páskahymna Prúdentíusar, *Inventor rutili*. Er ein

þeirra eignuð sr. Oddi Oddssyni á Reynivöllum en önnur sr. Stefáni Ólafssyni í Vallanesi. *Princeps stelliferis* var sungið við ýmsa trúarlega texta á 19. og 20. öld og er m.a. að finna í sálmaþók Péturs Guðjónssonar 1861. Bjarni Þorsteinsson birtir lagið í umtalsvert breyttri mynd í Þjóðlagasafni sínu 1906–1909, í uppskrift sr. Einars Pálssonar eftir söng Sigurveigar Árnadóttur í Lundi í Fnjóskadal árið 1903. Lagið er enn prentað við tvo sálma í Sálmaþók íslensku Þjóðkirkjunnar 1997. Er ekki vitað til þess að lög Olthofs hafi reynst jafn endingargóð í öðrum löndum enda liðnar ríflega fjórar aldir síðan þau birtust á prenti fyrsta sinni.

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