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ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT  
PRODUCTION  
IN WESTERN ICELAND  
IN THE THIRTEENTH  
AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

PHILOLOGISTS have long attempted to group medieval Icelandic manuscripts according to their scribes and textual content, and many such groups have been linked to major ecclesiastical houses of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Based on these established groups, book paintings in these manuscripts have also attracted growing interest among art historians.<sup>3</sup> However, little research has been dedicated to the book painting that predates the fourteenth century, despite recognised evidence for such arts.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 I would like to thank the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Copenhagen, and Riksarkivet, Oslo, for providing me with images for this article. Furthermore, I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers, and Emily Lethbridge and Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir, for their invaluable comments on an earlier version of this text.
- 2 For the philological and historical techniques of grouping medieval Icelandic manuscripts, and a short overview of a number of such established groups, see Stefán Karlsson, “The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts,” *Saga-Book XXV* (1999): 138–58.
- 3 Major art historical contributions have been provided by Selma Jónsdóttir, “Gömul krossfestingamynd,” *Skírnir* 139 (1965): 134–47; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, “Handritalýsingar í benediktínaklaustrinu á Þingeyrum,” *Íslensk klausturmenning á miðöldum*, ed. Haraldur Bernharðsson (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2016), 227–311; and Lena Liepe, *Studies in Icelandic Fourteenth Century Book Painting* (Reykholt: Snorrastofa, 2009), 126–42.
- 4 The paucity of art historical studies of thirteenth-century Icelandic manuscripts is possibly due to the lack of historiated content in these manuscripts. Full-page miniatures and historiated initials only became common in Iceland in the early fourteenth century: apart from AM 673 a I 4to and AM 673 a II 4to, two vernacular *Physiologus* fragments from c. 1200, AM 679 4to, an ordinary with a miniature of Christ Enthroned from c. 1250, and AM 249 c fol., a calendar including an iconography of the Virgin and the Child dated to c. 1300, there is no known historiated book painting that predates the fourteenth century. The same holds true for zoomorphic and inhabited initials. For a short overview of medieval Icelandic book painting, see Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1935), 7–28.

This article will discuss one such overlooked illuminated manuscript group. The group in question was established around the oldest *Heimskringla* fragment Lbs fragm 82 (Kringla) from c. 1258–64.<sup>5</sup> The first part of this article will describe the main characteristics of this group. The second part will examine this group in relation to a second manuscript group from the early fourteenth century, as well as discussing its earliest provenance. It will be argued that a number of hands who worked on manuscripts belonging to the first group may have acted as illuminators for several of the manuscripts, and that one illuminator of the second group might have worked together with a late scribe of the first group. It will be shown that some of the manuscripts and fragments from that earlier group were not the product of an isolated scriptorium but rather of an open space for independent scribes and artists working in western Iceland for a period of more than fifty years.<sup>6</sup> Overall, in the spirit of the ‘Material Philology’, this article seeks to provide an interdisciplinary overview of the mechanisms of manuscript production. Not only will the different contributions of the major scribes and illuminators be discussed, but also codicological features of various production units, such as a similar use of colours or related stages of oxidation of rubrics and initials, will be considered.<sup>7</sup> Neither the first nor the second of the two manuscript groups has been successfully located to any specific scriptorium to date. In the final part of the article, a hypothesis regarding how these two groups were connected to a third manuscript group associated with the established house of canons regular of Helgafell (in western Iceland) will be presented.

The oldest of these groups (the ‘Kringla’ group), centred around Lbs fragm 82 (Kringla), was written by a single hand (H Kri 1) who collaborated with two further scribes (H Kri 2–3). The location of the production

- 5 Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie* (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 1895), iv; Stefán Karlsson, “Kringum Kringlu,” *Árbók Landsbókasafns Íslands 1976* (1977): 5–25; Stefán Karlsson, “Dávíðssálmar með Kringluhendi,” *Dávíðsdiktur sendur Dávíð Erlingssyni fimmtugum 23. ágúst 1986*, ed. Sigurgeir Steingrímsson (Reykjavík: Menningar- og minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, 1986), 47–51.
- 6 An art historical investigation similarly dedicated to the social mechanisms of medieval Icelandic manuscript productions has recently been presented by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, “Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum á 15. öld,” *Gripla XXVII* (2016): 157–233.
- 7 The term ‘manuscript production unit’ is borrowed from Erik Kwakkel, “Towards a Terminology for the Analysis of Composite Manuscripts,” *Gazette du livre médiéval* 41 (2002): 12–19.

Table 1: *The Kringla group*

Shelf mark and name	Number of folios	Date <sup>1</sup>	Hand (H)	Illuminator (A)	Textual content
GKS 1157 fol. (Konungsbók Grágásar)	13	1300 <sup>2</sup>	H Kri 2 (ff. 1r–13v)	A Kri 1 (f. 1r); A Kri 2 (ff. 1v–13v)	<i>Grágás</i>
	80	1250 <sup>3</sup>	H Kri 1 (ff. 14r–93v)	A Kri 2 (ff. 14r–93v)	<i>Grágás</i>
AM 241 b I β fol.	2	1250–75 <sup>4</sup>	H Kri 1 (ff. 1r–2v)	None	<i>Psalterium Davidis</i>
JS fragm 14	2	1250–75 <sup>5</sup>	H Kri 1 (ff. 1r–2v)	None	<i>Lectionarium</i>
Lbs fragm 82 (Kringla)	1	1258–64 <sup>6</sup>	H Kri 1 (f. 1r–1v)	A Kri 1 (f. 1r); (ff. 1v–13v)	<i>Ólaf saga helga</i>
AM 334 fol. (Staðarhólsbók Grágásar)	1	1300 <sup>7</sup>	H Kri 4 (f. 1r)	None	<i>Jónsbók</i>
	91	1271–72 <sup>8</sup>	H Kri 1 (ff. 1v–92r)	A Kri 1 (ff. 1v, 12r, 19r, 27v, 37r, 51r); A Kri 2 (ff. 1v–91r)	<i>Grágás</i>
	17	1271–81 <sup>9</sup>	H Kri 3 (ff. 92v–108r)	H Kri 2 (ff. 92v–108r)	<i>Járnsíða</i>

1 According to Stefán Karlsson, “The Localisation and Dating,” 140, it is almost impossible to date medieval Icelandic manuscripts more narrowly than to within 50 years if the dating is based on the script and orthography only. It should be taken into account that parts of the following discussion, therefore, cannot be based on secure datings.

2 Ole Widding, “Håndskriftanalyser. 5. GkS 1157 fol. Hånd A i Konungsbók af Grágás,” *Opuscula II* (1961): 75.

3 Stefán Karlsson, “Kringum Kringlu,” 21.

4 Stefán Karlsson, “Daviðsálmar,” 50.

5 Stefán Karlsson, “Daviðsálmar,” 50.

6 Stefán Karlsson, “Kringum Kringlu,” 17.

7 Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagneanske håndskriftsamling*, I (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1889), 275.

8 Sigurður Líndal, “Hvers vegna var Staðarhólsbók Grágásar skrifuð?” *Timarit lögfræðinga* 48/4 (1988), 293; for a similar conclusion, see also Gunnar Karlsson, “Inngangur,” *Grágás. Lagasafni íslenska þjóðveldisins*, ed. Gunnar Karlsson, Kristján Sveinsson and Mörður Árnason (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1992), xvi. For a discussion of the dating of AM 334 fol., see Lena Rohrbach, “Matrix of the Law? A Material Study of Staðarhólsbók,” *The Power of Book. Medial Approaches to Medieval Nordic Legal Manuscripts*, ed. Lena Rohrbach (Berlin: Nord Europa-Institut der Humboldt-Universität, 2014), 99–101.

9 Jón Helgason, Introduction to *Njáls saga. The Arna-Magnæan Manuscript 468. 4to (Reykjabók)* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1962), ix.

of this group is unknown.<sup>8</sup> The Kringla group consists of six manuscripts and fragments containing both Latin and vernacular literature.

Three of the manuscripts and fragments listed above feature the work of two illuminators (A Kri 1 and A Kri 2). Each made regular use of fairly outdated Romanesque ornamentation. A variety of palmette flowers and elaborated pen-flourished littera florissa images are found, which at the time of production were common in manuscripts in other countries at least a century before they are found in the Icelandic manuscripts under discussion. These images almost certainly are derived from illuminated late twelfth French or English manuscripts,<sup>9</sup> but it is not known how they were transferred to Iceland.<sup>10</sup>

- 8 A number of inventory notes added to one of the major manuscripts of the group, AM 334 fol. (Staðarhólsbók Grágásar), indicate that it was somewhere in Húnaþing in the fourteenth century, but little speaks for the fact that any manuscripts belonging to this group were produced there. For the provenance of AM 334 fol., see Viðar Pálsson, “Commonwealth Law,” 66 *Manuscripts from the Arnarnaganean Collection*, eds. Matthew James Driscoll and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (Copenhagen and Reykjavik: Bókauitgáfan Opna and Museum Tusulanum Press, 2013), 113. Stefán Karlsson attempted to identify the earliest owner of AM 334 fol. but ultimately conceded it was not possible to prove this due to a lack of reliable sources. See Stefán Karlsson, “Kringum Kringlu,” 23–24, Stefán Karlsson, “Davíðsálmar,” and Stefán Karlsson, comment to “Davíðssálmar með Kringluhendi,” *Stafkrókar. Ritgerðir eftir Stefán Karlsson gefnar út í tilefni af sjötugsafmæli hans 2. desember 1998*, ed. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (Reykjavik: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2000), 273.
- 9 No research has been dedicated to identifying the sources from which the illuminators of the Kringla group drew their inspiration and most studies on late twelfth-century French and English Romanesque book painting primarily discuss figural rather than ornamental styles. Nevertheless, certain British and northern French manuscripts produced in c. 1170 are particularly close to the Kringla group. With regard to the pen-flourishing of minor initials, the English Bestiary Add MS 11283 features similar floral ornamentation to that found in all manuscripts and fragments illuminated by A Kri 2, while major initials illuminated by A Kri 1 demonstrate the adaption of foliate and geomorphic elements of major initials as found in the so-called second Floreffe Bible, Add MS 18837, from modern-day Belgium. On Add MS 11283, see C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190*, III (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), no. 105, and on Add MS 18837, see Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, II (London: Harvey Miller, 1992), 137, 199. For an introduction to twelfth-century and early thirteenth-century book painting see J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 95–120.
- 10 Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, 10–12, suggests that most of the thirteenth-century Icelandic illuminations were inspired by contemporaneous and earlier models imported from France or England via Norway. AM 618 4to, a French Psalter palimpsest dated to the early twelfth century, might be an example of the use of European

The contributions of the two artists A Kri 1–2 vary somewhat in quantity. This is evident in the second production unit of the *Grágás* codex GKS 1157 fol. (Konungsbók Grágásar). On ff. 1–13, there are two main initials illuminated by the two artists. The first initial (on f. 1r, see fig. 1) was painted by A Kri 1 and features a decorated knot initial spanning over five lines, which has now almost vanished. The design comprises a littera florissa initial consisting of four symmetric and enrolled acanthus leaves with additional connected dicentra flowers in three of the four corners of the letter. Unfortunately, the poor condition of the folio leaf makes it impossible to identify any colours today, but it seems unlikely that black was the only colour used to illuminate this highly important initial of the codex.

The next initial of GKS 1157 fol., which is found at f. 9v and similarly spans over five lines, was executed by the second artist A Kri 2 and features a less exceptional style (see fig. 2). Two evenly rounded acanthus spirals with additional fan leaves, painted in light red and light blue, fill the bowl of the initial. Large bud leaves in a similar colour are shown with extended filaments and spiralling lobate palmettes are attached to the initial on the left and situated in the lower margin. One of the two colours of this ornamented finish is the same as that used in the initial itself: the ink used was red at the time of production but due to heavy oxidation, the colour has since faded to a yellow-brown, as is also the case with a number of minor initials and rubrics in the same manuscript production unit. Together with occasional arabesque ornamentation on the minor initials, the smaller book painting suggests that the same hand was responsible for all of the illuminations in this part of GKS 1157 fol., excluding the main initial on the initial folio leaf. The next production unit of GKS 1157 fol. starts at f. 14r and was written by H Kri 1 some fifty years earlier than the first unit of the manuscript. Despite the dating of the two production units, the change of hands is scarcely reflected in the flow of the text, since it is not dam-

ornamental models in thirteenth-century Iceland: two initials on f. 48v and f. 62v appear to be stylistically related to a number of large initials in AM 334 fol. and GKS 1157 fol. from the Kringla manuscript group. Unfortunately, it is unknown when AM 618 4to was imported to Iceland. However, in 1586, AM 618 4to was demonstrably located in Iceland, as half of the manuscript was re-written and partly repainted by the priest Grímur Skúlason († 1582). For the dating and provenance of AM 618 4to see Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over den arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling*, II 31–32.

aged at this point, nor is a new gathering initiated here. In addition, the ornamental repertoire used for minor initials in this production unit for the most part matches the previous section, featuring a similar colour pattern, palmettes and other Romanesque floral forms. Finally, oxidation also appears in this section. These features of the book painting therefore suggest the work of the same artist. The book painting of the two production units is unlikely to have been executed before *c.* 1300, when the second production unit was finished. GKS 1157 fol. is clearly not the only work of A Kri 2, however, since similar palmette embellishments appear again in the *Heimskringla* fragment Lbs fragm 82 (Kringla, see fig. 3), which was written by H Kri 1 in between the creation of the two manuscript production units of GKS 1157 fol.

The work of A Kri 2 is also found throughout the contemporaneous *Grágás* manuscript AM 334 fol. Similar to GKS 1157 fol., AM 334 fol. comprises two production units.<sup>11</sup> The first section features *Grágás* exclusively and was written by the main hand of the group more than twenty years after the first production unit of GKS 1157 fol. The second production unit of AM 334 fol. features only *Járnsíða* and was added contemporaneously by the third main scribe of the Kringla group, H Kri 3. Apart from the aforementioned embellishments of minor initials made by illuminator A Kri 2, this first production unit of AM 334 fol. includes the work of the previously mentioned artist A Kri 1. This illuminator contributed six elaborated major initials to the first production unit, all of which are possibly the most ornate illuminations to survive from thirteenth-century Iceland.<sup>12</sup> The initials consist of pierced letter shapes in green and red which are entwined with thick spiralling stems with leafy terminals and shoots (f. 1r, fig. 4). All of these main initials feature a restricted colour palette: the backgrounds are painted in green and framed with a thin blue line, and the bowl of the initial is coloured in a similar light blue. The spiralling tendrils with fan leaves are outlined in black but red strokes in the stems generate a slightly naturalistic effect. When the first main initial in GKS 1157 fol. (fig. 1) is compared with those in AM 334 fol., similarities suggest

11 Technically, AM 334 fol. consists of three production units, since a later scribe, H Kri 4, added parts of *Jónsbók* to f. 1r in *c.* 1300. Since this addition is not closely related to the other two production units, it will not be discussed further.

12 For the position and size of the major initials in AM 334 fol. see Lena Rohrbach, "Matrix of the Law?" 106.

the illuminator to be the same person; very similar execution of the littera florissa ornamentation is found in the acanthus tendrils in all initials, as well as in the connected dicentra flowers.

In the second production unit of AM 334 fol., a different colour pattern appears, though only in the main initials. This production unit contains a number of stylistic features found in the first section of GKS 1157 fol., and two main initials in red are particularly closely related (figs. 5–6): the yellow background filled with green clycinal flower tendrils in the bowls exhibit a close stylistic similarity with GKS 1157 fol. (ff. 14–93). In addition, a similar colouring of the background in yellow and a consistent red or light blue or red or green colouring of the minor initials, together with a similar repertoire of palmette fillings in AM 334 fol. and GKS 1157 fol., suggest the work of a single illuminator, A Kri 2.<sup>13</sup> The more refined change in style between GKS 1157 fol. and AM 334 fol. is explicable by the temporal gap (twenty to fifty years) between the posited production of the manuscripts, and perhaps also by a difference in taste between the respective clients. This difference is clearly mirrored in the textual arrangements of the two *Grágás* manuscripts: GKS 1157 fol. and AM 334 fol. are very different in terms of their structural principles.<sup>14</sup> Gunnar Karlsson has suggested that this difference was probably due to a revision of the text made after Iceland came under Norwegian rule in 1262–64, in other words in between the times when the first and second production units of GKS 1157 fol. were made, and before the whole of AM 334 fol. was written.<sup>15</sup> However, it is more likely that AM 334 fol., though short-lived due to its soon outdated legal content, represented a new model of a poly-textual law book.<sup>16</sup> In contrast to AM 334 fol., GKS 1157 fol. features

13 It should be mentioned that despite the fact that A Kri 2 makes use of a clearly different colour spectrum in the second production unit of AM 334 fol., he must have known a number of ornamental models used by A Kri 1, the main illuminator of the first production unit of the same codex. This is exemplified in a major initial on f. 93v, which features a similar littera florissa initial as is found on f. 1r in GKS 1157 fol. On f. 93v in AM 334 fol., however, the major initial consists only of two symmetrical and enrolled acanthus leaves and it is embellished with ornamentation typical of the repertoire of A Kri 2.

14 Ólafur Lárusson, “Grágás og lögbækurnar,” *Árbók Háskóla Íslands* 1922 (1923): 69–73.

15 Gunnar Karlsson, “Ritunartími Staðarhólsbókar,” *Sólhvarfasumbl saman borið handa Þorleifi Haukssyni fimmtugum, 21. desember 1991*, ed. Gísli Sigurðsson (Reykjavík: Menningar- og minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, 1991), 41.

16 Lena Rohrbach, “Matrix of the Law?” 124–25.

unusually wide variation in the use and arrangement of initials. Similar to the poly-textual content of AM 334 fol., GKS 1157 fol. exhibits a selection of different textual models combined in one legal manuscript, though here combined in the single text *Grágás*. According to Patricia Pires Boulhosa, the textual models for the single text in GKS 1157 fol. originated from a variety of independent, now lost manuscripts and fragments.<sup>17</sup> As mentioned, the person responsible for the minor initials throughout both AM 334 fol. and GKS 1157 fol. appears to be a single artist, A Kri 2. Since the initial described above in the later section of AM 334 fol. (ff. 92v–108) is evidence for a close stylistic relationship to GKS 1157 fol., it might well be that the illuminator was in fact the main scribe himself, H Kri 1. It is indeed his script that serves to connect the related book paintings, despite the change of scribes in the other sections of the two major manuscripts of the group.

It seems highly likely that AM 334 fol. was produced at a site where a number of scribes were present, since no fewer than twelve hands are found throughout the codex. Only two of them, however, wrote more than half of a folio leaf.<sup>18</sup> The high number of scribal contributions clearly shows that a considerable number of literate people were involved in the production of the manuscript. The site of production appears to be different to the one where GKS 1157 fol. was produced: not only does the *Grágás* text differ in structure and content, but a different mix of colours in the main initials of the two manuscripts also indicates two different

17 Patricia Pires Boulhosa, "Layout and the Structure of the Text in Konungsbók," *The Power of Book. Medial Approaches to Medieval Nordic Legal Manuscripts*, ed. Lena Rohrbach (Berlin: Nordeuropa-Institut der Humboldt-Universität, 2014), 93–95.

18 These scribal contributions are not likely to represent the entertaining practice of secular visitors adding individual notes to the manuscript for fun, as Vilhjálmur Finsen suggested. See his introduction to *Grágás eftir det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift Nr. 334 fol. Staðarhólsbók*, ed. Vilhjálmur Finsen (Copenhagen: Det Arnamagnæanske Legat, 1879), x–xi. Such a scribal practice did not become common before the fifteenth century and it is therefore not a likely explanation for the large number of hands found in AM 334 fol. In the thirteenth century, manuscripts were mainly produced in a monastic setting where there would have been several literate people present at the site of production. For (late medieval) Icelandic manuscript production, see Stefán Karlsson, "Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbók," *Stafkrókar. Ritgerðir eftir Stefán Karlsson gefnar út í tilefni af sjötugsafmæli hans 2. desember 1998*, ed. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2000), 319–27, with further references.

approaches. The two manuscripts are nonetheless linked through shared ornamental images.

In 1967, Stefán Karlsson suggested in a lecture to the Félag íslenskra fræða that a further fragment written by H Kri 1 in the second half of the thirteenth century, the *Mariu saga* fragment NRA 78, should be added to the Kringla group.<sup>19</sup> Later on, however, Stefán withdrew his initial suggestion and proposed that NRA 78 was either written by H Kri 1 significantly later than the other manuscripts and fragments, or by a second scribe with an orthography close to that of H Kri 1.<sup>20</sup> I am inclined to follow Stefán's later reservation regarding his original idea about H Kri 1 and NRA 78. Nevertheless, due to the particular orthography of the second scribe (H Kri 5 in my terminology), it appears obvious that he must have obtained his skills in the same geographical area as H Kri 1, possibly even in the same scriptorium.

In relation to the manuscripts and fragments of the Kringla group, the book painting of NRA 78 is unusual. Upon closer investigation, this fragment is closely linked with the second of the two main groups discussed here, the Barðastrandarsýsla group. The fragment features a large initial painted by an illuminator (A Bar 1) known from this slightly younger manuscript group from a similarly unknown location in the west of Iceland.<sup>21</sup> Jonna Louis-Jensen has suggested that the group originated from the established secular farm at Vatnsfjörður.<sup>22</sup> However, little is known about the existence of such a scriptorium before 1468, when sources prove that there was a *skrifstofa* at that location.<sup>23</sup> On the basis of lack of evidence, Lena Liepe recently rejected Louis-Jensen's theory, and instead suggested the site of production to have been an unknown ecclesiastical institution

19 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Skrá um íslensk handrit í Noregi* (Reykjavík: not published, 1967).

20 Stefán Karlsson, "Kringum Kringlu," 21.

21 The group was established by Jonna Louis-Jensen, *Kongesagastudier. Kompilationen Hulda-Hrokkinskinna* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Boghandel, 1977), 19–20; Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Guðmundar sögur biskups I. Ævi Guðmundar biskups. Guðmundar saga A* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1983), xxx–xlii; and Lena Liepe, *Studies*, 231.

22 Jonna Louis-Jensen, "Fra skriptoriet i Vatnsfjörður i Eiríkr Sveinbjarnarson's tid," *Reykholt som makt- og lærdomscenter i den islandske og nordiske kontekst*, ed. Else Mundal (Reykholst: Snorrastofa, 2006), 130–38.

23 *Diplomatarium Islandicum, Íslenzkt fornbréfasafn V*, ed. Jón Þorkelsson (Copenhagen and Reykjavík: S. L. Møller and Félagsprentsmiðja, 1899–1902), 517.

Table 2: The Barðastrandarsýsla group

Shelf mark and name	Number of folios	Date	Hand (H)
AM 325 VIII 4 c 4to	2	1300–25 <sup>1</sup>	H Bar 1 (ff. 1r–2v)
AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus)	124	1300–25 <sup>2</sup>	H Bar 1 (ff. 1r–97rb; ff. 98vb–124r) H Bar 3 (f. 98ra–va)
AM 241 a I fol. & AM 249 p fol.	48	1325 <sup>3</sup>	H Bar 1 (ff. 1r–48v)
Perg 4to 4 & AM 325 XI 2 h 4to	73	1320–40 <sup>4</sup>	H Bar 2 (ff. 1r–73v)
AM 671 4to	63	1320–40 <sup>5</sup>	H Bar 2 (ff. 5r, 17r–26r, 30r–31v, 33v–34r, 34v, 35r–35v, 63r); further hands
AM 241 b I γ fol.	1	1325–50 <sup>6</sup>	Unknown
AM 399 4to (Codex Resenianus)	74	1330–50 <sup>7</sup>	H Bar 2 (ff. 1v–74v)
AM 346 fol. (Staðarfellsbók)	85	1340–60 <sup>8</sup>	H Bar 2 (ff. 1v–84r)
Add. 1 fol. (Ártíðaskrá Vestfirðinga)	7	1350 <sup>9</sup>	H Bar 2 (ff. 1r–7v)
AM 122 a fol. (Króksfjarðarbók)	110	1350–70 <sup>10</sup>	H Bar 2 (ff. 63r–69v; ff. 70r–94v); H Bar 4 (ff. 1r–43r); H Bar 5 (ff. 43v–62v); H Hel 1 (ff. 70r–94v)

1 Jonna Louis-Jensen, *Kongesagastudier*, 19–20.

2 Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnemagneanske håndskriftsamling*, I, 32.

3 Jonna Louis-Jensen, *Kongesagastudier*, 19–20.

4 Oscar Albert Johnsen and Jón Helgason, eds. *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga: Den store saga om Olav den bellige efter pergamenthåndskriftet i Kungliga Biblioteket i Stockholm nr. 2 4to, med varianter fra andre håndskrifter 1* (Copenhagen: Kjeldekriftfondet, 1941), 942; Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Guðmundar sögur*, xxxix–xl, xli.

5 Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Guðmundar sögur*, xl, xli.

6 Lena Liepe, *Studies*, 229. A palaeographic analysis of AM 241 b I γ fol. is yet to be written.

7 Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Guðmundar sögur*, xli.

8 Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Guðmundar sögur*, xxxix–xli.

9 Jakob Benediktsson, Introduction to *Catilina and Jugurtha by Sallust and Pharsalia by Lucan in Old Norse: Rómverjasaga: AM 595 a–b 4to* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1980), 11.

10 Jakob Benediktsson, Introduction to *Sturlunga saga: Manuscript No. 122 a fol. in the Arnemagnean Collection* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1958), 11; Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Guðmundar sögur*, xxxix–xli.

Illuminator (A)	Textual content
None	<i>Sverris saga</i> , <i>Boðlunga sögur</i>
A Bar 1 (ff. 1r–v, 14r, 18v, 19v, 21v, 23v, 29r, 37r, 41v, 56v, 60v, 66v, 69v, 75r, 84r); A Bar 2 (ff. 1r–124r)	<i>Heimskringla</i>
A Bar 2 (ff. 1r–48v)	<i>Horae de passione domini</i> , <i>Ártiðaskrá Vestfirðinga</i>
A Bar 2 (ff. 1r–73v)	<i>Óláfs saga helga</i>
None	Theological handbook
A Bar 2 (f. 1)	<i>Psaltarium</i>
A Bar 2 (ff. 1v–74v)	<i>Guðmundar saga biskups</i>
A Bar 2 (ff. 1v–84r)	<i>Jónsbók</i> , <i>Járnsíða</i> , <i>Kristinréttir Árna biskups</i> , <i>Grágás</i>
A Bar 2 (ff. 1r–7v)	<i>Ártiðaskrá Vestfirðinga</i>
A Bar 2 (ff. 1r–109v)	<i>Sturlunga saga</i>

in West Iceland. In addition, Liepe also named the group the ‘Ártiðaskrá Vestfirðinga group’, according to related obituaries in two of the codices of the group.<sup>24</sup> Prior to Liepe, Stefán Karlsson pointed to the broader district of Barðastrandarsýsla as the original location for the production of the eleven manuscripts and fragments.<sup>25</sup> Stefán’s suggested provenance for the second group will be adopted here. The Barðastrandarsýsla group was written by five hands between c. 1300 to 1370.

Lena Liepe made a detailed art historical study of this group and concluded that the pen-flourishing of most of the illuminated manuscripts in this group are the work of a single illuminator (A Bar 2). The large,

<sup>24</sup> Lena Liepe, *Studies*, 240.

<sup>25</sup> Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Guðmundar sögur*, xli.

ornamented initials and figural paintings stem from the same workshop, she suggests, but were possibly executed by different artists.<sup>26</sup> A similar situation applies to NRA 78, though here in relation to a scribe rather than an illuminator. As mentioned above, the text of NRA 78 was written by H Kri 5, a hand closely related to the main scribe of the previously discussed Kringla group (H Kri 1). However, the large initial in the fragment closely refers to the book painting of one of the earlier manuscripts of the Barðastrandarsýsla group, the *Heimskringla* codex AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus) (see figs. 7–8). The two initials share a similar use of colours, related form and colour with regard to the embellished letter itself, and finally, closely related red palmette filling of the initial. The initial is clearly related to the thick spiralling leafy terminals and red shoots typical of the Barðastrandarsýsla group, as described by Liepe.<sup>27</sup> The slightly larger form of the initial in NRA 78 might not be due to the earlier date, but rather to the different textual content: the text in the fragment (*Mariu saga*) might have been considered to be more important than the start of *Magnúss saga berfatts* in AM 45 fol. Otherwise, the close stylistic links between the two initials signal the presence of the same illuminator, A Bar 1.

The style of the initial in AM 45 fol. is specific to this group and does not appear again in any of the initials made by A Kri 1 in the Kringla group. Although the style of A Kri 1 in the first section of AM 334 fol. exhibits a similarly restricted use of colour patterns with related carved ornament fillings and a shared use of thick spiralling symmetric and enroled acanthus terminals (fig. 4, fig. 8), other major initials painted by A Kri 1 in the Kringla group show no stylistic similarities with the Barðastrandarsýsla group. The limited artistic contact between these two groups was possibly due to the time that passed between the production of manuscripts in the first group and those in the second, around thirty years. The limited contact is also evident in the fact that despite the textual redaction of Lbs fragm 82 in the Kringla group appearing to belong to the same recension as the textual exemplar used for AM 45 fol., they are not copies of the same textual model. Rather, they point towards a similar, now-lost archetype

26 Lena Liepe, *Studies*, 235–38. Apart from AM 241 a I fol., which features an illuminated Hours of the Passion, and Add. 1 fol. (*Ártiðaskrá Vestfirðinga*), which includes a miniature of the Calvary group, none of the manuscripts features any historiated content.

27 Lena Liepe, *Studies*, 235–38.

of the same saga text.<sup>28</sup> Since the two texts are not directly related, and because the Kringla and Barðastrandarsýsla groups share artistic relations which might well be based on sharing of (ornamental) model books only, it can be concluded that these two groups are not closely related, with the exception of NRA 78. At the same time, due to the different approaches with regard to the poly-textual contents and the book painting of GKS 1157 fol. and AM 334 fol., the Kringla group might have not been the product of a closed scriptorium. It seems plausible, rather, to see these two major manuscripts, at least, as the product of an open workshop, where different craftsmen contributed at different stages of the manuscript production.<sup>29</sup> On this basis, if NRA 78 is taken as part of the group, it is possibly the best example for this working practice.

The location of the two scriptoria during the thirteenth and early fourteenth century remains an open question. The earliest provenance of AM 334 fol. cannot suggest a workshop in Húnavatnssýsla. As is well known, in the thirteenth century, this area was home to the established Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar, which is known to have produced a large number of manuscripts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> Of the illuminated manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, none shows close stylistic connections to the illuminations found in the Kringla and Barðastrandarsýsla groups.

In contrast, both the Kringla and Barðastrandarsýsla groups share a number of artistic, textual and even personal connections with the house of canons regular of Helgafell in western Iceland. Helgafell is known to have been a hub of book culture from at least the late thirteenth century, and a large number of vernacular manuscripts were produced there in the

28 Bjarni Aðalsteinsson, Introduction to *Heimskringla* III (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1951), xciii–xciv.

29 For a related scenario in fourteenth-century western Iceland, see Lena Liepe, *Studies*, 133–138, with further references.

30 For the Þingeyrar manuscripts of the thirteenth century, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “Voru scriptoria í íslenskum klaustrum?” *Íslensk klausturmenning á miðöldum*, ed. Haraldur Bernharðsson (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2016), 178; for the Þingeyrar manuscripts from the fourteenth century, see Alfred Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga: Til spørsmålet om sagaens norske proveniens* (Bergen and Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1964); Jakob Benediktsson, Introduction to *Catilina and Jugurtha*; Karl G. Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus: Skriftræditiön och avskriftsverksamhet vid ett isländskt scriptorium under 1300-tallet* (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1997); Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, “Handrita-lýsingar.”

fourteenth century. These include the iconic *Jónsbók* codex AM 350 fol. known as Skarðsbók, and the large *Postula sögur* manuscript SÁM 1 Codex Scardensis.<sup>31</sup> The latter, produced in *c.* 1350–75,<sup>32</sup> features a large initial (at f. 40v) which shares close stylistic similarities with an initial in AM 45 fol. (at f. 41v, see figs. 9–10).<sup>33</sup> The marginally different use of colours and slight variation in the ornamental forms, likely owing to a time gap of some fifty years between the execution of the book painting in the two manuscripts, indicate that the two codices are clearly the work of different artists.

A text preserved in two manuscripts of the Kringla group, however, is also found in one of the Helgafell manuscripts: the law code AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók) from *c.* 1350–80.<sup>34</sup> The text is the *Kristinréttir hinn forni*, a section of *Grágás* with additional tithe laws, which is closely related to the respective section in the two *Grágás* manuscripts from the Kringla group.<sup>35</sup> This textual link, however, remains the only connection between the two groups. Otherwise, the younger Barðastrandarsýsla group is more closely related to Helgafell. For example, besides H Bar 2, one of the two main manuscripts from the Barðastrandarsýsla group, the *Sturlunga saga* codex AM 122 a fol. (Króksfjarðarbók) features a hand (H Hel 1) which is known to have also written several sections of one Helgafell manuscript, the Helgafell-related *Heilagra manna sögur* codex Holm perg 5 fol., produced in *c.* 1350–65 and contemporaneous with Króksfjarðarbók.<sup>36</sup> Stefán Karlsson has suggested the broader Breiðafjörður area as the site

31 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar* (Reykjavík, Bókaútgáfa Menningarsjóðs, 1966); Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops: Fragments of Eight Manuscripts* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1967), 46. For the history of the monastery at Helgafell see Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell. Saga höfuðbólís og klausturs* (Reykjavík: Snæfellingaútgáfan, 1967), 56–160, and Sverrir Jakobsson, “Frá Helgafellsklastri til Stapaumboðs,” *Íslensk klausturmenning á miðöldum*, ed. Haraldur Bernharðsson (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2016), 83–102.

32 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, 18.

33 Lena Liepe, *Studies*, 233.

34 For the dating of AM 347 fol., see Stefán Karlsson, “Lovskriver i to lande: Codex Hardenbergianus og Codex Belgsdalenensis,” *Festskrift til Alfred Jakobsen*, ed. Jan Ragnar Hagland (Trondheim: Tapir Forlag, 1987), 167, 179.

35 Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, *Af fornum lögum og sögum. Fjórar ritgerðir um forníslenska sögu* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2011), 72.

36 Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 46.

of production for Króksfjarðarbók,<sup>37</sup> and this would indeed explain the observed sharing of scribes between the two workshops. Furthermore, the oldest known manuscript produced at Helgafell, a thirteenth-century obituary named Membr. Res. 6 (Helgafellsártíðaskrá), is known to have been used for parts of the *Ævi Guðmundar biskups* in AM 399 fol. (Codex Resenianus) from the Barðastrandarsýsla group.<sup>38</sup>

It is thus possible that textual, scribal and artistic contact between the Barðastrandarsýsla and Helgafell groups existed during the fourteenth century. As for another manuscript from the Barðastrandarsýsla group, the theological handbook AM 671 4to, it has been suggested that it was possibly already in the possession of the convent at Helgafell soon after its completion.<sup>39</sup> The strictly ecclesiastical content and a number of translated glosses on f. 5r indeed suggest not only a monastic site of use but also an interest in educational activities.<sup>40</sup> However, AM 671 4to was possibly not written at Helgafell, since no hand in it has been recognised so far as originating from that house of canons regular. As is well known, the monastery at Helgafell faced the same fjord as Barðastrandarsýsla, from the south. On the basis of geography, it could therefore be assumed that the Barðastrandarsýsla group had close contact with Helgafell.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, however, distant links to the Kringla group are also evident, as Figure 11 shows.

According to the suggestions made above concerning the links between the Barðastrandarsýsla manuscript group and Helgafell, artistic contact through sharing of model books existed in c. 1300–75, since the image in the Helgafell manuscript SÁM 1 at f. 40v is related to an initial in the Barðastrandarsýsla codex AM 45 fol., which was produced in

37 Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Guðmundar sögur*, xliii.

38 Stefán Karlsson, Introduction to *Guðmundar sögur*, xxiii; See also Lars Lönnroth, “Styrmir’s Hand in the Obituary of Viðey?” *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 1 (1967): 85–100.

39 Jón Helgason, “Íslandske bryllupstaler og forskrifter fra 16. og 17. årh.,” *Opuscula* III (1967): 1.

40 Fabrizio Raschella, “Glossography,” *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1993), 230. It must be noted, however, that only very limited research has been dedicated to AM 671 4to to date. Among other areas of neglect, not all hands of the manuscript have been studied.

41 For the social and economic relations of Helgafell with the Breiðafjörður area in the fourteenth century, see Sverrir Jakobsson, *Saga Breiðfirðinga I. Fólk og rými frá landnámi til plágunnar miklu* (Reykjavík: Sagnfræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2015), 212–230.

c. 1300–25. In 1340, the text of AM 671 4to was apparently completed, and it was possibly transferred to Helgafell directly afterwards.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, the obituary Membr. Res. 6 (Helgafellsártíðaskrá) from Helgafell was used as an exemplar for AM 399 4to (Codex Resenianus) from the Barðastrandarsýsla group, and two scribes from the two groups collaborated on AM 122 a fol. (Króksfjarðarbók) some ten years later.

It is tempting to believe, though unverifiable, that the style of the two illuminators of the Kringla group also originated from the Breiðafjörður area, or even the convent of Helgafell. Evidence for a scriptorium at Helgafell in the thirteenth century exists in the form of the aforementioned Helgafellsártíðaskrá. Nothing links this manuscript with the Kringla group, however, as the obituary features no illuminations. At the same time, no indication exists to suggest that the scribes of the Kringla group collaborated with other workshops until H Kri 5, the potentially fifth scribe of that group, wrote NRA 78, and collaborated with A Bar 1, a main illuminator of the Barðastrandarsýsla group, which may have not happened before the turn of the fourteenth century. As there was no direct sharing of ornamental models between the main illuminator of the Kringla group, A Kri 1, and A Bar 1, the main artist of the Barðastrandarsýsla group, it is highly unlikely that both workshops were situated at the same site. However, the collaboration between the two workshops as exemplified in NRA 78 might indicate a provenance of the Kringla group similar to the Barðastrandarsýsla group: western Iceland. Accordingly, on the basis of geographical location, texts such as *Kristinréttir hinn forni* found in the two *Grágás* manuscripts GKS 1157 fol. and AM 334 fol. from the Kringla group might have come to Helgafell.

Most of the manuscripts of the Kringla and Barðastrandarsýsla groups were likely produced for secular clients, since the textual contents of the

42 Soon after completion in c. 1340, AM 671 4to was bound by Snorri Andrésón, a wealthy farmer from Bjarnarhöfn near Helgafell on Snæfellsnes. In exchange for land that he sold to Helgafell, Snorri became a *próventumaðr* of the house of canons regular in the 1360s, possibly until his death in 1380. He was probably involved with book production at that site soon after. On Snorri Andrésón, AM 671 4to and Helgafell, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “Voru scriptoria í íslenskum klaustrum,” 184–89, with further references. On the sale and purchase of land by Snorri Andrésón and Helgafell, see *Diplomatarium Islandicum* III, 144–45 and 313–14.

various codices and fragments indicate such a use.<sup>43</sup> Not one of these clients, however, is known by name, and little information survives as to where these manuscripts were used in later times. This also appears to be the same case with the scribes and illuminators of the two groups, none of whom is known by name. Jonna Louis-Jensen has suggested that most of the illuminated manuscripts of the Barðastrandarsýsla group were illuminated by the Icelandic artist Þórarinn penturr Eiríksson, who was active as a painter (as his name suggests) and scribe in Iceland and Norway during the 1340s.<sup>44</sup> However, none of the illuminations in the Barðastrandarsýsla group can be ascribed to him with certainty.<sup>45</sup> It also seems unlikely that the particular style of illumination of the Barðastrandarsýsla group was imported from Norway, since a comparable style is unknown from illuminated Norwegian manuscripts and fragments from that time.<sup>46</sup> The scribal and artistic activity of the Kringla and Barðastrandarsýsla groups thus remains first and foremost Icelandic.

In conclusion, the discussed artistic and personal contacts in the two manuscript groups from the Kringla and Barðastrandarsýsla is likely explained through the practice of labour exchange in the rural society of medieval Iceland. This labour was carried out by numerous people involved

43 Manuscripts ordered by secular clients in medieval Iceland contain a variety of medieval Icelandic literary texts. Examples from the fourteenth century are the kings' saga compendium GKS 1005 fol. (*Flateyjarbók*) and the *Postula sögur* manuscript SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis) mentioned above. For the clients of these manuscripts, see Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók: Iceland and the Norwegian Dynastic Crisis of 1389* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark), 1–14, and Desmond Slay, Introduction to *Codex Scardensis* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger), 11–13.

44 Jonna Louis-Jensen, "Vatnsfjörður," 332–34, with further references therein.

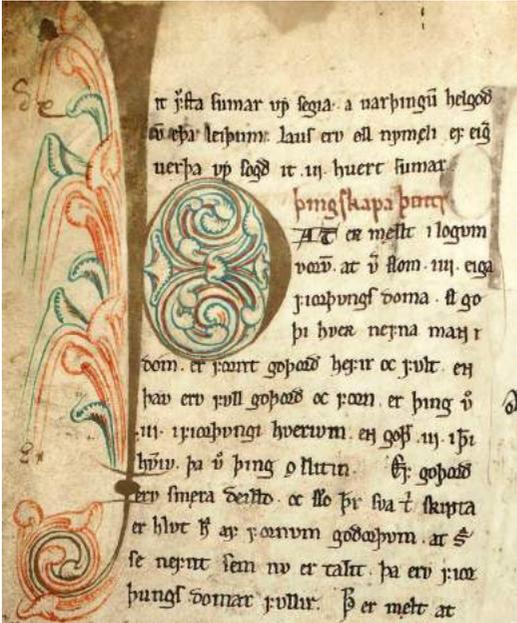
45 Lena Liepe, *Studies*, 130.

46 It should be noted, however, that an interest in exporting manuscripts to Norway existed in Iceland at the turn of the fourteenth century, since both AM 45 fol. and NRA 78 were most likely transferred to Bergen soon after their completion. Other contemporaneously produced and exported manuscripts from Iceland, such as an illuminated fragment from the *Heimskringla* manuscript NRA 55 A (Jöfraskinna) from c. 1300–25, also feature palmette embellishments, but the ornamentation in the fragment is too generic to see them as products of a similar workshop to those which produced AM 45 fol. and NRA 78. In addition, the textual redaction of *Heimskringla* in Jöfraskinna also does not correlate with either that of the Kringla manuscripts or of AM 45 fol., as discussed by Bjarni Aðalsteinsson, Introduction to *Heimskringla* III, xviii–xvii. It can thus be assumed that the book painting of exported manuscripts was to some extent related to the different redactions of the text they feature, and was possibly executed at the same workshop.

in the different stages of manuscript production. As for the workshops where the Kringla and Barðarstrandarsýsla manuscripts were produced, many questions remain, for example with regard to their staff and common style of illumination. Analysis of NRA 78 suggests that it was produced in Barðastrandarsýsla and that at that time contact between these two workshops existed. The same applies to the *Sturlunga saga* codex Króksfjarðarbók mentioned above, which was also written by scribes from the Helgafell and Barðastrandarsýsla groups. While the Kringla group seems to have provided work for two illuminators who only contributed to manuscripts belonging to the group, the main scribe appears to have been in the service of a number of clients, who, in turn, were in contact with further artists. This practice is only related to the work of major artists, since minor initials in the manuscripts of the Kringla group seem to have been illuminated by the main scribe himself (H Kri 1; A Kri 2) in the last decades of the thirteenth century: they correspond quite closely either with sections written by the same person, or with his scribal environment. In c. 1271–1300, this scribal surrounding also included the artist A Kri 1 who was responsible for several main initials in manuscripts of the Kringla group. A similar situation appears in the Barðastrandarsýsla group, where almost all of the minor initials in the whole group were painted by one illuminator (A Ber 2). As with the artist who contributed the elaborated main initials in the Kringla group (A Kri 1), it was a single illuminator who contributed main initials to a manuscript such as AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus) and the fragment NRA 78 (A Ber 1). Such illuminators, however appear only in the latest stages of manuscript production, and are thus less prominent in the earlier stages of the writing of the codices we today consider to be some of the most stunning productions of medieval Icelandic book culture.



**Figure 1:** GKS 1157 fol.  
(*Konungsbók Grágásar*),  
f. 1r: Grágás. 1250.  
Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna  
Magnússonar í íslenskum  
fræðum.  
Image: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



**Figure 2:** GKS 1157 fol.  
(*Konungsbók Grágásar*), f.  
9v: Grágás. 1250. Reykjavík,  
Stofnun Árna Magnússonar  
í íslenskum fræðum.  
Image: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

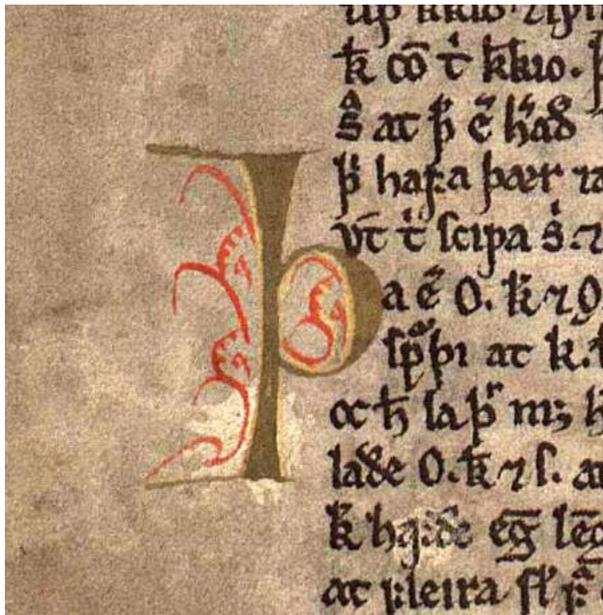


Figure 3: *Lbs fragm 82*  
(*Kringla*), f. 1v: *Óláfs saga*  
*helga*. 1258–64. Reykjavík,  
Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í  
islenskum fræðum.  
Image: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



Figure 4: *AM 334 fol.*  
(*Staðarhólsbók Grágásar*),  
f. 37r: *Grágás*. 1260–70.  
Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna  
Magnússonar í islenskum  
fræðum.  
Image: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



Figure 5: AM 334 fol. (*Staðarhólsbók Grágásar*), f. 95v: *Járnsíða*. 1271–81. Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Image: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

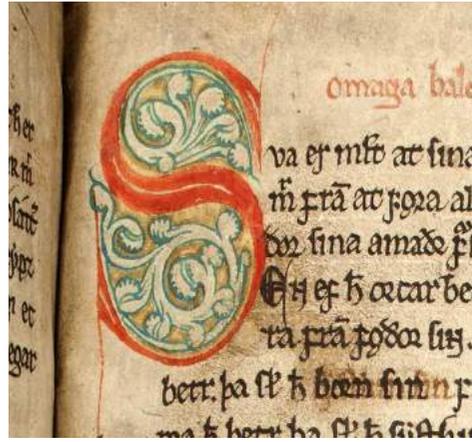


Figure 6: GKS 1157 fol. (*Konungsbók Grágásar*), f. 50r: *Grágás*. 1250. Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Image: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



Figure 7: NRA 78, f. 2r: *Mariu saga*. 1300. Oslo, Riksarkivet. Image: Riksarkivet.



Figure 8: AM 45 fol. (*Codex Frisianus*), f. 56v: *Magnúss saga berfatts*. 1300–25. Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling. Image: Susanne Reitz.



Figure 9: SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 40v: *Tveggja postula saga Jóhannis ok Jakobi*. 1350–75. Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Image: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



Figure 10: AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus), f. 41v: *Haralds saga harðraða*. 1300–1325. Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling. Image: Susanne Reitz.

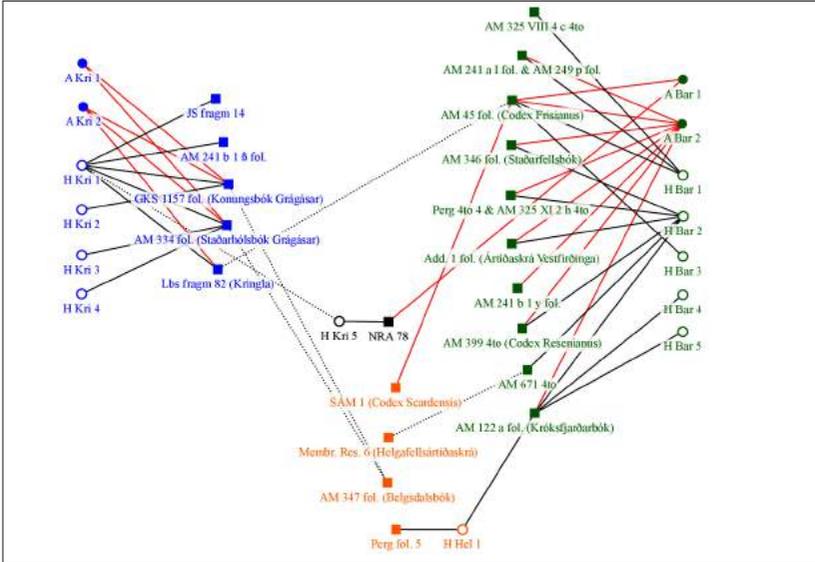


Figure 11: Textual (dotted), artistic (red) and personal (black) relations between the Kringla (blue) and Barðastrandarsýsla (green) manuscripts and related Helgafell codices (orange). Created with the programme NodeXL Basic from the Social Media Research Foundation (<http://www.smrfoundation.org>).

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 AM 350 fol. (*Skarðsbók Jónsbókar*)  
 AM 673 a I 4to  
 AM 673 a II 4to  
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- JS fragm 14  
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*Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Institut for Nordiske Studier og Sprogvidenskab, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen*

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
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## SUMMARY

Illuminated manuscript production in western Iceland in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries

**Keywords:** Icelandic book painting, manuscript production, medieval Icelandic literature, *Heimskringla*, Helgafell, Barðastrandarsýsla

This article is concerned with a number of illuminated Icelandic manuscripts and fragments from the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century which have been grouped around the oldest *Heimskringla* fragment, Lbs fragm 82 (Kringla). The overall aim is to show the importance of individual contributions made by a number of scribes and illuminators at different stages of the production of these manuscripts, and to consider ways in which production units that comprise the manuscripts are related to a possible change of working environments. The first part of the article surveys the philological and art historical relationships between the fragments and manuscripts in Kringla group itself, and is followed by discussion of the historical circumstances of a previously unallocated manuscript group, the Barðastrandarsýsla group. The second part of the article looks at how the Barðastrandarsýsla group is related to a slightly younger western Icelandic manuscript group from the early fourteenth century, the Helgafell group. The final

part of the article discusses how these connections might have come into being, and how they changed over a time span of more than hundred years of medieval Icelandic manuscript production.

### ÁGRIP

Myndskreyting handrita á vestanverðu Íslandi á 13. öld og í upphafi 14. aldar

**Lykilorð:** íslenskar handritamyndir, handritagerð, íslenskar miðaldabókmenntir, Heimskringla, Helgafell, Barðastrandarsýsla

Í greininni er fjallað um mörg myndskreytt íslensk handrit og handritabrot frá þrettánda öld og upphafi þeirrar fjórtánda, sem hafa verið tengd elsta broti Heimskringlu, Lbs fragm 82 (Kringla). Markmiðið er að sýna fram á mikilvægi einstakra skrifara og myndskreyta á mismunandi stigum handritaframleiðslunnar og hugleiða hvernig mismunandi einingar handritanna geta tengst mismunandi aðstæðum hverju sinni. Í fyrsta hluta greinarinnar er litið á textafræðilegt og sögulegt samband milli brota og handrita í Kringluhópnum sjálfum, en síðan er fjallað um skrifarahóp sem áður var óstaðsettur, en hefur verið kenndur við Barðastrandarsýslu. Í öðrum hluta greinarinnar er sagt frá hvernig Barðastrandarsýsluhópurinn tengist aðeins yngri skrifarahópi, eða hópi skrifara á Helgafelli í byrjun fjórtánda aldar. Að lokum er rætt um hvernig tengslunum milli þessara hópa er háttað og hvernig þau hafa breyst á meira en hundrað ára tímabili handritagerðar á Íslandi.

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