

GRIPLA

*Ráðgjafar*

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# GRIPPLA

RITSTJÓRAR

EMILY LETHBRIDGE

OG

ÚLFAR BRAGASON

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## EFNI

### RITRÝNT EFNI

Shaun F. D. Hughes: Halldór Jakobsson on Truth and Fiction in the Sagas (1789)	7
Emily Lethbridge: The Icelandic Sagas and Saga Landscapes – Writing, Reading and Retelling <i>Íslendingasögur</i> Narratives	51
Elisabeth I. Ward: Completing <i>Pórðar saga hreðu</i> – A Regional Saga in Disguise	93
Gunnar Harðarson: Hauksbók og alfræðirit miðalda	127
Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir: Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum á 15. öld	157
Astrid Marner: Forgotten Preaching – A Latin Sermon on Saint Þorlákr in Uppsala UB C 301	235
Stephen Pelle: An Old Norse Homily and Two Homiletic Fragments from AM 624 4to	263

### ANNAÐ EFNI

Beeke Stegmann, Gottskálk Jensson, Natasha Fazlic and Alex Speed Kjeldsen: A Recently-Discovered Fragment Preserving Text of Early Thirteenth-Century Norwegian Charters	283
Carol J. Clover: Same Frame – Sagas and Movies Speech Delivered on the Occasion of Professor Clover’s Acceptance of an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Iceland, 2nd October 2015	297
Handrit	315



SHAUN F. D. HUGHES

HALLDÓR JAKOBSSON  
ON TRUTH AND FICTION IN THE SAGAS  
(1789)<sup>1</sup>

1. Introduction

MS ICEL. 32 in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is a paper manuscript completed in 1789 in the hand of Halldór Jakobsson (1734<sup>2</sup>–1810), at that time *sýslumaður* in Strandasýsla.<sup>3</sup>

1 I would like to thank Dr Werner Schäfke and his students from the Skandinavischen Seminar at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg im Breisgau, for bringing to my attention the many mistakes in an earlier transcription of Halldór's "Formáli." Thanks also to Dr William Stoneman, Curator of Early Books and Manuscripts at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, for authorizing the production of new colour photographs of the "Formáli" to MS Icel. 32 upon which the transcription in this article is based. Thanks are also due to the two anonymous readers for *Gripla* who went through text, transcription and translation with a fine tooth comb. I benefited greatly from their attentive readings and I trust that they will be pleased with the resulting version. All remaining errors are of course my own responsibility.

2 Halldór lists the date of his birth as 1734 in the fragment of his autobiography in Lbs 519 4to. Only three chapters of this work covering his childhood, his education until 1757 and his appointment as *sýslumaður* in Strandasýsla were completed. See Sjöfn Kristjánsdóttir, "Af Halldóri Jakobsyni", in *Grimsævintýri sögð Grimi M. Helgasyni sextugum 2. September 1987*, ed. Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, 2 vols. (Reykjavík: [Menningar- og Minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen], 1987), 2: 32–38 at pp. 33–37. However, his birthdate is given as 1735 in Páll Eggert Ólason and Jón Guðnason, eds., *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstínum til arsloka 1940 [1965]*, 6 vols. (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmennatafélag, 1948–1976), 2: 257.

3 The MS is 321 leaves, 19.9 x 15.6 cm ("quarto"). Blank: 1<sup>v</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>, 253<sup>v</sup>. Several worn-out pages have been replaced by text in another hand. The sagas contained in the manuscript are the *riddarasaga Sigurðar saga böglar*, the *fornaldarsögur Völsunga saga* (along with *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* and the *Páttur af Ragnars sonum*), *Áns saga bogsvígis*, *Piðreks saga af Bern*, *Egil's saga einhenda* og *Ásmundar berserkjabana*, *Pjalar-Jóns saga Svípdagssonar* and the modern fairy-story, *Söguþáttur af Rósanía*. For a detailed description of the contents and how the manuscript came to be in the possession of Konrad Maurer (1823–1902), Professor of Law at the University of Munich, see Shaun F. D. Hughes, "The Fortunes of a *Fornaldarsaga* Manuscript," in *The Legendary Legacy: Transmission and Reception of the Fornaldarsögur Nordurlanda*, ed. Matthew Driscoll (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, forthcoming 2017).

The manuscript contains seven sagas, for the most part *fornaldarsögur*, but what is particularly interesting is that Halldór has prefaced the work with a five page preface (2<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>) or *Formáli* which addresses the problem of to what extent can the texts he has collected be considered as reliable historical documents since all except one of them identify themselves as a *saga*, that is, a history.<sup>4</sup> In this *Formáli* Halldór states that he has written the manuscript in his spare time for people's amusement and pleasure. He is not himself opposed to *riddarasögur* or *fornaldarsögur* and was in fact responsible for writing and publishing one such saga and bringing another one into print for the first time.<sup>5</sup> What concerns him then are not the stories, but rather that their contents might be misinterpreted as being true, that is, being history. To this end he attempts a taxonomy of saga-texts based on what he perceives as the degree to which the content presented is historically accurate or not. The stories he has included in his manuscript are old, although he avoids tackling the issue of dating (a contentious one over which there is scarcely more agreement now than there was in the eighteenth century) and he classifies them into three groups. First there are those composed by the learned for pleasure or stories translated from foreign languages. These are fiction. Then there those that are partly true but which have become hopelessly mixed up with fables and fairy-tales so that it is impossible to know what is true and what is not. Nor are the events mentioned corroborated by Latin chronicles and other reliable sources. Thirdly, there are those which are for the most part true. The events are corroborated in the chronicles although here and there fantastic elements have been admitted in to the narratives. The sagas included in these three groups

4 The one exception is the story of Rósanía, a translation via Danish of “Ricdin-Ricdon, Conte” and “Suite du Conte de Ricdin-Ricdon,” from Marie-Jeanne Lhéritier de Villandon (1664–1734), *La Tour Ténébreuse: Et Les Jours Lumineux, Contes Anglois, Accompagné d’Historiettes et tires d’une ancienne Chronique composée par Richard surnommé Coeur de Lion, Roy d’Angleterre. Avec le Récit de diverses Avantures de ce Roy* (Paris: Veuve de Claude Barbin, 1705), 44–143 and 144–230. This is identified as a *sögupáttur* (historical narrative or episode) but this may be more a comment on its length than its historicity.

5 *Ármanns saga* (Hrappsey, n.p., 1782), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Akureyri: Hallgrímur Þorsteinsson, 1858), 3<sup>rd</sup> ed: Guðni Jónsson, ed., *Íslendinga sögur*, 13 vols. (Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, 1953), 12: 415–68. In his introduction to the saga Guðni says: “Almennt er talið að Halldór sýslumaður Jakobsson ... sé höfundur sögunnar” (It is the common opinion that Halldór sýslumaður Jakobsson is the author of the saga), Guðni Jónsson, *Íslendinga sögur*, 12: xiii–xiv. The other saga is *Sagan af Gaungu-Hrólfí sem inntók Nordmandið* (Leirárgarðir við Leirá: Magnús Móberg, 1804), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Reykjavík: Einar Pórðarson, 1884).

are what we would call *riddarasögur* and *fornaldarsögur*, with the more fantastic of the latter such as *Örvar-Odds saga* or *Egils saga einhenda* belonging to group two, and the more sober such as *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* or *Áns saga bogsveigis* belonging to group three. He then turns to a general consideration of the *Íslendingasögur*, *samtíðarsögur*, and *konungasögur* and finds them all to be clearly members of group three. Next he briefly classifies the sagas according to where they take place without going into any detail, following this with a list of all those sagas referred to in reliable texts that have not survived down to the present. He then returns to his previous subject and says that it is a desideratum that the sagas be classified according to their date of composition and their truthfulness, challenging scholars, especially those in Copenhagen, with their unrivaled access to manuscripts and other resources, to make an such an inventory of all the sagas in Icelandic. This is probably a dig at his friend Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík (1705–1769) with whom Halldór had been in frequent contact during his stay in Copenhagen in the winter of 1764–1765.<sup>6</sup> He then he returns to evaluating the truthfulness of *Áns saga bogsveigis* and it cannot be said that the discussion comes to any conclusion, because at this point it just breaks off.

## 2. History and Fiction in Written Texts

The tension between fiction and history is hardly a recent phenomenon.<sup>7</sup> It was a matter which exercised the ancients as they tried to separate out *historia* from *fabula* and to determine whether or not the Homeric epics

6 See Jón Helgason, *Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík*, Safn fræðafjelagsins um Ísland og Íslendinga 5 (Copenhagen: S. L. Möller, 1926), 49. Halldór implies that Copenhagen is the obvious place where this kind of research into the sagas should be taking place, except that it is not. Jón Ólafsson had the potential to accomplish a great deal and indeed he began many projects. However, he found it impossible in almost every case to bring any of his work to a close.

7 For the purposes of this paper the following working definition of “history” and of “fiction” is relevant: “History is a narrative discourse with different rules than those that govern fiction. The producer of a historical text affirms that the events entextualized did indeed occur prior to the entextualization. Thus it is quite proper to bring extratextual information to bear on those events when interpreting and evaluating an historical narrative. ... It is certainly otherwise with fiction, for in fiction the events may be said to be created by and with the text. They have no prior temporal existence, even if they are presented as if they did.” Robert Scholes, “Language, Narrative, and Anti-Narrative,” in *On Narrative*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 200–08 at 207.

were true.<sup>8</sup> But the problem was given a new urgency after the supremacy of Christianity. This new religion placed great emphasis on the historicity and the truthfulness of the foundational texts on which it was based, in particular the narratives recounted in the New Testament. While the ancients had equivocated over whether a text could accurately represent history and recognized the fact that texts could contain various mixtures of historicity and fictionality, the Christian tradition was adamant that a completely reliable truthful history was possible and that the Scriptures were the living embodiment of this principle. What then about secular histories? Were they also capable of achieving this absolute standard of historicity? As a result the term “history” became a contested category and debates over the extent to which it is or is not capable of expressing truth have continued down to the present.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, I have not found any evidence that “History” in Iceland in the eighteenth century was as contested in this way as it was in Great Britain. Furthermore there can hardly be said to have been a great deal of reflection in Icelandic intellectual circles at the time over what “history” actually was.

In his *Íslendingabók*, written some time around 1130, Ari fróði Þorgils-son notes: “En hvatki es missagt es i frœðum þessum, þá es skyld að hafa þat heldr er sannara reynisk.”<sup>10</sup> This suggests a certain scrupulousness

8 See Ruth Scodel, *Credible Impossibilities: Conventions and Strategies of Verisimilitude in Homer and Greek Tragedy*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 122 (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1999), 1–31, and the essays in Panagiotis A. Agapitos and Lars Boje Mortensen, eds. *Medieval Narratives between History and Fiction: From the Centre to the Periphery of Europe, c. 1100–1400* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2012).

9 See further Peter G. Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula: Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 59 (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

10 Ari Þorgilsson, “Íslendingabók,” *Íslendingabók, Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 2 vols., Íslenzk fornrit 1 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1968), 1–28 at 4 [‘And what-ever is incorrectly stated in this work, one should rather take that which is proven to be the more true’]. There has been considerable discussion over the boundaries of “truth” and “fiction” in medieval literature among which see: Laura Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 68 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Jeanette M. A. Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages*, Études de philologie et d'histoire 38 (Geneva: Droz, 1981); D. H. Green, *The Beginnings of European Romance: Fact and Fiction 1150–1220*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 47 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Päivi Mehtonen, *Old Concepts and New Poetics: Historia, Argumentum and Fabula in the Twelfth- and Early*

with sources – and in fact Ari goes out of his way to identify the oral sources of his information when needed. In this he differs significantly from predecessors such as the Venerable Bede, who in the introduction to his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* blamed any errors not on himself but on the sources he was using.<sup>11</sup> Ari leaves it up to the reader to decide what is true and what is not, and this approach was to characterize Icelandic approaches to “saga” for many centuries afterwards.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. History out of Fiction

During the seventeenth century the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden<sup>13</sup> began to expand in terms of territory, wealth, power and prestige. Whenever such a phenomenon occurs, new histories need to be written,

*Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetics of Fiction*, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 108 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1996); Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Monika Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977). While “truth” and “fiction” are constant themes in the essays collected in Walter Haug, *Die Wahrheit der Fiktion: Studien zur weltlichen und geistlichen Literatur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), no single essay directly addresses these topics.

<sup>11</sup> Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, eds., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 6–7. Jakob Benediktsson, in the Introduction to his edition of *Íslendingabók*, discusses the possibility that Ari was influenced by Bede, and certainly both emphasize their reliance on named oral sources (xxii–xxiv). But Ari's attitude to truth claims is not the same as Bede's.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Lamarque and Stein Haugom Olsen, *Truth, Fiction, and Literature: A Philosophical Approach* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) argue that “history” and “fiction” are distinct categories. For fiction they present “a ‘no truth’ theory of literature,” arguing that “*inter alia* the concept of truth has no central or ineliminable role in critical practice” (1) and they argue against post-modern readings of history as a variety of fiction: “The historian does not create the past but only a verbal expression, an account of the past. Both activities [history and fiction] make demands on the human imagination and intelligence. But while fiction is construction, history is reconstruction ... The problem of the post-modern view of history is that it is without a concept of the past” (310). If post-modernists in line with their world-view read history and fiction as fiction, Icelandic audiences because of their world view read *saga* (almost always anonymous) whether history or fiction as history. Neither position is ultimately satisfactory.

<sup>13</sup> In 1523 Gustav Vasa (1496–1560) entered Stockholm, declaring himself King of Sweden and effectively ending the Kalmar Union.

especially foundational histories.<sup>14</sup> Both countries turned to Iceland and its historical treasures, in which they saw preserved the records of their ancient glory.<sup>15</sup> Manuscripts began to leave Iceland for Danish and Swedish libraries, and scholars followed them. *Fornaldarsögur*, particularly those dealing with Swedish history, began to appear in print.

Historians trying to write the early history of Scandinavia faced the same dilemma as their British counterparts did when having to deal with the problem of the “History of Britain” as found in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s twelfth-century *Historia Regum Britanniae*. As Robert Mayer demonstrates, the fact that doubts had been cast on the reliability of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s history from its initial appearance did not prevent narratives from the tradition being included as part of English history, disclaimers and all, until well into the eighteenth century, because not to use it would be to leave the early history of the country a blank.<sup>16</sup> If historians of early Scandinavia did not use sources such as the *fornaldarsögur*, then they too would be faced with having no material with which to address the period before the year 1000. This dilemma is clearly demonstrated in the *magnum opus* of the Danish Historiographer Royal, the Icelander Þormóður Torfason, his *Historia rerum Norvegicarum*. In this work, which appeared in 1711 in four volumes and which covered the history of Norway from its mythical beginnings until 1387,<sup>17</sup> Þormóður used every *fornaldar-*

<sup>14</sup> On the political use of the Icelandic sagas in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden, see Kay Busch, *Grossmachtstatus und Sagainterpretation - die schwedischen Vorzeitsagaeditionen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 1: Beschreibung, Unpublished Dissertation, Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Philosophische Fakultät II – Sprach-, und Literaturwissenschaften, 2002. For a revised electronic version which appeared in 2004, see <http://www.opus.ub.uni-erlangen.de/opus/volltexte/2004/51/index.html>

<sup>15</sup> When the medieval historian known as Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1140–c. 1220) composed his history of Denmark, the *Gesta Danorum*, he too relied upon Icelandic sources (“Præfatio,” I.6, *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, ed. J. Olrik and H. Ræder, 2 vols. [Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1931–1957], 1: 5; “Praefatio,” 1.4, Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum. The History of the Danes*, ed. Karsten Friis-Jensen, trans. Peter Fisher, 2 vols., Oxford Medieval Texts [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015], 1: 6–7).

<sup>16</sup> Robert Mayer, *History and the Early English Novel: Matters of Fact from Bacon to Defoe*, Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Thought 33 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 34–53.

<sup>17</sup> Þormóður Torfason. (Tormod Torfæus), *Historia rerum Norvegicarum in quatuor tomos divisa. In qua, præter Norvegiae descriptionem, Primordia gentis, instituta, mores, incrementa; & in primis Heroum ac Regum ...*, (Copenhagen: Joachim Schmitgen, 1711). See the complete translation into Norwegian: Tormod Torfæus, *Norges historie*, ed. Torgrim Titlestad, trans.

*saga* he could lay his hands on to flesh out the earlier section of his history before he could turn to more trusted sources like Snorri Sturluson.<sup>18</sup> His method was not so much to translate the sagas but recast them in a coherent narrative based on his own retelling of the sweep of Norwegian history. Therefore, *Örvar-Odds saga* appears in volume 1, Book 6,<sup>19</sup> while the account of Ketill *hængur*, Oddur's grandfather, is postponed to Book 7.<sup>20</sup>

Þormóður sees his responsibility to report what he finds in the manuscripts ("monumenta"), no matter how unlikely some events may appear to be, because even these events may hide a kernel of truth.

Qvæcunqve ergò ex fide dignis, aut saltim veri speciem habentibus,  
Antiquitatum monumentis in nostras manus pervenerunt, fideliter  
huc transtulimus: ne iis quidem exclusis, qvæ de primorum seculorum  
obscuria rebus vel confusè narrata sunt, vel fabulis propiora vid-  
eri forsitan poterant, modò ne apertè falsa aut fidem exsuperantia

Åslaug Ommundsen et al., 7 vols. (Bergen: Eide Forlag et al., 2008–2014). There has been considerable interest in Þormóður and his history in the last decade, and two volumes of conference papers devoted to the topic have been published: Aud Irene Jacobsen, et al., eds., *Den nordiske histories fader, Tormod Torfæus*, Karmøyseminaret 2002 (Karmøy/Avaldsnes: Karmøyseminaret, Karmøy kommune, 2004); Anine Kongshavn, ed., *Tormod Torfæus: Mellom Vinland og Ringenes Herre*, Karmøyseminaret 2004 (Karmøy/Avaldsnes: Karmøyseminaret, Karmøy kommune, 2006). See also, Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, "The First Post-Medieval History of Norway in Latin: The *Historia rerum Norvegicarum* (Copenhagen 1711) by Tormod Torfæus," in *Germania Latina, Latinitas Teutonica: Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur vom späten Mittelalters bis in unsere Zeit*, ed. E. Kessler and H. C. Kuhn, 2 vols. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2003) 2: 707–20. The standard biography of Þormóður, which first appeared in Copenhagen in 1788 and was written by Jón Eiríksson (1728–1787), has been re-issued: John Erichsen, *Tormod Torfæus: levnetsbeskrivelse*, ed. Oddvar Nes (Kvernavik: Saga Bok, 2009).

<sup>18</sup> This applies particularly to volume one which contains the deeds of people before the institution of the monarchy (Pars prima, *continens res gentis ante monarchiam institutam gestas*) and volume two which contains those things which are reported in Norway after the institution of the Monarchy up to the introduction of the Christian Religion (Pars secunda, *ea continens*, qvæ post Institutum in Norvegia Monarchiam ad Introductam eodem Christianam Religionam gesta sunt).

<sup>19</sup> Liber sextus continens vitas Örvar-Oddi, Bodvaris Biarkii, et Sörlii Robusti; Sectio prima: De Örvar-Oddo (1: 263–74). Vibeke Roggen, "Old Norse Saga versus Neo-Latin History Writing: Some Aspects of the Style in Torfæus' *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum* (1711)," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 55 (2006): 183–94, looks at how Þormóður used this late thirteenth-century *fornaldarsaga* and its fantastic narrative.

<sup>20</sup> Liber septimus continens vitas ... Ketillis Hængi et Anis Bogveigeris; Section tertia. Historia Ketillis Hængi (1: 315–23).

deprehenderentur: indicatâ tamen, sicubi de fide narrationum dubitatio oborta est, nostra opinione; ut Lectori ulteriùs in rei suspectæ veritatem inqvirendi occasio porrigeretur.<sup>21</sup>

Only on rare occasions does he intervene with comments on the unlikely nature or the incorrect reporting of a particular event. It is left up to the reader to be the final arbiter as to whether an event is credible or not, just as it was in the time of Ari Þorgilsson.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4. Icelandic Responses

In 1685 the bishop of Skálholt, Þórður Þorláksson (1637–1697), managed to get permission from the Danish king after the death of his brother Gísli (1631–1684), bishop of Hólar, to have the sole printing press in the country moved south from the northern see where it had been almost from the beginning of printing in Iceland. Þórður was a man very interested in science, agriculture and medicine, and he put these interests to good use while he was in charge of the press. In the twelve years of his custodianship, he published an average of five books a year compared to the average of two titles annually during the previous 85 years the press was at Hólar. In particular, Þórður seems to have been interested in producing small books which could be easily carried in a pocket or knapsack.<sup>23</sup> In a volume

<sup>21</sup> *Prolegomenon, Historia rerum Norvegicarum*, 1: G1<sup>r</sup>. “Whatsoever things therefore are appropriate through their verisimilitude or at least having the appearance of truth, to that extent we have faithfully transcribed the ancient monuments which have come into our hands: nor omitted anything from them, which with respect to obscure matters of the first centuries, either are confusedly narrated, or might seem to be perhaps closer to fables, unless manifestly a falsehood or a superior account has been encountered: however, if anywhere uncertainty with regard to verisimilitude has sprung up in the narrative, in our opinion, it is pointed out, so that the opportunity might be held out for the reader to inquire further into the truth with regards to the matter of suspicious nature.” See also *Norges Historie*, ed. Titlestad, 1: 69.

<sup>22</sup> See the passage from Þormóður’s “Prolegomenon” quoted in Lars Boje Mortensen, “Before Historical ‘Sources’ and Literary ‘Texts’: The Presentation of Saga Literature in Tormod Torfæus’ *Historia rerum Norvegicarum*,” *Renaissanceforum: Tidsskrift for Renæssanceforskning* 5 (2008), separate pagination, 1–14 at 7 [http://www.renaissanceforum.dk/5\\_2008/lbm.pdf](http://www.renaissanceforum.dk/5_2008/lbm.pdf) (accessed July 31, 2009). Mortensen also discusses Þormóður’s use of the family saga *Egil’s saga Skalla-Grimssonar* (Volume 2, Book 3: 151–214), “Before Historical ‘Sources’,” 5–7.

<sup>23</sup> Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir, “En að sá helgi stíl saurgist af sögum”: útgáfastarf Þórðar biskups

of essays dedicated to the intellectual life and pursuits of bishop Þórður, Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir examines in detail his work with the press. He went out of his way to obtain the king's permission to print the five historical titles that appeared between 1688–1690 and which were edited by him and Einar Eyjólfsson (c. 1641–1695), because he did not want to be accused of betraying the sacred purpose of the press by the printing of history on his own initiative.<sup>24</sup>

As early as 1589, Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson (1541/2–1627) excommunicated his flock for their love of narratives of "Trólla og Fornmanna" ['of trolls and of ancient heroes'].<sup>25</sup> Despite the hostility of Guðbrandur and the clerical elite whose position in this regard does not seem to have been in any way mollified during the seventeenth century, narratives about trolls and ancient heroes flourished in both prose and verse. But at least these stories were not committed to the permanency and prestige of print. When this did happen with the appearance of *Gautreks saga* and *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar* in 1664, edited by Olof Verelius (1618–1682), followed by *Bósa saga og Herrauðs* in 1666 and *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* in 1672,<sup>26</sup> it is

Þorlákssonar," in *Frumkvöðull vísinda og mennta: Þórður biskup Þorláksson biskup i Skálholti*, ed. Jón Pálsson (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 1998), 161–77 at 165.

<sup>24</sup> *Sagan Landnama um fyrstu bygging Islands af Nordmönnum* [ed. Einar Eyjólfsson] (Skálholt: [Hendrick] Kruse, 1688); *Schedæ Ara prestz frøda Vm Island*, [ed. Þórður Þorláksson] (Skálholt: Hendrick Kruse, 1688); *Christendoms saga Hliodande um þad hvornenn Christen Tru kom fyrsta Island* [ed. Þórður Þorláksson] (Skálholt: Hendrick Kruse, 1688); *Gronlandia Edur Grænlandz saga Vr Islandskum Sagna Bookum og Annalum samannteikin og a Latinskta maal Skrifud af ... Arngime Jonssine*, trans. Einar Eyjólfsson (Skálholt: Hendrick Kruse, 1688); *Sagan Pess Haloflega Herra Olafs Tryggvasonar Noregs kongs* [ed. Þórður Þorláksson] 2 vols. (Skálholt: Hendrick Kruse, 1689–1690).

<sup>25</sup> [Guðbrandur Þorláksson,] *Ein ny Psalma Bok, Med morgum andlegum Psalmum Kristilegum Lofsaungum og Vijsum, skickanlega til samans sett og Auken og endurbætt* (Hólar: n.p., 1589; Rpt. Reykjavík: Ólafur J. Hvanndal, 1948), [aa vi<sup>r</sup>]. To be sure, Guðbrandur is here specifically referring to rímur, but there is no indication that he or the clerical elite were more favourably disposed to such narratives in prose.

<sup>26</sup> *Gothrici et Rolfii Westrogothiae regum historia lingua antiqua Gothica conscripta [Gautreks saga and Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar]*, ed. Olof Verelius (Uppsala: Henricus Curio, 1664); *Herrauds och Bosa saga med en ny vttolkning iämpte Gambla Götskan. Hoc est Herravdi et Bosa historia cum nova interpretatione iuxta antiquum Textum Gothicum*, ed. Olof Verelius (Uppsala: Henricus Curio, 1666); *Hervarar saga på Gammal Götska*, ed. Olof Verelius (Uppsala: Henricus Curio, 1672). In these editions the Icelandic of the sagas is characterized as "ancient Gothic," i.e. "old Swedish." For a detailed analysis of these editions see Busch, *Grossmachtstatus und Sagainterpretation*, 35–49. She also has detailed discussions of the numerous other editions of Old Norse material published in Sweden in the seventeenth

possible to interpret Bishop Þórður's decision to print Old Norse historical texts as an attempt to counter the appearance of such titles overseas. If so, his venture was a failure, as his experiment in Icelandic printing history was not to be repeated so long as the printing press remained in ecclesiastical hands. The next historical text to be printed in Iceland would be an edition of the seventeenth-century annals (*Annálar*) of Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá (1574–1655), which appeared in 1774 from the privately-owned press that had been set up on Hrappsey in Breiðafjörður the year before (a work that proved so popular that it was reprinted the same year in a two-volume enlarged edition with a Latin translation).<sup>27</sup> Ironically, the next non-religious work to appear from the church-run press was to be a volume of fiction in 1756.<sup>28</sup>

The same impetus that motivated Þormóður to include *fornaldarsögur* in his *Historia rerum Norvegicarum* is also seen in *Nordiska kämpa dater*, the massive folio volume that Erik Julius Björner published in Stockholm in 1737, containing the stories of ancient Scandinavian heroes, particularly those with some connection with Sweden, and providing the Icelandic texts of fourteen *fornaldarsögur* with Swedish and Danish translations.<sup>29</sup> But just as Geoffrey of Monmouth was dismissed once and for all as a fabulist by

and eighteenth centuries not mentioned here. See also: Vilhelm Gödel, "Fornnorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige," *Antiquvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige* 16.4 (1898): 1–312.

27 Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá, *Annálar*, ed. Ólafur Olavius (Hrappsey: Guðmundur Ólafsson, 1774); *Annálar Björns a Skardsa. Sive Annales Biörnonis de Skardsa*, 2 vols. (Hrappsey: Guðmundur Ólafsson, 1774–1775).

28 *Pess Svenska Gustav Landkrons Og Pess Engelska Bertholds Faabreitileger Robinsons, Edur Lijfs Og Æfe Sögur*, trans. Þorsteinn Ketilsson (Hólar: Halldór Eiríksson, 1756). This narrative was first published in German in 1724 under the title: *Gustaf Landcron, eines schwedisches Edelmannes, merckwürdiges Leben und gefährliche Reisen. Auf welchen er als ein wahrhafter ROBINSON sich mit einer getauften Türckin bey 12. Jahren, in einer unbewohnten Insel wunderbar erhalten* (Frankfurt: C. F. v. M., 1724). Subsequently it was translated into Danish by Caspar Peter Rothe (1724–1784) as: *Den saa kaldede Svenske Robinson eller Gustav Landkrons, en svensk Herremands, forunderlige Livs- og selsomme Levnets-beskrivelse* (Copenhagen: J. C. Groth, 1743).

29 Erik Julius Björner, ed., *Nordiska kämpa dater, i en sagaflock samlade om forna kongar och hjälter ...* (Stockholm: Joh[an]. L[aurentius]. Horrn, 1737). The scholarly introduction to the work proved too long for an already outsize volume and was published separately: Erik Julius Björner, *Inledning til de yfverborna göters gamla häfder, särdeles götiska språkets förmån och sagornas kjärnedom. Introductio in antiquitates hyperboreo gothicas, præfertim prærogativam linguæ et cognitionem historiarum gothicarum* (Stockholm: Joh[an]. Laur[entius]. Horrn, 1738). Busch, *Grossmachtstatus und Sagainterpretation*, 136–96, 221–25 analyses the text of each of the sagas printed by Björner in *Nordiska kämpa dater*.

the end of the eighteenth century, so the use of the *fornaldarsögur* as history was not to last much longer.<sup>30</sup> When Carl Christian Rafn publishes a complete translation of them into Danish in 1822–1826 (second edition 1829–1830 to accompany what still remains the standard edition of the Old Icelandic texts), these narratives are identified not as history but as fiction and classified as mythological and romantic sagas.<sup>31</sup>

## 5. The True History of *Robinson Crusoe*

The appearance in 1719 of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* marks a turning point in the quarrel between history and fiction. Defoe presented his work as a true history, and equivocated when pressed about the fictionality of the work.<sup>32</sup> *Robinson Crusoe* was extraordinarily popular, especially in Germany where there were numerous attempts to write Robinson Crusoe-like narratives, in effect challenging “[h]istory's claim to the verifiable” by writing narratives with “their own claim of historicity,” to use Everett Zimmerman's words.<sup>33</sup> This activity culminated in the *Wunderliche Fata*

30 In Sweden by the middle of the eighteenth century, the enthusiasm for “Gothic” antiquities had waned, so that when *Yngvars saga vidförla* was published in 1762 it was identified as being edited from an Icelandic manuscript: *Sagan om Ingvar Widfarne och hans son Sven: fran gamla Isländskan öfversatt, och undersökning om ware runstenars alder, i anledning af samma saga, samt företal om sagans trowärdighet; hwaruti de förr hos oss urgifna sagors uårde tillika stadfästes; altsammans, till nordiska historiens och sprakets förbättring*, ed. Nils Reinhold Brocman (Stockholm: Lars Salvius, 1762). Brocman (1731–1770) was Assessor in the Antikvitetsarkivet in Stockholm.

31 Carl Christian Rafn, trans., *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier eller mythiske og romantiske Sagaer*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: H. F. Popp, 1821–1826); 2nd ed. under the title: *Nordiske Fortids Sagaer, efter den udgivne islandske eller gamle nordiske Grundskrift*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: H. F. Popp, 1829–1830); Carl Christian Rafn, ed., *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: E. Popp, 1829–1830).

32 On these issues in Defoe's work, see Maximilian E. Novak, *Realism, Myth, and History in Defoe's Fiction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); David Blewett, *Defoe's Art of Fiction--Robinson Crusoe, Moll Flanders, Colonel Jack and Roxana* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); and Mayer, *History and the Early English Novel*.

33 Everett Zimmerman, *The Boundaries of Fiction: History and the Eighteenth-Century British Novel* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 236. See also Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996; first published 1983); William Nelson, *Fact or Fiction: The Dilemma of the Renaissance Storyteller* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

*einiger See-Fahrer* (1731) by Johann Gottfried Schnabel (1692–1752), who uses the term “Robinsonade” in the preface to this work.<sup>34</sup>

In 1750 séra Þorsteinn Pétursson á Staðabakka (1710–1785) began writing his autobiography. In his “Prolegomena” he refers approvingly to a certain Gustav Landkrón as a role model, someone who was shipwrecked in Ottoman lands, who never abandoned his faith despite the tortures he endured, who returned to his native Germany where he immediately prospered, and who in his fortieth year took up writing his life story.<sup>35</sup> Þorsteinn appears not to have understood that Gustav’s story was fictitious, and he reads the account as if it were straightforward history, a narrative that so inspired him that he began to write a history of himself upon attaining his fortieth year.<sup>36</sup>

## 6. Further Icelandic Responses

By the middle of the eighteenth century the ecclesiastical printing press had been returned north to Hólar. When a new bishop, Gísli Magnússon (1712–1779) came to power in 1755, he found the press in a miserable state. It had printed numerous works since the beginning of the century, but most of them remained unsold, filling an entire pack-house. Vice-

34 Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer, absonderlich Alberti Julii, eines geborhn Sachsens ...*, ed. Marcus Czerwonka and Robert Wohlleben, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1997), 1: 10 (first published 4 vols., Nordhausen: Johann Heinrich Gross, 1731–1743). Schnabel’s narrative was given a new title, *Die Insel Felsenburg*, when re-edited by Ludwig Tieck in 1828: Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Die Insel Felsenburg, oder, Wunderliche Fata einiger Seefahrer, eine Geschichte aus dem Anfange des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Munich: Lothar Borowsky, [1979]) (first published 6 vols., Breslau: Joseph Max, 1828). It was twice translated into Danish: Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Adskillige Søefarerers underlige Skæbner, især Alberti Julii, en fød Sachser*, trans. Peder Winter, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: Frid. Christian Pelt, 1761–1765) and *Øen Klippeborg eller flere Søefarendes forunderlige Hændelser, En Historie fra Begyndelsen af det attende Aarhundrede*, trans. Andreas Rasmussen, 6 vols. (Copenhagen: n.p., 1828–1829). On Schnabel and his work, see Fritz Brüggemann, *Utopie und Robinsonade: Untersuchungen zu Schnabels Insel Felsenburg (1731–1743)*, Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte 46 (Weimar: Alexander Duncker, 1914; Rpt. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978).

35 Þorsteinn Pétursson, *Sjálfssævisaga síra Þorsteins Péturssonar á Staðabakka*, ed. Haraldur Sigurðsson (Reykjavík: Hlaðbúð, 1947), 5. The reference is to the Danish chapbook *Den saa kaldede Svenske Robinson eller Gustav Landkrons ... forunderlige Livs- og selsomme Levnets-beskrivelse* (1743).

36 Þorsteinn Pétursson, *Sjálfssævisaga* 1 and 7.

lawman Björn Markússon (1716–1791) had an idea to get the press back on a sound financial footing. If people liked secular stories so much, why not print some of them and pocket the profits? He began with two Robinsonades translated from Danish.<sup>37</sup> The first of these was a translation by Þorsteinn Ketilsson from Hrafagnil (1688–1754) of *Den saa kaldede Svenske Robinson eller Gustav Landkrons*<sup>38</sup> while the second was about Berthold, an Englishman related to Robinson Crusoe, and this story is probably also ultimately German, unless it is a Danish original.<sup>39</sup> In his Preface to the volume, Björn equivocates over whether the stories he is presenting are fiction or not – on the one hand, fictional stories can be morally uplifting and on the other hand, it is not his business to separate the false from the true in history:

Lærder Menn, sierdeilis i Franka-Rijke, og sijdann Píjsker og Dansker hafa vitiad æfija Fook til Dygda og Mannkosta, med ymsum Dæme-Søgum og Romaner: Hafa adrer vered ødrum Lagkiænare þat med, og synt sig þeim Gømlu miklu fremre, sem bygt hafa Kastala i Loftenu, og Otrwlegar Søgur i Rit fært, af hverium ver høfum margar æ Norrænu, ad Forlage Haikonar Kongs Gamla snaradar, og annara vorra froodra Lands-Manna, so sem Jons Biskups i Skælholtte Halldorssonar, sem siælfur hefur ymisleg Æfenntjr

- 37 *Pess Svenska Gustav Landkrons Og Pess Engelska Bertholds Fabreitileger Robinson* (1756). Neither of these texts are identified as being a *saga* on the title page. Instead a new term is introduced, *ævisaga* ('life-history', biography) calquing *Levnets-beskrivelse* used in the title of the 1743 Danish version. Nevertheless, it seems clear that they were indeed read as "history", and my copy of the work in an early twentieth-century binding identifies the volume on the spine as "Gustavs saga, 1756."
- 38 It is not known if Þorsteinn Pétursson played any role in encouraging Þorsteinn Ketilsson to translate the story into Icelandic, or if he was involved in persuading Björn Markússon that this would be an appropriate text to print, perhaps even being the conduit through which the translation reached the press, since Þorsteinn Ketilsson by then was deceased.
- 39 While the history of Berthold claims to be translated from English and to be printed in London, no such English text has been recorded. There are two versions, both of which appeared in 1740. The first, of 80 pages, on which the Icelandic translation is based, is: *Englander Berthold, den vidt berømte Robinson crusoes nær Beslagtede, hans Liv og Levnet Forfattet med moralske Anmerkninger. Overs. af det Engelske Sprog* (London [i.e. Copenhagen]: paa det Søe-farende Compagnies bekostning, 1740). The second version, of 238 pages, is: *Englander Berthold, den vidt berømte Robinson Crusoes mer Beslagtede, hans Liv og Levnet, som han i 10 Aar til Lands og Vands har ført, ved at opfinde en ubeboet Insul, men efter udstanden Møye, Lykkelig er kommen til sit Fæderneland, Forfattet med moralske Anmærkninger* (Copenhagen: n.p., 1740).

samannteked, Brands Biskups aa Hoolum Jonssonar etc. Enn þar ed Þormoeder Torfason *Historiogr[aphus]*. *Reg[ius]*.<sup>40</sup> og epter hønum *Sibbern Hist[oricus]*. *Biblioth. Hist. Cap I*<sup>41</sup> og Jon Magnusson aa Asgeyrs-Aa,<sup>42</sup> hafa giørt sier Omak fyrer, ad adgreina diktadar *Islendinga-Sögur* fraa sønnum; þa er þad ei minn Asetningur ad tala hier framar umm.<sup>43</sup>

Björn followed this up with two volumes of *Íslendingasögur*, mostly outlaw sagas and late sagas already heavily influenced by the romance tradition.<sup>44</sup> There was, of course, a storm of outrage from conservative pastors that the press should be as derelict as to allow such wretched stuff to be printed in Iceland. Of the Robinsonades the story of Berthold proved moderately popular and there are three surviving sets of *rímur* based on Berthold's story along with references to three further sets otherwise unknown.<sup>45</sup> In addition the story survives in at least one manuscript, and has

40 Þormóður was awarded this post along with a handsome emolument in 1682.

41 Nicolaus Petrus Sibbern, *Bibliotheca historica Dano-Norvegica* (Hamburg: Liebezeit, 1716).

42 I have not been able to identify which (if any) of the writings of Jón Magnússon (1662–1738), the brother of the manuscript collector, Árni Magnússon, Björn is referring to. See the survey of Jón's surviving work in Jón Magnússon, *Grammatica Islandica. Íslenzk málfræði*, ed. Jón Axel Harðarson (Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 1997), xxviii–xxx.

43 ‘Learned men, particularly in France and then Germans and Danes have set out to encourage people to probity and human virtue with various exempla (*dæmisögur*) and romances. Some have been more skilful than others in this regard, and shown themselves to be better than the ancients, who have built castles in the air and written unbelievable histories (*sögur*), of which we have many in Icelandic thanks to old king Hákon, and to others of our wise countrymen such as Jón Halldórsson, Bishop of Skálholt [1322–1339], who himself put together various exempla (*ævintýri*), bishop Brandur Jónsson of Hólar [1263–1264] etc. But since the Historiographer Royal, Þormóður Torfason, and after him the historian Sibbern in chapter 1 of his *Bibliotheca historica Dano-Norvegica* [1716], and Jón Magnússon á Ásgeirsá, have made it their business to separate made-up *Íslendingasögur* from true ones, it is not my intention here to say any more about this.’ (*Pess Svenska Gustav Landkrons*, [ii–iii]). There are a number of verbal echoes between this preface and Halldór’s “Formáli.”

44 *Agjætar Fornmanna Sögur*, ed. Björn Markússon (Hólar: Halldór Eiríksson, 1756); *Nockrer Marg-Frooder Sögu-Pætter Íslendinga*, ed. Björn Markússon (Hólar: Halldór Eiríksson, 1756).

45 “Rímur af Berthold,” 15 fitts, by the reverend Eiríkur Bjarnason (1704–1791); “Rímur af Berthold engelska,” 8 fitts by Hólmfriður Markúsdóttir (c. 1741–1799) composed 1772; “Rímur af Berthold enska,” Jón Jónsson frá Minni-Ökrun (1813–1892) which were published (Akureyri: n.p., 1874). The following are also reported to have composed *rímur* about Berthold: Jón Þorsteinsson (c. 1680–after 1739), 8 fitts; Guðrún Jónsdóttir frá Stapadal (1767–1850); Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson á Saurum (1760–1809), 12 fitts.

been printed twice as a children's book.<sup>46</sup> The sagas, however, did not sell as well as expected, and ten years after they were printed half the print-run of 1000 copies remained unsold.<sup>47</sup>

## 7. History and Halldór's "Formáli"

The majority of the population in Iceland, subsistence farmers as they were, eked out an existence on marginal farmlands. For their entertainment in the evening work periods they wanted action, and they found that the *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur* or the narrative *rimur* based on these and similar stories fulfilled that need. Also, these materials were not a waste of time, because so far as they were concerned they were "saga," that is "history."<sup>48</sup> When Eggert Ólafsson visited the fishing camps on Snæfellsnes he noted:

Oft hittast hér skáld, sem hafa það at atvinnu að yrkja rímur út af sögum. Það, sem verst er í því efni, er það, að rímnaskáld þessi taka sé jafnt hinar lélegustu lygisögur að yrkisefni og hinar, sem sannar eru, enda eru þeir fáir, sem kunna að greina þar á milli.<sup>49</sup>

In Iceland itself a new approach towards history begins to make an appearance. First of all there is a shift of emphasis from the past to the present. As the result of a petition to the King a commission had been set

46 The MS copy is found in Lbs 1793 8vo (ca. 1800). The childrens books are: *Berthold hinn viðförlí* (Reykjavík: Söguafn heimilanna, 1935); 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., *Berthold á eyðiley* (Reykjavík: Smári, 1959).

47 Ólafur Pálsson, "Inngangur," *Nockrer Marg-Frooder Sögu-Pætter Islandinga 1756*, Íslenskr rit í frumgerð 1 (Reykjavík: Endurprint, 1967), vii–xv at xiv.

48 This suggests that Ralph O'Connor, "History or Fiction? Truth-Claims and Defensive Narrators in Icelandic Romance-Sagas," *Medieval Scandinavia* 15 (2005): 101–69, at 133–41, is on the right track when he argues that the *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur* were regarded as "history" in the late Middle ages since there is sufficient evidence that they were regarded as such in the early modern period.

49 Eggert Ólafsson and Bjarni Pálsson, *Ferðabók Eggerts Ólafssonar og Bjarni Pálssonar um ferðið þeirra á Íslandi árin 1752–1757*, trans. Steindór Steindórsson frá Hlöðum, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2 vols. in 1 (Reykjavík: Örn og Örlygur, 1975), §519, vol. 1, p. 204. 'Often one meets here [in the winter fishing camps] poets who have that for an occupation to compose *rimur* out of sagas. That which is worst in this regard is that that these *rimur*-poets take on equally the worst *lygisögur* for their inspiration as others which are true, and they are few who know how to distinguish between the two.'

up to investigate the situation in the country. Headed by Árni Magnússon, Professor of Philosophy and Danish Antiquities at the University of Copenhagen, and Páll Vídalín *lögmaður*, the chief legal official in Iceland, the commission first set about to conduct a *manntal* or census, which was begun in 1703, followed by a survey, district by district, of every inhabited structure, its income and value, a project which took until 1714 to complete. In typical Icelandic fashion, the *Manntal* and the Land Register or *Jardabók* remained in manuscript until the twentieth century (although the section of the Land Register for Múlasýsla perished in the great fire of Copenhagen in 1728).<sup>50</sup> A new trend had begun and regular censuses continued to be held. In a similar fashion, vice-lawman Eggert Ólafsson and the surgeon general Bjarni Pálsson, while still students, spent the summers from 1753–1757 travelling the country taking notes on flora and fauna and the status of the inhabitants and making a large number of drawings to accompany their research. The text was completed in 1766, but Eggert drowned in a boating accident in 1768. The result was that the publication was delayed until 1772 when it appeared in Danish in two large volumes, thanks in large part to the efforts of Jón Eiríksson (1728–1787), who had been professor of law at the academy on Sorøe since 1763.<sup>51</sup> Jón was also

50 Árni Magnússon and Páll Vídalín, *Manntal á Íslandi 1703* (Reykjavík: Hagstofa Íslands, 1924–1947); Árni Magnússon and Páll Vídalín, *Jardabók*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 13 vols. (Copenhagen: Hið íslenska fræðifélag í Kaupmannahöfn, 1980–1990). Vols. 1–11 first published, Copenhagen, 1913–1943. On the background to these enterprises see Lýður Björnsson, “Bænaskrá til kongs 1700,” in *Saga Íslands*, ed. Sigurður Líndal et al., 11 vols. (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmennatafélag, 1974–2016), Vol. 8, ed. Lýður Björnsson, Guðbjörn Sigurmundsson and Þóra Kristjánsdóttir (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmennatafélag 2006), 67–78.

51 Eggert Ólafsson and Bjarni Pálsson, *Vice-Lawmand Eggert Olaffsens og Land-Physici Biarne Povelsens Reise igemmen Island*, 2 vols. Sorøe: Jonas Lindgren, 1772. An abbreviated English translation (with its own title page) appeared in 1805 as part of volume 2 of the *Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels*, first series, 10 vols. (London: Richard Phillips, 1805–1810); Eggert Ólafsson and Bjarni Pálsson, *Travels in Iceland Performed by Order of his Danish Majesty: Containing Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, a Description of the Lakes, Rivers, Glaciers, Hot-Springs, and Volcanoes: of the Various Kinds of Earths, Stones, Fossils, and Petrifications, as well as of the Animals, Insects, Fishes, &c.* (London: Richard Phillips, 1805), rev. ed., ed. Steindór Steindórrsson (Reykjavík: Örn og Örlygur, 1975). The standard annotated edition is *Ferðabók*, trans. Steindór Steindórrsson, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1975). See further Haraldur Sigurðsson, “Náttúruvísindi og Landfræði,” in *Upplysingin á Íslandi: Tíu ritgerðir*, ed. Ingí Sigurðsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmennatafélag, 1990), 268–92, at 273–77, and Ádalgeir Kristjánsson, *Bókabyting 18. aldar: Fræðastörf og bókaútgáfa upplýsingarmanna*, Ritsafn Sagnfræðistofunar 44 (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2008), 46–51.

instrumental in getting into print the manuscript of an economic survey of the northern regions of Iceland made in 1775 by Ólafur Olavius on behalf of the Danish government, published in two volumes in Copenhagen in 1780.<sup>52</sup> But Jón's most significant contribution was the role he played in getting underway the printing of the first volume of the ecclesiastical history of Iceland by the bishop of Skálholt, Finnur Jónsson.<sup>53</sup> This was a complete breakthrough in the writing of Icelandic historiography. First of all there was its length. Four thick volumes appeared between 1772–1778. Then there was the fact that it was not just medieval history, but also modern history right down to 1740. Furthermore, although it was written in Latin, it was full of hitherto unpublished documents and other materials in Icelandic from the church's archives.<sup>54</sup> Aðalgeir Kristjánsson has shown that the Enlightenment had already set down deep roots in Iceland long before the last decades of the eighteenth century and the campaign of Magnús Stephensen (1762–1833) to educate and modernize his countrymen.<sup>55</sup>

Halldór's *Formáli* has to be situated in the context of these developments. He is not someone steeped in the values of the Enlightenment as was Jón Eirksson, but nor is he a credulous believer in the written word as the *rímur*-poets encountered by Eggert Ólafsson in the fishing camps on Snæfellsnes. He is prepared to dismiss some sagas as fiction. On the

52 Ólafur Olavius, *Oeconomisk Reyse igennem de nordvestlige, nordlige og nordostlige Kanter af Island*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1780). A German edition appeared shortly afterwards: *Oekonomische Reise durch Island in den nordwestlichen, und Nord-Nordostlichen Gegenden* (Dresden: Breitkopf, 1787). The standard annotated edition is *Ferðabók: Landshagir i norðvestur-, norður- og norðaustursýslum Íslands 1775–1777*, trans. Steindór Steindórsson frá Hlöðum, 2 vols. (Reykjavík: Bókafellsútgafan, 1964). See further Haraldur Sigurðsson, "Náttúruvísindi og Landfræði," 278–79 and Aðalgeir Kristjánsson, *Bókabytting 18. aldar*, 53–55.

53 Finnur Jónsson, *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiae*, 4 vols. (Copenhagen: Typis Orphanotropii, 1772–1778; Rpt. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1970). Pétur Pétursson (1808–1891), subsequently Bishop of Iceland (1866–1889), published a continuation bringing the history down to 1840, *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiae. Ab anno 1740, ad annum 1840* (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1841).

54 As Mortensen points out, Þormóður Torfason saw Latin as the primary vehicle for the presentation of Old Norse material and "could hardly himself envisage scholarly collections of Old Norse texts" ("Before Historical 'Sources,'" 9). Finnur Jónsson wrote in Latin and also translated the Old Norse into that language, but he also presented the Old Norse and Modern Icelandic texts in the original language.

55 Aðalgeir Kristjánsson, *Bókabytting 18. aldar*, 145–46.

other hand, he is not yet ready to dismiss out of hand those sagas that are full of fantastic elements. This cautious approach was the one to be adopted by most influential writers and publishers for a long time thereafter.

## 8. Subsequent Developments

In 1886, nearly a century after Halldór penned his *Formáli*, the Reykjavík bookseller, Sigurður Kristjánsson (1854–1952),<sup>56</sup> published the first part of what was intended to be one or more volumes in a series he titled “Ævintýra-sögur”. Each part was to cost 30 *aura*, but if one subscribed to the series, the price was reduced to 20 *aura*. The project was not a success and only two parts appeared,<sup>57</sup> but of particular interest is Sigurður’s introduction to the collection, which appeared on the inside of the front and back covers of the first part. He planned to assemble a collection of sagas, most of which had yet to appear in print:

Það eru sögur sem margir kann að segja um, að þær hafa lítinn sögulegan sannleika við að styðjast; en þótt það verði eigi sannað að viðburðir þeir, er þessar sögur segja frá, hafi átt sjer stað á þann hátt, sem í sögunum segir, þá verður því aldrei neitað, að slíkar sögur hafa í sjer fólginn mikinn sannleika, en hann liggur opt dýpra en svo, að hver maður geti þreifað á honum.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> He subsequently gained fame by publishing an inexpensive edition of the Family Sagas: *Íslendingasögur*, 38 vols. (Reykjavík: Sigurður Kristjánsson, 1891–1902).

<sup>57</sup> *Ingvars saga viðförla*, Ævintýra-sögur 1 (Reykjavík: Sigurður Kristjánsson, 1886); *Erex saga*. Ævintýra-sögur 2 (Reykjavík: Sigurður Kristjánsson, 1886). The projected third volume, *Hektors saga ok kappa hans*, announced at the bottom of the back cover to the second volume, never appeared, and it was not until 1962 that this saga was published as *Ectors saga, Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, ed. Agneta Loth, 5 vols., Editiones Arnamagnæanæ, Series B 20–24 (Copenhagen Munksgaard, 1962–1965), 1: 79–186.

<sup>58</sup> *Ingvars saga viðförla*, inside cover. ‘There are sagas which many have a definite opinion on, that they have little historical truth to support them; but although it may not be verifiable that those events which these sagas narrate took place in that particular way as told in the sagas, it may on the other hand never be denied, that such sagas have hidden in them a great deal of truth, and it lies often deeper than every individual may be able to grasp it.’ Sigurður goes on to praise these sagas for their language and for their insights into the popular customs, culture, and ways of thinking of the nation at the time when these sagas were written down in the fourteenth century and later.

It should not be overlooked that this is from a sales-pitch designed to promote a new venture, but Sigurður seems to be calculating that this approach, which is very much still in the spirit of Halldór's *Formáli*, would strike a responsive chord: *saga* is still *history* and who could not be flattered by the suggestion that those who loved such sagas were capable of appreciating deeper truths than those who scorned these works. Half a century later, Sigurður Nordal was being deliberately provocative when he wrote: "Aðalviðburðirnir, sem Hrafnkatla segir frá, hafa aldrei gerzt".<sup>59</sup> Not all of Sigurður Nordal's fellow citizens greeted this insight with great enthusiasm, and this response reveals that the tensions that Halldór had addressed between "truth" and "fiction" in the sagas were still in large measure unresolved. Helgi Haraldsson (1891–1984) from Hrafnkelsstaðir in Hrúnamannahreppur gained notoriety for a blistering review he published in 1953 in the newspaper *Tíminn* of *Gerpla*, the most recent novel by Halldór Kiljan Laxness which had appeared late the previous year.<sup>60</sup> Helgi lambasts Laxness for having brought the *Íslendingasögur* and their protagonists into disrepute: "Ég hef þá trú á íslenzku þjóðinni, að það verði aldrei vinsælt verk, hver sem það reynir, að breyta gullaldarbókmennntum okkar í stóran sorphaug".<sup>61</sup> While Helgi does not discuss Sigurður Nordal's work on *Hrafnkels saga*, his position towards such scholarship is clear:

"Nýjustu vísindin eru þau, að Ingólfur Árnarson hafi aldrei verið til ... Hvað ætli að Norðmenn segðu við því, ef þeim væri sagt, að Heimskringla væri lygasaga frá rótum og Haraldur hárfagri hefði

- 59 Sigurður Nordal, *Hrafnkatla, Íslenzk fræði 7* (Reykjavík: Ísafold, 1940), 66. '[T]he principal events in [Hrafnkels saga] never took place.' *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða: A Study by Sigurður Nordal*, trans. R. George Thomas (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1958), 56.
- 60 Halldór Kiljan Laxness, *Gerpla* (Reykjavík: Helgafell, 1952). *Tíminn* (1917–1996) was the party newspaper of the Progressive Party (*Framsókn*), which in particular drew its support from the rural areas. At this time, it was in the opposition in the *Alþing*, and 1953 was an election year. Helgi's writings, which are often more polemical than carefully argued and which are not free from political, religious, and regional biases, struck a particular resonance among people of his own age and background.
- 61 'I have then faith in the Icelandic people, that it [*Gerpla*] will never be a popular work, however much it may try, to turn our Golden Age literature into a huge pile of rubbish.' "Gerpla Halldórs Kiljans," *Tíminn* 37.46–47 (February 26–27, 1953), 4; 4 [quotation, 37.47, pg. 4, col. 3]. Reprinted as "Gerpla Halldórs Laxness" in Helgi Haraldsson, *Engum er Helgi líkum: Bóndin á Hrafnkelsstöðum segir sína meiningu*, ed. Indriði G. Þorsteinsson (Reykjavík: Örn og Örlygur, 1971), 151–56 at 156.

aldrei verið til?<sup>62</sup> Það væri hliðstætt, og sagan skrifuð á sömu öld og okkar sögu. Þessa háskólagengnu hálfvita okkar ætti að kæra fyrir landráð. Ef þetta er ekki rétta nafnið á þessari starfsemi, hvað heitir hún þá? Mér er spurn, hvað eignum við að gera með handritin heim ok fá þau í hendurnar á þessum mönnum?”<sup>63</sup>

But even among the “university educated” there were those such as Óskar Halldórsson, who felt that Sigurður Nordal went too far with his interpretations in *Hrafnkatla* and that the saga, rather than being complete fiction, did owe something to regional traditions.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, continued research on the primary sources and changes in our understanding of

- 62 After reviewing the primary sources, Sverrir Jakobsson comes to the conclusion: “Man kan nemlig godt behandle Harald Hårfagre som en mytisk person, hvis en myte defineres som en fortelling om begivenheter som ikke fant sted, men til tross for det var en del af stammes eller et folks bevissthet on sin fortid”, “Erindringen om en mægtig Personlighed: Den norsk-islandske historiske tradisjon om Harald Hårfagre i et kildekritisk perspektiv,” *Historisk tidsskrift* 81 (2002): 213–30 at 228. This does not seem to have caused particular outrage in Norway.
- 63 ‘The latest research is this, that Ingólfur Árnarson never existed ... What does one think the Norwegians would say to that if they were told that *Heimskringla* is an absolutely unreliable history to its core and that Haraldur hárfagri never existed? That took place at the same time and the saga written at the same time as our history [*Landnámabók*]. These university-educated half-wits of ours should be prosecuted for high treason. If that is not the correct name for this kind of activity, what is one to call it? I am asked, what does it benefit us to involve ourselves in “Manuscripts Home!” and to put them in the hands of these people?’, “Úr Öldungadeildinni,” *Tíminn* 55.66 (March 20, 1971): 6 [quotation, col. 4] (this article appeared exactly one month before the celebrated return of the first manuscripts to Iceland from Denmark, April 22, 1971). Reprinted in Helgi Haraldsson, *Engum er Helgi líkur*, 72–76 at 74–75. Likewise: “Mér þykir til daemis svo vent um Njálum, að ég mundi aldrei svívirða hana með því að ræða um það við neinn, hvort hún er skáldsaga frá rótum” [‘I am so fond of *Njáls saga*, for example, that I would never dishonour it by discussing with anyone, whether or not it is fiction to the core’], “Orðið er frjálst: Náttúruskyn Pórhalls og ljóðasmekkur Steingríms,” *Tíminn* 52.177–178 (August 23–24, 1968): 8, 15; 2, 15 [quotation, pg. 8, col. 4]. Reprinted in *Engum er Helgi líkur*, 93–105 at 96. This work of Helgi’s appears to have sold sufficiently well for a second volume to appear: Helgi Haraldsson, *Skyrt og skorinort: Helgi á Hrafnkelsstöðum ræðir umbíðalaust um menn og málefni*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson (Reykjavík: Örn og Örlygur, 1974), edited by no less than the director of the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar. Here the “university educated” come in for their share of praise and the tone is much less strident.
- 64 Óskar Halldórsson, *Uppruni og þema Hrafnkels sögu*, Fræðurit 3 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1976). See Shaun F. D. Hughes, “Óskar Halldórsson, *Uppruni og þema Hrafnkels sögu ...*” *Scandinavian Studies* 52 (1980): 300–08, a review which attempts to position Óskar’s work in the then ongoing debates about *Hrafnkels saga*.

the nature of texts have continued to undermine the certainties that existed in previous centuries on the historical reliability of Icelandic documents originating in the thirteenth century. Even “okkar saga” (*Landnámaþók*) was called into question in 1974.<sup>65</sup> But the reaction to this and similar revelations has been muted. As Ármann Jakobsson points out, despite the fact that the subsequent researches of Sveinbjörn Rafnsson and others have continued to challenge the reliability of *Landnámaþók* and similar sources, deepening our understanding of why that is so, the response outside the Academy has been to pretend such research does not exist.<sup>66</sup> This suggests that the binaries “truth/falsehood,” “history/fiction,” have become unproductive and that a different approach is called for. Ármann suggests:

Síðan verða fræðimenn að forðast gamlar ímyndaðar andstæður á borð við ‘uppspuna’ of ‘sannleik’ eða ‘sagnfræði’ eða ‘skáldskap’. Hér eru á ferð bókmennatextar sem jafnframt eru sagnfræðrit síns tíma. *Sannleikan* er ekki að finna í þessum ritum, aðeins ‘sannleik’ hvers og eins sagnaritara.<sup>67</sup>

In his “Formáli” to the saga collection preserved in MS Icel. 32, Halldór Jakobsson makes his contribution to a debate which has continued with varying degrees of intensity down to the present. He is open to the argument that not everything designated as a *saga* is “history,” but he still

65 “Ju längre tibaka i tiden man anser at Landnama ursprungligen författats, desto större blir sannolikheten för ändringer och interpretationer.” Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, *Studier i Landnámaþók: Kritiska bidrag till den isländska fristatstidens historia*, Bibliotheca historica Lundensis 30 (Lund: Gleerup, 1974), 123.

66 Ármann Jakobsson, “Hvað á að gera við *Landnámu*? Um hefð, höfunda og raunveruleik-jablekkingu íslenskra miðaldasagnarita,” *Gripla* 26 (2015): 7–27 at 9–10 (footnote 9). To the works listed there might be added the controversial volume 1: *Frá landnámtíð til 1700*, Gunnlaugur Haraldsson, *Saga Akraness*, 2 vols. (Akranes: Uppheimar, 2011) which on the one hand discusses the unreliability of the written sources (164–65, 171–77) and then goes on to devote an entire chapter to “Landnám Bresasona” (183–200) complete with detailed maps and genealogies as if this was in fact the “history” of the region. Páll Baldvin Baldvinsson, “Saga Akraness eitt,” *Fréttatíminn* 2.27 (July 8, 2011): 30 draws attention to the “[h]áskaleg umgengni við heimildir” [reckless handling of sources] in this work.

67 “Then scholars will have to sacrifice old conceptual oppositions along the line of ‘false’ and ‘true’ or ‘history’ or ‘fiction’. Here we are talking about literary texts which are the historical writings of their time as well. THE TRUTH is not to be found in these writings, only the ‘truth’ of each and every saga-writer (historian).” Ármann Jakobsson, “Hvað á að gera við *Landnámu*?” 22.

believes “history” is possible and that with prudence one can recognize it when and where one encounters it.

## Appendix

[2<sup>r</sup>]

Formäli.

Sögur þær sem bök þessi innihelldur hefi ec<sup>68</sup> gödu fölki til skemtunar & gamans í hjáverkumm uppskrifad þær eru flestar gamlar og víða of lerdum monnumm í þeirra skrifum Citeradar enn þar fyrir vil ec eingumm þar umm tru telia ad þær ad öllu leiti sannar sieu; Vorir Ellstu og bestu sögu skrifarar hafa ad greint þær og gefed of þrennslags sögur hvad efninu vidvikur.

1º. Eru þær Sögur sem einunges *til* gamans og skemtunar eru of lerdum og skarpvitrumm monnum til Dæg[ra]stittingar<sup>69</sup> uppdictadar, og ei er hid allra minnstar hæfi *til* af slikumm er all mikill fiöldi ad flækiaz medal vor, og margar eru Viðuliga under lok lidnar, sumar lika afftur nýliga og á vorum dogum úr Framandi tungumálum á Islendsku settar af slikum finn eg í þeßari bök Soguna of Þialar Jone Svipdagssýne og Roosania.

Hin fyrri er við 200 ára gomul edur meir og annad hvert of einhvöríum hugvitzsòmum Islending uppdiktud eins og Ármanns, Bärdar Snæfells äss, Viglundar og fleiri soddann, edur og úr þýsku edur Ensku utlögð á þeim tymum sem þær þiöder höfdi hier hondlun og árliga umgengni vid landz folkid. Rosaniæ sogu hefe eg lesid prentada á Dönsku nú fyrir einum 50 a<sup>70</sup> 60 ärumm hvar eftter einhvör Islendíngur hefur hana utlagt, er hún siánnliga til gamans samann sett eins og önnur Roman edur Fábula, og er med firsta skrifud á Italiensku, med öllu til hæfislæs.

2º. J Annari grein læt eg þær Sogur sem ad sonnu eithvert til hæfe er til so sem bædi ad þeir menn hafa til verid er þær umm tala, og lika sum af þeim til fellum sked, er þar í frásogur færast, enn þessar Sogur eru þó so fullar of fänytum fabulum, og liga æfentyrum, konstugliga blöndudum vid þad lited sem satt er í þeim, ad ömoguligt er ad greina sannleikann frä

68 Abbreviations are expended in italics in a manner consistent with the spelling of the manuscript.

69 The abbreviation has to be resolved *-ra* but the abbreviation looks like that for *id* or *ad*. However it is used again in a word that has to be read “anna[ra]” – see footnote 80.

70 The reading here is clear, and I interpret the “á” as preposition with the temporal meaning “towards,” translated here as “fifty to sixty years.”

skròksogunum, hier af er micill fiòlldj hiā oss slíkar sem Saga of Herravd og Bosa, [2<sup>r</sup>]/ Ørvaroddi þ sem eignar einum þad<sup>71</sup> mörgum mönnum til heirer þ Hrolfi Gatrekssyne og soddann fleiri, hier til heirer Sagann af Eigli og Asmunde sem hier efttir filgia enn hvert eg skal virda sògu Þiriks af Bern so micils veit ec eckj, hún synist mier ad mestu leiti eiga heima í Einúngis uppdictudu sogunum því hvorki kiemst med neinu moti heim hennar ártal vid þær Longobardisku Chronicúr, og víða er hun full med þeckiänligar skroksogur og fanitar fabulur finst og ecki í neinum Historium sem eg hefi lesed ad þeir menn hafi til verid er hun talar so praktugliga umm, fyrir utann Þidric þ er sogurnar kalla Theodoricum de Verona þ siälfann Attila Kong og Sigurd Fabnis bana, Enn med eingu móti giet eg komid því heim, ad allir þeßir hofdingiar, hafi getid verid samtjida à Dögumm.

Eingin vafi er ä umm soguna af Sigurdi Pogla ad hūn er þeckianliga uppdictud og lik mödur sinne sogunne af Flores og Blanceflur hveria hun Citerar.

3º. Sogurnar of Ragnar Lodbrök og Än Bogsveiger eru of ollum hier skrifudum ad minni meining näskilldazar sannleikanum, þö er i þeim eitt og annad sem virkiliga smackar helldur ijkiusamliga. Eg vil nú ei taka firir mig ad sijna hvad skinbarliga Rangt og ösatt margt er Anfært i þeßum sogumm einasta vil eg litid eitt tala um Ragnars sògu þö ei nema i stuttu mäli. Þad er öefad ad su saga giòrir ein Ragnar Dana kong of tveimur og eignar honum beggja þeirra bòrn og bedrifttir, i Noreg er enn nú su saga heil ad mestu í Almuga munri, sem veit ad syna og seigia frå Spangarheidi hvor ein stulka ad nafni Otlag<sup>72</sup> hefur nilega lifad og sagt sig bera nafni einrar fátækrar stulku er þar hefdi uppalist og sydan giftt einum Dònskum Konge enn nafnid hafi hafi halldist i sinne ætt, þar siest enn Aatlag höien, þ Aaslægar hæd þ sokollud, hvor sagt er hún verid hafi þä hun sat ad fie um daga, og, skamt þar frå er ein vik sem enn i dag er kollud Gullvíkinn, hvor Almugi vill segia ad Harpa su hafi fundist, er Heimer hafdi med ferdir, þä hann [3<sup>r</sup>]/ var dreppinn af Äka. Eirn lækur Rennur þar og skamt frä, er Nordmenn seigia Kräka hafi verid vòn ad þvo sier i, og kalla hann enn i dag Kräkulæk; mä oll þessi örnefni enn nú finna i Stafängurs stiftti i Norege.

<sup>71</sup> Thanks to Haukur Þorgeirsson and Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson of the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum for help in resolving this abbreviation.

<sup>72</sup> Corrected from "Oetlag."

Sä hálærdi Sagna skrifari Thormodur Thorfason seigir, Ragnar þann sem ätti Aslaugu fæddann vera Anno Christi 720. og Ríkt i 40 ár þar til hann var drepinn í Englaðe of Ella sem ad sönnu callast Kongur. enn meinaz þó ei verid hafa yfer Kongur Englands. Thormodur gietur þess og, ad þessi Ragnar hafi verid yfer 70. ära Gamall þá han dö;

Allur annar Ragnar Lodbrök er sä sem drepinn var i Englandi ä Dogumm Hinns heilaga Jätmundar kongs, hann var fader Jngvars og Ubba sem þang[ad]<sup>73</sup> heriudu sydann, og hefndu hanns ä Játmundi kongi grimmeliga, hier umm Ano 870. Hann meinast og verid hafa fadir Björns Jarnsídu, er umm sama skeid eftter<sup>74</sup> sogunum heriadi i Frachlandi, og er þad af þeßum tveimur sem sä meistari hefur giört ein Ragnar Lodbrok, er soguna hefur Componerad, hvert þesse sydari Ragnar hefur verid nockurn tyma Kóngur i Danmörk veit eg ei, þó er hann so nefndur af Vilhialmi meistara, Gormur hin Gamli, var þá kongur i Danmörk, er því lykast þessi Rangnar<sup>75</sup> hafi verid annad hvert, hans unndir kongur edur ein hver Sæköngur, sem mar- ger voru ä þeim dögum. Hier fyrir utann eru ætt[ar]<sup>76</sup> tölnar frá Ragnar Lodbrök hinum Elldra allt til Haraldz kongs Hárfgagra oc til vorra daga so skyrar, ad og vel med ärtalinu samstemandi ad ómöguligt synist þær til baka ad Reka, og af öllum lärðum mönnum sem ec hefi lesid eru þær fyrir gilldar og sannar Alitnar. Siest so af þeßu ad seirni partur þessarar sögu er ad mestu leiti of ollum álitum godur og sannferdugur.

J þeim firri parti kemur eitt og annad fyrir sem synist eiga micid skilt vid fabulur og ijkiusamar frásogur. Sied hefe eg skrifad efttir þann Margfroða Professőr Arna saluga Magnusson, ad Sigurdur Fabnisbani og þeir Budlunger og Giúkungar hafi lifad seitn ä siottu ölld, einhverstadur [3<sup>v</sup>]/ [n]edarliga<sup>77</sup> vid fliötid Rín, máske i þvíj stóra Kóngsriki sem kallad var Austrasia og innehellt Burgundiam, Schveitz, og mörg fleiri lond og ríki; J Ragnars sögu 2 *capitulum* þar sem talar umm fædunga Volsungs kongs, er án efa ijkt og ösatt, sama i þeim 5ta er talar um ylgiuna er verid skilldi hafa mödir Siggeirs kongs, sä 8de *Capitulum* sem seigir fra Alaga hòmunum er of sama surdeigi, so og er þad mægt umm fabnerz Sigurdar

73 The word has been trimmed in the margin, but the tail of the “g” is clear, and there is a mark above it that might be part of the abbreviation for “ad.”

74 Most of the abbreviation has been trimmed away.

75 So misspelled in the text.

76 The edge of the page where this abbreviation should appear seems smudged.

77 Only one minim of the first letter is visible, but it is probably an “n.”

og Brinhildar vidskyftti sem *micid* ötrülegt synist, hvad eg vil òdrumm frammveiges efttir láta *umm* ad dæma, enn allmargar og næstum allar vorar sögur eru med þeſu ijkiu marke Brendar, *Enn* og Snorra Sturlusõnar Eigen Chronica, sem af öllum er hallden hin truanñligasta, lika so Olafs saga Triggyvasõnar, finnst allvíða meingud med Muka *dictum* og Otruligum ijkiumm, eirníg Olafs kongs Saga, og adrar fleiri. Sagann af Sverrir kongi Er ad sonnu samansett *umm* siälfz hans daga, ad sumra Meining undir hans eiginn til sión þo<sup>78</sup> finnaz i henni nockrar Hiätruar fullar heimsku frásogur, minna er Af sliku ad finna i soga Haconar kongs gamla, enn allra minst er og eckert þad hefi ec i Sturlungu fundid *getid*, sem eg hefi ei leidst til ad trúa, *fyrir utan* eina oc adra þar upptalda *fyrirburdi* sem þo folk ä þeirri hiätruarfullu trugernis ölld, so vel sem siälfur söguritarinn Sturle<sup>79</sup> lögmadur Pordarsõn, hefur ad vísu sanna halldid; allt hid sama er ad sei-gia *umm* Landnámu, Niälu, Vatnsdælu, Laxdælu, Svarfdælu, Liosvetínga Sògu, Eirbiggiu, allar synast þær truannligar þo ad i þeim finast hier og hvar þreifannligar ijkiur, i sumum meiri, sumum minne, og mætti þar *umm* margt fleira til stirkíngar framm færa ef Rumid leifdi.

Fyrir utann allar hier greindar Sògur og adrar þeirrar lijka, sem eru ærid margar ad greinast Sogurnar i alleina Islendskar, og eckert snertande ònnur lond, edur Utlendskar lytid edur Eckert vidkomandi Islande, og enn þær sem ná bædi til Islands og anna[ra]<sup>80</sup> landa þær sijdustu eru flestar.

*Enn* nú eru þær Sògur sem *menn* vita vist til hafa verit enn eru so under lok lidnar ad ei er eftir hiä ofß nema nafnid eitt slikar hefe eg fundid efter filgiande, first er

Saga of Einari Syni Gislis er drap Giafalld hirdmann Magnuss *kongs* Berbeins i [4<sup>r</sup>]/ Noregi. þeirrar sogur er gietid i Sògu Jons Ogmundssonar *Helga Hólabiskupz.*

Saga of Sigurdi hiört er nefnd af Snorra Sturlusyne.

Saga Gríms frá Kroppe, er nefnd i Grettirs Sogu.

Saga af Þorgils Hollusyne, og Saga of Niardvikingum nefnast i Lax-dælu.

Saga of Bædmodi Gerpi og Grímulfi *atque* Saga of Þordi Geller nefnast i Landnámu.

78 Corrected from what looks like “þag.”

79 So in the manuscript.

80 The abbreviation reads [id], which cannot be correct.

Saga Af Hraengvidi Jötun og Vikinga. Af Olafi Lidsmanna kōngi.

Saga of Hrok Svarta og Ormi Bäreyar Skalldi nefnast allar í Sturl-  
úngu.

Hier fyrir utann er Skioldúnga saga, og Heidarvíga saga.

Sògu of Þórir kongi Hundsföt og Agnar Kóngi, getur i Hrólfs Sògu Kraka.

Saga Af Espħælingumm er nefnd í Liðsvetninga sògu; Og eru án efa margar fl[ei]ri<sup>81</sup> slíkar sem undir lok eru lidnar og menn vita ei hvors innehalldz verid hafa. Eg hefe sanlliga oft forundrad mig yfer þvij ad einginn á þeßari Upplystu skrifgiörnu olld skuli taka sier fyrir hendir ad giegnumm ganga Vorar Gomlu Sogur. Ad gi[öra]<sup>82</sup> þær í vissar Ætates. og upplysa hvad, af, og í þeim er satt edur ösatt, sem ad vi[ssu]<sup>83</sup> er ádvelldara ad seigia enn giðra þö efa eg ei ad lærder menn í Kaupenhaf[n]<sup>84</sup> þar sem eru so göd äholld og undirbunüngur med allt slag giæte mikid í þvij giör[a]<sup>85</sup>

Hvad áhrærir Sòguna af Än Bogsveiger, synist mier hún öll stadist gieta og [ei]<sup>86</sup> Olikt ad Än þeßi lifad hafi í Noregi fám ärum ädur enn Haralldur kongur Hi[nn]<sup>87</sup> Hárfagri bræt sig þar til Rikis og Eiddi öllum fylkis könguumm.

#### Preface.

The sagas which this book contains I have written up in my spare time for good folk for their amusement and pleasure. They are most of them old and widely mentioned by learned people in their writings, and for this reason I wish to persuade no-one that they are in every respect true. Our

81 Only the “fl” is visible on the outer margin and the next line begins with “ra.”

82 The end of the word has been trimmed at the edge of the page, and what is missing can be at most one or two letters or an abbreviation.

83 The end of the word has been trimmed, but this seems a reasonable guess for what was meant,

84 The end of the word has been trimmed.

85 The expected form would be “giðra;” the resolution of the abbreviation sign, a superscript “o,” must also be meant to include the palatal glide. The end of the word has been trimmed.

86 A negative seems to be required here, and I would suggest that “ei” or “eigi” has been lost when the leaf was trimmed.

87 The first letter is clearly the cursive form of “h” majuscule. The following minim does not close up with the second one, so it is an “i” followed by the first minim of “nn,” the end of the word having been trimmed.

oldest and best writers on history have made distinctions among them and given us three kinds of sagas according to subject matter.

1. First are those sagas which are made up purely for pleasure and amusement by learned and intelligent people as a diversion, and there is not the least amount of value in such, of which there is a very large number floating around among us, and many others have without doubt perished. Some also again recently and in our days have been translated into Icelandic from foreign languages. Of such I find in this book, the sagas of Þjálar-Jón Svipdagsson and Rósanía.<sup>88</sup>

The first is certainly 200 years old or more and either made up by some clever Icelander such as are *Ármanns saga*,<sup>89</sup> *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, *Víglundar saga* and more of a similar kind, or translated from German or English in those times when those nations had trade relations here and yearly contact with the country's inhabitants. *Rósanía saga*<sup>90</sup> I have read printed in Danish now some fifty to sixty years ago.<sup>91</sup> Using this text some Icelander has translated it. It is clearly composed for amusement just like other romances or fables, and was at first written in Italian. It is completely unfounded.<sup>92</sup>

2. In the second category I place those sagas in which to be sure some truth exists, in that both their characters have existed which they speak about, and likewise some of the events took place which occur there in the narratives. But these sagas are, however, so full of worthless fables and lying fairy-tales,<sup>93</sup> mixed in a contrived manner with that little that is true in them so that it is impossible to sift out the truth from the false stories. Of these there is a great number among us, such as *Bósa saga og Herraúðs*,

88 *Rósanía saga* is translated from French via Danish, but *Þjálar-Jóns saga* is a fourteenth-century Icelandic composition.

89 Halldór is being coy here as his version of this saga had already appeared in print in 1782.

90 Halldór seems to hesitate between marking the first vowel of Rósanía long (-oo-) or short as here. Usually the word is indeclinable, but here it is treated as a Latin first declension feminine noun ending -ae in the genitive.

91 Since Halldór was 55 when he wrote this Preface, these figures mean no more than to indicate some time in his youth. The publication referred to is: Bastian Stub, *En Smuck Historie om Rosanie, fød af Kongelig Byrd, en Princesse, opfostred af en Bunde ... of Italiensk paa Dansk* (Copenhagen: n.p., 1708).

92 That is, completely without truth.

93 On the complicated range of meanings for the word *ævintýri* over the centuries, see Shaun F. D. Hughes, "The Old Norse *Exempla* as Arbiters of Gender Roles in Medieval Iceland," in *New Norse Studies*, ed. Jeffrey Turco, *Islandica* 58 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Library, 2016), 255–300 at 268–71.

*Örvar-Odds saga*, (who possesses in one person what belongs to many individuals), *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar* and more of a similar kind. To this group belongs the *Saga af Egli og Ásmundi* which follows hereafter. But whether or not I ought to esteem *Piðreks saga af Bern* so much, I do not know. It seems to me for the most part to belong to the purely made up sagas because its chronology in no way at all agrees with the Langobardic chronicles,<sup>94</sup> and throughout it is full of recognizably false stories and useless fables. Also one does not find in any history or chronicle which I have read that those people have existed which it tells so magnificently about except for Piðrekur (whom the histories<sup>95</sup> call Theodoricus de Verona) himself, King Attila and Siguður Fáfnisbani.<sup>96</sup> But in no way am I able to confirm that all of these rulers might have been contemporaries at the time. There is no doubt concerning *Sigurðar saga böglar* that it is obviously made up and likewise its source, *Flóres saga og Blankiflúr*, which it cites.<sup>97</sup>

3. The sagas of Ragnar loðbrók and Án bogsveigir are, of all the ones written here, in my view, most closely connected to the truth, although there is in them this and that which really has the flavour of being rather

94 Paulus Diaconus, *De gestis Langobardorum libri VI*. There are several sixteenth-century editions, the most recent appearing in Leiden in 1595 and again in Leiden in 1617 as part of: *Gothicarum et Langobardicarum rerum scriptores aliquot veteres*. In 1781, Halldór published his *Chronologie tentamen edur Tima-Tals Registurs Ágrip* (Hrapsey: Magnús Möberg, 1781). This appeared in two states in the same year, an earlier one with the sub-title *Fraa Upphafe allra Skapadra Hluta til vorra Daga*, and a latter state with a re-set title page lacking the sub-title. This version also adds new front matter including a dedication of the volume (in Danish) to bishop Finnur Jónsson (v–viii). In this work at A4<sup>r–v</sup>, Halldór lists the published chronologies he drew upon and states: “Pá auctores sem miner Originales citera hefe eg bona fide anfært á margine út undann hveriu árstali” (“Those authors which my sources cite, I have in good faith placed in the margin alongside each chronological entry”) (A4<sup>v</sup>). Paulus Diaconus first appears alongside the entry for 552 C.E. (E2<sup>f</sup>). This suggests that he may have never actually consulted Paul’s work.

95 Here *sögurnar* must mean historical works in Latin such as Paulus Orosius, *Adversus paganos historiarum libri septem*, of which there are numerous early editions including one published in Leiden in 1738. In his *Chronologie tentamen*, Halldór first mentions Orosius at D1<sup>v</sup> in connection with the entry for 108 C.E.

96 In his *Chronologie tentamen*, E1<sup>r</sup>, Halldór notes the death of Piðrekur in a battle against Attila, A.D. 451.

97 In *Sigurðar saga böglar* chapter 3, which concerns Sedantíana, the daughter of Flóres and Blantzeflúr, reference is made to *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*. See Loth, *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, 2: 93–259 at 99–100; *Riddarasögur*, Ed. Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, 6 vols. (Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, Haukadalsútgáfan, 1954), 3: 95–267 at 102 [here chapter 2].

exaggerated.<sup>98</sup> I will now not undertake to demonstrate how obviously much in these sagas is wrong and untrue, only I will say a little about *Ragnars saga*, although no more than just a brief comment. It is indisputable that this saga makes one Ragnar king of the Danes out of two individuals, and attributes to this one the children and exploits of both of them.<sup>99</sup> In Norway this saga is still complete for the most part in the common oral tradition<sup>100</sup> which knows how to show and tell of Spangarheiði, where a young woman by the name of Orlaug<sup>101</sup> recently lived and said she bore the name of an impoverished young woman who had grown up there and afterwards married a Danish king, for the name had persisted in her family. There one can still see Aatlaug Hoeni (Áslaugar hæð), so called, where it is said she had been when she sat over her sheep during the day, and a short way away from there is a bay which still today is called Gullvíkin, where the common people say that that harp was found which Heimir had along on the journey when he was killed by Áki.<sup>102</sup> A stream

98 This is the first of five such occasions where Halldór uses words derived from *aðýkja* (to exaggerate) to refer to narratives or aspects of narratives that are in his opinion fantastic, that is untrue. For an annotated translation of *Áns saga bogsveigis* see “Áns saga bogsveigis: The Saga of Án Bow-Bender,” trans. Shaun F. D. Hughes, in *Medieval Outlaws: Twelve Tales in Modern English*, ed. Thomas H. Ohlgren, Rev. ed. (West Lafayette: Parlor Press, 2005), 290–337 and further Shaun F. D. Hughes, “The Literary Antecedents of *Áns saga bogsveigis*,” *Medieval Scandinavia* 9 (1976): 196–235. See also: “The Saga of An Bow-Bender,” *The Hrafnista Sagas*, trans. Ben Waggoner (New Haven, CT: Trotz Publications, 2012), 159–85, 216–20.

99 For a contemporary exposition of this thesis see the work of Rory McTurk, especially *Studies in Ragnars saga loðbrókar and its Major Scandinavian Analogues*, Medium Ævum Monographs 15 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediæval Languages and Literature, 1991), 1–50. On the other hand, Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, *Vikings in the West: The Legend of Ragnar Loðbrók and His Sons*, Studia Medievalia Septentrionalia 18 (Vienna: Fassbaender, 2012) argues for only a single figure, the historical Reginheri, the Dane who led the attack on Paris in 845 and who may have been called “loðbrók” [Ragnar loðbrók on the other hand is a fictional character], 269–76.

100 “[Í] almuga munni.” Lit. “in the common mouth.”

101 Þormóður Torfason in *Series dynastarum et regum Daniae* (Copenhagen: Joh. Melchior Lieben, 1702), 35 gives the alternative “Otloug- vel Aatloug-.” See Jón Helgason, “Átlaug på Spangereid: Oversigt over optegnelser af et norsk localsagn,” in *Nordiske studier: Festskrift til Chr. Westergaard-Nielsen*, ed. Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen et al. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1975), 79–89 at 84. See also Frans-Arne Stylegar, “Áslaug-Kråka fra Spangereid og Ragnar lodbrok: Lindesnesområdet som kulturell ‘melting pot’ i vikingtid og tidlig middelalder,” in Jacobsen, *Den nordiske histories fader*, 128–61.

102 On Heimir’s harp and his killing by Áki see *Ragnars saga*, chapter 1: *Volsunga saga ok Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, ed. Magnus Olsen, Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk

also runs there in the vicinity, in which the Northmen say Kráka was in the habit of washing herself, and it is still called Krákulækur today. One may still find all these place-names in the Stavanger District in Norway.<sup>103</sup> The learned scholarly historian, Þormóður Torfason, says that the Ragnar who married Áslaug was born Anno Christi 720 and that he ruled for 40 years until he was killed in England by Ælla who in truth may be called a king, but however this does not require him to have been high king of England.<sup>104</sup> Þormóður also says that this Ragnar had been over 70 years old when he died. A completely different Ragnar loðbrók is he who was killed in England in the days of Saint Edward the king. He was the father of Ingvar and Ubba who raided there afterwards and avenged him cruelly on King Edward around about 870. He [Þormóður] thinks him to have also been the father of Björn járnsíða who around the same time according to the saga raided in France. And so it is from these two that the master, who has composed the saga, has made one Ragnar loðbrók. Whether or not the later Ragnar had been sometime king in Denmark, I do not know, although he is so named by Master William.<sup>105</sup> Gormur *inn gamli* was then king in Denmark. It is most likely this Ragnar had been either his

litteratur 36 (Copenhagen: S. L. Møller, 1906–1908), 111–16; *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda*, ed. Guðni Jónsson, 4 vols. (Reykjavík: Íslandingasagnaútgáfan, 1954), 1: 107–303 at 221–24.

<sup>103</sup> These contemporary traditions are printed by Þormóður Torfason at the end of Book 1, chapter 4, “De fabulosis Islandorum monumentis,” (“Concerning the Legendary Records of the Icelanders”), in his *Series dynastarum et regum Danie*, 30–37 at 35–36, and in Part one, Book 10, chapter xlvi of his *Historia rerum Norvegicarum*, 1: 491; *Norges Historie*, ed. Titlestad, 2: 226–29, and in Norwegian by Jonas Ramus, *Norriges Kongers Historie* (Copenhagen: Pet. Nørwig, 1719). For appropriate extracts see Jón Helgason, “Åtlaug på Spangereid,” 79–89.

<sup>104</sup> This information did not make it into Halldór’s *Chronologia tentamen*.

<sup>105</sup> I.e., William of Jumièges. See *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 2 vols., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), Bk. I [Table of Contents], *Bier filius Lothroci regis Dacie filio* (Björn, son of King Lothbroc of Denmark) (1: 8–9); Bk. 1.1: *Quo tempore pagani, cum Lotroci regis filio, nomine Bier Coste quidem Ferree, procurante eius expeditionem Hastingso, omnium paganorum nequissimo, a Noricis seu Danicis finibus eructantes* [‘At that time heathen belched forth from Norse and Danish lands with the son of King Lothbroc, named Björn Ironside, whose expedition was organized by Hastings, the most wicked of all the pagans’] (1: 10–11). See also Bk. 1.4, 1: 16–17, and van Houts’ introduction, 1: xxxvii. Latin editions of William’s work were published in Frankfurt in 1603 and in Paris 1613. See further Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, *Vikings in the West*, 65–68, 158–59, 164–90.

under-king or some sea-king as many were in those days. Here, apart from this, are the genealogies from Ragnar loðbrók the elder all the way to King Haraldur *hárfagri* and to our day, so clear and so completely in agreement with the chronology, that it seems impossible to find fault with them, and they are considered reliable and true by all the scholars whom I have read. One sees also from this that the latter part of this saga is for the most part considered by all to be good and trustworthy.

In the first part this and that occurs which seems to have much in common with fables and exaggerated narratives. I have seen it written by the late very learned professor Árni Magnússon that Sigurður Fáfnisbani and the Búðlunar and Gjúkingar may have lived in the sixth century somewhere in the south along the River Rhine, perhaps in the large kingdom which was called Austrasia and contained Burgundia, Switzerland and many more lands and kingdoms. In *Ragnars saga* chapter 2, there where it is telling about the birth of king Völsungur, it is clearly made up and untrue; the same in the fifth where it tells of the she-wolf which is supposed to have been the mother of king Siggeir. The eighth which tells of the enchanted shapings<sup>106</sup> is of the same mixture.<sup>107</sup> So also is much concerning the dealings of Fáfnir, Sigurður and Brynhildur which seems greatly unbelievable which I will leave aside for others in the future to further evaluate. But a great number and almost all of our sagas are branded with this mark of exaggeration, even also Snorri Sturluson's own chronicle which by everyone is considered the most truthful;<sup>108</sup> likewise also *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* one finds everywhere polluted with monkish sayings and unbelievable exaggerations;<sup>109</sup> even King Ólafur's saga and many others.<sup>110</sup>

106 These are the enchanted *hamar* or shapings which Sigmundur and Sinfjötli discover in the forest and which change them into wolves.

107 For Halldór *Völsunga saga* comprises the opening chapters of what he calls "Ragnars saga."

108 Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Áðalbjarnason, 3 vols., Íslensk fornrit 26–28 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1941–1951). Halldór seems to be equivocating here. On the one hand, "everyone" considers the contents of *Heimskringla* to be true, but on the other hand the narrative contains "marks of exaggeration," i.e. fantasy, at least so far as Halldór is concerned. But these episodes may in fact have been considered true at the time the work was written, a position he takes when he discusses *Sturlunga saga* a few lines further on.

109 *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, ed. Ólafur Halldórsson, 3 vols., Editiones Arnamagnæanae, series A: 1–3 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard and Reitzels Forlag, 1958–2000).

110 *Ólafs saga hins Helga: Efter pergamenthaandskrift i Uppsala Universitets-bibliothek*, Dela-

The saga of King Sverrir is for a fact put together during his lifetime, in the view of some under his own supervision; even so, one finds in it some stupid stories full of superstition.<sup>111</sup> One finds less of such matter in *Hákonar saga gamla*,<sup>112</sup> but the least amount of all is in *Sturlunga saga* and nothing there that I have been able to find mentioned which I am disinclined to believe in except for this and that recounted vision which nevertheless people in that superstitious, credulous century as well as the saga-writer Sturla Þórðarson himself, had certainly held to be true. The very same is to be said about *Landnáma*, *Njála*, *Vatnsdæla*, *Laxdæla*, *Svarfdæla*, *Ljósvetninga saga*, *Eyrbyggja*. They all appear believable even though in them one finds here and there palpable exaggerations, in some more, in some less, and one might present much more in confirmation of this if the space allowed.

In addition to all the sagas mentioned here and the others of their ilk, which are a great many, the sagas separate themselves into completely Icelandic ones and not treating other countries, or foreign ones having little or nothing to do with Iceland and further those which involve both Iceland and other countries. These last are the most numerous. Now further are those sagas which one indeed knows have existed and but which have now so completely disappeared that nothing remains with us except the name alone. Of such have I found those which follow here. First is:

The saga of Einar Gillis who killed Gjafaldur the retainer of king Magnús berbein in Norway. Their saga is mentioned in the saga of saint Jón Ögmundsson, bishop of Hólar.<sup>113</sup>

*gardieske samling nr. 8II*, ed. Oscar Albert Johnsen, Den Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-kommision (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1922) and *Saga Óláfs konungs hins Helga: Den Store saga om Olav den Hellige*, ed. Oscar Albert Johnsen and Jón Helgason, 2 vols., Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institutt (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1941).

<sup>111</sup> *Sverris saga*, ed. Þorleifur Hauksson, Íslensk fornrit 30 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 2007).

<sup>112</sup> *Hákonar saga I og II*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson og Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, 2 vols., Íslensk fornrit 31–32 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 2013).

<sup>113</sup> Towards the conclusion of “Gisl þáttur Illugasonar” it says that Gisl (Gils) who killed King Magnús’ retainer Gjavaldur had a son called Einar “ok er mikil saga frá honum” (and there is great saga concerning him). *Biskupa sögur*, ed. Sigrún Ólafsdóttir Steingrímsson et al., 3 vols. in 4, Íslensk fornrit 15–17 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1998–2003), 15.2: 317–35 at 334. In older editions of *Jóns saga Helga* attributed to the monk Gunnlaugur Leifsson, “Gisl þáttur” is printed as chapters 9–14. *Biskupa sögur*, [ed. Jón Sigurðsson, Guðrún Ólafsdóttir Steingrímsson et al.], 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Hið íslenzka bókmenntafélag, 1858–1878), 1: 213–260 at 221–27.

The saga of Sigurður *hjörtur* is named by Snorri Sturluson.<sup>114</sup>

The saga of Grímur frá Kroppi is named in *Grettis saga*.<sup>115</sup>

The saga of Þorgils Hölluson and the saga of the Njarðvíkingar are named in *Laxdæla*.<sup>116</sup>

The saga of Böðmóður gerpi and Grímulfur and the saga of Þórður gelli are named in *Landnáma*.<sup>117</sup>

The saga of Hröngviður the giant and the Vikings, of Ólafur the king of the Liðsmen, the saga of Hrókur svarti and Ormur Bárreyjarskáld are all named in *Sturlunga saga*.<sup>118</sup>

Here in addition are *Skjöldunga saga* and *Heiðarvígá saga*.<sup>119</sup>

The saga of King Þórir hundsfót and King Agnar is mentioned in *Hrólfs saga kraka*.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>114</sup> See chapter 5 of *Hálfdanar saga svarta* in *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnason, 1: 88.

<sup>115</sup> See *Grettis saga Ásmundarson*, ed. Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 7 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1936), chapter 62, 205.

<sup>116</sup> See *Laxdæla saga*, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit 5 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1934), chapter 67 (*Þorgils saga Höllusonar*, p. 199); chapter 69 (*Saga Njarðvíkinga* [probably “Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana”]), 202 and fn. 2 with a reference to xxxviii–xxxix).

<sup>117</sup> See *Landnámabók* S 160 (*Böðmóðs saga gerpis ok Grímólfss*) (*Íslendingabók Landnámabók* 1: 198); *Landnámabók* S 98 (*Þorgils saga gellis*), (*Íslendingabók Landnámabók* 1: 140).

<sup>118</sup> In *Sturlunga saga*, ed. Jón Jóhannesson et al., 2 vols. (Reykjavík: Sturlunguútgáfan, 1946), see “Geirmundar þáttur heljarskinns,” chapter 2 (*Hróks saga svarta*) (1: 7); *Þorgils saga ok Haflida*, chapter 10 (*Saga frá Hröngviði vikingi*, *Saga frá Óláfi Liðsmannakonungi*, *Saga Orms Bárreyjarskálds*) (1: 27). In *Sturlunga saga*, ed. Örnólfur Thorsson, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 3 vols. (Reykjavík: Mál og Menning, 2010) the references are: *Hróks saga svarta*, 1: 3, *Saga frá Hröngviði vikingi* etc., 1: 22.

<sup>119</sup> Of *Skjöldunga saga* only the “Sögubrot af fornkonungum” and the Latin epitome of Árngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648) survive (see *Danakonunga sǫgur*, ed. Bjarni Guðnason, Íslenzk fornrit 35 [Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1982], 46–71 and 4–38. The manuscript containing the first 15 chapters of *Heiðarvígá saga* perished in the great fire of Copenhagen in 1728, and their contents were reconstructed from memory in the heavily Danish-influenced Icelandic of the eighteenth century by Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík (1705–1769). For *Heiðarvígá saga* see *Borgfirðinga sǫgur*, ed. Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 3 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1938), 213–328.

<sup>120</sup> In *Hrólfs saga kraka*, chapter 21, it says that great stories (“miklar sǫgur”) were told of Þórir konungur hundsfótur (*Hrólfs saga kraka og Bjarkarímur*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur 32 [Copenhagen: S. L. Møller, 1904]), 57; Guðni Jónsson, *Fornaldar sǫgur* 1: 55 [there chapter 29]. On the other hand, the saga merely says in chapter 9 that Agnar konungur Hróarsson is frequently mentioned in old stories (“fornar sǫgur”) and that he became more famous than his father (Finnur Jónsson, *Hrólfs saga kraka* 27, 28; Guðni Jónsson, *Fornaldar sǫgur* 1: 24, 25 [there chapter 12]).

The saga of the Espælingar is named in *Ljósvetninga saga*,<sup>121</sup> and there are without doubt many more such which have vanished and people do not know what their contents may have been. I have truly often pondered myself over this, that in this Enlightened century eager to write things up, no one should have taken upon themselves the task to go through our old sagas, to place them in accurate periods, and to indicate what of and in them is true or not true — which to be sure is easier to say than to do. Although I do not doubt that the learned people in Copenhagen where there are such good facilities and resources in many ways, might be able get a great deal done.

As for the saga of Án bogsveigir. It seems to me all of it could have happened, also [not]<sup>122</sup> unlikely that this Án may have lived in Norway a few years before king Haraldur the Well-Haired<sup>123</sup> made his way on to the throne and wiped out all the regional kings.

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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<sup>121</sup> *Espælinga saga* is mentioned at the beginning of *Pórarins þátr*, a text associated with *Ljósvetninga saga* in manuscripts: *Ljósvetninga saga*, ed. Björn Sigfusson, Íslenzk fornrit 10 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1940), 141–47 at 143.

<sup>122</sup> See the textual note for this emendation.

<sup>123</sup> It has proven difficult to succinctly translate *hárfagri* which means “having a splendid head of hair” — presumably in opposition to the fate of many of having a *skalli* or bald head. “Fair-haired” is a problem for while “fair” may mean “adequate” or “excellent” it also means “blond” (which Haraldur may have been), but hair colour is not necessarily implied in *fagri*. “Fine-haired” suffers from a similar problem in that while “fine” may mean “excellent” it also means “thin” or “not-coarse.” “Well-haired” may not please everyone as it has been suggested that it could be interpreted as having hair like a well (*brunnur*) or a hole in the ground.

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## E F N I S Á G R I P

Halldór Jakobsson — um sannleik og skáldskap í sögunum (1789).

**Lykilorð:** Halldór Jakobsson, MS Icel. 32, Þormóður Torfason, Robinsonades, sannleikur í sögunum, Sigurður Kristjánsson, Hrafnkatla, Gerpla

Handritið Icel. 32 í Houghton bókasafninu við Harvardháskóla hefur einkum að geyma fornaldarsögur með hendi Halldórs Jakobssonar (1734–1810). Halldór sjálfur bætti við formála sem hér er gefinn út og þýddur í viðauka. Í þessum formála reynir Halldór að flokka sögurnar eftir því hversu mikið sannleiksgildi þeirra er. Hann hefur ekkert á móti skáldsögum/lýgisögum en telur að það ætti að viðurkenna að þær eru til skemmtunar og ekki sögulegar heimildir. Greinin fjallar því næst um eðli sagnfræðinnar og þær áskoranir sem fyrstu sagnfræðingar Norðurlanda þurftu að fást við. Peirra á meðal var Þormóður Torfason sem fyrst og fremst þurfti að treysta á fornaldarsögur sem heimildir fyrir fornsögu Skandinavíu. Skilin á milli sagnfræði og skáldskapar urðu enn óskýrari þegar bókin *Robinson Crusoe* kom út árið 1719, og þess bókaflóðs (svo-kallaðra 'Robinsonades') sem í kjölfar hennar fylgdu. Tvær slíkar bækur voru gefnar út árið 1756 á Hólum. En jafnvel þar voru lærðir menn sem áttuðu sig ekki á að sögur þessar voru skáldskapur en ekki sögulegar heimildir. Þegar dró að lokum 18. aldar voru hlutirnir

farnir að breytast, og þegar Carl Christian Rafn gaf út þýðingar sína á fornaldarsögum á árunum 1822–1826, var þeim lýst sem ‘goðfræðilegum og rómantískum’ sögum. En spurningunni um hvort sögur af hinum ýmsum tegundum væru sannar eða ekki hafði enn ekki verið svarað. Árið 1886 byrjaði Sigurður Kristjánsson að birta útgáfuröð ævintýrasagna sem hann fullyrti að væru að hluta til sannar, þótt hann raunar virðist ekki hafa verið tekinn á orðinu. Þenn fremur var efast um sannleiksgildi Íslendingasagna, t. d. af Sigurði Nordal í bókinni *Hrafnköllu* (1940). Ekki voru allir þó reiðubúnir að samþykkja þessa þróun í rannsóknum og túlkun eins og sést t. d. í deilum sem urðu þegar *Gerpla* eftir Halldór Laxness var gefin út árið 1952. Ein afleiðing þessa er sú, að gjá er á milli fræðimanna sem vantreysta öllum miðaldaheimildum og áhugamanna um sagnfræði sem halda áfram að nota þessar heimildir þegar þeir rita byggðasögu.

*Professor Shaun F. D. Hughes  
Department of English  
500 Oval Drive  
Purdue University  
West Lafayette, IN 47907–2038  
U. S. A.  
[sfdh@purdue.edu](mailto:sfdh@purdue.edu)*

EMILY LETHBRIDGE

## THE ICELANDIC SAGAS AND SAGA LANDSCAPES

*Writing, Reading and Retelling Íslendingasögur Narratives*

### Introduction

ACADEMIC STUDY of the ways in which the corpus of *Íslendingasögur* has been transmitted and read in Iceland from medieval to modern times typically takes as its point of departure the extant manuscripts in which texts of the sagas are preserved. Around 65 extant medieval parchment manuscripts contain *Íslendingasögur* texts and the number of post-medieval paper manuscripts is many times this.<sup>1</sup> As is now widely recognised – and reflecting a discernible ‘material turn’ in the humanities more widely – recent critical approaches to medieval Icelandic literature increasingly emphasise the material contexts of, and vehicles for, the preservation and transmission of the *Íslendingasögur* and other genres of medieval Icelandic literary production.

Critics are less concerned with determining the nature of long-lost and thus intangible ‘original’ texts (and with attempting their reconstruction), and more interested in the analysis of more concrete aspects or trends pertaining to the material evidence that survives. The physical and textual

<sup>1</sup> On the preservation of *Íslendingasögur* in medieval parchment manuscripts, see Emily Lethbridge, “*Hvorki glansar gull á mér / né glæstir stafir í línum*: A Survey of Medieval Icelandic *Íslendingasögur* Manuscripts and the Case of *Njáls saga*,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 129 (2014): 53–89. A search and rough count of copies of *Íslendingasögur* texts preserved in post-medieval manuscripts in the Handrit.is online catalogue returns over 1200 individual records but the total number of manuscripts is fewer than this, since many manuscripts are compilations containing several sagas (thus some records will be duplicates). However, the catalogue does not currently hold information about Icelandic manuscripts in collections other than the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík; Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Nordisk forskningsinstitut, University of Copenhagen; Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, Reykjavík; as well as a handful of Icelandic manuscripts that are in the Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm.

diversity that manuscripts of the same work display is placed under greater scrutiny, as is the nature of the unique physical and textual features of individual manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Such approaches result in new literary- and socio-historical perspectives and appreciation of, for example, the engagement of scribes and readers with the texts and books that passed through their hands, the potential of individual works for rewriting and reinterpretation (as well as a more nuanced understanding of what external factors might have shaped these processes), and the reciprocal influence and relationship between manuscript culture and print culture.

Another key material context as far as questions about the origins and transmission of the *Íslendingasögur* are concerned is the Icelandic landscape. The natural, topographical contours of the previously uninhabited land, together with the settlement patterns of those who colonised the island from the late ninth century onwards, were an important source of inspiration for the composition of narratives about these first settlers and their descendants – first orally articulated, and later set down in written form. Equally, the landscape (and evidence for settlement and life in and around it such as place-names and man-made structures) was a crucial vehicle for the transmission of these narratives, alongside the parchment and paper manuscripts that were produced and circulated from the thirteenth century up until the early twentieth century.

The aim of this article is to attempt to bring these two material contexts for the transmission and reception of the *Íslendingasögur* together, and to emphasise the simultaneous and equal importance of both manuscript and landscape contexts for the continuity that might be said to be one of the hallmarks of this genre's transmission over time. Such a consideration of Icelandic landscapes as a medium for transmission alongside the parchment and paper tradition might be seen as a natural extension of the 'material turn' that has shaped recent approaches to medieval Icelandic literature.

2 See, e.g., Emily Lethbridge, 'Gísla saga Súrssonar: Textual Variation, Editorial Constructions, and Critical Interpretations,' in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability, and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge (Odense: Syddansk University Press, 2010), 123–52 (and other essays in the same volume) and 'Authors and Anonymity, Texts and Their Contexts: The Case of Eggertsbók,' in *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, ed. Else Mundal, Slavica Rankovic and Ingvi Budal (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2012), 343–64; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'Expanding Horizons: Recent Trends in Old Norse-Icelandic Manuscript Studies,' *New Medieval Literatures* 14 (2012): 203–23.

Scholars have devoted considerable time to attempting to better understand the factors that, from the early twelfth century onwards, might have moved Icelanders to embark upon a programme of textualisation in the vernacular language, producing texts that belong to a wide range of historical, legal and narrative genres: “Icelanders ... cultivated their own history with vigour out of proportion to their resources and population size”, notes Diana Whaley, for example.<sup>3</sup>

Little attention, however, has been paid to the ways in which these written outputs (with the *Íslendingasögur* in the spotlight but also *samtíðarsögur*, *biskupasögur*, and *þættir*, although these saga genres will not be considered in the present article) were accessed and communicated in both landscape and manuscript contexts at once. This is, arguably, necessary for a fuller understanding of the processes by which the *Íslendingasögur*, in particular, were first composed as written narratives and have lived subsequently in local and national consciousness for a millennium or so – albeit as responses, initially and subsequently, to different socio-political, economic and environmental events and contexts, that fulfilled differing functions for different groups of people, at different times.<sup>4</sup>

3 Diana Whaley, ‘A Useful Past: Historical Writing in Medieval Iceland,’ in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 161. An older but still important contribution to this debate is Kurt Schier, ‘Iceland and the Rise of Literature in ‘Terra Nova’: Some Comparative Reflections,’ *Gripala* 1 (1975): 168–81.

4 With respect to this (and following the suggestion of one of this article’s two anonymous reviewers, although this is not the place to develop this idea at length), it is useful to distinguish here between three principal time periods, since in each case, the transmission and reception of the sagas might be said to be characterised by distinct influences. Firstly, there is the period in which the sagas were initially written down and subsequently transmitted (the late twelfth to fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), during which time society and power structures underwent great change, not least following Iceland’s submission to foreign rule with all of the consequences that ensued on a local and national level. Saga narratives played a particular role in the ideological construction of identity and legitimacy, and in later developments or adjustments regarding these constructions, for example. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries constitute the second period, this being a time when Icelanders in Copenhagen (not least those studying and working for patrons at the University of Copenhagen, founded in 1479, Arngrímur Jónsson ‘hinn lærð’ being foremost amongst them) began to alert the wider world to the great potential of the sagas as sources for writing national histories. This external and growing scholarly interest continued into the eighteenth century. Finally, the third period spans the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the sagas were put to use once again in distinctive historical and political nationalist contexts, both in Iceland and in other Scandinavian countries.

In what follows, the role of the landscape in the creation of the sagas will be examined first, with a focus on how place-names were a source for saga-writing, and on the complex relationship between ‘saga places’ and places in the ‘real’ landscape that are identified as saga places.<sup>5</sup> Next, indoor and outdoor contexts for saga reading or retelling in Iceland from the medieval to the modern period will be discussed, with the parallel transmission of saga narratives in both environments being stressed. Finally, hypertext literature and reading modes will be looked to as a theoretical model for better understanding the ways in which Icelanders in the past navigated around the worlds of these narratives, and – with these narratives to hand – their own world.

### Landscape as the first saga manuscript

Fundamental to the argument of this article is a consideration of the parallels between landscape and manuscript as vessel or channel for the communication of narrative material, and the ways in which landscape can be ‘read’ as intertextual narrative. It is worth noting at the outset of this study that the term ‘landscape’ is widely acknowledged as being a far from neutral term: rather, it is a cultural, political and ideological construct whose meaning or significance is constantly undergoing reconfiguration and reinterpretation.<sup>6</sup> The metaphorical idea that landscape can be ‘read’ is not a new one, and is central to disciplines such as historical geography,

- 5 The narrative function or role that the landscape plays in the written *Íslendingasögur* themselves will not be considered here, though this is a field rich with possibility and much remains to be done building on existing studies such as Paul Schach, ‘The Anticipatory Literary Setting in the Old Icelandic Family Sagas,’ *Scandinavian Studies* 27 (1955): 1–13; Helen Damico, ‘Dystopic Conditions of the Mind: Toward a Study of Landscape in *Grettissaga*,’ *In Gearðagum: Essays on Old English Language and Literature* 7 (1986): 1–15; Ian Wyatt, ‘Narrative Functions of Landscape in the Old Icelandic Family Sagas,’ in *Land, Sea and Home: Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-period Settlement at Cardiff, July 2001*, ed. John Hines, Alan Lane and Mark Redknapp (Leeds: Maney, 2004): 273–82; Eleanor Barraclough, ‘Inside Outlawry in *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar* and *Gísla saga Súrssonar*: Landscape in the Outlaw Sagas,’ *Scandinavian Studies* 82 (2010): 365–88 and ‘Naming the Landscape in the *landnám* Narratives of the *Íslendingasögur* and *Landnámbók*,’ *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 36 (2012): 79–101.
- 6 See, e.g., Denis Cosgrove’s seminal monograph *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), also Matthew Johnson, *Ideas of Landscape* (Malden: Blackwell, 2007) for further discussion and references.

landscape archaeology and environmental history.<sup>7</sup> For present purposes, it might be noted that this idea entails, on the one hand, the notion of 'reading' landscape as a physical entity in order to better understand its component parts and thus navigate around it physically, and on the other hand, the notion of landscape as a medium which preserves and even actively communicates narrative, and thus enhances navigation both physically and also culturally or ideologically.<sup>8</sup>

Although new or material philological approaches to medieval Icelandic literature and textual culture emphasise the anachronism inherent in looking back to lost archetype manuscripts of 'original' saga texts, the idea of the landscape itself as the original manuscript is a persuasive one – even if the precise 'text' inscribed on it cannot be recovered. Indeed, if landscape is to be seen and read as a manuscript, it is best regarded as a palimpsest – a manuscript which is characterised by multiple stages and reuse, with accretions of text building up over time, newer text being written over older, scraped-away text.<sup>9</sup> This analogy will be returned to in the ensuing discussion about place-names in *Íslendingasögur* texts.

As is well known, Iceland was settled permanently and comprehensively in the late ninth century though archaeological and environmental research suggests that prior to this, the island may have been one of several Northern Atlantic outposts that were used as temporary, seasonal bases

7 William Hoskins's *The Making of the English Landscape*, first published in 1955, is key here (Toller Fratrum, Dorset: Little Toller Books, 2014, second edition). See also, more recently, Richard Muir, *The New Reading the Landscape: Fieldwork in Landscape History* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).

8 See, e.g., J. Duncan and N. Duncan, '(Re)reading the Landscape,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6 (1988): 117–26; W. Cronon, 'A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative,' *The Journal of American History* 78 (1992): 1347–76; Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

9 This metaphor is common in landscape history: for an overview of scholarship, see Oscar Aldred, 'Time for Fluent Landscapes,' in *Conversations with Landscape*, ed. Karl Benediktsson and Katrín Anna Lund (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), at 69–70. Aldred (69) cites O. G. S. Crawford who, over sixty years ago in his book *Archaeology in the Field* (London: Dent and Sons, 1953), set forth the idea that "The surface of England is a palimpsest, a document that has been written on and erased over and over again" (at 51). The metaphor of the story-layered landscape is employed by Carol Hoggart in a short article that explores how Iceland was "mapped through association with human story" ('A Layered Landscape: How the Family Sagas Mapped Medieval Iceland,' *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies* 16 (2010), 1).

for walrus-hunting or other resource-gathering, and written sources such as *Íslendingabók* claim that Christian hermits or ‘pápar’ were present but fled the island when the Norse settlers arrived.<sup>10</sup> Before the conversion to Christianity and the formal, Church-sponsored or driven introduction of book-making, early Icelandic society and culture was an oral one.<sup>11</sup> Storytelling (in conjunction with place-naming) would have been one important means by which the first settlers transformed the unfamiliar space of the new land into their own cultural landscape, and by which they and their descendants maintained connections with their homelands.<sup>12</sup>

Stories about the settlement period and about the early settlers and events must have been rooted in physical places, around Iceland, directly bound up with topographical knowledge: people wrote themselves and their stories into the landscape by claiming land, naming it after themselves and events that happened at particular places (as well as on the basis of the appearance of natural landscape features), and imprinting their lives upon it (not least by introducing agricultural practices to it). In turn, by connecting stories and specific places together (e.g. farmsteads, boundaries, natural landmarks), place-names (and the people or events associated with those places) became more memorable. Anecdotes were passed down orally from one generation to another: geography, in conjunction with genealogy, provided a robust and tangible framework around and within which to organise narrative material.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the first sagas or settlement-generation

<sup>10</sup> On walrus-hunting, see Karin M. Frei et al., ‘Was it for Walrus? Viking Age Settlement and Medieval Walrus Ivory Trade in Iceland and Greenland,’ *World Archaeology* 47 (2015): 439–66. On the pápar, see, e.g., Barbara Crawford, ed., *The Papar in the North Atlantic: Environment and History. The Proceedings of a Day Conference held on 24<sup>th</sup> February 2001* (St Andrews: University of Saint Andrews, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., Judy Quinn, ‘From Orality to Literacy in Medieval Iceland,’ in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross, 30–60; Gísli Sigurðsson, ‘Orality and Literacy in the Sagas of Icelanders,’ in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 285–301.

<sup>12</sup> With regard to the latter point, it is notable that a cluster of place-names found around the Kjalarnes area (e.g. Esja, Melar, Garðar, Akranes, Kjós, Laxá, Sandvík, Leiruvogur) have direct equivalents on the Hebridean island of Lewis, western Scotland. See Magne Oftedal, ‘The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides,’ *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvitenskap* (1954): 201–24.

<sup>13</sup> The extent to which these oral sagas were comparable to the written sagas we have preserved in manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards, not least with regard to length and style, has long been a matter of debate in saga scholarship. See, e.g., Carol Clover, ‘The Long Prose Form,’ *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 101 (1986): 10–39; Theodore M. Andersson,

stories were read directly out of the landscape.<sup>14</sup> Later, these topographically-anchored anecdotes were remediated in writing. Jürg Glauser has drawn on cultural memory theory in considering what influences the “ancient stories” were subjected to in the process of their “recording, codifying and theologizing”:

“The semioticization of the landscape, previously empty and undescribed, and therefore meaningless and without sense, proceeds in a manner not dissimilar to modern stories and legends. In the Icelandic sagas ... one constantly finds at crucial points a ‘mapping’, a descriptive record of the landscape and of nature ... By narrative means, a place-name is thus established to whose literary description the fiction immediately following it can refer repeatedly. [The excerpt from *Egils saga*] also shows how a transformation of nature into culture occurs, in that nature – in the concrete form of the Icelandic landscape surrounding the community – is ‘described’ by the sagas, i.e. endowed with signs and so filled with significance. This ‘locating’ of culture, a semioticization of the landscape ... forms a trope of memory”.<sup>15</sup>

Narrative was thus a central dynamic in the appropriation, dissection and mapping of the landscape, and in its being imbued with historical, cultural and political significance.

<sup>14</sup> ‘The Long Prose Form in Medieval Iceland,’ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 101 (2002): 380–411; articles in *Oral Art Forms and their Passage into Writing*, ed. Else Mundal and Jonas Wellendorf (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007); Gisli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition: A Discourse on Method*, trans. Nicholas Jones (London and Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> It is worth pointing out here, too, that the landscape itself is far from static and passive, and often imbued with significant agency in the sagas and in other narratives or accounts of the settlement (e.g. *Landnámabók*), actively influencing the settlement paradigm.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Sagas of the Icelanders (*Íslendinga sögur*) and *pættir* as the Literary Representation of a New Social Space,’ in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross, 209. Other studies which deploy memory studies in tandem, directly or indirectly, with the role that the landscape played in the creation and storage of cultural memory include Pernille Hermann, ‘Saga Literature, Cultural Memory, and Storage,’ *Scandinavian Studies* 85 (2013): 332–54; other articles in this special issue of *Scandinavian Studies* (edited by Pernille Hermann and Stephen Mitchell); and essays in *Minni and Muninn: Memory in Medieval Nordic Culture*, ed. Pernille Hermann, Stephen Mitchell and Agnes Arnórsdóttir (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014). See also Kirsten Hastrup, *A Place Apart: An Anthropological Study of the Icelandic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

## Place-names as a source for saga writing

In the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, when the written composition and transmission of the *Íslendingasögur* was initiated, place-names around Iceland – in conjunction with oral anecdotes about the settlement age that had accreted around these place-names – must have been an important source for those who took quill in hand and cast (or recast) the sagas in writing. For each written saga, the extent to which existing place-names may have been used as a source alongside other sources by the person responsible for determining that saga's written composition or form must have varied. These other sources would have been both oral in form (material such as genealogies, laws, or other traditions) and written, with the latter comprising such vernacular texts as existed (e.g. *Landnámaþók*) and foreign or learned material (e.g. ecclesiastical texts).<sup>16</sup>

It is moot whether those who put the *Íslendingasögur* together in written form collected pre-existing, 'genuine' oral traditions that were associated with specific places and place-names and worked them up in writing, or alternatively took certain place-names and used them as the spark of anecdotal inspiration, creating characters and events out of them and moulding these anecdotes into bigger and more coherent wholes. Most likely, a combination of the two approaches was utilised, perhaps in differing proportions from one saga to another. The same holds for what we might surmise about the role of place-names as a source for material we find in *Landnámaþók*. And in an attempt to consider the ways in which the Icelandic landscape might have contributed to and shaped the written *Íslendingasögur*, *Landnámaþók* – as an example of early historical writing – can give us useful insights into how knowledge about historical figures and events was organised first and foremost on a spatial basis in conjunction with genealogy.<sup>17</sup> The manner or rhetoric by which individual settlers

<sup>16</sup> See further Carol Clover, 'Icelandic Family Sagas (*Íslendingasögur*)', in *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*, ed. Carol Clover and John Lindow (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985. Reprinted 2005), 239–315.

<sup>17</sup> See Margaret Clunies Ross, 'The Development of Old Norse Textual Worlds: Genealogical Structure as a Principle of Literary Organization in Early Iceland,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 92 (1993): 372–85, and 'Textual Territory: The Regional Dynamic of Medieval Icelandic Literary Production,' *New Medieval Literatures* 1 (1997): 9–30. See also Margaret Clunies Ross, 'Land-Taking and Text-Making in Medieval Iceland,' in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomasch and

are presented in *Landnámabók* ('Settler X claimed land at Y, and lived at X-bær/staðir') is replicated time and again in the *Íslendingasögur* in passages which describe the claiming, naming and settling of local areas.

Place-names in the *Íslendingasögur*, particularly in passages that describe the discovery, naming, and claiming of local areas, have a range of characteristics and can be divided into different types or categories. They are often transparent (or seem to be – on which more below) in terms of the linguistic elements they are constructed from, and their simplex or compound meaning. They can be descriptive, reflecting the perceived appearance of a natural feature or area (e.g. Hvítá; Reykjanes). Some incorporate the relative cardinal position of a given natural feature or area to other features or areas (e.g. Norðurá; Vestfirðir). Some communicate information about natural resources associated with a specific place or area (e.g. Álftanes, Skógar). Some incorporate a personal name, either as the first element of manmade structures such as farms (e.g. Grímkelsstaðir), or as the first element of a natural feature of the landscape (e.g. Hallmundarhraun). Finally, some place-names seem to commemorate an event (e.g. Orrustudalur, Orrustuhóll) or some act performed by an individual (e.g. Bjarnarhláup), and thus seem to preserve the memory of something that happened (or is said to have happened) at a specific spot.

Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 159–84. Though the versions of *Landnámabók* that survive in extant manuscripts date to the thirteenth century and later, the geographical organisation of the material, and the emphasis on specific, identifiable places and people and events associated with these places, must have been an original, twelfth-century structural principle. It is worth noting that though *Landnámabók* gives the impression of being comprehensive and encyclopedic, archaeological investigation presents a more complex picture of settlement around Iceland, not least having uncovered places/sites not mentioned in any textual sources (see, e.g., Adolf Friðriksson and Orri Vésteinsson, 'Creating a Past: A Historiography of the Settlement of Iceland,' in *Contact, Continuity and Collapse: The Norse Colonization of the North Atlantic*, ed. James Barrett (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 130–61). On place-names in *Landnámabók* (and their use as a source), see Jakob Benediktsson, Introduction to *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, Íslenzk fornrit, vol. 1 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1968), cxl–cxliii; Oskar Bandle, 'Die Ortsnamen in der Landnámabók,' in *Sjötíu ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni*, ed. Einar G. Pétursson and Jónas Kristjánsson (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1977), 47–68; Helgi Þorláksson, 'Sjö örnefni og Landnáma. Um ótengd mannanöfn sem örnefni og frásagnir af sjö landnemum,' *Skírnir* 152 (1978): 114–61; Haraldur Matthiasson, 'Um staðfræði Landnámabókar' (Reykjavík: Félag áhugamenn um réttarsögu, 1983).

However, as Þórhallur Vilmundarson has suggested in his ‘náttúrunafnakenning’ theory, the origins of place-names that appear to incorporate a personal name, or to refer to an object (and that are presented on the basis of this assumption in *Landnámabók* and the *Íslendingasögur*), may in fact have been determined by topographical features rather than commemorating an individual or an object. In these instances, place-names which comprised a descriptive element attached to a natural feature or place were later reinterpreted as a personal name plus place or natural feature.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently, anecdotal traditions may have been created or grown up in order to explicitly or implicitly explain the name.

It is striking that in some sagas (for example *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, *Flóamanna saga*, *Gull-Pórís saga*, *Harðar saga ok Hólmerja*, *Kjalnesinga saga*, *Laxdæla saga*, *Vatnsdæla saga*), there is a high concentration of instances where the origins of place-names (both manmade structures and natural features) are given explicit narratorial explanation. In these sagas (and also in others, though at a lower frequency), a story is told that explains how a specific place came to have the name it bears – as a direct consequence of an event or person associated with that place. In *Harðar saga*, for example, of some 130 or so place-names, around 25 or 20% have some explicit or implicit narrative relevance. A similar proportion is found in *Flóamanna saga* (17 of 78 place-names); in *Kjalnesinga saga*, some 15 out of 40 (just under 40%) have an explicit or implicit anecdotal explanation. In other sagas, though, there are very few instances of these explicit place-name explanations: *Njáls saga*, for example (which mentions more than 200 place-names in total, the most in any single saga), contains only two such explicit place-name anecdotes.<sup>19</sup>

This lack of explicit recourse to place-name anecdotes in *Njáls saga* is as striking as the high proportion of them in other sagas – not least considering the fact that there are many local place-names associated with the saga and saga characters but not named in the written texts of the saga, or

<sup>18</sup> Þórhallur Vilmundarson, *Um sagnfræði. Próun sagnaritunar. Heimspekiðenningar um sögu. Heimildafræði* (Reykjavík, [n.p.]: 1969), and ‘-stad,’ in *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, vol. 16 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1971), 578–84. See also Helgi Þorláksson, ‘Sjö örnefni’ and Guðrún Ása Grimsdóttir, ‘Harðar saga og uppsprettur íslenskskra örnefna,’ *Skírnir* 166 (1992): 451–62.

<sup>19</sup> These are found in chapter 72 and chapter 129, where it is explained how Porgeirsvað and Káragrón, respectively, acquired their names.

not in all texts. Well-known examples are the rock ‘Gunnarsklettur’ by the river Rangá (where Gunnar fought a fierce battle against Starkaður Barkarson and other enemies, *Njáls saga* chs. 62–63) and ‘Flosadalur’ on Þríhyrningur (where Flosi and his band of burners are said to have hidden themselves and their horses following the burning of Bergþórshvoll, *Njáls saga* ch. 130).<sup>20</sup> Either Gunnarsklettur and Flosadalur (and other comparable place-names associated with a saga but not named in written saga texts) were created or bestowed on places after written texts of sagas started circulating as a kind of landscape-based response to or reception of the saga, or, (in the case of this example) the highly literate figure behind the written composition of *Njáls saga* in the late thirteenth century chose not to use these place-names, thereby giving *Njáls saga* a distinctively different character in this respect when compared with sagas such as *Harðar saga* or *Kjalnesinga saga*.

In addition to considering the relative frequency of these explanatory place-name anecdotes from one saga to another, their distribution throughout individual saga narratives is also worthy of note. As might be expected, this kind of place-name rhetoric is most common in the passages in sagas which describe the settlement process – the claiming and naming of tracts of land, and the building of farmsteads. In this context, one place-name-related trope that has been examined is that of a primary settler distributing land amongst those who accompanied him or her, and these parcels of land each being named after the respective recipient. Anne Holtsmark has drawn attention to the passages in chapters 25 and 29 of *Egil's saga*, which describe how twelve men accompany Skalla-Grímur when he meets King Haraldur and subsequently sail with him to Iceland; once there, each follower is given land. Grímur thus settles near Grímsá, Áni at Ánabrekka, Grímolfur at Grímolsstaðir (Grímolfur is also associated with Grímolfslækur and Grímolfsfit, notes the saga), Grímar at Grímarsstaðir, Grani at Granastaðir, Þorbjörn krumur at Krumsshólar, Þorbjörn beigaldi at Beigalda, Pórður þurs at Pursstaðir, Þorgeir jarðlangr at Jarðlangsstaðir.

<sup>20</sup> See further Emily Lethbridge and Steven Hartman, ‘The Initiative Inscribing Environmental Memory in the Icelandic Sagas and the Project Icelandic Saga Map,’ *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 131 (2016): 385.

Holtsmark notes that the presentation of these men is curious, to say the least: “Hva er dette for slags følge å møte opp hos en konge med? Troll og løysinger og tusser! ... ‘tolv berserker’ er et vanlig motiv i sagaene ... Skallagrims følgesmenn er hamramme” [‘What kind of a following is this to arrive before the king? Trolls and lowlifes and freaks! ... ‘twelve berserkers’ is a common motif in the sagas ... Skalla-Grímur’s followers are shapeshifters’].<sup>21</sup> Holtsmark argues that these men’s function in the narrative is limited and that it is unlikely they represent any real ‘historical’ tradition; where, then, she asks, did the author get the names of these reprobrates from? Could it have been the names were ‘documented’ in Mýrasýsla place-names?<sup>22</sup> The way in which the saga lists the followers and their new farms (all of which derive their names from the followers, according to the saga’s rhetoric) is suspiciously neat in Holtsmark’s opinion: “Spørsmålet er om det er gjort på grunnlag av en ættetradisjon om Skallagrims følge, eller om sagaforfatteren har diktet opp det groteske følget på grunnlag av stedsnavn han fant i omegnen av Borg” [‘The question is whether this was done on the basis of a family tradition about Skalla-Grímur’s following, or whether the saga author conjured up this grotesque company on the basis of place-names he found in the vicinity of Borg’].<sup>23</sup> Holtsmark’s answer tends to the latter of the two possibilities.<sup>24</sup>

Parallel instances to this – that is, clusters of place-name explanations being associated with followers of the principal settler and presented early on in the narrative, in the sections that describe the arrival and establishment of the protagonists – can be found in *Laxdæla saga* (chs. 5–6) and *Kjalnesinga saga* (chs. 2–3). There are also examples in *Bárðar saga* (chs. 3–4) but *Bárðar saga*, together with *Harðar saga*, is characterised by recourse to this ‘place-name explanation’ rhetoric throughout its narrative. The issue of whether saga authors concocted anecdotes on the basis of place-names, or drew on ‘genuine’ traditions associated with place-names

<sup>21</sup> ‘Skallagrims heimamenn,’ *Maal og minne* 7 (1971): 97–105, at 99.

<sup>22</sup> ‘Skallagrims heimamenn,’ 100.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Skallagrims heimamenn,’ 101.

<sup>24</sup> “Gårdene med navn etter folk med underlige tilnavn har ligget der omkring ham som forfatter *Egils saga* først på 1200-tallet, og han har av navnene laget set et bilde av Skallagrims følge” [‘Farms with place-names derived from people with strange bynames surrounded the person who first authored *Egils saga* in the thirteenth century, and from these names he conjured up a picture of Skalla-Grímur’s following’], ‘Skallagrims heimamenn,’ 103.

takes on a further significance because of its implications for where the *Íslendingasögur* – both as a whole corpus, and as individual narratives – might be placed on the spectrum of writing which has ‘genuine’ historical tradition at one end and fiction at the other (albeit fiction that was not necessarily intended as overt fabrication but more reconstruction of ‘what might have been’).

The high concentration of place-name explanations in *Harðar saga* and *Bárðar saga* has led critics to suspect that significant parts of these narratives are most likely to have been constructed on the basis of local place-names. Þórhallur Vilmundarson, in the discussion about *Harðar saga* in his introduction to Íslenzk fornrit volume 13, asserts that there is much “sem vekur efasemdir um áreiðanleik frásagnanna af Herði Hólverjakappa” [‘that causes doubt with regard to the reliability of narratives about Hörðr Hólverjakappi’].<sup>25</sup> Þórhallur presents and analyses a number of examples of what he believes to be indisputable place-name folk-etymologies found throughout the narrative (Katanes, Geldingadragi, Gorvík, Kúhallardalur, Svínadalur, Leiðvöllur, Dögurðarnes).<sup>26</sup> He adds to this list 16 additional place-names that feature in the saga and have been thought by critics to derive more reliably from historical characters’ names: Þórhallur is not convinced, however, and finds them equally suspect with regard to their value as ‘historical sources’.<sup>27</sup>

Þórhallur provides alternative etymologies for each of these place-names (Kattarhöfði, Skroppugil, Auðsstaðir, Bollastaðir, Indriðastaðir, Indriðastígur, Brandsflesjar, Bláskeggsár, Geirshólmur, Geirstangi, Helgusund, Helguskarð, Hagavík) and points out too that it is odd that not a single place-name in the saga is said to be derived from the name of the saga’s hero, Hörður.<sup>28</sup> Kristian Kálund mentions the place-name ‘Harðarhæð’ on the promontory/spit Þyrilsnes and which, according to oral tradition as understood by Kristian Kálund, is said to be the place where Hörður died after having fought off his enemies and incurred great injuries.<sup>29</sup> But this

25 Introduction to *Harðar saga*. *Bárðar saga. Porksfirðinga saga. Flóamanna saga*, ed. Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, Íslenzk fornrit, vol. 13 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornrítafélag, 1991), xxx.

26 Introduction, xxx–xxxiii.

27 Introduction, xxxiii.

28 Introduction, xxxiii–xli.

29 *Bidrag til en historisk-topografisk beskrivelse af Island* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1877), I, 291.

place-name is not found in written texts of *Harðar saga*, leading Þórhallur to conclude that it is not a place-name incorporating the personal-name 'Hörður' but rather the adjective 'harður', an element that is common in hill- and mountain-names.<sup>30</sup> Þórhallur's conclusion is that "örnefni séu mikilvægur efniviður Harðar sögu, til þeirra hafi verið sótt nöfn margra persónanna og atburðir hafi í ýmsum tilvikum verið lesnir út úr örnefnum" ['place-names are important (compositional) material in *Harðar saga*, the personal names of many characters having been derived from them, and, in some cases, events having been read out of them'].<sup>31</sup>

The treatment of and interest in place-names in *Bárðar saga* is comparable in many respects to what is found in *Harðar saga*. John G. Allee, in an article on place-names in *Bárðar saga*, comments on "the author's special delight in place names" and observes that "somehow the author's love of places becomes contagious. Thus to read *Bárðar saga* is to travel the land".<sup>32</sup> Allee puts forward arguments for *Bárðar saga* being, in fact, two sagas – *Bárðar saga*, followed by *Gests saga*<sup>33</sup> – and a discernible difference in the distribution of, and interest in place-names in the two distinct parts is one of his principal pieces of evidence: "different minds were at work in *Bárðar saga* and *Gests saga* and ... the different attitudes of these two minds can be most clearly seen by studying the way place names are used".<sup>34</sup>

Not only does Allee count twice as many place-names in the first part of *Bárðar saga* as in the second part (*Gests saga*) – 101 and 50, respectively – but in the second part of the narrative, the use of place-names is "completely utilitarian", with place-names being "useful to identify people or routes of travel" or "real places (and historical people) [being used] to

30 Introduction, xl–xli.

31 Introduction, xli.

32 'A Study of the Place Names in *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*', in *Germanic Studies in Honor of Edward Henry Sebri*. Presented by his Colleagues, Students, and Friends on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday, March 3, 1968, ed. Frithjof Andersen Raven, Wolfram Karl Legner and James Cecil King (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1968), 35.

33 The saga is divided in two and given two titles in the seventeenth-century manuscript BL Add. 4868: "Sagan af Bárði Dumbssyni, er kallaður var Snæfellsás" and "Sagan af Gest, syni Bárðar Snæfellsáss". For references to earlier scholarship on the saga's bipartite nature, see Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, introduction to *Harðar saga*, lxxiii and fn 9.

34 'A Study of the Place Names in *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*', 16.

gain verisimilitude".<sup>35</sup> There is only one instance of an explanation for a place-name given in the second part of the saga (for that of Hítardalur, in chapter 13, where the saga states that "í þann tíma var Hít tröllkona uppi og bygði Hundahelli í þeim dal, er síðan var kallaðr Hítardalr" ['at that time, the troll-woman Hít was alive and lived in Hundahellir, in the valley later called Hítardalur]). In the first part of the saga, by contrast, a number of names are given "special attention" by the author, this constituting a veritable "onomastic outpouring" and "naming spree" in chapter 3.<sup>36</sup> Allee does not discuss in any detail the extent to which the posited author of *Bárðar saga/Gests saga* might have created the narrative out of existing place-names around Snæfellsnes and beyond, but he implies this may have been the process with the statement that "at least fictitiously, he [the author] claims either (a) to tell who did the naming, or (b) to explain how the place was named".<sup>37</sup>

It may be that there is some relationship between the proportion of explicit explanatory place-name anecdotes or use of them as a source – whether the tradition associated with any given place-name is 'genuine' or pre-dates the writing of the saga, or is the construction of the saga-writer – and the posited date of the composition of respective sagas. Largely on the basis of style (and the inclusion of folk-tale related or fantastic material), most of the sagas that have a higher proportion of explicit place-name explanations (e.g. *Bárðar saga*, *Kjalnesinga saga*, *Harðar saga* – the version of this latter saga that is extant is thought to be a reworking of an older version) are those typically designated 'post-classical' rather than 'classical' sagas, and dated to the fourteenth rather than thirteenth century.<sup>38</sup> But texts of *Laxdæla saga* and *Egils saga*, on the other hand, survive in manuscripts that are amongst the oldest extant witnesses for the written *Íslendingasögur*, albeit fragmentary.<sup>39</sup> It seems then that it may be instead

35 'A Study of the Place Names in *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*', 29–30.

36 'A Study of the Place Names in *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*', 31, 33.

37 'A Study of the Place Names in *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*', 33.

38 Vésteinn Ólason, 'Family Sagas,' in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 114–15.

39 The oldest extant manuscript witness of *Egils saga*, AM 162 a 0 fol., is dated to c. 1240–1260 (handrit.is) and manuscript evidence attests to *Laxdæla saga* being transmitted in written form at least as early as the mid-thirteenth century: the single leaf of AM 162 d II fol. containing a text of *Laxdæla saga* is dated to c. 1250–1300 (handrit.is).

a question of rhetorical style. In some instances, one function of this kind of explicit comment or narrative association of places with events and characters in the sagas is as a kind of corroboration or means of asserting the veracity of the story being told, not unlike the way in which skaldic verse is deployed in *Heimskringla* or other *konungasögur*, attributed to a poet and used to confirm or substantiate the description of the event just related.<sup>40</sup>

### Place-names and topographic discussion in Íslenzk fornrit editions

Þórhallur Vilmundarson, in his introduction to *Bárðar saga* in Íslenzk fornrit 13, is of the opinion that “höfundur Bárðar sögu hefur að verulegu leyti lesið persónur og atburði sögunnar út úr örnefnum” [‘the author of *Bárðar saga*, in a substantial way, read saga characters and events out of place-names’] and that (as Holtsmark suspected of *Egils saga* and Skalla-Grímur’s twelve followers) “Líklegt er, að það eigi við um fylgdarlið Bárðar” [‘It is likely that this applies to Bárður’s followers’].<sup>41</sup> Following a line of argumentation similar to that employed in analysing the place-names in *Harðar saga*, Þórhallur provides alternative etymologies based on natural features for many of the place-names in *Bárðar saga* said to have acquired their name as a result of an association with a character or an event.<sup>42</sup> And, as with Hörður and *Harðar saga*, the suggestion is also made that Bárður, too, may well have been the fictional creation of the saga author, and invented on the basis of place-names. Þórhallur goes further here, though, in sketching out a scenario whereby Bárður was literally conjured out of the Snæfellsnes landscape. Thus, certain place-names and prominent natural features in and around the Dritvík bay (the cliffs that enclose the bay, a rocky outcrop in the middle of the bay that is reminiscent of a ship and now bears the name ‘Bárðarskip’, the suggestion of a face in this outcrop which looks up to the glacier behind) may have been the inspiration behind the creation of a story about a supernatural character called Bárður who arrived from across the sea, made land at Dritvík with

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., Heather O’Donoghue, *Skaldic Verse and the Poetics of Saga Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>41</sup> Introduction, lxxxii.

<sup>42</sup> Introduction, lxxxii–lxxxv.

his followers, settled on Snæfellsnes and subsequently – iron-pointed staff in hand – disappeared up into the glacier, after which he became known as ‘Snæfellsáss’ (from \*Snjófellsalfr).<sup>43</sup>

As Rory McTurk noted in his review of the Íslenzk fornrit volume, Þórhallur’s observations on the role that place-names and the landscape may have played in inspiring the written creation of *Bárðar saga* amounts, essentially, to a theory of saga origins, albeit not presented explicitly as such.<sup>44</sup> Though “by no means all Icelandic sagas can have originated in the way that *Bárðar saga* ... may have done”, comments McTurk, of all of the *Íslendingasögur*, *Bárðar saga* is one of those that best illustrates the potential of this theory, which “would not necessarily supplant the Book prose theory, with which the *Íslenzk fornrit* series has long been deservedly associated ... [rather] it would add an interesting dimension to the study of the complex question of how the sagas came into being”.<sup>45</sup>

The rootedness of the *Íslendingasögur* in their landscape settings, and the matter-of-fact presentation of and movement through places, is one characteristic that contributes to these narratives’ famous impression of verisimilitude.<sup>46</sup> Discussion of place-names and saga topography is found in every introduction to Íslenzk fornrit editions of the *Íslendingasögur*<sup>47</sup> but Þórhallur’s discussion and presentation of these ideas in the introduction to Íslenzk fornrit volume 13 distinguishes itself from commentary on place-names in *Íslendingasögur* in other Íslenzk fornrit volumes, however, by going much further. In older Íslenzk fornrit editions, the emphasis tends to be on the degree of ‘fit’ between descriptions of landscape in the saga texts and their modern-day equivalents. The perceived topographical ‘accuracy’ which any single posited saga author demonstrated, with the area he was writing about was used as an index for the saga’s ‘truthfulness’ and sometimes also marshalled as evidence for arguments concerning the location of any single saga’s composition.

The broader context for this approach is the compulsive ‘search for the

43 Introduction, lxxxv–xcii.

44 Review of *Harðar saga*. *Bárðar saga*. *Porksfirðinga saga*. *Flóamanna saga*, ed. Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 24 (1995): 166–70.

45 Review of *Harðar saga*, 170.

46 See, e.g., Schach, ‘The Anticipatory Literary Setting’.

47 Discussion is also found in local history journals such as *Múlaping*, and in the yearbook of the Icelandic Touring Association (*Árbók Ferðafélags Íslands*).

author' that characterised much saga scholarship up until the late twentieth century, when the move towards 'new' or 'material' philological approaches began to gain pace.<sup>48</sup> There is some discussion of 'historicity' in Þórhallur's analysis (e.g. of *Harðar saga* and the likelihood of Hörður being a fictional character) but his approach, however, puts the landscape in the foreground and rather than trying to explain instances of landscape-narrative mismatch, his discussion underlines the complex, reciprocal and processual relationship between place-names, natural features or other distinctive places, and the reception of narrative anecdotes bound to specific places.

The ways in which the sagas, too – especially once they were in written form – had an influence on the landscape (specifically, the cultural construction of the landscape over time, ever increasing and deepening the palimpsest-like qualities of the land), is drawn attention to as well in Þórhallur's discussion and in the footnotes about place-names throughout his edition. Bárðarskip – the ship-like rock in the middle of Dritvík bay – has already been mentioned, but there are numerous others. As is well known, it can often be difficult to establish when a place-name might have come into existence. In cases where place-names that are associated with *Íslendingasögur* characters or events exist but are not mentioned in the texts of the sagas, it is not unlikely that the written transmission of these narratives was a stimulus for the place-names' creation (although the possibility that they existed prior to the writing of any respective saga but were either deliberately not used, or not known of, cannot be discounted). The creation of these younger names may thus be seen to represent a kind of landscape-related reception or reader-/listener-response to the saga, an impulse to further write the saga into the landscape and into people's everyday experiences of it.

### Real-and-imagined *Íslendingasögur* places

The overlap between the world and landscapes portrayed in the written *Íslendingasögur* texts, and that/those familiar to the individuals and communities who participated in the transmission of the *Íslendingasögur* from medieval to modern times (whether by producing new manuscript copies

48 See references in fn 2 above.

on the basis of older ones, reading aloud from manuscript or printed texts of the *Íslendingasögur*, or retelling parts of the narratives in other contexts or via other media) makes this situation of continuous reception via the landscape possible. As such, the sagas are a good example of what the geographer Edward Soja has called “real-and-imagined places”.<sup>49</sup>

Many hundreds of place-names are mentioned in the sagas. Sometimes, the same place is mentioned in several sagas, though in different narrative contexts; at other times, a place is named only once, in one saga. The great bulk of these place-names still exist and are in use today which means that – at first glance anyway – matching places named in the sagas with places in the Icelandic landscape that have the same name today is relatively straightforward, even dangerously seductive and compelling, with the possibilities for the one-to-one alignment of saga-places and ‘real-world’ places being hard to resist and influenced by political, ideological and economic factors.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, as has already been mentioned, the appearance of continuity with regard to the landscape, together with the impression of topographical accuracy conveyed by the sagas, is one of the features that contributes towards their famous sense of realism and verisimilitude, and has been the subject of attention by critics and editors.<sup>51</sup> In telling and

<sup>49</sup> *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

<sup>50</sup> See further Lethbridge and Hartman, ‘The Initiative Inscribing Environmental Memory in the Icelandic Sagas and the Project Icelandic Saga Map’, and Ólafur Rastrick and Valdimar Tr. Hafstein, eds, *Menningararfur á Íslandi. Greining og gagnrýni* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2015).

<sup>51</sup> *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* has been a key saga in this respect, with places and place-names in it being scrutinised by editors of the saga and other literary-historical critics arguing either for the saga’s historical veracity or its lack of it. See, e.g. Jón Jóhannesson, Introduction to *Austfirðinga sögur*, ed. Jón Jóhannesson, Íslenzk fornrit, vol. 11 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1950); E. V. Gordon, ‘On *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*’, *Medium Ævum* 8 (1939): 1–32; Sigurður Nordal, *Hrafnkatla* (Reykjavík: Ísafoldarprentsmiðja, 1940); O. D. Macrae-Gibson, ‘The Topography of *Hrafnkels saga*’, *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 19 (1974–77): 239–63; Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, ‘Jökuldalsmenn og Hallfreðargata. Um staðfræði *Hrafnkels sögu Freysgoða*’, *Múlaping* 18 (1991): 12–28 and ‘Freyfaxahamarr’, *Skáldskaparmál* 4 (1997): 238–53; Páll Pálsson, ‘Er Reykjasel *Hrafnkelssögu* fundið?’, *Múlaping* 30 (2003): 84–85. In the case of *Hrafnkels saga*, the realism and detail with which journeys around the landscape are portrayed, for example, persuaded critics to believe it must be based on historical events and characters whose stories had been passed down orally and then put into written form.

listening or reading, much of the power of these narratives resides in their precise locatedness around Iceland.<sup>52</sup>

The oral anecdotes that were worked into written narratives were set in the landscapes in which the tellers/authors and audiences lived and moved around themselves. Some degree of topographic faithfulness was, presumably, a requisite in order for these narratives to be plausible, not least serving as a kind of local history. But there must always have been room for exaggeration or elaboration, too, with the landscape serving the dramatic requirements of plot, even if for the most part, the landscape stage of these narratives was familiar and realistic.<sup>53</sup> The section in *Grettis saga* which tells of Grettir's sojourn in the mythical and lush valley of Pórisdalur is one example of a possible liberty taken with the 'real' landscapes that the author(s) and audiences of *Grettis saga* would have known.<sup>54</sup>

In many cases, farms have stood on the same site for over a millennium and continuity can be assumed both with regard to place-names and the general contours of the landscapes. But in other cases, the situation is more complicated: place-names have been changed over time, been lost or moved around as settlements were abandoned and, sometimes, subsequently resettled at a later point in time.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the Icelandic landscapes have also changed dramatically in various ways over the centuries since the time of the settlement in the late ninth century, both as a result of natural events (e.g. volcanic eruptions and glacial floods) and human impact.<sup>56</sup> Both the

<sup>52</sup> See David Henige, "This Is the Place": Putting the Past on the Map,' *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007): 237–53 on the power of the 'this is the place' dynamic or trope.

<sup>53</sup> See Schach, 'The Anticipatory Literary Setting' and Wyatt, 'The Landscape of the Icelandic Sagas' on the narrative rhetoric of landscape in the *Íslendingasögur*.

<sup>54</sup> See, e.g., Björn Ólafsson, 'Ferð í Pórisdal,' *Eimreiðin* 24 (1918): 206–17; Ásgeir Magnússon, 'Pórisdalur,' *Iðunn* 15 (1931): 277–84; Jón Gislason, 'Sagan af því, hversu Pórisdalur er fundinn,' *Blanda* (1944–48): 333–55.

<sup>55</sup> On changing settlement patterns in Hrafnkelsdalur, the valley where much of the action of *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* takes place, see Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, *Byggðaleifar í Hrafnkelsdal og á Brúardöllum. Brot úr byggðasögu Íslands* (Reykjavík: Rit Hins íslenska fornleifafélags, 1991) and Stefán Aðalsteinsson, 'Bæjanöfn og bæjarrústir í Hrafnkelsdal,' *Múlaþing* 31 (2004), 57–68, for example.

<sup>56</sup> See, e.g., articles and further references in Ramona Harrison and Ruth A. Maher, eds, *Human Ecodynamics in the North Atlantic: A Collaborative Model of Humans and Nature through Space and Time* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014).

appearance and quality of tracts of land have been altered, and settlement patterns.<sup>57</sup>

The relationship between the landscapes and places described in the sagas, those that the saga-authors knew, and those that others have known and experienced since (up until the present day), is thus a complex one. It is this merging and overlapping of ‘real’ and ‘imaginary’ worlds that makes the subject such an interesting one to study though. Better defining the nature of the reciprocal and recursive relationship between saga narrative, narrative stage, and the known or ‘real’ world in which those who first put the sagas down in writing lived and knew, and subsequently, those who copied or retold or listened to the sagas existed in, is a challenging but worthwhile enterprise. Not least, this requires broadening our understanding of what it meant to ‘read’ a saga text.

### Indoor and outdoor contexts for *Íslendingasögur* reading and transmission

The appearance and what is known of the provenance of a number of medieval parchment manuscripts that preserve texts of the *Íslendingasögur* (in quarto size, with economical use of parchment, making use of rubrication in red (and sometimes green) ink but without lavish illuminations) suggests that they were produced for domestic use rather than primarily as display items or to serve explicit ideological functions (e.g. lawbooks), although the cultural capital implicit in owning books may have played into the commissioning of a book with a specific text or set of texts.<sup>58</sup> The contents of these compilation manuscripts (especially the late medieval ones) are

<sup>57</sup> *Landnámabók* notes a number of instances of landscape change between the time of the settlement and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as a consequence of volcanic activity or other natural phenomena; references to farms being abandoned or renamed are also found in the *Íslendingasögur*. In post-medieval times, other eruptions such as Öraefja and Hekla, and erosion caused by the grazing of domestic livestock over large areas, laid great stretches of previously inhabited land to waste. See further, e.g., Elín Ósk Hreiðarsdóttir, Guðrún Alda Gísladóttir, Kristborg Þórssdóttir and Ragnheiður Gló Gylfadóttir, ‘Abandoned Settlements at the Foot of Mt Hekla: A Study Based on Field Survey in Rangárvellir,’ *Archaeologica Islandica* 11 (2015): 33–56.

<sup>58</sup> See, e.g., Stefka Georgieva Eriksen, *Writing and Reading in Medieval Manuscript Culture: The Translation and Transmission of the Story of Elye in Old French and Old Norse Literary Contexts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

often diverse, with *Íslendingasögur* copied alongside other sagas assigned to the *fornaldarsögur*, *riddarasögur* or other saga genres, or other texts such as *exempla*. Similarly, many of the post-medieval paper manuscripts which contain *Íslendingasögur* texts also include texts from other genres, and appear to have been copied for the purpose of domestic entertainment and/or edification: title-pages and scribal colophons in post-medieval paper manuscripts (generally not present in medieval manuscripts) are evidence for this.

The chronology according to which events are said to have happened is the main structural organisational principle of the sagas, and modern readings and literary-critical studies of the *Íslendingasögur* – shaped to a significant degree by modern reading habits whereby texts are read on a consecutive, chapter-by-chapter basis – have tended to read and analyse them from start to end as whole units with introductory, middle, and concluding sections. The publication of editions and translations of the sagas divorced from their manuscript contexts, on a stand-alone, text-by-text basis, also implicitly influences critical approaches to and interpretations of sagas as individual, discrete narratives. The manuscript context of any single text – that is, which texts it is copied alongside – has rarely been taken into consideration in efforts to better understand how the sagas (or indeed most other medieval Icelandic literary texts, perhaps with the exception of skaldic poetry<sup>59</sup>) were interpreted or received over time in Iceland. The company which any single text keeps within the covers of a manuscript can have a significant impact on how that text might be read, which themes or motifs, for example, might be foregrounded, and even the genre to which a text might be assigned.<sup>60</sup>

Icelandic manuscripts were valuable possessions which were often passed down from one generation of a family to the next and they played a key role in the winter *kvöldvaka* tradition, from the medieval period

<sup>59</sup> See further Guðrún Nordal, *Tools of Literacy: The Role of Skaldic Verse in Icelandic Textual Culture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

<sup>60</sup> See Emily Lethbridge, ‘The Place of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* in Eggertsbók, a Late Medieval Icelandic Saga-Book,’ in *Uppruni og þróun fornaldarsagna Norðurlanda; The Origins and Development of the Legendary Sagas*, ed. Ármann Jakobsson, Agneta Ney and Annette Lassen (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2012), 375–403; Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, ‘Ideology and Identity in Late Medieval Northwest Iceland: A Study of AM 152 fol.,’ *Gripa* 25 (2014): 87–128.

up until the early twentieth century – albeit with their role varying and being contingent on changing tastes in literary entertainment and other external influences over time (such as the independence movement in the nineteenth century).<sup>61</sup> In the communal living and sleeping area of the Icelandic farmhouse, the *baðstofa*, members of the household would work at indoor chores each evening while one member read aloud from whatever manuscript or other printed material was owned or had been borrowed. In this communal, social space, the manuscript context would therefore have certainly influenced how texts were received by those listening and participating in the reading event. The transmission of texts preserved in saga manuscripts was shaped to a crucial degree by performance and re-oralisation, and by the dynamics between the individual(s) who took on the role of the story-teller and the assembled audience. In considering the transmission of *fornaldarsögur* literature, Stephen Mitchell has suggested that manuscripts may have been used “as a kind of promptbook for extemporized performative readings” rather than their texts being read word-for-word.<sup>62</sup>

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that, during the *kvöldvaka*, *Íslendingasögur* or other sagas were necessarily always read in their entirety

61 For discussion of manuscripts being handed down within families, see, e.g., Susanne M. Arthur, ‘The Importance of Marital and Maternal Ties in the Distribution of Icelandic Manuscripts from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century,’ *Gripla* 23 (2012): 201–33. On the tradition of the *kvöldvaka* in different historical periods, see Hermann Pálsson, *Sagnaskemmtun Íslendinga* (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1962); Magnús Gíslason, *Kvällsvaka. En isländsk kulturtradition belyst genom studier i bondebefolkingens vardagsliv och miljö under senare hälften av 1800-talet och början av 1900-talet*. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1977); Matthew J. Driscoll, ‘The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland,’ in *White Field, Black Seeds: Nordic Literary Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Anna Kuismin and Matthew J. Driscoll, (Helsinki: Finnish Literary Society, 2013), 50–63; Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon, ‘Living by the Book: Form, Text and Life Experience in Iceland,’ in the same volume, *White Field, Black Seeds*, ed. Kuismin and Driscoll, 64–75.

62 *Heroic Sagas and Ballads* (Ithaca NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 93. This kind of flexibility is in accordance with the freedom of scribes to alter the texts they copied from exemplars as they saw fit, whether to ‘correct’ factual information (topography, genealogy), update orthography and style, or improve the narrative. See also Stephen Mitchell, ‘The Saga-man and Oral Literature: The Icelandic Traditions of Hjörleif inn kvensami and Geirmundr heljarskinn,’ in *Comparative Research on Oral Traditions: A Memorial for Milman Parry*, ed. John M. Foley (Columbus OH: Slavica, 1987), 395–423; Hans Fix, ‘Text Editing in Old Norse: A Linguist’s Point of View,’ *North-Western European Language Evolution* (NOWELE) 31 (1997): 105–17.

(in the manner in which they are serialised on national radio today in Iceland), nor chapters read consecutively in the order they are found in the manuscripts. In contrast to the codex's predecessor, the volumen or scroll, whose contents could only be read continuously and consecutively, the design of the manuscript book made discontinuous reading as well as continuous reading possible, with blocks of text broken into smaller divisions and made navigable by means of rubrics and prominent capital letters or initials.<sup>63</sup> Someone reading from a manuscript (whether aloud or silently) could therefore flick backwards and forwards with (relative) ease and excerpt passages from different parts of the same saga, or from different texts. Comparable kinds of reading scenarios have been envisaged for manuscripts containing legal texts or ecclesiastical material but not for manuscripts containing literary texts which were intended for use in a secular context.<sup>64</sup>

Especially in cases where manuscripts contained a selection of sagas and other material, a scenario might be imagined whereby at the beginning of or during the *kvöldvaka*, the assembled audience might put in 'requests' to hear particularly entertaining passages or sections from one or several sagas and other texts, or decide on a theme (legal material, monster fights or encounters with the supernatural, ambush and death scenes, journeys, genealogical material) that determined which chapters or passages would be read aloud. As well as mood, such demands and performative excerpting depended to some extent too on the collective contents of any single manuscript, and what kind of thematically-determined motifs or strands might happen to be emphasised as the result of the combination of texts included therein.

Furthermore, the extent to which the *Íslendingasögur* narratives were likely to have been generally known without recourse to the written texts (arguably constituting a kind of collective/community national and local

63 See, e.g., Malcolm Parkes, *Pause and Effect: Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992); Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); William A. Johnson, 'Bookrolls as Media,' in *Comparative Textual Media: Transforming the Humanities in the Postprint Era*, ed. N. Katherine Hayles and Jessica Pressman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2013), 101–24.

64 See Jonas Carlquist, 'Medieval Manuscripts, Hypertext and Reading. Visions of Digital Editions,' *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 19 (2004): 105–18, at 108–109 on legal and ecclesiastical material.

canon, albeit more or less widely at different periods of time) meant that for a *kvöldvaka* audience, narrative chronology and causality were not prerequisites for following or enjoying the whole, if only implicitly rather than explicitly. Carol Clover has used the term ‘immanence’ to describe the over-arching familiarity with material about characters, events and places presented in the sagas.<sup>65</sup> A kind of excerpted, non-linear or thematic reading of the kind suggested above would have been possible because audiences possessed the framework of the immanent saga or saga world within which to fit in individual episodes that might be selected for reading aloud at any point in time. Importantly, command of this immanent saga world also entailed an implicit appreciation of the intertextuality of saga narratives, not least on the basis of overlapping characters, geography, and events described. This intertextuality is one of the corpus’s defining characteristics – but again, is something that is less obvious to modern readers and critics when the sagas are approached on a text-by-text basis.<sup>66</sup>

A base-level familiarity with or knowledge of any saga narrative (whether from direct access to manuscript texts via reading/listening, or via impromptu oral retellings) meant that in outdoor contexts, these narratives would have been present in people’s consciousness too, to varying degrees, as they existed in and moved around the landscapes in which the saga narratives are set. Here the recalling (and perhaps retelling) of narrative material was first and foremost determined by the landscape, rather than the order in which events are presented in the written texts, so people would have ‘read’ the sagas in a non-linear and fundamentally intertextual fashion by necessity. Movement, coupled with mental recall or retelling of material written out in full in the manuscripts, could be of different kinds. It might be of the eye looking over an expanse of landscape and focusing on one place or landmark after another, each in relation to the others. Alternatively it could be more active and physical, involving covering

65 Carol Clover, *The Medieval Saga* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982). See also Gísli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition*; Jamie Cochrane, ‘*Síðu-Halls saga ok sona hans*: Creating a Saga from Tradition,’ *Gripla* 21 (2010): 197–234.

66 Where the intertextual character of the sagas has been studied, it has generally been framed in the ‘rittengsl’ debate, either specific references to other sagas being focused on or passages that seem to be shared by two sagas being analysed in order to determine which saga may have been the ‘lender’ and which the ‘recipient’. See Theodore M. Andersson, *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins: A Historical Survey* (New Haven CT and London: Yale University Press, 1964); Carol Clover, ‘Icelandic Family Sagas (*Íslendingasögur*)’.

shorter or longer distances on foot or on horseback, singly or in groups, in order to reach a specific destination such as the local or national assembly, or to tend to livestock in a circumscribed area.

There must, of course, have been some variation in the degree of familiarity that people had with the written or immanent *Íslendingasögur* corpus as a whole but presumably, they would know (or be most likely to know) the sagas and other stories associated with their local area – not least from hearing or learning them in the *kvöldvaka* context.<sup>67</sup> They could thus consciously correlate the narrative action and topography of any single saga or episode within a saga with the landscapes around them and familiar to them, and might also unconsciously do this too. Understanding of *Íslendingasögur* narratives was thereby conditioned by and filtered through people's first-hand experiential knowledge of the landscapes around them – landscapes in which they were situated, and directly tied to as a result of genealogical connections and local history. Thus while the manuscripts were the vessels indoors that contained and channelled saga narratives in fully-developed written form, simultaneously, the landscape acted as a medium through which these narratives were communicated outdoors.

Jonas Carlquist discusses a concept or technique called 'analogue linking' in his discussion of Swedish composite manuscripts containing ecclesiastical texts.<sup>68</sup> Carlquist gives the example of a mention of the Latin title of a hymn in a text about what is sung and when, found in the manuscript Cod. Lund. Mh 20 from Vadstena Abbey:

"At page 165r in this manuscript we read ... 'Whitsunday when the sisters sing the hymn 'Veni creator spiritus' at the third hour Saint Mechthild saw the Holy spirit ...'. Here ... the Latin quotation [is] an analogue link to a special hymn, which was known at the monastery. It might also be described merely as a reference, but I think that is to simplify the problem. When a medieval manuscript discusses, for example, a passage in the Holy Bible, only the initial words are given

<sup>67</sup> The place of production of most medieval *Íslendingasögur* manuscripts cannot be ascertained; some clues regarding their geographical location post-production can be found in their provenance and ownership, but no systematic or large-scale study of the geographical distribution of production or provenance of medieval Icelandic manuscripts has yet been conducted.

<sup>68</sup> Carlquist, 'Medieval Manuscripts, Hypertext and Reading,' 109.

in Latin (sometimes with a translation). This does not have to be a reference. The citation is a link to the whole passage known by the reader. By supplying the initial words the medieval writers did in fact link to the reader's knowledge, to his or her mental library".<sup>69</sup>

If we return to the metaphor of the Icelandic landscape as a kind of manuscript, a medium through which the *Íslendingasögur* narratives were accessed and communicated, then place-names might be said to have served a comparable kind of mnemonic referential or linking function to the 'analogue links' or keywords in the manuscripts discussed by Carlquist. Moreover, place-names and the saga-narrative-anecdotes or characters associated with them gave structure and order to the landscape, helping to make places memorable and to fix their relative, topographical positions in people's minds and thus aid physical (as well as ideological) navigation. Place-names might thus be seen as being the equivalent of the enlarged capital letters or red-inked rubrics that mark narrative structure in the manuscripts and make the written texts navigable, whether read chapter-by-chapter or in a non-linear or chronological fashion.

### Medieval and modern hypertexts

In the quotation above about 'analogue linking', Carlquist refers to the 'mental library' of those who used the Vadstena Abbey manuscripts he discusses. His article, which is called 'Medieval Manuscripts, Hypertext

69 Carlquist, 'Medieval Manuscripts, Hypertext and Reading,' 109–10; see also Jessica Brantley, 'Medieval Remediations,' in *Comparative Textual Media: Transforming the Humanities in the Postprint Era*, ed. N. Katherine Hayles and Jessica Pressman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2013), 201–20. A parallel may be identified in medieval Icelandic manuscripts: particularly in manuscripts that contain texts of *konungasögur* (as well as those with *Íslendingasögur*), the quotation of skaldic verse is frequently encountered. These verses serve different functions (evidential, rhetorical, dramatic etc). In some cases, longer skaldic poems have been broken up and individual verses are cited at different points, in other cases, a longer poem is referred to in the narrative and its title (and perhaps circumstances of composition) given, but only the first verse is quoted. It may be that the remainder of the poem was not copied out in full because the first verse was enough to trigger recall of the rest for those who were familiar with the poem; this has been argued for the first-verse quotation of longer poems in *Egils saga* (see, e.g., Judy Quinn, "Ok er þetta upphaf": First-stanza Quotation in Old Norse Prosimetrum,' *Alvíssmál. Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Kultur Skandinaviens* 7 (1997): 61–80).

and Reading. Visions of Digital Editions', also presents the possibilities opened up by digital editions of medieval manuscripts and the texts they preserve, and he underlines the advantages and flexibility of hyperlinks as part of such editions, noting that "The editor may also insert new links that are not found in the original manuscript, but are needed for the modern reader's understanding. The material linked to can, for example, supply information about palaeography, historical linguistics, terminology, the critical status of the text, etc" as well as being used to give users access to texts, knowledge, or even rituals referred to in a manuscript's "original analogue links".<sup>70</sup> The kind of non-sequential reading such a linking framework offers is, it is suggested, akin to hypertexts as developed in modern computer terminology and digital contexts.

This theoretical idea is not developed to a great degree as the focus of Carlquist's article is more on what digital editions might look like. Over ten years on, much of what Carlquist discusses has been implemented as part of digital editions although a digital edition of a medieval Icelandic manuscript that comprehensively utilises these possibilities has yet to be released (multiple levels of transcribed texts, variant readings from other manuscripts, full lemmatisation, hyperlinks to other media or material etc). Following on from the parallels drawn above between how medieval Icelandic saga manuscripts were read by medieval and later Icelanders, and how the same narrative material was also simultaneously read out of the landscapes by the same people – that is, non-sequentially in terms of these narratives' chronology, and situated in the material context of the sagas' landscapes – the hypertext idea can be taken a stage further. Pertinent here, not least, are developments in media theory/new media theory, literacy studies and narratology that have taken place in the last decade in the wake of developments in digital technology and its influence in virtually all spheres of modern life.<sup>71</sup>

Marie-Laure Ryan offers the following definition of a hypertextual system:

"text is broken into fragments – "lexias," for George Landow; "textrons," for Espen Aarseth – and stored in a network whose nodes

<sup>70</sup> 'Medieval Manuscripts, Hypertext and Reading,' 114.

<sup>71</sup> See, e.g., Ruth Page and Bronwen Thomas, eds., *New Narratives: Stories and Storytelling in the Digital Age* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2011).

are connected by electronic links. By clicking on a link, usually a highlighted phrase, the reader causes the system to display the contents of a specific node. A fragment typically contains a number of different links, offering the reader a choice of directions to follow. By letting readers determine their own paths of navigation through the database, hypertext promotes what is customarily regarded as a nonlinear mode of reading. The applications of the idea nowadays include the World Wide Web, educational databases, the on-line help files of computer programs, Ph.D. dissertations and other scholarly texts, and multimedia works on CD ROM, as well as poetry and literary fiction".<sup>72</sup>

Hypertext literature, one of many manifestations of contemporary digital textuality, was first developed in the 1980s; its development has seen several phases and rapid advancement, accompanied by growing scholarly critical engagement and narratological analysis.<sup>73</sup> Its hallmarks are reader-narrative interaction and a process-orientated, collaborative and performative dynamic, reflexivity, recursivity, multiple-path structures, non-linearity and fluidity, and open-endedness.

Conceptually, hypertext literature has been likened to a journey,<sup>74</sup> a supermarket shopping experience,<sup>75</sup> a kaleidoscopic experience.<sup>76</sup> Cruc-

<sup>72</sup> Marie-Laure Ryan, *Narrative as Virtual Reality: Immersion and Interactivity in Literature and Electronic Media* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 206.

<sup>73</sup> See J. David Bolter, *Writing Space: Computers, Hypertext, and the Remediation of Print* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011. Second edition), and George Landow, *Hypertext 3.0: Critical Theory and New Media in an Era of Globalization* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

<sup>74</sup> "The text as a whole is a territory, the links are roads, the textual units are destinations, the reader is a traveler or navigator, clicking is a mode of transportation, and the itinerary selected by the traveler is a 'story,'" Ryan, *Narrative as Virtual Reality*, 218.

<sup>75</sup> "The reader browses along the links, takes a quick look at the commodities displayed on the screens, and either drops them into his shopping basket for careful study or moves on to other screens. This reader does not feel compelled to read the text in its entirety or to pay attention to every screen, because he sees the text not as a work held together by a global design but as a display of resources from which he can freely pick and choose ... In a variant of the supermarket scenario, the reader puts lexias into his shopping basket not to consume them individually but to use them as material to construct his own stories", Ryan, *Narrative as Virtual Reality*, 219.

<sup>76</sup> "The text consists of a collection of fragments that can be combined into ever-changing configurations through the random choices of the reader", Ryan, *Narrative as Virtual Reality*, 219.

ially, as George Landow notes, “In a hypertext environment a lack of linearity does not destroy narrative. In fact, since readers always, but particularly in this environment, fabricate their own structures, sequences, and meanings, they have surprisingly little trouble reading a story or reading for a story”.<sup>77</sup> The scenarios outlined above for reading and accessing *Íslendingasögur* narratives fit this hypertext model very well, especially if one takes both media – manuscript and landscape – that the *Íslendingasögur* were transmitted via into consideration simultaneously. The reading modes sketched out are process- and performance-orientated, collaborative, non-linear or fragmentary (without affecting knowledge or ability to grasp the ‘whole’ story) as well as sequential, and open-ended.

In both the manuscript and the landscape contexts, place-names are the equivalent of hyperlinks.<sup>78</sup> Places and place-names were receptacles for stories, prompts and vehicles for the telling of them, and as such, place-names served both practical and functional purposes and more ideological ones, being an expression or manifestation of cultural identity and belonging or ownership, as well as suggestive indicators for perceptions of the environment. As a kind of hyperlink, place-names represented the explicit and immediate points of departure for anecdotes about characters and events, enabling and inviting connections between defined, written saga narratives. They were also implicit or deferred points of reference which fed into a system or world beyond written saga texts and that took in other types of textual tradition (e.g. folk-tales or narrative rewritings in other media). Jerome McGann notes that the library is the oldest hypertextual structure in the world.<sup>79</sup> A strong case could be made for the landscape-story-text matrix being a yet older hypertext model or articulation.

<sup>77</sup> *Hypertext 3.0*, 234.

<sup>78</sup> In some new media/digital text studies, arguably too much emphasis is placed on the conceptual break between print media and electronic media with regard to the structural continuity versus fragmentation of textual units, and the passivity versus participation and dialogic engagement of the reader with these textual units. Medieval manuscript culture, on the other hand, can be fundamentally characterised as being both dynamic and shaped by reader-text dynamics, not least through the re-oralisation of texts in certain contexts, and also in enabling texts to be accessed by readers in both a continuous and a segmented or fragmentary mode.

<sup>79</sup> *Radiant Textuality: Literature After the World Wide Web* (New York and Hounds-mills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 72.

## Conclusion: Narratives and navigation

Whether reading from a manuscript indoors, or mentally recalling and rehearsing material that is found in written form in the manuscripts while moving around the landscape outdoors, the reader chose different paths through the narrative(s), collecting and linking anecdotes or motifs together. The etymology of the Icelandic verb ‘að lesa’ (‘to read’), reflects this idea, deriving from Latin ‘legere’, ‘to collect, gather together’.<sup>80</sup> In Iceland, from the medieval period to modern times, parchment and landscape always operated in tandem as material media (and vehicles for narrative) around and through which people navigated, both physically and mentally. The anthropologist Tim Ingold argues that human lives “are not led inside places but through, around, to and from them, from and to places elsewhere”.<sup>81</sup> Ingold uses a compound word which happens to have an Old Norse etymological pedigree, ‘wayfaring’ (ON ‘vegr’, ‘way, path, road’ + ‘fara’, ‘to go, travel’), to describe “the embodied experience of this perambulatory movement” that characterises human existence in the world.<sup>82</sup>

Human existence unfolds along paths rather than being bound to places; the paths forged or followed by humans meet, intersect and are entwined. “Every entwining”, writes Ingold, “is a knot, and the more that lifelines are entwined, the greater the density of the knot. Places, then, are like knots, and the threads from which they are tied are lines of wayfaring”.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, knowledge of places is “forged in movement”, and “every place, as a gathering of things, is a knot of stories”.<sup>84</sup> The etymology of ‘text’ fits nicely here, suggesting a knitting or knotting together of elements to create a narrative of one kind or another: ‘text’ derives from the Latin ‘texere’, to weave or thread together and ‘textus’, that which is woven.<sup>85</sup> Returning to the metaphor of landscape as text introduced to-

80 *Íslensk orðsifjabók*, ed. Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (Reykjavík: Orðabók Háskólans, 1989), 557–58.

81 *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 148.

82 *Being Alive*, 148.

83 *Being Alive*, 149.

84 *Being Alive*, 154.

85 *Oxford English Dictionary*, compact edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 2034–35; see also Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

wards the beginning of this article, we might add another metaphor: that of text or narrative as map. Both narratives and maps are frameworks used for organising knowledge in order to help us better understand the world and our place in it.<sup>86</sup> The way in which stories about and attached to specific places are used by individuals and communities as a means of aiding navigation – both physically, and emotionally or cognitively – has become a popular and fruitful subject of research by anthropologists focusing on cultures from around the world, both ancient and modern.<sup>87</sup>

The practical aspect or nature of place-names, and their importance for physical navigation and orientation as well as for transmitting narrative – especially where new lands are concerned – is underlined in a recent publication by Judith Jesch as part of a summary of Scandinavian naming practices.<sup>88</sup> The idea that the *Íslendingasögur* communicate, in part at least, something of the ‘mental map’ of early Icelanders has been explored by Gísli Sigurðsson and Tatjana Jackson.<sup>89</sup> The process of naming and

86 See, e.g., May Yuan, ‘Mapping Text,’ in *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, ed. David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan and Trevor M. Harris (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 109–23; Robert T. Tally, *Spatiality* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).

87 See, e.g., Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*; also Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994).

88 *The Viking Diaspora* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), 43–54. See also Jesch, ‘Viking “Geosophy” and Some Colonial Place-names,’ in *Names Through the Looking-Glass: Festschrift in Honour of Gillian Fellows-Jensen*, ed. P. Gammeltoft and B. Jørgensen (Copenhagen: Reitzels Forlag, 2006), 131–45 and ‘Namings and Narratives: Exploration and Imagination in the Norse Voyages Westward,’ in *The World of Travellers: Exploration and Imagination*, ed. K. Dekker, K. Olsen and T. Hofstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 61–79. See also Stefan Brink, ‘Naming the Land,’ in *The Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink with Neil Price (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 57–66, who writes that: “since place names are a mass material, their potential as socio- and cultural-historical sources becomes great ... since every name carries some historical information, place names can make the landscape ‘speak’ to us. The names give another dimension to the silent archaeological sources. They become small narratives that can be used in retelling the history of an early landscape” (57).

89 Gísli Sigurðsson, ‘Mynd Íslendingasagna af Bretlandseyjum,’ in *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature. Sagas and the British Isles: Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York, 6th–12th August, 2006*, 2 vols., ed. John McKinnell, David Ashurst and Donata Kick (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of Durham, 2006), I, 278–87; Tatjana Jackson, ‘Ways on the “Mental Map” of Medieval Scandinavia,’ in *Analecta Septentrionalia: Beiträge zur nordgermanischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte*, ed. Wilhelm Heizmann, Klaus Böldl and Heinrich Beck (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2009), 211–20.

place-name explanation on the basis of anecdote in the *Íslendingasögur* is presented in these written narratives as being motivated by practical impulses, and must (prior to the writing down of the sagas, and subsequently) have been a means of aiding physical navigation by making specific places or landmarks more memorable and fixing the relative positioning of places more securely in mind. Equally, several ideological dynamics are at play: naming – and documenting the giving of these names via narrative, whether oral or written – serves the need to establish and legitimise a connection or a direct relationship with the land, not least, one that implies or communicates ownership and thus power.<sup>90</sup> Naming, in conjunction with movement, is the means by which – in the saga narratives, whether communicated indoors or outdoors – the unfamiliar, previously untraversed and unsettled landscape was made familiar, transformed into a cultural landscape, mapped and divided up between new settlers, and remained the patrimony or endowment of subsequent generations of Icelanders.

In order to understand the significance of the *Íslendingasögur* to Icelanders, locally and nationally, over time, it is crucial to define the nature of the relationship between places, place-names and the stories that they hold in crystallised form, and the longer written narratives that comprise the *Íslendingasögur* corpus. The *Íslendingasögur* were transmitted orally and in writing, and their continued transmission via manuscripts and the landscape in turn shaped people's continued engagement with, and perceptions of the landscape and the articulation of these stories in their written format. Icelanders used these narratives to navigate with, to help them understand their place in the world physically and existentially, both by looking backwards and remembering their ancestors and by looking forwards – not least, in the context of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century fight for independence, for example.<sup>91</sup>

90 See Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape*; and on naming as a performative speech-act in *Vatnsdæla saga* and *Landnámaþólk*, see Barraclough, 'Naming the Landscape'.

91 See, e.g., Ian Wyatt, 'The Landscape of the Icelandic Sagas: Text, Place and National Identity,' *Landscape* 1 (2004): 55–72; Jón Karl Helgason, 'We Who Cherish *Njáls saga*: Alþingi as Literary Patron,' in *Northern Antiquity: The Post-Medieval Reception of Edda and Saga*, ed. Andrew Wawn (Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, 1994), 143–61 and *The Rewriting of Njáls saga: Translation, Ideology and Icelandic Sagas* (Clevedon and Buffalo: Multilingual Matters, 1999); Reinhard Hennig, 'A Saga for Dinner: Landscape and Nationality in Icelandic Literature,' *Ecozon* 2 (2011): 61–71.

An approach that gives equal weight to both material contexts in which the *Íslendingasögur* were transmitted – parchment/paper and landscape – can draw out the nature of the active, experiential dynamics that characterised transmission beyond the evolution of saga texts from one manuscript to another, and with reference to the provenance of manuscripts. Just as “The landscape is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it, and contest it”,<sup>92</sup> so are narratives equally dynamic, rewritten and retold by every generation. When attention is directed only at the material preservation of the sagas in parchment and paper copy, only half the story of the sagas’ transmission is told. Despite the complexity of the relationship between the sagas and the landscapes in which they are set, the two cannot be divorced, and the ways in which the textual or literary meaning(s) of the *Íslendingasögur* have been constructed and shaped by the material contexts in which they have been transmitted over a period of nearly 1000 years can only come in to focus when landscape and manuscript as media are considered in tandem.<sup>93</sup>

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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<sup>92</sup> Barbara Bender, ed., *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 3.

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## E F N I S Á G R I P

Íslendingasögur og landslag þeirra: Ritun, lestur og endursagnir Íslendingasagna.

**Lykilorð:** Íslendingasögur, varðveisla þeirra, handrit, landslag, örnefni, efnisleg textafræði, læsi, stiklutekti (e. ‘hypertext’)

Markmið greinarinnar er að skoða í sömu andrá handrit og landslag í sambandi við varðveislu og viðtöku Íslendingasagna. Þannig er dregið fram mikilvægi hvorutveggja (handrita og landslags) fyrir þekkingu Íslendinga á sögunum í aldanna rás. Þess háttar nálgun gæti talist eins konar eðlilegt framhald á því sem kallast á ensku „material turn“, sem hefur haft áhrif á aðferðafræðina við rannsóknir á íslenskum miðaldabókmenntum á seinni árum. Annarskonar aðferð, ‘hypertext theory’, er beitt til að skilja betur hvernig Íslendingar lásu eða nálguðust sögurnar, bæði innandyra og utan frá miðöldum til nútímans.

*Emily Lethbridge  
Sérfræðingur við Miðaldastofu, Háskóla Íslands  
og Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum  
Árnagarði við Suðurgötu  
101 Reykjavík  
emily@hi.is*

ELISABETH I. WARD

## COMPLETING PÓRÐAR SAGA HREÐU:

### *A Regional Saga in Disguise*<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. Introduction

PÓRÐAR SAGA HREÐU, sometimes translated as the “Saga of Thord the Menace”, is an *Íslendingasaga* about a talented carpenter, poet, and warrior. It seems to have once been a popular saga. There are 43 attestations in extant manuscripts, including six in pre-Reformation parchment manuscripts, making it one of the better attested sagas.<sup>2</sup> Its popularity lasted into the nineteenth century in Iceland, seeing two separate *rímur* treatments develop.<sup>3</sup> Today, community members in Northern Iceland still discuss the saga with interest.<sup>4</sup>

There are also two different versions of the saga. Although there was an attempt in one manuscript, AM 486 4to,<sup>5</sup> to combine the two versions into a single saga, the Íslenzk fornrit editors choose instead to print both versions, plus a summary by Árngrímur the Learned in his 1609 work *Crymogæa*. They explain this unusual editorial decision thus: “Um Þorð

1 This article is a refinement and expansion of arguments in Elisabeth Ward, “Nested Narrative: *Pórðar saga hreðu* and Material Engagement” (PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 2012). I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of the article for their feedback, and colleagues at Berkeley and Árnastofnun for inspiration, and the audience members who heard and commented upon versions or parts of this article at conferences from 2008 to 2014.

2 Emily Lethbridge, “*Hvorki glansar gull á mér / né glæstir safir í línum*: Some Observations on *Íslendingasögur* Manuscripts and the Case of *Njáls saga*,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 129 (2014): 55–89, at 84–88.

3 Hans Kuhn, “Pórðr hreða in saga and *rímur*,” in *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature. Sagas and the British Isles. Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York 6th–12th August 2006*, ed. John McKinnell et al, 524–532 (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006).

4 See Sigurjón Páll Ísaksson, “Huglejðingar um staðfraði Pórðar sögu hreðu,” *Skagfirðingabók* 32 (2010): 137–152.

5 “Brot af Pórðar saga hreðu,” in *Kjalnesinga saga*, ed. Jóhannes Halldórsson, Íslenzk fornrit, vol. 14 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1959), 239.

hreðu eru til tvær sögur, önnur í heilu lagi, hin brot ein. Að efni og orðfæri eru sögur þessar mjög frábrugðnar hvor annarr ... Tengls milli sagnanna eru harla veik ... En tvær ólíkar sögur um sömu persónu get verið girnilegar til fróðleiks um vinnubrögð höfunda þeirra” [‘There are two sagas about Þórður hreða, one complete and one fragmentary. In content and style, they are very different from one another ... and the relationship between the sagas is quite weak ... but two different sagas about the same person can give much insight as to authorial style’]. The structural and plot distinctions between the Complete and Fragmentary (*brot*) versions will be further discussed below, as will how generic conventions may be useful in understanding why these two separate traditions developed.

It is the Complete version, though, that is far more widely attested and was apparently more popular.<sup>6</sup> So a short summary of the Complete version is hereby offered. The saga begins in Norway, where a man named Þórður, with three promising sons, dies; shortly thereafter his wife gives birth to a fourth son, who is named Þórður after his father. When the oldest brother is cuckolded by Sigurður slefa Gunnhildarson, the brothers redress the dishonor by attacking and killing him; the oldest brother dies in the attack, but the others escape to Iceland. Arriving in Miðfjörður, they receive a cool reception from the chieftain of the area, Skeggi. Matters do not improve even when Þórður saves Skeggi’s son Eiður from drowning; instead Skeggi sees it as a slight when his son decides to move in with Þórður and leaves his foster family. An opportunity for reconciliation arises when Skeggi’s nephew Ásbjörn arrives from Norway, catches sight of Þórður’s sister Sigríður, and is smitten. Ásbjörn asks Skeggi to make a marriage proposal to Sigríður on his behalf, and Þórður agrees to the marriage on her behalf. But when Ásbjörn leaves on a trading expedition, his brother, Ormur, arrives in Iceland and also falls in love with Sigríður. A feud becomes inevitable once Ormur seduces Sigríður: Þórður catches and kills Ormur.

The saga then recounts the efforts of various figures connected to Ormur to avenge his death, none of which involve formal legal proceed-

<sup>6</sup> Hans Kuhn in “Þórðr hreða” notes that the *rímur* were likely based on the AM 471 4to manuscript of the Complete saga, which is less wordy than the version used by the Íslenzk fornrit editors (AM 551 d β 4to). AM 471 4to is also the manuscript upon which the Svart á hvítu edition was based.

ings. Instead, ambushes and skirmishes in various locations play out, instigated variously by Skeggi, Skeggi's relative Özurr, or other fictive kin and business partners, as well as by Ormur's brother, Ásbjörn. These skirmishes take place as Þórður moves from Miðfjörður to Skagafjörður and back, as he travels to locations where he is building halls or ferry-boats, picking up building supplies, looking for a horse, or as he returns from Yuletide celebrations. In all cases, Þórður survives, most often thanks to the intervention of Skeggi's son, Eiður, who breaks up the mêlée. Between encounters, Þórður lodges sometimes with his brothers in Miðfjörður, but more often with a husband and wife living in Skagafjörður named Þórhallur and Ólöf, the latter of whom is skilled at healing. In one of the final battles of the saga, Skeggi kills Þórhallur with the sword Sköfnungur after being thwarted in his attempt to kill Þórður. Þórður marries the widow Ólöf towards the end of the saga. A final reconciliation between Þórður and Skeggi, brought about by Ásbjörn's change of heart and desire to marry Sigríður, occurs after one final failed ambush. The saga ends by saying Þórður lives out his life peacefully with Ólöf, Eiður gets married, and Ásbjörn and Sigríður return to Norway.

The Fragmentary version, in its extant form, has a lacuna beginning before the saga narrative leaves Norway and continuing all the way until near the end, when Þórður asks for Ólöf's hand in marriage.<sup>7</sup> Both the Fragmentary version and the Complete version find their oldest extant attestation in manuscripts dated to the first half of the fifteenth century. The Fragmentary version in AM 564 a 4to (so-called 'Pseudo-Vatnshyrna') has been dated by John McKinnell and was likely transcribed by one of the scribes who worked on Vatnshyrna, therefore it may have been produced in Eyjafjörður.<sup>8</sup> The Complete version in AM 551 d β 4to has been dated by Jonna Louis-Jensen and is believed to have been written by a scribe active in the Bishopric of Hólar around 1420.<sup>9</sup> Thus the differences between

7 The lacuna seems to have occurred after 1609, since Árngrimur's summary in *Crymogæa* has more plot details and is clearly based on the Fragmentary version. Jóhannes Halldórrsson, "Formáli," *Kjalnesinga saga*, ed. Jóhannes Halldórrsson, Íslenzk fornrit, vol. 14 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1959), xlivi.

8 John McKinnell, "The Reconstruction of Psuedo-Vatnshyrna," *Opuscula* 4 (1970): 304–337, 333.

9 Jonna Louis-Jensen, *Kongesagastudier: kompilationen Hulda-Hrokkinskinna* (Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 32. Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1977), 11.

these two versions do not seem to be a function of different times or places of composition. In this paper, it is argued that the two versions of the saga use different means of engaging with the intended audience and may have been written for different political purposes.

## 2. Scholarly Reception of *Pórðar saga hreðu*

Scholarly opinion of the saga, especially the Complete version, has been low and the saga has been roundly neglected in terms of literary analysis. The lack of scholarly interest in the Complete version of *Pórðar saga hreðu* may have something to do with the plot: as demonstrated by the summary above, it is repetitive and predictable, lacking a tragic element. Although individual scenes and skirmishes are dramatic, and there are some amusing characterisations and clever verses, the saga ends on a flat note without a strong narrative arc. There is also a lack of intriguing legal action to add political complexity to the story, and this has been taken by Vésteinn Ólason, for instance, as a sign that the saga author was not striving for verisimilitude comparable to that of the more classical sagas.<sup>10</sup>

The negative scholarly assessment of this saga began in the mid-nineteenth century, when Guðbrandur Vigfússon put it in among a group of sagas he termed “spurious sagas” that were “partly extemporisations on “hints in Landnáma and other sagas” and partly pure fabrications “when the very dregs of tradition have been used up”.<sup>11</sup> The sagas thus designated, including *Pórðar saga hreðu*, were published in 1959 in volume 14 of the Íslensk fornrit series, rather than with other *Íslendingasögur* in volumes 3 to 13, because they “eru taldar einna yngstar Íslendingasagna” [“are considered amongst the youngest Icelandic sagas”].<sup>12</sup> Once relegated to this volume, a literal backwater of the corpus, it seems *Pórðar saga hreðu*’s scholarly reputation continued to erode. Jónas Kristjánsson cites *Pórðar saga hreðu* as the worst example of the “wildly exaggerated stories” that Arngrímur Jónsson relied upon for his *Crymogea*,<sup>13</sup> and Vésteinn Ólason characterizes *Pórðar*

<sup>10</sup> Vésteinn Ólason, *Dialogue with the Viking Age: Narration and Representation in the Sagas of Icelanders*, trans. Andrew Wawn (Reykjavík: Heimskringla, 1998), 217.

<sup>11</sup> Guðbrandur Vigfússon, as translated in Martin Arnold, *The Post-Classical Family Saga* (Lewington NY: Edwin Mellen Press), 91.

<sup>12</sup> Jóhannes Halldórsson, “Formáli,” lxxv.

<sup>13</sup> Jónas Kristjánsson, “The Roots of the Sagas,” in *Sagnaskemmtun: Studies in Honour of Her-*

*saga hreðu* as one of a group of fourteenth-century sagas whose purpose was “pure entertainment”.<sup>14</sup> Other general works on the *Íslendingasögur* have simply been silent in regard to *Pórðar saga hreðu*.

It is important to note that the classification of the saga as late, and therefore derivative, was based entirely on the stylistic elements of the story, such as plot, characterization, and structure, and not on more “objective” linguistic criteria. Einar Ól. Sveinsson was only able to identify four words in *Pórðar saga hreðu* that linguists do not believe were spoken in Iceland before the thirteenth century, and he notes that a greater concentration of young words would be needed to make a determination of the age of the saga.<sup>15</sup> He was, however, unwilling to reassess the date of the saga, given its unsatisfying narrative.

The only effort to reverse this judgement came in a 1988 M.A. thesis by Jón Torfason which utilized Joseph Harris’ structural analysis method.<sup>16</sup> In an article summarizing his M.A. research, Jón argues that especially in terms of sentence structure, dialogue, and style, there is an economy to *Pórðar saga hreðu* which warrants that “frásagnartæknilega eigi Pórðar saga heima með þeim klassísku” [‘in terms of narrative technique it ought to be considered amongst the classic sagas’].<sup>17</sup> He suggests that the negative appraisal of this saga has had very little to do with the actual style, and instead is a judgment about the plot: “Líklega er það einna helst að sagan er skemmtisaga með ‘góðum’ endi og að persónur er í daufara lagi. Aðalpersónan leysir hverja þrautina á fætur annarri áreyndlulítíð en ekki fer fram mögnuð glíma við strið örlög” [‘Most likely this is primarily because it is a happy saga with a “good” ending and because the main characters are somewhat shallow. The main character solves one problem on top of another with little effort and never has an epic struggle with fate’].<sup>18</sup>

Jón Torfason’s more positive assessment of *Pórðar saga hreðu* as having

mann Pálsson on his 65th Birthday, 26 May 1986, eds. Rudolf Simek, Jónas Kristjánsson, and Hans Bekker-Nielsen (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf, 1986), 184.

<sup>14</sup> Vésteinn Ólason, *Dialogue*, 217.

<sup>15</sup> Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Ritunartími Íslendingasagna: rök og rannsóknaraðferð* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag), 126.

<sup>16</sup> Jón Torfason, “Þeir nafnar söttust í ákafa: könnun á frásagnartækni og aðföngum í *Pórðar sögu hreðu*” (MA thesis, University of Iceland, 1988).

<sup>17</sup> Jón Torfason, “Góðar sögur eða vondar: athugum á nokkrum frásagnareinkennum í Íslendinga sögum einkum með hliðsjón af *Pórðar sögu hreðu*,” *Skáldskaparmál* 1 (1990): 128

<sup>18</sup> Jón Torfason, “Góðar sögur eða vondar,” 128.

much stylistically in common with the core of the genre, except its happy ending, does seem to have had some influence on other scholars. Thus Martin Arnold's work *The Post-Classical Icelandic Family Saga* does not consider *Pórðar saga hreðu*, even though the other sagas addressed in his work are all found in Íslenzk fornrit volume 14. This silence is not necessarily because Arnold considers *Pórðar saga hreðu* to be a classical saga; it simply does not fit into the intentionally subversive and ironic framework he proposes to be the definitive characteristic of the "post-classical" genre. The latest scholarship has therefore, ironically, dismissed *Pórðar saga hreðu* from the one sub-genre it used to belong to. In what follows, I will discuss why this saga in its complete form might best be thought of as a regional saga, a sub-genre in need of more robust theoretical consideration.

### 3. Genres

Assigning a genre or subgenre to a particular *Íslendingasaga* is a complicated effort. Generic conventions change and drift over the length of time between the development of a saga from an oral anecdote, through an immanent saga,<sup>19</sup> and into a written form, plus later emendations and changes to that text as artistic styles evolve.<sup>20</sup> Generic classification is also complicated by the fact that a saga about the same character or events may be treated utilizing different generic frames by different traditions of transmission (either oral or written), which means a saga given the same name, but carried in divergent variants and versions, could be working in differing generic modes.

And unlike other literary fields where production information and authorship are known, generic distinctions in saga studies carry an additional complexity: they have had to be used as a proxy indicator of age, or at least relative age, an exercise undertaken for instance by Theodore Andersson.<sup>21</sup>

19 Carol Clover, "The Long Prose Form," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 101 (1986): 10–39.

20 Lars Lonnroth, "The Transformation of Literary Genres in Iceland from Orality to Literacy," in *Scandinavia and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages: Papers of the 12<sup>th</sup> International Saga Conference, Bonn/Germany, 28<sup>th</sup> July–2<sup>nd</sup> August 2003*, edited by Rudolf Simek et al., 341–344 (Bonn: Hausdruckerei der Universität Bonn, 2003).

21 Theodore Andersson, *The Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Saga: 1180–1280* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

Regional sagas have sometimes been argued to be early steps in the development of saga literature, and sometimes argued to be late in the development of saga literature.<sup>22</sup> The Íslenzk fornrit editors by contrast seemed to have assumed that the entire body of *Íslendingasögur* is ipso facto about a region: the volumes they published were organized, except for volume 14 discussed above, by region, starting in the southwest corner and moving clockwise around the island, utilizing the same organizational principle as *Landnámabók*. Perhaps this is why regional sagas as a subgenre have not received particular attention; it can be seen as a ubiquitous and general characteristic of the *Íslendingasögur* rather than a generic mode.

But in the discussion below, a different approach to genre is taken, which in turn could justify thinking of regional sagas as a distinctive generic mode. In keeping with broader trends in literary analysis outside of saga studies, the discussion below asks how genre conventions affect the author, text, and audience in the hermeneutics of reception, interpretation, and meaning making.<sup>23</sup> Genre is part of the agreement between the author and the reader as to what is expected: a reader who knows she is reading a crime fiction novel approaches the text in a different mode than a reader who knows she is reading a romance. It is a learned mind-set that affects the act of reading.<sup>24</sup> Generic expectations motivate the production, reception and transmission of a work. Because necessary generic identifiers for medieval manuscripts can be unclear,<sup>25</sup> it is necessary to look at clues within the text for how it is engaging its intended audience, and what response those readers may bring in the act of interpretation.

<sup>22</sup> Cf Jónas Kristjánsson, *Eddas and Sagas: Iceland's Medieval Literature*, trans. Peter Foote (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmenntafélag, 1988), 218; and Christopher Callow, "Reconstructing the Past in Medieval Iceland," *Early Medieval Europe* 14.3 (2006): 297–324.

<sup>23</sup> Ansgar Nünning, Marion Gymnich, Roy Sommer, eds., *Literature and Memory: Theoretical Paradigms, Genre, Functions* (Tübingen: Franke Verlag, 2006).

<sup>24</sup> See Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980) for a general discussion; Amy Devitt "Integrating Rhetorical and Literary Theories of Genre," *College English* 62.6 (2000): 696–718; and for a more specific analysis of how genre affects both the reader and the world, Jason Swarts, "Textual Grounding: How People Turn Texts Into Tools," *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication* 34 (2004): 67–89.

<sup>25</sup> Emily Lethbridge notes that efforts to assign genre based on rubrics or text groupings may not be particularly fruitful, "Hvorki glansar," 70–73.

#### 4. Genealogy and the Fragmentary version

One way audiences have been invited to engage with a saga is, according to Kathryn Hume, through the genealogies at the beginning and end of a saga; these genealogies establish a chronological link between the action of the saga and the members of the audience.<sup>26</sup> The Fragmentary version of *Pórðar saga hreðu* has interesting genealogies at both the beginning and end which have received some scholarly attention. For instance, the opening genealogy includes the story of Úlfsljótur bringing the Gulaþing law to Iceland – Ulfljótur being, according to this genealogy, the son of Þóra, who is the sister of Pórður’s father Pórður Hörðakárasón – in an account that differs from other accounts.<sup>27</sup> The closing genealogy has also been of considerable scholarly interest: it is cited by the Íslenzk fornrit editors and others in relation to the provenance of manuscript AM 564 4to, which contains not only *Pórðar saga hreðu* but also the earliest versions of several other *Íslendingasögur*.<sup>28</sup> The closing genealogy of the Fragmentary version is critical because it names not only Jón Hákonarson but also his wife Ingileif, establishing a strong link between the manuscript and the known compiler of *Flateyjarbók*.<sup>29</sup> Gísli Sigurðsson analyzed the closing genealogy of this saga as a demonstration of Jón Hákonarson’s knowledge of and reliance upon oral sources.<sup>30</sup>

The closing genealogy of the Fragmentary version of *Pórðar saga hreðu* does not just list Jón and his wife, it also makes a genealogical link between Pórður hreða and Pórður kakali.<sup>31</sup> The latter was the member of

26 Kathryn Hume, “Beginnings and Endings in the Icelandic Family Sagas,” *The Modern Language Review* 68 (1973): 593–606.

27 Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, *Blót í norrænum sið. Rýnt í forn trúarbrögð með þjóðfræðilegri aðferð* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 1997), 163.

28 “Formáli,” xliii. The Íslenzk fornrit editors believed AM 564 4to to be the book Árni Magnusson called *Vatnshyrnabók*, but it is now believed to be a copy of that book, and called therefore Pseudo-Vatnshyrna. See McKinnell, “The Reconstruction of Psuedo-Vatnshyrna.”

29 Jóhannes Halldórsson, “Formáli,” l. See also Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók: Iceland and the Dynastic Crisis of 1389* (Odense: The University of Southern Denmark, 2005), 404.

30 Gísli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition: A Discourse on Method*, trans. Nicholas Jones (Cambridge MA: Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature, Harvard University, 2004), 165.

31 “Brot af Pórðar sögu hreðu,” 246–247.

the Sturlungar family who managed, after two other prominent family members were killed in Skagafjörður in earlier attempts, to subjugate Skagafjörður to the power of the Sturlungar.<sup>32</sup> As Axel Kristinsson argues, it is likely that those aristocrats who commissioned sagas “used a popular hero of his principality to strengthen his own position.”<sup>33</sup> By creating a genealogical link between the two Þórðurs, one a popular and likeable local saga hero and the other a political interloper, Jón Hákonarson is legitimizing not only his family’s importance but also the political structure that forced Skagafjörður, a final hold-out of the traditional chieftaincies, to fall in line with the new post-Commonwealth political order.

The Complete version lacks a genealogy of the family at either the beginning or ending of the saga, which may have added to the scholarly perception of a shallow, fictional generic mode for the Complete version; genealogy adds historical weight to a saga. It is extremely difficult to identify political links in the Complete version of the saga through traditional saga analysis, leaving Vésteinn Ólason to hypothesize that the Complete saga was written so long after the traumatic events of the Sturlungaöld that residents of the area had simply ceased to care.<sup>34</sup>

## 5. Preferencing the Spatial over the Chronological: Regional Sagas

Rather than considering *Pórðar saga hreðu* as a pure literary fabrication unaware of the politics of the area, I propose quite the opposite: that the saga was intimately engaged with its local milieu and political situation. However, the nexus by which the Complete version expresses it is not

32 Árni Daniel Júlíusson and Jón Ólafur Ísberg, eds. *Íslandssagan í máli og myndum* (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 2005).

33 Axel Kristinsson, “Lords and Literature: The Icelandic Sagas as Political and Social Instruments,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28 (2003): 11. Axel does not discuss Jón Hákonarsson because his primary interest was in finding what inspired saga writing to begin with, rather than manuscript production. He also limited his thesis to Classical sagas, and his introductory argument depends on excluding *Pórðar saga hreðu*. This is unfortunate, since the “happy ending” of the saga might well have fit into his hypothesis that a saga composed in a traditional chieftaincy would be less critical of that structure, see “Lords,” 9.

34 Vésteinn Ólason, *Dialogue*, 217.

through genealogical emendations or overt political echoes,<sup>35</sup> but rather in the specific place-names mentioned in the saga. As a generic mode, landscape's relationship to text has been only loosely discussed. Torfi Tulinius notes that there seems to be a different tone when a saga is taking place in Iceland versus when it is not<sup>36</sup> and Jürg Glauser has argued that place-names can have enduring efficacy in linking the contemporary audience to the saga narrative: "By narrative means, a place-name is thus established to whose literary description the fiction immediately following it can refer repeatedly ... [this] transformation of nature into culture ... forms a trope of memory."<sup>37</sup> As Pierre Nora demonstrates, place is a strong mnemonic, and it is capable of generating and regenerating story.<sup>38</sup> In this paper, the mnemonic link established by places is offered as serving in the same way as genealogies, to bridge the gap between the time period of the sagas and the audience's own experiences.

*Pórðar saga hreðu*, despite being named for a stereotypical hero, is very localized: once the action of the saga arrives in Northern Iceland from Norway, it stays in Miðfjörður and Skagafjörður with only short forays into nearby Eyjafjörður and one into Borgarfjörður. This is not a saga sweeping all over Iceland or following the exploits of the hero to kingdoms abroad and back to Iceland again. As a carpenter involved in building many prominent halls and ferry systems in the area, Þórður is an important shaper of the built landscape and in that sense integral to the region.<sup>39</sup>

35 Cf Torfi Tulinius, "Political Echoes: Reading *Eyrbyggja Saga* in Light of Contemporary Conflicts," in *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World: Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, eds. Judy Quinn, Kate Heslop, and Tarrin Wills (Turnhout: Brepols 2007), 49–62.

36 Torfi Tulinius, "Landafræði og flokkun fornssagna," *Skáldskaparmál* 1 (1990): 142–56.

37 Jürg Glauser, "Sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendinga sögur*) and *þættir* as the Literary Representations of a New Social Space," trans. John Clifton-Everest, in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 209.

38 Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," trans. Marc Roudet-bush. *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989): 7–24.

39 The built landscape – roads, buildings, and other architecture – is distinguished from the natural landscape in as much as it is the product of human action. This is however a relative dichotomy, since even areas designated as "wilderness" are, in the act of naming, subjected to shaping by human minds. Ármann Jakobsson has discussed this in regard to *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss* in "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: Giants in *Barðar saga*," in *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature. Sagas and the British Isles. Preprint Papers of the 13<sup>th</sup> International Saga Conference, Durham and York 6th–12th August 2006*, ed. John McKinnell et al. (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006).

Not only is the setting of the saga regionally defined but also, to the extent knowable, the saga was written and rewritten in the same geographic area where it was set.<sup>40</sup> There is also little doubt, given the lack of parallels in *Landnámabók*, that a long-standing oral tradition about a carpenter in Skagafjörður inspired the written saga; even the Íslensk fornrit editors acknowledge that.<sup>41</sup> And the *rímur* tradition was similarly localized in its transmission history.<sup>42</sup>

Below, the effect this close contextual relationship with its local area could have on the reception of the text is analyzed. This method requires close attendance to place-names and landscape features in the text, and mapping those locations alongside the development of the narrative. Such a hermeneutics mimics the mental process which the local intended recipient audience, themselves intimately familiar with the landscape, would have undergone whenever they were listening or reading the saga. Knowledge of place brings a heretofore unacknowledged political complexity and richness to the Complete version of *Pórðar saga hreðu*.

## 6. Mapping as Method

As a method for understanding the rhetorical aim of a work of literature for its author and its reception by the intended audience, Franco Moretti suggests a rigorous use of mapping.<sup>43</sup> In his methodology, and for other literary scholars interested in issues of textual representation of place and space, what is important to note is that the real physical space referenced in a textual story influences the readers' interpretation of a text constantly and subconsciously. The reader plots the action described in a narrative fiction against their real-world knowledge of place. Scholars can replicate this mental process by marking onto a real geographic map places mentioned in

<sup>40</sup> A full discussion of the manuscripts and their probable dating is found in Ward, "Nested Narrative," 23–26. Given the concentration of manuscript production areas in the Northwest of Iceland, such an overlap is not unexpected.

<sup>41</sup> Jóhannes Halldórsson, "Formáli," liii.

<sup>42</sup> Kuhn, "Pórðr hreða."

<sup>43</sup> Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel* (London, New York: Verso, 1998); see also Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary Histories* (London, New York: Verso, 2005).

a text. The resulting map is an apparatus that allows a visual representation of the interpretive links a knowledgeable reader – or thoughtful writer – would have been mentally engaged in while navigating a text. The resulting map can then be analyzed for patterns after the act of reading is over. Saga studies have begun to take note of mapping as a tool for understanding how the sagas interact with environmental, gender, historical, and political changes, and includes important work by Christopher Callow<sup>44</sup> and an ambitious mapping project described in an article by Emily Lethbridge and Steven Hartman.<sup>45</sup> This paper builds on these efforts but with a greater emphasis on the intimate, phenomenological sense of lived landscape that the original, engaged reader/audience would have had in mind while listening to the saga.<sup>46</sup>

For the original medieval audience, a two-dimensional representation of real space – a map – was neither needed nor utilized. Instead, local people familiar with the landscape of the saga would carry with them a mental map that was not an abstract aerial depiction but rather an eye-level immersive sensory memory.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps they had traveled the same route as Þórður, perhaps they knew someone who lived at a farm named in the text. They would therefore be able to visualize the saga events in ways scholars and readers unfamiliar with the landscape can only approximate. For those sagas like *Pórðar saga hreðu* that have a limited geographic sensibility, the saga-teller was anticipating that the intended local audience would have that level of knowledge; in other words, it was part of its generic modus operandi.

- 44 Chris Callow, “Putting Women in their Place? Gender, Landscape, and the Construction of *Landnámabók*,” *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 7 (2011): 7–26.
- 45 Emily Lethbridge and Steven Hartman, “Inscribing Environmental Memory in the Icelandic Sagas and the Icelandic Saga Map,” *PMLA* 131 v. 2 (2016): 381–391.
- 46 My work is directly inspired by Gillian Overing and Marijane Osborn, *Landscape of Desire: Partial stories of the Medieval Scandinavian World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).
- 47 See Howard N. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2009) and Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge, and Description* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).

## 7. Mapping Farmsteads

To illustrate how cognizance of the real-world locations of places mentioned in a text can influence understanding of the saga, I want to start with Chapter 6 of the Complete version.<sup>48</sup> In rather common saga convention, it interrupts the narrative to introduce new characters who will come into the saga. Each new character gives the audience a clue as to the narrative that will thereafter unfold, and each personality trait assigned to them, as well as each juicy bit of gossip we learn about them, will come to have import in the story. This is normally understood as the saga style of foreshadowing plot:

Özurr hét maðr. Hann bjó í Skagafirði á þeim bæ, er á Grund heitir. Hann var Arngrímsson. Jórunn hét móðir hans ok var systir Miðfjarðar-Skeggja. Özurr var höfðingi mikill, því at hann hafði góðorð um inn efra hlut Skagafjardar ok út til móts vid Hjaltasonu. Hann var ódældarmaðr, ok ekki var hann vinsæll, meiri ok sterkari en flestir menn, ótrúr ok undirhyggi fullr. Þórhallr hét maðr. Hann bjó á Miklabæ í Óslandshlíð. Ólöf hét kona hans. Hon var væn kona ok inn mesti skörungr. Þórhallr var vellauðigr at fé; engi var hann kempa kallaðr ok heldr hræddr ok at öllu it mesta líilmenni. Hann var hælinn ok inn mesti skrumari ok þóttist flest ráð kunna. Ólöf, húsfreyja hans, var Hrolleifsdóttir, þess er nam Hrolleifsdal upp af Slettablíð. Hon var fyrir þeim um alla hluti. Hafði hon verit gefin honum til fjár. Hon var ung, en Þórhallr við aldr. Hon var læknir góðr. Kálfr hét bondi einn í Hjaltadal. Hann bjó á Kálfsstöðum. Hann var mikilhæfr bóndi. (ÍF XIV, pp. 190–191)

[There was a man named Özurr. He lived in Skagafjörður at that farm which is called Grund. He was Arngrímsson. His mother was called Jórunn and she was the sister of Skeggi of Miðfjörður. Özurr was a great chieftain, because he had authority over the outer part of Skagafjörður and all the way out until the claim of the sons of Hjalti began. He was an unkind man, and not popular, although he was stronger and more powerful than most other men, untr-

<sup>48</sup> “Pórðar saga hreðu,” in *Kjalnesinga saga*, ed. Jóhannes Halldórsson, Íslenzk fornrit, vol. 14 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1959), 190–191.

ustworthy and careless. There was a man named Þórhallur. He lived at Miklabær in Óslandshlíð. His wife was named Ólöf. She was a kind woman and the boldest. Þórhallur was financially well off, but far from being a champion, rather fearful and in every way an unremarkable man. He was boastful and a great exaggerator and thought he knew what was best. Ólöf, his wife, was the daughter of Hrolleif who had claimed Hrolleifsdalur up to Slettahlíð. She was more remarkable than he in every way. She had been married to him for his money. She was young, but he was old. She was a good healer. There was a certain farmer in Hjaltadalur named Kálfur. He lived at Kálfsstaðir. He was a well-respected farmer.<sup>49]</sup>

For some readers, i.e. those used to reading for plot and unfamiliar with the landscape, the details about farm names are easily skipped over in favor of the character traits and the premonition of a showdown between Þórður and Özurr. But for anyone familiar with the geography of northern Iceland, the list of place names also serves as a mental map, akin to a “google fly over”. The characters are mentioned in an orderly progression across the landscape, from southwest to northeast, the order in which they would be seen if one were standing at the western entrance to Skagafjörður, Arnastapi, a site mentioned later in the text. The place-names encourage the reader’s mind to start in the middle of Skagafjörður at Grund, and then look to the north, a mental effort especially encouraged by reference to the full expanse of the land claims, which pushes the audience’s mind northeast. Although serving as a foreshadowing of a chronological plot, this chapter also invites the audience to elicit their knowledge of place and landscape, and to fix the characters within that landscape. Özurr is mentioned before Ólöf, even though Þórður will meet her first, not only because he is the primary antagonist of the upcoming part of the saga, but also because his farm is in the middle of the valley. The other characters are listed from that central place.

Moreover, the original recipient audience may well have noted the Christian bias in the locations of these characters. The “google fly over” pulls the audience’s mental eye from the middle of Skagafjörður towards Hjaltadalur in the northeast, which is where the northern bishopric of

49 All translations of excerpts from the saga are by the author of this paper.

Hólar was established in 1106 A.D. The only direct reference to Hólar found in the text is the clause “er Egill biskup var at Hólum” [‘when Bishop Egill was in charge of Hólar’, i.e. 1332 to 1341], which is used as a time referent to explain how long one of Þórður’s halls stood. But even without being directly named, Hólar would have had tremendous real world associations for the intended audience of this saga. The saga seems to use Hjaltadalur, the small but dramatic valley ringed by steep mountains in the Northeastern part of Skagafjörður,<sup>50</sup> as a sort of stand in for Hólar, a site still today referred to as Hólar í Hjaltadal.

Mapping the named farms in the rest of the Complete version of the saga brings to light just how very much the text is favoring Hjaltadalur. No place-names are listed in the main valley of Skagafjörður traversed by Héraðsvötn River, which is the productive farmland and geographic center of the valley, even when Þórður travels through this area on his way to Flatatunga and Egilsá. Also, the only farmstead not leading directly into Hjaltadalur associated with a recurring character in Skagafjörður is the farm of Þórður’s enemy, Özurr. All of Þórður’s friends are from farms in the part of Skagafjörður that leads into Hjaltadalur or inside Hjaltadalur itself, such as the farm Kalfstaðir. One of his friends, Þórgrímur, is from the farm of Ás, the site where the first church in Iceland was erected sixteen years before Iceland formally adopted Christianity.<sup>51</sup> It is very likely the medieval recipient audience would have known this and would have picked up on the Christian association of these helpful friends of Þórður’s.

The heavy preference for the area near Hólar, combined with the silence about other parts of the valley, allows the text to create an authentic core of Skagafjörður that serves to define the whole valley. As Moretti notes, when texts create such a geographic focus, they are participating in identity politics: the features associated with that particular area are rhetorically offered to the audience as appropriate characteristics to define a larger region.<sup>52</sup> For the Complete version of *Pórðar saga hreðu*, only the farms very near Hólar can lay claim to being the authentic core of Skagafjörður, and thus Skagafjörður as a whole becomes a very Christian place.

<sup>50</sup> Sacred sites are often located in noteworthy topographies. See Richard Bradley, *An Archaeology of Natural Places* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>51</sup> See chapter 3 of *Kristni saga*, in *Biskupa sögur I*, edited by Jónas Kristjánsson, Íslensk fornrit, vol. 15 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 2003).

<sup>52</sup> Moretti, *Atlas*, 47

## 7. Mapping Skirmishes

With this understanding of the landscape in mind, certain other features of the text begin to make more sense. For instance, the various battles, which may seem frustratingly repetitive and inconclusive to some readers, have a geographic sensibility to them that helps explain why certain battles turn out the way they do. Within Skagafjörður, Þórður seems unwilling to kill his primary opponent (though he is willing to kill his companions). This pattern starts the first time Þórður leaves Miðfjörður and is entering Skagafjörður at its western boundary, Arnastapi. Although Þórður's quick temper and fast sword were emphasized in the killings of Jón, Auðólfur, and Ormur just a few chapters earlier, we suddenly find him here sparing the life of Ormur's blood brother, Indriði, taking him to get healed, and becoming friends. There is nothing in the set up to the incident to suggest such a change of heart; rather, it has all the markings of a major battle since Þórður falls asleep and dreams of "ófriðarfylgjur" just before it occurs.<sup>53</sup>

The geographic motivation for the change in character is apparent when comparing the skirmish with Indriði against the skirmish with Sörli towards the end of the saga. Both opponents are merchants who have links to Ormur, whom Þórður killed early in the saga.<sup>54</sup> They also stand out from all the other skirmishes in the saga because, unlike the strife with Skeggi and Özurr that plays out over multiple encounters, these are single, decisive incidents. In both cases, when the merchants arrive by ship to Iceland and hear of Þórður's killing of Ormur, they immediately set out across the landscape in search of Þórður. In both cases, Þórður is coincidentally heading himself across the landscape in their direction, and they meet out on the heath. In both cases, they ask each others' names, realize they are enemies, and then Þórður goads them into attacking him by saying they will not get a better chance to avenge their comrade Ormur. In both cases, Þórður makes a statement afterwards that they were incredibly valiant opponents. However, in the case of Indriði, Þórður decides not to kill him, and instead takes him to get healed, while in the case of Sörli, Þórður does not hesitate to kill him. There is no good motivation for Þórður to

53 "Þórðar saga hreðu," 195.

54 Indriði is described as a business partner and blood-brother to Ormur, whereas Sörli is described as an uncle (*föðurbróður*) or foster brother (*fóstbroður*) in the manuscripts.

spare Indriði in the first instance, since he had recently killed not only Ormur but also Jón, and conversely no good motivation for him to kill Sörlí in the latter incident, especially since Þórður's encounter with Sörlí occurs after everything has finally been satisfactorily settled and Ásbjörn has married his sister.

The saga tells us specifically that the encounter with Sörlí took place at Lurkasteinn, a landscape feature that marks the entry into Eyjafjörður. It is, in other words, just outside of the boundary of Skagafjörður. By contrast, the sparing of Indriði happens at Arnastapi, exactly when Þórður enters into Skagafjörður and can literally see Hjaltadalur. Similarly, the first sparing of Özurr takes place within Skagafjörður, the area right around Hjaltadal. It occurs as Þórður leaves a Christmas celebration at Kálfsstaðir.<sup>55</sup> The text draws attention to Þórður's decision to spare Özurr:

Eptir fundinn gekk Þórðr at Özuri ok kippti honum ór blóði ok skaut yfir hann skildi, svá at eigi rifi hann hrafnar, því at hann mátti sér enga hjálp veita. Allir flýðu undan menn Özurar. Eigi váru menn Þórðar færir til eptirferðar, því at engi komst ósárr af fundi þessum. Þórðr bauð Özuri at láta græða hann. “Eigi þarfut að bjóða mér lækning,” segir Özurr, “því at jafnskótt skal ek drepa þík sem ek komumst í færi við þík.” Þórðr kveðst ekki at því fara ok sendi Þórhall yfir í Ás til Þorgríms, er þar bjó, at hann sækти Özur ok græddi hann.<sup>56</sup>

[After the encounter, Þórður went up to Özurr and pulled him out of the blood and set up a shield over him so that the ravens could not pick at him, since he was unable to defend himself. All of Özurr's men had fled the scene. None of Þórður's men were fit to pursue them, since no one had emerged unscathed from this encounter. Þórður offered Özurr to get his wounds patched up. “You do not need to offer me doctoring,” replies Özurr, “because I will kill you the very second I get another chance against you.” Þórður replies he is not worried about that and sends Þórhall over

<sup>55</sup> This farm, located today directly across the stream from Hólar, is likely used within the fictional frame of the saga as a pre-1106 stand in for Hólar itself, since the saga time is circa 950 A.D., before the bishopric was established.

<sup>56</sup> “Þórðar saga hreðu,” 204.

to Ás to Þórgrímur, who lived there, and he brought Özurr home and tended to his wounds.]

Sverrir Jakobsson notes that in the eleventh and twelfth century, there was a specific ecclesiastical movement called the Peace of God, later broadened to the Truce of God, which called for the adoption of a non-violent mindset, especially towards priests' and Church property, but also more generally away from weapons and toward mercy.<sup>57</sup> Christian men were discouraged from spilling the blood of any other Christian man, no matter the cause, in this movement.<sup>58</sup> The pattern of Þórður sparing his opponents' lives inside of Skagafjörður and killing them outside of it, combined with the geographic emphasis on Hjaltadalur, seems a nuanced rhetorical effort on the part of the narrative to suggest Skagafjörður is a holy place. It certainly brings questions of Christianity and Christian behavior into the saga without any overt references to religion or conversion. That entire layer of meaning is carried only by strategic use of places as the locale of specific saga events, a pattern the original intended audience likely noticed at least subconsciously, but which modern scholars overlook entirely.

## 8. Mapping Speech Acts

More overt themes are also expressed in the saga at strategic locales, and appreciating the importance of those locations can add a layer of complexity to the saga narrative. For instance, in both the Complete version and Fragmentary version, key speech acts related to kinship bonds take place at boundary markers.<sup>59</sup> Three examples of this, two in Miðfjörður and one in Skagafjörður, show an awareness on the part of the saga of the contours of the regional boundaries, and the fit between having pivotal narrative

<sup>57</sup> Sverrir Jakobsson, "The Peace of God in Iceland in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Century," in *Sacri canones servandi sunt: Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII–XV*, ed. Pavel Krafl (Prague: Historický Ústav CR, 2008), 205–213.

<sup>58</sup> Various instances of people seeking refuge inside churches in the contemporary *Sturlungasögur* demonstrate that the idea of sparing the lives of those who sought sanctuary in holy places was well known in Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth century.

<sup>59</sup> The boundaries of Miðfjörður and Skagafjörður are defined by rises in the landscape on either side of a river valley. As natural landscape features based on geography rather than political units, they have remained consistent, and are still marked on some maps of Iceland.

moments occur at pivotal places in the landscape. These locations would have lent dramatic weight to the event for an audience intimately familiar with the local landscape.

This pattern begins to come into focus the first time the saga has Þórður leave Miðfjörður. Skeggi, Eiður and Þórður are together on this trip, and Skeggi has to manage his personal dislike for Þórður with his obligations to his son, who has moved into Þórður's household, and his nephew, who wants to marry Þórður's sister. The saga highlights that they did not speak to each other at all during the return trip until they came to Miðfjörðará. There Skeggi says, "Hér munu vér af baki stíga, því at eg á við þik, Þórðr, erindi" ['We should get off our horses here, because I have request to make of you, Þórður'].<sup>60</sup> The request is indeed a weighty one: Skeggi is asking for Þórður's sister's hand in marriage on behalf of his nephew Ásbjörn. That the saga places this request when the characters arrive at the river is likely not arbitrary; this river defines the region of Miðfjörður and reaching it indicates they have arrived in the district. This speech act, which calls for the unification of the two families, comes shortly after Eiður made the following argument as to why his father should come to Þórður's aid in a trade dispute: "Hann er ór því heraði, sem þú ert; hann er ok min lífgjafi ok fóstri" ['he is from the same district as you are, and he also saved my life and is my foster-father']. This location not only marks that they have come into Miðfjörður, a district they share, but it is also at the other end of this river, as it empties into the sea, where Þórður had saved Skeggi's son's life earlier in the saga. It is a very fitting location for Skeggi, the chieftain of Miðfjörður, to make this proposal, one which would realign the political dynamics of the region.

It may also explain why in Chapter 10 of the Íslenzk fornrit edition, when Skeggi has arrived at Óslandshlíð in a rage over Þórður's killing of Özurr, Þórður invites Skeggi to the location where Özurr is buried. The beginning of the family alliance, begun at a riverside on the southwest side of Miðfjörður, is now about to break down at a cliffside on the northeast side of Skagafjörður. The place is called Sviðgrímshóla,<sup>61</sup> and it was a bor-

<sup>60</sup> "Pórðar saga hreðu," 182

<sup>61</sup> The exact referent of this place-name has been the subject of lively debate in the local area, including most recently between Jón Árni Friðjónsson, "Þórður hreða í Kolbeinsdal: um Þórðarsögu, Þórðarrímur og örnefni," *Skagafirðingabók* 31 (2008): 121–134, and Sigurjón Páll Ísaksson, "Hugleïdingar." What is clear is that it is located out from Óslandshlíð, likely

derland between original *landnám* claims, although today the whole area is considered Skagafjörður. Pórður invites the enraged Skeggi out to this place with the words, “ek fylgia þér þangat, sem ek drap Özur, frænda þin; má þér þá minnissamara verða, hvílkt ættarhögg eg hefi höggvit þér” [‘I’ll follow you to the place where I killed your nephew Özurr, since it will remind you of the terrible blow I struck against your family’].<sup>62</sup> The “reminder” referenced in this speech act is not just a memory of an incident but is also a physical reminder, in the form of the burial mound erected over Özurr.<sup>63</sup> When they reach the burial mound, Pórður utters a verse of poetry encouraging Skeggi to redden his sword with Pórður’s blood. Living up to his reputation as “ballsy”, Pórður is clearly goading Skeggi on here. But he is also displaying a remarkable appreciation for the rhetoric of place, for fit between location and action. Burial mounds represent the ability of landscape to conjure memories, creating a dialogue between people and place.<sup>64</sup> Although the move to this location proves a strategic one as well – it allows time enough for Eiður to come and break up the fight – the text emphasizes other reasons why this action needed to move to this hinterland area.

But the clearest example of Pórður’s appreciation for the synergy between important speech acts and boundary-marking locations is found in the Fragmentary version of the saga, whose lacuna picks up at the moment when Pórður is leaving Miðfjörður for the last time. It has him pause to give a memorable and lengthy parting speech at a spot called Bessaborg, which is a rock that marks the eastern boundary of Miðfjörður. He makes the following declaration:

on the other side of Kolbeinsdalsá river, and outside of the area that would be visible looking from Arnastapi over Skagafjörður. As Chapter 6 quoted above notes, it would have been within the landnám claim of the Hjaltasons, and therefore not part of the original goðorð for Skagafjörður.

62 “Pórðar saga hreðu,” 213.

63 The play on words between ‘ættarhögg’, meaning ‘a blow to the family’, and ‘ættarhaugur’, a family burial mound, is perhaps intentional. For the ubiquity of burial mounds in border areas, see Adolf Friðriksson, “Haugur og heiðni: minjar um íslenzkt járnaldarsamfélag,” in *Hlutavelta tímans: menningararfur á Þjóðminjasafni*, eds. Árni Björnsson and Hrefna Róbertsdóttir (Reykjavík, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, 2004), 56–63.

64 See Erin Halstad-McGuire, “Sailing Home: Boat Graves, Migrant Identities and Funerary Practices on the Viking Frontier,” in Elizabeth Anderson et al., *Memory, Mourning, Landscape* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).

Nú búast þeir allir brott ór Miðfirði; reið Egvindr með þeim. Ok er þeir kómu á þá borg, er Bessaborg heitir, þá sneri Þórðr aptr ok leit á fjörðinn ok mælti: "Fagr ertu þó Miðfjörðr, þó at ek verði nú við þík at skilja; mun þeim nú höfðingjunum þykja af einn inn ólmasti, er ek em á burtu. En þat læt ek um mælt, at þeir, sem mestir menn eru í Miðfirði, verði aldri samhuga, svá at árum skipti. Ok þat annat, at þat haldist, ... at hér er fólk orðslaugarmeira ok ósannorðara en í flestum sveitum öðrum. Þat it þríðja, at af takist hafskipalægi i Miðfirði. Þat mæli eg ok um, sakir þess at mér er vel við sveitina, at hér sé menn gestrisnari en annars staðar og buandi þó betr. Þat annat, at hér sé bóndaval betra en viða annars staðar ok komi sjaldan óár. Þat it þríðja, at sá maðr er hér vex upp, verði aldri hengdr.<sup>65</sup>

[They prepared now all to leave Miðfjörður and Egvindur went with them. And when they got to the rock which is called Bessaborg, Þórður turned around and looked back at the fjord and spoke: "Although you are lovely, Miðfjörður, I must separate myself from you now. I come away from one who must be considered the most horrible of chieftains. And I permit myself to say, that those who are most powerful in Miðfjörður will never be able to agree on anything, even as the years pass. And I say further, that it is considered that here people are more prone to exaggeration and dishonesty than people in most other districts. For another thing, harborage is not very good in Miðfjörður. But I will add, since I do like the district, that people are more friendly with visitors than other places and the farms nicer. For another thing, the selection of farmland is better than most other places and there is seldom famine. Finally, no one that grows up in Miðfjörður is ever hung.]

In the Complete version of the saga, this speech is referenced as the final comment on the whole saga:

Mikil ætt er komin frá Þórði hreðu og margir göfgir menn, bæði í Noregi ok Íslandi. Þat er mál manna, at þat hafi orðit at áhríns- orðum, er Þórðr mælti, at jafnan mundi vera nökkurar hreður í Miðfirði; hefir þar jafnan verið deilugjarnara en í öðrum heruðum.

<sup>65</sup> "Þórðar saga hreðu," 240.

Þórðr hreða varð sóttdauðr. Höfum vér ekki fleira heyrt með sannleik af honum sagt. Ok lýkr hér nú sögu Þórðar hreðu.<sup>66</sup>

[A large lineage is descendant from Þórður hreða and many noble men, both in Norway and Iceland. Men say, that it had become a prophesy, the words which Þórður spoke, that there would always be some contentiousness in Miðfjörður. More divisiveness has always been there than in other districts. Þórður died of natural causes. We have not heard anything else truthful said about him. And here ends now the Saga of Þórður hreða.]

Interestingly, although Þórður's speech itself is nowhere to be found in the Complete version of the saga itself, it is referenced here at the conclusion of the Complete version in such a way to suggest that it must have been an especially well-known aspect of the saga.<sup>67</sup> Though the poor preservation of the Fragmentary version makes us unable to know if other such parallels exist, the speech receives considerable narrative weight in both versions, even constituting the closing remark of the Complete version. This indicates that his speech describing and characterizing the people and landscape of Miðfjörður was fundamental to the saga before the two versions diverged. Indeed, Þórður's speech defining the people of Miðfjörður appears to be the narrative core of *Þórðar saga hreðu*.

The Fragmentary version of the saga associated this important speech act with a prominent boundary marker, which reinforces the efficacy of his declaration. His words defined the character of the people while the boundary marker physically defined the outline of the region. This kind of feedback loop – a synergy between place and content – would assist in the memorization and transmission of the saga, certainly. It is also a good example of literature participating in the construction and maintenance of cultural memory tied to a regional identity.<sup>68</sup>

66 "Þórðar saga hreðu," 226.

67 Arngrímu's summary of the saga in *Crymogæa* also emphasizes Þórður's move from Miðfjörður to Skagafjörður as a concluding sentiment: "In prædio Micklabæ Borealis Islandiæ parochiæ Slettalýd postquam Midfjordesnes reliquiesset, bonus et fortunatus senex obiit" ['He died late in life, happy and fortunate, at the farm of Miklabær in the northern Icelandic district of Sléttuhlíð after he had moved from Miðfjörður'], "Viðbætur úr niðjatali Ketils Hörðakára i Crymogæu," in *Kjalnesinga saga*, ed. Jóhannes Halldórsson, Íslenzk fornrit, vol. 14 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1959), 250.

68 Cultural memory theory as a means by which societies manage their shared identity is

## 9. A Negative Map

It is therefore worth asking if the Complete version of *Pórðar saga hreðu* participates in other forms of cultural memory making, namely in response to the shifting political tide that came during the late thirteenth century when the Commonwealth collapsed, a period sometimes referred to as the Sturlungaöld. The Fragmentary version of *Pórðar saga hreðu*, as discussed above, directly references the Sturlungaöld through the genealogy at the end of the saga, demonstrating an awareness and a desire by that version of the saga to process the events of the period. The Complete version seems, by contrast, silent on the matter.

This is especially odd given that the saga is set in the exact region most directly affected by the bloodshed associated with the collapse of the Commonwealth. Late in the Commonwealth period, the Sturlungar family had laid claim to almost every district in Iceland, and Skagafjörður became the physical center of the struggle to complete the process.<sup>69</sup> The first of two major battles in Skagafjörður took place in 1238 at Örlygsstaðir. Sturla, Sighvatur's son, had amassed troops in the west of Iceland, and then marched across Vatnskerð to Skagafjörður. En route, chapter 133 of *Íslendingasaga* tells us he picked up support from the people of Miðfjörður.<sup>70</sup> Then his father arrived with troops from Eyjafjörður, in total over 1000 men. They took over the rich farmlands on the southeastern side of the central valley, near the farms of Viðivellir and Miklabær. Meanwhile, forces opposed to the Sturlungar in the south gathered up a force of over 1600 men and began marching north. The resulting battle, in the early morning of August 21, 1238, saw the death of both Sturla and Sighvatur, along with dozens of others, while the forces of Kolbeinn and Gizurr were largely uninjured.<sup>71</sup>

a growing field, see Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara Young, eds. *A Companion to Cultural Memories Studies* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010). For applications of this theory to Old Norse studies, see Pernille Hermann, "Concepts of Memory: Approaches to the Past in Medieval Icelandic Literature," *Scandinavian Studies* 81 (2009): 287–308.

69 Árni Daniel Júlíusson and Jón Ólafur Ísberg, eds. *Íslandssagan í málí og myndum*.

70 Guðni Jónsson, ed. *Sturlunga saga* (Haukadalsútgáfan, 1953), vol. II, 324.

71 Jón Johannesson, *A History of the Old Icelandic Commonwealth*, trans. Haraldur Bessason (Winnipeg: University of Minnesota Press, 1974), 252

18 years later, another son of Sighvatur's, Þórður kakali, returned to Skagafjörður for an attack on Kolbeinn and his successor, Brandur. Jón Johannesson summarizes the subsequent events thus: “Þórður finally gathered his followers and advanced into Skagafjörður, where Brandur and his men stood ready to oppose him. The armies, numbering over 1200 men, met at Haugnes on the southern bank of the river Djúpadalsá on April 19, 1246, and there they fought the fiercest battle ever to take place in Iceland.”<sup>72</sup> This battle site came to be known as Róðagrund according to the marker erected there in memory of the 110 fatalities, 70 of whom were men from Skagafjörður. In addition to these two dramatic clashes, Skagafjörður remained the center of political intrigue all the way until 1264, as vividly described in Sturla Þórðarson's account, including the burning at Flugumýri.<sup>73</sup>

Carefully noting place-names in *Þórðar saga hreðu* with an ear to how they might relate to the Sturlungaöld events does yield some intriguing possibilities for how fourteenth- and fifteenth-century audiences may have made a connection between the saga narrative and the Sturlungaöld history.

There is one skirmish location mentioned in *Þórðar saga hreðu* that also saw unrest during the Sturlungaöld: Flatatunga. There are also parallels between the events: in both cases, a group of local people who see men gathering to battle arrive to stop the bloodshed. In Sturla Þórðarson's contemporary record,<sup>74</sup> Sighvatur had gathered up 600 men and positioned himself at Flatatunga, and Kolbeinn the Younger was preparing to move in on Sighvatur there. But when the troops met at Flatatunga, “gengu stórbændr ór Eyjafirði ór liði Sighvats ok enn nökkurir af liði Kolbeins ok leituðu um sættir í milli þeira” [‘leading men from Eyjafjörður who were part of Sighvatur's troops and some from Kolbeinn's side {from Skagafjörður} came together to arrange a truce’].<sup>75</sup> In the account of events

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>73</sup> Úlfar Bragason argues in fact that the entire narrative structure of *Íslendingasaga* is “intended to focus the attention of the listener/reader specifically on two events in the story ...: the battle of Örlygsstaðir, and the burning of Flugumýri.” Úlfar Bragason, *Ætt og saga: um frásagnarfræði Sturlungu eða Íslendinga sögu hinna miklu* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2010), 296.

<sup>74</sup> “Íslendingasaga,” in *Sturlungasaga*, chapter 98.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 244.

at Flatatunga found in *Pórðar saga hreðu*, we find Þórður and Özurr about to battle for the second time when men from the area intervene and break up the fight. Although the details of the troop composition and movements are not similar, it is the only skirmish in the saga broken up by men from the area, rather than by Þórður's foster son, Eiður Skeggjason. That, combined with the overlap in place-names, may suggest some influence by the Sturlunga events on the saga.

Another instance comes in regard to the place-name Miklabær. There are two farms of that name in Skagafjörður: one the place where Sighvatur was killed during the battle of Örlygsstaðir; the other the home of Ólöf, the widow who marries Þórður at the end of the saga, and the farm where Þórður stays during much of the saga. Ólöf's farm Miklabær is in Óslandshlíð, whereas the farmstead where Sighvatur was killed, also called Miklabær, is in central Skagafjörður, about a dozen kilometers south of Miklabær á Óslandshlíð. Both farms are in Skagafjörður, but Þórður's farm is on the northern end of the valley, near Hjaltadalur, whereas the other one is in the more populated central valley. For an audience familiar with both places, hearing the farm name Miklabær may have caused temporary confusion that would have required extra effort on the part of the audience to comprehend which farm is being referenced. The reason Ólöf's farm has the descriptive appellation of "á Óslandshlíð" may well have been to distinguish it from this more southerly Miklabær. For listeners aware of the bloodshed at the other Miklabær, the saga would have invited in the events of the Sturlungaöld while ironically also distancing the saga, both geographically and historically, from those traumatic events.

This sort of "negative map" was also noted above, in that the Complete version of *Pórðar saga hreðu* is noticeably missing any reference to places in the central area of Skagafjörður; and it was suggested that this was a pull towards Hólar. But it could simultaneously also be a push away from the violent sites of the Sturlungaöld.

Another example of the saga working to evoke and then redirect memories of the Sturlungaöld might also be found in the skirmish when Þórður spares Özurr for the first time on his way home from Kálfsstaðir. That ambush takes place, as the text says, after Þórður "nam staðar nær Viðvík, þar sem heitir Garðshvammr, skammt frá bænum í Viðvík" ['arrived close

to Vidvík, a place called Garðshvammur, close to the farm at Viðvík’].<sup>76</sup> That the text repeats twice that this encounter is taking place near Viðvík does bring the audience’s attention to the place-name as such. And this place-name does echo another place-name involved in the Örlygsstaðir battle: Viðivellir. While not identical names as in the case above, there is a poetic resonance between them, which the audience would likely have noticed given the native Icelandic skaldic poetic rules that emphasize initial consonants and the repetition of consonants. There is also similarity in that Pórður’s battle is near the farm, not at the farm, which is also the case with Örlygsstaðir vis-á-vis Viðivellir.

And one could also point to the character of Özurr, the chieftain in Skagafjörður who relentlessly pursues Pórður but is otherwise unknown from any other saga or source. In chapter 6 of the saga, he is introduced as Özurr from Grund, but later in the saga he is identified as Özurr from Þverá. Both of these farm names are very common in districts throughout Iceland. Interestingly, however, a major chieftain of the Sturlungaöld, Sighvatur, after taking over the goðorð of his son, moves to Grund in Eyjafjörður, and later there is a battle at a farm nearby to Grund, Þverá in Eyjafjörður. It is possible that the audience of the saga, when hearing the farm names Grund and Þverá associated with a chieftain, would have first thought of Grund in Eyjafjörður. Such mental gymnastics may appear to us unlikely, but because Özurr is a fictional construct, not known from any other source or saga, an engaged local audience would have little else to link him with than a real chieftain with whom he has certain parallels, including relentless in obtaining his objective.

These oblique and tenuous textual references, combined with a virtual blackout of the geographic area associated with the events of the Sturlungaöld, present a very intriguing possibility. Perhaps what we see in the Complete version of the saga is an example not of cultural memory being created, but of directed cultural forgetting.<sup>77</sup> The process of remembering is always accompanied by the need to forget; it is a selective

<sup>76</sup> “Pórðar saga hreðu,” 201.

<sup>77</sup> For a discussion of social forgetting, see Elena Esposito, “Social Forgetting: A Systems Theory Approach,” in *Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Erll et al., 181–190. For a discussion of the role of landscape in dealing with social trauma, see Elizabeth Anderson et al., *Memory, Mourning, Landscape*.

editing of history.<sup>78</sup> By directing the audience away from the Miklabær of the Sturlungaöld towards the Miklabær of Óslandshlíð, this popular and widely-circulated version of the saga seems to be suggesting that the events of the Sturlungaöld were an aberration best forgotten. The only event of the Sturlungaöld the saga is willing to allow directly into the saga narrative is the one broken up by peace-abiding local people. For people trying to recover from the trauma of the Sturlungaöld and move on in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *Pórðar saga hreðu* was likely a useful anecdote.

## 10. Conclusion

The poor opinion modern scholars have had of *Pórðar saga hreðu* as an example of the *Íslendingasögur* genre may well be ameliorated if the saga's intimate relationship to its regional setting is understood. Though all *Íslendingasögur* mention real place-names in Iceland by definition, some sagas, like *Pórðar saga hreðu*, may rely on this to such a degree that the saga loses meaning without that landscape context. Instead, the saga appears vacuous and lacking verisimilitude. As the above analysis suggests, robust academic attention on the interplay between places named in the saga and the interpretation of the saga can add significant nuance and complexity to a text.

*Pórðar saga hreðu* is surely not the only saga that can benefit from analysis of this sort. Other sagas that lack extensive genealogies but keep most of the action in Iceland may be similarly “landscape-sensitive.” As a subgenre, regional sagas could be thought of as those sagas that encouraged the audience to bring into the saga their knowledge of place to complete the hermeneutic cycle.<sup>79</sup> If genealogies encourage the listener to extend the chronology of the saga forward into their present, sagas without extensive genealogies may be relying on the dimension of space rather than time to bridge the fictional world of the saga with the real world of the listeners. That certainly seems to be what the Complete version of *Pórðar saga hreðu* is doing.

And while all *Íslendingasögur* have some relationship with the landscape of Iceland, likely not all sagas manage and mediate that relationship the same way or with the same intensity. Being able to distinguish between sa-

78 Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. K. Blamey and D. Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

79 *Hrafnkels saga* comes to mind as a likely candidate.

gas that engage with issues of place differently would help scholars analyze the various avenues available in this corpus for making meaning. Regional sagas could be understood as those sagas that *need* to be read in the context of their local landscape to be meaningful. Such an understanding might allow scholars to contribute to theoretical concerns outside of saga studies about the relationship between human beings and their environmental milieu, how it has changed over the last 1000 years, and the role of literature in that process.

But classifying *Pórðar saga hreðu* as a Regional saga is not simply an academic exercise. There is also evidence that throughout the life of the saga, the saga tellers and composers themselves may have understood *Pórðar saga hreðu* as a Regional saga, one concerned with defining the identity of residents of the area. The prevalence of key turning points in the saga, like Pórður's speech, taking place at important boundary markers suggests that throughout the transmission of the saga, a relationship between the narrative and the landscape was fostered. The saga tellers over time may have used these prominent and politically important places in the landscape to construct the saga, not so much in a fictional literary sense but rather in an organic anthropological sense. Anyone who walked or rode horseback through Miðfjörður and into Skagafjörður would have had occasion to remember and retell a story or two about Pórður. That the halls and ferry system Pórður is credited with building also were still visible in the landscape into the fourteenth century would have provided additional sites of memory. I would argue that as the saga circulated, Pórður came to function at a level not unlike *landnámsmenn* or others credited with naming, shaping, and enculturating the landscape. By linking his personal narrative with symbolically laden places in the landscape, he became a symbol of that region, more mythical and less of a historical character,<sup>80</sup> which might also explain why the saga originators did not feel the need to make his character particularly complex. If there was less to think about him as a person, his actions in the landscape would get more attention.

Whether or not the various audiences of the saga over time in Northern Iceland understood, in a generic sense, that it was a regional saga is much

80 See Pernille Hermann for the process of mythologizing, "Founding Narratives and the Representation of Memory in Saga Literature," *ARV/Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 66 (2010): 69–87.

harder to say. The Fragmentary version of the saga, emended by Jón Hákonarson to include extensive genealogies at the beginning and end, suggests that there was some effort to fit the saga into more classical generic conventions and into the political structure of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Perhaps others were satisfied to see it as a simple, happy story about a talented guy. But for residents of the area, the saga was certainly inviting them to draw on their knowledge of landscape and place while listening to the saga. If they were interested in playing that game, the saga would reward them with the pleasure of remembering who they were and where they belonged.

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## EFNISÁGRIP

Pórðar sögu hreðu lokið: Héraðssaga í dulbúningi.

**Lykilorð:** Landslag, Íslendingasögur, Pórðar saga hreðu, bókmenntategundir, hér-aðssögur, ættfræði, viðtaka, Sturlungaöld, örnefni, Skagafjörður

Í þessari grein er viðfangsefni Pórðar sögu hreðu lýst, einnig varðveislu sögunnar í tveimur gerðum, og viðtökum fræðimanna. Sérkenni gerðanna tveggja eru rædd, einkum ættfræðin í sögubrotinu. Síðan er sagt frá aðferð við að lesa söguna í heild þar sem lögð er áhersla á örnefni og staðfræði í þeim tilgangi að túlka söguna. Aðalrökkin eru þau að gagnlegt sé að líta á héraðssögur sem sérstakan sagnaflokk þar sem örnefni og staðfræði eru notuð til að byggja brú á milli sögu og áheyrenda/lesenda. Með því að nálgast Pórðar sögu á þennan hátt, væri unnt að skilja söguna í jákvæðara ljósi en gagnrýnendur oft hafa gert.

*Elisabeth Ida Ward  
Director, Scandinavian Cultural Center  
Pacific Lutheran University  
12180 Park Avenue South  
Tacoma WA 98447  
United States*



GUNNAR HARÐARSON

## HAUKSBÓK OG ALFRÆÐIRIT MIÐALDA

### I

Í ALFRÆÐIBÓK nokkurri um miðaldir segir að heitið *encyclopaedia* hafi ekki verið til á miðoldum, það sé, líkt og ýmis önnur hugtök um fyrirbæri fortíðarinnar, síðari tíma uppfining.<sup>1</sup> En þótt heitið hafi ekki verið fundið upp, að minnsta kosti ekki í núverandi merkingu, er ekki þar með sagt að hluturinn sem það nefnir hafi ekki verið til. Enda er það svo, að munkar og fræðaþulir miðalda settu saman – af nánast syndsamlegri áfergu – fjöldann allan af „alfræðiritum“ og það af býsna ólíkum toga. Það mun reyndar hafa verið ekki minni maður en sjálfur Ágústínus kirkjufaðir (354–430) sem lagði grunninn að alfræðistefnu miðalda þegar hann hét á „gull heiðingjanna“ sér til fulltingis. Með því átti hann við að kristnum fræðimönnum væri óhætt að beita hinum ýmsu greinum bóklegrar og verklegrar þekkingar sem finna mætti í ritum svonefndra heiðinna spekinga; þær mætti jafnvel nota sem hjálparöggn við túlkun Heilagrar ritningar.<sup>2</sup> Tilhneingigar í þessa átt gætir þegar í ritinu *Institutiones* eftir Cassiodorus (um 490–585), ráðunaut Þjóðreks Austgotakonungs í Ravenna á Ítalíu, er hann samdi eftir að hann dró sig í hlé til Vivarium-klausturs.<sup>3</sup> Af miðaldaritum var þekktasta samsetning af þessu tagi hið viðfræga *Etymologiae sive Origines*

1 „Encyclopédies médiévales,“ *Dictionnaire du Moyen Âge*, ritstj. Claude Gauvard, Alain de Libera, Michel Zink (París: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002). Skv. ritmálssafni Orðabókar Háskólans mun íslenska orðið „alfræði“ hafa verið smíðað á 19. öld. Orðið „allfrodr“ (í merkingunni ‘mjög fróður’) kemur fyrir í elsta handriti *Konungs skuggsjár* frá því um 1275: „Lattu þer iam micla söemð at næma sœm at kenna aef þu vilt allfroðr heita;“ *Konungs skuggsjá*, útg. Ludvig Holm-Olsen (Oslo: Kjeldeskriftfondet, 1945), 6.

2 Ágústínus, *De doctrina Christiana*, II, 40, útg. K.H. Bruder (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1838), 74.

3 *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*, i Cassiodori senatoris *Opera omnia, tomus posterior, Patrologia Latina* 70 (París, 1865); fyrrí bók *Institutiones* fjállar einkum um rit Bibliunnar en sú seinni um lærðómslistirnar sjö. Sjá einnig *Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul*, e. þýð. James W. Halporn og Mark Vessey (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004).

í tuttugu bókum eftir spænska Vestgotann Isidorus af Sevilla (um 560–636), en einnig má nefna mörg verk, bæði smá og stór, eftir hinn engilsaxneska Beda prest hinn fróða (um 672–735), sem sat í Jarrow-klaustri á Englandi.<sup>4</sup> Á Karlungatímanum sömdu fræðimenn á borð við hinn frankverska Hrabanus Maurus (um 780–856) alfræðirit, sem þeir tíndu saman úr fornnum og nýjum bókum, eins og heitið *De universo* í tuttugu og tveimur bókum ber með sér.<sup>5</sup> Markmiðið hjá öllum þessum latínulærðu kristnu fræðimönnum af ættum óþjóðanna sem lagt höfðu Rómaveldi í rúst var að skrá og varðveita frá gleymsku þekkingu fornaldarinnar á heiminum, svo og að halda til haga aðferðunum við að uppgötva hana, en einnig ljós um og leyndum þráðum í tilurð og sögu heilagrar Guðs kristni. Þetta söfnunarátak hélst fram á 12. öld þegar rit á borð við *Imago mundi* eftir Honorius Augustodunensis (um 1120) og *Liber floridus* eftir Lambert af Saint-Omer komu fram, hvort tveggja verk af alfræðilegum toga þótt ólík væru.<sup>6</sup> Oft er reyndar talað um 13. öldina sem öld alfræðiritanna en um miðbik hennar setti Vincent af Beauvais saman stærsta alfræðirit þess tímabils sem nú er kallað „hinar löngu miðaldir“ eða fram til þess að frönsku alfræðibókarhöfundarnir komu fram á upplýsingartímanum.<sup>7</sup>

Eins og áður var nefnt er heitið „alfræðirit“ upfinning fræðimanna frá 19. öld sem fengust við að greina þessa texta og gefa þá út. Miðaldamenn notuðu önnur hugtök yfir þessi rit og þau fela í sér hugmyndina um *mynd* (*imago*) eða *spiegel* (*speculum*). Miðaldaritin má greina sundur eftir upp-

- 4 *Isidori Hispanensis episcopi Etymologiarvm sive Originum libri XX*, útg. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985, 1. útg. 1911); sbr. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, e. þýð. Stephen A. Barney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Beda Venerabilis, *Opera didascalica*, útg. C.W. Jones, C.B. Kendall, M.H. King, F. Lipp (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).
- 5 Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, *Patrologia Latina* 111 (París, 1852); einnig nefnt *De rerum naturis*.
- 6 V. I. Flint, „Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago mundi*,“ *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* XLIX (1982): 48–153; Lamberti S. Audomari canonici *Liber floridus*, útg. Albert Derolez (Gand: Story-Scientia, 1968).
- 7 Vincentius Bellocensis, *Speculum quadruplex sive Speculum maius* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1964–1965). *Speculum maius* er settur saman úr þremur gríðarstórum bókum: *Speculum doctrinale*, *Speculum naturale* og *Speculum historiale*. *Speculum morale* er síðari viðbót. Sjá einnig: *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the Speculum maius and its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars*, útg. W.J. Aerts, E.R. Smits, & J.B. Voorbij (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1986).

byggingu og niðurröðun efnisins.<sup>8</sup> Þeim má skipta í two meginflokkka eftir því hvort efnisröð þeirra telst fylgja röð þekkingargreinanna (*ordo artium*) eða byggist á eðli hlutanna (*ordo rerum*). Fyrnefnda flokkinn skipa rit sem byggjast á röð þekkingargreinanna og fara þá gjarnan frá þríveginum (*grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica*) og rekja sig síðan eftir veraldlegum þekkingargreinum, læknisfræði og lögfræði, yfir í guðfræði eða guðfræðileg efni. Þannig byggir Isidorus fyrri hluta verks síns, *Origines*, upp með umfjöllun um lærðómslistirnar sjö (þrívegur ásamt fjórvegi: *arithmetica, geometria, astronomia, musica*) og fer þaðan yfir í lögfræði og guðfræði. Síðarnefnda flokkinn skipa rit sem byggjast á hefð sem nær aftur til *Historia naturalis* eftir Plinius og þaðan allt til Aristótelesar. Þau fjalla um heiminn, frumefni fjögur (eld, loft, vatn, jörð) og fara síðan frá fyrsta eða efsta frumefni til þess síðasta eða neðsta í umfjöllun sinni um fyrirbæri náttúrunnar (himintungl, vindar, höf, lönd). Sem dæmi um rit af þessu tagi mætti taka annað rit eftir Isidorus af Sevilla, *De natura rerum*, heiti sem bergmálaði allar miðaldirnar í verkum af sama toga; það fylgir eðli hlutanna.<sup>9</sup> Til eru tveir aðrir meginflokkar rita sem fjalla um svipuð efni. Annars vegar eru þá rit sem fjalla um náttúruna, en í stað þess að endurspeglu efnisröðina í Náttúrusögu Pliniusar fylgja þau röð sköpunar heimsins eins og frá henni er greint í fyrstu Mósebók, sexdagaverksins svonefnda (*hexaemeron*) og voru því nefnd *Hexaemera*. Dæmi um rit sem byggist í grófum dráttum á sexdagaverkinu er *Speculum naturale* eftir Vincent af Beauvais. Hins vegar eru rit sem byggjast á því að tengja saman rúm, tíma og sögu, þ.e. fyrst kemur lýsing heimsins, síðan tímatalsfraði og loks heimsaldrarnir sex sem gefa yfirlit yfir mannkynssöguna: *Imago mundi* eftir Honorius Augustodunensis væri dæmi um slíkt rit. Heimslýsingar ýmiss konar fylgdu þó gjarnan tímatalsfraðum, enda byggðust þau á gangi stjarnanna, og margvísleg blendingsform má finna í hinum ýmsu safnritum.

8 Christel Meier, „Organisation of knowledge and encyclopaedic *ordo*: functions and purposes of a universal literary genre,” *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996*, ritsstj. Peter Binkley (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 103–126.

9 *Isidori Hispanensis De natura rerum liber*, útg. Gustavus Becker (Berlin: Weidmann, 1857; endurpr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967).

## II

Ekki eru til nein yfirgripsmikil alfræðirit á norrænu frá miðöldum. Það segir sig kannski sjálft. Á hinn bóginn höfðu norrænir menn aðgang að alfræðilegri þekkingu á latínu, eins og dæmin sanna. *Speculum historiale* var þekkt og notað í Noregi og á Íslandi í lok 13. aldar og á 14. öld, *Origines* eftir Isidorus er skráð í bókaskrár íslenskra klaustra á miðöldum, til dæmis Viðeyjarklausturs 1397, og brot úr fyrsta hluta *Imago mundi* hafa varðveisit í þýðingum í íslenskum handritum auk þess sem stundum er vitnað til ritsins í sögubókum.<sup>10</sup> Þau rit sem nútímafræðimenn kalla „íslensk alfræðirit“ frá miðöldum eru eiginlega ekki alfræðirit eða „encyklopediur“ því að umfang þeirra stenst engan veginn samanburð við réttnefnd alfræðirit og efni þeirra virðist ekki skipað niður með þeim hætti sem að framan er lýst.<sup>11</sup> Öllu heldur virðast þau vera einhvers konar *samtíningur*, safn fróðleiks-mola af ákveðnu tagi, einkum um náttúrufræði og tímatal: stjörnufræði, landafræði, steinafræði, dýrafræði, heimsaldrar o.s.frv. Vert er þó að áréttá brotakennnt og ófullkomið ásigkomulag þeirra miðaldahandrita íslenskra sem varðveitt hafa leifar af „alfræðilegri“ þekkingu.

Elsta og ef til vill þekktasta handritsbrotið er GKS 1812 4° sem hefur reyndar að geyma leifar af þremur handritum frá tólfstu, þrettándu og fjórtándu öld að því er útgáfendur þess hafa talið.<sup>12</sup> Stefán Karlsson

<sup>10</sup> „Item Ysidorus ethimologiarum non plenus“ stendur í bókaskrá Viðeyjarklausturs, sjá *Diplomatarium Islandicum: Íslenzkt fornþræfasafn* IV, 110; Grímur Hólmsteinsson vísar í *Speculum historiale* í Jóns sögu baptista (*Postola sōgur*, útg. C.R. Unger, Christiania: Bentzen, 1874, 894), sbr. Ole-Jørgen Johannessen, „Lidt om kilderne til Jóns saga baptista II,“ *Opuscula septentrionalia. Festschrift til Ole Widding*, ritstj. Bent Chr. Jacobsen o.fl. (Kaupmannahöfn: Reitzel, 1977); *Speculum historiale* og *Imago mundi* eru meðal heimilda í *Stjórn*, sbr. Ian J. Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1986); um *Imago mundi* sjá t.d. Margaret Clunies Ross, *Skáldskaparmál: Snorri Sturluson's Ars Poetica and Medieval Theories of Language* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1987), 157–162, og Peter Springborg, „Weltbild mit Löwe,“ *Cultura classica e cultura germanica settentrionale*, ritstj. Pietro Janni, Diego Poli, Carlo Santini (Macerata: Università de Macerata, 1988), 167–219.

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Clunies Ross hefur bent á hliðstæður milli uppbyggings Snorra Eddu og uppbyggings alfræðirita og miðar þá við alfræðirit af því tagi sem hér eru talin til marks um *ordo rerum* (sjá *Skáldskaparmál: Snorri Sturluson's Ars Poetica*, 151–173).

<sup>12</sup> Sbr. innangang Jóns Sigurðssonar að útgáfu prestatalsins í *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, I (Copenhagen: Hið íslenzka bókmenntafélag, 1857–1876), nr. 29, 180–185; Ludvig Larsson, *Äldsta delen af cod. 1812 4to gml. kgl. samling på biblioteket i København* (Kaupmannahöfn, 1883).

handritafræðingur varpaði fram þeirri tilgátu að ákveðnir hlutar GKS 1812 4° hefðu verið í eigu Snorra Sturlusonar og færði einnig rök fyrir því að Sturla Þórðarson hefði haft undir höndum handrit sambærilegt við hluta þess (Membrana Reseniana 6).<sup>13</sup> Auk þess eru til nokkur önnur handrit af svipuðum toga. Þar má fyrst geta AM 194 8° (skrifað 1387), sem hefur bæði að geyma drög að heimslýsingu og frásögn af heimsöldr-unum sex.<sup>14</sup> Síðan er það handritið AM 764 4° (frá 14. öld, enn óútgefið) sem hefur annars vegar alfræðilegt efni í bland við heimsaldra, páfatal og keisara (1r–23r), og hins vegar frásagnir af heilögum mönnum og konum (23v–38v).<sup>15</sup> Ennfremur má nefna AM 435 12° sem hefur að geyma þyðingu á *Physiognomica* og handritabrotin AM 685 d 4°, AM 732 b 4° (einkum stjörnufræði og tímatalsfraði), AM 736 I 4°, (landafræði og tímatalsfraði), AM 736 II 4° (leiðarvíssir).<sup>16</sup> Flest þessara handrita, fyrir utan two hluta GKS 1812 4°, eru frá miðri 14. öld eða yngri, allt aftur að 16. öld.

Þá er einnig alfræðilegt efni í *Hauksbók*, sem kennd er við Hauk Erlendsson, lögmann á Íslandi undir lok 13. aldar og í Noregi í upphafi þeirrar 14., nánar tiltekið á ríkisstjórnarárum Hákonar Magnússonar (1299–1319), en ekki er ástæða til að lýsa því handriti í heild sem alfræðiriti. Um þetta eru fræðimenn þó ekki sammála og hafa ýmsar skoðanir verið viðraðar. Finnur Jónsson, sem gaf *Hauksbók* út á árunum 1892–96, taldi handritið vera samsafn rita af ólíku tagi. Þar væru sagnarit ýmiss konar, guðfræði- og heimspekirit, náttúrufræði, rímtal, fornkvæði og minni textar af ýmsum toga. Hann gerði líka greinarmun á hinni eiginlegu *Hauksbók* og öðrum hlutum hennar sem hann taldi þó einnig endurspeglar áhugasvið Hauks.<sup>17</sup> Jón Helgason dró saman einkenni handritsins á viðlika hátt í inngangi

<sup>13</sup> Stefán Karlsson, „Alfræði Sturlu Þórðarsonar,“ *Stafkrókar*, (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2000), 279–302.

<sup>14</sup> *Alfræði íslenzk: Islandsk encyklopædisk litteratur* I, útg. Kr. Kaalund (Kaupmannahöfn: Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 1908).

<sup>15</sup> Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, Universal history in the fourteenth-century Iceland: Studies in AM 764 4to (Doctoral thesis, University of London, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> *Alfræði íslenzk* II (Kaupmannahöfn, 1914–1916), 235–246; *Alfræði íslenzk* III (Kaupmannahöfn, 1917–1918).

<sup>17</sup> Finnur Jónsson í inngangi að *Hauksbók*, útg. Eiríkur Jónsson og Finnur Jónsson (Kaupmannahöfn, 1892–1896), xxxvi, lxiii. Finnur segir einnig (cxxxi): „Hans interesser har fårt ham til at afskrive eller lade afskrive forskellige afhandlinger og skrifter, som han har fået fat i. Noget system eller orden eller overhovedet nogen stræben efter en sådan lader sig ikke påvise hos ham.“

sínum að ljósprentuðu útgáfunni frá 1960. Það væri mjög blandað að efni og hefði ekkert kerfisbundið skipulag.<sup>18</sup> Jafnframt benti hann á að sum ritin sem Haukur hefði afritað hefðu bein tengsl við hann persónulega. Þannig væru ættartölur í *Landnámabók* sem tengdust honum og einnig væru ættartengsl milli hans og afkomenda sögupersóna í *Eiríks sögu rauða*. Bæði Finnur og Jón sjá því *Hauksbók* sem afsprengi persónulegra hugð-arefna skrifarans án þess að neina frekari einingu sé þar að finna. Skýringin á samsetningu *Hauksbókar* liggar samkvæmt þessu utan hennar, í áhugamálum Hauks sjálfss eins og þau birtast í hinu varðveitta handriti. Það er því hin huglaega ætlun höfundarins sem segja má að myndi einingu *Hauksbókar* samkvæmt þessum sjónarmiðum.

Svipuð viðhorf hafa komið fram í þeirri lýsingu á *Hauksbók* að hún sé eins konar persónulegt bókasafn.<sup>19</sup> Með því að taka svo til orða er kannski einkum verið að draga fram andstæðuna milli handrita sem innihalda efni af einu tilteknu tagi, svo sem konungasögur eða Íslendingasögur, og *Hauksbókar*, sem hefur að geyma efni af mjög fjölbreytilegum toga. En í stað þess að líta svo á að það sé einungis hinn huglægi og persónulegi þáttur sem hafi ráðið ritun *Hauksbókar* hefur til að mynda Sverrir Jakobsson túlkað *Hauksbók* sem fullrúua heimssýnar íslenskrar yfirstéttar í byrjun 14. aldar; Haukur fellur samkvæmt því í flokk þeirra sem Anna Dorothee von den Brinken lýsir sem túlkendum og kennurum heimsmyndarinnar („Deuter und Lehrer des Weltbildes“).<sup>20</sup> Sjálfur hef ég fyrir margt löngu reynt að sjá verk og störf Hauks ekki bara í samhengi við persónu hans eða íslenskar aðstæður, heldur við stöðu hans sem hluta af embættismannastétt norska ríkisins á valdatíma Hákonar háleggs. Haukur var ekki (bara

<sup>18</sup> „There is no systematic arrangement of this material.“ Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnæan Manuscripts 371, 4to, 544, 4to and 675, 4to* (Kaupmannahöfn: Munksgaard, 1960), xviii. Lýsing Jóns á efni *Hauksbókar* er í grófum dráttum þannig: sagnfræðirit frá Íslandi, sögur sem gerast á Íslandi og Grænlandi, sögur sem gerast í Noregi, fornaldarsögur, þýdd hálfssöguleg verk, blandað alfræðiefni, stærðfræðiritgerð, guðfræði, einkum af guðrækilegum toga, Eddukvæði (xviii).

<sup>19</sup> „In contrast to the practice most frequently encountered in medieval Icelandic MSS, in which works were collected in a book according to subject matter, *Hauksbók* from its inception was an entire private library, which Haukr, with assistance, wrote for himself.“ Gunnar Harðarson og Stefán Karlsson, „Hauksbók,“ i *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ritstj. Philip Pulsiano (New York og London: Garland, 1993), 271.

<sup>20</sup> Sverrir Jakobsson, *Við og veröldin: Heimsmynd Íslendinga 1100–1400* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2005), 55; sbr. Sverrir Jakobsson, „Hauksbók and the construction of an Icelandic world view,“ *Saga Book* 31 (2007): 22–38.

íslenskur sérvitringur sem skrifaði upp gamlar skruddur í tómstundum, hann var Gulapingslöggmaður að embætti og riddari að tign, hann sat í ríkisráði Noregs ásamt konunginum og öðrum ráðgjöfum og tók þar með þátt í því að stjórna ríkinu. Óhjákvæmilegt er annað en að hann hafi, a.m.k. að einhverju leyti, samið sig að siðum hirðarinnar í háttum og hugsun.<sup>21</sup> Þetta má m.a. sjá í því hvernig hann viður dómsúrskurði.<sup>22</sup> Þessar nálganir bæta því hinum félagslega þætti við hinn einstaklingsbundna sem kom fram í fyrri rannsóknum. Þeim er það þó sameiginlegt að skoða persónu Hauks sem lykilþátt í greiningu og samhengi handritsins.

En *Haufsbók* hefur líka verið túlkuð óháð hinum huglægu eða félagslegu þáttum. Þá er litið svo á að hún sé ekki sprottin úr persónulegum eða félagslegum jarðvegi heldur sé hún afsprengi evrópskrar lærðómshefðar. Nú er það að vísu nokkurt álitamál hvort telja eigi *Haufsbók* beinlínis til alfræðirita.<sup>23</sup> En sé það gert er handritið flokkað sem ákveðin tegund rita sem þekkt er frá evrópskum miðoldum og lýtur ákveðnum lögmálum (sbr. umfjöllun um alfræðirit hér að ofan). Samkvæmt því ætti *Haufsbók* að eiga sér erlendar hliðstæður. Í samræmi við það hefur Rudolf Simek varpað fram þeirri kenningu að *Haufsbók* hafi verið sett saman að fyrirmynnd alfræðiritsins *Liber floridus* eftir Lambert frá Saint Omer, frá fyrri hluta 12. aldar.<sup>24</sup> Þessi kenning hefur hlotið nokkurn hljómgrunn.<sup>25</sup> Sverrir Jakobsson hefur á móti dregið fram hliðstæður við íslensk handrit, einkum

- 21 Gunnar Harðarson, *Littérature et spiritualité en Scandinavie médiévale. La traduction norroise du De arrha animae de Hugues de Saint-Victor. Étude historique et édition critique*, Bibliotheca Victorina V (Paris–Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 163–183; sjá einnig nýlega og nokkru ýtarlegrí grein um sama efni eftir Karl-Gunnar Johansson, „Queen Eufemia, Norwegian Elite and the Background of the Eufemiavisor,“ í *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture: Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer*, ritstj. Olle Ferm, Ingela Hedström, Sofia Loden, Jonatan Pettersson og Mia Åkestam (Stokkhólmi: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2015), 136–161.
- 22 Gunnar Harðarson, „Old Norse Intellectual Culture: Appropriation and Innovation,“ í *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Scandinavia c. 1100–1350*, ritstj. Stefka Georgieva Eriksen, Disputatio 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 35–73, hér 66–67.
- 23 Margaret Clunies Ross og Rudolf Simek, „Encyclopedic Literature,“ í *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ritstj. Philip Pulsiano (New York og London: Garland, 1993), 164–166.
- 24 Rudolf Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie: Studien und Quellen zu Weltbild und Weltbeschreibung in Norwegen und Island vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 1990).
- 25 „The extensive parallels between Haukr’s parts of *Haufsbók* and the *Liber floridus* make it plausible that the latter was his model.“ Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, „Literary, codicological, and political perspectives on *Haufsbók*,“ *Gripla* 19 (2008): 51–76, hér 70.

Membrana Reseniana 6, en Elizabeth Ashman Rowe hefur bent á að þrátt fyrir að nokkrum atriðum svipi saman séu þessi handrit mjög ólík.<sup>26</sup> Hún hefur í staðinn rökstutt þá tilgátu að *Hauksbók* sé í eðli sínu safnrit af klerklegum toga.<sup>27</sup> Samkvæmt ofangreindum sjónarmiðum er lykilinn að *Hauksbók* ekki að finna í huglægri ætlun höfundar (eða í endurspeglun félagslegs samhengis), heldur í hliðstæðum við efnisþætti og skipulag erlendra alfræðirita, þ.e.a.s. í hlutlægri byggingu verksins sjálfs.

Þarna eru mjög andstæð sjónarmið á ferð. Annars vegar er *Hauksbók* alfræðirit, sett saman að erlendri fyrirmynnd – tilteknu handriti úr tólfu aldar klaustri á meginlandinu – og ber rík klerkleg, þ.e. kirkjuleg, einkenni. Hins vegar er *Hauksbók* afsprengi persónulegra áhugamála íslensks lögmanns, er heimild um viðhorf innlendar yfirstéttar úr hópi veraldlegra höfðingja og endurspeglar sýn þeirra á veröldina. Hvað kemur til að svo ólík sjónarmið takast á um túlkun þessa handrits? Er hér einfaldlega á ferðinni þriðji þátturinn í hefðbundinni túlkunarfræðilegri greiningu, sem sé skilningur lesandans (en hvorki ætlun höfundar né bygging verksins), m.ö.o. fyrirfram hugmyndir fræðimanna sem nálgast verkið hver á sínum forsendum? Hvað er það við *Hauksbók* sem leiðir til svo ólíkra túlkana? Er hægt að komast að einhverri niðurstöðu sem gerir upp á milli hinna ólíku túlkana eða varpa fram annarri túlkun sem getur leyst mótsagnirnar sem þarna birtast?

### III

Úr því svona er í pottinn búið er kannski réttast að spyrja fyrst: Hvað er eiginlega *Hauksbók*? Svarið er að *Hauksbók* er ekkert eitt, og þar er kannski rót vandans. Beinast liggar við að taka sér í hönd útgáfu þeirra Eiríks Jónssonar og Finns Jónssonar frá 1892–96 og segja: „Hér er komin *Hauksbók!*“ En svo er ekki. Heitið „*Hauksbók*“ vísa ekki til þeirrar útgáfu heldur til þess sem nú teljast vera þrjú handrit sem varðveitt eru í safni Árna Magnússonar undir þremur safnmörkum, AM 371 4°, AM 544 4°, og AM 675 4°. Ekkert þeirra er heilt. *Hauksbók* er nú alls 141 blað af a.m.k. 210

26 Sverrir Jakobsson, *Við og veröldin. Heimsmynd Íslendinga 1100–1400* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2005), 49–50; sbr. Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, „Literary, codicological, and political perspectives on *Hauksbók*,“ 68.

27 „From first to last, therefore, *Hauksbók* is primarily a clerical compilation ...“ Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, „Literary, codicological, and political perspectives on *Hauksbók*,“ 67.

upphaflegum, en hluti innihaldsins hefur varðveist í afritum og útdráttum sem íslenskir fornmenntastefnumenn gerðu á 17. öld.<sup>28</sup> Árni Magnússon safnaði handritunum saman úr ýmsum áttum og þau höfðu átt ólíkan feril. Þannig hafði AM 371 að hluta til verið notað í bókband og kápur fyrir aðrar bækur, en AM 544 virðist þá hafa staðið sér og AM 675 kann að hafa fylgt því. Ennfremur voru kverin í handritinu ekki alltaf í þeirri röð sem þau eru nú.<sup>29</sup> Þau hafa þó á einhverjum tímapunkti á bilinu 1300–1600 verið bundin saman í eitt. Árið 1708 skrifar Árni innihaldslýsingu *Hauksbókar* og setur hana fram eins og um eina heild sé að ræða og hugsanlega hefur handritinu verið skipt í þrjá hluta um 1730.<sup>30</sup>

Efni þeirra þriggja handrita sem saman mynda *Hauksbók* er af ólíkum toga eins og stutt upptalning helstu textanna á hinum varðveittu blöðum sýnir: *Landnámabók*, *Kristni saga*, alfræðilegt efni, *Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögur*, *Viðræða líkams og sálar*, *Fóstbraðra saga*, *Algorismus*, *Eiríks saga rauða*, *Hemings þáttur*, *Heiðreks saga* og fleiri fornaldarsögur, *Elucidarius*. Það er ekki að furða þótt fræðimenn hafi átt í nokkrum erfiðleikum með að greina hvort samsetning handritsins fylgi einhverri reglu eða hvort hér sé einfaldlega um óskyldan samtíning að ræða. Og það er ef til vill meginástæðan fyrir því hversu ólikar túlkanir á eðli *Hauksbókar* hafa komið fram í rannsóknum fræðimanna á undanförnum áratugum: reynt hefur verið að gera grein fyrir einingu þessa *sundurleita* handrits. En svo er margt sinnið sem skinnið, eins og máltaðið segir, og skoðanir fræðimanna á því hvað myndar eininguna álika margar og fræðimennirnir sjálfir.

Ein leið til að freista þess að átta sig á samsetningu *Hauksbókar* er að beina sjónum að samsplili hinna efnislegu leifa sem handritið sjálft er og textanna sem það hefur að geyma. Í því skyni þarf að horfa til aðferða handritafræðinnar annars vegar og fornskriftarfræðinnar hins vegar.<sup>31</sup> Í fyrsta lagi er *Hauksbók*, eins og hún er nú varðveitt, samsett úr þremur aðgreindum handritum undir þremur safnmörkum.<sup>32</sup> Þessi handrit tengj-

<sup>28</sup> Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, ix.

<sup>29</sup> Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, xxiv.

<sup>30</sup> Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, v og xxix.

<sup>31</sup> Þótt greiningin hér á eftir sé af hefðbundnum toga hef ég um sumt haft hliðsjón af aðferðafræðilegum hugtökum sem þróuð hafa verið af Patrick Andrist, Paul Canard og Marilena Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex. Essai de codicologie structurale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

<sup>32</sup> Sjá t.d. fyrrnefnda grein Elisabeth Ashman Rowe í *GripI* 2008.

ast innbyrðis með ólíkum hætti. Þau tengjast öll að því leyti að þau hafa verið bundin saman í eina bók á einhverjum tilteknum tíma. Þetta sýnir *handritafraðileg rannsókn* á samsetningu bókarinnar sem leiðir í ljós tengsl á grundvelli bókbands og stærðar blaðanna sem bókin samanstendur af.<sup>33</sup> *Fornskriftarfraðileg rannsókn* sýnir á hinn bóginn tengsl milli fyrsta hlutans (AM 371 4°) og annars hlutans (AM 544 4°), því að sömu rithöndina er að finna á þeim báðum. Sú rithönd er á öllum fyrsta hlutanum og á miklum, en þó ekki öllum, hluta annars hlutans. Hana er aftur á móti hvergi að finna á þriðja hlutanum (AM 675 4°). Rithöndin sem um ræðir er talin rithönd Hauks Erlendssonar sjálfs og er þar með elsta rithönd nafngreinds íslensks skrifara sem vitað er um með tiltölulegri vissu.<sup>34</sup> Þessi niðurstaða byggist annars vegar á því að Haukur kveðst á einum stað hafa ritat landnámabók *Hauksbókar* – en þessi kafli er að vísu ekki varðveittur nema í 17. aldar eftirritum – og hins vegar samanburði á aðalrithönd *Hauksbókar* við rithönd frumskjala frá 1302 og 1310 sem rituð eru með sömu hendi og innihalda dómsúrskurði Hauks Erlendssonar í Oslo og Björgvin.<sup>35</sup> Sama hönd er einnig á nokkrum brotum Gulaþingslagi sem varðveitt eru í Ríkisskjolasafninu í Oslo, en Haukur var Gulaþingslögmaður a.m.k. frá 1309 og líklega allt frá 1303.<sup>36</sup> Þess má geta að Gulaþingslög hafa að geyma nokkra kafla sem kalla má lögspekkilega eða heimspekkilega og eru sumir þeirra einmitt á þeim brotum lagabálksins sem eru ritaðir með hendi Hauks, þar á meðal Mannhelgibálkur.

33 Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, i. Þó er svoltill munur á stærð og gerð blaðanna sem getur skipt málí fyrir greiningu handritsins.

34 Sjá þó Jan Ragnar Hagland, „Til spørsmålet om språkforma i sira Teits handskrift av Sauebrevet fra 1298,“ *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 19 (1983): 176–193.

35 *Islandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450*, útg. Stefn Karlsson, vol. I: tekst, vol. II: faksimiler, Editiones Arnamagnæanæ, Series A, 7 (Kaupmannahöfn: Munksgaard, 1963), I., 4–6; II, 3.

36 NRA Gamalnorske membranfragmenter nr. 2, prentað í *Norges gamle Love indtil 1387* (Christiania, 1846–1895), 4. bindi, 117–134; sbr. *Gammalnorske membranfragment i Riksarkivet*, Corpus codicum norvegicorum medii Aevi, quarto series, vol. III, útg. Didrik Arup Seip, inng. Thorsten Eken (Oslo: Riksarkivet og Selskapet til utgivelse av gamle norske håndskrifter, 1963).

## IV

Pótt oft hafi verið farið yfir innihald og samsetningu *Hauksbókar* er ástæða til að rifja þau atriði upp, því að alfræðiefni bókarinnar verður að skoða í samhengi við aðra hluta hennar. Fyrsti hluti *Hauksbókar* er handritið AM 371 4°. Það hefur verið skrifaað á blöð sem eru nú ívið minni en önnur blöð *Hauksbókar*. Stafagerðin líkist þeirri sem sjá má á skjalinu frá 1302.<sup>37</sup> Blekið er ýmist svart og skýrt eða brúnt og daufara. Stungið hefur verið fyrir 33 línum á síðu, en frá þeim línufjölda eru stöku undantekningar.<sup>38</sup> Línustrik sjást ekki í handritinu. Engar eigendamerkingar er að finna á hinum varðveittu blöðum. Þar sem fyrstu og síðustu blöð vantar verður ekki ráðið af ummerkjum í handritinu hvort 371 hafi verið sjálfstæð bók, en saga þess og innihald bendi þó til að svo hafi verið. Þessi handritshluti (Hb2a skv. flokkun Stefáns Karlssonar) hefur að geyma *Landnámabók* og *Kristni sögu*. Hauksbókargerð *Landnámu* er ein þriggja varðveittra miðaldagerða þeirrar bókar; hinar eru *Sturlubók*, sem Sturla Þórðarson (1214–1284) ritaði og varðveitt er í uppskrift Jóns Erlendssonar frá 17. öld, og *Melabók* sem varðveitt er í handritsbroti frá 13. öld.<sup>39</sup> Heitið „Hauksbók“ á rót að rekja til Landnámugerðarinnar sem í henni er varðveitt, því að Björn á Skarðsá notaði það til að vísa til þessarar gerðar *Landnámabókar* og greina hana þar með frá *Sturlubók* og *Melabók*.<sup>40</sup> Haukur skrifar sjálfur að hann hafi samið bók sína upp úr tveimur öðrum, þeirri sem Sturla Þórðarson ritaði og annarri sem Styrmir fróði Kárason hafði ritað (og *Melabók* er heimild um). Styrmir Kárason hinn fróði (um 1170–1245) var m.a. prestur í Reykholti á dögum Snorra Sturlusonar, lögsögumaður í tvígang og síðast príor Viðeyjarklausturs. *Kristni saga* hefur hins vegar ekki varðveist annars staðar, þó að talið sé að hún hafi fylgt *Sturlubók*. Hvort af því megi ráða að upphaflegt samhengi textanna í 371 hafi verið rit á borð við *Íslendinga sögu*

37 Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, v; Stefán Karlsson, „Aldur Hauksbókar“, *Stafkrókar*, 306 (3.3.2).

38 Stundum eru hálfar línar undir neðstu línu, bl. 15v virðist hafa 34 línar, 30 línar eru á 16rv, en það er stakt blað, skorið að ofan, og á 17rv, sem einnig er stakt blað, eru 32 línar. Sjá Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, xxiii.

39 Um gerðir *Landnámabókar* sjá inngang Jakobs Benediktssonar að *Íslendingabók–Landnámabók*, Jakob Benediktsson gaf út, Íslenzk fornrit I (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1968). Sjá einnig Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, „Hvað er *Landnámabók*?“ *Saga* 46:2 (2008): 179–193, og rit sem þar er vísað til.

40 Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, xxxii.

eða *Sturlungu* verður ekki fullyrt. Þessi fyrsti hluti *Hauksbókar* fjallar um landnámið, kristnitökuna og framhald hennar. Hann er að öllu leyti ritaður með sömu hendi og á sama afmarkaða hluta handritsins. Frá sjónarmiði handritafræði, skriftarfræði og innihalds myndar hann því eina samstæða heild. Strangt til tekið á heitið „*Hauksbók*“ einungis við um þennan hluta handritsins.

Þriðji hluti *Hauksbókar*, AM 675 4°, hefur einnig verið sjálfstæð heild í upphafi. Sama rithönd er á báðum þeim kverum handritsins sem varðveitt eru. Línufjöldi á síðu er mjög breytilegur, allt frá 23 upp í 31 línu.<sup>41</sup> Svo virðist sem stungið eða strikað hafi verið fyrir línum á hverri opnu um sig. Tvær áritanir sem hugsanlega má túlka sem eigendamerkingar eru í þessum hluta handritsins, „*Pordvr*“ neðst á fyrsta blaði og „*Sveinn [Og]mundz son*“ á aftasta blaði. Staðsetning þessara áritana vekur þá spurningu hvort 675 hafi staðið sér þegar þær voru gerðar. Þessi handritseining hefur að geyma norrænu þýðinguna á *Elucidarius*. Sú þýðing er einnig varðveitt í öðrum handritum, því elsta frá 12. öld; brotakennnd varðveisla handritanna gerir það þó að verkum að textinn er ekki til í heild í neinu þeirra. Þessi hluti myndar einnig eina heild, út frá sjónarmiðum handritafræði, skriftarfræði og innihalds. Ástæðan fyrir því að þessi hluti handritsins fylgir hinum tveimur er því ekki ljós. Rithönd Hauks er þar hvergi að finna. Það er ekki vitað hvort Haukur bætti þessum hluta við sjálfur eða hvort seinni eigandi eða safnari hefur látið binda hann saman við hina. Handritafræðileg atriði (bókbandsgöt, stærð kvera og blaða) benda þó til þess að hér séu á ferðinni kver sem hafi fylgt hinum tveimur handritshlutunum um ótiltekinn tíma.<sup>42</sup>

Þessir tveir hlutar *Hauksbókar* (AM 371 4° og AM 675 4°) eru því tvö sjálfstæð og innbyrðis óháð handrit. Hvað eru svo óskyld handrit, efnislega og skriftarfræðilega, að gera í einni og sömu bókinni? Eins og handritafræðileg gögn benda til hafa þau þó lengi átt samleið. Ef til vill hafa þau ekki annað til saka unnið en að hafa einhvern tímamann verið í eigu sama aðila sem hefur ákveðið að binda þau saman í eina stærri skinnbók af einhverjum ástæðum.

Sá hluti *Hauksbókar* sem erfiðast er að henda reiður á frá handritafræðilegu og skriftarfræðilegu sjónarmiði – og reyndar efnislegu líka – er miðhluti

41 Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, xxiii.

42 Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, v.

hennar (AM 544 4°). Þetta stafar af samsetningu hans og fjölda rithanda. Handritið er 14 kver og á þessum kverum eru 14 rithendur, þar af 6 hendir á fyrstu þremur kverunum.<sup>43</sup> Þrjú fyrstu kverin í 544, blöð 1–21, eru leifar af tveimur öðrum handritum sem hafa verið felld inn í *Hauksbók* og lögðuð að henni. Rithönd Hauks Erlendssonar kemur hvergi fyrir á þessum blöðum, þar hafa aðrir skrifarár verið að verki. Stafsetningin bendir til þess að þeir kunni að hafa verið norskir. Ekki er heldur nein fyrirsögn rituð með hendi Hauks, sem þó er almenn regla í þeim hlutum sem hann hefur haft umsjón með, jafnvel þótt aðrir hafi skrifat textann.<sup>44</sup> Skriftarfræðilega séð eiga þau því ekkert sammerkt með öðrum hlutum handritsins. Bókfellið í þriðja kveri bókarinnar, bl. 15–21, er auk þess af annarri gerð, það er þykkara en hin og blöðin hafa upphaflega verið mun stærri en blöðin í *Hauksbók*, því að það hefur þurft að skera vel af ytri spássíunum til að laga þau að stærð hinna kveranna í þessum hluta *Hauksbókar*.<sup>45</sup> Þau eru því tvær sjálfstæðar handritseiningar. Frá sjónarmiði skriftar og handritafræði eiga þau að þessu leyti ekki neitt sammerkt með öðrum hlutum handritsins. En það er einmitt á þessum fyrstu þremur kverum 544 sem alfræðiefni *Hauksbókar* er að langmestu leyti saman komið.<sup>46</sup>

Handritafræðileg og skriftarfræðileg athugun leiðir því í ljós að mestallt alfræðiefni *Hauksbókar* tilheyrir ekki þeim hluta handritsins sem Haukur hefur skrifat. Þessu efni hefur verið aukið við handritið og sum blöðin sem það hefur verið skrifat á hafa verið lögð að öðrum hlutum *Hauksbókar*. Út af fyrir sig má vissulega túlka það sem vitnisburð um áhugasvið þess eiganda handritsins sem létt binda þessi blöð saman við hin. Sú túlkun byggist á *handritafræðilegri* athugun á sniði og bókbandi handritsins. En út frá *fornskriftarfræðilegum* sjónarmiðum er hins vegar ekki hægt að gefa sér að sá sem létt binda þessi blöð inn hafi verið Haukur Erlendsson, því að hann hefur ekki skrifat neinn texta á þessi kver sjálfur, ólíkt því sem gildir um aðra hluta 544. Á efri spássíu blaðs 21, sem nú er nánast ólæsileg,

43 Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, vii–x.

44 Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, xxii.

45 Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, vi; blöðin í AM 675 4° eru einnig þykkari en aðrir hlutar *Hauksbókar*.

46 Undantekningarnar eru brot af steinafræði, sem er með hendi Hauks, *Cisio Janus, Prognostica temporum og Algorismus*. Ástæðan fyrir því að ályktað hefur verið sem svo að Haukur hafi sjálfur bætt alfræðiefninu inn í *Hauksbók* kann að vera sú að steinafræðin er talin rituð með hans hendi.

stendur til dæmis setning sem Árni Magnússon hefur ráðið með eftirfarandi hætti og skrifad á neðri spássíuna: „þessa bok a Teitr Pals son ef hann skal urentr vera“ – en það er vel mögulegt að þessi eigendaskráning eigi bara við um fyrstu kverin þjú í 544, eða jafnvel bara um þriðja kverið og þá ef til vill líka um kverið (eða kverin) sem staðið hefur fyrir framan það, en nú er glatað, en ekki nauðsynlega um alla *Hauksbók* eins og hún hefur varðveist.<sup>47</sup> Auk þess bendir útlit ystu blaðanna, sem eru dekkri og lúnari en önnur, til þess að þessi kver hafi einhvern tíma verið sjálfstæðar notkunareiningar.<sup>48</sup> Það er því einungis *gefín* *forsenda* að það hafi verið Haukur Erlendsson sem létt binda þessi blöð saman við hin og sú *forsenda* byggist á því að heitið „*Hauksbók*“ taki til allra kvera í handritunum þremur (en ekki bara til fyrsta hlutans, AM 371 4°), þ.e.a.s. á því að það hafi verið Haukur sem hafi látið binda þau saman í eina bók. Þar með eru þessi rök dæmi um hringrök sem gefa sér sem forsendu það sem sanna skal.

Málið er þó kannski ekki alveg svona einfalt. Á fyrstu tveimur kverunum er línumfjöldi fremur óreglulegur milli opna, allt frá 30 línum á hvorri síðu upp í 34 (4v–5r), þó að 30 til 31 lína sé algengast. Samt sem áður er leturflöturinn nokkuð reglulegur, um það bil 11,5–12 x 18–18,5 cm, en minni á stöku stað, t.d. 11 x 17 á 14v. Mynstrið bendir til þess að stungið og strikað hafi verið fyrir línum á einni til tveimur opnum í senn.<sup>49</sup> Í þriðja kverinu er leturflöturinn hins vegar öllu stærri eða nær því að vera 12 x 19 og línumfjöldinn 34 á síðu á 15v til 18v. Það er ljóst að þetta kver hefur verið breiðara en hin, enda er skorið alveg inn að leturfleti á ytri spássíum og hugsanlega hefur eitthvað verið skorið ofan af efri spássíu. Á 20r og 20v–21r eru spássiurnar hins vegar eðlilegri, þrátt fyrir þéttari línum (38 á 20r og 40 á 20v, en 17 á 21r enda er skorið neðan af henni). Sé það rétt

47 Sbr. Jón Helgason í inngangi að *Hauksbók*, xxvi. Teitur Pálsson kemur við sögu 1344 og var hirðstjóri 1365 ásamt tveimur öðrum (sbr. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V. bindi (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmennatafélag, 1952), 8).

48 Blöð 1–14 urðu viðskila við 544 um tíma á 19. öld og bárust til Íslands, en komust á sinn stað aftur. Jón Þorkelsson gaf efni þeirra út í *Nokkur blöð úr Hauksbók og brot úr Guðmundarsögu* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmennatafélag, 1865) og gerði í formála grein fyrir innihaldinu. Sbr. Jón Helgason í inngangi að *Hauksbók*, xxx.

49 Stærðirnar eru áþekkar í 371 en þær er línumfjöldinn reglulegri, 33 á síðu. Annars sker 371 sig úr fyrir að vera reglulegasti hluti *Hauksbókar* hvað stærðir og síðuhönnun varðar og það er auk þess heldur minna en hinir hlutarnir (meðaltalið er 15,7 x 23 cm, en 544 er 15,8 x 24,3, og 675 er 15,2 x 24; þessar stærðir benda til hlutfallsins 2/3 sem var ekki óalgengt hlutfall milli breiddar og hæðar skinnbóka á miðöldum).

að þessi síðastnefndu blöð hafi frá upphafi fylgt hinum fyrri má draga þá ályktun að *Völuspá* hafi verið skrifuð á bl. 20r–21r eftir að kverið sem þau tilheyra hefur verið sniðið að stærð bókarinnar (og þá líklega eftir að skorið hefur verið neðan af 21r, því að annars hefði ekki verið þörf á því að hafa svo margar línum á blöðnum á undan). Rithöndin á þessum tveimur blöðum hefur verið talin sú sama og er á Wormsbók *Snorra Eddu* og hún hefur verið tímasett til 1350, en það kann að benda til þess að búið hafi verið að laga umrætt kver að öðrum nálagum kverum *Hauksbókar* um miðja fjórtándu öld.

Afgangurinn af 544 hefur verið ritaður af Hauki Erlendssyni sjálfum og einum samverkamanni hans, að því undanskildu að nokkir aðrir hafa skrifað smábúta í sumum textunum. Vert er þó að áréttu að meginhendurnar eru aðeins tvær, Hauks og ritara hans. Það er því, eins og áður er getið, fornskriftarfræðin sem sýnir fram á sérstök tengsl fyrsta og annars hluta *Hauksbókar*. Þessir tveir hlutar hafa verið skrifaðir að miklu leyti með sömu hendi. Auk þess tengjast meginhendurnar tvær í textunum, sem skrifaðir eru upp í 544, með þeim hætti að þar sem einni sleppir tekur önnur við í sama texta á sömu síðu (ritarinn tekur við á 8or og Haukur á 99r). Það sýnir að skrifararnir hafa unnið saman að uppskrift viðkomandi texta í handritinu.

Að alfræðiköflunum undanskildum hefur 544 að geyma allmarga texta sem skrifaðir eru á kver sem mynda nokkrar aðgreindar handritseiningar. Fyrst er að nefna *Trójumanna sögu* (bl. 22–33), sem er skrifuð á tvö kver. Það fyrra er reglulegt átta blaða kver með 33 línum á síðu (eins og *Landnámabók*) en það síðara sex blaða kver með 35 línum á síðu; skrifarin hefur því bætt við línum til þess að sagan rúmaðist í kverinu, sem hún og gerir. Seinna kverið hefur verið endurnýtt eins og Stefán Karlsson sýndi fram á. *Trójumanna sögu* lýkur neðst á bl. 33v, en á bl. 34r er skrifad brot af steinafræði Marbods af Rennes á norrænu (Hb1 skv. flokkun Stefáns Karlssonar), þá koma tvær auðar síður (34v–35r) og svo *Cisio Janus* (35v). Þessir tveir textar hafa staðið á blöðum sem hafa verið að hluta til óskrifuð og verið brotin um til að rúma niðurlag *Trójumanna sögu*.<sup>50</sup> Þessi kveraskipan sýnir að *atlan* skrifarans hefur verið að hafa *Trójumanna sögu* sérstaka, en ekki skrifa *Breta sögur* í beinu framhaldi hennar þó að þær eigi að fylgja á eftir samkvæmt niðurlagi sögunnar. Það hefði hann vel

<sup>50</sup> Stefán Karlsson, „Aldur Hauksbókar,“ *Stafkrókar*, 305 (3.3.1).

getað gert með því að nota reglulegt átta blaða kver, en hann kýs frekar að búa sér til sex blaða kver og endurnýta blöð úr fórum sínum í því skyni. *Trójumanna saga* myndar því sérstaka einingu í handritinu, jafnvel þótt henni fylgi *Breta sögur* eins og virðist hafa verið raunin um önnur handrit þessara tveggja sagna og þess sé skýrt getið í lok *Trójumanna sögu* að *Breta sögur* komi á eftir.<sup>51</sup>

*Breta sögur* (bl. 36–59) innihalda two texta. Meginefnið er þýðing á *Historia regum Britanniae*, Sögu Bretlandskonunga, eftir Geoffrey af Monmouth, sem samin var á latínu undir lok 12. aldar, en þýðingin virðist hafa verið gerð eftir milliliði sem hefur haft að geyma svoltíð breytta útgáfu sögunnar. Þýðingin inniheldur *Merlinusspá*, þýðingu undir forn-yrðislagi á *Prophetia Merlini* sem eignuð er Gunnlaugi munki Leifssyni á Þingeyrum.<sup>52</sup> *Breta sögur* eru skrifaðar á þrjú regluleg átta blaða kver og svo virðist sem stungið hafi verið fyrir línum á nokkrum opnum í senn, eftir því sem rituninni hefur undið fram, en ekki öllum síðum kversins í einu. Fyrsta kverið (bl. 36–43) er með 37 línum á síðu á hverri opnu framan af, en 36 línum frá og með bl. 40v og fyrsta og síðasta blaðsíða kversins með 36 línum. Næsta kver (bl. 44–51) hefur að jafnaði 34 línum á síðu, og þriðja kverið (bl. 52–59) er með 36 línum á síðu. *Breta sögum* lýkur á hálfu blaði sem hefur verið skorið af að neðan (svipað og bl. 21) og er autt á öftustu síðu. Skinnið á sumum innsíðum tveggja síðari kveranna er götótt og aflagað og bendir til þess að handritið hafi verið gert til einkanota, því að ólíklegt er að atvinnuskrifarar hefðu látið slíka afurð frá sér fara. Frá sjónarmiði handritafræðinnar myndar þessi hluti *Hauksbókar* (bl. 36–59) því einnig sjálfstæða einingu í handritinu, jafnvel þótt *Trójumanna saga* sé undanfari hennar og vísi til þess að *Breta sögur* fylgi. Þessi kver hafa að hluta til verið búin til úr annars flokks skinni og með öðru bleki en *Trójumanna saga* og því hugsanlega á öðrum tíma og við aðrar aðstæður.<sup>53</sup> Prátt fyrir það mynda *Trójumanna saga* og *Breta sögur* eina heild efnislega

51 Sjá bókaskrá úr handriti að *Summa Gaufridi* þar sem minnst er á „truiia saga oc brutus með“ í *Two norröne latínske kvade med melodiar*, útg. Oluf Kolsrud og Georg Reiss (Kristiania: Dybvad, 1913), 58–70. Skráin hefur verið eignuð Árna Sigurðssyni sem var biskup í Björvin 1305–1314.

52 Sjá t.d. Russell Poole, „The Sources of Merlinusspá: Gunnlaugr Leifsson’s Use of Texts Additional to the *De Gestis Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth,“ í *Eddic, Skaldic, and Beyond: Poetic Variety in Medieval Iceland and Norway*, ritstj. Martin Chase (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), 16–30.

53 Finnur Jónsson lýsir blekinu í inngangi að *Hauksbók*, útg. 1892–96, xiii.

séð (Hb2b skv. flokkun Stefáns Karlssonar), enda ljóst að sögurnar hafa verið hugsaðar sem samstæða: *Breta sögur* hafa verið skrifaðar til þess að fylgja *Trójumanna sögu* og hafa því ekki verið sjálfstætt handrit, heldur verið hugsaðar sem hluti heildar. Sú heild hefur mögulega myndað sjálfstætt handrit, sérstaka bók, áður en hún var felld inn í 544.

Á eftir *Breta sögum*, á sérstöku níu blaða kveri, bl. 60–68 (Hb3), þar sem bl. 67 er stakt en hin samstæð, eru tvö verk sem hafa verið sett saman undir heitinu „Viðrœða líkams ok sálar“, sem er reyndar rangnefni. Fyrri textinn er „Viðræða æðru ok hugrekkis“, þýðing á riti Pseudo Seneca, *De remediis*, sem er kafli XXVI, *De fiducia et securitate*, í *Moralium dogma philosophorum* sem er eignað Gauthier af Châtillon. Seinni textinn er þýðing á *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, eftir Hugo af Saint-Victor, en það er viðræða manns (eða Hugos sjálfs ef ritið er túlkað sjálfsævisögulega) við sál sína í anda Ágústínusar kirkjuföður. Svonefndur eftirmáli þessara texta hættir í miðju kafi neðst á öftustu síðu kversins og bendir það til þess að þarna vanti blað, blöð eða kver aftan á. Á þessu kveri eru 37 línum á blaði (nema 36 á bl. 60r, þar sem upphafsstafurinn í efstu línu tekur tvö línubil, eins og víðar) og efri spássíur því mjög litlar, en ytri og neðri spássíur nær venjulegri stærð. Kveraskipanin (níu blöð) og línumfjöldinn gætu bent til þess að ætlunin hafi verið að koma viðræðunum tveimur fyrir á kverinu óháð öðrum samliggjandi textum, þó að það hafi ekki gengið alveg upp. Þarna er því hugsanlega um að ræða sjálfstæðan bækling sem myndað hefur eina efnislega samfellu, en ekkert samanburðarefni um það er þó til staðar.<sup>54</sup>

Á eftir kverinu með viðræðunum tveimur hefur verið raðað sögum af ýmsum toga. Fyrst eru *Hemings þáttur* (bl. 69–72v) og *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* (bl. 72v–76), sem mynda eina heild handritafræðilega séð (Hb2c). Þar eru 36 línum á síðu, nema á opnunni 73v–74r þar sem þær eru 37, ef til vill til að koma betur fyrir kvæðinu sem þar er skrifað. Á hinn bóginн vantart framan á *Hemings þátt* og aftan á *Heiðreks sögu* og því er óljóst hvort eða hvernig þessi handritseining tengist öðrum hlutum handritsins.

Næst koma *Fóstbræðra saga* (bl. 77–89v) (vantart framan á) og *Eiríks saga rauða* (bl. 93–101), síðan í beinu framhaldi *Skálða saga* (bl. 101–104), *Páttur af Upplendinga konungum* (bl. 104–105) og *Ragnarssonar þáttur* (bl. 105–107). Milli *Fóstbræðra sögum* og *Eiríks sögum* er *Algorismus*, þýðing á

<sup>54</sup> Stefán Karlsson segir: „Aftan á síðarnefnda þáttinn vantart, en engin ástæða er til að ætla að niðurlag hans og upphaf Hemings þáttar hafi verið á sama kveri.“ (*Stafkrókar*, 306).

ritgerð um notkun arabískra talna (bl. 90r–93r). Þessi hluti bókarinnar er skrifður á fjögur kver sem hafa hugsanlega verið brotin um, götuð og strikuð eftir því sem ritun verkanna hefur undið fram. Haukur byrjar að skrifa fyrsta kverið (77–84) en á 80r skiptir um rithönd og annar skrifari tekur við. Framan af eru 38 línum á blaði, en á 82v eru þær 37, ef til vill vegna þess að rifnað hefur neðan af blaðinu áður en skrifð var á það. Næstu tvær opnur eru með 37 línum, en aftasta síðan 38 eins og fyrsta blaðið. Þetta gæti bent til þess að Haukur hafi gatað fyrir línum á fyrstu blöðunum í kverinu en ritarinn á þeim síðari (og fyrsta og aftasta síða stungnar út saman). Ritarinn heldur áfram með annað kverið (85–92) og hefur aðeins 35 línum á blaði í öllu kverinu. Sama er uppi á teningnum í þriðja kverinu (93–100) þar sem eru ýmist 34 eða 33 línum á blaði. Skinnið á þessu kveri er á köflum keimlikt því sem notað var í *Breta sögur*, götótt og aflagað. Hvort þá staðreynd megi túlka sem vísbindingu um tengsl milli ritunar þessara tveggja hluta *Hauksbókar* er ekki gott að segja. Haukur tekur við á miðju bl. 99r og næsta opna hefur 35 línum og því mögulegt að hann hafi bætt við tveimur línum á efri spássíunni þegar hann tók við. Hugsanlegt er að *Algorismus* hafi átt að nota sem uppfyllingu í síðara kveri *Fóstbræðra sögu*, en ritarinn gert ráð fyrir of fáum línum á síðu, svo að hann hefur þurft að fara yfir á annað kver áður en hann gat byrjað á *Eiríks sögu* (í stað þess að byrja hana með nýju kveri). Hvernig sem því er farið er fjórða kverið, sem Haukur skrifar, með 41 línu á síðu (43 á þeirri öftustu). Í blálokin er *Prognostica temporum* (bl. 107) sem hugsanlega má líta á sem uppfyllingarefni. Sökum þess að rithendurnar á þessum kverum taka við hver af annarri verður að líta svo á að þessi hluti *Hauksbókar* (Hb2d) myndi eina handritafræðilega heild þótt efnið sé fjölbreytilegt. Vinnubrögðin við ritun kveranna benda til þess að þau hafi verið tilreidd eftir því sem verkini miðaði áfram, en ekki búin til skipulega fyrirfram af atvinnuskrifurum í ritstofu og skinnið er af því tagi sem hæpið er að atvinnumenn hefðu getað látið sér lynda. Af myndum af handritinu að dæma má sjá leifar af línustrikun, sem virðist hafa verið gerð með stíl, og götun fyrir línustrikuninni á jöðrum blaðanna sem ráða má af luginu að hefur verið gerð með hníf. Vinnulagið við undirbúning ritunarinnar (stungur eða götun, strikun lína og afmörkun leturflatar, neðri og ytri spássíur) virðist því vera af hefðbundnu miðaldatagi, en síðuflöturinn er þó nýttur meira en lög gerðu ráð fyrir því að víða er skrifð alveg upp undir efri jaðar skinnblaðanna.

Textarnir sem Haukur skrifar upp ásamt ritara sínum eru einkum sögulegs og frásagnarlegs eðlis, þó með undantekningum sem lúta að guðfræði og stærðfræði. Alfræðiefnið, annað en steinafræðin á bl. 34, er ekki ritað með hendi Hauks. Það er að finna í kverunum þremur í 544 sem hafa verið löguð að *Haufsbók* á einhverjum tímapunkti. Hvaða texta hafa þessi þrjú kver að geyma?

## V

Efni þessara þriggja kvera er jafnan flokkað sem „Heimslýsing og helgfræði“ og „Heimspeki og helgfræði“, sem eru þau heiti sem útgefendur völdu þeim á sínum tíma en segja lítið efnislega um innihald þeirra. Tvö fyrri kverin hafa að geyma samfellda uppskrift með sömu hendi af safni stuttra ritgerða sem lúta að heimsfræði, landafræði og guðfræði. Þau mynda skriftarfræðilega og handritafræðilega heild. Þetta virðast að mestu vera þýðingar sem rekja má aftur til Ísidórs af Sevilla, væntanlega um nokkra milliliði, og sumir eru auk þess til í öðrum íslenskum alfræðihandritum. Ef hliðsjón er höfð af flokkun Jóns Helgasonar eru eftirfarandi textar í handritinu: (a) ritgerð um ár og brunna bæði í Paradís og á jarðkringlunni, (b) texti um upphaf sagnaritunar sem nefndur er *Prologus*, (c) annar kafli um Paradís, (d) landafræðiritgerð. Þá kemur (e) prédikun um falsguði sem mun vera þýðing úr engilsaxnesku á ræðu Ælfrics, *De falsis diis*. Eftir það kemur aftur (f) landfræðileg ritgerð um það hvernig synir Nóa skiptu heiminum á milli sín, og (g) kafli af margháttuðum þjóðum og furðuverum. Síðan kemur (h) ræða Ælfrics gegn fjölkynngi og á eftir henni (i) fjórir útdrættir úr *Elucidarius* og (j) ræða um Imbrudaga. Þá er (k) stutt ritgerð um regnbogann og (l) önnur um gang sólar. Í lokin er (m) texti um borgir og legstaði heilagra manna.<sup>55</sup>

Briðja kverið, sem kemur í beinu framhaldi af þessu, er ritað með annarri hendi og hefur að geyma brot úr öðru textasafni, að því er virðist, en ljóst má vera að eitt kver a.m.k. hefur týnst þar framan af því að textinn á fyrsta blaðinu í kverinu byrjar í miðju kafi. Þetta kver er skriftarfræðilega og handritafræðilega óskyld hinum fyrri. Ef aftur er fylgt flokkun Jóns

55 Hér er farið eftir töluliðum í efnisskiptingu Jóns Helgasonar í innganginum að *Haufsbók*, xii–xiv.

Helgasonar er fyrsti textinn í kverinu, sá sem upphafið vantar á (a og b), stytt þýðing á síðasta hluta *Disciplina clericalis* eftir Petrus Alfonsi.<sup>56</sup> Siðan kemur (c) ritgerðin „Af náttúru manns og blóði“ sem fjallar um frumefnin fjögur og skapgerðirnar fjórar, og þar á eftir (d) frásögn af ferð Seths til Paradísar. Eftir það er (e) stutt upptalning á tólf heimsósónum, (f) teikning af Jerúsalem, og loks (g) stuttur kafla um umgengni við fólk í banni og forboði sem tekinn er úr *Summu Godefroids* af Trani.<sup>57</sup> Þrjú síðastnefndu atriðin (e, f, g) hafa verið talin seinni tíma viðbætur. Á bl. 20v og 21r, sem hafa upphaflega staðið auð, hefur hinn svokallaði Hauksbókartexti *Völuspá* verið skrifður með hendi sem talið er að sé einnig á Wormsbók *Snorra Eddu*, eins og áður er getið.<sup>58</sup>

Samkvæmt þessari lýsingu virðast hér vera á ferðinni *tvö* textasöfn. Annað nær yfir fyrri kverin tvö og hefur einkum að geyma landalýsingu og guðfræði. Það myndar eina sérstaka heild. Hitt stendur í þriðja kverinu sem inniheldur brot úr *Disciplina clericalis* ásamt skapgerðarfræðum, auk fleiri texta, og myndar aðra sérstaka heild sem greinist frá hinni fyrri að efnislegri gerð, stærð og broti, innihaldi og rithönd. Í inngangi sínum að útgáfu *Hauksbókar* 1892–96 taldi Finnur Jónsson að ekki væri hægt að sjá neitt kerfi út úr þessari samsetningu.<sup>59</sup>

Hugum nú að röð textanna í fyrra textasafninu (AM 544 4°, bl. 1–14). Í alfræðihandritinu AM 194 8° frá árinu 1387 er að finna nokkra sambærilega texta, þótt þeir séu þar ekki alveg í sömu röð.<sup>60</sup> Meðal þess sem greinir á milli er að *Hauksbók*, en ekki AM 194 8°, hefur að geyma guðfræðilegt efni, ræðurnar tvær eftir Ælfric og hómilíuna um Imbrudaga, auk útdráttanna úr *Elucidariusi*. Pessir textar rjúfa samhengið í röð alfræðitextanna í kverinu í *Hauksbók* á tveimur stöðum. Bæði á undan og eftir fyrri predikun Ælfrics eru landalýsingar; og svipað mynstur, þó ekki jafn skýrt, kemur fram á undan síðari predikun Ælfrics og á eftir Imbrudagahómilíunni; á undan fer efni um furðuþjódir veraldarinnar en á eftir er umfjöllun um fyrirbæri

<sup>56</sup> Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, „Sagnastef í íslenskri menningarsögu“, *Saga*, 30 (1992), 81–121; hér 99–101.

<sup>57</sup> Jón Helgason, inngangur að *Hauksbók*, xiv–xv.

<sup>58</sup> Finnur Jónsson, inngangur að *Hauksbók* (Kaupmannahöfn, 1892–96), xvi.

<sup>59</sup> „De udgør brudstykker af twende excerptsamlinger, hvil indhold dels er enkelte taler, dels afsnit af større skrifter og afhandlinger og lign. Noget system i disse samlinger lader sig ikke erkende.“ *Hauksbók*, útg. Eiríkur Jónsson og Finnur Jónsson, cxvi.

<sup>60</sup> *Alfræði íslenzk I*, 3–45.

himinsins, sól og regnboga. Sé reynt að áætla lengd þessara textahluta má sjá að predikun Ælfrics gegn skurðgoðadýrkun, sem rýfur samhengið á fyrri staðnum, hefst í 8. línu á blaði 4r og lýkur í 12. línu á blaði 8r. Lengdin á texta Ælfrics jafngildir því nokkurn veginn 4 blöðum (c. 4r–7v). Sé litið til textanna sem rjúfa samhengið á seinni staðnum, þ.e. hómilíu Ælfrics gegn fjölkynngi, útdráttanna úr *Elucidarius* og Imbrudagahómilíunnar, þá samsvara þeir einnig u.þ.b. 4 blöðum í *Haufsbók*. Predikun Ælfrics gegn fjölkynngi hefst í fyrstu línu á blaði 9v og Imbrudagahómilíunni lýkur í 26. línu á blaði 13r sem gerir einnig nokkurn veginn 4 blöð (c. 9v–13r). Vikmörkin eru í báðum tilvikum 4 línum til eða frá sem telja má eðlileg skekkjumörk. Samanlagt jafngildir þetta einu 8 blaða kveri sem hefði innihaldið predikanir Ælfrics og skyldt efni. Niðurstaðan er því sú að samhengi landfræðitextanna er rofið á tveimur stöðum af guðfræðilegu efni og að áætlaður blaðafjöldi þeirra texta sem samhengið rýfur er svipaður.

Hver gæti verið skýringin á þessu munstri? Vissulega mætti horfa til ætlunar skrifarans eða tengsla við önnur sambærileg verk eða reyna að ráða í merkingu þeirrar samsetningar textanna sem þarna birtist. En aðrar skýringar koma einnig til greina. Til dæmis mætti beita *handritafræðilegum* aðferðum við að gera grein fyrir þessari samsetningu. Ein möguleg handritafræðileg skýring gæti þá verið sú að í *forriti* þessa hluta *Haufsbókar* (eða forriti forritsins) hafi Ælfric-hómilíurnar, útdráettirnir úr *Elucidarius* og Imbrudagahómílan verið skrifuð á sérstakt kver sem hafi óvart lent inni í kveri sem hefur haft að geyma alfræðitexta á borð við þá sem finna má í AM 194 8°, eða þá að eitt blað úr alfræðitextanum hafi lent í miðju hómilíukversins. Sambærilegan rugling má t.d. sjá í GKS 1812 4° þar sem a.m.k. þrjú handrit frá tólfu, þrettándu og fjortándu öld hafa blandast saman, og svipaða sögu er að segja af röð textanna í AM 696 XXXIII 4°, þar sem skrifafó hefur verið upp eftir forriti sem hefur verið brotið aftur fyrir sig með þeim afleiðingum að fyrri texti lendir inni í miðjum þeim síðara.<sup>61</sup> Fyrstu tvö kverin í 544, blöð 1–14, sem skoða má sem sérstaka einingu (sama rithönd á báðum kverum, sami texti sem heldur áfram milli kvera, þ.e. samfella milli rithandar, kvera og texta, en rof milli innihalds textanna á tveimur stöðum), hafa því samkvæmt þessu að geyma uppskrift af leifum *tveggja* annarra eininga. Annars vegar væri um að ræða uppskrift af leifum kvers sem hefur innihaldið alfræðilegt efni, sambærilegt við hluta af efni

61 Gunnar Harðarson, *Littérature et spiritualité*, 44–45.

AM 194 8°, hins vegar uppskrift af leifum kvers sem hefur haft að geyma hómilíur og efni guðfræðilegs eðlis. Þessi tvö efnisólíku kver hafa ruglast saman (eða verið sett saman) af einhverjum ástæðum og þegar þau hafa verið skrifuð upp, eins og þau hafa komið fyrir, hefur orðið til sú textasamsteypa sem lesa má á bl. 1–14 í *Hauksbók*.

Af ofangreindu leiðir að þrjú fyrstu kverin í 544 hafa að geyma afrit af þremur textasöfnum: (1) „Alfræðiriti“ sem hefur verið að nokkru leyti sambærilegt við AM 194 8°; (2) hómilíubókarkveri sem hefur m.a. innihaldið ræður Ælfrics og Imbrudagamál; (3) safnriti sem hefur haft að geyma leifar af þýðingu á *Disciplina clericalis*, skapgerðarfraði o.fl. Þessi greining á röð og samsetningu textanna í handritinu hefur í för með sér að alfræðikaflarnir í *Hauksbók* verða sambærilegri við önnur íslensk alfræðiriti: Hauksbókartextinn kynni þá að vera afrit af sambærilegu riti og AM 194 8° er afrit af og fleiri handrit kynnu einnig að vera afrit af.

Þetta þýðir einnig að röð textanna á þessum kverum *Hauksbókar* stafar hvorki af meðvitaðri ritstjórnarákvörðun né af því að skrifarinn hefur haft erlent alfræðirit sér til hliðsjónar við að skipa efninu niður. Þótt sums staðar megi ráða í ætlun skrifarans af samspili texta og handrits á það ekki við hér. Röð textanna í fyrri einingunni stafar af kveraruglingi í forriti og því er ekki hægt að álykta neitt út frá henni um ætlun skrifarans eða efnislega niðurskipan heildarinnar.

## VI

Hvaða ályktanir má draga af ofangreindri skýringu á eðli og samsetningu alfræðikafla *Hauksbókar*? Í fyrsta lagi að það verður að beita handritafræðilegum og skriftarfræðilegum mælikvörðum við athugun á textum handrita og alhæfa ekki út frá því sem blasir við í útgáfum. Kverin þurfa handritafræðilega og skriftarfræðilega greiningu og jafnframt þarf að skoða samband textanna í handritinu og handritsins sjálfs. Það er ekki gefið að handritið í núverandi formi sé eins og það var þegar það – eða einhverjir hlutar þess – voru upphaflega skrifadír. Algengt var að handrit voru bundin saman úr efnisólíkum hlutum, nýjum og gömlum, og þennan hátt á varðveislu handskrifaðra bóka má sjá víða í handritum frá fyrri og síðari öldum. Á miðöldum voru bækur varðveittar með ýmsu móti og ekki gefið að þær hafi allar verið bundnar inn í heilar bækur, þær gátu allt eins

verið varðveittar í bæklingum og kverum eftir því hvað hentaði eigendum. Í *Lárentíus sögu* er talað um að Einar Hafliðason hafi skrifað upp á quaterni það sem Lárentíus hafði hripað niður á vaxspjöld og eru engar vísbendingar í textanum um að þau kver hafi endað sem innbundnar bækur.<sup>62</sup> *Hauksbók*, eins og hún er nú, er því ekki nauðsynlega eins og hún var þegar Haukur skrifaði hana eða lét skrifa hana. Reyndar vitum við ekki heldur með vissu að Haukur hafi skrifað *Hauksbók*, þó að líkurnar séu meiri en minni. Á það hefur verið bent að þar sem rithönd Hauks byrjar í *Eiríks sögu* er textinn styttur en þar sem ritarinn tekur við er textinn hliðstæður því sem þekkist annars staðar.<sup>63</sup> En þetta gæti reyndar stafað af því að þá hefði Haukur einmitt hætt að skrifa og farið að lesa skrifara sínum fyrir.<sup>64</sup> Sú hönd sem talin er hönd Hauks væri þá hönd ritara hans. Á móti þessu mælir að í *Landnámu* segist Haukur hafa *ritað* bókina eftir þeirri bók sem *ritað* hafði Sturla lögmaður og annarri sem Styrmir fróði hafði *ritað*, en notar ekki sama orðalag og Snorri í formála *Heimskringlu*, að hann hafi *látíð rita* bókinna. Auk þess þyrfti sami klerkur að hafa fylgt Hauki milli landa og héraða í nokkurn tíma, því að sama hönd er á *Gulabingslögum* og *dómsúrskurðum* Hauks. Sennilegast er því að Haukur hafi sjálfur skrifað bókina sjálfum sér til handa, enda benda aðferðirnar við ritun hinna ólíku kvera til þess að hann sjálfur hafi ráðið þar för.

En fleira kemur til. Miðaldagerðir *Landnámabókar* voru skrifaðar af lögsögumönnum eða lögmönnum: *Styrmisbók*, *Sturlubók* og *Hauksbók*. Styrmir varð fyrst lögsögumaður 1210–14, þegar Snorri Sturluson tók við, og aftur 1232–35. Sturla varð lögsögumaður 1251 þegar Ólafur bróðir hans fór utan en lét lögsöguna lausa þegar Ólafur kom aftur, og varð síðan lögmaður 1271. Haukur var lögmaður 1294–99. Ef *Landnámuritunin* tengist lögsögumanns- og lögmannsstarfinu þá kynni svo að vera að Landnámuritun Hauks ætti rót að rekja til lögmannsára hans á Íslandi. Ennfremur þurftu lögsögumenn – og þá vafalaust líka lögmenn – að kunna ýmislegt fyrir sér í klerklegum fræðum og lögum, starfa síns vegna.

62 „Lárentíus saga biskups“ í *Biskupa sögur III*, útg. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, Íslenzk fornrit 17 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1998), 379

63 Sven B.F. Jansson, *Handskrifterna til Erik den rödes saga* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1945).

64 Samkvæmt réttarbóti Hákonar konungs 1308 skyldu lögmaður og sýslumaður hafa með sér á ferðum sínum einn klerk sem skyldi festa lögmannsúrskurði á blað (*Norges gamle Love indtil 1387*, 3. bindi, útg. R. Keyser og P.A. Munch (Christiania: Gröndahl, 1849), 76.

Það mætti jafnvel segja að alfræðilegur hugsunarháttur sé samgróinn lögmannsstarfinu, því að þeir sem því sinna þurfa að hafa viðtæka þekkingu á sem flestum þáttum mannlífs og laga. Þótt kirkjuleg atriði komi fyrir í handritum sem skrifuð hafa verið af leikmönnum eða fyrir þá er ekki þar með sagt að handritið endurspegli klerklegan áhuga eða viðhorf. Leikmenn úr hærri stéttum gengu jafnan til tíða og messu, svo og til skrifta, og hafa því þurft að hafa einhverja hugmynd um hvað gæti orðið þeim til hjálpræðis. Guðrækilegir textar á borð við *Viðræðu likams ok sálar* voru vafalaust nýttir af leikmönnum enda ber orðaforði þeirrar þýðingar og innskotin í hana með sér að hún hefur verið ætluð leikmönnum og kannski einkum vel stæðum yfirstéttarmönnum, jafnvel löglærðum, þótt aðrir hafi sjálfsagt getað haft gagn af slíkum ritum. Með sama hætti voru ýmis 12. aldar guðfræðirit lögud að veraldlegum lesendahópi á 14. öld, meðal annars *Elucidarius*, sem var orðinn löngu úreltur fyrir lærða guðfræðinga á þeim tíma.<sup>65</sup>

Hér að ofan hefur verið leitast við að beita handritafræðilegum aðferðum sem gagnrýnu tæki til að sannreyna kenningar um það sem kalla mætti eðli eða jafnvel verufræði *Hauksbókar*. Niðurstaðan er sú að hvað svo sem *Hauksbók* kann að vera þá sé hún að minnsta kosti ekki alfræðirit og eigi sér ekki fyrirmynnd meðal slíkra rita. Á þeim kverum sem kalla mætti „bók Teits Pálssonar“ og á fáeinum endurnýttum blöðum eða í uppfyllingarefnini eru efnisatriði sem finna má í alfræðiritum. En það gerir *Hauksbók* í heild ekki að alfræðiriti. Hún tekur hvorki mið af *ordo artium* né *ordo rerum*, né heldur af *hexaemera*, og ekki er hún í sögulegri tímaröð eins og *Speculum historiale*, né hefur hún að geyma lýsingu heimsins, tímatalsfraði og heimsaldrana sex eins og *Imago mundi*. *Hauksbók* er saman sett úr nokkrum handritum og bæklingum sem bundnir hafa verið saman í eitt á einhverjum tímapunkti, jafnvel ekki síðar en um miðbik 14. aldar, eins og uppskriftin af *Völuspá* bendir til. Í handritinu skiptast nokkuð reglulega á fræðitextar og sagnatextar og þá niðurskipan efnisins má einnig sjá í þeim hlutum handritsins sem Haukur Erlendsson hefur skrifað (t.d. steinafræðin aftan við *Trójumanna sögu*, *Algorismus milli Fóstbreðra sögu og Eiríks sögu*). Sumar handritseiningarnar (t.d. *Landnámabók*, *Trójumanna saga* ásamt *Breta sögum*, kverin með alfræðitextunum) hafa sennilega verið í umferð sem sérstök handrit eða bæklingar áður en þær voru bundnar saman í eina stóra skinnbók. Þáttur tilviljunarinnar í samsetningu hennar getur svo sem

65 Sbr. Yves Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires* (París: Boccard, 1954), 283–289.

vel verið meiri en talið hefur verið. Það er ekki nauðsynlega neina sérstaka einingu að finna í *Haufsbók*. Hún er dæmigert miðaldahandrit, samtíningur sem hefur orðið til við að nokkrar sjálfstæðar einingar af ólíkri stærð og gerð, sem kunna að hafa verið í umferð hver í sínu lagi, hafa einhvern tíma verið bundnar saman í eina heild, ef til vill smám saman. Það segir kannski sína sögu að frá því að fyrst fréttist til *Haufsbókar* á síðari öldum hefur hún verið tekin í sundur, sett saman aftur, raðað upp á nýtt og endurraðað – og síðan skipt í þrjá hluta sem í dag eru varðveisittir í tvennu lagi á tveimur stöðum: AM 371 4° í Reykjavík en AM 544 4° og AM 675 4° í Kaupmannahöfn.<sup>66</sup>

## HEIMILDASKRÁ

### HANDRIT

*Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík*

AM 371 4° (*Haufsbók*)  
AM 435 12°  
GKS 1812 4°

*Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Nordisk forskningsinstitut, Københavns Universitet, København*

AM 242 fol. ( <i>Wormsbók</i> )	AM 732 b 4°
AM 544 4° ( <i>Haufsbók</i> )	AM 736 I 4°
AM 675 4° ( <i>Haufsbók</i> )	AM 736 II 4°
AM 685 d 4°	AM 764 4° ( <i>Reynistaðabók</i> )
AM 696 XXXIII 4°	AM 194 8°

*Riksarkivet, Oslo*

NRA Gammalnorske membranfragmenter nr. 2

<sup>66</sup> Helstu hugmyndirnar í þessari grein voru fyrst reifaðar í málstofu professeurs François-Xavier Dillmann við École Pratique des Hautes Études í París vorið 2014 og vil ég færa honum þakkir fyrir að veita mér það tækifæri. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson handritafraðingur las yfir fyrri gerð þessarar greinar og Haraldur Bernharðsson málfræðingur síðari gerðina. Bentu þeir mér á margt sem betur mátti fara og kann ég þeim miklar þakkir fyrir. Einnig þakka ég tveimur nafnlausum ritrýnum sem komu með góðar ábendingar. Allt það sem misherrað kann að vera skrifast þó á greinarhöfund sjálfan og er þá rétt, eins og þar segir, að hafa það er sannara reynist.

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## SUMMARY

Hauksbók and Medieval Encyclopedias.

**Keywords:** *Hauksbók*, codicology, paleography, methodology, encyclopedic literature, medieval Icelandic manuscripts

Medieval encyclopedias are organized according to different principles: some follow the *ordo rerum*, others the *ordo artium*, still others take the form of *hexaemera* or combine a description of space, time, and history. Some of these texts (such as Isidore's *Origines*, Honorius' *Imago mundi*, and Vincentius' *Speculum historiale*) were known and used in medieval Iceland. However, no such encyclopedias were written in the vernacular. So-called Old Icelandic encyclopedic manuscripts only contain parts or fragments of material that entered into the great medieval encyclopedic tradition. *Hauksbók* is often considered to be an encyclopedia and scholars have interpreted its nature in different ways: it is intentionally modelled on the *Liber floridus*, it is of a clerical nature, it is an expression of the world view of lay chieftains. Instead of interpreting the nature of *Hauksbók* in an abstract way with reference to external criteria, the present article offers an alternative explanation based on the analysis of the relationship between the text preserved in the manuscript and the codicology of the manuscript itself. Most of the encyclopedic material in *Hauksbók* is found in three quires that were not written by Haukr Erlendsson, and were incorporated into the manuscript. It is argued that the order of material in two of these quires resulted from a quire having been misplaced in their exemplar. Thus, the scribe of these *Hauksbók* quires could not have intentionally placed the material in the present order. Consequently, the order of the encyclopedic material in *Hauksbók* does not reflect an intentional mirroring of the structure of a continental encyclopedia. For this reason, even if it contains some encyclopedic material, *Hauksbók* ought not to be considered an encyclopedia, nor is it necessarily of a clerical nature as it contains material produced for a lay audience. It is further argued that the adaption of the third quire to the size of the manuscript can be shown to have happened prior to the copying of *Völuspá*. *Hauksbók* is the result of the combination of different works or opuscules that were manufactured as separate units, some of which may have circulated independently before being bound into one codex, probably as early as the middle of the fourteenth century.

Gunnar Harðarson  
Sagnfræði- og heimspekkideild  
Háskóla Íslands  
Sæmundargötu 2  
IS-101 Reykjavík  
gunhar@hi.is



GUÐBJÖRG KRISTJÁNSDÓTTIR

## LÝSINGAR Í ÍSLENSKUM HANDRITUM Á 15. ÖLD

### 1. Inngangur

ÍSLENSK BÓKAGERÐ er jafnan talin hafa staðið með mestum blóma á 14. öld. Um aldamótin 1400 verða þáttaskil til hins verra og handritum hrakar í útlit og allri gerð.<sup>1</sup> Sárafá handrit eru tímasett með vissu til fyrri hluta 15. aldar og ekki hefur verið bent á markverðar lýsingar frá þeim tíma.<sup>2</sup> Plágan mikla á árunum 1402–1403 er jafnan talin hafa valdið þessari afturför og einnig sú staðreynð að útflutningur íslenskra handrita til Noregs, sem hófst um 1260, lagðist af á síðari hluta 14. aldar.<sup>3</sup> Í Íslensku teiknibókinni AM 673 a III 4to (hér eftir Teiknibókin) eru engar myndir frá fyrri hluta 15. aldar og kann það að stafa af þeirri lægð sem varð í listsköpun næstu áratugina eftir drepsóttina. Um miðja 15. öld tekur lýsingum í handritum að fjölgá á ný en bersýnilegt er að myndskreytingum hefur hrakað mjög frá því sem var á 14. öld.<sup>4</sup> Megnið af bókagerð hér á landi kann að hafa flust

1 Ég færí Guðvarði Má Gunnlaugssyni rannsóknardósent sérstakar þakkir fyrir aðstoð, ráðleggingar og hvatningu við skrif þessarar greinar.

2 Stefán Karlsson, „Íslensk bókagerð á miðöldum,“ í *Íslenska sögubíngið 28.–31. maí 1997*. Ráðstefnurit I, ritstj. Guðmundur J. Guðmundsson et al. (Reykjavík: Sagnfræðistofnun Íslands / Sagnfræðingafélag Íslands, 1998), 282 (endurpr. í *Stafkrókar*, 226). Í heilagra manna saga handriti í Konungsbókhlöðu í Stokkhólmi, Perg. fol. 2 sem Ormur Loftsson skrifaði á árunum 1425–1445 eru á spássíum fjögurra blaða: 5va, 61ra, 73ra og 85v (á neðri spássíu) dregnar myndir með rauðu bleki tengdar efni sagnanna. *Lives of Saints. Perg. Fol. Nr. 2 in the Royal Library, Stockholm*, útg. Peter Foote. Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile 4 (Kaupmannahöfn: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1962), 8–9, 11. Um Orm Loftsson sjá einnig Stefán Karlsson, „Íslensk bókagerð,“ 287.

3 Stefán Karlsson, „Íslandsk bogeksport til Norge i middelalderen,“ *Maal og Minne* (1979): 13 (endurpr. í *Stafkrókar*, 204); Stefán Karlsson, „Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar: Excursus: Bókagerð bænda,“ *Opuscula 4* (1970): 137–138 (endurpr. í *Stafkrókar*, 324–325); Stefán Karlsson, „Íslensk bókagerð,“ 282 (endurpr. í *Stafkrókar*, 226).

4 Þegar lýsingar í lögþókum frá síðari hluta 15. aldar eru bornar saman við Jónsbækur 14. aldar kemur berlega í ljós hversu kunnáttu og leikni við að myndskreyta bækur hafði hrakað mikið. Um þetta sjá Halldór Hermannsson, „Illuminated Manuscripts of the Jónsbók,“ *Islandica 28* (1940): 15.

úr klastrum til stórbýla í kjölfar svartadauða.<sup>5</sup> Fátt bendir til að *scriptoria* hafi verið starfrækt í klastrum á 15. öld.<sup>6</sup>

Ef frá er talin Teiknibókin sem höfundur þessarar greinar hefur rannsakað um árabil eru myndskreytingar í handritum frá 15. öld svo til órannsakaðar. Teiknibókin er safn fyrirmunda eftir fjóra listamenn sem störfuðu á 14. og 15. öld. Þeir eru í rannsóknnum mínum aðgreindir sem A-, B-, C- og D-teiknari. A- og B-teiknararnir voru að verki á 14. öld, en C-teiknarinn á þriðja fjórðungi 15. aldar og D-teiknarinn um 1500.<sup>7</sup> Teiknibókin er eina fyrirmyndabókin frá miðöldum sem varðveisit hefur á Norðurlöndum. Fyrirmyndir C-teiknarans í Teiknibókinni eru án efa lang athyglisverðasta myndverkið frá þriðja fjórðungi 15. aldar þó ekki væri nema vegna þess að þar er að finna ýmis minni sem hvergi annars staðar eru til í íslenskri miðaldalist.<sup>8</sup> Frá sama tíma hafa einnig varðveisit handrit og handritabrot sem talið hefur verið að tveir samnefndir bræður, Jónar Þorlákssynir, hafi skrifað. Fræðimenn hafa fjallað um rithendur þeirra en lýsingum í bókum þeirra hefur lítill gaumur verið gefinn.

Í þessari grein er ekki stefnt að því að gefa yfirlit yfir lýsingar á 15. öld enda ógerningur vegna þess hversu rannsóknir eru skammt á veg komnar. Greinin takmarkast því við athugun á fyrirmundum C-teiknarans í Teiknibókinni og lýsingum í bókum og bókarbrotum með rithöndum áðurnefndra Jóna. Leitast er við að gera grein fyrir með hvaða hætti lýs-endur tóku upp þráðinn á ný eftir samdráttinn sem varð í framleiðslu bóka á fyrri hluta 15. aldar.

Einnig er fjallað um Bjarna Ívarsson, eina nafnkunna lýsandann á 15. öld, sem heimildir greina frá að lýst hafi grallara sem annar Jónanna skrifanda. Lýsingar Bjarna eru ókunnar. Úr því að vitað er um samvinnu skrifarans Jóns Þorlákssonar og lýsandans Bjarna Ívarssonar kann sá síðarnefndi að hafa myndskreytt aðrar bækur sem Jón skrifanda. Til að ganga úr skugga um það eru lýsingar í bókum, heilum og óheilum, sem Jónarnir tveir skrifuðu, skoðaðar sérstaklega í því skyni að skera úr um hvort þeir sjálfir hafi lýst

5 Stefán Karlsson, „Íslensk bókagerð“, 293–294 (endurpr. í *Stafkrókar*, 239–240).

6 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, „Vorou scriptoria í íslenskum klastrum?“, í *Klausturmennning á Íslandi á miðöldum*, ritstj. Gunnar Harðarson og Haraldur Bernharðsson, (Reykjavík: Miðalastofa Háskóla Íslands og Háskólaútgáfan, 2016), 205.

7 Um teiknarana fjóra sjá, Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Íslenska teiknibókin*, ritstj. Soffia Guðný Guðmundsdóttir (Reykjavík: Crymogea, 2013), 24–25.

8 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Íslenska teiknibókin*, 57–58.

bækur sínar eða hvort á þeim megi finna handbragð utanaðkomandi lýsanda sem gæti þá hugsanlega verið Bjarni Ívarsson.

## 2. C-teiknari Teiknibókar

C-teiknarinn hefur gert langflestar myndir í Teiknibókinni og er greinilegt að mun meira hefur varðveist af fyrirmyn dasafni hans en hinna teiknaranna. Fyrirmyn dir hans eru af ýmsum toga á 22 síðum í bókinni. Þar á meðal eru þrír upphafsstafir, á bl. 3v, 7r og 18v sem sýna að hann hefur verið handritalýsandi og kann það að hafa verið hans aðalstarf.

Þrátt fyrir að margvíslegar fyrirmyn dir hans í Teiknibókinni bendi eindregið til að C-teiknarinn hafi starfað að listsköpun sinni um eitt-hvert skeið hefur einungis ein mynd sem talin er eftir hann varðveist utan Teiknibókar. Björn Th. Björnsson listfræðingur vakti fyrstur manna athygli á andlátsmynd á stöku blaði með nótum, sem varðveitt er í Þjóðminjasafni Dana í Kaupmannahöfn (Inv. D 1849a).<sup>9</sup> Blaðið mælist um 312x204 mm. Skorið hefur verið af því að ofan og til beggja hliða. Skinnið er ljóst, textinn á blaðinu er tvídálka og talsvert vantar á hægri dálkinn. Myndin er í stafnum C við upphaf sálms úr sálutíðum sem hefst á orðunum *Credo quod redemptor* (Ég trúi á endurlausnarann) (mynd 1).<sup>10</sup> Staka blaðið er úr veglegri kirkjubók, huganlega missale (messubók), þó það verði ekki fullyrt, þar sem sálutiðir voru á ýmsum helgisiðabókum.<sup>11</sup> Atriði í andláts-

9 Björn Th. Björnsson, *Íslenska teiknibókin í Árnasafni* (Reykjavík: Heimskringla, 1954), 117–118. Til Þjóðminjasafnsins kom blaðið úr Leyndarskjálasafni Dana (Det kongelige geheimearkiv) árið 1883. Þar hafði það verið utan um reikninga frá Hróarskeldu, sbr. bréf Fritze Lindahl, museuminspectør, til Det Arnamagnæanske Institut, dags. 15. desember 1969. Á bakhlið blaðsins stendur danska nafnið Anders Pedersen milli lína, en á því er hins vegar ekkert íslenskt spássíukrot.

10 Sálutiðir saman standa af þremur tíðum, Vespers, Matins og Lauds. Vespers voru beðnar í kirkju kvöldið fyrir útförina en Matins og Lauds að morgni útfarardagsins. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 52–53; Roger Wieck, „The Death Desired: Book of Hours and the Medieval Funeral,“ í *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ritstj. Edelgard E. DuBruck og Barbara I. Guscick. Studies in Humanities, Literature, Politics and Society 45 (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 432.

11 Árið 1470 lagði séra Semingur til kirkjunnar í Saurbæ í Eyjafirði messudagabók (*missale*) með „syngjandi sálutiðum.“ *Diplomatarium Islandicum. Íslenzkt fornþréfusafn, sem hefir inni að halda bréf og gjörninga, dóma og málðaga, og aðrar skrár, er snerta Ísland eða íslenzka menr,* 16. b., útg. Jón Sigurðsson et al. (Kaupmannahöfn / Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmennafélag, 1857–1972), 5: 311. Hugsanlegt er að staka blaðið sé úr slíkri bók. Í málðögum er getið um sérstök sálutiðakver eða bækur og stundum tekið fram að sálutiðir séu með á öðrum

myndinni á staka blaðinu eru nánast eins og á mynd C-teiknarans á bl. 17v í Teiknibókinni (mynd 2) og engum vafa undirorpíð að tengsl eru milli myndanna. Blaðið hefur því verið talið íslenskt þótt það hafi fundist í Danmörku og það talið frá 15. öld vegna skyldleikans við mynd C-teiknarans.

Skærgulur upphafsstafurinn á andlátsmyndinni á staka blaðinu sker sig úr bláum bakgrunnum. Rauð lína er dregin utan um grunninn nema að neðan. Í miðjum stafnum hvílir kona sem er nýbúin að gefa upp öndina í grænu rúmi með háum rúmstólpum. Rúmið stendur á bogaröðum og tekið er úr því að framan. Konan er sveipuð rauðum rekkjuvoðum og hefur undir höfði ljósan kodda með tíglofttu munstri, gulrauðri bryddingu og skúfum á hornum. Hvít sál hinnar framliðnu stendur í barnsliki framan við andlit hennar. Aftan við rekkjuna standa tvær grátandi konur og þerra augu sín með skikkjuföldunum. Sú til vinstra hefur brugðið dökkgærni skikkju yfir höfuð sér en ljóshærða konan hægra megin er með ljósgula skikkju á herðum. Ofan við rúmið kemur Mikael erkiengill fljúgandi frá hægri og grípur um hendur sálarinnar. Engill vinstra megin réttir verndandi út hendur. Báðir eru með rauðgul höfuðlin, íklæddir grænum kyrtlum, sem teknir eru saman í mittið og með rauðgulum hlöðum framan á ermunum. Engillinn til vinstra er með grænan geislabaug, sá til hægri rauðan. Tvíltar fjaðrir, gular og graenar, eru í vængjum þeirra. Néðst í stafnum framan við rekkjuna sitja tveir djöflar, vopnaðir tvíkrókum. Peir eru dýrslegir, loðnir á skrokkinn með mannshendur, hala og klær. Skeggjaði, rauði djöfullinn vinstra megin rekur út úr sér rauða tungu. Hann er með löng rauð horn á höfði, dýrsleg gul eyru, gular útstandandi glyrnur, rauðan hala og grænar klær. Hann reynir að krækja í sál konunnar með skærgulum tvíkrók. Til hægri er loðinn, gráhvítur djöfull með svart hár, hala og klær. Hann heldur á gráum tvíkrók í rauðum höndunum. Hægri vængur engilsins vinstra megin og hægri fótur djöfulsins hægra megin ganga fram fyrir staflegginn og færa myndina nær áhorfandanum og tengja hana jafnframt við textasíðuna. Litirnir eru oftast lagðir flatt á. Rekkjuvoðirnar og skikkja konunnar vinstra

kirkjubókum. Árið 1343 er sálutíðabók fyrir fimm aura nefnd í máldaga kirkjunnar á Hofi í Öræfum. *DI* 2, 775. Í Pétursmáldögum frá 1394 er getið um sálutíðakver í kirkjunum í Glæsibæ í Skagafirði og á Svalbarði á Svalbarðsströnd. *DI* 3, 520, 569. Árið 1400 gaf Ormur Snorrason kirkjunni á Skarði á Skarðsströnd 'De sanctis bok per annum' sem hófst með sálutíðum. *DI* 3, 658. Loks er í máldaga Munkaþverárklausturs frá 1525 nefnd sálutíðabók. *DI* 9, 306.

megin eru skyggðar með dekkra blæbrigði sama litar. Klæði og vængir englanna eru að hluta til skyggð með lit svo að ljóst skinnið skín í gegn.

Nokkur atriði eru þó frábrugðin í andlátsmyndunum tveimur.unga manninn við rúmgafinn á bl. 17v í Teiknibókinni vantar á mynd staka blaðsins og djöflarnir halda þar einungis á tvíkrókum en hvorki á svipu né vendi. Engir stólpars eru á rúminu á myndinni á bl. 17v og þrískiptir bogarnir í bogaröðinni öðru síni en á mynd staka blaðsins. Sálin í barnslíki er í þann veginn að skilja við deyjandi konuna en hefur yfirgefið munn hennar á myndinni á staka blaðinu. Þessar smábreytingar gætu hafa gerst þegar andlátsmyndin á bl. 17v í Teiknibókinni var löguð að upphafsstafnum á staka blaðinu og gæti vel hafa verið sein fyrirmynnd hennar þó ekki verði það fullyrt með vissu. Engar skyldar lýsingar hafa fundist í íslenskum handritum sem varpað gætu frekara ljósi á tengsl andlátsmyndarinnar á staka blaðinu og fyrirmynnda C-teiknarans.

Stefán Karlsson fann hönd C-teiknarans á meginhluta handritsins AM 343 a 4to sem hefur að geyma margar fornaldar- og riddarasögur.<sup>12</sup> Aðalhöndin á handritinu er allskyld rithöndum eyfirska bréfa og handrita sem að líkindum eru eyfirska að uppruna og skrifuð um og upp úr miðri 15. öld.<sup>13</sup> Sálutíðirnar á staka blaðinu eru á latínu með brotinni skrift sem erfitt er að bera saman við skrift C-teiknarans í Teiknibókinni. Á bl. 38v–39r í AM 343 a 4to er smápóstur með settara letri en skrift í þessu handriti sem, eins og að ofan kom fram, er að mestu leyti með hendi C-teiknarans. Skriftarlíkindi með þessum settletursþósti og skriftinni á staka blaðinu eru svo nái að liklegt getur talist að sami maður hafi skrifað, þótt úr því verði ekki skorið svo óyggjandi sé. Hugsanlega hefur C-teiknarinn bæði skrifað og lýst handritið sem staka blaðið er úr og hefur hann þá bersýnilega verið æfður skrifari.

12 Stefán Karlsson fyrverandi forstöðumaður Árnastofnunar rannsakaði texta Teiknibókarinnar árið 1968 og síðar. Niðurstöður hans hafa ekki birst á prenti en þær eru að meginhluti textans í bókinni sé skrifður með einni hendi frá því um eða eftir 1450. Unnt er að sýna fram á að þetta er hönd C-teiknarans. Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, „Written Entries,“ í Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Icelandic Book of Drawings: A Late Medieval Model Book* (vætanleg).

13 Um rannsóknir og niðurstöður Stefáns Karlssonar á textanum sjá „The Provenance and History of the Book of Drawings: The Medieval Period,“ í Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Icelandic Book of Drawings. A Late Medieval Model Book* (vætanleg). Um þessi handrit og bréf og fyrrí skrif fræðimanna um þau sjá *Tales of Knights. Perg. fol. nr 7 in the Royal Library, Stockholm* (AM 567 VIβ 4to, NKS 1265 IIc fol.), útg. Christopher Sanders. *Manuscripta Nordica: Early Nordic Manuscripts in Digital Facsimile 1* (Kaupmannahöfn: Reitzel, 2000).

### 3. Gjafavottorð Bjarna Ívarssonar

Bjarni Ívarsson sem uppi var á þriðja fjórðungi 15. aldar er eini lýsandinn sem getið er um í heimildum og líkur benda til að hann hafi lært að skrifa í Eyjafirði skömmu fyrir 1450. Nafn Bjarna er þekkt úr einu glæsilegasta gjafavottorði sem varðveisit hefur hér á landi.<sup>14</sup> Það er skrifað með rauðu bleki á milli nótalína við *Credo in unum deum* (Ég trúi á einn guð) á broti úr stöku grallarablaði með nótum, AM 80 b 2 8vo.<sup>15</sup> Blaðið er með 16 nótastrengjum og mælist 340x250 mm. Skinnið í blaðinu er þjált og ljós litur þess gæti bent til að það sé erlent. Brot úr tveimur textum eru á því, báðir skertir. Á bl. 1r er síðari hluti *Agnus dei* en því næst hefst *Credo* á sama blaði og endar á orðunum *apostolicam Ecclesiam* á bl. 1v.<sup>16</sup> Í gjafabréfinu segir Jón Þorláksson til nafns (mynd 3):<sup>17</sup>

Jon Þorláksson hefir skrifat þessa bok; En hana líet góra bíarní son Jungkæra Juars holms; ok hann gaf hana Jungfru Mariú ad

- <sup>14</sup> Bókagjafarar eru stöku sinnum tilgreindir í heimildum og klausur skráðar á bækur því til staðfestingar. Um gjafara í íslenskum miðaldahandritum sjá Tryggvi J. Oleson, „Book Donors in Mediaeval Iceland I,” *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 44 (1957): 88–94; Tryggvi J. Oleson, „Book Donors in Mediaeval Iceland II,” *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 48 (1961): 10–22. Gjafavottorð er á saltara sem Eiríkur Loftsson bóndi á Grund í Eyjafirði gaf jómfru Mariú á Munkálfverá árið 1469. Um þetta sjá Mariane Overgaard, „En bog i Jomfru Marias bibliotek. Kalendariet AM 249d fol. + “Psalter VII” i Acc. 7d,” *Opuscula* 11 (2003): 197.
- <sup>15</sup> *Liturgica Islandica I. Text*, útg. Lilli Gjerløw. *Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana* 35 (Kaupmannahöfn: Reitzel, 1980), 58; Róbert Abraham Ottósson, „Diskant (discantus),“ *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid* (Reykjavík: Bókaverzlinn Ísafoldar, 1958) 3: 105–107; Gunnar F. Guðmundsson, *Íslenskt samfélög og Rómakirkja, Kristnið á Íslandi* 2 (Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000), 312–313.
- <sup>16</sup> *Credo in unum deum* er upphaf Niíkeu játningarinnar. Ég þakka Hjalta Snæ Ægissyni fyrir að þýða latneskar setningar á íslensku.
- <sup>17</sup> Kristjan Kálund vakti fyrstur manna athygli á gjafavottorðinu. Kristjan Kálund, „En kontrakt med jomfru Maria,” *Smástykker* 1–16. Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur (Kaupmannahöfn: Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 1884–1891), 127–130. *DI* 5: 728–729; Angul Hammerich, „Studier over islandsk Musik,” *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 14 (1890): 293–303; Bjarni Þorsteinsson, *Íslensk þjóðlög. Bjarni Þorsteinsson prestur í Siglufirði hefur safnað lögum 1880–1905 og samið ritgjörðirnar* (Kaupmannahöfn: S. L. Møller, 1906–1909). [Ljósrit, Siglufjarðarprentsmiðja, 1974, 147–155]; Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, “These are the Things you never forget”: *The Written and Oral Traditions of Icelandic Tvísöngur*. Doktorsritgerð (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2003), 31–40, 48–55. Árni Heimir hefur bent að á blaðinu sé elsta varðveitta dæmið um íslenskan tvísöng. Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, *Saga tónlistarinnar: Tónlist á Vesturlöndum frá miðöldum til nútímans* (Reykjavík: Forlagið, 2016), 47

munkaþueraa med þeim skilmála ad þau laun sem María will honum unna hier fyrir uill hann annars heíms hafa þa honum liggr mestá ok hans saal uardar mestu og allra þeira hans naaunga sem hun uill at þessa nótí hefir fyrr skrifadr bárne lyst þ[ess]ja bok fysta enn hann bío aa medalfellí j kíos sudur. Þa uar einar abotí amunkaþuera. byskup olafur a holum. byskup sueinn j skálahollte. kong krístofur yfir noregí suíarakí ok danmark. Anno domini Millesimo quadríngentesímo septuagesíma tertcio. bidit fyrir bíarna munkar.<sup>18</sup>

Því miður eru engar myndir á brotinu úr grallarblaðinu og því eru lýsingar Bjarna ókunnar. Bjarni (f. um 1430) var af tignum ættum, sonur Ívars hólms (d. 1433) Vigfússonar junkæra (d. 1420), Ívarssonar hólms hirðstjóra yfir öllu Íslandi (d. 1371).<sup>19</sup> Ekki er vitað hver móðir Bjarna var og óvist að Ívar faðir hans hafi verið kvæntur því að hann hefur ekki átt skilgetin börn á lífi þegar hann lést.<sup>20</sup> Margrét Vigfúsdóttir föðursystir Bjarna giftist Þorvarði Loftssyni ríka Guttormssonar á Möðruvöllum í Eyjafirði 1436.<sup>21</sup> Líklegt hefur verið talið að Guðmundur bróðir Bjarna hafi verið uppeldissonur Margrétar föðursystur sinnar.<sup>22</sup> Ekki er ósenmilegt að Bjarni hafi einnig verið í fóstri hjá föðursystur sinni á Möðruvöllum. Bjarni Ívarsson hefur líklega verið tvíkvæntur en ekki er vitað hver fyrri kona hans var og verður vikið að því síðar. Seinni kona hans var Soffía Loftsdóttir Guttormssonar, mágkona Margrétar Vigfúsdóttur, en hún hafði áður verið gift Árna Þorleifssyni í

- 18 Árni Magnússon fékk blaðið í Kaupmannahöfn 1715 hjá Þorsteini Sigurðssyni, sýslumannni í Múlasýslu. Hann hafði fengið það hjá almúgabóna einum í Eyjafirði sem átti ekki önnur blöð úr bókinni. Bóndinn mundi ekki frá hverjum hann hefði fengið blaðið en sagði það hafa flækst til sín frá einhverjum öðrum. *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Handskriftsamling 2* [útg. Kristian Kälund] (Kaupmannahöfn: Kommissionen for Det Arnamagnæanske Legat, 1894), 382–383.
- 19 Faðir Bjarna var dreppinn árið 1433. Jón Egilsson, „Biskupa-annálar Jóns Egilssonar,” í *Safn til sögu Íslands og íslenzkra bókmента að fornu og nýju 1*, útg. Jón Sigurðsson (Kaupmannahöfn: Hið íslenzka bókmennatafélag, 1856), 36; *Annálar 1400–1800 3*, 26 (Vatnsfjarðarannáll); Einar Bjarnason, „Ætt Ívars hólms hirðstjóra Vigfússonar og niðjar hans,” *Skírnir* 138 (1964): 68–107; Björn Þorsteinsson, *Enská öldin i sögu Íslendinga* (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1970), 130–132.
- 20 Einar Bjarnason, *Íslenzkir ættstuðlar 2* (Reykjavík: Sögufélagið, 1970), 160.
- 21 Til er kaupmálabréf Margrétar og Þorvarðar frá 1436. *DI 4*, 562–563. Einar Bjarnason, „Ætt Ívars hólms,” 98–105; Einar Bjarnason, *Íslenzkir ættstuðlar*, 159–160.
- 22 Einar Bjarnason, „Ætt Ívars hólms,” 89–91. Um þetta sjá einnig Stefán Karlsson, „The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts,” *Saga-Book of the Viking Society 25* (1999): 154; *Tales of Knights*, 47–48.

Vatnsfirði, Árnasonar og konu hans Kristínar Björnsdóttur.<sup>23</sup> Soffía mun hafa verið ekkja allmög ár áður en hún gekk að eiga Bjarna en þau munu hafa gifst um 1455.<sup>24</sup> Bjarni og Soffía bjuggu síðan á Meðalfelli í Kjós og Bjarni kemur við bréf í Engey á Kollafirði árið 1471.<sup>25</sup> Bjarna er síðast getið í heimildum 1473 þegar hann fékk Jón Þorláksson til að skrifa fyrir sig Munkaþverárgrallarann eins og fram kemur að ofan. Sú bókagjöf gæti bent til tengsla við Eyjafjörð umfram kvonfangið og jafnvel mætti ímynda sér að Bjarni hafi verið í skóla á Munkaþverá.<sup>26</sup>

Sem fyrr segir mun Bjarni hafa verið kvæntur áður en hann gekk að eiga Soffíu Loftsdóttur. Með fyrri konu sinni hefur hann átt ónafn greinda dóttur. Hún hefur verið kona Narfa Sigurðssonar lögréttumanns á Meðalfelli í Kjós, því að synir hans erfa Orm Bjarnason, eina afkomanda Soffíu Loftsdóttur og Bjarna Ívarssonar.<sup>27</sup> Einn af sonum Narfa hétt Ívar (f. um 1490) og bjó í Gröf í Miðdolum.<sup>28</sup> Ívar Narfason er nefndur á bl. 3r í Teiknibókinni og hann gæti því verið dóttursonur Bjarna.<sup>29</sup> Hann hefur þá erft bókina. Ívar dó 1524.<sup>30</sup>

Í gjafavottorðinu er tekið fram að Bjarni hafi sjálfur „lyst þessa bok fysta.“ Þetta er undarlegt orðalag og ekki ljóst hvernig skilja beri orðið „fysta.“ Eðlilegast virðist að líta á orðið sem tölurð og samkvæmt því ætti grallarinn að vera fyrsta bókin sem Bjarni lýsti. Það fær þó varla staðist því að Bjarni er talinn fæddur nálægt 1430 og hans er ekki getið eftir 1473 og hefur að öllum líkindum andast skömmu síðar. Einfaldasta skýringin á þessu orðalagi er sú að Bjarni hafi gefið eða haft í huga að gefa helgisiðabækur til fleiri kirkna eða kirkjulegra stofnana en kirkjunnar á Munkaþverá sér til sáluhjálpar. Hann kann því að hafa fengið Jón Þorláksson sér til aðstoðar við að skrifa Munkaþverárgrallarann þegar ráðist var í svo umfangsmikla bókagerð.

23 Árni og Soffía munu hafa búið í Innri Fagradal í Saurbæ. *Biskupa sögur* 2, útg. Guðbrandur Vigfusson (Kaupmannahöfn: Hið íslenska bókmennatafélag, 1878), 430; Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, *Vatnsfirður í Ísafirði. Þettir úr sögu böfuðbóls og kirkjustaðar* (Brekku í Dýrafirði: Vestfirksa forlagið, 2012), 172–173.

24 Um Soffíu, sjá Einar Bjarnason, *Íslenzkir ættstuðlar*, 202–205.

25 *DI* 5, 625–626.

26 Stefnán Karlsson veitti mér ómetanlega aðstoð við að rekja ættir Bjarna Ívarssonar.

27 Einar Bjarnason, „Ætt Ívars hólms,“ 85–86; Einar Bjarnason, *Íslenzkir ættstuðlar*, 202–205.

28 *DI* 9, 246–247. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstínum til ársloka 1940* 2 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmennatafélag, 1949), 407.

29 Nafnið Ívar Narfason er skrifað með sömu hendi á neðri spássíu á bl. 10r i handritinu Perg. fol. 7 í Stokkhólmi; *Tales of Knights*, 47, 49, 70.

30 Þá erfir Ingveldur dóttir Ívars föður sinn. *DI* 9, 246–247.

#### 4. C-teiknarinn og Bjarni Ívarsson

Það er í raun einkum tvennt í Teiknibókinni sem gæti bent til að C-teiknarinn sé Bjarni Ívarsson. Rithönd teiknarans kemur heim við að Bjarni Ívarsson hefur að líkindum lært að skrifa í Eyjafirði skömmu fyrir miðja 15. öld. Nafnið Ívar Narfason sem stendur á bl. 3r gæti verið dóttursonur Bjarna og ætti bókin samkvæmt því að hafa erfst í ættinni. Þessi tvö atriði geta þó engan veginn talist nógu veigamikil til að fára heim sanninn um að C-teiknarinn sé Bjarni Ívarsson. Sé hins vegar litið til þess hversu fáir lýsendur hafa verið hér að verki á þriðja fjórðungi 15. aldar eykur það líkurnar á því að Bjarni Ívarsson og C-teiknari Teiknibókar hafi verið einn og sami maður. Samanburður lita í andlátsmyndinni á staka blaðinu sem talin er eftir C-teiknara Teiknibókar og lita í tveimur sögustöfum sem samverkamaður Jóns Þorlákssonar, að líkindum bróðir hans og alnafni lýsti, sýna að þessir tveir listamenn nota sömu eða svipaða liti á líkan hátt. Þetta er annars vegar mynd af tilbeiðslu vitringanna í grallarabroti (AM Acc. 7, Hs 3; mynd 14) og hins vegar mynd af Ólafi helga og Þorláki helga Þórhallssyni í Skálholtsbók eldri (AM 351 fol.; mynd 16). Stafleggir eru skærgulir og bakgrunnur blár, litir í myndunum eru rauðgulir, grænir og mosagrænir, ásamt hvítum lit. Þrátt fyrir líkindin þarf frekari rannsóknir til að skera úr um hvort um sömu liti sé að ræða. Þessi líka litanotkun gæti engu að síður verið vísbending um að Bjarni Ívarsson og Jónarnir tveir hafi starfað saman við bókagerð og stutt þá tilgátu að C-teiknarinn hafi verið Bjarni Ívarsson.

Þótt rithönd C-teiknarans sýni að hann hafi lært að skrifa í Eyjafirði benda myndir hans í Teiknibókinni til að hann hafi starfað annars staðar sem myndlistarmaður. Stór hluti fyrirmunda hans í Teiknibókinni sýnir skyldleika við stíl A- og B-teiknaranna einkum þess síðarnefnda. Þessi stíllíkindi má rekja til þess að C-teiknarinn átti fyrirmyndasöfn þeirra beggja og bersýnilegt er að hann hefur byggt sumar teikninga sinna á verkum þeirra.<sup>31</sup> Hugsanlegt er að þessi fyrirmyndasöfn frá 14. öld hafi hann fengið hjá lærimeistara sínum sem enginn veit hver var. Af eðli fyrirmyndabóka leiðir að ósennilegt er að þær hafi haldist í eigu listamanna sem þær áttu upphaflega. Líklegra er þær hafi oftast nær með einhverjum hætti komist í eigu annarra listamanna sem einir gátu haft gagn af þeim.

Í upphafi ferils síns leitaði C-teiknarinn fanga í list 14. aldar. Þegar leið

<sup>31</sup> Um þessi stillikindi sjá Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Íslenska teiknibókin*, 49–51.

á feril hans gerði hann jafnframt fyrirmyn dir eftir verkum sem stóðu nær samtið hans og höfðu augljós síðmiðaldaeinkenni. Á miklum minni hluta fyrirmynnda hans má greina stílahrif frá 15. öld og ekki fer á milli mála að hann hefur safnað að sér fyrirmyndum með því að gera eftirmyn dir af erlendum listaverkum sem á vegi hans urðu.<sup>32</sup> Þannig leitast hann við að fylgjast með erlendum nýjungum og aðferðum og tileinka sér þær að einhverju marki í listsköpun sinni.<sup>33</sup>

C-teiknarinn virðist hafa verið fjölhæfur listamaður sem samhliða handritalýsingum lagði stund á aðrar listgreinar svo sem veggmyndir, útskurð, málmgröft og jafnvel þrykkmyndir.<sup>34</sup> Engin listaverk hafa þó komið í ljós sem rennt gætu stoðum undir að C-teiknarinnar hafi unnið í þessum listgreinum og það verður því hvorki sannað né afsannað. Þá verður að hafa í huga að C-teiknarinn gæti hafa dregið upp fyrirmyn dir fyrir listiðnaðarmenn sem unnu í áðurnefndum listgreinum. Þær gætu verið tilkomnar vegna samvinnu hans við gull og/eða silfursmiði og tréskurð-armenn sem gætu í sumum tilvikum hafa unnið með honum við verk þar sem þörf var á kunnáttu í fleiri en einni listgrein til að koma þeim í endanlegan búning. Hinar fjölbreyttu myndir C-teiknarans í Teiknibókinni benda eindregið til að listsköpun hafi staðið hér með meiri blóma á 15. öld en varðveitt verk gefa ástæðu til að ætla.

## 5. Jónar tveir Þorlákssynir

Nöfn flestra íslenskra skrifara á miðöldum eru ókunn.<sup>35</sup> Á 15. öld bregður þó svo við að heimildir greina frá tveimur samnefndum bræðrum sem báðir voru skrifarar og hétu Jón Þorláksson.<sup>36</sup> Í ritum sínum *Um ættir og slekti*

32 Um síðmiðaldaeinkenni á myndum C-teiknarans sjá Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Íslenska teiknibókin*, 53–54.

33 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Íslenska teiknibókin*, 53–54.

34 Sjá tilgátur um notkun fyrirmynnda C-teiknarans í Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Íslenska teiknibókin*, 59–61.

35 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson hefur tilgreint rithendur fáeinna nafngreindra skrifara á miðöldum sem er fullvist að þekktar séu. Einnig telur hann upp rithendur nokkurra manna til viðbótar sem sterkt rök hafa verið færð fyrir að séu þekktar. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, „Hverjir skrifuðu öll þessi handrit“, *Svanafjáðrir skornar Svanbildi Mariu Gunnarsdóttur fimm tugri 2. júlí 2015*, ritstj. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. (Reykjavík, Menningar- og minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, 2015), 27–29.

36 Fyr á oldum þegar barnadauði var mikill tiðkaðist að skíra fleiri en eitt systkini sama nafni

og *Tiðfordrif* segir Jón lærði Guðmundsson (1574–1658) að Jón Þorláksson skrifari eldri hafi endað sína daga á Skarði á Skarðsströnd. Ennfremur greinir hann frá því að bróðir Jóns eldri skrifara, Jón Þorláksson yngri, hafi verið meðreiðarsveinn Solveigar Björnsdóttur (Þorleifssonar frá Skarði á Skarðsströnd) á Hóli í Bolungarvík.<sup>37</sup> Séra Jón Egilsson (1548–1639?) frá Hrepphólum segir að Jón Þorláksson hafi verið ráðsmaður Solveigar Björnsdóttur á Hóli og vitnar í ummæli um að sa Jón Þorláksson hafi verið besti skrifari á Vestfjörðum.

Síðar komu í ljós fleiri handrit með hönd Jóns Þorlákssonar sem skrif-aði grallara Bjarna Ívarssonar.<sup>38</sup> Jón Helgason benti á að sérstök hönd væri á tveimur brotum með sekvensíum sem að öðru leyti væru með hendi Jóns Þorlákssonar.<sup>39</sup> Merete Geert Andersen sýndi síðan fram á að

í þeirri von að nafnið héldist í ættinni ef annað kæmist ekki til fullorðinsára. Samnefnd börn voru þá kölluð eldri og yngri til aðgreiningar.

37 Jón Guðmundsson, „Um ættir og slekti,“ í *Safn til sögu Íslands og íslenzkra bókmennta að fornu og nýju 3* (Kaupmannahöfn: Hið íslenzka bókmenntafélag, 1902), 720. Jón Guðmundsson, *Tiðfordrif*, útg. Einar G. Pétursson, 82–83 (væntanleg). Ég þakka Einari fyrir að leyfa mér góðfuslega að vitna í óprentað rit hans.

38 Magnús Már Lárusson sýndi fram á að tvö varðveitt blöð úr grallara Gufudalskirkju í Barðastrandersýslu, AM 266 4to, væru með hendi Jóns Þorlákssonar. Magnús Már Lárusson, „Orðubrot frá Gufudal,“ *Kirkjuritid* 24 (1958): 205 (endurpr. í *Fróðleiksþattir og sögubrot* ([Hafnarfjörður]: Skuggsjá, 1967), 65). Á miða sem fylgdi tveimur blöðum úr grallaranum frá Gufudal, AM 266 4to, ritáði Árni Magnússon: „Þetta eru fyrstu blöðin úr mítíleraðri Söngbók í stóru fólio, er síra Daði Steindórsson sendi mér 1703 frá Gufudalskirkju, af hverri ég tók bandið (og pakkaði hana svo inn 1704 með öðrum þvílikum ónýtum bókum mér til heyrandi AMS – seinna var strikað yfir setninguna í sviganum). Ecki er þetta kirkjunni að neinu gagni,“ *Katalog AM 1, 523. Um þessi blöð sjá einnig Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, „Brot úr Gufudalsgrallara,“ í 66 handrit úr fórum Árna Magnússonar, ritstj. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir et al. (Reykjavík: Den Arnamagnæanske Samling. Nordisk Forskningsinstitut. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Bókaútgáfan Opna, 2013), 140–141; Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, „Picking up the pieces,“ í *66 Manuscripts from the Arnamagnæan Collection*, ritstj. Matthew James Driscoll et al. (Kaupmannahöfn: The Arnamagnæan Institute. Department of Nordic Research, University of Copenhagen. The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, Reykjavík. Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2015), 140–141. Gisela Attlinger, „Sequences in Two Icelandic Mass Books from the Later Middle Ages,“ í *The Sequences of Nidaros. A Nordic Repertory & European Context*, ritstj. Lori Kruckenberg et al. Senter for middelalderstudier. Skrifter nr. 20 (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), 165–181.*

39 *Sequences of the Archibishopric of Nidaros I. Text. II. Facsimiles*, útg. Erik Eggen. Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana, 21 og 22 (Kaupmannahöfn: Munksgaard, 1968), xlvi–xlvii og ljósprint, 169–175, 188–191, 199–215, 219–259, 310–316, 324–327. Um þetta sjá einnig Ólafur Halldórsson, „Jónar tveir,“ í *Afmælisrit til dr. phil. Steingríms J. Þorsteinssonar prófessors. 2. júlí 1971 frá nemendum hans*, ritstj. Aðalgeir Kristjánsson et al. (Reykjavík: Leiftur, 1971), 132

þessi blöð eru miðhlutinn af messubók frá Skarði á Skarðsströnd, *Missale Scardense*.<sup>40</sup> Stefán Karlsson vakti athygli á bréfi með gotneskri bókskrift sem er afar sjaldgæf á bréfum og er Jón Þorláksson síðastur votta af leikmönnum. Höndin á bréfinu er ekki lík hendi Jóns Þorlákssonar en hins vegar nauðalík hendi samverkamanns hans á *Missale Scardense*. Stefán taldi hugsanlegt að votturinn á kaupmálabréfinu væri samnefndur bróðir Jóns Þorlákssonar.<sup>41</sup>

Með hliðsjón af því sem rakið er hér að framan er nú talið að hönd Jóns Þorlákssonar sem var landseti Skarðverja í Langejarnesi á Skarðsströnd sé aðallhöndin á *Missale Scardense*. Hönd samverkamanns hans á miðhluta bókarinnar sé hins vegar hönd Jóns bróður hans á Hóli. Hann hefur af erlendum fræðimönnum ýmist verið kallaður samverkamaður Jóns Þorlákssonar í Langejarnesi eða skrifari B í *Missale Scardense*.<sup>42</sup> Jón í Langejarnesi hefur haft umsjón með gerð messubókarinnar, skrifað allar fyrirsagnirnar og fáeinrar leiðréttigar í þeim hluta handritsins sem er með hendi samverkamanns hans.<sup>43</sup> Hér á eftir verða þessir samnefndu bræður, sem báðir voru skrifarár, aðgreindir eftir búsetustað, sem Jón í Langejarnesi og Jón á Hóli.

Sérhæfða kunnáttu þarf til að búa til bækur og velta má fyrir sér hvar bræðurnir hafi lært bókagerð laust fyrir miðja 15. öld. Í fyrsta lagi hafa þeir orðið að læra lestur og kunna latínu. Í öðru lagi hafa þeir orðið að fá þjálfun í að rita textaskrift (*textualis formata*) sem er á stóru helgisiðabókunum og léttaskrift af eldri gerð (*cursiva antiqua*). Þeir hafa að líkendum verið færir um að lesa nótur og skrifa á nótnastrengi því að í smásjá sést að sami rauði litur er í litafyllingu stafa í texta og á nótnaskriftinni.<sup>44</sup> Talið er að prestar

(endurpr. í *Grettisfærla*, 258); Stefán Karlsson, „Sex skriffingur,” *Opuscula* 7 (1979): 36.

<sup>40</sup> Merete Geert Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta, ne pereant,” *Opuscula* 7 (1979): 20.

<sup>41</sup> Þetta er kaupmálabréf Þorkels Einarssonar og Ólafar Narfadóttur gert á Mýrum í Dýrafirði 1449. Stefán Karlsson, „Sex skriffingur,” 36. Um bréfið sjá einnig *Islandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450. Tekst. Faksimiler*, útg. Stefán Karlsson. Editiones Arnamagnæanæ Series A 7 & Supplementum (Kaupmannahöfn: Munksgaard, 1963), nr. 328 og ljósprint nr. 328.

<sup>42</sup> Sjá Attinger, „Sequences in Two Icelandic Mass Books,” 173–175.

<sup>43</sup> Í eftirmála við endurútgáfu greinar sinnar um Jóna tvo Þorlákssyni taldi Ólafur Halldórsson það vísbendingu um að Jón í Langejarnesi hefði verið eldri en samnefndur bróðir hans sem unnið hefur undir hans stjórn í eina varðveitta handritinu sem talið er að þeir bræður hafi skrifað saman. Samkvæmt því fer Jón lerði rétt með aldur þeirra bræðra. *Grettisfærla*, 269–270.

<sup>44</sup> Í handriti af Þorlákstíðum AM 241 a fol. eru rauðar nótnalínur og svartar nótur. Róbært Abraham Ottósson, taldi líklegt að sami maður hafi skrifað texta og nótur í handritinu, þótt

og djáknar hafi tekið til sín drengi og kennt þeim lestur, latínu, messu- og tiðasöng uns þeir voru fullfærir að fylgja þeim og þjóna í messunni eftir að hafa tekið laegri vígslur.<sup>45</sup> Hugsanlega hafa bræðurnir tekið slíkar vígslur þótt það komi hvergi fram í heimildum.

En hvar var hægt að læra að lýsa handrit um miðja 15. öld? Leiðbeiningabækur um handverk, efni og aðferðir hafa ekki dugað einar og sér þeim sem vildu læra að myndskreyta handrit. Ungir menn hafa orðið að gerast lærlingar hjá meistara til að fullnema sig í listinni. Að líkindum hafa þeir Jónar verið í læri hjá leikmanni sem aðsetur hafði við Breiðafjörð. Dæmi eru þess að handverk við myndskreytingar handrita hafi gengið í arf milli kynslóða, erfst frá föður til sonar.<sup>46</sup> Faðir bræðranna kemur þá fyrstur upp í hugann. Hann hélt Þorlákur Ólafsson, en um hann er það eitt vitað

ekki væri hægt að sanna það. Róbert Abraham Ottósson, *Sancti Thorlaci Episcopi Officia Rhythmica et Proprium Missae in AM 241 a folio*. Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana Supplementum 3 (Kaupmannahöfn: Munksgaard, 1959), 34 og nmgr. 13. Dæmi eru erlendis um að sami maður hafi ritað texta og nótur. Dóminikanumunkurinn Jacobus Muriolus frá Salerno segist í andstefjabók sem hann ritaði hafa nótinsett hana og lýst: „Ego Jacobellus dictur muriolus de Salerno hunc librum scripsi, notavi et miniavi. Fuit primum opus manuum mearum“. Um þetta sjá Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, Conn. / London: Yale University Press, 1992), 30 og nmgr. 142. Erlendis þar sem sérhæfing var í bókaframleiðslu voru til gildi skrifara og í þeim voru meðal annarra svonefndir „notours“ sérhæfdir nótmaskrifrar. Um þetta sjá Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 31. Ekki er vitað hvort sérhæfdir nótmaskrifrar hafi starfað hér á landi.

45 Gunnar F. Guðmundsson, *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, 204–205.

46 Það ýtir undir vangaveltur um að handverkið hafi gengið frá föður til sonar að bökagerð hélst í ett bræðranna. Afkomendur Jóns Á Höli og Solveigar Björnsdóttur, Ari prestur Jónsson, sonarsonur þeirra, og Jón og Tómas synir hans, voru bókaskrifrar um miðja 16. öld. Fundist hafa átta handrit, eitt bréf og apógraf af öðrum sem þeir feðgar hafa skrifat en þeir skrifuðu svo líka hönd að örðugt hefur reynst að greina á milli rithanda þeirra. Þetta eru AM 510 4to (sögur), AM 604 4to (rímur), AM 713 4to (helgikvæði), AM 431 12mo (Margrétar saga), AM 736 III 4to (brot af alfræðiriti), AM 160 4to (Jónsbók og Kristinrétrur), AM 173d A29, AM 173d B2 og AM 173d B7 4to (lögbókarbrot) og AM Dipl. Isl. fasc. LI 23 og AM Apogr. 843. Um þessar hendur sjá Jón Helgason, „Nokkur íslenzk handrit frá 16. öld“, *Skírnir* 106 (1932): 143–168; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*. Studia Islandica 24 (Reykjavík: Heimspekideild Háskóla Íslands og Bókaútgáfa Menningarsjóðs, 1966), 25–26; Stefán Karlsson, „Ritun Reykjartarfjarðarbókar“, 139–140 (endurpr. í *Stafkrókar*, 326–327); Stefán Karlsson, „Bökagerð Ara lögmanns Jónssonar“, *Gripla* 19 (2008): 7–29. Um nýjustu rannsóknir á rithöndum feðganna sjá Karl Ó. Ólafsson, „Þrír feðgar hafa skrifat bók þessa...“. Um þrjár rithendur í AM 510 4to og fleiri handritum. Ritgerð til MA-prófs í íslenskum fræðum. (Reykjavík: Hugvisindadeild Háskóla Íslands júní 2006). Um erlend dæmi þar sem bökagerð hefur erfst milli kynslóða sjá Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators. Medieval Craftsmen* (London / Toronto: British Library Press, 1992), 48.

að hann var leiguliði Skarðverja í þrjú ár á Kvennahvoli á Skarðsströnd.<sup>47</sup> Óliklegt er að hann hafi haft ráð á að senda syni sína til menntunar.

Jón í Langeyjarnesi var líkt og faðir hans landseti Skarðverja. *Missale Scardense*, eina varðveitta handritið sem þeir bræður unnu saman, er skrifað fyrir kirkjubændur á Skarði. Jón í Langeyjarnesi hefur líklega verið í þjónustu Skarðverja og jafnvel er hugsanlegt að bræðurnir hafi unnið að bókagerð sinni á höfðingjasetrinu á Skarði, að minnsta kosti tímabundið. Engar heimildir eru þó um ritstofu á Skarði sem stutt gætu þessa tilgátu.

Vegna hins samræmda útlits sem þeir hafa gefið bókum sínum má ef til vill líta á samstarf þeirra sem vísi að vinnustofu, þótt lítið sem ekkert sé vitað hvar og við hvaða aðstæður þeir unnu. Öruggt má telja að þeir hafi skrifað og lýst nokkurn fjölda bóka um ævina því að þær bækur og bókarbrot sem varðveist hafa með rithöndum þeirra geta tæpast verið nema hluti þeirra handrita sem þeir gerðu úr garði.

Sem kunnugt er tók Árni Magnússon kaþólskar helgisiðabækur miskunnarlaust í sundur og nýtti skinnið í band utan um aðrar bækur sínar. Þá var skorið af flestum blöðunum. Síður, einkum þær sem snérút í bandi, slitnuðu illa og eru nú snjáðar. Skinnið í blöðunum er auk þess stíft og stundum blakkt og ógerningur að vita hvernig það leit út í öndverðu. Blöð þessi voru tekin úr bandinu á öðrum áratug síðustu aldar undir stjórn Kristian Kálund bókavarðar sem hóf að skrásetja þau undir safnmarkinu AM Accessoria.<sup>48</sup> Fleiri skinnblöð hafa síðan verið tekin úr bandi bóka og skráð á sama hátt.<sup>49</sup> Meðal blaðanna í AM Accessoria og annars staðar hafa fræðimenn fundið fáeinarr óheilar skinnbækur og skinnbókarbrot með rithöndum Jónanna. Lýsingar í þessum handritum og handritabrotum verða skoðað hér á eftir ásamt fleiri bókum sem bræðurnir skrifuðu og/ eða lýstu.

47 DI 7, 209; Ólafur Halldórsson, „Jónar tveir Þorlákssynir,“ 142 (endurpr. í *Grettisfærla*, 267).

48 Um þetta sjá Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta,“ 2–3, 7–8; Attinger, „Sequences in Two Icelandic Mass Books,“ 166.

49 Merete Geert Andersen gerir grein fyrir þessari skráningu í *Katalog over AM Accessoria. De latinske fragmenter*, útg. Merete Geert Andersen. Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 46 (Kaupmannhöfn: Reitzel, 2008), xi–xxvi. Um tilurð AM Accessoria sjá einnig Peter Springborg, „Tre betragtninger over Arne Magnussons håndskrifter. I anledning af to fødselsdage,“ *Handritasyrpa. Rit til heiðurs Sigrúnar Steingrímssyni sjötugum 2. október 2013*, ritstj. Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Rit 88 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2014), 267–268.

Tafla 1: Handrit og handritabrot með rithöndum Jónanna tveggja

Jón í Langejarnesi	Jón á Hóli
AM Acc. 7, Hs 1 ( <i>Missale Scardense</i> , 65 bl; 1r–15r, 41r20–65v og fyrirsagnir 15v–65r)	AM Acc. 7, Hs 1 ( <i>Missale Scardense</i> , 65 bl; 15v–40v)
AM Acc. 7, Hs 2 ( <i>Graduale Gufudalense</i> , grallarabrot, 37 bl.)	AM Acc. 7, Hs 3 (grallarabrot, 13 bl.)
AM Acc. 7, Hs 8 (grallarabrot, 2 bl.)	
AM 241 b IV fol. (grallarabrot, 2 bl.)	AM Acc. 7, Hs 36 ( <i>antiphonarium</i> , 1 bl.)
AM 241 b III β fol. ( <i>antiphonarium</i> , 2 bl.)	AM 351 fol. ( <i>Skálholtsbók eldri</i> , Jónsbók; kaflafyrirsagnir, 133 bl.)
AM 151 4to (Jónsbók; kaflafyrirsagnir, 140 bl.)	
AM 39 8vo (Jónsbók, 162 bl.)	
AM 8o 2 b 8vo (grallarabrot, blaðhluti)	
Thott 1494 4to (grallarabrot, 1 bl.)	
Papp. 4to 27 ( <i>breviarium</i> , 2 bl.)	
BL Add. 4985 12mo (bænabók, 97 bl.)	
Lbs fragm 46 (grallarabrot, 2 bl.)	
Lbs fragm 45 og Þjms 8276 (grallarabrot, 2 hlutar úr sama blaði)	
Þjms 4126 (grallarabrot, 1 bl.)	
Þjms 3411, 30 og 716 (grallarabrot, 3 bl.)	

## 6. Lýsingar á blöðum með hendi Jóns í Langejarnesi

Jón í Langejarnesi hefur verið afkastamikill skrifari. Komið hafa í ljós brot úr ellefu helgisiðabókum með rithönd hans: ein messubók, átta grallarar, ein tíðagerðarbók og þrjár andstefjabækur.<sup>50</sup> Heillegastar eru messubók frá Skarði, *Missale Scardense*, og grallari frá Gufudal, *Graduale Gufudalense*. Ennfremur hafa varðveisit bænabók, að mestu heil, og Jónsbók

<sup>50</sup> Til glöggvunar má benda á að *Missale* eða messubók er texti messunnar, en *Graduale* eða grallari er söngbók við hana. *Breviarum* er texti tíðagerðarinnar og *Antiphonarium* er sunginn texti hennar.

sem hann skrifaði og lýsti. Handfragð Jóns í Langejarnesi þekkist enn-fremur á skreyttum upphafsstöfum í annarri Jónsbók sem annar maður hefur skrifað. Þrettán bækur og bókarbrot hafa þá komið í ljós með rithönd Jóns í Langejarnesi auk einnar sem hann lýsti, samtals 14 bækur og bókarbrot, sjá *töflu 1*.

### 6.1 *Messubók frá Skarði – Missale Scardense*

Úr *Missale Scardense*, AM Acc. 7, Hs 1, hafa varðveist 65 blöð.<sup>51</sup> Þau eru meira og minna skert en hafa verið um 380x280 mm að stærð og á þeim eru sextán nótalínur. Kaflar hafa týnst úr bókinni og blöð vantar inn á milli þar sem textinn er nokkuð samhangandi. Handritið er talið skrifað á árunum 1450–1478. Jón í Langejarnesi skrifaði síður 1r–15r, 41r20–65v og fyrirsagnir á bl. 15v–65r.<sup>52</sup> Á blaði 15v er skrautstafurinn R við upphaf inngöngusálms á páskadag sem hefst á orðunum *Resurrexi et ad hoc tecum* (Ég mundi vakna og vera enn með hugann hjá þér).<sup>53</sup> Stafurinn nær yfir sjö línur texta og nótina og gengur tæplega 30 mm upp á efri spássíu (mynd 4). Stafleggurinn hefur verið málaður með gulli sem að mestu hefur eyðst af. Gullmáluð rönd afmörkuð með rauðri línu er meðfram bláum grunni stafins nema að neðan. Vafningar og þrískipt lauf sem fléttast inn í og utan með stafnum eru dregin á skinngrunninn með svörtum útlínum. Rauðar æðar eru í leggjum vafninganna og þeir enda í þrískiptum laufum sem skyggð eru með

51 Á AM 670 f 2 4to, bl. 10–12, sem á er sekvensía um Magnús Eyjajarl, skrifaði Árni Magnússon: „Exscriptum ex libro Officiorum Sacrorum in grandi folio, quem nactus sum Scardi Scardstrandensium in occidentali Islandia.“ *Katalog AM* 2, 85; *Sequences I*, xlvi, li; Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta“, 21 og nmgr. 61. Í handritinu AM 241 b IX fol. skrifaði Árni Magnússon upp texta úr latneskum handritum, þar á meðal hluta af sekvensíunni *Lauda Syon salvatorum*, í messubók frá Skarði á Skarðsströnd: „Ex libro Missali Scardensi Scardstrandensium in Islandia.“ Talið er að hann eigi þar við *Missale Scardense*. *Katalog AM* 1, 213; *Sequences I*, xlvi, liii; *Liturgica I*, 59.

52 Árni Magnússon tók messubókina sundur og notaði blöðin úr henni í band utan um bækur. Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta“, 21 og nmgr. 61. Merete Geert Andersen raðaði blöðunum saman á ný. Í bandi utan um *Caroli Lundii Notae ac Observationes in Literas Rom. Pontificis Agapeti II. de Prerogativa atque Eminentia Regis Upsaliensis sive Svioniae* sem kom út 1703 í Uppsöldum, 2 bl. Árni Magnússon átti þetta eintak. Önnur varðveitt blöð eru: NKS 1265 II a fol., 1 bl., Lbs fragm 19, 2 bl. og blaðbútur, og Lbs fragm 27, 1 bl. Um endurgerð *Missale Scardense* sjá Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta“, 31–33; *Katalog AM Accessoria*, 3–9. Um ljósprent, útgáfur og fyrri skrif fræðimanna um handritið sjá sömu rit, 22 og 5–6. Um *Missale Scardense*, sjá einnig Attinger, „Sequences in Two Icelandic Mass Books“, 166; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, „Hverjir skrifuðu öll þessi handrit?“ 28–29.

53 Sögnin ‘sum’ er undanskilin. Þetta mun vera úr sáalmi 39: 18 í íslensku Bibliuþýðingunni.

ljósrauðum lit. Út frá vafningunum ganga smærri lauf skyggð með grænum lit sem nú er máður. Tvær rauðleitar blöðkur skreyta staflegginn að neðanverðu og að ofan. Í þeim eru tveir rauðir litir, sá dökkrauði er máláður yfir þann ljósa. Á jöðrum þeirra er ljós skinnrönd innan við svartar útlínur. Páskar voru hæsta kirkjuhátið ársins ásamt jólum. Erlend missöl eru oft ríkulega myndskreytt með sögustaf sem sýnir upprisu Kristi við upphaf páskamessu. Stóra R-ið á þessum textastað í *Missale Scardense* gæti því verið vísbending um að messubókin hafi ekki verið skreytt sögustöfum.<sup>54</sup>

Í *Missale Scardense* eru enn fremur fimm meðalstórir stafir sem nái yfir 3 til 6 línum. Einn þeirra, E, á blaði 6r, nær yfir sex línum texta og nótna (mynd 5). Tvílitt þverband E-sins er grænt að neðan og rautt að ofan en ljós lína skilur litina að. Rauður litur er innanvert í efri stafbelgnum en grænn neðantil. Utanvert er stafbelgurinn gullmálaður og mynstrið öðru síni en í þverbandinu. Teiknað laufskrúðið inni í stafbelgnum og utan hans skiptir einnig um lit við miðjan stafinn, er blátt að ofan en rautt að neðan. Upphafsstafir með tvilitum staflegg með mynstri sem fellur saman eins og stykki í púsluspili kallast á ensku „puzzle initial“.<sup>55</sup> Hér eftir verða þeir nefndir púslstafir. Aðrir meðalstórir stafir eru á eftirfarandi blöðum: L á 29r, D á 55v, M á 40v og G á 56r. Litlir upphafsstafir, einlita og án útlína, nái langoftast yfir tvær línum ef frá eru taldir fáeinir stafir sem nái yfir þrjár

54 Í enskum missöllum frá 15. öld eru myndstafir við upphaf helstu kirkjuhátiða ársins, allt upp í þriðja tug í þeim handritum sem ríkulegast eru myndskreytt. Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490 I. Text and Illustrations II, Catalogue and Indexes. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 6.* (London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 1999).

55 Á frónsku kallast þessi stafagerð *lettre puzzle*. Önnur heiti á þessari stafagerð um og eftir 1300 í Suður-Fraklandi og á Ítalíu eru *littera partita* eða *lettre partida*. Um þetta sjá Patricia Stirnemann og Marie-Thérèse Gouset, „Marques, Mots, Pratiques: Leur signification et leurs liens dans le travail des enlumineurs,“ í *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge. Actes de la table ronde Paris 24–26 septembre 1987*, 34–55, ritstj. Olga Weijers. Etudes sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du moyen âge 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1989), 36–37. Heitin *litterae duplices* og «lettres émancées» eru einnig notuð um þessa gerð af upphafsstöfum. Albert Derolez, „Les fondements typologiques d'une classification et d'une description des initiales dans les manuscrits du bas moyen âge,“ í *Ornamentation typographique et bibliographique historique. Actes du Colloque de Mons, (26–28 août 1987)*, ritstj. Marie-Thérèse Isaac (Bruxelles: Université de l'Etat à Mons, 1988), 22; Albert Derolez, „Observations on the Aesthetics of the Gothic Manuscript,“ *Scriptorium* 50 (1996): 9. Um púslstaf sjá einnig Patricia Stirnemann, „Fils de la vierge. L'initiale à filigranes parisienne: 1140–1314,“ *Revue de l'Art* 90 (1990): 59; Lena Liepe, *Studies in Icelandic Fourteenth Century Book Painting*. Snorrastofa rit 6 (Reykolt, Snorrastofa, Cultural and Medieval Centre, 2009), 286.

eða fjórar línur. Þeir eru án útfílurs nema á síðum nálægt helstu hátíðum kirkjuársins þar sem nokkrir stafir eru skreyttir teiknuðu laufskrúði. Andlit er í upphafsstafnum D á bl. 4r. Gullmálaðir stafir eru I á 4ov, S og L á 41r, Q á 43v, I á 51v, A á 53r, G á 56r og A á 57v. Þeir eru mjög eyddir en í smásjá sést að á þeim er gulllitur.<sup>56</sup>

## 6.2 Grallari frá Gufudal – *Graduale Gufudalense*

Úr Gufudalsgrallaranum, AM Acc. 7, Hs 2, eru varðveitt 37 blöð, um 385x250 mm að stærð með 15 nótalínúm. Grallarinn er talinn skrifandaður á tímabilinu 1450–1470.<sup>57</sup> Hlutar textans hafa glatast og stök blöð vantar inn í textann þar sem hann er samhangandi.<sup>58</sup> Á varðveittu blöðunum eru einungis skreyttir upphafsstafir. Stærri upphafsstafir, E á bl. 1r, S á bl. 25v (mynd 6), R á bl. 26v, D á bl. 27r og G á bl. 31r, ná yfir fjórar til fimm línur texta og nótina. Stafleggir þeirra eru einlitir með teiknuðu laufskrúði í belg

56 Ein aðferð við að gullleggja stafi var að blanda mulnu gulli í bindiefni og mála stafi með því. Þessi gulllitur gekk undir nafninu skeljagull vegna þess að skeljar voru notaðar undir liti. Um þetta sjá De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators*, 57. Í broti úr leiðbeiningabók í syru séra Gottskálks (um 1524–1590) í Glaumbæ i Skagafirði, sem mun skrifuð á árunum 1543–1569, er sagt frá aðferð við að gera gullstaf eða leggja gull. Veturliði Óskarsson, „Að mála upp á tré,“ *Árbók Hins íslenska fornleifafélags* (1989) 1990: 21–24. Lengi var talið að gull hefði ekki verið notað í lýsingar í íslenskum handritum. Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*. Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi 4 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1935), 14. Selma Jónsdóttir benti á að gull er notað í bakgrunn mynda í Helgastaðabók. Selma Jónsdóttir, „Lýsingar Helgastaðabókar,“ í *Helgastaðabók. Nikulás saga. Perg. 4to nr. 16 Konungsþókhlöði í Stokkhólmi*, ritstj. Jónas Kristjánsson. Íslensk miðaldahandrit. Manuscripta Islandica Medii Aevi 2 (Reykjavík: Löberg, 1982), 90.

57 Í málðaga Gufudalskirkju í Barðastrandarsýslu árið 1470 segir að séra Helgi Þorkelsson hafi lagt til kirkjunnar: „Jn primis sœmiliiggan grallara per annum samsettum med kírial... oc sekuençum. de tempore oc de sanctis.“ Varla er nokkur vafi að átt er við *Graduale Gufudalense*. DI 5, 582–583. Grallara Helga er lýst á sama hátt í málðaga kirkjunnar frá 1523. DI 9, 196–197.

58 Árna Magnússon tók þennan grallara sundur líkt og *Missale Scardense* og notaði blöðin í band. Merete Geert Andersen ráðaði blöðunum saman á ný. 34 blöð voru tekin úr bandi bóka í safni Árna Magnússonar. Þrjú blöð úr grallaranum varðveittust annars staðar: tvö blöð í AM 266 4to og eitt blað í bandi á prentaðri bók sem var í eigu Árna Magnússonar í Konunglega bókasafninu í Kaupmannahöfn, *Catalogus selectiorum omnis generis variisque idiomatis Librorum quorum Auctio, volente Deo, habebitur Librorum*, sem kom út 1723 í Kaupmannahöfn. Um þetta sjá Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta,“ 22–24, 33–35; Katalog AM Accessoria, 9–15. Um fyrrí skrif fræðimanna um handritið sjá sömu rit, 24 og 11–12. Um grallarann sjá einnig Attinger, „Sequences in Two Icelandic Mass Books,“ 166; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, „Hverjir skrifuðu öll þessi handrit?“ 28–29.

og meðfram legg. Smærri stafir ná oftast yfir tvær línur. Átta stafir, B á 2v, P á 6v, P á 9r, S á 10r, I á 10v, S á 25r, T á 25v, D á 26v, eru gullmálaðir. Gullmálningin er eydd en sést í smásjá. Í eftirfarandi stöfum eru andlit í stafbelg: O á 7v, P á 11r, O á 12v, D á 28r og P á 31r. Þau eru dregin með rauðum lit nema höfuðið á bl. 31r sem er blátt. Vegna þess hversu mikil hefur glatast úr grallaranum er ekki loka fyrir það skotið að sögustafir hafi verið í upphafi textans fyrir hæstu kirkjuhátiðir ársins.

### 6.3 Grallarabrot í Árnasafni í Kaupmannahöfn

Tvö blöð hafa varðveist úr öðru grallarabroti, AM 241 b IV fol. Skorið hefur verið ofan af bl. 2v. Efst á því sést neðri hluti upphafsstafsins N við upphaf inngöngusálmus á Péturs messu og Páls 29. júní sem hefst með orðunum *Nunc scio vere* (Nú veit ég sannlega) (mynd 7).<sup>59</sup> Grunnur N-sins er tvílitur, blár vinstra megin en grænn til hægri. Gulur stafleggurinn er klofinn beggja vegna að neðan og endar hægra megin í smáafningi með þrískiptum laufum sem skyggð eru með rauðum lit. Fremst í sögustafnum sést hluti af manni í messuskrúða. Dökkir skór hans og klæðafaldur ná niður á textasiðuna. Skrýddi maðurinn er innst fata í ljósum messuserk með dökkrauðu, stykkjóttu hlaði. Þar utan yfir í grænni dalmatíku með ljósu kögri og yst fata í gulþóruðum, rauðum hökli með skrautborða í miðju. Gul stóla með rauðum dúsíum nemur við fald messuserksins. Lengst til hægri sést í neðri hluta handlíns með rauðum skúf sem hefur hangið um vinstri úlnlið mannsins. Til vinstri í bakgrunni eru hugsanlega leifar af brúnleitum stól með rauðri þverslá. Þar sem myndstafurinn er á messudegi Péturs og Páls gæti myndin verið af Pétri postula sem er stundum sýndur í biskupsskrúða vegna þess að hann var talinn hafa verið fyrsti biskupinn af Rómaborg.<sup>60</sup> Enginn bagall sést þó á myndinni til stuðnings þessari tilgátu.

59 *Sequences I og II*, xlvi, xlvi; ljósprint 324–326; *Liturgica I*, 61.

60 Lise Gotfredsen og Hans Jørgen Frederiksen, *Troens billeder. Romansk kunst i Danmark*. (Herning, forlaget systime a/s, 1988, 2. rev. udg.), 270. Mynd af Pétri postula í biskupsskrúða er á vinstri væng Ólafslíkneskis frá Vatnsfirði við Ísafjarðardjúp í Þjóðminjasafni (Þjms 3327). Myndirnar á vængjunum eru frá 15. öld. Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, „Sóknarkirkjur og búnaður þeirra,“ í Gunnar F. Guðmundsson, *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, Kristni á Íslandi 2 (Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000), 200.

#### 6.4 Grallarabrot i Þjóðminjasafni

Þrjú blöð hafa varðveist úr þessu grallarabroti (Þjms 3411, 30 og 716).<sup>61</sup> Á fremri síðu blaðs með safnmarkinu 3411 er upphafsstafurinn G með mynd af Ólafi konungi helga Haraldssyni við upphafssorð inngöngusálmus (introitus) Ólafstíða, 29. júlí, *Gaudeamus omnes in domino* (Gleðjumst allir í Drottni) (mynd 8).<sup>62</sup> Stafurinn nær yfir sex línum leturs og nótina. Tærandi efni hefur verið í fáeinum litum sem myndin var máluð með. Þeir hafa slitið skinnið og gert það að verkum að göt komu á það auk þess sem litirnir fölnuðu. Þetta sést í hvítum geislabaugnum og ljósri sessunni og í grænleita kyrtlinum og í laufblöðnum. Stafleggur G-sins er klofinn á báðum hliðum en ljós litur hans er upplitaður og sprunginn. Smálauf er efst á enda leggsins hægra megin og þar er lítil þríhyrnd skreyting með bleki og rauðum lit. Utan um legginn fléttast vafningar með misstórum, þrískiptum laufblöðum sem dregin eru með svörtum útlínum á skinngrunninn. Þau stærri eru skyggð með rauðum lit en út frá þeim ganga smærri lauf með grænum æðum. Litur í þeim síðarnefndu er nánast horfinn. Ólafur helgi er klæddur kyrtli með ljósan geislabaug og rauða kórónu á höfði. Meginlitur kyrtilsins, sem gæti hafa verið grænleitur, er nánast horfinn en eftir situr grænleit skyggingin í klæðafellingunum. Skikkja dýrlingsins er tekin saman í hálsmáli með skrautnál. Hún er daufrauð á lit og klæðafellingar skyggðar með dekkri rauðum lit. Konungur er í rauðtígloftum skóm með ljósleita hanska á höndum. Á hægri öxl hans hvílir öxin Hel, helgi- og píslartákn hans. Axarskaftið er brúnleitt en blaðið gráblátt með rauðri egg. Ólafur helgi situr fremst í myndstafnum á bekk með hvítleitri sessu. Gulleitt sætið er með bláu þverbandi og skyggt með bláum og gulum litum. Geislabaugur konungs og snaghyrnt axarblaðið eru framan við staflegginn að ofanverðu og fætur hans og klæðafaldur ganga niður á textasíðuna. Með vinstri hendi hefur dýrlingurinn bók með rauðum spenslum á loft. Hún er í blágráu textaspjaldi sem á eru sex rauðir deplar, hugsanlega málmbólur.

61 Codex A í *Sequences I og II*, xlivi, ljósprint 169–174; Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta,” 17 og nmgr; 1. *Liturgica I*, 61. Þjms 3411 er komið til Þjóðminjasafns frá Guttormi Jónssyni í Hjarðarholti í Döllum 15/6 1890, Þjms 30 frá Helga Sigurðssyni kandídat á Jörva 15/7 1863 og Þjms 716 frá Guðmundi Einarssyni, bónda Garði, Þistilfirði 25/7 1869. Skinnblöð Þjóðminjasafns Íslands eru nú varðveitt hjá Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum.

62 *Sequences I og II*, xlivi, ljósprint 170; *Liturgica I*, 61.

Á kili mótar fyrir rauðum taumahryggjum og jaðrar blaðanna eru rauðir.<sup>63</sup> Konungur er með skegg og hátt enni, andltið séð frá þremur fjórðu. Lína nefsins myndar fyrst nasavænginn, er snýr fram, síðan eru nefið og augabréðin sem snýr frá dregin með sömu línu óbrotinni. Neðri lína augnanna er bein en efri lína eilítið bogadregin, augasteinn er depill. Hárið er dregið með samsíða línum og vefst upp í smállokka í vöngum. Öxin Hel hefur margþætta merkingu, er í senn valdatákn og stríðsvopn, en ber auk þess vitni um andlegan styrk Ólafs helga í píslarvætti hans og hlutverki sem *Rex perpetus Norvegiae* (hinn ævarandi konungur Noregs). Í lagalegri merkingu táknað öxin jafnframt réttvísí konungs.<sup>64</sup> Bókin víesar hins vegar til þess að Ólafur var talinn hafa samið elstu kirkjulög í Noregi. Texti Jónsbókar nefnir Ólafslög, hin kristnu lög, sem hinn heilagi Ólafur hóf.<sup>65</sup>

### 6.5 Brot úr grallara Bjarna Ívarssonar?

Lilli Gjerløw varpaði fyrst fram þeirri spurningu hvort skerta blaðið Lbs fragm 46, sem kom til Landsbókasafns frá Þorsteini Pálssyni í Eyjafirði 5/8 1906, gæti verið úr grallara Bjarna Ívarssonar sem blaðhlutinn AM 80 b 2 8vo er úr. Hún taldi fjórtán nótnalínur á Lbs fragm 46 en sjá má að nótna- og leturlínu hefur verið bætt við á neðri spássíu á fremri síðu blaðsins Lbs fragm 46. Ekkert vantart í grallaþextann þar og vísað hefur verið inn á síðuna sem gegnt hefur verið í opnumni með rauðum krossi. Þá eru strengir og nóturnar í neðstu nótnalínunni ívið smærri í textanum ofan við,

63 Jaðrar blaðanna voru stundum malaðir í gulum og gylltum litum ellegar skreyttir með marglitum blómum og akantus blöðum líkt og gert var á spássíum innan í bókinni. Þessar skreytingar glötuðust þegar bækur voru endurbundnar. Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), 197. [1. útgáfa 1986, aukin og endurbætt 1994]; Barbara A. Shailor, *The Medieval Book, Illustrated from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*. Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 28 (Toronto / Buffalo / London: University of Toronto Press & Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 60 [Endurpr. 1994, 2000].

64 Anne Lidén, *Olav den hellige i medeltida bildkonst. Legendumotiv och attribut* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1999), 214–219.

65 Lidén, *Olav den hellige*, 212. Í texta Jónsbókar er á nokkrum stöðum talað um lög Ólafs helga og lög sem hann hóf. Jónsbók: *Kong Magnus Hakonssons lovboog for Island vedtaget paa Altinget 1281. Réttarbætr, de for Island givne retterbøder af 1294, 1305 og 1314*, útg. Ólafur Halldórsson (Kaupmannahöfn: S. L. Møller, 1904), 20, 26, 28–29, 40; Jónsbók: *Lögbók Íslendinga hver samþykkt var á alþingi árið 1281 og endurnýjuð um miðja 14. öld en fyrst prentuð árið 1587*, útg. Már Jónsson. Sýnisbók íslenskrar alþýðumenningar 8 (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2004), 90, 91, 94–96, 104.

og því er ljóst að upprunalega hafa verið þrettán nótnalínur í grallaranum sem blaðið er úr.<sup>66</sup>

Jakob Benediktsson taldi sennilegt að blöðin Lbs fragm 45 og 46 í Landsbókasafni væru úr sama handriti.<sup>67</sup> Gisela Attinger benti síðar á að Lbs fragm 45 í Landsbókasafni og Þjms 8276 í Þjóðminjasafni væru tveir hlutar úr sama grallarablaði með hendi Jóns í Langejarnesi.<sup>68</sup> Eftir að hafa borið AM 80 b 2 8vo og Lbs fragm 46 saman taldi Árni Heimir Ingólfsson þó mjög ólíklegt að þau væru úr sama handriti.<sup>69</sup>

Ólafur Halldórsson vakti síðar athygli á stöku blaði með hendi Jóns í Langejarnesi sem var í bandi á Thott 1494 4to í Konunglega bókasafnini í Kaupmannahöfn. Á því er sekvensía sem hefst á orðunum *Laudes crucis attollamus*, en upphafið vantar því að textinn byrjar í 5. versi. Þessi sekvensía var sungin á krossmessu á vori 3. maí. Þrettán nótnalínur eru á blaðinu en það var upphaflega utan um bók sem sett var saman á Möðruvöllum í Eyjafirði 1630.<sup>70</sup>

Á aftari síðu blaðsins Lbs fragm 46 (mynd 9) er sögustafurinn D í upphafi inngöngusálms á fyrsta sunnudegi eftir áttunda dags helgi dýradags (*festum corporis Christi*) sem hefst með orðunum *Domine in tua misericordia speravi. Exultavit cor meum in salutari tuo* (Drottinn, ég hef vonað á miskunn þína. Ég mun lyfta hjarta mínu).<sup>71</sup> Púslstafurinn nær yfir tvær leturlínur og tvær nótnalínur. Leggurinn er tvílitur, rauður að innanverðu en sinn-

66 *Liturgica I*, 61. Sjá *Sequences II*, ljósþrent 175.

67 *Skrá um skinnblöð í Landsbókasafni Íslands. Handritaskrá Landsbókasafns II*. Aukabindi, útg. Jakob Benediktsson (Reykjavík: Félagsprentsmiðjan hf, 1959), 11. Á þessu blaði er hluti af messunni á fyrsta og öðrum sunnudegi í adventu. Gisela Attinger, „Icelandic Manuscripts containing Sequences: A Presentation of Twelve Medieval Fragments,“ *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 30 (2004): 125–126 og nmgr. 21.

68 Attinger, „Sequences in Two Icelandic Mass Books,“ 173–174. Á aftari síðu blaðhlutans Lbs fragm 45 er græn litafylling í upphafsstaf eins og á fremri síðu AM 80 b 2 8vo. Á fremri síðu blaðhlutans Þjms 8276 er grænn upphafsstafur, P sem nær yfir tvær línum, með síðlegg á spássiu og rauðu teiknuðu laufskrúði inn í og utan með stafnum. Bogi Sigurðsson, Hvammsfjörður er stimplað á blaðið, en hann hefur sent blaðhlutann til Þjóðskjalasafns. Þaðan barst búturinn til Þjóðminjasafns 4/5 1921, sbr. vélritaða skrá við blaðið.

69 Árni Heimir Ingólfsson benti á að nótnastrengir væru rauðir í Lbs fragm 46 en svartir á AM 80 b 2 8vo. Nótnalínur væru 14 á Lbs fragm 46 en 16 á AM 80 b 2 8vo. Loks væru clevis, lyklarnir ólikir á blöðunum. Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, “These are the Things you never forget”, 38 og nmgr. 70. Eins og fram kemur að ofan hafa þó upprunalega verið 13 nótnalínur á Lbs fragm 46.

70 *Grettisfersla*, 270.

71 *Skrá um skinnblöð*, 11.

epsgulur að utan. Ljós lína skilur litina að. Talsvert er eftir af rauða litnum en leifar sinnepsgula litarins sjást aðeins á stöku stað. Báðir litirnir eru sprungnir. Dökk slíkja, hugsanlega límkennt efni, er á síðunni sem sneri út í bandinu. Stafurinn er lítillega skertur vinstra megin og svo máður að myndefnið er illþekkjanlegt. Tveir menn sjást ógreinilega á myndinni. Báðir eru í stuttum kyrtlum með skó á fótum og sá til vinstri er með belti. Rauð skygging er í fellingum kyrtlanna. Maðurinn hægra megin er lítt vexti og snýr sér til vinstri. Hann réttir fram báðar hendur, lítur niður, tyllir í tána á vinstra fæti og hneigir sig fyrir hávöxnum manni vinstra megin á myndinni. Sá stendur í báða fætur og beygir höfuðið yfir litla manninn. Ekki er hægt að greina hendur mannsins svo öruggt sé. Neðan við andlit litla mannsins mótar hugsanlegan fyrir krepptum olnboga. Ofan við höfuðið gæti sést í handarbakið á krepptri hönd sem grípur um hár hans. Hefur þá vinstri hönd mannsins hægra megin horfið að hluta til á bak við höfuð litla mannsins. Hægri hönd hávaxna mannsins verður ekki greind á myndinni með berum augum. Af örlitlum litaleifum sem greina má í smásjá er hægt geta sér til að handleggurinn hafi verið krepptur um olnbogann og höndin sem verið hefur neðan við staflegginn vinstra megin hafi gripið um eitthvað, hugsanlega sverðhjöltu, en sverðblaðið horfið að mestu bak við höfuð stórvaxna mannsins og staflegginn.<sup>72</sup>

Hugsanlega hafa sverðhjöltun ein og lítið brot af sverðblaðinu verið sýnd á grallaramyndinni en englinum sleppt. Sýni myndin fórn Ísaks vantar á hana auk engilsins, fórnaraltarið, brennifórnarviðinn og hrútinn. Erfitt hefur verið að láta öll atriðin sem tilheyra myndefninu rúmast fyrir innan stafsins og kann það að vera ástæðan þess að þeim var sleppt. Þá er Abraham ekki skeggjaður eins og venja er.<sup>73</sup> Fórn Ísaks er forspeglun í

72 Mynd af fórn Ísaks í enskri messubók (Vatikanið, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Pal. Lat. 501, f. 123r) sem gerð er eftir 1382, að líkendum á árunum 1385–1395, er byggð upp á svipaðan hátt. Ísak krýpur frammi fyrir Abraham sem heldur vinstri hönd yfir höfði Ísaks. Olnbogi Abrahams er krepptur og hann heldur um sverðhjöltu en sverðblaðið hverfur að hluta til bak við höfuð hans og gengur til hægri þar sem engillinn grípur um það ofan við Ísak. Um þetta handrit sjá Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts I & II*, nr. 3, mynd 13.

73 Dæmi um að Abraham sé skegglaus er á mynd af fórn Ísaks á blaði 6r í svonefndum Tickhill-saltara (New York Public Library MS 26), ensku handriti frá fyrsta áratug 14. aldar. Donald Drew Egbert, *The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts: A School of Manuscript Illumination in England during the early Fourteenth Century* (New York: New York Public Library, 1940), 131, mynd III: 15; Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385 I. Text. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 5* (London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 1986), nr. 26.

Gamla testamentinu um fórnardauða Krists á krossinum og merkir heilagt sakramenti.<sup>74</sup> Það sem rennir stoðum undir að myndin sé af fórn Ísaks er að í texta grallarans er bæn Tómasar frá Akvínó (d. 1274), *Ecce Panis Angelorum*,<sup>75</sup> þar sem þetta er útskýrt: *In Figuris praesignatur, cum ysaac immolator* (á myndunum er það sýnt þegar Ísak var fórnað).<sup>76</sup>

Myndstafurinn við upphaf inngöngusálms á fyrsta sunnudegi eftir áttundar helgi dýradags á aftari síðu á Lbs fragm 46 bendir til að grallarinn sem blaðið er úr hafi verið óvanalega glæsilegur. Til marks um það er að á sama stað í texta *Graduale Gufudalense* stendur lítill upphafsstafur sem nær yfir tvær línur leturs og nótna.<sup>77</sup> Skinnið í blaðinu er þó ekki ljóst eins og blaðið AM 80 b 2 fol. og því varla úr hámessugrallaranum syngjandi sem Bjarni Ívarsson gaf jungfrú Maríu á Munkaþverá og nefndur er í málðaga klaustursins frá 1525. Ætla má að hann hafi verið íburðarmikill.<sup>78</sup>

### 6.6 Grallarablað í Þjóðminjasafni

Enn eitt blað úr grallarabroti með hendi Jóns í Langeyjarnesi er varðveitt í Þjóðminjasafni Íslands, Þjms 4126.<sup>79</sup> Blaðið mælist 370x249 mm og á því eru þrettán nótnastrengir. Það kom til safnsins 5/7 1895 frá Jóni Hjaltalín skólastjóra á Möðruvöllum í Eyjafirði, sbr. vélrituð skráning sem því fylgir. Á fremri síðu blaðsins eru tvær sekvensíur með nótum *Laudes christo redempti* og *Victime Paschale*. Messusöngur á blaðinu er að mestu sá sem orðubók Niðaróss fyrirskipar á fyrsta og öðrum degi í gangdögum, það eru dagarnir þrír fyrir uppstigningardag. Samkvæmt orðubókinni átti ekki að syngja sekvensíur á þessum dögum (*Sequensia non dicitur*).<sup>80</sup> Hér er því misræmi við boðað helgisiðahald í Niðaróssbiskupsdæmi og hugsanlega um staðbundna hefð að ræða. Það verður þó ekki fullyrt fyrr

74 Gotfredsen og Frederiksen, *Troens billeder*, 127–128.

75 Þetta er 10. vers úr *Lauda Syon salvatorem*, sjá *Sequences I* og *II*, 121–123 og ljósprænt 175.

76 Á sama degi samkvæmt orðubók Niðaróss er lexía eða pistill um fórn Ísaks úr I. Mósebók: 22: 1–19. *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae* (Orðubók), útg. Lilli Gjerløw. Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi 2 (Osloiae: Universitetsforlaget, 1968), 257–258.

77 Sjá *Sequences II*, ljósprænt 222.

78 DI 9, 306.

79 Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta,“ 17, nmgr. 1; Attinger, „Icelandic Manuscripts Containing Sequences,“ 132–133.

80 Attinger, „Icelandic Manuscripts Containing Sequences,“ 132–133; Attinger, „Sequences in Two Icelandic Mass Books,“ 173–174. Um gangdaga á Íslandi sjá Árni Björnsson, *Saga daganma* (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1993), 81–89.

en gengið hefur verið úr skugga um hvort sambærilegt misrämi finnist á öðrum svæðum í erkibiskupsdæmi Niðaróss. Skrín Ólafs helga var borið í helgigöngu um Niðaróssdómkirkjuna að messu lokinni og Ólafur helgi ákallaður í bænum.<sup>81</sup>

Við upphafsorð sekvensíunnar *Laudes christo redempti*, sem hefst með orðunum *Vocem iocunditatis* (Með þýðri röddu) er sögustafurinn V með mynd af hermanni sem nær yfir fjórar línum texta og nótina (mynd 10).<sup>82</sup> Þótt útlínur í myndinni séu skýrar hafa litir í stafnum dofnað svo mikið að erfitt er að gera sér grein fyrir hvernig þeir voru í öndverðu. Stafleggurinn er blár á gulleitum grunni og utan með leggnum hefur verið laufskruð, dregið með gulum lit, sem nú er mjög eytt. Í stafbelgnum stendur maður sem snýr til vinstri. Hann heldur báðum höndum um snaghyrnda öxi með ljósbláu skafti. Maðurinn er íklæddur stuttum kyrtni, sem hugsanlega hefur verið rauður og lýstur með ljósari lit. Á höfðinu hefur maðurinn járnhoft með stuttum útstandandi börðum að neðan. Upp af þeim er hringlagra kollur, samsettur úr málmplötum. Ofan við hann er hötturinn heill og keilumyndaður með smáspíru efst. Hálskragi er áfastur við hjálminn. Maðurinn er í bláleitum sokkum og skóm með bryddingu sem hafa verið rauðir eða rauðtíglóttir. Öxi er helgitákn Ólafs helga og á síðmiðöldum er hann oft sýndur í herklæðum.<sup>83</sup> Þar sem Ólafur helgi var ákallaður í helgisiðahaldi á gangdögum má að líkindum þekkja hann á myndinni þótt geislabauginn vanti um höfuð hans. Mynd þessi líkist hvorki sögustöfum á blöðum Jónanna né myndum C-teiknara Teiknibókar, sem gæti hafa verið Bjarni Ívarsson. Hér skýtur því fjórði lýsandinn upp kollinum. Ekki er kunnugt um myndir annars staðar eftir hann.

Á aftari síðu blaðsins er skreyttur upphafsstafur, E, sem nær yfir tvær línum texta og nótina. Stafurinn er mjög máður en í smásjá sést að leggur hans hefur verið gullmálaður. Inn í belg hans er teiknað laufskruð, rautt ofan við þverbandið en blátt neðan við. Svipaðir stafir eru í *Missale Scardense* og *Graduale Gufudalense* en sökum þess hve eyddur stafurinn er, er ekki hægt að þekkja á honum handbragð Jóns í Langejarnesi með vissu.

81 *Ordo*, 249–251; Liden, *Olav den hellige*, 392–393.

82 Attinger, „Sequences in Two Icelandic Massbooks,“ 173.

83 Lidén, *Olav den hellige*, 33.

*6.7 Tvö grallarablöð, brot úr tíðagerðarbók og þremur andstefjabókum*

Tvö blöð úr enn einu grallarabrotinu með hendi Jóns í Langejarnesi eru skráð sem AM Acc. 7, Hs 8. Blöðin voru tekin úr bandi Steph. 56 sem líklega var bundið inn á Íslandi. Á þeim eru þrettán nótnalínur. Lítill upphafsstafur, A, er á bl. 2v.<sup>84</sup>

Tvö blöð úr tíðagerðarbók (*breviarium*) með hendi Jóns Þorlákssonar voru notuð í band utan um handritið Papp. 4to 27, í Konungsbókhlöðunni í Stokkhólmi. Bókina sem þau voru notuð til að binda inn átti séra Þorlákur Sigfússon í Glæsibæ í Eyjafirði árið 1679. Á svarthvínum ljósmyndum af blöðunum má sjá að á þeim eru upphafsstafir sem ná yfir 2 textalínur. Þeir eru að líkindum einlita án útlína.<sup>85</sup>

Á fremri síðu á stöku blaði úr andstefjabókinni (*antiphonarium*), AM 241 b III β fol. með hendi Jóns í Langejarnesi er stafurinn I í upphafi fyrsta svars (*responsum*) í Ólafstiðum, sem hefst á orðunum *In regali fastigio* (Í hinu konunglega hásæti) (mynd 11).<sup>86</sup> Stafurinn nær yfir tólf línur leturs og nótna og gengur auk þess 50 mm niður á neðri spássiu. Gulur litur í stafleggnum hefur eyðst og dofnað. Grunnur stafsins er tvílitur, blár og grænn til skiptis aftan við hvern vafning. Um klofinn staflegginn fléttast sjö jafnstórir vafningar, dregnir með svörtum útlínum á skinngrunninn. Leggir vafninganna eru skreyttir rauðum æðum og enda í þrískiptum laufum skyggðum með rauðum lit eins og í stóra R-inu í *Missale Scardense* og telja má víst að Jón í Langejarnesi hafi lýst báða þessa upphafsstafir.

Brot úr tveimur andstefjabókum til viðbótar með hendi Jóns í Langejarnesi hafa varðveisist. Í öðru, AM Acc. 7, Hs 40 eru tvö blöð með upphafsstöfum með einlitum stafleggjum og teiknuðu laufskrúði.<sup>87</sup> Blöðin

84 *Katalog AM Accessoria*, xxiii og 22–23. Sjá einnig Codex J í *Sequences I og II*, xlvi, ljósprint 324–327.

85 *Katalog öfver Kongl. Bibliotekets Fornsländska och Fornnorska Handskrifter*, útg. Vilhelm Gödel (Stockholm: Kungl. Boktryckriet P.S. Norstedt och Söner, 1897–1900), 297–299. *Liturgica I*, 56, 92–93 og II, ljósprint 62–65. Um þetta brot sjá einnig Åslaug Ommundsen og Gisela Attinger, „Icelandic Liturgical Books and how to Recognise Them,“ *Scriptorium* 67 (2013): 309.

86 *Sequences I*, xlvi–xlvii; *Liturgica I*, 61; *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, útg. Lilli Gjerløw. Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi 3 (Osloiae: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeksrift-Institutt. Den Rettshistoriske Kommisjon, 1979), 259, 263.

87 Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta,“ 17 og nmgr. 1; *Katalog AM Accessoria*, 48; Ommundsen og Attinger, „Icelandic Liturgical Books,“ 309.

mælast 370x210 mm. Í Landsbókasafni Íslands, Lbs fragm 41, er blaðbútur úr andstefjabók.<sup>88</sup>

### 6.8 Bænabók í British Library í Lundúnnum

Þessi litla bænabók, BL Add. 4985 12mo, er 100x75 mm að stærð og minnst af varðveittum handritum með hendi Jóns í Langejarnesi.<sup>89</sup> Í bókinni eru 96 blöð, og á textanum er bókskrift (textualis formata). Allt efni bókarinnar er á latínu nema tvær íslenskar bænir, önnur til hins helga kross á bl. 85v–88v og hin til heilags Erasmusar bl. 88v–89v.<sup>90</sup> Efni bókarinnar er ekki sundurliðað í safnskrá. Meðal efnis hennar má nefna fyrirbænir dýrlinga (memoriae) á bl. 2v–13r, Maríusaltara (Psalterium beatae Marie), sem hefst á orðunum *Ave Porta Paradisi* (Heill sé hlið himnaríkis) á bl. 13v–31r,<sup>91</sup> og Maríubænina *O Intemerata* (Ó flekklausa) á bl. 31v–33v. Þessi bæn ásamt *Obsecro te* (Ég grátbið þig) var vinsælasta Maríubænin í tiðabókum miðalda.<sup>92</sup> Á bl. 33v–34v er bænin *Gaude virgo gratiosa* um fögnuði Maríu.<sup>93</sup> Ýmsir grallarasálmar (121, 122, 123, 124) eru

- 88 Ommundsen og Attinger, „Icelandic Liturgical Books,“ 309. Blaðið er komið úr bréfabók Eggerts Björnssonar (1632–1673). *Skrá um skinnbrot*, 10.
- 89 Stefán Karlsson og Merete Geert Andersen vöktu bæði athygli á að bókin væri með hendi Jóns Þorlákssonar. Um það sjá Stefán Karlsson, „Sex skriffingur,“ 37–40 og Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta,“ 17 og nmgr. 1. Sjá einnig eldri skrif um bókina: Jón Þorkelsson, „Islandske håndskrifter i England og Skotland,“ *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 8 (1892): 207–208; Jón Helgason, „Íslenzk handrit í British Museum,“ *Ritgerðakorn og ræðustúfar* (Reykjavík: Félag íslenzkra stúdenta í Kaupmannahöfn, 1959), 11; Benedikt S. Benedikz, „Notes on Some Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts,“ *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 60 (1978): 290–291.
- 90 Svavar Sigmundsson, „Prayer Books 2. West Norse,“ *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, ritstj. Phillip Pulsiano et al. Garland encyclopedias of the Middle Ages I (New York / London: Garland Publishing, Inc 1993), 515.
- 91 *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 35, útg. Clemens Blume og Guido M. Dreves (Leipzig: Frue's Verlag, 1900). [Ljósrit 1961, 189–199]. Aflátsheit er í klausu með hendi frá því um 1500 á neðri spássiu á bl. 9r í Perg. 4to 26 í Konungsbókhlöðinni í Stokkhólmi þar sem heitið er afláti fyrir að lesa Maríusaltara. *DI* 7, 669 og nmgr. 1. Í testamentisbréfi sínu á Skarði árið 1495 gefur Solveig Björnsdóttir konum ævilangt borð með því skilyrði að þær syngi daglega fyrir sál hennar og ættingja hennar, Faðir vor dag hvern og Maríusaltara á laugardagskvöld og fyrir Mariumessur allar. *DI* 7, 246; Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, *Vatnsfjörður i Ísafirði*, 186.
- 92 Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified. The Book of Hours in the Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller Inc. & Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1988), 94–96.
- 93 *Repertorium Hymenogicum. Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* 3, útg. Ulysse Chevalier (Louvain/Bruxelles: Polleunis & Ceuterick, 1904), nr. 27196.

á bl. 34v–37v, Maríubænin *Ave Maris Stella* á bl. 38r–38v og lofsöngur Maríu, *Magnificat* á bl. 38v–39v. Iðrunarsálmarnir (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142) standa á bl. 61v–72r og fylgir þeim bænaákall, litanía, á bl. 72r–80v. Heilagsandatíðir finnast á bl. 80r–82v og Krosstiðir, með óréttu eignaðar Jóhannesi páfa XXII, á bl. 82v–85v.<sup>94</sup> Bænirnar *Anima Christi* og *O Bone Jesu* eru á bl. 85r–85v. Bænir til einstakra dýrlinga eru aftast í bókinni, þar á meðal Kristófórus bænin *Tu Jesus es testis* (Þú, Jesú ert vitni) á bl. 95r–96v.<sup>95</sup> Niðurlag 4. erindis bænarinnar vantar og ljóst að blað eða blöð hafa týnst aftast úr bænabókinni.

Við bænaupphaf og kaflaskil innan bæna ná stafir yfir þrjár til fimm línum. Litaðir stafleggir eru án útlína með teiknuðu laufskrúði að innan og utan. Í einstaka stöfum gangateinungar út á spássíu.<sup>96</sup> Litlir upphafsstafir ná yfir tvær línum. Þeir eru ýmist með eða án laufskrúðs og sprotar ganga frá þeim út á spássíu. Eftir svarthvítum ljósmyndum að dæma er handbragð Jóns í Langejarnesi á upphafsstöfum bókarinnar.

Á síðumiðöldum komst í tísku að heldra fólk ætti fagurlega lýstar tíða-og/eða bænabækur.<sup>97</sup> Þær voru notaðar við bænahald leikmanna og töldust ekki til helgisiðabóka. Ríkulega myndskreyttar tíðabækur hafa ekki varðveisit hér á landi en tíðabók kemur fyrir í virðingargerð á eignum.<sup>98</sup> Efnislega er litla bænabókin skyld erlendum tíðabókum. Hún ber þess vitni að hér sem annars staðar í Evrópu hefur heldra fólk viljað eignast sálma og bænir til að geta fylgst með messu og tíðum og hafa jafnframt tiltækt andaktarefni fyrir bænahald í einrúmi.

94 *Liturgica I*, 216 og nmgr. 216. Um þessar tíðir sjá Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 89–93.

95 *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 33. b., 67.

96 Þeir eru á eftirfarandi blöðum: A á 13v, A á 20r, A á 26r, V á 45r, A á 57v, D á 61v og A á 80v og andlit í stafleggjum á 47r og 53r.

97 Eina myndskreytta bænabókin frá árunum 1525–1550 er í Háskólasafninu í Uppsöldum (Uppsala. Universitetsbibliotek, R. 719). Um hana sjá Svavar Sigmundsson, „Handritið Uppsala R: 719,“ *Opuscula Septentrionalia. Festschrift til Ole Widding 10. 10. 1977*, ritstj. Bent Chr. Jacobsen et al. (Kaupmannhöfn: Reitzel, 1997), 207–220. Um Erasmusbænina sjá Svavar Sigmundsson, „Ermolaus og Erasmus i et islandsk hándskrift,“ *Iconographisk post 4* (1979): 15–21.

98 Í virðingargerð á eignum Vigfúsar Erlendssonar árið 1521 er tíðabók á meðal bóka sem skipt er á milli barna hans. *DI* 8, 802, 810.

### 6.9 *Tvær Jónsbækur*

Þá fannst handbragð Jóns í Langejarnesi á skreyttum upphafsstöfum í litlu Jónsbókarhandriti, AM 39 8vo (hér eftir AM 39), sem er frá því um 1470.<sup>99</sup> Stefán Karlsson taldi að Jón í Langejarnesi hefði skrifð handritið. Bókin er rituð með lettiskrift af eldri gerð (cursiva antiqua) og er skriftin ekki jafnsett og á helgisiðabókum með hendi Jóns sem eru með bókskrift (textualis formata).<sup>100</sup> AM 39 er eftirrit af Jónsbókinni AM 344 fol., sem var að líkindum skrifuð í Skagafirði á árunum 1375–1400.<sup>101</sup> Um 1500 hefur handritið verið komið vestur á Barðaströnd. Þangað hefur það hugsanlega borist skömmu eftir 1450 með Ingveldi Helgadóttur, lögmanns á Ökrum Guðnasonar, sem var kona Þorleifs Björnssonar hirðstjóra á Reykhólum (d. um 1486).<sup>102</sup> Jón í Langejarnesi hefur því getað gert eftirrit af þessari lögbók á síðari hluta 15. aldar.

Í AM 39 eru 162 blöð sem mælast um 125x95 mm.<sup>103</sup> Skorið hefur verið af síðum bókarinnar þegar hún var endurbundin. Á efri spássíu er skorið svo nærri textanum að á stöku blaði hafa upphafsstafir og leturlínur skerst. Í upphafi lagabálka og við kaflaskil eru 16 skreyttir upphafsstafir sem ná frá fjórum og upp í sjö línur. Sex eru púslstafir, flestir mjög eyddir.<sup>104</sup> Stafir með einlitum staflegg án útlína og teiknuðu laufskrúði að innanverðu og utan eru tíu talsins (mynd 12).<sup>105</sup> Litlir stafir, einlita án útlína og laufskrúðs, ná yfir tvær leturlínur. Form einstakra stafa í tveimur útgáfum er eins út alla bókina. Í stöfunum skiptast á ljósrauðir, rauðir, bláir og grænir litir.

Handbragð Jóns í Langejarnesi þekktist sömuleiðis á upphafsstöfum í

<sup>99</sup> *Jónsbók*, xlvi.

<sup>100</sup> Ég þakka Stefáni Karlssyni fyrir að gefa munnlega umsögn um rithönd í AM 39 8vo um 1990.

<sup>101</sup> *Katalog AM 2, 351–352; Jónsbók*, xlvi. Um þetta handrit sjá einnig Már Jónsson, „Um handrit sem Árni Magnússon eignaðist ungar“, í *Góssið hans Árna. Minningar heimsins í íslenskum handritum*, ritstj. Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2014), 134–138.

<sup>102</sup> *A Saga of St Peter the Apostle: Perg. 4:o nr 19 in the Royal Library, Stockholm*, útg. Peter Foote. Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile 19 (Kaupmannahöfn: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1990), 43–44; Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, *Vatnsfjörður í Ísafirði*, 176–178; Jón Guðmundsson, *Tíðfordrif*, 82–83 (væntanleg).

<sup>103</sup> *AM Katalog 2, 351–352.*

<sup>104</sup> Þeir eru á eftirfarandi blöðum: F á 2v, þ á 8v, þ á 15v, H (skert) á 43v, H á 49v og A á 129r.

<sup>105</sup> Þeir eru á eftirfarandi blöðum: M á 1r, F á 31r, S á 34v, E á 54v, H á 83r, þ á 89v, S á 100r og þ á 110v, E á 119r, S á 153r.

lögbókinni AM 151 4to (hér eftir AM 151) sem talin er frá um 1450.<sup>106</sup> Jón hefur skrifað kaflafyrirsagnir bókarinnar.<sup>107</sup> Megintextinn er með annarri hendi og léttiskrift af eldri gerð. Á bl. 1v hefur skrifari megintextans ritað alþekkta skrifarábæn á latínu: *Assit principio Sancta Maria meo* (Heilög María hjálpi upphafi mínu). Hún er kunn annars staðar í íslenskum miðaldahandritum.<sup>108</sup>

Í AM 151 eru 140 blöð sem mælast að utanverðu um 161x123 mm. Í því eru þrettán stórir upphafsstafir í upphafi lagabálka. Þeir ná yfir þrjár til sjö línum og eru litir í þeim viða máðir. Tveir eru myndstafir og ná yfir fjórar til fimm línum. Í H-i við upphaf rekabálks á bl. 78r er dýr með aftursveigt höfuð sem rekur út úr sér tunguna á skástrikuðum, rauðum grunni. Í P-i við byrjun þjófabálks á bl. 94r er mynd af manni, líklega þjófi, sem snýr til vinstri og heldur báðum höndum um langan staf. Hann er skegglaus, klæddur stuttum kyrtli og í ökklaháum skóm á skástrikuðum, rauðum grunni (mynd 13). Þrír púslstafir ná yfir fjórar til sjö línum.<sup>109</sup> Átta upphafsstafir með einlitum stafleggjum með teiknuðu laufskrúði ná yfir þrjár til fimm textalínur. Litlir stafir ná yfir tvær línum. Form þeirra og litir eru eins og í AM 39 að því frátoldu að sumir eru skreyttir smá laufskrúði. Stafirnir eru eins út alla bókina nema N-ið sem finnst í þremur útgáfum og P-ið í tveimur. Innan í fimm stöfum, á bl. 46v, 69v, 86v, 102v og 103r, eru andlit. Við langfesta stafina, jafnt stóra sem smáa, hefur skrifarinn merkt leiðbeinandi stafi á spássiu fyrir lýsandann. Í tveimur tilvikum hefur rangur stafur verið fylltur í eyðurnar: á bl. 18r er e í staðinn fyrir n (nu) og á bl. 115v er o í staðinn fyrir a (avlmosu).

Litlar skinnræmur hafa verið festar við neðri spássiu á tíu blöðum við upphaf bálka. Leifar af ræmu eru á bl. 11 við upphaf mannhelgi. Göt eftir ræmurnar eru í bókfellinu á bl. 27, 40, 47, 51, 78, 84, 94, 101 og 108. Þær hafa staðið út úr bókinni til að auðvelt væri að fletta upp á bálkum. Jónsbækurnar tvær eru lýsandi dæmi um þá breytingu sem verður á últíti lögbóka á 15. öld þegar smáum og kubbslegum lögbókarhandritum fjölgar

<sup>106</sup> Katalog AM 1, 433–434; Jónsbók, xlvi.

<sup>107</sup> Þetta byggir á athugun Stefáns Karlssonar og munnelegri umsögn.

<sup>108</sup> Um skrifarábænir í íslenskum miðaldahandritum sjá Stefan Karlsson, „Skrivarverser: Island,“ *Kulturlistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid* (Reykjavík: Bókaverzlnun Ísafoldar, 1970) 15: 692–693.

<sup>109</sup> Púslstafirnir eru á eftirfarandi blöðum: F á 4r, F á 27v, H á 40v. Stafir með einlitum leggjum eru M á 2v, I á 10r, P á 11v, H á 47r, E á 51v, P á 84r, S á 101v og A á 108v.

mjög en talið er að þessi stærðarþróun sé tilkomin vegna þess að smekkur manna hafði breyst.<sup>110</sup>

## 7. Lýsingar á blöðum með hendi Jóns á Hóli

Fjórar bækur og bókarbrot hafa fundist með rithönd Jóns á Hóli. Fyrir utan miðhluta *Missale Scardense* (bl. 15v–41r10) sem hann skrifaði ásamt bróður sínum Jóni í Langejarnesi er rithönd Jóns á Hóli á grallarabrotinu AM Acc. 7, Hs 3, 13 bl. Sömuleiðis á stöku blaði á andstefjabókinni AM Acc. 7, Hs 36. Loks hefur hann skrifað kaflafyrirsagnir í Skálholtsbók eldri AM 351 fol. og lýst bókina, sbr. *töflu 1*.

### 7.1 Grallarabrot

Prettán blöð eru varðveitt úr grallara, AM Acc. 7, Hs 3, sem er skrifaður á þriðja fjórðungi 15. aldar að líkindum fyrir 1472. Blöðin mælast um 390x280 og á þeim eru þrettán nótalínur.<sup>111</sup> Í brotinu er einn sögustafur sem nær yfir sex línur nótna og texta og tveir meðalstórir stafir sem ná yfir fjórar línur. Í E-inu á bl. 1r er teiknað laufskrúð. B-ið á bl. 12r er púslstafur, tvílitur stafleggurinn dökkblár og vínrauður. Litlir stafir ná yfir tvær línur og eru ýmist einfaldir eða með teiknuðu laufskrúði. Litir eru hinir sömu og í stöfum í öðrum bókum bræðranna nema sinnepsguli litur H-sins á bl. 6v og vínrauður stafleggur E-sins á bl. 13r. Fáeinir stafir eru lýstir upp skærgulum línum sem dregnar eru ofan á teiknað laufskrúðið.

Á bl. 4r við upphaf inngöngusálms á komudegi vitringanna 6. janúar, sem hefst á orðunum *Ecce advenit dominator* (Sjá herrann kemur), er mynd af tilbeiðslu vitringanna í upphafsstafnum E (mynd 14).<sup>112</sup> Stafurinn er skertur vinstra megin. Ljós leggur hans sker sig úr bláum grunni og er talsvert máður. Í stað þess að vitringarnir séu framan við sæti Maríu með barnið, eins og venja er á tilbeiðslumyndum, hefur þeim verið stillt upp

<sup>110</sup> Um stærðarþróun íslenskra handrita sjá Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, „Brot íslenskra handrita,“ í *Handritasyrpa. Rit til heiðurs Sigurgeiri Steingrímsyni sjötugum 2. október 2013*, ritstj. Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Rit 88 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2014), 132–133.

<sup>111</sup> Jón Helgason benti fyrstur manna á að hönd samverkamanns Jóns Þorlákssonar væri einnig á grallarabrotinu AM Acc. 7, Hs 3; *Sequences I og II*, xliv og ljósprent 260–278. Andersen, „Colligere fragmenta,“ 10–11, nmgr. 33.

<sup>112</sup> *Sequences I og II*, xliv og ljósprent 201.

á nokkuð óvanalegan hátt til að þeir rúmist í upphafsstaf með klofni þverbandi. Efst situr María í sæti sem séð er skáhalt ofan á og hvílir fæturna á neðra þverbandi stafsins. Sætið er grátt og gult og skyggt með hvítu. María er berhöfðuð með brúnt hár, blá augu og rauðar varir. Um höfuðið hefur hún rauðleitan geislabaug en gulur kyrtill hennar er skyggður með hvítum lit. Rauð skikkjan er með ljósu fóðri og skyggð með dekkri rauðum lit. María hefur svarta skó á fótum. Á vinstra hné hennar situr Jesúbarnið og tekur blessandi á móti vitringunum. Sveinninn er í grænum kyrtli sem skyggður er með dekkri grænum lit. Um höfuðið hefur hann grænan, gulgryddaðan geislabaug sem ekki er krossmerktur eins og venja er. Melchior, elsti vitringurinn, krýpur á kné neðan við sæti Maríu og réttir lokaðan bikar upp til Jesúbarnsins. Hann er klæddur grænum kyrtli með rautt belti og í rauðum skóm. Melchior hefur tekið ofan kórónuna sem þó er ekki sjáanleg á myndinni. Sinn hvorum megin við Maríu og Jesúbarnið standa hinir vitringarnir tveir, Balthasar og Kaspar og halda á ljósum bikurum með loki. Þeir eru með rauðar kórónur, íklæddir grænum kyrtlum og rauðum skikkjum. Á fótum hafa þeir dökka skó sem opnir eru yfir ristina. Ekki er greinilegur aldursmunur á vitringunum, eins og vant er á tilbeðslumyndum, þar eð báðir eru skeggjaðir. Sá til vinstri lyftir hendi og bendir með vísifingri upp á við, að líkindum á stjörnuna sem sést þó ekki á myndinni. Geislabaugur og skikkja Maríu ásamt kórónum vitringanna hverfa að hluta til á bak við staflegginn. Höfuð Maríu er framan við legginn en fætur hennar og skikkjufaldur koma út á milli klofins þverbandsins. Með því að staðsetja myndhluta ýmist aftan eða framan við staflegginn tengist myndstafurinn textasiðunni en færst einnig fram á við nær áhorfandanum.

### *7.2 Stakt blað úr andstefjabók*

Hönd Jóns á Hóli hefur einnig fundist á stöku blaði úr andstefjabók, AM Acc. 7, Hs 36. Blaðið mælist um 275x205 og í því eru tíu nótnalínur.<sup>113</sup> Efst á aftari síðu staka blaðsins er skrautstafurinn P við upphaf fyrsta andstefs

<sup>113</sup> Erlendir fræðimenn hafa vísað til hans sem ‘fellow scribe of Jón Þorláksson.’ Ommundsen og Attinger, „Icelandic Liturgical Books,” 293–317. Í ritum sínum um andstefjabækur í erkibiskupsdæmi Niðaróss sagði Lilli Gjerløw blaðið íslenskt og ritað af mjög vönduðum skrifara á 15. öld. *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis* (ms 5), 258, mynd 78. Merete Geert Andersen taldi blaðið einnig íslenskt að uppruna og frá þriðja fjórðungi 15. aldar. *Katalog AM Accessoria*, 45.

(antiphona) við aftansöng (completorium, sjötta tíð) á boðunardegi Maríu 25. mars. Það hefst með orðunum *Prophete predicaverunt* (Spámenn boðuðu) (mynd 15).<sup>114</sup> Stafurinn gengur upp eftir miðri síðunni og nær yfir tíu línum leturs og nótna. Gulur leggurinn gengur út fyrir grunninn.<sup>115</sup> Grænn litur í grunni stafsins, sem er lagður þunnt á skinnið, er afmarkaður með rauðri línu. Guli liturinn er eyddur en líkist gula litnum í E-inu í grallarabroti Jóns á Hóli og hefur sprungið á sama hátt. Um legginn utanverðan og inn í belg hans fléttast vafningar. Þeir eru dregnir með svörtum útlínum á skinngrunnninn og enda í þrískiptum blöðum skyggðum með rauðum lit. Blöðkur neðst og efst á klofnum leggnum eru einnig skyggðar með rauðum lit. Þær eru sömu gerðar og í stórum upphafsstaf, F-i á bl. 2r í Skálholtsbók eldri (AM 351 fol.). Form blaðanna, sem eru ólítuð, er einnig líkt. Laufin eru dregin beint á skinngrunnninn og skyggð með rauðum æðum á sama hátt. Eins og sýnt verður fram á hér að aftan lýsti Jón á Hóli upphafsstafi í Skálholtsbók eldri og skrifaði kaflafyrirsagnir. Þessi líku smáatriði renna frekari stoðum undir að Jón hafi skrifað og lýst staka blaðið úr andstefjabókinni.

### 7.3 Skálholtsbók eldri AM 351 fol. Kaflafyrirsagnir og upphafsstafir

Lengi var talið að Skálholtsbók eldri væri skrifuð á síðari hluta 14. aldar. Stefán Karlsson sýndi fram á að handritið væri að öllum líkindum skrifad af séra Steinmóði Þorsteinssyni presti á Grenjaðarstað og ráðsmanni og officialis á Hólum undir og um 1400.<sup>116</sup> Handritið er því yngra en áður hefur verið talið. Eftir að greinarhöfundur vakti athygli Stefáns á því að lýsingar Skálholtsbókar væru gerðar á seinni hluta 15. aldar athugaði hann

<sup>114</sup> *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis*, 258.

<sup>115</sup> Merete Geert Andersen taldi líklegt að stafurinn hafi verið gulllagður. *Katalog AM Accessoria*, 45. Athugun í smásjá sýnir að svo er ekki heldur er um gulun lit að raða.

<sup>116</sup> Stefán Karlsson, „Hauksnautur. Uppruni og ferill lögbókar,“ í *Sólhvartasumbl saman borið handa Þorleifi Haukssyni fimmtíugum 21. desember 1991*, ritstj. Gísli Sigurðsson et al. (Reykjavík: Menningar- og minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, 1992), 62–66; Stefán Karlsson, „Skinnræmur úr Skálholtsbók (AM 351 fol.),“ *Gripa* 3 (1979): 124–127; Stefán Karlsson, „Af Skálholtsvist Skálholtsbókar yngri,“ *Gripa* 5 (1982): 197–200. Jana K. Schulman nefnir ekki fyrstnefndu grein Stefáns, þar sem hann sýnir fram á að handritið er frá því undir og um 1400, heldur fylgir eldri tímasetningu þess til u.p.b. 1360. *Jónsbók the Laws of Later Iceland. The Icelandic Text According to MS AM 351 fol. Skálholtsbók eldri*, útg. og þýð. Jana K. Schulman, *Bibliotheca Germanica Series Nova* 4, (Saarbrücken: AQ Verlag, 2010), xx.

skriftina á rauðum kaflafyrirsögnum í Skálholtsbók og komst að þeirri niðurstöðu að á þeim væri rithönd Jóns á Hóli. Skálholtsbók eldri hefur því bersýnilega verið lýst á 15. öld, nokkrum áratugum eftir að hún var skrifuð. Nærtækast er að ætla að Jón hafi sjálfur lýst upphafsstafina í Skálholtsbók eldri þegar hann skrifaldi kaflafyrirsagnirnar.<sup>117</sup> Nokkrir viðvaningslegir upphafsstafir eru á bl. 10v, 11r, 15r, 34v, 35r og 46v í Skálholtsbók eldri. Þeir hafa greinilega verið til staðar þegar Jón á Hóli hófst handa við að lýsa handritið í heild sinni eins og sjá má á bl. 15r þar sem stafur Jóns gengur yfir stafinn sem fyrir var. Þetta er frekari staðfesting á því að bókin hefur verið lýst nokkuð löngu eftir að hún var rituð.

Skálholtsbók eldri er þokkalega varðveisitt og upphafsstafir hennar gefa betri mynd af lýsingum Jóns á Hóli en máðir upphafsstafir hans í handritabrotunum. Í handritinu eru 133 blöð sem mælast um 280x198 mm, textinn er tvídálka. Eini sögustafur handritsins, F á bl. 2r, gengur upp eftir ytri spássíu og nær yfir níu leturlínur. Honum verða gerð nánari skil hér á eftir. Tólf púslstafir eru í handritinu, níu við upphaf bálka Jónsbókarinnar og þrír í upphafi Kristinn réttar, Kristinn réttar hins forna og biskupastatúta.<sup>118</sup> Þeir ná yfir fimm til sjö textualínur. Út frá sumum stafleggjunum gengur þróttmikið laufskrúð yfir hálfar eða heilar síður á ytri spássíu og milli dálka. Litasamsetningarnar í púslstöfunum eru: dökkgult og bláleitt, dökkrauð og blátt, rauðt og dökkgult, dökkrauð og ljósrauðt, grænt og blátt. Inn í og utan með stöfunum er teiknað laufskrúð í öðrum lit með finlegum margskiptum blöðum og blómknúppum og línuþili sem endar í lykkju. Tveir upphafsstafir, S-ið á bl. 58r í upphafi farmannalaga og Þ-ið á bl. 72v í kristindómsbálki eru örðrvísí. S-ið nær yfir sjö textualínur, einlitur stafleggurinn er skreyttur gulum rósum eða blöðkum og laufskrúði. Þ-ið nær yfir fimm línum, rauður einlitur stafleggur og laufskrúð í belg og meðfram staflegg.

Smærri upphafsstafir við kaflaskipti eru með einlitum leggjum án útlína sem ná yfir tvær til fjórar línum. Í þeim skiptast á ljósrauðir, dökkrauðir, bláir og dökkbláir, grænir og dökkgrænir litir ásamt sinnepsgulum lit.

<sup>117</sup> Dæmi um að rauðritari og lýsandi séu einn og sami maður er í Helgastaðabók. Stefán Karlsson, „Uppruni og ferill Helgastaðabókar,“ í *Helgastaðabók. Nikulás saga. Perg. 4to nr. 16 Konungsbókhlöðu í Stokkhólmi*, ritstj. Jónas Kristjánsson (Reykjavík: Lögberg, 1982), 52 og nmgr. 12.

<sup>118</sup> Umræddir stafir eru á eftirfarandi blöðum: Þ á 5r, Þ á 6v, F á 15v, H á 22v, H á 26v, E á 29r, H á 44v, Þ á 48r, Þ á 53v, A á 74r, Þ á 96v og Þ á 110v.

Laufskrúðið innan í og utan með stafleggjunum er dregið með ljósgrænu, bláu, rauðu og dökkrauðu bleki sem jafnan er í öðrum lit en sjálfur stafleggurinn. Sums staðar eru einföld blöð inni í belg stafleggjanna, annars staðar eru þau tvö- eða margföld og leggjast þá og vefjast saman á ýmsan hátt. Sums staðar er grunnur stafanna skástrikaður og lauf fínlega skyggð með lit. Andlit eru í fjórum af smærri upphafsstöfunum á bl. 11v, 14r, 59r og 81v.

Í myndstafnum F á bl. 2r í Skálholtsbók eldri er mynd af Ólafi konungi helga Haraldssyni og heilögum Þorláki biskupi Þórhallssyni við upphaf þingfararbálks, sem hefst á orðunum *Friður og blessan* (mynd 16).<sup>119</sup> Sterkgulur leggur F-sins er skýrt mótaður og sker sig úr bláum bakgrunni. Þar sem hann klofnar á neðri spássiu eru þrískipt smálauf og litlir laufvafningar. Út frá leggnum að ofanverðu ganga tvö margskipt lauf. Sprungur eru í gula litnum á leggnum og á fáeinum stöðum hefur hann dottið að þannig að ljós undirliturinn sést. Rauðgular blöðkur eru neðst á leggnum og í tveimur hornum hans að ofanverðu. Skáleggur klofnar niður úr efri staflegg F-sins. Á enda klofins þverbands er stóreygt, dökkrauðt ljónshöfuð með makka, sperrt eyru og tennt gapandi gin.

Vinstra megin í stafnum situr Ólafur helgi Noregskonungur í gulbrúnu hásæti sem séð er skáhallað ofan á og hvílir fætur á eftir þverbandi F-sins. Konungur er með rauðgula kórónu og grænleitan, gulbryddaðan geislabaug. Yst fata ber hann rauðan, hvítfóðraðan konungsmöttul sem tekinn er saman á brjóstini með gulri nál. Innan undir er hann í grænum kyrtli og ennfreymur í svörtum skóm. Ljósir hanskarnir á höndum hans voru hluti af konungsskrúðanum. Yfir hægri öxl sér reiðir hann helgitákn sitt öxina Hel, langskefta bardagaöxi. Axarskaftið er gult en blaðið rautt með gulri rönd. Konungur leggur fingur vinstri handar yfir þykka bók sem stendur á hné hans.<sup>120</sup> Hún er í gulum, skinnklæddum bókarþjöldum með rauðum

119 Matthías Þórðarson benti réttilega á að biskupsmyndin sýndi heilagan Þorlák. Matthías Þórðarson, „Islands middelalderkunst,“ *Nordisk Kultur. Kunst* 27 (1931), 342. Það kemur fram í bæn við upphaf þingfararbálks þar sem lögþingsmenn biðja sér blessunar Krists, árnaðarordha heilagrar Maríu guðsmóður, Ólafs konungs helga, heilags Þorláks biskups og allra heilagra, Jónsbók, 5. Jónsbók: *Lögbók Íslendinga*, 81. Um þetta sjá *Skálholtsbók eldri, Jónsbók etc. AM 351 fol.*, útg. Chr. Westergård-Nielsen. Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile 9 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1971), 30–31.

120 Um þessa merkingu bókarinnar á myndum af Ólafi helga sjá hér að framan og Lidén, *Ola den hellige*, 212.

spenslum.<sup>121</sup> Á kili bókarinnar mótar fyrir uppistöðuhryggjum bandsins. Þorlákur helgi stendur uppréttur í biskupsskrúða aftan við sæti Ólafs helga. Biskupinn er skegglaus og hefur grænleitan geislabaug með gulri bryddingu um höfuðið. Hann blessar með hægri hendi en heldur með vinstri hendi um bagal með gulu skafti, grænum hnúð og krók sem endar í uppundnu laufblaði. Biskup ber hátt, hvítt mítur, bryddað og skreytt rauðum borda. Hann er með höfuðlín, klæddur hvítum messuserk með tíglofttu hlaði að framan. Ofan við það sést stóluendi með grænu kögri. Utan yfir er biskup í grænni, rauðfóðraðri dalmatíku með klauf og yst fata í rauðum hökli með gulu fóðri. Á höndum hefur hann biskupsglöfa og hvítt handlín á vinstra úlnlið. Hásæti Ólafs helga og geislabaugar dýrlinganna hverfa að hluta á bak við þverbond F-sins. Axarblaðið og krókur bagalsins eru hins vegar framan við staflegginn. Þannig verður til örlítil tilfinning fyrir rými innan og utan við staflegginn. Ermí á hökli biskups fer örlítið út fyrir bakgrunnin og vinstri fótur hans gengur ásamt ljónshöfðinu niður úr myndstafnum og tengja myndina textasíðunni.

Jón á Hóli hefur lýst upphafsstafina, F á bl. 2r í Skálholtsbók eldri og E á bl. 4r í grallarabrotinu AM Acc. 7, Hs 3. Báðir stafirnir eru skýrt mótaðir og með klofnu þverbandi. Séð er skáhallað ofan á sæti Mariú á grallaramyndinni og Ólafs helga í Skálholtsbók eldri. Andlitsdrættir eru svipaðir. Bera má saman eggлага og niðurmjótt andlit Melchiors í grallaramyndinni og andlit Ólafs helga í Skálholtsbók eldri (sjá myndir 12 og 14). Í hnöttóttum augunum eru bláir augasteinar og augnakrókar sveigjast upp á við til hliðanna. Einföld lína afmarkar hálfssigin augnalok en augabrunir eru háar og hvelfdar. Nefið er óvanalega teiknað. Smákrókur myndar nasavænginn sem snýr fram en síðan eru nefið og augabrunin sem snýr fram dregin með sömu óbrotnu línum. Skeggið hringast í smálokk neðan við hökuna. Sömu eða svipaðir meginlitir eru í báðum stöfunum og eru þeir lagðir á með sama

121 Bækur hafa verið klæddar skinni héru miðoldum. Í minnisgrein aftan við handrit frá 14. öld, AM 671 4to, stendur að Snorri Andrésson hafi bundið bókina og skart að rauðu skinni. Snorri er eini nafngreindi bókbinderinn sem vitað er um. Jón Helgason, *Handritaspjall* (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1958), 26; Ólafur Halldórsson, „Skrifaðar bækur,” í *Íslensk þjóðmenning* 6 (Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Þjóðsaga, 1989), 81. Í málðaga kirkjunnar í Eyðöldum frá árinu 1382 kemur fram að hún á fimm bækur í hvítum skinnum. DI 3, 360. Um skinnklæddar bækur héru miðoldum sjá Guðbrandur Jónsson, „Íslenzk bókasöfn fyrir síðabytinguna,” *Árbók Landsbókasafns Íslands 1946–1947* (1948), 3–4: 70. Erlendis voru bækur klæddar sútuðu skinni sem stundum var litað. Um þetta sjá De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators*, 67.

hætti. Sterkgulur litur stafleggjanna sker sig úr bláum bakgrunni. Í grænum kyrtlunum eru klæðafellingar skyggðar með dökkgrænum eða svörtum lit. Rauðar skikkjurnar eru skyggðar með dökkrauðum lit. Þá eru grænir, gulbryddaðir geislabaugar Jesúbarnsins í grallaramyndinni og dýrlinganna í F-inu í Skálholtsbók eldri litaðir á sama hátt. Sem dæmi um sama handbragð í litlu upphafsstöfum má taka D-ið á bl. 6v í grallarabrotinu AM Acc. 7, Hs 3 (mynd 17) og H-ið á bl. 105v í Skálholtsbók eldri (mynd 18) þar sem laufin eru dregin á sama hátt.

Stefán Karlsson leiddi líkum að því að Haukur bóndi Einarsson hafi fært Skálholtsdómkirkju Skálholtsbók eldri að gjöf á síðari hluta 15. aldar en Einar, faðir Hauks, var prestur og ráðsmaður í Skálholti (d. 1430). Haukur átti jarðir fyrir vestan sem hann soldi Birni Þorleifssyni 1461.<sup>122</sup> Í reikningum Skálholtsstaðar frá miðri 16. öld er tvívar sinnum nefnd bókin ‘Hauksnatur’ og varla nokkur vafi að þar er átt við Skálholtsbók eldri.<sup>123</sup> Ekki hefur komist í verk að lýsa handritið þegar Steinmóður lauk við að skrifa það um aldamótin 1400. Nærtækast er að ætla að Haukur Einarsson hafi látið lýsa þessa fögru Jónsbók, áður en hún var gefin Skálholtskirkju. Einnig kemur til greina að Skálholtsbúar hafi látið lýsa bókina eftir að þeir fengu hana að gjöf einhvern tíma á síðari hluta 15. aldar. En hvort heldur það var gefandi eða þiggjandi Skálholtsbókar eldri sem létt lýsa hana er ljóst að Jón á Hóli var fenginn til verksins.

## 8. Samanburður á upphafsstöfum Jónanna

Munur er bæði á formgerð og laufvafningum í sögu- og skrautstöfum í bókum bræðranna. Mjúkar, bogadregnar útlínur og þéttir vafningar með smáum laufblöðum einkenna stafleggi í upphafsstöfum Jóns í Langeyjarnesi (sjá myndir 4 og 11). Skýrt mótaðir stafleggir með beinum línum ásamt vafningum með allstórum laufblöðum eru í upphafsstaf Jóns á Hóli (sjá mynd 15). Form og drættir í andlitum eru einnig sitt með hvoru móti. Andlit Ólafs helga í F-inu í Skálholtsbók eldri (sjá mynd 16) er svipmikið. Augun eru stór og uppsveigð með skýrt afmörkuðum augnalokum. Háar augabréyr eru hvelfdar. Nefið er stórt og dregið með línu sem rofnar að

<sup>122</sup> Um það sjá *DI* 5, 241–242; Stefán Karlsson, „Hauksnatur,“ 63.

<sup>123</sup> Stefán Karlsson, „Hauksnatur,“ 62–66; Stefán Karlsson, „Skinnræmur úr Skálholtsbók,“ 124–127; Stefán Karlsson, „Af Skálholtsvist Skálholtsbókar,“ 197–200.

neðanverðu. Munnurinn er stórt strik sem breikkar í miðjunni og skeggið hringast í lokk undir hökunni. Andlit Ólafs helga á staka grallarablaðinu Þjms 3411 er mun svipminna (sjá mynd 8). Neðri lína augnanna er sein og þau sveigjast ekki upp á við. Fíngert nefið er dregið með samfelldri línu, munnurinn með tveimur strikum og skeggið leggst slétt yfir hökuna. Klæðafellingar í skikkjum Ólafs helga eru ennfremur frábrugðnar. Skikkjan í grallaramyndinni leggst yfir hægra hnæ, myndar smáfellingar milli hnjánna og lyftist upp á vinstra hnæ þar sem kyrtlfaldurinn breiðir úr sér. Skikkja Ólafs helga í F-inu í Skálholtsbók eldri liggar jafnt yfir bæði hnæ og neðan við sést í kyrtlfaldinn. Þá eru klæðalitir öðruvísi og þeir eru ekki lagðir á með sama hætti. Loks eru kórónur og axarblöð frábrugðin á myndunum.

Þegar leitast er við að þekkja mismunandi handbragð á meðalstórum upphafsstöfum reynist torvelt að greina sundur hendur bræðranna í fljótu bragði. Þeir virðast beinlínis hafa lagt sig fram um að gefa bókum sínum heillegan svip með því að notast við sömu upphafsstafagerð. Þetta á jafnt við um þúslstafi, meðalstóra upphafsstafi með einlitum stafleggjum og laufskrúði og smærri upphafsstafi. Hér skulu tekin nokkur dæmi.

Form E-sins á bl. 6r í *Missale Scardense* (sjá mynd 5) er eins og E-sins á bl. 29r í Skálholtsbók eldri (mynd 19). Munstur í staflegg er svipað nema í þverbandinu þar sem er sams konar munstur og í legg Þ-sins á bl. 6v í Skálholtsbók eldri.<sup>124</sup> Fíngert laufskrúðið utan með stöfunum er einnig líkt. Litir í meðalstóru stöfunum eru hinir sömu: ljósrautt, dökkrarott, vínrault, blátt og dökkblátt, skærgult og sinnepsgult, dökkgrænt og jarðgrænn litur sem lagður er þunnt á, hugsanlega með sköfu. Þá eru nokkrir stafleggir í *Missale Scardense* og *Graduale Gufudalense* gullmálaðir. Þeir finnast ekki á blöðum sem Jón á Hóli skrifaði.

Litir upphafsstafir, einlita án útlínu sem nái yfir tvær til fjórar línum, eru einnig líkir. Taka má tvö dæmi, S á bl. 101v í AM 151 4to (mynd 20) og sama staf á bl. 14v í Skálholtsbók eldri (mynd 21).<sup>125</sup> Hver stafur er til í tveimur mismunandi gerðum og engu líkara en að þeir séu teknir upp úr sjónabók eða forskriftarblaði. Í enskri sjónabók frá 15. öld (Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 2981) er stafróf með tveimur formgerðum af sama

<sup>124</sup> Sjá *Skálholtsbók eldri*.

<sup>125</sup> Taka má fleiri dæmi. H á bl. 47r í AM 151 er af sömu gerð og H á bl. 30v í Skálholtsbók eldri. E í AM 151, bl. 51v er eins og E í Skálholtsbók eldri, AM 351 fol., bl. 32r.

staf. Skrifarar gætu hafa notað stafina sem fyrirmynndir.<sup>126</sup> Allt eins líklegt er þó að með stafrófinu sé ætlunin að gefa verkbeiðendum kost á að velja á milli stafagerða þegar verið var að semja um ritun og lýsingu bóka.<sup>127</sup>

Andlit sem sums staðar eru inni í litlum upphafsstöfum bræðranna eru þó frábrugðin. Svípmikil andlitrinn í myndstöfum Jóns á Hóli sjást einnig í litlu upphafsstöfunum í bókum sem hann lýsti. Andlitr í upphafsstafnum N á bl. 11v í Skálholtsbók eldri (mynd 22) er líkt andliti Ólafs helga í F-inu á bl. 2r, einkum augun og nefið. Andlitr í upphafsstafnum N á bl. 102v í AM 151 (mynd 23) frá hendi Jóns í Langejarnesi er sviplítið og líkist andliti Ólafs Helga í G-inu í staka grallarablaðinu Þjms 3411, einkum augu og nef.

Út frá þeim mun sem rakinn hefur verið hér að framan má greina hendur tveggja lýsenda á myndskreytingunni í *Missale Scardense*. Handaskiptingin kemur heim við rithendur bræðranna í textanum. Það bendir til að þeir hafi sjálfir lýst handrit eða hluta handrita sem þeir skrifuðu. Hvergi er hins vegar að finna handarverk Bjarna Ívarssonar svo óyggjandi sé. Athugunin hér að framan bregður því ekki ljósi á bökaskreytingar þessa eina lýsanda sem heimildir nafngreina á 15. öld. Eins og fram hefur komið er einn sögustafur eftir annan lýsanda en bræðurna á staka grallarablaðinu, Þjms 4126. C-teiknari Teiknibókar hefur ekki lýst þennan umrædda staf og er hér um áður óþekktan lýsanda að ræða.

Í Teiknibókinni finnast engar fyrirmynndir sem beinlínis líkjast þeim fáu myndum sem varðveisit hafa í bókum og bókaleifum bræðranna. Eina myndin sem kemst næst því er af sitjandi konungi á bl. 8r í Teiknibókinni (mynd 24) sem bera má saman við mynd Ólafs helga á staka grallarablaðinu Þjms 3411 (sjá mynd 8). Stellingar konunganna eru svipaðar. Báðir hefja á loft einkennisgripi sína í vinstri hendi og hvíla hina á hægra hné sér. Konungurinn á bl. 8r er tómhentur en Ólafur helgi á grallarablaðinu heldur á snaghyrndri öxi. Atriði svo sem andlitsdrættir og skegg, klæði og form

126 Um muninn á sjónabókum og fyrirmyndabókum, sjá Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Íslenska teiknibókin*, 18.

127 De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators*, 49, mynd 41. Ítölsk fyrirmyndabók, talin gerð í Toskanahéraði um 1175 (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 83.1972), er eingöngu með upphafsstöfum. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 92–94, mynd 154; Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900 – ca. 1470)*, þýð. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), nr. 7.

kórónanna eru hins vegar of ólík til að eigna megi C-teiknaranum mynd Ólafs helga á grallarablaðinu.<sup>128</sup>

## 9. Lokaorð: Bókagerð bræðranna og skyld handrit

Um miðja 15. öld hefur vafalítið verið þörf á að endurnýja bækur, ekki síst í kirkjum, eftir að bókagerð dróst saman á fyrri hluta aldarinnar. Ef að líkum lætur hefur meginstarf Jónanna verið fólgíð í því að framleiða helgisiðabækur fyrir kirkjur á búsetusvæði sínu, Vesturlandi og Vestfjörðum. Viðhafnarbækur, svo sem altaris- og kórbækur til nota við messu og tíðagjörð, voru oft fagurlega búnar og í stóru broti til að auðvelda lestur texta og nótina. Kirkjubækurnar eru nú svipur hjá sjón, en myndskreytingin í Skálholtsbók eldri gefur nokkra hugmynd um hversu glæsilegar þær kunna að hafa verið í öndverðu.

Jafnframt hafa ritbeiðendur víðar að leitað til bræðranna vegna hins góða orðspors sem fór af bókagerð þeirra. Til marks um það eru lýsingar Jóns á Hóli í Skálholtsbók eldri sem Haukur Einarsson gaf Skálholtskirkju og grallarinn sem Bjarni Ívarsson gaf jungfrú Maríu á Munkaþverá. Litla bænabókin og Jónsbækurnar tvær, sem að líkindum hafa verið gerðar fyrir leikmenn, eru smáar í sniðum. Þótt lögbækurnar séu illa farnar sýnir skrift og lýsing þeirra að vandað hefur verið til þeirra í öndverðu.

Í lýsingum sínum taka bræðurnir upp þráðinn þar sem frá var horfið um 1400 og sækja fyrirmyn dir í handrit frá 14. öld. Hér skulu aðeins tilgreind fáein dæmi. Sama skýra formið er á E-inu í grallarabroti Jóns á Hóli (sjá mynd 12) og E-i á bl. 18v í Fríssbók, *Codex Frisianus* (AM 45 fol.) sem á eru Noregskonungasögur (mynd 25). Í báðum tilvikum er þverband stafsns klofið og leggurinn endar í sams konar laufblöðum.<sup>129</sup> Fríssbók er talin skrifuð á Vesturlandi á fyrsta fjórðungi 14. aldar.<sup>130</sup> Litlir upphaf-

128 Sjá Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, *Íslenska teiknibókin*, 108.

129 *Codex Frisianus (Sagas of the Kings of Norway)*. MS No. 45 Fol. in the Arnamagnæan Collection in the University Library of Copenhagen, útg. Halldór Hermannsson. Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi 4 (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1932), bl. 18v. Ekkert stórt F er í Fríssbók en leggur H-sins á vinstri spássiu á bl. 19v klofnar til endanna og lokast með blöðum að neðan og ofan á svipaðan hátt og leggur F-sins á bl. 2r í Skálholtsbók eldri. Um upphafsstafi í Fríssbók sjá Liepe, *Studies in Icelandic Fourteenth Century Book Painting*, 223–227.

130 Aðalhöndin á Fríssbók er einnig á AM 241 a fol., saltara og tíðabók, og á AM 249 p fol. messudagarími sem verið hefur framan við saltaratextann. Þá er messudagarími í

stafir eru skyldir upphafsstöfum í Staðarfellsbók Jónsbókar (AM 346 fol.), einkum form stafleggjanna og fingert laufskrúð með þrískiptum og margskiptum smáblöðum. Bera má saman Þ á bl. 21v í Staðarfellsbók (mynd 26) og sama staf á bl. 25v í Skálholtsbók eldri (mynd 27). Handrit og handritahlutar með sömu hendi og Staðarfellsbók Jónsbókar eru líklega rituð í Barðastrandarsýslu eða í nálægum héraðum á árunum 1320–1360.<sup>131</sup>

Hliðstæðir upphafsstafir finnast í fleiri handritum. Þ á bl. 48r í Skálholtsbók eldri (mynd 28) er svipað Þ á bl. 6r í AM 343 fol., Svalbarðsbók Jónsbókar, sem tímasett er um 1330–1340 (mynd 29). Þ á bl. 5r í Skálholtsbók eldri (mynd 30) er einnig líkt Þ á bl. 6ov í AM 347 fol., Belgsdalsbók Jónsbókar, frá um 1340–1370, (mynd 31) en lýsingar í þessum Jónsbókum eru skyldar.<sup>132</sup> Ekki er vitað hvar Svalbarðsbók er skrifuð og hönd skrifarans hefur ekki fundist í öðrum handritum.<sup>133</sup> Bent hefur verið á að Skarðsbók Jónsbókar AM 350 fol. sé skrifuð eftir Svalbarðsbók eða hliðstæðu handriti.<sup>134</sup> Belgsdalsbók er að mestu með einni hendi en nokkrar síður aftast í handritinu, bl. 94vb–98, eru með annarri hendi og er skriftarlagið svipað og í handritum sem talin eru skrifuð í klastrinu á Helgafelli.<sup>135</sup>

Skyringin á því að Jónarnir tveir nota upphafsstafi af 14. aldar gerð gæti verið suð að fyrirmyn dir þeirra séu sóttar í sjóna- eða fyrirmundabók sem gengið hafi að erfðum mann fram af manni í ætt bokagerðarmanna.

Konunglega bókasafninu í Kaupmannahöfn, KB Add 1 fol., hugsanlega einnig með sömu hendi og hún er einnig á AM 325 VIII 4 c 4to (Sverris saga og Böglunga sögur). Í AM 249 p fol. og KB Add 1 fol. eru ártíðir Seldæla. Jonna Louis-Jensen. *Kongesagastudier. Kompilationen Hulda-Hrokkinskima*. Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 32 (Kaupmannahöfn: Reitzel, 1977), 19–21. *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, útg. Stefán Karlsson. Editiones Arnamagnæanæ. Series B 6 (Kaupmannahöfn: Reitzel, 1983), xli–xlvi. Um þessa handritahópa sjá einnig Jonna Louis-Jensen, „Fra skriptoriet i Vatnsfjörður i Eiríkr Sveinbjarnarsons tid,“ í *Reykholts makt- og lerdomscenter i den íslenske og nordiske kontekst*, ritstj. Else Mundal. Snorrastofa. Rit 3. (Reykholts: Snorrastofa, Menningar- og miðaldasetur, 2006), 128–130 (endurpr. í *Con Amore*, 322–323).

<sup>131</sup> *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, xl–xlvi.

<sup>132</sup> Harry Fett, „Miniatyrer fra íslenske haandskrifter,“ *Bergens Museums Aarbog* 7 (1910): 25–26; Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, 24–25; Bera Nordal, „Lögþókarhandritið Gks. 1154 I folio. Íslenskt handrit?“ *Skírnir* 159 (1985): 166–170.

<sup>133</sup> Bera Nordal, „Lögþókarhandritið,“ 164.

<sup>134</sup> Jónsbók, xliv–xlv.

<sup>135</sup> Stefán Karlsson, „Lovskrifer i to lande. Codex Hardenbergensis og Codex Belgsdalensis,“ *Festskrift til Alfred Jakobsen*, útg. Jan Ragnar Hagland et al. (Trondheim: Tapir, 1987), 167, 179.

Hver kynslóð kann síðan að hafa aukið nýjum smáatriðum inn í eldri stafi til að færa fram til eigin samtíðar. Upphafsstafir, samsettir úr misgömlum minnum, gætu þannig hafa orðið til.<sup>136</sup>

Þótt hliðstæður við upphafsstafi bræðranna finnist í handritum frá 14. öld er ekki hægt að benda á beinar fyrirmyn dir. Óvarlegt er að draga af þessum skyldleika aðra ályktun en þá að upphafsstafagerð bræðranna eigi sér rætur í 14. aldar handritum sem upprunnin eru við Breiðafjörð. Enn minna verður ágengt við að rekja uppruna stílsins á mannamyndum þeirra en hafa verður í huga að samanburðarefnið er mjög takmarkað. Líkur still hefur ekki fundist í varðveittum lýsingum, hvorki frá 14. né 15. öld. Almennt má þó segja að 14. aldar yfirbragð sé á lýsingum bræðranna.

Bræðurnir sækja sér mestmegin fyrirmyn dir í list 14. aldar en tileinka sér ekki erlendar nýjungar í listum sem fyrir löngu voru komnar fram á starfstíma þeirra. Eðlileg endurnýjun sér því ekki stað í verkum þeirra. Fastheldnin við list 14. aldar sem einkennir lýsingar þeirra er til marks um þá kyrrstöðu og stöðnun sem ríkti hérlendis á 15. öld. Á hinn bóginn verður ekki sagt að bókagerð bræðranna beri beinlínis merki hnignunar, vegna þess hversu vönduð hún er.

136 Þess sér reyndar stað í upphafsstöfum feðganna séra Ara og sona hans, Jóns og Tómasar, þar sem atriðum sem að líkendum eru sótt í prentaðar bækur er aukið inn í eldri stafagerð. Elsa E. Guðjónsson vakti athygli á mynd Ólafs helga í lögþókinni AM 160 4to sem er í bókahópnum er þeir feðgar skrifluðu. Myndin er gerð eftir prentaðri tréskurðarmynd af Ólafi helga í Breviarium Nidrosiense sem prentað var í París 1519. Elsa E. Guðjónsson, „Skyldleiki erlendra prentmynda við nokkrar íslenskar helgimyndir,“ *Gripla* 3 (1979): 71–75.



Stakt blað úr kirkjubók. Inv. D 1849a. National Museet, Kaupmannahöfn.



Til vinstri:

1) Andlátmynd í C-i við upphaf sálutíða. Stakt blað úr kirkjubók, Inv. D 1849a. National Museet, Kaupmannahöfn.

Neðar:

2) Andlátmynd í Teiknibókinni, AM 673 a III 4to, bl. 17v. C-teiknarinn. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Ljós. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.





3) Brot úr stöku grallaþblaði með gjasaravottorði, AM 80 b 2 8vo. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Ljósam. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



4) R við inngöngusálm á páskadag í messubók frá Skarði, *Missale Scardense, AM Acc.*  
7, Hs 1, bl. 15v. Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Kaupmannahöfn.  
Ljósm. Suzanne Reitz.



5) E í messubók frá Skarði, *Missale Scardense*, AM Acc. 7, Hs 1, bl. 6r. Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Kaupmannahöfn. Ljósm. Suzanne Reitz.



6) S í grallara frá  
Gufudal, *Graduale*  
Gufudalense, AM Acc.  
7, Hs 2, bl. 25v.  
Den Arnamagnæanske samling,  
Kaupmannahöfn.  
Ljósm. Suzanne Reitz.



7) Neðri hluti manns í messuskrúða í N-i í grallarabroti AM 241 b IV fol., bl. 2v. Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Kaupmannahöfn. Ljósm. Suzanne Reitz.



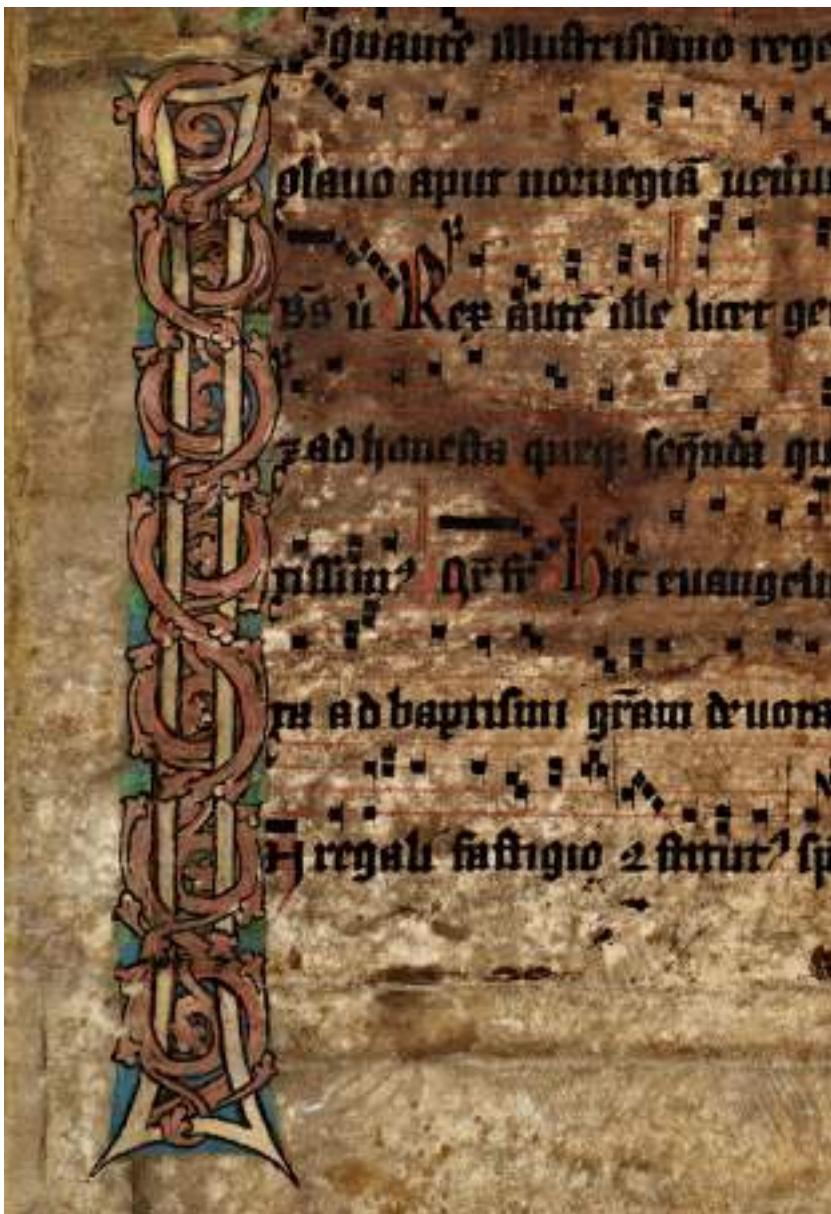
8) Ólafur helgi í G-i á stöku grallarablaði. Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, Þjms 3411. Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



9) Fórn Abrahams? í D-i á stöku grallarablaði. *Landsbókasafn Íslands*, Lbs fragm 46.  
Ljós. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



10) Ólafur helgi? Stakt grallarablað, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, Þjms 4126.  
Ljósma. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



11) I við fyrsta svar í Ólafstíðum, stakt blað úr andstefjabóki, AM 241 b III β fol. Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Kaupmannahöfn. Ljósm. Suzanne Reitz.



12) Þí upphafi kristindómsbálks, Jónsbók í AM 39 8vo, bl. 8v. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



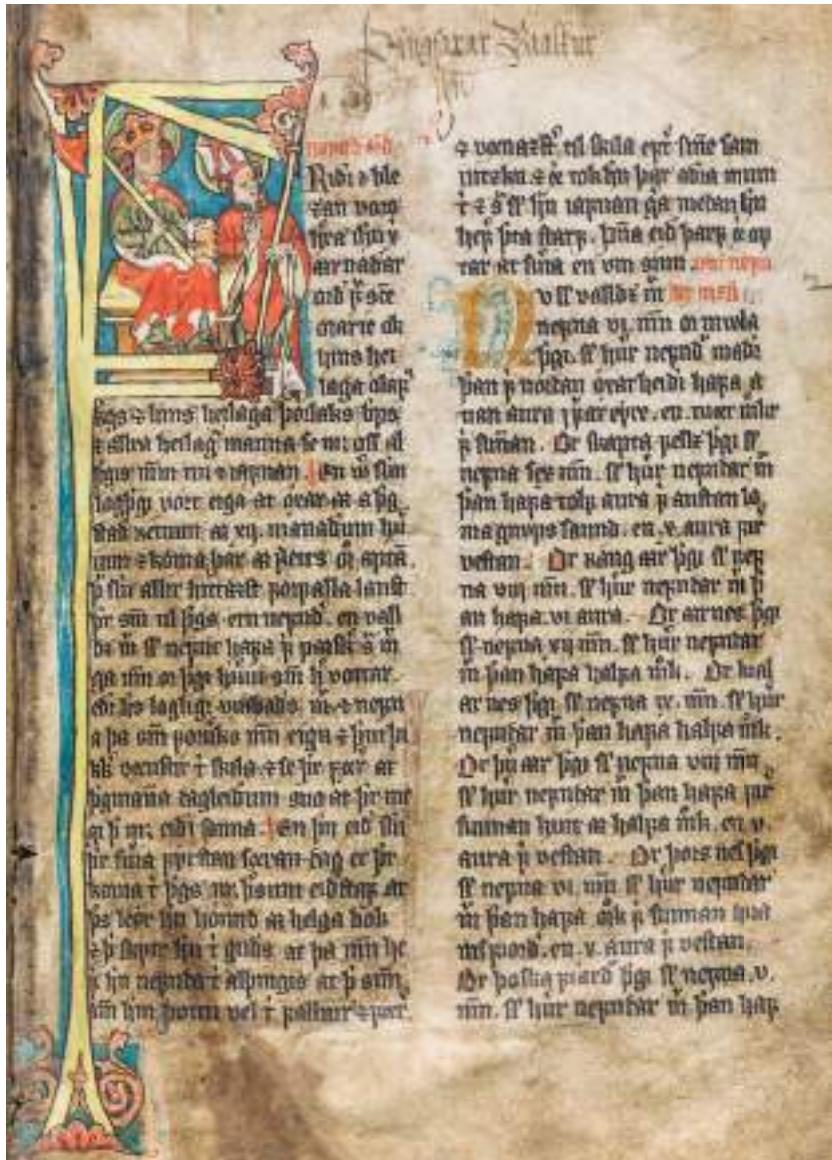
13) Maður með staf, þjófur við upphaf þjófabálks, Jónsbók, AM 151 4to, bl. 94r. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



14) Tilbeíðsla vitringanna í E-i við innögungusálm á komudegi vitringanna, grallara-brot, AM Acc. 7, Hs 3, bl. 4r. Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Kaupmannahöfn.  
Ljósm. Suzanne Reitz.



15) P við fyrsta andstefs í aftansöng á boðunardegi Maríu, stakt blað úr andstefjabók,  
 AM Acc. 7, Hs 36. Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Kaupmannahöfn.  
 Ljósm. Suzanne Reitz.



16) Ólafur helgi Noregskonungur og Þorlákur biskup helgi í F-i við þingfararbálk.  
 Skálholtsbók eldri, AM 351 fol., bl. 2r. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum.  
 Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



17) D í grallarabroti, AM Acc. 7,  
Hs 3, bl. 6v.

Den Arnamagnæanske samling,  
Kaupmannahöfn.  
Ljósm. Suzanne Reitz.



18) H í Skálholtsbók eldri, AM 351 fol., bl.  
105v. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar  
í íslenskum fræðum.  
Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir



19) E i Skálholtsbók eldri, AM 351 fol., bl. 29r. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



20) S í Jónsbók, AM 151 4to,  
bl. 101v.

Stofnun Árna Magnússonar  
í íslenskum fræðum.  
Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



21) S í Skálholtsbók eldri,  
AM 351 fol., bl. 14v.

Stofnun Árna Magnússonar  
í íslenskum fræðum.  
Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



22) Andlit í N-i  
í Skálholtsbók eldri, AM 351  
fol., bl. 11v.  
Stofnun Árna Magnússonar  
í íslenskum fræðum.  
Ljósmt. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

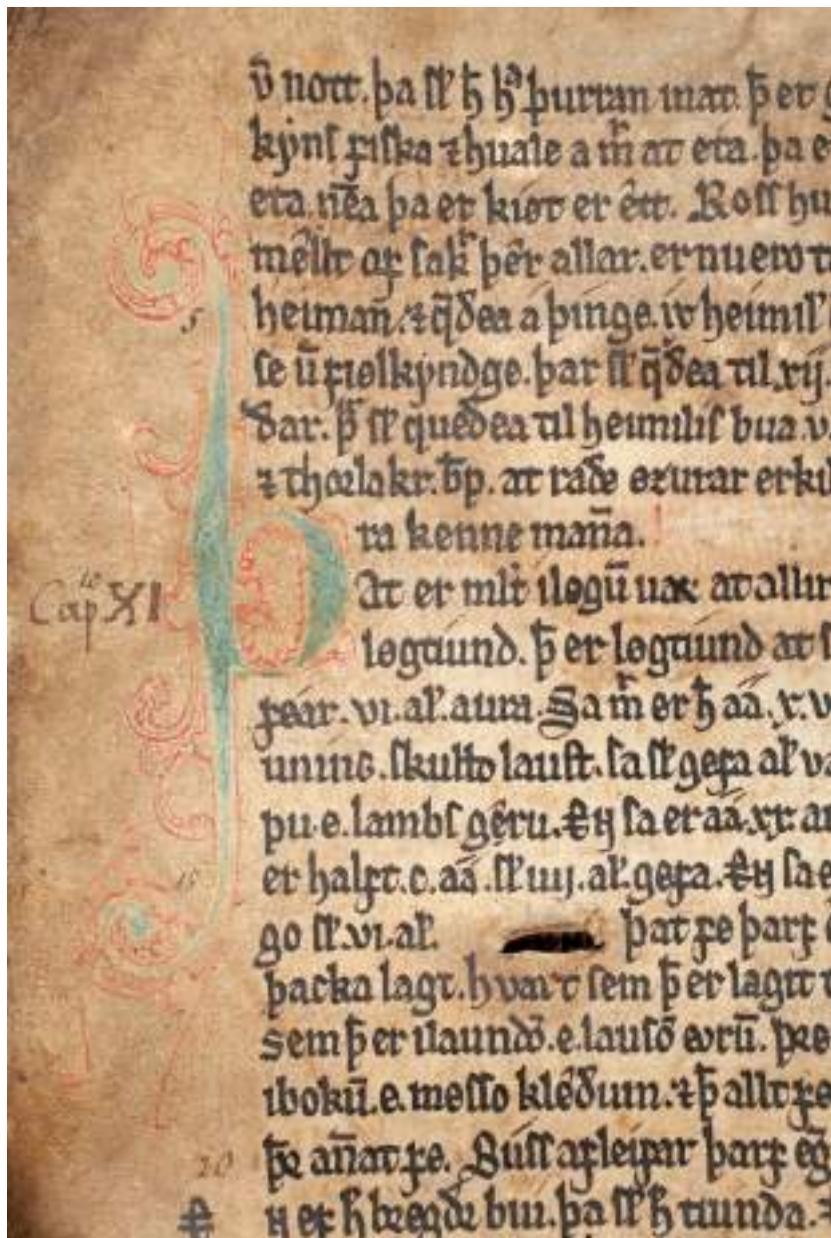


23) Andlit í N-i i AM 151 4to,  
bl. 102v.  
Stofnun Árna Magnússonar  
í íslenskum fræðum. Ljósmt.  
Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



24) Konungur í Íslensku teiknibókinni, AM 673 a III 4to, bl. 8r. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

25) E í Noregskonungasögum, Fríssbók, *Codex Frisianus*, AM 45 fol., bl. 18v.  
Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Kaupmannahöfn.  
Ljósm. Suzanne Reitz.



26) Þ i Stadarsellsbók Jónsbókar, AM 346 fol., bl. 21v. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar  
i íslenskum fræðum. Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

m̄ jyilg  
 t sm̄ h̄s  
 a z oþæk  
 ïgs eþ þav  
 su þa til  
 ella gja  
 bod kér  
 glomgt  
 koma  
 þis með  
 ja ma h̄  
 u eþ ylci  
 n̄ um sig  
 sig eþ þe  
 at bon

usu s̄ra māna er  
 þa s̄r̄s ala er þar  
 eftir eingan að fræt  
 gði eyri hafu til at  
 at m̄m viti ella f̄i t  
 at er ollum  
 kumngt. um  
 er m̄m haf  
 tekit. Þvínsa lndi e  
 tekui um skrivðki  
 marḡ hafra Baum  
 illdum. z missa he  
 da marḡ. en him þ  
 smā hialpa. z lie  
 til dñus þrofni. z

27) Þi Skálholtsbók eldri, AM 351 fol., bl. 25v. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum  
fræðum. Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



28) Þ í Skálholtsbók eldri, AM 351 fol., bl. 48r. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

se mai sagð  
van se hí haf  
jún sagði ok  
skýrð noskr  
in ok nlo omr  
veru in mi  
fyrir olln sa  
ei na loglig  
urð ei rypa  
it sun hz san  
mínak se fr  
i. Þi er þau  
r-ma enig in  
at loglok nat  
sear anat sa  
ide ok samþ  
indi loghen.

gikoma andnelliga til nitrum sunn  
E iñ mlin n er nockur in skori sunn  
mali undan login eðe systu in okral  
mi sörumind m. ip skjumum min  
fymz at fr pa upptekit.

*þekktu hér um ófærtum*

At e mphaz laga  
vara meindunga  
se mphaz e allra  
godes hluta at v  
slum hafa ok hal  
ldu kthliga trú.

Ver sunn tma a gud podir allzu  
alldanda. Ok jua humus ek iardur.  
Ver sunn tma a varu dovtin ihm  
spim hnt ainga sun e geni n af kr  
apo heilagf andi ok poddi apmarr

29) Þi Svalbarðsbók Jónsbókar, AM 343 fol., bl. 6r. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



30) *P i Skálholtsbók eldri, AM*

351 fol., bl. 5r.

Stofnun Árna Magnússonar

í íslenskum fræðum.

Ljósm. Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



31) Þ í Belgardsbók  
 Jónsbókar, AM 347  
 fol., bl. 60v.  
 Stofnun Árna  
 Magnússonar  
 í íslenskum fræðum.  
 Ljósm. Jóhanna  
 Ólafsdóttir.

## HEIMILDIR

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<i>Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík</i> AM 241 a fol.	<i>Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, Reykjavík</i>
AM 343 fol. ( <i>Svalbarðsbók</i> )	Lbs fragm 19
AM 344 fol.	Lbs fragm 27
AM 346 fol. ( <i>Staðarfellsbók</i> )	Lbs fragm 41
AM 347 fol. ( <i>Belgsdalsbók</i> )	Lbs fragm 45
AM 350 fol. ( <i>Skarðsbók</i> )	Lbs fragm 46
AM 351 fol. ( <i>Skálholtsbók eldri</i> )	
AM 151 4to	<i>Den Arnamagnæanske samling,</i> <i>Nordisk forskningsinstitut,</i> <i>Københavns Universitet,</i> <i>København</i>
AM 160 4to	AM 45 fol. ( <i>Codex Frisianus, Fríssbók</i> )
AM 173d A29 4to	AM 241 b III β fol.
AM 173d B2 4to	AM 241 b IV fol.
AM 173d B7 4to	AM 241 b IX fol.
AM 266 4to	AM 249 p fol.
AM 343 a 4to	
AM 510 4to	AM 325 VIII 4 c 4to
AM 604 4to	AM 670 f 2 4to
AM 673 a III 4to ( <i>Teiknibókin</i> )	AM 671 4to
AM 713 4to 169	AM 736 III 4to
AM 39 8vo	
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Steph. 56	AM Acc. 7, Hs 36
Þjms 30	AM Acc. 7, Hs 40
Þjms 716	<i>Det kongelige bibliotek, København</i>
Þjms 3327 175	KB Add 1 fol.
Þjms 3411	NKS 1265 II a fol.
Þjms 4126	Thott 1494 4to
Þjms 8276	

<i>Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm</i>	<i>British Library, London</i>
Papp. 4to 27	BL Add. 4985 12mo
Perg. fol. 2	<i>Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge</i>
Perg. fol. 7	MS 83. 1972
Perg. 4to 16 ( <i>Helgastaðabók</i> )	<i>Magdalene College, Cambridge</i>
Perg. 4to	MS 2981
<i>Nationalmuseet, København</i>	
Inv. D 1849a	<i>New York Public Library, New York</i>
<i>Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano</i>	MS 26 ( <i>Tickhill Psalter</i> )
MS Pal. Lat. 501	

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## S U M M A R Y

Illuminations in Icelandic manuscripts from the fifteenth century.

**Keywords:** Illuminations, 15th-century Icelandic manuscripts, Íslenska Teiknibókin, Jónar Þorlákssynir, Bjarni Ívarsson

This article discusses illuminations in Icelandic manuscripts from the fifteenth century. No noteworthy illuminations have been found in the few extant Icelandic manuscripts that can be dated with certainty to the first half of the century. With the exception of the author's work on the Icelandic *Teiknibók* (AM 673 a III 4to), little research on illuminations in manuscripts from the second half of the century has been conducted. The *Teiknibók* is a model-book by four artists, active in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In this paper, attention is directed at illustrations produced by the *Teiknibók* C-artist (who worked in the third quarter of the fifteenth century), and at illuminations in manuscripts and fragments which two brothers of the same name, Jón Þorláksson, produced around the same time.

The scribal hands of the two Jóns have been identified in manuscripts and fragments, mainly from Catholic church books. On the basis of stylistic comparison, the decoration of the initials in manuscripts written by the two Jóns can be

ascribed to two hands. The two brothers appear to have illuminated the manuscripts they produced themselves as the two different styles match the parts of the text they wrote. The brothers' illuminations draw on those found in fourteenth-century Icelandic manuscripts. There is hardly any new, foreign influence – a mark of the stagnation in manuscript production that prevailed in Iceland in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The elder Jón Þorláksson wrote his name in a donation text on a single leaf from a gradual in 1473 (AM 80 b 2 8vo), and noted that Bjarni Ívarsson illuminated the gradual and presented it to the church at Munkaþverá for his soul. The one extant leaf from the gradual is not illustrated and Bjarni's illuminations are unknown. It is conjectured that the *Teiknibók* C-artist is to be identified as Bjarni Ívarsson. It is furthermore suggested that Bjarni Ívarsson – the *Teiknibók* C-artist – had Jón Þorláksson assist him in producing the Munkaþverá-gradual because he intended to give similar liturgical manuscripts to other churches. The C-artist sought inspiration in art from the fourteenth century at the beginning of his career but as time drew on, he imitated contemporary works with distinctive late medieval characteristics, and, to a certain degree, he adopted foreign innovations.

*Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir  
Listfræðingur  
Grundarsmári 17  
201 Kópavogur  
Ísland  
gud.kristjans@gmail.com*



ASTRID MARNER

## FORGOTTEN PREACHING

*A Latin Sermon on Saint Þorlák in Uppsala UB C 301*

ÞORLÁKR ÞORHALLSSON, born at Hlíðarendi í Fljótshlíð, entered the clergy at a young age and was subsequently educated at Oddi, Skálholt, Paris and Lincoln before being elected Bishop of Skálholt in 1178. He was decisively engaged in the *stادامál fyrri*, a conflict between clergy and laity ca. 1179, and immediately after his death in 1193, local veneration was quickly kindled, leading to the translation of his remains to Skálholt cathedral in 1198.<sup>1</sup>

Þorlákr was commemorated with two feasts, the *dies natale* on 23rd December (*Þorláksmessa að vetrí*) and the *translatio* on 20th July (*Þorláksmessa að sumri*). Both came into effect by episcopal proclamation at the Althing in 1199 and 1237 respectively. No canonisation efforts had ever been made, apparently because the procedure had not yet been fully established, and the local, episcopal approval of Þorlákr's sanctity sufficed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ásdís Egilsdóttir, "St Þorlák of Iceland: The Emergence of a Cult," *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002): 121–32. A detailed account of the process leading to the translation can be found in Gottskálk Jensson, "\*Revelaciones Thorlaci episcopi – enn eitt glatað latínurit eftir Gunnlaug Leifsson munk á Þingeyrum," *Gripa* XXIII (2012): 133–75.

<sup>2</sup> Although the first juridical canonisation is documented as early as the tenth century, it was not before the early thirteenth century that it was perfected. According to the sources, only 49 canonisation processes were conducted prior to the turn of the fourteenth century, 24 of which were successful. See Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1994), 180–82. The vernacular saga, however, quotes a letter by Eirik, Archbishop of Nidaros, from the turn of the thirteenth century, in which the Archbishop admits Þorlák's sanctity. See Ásdís Egilsdóttir, ed., *Biskupa sögur 2: Hungrvaka, Þorláks biskups in elzta, Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups in forna, Þorláks saga biskups yngri, Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups önnur, Þorláks saga biskups C, Þorláks saga biskups E, Páls saga biskups, Ísleifssáttir biskups, Latínubrot um Þorlák biskup, Íslenzk fornrit 16* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 2002), 85 and 193. For an interpretation of the two slightly diverging versions, see Gottskálk Jensson, "\*Revelaciones Thorlaci episcopi," 143–44.

The Icelandic calendars ascribe the *dies natale* the rank of a Holy Day of Obligation of the highest level with preceding vigils, while the *translatio* was kept as a Holy Day of Obligation. In both cases, mass was prescribed, labour was interdicted, and a fast preceded the winter feast. In addition, two calendars mention the *ordinatio Thorlaci* on 2nd July, though the rank of this feast is not evident.<sup>3</sup>

The commemoration in mass and prayer of the hours triggered the composition of proper liturgical texts and song. Fragments of a mass rite for 23rd December and for 2nd July are preserved,<sup>4</sup> as well as adapted prayers<sup>5</sup> and *lectiones* for the prayer of the hours for both feasts.<sup>6</sup> Also surviving is an *officium* for the *dies natale* from the thirteenth century which displays Dominican influence.<sup>7</sup> In addition to these liturgical compositions, we also find literary efforts in both Old Norse and Latin. In Old Norse, miracles are transmitted in three partly dependant collections, and sagas about Þorlákr reflect three stages of revision from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> There are also fragments of two Latin lives of St Þorlákr, the first in the style of a *gesta episcoporum* from around 1200, and the second in the form of a more elaborate *vita* from the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The second fragment group shows signs of liturgical re-use. The Icelandic narratives appear to have been adaptated from the Latin, albeit with numerous misunderstandings.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup> MSS AM 249 f fol. and GKS Add 1 fol., see Margaret Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland: Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400*, Subsidia hagiographica 78 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1994), 159.

<sup>4</sup> Copenhagen DKB MS NKS 1265 II a fol. and Reykjavík Lbs fragm 25, see Lilli Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 35–36 (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1980), vol. 1, 68–69.

<sup>5</sup> Eighteenth-century copy MS AM 241 b IX fol. (fol. 10r), see ibid., vol. 1, 69–70.

<sup>6</sup> Jakob Benediktsson, “Brot úr Þorlákslesi,” *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar* 30. júni 1969, eds. Jakob Benediktsson and Jón Samsonarson, (Reykjavík: Heimskringla, 1969).

<sup>7</sup> Róbert Abraham Ottósson, *Sancti Thorlaci episcopi officia rhythmica et proprium missæ in AM 241 a folio*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 3 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959), esp. 71–72.

<sup>8</sup> Ásdís Egilsdóttir, “St Þorlákr of Iceland,” 123–24.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 124–25; Jón Helgason, ed., *Byskupa sögur* 2, Editiones Arnamagnæanæ 13:1 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1978), 161–74.

<sup>10</sup> Ásdís Egilsdóttir, “St Þorlákr of Iceland,” 125; Gottskálk Jensson and Susanne Miriam Fahn, “The Forgotten Poem: A Latin Panegyric for Saint Þorlákr in AM 382 4to,” *Gripla* XXI (2010): 49–54; Gottskálk Jensson, “\*Revelaciones Thorlaci episcopi,” 139–141.

In the past few decades, scholars have focused on the interrelation between the Old Norse and the Latin biographies in order to establish their chronological and intertextual coherence.<sup>11</sup> The literature on St Þorlák – not only the lives, but also a poem<sup>12</sup> – served to prove the vividness of Icelandic Latinity and to encourage the revision of earlier research and prejudiced convictions.<sup>13</sup> A Latin sermon on St Þorlák, the *Sermo de beato Thirlaco episcopo*, transmitted in MS Uppsala UB C 301, however, has gone more or less unnoticed. Up until the present, only the Norwegian liturgist Lilli Gjerløw has discussed the sermon in a study of fragments pertaining to the liturgical history of medieval Iceland. She considers the Þorlák sermon in the context of the collection in which it survives, i.e. the *Themata sermonum* by Nicolas de Gorran, and describes it as a mere adaptation of an unknown continental sermon.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently, the sermon has attracted less scholarly interest than it indeed deserves: it is not even mentioned in recent studies.<sup>15</sup> Apart from Gjerløw's judgement, the lack of any connection with other Þorlák literature may have rendered the sermon of little interest to Old Norse scholars, while Latinists and sermonists continue to struggle with the overwhelming number of transmitted Latin sermons and have no need of additional material.

As the only known surviving Latin-Icelandic sermon, however, the *Sermo de beato Thirlaco episcopo* is a most important witness to the religious reality of medieval Iceland. In this article, I will analyse the sermon and demonstrate how established continental patterns of sermon composition and performance were executed in Iceland. Ultimately, the sermon will emerge as the sole survivor of the active and vivid preaching culture of fourteenth-century Iceland, and as a composition that situated the island within the intellectual heritage it shares with the rest of medieval Europe.

<sup>11</sup> Gottskálk Jensson, “Nokkrar athugasemdir um latinubrotin úr Vita sancti Thorlaci episcopi et confessoris,” *Pulvis olympicus*, ed. Jón Ma. Ásgeirsson et al., (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2009), 97–109; “\*Revelaciones Thorlaci episcopi,” 133–75.

<sup>12</sup> AM 382 4to, see Gottskálk Jensson and Fahn, “The Forgotten Poem.”

<sup>13</sup> Gottskálk Jensson, “The Lost Latin Literature of Medieval Iceland: The Fragments of the *Vita sancti Thorlaci* and Other Evidence,” *Symbolae Osloenses* 79 (2004): 150–70.

<sup>14</sup> Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, vol. 1, 72–73.

<sup>15</sup> Ásdís Egilsdóttir, “St Þorlák of Iceland”; Gottskálk Jensson, “Nokkrar athugasemdir”; “\*Revelaciones Thorlaci episcopi”; “Lost Latin Literature”; Gottskálk Jensson and Fahn, “Forgotten Poem.”

## Manuscript context

MS Uppsala UB C 301 was produced in Iceland in the fourteenth century but came into the possession of the Dominican convent of Sigtuna (in Sweden) in medieval times.<sup>16</sup> The manuscript is a small quarto measuring 210 x 140 mm and the pages are written in 27 long lines. It is modestly decorated with pen-flourished initials, pen-stroke highlighting, and paragraph signs within the text.

C 301 contains a sermon collection of 49 folia bound together with a later *tabula*. The stock of sermons derives from the *sanctorale* of Nicolas de Gorran's *Themata sermonum* with appended *temporale* sermons from other sources to cover the major feasts of the church year. Within the *Themata* section, omissions and substitutions of sermons indicate that the collection had been tailored to suit specific local needs, probably at the episcopal see of Skálholt. Originally, it might have served a priest or even the Bishop.<sup>17</sup>

The Porlákr sermon (fols. 4v–5v) has the incipit “*Hoc honore dignus est, quemcumque rex honorare voluerit, Ester. Verba proposita licet secundum historiam dicantur de Mardocheo*”. There is no known parallel in any other manuscript.<sup>18</sup> The sermon opens with the theme from Esther 6:11 on someone deserving to be honoured. It explains how the scriptural reference is literally meant in its original context, and then applies it allegorically to the veneration of St Porlákr by subdividing it into four kinds of veneration: of a father by his children, of a doctor by the sick, of a master

<sup>16</sup> Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, vol. 1, 72–73. Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Hakan Hallberg, and Monica Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1988–1995), vol. 4, 7.

<sup>17</sup> The collection systematically reduces the number of choices for each feast, and some feasts are omitted entirely. In addition, the texts themselves tend to be more concise by leaving out subdivisions or arguments and by highly abbreviating scriptural quotation. Within the *ad status* part, any sermons addressing religious communities are left out, while the sermons on the duties of the clergy are expanded by marginal annotation.

<sup>18</sup> See also Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, vol. 1, 72; Andersson-Schmitt, Hallberg, and Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, vol. 4, 7. It must be noted, however, that sermon manuscripts are to be found in large quantities in manuscript libraries, and that it might still be possible for a corresponding item to be found, as the incipit list provided in Schneyer's repertory is not exhaustive. See Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen 43/1–11 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969–1990).

by his pupils, and of a prelate by his subjects. In the following sections, the first three subthemes are developed before the sermon is summed up with a prayer.

In a study of the fragmentary Icelandic liturgical material, Lilli Gjerløw presented the Þorlákr sermon as an Icelander's adaptation of an unknown continental sermon. According to Gjerløw, the sermon resembles those written by Nicolas de Gorran in style and execution, which would bring them in line with the rest of the *Themata* collection or a similar school.<sup>19</sup> Closer analysis of the text, however, reveals that this is not quite the case. The other *Themata* sermons have been described as "dry and telegraphic", giving only a series of scriptural or exegetical quotations to support each subtheme.<sup>20</sup> This schematic, list-like nature makes them rather unsuitable for reading. The Þorlákr sermon, on the other hand, is much more verbose. It contains connecting sentences to link the quotations together – at least for the first and third subthemes. In general, most sermons by the same preacher would resemble each other in style. The opening and concluding phrases employed by Nicolas de Gorran in the *Themata sermonum* are quite different to what we find in the Þorlákr sermon.<sup>21</sup> Since the Þorlákr sermon diverges significantly from the rest of the collection in its treatment of quotations, rhetoric and phrasing, it is highly unlikely that Nicolas de Gorran is the author of the model. If there is any similarity to be found between Nicolas de Gorran's work and the Þorlákr sermon, it must be sought in the general principles of sermon composition, such as the division into subthemes and the employment of arguments from the Bible.<sup>22</sup>

19 Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, vol. 1, 72.

20 David D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 139.

21 According to Schneyer, Nicolas de Gorran preferred a tripartite structure. Common opening phrases are "Antiquitus", "Secundum (philosophum, Augustinum, Gregorium etc.)", "Sicut dicit (Sapiens, Job etc.)", "Sicut dicitur (1. Reg., Prov. etc.)", "Tria sunt – Triplex", or "Solent". See Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Wegweiser zu lateinischen Predigtreihen des Mittelalters*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe ungedruckter Texte aus der Mittelalterlichen Geisteswelt 1 (München: Verlag der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. C.H. Beck in Kommission, 1965), 569.

22 For a detailed description of generic features, see Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Introduction," *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

## Composition

Lilli Gjerløw notes that “the sermon [...] could apply to any confessor saint” and adds that the sermon’s theme was often used for St Andrew, who was a martyr.<sup>23</sup> From the perspective of the genre as a whole, Esther 6:11 is a frequent theme for sermons for St Nicholas or the Chair of St Peter.<sup>24</sup> The related verse Esther 6:9 (“sic honorabitur quemcumque rex voluerit honorare”) occurs for different occasions and saints.<sup>25</sup> This demonstrates that the theme (or a variation on it) was rather popular for preaching on saints but that it was not limited to a certain kind of saint.

In fact, there is nothing specifically relating to Þorlák in the sermon. This fits with the majority of sermons on saints which in their written form are devoid of any individual traits or details from the saint’s *vita*.<sup>26</sup> The sermon is actually only connected to St Þorlák by two occurrences of his name in the outline and in the second subdivision. In both cases, the name is inserted into an otherwise grammatically functional sentence: “isti sancto, scilicet beato Thorlaco,” and “medicum nostrum, scilicet sanctum Thorlacum”.<sup>27</sup> The “scilicet”-addition could point to a later insertion. It must be noted, however, that these kinds of insertions are common in the sermon genre, and therefore this might not be a wholly compelling argument.

There are rhetorical inconsistencies between the surviving subdivisions, which suggest that the sermon did not follow one model but probably

23 Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, vol. 1, 72. Gjerløw bases her observation on Est 6:7 (“respondit homo quem rex honorare cupit”), not Est 6:11 (“hoc honore condignus est quemcumque rex voluerit honorare”) which is quoted in the sermon. This error does not generally affect her argumentation.

24 On St Nicholas, e.g. Robertus de Sorbonio no. 1315, Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 5, 277. In *cathedra S. Petri* e.g. Lucas de Padua no. 46, *ibid.*, vol. 4, 75.

25 On Petrus ad vincula, e.g. Peregrinus de Opole no. 262, *ibid.*, vol. 4, 569. On St Bernard, e.g. anon. Cistercian ms. Prague Kap. F LX/2 no. 38, *ibid.*, vol. 6, 454. On St Matthew, e.g. anon. Cistercian ms. Firenze Laur. Plut. XIX 29 no. 19, *ibid.*, vol. 8, 303. On the first mass of a priest, e.g. Jacobus de Losanna no. 748, *ibid.*, vol. 3, 116.

26 D’Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 71; George Ferzoco, “Sermon Literature Concerning Late Medieval Saints,” *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons: Proceedings of the International Symposium (Kalamazoo, 4–7 May 1995)*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d’Études Médiévales, 1996), 116.

27 Gjerløw transcribes it as “siue”, Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, vol. 1, 73. This is wrong both paleographically and grammatically.

at least three. The first subdivision opens with the subtheme “Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam ut sis longevis super terram” (Ex 20:12).<sup>28</sup> As a theme on its own, this is most common for the third Wednesday in Lent.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the first subtheme ends with a body of scriptural and patristic quotations and has a rather unfinished, almost abandoned air to it. There is no summarising sentence of the kind found in both of the other subdivisions. It is also vague with regard to how far the theme of the spiritual father applies to the saint, as this is not explicitly mentioned. The subdivision could, therefore, have been taken from another sermon that was not even intended for a saint’s feast.

The second subdivision develops the subtheme “honora medicum propter instantem necessitatem” (Sir 38:1).<sup>30</sup> A number of saints’ sermons (most of which are for St Luke the evangelist) use this quotation as a theme in its own right.<sup>31</sup> The content of the subdivision fully applies to a saint, and there is both a reference to the saint’s legend (although it is rather unspecific) and Þorlákr’s name as an insertion. By and large, there are fewer quotations than in the preceding part, and they are connected by longer explanatory sentences.

The subtheme “Sede, doce nos, quia dedit tibi Dominus honorem senectutis” (Dn 13:50) is developed in the third subdivision.<sup>32</sup> As a sermon theme, this is a rather rare choice, only found elsewhere in one sermon for St Nicholas.<sup>33</sup> There are no references to a saint in this subdivision. In fact, only Jesus Christ is mentioned as a teacher here. There are a number of quotations, and they are well merged into the argumentation. What is different, however, is the rhetorical “heu”, which structures the paragraph. It sets the third subdivision apart from the rest, especially from the first subdivision, which is a mere agglomeration of references.

<sup>28</sup> “Honour your father and your mother, so that your days may be long in the land that the Lord your God is giving you.”

<sup>29</sup> E.g. Johannes de Castello no. 623, Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 3, 420. Also Nicolas de Gorran no. 317, *ibid.*, vol. 4, 275. This sermon is not contained in Uppsala UB C 301.

<sup>30</sup> “Honour the physician for the need.”

<sup>31</sup> Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 5, 327; vol. 8, 178; vol. 3, 715; vol. 2, 239; vol. 3, 429. There are also sermons for St Silvester and one sermon for SS Cosmas and Damian.

<sup>32</sup> “Come, sit among us and inform us, for God has given you the standing of an elder.”

<sup>33</sup> Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 4, 281.

The fourth subtheme, i.e. the veneration of a prelate by his subjects, is left out, although outlined at the beginning of the sermon.<sup>34</sup> The closest scriptural passages that might determine the text are “quicumque sunt sub iugo servi, dominos suos honore dignos arbitrentur” (1 Tm 6:1), and “in medio fratrum rector illorum in honore” (Sir 10:24).<sup>35</sup> Neither of these verses have been documented as the theme for a full sermon. Since the sermon does not follow its outline to the end, it seems to have been altered from its previous state. This is in accordance with what has happened to other sermons in Uppsala UB C 301. In these, we find the careful reduction in length of almost every sermon, achieved through the omission of quotations and a shorter, more concise rendering of those quotations that are included. In some cases (comparable to the *Porlákr* sermon), parts of the argumentation are left out without a corresponding adjustment of the outline. This suggests that a later redactor modified parts of the collection, including the *Porlákr* sermon.

There is no true summarising end to the *Porlákr* sermon, although the end of the third subtheme might be taken as such. The lack of a conclusion is, however, frequently found in sermon manuscripts, as Monica Hedlund has noticed in the works of Peregrinus de Opole.<sup>36</sup> This might result from improvisation during performance, and it does not necessarily indicate that something was left out in transmission. All in all, the *Porlákr* sermon gives the impression of being something of a patchwork. Considering the different foci of the remaining three sub-themes, the irregularities in their rhetoric and style, as well as the changing use of supporting quotations, we might conclude that they could well have been appropriated from different sources.

It is interesting to note that although the theme Est 6:11 could not be traced back to any sources, the anti-theme of 1 Tm 4:5 can be found in one of Nicolas de Gorran’s other works, a commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy. Here, Nicolas gives several aspects of honoration:

<sup>34</sup> This has not been noticed by Gjerløw, who claims that “[t]hese four themes are developed with citations from Scripture and from St. Ambrose, Galienus, and St. Bernard.” *Liturgica Islandica*, vol. 1, 73.

<sup>35</sup> 1 Tm 6:1: “Whosoever are servants under the yoke, let them count their masters worthy of all honour.” Sir 10:24: “In the midst of brethren their chief is honourable.”

<sup>36</sup> Monica Hedlund, “A Vadstena Preacher Using ‘Cut and Paste’,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 55 (2011): 51.

*Nota super illud [omni honore dignos] quòd honorare dicitur creatura Deum.* Eccli. c. 7. v. 33. *Honora Deum ex tota anima tua.* Psal. 28. v. 2. *Afferte domino gloriam & honorem.* Subditus, Prælatum. Eccli. c. 10. v. 14. *In medio fratrum Rector illorum in honore.* Servus, Dominum : ut hic. *Quicumque sub jugo servitutis &c.* Malach. c. 1 v. 6. *Filius honorat patrem, & servus, Dominum suum.* Quilibet, Sanctum. Psalm. 138. v. 17. *Michi autem nimis honoratificati sunt amici tui, Deus: nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.* Sed heu ! non judicaverunt honorem animarum suarum. Fili, parentes. Exod. c. 20. v. 12. *Honora patrem tuum.* Eccli. c.3.v.7. *Qui honorat patrem suum, vita vivet longiore.* Viri, Uxores. 1 Pet. c.3.v.7. *Quasi infirmiori vasculo muliebri impertientes honorem.* Juvenes, Seniores. Levit. c19.v.32. *Coram cano capite consurge, & honora personam senis.* Par, Pares. Rom. c.12.v.10. *Honore invicem prævenientes.* Infirmitas, Medicum. Eccli. c.38.v.1 *Honora medicum propter necessitatem.* Discipulus, Magistrum. Sapient. c.8.v.10. *Habebo propter hanc, claritatem ad turbas & honorem apud seniores.* Heb. c.12.v.9. *Deinde patres carnis nostræ eruditores habuimus & reverebamur eos : multò magis obtemperabimus patri Spirituum, & vivemus.*<sup>37</sup>

37 Nicolaus Gorranus, *In Omnes Divi Pauli Epistolas Enarratio. Selectis S. Scripturæ, Conciliorum Et SS. Patrum intertexta ubique authoritatibus. Opus omnibus Ecclesiae Pastoribus, Asceticis & Verbi divini Präconibus perutile, nunc primum ab innumeris aliarum editionum mendis expurgatum. locis S. Scripturæ & SS. Patrum citationibus: versibus textus Evangelici ac duplice Indice illustratum. Tomus Primus continens Epistolas Ad Romanos, Corinthios, Galatas, Ephesios, Philippenses, & Colossenses* (Lugdunum: Anisson, Posuel & Rigaud, 1692), 94–95. Italics as in the original (“Note on this [worthy of all honour] that the creature is said to honour God. Sir 7:33: Honour God with all thy soul. Ps 28:2: Ascribe to the Lord glory and honour. A subject for the prelate. Sir 10:14 [=10:24]: In the midst of the brethren their leader is held in honour. A slave for the master: as this one here [1 Tim 6:1]: whoever are under the yoke of slavery etc. Mal 1:6: A son honours his father, and a servant his master. Anyone for a saint. Ps 138:17: But to me thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable: their principality is exceedingly strengthened. But alas! They did not judge the honour in their souls. Children for their parents. Ex 20:12: Honour thy father. Sir 3:7: He that honoureth his father shall enjoy a long life. Husbands for their wives. 1 Pt 3:7: giving honour to the female as to the weaker vessel. The young for the elder. Lev 19:32: Rise up before the hoary head, and honour the person of the old man. Between equals. Rom 12:10: with honour preventing one another. The infirm for the doctor. Sir 38:1: Honour the physician for the need. The pupil for the master. Ws 8:10: For her sake I shall have glory among the multitude, and honour among the elders. Heb 12:9: Moreover we have had fathers of our flesh for instructors, and we revered them: shall we not much more obey the Father of spirits, and live?”).

All four distinctions of the Porlákr sermon can be found here, and they are at least partially accompanied by the same biblical quotations (Ex 20:12 and Sir 38:1). In addition, we find the same rhetorical device “sed heu” in the commentary under the honoration of a saint, as is employed in the Porlákr sermon in the third subdivision on the honoration of a master by his students.

*Distinctiones* as a genre were among the most popular preaching aids of their time.<sup>38</sup> However, it is a genre in which it is almost always impossible to trace intertextuality between individual sermons due to the frequency of the associated quotations.<sup>39</sup> In the case under consideration, equivalent quotations cannot prove that the Porlákr sermon was based on the Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, since the overlapping text is not extensive enough to build an argumentation on. But the quotations do illustrate that the sermon’s author used a known cluster of quotations to base his sermon on, as the verses were very much intertwined in contemporary theological thinking. This cluster would have served as a point of departure for determining the four subdivisions. For each subdivision, the author would then have collected texts from other sermons, probably adjusting some words, rearranging them or even adding passages of his own. Such compilatory license or working methods also make it difficult to track down sources for individual passages. It must be noted that there are several sermons in Nicolas de Gorran’s *Themata sermonum* that draw on the biblical authorities listed in his commentary on 1 Tim. For instance, *De pluribus apostolis* 5 employs Ps 138:17 as a theme, and the sermon ends with Est 6:11, which is the theme of the Porlákr sermon.<sup>40</sup>

The most likely scenario, then, is that the Porlákr sermon was compiled from various sources employing the usual copy-paste technique found in medieval sermon composition. Monica Hedlund found that Johannes Borquardi, who worked at Vadstena Abbey from 1428 to 1447, drew on

38 Phyllis B. Roberts, “The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon,” *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. A. Muessig, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 47.

39 Cf. Silvia Serventi, “Did Giordano da Pisa Use the *Distinctiones* of Nicolas Gorran?,” *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), esp. 94.

40 Nicolaus Gorranus, *Fundamentum aureum omnium anni sermonum magistri N. de Gorra ordinis praedicatorum tam fructuose tamque curiose distinctum ut cum omnibus anni euangelii et epistulis sanctorum etiam historias: generaliterque occurrentes materias plene pulcherrimeque sustineat atque distinguat*. (Paris: de la Barre, 1509), fol. clxxxii col. 4–clxxxii col. 1.

"his own collection of ideas"<sup>41</sup> and re-used snippets from model sermons to create a new text. Although often following his direct source for longer passages, usually a subsection, Johannes would insert occasional words or even quotations, sometimes jumping over thematic units. Some passages are modelled freely, and the degree to which Johannes alters his source sermons might vary from verbatim quotation to the mere loan of ideas, the latter being especially hard to track down. A similar phenomenon has been observed for preaching literature in Middle High German.<sup>42</sup> In both cases, the interrelation between the compiled sermon and its sources is rather obvious because the source texts are known. For fourteenth-century Iceland, this kind of comparison is impossible to conduct because the manuscript tradition is nearly completely lost, as is the other evidence supporting it. However, internal evidence in the text, i.e. inconsistencies in the use of biblical authorities and rhetorical means, indicate that the Þorlákr sermon was forged with the same techniques as employed in the rest of Europe.

In this context, it is also important to point out that the *compilatio* technique was not a phenomenon restricted to the periphery of Europe. Neither was it a characteristic of an uninspired or untalented preacher, as originality does not seem to have been a goal in preaching.<sup>43</sup>

### Preaching on St Þorlákr

As indicated above, the Þorlákr sermon might be the only sermon that can positively be connected with medieval Iceland. There is abundant evidence for the preaching of exegetic homilies in the form of translations and homily collections listed among Church possessions.<sup>44</sup> All this

41 Hedlund, "Vadstena Preacher," 48.

42 Andrea Syring, "Compilatio as a Method of Middle High German Literature Production: An Anonymous Sermon about St. John the Evangelist and its Appearance in Other Sermons," *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University: Proceedings of International Symposia at Kalamazoo and New York*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), esp. 117–19.

43 D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 52; H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 21 and 270.

44 The Icelandic *máldagar* use the terms *(h)omilia* and *sermo* for earlier collections, e.g. by Augustine or Gregory the Great, which corresponds to continental habits. Finding a reference to a sermon book in these sources therefore does not allow us to identify them with high medieval sermons in the scholastic style.

evidence, however, points to the two centuries immediately following the Christianisation of Iceland. It supports a tradition of written preaching literature but does not reflect the actual performance in Church, which was oral. If and how Icelandic clergy undertook sermon preaching from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, however, is much less easy to ascertain. The mendicant orders never established houses on the island although we can trace Dominican influence at the beginning of the fourteenth century through certain prominent individuals like Bishop Jón Halldórsson. The possibility that the Dominican order, at least, sent more friars to Iceland cannot be excluded, but the order may not have considered establishing houses due to the distinctly rural profile of the country.

There are traces of some model sermon collections in the Icelandic textual record. Apart from C 301 and its fragmentary sister manuscript AM 241 b I α fol., which both contain the *Themata sermonum* by Nicolas de Gorran, there is a fragmentary copy of the *Sermones de tempore* by Guilelmus de Malliaco in AM Acc. 7, ms. 134 (Iceland, fourteenth century).<sup>45</sup> A fragment of the *Sermones aurei de sanctis* by Leonardus Matthaei de Utino in AM Acc. 7, ms. 105 (Italy, fifteenth century) might have been imported to Iceland in the late Middle Ages.<sup>46</sup> We can see that at the time of the last Catholic Bishop, Jón Arason (d. 1550), a considerable number of sermon collections and virtue treatises, featuring some prominent preachers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were present at Hólar.<sup>47</sup> Model collections are a good indicator of an active preaching culture, since they helped preachers in the preparation and delivery of new sermons in Church.

45 Merete Geert Andersen, *Katalog over AM Accessoria 7: De latinske fragmenter*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 46 (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 2008), 128. The sermons are Guilelmus de Malliaco nos. 1, 7 and 13, Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 473–74. Note that no. 7 on 2ra had not been identified and was thus wrongly assigned to Christmas Day by Andersen.

46 Leonardus Matteo de Utino, *Sermones aurei de sanctis* (Colonia: Anton Koberger, 1473), sermo xxiv. The fragment is listed in the AM Accessoria 7 catalogue but as containing an unidentified theological treatise and being written in Iceland in the fourteenth century, cf. Andersen, *Katalog over AM Accessoria 7*, 93. The identification is my own, but I am indebted to Michael Robert Gullick for helping me with the provenance and date.

47 Sermons by Thomas Aquinas and Johannes de Verdena, as well as known preacher manuals, were among the possessions of Hólar cathedral, cf. Íslenska bókmentafélag, ed., *Diplomatarium Islandicum: Íslenzkt fornþrëfasafn sem hefir inni að halda bréf og gjörninga, dóma og málðaga, og aðrar skrár, er snerta Ísland eða íslenzka menn*, 16 vols. (Copenhagen: Bókmentafélag, 1857–1972), vol. 9, 297 ff.

Contemporary Icelandic accounts are remarkably silent about the composition and performance of sermons. Two incidents, however, link sermon preaching to St Þorlák. According to the fourteenth-century Icelandic *Lárentíuss saga*, a Dominican friar from the see of Nidaros was sent on visitation to Iceland in 1304. When asked to preach on St Þorlák on the feast of his translation, this friar, Björn, was reluctant, doubting the sanctity of someone who had not been approved by the archiepiscopal see of Nidaros.<sup>48</sup> Björn wanted instead to interdict that mass be sung for Þorlák until the agreement of the see was obtained. The narrative relates how Björn's Icelandic companion, the future Bishop Lárentius Kalfsson, warns him that Þorlák will prove his sanctity, but Björn pays no heed and even has meat prepared for dinner, thus breaking the rule of fasting before the feast. Later in the evening, Björn is struck down by a sudden illness, and Lárentius, who is called to his bed, quickly ascribes this to Þorlák's saintly power. Björn repents, is cured by the saint's intervention and performs the requested sermon the following day.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> “Þá svaraði bróðir Björn: ‘Undarligir menn eru þér Íslendingar, því at þér kallið þá marga heilaga menn sem hér hafa vaxit upp hjá yðr ok í öðrum löndum vita 〈menn〉 engin skyn á, því er mikil dirfð yðar Íslendinga at þér halddi þennan mann helgan sem erkibiskupsstóllinn í Niðarosi heldr enga minning af. Skal ek heldr í kveld, sem þeir klarkarnir ætla at fara til aftansöngs, fara upp á kór ok fyrirbjóða byskupinum ok öllum klerkum at syngja af þessum manni, Þorláki, fyrr en þat er lögtekít af várum herra erkibiskupinum ok öllum byskupum í provincia Nidarosiensis ecclesiae, ok svá vil ek at þú gerir, því at þú ert í valdi jöfnu ok ek.’” Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, ed., *Biskupa sögr 3: Árna saga biskups. Lárentíus saga biskups. Söguþáttur Jóns Halldórssonar biskups. Biskupa ættir*, Íslensk fornrit 17 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1998), 269–70. (“Then friar Björn replied: ‘You Icelanders are strange men, because you call so many ‘saints’, those who have grown up with you and of whom they know nothing in other countries. Therefore, this is great boldness of you Icelanders that you venerate this man as a saint, whose memory the archiepiscopal see in Nidaros does not celebrate. Tonight, when the clergymen want to go to vespers, I'd rather walk up to the choir and interdict the Bishop and all clergymen to sing of this man, Þorlák, before this is ratified by our lord the Archbishop and all bishops in the Church province of Nidaros, and this is what I want you to do [also], because you are under the same rule as me.’”)

<sup>49</sup> “Ok þegar sem hann hafði þessu játat hvarf í burt af honum hans krankleiki svá hann stóð upp alheill, predikaði um morgininn fagrliga fyrir fólkini af Þorláki byskupi, segjandi ljósliga ok rös(k)liga hversu honum hafði til borit. Fekk hinn heilagi Þorlák byskup enn af þessum atburð frægð, lof ok dýrð sem verðugt er í öllum hlutum.” Ibid., 272–73. (“And when he had confessed this, the sickness vanished from him, so that he stood up completely healthy; in the morning, he preached beautifully to the people about Bishop Þorlák, saying clearly and bravely what had happened to him. The holy Bishop Þorlák was granted through this event fame, honour and glory as is worthy in every regard.”)

According to *Jóns þátr Halldórssonar*,<sup>50</sup> the Bishop preached a sermon on St Þorlákr and illustrated it with an *exemplum*:

Skulu vér greina þessu næst eitt æfintýr er hann setti í sína predikan, þá er hann var biskup Skalholtensis Þorláksmessu á sumarit í Vestfirðingafjórðungi á þeim bæ er Staðarhóll heitir, ok hversu réttlátr var hinn sæli Þorlákr ok vandlátr at geyma Guðs lög setti hann honum tiltekit dæmi svá fallit sem hér stendr.<sup>51</sup>

The following *æfintýr* (i.e. an *exemplum* in the vernacular) is about a rich man who kills his nephew to punish him for adultery. On his deathbed, he refuses to confess and is thus denied Extreme Unction and communion by a certain bishop. Through a miracle, however, he turns out to be still favoured by God, making the bishop out to be an unfair player. There is no fully apparent connection between this episode and the saint, as *exempla* would not be understood verbatim. Rather, a preacher would extract more general themes from the *exemplum* and connect them with elements from the saint's life such as the struggle for morally correct conduct.

Both accounts show that preaching in the modern style did occur in fourteenth-century Iceland. The accounts serve a specific purpose in the context they appear in: to illustrate the sanctity of Þorlákr, to distinguish Iceland from Norway, to illustrate the proud attitude of the Norwegian friar or to provide a backdrop for the Bishop's story-telling skills, and all of these functions might have affected the historical accuracy of these accounts. However, the accounts also prove that the preaching of a sermon on the occasion of Þorlákr's translation was not considered a strange event. Sermon preaching is described in *Lárentiuss saga* without further explana-

<sup>50</sup> *Jóns þátr Halldórssonar* is assumed to have been composed shortly after the Bishop's death in 1339. It is preserved in two manuscripts, AM 624 4to (1490–1510, religious and canonistic texts) and AM 764 4to ('Reynistaðarbók', 1300–1399, annals, legends, miracles, exempla). In both cases, it figures as part of a collection of religious texts with varying theological or edifying nature. In the *þátr*, the exact nature of Jón's preaching and use of exempla is depicted. The terminology suggests a clerical authorship and audience, and the text might have been composed by members of Jón's entourage shortly after his death.

<sup>51</sup> Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, ed., *Biskupa sögur 3*, 449–50. ("Next, we shall lay out a tale that he put into his preaching, when he was bishop of Skálholt, on St Þorlákr's feast in the summer in the West Fjords in that place that is called Staðarhóll. And [to illustrate] how righteous blessed Þorlákr was and [how] eager to keep God's law, he put for him a specific example such as here follows.")

tion or introduction of its terminology, and in no way is it highlighted as something exceptional.

The sermon under discussion thus can be connected to a well-established cult and can be seen to have supported it by giving the audience an example of virtue and faith. In this regard, the sermon should be seen as being in line with the majority of *sanctorale* sermons.<sup>52</sup> Specific sermons to promote a cult or even to support the canonisation of a saint are rather rare and restricted to prominent saints such as Thomas Becket.<sup>53</sup> In Þorlák's case, the cult had been established quickly, and it would not have needed further promotion nationally.<sup>54</sup> Nor is there any evidence that a particular effort was made to have Þorlák canonised, as discussed above. Thematically, the sermon would not fit a canonisation scenario due to its theme of veneration and its very restricted transmission. Moreover, it is unlikely that it was ever intended to be used outside of Iceland. The fact that MS Uppsala UB C 301 was used in Sweden does not contradict such an intention. The Þorlák sermon could simply have been skipped, or it could have served as a model for other saints or as a source of quotations for a new sermon, making it a new starting point in the never-ending series of copy-paste compilations.

We can suppose from its skeleton outline that it is highly unlikely that the Þorlák sermon was actually preached in its present state. Rather, the written sermon would have served as a point of departure, providing the preacher with a host of quotations and a rough structure. In any case, he would have needed to have added prayers at the beginning and at the end. He would also have had to link many of the quotations by adding expiatory sentences, as well as adding life to the sermon by incorporating details from Þorlák's life. The preacher might even have added further quotations as he went along, without them being noted in the manuscript, or have omitted those that he found of little use in the given context.<sup>55</sup> There would also have been opportunity to work in illustrative stories, *exempla*,

52 Ferzoco, "Sermon Literature," 106.

53 Ibid.; Phyllis B. Roberts, "Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction of a Saint from the Middle Ages to the Reformation."

54 Þorlák was among the five most popular saints in medieval Iceland according to the evidence of patronages, imagery and other markers of veneration, Cormack, *Saints in Iceland*, 29 and 159–62.

55 Hedlund, "Vadstena Preacher," 140.

as illustrated in *Jóns þáttir Halldórssonar*. Even the language of the written sermon could be changed upon delivery. Latin sermon collections were popular during the Middle Ages precisely because they were not fixed in time and space. And even though Latin was used in writing down a sermon, its actual performance was usually in the vernacular, depending on the audience.<sup>56</sup> Thus although the Þorlákr sermon was written down in Latin, it still could have been preached in Old Norse-Icelandic, as a well-trained preacher could easily switch between the two languages, especially when transforming the sermon into his native language.

## Conclusion

Despite earlier scholarly beliefs, the Þorlákr sermon demonstrates that thematic sermons were indeed preached in medieval Iceland. It draws on the same thematic features and mechanisms of textual construction as its counterparts all over Europe, especially outside major centres such as Paris. The sermon is void of details relating to the saint, a typical feature of thematic sermon preaching. It seems to have been forged from several pre-existing sermons, rather than being an adaptation of a single model sermon as was previously thought. The parts seem to have been assembled by thematic association of the underlying scriptural quotations, and their conventionality can, for instance, be seen in matching patterns found in *distinctiones*. Evidence for the copy-paste technique being used elsewhere in Europe places the Þorlákr sermon firmly in the context of this tradition, rather than making it a peripheral phenomenon.

Furthermore, it can be seen that in Iceland, too, the sermon was part of a tradition of occasional preaching on the saints' feasts, a supposition which is supported by saga literature. While continental and modern in its composition, it can also be characterised as Icelandic and traditional through the focus on the Icelandic saint. The alleged lack of individual detail is due to the sermon's skeleton-like expression in writing. It would have reached its full splendour during performance: enriched with details from the saint's *vita* and framed with appropriate prayers, a contemporary audience would have found it to be a convincing example of a godly life at the periphery that was worth imitating.

56 D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 94–95.

## Appendix 1: Diplomatic Edition of Uppsala UB C 301: 4r–5r

[4r] de beato thorlaco episcopo. | *(h)oc honore dignus est quemcumque rex honorare uoluerit.* | hester. Uerba proposita licet secundum ystoriam dicantur de mardocheo *quem rex assuerus* | temporaliter honorauit. Allegorice intellecta isti *sanc*to. scilicet.<sup>57</sup> beato thorlaco competere pos|sunt *quem rex regum christus eternaliter exaltauit et honorauit.* Sed quia secundum apostolum omnes conuenit honorare. precipue tamen eum *quem adeo scimus honoratum.* Debet ergo honorari<sup>58</sup> | *tamquam pater afilijs.* Medicus abin firmis. magister adiscipulis. prelatus asubditis. Jpse | enim fuit pater noster *gubernando in gracia.* Medicus s`a` nando aculpa. Magister erudiendo | in doctrina. prelatus gubernando inuita. De primo exodus. honora patrem tuum | *et matrem tuam.* ut sis longevis. super terram. Preceptum dei est istud. ergo multo magis patrem spiritualem. quia fortius est uinculum gracie quam nature. Minus beneficium est ducere in esse quam du|cere in bene esse quia per hoc timetur deus filialiter qui precepit honorare parentes. ho|noret inquam parentes et tamquam dominis seruiet hiis qui genuerunt carnaliter uel spiritualliter. ut dicit apostolus. per ewangelium. ipse uos genuit. honoremus ergo patrem nostrum spiritualem uir|tutes eius imitando. filij. nostrorum. sanctorum sumus et gloria patris filius sapiens. beatus johannes. dicit. [4v] Maius gaudium non habeo quam ut uideam filios meos inueritate ambulare. Unde dominus ait. Si filij | estis abrahe opera habrahe facite. Ambrosius. cuius quisque opera facit eius et filius uocatur. Luceat | ergo lumen uestrum coram hominibus. ut uideant. bona. opera. uestra. et glorificant. patrem. uestrum qui in celis est. Secundo debet honorari ut | medicus. ab infirmis. ecclesiasticus. 3. honora medicum propter instantem necessitatem. Si ergo honoramus | medicum propter necessitatem nostrorum corporum. multoplus medicum spiritualem propter necessitatem | animarum. Maior enim est necessitas sanitatis anime quam corporis. quia corpus quamcumque sanetur debet mori. Sanitas autem anime potest in eternum durare. Item. Periculosior est infirmitas anime que | mortem eternam inducit. quam corporis quae tamen temporale. haec medicina habet feri percontrarium sicut | dicit gregorius. sicut arte medicine calida frigidis et frigida calidis curantur. ita dominus noster contra|ria opposuit medicamenta peccatis. ut lubricis continentiam. tenacibus largi|tatem.

<sup>57</sup> Gjerløw: “siue”, *Liturgica Islandica*, vol. 1, 72.

<sup>58</sup> corr. from “honorare” by the same hand.

iracundis mansuetudinem. elatis preciperet humilitatem. ecce medicus. quantum uero iste eius medicinam secutus sit. patet. quanta castitate. largitate mansuetudine. humilitate pollebat insua legenda forte fit mencio. honoremus | ergo medicum nostrum. scilicet. sanctum thorlacum medicinam eius diligendo. quia quod sibi fecit nobis | profecit. ecclesiasticus. Altissimus deterra creauit medicinam etiur prudens non abhorrebit | eam. Tertio debet honorari utmagister adiscipulis. sicut dicitur dedanie. sede doce nos | quia dedit tibi dominus honorem senectutis. Uere honorem quia consummatus inbreui studen|do expleuit tempora multa docendo. Honoremus ergo talem doctorem doctrinam | eius perficiendo. quia perfectus omnis erit si est sicut magister eius. Est enim laus doctoris imperfec|tu auditoris. Sed heu parum apparet iam quod nos christiani sumus inscolis christi | uel sanctorum eius. quia deperfectione parum uel nichil discimus cum tamen dominus ipse dicat | discite ame etcetera. Sed heu prius discimus ab eo qui docet crudelitatem quam pietatem | et est miserabile. cum nullum animal exerceat feritatem insimilem sibi preter hominem. | Unde quia post discimus malum quam bonum. timendum nobis est ne magister noster christus cum rationem | deleccione quaesierit grauiter nos flagellabit. Affirmate ergo leccionem quia liber | appetens est ante oculos in quo scripta sunt. obedientia et humilitas christi ihesu etab|stinencia ut sicut compaciatur<sup>59</sup> iuxta dictum bernardi. quam dulciter bone ihesu cum hominibus [5v] conuersatus es. quam habundanter multa et magna hominibus largiri dignatus es quam aspera | pro hominibus passus es. ut liceat sugere mel de petra oleumque desaxo durissimo | amplectenda crucis supplicia. Rogemus ergo etcetera.

59 Gjerløw: "compesciamur", *Liturgica Islandica*, vol. 1, 73.

## Appendix 2: Normalised Edition

De beato Thorlaco episcopo.

*“Hoc honore dignus est, quemcumque rex honorare voluerit”* [Est 6:11], Ester. Verba proposita licet secundum historiam dicantur de Mardocheo, quem rex Asuerus temporaliter honoravit. Allegorice intellecta isti sancto, scilicet beato Thorlaco, competere possunt, quem rex regum Christus aeternaliter exaltavit et honoravit. Sed quia secundum Apostolum “omnes convenit honorare” [1 Tm 6:1], praecipue tamen eum, quem a Deo scimus honoratum, debet ergo honorari tamquam pater a filiis, medicus ab infirmis, magister a discipulis, praelatus a subditis. Ipse enim fuit pater noster gubernando in gratia, medicus sanando a culpa, magister erudiendo in doctrina, praelatus gubernando in vita.

De primo, Exodus: *“Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam ut sis longeius super terram”* [Ex 20:12]. Praeceptum Dei est istud, ergo multo magis patrem spiritualem, quia fortius est vinculum gratiae quam naturae. Minus beneficium est ducere in esse quam ducere in bene esse, quia per hoc timetur Deus filialiter, qui praecepit honorare parentes. Honoret, inquam, parentes et tamquam dominis serviet hiis, qui genuerunt carnaliter vel spiritualiter, ut dicit apostolus: *“Per evangelium ipse vos genuit”* [1 Cor 4:15]. Honoremus ergo patrem nostrum spiritualem virtutes eius imitando, *“filii nostrorum sanctorum sumus”* [Tb 2:18] et *“gloria patris filius sapiens”* [Prv 13:1]. Beatus Iohannes dicit: *“Maius gaudium non habeo, quam ut videam filios meos in veritate ambulare”* [3 Jn 1:4]. Unde Dominus ait: *“Si filii estis Abrahae, opera Abrahae facite!”* [Jn 8:39]. Ambrosius: *“Cuiusquisque opera facit, eius et filius vocatur”* [serm. XXX,1]. *“Luceat ergo lumen vestrum coram hominibus, ut videant bona opera vestra et glorificant patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est”* [Mt 5:16].

Secundo, debet honorari ut medicus ab infirmis. Ecclesiasticus: *“Honora medicum propter instantem necessitatem”* [Sir 38:1]. Si ergo honoramus medicum propter necessitatem nostrorum corporum, multo plus medicum spiritualem propter necessitatem animarum. Maior enim est necessitas sanitatis animae quam corporis, quia corpus quodcumque sanetur debet mori. Sanitas autem animae potest in aeternum durare. Item periculosior est infirmitas animae, quae mortem aeternam inducit, quam corporis, quae tamen temporale. Haec medicina habet fieri per contrarium, sicut dicit

Gregorius: “*Sicut arte medicinae calida frigidis et frigida calidis curantur, ita Dominus noster contraria opposuit medicamenta peccatis, ut lubricis continetiam, tenacibus largitatem, iracundis mansuetudinem, elatis praeciperet humilitatem*” [Hom.ev. II,32,1]. Ecce medicus, quantum vero iste eius medicinam secutus sit, patet; quanta castitate, largitate, mansuetudine, humilitate pollebat in sua legenda, forte fit mentio. Honoremus ergo medicum nostrum, scilicet sanctum Thorlacum, medicinam eius diligendo, quia quod sibi fecit, nobis profecit. Ecclesiasticus: “*Altissimus de terra creavit medicinam, et vir prudens non abhorrebit eam*” [Sir 38:4].

Tertio, debet honorari ut magister a discipulis, sicut dicitur de Daniele: “*Sede, doce nos, quia dedit tibi Dominus honorem senectutis*” [Dn 13:50]. Vere honorem, quia “*consummatus in brevi studendo explevit tempora multa docendo*” [Ws 4:13]. Honoremus ergo talem doctorem doctrinam eius perficiendo, quia “*perfectus omnis erit, si est sicut magister eius*” [Lc 6:40]. Est enim laus doctoris in perfecto auditoris. Sed heu! Parum apparent iam, quod nos Christiani sumus in scholis Christi vel sanctorum eius, quia de perfectione parum vel nihil discimus. Cum tamen Dominus ipse dicat: “*Discite a me*” etc. [Mt 11:29]. Sed heu! Prius discimus ab eo, qui docet crudelitatem quam pietatem, et est miserabile, cum nullum animal exerceat feritatem in similem sibi praeter hominem. Unde, quia potius discimus malum quam bonum, timendum nobis est, ne magister noster Christus, cum rationem de lectione quaesierit, graviter nos flagellabit.

Affirmate ergo lectionem, quia liber appensus est ante oculos, in quo scripta sunt oboedientia et humilitas Christi Ihesu et abstinentia, ut sic compatiamur iuxta dictum Bernardi: “*Quam dulciter, bone Ihesu, cum hominibus conversatus es, quam abundanter multa et magna hominibus largiri dignatus es, quam aspera pro hominibus passus es, ut liceat sugere mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo amplectenda crucis supplicia*” [serm. 2,7]. Rogemus ergo etc.

### Appendix 3: Translation into English

On the blessed Bishop Þorlákr.

*“Worthy of this honour is he whom the King would wish to honour”* [Est 6:11], Esther. Although according to the Old Testament reading, the words which I have set out are said of Mordecai, whom king Ahasuerus honoured temporally, they can – understood allegorically – be applied to this saint, i.e. blessed Þorlákr, whom the King of Kings Christ has exalted and honoured eternally. But since according to the Apostle *“it is befitting to honour all”* [1 Tm 6:1], (it is), however, particularly (befitting to honour) him, whom we know to be honoured by God, in as much as he should be honoured like a father by his children, or a physician by the infirm, a master by his students, a prelate by his subjects. For he was our father by governing (us) in grace, our physician by saving (us) from sin, our master by educating (us) in doctrine, our prelate by governing (us) in life.

On the first (sub-theme) Exodus: *“Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land”* [Ex 20:12]. This is the commandment of God. Therefore (honour) much more your spiritual father, because the bond of grace is stronger than that of nature. It is a smaller benefit to lead into being than to lead into well-being, because through this (conduct), God is feared as a parent, God who commands one to honour one's parents. He should honour, I say, parents and serve as masters those who generated him in the flesh or in the spirit, as the Apostle says: *“Through the gospel he generated you”* [1 Cor 4:15]. Let us therefore honour our spiritual father by imitating his virtues. *“We are the children of our saints”* [Tb 2:18], and *“the knowing son [is] the father's glory”* [Prv 13:1]. The blessed John says: *“I know no greater joy than to see that my children walk in truth”* [3 Jn 1:4]. Hence the Lord says: *“If you were Abraham's children, you should do the works of Abraham”* [Jn 8:39]. Ambrose: *“Anyone is called the son of the one whose labour he does”* [serm. XXX,1]. *“Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven”* [Mt 5:16].

Secondly, he should be honoured as a physician by the infirm. Ecclesiasticus: *“Honour the physician for the urgent need”* [Sir 38:1]. So if we honour the physician for the need of our bodies, (we should honour) much more the spiritual physician for the need of the souls. For the need of the sanity of the soul is greater than that of the body, because whatever body

is healed, it must die. Likewise: more dangerous is the soul's weakness, which induces eternal death, than the body's, which only induces temporal death. This medicine tends to work through opposites, as Gregory says: "*As in the art of medicine, hot is cured by cold and cold by hot, so our Lord opposed contrary medication to the sins, such as continence for the inconstant, generosity for the miserly, gentleness for the irascible, humility for the proud*" [Hom. ev. II,32,1]. Behold the physician, it is clear how much he truly followed his own medicine. With how much chastity, abundance, clemency, and humbleness he operated, will surely be mentioned in his legend. Let us therefore honour our physician, i.e. saint Þorlákr, by loving his medication, because what he made for himself, he did for our benefit. Ecclesiasticus: "*The most High has created medicine out of the earth, and a wise man will not abhor it*" [Sir 38:4].

Thirdly, he should be honoured as a master by his students, as is said about Daniel: "*Have a seat, and teach us, because God gave you the honour of old age*" [Dn 13:50]. Honour truly, because "*although he had been perfected by studying briefly, he filled a long time by teaching*" [Ws 4:13]. Let us therefore honour such a doctor by perfecting his doctrine, because everyone will be perfect, if he is as his master. For there is praise of the doctor in the perfection of his hearer. But alas, how little does it yet appear that we Christians are in the schools of Christ or his saints! For we have learned little or nothing on perfection. Yet the Lord himself nevertheless says: "*Learn of me*" etc. [Mt 11:29]. But alas, we have rather learned of him, who teaches cruelty than piety, and that is deplorable, because no animal would do savagery against his own kind except man. Therefore, since we have rather learned bad than good things, we should fear that our master Christ will punish us hard, when he will have asked for the reason of the lesson.

Therefore, affirm the lesson, because the book is dangling before our eyes, in which there are written the obedience and humility of Jesus Christ and the abstinence, so that we have compassion according to the saying of Bernard: "*How sweetly do you, good Jesus, associate with mankind, how abundantly do you deign to bestow many and great things, how bitterly did you suffer, that it may suck honey from rock and oil from the hardest stone when embracing the entreaties of the cross*" [serm. 2,7]. Let us therefore pray etc.

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#### S A M A N D R A G

Gløymd preike: Ein latinsk sermo om den heilage Þorlákr i Uppsala UB C301.

**Nøkkelord:** Uppsala UB C 301, Heilage Þorlákr, ein latinsk sermo, 1300-talet, transkripsjon

Handskriftet Uppsala UB C 301 blei skreve på Island på 1300-talet. Midt i preikesamlinga *Themata sermonum* ved den franske dominikanaren Nicolas de Gorran inneheld det ein latinsk sermo om den islandske nasjonalhelgenen Þorlákr.

Inntil no har ein sett på denne preika som adapsjon av ein tapt modell. Stilistisk variasjon i teksten viser derimot at preika ikkje kann vere ein opphavleg del av samlinga ho er overlevert i. Artikkelen viser at dei tre subtemaa etter alt å døme fylgjer ulike kjelder. Etter alt vi veit, er inga av desse kjeldene bevart. Bibelsitata, som subtemaa byggjer på, heng saman i teologisk tenking, og vi kan til dømes spore dei i ein kommentar til Paulusbрева ved Nicolas de Gorran. Det er ikkje mogeleg å prove om kommentaren kunne ha påverka preika direkte. I Þorlákr-preika er framande tekstdelar sette saman på ein kreativ måte, som er typisk for sjangeren. Liknande teknikk finn vi blant anna i Sverige og Tyskland. Samstundes er preika tvers igjennom islandsk gjennom den helgenen ho handlar om. Truleg var funksjonen hennar å støtte dyrkinga av helgenen, som hadde vore fast etablert på

Island sidan tidleg 1200-tal. Dertil finst det narrative kjelder som dokumenterer at ein preika i sermo-stilen på festdagane til den heilage Þorlákr. Dei viser korleis ein røynd preikar kunne vekkje ei skjematiske preike til live, når han vevde inn *exempla* eller omsette til morsmålet ved munnleg foredrag. Alt i alt er Þorlákr-preika kanskje det einaste overlevande døme på den islandske sermo-tradisjonen, som knytta øya saman med litterære tradisjonar i resten av Europa.

Vedlagt til artikkelen fylgjer det ein diplomatisk og normalisert transkripsjon av preika samt ei engelsk omsetjing.

*Astrid Marner  
Post-doktor  
Frå handskriftsfragment til bokhistorie  
Institutt for lingvistiske, litterære og estetiske studier  
Universitetet i Bergen  
Postboks 7800  
NO 5020 Bergen  
astrid.marner@uib.no*



STEPHEN PELLE

AN OLD NORSE HOMILY  
AND TWO HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS  
FROM AM 624 4<sup>to</sup>

1. Introduction

IN AN ARTICLE published in this journal in 2013, I identified and discussed a Latin source for an Old Norse homily for the Feast of the Annunciation, the beginning of which survives in the fragmentary Icelandic manuscript AM 655 XXVII 4to (ca. 1300).<sup>1</sup> The portion of the text surviving in this manuscript, I demonstrated, is based on the twenty-second of the *Sermones festivales* written by the Victorine author Absalon of Springiersbach (d. ca. 1200). While the 2013 article was in the proof stage, I discovered that a complete text of the same Old Norse homily survives in AM 624 4to (ca. 1500). In the present article, I provide an edition of the Annunciation homily from AM 624 4to, along with two other fragments of homiletic material in the manuscript that have not hitherto been published or studied.

2. Manuscript and scribes

Kálund's initial description of AM 624 4to has been refined and corrected in recent decades by several scholars who have edited or discussed texts from the manuscript, most importantly Mattias Tveitane, Einar G. Pétursson, and Peter Cahill.<sup>2</sup> Another detailed description would therefore be

- 1 Stephen Pelle, "Twelfth-Century Sources for Old Norse Homilies: New Evidence from AM 655 XXVII 4to," *Gripla* 24 (2013): 45–75, esp. 58–70. The contents of the manuscript have been edited by Hallgrímur J. Ámundason, "AM 655 XXVII 4to: Útgáfa, stafagerð, stafsetning" (B.A. thesis, University of Iceland, 1994).
- 2 Kristian Kálund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske handskriftsamling*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1894), 37–39 (item 1612); "En norrøn versjon av *Visio Pauli*," ed. Mattias Tveitane, *Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen: Humanistisk serie* 1964, no. 3, 5–7; *Miðaldaævintýri þydd úr ensku*, ed. Einar G. Pétursson, Rit 11 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á

redundant. Cahill's summary is sufficient for our purposes: "[AM 624 4to] is a small quarto volume of approximately 11 x 15 cm., consisting of 340 pages<sup>3</sup> written in altogether seven different hands. The contents are varied, but mostly of a scientific or religious nature."<sup>4</sup> Judging from these works (broadly classifiable as liturgical, computistical, homiletic, meditative, and moralistic<sup>5</sup>), AM 624 4to seems to have been intended as a kind of ecclesiastical handbook.

Three homilies from the manuscript have been edited:<sup>6</sup> the youngest surviving version of the Stave Church Homily (fols. 19r–24r);<sup>7</sup> an Easter homily based on Gregory's *Homilia 21 in Evangelia* (fols. 119v–122r);<sup>8</sup> and an Assumption homily, part of which has recently been shown to depend on a Latin homily by Ralph d'Escures, a twelfth-century Norman archbishop of Canterbury (fols. 122r–126r).<sup>9</sup> A series of seven texts on the theological significance of each day of the week found on fols. 8v–19r has been classified as a homily or group of homilies by Kálund and Hall.<sup>10</sup> The tone of these texts is certainly homiletic, and a great deal of interesting material can be found in them,<sup>11</sup> but the liturgical circumstances in which

Íslandi, 1976), xiii–xvi; *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Peter Cahill, Rit 25 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1983), xxi–xxix. In addition, see now Kristen Wolf, "A Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins in Icelandic Translation," *Gripla* 25 (2014): 166–68, which also discusses the possible history of the manuscript in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

<sup>3</sup> Following the practice of recent scholars who have written on the manuscript, I use folio numbers rather than page numbers in the present article.

<sup>4</sup> *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxi.

<sup>5</sup> For a list of contents see Kálund, *Katalog*, 37–39, but note that Kálund mistakenly conflated the Old Norse translations of the *Visio Thugdali* and *Visio Pauli* (*Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxi, n. 17).

<sup>6</sup> In addition to the following references, see Thomas N. Hall, "Old Norse-Icelandic Sermons," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, vols. 81–83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 702–703.

<sup>7</sup> *Messuskýringar: liturgisk symbolik frå den norsk-islandske kyrkja i millomalderen*, ed. Oluf Kolsrud (Oslo: Dybwad, 1952), 85–107.

<sup>8</sup> *Leifar fornra kristinna fræða íslenzkra*, ed. Þorvaldur Bjarnarson (Copenhagen: Hagerup, 1878), 151–54. See Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "Den gammelnorske paaskeprediken og Gregor den store," *Maal og Minne* (1960): 99–104.

<sup>9</sup> *Leifar*, ed. Þorvaldur Bjarnarson, 154–58. On the homily's partial source, see Aidan Conti, "The Old Norse Afterlife of Ralph d'Escures's *Homilia de assumptione Mariae*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 107 (2008): 215–38.

<sup>10</sup> Kálund, *Katalog*, 38; Hall, "Old Norse-Icelandic Sermons," 703.

<sup>11</sup> The Friday text, for instance, contains an example of the apocryphal 'Adam octuplicate' motif, which describes the creation of Adam from eight elements: "... af atta hlvtum er

such works might be delivered aloud are unclear, and more research needs to be done on this collection before we can conclude that it was really meant to be preached. The Old Norse Annunciation homily and the two homiletic fragments edited below survive, respectively, on fols. 118r–119v, 24r–24v, and 25r–27r. The loss of two leaves after fol. 24v makes it impossible to be certain whether the two fragments originally belonged to the same homily or to two separate homilies, but the difference in the texts' subject matter (discussed following the edition below) points to the latter possibility.

Kålund dated AM 624 4to to the fifteenth century, but the identification by Stefán Karlsson and Mattias Tveitane of one of the main scribal hands as that of Jón Þorvaldsson (d. 1514) allows a more precise dating to the final decades of the fifteenth century or the early years of the sixteenth.<sup>12</sup> Among the texts in AM 624 4to copied by Jón are *Duggals leiðsla*, the *Visio Pauli*,<sup>13</sup> an astronomical treatise, a *Joca monachorum* dialogue,<sup>14</sup> the

*madur skapadur* † i † og ger af jordu og sío og solu og skyium af vindí og af steinum af helgum annda og liosí heims. Nu skulum ver gréina j hug oss aull þau edlí atta. holld er af jordu. enn blod af sío. enn augu af sol þau lysi likamanum. blastur er fer vr mannínum heitur og kalldur er af víndí og hræring holldz mannz. enn af steinum bein. af hínúm helga annda þui er anndi j mannínum” (16r/16v/5). The only other known Old Norse example of this motif also occurs in AM 624 4to, in a *Joca monachorum* dialogue later in the manuscript; see James Marchand, “The Old Icelandic *Joca Monachorum*,” *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 9 (1976): 118–119. On the ‘Adam octuplicate’ tradition, see Grant Macaskill with Eamon Greenwood, “Adam Octuplicate/Septuplicate,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, vol. 1, ed. Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2013), 3–21 (esp. 17, n. e, where the possible influence of the tradition on the story of Ymir is mentioned).

<sup>12</sup> Kålund, *Katalog*, 37; “En norrøn versjon,” ed. Tveitane, 6; *Islandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450: Tekst*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, *Editiones Arnamagnæanae A*, vol. 7 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), xxix–xxiii. See also *Miðaldaævintýri*, ed. Einar G. Pétursson, xiv–xv; *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxii, xxix; Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, “Skriftaboð Þorláks biskups,” *Gripa* 5 (1982): 79; Stefán Karlsson, “The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts,” *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 25 (1998–2001): 148. On the rarity of being able to identify the scribe of a medieval Icelandic manuscript by name, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “Manuscripts and Palaeography,” in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture, vol. 31 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 252–53.

<sup>13</sup> A new edition of this text is currently being prepared by Dario Bullitta.

<sup>14</sup> For the treatise and the dialogue, see *Alfræði íslenzk: Islandsk encyklopædisk litteratur*, ed. Kristian Kålund, vol. 3, Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur 45 (Copenhagen: Møller, 1917–18), 27–44. On the dialogue see also Marchand, “The Old Icelandic *Joca Monachorum*.”

Easter and Assumption homilies, and the Annunciation homily that is the primary object of this study.<sup>15</sup> Jón Þorvaldsson had family at Móberg in Langidalur, and he is first attested as a priest in a charter from 1474. He resided at the convent of Reynistaðarklaustur from about 1483, held the position of *officialis* at Hólar from at least 1495 to 1498, and was made abbot of Þingeyraklaustur by July 1500, where he remained until his death, probably in May 1514.<sup>16</sup> AM 624 4to was likely written in at least one of these three places. In addition to this manuscript, Jón's hand has been identified in a brief inventory for Þingeyraklaustur found in AM 279 a 4to ("Þingeyrabók"), as well as in four authentic charters (DI VII nos. 178, 231, 339, and 396) and three forged ones (DI III, no. 564 and DI IV, nos. 544 and 600; Stefán Karlsson's nos. 121, 233, and 257).<sup>17</sup>

The two homiletic fragments on fols. 24r–27r of AM 624 4to are written in a different hand, the same one responsible for the manuscript's series of texts on the days of the week and for its copy of the Stave Church Homily.

### 3. Edition

AM 624 4to as a whole struck Árni Magnússon as "illa skrifud."<sup>18</sup> Of the various orthographies of the book's scribes, Jón Þorvaldsson's is particularly unusual, and as a result every editor who has attempted to transcribe a text written by him seems to have settled upon a different method

<sup>15</sup> Einar G. Pétursson provides a full account of Jón's contribution to the manuscript (using page numbers rather than folio numbers): "hann hefur skrifin liðlega þriðjung af handritinu, þ. e. bls. 91–140.4; 235–269; 271–274.18; 278.14–281; 282.14–312" (*Miðaldaævintýri*, xiv).

<sup>16</sup> DI V, no. 654; VI, no. 443; VII, nos. 178, 284, 314, 363, 405, and 506; VIII, nos. 89, 90, 308, and 421. See *Islandske originaldiplomer: Tekst*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, xxxi–xxxii; *Miðaldaævintýri*, ed. Einar G. Pétursson, xiv–xv; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstínum til ársloka 1940*, vol. 3 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmentafélag, 1950), 325.

<sup>17</sup> *Islandske originaldiplomer: Tekst*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, xxix–xxxiii, 152–53, 300–301, 323–24; *Islandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450: Faksimiler*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, *Editiones Arnarnagæanae: supplementum*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), 95, 188, 201. Summarized in "En norrøn versjon," ed. Tveitane, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Árni Magnússon, *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser, med to tillæg*, ed. Kommissionen for det Arnarnagæanske Legat (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909), 40.

for expanding his abbreviations. The most thorough description of Jón's script and language is that of Peter Cahill, whose system of expansion for the AM 624 4to version of *Duggals leiðsla* forms the basis for my own practice in editing the Annunciation homily.<sup>19</sup> One should note, however, that Cahill occasionally expands Jón's abbreviations of more common words differently than Jón himself sometimes wrote them. For instance, Cahill remarks that the form “thil” (for “til”), which is written out in full only once in *Duggals leiðsla*, “must be an aberration.”<sup>20</sup> However, “thil,” a common spelling in texts from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,<sup>21</sup> is the only form of the word ever written out in full in the charters Jón forged (6x).<sup>22</sup> It also appears in three of the four authentic charters ascribed to Jón (DI VII nos. 178, 231, and 339) and in his text of the Icelandic *Joca monachorum* in AM 624 4to.<sup>23</sup> There thus exists genuine uncertainty as to whether Jón's abbreviation “t” should be expanded to “til” or “thil” in any given instance. In such cases, I have generally opted for the more conventional late Old Norse form, but the reader should be careful not to use expanded abbreviations as clear indicators of Jón's language or spelling preferences.

The hand responsible for the two homiletic fragments on fols. 24r–27r is less problematic, although damage to the manuscript has obscured several words, and it is often difficult to differentiate between the scribe's forms of *u* and *v* and between lowercase letters, capital letters, and small capitals. My expansion of abbreviations in the edition of these fragments follows the practice adopted in Oluf Kolsrud's edition of the AM 624 4to text of the Stave Church Homily, which was written by the same scribe.<sup>24</sup>

19 *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxii–xxix.

20 *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxviii.

21 The spelling is especially frequent in *Reykjahólabók* (*Reykjahólabók: Islandske helgenlegender*, ed. Agnete Loth, Editiones Arnamagnæanae A, vol. 15–16 [Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1969–70]), where examples are so numerous that they need not be cited individually. See also, e.g., DI VII nos. 503, 533, 616; VIII nos. 179, 180, 181; IX nos. 78, 105, 120, *et passim*. On the parallel development of *t* to *th* in other words see Oskar Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblia: Orthographie und Laute, Formen*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana, vol. 17 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956), 167.

22 *Islandske originaldiplomer: Tekst*, ed. Stefn Karlsson, 152, 300–301, 257.

23 *Alfræði íslenzk*, ed. Kálund, vol. 3, 40/13.

24 *Messuskýringar*, ed. Kolsrud, 85–107.

Editorial conventions employed below are those described in “Leiðbeiningar um frágang greina” §14, in *Gripla* 10 (1998). A normalized text of the Annunciation homily from AM 655 XXVII 4to and the relevant portion of its Latin source have already been printed in my 2013 article and need not be reprinted here,<sup>25</sup> but readings from this earlier witness to the text are occasionally given in the apparatus where they can provide help in interpreting the AM 624 4to version.

*Annunciation Homily: AM 624 4to, fols. 118r–119v*

[118r] <A>ue maria gratia plena dominus tecum Prennar kuediur birtuz j helgum gudspiollum Tala sialfs kristz uit postola<sup>1</sup> sina sim(onem) þ prenner<sup>2</sup> uottar upprisu. Eingels uith mariam. Maria uitt elisabeth. þad syner<sup>4</sup> þrenna birtijng guds ok samþycki þa er uard j hijngatburd cristz. þa uard<sup>5</sup> fridr aa milli guds ok manna. j milli eingla ok manna. Milli sialfra<sup>6</sup> manna. þuiat missætti uard milli guds ok manna af epliæte euo<sup>7</sup> Missætti uard medal eingla ok manna fyrir drottinan diofuls er hann haf<sup>8</sup>di a monnum efter syndina. Missætti milli gydijngs ok heidingians. vard<sup>9</sup> j truhallde ok sida. þetta missætti sneríz allt j samþycki fyrir mey ok m<sup>10</sup>odr mariam. Suo sem þad hofz fyrir allra modr ewo. þad syner ofgat ok<sup>11</sup> bakferlat nafnít ewo j quedio eingelsins uit mariam. þuiat n<sup>12</sup>afn ewo er ofgat med aue. Maria þydz suo sem siofar stiarna. þuiat<sup>13</sup> suo sem stiarnan er leidaruíse farmonnum j hafe ok kenner þeim rietta<sup>14</sup> leid til hafnar. Suo er enn helga mær Maria corugg leidvíjsun<sup>15</sup> til himneskrar hafnar ok paradijsar uistar aullum þeim er uoøgaz j bylg<sup>16</sup>ium þessarar ueralldar ok til hennar uilia lwta ok lijta ok hennar dæmum<sup>17</sup> uilia fylgia þad er riettlætis uegr ok

118r/1 Aue] space left blank for coloured initial A 118r/1–2 I have rearranged the order of some words in the first lines, which are jumbled in the manuscript: <A>ue maria gratia plena dominus tecum Tala sialfs kristz uit postola<sup>1</sup> Prennar kuediur birtuz j helgum gudspiollum sina sim(onem)...; cf. AM 655 XXVII 4to: Prennar queðior hittaz ihelgom Guðzpiallom Sialfs cristsc við postola.... 118r/2 sim(onem)] a conjectural expansion (which I owe to Ian McDougall) of the manuscript reading; see M. Nygaard, Norrøn syntax (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1966), 75. | þrenner uottar upprisu] impossible to fit into the syntax of the sentence and absent from the AM 655 XXVII 4to text; perhaps originally a marginal gloss on the Resurrection appearances of Christ mistakenly incorporated into the text (see Luke 24:13–34) 118r/9 mey] incip. ok (i.e. 7) a. corr. 118r/17 riettlætis uegr] Both this reading and AM 655 XXVII 4to: litillætis þ tis þ vægr may derive from an original reading rétrr litillætis uegr; cf. Absalon's Latin: rectam viam humilitatis (PL 211, col. 132B).

25 Pelle, “Twelfth-Century Sources,” 60–65. For a diplomatic text of the AM 655 XXVII 4to version, see Hallgrímur J. Ámundason, “AM 655 XXVII 4to,” “Útgáfa,” 14–16.

hreinlijfis gata. *Gratia* |<sup>18</sup> plena Full af mískun Fylling er eigi eins hattar Fylling er su |<sup>19</sup> ein er kallaz skaplig. sem þa er hws er fullt ok alskipat af monnum |<sup>20</sup> [Nu] þo att þad heiti fullt. þa er þad þo eigi suo fullt att eigi sie rwm |<sup>21</sup> j husíno hia monnum. *Med þuiliþko mote uoro guds postolar fuller guds mys<sup>22</sup>kunnar.* At med þeim uar rwm hia til syndarinnar. þui uar þeim bodit att skaka |<sup>23</sup> fotosaur simn a þaa mem er j mot þeim risu j kennijngum þeira |<sup>24</sup> att sinar synder þær er þeir mættu misgera ok eigi fordaz fyrir nauísto [118v] saker heimsens skyldi a hina falla. er þeim ueítto motg<sup>2</sup>ang ok meingerder. *Fyllijng* er su onnor. er kallaz jafnlig. sem |<sup>3</sup> þa er ker er fullt. e(da) keralld af uatnj. e(da) odrum lege. þad |<sup>4</sup> er sem þad kallaz fullt þa. þuiat þar ero oll rwm þa full. þess |<sup>5</sup> hattar uard guds myskunnar full sialf maría drottningin uit quedio |<sup>6</sup> eingelsens. þuiat þangat til uar rwm med henne til syndar. enn ecki þadan |<sup>7</sup> fra. þuiat þangat til mættu hun misgera. enn þadan fra mættu hun |<sup>8</sup> eigi misgera þo att hun hefdi uilat. *Fyllijng* hin þridia kall|<sup>9</sup>az yfer fallandi. sem þa er mæler er fyldr. e(da) annat jlat af |<sup>10</sup> miolui. e(da) þuiliþko odro suo att yfer fellr a alla uega. þar til at |<sup>11</sup> jafna er fyllijng myskunnar su er med gudi er. þuiat su er umfram |<sup>12</sup> um alla mælijng ok endimark. þuiat aller helger menn ok suo aller uier hofum |<sup>13</sup> þad eitt gods ok gæfo mættar ok myskunnar er uier hofum af oom|<sup>14</sup>ælldri ok yfer fallandi alla uega hans eilijfri myskunn. Drött|<sup>15</sup>nijngen maria uar sannliga full allrar gæzko edleligrar. þuiat tilkom|<sup>16</sup>anda helgom anda audladiz hon ein milli allra kuenna þa tijgn |<sup>17</sup> alla natturunnar. sem hin fyrsta konan ewa hafdi j paradijsó adur |<sup>18</sup> hon misgerdi uar hon fylld ollom andligum giofum. þuiat helgodom guds syne |<sup>19</sup> j hennar kuide mætte hun alldre þadan af misgera. sem eingi hefer |<sup>20</sup> mætt huorki adr nie síðan. Full uar hun ok himneskra gudsgiafa |<sup>21</sup> þuiat eingi hefer sied. eingi hefer bergt. eingi hefer kent jafn [119r] algerliga. huersu fagurligur. huersu dyrdligur. huersu sætur gud er j alla st<sup>2</sup>ade j sijnom almætti. Dominus tecum. drottin faderenn er med þier |<sup>3</sup> þuiat þu ert hans brwdr getandi hans son: drottin sonrinn er med þier |<sup>4</sup> sa er getaz mun j þíjnum quide. þuiat þu ert hans moder: Drottin |<sup>5</sup> heilagur andi er med þier. af þess krafte geriz getnadrinn. þuiat |<sup>6</sup> þu ert hans brudr ok unnosta. Benedicta tu in

<sup>118r/20</sup> Nu] near inner margin and difficult to read; AM 655 XXVII 4to: Nv <sup>118r/21</sup> þuiliþko mote] corr. from þui mote liþko; cf. AM 655 XXVII 4to: þuiliþko mote <sup>118v/6</sup> uar] incip. r- a. corr. <sup>118v/10</sup> uega] A vertical stroke of uncertain significance has been added above the word. <sup>118v/12</sup> hofum] incip. ok (i.e. 7) a. corr. <sup>118v/14</sup> eilijfri] corrected from eiléjfri

mulieribus. Blezud ertu |<sup>7</sup> aa medal quenna. þuiat bauluonar attquædit þad er ewa hlaut |<sup>8</sup> af gudi fyrir sinn misuerka ok attfelle. sidan alla hennar ætt uard wte |<sup>9</sup> byr` g `t ok fyrirdæmt j þessari quadnijngo eingelsins ok sneriz fyrir þenna getnad |<sup>10</sup> guds sonar. boluon ewo j blezan marío. synd j lijkn. hefnd i mý|<sup>11</sup>skun. þuiat suo sem ewa byrlade daudadryck allre sinne ætt |<sup>12</sup> fyrir sijna ohlydne ok afbrigde. suo færdi maría lijfit aullom fyrir |<sup>13</sup> sitt hreinlijfe ok litelæti ok þad sem tyndiz fyrir konona. þad sama |<sup>14</sup> endrbaettiz fyrir konona. Nemum nu goder menn af dæmum drottñ|<sup>15</sup>ingarinnað mariu oss att litelæta ok lægia bædi fyrir gudi ok monnum. þuiat |<sup>16</sup> þa er hun uar upp hafin fyrir kuedio eingelsins ok getnad gudsonar |<sup>17</sup> yfer alla hluti j tijgn ok uirdnijgo ok sett af gudi drottñijng hí|<sup>18</sup>mens ok jardar. þa lægdi hun sig suo. att hun kalladiz ambættar |<sup>19</sup> nafni ok sagdi suo Ecce ancilla dei fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum |<sup>20</sup> Ambætt drottins er ek seiger hun. Verde mier efter ordum þíjnum |<sup>21</sup> hon mætti sig eigi meiri lægia enn hun lægdi ok fyrir þetta et |<sup>22</sup> haaleita litelæti `gat hun' gudson þuiat hun | þuiat | j þui ordino er hun [119v] kallaz ambættin. þa uard hun hafandi. Nu er þui litelætitt upphaf |<sup>2</sup> ok grunduaullr allra mankosta. suo sem ofmetnadur er upphaf ok |<sup>3</sup> grunduaullr allra glæpa. Nu gerdi ofmetnadur enn uersta af enum |<sup>4</sup> æzsta. dioful af eingli. enn litelæti giordi jna æzsto af enne |<sup>5</sup> minzsto. drottningo af meyio. Gaungum nu litelætis gauto efter dæ|<sup>6</sup>mum marie drottningar. af jordo til himna. Enn steypomz eigi med diofle j |<sup>7</sup> heluijte fyrir ofmetnad. draugumz eigi þa dul j serk uorn att uier |<sup>8</sup> ætlumz j þad tijgnarsæti att komaz med ofmetnadi er enn |<sup>9</sup> æzsti eingell uar aa braut rekin fyrir ofmetnad hnijgum nu under |<sup>10</sup> þetta traust er æzst er ok orugt ok næst gudi j alla stadi er sialf |<sup>11</sup> er drottñijngen Maria. þuiat hun er bædi mattugare ok myskunn|<sup>12</sup>samare j sijno fulltijnge ok aarnon enn huerr annara heilagra |<sup>13</sup> manna. Bidium nu hana med alhuga att hun kome oss til sættar |<sup>14</sup> uit gud drottin uorn. iesum christum. suo att fyrir hennar bæn. legge hun oss lijk|<sup>15</sup>nardoom aa hinum efzsta deigi ok leide oss sier samlaga j þan |<sup>16</sup> frid ok faugnod er alldri uerdr ender aa Per omnia secula seculorum Amen

**119r/8** attfelle] likely a scribal error; see AM 655 XXVII 4to: a fell **119r/11** ewa byrlade daudadryck] On this idea, perhaps ultimately derived from a homily by Gregory the Great, see David McDougall, "Studies in the Prose Style of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian Homily Books" (Ph.D. diss., University College London, 1983), 518. **119v/14** hun] perhaps an error for hann.

*Fragment 1: AM 624 4to, fol. 24r–24v*

[24r] Moýses gerdí tialdbud til at halda j gersimar |<sup>19</sup> at guds bodordí þær er hafdar at þíó|<sup>20</sup>na almatkkum gudi. med. þar var aurk su er haldnar voro j la[24v]gabækur gydinga. ok þar var vondur áárons. ok tob<sup>2</sup>lvr moýsi. Alt var þat gylt. þar skvlluðu avalt |<sup>3</sup> stannda hanndþvagar hía dyrum tiall` d' budarinnar. |<sup>4</sup> þeir voro gerver or skvgisiam kuenna. ok skylldi alldre<sup>5</sup>gi þorna vatn or þeim. ok skylldi þar aller menn |<sup>6</sup> þva sier adr jN geingí J tialdit. Sia moýses |<sup>7</sup> spamacdur jarteígnar gud almatkann. Enn tialdbvd |<sup>8</sup> hans kirkív helga. Nv skulum ver at þui hyggia hv<sup>9</sup>at þat komi til vor er nv er sagt. Nv gongvm ver til kir|<sup>10</sup>kív sem þeir til tialldz. Nv leítum. ver oss handþva|<sup>11</sup>gavatz at þva oss. adur ver gángim j havll drottins |<sup>12</sup> Nv ma eigi fa ella þat vatn nema ver leitím þess j |<sup>13</sup> briost oss sialfum. ok bidium oss þess lítilatliga ok |<sup>14</sup> hygium at þui huat yfer oss hafi geingit fra blavt|<sup>15</sup>v barns beíne alt til þessa dags. Nv ma eingí |<sup>16</sup> madur Sua sæll vera at eigi mvní navckvt afleid|<sup>17</sup>is geingit hafua. þott þess mvni langt a millí vera |<sup>18</sup> med þeim er fæsttar hafua synder gert e(da) flestar. Nu er |<sup>19</sup> þessa vatz jafnmikil þavr ollvm af þui at eíngí |<sup>20</sup> ma gannga j eilif` n` a jorsalaborg nema hann þvai sik

*Fragment 2: AM 624 4to, fol. 25r–27r*

[25r] Sua skulum ver lavna gudi favstv sina. at ver skulum fa<sup>2</sup>sta vel ok grandvarliga at ollv þær fostur allar |<sup>3</sup> er ver ervm [s]kyllder til. ok Sua þær er ver leggium sialfer á |<sup>4</sup> ooooooo f[irir] guds sokum. Sua skulum ver lavna gudi freistní |<sup>5</sup> ooo ‘hamn’ [le]t freísta sín firir vorar saker at ver skulum leíta |<sup>6</sup> at standazt fianda freístní. ok leita vid at bera ro<sup>7</sup>liga firir guds saker. ok þott vor v| or þerdí at freístad. Sua skulum |<sup>8</sup> ver launa gudi písl sina. ok dawda at ver skulum meinlæ<sup>9</sup>ta oss bædí j fostum. ok j yokum ok j bænahall-dí |<sup>10</sup> ok j bindendí matar dryckiar ok klæda. ok allra helzt |<sup>11</sup> annmarka. ok gera þat allt firir guds sokum. ok j míningar pin|<sup>12</sup>ínngar hans. Sua skulum

<sup>24v/1</sup> maria aue written in the upper margin by the same hand as the text <sup>24v/4</sup> þeir sic, for þær? | gerver or skvgisiam kuenna] cf. Exodus 38:8 <sup>24v/16</sup> vera] marked with a cross directing to the marginal clarification vera, using the more usual contraction sign <sup>24v/20</sup> þvai Sik] The surviving portion of the sermon ends here at the bottom of the page; in the bottom right corner a modern hand has added the note vantar 2 blöð. <sup>25r/1</sup> Sua] The beginning of the sermon is lost; the surviving text begins here. The scribe has added ave in the top margin, and elsewhere throughout the upper margins of the sermon has added aue or aue maria.

ver lavna gudi vpprisv hans at ver |<sup>13</sup> skulum hallda allar helgar tider vel ok mínnazt J |<sup>14</sup> þui |minningar| fagnadar hans ok vpprísu. skulum ver ok vpp |<sup>15</sup> rísa fra annmorkum vorum at ver megim til eílfis fagn|<sup>16</sup>adar vpp rísa a domsdegi. Sua skulum ver lavna gudi vpp|<sup>17</sup>stigning sina. at ver skulum fíRRazt lostu þa er ver ho|<sup>18</sup>fum vid skilízt. ok leíta at semíá mankostum ley|<sup>19</sup>nd hasæti j briostum vorum. Sua skulum ver lavna gudi ast|<sup>20</sup>gjof inns helg(a) annda at ver skulum vera hogværer [25v] j hvgarfarí miklater j malí mískvnnsamer vid <þa> er vor þurfe |<sup>2</sup> Sem ver havfum færí á. Sua skulum ver lavna gudi þat er hann he|<sup>3</sup>fer sent postola sina at kenna oss kenningar. at ver skulum nv |<sup>4</sup> vera hlydner kennimonnum. ok kostgæf[er] at oooooo |<sup>5</sup> guds bodord j ollv. Sua skulum ver lavna gudi. laoo er ooo |<sup>6</sup> hefer os leít at þiona gudi med þui laní hvern Sem til |<sup>7</sup> hefer. ok bera roliga firir guds saker allar manravner þær er |<sup>8</sup> oss koma at hendí. ok er þat eigi okunnigt ef ver vi|<sup>9</sup>livm eigi dyliazt vid hverír þeir hlutir eru er gud v|id|ill at ver |<sup>10</sup> gerím. Eda hverír þeir erv er hann vill at ver siam vid. OSS er |<sup>11</sup> firibodit at vinna á monnum saklavsum ok Sua ath |<sup>12</sup> hata navnga vora. Oss er firibodit at stela e(da) Sua |<sup>13</sup> at komazt at fe annaRa manna med slægd ok med rang|<sup>14</sup>endum. Ver skulum sia vid eidum ravngum ok vid lívgvítnum. ok |<sup>15</sup> ver skulum hepta oss at ollv ordalagí illv ok ony|<sup>16</sup>tv. Ver skulum eigi drygía hordom. ok eckí munvdliði skulum |<sup>17</sup> ver fremia at rongv ok at oheímilv. OSS er sky|<sup>18</sup>lt at varna vid ofate ok vid ofdryckiu ok vid allrí |<sup>19</sup> gledí ostil-liligri. Ofmetnvd ok ofvnd skulum firr|<sup>20</sup>azt sem mest alla vega. firir þui at þadan af [26r] hlyttz allur ofornodr. vid þessvm hlutum ættim ver |<sup>2</sup> at varna avalt er ver vitum at gudi míslíkar. Enn allra he|<sup>3</sup>l[zt] o er nv á þessi tid er einkum er sett til synda jdrvnar |<sup>4</sup> ooo f ooo at ver siam vid ollum annd-morkum þeim er at|<sup>5</sup>ferd vorri megí spíl' a. Enn Sua sem oss er skylliga bodit |<sup>6</sup> at varna vid syndvm á þessi tid. þa er litlv oskylldra |<sup>7</sup> at ver eggimzt nu aa at fremia godgerninga þa er |<sup>8</sup> oss komi til synda bota. ok oss færi j frid vid gud. þat |<sup>9</sup> skulum ver vpphof hafua at yfer 'botum' synda vorra. at ver skul|<sup>10</sup>um idrazt þeirra ok heíta þui gudi at leita vid at 'lata' af |<sup>11</sup> þeim. Sidan skulum ver ganga til skriptar vid kennímenn med |<sup>12</sup> athuga miklvm. ok legia a þat hug at ennda þat |<sup>13</sup> alt er þeir leggia a hendr oss til synda yferbota. |<sup>14</sup> A þessi tid er Sua god sysken Sem alt kristid folk |<sup>15</sup> standí j fylkingv ok j orostv á mot fianndanum |<sup>16</sup> til þess at sigra hann j allz kyns

25v/1 þa] addidi ego (or perhaps read þann?) 25v/18 ofate] seemingly corrected from ofote

godgerningum. J þessi orostv |<sup>17</sup> vegr sa mestan *sigur* er mest meinlæter sier. ok flest ger|<sup>18</sup>ir gott firir *guds* saker. A þessa orostv sier kristur sialfur |<sup>19</sup> drottínn vorr or himnum ofan. ok er víst at hann efler þui m|<sup>20</sup>eíR hvern sínna manna sem hann sier at hann leítar sialfur meir [26v] vid þvrft sina. a mot fiandanum skulum ver beriazt med go|<sup>2</sup>dgerningum enn eigi med vopnum líkamligum. Morg erv allz |<sup>3</sup> god verk. Enn þo erv þrir hlutir þeir er allra mest ooo |<sup>4</sup> gv j godgerningum. þat er fasta ok bænahalld [ok oll|<sup>5</sup>mavsvgírní. Fostvnne fylgia oll meinlæti þ|<sup>6</sup>av er menn meinlæta sier firir *guds* saker. j hungre ok j þorsta |<sup>7</sup> j vokum ok j kulda ok j allrí bindendi þeirre er menn bin|<sup>8</sup>dazt mvnnudar sinar. Bænahalldí fylger allt orda|<sup>9</sup>lag gott hvart Sem er bedit firir lifaundum monnum. e(da) er G(ud) |<sup>10</sup> lofad. e(da) helger menn hans. e(da) mæler madur þat er odrum fæ|<sup>11</sup>r go` d' lífis. olmosvgírní fylger oll miskvnseimi |<sup>12</sup> ok vorkunnlæti. fridgírní ok astvd bædí vid gud |<sup>13</sup> ok vid menn. Til þess godgernings at ver skulum gefa fe |<sup>14</sup> vort þurfamonnum. hefer kristur drottínn Sua mælt at hann læ|<sup>15</sup>zt þat allt monv telía seier gefit a domsdegí er |<sup>16</sup> þessa heims er þurfamonnum er gefit firir *guds* saker. Leitum |<sup>17</sup> nu vid goder menn allz hvgar a þessi tid a` t' bæta ýfer |<sup>18</sup> synder vorar ok at snva aleidís hag vorum. Sua at |<sup>19</sup> ver megim oll a hinum fyrsta paskadegí taka |<sup>20</sup> holld ok blod d(rottins) v(ors) til fir-irgefn(in)gar synda vorra ok til [27r] eilífrar miskvnar ollvm oss j gæzskv ok j vardveí|<sup>2</sup>zlv *guds* almattegs þeiRe er hann firri oss olv illv |<sup>3</sup> Enn gefi oss hvetvetna gott bædí þessa h|<sup>4</sup>eim ok annar; Amen

#### 4. Analysis

While the homily on fol. 118r–119v has no title in the manuscript, its intended function as an Annunciation piece is confirmed both by its content and by the fact that the text of the same homily in AM 655 XXVII 4to is rubricated for that feast.<sup>26</sup> As noted above, the AM 655 XXVII 4to version, which is the only other known witness to the homily, ends imperfectly, with about the last third of the text (from AM 624 4to, 119r/8 “ætt”) lost from that manuscript. This final portion of the homily, surviving uniquely in AM 624 4to, does not exhibit any correspondence with Absalon of Springierbach’s *Sermo festivalis* 22, which is the major source for most of the text. Absalon’s work remains illustrative, though,

<sup>26</sup> Hallgrímur J. Ámundason, “AM 655 XXVII 4to,” “Útgáfa,” 14.

since a comparison of the Latin sermon with the two versions of the Old Norse homily reveals that AM 624 4to, while not always the superior text,<sup>27</sup> occasionally preserves better readings than AM 655 XXVII 4to despite postdating it by about two centuries. For example, the earlier manuscript renders Absalon's description of Mary as "plena ... *naturalium bonorum*" with "fyll ... Gæsko *anðlegrar*."<sup>28</sup> While this is not a particularly accurate translation, it does not seriously damage the sense of the passage, and most editors would see no need to emend "*anðlegrar*" based on its inexact correspondence to "*naturalium*." In AM 624 4to, however, we find "*edleligrar*" (118v/15) instead of "*anðlegrar*." This accords perfectly with the Latin source and must be the original reading, revealing AM 655 XXVII 4to's "*anðlegrar*" to be a scribal error. Such instances also prove that Jón Þorvaldsson could not have copied the homily from AM 655 XXVII 4to, and we can therefore confidently posit the existence of at least one other copy of the homily, now apparently lost, that served as the exemplar of the AM 624 4to version.

In my 2013 article, I argued that the Annunciation homily author's use of Absalon's sermon, written in the late twelfth century, suggests that the sources employed by later Old Norse homilists may not be as antiquarian (that is, restricted to early medieval authorities) as has often been assumed.<sup>29</sup> While the concluding portion of the homily surviving in AM 624 4to does not depend on Absalon's work, it nevertheless provides further evidence that the Icelandic author was familiar with European homiletic and exegetical developments taking place at least as late as the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. One example is the homilist's assertion (119r/19 –119v/1) that Christ was conceived immediately upon Mary's utterance of the words "ecce ancilla Domini" (Luke 1:38). Similar passages are also found in at least two other late medieval Nordic vernacular homilies<sup>30</sup>

27 For instance, AM 655 XXVII 4to: "hittaz" as a rendering of Absalon's "invenimus" (*PL* 211, col. 130D) is preferable to AM 624 4to: "birtuz" (118r/2).

28 *PL* 211, col. 133C–D; Hallgrímur J. Ámundason, "AM 655 XXVII 4to," "Útgáfa," 16. Emphases mine. See Pelle, "Twelfth-Century Sources," 64.

29 Pelle, "Twelfth-Century Sources," 58–69.

30 An unedited Icelandic sermon, pieces of which survive in the early sixteenth-century manuscripts AM 687 c 1 4to and AM 667 XVII 4to, expresses the idea in some detail: "Sie ammbatt drottenS. verdí mier epter þínvm ordvm. strax pegar hvn hafdí sagt med samþycke þerse orden. þa j samri stundu kom til hennar heilagvr andí og vmskygndi hana. og skapadi. á einv avgabragdí. likama vor s blezada lavsnara. j hennar blezada kvídi" (AM 667 XVII 4to,

and in a Latin Assumption sermon, a fragment of which survives in the Danish/Latin manuscript AM 76 8vo (ca. 1470).<sup>31</sup> While this opinion is sometimes hinted at obliquely in the writings of earlier medieval authors,<sup>32</sup> it comes to be asserted more vigorously and more frequently beginning in the twelfth century, particularly by theologians who, like Absalon, were connected with the Paris schools. In his *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, the mid-twelfth-century Paris liturgist Jean Beleth says the following of Christ's conception: "Et sumendum est initium computationis [i.e., of the years since Christ's incarnation] a conceptione, quando beata Maria dixit: *Ecce ancilla Domini*. Statim enim fuit Christus homo et plenus Spiritu Sancto."<sup>33</sup> The same opinion is found in the fourth book of the *Sententiae* of scholastic theologian and Paris master Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205): "Per verba angeli, et statim quando dixit: *Ecce ancilla Domini*, concepit et non prius. Unde et quod dicit angelus: *Benedictus fructus ventris tui*, referendum est ad futurum."<sup>34</sup> The idea appears again in a miscellany of sentences on various topics in the late twelfth-century manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3239 (fol. 7v): "Ecce ancilla domini. finitis his uerbis statim christus indutus est sacco nostre mortalitatis

fol. 1r/18–21). I plan to edit this text in the near future. The idea also appears in a collection of sermons written in Brigitine Middle Norwegian, surviving in Linköping, Stifts- och landsbibliotek, Link. T. 180 (ca. 1450): "Ok siger sanctus bernardus post prolatum verbum Sidhan hon hafdhe thet ordhet sakth Ecce ancilla domini fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum See iak gudz tiænista quinna wardhe mik epthir thinom ordhom Ok gensthan hon hafdhe thet sakth Tha warth sanner gudh ok sanner man j hennes lifwe" (*Svenska medeltidspostillor, delarna 6 och 7*, ed. Bertil Ejder, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet 23, parts 6–7 [Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1974], 131/7–11]). I have not been able to identify the citation of Bernard.

<sup>31</sup> Britta Olrik Frederiksen, "Qve ista que ascendit: Et fragment af en latinsk prædiken i AM 76 8vo," *Opuscula* 13 (2010): 207–17. See esp. 214/33–35 (transcribed from a more complete manuscript of the sermon): "Ecce. ancilla domini etcetera quasi dicens Hunc peregrinum magnum et honestum libenter suscipio. Statim filius conceptus est invtero virginis despíritu sancto verus deus et homo."

<sup>32</sup> e.g., Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* 18.52: "et ipsa uirgo concipiens dicit: ecce ancilla domini; fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum" (ed. M. Adriaen, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 143A [Turnhout: Brepols, 1979], 949).

<sup>33</sup> Jean Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis: textus, indices*, ed. Herbert Douteil, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 41A (Turnhout: Brepols 1976), 200.

<sup>34</sup> PL 211, col. 1165C. For a brief account of Peter's life, see F. Courth, "Petrus Pictaviensis, Kanzler," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 6 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1993), col. 1981.

et passibilitatis.”<sup>35</sup> Another possible example of the homilist’s debt to twelfth-century sources is the phrase “haleita litelæti” (119r/22), which is reminiscent of Bernard of Clairvaux’s praise of Mary’s humility at the Annunciation in his fourth homily *Super “Missus est”*: “Quae est haec tam sublimis humilitas?”<sup>36</sup>

The subjects of the two homiletic fragments edited above, which deal with the various ornaments of the Old Testament Tabernacle and with the proper observance of Lent, respectively, are different enough to suggest that they were not part of the same text, and that the two leaves lost between fols. 24v and 25r contained at least the missing conclusion of the first homily and the beginning of the second. Because only the first 250 words or so of the first homiletic fragment now survive, and because the text is not rubricated for any particular occasion, it is difficult to speak with any confidence about its intended purpose. The fragment has some generic similarities to the third book of Bede’s *De tabernaculo*<sup>37</sup> and to the second book of Peter of Celle’s *Mosaici tabernaculi mystica et moralis expositio*,<sup>38</sup> insofar as all three describe both the historical function and the symbolic significance of the washing basins at the entrance to the Tabernacle, but there are no noteworthy verbal parallels. I would tentatively suggest that this text may have been used for the dedication of a church (or the commemoration of its dedication), and that it was included in AM 624 4to to act as a kind of companion piece to the Stave Church Homily, which it immediately follows in the manuscript, since it seems to attempt to allegorize the Tabernacle of Exodus in a similar manner as the author of the Stave Church Homily allegorizes Solomon’s temple and the Christian church.

The second homiletic fragment is a Lenten piece. This is suggested by the author’s encouragement to refrain from vices “nu á þessí tid er einkum er sett til synda jdrvnar” (26r/3), and later confirmed by his concluding exhortation to do penance “Sua at ver megin oll a hinum fyrsta paskadegí taka

35 The manuscript has been digitized and is available online through the *Gallica* project, accessed August 3, 2016, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9081071w/f14.item>.

36 *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais, vol. 4 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1966), 55.

37 ed. D. Hurst, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 119A* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 136–38.

38 *PL* 202, cols. 1075B–1076C.

holld ok blod d(rottins) v(ors)" (26v/18–20). As the homily is acephalous, it is impossible to be certain which day in Lent it was intended for, but the author's concern with establishing the correct way to observe the season points to an earlier rather than later occasion, probably Ash Wednesday or the first Sunday of Lent. Roughly the first half of the surviving portion of the homily deals with various charitable or penitential acts or practices that we should perform as recompense for the various sufferings Christ endured and the benefits he bestowed (25r/1–25v/8). This theme develops into a rather standard list of sins to avoid and virtues to adopt (25v/8–26r/13), which is followed by a striking portrayal of the season of Lent as a spiritual battlefield, in which all Christians stand arrayed in formation against the devil, while Christ looks on from heaven and provides his people with aid (26r/14–26v/2).<sup>39</sup> The strongest weapons in this fight are, as one might expect, identified as fasting, prayer, and almsgiving (26v/2–16). The conclusion, as noted above, is an exhortation to observe Lent properly so as to receive the Eucharist worthily on Easter (26v/16–27r/4). I have been unable to identify a source for this piece, although much of its content is conventional for Lenten homilies.

## 5. Conclusion

The homiletic texts from AM 624 4to edited here offer us new sources of evidence not only for Icelandic preaching practices at the turn of the sixteenth century, but also (at least in the case of the Annunciation homily) for the transmission and reuse of homilies from much earlier periods. Fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century homiletic manuscripts have suffered severe scholarly neglect in comparison with the earliest Norse homily books, but the evidence of AM 624 4to proves that medieval Icelandic preaching texts of real historical and literary value await rediscovery in these late manuscripts. Whether these homilies are copies of older pieces or original compositions of the late Middle Ages, their survival and use can provide valuable information about the religious culture of Iceland during its last decades as a Catholic country. Such texts must receive the

39 On similar imagery in the Lenten sermons of Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419), see Katherine Lindeman, "Fighting Words: Vengenace, Jews, and Saint Vicent Ferrer in Late-Medieval Valencia," *Speculum* 91 (2016): 701–702.

study they deserve before we can arrive at a comprehensive understanding of medieval Icelandic preaching.<sup>40</sup>

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

### M A N U S C R I P T S

*Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík*

- AM 279 a 4to (*Pingeyrabók*)
- AM 624 4to
- AM 687 c I 4to

*Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Nordisk forskningsinstitut, University of Copenhagen*

- AM 655 XXVII 4to
- AM 667 XVII 4to
- AM 76 8vo

*Stifts- och landsbibliothek, Linköping*

- Link. T. 180

*Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris*

- Lat. 3239

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Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur 37, 41, 45. Copenhagen: Møller, 1908–18.

Árni Magnússon. *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser, med to tillæg*, edited by Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909.

<sup>40</sup> An early version of this paper was presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Fiske Conference on Medieval Icelandic Studies at Cornell University in June 2013. Ian McDougall and David McDougall contributed many corrections and improvements, as did the reviewers for *Gripla*. I am grateful to Hallgrímur J. Ámundason for providing me with a copy of his thesis, and to the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík and the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen for providing digital images of AM 624 4to, AM 655 XXVII 4to, AM 667 XVII 4to, and AM 687 c I 4to. Digital images of AM 624 4to are now available on <http://www.handrit.is>.

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## E F N I S Á G R I P

Íslensk hómilía frá miðöldum og tvö brot úr hómilíum í AM 624 4to.

**Lykilord:** Hómilur, Jón Þorvaldsson, boðun Maríu, tjaldbúð Móses, Langafasta, útgáfa

Í þessari grein er að finna útgáfur og stuttar greiningar á þremur áður óútgefnum hómilíum sem eru varðveittar í AM 624 4to (u.p.b. 1500): (1) hómilía um boðun Maríu, sem er að hluta til einnig að finna í AM 655 XXVII 4to (u.p.b. 1300); (2) brot úr hómilíu um tjaldbúð Móses; (3) brot úr hómilíu um hvernig rétt er að halda Lönguföstu. Hómilian um boðun Maríu var afrituð af Jóni Þorvaldssyni, sem var abóti á Pingeyraklaustri frá árinu 1500 til dauðadags árið 1514. Brotin tvö voru afrituð af öðrum, óþekktum skrifara. Sú gerð hómilíunnar um boðun Maríu sem er að finna í AM 624 4to er mikilvæg vegna þess að þar er hún varðveitt sem ein heild: rúmlega þriðjung hennar vantar í eldra handritinu. Fyrra brotinu gæti hafa verið ætlað að fylgja hinni frægu ‘Stafkirkju’ hómilíu; hitt var væntanlega ætlað sem texti fyrir Öskudaginn eða fyrsta sunnudag í Lönguföstu.

*Stephen Pelle  
Dictionary of Old English  
Robarts Library,  
Room 14285  
130 St. George Street  
University of Toronto  
CA-Toronto, ON M5S 3H1  
pelle@doe.utoronto.ca*



BEEKE STEGMANN, GOTTSKÁLK JENSSON,  
NATASHA FAZLIC and ALEX SPEED KJELDSEN

A RECENTLY-DISCOVERED FRAGMENT  
PRESERVING TEXT  
OF EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY  
NORWEGIAN CHARTERS

A UNIQUE PARCHMENT fragment was discovered in the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen in November 2015. The staff at the conservation workshop found three adjacent strips of a fragmented single parchment leaf during restoration of the manuscript AM 22 4to. The fragment measures ca. 15 x 9 cm and comprises three equally-sized strips with a width of ca. 3 cm (Fig. 1). 22–23 lines of text are preserved on the recto-side, while the verso-side is blank. The text is in Old Norwegian, but has many lacunae as the beginning of each line is missing. Moreover, the last two lines are severely damaged and more lines may be missing.

The fragment was found under the leather cover of the binding on the fifteenth-century legal manuscript AM 22 4to. The three strips were used as lining on the spine where they were placed in between the four raised bands. The parchment strips were pasted onto the spine and parts of the boards with the text facing downward (Fig. 2). The glue employed, presumably some kind of animal adhesive, caused small amounts of the ink to stay on the spine and boards as the parchment strips were removed. Nevertheless, the legibility of the text is fairly good. The parchment itself, however, has suffered somewhat from its secondary use. Both the top and bottom edges are damaged and two parallel areas of wear and discoloration run horizontally over the parchment. These parallel imprints are caused by the contact with the edges of the boards. In the area of the upper imprint, which was placed over the edge of the lower board, the damage makes the text partially illegible and there are several small holes from vermin. Comparable holes, presumably caused by woodboring beetles, can be found in the lower board.

The secondary carrier of the fragment, AM 22 4to, is a codex of 245



Fig. 1: Newly discovered parchment fragment containing text of early thirteenth-century Norwegian charters (verso-side without writing). The fragment was reused as spine lining inside the binding of Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 22 4to.

Photo: Suzanne Reitz.

leaves made of both parchment and paper. The manuscript contains several Danish law texts, among others Valdemar's Zealand law and Eric's Zealand law.<sup>1</sup> Kristian Kålund dates the manuscript to the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> At the back of AM 22 4to, there are four additional leaves (fols. 243–246) which were written in the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> It is not known how or when the manuscript came into Árni Magnússon's collection.

### Dating of the old binding

The old binding of AM 22 4to, inside which the fragment was found, appears to be an original binding. It is a dark brown full binding made of blind-tooled leather on wooden boards. There are traces of corner and center pieces as well as indications of two former clasps on the boards. From the fact that the leaves only have one set of sewing holes it can be assumed that this is the first binding of AM 22 4to.

The attachment style of the binding can be described as a so-called "Gothic" or late medieval binding, where the supports of alum-tawed skin are laced through the exterior face of the board instead of the edge.<sup>4</sup> Other examples of such an attachment style of the boards on European manuscripts range from the early fourteenth century through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Bindings with this attachment method often have shaped boards, as does the present binding, where the boards are beveled toward the spine. This kind of shaping is most common in

1 Both laws have been edited as part of *Danmarks Gamle Landskabslove. Med Kirkelovene*, udgivet af Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, Vols. 5–8 (København: Gyldendal, 1936–1941). A translation is available in *The Danish Medieval Laws: The Laws of Scania, Zealand and Jutland*, ed. by Ditlev Tamm and Helle Vogt (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 111–232.

2 Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, udgivet af Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat. 2 vols (København: Gyldendal, 1889–1894), I, 351.

3 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 351–352. Due to an error in the foliation, it runs up to 246 while there are only 245 leaves (number 135 was skipped).

4 See Karen Jutzi et al., *Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts: Bookbinding Terms, Materials, Methods and Models*, compiled by the Special Collections Conservative Unit of the Preservation Department of Yale University Library (2015), 18 and 30, accessed April 26, 2016, [www.travelingscriptorium.files.wordpress.com/2015/02/binding-booklet-2015.pdf](http://www.travelingscriptorium.files.wordpress.com/2015/02/binding-booklet-2015.pdf).

5 J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Surrey & Burlington: Ashgate, 1999), 174; Jutzi et al., *Manuscripts*, 28.



*Fig. 2: Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 22 4to under restoration. The three strips have partially been removed, leaving clear traces of how they were placed over the spine and boards. Photo: Suzanne Reitz.*

bindings from the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The endbands were also worked in a way that is characteristic for bindings of the “Gothic” style and they can be described as Szirmai’s Type III (“saddle-stitch endband over primary wound endband”).<sup>7</sup> Szirmai finds the earliest dated example of this kind of endband on a German manuscript from 1434 and the latest on a central European printed book from 1547, while other scholars have found this endband type in bindings from the mid-thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries to the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

While the features of the old binding discussed above are considered characteristic of “Gothic” or late (Western) medieval bindings, others (such

6 Jane Greenfield, *ABC of Bookbinding: A Unique Glossary with over 700 Illustrations for Collectors and Librarians* (New Castle & New York: Oak Knoll Press & The Lyons Press, 1998), 97. See also Jutzi et al., *Manuscripts*, 19.

7 Szirmai, *Archaeology*, 203.

8 Szirmai, *Archaeology*, 208.

as blind tooling and leaves being cut flush with the boards) are more commonly found in earlier bindings, for instance the so-called “Romanesque” bindings which are typically found on manuscripts from the eleventh to the end of the fourteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Since Kålund dates the main part of AM 22 4to to the second half of the fifteenth century, however, and since the binding does not show any traces of reuse, it can hardly be older than that. Thus, the earliest possible dating would be around 1450.

Nothing in AM 22 4to suggests that the manuscript was unbound for a long period of time after it was written. It is furthermore unlikely that the binding was disturbed later on and the fragment placed underneath the leather cover then. When the last four leaves were added to AM 22 4to in the sixteenth century, they were merely glued into the existing binding structure without disrupting it. Moreover, the leather cover does not appear to have been removed from the wooden boards at an earlier time, and the glue on the spine and boards suggests that the fragment was an original part of the binding. It can hence be concluded that the three strips of the fragment were placed underneath the cover of the binding when the manuscript was first bound, which presumably happened not too long after it was written, i.e. between 1450 and 1500 or a few years after that.<sup>10</sup>

### About the transcription

The text preserved on the fragment has been transcribed here on a fairly diplomatic level. Abbreviations have been expanded (and italicized) in keeping with the scribe’s general practice. Certain letter forms are kept apart, most notably ⟨i⟩ vs. ⟨í⟩, ⟨r⟩ vs. ⟨z⟩ and ⟨s⟩ vs. ⟨f⟩, whereas others have been merged, e.g. ⟨i⟩ and ⟨í⟩, ⟨m⟩ and ⟨ñ⟩ and ⟨n⟩ and ⟨ñ⟩.

Due to the relatively poor condition of the fragment in places, in many cases it cannot be determined whether the scribe wrote ⟨i⟩, ⟨í⟩ or ⟨í⟩. Similarly, the distinction between ⟨d⟩ and ⟨ð⟩ is uncertain in several instances. In some cases, the ⟨ð⟩ could furthermore be interpreted as a ⟨ð⟩ (a ligature of ⟨ð⟩ and ⟨e⟩). These, and other paleographical and linguistic aspects – in-

<sup>9</sup> Szirmai, *Archaeology*, 140–142.

<sup>10</sup> This dating is highly dependent on Kålund’s paleographic dating of the main text of AM 22 4to, a critical re-evaluation of which would be desirable.

cluding remarks on the language of the exemplar(s) — will be discussed in more detail in a forthcoming publication on the fragment (see below).

## Transcription

- 1 [...o] swa morg[o] goðrar aminningar Noregs konongą [oooooo]
- 2 [...o] . figurdar konongs. fænðr quediu. Eriki ærkibijkupi [ooo]
- 3 [...o] allum guds vínum ok sínum vinum værandom̄ ok yjð? kō-
- 4 [...]ðe. þeimær hann gefþ meer með míldi ok mískunsæmd
- 5 [...] fn̄t at sigurð konongr moðrfaðr mín hof staðen
- 6 [...] guds modoz. ok sua skal vera til híns øffta dags.
- 7 [...] þui er með rettom aatrunaðe yil vera til guds. dyr-
- 8 [...] ero til sōmðar. ok mer til framkømdar. bæde ym̄
- 9 [...v]ili taka .j. mote kononglega hæmpnd. hūær fa ær
- 10 [...] eftir þui sem ek hefir nu bírt a brefue mínu.
- 11 [...o]kkoz. fæm ek fe raðr hollyna mírrna at lata hann
- 12 [...þ]æs guð. at þetta ok alt annat. er ek tekr .j. mír
- 13 [...or]d fra ordð. vt̄tan aa. fyrrskrifuað brefue
- 14 [...gal] þessom stadt til vpheldis. þat er æginn hanf er
- 15 [...]men til fær. þa liggr honom viðr. ræidí guds.
- 16 [...]sk]øytíngar vattar. Jóhan biskup forle prestr. Afuarð
- 17 [...]o siðan er jorden var skøyrt ok mego þo vítni bera
- 18 [...] skialdara. Hakon jarl fænðr quediu allum guds
- 19 [...]em̄ia hann ok væita honom hialpræde fer til miskunnar
- 20 [...]at honom vanz eígí lif til. þa hefir jngi konongr broðr var
- 21 [...]om̄ hueriom manne at ríufua þessa hans [g]iof ok sua
- 22 [...]fua hyllí [gu]ð[s] ok [hínna]r hælgumariú ok [oooooo] [g]uds
- 23 [...]o]ru.

- 1 [...o]: Remnants of 'm;' (með)?    1 fwa: Seems to read 'fwa', but <w> not used elsewhere.  
 1 morg[o]: Reading uncertain. Possibly two characters missing.    1 konongą: Or 'kononga'? (cf. the shape of <e> in 'kononglega' l. 9).    2 [ooo]: The first unclear character could be <þ>. 3 værandom̄: Very unclear.    3 yjð? kō: Perhaps <i> instead of <z>.    4 [...]ðe: Or '[n]ðr'? 4 gefþ: <f> perhaps followed by an abbr.    6 [...]: Remnants of an <o> ('mario')?    8 ym̄: Very uncertain.    9 [...v]ili: Uncertain, but remnants of what could be a <v>.    11 raðr: Uncertain. 12 [þ]æs: Parts of <þ> legible.    12 tekr: <r> partly damaged.    13 [...or]d: The hook of <r> legible. 13 fyrrskrifuað: Or 'fyrrskrifuað'?    13 brefue:] <b> partly damaged. 14 hanf: Uncertain. 17 [...]o: Perhaps <e> instead of <o>.    19 [...]em̄ia: Perhaps <n> instead of <m>, <e> uncertain. 21 [...]om̄: Very uncertain. The first (undeciphered) character written interlinearly. Something like fyrirbjóðum could be expected.    21 [g]iof: Parts of <g> legible.

## Dating and character of the text

The text preserved on the three strips is missing several words and parts of words at the beginning of each line, besides having a mutilated ending, making the continuity and syntax of the whole difficult to ascertain. Nonetheless, a preliminary analysis of the names of historical individuals that occur in the text allows for a dating with a high degree of proximity based on comparison with established prosopographical data from other sources.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, seventeenth-century regests of lost Norwegian letters with related contents may provide further information about the original charters.

As will be argued further below, we seem to have a set of three letters, written continuously and concerned with establishing related property rights. While lines 2 and 18 clearly have recognizable epistolary salutations (“fænðr quediu”), which mark the beginnings of two separate letters, the end of line 10 (“hefir nu bírt a brefue mínu”) also gives the impression of an ending, especially when juxtaposed with the reference to a previous letter in line 13 (“aa. fyrrskrifudo brefue”), although there is some room here for doubt. It is thus possible (but by no means certain) that a salutation is missing in the lost beginning of line 11. If not, lines 11–18 could alternatively be construed as an addition appended to the first letter rather than as an independent letter. However, the witnesses in lines 16–18 clearly mark the end of a letter.

In the first letter, at line 2, the name of the primary recipient is noted: Archbishop Eiríkr (“Eriki ærkibjóupi”). The Old Norwegian language of the letters shows beyond doubt that this cannot be Erik Valkendorf, whose period of office fell in the early sixteenth century, so the individual in question must be Eiríkr Ívarsson, Archbishop of Nidaros 1188–1205/6. The second letter (lines 11–18) does not preserve the names of the sender or recipient(s). At the beginning of the third letter (line 18), the name of the sender, Hákon jarl, is fully legible (“Hakon jarl fænðr quediu”). Since

<sup>11</sup> The primary source of information about the political players of the period from 1202–1207 in Norwegian history is the anonymous *Bøglunga saga*, which covers events from the end of *Sverris saga* to the beginning of *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. See Þorleifur Hauksson, Sverrir Jakobsson, and Tor Ulset eds., *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar: Bøglunga saga. Magníss saga lagabætis*. 2 vols. Íslenzk Fornrit 31–32 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 2013), including introduction and notes.

this Hákon refers to his brother as King Ingi (“jngi konongr broðr var”, l. 20), we may identify him as Earl Hákon the Crazy ('galinn', d. 1214), son of Cecilia, daughter of King Sigurðr Munnr. Hákon the Crazy was the half-brother of Ingi Bárðarson, king of the *Birkibeinar* faction from 1204 to 1217. In the first letter, moreover, mention is made twice of a King Sigurðr: first in line 2 as a qualification in the genitive (“figurdar konongs”), and again in line 5 as the maternal grandfather of the sender (“figurðr konongr moðzfaðr mínn”), whose name is missing. King Sigurðr Munnr was the maternal grandfather of both King Ingi and Earl Hákon the Crazy. However, the royal threat (“taka .j. mote kononglega hæmpnd”) in line 9 speaks unambiguously for the king. We may thus attempt to reconstruct line 2:

[...jngi konongr dottoz sonr] figurdar konongs. fænðr quediu. Eriki ærkibifkupi [ooo]

More could well be missing at the beginning of the line, so this reconstruction provides the information that *at least* the equivalent of two more strips of parchment is missing.<sup>12</sup> The witnesses listed in the second letter (lines 16–18), Bishop Johan, the priest Sørli, Sigvarðr and a certain “skjaldari” whose name is lost, have so far not been identified.<sup>13</sup>

The letters themselves were evidently not dated but assuming they belong together and originate from around the same time, we can assign dates to them on the basis of the names and titles of the receiver of the first letter and the senders of the first and third letters. According to *Bøglunga saga*, King Ingi Bárðarson was elected with the support of Archbishop Eiríkr in the summer or autumn of 1204, after which he appointed his older half-brother, Hákon the Crazy, who had also been a contender to the throne, as earl and general by his side.<sup>14</sup> About a year and a half later, the archbishop ceded his office to a successor on account of blindness and old age. The precise *terminus ante quem* for the letters cannot be fixed but in extant papal letters Eiríkr’s successor, Þórir Guðmundsson, is referred

<sup>12</sup> The calculation also takes into consideration a left-hand margin.

<sup>13</sup> Similar by-names, ‘minniskjöldr’ and ‘skjaldarband’, are found in *Hákonar saga*, which covers the subsequent period in Norwegian royal history. See the names ‘Magnús minniskjöldur’ and ‘Andrés skjaldarband’ in the index of names in Þorleifur Hauksson et al., *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, II, 295 and 319.

<sup>14</sup> Þorleifur Hauksson et al., *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, I, 9–10.

to as archbishop as early as February 1206.<sup>15</sup> This circumstantial evidence allows for a dating of the first and third letters to 1204–1206.

The property handed over in the first letter, or rather, the gift that is being confirmed, appears to be a church farm called Hofstaðrinn (“hof staðen”, l. 5). The original giver is “figurð konongr moðrfaðr mín” (l. 5), i.e. Sigurðr II Haraldsson (d. 1155). Although the name of the receiver is missing, it seems to be an ecclesiastical institution dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, “guds modo” (l. 6).<sup>16</sup> The receiver of the gift seems to be a church other than Hofstaðrinn (which appears to be the gift) or a monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Eight attested Norwegian diplomas from 1188 to 1229 most likely refer to the same place, Hof(staðrinn). These letters belonged to the Cistercian monastery of Høfuðey (modern Norwegian Hovedøya) just outside of Oslo, which was dedicated to the Anglo Saxon king St. Edmund the Martyr and to the Virgin Mary. The letters define the property rights to Hof on Húðrimar (Norwegian: Hov på/i Hurum/Hurumhalvøya), i.e. the church farm Hof on the peninsula between the modern capital Oslo and the city of Drammen. Some are gift letters, others confirmations of gifts, and three defined the rights of salmon fishing in Húðrimar Straumr (named after the current in the narrow strait between Svelvik and Hurum).<sup>17</sup>

Our knowledge of these eight letters and their contents derives entirely from the *Akershusregister* of 1622, the originals having likely been destroyed

<sup>15</sup> *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. 22 vols. (Kristiania/Oslo: Malling/Kommisjonen for Diplomatarium Norvegicum, 1847–1992), VII, 6–10.

<sup>16</sup> This form is possibly an indirect object in dative, e.g. “gaf/helgaðr guds modo”, or, though less likely considering the archaic language of the letter, a genitive governed by a preposition, e.g. “til guds modo”.

<sup>17</sup> These charters are described in *Regesta Norvegica* (RN) (nr. 204, 324, 352, 369, 370, 390, 588, 589). A digitized and searchable version has been made available by The National Archives of Norway, “Regesta Norvegica”, online version by Digitalarkivet, accessed April 25, 2016, [www.dokpro.uio.no/dipl\\_norv/regesta\\_felt.html](http://www.dokpro.uio.no/dipl_norv/regesta_felt.html). The monastery in question was a large proprietor of land in the Middle Ages. It was founded in the middle of the twelfth century, and abolished in 1532, when it was burnt down and its treasures and archive moved to Akershus in Oslo by the Danish Governor, Mogens Gyldenstjerne. See Bernt Christian Bowitz, “Hovedøya Maria kloster – langt fra menneskers ferdsel? En analyse av klosterets økonomiske forhold” (MA thesis, Institutt for arkeologi, konservering og historie, University of Oslo, 2009), last modified January 18, 2005, [www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/23783/Bowitzx.pdf?sequence=1](http://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/23783/Bowitzx.pdf?sequence=1).

in the great fire of Copenhagen in 1728.<sup>18</sup> Two Danish officials, both secretaries of the Danish Chancery, Gregers Krabbe (1594–1655) and Mogens Høg (1593–1661), supervised the compilation of this register, though in deciphering the letters they may have been aided by Norwegian scribes who could read Old Norse. A set of three letters in the *Akershusregister*, nr. 1018–1020 in the printed edition (corresponding to RN 369, 370, 390), have contents that are related to the new fragment on several points:

1018. 3 kongebreffue tilhaabefest, dett ene Haagen Jarlß gaffue-breff paa itt laxefischende, kaldis Hoff wedt Hudrumstrøm [Hudrumstrøem]. 1019. Dett andett er J: kong och Haagen Jarlß stadfestelße paa samme gaffue. 1020. Dett 3die er J: kongens dottersøn Sigurder konges wdi lige maade stadtfestelße paa forne gaffue, alle 3 wden aar og dag. [1205–14].<sup>19</sup>

The similarities are considerable. As described in the Register, we appear to have a set of three undated letters in the fragment.<sup>20</sup> In both cases, two of the main agents are the same, King Ingi and Earl Hákon as senders, and included in this context is a mention of King Sigurðr as King Ingi's maternal grandfather. The editor of *Regesta Norvegica* dates these letters within Ingi's and Hákon's period of office, 1204–1217 and 1205–1214, while Gustav Storm and Bernt Christian Bowitz, in the latter's study of the economy of Hovedøya monastery, date them more narrowly to 1212 and 1204–1208 respectively.<sup>21</sup> Our dating of the text of the new fragment falls within this range of years. In addition, the sets of letters in both cases concern a church farm, 'staðr', called Hof. Finally, the phrase "J[nge] kongens dottersøn Sigurder konges [...] stadtfestelße" in the Register, which is marked off as a citation by the editor of the *Regesta Norvegica* ("dattersønn av kong Sigurd"), fits with our attempt to reconstruct line 2 in the fragment.

<sup>18</sup> G. Tank, ed., *Akershusregistret af 1622: Fortegnelse optaget af Gregers Krabbe og Mogens Høg paa Akershus slot over de derværende breve*, Udgivet af Den norske historiske Kildeskriftkommission (Kristiania: Grøndahl & Søn, 1916), III–IV.

<sup>19</sup> Tank, ed., *Akershusregistret*, 68. Editorial additions are printed in brackets. On this entry and on the farm Hof, see Bowitz, "Hovedøya Maria kloster," 60–61.

<sup>20</sup> Other instances of three letters "attached" in the *Akershusregister* are rare, although they do occur, e.g. nr. 90–92 ("tilhaabefest"), and 140–142 ("sammelfest").

<sup>21</sup> RN 369; Bowitz, "Hovedøya Maria kloster," 61.

Although a more detailed investigation of these correspondences is needed, it is tempting to advance the working hypothesis that the new fragment from the binding of AM 22 4to is a copy of the same three letters described in the *Akershusregister* (nr. 1018–1020). For this hypothesis to stand, however, one needs to allow for inaccuracies in the Register (which is not without flaws in other places) with regard to the order of the letters. It is also possible that the fragment represents two of the Akershus-letters, the third one having been written below on a missing bottom part of the leaf or even on another leaf now lost.

## Conclusions

Old Norse texts are rarely found in book bindings, which most often yield scraps of Latin liturgical books, and the discovery of a set of royal letters in this context is even rarer. The rediscovery of letters from the Hovedøya archive is most unexpected. It is also worth pointing out that few diplomatic texts in Old Norse survive at all from this early date. The documents in question, although they originally belonged to a Cistercian monastery in Norway, concerned the property rights of the monastery which were transferred to the Danish Crown after the destruction of the monastery, and thus not made obsolete. As far as can be known, these letters were still valid legal charters at least into the seventeenth century. Their reuse in the binding of a Danish law manuscript thus calls for an explanation. One possible explanation for their becoming obsolete could be the archaic language they use, which was probably not legible to Danish officials around 1500. The owners of a manuscript like AM 22 4to would presumably be found in such circles, although studies to support that supposition have as yet not been undertaken. Why the Norwegian letters under discussion ended up in the binding of this codex, why they were copied in the first place, and whether they are singular documents or form a part of a collection of such copies are questions that cannot be answered at this point. A more detailed investigation of the fragment, including an analysis of the writing and the language, is scheduled to appear in *Opuscula* 15 (pres. 2017). Meanwhile, this preliminary publication makes the fragment available to those who might be interested in the knowledge, historical or otherwise, that it can yield.

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

## M A N U S C R I P T S

*Den Arnamagnæanske samling, Nordisk forskningsinstitut, Københavns Universitet, København*

AM 22 4to

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Beeke Stegmann

*Den Arnamagnæanske Samling*  
Nordisk Forskningsinstitut  
Københavns Universitet  
[beeke.stegmann@hum.ku.dk](mailto:beeke.stegmann@hum.ku.dk)

Gottskalk Jansson

*Den Arnamagnæanske Samling*  
Nordisk Forskningsinstitut  
Københavns Universitet  
[gottskalk@hum.ku.dk](mailto:gottskalk@hum.ku.dk)

Natasha Fazlic

*Den Arnamagnæanske Samling*  
Nordisk Forskningsinstitut  
Københavns Universitet  
[fazlic@hum.ku.dk](mailto:fazlic@hum.ku.dk)

Alex Speed Kjeldsen

*Den Arnamagnæanske Samling*  
Nordisk Forskningsinstitut  
Københavns Universitet  
[alex@hum.ku.dk](mailto:alex@hum.ku.dk)



CAROL J. CLOVER

## SAME FRAME

### *Sagas and Movies*

*Speech delivered on the occasion of Professor Clover's acceptance  
of an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Iceland, October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2015*

WHEN SVEINN YNGVI [Egilsson, Professor of Icelandic literature and Head of Íslensku- og menningardeild 2014–16] and I agreed that my talk today should be a casual one explaining the relation of my two fields, film and medieval, I breathed a sigh of relief. Largely because it's something I've had to think about and have even spoken about once before, on orders from my colleagues, at my retirement in 2007. I tried then, and will try again here – though in a very different way, for the obvious reason that you are a very different audience, an audience of whom not just some of you know what the *Íslendingasögur* are, but all of you. What a pleasure.

I met sagas and film in the same year: 1959. It was in San Francisco, where I'd come to college with the plan of studying music. My third night there, I decided to go to a movie. I'd seen only a handful of movies in my life up to then, so going to "the cinema" seemed like a cool, city thing to do. I lived just two blocks from the Surf Theater, a well-known art-film venue (though I didn't know that at the time). The film I saw was Ingmar Bergman's *Smultronstället* (*Wild Strawberries*). I found it bewildering but powerful, and I knew I wanted to see more films like it. And I did – lots. By Christmas I'd seen films by not only Bergman, but Bunuel, Godard, Dreyer, Pabst, and Kurasawa; and I'd met other film buffs with whom I'd go to movies and afterwards to a café for discussion over wine. It was informal education, but education nonetheless.

In the meantime, at school, one of my required courses had to be in literature; I chose a survey of western epic, a course that began with *Gilgamesh* and marched through the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Aeneid*, *Chanson de Roland*, *Nibelungenlied*, *Beowulf*, and, finally, *Njál's Saga* (in the old Dasent

translation). I loved all the readings, but it was *Njáls saga* that bowled me over. I wrote my term paper on it; looked up “Norse Sagas” in encyclopedias; and from libraries got first the *Saga of the Laxdalers*, then *Egil’s saga*, then *Saga of the Ere-Dwellers*. I also began reading around in Old and Middle English literature and then in medieval French and German, though it remained the sagas that interested me most.

So I was “doing” film and sagas from 1959 on — sagas as a quasi-academic pursuit, film as serious hobby. It never crossed my mind then that they had anything to do with each other. And they didn’t, or at least not in the ways that would later come to interest me.

The following year I moved to Berkeley and there re-started my sophomore year — not in music, but in Scandinavian and Comparative Literature, emphasis on the Middle Ages. I took my B.A. and continued into graduate school, at this point as a single mother of two children. My only time in Iceland was a month in the summer of 1970, with my kids; but that was more for purposes of meeting the place than for study or research. My children loved Iceland, for reasons I’ll come back to.

In the autumn of 1971, we moved from Berkeley to Boston, where I had my first job at Harvard teaching Scandinavian literature — from sagas to Strindberg. Within weeks of my arrival, I was approached by the head of the Carpenter Center, Harvard’s art museum and home to its Art History Program. The Center, he said, wanted to start giving courses in cinema and I had been recommended as a serious film buff; would I be interested in teaching a course on some aspect of Scandinavian cinema? Sure, I said. (At that time, film was just emerging as an academic subject, and the few people who taught it had little academic training to speak of.) So the Center ordered some films for me to screen in advance, and on the very small basis of that plus some reading, in the fall of 1972 I offered my first film course, on Bergman and Dreyer. In the coming years I added courses in Scandinavian and German silent cinema. And so on. I mention this partly to dispel the idea (I can’t tell you how many people have asked me this) that I started out as a medievalist, then got bored with the Middle Ages and, in mid-career, switched to film instead. The record will show that I was teaching both pretty much from day one and continued to do so every year after that. And I’m still working on both.

What did change at some point was the *kind* of cinema I worked on,

which up until the late 70s was European art cinema. But not American movies. Definitely not American movies, which, to the extent I'd seen any, I pretty much scorned as pulp fiction. I wasn't alone in that bias. Nor was I alone in splitting the world of film into two categories. On one side were genre films, typically American, the products of studio committees rather than individual artists; plot-driven and formulaic in both their formal properties and the stories they told. On the other side was (mostly) European art cinema, a tradition more lyric than narrative; more invested in states of mind than in plots; driven more by philosophical implications than by endings; and more formally experimental, drawing attention to a film's individual artistic madeness (a no-no in Hollywood films, which were designed to seem self-telling).

Some of my friends could happily go to an American boxing movie one night and the next night to a French film about a relationship, but most people tilted toward one type or the other. I tilted emphatically toward art cinema – until the later 70s, when, back in Berkeley, I finally backed down and started going to some American movies. And of course the video revolution also enabled a systematic look backwards at the longer history of American cinema that I'd missed. It was only then that it finally dawned on me that genre cinema is not just failed art cinema, but its own thing with its own aesthetic – not the esthetic of James Joyce or Albert Camus, but an aesthetic a lot like that of, well, my other field, medieval literature.

Medieval literature too is a world of the formulaic. A world of cycles, in which there is seldom an original, a real or right text, but only variants. A world in which texts can be shortened, lengthened, imitated, disguised, sequeled, prequeled, changed from verse to prose or prose to verse, and so on. A world in which texts were more commonly meant to be heard than read. A world in which authors' names are mostly unknown to us—not just because they may be lost, but because they may not have mattered that much to begin with. Even when we have authors, as in the case of Gottfried or Chretien, it's not exactly clear what that means when the texts in question are yet another *Tristan* and yet another *Perceval*.

The notion of authorship sits no less uneasily in the world of modern genre cinema, and for much the same reason. This too is a world of retellings – of copies of copies of copies. What is film noir but a cycle? Ditto the western, the backstage musical, the romantic comedy, and so on. And

how many thousands of times has Hollywood retold the Oedipus story in one guise or another? Or the Ash Lad tale-type, playable as comedy, western, courtroom drama, musical, gangster, etc? And what are the formulaic protocols of classical Hollywood shooting and editing but a technological version of the system of verbal clichés that enable tradition-based narrative more broadly? It's no surprise that when Hollywood started advertising its movies as "a film by John Ford" or "a Howard Hawks film," it often had less to do with auteurism than with the studios' cynical wish to appeal to art-film audiences, who, like European filmmakers, were bent on "transforming film history into a cult of personality," as André Bazin put it. But Hollywood films were primarily the products not of auteur-directors, but of studios – of committees, in a word. And yet those committees could make some pretty good films. It was Bazin who, in 1957, famously wrote that "the American cinema is a classical art...so why not then admire in it what is most admirable – i.e., not only the talent of this or that filmmaker, but the genius of the system."

In a not-so-different way, I think, the genius of the sagas is also the genius of a system – a system of telling that stands alone in European letters. I'm inclined to think that Snorri had to do with the making of *Egil saga*, but in something like the way that Howard Hawks had to do with making of the film *The Big Sleep*: operating firmly within a set of stock protocols, but with personal touches, and emphases, here and there. I think Howard and Snorri could have an interesting conversation about creating what has been called "art in a closed field" – for the prose "field" of the sagas is indeed a closed one.

So: upside-down as it may seem, it was studying medieval literature that taught me how to understand American genre cinema—to "get" it, to appreciate it on its own terms. So starting in the early 80s (I was back in Berkeley by then), my film teaching shifted from art cinema to genre cinema: mainly film noir and detective narrative more generally; horror movies; and courtroom dramas – plus occasional lectures in others' courses on the musical and the western.

But it's the northern subset of medieval literature that became my specialty; so the question narrows to one of the common ground between Hollywood genre movies and Norse-Icelandic literature, especially but not only the *Íslendingasögur*. Of course the sagas have a number of the formal

characteristics of both medieval literature and genre film that I enumerated earlier. But they are also *thematically* allied with Hollywood cinema in some striking ways.

I turn now to four of the thematic nodes that have occupied me on both the medieval and the film fronts: revenge; trials; the frontier or terra nova origin story; and, of course, gender.

\* \* \*

Of these, revenge is the most blatant. We all know how the workings of honor and vengeance play out in sagas — how systematically, richly, and intelligently the sagas parse not just bloody confrontations, but lawsuits and all manner of political and social encounters. I think of the sagas as treatises on getting even.

Much the same can be said of American genre films overall. There are the obvious, hard-revenge genres: action, gangster, war; and so on. And then there are soft-revenge movies, in which a character gets morally even, or socially or politically even. Soft revenge runs the entire gamut of American cinema, from bio-pics and musicals and courtroom dramas to romance and even melodrama. Many of these are films that don't seem on the face of it to be revenge stories, but if you look past the surface plot to the underlying logic, you'll almost always find a getting-even template. I'd go so far as to say that the getting-even template is a *sine qua non* of American cinema.

One of my favorite movie lines is spoken by Clint Eastwood's Dirty Harry in the movie of that name. "Revenge," Harry says, "is the oldest motivation known to mankind." Getting-even stories, soft or hard, are indeed old, and they are also widespread, perhaps universal. Wherever the Cinderella tale-type is (almost everywhere), a revenge plot is. Which brings me to another Hollywood quote, this one from Alfred Hitchcock in the 1950s: "If you want to make movies for the world, make movies in America; America is a nation of foreigners." Add Hitchcock to Dirty Harry and you get something like this: "If you want to make movies for the world, make getting-even stories; revenge is universally intelligible, a kind of a cross-cultural bottom line."

This is why I've put at least one saga on the reading list of just about every film course I've ever taught. I switch around, but it was commonly

*Njála* in my course on the courtroom drama, *Laxdaela* when I lectured on the western, and *Gísla saga* when I did film noir and detective thrillers. (And I put the sagas in for two reasons: first, to get the students to see how deep-seated certain narrative patterns are; and second, because I think everyone should read a saga.)

One chapter in my book on exploitation horror cinema is called “Getting Even,” about the cycle I refer to as rape-revenge films. The standard rape-revenge movie has someone from the city come to the country and there be sexually violated by local people in some appalling way; and then, after a period of thoughtful convalescence, the victim rises to take appropriately appalling revenge – by maiming, castrating, and/or murdering the violators. (There are psychoanalytic and socio-economic dimensions to all of this, but I won’t go into those here.)

The “Getting Even” chapter is the one I found easiest to write, for the simple reason that I had a deep fund of knowledge to draw upon for the forms, logic, and esthetics of revenge – a fund called the *Íslendingasögur*. In the book manuscript I submitted, “Getting Even” had a lot of references to sagas in the footnotes. But the Press nixed what they called these “irrelevant footnote essays,” and that was that. Still, some readers recognized the medieval subtext, and some reviews even mentioned it.

\* \* \*

Now to another form of getting even: trials. I’m currently working on a book titled *The People’s Plot: Trials, Movies, and the Adversarial Imagination*, which is about how the Anglo-American trial has given rise and shape to some of the most characteristic features of (especially) American cinema. What connects this book to the sagas is its point of departure: the premise that where the adversarial trial is, certain forms of public attention and entertainment will be.

A comparison of two scenes will make the point. The first scene you know: it’s from the burning trial in *Njáls saga*, and is Eyjólfur’s advice to his client Flosi.

“You are to transfer your chieftaincy to your brother Thorgeir, and attach yourself to the constituency of the chieftain Askel Thor-  
ketilsson of Reykjardale, in the North Quarter. If your opponents

don't hear of this, they will probably make a fatal error, by pleading the case in the East Quarter Court instead of the North Quarter Court. This is a possibility they will overlook, and a Fifth Court charge can be lodged against them for pleading in the wrong court."

Lest this jurisdictional maneuver seem quaint, consider the second scene, this one from the American TV series *Law & Order*. A young Russian-born man has been arrested for a mob-related crime in Brooklyn, part of New York City. What the prosecutor really wants, though, is the name of the mob boss, so to that end, he offers the young mobster a deal: if he'll reveal the boss's name, the prosecutor will give him "full immunity in New York County to anything he testifies to." The young guy's defense lawyer, also Russian-born, repeats the offer: "Full immunity to anything my client testifies to in New York County." They strike a bargain, whereupon the prosecutor places the young man under arrest. His astonished lawyer protests: "There's a deal in place! No prosecution in New York City!" To which the prosecutor replies, "In New York County. That's *Manhattan*. I never gave you immunity in Brooklyn. That's *King's County*." And then, turning to the young man, "Next time, get yourself a better lawyer, son." (Yes, things like that really do happen in the Anglo-American trial; in fact, this episode is based on a real-life case.)

These two scenes serve to remind us that the early Icelandic trial and the Anglo-American trial are "runnin af sama rót," as Þorleifur Guðmundsson Repp observed in the 1830s. That is, they are descended from the primitive adversary process that obtained throughout western Europe before the rise of Christian monarchies, which, once they got established, adopted Roman-canonical procedure – except for England, which alone in Europe stuck to the basics of the adversarial structure, which it eventually planted in all its colonies, including mine. Thus the two great procedural systems of the Western world, which I'll call Roman and Anglo for short.

Some legal historians find the distinction exaggerated, especially insofar as the two systems have grown more alike, especially in the last century. Other perhaps more culturally-inclined scholars continue to find the distinction compelling. I'm with them.

Much has been written on the nature of the Anglo and Roman trials — especially that of the Anglo trial, which seems to want more explaining than the Roman system of the Continent, the processes of which tend to seem self-evident. It's been said that the difference between Anglo and Roman trial process echoes the difference in classical Greece between the sophists (like Protagorus) and the philosophers (like Aristotle and Plato). The Anglo trial has also been called a "proof" system, as opposed to the Roman trial's "truth" system. The Anglo system is also said to have no authority beyond its own process, but rather to be "manifestly dependent on human argument and without any existence outside human argument." And it goes without saying that the proof-system trials have a lot of theatrical value. In the sagas, we see people attending trials, reacting to them, talking about them, judging the lawyers' performances, and so on. Those spectators look a lot like Anglo "courtwatchers" — members of the public who just go to trials, different people for different reasons. They too talk about the proceedings, judge the lawyers' performances, and so on — both in conversation and in courtwatcher meetings, courtwatcher newsletters, courtwatcher blogs, and the like. And saga trials and Anglo trials have some obvious commonalities: both stage a confrontation between two parties, each with its own advocate; both select a "jury" via a process of challenges; and both have a rigid turn-taking format and are formalistic in the extreme.

I can think of only one of the *Íslendingasögur* proper that has no trial, and that is the very short *Þorsteins saga hvita*. The rest have at least one and often two or more — sometimes several. How many trials that adds up to, I don't know, but it's a lot; trials are clearly central to the saga enterprise. And the drama of the trial doesn't begin and end in court with the formal pleadings. The causal event — a killing, say — is also narrated, before and as it happens, with close attention to who the witnesses were, or, if it wasn't a public or admitted killing, then what indirect or circumstantial evidence there might be. There are even CSI's (crime-scene investigations, like that at Bergþórshváll after the burning) and forensic tests (like that of chapter 49 of *Njála*, in which Hallgerðr's cheese wedges are fitted into a neighbor's mould to prove theft). I would go as far as to say that the methodical recording of facts, evidence, and proof — not in some primitive sense, but exactly as those things are defined in the modern era—is part of the sagas' operating system.

It's also the case that even saga scenes quite distant from actual lawsuits can have the quality of legal exchanges. The dialogue in the York episode of *Egil's saga* between Queen Gunnhildr and Arinbjörn sounds for all the world like a colloquy between prosecution and defense. Even dinner conversations can sound lawyerly in the sagas. Or business transactions. Or women's gossip. In *Ljósvetninga saga* we see a mock trial as household entertainment. (A mock trial is one in which ordinary people act out imaginary court scenarios. Even in my rural high school, doing mock trials was a requirement in social studies classes.) The sagas show us a world in which even children can be figured as imitating trials. In *Njála* we see boys playing a game in which one says "I'll be Mörðr and divorce you from your wife." To which another replies "Then I'll be Hrútr and invalidate your dowry claim." As Gisli Sigurðsson reminds us, the sagas suggest that young boys were expected to learn the law, tutored by legal experts.

One could say that what's been called the Anglo trial's "peculiar epistemology" also amounts to a kind of cultural operating system. That's what Alexis de Tocqueville thought (though he didn't use the term "operating system"). A French historian and thinker, Tocqueville went to the U.S. in 1830 to study the workings of democracy there. His two-volume ethnography devotes a long and crucial section to the cultural force of the American legal system. Mainly because of the institution of the jury, he thought, that system had "penetrated beyond the walls" of the American courtroom out into the very "bosom of society," affecting all classes and all manner of political and cultural life, right down to "the games of schoolboys." Think of that: Icelandic saga kids and nineteenth-century American kids both playing trial-games.

The reason Tocqueville was so struck by the "trialness" of American culture is that it wasn't that way at home in France – or, for that matter, the rest of the Continent. My own research into trial *movies* suggests that, to a considerable extent, this remains the case. Here's a statistic: in film alone, U.S. production alone, and the sound period alone (ca. 1930 on), I've so far found close to 1800 titles of explicit trial films, as opposed to the low hundreds from the same period in Continental Europe – a ratio of roughly 8:1.

And that's just film. There's also a long Anglo tradition of popular courtroom novels and theater, as well as television series like *Perry Mason*,

*Law & Order*, and dozens of others, going back for decades – not to speak of *Court TV* (which televised complete live trials), reality judge shows, board games, card games, cyberjuries, courtwatching, and on and on. I might also suggest that what Continental trial movies there are, tend to have a different shape and a different point. They're more likely to be wrong-decision stories or wrong-man stories (martyr narratives of a sort), as opposed to the acephalous combats of the standard Anglo trial movie, which is typically about outwitting and one-upping the opposition in an effort to convince us, the jury, of one or the other position beyond a reasonable doubt.

But it's not plot types that interest me here so much as it is the fact that the Continental trial has not been particularly generative in the entertainment system, whereas the adversarial jury trial is a veritable machine for the manufacture of popular story, throwing off shadow forms of itself wherever it is found – notably in the U.S., something that Tocqueville would probably have related to the fact that of the world's jury trials, more than 80 percent are American. (Actually, that figure may be growing smaller because of the increase in plea bargaining—but that's another story.)

\* \* \*

I turn now from trials to the movie western. Movie westerns routinely open with the arrival of settlers from somewhere back east to somewhere on the western frontier – a terra nova. These settlers have come by horse-drawn wagons or railroads, depending on when and where.

Movie westerns are about life before effective law enforcement. Their world is one of poaching, cattle-rustling, vigilante actions, and outlawry; and of feuds that start small but grow larger, involving more and more people. Even when there was a sheriff in the vicinity, he was usually weak. For better or worse, the settlers tended to govern themselves. Also like other frontiers, the American west was long on men and short on women, and this too is thematized in the films. And then there is the relationship between settlers and the native Americans — sometimes good, sometimes bad, sometimes very bad. I never cease to be amazed at the congruence of some of those western stories with the Icelandic tales of encounters with the *skrælingar* in the New World.

The Hollywood western has largely faded, but lest you think it was a minor phenomenon, I note that in the thirty years between 1930 and 1960 there were over 2000 westerns made, and that they featured some of the biggest stars of the era. The similarities between westerns and Icelandic sagas have been noted by others. I myself have neither written nor given courses on the western, though I sometimes gave lectures on that subject in colleagues' courses; and in my undergraduate courses on Old Norse-Icelandic Literature I routinely showed at least one western film in connection with the *Íslendingasögur*.

It's worth remembering that among the audiences for the movie western, which got going seriously in the 1930s, were the original settlers' children and grandchildren. I'm one of the latter. My mother's parents came west (separately) as young people in 1909, via railroad for part of the way and horse-drawn wagons the rest. They were homesteaders – people to whom the federal government had given grants of free land. (Between 1852 and 1936, over 1.5 million such grants were given out.) The locations and borders of these homesteads were of course recorded by hand and deposited in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. It's hard not to think of these manuscript records as a kind of latter-day *Lándnámabók*.

My grandparents' grants were in the desert wilderness of eastern Oregon – pretty bad land. They didn't know each other before they came to Oregon; they met there and soon married. They were followed out west by several siblings and even my grandfather's parents. So my own grandparents (who died when I was in my late twenties) were first-settlers in the wild west; and in later family gatherings, they and their siblings told stories that my parents, my brothers and I, and even my children listened to 50, 60, 70 years later. Those stories had to do with happenings in their area: property disputes, cattle-rustling, outlaws, a lynching, struggles over water, and so on.

After five years they'd had enough of the desert. So they moved by horse-and-wagon about a hundred kilometers south, over the border into northeastern California – high-mountain country, but with fertile meadows. The only problem there was Mt. Lassen, an active volcano that acted up periodically, including the very next year, in 1915 (a century ago this year), when there was a major eruption. When it happened, my grandfather was off working about 30 kilometers west and my grandmother was

alone on the ranch, hearing and watching and feeling this volcano gather force over the hours and days. Finally, to quote her, “I took my rifle, saddled my horse, and rode over to where I knew Charlie was, because I didn’t want to die alone.” When in later years they sat around telling stories about the pioneer days, this was one of my grandmother’s classic contributions. (And for the record, before I wrote this down, I double-checked it with my great aunt, and she said I had it right.)

I myself grew up on one of the family ranches in that general vicinity, and in later years I would bring my children there regularly to visit their grandparents and great-grandparents. I said earlier that my kids loved Iceland, and here’s a big reason why: they loved discovering that there was some other place in the world that looked and felt (and smelled) so like their own Mt. Lassen – with its steaming, bubbling pools of mud and of water, and lava-beds everywhere.

So what does all this shamelessly autobiographical detail have to do with the relation of sagas and cinema in my work (beyond the presence of the occasional western film on my course list)? Not a whole lot. But as I say, one of my first reactions on reading the sagas was one of recognition of the frontier origin story. And it also made me think that this species of origin story, ancestral migrations to new-world frontiers, almost demands to be remembered, retold, and, in one way or another, recorded. The American western stories were most certainly recorded: in oral tales, memoirs, traveller’s reports, novels, western novelty shows, movies, songs, and the like. We all know the forms in which the stories of Icelandic settlement were recorded.

As for the eruption of Mt. Lassen, the only possible connection I can make to my topic today is that when I started studying Old Norse in 1963, and first ran across the word “hraun” and looked it up, I knew exactly what it was.

\* \* \*

My last topic is gender, on which I worked in both the film and Norse fronts for about ten years. My interest began on the Norse side, in 1982, when, in the course of reviewing a book on *níð* and masculinity in early Iceland, I found myself resisting the author’s presumption of distinct and opposite male and female roles – the separate-spheres account. But what,

then, was the model? I did a lot of re-reading of the texts and eventually came up with what, I realize in retrospect, was a project statement for work I would do in the coming years.

To the extent, I wrote in that book review, that there was a social binary in early Iceland as represented in the texts we have, it was between strong and weak – the strong including able-bodied free men and the exceptional woman, and the weak including slaves, old men, most women, and children. What informs the Norse material is, then, not so much a male-female dichotomy as a strong-weak continuum on which gender is only one of several operative considerations. This model implies a single standard of behavior, a system that largely privileged the male but was at the same time “a system in which, because the strong woman was not inhibited by a theoretical ceiling above which she could not rise, and the weak man not protected by a theoretical floor below which he could not fall, the potential for gender overlap in the social hierarchy was always present.” That the sagas are manifestly fascinated with overlap scenarios is a point on which I think we would all agree.

My research in the following years took up tropes in which that logic was on display: the maiden warrior tradition; the whetting and lamenting tradition as it played out over gender lines; the legal provision to the effect that for certain purposes, brotherless daughters could become legal sons—and so on. I wrote an article and then another and was starting to imagine a book on the subject when two things happened.

One was that I discovered exploitation-horror cinema and realized that this world too was governed by a strong-weak continuum that was on constant and flamboyant display. (By exploitation horror I mean films like slasher, rape-revenge, and occult movies of the lowest, trashiest sort—not Hollywood movies, but what are sometimes called no-budget or garage movies, the kind that showed at midnight in really bad theaters; were seen mostly by boys and young men; and were not reviewed or publicly discussed and were thus unknown to most adults, including film reviewers, film theorists, even many filmmakers.) I was stunned by the first slasher movie I saw – of course by its shock effects, but also by the way it upended standard industry practices and film-theory truisms about gendered audience identification.

The second thing that happened about then was that I met my Berkeley

colleague Thomas Laqueur, a historian of science, and we realized we were working on related issues — I on the things I just mentioned, he on a history of theories of sexual difference as articulated in medical treatises from the Greeks to the twentieth century. We traded work and ideas. From him I learned that the idea of opposite sexes did not emerge in the medical literature until the late 1700s with the discovery of the human egg, the ovum; and that before then, male and female sex organs were thought of as outside and inside versions of the same apparatus — which under certain conditions could slide back and forth. Laqueur called this the “one-sex” or “one-flesh” model, as opposed to the later “two-sex” or opposite-sex model. (This work came out as *Making Sex* in 1990.) The Norse materials seemed to me to reflect the one-sex model of the early world — hardly surprising. Likewise the exploitation horror I was looking at — for it became clear to me, as it is clear to others, that “low” culture continues to play the one-sex or one-flesh game right down to the present day. It’s as though trash culture never got the news about the sexes being opposite.

So it was that I found myself working on two books at the same time: one medieval and one on film, and both inspired by the same basic idea. So for the next eight years I interlaced medieval and modern manifestations of this complex, seeing some 200 movies and publishing three articles on the Norse side and one article and one book on the film side.

And what became of the book on medieval gender? Therein lies a tale that bears directly on my assignment today, and I’ll tell it by way of an ending.

The film book, *Men, Women, and Chainsaws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film*, came out in 1992. A couple of months after it appeared, I was contacted by Nancy Partner, a medievalist at McGill University, who said that she’d been asked by the Medieval Academy of America to put together a special issue of the journal *Speculum* on women in the Middle Ages. For it, she wanted something by me. It sounded crazy, she said, but she wanted me to rewrite, in Norse terms, any chapter of *Men, Women, and Chainsaws*. I started laughing (mainly because I couldn’t believe she’d read the book), but she was serious. And I got what she meant, because she also knew my essays on gender in the Norse world and had put two and two together.

Which is how I came to write, for that issue of *Speculum*, the article

“Regardless of Sex: Men, Women, and *Power* in Early Northern Europe.” That essay is not, however, a rewrite of any part of the film book; it shares that book’s underlying premise, but if it’s a summary of anything, it’s of the book I had in mind to write on Norse gender. And then, once I’d written this summary article, “Regardless of Sex,” I felt I’d pretty much said, though in abbreviated form, what I had to say, and decided to let the project stand there.

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And I think I’ll let this talk stand here. I hope I’ve made some sense of the intellectual connection between my two fields – how they’ve fed each other and fed off each other, whether the issue is revenge, trials, settler origins, or gender. It’s not been easy to be in two fields – not least because it’s not easy to be in two departments, with all that entails. But I wouldn’t have had it any other way. My main response, at this point in my life, is gratitude: that UC Berkeley allowed and even blessed my split arrangement; that my two departments put up with it; and finally, that at least some people in both scholarly communities found the results interesting. It’s 56 years since I first gave myself to *Njáls saga*, and the idea that *this* community has seen fit to honor me in this way means more to me than I can say. I thank you so much.

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AM 347 fol. (*Belgaldalsbók*) 197, 223  
AM 350 fol. (*Skarðsbók*) 197  
AM 351 fol. (*Skálholtsbók eldri*) 165, 171, 187, 189–95, 211–15, 219–20, 222  
AM 151 4to 171, 186, 194, 195, 208, 214, 215  
AM 160 4to 169  
AM 173d A29 4to 169  
AM 173d B2 4to 169  
AM 173d B7 4to 169  
AM 266 4to 167, 174  
AM 279 a 4to (*Pingeyrabók*) 266  
AM 343 a 4to 161  
AM 371 4to (*Hauksbók*) 131–51  
AM 382 4to 237  
AM 471 4to 94  
AM 486 4to 93  
AM 510 4to 169  
AM 551 d β 4to 94, 95  
AM 564 a 4to (*Pseudo-Vatnshyrna*) 95, 100  
AM 604 4to 169  
AM 624 4to 248, 263–68, 273–74, 277–78  
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AM 687 c I 4to 274  
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AM 431 12mo 169  
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AM Apogr. 843 169  
AM Dipl. Isl. fasc. LI 23 169  
GKS 1812 4to 130–31, 147  
Steph. 56 182  
Þjms 30 171, 176  
Þjms 716 171, 176  
Þjms 3327 175  
Þjms 3411 171, 176, 194, 195, 203  
Þjms 4126 171, 180, 195, 205  
Þjms 8276 171, 178  
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Lbs 519 4to 7

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 Lbs fragm 19 172  
 Lbs fragm 25 236  
 Lbs fragm 27 172  
 Lbs fragm 41 183  
 Lbs fragm 45 171, 178  
 Lbs fragm 46 171, 177, 178, 180, 204
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 196, 217  
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 Wormsbók*) 141
- AM 241 b III β fol. 171, 182, 206  
 AM 241 b IV fol. 171, 175, 203  
 AM 241 b IX fol. 172, 236  
 AM 249 p fol. 196–97
- AM 22 4to 283–87, 293  
 AM 325 VIII 4 c 4to 197  
 AM 544 4to (*Hauksbók*) 131–51
- AM 655 XXVII 4to 263, 268, 273  
 AM 667 XVII 4to 274  
 AM 670 f 2 4to 172  
 AM 671 4to 192  
 AM 675 4to (*Hauksbók*) 131–51  
 AM 685 d 4to 131  
 AM 696 XXXIII 4to 147  
 AM 732 b 4to 131  
 AM 736 I 4to 131  
 AM 736 II 4to 131  
 AM 736 III 4to 169  
 AM 764 4to (*Reynistaðarbók*) 131, 248
- AM 76 8vo 275  
 AM 194 8vo 131, 146–48
- AM Acc. 7, Hs 1 (*Missale Scardense*)  
 168, 171–73, 181–82, 187, 194–95,  
 201–02  
 AM Acc. 7, Hs 2 (*Graduale  
 Gufudalense*) 171, 174, 180–81,  
 194, 202  
 AM Acc. 7, Hs 3 165, 171, 187, 192–  
 93, 209, 212  
 AM Acc. 7, Hs 8 171, 182  
 AM Acc. 7, Hs 36 171, 187–88, 210  
 AM Acc. 7, Hs 40 182  
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- Sth. Perg. 4to 16 (*Helgastaðabók*) 174, 190  
Sth. Perg. 4to 26 183
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MS 2981 194
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Inv. D 1849a 159, 199, 200
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NRA Gamalnorske membranfrag-  
menter nr. 2 136
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251
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