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ANECDOTES OF SEVERAL ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

*A Lost Bifolium From Reynistaðarbók
Discovered in the British Library*

1. Introduction

THE BRITISH LIBRARY houses a number of manuscripts of Icelandic origin. Most were acquired by the British Museum in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and were either a gift from Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820) or bought from Finnur Magnússon (1781–1847), the keeper of the Royal Privy Archives in Copenhagen.¹ Other Icelandic manuscripts have trickled in at various times and from various places. When the British Museum purchased the manuscripts and charters in the Stowe collection in 1883 from the Earl of Ashburnham, whose father had bought the manuscripts from the library of Stowe House in 1849,² it gained three more manuscripts written in Icelandic or Old Norse: Stowe MS 6, Stowe MS 979, and Stowe MS 980. These manuscripts are not to be found in any of the catalogues of Icelandic manuscripts in Britain that have been compiled and have hitherto escaped the notice of scholars working with Old Norse-Icelandic literature.

The texts of the manuscripts are the medieval Bible translation *Stjórn* in Stowe MS 6 and two romances: *Elís saga ok Rósamundu*, a medieval translation of (a presumably lost version of) the Old French *chanson de geste* *Élie de Saint-Gilles*,³ in Stowe MS 979 and *Partalopa saga*, a medieval translation that ultimately derives from the Old French romance *Partonopeus*

1 Jón Helgason, “Íslensk handrit í British Museum,” *Ritgerðakorn og ræðustúfar* (Reykjavík: Félag íslenzkra stúdenta í Kaupmannahöfn, 1959), 110–13.

2 Edward J. L. Scott, ed., *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1895), 1:iv–v.

3 Geraldine Barnes, “Elís saga ok Rosamundu,” *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, eds. Phillip Pulsiano and Kirsten Wolf (New York: Routledge, 2016), 162.

de Blois,⁴ in Stowe MS 980. All three are eighteenth-century paper copies of extant parchment manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan collection in Copenhagen. As such, their value as witnesses to the texts they hold is not great, even though, as transcriptions go, these are quite good. But tucked in at the back of Stowe MS 980 is a parchment bifolium of considerable interest. It contains text written by an Icelandic scribe in the second half of the fourteenth century and features short tales about archbishops of Canterbury, such as the saints Augustine, Dunstan, and Anselm, as well as a short life of St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. Some of these texts are previously unknown translations of Latin texts, while others supplement texts that have hitherto only been known to exist in a fragmentary state.

In 1787, Grímur Thorkelin (1752–1829), the secretary of the Arnamagnæan Commission, gave Thomas Astle (1735–1803), the keeper of records in the Tower of London – whose manuscripts make up the bulk of the Stowe collection – the two romance manuscripts along with the parchment bifolium. The romances appear to be in Thorkelin’s own hand and were possibly copied for the purpose of presenting them as gifts during his journey through Britain, upon which he embarked in 1786. But how the fourteenth-century bifolium came to be in Thorkelin’s possession needs further examination. Several pieces of evidence show that the bifolium had earlier been a part of a manuscript in the Arnamagnæan collection in Copenhagen, which now bears the shelfmark AM 764 4to: the bifolium is codicologically, palaeographically, and orthographically consistent with parts of AM 764 4to; its text fits seamlessly into AM 764 4to; and last but not least, its contents match an item listed as being in AM 764 4to in handwritten catalogues of the Arnamagnæan collection, written in the first half of the eighteenth century, but that item is presently not to be found in the manuscript.

Thematically, the texts on the bifolium are also consistent with other texts in AM 764 4to. According to Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, the first half of the manuscript (ff. 1–23) in the Arnamagnæan collection follows a “universal history” or *aetatis mundi* model, where material from disparate sources that were already available to the scribes in Old Norse-Icelandic

4 Lise Præstgaard Andersen, “Partalopa saga,” *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, 497–98.

translations is brought together to relate the history of the world.⁵ The second half of AM 764 4to (ff. 24–43), from which I argue that the bifolium in Stowe MS 980 originates, is concerned primarily with legends and exempla. There we find, for example, a number of exempla copied from *Vitae patrum*, Marian miracles, encyclopaedic material, an annal, and tales involving saints such as Malchus, Walburga, Ursula, Remigius, and Bede.

The texts on the bifolium in Stowe MS 980 all relate similar material. They feature mostly saints who were also archbishops of Canterbury, such as Dunstan, Anselm, and Edmund of Abingdon, but the last narrative tells the life of St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. As it turns out, this is the beginning of a text that ends on f. 36r in AM 764 4to, clearly showing that the Stowe-bifolium was originally positioned before that folio.

Together, the texts written by the main scribe of the bifolium and folios 36 and 37 in AM 764 4to form a cohesive segment, which is introduced by a short prologue. Here, I will refer to this segment as *Anecdotes of Several Archbishops of Canterbury (including other Bishops and Kings of England)*, or *Anecdotes* for short. Similar to other narratives in AM 764 4to, *Anecdotes* has been compiled from various sources and is mainly concerned with English clergymen and kings, but the redactor has not managed to complete his or her vision, perhaps due to not having access to the right sources, and other scribes have utilised parts of the leaves for unrelated texts.

In this article, I will begin by discussing the Icelandic manuscripts in the Stowe collection and how they came to be there. Next, I will provide evidence that the parchment bifolium in Stowe MS 980 was a part of AM 764 4to, both originally and after it had been incorporated into the Arnarnagnæan collection, and argue that Grímur Thorkelin was responsible for its removal. In the second part of the article, I discuss the compilation of texts in *Anecdotes*, the purpose behind its creation, and the sources used. Finally, an edition of the compilation is presented.

5 See e.g. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland: Studies in AM 764 4to” (PhD. diss., University of London, 2000), and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “What Icelandic Nuns Read: The Convent of Reynistaður and the Literary Milieu in Fourteenth-Century Iceland,” *Nuns’ Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Kansas City Dialogue*, eds. Virginia Blanton, Veronica O’Mara, and Patricia Stoop (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 229–48.

2. The Icelandic Manuscripts in the Stowe Collection

In 1895, twelve years after the British Museum had acquired the manuscripts in the Stowe collection, the *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum* was published. Included in it are short but accurate descriptions of the Icelandic items, including the parchment bifolium.⁶ The manuscripts have also been noted in three earlier catalogues: Charles O'Connor's catalogue of the manuscripts in the Stowe library, published in 1818;⁷ a Sotheby's auction catalogue, prepared for an auction in 1849, which was never held;⁸ and in a report by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, published in 1881.⁹ All accurately describe the contents of the manuscripts, including the parchment bifolium in Stowe MS 980.

Despite being well-documented and included in the British Museum's official catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts, the Icelandic manuscripts in the collection have remained unknown to scholars working on Old Norse-Icelandic literature.¹⁰ In 1890, Jón Þorkelsson visited the British

6 Edward J.L. Scott, *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts*, 1:4–5, 650–51. The items are now also listed in the British Library's digital catalogue, see e.g. Stowe MS 980 at http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS040-001953830, accessed August 7, 2021.

7 Charles O'Connor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Stowe Library*, (Buckingham: J. Seeley, 1818), 1:387–88. Stowe MS 6 (*Stjórn*) is not included in O'Connor's catalogue as it appears to have been a later addition to the collection; a note on the contents of the manuscript written on a flyleaf bears the date 1821 and the initials "G.B.". The manuscript appears to be a copy of AM 226 fol.

8 *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Manuscripts, from Stowe: Which will be sold by auction, by messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby & Co.* ([London]: J. Davy & Sons, [1849]), 57, 119.

9 [R. R. Knowles], *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: Appendix.—(Part III)* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1881), 19, 26. Reprinted in *Copy of Papers relating to the Purchase of the Stowe Collection by Her Majesty's Government* (London: Henry Hansard and Son, 1883), 41, 51.

10 An important source for the study of romance manuscripts in the British Library is the *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*. Its first volume, which was edited by H. L. D. Ward and published in 1883, features, inter alia, *Partalopa saga* in BL Add 4860 (p. 707) and *Elís saga* in BL Add 24,969 (pp. 869–70), but as the Stowe collection was not a part of the museum's holdings when the catalogue was in preparation, the romances therein are naturally not included. Manuscripts from the Stowe collection would be included in the two subsequent volumes (published in 1893 and 1910, respectively), but because the catalogue is structured thematically, and Old French romances and their translations/adaptations were treated in the first volume, the Icelandic Stowe manuscripts do not appear there either. A fourth volume, which would contain "an Appendix containing MSS. acquired since the publication of the previous volumes or inadvertently omitted from them" was proposed but never published. See G. F. Warner,

Museum to survey the Icelandic manuscripts kept there, and two years later he published an article reporting on his most important findings.¹¹ Although the Stowe manuscripts had been a part of the British Museum's manuscript collection for seven years by that time, Jón seems not to have known about them. Jón's article is not exhaustive – he only discusses the manuscripts that he finds most interesting – but had he been aware of a fourteenth-century Icelandic parchment fragment in the Stowe collection he would undoubtedly have included a discussion of it.

In 1933, Jón Helgason, director of the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen, began work on a descriptive catalogue of the Icelandic manuscripts in the British Museum.¹² He lists manuscripts from the Additional, Egerton, and Sloane collections, but, unfortunately, makes no mention of the Icelandic manuscripts in the Stowe collection. The catalogue, which has been an invaluable resource for scholars working on Old Norse-Icelandic texts, has not been published, but a typescript of it is accessible at the Arnamagnæan institutes in Copenhagen and Reykjavík.¹³

In later writings where the Icelandic texts found in the Stowe collection are discussed (i.e. *Stjórn*, *Partalopa saga*, *Elís saga ok Rósamundu*, and the legends in the parchment bifolium), no mention has been made of the Stowe manuscripts. For example, the otherwise comprehensive *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Romances*, compiled by Marianne E. Kalinke and P. M. Mitchell in 1985, mentions neither Stowe MS 979 nor Stowe MS 980 in the entries on *Elís saga ok Rósamundu* and *Partalopa saga*, and in their respective editions of *Partalopa saga* (1983) and *Stjórn* (2009), neither Lise Præstgaard Andersen nor Reidar Astås include the Stowe manuscripts in their discussions on secondary manuscripts.¹⁴

"Notice," *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ed. J. A. Herbert (London: British Museum, 1910), 3:[iii].

- 11 Jón Þorkelsson, "Íslandske håndskrifter i England og Skotland," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 8 (1892): 199–237.
- 12 Matthew J. Driscoll, "Plans for a New Edition of the *fornaldarsögur*, anno 1937," *Fornaldarsagaerne: Myter og virkelighed. Studier i de oldislandske fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, eds. Agneta Ney, Ármann Jakobsson, and Annette Lassen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2009), 17–18.
- 13 Jón Helgason's catalogue is currently being prepared for publication in Copenhagen as *Catalogue of the Icelandic manuscripts in the British Library*. This updated version will include the three Icelandic Stowe manuscripts.
- 14 Marianne E. Kalinke and P. M. Mitchell, *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Romances*,

3. Grímur Thorkelin

Born in Iceland in 1752, Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin left the country in 1770 to study in Copenhagen where he quickly gained prominence, eventually becoming the keeper of the Royal Privy Archives in 1791. In 1777, Thorkelin was made secretary of the Arnamagnæan Commission, which had been established five years earlier to oversee Árni Magnússon's donation, both the manuscript collection and the funds associated with it. Thorkelin was also involved in publishing Old Norse-Icelandic texts, and he prepared editions based on manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan collection, such as *Kristinréttir Grágásar* in 1776, *Vafþrúðnismál* in 1779, a collection of medieval charters in 1786, and *Eyrbyggja saga* in 1787.¹⁵

In 1785, Thorkelin received a royal grant to undertake a research trip in Great Britain and Ireland. His intention was to visit every archive, library, and museum where there was a possibility of finding historical documents pertaining to Denmark. Although initially only receiving a grant for a two-year stay, Thorkelin would get three extensions and spend almost five years abroad.¹⁶ When he arrived in England in 1786, he brought with him some "Haandskrevne Bøger" (handwritten books), which presumably included the manuscripts that would later end up in the Stowe collection.¹⁷ Some of these manuscripts were probably intended as gifts for prominent men whose favour Thorkelin hoped to gain, an endeavour he was apparently quite successful at.¹⁸

Islandica 44 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 36–37, 90; Lise Præstgaard Andersen, "Introduction," *Partalopa saga*, Editiones Arnamagnæanæ, series B, vol. 28 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1983), xc–xcv; Reidar Astås, "Innledning," *Stjórn: tekst etter håndskriftene* (Oslo: Riksarkivet, 2009), lvii–lxi. *Elis saga ok Rósamundu* was last critically edited by Eugen Kölbing in 1881, in *Elis saga ok Rosamundu: mit Einleitung, deutscher Übersetzung und Anmerkungen; zum ersten Mal herausgegeben* (Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1881). He discussed all manuscripts known to him at the time; understandably, Stowe MS 979 is not among them.

15 Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstímum til ársloka 1940* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1949), 2:107.

16 Kevin S. Kiernan, *The Thorkelin Transcripts of Beowulf*, Anglistica XXV (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1986), 2.

17 Alfred Glahn, "Mæcen og Klient: Af en Brevveksling mellem to Bogvenner 1785–1790," *Aarbog for Bogvenner* 9 (1925): 53.

18 See e.g. E. H. Harvey Wood, "Letters to an Antiquary: The Literary Correspondence of G. J. Thorkelin, 1752–1829" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1972), 40–42.

The two romances appear to be written in Thorkelin's own hand and may have been copied especially for the trip, with Thorkelin perhaps thinking that there might be interest in Old Norse translations of Old French romances in England. It is also possible that he copied them especially for Thomas Astle, to whom Thorkelin presented the manuscripts in 1787, according to notes that accompany them. The *Elís saga* manuscript now has the shelfmark Stowe MS 979, but the *Partalopa saga* manuscript and the parchment bifolium have at some point been combined and bound together and now bear the shelfmark Stowe MS 980. The two parts have a (later) running foliation in pencil: *Partalopa saga* occupies folios 2–38, and the parchment bifolium occupies folios 40–41. Folio 1 is a small note in Thorkelin's hand with information on *Partalopa saga*, and folio 39 is another small note, also in Thorkelin's hand, with information on the parchment fragment. This note reads: "Anecdotes of Several Archbishops of Canterbury written in the Icelandic language about the beginning of the xiv Century," and below that: "This fragment presented to Thomas Astle Esq^{re} Keeper of the Records in the Tower and at the Paper office F. R. S. & S. A. etc by his most humble servant GThorkelin," accompanied by the year 1787 in Roman numerals.¹⁹

Thorkelin had been in contact with Astle prior to his departure from Denmark and may have learned of Astle's interest in old texts and manuscripts in their correspondence.²⁰ As well as being the keeper of records in the Tower of London, Astle was an antiquarian and an avid collector of manuscripts, and although he did not own any other manuscripts written in Icelandic or Old Norse, he had encountered them before. In 1784, Astle published a treatise on palaeography, which included many engraved specimens of writing from various manuscripts, among which were two of Icelandic origin that had been given to the British Museum by Sir Joseph Banks.²¹ These specimens were also transcribed diplomatically (albeit with

19 In notes that accompany *Elís saga* and *Partalopa saga*, Thorkelin writes that both texts are transcribed from a parchment manuscript in the Arnarnagðæan Library, number 533, i.e. AM 533 4to, written in the second half of the fifteenth century.

20 A few of their letters survive, the earliest dated to 10 September 1784. See Harvey Wood, "Letters," 506, 545.

21 Thomas Astle, *The Origin and Progress of Writing, as well Hieroglyphic and Elementary, Illustrated by Engravings Taken from Marbles, Manuscripts and Charters, Ancient and Modern: Also, some account of the Origin and Progress of Printing* (London: s.n., 1784), 156. The manuscripts can be identified as BL Add MS 4892 (no. 26 in Astle's treatise) and Add MS 4883

some errors) and translated into English by the Rev. James Johnstone, another acquaintance of Thorkelin.²² Thorkelin would later cite Astle, whom he calls “a very good friend to me while he lived,” as an authority as to the age of the *Beowulf* manuscript.²³

As the paper copies of the romances were probably made by Thorkelin himself, it was perfectly acceptable for him to give them to his English friend. The parchment bifolium, on the other hand, seems to have come into Thorkelin’s hands by rather more dubious means and should never have been taken to England.

4. Reynistaðarbók

AM 764 4to, which has been dated to circa 1360–1380, is a miscellany, containing mostly texts of a hagiographical and pseudo-historical nature, but also annalistic and genealogical material. It is thought to have been produced in Skagafjörður in the North of Iceland, possibly in the convent of Reynistaður.²⁴ Hence, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, the foremost expert on the manuscript, has nicknamed it Reynistaðarbók. In the following I will use that name when referring to the codex as a whole. Although Reynistaðarbók is a miscellany, there is rhyme and reason behind its composition. In her study on the first half of AM 764 4to, Svanhildur has concluded that the manuscript is not a “haphazard collection of text frag-

(no. 27). Astle dates them both to the fourteenth century, but they were certainly not written earlier than the seventeenth century. What probably misled him was the fact that they are written with gothic letters on vellum, which is unusual for that period. Jón Helgason has suggested that the scribe of BL Add MS 4892, which he says uses “mjög fáránlega stafsetningu” (very ridiculous orthography), intentionally made the codex look older than it really was. See Jón Helgason, “Íslensk handrit í British Museum,” 110–11.

- 22 Astle, *The Origin and Progress of Writing*, xxv. On Johnstone and his relationship with Thorkelin, see M. J. Driscoll, “The Rev. James Johnstone, Septentrionalist and Man of Mystery,” *From Text to Artefact: Studies in Honour of Anne Mette Hansen*, eds. Katarzyna Anna Kapitan, Beeke Stegmann, and Seán D. Vrieland (Leeds: Kismet Press, 2019), 5–17.
- 23 Robert E. Bjork [and Taylor Corse], “Grimur Jónsson Thorkelin’s Preface to the First Edition of *Beowulf*, 1815,” *Scandinavian Studies* 68, no. 3 (August 1996): 311. Thorkelin’s *editio princeps* of *Beowulf* is what has predominantly kept his name afloat, especially in the English-speaking world, even though his edition is generally considered very poor.
- 24 See e.g. Ólafur Halldórsson, “Indledning,” *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, Editiones Arnarnagæðanæ, Series A, vol. 3 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 2000), 3:cxxxi–cxxxv.

ments,” as previous scholars have suggested,²⁵ but rather a carefully compiled collection, which follows the so-called *aetatis mundi* model, where the history of the world is divided up into six (or eight) ages, from its creation until the age of resurrection after the Last Judgement.²⁶ The first half of *Reynistaðarbók* can therefore be described as

an attempt to put together an account of universal history in Icelandic [...] by forging together passages from many disparate sources, all of which were foreign in origin but had been translated into Icelandic before our scribes set to their task.²⁷

In its present state, AM 764 4to consists of forty-three full leaves and five smaller leaves inserted at various points. The leaves of the manuscript did not come into Árni Magnússon's manuscript collection all at once; rather, he acquired the leaves from various people over a period of some years and combined them to form a single codex.²⁸ Árni acquired two further leaves from the same codex but did not recognise their connection, and so they are now kept under a separate shelfmark in Reykjavík: AM 162 m fol.²⁹ This brings the total number of leaves of varying sizes to fifty, but still there are lacunae. The parchment bifolium in Stowe MS 980 fills one of them.

In a rudimentary catalogue of his collection, commenced in 1707, Árni Magnússon wrote an incomplete list of the contents of AM 764 4to. The twelfth item on that list is “De Archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus non-nulla med nockrum heilðgum æfintirum” (About several archbishops of

25 See e.g. Christine E. Fell, “Anglo-Saxon Saints in Old Norse Sources and Vice Versa,” *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress, Århus 24-31 August 1977*, eds. Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote, and Olaf Olsen ([Odense]: Odense University Press, 1981), 99.

26 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The World and its Ages: The Organisation of an ‘Encyclopaedic’ Narrative in MS AM 764 4to,” *Sagas, Saints and Settlements*, eds. Gareth Williams and Paul Bibire (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 3–4.

27 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe: Some Aspects of the Development of *Reynistaðarbók* (AM 764 4to),” *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, eds. Slavica Ranković et al. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 328. On the concept of *aetatis mundi* and its application in *Reynistaðarbók*, see Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 63–238.

28 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 13–14.

29 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 11.

Canterbury, with some holy exempla).³⁰ This entry is preceded by “Um ad ráða drauma, er nýtt” (About interpreting dreams, is new), which must refer to an Icelandic translation of *Somniale Danielis* on f. 33v, written much later than the rest of the manuscript (c. 1550). Following the entry on the archbishops is “De Regibus Angliæ non nulla” (About several kings of England), which probably refers to the text on f. 37v, which is mostly based on *Saga Játvarðar konungs hins helga*.³¹ Nothing matching the description of the twelfth item in Árni’s list is presently in AM 764 4to, neither between leaves 33 and 37, where one would expect it to be, nor anywhere else.

The twelfth item does, however, match the contents of the parchment bifolium in Stowe MS 980 perfectly. And, as it turns out, the bifolium provides us with a text that seamlessly fits in front of f. 36 in AM 764 4to. At the top of Stowe MS 980, f. 40r, the text begins with a short prologue. The compiler then proceeds to tell anecdotes featuring archbishops of Canterbury, beginning with St Augustine, the first archbishop, and concluding with Stephen Langton in line 13 on f. 41v.³² Then the compiler goes on to tell the life of St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. At the bottom of f. 41v, we are told about some of the miracles Cuthbert performed in his lifetime; in the last one on the leaf, Cuthbert heals a sick boy with a kiss.

In AM 764 4to, folio 36r begins with another of Cuthbert’s miracles, one where he cures a monk of dysentery by praying for him. Even though the text in Stowe MS 980 ends with a full sentence and the text in AM 764 4to begins with another full sentence that is technically independent of the previous one, it is clear that these folios were originally consecutive: in both cases the text follows the same translation of Bede’s *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, which is considerably abridged and is similar to a version found

30 *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg udgivne for det Arnemagnæanske legat*, [ed. Kr. Kålund] (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909), 41. An almost identical list of contents, written by an amanuensis of Árni Magnússon, is kept with AM 764 4to itself.

31 F. 38 also has text on English kings (an abridged version of *Breta sögur*, see Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 241), but Árni cannot be referring to that as he has already listed *Söguþáttur af Jóni biskupi Halldórssyni* (“Æfintir, ubi de Jona Halthorio Episcopo Scalholtensi”), which is also on f. 38, as item no. 3.

32 The compiler does not, however, follow the correct chronological order as he or she considers St Edmund of Abingdon to be Stephen’s predecessor (see below, section 6.2). Other archbishops of Canterbury featured in the compilation are St Dunstan, Lanfranc, and St Anselm; a few more archbishops are briefly mentioned.

in a thirteenth-century Icelandic fragment, AM 655 XXI 4to, the order of events is logical, the wording is similar, and in both Cuthbert's name is written "chutbertvs".

This textual evidence is supported by palaeographical and orthographical evidence. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has identified more than ten scribal hands in AM 764 4to. Her conclusion is that not all of the hands worked on the codex simultaneously, but that the manuscript's current composition is the result of at least two different phases of production, made by different groups of scribes.³³ Almost all the characteristics Svanhildur associates with the scribe she designates as hand E, who worked on the second phase of AM 764 4to, can also be found in 980.³⁴ For example:

In 764, /æ/ following /v/ is frequently written ⟨iæ⟩. In 980, *va* is exclusively written ⟨uiæ⟩: "alluiænliga" 40r18; "uiænn" 41r40, 41v14.

In 764, /ð/ is normally written ⟨d⟩ but ⟨þ⟩ is common after ⟨r⟩. ⟨þ⟩ for /ð/ also crops up elsewhere, particularly between vowels. The same situation can be found in 980, e.g. "orþ" 40r4, 40r14; "dyrþ" 40r12; "vorþinn" 40r27; "giorþ" 40v10 (twice), 41v37; "uirþiz" 41r38. ⟨þ⟩ between vowels occurs in "daupþa" 41v13 and "laþapi" 41v24. Svanhildur also points out that hand E regularly writes ⟨þ⟩ in the last syllable of polysyllabic words where ⟨d⟩ or ⟨ð⟩ has already occurred. One of her examples is "unndrupuz" (764, 8r11). This also occurs in 980, see "unn|drupuz" 40v35–36 and "andaþr" 41v33, but, as the above-mentioned example of "laþapi" shows, this rule is not strictly adhered to in 980.

In 764, the palatisation of /g/ and /k/ before /æ/ is represented in the orthography, but not before /e/. In 980, /kæ/ and /gæ/ are never found without an inserted ⟨i⟩, e.g. "skiærazti" 40r32; "kiæruztu" 40v16; "giæddiz" 40v40; "agiætr" 41v14. /ke/ and /ge/ are never written with an inserted ⟨i⟩.

In 764, /n/ is as a rule doubled before /d/. This is also very common in 980, e.g. "annda" 40r19; "henndi" 40v3; "mynnd" 41r8; but cf. e.g. "enda"

33 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "The Resourceful Scribe," 330–39.

34 The following description of the scribe's norms in AM 764 4to are mainly based on Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir's observations in "Universal History," 34–39. According to Svanhildur, Hand E is responsible for these parts of AM 764 4to: 4bis, 6v–9v, 10v38–11r2, 36r1–13, 37v, 42v33–43r23, and a few words in l. 18r14. Apart from three words in Stowe MS 980, 40v22–23, which appear to be in a separate hand, a sole scribe is responsible for the text on the bifolium.

40r15; “andaþr” 41v44. Svanhildur also mentions an example of *ng* written with a double /n/. One example of this can be found in 980: “vnnga” 41r40.

In 764, ⟨qu⟩ is normally written for *kv* initially.³⁵ In 980 we have “qvad” 40r20; “aquedinnar” 40v34; “kuiquendi” 41r9; and “quediur” 41v1. Apart from “kuiquendi” there are no examples of ⟨ku⟩ for *kv*. This is consistent with the use of ⟨q⟩ in 764.

As in 764, ⟨r⟩ tends to be long-shafted in 980.

In 764, ⟨z⟩ (*r rotunda*) is used after the letters ⟨b⟩, ⟨d⟩, ⟨g⟩, ⟨p⟩, ⟨þ⟩, ⟨a⟩, ⟨y⟩, and occasionally after ⟨h⟩. In 980, ⟨z⟩ is the preferred form of *r* after ⟨b⟩, ⟨d⟩, ⟨g⟩, ⟨þ⟩, ⟨y⟩, and also ⟨h⟩ (four times ⟨h_z⟩ is written and twice ⟨hr⟩). However, following ⟨p⟩ there is only the straight, regular ⟨r⟩, and ⟨a⟩ is rarely followed by ⟨z⟩. A closer inspection of hand E’s habits in AM 764 4to reveals that in the latter half of the manuscript the scribe often writes ⟨r⟩ after ⟨a⟩, e.g. “martirilógium” 37r12 and “þar” 43r3. At the same time ⟨r⟩ begins to replace ⟨z⟩ as the most common form of *r* following ⟨y⟩ (e.g. “uttskyrari” 37r6; “styr|kingar” 43r5–6). This might indicate that the scribe’s preferences have evolved over time and that some time passed between hand E writing in the first half of the manuscript and in the second half.³⁶

Finally, codicological features also indicate that the Stowe-bifolium could have been a part of Reynistaðarbók. The general appearance and size of the bifolium and the layout of its text is very similar to AM 764 4to and AM 162 m fol.³⁷ The bifolium has a total of ten initials illuminated in a single colour, alternating between red and green, similar to what we find on fols 4bis–11 and 32–34 in AM 764 4to. There are forty lines of text per side in 980. The most common number of lines per full-size page in AM 764 4to and AM 162 m fol. is forty-one,³⁸ but on folios 32–37 in AM 764

35 According to Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 23, only hand E makes use of ⟨q⟩ in native words. This is not quite accurate as hand I also uses ⟨q⟩ in native words, e.g. “quediunni” 36r21 and “quedia” 36r27.

36 Other features that the scribe of 980 shares with hand E in 764 include the diphthongisation of /e/ before /ng/ and the spelling ⟨ath⟩ for *að*.

37 Unfortunately, due to travel restrictions because of the coronavirus pandemic of 2020–2021, I have been unable to measure the exact size of the leaves of Stowe MS 980 and compare them with AM 764 4to. For this same reason I have had to rely on pictures provided by the British Library for the edition of the text.

38 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 13.

4to, where the bifolium would have been, there are usually forty lines per side.³⁹ As is the case with most Icelandic manuscripts, including AM 764 4to, the parchment of 980 is dark and somewhat dirty, but the text is for the most part legible. The leaves are otherwise undamaged and seem to have retained their original size. The text flows uninterrupted between the two leaves, and so, assuming it comes from a quire of an unknown size, it must have been the innermost bifolium. But seeing as the quire structure of *Reynistaðarbók* is quite irregular,⁴⁰ it is possible that it was never meant to form a part of a quire.

The above discussion shows that the Stowe-bifolium was originally a part of the *Reynistaðarbók* codex and, furthermore, that it was kept as a part of AM 764 4to after it had come into Árni Magnússon's possession. Sometime after Árni compiled his list in the first third of the eighteenth century and before Grímur Thorkelin gave Thomas Astle the bifolium in 1787, someone removed it from AM 764 4to. The most obvious suspect would be Thorkelin himself. As was mentioned above, on a small paper leaf preceding the parchment bifolium in Stowe MS 980 (f. 39), Thorkelin has written: "Anecdotes of Several Archbishops of Canterbury written in the Icelandic language about the beginning of the xiv Century." The first part of that description is nearly identical with Árni Magnússon's entry on his list of the contents of AM 764 4to: "De Archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus nonnulla med nockrum heilögum æfintirum." It is of course conceivable that two people would independently describe the texts on the bifolium in such similar terms, but it seems likely that Thorkelin merely translated Árni's description.

Taken together, the simplest and most logical interpretation of the evidence is that Thorkelin himself removed the bifolium from AM 764 4to. Someone in Thorkelin's position – being the secretary of the Arnamagnæan Commission and a prolific editor of Old Norse-Icelandic texts – would have had easy access to Árni's manuscripts. Although we cannot fully know Thorkelin's thought process, one can imagine that while perusing Árni Magnússon's catalogue, the item listed as "De Archiepiscopis

39 The exceptions are f. 33v, which contains 48 lines written with a younger hand, f. 35v with 41 lines, and f. 36v with 39 lines. Although f. 36r now only has 39 lines of text, there were originally 40. F. 37 has been either left partly unwritten or partly erased, but the prickings in the margin clearly indicate that 40 lines were intended.

40 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 11–12.

Cantuariensibus nonnulla med nockrum heilögum æfintirum” in AM 764 4to caught his eye, seeing as he was about to journey to England.⁴¹ In his catalogue, Árni describes the manuscript as being unbound, “mutilus, et (ut apparet) confusus” (fragmentary, and (apparently) in disorder).⁴² Snatching a small bifolium from an unbound and disordered manuscript would not take much effort and – as it turns out – its loss would remain unnoticed for over two centuries.

5. Anecdotes of Several Archbishops of Canterbury

As mentioned above, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has shown that the first half of AM 764 4to is a compilation with a precise purpose: to relate universal history. The same method has been employed in the compiling of the *Anecdotes* segment of Reynistaðarbók that is now split between Stowe MS 980, ff. 40–41, and AM 764 4to, ff. 36r and 37v, albeit on a smaller scale:⁴³ the compiler of *Anecdotes* has collected, copied, abridged, and reordered texts already available in vernacular translations to form a distinct compilation, one concerned with Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman archbishops,

41 Although Thomas Astle would be the recipient of the bifolium, it is interesting to note that in 1789, Thorkelin made an edition of a treatise by Edward Rowe Mores (1731–1778), based on a manuscript in Astle’s possession, where Mores claimed that Ælfric the grammarian and abbot of Eynsham was identical with Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury. Thorkelin dedicated the edition to John Moore, the then-current archbishop of Canterbury, who also served as the chair of the board of trustees of the British Museum. Elizabeth Harriet Harvey Wood has theorised that the only reason for Thorkelin publishing this “dull, long-winded and clearly unreliable commentary” without any criticism was to “have something which he could dedicate appropriately to the present Archbishop of Canterbury, [...] an acquaintance from whom he possibly hoped for further and substantial benefits” (E. H. Harvey Wood, “Letters to an Antiquary,” 66–67). We can further hypothesise that the Icelandic bifolium may have originally been intended for the archbishop, but for one reason or another, Thorkelin gave it to Astle instead – who in turn lent him the Mores manuscript. It is unclear if Thorkelin’s obsequiousness played any part in it, but in any case, the archbishop offered him a position in the British Museum the following year – a post which “would give him direct access to the best resources in Great Britain, easy access to the Tower of London, and an open door to cathedral and university archives throughout Great Britain and Ireland” (Kevin S. Kiernan, *The Thorkelin Transcripts of Beowulf*, 32–33).

42 *Arne Magnussons ... håndskriftfortegnelser*, 41. Rather than using Árni Magnússon’s own handwritten catalogue, Thorkelin would probably have used a better organised transcript, for example AM 456 fol., written by Jón Ólafsson in 1730, where AM 764 4to is listed on f. 29r.

43 This only applies to the parts written by hand E.

bishops, and kings who have reigned in England since the birth of Christ. At the beginning of this compilation, the compiler states his or her plan in a short prologue:

HER næst fýsir oss at skrifa nockud litid af þeim byskup(u)m er uerit hafa jeinglandi in cancia enn því næst af odrum byskupum ok kongum er þar hafa rikt sidan guds son liet fædazt iþessa uerolld.⁴⁴

(Now we wish to write a little something of those bishops who have been in England in Cancia [i.e. Cantia = Kent], and then of other bishops and kings that have reigned there since the son of God made himself be born into this world.)

By stating that the compilation is concerned with the time *after* the birth of Christ, the compiler may be referring back to a passage earlier in AM 764 4to, where a scribe (hand G) has copied text from *Breta sögur*, the Old Norse translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*. This text is introduced with the words: "Her hefr ad segia af breta kongum huerir rikt hafa firir higad burdinn" (Here begins the tale of the kings of Britain who reigned before the birth [of Christ]),⁴⁵ and concludes with: "þa uurdu þau tidendi ad gud liet beraz hingad iheim" (Then those tidings occurred that God made himself be born into this world),⁴⁶ before the scribe introduces text from *Rómverja saga* (which is written in another hand on the following leaf). It made sense for the compilers of Reynistaðarbók to stop copying *Breta sögur* at this point as the texts in this part of the codex are concerned with the fifth age of the world, which ends at Christ's birth. Apparently, the compiler of *Anecdotes* has intended to continue with the tales of the kings of Britain where they had been left off, and this time to include bishops and other holy men.

Following the prologue, the compiler proceeds to tell anecdotes featuring some of the archbishops of Canterbury, beginning with St Augustine, the first archbishop (d. 604 or 609), and concluding with St Edmund of Abingdon (d. 1240) and Stephen Langton (d. 1228).

44 Stowe MS 980, 40r1–3. Ólafur Halldórsson has remarked that the "hér næst" formula is common in AM 764 4to and AM 162 m fol. when a new topic is introduced, e.g. at 9v40–41 and 40v22 in 764 and 2v24 in 162, see Ólafur Halldórsson, "Indledning," cxxix–cxxx.

45 AM 764 4to, 11v5.

46 AM 764 4to, 12v40.

Augustine	597–604/609
Oda	941–958
Dunstan	960–988
Lanfranc	1070–1089
Anselm	1093–1109
William [de Corbeil]	1123–1136
Theobald [of Bec]	1139–1161
Thomas [Becket]	1162–1170
John [of Salisbury?]	<i>never in office</i>
Stephen Langton	1207–1228
Edmund [of Abingdon]	1234–1240

Table 1: *Archbishops of Canterbury named in Anecdotes, and their years in office.*⁴⁷

The compiler then moves back in time to tell the life of St Cuthbert (d. 687), bishop of Lindisfarne – one of the *aðrir byskupar* promised in the prologue. But then he or she seems to run into a lack of sources and tells a short anecdote about St Bede’s (d. 735) grave marker. Timeline-wise there is nothing suspect about Bede being mentioned here, but he never was a bishop, a fact of which the compiler is fully aware, as Bede is called *prestr* (priest). However, as one of England’s most famous saints and scholars, the compiler may have found it fitting to include him, even if he was not a bishop.

At this point, another scribe (hand I) picks up the quill and writes another short anecdote about Bede, followed by a Marian miracle and a text on the seventy-two names of the Virgin Mary, neither of which have anything to do with English clergymen.⁴⁸ This, however, is not the original state of the manuscript; where there is now the second scribe’s text on Bede, there were originally seven lines that have been erased and replaced with another text in six lines. The script of the replacement text is unusually large, as if the scribe wanted to fill all the erased space but the

47 Dates are taken from the *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edition, eds. E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 213–14, 232.

48 According to Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 48, hand I is responsible for texts on 3bisv, 9bisr, 36r14–36v15, and 36v20–37r in AM 764 4to.

new text was too short. The original text is illegible but the forms of a few letters and abbreviation symbols that are partly visible indicate that it was written by the scribe of *Anecdotes* (hand E). From this we can gather that the first text written by hand I on this folio was the Marian miracle. Later, the seven lines were erased and replaced with the second Bede anecdote in larger script to fill the now-erased space.

The texts that follow on ff. 36v–37r are mostly written by hand I and have little or no connection with England. Then, on the lower half of f. 37v (the top half is blank), hand E reappears, now writing a very short history of the kings of England in the eleventh and twelfth century, beginning with St Edward the Confessor (d. 1066), featuring an anecdote from his life, and concluding with Henry II (d. 1189). That this text begins below the middle of a verso page, on a folio whose recto seems to have been initially left unwritten – possibly because the scribe did not have access to the intended texts – indicates that it was designed to be the last chapter in the compilation on English bishops and kings, which began with the prologue three leaves earlier. The texts written by the other scribes on ff. 36–37 cannot have been part of the initial plan for these folios.

6. Individual Texts and Their Sources

If we go by the number of initials (and rubrics), *Anecdotes* is comprised of eleven chapters – twelve if we include the chapter on King Edward the Confessor and his successors on f. 37v. Most of the texts are known from other Old Norse-Icelandic sources that are translations of Latin texts. Some have, however, only been known to exist in a fragmentary state that *Anecdotes* can partly remedy. Other texts are not known to exist in parallel Old Norse-Icelandic texts. In the last-mentioned category is the first anecdote following the prologue in Stowe MS 980. This anecdote features Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, and the conversion of King Ædelberht. Its ultimate source must be Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. The verbal similarities between the two are clear in the words uttered by the king in book I, chapter 25: "Pulchra sunt quidem uerba et promissa quae adfertis; sed quia noua sunt et incerta ..." (The words and the promises you bring are fair enough, but because they are new to us

Stowe MS 980 / AM 764 4to	Text	Parallel Old Norse-Icelandic text(s)
980, 40r1–3	Prologue	—
980, 40r3–9	St Augustine	—
980, 40r9–40v23	St Dunstan	cf. <i>Dunstanus saga</i> , ed. Fell, 14.8–15.1, 15.4–17, 15.24–26, 17.26–18.10, 19.18–20.5, 20.10–17, 22.24–23.4, 23.10–13
980, 40v24–37	Lanfranc	cf. <i>Mariu saga</i> , ed. Unger, 179.7–16/472.15–24, and <i>Dunstanus saga</i> , ed. Fell, 29.12–30.6
980, 40v38–41r34	St Anselm	cf. <i>Mariu saga</i> , ed. Unger, 469.13–472.26/175.11–179.18
980, 41r35–41v9	St Edmund of Abingdon	cf. <i>Mariu saga</i> , ed. Unger, 727.22–728.20
980, 41v10–13	Stephen Langton	—
980, 41v14–40 764, 36r1–5	St Cuthbert	cf. <i>Leifar fornra kristinna fræða íslenzkra</i> , ed. Þorvaldur Bjarnarson, 168.5–21
764, 36r6–7	St Bede	cf. <i>Mariu saga</i> , ed. Unger, 650.32–652.4
764, 36r14–37r	—	(originally left blank, probably intended for more tales involving English clergymen and/or kings)
764, 37v1–14	St Edward the Confessor	cf. <i>Játvarðar saga ins helga</i> , eds. Rafn & Jón Sigurðsson, 14.12–16.10

Table 2: Overview of the texts in Anecdotes.

and doubtful ...),⁴⁹ which are in the Icelandic rendered as: “Fogr ero ydr firirheit en oss þo ny ok uheyrð fyrr” (Fair are your promises but to us they are new and previously unheard of).⁵⁰ Augustine’s death is related in book II, chapter 3 of Bede’s *Historia* and again the verbal agreements are considerable:

49 Bede, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 74–75. The English translations are by Colgrave.

50 Stowe MS 980, 40r5.

Defunctus est autem Deo dilectus pater Augustinus, et positum corpus eius foras iuxta ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cuius supra meminimus, quia necdum fuerat perfecta nec dedicata. Mox uero ut dedicata est, intro inlatum et in porticu illius aquilonali decenter sepultum est[.]

(On the death of our father Augustine, a man beloved of God, his body was buried outside but close to the church of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul mentioned already, for it was not yet either finished or consecrated. But as soon as it was consecrated, the body was carried inside and honourably buried in the chapel on the north side.)⁵¹

*ok er sæll augustinus geck framm um daupans dyrr var hann grafinn utan kirkiu þeirar er helgud uar petro ok paulo guds postolum þviat þann tima uar hon uuígd En er mustarid uar uígt uar hans signadr likami sæmilíga greftradr[.]*⁵²

(And when the blessed Augustine walked through death's door, he was buried outside the church that was devoted to Peter and Paul, God's apostles, because at that time it had not been consecrated. But when the minster was consecrated, his blessed body was honourably interred.)

6.1 *Af Dunstano and Af Lanfranco*

The next four chapters tell of St Dunstan and Lanfranc and are chiefly copied or adapted from Árni Lárentíusson's (b. 1304) *Dunstanus saga*. The compiler of *Anecdotes* does not adhere to the ordering of the text in *Dunstanus saga* but rather mixes and matches the various parts of interest to him or her (or that fit a particular purpose). Christine E. Fell has edited *Dunstanus saga* and compared the extant text with Latin versions of St Dunstan's life.⁵³ She finds that Árni Lárentíusson's main sources were Adelard's *Vita Sancti Dunstani* and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, but that Árni's text also shows influence from Eadmer's *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, the *Passio Sancti Eadwardi*, and other texts.

⁵¹ Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 142–45.

⁵² Stowe MS 980, 40r6–9.

⁵³ *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Christine Elizabeth Fell, Editiones Arnarnagæanæ, Series B, vol. 5 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963).

Until now, text from *Dunstanus saga* has only been known to exist in a single independent manuscript: AM 180 b fol., written c. 1500. This manuscript is incomplete due to a large portion from the middle of one leaf (f. 2) having been cut away and lost at some point; other leaves have also suffered some damage, causing loss of text. However, the text of Stowe MS 980 helps to partly fill one of its lacunae.

The first chapter of three dealing with Dunstan (chapter two of *Anecdotes*) does not have a corresponding text in *Dunstanus saga* in its present state (this chapter is discussed further below), but the remaining two chapters involving Dunstan and the following chapter that focuses on Lanfranc are mostly taken from chapters 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 17 of *Dunstanus saga*. In the second chapter, it is remarked that Dunstan joined the monastery in “Glasconia” (Glastonbury) of which he was abbot for a time. This may have been adapted from chapter seven of *Dunstanus saga*, but the wording is general and does not match the saga text precisely.⁵⁴ Then the compiler copies portions of chapters 9 and 10, which contain historical facts from Dunstan’s life, and most of chapter 13, which contains two anecdotes of how Dunstan made water spring out of a church floor and how he shifted a whole church so that it pointed true east.⁵⁵ The compiler, however, opts to omit an interpretation of the first miracle.⁵⁶

Now, the compiler jumps back to chapter 9, prefacing it with: “Nu skal segia sem fyrr uard ok uer uilium eigi ad um lidi at segia ath þa er D(unstanus) uar bedinn ad uera byskup uintonie en hann neittadi”⁵⁷ (Now, we shall tell of what happened earlier and do not want to pass over, that Dunstan was offered the bishopric of Winchester, but he refused). What follows is Dunstan’s vision of the apostles Peter, Paul, and Andrew, where they reprimand him for his refusal.⁵⁸

The third and final chapter dealing with Dunstan (the fourth chapter of *Anecdotes*), begins with an anecdote about three false coiners who are sen-

54 Cf. *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 12.

55 Cf. *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 15.4–17, 15.24–26, 19.18–20.5 and 20.10–17.

56 Cf. *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 20.5–10. That this passage, which comes from Eadmer’s *Vita*, is also rejected by Vincent of Beauvais (see Christine Elizabeth Fell, “Introduction,” *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Christine Elizabeth Fell, Editiones Arnemagnæanæ, Series B, vol. 5 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), xxxv–xxxvi) is in all probability a coincidence.

57 Stowe MS 980, 40r39–40.

58 Cf. *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 14.8–15.1.

tenced to lose their hands,⁵⁹ but it ends rather abruptly, and the compiler moves on to Dunstan's death, perhaps thinking that enough space has been devoted to Dunstan and that it is time to wrap up his story to leave enough room for the other archbishops of Canterbury. In this concluding chapter, which is a copy of two segments from chapter 14 of *Dunstanus saga* (in a reversed order), the compiler first quotes part of Dunstan's address to his "kiæruztu brædr" (dearest brethren) before relating how Dunstan's bed was moved up to the ceiling and back down again three times by some unseen divine force.⁶⁰ The beginning of the fifth chapter of *Anecdotes*, which is devoted to Lanfranc, is adapted from the Marian miracle *Af Anselmo erkibyskupi*; this is followed by the final chapter of *Dunstanus saga*, chapter 17, *in extenso*, barring the last three words.⁶¹

As was mentioned above, the first chapter on St Dunstan in *Anecdotes* does not have a corresponding text in *Dunstanus saga*. This chapter contains two legends relating events that supposedly happened during Dunstan's lifetime. In the first legend, Dunstan is among friends when his harp, which is hanging on the wall, starts playing and singing all by itself; only Dunstan sees that the harp is being played by King David. This legend is found in all of Dunstan's *vitae* as well as Vincent's *Speculum historiale*. The textual differences between the versions are slight, so it is not obvious which one is the source for the Icelandic text. In the second legend, Dunstan is working in his smithy when the devil in the shape of a beautiful woman enters and tries to seduce him. Dunstan understands the devil's deceit and grabs the woman by the nose with his burning-hot pincers. This legend is not found in Adelard's *Vita*, but it is found in, for example, Eadmer's *Vita* and Vincent's *Speculum historiale*. Either text could be the source for the Old Norse translation.⁶²

Although these two legends are missing from *Dunstanus saga* in AM 180 b fol., I would argue that they were probably once included where there now is the second large lacuna. Fell has estimated that twenty-two

59 Cf. *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 17.26–18.10.

60 Cf. *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 23.10–13, 22.24–23.4.

61 Cf. *Mariu saga: Legender om Jomfru Maria og hendes Jertegn*, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania: s.n., 1871), 179.7–16/472.15–24; *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 29.12–30.6.

62 A different version of this legend has been printed in *Islendzk æventyri: Isländische Legenden, Novellen und Märchen*, ed. Hugo Gering (Halle a. S.: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1882), 1:46–47. Cf. Fell, "Introduction," lxxxiii–lxxxv.

lines of text are missing on each side of fol. 2, with each lacuna being equivalent to fifty-four lines in her edited text. The text of these two legends in Stowe MS 980 would only fill about twenty-two lines in the edition, and so they would easily fit in either lacuna. The contents of the lacuna on the recto are, according to Fell, “fairly easy to conjecture” as both before and after it Áрни is following Adelard, but she found it more difficult to speculate on the contents of the second lacuna.⁶³

Shortly before the second lacuna, Áрни is following Adelard.⁶⁴ He then breaks off from Adelard’s text but indicates that a continuation “mun fra uerda sagt. sidar j sǫgunne” (will be told later in the saga).⁶⁵ This is followed by a digression that is largely lost in the lacuna. Fell was not able to identify Áрни’s sources here but it is evident that he has started following Eadmer. Áрни begins by paraphrasing text from chapter six in Eadmer’s *Vita* where Eadmer writes that Æthelhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, saw that God would work wonders through Dunstan, although Æthelhelm is in the Icelandic version referred to as “aller uitrer menn” (all wise men).⁶⁶

After a chapter division in AM 180 b fol., Áрни continues to follow Eadmer’s *Vita*. Here we are told that Dunstan strove to “jđna stundvm nytsamligt ok ueralligt uerk ueralldar. at fiandinn fynndi hann eigi *idiu-laussann” (occupy himself now and then with useful and mundane, wordly work, so that the devil would not find him idle),⁶⁷ which finds a parallel in Eadmer’s *Vita*: “Sciens quoque otiositatem inimicam animae esse, nunc istis, nunc illis operibus intendebat” (And knowing idleness to be the enemy of his soul he busied himself now with this, now with that occupation).⁶⁸ Áрни then adds a quote from Paul the apostle, which is cut short due to the lacuna.

Eadmer does not include this quotation; instead, he proceeds to de-

63 Although Adelard’s text corresponding to the first lacuna only consists of ten lines of printed text, Fell finds that “it is not impossible that Áрни’s capacity for elaboration would enable him to expand Adelard’s account to this extent, without adding greatly to its substance.” See Fell, “Introduction,” liv.

64 Fell, “Introduction,” xxiii.

65 *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 7.

66 Cf. Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, eds. and trans. Andrew J. Turner and Bernard J. Muir (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 58; *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 7.

67 *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 7.

68 Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles*, 58, 59.

scribe Dunstan's skills in working with his hands, including making things from gold and silver, as well as playing musical instruments.⁶⁹ This corresponds well with the beginning of chapter two in *Anecdotes*. Following this in Eadmer is the legend where Dunstan's harp plays untouched by human hands,⁷⁰ and a few pages later there follows the legend about the devil and Dunstan's red-hot pincers.⁷¹ These legends correspond with the first two Dunstan legends in *Anecdotes*.

Fell suggested that the reference to idleness shortly before the second lacuna in *Dunstanus saga* was a prelude to the legend about the devil and the pincers, as it was after all "one of the most widely known stories about Dunstan."⁷² Fell did not, however, realise that Eadmer does in fact talk about idleness shortly before relating this legend. Instead, she points to a corresponding text in a Middle English rhymed version of St Dunstan's life in the *South English Legendary* and suggests that Árni may have incorporated the tale from oral sources.⁷³

As the other chapters that feature Dunstan and Lanfranc are chiefly drawn from *Dunstanus saga*, it is reasonable to assume that the same is true for the first chapter. As I have shown, just before the second lacuna of *Dunstanus saga* in AM 180 b fol., Árni begins to follow Eadmer. If we place the first chapter on Dunstan in *Anecdotes* into this lacuna, we get an almost continuous text that corresponds well with chapters six to eleven in Eadmer's *Vita*. This supports the supposition that the second lacuna of *Dunstanus saga* included this passage and that the compiler of *Anecdotes* draws from it.⁷⁴ Although there is no need to look to the *South English Legendary* for a text that corresponds to Árni Lárentíusson's *iðjuleysi*, as it can be found in Eadmer, Fell's hypothesis that the legend about Dunstan's red-hot pincers was originally included in *Dunstanus saga* is all but confirmed by its inclusion in *Anecdotes*.

69 Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles*, 58.

70 Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles*, 58–60.

71 Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles*, 66.

72 Fell, "Introduction," lv–lvi.

73 Fell, "Introduction," lv–lvi.

74 This claim can be supplemented by the fact that the language of the legends (especially the first one) is very similar to that employed by Árni Lárentíusson elsewhere in *Dunstanus saga*, for example with the use of the words *einkanligr*, *kumpánn*, and *hljóðagrein*. Cf. Peter Hallberg, "Some Observations on the Language of *Dunstanus saga*, with an Appendix on the Bible Compilation *Stjórn*," *Saga-Book* 18 (1970–73): 324–53.

Stowe MS 980 does not only help to fill the second lacuna of *Dunstanus saga*. Even though most of the texts incorporated into *Anecdotes* are shortened in some way, there are instances where they offer a more original state of the text. For example, in AM 180 b fol., the false coiners are said to lose both their hands and their feet, and a few lines later, they are said to have been executed. The source for this anecdote is, according to Fell, either Eadmer's *Vita sancti Dunstani* or Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, some details being closer to the latter.⁷⁵ In both, the proper punishment does not call for execution but dismemberment of the criminals' hands, and so it is in *Anecdotes*.⁷⁶ Many other readings from *Anecdotes* can be used to correct or clarify parts of the saga as it is preserved in AM 180 b fol.

6.2 *Af Anselmo and Af Edmundo*

Anselm's and Edmund's tales are both found in collections of miracles and legends that accompany *Mariu saga* in Icelandic manuscripts. For Anselm's life, the compiler's sole source is a version of the Marian miracle *Little Devil in Church*.⁷⁷ Three versions of this legend are preserved in six Icelandic manuscripts. All have been edited by C. R. Unger and are printed in *Mariu saga* (1871): from Holm perg 4to 11 (St), with readings from Holm perg 4to 1 (E) on pp. 174–80; from AM 240 IX fol. (Ka), and AM 240 V fol. (Kf), on pp. 468–73 (although printed separately this is the same version as the one found in MSS St and E); from AM 634–635 4to (D), on pp. 1142–45; and from Holm perg 8vo 1 (F), on pp. 1145–47 (incomplete). The Old Norse-Icelandic miracles probably represent three independent translations of a Latin text more or less identical with the one included in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Fell, "Introduction," xxxiii–xxxiv.

⁷⁶ Arngrímr Brandsson (d. 1361) includes a version of this anecdote in his *Guðmundar saga byskups* and is in agreement with *Anecdotes* regarding the punishment. See Fell's discussion in "Introduction," lxxxii–lxxxiii.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ole Widding, "Norrøne Marialegender på europæisk baggrund," *Opuscula* 10 (1996): 34 (no. 13, "Little Devil in Church"); Irene R. Kupferschmied, *Die isländischen und altnorwegischen Marienmirakel, Die altisländischen und altnorwegischen Marienmirakel*, 2 vols. (Munich: Herbert Utz, 2017), 2:28–29 (no. 59, "Teufel als Affe").

⁷⁸ For Vincent's text, see book 8, chapter 118 in the Douai manuscript (Ms Douai BM 797), at *SourcEncyMe* (*Sources des Encyclopédies Médiévales, corpus annoté*) <http://sourcencyme.irht.cnrs.fr>. Irene R. Kupferschmied has recently discussed this legend and the differences

In two of the Icelandic versions (D and F) and in Vincent's version, the protagonist is an anonymous subdeacon who has a vision of the devil in church, but in the third Icelandic version (in St, E, Ka, and Kf), Anselm is given this role. *Anecdotes* closely follows this version, except that it is shortened considerably.⁷⁹ In all versions, the subdeacon sees that the devil is writing down all the sordid talk two women are sharing. When he runs out of space on his parchment, he attempts to stretch it, but while doing so loses his balance and crashes to the ground. Seeing this, the subdeacon bursts out laughing and claps his hands. However, as he was the only one who saw or heard the demon, his behaviour is considered inappropriate, and he is shunned by everybody. Demoralised, he goes to the church of the Virgin Mary to pray. There, Mary appears to him and gives him the devil's scribbles, which the subdeacon then brings to the archbishop, explains his actions, and is vindicated.

A prologue mentioning both Anselm and Abbot Hugo of Cluny (whose life's story is told following that of Anselm in St, E, Ka, and Kf) is omitted from *Anecdotes*, and so is a large part of the end of the narrative, apart from a few lines featuring Lanfranc that the compiler used to pad out his story (see above). The compiler also seems to have cut down on some of the verbose ecclesiastical language, presumably because the intention was not to relate a miracle of the Virgin Mary, who comes to Anselm's aid, but to tell an entertaining anecdote about an archbishop of Canterbury.⁸⁰ The compiler ends the narrative on Anselm by saying that "*hann hefer dictad mariu sætt lof til heids*" (he has composed a pleasant praise in Mary's honour) and quoting its beginning.⁸¹ Then Anselm's successors William,

between the versions, see *Die altisländischen und altnorwegischen Marienmirakel*, 1:115–25. She mentions the possibility that the version in St, E, Ka, and Kf could be based on the F-version and thus not an independent translation.

79 The text in E has also been shortened, but differently from *Anecdotes*.

80 See, for example, these segments from the legend in *Mariu saga* that are either completely omitted or heavily cut down: 175.15–17 ("elskandi–orða frambvrði"), 175.19–22 ("þviat–kristninnar"), 177.7–14 ("fram–degi"), 177.16–20 ("hvgsandi–hiartans"), 177.21–29 ("gengr–varrar frv").

81 Apart from the legend being shorter in *Anecdotes*, the differences between it and the St/E/Ka/Kf-version are minimal. However, one reading suggests that *Anecdotes* derives its text from a branch different from the one the other manuscripts go back to. In the St/E/Ka/Kf-version, when Anselm sees the devil in church, the devil has *blekhorn uppi hjá eyranu* (an inkhorn up by his ear). In the *Anecdotes*-version, however, the inkhorn is up by the devil's neck. This is in accordance with the D-version ("hafandi sier aa halsi eitt blekhorn," *Mariu*

Theobald, Thomas “er kallaz sæmd ok prydi allz einglanz” (who is called the honour and splendour of all England), and John are mentioned,⁸² before Edmund is introduced.

Af Edmundo is identical with a legend that is only preserved in a collection of Marian miracles in AM 634–635 4to (D), an early eighteenth-century copy of a lost medieval manuscript, and tells of Edmund’s meeting with Jesus Christ during his school days in Paris.⁸³ These two texts are closely related and must go back to a common ancestor. The compiler of *Anecdotes* omits a reference to St Thomas Becket (as he has already been mentioned) as well as the last two lines compared with the text of D and instead inserts a short text about Stephen Langton, whom the compiler incorrectly calls Edmund’s successor, when he was in fact his predecessor. Here we are told that when a psalter Stephen had composed was placed over a dead man, he was resurrected. I have not been able to find the source for this anecdote.

6.3 *Af Cuthberto*

Af Cuthberto is split between Stowe MS 980, f. 41v, and AM 764 4to, f. 36r, twenty-seven lines are in the former and five in the latter. It has previously been noted that the five lines in 764 can be traced to Bede’s *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, chapters 38 and 39.⁸⁴ The same is true for the twenty-

saga, ed. Unger, 1143.2), the F-version (“ok a hans halse hanga eitt blekhorn,” *Mariu saga*, ed. Unger, 1145.19–20), and *Speculum historiale* (“in collo eius cornu scriptoris,” see book 8, chapter 118 at *SourcEncyMe*).

- 82 John (“jon”) was, according to the compiler of *Anecdotes*, Thomas’s successor and Edmund’s predecessor. In the sixty-four-year period that separates Thomas and Edmund, three men by the name of John were elected for the archbishopric, but each time their elections were quashed. It is unlikely that an Icelandic compiler would mention any of them. However, in *Thomas saga erkibyskups II*, we are told that “Jon af Sarisber” was elected archbishop, see *Thomas saga erkibyskups: Fortælling om Thomas Becket erkebiskop af Canterbury. To Bearbejdelser samt Fragmenter af en tredie*, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania [Oslo]: B. M. Bentzen, 1869), 454. This must refer to John of Salisbury (d. 1180) but is based on a misconception as John was never made archbishop. In 1176 he became, however, bishop of Chartres. The compiler of *Anecdotes* is probably repeating that same mistake.
- 83 Edited by C. R. Unger in *Mariu saga*, 727–28. Cf. Kupferschmied, *Die altisländischen und altnorwegischen Marienmirakel*, 2:64 (no. 126c, “Erzbischof Edmund”); Widding, “Norrøne Marialegender,” 76 (no. 227, “Pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol”).
- 84 Ole Widding, Hans Bekker-Nielsen, and L. K. Shook, “The Lives of the Saints in Old Norse: A Handlist,” *Mediaeval Studies* 25 (1963): 307. See Bede, “Vita sancti Cuthberti Auctore Beda” in *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne*

seven lines in 980, which relate material from chapters 1–4, 6, 10–11, 13, 25–26, 30, and 33 in the *Vita*. The text is heavily condensed, but that is not the compiler's doing. In a manuscript from the first half of the thirteenth century, AM 655 XXI 4to, we find two fragments of the same text.⁸⁵ The texts of the two manuscripts are very similar except for the end of the narrative where they diverge considerably, and on two earlier occasions where 980 has a slightly fuller text (980] 655):

er adianus het] *omitted*.

j þeim stad er lindefarnensis he(i)ter ok fylldi hann sæmiliga byskups tign j kenningum sínum ok jartegna giorþ] oc syndi hann byscups tign ikeningom ociarteinom.

It is notable that in both cases, 655 omits a name, either a personal name (*Adianus*, an error for *Aidanus*) or a place name (*Lindisfarne*). In both cases, 980 is closer to the Latin source. This is also the case for the end of the narrative (now in 764), where Cuthbert cures the monk Valstot of dysentery (*blóðsótt*). 655 refers to the monk but does not name him.

6.4 *Af Beda presti and Af Játvarði konungi*

Af Beda presti and *Af Játvarði konungi* are wholly in AM 764 4to (ff. 36r and 37v) and have thus been more accessible to scholars, who have given these texts some attention. *Af Beda presti* tells an anecdote about why Bede is called *venerabilis* and not *beatus*. It features a man who has trouble finding the correct words to finish inscribing Bede's burial marker and has only managed to come up with "Hac sunt in fossa." When he returns to it later, he finds that it has miraculously been finished with the words "Bede venerabilis ossa." The anecdote is largely identical with a part of a legend in Holm perg 4to 1 (E), which in turn appears to have been incorporated

and *Bede's Prose Life*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985 [1940]), 280–84.

85 Edited by Þorleifur Bjarnarson in *Leifar fornra kristinna fræða islenzkra: Codex Arna-Magnæanus 677 4to auk annara enna elztu brota af izlenzkum (sic) gudfræðisritum* (Copenhagen: H. Hagerup, 1878), 168. Hans Bekker-Nielsen has suggested that AM 655 XXI 4to might have been a Benedictine service book, see Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "Homiletisk haandbog? To fragmenter med tilknytning til fastetiden," *Opuscula* 1 (1960): 343–44.

into an unrelated legend.⁸⁶ Undoubtedly, both texts go back to a common source. In the same place, MS E has another anecdote about Bede's title, one in which the blind Bede preaches before rocks who respond "Amen, venerabilis pater." This is the anecdote hand I has later added in the erased space, which was mentioned in section 5 above. In this case, however, there is no verbal agreement with MS E, indicating that hand I used a different source.⁸⁷ The compiler of *Anecdotes* clearly did not intend to include this legend: the text written by our scribe is a complete narrative, it features Bede's year of birth, tells an anecdote about why he is called *venerabilis* and not *beatus*, and tells us on what day he died. The second anecdote is superfluous and ill-fitting.

Finally, the compiler has selected a single entertaining anecdote from St Edward the Confessor's life in *Játvarðar saga hins helga*.⁸⁸ Similar to the anecdote about St Anselm, this anecdote features the protagonist bursting out laughing in church after having a vision, in this case a vision of a Danish king drowning. Some of the text preceding and following the anecdote (about Edward's parentage and his successors up to Henry II) does not exactly match the saga and is probably the compiler's own composition, devised from information gleaned from *Játvarðar saga* and other material, such as an annal.⁸⁹

86 See *Mariu saga*, ed. Unger, 650–52. Cf. Gabriel Turville-Petre, "Legends of England in Icelandic Manuscripts," *Nine Norse Studies* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research – University College London, 1972), 77; Kupferschmied, "Die altisländischen und altnorwegischen Marienmirakel," 2:56–57 (no. 1141, "Exkurs über Beda"); Widding, "Norrøne Marialegender," 71 (no. 179, "I Exeter").

87 See also Turville-Petre, "Legends of England," 77.

88 See *Saga Játvarðar konungs hins helga, udgiven efter islandske oldböger af Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab*, eds. C. C. Rafn and Jón Sigurðsson (Copenhagen: J. D. Qvist, 1852), 14–16.

89 The year given for the ascension of Edward to the throne, 1035, is incorrect and does not match the Icelandic annals that mention it; they either have 1042 (*Resensannáll*, *Konungsannáll*, *Gottskálksannáll*) or 1041 (*Høyersannáll*, *Flateyjarannáll*). See *Islandske Annaler indtil 1578: Udgivne for det norske historiske Kildeskriftfond*, ed. Gustav Storm (Christiania: Grøndahl & Søn, 1888), 17, 58, 108, 317; *Flateyjarbok: En Samling af norske Konge-Sagaer med indskudte mindre Fortællinger om Begivenheder i og udenfor Norge samt Annaler*, 3 vols. [eds. Guðbrandur Vigfússon and C. R. Unger] (Christiania: P. T. Mallings, 1868), 3:507. A plausible explanation for the error is that the compiler has confounded Knútr *riki*, who died in 1035, with his son Hjørða-Knútr, whom Edward succeeded.

7. Summary

Even though the text of *Anecdotes* spans more than six hundred years, from Augustine in the late sixth century to Edmund in the thirteenth century, only a few of the archbishops of Canterbury in that period are mentioned. Most of those included have been canonised. This is to be expected as they are the ones who have had their legends and miracles recorded and disseminated throughout Europe, for example in compendiums such as Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and expanded versions of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. Hence, they would be easily accessible to Icelandic scribes and authors working in the fourteenth century. That St Dunstan gets the longest narrative is most likely because he is the only one of the archbishops of Canterbury who had his own Old Norse-Icelandic saga, except for St Thomas Becket, who is only mentioned in passing in *Anecdotes*. Thomas Becket was greatly popular in medieval Iceland, and his life and miracles are told in at least three Old Norse-Icelandic sagas and several anecdotes.⁹⁰ The fact that Thomas is only briefly mentioned in *Anecdotes* might indicate that at least one of his sagas in Icelandic was already in the possession of whichever library AM 764 4to was destined for, whether it was the convent at Reynistaður or some other place. Otherwise, it is difficult to see why the compiler would not say more about this popular saint.

Analogous with what Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has discovered about the texts in the first half of AM 764 4to (fols 1–23), most of the texts in *Anecdotes* are also found in other sources. Rather than making his or her own translations, the compiler has collected texts from various works already available in Old Norse-Icelandic that fit a particular theme, in this case English bishops and kings. Clearly, the compiler has had at his or her disposal manuscripts containing *Dunstanus saga*, *Játvarðar saga hins helga*, a short life of St Cuthbert, and a collection of Marian miracles and legends. The compiler may also have made use of some sort of encyclopaedic work or an annal, from where he or she has obtained the additional material on

90 Kirsten Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints in Old Norse-Icelandic Prose*, Toronto Old Norse and Icelandic Series 6 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 354–67. On the popularity of Thomas Becket in Medieval Iceland, see Margaret Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland: Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1994), 156–57, and Fell, “Anglo-Saxon Saints in Old Norse Sources and Vice Versa,” 97–98.

the archbishops of Canterbury that is not included in the aforementioned sources, such as on St Augustine and Stephen Langton. It is possible that the compiler had a hand in translating the legends whose immediate source is not known, but it is more likely that he or she used already existing translations that have simply not been preserved elsewhere. This is indeed what has almost happened to Cuthbert's story, as its only other witness is the two short fragments in AM 655 XXI 4to.

8. Final Remarks

The compilers and scribes responsible for *Reynistaðarbók* seem to have been very interested in the lives of English saints. Even without knowledge of the contents of the stolen bifolium that wound up in Stowe MS 980, the interest in English saints shown in this codex has been noted.⁹¹ The addition of the tales of the archbishops of Canterbury only cements the uncommonly great interest in England shown by the scribes of *Reynistaðarbók*.

Eighteenth-century Icelanders working in Copenhagen were, however, much less interested – even to the point that one of them seemingly saw no harm in removing a unique part of Icelandic literary history and giving it away to an Englishman, causing it to fall into oblivion for over two centuries. The rediscovery of the bifolium not only gives us a fuller picture of the culture of scribes who produced the codex, but it also provides us with a very important witness to the texts it holds.

Even though the text the compiler has sourced from *Dunstanus saga* equals less than one sixth of its estimated original length in AM 180 b fol., it is still a valuable witness to its text: the text in 980 is the only witness that dates to the fourteenth century; it partly fills one of the two large lacunae in 180; and its text can be used to correct errors or clarify uncertain readings in 180. Cuthbert's saga is only preserved in full in 980/764, and the short texts on St Augustine of Canterbury and Stephen Langton are not to be found in any other Old Norse-Icelandic sources. And even though the texts on Anselm and Edmund are preserved in full in other manuscripts (albeit in the case of Edmund only in an early eighteenth-

91 See e.g. Fell, "Anglo-Saxon Saints in Old Norse Sources and Vice Versa," 98–99, and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "What Icelandic Nuns Read," 243–44.

century copy of a lost medieval manuscript), every witness is unique, and their inclusion in 980 is still valuable for the future studies of English saints in medieval Iceland.

The rediscovery of the bifolium from Reynistaðarbók gives us hope that important witnesses to medieval texts that are currently unknown to scholars working on Old Norse-Icelandic literature may yet be found. We do know of more manuscripts and manuscript fragments that still existed in the late eighteenth century but are now nowhere to be found. Some have undoubtedly been lost to fires and other calamities, but others may have found their way to private individuals or foreign institutions and are awaiting discovery. Some may even, like the parchment bifolium in Stowe MS 980, be hiding in plain sight.

9. This Edition

A diplomatic transcription of the texts written by hand E in Stowe MS 980, ff. 40–41, and AM 764 4to, f. 36r1–13 and 37v, is presented below.⁹² Abbreviations are expanded according to the scribe's conventions and are marked in *italics*. Suspensions marked with a period or another symbol with no special connotation are expanded within brackets. Obvious scribal errors are corrected and marked with an asterisk. Missing letters or words are added in angle brackets. Unclear letters are underlined. Illegible letters or words are within square brackets. Words or letters within the symbols |and| have been deleted by the scribe, by way of subpunction or struck out. The symbols ` and ´ indicate words/letters written above the line while ´ and ` indicate words written in the margin.

Text

||40r||¹ HEr næst fýsir oss at skrifa nockud litid af þeim byskup(u)m⁹³ er uerit hafa jeinglandi in cancia |² enn þvi næst af odrum byskupum ok kongum er þar hafa rikt sidan guds son liet fædazt |³ iþessa uerolld. Hinn

92 Forms of the letter *s* sometimes have different phonological values in Icelandic manuscripts, where ⟨l⟩ represents /s/ while ⟨s⟩ can stand for either /s/ or /ss/. The scribe of *Anecdotes* makes no such distinction, therefore, “s” is used in the edition for both forms.

93 byskup(u)m] “bþm”.

fysti erkibyskup in kancia uar augustínus senndr ok ualidr af gregorio paua |⁴ en er hann kom til éinglandz predikadi hann guds orþ firir kongínun er nefndr er edelbertus. Ok er kongrinn |⁵ heyrdi hans predikan taladi hann sua Fogr ero ydr firirheit en oss þo ny ok uheyrd fyrr. huat |⁶ leingra kongrinn tok tru ok allt honum unnder gefid folk hefer þar .æ. siþan riett trva halldin uerid. ok |⁷ er sæll augustínus geck framm um daupans dyrr var hann grafinn utan kirkiu þeirar er helgud uar petro |⁸ ok paulo guds postolum þviat þann tíma uar hon uuígd En er mustarid uar uigt uar hans signadr likami sæm|⁹ilíga greftradr Efter augustínun uar sa erkibyskup er odo het Efter hann næst uar Dunstanus

capi(tulum)

|¹⁰ Sva er skrifad af nefndum dunstano at hann hafi numid algerliga at smida or gulli ok silfri honum |¹¹ þotti ok gaman ath skemmta sier uid hliodfare einkanliga uid horpu A nockurum degi sem |¹² hann sat ismidiu sinne med nockurum sinum heimligum kumpanum birtiz guds dyrþ þviat harpa hans er æ |¹³ ueggínun hieck þaut upp med sætum saung ok harre hlioda grein sua ad onguan uardi ok |¹⁴ saung med skiærre roddu miok lystiligan ton ok orþ þessarrar antiphone er her er skrifud ok su|¹⁵ngín. Gaudent incelis aníme sanctorum et c(etera) allt ut til enda Dunstanus éinn sa þhia| af þeim er hia uoro |¹⁶ at himneskr harpslagi dauid kongr. stillti upp setti ok slo med settum hætti Enn bar sua til éinn |¹⁷ tíma ath sæll dunstanus uar kominn til smidiu uerks sins ath kynndugr fianndi bra æ sik mynd mi|¹⁸ok fridrar konu geck inn ismidiu Dunstani ok liet alluiænliga. Ok er guds madr leit hana skildi hann |¹⁹ firir hinn helga annda huilik kona hon mundi uera tok tongína gloandi badum hondum ok kly|²⁰pti med hennar bandsett nef. ok er hon kenndi þvilikan brvna quad hon uid eigi litt skræckti ok ylde |²¹ ok huarf uid þat jbrott fra guds manne Dunstano

af Dun(stano)

|²² Efter litinn tíma firirliet sæll D(unstano) heimin ok geck iklaustr glasconie ok uar þar aboti yfer vm |²¹ tíma ok litlum tíma sidarr uar hann uigdr til by|²³skups uintonie En efter nockur arr resigneradi hann þeim byskupstoli ok uar þa skipadr af kongi |²⁴ ethgaro fader ok fo(r)stiori yfir tua byskupstola. yfer byskupstol uigornensem ok lundunensem skinandi fagr|²⁵līga um nockur ár ituífalldri byskupstign. J þann tíma gerduz þau tidenndi ath odo erkibyskup icancia fiel|²⁶ fra sínum erkistol uar þa heilagr D(unstanus) af ollum leikum ok lærdum til erkibyskups kiorinn Nu sem

heilagr ^{|27} D(unstanus) uar uorþinn kant(arabyrgis)⁹⁴ erkibyskup ok pri-mass allz einglanz bar sua til éinn tima er hann for isyslu sina kom ^{|28} ieitt þorp at uigia kirkíu gudi til þíonostu efter bæn nockurs uolldugs barons er hann hafdi gera latid ^{|29} ok er allir naudsynliger hluter þeir sem kirkíu uigslunne til heyrdu uoro til borner uar uattn eigi sua gnog^{|30}ligt sem þurfti huar firir D(unstanus) sa ad baronínun mundi ruglaz ok styggiaz `asiana' þíonostu monnum. þvi renndi hann ^{|31} sinum hug med fam orþum til guds ok stack sidan bagals broddinu(m) nidr akirkíu golfid spratt þar ski^{|32}ott upp hinn skiærastí brunnr sa er þar rennr med fogrum uaz ædum allt til þessa dags Adra kirkíu uigde ^{|33} heilagr D(unstanus) þa er honum syndiz eigi sua rietliga horfa til austrs sem hann uildi edr til heyrði. þa ge^{|34}ck hann at kirkíu uegginum þrystanndi unnder smam ok smam sínum haleitum herdum ok snere henne me^{|35}ir med krapta styrk en likamligu afli sua fylliliga til austr ættar sem honum þotti til heyra Su^{|36}a er ok sagt at saker uanndlætiss gudligs logmáls hafi heilagr D(unstanus) *þolad⁹⁵ firir guds kristní ^{|37} af uanndum monnum nockura sua ofsokn rekinn med rangíndum af byskupsstolinum igrímma utlegd key^{|38}rd en gud huggadi þenna sinn uín D(unstanum) meðan hann uar íþessi utlegd med naueru heilagra manna meðan hann var ^{|39} jutlegdínne Nu skal segia sem fyrr uard ok uer uilium eigi ad um lidi at segia ath þa er D(unstanus) uar bedinn ^{|40} ad uera byskup uíntonie en hann neittadí. þa birtuz honum isyn æ éinne nott þrír guds postolar Petrus ok ^{||40v||}¹ paulus ok andreas offranndi honum sierrhuerr suerd ok heilags anda uapn ok sem þeir allir hofdv ^{|2} heilsad hann. heyrði hann heilagan andream postola med blidu andlíti þessi ord til sín talannda Tollite ^{|3} iugum meum super uoz et c(etera) En blezadr petr postoli hafanndi ihenndi palmatorium þat kollum vier ^{|4} palma stiku baud Dunstano at rietta honndína. ok sem hann fram rietti sinn lofa sem hlydinn lærisue^{|5}inn gefr postolinn honum littla plagu sua at þo skall vid sva segiannndi. þessi skal uera þín pína firir þat er þu he^{|6}fer neittad ad uera byskup uíntonie ok þetta skal þier til marks uera ad þu dirfiz eigi annan tima sva gera ^{|7} þa er þu ert til þvi-

94 The expansion of this suspended word could be either "kant(uariensis)" (cf. e.g. 40v26) or "kant(arabyrgis)" (cf. 40v27). The latter form is chosen here because the corresponding text in AM 180 b fol., 3v30, has "chantara byrgis" (cf. *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 15.25). This form of the place name is also the most common in the saga (in Fell's edition there are seven examples of Kantarabyrgi in one form or another against a single example of Cantuaria).

95 Appears to be written "h'.loþad", with "þ" altered from "f". Cf. *Dunstanus saga*, ed. Fell, 20.12.

likrar sæmdar kosinn *við þetta* plagunnar hogg uaknar *Dunstanus* gerandi gudi *margfalldar þackir* |⁸ *firir þann* hæleita heidr *er hann* ueitte honum sendanndi *til hans* ueralldarinnar domara *firr* gréinda sína postola

æ<uentyr>⁹⁶

|⁹ *Sua bar til ath þrir silfrslattar menn* hofdu falsad mynnt apenginum *in kancia ok er þeir* urdu sannpro|¹⁰uader *ap þvilikri* giorþ *var þeim* dæmd su þína ath af *þeim* skyldi hoggua badar *henndrnar firir* sína uandu giorþ |¹¹ *en er* heilagr D(unstanus) uard þessa uiss spurdi hann *efter* adr hann saung messo a huitsunnu dagh huart logmalid uere |¹² *fylt uid* sagða glæpa menn. *honum* uar suarad ad saker hatidar uere þínan duold ok unndan dregín til |¹³ *annars* dags. heilagr D(unstanus) suaradi þat skal uera med éingu moti Ek skal idag eigi fyrr *til alltaris* ganga `at⁹⁷ |¹⁴ *offra* gudi lifs forn en þeir hafa tekid makliga þínu *efter* logum⁹⁸ þviat þetta firirdæmingar uerk heyrer oss |¹⁵ *til* ad hirta taladi hann af þvi sua ad þeir heyrdur honum til Ok er hinn sæli D(unstanus) mundi liggia j hinum sidaz|¹⁶ta siukdomi hof hann upp sinn signada munn *sua* segianndi Nu siai þier hiner kiæruztu brædr huert |¹⁷ *ek* er kalladr ok ef þier uilid *efter* mer til einnar gistingar koma þa gangid þan(n) ueg sem ek hefer ydr sy|¹⁸nt geri þier ok guds uilia um alla hluti framm Nu sem laugardagr kom *efter* uppstigu dagh ahuerium gudiz |¹⁹ éinglar hofdu *firir* sagt sælum D(unstano) ad hann skyldi koma j þeira foroneyti. tok hann þa korpus domini ok sem hann beid gladr |²⁰ ok ottalaus sinna siduztu lifstunnda uar sængin med honum gripin upp j hinu efri hluti hussins þar til |²¹ *er* bitar uid namu en sidan linliga nídrsett med ollum sængrínnar vmbunadi for *sva* id sama j |²² annan tima ok þridia ad erkibyskupinum medr sinne sæng uar liettliga til þuertriana upp lyptr ok j |²³ huert sinn hogliga agolf nídr set(t)r

af La(nfranko)

|²⁴ *Efter* sælan *Dunstanum* uar erkibyskup lanfrankus hann *firir* leit heiminn ok geck iþat klaustr *er* heiter beukum ok stenndr |²³ j lumbardi hann tok þar prioratum j fystu hann uar þa kalladr |²⁵ fremstr meistare iallri jtalía. Prior lanfrankus *var* ut gripinn af becko med atgongu uilhi-

96 The spaces the scribe leaves open for rubricated headings are usually very small. This rubric, which is at the end of the line, consists only of the letter “æ”. Here, and also at 40v37 and 41r27, it is assumed that “æ” is short for *ævintýr(r)*, a word that occurs in rubricated headings in AM 764 4to, ff. 21v3, 24v29, 24v31, 32v24, 36r5, and 36r19.

97 Written above “en” which it replaces.

98 “lo” has been altered from “þt”.

alms bas²⁶tards. en uigdr kandonensis aboti. en sidan giorr kanntuariensis erkibyskup j éinglandi. Sua bar ²⁷til ath einn byskup af þeim stad er baiocensis heiter er fyrr hafdi uerid jarl j kantara byrgi hrærdi nockurar ²⁸kiærur ok hiegomligar asakaner upp a oft nefndan erkibyskup lanfrankum ifir nockurum jordum ok uenium ²⁹kirkiunnar j kancia Nu sem sa dagr er erkibyskupinn ok fyrr nefndr byskup skyldu saman koma apla³⁰z ok palliment ok tala vm sin mæla efne. kalladi erkibyskupinn a hinn helga Dunstanum sier til arn³¹anar orþz aþeiri somu nott sæ erkibyskupinn sælan D(unstanum) jsyn stannda firir sier sua segiannða Heyr ³²þu lanfra(n)ce ruglaz eigi j þínu hiarta Ek mun vera med þier ok styrkia þik en ef þu sigrar eigi j mor³³gin þina þi³⁴m'otstodu men(n) þa uitit firir uist at eigi talar uid þik Dunstanus En um morguninn efter sem La³⁴nfrankus erkibyskup kom til aquedinnar malstefnv. eyddi hann med sua uitrligum greinum ok huossum sky³⁵nsemdum ollum hiegomligum motikostum sinna uuina ad allir hia uerandi menn vnn³⁶drupuz mikilliga hans snilld ok uitrligan framburd ok þui fieck hann j þessum mælaferlum ³⁷sæmd ok heidr en hans uuiner suivirdliga firirlitning ok makliga suivirþing

æ(uentyr) Ans(elmus)

³⁸Anselmus var upp fæddr ok fostradr firir sunnan fiall j lumbardi þegar settr til bækr æ un ³⁷gum alldri heil³⁹agar rítningar j skola ath nema var hann fliotttækr j godum hlutum ad fyrr en hann væri xv ara ⁴⁰gamall giæddiz hann gnogligum bokligum listum Nu sem hann er uel til mannz kominn fysiz ||41r||¹ hann norðr um fiall til fraklanz ok þat sama gerer hann Lidu sua þadan iij ár at Anselmus uar ymist j franz edr ²borgundia Nær þessum tima var hann sæmiliga tekinn af herra tholethano erkibyskupi. hann uar þa uigdr ³til subdiakns þionandi byskupi oft uid heilagt alltari Nu berr sua til einn hatidar dagh sem siallfr herra ⁴erkibyskup syngr messv at fyrrsagdr Anselmus þionar honum med odrvm klerkum ok er sua lidr embæt⁵tínu sem ewangelium skal lesaz geingr nefndr subdiakn firir messu diaknanum upp akor sem sidr er ⁶til reykelsi halldanndi ok textum firir beranndi. ok er þeir ero upp komner sua at ew(angelium) er *hatidliga⁹⁹ lesit gripz ⁷subd(iakn) upp j anndar syn siannði framm yfir korinn yfir dyrum kirkiunnar framme abiorinn huar fianndi sitr aþrepi ei⁸nu. hann er þa boluadr j apa mynnð hafanndi blechorn uppi hia halsinum penna digran hefer hann iklo hi⁹nne hægri ok skrifar ifasta fari. þetta kuiquendi er miok

hræðiligt asynndar. en huat hann skrifar birtiz Anselmo þ¹⁰egar istad þviat íj uestlugar konur riett þar vnder nidri talanndi midilsin æ sem tíðaz af sinne usnille Nv¹¹ firir heilags annda birti skilr Ans(elmus) sagða syn ok unnderstenndr iuirþuliga ad j apa myndinne leyníz¹² uuínrín mannkynsins Her næst sier subdiakn. ad bokfellid fianndans er alskrifad utan ok innan¹³ ok ihuert horn. sua ad eigi matti meira aliggia en konurnar hallda framm hinu sama um margmælgína ver¹⁴dr skelmerínn illskiptur vid er hann mæ eigi skrasetia þeira rædur ut til ennda. ok tekr þat ráð ad hann bitr jan¹⁵nan bocfellíss enndan en togar annan með klonum sperriz uid fast isætinu ok reyner afl aboc¹⁶fellínu en er hann stenndr íþess hattar starfi hafanndi sik miok vuaran sua kleykiliga sem hann var adr¹⁷ kominn sleppa tennrnar af bokfellinu sua hart at hann hrytr framm af þrepínu hrapanndi nidr alla¹⁸ leid með sua mycklum brest ok ogurligum gny at Anselmo þotti þviliht sem kirkian mundi nídr hrapa¹⁹ Vid þessa syn gledst hann miok an tempran þviat hann slærr saman sinum lofum hat ok huellt með storum hlatri²⁰ pionustuna firirlátanndi. þetta klerksins meðferdi unndra allir geysi miok Efter þetta lidit er synin bro²¹tt tekín huerfr nu Ansel(mus) aftr til sialfs sins ok þickiz usuínrr uorþinn En er þionostu giorþ var uti²² var Ansel(mus) rangliga settr unnder rangan hugar dom ok firirlitinn af ollum sinum kumpanum Nu er klerkrinn var²³ firirlitinn af ollum flyrr hann til guds modur fulltings fallandi til bænar ímariu kirkíu þa leid ifer hann liettr²⁴ hofgi ihuerium heilug maria birtiz honum hardla blid gerandi hann oruggan af synínne leggiandi þat sama²⁵ letr hia honum til annarar hanndar sem fianndi hafdi skrifad til asakanar efniss vid konurnarr Efter²⁶ þat huarf hon honum ad synn. her næst birter hann *erkibyskupi¹⁰⁰ huaratueggiu synina með skyrum frammburdi en er erkib(ysku)þinn h²⁷eyrer þetta lofar hann mikilliga gud

æ(uentyr) Ans(elmus)

²⁸ Nvckurum tíma sidarr sæker Anselmus heim þat klaustr er beckum heiter j nordmanndi ganganndi ad nyiu²⁷ þar iskola vnder læring brodur lanfranci meistara. þvi næst geingr anselmus²⁹ sama ueg firirlitanndi verolldina gerandiz munkr unnder herra domi hersuini abota er funnderat hafdi nya³⁰ klaustr bekti en litlu sidarr uard hann at þvi klaustri priorr En uigðiz næst efter dag virþuligs herra lanfranci³¹ næstr erkibyskup kantuariensis ad guds lofi hann hefer dictad mariu sætt lof 'til heidrs'

100 erkibyskupi] "erkipþi".

ok er þetta upphafid olumen verum |³² Næst epter Anselmum var vilhi-
almr erkibyskup En epter hann theoballdus er gerdi sælan thomam sinn
erkidiakn |³³ er kallaz sæmd ok prydi allz einglanz Efter hann næst var
jon erkib(yskup) En efter hann varþ erkibyskup hinn helgi eth|³⁴mundr af
honum finnz sua skrifad sem her fylger

Af e[atmundi]¹⁰¹

|³⁵ Agiætr guds vín eathmundr kantuariensis erkibyskup var anams
alldri ad studio iparis granduarr ok hrein|³⁴lifr vmframm sína skola brædr
þviat adrer klerkar kiorv |³⁶ sier ymisligar vnnostur En eatmundr vill þa
eína kiosa sier til vnnostu er sua er af skrifad. Pulcra ut luna |³⁷ electa ut
sol. huar firir hann geingr einn dag framm firir likneskiu hæstu iungfrv er
stenndr iþeiri hofud kirkiu er kalla|³⁸zt notra damma framm fallinn med
hreínlifiss firirheiti bidiannði guds modur mariam ad hon uirþiz ad uera
hans unn|³⁹osta Efter fagra bæn fagrliga fyllða Geingr eat(mundr) an-
nan dag ut af skolis spacerandi fram igard nokurn v|⁴⁰axinn fogrv blomí
Ok miok brat kemr moti honum einn vnngr sueinn sua uiænn at aliti at
etm(undr) sa ||41v||¹ eyngan þvilikan. hann sier upp a suei(ni)nn þegianndi
þviat quediu fallaz firir vsena fegrd. ok vm sider ta|²lar hann sua. Huerr
ertu minn kiære sua blidr ok blezadr sem ek sa eynguan þier likan Pilltrinn
svar|³ar sia ienne mer ok les huerr ek em Eatmundr litr istad ok sierr ad
heilagr kross er ristinn jenne svei|⁴nsins ristinn innan med þessum orþum
Jesus nazarenus rex iudeorum. firir þessa heyrn ok syn ottaz Eatm(undr) |⁵
Pilltrinn seger til hans eigi skaltu ottaz þot þu siaer þann er þik elskar þviat
ek er kominn ad segia þier god tidenndi |⁶ þat af mínne halfu ad sa madr
sem med þessum orþum *Jesus nazarenus etcetera* gerir k`r`oss ienne sier adr
en |⁷ hann sofnar ok skiott sem hann uaknar mvn hann eigi gripaz bradum
daupa aþvi dægri. af alfu modur minnar ber ek þier |⁸ annad eyrenndi ad
hon uill giarna uera þin vnnosta sem þu jattar henne þinn sueíndom Efter
sua tala|⁹d huerfr *iesus* ad syn e|t|atmundi en hann geingr án duol j mariu
kirkiu lof geranndi gudi ok hans modur marie |¹⁰ Litlu efter etmundum
uarþ erkibyskup ikancia *Stephanus* langatvn hann var elskar(i) mikill varrar
fru. hann hefer samsett |¹¹ psaltara henne til heídrs er sua byriar Aue *virgo*
virginum. ok hann gerdi vers jfir hueria diuisionem *beati immacula*|¹²tí Sua
segiz ok sannliga ad su bok nyliga giorr hafi verid lugin yfer dauþan mann

101 This rubricated word is written in the outer margin and is mostly illegible.

ok reis hann þe¹³gar til lifs af dauða. hann hefer ok dictat jstorian de thoma `erkibyskupi' er nu syngz vm alla kristnína

capit(ulum)

¹⁴ I Eínglanndi fæddiz vpp agiætr guds vín chutbertvs gofugr ad kyni ok uiænn at aliti. ok er hann var ale¹³iki of ¹⁵ dag víj uetra gamall þa gaf gud spaleiks anda j þrevetrum sveine ok mælti sa vid chutbertum. huat skaltv at vera ¹⁶ at leiki med smasueinum er <gud> hefer þik settann til byskups ok lærifodur gamalla manna. þa geck chudbertus fra leiki¹⁷num þvrat sa annde 'lærði briost hans er¹⁰² mælte firir munn sueíninum Enn tok chutbertvs fotar meín ok þrvtnadi kne hans.¹⁰³ ok nam þe¹⁸gar or allan uerk ok battnadi honvm dag fra degi En riddari sa er honvm hafdi heilsv gefid. var huarki adr ne sidan ¹⁹ senn ok huergi spurt til nattstada hans ok ma af þvi marka at þat var guds eíngill. En var hann þar staddr er uedr illt gerdi at ²⁰ monnm er askipi uorv ok var þeim hætt uid bana. þa fiell chutbertvs akne ok bad drottin snua vedri ihag þeim ²¹ er askipino uoro ok kyrdi uedrit ok gaf þeim þegar byrr til lannz. Þa er chutbertus uakti eína hueria nott med fehirdum ²² sa hann onnd eins heilags byskups er adianus het fara til himíns med eínglum. ok reyndiz aþeiri stvnndu verid hafa ²³ andlat byskups sem chutbertvs hafdi sied onnd hans fara til himíns. en hann gerdiz munkr þvinæst ok ox dag fra dege ²⁴ igodum uerkum. Vtlenndr madr kom um dag ok laþaþi chutbertvs þann ok setti bord firir hann for efter braud diski iklefa ²⁵ þa var gestrinn horfinn er hann kom aftr ok sa hann huergi spor hans liggia fra huse. en snær hafdi fallid nyliga En er hann ²⁶ kom aftr ihusid inn þa kenndi hann godan ilm ok fann hann þar þria braudhleifa sníofi huitari. ok uisse hann þa ²⁷ at eíngill guds hafdi þar komid. ad færa honvm himneskt braud. Enn foruittnadiz munkr nockur huert chv²⁸tbertvs fære eda huat hann gerdí er hann huarf or reckiu sinne vm nottvm ok geck hann efter honvm. en chutbertvs for til siovar ok od ²⁹ unz barur fiellu æ axlir honvm ok stod hann þar langa stvnnd abænum Sþan geck¹⁰⁴ hann alannd ok fiell akne til ³⁰ bæna at þa skridu sælar tueir upp or sæ ok vermdu hann. en skridu sidan aftr til sævar En munkr sa er eftir ³¹ honvm hafdi geíngid uarþ hræddr ok tok sott þa er hann matte

102 Written in the left margin with a mark that corresponds to this location in the text.

103 Missing from here is the arrival of the horseman and his recommended cure for Cuthbert's knee, cf. *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Colgrave, 160. Presumably, the scribe has omitted a line. (Lacuna in AM 655 XXI fol.)

104 "g" has been emended from "f".

*eigi heim komaz adr lokid var tidum ok fiell til fota ch*³²*utberto ok bad sier miskunnar En chutbertvs blezadi hann ok tok sott af honum. þa er hann hafdi því heitid adr at hann*³³*mundi eigi segia adr chutbertvs uære andaþr huat hann hafdi sied vm nottína*

af ch(utberto)

³⁴*Enn varþ chutber(tvs) vedrfastr er hann hafdi farid um fiord med munkum ok sagdi hann firir ad þeir mundu þria dagha*³⁵*uedrfaster vera ok gaf hann þeim*³⁵*hímneska fædu af gudi meþan þeir voro uedrfaster. Þa kom elldr ihus munka þa geck <chutbertvs> amot elldingv*³⁶*ok hieilt hon-dum til himíns ok sloknadi elldrinn þegar Sidan var hann til byskups tekinn sem uitrad uar af gudi j þeim*³⁷*stad er lindefarnensis he(i)ter ok fylldi hann sæmiliga byskups tign j kenningum sínum ok jartegna giorþ Vig*³⁸*di hann oc*³⁹**uatn*¹⁰⁵*ok senndi husbonnda nockurum siukum ok uard hann þegar heill er hann bergdi af því Enn gaf hann heilsv*³⁹*meyiu nockuri þa er hann smurdi hana uidsmiorui uígdu Enn huarf hann til sueins nockurs vng*⁴⁰*s siuks ok varþ sa þegar heill þa er han(n) gaf honum fridar koss oc for fagnandi til sins heimilis ||AM 764 4to, 36r||*¹*En var sa broder er hafdi blodsott ok er herra byskup leit taladi hann sua Valstot gack med mîer*²*ok ad þeim badum sampt inn geingnvm bad guds madr firir honum ok ad lokinne biæn vard hinn siuki skiott*³*heill Oc er sæll chutbertvs mundi lig-gia isidazta krankdomi taladi hann sua til sinna brædra. halldi þier iaf*⁴*nan frid yduarr amillí med fullu litillæti ok geymi þa hluti er ydrum onndum ero nytsamliger. ok*⁵*efter sua talad bergdi hann guds likama ok sua giort gallt hann gudi sinn annda*

capitulum æuentyr

⁶*Ujrduligr guds vín beda prestr agiætr utzskyrari gudligra ríttninga blomgadiz æinglandi þann tíma*⁷*þæinglandi er lidit var fra hollgan guds sonar `d.`c.lxxx ok víj ár hann var gamall madr ok sionlauss. vm þe*⁸*nna goda mann rennr upp spurning hui hann hefer isinn heidr venerabilis en eigi beati. En þui skal þar til suara at sva*⁹*bar til at einn klærkr villdi semia einn versa yfir hans legstad ok sva byriadiz hac sunt in fossa þa gat hann*¹⁰*medr ongvn mætti feingid þar vid sua at honum likadi. ok littlum tíma sidarr vard honum geingid til legstadar þessa*¹¹*goda mannz. leit hann þa ad uersinn var algiorr ok þetta vpphafid Hac sunt ínfossa bede uenerabilis*

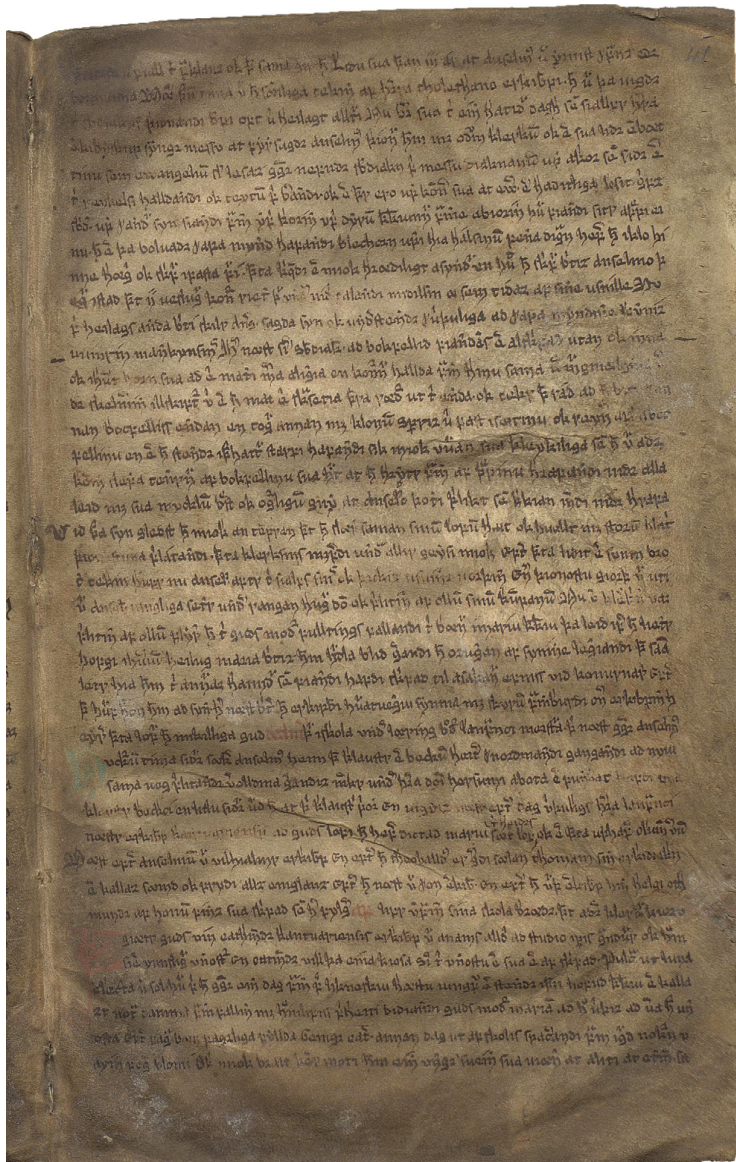
105 First written "uant" but "t" placed above and between "a" and "n", but the "t" at the end has not been deleted.

ossa. *hann* hefer ^{|12} samsett þa bok er kallaz martirilogium. þat finnz ok lesid ad þessi sæll beda *hafi*. þess bedid gud at ^{|13} *hann* skyldi brott ganga af þessi verolld a uppstigningar hátid guds sonar ok þat sama odladiz *hann*

[Material written by other hands on ff. 36r–37r omitted.]

||37v||

^{|1} Þa er lidit var fra higad burd vars herra iesu christi m. ok .xxx. ok v. ár. var kongr yfer eínglandi ed[u]ar(dr) ^{|2} kongr godi son aþalradz kongs ok emmu drottningar er atte sidan knutr kongr ríki Sua bar ^{|3} til aeinum huit-svnu degi sem hinn heilagi. *eduarþr* var staddr at petrs kirkíu íuestrmostr ^{|3} skryddr ollum kongs skruda ok hlyddi hátidligri messo ok íþann tíma er upp hiellz vars herra likami kom att ^{|4} honum hlatr sua mikill at allir unndrvþuz er vid uoro Efter messuna spurdu hans menn huat ylle þeim faheyr ^{|5} da hlatri. kongr suaradí Dana kongr bioz med her a henndr oss ok utalligan skipa fiolda at heria ^{|6} a ríki uart. ok sem *hann* skyldi stiga askip sitt af bate. fiell *hann* akaf ok drucknadi med ríettum guds ^{|7} domi. Þa voro gerver senndibodar sem skiotaz til danmerkr oc profadiz þetta allt satt sem kongr hafdi sa ^{|8}gt En med þvi at þess(i) dana kongr er eigi nefndr þa þickiaz froder menn inoregs kongs ríki eigi uita huert þessi ^{|9} kongr hefer verid nema þat er sagt er fra orþum gizurar hallz sonar eíns hins uitrazta mannz a islandi at ^{|10} þessi kongr hafe verid sueinn s(on) knuz kongs ríka ok alfinu Efter *eduarþ* tok kongdom haralldr gudi ^{|11}na son *hann* felldi haralld sigurdar son. þa vard kongr at eínglandi uilhialmr bastadr er felldi har ^{|12}alld gudína <son>. segia sua sumar bækr at *hann* hafe leingi lifad efter bardaghann ok geingid isteín vi ^{|13}lhialmr bastadr var fader heinreks kongs. fodur mathilldar. modur heinreks gamla er mest geck imo ^{|14}te thomase erkibyskupí ok mæddi *hann* medr morgum meíngerðum sem sagha hans uattar ||



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ÁGRIP

Frásagnir af nokkrum erkibiskupum Kantaraborgar: Glataður tvíblöðungur úr Reynistaðarbók fundinn í British Library

Efnisorð: helgisögur, Grímur Thorkelín, *Dunstanus saga*, Reynistaðarbók, handrit, enskir dýrlingar

Árið 1787 gaf Grímur Thorkelín, ritari Árnaneðndar, Thomasi Astle handritasafnara tvö pappírshandrit og tvíblöðung úr bókfelli. Síðar komust þessi handrit í Stowe-safnið og eru þau nú varðveitt í British Library. Pappírshandritin hafa að geyma texta sem skrifaður er upp eftir handriti í Árnasafni, sennilega af Grími sjálfum. Skinntvíblöðungurinn er aftur á móti ritaður á fjórtánda öld. Á honum er að finna samansafn sagna af enskum biskupum, aðallega erkibiskupum Kantaraborgar, og stuttan formála. Sá sem setti safnið saman hefur notfært sér og aðlagð texta sem þegar voru til í íslenskri þýðingu, eins og *Dunstanus sögu* Árna Lárentíussonar. Ekki eru þó allir textar safnsins varðveittir annars staðar svo vitað sé.

Tvíblöðungurinn er skrifaður af sama skrifara og skrifaði hluta Reynistaðarbókar í AM 764 4to og þegar betur er að gáð kemur í ljós að tvíblöðungurinn hefur upprunalega tilheyrt sama handriti. Aftasta frásögnin á tvíblöðungnum segir lífssögu heilags Kúðberts en niðurlag sögunnar er að finna efst á bl. 36r í AM 764 4to. Þá er þess getið í handritaskrár Árnasafns sem settar voru saman á fyrsta þriðjungi átjándu aldar að í AM 764 4to séu sögur af erkibiskupum Kantaraborgar, en þær er ekki að finna þar núna. Því virðist sem Grímur Thorkelín, sem hafði greiðan aðgang að handritum Árnasafns, hafi tekið tvíblöðunginn ófrjálsri hendi áður en hann hélt til Englands, en það varð til þess að textar hans féllu í gleymsku í meira en tvær aldir.

Í greininni er fjallað um feril tvíblöðungsins og er skrift og stafsetning skrifarans rannsökuð og borin saman við hönd E í AM 764 4to. Þá eru textarnir raktir til uppruna síns og vinnubrögð samsetjara safnsins skoðuð. Í lokin er birt stafrétt útgáfa sagnasafnsins sem teygir sig frá Stowe-tvíblöðungnum yfir í AM 764 4to.

SUMMARY

Anecdotes of Several Archbishops of Canterbury: A Lost Bifolium from Reynistaðarbók Discovered in the British Library

Keywords: legends of saints, Grímur Thorkelín, *Dunstanus saga*, Reynistaðarbók, manuscripts, English saints

In 1787, Grímur Thorkelín, the secretary of the Arnamagnæan Commission, gave the manuscript collector Thomas Astle two paper manuscripts and a parchment bifolium. After Astle's death, these manuscripts found their way into the Stowe

collection and are now kept in the British Library. The paper manuscripts contain transcriptions of texts found in a manuscript in the Arnamagnæan collection and were probably written by Thorkelin himself. The bifolium was, however, written in the fourteenth century. It contains a compilation of short stories about English bishops, mostly archbishops of Canterbury, preceded by a short prologue. For the compilation, the compiler has gathered and adapted material from sources that were already available in Old Norse-Icelandic translations, including Árni Lárentíusson's *Dunstanus saga*. However, not all the texts in the compilation are known to exist elsewhere in Icelandic translation.

An examination shows that the bifolium was written by the same scribe who wrote parts of *Reynistaðarbók* in AM 764 4to, and a closer look reveals that the bifolium was once a part of that same manuscript. The last narrative on the bifolium tells the life of St Cuthbert, but its conclusion is now at the top of f. 36r in AM 764 4to. Furthermore, catalogues of the Arnamagnæan collection compiled in the first third of the seventeenth century show that tales about archbishops of Canterbury were included in AM 764 4to, but they are now missing. It thus appears that Thorkelin, who had easy access to Arnamagnæan manuscripts, removed the bifolium before journeying to England, causing its text to fall into oblivion for over two centuries.

In the article, the history of the bifolium is discussed, and the script and orthography of its scribe examined and compared to that of scribe E in AM 764 4to. The sources of the compilation's texts are traced, and the compiler's methods are analysed. Finally, a diplomatic edition of the texts of the compilation that is now split between the Stowe bifolium and AM 764 4to is presented.

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