

# GRIPLA XXXIII



REYKJAVÍK  
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Myndin á kápunni sýnir Krist og pílgrímana í Emmaus. Hún er úr Ingeborg-saltaranum (um 1200) sem var gerður fyrir og nefndur eftir Ingibjörgu dóttur Valdimars mikla Danakonungs en hún giftist Filippusi Ágústi 2. Frakkakonungi. Árni Einarsson ræðir þessa mynd hér í *Griplu* í tengslum við hómilíutáknmál í *Heimskringlu*.  
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GRIPLA

## *Ráðgjafar*

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*Gripla* er ritrýnt tímarit sem kemur út einu sinni á ári. Það er alþjóðlegur vettvangur fyrir rannsóknir á sviði íslenskra og norrænna fræða, einkum handrita- og textafræða, bókmennta og þjóðfræða. Birtar eru útgáfur á stuttum textum, greinar og ritgerðir og stuttar fræðilegar athugasemdir. Greinar skulu að jafnaði skrifaðar á íslensku en einnig eru birtar greinar á öðrum norrænum málum, ensku, þýsku og frönsku. Leiðbeiningar um frágang handrita er að finna á heimasíðu Árnastofnunar: <https://www.arnastofnun.is/is/leidbeiningar-um-skil-og-fragang-greina>. Greinum og útgáfum (öðrum en stuttum athugasemdum o.þ.h.) skal fylgja útdráttur. Hverju bindi *Griplu* fylgir handritaskrá.

# GRIPLA

RITSTJÓRAR

GÍSLI SIGURÐSSON  
OG  
ANNETTE LASSEN

XXXIII



REYKJAVÍK  
STOFNUN ÁRNA MAGNÚSSONAR Í ÍSLENSKUM FRÆÐUM

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*Umbrot*

SVERRIR SVEINSSON

*Prentun og bókkband*

LITLAPRENT EHF.

*Prentþjónusta og dreifing*

HÁSKÓLAÚTGÁFAN

*Handritaskrá*

GÍSLI SIGURÐSSON OG ANNETTE LASSEN

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HAUKUR ÞORGEIRSSON

## Z-TEXTI LAXDÆLA SÖGU – TEXTAFRÆÐILEG TILRAUN

LAXDÆLA SAGA er varðveitt í mörgum handritum og skiptast þau í y-flokk og z-flokk. Allar útgáfur á sögunni hingað til hafa grundvallast á Möðruvallabók sem er af y-flokki. Hins vegar hefur z-textinn aldrei verið gefinn út í heild. Af z-flokknum eru nokkur brot á skinni en auk þess heil pappírshandrit. Markmið þessarar athugunar er að meta gæði þriggja þessara pappírshandrita og skoða leiðir til að gefa út z-textann á grundvelli þeirra. Þetta er gert hér með því að skoða þann textabút sem varðveittur er í elsta skinnbroti sögunnar, D<sub>2</sub>-brotinu frá síðari hluta 13. aldar. Texti þess brots er borinn saman við texta fimm handrita sem hafa textagildi og varðveita söguna í heild, þar af eru þrjú pappírshandrit z-flokksins. Í ljós kemur að eitt þessara handrita, AM 158 fol., stendur nær textanum í elsta brotinu en ætla mátti af orðum fyrri rannsakenda og að vel er hægt að gefa söguna út eftir því þannig að nálægt fari 13. aldar texta. Til að setja þessa rannsókn í samhengi er hér fyrst gefið yfirlit um fyrri útgáfur og helstu textafræðilegar athuganir á Laxdæla sögu og reynist þar 19. öldin fyrirferðarmest.

### Kaupmannahafnarútgáfan og útgáfa Guðbrands Vigfússonar

Laxdæla saga birtist fyrst á prenti 1826 í útgáfu Árnanevndar ásamt þýðingu á latínu eftir Þorleif Repp.<sup>1</sup> Textinn var tekinn eftir Möðruvallabók, eina skinnhandritinu sem geymir söguna heila. Í formála eru nokkur önnur handrit nefnd en ekki gerð tilraun til að meta gildi þeirra eða samband. Allnokkrir leshættir eru prentaðir neðanmáls í útgáfunni en yfirleitt án þess að þess sé getið hverjir séu úr hvaða handritum. Sagan var aftur prentuð á Akureyri 1867 en eftir Kaupmannahafnarútgáfunni og án nýrra textafræðilegra athugana.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 *Laxdæla-saga sive Historia de rebus gestis Laxdölensium*, útg. Gunnlaugur Oddsson, þýð. Þorleifur Repp (Kaupmannahöfn: Árnanevnd, 1826).
- 2 *Laxdæla saga og Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana*, útg. Jón Þorkelsson (Akureyri: Björn Jónsson, 1867).

Guðbrandur Vigfússon gaf út hluta Laxdæla sögu í bókinni *An Icelandic Prose Reader* árið 1879.<sup>3</sup> Hér var að finna mikilsvert framlag til textafræði sögunnar. Prentaður var texti handritsins AM 309 4to svo langt sem hann nær en þar er varðveittur síðasti þriðjungur sögunnar. Guðbrandur taldi þennan texta hafa yfirburði yfir texta Möðruvallabókar sem hann kallar „textus receptus“:

That it yields the best foundation for the portion of the Saga which it covers, a comparison with the textus receptus will amply prove. It is probably more correct, but it certainly possesses a greater charm of style, a better choice of words, a more graceful phrasing, and freer flow of language.<sup>4</sup>

Handritið 309 var skrifað 1498 en Guðbrandur bendir réttilega á að það varðveitir nauðalíkan texta og mun eldra brot, AM 162 E fol., á þeim kafla sem varðveittur er í báðum handritunum:

That it is an old text as well as a good text may be proved by the existence of a fragment of a vellum of Laxdæla, written by the scribe of Stock. MS. 20 [Holm perg. 18 4to?] [Holm perg. 18 4to?] at least 220 years before AM. 309 was penned, which gives a text agreeing word for word with the 15th-century MS.<sup>5</sup>

Guðbrandur notar einnig AM 158 fol., ritað um miðja 17. öld af Þorsteini á Útskálum, til að bæta við nokkrum blaðsíðum af texta framan við þann sem varðveittur er í 309. Um texta Þorsteins segir hann þetta:

Down to this asterisk we have used the paper MS. AM. 158, part of a large folio in double columns into which Thorstein Björnsson, priest of Útskala in Reykjanes (1638–60), had copied several Sagas. It is neatly written in a characteristic cursive hand in modern spelling, and appears to be copied from several sources, but excepting the portion here made use of, which must have been taken from a M. of the best type (perhaps a *sister* of AM. 309, if not

3 *An Icelandic Prose Reader*, útg. Guðbrandur Vigfússon og Frederick York Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879).

4 Sama rit, 346.

5 Sama rit, 346.

that very vellum when more complete), it is derived from inferior texts.<sup>6</sup>

Guðbrandur gefur út 44–78. kafla Laxdæla sögu<sup>7</sup> eftir 309 og 158 en hann notar Möðruvallabók til uppbóta þar sem meginhandritin eru ólæsileg eða virðast hafa afbakaðan texta.

## Útgáfa Kálunds

Árin 1889–91 gaf Kristian Kálund út Laxdæla sögu með vísindalegum hætti eftir ítarlega rannsókn á handritunum.<sup>8</sup> Sagan er varðveitt í fjölmörgum handritum og Kálund gerir býsna metnaðarfulla tilraun til að greiða úr sambandi þeirra og gildi.

Laxdæla saga er nú aðeins varðveitt heil í einu skinnhandriti, Möðruvallabók (M, AM 132 fol.). Fram á 18. öld var sagan einnig til heil í öðru skinnhandriti, Vatnshyrnu. Vatnshyrna varð eldinum í Kaupmannahöfn að bráð 1728 en varðveitt er vönduð uppskrift Ásgeirs Jónssonar af Laxdælutexta hennar (V, ÍB 225 4to). Kálund segir réttilega að M og V hafi skyldan texta og kallar þann flokk handrita sem þau tilheyra y-flokk. Í sama flokki er einnig brotið D<sub>1</sub> (fimm blöð frá um 1300 í AM 162 D fol.) og kafla úr Laxdælu sem tekinn hefur verið upp í Þórðar sögu hreðu í hinni svokölluðu Gervi-Vatnshyrnu (AM 564 a 4to, frá um 1400). Höfuðeinkenni y-flokksins er að þar er Bolla þætti bætt við söguna. Að vísu er ekki hægt að staðfesta að Bolla þáttur hafi verið í D<sub>1</sub> en hann er sannarlega bæði í M og V.

Annan meginflokk handrita sögunnar kallar Kálund z-flokk og honum tilheyra fjögur brot á skinni. Þar á meðal er AM 309 4to, átta blöð frá 1498, sem Guðbrandur notaði í sinni útgáfu. Það handrit kallar Kálund C. Eldra brotið sem Guðbrandur benti á að hefði líkan texta kallar Kálund E og eru það fimm blöð frá um 1300 í AM 162 E fol. Einnig af z-flokki er elsta brotið, D<sub>2</sub> (AM 162 D fol.), en það er eitt blað frá seinni hluta 13. aldar. Loks eru tvö skert blöð frá um 1400 í handritinu Stock. perg. 10 8vo, IX og það brot kallar Kálund S. Auk þess eru kaflar úr Laxdæla sögu teknir upp í konungasögur og teljast þau handrit einnig til z-flokks.

6 Sama rit, 347.

7 Allar útgáfur Laxdæla sögu sem skipta máli hér nota sama kaflatal, byggt á Möðruvallabók.

8 *Laxdæla saga*, útg. Kr. Kálund (Kaupmannahöfn: Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 1889–91).

Kålund lét sér ekki nægja að rannsaka skinnhandritin heldur gerði einnig nokkuð ítarlega úttekt á pappírshandritum. Hann taldi að pappírshandrit y-flokksins væru öll komin af V eða M en það er greinilega ekki ályktun sem dregin er í fljótfærni því að hann reynir að greina samband þeirra í nokkrum smáatriðum og heimfæra í ættarskrá sína. Má Kålund teljast á undan sinni samtíð í því að gera yfirgripsmikla athugun á slíku.

Til eru pappírshandrit af z-flokki sem geyma söguna í heild og Kålund rannsakaði fjögur þeirra með ítarlegum hætti. Fremst taldi hann AM 158 fol. og AM 123 fol. Sem fyrr segir var það Þorsteinn Björnsson á Útskálum sem ritaði AM 158 fol., stórt sagnahandrit, um miðja 17. öld. Um tengsl textans við C (309) er Kålund afdráttarlausari en Guðbrandur:

Håndskriftet viser sig fra hvor det kan jævnføres med C som en, vistnok direkte, afskrift af dette fragment (se noten til 205<sub>23</sub>) og er utvivlsomt taget på en tid, da C endnu var fuldstændig, så at også membranens første del i afskrift findes bevaret her.<sup>9</sup>

Guðbrandur taldi að textinn í 158 væri aðeins að hluta úr C en Kålund telur að allur textinn sé þaðan. Þó tekur Kålund að nokkru leyti undir þá hugmynd Guðbrands að textinn í C sé misgóður:

hele Laksdøla saga synes dog skrevet med en og samme hånd med undtagelse af stykket bl. 50vb–54vr, (132<sub>21</sub> ór grjóti – 163<sub>10</sub> á því), der også ved sine fejllæsninger stikker af mod det øvrige.<sup>10</sup>

Kålund telur að þessi slæmi kafli endi í línu 10 á bls. 163 í hans eigin útgáfu. Það sem Guðbrandur prentar úr 158 hefst hins vegar í línu 19 á bls. 184 sé miðað við útgáfu Kålunds og má skilja Guðbrand þannig að allt sem á undan fari í 158 sé síðra.

Víkur nú sögunni að hinu pappírshandritinu sem Kålund taldi í fremstu röð í z-flokknum en það er AM 123 fol. Arnór Eyjólfsson á Flókastöðum ritaði bókina og við niðurlag Laxdæla sögu hefur hann sett ártalið 1664. Handritið inniheldur núna Laxdæla sögu, Eyrbyggja sögu og upphaf Kjalnesinga sögu en það var áður hluti af stærri bók með fleiri Íslendingasögum og riddarasögum. Kålund notaði einnig AM 124 fol. við

9 Sama rit, xxvii.

10 Sama rit, xxvii.

útgáfuna en nefnir í formála að það hafi ekki haft það gildi sem vænst var í upphafi. Jón Ólafsson (1644–1718) í Fellsmúla ritaði 124 og það hefur ef til vill ýtt undir áhuga Kálunds á handritinu að í því er seðill með hendi Árna Magnússonar þar sem þetta stendur:

Laxdæla saga. Er víða ódrúvis enn almennilegar, og sumstadar rett, þar sem fra hinum vikur. Hun er öfæd deriverud ur fragmento membraneo in 4to, sem eg ä, hvar ä er framan af Eyrbyggja sögu, og ur Grettis sögu. Þetta exemplar er med hendi Sr Jons Olafssonar i Fellsmula.<sup>11</sup>

Þarna sést hvað Árne Magnússon var glöggur textafræðingur. Með hinum „almennilegu“ Laxdæla sögum á Árne ugglaustr við y-texta sögunnar enda eru þau handrit mörg. Hann hefur áttað sig á því að 124 er af öðrum handritaflokki sem hefur sjálfstætt gildi. Hann hefur jafnframt séð að textinn er skyldur brotinu í AM 309 4to og hefur trúlega rétt fyrir sér að textinn í 124 sé runninn frá 309, að minnsta kosti að hluta til.

Um 124 segir Kálund í útgáfu sinni að það „[s]temmer nöje med 123, men står tilbage for dette håndskrift ved flere ufrivillige afvigelser og unøjagtigheder“.<sup>12</sup> Miðað við þessa lýsingu er nærtækt að álykta að 124 sé ritað eftir 123 og það kemur einnig vel heim við alla staði í þessum handritum sem ég hef sjálfur athugað. Í textabrotinu sem hér er rannsakað er fyrsta verulega frávikid milli 123 og 124 að þar sem 123 hefur „með fögrum orðum“ hefur 124 „með mörgum fögrum orðum“. Hér er texti 123 í samræmi við hin handritin en 124 hefur nýjung. Ég þekki engin álik dæmi á hinn veginn.

Annað handrit sem Kálund segir skylt 123 og 124 er AM 554 d 4to, verk óþekkt skrifara á seinni hluta 17. aldar. Af stemma Kálunds er svo að sjá að handrit þetta hafi sjálfstætt gildi en hann fer heldur ófögrum orðum um það í formálanum:

Står 123–24 nær, men er så godt som værdiløs ved sine talrige forbigåelser, vilkårligheder og tåbelige tankeløsheder.<sup>13</sup>

11 AM 124 fol., seðill fremst í bókinni.

12 *Laxdæla saga*, útg. Kálund, xxvii.

13 Sama rit, xxvii.

Á seðli í 554 er að finna athugasemd Árna Magnússonar um texta handritsins:

Er grei, er þö ei eins og þær almennilegu. Endast eins og Jons Arnorssonar. Jtem stendr þar i, ad Gudrun reiste ad tvimanade inn i Dale. Hun er i fyrstu deriverud ur því fragmento i 4to, er eg ä.<sup>14</sup>

Árni hefur ályktað að handritið sé komið af AM 309 4to. Þar er tvímánudur nefndur við upphaf 59. kafla en hans er ekki getið í handritum y-flokksins. Af seðli í Laxdæluhandritinu AM 127 fol. að dæma fékk Árni það handrit frá Jóni Arnórssyni (1665–1726). Það handrit er hins vegar komið af Möðruvallabók og vandséð að það eigi neitt sérstakt sameiginlegt með 554. Hugsanlega hefur Árni villst á Jóni Arnórssyni og Jóni Ólafssyni og ætlað að segja, réttilega, að 554 líkist 124.

Loks notaði Kålund handritið ÍB 226 4to frá um 1700 en það hafði, eins og 124, ekki það gildi sem hann vænti í upphafi. Hann lýsir handritinu svo:

Arkaiserende retskrivning. Står 158 nærmest uden dog at være en afskrift af dette, men er i enkeltheder påvirket af andre kilder (har sål. indskud fra Landnáma og kongesagaerne), muligvis undertiden af et V-håndskrift.<sup>15</sup>

Náskykt 226 segir Kålund handritið Thott 976 fol. og raunar sé það síðar-nefnda betra.<sup>16</sup> Kålund segir að Arngrímur Jónsson hafi í Crymogæu notast við handrit með texta skyldan 226<sup>17</sup> en tekur engin dæmi því til stuðnings. Ýmis önnur pappírshandrit z-flokksins eru tínd til í útgáfunni en greinilegt er að Kålund telur þau standa 158 að baki. Einnig nefnir hann nokkur pappírshandrit frá 17. öld og síðar með blendingstexta sem runninn er ýmist frá y-flokknum eða z-flokknum. Það er til marks um vandvirkni Kålunds að hann hafi áttað sig á þessum blendingi því að byrjun sögunnar í þessum handritum hefur hreinan y-texta, væntanlega runninn frá M, og hefðu sjálfsgagt margir látið duga að flokka þau þeim megin án frekari athugunar.

Þegar kom að því að velja megintexta fyrir kritíska útgáfu ákvað Kålund að leggja M til grundvallar. Það er mjög eðlilegt val enda er M gott handrit

14 AM 554 d 4to, seðill fremst í bókinni.

15 *Laxdæla saga*, útg. Kålund, xxvii.

16 Sama rit, xxviii.

17 Sama rit, xvii–xviii.

og langelst allra heilla handrita. Hins vegar taldi Kålund að z-handritin hafi einnig mikið upp á að bjóða og að í þeim séu oft leshættir sem „ved indre klarhed viser sig som oprindelige“.<sup>18</sup> Hann hefði raunar heldur viljað leggja z-handrit til grundvallar ef gömlu handritin af þeim flokki væru í heilu lagi:

z-håndskrifterne synes også, hvor ingen forvanskning i y foreligger, at have fortrinet i henseende til stil og sprog, så at, hvis D2 eller E (muligvis også S) – eller pålidelige afskrifter heraf – forelå uden defekter, disse rimeligvis burde lægges til grund for udgaven.<sup>19</sup>

Hins vegar taldi Kålund að eins og z-textinn sé varðveittur sé hann illur kostur til útgáfu og öfugt við Guðbrand telur Kålund að M hafi betri texta en C:

For C.s vedkommende stiller forholdet sig noget anderledes, idet sproget i dette så meget yngre håndskrift allerede har tabt i klassicitet og formen næppe bevaret sin fulde oprindelighed; desuden er også denne membran kun delvis bevaret. Papirhåndskrifterne af z-klassen er som tidligere berørt alle upålidelige; og tilmed kun af C lader direkte afskrifter sig med absolut pålidelighed påvise. En udgivelse af sagatekster efter ukontrollerede papirafskrifter kan kun blive en nødhjælp på grund af de dermed forbundne særlige vanskeligheder.<sup>20</sup>

Hér má það heita í samræmi við tíðarandann að aldur handritanna litar mjög mat útgefandans á gæðum þeirra og notagildi. Í útgáfunni tekur Kålund ítarlegan orðamun úr skinnhandritunum en lætur duga að taka orðamun úr pappírshandritum z-flokksins þegar þar er eitthvað efnislega á annan veg en í hinum handritunum.

Loks verður að geta þess að Kålund tekur upp í aðaltexta sinn margt úr hinum handritunum þegar hann telur þau hafa betri eða upphaflegri lesháttu en Möðruvallabók. Þetta gerir hann ekki síst þegar V ber saman við z-handritin gegn M enda má þá vænta miðað við ættartré handrita að leshættir M séu yngri tilbrigði. Enn fremur tekur Kålund gjarna upp úr

18 Sama rit, xxxiv.

19 Sama rit, xxxv.

20 Sama rit, xxxv.

z-textanum setningar sem hann telur að hafi verið stytta út í y-textanum. Útkoman er því nokkuð metnaðarfull tilraun til að nota vitnisburð allra handritanna til að færa lesandanum sem bestan texta. Kálund prentaði megintexta sinn aftur í útgáfu með skýringum á þýsku 1896 en eykur þar ekki við nýjum textafræðilegu rannsóknum.<sup>21</sup>

## Yngri rannsóknir og útgáfur

Útgáfa Kálunds reyndist mörgum seinni útgefendum notadriúg og engin heildarrannsókn hefur verið gerð á handritum sögunnar síðan á hans dögum. Ýmsar útgáfur hafa þó litið dagsins ljós og textafræði sögunnar hefur þokast svolítið áfram með minni athugunum á einstökum atriðum.

Valdimar Ásmundarson gaf Laxdæla sögu út 1895 og notaðist þá við útgáfu Kálunds.<sup>22</sup> Hann fylgir þó ekki megintexta fyrirrennara síns gagnrýnislaust heldur breytir til „á stöku stað, einkum þar sem álitid var, að handrita orðamunrinn neðanmáls væri réttari“.<sup>23</sup> Benedikt Sveinsson fylgdi einnig Kálund í útgáfu sinni 1920 en bendir á dæmi þar sem hann telur C hafa fyllsta og besta textann.<sup>24</sup> Eins og Valdimar velur Benedikt stundum orðamun sem Kálund birtir fram yfir megintexta hans. Bæði Valdimar og Benedikt bergmála þá skoðun Kálunds að það sé varla mögulegt að gefa söguna í heild út eftir z-handritum.

Árið 1934 gaf Einar Ól. Sveinsson út Laxdæla sögu í ritröðinni Íslenzk fornrit.<sup>25</sup> Hann notast að mestu við útgáfu Kálunds en kannar sjálfur handritid ÍB 226 4to og nýtir sér rannsóknir sem Sigurður Nordal og Jón Helgason höfðu unnið á Laxdæluköflum í Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi.<sup>26</sup> Í matinu á C fer Einar Ólafur miðja vegu milli Guðbrands og Kálunds og segir umdeilanlegt hvort textinn þar sé betri en í M.<sup>27</sup> Athyglisvert er einnig það sem Einar segir um líkindi M við elsta brotið D2:

21 *Laxdæla saga*, útg. Kr. Kálund, Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 4, (Halle a. S.: Niemeyer, 1896).

22 *Laxdæla saga*, útg. Valdimar Ásmundarson (Reykjavík: Sigurður Kristjánsson, 1895).

23 Sama rit, v.

24 *Laxdæla saga*, útg. Benedikt Sveinsson (Reykjavík: Sigurður Kristjánsson, 1920), xi.

25 *Laxdæla saga*, útg. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit V, (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1934).

26 Sama rit, lxxviii.

27 Sama rit, lxxx.



Að þessu athuguðu er einsætt að leggja M til grundvallar útgáfunni, enda er það ekkert neyðarúrræði. Er hægst að ganga úr skugga um það með því að bera texta M saman við D<sub>2</sub>. Orðalag er firna líkt. Auðvitað er blær M nokkru unglegri, en þó hinn fegursti. Það er fullyrðandi, að M sé miklu nær frumtextanum en *zpap*.<sup>28</sup>

Einar Ólafur leitast við að nálgast frumtextann með því að taka það sem sameiginlegt er í VZ fram yfir texta M í ríkari mæli en Kálund gerði. Hann er þó ekki fyllilega sjálfum sér samkvæmur í þessu. Dæmi um það má finna í 57. kafla þar sem Þorkell Eyjólfsson er kallaður „frægr maðr“ í Möðruvallabók en „enn frægsti maðr“ í V og C. Hér velur Kálund VZ-textann en Einar Ólafur M-textann. Seinni útgefendur sögunnar hafa einkum stuðst við útgáfur Kálunds og Einars Ólafs.

Meðal fræðimanna sem hafa drepit nokkuð á textafræði Laxdæla sögu verður að nefna Jakob Benediktsson. Hann kannaði heimildir þær sem Arngrímur Jónsson notaði í ritum sínum á öndverðri 17. öld. Niðurstaða hans var að það sem Arngrímur notaði úr Laxdæla sögu hefði hann haft úr Vatnshyrnu en Kálund hafði áður haldið því fram að Arngrímur hafi haft handrit skylt ÍB 226 4to. Hér er niðurstaða Jakobs mun sennilegri.<sup>29</sup>

Jónas Kristjánsson ritaði grein um ummæli Guðrúnar Ósvífursdóttur um tólf álna garn og víg Kjartans. Hann víkur þar svolítið að textafræði sögunnar og segir þetta:

Ekki verður sagt að Kálund geri fullnægjandi grein fyrir handritum z-flokksins, og þyrfti að kanna betur skyldleika þeirra innbyrðis og við skinnbókabrotin.<sup>30</sup>

Jónas leggur sjálfur svolítið af mörkum því að hann bendir á að í rannsókn sinni á handritum Svarfdæla sögu hafi hann komist að því að texti Svarfdæla sögu í ÍB 226 4to sé skrifaður eftir Thott 976 fol og telur líklegt að svo sé einnig um texta Laxdæla sögu í þessum handritum.<sup>31</sup> Þetta er

28 Sama rit, lxxx.

29 Jakob Benediktsson. *Arngrimi Jonae Opera Latine conscripta IV, Introduction and Notes*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagnæana 12 (Kaupmannahöfn: Munksgaard, 1957), 96.

30 Jónas Kristjánsson, „Tólf álna garn“, *Festskrift til Ludvig Holm-Olsen*, 207–14, (Øvre Ervik: Alvheim & Eide, 1984), 207. Jónas bregst við kenningum Ólafs Halldórssonar um sama stað í sögunni. Ólafur Halldórsson, „Morgunverk Guðrúnar Ósvífursdóttur“, *Skírnir* 147 (1973): 125–28.

31 Jónas Kristjánsson, „Tólf álna garn“, 208.

að öllum líkindum rétt og raunar er það í góðu samræmi við þau ummæli Kálunds að 976 sé „nøjagtigere“ en 226.<sup>32</sup>

Í annarri grein um fleyg ummæli Guðrúnar Ósvífursdóttur nefnir Jonna Louis-Jensen að útgáfa á z-textanum sé í vinnslu við Árnasafn.<sup>33</sup> Ég talaði við Jonnu 8. október 2021 til að forvitnast um þetta en niðurstaðan var að engin drög að slíkri útgáfu væri að finna í Kaupmannahöfn.

Wilhelm Heizmann gerði rannsókn á leshætti í Laxdæla sögu sem hefur líkindi við setningu í *Moralia in Iob* eftir Gregorius mikla. Þetta gerði hann svo gaumgæfilega að hann kannaði lesháttinn í öllum handritum sögunnar sem hann hafði spurnir af og voru það mun fleiri handrit en Kálund notaði. Skrá hans yfir handrit og lesháttu er hin nýtilegasta. Í henni hafa z-handritin sem Kálund lýsti ýmist lesháttinn sem Heizmann kallar [3] eða þann sem hann kallar [4]. Engin handrit sem Kálund voru ókunn hafa þessa lesháttu.<sup>34</sup> Virðist því líklegt að Kálund hafi ekki misst af neinum pappírshandritum með hreinan z-texta í sinni athugun.

Bára Yngvadóttir skrifaði BA-ritgerð þar sem hún bar saman E (AM 162 E fol.) og C (AM 309 4to). Niðurstaða hennar var þessi:

Miðað við aldursákvarðanir handritanna og öldungis líka stafsetningu, orðmyndir, orðaröð og innihald texta þykir mér það vera líklegt að AM 309 4to sé eftirrit AM 162 E.<sup>35</sup>

Þessi niðurstaða er í góðu samræmi við athuganir Guðbrands og Kálunds.

Það nýjasta sem ég þekki um textafræði Laxdæla sögu er í bók eftir Yves Lenzin sem ég hafði reyndar ekki kost á að lesa fyrir en við síðustu endurskrif minnar eigin rannsóknar. Lenzin kannar söguna frá ýmsum sjónarmiðum og hugar ekki síst að aðstæðum og afstöðu höfundarins. Hann notar pappírshandrit z-textans til samanburðar við Möðruvallabók og er honum sérstaklega hugað um að sýna fram á að þau atriði sem hann telur mikilvægust fyrir sínar kenningar komi fram í báðum textaflokkum. Það eru lofsverð vinnubrögð. Til að kanna áreiðanleika z-handritanna ber

32 Kálund, xxviii.

33 Louis-Jensen, Jonna, „A Good Day’s Work“, *NOWELE*, 21–22 (1993), 267–81, 279.

34 Wilhelm Heizmann, „Kannte der Verfasser der Laxdæla saga Gregors des Grossen *Moralia in Iob*?“ *Opuscula* 10 (2000), 194–207, 203–4.

35 Bára Yngvadóttir, *Forrit og eftirrit: Handritin AM 162 E fol. og AM 309 4to borin saman* (BA-ritgerð við Háskóla Íslands, 2003), 12.

hann þrjú þeirra saman við brotið  $D_2$  en það eru ÍB 226 4to, AM 158 fol. og AM 113 8vo. Niðurstaða hans er að 158 fari næst brotinu en 226 fjærst og 113 liggi þar á milli.<sup>36</sup>

## Um útgáfu z-textans

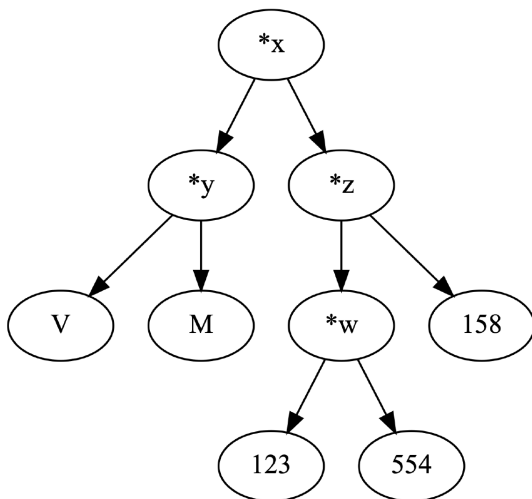
Þegar hugað er að útgáfu z-textans er fyrst rétt að athuga hversu stór hluti sögunnar er varðveittur í hverju handriti fyrir sig. Drýgsta skinnbrotið er C og þar má finna um 29% sögunnar. Í eldra brotinu E eru um 15% af sögunni. Brotin S og  $D_2$  hafa mun minni texta –  $D_2$  hefur um 1,3% sögunnar og S um 1,9%. Brotið E skarast að nokkru leyti við C og S. Þegar tekið er tillit til þess telst mér til að tæplega 43% sögutextans sé til í skinnbrotum z-flokksins.<sup>37</sup> Hægt væri að hækka þessa tölu lítillega með því að telja með textabúta úr Laxdæla sögu sem finna má í skinnhandritum konungasagna – þeir eru þó nokkuð umskapaðir enda hafa þeir verið felldir inn í nýtt samhengi.

Þegar z-textinn verður gefinn út í heild verður ekki hjá því komist að styðjast við ung handrit um meira en helming textans. Öll sagan er varðveitt í AM 158 fol. sem hefur greinilega textagildi. Önnur pappírshandrit með líkan texta eru Holm papp. 23 4to, ÍB 45 fol., AM 113 8vo, ÍB 226 4to og Thott 976 fol. Ég hef ekki fundið nein sannfærandi dæmi um að þessi handrit hafi betri leshátt en 158 og vænti þess að þau séu öll komin af 158, raunar öll af sömu uppskrift af 158 því að þau hafa margar sameiginlegar villur. Ég hef þó haft dálítið gagn af AM 113 8vo til að átta mig á torlesnum stöðum í 158.

Oft hafa AM 123 fol. og AM 554 d 4to betri leshátt en 158. Þau eru því ekki komin af þeirri uppskrift heldur hafa þau óháð gildi. Það er einnig greinilegt að hvorugt er komið af hinu enda skiptast 123 og 554 á um að hafa upphaflegri lesháttu. Hins vegar hafa þau einnig oft sameiginlegar nýjungar gegn öllum öðrum handritum. Ég hef því sannfærst um að Kálund hafi rétt fyrir sér þar sem hann stillti 123 og 554 upp sem systurhandritum í stemma sínu.

36 Yves Lenzen, *Isländersagas: Verschriftlichung und Politisierung* (Basel: Schwabe, 2021), 177–84.

37 Laxdæla saga öll er 57.467 orð (Örnólfur Thorsson, *Orð af orði*, Reykjavík 1993, bls. 47). Ég hef áætlað orðafjöldann í hverju broti miðað við umfang þeirra. Ekki getur skeikað miklu.



Mynd 1: Stemma fimm handrita sem geyma alla eða næstum alla Laxdæla sögu.

Þriðji flokkur pappírshandrita með textagildi fyrir z-flokkinn eru þau sem hafa blandaðan texta, annars vegar úr Möðruvallabók og hins vegar úr glataðri z-heimild. Þessi handrit eru vandnotuð og meirihluti texta þeirra er úr M. Nánari rannsóknir mun þurfa til að gera grein fyrir gildi þeirra. Miðað við lauslega frumathugun sem ég hef gert á þessu virðist sérstaklega tilefni til að kanna betur handritin Holm. papp. 18 4to, AM 441 4to, ÍB 472 4to og NKS 1214 fol.

Annað atriði sem ég mun ekki greiða úr hér er samband pappírshandrita z-flokksins við skinnbrotin. Það virðist vissulega líklegt að 158 sé komið af C, eins og Kálund taldi. Ef til vill hefur C verið heilt þegar 158 var ritað en vitanlega er erfitt að vera viss um að allur textinn í 158 sé úr C. Enn erfiðara er að segja til um ætterni 123 og 554. Þau gætu einnig verið komin af C, eins og Árni Magnússon hélt fram. Hins vegar má finna í þeim lesháttu með skyldleika við kafla í konungasögum. Hugsanlega eru þau byggð á tveimur heimildum.

Við útgáfu z-textans er eðlilegt að hafa einnig y-handritin í huga enda geta þau hjálpað til við að velja milli leshátta í z-flokknum. Þeir z-leshættir sem y-handritin styðja eru líklegir til að vera upphaflegir. Handritin M og V geyma y-textann í heild, V er yngra en greinilega ekki komið af M. Með

þetta allt í huga má setja upp ættartré yfir þau fimm handrit sem geyma textann allan eða næstum allan.

### Textafræðileg tilraun

Kålund og sporgöngumenn hans töldu texta pappírshandrita z-flokksins kominn svo langt frá frumtextanum að þau væru vart nothæf til útgáfu. Að einhverju leyti endurspeglar þær hugmyndir viðhorf síns samtíma og ég þykist vita að flestir fræðimenn á seinni tímum myndu nálgast pappírshandritin með jákvæðara hugarfari. Eigi að síður er fjarlægð frá frumtexta sögunnar ekki aðeins spurning um tíðaranda eða fyrir fram gefnar hugmyndir heldur raunverulegt viðfangsefni sem eðlilegt er að textafræðingar reyni að meta.

Vissulega er ekkert handrit Laxdæla sögu varðveitt með eigin hendi höfundarins og við getum aðeins gert okkur mynd af frumtextanum eftir varðveittum heimildum. Þær heimildir eru þó alls ekki slæmar. Í D2 höfum við textabrot frá 13. öld sem allt bendir til að fari nálægt hinum upprunalegasta texta. Enn fremur er munurinn á orðalagi í handritum sögunnar fremur hóflegur. Ég hef hér kosið að tala um y-texta og z-texta en forðast að tala um mismunandi gerðir. Munurinn á helstu handritatextum Laxdæla sögu er minni en í mörgum öðrum sögum, til dæmis Egils sögu, Gísla sögu og Jómsvíkinga sögu þar sem langir kaflar hafa verið umskapaðir.<sup>38</sup> Munurinn líkist fremur því sem við á um Njáls sögu og athyglisvert er að í báðum tilfellum hafa útgefendur töluvert nýtt þá aðferð að velja orðfleiri textann.<sup>39</sup>

En hvaða hugmyndir sem við gerum okkur um hinn glataða frumtexta er að minnsta kosti hægt að bera saman texta þeirra handrita sem við höfum. Spyrja má hversu nálægt handritin séu hvert öðru og hvert þeirra fari næst elsta brotinu D2. Þetta mætti meta á ýmsa vegu. Oft hafa fræðimenn látið duga að gefa einhvers konar huglægt mat byggt á eigin upplifun á textunum sem heild – í þeim anda er ýmislegt af því sem Kålund og Einar Ól. Sveinsson sögðu um handritin. Oft er margt gagnlegt að finna í upplifunum glöggra fræðimanna og ég vil síður en svo vísa slíku á bug. Eigi

38 Sjá t.d. Þórdís Edda Jóhannesdóttir, „Þrjár gerðir *Jómsvíkinga sögu*“, *Gripla* 28 (2017): 73–102.

39 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir og Emily Lethbridge, „Whose *Njála*? *Njáls saga* editions and textual variance in the oldest manuscripts“, *New Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of *Njáls saga**, 1–28 (Kalamazoo : Medieval Institute Publications).

að síður gætum við haft áhuga á hlutlægum og mælanlegum leiðum til að gera grein fyrir mismun handritatexta.

Ýmsar leiðir eru færar til að mæla muninn á tveimur afbrigðum sama textabúts. Til dæmis væri hægt að gera hefðbundna lesbrigðaskrá og gefa síðan hverju lesbrigði einhvers konar einkunn eftir því hversu mikil frávik er um að ræða frá öðrum textum. Svo mætti leggja einkunnirnar saman með einhverjum hætti til að fá hugmynd um fjarlægð milli texta. Dæmi má finna um slíka nálgun<sup>40</sup> en þetta er ærið tafsamnt og snúið bæði fyrir rannsakandann að framkvæma og fyrir lesendur að átta sig á. Ég hef því kosið handhægari lausn og notast við einfalda vélræna aðferð til að bera textann úr fimm meginhandritum sögunnar saman við textann í brotinu D<sub>2</sub>. Mælikvarðinn sem ég hef notað við þetta nefnist Levenshtein-fjarlægð og ég beiti henni á stigi orða en ekki bókstafa.<sup>41</sup> Með slíkri fjarlægð milli tveggja texta er átt við fjölda þeirra orða sem þarf að breyta, fjarlægja eða bæta við til þess að breyta öðrum textanum í hinn. Ég mun nú sýna þetta með dæmum. Hér er ein setning úr handritunum sex sem ég hef tekið til samanburðar:

D <sub>2</sub> :	Lýkr	<b>nú</b>	Kálfr		upp	einni	mikilli	kistu
158:	Lýkr		Kálfr	<b>nú</b>	upp	einni	mikilli	kistu
123:	Lýkr		Kálfr		upp	einni	mikilli	kistu
554:	Lýkr		Kálfr		upp	einni	<b>stórri</b>	kistu
M:	<b>Kálfr</b>		<b>Lýkr</b>	<b>nú</b>	upp	einni	mikilli	kistu
V:	<b>Kálfr</b>		<b>Lýkr</b>	<b>nú</b>	upp		mikilli	kistu

Fjarlægðin milli M og V er hér 1 því að aðeins þarf að bæta einu orði í V-textann til að fá út M-textann. Til að breyta D<sub>2</sub>-textanum í 158-textann

<sup>40</sup> Linne R. Mooney, Adrian C. Barbrook, Christopher J. Howe og Matthew Spencer, „Stemmatic analysis of Lydgate’s «Kings of England»: a test case for the application of software developed for evolutionary biology to manuscript stemmatics“, *Revue d’Histoire des Textes* 31 (2001): 275–97.

<sup>41</sup> Hin fræga grein Levenshteins um þetta er V.I. Levenshtein, „Binary codes capable of correcting deletions, insertions, and reversals“, *Soviet Physics-Doklady* 10 (1966): 707–10. Mælikvarðinn er víða notaður. Sem dæmi um textafræðilega notkun má nefna Charles D. Bernholz, Brian L. Pytlik Zillig, „Comparing nearly identical treaty texts: A note on the Treaty of Fort Laramie with Sioux, etc., 1851 and Levenshtein’s edit distance metric“, *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 26:1 (2011): 5–16.

þarf hins vegar tvær aðgerðir. Annars vegar þarf að fjarlægja orðið „nú“ á viðeigandi stað og hins vegar að bæta sama orði við á öðrum stað. Í Levenshtein-fjarlægð er engin aðgerð til að færa orð og ekki hægt að spara hér aðgerð með því.<sup>42</sup> Fjarlægðin milli  $D_2$  og 158 er því 2.

Hér er annað dæmi um tilsvarendi setningu í sex handritum:

D2::	Þeim	byrjaði	vel,		váru	skamma	hríð	úti
158::	Þeim	byrjaði	vel,		váru	skamma	hríð	úti
123::	Þeim	byrjaði	vel,		váru	skamma	stund	úti
554::	Þeim	byrjaði	vel,		váru	<b>úti</b>	<b>skamma</b>	<b>stund</b>
M:	Þeim	byrjaði	vel	<b>ok</b>	váru	<b>litla</b>	hríð	úti
V:	Þeim	byrjaði	vel	<b>ok</b>	váru	<b>litla</b>	hríð	úti

Hér er fjarlægðin 2 á milli 123 og 554. Til að breyta 554-textanum í 123-textann þarf annars vegar að eyða orðinu „úti“ og svo að bæta því aftur inn annars staðar en það eru tvær aðgerðir. Þennan stað má einnig nýta sem dæmi um stemmatískt samband handritanna. Systurhandritin 123 og 554 hafa hér sameiginlegu nýjungina „stund“ þar sem önnur handrit hafa „hríð“. Jafnframt hafa y-handritin (M og V) sameiginlegu sérkennin „ok“ og „litla“.

Hægur vandi er að reikna Levenshtein-fjarlægð á sjálfvirkan hátt og til þess hef ég notað forritunarmálið Python með línunum á borð við þessar:

```
import pylev
AM123 = "Þeim byrjaði vel vóru skamma stund úti"
AM554 = "Þeim byrjaði vel vóru úti skamma stund"
AM123 = AM123.split(" ")
AM554 = AM554.split(" ")
print(pylev levenshtein(AM123, AM554))
```

42. Spyrja má hvort ekki sé hægt að gera vélrænan samanburð sem leyfir orðafærslur. Það er vissulega gerlegt og þá væri nærtækast að nota svokallaða Damerau–Levenshtein-fjarlægð en þar er bætt við þeim möguleika að nota eina aðgerð til að víxla á aðliggjandi orðum. Sjá Fred J. Damerau, „A technique for computer detection and correction of spelling errors“, *Communications of the ACM*, 7 (3, 1964): 171–76.

	D <sub>2</sub>	AM 158	AM 123	AM 554	M	V
D <sub>2</sub>	0	96	193	227	196	237
AM 158	96	0	210	238	226	260
AM 123	193	210	0	161	286	301
AM 554	227	238	161	0	307	321
M	196	226	286	307	0	100
V	237	260	301	321	100	0
Summa	949	1030	1151	1254	1115	1219

Tafla 1: Levenshtein-fjarlægð milli samsvarandi textabúta í sex handritum.

Til að þessi mælikvarði nái tilgangi sínum er nauðsynlegt að allir textarnir sem bera á saman hafi sömu stafsetningu. Ég hef hér miðað við þá réttiritun sem notuð er í Íslenskum fornritum. Fyrir utan þessa stöðlun á stafsetningu hef ég notað textana orð fyrir orð eins og þeir eru í handritunum, einnig þegar þar eru augljósar lokleysur. Allir textarnir eru prentaðir hér í lok greinarinnar. Þau handrit sem um ræðir eru auðlæsileg í þessum textahluta, sérstaklega þegar stuðst er við svarthvítar ljósmyndir teknar í Danmörku. Þó er niðurlagið á D<sub>2</sub> nokkuð erfitt viðureignar og hef ég þar stuðst við lestur Kálunds.

Þegar allur textinn á D<sub>2</sub>-blaðinu (771 orð) er borinn saman við samsvarandi texta í hinum handritunum fimm fást fjarlægðartölurnar sem sjást í Töflu 1.

Eins og sést í töflunni er AM 158 fol. það handrit sem hefur texta í minnstri fjarlægð frá elsta broti Laxdæla sögu, D<sub>2</sub>. Hin pappírshandrit z-flokksins, 123 og 554, hafa texta í tvöfalt meiri fjarlægð og svipað er að segja um y-handritin M og V. Athyglisvert er einnig að skoða fjarlægð annarra handrita innbyrðis. Handritið V er í meiri fjarlægð frá öðrum handritum en M og bendir það til þess að V sé lengra komið frá frumtextanum. Með hliðsjón af þekkingu okkar á stemmatísku sambandi handritanna má einnig nota fjarlægðartölurnar eða summu þeirra til að raða handritum z-flokksins upp í eins konar gæðaröð. Þar sem D<sub>2</sub> hefur minnsta fjarlægð til annarra handrita má ætla að það fari næst frumtextanum, þar á eftir fylgir 158, þá 123 og loks 554. Þetta er einnig sú gæðaröð sem Kálund gefur í skyn í sínum rannsóknnum.



Það sem hér eru mest tíðindi í miðað við fullyrðingar fyrri fræðimanna er að það er textinn í 158 sem fer næst 13. aldar brotinu, mun nær en M-textinn gerir. Einar Ól. Sveinsson taldi það „fullyrðandi, að M sé miklu nær frumtextanum en *zpap*“<sup>43</sup> en það virðist síður en svo víst miðað við niðurstöðurnar hér.

Ljóst er að y-handrit Laxdæla sögu eiga breytingar sameiginlegar frá frumtextanum og er skýrasta dæmið að í þeim hefur Bolla þætti verið bætt við söguna. Það er ekki jafn-víst að z-handritin eigi sér öll sameiginlegar villur eða nýjungar og þyrfti sú spurning nánari rannsóknar við.<sup>44</sup> Hugsanlegt er að útgáfa byggð á AM 158 fol. fari nær frumtextanum en útgáfa byggð á Möðruvallabók en hvort sem svo er eða ekki væri vert að koma z-textanum á prent.

Við útgáfu z-textans er einboðið að fylgja skinnbrotunum  $D_2$ , E og C svo langt sem þau ná. Þar sem þau þrýtur er eðlilegt að leggja AM 158 fol. til grundvallar enda hefur það nokkra yfirburði fram yfir hin pappírshandritin. Það er þó einnig vel mögulegt að nota hin handritin, sem varðveita alla söguna, texta 158 til stuðnings. Til að kanna hvernig það mætti gera hef ég útbúið og birt hér fyrir aftan texta sem er byggður á 158 en leiðréttur eftir 123, 554, M og V á kerfisbundinn hátt. Þegar 158-textinn finnst í einhverju hinna handritanna fjögurra hef ég látið hann standa. En þegar 158 hefur einangraðan leshátt og að minnsta kosti þrjú hinna handritanna standa saman um annan leshátt hef ég tekið þann leshátt fram yfir. Í leiðréttu textanum er allt sem vikir frá 158 í orðavali eða orðaröð merkt með stjörnu. Einstaka sinnum fer þessi leiðrétti texti fjær  $D_2$  en hráí 158-textinn gerir en miklu oftast er það að leiðrétti textinn fari nær 13. aldar brotinu. Fjarlægð hráa textans frá  $D_2$  er 96 en fjarlægð leiðréttu textans er 65. Frá sjónarhóli hins klassíska textafræðilega markmiðs að nálgast fornan eða upphaflegan texta er því að öllum líkindum töluvert unnið með þessari aðferð. Jafnframt er leiðrétti textinn laus við nokkrar lokleysur sem hráí textinn hefur enda fá þær ekki stoð af öðrum handritum.

Að lokum verður að gera þann fyrirvara um niðurstöðurnar að þær byggjast aðeins á einum textabút. Það er ekki víst að handritin hafi hliðstætt samband eða textafræðilega fjarlægð gegnum alla söguna. Ég hef þó

43 *Laxdæla saga*, útg. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, lxxx.

44 Kálund (bls. xxxv) taldi að sagan um sverðið Konungsnaut sé upphaflegri í y-flokknum en rök hans eru ekki óyggjandi.

ekki séð neitt hér til stuðnings þeirri hugmynd Guðbrands og Kálunds að það sé „slæmur kafli“ í 158. Sá bútur sem hér er rannsakaður er í þeim hluta 158 sem Guðbrandur virðist hafa talið slæman og hluti hans (fram að orðinu „kviðustaðr“) er í þeim hluta sem Kálund taldi slæman. Þessi meinti slæmi kafli virðist þó allgóður í raun og gefur góða von um árangur af því að leggja 158 til grundvallar útgáfu sögunnar.

Hér fyrir aftan getur að líta útgáfu á sama textabútunum í sex handritum. Þeir leshættir sem eru einkennandi fyrir eitt eða tvö handrit eru skálettraðir, þó ekki alltaf þegar munurinn liggur einungis í orðaröð. Loks er texti 158 birtur í leiðréttri mynd.

Texti D<sub>2</sub>

ok hvarf til Ingibjargar  
ok hofðu menn þat fyrir  
satt at þeim þœtti fyrir at  
skiljask. Gengr nú Kjartan  
í brott ok til konungs ok  
segir honum at hann er  
þá búinn til ferðar. Óláfr  
konungr leiddi Kjartan til  
skíps ok fjöldi manns með  
honum. Ok er þeir kómu  
þar sem skipit flaut, ok  
var þá ein bryggja á land,  
þá tók konungr til orða:  
„Hér er sverð, Kjartan, er  
þú skalt þiggja af mér at  
skilnaði okkrum. *Lát þú*  
þér þetta vápn fylgjusamt  
vera þvíat ek vænti þess at  
þú verðir eigi vápndauðr  
ef þú berr þetta sverð.“

Texti AM 158 fol. (hefst í  
línu 19b á blaði 54r)

ok hvarf til Ingibjargar  
ok hofðu menn þat fyrir  
satt at þeim þœtti fyrir í at  
skiljask. Gengr nú Kjartan  
í brott ok til konungs ok  
segir honum at hann er  
þá búinn ferðar sinnar.  
Konungr leiddi Kjartan til  
skíps ok fjöldi manna með  
honum. Ok er þeir kómu  
þar sem skipit flaut, ok var  
þá ein bryggja í landi, þá  
tók konungr til orða: „Hér  
er sverð, G, er þú skalt  
þiggja at mér at skilnaði  
okkrum. Láttu þér þetta  
vápn fylgjusamt vera þvíat  
ek vænti þess at þú verðir  
eigi vápndauðr ef þú berr  
þetta sverð.“ Þat var inn

Texti AM 123 fol. (hefst í  
neðstu línu á blaði 24v)

ok hvarf til Ingibjargar.  
Hofðu menn þat fyrir satt  
at þeim þœtti *mikit* fyrir  
því at *skilja*. Gengr Kjartan  
í brott ok á konungs fund  
ok segir honum at hann  
sé búinn til ferðar sinnar.  
Óláfr konungr leiddi  
Kjartan til skíps ok fjöldi  
manna með honum. Ok er  
þeir kómu þar sem skipit  
flaut, ok var þá ein bryggja  
á land, þá tók konungr til  
orða: „Hér er *nú* sverð,  
Kjartan, er þú skalt þiggja  
af mér at skilnaði okkrum  
*ok skaltu* láta þetta vápn  
þér fylgjusamt vera þvíat  
ek vænti þess at þú verðir  
*ekki* vápndauðr ef þú

*Texti AM 158 fol. leiðrétur á kerfisbundinn hátt eftir hinum handritunum*

ok hvarf til Ingibjargar ok hofðu menn þat fyrir satt at þeim þœtti fyrir í at  
skiljask. Gengr nú Kjartan í brott ok til konungs ok segir honum at hann  
er þá búinn ferðar sinnar. \*Óláfr konungr leiddi Kjartan til skíps ok fjöldi

Texti AM 554 d 4to (hefst í línu 9 að neðan á blaði 19v)

ok hvarf til Ingibjargar ok hǫfðu menn þat fyrir satt at þeim þœtti fyrir í at skiljask. Gengr Kjartan í brott ok á konungs fund ok segir honum at hann *sé vel* búinn til ferðar sinnar. Óláfr konungr leiddi Kjartan til skips ok fjöldi manna honum. *En* er þeir kómu þar sem skipit flaut, ok var þá ein bryggja á land, þá tók konungr til orða: „Hér er *nú* sverð, Kjartan, er þú skalt þiggja af mér at skilnaði okkrum *ok skaltu láta þetta sverð fylgja þér* þvíat ek vænti þess at þú munir ekki *vápn dauðr verða* ef þú

Texti Möðruvallabókar (AM 132 fol., hefst í línu 3b á blaði 178r)

ok hvarf til Ingibjargar ok hǫfðu menn þat fyrir satt at þeim þœtti þá fyrir at skiljask. Gengr nú Kjartan í brott ok til konungs. Sagði Kjartan at hann er þá búinn ferðar sinnar. Óláfr konungr leiddi Kjartan til skips ok fjöldi manns með honum. Ok er þeir kómu þar sem skipit flaut, ok var þá ein bryggja á land, þá tók konungr til orða: „Hér er sverð, Kjartan, er þú skalt þiggja af mér at skilnaði okkrum. Láttu þér vápn þetta fylgjusamt vera þvíat ek vænti þess at þú verðir eigi *vápn bitinn*

Texti V (ÍB 225 4to, hefst í línu 6 á blaði 85v)

ok *minnisk við Ingibjörgu* ok hǫfðu menn þat fyrir satt at þeim þœtti *allmikil* fyrir at skiljask. Gengr nú Kjartan í brott ok til konungs. *Sagði Kjartan konungi* at hann er þá búinn. Óláfr konungr leiddi Kjartan til skips ok fjöldi manns með honum. Ok er þeir kómu þar sem skipit *var*, var þá ein bryggja á land, þá tók konungr til orða: „Hér er sverð, Kjartan, er þú skalt þiggja af mér at skilnaði okkrum. Láttu *þat* vápn þér fylgjusamt vera þvíat ek vænti þess at þú verðir eigi *vápn bitinn maðr* ef

manna með honum. Ok er þeir kómu þar sem skipit flaut, ok var þá ein bryggja \*á \*land, þá tók konungr til orða: „Hér er sverð, \*Kjartan, er þú skalt þiggja \*af mér at skilnaði okkrum. Láttu þér þetta vápn fylgjusamt vera þvíat ek vænti þess at þú verðir eigi vápn dauðr ef þú berr þetta sverð.“

## Texti D2

Þat var inn virðiligsti gripr ok búit mjök. Kjartan þakkaði konungi með fögurum orðum þá alla sæmð ok virðing er hann hafði honum veitt meðan hann var í Noregi. „Þess vil ek ok biðja þik, Kjartan,“ segir konungr, „at þú haldir vel trú þína.“ Eptir þat skilðusk þeir konungr með miklum kærleik. Gengr þá Kjartan á skip út. Konungrinn leit eptir honum ok mælti: „Mikit er at Kjartani kveðit ok kyni hansok mun óhægt vera at atgørða við forlögum þeira.“

Peir Kjartan ok Kálfr sigla nú í haf. Þeim byrjaði vel, vāru skamma hrið úti ok tōku Hvitá í Borgarfirði. Þessi tíðendi spyrjask brátt, útkváma Kjartans. Þetta fréttir Óláfr faðir hans ok aðrir frændr hans ok verða fegnir mjök. Ríðr Óláfr þegar

## Texti AM 158 fol.

virðiligsti gripr ok búit mjök. Kjartan þakkaði konungi með fögurum orðum þá alla *virðing ok sæmð* er hann hafði honum veitt meðan hann var í Noregi. „Þess vil ek ok biðja þik, Kjartan,“ segir konungr, „at þú haldir vel trúna.“ Eptir þat skilðusk þeir konungr með miklum kærleik. Gengr þá Kjartan á skip út. Konungr leit eptir honum ok mælti: „Mikit er at Kjartani kveðit ok kyni hans ok mun óhægt vera at gera við forlögum þeira.“

Peir Kjartan ok Kálfr sigla nú í haf. Þeim byrjaði vel, vāru skamma hrið úti, tōku *hofn* í Borgarfirði. Spyrjask brátt þessi tíðendi um útkvámu Kjartans. Þetta fréttir Óláfr faðir hans ok aðrir frændr ok verða fegnir mjök. Ríðr Óláfr þegar

## Texti AM 123 fol.

berr þetta sverð þvíat þetta er inn virðiligsti gripr ok *mjök vel búit*.“ Kjartan þakkaði konungi með fögurum orðum alla þá sæmð ok virðing er hann hafði honum veitt. „Þess vil ek biðja þik, Kjartan,“ *sagði* konungr, „at þú haldir vel trú þína.“ Eptir þat skilðusk þeir konungr ok Kjartan með *inum mestum kærleikum*. Gengu þeir Kjartan á skip. Konungr leit eptir þeim ok mælti: „Mikit *kveðr at* Kjartani ok kyni hans ok mun óhægt at gera við forlögum þeira.“

Peir Kjartan ok Kálfr sigla nú í haf. Þeim byrjaði vel, vāru skamma *stund* úti, tōku Hvitá í Borgarfirði. Þessi tíðendi spyrjask brátt *at Kjartan var út kominn*. Þetta fréttir Óláfr þá ok aðrir frændr Kjartans ok verða fegnir mjök, *riða* þegar

Þat var inn virðiligsti gripr ok búit mjök. Kjartan þakkaði konungi með fögurum orðum þá alla \*sæmð ok \*virðing er hann hafði honum veitt meðan hann var í Noregi. „Þess vil ek ok biðja þik, Kjartan,“ segir konungr, „at þú haldir vel trúna.“ Eptir þat skilðusk þeir konungr \*ok \*Kjartan með miklum kærleik. Gengr þá Kjartan á skip út. Konungr leit eptir honum

## Texti AM 554 d 4to

berr þetta sverð þvíat þetta er inn virðuligsti gripr.“ Kjartan þakkaði konungi með fögurum orðum þá alla sœmð ok virðing er hann hafði honum veitt. „Þess vil ek ok biðja þik, Kjartan,“ segir konungr, „at þú haldir vel trú.“ Eptir þetta *skilðu* þeir konungr ok Kjartan með *inum mesta kærleik*. Gengur þeir Kjartan á skip. Konungr leit eptir þeim ok mælti: „Mikit *kveðr* at Kjartani ok kyni hans ok mun óhœgt at gera við forlögum þeira.“

Þeir Kjartan ok Kálfr sigla nú í haf. Þeim byrjaði vel, váru úti skamma *stund*, tóku Hvítá í Borgarfirði. Þessi tíðendi *spurðusk brátt at Kjartan væri út kominn*. Þetta fréttir Óláfr þá ok aðrir frændr *Kjartans* ok verða fegnir mjök, *riða* þegar

## Texti Möðruvallabókar

*maðr* ef þú berr þetta sverð.“ Þat var inn virðuligsti gripr ok búit mjök. Kjartan þakkar konungi með fögurum orðum alla þá sœmð ok virðing er hann hafði honum veitt meðan hann *hafði verit* í Noregi. Þá mælti konungr: „Þess vil ek biðja þik, Kjartan, at þú haldir vel trúna.“ Eptir þat *skiljask* þeir konungr ok Kjartan með miklum kærleik. Gengr þá Kjartan út á skip. Konungrinn leit eptir honum ok mælti: „Mikit er at Kjartani kveðit ok kyni hans ok mun óhœgt vera at gera við forlögum þeira.“

Þeir Kjartan ok Kálfr sigla nú í haf. Þeim byrjaði vel ok váru *litla* hrið úti, tóku Hvítá í Borgarfirði. Þessi tíðendi spyrjask víða, útkváma *Kjartans*. Þetta fréttir Óláfr faðir hans ok aðrir frændr hans ok verða fegnir mjök. Ríðr Óláfr þegar vestan

## Texti V

þú berr þetta sverð.“ Þat var inn virðuligsti gripr ok búinn mjök. Kjartan þakkar konungi með fögurum orðum alla þá sœmð ok virðing er hann hafði *verit* í Noregi. Þá *mælti konungr*: „Þess vil ek biðja þik, Kjartan, at þú haldir vel trúna.“ Eptir þat *skiljask* þeir konungr ok Kjartan með miklum kærleik. Gengr Kjartan þá út á skip. Konungrinn leit eptir honum ok mælti: „Mikit er kveðit at Kjartani ok kyni hans ok mun óhœgt vera at gera *fyrr* forlög þeira.“

*Nú sigla þeir* Kjartan ok Kálfr í haf. Þeim byrjaði vel ok váru *litla* hrið úti, tóku Hvítá í Borgarfirði. Þessi tíðendi spyrjask *viða*. Þetta fréttir Óláfr faðir hans ok aðrir frændr hans ok verða fegnir mjök. Ríðr Óláfr

ok mælti: „Mikit er at Kjartani kveðit ok kyni hans ok mun óhœgt vera at gera við forlögum þeira.“

Þeir Kjartan ok Kálfr sigla nú í haf. Þeim byrjaði vel, váru skamma hrið úti, tóku \*Hvítá í Borgarfirði. \*Þessi \*tíðendi \*spyrjask \*brátt um útkvámu *Kjartans*. Þetta fréttir Óláfr faðir hans ok aðrir frændr ok verða fegnir

## Texti D2

vestan ór Dølum suðr til Borgarfjarðar. Verðr þar mikill fagnafundur með þeim feðgum. Býðr Óláfr Kjartani til sín við svá marga menn sem hann vildi. Kjartan tekr því vel. Kvezk *hann* ætla þá eina vist at hafa á Íslandi. Ríðr nú Óláfr vestr aprt en Kjartan var at skipi eptir. Hann spyr nú gjaforð Guðrúnar ok brá sér ekki við þat en mǫrgum var áðr á því kvíðustaðr. Guðmundr Sǫlmundarson, mágr Kjartans, ok Þuríðr systir hans kómu til skips. Kjartan fagnaði þeim vel. Ásgeirr æðikollr kom ok til skips móti Kálfi syni sínum. Þar var í ferð með honum Hrefna dóttir hans. Hon var in fríðasta kona. Kjartan bauð Þuríði systur sinni at hafa slíkt af varningi sem hon vildi. Slíkt sama gerði Kálfr við Hrefnu. Lýkr nú

## Texti AM 158 fol.

vestan ór Dølum suðr *Borgarfjörð*. Verðr þar mikill fagnafundur með þeim feðgum. Býðr Óláfr Kjartani til sín við svá marga menn sem hann vildi. Kjartan tekr því vel, kvezk *hér þá eina vist atla at hafa Íslandi*. Ríðr nú Óláfr vestr aprt en Kjartan var at skipi eptir. Hann spyr nú gjaforð Guðrúnar ok brá hann sér ekki við þat en mǫrgum var áðr á því *kvíðustaðr*. Guðmundr Sǫlmundarson, mágr Kjartans, ok Þuríðr systir hans kómu til skips. *Hann* fagnaði þeim vel. Ásgeirr æðikollr kom ok til skips móti Kálfi syni sínum. Þar var í ferð með honum Hrefna dóttir hans. Hon var *hverri fríðari kona*. Kjartan bauð Þuríði systur sinni at hafa slíkt af varningi sem hon vildi. Slíkt *samt* gerði Kálfr við Hrefnu *lika*. Lýkr Kálfr nú upp einni mikilli

## Texti AM 123 fol.

vestan ór Dølum ok suðr til Borgarfjarðar. Verðr þar mikill fagnafundur með þeim feðgum. Býðr Óláfr Kjartani til sín við svá marga menn sem hann vildi. Kjartan tekr því vel, kvezk þar *eina hérvist* at hafa á Íslandi *sem var í Hjarðarholti*. Ríðr nú Óláfr vestr aprt en Kjartan var at skipi. Eptir þat spyr hann gjaforð Guðrúnar ok brá hann sér ekki við þat en mǫrgum var á því áðr kvíðustaðr. Guðmundr Sǫlmundarson, mágr Kjartans, ok Þuríðar systur hans kómu *til hans at skipi*. Kjartan fagnaði þeim vel. Ásgeirr kom ok til skips móti syni sínum Kálfi. Þar var í ferð með honum Hrefna dóttir hans. Hon var in fríðasta kona. Kjartan bauð Þuríði systur sinni at hafa slíkt af varningi *sínum* sem hon vildi. Slíkt it sama *gerir* Kálfr við Hrefnu. Lýkr

mjök. Ríðr Óláfr þegar vestan ór Dølum \*ok suðr \*til \*Borgarfjarðar. Verðr þar mikill fagnafundur með þeim feðgum. Býðr Óláfr Kjartani til sín við svá marga menn sem hann vildi. Kjartan tekr því vel, kvezk hér þá eina vist ætla at hafa \*á Íslandi. Ríðr nú Óláfr vestr aprt en Kjartan var at skipi eptir. Hann spyr nú gjaforð Guðrúnar ok brá hann sér ekki við þat

## Texti AM 554 d 4to

vestan ór Dølum ok suðr til Borgarfjarðar. Verðr þar mikill *fagnaðarfundur* með þeim feðgum. Býðr Óláfr Kjartani til sín *með* svá marga menn sem hann vildi. Kjartan tók því vel, kvazk þar ætla hér eina útivist á Íslandi hafa sem í Hjarðarholti. Riðr nú Óláfr vestr aprt en Kjartan var á skipi. *Eptir þat* spyrr hann gjaforð Guðrúnar ok brá hann sér ekki við þat en mǫrgum var á því *kviðuskapr*. Guðmundr *móðir Sǫlmundarson*, mágr Kjartans, ok Þuríðr systir hans kómu ok til skips. Kjartan fagnaði þeim vel. Ásgeirr kom ok til skips móti syni sínum Kálfi. Þar var í ferð með honum Hrefna dóttir hans. Hon var in fríðasta kona. Kjartan bauð systur sinni at hafa slíkt af varningi sem hon vildi. Slíkt it sama *gerir* Kálfr við Hrefnu. Lýkr Kálfr upp einni stórri

## Texti Möðruvallabókar

ór Dølum ok suðr til Borgarfjarðar. Verðr þar mikill fagnafundur með þeim feðgum. Býðr Óláfr Kjartani til sín við svá marga menn sem hann vildi. Kjartan tók því vel, kvazk *svá þá vist atla at hafa*. Riðr Óláfr *nú heim í Hjarðarholt* en Kjartan er at skipi *um sumarit*. Hann spyrr nú gjaforð Guðrúnar ok brá sér ekki við þat en mǫrgum var á því kviðustaðr áðr. Guðmundr Sǫlmundarson, mágr Kjartans, ok Þuríðr systir hans kómu til skips. Kjartan *fagnar* þeim vel. Ásgeirr æðikollr kom ok til skips *at finna Kálfr son sinn*. Þar var í ferð með honum Hrefna dóttir hans. Hon var in fríðasta kona. Kjartan bauð Þuríði systur sinni at hafa slíkt af varningi sem hon vildi. Slíkt it sama *malti* Kálfr við Hrefnu. Kálfr lýkr nú upp einni mikilli kistu ok

## Texti V

þegar vestan ór Dølum ok til skips. Verðr þar mikill fagnafundur með þeim feðgum. Býðr Óláfr Kjartani til sín við svá marga menn sem hann vildi. Kjartan tók því vel, kvazk þá vist ætla at hafa. Riðr Óláfr *nú heim í Hjarðarholt* en Kjartan er *við skip um sumarit*. Hann spyrr nú gjaforð Guðrúnar ok brá hann sér *eigi* við þat en mǫrgum var á því kviðustaðr áðr. Guðmundr Sǫlmundarson, mágr Kjartans, ok Þuríðr systir hans kómu *at finna Kjartan*. Hann fagnar þeim vel. Ásgeirr æðikollr kom ok til skips *at finna Kálfr son sinn*. Þar var í ferð með honum Hrefna dóttir hans. Hon var in fríðasta kona. Kjartan bauð Þuríði systur sinni at hafa slíkt af varningi sem hon vildi. Slíkt it sama *malti* Kálfr ok við Hrefnu. Kálfr lýkr

en mǫrgum var áðr á því \*kviðustaðr. Guðmundr Sǫlmundarson, mágr Kjartans, ok Þuríðr systir hans kómu til skips. Hann fagnaði þeim vel. Ásgeirr æðikollr kom ok til skips móti Kálfi syni sínum. Þar var í ferð með honum Hrefna dóttir hans. Hon var \*in \*fríðasta kona. Kjartan bauð Þuríði systur sinni at hafa slíkt af varningi sem hon vildi. Slíkt \*it \*sama

## Texti D2

Kálfr upp einni mikilli kistu ok það þær þar til ganga. Um daginn gerði á veðr hvasst. Hljópu þeir Kjartan þá út ok festu skip sitt. Ok er þeir höfðu því lokit ganga þeir heim til búðanna. Gengr Kálfr *inn fyrri* í búðina. Þær Þuríðr ok Hrefna hafa þá mjök brotit upp ór kistunni. Þá tekr Hrefna upp motrinn ok rekr í sundr. Rœða þær um at þat er in mesta gersemi. Þá segir Hrefna at hon vill falda sér við motrinn. Þuríðr kvað þat ráðligt ok nú gerir Hrefna svá ok sér Kálfr þetta ok lét eigi vel hafa til tekizk ok það hana *taka ofan* sem skjótast, „þvíat sjá einn hlutr er svá at vit eigum eigi báðir saman.“ Ok er þau *áttu* þetta at tala þá kemr Kjartan inn í búðina ok hafði heyrtr *orðtak* þeira ok tók undir þegar, kvað ekki til saka. Hrefna sat þá enn við

## Texti AM 158 fol.

kistu ok *bíðr* þær þar til ganga. Um daginn gerði á *veðr* hvasst. Hljópu þeir Kjartan þá út ok festu skip sitt. Ok er þeir höfðu því lokit gengu þeir heim til búðarinnar. Gengr Kálfr inn fyrri í búðina. Þær Þuríðr hafa þá mjök brotit upp ór kistunni. Þá tekr Hrefna upp motrinn ok rekr í sundr. Rœða þær um at þat *er* in mesta gersemi. Þá segir Hrefna at hon vill falda sér *um* motrinn. Þuríðr kvað þat ráðligt ok nú gerir Hrefna svá ok *nú* sér Kálfr þetta ok lét eigi vel hafa til tekizk ok það hana ofan taka sem skjótast, „þvíat sjá einn hlutr er svá at vit eigum eigi báðir saman.“ Ok er þau váru þetta at tala þá kom Kjartan inn í búðina ok hafði heyrtr *orð* þeira ok tók undir þegar ok kvað eigi til saka. Hrefna sat þá enn við faldinn. Kjartan hyggr

## Texti AM 123 fol.

Kálfr upp einni mikilli kistu ok það þær þar til ganga. Um daginn gerði á veðr hvasst. Hljópu þeir Kjartan ok Kálfr ok festu skip sitt. Ok er þeir höfðu því lokit gengu þeir heim til *búða sinna*. Gengr Kálfr fyrri inn í búðina. Þær Þuríðr ok Hrefna höfðu þá mjök brotit upp ór kistunni. Þá tekr Hrefna upp motrinn ok rekr í sundr. Rœða þá um at þat sé in mesta gersemi. Þá segir Hrefna at hon vili falda sér við motrinn. Þuríðr kvað þat ráðligt ok nú gerir Hrefna svá. Kálfr *sá* þetta ok *segir at nú hafi ekki vel* til tekizk ok það hana ofan taka sem skjótast, „þvíat þat er sá einn hlutr er vit Kjartan eigum ekki báðir saman.“ Ok er þau váru þetta at tala þá kom Kjartan *at* ok hafði heyrtr á tal þeira. *Hann* tók undir síðan ok kvað ekki til saka. Hrefna sat þá enn við

gerði Kálfr við Hrefnu. \* Lýkr Kálfr nú upp einni mikilli kistu ok \*það þær þar til ganga. Um daginn gerði á veðr hvasst. Hljópu þeir Kjartan þá út ok festu skip sitt. Ok er þeir höfðu því lokit gengu þeir heim til búðarinnar. Gengr Kálfr inn fyrri í búðina. Þær Þuríðr \*ok \*Hrefna hafa þá mjök brotit upp ór kistunni. Þá tekr Hrefna upp motrinn ok rekr í sundr. Rœða þær um at þat \*sé in mesta gersemi. Þá segir Hrefna at hon vill falda sér \*við



## Texti AM 554 d 4to

kistu ok það þær til gongu. Um daginn gerði á veðr hvasst. Þeir Kjartan ok Kálfr hljópu ok festu skip sitt. Ok er þeir höfðu því lokit gengu þeir heim til *búðar simmar*. Gengr Kálfr fyrri í búðina. Þær Þuríðr ok Hrefna höfðu þá mikit brotit upp ór kistunni. Þá tekr Hrefna upp *mottulinn* ok rekr í sundr. Ræða þær um at þat sé *it bezta* gerssemi. Þá segir Hrefna at hon vili falda *sig* við *mottulinn*. Þuríðr kvað þat *sóma vel* ok nú gerir Hrefna svá ok *nú* sér Kálfr þetta ok *lézk ekki* hafa *vel* til tekizk ok *biðr* ofan taka sem fljótast, „þvíat *sá* einn hlutr er at vit eigum eigi báðir.“ Ok er þau váru þetta at tala þá kom Kjartan at ok hafði heyrt *orðtal* Þuríðar ok tók undir þegar ok kvað eigi saka. Hrefna sat þá enn við faldinn. Kjartan

## Texti Möðruvallabókar

bað þær þar til ganga. Um daginn gerði á hvasst veðr ok hljópu þeir Kjartan þá út at *fasta* skip sitt. Ok er þeir höfðu lokit ganga þeir heim til *búðanna*. Þær Þuríðr ok Hrefna hafa mjök *borit* ór kistunni. Þá þrífr Hrefna upp motrinn ok rekr í sundr. *Tala* þær um at þat sé in mesta gerssemi. Þá segir Hrefna at hon vill falda sér við motrinn. Þuríðr kvað þat ráðligt ok nú gerir Hrefna svá. Kálfr sér þetta ok lét eigi hafa vel til tekizk, „þvíat sjá einn *er svá hlutr at vér* Kjartan eigum eigi báðir saman.“ Ok er þau *tala* þetta þá kemr Kjartan inn í búðina. *Hann* hafði heyrt tal þeira ok tók undir þegar ok kvað ekki saka. Hrefna sat þá enn *með faldinum*. Kjartan hyggr at henni vandliga

## Texti V

nú upp mikilli kistu ok það þær þar til ganga. Um daginn gerði á veðr hvasst ok hljópu þeir Kjartan út at *fasta* skip sitt. Ok er þeir höfðu því lokit ganga þeir heim til *búða*. Þær Þuríðr ok Hrefna hafa þá mjök *borit* ór kistunni. Þá *þrífr* Hrefna upp motrinn ok *tekr* í sundr. *Tala* þær um at þat *væri* in mesta gerssemi. Þá svarar Hrefna: „*Ek vil* falda mér *með motrinum*.“ Þuríðr kvað þat ráðligt ok nú gerir Hrefna svá. Kálfr sér þetta ok lét eigi vel hafa til tekizk, „þvíat sjá einn *gripr* er svá at vit Kjartan eigum eigi báðir samt.“ Ok er þau tala þetta þá kemr Kjartan í búðina. *Hann* hafði heyrt *tal þetta* ok tók undir þegar ok kvað eigi saka. Hrefna sat þá enn *með faldinum*. Kjartan hyggr at henni vandliga

motrinn. Þuríðr kvað þat ráðligt ok nú gerir Hrefna svá ok nú sér Kálfr þetta ok lét eigi vel hafa til tekizk ok það hana ofan taka sem skjótast, „þvíat sjá einn hlutr er svá at vit eigum eigi báðir saman.“ Ok er þau váru þetta at tala þá kom Kjartan inn í búðina ok hafði heyrt orð þeira ok tók undir þegar ok kvað eigi til saka. Hrefna sat þá enn við faldinn. Kjartan

## Texti Dz

faldinn. Kjartan hyggir at henni vandliga. Þá mælti hann: „Vel þykki mér þér sama motrinn, Hrefna, ætla ek,“ sagði hann, „at þat sé bezt fallit at ek eiga allt saman, motr ok mey.“ Þá svarar Hrefna: „Þat munu menn ætla, Kjartan,“ segir hon, „at þú munir eigi vilja kvángask en geta þá er þú vill biðja.“ Kjartan kvezk ætla at eigi mundi mikit undir hverja hann ætti en læzk engrar skyldu lengi vánbiðill vera: „Sé ek at þessi búnaðr berr þér vel ok er sannligt *at* þú verðir mín kona.“ Hrefna tekr nú ofan motrinn ok seldi Kjartani ok varðveitir hann. Guðmundr ok þau Þuríðr bjóða Kjartani norðr *þannug* til sín til kynnis um vetrinn. Kjartan hét ferðinni. Kálfr Ásgeirsson rézk nú *ok* norðr með feðr sínum. Skipta þeir Kjartan nú félagi sínu ok fór þat allt með þeim í makindi ok

## Texti AM 158 fol.

þá at henni vandliga. Þá mælti Kjartan: „Vel þykki mér þér *sæma* motrinn, Hrefna, ætla ek,“ segir hann, „at þat sé bezt fallit at ek eiga allt saman, motr ok mey.“ Þá segir Hrefna: „Þat munu menn ætla, Kjartan,“ segir hon, „at þú munir eigi vilja kvángask en geta þá er þú vill biðja.“ Kjartan kvezk ætla at eigi mundi mikit undir hverja hann ætti en lézk engrar skyldu lengi vánbiðill vera: „Sé ek at þessi búnaðr berr þér vel ok er *sannligt* at þú verðir mín kona.“ Hrefna tekr nú ofan motrinn ok seldi Kjartani ok varðveitir hann. Guðmundr ok þau Þuríðr buðu Kjartani norðr til sín um vetrinn til kynnis. Kjartan hét ferðinni. Kálfr Ásgeirsson rézk nú norðr með feðr sínum. Skipta þeir Kjartan nú félagi sínu ok fór þat allt með makendi ok vinskáp. Þeir ríða nú frá skipi ok vestr í Dali, þeir

## Texti AM 123 fol.

faldinn. Kjartan hyggir at henni vandliga. Þá mælti Kjartan: „Vel þykki mér þér *sóma* motrinn, Hrefna, ætla ek,“ segir hann, „at þat sé bezt *til* fallit at ek eiga allt, motr ok mey.“ Þá segir Hrefna: „Þat munu menn ætla, Kjartan,“ segir hon, „at þú *vilir eigi* kvángask en geta *at líta* þá er þú *vildir* biðja.“ Kjartan kvezk ætla *eigi mikit* undir því vera hverja hann ætti en *segisk* engrar skyldu vánbiðill vera: „Sé ek at þessi búnaðr ferr þér vel ok er *skapligt* þótt þú verðir mín kona.“ Hrefna tekr nú ofan motrinn ok seldi Kjartani en hann varðveitti hann. Þau Þuríðr buðu Kjartani norðr til sín til kynnis um vetrinn. Kjartan hét ferðinni. Kálfr Ásgeirsson *reið* norðr með feðr sínum. Skipta þeir áðr félagi sínu ok fór allt með þeim *vel*. Kjartan ríðr nú frá skipi ok vestr í Dali, váru þeir

hyggir\* at henni vandliga. Þá mælti Kjartan: „Vel þykki mér þér *sæma* motrinn, Hrefna, ætla ek,“ segir hann, „at þat sé bezt fallit at ek eiga allt saman, motr ok mey.“ Þá segir Hrefna: „Þat munu menn ætla, Kjartan,“ segir hon, at þú munir eigi vilja kvángask en geta þá er þú vill biðja.“ Kjartan kvezk ætla at eigi mundi mikit undir hverja hann ætti en lézk

## Texti AM 554 d 4to

hyggur at vandliga. Þá mælti Kjartan: „Vel þykki mér þér sóma *mottullinn*, Hrefna, ætla ek,“ segir hann, „*at þat sé bezt er þú vill biða.*“ Kjartan *kvazk eigi* ætla mikit undir hverja hann ætti en lézk *eigi vildu* vánbiðill vera: „Sé ek at þessi búnaðr ferr þér vel ok er skaplígt þótt þú verðir mín kona.“ Hrefna tók nú ofan *mottullinn* ok seldi Kjartani en hann *varði* hann. Þau Þuríðr buðu Kjartani norðr til sín til *Kambsness* um vetrinn. Kjartan hét ferðinni. Kálfr Ásgeirsson *reið* norðr með feðr sínum. Skipta *nú* Kjartan félagi sínu ok fór allt með þeim *vel*. Kjartan ríðr nú frá skipi ok vestr í Dali, þeir váru tólf saman. Þeir ríðu vestr í Hjarðarholt. Verða þar allir menn honum fegnir. Hann lætr flytja sunnan fé sitt um haustit frá skipi. Þeir tólf menn er vestr

## Texti Möðruvallabókar

*ok* mælti: „Vel þykki mér sama motrinn, Hrefna,“ segir hann, „ætla ek *ok* at þat sé bezt fallit at ek eiga allt saman, motr ok mey.“ Þá segir Hrefna: „Þat munu menn ætla at þú munir eigi kvángask vilja *bráðendis* en geta þá *konu* er þú biðr.“ Kjartan *segir* at eigi mundi mikit undir hverja hann ætti en lézk engrar skyldu lengi vánbiðill vera. Hrefna tekr nú ofan *faldinn* ok *selr* Kjartani *motrinn* ok hann *varðveitir*. Guðmundr ok þau Þuríðr buðu Kjartani norðr þangat til sín til *kynnivistar* um vetrinn. Kjartan hét *ferð sinni*. Kálfr Ásgeirsson rézk norðr með feðr sínum. Skipta þeir Kjartan nú félagi sínu ok fór þat allt í makindi ok vin-skap. Kjartan ríðr *ok* frá skipi ok vestr í Dali, þeir váru tólf saman. Kemr Kjartan heim í Hjarðar-

## Texti V

ok mælti síðan: „Vel þykki mér sama þér motrinn, Hrefna,“ segir hann, „ætla ek at þat sé bezt fallit at ek eiga allt saman, motr ok mey.“ Þá svarar Hrefna: „Þat munu menn ætla at þú munir eigi kvángask *bráðendis* en fá *muntu þeirar* er þú biðr.“ Kjartan *svavar* at eigi mundi mikit undir hverja hann ætti en lézk engrar skyldu vánbiðill vera. Hrefna tekr nú ofan *faldinn* ok *selr* Kjartani en hann varð-veitir. Guðmundr ok þau Þuríðr buðu Kjartani norðr til sín til *kynnivistar* um vetrinn. Kjartan hét ferðinni. Kálfr *ræzk* norðr með feðr sínum. Skipta þeir Kjartan nú félagi sínu ok fór þat allt *vel* með þeim. Kjartan ríðr frá skipi ok vestr í Dali, þeir váru tólf saman. Kemr Kjartan heim í Hjarðar-holt *ok* verða allir menn honum fegnir. *Kjartan*

engrar skyldu lengi vánbiðill vera: „Sé ek at þessi búnaðr berr þér vel ok er sannlígt at þú verðir mín kona.“ Hrefna tekr nú ofan motrinn ok seldi Kjartani ok varðveitir hann. Guðmundr ok þau Þuríðr buðu Kjartani norðr til sín \*til \*kynniv \*um \*vetrinn. Kjartan hét ferðinni. Kálfr Ásgeirsson rézk \* norðr með feðr sínum. Skipta þeir Kjartan nú félagi sínu ok fór þat

## Texti D2

vinskap. Kjartan ríðr nú frá skipi ok vestr í Dali, þeir váru tólf saman. Kemr nú Kjartan heim í Hjarðarholt. Verða þar allir menn honum fegnir. Hann lætr flytja sunnan fé sitt um haustit frá skipi. Þessir tólf menn er vestr riðu með Kjartani váru allir í Hjarðarholti um vetrinn. Þeir Óláfr ok Ósvífr heldu inum sama hætti um heimboð, skyldu sitt haust hvárir aðra heim sækja. Þetta haust skyldi vera boð at Laugum en Óláfr til sækja ok þeir Hjarðhyllingar. Guðrún ræddi nú við Bolla at henni þótti hann eigi hafa allt sagt sér til um útkvámu Kjartans. Bolli kvazk þat sagt hafa sem hann vissi þar sannast af. Guðrún mælti þá *fá orð þar um* en þat var auðfynt at henni líkaði illa þvíat þat

## Texti AM 158 fol.

váru tólf saman. *Koma* nú heim í Hjarðarholt. Verða þar allir honum fegnir. Hann lætr flytja sunnan fé sitt um haustit frá skipi. Þessir tólf menn er vestr riðu váru allir um vetrinn í Hjarðarholti. Þeir Óláfr ok Ósvífr heldu inum sama hætti um heimboð, skyldu *um sitt hóf* hvárir aðra heim sækja. Þetta haust skyldi vera boð at Laugum en Óláfr til sækja ok þeir Hjarðhyllingar. Guðrún ræddi nú við Bolla *at hann hefði eigi sér allt satt sagt* um útkvámu Kjartans. Bolli kvazk þat sagt hafa sem hann vissi sannast þar af. Guðrún mælti þá fám orðum en þat var auðfundit at henni líkaði illa þvíat þat

## Texti AM 123 fol.

tólf saman. *Riðu þeir vestr í Dali ok til Hjarðarholts.* Verða þar allir menn honum fegnir. Hann lætr flytja sunnan fé sitt um haustit frá skipi. Þessir tólf menn er riðu vestr með Kjartani váru allir *með honum* í Hjarðarholti um vetrinn. Þeir Óláfr ok Ósvífr heldu inum sama hætti um *heimboðin*, skyldu sitt haust hvárir aðra heim sækja. Þetta haust skyldi vera boð at Laugum en Óláfr til sækja ok þeir Hjarðhyllingar. Guðrún *reiddisk* nú við Bolla ok þótti hann *ekki hafa sagt sér allt satt* um útkvámu Kjartans. Bolli *kvezk* þat sagt hafa sem hann vissi þar um sannast. Guðrún mælti þá fám orðum en þat var þó auðfundit á henni at henni líkaði illa þvíat þat

allt með makendi ok vinskap. \*Kjartan \*ríðr nú frá skipi ok vestr í Dali, þeir váru tólf saman. *Koma* nú heim í Hjarðarholt. Verða þar allir \*menn honum fegnir. Hann lætr flytja sunnan fé sitt um haustit frá skipi. Þessir tólf menn er vestr riðu váru allir \*í \*Hjarðarholti \*um \*vetrinn. Þeir Óláfr ok Ósvífr heldu inum sama hætti um heimboð, skyldu sitt \*haust hvárir

## Texti AM 554 d 4to

riðu með Kjartani váru allir með honum í Hjarðarholti um vetrinn. Þeir Óláfr ok Ósvífr heldu *sínum* sama hætti um heimboð, skyldu sitt haust hvárir aðra heim sækja. Þetta haust skyldi vera boð at Laugum en Óláfr til sækja ok þeir í Hjarðarholti. Guðrún *reiddisk* nú við Bolla ok þótti hann ekki hafa sagt sér satt til útkvámu Kjartans. Bolli kvezk sagt hafa sem hann vissi þar af sannast. Guðrún mælti þá fám orðum en þat var auðfundit á henni at henni líkaði illa þvíat þat

## Texti Möðruvallabókar

holt ok verða allir menn honum fegnir. *Kjartan* lætr flytja fé sitt sunnan frá skipi um haustit. Þessir tólf menn váru allir í Hjarðarholti um vetrinn. Þeir Óláfr ok Ósvífr heldu inum sama hætti um heimboð, skyldu sitt haust hvárir aðra heim sækja. Guðrún mælti nú við Bolla at henni þótti hann eigi hafa sér *allt satt til sagt* um útkvámu Kjartans. Bolli kvazk þat sagt hafa sem hann vissi þar af sannast. Guðrún *talaði fátt til þessa efnis* en þat var auðfynt at henni líkaði illa þvíat þat

## Texti V

lætr flytja fé sitt sunnan frá skipi. Þessir allir tólf menn váru í Hjarðarholti um vetrinn. Þeir Óláfr ok Ósvífr heldu inum sama hætti um heimboð, skyldu sitt haust hvárir aðra heim sækja. Guðrún *mælti* nú við Bolla at henni þótti hann eigi hafa sagt sér allt it sanna um útkvámu Kjartans. Bolli kvazk þat sagt hafa sem hann vissi þar sannast af. Guðrún *talaði fátt hér um* en þat var auðfynt at henni líkaði illa þvíat þat

aðra heim sækja. Þetta haust skyldi vera boð at Laugum en Óláfr til sækja ok þeir Hjarðhylltingar. Guðrún røddi nú við Bolla at hann hefði eigi sér allt satt sagt um útkvámu Kjartans. Bolli kvazk þat sagt hafa sem hann vissi sannast þar af. Guðrún mælti þá fám orðum en þat var auðfundit at henni líkaði illa þvíat þat

## HEIMILDIR

## HANDRIT

*Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík*

AM 123 fol.	AM 162 E fol. (E)
AM 124 fol.	AM 309 4to (C)
AM 127 fol.	AM 441 4to
AM 132 fol. (M, Möðruvallabók)	AM 554 d 4to
AM 158 fol.	AM 564 a 4to (Gervi-Vatnshyrna)
AM 162 D fol. (D <sub>1</sub> og D <sub>2</sub> )	AM 113 8vo

*Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, Reykjavík*

ÍB 45 fol.	ÍB 226 4to
ÍB 225 4to (V)	ÍB 472 4to

*Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Kaupmannahöfn*

NKS 1214 fol.  
Thott 976 fol.

*Kungliga biblioteket, Stokkhólmi*

Holm perg. 10 8vo, IX  
Holm papp. 18 4to  
Holm papp. 23 4to

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## ÁGRIP

Z-texti Laxdæla sögu – textafræðileg tilraun

**Efnisorð:** Íslendingasögur, íslensk handrit, norræn textafræði, ættartré handrita, Levenshtein-fjarlægð, fjarlægð milli texta

Kristian Kålund skipti handritum Laxdæla sögu í x-flokk og y-flokk. Í y-flokknum er eina heila skinnbókin, Möðruvallabók, og hefur hún verið lögð til grundvallar öllum útgáfum. Hins vegar hefur z-textinn aldrei verið gefinn út í heild og í þessari grein er kannað hvernig gera mætti slíka útgáfu úr garði. Tæplega 43% sögutextans má finna í miðaldabrotum af z-flokknum en pappírshandrit frá 17. öld og síðar varðveita z-textann allan. Kålund og aðrir útgefendur sögunnar hafa talið textann í þessum pappírshandritum of slæman til að hægt sé að reisa á þeim útgáfu. Hér er þessi hugmynd könnuð með dálítilli tilraun. Athugaður er sá hluti sögunnar sem varðveittur er í elsta broti sögunnar, 13. aldar blaðinu D<sub>2</sub>. Texti þessa brots er

borinn saman við textann í fimm handritum sem varðveita söguna í heild. Þessir textabútar eru bornir saman með svokallaðri Levenshtein-fjarlægð en með henni er mælt hversu mörgum orðum þyrfti að breyta, eyða eða bæta við til að breyta einum texta í annan. Niðurstöðurnar sjást í *Töflu 1* og á *Mynd 1* má enn fremur sjá stemma yfir fimm meginhandrit sögunnar. Niðurstaða greinarinnar er að 17. aldar handritið AM 158 fol. sé sú heimild sem hafi texta líkastan 13. aldar brotinu og fer raunar mun nær því en Mōðruvallabók og hin handritin sem textagildi hafa. Má því vel hugsa sér að leggja AM 158 fol. til grundvallar við útgáfu á z-textanum.

## S U M M A R Y

The z text of Laxdæla saga – a philological experiment

**Keywords:** Sagas of Icelanders, Icelandic manuscripts, Old Norse philology, stemmatology, Levenshtein distance, edit distance

The manuscripts of Laxdæla saga were divided by Kristian Kålund into an x class and a y class. The y class manuscripts include Mōðruvallabók, the only medieval manuscript to preserve the complete saga and the basis of all editions so far. The z text has never been edited as a whole and the present article is an investigation into how such an edition might be brought into being. Only some 43% of the saga text is preserved in vellum fragments of the z class but there are paper manuscripts which preserve the z text as a whole. The early editors of the saga regarded the text of these paper manuscripts as too poor in quality to serve as the basis of an edition. This contention is empirically tested here by studying the part of the saga preserved in the oldest vellum fragment, the 13th century D<sub>2</sub>. The text of that fragment is compared with the corresponding text in five manuscripts which preserve the saga as a whole. Word-level Levenshtein distance is used as the comparison metric and the results are published in table 1 while a stemma of the five manuscripts appears in figure 1. The main result is that the 17th century paper manuscript AM 158 fol. is, by a large margin, the manuscript which has the most similar text to the oldest fragment. It would be a suitable basis for an edition of the z text.

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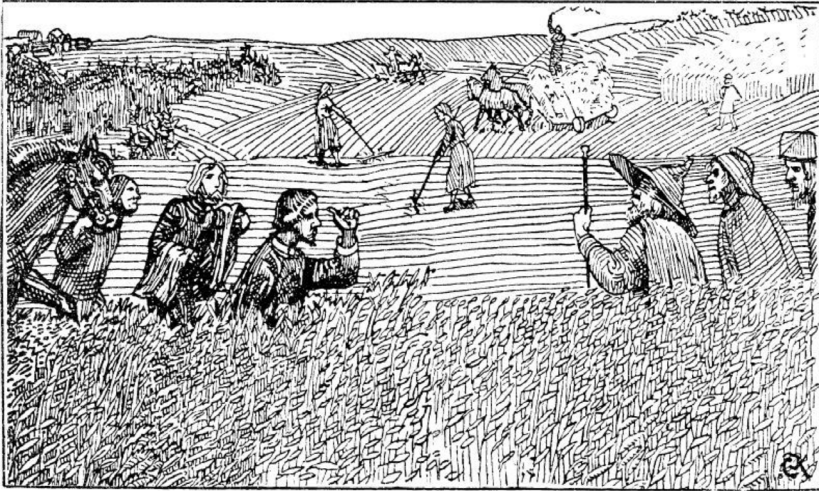
ÁRNI EINARSSON

## HÓMILÍUTÁKNMÁL Í HEIMSKRINGLU

### Inngangur

ÓLAFUR HELGI HARALDSSON var höfuðdýrlingur Norðurlanda. Í einni sögu hans sem er í norsku handriti frá 13. öld er sagt frá heimkomu hans eftir margra ára veru í hernaði. Hyggst hann komast til ríkis í Noregi og kristna landið. Hann fer í Hringaríki að hitta Ástu móður sína og stjúpa sem var Sigurður konungur sýr. „Tóku þau bæði við honum vel“, segir í sögunni.<sup>1</sup> Í *Ólafs sögu helga* í *Heimskringlu* er komu Ólafs hins vegar lýst í mun lengra máli. Þegar Ásta fréttir að Ólafs sé að vænta sendir hún menn til Sigurðar sem er úti á akri um uppskerutímann (*Mynd 1*). Sendimennirnir koma með tignarklæði hans, hann hefur fataskipti og hraðar sér heim en á meðan undirbýr Ásta veislu og lætur boð út ganga um hana. Sigurður kemur af akrinum í þann mund sem Ólafur riður í garð með sveit sína.<sup>2</sup> Frásögnin er myndræn, lifleg og persónuleg og ósar af eftirvæntingu vegna heimkomu Ólafs. *Heimkomusagan*, eins og hún verður nefnd hér, er óvenjuleg vegna þess hvernig leikið er með tölur, liti og gripi sem haft geta táknræna merkingu. Sigurður gengur um á akrinum við þriðja mann og fylgist með uppskerustörfunum: „hann hafði kyrtíl bláan og bláar hosur, háva skúa og bundna að legg, gráa kápu og gráan hött víðan og url [skýlu] um andlit, staf í hendi og ofan á silfurhólkur gylltur og í silfurhringur.“ Hann fer heim með þrjátíu manns eftir að hafa íklæðst leðurhosum („kordúnahosum“), pellsklæðum og skarlatskápu, sett upp gylltan hjálm og gullspora og gyrt sig sverði. Á meðan lét Ásta „fjórar konur taka búnað stofunnar og búa skjótt með tjöldum og um bekki. Tveir karlar báru hálminn á gólfið, tveir settu trapisuna og skapkerið, tveir settu borðið, tveir settu vistina, tvo sendi hún brott af býnum, tveir báru inn

- 1 Keyser og Unger (1849, k. 23, bls. 18). Í *Fagurskinnu* (k. 29) er heimkomunni lýst svo: „Sigurður konungur tók vel við mági sínum“ (Bjarni Einarsson 1985).
- 2 Heimkomukaflinn er bæði í *Heimskringlu* (k. 32–34, Bergljót S. Kristjánsdóttir o.fl. 1991) og *Ólafs sögu helga hinn sérstöku* (k. 33–34, Johnsen og Jón Helgason 1941).



Mynd 1. Sendiboðar Ástu koma á akurinn með tignarklæði Sigurðar. Christian Krogh, í útgáfu J.M. Stenersen & Co á Heimskringlu, 1899. Wikimedia commons.

ölið. ... Fjóra menn sendi hún fjögurra vegna í byggðina og bauð til sín öllu stórmenni að þiggja veislu er hún gerði.“ Þegar allt er til reiðu riður Ólafur í hlað með hundrað manna lið.

Margt af því sem gerir heimkomusöguna óvenjulega er af þeim toga sem einkennir launsögur eða allegoría. Atferli Ástu nægir til að vekja grunsemdir um slíkt. Það virðist bergmála orð Markúsarguðspjalls um Krist og postulana: „Og hann kallaði þá tólf til sín, tók að senda þá út, tvo og tvo.“ (Mark. 6:7). Og þegar Ásta sendir fjóra menn „fjögurra vegna í byggðina að bjóða til sín öllu stórmenni“ þá minnir það á orð Markúsar: „Og hann mun senda út englana og safna sínum útvöldu úr áttunum fjórum“ (Mark. 13:27).

Viðfangsefni þessarar greinar er að skoða rök fyrir því að heimkomusagan í *Heimskringlu* sé allegoría og reynt er að ráða í merkingu hennar. Einkum er hugað að mögulegri tengingu milli Ólafs helga og Krists.<sup>3</sup>

## Allegórísk sagnalist

Allegórísk sagnalist á miðöldum þjónaði trúarlegum hugðarefnum og byggir gjarnan á táknmáli og líkingum. Táknmálið á sér langar rætur í fornum

3 Dýrlingum var oft óbeint jafnað við Krist. Sjá t.d. Heffernan (1988).

samfélögum, en sá hluti sem kirkjan tók í þjónustu sína grundvallaðist á starfi kirkjufedranna, en skrif Páls postula höfðu einnig mikil áhrif.<sup>4</sup> Táknmålsfróðir menn töldu sig geta lesið speki úr bibliútexta og túlkað heiðin rit á kristinn hátt. Einnig hagnýttu þeir táknmålið til að frumsemja allegórísk rit og var túlkun táknmålsins þá í höndum lesandans.

Táknmålið var notað í messugjörð og voru stólræður (hómilíur) iðulega byggðar á táknmåli sem lagt var út af. Hómilíutáknmålið (á ensku: *homiletic symbolism* eða *homiletic imagery*) var ætlað hinum almenna söfnuði og var merking þess útskýrð jafnóðum. *Íslenska hómilíubókin* gefur góða mynd af notkun táknmåls við messugjörð.<sup>5</sup>

Orðið tákn (*symbol*) er notað um hugtak sem hefur aðra merkingu en hina hversdagslegu. Það getur verið *hlutur* (t.d. hús, tunglið eða sólin), *form* (t.d. ferningur eða hringur), *litur* (t.d. rauður eða blár), *tími* (t.d. hádegi eða sumar), *efni* (t.d. gull eða silfur), *tala* (t.d. þrír eða tíu) eða *átt* (t.d. norður eða niður). Táknmál í frumsömdu miðaldariti felur í sér þrennt: Tákníð sjálft (*tunglið* sem dæmi), hvað það táknar (*tunglið* merkir oft *kristni*) og samhengið sem það er í. Með samhengi er átt við hvaða önnur tákn fylgja með í verkinu. Ef tunglið kemur fyrir í miðaldariti má hafa grunsemdir um að átt sé við *kristindóminn*. Hvort svo er verður aðeins ráðið af samhenginu. Höfundur sem er að segja launsögu, þ.e. aðra sögu en ætla mætti við fyrstu sýn, verður að byggja upp myndina með ýmsum fleiri táknum, til dæmis tölum eða litum. Hann þarf að hægja á frásögninni til að fá tóm til að koma þessum táknum að og sviðsetja þau. Hann getur líka beint athygli lesandans að hinu efra plani sögunnar með því að skapa óvænta atburðarás sem aðeins verður rökrétt í öðru og æðra samhengi. Þessi þrjú atriði: (a) tákníð, (b) það sem tákníð vísar til og (c) samhengi við önnur tákn eru í sögunni frá hendi höfundar. Framhaldið er í höndum viðtakenda sem oftast voru kunnáttumenn á þessu sviði. Markmiðið var að miðla eins konar gestapraut sem veitti höfundi sjálfum og þakklátum hópi viðtakenda trúarlega fullnægju og efldi samkennd í trúarsamfélaginu.

Stundum getur verið álitamál hvort texti gefur nægilega vel til kynna að hann sé allegórískur en oft er fremur auðsætt hvenær miðaldahöfundur er í allegórískum stellingum. Táknin voru stöðluð og má líkja við merki-

4 Sjá t.d. Whitman (1987), Tuve (1966), Måle (1972), Smalley (1982) og Fletcher (2012).

5 *Íslenska hómilíubókin*, sjá Sigurbjörn Einarsson o.fl. 1993. Árni Einarsson (2001) fjallaði um táknmál *Íslensku hómilíubókarinnar*.

miða sem voru hengdir á áberandi stað í sögunni. Samhengi tákanna bendir lesandanum á að hann eigi að skilja söguna öðrum skilningi og vísar veginn í túlkun hennar. Tákn og samhengi þeirra duga þó ekki ein sér. Launsaga byggir jafnan á einhverri *táknmálshefð* og jafnframt ákveðinni *heimsmynd*.<sup>6</sup> Viðtakandinn þarf að vera kunnugur hvoru tveggja. Hann þarf að þekkja táknin og merkingu þeirra og enn fremur þann andlega heim sem býr að baki. Án vitneskju um þann heim veit viðtakandi ekki hvert höfundur er að fara. Þetta er ekki eins dularfullt og það hljómar. Miðaldaallegoría byggðist á fastmótaðri heimsmynd samtímans en hún var vitanlega gerólik heimsmynd okkar tíma. Miðaldaveröldin var í aðalatriðum hnöttóttur, platónskur heimur, skapaður og stjórnað af guði, sem var sjálfur handan hans, kyrrstæður og bjó í eilífðinni. Frá honum barst hreyfiafl, veraldarsálin – heilagur andi að mati sumra – sem knúði gangverk heimsins og stýrði því. Ofan tunglbrautarinnar var allt með himnesku móti en neðan hennar byrjaði hin jarðneska veröld þar sem tíminn réð, allt var forgengilegt og í eilífri hringrás höfuðskepnanna fjögurra, elds, lofts, vatns og jarðar, sem fléttuðust saman í fyrirfram gefnum hlutföllum. Mannslíkaminn var örheimur, endurspeglun af þessum stóra heimi.<sup>7</sup> Allt í líkamanum endurspeglaði hina stærri veröld, sálin og höfuðið hið himneska og guðlega, og neðri hluti líkamans hið jarðneska. Gjörvöll regla í veröldinni endurspeglaði guðlega reglu, þar á meðal voru árstíðirnar, æviskeið mannsins, hlutföll og tölur og náttúran öll.

Vegna samsvörunar manns og heims varð allt táknmál kristninnar á tvöföldu plani. Ef táknmál í ritverki fól í sér siðaboðskap var æðri merking sjálfkrafa innifalin, merking sem vísaði í guðs ríki og eilífðina. Lesandinn ákvað sjálfur hversu langt hann vildi ganga í túlkun sinni. Af hálfu höfundar var það snjöll sviðsetning sem máli skipti svo að áheyrendur eða lesendur fengu viðspyrnu til andlegrar upplýftingar sem hæfði hverjum og einum.

Miðaldaveröldin var ekki aðeins platónsk, heldur líka biblíuleg. Sú veröld hafði upphaf og endi. Hún var þjökuð af erfðasyndinni sem endurlausnarinn Kristur frelsaði hana undan í fyllingu tímans og hinir hólpnu voru í eilífri sælu upp frá því í guðs ríki. Leikur miðaldahöfunda með tákn, ekki síst tölur, byggðist mjög á tilraunum kirkjufedeðranna til að túlka hvað

6 Fletcher (1964), 2. kafli.

7 Kurdzialek (1971).

eina í ritningunni sem æðri speki en kirkjuféðurnir seildust oft langt í því efni og úr varð sérstök táknaáhrif sem átti að tengja saman Gamla og Nýja testamentið. Margt í Gamla testamentinu var þá túlkað sem formynd atriða í Nýja testamentinu. Til dæmis voru Adam og Móse algengar formyndir (e: *type*) Krists og Kristur að sama skapi endurspeglun þeirra (e: *antitype*). Speglun af þessu tagi nefnist týpólógía og varð meginatriði í miðaldalist og einnig í hómilíutáknmáli.<sup>8</sup>

Tölur og hlutföll komu mikið við sögu í hinni fornu heimsmynd og því voru tölur iðulega notaðar sem tákni í allegórískum verkum.<sup>9</sup> Talan þrjár tákna himininn því að heilög þrenning býr þar. Talan fjórir tákna jörðina og það sem jarðneskt er. Þar eru fjórar höfuðáttir og allt gert af fjórum frumefnum. Talan sjö er himinn og jörð, þrjár plús fjórir, þ.e. alheimurinn. Talan tólf er það líka því að þrjár sinnum fjórir eru tólf.<sup>10</sup> Allar tölur frá einum og upp í tólf voru merkingarbærar á þennan hátt. Hærri tölur voru oft hlutaðar niður í þætti og tóku merkingu af þeim. Tölur voru nátengdar guðdómnum því að heimurinn var sköpunarverk hans, og tölur og hlutföll þóttu endurspeglar huga hans og fullkomið sköpunarverk betur en nokkuð annað.<sup>11</sup>

Ekki er öll allegoría byggð upp eins og hér hefur verið lýst, þ.e. með táknum sem ráða þarf. Mörg allegórísk verk byggja á persónugervingum og er nánar vikið að því síðar.

## Aðferð

Að því er best verður séð hefur skipuleg aðferðafræði ekki enn verið þróuð við nútímarannsóknir á táknum og túlkun allegórískra verka.<sup>12</sup> Í þessari rannsókn er sú tilgáta skoðuð að heimkomusagan sé allegórískt verk af klerklegum toga. Tilgátan er prófuð með því að tína táknbær atriði út úr frásögninni og athuga hvort þau mynda samhengi sem fylgir kirkjulegum

8 Weber (1987) rekur ítarlega hvernig norrænir miðaldatextar samræmast hugmyndum um týpólógíu og gang veraldarsögunnar sem leið guðs til hjálpræðis. Sjá einnig Haka Antonsson (2018).

9 Peck (1980), Meyer (1975), Meyer og Suntrup (1987).

10 Meyer og Suntrup (1987, bls. XVII).

11 Hopper (1938) ritaði læsilega bók um táknafræði talna til forna.

12 Sjá þó Frank (1953), Beichner (1967), Silverstein (1967) og Males (2013).

meginhugmyndum miðalda.<sup>13</sup> Þannig má meta hversu vel sagan hefur verið fallin til íhugunar í klerklærðu samfélagi. Þessi nálgun felur í sér tvö skref. Fyrst er merking einstakra tákna skoðuð en hana má leita uppi í ýmsum miðaldaritum eða síðari tíma samantektum (t.d. merking litar eða lögunar). Að því búnu er athugað hvort táknin raðist þannig saman að út komi heil mynd sem fellur að hugmyndakerfi kirkjunnar, eins og til dæmis himnaríki, syndafallinu, endurlausninni og efsta degi. Þessi hugmyndakerfi varða jafnan stöðu mannsins gagnvart Guði, sáluhjálp og tímaskil. Gengið er út frá að allegóriunni sé ætlað að dýpka skilning eða upplifun viðtakanda á þessum atriðum en jafnframt auka veg sögupersónu ef dýrlingur á í hlut.

Hér mun verða stuðst við táknskýringar í fáeinum völdum miðaldaverkum fremur en að byggja á stærri úttekt á notkun tákna í miðaldaritum.<sup>14</sup> Færa má rök fyrir því að báðar aðferðirnar myndu leiða til svipaðrar niðurstöðu því að táknmal í kirkjulegum ritum rómverskrar kristni var gamalt og mjög staðlað. Til dæmis er lítill munur á táknmáli í *Íslensku hómilíubókinni* og einu meginriti Hildegard frá Bingen frá 12. öld, þótt þau séu mjög ólík að öðru leyti, því að ritin eru tvær birtingarmyndir sama kristna menningarheims.<sup>15</sup> Meðal rita sem hér verður byggt á má nefna rit eftir Beda (d. 735) sem fjallar um tjaldbúð Gyðinga í eyðimörkinni (Holder 1994). Þar notar Beda þekkingu sína á táknum til að túlka lýsingu Gamla testamentisins á henni.<sup>16</sup> Kennivald Beda vóg þungt og ritið er hentug fyrirmynd því að það endurspeglar vel táknmalshéð kirkjunnar, umfjöllunarefni þess er biblíulegt og tölur og litir birtast oft, líkt og í heimkomusöggunni. Rit Beda um sköpunarsöguna (Kendall 2008) og musterið (Connolly 1995) voru einnig höfð til hliðsjónar. Jafnframt var leitað fanga í helgimyndahefð miðalda, í Ritningunni og *Periphyseon* eftir Eriugena, og rit Hildegard frá Bingen koma við sögu enda eru þau óspör á táknmal og skýringar á því. Þá má nefna hómilíur Gregoriusar mikla. Auk þessara rita má finna táknskýringar í þýddum ritum á íslensku eins og *Íslensku hómilíubókinni*, sem er sannkölluð gullnáma í táknfræði, og t.d. *Elucidariusi* og *Mariu sögu*. Loks er litast um í enskum hómilíum (Pickrel

13 Sjá Frank (1953, bls. 240). Með *táknberum atriðum* er átt við það sem á ensku myndi kallast *potential symbols*.

14 Til eru yfirlitsrit um táknmal miðalda, t.d. Meier (1972), Meyer (1975) og Meyer og Suntrup (1987).

15 Árni Einarsson (2001).

16 Holder (1994).

1944 og Robert diNapoli 1995). Þau rit sem hér hafa verið nefnd spanna nokkurra alda tímabil. Ekki eru rök til að ætla að merking tákna hafi breyst á þeim tíma. Hún var rækilega skilgreind snemma af kirkjufæðrunum og inngróin í kirkjulega menningu þegar hér var komið sögu. Sama má segja um hómilíuhefðina.<sup>17</sup>

Latneskir frumtextar eru sóttir eftir atvikum í Patrologia Latina, skammstafað PL (Migne 1855) eða Corpus Christianorum (Continuatio Medievalis eða Series Latina), skammstafað CCCM og CCSL.

## Heimkoman

Heimkomusagan er þéttskipuð tölum og öðrum táknbærum atriðum sem kveikja grunsemdir um að eitthvað búi að baki. Þrjár persónur koma við sögu: Ásta, Sigurður og Ólafur. Ef textinn er allegóriskur, eins og tilgátan gerir ráð fyrir, má helst búast við að hann hverfist um helgi Ólafs. Þess má líka vænta að þríeykið megi tengja við biblíulegar persónur og miðlæg guðfræðileg hugtök. Textinn er þannig skoðaður út frá tveimur sjónarhornum. Annars vegar er horft á táknið sér (litir, tölur o.s.frv.), hins vegar á mögulega týpólógíu sem byggir á táknum og sviðsetningu þeirra.

Hápunktur heimkomunnar er þegar Ólafur rennir í hlað, brunar fram undir merki sínu með *hundrað* manna lið. Ásta og Sigurður taka á móti honum og Ásta leiðir hann til hásaetis. Talan eitt hundrað myndi tæpast vekja eftirtekt ef ekki væri klifað á fleiri táknbærum tölum í hinum stutta texta heimkomunnar. Bæði fræðir okkur um að talan hundrað merki *eilíft* eða *himneskt líf* og bætir við að það sé á hvers manns vitorði.<sup>18</sup> Ef um tólfraett hundrað er að ræða þá merkir það, skv. Bæði, nokkurn veginn hið sama: Hamingju hinna útvöldu í lífinu framundan (þ.e. eftir uppris-una).<sup>19</sup>

17 de Leeuw van Weenen (1993) rekur sumar hómilíur *Íslensku hómilíubókarinnar* langt aftur í tímann.

18 Holder (1994, bls. 27, einnig bls. 96). Síðar í sama verki segir Bæði: „Centum cubitos longitudinis habet Ecclesia; quia ulnas suas elevat ad bona opera, propter vitam æternam“ [Kirkjan er hundrað álnir á lengd því að hún breiðir út faðm sinn til góðra verka, vegna eilífs lífs]. (PL91, dálkur 461).“ Í öðru riti segir Bæði: „Quod uero numerus centenarius ... magnam perfectionem sive bonae actionis seu spei aut uitae celestis solet insinuare.“ [En talan hundrað þýðir venjulega mikla fullkominun góðra verka, vonar eða himnesks lífs] (Kendall, 2008, bls. 238; CCSL 118A, bls. 162).

19 Connolly (1995, bls. 31, PL91, dálkur 754): „Quapropter apte numero centenario et vicen-ario magna electorum beatitudo in futura vita designatur.“ [Þess vegna er víðeigandi að talan

Talan eitt hundrad gegnir hlutverki í bibliutúlkun miðalda. Í guðfræði þess tíma var haft fyrir satt að sveitir engla væru níu talsins. Maðurinn væri tíunda sveitin og fyllti þannig tuginn og þar með var heimurinn fullkominn.<sup>20</sup> En syndafallið breytti þessu og vegna erfðasyndarinnar var heimurinn ekki lengur heill. Til að lækna heiminn og ná aftur hinni fullkomnu tölu tíu sendi guð endurlausnara, þ.e. Krist. Þessa hugmyndafræði má greina hjá ýmsum höfundum sem tengdu hana við dæmisögurnar um týnda sauðinn (Matt. 18:12–14; Lúkas 15:3–7) og týnda silfurpeninginn (Lúkas 15:8–9). Í fyrri sögunni var það týndi sauðurinn sem fyllti hundradið, í hinni seinni var það týndi peningurinn sem fyllti tuginn. Hér skulu tvö dæmi tekin sem sýna hve miðlæg þessi hugmynd var, annað eftir Eriugena (9. öld), hitt eftir Hildegard frá Bingen (12. öld). Eftir að hafa rætt endurreisn Mannsins segir Eriugena að sama eigi við um hundradasta sauðinn, sem hafði villst frá hinni himnesku rétt, en góði hirðirinn, þ.e. Kristur, fann hann og bar heim á herðum sér. Sauðurinn er númer hundrad því að við syndafallið hafði skarð verið höggvið í fullkomnun hinnar himnesku Jerúsalem en talan merkir fullkomnun hennar. Þetta skarð verður fyllt þegar mannkynið hverfur aftur til Krists sem rikir þar.<sup>21</sup> Með öðrum orðum endurspeglar talan eitt hundrad fullkomnun himnaríkis sem aðeins áorkast með komu Krists.

Hildegard frá Bingen lýsir í ritinu *Scivias* táknrænni byggingu sem felur í sér sögu endurlausnarinnar.<sup>22</sup> Bygging þessi er hundrad álna löng, sem þýðir, segir hún, að talan *tíu* minnkaði af völdum manna við syndafallið en var endurreist af Syninum og margfölduð með tíu svo að úr yrði hundrad, svo sem hjálpraði margfaldar dyggðirnar. Skilja má lýsingu Hildegards svo að á efsta degi tífaldist talan enn og úr verði hin fullkomna tala eitt þúsund (tíu í þriðja veldi) sem á við hina himnesku Jerúsalem. Hildegard leggur síðan út af dæmisögunni um konuna sem týndi einum peningi af tíu, kveikir þá á lampa, Kristi, sem var allt í senn guð, maður og sól réttlætisins og leitar vandlega uns hún finnur hann.

120 standi fyrir/tákni mikla hamingju hinna útvöldu í framtíðinni.] Í *Íslensku bómilubókinni* er þetta orðað svo: „Þá er allir guðs menn eru komnir til ríkis ins himneska föður, eru þeir ódauðlegir, alhelgir og alsælir, sínum himneska föður líkir.“ (Sigurbjörn Einarsson o.fl. 1993, bls. 40).

20 Sjá t.d. *Elucidarius* (Gunnar Harðarson, bls. 50 og 54).

21 Sheldon-Williams og O'Meara (1987, bls. 695).

22 Hart og Bishop (1990, bls. 334). CCCM 43A, bls. 363–64.



Af þessum dæmum sést hve miklu máli skipti að *talán* væri rétt. Aðeins þannig var heimurinn fullkominn, líkt og sköpunarverk Guðs hlaut að vera.<sup>23</sup> Niðurstaðan er sú að í kirkjulegu umhverfi var talán hundrað þrungin merkingu og í allegórísku samhengi væri hún á víðeigandi stað í heimkomusöggunni. Heimkoman jafnast þá á við komu Krists.<sup>24</sup>

## Sigurður sýr

Eitt af því sem einkennir Sigurð er blár litur hans á akrinum.<sup>25</sup> Í riti sínu um tjaldbúðina segir Beda að blár (*hyacinthus*) sé litur *loftsins* og *himinsins*<sup>26</sup> og sé t.d. víðeigandi tákn fyrir *himneska blessun*.<sup>27</sup> Síður, blár kyrtill tákna *himnesk verk* allt til æviloka.<sup>28</sup>

Stafur Sigurðar hafði hring úr silfri á gylltum silfurhólk. Það er óvenjulegt að svo greinilegu einkennistákni (e: *attribute*) sé flaggað í norrænni frásögn. Við fyrstu sýn mætti ætla að þarna væri komið stöðutákn Sigurðar sem konungs Hringaríkis. En hvað væri hann að þvælast með það í miðjum heyskap, ef svo mætti að orði komast, og hví er því lýst svo nákvæmlega?<sup>29</sup> Táknngildi stafsins rímar við bláan lit klæðanna: Silfur tákna *orð Guðs*,<sup>30</sup>

23 Í *Elucidarius* I 109 er þetta orðað svo, að Guð hafi afráðið að fylla tölu heilagra úr kyni mannsins (Gunnar Harðarson 1989, bls. 63).

24 Samkvæmt Byrthferth (við upphaf 11. aldar) er talán eitt hundrað lokatakmark lífsins og ávísun á eilífa hamingju þess sem fylgir hinum góða vegi og hefur tileinkað sér dyggðirnar sjö og hafnað löstunum, kynnt sér boðorðin tíu og testamentin tvö, meðal annars allegóríska merkingu þeirra (Baker og Lapidge 1995, bls. 217).

25 Blár litur í norrænum fornbókmenntum getur verið allt frá blásvörtum yfir í himinbláan lit (sjá Wolf 2006). Sjá Sävborg (2017, bls. 117–18) um blá klæði sem tákn í Íslendingasöggunum.

26 Holder (1994, bls. 49).

27 „Hyacinthum diximus, quoniam aeri coloris est, coelestium bonorum significationi congruere.“ (PL91, dálkur 428; Holder 1994, bls. 52). „... quod hyacinthus spem coelestium bonorum.“ (PL91, dálkur 460, Holder 1994, bls. 102).

28 „Item tunica talari sacerdos tota hiacinthina vestitur, ut admoneatur opus coeleste non inchoandum tantummodo, verum etiam usque in finem in eo esse perseverandum omnibus qui salvi esse voluerint.“ [Presturinn er líka klæddur síðum bláum kyrtli til að minna á að þeim sem vilja frelsast nægir ekki að byrja hið himneska verk heldur verða þeir einnig að ástunda það allt til enda.] (PL91, dálkur 475, Holder 1994, bls. 126). Hér tákna sidd kyrtilsins ævilok, en í miðaldarritum var titið á mannlíkamann sem tímaskala þar sem feturnir samsvöruðu ævilokum, sbr. Árni Einarsson (1997, bls. 194).

29 Hallvard Lie (1937, bls. 69) veitir þessu eftirtekt og segir að frásögnin hlaupi öll bókstaflega út í enda stafsins og nefnir „ritlistarlegan oddbogastil“ (*litterær „spissbuestil“*) með vísan í gotneskan oddboga og áætlað samband hans við skólaspekina.

30 *verbum Dei* (Beda, PL91, dálkur 457; Holder 1994, bls. 97).

gull tákna *sanna speki*,<sup>31</sup> *visku í rétttri trú* eða *spekt*<sup>32</sup> og hringur tákna *eilífð*.<sup>33</sup> Í *Íslensku hómiliubókinni* (bls. 109) tákna hringur *guðs miskunn*. Skýrari verður myndin varla.

Talan þrír gæti verið lykiltríði. Sigurður gengur um akurinn og lítur eftir uppskerunni *við þriðja mann*. Talan þrír vísar jafnan til *heilagrar þrenningar*, beint eða óbeint.<sup>34</sup> Þegar Sigurður fer heim er hann klæddur sem konungur. Hann hefur skipt um lit, úr bláu og gráu í rautt og gyllt og er nú með þrjátíu manns með sér. Í táknafræði kristinnar merkir slík tala *þrjá tugi*. Talan þrír heldur tákngildi sínu en hún eflist við tífoldunina, líkt og gildir um töluna eitt hundrað hér að framan.<sup>35</sup>

Akuryrkju Sigurðar er lýst óvenjulega myndrænt: „Sigurður konungur sýr var þá staddur út á akri ... Hann hafði þar marga menn. Sumir skáru korn, sumir bundu, sumir óku heim korni, sumir hlöðu í hjálma eða í hlöður. En konungur og tveir menn með honum gengu stundum á akurinn, stundum þar er hlaðið var korninu.“ Uppskeran í sögunni fellur vel að efninu. Akur og uppskera er alkunn myndlíking fyrir orð *guðs* og á sér rætur hjá Mattheusi („Akurinn er heimurinn“, Kristur sáir góða sæðinu í hann. Matt. 13:37–38) og Páli postula („þér eruð Guðs akurlendi“, 2. Kor. 9).<sup>36</sup> Peter Hallberg (1987) tók saman tákngildi akuryrkjunnar í íslenskum miðaldaheimildum og meðal dæma staldrar hann við *Nikuláss sögu erkibiskups* þar sem minnst er á *sæði trúarinnar* og að *ávaxtartími* sé *kominn öllum heimi* og að *flytja fagran ávöxt af frjósamri jörðu til kornhlöðu himnakonungs*. Í *Jóns sögu helga* koma fyrir hugtökin *guðlegur akur* og *akur guðlegrar miskunnar*.<sup>37</sup> Í imbrudagapredikun *Íslensku hómiliubókarinnar* er einnig leikið með akuryrkjulíkingar.<sup>38</sup>

31 *veræ sapientia* (Beda, PL91, dálkur 399; Holder 1994, bls. 9).

32 *Íslenska hómiliubókin* (Sigurbjörn Einarsson o.fl. 1993, bls. 84 og 118).

33 *aterna* (Beda, PL91, dálkur 403; Holder 1994, bls. 14).

34 Beda (Connolly 1995, bls. 23; PL91: dálkur 749): „Tria pertinent ad spem divinæ visionis.“ [Þrír eiga við vonina um að líta Guð]. Tang (2015) bendir á að talan þrír virðist tengd konungdómi í norrænum fornþekktum.

35 Í kristnum táknskýringum er iðulega margfaldað með boðorðunum tíu (Beda í Holder 1994, bls. 7 og Connolly 1995, bls. 23) og tala þannig færð í himneskt veldi (tákn um eilíft líf, t.d. Connolly 1995, bls. 38).

36 Ritningin er akur þar sem menn sækja andlega fæðu (sjá Jager 1993, bls. 80). Kirkjan er *akur Guðs* skv. hómilíum Ælfric (diNapoli 1995, bls. 13).

37 Guðni Jónsson (1948 bls. 39 og 43).

38 Sigurbjörn Einarsson o.fl. (1993, bls. 50–51).

Hér virðist flest bera að sama brunni. Ef Sigurður sýr er allegórísk persóna, byggð upp af táknum úr hómilíuhefð kirkjunnar, þá væri hann helst guð almáttugur, einhvers konar persónugervingur himnaríkis eða a.m.k. mjög tengdur þeim stað.<sup>39</sup>

Við þetta er því að bæta að í *Ólafs sögu helga hinna sérstöku* – en *Ólafs saga helga* í *Heimskringlu* er oft talin yngri og styttri útgáfa af henni (sjá Whaley 1991) – er Sigurður sýr m.a. sagður spekingur mikill, góður landstjórnamaður, réttlátur og hófsmaður um alla hluti. Verður ekki betur séð en hér séu komnar höfuðdyggðirnar fjórar: Vitra (viska), styrkur, réttlæti og hófsemi (sbr. *Íslenska hómilíubókin*, bls. 151). *Mariu saga* segir um *styrk*, *réttlæti* og *hófsemi*, að viðbætti *stillingu*, að þessa hluti megi engir hafa nema góðir menn „og kallast þetta líking Guðs, því að sá líkist Guði er þessa hluti hefir“.<sup>40</sup>

Þó að þetta sé skýr og afdráttarlaus mynd af guði líkum Sigurði, er eftirtektarvert að í öðrum heimildum ber hann lítt kristið svipmót.<sup>41</sup> Eitt af bernskubrekum Ólafs var að söðla Sigurði geithafur sem reiðskjóta, en Sýnagóga, samkunduhús Gyðinga persónugert, var stundum sýnd ríðandi á geit, og var það ætlað henni til minnkunar.<sup>42</sup> Í Morkinskinnu er vísa þar sem látið er liggja að heiðnu hátterni Sigurðar sýr („gerði garð um hestredur“).<sup>43</sup>

Ólafur helgi kemur, sér og sigrar sem ígildi Krists og fyllir töluna eitt hundrað með endurlausnina í farteskinu. Koma Krists markar skil milli gamla og nýja sáttmála, Gamla og Nýja testamentisins, gyðingdóms og kristni, og um þau skil snýst mikill tákneimur í mynd- og ritlist miðalda. Í því samhengi má velta því fyrir sér, að sé Ólafur hinn heimkomni Kristur, þ.e. *nýi* sáttmálinn, þá gætu þau sem fyrir eru verið fulltrúar hins *gamla*.

Fulltrúar gamla sáttmála voru fjölmargir, en Adam, Eva, Abraham,

39 Grái víði hatturinn og gráa kápan gæti þá verið vísun til skýja, þótt sú túlkun á gráum lit sjáist hvergi í þeim heimildum sem athugaðar voru (sjá *Mynd 4*).

40 *Ólafs saga helga hin sérstaka*, 18. kafli, bls. 31 (sem reyndar er utan heimkomusögunnar sjálfrar). Sjá einnig *Jóns sögu baptista 2* (viska, stilling, styrkleiki, réttlæti) (Unger 1874, bls. 306). Um dyggðirnar, sjá Katzenellenbogen (1964). *Mariu saga*: Sjá Ásdísi Egilsdóttur o.fl., 1996, bls. 59. Einnig Meldahl (2007).

41 Hilda Ellis Davidson (1998, bls. 87–88) veur m.a. máls á því. Hún byggir einkum á viðurnefni Sigurðar og akuryrkju hans.

42 Mellinkoff (1970, bls. 176).

43 Ármann Jakobsson og Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson (2011, bls. 139).

Móse, Salómon, Davíð og Sýnagóga voru hvað algengustu tákngevingar hans. Athyglin beinist strax að Móse, því að persóna í hófstílltum lit með staf og hulið andlit, líkt og Sigurður sýr, minnir á hann. Móse er oft sýndur á miðaldamyndum í tempurðum lit til að minna á að náðina vanti (náðin kom með Kristi).<sup>44</sup> Móse samsvaraði Kristi samkvæmt Elucidariusi, og „Móses spámaður jarteignar guð almátkan“ segir í gömlu hómiliubroti.<sup>45</sup>

Sigurður hafði *url* um andlitið. Orðið *url* mun tökuorð úr engil-saxnesku, *orel*, sem þýðir skýla.<sup>46</sup> Andlitsskýla Sigurðar gæti verið vísan í að Móse huldi ásjónu sína er hann flutti Gyðingum boðorðin, „ ... en þegar hann gekk til máls við drottin þá tók hann af höfði sér þá hulning er hann talaði við guð.“<sup>47</sup> Þessi andlitsskýla (*velamen*) varð Páli postula umfjöllunarefni í samanburði gamla og nýja sáttmála: Gamla testamentið huldi andlit guðs og þurfti að svipta hulunni af því til að sjá hið sanna orð hans (2. Kor. 3:13–18).

Ein af stöðluðum helgimyndum af Móse á miðöldum sýnir hann fara úr skónum að boði guðs (2 Mós. 3, Giess 1961). Sá atburður markar upphafið að heimferðinni frá Egyptalandi sem endurspegladist síðar í frelsun mannsins í Nýja testamentinu.<sup>48</sup> Í biblíuþýðingu í handritinu *Stjórn* segir: „Gakk eigi hingað segir guð þá til hans. Tak heldur af þér skóklæðin fyrir þann skyld að sá staður er heilög jörð á hverjum er þú stendur“.<sup>49</sup> Um Sigurð konung segir: „Nú er konungur hafði þetta mælt þá sest hann niður og lét draga af sér skóklæði ... “.

Spyrja má hvort talan þrír (þrenningin á akrinum) tengist Móse. Sú tenging gæti falist í skiptingu mannkynssögunnar í *þrjár tíðir veraldar*. Ein var fyrir lög Móse (*ante legem*), önnur var undir lögum Móse (*sub lege*), hin þriðja er undir miskunn (*sub gratia*), þ.e. frá burði Kristis til enda veraldar. Þrískipting þessi birtist m.a. í *Elucidariusi* (bls. 73) og *Íslensku hómiliubókinni* (bls. 108). Þannig hefði Sigurður sem Móse verið fulltrúi fyrir

44 T.d. Meier (1972, bls. 325–29).

45 *Elucidarius* (Gunnar Harðarson 1989, bls. 68). Hómiliubrot: AM 624 4to, fol. 24r (Pelle 2016).

46 Bosworth (2014); sjá einnig Bjarna Aðalbjarnarson (1979, bls. 41).

47 Úr biblíuþýðingu í handritinu *Stjórn* (Unger 1862, bls. 315).

48 Roberts (2014, bls. 103) orðar þetta svo: „The Exodus from Egypt functions as a fundamental paradigm within which Christ and the salvation he brings is presented and understood in the New Testament.“ [Brottförin frá Egyptalandi er meginrammi, utan það hvernig Nýja testamentið fjallar um og túlkar Krist og hjálpræðið sem honum fylgir.]

49 Unger (1862, bls. 259).

tímabilið *undir lögum* en fylgdarmenn hans fulltrúar hinna tímanna tveggja. Tíðunum þremur var jafnað við heilaga þrenningu.<sup>50</sup>

Stafur var einkenni Móse og var formynd að krossi Krists (Schiller 1971).<sup>51</sup> Stafur, hringur og andlitsskýla koma einnig fyrir í sögunni af Júda og Tamar í Fyrstu Mósebók (38). Júda var einn af sonum Jakobs. Hann gat tvíburasyni við tengdadóttur sinni og varð annar þeirra ættfaðir konungsættar Gyðinga, þar á meðal Davíðs, Salómons og Krists (Matt. 1:3; Lúkas 3:33). Tamar brá sér í gervi vændiskonu, huldi andlitið til að þekkjast ekki og tældi Júda til lags við sig. Hann lét af hendi staf sinn, festi og innsigli sem tryggingu fyrir greiðslu. Myndskreytt biblíuhandrit frá 11.–12. öld (*Cotton MS Claudius B IV*) sýnir innsiglið sem hring og á einni myndinni er Júda með einkennistákn sem vísar til sögunnar, langan staf með hring á endanum (*Mynd 2*, sjá einnig *Mynd 3*). Júda var ein af formyndum Krists en Tamar var formynd Kirkjunnar.<sup>52</sup> Mögulegt er að hringskreyttur stafur Sigurðar sýr vísi í þessa sögu. Þá má ímynda sér að stafur, hringur, skór og andlitsskýla séu hópur tákna sem á að tengja Sigurð við Móse og Júda og þar með Gamla sáttmála. Sigurður er þá ekki í hlutverki tiltekinnar persónu Gamla testamentisins heldur einfaldlega guð Gamla sáttmála. Umbreyting hans úr bláu í rautt við heimkomu Ólafs verður þá vel skiljanleg. Rauður er litur heilags anda.<sup>53</sup> Heildarmerking Sigurðar lýtur að uppfyllingu lögmálsins við komu Krists: Hann ummyndast úr gamla lögmálinu í hið nýja. Guð tekur á sig nýja mynd með komu Krists. Rauði liturinn sem fylgir Kristi táknar líka píslardauða hans. Táknmyndin nær þó enn dýpra: Þeir sem túlkuðu söguna af Júda og Tamar að týpólógískum

50 Meyer (1975, bls. 118). Liere (2013). Meyer (sama rit, bls. 119) nefnir tvær aðrar þrískiptingar heimssögunnar þar sem Móse kemur við sögu. Heimsaldrar voru stundum persónugerðir, t.d. Hildegard frá Bingen (Fox 1987, bls. 186 og áfram).

51 Stafur Móse var jafnan nefndur *vöndur*, m.a. í elstu varðveittu norrænni biblíuþýðingu (Stjórn). Vöndur Arons, bróður Móse samsvaraði Maríu mey skv. *Þriðju málfræðiritgerðinni* (Ólafur Þórðarson 1927, bls. 89).

52 von Erffa (1995): *Ikonologie der Genesis*: 2. bindi: 438–45. Manuth (2017).

53 T.d. táknar *rauðklæddur riddari* í allegóríska ritinu *Queste del Saint Graal eld heilags anda*, og síðar í sama riti táknar rauður litur *nád heilags anda*. (Matarasso 1969, bls. 100 og 173; sjá einnig Stones 2009). Í verkum Hildegard frá Bingen táknar rauður litur einkum guðlega ást en fleiri merkingar koma við sögu, t.d. miskunn, réttlæti, guðs reiði og heimsendir (Árni Einarsson 2001, bls. 393). Sjá einnig Beda (Holder 1994, bls. 50 og 114). Rautt sem litur blóðs, og þar með Krists, táknar líka endurlausnina (Hopper, bls. 183).



Mynd 2. Júda með einkennistákn sem vísar til sögunnar um viðskipti hans við Tamar. Hann er í gráleitum kyrtli og raudri skikkju. Á annarri mynd í sama handriti er hann í ljósum kyrtli með bláa skikkju. Úr bibliuhandritinu Cotton MS Claudius B IV, fol. 56 v. Aldur u.þ.b. 1050 – 1200. British Library Board, birt með leyfi. [https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_claudius\\_b\\_iv\\_f5001r](https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_claudius_b_iv_f5001r).



Mynd 3. Júda og Tamar með bring og staf. Hann er í gráleitum kyrtili, hún í bláu. MS M.751 fol. 4v. Frakkland, hugsanlega Amiens, milli 1300 og 1310. The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, birt með leyfi. <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/8/115343>.

hætti fullyrtu að stafur Júda væri formyndin að krossi Krists og hringurinn táknaði Kirkjuna.<sup>54</sup> Hið sama gæti vel átt við staf Sigurðar.

En sagan er ekki öll. Þrír menn saman á ferð er kunnugt Biblíumótíf sem gæti kallast á við þríeykið á akri Sigurðar sýr. Á helgimyndum frá miðöldum og síðari tímum eru mennirnir sýndir með pílgrímastafi og oft með bardastóra hatta, ólíka hinum venjulegu Gyðingahöttum (Mynd 4).<sup>55</sup> Þetta eru tveir postulanna á leið til Emmaus en sá þriðji er

54 von Erffa (1995): *Ikonomie der Genesis*: 2. bindi: 438–45.

55 Sjá m.a. Kendall (1970).



Mynd 4. Kristur og pílágrímarnir í Emmaus. Kristur er bláklæddur og berfættur, postularnir í daufum grænum, rauðum og gráum litum; hattarnir gráir, uppháir skór. Úr Ingeborg-saltaranum (um 1200). Chantilly, Musée Condé, 0009 (1695) fol. 30v. *The Virtual Library of Medieval Manuscripts (BVMM)*. <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/182/manifest>.

Kristur upprisinn sem slæst í förina (Lúkas 24:13–53) en „augu þeirra voru svo haldin að þeir þekktu hann ekki“ („oculi autem illorum tenebantur ne eum agnoscerent.“ Lúkas 24:16). Þeir spyrja hann hvort hann sé ókunnugur (lat: *peregrinus*) í Jerúsalem (Lúkas 24:18) en það orð var einnig túlkað sem *pílágrímur* og þaðan mun runnið pílágrímagervi þremminganna.<sup>56</sup> Jafnan er vísað til helgimyndanna sem *Jesú og pílágrímana í Emmaus* og var það myndefni gjarnan í klastrum þar sem pílágrímar áttu vísan beina.<sup>57</sup>

56 Hall (1979, bls. 178–79).

57 Hall (sama rit, bls. 179).



## Ásta

Persóna Ástu er frekar gagnsæ. Talan fjórir og fjórar áttir koma upp um hana. Í grunninn tákna talan fjórir jörðina og allt jarðneskt, eins og fyrr segir, en í kirkjulegu umhverfi tákna talan oftast hina jarðnesku hlið kristninnar, þ.e. guðspjöllin fjögur eða guðspjallamennina sem breiða út orð guðs í fjórum áttum heims.<sup>58</sup> Jörð er jafnað til kristni í *Íslensku hómiljubókinni* (bls. 283) og einnig sögð *brúður Krists* (bls. 300). Í því samhengi fær stofa Ástu nýja merkingu sem Kirkja, sem líka var brúður Krists. Þegar fjórar konur skreyttu hana gæti skrautið táknað höfuðdyggðirnar samkvæmt hómilíuhefðinni og jafnframt orð Krists í fjórum guðspjöllum.<sup>59</sup> Ásta og/eða stofan gætu verið Kirkjan eða jafnvel samkunduhús Gyðinga (Sýnagóga) sem umbreytist í kirkju við komu Krists.<sup>60</sup> Ásta gæti jafnframt verið María því að hún var einnig tákmynd kirkjunnar.<sup>61</sup> Þá kemur Marta til greina, en dæmi er um að hún táknaði kirkjuna þar sem hún tók á móti Kristi í húsi sínu og merkti þannig trúaða sem hreinsuðu hífýli í hjörtum sínum fyrir Krist.<sup>62</sup> Hér er af nógu að taka enda eru þetta miðlæggar og samfléttaðar tákmyndir og ein útilokar ekki aðrar.

Heimkomusagan klifar á tölunni tveir í sambandi við Ástu. Hómilíuhefðin minnst á ýmsar tvenndir. Sú sem virðist líklegust er Gamla og Nýja testamentið en önnur algeng túlkun er Adam og Eva, tvöfalt eðli Krists sem bæði guð og maður, og ást á guði og náunganum. Ef dýpra er skyggst er talan *tveir* fyrsta kventalan en jafnar tölur voru taldar kvenkyns og líkt við móður, þar á meðal móður höfuðskepnanna (frumefnanna) fjögurra<sup>63</sup> og er þá jarðarsamband Ástu aftur komið. Talan tveir í heimkomusögunni

58 Beda í Holder (1994, bls. 14 og 20), sjá einnig *Íslensku hómiljubókina*, bls. 258, Enchiridion (Baker og Lapidge 1995, bls. 221), Árna Einarsson (1997 og 2001) og Hopper (2000, bls. 83–84).

59 Í *Íslensku hómiljubókinni* (Sigurbjörn Einarsson o.fl. 1993, bls. 75) kemur fyrir hugtakið *skraut andarinnar* (þ.e. sálarinnar).

60 Margar konur úr Gamla Testamentinu voru formyndir kirkju og samkunduhússins, sbr. Rabanus Maurus, PL 111, dálkar 37–38, 41, 49, 57–58, 65, 75, 80 og 82 (Migne 1855).

61 Samsvörun Maríu og kirkjunnar virðist ekki hafa verið opinber guðfræði á þessum tíma en höfundar á 12. öld léku sér engu að síður með hugmyndina (Cunningham, 1958; sjá einnig Dillenschneider 1961).

62 Blickling-hómilía (fyrir lok 10. aldar) skv. Pickrel (1944, bls. 78). Sjá Morris 1874–80, bls. 72.

63 Hopper (2000, bls. 39). *Martianus Capella* (Stahl o.fl. 1971, bls. 277–78). *Macrobios* (Stahl 1990, bls. 99).

þarf þó ekki að vera annað en bending á Markúsarguðspjall,<sup>64</sup> eins og minnst er á í upphafi greinarinnar, og ef til vill meðvituð vísbending til lesanda um allegórískt eðli sögunnar.

## Hundrað fimmtíu og þrjár fiskar

Þegar hópar manna og kvenna í heimkomusögunni eru lagðir saman kemur út talan hundrað fimmtíu og þrjár: Ólafur kemur með hundrað manns, Sigurður fer heim af akrinum með þrjátíu manna hóp og tuttugu manns eru nefndir í veisluundirbúningi Ástu. Talan hundrað fimmtíu og þrjár kemur fyrir í Jóhannesarguðspjalli (21:1–14) sem sá fjöldi *fiska* sem postularnir veiddu eitt sinn þegar Kristur birtist þeim eftir upprisuna. Fiskinótin samsvarar heilagri kirkju segir Gregoríus mikli í einni hómilíu sinni<sup>65</sup> og í annarri kveður hann töluna hundrað fimmtíu og þrjár tákna *þá útvöldu í hinu himneska landi*.<sup>66</sup> Talan hundrað fimmtíu og þrjár táknar því nokkurn veginn hið sama og talan eitt hundrað í heimkomusögunni. Svo vill til að í næsta kafla á eftir heimkomusögunni (nr. 35) er þess getið að fiskar (og mjólk) hafi verið í matinn hjá liði Ólafs annan hvern dag.<sup>67</sup> Allegoríaen virðist þannig gagnunnin.

## Umræða

Miðaldafræðingurinn Robert Worth Frank Jr. (1914–2003) gerir skýran greinarmun á allegoría sem byggir alfarið á táknum (*symbol-allegory*) og þeirri sem felst í nafngreindum persónugerðum hugtökum (*personification-allegory*).<sup>68</sup> Heimkomusagan er dæmi um hið fyrrnefnda. En þeim

64 Byrhtferth nefnir tvenndir postulanna í alfræðiriti sínu *Enchiridion* (sjá Baker og Lapidge 1995, bls. 199).

65 „Sancta Ecclesia sagenae comparatur“ (Gregoríus mikli. XL Homiliarum in Evangelia Liber Primus. Bls. 54). Í *Íslensku hómilíubókinni* er talað um *fiska í trúarnótinni* (Sigurbjörn Einarsson o.fl. bls. 237).

66 „Post resurrectionem ergo Domini missum rete dignum fuit ut tot pisces caperet, quot solummodo electos cives supernae patriae designarent.“ [Eftir upprisuna var því netið sent Drottni, og það var viðeigandi að veiða einmitt þennan fjölda fiska, þar sem þeir eiga einungis við útvalda borgara hins himneska lands.]. (Gregoríus mikli. XL Homiliarum in Evangelia Liber Secundus. Bls. 24).

67 „Sigurður konungur veitti þeim annan hvern dag að borðhaldi fiska og mjólk en annan hvern slátur og mungát.“

68 Frank (1953). Í persónugerðri allegoría er teft fram persónum sem heita eftir ákveðnum

flokki má aftur skipta í tvennt eftir því hvort tákni í sögunni eru útskýrð af höfundu eða ekki. Í heimkomusögunni eru engin táknbær atriði útskýrð.<sup>69</sup> Ef viðtakandi á að koma auga á allegóriuna þarf hann að vera læs á táknmálið og nokkuð fótviss í kristnum ritningar- og kenningaheimi, eða a.m.k. vera í samneyti við fólk sem hrærist í slíkum heimi og má helst sjá fyrir sér klaustur í því sambandi.<sup>70</sup>

Allegórísk saga, þar sem útskýringar fylgja, gagnast e.t.v. breiðari hópi. Dæmi um slíka sögu er *Queste del Saint Graal* (Leitin að gralinu helga, Frakkland um 1210). Í henni verða einkennilegir og augljóslega táknrænir atburðir. Síðar í verkinu hittir söguhetjan vitring sem útskýrir merkingu þeirra (Matarasso, 1969). Annað dæmi um þessa gerð af allegoríu er *Rauðúlfs þáttur* sem er m.a. í *Ólafs sögu helga hinnu sérstöku* en finnst sjálfstæður í ýmsum handritum. Í þættinum úir og grúir af táknum. Hinn óþekkti höfundur hans var vel að sér í táknmáli sem hann notar bæði ljóst og leynt til að spinna marglaga allegoríu kringum Ólaf helga. Hann sviðsetur geðþekkar persónur í húsi sem er greinileg eftirmynd heimsins þótt það sé hvergi sagt berum orðum. Með táknrænum draumi þar sem leikið er með helstu fræði er varða samsvörun manns, heims, tíma, eilífðar og endurlausnar er Ólafi konungi stillt upp sem staðgengli Krists. Þetta er gert af list sem sýnir að höfundurinn hefur verið viðlesinn lærdómsmaður úr kirkjulegu umhverfi.<sup>71</sup> Rauðúlfur, eigandi hússins, útskýrir rækilega fyrir Ólafi konungi merkingu draums sem hann dreymdi. En draumurinn er aðeins hluti allegoríunnar sem er byggð á mun stærri sviðsmynd. Höfundurinn lætur ógert að túlka þá sviðsmynd en sá sem ber kennsl á hana sér helgi Ólafs í skýru ljósi. *Rauðúlfs þáttur* geymir þannig tvöfalda allegoríu þar sem önnur er útskýrð en hin ekki.<sup>72</sup>

Þegar hvergi er sagt berum orðum að saga sé allegoría þarf að færa sérstök rök fyrir því að svo sé.<sup>73</sup> Í þessari rannsókn liggja þau rök í táknum

hugtökum og eru fulltrúar fyrir þau. Eiginleikar persónanna eru gefnir um leið og nafn þeirra er nefnt og enga gátu að leysa hvað það varðar. Sérstök tákni eru óþörf.

69 Mögulegt er að einhvers konar útlekking hafi upphaflega fylgt heimkomusögunni en hún hafi ekki verið tekin með í *Heimskringlu* og þannig glatast.

70 Snorri Sturluson hefur mögulega haft nokkra klerklærða menn í þjónustu sinni (Mundal, 2018, bls. 420).

71 Árni Einarsson (1997, 2001, 2005, 2010).

72 Árni Einarsson (1997); sjá einnig Loescher (1981).

73 Sjá t.d. Whittington (2012) og í norrænu samhengi m.a. Jonas Wellendorf (2017).

og samhengi þeirra og hvort tenging við ríkjandi heimsmynd og trúarkenningu gangi upp.

Í þessari grein er látið reyna á þá tilgátu að heimkomusagan sé samin sem allegoría í kristnum anda. Það er fyrst og fremst hin óvenjulega samþjöppun táknbærra atriða sem kallar á allegóríska túlkun en táknbær atriði eru fremur strjál í öðrum köflum *Ólafs sögu helga*.<sup>74</sup> Tilgátan felur í sér að táknbær atriði í heimkomusögunni verði skiljanleg ef hómilíutáknmál er haft til viðmiðunar – sagan fái nýja merkingu þegar táknin eru lesin í anda hómilíuhefðar. Táknunum þarf að bera saman innbyrðis og túlkun þeirra að leiða til niðurstöðu sem fellur að trúarkerfi á líklegum ritunartíma sögunnar.

Þegar kirkjulegt hómilíutáknmál frá því fyrir ritunartíma *Heimskringlu* er mátáð við heimkomusöguna opnast túlkunarmöguleikar sem áður hafa virst fjarlægir:

1. Ólafur kemur heim með hundrað manns. Talan vísar á himneska Jerúsalem, endurlausn og eilífa hamingju hinna útvöldu, sem sé komu Krists.

2. Sigurður ber búning og tákn sem vísa til himins, orðs guðs, eilífðarinnar og þrenningarinnar en minna einnig á gamla sáttmálann (Gamla testamentið) með táknum sem fylgja Móse (stafur, hula um andlit, tempraðir litir, skóklæði) og Júda (stafur, hringur, andlitsskýla). Litir Sigurðar breytast úr gráu og bláu í rautt og gyllt við komu Ólafs helga og tákna nú fulla speki, guðs ást og heilagan anda. Sigurður er þannig fulltrúi gamla sáttmála sem umbreytist í hinn nýja við komu Krists. Víður hattur, stafur og hulið andlit tengir Sigurð líka við Krist upprisinn og pílgríma í gegnum sögu Jóhannesarguðspjalls um ferðina til Emmaus. Stafur og hringur tákna kross Krists og Kirkjuna.

3. Ásta fer að dæmi Krists, sendir tólf menn, tvo og tvo til að sinna brýnum erindum og fjóra menn að safna til sín stórmönnum úr fjórum áttum. Tölurnar (tveir, og þó einkum fjórir) eru jarðneskar og vísa til guðspjallanna, kirkju og jafnvel Maríu meyjar. Skreyting stofunnar má útleggjast svo að Kirkjan skryðdist við komu Krists (Ólafs) og gæti jafnframt minnt á að Sýnagóga breyttist þá í Kirkju.

4. Samanlagðir flokkar Ólafs, Ástu og Sigurðar (talan hundrað fimmtíu

74 Óbirt úttekt höfundar.

og þrír) gefa táknálsnæmum lesanda tilefni til að bera heimkomusöguna við upprisú Krists og hamingju útvaldra á himnum.

Fullyrða má að nóg sé af táknum og tilvísunum í heimkomusögunni til að leggja megi út af henni bibliulega að hómilískum hætti. Táknin, sviðsetning þeirra og atburðarás verða helst túlkuð sem mikilvægar vörður á leið til endurlausnarinnar. Þeim er raðað saman í eina mynd í þremur persónum í stuttum texta þar sem engu er ofaukið. Kjarni heimkomusögunnar verður Ólafur sem ígildi Krists. Hann ríður í hlað sem lausnarinn upprisinn og fullkomnar hina Himnesku Jerúsalem því að mannkyn hverfur loks þangað heim. Viðfang heimkomusögunnar er uppfylling lögmálsins og um leið samjöfnun Ólafs og Krists, upphafning Ólafs í himneskt veldi.

Eins og fyrir er drepíð á endurpegláði mannskepnan alheiminn. Þess vegna býr ávallt a.m.k. tvöföld merking í táknumyndum sem dregnar eru upp í hómilíuhefðinni. Í mannum býr sál og líkami, himinn og jörð, tölurnar þrír og fjórir. Sálin (Sigurður) skryðist gylltu og rauðu, andlegri spekt (gylltur hjálmur), heilögum anda og kærleika (rauðu) við komu Krists. Líkaminn (Ásta) skreytir hús sitt með dyggðum. Mannskepnan er hólpín. Þannig felast í heimkomusögunni a.m.k. þrenn skilaboð: Mannskepnan er hólpín fyrir tilverknað Krists, sem enn lifir, lesandinn sjálfur á sér von um hjálpraði og Ólafur er staðgengill Krists og sannhelgur maður.

Túlkun heimkomusögunnar kallast augljóslega á við túlkun *Rauðúlfs þáttar*. Skírskotun til hinnar himnesku Jerúsalem er alveg ljós í *Rauðúlfs þætti* út frá tölum og geometríu (Árni Einarsson 1997) en í heimkomusögunni felst hún í tölunni *eitt hundrað* og heildarsamhenginu. Sá möguleiki er því fyrir hendi að *Rauðúlfs þáttur* og heimkomusagan séu eftir sama höfund og samstæðir hlutar af sögu endurlausnarinnar, ritaðir til að rækta helgi Ólafs. Heimkomusagan og *Rauðúlfs þáttur* eru þó sögur sem geta staðið sjálfstæðar að því leyti að allegoría hvorrar um sig gefur heila mynd og felur því hvorki í sér kröfu né ályktun um að *Ólafs saga helga* sé allegoría í heild sinni.<sup>75</sup> Sögurnar gætu þess vegna verið verk tveggja höfunda sem störfuðu innan sömu hefðar.

Fjórar góðar ástæður liggja fyrir rannsókn á táknumáli. Ein er sú að táknumál var mikilvæg hlið á miðaldamenningu. Önnur er að táknumálsnotkun kemur upp um menningarlegan bakgrunn höfundar og viðmælenda hans.

75 Sjá Males (2013).

Þriðja ástæðan er að greining á táknmáli í texta gefur innsýn í merkingu textans og hugsanlega allegoría.<sup>76</sup> Fjórdi ástæðan tengist sögu einstakra handrita og mögulegum sambræðingi sagna. *Ólafs saga helga* er dæmi um slíkan sambræðing. Hún er samsett verk með langan, flókinn og að ýmsu leyti óvissan aðdraganda.<sup>77</sup> Frekari rannsókna er þörf til að meta hverju þessi nýja rannsókn breytir um tilurð og túlkun Ólafs sögu í heild sinni. Sagan er hryggjarstykkið í *Heimskringlu*, sprettur upp úr helgisagnaritun um höfuðdýrling og píslarvott Norðurlanda og er jafnframt saga konungs er sameinaði Noreg undir einum lögum og merkjum kristni. *Ólafs saga helga* er talin bera sum helstu einkenni dýrlingasagna og er þá tekið mið af kraftaverkasögum og heildarbyggingu<sup>78</sup> en táknafræði hefur ekki verið beitt við túlkun sögunnar fyrr en nú. Hrá tákni og biblíutilvísanir, sem einkenna heimkomusöguna og gefa allegóriusmið til kynna, eru óalgeng í öðrum köflum *Ólafs sögu helga*. Mörk allegoría eru þó jafnan óljós. Haki Antonsson (2018) tiltekur fjölmörg dæmi úr norrænum forntextum þar sem kristin kenning um fordæmingu og hjálpraði virðist ráða för. Sum textadæmin í rannsókn hans búa yfir glöggum táknum sem vísa veginn til upphafinnar íhugunar en á hinum enda rófsins eru textar sem e.t.v. endurspeglar aðeins lærða heimsmynd klerklærðs höfundar.

Niðurstaða þessarar rannsóknar er að heimkomusagan, líkt og *Rauðúlfs þáttur*, sé allegoría sprottin úr kirkjulegum jarðvegi. Það gæti þýtt að helgi dýrlingsins hafi verið ræktuð markvisst með samningu slíkra verka.<sup>79</sup> Spurningin er þá hvort sú rækt hafi einskorðast við lokuð samfélög klaustra eða hvort hún hafi verið angi af víðfeðmari tilbeiðslu, sem gat tengst hinum fjölmörgu kirkjum helguðum honum, og ekki síst pílgrímsferðum til Niðaróss þar sem jarðneskar leifar Ólafs voru.<sup>80</sup>

76 Sjá t.d. Árna Einarsson (2010).

77 Sigurður Nordal (1914), Jónas Kristjánsson (1976), Whaley (1991), Guðrún Nordal o.fl. (1992, 2018), Lindow (2008), Sigurður Ingibergur Björnsson o.fl. (2021). Sjá einnig Meldahl (2007).

78 Sjá Whaley (1987) og Sverri Tómasson (1991, 1992, 1994 og 1998). Torfi H. Tulinius (2004) hefur ritað um *Egils sögu* í samhengi við túlkunarhefð Bibliunnar á miðöldum en Snorri Sturluson hefur oft verið nefndur sem höfundur *Egils sögu*, líkt og *Ólafs sögu helga*.

79 Um ritun slíkra verka, sjá t.d. Rudolph (2014).

80 Johansson (2018) og Mundal (2018) ræða hugsanleg áhrif kirkju og klerka í Reykholti á verk eignuð Snorra. Um kirkjur helgaðar Ólafi á Íslandi, sjá m.a. Cormack (1994). Pétur Pétursson prófessor emerítus og tveir ónafngreindir ritrýnar lásu greinina í handriti og Gunnar Harðarson prófessor yfirfor latneskar þýðingar. Athugasemdir þeirra voru kærkomnar.

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## ÁGRIP

Hómiliutáknmál í *Heimskringlu*

**Efnisorð:** Ólafur helgi, Sigurður sýr, Ásta Guðbrandsdóttir, dýrlingur, allegoría, týpólógía, táknfræði, Kristur, Móse, Júda, Emmaus, Himnesk Jerúsalem

Athugað er hvort sú tilgáta standist að heimkomusagan í *Ólafs sögu helga* í *Heimskringlu* (k. 32–34) sé allegórísk og byggð á táknmáli í ætt við það sem algengt er í hómilíum. Sagan segir frá því er Ólafur helgi kemur heim til Ástu móður sinnar og Sigurðar sýr fósturföður síns eftir langa fjarveru. Mun fleiri möguleg tákn eru í heimkomusögunni en í öðrum köflum Ólafs sögu. Í greininni eru þau dregin fram og athugað hvort túlkun þeirra samkvæmt hómilíuhefð skapi heildstæða mynd sem falli að meginkenningum Kirkjunnar. Tákn í sögunni tengja Ólaf við Krist og eilífan fagnað hinna útvöldu á himnum, *Sigurð* við himininn, þrenninguna og guðs orð en líka formyndir krossins og kirkjunnar. *Ásta* tengist við jörð, guðspjöllin, kristni og kirkju. Heildarfjöldi fólks í sögunni (153) tengist öllum persónunum þremur og er þekkt biblíuleg tala, túlkuð m.a. af Gregoríusi mikla sem hinir útvöldu á himnum. Búningur og sviðsetning Sigurðar tengir hann við þekkt týpólógísk atriði er varða Móse og Júda og þar með gamla sáttmála en einnig við *Ferðina til Emmaus* og þar með pilagríma og Krist upprisinn. Sennilegt má telja að heimkomusagan sé afurð trúarlegs starfs í klaustrum. Hún rímar við *Rauðúlfs þátt* sem einnig er ítarleg og þaulhugsuð allegoría um Ólaf. Báðar sögurnar hafa líklega það megintakmark að rækta helgi hans.

## SUMMARY

Homiletic Symbolism in *Heimskringla*

**Key words:** St. Olaf, Sigurdur sýr, Asta Gudbrandsdottir, saint, allegory, typology, symbology, Christ, Moses, Judah, Emmaus, New Jerusalem

This paper examines the hypothesis that the *home-coming episode* in *St. Olaf's Saga* (ch. 32–34) in *Heimskringla* is an allegory based on homiletic symbolism. The episode is about Olaf's return to his home in Norway after many years abroad and is one of the events that define the onset of his mission to control and Christianise Norway. Olaf arrives at his mother and stepfather's home in a vivid, personal and detailed narration, imbued with action and excitement. It is harvest-time, and Olaf's stepfather, *Sigurdur sýr*, king of Ringerike, is busy overseeing the harvest activity. He is walking around a field with two other men, dressed in a blue tunic and leggings, a grey cloak and a wide grey hat, a cloth over his face and a staff in his hand with a gilded silver cap on the top, surmounted by a silver ring. He is then

summoned by *Ásta* – his wife and Olaf’s mother – to come home quickly as she has been informed that her son will be arriving soon. Sigurður puts on his royal outfit, including a scarlet robe, spurs of gold and a golden helmet, and goes home with thirty men. Meanwhile, *Ásta* and twenty others prepare a welcoming feast. She sends envoys to the neighborhood with an invitation to the banquet while the hall is prepared. Everything is just ready when Olaf arrives at his homestead with a retinue of a hundred men. He is greeted by Sigurdur, *Ásta* and the local crowd, and is led to the throne by his mother.

The potential hagiographic nature of *St. Olaf’s Saga*, combined with the detailed narrative containing many potential symbols in the form of numbers, colours, artefacts and action, give a strong impression of allegory. There is a likely allusion to Mark 6:7 when *Ásta* assigns twelve people in six pairs to prepare the hall, and again when she sends *four people in four directions* to invite magnates to the event, echoing the angels in Mark 13:27 who were sent to bring the chosen ones from the four winds.

The arrival of Olaf with his hundred men would seem to be a key event. The number 100 (or 120 if a long hundred is meant) is interpreted by Bede, for example, as a symbol of *happiness of the elect in eternal life* and directly associated with the biblical parables of the lost sheep and the lost coin, which in Christian patristic tradition alludes to the Redemption, the restoration of humanity as the tenth celestial order, a key feature in the history of salvation. This number, one hundred, here associated with a saint, is flanked by many other potential symbols. One is that the combined flocks of Olaf (100+1), Sigurdur (30+1) and *Ásta* (20+1) make 153 people, a biblical number that has been associated with the *elect in the heavenly land*, i.a. by Gregory the Great.

An examination of how other potential symbols group with Sigurdur and *Ásta*, reveals a consistent pattern. Sigurdur’s symbols associate him with heaven, the Trinity and the eternal word of God. Typological allusions associate Sigurdur and his staff with Moses and Judah, whose antitype is Christ, while the staff and the ring represent the Cross and the Church, respectively. Sigurdur also reflects the *pilgrims in Emmaus*, an iconographic motif based on Luke 24:13–53 that involves the resurrected Christ. On the arrival of Olaf, Sigurdur’s colours turn from blue, silver and grey to red and gold. This appears to indicate *God’s word with full wisdom* (gold), *God’s love* and the *Holy spirit* (red, which also signifies martyrdom). The transformation would signify the changes brought about by the advent of Christ (and his parallel, Olaf).

*Ásta* is firmly linked to the four directions and the numbers two and four, which usually signify motherhood and earthly, missionary aspects of the Church, the Gospels and the evangelists.

The home-coming episode was most likely understood as an allegory in ecclesiastical circles in medieval times. It uses symbols and images that relate to multiple iconographical features, focusing on eschatological aspects of the history of salvation. The episode permits a coherent allegorical interpretation which equates

St. Olaf with Christ as the Redeemer. *Raudulfs þattur*, another short story about St. Olaf, incorporated in the longer version of his saga but which does not appear in *Heimskringla*, is also an allegory. Olaf is here placed centrally in an allegorical building modelled on a multidimensional cosmos, taking the symbolic seat of Christ in the Heavenly Jerusalem (Einarsson 1997, 2001, 2005). Both stories indicate a dedicated activity of creative allegorical writing intended to reinforce and nurture the veneration of the saint.

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## RINGING CHANGES

### *On Old Norse-Icelandic mál in Kormáks saga*

#### Introduction

ONE OF THE DETERMINATIVE CONVENTIONS of the sagas of Icelanders is that introductory chapters name the ancestors of its principals and through capsule accounts of their deeds establish motifs that will later be developed to thematic status in the saga proper, albeit in new combinations, with inversions, negations, etc.<sup>1</sup> *Kormáks saga* is exemplary in this respect.<sup>2</sup> Chapters 1 and 2 introduce (1) the saga hero's grandfather and namesake, the Norwegian Kormákr (an Irish name), and his son, Qgmundr; (2) further Irish onomastics, associations, and possible heritage; (3) successful Viking raids and intra-Viking conflict; (4) *hólmganga* with questionable procedure; (5) hesitation, here parental, over a proposed marriage; (6) "wise women"; (7) the apparatus and techniques of magic; and (8) irregularities in measuring the lot for a building. In more analytical terms, the essay explores the measure of man against man, man against social standards (including in sexual matters), the complementarity of *eros* and *thanatos* in human life, and, on the level of detail, the differing valences of human body parts, ritual behavior, and apotropaic readings and interventions, which include charms, curses, supernaturally endowed weapons and their temperamentality, and other apparently common yet magical acts, both causing and preventing human intention and efforts.

- 1 See Theodore M. Andersson, "The Rhetoric of the Saga," *The Icelandic Family Saga* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 31-37. A recent general study of the saga is Daniel Sävborg, "Kormáks saga – en norrön kärlekssaga på vers och prosa," *Scripta Islandica* 56 (2005): 65-99.
- 2 *Kormáks saga*, in *Vatnsdæla saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1939), 201-302. All quotations are from this edition, referenced by chapter, page, and stanza or note number. English translations are adapted from *Kormak's Saga*, trans. by Rory McTurk, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. by Viðar Hreinsson, 5 vols. (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1997), 3:179-224.

These several topics and motifs will recur in elaborated form and interrelation in the course of the saga, interconnected by the polysemantic term *mál*, variously ‘speech, poetry; measure, measurement; case, matter, affair’, after the younger Kormákr has entered the narrative spotlight. The introduction of the saga’s principal is here deferred in order to examine the opening episodes of the saga.

The Icelanders of the sagas are depicted as believing in a personal destiny.<sup>3</sup> The focus in this belief was on terminal states: death in combat or an uneventful old age, although the decisive etiological moment was imagined as in the Norns’ determination of an individual fate at birth. The ways and sequences of events in which such destinies are realized are often effected through a double or enhanced causality, human and supernatural. Ultimate fate is generally beyond human scrutiny, although certain wise folk have intimations of an unseemly or untimely end. On a level more perceptible to human understanding, magic or sorcery may be put to work. Lastly, the more apparent reasons for certain turns of event are generally to be traced to the personalities of the principals and to their interaction.

Ógmundr Kormáksson, from the Vík region of Norway, goes raiding in the British Isles as soon as mature, and his reputation comes to the attention of Ásmundr, a notorious Viking. In a development more suggestive of romance than saga, the men establish contact and agree to meet in a Viking approximation of pitched battle. Yet when this takes place, Ásmundr does not engage his full force and, after four days of conflict, is routed with great losses. Ógmundr returns home with fame and fortune. His father states that no more prestige is to be gained through warfare (“Kormákr kvað Ógmund eigi mundu meira frama fá í hernaði”).<sup>4</sup> This is an indirect appeal for moderation on the part of the elder Kormákr. *Hóf* ‘moderation’ represented a masculine ideal in pagan Iceland – think of Gunnarr Hámundarson of *Brennu-Njáls saga* – but is only a shadow motif in *Kormáks saga* (see below).<sup>5</sup> Kormákr also judges it opportune

3 See, most recently, Neil Price, “The Home of Their Shapes,” in his *Children of Ash and Elm: A History of the Vikings* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), 31–63.

4 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 1, 204.

5 *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1944), ch. 19, 52–53. *Hóf* displays an interesting semantic development. The term is traced to Proto-Indo-European \**kap-* ‘to grasp’, via a sense of ‘fit amount under the circumstances’; cf. Gothic *gahōbains* ‘abstinence’, Old English *behōfian* ‘to require’, Old High German



for Qgmundr to marry at this moment, and the daughter of *jarl* Fróði is courted. The father is favorably disposed to the match but with reservations: “Jarl tók því vel og kallaði á liggja ótta nokkurn um skipti þeirra Ásmundar” (The father was agreeable but there was some cause for concern over Qgmundr’s relations with Ásmundr).<sup>6</sup> Ostensibly, the father’s anxiety is that his daughter may be left a young widow, yet it also raises other possibilities. The reluctance of the girl’s father seems borne out when Ásmundr hears of the planned wedding and challenges Qgmundr to single combat. The old nurse of the bride-to-be runs her hands over Qgmundr’s body and determines that he will come to no great harm. In the ensuing duel on the islet designated for such purpose, the first of several in the saga, Ásmundr’s opening blow is without effect. In turn, Qgmundr quickly shifts his sword to his other hand, most likely from right to left, strikes a downward blow, and takes off Ásmundr’s leg – a lower body member.

Social standing in early medieval Scandinavia was dependent on recognition as a fully competent adult male. Less than this was equated with weakness, even effeminacy, which was subject to ridicule, defamation (often poetic), and loss of standing. Suspicion over sexuality and sexual behavior then hung in the Viking air, and was directed toward any hint of latent, even if coerced, homeo-erotic behavior. *Jarl* Fróði’s unease may then also have included some doubt as to the equivocal and rather too cozy dealings between the two Vikings, in which the “jilted lover” Ásmundr takes the initiative. But such reluctance is over-ridden and the wedding proceeds. With these early, pre-Icelandic events, a number of important motifs are introduced into the saga and will find a rich and interdependent development in the following.

### *Mál* as Measure: Land Grants

Although Qgmundr comes out the victor in the judicial duel, cutting Ásmundr down to size, and the marriage proceeds, his good fortune does not last through his subsequent emigration to Iceland. His well-born wife dies as does his son Fróði, significantly named “the wise.” A second wife

*behuobida* ‘presumption’ (Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols. (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1959), 1:528, s.v. \*kap; Jan de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd edition (Leiden: Brill, 1962), s.v. hóf 1.

6 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 1, 204.

in Iceland is the daughter of *Qnundr sjóna* “the sighted”; her name is Dalla and is drawn from Irish *dall* ‘blind’. Thus what might be called the center of mental gravity shifts from reason to intuition and insight, and perhaps from measured thought to impulse, as will be reflected in Kormákr’s character. But first, on his arrival in Iceland *Qgmundr* is granted land by *Miðfjörðs-Skeggi*. He sets about building a house by marking out the exterior dimensions in order to lay, within, a foundation of gravel. The saga continues:

Þat þá *Qgmundr*, mældi grundvöll undir hús. Þat var þeirra átrúnaðr, ef málit gengi saman, þá er optar væri reynt, at þess manns ráð myndi saman ganga, ef málvöndrinn þyrri, en þróask, ef hann vissi til mikilleiks; en málit gekk saman ok þrem sinnum reynt.<sup>7</sup>

The general sense of this passage has been well enough understood by commentators and translators,<sup>8</sup> but (1) an apparent redundancy has not been “honored” in all modern renderings; (2) there is the chronic question of the subject of verbs in the absence of nouns or pronouns; and (3) some semantic equivalences are questionable, e.g., *mál* is translated as “measuring rod” on the basis of the putative synonym *málvöndr*, which occurs later in the text. In one sense *mál* means only ‘measure, the act of measuring, mark (as indicative of measurement)’,<sup>9</sup> although the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* offers instances of *mál* as ‘speech, organs of speech, voice, account, poem, poetry; matter, affair, case, dispute; time, point in time, meal-time’.<sup>10</sup> The semi-ritualized use of demarcating hazel rods and pegs returns to the discussion below in the context of dueling, but here we

7 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 2, 205.

8 E.g., *Kormáks saga Qgmundarsonar*, in *Isländersagas*, ed. by Klaus Bödl, Andreas Vollmer, and Julia Zernack, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2011), 3:55–126; *Kormak’s Saga*, trans. McTurk; *La Saga de Kormak*, trans. by Frédéric Durand (Caen: Heimdal, 1975); *The Sagas of Kormak and The Sworn Brothers*, trans. by Lee M. Hollander (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939).

9 All uses are ultimately traceable to Proto-German, \**mēla-* ‘measure, amount’; *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*, ed. by Guus Kroonen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), s.v. *mēla* 3. Cf. Old English *metian*, ‘to assign due measure; to moderate’, Old High German *mezzōn*, ‘to moderate’.

10 *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog = A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*, ed. by James Knirk et al. (Copenhagen: Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission, 1989–), s.v. *mál*, noun, 1–3.

might picture a handy instrument of a fathom's length, roughly six feet. A word-for-word translation yields:

Qgmundr received that [the land grant] and measured for the foundation under a house. It was people's belief at the time that, if the measuring grew shorter when it was tried repeatedly, the man's fortunes would also contract, if [as?] the measuring rod shrank; but it would lengthen, if he were to know greatness. But the measurement grew shorter over three tries.

So understood, the text displays a chiasmic effect: MEASURE DIMINUTION: IN PRINCIPLE: poor fortune : *rod contraction* || *rod extension* : good fortune : MEASURE DIMINUTION: IN PRACTICE (three tries). It seems most plausible to conclude that the omen of future ill fortune would be more apparent in the marked-off outline of the foundation than in the observable length of the rod. This could also be figured as the result of the measuring rod itself shrinking, a touch of the preternatural. Otherwise, what could the rod have been measured against as a reference unit and why would the same rod be used a third time? Nevertheless, an underdimensioned house plan, visible on the ground when the measuring was completed, is clearly the product of the use of rod. A basic question – if one could usefully be asked – is whether the fault lies with the rod (an inherent weakness in any kind of measurement) or with its manipulator, the man. Since the episode is *sui generis* in Old Norse-Icelandic letters, further speculation is not warranted; the situation seems intentionally vague as to exact process. Still, for the saga public familiar with portents, the prognosis is clear enough and is projected forward onto expectations for the career of Qgmundr's elder son. In a larger frame of reference, Qgmundr's fortunes appear to take a turn for the worse when Norway is abandoned for Iceland. Although unstated in the saga, he seems to have met an early death. Kormákr becomes the senior male at the farm in Mel, living with his mother and younger brother Þorgils.

### *Mál* as Poetry: Kormákr as Suitor

At this point the saga proper may be said to begin, and a general familiarity with it is here assumed among readers. As noted, Kormákr is born to

Ögmundur in his second marriage in Iceland to a daughter, Dalla ‘the blind’, of Ögmundur *sjóna* ‘the sighted’. This detail illustrates the Norse concept of the loss or absence of a physical faculty that is compensated for by its enhanced spiritual or mental version.<sup>11</sup> We return to this concept below. This suggests a zero-sum conception of human existence and is consonant with the present narrative, which will be devoted to comparison, competition, and various forms of exchange. Kormákr is characterized as “svartr á hár ok sveipr í hárinu, hgrundljóss ok nokkut líkr móður sinni, mikill ok sterkr, áhlaupamaðr í skapi” (black hair with curls, with a fair complexion, rather like his mother, big and strong, impetuous in temperament).<sup>12</sup> This, the mixed heritage of Norse and ostensibly some Irish along both paternal and maternal lines, second sight and blindness/insightfulness all predict complexity and even irresolution. In the study that follows, Kormákr’s life trajectory will be assessed in and against both absolute and relative measures/measurements, the *mál* (measure) as instantiated in the opening chapters and informing this essay’s intentionally overdetermined title. The relevant vocabulary and its deployment in the narrative are reminiscent of the encryption of familiar names that figures elsewhere in the saga (*Steingerðr*) and in Egill Skallagrímsson (*Ásgerðr*, *Arinbjörn*, and *Bøðvarr*).<sup>13</sup> In this riddling exercise a compound personal name is masked by one component being replaced by a homophone (retention of sound but substitution of meaning) and the other by a synonym (retention of meaning but substitution of sound).<sup>14</sup> Name encryption, with its substitutions and allusions, can be grouped among other tropes that exemplify homological or typological thinking, as when the motif of beer-drinking that we find

11 See Lois Bragg, “Impaired and Inspired: The Makings of a Medieval Icelandic Poet,” *Madness, Disability and Social Exclusion: The Archaeology and Anthropology of “Difference”*, ed. by Jane Hubert (London: Routledge, 2000), 128–43; and Sayers, “Guilt, Grief, Grievance, and the Encrypted Name in Egill Skallagrímsson’s *Sonatorrek*,” *Scandinavian Studies* 92 (2020): 229–46.

12 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 2, 206.

13 Sayers, “Onomastic Paronomasia in Old Norse-Icelandic: Technique, Context, and Parallels,” *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 27 (2006): 91–127; and Sayers, “Guilt, Grief, Grievance.”

14 Bergsveinn Birgisson writes of such crafting of metaphor and meta-metaphor, the “likeness [between referents] in the context of kennings is only valued if it is surrounded by tensions or clashes of elements that represent contrastive categories or semantic frames” (“Skaldic Blends Out of Joint: Blending Theory and Aesthetic Conventions,” *Metaphor and Symbol* 27.4 (2012): 283–98, at 289.

in Egill Skallagrímsson can have overtones of the myth of the cauldron of poetry and its transmarine transmission. The kenning belongs here, along with, on a larger scale, the above referenced practice of recasting and elaborating the motifs of the introductory chapters of a saga. In *Kormáks* saga, polysemy, one element of name riddling, is the product of the various meaning of *mál*. After this quite serious pun, in the putative equation here proposed, the second replacement in narrative proximity should be open to service as a synonym of *hóf*. But in an artful turn, we find, not a word with similar meaning, but its antonym as ascribed to Kormákr: *áhlaupamaðr* ‘impetuous, immoderate man’. *Mál* will be ubiquitous in the examination of the saga, not in the teasing incorporation of a name but in the artful exposition of saga theme; *hóf*, on the other hand, is seldom mentioned or in evidence, this, too, with thematic intention.

The first events of the poet’s saga concerns Kormákr’s choice as to participation in two household duties: either to help flense a stranded whale or go into the mountains to round up sheep. This initial episode will be discussed in some detail, since it establishes motifs and themes that will inform the entire work. Kormákr’s options (sea-shore or mountains), like lexical alternatives, recall the myth of Njörðr, Skaði, and their troubled marriage.<sup>15</sup> We should not look so much for point-by-point correspondence as to the mythic framing of an individual human destiny. Electing the ovine option, Kormákr overnights at the farm of a man called Tosti and meets his foster-daughter Steingerðr Þorkeldsdóttir after a series of glimpses of her feet under the swinging door to the hall and of her face by the door-frame (Kormákr’s introduction to the linearity motif met in the land measure). The sheep search is broken off. Ten improvised stanzas of love poetry then follow. The sparse situational information in the verses and a near contemporary understanding of their kennings and allusions seem to have determined the composition and hence understanding of the accompanying prose. The stanzas are uniform in content and style: skaldic poetics, including kennings, devoted to praise a girl’s beauty, with the poet a shadowy but consistent presence in the poems. As a reference point against which to evaluate verses in a very different register, Kormákr’s first

15 John Lindow, “When Skáði Chose Njörðr,” *Romance and Love in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland: Essays in Honor of Marianne Kalinke*, ed. by Kirsten Wolf and Johanna Denzin. *Islandica* 54 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), 165–82.

stanza is reproduced here. The editor and subsequent commentators have endeavored to sort out the imagery.

Nú varð mér í mínu,  
menreið, jötuns leiði,  
réttumk risti, snótar  
ramma-óst, fyr skömmu;  
Þeir munu fœtr at fári  
fald-Gerðar mér verða,  
alls ekki veitk ella,  
optarr en nú, svarra.<sup>16</sup>

Poole translates:

Now a mighty love came about for me in my mind (“favourable wind of the giant’s wife”) – the woman (“wagon of the necklace”) stretched out her instep toward me – a short while ago. Those feet of the woman (“giantess’s daughter of the ?head-dress”) will mean jeopardy for me more often than now: otherwise I do not know the woman at all.<sup>17</sup>

Kormákr extemporizes another nine stanzas in this vein on this and subsequent visits to see Steingerðr at the farm in Gnúpsdalr, where she is being fostered. The saga makes no mention at this point of him ever approaching Steingerðr’s father Þorkell at the home farm in Tunga. But knowing that amorous verse directed to his daughter was circulating does not please

16 *Kormáks saga*, ch.3, 207, st. 1.

17 Russell Poole, “Composition, Transmission, Performance: The First Ten *lausavísur* in *Kormáks saga*,” *Alvíssmál* 7 (1997): 37–60. Some sense of, and fun with, the baroque skaldic poetics can be had in the following English rendering, which attempts a pastiche of some of the stylistic effects while remaining close to the general meaning. Closer translations of individual words figure in the subsequent discussion.

Now the craggy course of my mind  
is breached by a burst of love;  
at me, the *ásynja* just  
angled her ankle.  
In the future the feet  
of this walled-in woman  
will bring me more ill,  
else know I naught about nymphs.

the farmer. Although the girl is not explicitly identified at this time, her name's encryption in the first stanza would have been easily discovered, even sought out, since everyone knew of everyone else's comings and goings, and of poetic conventions. Aware of his master's displeasure, one of Þorkell's retainers, Narfi, a kinsman in service at the farm, offers to intervene. Narfi is characterized as "hávaðamaðr ok skapheimskr, hœlinn ok þó lítilmenni" (pushy and foolish, boastful yet mean), and this prepares the saga public for the nature of his intervention.<sup>18</sup> On one of his visits, Kormákr seeks out Steingerðr in the cook-house, where Narfi is occupied with boiling blood and suet sausages in a kettle, the product of the fall slaughter. The saga continues: "Narfi stóð við ketil ok er lokit var at sjóða, vá Narfi upp mörbjúga ok brá fyrir nasar Kormáki ok kvað þetta ..." (Narfi stood by the kettle and, when the boiling was completed, Narfi lifted the sausages up and waved them under Kormákr's nose and said ...):

Hversu þykkja ketils þér,  
Kormákr, ormar?

Hann segir:

Góðr þykkir soðinn mör  
syni Ögmundar.<sup>19</sup>

(How do these kettle snakes seem to you, Kormákr?

He says:

To the son of Ögmundr the boiled suet seems good.)

Formal features of this instance of verse-capping will be discussed below but it is important first to establish social context, imagery, and register. Kormákr's foray into casual visits, erotic versifying, and express interest in an unmarried girl living outside parental supervision take him beyond the zone of the normative adult Norse male and the stage where his actions may be seen as appropriate. Penetrating the interior space reserved for women and servants exacerbates his exposure. Narfi can risk an insulting couplet both because it will please his master and because Kormákr is suddenly in a situation and quandary that occur in Old Norse letters with

<sup>18</sup> *Kormáks saga*, ch. 4, 216.

<sup>19</sup> *Kormáks saga*, ch. 4, 216, st. 11-12.

some frequency: how to respond to criticism, mockery, or abuse by a social inferior, when anything more than words in response would be an abuse of status-derived power and thus in the nature of a minor injustice. The well-known whetting scenes illustrate that the “heroic” male often has little choice but to act on the directives of his critic, e.g., Hrafnkell *Freysgoði* after the washer-woman’s comments on his laxity in seeking vengeance.<sup>20</sup> We may imagine Narfi lifting a length of sausage on a wooden stirrer for their assessment and recall the measuring rod of an earlier chapter. Yet here quality not quantity is to be tried. Narfi is also taking the measure of his man by inviting his evaluation of the products of the non-male environment, products with which he should have little expertise. In a homological reading, the stirring rod has the latent potency of a *níðstǫng* or pole of defamation, on which a slaughtered (or sacrificed) horse’s head might be mounted.<sup>21</sup> The meat sausage thus brandished might be open to interpretation as a phallic symbol, albeit a limp one. At most, Kormákr has entered a scene productive of impressions of gender ambiguity and is being called on it: his interest in food preparation and possibly in a symbol of male genitalia is questioned, prompted by his having already taken several steps away from mainstream manliness by coming into the cookhouse to seek out female company.

Homological thinking was integral to the Norse worldview and was applied over great differences of scale.<sup>22</sup> Narfi mocks Kormákr through the appropriation of poetic technique. His kenning is a debasement of poetic lexis and register, since *ormr* is otherwise frequent in the sense of serpent or dragon in kennings for gold. Narfi employs apostrophe, creates a subjective environment through the use of the verb *þykkja* ‘to seem’

20 *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*, in *Austfirðinga sǫgur*, ed. by Jón Jóhannesson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1950), ch. 8, 126–27.

21 On *níð* and related, see the fundamental studies of Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, *The Unmanly Man: Concepts of Sexual Defamation in Early Northern Society* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1983), and Folke Ström, “Níð, Ergi and Old Norse Moral Attitudes,” The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies delivered at University College London, 10 May 1973 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1973).

A classic realization is found in *Bjarnar saga Hítðælakappi*, in *Borgfirðinga sǫgur*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1938). In homological terms both the assumed stirring rod and lot-measuring rod have their analogues in *Yggdrasill*, the cosmic ash tree, yet in a significantly different register.

22 Sayers, “Njáll’s Beard, Hallgerð’s Hair, and Gunnarr’s Hay: Homological Patterning in *Njáls saga*,” *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 15 (1994): 5–31.



and the second person pronoun *þér*, and makes a coarse application of the kenning principle in that the blood-and-suet sausages are likened to snakes in a kettle, now raised to the level of the snakes into whose pits Germanic heroes were thrown. The sausage in the spherical cauldron is thus also a miniaturization of *Jormungandr*, the *Miðgarðsormr* or World Serpent at the bottom of the sea, who holds the cosmos together. He takes Þórr's bait of an ox head on a line but his correct management is otherwise required in order to preclude cosmic chaos. How do you compare with Þórr, Kormákr? All this in a brief question that demands a public answer. Narfi's tone is that of Loki in *Lokasenna*, his critical catalogue of divine misbehavior. And the cookhouse is essentially an arena for transformation, Loki's *forte*. Although Narfi employs only rudimentary poetic devices – alliteration and internal rhyme – through chiasmus and assonance he neatly encompasses most of Kormákr's name within the two elements of his culinary compound (*ketils ormar*). Kormákr is then caught in the carnal, mythologically fraught image like the suet mixture in its intestinal casing (see below for another equation of a personal name with a menial object for purposes of disparagement). Thus, on the homological principle and with its intricate cross references, in Narfi's mouth even a kitchen kettle can supply inspiration comparable to that of the cauldron of poetry.<sup>23</sup> We should not forget the larger context of the cookhouse: heat, smoke, water vapor, the seething kettle, inherently slippery sausages, a scene reminiscent of cosmogonic myth: death, dismemberment, and reconstitution on the one hand, and the fastidious aspiring lover, decked out in his custom finery on the other.

Narfi's question also seems a mischievous and insinuating parody of the collaborative preparation of food as sacrifices to the gods. The Gotlanders' term for such co-religionists was *supnautr* (putative Icelandic \**soðnautr*) 'boiling-mate'. Kormákr's impatience with shared religious or magical activity is well illustrated in the remainder of the saga.

23 Cf. the vat of beer when Egill Skallagrímsson is poorly received by the king's reeve Bárðr, *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1933), ch. 44, 108–11. On liquids as the medium for the transferal of knowledge and art, see Judy Quinn, "Liquid Knowledge: Traditional Conceptualization of Learning in Eddic Poetry," in *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications*, ed. by Slavica Ranković, Leidulf Melve, and Else Mundal (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 89–100, and Stefka G. Eriksen, "'Liquid Knowledge' in Old Norse Literature and Culture," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 49 (2018): 169–97.

Kormákr is obliged to reply but does so in such a controlled way so that he seems barely to rise to Narfi's bait. This could be seen as a first instance of *hóf* 'moderation', otherwise not expected of his impulsive nature. Yet his understated reply is more aggressive than superficially evident. Kormákr replicates each item in Narfi's question but with a distancing effect and affect, in which Narfi's homologies are not replicated or imitated. He does not mention Narfi's name, nor even his own or a first personal pronoun. Instead his father's son is referred to in the third person, but not as an agent, not actively involved. The father's status as a famous Viking is brought to the fore but this patronymic construction is not qualified through rhyme or alliteration and is thus kept distant from the subject matter. The key verb *þykkja* is repeated. The kettle worms are not referenced as such, nor sausages even named. Instead, a somewhat more abstract term is used: *morr* 'suet, animal fat'. *Góðr* 'good', and nothing more, is the essential answer to Narfi's question. Kormákr does, however, introduce a new lexical item, *soðinn* 'boiled', past participle of the verb *soðna*, 'to be boiled' (cf. English *seethe*), reflected earlier in the saga in *soðhús*, literally 'boiling hut'. Kormákr has capped Narfi's verses, has retreated personally from the matter, has refrained from adding anything new. He has not accepted the challenge of abusive verse-capping, and abstains from graphic imagery, word play, and, most significantly, Narfi's register. Or is this abstention feigned?

The earlier discussed name encryption in skaldic verse that relies on substitutions in both sound and meaning illustrates the developed taste of Icelandic poets for what might too simply be called word play. *Morr* figures in the compound *morr-landi* 'suet-lander', and was used mockingly by Norwegians of Icelanders and of their reliance on animal fat in their diet. Let us imagine that the *morr* of Kormákr's couplet is a reference to Narfi as Icelander, both occupied with, and dependent on, suet. The suet is *soðinn* (boiled) but in the present circumstances *soðinn* may sound dangerously close to the word *sorðinn*. This, under Icelandic law, was among a number of legally actionable words that referred to the passive role of a man in same-sex activities: *argr*, *ragr*, *stroðinn*, and *sorðinn*.<sup>24</sup> The inventive

24 On the possibility of speech itself being judged unmanly, see Mats Malm, "The Notion of Effeminate Language in Old Norse Literature," in *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World*, ed. by Judy Quinn, Kate Heslop, and Tarrin Wills (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 305–20.

subtext of Kormákr's retort then goes beyond Narfi's offensive allusion: "To the son of Ögmundur, the Suet-lander seems good and fucked" (with some latitude tallowed with *góðr*). Kormákr has then taken Narfi's offensive question (how he might find the sausages) and transformed it into a completed act of male rape or worse, if consensual. The cauldron of poetry is double-bottomed and the trick is turned back on the trickster.

This reading is admittedly tendentious, less in terms of the Old Norse poetry of personal insult than in its lexical allusions and substitutions. But without such a reading and its *double entendre*, Kormákr's retort is unmemorable, almost a turning away from the contest, and this in the presence of Steingerðr. At a minimum, it is an understated warning to Narfi that Kormákr is capable of a more forceful reply, in a variety of genres, including the scurrilous (see further below on his threats in this regard). Later in the day of the above incident, Kormákr encounters Narfi at the farmstead and, having reflected that he didn't want Narfi running his affairs (in a prose statement), he gives the servant a blow to the head with the poll or butt of his axe and improvises stanzas that are insulting without being scurrilous. Class distinctions are still operative, but the dimension of human sexuality is not alluded to. It must be admitted that this suggests that Kormákr, as conceived by the author of the prose narrative, judged his reply to Narfi inadequate to the circumstances, which would undercut the speculative reading proposed above. But the incident may also seem an afterthought. It could also be put down to the occasional inconsistencies in the information content in the saga between verse and prose.<sup>25</sup>

Hvat skaltu, orfa Áli,  
ófróðr of mat ræða?  
Þér vas kerski þeirar  
þörf eng við mik, Narfi.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> On the long-recognized but difficult problems of the *prosimetrum*, see most recently Heather O'Donoghue, *The Genesis of a Saga Narrative: Verse and Prose in Kormáks saga* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). We do well to bear in mind features of *Kormáks saga* that may owe their presence to a recognition of the skalds' sagas as a sub-genre with its own conventions, e.g., the love triangle; see the essays in Russell Poole (ed.), *Skaldsagas: Text, Vocation, and Desire in the Icelandic Sagas of Poets* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000).

<sup>26</sup> *Kormáks saga*, ch. 4, 216–17, st. 13.

(What should you, Narfi,  
you ignorant, overfed drudge  
of the scythe snath,  
have to say about food?)

Kormákr is in charge now and can call his opponent by name and even pun on it (*Narfi* ~ *orf* 'scythe-handle'; cf. *Kormákr* and *ketilsormar*, above). He dissociates farm work from food, thus delegitimizing Narfi's earlier question in the cook-house.

He continues:

Spurði frenju fæðir  
fréttinn, hve mér þœtti,  
hann sýnist mér heima  
hvarmrauðr, ketilormar;  
veitk at hrímugr hlúki,  
hrókr saurugra flóka,  
sás túnvöllu taddi,  
tíkr ørendi hafði.<sup>27</sup>

(The quester into cow fodder asked

what I thought of the kettle snakes.  
Red-eyed, he seems to me  
to be at home with them.  
I know that rook with the filthy, matted head,  
soot-blackened from the cookhouse fumes,  
who drove dung to the infields,  
and bore a bitch's beating.)

It should be recalled that Narfi is a kinsman, albeit a humble one, of Steingerðr; Kormákr may have saved his insults for a moment when she was not present. This extensive examination of the Narfi encounter will guide further scrutiny of the saga text.

The incident between Narfi and Kormákr may also be viewed from the

<sup>27</sup> *Kormáks saga*, ch. 4, 217, st. 14.

perspective of *Sneglu-Halla þátr* in the saga of King Haraldr *harðráði*.<sup>28</sup> His queen, Þóra, thinks it scandalous that the king should allow himself to be talked to by his poet Sneglu-Halli in an indirect but insulting way that suggests that the king has willingly or unwillingly participated in same-sex acts. Haraldr states that he alone will determine what is permissible: “vil ek eigi snúa orðum Halla til ins verra, þeim er tvíræði eru” (rather literally: I don’t wish to turn to the worse words from Halli that are *tvíræði*).<sup>29</sup> *Tvíræði*, literally ‘bi-vocalism’, an utterance in “double-speak,” has often been rendered “ambiguous.”<sup>30</sup> Yet we may prefer a literary use of the term “bivalent,” it being not so much a question of obscurity as of the need to recognize two disparate valences, one of which is unacceptable in public or in the presence of one’s betters. Haraldr charges Halli to compose something bivalent (“mæla nokkur tvíræðiorð”) about the queen. Modern interpretations have Halli stating that Þóra is the most suitable sexual partner for the king but accompanying this with explicit detail on the act of penetration that enrages the queen, who calls the stanza slanderous and also calls for the poet’s head. But for Halli to have met Haraldr’s criteria for *tvíræði*, an innocuous reading must also be available. The vocabulary employed here allows the interpretation “to peel back all the leather from Haraldr’s forehead to the nape of his neck (beam).” The queen is being identified by Halli as the person most fitted for the intimate act of removing the leather cap or liner worn by Haraldr under his metal helmet.

- 28 See the fuller discussion in Sayers, “Command Performance: Coercion, Wit, and Censure in *Sneglu-Halla þátr*,” *Mediaevistik* 34 (2021): 25–48, and a related episode in the life of King Haraldr of Norway in Sayers, “The Gift of a Sail in a Tale about King Haraldr *harðráði* Sigurðarson: Textile and Text,” *Maal og minne* 113.2 (2021): 197–216. Other recent studies of the þátr include Jeffrey Turco, “Loki, *Sneglu-Halla þátr*, and the Case for a Skaldic Prosaic,” *New Norse Studies: Essays on the Literature and Culture of Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. by Jeffrey Turco (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 185–241; Christopher Abram, “Trolling in Old Norse: Ambiguity and Excitement in *Sneglu-Halla þátr*,” in *Words that Tear the Flesh: Essays on Sarcasm in Medieval and Early Modern Literature and Cultures*, ed. by Alan Baragona and Elizabeth A. Rambo (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2018), 41–62; “Sneglu-Halli, Lausavísur,” ed. by Kari Ellen Gade, *Poetry from the Kings’ Sagas from c. 1035 to c. 1300*, 2 vols., ed. by Diana Whaley (Scaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009) 1:325–26.
- 29 *Sneglu-Halla þátr*, in *Eyfirdinga sǫgur*, ed. by Jónas Kristjánsson (Reykjavik: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1956), 263–95, ch. 10, at 294.
- 30 *The Tale of Sarcastic Halli*, trans. by George Clark, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. by Viðar Hreinsson, 5 vols. (Reykjavik: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1997) 1:342–57.

Haraldr's statement on *tvíraði* and Sneglu-Halli's extemporaneous composition in this mode make more credible the argument here advanced concerning Kormákr's first verse exchange with Narfi, a reply operative on the two levels of *tvíraði*.

### *Mál* as Matters, Affairs: Marriage Contracts

To return to Kormákr's courting of Steingerðr, the signification of *mál* as 'poetry' can be juxtaposed with his father's measuring out of a house foundation. Although the rigorous metrics of *dróttkvætt* may be compared to the fixed metrical unit as established by the measuring rod,<sup>31</sup> the resulting amorous verses repeatedly yield an apparently diminishing return: a father's opposition, a girl's only modest interest. Yet, although Kormákr is a suspect suitor (as was his father earlier), he is eventually accepted by Steingerðr and her father as a prospective groom, just as Qgmundr's house gets built. Yet his impetuosity, lack of *hóf*, precludes a successful outcome in the longer run. Kormákr has no patience for, or belief in, magic, as is evident in his poor handling of matters open to coloring by the supernatural: the offense to the witch Þórveig and her curse that Kormákr will never enjoy Steingerðr; the loan but poor handling of Skeggi's temperamental sword; somewhat later the bungled goose sacrifice that would have remedied many of his ills, and more. Poet's character and witch's curse contribute to an intertwined causality. In general, sorcery in the saga is employed in two related spheres, *eros* and *thanatos*, the latter met in the context of judicial dueling, the validity of which can, conversely and perversely, be jeopardized by magically endowed weapons and physical invulnerability, not to mention errors of procedure.

Þórveig's curse, well known as it is, will reward a closer examination. A sequence of *lausavísur*, without accompanying prose contextualization, follows Kormákr's encounter with Narfi. Steingerðr's father, Þorkell, engages the rambunctious sons of the neighboring wise woman or witch, Þórveig, to add physical dissuasion to the poet's courting. A poorly understood

31 In the poem *Höfuðlausn* Egill Skallagrímsson states: "kann ek mála mjöt" (I know the measure of words); *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1933), ch. 55, 145, st. 20. This may be a *double entendre* – referencing both metrics and the poet's assessment of a notorious ruler – and a bit of parodic hyperbole.

stanza suggests that some kind of booby-trap was set for Kormákr at the entry to the hall, involving a suspended scythe and sword (or shield, according to the resulting verse). Later, an ambush is laid for the poet on his way home. He kills one of Þórveig's sons outright and wounds the other fatally. Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, this is not followed by any triumphant poetic statement. Rather, the narrative moves forward to Kormákr's confrontation with Þórveig, in which the witch is evicted from the district and the poet refuses to pay any compensation for the killings. From notions of measurement – the juxtaposition of the individual phenomenon with the standard – the saga moves to reciprocal actions and relationships, the sphere of gift-giving and patronage on the one hand, feud and revenge on the other. Þórveig's vengeance for the loss of her sons and eviction from her place of residence takes verbal form:

Þórveig mælti: “Þat er líkast, at því komir þú á leið, at ek verða héraðflóttu, en synir mínir óbættir, en því skal ek þér launa, at þú skalt Steingerðar aldri njóta.”<sup>32</sup>

McTurk's translation, “There's nothing more likely than that you'll arrange things so that I am compelled to flee from the district, with my sons unatoned for but this is how I'll pay you back for it: you will never enjoy Steingerd's love,” exemplifies the sentimental reading that Kormákr will never enjoy Steingerdr's love.<sup>33</sup> The carnal reading is that he will never enjoy her body; and the social and economic reading, that she will never mother his sons, that is, supply him with some concrete profit. In the saga world, the two latter doubtless weighed heaviest, despite Kormákr's poetic profession of something like romantic love and esthetic appreciation of female beauty. Perhaps a less specific rendering is most prudent: “You will not be able to become intimate with the woman.” It is after this dire prediction that the narrative offers the single most explicit expression of Steingerðr's feelings toward the poet, in verse of her own to the effect that she would have Kormákr even if he were blind.<sup>34</sup> The stanza is ominous. To return to the idea of a complex causality, Kormákr's failure to appear for the marriage ceremony with Steingerðr is surely an element of his

<sup>32</sup> *Kormáks saga*, ch. 5, 221–22.

<sup>33</sup> *Kormak's saga*, trans. McTurk, ch 5, 187.

<sup>34</sup> *Kormáks saga*, ch. 6, 223, st. 21.

destiny and is consonant with the curse, but such a destiny and behavior are also in part determined by his combination of short-sightedness and recklessness. Seemingly genetically conditioned by his mother Dalla, he is blind to his own best interests, as Steingerðr symbolically senses. We recall that his half-brother Fróði “the wise” (named in Steingerðr’s stanza) died en route to Iceland. How this interacts with Kormákr’s poetic gift is considered below.

The witch-mother’s curse recalls the supernatural female who appears to Óláfr *pái* Høskuldsson in a dream in *Laxdæla saga*, when he, insensitive to the true source of his material well-being as a stockman, kills the preternatural ox Harri after its snow-clearing fourth horn drops off with age. The next night Óláfr has an ominous dream in which a large, angry woman appears to him. “Hon tók til orða: ‘Er þér svefn?’ Hann kvazk vaka” (She spoke: “Are you asleep?” He said that he was awake).<sup>35</sup> The spectral woman’s question is actually wider-ranging than the present moment and might be interpreted, in view of the consequences, as “Aren’t you yet aware?” The woman continues:

Þér er svefn, en þó mun fyrir hitt ganga. Son minn hefir þú drepa látit ok látit koma ógørviligan mér til handa, ok fyrir þá sök skaltu eiga at sjá þinn son alblóðgan af mínu tilstilli; skal ek ok þann til velja, er ek veit at þér er ófalastr.

(You are asleep but it will all come down to the same thing. You have had my son killed and returned to me butchered, and for that reason you will have to see your son covered in blood by my doing; and I will choose the one that I know you would least want to part with.)<sup>36</sup>

Óláfr can get no satisfactory explanation for the dream from his household or is unwilling to understand its true meaning, preferring to think it a false prediction of future events. Collective community experience, Icelandic “wisdom,” seems to trump reason and analysis here. Although Óláfr him-

35 *Laxdæla saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1934), ch. 31, 84–85.

36 *The Saga of the People of Laxardal*, trans. by Keneva Kunz, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. by Viðar Hreinsson, 5 vols. (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1997), 5: ch. 31, 42.



self is inattentive to the supernatural dimension and dismisses his dream, its real-life outcome is apparent to others, like Gestr Oddleifsson, who not only foretells Guðrún's four marriages on the basis of four dreams but also sees Kjartan slain by Bolli. He refrains from sharing this future event with Óláfr. The saga public, too, knows better, from the experience of literary convention. An even more telling analogy is met in *Njáls saga*. Hrútr Høskuldsson, Óláfr's brother, has found the personal favor of Queen Mother Gunnhildr of Norway. Their liaison extends over a period when Hrútr is the king's retainer. At Hrútr's expressed desire to return to Iceland, the queens asks whether he has a woman waiting there. He replies in the negative, but Gunnhildr perceives a lie. She gives him a gold arm ring in parting but says that he will never achieve sexual congress with his wife but may have relations with other women. Thus, with Hrútr's marriage to Unnr Marðardóttir and her subsequent divorce on grounds of failure to meet physical marital responsibilities, *Njáls saga* begins its acceleration toward inter-family violence and feud. Gunnhildr's equivalent to Þórveig's curse reads:

Ef ek á svá mikit vald á þér sem ek ætla, þá legg ek það á við þik, at þú megir engri munúð fram koma við konu þá, er þú ætlar þér á Íslandi, en fremja skalt þú mega vilja þinn við aðrar konur. Ok hefir nú hvárki okkat vel. Þú trúðir mér eigi til málsins.<sup>37</sup>

(If I have as much power over you as I think I have, then I place this spell on you: you will not have any sexual pleasure with the woman you plan to marry in Iceland, although you will be able to enjoy yourself with other women. Neither of us will come out of this affair well, since you did not trust me with the truth.)<sup>38</sup>

We note the presence of *mál* 'matter, affair'. Later, in Iceland and after the marriage of Hrútr and Unnr, and some very specific marital difficulties, Unnr informs her father Mǫrðr of her intention to divorce her husband. The effects of Gunnhildr's spell are ironic if not subtle. Instead of a lack of sexual desire in the presence of Unnr, Hrútr experiences a hyper-tu-

<sup>37</sup> *Brennu-Njáls saga*, 21.

<sup>38</sup> Adapted from *Njal's saga*, trans. by Robert Cook, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. by Viðar Hreinsson (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiriksson Publishing, 1997), 3: ch. 6, 9.

mescence that prevents vaginal penetration and thus consummated marital relations. Here, the extreme penile measurement (*mál*, although the term is not used) leads to another *mál*, the divorce case, which will drive the dynamic of the saga.

To return to *Kormáks saga*, the sagaman writes:

... þar kom um síðir, at Kormákr bað Steingerðar, ok var hon honum fóstnuð ok ákveðin brullaupsstefna, ok stendr nú kyrrt um hríð. Nú fara orð á milli þeira, ok verða í nokkurar greinir um fjárfar, ok svá veik við breytliga, at síðan þessum ráðum var ráðit, fannsk Kormáki fátt um, en þat var fyrir þá sök, at Þórveig seiddi til, at þau skyldi eigi njótask mega.<sup>39</sup>

(... what finally happened was that Kormákr asked for Steingerðr's hand and she was betrothed to him and the wedding was arranged, and then things were quiet for a while. Then there were discussions between them, and these came to include certain disagreements about money matters and strangely it turned out that after the marriage contract was settled on, Kormákr's attitude cooled, and this was because of the spell Þórveig had cast that they would be not enjoy one another.)

The key verb *njótask* is now repeated, underlining the efficacy of the spell. Two measures are in play here: adequacy of financial settlement and intensity of feeling. Where Hrútr's desire took hypertrophic expression, Kormákr's emotions slacken off on less readily determined scales, both quantitative and qualitative. The effects of the curse are subtle: Kormákr cannot be said to have been queered. No dramatic shift in the course of events is apparent but rather a slide from interest to indifference, a diminution of emotional intensity and foreseen advantage.

Kormákr's new emotional engagement takes very obvious form when he fails to show up for the wedding feast. While community opinion might say that "Kormákr is a little less of a man than we thought," the girl and her family have been stood up in very evident form and keenly resent the dishonor stemming from Kormákr's disinclination to see the marriage through. Narfi, a bit of a local Loki, comes up with a clever solution. The

39 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 6, 223.

young woman will be offered to the widower Bersi, whose history and reputation as dueler makes him well placed to meet any repercussions from Kormákr, if he in turns judges himself slighted. Thus far in the saga, Kormákr has faced two conflictual encounters: a verse-capping contest with a workman in a low register with both domestic and sexual allusions (art perverted), and a face-off with a witch involving eviction and a spell that will stymie romance, marriage, and family alliance, and lessen a man's social standing (social relations hampered by the supernatural). A third act of male measuring is now initiated by Porkell betrothing Steingerðr to Bersi, a mainstream member of the local community, the embodiment of conventional virtues but with a suggestion of *démesure*, given that he has killed more than thirty men. His thumbnail portrait offers a picture of the man that is not only organized a bit differently than that of Kormákr but also highlights different qualities and reaches a different summation than that of the *áblaupamaðr* Kormákr. "Bersi hét maðr, er bjó í Saurbœ, auðigr maðr ok góðr drengr, mikill fyrir sér, vígamaðr ok hólmgöngumaðr" (There was a man called Bersi, who lived at Saurbæ, well-to-do and very manly, big of build, a fighter and judicial dueler).<sup>40</sup> The portraits of Kormákr and Bersi are of equal length and offer a number of points of comparison, although correspondences among the criteria of effective manhood are subtle. No explicit physical description is given of Bersi except his stature; "mikill fyrir sér" might also be read figuratively as referencing importance or self-importance as well as physique. There is no retrospective reference to family that might suggest youth. Instead, Bersi is presented as wealthy, mature, and settled. The summary and static judgment, "góðr drengr," encapsulates many conventional Icelandic male virtues, as illustrated by the careful definition of *drengr* in the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*: "person of integrity, person of honour, stalwart, courageous/brave person."<sup>41</sup> This characterization establishes Bersi as oriented toward *hóf* 'moderation', while Kormákr is dynamic and impetuous, oriented toward excess.<sup>42</sup> These miniature portraits often hint at more than they

40 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 7, 224.

41 *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*, s.v.

42 The most complete exposition of *hóf* in the sagas of Icelanders is the introductory portrait of Gunnarr Hámundarson in *Brennu-Njáls saga*: "Manna kurteisast var hann, harðgörr í öllu, fémildr ok stilltr vel, vinfast ok vinavandr; hann var vel auðigr at fé" (*Brennu-Njáls saga*, ch. 19, 52; "He was very courteous, firm in all ways, generous and even-

will reveal, and the reader is left to wonder at the reasons for Bersi's many judicial duels. Was he litigious by nature and exploited his fighting ability to win his cases? Did he provoke people with the intention of acquiring more property, a tactic met in other sagas? Since he appears not to be the descendant of a prominent family, perhaps his wealth originated in the spoils and settlement from such combat. This element of the portrait also serves the ends of prolepsis, as judicial dueling will figure importantly later in the saga. The description of Kormákr concludes with the term *áblaupamaðr*, in which the root is the verb of motion, *blaupa* 'to run'. Bersi's portrait closes with *hólmgöngumaðr*, formed on the equivalent verb *ganga* 'to go, walk'. With their actions (Bersi's history as fighter) and temperaments (Kormákr's impetuosity) determined by basic nature or semi-free will, the agents of these verbs converge at the designated dueling site, the *hólmr*, also the object of telling description that makes explicit its purpose.

Thus far in the saga, the principal signification of the word *mál* has been 'measuring, measurement'. Now it assumes both frequency and importance in the general sense of 'matter', here of a social and contractual nature, e.g., Narfi: "Komum í Saurbœ til Bersa; hann er kvánlauss; bindum hann í málit; hann er oss ærit traust" (Let's go to Bersi in Saurbær, he is without a wife. Let's get him involved in the affair; he could be a great support to us).<sup>43</sup> Narfi subtly appeals to Bersi's fighter's vanity to forestall any reluctance before the proposed match: "Ef menn hræðask Kormák, þurfu þeir þess eigi, því at vandliga er hann horfinn þessu máli" (Even if people fear Kormákr, they don't need too, because he is wholly disinclined to proceed with the matter).<sup>44</sup> Reassured or pressured, Bersi then raises the "matter" with Steingerðr's father Þorkell, and the betrothal is a fact, with the wedding soon to follow.

While the notion of *mál* is repeatedly drawn to the saga public's attention in the form of measurements, speech acts, and contracts and court cases, *hóf* 'moderation' is invoked only in the negative form of Kormákr's behavior, and in his namesake and grandfather's early observation that Ögmundur's Viking activity has had its optimal yield. This downgrading

tempered, a true friend but a discriminating friend" *Njal's saga*, trans. Cook, ch. 19, 24). *Vinavandr* "discriminating as to friends" is of particular interest in the present context of the evaluation of men.

43 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 7, 225.

44 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 7, 225

of this central social ideal takes the express form of the trivial use of the word *hóf* at this point in the saga. After the paternally coerced wedding, Steingerðr sends Narfi to Kormákr to inform him. When Kormákr learns that Steingerðr has been married, perhaps unwillingly, he attacks Narfi physically. Þorgils finds this reaction excessive, but Kormákr, “moderate, reasonable” under the circumstances: “Þorgils, bróðir Kormáks kvað þetta ofgort. Kormákr kvað nær hófi.”<sup>45</sup> For Kormákr, the press of circumstances can always be invoked to justify impulsive behavior and refer it to the norm. Then, in pursuit of Bersi and his party after the marriage, Kormákr discusses with his brother what might be thought a suitable rental charge for a dilapidated boat that he hopes to rent from Þórveig. Þorgils finds a fee of two ounces of silver to be reasonable, less than the asked-for three (“Þorgils kvað hóf á, ef væri fyrir tvá aura”) but Kormákr refuses to haggle.<sup>46</sup> When Kormákr is finally able to confront Bersi, he demands the return of Steingerðr and compensation for the dishonor. Bersi is firm in denying any possibility of the bride being released but conciliatory (and thus acting within parameters of moderation) in offering Kormákr his sister Helga as wife. Kormákr, once precipitous, can only hesitate (“Kormákr varð staðr at”).<sup>47</sup>

In an incident of unprovoked malice that will find a parallel later, an evil-tongued woman named Þórdís defames Helga as not worthy of Kormákr, and this tips the poet toward rejecting the marriage offer. Instead he will challenge Bersi to a formal duel, *hólmganga*. As will be seen, this procedure is set about with formalities and details. Bersi instead offers that they meet in *einvígi*, ‘single combat’. His concern seems to be that an inexperienced litigant and fighter is likely to make a procedural mistake and thus lose on a technicality. Typically, Kormákr rejects the advice, saying that he wishes to maintain equal status with Bersi in every way (“í þllu til jafns halda við þik”).<sup>48</sup> Poetry and judicial dueling both involve symbolic systems. Kormákr can speak with authority from the former, since he commands all its resources. As for the latter, he seems to improvise, ironically the very compositional and performance mode for poetry to which the fiction of the saga would have us lend credence. Judicial dueling was

45 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 7, 227.

46 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 7, 230.

47 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 8, 232.

48 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 10, 237.

clearly operative in early Norway and Iceland as numerous saga accounts attest. The absence of executive authority to punish illegal acts left the individual and his family to seek redress. The *hólmganga* returns the narrative to the earlier notion of a plot of land for house construction given measurable definition through the use of a wooden rod.

As with the measuring procedure for the house lot, the saga's account is unique in Icelandic letters. *Kormáks saga* offers the sole account of the preparation of the dueling ground, and much of this historical reconstruction may be fanciful. The detail of the plot being prepared by a man approaching it by bending down and looking through his legs while holding his ears has a parallel in early Irish culture, in which the pose may be imagined as dispelling malevolent spirits (cf. the *sheela-na-gig* figures in Ireland and elsewhere). At the center of the dueling ground is a cloak held in place with pegs to create a central fighting area five by five ells, or about 55 square feet. The dueling site is marked off with long hazel rods on the perimeter and shorter pegs that hold down a precisely measured central expanse of cloth on which the duelers will stand. This is in turn enclosed in a series of squares within squares defined by rods, further prompting notions of non-secular symbolism, in order to mark when a fighter had strayed or fled. This is initially not a spontaneous hand-to-hand combat but a staged sequence of alternating blows against a shield held by a second. When the shields are damaged beyond effective use, freer blows are given with the possibility of defense and counter-blows with the other principal's sword. The perverse impression is that the duelers are seeking the safest and quickest way to draw first blood in order to conclude the duel before serious injury, that is, reach an outcome in the litigation before anyone is badly hurt. The duel between Kormákr and Bersi is less than ideally executed. We might speak of continuing inadequacies in linearity and of "instrumental deficiency": a sword that cannot be easily drawn from its scabbard and is then notched in combat; another that loses its tip (cf. the shrinking plot-measuring rod). Concordantly, the notch cannot later be masked by honing. Kormákr suffers a wound to his thumb from a struck-off sword tip, the consequence of no true blow, and then neglects its care, rejecting Bersi's offer of a healing stone (cf. the subsequent failed honing of the nicked sword). Anticlimax marks the entire operation. Later, in another duel, a sword will be judged longer than allowed by law.

Although a murky business in modern eyes, the detailed preparation of the dueling ground might suggest that the rigorous establishment of prescribed dimensions brought the site into cosmic order, enhancing what human justice might achieve. Yet despite such an appeal to superior powers, participants also opportunistically seek expedients that will tip the scales of such justice in their favor: charms and spells to assure corporeal invulnerability, and the use of weapons with magical properties. Even such post-duel matters as fines imposed on the loser are accompanied by recourse to healing stones that repair the injury of combat.

### Moderation and the Measure of a Man: Judicial Duels and Proxies

Kormákr engages the help of his uncle Steinarr in addressing the matter of the fine owed Bersi after the duel. This Steinarr does in the most provocative matter, by appearing at the assembly and sitting in Bersi's place, dressed in a bear-skin cloak and giving his name as Glúmr or Skúmr. The disguise mocks Bersi's name; the name is Odinic and thus a poet's and fighter's; the usurpation of a customary seat is a denial of social standing. Little wonder that a challenge to another duel ensues. The dialogue is revealing. A variety of synonyms, allied words, and graphic images of measurement have been deployed in the saga thus far. Another term at home in this cluster is the verb *meta* 'to assess value' (cf. English *mete*). It is introduced early in the saga when the servant woman in Steingerðr's company remarks on Kormákr's expression of interest: "Ambáttin mælti: 'Jafnaðarþokki er með ykkur, en þó muntu dýrt meta hana alla'" (The servant said, "So, you have some liking for one another; but you surely will set a high price on her as a whole").<sup>49</sup> As in other cases of the interdependence of verse and prose, the poet himself promptly uses the word in a stanza in which he assesses Steingerðr's value as greater than those of Iceland, Denmark, England, and Germany. *Meta* does not recur in the saga until the exchange between Steinarr and Bersi now under consideration. Its explicit naming and use in dialogue is significant for the saga's theme. After an impromptu stanza, Bersi, as the man challenged, continues: "... en auðsætt er þat, at þér frændr ætlið mér at fyrirkoma; er ok vel, at þú

49 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 3, 213.

vitir, hvárt nokkut er undir mínum þokka, ok mætti setjask ofmetnaðr þinn” (... but it is clear that you and your kinsmen intended to put an end to me. It would be good for you, Steinarr, to recognize whether my good will counts for anything; then your arrogance might be kept in bounds).<sup>50</sup> In turn, Steinarr states that he and his kinsmen do not seek Bersi’s death, only his dishonor, and continues: “Ekki vinnu vér þér bana en vel þætti oss at þú kynnir at meta þik” (We will not cause your death, but it would sit well with us if you could take a proper measure of yourself). Here, after the motif of *mál* has referenced measure against external standards in ways significant to the saga public, if not always the principals, very close to the exact mid-point of the saga the concept is suddenly interiorized and lent weight by two mature, deliberative Icelanders through appeals to subjective assessment – not absolute measurement – even to self-assessment, as Steinarr urges on Bersi. Illustrative of the various kinds of indirection in the saga, the measure motif is never explicitly associated with Kormákr (save in the sausage episode) yet underlies his saga as a whole. In Old English, *metod* ‘fate’ survived the pagan period and was used by Ælfric of the Christian god as ‘creator’.<sup>51</sup> In Old Norse, however, the root retained its association with fate, i.e., the mete outcome, e.g., *mjot* ‘right measure’, *mjotudr* ‘dispenser of fate, bane’, the *mjotviðr* ‘fate tree’ (= Yggdrasil) of *Völuspá*.<sup>52</sup>

In the following discussion, saga events will be treated in briefer fashion. Kormákr acts as Steinarr’s second in the ensuing duel. After a number of shields have been damaged, one of Steinarr’s blows glances off Bersi’s shield rim and takes the unexpected trajectory of running down his back, slicing into his buttocks and the back of his knee. The resulting injury is symbolically tantamount to a male rape or emasculation, and the knee wound to an interruption in the family line, since the knee symbolized consanguinity and generational descent. The resulting loss of social status to Bersi, if one chooses this symbolic interpretation, includes Steingerðr’s divorce of the famous dueler, whom she now labels Arse-Bersi.<sup>53</sup> Kormákr

50 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 12, 249.

51 *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. by Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller (London, Oxford University Press, 1882, 1954), s.v. *metod*.

52 *Völuspá*, in *Eddukvæði*, ed. by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason, 2 vols. (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 2014), 1:291, st. 2.

53 See Sayers, “Steingerðr’s Nicknames for Bersi (*Kormáks saga*): Implications for Gender, Politics and Poetics,” *Florilegium* 12 (1993): 33–54.



evades his fine; Bersi, although diminished, eventually recovers his chieftain's standing and influence, and can remarry. Þorkell seeks to recover Steingerðr's property, and this leads to yet another duel. But it does not proceed in due order, since Þorkell claims that Bersi's sword is too long, another recall of the earlier motif cluster. Bersi has a ready expedient: a different sword, with which he promptly dispatches Þorkell. This fatal outcome is also in contrast to earlier procedural mishaps and woundings and establishes a reference point at the far end of the spectrum of judicial dueling. With this death, matters in the saga take a more serious turn.

### Men Compared (*mannjafnaðr*): Indirection

Another indirectly realized but significant mensurability motif is the *mannjafnaðr* or comparison between men, which recalls the single combat between Ogmundr and Ásmundr in Chapter 2 over pre-eminence as Viking leader.<sup>54</sup> Here the men compared are Bersi and Þórarinn Álfsson; their respective proponents are the minor characters Oddr and Glúmr. There is, however, no detailing of these heroes' attributes and accomplishments, nor any statement on the conception of a "good man," i.e., a representative of the mainstream. Instead of the criteria for such a comparison being listed, it becomes the source of yet another squabble, with wider implications. The more interesting comparison of prominent men – that suggested by the narrative – would, naturally, have been between Kormákr and Bersi. The former is unlikely to have come off the better. Yet the saga author eschews such an explicit matching up. Also relevant in this context is the term *ójafnaðarmaðr*, the agent of immoderate, unjust treatment of others, as met in numerous other sagas. The argument between Oddr and Glúmr moves to the level of the principals, when Þórarinn abducts a marriageable girl, Steinvǫr Oddsdóttir. Her father engages Bersi, who recovers

54 Medieval Norse conceptions and literary realizations of "masculinity" have been profitably explored in several recent studies and collections of essays. Particularly relevant to the matters of *Kormáks saga* are Gareth Lloyd Evans, *Men and Masculinities in the Sagas of Icelanders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); *Masculinities in Old Norse Literature*, ed. by Gareth Lloyd Evans and Jessica Clare Hancock (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2020); and Ármann Jakobsson, "Masculinity and Politics in Njáls Saga," *Viator* 38.1 (2007): 191–215. For the comparison of "champions" by two subalterns, see Keith Ruiter, *Mannjafnaðr: A Study of Normativity, Transgression, and Social Pragmatism in Medieval Authors* (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 2018).

the girl at the cost of a number of deaths, although none within the dueling framework, which is now retired from the narrative, as soon will be Bersi, perhaps the most moderate man in the story, despite his readiness for acts of violence. In this, his status as chieftain appears vindicated. His final appearance in the saga, a “last hurrah,” is conditioned by his advanced age. For socioeconomic advantages he has undertaken to foster one of Óláfr pái Høskuldsson’s sons, Halldórr. This arrangement yields a new twist on the *mannjafnaðr*, Halldórr wondering and Bersi musing on how he compares with the younger man he once was. His skaldic verses on themes of old age are reminiscent of those of Egill Skallagrímsson. Bersi concludes that there is still one man worth his fighter’s attention, his brother-in-law Váli, who is grazing his stock on Bersi’s land. This is also partly the outcome of his troubled marriage, perhaps because of the presence of Steinvǫr in the house. The ensuing encounter is not a judicial duel but a killing, in which Halldórr and Bersi collaborate, the former with Bersi’s sword Hvítingr, the latter with a halberd – a symbolic extension, not reduction, on the weapon of war motif. The episode also has a positive generational dimension not met since the opening chapter of the saga. Bersi has symbolic offspring, while Kormákr has none.

## Mediocrity: A Second Husband

With Bersi’s retirement from the action of the saga, the narrative introduces Steingerðr’s second husband, Þorvaldr, nicknamed *tinteinn*. The conventional introductory thumbnail portrait shows him as unprepossessing, with little social influence, although his brother Þorvarðr is more forward and capable of armed conflict.

Þorvaldr hét maðr ok var Eysteinnsson ok var kallaðr tinteinn. Hann var maðr auðigr ok hagr, skáld ok engi skǫrungr í skaplyndi. Bróðir hans hét Þorvarðr, er bjó norðr í Fljótum. Þeir váru frændr margir, ok var sá kynspátrr kallaðr Skíðingar og hafði litla mannheill.<sup>55</sup>

(Now there was a man named Þorvaldr, the son of Eysteinn, nicknamed “Tin-strip”: he was a well-to-do man, a smith, and a skald; but he was mean-spirited for all that. His brother Þorvarðr lived in

55 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 17, 263.

the north country at Fljót, and they had many kinsmen – they were called the Skidings – but little standing.)

In spite of his wealth and skills, Þorvaldr enjoys little respect, and is then inconsequential, which will have made for less social prominence for Steingerðr than that enjoyed in her marriage to the chieftain Bersi. Kormákr feigns not to have heard of the betrothal and makes plans to go abroad, which will prove a pivotal point in the saga.

There is no pointed comparison between Þorvaldr and either Kormákr or Bersi, although it is clear to the saga public that despite his abilities as a craftsman and his wealth, Þorvaldr is far from meeting Icelandic standards as a fully competent male. His brother Þorvarðr acts in his interests. In all this, the motifs of measurement (especially linear) are exploited in only very subtle fashion.

The *tin* of the name *tinteinn* clearly means ‘tin, pewter’, and there are numerous other references to the craft of tin-working. *Teinn* has been less surely associated with Irish *tein* ‘fire’. Yet *teinn* also meant ‘spit, stake, twig, stripe’ in Old Norse, which might well describe thin lengths of precious metals, iron, pewter, and other alloys cut from plates or sheets, prior to further refinement. In the medieval north, wire-making involved a draw-plate or die (of horn or wood in the case of the softer alloys), mounted on a wooden block.<sup>56</sup> Through a graduated series of perforations, a strip of heated metal was repeatedly drawn with tongs, often of bone, until the desired diameter was reached. Wire had multiple uses, e.g., joining the halves of sword hilts over the tang, in filigree work, and in the creation of ornaments for male and female dress. In his verse Kormákr calls up the image of Þorvaldr, the *tindrátarmaðr* or ‘tin-wire-drawer’, pulling wire through his teeth. The perforated die seems to have been likened to a human mouth displaying a range of (ill-kept?) teeth. Kormákr, on the other hand, can scarcely show his teeth in a smile, such is his distaste at seeing his beloved married to a lesser man. Wire-drawing continues saga’s motifs of linearity but also diminution. Þorvaldr’s cited mean-spiritedness may

56 John Granlund, “Träddragning,” *Kulturbistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, ed. by John Granlund, 22 vols. (Malmö: Alhems Förlag, 1956–76), 19: cols. 5–7. *Teinn* is found elsewhere as an element of personal names; *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, ed. by Richard Cleasby, Gudbrand Vigfusson, and William A. Craigie, 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), s.v. *teinn*.

also be figured in this image, the speech that passed through his mouth successively reducing his stature as a man. Kormákr suggests his craftsmanship is of a coarse kind, since he is familiar with the *fél* ‘rasp, file’ and thus not with fine work. The reference to dung and even a sledge for the transport of dung may indicate that Tinteinn used animal dung as fuel in his workshop, not unreasonable in power-scarce Iceland but nonetheless somewhat demeaning, one may assume. Kormákr’s mockery of Þorvaldr is unprovoked and hinges on metonymy, the assumed superiority of the poet over a craftsman engaged in making material goods smaller, as if vocation were the equivalent of character. One recalls that Steingerðr found the location of Bersi’s dueling wound sufficient symbolic cause to leave him. Steingerðr judges Kormákr’s verse defamatory (“hróp þitt”) and says it will not be tolerated.<sup>57</sup> Her reputation is, after all, also at stake. Kormákr retorts that if he wished he could craft slander with the best of them, even cause stones to float on water (“skalk níða [...] svát steinar fljóti”) – perhaps like sausages in a kettle.<sup>58</sup> But he refrains from doing this, as he will on a later, more serious occasion, displaying here at least more moderation than usually shown. The ill-favored pair part on unfriendly terms.

Kormákr and Þorgils go trading and raiding in continental Europe, with the Icelanders’ near-compulsory stop at the Norwegian royal court. As is usual in the sagas, the Icelanders shine in Norway, whatever problems they may have left behind them at home.<sup>59</sup> After a profitable summer raiding and trading in the British Isles, on the Atlantic or Baltic coast, during which Kormákr’s verse is preoccupied with his situation and with Steingerðr and Tinteinn, they serve with distinction in King Haraldr *gráfeldr* (greycloak)’s military forces. His brother faults him for not marrying Steingerðr when he had the chance. Like the trip abroad, his reply suggests a greater degree of self-scrutiny and freedom from his Icelandic matrix than previously shown – a step toward maturity, as it were – while

57 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 17, 264.

58 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 17, 265, st. 52.

59 See Jakub Morawiec, “In a Quest for a Fame and Recognition – on the role of the *útanferð* motif in medieval Icelandic sagas of warrior-poets,” *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* (2017): 37–52; Yoav Tirosh, “Icelanders Abroad,” *Handbook of Pre-Modern Nordic Memory Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. by Jürg Glauser, Pernille Hermann, and Stephen A. Mitchell (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 502–7; and Sayers, “Death Abroad in the Skalds’ Sagas: Kormákr and the Scottish *blótrisi*,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 121 (2006): 161–72.

still ascribing his abandonment of the marriage to external forces: “Meir olli því vándra vætta atkvæði en mín mislyndi.”<sup>60</sup> McTurk translates “That had more to do with the spell-casting of evil spirits than with my fickleness,”<sup>61</sup> but “fickleness” seems a bit frivolous and suggests a preferred alternate course of action; “moodiness” may better capture the state of mind. The poet’s characterization of Þórveig’s malevolent words, *atkvæði*, is of interest as drawn from the word cluster of *mál* ‘speech’. Its principal use was to designate a term of in the vocabulary of law but it was also used of a ‘syllable’, ‘sentence’, or ‘decision’ and, figuratively, as a ‘decree of fate’, ‘spell’, or ‘charm’. Speaking *to* something, it is then a performative utterance, speech with intended consequences. Kormákr is eager to return to Iceland, but Þorgils is unsure of how they will be received. The crossing is a difficult one and the ship’s yard breaks, an echo of the motif of linear deficiency. A chance meeting with Steingerðr once ashore leads to their spending five nights at a small farm, chastely sharing a bed.

The inconsequential interlude at the farmhouse is typically followed by a stanza by Kormákr, which is as follows:

Hvílum, handar bála  
 Hlín, valda sköþ sínu,  
 þat séum reið at ráði,  
 rík, tveim megin bríkar,  
 nærgi’s oss í eina  
 anglaust sæing göngum,  
 dýr sköfnunga drafnar  
 dyneyjar við Freyja.<sup>62</sup>

The first helming is relatively straightforward:

Goddess of arm’s fire, we repose on either side of a screen the mighty fates have their way, and are hostile; I see it clearly. <sup>63</sup>	[arm’s fires: their goddess; (Hlín): woman]
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60 *Kormáks saga*, ch.18, 267.

61 *Kormak’s saga*, ch. 18, 209.

62 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 19, 272, st 59.

63 *Kormak’s saga*, trans. McTurk, ch. 19, 211, st. 59.

In his notes to the edition of the saga Einar Ól. Sveinsson discusses problems posed by the second helming.<sup>64</sup> In his reading, *skofnungar*, normally ‘shin-bones’, are reinforcements to shields, and their “beast” is then the warrior characterized by the shield. More likely is that the bovine shin-bones supply the two sides of a scabbard so that the beast in question is a sword. The editor cites earlier scholarship which proposes that an obscene *double entendre* is at work here and consequently, deferential to the tastes of his times (1934), simply omits this part of the questionable helming. McTurk’s translation from 1999 boldly asserts a very different reading:

Yet whenever we share a bed,  
 we have not a care in the world,  
 so dear is your love-hair’s island    [love-hair’s island; sea-goddess  
 sea-goddess, to my sword.         (Freyja): woman  
    [sword: penis]<sup>65</sup>

For this interpretation to be valid, the couple’s long deferred physical consummation would have had to have taken place. Yet neither the accompanying prose, comment by Steingerðr, nor other verses by the poet suggest that this is the case. And, indeed, this would entail that the witch’s curse had finally been overcome. On the basis of her reaction to the scurrilous equine stanza, discussed below, one might also have expected some public expression of outrage, if the stanza had circulated. This tangled situation suggests that the poet, or whoever is composing as Kormákr at this point, has invoked the trope of *tvíraði*, i.e., that there is both an overt and a covert meaning. The former would be that the warrior relaxes into the bed, the mattress of which may be filled with husks, like the draff or sediment from malted barley, and is covered with a down coverlet. The latter, the subtext, would see a sword in the kenning, representing the penis, and exploit a slightly different valence for *drafnar* (< *draf* ‘husks, sediment, draff’) that highlights the decomposition of sediment from malted barley.<sup>66</sup> In the presence of McTurk’s “love-hair’s island” or *mons veneris*, the poet’s organ is made flaccid, the most concrete expression thus far of Þórveig’s

64 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 19, 272–73, st. 59, n. 1.

65 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 19, 211.

66 *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, s.v.

curse. The closing helming might then read: “Whenever we go carefree to a single bed, Freyja, the scabbard beast (= sword = penis) goes mushy as dregs before the down-island.” Here, superficially, the poet has stayed within his known parameters of taste. It is at this juncture that Steingerðr makes her longest speech thus far in the saga, gaining in distinction from the contrast with Kormákr’s ongoing versifying. It is well worth noting for its succinctness, directness, and analysis of the situation from a woman’s perspective. The topic, established by Kormákr’s stanzas, is intercourse: “Þat skal eigi verða, ef ek má ráða, ok skildisk þú svá at eins við þau mál, at þess er þér engi ván” (That is not going to happen, if I have any say in the matter; you withdrew from the arrangements between us in the one way that made sure you could have no hope of that”).<sup>67</sup> *Mál* ‘affair’ reenters the discourse, with its several resonances: measure, speech, poetry.

### *Mál* and *níð* ‘Defamation’: Escalation

Despite Kormákr’s various indecisions and mismanagement of both human and supernatural relations, no outrageously insulting verse occurs again until late in the saga and then in two forms. Some stanzas are critical of Steingerðr’s second husband, Þorvaldr *tinteinn*, for his general ineffectuality. The other recall of possible earlier scurrility is a stanza that may have been composed by Þorvaldr or Narfi and that is circulated through the offices of a paid accomplice under Kormákr’s name. Defamation is the only mode in which men like Narfi and Þorvaldr can compete with Kormákr. The purpose of the stanza is to insult Steingerðr and simultaneously divert her affections permanently from Kormákr. The verses in reality reference only natural and conventional sexual activity, not acts under social sanction, and owe their abusive nature primarily to their likening of Steingerðr and Kormákr to a broken-down old mare and stallion engaged in the act of mating. Difficulties in interpreting the closing verse of the stanza may be due to its poor initial crafting or to some editing in the interests of taste in the subsequent tradition.<sup>68</sup> What is important for present purposes is that the deception has inherent credibility in that some people, Steingerðr included, are ready to believe that Kormákr was the author. This episode

67 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 19, 275.

68 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 20, 277–78, st. 64 and note a.

offers indirect evidence of Kormákr's status in the community as a well-known crafter of verse. Yet in such a stanza, Kormákr would have gone beyond the bounds of moderate social behavior and would have shown himself a lesser man by any measure. It was comparable verses on equine sexuality that so angered Queen Þóra of Norway in the run-up to the scene in *Sneglu-Halla þáttr* discussed above. Whether intentionally or coincidentally, the metaphors echo those of the shared-bed stanza, e.g., male weapon (spear) as the equivalent of the penis. By referring to Steingerðr as "Þrúð þráða" 'goddess of threads' (= women's finery), the poem also gets in a dig at Tinteinn, since *þráðr* does double service as both 'woolen or linen thread' and 'metal wire'. This makes Kormákr's authorship appear more plausible. The community may well have known that such poetic treatment was unprecedented in Kormákr's production, but Steingerðr is outraged, and Kormákr is unable to disabuse her. Although the situation is now less intimate than that in the cookhouse, Kormákr is again obliged to reply to a poetic charge of unmanliness, now not effeminacy but imagined bestiality. Kormákr clearly recognizes that he has been the object of an act of defamation, *níðingr*.<sup>69</sup> He concludes that Narfi is the source of the libel and kills him, death now being the retribution for dishonoring verses, not a clever poetic riposte. In a slightly later context of conflict with the Skíðungar clan, Kormákr says again that he can defame with the best of them, yet he refrains from attacking the Eysteinnsonar in the same scurrilous register.

These developments lead to yet another judicial duel, this between Kormákr and Þorvaldr's brother, Þorvarðr. Familiar motifs recur: magical practices to create physical invulnerability, Kormákr's impatience with these, leading to his cutting short (the diminution motif) the sacrifice of domestic geese that might have protected him. With both combatants protected by the same witch's charms, the duel is initially inconsequential. Finally Kormákr delivers a blow that cracks or breaks Þorvarðr's ribs (another instance of impaired linearity?). No blood has been drawn, but Þorvarðr is unable to continue fighting, and Kormákr is the victor. He sacrifices a bull, which seems to have been part of the ritualized event, but its carcass is then bought by Þorvarðr and family for use in a healing process. A second combat between the two, again attended by magic intended to

69 *Kormáks saga*, ch. 21, 280, st. 67.



prevent injury, is also called off, now because of a broken shoulder suffered by Þorvarðr. As previously, unambiguous sword wounds that draw blood are not the norm in these encounters. In sum, in *Kormáks saga*, duels are never ideally executed and are further compromised by attendant magic. They are largely inconsequential, and social interaction between the combatants continues despite hostile meetings on the dueling islet. From the perspective of the Christian author of *Kormáks saga*, the old ways of realizing justice seem muddled, discredited.

### Masculine vs Feminine: Steingerðr and Female Agency

The scene shifts to Norway, and Kormákr seems to grow in stature, jettisoning his petulance and impatience and behaving as a conventional hero. At this point in the discussion, we may turn from the matter of just how poorly the tinsmith Þorvaldr matches up with Kormákr or Bersi, and consider a less symmetrical relationship – these men in comparison with Steingerðr, although she must be viewed from the perspective of a different set of criteria. Women can achieve no equivalent of male public social competency. Any power or influence is exercised from the household scene. Still, wives are often shown being consulted by their spouses. Despite their sex-determined domestic and social roles, the women of the sagas do at times exhibit a surprising degree of agency, to which the Guðrún of *Laxdæla saga* or Hallgerðr of *Brennu-Njáls saga* attest. What truly counts is what women prompt men to do. The saga-typical introductory portrait of Steingerðr betrays these assumptions: “Þorkell hét maðr, er bjó í Tungu; hann var kvángaðr, ok áttu þau dóttur, er Steingerðr hét; hon var í Gnúpsdal at fóstri” (There was a man named Þorkell who lived at Tunga. He was married and had a daughter named Steingerðr; she was being fostered in Gnúpsdal).<sup>70</sup> Kormákr’s verses add little to this, since the female figure is idealized, equated with various goddesses but displaying nothing of a personal nature. The saga seldom details the inner workings of Steingerðr’s personality. Her interest in Kormákr, as well as annoyance, is then difficult to pin down. Yet inferences may be readily drawn. Only in the case of Steingerðr is the saga’s leitmotif of diminution reversed. She gains in agency as she matures, first as having some say about Kormákr

<sup>70</sup> *Kormáks saga*, ch. 3, 206.

coming courting, then as a married woman and head of the household, and third, as the plaintiff in a divorce suit and consequently a divorcee. She also gains a voice and increasingly figures in dialogue, primarily with Kormákr and then in a critical mode, as his attentions and verses are bluntly rejected. The saga offers no example of the casual conversations that might have figured in Kormákr's repeated visits. This is consistent with saga style; the criterion for inclusion in the narrative is that dialogue must move the narrative forward. And, indeed, all Steingerðr's reactions are to events and poems that occur in public, e.g., a street in Norway, and thus affect her honor and standing. But there is never any final break with the poet. In all of this, she enjoys the envy and notoriety of being celebrated for her beauty and, via metonymical attributions, her domestic virtues – but little else – in Kormákr's verse, as it is committed to memory by the community and circulates as entertainment. And it is she who rejects an extramarital sexual relationship with Kormákr. Finally, even Kormákr acknowledges her right to make up her own mind and live with whom she will. Little of this is reflected in Kormákr's verse, where only her muted responses to the poet's acts and words are noted. But to the end, like the reification in poetry as the goddess of the hearth and hall, woman is susceptible to commodification as in a lightly coerced marriage or kidnapping by pirates for a more forced union. By the end of the saga, Steingerðr has achieved a considerable degree of resigned autonomy and even cynicism, expressed in a remark with clear sexual symbolism. Invited by her second husband to go with Kormákr, who has bravely rescued her from pirates, she makes a telling remark, perhaps more from cynicism than principle: "Steingerðr kvazk ekki skyldu kaupa um knífa" (Steingerðr said that she was not going to exchange one knife for another).<sup>71</sup> Since knives were personal possessions in the medieval North, this is not a reference to who provides her with room and board but rather a sexual allusion in which she figures herself as a sheath. One knife is the same as another, in this continuation of the weapon/penis equation. Kormákr immediately follows this remark with his own summation of their mutual history. "Kormákr kvað ok ekki þess mundu auðit verða; kvað illar vættir því snimma skirrt hafa eða ósköp"<sup>72</sup> (Kormak also said that that was in no way fated to come about; he said

<sup>71</sup> *Kormáks saga*, ch. 26, 298.

<sup>72</sup> *Kormáks saga*, ch. 26, 298.

that evil spirits or adverse destinies had prevented it from the start). *Óskop* (< *skap* ‘condition of mind’, *inter alia*) illustrates the Icelandic predilection for negatives created by prefixing *ó/ú* to nouns and adjectives. Here ‘malevolence’ captures the essentials. This cannot be a reference to the Norns, since they may be assumed to be without emotions in assigning a destiny to a newborn. The witch Þórveig is the likely prime referent, although Kormákr rightly concludes that other parties will also have wished the poet ill luck.

In Norwegian waters, the trio continue their altercations. Kormákr hits Þorvaldr on the head with the tiller of his ship, the bar attached at the top of the side rudder (recalling various rods and swords), while Steingerðr further compromises the dignity of the ship by arrogating the tiller (weapon, penis) and ramming Kormákr’s vessel. The gear in question – the steering instrument – invites us to see, if not a touch of proto-feminism, at least a woman’s disillusionment with men. Both ships founder, as Kormákr’s amorous hopes are also definitively scuppered. Like Kormákr, Steingerðr appears to gain in autonomy once beyond the seeming constraints and threats of diminution of Icelandic life.

With the physical move of the principals to Norway and beyond, the narrative is somewhat deflated, with such repeated elements as kidnapping by pirates. The correspondence between the prose narrative and the verses is also less good. Yet some kind of resolution among the principals is achieved. With it, the motifs of measure and measurement persist only as echoes. Before the poet’s martial encounter with his bane in Scotland, it is stated that none in his troop compared with him in strength and courage: “í þeim her var engi slíkr sem Kormákr um afl ok áræði.”<sup>73</sup> In Kormákr’s final combat against a Scottish *blótrisi* (‘sacrifice giant?’; imagined in earlier scholarship as a standing stone) his sword slips, as swords had performed erratically earlier, and the giant breaks his ribs. While he kills the giant with a sword blow, it falls on him and further crushes him – all recalls of earlier nonnormative duels and longitude motifs. The *hapax legomenon* *blótrisi* may be a Scottish standing stone, as has been suggested, before which sacrifices could have been imagined. The term also suggests an augmentation, after the recurrent diminution motif of the Icelandic chapters. Kormákr is portrayed as a poet to the end, however, and judges himself

73 *Kormáks saga*, ch 27, 299.

to have died unheroically in bed, without either widow or offspring. The generational line then stops here. The saga has an *uroboros* effect, returning as it began to Viking activity beyond Scandinavia. Ásmundr's son even makes an appearance.

## The Measure of the Saga: Conclusion

*Kormáks saga* was crafted with the aid of familiar compositional conventions. These include the prosimetric form, with its tacit acceptance of Icelandic poets' ability to extemporize complex verse; the establishment of motifs in generation-oriented introductory chapters that will be recalled and recast in successive episodes; capsule portraits that will steer audience interpretation in lieu of ongoing psychological insights into a character's thoughts and action; a complex causality in human affairs that combines the effects of destiny, personality, luck, and actions, at times the magic-working of other characters. Like his father Ógmundr, who is successful only before emigrating to Iceland, the precipitous Kormákr achieves a full measure of male competency over the narrative arc of the saga only when abroad, beyond what he experiences as the situational confines in which he reached manhood in Iceland. In this wider world he ceases to be an immoderate threat – legal/martial or poetic – to Icelandic social order, a threat most manifest in his amorous attention to a married woman. Kormákr's life – in the saga ranging from kitchen to court – may be viewed against the background of the putative Norse zero-sum view of the world, in which a human faculty, such as an eye, may be sacrificed for enhanced ability in its abstract sense, such as wisdom or foresight (Óðinn), or the loss of a son may, with tragic irony, be compensated for by the ability to compose an elegiac poem, e.g., Egill Skallagrímsson's *Sonatorrek*. In these often involuntary transactions, the relative worth of the properties lost and gained is balanced, present in equal measure. Kormákr is deliberate, skilled, and fortunate in poetry (in terms of audience reception, if not his beloved's) but impulsive, gauche, and unlucky in love, as he recognizes in his final verses. For the enamored verbal artist, the preferred trade-off may be unsatisfied desire and high art over satiety and silence. From this perspective, Þórveig's curse that he would never enjoy Steingerðr may be seen as an enablement. But in important respects, Þórveig has queered

Kormákr's prospects in various senses of the term. Yet his verse, *mál* in this sense, suffers none of the diminution (inadequate *mál*) apparent in his social activities and their various "affairs" (yet another *mál*). Kormákr's verses are typically snapshots of his situation of the moment, although with the principals somewhat epicized or heroicized. In the saga as we have it, they do not contribute to the narrative advance. In the skaldic tradition, there is an underlying tension between couplets and/or helming, e.g., the poet's risk-filled trials aboard a ship, while Steingerðr and Tinteinn relax in bed. This compositional principle is reflected in the relationship in that a fundamental difference keeps Kormákr and Steingerðr at a distance, if not always at odds. In the verse, exposition of a situation or relationship is more frequent than actual events so that the verse always has a reflective nature. The riddling nature of the verse also maintains a tension between poet/poem and listener, until the poem has been memorized and the syntax and kenning-based imagery of the stanza then "solved."<sup>74</sup>

Among the important symbols and topics set out the introductory chapters of *Kormáks saga*, the shrinking measuring rod is tone-setting. Its first subsequent realization is in the pivotal kitchen scene with Narfi, which seeks to measure the "doneness" of kettle snakes and the "madness," in the sense of adult male competency, of Kormákr. To reformulate one early question of this study: just how did the saga public interpret the kettle-snake and verse-capping episode? Not to see in Kormákr's response more than a superficial, uptight, and dismissive nod to his antagonist is to leave Narfi the victor and the poet at an even greater psychological disadvantage than is more openly apparent in the mismanaged affairs, human and supernatural that follow. The poet knew himself fully competent to versify in Narfi's base register, with its objectives of defamation and dishonor, as later stanzas evidence. As the saga advances, the motif of unmanliness in an absolute sense is dropped in favor of that of ineffectual masculinity – of measures not met – and thwarted sexual, social, and judicial contests persist, steered by a multifaceted causality. The poet's impulsiveness cuts short effective relationships with both human society and the supernatural. Recourse to magic invulnerability and healing is,

74 On an English king's wish that the poet stay at court until this process was complete and some "profit" could be had of the verses, see *Sneglu-Halla þátrr*, ch. 8, 290.

like the witch's curse and defamatory accusations, lying just beyond the social norm.

In addition to the motif of measure/measurement, speech acts (including poetry and its metrics) and contractual and judicial matters (such as marriages) – all changes run on the word *mál* – pervade the saga. Yet the measure of a man in Iceland seems to have lacked any sense of an absolute standard, as might be concretized in a measuring rod. The gods surely do not qualify as a model for morality. With the decisive decisions of the Norns generally unknown and one's fate veiled, only comparisons among men are feasible, and these valorize a behavior that promotes social stability in a highly contingent world. This objective is encapsulated in the notion of moderation, the *hóf* prized by Icelanders but often beyond their grasp in the sagas, since ambition cannot be thwarted nor insult left unanswered. *Hóf*, however, is not an absolute but a kind of communally recognized mean. It designated action appropriate to specific circumstances, so it too is a relative concept, accompanied by a degree of instability. Related motifs are the frequent lower body injuries in duels, with their symbolic relevance both to manliness (synchronic) and generational descent (diachronic). In the former case, there is a pervasive innuendo in the matter of sexual orientation and practice: Ásmundr's relations with Ögmundr, Narfi's sneers over sausages, the pegs of the dueling ground whose Old Norse term was also used of the penis, Kormákr's injured and tumescent thumb, his slackened libido in the matter of the marriage, Bersi's buttocks, the scurrilous equine stanza, Steingerðr ramming Kormákr's ship, even the sacrifice giant who fatally pins Kormákr – all admissible as instances of questionable masculinity. The saga also offers insights into perceived ambitions of female agency, although the character of Steingerðr and her actions may owe more to art than to history.

The poetic device of personal name encryption was invoked at the beginning of this essay, principally as a heuristic tool to track the multiple significations of Old Norse *mál* ('measure, speech, poem, affair'). It revealed the absence, save in trivial idiom or antonym, of a kindred concept, *hóf* 'moderation'. The Christian compiler of the saga clearly had a perspective wider than that of its principals, from which the heroic pagan past appeared as a scene of darkness in which heathens could only stumble toward the light. Thus seen, Kormákr's ultimate failure in all but the

narrow spheres of art and plunder is comprehensible and can be valued, if only in terms of cultural history and as preparation for a more enlightened and faith-led Christian era. We have seen how another *mál*, skaldic poetry with its demanding metrics and mythological and metaphorical apparatus, was also preserved for only a limited transitional period after the conversion, during which its thematics were Christianized, as in *Lilja*. The third *mál* ‘affairs’ chiefly concerns the pursuit – and manipulation – of marriage contracts and judicial duels, and these two will also be transformed under Christian canon and civil law. *Kormáks saga* will continue to challenge modern readers, in no small part because of the strained effort of the prose to make sense of the allusions in the poet’s many verses.<sup>75</sup> Although *Kormáks saga* as a narrative of thwarted and thus static love has long been viewed through a romantic lens, the theme of competence and dynamic personal agency – open to measure and comparison as explored under the aegis of the polyseme *mál* – now emerges with clarity, as does the larger topic of Iceland’s fitness for incorporation in a greater Christian Europe.

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75 Due to its choice of theme, this essay has chiefly addressed the prose text in which poems ascribed to Kormákr are embedded; stanzas in which the various topics incarnated in the polysemantic *mál* are less evident. The historical Kormákr may also be less than fully evident there too. Evidence from the saga of King Haraldr suggests that impromptu versifying on assigned or challenging topics, e.g., the altercation of a smith and a tanner described as might be Þórr, Sigurðr, and their opponents, could have been in the nature of a “parlor (or hall) game” in the medieval North, with the results added to the Kormakian corpus; see *Sneglu-Halla þáttur*, ch. 3, 269–70.

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## ÁGRIP

Breytileg merking fornorræna/íslenska orðsins *mál* í *Kormáks sögu*: stærðarmál, skáldamál og ástarmál

**Efnisorð**: mæling, meðalhóf, dróttkvæði, hólmganga, formælingar

Fornorræna eða íslenska orðið *mál* (ýmist notað um mælingar, tungumál, skáldskap, málarekstur eða umfjöllunarefni) leikur víða lykilhlutverk í *Kormáks sögu*. Hinar ólíku merkingar orðsins varpa allar ljósi á ævi skáld-hetjunnar sem er lýst sem miklum og sterkum og áhlaupamanni í skapi. Hann nær því fram í skáldskap sínum sem hann missir af í lífi sínu og ástum: meðalhófinu (miðgildinu í hvers kyns mælingum). Hann lendir í mannjöfnuði við aðra karla í sögunni, þarf að

þola hæðyrði vegna sambands síns við Steingerði frá skapheimsku lítilmenni og formælingar hinnar fjölkunnugu Þórveigar. Formælingarnar verða að áhrinsorðum því Kormákur fær ekki Steingerðar en skapar draumsýn hennar með skáldskap sínum. Á vikingaferðum fjarri Íslandi finnur Kormákur það jafnvægi í lífi sínu sem stendur honum ekki til boða í íslensku samfélagi. Dómur hins kristna höfundar er að Kormákur hafi náð langt í list sinni en í lífinu hafi ójafnlyndið verið honum fjötur um fót, auk formælinganna og álits annarra – eins konar heiðin örlög. Á vissan hátt má lesa *Kormáks sögu* sem forsögu að því sem gerðist á Íslandi á þrettánda öld.

### S U M M A R Y

Ringing Changes: On Old Norse-Icelandic *mál* in *Kormáks saga*

**Key words:** measure, moderation, skaldic poetry, judicial dueling, curse

The Old Norse-Icelandic word *mál*, variously “measure, speech, poetry, case, matter,” is strategically called on at various points throughout *Kormáks saga*. Its diverse significations all bear on the life of the warrior-poet, who is himself characterized as precipitous by nature. He achieves in his poetry what eludes him in life and love: moderation (*höf*), the midway point in measures of all kinds. Subject to comparisons with other males in the saga, mocked in his masculinity by an insolent servant, and cursed by a sorceress, he does not attain the body of his beloved Steingerðr but succeeds in recreating her in ideal form in skaldic poetry. Away from Iceland on Viking expeditions, he finds an equilibrium that was denied him in Icelandic society. The overall judgment of the Christian author is of a successful career in art yet one limited in life by an impulsive character, curse (this, too, a kind of *mál*), the judgement of others – in all, a pagan destiny. In significant ways Kormákr prefigures the Iceland of the thirteenth century.

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ADÈLE KREAGER

## LAPIDARIES AND LYFSTEINAR

### *Health, Enhancement and Human-Lithic Relations in Medieval Iceland<sup>1</sup>*

CONCEPTS OF THE BODY and human health in Old Norse-Icelandic literature have received considerable scholarly interest in recent years. This owes in no small part to the burgeoning field of disability studies<sup>2</sup> and its application to medieval material. The tendency of earlier enquiries to pathologise bodily and mental differences in terms of modern disorders<sup>3</sup> is increasingly being replaced by a more nuanced approach towards the social construction and presentation of disability and its intersection with other discourses of power, gender and social in/exclusion.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, there has been increased interest in medieval theories of medicine,

- 1 I would like to thank my two anonymous reviewers for their comments, which have informed my thinking within and beyond this article. My thanks also to Judy Quinn for her feedback on an earlier draft and to Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir for her generous help with the Icelandic text of my abstract.
- 2 Disability studies is an interdisciplinary field that approaches disability through its intersection with culture and society. It offers an alternative approach that does not rely exclusively on the biomedical framing of disability as a deficit.
- 3 See, e.g., Jesse Byock, "The Skull and Bones in Egils saga: A Viking, A Grave, and Pager's Disease," *Viator* 24 (1993): 23–50; Peter Stride, "Egill Skallagrímsson: The First Case of Van Buchem Disease?," *J R Coll Physicians Edinb* 41 (2011): 169–73; Jon Geir Høyesteren, "Manifestations of Psychiatric Illness in Texts from the Medieval and Viking Era," *Archives of Psychiatry and Psychotherapy* 2 (2015): 57–60; Diana Whaley and David Elliot, "A Medieval Casebook: Hand Cures Documented in the Icelandic Sagas of Bishops," *Journal of Hand Surgery* 19B.5 (1994): 667–71.
- 4 See, e.g., all articles in the special edition edited by Christopher Crocker, "Disability in the Medieval Nordic World," *Mirator* 20.2 (2021), as well as Crocker's bibliography of disability in medieval saga writing (<https://cwecrocker.com/bibliography-of-disability-studies-and-the-medieval-icelandic-sagas/>). For a detailed overview of disability studies in the context of Norse scholarship, see Ármann Jakobsson et al., "Disability before Disability: Mapping the Uncharted in the Medieval Sagas," *Scandinavian Studies* 92.4 (2020): 440–60.

particularly humoral theory,<sup>5</sup> and the degree to which such theories intersected with or influenced medieval Icelandic conceptions of body, emotion and wellbeing.<sup>6</sup> A thread common to these growing areas of research is the relationship between humans and the social and material world: how physical and cognitive health, though rooted in the body, is not necessarily conceptually bounded by this body. This aligns with recent research into concepts of body and personhood in the medieval North by Kirsi Kanerva and Miriam Mayburd, who argue that the human body was understood to be porous and “open” to the physical environment.<sup>7</sup>

- 5 Humoral theory was the dominant model of medieval physiology, deriving from the Greek physicians Hippocrates (c. 460–370 BCE) and Galen (129–c. 200CE). This theory envisages not only a mind–body continuum (in which both physical and mental health were contingent on maintaining a balance of the four humours) but also a body–world continuum: each of the four humours comprising humans’ physical and cognitive natures (blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile) were composed of the same properties as the four elements of which the world was made (Miranda Anderson, “Distributed Cognition in Medieval and Renaissance Studies,” *Distributed Cognition in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, ed. by Miranda Anderson and Michael Wheeler (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 24). Humours were thought to be influenced by a wide range of external stimuli, from planets to daydreams (Julie Orlemanski, *Symptomatic Subjects: Bodies, Medicine and Causation in the Literature of Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 26). An imbalance between the four humours was considered the cause of ill physical and psychological health and could be managed by regulating intake of foods and medicines and the excretion of bodily substances (Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir, “Emotions in *Njáls saga* and *Egils saga*: Approaches and Literary Analysis” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2020): 63).
- 6 Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir, “Humoral Theory in the Medieval North: An Old Norse Translation of *Epistula Vindiciani* in Hauksbók,” *Gripla* 29 (2018): 35–66; Yoav Tirosh, “Milk, Masculinity, and Humor-Less Vikings – Gender in the Old Norse Polysystem,” *Limes* 13 (2020): 136–50; Colin Mackenzie, “Vernacular Psychologies in Old Norse-Icelandic and Old English” (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2014): 128–43; Kirsi Kanerva, “Porous Bodies, Porous Minds. Emotions and the Supernatural in the *Íslendingasögur* (ca. 1200–1400)” (PhD diss., University of Turku, 2015): 111–13. Direct evidence of familiarity with humoral theory in Iceland comes from medical treatises which offer humoral cures and which outline the operation of the humoral system (e.g., AM 655 XXX 4to (13th c.) and Hauksbók (14th c.)).
- 7 While Mayburd explores the open body schema in terms of the perceived effects personal objects (and specifically swords) had upon their users in saga literature (“Objects and Agency in the Medieval North: The Case of Old Norse Magic Swords,” *Sredniowiecze Polskie i Powzechnie* T.12 (2020): 42–68), Kanerva examines the effects contact with the undead have on the mental and physical health of the living (“Disturbances of the Mind and Body: Effects of the Living Dead in Medieval Iceland,” *Mental (Dis)Order in Later Medieval Europe*, ed. by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Susanna Niiranen, *Later Medieval Europe* 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2014) 219–42). Also relevant here are several archaeological

This article builds on the above perspectives by examining the human usage of powerful stones in medieval Iceland, focusing on the applications of stones in saga literature and in the Old Norse-Icelandic lapidary tradition. Human–lithic relations in these sources offer a useful case study for engaging with conceptions of the interplay between the human and the non-human, particularly on the levels of bodily health and enhancement. At the same time, they illuminate attitudes towards materiality, agency and ontology circulating in medieval Iceland.

Despite their frequent appearance in Old Norse literature, powerful stones and their perceived impact on human health have received limited scholarly attention. Much of this interest has focused on the enigmatic *sólarsteinn*,<sup>8</sup> and whether or not it was actually used as a medieval navigational instrument.<sup>9</sup> Scholars have since moved beyond this concern to establish a historical basis for literary depictions of stones,<sup>10</sup> instead focusing on how ideas surrounding powerful stones impacted and informed literary worlds: Florian Schreck explores the abundant use of the Latinate lapidary tradition in *riddarasögur*;<sup>11</sup> Mayburd, in her article on dwarves and materiality, argues that medieval perceptions of stones (with which dwarves were

studies which examine the relationship between personhood and handling of objects in Viking Age burial acts (e.g., Julie Lund, “Connectedness with Things: Animated Objects of Viking Age Scandinavia and Early Medieval Europe,” *Archaeological Dialogues* 24.1 (2017): 89–108; and Alison Margaret Klevnäs, “‘Imbued with the Essence of the Owner’: Personhood and Possessions in the Reopening and Reworking of Viking-Age Burials,” *European Journal of Archaeology* 19.3 (2017): 456–76).

- 8 *Sólarsteinar*, minerals by which the sun could purportedly be located in an overcast sky, appear in two thirteenth-century texts, *Rauðúlfs þáttur* and *Hrafnas saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, as well as church and cloister inventories from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Árni Einarsson, “Sólarsteinninn: Tæki eða tákn,” *Gripla* 21 (2010): 296).
- 9 *Ibid.*; Thorkild Ramskou, *Solstenen – Primitiv Navigation i Norden för Kompasset* (Copenhagen: Rhodos, 1969); Peter Foote, “Icelandic *sólarsteinn* and the Medieval Background,” *Aurvandilstá: Norse Studies*, ed. by Michael Barnes, Hans Bekker-Nielsen and Gerd Wolfgang Weber, The Viking Collection 2 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1984), 140–54.
- 10 Interestingly, this concern with establishing a historical basis for depictions of the *sólarsteinn* in medieval texts parallels the earlier interest in pathologising non-normative bodies rather than considering these bodies as literary constructions, as outlined above.
- 11 “Medieval Science Fiction. The Learned Latin Tradition on Wondrous Stones in the Icelandic *Riddarasögur*” (paper presented at the Sixteenth International Saga Conference, 9–15th August 2015, University of Zurich and University of Basel); “The Old Norse Lapidary Tradition and Its Influence on the Old Icelandic *Riddarasögur*” (paper presented at Research Group for Medieval Philology, 10th April 2014, University of Bergen).

closely associated in Norse tradition) would have shaped the portrayal of dwarves in Icelandic literature.<sup>12</sup>

My analysis takes its cue in part from both these researchers: like Schreck, I consider the learned lapidary tradition alongside indigenous saga literature, and like Mayburd, I am particularly interested in medieval ideas of agency and materiality spanning the bounds of the human and non-human. Where Schreck focuses on *riddarasögur*, I broaden my scope to include other saga sub-genres (*Íslendingasögur* and *fornaldarsögur*).<sup>13</sup> Where Mayburd outlines medieval scholastic debates concerning the properties of stones without analysing lapidary material extant in Iceland itself, I provide a summary of the contents of an Old Norse lapidary text from a fourteenth-century Icelandic manuscript (AM 194 8vo).<sup>14</sup>

Beyond the lapidary tradition, researchers have also explored the appearance of powerful stones, and specifically *lyfsteinar* (healing stones), in saga literature. Rafael García Pérez examines the etymology and transcription of the ON noun *lyfsteinn*, demonstrating how the term originally referred to a medicinal stone (where *lyf* derives from PGmc \*lubja (herb, potion)).<sup>15</sup> *Lyfsteinn* was gradually reinterpreted via false etymology as a “life-stone,” becoming synonymous with the Mod. Icelandic *lífsteinn* of a later tradition. Brenda Prehal examines quartz/white pebbles in the archaeological and literary record as one of several case studies aimed at expounding the value of reintegrating archaeological theory with the

12 Mayburd, “Between a Rock and a Soft Place: The Materiality of Old Norse Dwarves and Paranormal Ecologies in *Fornaldarsögur*,” *Supernatural Encounters in Old Norse Literature and Tradition*, ed. by Daniel Sävborg and Karen Bek-Pedersen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 189–214.

13 On the concept of genre as a critical tool for Old Norse studies, as well as the validity of our current generic categories for analysing Old Norse texts, see below.

14 AM 194 8vo was written in Western Iceland in 1387, according to a scribal interjection on fol. 33v (Margaret Cormack, “The ‘Holy Bishop Licius’ in AM 194 8vo,” *Opuscula* 11 (2003): 188–92). This manuscript is chiefly discussed by scholars interested in the itinerary-text it contains, *Leiðarvísir* (see, e.g., Arngrímur Vídalín, “Óláfr Ormsson’s *Leiðarvísir* and its Context: The Fourteenth-Century Text of a Supposed Twelfth-Century Itinerary,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 117.2 (2018): 212–34).

15 “Piedras que curan e incluso resucitan a los muertos: traducción al inglés, francés y español del sustantivo *lyfsteinn* en dos textos en antiguo nórdico (*Kormáks saga* y *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*),” *Hermeneus. Revista de Traducción e Interpretación* 21 (2019): 238.



Icelandic literary corpus.<sup>16</sup> García Pérez's research is valuable in highlighting how *lyfsteinar* would have originally been anchored in a healing context; Prehal's research provides a useful overview of the appearance of propertied stones in the literary corpus.

The following discussion supplements the work of these scholars by investigating ideas of health and human–non-human relations as they are expressed in *both* the Norse lapidary tradition and in saga literature. Placing these different sources alongside one another highlights the degree to which ideas around materiality and agency, deriving from a learned continental tradition, frequently converge with and influence vernacular interests in bodily health and curative processes: this serves as a useful reminder to resist drawing strict binaries between “institutional/orthodox” literatures and “popular/heterodox” literatures, as well as between “medical” and “magical” discourses. It is more productive to focus on overlap and conversation between these apparent poles.

Medieval medical approaches to human health do not produce a mind–body dualism,<sup>17</sup> which would have been quite alien to the audiences and compilers of these texts.<sup>18</sup> But it is difficult to discuss the medieval holistic approach to human health without running up against the entrenched

16 Brenda Prehal, “Handbook for the Deceased: Re-Evaluating Literature and Folklore in Icelandic Archaeology” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2020): 184–225.

17 On concepts of the “mind” in medieval Icelandic sources, see particularly Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir, “The Head, the Heart, and the Breast: Bodily Conceptions of Emotion and Cognition in Old Norse Skaldic Poetry,” *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 15 (2019): 40; Mackenzie, “Vernacular Psychologies,” 57–91. In the vernacular Norse tradition, cognition and emotion (faculties we typically associate with the “mind”) are perceived as embodied and adhering to a cardio-centric or pectoral (rather than cephalon-centric) model. This can be seen, e.g., in kenning-patterns for breast/chest, in which base-words refer to topographic or architectural features (enclosure, land, house etc.) and in which determinants refer to mental abilities, e.g., “stronghold of thought.” We also find evidence for the continued association of emotion and cognition with the physical organ of the heart elsewhere in saga literature (e.g., *Völsunga saga*, ch. 37; *Fóstbræðra saga* (Hauksbók-version), ch. 17; *Gísla saga*, ch. 21), eddic verse (e.g., *Atlakviða*, sts 21–25, *Atlamáli in grænlensku*, sts 58–64) and *Snorra Edda* (*Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 17).

18 On the topic of Cartesian dualism as anachronism in the context of Old Norse literature and scholarship, see, among others, Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, *Emotion in Old Norse Literature: Translations, Voices, Contexts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), 8; Mayburd, “Between a Rock,” 209; Mayburd, “Objects and Agency,” 45–46; Sara Ann Knutson, “When Objects Misbehave: Materials and Assemblages in the Ancient Scandinavian Myths,” *Fabula* 61 (3–4): 258.

mind–body dualism that underlies our own culture’s Western medical institutions and that shapes the very language we use to talk about health, self and affect. In the interest of clarity for the reader, I have used modern categories (such as “physiological” and “cognitive”) in my discussion of lithotherapy, even though such categories are *not* borne out in the medieval sources themselves.<sup>19</sup> In doing so, I highlight the sheer diversity of treatments found in lapidaries and show the ultimate limitations of using modern classificatory systems to guide our understanding of medieval material.

Through the course of this article, I will consider several research questions:

1. What understandings of human health (physical and cognitive) emerge when we examine human-lithic relations?
  - a. Is a distinction drawn between, on the one hand, *healing* the body and, on the other hand, *enhancing* the body?<sup>20</sup>
  - b. Is the *mind* presented as being similarly open to change from external stimulus as the *body*?
2. How do these texts present the *operation* and *agency* of propertied stones, and does this change through time and across genres?
  - a. How do people use these stones (Are they worn next to the skin? Or consumed in a drink?) and how does their agency manifest itself?
  - b. Are stones presented as *inherently powerful*, or are they seen as *imbued with power* by humans?
3. What networks of relation between objects and bodies emerge, and what can this tell us about perceived ontological boundaries in medieval Iceland?

This article has two parts: the first examines the Old Norse lapidary text in AM 194 8vo. Here, I provide an overview of the various ideas of materiality, agency and health involved in lapidaries at large, before turning to the contents of the AM 194 8vo-lapidary to consider the range of therapies and enhancements offered by stones. Then, I briefly discuss the appearance of stones in medieval Icelandic law codes and in the archaeo-

19 More on this below in the section titled “Entangled Health, Emotion and Cognition.”

20 I use the term “enhancement” to refer to any medical interventions that do not address an underlying illness or symptom but rather seek to “improve” physical or mental capabilities.

logical record. This overview serves to better contextualise the subsequent discussion, in which I summarise the presentation of stones in a selection of *Íslendingasögur*, *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur*.

## The Old Norse Lapidary Tradition

Lapidaries are texts documenting precious stones, their physical differences and properties, their uses and their locations in the world. There are three types of lapidary literature circulating in the medieval period, evincing a variety of approaches to how humans might find use and meaning in the non-human world: the astrological lapidary, the scientific lapidary, and the Christian symbolic lapidary.<sup>21</sup> The latter two types were, judging from manuscript evidence, the more popular. Indeed, we find evidence of both of these types in manuscripts from fourteenth-century Iceland: AM 194 8vo contains a fragmentary Christian symbolic lapidary at ff. 24v–27r, and a more comprehensive (though still partial) scientific lapidary at ff. 45v–48v. These lapidaries are translations of two independent works by the late eleventh-century Bishop Marbode of Rennes:<sup>22</sup> the former fragment is derived from an original Icelandic translation of Marbode's *Christian Symbolic Lapidary in Prose* datable to c. 1200 on linguistic grounds;<sup>23</sup> the latter fragment is a prose translation of Marbode's *On Stones (De Lapidibus)*, likely dating from the early thirteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Marbode's *De Lapidibus* was a hugely influential work in the medieval lapidary genre, synthesising lore from Gaius Julius Solinus (third c. AD), Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) and especially Damigeron-Evax (second c. AD), to provide a practical guide to the therapeutic applications of stones.

Additionally, fragmentary translations of *De Lapidibus* are found in the early fourteenth-century Hauksbók manuscript compilation (f. 34r)<sup>25</sup> and

21 John Riddle (ed.), *Marbode of Rennes' (1035–1123) De Lapidibus, Considered as a Medical Treatise with Text, Commentary and C. W. King's Translation. Together with Text and Translation of Marbode's Minor Works on Stones* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), xi. Henceforth *De Lapidibus*.

22 Clunies Ross, *Skáldskaparmál: Snorri Sturluson's ars poetica and Medieval Theories of Language*, The Viking Collection 4 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1987), 146.

23 Foote, "Icelandic Sólarsteinn," 148.

24 Clunies Ross, *Skáldskaparmál*, 146.

25 On this manuscript, see Sverrir Jakobsson, "Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View," *Saga-Book* 31 (2007): 22–38; Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, "Literary, Codicological and Political Perspectives on Hauksbók," *Gripla* 19 (2008): 51–76.

the late fifteenth-century medical compilation Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43 (f. 53v).<sup>26</sup> The AM 194 8vo translation of *De Lapidibus* contains a total of nineteen stones found in Marbode's text (which contains sixty stones).<sup>27</sup> Hauksbók's fragment contains seven stones, all of which appear (though with some variation in the names and transcription of names) in AM 194 8vo, and in the same order of presentation.<sup>28</sup> RIA 23 D 43 contains two stones (both of which appear in AM 194 8vo and Hauksbók, but which appear in a different order).<sup>29</sup>

Given that the translation of *De Lapidibus* in AM 194 8vo is the most comprehensive of the Icelandic attestations of the lapidary and that it is yet to be translated into English, this is the lapidary text on which I base the following analysis.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, AM 194 8vo is a particularly interesting (and under-studied) small encyclopaedic compendium. It spans a variety of scientific and historical texts but maintains across a number of its texts a marked interest in health and the human body: from its medical treatise on ff. 37r–45v, to smaller miscellaneous texts on human embryology (f. 34v), blood-letting (f. 48v) and the number of bones, veins and teeth in the body, as well as the properties and skills assigned to specific body-parts (f. 34v).

A range of treatments is found in the AM 194 8vo lapidary. The properties of stones can be prophylactic, diagnostic, curative and palliative, providing aid for humans before, during and after the body comes into contact with injury or illness. The stones can heal and augment physical, cognitive and emotional conditions. The lapidary is therefore largely anthropocentric in focus, concerned with the ways in which stones could improve human

26 Henceforth RIA 23 D 43. On this manuscript, see Henning Larsen (ed.), *An Old Icelandic Medical Miscellany; Ms. Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43, with supplement from Ms. Trinity College (Dublin) L-2-27* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1931).

27 "Lapis," "Saffirus," "Caledonius," "Smaralldus," "Sardonix," "Onix," "Sardius," "Crisolitus," "Berillus," "Topacius," "Eirsaprassus," "Iacinctus," "Amatistus," "Crisopacius," "Geretisses," "Magnes," "Adamantis," "Illiasborius," "Saledonius." Kristian Kålund (ed.), *Alfræði Íslenzk: Íslandsk encyklopædisk Litteratur. I. Cod. Mbr. AM. 194. 8vo.* (Copenhagen: S. L. Møllers Bogtrykkeri, 1908), 77–83. Henceforth *ÁÍ*.

28 "Ematistus," "Crisopatius," "Gerathises," "Magnetis," "Adamantes," "Allectorius," "Celi-donius." Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson (eds), *Hauksbók: Udgiven efter de Arna-magnæanske håndskrifter no. 371, 544 og 675, 4<sup>o</sup> samt forskellige papirhåndskrifter* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige nordiske oldskrift-selskab, 1892–96), 227–28.

29 "Amatista" and "Adamas." *Old Icelandic Medical Miscellany*, 110.

30 NB: the Danish Harpestræng collections also contain fragmentary lapidaries; however, these are not included in the analysis since my focus is specifically on medieval Iceland.

lives. Even so, we do encounter some properties that act on the external, non-human world too. In turn, the properties of stones can be injurious rather than curative: take Onix,<sup>31</sup> which, when placed around the neck, is said to cause supernatural disturbances during sleep (“þa beR fyrir mart ohreint i svefni ok margskyns undr”) and social unrest (“aflar hann þretu ok kemr upp deilum”).<sup>32</sup> Stones can even seemingly punish human users who mishandle them; Berillus, for example, is said to burn whoever breaks it (“brennir hann brestanda”).<sup>33</sup>

Before examining the contents of the AM 194 8vo lapidary, I now briefly consider why and how lapidaries constitute a useful (if untapped) resource in Old Norse studies. Firstly, lapidaries test out ideas around *materiality* and *relationality*. They therefore help us to engage with medieval perceptions of the interplay between organic bodies and physical matter, particularly in terms of health and the body’s openness to its environment. As Mayburd notes, the way in which stones are entangled with concerns of health is indicative of a perceived vulnerability in the human condition, and thus medieval lapidaries can be regarded as “efforts to establish symbiotic relationships between the human and non-human agents in their shared environment in order to mitigate the myriad dangers to human health and welfare that the same ambivalent environment is also quite adept at conjuring.”<sup>34</sup> Mayburd is right to connect lapidaries with a notion of “paranormal contagion” that she identifies elsewhere in medieval Icelandic literature, since the operative tenet in lithotherapy is that the nature of the stone is transferred to the body of the user, implying a perceived porosity of both object and human (more on this below).

Lapidaries also raise interesting questions around *agency* and *change*: stones prompt significant therapeutic changes in human minds and bodies, but they depend on human bodies in order to manifest their agency. That this non-human agency emerges chiefly through alliance with human bodies is suggestive of a conception of (non-human) agency in this context as *distributed* across both animate and inanimate entities. This notion of

31 I refer to the names of stones as they appear in Kålund’s edition of the lapidary, rather than updating them to their modern counterparts (since not all stones have modern counterparts).

32 *Al*, 79.

33 *Al*, 80.

34 Mayburd, “Between a Rock,” 196.

agency as distributed has been theorised in new materialist scholarship, and is ultimately indebted to Bruno Latour's actor–network theory<sup>35</sup> and Jane Bennett.<sup>36</sup> More specifically, if these stones are perceived as agentic, then this agency resides in what Karen Barad has dubbed “intra-action” (a replacement term for the usual “interaction”): intra-action posits agency not as an inherent attribute of something or someone, but rather a dynamism of forces.<sup>37</sup> The collaboration between humans and stones in the lapidary tradition also extends to the treatment that human users must give the stones in order for them to work effectively, setting them in specific metals, wearing them on specific body-parts and so on.

The questions lapidaries raise over agency in turn prompt consideration of the *nature* of the stones and the *origins* of their properties. The lapidary tradition developed a specific vocabulary for discussing the agency of stones, describing their properties and potentials for action through Lat. *virtus*. This is translated in Old Norse lapidaries as *náttúra*,<sup>38</sup> which ranges in meaning from “nature, disposition” to “power, property, quality.” *Náttúra* is applied elsewhere both to human and non-human entities.<sup>39</sup> The thirteenth century saw the development of the concept of “natural magic” in theological discussions on the continent, a framework combining classical ideas regarding the hidden virtues of natural matter with Christian

35 Bruno Latour, “On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications,” *Soziale Welt* 47.4 (1996): 369–81.

36 Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010). Scholars have started to implement new materialist theory as a framework for engaging with Old Norse-Icelandic literature, resulting in several stimulating articles: e.g., Knutson, “When Objects Misbehave”: 257–77 (on object agency in Norse mythology) and Christopher Abram, “Kennings and Things: Towards an Object-Oriented Skaldic Poetics,” *The Shapes of Early English Poetry*, ed. by Eric Weiskott and Irina Dumitrescu (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019) 161–88 (on the applicability of “object-oriented ontology” to skaldic poetics).

37 Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 214. Barad's “intra-action” further resonates with Laura Stark's concept of “dynamistic forces” that span both the human self and various objects and environments, developed in the context of her work on magic and the embodied self in rural early modern Finland (Laura Stark, *The Magical Self. Body, Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 2006), 254–85).

38 E.g., “hans natura,” *AI*, 77; “med hans naturu,” *AI*, 83.

39 See Aldis Sigurðardóttir et al., *ONP: Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*, <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o56477>.

ideas about the cosmos.<sup>40</sup> Natural magic was regarded as a consequence of God's creation of the universe and was therefore not seen as illicit, demonic or *against nature* (to use Thomas Aquinas's tripartite division of causation of the miraculous: "above nature," "beyond nature" and "against nature").<sup>41</sup> This understanding of the occult nature of stones' powers is evinced in AM 194 8vo's lapidary, which describes the stone Geretisses as having "þegianda afl eda megin."<sup>42</sup>

Surviving copies of lapidaries, both in the continental tradition<sup>43</sup> and in medieval Iceland (e.g., AM 194 8vo and RIA 23 D 43), are often bound with other medical treatises. This proximity to other texts concerned with human health and vulnerability is suggestive of, as Jeffrey Jerome Cohen asserts, "the work's intimacy to medieval thinking about embodiment and disability."<sup>44</sup> Lapidaries are therefore a relevant part of discussions of medieval medical beliefs and practices, just as much as they are a useful resource for considering the more metaphysical questions of agency and matter. I return to this point later, providing a comparison of the application and operation of treatments in the AM 194 8vo's lapidary text and its medical treatise (referred to in modern scholarship as *Lækniðfræði*).

Finally, lapidaries prompt responses among their audiences. This is true on the micro-level of scribes and redactors, since, as John Riddle notes, hardly any two lapidaries among the many hundreds are alike.<sup>45</sup> And it is true on the macro-level of literary communities, since lapidary learning is implemented in saga literature (and particularly in *riddarasögur*, where the marvellous properties of stones offer narrators new opportunities for plot development).

40 Roberta Gilchrist, "The Medieval Materiality of Magic: The Ritual Lives of People and Things," *Brewminate* (12 July 2020), <https://brewminate.com/the-medieval-materiality-of-magic-the-ritual-lives-of-people-and-things/>.

41 Robert Bartlett, *Natural and Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 8.

42 *Alf*, 81: "a silent/concealed strength or power." Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

43 Riddle, "Lithotherapy in the Middle Ages... Lapidaries Considered as Medical Texts," *Pharmaceutical History* 12 (1970): 42.

44 *Stone: An Ecology of the Inhuman* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 231.

45 *De Lapidibus*, 50.

*Entangled health, emotion and cognition in AM 194 8vo's lapidary*

The stones described in AM 194 8vo offer a range of aids to humans. This range is indicative of the degree to which ideas of health, emotion and cognition were fundamentally entangled in medical approaches to the self in this period. For example, the properties of the stone *Iacinctus* span the emotional and epidemiological: in a single sentence, the scribe tells us that the stone allows the bearer to travel freely without fear (“o-hreddr”), whilst also protecting the bearer against plagues (“eigi man þer meina drepsott”).<sup>46</sup> The range of applications of stones seen in the lapidary further reflects an understanding of both physical *and* cognitive conditions as inherently *embodied*: since mental change may be induced through physical contact with stones, the mind is therefore just as rooted in the material world as the body is and just as subject to influence and interference from this external world.

As touched on above, I organise my discussion of the range of properties stones exhibit by dividing up these properties into manufactured categories, such as physiological, social, emotional, cognitive and environmental. By employing these categories I hope to highlight how phenomena that can appear highly disparate to modern readers were, by contrast, *not* categorically distinguished between in medieval medical works: for there is nothing explicit in the lapidary text nor implicit in its organisation of material that establishes a distinction between physical, cognitive and social change, or indeed between healing and enhancing. While the categories employed are useful insofar as they may help readers grasp the sheer *diversity* of treatment types in the lapidary, future research should move beyond these categories in order to pursue a more emic perspective on medieval concepts of health and self.

*Physiological aids (curative and prophylactic)*

Stones provide cures for serious physical ailments such as bleeding (*Topacius*),<sup>47</sup> shivering fever and tumescence through water (*Lapis*),<sup>48</sup> breathing difficulties and liver-illness (*Berillus*),<sup>49</sup> burns (*Magnes*)<sup>50</sup> and

46 *Al*, 8o.

47 *Ibid.*: “rauda-sott.”

48 *Al*, 77: “ridu sottum ok vatn-kalfi.” AM 194 8vo has “Lapis,” while Marbode has “Jaspis” (Jasper).

49 *Al*, 8o: “andar styn [...] ok lifur-verk.”

50 *Al*, 81: “vid bruna.”



wounds and eye ailments (Saffirus).<sup>51</sup> They also help users control less desirable bodily behaviours, reducing excessive perspiration (Saffirus)<sup>52</sup> and soothing carnal lust (Smaralldus).<sup>53</sup> Stones can also act prophylactically, for example, protecting the user from poison (Smaralldus, Adamantis)<sup>54</sup> or from the inebriating effects of alcohol (Amatistus).<sup>55</sup>

*Physiological aids (enhancive)*

Stones not only treat and safeguard against specific ailments; they also enhance and modify bodily capabilities. Thus, Berillus strengthens whoever possesses it<sup>56</sup> and is effective at improving carnal love among married couples.<sup>57</sup> And Berillus is not the only stone with apparent aphrodisiac qualities; Illiasborius<sup>58</sup> makes a man “mikilmagnadan i allri kvensemí” (powerful in all lust for women)<sup>59</sup> thus sparking sexual appetite and perhaps prowess in the user. Smaralldus provides a yet more impressive enhancement (and one after the hearts of Silicon Valley elites today)<sup>60</sup> – the possibility of extending one’s lifespan.<sup>61</sup> This property does not appear in Marbode’s original; it may be a misinterpretation of Marbode’s assertion that the gem allows you to see into the future (a property which is otherwise absent in AM 194 8vo’s account of Smaralldus), or it could reflect an alternative tradition surrounding the gemstone.

*Emotional aids (curative, prophylactic and enhancive)*

Stones also provide emotional support for humans, removing fear (Iacinctus),<sup>62</sup> making people more agreeable (Saledonius)<sup>63</sup> or more gentle tow-

51 *ÁÍ*, 78: “gredir hann sár ok augu.”

52 *Ibid.*: “ofur-hita ok ofur-sveita.”

53 *Ibid.*: “stodvar lostasemi.”

54 *Ibid.*: “er hann godr við eitri;” *ÁÍ*, 82: “fiRir hann leidiligu eitri.”

55 *ÁÍ*, 81: “hann er gangstadligr dreyckiu-monnum.”

56 *ÁÍ*, 79–80: “eflir hafandi.”

57 *ÁÍ*, 79: “godr hionum til astar.”

58 AM 194 8vo has “Illiasborius” (*ÁÍ*, 83); Marbode has “Alectorius” (*De Lapidibus*, 39).

59 *ÁÍ*, 83.

60 See, e.g., Adam Gabbatt, “Is Silicon Valley’s Quest for Immortality a Fate Worse than Death?” *The Guardian* (23 February 2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/feb/22/silicon-valley-immortality-blood-infusion-gene-therapy> .

61 *ÁÍ*, 78: “eykr þat efi manz.”

62 *ÁÍ*, 80.

63 *ÁÍ*, 83: “hann gerir mann [...] þokadan vel.”

ards one another (Lapis)<sup>64</sup> and preventing faint-heartedness and envy in the carrier (Saffirus).<sup>65</sup> We could also include Smaralldus's ability to sooth carnal lust here (which I have included above in physiological aids), depending on whether lust was seen as rooted in bodily behaviour or in emotional life. It seems likely, though, that no meaningful distinction was made between these two categories, especially when we consider that humoral theory regards emotions as phenomena with a physical *and* a mental dimension.<sup>66</sup>

*Social/interpersonal aids (prophylactic and enhancive)*

Stones also act on social and interpersonal environments.<sup>67</sup> For example, Saffirus prevents the user from being tricked<sup>68</sup> and facilitates peace,<sup>69</sup> while Adamantis overcomes conflicts and quarrels.<sup>70</sup> Conversely, Onix can instigate quarrels.<sup>71</sup> Stones can also impact the outcome of events for the wearer: Illiasborius is used as a "sigr-steinn" (victory-stone) to ensure victory,<sup>72</sup> while Caledonius helps the user win their law-suits.<sup>73</sup> The text does not specify whether Caledonius's impact on the external world is direct or whether it is mediated through the user; in other words, whether it works by improving the wearer's verbal acuity or whether its mere presence influences the outcome of the lawsuit, perhaps acting instead on the minds of others present.

*Cognitive/intellectual aids (curative, prophylactic and enhancive)*

Saledonius and Adamantis heal those who are *óheill* (unhealthy, not

64 *AÍ*, 77: "hann gerer mann þeckan fólki."

65 *Ibid.*: "eigi ma hann ok hug-lauss vera, medan berr hann, ok eigi aufundsiukr."

66 See, e.g., Jacques Bos, "The Rise and Decline of Character: Humoral Psychology in Ancient and Early Modern Medical Theory," *History of the Human Sciences* 22.3 (2009): 29–50.

67 These can be seen to overlap functionally with the emotional aids outlined above, since both sets are generally geared towards facilitating social harmony.

68 *AÍ*, 77: "eigi ma þann svikja."

69 *AÍ*, 78: "hann er godr til grida."

70 *AÍ*, 82: "deilur ok sennur."

71 *AÍ*, 79: "aflar hann þretu ok kemr upp deilum."

72 *AÍ*, 83.

73 *AÍ*, 78: "þa mun hafa mal sitt." Interestingly, these properties parallel the use of "sigrúnar" (victory-runes) and "málrúnar" (speech-runes) in the eddic heroic tradition, as seen in *Sigrdrífumál* (see stanzas 7 and 13, in *Eddukvæði*, vol. II, ed. by Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 2014), 314–15).

whole)<sup>74</sup> a term which, in AM 194 8vo, consistently translates the Lat. *insanos*.<sup>75</sup> The use of the term *óheill* here implies a connection between physical openness and mental illness. This chimes with various saga narratives that portray mental disorder as induced by contact with external paranormal forces.<sup>76</sup> It is interesting, then, that another stone, Crisolitus is said to frighten and drive away trolls:<sup>77</sup> this further highlights the perceived relationship between supernatural forces and human health and emphasises the degree to which humans were seen as continually subject to external influence, both involuntary (e.g., diseases, trolls etc.) and voluntary (e.g., use of stones).

Elsewhere, stones enhance cognitive and intellectual capacities: Saledonius makes people eloquent,<sup>78</sup> while Geretisses allows the user insight into the thoughts and desires of others: “ef madr hefir hann i munni ser, þa ma hann segia hvat annar hyGr um hann” (if a man holds the stone in his mouth, then he can say what another thinks about him).<sup>79</sup> The way in which this form of telepathy is achieved (by holding the stone in the mouth) is striking, especially as the phrasing emphasises the verbal nature of the telepathy (the user will “segja” (say) the thoughts of others). Perhaps the placement of the stone in the mouth is seen as allowing direct physical transfer of hidden information, mediated through the stone to the organs of speech? And the text has some ideas about how one might implement this telepathy: the bearer could use Geretisses to ascertain “hvert kona vill iata bondi eda nita” (whether a woman will accept or deny a husband)!<sup>80</sup> This description differs from Marbode’s text, which has a more predatory

74 *ÁÍ*, 83: “hann gredir oheila;” *ÁÍ*, 82: “gredir hann oheila.”

75 *De Lapidibus*, 36, 55.

76 For this relationship in the family saga tradition, see Kanerva, “Disturbances of the Mind and Body” and Miriam Mayburd, “It Was a Dark and Stormy Night: Haunted Saga Homesteads, Climate Fluctuations, and the Vulnerable Self,” *Paranormal Encounters in Iceland 1150–1400*, ed. by Ármann Jakobsson and Miriam Mayburd (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 21–38. We can also think here of the inducing of mental disorder through environmental magic in the *fornaldarsögur* (see, e.g., *Göngu-Hrólf’s saga*, in *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda*, ed. by Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Prentverks Odds Björnssonar, 1954), vol. III, ch. 28).

77 *ÁÍ*, 79: “hredir hann troll ok rekir.” The term “troll” translates Marbode’s “demones” (*De Lapidibus*, 49).

78 *ÁÍ*, 83: “hann gerir mann malsniellan.”

79 *ÁÍ*, 81.

80 *Ibid.*

understanding of the stone's capabilities: in Marbode, the stone allows the user to make women bend to their will.<sup>81</sup> AM 194 8vo's reading, which is shared by Hauksbók's lapidary, instead emphasises the acquisition of hidden knowledge, rather than the controlling of human behaviour.

*Non-human/environmental aids*

While the majority of the stones' properties pertain to human health and capability, their virtues do not exclusively begin and end with humans. Some stones act on the material non-human world: Saffirus is able to unlock doors from inside and outside,<sup>82</sup> Smaralldus can calm the sea,<sup>83</sup> Topacius stops water from boiling.<sup>84</sup> These glimpses into the effects of stones on non-human matter suggest an understanding of agency that need not be strictly anthropocentric: while humans might be particularly concerned with harnessing stones to improve human life, this concern does not preclude the idea that these same stones could also equally act on the non-human world (though nonetheless still in ways that benefit humans).

*Operation and handling of the stones (haptic, topical/pharmaceutical and internal)*

The lapidary often stipulates conditions of usage for the stones. Sometimes, stones need merely to be adjacent to the body to work: e.g., Lapis helps pregnant women if it is "hia lagdr" (placed nearby).<sup>85</sup> More often, though, stones should be placed in direct contact with the flesh, typically worn on the body as a necklace or bracelet (e.g., Caledonius should be held on the neck or the finger;<sup>86</sup> Onix should be worn around the neck;<sup>87</sup> Adamantis on the left hand).<sup>88</sup> When stones are used in this manner, the text implies a kind of haptic transmission of the stones' properties, often contingent on the human user creating just the right conditions to unlock the stone's potentials: e.g., Lapis's full properties only manifest when it

81 *De Lapidibus*, 69.

82 *Al*, 77–78: "ok ef honum er slegit aa luktar dyR utan eda innan, þa lukaz þær upp ok aa sómo leid bónd af bandingium."

83 *Al*, 79: "kyRir hann sio."

84 *Al*, 80: "stodvar vellanda vatn."

85 *Al*, 77.

86 *Al*, 78: "aa halsi eda fingri."

87 *Al*, 79: "aa halse."

88 *Al*, 82: "aa vinstri hendi."

is set in silver;<sup>89</sup> Crisolitus will only frighten away trolls if a hole is bored through and it is strung on the hair of an ass and worn on the right arm.<sup>90</sup> At other times, a more pharmaceutical operation appears to be required: for headaches, Saffirus should be rubbed in mead (Marbode has “milk” not “mead”!) and applied to the head;<sup>91</sup> for burns, Magnes should be sprinkled on them.<sup>92</sup> These applications suggest that the stone may have been ground into a powder and then topically applied, an operation more akin to many of the medical treatments found elsewhere in AM 194 8vo’s medical treatise.<sup>93</sup>

In turn, stones sometimes require internal usage, either held inside the mouth (e.g., Iacinctus cools the body down;<sup>94</sup> Geretisses allows users to read minds)<sup>95</sup> or soaked in a liquid (water, honey, wine, mead), which is subsequently ingested. It is unclear whether in such instances the stone is ground up and dissolved in the liquid or whether it is placed whole in the liquid for a period and then removed; this method is required, e.g., for Lapis to help prevent fever and tumescence,<sup>96</sup> and Magnes, to help with dropsy.<sup>97</sup>

The *application* and *operation* of minerals in the lapidary tradition substantially overlaps with the various animal and vegetable remedies found in another text in AM 194 8vo, its medical treatise, *Læknisfræði*. This overlap supports the argument that lapidaries were considered practical, medical texts and highlights the importance of including lapidaries alongside herbals and antidotariums as evidence for medical learning in medieval Iceland. This connection is further supported by the fact that *Læknisfræði* actually contains a few sentences “um steina megin” (on the power of stones).<sup>98</sup>

89 *Al*, 77: “nema hann se i sylfri.”

90 *Al*, 79: “Ef hann er boradr ok dregit i gegnum hann asna hárf [...] hann skal bera aa vinstra arm.”

91 *Al*, 78: “ef hann er gnuinn i miod ok aa ridinn.”

92 *Al*, 81: “ef þu stóckvir á med honum.”

93 E.g., treatments for hair and beard growth, one of which involves goat-hooves and manure, burnt and crushed with sour wine and then applied to the head (*Al*, 65).

94 *Al*, 80: “er hann kalldare.”

95 See footnote 79.

96 *Al*, 77: “ef madr dreckr af honum.”

97 *Al*, 81: “ef druckit er af honum i vatni.”

98 *Al*, 75.

The contents of *Læknisfræði* intersect with those in a late fifteenth-/early sixteenth-century Icelandic manuscript, AM 434 a 12mo (although the ordering of the material is different) and with the fifteenth-century RIA 23 D 43 (again, with different ordering).<sup>99</sup> Parts of *Læknisfræði* also find parallels in the work of thirteenth-century Danish canon Henrik Harpestræng, who is known for introducing Salernitan medical concepts into Scandinavia.<sup>100</sup>

AM 194 8vo's *Læknisfræði* contains a range of treatments, both curative and enhanceive. The curative treatments, like those in the lapidary, address physiological symptoms and ailments (e.g., toothache,<sup>101</sup> dysentery,<sup>102</sup> burns,<sup>103</sup> spider bites,<sup>104</sup> weak-sightedness<sup>105</sup> etc.), just as they can improve or alter cognitive function (e.g., incense is used to improve one's memory).<sup>106</sup> Other enhanceive therapies include the ingestion of salvia "til biartrar radar" (for a clear voice),<sup>107</sup> an outcome which does not necessarily presuppose an underlying ailment to treat or symptom to alleviate. Also relevant is the use of "pistinaca" (parsnip?) to attract a man to a woman,<sup>108</sup> which parallels Illiasborius's ability to make a man "powerful in all lust for women."<sup>109</sup>

Like the lapidary stones, *Læknisfræði*'s remedies can be applied topically as well as taken internally. Typically, topical treatments are used for ailments that are visible and reside on the surface of the body (e.g., wounds, bites etc.) while ingested treatments are used for internal ailments (e.g., fever, poisoning, urinary retention etc.). This pattern is similarly seen

99 In RIA 23 D 43, the compiler, or one of his sources, attempted to group entries for the same illness together and arrange entries in order from head to feet.

100 Ben Waggoner (ed. and trans.), *Norse Magical and Herbal Healing. A Medical Book from Medieval Iceland* (New Haven, CT: Troth, 2011), xxxvi. Also relevant here is the Icelandic physician Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, who travelled extensively in Europe and whose saga reflects familiarity with Salernitan medical practices in late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Iceland.

101 *Al*, 64, 73.

102 *Al*, 68–69.

103 *Al*, 73.

104 *Al*, 74.

105 *Al*, 64, 68.

106 *Al*, 67.

107 *Al*, 72.

108 *Al*, 68: "Etr madr mikít af henne, þa fysir mann til konu."

109 See footnote 59.

in the lapidary. And just as we find stones operating through physical contact with the body, so too do we find treatments in *Læknisfræði* that appear to involve haptic transmission: for example, binding a “blóð cauli” (caulis leaf) on the right foot of a pregnant woman facilitates childbirth.<sup>110</sup> Another example is a headache treatment, which implies a kind of sympathetic correspondence between curative item and bodily impairment:

sker horn af hófde kvikfi[ar] ok ger af kamb, ok kember karllmadr ser med karlkendu kvikendis horni, en kona med ber-kvikendis horni.<sup>111</sup>

(cut the horn from the head of livestock and make a comb from it, and comb a male person with the horn of a male animal, but a woman with a horn from a female animal.)

The treatment operates through direct contact between the animal-horn comb and the human head. There are two sets of correspondences: first, the correspondence in bodily register between the location of the human ailment (headache) and the location of animal ingredient (horn). Secondly, the efficacy of the comb relies on a correspondence between the sex of the human user of the comb and the sex of the animal supplying the material for the comb. The operation of this treatment therefore tells us two things about the perceived relationship between human bodies and non-human entities (both objects and animals): the animal-object (comb) retains the sexed identity of the animal, and animal maleness and femaleness is perceived on the same level as human maleness and femaleness.

In this section, I have discussed the Old Norse lapidary tradition and argued for its relevance to discussions of medieval conceptions of health and agency. I focused on AM 194 8vo’s translation of *De Lapidibus*, outlining the range of properties that stones exhibit in this text. I found that stones heal physiological ailments, alter emotional states, treat mental illnesses, facilitate one’s social interactions, enhance bodily and cognitive capabilities and occasionally act on the non-human world. I also analysed *how* stones work, finding that they need to be worn in close proximity to the flesh; powdered and applied topically to ailments; or ingested with

<sup>110</sup> *Al*, 76.

<sup>111</sup> *Al*, 75. This treatment also appears in RIA 23 D 43 and in AM 434 a.

a liquid. I further compared the application and operation of lapidary stones with the remedies found in *Lækniþfræði*: I found that *Lækniþfræði* likewise provided aids for physiological and cognitive conditions and that *Lækniþfræði*'s remedies similarly could be applied topically or taken internally.

## Beyond the Lapidary Tradition: Stones in Medieval Iceland

I now examine the appearance of powerful stones in saga literature. I use a range of *Íslendingasögur*, *foraldarsögur* and *riddarasögur*<sup>112</sup> to consider the degree to which the properties of stones in sagas intersect with those seen in the lapidary tradition. This intersection can signal a compatibility in approaches to material human–non-human relations, shared by the continental learned lapidary tradition and the vernacular Icelandic tradition. It can also signal direct influence from the lapidary tradition, particularly in the case of *riddarasögur*. I also consider how stones operate in saga literature and what this tells us about ideas of agency and the perceived boundaries between humans and objects.

### *Contextualising propertied stones: law codes and archaeology*

Where natural magic provides a conceptual framework for engaging with the lapidary tradition, the presentation of stones in saga literature can also be contextualised through medieval Icelandic law codes and the archaeological record. A reference to the use of powerful stones appears in the Christian Laws section of *Grágás*.<sup>113</sup> The two principal manuscripts containing *Grágás* material are GKS 1157 fol. and AM 344 fol. (both dating from the second half of the thirteenth century), and there is considerable

112 The *Íslendingasögur* I discuss below are preserved either fragmentarily or in toto in manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries onwards. The *foraldarsögur* and *riddarasögur* are preserved fragmentarily or in toto in manuscripts from the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries onwards. On the issue of dating saga texts and the relationship between textual chronologies and generic distinctions, see discussion below.

113 *Grágás* refers not to a unified code of law nor a single manuscript, but the “laws of the Icelandic Commonwealth [...] in sources originating before [...] 1262–64.” Andrew Dennis, Peter Foote and Richard Perkins (trans.), *Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás, the Codex Regius of Grágás, with Material from Other Manuscripts*, 2 vols (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2006), 1:9.



variation between these textual witnesses.<sup>114</sup> Given the complexity of *Grágás's* textual tradition, it is difficult to draw solid conclusions from *Grágás* concerning legal practices in the thirteenth century, especially since many of the laws in these manuscripts were no longer in practice then. Nonetheless, *Grágás* does preserve important legal concepts that may still have informed people's understanding of particular behaviours and social responsibilities. This is especially true for the Christian Laws section, the section which addresses the use of gemstones: this section was not superseded by anything in *Járnsíða* or *Jónsbók*, the two codes presented to Icelanders by the Norwegian king after the incorporation of Iceland into the Norwegian Realm in 1262–64. This meant that “the demand for the old church laws thus continued well into the fourteenth century.”<sup>115</sup>

In the Christian Laws section, prohibitions surrounding the use of stones appear following the prohibitions against heathen worship and the practising of magic on livestock and people, and before the legal handling of berserk frenzies. This placement associates the use of stones with pre-Christian behaviours. The statement reads as follows:

Menn scolo eigi fara með steina. eða magna þa til þess at binda á menn eða a fé manna. Ef meN trva a steina til heilindis ser. eða fé. oc varþar fiorbaugs Garþ.<sup>116</sup>

(People should not use stones or empower them in order to attach them to people or livestock. If people believe in stones for their health or for the health of their livestock, the penalty is lesser outlawry.)

There are several points to note in this statement. Firstly, the text is equivocal in its understanding of the origin of stones' powers: on the one hand, stones could potentially have latent inherent properties (since people should not “fara með” stones); on the other hand, they could be filled with power (“magna”) by humans. Secondly, the text suggests stones work through physical contact with bodies, “binda á” people and livestock. This aligns with how stones typically operate in the lapidary tradition, and also

114 E.g., the relevant Christian Laws section only appears in GKS 1157, and not AM 344.

115 Dennis, Foote and Perkins, *Laws*, 16.

116 *Grágás: Konungsbók*, ed. by Vilhjálmur Finsen (Odense: Universitetsforlag, 1974), 23.

parallels the phrasing used in *Laxdæla saga* to refer to the *lyfsteinn* that accompanies the sword *Sköfnungr*: “tekr þá Sköfnungs-stein ok ríðr ok *bindr við* hönd Gríms, ok tók þegar allan sviða ok þrota ór sárinu” (then he takes the Sköfnungr-stone and rubs it and *binds it on* Grímr’s hand, and immediately it took all the pain and swelling out of the wound).<sup>117</sup> Thirdly, the use of stones is explicitly associated with the preservation and manipulation of “heilendi” (health) and with non-Christian faith (the law punishes those who “trva” (believe) in stones). And fourthly, stones can be used on both humans and animals (something on which the literary record is otherwise silent: stones are used, as far as I am aware, exclusively on human bodies).

While *Grágás* clearly codes the use of powerful stones as illicit, their sustained appearance in the literature from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries nonetheless indicates that they continued to pique the interest of narrators and audiences, providing a useful narrative tool. As mentioned above, natural magic offered a framework for lapidaries which did not condemn the lore of stones as demonic or heretical, but rather understood the power of stones as a consequence of God’s creation of the universe. In turn, Christian symbolism was often implemented in lapidary texts (such as the “Merking steina” fragment preserved also in AM 194 8vo), focusing on the symbolism of gems mentioned in the Bible. Perhaps, then, when lapidaries began circulating in medieval Iceland in the fourteenth century, they were contextualised by this Christian framework that made allowances for scholarly interest in powerful stones.

It is therefore instructive to compare the *Grágás* prohibitions to the textual record (and specifically to lapidaries): the former places the use of stones in the context of illicit, pre-Christian beliefs; the latter in the context of Latinate learning, authorised, to a certain degree, by the Church. This contrast serves to remind us that an interest or belief in the power of stones was not always the province of “lay” communities (as *Grágás* perhaps suggests), but something increasingly shared, though in different forms, with monastic communities. It is particularly interesting, for example, that the excavation of Reykholt’s churches produced one of the

<sup>117</sup> *Laxdæla saga*, in *Laxdæla saga, Halldórs þættir Snorrasonar, Stúfs þáttur*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit 5 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1934), 215. My emphasis.

largest and most diverse assemblages of lithic objects from any Icelandic archaeological site, spanning jasper, opal, chalcedony and obsidian finds. As many as 153 lithic finds were recovered from deposits at Reykholt's churches from the twelfth century through to the post-Reformation period, and their accumulation and deposition peaks in the late twelfth to thirteenth centuries.<sup>118</sup>

The most significant factor differentiating Reykholt's assemblage from other Icelandic lithic assemblages is the colour of the stones: 91.5 per cent of the pieces recovered from the church excavations are varying degrees of green, and this preference for green-coloured stone was consistently maintained for 400 years or more. Drawing on medieval science and Christian doctrine, Kevin Brown suggests that green stones could have been selected due to jasper's status as a symbol of faith in the lapidary tradition (as a stone which represented the Church itself, and which was believed to protect individuals from demonic influence), and also due to its associations with the church's patron Saint Peter.<sup>119</sup>

The mortuary record similarly evinces the *continuing* significance of stones to bodies. Precious stones are found in many pre-Christian burials of both men and women in Iceland: some of these have a hole bored through them, suggesting that they were hung on the body,<sup>120</sup> others are found near the hips of the deceased, suggesting that they were carried in small pouches on a belt.<sup>121</sup> In her dissertation, Prehal observes the presence of quartz, feldspar, opal, zeolite and calcite in pre-Christian Scandinavian graves, focusing specifically on the association of quartz with the dead, an association which continues in some Christian burials.<sup>122</sup> While we cannot know what functions the people buried with these stones believed they had, the literary evidence suggests the properties may have pertained

118 Kevin Brown, "The Colour of Belief: Objects of Jasper, Opal, Chalcedony, and Obsidian from the Reykholt Churches," *Reykholt. The Church Excavations*, ed. by Guðrún Sveinbjarnardóttir (Reykjavík: Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, 2016), 232.

119 *Ibid.*, 240–41.

120 Jón Steffensen, "Aspects of Life in Iceland in the Heathen Period," *Saga-Book* 17.2–3 (1967–68): 192–93.

121 Elisabeth Ward, "Nested Narrative: *Þórðar saga hreðu* and Material Engagement" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2012): 47.

122 E.g., at the medieval cemetery at Hofstaðir, where two quartz pebbles are placed in the mouth of a skull. Quartz is also found in other Christian contexts, such as at the medieval monastery site at Skriðuklaustur in Skagafjörður (Prehal, "Handbook," 213–14).

to bodily health. A belief or interest in lithotherapy perdured in various forms and to various degrees from the pre-Christian period well into the sixteenth century, where we find a reference to a stone that eases childbirth in an inventory list of the cathedral church at Hólar.<sup>123</sup>

*Propertied stones in Íslendingasögur, Fornaldarsögur and Riddarasögur*

I now discuss the various properties of stones in sagas grouped within the sub-genres of *Íslendingasögur*, *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur*. These sub-genres belong to a post-medieval classificatory system,<sup>124</sup> whose validity has come under scrutiny in recent years.<sup>125</sup> While, as Massimiliano Bampi suggests, the widespread employment of these categories in research evidences their heuristic value,<sup>126</sup> the taxonomy is nonetheless limited in its rigidity<sup>127</sup> and its retrospectivity.<sup>128</sup> The problem of genre overlaps with the issue of proposed chronologies of Icelandic saga production. It is particularly difficult to date saga texts, both due to the possibility that earlier versions of sagas may have existed in written or oral form, and due to the nature of the surviving manuscript evidence.<sup>129</sup> Where earlier

123 Jón Steffensen, "Aspects," 195–96.

124 This taxonomy is based largely around distinctions in texts' geographical settings, chronologies and subject matters. See Margaret Clunies Ross, *The Cambridge Introduction to the Old Norse-Icelandic Saga* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 72–3; Dale Kedwards, "Geography," *A Critical Companion to Old Norse Literary Genre*, ed. by Massimiliano Bampi, Carolyne Larrington and Sif Rikhardsdóttir (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2020) 127–44; Torfi H. Tulinius, "Time and Space," *A Critical Companion*, 145–60.

125 See, e.g., Judy Quinn et al., "Interrogating Genre in the *Fornaldarsögur*: Round-Table Discussion," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 2 (2005): 275–96; Clunies Ross, *Cambridge Introduction*, 13–36; Massimiliano Bampi, "Genre," *The Routledge Research Companion to the Medieval Icelandic Sagas*, ed. by Ármann Jakobsson and Sverrir Jakobsson (London: Routledge, 2017), 1–11; Bampi, Larrington and Sif Rikhardsdóttir (eds), *A Critical Companion*.

126 Bampi, "Genre," 5.

127 Since it does not allow for the hybridity of those sagas which appear to defy generic distinction within this system. See Sif Rikhardsdóttir, "Hybridity," *A Critical Companion*, 31–46.

128 E.g., the majority of the labels we give to these sub-groupings are not attested in medieval sources, just as the compositional criteria we use to distinguish distinct generic identities are constructed by modern scholars.

129 There are very few manuscripts of sagas pre-dating the thirteenth century, with the majority of works extant solely in manuscripts dating to the second half of the fourteenth century or later (Clunies Ross, *Cambridge Introduction*, 57–8). On approaches to and issues

scholarship viewed saga genres evolutionarily and hierarchically (with classical *Íslendingasögur* representing a golden age of saga production in the thirteenth century, and *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur* reflecting the literary decline of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), the consensus increasingly is that different sub-groups of the Icelandic saga developed contemporaneously and continued to interact with one another.<sup>130</sup> My analysis therefore uses these scholarly sub-groupings loosely, to point to areas of difference and similarity in the presentation of stones across a wide range of sagas. The flexibility of stones as a motif across sagas is suggestive of the “multimodal” and open nature of the genre of the medieval saga at large, in which there is varied interaction and permeability between different literary “sub-groups.”<sup>131</sup>

There are multiple traditions concerning the use of propertied stones in saga literature. These traditions are informed by what appear to be vernacular concepts of healing stones and learned, continental interest in the diverse virtues of stones, as codified textually in lapidaries.<sup>132</sup> Stones vary in their properties (stones can heal, harm, bring victory, protect the body from external injury, render the user invisible or facilitate clairvoyance etc.), just as they vary in their operation (applied directly to wounds, worn around the neck etc.).

In *Íslendingasögur*, stones are used for therapeutic and prophylactic purposes. Often, these stones are *lyfsteinar* (as in *Kormáks saga* and *Laxdæla saga*), associated with specific swords and bearing curative properties that apply only to wounds inflicted by the swords to which they belong.<sup>133</sup> However, we do also see stones with protective functions, worn round the

involved in dating *Íslendingasögur*, see *Dating the Sagas*, ed. by Else Mundal (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2013).

130 Clunies Ross, *Cambridge Introduction*, 70; Bampi, “Genre,” 7.

131 On the term multimodality in the context of genre, see especially Sif Rikhardsottir, “Hybridity,” 34–41; Bampi, “Genre,” 7, and Clunies Ross, *Cambridge Introduction*, 70.

132 While this section is focused on stones in saga literature, it is nonetheless interesting to note that an additional tradition surrounding the use of stones is also preserved in eddic poetry, where stones appear to be associated with the swearing of oaths (see *Guðrúnarkviða III*, sts 3, 9, in *Eddukvæði II*, 362–63).

133 *Kormáks saga* in *Vatnsdæla saga, Hallfreðar saga, Kormáks saga, Hrómundar þáttr halta, Hrafn þáttr Guðrúnarsonar*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Íslensk fornrit 8* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1939), chs. 9, 12, 13; *Laxdæla saga*, chs. 57–58.

neck.<sup>134</sup> In *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur*, stones are used for therapeutic purposes and exhibit varied magical agencies that lean more towards enhancement than healing. In *fornaldarsögur*, stones continue to protect the body from mortal blows<sup>135</sup> and treat bodily injuries: *lyfsteinar* still feature, but with more flexible attributes and generalised operation than seen in *Íslendingasögur*. Here, *lyfsteinar* can heal any wounds, not just those inflicted by the sword with which they are associated, and they can also draw poison out of wounds (a common attribute of stones in the AM 194 8vo lapidary),<sup>136</sup> as in *Göngu-Hrólf's saga*.<sup>137</sup> In addition to stones that aid health, we also find *sigrsteinar* (victory-stones).<sup>138</sup> These ensure that the user cannot lose in battle and find parallels in the lapidaries of Hauksbók and AM 194 8vo (where Illiasborius is described as an “oruGr sigr-steinn” (trusty victory-stone)).<sup>139</sup> In turn, some stones act on both the user and their external environment, again with parallels in the Icelandic lapidaries: in *Þorsteins þáttr bæjarmagns*,<sup>140</sup> a dwarf gives Þorsteinn two stones. The first is a black stone that, when held in the palm of the hand, turns the user invisible; the second, a large triangular tricolour stone accompanied by a steel point, which induces different environmental and weather phenomena (hailstorm, sunshine, fire) when pricked by the point. The abilities to turn the user invisible and to influence weather/environment are shared by Heliotrope in the lapidary tradition.<sup>141</sup>

In *riddarasögur*, there is less focus on curative stones, and more interest in marvellous stones that afford the user enhanced physical and cognitive abilities. These marvellous properties provide narrators with colourful and varied opportunities for narrative development. Particularly popular are

134 *Heiðarvíga saga*, in *Borgfirðingasögur*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 3 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1938), ch. 23.

135 E.g., an episode in *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinnssonar* (in *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda*, vol. IV) closely parallels that in *Heiðarvíga saga*, see chs. 16, 18, 20.

136 Cf. Adamantis and Smaralldus.

137 Chs. 3, 24. The *lyfsteinar* in *Göngu-Hrólf's saga* may exhibit further influence from the lapidary tradition, since the narrator states that they draw poison and pain out of wounds “ef í váru skafnir” (if they [the *lyfsteinar*] were shaved into) (*Göngu-Hrólf's saga*, 169). This may refer to scraping shavings from the stone onto the wound, in a manner reminiscent of the therapeutic properties of stones when powdered in the lapidary tradition.

138 *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, in *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda*, vol. III, ch. 16.

139 *Alf*, 83.

140 In *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda*, vol. IV, ch. 3.

141 *De Lapidibus*, 67–68. NB: this stone does not appear in the AM 194 8vo lapidary.

stones that render the user invisible (e.g., in *Rémundar saga keisarasonar*, *Nítíða saga*, *Sigurðar saga þögla*, *Vilhjálm's saga sjóðs*), that allow the user to gain sway over others (*Gibbons saga*) or to see throughout the world (*Nítíða saga*, *Sigurðar saga þögla*, *Gibbons saga*). The influence of the lapidary tradition (whether direct or indirect) is altogether more overt in *riddarasögur*, which make use of lapidary learning both as a narrative tool and as a means of adding colour and erudition to the texts. For example, *Flóvents saga I* contains a list of twelve stones decorating an item of clothing that reads as though it were directly lifted from a lapidary: “crístallvs, smaragdvs, iaspis, anetistis [...] saphirvs, carbvnculcs, sardivs, crisolitvs [...] topacivs, crisopacivs, berillvs, iacingtvs” (crystal, emerald, jasper, amethyst, [...] there was sapphire, carbuncle, sardius, chrysolite [...] topaz, chrysoprase, beryl, hyacinth).<sup>142</sup> The appeal of lapidary stones to *riddarasögur* narrators may in turn stem from shared textual, geographical settings: the distant and exoticised locations of gemstones in the lapidary (e.g., Greece,<sup>143</sup> Caldea,<sup>144</sup> India,<sup>145</sup> Egypt,<sup>146</sup> Sardis<sup>147</sup> and Ethiopia)<sup>148</sup> often provide the backdrops for the action of *riddarasögur*.<sup>149</sup>

Nonetheless, elements of the *lyfsteinn* tradition (seen elsewhere in *Íslendingasögur* and *fornaldarsögur*) are also seen in *riddarasögur*, as in the description of Sigurðr's sword in *Sigurðar saga þögla*:

uar einn litill punngur festur vit medalkaflann og þar j lyfsteinn  
Raudur ath lit. og ef hann war aa Ridinn vid vijn og borinn suo aa

<sup>142</sup> *Flóvents saga I*, in *Fornsögur Suðrlanda*, ed. by Gustaf Cederschiöld (Lund: F. Berlings boktryckeri, 1884) 142. Lapidary lore is also implemented in *Thómas saga Erkibyskups*, a *heilagramanna saga* found in a fourteenth-century manuscript. An episode relates how Thomas Beckett asks Charlemagne for his ring, encrusted with a giant, glowing carbuncle grown beneath a unicorn horn. *Thomas saga Erkibyskups: Fortelling om Thomas Becket Erkebiskop af Canterbury: To bearbejdelser samt Fragmenter af en tredie*, ed. by Carl Unger (Christiana: Bentzen, 1867), ch. 71.

<sup>143</sup> Saffirus (*ÁÍ*, 77).

<sup>144</sup> Smaralldus (*ÁÍ*, 78).

<sup>145</sup> Sardonix, Onix, Berillus, Eirsaprasus, Amatistus and Magnes (*ÁÍ*, 79–81).

<sup>146</sup> Onix (*ÁÍ*, 79).

<sup>147</sup> Sardius (*ÁÍ*, 79).

<sup>148</sup> Crisolitus and Crisopacius (*ÁÍ*, 79, 81).

<sup>149</sup> While beyond the scope of the present article, the relationship between lapidary lore, textual geographies and the properties of saga stones merits further investigation.

eitrad saar þaa dro þat vr allt eitur.<sup>150</sup>

(a small bag is tied to the hilt in which there is a red healing stone: if wine is applied to it, and it is laid upon a poisoned wound, all the poison is drawn out.)

On the one hand, the *lyfsteinn* is comparable with the *lyfsteinar* of *Laxdæla saga* and *Kormáks saga*: it is associated with a sword, it heals wounds, and it is kept in a pouch near the sword's hilt. On the other hand, the description and operation of the healing shows influence from the lapidary tradition: specifically, the use of stones to draw poison from wounds, and the application of alcohol to the stone to trigger its operation (cf., e.g., Saffirus in AM 194 8vo, which, when rubbed in mead, cures headaches).<sup>151</sup>

As suggested by this brief overview, the scope of functions of stones in saga literature is similar to that in the lapidary tradition: stones can be used not only for healing but for protecting and enhancing the body. In turn, the range of ways in which stones are applied in saga literature parallels the range seen in lapidaries: stones operate through their proximity to humans (either worn on an item of clothing<sup>152</sup> or strung around the neck)<sup>153</sup> or are applied directly to wounds.<sup>154</sup> The sagas are generally silent on the origin of stones' powers, with the exception of those *Íslendingasögur* in which characters treat stones with a degree of suspicion, aligning them with pre-Christian activities: e.g., *Kormáks saga*, in which both Kormákr and Steinarr regard magical practices/supernatural forces with contempt (including *lyfsteinar*, see chapters 11 and 12), or *Heiðarvíga saga*, in which it is implied that the old woman who gives Bárði the necklace has imbued the stones with power.<sup>155</sup>

The operation of the stones in *Kormáks saga* and in *Laxdæla saga* is suggestive of the same porousness of stone and body seen in the lapidary

150 *Sigurðar saga þögla*, in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, 5 vols, ed. by Agnete Loth, Editiones Arnarnagmagnænam B 21 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1962–65), 2:139.

151 *Al*, 78.

152 As in *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*.

153 As in *Heiðarvíga saga*, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinssonar*, *Kormáks saga* (on this instance in *Kormáks saga*, see below).

154 As in *Laxdæla saga*, *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, *Kormáks saga*.

155 See ch. 25; see also ch. 30, where, when Þorbjörn's sword fails to bite Bárði's neck on account of the necklace, Þorbjörn calls Bárði a *tröll*, a term that often carries connotations of witchcraft.



tradition, which allows for the transmission of properties via physical contact. This transmission involves a relationship not only between wounded body and curative object but also between the *lyfsteinn* and sword. When *lyfsteinar* are mentioned, they are typically mentioned in association with a sword. This is true both for *Íslendingasögur* (see *Kormáks saga* and *Laxdæla saga*) and for *fornaldarsögur* (see *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*) as well as *riddarasögur* (see *Sigurðar saga þögla*). In *Kormáks saga*, we are told that “Bersi átti þat sverð, er Hvítingr hét, bitrt sverð, ok fylgði lyfsteinn” (Bersi had a sword which was called Hvítingr, the sharpest sword, and it was accompanied by a healing stone).<sup>156</sup> The same verb (“fylgja”) is used in *Laxdæla saga* concerning the relationship between the sword Sköfnungr and its *lyfsteinn*: “ef maðr fær sár af sverðinu, þá má þat sár eigi græða, nema lyfsteinn sá sé riðinn við, er þar fylgir” (if a man gets a wound from the sword, then that wound will not heal, unless that the stone that accompanies the sword is rubbed on it).<sup>157</sup> *Laxdæla saga* further stresses the intimate relationship between stone and sword in the following chapter, in which the *lyfsteinn* is called “Sköfnungs-stein” (Sköfnungr’s stone),<sup>158</sup> the use of the genitive indicating the sword’s ownership of the stone.

The special curative relationship between *lyfsteinn* and sword appears to have been based on physical proximity, since the stones are kept on the hilt. This suggests that the stones’ gain their potency through a form of material sympathetic medicine: the homeopathic model of *similia similibus curantur* (“like cures like,” “cause as cure” or, in more contemporary parlance, “hair of the dog”). There are two features that suggest this in *Kormáks saga*. Firstly, when Kormákr borrows Sköfnungr from Skeggi, Skeggi cautions Kormákr not to remove the *lyfsteinn*-pouch from Sköfnungr: “pungur fylgir, ok skaltu hann kyrran láta” (a pouch accompanies it, and you should leave it untouched).<sup>159</sup> When Kormákr inevitably does tear the pouch from the hilt, “Sköfnungr grenjar þá við ok gengr eigi ór slíðrunum” (Sköfnungr cries out at this and does not come out of the scabbard).<sup>160</sup> That the sword cries out in response to Kormákr ripping

156 *Kormáks saga*, 234.

157 *Laxdæla saga*, 214.

158 *Ibid.*, 215.

159 *Kormáks saga*, 235. Note again the use of the verb *fylgja* to describe the relationship between stone and sword.

160 *Ibid.*

the pouch from its hilt suggests not only that the sword is perceived as animate<sup>161</sup> but that the stone is an *essential* part of the sword, since its removal is experienced by the sword as a kind of personal injury. Secondly, when Kormákr is injured by Bersi's sword Hvítíngur (which is also accompanied by a *lyfsteinn*), Bersi later offers to "grœða" (heal/cure) Kormákr, presumably with the *lyfsteinn*. Kormákr refuses, and has his mother heal his hand instead. The wound soon swells and becomes infected, suggesting that it *cannot* be healed properly without access to the sword's *lyfsteinn*.<sup>162</sup>

Mayburd has written persuasively on artefact contagion in Old Norse narratives, focusing on how the personhood of previous owners of an object is transferred into that object, and how this transferral can result in "loaded" or haunted artefacts (as, e.g., in *Kumlbúa þáttur*).<sup>163</sup> In addition to this understanding of objects becoming extensions of the owner's self, the case of swords and their *lyfsteinar* suggests that artefact contagion could operate not just between humans and objects but also between objects and other objects. *Lyfsteinar*, kept on or near the hilt of their swords, are able to cure wounds inflicted by their swords due to a process of contact contamination. Agency is distributed across a reciprocal network of objects and humans (sword, stone and human): the human is therefore just one actant within a wider material network.

Though this intimate relationship between *lyfsteinn* and sword is preserved in *Laxdæla saga* and *Kormáks saga*, in the latter there is more flexibility in the narrator's treatment of the *lyfsteinn*. The narrator initially presents the *lyfsteinn* as a stone that is associated with and kept on or near a sword and that is capable of curing wounds inflicted by that sword. However, in a later episode, the *lyfsteinn* appears in a more general, amuletic role. Bersi competes at swimming with Steinarr, and the prose narration tells us that he wore his *lyfsteinn* (which was first introduced in association with his sword, Hvítíngur) in a pouch around his neck. Steinarr

161 The sword's vocality may be taken from verse 32, which zoomorphises the sword as a howling bear. This presentation of swords as vocal agents chimes with the skaldic kenning pattern in which battle is framed as a verbal dispute between weapons, using base words that refer to speech/song and determinants that refer to weaponry (e.g., "the song of swords"). Sköfnungr also groans ("gnista") and speaks ("kveða") loudly when it cuts through flesh in *Hrólfs saga kraka*, ed. by Desmond Slay, Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ B 1 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1960), 115–16.

162 *Kormáks saga*, 241.

163 Mayburd, "Objects and Agency," 56–57.

rips the stone from Bersi's neck and throws it into the water, speaking a verse which somewhat contradicts the prose: "battk aldri mér/ belg at hálsi/ urtafullan, – /þó ek enn lifi" (I never bound a bag to my neck, full of herbs, yet I still live).<sup>164</sup> The prose then explains that Steinarr removed the *lyfsteinn* at Þórðr's advice so that Bersi would struggle more in the duel.

It seems that the *lyfsteinn* being hung round Bersi's neck (rather than the sword's hilt) is a result of the narrator/redactor's misinterpretation of the *belgr urtafullr* (bag filled with herbs) in the verse as referring to Bersi's *lyfsteinn*. This conflation of *lyfsteinn* and *belgr urtafullr* could be accidental (and therefore perhaps indicative of a connection between the curative properties of stones and of herbs kept in pouches: recall that the first element of the compound, *lyf-*, does derive from PGmc \**lubja* (herb, potion)). Or, it could be motivated, as O'Donoghue suggests, by an effort to forge a link between Steinarr and Þórðr, a "factitious device [...] to hold together narrative elements."<sup>165</sup> Þórðr ultimately returns the *lyfsteinn* to Bersi so that Bersi's wounds heal; in this way, the *lyfsteinn* is incorporated into the narrative of friction and friendship between the two men.

In *Kormáks saga*, then, the narrator presents two inconsistent understandings of the *lyfsteinn*: the first involves a conception of the *lyfsteinn* (seen also in *Laxdæla saga*) as the only cure to a wound inflicted by the sword to which it belongs. The second involves an alternative conception of the *lyfsteinn*, which continues to present the *lyfsteinn* as curative but which disregards the *similia similibus curantur* link between stone and sword. Instead, the stone is worn around the neck and is able to cure any wound (since Bersi uses it to heal the wound he receives from Steinarr's sword, not from Hvítingr).

## Human-lithic relations in medieval Iceland: some conclusions

Propertied stones in medieval Icelandic literature offer us insight into contemporary ideas of human health and medicine, physical and cognitive change, and the myriad relationships between humans and the external

<sup>164</sup> *Kormáks saga*, 249.

<sup>165</sup> *Genesis of a Saga Narrative: Verse and Prose in Kormáks saga* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 95.

world. Examining lapidaries alongside the presentation of stones in saga literature highlights the degree to which attitudes towards materiality and agency in the learned, continental tradition were compatible with, and converged with, those from vernacular saga tradition, reminding us to think both across and beyond binaries (particularly institutional/popular, medical/magical).

This discussion has focused both on human–lithic relations in the Old Norse-Icelandic lapidary tradition and in the saga narrative tradition, and the chief findings can be summarised as follows. The porous nature of stones and bodies involved in lapidary lore preserved in AM 194 8vo suggests an understanding of humans as *entangled with*, rather than separate from, their external world. This entanglement brings with it dangers as well as opportunities for enhanceive change: the body is at once vulnerable to illness and injury and open to changes that could afford new capabilities. Lapidaries make no significant distinction between the act of *healing* the body and the act of *enhancing* the body. Nor do they suggest that the mind should be any less susceptible to change through agentive stones than the body is (thereby highlighting the limits of using modern dichotomic approaches to human health when discussing medieval medical material).

The human–lithic relations involved in lapidaries prompt questions concerning agency and materiality. Though they exhibit a non-human agency, this agency can only manifest through material interaction with human bodies. Lapidaries therefore present a conception of agency as distributed, residing in “intra-action”; such a conception complicates the boundaries between what is perceived as “inanimate” and “animate.” In terms of their application, lapidaries present stones that operate in a variety of ways, either in a “pharmaceutical” manner (applied topically to an ailment or ingested) or through haptic transmission (worn on the flesh or held in the mouth, whereby the *náttúra* of the stone temporarily transfers to the body of the user).

Lapidaries should be viewed as a part of the medical tradition in medieval Iceland: this is supported not only by the appearance of Icelandic lapidaries in manuscripts also containing medical material but by the fact that the application and operation of stones mirror the application and operation of the remedies recorded in AM 194 8vo’s medical text (*Læknisfræði*). *Læknisfræði* similarly contains treatments that span

the curative and enhancive, the physiological and the cognitive. While *Læknisfræði*'s remedies are more often applied topically or ingested as a concoction, we nonetheless also see treatments that rely on the idea of haptic transmission, suggesting that this principle of porosity was operational in the medical tradition also.

While *Grágás* codes the use of stones as illicit, their sustained appearance in saga literature indicates their continuing interest to narrators and audiences: stones are useful for developing both plot and theme, allowing narrators to explore ideas about health, agency and the entanglement between humans and their environment. In turn, the appearance of precious stones in the archaeological record suggests the enduring significances (ritual, medical, symbolic) of stones to bodies, both in pre-Christian and Christian contexts.

The appearance of stones in saga literature is informed by multiple traditions. On the one hand, we have what appears to be a vernacular *lyfsteininn* tradition (employed particularly in *Laxdæla saga* and *Kormáks saga*). This vernacular tradition involves a unique relationship between stone and sword. The stone is kept on the hilt of the sword (either in a pouch or embedded in the hilt)<sup>166</sup> and is viewed as an essential, inalienable part of the sword. The stone provides the only cure for a wound inflicted by its sword, and this cure is administered by rubbing the stone on the wound. This tradition extends in scope (possibly through influence from lapidary lore) in *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* and *Sigurðar saga þögla*, with *lyfsteinar* presented as drawing poison out of wounds, as well as healing *any* wounds, not just those inflicted by the associated sword. On the other hand, we have what we might call the *steinasörvi* tradition (seen in *Heiðarvíga saga* and *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar*). This involves a stone necklace that protects the wearer from physical harm, given to the wearer by an old woman associated with witchcraft. And finally, we have a more flexible tradition, which draws directly (and likely indirectly, via the continental romance tradition) on a wide range of properties of stones seen in lapidary lore. In *Íslendingasögur*, the focus is on stones with therapeutic functions, whereas in *fornaldarsögur* and especially *riddarasögur*, stones exhibit diverse magical properties that enhance bodily capabilities and that provide saga-authors

166 See *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, 169, which mentions “leystir lifsteinar” (loose/detachable healing-stones) kept on the sword hilt.

and compilers with a greater variety of narrative opportunities. This is not a rigid rule, since there is variation in depictions of properties within and across saga “sub-genres:” this flexibility of magical stones as a saga motif reflects the openness and “multimodality” of saga traditions.

As in lapidary texts, the curative and prophylactic properties of saga stones work through the stone’s proximity to humans, either worn on the body, or applied topically to ailments. And, as in the lapidary tradition, stones both heal and enhance the body. Where saga stones operate through physical proximity, a similar porousness of stone and body is implied, as it is in the lapidary tradition. However, in the case of *lyfsteinar*, we see a further level of contagion at work, between the sword and its curative stone. Through its proximity to the sword, the stone becomes contaminated with the sword’s nature. The *lyfsteinn* thus provides the only cure for wounds inflicted by the associated sword (as is stated explicitly in *Laxdæla saga*), operating through the principle of *similia similibus curantur*. This finding extends the relationship often seen between material artefacts and the personhood of its (human) owner, wherein the personhood of previous owners of an object contaminates the object and can be seen as an extension of the owner’s self: in the case of *lyfsteinar*, the nature or personhood of the sword contaminates the *lyfsteinn* attached to its hilt.

This case study, then, suggests a worldview in which the boundaries of humans and objects are open to negotiation. Networks of personhood and capability span both human and non-human matter: stones transfer their *náttúrur* to human users, just as swords transfer their *náttúrur* to *lyfsteinar*. What results is an understanding of human health and ability in flux and of the external material world as potentially vibrant or agentive, instrumental in maintaining a state of *heill* (health/wholeness).<sup>167</sup> This has implications not only for our understanding of medieval medical approaches to the mind–body complex but also for how we think about medieval Icelandic conceptions of personal and ontological identity, agency and attitudes towards the non-human world.

<sup>167</sup> On the physiological and social denotations of this term, see Cristopher Crocker and Yoav Tirosh, “Health, Healing and the Social Body in Medieval Iceland,” *Understanding Disability throughout History: Interdisciplinary Perspectives in Iceland from Settlement to 1936*, ed. by Hanna Björg Sigurjónsdóttir and James G. Rice (New York: Routledge, 2021), 114.

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## SUMMARY

Lapidaries and *lyfsteinar*: Health, Enhancement and Human-Lithic Relations in Medieval Iceland

**Keywords:** AM 194 8vo, medicine, materiality, agency, human–non-human relations, lapidaries (texts), sagas

This article examines the properties of powerful stones in medieval Iceland, focusing on the applications of such stones in learned treatises and in saga literature. The relationships between humans and stones in these sources offer a useful case study for engaging with medieval Icelandic conceptions of the interplay between the human and the non-human world, specifically in terms of bodily health and enhancement. The article has two parts: the first part examines the Old Norse-Icelandic lapidary tradition as witnessed in the translated lapidary text in AM 194 8vo (ff. 45v–48v), providing an overview of the range of physiological, emotional and cognitive effects stones were thought to have on humans (from the curative and prophylactic to the enhancive); the second part discusses the appearance of stones in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century saga literature, examining how their properties alter and develop over time and across genres. This research builds on the growing bodies of scholarship on dis/ability and medicine in Old Norse-Icelandic literature and finds that the presentation of powerful stones in these texts suggests an understanding of the human body and mind as fundamentally “open” to the vibrant, material world. It therefore further supplements contemporary research into conceptions of the self in medieval Iceland, as well as attitudes towards the non-human world.

## ÁGRIP

Náttúrusteinar og lyfsteinar: Heilsa, heilsubót og notkun fólks á steinum á Íslandi á miðöldum

**Efnisorð:** AM 194 8vo, lækningar, efnisfræði, heilsubót, samband manns og náttúru, náttúrusteinar, sögur

Þessi grein fjallar um náttúrusteina á íslenskum miðöldum eins og þeim er lýst í fornnorrænum fræðitextum og sagnaritum. Hugmyndir fólks á Íslandi á miðöldum um samband manns og náttúru eru greindar út frá þeim lýsingum á hlutverki steinanna sem birtast í ritunum og hugmyndum um líkamlega og andlega heilsu. Greinin er í tveimur hlutum. Fyrri hlutinn fjallar um þýddan norrænan miðaldatexta, svokallað „lapidary“, í handritinu AM 194 8vo (ff. 45v–48v). Textinn veitir innsýn inn í þau líffræðilegu, tilfinningalegu og hugrænu áhrif sem steinarnir voru taldir hafa á menn, í lækningaskyni, til að fyrirbyggja heilsuvandamál og til bæta frammistöðu. Í seinni hluti greinarinnar er fjallað um hlutverk og eðli steinanna eins og því er lýst í sagnaritum þrettándu og fjórtándu aldar, og hvernig lýsingar á eiginleikum þeirra breytast með tímanum. Í greininni er byggt á nýlegum rannsóknum á fötlun og læknisfræði í forníslenskum ritum. Meðal niðurstaða er að birtingarmyndir náttúrusteina í fornum textum endurspegli skilning fólks á mannlíkamanum og huganum sem „opnum“ fyrir efnisheiminum. Greinin er framlag til rannsókna á hugmyndum um sjálfið á Íslandi á miðöldum sem og á viðhorfum gagnvart hinum óefnislega heimi.

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## MAGIC, MARGRÉTAR SAGA AND ICELANDIC MANUSCRIPT CULTURE<sup>1</sup>

*MARGRÉTAR SAGA*, the Life of St. Margaret of Antioch, survives in three Old Norse-Icelandic translations.<sup>2</sup> Medieval copies fall broadly into two categories: large folio collections of saints' legends and tiny duodecimo volumes in which *Margrétar saga* and other legends of virgin martyr saints take centre stage.<sup>3</sup> St. Margaret was the patron saint of childbirth, and an episode in the saga in which St. Margaret prays for the health of mothers and neonates includes a specific request for the protection of those living in places where her *vita* is physically present.

Pregnancy and childbirth are unsurprisingly the central concern of many medieval *Margrétar saga* manuscripts. AM 433 c 12mo contains a number of items relating specifically to childbirth and labour, including *Margrétar saga*, prayers for women in labour and a Latin hymn to St. Margaret.<sup>4</sup> Stefán Karlsson examined the scribal marginalia in AM 433 a 12mo and concluded that it had been produced for the scribe's daughter.<sup>5</sup> Another copy, AM 431 12mo, was produced by the priest Jón Arason in the Westfjords and contained both *Margrétar saga* and obstetrical charms.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Many thanks to Margrét Eggertsdóttir and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback on this article. This project, grant no. 218209-051, was supported by the Icelandic Research Fund.
- 2 Kirsten Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints in Old Norse-Icelandic Prose* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 217–21. On the cult of St. Margaret in Iceland, see Margaret Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland: Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 78 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1994), 121–22.
- 3 Three folio and ten duodecimo manuscripts survive of *Margrétar saga*. Two leaves also survive from a fourteenth-century quarto copy of *Margrétar saga* (now AM 667 I 4to); this may have originally been part of a larger volume, but nothing is recorded of its provenance.
- 4 Hans Bekker-Nielsen, “En god bøn,” *Opuscula* 2.1 (1961): 52–58.
- 5 Stefán Karlsson, “Kvennahandrit í karlahöndum,” *Stafkrókar: Ritgerðir eftir Stefán Karlsson í tilefni af sjötugsafmæli hans* (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2000), 378–82, at 380–81.
- 6 Ásdís Egilsdóttir, “Handrit handa konum,” *Góssið hans Árna: Minningar heimsins í íslenskum handritum*, ed. by Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2014), 51–61.

In a seminal paper, Jón Steffensen drew scholarly attention to the dozens of post-medieval copies of *Margrétar saga* in circulation and concluded that *Margrétar saga* continued to be used as a childbirth aid in Iceland long after the Reformation.<sup>7</sup> One of Steffensen's key observations about *Margrétar saga* is that only two seventeenth-century copies of the saga are known: the vellum fragment AM 677 VIII 4to (used as bookbinding material) and JS 43 4to, which is a thick paper manuscript from c. 1660–1680 that according to its title-page was compiled by the well-known Icelandic scribe Magnús Jónsson of Vigur (1637–1702). By contrast, there are at least thirty-five copies from the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As discussed below, Jón Steffensen concluded that *Margrétar saga* was associated with witchcraft in the seventeenth century and that during what he called the “witch-hunting age” from 1554 to 1719 the copying of *Margrétar saga* almost ceased but was revived in the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> However, the number of currently surviving manuscripts does not necessarily reflect the status or popularity of works in manuscript circulation within the community at a given time. For instance, Árni Magnússon states that Magnús Jónsson's son-in-law Páll Vídalín (1667–1727) owned a now-lost copy of the prologue to *Margrétar saga* in a quarto volume in the hand of the Rev. Magnús Ketilsson (1675–1709), which would be unusual if the saga were indeed closely associated with sorcery.<sup>9</sup>

The concept of the codicological unit is useful for studying the place of *Margrétar saga* in the seventeenth century, since it can capture the changing uses and functions of manuscripts over time. This paper focuses on a single manuscript, AM 428 a 12mo, which was deliberately altered and augmented with newly copied religious material in 1689–1690 for the benefit of a woman named Helga Sigurðardóttir. When viewed in context with other evidence on *Margrétar saga*, manuscript culture, childbirth and magic in early modern Iceland, there is little to suggest that the saga was seen as dangerous or spiritually damaging reading, although it could be potentially misused in connection with obstetrical magic.

7 Jón Steffensen, “*Margrétar saga* and Its History in Iceland,” *Saga-Book* 16 (1965): 273–82.

8 Jón Steffensen, “*Margrétar saga* and Its History in Iceland,” 281.

9 Árni Magnússon, *Arne Magnussons Private Brevveksling* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1920), 95.



*Margrétar saga* as birthing aid

Prayers for safe delivery were – and still remain – central to women’s birthing practices in many cultures. The 1541 Icelandic Church Ordinance included instructions translated from Danish on the spiritual preparation of midwives and pregnant women for childbirth, which under Lutheran teaching was the responsibility of the parish minister.<sup>10</sup> Official Lutheran prayers for the mother and child during labour were to be directed to God alone, but before the Reformation it had been common practice to turn to saints as intercessors.<sup>11</sup>

One such powerful intercessor was St. Margaret of Antioch, who according to her legend was an early fourth-century Christian martyr. She was tortured and executed during the Diocletian persecution by Olybrius, a wicked Roman official who wished to marry her or take her as his concubine. Having already dedicated her virginity to God, Margaret rejected Olybrius’s unwanted attention and was not swayed by imprisonment, torture or threats of public execution. In the legend’s most famous scene, St. Margaret is confronted by a dragon that swallows her alive after she prays to see her true enemy. Undaunted, she makes the sign of the cross and is spectacularly delivered from the belly of the dragon, which explodes and releases her. Before receiving the crown of martyrdom, St. Margaret makes a prayer asking that women who call on her during childbirth be granted a safe delivery, and likewise that no child be born blind, dumb, possessed or witless to those who copy, read or buy her *vita* or have the book in their house.<sup>12</sup>

Her encounter with the dragon is widely interpreted as St. Margaret’s primary connection to childbirth: she is a female dragon-slayer, whose expulsion from the dragon is a symbolic form of birthing process.<sup>13</sup> The

<sup>10</sup> *DI* 10, 127, 152–55, 210–13.

<sup>11</sup> On medieval Icelandic birthing practices, see Margaret Cormack, “Fyr kné meyio: Notes on Childbirth in Medieval Iceland,” *Saga-Book* 25.3 (2000): 314–15.

<sup>12</sup> Kirsten Wolf, “*Margrétar saga II*,” *Gripla* 21 (2010): 61–104, at 75. The precise content of the prayer and the protection offered by the presence of the *vita* varies among redactions of *Margrétar saga*.

<sup>13</sup> Ásdís Egilsdóttir, “St. Margaret, Patroness of Childbirth,” *Mythological Women: Studies in Memory of Lotte Motz (1922–1997)*, ed. by Rudolf Simek and Wilhelm Heizmann, *Studia Mediaevalia Septentrionalia* 7 (Vienna: Fassbaender, 2002) 319–30. See also Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir and Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, “Dýrlingar og daglegt brauð í Langadal: Efni og samhengi í AM 461 12mo,” *Gripla* 30 (2019): 107–53.

virgin martyr's bodily suffering at the hands of temporal and demonic forces can also be interpreted as echoing women's labour pains in childbed, which according to Genesis 3:16 of the Old Testament are the curse of Eve for disobeying God's command and thus associated with female shame and weakness. Through her faith, St. Margaret transforms this intense suffering into a triumphant experience of salvation and female *imitatio Christi*.<sup>14</sup>

Jón Steffensen's argument that copies of *Margrétar saga* were openly used as a birthing aid before the Reformation period in Iceland (1541–1550) and covertly used for the same purpose after the Reformation is credible. Seeking saintly intervention in childbirth was encouraged in late medieval Europe, as attested in birth miracles that describe the use of saints' belts and other objects as effective in difficult births.<sup>15</sup> The provision of support for pregnancy and childbirth could be a lucrative practice, as demonstrated in a birth miracle found in the Old-Norse Icelandic Life of St. Thomas Becket, in which a wealthy woman in difficult labour makes a secret vow to the saint and sends a messenger with a golden ring to purchase holy water.<sup>16</sup> By the time the holy water arrives, the woman is dead and her husband has gone mad, but the husband's honourable cousin sends another ring and asks for a priest to bring relics of St. Thomas, which not only successfully revive the woman and enable her to give birth to a healthy son but also cure the husband's madness.

Although the above example concentrates on the efficacy of vows and relics, the use of inscribed objects as birthing aids is well documented in medieval Europe, as testified to by the obstetrical charms in AM 431 12mo. These include the well-known formula "Anna peperit Maria" and directions for binding a prayer to a woman's right thigh in labour.<sup>17</sup> Such charms were church sanctioned before being repositioned as popery under the teachings of reformers in Denmark and elsewhere. Birthing rolls or

14 Allison Adair Alberts, "Spiritual Suffering and Physical Protection in Childbirth in the *South English Legendary* Lives of Saint Margaret," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 46.2 (2016): 289–314.

15 Hilary Powell, "The 'Miracle of Childbirth': The Portrayal of Parturient Women in Medieval Miracle Narratives," *Social History of Medicine* 25.4 (2012): 795–811.

16 C. R. Unger, (ed.), *Thomas Saga Erkebiskups: Fortælling om Thomas Becket Erkebiskop af Canterbury: To Bearbejdelser samt Fragmenter af en tredje* (Oslo, 1869), 482.

17 The obstetrical charms in AM 431 12mo are edited in Kristian Kålund (ed.), *Alfræði íslensk: Íslandsk Encyklopædisk Litteratur* (Copenhagen: Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 1908–1918), 3:86–90.

girdles that could be bound to the body were popular aids for pregnancy and childbirth and could be widely rented from religious houses in the late medieval period.<sup>18</sup>

No such birthing rolls have survived in Iceland, but the use of *kveisu-blöð* ('ailment-leaves') is indirectly documented in warnings from the late sixteenth century against these and other magical practices.<sup>19</sup> One man was executed for sorcery in 1667 for binding an inscribed roll to the body of a sick woman, and another was executed in 1677 for possession of magical writings that included a similar roll.<sup>20</sup> The only known roll of this type to survive is Lbs fragm 14, which is a narrow strip of parchment (10.8 cm wide and 58.4 cm long) dating from c. 1600. The roll surfaced in a collection of historical documents from the diocese of Hólar and has been interpreted as a prayer roll to be tied onto the body for healing; it was presumably discovered and sent to Hólar in the early seventeenth century for investigation, where it found a practical use as a wrapper for an official document.<sup>21</sup>

The association of *Margrétar saga* with magic during the seventeenth century rests mainly on a passage in the vehemently anti-witchcraft and anti-Catholic *Hugrás*, written in 1627 by the Rev. Guðmundur Einarsson of Staðarstaður (c. 1568–1647), who was provost for Snæfellsnes from 1624. In *Hugrás*, the provost rails against the use of Latin incantations, prayers and readings of *Margrétar saga* during childbirth. According to *Hugrás*, which should be interpreted cautiously due to the nature of the work, Icelandic practitioners of sorcery received "schooling" from their masters in subjects that included the safe delivery of children:

18 Sarah Fiddymment et al., "Girding the Loins? Direct Evidence of the Use of a Medieval English Parchment Birthing Girdle from Biomolecular Analysis," *Royal Society Open Science* 8 (2021): 202055; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–1580*, 2nd edition (New Haven: Yale, 2005).

19 AÍ 2: 255; *Su rietta Confirmatio* (Hólar, 1596), [95].

20 Magnús Már Lárusson, "Eitt gamalt kveisublað," *Árbók Hins íslenska fornleifafélags* 51 (1951–52): 81–90.

21 Magnús Már Lárusson, "Eitt gamalt kveisublað," 81–90. Whoever repurposed the prayer roll must not have been particularly afraid of physical contact with the object. Magnús Már Lárusson observes that the Latin text copied onto the prayer roll comes from the humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam's Latin New Testament and that the accuracy of the copying points to an educated scribe with a good knowledge of Latin.

Þessar sómu sem j Christi sköla gátu alldre lært Credo nie Pater noster, þeir geta strax lært j þezum skola (j hvorn þeir eru nu komner) ... alla lavsnar bokina, med sijnum øllum stófum, reglum, jnntókum og excipitur, einkum ad binda þetta vid lærid ä Jodsiukre kvinnu: Anna peperit Mariam, Maria Christum, Elizabeth Johannem, Cilicia Remigium, eorum dat salutarío ed redemptio, qvando parias filium tuum, sæc fæmina, og lesa þar epter Margretar Sögu, in nomine P.F.S.S.<sup>22</sup>

(‘These same [men] who could never learn *Credo* [‘The Apostles’ Creed’] or *Pater noster* [‘Our Father’] in Christ’s school, they [masc.] can immediately learn in this school (into which they have now entered) ... all their delivery book, with all of its characters, rules, intakes and *excipitur*, in particular: to bind this to the thigh of a woman in labour – *Anna peperit Mariam, Maria Christum, Elizabeth Johannem, Cilicia Remigium. Eorum dat salutarío et redemptio, qvando parias filium tuum, hæc fæmina* – and thereafter to read *Margrétar saga, in nomine p[atris] ff[ilii et] s[piritus] s[ancti].*’)

As a polemic, *Hugrás* does not aim to document a specific set or order of birthing rituals carried out by practitioners of magic or to describe the existence of a literal “delivery book” but instead to associate ownership of magical tracts with membership in a community of evil. The immediate targets of its attack were two handwritten books of charms associated with the self-taught scholar Jón Guðmundsson *lærði* (‘the Learned,’ 1574–1658), which Guðmundur Einarsson had at hand in composing *Hugrás*, and it is likely that the garbled Latin prayer “Anna peperit Mariam” quoted here, which is also found in AM 431 12mo, was part of an obstetrical charm copied directly from Jón Guðmundsson’s book.

It is worthwhile noting that Guðmundur Einarsson repeatedly invokes the imagery of schooling and textbooks in *Hugrás* to contrast inscribed charms with Christian literacy and schooling in the religious teachings of the Church.<sup>23</sup> In this wider context, Guðmundur Einarsson draws the reader’s attention to a dangerous segment of the population that he claims is in secret alliance with destructive diabolical forces. One aspect of their

22 Lbs 494 8vo, 55r–v.

23 Einar G. Pétursson, *Eddurit Jóns Guðmundssonar lærða* (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1998), 1:77.

wicked nature is presented as their incapability to learn the Latin alphabet and memorise the basic articles of faith in spite of their supposed aptitude for the characters and incantations of black magic. *Margrétar saga* itself is not the direct subject of Guðmundur's attack.

## Giving birth in early modern Iceland

Instructions for preparation of midwives (or female birth attendants) in the 1541 Church Ordinance focus on their role in ensuring the salvation of mother and child in cases of pregnancy complications and imminent maternal or neonatal death.<sup>24</sup> This is the earliest surviving text in Icelandic outlining the midwife's role in a domestic context. The Church Ordinance emphasises the activities of midwives as they relate to the spiritual health of the mother and child, highlighting that women of all social classes were to be attended by a midwife during their labour, and not merely those women who had the financial means to pay for these services.

Under Lutheran teaching in the early modern period, birthing was both a physical experience and a religious one: women's birthing pains were a cross to be borne patiently, and the midwife acted as a spiritual guide through this pain. The Church Ordinance stipulated that the midwife performing this role must have a strong moral character and required the parish minister to prepare her in the event of a difficult or dangerous labour. Baptism was not normally a rite that early modern women were permitted to carry out, but an exception was made in the event that a newborn was weak and signs of life seemed to be fading, in which case the midwife and other honourable women present at the birth were permitted to join together to perform an emergency baptism.<sup>25</sup> The Church Ordinance adds that if the midwife is present at a stillbirth then her concern should be entirely for the mother in her need.<sup>26</sup> Neither she nor the mother had cause to fear for an unbaptised infant's salvation under Christian teachings, nor had she been made unclean by her birthing experience.

<sup>24</sup> *DI* 10, 127, 210–12.

<sup>25</sup> “Enn hvar barnmíð er j lífsneyð þegar það er nu skjirt þa skal yfersetukonan með audrum gudræddum danndikuinum sem þar eru wídstaðar þíjfalá það gudi með þessum edur þuilljúkum ordum.” *DI* 10, 211.

<sup>26</sup> “Alleinasta skulu þær kappkosta að su manneskia sem fyrir liggur oc j neydinni er staudd meigi hialpast.” *DI* 10, 211.

Clearly, not all provisions of the 1541 Church Ordinance applied to Iceland, such as the section on schools for children in market and cathedral towns, which addresses educational reform in Denmark and Norway but was not adapted for the Icelandic context into which it was translated.<sup>27</sup> However, in 1590, Bishop Oddur Einarsson confirmed that midwives – or the most pious of men – could be entrusted with performing emergency baptism, and he emphasised the importance of teaching girls and women the prayers that midwives were required to know under the Church Ordinance.<sup>28</sup>

Additional provisions were made in the Church Ritual of 1685 for the education, preparation and certification of midwives in the kingdom of Denmark-Norway, and it was furthermore stipulated that they had the right to fair payment from those who could afford to pay for their services but were to aid poor women free of charge.<sup>29</sup> It is uncertain how closely it was possible to follow the instructions in the Church Ritual in Iceland: midwives were instructed to use only prayer and natural, utile and Christian remedies to aid the birthing process and to seek the help of the nearest doctor or barber-surgeon. There were no practising physicians in Iceland before 1760, however, when Bjarni Pálsson arrived in Iceland after completing his medical education at the University of Copenhagen the previous year. The first professionally licensed midwife to practise in Iceland was a Danish woman who came to the country in 1761, Margrethe Katarine Magnussen (1718–1805).

In spite of various practices associated with magic being punishable by death in early modern Iceland, there are no known instances of a woman described as a midwife being accused of witchcraft or sorcery.<sup>30</sup> Guðmundur Einarsson's attack on the use of obstetrical magic in *Hugrás* certainly does not target women: he argues that the obstetrical charm he

27 Cf. Morten Fink-Jensen, "Teaching and Educational Reforms in Denmark and Norway, c. 1500–1750," *Exploring Textbooks and Cultural Change in Nordic Education 1536–2020*, ed. by Merethe Roos, Kjell Lars Berge, Henrik Edgren, Pirjo Hiidenmaa and Christina Matthiesen (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 16–28. Iceland's two cathedral schools taught only more advanced students of Latin.

28 *Alf* 2, 177–81, 185–87.

29 *Lovsamling for Island* 1, 444–48.

30 Midwives were not widely prosecuted for their practices in late medieval and early modern Europe, cf. David Harley, "Historians as Demonologists: The Myth of the Midwife-witch," *Social History of Medicine* 3.1 (1990): 1–26.

describes belongs to a larger system of magic associated primarily with male practitioners such as Jón Guðmundsson *lærði*. In this interpretation, the binding of a Latin prayer on a woman's thigh represented spiritually dangerous male intervention in the female space of childbed.

The obstetrical charm has parallels in late medieval leechcraft and is perhaps more likely to have been transmitted as part of a larger remedy book than as an independent “delivery book” as portrayed by Guðmundur Einarsson. One such surviving fifteenth-century remedy collection from England includes instructions for binding a Latin prayer to the right thigh of a woman in labour that includes the “Anna peperit Mariam” motif.<sup>31</sup>

When considering the role of *Margrétar saga* in pre-modern birthing practices, it is important to emphasise that seventeenth-century Icelandic attitudes to the manuscript circulation of medieval religious literature were vastly different from attitudes to the production of amulets and charms that would physically bind words to the body.<sup>32</sup> Whereas medieval Icelandic poems celebrating the Virgin Mary and the saints circulated openly in Icelandic manuscripts, the production of written magic such as that described in *Hugrás* was framed as dangerous and anti-social behaviour.<sup>33</sup>

In practice, not all forms of magic were met with equally strong opposition during the early modern period. The use of seedpods as protective amulets in childbirth is well attested in the North Atlantic region.<sup>34</sup> In Iceland, these *lausnarsteinar* (lit. ‘delivery stones’) were used until the twentieth century and were often in the possession of trained midwives.<sup>35</sup> A *lausnarsteinn* was among the objects found the *biskupskista* (‘bishop’s chest’) at Hólar in 1525, and there is no reason to believe that the practice

31 CAL MS Additional 9308, cf. Lea Olsan, “The Corpus of Charms in the Middle English Leechcraft Remedy Books,” *Charms, Charmers and Charming: International Research on Verbal Magic*, ed. by Jonathan Roper (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2009), 214–37.

32 On pre-modern textual amulets such as those described in *Hugrás*, see Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

33 Katelin Marit Parsons, “Text and Context: *Mariukvæði* in Lbs 399 4to,” *Opuscula* 15 (2017): 57–86.

34 Torbjørn Alm, “Exotic Drift Seeds in Norway: Vernacular Names, Beliefs, and Uses,” *Journal of Ethnobiology* 23.2 (2003): 227–61, at 234–37, 242–46.

35 Unnur B. Karlsdóttir, “Móðurlíf,” *Kvennaslóðir: rit til heiðurs Sigríði Th. Erlendsdóttur Sagnfræðingi* (Reykjavík: Kvennasögusafn Íslands, 2001), 466–75, at 469.

of using a *lausnarsteinn* for a difficult birth was vigorously suppressed in the centuries to follow.<sup>36</sup> Both Arngrímur Jónsson *lærði* (1568–1648) and Þorlákur Skúlason of Hólar (1597–1656) discussed the phenomenon of these “stones” with Ole Worm (1588–1654), who explained their natural origins in more southerly parts of the world.<sup>37</sup>

It was not until the eighteenth century that the potentially dangerous nature of birthing practices and antenatal care of mother and child as practised in Iceland began to receive significant attention, a trend that continued into the nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup> By this time, emphasis was on medical rather than spiritual preparation for midwifery, with women instructed in life-saving practices and interventions.<sup>39</sup> With the growing separation of sacred and secular practices in everyday life, midwives engaging in “superstition” were not seen as endangering souls but rather physical bodies.

### Saintly stories for pious girls

St. Margaret of Antioch was not the only popular virgin martyr saint in post-Reformation Iceland. Van Deusen has examined the transmission of the legends of virgin martyr saints in Iceland after the Reformation and concludes that the narratives were considered suitable for young girls as models of Christian behaviour.<sup>40</sup> Piety, patience, chastity and obedience to God were among the virtues strongly valued in young girls, and texts such as the legends of virgin martyrs provided source material that described

36 *DI* 9, 297.

37 Þorvaldur Thoroddsen, *Landfræðissaga Íslands* (Copenhagen: Hið íslenska bókmenntafjelag, 1892–1904), 2:165–66.

38 Loftur Guttormsson, *Bernska, ungdómur og uppeldi á einveldisöld: Tilraun til félagslegrar og lyðfræðilegrar greiningar* (Reykjavík: Sagnfræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands, 1983), 139–42; Loftur Guttormsson and Ólöf Garðarsdóttir, “The Development of Infant Mortality in Iceland, 1800–1920,” *Hygiea Internationalis* 3.1 (2002): 151–76.

39 The oldest midwifery textbook in Icelandic dates from 1749 and was printed at the initiative of Bishop Halldór Brynjólfsson, cf. Bragi Þorgrímur Ólafsson, “‘Sá nýi yfirsetukvennaskóli’: Uppruni og viðtökur,” *Ljósmeðrablaðið* 85.1 (2007): 28–33. On the professionalisation of midwifery in Iceland, see Sigurjón Jónsson, *Ágrip af sögu ljósmeðrafræðslu og ljósmeðrastéttar á Íslandi* (Reykjavík: n.p., 1959).

40 Natalie Van Deusen, “St. Agnes of Rome in Late Medieval and Early Modern Icelandic Verse,” *Saints and Their Legacies in Medieval Iceland*, ed. by Dario Bullitta and Kirsten Wolf (Cambridge: Brewer, 2021), 307–32.



ideals of Christian behaviour. In the case of upper-class women, there was also greater emphasis in early modern Iceland on women's virtues (including purity) as a marker of their social suitability as role models for their community, particularly in the case of women who married clergymen.<sup>41</sup>

Just as during the medieval era, when *Margrétar saga* and other popular legends of saints were translated multiple times into Old Norse-Icelandic, early modern Icelandic audiences did not necessarily seek to engage with a single version of a given narrative. Retellings were popular; Van Deusen's study concentrates on works about St. Agnes, whose legend was the subject of narrative poems that include *Agnesarrímur* and the popular *Agnesarkvæði*.

Like St. Agnes, St. Margaret of Antioch remained a popular subject for Icelandic poets after the Reformation. Two *rímur* or narrative verse cycles about St. Margaret of Antioch have survived: a *Margrétar rímur* from 1787 composed by the poet Gunnar Ólafsson and a fragment of a second anonymous *Margrétar rímur* of unknown date.<sup>42</sup> *Margrétarkvæði* ("Svo er skrifað suður í Róm"), a verse narrative based on the legend of St. Margaret, has been tentatively dated to the first quarter of the eighteenth century and is found in over fifty manuscripts.<sup>43</sup> What is arguably unusual about *Margrétar saga* is that the medieval prose version continued to circulate in active manuscript transmission alongside younger versions of the narrative.

Whether for use as a birthing aid or as spiritually fortifying reading material, *Margrétar saga* is closely associated with women's manuscript ownership in later transmission.<sup>44</sup> A dedicatory verse at the end of

41 Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, "Um íslensku prestskonuna á fyrri öldum," *Konur og kristsmenn: Þettir úr kristnisögu Íslands*, ed. by Inga Huld Hákonardóttir (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 1996), 217–47; Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, "Helga Aradóttir in Ögur: A Lutheran Saint? Sainthood, Scriptoria, and Secular Erudition of Medieval and Modern Scandinavia: Essays in Honor of Kirsten Wolf," ed. by Dario Bullitta and Natalie M. Van Deusen, *Acta Scandinavica* 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 341–64.

42 Finnur Sigmundsson (ed.), *Rímnatal* (Reykjavík: Rímnafélagið, 1966), 1:339–40.

43 For a list of known manuscripts preserving the poem, see Kirsten Wolf and Natalie M. Van Deusen, *The Saints in Old Norse and Early Modern Icelandic Poetry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 156.

44 Peter Rasmussen, "Tekstforholdene i Margrétar saga" (Specialeafhandling til magisterkonferens i nordisk filologi ved Københavns Universitet, 1977), 7–8; Margrét Eggertsdóttir, "Heilög Margrét í vondum félagsskap?" *Geislabaugur fægður Margaret Cormack sextugri*, 23. ágúst 2012 (Reykjavík: Menningar- og minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, 2012),

*Margrétar saga* in Lbs 1197 8vo from 1773 states that it is the property of the scribe's adored wife, Björg Ólafsdóttir.<sup>45</sup> The scribe Sigríður Jónsdóttir also copied *Margrétar saga* for herself in ÍBR 3 8vo in 1773.<sup>46</sup>

### A place for *Margrétar saga*

Jón Steffensen examined the context in which *Margrétar saga* was transmitted in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscripts in the collection of the National and University Library of Iceland and concluded that they were – unlike medieval copies of the legend – preserved neither in collections of saints' lives nor with obstetrical formulae and prayers. They tended instead to be found in collections of material intended for entertainment or in eclectic miscellanies.<sup>47</sup> He concluded that this was evidence for their covert use as a birthing aid:

It seems rather as if in Lutheran times the saga is given a place with material that is quite unconnected with it and, as far as can be seen, quite arbitrarily selected. The idea comes to mind that attention is being drawn away from the saga, that it is being hidden [...]. There can be little doubt but that the reason for this is that the use of the saga in childbirth was counted wizardry.<sup>48</sup>

The argument that preservation with other material constitutes concealment is weak, given that miscellanies reflect the diverse identities, inter-

64–67; Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir, *Á hverju liggja ekki vorar göfugu kellingar: Bókmenning íslenskra kenma frá miðöldum fram á 18. öld*, Sýnisbók íslenskrar alþýðumenningar 20 (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2016), 148–49.

45 “Margretar søgu eiga aa / mijn audar naa / blessud og blijd i linde / Biørg Olafsdøtter heiter hwn / med hijra brwn / sw er mitt einagtt Jnde / þess bid eg hier / þad fyrir mier / er aafatt nw / vel virde sw / því skrifadi eg med skinde.” Lbs 1197 8vo, 59v. See Margrét Eggertsdóttir, “Script and print in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Iceland. The case of *Hólar í Hjaltadal*,” *Opuscula* 15 (2017): 156–61.

46 Sigríður's scribal colophon at the end of *Margrétar saga* reads: “Þess [sic] blod a eg Sigrydur Jonsdotter skrifad ä þui are 1773.” ÍBR 3 8vo, 114r. It is not entirely certain that Sigríður was the scribe, as an ownership statement in the first person could be written by another individual, cf. Margrét Eggertsdóttir, “Heilög Margrét í vondum félagsskap?” 64–65.

47 Jón Steffensen, “*Margrétar saga* and its History in Iceland,” 280. It should be noted, however, that Lbs 404 8vo and Lbs 405 8vo preserve both *Margrétar saga* and a prayer for women in labour stated to have been sent by the Virgin Mary.

48 Jón Steffensen, “*Margrétar saga* and Its History in Iceland,” 280–81.

ests and needs of the individuals who produced and/or owned them.<sup>49</sup> Although *Margrétar saga* is unusual for being a prose legend of a saint that circulated widely after the Reformation, female saints continued to be a popular subject in post-medieval vernacular Icelandic poetry. In this context, material on saints could often be found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century miscellanies.<sup>50</sup> It seems particularly unlikely that Icelanders would have feared the wrath of their local ministers so greatly that they would attempt to hide their copies of *Margrétar saga* in books of *rímur* and prose romances. Prose romances and *rímur* on non-religious subjects were targets of Lutheran orthodoxy, and a clergyman vehemently opposed to *Margrétar saga* would hardly have been more pleased to discover it bound together with titles like *Nikulás saga leikara* (as in Lbs 2098 8vo) or *Bósa rímur* (as in Lbs 2856 8vo).

Although seminal in shifting the focus from the text of *Margrétar saga* to the function of *Margrétar saga* manuscripts, Jón Steffensen's investigation of the saga's transmission predated the rise of material philology in post-medieval Icelandic manuscript studies.<sup>51</sup> It therefore did not take into account the more recent concept of the codicological or production unit, which is a useful tool for distinguishing between the manuscript as currently bound and/or stored on an archive shelf and the manuscript as it circulated within a community over time.<sup>52</sup> The present paper employs the codicological unit (CU) as defined by Gumbert: one or more gatherings in a manuscript written consecutively and over a more-or-less continuous period of time.<sup>53</sup> Through division into codicological units, one can distinguish systematically between items bound together in the archive and

49 Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir, „Í hverri bók er mannsandi“: *Handritasýrpur – bókmennning, þekking og sjálfsmynd karla og kvenna á 18. öld*, *Studia Islandica* 62 (Reykjavík: Bókmennta- og listfræðastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2011).

50 Cf. e.g., Margrét Eggertsdóttir, “The Once-Popular and Now-Forgotten *Veróníkukvæði*,” trans. by Margaret Cormack, *Sainthood, Scriptoria, and Secular Erudition of Medieval and Modern Scandinavia: Essays in Honor of Kirsten Wolf*, ed. by Dario Bullitta and Natalie M. Van Deusen, *Acta Scandinavica* 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 365–96.

51 For an overview, see Davíð Ólafsson, “Post-medieval Manuscript Culture and the Historiography of Texts,” *Opuscula* 15 (2017): 1–30.

52 Beeke Stegmann, “Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts” (PhD thesis, Faculty of Humanities, University of Copenhagen, 2016).

53 J. P. Gumbert, “Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogenous codex,” *Segno e testo* 2 (2004): 17–42.

items that were created or circulated together. One can also distinguish between monogenetic (single-scribe) manuscripts, allogenic manuscripts assembled from a patchwork of CUs and homogenetic manuscripts produced by more than one individual within the same scribal network.

Although scribal hand changes are more commonly associated with medieval manuscripts, there are certainly examples of more than one post-medieval scribe working together to complete a manuscript, such as the nineteenth-century copy of *Margrétar saga* in Lbs 405 8vo, where there is an abrupt change of hands at l. 12 of f. 6v. Since this hand change takes place mid-gathering, a single CU is at issue. However, a single scribe can produce separate CUs that are later bound into the same book: the first eight-leaf gathering of Lbs 2532 8vo is a copy of *Margrétar saga* completed on 11 June 1854 by the scribe Klemens Björnsson (1829–1888) for Margrét Dórothea Bjarnadóttir (1820–1901), while the second five-leaf gathering contains a copy of the dream-vision of Magnús Pétursson, also copied in 1854 by the same scribe but for Margrét's husband Sigurður Björnsson (1824–1902). The boundary between CUs is nearly invisible when seen from a manuscript catalogue but helps to illustrate how *Margrétar saga* is closely associated with women's literacy.

Closer examination of Sigríður Jónsdóttir's copy of *Margrétar saga* in ÍBR 3 8vo demonstrates that *Margrétar saga* originally formed its own distinct CU, not containing the other texts with which it is now bound. The saga begins on f. 103r at the start of a distinctly new gathering, the first leaf of which is more darkened and worn than the others. The saga ends on f. 114r with a scribal colophon, but f. 114v has been left blank and would have once served to shield *Margrétar saga* from dirt and damage. This is also the sole CU written by Sigríður Jónsdóttir, one of only six female scribes in Iceland in the eighteenth century to identify herself by name.<sup>54</sup>

Although these are only two of many extant copies, they demonstrate that *Margrétar saga* could circulate in contexts comparable to the duodecimo vellum copies observed by Jón Steffensen. They also suggest a practical reason why Jón Steffensen found *Margrétar saga* in the archive in a somewhat different context from that in which it was originally produced. Manuscript owners in pre-modern Icelandic manuscript culture did

54 Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir. „Í hverri bók er mannsandi,” 311.

not necessarily bind small booklets of eight or twelve paper leaves. When examining nineteenth-century Icelandic manuscript collections that have either not entered a formal archive or not been reorganised and rebound in the archive, single-gathering items generally either lack a binding altogether or are protected by a paper or cardboard cover, which may be as simple as a sheet of old newspaper cut to size. These tiny booklets are fragile and can sustain significant damage over time. For practical reasons, small booklets were often bound together in larger assemblages such as ÍBR 3 8vo, which is their most common survival context.

Vellum copies of *Margrétar saga* were robust objects even in duodecimo format, and it is worth noting that of the two surviving seventeenth-century copies of *Margrétar saga*, one is a vellum copy and the other belonged to a wealthy landowner and patron of the arts, Magnús Jónsson of Vigur.<sup>55</sup> Paper became the dominant medium for writing in Iceland during the second half of the sixteenth century, which coincides well with the period during which Steffensen believed that copying of *Margrétar saga* ceased.<sup>56</sup>

### AM 428 a 12mo

The diminutive AM 428 a 12mo is one of ten duodecimo copies of *Margrétar saga* in Árni Magnússon's collection.<sup>57</sup> It also provides important material evidence of how *Margrétar saga* was used in Iceland in the seventeenth century, since its manuscript context was reorganised during this period.

The manuscript when it entered Árni Magnússon's collection in 1728 consisted of two very distinct sections: a fourteenth-century copy of *Margrétar saga*, beginning on f. 3r with a full-page illumination of St. Margaret standing on the defeated dragon, and a much younger prayer book that begins on f. 19r and combines medieval (Catholic) and

55 As Ezell observes, manuscript texts have a significantly higher chance of being preserved among upper-class families with established residences. Margaret J. M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 40–41.

56 Arna Björk Stefánsdóttir, "Um upptöku pappirs á Íslandi á sextánda og sautjándu öld," *Sagnir* 30 (2013): 226–36.

57 For a discussion of AM 428 a 12mo's relationship to other *Margrétar saga* manuscripts and an edition of the text, see Kirsten Wolf, "*Margrétar saga II*," *Gripla* 21 (2010): 61–104.

Protestant prayers.<sup>58</sup> The text of *Margrétar saga* itself ends on f. 17v. Three prayers in Latin and Icelandic have been added on ff. 17v–18v.

According to a note on f. 48v, Helga Aradóttir owned the manuscript and Bishop Jón Arason before her, and the priest Þorkell Guðbjartsson of Laufás (d. 1483) before them. The note is dated 27 December 1689 and signed “J. Þ. S. m.e.h.” (‘J. Þ. S. in his own hand’), with the explanation that their names were all on the manuscript’s final leaf before it was bound. Immediately below this is a verse in a different, unknown hand, dated 3 February 1716, thanking the book’s owner:

Fyrer bokar länid bid eg ydur blessan sende  
 Raunum ollum riett af vende  
 Rijkur gud *med sinne* hende  
 (‘For the loan of the book I ask bountiful God to send you blessings: may His hand turn away all troubles’)

The final prayer on f. 18v is defective, supporting the existence of a discarded leaf describing the manuscript’s provenance. However, Christopher Sanders dates the hand on f. 18v to the sixteenth century, after Þorkell Guðbjartsson’s death.<sup>59</sup> It is conceivable that the prayer was added in the sixteenth century to a penultimate leaf that had remained blank throughout the fifteenth century, but f. 18v shows signs of wear consistent with it having been the final leaf for some time. This raises the possibility that the names on the missing leaf were misinterpreted or even invented in the late seventeenth century to provide an impressive provenance; the manuscript’s provenance will therefore be examined more closely below.

Clearly, production of the prayer book coincided with a major reorganization of the manuscript. The last leaf of the existing manuscript was discarded, but it was also at this time that two title-pages were added at the front of the manuscript (now ff. 1–2). The first, written in red on f. 1r, reads in large and ornate letters:

58 Wolf concurs with Kälund’s dating of ff. 3r–19v to the fourteenth century. Wolf, “*Margrétar saga II*,” 61–104.

59 *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose: Indices* (Copenhagen: Den arnamagnæanske kommission), 466. The Latin and Icelandic prayers have been edited in Svavar Sigmundsson (ed.), *Íslenskar bænir fram um 1600* (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2018), 106–108.

Margret  
ar  
Saga  
Hamingia filger og  
heijll maargfölld  
þeijm ä  
(*Margrétar saga*. May happiness and manifold good fortune accompany  
[the book's owner(s)].')

The second, on f. 2r, is written in ornate red and gold letters and reads:

Þessa Bök  
A  
Helga Si  
gurdar Dötter  
A Þig Dröttenn Treÿ  
ste eg  
(‘This book belongs to Helga Sigurðardóttir. In you, Lord, I put my  
trust.’)

Helga Sigurðardóttir’s ownership of *Margrétar saga* is reconfirmed at the end of the prayerbook: the initials HS are concealed in the elaborate heading of the final prayer on f. 45r; the heading is written in red. Although some of the prayers are certainly Catholic (and some are in Latin), their rubrics characterise them as old texts, and they are accompanied by Lutheran prayers on ff. 36v–45v.<sup>60</sup> Some prayers are also noted as having been copied from old “kalfskinz Bokum” (“vellum manuscripts”) on f. 45v, implicitly contrasting these with the more modern paper manuscripts produced in the seventeenth century. The scribe finished copying the prayers on 16 March 1690 (MDCXC) according to a scribal colophon on f. 46r.

A striking feature of the manuscript is that the prayer-book section and the title-pages are written on vellum, creating the impression of a much older manuscript: this is one of only a handful of Icelandic manu-

<sup>60</sup> As Svavar Sigmundsson observes, the texts of the older prayers copied in this part of the manuscript are often garbled, and some take the form of charms. See Svavar Sigmundsson (ed.), *Íslenskar bænir fram um 1600*, 108–16.

scripts to use vellum in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>61</sup> The choice to use vellum rather than paper is a deliberate one, since anyone who could afford to use imported colour throughout a manuscript could obviously afford enough imported paper for a tiny duodecimo manuscript. The use of vellum creates a unified aesthetic and suggests an antiquarian influence, but anachronistic features such as the use of ‘þ’ for ‘ð’ and ‘c’ for ‘k’ have not been introduced. The claim that at least one medieval leaf was discarded in the process of reorganising the manuscript points away from a scholarly project; the aesthetic appeal of the finished product as a continuous unit outweighed the historical value of the leaf.

## Finding Helga

Jón Arason (1484–1550) and Helga Aradóttir (c. 1538–1614) are well-known figures in seventeenth-century Iceland. He was the last Catholic bishop of Hólar and a fierce opponent of Lutheranism, executed at Skálholt together with his sons Björn and Ari. Helga was Ari’s daughter and a powerful and self-assertive landowning woman who married the poet and *sýslumaður* Páll Jónsson of Staðarhóll (d. 1598) against the wishes of her family. She later separated from him and lived independently with her daughter Elín Páldóttir (1571–1637) and son-in-law Björn Benediktsson (1561–1617), who managed the former Munkaþverá monastery from 1601.

One interpretation of the title-page could be that it was a replacement of an older and badly damaged title-page, and that this Helga Sigurðardóttir was the partner of Bishop Jón Arason of Hólar, but this is highly unlikely. Title-pages are almost never found in Icelandic manuscripts before 1600 and only rarely before 1650.<sup>62</sup> The assumption that Bishop Jón Arason owned a copy of *Margrétar saga* for household use is plaus-

61 Arna Björk Stefánsdóttir identified only six of 682 manuscripts produced in 1651–1700 as being written on vellum (0.8%). Arna Björk Stefánsdóttir, “Um upptöku pappirs á Íslandi á sextánda og sautjándu öld,” 231.

62 Silvia Hufnagel, “Title Pages in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Icelandic Manuscripts: The Development and Functions of Print Features in Manuscript Form,” *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 6.2 (2021): 300–37; Silvia Hufnagel, “Projektbericht ‘Alt und neu’: Isländische Handschriften, Bücher und die Gesellschaft des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,” *Quelle und Deutung III: Beiträge der Tagung Quelle und Deutung III am 25. November 2015*, ed. by Balázs Sára (Budapest: Eötvös-József-Collegium, 2016), 147–68.



ible, but in his role as a priest he might also have owned a portable duodecimo copy of *Margrétar saga* for use as a birthing aid within the wider community. This could also explain why the priest at Laufás in the fifteenth century owned such an object. The manuscript lost any church-sanctioned function during the transition to Lutheranism and passed at some point to his granddaughter Helga Aradóttir, either as her inheritance or as a personal gift.

Árni Magnússon received the manuscript in a package sent from Jón Halldórsson of Hítardalur (1665–1736) that arrived on 10 July 1728, just three months before the disastrous Fire of Copenhagen that destroyed Árni's home. Árni had already discarded the seventeenth-century binding that might have provided more insight into its later history, possibly in the hope that it contained the missing leaf. A letter from Jón that accompanied *Margrétar saga* describes it as “fylgiande hiatruarfullum papiskum bænum” (‘accompanied by superstitious popish prayers’) but does not state its origins.<sup>63</sup> However, Jón's son Vigfús Jónsson identified the manuscript's owner (and the scribe behind the *Margrétar saga* rebinding project) as the late Jón Þórðarson of Bakki in Melasveit.<sup>64</sup>

Jón Þórðarson (1648–1719) was the illegitimate son of Þórður Hinriks-son (d. 1652), who held the administrative position of *sýslumaður* and later *landsskrifari*. Þórður sailed to Copenhagen as a young man for his university studies in 1626, and his first wife was a Danish woman, Anna Pétursdóttir (d. 10 July 1647), who returned with him to Iceland. The couple and their children lived at Innri-Hólmur on the Akranes peninsula, which is presumably also where Jón was born, although his mother's name is unknown. Þórður remarried in 1648, and his second wife was Þórlaug Einarsdóttir, but he had no children by his second wife, making Jón his youngest son. Although Jón's father died when he was only four, he was fortunate in that he was fostered by his step-mother, Þórlaug, who was a well-to-do widow. Þórlaug gave Jón an initial share of the Bakki farm in 1668, when he reached the age of twenty. She promised additional property to Jón on the unusual condition that he show her deference and obedience:

63 Árni Magnússon, *Arne Magnussons Private Brevveksling*, 191.

64 Jón Samsonarson, “Ævisöguágrip Hallgríms Péturssonar eftir Jón Halldórsson,” *Afmálisrit til Dr. Phil. Steingríms J. Þorsteinssonar prófessors 2. júlí 1971 frá nemendum hans* (Reykjavík: Leiftur, 1971), 74–88, at 83.

their written contract ensured her foster-son's legal rights in the event of her death, but she did not hand over her wealth without providing for her own interests.<sup>65</sup> Nearly two decades later, on 29 November 1687, Þórlaug and Jón made a second written agreement following up on the first, which again contained provisions for Þórlaug's support during her lifetime.<sup>66</sup>

Jón was a member of the *Lögrétta* law council that met annually at the Alþingi at Þingvellir, and he seems to have had a keen interest in medieval manuscripts. Árni Magnússon received two medieval manuscripts from Vigfús Jónsson that Jón Þórðarson had formerly owned: a copy of *Lárentíus saga* (AM 406 a I 4to) and a copy of *Stjórn* (AM 617 4to). Almost nothing is known about Jón's wife, Helga Sigurðardóttir, except that her parents were the landowning farm couple Sigurður Árnason (1622–1690) and Elín Magnúsdóttir (1636–1723) of Stóru-Leirargarðir, who married in 1651 and had at least eleven children, of whom eight were alive at the time of the 1703 census. Helga had died before 11 June 1691, when her brothers Bjarni and Halldór drew up a contract concerning the division of property inherited from their late father and deceased sisters Helga and Margrét.<sup>67</sup> The formal contract between Þórlaug and Jón in 1687 likely anticipated his marriage, since it provided for his wife's financial security more concretely than his former agreement with his foster-mother.

In an important article on the transmission of medieval manuscripts in early modern Iceland, Susanne Arthur demonstrates the importance of kinship ties, especially maternal and matrimonial connections, in tracing the movements of manuscripts.<sup>68</sup> She points out that manuscripts were considered appropriate gifts for a groom and his family to present to his bride (a supplement to the dowry known as the *tilgjöf*), and she traces the provenance of several medieval manuscripts in this way. New manuscripts were also created as bridal gifts, and a surviving example of this practice is JS 232 4to, copied by Skúli Guðmundsson in 1688–1689 at the

65 Gunnar F. Guðmundsson (ed.), *Jarðabréf frá 16. og 17. öld: Útdráttir* (Copenhagen: Hið íslenska fræðafélag í Kaupmannahöfn, 1993), 29.

66 Gunnar F. Guðmundsson (ed.), *Jarðabréf frá 16. og 17. öld*, 40. In 1694, Jón bought a minor share in the Bakki farm from Þórlaug's nephew, Gísli Nikulásson, and it may be that that Þórlaug died in that year and left some property to her siblings' children.

67 Gunnar F. Guðmundsson (ed.), *Jarðabréf frá 16. og 17. öld*, 202.

68 Susanne 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.

request of his nephew Einar Jónsson and gifted to Einar's bride, Guðný Hjálmarsdóttir.<sup>69</sup>

It is entirely possible that Jón reorganised the manuscript into a unique wedding gift for Helga. This would be consistent with the age of the younger material and would also explain the extensive use of rich, imported colours and the ornate title-pages celebrating Helga's ownership of the book. One of the younger Lutheran prayers added to the *Margrétar saga* manuscript is a prayer for a husband or wife for the protection of his/her partner and household members from sin, shame and the dangers of fire and water, as would be appropriate in a gift from groom to bride.<sup>70</sup>

The note on f. 48v indicates that the manuscript's provenance held special significance for its seventeenth-century owners, pointing to a tentative connection between them and Helga Aradóttir. In tracing the manuscript's history from Helga Aradóttir and Helga Sigurðardóttir, it is worthwhile noting that Þórður Hinriksson was the nephew of Guðrún Gísladóttir, whose husband Magnús Björnsson was Helga Aradóttir's grandson and lived at Munkaþverá during Helga Aradóttir's final years. Magnús and Guðrún gifted AM 61 fol. to Þórður's sister, Jórunn Hinriksdóttir, and it is possible that *Margrétar saga* travelled from Munkaþverá to the south-west of Iceland in the first half of the seventeenth century due to these marital ties.<sup>71</sup> In this case, its owner after Þórður's death would presumably have been his second wife, Þórlaug Einarsdóttir, who chose to not marry again and to raise Jón as her son and primary heir. Given Jón's social status and close family connections with the Icelandic elite, it seems highly unlikely that he would have forged a provenance for the vellum.

Although Jón Halldórsson may have found the book's content superstitious, the verse from 1716 on f. 48v suggests that someone within the local community in West Iceland did have use for AM 428 a 12mo. Given the manuscript's content, this unknown user of the manuscript may have been specifically interested in *Margrétar saga* – perhaps in connection with a difficult pregnancy or labour.

69 Katelin Marit Parsons, "Songs for the End of the World: The Poetry of Guðmundur Erlendsson of Fell in Sléttuhlið" (PhD thesis, School of Humanities, University of Iceland, 2020), 188–94.

70 AM 428 a 12mo, 39r–40v.

71 Sigurjón Páll Ísaksson, "Magnús Björnsson og Möðruvallabók," *Saga* 32 (1994): 103–51, at 142.

Helga was sadly not long the owner of the beautifully rebound *Margrétar saga*, and the widowed Jón never remarried after Helga's death. He had a 21-year-old illegitimate daughter named Solveig who was living with him at the time of the 1703 census. Jón seems to have lived in comfort at Bakki to the end of his days: the 1703 census lists eight servants employed in his household. Jón had passed away by the time that Árni received *Margrétar saga*, but this and his other manuscripts were well cared for during his lifetime.

## Conclusion

At least for some early modern owners, a medieval copy of *Margrétar saga* represented an object of considerable prestige. The showy rebinding of *Margrétar saga* in AM 428 a 12mo, with new title-pages declaring its owner's name in red and gold and the conspicuous intermingling of newly copied Lutheran and Catholic prayers, is strong evidence against suppression of the saga in the seventeenth century. This is consistent with the findings of earlier research on medieval and Neo-Latin religious literature in early modern Iceland.<sup>72</sup>

Although early modern Icelandic clergymen must have been aware that *Margrétar saga* was associated with birthing practices, this was not sufficient to support the systematic destruction of copies of the saga. The legend of St. Margaret of Antioch received a positive reception from early modern Icelandic audiences, and the transition from vellum to the more fragile medium of paper provides the most obvious explanation as to why so few copies of her saga survive from the seventeenth century, especially in instances where the saga was originally copied as a small booklet. *Margrétar saga* in AM 428 a 12mo belonged to an upper-class Icelandic

72 Guðrún Nordal, "Á mörkum tveggja tíma: Kapólskt kvæðahandrit með hendi sið-bótarmanns, Gísla biskups Jónssonar," *Gripla* 16 (2005): 209–28, at 224–25; Einar Sigurbjörnsson, "Ad beatum virginem," *Brynjólfrur biskup – kirkjuböfðingi, fræðimaður og skáld: Safn ritgerða í tilefni af 400 ára afmæli Brynjólfs Sveinssonar 14. september 2005*, ed. by Jón Pálsson, Sigurður Pétursson and Torfi H. Tulinius (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2006), 64–77; Einar Sigurbjörnsson, "Lilja: Erindi á málþingi um bibliuleg stef í íslenskum forn-bókmenntum," *Ritröð Guðfræðistofnunar* 15 (2001): 155–75; Einar Sigurbjörnsson, "Má hún vel kallast makleg þess ...": Um Maríu Guðs móður," *Tímarit Háskóla Íslands* 5.1 (1990): 105–15.

woman, Helga Sigurðardóttir, whose husband not only valued vellum manuscripts but had the financial means to preserve them well.

That *Margrétar saga* circulated in paper booklets of one or two gatherings is a plausible explanation for why so few seventeenth-century copies have survived. If, as Jón Steffensen suggests, *Margrétar saga* indeed experienced a post-Reformation revival in popularity after a period of deliberate suppression, this period was considerably briefer than he posited: a revival must have already started in the later seventeenth century among wealthier landowning families such as those of Magnús Jónsson of Vigur and Helga Sigurðardóttir and Jón Þórðarson of Bakki. However, it is equally likely that these are the surviving remnants of an essentially continuous tradition that was never vigorously opposed. Unbound paper copies of *Margrétar saga* circulating between tenant farms and in fishing camps would hardly have had a long lifespan, particularly if they were actively used as birthing aids within the community.

The medieval provenance of *Margrétar saga* is in the foreground in AM 428 a 12mo, and it is here argued that this is partly due to the antiquarian interests of Jón Þórðarson. AM 428 a 12mo showcases one woman's matrimonial connections with Iceland's literary past, and as such the book can be considered a signifier of cultural capital.<sup>73</sup> This was amplified through the use of vellum as the writing support for the additions in 1689–1690, allowing the new leaves to blend in with the medieval material. Ultimately, whether the manuscript was reorganised in the seventeenth century to support Helga Sigurðardóttir in her devotional practices, aid her in childbed or preserve the memory of the literature of the past, her *Margrétar saga* was a book with a proud and conspicuous presence in the home.

73 Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, "Constructing Cultural Competence in Seventeenth-Century Iceland: The Case of Poetical Miscellanies," *Opuscula* 15 (2017): 277–320.

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 AM 428 a 12mo  
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## ÁGRIP

Galdur, *Margrétar saga* og handritamenning síðari alda

**Efnisorð:** *Margrétar saga*, heilög Margrét, AM 428 a 12mo, barnsburður, fæðingarhjálp, handritafræði, handrit kvenna á árnýöld

Dýrlingurinn Margrét frá Antíokkiu hefur lengi verið nátengd við fæðingu. Margrét á að hafa verið tekin af lífi snemma á fjórðu öld e.Kr. vegna trúar sinnar eftir að hafa hafnað rómverskum greifa sem vildi eignast hana og fá hana jafnframt til þess að láta af trúnni. Samkvæmt sögu Margrétar bað hún, rétt áður en hún var tekin af lífi, fyrir heilsu fæðandi kvenna og barna þeirra og sér í lagi ef eintak sögunnar væri til á heimilinu. Þíslarsaga Margrétar var talin búa yfir verndarmætti í barnsnaud og allnokkur handrit *Margrétar sögu* hafa varðveist frá miðöldum í litlu broti sem bendir til mögulegrar notkunar á barnssæng. *Margrétar saga* finnst í fjölda yngri handrita sem eru skrifuð eftir siðaskipti en aðeins tvö handrit eru frá sautjándu öld. Þeirri skýringu hefur verið varpað fram að vegna tengsla *Margrétar sögu* við fæðingarhjálp hafi sagan verið tengd við galdur í hugum fólks og að fæstir skrifarar hafi þorað að skrifa hana á liðlega 150 ára tímabili (um 1550–1719).

Greinin rekur eigendasögu AM 428 a 12mo á 17. öld og færir rök fyrir að *Margrétar saga* hafi ekki farið huldu höfði á Íslandi á þessum tíma. Handritið geymir *Margrétar sögu* frá fjórtándu öld en einnig tvær skreyttar titilsíður og ýmsar kaþólskar og lútherskar bænir sem Jón Þórðarson á Bakka í Melasveit (1648–1719) lét skrifa á bókfell á árunum 1689–1690. Af titilsíðunum má sjá að eigandi handritsins var kona Jóns, Helga Sigurðardóttir (d. fyrir 11. júní 1691). Litríku titilsíðurnar benda til þess að ekki hafi þótt óviðeigandi fyrir íslenska konu á seinni hluta sautjándu aldar að eiga glæsilegt eintak af *Margrétar sögu*. Líkur eru leiddar að því að stækkaða og endurinnbundna handritið hafi verið gjöf Jóns til Helgu og jafnvel brúðkaupsgjöf. Framsetning Jóns á *Margrétar sögu* leggur áherslu

á tengingu handritsins við kaþólska fortíð en meðal fyrri eigenda handritsins voru Jón biskup Arason (1484–1550) og Helga Aradóttir (c. 1538–1614). Því miður lifði Helga Sigurðardóttir ekki lengi eftir að hún fékk handritið en annar óþekktur notandi handritsins þakkaði afar innilega fyrir bókarlánið 3. febrúar 1716.

Pappír ruddi sér til rúms í íslenskri handritamenningu á fyrstu áratugum sautjándu aldar. Væri *Margrétar saga* skrifuð á pappír í svipuðu broti og AM 428 a 12mo væri endingartími kversins væntanlega ekki langur. Þetta kann að skýra hvers vegna *Margrétar saga* finnst ekki oftast í handritum frá 17. öld. Það er ósennilegt að sagan hafi verið sérstaklega tengd við iðkun galdurs á brennuöldinni. Aftur á móti voru gömlu skinnhandritin líklegri til þess að lifa af notkun og komast síðan í hendur safnara.

## SUMMARY

Magic, *Margrétar Saga* and Icelandic Manuscript Culture

**Keywords:** *Margrétar saga*, St. Margaret of Antioch, AM 428 a 12mo, childbirth, birthing practices, codicology, early modern women's manuscripts

Using the evidence of AM 428 a 12mo, this paper argues that ownership of *Margrétar saga* in early modern Iceland was not closely associated with witchcraft, as has been previously argued. *Margrétar saga* in AM 428 a 12mo dates from the fourteenth century but was rebound in 1689–1690 for an Icelandic woman named Helga Sigurðardóttir (d. before 11 June 1691), the wife of the landowner Jón Þórðarson of Bakki in Melasveit (1648–1719). A century earlier, it had belonged to the matriarch Helga Aradóttir (c. 1538–1614), and before Helga it had been owned by Jón Arason (1484–1550), the last Catholic bishop of Hólar. Although *Margrétar saga* continued to be associated with women and childbirth after the Reformation, its traditional use as a birthing aid did not lead to systematic suppression of its circulation in manuscript form. The transition from vellum to less durable paper is the most likely reason for the poor survival of early modern copies of the saga. AM 428 a 12mo is unusual in that Jón Þórðarson added new vellum leaves to the manuscript for Helga Sigurðardóttir, including two elaborate title-pages decorated with red and gold, and it is suggested that the volume was Jón's bridal gift to Helga. Jón's use of vellum was a deliberate aesthetic choice that served to protect the older fourteenth-century leaves until the volume came into the collection of Árni Magnússon.

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JON WRIGHT

## “EX MARGINIBUS”

### *Law-Book Marginalia Copied Out by Gissur Einarsson*<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT 11250 is made up of diverse fragments from the collection of Finnur Magnússon bound together when he sold them to the British Museum in 1837. The catalogue description – “FRAGMENTA MEMBRANACEA plurima, varii argumenti, partim Latine, partim Islandice, secc. xiii-xv.” – fairly drastically understates the range both of dates and of languages.<sup>2</sup> The youngest is certainly sixteenth-century, the oldest perhaps eleventh, and in addition to Latin and Icelandic we find German and Law French. Of the forty-six leaves and partial leaves, only seven are of definitely Scandinavian origin. Along with the fragment under discussion below, there is a leaf identified by Jón Þorkelsson as having come from AM 322 fol., an early fourteenth-century Norwegian law text; a partial leaf containing part of Bishop Árni Þorláksson’s Christian law; and a bifolium from the otherwise lost correspondence book of the early fourteenth-century Archbishop of Niðarós, Eilífr Árnason.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 This article and edition had its far-off origin in 2015 as a piece of MA coursework at University College London, under the supervision of David d’Avray, for whose expert and patient guidance I am immensely grateful. Elements of the introduction were also delivered as a paper at COLSONOEL in London, 2016, and at the 17th International Saga Conference in Reykjavík, 2018; my thanks also to the organisers of both conferences for the opportunity to present my preliminary work, and to the many attendees who offered useful suggestions. A great many other people at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar and elsewhere were kind enough to offer their time and expertise; among others I wish to thank Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, Margaret Cormack, Margrét Eggertsdóttir, Roberto Luigi Pagani, Ryder Patzuk-Russell and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir. Particular thanks for especially invaluable guidance are due to Gottskálk Jensson, Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, Már Jónsson and †Nigel Palmer.
- 2 Accessed via searcharchives.bl.uk.
- 3 Jón Þorkelsson, “Islandske håndskrifter i England og Skotland,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 8 (1891): 216–17; Jón Helgason, “Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library” (unpublished draft, rev. Jonna Louis-Jensen, 2008), np.

Of the remaining fragments, two are from German translations of the *Disticha Catonis*; Law French, meanwhile, is represented by a bifolium from a Year Book of Edward I covering lawsuits in the West Country in 1302. The remainder are Latin, mostly liturgical or devotional in nature: biblical commentaries, a probable lectionary, a *Liber extra*, a *capitulare evangelium*, and music in the form of a modest scrap from an antiphonary (covering parts of Matins for the feast of St John the Baptist). There are in addition bits of poetry, texts appearing to deal with canon law, part of Jacques de Guyse's history of Hainault, and a medical text.

Of these fragments, by far the most interesting – certainly the most unusual – is that which consists of the first three leaves (a bifolium and a singleton). It is fairly modest in size, each leaf being about 130 mm wide and 150 mm tall. The bulk of the recto of the first folio, and about half the verso, is a speech from the fifteenth century for the opening of a market in the Vestmannaeyjar between English and Icelandic merchants; this has been edited in *Diplomatarium Islandicum* and is not reproduced or further discussed here.<sup>4</sup> Of interest instead is the use to which the remainder of the fragment has been put.

### In the margins

The lower margins of the first leaf, together with the entirety of the second and third, are in the hand of bishop Gissur Einarsson (ca. 1512–1548), an identification first proposed by Jón Þorkelsson and readily confirmed by comparison with Gissur's correspondence book, AM 232 8vo.<sup>5</sup> In the lower margin of 1r, Gissur has added a citation from *Hávamál*, quoted by name:

[Obr]jigðara vin fær *madur* allðrei en mannvit *micet*. Havamal  
(A man can have no more reliable friend than great sense. *Hávamál*)

This strophe is not found in any earlier manuscripts except for the Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda, GKS 2365 4to; furthermore, of all the manuscripts to cite *Hávamál* prior to bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson's discovery

4 *DI* 4, 276–7, where it is dated to 1420; Jón Helgason, "Catalogue," np, suggests that it could be as late as 1500.

5 Jón Þorkelsson, "Íslandske haandskrifter," 212.

of the Codex Regius, this is the only one to cite it by name. Jón Helgason made the plausible suggestion that Gissur’s source was, indeed, the Codex Regius.<sup>6</sup> In that case the Codex Regius may have remained at Skálholt from Gissur’s time to Brynjólfur’s, although other possibilities are of course plausible.

The excerpt from *Hávamál* is followed by a passage from Magnús *lagabætir*’s Norwegian landslög dealing with circumstances surrounding the sale of *óðal* land, namely the lawful impediments that might obstruct an individual from exercising their allodial rights:

[Su] er naudsyn ef *madur* er felaus[.] Su er onnur naudzyn ef *madur* er vtan landz | [og] suo ef kongur giorer mann erinda sinna *eda* er hann siukr *eda* sar og suo ef | *hann* vissi *eigi* ad jord var bodin<sup>7</sup>  
(It is a lawful impediment if a man is penniless. It is another lawful impediment if a man is abroad and so if the king makes a man his messenger or he is ill or wounded and so if he did not know the land was offered.)

The lower margin of 1v is larger, and Gissur has made much more extensive use of it. There are four items. The first and third come from a 1247 letter of William of Sabina arising from his mission to Norway, while the second is a paraphrase of Pope Boniface (presumably VIII), possibly from the bull *Unam sanctam* although, if so, taking great liberties with the text; the fourth is a snippet of Icelandic law which I have not succeeded in identifying:

Vilialmur af Sabina legatē papans af Rum. Ef nockr uilldi *kiæra* | i mot *biskupe* þa skyllði *hann* *kiæra firer* Erchibiskupe. Ef nockr vill *kiæra* a prest | þa skyllði *hann* *kiæra firer biskupe* hans. hefdi nockr *leikmadur* andaligt mala[-] | efni ad *kæra* þa skyllði *hann* *kiæra firer biskupe*. Enn huer hefdi veralligt malefni hu[-] | ort sem *hann* uæri helldur prestur *eda* *leikmadur* þa skyllði *hann* *kæra firer kongi elligar firer* | þeim domara er kongur skipar *tíl* ad giora rett *manna* i millum. *firer utan* þau mal sem | kirkiunne heyra til.<sup>8</sup>

6 Jón Helgason, “Indledning,” in *Eddadigte*, ix–x.

7 Cf. *NGL* 2, 56.

8 Cf. *DI* 1, 550.

(William of Sabina, legate of the pope of Rome. If someone would make a complaint against a bishop, he should complain to the archbishop. If someone wishes to complain against a priest, then he should complain to his bishop. If a certain layman has a spiritual cause to complain, then he should complain to the bishop. But if anybody should have a secular cause to complain, then he should complain to the king or to those judges whom the king appoints to do right between men, excepting those matters which belong to the Church.)

Bonifacius *papa seiger suo* ad þau mal sem til heyra kirkiunne se dæmd firer kirkiunnar | domara enn *eigi firer* leikmanna valldi elligar felle þeir a sig bann

(Pope Boniface says that those matters which belong to the Church should be judged by the Church's judges and not by the secular power, otherwise they call excommunication upon themselves.)

Enn huer *firersmar* domarann og uill *eigi* dom standa og helldr annara manna eiginn | mote *laugum* og *rettindum* og uill *onguann* rett standa þa skal hann uita | sig falla i bann bædi *guds* og *manna*.<sup>9</sup>  
(But whoever despises the judge and will not accept judgement and holds another man's property against laws and rights and will not accept any right, then he shall know himself to fall into interdict, both God's and men's.)

Ero og bændur skyllder ad sia *logmanne firer* kost med *kongs* *umbodzmanne* suo leingi | sem hann situr huert .iij. ar vm haustid og sitia j þrim stodum *skipan magnus kongs* | vt *supra* ad giora rett.  
(Householders are also obliged to see to provisions for the *logmaðr* with the king's steward as long as he sits every third year in the autumn and sit in three places King Magnús' abovementioned order to do right.)

9 Cf. *DI* 1, 550.



## Ex marginibus

The remaining two leaves bear the heading “Annotationes ex marginibus legisterij [T]horuardi legiferi quæ non transtuli in meum legisterium” (Annotations from the margins of the law-book of Þorvarður *lögmaður* which I did not copy into my law-book) and consist entirely of various marginalia copied out by Gissur. “[T]horuardi legiferi” must refer to Þorvarður Erlendsson (c. 1466–1513) who was *lögmaður* for South and East Iceland from 1499 to his death in 1512/13 – this identification can be made partly because Gissur corresponded extensively with Þorvarður’s son Erlendur, and partly because he was the only *lögmaður* of that name.<sup>10</sup> As a collection of marginalia copied out separately from the text in whose margins they were originally written, the text appears to be entirely unparalleled. Although individual snippets have been edited or quoted, the whole – which we might consider as an accidental florilegium of sorts – has hitherto not been published in its entirety. It is reproduced below, followed by a commentary in which attempts have been made to identify the texts excerpted in Gissur’s collection (which has, unfortunately, not proved possible in every case), along with a translation into English.

The collection is wide-ranging and diverse; some items (e.g. réttarbætr both to *Jónsbók* and to Norwegian laws, quotations from other Icelandic and Norwegian laws) are directly relevant to their original law-book context, some (e.g. Latin and Icelandic proverbs on legal matters) more tangentially related, and some (e.g. Latin jokes, wordplay) are entirely unrelated. In some cases, Gissur has copied marginalia which would have been relevant in the margins of a *Jónsbók* but which are essentially meaningless elsewhere (for instance, “Su klaus er or tekinn bokinne er firerbydur at hafa dilkfe”, from item 151).

## Legisterium Thoruardi

It should in theory be possible to identify Þorvarður’s law-book (presumably a copy of *Jónsbók*, with or without other texts appended or incorporated) if it is still extant, by comparing marginalia in manuscripts of *Jónsbók* produced prior to Þorvarður’s death with those collected here. A survey

<sup>10</sup> Jón Þorkelsson, “Íslandske haandskrifter,” 212; *ÍÆ* 5, 252.

of such manuscripts has, however, yielded no fruit to date. It is therefore impossible to say whether the annotations which Gissur copied were the work of one individual (Þorvarður or otherwise) or several; it may be that Þorvarður was merely the latest in a long line of owners, many of whom added to the crowded margins of the manuscript.

It is, furthermore, impossible to say whether Gissur was in fact copying from a single manuscript. Gissur's heading uses the genitive singular "legisterij" and we may assume that at the time of writing he intended it to refer to a single law-book. This notwithstanding, there are indications which point to Gissur, having finished copying the marginalia from Þorvarður's law-book, carrying on with marginalia from others. There are three horizontal lines across the width of an entire column, all on 3r, which divide the text into four sections which we might for convenience refer to as A, B, C and D. Section A, the longest, runs from the beginning of the text at 2r, column 1, line 3 to 3r col. 1 l. 7; B from 3r col. 1 l. 8 to 3r col. 1 l. 20; C from 3r col. 1 l. 21 to 3r col. 2 l. 29; and D from 3r col. 2 l. 30 to the end of the text at 3v col. 2 l. 37. The contents of these four sections are distinct: for instance, A has a great preponderance of Latin, which is entirely absent from B and not much in evidence in C or D; only D has *Jónsbók réttarbætr*; C makes two (possibly spurious) references to *Sachsenspiegel*, not mentioned in any of the others; one short admonition ("Caue scurrilitatem varaztu osæmilegt gaman")<sup>11</sup> appears, with slightly different wording, in both A and D.

In short the appearance is of four separate collections of marginalia, accumulated by four separate individuals or groups of individuals with different interests and access to different sources. Most tellingly, A ends with a large chunk of the early part of the *Proverbia Wiponis*, which ends abruptly at the juncture with B; the likeliest explanation for such a relatively substantial block of text is that it was added to the blank space at the end of the manuscript.<sup>12</sup> The premature ending may be because there was not space to complete the *Proverbia* in the original or because the last leaf was lost or the verso of the last leaf abraded beyond the point of legibility.

11 Item 144, below; cf. item 33, "Caue scurrilitatem osæmiligt gaman".

12 Items 62–110, below, excluding items 70 and 100. The first few of the *Proverbia*, items 52 and 58–59, are mixed in with other marginalia, before the copying of the *Proverbia* begins in earnest.

It is, however, also possible to imagine the *Proverbia Wíponis* being used to fill blank space earlier in a manuscript, for instance at the end of a bálkr, and the supposition that Gissur copied from several law-books rather than one must remain conjecture. If Gissur did copy from more than one law-book, it is at any rate possible that they all came from Þorvarður’s library – see “*The Sópuður of séra Gottskálk Jónsson í Glaumbæ*” below.

## Meum legisterium

If Þorvarður’s law-book is lost to us, what of Gissur’s? There do not seem to be strong grounds for hope on that front either, since it has not been possible to identify a law-book clearly annotated in Gissur’s hand. There are some extremely faint marginalia on the last page, 133v, of AM 351 fol. (Skálholtsbók eldri) which *may* possibly be in Gissur’s hand but which are too damaged to make out with any clarity.<sup>13</sup> Tantalisingly, almost the only legible word is the name “Þoruardur”. AM 351 fol. was in Skálholt at the time of Gissur’s death, and it is therefore hardly in doubt that he would have had access to it.<sup>14</sup> However, even if these marginalia are in Gissur’s hand, AM 351 fol. would be a poor candidate for the “meum legisterium” to which Gissur’s title refers – there do not appear to be any other marginalia in his hand in Skálholtsbók eldri, whereas the title of the fragment strongly implies a law-book into which Gissur copied more than a couple of sentences.

## The *Sópuður* of séra Gottskálk Jónsson í Glaumbæ

One extant manuscript does show some intriguing connections with Gissur’s fragment: British Library Add. MS. 11242, a miscellany (*syropa*) mainly in the hand of Gottskálk Jónsson of Glaumbær (c. 1524–1590), known sometimes as *Sópuður*.<sup>15</sup> Ten of the items found in Gissur’s frag-

13 A handful of words about halfway down the right-hand side of the page, about level with lines 15–17 in the left-hand column, and a few lines at the bottom right beginning about level with the bottom of the left-hand column of text.

14 Stefán Karlsson, “Hauksnautur. Uppruni og ferill lögbókar,” *Sólhvarfasumbl*, ed. by Gísli Sigurðsson (Reykjavík: Menningar- og minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, 1992), 63.

15 For a fuller discussion of this fascinating collection, see Jón Þorkelsson, “Séra Gottskálk Jónsson í Glaumbæ og syropa hans,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 12 (1896), *passim*, and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Gagn og gaman séra Gottskálks Jónssonar í Glaumbæ,” *Greppaminni. Rit til heiðurs Vésteini Ólasyni sjötugum*, ed. by Margrét Eggertsdóttir et al. (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 2009), *passim*.

ment are also in Gottskálk's miscellany: the second excerpt from William of Sabina in the lower margin of 1v (36v in 11242), and items 24 (36v), 25 (37v), 26 (37r), 27 (36r), 35 (36r), 36 (66v), 48 (38r), 112 (37v) and 146 (65v). It is notable that the items in Gottskálk's miscellany are found in two clusters, suggesting that he may have copied them from the same source(s),<sup>16</sup> and that a number of items which are consecutive in Gissur's fragment are found close to one another in Gottskálk's text. It may also be worth noting that Gissur's and Gottskálk's manuscripts are respectively the oldest and second-oldest extant witnesses to item 27, a resolution of the *Alþingi* on the carrying of knives.<sup>17</sup>

However, I do not intend to suggest that Gissur's fragment was among Gottskálk's sources, since there are certain differences in the texts which argue against this. Some are not necessarily conclusive: for example, item 112 has the title "at eide fe sitt *og um* skatthald" in Gissur's fragment but "Ad vina eid at Skatte" in Gottskálk's; the beginning of the text proper is severely truncated by Gissur and the end omitted by Gottskálk, but both of these are conventional swearing formulae in any case. The most significant difference is in item 35: Gissur has "Sex aurum ofundar bot *edr* þockabot" where Gottskálk has "Sex avrum aufvndar bot en þ{*iorir?*} / tv[ei]r avrar þocka bote" – evidently both men were faced with an unclear exemplar when it came to the valuation of *þokkabót* and had different approaches to resolving the matter. I would suggest that they had, indeed, one and the same exemplar. Gottskálk's mother was Þorvarður's second wife and widow before marrying Gottskálk's father Jón, and Gottskálk's sister Guðrún married Þorvarður's son Erlendur (by his first wife), and there can therefore be little doubt that Gottskálk would have had access to Þorvarður's library;<sup>18</sup> given the shared texts, some of which I have been unable to find anywhere else,<sup>19</sup> it seems all but certain that Gottskálk drew on Þorvarður's law-book(s) as a source. The items found in Gottskálk's

16 The current arrangement of gatherings and pages in 11242 is not original, and it is therefore very possible that the items were originally closer together (the opposite is however not true, since several of the items share a page with one another). See *Gamall kveðskapur*, ed. by Jón Helgason (Copenhagen: Hið íslenska fræðafélag, 1979), 8.

17 *DI* 4, 1–2.

18 *ÍÆ* 1, 447; *ÍÆ* 2, 92.

19 This observation is presented with the caveat that manuscripts of this period are outside my field of particular expertise; that I have not found the texts elsewhere does not necessarily mean they are not to be found.

miscellany span the sections designated A, B and D above (see 1.3) as well as one of the texts in the lower margin of 1v; if those sections do indeed correspond to the marginalia of four separate law-books, the simplest explanation for both Gissur and Gottskálk having access to them is that they were all in Þorvarður’s library.

## A chronological curiosity

Item 70 states that St Óláfr died 1,023 years after the incarnation, an unusual date and one at odds with the general consensus; furthermore, not one easily arrived at by a misreading or slip of the pen. Although dates other than 1030 do crop up in some Norwegian sources, 1023 is not among them: Theodoricus monachus and *Ágrip* give 1029, the *Passio et miracula beati Olavi* gives 1028, and the Old Norwegian Homily Book gives 1024. Either of the latter two dates could readily lead to 1023 by the omission of a u or an i respectively. However, as David and Ian McDougall observe in the notes to their translation of Theodoricus monachus, all of the Icelandic sources to give a date for Óláfr’s death agree on 1030.<sup>20</sup> This explanation, then, would rely not just on a misreading but on a misreading of a dating otherwise unexampled in Icelandic historiography.

The second, more plausible, possibility is that 1023 was intended, and that it derives from the calendar of Gerlandus the computist. Gerlandus dated Christ’s birth to the year 8 according to the preceding (and our) chronology; accordingly, our 1030 would be 1,023 years after the incarnation. This would be a very satisfying conclusion, except that Gerlandus’ chronology, having been current in Iceland since perhaps the middle of the twelfth century, appears to have been falling out of use by the mid-to-late thirteenth century – for instance, Sturla Þorðarson, writing *Hákonar saga Hákonarson* in 1264–65, uses the current chronology.<sup>21</sup> *Jónsbók*, meanwhile, was first promulgated in 1281. The likeliest explanation is thus that this date was copied from annalistic material in an older manuscript – but

20 Theodoricus monachus, *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium. An Account of the Ancient History of the Norwegian Kings*, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series 9, trans. and annotated by David and Ian McDougall (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1998), 88–89.

21 Ólafía Einarsdóttir, *Studier i kronologisk metode i tidlig islandsk historieskrivning*, Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis 13 (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1964), 140.

it is not clear why this was done, given that the information must have been obsolete at the time of copying and there is no accompanying commentary drawing attention to this fact.

## Sachsenspiegel

Items 119 (in Icelandic) and 131 (in Middle Low German) are both attributed to *Sachsenspiegel* (“Sassenspeigill seiger suo þad er logbok j þyduerska landi”, 119), which on the face of it would seem to be strong evidence for that text circulating in some form in Iceland. However, neither provision appears to have a parallel in the text of *Sachsenspiegel* as preserved in German manuscripts.<sup>22</sup> As an example, item 131 deals with the making of false seals (“Se dar valske jnngesegel maken...”); “ingesegel/ingesigel” occurs three times in *Sachsenspiegel*, at least in Eckhardt’s edition (Landsrecht III 34 § 1, pp. 215–16 and III 64 § 1, p. 249 and Lehnrecht 72 § 1, pp. 109–10), none of which provisions is remotely close in either wording or meaning to item 131 in Gissur’s fragment. Whether the passages come from a lost variant of *Sachsenspiegel* or from another German lawbook which the scribe of Gissur’s exemplar misidentified, or whether the attribution is entirely spurious, has unfortunately not been possible to ascertain. One further item, 132, is in a mix of Middle Low German and Icelandic; it seems also to be legal in nature though it is not attributed to any particular law code and has not been identified.

## Borgarþingslög

Item 146 claims to be from the Borgarþingslög. Most of the Borgarþingslög, with the exception of the *Kristinréttur*, has been lost, and the text here is not among what little survives.<sup>23</sup> I have not been able to find it in any other text or manuscript, with the exception of British Library Add. MS 11242, which for reasons outlined above cannot be considered

22 cf. *Sachsenspiegel. Landrecht*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui, Nova Series I.1, ed. by Karl August Eckhardt, 2nd edition (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1955), *passim*, and *Sachsenspiegel. Lehnrecht*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui, Nova Series I.1, ed. by Karl August Eckhardt, 2nd edition (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1956), *passim*.

23 *De eldste østlandske kristenrettene*, ed. by Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen and Magnus Rindal (Oslo: Riksarkivet, 2008), ix: 226–231.

an independent witness; thus, if the attribution is genuine, this is an otherwise unknown survival from a largely lost early medieval Norwegian law-code. We should, however, be cautious about accepting the attribution at face value, especially in light of the (pseudo-?) *Sachsenspiegel* excerpts mentioned.

## Text

### *Notes on the text*

The transcription broadly follows the principles outlined by Stefán Karlsson in *Islandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450* except that all abbreviations and suspensions have been expanded in italics; the text is presented with the original line divisions intact and these have therefore not been further marked (except in the case of items in the margins which are split over two lines within the height of one line of the main text).<sup>24</sup> Illegible text is shown between square brackets, with zeroes where a plausible reading cannot be supplied. Text added above the line is enclosed \thus/, text added in the margins /thus\, and deleted text |thus|. The orthography has been left intact except in as far as variant forms of letters (round-backed versus straight-backed d, Insular vs. Caroline f, r vs. r-rotunda, tall vs. round s) have not been preserved. Gissur’s orthography, presumably reflecting that of his source(s), varies somewhat from one item to another; abbreviations have been expanded in line with the prevailing orthography of the individual items in which they are found rather than with that of the fragment as a whole, except where the item itself offers no clue, with the result that the expansions are not wholly consistent from one item to another. Spaces have been silently added where words have run together and hyphens where words are split over two lines. The individual items have been numbered for ease of reference. The text is otherwise presented as faithfully as possible, without normalisation.

<sup>24</sup> Stefán Karlsson, *Islandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450. Tekst*, Editiones Arnarnagnæana series A, 7 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), lxvii–lxviii.

Annotationes ex marginibus legisterij [T]horuardi legiferi  
quæ non transtuli in meum legisterium.

[2r col. 1]

1. Suo a valldzmadur at uera lærdr \viss/ uel  
gudhræddur og vagiarn
2. *Katholicus* godkristinn *id est* rettruadur
3. *Ignorantia facti non iuris excusat*
4. *Augustinus dicit Quod non accipit christus accipit fiscus*
5. *Notarius publicus einn*<sup>25</sup> opinber skrifari
6. *Priuilegium personale personam sequitur et  
extinguitur cum persona*
7. *Hoc flamen uentus hic flamen presbyter unus*
8. *Qui timet deum faciet bona*
9. *Consilium semper a sapiente perquirere*
10. *Sapientia semper sapienter agit*
11. *Fla facit ardorem sed fra largitur odorem*
12. *Terminus est finis, mors funus cordaque funis  
Vtilis est fimus \tad/ sed fumus ab igne recedit*
13. *Quicumque uult saluus esse in taberna debet esse  
In die dominica nisi bene biberit saluus esse non poterit*
14. *Si deus nobiscum quis contra nos*
15. Enn ef her er von i land uort *et cetera* tueir  
hierlendskir og einn utlendzkr skulu vord hall-  
da vr annara konga rikium.
16. *Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine. benedictus uir qui  
confidit in domino et erit dominus fiducia eius.*
17. *Lex ibi deprimitur \nidrtryckizt/ vbi non ratio sed potestas dominatur*
18. *Sepe solet census hominum peruertere sensus*
19. *Non domus est pacis ubi regnat lingua loquacis*
20. Þui minne<sup>26</sup> eg þig N edr ydr upp a einn tima annan
- 25 Or "enim"? There is a possible dot which suggests that the three minims written are "in" rather than "ni", but it is not very clear and this reading is very awkward (though "enim" is not really satisfactory either).
- 26 A very uncertain reading. The word as written appears to be "min" with a nasal stroke over the "n" and the abbreviation sign for "er", but "minner" does not work grammatically here.



tima og þridia tima *etcetera*, ad þier gioret sem lo-  
gim bioda og skipa ydr ad giora, [ooo] og þat *et cetera*

21. [Nu]lla ualent opera si qua deest opera /*id est* gaum | gæfi<sup>27</sup>
22. [...oo] ero i spiotskaptz enda.
23. [Med lau]gum skal land uort byggia enn med ola-  
[ugum] eyda.

[2r col. 2]

24. Þa er brudlaup giort at logum ef madr /logradandi | fastnar konu<sup>28</sup>  
festir ser konu med . ij vottum og se . vj .  
menn at brudlaupi hid fæsta og gange i  
liose i somu sæng med henni
25. Laugin ero brædra sættir eda samtycke<sup>29</sup>
26. Numen guddomsmakt. sententia vrskurdur
27. Þetta uar samþykt i laugrettu a alþingi  
og dæmt af laugrettumonnnum a audru ari  
eptir frafall virduligs herra hakonar konungs hins ko-  
ronada, at eingi skal bera uppbundinn hn-  
if þann sem skockr eda hiaullt uæri a  
skapti enn ef borinn er suare þriggia aura  
sekt og hnifurinn upptækur og at alþingis  
manna domrofi . iiij . morkum.
28. Decet regem discere legem
29. legem seruare est regnare
30. Notitia litterarum lux est animarum
31. Nouus rex noua lex
32. Vbicumque es u[e]l quicquid agis cogita te vultum  
deinde nunquam deuitare neque declinare
33. Caue scurilitatem osæmiligt gaman

Gissur also uses the “er”-abbreviation for terminal “e” in Latin infinitives (see, for example, “peruertere” in item 18, above); such usage in Icelandic seems improbable but at least gives a grammatical and coherent reading.

- 27 Very small and faint to the right of the Latin sentence, two lines in the height of one.
- 28 Slanted upwards in the upper margin, evidently a heading to the item following.
- 29 It is apparent that “*eda samtycke*” follows “*urskurdur*” in the line below, i.e. as a further gloss to “*sententia*”. In Gottskálk Jónsson’s miscellany item 25 follows the second part of item 26 (the first part is omitted there): “*Sententia urskurdur eda samþycke. log ero brædra sættir*”, fol. 37v.

34. Eg mun a morgin ueita andsuor þinu  
erindi þa ero uier aller odruckner og med  
fullri skynsemd. þar uar mikil olteite.
35. Sex aurum ofundar bot *edr* þockabot
36. i sudra logmannzdæminu v nefndar menn og xl.  
Nordan xiiij. og xx.
37. Huer sem eigi lykr tillaugu \nef⟨n⟩dar kaa\v/p/30 fe sem skilt er  
þa sekizt hann mork

[2v col. 1]

38. [En] sa er eigi uill [od]r[um] laug vnna hann skal eigi  
laga niota. seigi laugmadur þeim eingi laug þa  
xij manudi
39. Sier sparer þræll þrinætta myki
40. baren og framankomen soknargogn aull
41. Menn skulu fastandi til þings ganga og sitia þing þa  
sol er j austre og uera a þinge til Nons.
42. Cera lapis plumbum sunt testes fiscis  
et aurum. þessir daudir hlutir mega manne uitri bera.
43. Qui falsum narrat nichil impetrat
44. Omnia transibunt preter amare deum
45. Quod non est licitum in lege neccessitas facit licitum.
46. Neccessitas non habet legem. neccessitas frangit legem.
47. Cum sapiente uiro consilium habe et quere.
48. /decretalium | Catholicum.\<sup>31</sup> Alldrei a hinn hærri at dæmazt af  
hinum lægra
49. Salamon seigir þecki<sup>32</sup> utan rad ecki uera gioranda og fram  
faranda. hugsa sig uel um þess helldr stærra mal er
50. Cum stultis non habebis consilium
51. Melior est sapientia quam uires
52. Dormire non multum exhilarat \þeckilegt giorer/ uultum
53. Þa barde hann knafann for hann optazt i sueit  
med knaupum og þionuztu monnum.

30 Between the lines, evidently as a heading to item 37. The “v” is further written above the second “a” of “kaap”, correcting it to “kavp” (though without deleting the “a” in any way).

31 In the left margin.

32 Both struck through and subpunctuated.

54. *per ihesum christum. potum benedicimus istum*  
 55. *Tres infælicitates in lege leguntur. scilicet qui nescit et non interrogat. Qui scit et non docet Qui docet et non facit quod docet malum exemplum dedit.*  
 56. *Tria sunt que retinent hominem in bono et referant a malo id est amor dei, metus gehenne desiderium celestis regni. et tria sunt que hominem ducunt ad infernum id est cogitatio immunda, verbum alienum, opus prauum et alia tria que ducunt ad celeste regnum. cogitatio bona verbum bonum opus perfectum.*  
 57. *Mellifluus ihesus sit nobis potus et esus.*  
 58. *Sepius offendit qui lumen non accendit*  
 59. *Qui habet scientiam ornat sententiam*  
 60. *Ossa hominis sunt numero. cc . vij . Venæ ccc. lx. v. Dentes in perfecta etate xxx.iiij.*

[2v col. 2]

61. *Quot sunt claues sapientiæ? V. quæ?*  
*Assiduitas legendi, memoria retinendi honor magistri, contemptus deliciarum, frequens interrogatio*  
 62. *Melior est sapientia quam secularis potentia*  
 63. *plus uincit sensus<sup>33</sup> quam multiplex census*  
 64. *Sapiens est multum qui amat dei cultum*  
 65. *Vir fidelis coronabitur in cœlis.*                      66. *Qui fidus est seniori*  
 67. *Bene credit qui neminem ledit.*                      *adproximat honori*  
 68. *Melius est in deo sperare quam diuitias congregare*  
 69. *Qui confidit in deo fortis est ut Leo*  
 70. *fra falle<sup>34</sup> .S. Olafs Ab incarnatione Domini m.xx.iiij.*  
 71. *Charitas non ficta odit delicta.*                      72. *Regnum celorum*  
 73. *fortissima spes beatificat res*                      *non est inuidorum*  
 74. *Qui diligit fratrem placat deum patrem*

33 The initial “s” is written over a “c”.

34 It is not clear whether this is two words or one; neither option is completely satisfactory. “Frá falli” would explain the dative ending but fits oddly with how the rest of the item is phrased. If on the other hand “fráfall” is meant, then the dative ending is hard to explain – possibly the item was originally part of a longer sentence which called for it.

75. *Melius est se humiliare quam se exaltare,*  
 76. *humilis homo triumphat in domo*  
 77. *Qui per ardua uadit sepe cadit*  
 78. *Viri mites rennuunt lites*  
 79. *Qui assidue rixantur a paucis amantur*  
 80. *malos pro deo tolerare est superare*  
 81. *pacis donum omnibus est bonum*  
 82. *Qui in Pace fundantur non eradicantur*  
 83. *Incendium bellorum, corruptio est morum*  
 84. *homo pudicus anime est amicus*  
 85. *Vbi frequens est luxuria non deerit penuria*  
 86. *Voluptas mundana semper est uana* 87. *bene orat qui in*  
 88. *Iudicis sententiam oportet sequi clementiam* 87. *corde plorat*  
 89. *Melius est interdictum ignoscere quam uindictam poposcere*  
 90. *Qui miseretur misericordiam consequetur*  
 91. *Verbum ueritatis subuenit iudicatis*  
 92. *Falsus in ore caret honore.* 93. *Omnis auarus nulli*  
 94. *Qui falsitate uiuit animam occidit* 93. *est carus*  
 95. *Qui hylaris est dator hunc amat saluator* 96. *bonum tribuere non est*  
 97. *Vbi pugnat oratio ibi uincitur tribulatio.* 96. *minuere.*  
 98. *Incassante orare est delicta purgare*  
 99. *Qui non potest ieiunare discat elemosynam dare.*  
 100. *Melius est manducare quam aliis nihil dare.*  
 101. *Bene uigilat qui a bono non cessat.*  
 102. *Melius est interdum dormire quam diabolo seruir[e]*  
 103. *Vbi est uera penitentia dei est clementia*

[3v col. 1]

104. *Valde decipitur qui nunquam corripitur.*  
 105. *Amicabilis increpatio non est damnatio*  
 106. *Oleum peccatoris laus est adulatoris.*  
 107. *Vbi longa est ebrietas ibi breuis est pietas*  
 108. *Vinum multum et forte parum distat a morte*  
 109. *per crapulam cibi et potus perit homo totus*  
 110. *per moderantiam peruenitur ad abundantiam.*
-

111. hударfiordungur utledralaus .xv. alnum,  
 xij alnum *med* ledrum *firer* skatt ij fior-  
 iiij. gellingsgiærur *firer* skatt *dungur* hудар  
 halfuætt ullar j einn skatt. *j eyrer j silfre*  
 iij. fiordung smiors *eda* ij.  
 hud er uegur vij merkr og xx. gamallt j skatt<sup>35</sup>
112. At eida fe sitt og um skatthalld  
 Til þess leggur þu etcetera.<sup>36</sup>  
 ad þu att suo fe sem nu hefur þu talt *edr*  
 talid *edr* minna þat er þu ert *edr* siert skylldagur  
 til ad uirda til skattz og þu hefur aunguu fe af  
 leynt ne undan skotid olauglega og þetta giorder  
 þu *firer* ongra mvna saker annara enn laga og rettinda  
 at suo stofudum eidi se þier gud hollur sem þu satt *segir*. gramur  
 ef þu lygur

113. Sapientia ornat hominem.      114. silentium est signum sapientie  
 115. christus semper est laudandus.      116. R.b.E.K.  
 Þad er *firer*bodit ad fleiri seu lensmenn enn .ij. j hueriu  
 fylki vtan fleiri se syslumenn þa ma huer hafa einn
117. Jllur vani er ecki halldandi. Dist viij.  
 118. Hefnd er tuefolld sumer hefna sin *med* uerkum enn sumer *med* rett.  
 119. Ef *madur* drepr annann mann uiliandi þa hogg h[O]  
 af Sassenspeigill seiger suo þad er logbok j þyduerska | landi
120. R.K.H.  
 ad þar sem *madr* drap mann matte adur *med* sektum  
 nodga frændur sina þa er huorki uoru valldandi ne ra-  
 dandi til febota *med* sier þa skal af þess eins fe bæ-  
 ta er drap erfingia hins dauda einum.
121. [Vi]m ui repellere licet. nauduaurn.

35 “gamallt j skatt” is, despite the layout, more likely to belong with the line above, thus: “iij. fiordung smiors *eda* ij. gamallt j skatt”. At any rate the neuter adjective cannot agree with “hud”, though it is also possible that a word was omitted either by Gissur or in his exemplar. It is worth noting that the grammar throughout this item is extremely muddled.

36 *etcetera* ] hond a helga bok og svo skytur þu þinu male til gudz (BL Add. MS. 11242, 37v.)

[3r col. 2]

122. Ef *madur* a baurn vid eiginkonu sinni *medan hann er* j utlegd þa ero þø *ecki* arfgeing huorki til *fodurarfs* ne *modurarfs nema fader hans uerdi* ilendur.
123. Enn huern krankleika sem *madur* hefur þann sem *batnadur er eigi* at uon *suo* hann uerdi þingfær þa er hann skal heimanrida. og skal þann mann *eigi* nefna, enn nefna ma hann ef hann uerdr fær adur hann þarf heiman at rida.
124. *Humilis castus largus patiens et moderatus congaudens fortis sic septem crimina tollis.*
125. Sa er at uige sannur er uottar bera a hond huort sem er kona edur kall*madur* Enn ef kona sannar uig a hond þa skulu uottar fylgia sogu konu a þinge þeir er fyrst hitter hun.
126. Ef *madur* drepr mann til dauds þa a sa at uera bane mannz.
127. Enn uiduistarmenn skulu uig skilia huar sem þeir ero uidstadder.
128. Enn þad ero laug j noregi og a alla *ðanska* tungu ef *madur* þyrmer *eigi* gridum at sa er utlægur firer endalan-gann noreg og firergiort bædi londum sinum og lausafe og skal alldre sidan j land koma.
129. Po er rett ad hann seigi *suo* enn *eigi* meir enn hann seigitz bane hans hans<sup>37</sup> ef hann geck af daudum manne hann skal lyst hafa *samdægris* ef hann ma.
130. Quia ipse dat *consilium* uel iuuat ad hoc quod aliquis /Summula Raymun- | di<sup>38</sup> interficiatur. quia consilium facit hominem reum in facto
131. Se dar valske jnngesegel maken vn<sup>de</sup> dar tho raden, sint se eigen manne, me schal se ent-howen. Synt se vry me schal se in dat elende senden. Sassen spegel.

37 Dittography.

38 Above and into the right-hand margin; evidently a heading or note to 130.

132. J slik mann heft<sup>39</sup> bote no s[oo]er bort, ef hann brytur þad ecki af sier so dat he rechtelos gewordenden sy,
133. Einginn skal rett seigia epter sinum heila eda epter sinum uilia eda sinu sinne helldr epter skrifudum laugum.
134. Opt ma a daudan liuga. og a blindann bera.  
[3v col. 1]
135. Ef menn sia skogarmann er þeir fara leidar sinnar og vardar þeim eigi þott þeir take hann eigi ef þeir eiga ecki uid hann enn ef þeir eiga vid hann kaup eda nockr mauk eda rada honum nockur Ræd þau er hann se nærr life sino enn adur og er þad biorg uid hann og vardar þad Fiorbaugs gard. Þad er skogarmannz biarge er menn giora uid hann eda rada honum þad er hann er lijfe sinu nærr enn adur.
136. Sa uerdr fe at girnazt er feþurfe er og uill nockud ad hafazt.
137. Þessi einkamal voru tekin med radi Hakonar kongs hins koronada sonar sonar Suerris kongs med asia magnus kongs sonar hans. Einars Erchibiskups og liodbiskupa lendra manna og lærdra logmanna og allra annara hinna uitruztu manna i landino at minka manndrapin. lizt oss þad likast til at log hins helga olafs kongs standi epter þui sem hann skipadi. þo ad þess hafi eigi hier til giætt uerit firer fegirndar saker at sa er mann drepr saklaust hafi firer giort fe og fridi og se utlægur og ogilldur huar sem hann uerdr staddr bædi kongi og karle.
138. R B K kristierns  
Firerbiodum uier uorum fouitum umbodszmonnum fataekann og rikann olauglega edr omogulega beskatu gripa edr j fangelsi turn edr iarn setia utan dom og log, vtan þeir menn sem eigi uilia logum suara eigi stefnur sækia edr eigi brot sin bæta eda doma hallda edr og þeir menn sem logbok uor lofar at gripa saklaust

39 Or hest? The language here is unclear though the middle is Icelandic and the end German.

139. Qui *multum fatur stultissimus esse probatur*  
 140. Quanto *gradus altior, tanto casus grauior*  
 141. Consuetudo male inuenta, *quanto diuturnior*  
 tanto periculosior  
 142. Vinum modice *sumptum acuit ingenium*  
 143. Cogitat in estate *sapiens quo uiuat in hyeme*  
 144. Caue *scurrilitatem* varaztu osæmilegt gaman  
 145. Heimskr domare sa er þarf til annara annsuara  
 ad leita a ekki ad uera

[3v col. 2]

146. Þar sem *madur* uerdr megin *\veginn/* og er ecki godz efter og  
 þo ad skullder seu efter þa skulu *eigi* skullder lukazt  
 af gialldum þuiat þad uar *eigi* godz hins dauda  
 helldr rettur erfingians. J borgar þings logum.  
 147. Ef *madur* hitted *mann* a helgudu þinge er *eigi* a<sup>40</sup> þing  
 ad fara hafi uid uotta og taki þann *mann*<sup>41</sup>  
 148. Svo skal korum skipta ok kerlingum sem odrum skylld[um]  
 nu uirdizt þad fe iij merkr firer omaga huern v[al]  
 ef meir er skal þad huorki vaxa ne þuerra gialld[e]  
 slikt sem hann tok. norsk laug.  
 149. Ef *madur* uill selia land sitt uid uerdi *etcetera*. En ef seli-  
 ianda þicker þar *eigi* god skila von þo ad til se f[e]  
 þa skal hann fa vordzlu *mann* firer sig þann er skynsomu[m]  
 monnum þicke godur skulldunatur. nu bydur hann *eigi* suo  
 og selur audrum þa skal hinn seigia osatt sina  
 a [oo]<sup>42</sup> a næstum .xij manudum er hann ueit og hann ma fyrer  
 nockura naudsynia saker og taka þad land til sin fyrer  
 iafna aura sem hinn keypti og med slikum gialldogum  
 þuiat log riufa þad kaup Enn ef hann ryfer *eigi* suo þa er  
 fast þad kaup J islendzke logbok stod suo skrifat

40 Eyeskip: there should be another “a” here.

41 There is possibly some very faint text after “mann”; if so it is too faint to be legible.

42 It is not clear what might be missing here, although something evidently is. Judging by the *Óðalskapituli* in Ólafur Halldórsson’s edition, there is no text which ought to go here and indeed one “a” is superfluous. One plausible reading would be “þingi”, but the damaged area is too small – the ascender and descender of the þ would still be visible in that case.



150. Ef *madur* vill selia land sitt uid verdi þa skal hann bioda *med* uitnum hinum nanazta frænda sinum, fyrst ad kaupa [ef]ter jofnu verdi. Nu [by]dur hann ecki suo og selr *audrum* þa ma hann taka þad land til sin fyrer iafna aura sem hinn keypti og *med* slikum gialld[o] gum þui ad log Riufa þad kaup .  
Suo skal huert kaup uera sem vottur *eda* vitne ueit, þad er bok mælr *eigi* j mote.
151. Su klaus er or tekin bokinne er *firerbydur* at ha fa dilkfe. og þad Capitulum er *firerbydur* ad þeir menn reisi bunad er minna fe eigo enn til .v. hundrada. nu dæmt . 3.c.
152. Hauldur er einfyndr ad hual *edr* haulde betr[i]
153. Enn ef *landzdrottinn* kallar suo ad *umbodz* *madur* hafid [tek]it af eign hans og sier nytt. huort sem þad er innan gardz *edr* utan gardz og vita goder menn a þui skil þa [meti] goder menn huers *landzdrottinn* hefir m[ist]

## Commentary

3. The overall sentiment expressed here is something of a commonplace; the exact wording is that of Boniface VIII’s *Regulae Iuris*, nr. 13.<sup>43</sup>
4. Attributed to Augustine, *Sermones supposititii* 86, with slightly different wording: “Hoc tollis fiscus, quod non accipit Christus”.<sup>44</sup>
6. From Boniface VIII’s *Regulae Iuris*, nr. 7.<sup>45</sup>
7. There seems to be a similar phrase in John of Garland’s *Equivoca*, for which unfortunately I have only been able to find online transcriptions of early modern incunabula. A rather more prolix variation on the theme can be found in Eberhard of Béthune’s *Græcismus*: “Hoc flamen neutri pro flatu debet haberi, | Hic si praecedat, stantem Iouis ad sacra signat: | A flo flas flamen, a filo dicito flamen.”<sup>46</sup>

43 Cf. *CICan* 2, col. 1122.

44 Cf. *PL* 39, col. 1912.

45 Cf. *CICan* 2, col. 1122.

46 Accessed via the Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership, quod.lib.umich.

8. Sirach 15:1.
9. Tobit 4:19.
10. Jerome, *Commentariorum in evangelium Matthæi* III. The passage also appears in, for example, Venerable Bede, *In Marci evangelium expositio* III, and Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Matthæum* VI.<sup>47</sup>
11. From Eberhard of Béthune's *Graecismus*. The "fla" and "fra" are not complete words but morphemes whose underlying meanings Eberhard is attempting to elucidate, as is made clear by the line which follows: "Ignis enim flagrat, sed poma recentia fragrant."<sup>48</sup>
13. The beginning ("Quicumque vult salvus esse...") and end ("...salvus esse non poterit") are those of the Athanasian Creed. The middle is less theologically orthodox. Given the reference to a *taberna*, the parody can scarcely be Icelandic in origin.
14. Romans 8:31.
15. From Magnús *lagabætir* Hákonarson's Norwegian town law, section 3, chapter 4 ("Um uita uardhald ok vm sectir"), here substantially truncated.<sup>49</sup>
16. Jeremiah 17:5 and 17:7.
24. From *Grágás*: the Arfaþátr of the Konungsbók version, chapter 118 in Vilhjálmur Finsen's edition; the Festaþátr of the Staðarhólsbók version, chapter 171 in the edition; and the Kristinna laga þátr of Skálholtsbók eldri, chapter 8 in the edition.<sup>50</sup> Also found in Gottskálf Jónsson's miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242, 36v.
25. Also found in Gottskálf Jónsson's miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242, 37v.
26. Also found in Gottskálf Jónsson's miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242, 37v.
27. This item is edited from the present manuscript in *Diplomatarium Islandicum*.<sup>51</sup> Also found in Gottskálf Jónsson's miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242, 36r.

edu/e/eebo/A01476.0001.001/1:3.143?rgn=div2;view= fulltext; *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus*, ed. by Ioh. Wrobel (Wrocław: G. Koebner, 1887), 113.

47 Cf. respectively, *PL* 26, col. 463; *PL* 92, col. 253; and *PL* 107, col. 1058.

48 *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus*, ed. by Ioh. Wrobel (Wrocław: G. Koebner, 1887), 154.

49 Cf. *NGL* 2, 201.

50 Cf., respectively, *Grg* 1 i, 222; *Grg* 2, 204; and *Grg* 3, 30.

51 *DI* 4, 1.

- 28–30. The beginning of the *Proverbia Wíponis*, minus “Audiat rex quod præcipit lex”; the *Proverbia* continue below, items 52, 58–9, 62–69, 71–99 and 101–110.<sup>52</sup>
34. From *Eindriða þáttr ilbreiðs* in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*.<sup>53</sup>
35. Also found in Gottskálf Jónsson’s miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242, 36r.
36. Also found in Gottskálf Jónsson’s miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242, 66v.
38. Though this is arranged as a single item here, the two sentences are not consecutive in their likely source and appear here out of order. The first is originally from the older *Frostþingslög*, section 1, chapter 6 (“At lögum se land vart bygt”), appearing also in chapter 3 of the þingfarabálkr of *Járnsíða*; in both those texts it follows immediately from the more famous “með lögum skal land vort bygja...”. The second sentence is from slightly earlier in the *Járnsíða* þingfarabálkr, chapter 2.<sup>54</sup>
40. Evidently a formulation for closing a prosecution and allowing the defence to begin. Though I have not been able to find this exact wording elsewhere, a similar formula is found, for example, in *Njáls saga* c. 142: “nú eru öll sóknargögn fram komin, þau er sökinni eigu at fylgja at lögum”.<sup>55</sup>
41. From the older *Frostþingslög*, section 1, chapter 3 (“Enn um siðsemi á Frostþingi”); also occurs in Magnús *lagabætir* Hákonarson’s Norwegian landslög, section 1, chapter 3 (“Logmaðr skal lata vebond gera”).<sup>56</sup>
43. Proverb of unknown origin, although a variant (“Qui male narrat, nihil impetrat”) is found in a sermon by the German theologian Thomas a Kempis (c. 1380–1471).<sup>57</sup>

52 Cf. *PL* 142, col. 1259.

53 Cf. *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, vol. 2, Editiones Arnarnagænar, series A, 2, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1961), 217.

54 Cf. *NGL* 1, 128; *Jrn*, 5; and *Jrn*, 2–3.

55 *Brennu-Njáls saga*, Íslenzk fornrit 12, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1954), 391.

56 Cf. *NGL* 1, 128 and *NGL* 2, 14–15.

57 Mia Korpiola, “Medieval Iconography of Justice in a European Periphery: The Case of Sweden, ca. 1250–1550,” *The Art of Law. Artistic Representations and Iconography of Law and Justice in Context, from the Middle Ages to the First World War*, Ius Gentium: Comparative

47. Slightly abridged from Thomas a Kempis (attrib.), *De imitatione Christi*, book 1, chapter 4: “Cum sapiente et conscientioso viro consilium habe; et quære potius a meliore instrui, quam tuas adinventiones sequi.”<sup>58</sup>
48. A very similar formulation is found in the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, c. 16, Idem Archiepiscopo Colocensi, I, 33: “Quum inferior superiorem solvere nequeat vel ligare ...” (Whereas the inferior is unable to release nor bind the superior...). Also found in Gottskálk Jónsson’s miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242, 38r, but with the attribution “Sancte Tome” – evidently St. Thomas Aquinas, since there is a comparable sentence in the *Summa Theologiae*, Supplement to Part Three, Quaestio 20: “Sed in exteriori foro inferior non potest superiorem excommunicare aut absolvere superiorem.” (But in the exterior court the inferior is not able to excommunicate nor absolve the superior).<sup>59</sup>
51. Wisdom 6:1.
52. *Proverbia Wiponis*.<sup>60</sup>
56. The first of the sets of three is unidentified; the second two have a counterpart in a couple of eighth-century continental mss. showing Irish influence.<sup>61</sup>
- 58–59. *Proverbia Wiponis*.<sup>62</sup>
61. According to Martin Irvine, a very similar formulation “was a common preface to grammatical commentary: Quot sunt claves sapientie? .V. Que? Assiduitas legendi, memoria retinendi, sedulitas interrogandi, contemptus diviciarum, honor magistri.”<sup>63</sup> I have not been able to find another text in which the version given in Gissur’s fragment is preserved.

Perspectives on Law and Justice 66, ed. by Stefan Huygebaert *et al.* (Cham: Springer, 2018, 89–110) 96.

58 Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi*, 4th edition, Bibliotheca Ascetica A.1 (Ratisbon: Fr. Pustet, 1921), 11.

59 *CICan* 2, col. 202; British Library Add MS 11242, 40r; *Summa* 5, 81\*b.

60 Cf. *PL* 142 col. 1260.

61 Patrick Sims-Williams, “Thought, Word and Deed: An Irish Triad,” *Ériu* 29 (1978): 86.

62 Cf. *PL* 142 col. 1260.

63 Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture. ‘Grammatica’ and Literary Theory, 350–1100*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 461.

62–69. *Proverbia Wiponis*.<sup>64</sup>

71–99. *Proverbia Wiponis*.<sup>65</sup>

100. Not among the *Proverbia Wiponis* printed in *PL* 142. However, the first part of the *Proverbia Wiponis*, roughly corresponding to those found here plus a handful more, is to be found (according to Heinrich Hoffmann) in a couple of twelfth-century manuscripts in Austria, in an order and often with wording which is closer to that of Gissur’s fragment than the *Patrologia Latina* version is. In these manuscripts, item 100 appears among the *Proverbia*, in the same place as here.<sup>66</sup>

101–10. *Proverbia Wiponis*.<sup>67</sup>

111. Although this is doubtless originally not a single item, it seems to be presented as one, and it is unclear how exactly it should be divided. The first couple of lines (“hударfiordungur ... med ledrum”) are found in various manuscripts of the *Búalög* determining the relative values of various items, but I have not been able to identify the rest.<sup>68</sup>

112. Also found in Gottskálf Jónsson’s miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242, 37v, and among seventeenth-century additions made to the beginning of the *Jónsbók* manuscript GKS 3269a 4to, 10r.

114. *Disciplina clericalis* 2.<sup>69</sup>

116. From Eiríkr Magnússon’s réttarbót to the Norwegian Landslov, ca. 1280.<sup>70</sup>

117. *Decretum Gratiani*, Distinctio VIII, chapter 3: “Mala consuetudo radicatus est evellenda”.<sup>71</sup>

119. Despite the attribution, I have not been able to find a corresponding provision in *Sachsenspiegel*.<sup>72</sup> The same applies to item 131, below.

64 Cf. *PL* 142 col. 1260.

65 Cf. *PL* 142 cols. 1260–61.

66 Heinrich Hoffmann, “Sprichwörter”, *Altdeutsche Blätter*, vol. 1, ed. by Moriz Haupt and Heinrich Hoffmann (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1836), 12–14.

67 Cf. *PL* 142 col. 1261.

68 Cf. *Búalög um verðlag og allskonar venjur í viðskiptum og búskap á Íslandi*, Sögurir 13 1–3, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson (Reykjavík: Sögufélag, 1915–1933), 20, 30, 122.

69 Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina Clericalis*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ 38.4, ed. by Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm (Helsinki: Druckerei der finnischen Litteraturgesellschaft, 1911), 8.

70 Cf. *NGL* 3, 5.

71 *CICan* 1, col. 14.

72 Cf. *Sachsenspiegel. Landrecht, passim*, and *Sachsenspiegel. Lehnrecht, passim*.

120. A réttarbót to Magnús *lagabætir* Hákonarson's Norwegian *landsloğ*; the réttarbót is also Magnús's, despite the heading.<sup>73</sup>
121. Cf. the Digest of Justinian 4.2.12 (Ulpian, Ad edictum 11): "nam cum liceat, inquit, vim vi repellere..."<sup>74</sup>
122. From Eiríkr Magnússon's réttarbót to the Norwegian *landsloğ*, c. 1280.<sup>75</sup>
123. Likely from the Víglóði of *Grágás*; the provision here is closer in wording to the Staðarhólsbók version (from chapter 288 in Vilhjálmur Finsen's edition) than to the Konungsbók version (chapter 89 in Vilhjálmur Finsen's edition), though it differs from both.<sup>76</sup>
125. A very similar item is attributed to the Gulapingsloğ in a manuscript in Árni Magnússon's hand, AM 146 4to.<sup>77</sup>
126. From Magnús *lagabætir* Hákonarson's Norwegian *landsloğ*, section 4, chapter 11 ("Um uigh lysing"). A similar provision with slightly different wording is also found in Frostapingsloğ, section 4, chapter 7 ("Ef maðr er drepinn til dauðs"), and in the Mannhelgi section of *Járnsíða*, chapter 14.<sup>78</sup>
127. The beginning of this item (until "skilia") is attributed to the Gulapingsloğ in a manuscript in Árni Magnússon's hand, AM 146 4to, where it precedes an item very similar to 125, above; it is also found in the older Bjarkeyjarrétt.<sup>79</sup>
128. From the Baugatal in the Konungsbók version of *Grágás*, chapter 114 in Vilhjálmur Finsen's edition; in Staðarhólsbók this falls under Víglóði, chapter 383 in the edition.<sup>80</sup>
129. From the Víglóði of the Staðarhólsbók version of *Grágás*, chapter 316 in Vilhjálmur Finsen's edition. The corresponding chapter of Konungsbók lacks this provision, which is also absent from other manuscripts.<sup>81</sup>

73 Cf. NGL 2, 176.

74 *Iustiniani Digesta*, *CICiv* part 2, 51.

75 Cf. NGL 3, 12.

76 Cf., respectively, *Grğ* 2, 321 and *Grğ* 1, 160.

77 NGL 4, p. 7; AM 146 4to, 4r.

78 Cf. NGL 2, p. 56; NGL 1, 159; and *Jrn*, 32.

79 NGL 4, p. 7; AM 146 4to, 4r; NGL 1, p. 310.

80 Cf. *Grğ* 1 i, 205 and *Grğ* 2, 404.

81 Cf. *Grğ* 2, 349 and *Grğ* 3, 557.

130. Presumably Raymond of Peñaforte’s *Summa de casibus poenitentiae*; it has not been possible to verify the attribution here.
131. Despite the attribution, I have not been able to find a provision in *Sachsenspiegel* corresponding to this item.<sup>82</sup> The same applies to item 119, above.
135. From the Vigslóði of the Staðarhólsbók version of *Grágás*, chapter 382 in Vilhjálmur Finsen’s edition; absent from other manuscripts.<sup>83</sup>
137. From *Járnsíða*, Mannhelgi chapter 7; from “lizt oss” onwards also found in the older Frostapingslög, chapter 1. In both, the final word is “frændum” rather than “karle”.<sup>84</sup>
138. Réttarbót of Christian I, 1455.<sup>85</sup>
140. Cf. Walther, *Proverbia* 4, item 23589; some early English parallels are discussed by Michael Lapidge.<sup>86</sup>
146. Also found in Gottskálf Jónsson’s miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242, 65v.
147. From the Vigslóði of *Grágás*, chapter 99 of Vilhjálmur Finsen’s edition of *Konungsbók* and chapter 303 in his edition of *Staðarhólsbók*; the end is worded differently but the meaning is similar.<sup>87</sup>
148. From Magnús *lagabætir* Hákonarson’s Norwegian *landslög*, section 5, chapter 14 (“Um omaga skipti”), with omissions.<sup>88</sup>
- 149–50. Two different versions of the so-called *Óðalskapituli* of *Jónsbók*.<sup>89</sup>
151. Réttarboetr of Eiríkr Magnússon, 1294. See *Jbk*, 283.
152. From the older Gulapingslög, chapter 149 (“Her hefr hvalrette”) in the *NGL* edition; also appears in Magnús *lagabætir* Hákonarson’s

82 Cf. *Sachsenspiegel. Landrecht*, *passim*, and *Sachsenspiegel. Lehnrecht*, *passim*.

83 Cf. *Gr* 2, 402.

84 Cf. *Jm*, 25 and *NGL* 1, 121.

85 Cf. *DI* 5, pp. 133–4.

86 *Proverbia sententiaequae latinitatis medii aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, vol. 4, Q–Sil, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina II/4, ed. by Hans Walther (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 101; Byrthferth of Ramsay, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Egwine*, Oxford Medieval Texts, ed. by Michael Lapidge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 14.

87 Cf. *Gr* 1 i, 175 and *Gr* 2, 342.

88 Cf. *NGL* 2, 87.

89 Cf. *Jbk* p. 126; see also Jón Þorkelsson, “Íslandske haandskrifter”, 210–13.

Norwegian landslög, section 7, chapter 64 (“Um hualrekstra ef finnr hual”).<sup>90</sup>

153. Magnús *lagabætir* Hákonarson’s Norwegian landslög, section 6, chapter 17 (“Ef vmbodþs maðr misfer með iorðu”). A similar clause is found in the older Frostapingslög, though the wording here is closer to that of the landslög.<sup>91</sup>

## Translation

Annotations from the margins of Þorvarður *lögmaður*’s law-book which I did not copy into my law-book.

[2r col. 1]

1. So ought a ruler to be: learned, \wise/, well God-fearing and daring.
2. Catholic, Christian i.e. orthodox.
3. Ignorance of the facts, not of the law, excuses.
4. Augustine said: What Christ does not accept, the treasury accepts.
5. *Notarius publicus*: a public scribe.
6. Personal privilege accompanies the person and perishes with the person.
7. *Flamen* [neuter]: wind; *flamen* [masculine]: a priest.
8. He who fears God will do good.
9. Always seek counsel from a wise man.
10. Wisdom always acts wisely.
11. *Fla* creates heat but *fra* bestows scent.
12. The end is *finis*, death *funus* and a rope *funis*; *Fimus* \dung/ is useful but *fumus* recedes from fire.
13. Whosoever wishes to be saved ought to be in the pub. Unless he has drunk well on Sunday he cannot be saved.
14. If God is with us, who is against us?
15. But if there is expectation of an army in our land etc. ... two countrymen and one foreigner shall keep watch from another king’s realm.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *NGL* 1, 59 and *NGL* 2, 146.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *NGL* 2, pp. 102–3 and *NGL* 1, 249.

<sup>92</sup> “From another king’s realm” should perhaps follow “one foreigner”, which would make more sense than the text as it appears here.



16. Cursed the man who trusts in man. Blessed the man who trusts in the Lord and the Lord shall be his confidence.
17. The law is repressed where might, not reason, rules.
18. The wealth of men is often apt to lead judgement astray.
19. It is not a house of peace where a talkative tongue reigns.
20. Thus I admonish you [sg.] N or you [pl.] once, twice and a third time etc., that you do as the law orders and commands you to do [...] and that etc..
21. The works amount to nothing if attentiveness is lacking (i.e. attentiveness).<sup>93</sup>
22. [...] are in the end of the spear-shaft.
23. Our land shall be settled with laws or with lawlessness laid waste.

[2r col. 2]

24. A legal guardian betroths a woman.  
A wedding is legally done if a man betroth himself to a woman with two witnesses and there be at least six men at the wedding and he go in the light into the same bed with her.
25. The laws are brothers' reconciliations.
26. *Numen*: divine power. *Sententia*: decision or consent.
27. This was agreed in the *lögrétta* at the Alþingi and decided by the *lögréttumenn* in the second year after the death of the gracious lord King Hákon the Crowned, that no one shall carry a bound-up knife such that a sheath or hilts<sup>94</sup> be on the handle but if such a knife is carried it is a fine of three *aurar* and the knife confiscated and if in disregard of the judgement of [or by?] participants at the Alþingi, four marks.
28. It befits a king to learn the law.
29. To observe the law is to reign.
30. Knowledge of letters is the light of the soul.<sup>95</sup>
31. New king, new law.

93 The second “attentiveness” is an Icelandic gloss on the meaning of the second instance of “opera”.

94 *Hjölt* (plural) does not have quite the same meaning as E. “hilt”; in OIce. it refers rather to the pommel and crossguard of a knife (or sword) handle.

95 Literally “of souls”.

32. Wherever you are or whatever you do, think to yourself the face henceforth never to avoid nor turn away.
33. Beware of *scurrilitas* (unseemly amusement).
34. “I will give a response to your message tomorrow when we are all sober and have our wits about us.” There was much drunken good cheer.
35. Six *aurar* in *öfundarbót* or *þokkabót* [i.e. forms of monetary redress for minor offences]
36. In the southern *lögmaðr*'s jurisdiction, 45 *nefndarmenn* [= men nominated to attend the assembly], in the northern 33.
37. *Nefndarkaup* [= funds paid to *nefndarmenn*):  
Whoever does not deliver the contribution-fee that is required is fined a mark.

[2v col. 1]

38. But he who will not give others the benefit of law shall not enjoy the benefit of law. Let the *lögmaðr* tell him no law those twelve months.
39. The slave saves for himself three-night-old dung. [Or: the slave spares himself three nights of shovelling dung?]
40. All the prosecution's proofs have been reported and brought forth.
41. Men shall go fasting to the *þing* and the *þing* sit when the sun is in the east and they shall be at the *þing* until *nones*.
42. Wax, stone, lead and gold are the witness of the treasury. These dead things may bear witness to man.
43. He who tells a falsehood obtains nothing.
44. All things will pass away except loving god.
45. What is not permissible in law, necessity makes permissible.
46. Necessity has no law. Necessity breaks the law.
47. Take counsel with a wise man and ask [him].
48. Decretals:  
The higher should never be judged by the lower.
49. Solomon says: do not act or depart without advice. Take counsel well with yourself on this, the more so if the matter is important.
50. You will not have counsel with the stupid.
51. Wisdom is better than might.

52. Sleeping a little refreshes the face. [Or: not sleeping much makes your face cheerful?]
53. Then he struck the serving-boy. He went most often in the company of serving-boys and manservants.
54. We bless this drink in the name of Jesus Christ.
55. Three unfortunate circumstances are taught in law, that is to say: when a man does not know and does not ask; when a man knows and does not teach; when a man teaches and does not do as he teaches he sets a bad example.
56. There are three things which keep man in good and restrain him from evil, i.e. love for God, fear of hell and longing for the celestial kingdom. And three things which lead man to the depths, i.e. an impure thought, a hostile word, a wicked deed; and another three which lead to the celestial kingdom: a good thought, a good word, a perfect deed.
57. May sweet Jesus be drink and food to us.
58. He more often stumbles who does not kindle the light.
59. He who has knowledge furnishes an opinion.
60. Man's bones are 207 in number, veins 345, teeth when fully grown 33 [sic].

[2v col. 2]

61. How many are the keys of wisdom? Five. What? Constant reading, a retentive memory, respect for the teacher, contempt for luxuries, frequent inquiry.
62. Wisdom is better than worldly power.
63. Sense succeeds more than a great deal of wealth.
64. He is wise who greatly loves the worship of God.
65. The faithful man will be crowned in heaven.
66. He who is loyal to his elder approaches [i.e. comes closer to deserving] honour.
67. He believes well who injures no one.
68. It is better to believe in God than to amass wealth.
69. Who puts his trust in God is as strong as a lion.
70. The death of St. Óláfr from the incarnation of the Lord, 1023.
71. Unfeigned love hates transgressions.

72. The kingdom of the heavens is not for the envious.
73. Very strong hope bestows blessings on a matter.
74. He who loves his brother pleases God the Father.
75. It is better to humble oneself than to exalt oneself.
76. The humble man triumphs at home.
77. Who goes through rough terrain often falls.
78. Meek men refuse a quarrel.
79. Those who constantly quarrel are loved by few.
80. To endure evil men for God is to overcome.
81. The gift of peace is good for everyone.
82. Those who are founded in peace cannot be eradicated.
83. The fire of wars is the corruption of morals.
84. A chaste man is dear to the soul.
85. Where there is great luxury, scarcity will not be lacking.
86. Worldly delight is always vain.
87. He prays well who cries in his heart.
88. It is fitting for the judge's sentence to be followed by mercy.
89. It is better to forgive what is forbidden than to demand vengeance.
90. He who shows mercy will obtain mercy,
91. A word of truth aids the condemned.
92. [He who is] false in speech lacks honour.
93. Every avaricious man is dear to no one.
94. He who lives deceitfully kills the soul.
95. He who gives cheerfully, the saviour loves.
96. To share a good thing is not to diminish it.
97. Where prayer battles, there tribulation is vanquished.
98. To pray unceasingly is to cleanse sins.
99. He who cannot fast must learn to give alms.
100. It is better to be a glutton than to give others nothing.
101. He is attentive who does not cease from good.
102. It is better sometimes to sleep than to serve the devil.
103. Where there is true penitence, there is God's mercy.

[3v col. 1]

104. He who is never chastised is greatly misled.
105. Friendly rebuke is not condemnation.

106. [As] the oil of the sinner is the praise of the sycophant.  
 107. Where drunkenness is long, there piety is short.  
 108. Much strong wine is not far removed from death.  
 109. Through excessive intake of food and drink, the whole man perishes.  
 110. Through moderation he arrives at abundance.

- 
111. A *fjórðungr* [c. 4.3 kg] of hide without *útleðr* [i.e. without the parts of the hide corresponding to the animal’s limbs], 15 ells; 12 ells with *útleðr*. For *skattr* [tax; in this instance evidently a unit of tax] two *fjórðungar* of hide. Four geldings’ fleeces for *skattr*. Half a *vætt* [= c. 17 kg] of wool in one *skattr*. One *eyrir* of silver. Three *fjórðungar* of butter or two of old [butter?] in *skattr*. Hide which weighs seven *merkur* [= c. 1.5 kg] and twenty.<sup>96</sup>
112. To swear an oath on one’s wealth and taxable property:  
 To this you lay [your hand on the holy book and so appeal your case to God], that you own such wealth as you have or would have now accounted for or less than you are or would be obliged to value for tax and you have concealed no wealth nor abstracted unlawfully and you did this by no means for the sake of anything but laws and right. The oath having been so dictated may God be gracious to you if you speak the truth, wrathful if you lie.

- 
113. Wisdom adorns the man.  
 114. Silence is a sign of wisdom.  
 115. Christ is always to be praised.  
 116. Amendments of king Eiríkur:  
 It is forbidden that there be more *lénsmenn* than two in each *fylki* unless there be more *sýslumenn*, then each may have one.  
 117. An evil custom should not be upheld. *Distinctio* 8.  
 118. Revenge is two-fold: some avenge themselves by deeds but some by law.  
 119. If a man kills another man deliberately then cut [his] h...<sup>97</sup> off. *Sachsenspiegel* says so which is the law-book in Germany.  
 120. Amendments of king Hákon:

96 The layout of this item is very unclear and it is not always possible to determine which parts go together.

97 From what is visible of this badly damaged word, either “head” or “hand” is possible.

That where a man killed a man one might previously compel his relatives, who neither carried out nor counselled [the killings], with fines to compensate him, then [i.e. now] the heir of the dead one shall be compensated from the wealth of he who killed alone.

121. It is permitted to repel force with force. Needful [self-]defence.

[3r col. 2]

122. If a man has children with his wife while he is outlawed then they are not entitled to inherit, neither after the father nor the mother, unless his [sic] father regains his rights after outlawry.
123. But whatever illness that a man has which there is no expectation of recovery so that he would be able to attend the *þing* when he shall ride from home, that man shall also not be summoned [i.e. to attend]. But he may be summoned if he becomes fit before he has to ride from home.
124. Humble, chaste, generous, patient, restrained, rejoicing with others, vigorous: thus you will destroy the seven sins.
125. He whom witnesses charge, whether woman or man, is guilty of a killing. But if a woman charges with a killing then those witnesses she first meets shall accompany the testimony of the woman at the *þing*.
126. If a man kills a man to death then he is to be [known as] a man-slayer.
127. But men who are nearby shall determine a killing where they are located.
128. But that is law in Norway and all the Norse-speaking lands if a man does not honour truce that he is outlawed from one end to another of Norway and his lands and moveable property are forfeit and he shall never again come into the land.
129. Although it is right that he say so but not more, yet he is said to be his killer if he went away from the dead man. He shall have announced it the same day if he can.
130. *Summula Raymundi*:  
That he himself gives advice or helps to the end that somebody is killed: that advice makes the man guilty in fact.
131. They who make false seals or advise it, if they are unfree men one
-

shall behead them. If they are free men, one shall send them into exile. *Sachsenspiegel*.

132. ... if he does not break it off himself (?) so that he becomes deprived of legal rights.<sup>98</sup>
133. No one shall say the law according to his brain or his will or his mind, [but] rather according to written laws.
134. One can often slander the dead and accuse the blind.

[3v col. 1]

135. If men see an outlaw while they travel on their way they incur no penalty even though they do not seize him if they have no dealings with him, but if they have business with him or any conversation or give him any advice so that he is nearer his life than before then that is help for him and incurs lesser outlawry. It is help for an outlaw when men deal with him or advise him so that he is closer to his life than before.
136. He who is in need of money must covet money, and take some action.
137. This provision was adopted with the consent of King Hákon the Crowned, grandson of King Sverrir, with the oversight of King Magnús his son, Archbishop Einarr and the suffragan bishops, *lendr menn* and learned men, *lögmen*n and all the other wisest men in the land to decrease the killings. It seems to us likely that the laws of the holy king Óláfr stand according to what he arranged, though this has not been observed here for the sake of avarice, that he who kills a man without cause has forfeited property and peace and is outlawed and may be killed with impunity wherever he may be by both king and commoner.
138. Amendments of king Kristján:  
We forbid our bailiffs and stewards to unlawfully or impossibly [sic] tax, seize or set in prison, tower or iron, rich or poor without sentence and law, except those men who will not answer to the law, do not answer a summons or do not pay compensation for their offences or observe judgements or also those men which our law-book permits to seize without cause.

<sup>98</sup> The first clause of this item is unintelligible to me and has been left untranslated. As noted above, it is not even clear which language it is in.

139. He who talks a lot is found to be very stupid.  
 140. The higher the position, the more serious the fall.  
 141. An evil habit having been taken up – the longer it lasts, the more dangerous it becomes.  
 142. Wine taken in moderation sharpens the wits.  
 143. The wise man thinks in summer about how he will live in winter.  
 144. Beware of *scurrilitas*. Beware of unseemly amusement.  
 145. A foolish judge who needs to look to another's decision ought not to be,

[3v col. 2]

146. Where a man is killed and there is not property remaining and though there be dues remaining then the dues shall not be discharged from the compensation [for the killing] because that was not the property of the dead man but rather the right of the heir. In the *Borgarþingslög*.  
 147. If a man meets a man at a proclaimed *þing* who ought not go to the *þing*, let him get witnesses and seize that man.  
 148. So there shall be arranged men and old women as other dues. [...] Now that money is assessed as [...] four *merkr* for each helpless one. A choice if there is more. [...] It shall neither increase nor decrease the payment such that he took. Norwegian law.<sup>99</sup>  
 149. If a man wishes to sell his land for a price etc. But if the seller thinks there is not hope for a good transaction even though there is money, then he shall get for himself a guarantor who wise men consider a good debtor [i.e. to be relied upon to pay]. Now if he does not offer so and sells to another then the other shall declare his disagreement in the next twelve months that he knows and he may for the sake of certain lawful impediments also take that land for himself for the same price that the other bought it and with the same payment days because the laws annul that purchase. But if he does not annul it then that purchase stands. It stood so written in the Icelandic law-book.  
 150. If a man wishes to sell his land for a price then he shall, with the witnesses of the other [purchaser], first offer his closest relative to buy it for the same price. Now if he does not offer so and sells to

<sup>99</sup> This item is very severely abridged from the version found in Norwegian manuscripts (see Commentary, above); I have indicated where the omissions are.



another then he [i.e. the relative] may take that land for himself for the same price that the other bought it and with the same payment days because the laws annul that purchase. So shall every purchase be that witnesses know, that the book does not contradict.

151. That clause is taken out of the book that forbids having *dilkfé* [= ewes together with their lambs], and that chapter which forbids that those men establish a household who own less than five hundreds: now set at three hundreds.
152. A *hōldr* [= a type of land-owning yeoman] or a *hōldr*'s better is entitled to the whole of a whale he finds.
153. But if a landlord says that a steward has taken from his property and used it for himself, whether it is indoors or outdoors, and good men have knowledge of this, then good men shall value what the landlord has lost.





Amotatio nes y marginib[us] legitur. Charu[m] regem  
 que non transiit in regem i[n] regitatu. <sup>1000</sup>  
 Sicut a ualldim at uera <sup>1000</sup> uel  
 dudhredduz & uasiana  
 Katholice godestun[us] retruadur  
 Ignorantia facti no[n] iuris excusat  
 audir[is] Quod n[on] accipit accipit filie  
 Notarij publici em opimber scripant  
 Privilegiu[m] p[er]sonale p[er]sona sequit[ur]  
 Extinguit[ur] cum p[er]sona  
 hoc flamm[us] uent[us] hic flamm[us] p[ro] uir[is]  
 Qui timet Deu[m] facit bona  
 Consiliu[m] semp[er] a sapiente perquirere  
 Sapia semp[er] superuenter agit  
 Fla facit ardore s[ed] fra largit odore  
 Terminu[m] e[st] finis insun[us] cerdau[us] sum[us]  
 Ut e[st] sum[us] s[ed] sum[us] ab igne recebit  
 Quicunq[ue] uult salu[us] ee in taberna d[omi]ni  
 indu dura uisi b[er]n biber salu[us] e[st] n[on] poterit  
 Si de nobiscu[m] quis p[er]tra uoc[et]  
 Et ep[iscopu]s h[er]e ex pon[is] land uort et tuu[us]  
 holendst[er] & em utlind[us] s[ed] uord hall  
 da ut amara lega <sup>1000</sup> r[ati]o  
 maledict[us] ho[m]o qui q[ui] in ho[m]i[n]e b[er]dia[m] uir quid  
 fidit in d[omi]no & b[er]it d[omi]ni fiducia ei[us]  
 Lex ibi d[omi]nabitur ubi n[on] ratio s[ed] p[ro]bas d[omi]n[us]  
 Scpe solet cens[us] hom[in]u[m] p[ro]uocet sensus  
 no[n] d[omi]n[us] e[st] pacis ubi regnat l[ex] i[n] iustis  
 p[ro] uirtu[m] e[st] p[ro]p[ri]e cyda up[er] ai em tunc amon  
 tuma & b[er]dia tuma te, ad b[er]d p[ro]uocet h[ic] lo  
 uia ual[et] op[er]a si qua d[omi]n[us] op[er]a  
 in ero i[n] sp[irit]u s[an]c[t]o endu  
 uti q[ui]al land et bygia em m[er]o la  
 1000

pa[re]t mundau[us] p[er]it at leg[is] ep[iscopu]s ma[n]d[at]  
 p[er]t[er] sic bonu[m] m[er]o n[on] uoluit & h[ic] u[er]i  
 in & b[er]dau[us] h[ic] p[er]t[er] & gange  
 h[ic] h[ic] i[n] bonu[m] s[an]c[t]o m[er]o bonu[m]  
 Laugin e[st] b[er]d[us] s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o e[st] s[an]c[t]o  
 num[er]o quiddam s[an]c[t]o s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o ostend[us]  
 s[an]c[t]o u[er]i s[an]c[t]o i[n] s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o a al[ter]o  
 & d[omi]n[us] ut s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o m[er]o a u[er]i  
 e[st] p[er]t[er] s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o s[an]c[t]o h[ic] h[ic] h[ic] h[ic] bo  
 ronada & ut s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o h[ic] b[er]d[us] m[er]o  
 ut h[ic] s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o s[an]c[t]o e[st] b[er]d[us] u[er]i  
 s[an]c[t]o e[st] ep[iscopu]s b[er]d[us] ex s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o s[an]c[t]o  
 s[an]c[t]o & h[ic] m[er]o u[er]i p[er]t[er] & ut al[ter]o  
 s[an]c[t]o d[omi]n[us] m[er]o m[er]o  
 Dicit regem d[omi]n[us] laudem  
 legem seruare est regere  
 Notia h[ic] lux e[st] auru[m]  
 s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o u[er]i u[er]i  
 b[er]d[us] u[er]i u[er]i q[ui] cogna h[ic] u[er]i  
 ei u[er]i d[omi]n[us] u[er]i d[omi]n[us]  
 can[us] s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o u[er]i s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o  
 s[an]c[t]o m[er]o u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i h[ic] u[er]i  
 erudi h[ic] e[st] in al[ter]o u[er]i u[er]i & m[er]o  
 pull[us] s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o h[ic] u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i  
 S[an]c[t]o u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i h[ic] h[ic] h[ic] h[ic]  
 s[an]c[t]o s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i & al[ter]o  
 q[ui]d[am] u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i  
 h[ic] s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i  
 p[er]t[er] s[an]c[t]o r[ati]o u[er]i u[er]i u[er]i

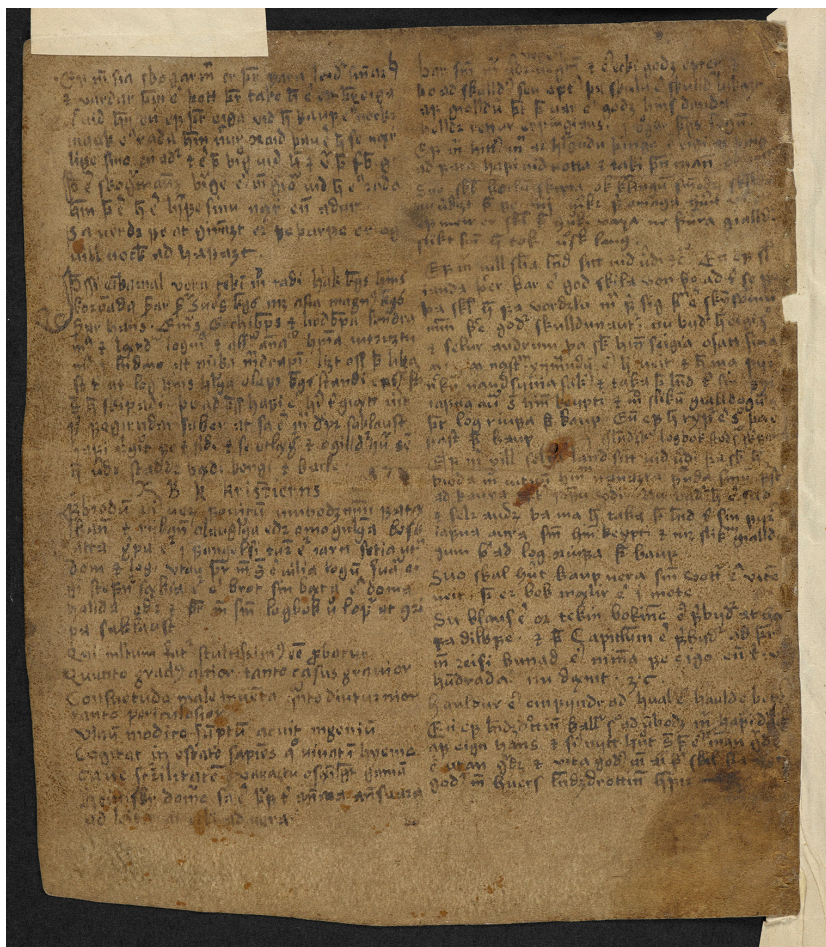
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Quot 3 ciones spm  
 Absiduitas legendi membra p[er]nandi  
 hon ingri cōcepti deliciaz frans mirgato  
 orbi ē sapia quam se lazis pōra  
 plus unicit sensus q[ui] m[ul]tiplex cōst[ru]ctio  
 Sapiēs ē m[en]tium qui amat dei cultu  
 vir fidelē coronabit in caelis. qui fidē semo  
 bñ cred[er]e a nemem ledit. adp[er]imat hono[ra]t  
 meli[us] ē in deo sperare quā divinas p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 qui confidit in deo fortis ē ut p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 p[er] p[ro]p[ri]etate s. olaps. Ab m[en]tator d. m. xx. m.  
 Charitas nō f[er]ra odit delicta. adp[er]imat hono[ra]t  
 fortissima spes p[er]nitit[er] zes  
 q[ui] diligit frēm placat deū p[ro]m  
 malis se hūiliat quā se exultat  
 humilis homo triumphat in domo  
 qui p[er] ardua vadit sepe cadit  
 viri mitis remuunt lites  
 q[ui] assidue rixant a paucis amantur  
 malos q[ui] deo p[ro]p[ri]etate ē superare  
 paris donū oib[us] ē bonum  
 q[ui] in pari fundant nō eradicantur  
 p[ro]p[ri]etate bellorū corruptio ē mori  
 homo pudic[us] amice ē amice  
 ubi frequens ē luxuria nō de erit p[er]nitia  
 Voluntas iudana semp[er] ē vana bñ orat q[ui] in  
 iudiciū s[er]vā op[er]i s[er]vā elemiam corde p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 q[ui] ē p[ro]p[ri]etate ignoscere q[ui] iudicia p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 qui m[ul]tip[lex] manu sequitur  
 verbū veritatis subvertit iudicant  
 falsus in ore caret honore. bñ avar[us] nulli  
 q[ui] fultus unicit unicit orat est car[us]  
 q[ui] hylaris ē dat h[ic] aut siluac boni ē bñ nō ē  
 ubi p[ro]p[ri]etate ubi unicitur tribulatio.  
 p[ro]p[ri]etate orare ē delicta purgare  
 qui nō p[ro]p[ri]etate dicitur el[er]gim[us] dicit  
 q[ui] ē m[ul]tip[lex] quā aliis m[ul]tip[lex] dare.  
 bñ vigilat qui a bono nō resat.  
 q[ui] ē m[ul]tip[lex] dormit q[ui] d[icit] h[ic] p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 ubi ē mori p[er]nitia dei ē c[on]m[un]ia

Quot 3 ciones spm  
 Absiduitas legendi membra p[er]nandi  
 hon ingri cōcepti deliciaz frans mirgato  
 orbi ē sapia quam se lazis pōra  
 plus unicit sensus q[ui] m[ul]tiplex cōst[ru]ctio  
 Sapiēs ē m[en]tium qui amat dei cultu  
 vir fidelē coronabit in caelis. qui fidē semo  
 bñ cred[er]e a nemem ledit. adp[er]imat hono[ra]t  
 meli[us] ē in deo sperare quā divinas p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 qui confidit in deo fortis ē ut p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 p[er] p[ro]p[ri]etate s. olaps. Ab m[en]tator d. m. xx. m.  
 Charitas nō f[er]ra odit delicta. adp[er]imat hono[ra]t  
 fortissima spes p[er]nitit[er] zes  
 q[ui] diligit frēm placat deū p[ro]m  
 malis se hūiliat quā se exultat  
 humilis homo triumphat in domo  
 qui p[er] ardua vadit sepe cadit  
 viri mitis remuunt lites  
 q[ui] assidue rixant a paucis amantur  
 malos q[ui] deo p[ro]p[ri]etate ē superare  
 paris donū oib[us] ē bonum  
 q[ui] in pari fundant nō eradicantur  
 p[ro]p[ri]etate bellorū corruptio ē mori  
 homo pudic[us] amice ē amice  
 ubi frequens ē luxuria nō de erit p[er]nitia  
 Voluntas iudana semp[er] ē vana bñ orat q[ui] in  
 iudiciū s[er]vā op[er]i s[er]vā elemiam corde p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 q[ui] ē p[ro]p[ri]etate ignoscere q[ui] iudicia p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 qui m[ul]tip[lex] manu sequitur  
 verbū veritatis subvertit iudicant  
 falsus in ore caret honore. bñ avar[us] nulli  
 q[ui] fultus unicit unicit orat est car[us]  
 q[ui] hylaris ē dat h[ic] aut siluac boni ē bñ nō ē  
 ubi p[ro]p[ri]etate ubi unicitur tribulatio.  
 p[ro]p[ri]etate orare ē delicta purgare  
 qui nō p[ro]p[ri]etate dicitur el[er]gim[us] dicit  
 q[ui] ē m[ul]tip[lex] quā aliis m[ul]tip[lex] dare.  
 bñ vigilat qui a bono nō resat.  
 q[ui] ē m[ul]tip[lex] dormit q[ui] d[icit] h[ic] p[ro]p[ri]etate  
 ubi ē mori p[er]nitia dei ē c[on]m[un]ia

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## ÁGRIP

„Ex marginibus“: Spássiugreinar í lögbókum afritaðar af Gissuri Einarssyni

**Efnisorð:** Spássiúkrot, lögbækur, *Jónsbók*, Gissur Einarsson, Þorvarður Erlendsson, Gottskálf Jónsson

Í handritinu British Library Add. MS. 11250 bls. 2–3 er óvenjulegur texti með hendi Gissurar biskups Einarssonar undir titlinum “Annotationes ex marginibus legisterij [T]horuardi legiferi quæ non transtuli in meum legisterium” (Spássiugreinar úr spássiám lögbókar Þorvarðs lögmanns Erlendssonar, sem ég afritaði ekki í lögbók mína). Þetta sérstæða safn geymir útdrætti úr ýmsum textum: íslenskum og erlendum lögum, réttarbótum, málsháttum, sögum, bröndurum, orðaleikjum o.fl. Textarnir eru á íslensku, latínu og þýsku. Safnið er gefið hér út í fyrsta sinn í heild sinni og fjallað er um innihald þess og tengsl við aðra texta og handrit. Einnig er leitað að frumriti safnsins en niðurstaðan er að það sé ekki lengur til, og grein er gerð fyrir því að þessi glataða lögbók hafi einnig verið ein af heimildum séra Gottskálks Jónssonar í Glaumbæ þegar hann samdi Sópuð sinn, British Library Add. MS. 11242.

## SUMMARY

“Ex marginibus”: Law-Book Marginalia Copied Out by Gissur Einarsson

**Keywords:** Marginalia, law-books, *Jónsbók*, Gissur Einarsson, Þorvarður Erlendsson, Gottskálk Jónsson

On fols. 2–3 of British Library Add. MS. 11250 is an unusual text in the hand of bishop Gissur Einarsson with the title “Annotationes ex marginibus legisterij [T]horuardi legiferi quæ non transtuli in meum legisterium” (Annotations from the margins of the law-book of Þorvarður *lögmaður* Erlendsson which I did not copy into my law-book). The collection, which appears to be entirely unparalleled, consists of short extracts from various texts: Icelandic and foreign laws, amendments, proverbs, sagas, jokes, wordplay and more. The texts are in Icelandic, Latin and German. The collection is here edited in its entirety for the first time and its contents discussed together with their connection to other texts and manuscripts. An attempt is also made to find the exemplar, though the conclusion is that this no longer exists, and it is suggested that this lost law-book was also among the sources used by Gottskálk Jónsson i Glaumbæ when compiling his miscellany, British Library Add. MS. 11242.

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RYDER PATZUK-RUSSELL

## THE LOST LITURGICAL BOOKS OF ICELAND

### *Understanding the Aspiciensbækr*

ICELANDIC HISTORY and culture has long drawn scholarly interest in large part because of its books. The collections of surviving sagas and poems from the Middle Ages have defined our understanding of the Iceland of this period, both its distinctiveness and its interconnectedness with the wider medieval world. However, the same cannot be said for the thousands of liturgical books that were once housed in the collections of the many churches scattered across the rural landscape of the island. So little survives of this great corpus – even the catalogue of surviving manuscript fragments is fairly modest – that it is difficult to investigate the topic of Icelandic liturgy, Latinity, or church books with much depth.<sup>1</sup> Yet, because so many of these books were in daily use, we cannot attempt to understand book culture in medieval Iceland without taking them into account, to whatever extent is possible.

In addition to the extant fragments, what we do know about Icelandic liturgical books comes from surviving documents: occasionally wills and other records of the donation of books, but above all from the *máldagar*, or Icelandic church charters. *Máldagar* are records of the landed property and inventories of medieval Icelandic churches, often including details about their liturgical duties, and even specific donations to the church estates. They mostly survive in post-medieval copies, but taken as a corpus, they provide a substantial if incomplete record of the books owned by Icelandic churches.

1 The standard edition of Icelandic liturgical fragments and texts is *Liturgica Islandica*, ed. by Lillie Gjerløw, 2 vols., Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana XXXV–XXXVI (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1980); see more recently Merete Geert Andersen *Katalog over AM Accessoria 7. Den latinske fragmenter*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana XLVI (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 2008). For a useful overview of the general situation with regards to Icelandic liturgical manuscripts and scholarship, see Áslaug Ommundsen and Gisela Attinger, “Icelandic Liturgical Books and How to Recognize them,” *Scriptorium* 67.2 (2013): 293–317.

This record is most complete for the northern diocese of Hólar, from the early fourteenth century to the time of the Reformation. The first major collection of *máldagar* was compiled by Bishop Auðunn of Hólar in 1318.<sup>2</sup> As an inventory of church books these *máldagar* have been little studied: the main scholarship is a series of articles published by Tryggvi J. Oleson between 1957 and 1961; these respond to and expand upon a 1948 article by Guðbrandur Jónsson, as well as a short book published by Emil Olmer in 1902.<sup>3</sup>

The present study has two core aims: first, to resolve a long-standing misidentification of the term *aspiciensbók* – a word that only survives in these *máldagar* book lists – exploring its meaning and significance in the context of the source texts and medieval liturgical terminology; second, to use this example to emphasize the need for updating and expanding upon Tryggvi Oleson’s articles. While quite thorough and detailed in

- 2 According to *Grágás*, the law code for Iceland during much of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a *máldagi* was to be kept by every Icelandic church that owned property (*Grágás: Konungsbók*, ed. by Vilhjálmur Finsen (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1852), vol. 1, 15). However, a number of these episcopally directed collections of *máldagar* have been identified for the fourteenth century and later: for Hólar there is Bishop Auðunn Þorbergsson’s 1318 collection (*DI II*, 423–89), Bishop Jón Eiríksson’s from 1360 (*DI III*, 155–78), Bishop Pétur Nikulásson’s from 1394 (*DI III*, 508–95), the *máldagar* of Bishop Óláfr Rögnvaldsson from 1461 (*DI V*, 247–361), and a collection made by Sigurður Jónsson, the son of Jón Arason, the final Catholic bishop of Hólar, the oldest part of which is from 1525 (*DI IX*, 293–334). A number of *máldagar* survive from Skálholt, but the only known and dated collection is that of Bishop Vilchin Hinriksson from 1397 (*DI IV*, 27–240). Several of these collections were produced over several years, and the dates of individual *máldagar* can vary – Bishop Óláfr’s, for example, range from 1461 to 1470 – but it is conventional to use the shorthand of assigning them a single year. The vast majority of them also survive only in post-medieval copies, and when a dating does not survive in the text of the *máldagi* itself or a clear attribution to a particular bishop’s collection, it is difficult and often impossible to accurately date them. Most of the *máldagar* dated to before 1318 in the *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, particularly those attributed to 1179 and the tenure of Bishop Þorlákr Þórhallsson, are only very speculatively dated and are in need of re-examination and re-editing.
- 3 See bibliography for full references. Oleson wrote three articles on the book collections of Hólar diocese between 1957 and 1960: the first on the 1318 collection, the second on the 1394 one, and the final on the 1461 list. In 1957 and 1961 Oleson also published two articles on book donations made to Icelandic churches during the medieval period. Though critical of it in places, Oleson presents Guðbrandur Jónsson’s 1948 article “Íslenzk bókasöfn fyrir siðabyltinguna” as the best scholarship on the topic available, while he is dismissive of Olmer’s study (Tryggvi J. Oleson, “Book Collections of Mediaeval Icelandic Churches,” *Speculum* 32.3 (1957): 502).

comparison with Guðbrandur and Olmer's previous work, Oleson was still summarizing a massive amount of information in a few relatively short publications, and the subject calls for more extensive treatment. In addition, many of the attempts to identify and describe the Old Norse terms for different kinds of liturgical books, by both Oleson and others, have been quite cursory. In the case of the *aspiciensbækur*, these cursory attempts, combined with limited interest in Icelandic liturgy as a subject, has led to the misidentification of this type of book being propagated though more than a century of scholarship.

## The Books and Their Context

An *aspiciensbók* was, we can be fairly confident, an Antiphonal.<sup>4</sup> However, understanding what exactly that is requires some explanation. To begin at the most general level, medieval liturgical books can be divided into three broad categories: books of general instruction and information, books for the Mass, and books for the Office.<sup>5</sup> A general trend in thirteenth-century Latin Europe led to compilation of liturgical texts into larger books, and by the late thirteenth and earlier fourteenth century, there were five basic books for the Mass and the Office: the Breviary, Antiphonal, and Psalter for the Office, and the Missal and Gradual for the Mass. Before the shift towards larger books, the components of these could be spread out across a greater number of shorter volumes, often in practice divided according to specific use of various officiants of whatever the liturgical service was. Throughout the Middle Ages, however, it was normal for most of

- 4 There are numerous variations in both the Latin and English terminology for this and other liturgical books: in English it can be an Antiphonal, Antiphony, or Antiphoner, in Latin an *antiphonarium*, *antiphonarius*, or *antiphonale*. The forms used in John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) have been used in this study for the sake of consistency, but in quotations of sources and scholarship other forms will appear.
- 5 The Mass refers to the core rite of the medieval Latin Church: the Eucharist, and the liturgical rituals surrounding it. The Divine Office or Liturgy of the Hours refers to the cycle of daily prayer, based primarily around the psalms. For a summary of these two liturgies and their development, see Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 73–126. For the lists and categorizations of the basic types of books, see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 118–23 and Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 58–66.

those in the choir to sing their parts from memory.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, this is a basic list reflecting a generalized overview, and other books continued to circulate and find uses: as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Archbishop of Canterbury's list of the books required in all parish churches in Canterbury included two additional Mass/Office books.<sup>7</sup> Understanding the context of the *aspiciensbækr* requires keeping in mind both the centrality of these core five books and the potential for variation.

A core distinction among these later medieval books is between those used by the main officiant or priest – the Breviary and Missal – which usually lacked any sort of musical notation, and the notated books used by the choir, namely the Antiphonal and the Gradual. The Antiphonal was the core choir book for Office performances, containing all proper (changing) parts of the Office for the choir, generally supplemented by a Psalter, which contained the common or ferial (unchanging) parts. Further compilation could happen, and so-called Noted Breviaries and Noted Missals were complete Office and Mass books which incorporated full notation and the material from the Antiphonal and Gradual. But the general distinction between the officiant's books and the choir books, divided between Mass and Office, was standard.<sup>8</sup>

- 6 Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 59. As Harper points out, surviving liturgical books from the earlier period were themselves often used for teaching, reference, or copying, and do not thus necessarily reflect those books being actively read during liturgical performance. For liturgical performance from memory, see Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 59; Katherine Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 31, 42–43, 67–71; Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 18.
- 7 Archbishop Robert Winchelsey issued his constitution between 1295 and 1313, which included a *legendam* and a *troparium*, see discussion in Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370–1547* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), 159–60, where these are identified as a “lesson-book” and a “troper.” The archbishop's list, notably, does not require churches to own a Breviary. See also footnote 46.
- 8 For a quick and useful survey of the medieval liturgy, including liturgical books, see Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*. A more detailed English-language study of the liturgical books and manuscripts can be found in Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*. Both Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William George Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986) and Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998) are also useful, though it should be kept in mind that they are focused on books from



The Icelandic book lists are emblematic of how complicated this picture could become in practice. They use a variable mix of Latin and Old Norse terminology to describe significantly more than these five books; some of the additional books were very common and present in many churches. This variety is a significant and neglected part of what makes these lists so valuable: they provide detailed evidence for the complex structure and distribution of late medieval books whose structure and contents we cannot study directly. One of the most significant difficulties lies in determining what sort of book any given term refers to and where there is overlap between them.

We can be more confident in the identification of the term *aspiciensbók* than many others, both because the name refers to a very specific liturgical passage and because it was used in a consistent way outside of Iceland. *Aspiciens* comes from the beginning of Advent, a pivotal time in the cycle of the liturgical year, as Helmut Gneuss notes in his study of Anglo-Saxon books:

*Aspiciens* is the first word of the responsory following the first lesson in the Night Office of the first Sunday of Advent. Although antiphoners do not begin with this responsory, they give special prominence to its initial, and this has led to the adoption of *aspiciens* as signifying the book.<sup>9</sup>

Gneuss' study is the most significant work on the sort of ambiguities that arose from the names given to medieval liturgical books in book lists, particularly in the context of a bilingual vernacular-Latin textual culture; the fact that he deals with Anglo-Saxon books make it all the more relevant to Iceland, despite the chronological gap between the two corpora. Most of the main vernacular terms used for Icelandic liturgical books, including

before the thirteenth century. In the comments he does make on the later period, Palazzo misleadingly does not explicitly treat the Antiphonal and Breviary as separate books, but rather views the Breviary as a singular, holistic compilation for the Office (Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 169–72).

9 Helmut Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England," *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 117. Gneuss' point that the prominence of the initial is the reason for *aspiciens* becoming the name of the book is compelling but speculative; the point here is that *aspiciens* here developed some kind of prominence that led to it becoming the name of the book.

*aspiciensbók*, probably derive from Anglo-Saxon usage, presumably coming from books brought from England to Iceland in the first half of the eleventh century, either directly or through Norway or Denmark.<sup>10</sup> As with many aspects of the early Icelandic Church, there may have also been some German influence on this vocabulary, though it is impossible to say how much.<sup>11</sup>

As Gneuss points out, both the Latin term *antiphonarius* and the Anglo-Saxon *sangboc* could refer to choir books for both Mass and Office, so more specific terms provided more clarity. For the Gradual – the choir book for Mass – the term *Ad te leuauí* was sometimes used, on the same principle as *aspiciens*: it was the introit for the Mass sung on the first Sunday of Advent.<sup>12</sup> *Aspiciens* continues to appear in the later medieval

- 10 The Old Norse terms *söngbók*, *messubók*, *handbók*, and *aspiciensbók* all have clear Old English parallels; *söngbók* and *aspiciensbók* will be discussed in detail as part of this study. In an Anglo-Saxon context, *mæsseboc* referred to a Sacramentary (Gneuss, “Liturgical Books,” 99–101), and *messubók* would have referred to the same when it was first used in Iceland. By the fourteenth-century, it likely more often referred to the larger Missal, but we cannot be certain that that is the case in every instance – both the terms *messubók* and *missale* are used in the fourteenth-century lists and later, and some scribes may have maintained a distinction between them. *Handbók/handboc* is without a doubt the least ambiguous term: it refers to a Manual (*manualis*), a basic book that priests used for their main ritual duties outside the core Mass/Office cycle: baptism, marriage, burial, etc. (Gneuss, “Liturgical Books,” 134–35). The book was called a *ritual* in continental Europe (Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 63), corresponding to the modern title Ritual, and it is unclear whether the term *manualis* or *handboc* came first in English usage.
- 11 A *Messbuch* appears in a 1065 inventory for Limburg Abbey (*Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse I: Von der Zeit Karls Des Grossen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Bernhard Bischoff (Munich: Prestel, 1967), 49), as well as a *Sequentialbuch*, which roughly parallels the Norse *sequentiubók*. At Trifels in 1246 there were other *messbücher*, but also a *mettenbuch* (book for Matins) (*Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse I*, 99–100), which does not resemble the parallel Norse term for a Matins book, *óttasöngvabók*, but at least suggests related naming practices, since there is no parallel Latin term. These Matins books may have been Nocturnals: the list of Matins services for the full year, separated from the rest of the Antiphonal (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 118–19, 193). In any case, the precedent for the Icelandic terminology for liturgical books may have come from multiple sources, and more comparative research is needed into German, Icelandic, and English book lists, and possibly other traditions.
- 12 Gneuss, “Liturgical Books,” 102–4. See footnote 21. For further discussion of these specific books, see Michael Lapidge, “Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England,” *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 56–57, 69–73 and Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 510–11.

period, in both England and France,<sup>13</sup> and in two churches in Vestland, in Norway, in early fourteenth-century book lists, possibly reflecting the path of influence from Anglo-Saxon England to Iceland, but certainly also showing the shared textual, linguistic, and religious culture of Iceland and Norway at the time.<sup>14</sup> Thus, while the term *aspiciensbók* almost certainly developed during the eleventh century when Iceland was first developing its own liturgical culture, the continued appearance of the word in later centuries was not without contemporary parallels.

As in Anglo-Saxon England, in Iceland there were also additional terms that could be used to describe Antiphonals, with varying levels of ambiguity. The Latin term *antiphonarius/antiphonarium* is uncommon in Iceland, but fifteenth-century book lists identify an *antiphonarius* at four different Hólar diocese churches between 1431 and 1501; one of them even owned two.<sup>15</sup> None of these lists mention an *aspiciensbók*, and there are

- 13 Multiple *aspiciens* are mentioned among the records of the Abbey of St. Bertin in northern France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Alexandre de La Fons-Mélicocq, “Les calligraphes et les manuscrits des cathédrales d’Arras, de Tournai, et de l’abbaye de Saint-Bertin,” *Revue du Nord de la France* 1 (1854): 23). The English Abbey of St. Albans records an Antiphonal with the “local house name” of *aspiciens* being repeatedly lent out to the monks in the fourteenth and fifteenth century (R. W. Hunt, “The Library of the Abbey of St Albans,” *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker*, ed. by M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), 254–55; *The St. Albans Chronicle 1406–1420*, ed. by V. H. Galbraith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), xxxvii; *The English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, ed. by R. Sharpe et al., Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4 (London: The British Library/The British Academy), 555); ten *aspiciens* appear at the church of Glastonbury on a list probably written around 1248, and at the priory of Rumburgh in York there are three *aspiciens*, one of them bound together with a *sanctor(ale)*, by 1448 (*The English Benedictine Libraries*, 210, 792). There is a distinct but interesting use of *aspiciens* in a late fifteenth-century catalogue at Leicester Abbey, wherein it appears after *antiphonarium* in the entries for a number of books, though several Antiphonals have different descriptors (*The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. by T. Webber and A. G. Watson, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (London: The British Library/The British Academy, 1998), 383–85).
- 14 At Ylmheim/Ølmheim church in 1321: “aspiciens gott detempore et de sanctis pertotum annum cum bona litera et nota. Jtem annat aspiciens” (*DN XV*, 11); at Hålandsdal church in 1306: “æt aspiciens de tempore et de sanctis per annum” (*DN XXI*, 7).
- 15 In the 1431 lists, Tjörn in Svarfaðardalr has two copies, one of them in two volumes, and Árskógr in Eyjafjörðr has one (*DI IV*, 465–66). In the 1461 lists, Húsavík and Höskuldsstaðir each own a copy, though the Höskuldsstaðir list makes it clear that this is a later addition to the *máldagi*, and the book was given to the church sometime between 1492 and 1501 by Abbot Jón Þorvaldsson of Þingeyrar monastery (*DI V*, 274, 346).

indications that some of the scribes for the 1431 lists had a taste for Latin terminology.<sup>16</sup> The most notable use of *antiphonarius*, however, is in the extensive 1461 book list for the Augustinian house of Möðruvellir in Hörgárdalur. In this list there are seven books titled *antiphonarius* and two titled *antiphonabók*, and not a single mention of *aspiciens*.<sup>17</sup> No *antiphonarius* or *antiphonabók* appears in Möðruvellir's shorter 1525 book list, and two *aspiciensbækr* have appeared in their place.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, all but one of these fifteenth-century lists that use *antiphonarius* also mention a Gradual, so we can be fairly confident that it is an Office book, the Antiphonal, being described, rather than a Mass book.<sup>19</sup> It seems clear then that *antiphonarius* and *aspiciensbók* were used in Iceland primarily to refer to the same type of books, and that two or three fifteenth-century scribes in northern Iceland simply had a preference for the Latin term.

Much more ambiguous is *söngbók*, almost certainly a direct borrowing of the Old English term *sangboc*.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, here the Icelandic situation seems more comparable to the Anglo-Saxon one. In Gneuss' analysis of Old English *sangboc*, the term is shown to refer to choir books for both the Office and the Mass, i.e. both Graduals and Antiphonals.<sup>21</sup> The word

16 *DI* IV, 465–66. The Árskógr list is just particularly rich in the sort of Latin terminology common in the *máldagar*. The Tjörn list, however, includes a second type of rare Latin book word: *breviarius* (Breviary) which, as will be discussed below, is rarely seen in Icelandic book lists. The Tjörn Breviary is unusual, moreover, in that the scribe is actually noting that the book has gone missing, and has not been seen at the church since a priest named Sigurðr and a certain Jón Einarsson departed – perhaps a coy suggestion that one of these men made off with the valuable tome.

17 *DI* V, 286–90.

18 *DI* IX, 317–18.

19 The exception is the 1461 *máldagi* for Höskuldsstaðir (*DI* V, 344–46), which is perhaps unsurprising, since the book collection is minimally described, and as noted earlier the *antiphonarius* appears in an addition to the core text. Icelandic book lists use the Latin term for a Gradual, but often in the form of a significantly altered loanword, so it can either be written *graduale* or *grallari*, or some variant of these two basic forms. The relationship between *grallari* and its source is more transparent when the Latin term drops the “u” (*gradale*), see for example *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, 383–85. The variable Latin forms also gave rise to the English vernacular term from the Gradule, “grail,” see for example Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval English*, 513. See also footnote 41.

20 In light of the extensive influence of the English language on early Icelandic ecclesiastical language and intellectual culture, see for example Ryder Patzuk-Russell, *The Development of Education in Medieval Iceland* (Berlin: De Gruyter/Medieval Institute Publications, 2021), 196.

21 Gneuss, “Liturgical Books,” 103. Gneuss argues that *sangboc* shares the same sense as the

*söngr* itself could signify the liturgy very broadly in medieval Iceland – essentially every type of liturgical performance can be referred to as *söngr*<sup>22</sup> – and so as a descriptive term *söngbók* is highly ambiguous and may have been extremely variable, possibly even more variable than its Old English parallel.

In certain cases a *söngbók* seems to be meant as a counterpart to *lesbók*, possibly meant to collectively describe a complete set of liturgical books. The 1318 book list for the great northern church of Grenjaðarstaðr is not particularly detailed and describes a significant portion of its library simply as: “Saungbækur oc lesbækur og ad aullu per Anni circulum. og þo ey secundum ordinem” (*Söngbækr* and *lesbækr* complete for the full year, but not following the Ordinal), followed by a vernacular saga of the church’s patron saint, some Psalters, and some books noted as being old and in poor condition.<sup>23</sup> While the 1394 list for the same church is more detailed and mentions seven incomplete *lesbækr*, there are no *söngbækr* or *aspiciensbækr* there.<sup>24</sup> There is a definite dichotomy set up in the 1318 list, but it is unclear whether it is between choir books and books for the officiant/altar, between Office and Mass books, or perhaps between books with and without musical notation.<sup>25</sup>

This highly generalized usage must be related in some way to how *söngr* and *les* are also used as descriptors for the contents of liturgical books, including for *aspiciensbækr*. The terms seem to indicate how complete a book is: two *aspiciensbækr* in the 1318 lists are said to include both *söngr* and *les*, while a slightly later list, from 1344, has an *aspiciensbók* that only includes *söngr*.<sup>26</sup> It is not impossible that these terms refer to the sung and read parts of the Office, the parts for the choir and officiant, and so an *aspiciensbók* that includes both would be more of an Breviary and Antiphonal

early use of *antiphonarius*, referring to both Mass and Office books, the very ambiguity that likely first led to the use of the term *aspiciens* to refer to a category of book.

22 The funeral service, for example, was referred to as *líksöngr*; Matins was referred to as *óttusöngr*. For *söngr* as musical skill and subject of education, see Ryder Patzuk-Russell, *The Development of Education in Medieval Iceland* (Berlin: De Gruyter/Medieval Institute Publications, 2021), 160–65.

23 *DI* II, 433.

24 *DI* III, 580–81.

25 In addition to the Grenjaðarstaðr example, there are hints of *söngbók* and *lesbók* as being a set pairing at the 1318 lists for Grimsey and Árskógr (*DI* II, 443, 455).

26 At Laufás, Víðimýri, and Sauðanes (*DI* II, 448, 466, 786).

compiled together than an Antiphonal.<sup>27</sup> It may equally be that *söngr* here refers to musical notation. In any case, it is very unlikely that such usage of *söngr/les* corresponds neatly with the meaning of *söngbók/lesbók*. More detailed and complete research would be needed to better explore the relationships between these terms.

In at least one case, *aspiciensbækr* seem to be presented as a sub-category of *söngbækr*. The 1360 *máldagi* for the church of Viðimýri, although incomplete, does record the beginning of a book list, which finishes with “Aspiens Bok. aunnur saung Bok per anni circulum.”<sup>28</sup> No *söngbók* appears before this, and *önnur* (second) thus appears to be referring back the *aspiciensbók* as the first *söngbók*. With this in mind, in lists that seem fairly complete, where there are Graduals and *söngbækr* but no *aspiciensbækr*, it may be that the *söngbækr* are in fact Antiphonals.<sup>29</sup>

*Söngbók* has a broad and complex meaning that requires more research to be better understood. For now, it seems best to follow Gneuss in taking *söngbók* as referring at the very least to both Graduals and Antiphonals; the term must therefore have sometimes overlapped in meaning with *aspiciensbók*. There were thus at least three terms, and minor variants of each, that could refer to an Antiphonal in medieval Iceland: *aspiciensbók*, *antiphonarius*, and *söngbók*. This surplus of terminology likely reflects the usage of liturgical books in Iceland before the compilation trends of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the undoubtedly slow process of adapting to new liturgical trends in this peripheral region.

Not all of these Icelandic Antiphonals were exactly the same book, however, with identical structure and organization.<sup>30</sup> Antiphonals in general were large books, often divided into two volumes, with summer and

27 There are hints, however, that even such Noted Breviaries present in Icelandic library may have been broken up in some idiosyncratic ways. The *brefér* at Holt undir Eyjafjöllum is said to “tekur til að paskum og til aduentu. og er syngjandi að hatijder” (*DI VI*, 330) which indicates a summer book, from Easter to Advent. However, the final clause suggests that it is only *syngjandi* on *hátiðir*, i.e. that it only includes musical notation on feast days, and thus that the sung parts of the daily, ferial Office are not included, the sections of the Office that would normally be in a Choir Psalter. So while the book has characteristics of a Noted Breviary, it is far from a comprehensive collection of Office texts and music.

28 *DI III*, 175.

29 As at Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörðr and Breiðibólstaðr in Vesturhóp (*DI II*, 449, 479).

30 For the layout and structure of the medieval Antiphonal, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 161–97.

winter halves, or with even more divisions. This type of division would not generally affect the contents or their organization.<sup>31</sup> Breaking up large liturgical books into summer and winter parts was a widespread medieval practice.<sup>32</sup> In the Icelandic book lists, such divisions are usually communicated as being from one feast day to another, most commonly the beginning of Advent to Easter.<sup>33</sup> There were also two central types of liturgical cycle around which books were structured, usually communicated in Icelandic lists with the terms *de tempore* (temporale) and *de sanctis* (sanctorale): the temporale cycle, which covers the moveable holidays, such as Easter and Pentecost, in addition to Christmas, and the sanctorale cycle, which covers the feasts of saints. Books could be only *de tempore* or *de sanctis*, but a truly complete volume included both cycles, and thus incorporated all the liturgical events of the year. While some medieval Antiphonals mixed the temporale and sanctorale sections together, creating a single unit for the full calendrical year, it was more common to maintain them as separate sections.<sup>34</sup>

Some examples from the Antiphonals of the 1461 Möðruvellir list can help clarify the full range of these divisions. One of the Möðruvellir books is described as an “antephonarius de tempore et de sanctis per annum sæmiligr” (an excellent Antiphonal for the temporale and sanctorale through the whole year). It was thus a truly complete Office choir book, noted as being *sæmiligr*, and probably an expensive and exceptional book. Another, however, is given as “antefonarivm de sanctis fra jonsMesso baptiste til aduentu” (an Antiphonal for the sanctorale from the feast of John the Baptist to the beginning of Advent). Thus, it is strictly a book of saints’ feasts from 24 June to a saint’s feast marking the end of the sanctorale before the moveable beginning of Advent between 27 November and 3 December; this may have been St. Cecilia on 22 November. This Antiphonal

31 Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 193. Hughes notes that the most extreme example he is aware of is an Antiphonal from the monastery of El Escorial, which is divided into a set of 223 separate books.

32 Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 158–59, 171.

33 Some Icelandic liturgical books could focus on even shorter periods, most exemplified by the *jólabók* (Christmas book), which may have included texts for the Mass or Office, or perhaps both, for the Christmas feast and perhaps some period around it. At least four churches had *jólabækur* at some point in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Svalbard, Illugastaðr, Gufudalur, and Glæsibær (*DI* II, 440; *DI* III, 520, 590; *DI* V, 300, *DI* VI, 203).

34 See Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 243.

is therefore a different, and significantly shorter, book from the truly complete Antiphonal. However, Möðruvellir appears to have owned five different copies of this Antiphonal for the summer sanctorale; this may suggest a scriptorium copying a particular book for sale or distribution, or short working books being actively used by the resident choir, or perhaps both.

The largest *aspiciensbækr* could thus be complete choir books for all the Office liturgies for the full year, sometimes split into two volumes but seemingly sometimes bound together into one great tome; others could be much smaller, possibly more utilitarian volumes.<sup>35</sup> The variable structure of the Icelandic Antiphonals could also result in additional books: the Hymnal, usually expressed as *hymnarium* in the Icelandic lists, contained all the hymns for the Office. Hymns could be incorporated into the Antiphonal in various ways, but were often all collected in a separate section in the back of the book, and this section could thus easily be turned into a separate volume of its own.<sup>36</sup> Judging from the frequency of the term *hymnarium* in the Icelandic book lists, this separation was probably the standard practice in the later medieval Iceland.<sup>37</sup> This is perhaps emphasized by the fact that several Icelandic Antiphonals are specifically noted as including hymns.<sup>38</sup> Likewise, in cases like that of the

- 35 Even the *antiphonarius* given to Höskuldsstaðir by Abbot Jón at the end of the fifteenth century, rather than a particularly impressive or even complete book, is noted as being a small book for the summer season (*DI V*, 346).
- 36 As Hughes notes: “Hymns, which are generally proper to seasons, may be given in their correct place within the offices, lending a distinctive appearance to the book, but are more usually placed in a separate section at the end or quite separately in the Psalter or in an independently bound book” (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 161). Exploring the frequency and distribution across Latin Europe of such separately bound Hymnals in the fourteenth and fifteenth century could throw additional light onto the Icelandic book lists.
- 37 According to Oleson’s count in the 1318 Hólar lists, thirteen churches had one Hymnal each, and a fourteenth had three copies (Oleson, “Book Collections of Mediaeval Icelandic Churches,” 504).
- 38 On the island of Grímsey in 1318 there are two: “Aspiciensbok medur Hymnum fra Trinitatis viku til Aduentum ad Dominicum de sanctis allt oc so suffragium Aspiciens Bok forn frá páskum til huijta daga. med ollum Hymnum” (*DI II*, 443; An Antiphonal with hymns from Trinity week to Advent, complete for Sundays and the sanctorale, and also suffrages . . . an old Antiphonal from Easter to the week of Pentecost, with all hymns). These are both excellent examples of how, even including the hymns, Icelandic Antiphonals could be very heavily broken up, the latter book covering a mere seven weeks! At Laufás in 1461: “aspiciens bok oc tekr til de trinitate med ymnvm oc oraciones oc de sanctes” (*DI V*, 267; An Antiphonal, and it begins on Trinity week, with hymns and prayers and the



large Mōðruvellir Antiphonal, when particular emphasis is laid on how comprehensive the book is, it may have been understood that such books also contained hymns.

Having explored what an *aspiciensbók* and an Antiphonal were in medieval Iceland, it is worth clarifying what they were not. As the second section of this study will show, it has been common for scholars to interpret the *aspiciensbók* as a type of Breviary. This makes some sense: the Breviary and Antiphonal were the two core Office books of the later Middle Ages and had a significant amount of overlap in their contents, with the Breviary written for the celebrant and the Antiphonal for the choir. The distribution and make-up of Breviaries in medieval Iceland, moreover, is complex and unclear. However, Icelandic Antiphonals and Breviaries were separate books, and there is some distinct terminology to show this.

The core issue is that there seem to be multiple terms for a Breviary in Iceland, and at the same time the component parts of the Breviary – the earlier books that developed into this compilation – are present and fairly common in the Icelandic lists. Two books that formed the basis for the Breviary in the thirteenth century, the Collectar and the Lectionary, appear to be present in the Icelandic lists. According to Gneuss, in the Anglo-Saxon lists, both *collectaneum* and *capitularium* could refer to a Collectar; because the book contained two types of readings, collects and chapters, either term could be a fair description.<sup>39</sup> Both of these terms appear frequently in the Icelandic lists.<sup>40</sup> We cannot be sure that the terms

sanctorale). It is unclear what types of prayers/liturgical texts are meant by *oraciones* here. There is a different Antiphonal, but still with hymns, at Laufás in its 1525 list (*DI IX*, 331), though it is possibly one of the two descriptions was made incorrectly.

39 Gneuss, “Liturgical Books,” 112–13. For the development of the Collectar, see Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 145–48. While this study proceeds following the assumption that *collectarius* in Iceland generally refers to an Office book related to the Breviary, there is one example of a *collectarius missalis per annum* at Mōðruvellir (*DI V*, 286). I am inclined to think that this is a wholly different type of book, probably a Missal, and that *collectarius* is functioning as a descriptive adjective of some kind; the 1461 Mōðruvellir list is particularly rich in Latin terminology and uncommon liturgical books. The example does, however, provide some room for doubt.

40 Oleson counts *capitularius/capitularium* and *collectarius* separately, and both terms appear at twelve churches in the 1318 Hólar lists (Oleson, “Book Collections of Medieval Icelandic Churches,” 503). Both terms do not seem to ever appear together on the same list in 1318, which could support the idea that they are used to describe the same book, but more close and detailed research is needed.

were always interchangeable, but the charters of the church of Hrafnagil in Eyjafjörðr hint that they may have been: a *collectarium* in the 1318 *máldagi* appears to have morphed into a *capitularius* in the 1394 *máldagi*.<sup>41</sup>

*Lesbók* almost certainly indicates a Lectionary, but Lectionaries were a broad category of books that could contain readings for either Office or Mass; only the Office Lectionaries were compiled into the Breviary. There is no close English equivalent to *lesbók*, and it is possible that it is a Norse invention.<sup>42</sup> The standard Old English term for an Office Lectionary, according to Gneuss, was *rædingaboc*;<sup>43</sup> an equivalent Norse term, *red-dingbók*, does appear in the 1318 list for that same church of Hrafnagil in Eyjafjörðr, but it impossible to judge the significance or motivation behind such an isolated usage.<sup>44</sup> The term *málbók* also probably originally referred to a Lectionary, and has the same general semantic sense as *lesbók* and *red-dingabók*. Like the *reddingabók*, however, *málbók* only appears in a single list.<sup>45</sup> Finally, a definition for the term *legendubók* was not attempted by Oleson, and no definition appears in any Old Norse dictionary, but it is possible it also refers to a Lectionary of some kind.<sup>46</sup>

41 *DI* II, 453; *DI* III, 560–61. The two lists have a number of differences, and of course these may be entirely different books. However, there is a clear tendency for small variations between scribes in such lists; in the Hrafnagil lists there is a notable variation between Latin *gradualia* and the adapted loanword *grallari* when referring to Graduals. So it is at least feasible that *collectarium* and *capitularius* could be used by different scribes to describe the same book. See also footnote 19.

42 However, further research into German and other vernacular traditions could uncover parallels: even if it has a completely different meaning from *lesbók*, the existence of the modern German *Lesebuch* is a compelling hint that there could be a connection.

43 Gneuss, “Liturgical Books,” 120–21.

44 There were nine *reddingabæk*r at Hrafnagil in 1318 (*DI* II, 453). However, in the 1394 list for the same church, the *reddingabæk*r have disappeared, and a very conspicuous nine *legendubæk*r have appeared (*DI* III, 560–61). See note 45 below. The Old Norse term *ræðingr* was also used for Latin *lectio*, in the sense of a liturgical reading ([onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o65829](http://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o65829)).

45 *DI* I, 256.

46 By my own count, there are one or more *legendubæk*r at ten churches in Hólar diocese in the 1318 lists (*DI* II, 434–85). Cleasby-Vígfússon gloss *legenda* simply as “legend” (Richard Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vígfússon, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874), 378). The different names used for a Lectionary refer to the fact that it is a collection of *lectiones*, readings used in various parts of the liturgy, generally taken from scripture or saints’ lives. *Legenda* could also indicate such a reading, perhaps specifically a reading from a saint’s life: Gneuss uses the term “legendary” to describe collections of saints’ lives for liturgical use, though he does not reference any medieval uses of such a

Despite the difficulty of the terminology, it is clear that two core parts of the Breviary, the Lectionary and the Collectar, circulated in late medieval Iceland. Without knowing the contents of these books, it is impossible to know for sure, but their presence may indicate that at some Icelandic churches the celebrant of the Office continued to use a number of different books into the fourteenth and fifteenth century, rather than a single Breviary.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, some churches without a doubt did use Breviaries, though they were not as common as the other types of core liturgical books.<sup>48</sup> The Latin term *breviarium* appears in two different churches in the fifteenth century, as well as at the Augustinian house of Viðey in the fourteenth. The Old Norse terms derived from the Latin, *brefér* and its several variants, appear in at least six different contexts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>49</sup>

term (Gneuss, "Liturgical Books," 125–26). The possibility that these *legendubækkr* are Lectionaries specifically for the sanctorale may be supported by the "Legenda de sanctis ä ij selskinns Bokum" (*legenda* of the saints in two seal-skin books) in the church of Múli in 1318 (*DI* II, 435). The same list also mentions *legendubækkr* for the full year. However, for an English example of a *legenda* that includes both temporale and sanctorale, see Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 402–4.

- 47 Iceland had little influence from the mendicant orders, whose widely travelling members were a primary driver of the use of larger, more complete liturgical books, and it is possible that this may have contributed to a particularly slow response to the development of more complete Breviaries and Missals. But Breviaries may also have been seen as less necessary than the other core liturgical books in early fourteenth-century England, see note 7.
- 48 The term *tíðabók* (book of hours) is glossed as a Breviary in Cleasby-Vigfússon (Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 633). However, in this case the *tíða* prefix likely does not refer to the Office specifically, but rather the divine liturgy as a whole, since in many of its appearances *tíðabók* seems to refer generally to the full collection of liturgical books at a church. The Skálholt lists use *tíðabók* more frequently than the Hólar lists, and the frequent phrase *xii mánaða tíðabækkr*, rather than an identification of a particular type of book, seems more likely to indicate that the church has the core Mass and Office books for the full year, see for example *DI* III, 32, 85; *DI* IV, 136, 142, 148, 160, 172. In no cases do we have any indication that *tíðabók* refers to what are conventionally known as Books of Hours, late medieval books of private prayer largely based on the psalms. It is thus probably best to gloss *tíðabók* simply as "service book" or "book for the liturgy."
- 49 Oleson's articles entirely overlook *breviarius* and related terms, which is all the more surprising considering how he considers other terms as possibly referring to Breviaries. Olmer gives two examples of *breviarius/breviarium*, and five more of the derived Old Norse terms *brefér* and *breferi* (Emil Olmer, *Boksamlingar på Island 1179–1490* (Göteborg: Wald. Zachrissons Boktryckeri, 1902), 9); the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* gives the variable forms *brefér*, *breferi*, and *breferr* (onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?010757). There were a number of *brefér* of several types at Hólar in 1396 (*DI* III, 612), one at Presthólar in 1394 (*DI* III, 553),

Neither *brevarius* nor *brefér* appear in the 1318 Hólar lists, which could indicate that the Breviary was still only coming into use in Iceland early in the fourteenth century. The relative rarity of these terms in the later period – alongside the more widespread circulation of Collectars and Lectionaries, some of which were presumably Office Lectionaries – suggests that even while Icelanders began to use Breviaries, they never became the sole Office book for the celebrant. Many of the extant examples of *brefér* also show books with distinctive or unusual features, including parts of the Mass liturgy being incorporated into the book, and are therefore in need of more focused study.<sup>50</sup> For present purposes, the terminology of the book lists provides sufficient evidence to show that the Icelandic Antiphonals were distinct books, whether used in conjunction with a Breviary or its component parts.

Finally, the frequency of *aspiciensbækr* in Icelandic collections can help emphasize their importance to liturgical practices: they were a standard and widely distributed type of book. There are thirty-seven *aspiciensbækr* in the great 1318 collection of Bishop Auðun of Hólar, distributed among twenty-two churches;<sup>51</sup> as Oleson notes in his count, the majority of these

two at Álftamýri in 1378 and 1397 (*DI IV*, 12–13, 147), one listed in 1467 among the private debts of Björn *riki* Þorleifsson after his death (*DI V*, 504), one at Árskógr in 1461 (*DI V*, 262), and one at Holt undir Eyjafjöllum around 1480 (*DI VI*, 330). One *brevarius* noted by Olmer, at Viðey monastery, is listed as a *brevarium Augustini* and was thus presumably a very particular book for the liturgy of the Augustinian canons (*DI IV*, 111); the other is at Melstaðr in 1461 (*DI*, 338); a third, at Tjörn in 1431, is discussed below and is not noted by Olmer (*DI IV*, 465).

- 50 One of the books at Möðruvellir in 1461 is described as a “brefere de sanctis med Messum syngiande j tueim hlutum fra jonsMesso baptiste til aduentu” (*DI V*, 286; A Breviary for the sanctorale, with Masses, with music, in two parts, from the feast of John the Baptist to Advent). This book thus only contains the sanctorale section of the full Breviary, not the temporale, but *syngjandi* suggests it does include musical notation, making it a sort of Noted Breviary. Yet it includes some sort of Mass texts as well, and the division into two parts suggests a large book. It would appear that the book represents a type of ultra-complete liturgical volume, a Noted Breviary-Missal, but limited to a narrow part of the calendar, the summer sanctorale.
- 51 There are purportedly two references to *aspiciensbækr* from older *máldagar*: an 1179 one from Miðarnarbæli undir Eyjafjöllum, and a 1270 one from Vallanes (*DI I*, 255; *DI II*, 84). However, these dates are pure guesswork from the editors of the first two volumes of the *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, and – like most *máldagar* – the manuscripts they are referencing are from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; lacking an explicit dated event upon which to base the dating, as with Bishop Auðunn’s 1318 collection, we cannot be confident that the sources of the early modern scribes were any older than the fourteenth

were not complete books, covering the full service for the full year, but rather winter or summer books, sometimes only covering the sanctorale, or even only Sundays.<sup>52</sup> The largest gathering of them was kept at Vellir in Svarfaðardalur: five copies, two of them donated by a certain Erlingr. This is unsurprising since Vellir was the largest parish church library in the north.<sup>53</sup> Two other churches in the Hólar diocese, the Grenjaðarstaðr noted earlier and Háls in Fnjóskadalr, had four *aspiciensbækr* at certain points in time.<sup>54</sup> The other types of books with comparable frequency to the *aspiciensbók* are all similarly basic, core liturgical books: *messubækr* (Mass-books), Graduals, *lesbækr*, Psalters, *söngbækr*, and perhaps the only unexpectedly common type, *sequentiubækr* (books of Sequences).

It is difficult to make confident judgements about how the *aspiciensbækr* of Hólar diocese might have changed over time, but generally there seems to have been some consistency. The 1394 lists show slightly fewer *aspiciensbækr* distributed across slightly fewer churches – thirty-three books in twenty-one churches – even as the total number of books listed increased.<sup>55</sup> The 1461 lists show a similar slight growth in the total number of books, again with thirty-three *aspiciensbækr* across now only eighteen

century. However, if it was the case that *aspiciens* came into use as a category of book in Iceland from conventional Anglo-Saxon practice, then these dates are a moot point, since the term must have been in use since the eleventh century.

- 52 *DI II*, 428–80; Oleson, “Book Collections of Medieval Icelandic Churches,” 503. Oleson suggests that eight of these churches had complete *aspiciensbækr*, but in many of these instances the text simply states *aspiciensbók*, and it is hard to be sure that this implies a complete Antiphonal or whether it is just a more minimal description than in other passages.
- 53 At Vellir, the reference to the donation is gone by 1394, but otherwise the same books appear to be there (*DI II*, 455; *DI III*, 512).
- 54 Háls preserves the unusual description of two of its *aspiciensbækr* being bound in English bindings, which remains in 1394, though the descriptions of the two smaller copies had changed by then (*DI II*, 439; *DI III*, 573). Grenjaðarstaðr, as noted earlier, is very broad in describing its book collection in 1318, and while the physical *aspiciensbækr* may have been there, among the group of *söngbækr*, they are not mentioned by name; two of them are named in 1391, but the full four do not appear until the 1461 list (*DI IV*, 20; *DI V*, 282).
- 55 *DI III*, 512–94. Oleson counts an increase from 744 books to 1,095 books from 1318 to 1394 (Tryggvi J. Oleson, “Book Collections of Icelandic Churches in the Fourteenth Century,” *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 46 (1959): 115). As Oleson himself is careful to note several times in his articles, the uncertain consistency of the lists means that this count is very rough. Equally, the nature of what is understood as a book is highly questionable, and there may have been items reckoned as a book here that consisted of no more than a small gathering.

churches.<sup>56</sup> Small changes are expected as older books fall out of use or as separate volumes are bound together into larger compilations, and certainly some *máldagar* are incomplete, and some churches are even missing from lists. The final collection, from 1525, is very incomplete and only includes a few parish churches: just six books at three churches, and another two at Möðruvellir monastery, are mentioned.<sup>57</sup> Notably, it does include Vellir and does not name any *aspiciensbækr* there. Oleson, while he did not address any sixteenth-century *máldagar*, did speculate that the small number of total books at Vellir in 1461 may have been because the list there was simply an addition to an older list.<sup>58</sup>

The *máldagar* are highly layered documents, newer passages accumulating upon older ones. Some layers of Icelandic *máldagar* may be from as early as the late twelfth century, but we know next to nothing about the collections of those earlier centuries and therefore cannot say when or how the libraries of the fourteenth century were formed. The great library of Vellir in the fourteenth century may have been pre-eminent for centuries, or it may have been the new innovation of some intrepid cleric.<sup>59</sup> It is thus entirely possible that the library declined in size in the fifteenth century. However, in light of the lack of medieval *máldagar* manuscripts and infor

56 *DI V*, 253–351. The increase, by Oleson's count, is only from 1,095 to 1,104 books, but as Oleson himself is careful to note, there are fewer churches with *máldagar* preserved in the fifteenth-century Hólar lists, so the count is deceptive, and the average number of books per church is actually significantly higher (Tryggvi J. Oleson, "Book Collections of Icelandic Churches in the Fifteenth Century," *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 47 (1960): 95).

57 *DI IX*, 318–31.

58 Oleson, "Book Collections of Icelandic Churches in the Fifteenth Century," 97.

59 *Lárentius saga* comments on Þórarinn Egilsson (d. 1277): "Síra Þórarinn kaggi var klerkr góðr ok hinn mesti nytsemðamaðr til letrs ok bókaþjórða sem enn mega auðsýnaz margar bækr sem hann hfeir skrifat Hólakirkju ok svá Vallastað" (*Biskupa sögur III: Árna saga biskups, Lárentius saga biskups*, ed. by Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, Íslenzk Fornrit 17 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1998), 217; Reverend Þórarinn kaggi was a good cleric and the most beneficial person in writing and bookmaking, as the many books which he wrote can still be seen at the church of Hólar and also Vellir). The author of the saga may be trying to suggest that the greatness of the library at Vellir is due to Þórarinn's own work in the mid-thirteenth century. While we cannot read such a passage at face value – Þórarinn is, after all, a relative and teacher of the protagonist of the saga – it at least emphasizes the possibility that a number of the books shown in the 1318 *máldagi* for Vellir may have only been a few decades old.

mation about how these lists were made and used, we can never be sure of how complete an extant book list or inventory might be.<sup>60</sup>

Many more *aspiciensbækr* must have existed in medieval Iceland than are mentioned in the Hólar diocese *máldagar*. As the donation of Erlingr to Vellir shows, there is no doubt that *aspiciensbækr* were held in private ownership. Perhaps the most frequent owners were priests, but records of donations usually indicated whether a person was a priest, and Erlingr was thus almost certainly a layperson. The diocese of Skálholt was likewise larger than Hólar, and there is a good chance that its churches collectively owned more books, but the *máldagar* record for Skálholt is poor. Even among the surviving ones, there is often only a general mention of unidentified books or just a valuation of the collection.<sup>61</sup> Oleson does speculate that, issues with the surviving evidence aside, Skálholt churches were probably poorer in books than Hólar ones.<sup>62</sup> It is difficult to accept this conclusion at the present stage of the research, however, and it simply demonstrates that more thorough and critical study of the evidence for medieval Icelandic books collections is needed.

## Reception of the Term

The term *aspiciensbók*, on the few occasions when it has been addressed by scholars, has generally been misunderstood. A survey of the scholarship discourse surrounding this term can help us understand why and how this happened, and how extensively. Exploring this misunderstanding can in turn provide insight into the difficulties of studying the extant evidence

60 Halldór Hermannsson points to the lack of books in the 1525 list for Möðruvellir monastery, relative to its massive 1461 collection, as evidence of the decline of that library decades before the Reformation (Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, *Islandica* 19 (Ithaca: Cornell University Library, 1929), 33–34). Since Halldór's main point is about the disappearance of vernacular texts, it may well be that some less functional parts of the library were sold off, but it may equally be that, as Oleson suggests for Vellir, the 1525 list only includes new acquisitions.

61 The most complete *máldagar* collection for Skálholt, made by Bishop Vilchin Hinriksson around 1397, mentions only fourteen *aspiciensbækr* in twelve churches (*DI IV*, 43–207), out of a list of nearly three hundred churches. There must have been many more in the diocese, however. The Vilchin lists avoid descriptions of books in multiple ways, including simply give the valuation or size of the book collection, with little or no detail, for example *DI IV*, 67, 83, 86, 155.

62 Oleson, "Book Collections of Icelandic Churches in the Fourteenth Century," 118, note 1.

for the lost corpus of Icelandic liturgical books and the necessity of more detailed research.

The earliest scholarly attempts to understand *aspiciensbók* appear in the later nineteenth century. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, compiled by Richard Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon and released in 1874, records both *aspiciensbók* and *aspiciensskrá*,<sup>63</sup> but only describes it as “a service-book.”<sup>64</sup> Johan Fritzner’s authoritative *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog*, released and revised between 1886 and 1896, makes no mention of the term, and apart from Cleasby–Vigfússon’s minimalist definition, other dictionaries of the period appear to have shared Fritzner’s approach.<sup>65</sup> This general disinterest among dictionary writers is perhaps understandable, when considering that the term only appears in the *máldagar*, and Guðbrandur Vigfússon’s interest in these texts and their language was something of an exception. While Emil Olmer’s 1902 *Boksamlingar på Island 1179-1490*, noted at the beginning of this study, compiles references to *aspiciensbækr*, it makes no attempt at a definition.

Two publications in the 1880s identified the *aspiciensbók* with some success, but neither made any impact on later scholarship. Gustaf Cederschiöld released a study on the earliest *máldagar*, those thought to have been from the so-called Free State period, c. 930–1262, which spends a few pages discussing and identifying liturgical books. In this section he suggests that *aspiciens* could refer to the incipit of the book, but does not go any further; while *aspiciens* is not actually the incipit of the Antiphonal, Cederschiöld was clearly on the right track.<sup>66</sup> The second reference is

63 It is not certain what the distinction between *bók* and *skrá* in the *máldagar* may have been. It is possible that the *skrár* were simply unbound books or loose gatherings. In any case, *aspiciensskrá* is a very rare term, and there only appears to be one example in the extant corpus, alongside a single *aspiciensbókarskrá*, both in the 1394 Hólar lists (*DI* III, 556, 573).

64 Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 25.

65 *Aspiensbók* does not appear in Erik Jonsson, *Oldnordisk Ordbog* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab, 1863) and is absent from the other early dictionaries examined in this study. *Die Lehnwörter des Alttestnordischen* specifically notes *aspiciensbók* and *aspiciensskrá* as among those learned loanwords dealt with by Cleasby–Vigfússon that it would pass over (Frank Fischer, *Die Lehnwörter des Altwestnordischen* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1909), 10–11).

66 In the footnote to *aspiciensbók*: “Denna titel förekommer ofta i Aud måld.; kan benämningen vara tagen från textens begynnelseord?” (Gustaf Cederschiöld, “Studier öfver isländska kyrkomåldagar från fristatstiden,” *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 2 (1887): 62).



almost entirely correct, but appears in such an odd place that it is hardly surprising it has been unnoticed or ignored. Tucked away in the index of the second volume of his edition and English translation of *Thómas saga erkibyskups*, from 1883, Eiríkr Magnússon states:

Aspiciens-bók, an antiphony of the *pars hiemalis* of the church service according to the Roman Breviary, *i.e.*, from the first Sunday in Advent to the first Sunday in Lent, derives its name from the first word in the respond of the first lesson on the first Sunday in Advent: “*aspiciens a longe, ecce video Dei potentiam venientem, etc.*”<sup>67</sup>

The only error here is the seasonal restriction: presumably the relation to the first Sunday in Advent led Eiríkr to assume that *aspiciensbækr* were only winter books, but multiple *máldagar* attest to summer *aspiciensbækr*.<sup>68</sup>

The definitive misinterpretation of *aspiciensbók* came at the end of a study of Hólar cathedral which Guðbrandur Jónsson published piecemeal in *Safn til sögu Íslands* between 1919 and 1929. In the final section of this study, Guðbrandur provides a detailed study of the book lists of medieval Hólar, including definitions. In the section on Office books, he states:

Frammistöðubækur voru afarstór brefver, er ætlað var að standa á kóri, og voru með svo stóru letri að margir gátu lesið á þær og úr fjarska; voru líka kallaðar *aspiciensbækur*.<sup>69</sup>

(*Frammistöðubækur* were very large breviaries, which were intended to be placed in the choir, and had such large letters that many could

67 *Thómas Saga Erkibyskups: A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket in Icelandic*, ed. by Eiríkr Magnússon (London: Longman, 1875–83), Vol. 2, 589. The difficulty of finding Eiríkr’s definition is magnified by the fact that this index entry is a reference to a footnote in the preface of the volume, wherein Eiríkr is noting the presence of English books in the *máldagar* corpus (*Thómas Saga*, Vol. 2, ix).

68 For summer books, see for example *DI II*, 428, 430; for books covering the full year, see *DI IV*, 182. As discussed earlier, because of their size Antiphonals were often divided up, and this was certainly true of the Icelandic *aspiciensbækr*.

69 Guðbrandur Jónsson, *Dómkirkjan á Hólum í Hjaltadal: Lýsing Íslenzkra Miðaldakirkna*, *Safn til sögu Íslands og íslenzkra bókmennta að fornu og nýju V*, Nr. 6 (Reykjavík: Prentsmiðjan Gutenberg, 1919–29), 408. Here Guðbrandur uses the term *tíðabækur* to describe Office books, as opposed to *messubækur*, books for the Mass. This is Guðbrandur’s own usage, which I do not believe reflects, at least not in a straightforward way, the broader sense of the medieval *tíðabók*. See note 47.

read from them, and do so from a distance; they were also called *aspiciensbækur*.)

Guðbrandur seems to have read into the literal sense of the descriptors here, *aspiciens* as “looking upon” and *frammistaða* as “standing forth/out,” and presumably then connected the two ideas as different perspectives on a large format book: the book is both looked upon from a distance and it stands out in its place in the choir. There is, however, no concrete basis for drawing a connection between the two terms. Cleasby-Vigfússon’s dictionary offers a completely different interpretation of *frammistöðubók*, suggesting that it was in fact a term for a Missal, and thus actually a book for Mass rather than the Office, and it was so named “from being read by the priest while standing.”<sup>70</sup> However, both senses may obscure the distinctiveness of the term: *frammistöðubók* is only ever used to describe one or two books at Hólar cathedral itself, never any other books in any other churches, and as such it may reflect either a unique book or a distinctive terminology within the cathedral community.<sup>71</sup>

Guðbandur Jónsson’s definition soon established itself. Without any discussion of the term, the first volume of the *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, from 1956, has an entry for *aspiciensbók*, where it simply references the article on the Breviary.<sup>72</sup> Soon afterwards Tryggvi Oleson’s articles began to appear and became the standard study of medieval Icelandic church books. While Oleson is critical of Guðbrandur Jónsson in places,<sup>73</sup> his 1957 article copied Guðbrandur’s definition of

70 Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 170. Missal is also the definition given in the 1972 additions to Fritzner’s dictionary, which originally had no entry for *frammistöðubók* (Finn Hødnebo, *Rettelser og Tillegg: Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog af Dr. Johan Fritzner* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1972), 108).

71 There are two *frammistöðubækur* in the 1396 book list for Hólar (*DI* 3, 612), but only one copy in 1525, which is said to cover the entire year, with *commone* (*DI* IX, 296); *commone* is likely referring to common/ferial days, the normal weekday services. The description is thus emphasizing that it is a very complete book. In both lists the *frammistöðubækur* are stored in the choir of the cathedral, which might be thought to support Guðbrandur’s definition, but altar books are kept in the same space, and the place of storage cannot be equated with place of usage. The existence of two copies in 1396 does seem to argue against the idea of the *frammistöðubók* being some sort of nickname for a particular codex, but it is not impossible that a copy had been made of a previously unique book.

72 “Aspiciensbog,” *KLNM* Vol. 1 (1956), 273.

73 Most notably, Oleson disputes Guðbrandur’s conclusion that Icelandic church book collections were “small and unimpressive.” (Oleson, “Book Collections of Mediaeval Icelandic Churches,” 509).

*aspiciensbók* as a very large Breviary, which must have helped solidify it as the authoritative translation.<sup>74</sup> Oleson's analysis of later book lists in 1959<sup>75</sup> and 1960 continued to mention *aspiciensbækur*, and to categorize them as Breviaries, though by 1960 it is clear he was beginning to have difficulty grappling with how to associate particular terms with particular books. Under a long entry for *aspiciensbók*, after dealing with books identified by that term, he states:

There is little doubt, however, that breviaries as well as missals are included under such titles as *saungbækur*, *de tempore et de sanctis bækur*, *vor-*, *sumar-*, *vetrar-*, *páska-*, *jólabækur*, etc. [...] In my previous articles I was inclined to list these books as missals (and indeed some of them are missals), but I am now of the opinion that many of these books were either breviaries or possibly contained the part of the office sung by the choir.<sup>76</sup>

Apart from the first two terms, which were discussed earlier, the issue is that books identified by season could conceivably be either Office or Mass books, and because of their narrow scope should probably not be identified with either the term Missal or Breviary, since both referred in a latemedieval context to fairly complete compilations that were intended for the celebrant, rather than the choir. Oleson's final speculation is essentially a definition of a standard latemedieval Antiphonal, and it is unclear why he did not consider using the term. Unfortunately he died shortly after, in 1963, and did not have a chance to continue developing his thoughts in this direction. It remains however, that he was key in bringing the misidentification of *aspiciensbók* into English-language scholarship and in establishing it as part of the most authoritative study of Icelandic book collections to date.

Guðbrandur's definition continued its dominance through the 1990s,<sup>77</sup> and the current online definition of the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* is

74 Oleson, "Book Collections of Mediaeval Icelandic Churches," 503. Oleson does not deal with cathedral or monastery books and so does not address *frammistöðubók*, since it is only mentioned as existing at Hólar.

75 Oleson, "Book Collections of Icelandic Churches in the Fourteenth Century," 111.

76 Oleson, "Book Collections of Icelandic Churches in the Fifteenth Century," 92.

77 See Kristján Eldjárn and Hörður Ágústsson, *Skálholt: Skríði og áhöld* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1998), 289.

simply a reference to Guðbrandur.<sup>78</sup> Most recently, in 2012, Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson published a short note on the medieval terminology for books in Iceland. There he expands upon the definition given by the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* and suggests that the large letters of the *aspiciensbækr* could also aid monks and clerics who had poor vision and/or difficulty seeing in the dim light of medieval Icelandic churches, and makes note of a certain *aspiciensbók* that is called *stórrituð* (largely written).<sup>79</sup> While such difficulties of vision must have been a consideration, and may have even encouraged some books to be *stórrituð*, it remains that the term *aspiciens* has nothing to do with how or where the books were viewed.

A few scholars, in addressing liturgical books in the historical context of medieval Iceland, have brought up the Antiphonal, but do not connect it to the *aspiciensbók*.<sup>80</sup> For most of the twentieth century and the first two decades of the twenty-first, Guðbrandur Jónsson's misunderstanding of *aspiciens* as a description of how the book is read, rather than a key incipit in the text, has remained authoritative.

The Icelandic *máldagar* are a rich and fascinating corpus of texts, and one of our most important insights into the liturgical life of the island. The

78 onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?04928.

79 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, "Af *aspiciensbók*, *reddingabók* og fleiri bókum," *Geisla-baugur: fægður Margaret Cormack sextugri, 23. ágúst 2012*, ed. by Margrét Eggertsdóttir et al. (Reykjavík: Menningar- og minningarsjóður, 2012) 37.

80 Perhaps most notably, *aspiciensbók* was not mentioned by Lilli Gjerløw either in her 1980 edition of the Icelandic liturgical fragments, *Liturgica Islandica*, or in her 1979 edition of the Antiphonal of Niðaróss archdiocese, of which Iceland was part, *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*. Gunnar F. Guðmundsson mentioned Antiphonals in his general study of Christianity in medieval Iceland, but glosses the Latin *antiphonarium* as *andstefjabók*, a more or less direct calquing of the Latin term that does not appear to have any medieval precedent (Gunnar F. Guðmundsson, *Íslensk samfélagi og Rómakirkja*, Kristni á Íslandi 2 (Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000), 201). Kristján Eldjárn and Hörður Ágústsson, *Skálholt*, 289, discusses the Antiphonal separately from *aspiciensbók*, and from the one reference given, the authors appear to have been focused strictly on uses of the Latin term *antiphonarius* in the Icelandic sources. Finally, Oleson himself identifies the *lesgrallari* as an *antiphonarium*, but his definition of an *antiphonarium* is misleadingly literal, seemingly suggesting that the book really did only contain the antiphons of the Office (Oleson, "Book Collections of Iceland Icelandic Churches in the Fifteenth Century," 93). He notes five *lesgrallarar* in the 1461 lists, and the term seems not to be used in the fourteenth century but does appear again at Hólar cathedral, Þingeyrar monastery, and the church of Laufás in the 1525 lists (*DI IX*, 296, 313, 331). It is not clear what might have distinguished a *lesgrallari* from a normal Gradual, if anything, though it seems safest to assume that the *les* refers to a compilation of additional material into the book.

book lists they contain are an invaluable glimpse into a massive corpus of lost Latin and liturgical manuscripts; the combination of Latin and vernacular terminology they use to describe those books is distinctive, sometimes even unique. In many respects, this terminology is almost all that remains of the medieval Icelandic liturgy, a central part of the culture and life of the island about which precious little is known.

The present discussion of the term *aspiciensbók* has aimed to show, among other things, the relationship between these Icelandic book lists and a broader European terminology for the Antiphonal. The distinctiveness of the Icelandic usage, however, should not be overlooked. The use of *aspiciens* to describe books in England and France is much less frequent or consistent, and in some instances *aspiciens* is clearly more of a nickname than a category.<sup>81</sup> Though the evidence may simply be richer for Iceland, it is notable that the full compound *aspiciensbók* is almost always used there, while even the Norwegian and Anglo-Saxon examples use *aspiciens* alone. This evidence may suggest that the Icelanders really did more thoroughly adapt the term as referring to a category of liturgical book. Considering how little is known about the Icelandic liturgy, this is a valuable, if small, aspect of distinctive religious culture on the island.

Investigating the Icelandic book lists allows us to better understand the massive quantity of Latin books that have been lost and their overwhelming importance in the manuscript and textual culture of medieval Iceland. But perhaps even more importantly, the lists grant us a peek into the vanished diversity and distinctiveness of these books. Thinking of liturgical books as simple, functional things, detached from the active and creative culture of literary production, does them a disservice. Their contents were a significant part of daily life, and as objects they had significant value and presence. Although the term *aspiciens* was not itself used as a nickname for particular Antiphonals in Iceland, Icelandic liturgical books did still sometimes attract their own personal names.<sup>82</sup> Such practices remind us that

81 See footnote 13.

82 There are at least three surviving examples, from Skarð in Skarðsströnd, Breiðabólstaðir in Fljótshlíð, and Helgafell monastery. In a late *máldagi* for Skarð, from sometime around the end of the fifteenth century, there is a *messubók* compiled with several different texts, including material for Matins – a rare instance of Office and Mass texts compiled together – but only covering the temporale from Advent to Easter, and it is called *Loginrá* (*DI VII*, 75), which may suggest something like “flame-post,” but the exact meaning is not clear.

these volumes were as valued and personal to the people who used them as any collection of vernacular sagas or poems.

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The 1397 *máldagi* for Breiðabólstaðr has no details about the doubtlessly substantial book collection of that wealthy church but does mention a single book named *Kolbása* (DI IV, 83), relating to coal, perhaps something like “coal-stalls.” These unusual names may be deep, opaque metaphors, perhaps scriptural references, or perhaps something as pedestrian as a reference to where the books are kept. A book sold by the abbot of Helgafell around 1360 is named *kolbrun*, which could either be the feminine personal name Kolbrún or a literal colour description, “coal-brown” (DI VI, 12). Further research, perhaps even a comparative study with book-naming practices elsewhere in Europe, would be valuable.

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## SUMMARY

The Lost Liturgical Books of Iceland: Understanding the *Aspiciensbækr*

**Keywords:** Liturgy, liturgical books, book collections, Antiphonals, church charters, the Icelandic church

The surviving charters of late medieval Iceland record the books owned by many parish churches. These small collections contained mostly liturgical books, described by a variety of Latin and Old Norse terms, among which the term *aspiciensbók* is common. The argument is here put forth that *aspiciensbók* refers to an Antiphonal, a category of Office book for use by church choirs. The name comes from the fact that the Latin word *aspiciens* is the first word of the responsory following the first lesson of the first Sunday of Advent. Antiphonals appear to be identified by several other words, including the ambiguous term *söngbók*, but are clearly distinct from Breviaries, another important type of Office book. This conclusion stands in contrast to a long history of scholarship, going back to Guðbrandur Jónsson, that has identified *aspiciensbók* as a type of Breviary. This study corrects this misidentification and points the way forward for new research into the liturgical book collections of medieval Icelandic churches.

## ÁGRIP

Glötuðu íslensku helgisiðabækurnar: Til skilnings á Aspiciensbókum

**Efnisorð:** Litúrgía, helgisiðabækur, bókasöfn, antifónabækur, máldagar, íslenska kirkjan

Íslenskir máldagar sem varðveist hafa frá miðöldum hafa að geyma bókaskrár íslenskra kirkna og eru til vitnis um að bókasöfn þeirra hafa aðallega geymt helgisiðabækur. Bókunum er lýst með margvíslegum heitum, ýmist á latínu eða forn-norrænu, og er eitt af þeim algengari *aspiciensbók*. Hér eru færð rök fyrir að heitið *aspiciensbók* vísi til antifónabóka, ákveðinnar tegundar tíðasöngbóka sem notaðar voru af kirkjukórum. Nafnið má rekja til þess að latneska orðið *aspiciens* er ætíð fyrsta orð í víxlsöngnum sem fylgir á eftir fyrsta lesi fyrsta sunnudags í aðventu. Antifónabækur virðast einnig vera einkenndar með öðrum heitum, meðal annars hinu óljósa heiti söngbók, en eru þó greinilega ólíkar breviaríum, annarri mikilvægri tegund tíðasöngbóka. Niðurstaðan er þvert á það sem tíðkast hefur innan fræðanna í um öld, allt frá því að Guðbrandur Jónsson skilgreindi *aspiciensbók* sem *brefver*. Rannsóknin leiðréttir þessa villu og visar til nýrra möguleika í rannsóknum á helgisiðabókasöfnum íslenskra kirkna á miðöldum.

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GOTTSKÁLK JENSSON

## HEIMILDIR UM KLAUSTURKIRKJUNA OG BÓKASAFNIÐ Á ÞINGEYRUM<sup>1</sup>

ÞINGEYRAKLAUSTUR Í HÚNAÞINGI er elsta og lengst starfandi klaustur á Íslandi. Það er talið vígt árið 1133 og þar lifðu og störfuðu munkar undir Benediktsreglu vel á fimmtu öld eða fram til 1551 þegar Kristján 3. lagði klaustrið niður meðal síðustu reglustaða á Íslandi.<sup>2</sup> Stöðvun klausturhalds á Þingeyrum var réttlætt með tilvísun í guðfræði fyrrverandi ágústínusarmunks, Marteins Lúters, sem komst að þeirri niðurstöðu eftir vist sína í þýsku klaustri að klausturlifnaður væri einskis virði fyrir sálhjálp kristinna manna. Upp frá því taldist Þingeyraklaustur, sem svo fékk að heita áfram þrátt fyrir brotthvarf munkanna, einkaeign dansk-norsku krúnunnar sem yfirleitt leigði það umboðsmönnum. Kóngur eignaði sér þannig jarðir og hlunnindi þessa kaþólska munklífis sem efnast hafði gegnum aldirnar af gjöfum biskupa og annarra og launum fyrir ýmsa þjónustu, þar á meðal kennslu ungmenna og handritagerð.<sup>3</sup> Í fyrstu mat krúnan lítills ritmenningu munkanna og umboðsmennirnir fóru illa með bækur klaustursins þótt þeir hirtu eitthvað af þeim fyrir sjálfa sig. Þegar

- 1 Ég vil þakka Jóni Torfasyni, Steinunni Kristjánsdóttur, Guðrúnu Harðardóttur, Margaret Cormack og Guðbjörgu Kristjánsdóttur aðstoð við ritun þessara greinar. Þrátt fyrir þá hjálp sem ég hef þegið er það sjálfsagt mál að ég er einn ábyrgur fyrir misskilningi og villum sem enn kunna að leynast í þessu skrifum. Rannsóknin er m.a. framlag mitt til verkefnisins Þingeyraklaustur: Hjarta ritmenningar í fjórar aldir sem er hluti af opinberu átaksverkefni, Ritmenning íslenskra miðalda – RÍM.
- 2 Fjölmargir hafa fjallað um stofnun Þingeyraklausturs þótt hér verði aðeins vísað til nýlegra greina Gunnars Karlssonar, „Stofnár Þingeyraklausturs“, *Saga* 46 (2008:1), 159–67, Helga Þorlákssonar, „Þorgils á Þingeyrum. Um upphaf Þingeyraklausturs“, *Saga* 46 (2008:1), 168–80, og Margaretar Cormack, „Monastic foundations and foundation legends“, *Íslensk klausturmenning á miðöldum*, ritstj. Haraldur Bernharðsson, 59–82 (Reykjavík: Miðaldastofa Háskóla Íslands og Hugvísindastofnun, 2016). Lokun íslensku klaustranna var langt ferli sem hófst með árásinni á Viðeyjarklaustur árið 1539 og var ekki endanlega yfirstaðið fyrr en með veitingu klausturumboða árið 1554. Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, „Lokun íslensku miðaldaklaustranna“, *Ritroð Guðfræðistofnunar* 53 (2021), 74–96.
- 3 Um menntun á Íslandi á miðöldum, sjá Ryder Patzuk-Russell, *The Development of Education in Medieval Iceland* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021).

á 17. öld voru bókmenntir klaustursins þó taldar verðmætasta afleið þess. Engu að síður skorti á að munkarnir fengu viðurkenningu fyrir afrek sín á sviði ritlistarinnar.<sup>4</sup>

Nútímafólk sem heimsækir Þingeyrar af menningaráhuga verður fyrir vonbrigðum að engar leifar skuli sjáanlegar af kirkjunni og húsunum frá klausturtímanum þegar bókmenntirnar blómstruðu. Einhverja huggun veitir náttúrufegurð staðarins og vegleg steinkirkja í miðaldastíl, vígð 1877. Sama fólk mun þó geta tekið aftur gleði sína þegar það uppgötvar að klausturbyggingarnar á Þingeyraklaustri stóðu að miklu leyti fram til loka 17. aldar og er lýst í nákvæmum úttektum sem varðveittar eru í Skjalasafni umboðanna á Þjóðskjalasafni Ísland. Elstu úttektir Þingeyraklausturs hafa þar til nú farið á mis við þá athygli sem þær verðskulda og hefur enginn áður skrifað þær upp til að birta á prenti.<sup>5</sup> Svo nákvæmar eru lýsingarnar á húsakosti klaustursins að mögulegt væri að endurbyggja einstök hús að miklu leyti í upprunalegri mynd með þær að leiðarljósi. Vandasamara er hins vegar að staðsetja byggingarnar á klaustursvæðinu hverja gagnvart annarri en vonir standa til þess að fornleifauppgjöftur sem nú er í gangi á Þingeyrum geri það mögulegt að einhverju leyti. Tilgangur þessarar greinar er að birta þessi forvitnilegu skjöl og segja nokkuð frá því sem þau hafa að geyma þótt ekki verði hér boðið upp á fullkomna greinargerð

- 4 Bókmenntasaga Þingeyraklausturs er óskrifuð þótt umfjallanir um rit ábóta, presta, munga og skólapilta frá Þingeyrum sé víða að finna. Örlítil drög að bókmenntasögu Þingeyra má finna í samantekt greinarhöfundar, „Þingeyrar Abbey in Northern Iceland: A Benedictine Powerhouse of Cultural Heritage“. *Medieval Monasticism in Northern Europe*, ritstj. Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir. *Religions* 12:6 (2021), 423; netútgáfa: <https://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/12/6/423>. Um varðveitt handrit frá Þingeyraklaustri, sjá Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, „Handritalýsingar í benediktinaklaustrinu á Þingeyrum“, *Íslensk klausturmenning á miðöldum*, ritstj. Haraldur Bernharðsson (Reykjavík: Miðaldastofa, 2016), 227–311, og Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, „Voru scriptoria í íslenskum klaustrum?“, sama rit, 173–200.
- 5 Hörður Ágústsson (1922–2005) listmálari og fræðimaður hefur þó gert athuganir á úttektunum og tilgátuteikningum á grundvelli þeirra hafa sumar verið birtar með ritgerðum hans um húsasögu, s.s. í grein hans, „Stavbygning. Ísland“, *Kulturbíotísk leksikon for nordisk middelalder XVII* (1972), 101–4, og í kafla hans um „Húsagerð á síðmiðöldum“, *Saga Íslands* IV, ritstj. Sigurður Línal (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag & Sögufélag, 1989), 261–300; þar á opnu 292–93 er „Hlaðsýn“ að Þingeyraklaustri 1684 sem er tilgátuteikning byggð á úttektinni í Skjalasafni umboðanna. Þá er teikning eftir Hörð sem sýnir uppsmið og langhlið Þingeyrakirkju, byggð á úttektinni 1684, í Gunnar F. Guðmundsson o.fl., *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja. Kristni á Íslandi*, 2. bindi, ritstj. Hjalti Hugason (Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000), 214.

efnisins enda myndi slíkt sprengja ramma tímaritsgreinar. Einkum verður dvalið við elstu úttekt klausturkirkjunnar og greinarhöfundur mun freista þess að sýna fram á að stór hluti hennar, krossarmar kirkjunnar, kórinn og innrikórinn með háaltarinu, hafi staðið frá 12. öld og fram til 1695 en framkirkjan frá því snemma á 14. öld. Þetta er einkum merkilegt í augum bókmenntafólks af því að samkvæmt máldaga frá öndverðri 16. öld var bókasafn klaustursins einmitt staðsett í kór kirkjunnar.

## Klausturkirkjan á Þingeyrum 1684

Árið 1684 var á Þingeyrum stafkirkja úr timbri með útbrotum og krossörmum, samsett úr þremur hlutum: framkirkju, miðkór og innri kór. Sem kunnugt er sneru kirkjur frá fornu fari í austur og vestur þannig að kór og háaltari, sem eru hjarta kirkjunnar, voru í austurendanum. Kirkjan á Þingeyrum stóð rétt norðan við íbúðarhúsin sem þar eru nú og nýlega hafa fundist grafir umboðsmanna klaustursins eftir siðaskiptin sem án efa voru inni í kirkjunni. Á kirkjunni og kórnum voru útbrot eða hliðarskip en auk þess voru á kórnum stúkur eða útskot með súðum. Innri kórinn hafði hvorugt og var einfaldari að gerð. Í úttektinni 1684 eru helstu stærðarmál gefin í álnum og kvartelum (fjórðungum úr alin) en á 17. öld og fram eftir 18. öld tíðkaðist á Íslandi að nota svokallaða Hamborgaralín sem samsvarar 57,3 cm.<sup>6</sup> Mögulegt er að ekki hafi verið beitt mælitækjum svo sem stikum eða snúrum við úttektina heldur miðað við líkamlegar álnir og faðma úttektarmanna sjálfra enda eru álna- og faðmamál upphaflega hugsuð þannig að mannslíkamann megi nota sem mælitæki.<sup>7</sup> En hvernig sem því var farið í raun eru mál í álnum torræð nútímamönnum. Hér verða álnirnar því umreiknaðar í metra og sentimetra miðað við Hamborgaralín.

Framkirkjan, vesturendinn, var stærst og hlutföll hennar jöfnust, nærri því eins og hún væri teiknuð inn í tening („á hæð 13 álnir 3 kvartel, eins á

6 Gísli Gestsson, „Álnir og kvarðar“, *Árbók Hins íslenska fornleifafélags* 65 (1968), 45–78; 63: „Hamborgarálnir voru aðalmælieining á Íslandi fram eftir 18. öld unz dönsk alin var lögboðin hér á landi árið 1776. [...] rétt Hamborgaralín, 57,3 sm“.

7 Ég ræð þetta af því hvernig Páll Vídalín fjallar um Hamborgaralín í *Skýringum yfir fornyrði lögbókar þeirrar er Jónsbók kallast* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag 1854), 23: „Hamborgar alin [...] sú er vér nú höfum, og 3 gjöra meðalmanns faðm, en 12 fjóra faðma“, auk þess var úttektarmönnum engin nauðsyn að komast að nákvæmum stærðarmálum húsanna við verðmat þeirra. Úttektir Þingeyra sem hér eru birtar eru óvenjulegar í samanburði við flestar aðrar úttektir hvað það varðar að þar eru tiltekin nákvæm mál í álnum.

breidd, 14 álnir og  $\frac{1}{2}$  að lengd“ – þ.e. 7,88 m x 7,88 m x 8,3 m), þá kórinn í miðjunni sem var jafn breiður framkirkjunni en nokkru lægri og fjórðungi styttri („að lengd 10 álnir 1 kvartel, hæðin 11 álnir 3 kvartel, breiddin vel 13 álnir 3 kvartel“ – þ.e. 5,78 m x 6,73 m x 7,88 m) og loks innri kórinn, austurendinn, eins og teiknaður inn í helmingi minni tening en framkirkjan („að lengd vel 7 álnir, hæð 8 álnir, breiddin 7 álnir“ – þ.e. 4,01 m x 4,58 m x 4,01 m) þótt hæðin væri aðeins umfram það. Gólfflötur kirkjunnar og miðkórsins hafa saman myndað ferhyrning sem var rúmlega 14 x tæplega 8 metrar. Þar við bætist svo gólfflötur innri kórsins, um 4 x 4 metrar. Lengd kirkjunnar allrar var því rúmlega 18 metrar (18,09 m). Miðkórinn var auk þess með krossörmum eða „litlum“ stúkum/útskotum og þar hefur kirkjan verið breiðust, 10–12 metrar, eftir því hve djúpar stúkurnar hafa verið (1–2 m) sem ekki er uppgefið í úttektinni. Að flatarmáli hefur klausturkirkjan á Þingeyrum árið 1684 því verið á bilinu 136–144 fm og þannig mun stærri en þær kirkjur sem síðar voru reistar á staðnum.

Gengið var inn um dyr á vesturgaflinum með „vel umvendaðri“ (kannski útskorinni) hurð á trévöltum. Neðri tréváltinn hefur að líkindum hvílt í steinþró innan við nyrðri dyrastafinn. Á hurðinni var koparhringur og hún hafði skrá með lykli. Á kórnum og kirkjunni voru fimm glergluggar. Oddatalan bendir til þess að gluggi hafi verið á öðrum gaflinum og tveir gluggar á hvorri langhlíð, sunnanvert og norðanvert. Giska má á að gluggarnir hafi setið hátt til þess að veita táknrænni birtu ofan frá og inn í kirkjurýmið eða nálægt ölturunum til þess að varpa dagsbirtu á þau og miðla ljósi frá þeim út í skammdegis- og náttmyrkrið.<sup>8</sup> Fjalagólf var í kirkjunni allri og innri kórinn afþiljaður, sennilega með lágu kórþili sem var með dyrum, dróttum og dyrastöfum. Upp af fjalagólfi innri kórsins lágu tvö þrep að háaltarinu. Í miðkórnum framan við þilið sem skildi að miðkórinn og innri kórinn var loft eða svalir. Undir svölunum voru hvelfingar. Sennilegt er að þessi innréttung hafi verið skreytt útskurði og blasti hún við er menn gengu í kirkjuna. Úr kirkjuskipinu sást aðeins í innri kórinn um dyraopið miðsvegar undir svölunum. Í kirkjunni var auk

8 Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir hefur bent mér á að gluggar hafi einnig verið í klausturkirkjunum í Kirkjubæ og á Helgafelli, brot úr steindu gleri hafi fundist við uppgröftinn í Kirkjubæ og líka á Skriðuklaustri (með helgimyndum); það bendi til að gluggarnir í þessum klausturkirkjum hafi verið veglegir.

Þess predikunarstóll árið 1684, sennilega staðsettur framan við eða undir svölunum sunnanmegin. Þessi lýsing nær aðeins til hússins sjálfs og helstu innréttinga en sagt verður frá öðrum búnaði og munum að neðan.

Timburkirkjur eiga sér langa sögu á Íslandi. Smíðalag var oftast svokallað stafverk sem gat tekið á sig ýmsar myndir. Stafverk og stafkirkjur draga nafn sitt af rúnnuðum „stöfum“ sem báru bygginguna uppi.<sup>9</sup> Í úttektinni eru stafirnir nefndir „stöplar“ sem er ný merking orðsins vegna þess að á miðöldum merkti „stöpull“ kirkjuturn.<sup>10</sup> Stafirnir voru ýmist frístandandi inni í miðju kirkjuskípinu eða innsettir í þiljur og vegg. Tíu stafir báru uppi háþak Þingeyrakirkju og stóðu í tveimur röðum, fimm norðanmegin og jafnmargir sunnanmegin, hver tæpir fimm metrar á hæð sem samsvarar rúmlega tveimur hæðum í íbúðarhúsum nútímans. Þar fyrir ofan var rjáfrið og súðin, um þrír metrar á hæð. Tveir stafanna voru felldir inn í vesturgafli kirkjunnar en átta frístandandi inni í kirkjunni. Utar til hliðanna voru aðrar tvær raðir lægri „útbrotastafa“ (hver um þrír metrar), fimm hvorum megin, og þjónuðu sem stoðir og hornstafir í ytri veggjum kirkjunnar. Hverjir 5 stafir mynduðu fjögur „stafgölf“ sem kallað var.

Margbrotið þakið hefur verið helsta prýði hússins og sett svip á Þingeyraklaustur þar sem kirkjan var stærst og íburðarmest bygginga. Þakið var samsett úr sextán aðgreindum flötum. Á kirkju, miðkór og innrikór voru tvíhliða súðþök efst en auk þess lægri einhliða súðþök á útbrotum eða hliðarskipum fyrri eininganna tveggja. Á þakinu var líklega sköruð súð með tjörguðum þakfjöllum, ef til vill með undirlagi eða langsuð. Ekki er þess getið að á Þingeyrakirkju hafi verið spónþak eða tréflísar. Súðþök eða þakkvistir voru einnig á krossörmum kórsins en innri kórin var eins og áður sagði útbrotalaus. Í lýsingu rjáfurs og þaks er talinn upp fjöldi bita, skammbita, sperra, höggsperra, langbanda, mænitróða, sláa og syllna, svo flókin þaksmíðin hefur heillað kirkjugesti og vakið hugrenningar um mannlegt hugvit, himneska borg og eilífð. Að utan var kirkjan studd grenistöðum sem komu í veg fyrir að hún fyki í óveðrum. Slíkar stoðir eru þekktar annars staðar frá og gegndu að einhverju leyti

9 Þegar hafa fundist tvær stoðarholur á Þingeyrum, þar sem kirkjan virðist hafa staðið, og fleiri komið fram á jarðsjármælingamyndum.

10 Um merkingu orðsins, sjá óútgefna MA-ritgerð Guðrúnar Harðardóttur, *Stöpull Páls biskups Jónssonar í Skálholti: gerð hans, hlutverk og áhrif í sögulegu og listasögulegu ljósi* (Reykjavík, 2001), 9–17, ásamt samantekt um miðaldastöpla aðra en á dómkirkjunum, 101–3 (eintak af ritgerðinni er á Landsbókasafni – Háskólabókasafni).

Því stuðningshlutverki sem hlaðnir veggir höfðu í torfkirkjum þótt torfið hefði einnig aðra kosti.<sup>11</sup> Samkvæmt úttektinni var kirkjan mest útsett fyrir veðrun á suðurhliðinni því þeim megin er kirkjutimbríð heldur „moskað“ eða fúíð. Á þeirri hlið hafa þá væntanlega verið þeir tveir af þremur gluggum kirkjunnar sem sagðir eru „laslegir“.

Úttektin frá 1684 sýnir að engar meiriháttar breytingar hafa verið gerðar á klausturkirkjunni í tíð Þorleifs Kortssonar og sonar hans, eða frá því 1663, þegar þeir fengu Þingeyraklaustursumboð að léni.<sup>12</sup> Úttektarmenn meta ástand kirkjunnar svo að verðmæti hennar hafi heldur rýrnað á tímabilinu og því er Þorleifi gert að greiða nýjum umboðsmanni þrjátíu og þrjú hundruð í uppbót fyrir kirkjuna en hún öll er metin á fimmtíu og átta hundruð og tíu aura. Kirkja úttektarinnar 1684 er þá sama kirkja og *Skarðsárannáll* segir að Páll bóndi Guðbrandsson hafi látið smíða að Þingeyrum árið 1619 en það hús hefur vart getað gengið úr sér á rúmum fjórum áratugum, hvað þá heldur fyrir í tíð Guðmundar Hákonarsonar (d. 1659) og sonar hans Þorkels (d. 1622), sem höfðu Þingeyraklaustursumboð næst á eftir Páli, og hvergi er sagt að þeir feðgar eða Þorleifur Kortsson hafi byggt nýja kirkju á Þingeyrum. En hvaða breytingar voru gerðar á kirkjunni 1619 eða var hún kannski öll endursmíðuð?

## Breytingar Páls Guðbrandssonar á Þingeyrakirkju 1619

Þorlákur Skúlason biskup fékk Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá (d. 1655) til að rita annál um atburði á Íslandi frá 1400 til 1640 og er hann kallaður *Skarðsárannáll*. Skarðsá er í Skagafirði og Björn var kunnugur staðháttum á Þingeyrum og er annáll hans ein af helstu heimildum um tímabilið. Í *Skarðsárannál* við árið 1619 stendur „Lét Páll bóndi Guðbrandsson, er Þingeyra klaustur hellt, smíða kirkju að Þingeyrum.“<sup>13</sup> *Vatnsfjarðarannáll elsti* og *Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn yngri* taka upplýsingar um kirkjusmíðina upp eftir *Skarðsárannál* og eru samhljóða þar sem þeir setja eftirfarandi við

11 Gerð kirkjuveggjana á Þingeyrum þarfnast frekari rannsókna. Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir hefur tjáð mér að grunnur klausturkirkjunnar, sem teymi hennar hefur rannsakað, virðist vera úr torfi og þar í sé ekkert grjót. Þessi torfveggur sé mjög þykkur og hár þrátt fyrir að hann liggi nú frekar djúpt í jörðu.

12 *Annales Islandici Posteriorum Sæculorum / Annálar 1400–1800 I* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag 1922–27), 362 nmgr.

13 *Annálar 1400–1800 I* (1922–27), 213.



árið 1619: „Kirkja smíðuð á Þingeyrum“.<sup>14</sup> Í annál Björns Halldórssonar í Sauðlauksdal við Patreksfjörð, *Sauðlauksdalsannál*, sem skrifaður var á 18. öld, finnum við þessar áhugaverðu upplýsingar við árið 1608: „24. Apri(lis) gefur kóngur leyfi til að rífa ofan Þingeyrakirkju og byggja hana aftur minni, þar of stór sé, svo kóngur þurfi ekki að kosta til hennar né annarra klaustursins húsa“.<sup>15</sup> Umrætt konungsbréf hefur ekki fundist en það virðist samhljóða öðru slíku frá 29. mars 1560 sem býður Páli hirðstjóra Stígssyni að sjá um að klausturkirkjur á Íslandi séu minnkaðar. Gefið er að gömlu kirkjurnar þóttu stærri en nauðsynlegt var („fore att thee ere saa store paa bøgningen“) og við smíði minni kirkna átti að endurnýta timbur gömlu klausturkirknanna („att the tha neder tage samme kircker oc thennomm sijdenn egienn strax obygger aff thett samme tømmer. noget minndre ennd thee nu ere“).<sup>16</sup>

Þegar minnka átti stafkirkju en nýta timbur hennar mátti útfæra það á fleiri en eina vega. Ein aðferð var sú sem notuð var í bróðurklosturinu á Munkaþverá við endurbætur á 18. öld. Þar voru útbrotin á framkirkjunni fjarlægð og torfveggir byggðir í þeirra stað utan um kirkjuskipið.<sup>17</sup> Forkirkja, stöpull/stöplar og kór eru einnig byggingareiningar sem voru smærri en framkirkjan, þeim var krækt á framkirkjuna og voru þannig í vissum skilningi lausar einingar. Því voru möguleikarnir þessir: fjarlægja útbrot, fjarlægja kór, fjarlægja forkirkju eða stöpul, ýmist alla hlutana eða einhvern þeirra. Heilt timbur úr þeirri einingu sem fjarlægð var mátti nota til að gera við skemmdir á þeim hlutum sem fengu að standa. Þótt engar timburkirkjur hafi varðveist á Íslandi fram á okkar daga eru enn til stafkirkjur í Noregi frá miðöldum af svipaðri gerð og þær íslensku. Fátt bendir til annars en að stafverkshefðin hafi haldist mjög sterk á Íslandi eftir siðaskipti og timburkirkjur á fyrstu öldum eftir siðaskiptin hafi haft að mestu sama byggingarlag og miðaldakirkjur þótt þær hafi getað verið innréttaðar

14 *Annálar 1400–1800* III (1933), 56, 101.

15 *Annálar 1400–1800* VI (1987), 387.

16 *Diplomatarium Islandicum / Íslenzkt fornbréfasafn XIII* (Kaupmannahöfn & Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1933–1939), 480–81; fornbréfasafnið verður hér eftir skammstafað *DI*.

17 Guðrún Harðardóttir, „Nokkrar kynslóðir kirkna og klausturhúsa á Munkaþverá.“ *Árbók Hins íslenska fornleifafélags* 93 (1996–97), 5–42; 19 (sjá myndir 16 og 20).

öðruvísi.<sup>18</sup> Því var ekki nauðsynlegt að rífa klausturkirkjurnar ef hægt var að nýta einhvern hluta þeirra óbreyttan. Að draga úr stærðarhlutföllum allrar kirkjunnar þýddi að nauðsynlegt var að taka hana alla niður og endursníða gamla timbrið. Var það augljóslega meiri háttar framkvæmd og engin þekkt dæmi eru til um að þannig hafi verið staðið að minnkun kirkju.

Páll bóndi Guðbrandsson virðist hafa tekið þann kost að fjarlægja heldur stöpul/stöpla og hugsanlega forkirkju gömlu klausturkirkjunnar. Kirkja úttektarinnar 1684 er háreist og mun stærri en almenn sóknarkirkja á Þingeyrum þurfti að vera (síðari kirkjur voru allar töluvert minni, einnig núverandi steinkirkja). En sterkasta vísbendingin um að þessi kirkja hafi verið að stofni til gamla klausturkirkjan er sú að hún virðist innréttuð eins og kaþólsk miðaldakirkja. Þetta sést af svölunum fyrir framan skilrímið milli kirkjunnar og innri kórsins. Þetta loft eða svalir var „áður kallað *Pulpitu*“ (2v), segir í úttektinni. Fortíð kirkjunnar, sem hér er vísað til, hlýtur að vera frá því fyrir 1619, það er að segja að svalirnar voru nógu gamlar til þess að einhver þóttist vita að þær hefðu verið kallaðar þessu nafni áður fyrr á klausturtímanum. Í úttektum Munkaþverár er stundum vísað á sama hátt til nafngifta frá klausturtíma.<sup>19</sup> Á þessum tíma hafa enn allmargar kirkjur verið standandi frá kaþólskri tíð og menn þekktu byggingarlag þeirra og hvernig það var frábrugðið byggingarlagi nýrri kirkna. Orðið *pulpitu* er dregið af *pulpitum* eða *pulpitrum* í miðaldalatínu en svo voru nefnd skilrúm milli kirkjuskipsins og hins heilaga altaris í kaþólskum miðaldakirkjum.

*Pulpita* (flt. af *pulpitum*) þjónuðu þeim tilgangi að skipta kirkjunni í tvö aðalrými, eitt fyrir leikmenn og annað fyrir lærða. Leikmenn máttu ekki koma of nærri háaltarinu, innsta rými kirkjunnar, þar sem vígðir menn framkvæmdu helgasta hluta messunnar, gjörbreytinguna (*transubstantiatio*), þegar brauðið og vínið umbreyttist í líkama og blóð Krists. Prestar og munkar gátu sungið og lesið lestra af svölum þessum, sem not-

18 Hörður Ágústsson, „Stavbygning. Island“, *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* XVII (1972), 90–93.

19 Guðrún Harðardóttir, „Nokkrar kynslóðir kirkna og klausturhúsa á Munkaþverá“, 5–42. Sjá einnig umfjöllun Guðrúnar um „kórþil“ í íslenskum kirkjum á fyrstu öldum eftir siðaskiptin í Guðrún Harðardóttir, „Innanbúnaður kirkna á fyrstu öldum eftir siðaskipti“. *Áhrif Lúthers. Siðaskipti, samfélag og menning í 500 ár*, ritstj. Hjalti Hugason, Loftur Guttormsson og Margrét Eggertsdóttir (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 2017), 195–214; 201–4. Um „lessvalir“ í miðaldakirkjum og elstu kirkjum eftir siðaskiptin fjallar einnig Hörður Ágústsson í *Skálholt. Kirkjur* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1990), 250.

aðar voru eins og predikunarstóll, án þess að koma of nærri leikmönnum. Finna má dæmi um sams konar *pulpita* í kirkjunum á Munkaþverá og Kirkjubæjarklaustri og ef til vill víðar.<sup>20</sup> Hinn strangi aðskilnaður læðra og leikra í kirkjurýminu samræmdist síður skilningi siðaskiptamanna á stöðu presta gagnvart söfnuðinum því ólíkt kaþólsku kirkjunni viðurkenndi Lúter ekki prestvígsluna sem heilagt sakramenti (*sacramentum*) heldur taldi alla skírða menn fullgilda meðlimi safnaðarins. *Pulpita* voru því gjarnan tekin niður á nýöld í gömlum kirkjum og Páll Guðbrandsson hefur þessu samkvæmt tæplega látið setja upp nýtt *pulpitum* í Þingeyrakirkju árið 1619. Slíkar svalir urðu jafnframt óþarfar eftir að predikunarstólar voru settir í kirkjurnar sem gegndu að sumu leyti sama hlutverki.<sup>21</sup> Einum slíkum hefur að öllum líkindum verið komið fyrir í Þingeyrakirkju árið 1619 eða jafnvel fyrir því hann er nefndur í úttektinni 1684 og ekki talinn Þorleifi Kortssyni til tekna. Þótt íhaldssemi í hönnun kirkna á Íslandi hafi ef til vill getað leitt Pál bónda til þess að endurbyggja Þingeyraklausturskirkju í sama stíl og með sömu innréttingum og áður, væri það einsdæmi að heil ný kirkja hafi verið sniðin úr timbri gamallar kirkju. Kóngur vildi ekki leggja til nýtt timbur, en sérstaklega bendir hin mikla stærð kirkjunnar 1684 til að hún hafi ekki verið minnkuð árið 1619. Niðurstaðan hlýtur því að vera sú að endursmið Þingeyrakirkju á vegum Páls Guðbrandssonar hafi einkum falist í öðrum breytingum.

Í svonefndu *Sigurðarregistri* frá því um 1525, sem geymir ítarlegustu greinargerð um Þingeyrakirkju frá miðöldum, er „inventar“ muna sem þá voru í kirkjunni, m.a. eru taldar átta klukkur: „jtem kluckur. viii. vænar.“<sup>22</sup>

20 Guðrún Harðardóttir, „Nokkrar kynslóðir kirkna og klausturhúsa á Munkaþverá“, 7, finnur vísbendingu í *Lárentius sögu biskups* um að Lárentius hafi ef til vill staðið á sams konar svölum í klausturkirkjunni á Munkaþverá, sem brann árið 1429, er hann las upp bréf fyrir viðstadda menn í kirkjunni. Guðrún nefnir svalirnar „leskór“ (*lectorium*). Með greininni er prentuð mynd af álíka trésvölum í Kinn kirkju í Noregi, sem raunar er steinkirkja í rómönskum stíl frá ofanverðri 12. öld. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir hefur gefið út lýsingu kirkjunnar á Kirkjubæjarklaustri í úttekt klaustursins frá 1704. Þar á síðum 126–27 má lesa lýsingu á svipuðu skilrími í kirkjunni. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, „Heimildir í handritum um klaustrin í Skaftafellspingi“, *Af klaustrum og kennimönnum í Skaftafellspingi. Erindi flutt á ráðstefnu á Kirkjubæjarklaustri* 13. –14. mars 1999, sem haldin var að tilhlutan Kirkjubæjarstofu og Skaftafellspáfastsdæmis í tilefni 1000 ára afmælis kristintöku á Íslandi, *Dynskógar* (Vík: Sögufélag Vestur-Skaftfellinga, 1999), 101–44.

21 Predikunarstólar koma í íslenskar kirkjur eftir siðaskiptin. Guðrún Harðardóttir, „Innanbúnaður kirkna á fyrstu öldum eftir siðaskipti“, 198–99.

22 *DI IX*, 312–18; 313.

Hér eru áreiðanlega komnar þær klukkur sem Guðmundur ábóti gaf kirkjunni á öndverðri 14. öld (sjá fyrir neðan). Hlutverk klukkna var að kalla menn til guðsþjónustu og marka helgi guðsþjónustunnar við upphaf hennar og endi. Klukkur þessar hafa verið innfluttar og enn eru til mjög gamlar kirkjuklukkur hér á landi (annars staðar á Norðurlöndum hafa slíkar klukkur enst illa, sennilega verið bræddar og málmurinn endurnýttur).<sup>23</sup> Ekki segir í máldaganum 1525 hvar klukkurnar voru í kirkjunni en þær eru taldar með öðrum munum hennar. Í úttektinni 1684 eru þessar klukkur nefndar en þær hafa flestar skemmst eða eru í reiðileysi. Tvær hanga að vísu í sjálfstæðu klukknaporti við innganginn í kirkjugarðinn vestanmegin en portið virðist nýjung á staðnum. Fjórar eru „brotnar og rifnar með höldunum afstokknum“ (2ν) og þar af leiðandi ekki í notkun. Árið 1684 er sjöunda klukkan horfin af staðnum, þótt vísað sé til hennar í „fyrri reikningsskap“ um Þingeyraklaustur, væntanlega þeim sem gerður var er Þorleifur Kortsson kom að Þingeyrum árið 1663. Sá reikningskapur er nú því miður glataður að öðru leyti. Áttunda klukkan virðist töpuð og alls ekki minnst á hana. Hvað skýrir þetta undarlega reiðileysi klukkanna í úttektinni 1684? Einfaldasta skýringin er sú að kirkjusmiði Páls Guðbrandssonar árið 1619 hafi einkum falist í því að taka niður stöpul/stöpla og/eða forkirkju þá sem sett voru á framkirkjuna á Þingeyrum á öndverðri 14. öld, en þar hafa þessar klukkur að öllum líkindum verið. Samkvæmt þeirri nákvæmu lýsingu sem við höfum af kirkjunni árið 1684 er að minnsta kosti víst að stöpull/stöplar þeir sem á henni voru árið 1363 (sjá fyrir neðan) eru horfnir. Á kirkjunni 1684 er ekki heldur nein forkirkja á framkirkjunni, eins og var t.d. á Laufáskirkju, aðeins ónýtar klukkur sem enginn staður virðist vera fyrir.<sup>24</sup>

23 Eins og Halldór Laxness hefur gert frægt í skáldsögu sinni *Íslandsklukkunni* (1943–46) girntust dönsk yfirvöld á 17. öld upplýsingar um íslenskar kirkjuklukkur. Árið 1636 kom hirðstjórinn Pros Mundt til Íslands á herskipi, m.a. „vildi [hann] endilega vita af klaustrahöldurum, og öðrum, sem konungdómsins jarðir hefði, hversu gamlar og ótiðkanlegar klukkur væri í hvers umdæmi, og girntist þennan reikningsskap“. *Annálar 1400–1800 I* (1922–27), 248 (*Skarðsárannáll* við 1636). Þann 6. maí 1684, kom bréf til landsins frá Kristjáni 5. þess efnis að allar rifnar og brotnar klukkur sem tilheyrðu kirkjum og klaustrum á Íslandi skyldu afhendast fógétanum og sendast til umsteypu í Kaupmannahöfn. *Lovsamling for Island I*, útg. Oddgeir Stephensen og Jóns Sigurðsson (Kaupmannahöfn: Háskólabóksalan, 1853), 425–26.

24 Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir telur að breytingin sem gerð var á kirkjunni 1619 sé sjáanleg í fornleifunum, þ.e. að hún hafi verið stytt um fimm metra að vestanverðu.

## Hve gömul var sú kirkja sem stóð á Þingeyrum 1684?

Klausturkirkjan á Þingeyrum var byggð snemma á 12. öld og ólíkt mörgum öðrum kirkjum á Íslandi fer engum sögum af því að hún hafi brunnið, fokið um koll í óveðri eða eyðilagst á annan hátt.<sup>25</sup> Með reglulegu viðhaldi gátu timburkirkjur staðið öldum saman eins og sést á því að í Noregi eru enn varðveittar stafkirkjur frá 12. öld. Þingeyraklaustur var auðugt og átti hlunnindi í reka og þar var enginn timburskortur, sem sést til að mynda á úttekt Eldivíðarhússins 1684, sem er fullt af timbri, og í umfjöllun um jarðir Þingeyraklausturs í *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalín* en þar er víða nefnd notkun reka til húsabótar.<sup>26</sup>

Lítum á þær heimildir sem til eru um klausturkirkjuna á Þingeyrum. Til er mjög gömul saga af því þegar Oddur munkur Snorrason sem var prestur að vígslu varð fyrir sýn í kirkjunni og honum birtust Kristur og Ólafur konungur Tryggvason en Oddur skrifaði sem kunnugt er sögu Ólafs konungs á latínu einhvern tíma á síðari hluta 12. aldar.<sup>27</sup> Ekki er þó

25 Finnur Jónsson biskup segir í Klaustursögu sinni, *Historia Monastica Islandiæ* (í IV. bindi *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiæ* [Kaupmannahöfn, 1772–78], 31) að klaustrið á Þingeyrum hafi allt brunnið árið 1157: *Ejus tempore anno 1157 totum monasterium conflavit* (Á tíma hans [Nikulásar ábóta] árið 1157 brann klaustrið allt). Það sama segir Janus Jónsson: „1157 brann allt klaustrið til kaldra kola“ og þýðir sýnilega latínutexta Finns. Janus Jónsson, „Um klaustrin á Íslandi“, *Timarit Hins íslenska bókmenntafélags* 8. ár (1887), 183. Heimild Finns, þótt hann nefni hana ekki, getur ekki verið önnur en *Konungssannáll* (*Annales Regii*): „[1157] Brann bæ at Þingeyrum“. *Íslandske annaler indtil 1578*, útg. Gustav Storm (Christiania [Ósló]: Det norske historiske kildekriftfond, 1888), 116; *með nútímastafsetningu*. Annálarnir heita þessu nafni af því að þeir voru sendir til Danmerkur þegar á 17. öld og enduðu í bókasafni konungs. Handritið var skrifað í upphafi 14. aldar (a.m.k. sá hluti þess sem geymir færsluna um brunann á Þingeyrum) og var á Hólum um 1640 en árið 1662 tók Þormóður Torfasson það með sér til Danmerkur og færði Friðriki 3. til varðveislu í nýju safni hans. Í Konungsbókhöfðu fékk handritið síðar safnmarkið GKS 2087 4to. Finnur hefur ekki haft þetta handrit hjá sér þegar hann skrifaði að klaustrið hefði allt brunnið. Árið 1778, þegar Finnur gaf út klaustursögu sína með aðstoð Hannesar sonar síns, hafði danski sagnfræðingurinn Jakob Langebek hins vegar nýlega gefið út *Konungssannáll* á prenti í Kaupmannahöfn, sem Hannesi hefur verið kunnugt um, en þeir fedgar virðast samt ekki hafa náð að leiðrétta ónákvæmnina í fullyrðingunni um brunann á Þingeyrum 1157. Nú er *Konungssannáll* varðveittur á Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. Snemma á 18. öld, 1718 (*Vallaannáll*) eða 1719 (*Mælifellsannáll*), brann smíðja á Þingeyrum. *Annálar 1400–1800 I* (1922–27), 513.

26 *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns VIII – Húnavatnssýsla* (Kaupmannahöfn: Hið íslenska fræðafélag í Kaupmannahöfn, 1926).

27 Frásögnin er í S-gerð (Holm perg 18 4to) Ólafs sögu Tryggvasonar eptir Odd munk Snorrason. Ólafur Halldórsson, útg. *Færeyinga saga – Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar eptir*

mikið af þeirri frásögn að græða fyrir þann sem leitar upplýsinga um gerð kirkjunnar. Heldur meiri hjálp er í heimildum frá 14. öld. Í *Lögmannsannáll* við árið 1339, sem var dánarár ábótans Guðmundar, lesum við: „Obitus domini Godemundi abbatis Þyngerensis [þ.e. Dauði herra Guðmundar ábóta á Þingeyrum]. Sálaðist hann at Munkaþverá ok var fluttr nordan likami hans til Þingeyra. Urðu margir merkiligir atburðir í líkfylgju hans ok hyggja menn hann góðan mann fyrir Guði. Lét hann uppsmiða framkirkju á Þingeyrum ok fékk hann til skróða, bækur ok klukkur, ok kenndi mörgum klerkum þeim sem síðan urðu prestar, ok var hinn mesti nytsemdar maðr.“<sup>28</sup> *Lögmannsannáll* er talinn skrifaður af Einari Hafliðasyni (1307–93) sem ólst upp í nágrenni Þingeyra, á Breiðabólstað í Vesturhópi, og gekk sjálfur ungur í klaustrið árið 1317. Hann var því kunnugur staðhättum á Þingeyrum. Í *Lárentius sögu*, sem einnig er talin skrifuð af Einari, stendur: „Um haustið [1314, skv. ritstjóranum] visiteraði Auðunn byskup [á Hólum] um vestrsvæitir ok vígði kirkju at Þingeyrum“.<sup>29</sup> Það er því trúlegt, eins og Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir fornleifafræðingur hefur bent á, að vígsla klausturkirkjunnar á Þingeyrum árið 1314 hafi farið fram við lok framkvæmda eftir að „framkirkjan“ á Þingeyrum var „uppsmiðuð“ á vegum Guðmundar ábóta. Guðmundur tók við embætti árið 1310 og framkvæmdir hafa þá staðið yfir í fjögur ár eða skemur.<sup>30</sup>

Einar Hafliðason hefur mátt muna þessar framkvæmdir við kirkjuna á Þingeyrum í byrjun 14. aldar en hann var sjö ára þegar hún var vígð.

*Odd munk Snorrason, Íslenzk fornrit 25* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 2006), 358–59.

28 *Islandske Annaler indtil 1578*, 272.

29 *Lárentius saga biskups. Biskupa sögur III*, útg. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1998), 321.

30 Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, *Leitin að klaustrunum. Klausturbald á Íslandi í fimm aldir* (Reykjavík: Sögufélag, 2017), 108. Í Kristinrétti Árna Þorlákssonar eru ákvæði um endurvígslu kirkna þegar skaði verður á þeim: „Ef kirkja brenn upp eða annars kostar lestist svá að niður fellur öll eða meiri hlutur, þá skal vígja endurgjörva kirkju. En þó að kirkjuráfrá brenni upp, fúni og niður falli lítill hlutur af veggjum, þá skal eigi vígja endurbætta kirkju því í veggjum vígist kirkja þó að altari sé niður fallið, ruglað eða úr stað fært eða altarissteinn sé ljótliga brotinn. Þá skal það vígja, en eigi raskar það kirkjuvígslunni, þó má og syngja í kirkju þó óvígð sé.“ *Járnsíða og Kristinréttur Árna Þorlákssonar*, útg. Haraldur Bernharðsson, Magnús Lyngdal Magnússon og Már Jónsson (Reykjavík: Sögufélag, 2005), 150. Ég vil þakka Guðrúnu Harðardóttur fyrir að hafa bent mér á þetta ákvæði, sem sýnir að það samræmdist ágætlega lögum að endurvígja kirkju þegar framkirkja hafði verið byggð upp að nýju þótt innri kór hennar og miðkór með krössörmmum hafi staðið óbreyttir frá fyrri öldum.

Þegar talað er um að „uppsmiða framkirkju“ er væntanlega átt við að öll framkirkjan, þ.e. kirkjubyggingin að undanskildum miðkórnum með krössörmum sínum og innrikórnum, hefur verið endurbyggð. Þrátt fyrir þessa miklu endurnýjun kirkjunnar virðast helgustu og mikilvægustu hlutar hennar hafa staðið óbreyttir áfram og þeir hafa væntanlega verið byggðir þegar á 12. öld. Einnig eru vísbendingar um að í upphafi 14. aldar hafi verið settir framan á kirkjuna einn eða tveir stöplar og myndi það samræmast vel þeim klukkum sem Guðmundur ábóti fékk til kirkjunnar í tengslum við endursmiði hennar og minnst er á í *Lögmannsannál*. Í erfðaskrá Benedikts Kolbeinssonar, 22. febrúar 1363, sem gefin er út í *Íslensku fornbréfasafni*, er vissulega kominn stöpull eða turn á klausturkirkjuna að Þingeyrum: „Hér með kýs ek líkama mínum legstað at Þingeyrum í stöplinum þar sem Borgilldur hústrú mín liggur aður fyrir“.<sup>31</sup> Orð Benedikts útiloka raunar ekki að tveir turnar hafi verið á kirkjunni af því að hann gæti hafa viljað segja með orðum sínum að hann vildi hvíla í stöplinum þar sem Borgilldur hústrú hans lá en ekki í hinum stöplinum. Fullvissa um gerð stöpsulsins eða stöplanna mun ekki fást fyrr en leifar finnast í jörðu á Þingeyrum sem sýna ótvírætt gerð vesturenda klausturkirkjunnar.

Af hverju tveir stöplar? Kapítulainnsigli Þingeyraklausturs er vel þekkt af teikningu sem Árni Magnússon lét gera og birt er í *Sigilla Islandica*.<sup>32</sup> Myndir á varðveittum innsiglium frá Þingeyrum frá þessum tíma sýna gotneska kirkju með tvo turna, þótt ýmislegt ósamræmi sé annars í þeim. Ef Þingeyrainnsigli og keimlík teikning af kirkju inni í upphafsstaf einum í Flateyjarbók, sem borinn hefur verið saman við myndirnar á innsigilunum, gefa raunsanna mynd af útliti kirkjunnar, sem mér þykir ekki ósennilegt,

31 *DI* III, 184–86; 185.

32 Magnús Már Lárusson og Jónas Kristjánsson, ritstj. *Sigilla Islandica I* (Reykjavík: Handritastofnun Íslands, 1965–67), 179. Mörg innsigli frá Þingeyrum með umfjöllun Árna eru á síðum 163–221 og á sex þeirra má sjá mjög litlar kirkjur í sama stíl, þótt erfitt sé vegna smæðarinnar að greina nákvæma gerð þeirra. Ýmsir hafa velt því fyrir sér hvort innsigilmyndirnar eigi að sýna raunverulegt útlit klausturkirkjunnar en Guðrún Harðardóttir vinnur að doktorsrannsókn á kapítulainnsiglium þar sem þetta er metið. Forathugun á íslenskum klausturinnsiglium er að finna í grein Guðrúnar, „Myndefni íslenskra klaustur-innsigla“, *Íslensk klausturmenning á miðöldum*, ritstj. Haraldur Bernharðsson (Reykjavík: Miðaldastofa Háskóla Íslands, 2016), 201–25. Þar á síðum 220–22 eru leidd rök að því að innsigli bróðurklaustursins á Munkaþverá gæti hafa tekið mið af útliti klausturkirkjunnar þar eftir bruna á staðnum 1429.

þótt efast hafi verið um það, hefur kirkjan verið búin tveimur stöplum eða klukknaúsum í vesturendanum.<sup>33</sup>

Flest bendir því til að endalok klausturkirkjunnar á Þingeyrum hafi borið til árið 1695 þegar þessi forna og tilkomumikla kirkja, sem hafði að líkindum prýtt Þingeyraklaustur í ríflega fimm hundruð og sextíu ár, var tekin niður af Lárusi nokkrum Gottrup, dönskum umboðsmanni konungs, sem lét byggja aðra, „hverja hann og að velli alsendis aleinn berhendur hefur uppbyggja látið“, eins og hann svo borginmannlega kemst að orði í nýrri úttekt Þingeyraklausturs frá árinu 1704. Þótt gamla klausturkirkjan hafi þarfnast viðgerða var hún samkvæmt úttektinni 1684 síður en svo ónýt eða að hruni komin og hefði væntanlega mátt gera við hana. Sennilega hefur Lárusi Gottrup einfaldlega ekki líkað miðaldasvipurinn á gömlu klausturkirkjunni. Hann var framkvæmdasamur maður og nýju kirkjuna hefur hann byggt úr kóngsins timbri, ef marka má orð dóttursonar hans Ólafs Gíslasonar í óprentuðum endurminningum hans, a.m.k. segir í úttekt þeirrar kirkju frá 1704 að timbrið hafi verið nýlegt og á nokkrum stöðum í lýsingunni eru nefnd „Gullandsborð“ sem að sögn Páls Vídalíns var innflutt gæðatimbur frá Gotlandi.<sup>34</sup> Að vísu viðurkennir Gottrup í úttekt

- 33 Bent hefur verið á líkindi við kirkjuteikningu í upphafsstaf á bl. 69v í Flateyjarbók, GKS 1005 fol. en erfiðara er að tengja þá mynd beint við Þingeyrarkirkju þótt handritið geti hafa verið skrifað þar. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, „Ormur ber heyið eða ... Skandinavische Schriftlandschaften“. *Vánbok till Jürg Glauser*, ritstj. Klaus Müller-Wille, Kate Heslop, Anna Katharina Richter, Lukas Rösli, Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 59 (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2017), 146–49, ásamt tilvísunum í fyrri skrif um efnið. Hægt er einnig að túlka stöpul sem fristandandi einingu. Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, *Leitin að klaustrum*, 98–99. Guðrún Harðardóttir, *Stöpull Páls biskups Jónsonar*, 9–17, telur að orðnotkun í heimildum bendi sterklega til þess að á miðöldum hafi orðið „stöpull“ samsvarað nokkurn veginn nútímanotkun orðsins kirkjuturn. Guðrún ræður þetta meðal annars af leiðbeiningum um húsavirðingar í Lbs 63 4to (frá 1678) sem prentaðar eru hjá Guðbrandi Jónssyni, *Dómkirkjan á Hólum í Hjaltadal: Lýsing íslenzkra miðaldakirkna*. Safn til sögu Íslands og íslenzkra bókmennta að fornu og nýju 5:6 (Reykjavík: Gutenberg, 1919–29), 111–12, en þar er rætt um „kirkjur sem storar eru. so sem klaustrum hæfer. edur þo nockud minne sieu. þegar stopullinn er vj. vij eda viij al(n)a har og Bitinn vij eda viij alna langur. og sie smjidad af nyum vidum og sie þiliad i hvolf og golf og med tueimur þockum i Ræfur og veggi. allt af trie smjidad“. Ekki er þó ljóst hvað af þessum leiðbeiningum megi ráða um stöpla klausturkirkna annað en að talað er um einn stöpul aðeins; ekki er tekið fram að hann sé fristandandi og hæðin er áætluð sex til átta álnir, sem er töluvert minna en hæð framkirkju Þingeyraklausturskirkju samkvæmt úttektinni 1684 („á hæð 13 álnir 3 kvartel“).
- 34 Sigfús Blöndal fann handrit Ólafs Gíslasonar á Konungsbókhöðu í Kaupmannahöfn með æviminningum hans á dönsku og þýddi á íslensku kaflann um Þingeyrar, sem honum þótti sérlega áhugaverður, og gaf hann út með inngangi og skýringum. Ólafur Gíslason,



sinni að einhverjir stafir og annað timbur hafi verið endurnýtt úr klausturkirkjunni en sem slík var hún rifin árið 1695. Gottrupskirkja var tæplega fjórtán metrar að lengd („hverrar lengd er 24 ál.“; þ.e. 13,75 metrar) og þar með ríflega fjórum metrum styttri en gamla klausturkirkjan og einfaldari smíð og óvandaðri, þrátt fyrir dreissugt turnhýsi sem reis upp úr mæninum merkt kónginum og með veðurhana á hárrí stöng. Smíðurinn var danskur, þótt hann hefði íslenskan aðstoðarmann, líklega Odd Árnason, og hefur ekki þekkt íslenska veðrun, auk þess sem nýju kirkjunni var illa viðhaldið af eftirmönnum Gottrups.<sup>35</sup> Eftir rúmlega öld var hún gerónýt og þurfti að rífa hana. Árið 1804 fékk Björn Ólafsson Ólsen umboð fyrir Þingeyraklaustri og keypti hann jörðina af dönskum stjórnvöldum árið 1812. Þá voru Þingeyrar í niðurníðslu og kirkja Gottrups orðin hrörleg. Lét Björn byggja litla torfkirkju í hennar stað að hætti fátækra Íslendinga. Var sú torfkirkja áreiðanlega byggð á grunni hinna eldri og stærri kirkna.<sup>36</sup>

## Altari, dýrlingalíkneski og ýmsir munir í klausturkirkjunni<sup>37</sup>

Besta heimildin um gerð hinnar fornu kirkjubyggingar á Þingeyrum er því samkvæmt ofansögðu úttekt hennar árið 1684, auk þess sem yfirstandandi fornleifarannsóknir leiða á hverju ári í ljós nýja og ómetanlega þekkingu

„Lýsingar á Þingeyraklaustri á fyrri hluta 18. Aldar“, útg., þýð. og höfundur inngangs Sigfús Blöndal. *Ársrit Hins íslenska fræðafélags* 1916, 56–68. Handrit Ólafs, NKS 1692 fol., ætti að vera enn á Konungsbókhöfðu. Vardandi „Gullandsborð“, sjá texta úttektarinnar 1704 hér að neðan.

35 Guðrún Harðardóttir hefur borið kennsl á aðstoðarsmiðinn. Guðrún Harðardóttir, Guðrún Jónsdóttir, Þór Magnússon og Gunnar Bollason, „Þingeyrakirkja“, *Kirkjur Íslands VIII. Friðaðar kirkjur í Húnavatnsprófastsdæmi II: Auðkúlukirkja, Bergsstaðakirkja, Blönduóskirkja, Bólstaðarhlíðarkirkja, Hofskirkja, Holtastaðakirkja, Svinavatnskirkja, Undirfellskirkja, Þingeyrakirkja*, ritstj. Margrét Hallgrímsdóttir, Jón Torfason og Þorsteinn Gunnarsson (Reykjavík: Þjóðminjasafn Íslands o.fl., 2006), 263–314; 267.

36 Guðrún Harðardóttir o.fl., „Þingeyrakirkja“, 268.

37 Rétt er að nefna að í þessum hluta greinarinnar styðst ég við ýms heimildir, s.s. Guðbrand Jónsson, *Dómkirkjan á Hólum í Hjaltadal*, Gunnar F. Guðmundsson o.fl. *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, og Fredrik B. Wallem, „De islandske kirkers udstyr i middelalderen.“ *Aarsberetning for norske oldtidsminnesmerkere bevaring*. Årsberetning 66 (1910). Höfuðheimild mín í þessum hluta greinarinnar er þó hin ágæta grein Guðbjargar Kristjánsdóttur, „Messuföng og kirkjulist: Búnaður kirkna í kapólskum sið“. *Hlutavelta tímans. Menningararfur á Þjóðminjasafni*, ritstj. Árni Björnsson og Hrefna Róbertsdóttir (Reykjavík: Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, 2004), 246–59, og hef ég stundum tekið orðalag hennar óbreytt upp og fléttað inn í lýsingu mína á Þingeyraklausturskirkju.

um staðinn. Til viðbótar höfum við svo þær brotakenndu upplýsingar sem draga má saman úr fornbréfum, sögum og annálum. En ríkasta skjalaheimildin um Þingeyraklausturskirkju er áður nefnt *Sigurðarregistur* frá 1525 sem geymir inventar yfir lausagóss klaustursins þótt það virðist í raun ekki ná út fyrir kirkjuna sjálfa.<sup>38</sup> Nánast ekkert er talið í öðrum húsum en kirkjunni. Ef *Sigurðarregistur* er lesið í ljósi úttektarinnar 1684 má leika sér að því að koma gripum inventarsins fyrir í kirkju úttektarinnar. Gengur það vandræðalaust og sýnir að samræmis gætir í þessum tveimur höfuðheimildum um hina fornu klausturkirkju.

Auk háaltaris í innri kórnum voru á kaþólskri tíð fjögur minni altari í krossörmum Þingeyrakirkju, sem byggðir voru út úr útbrotum miðkórsins, kölluð „úttalari“ sem kemur heim og saman við staðsetningu þeirra. Úttölturinn voru helguð Krosstrénu, heilögum Benedikt (klaustrið var undir Benediktsreglu) og heilögum Ólafi (verndardýrningi Niðarósserkibiskupsdæmis). Ekki er sagt í *Sigurðarregistri* hverjum fjórða úttalarið var helgað en líklegt er að það hafi verið Maríualtari. Maríudýrkun var eitt af undirstöðuatriðum klausturlifnaðarins. Sex Maríumessur voru haldnar hátíðlegar á ári hverju (1. febrúar, 25. mars, 15. ágúst, 8. september, 21. nóvember og 8. desember) og var jómfrú María verndari fleiri kirkna en nokkur önnur helg persóna. Í *Sigurðarregistri* eru talin þrjú Maríulíkneski í kirkjunni á Þingeyrum, tvö þeirra úr alabastri. Í bróðurklaustrinu á Þverá, Munkaþverá, var Maríualtari og Önnualtari í svonefndri Önnustúku kirkjunnar. Anna var móðir Maríu. Maríualtarið í báðum kirkjum hefur verið norðanmegin, þ.e. kvennamegin. Sennilegast var Benediktsaltarið í Þingeyrakirkju í sömu stúku. Á brún Benediktsaltarisins voru níu blásmeltir og gylltir silfurskildir („ix. silfurskilder. blásmellter og gyllter“) af svipuðu tagi og í háltari kirkjunnar og minna þeir á skildina á silkiskrauti einnar Maríustyttu kirkjunnar. Ólafsaltarið hefur verið sunnanmegin, karlamegin, ásamt krossaltarinu. Framan á krossaltarinu og Ólafsaltarinu voru bríkur („brik á krossalltare. og á olafsalltare aunnur“). Samtals voru tveir tugir dýrtingalíkneskja í Þingeyrakirkju samkvæmt *Sigurðarregistri*. Auk áður nefndra Maríulíkneskja voru þrjú lík-

38 *DI IX*, 312–14. Elsti hlutinn af *Sigurðarregistri*, sem hér um ræðir, geymir máldaga Hóladómkirkju þegar Jón biskup Arason tók við embætti, máldaga klaustranna og nokkurra kirkna fyrir norðan land. *Sigurðarregistur* er til í frumriti á skinni og varðveitt í Biskupaskjalasafninu á Þjóðskjalasafni. Það er ritað með hendi séra Sigurðar Jónssonar á Grenjadarstað (d. 1595) sonar Jóns biskups Arasonar og við hann kennt.

neski af Heilagri þrenningu, Kristi og Jóhannesi skírara, eitt af Pétri, tvö Pálslíkneski, eitt af Jóhannesi postula og guðspjallamanni, annað af heilögum Andrésí og Jakobi. Tvö Ólafslíkneski voru í kirkjunni, annað þeirra úr alabastri. Þarna voru og líkneski Jóns Hólabiskups og heilags Benedikts, auk líkneskja af Maríu Magdalenu, Katrínu, Klöru og heilagri Zitu frá Lucca á Ítalíu.<sup>39</sup> Öll líkneskin hafa verið fjarlægð úr kirkjunni eftir siðaskiptin því þau eru hvergi nefnd í úttektinni 1684.

Ölturinn fimm í klausturkirkjunni voru skreytt klæðum, útsaumuðum brúnum með málmskjöldum en einnig hefur verið eitthvað af dúkum yfir líkneskjum (tveir glitaðir, þ.e. skrautlegir, dúkar yfir líkneskjum eru nefndir í *Sigurðarregistri*). Í kirkjunni hafa verið bekkir, stólar og púlt undir fólk og bækur, og klútar, púðar og sessur til þess að hlífa og auka á helgi gripanna. Eftirfarandi messuklæði og lausamunir eru taldir upp í *Sigurðarregistri*: átta messuklæði, fimm góð og allfær, og þrjú „léttari“ (þ.e. síður góð); fimmtán höklar fyrir munka og aðra, átta góðir og sjö síður góðir; fimm sloppar, níu „kantarakápur“ (þ.e. ermalausar messukápur, oft hlýjar og góðar til notkunar í kulda og útivið) og fjórar „dalmatíkur“ (þ.e. höklar fyrir djákna) og þrjár höklar fyrir súbdjákna (kallaðir *subtilum*). Í kirkjunni voru einnig þrjár baglar og ein ábótahúfa samkvæmt *Sigurðarregistri*. Klæðafjöldinn segir kannski eitthvað um fjölda munka og klerka sem tóku þátt í messunni jafnvel þótt meira hafi verið til af messuklæðum en nota þurfti hverju sinni.

Þá var sérstakur páskaútbúnaður, stólpi undir páskakerti og páskablað. Einnig tvær burðarstíkur undir kerti og tíu koparstíkur (sumar brotnar), einnig undir kerti, væntanlega á ölturum. Kerti var látið loga á altarinu við messugjörð og við gjörbreytinguna var einnig kveikt á svokölluðu upphaldskerti til að söfnuðurinn sæi sem best hið helgaða brauð þegar presturinn hóf það upp í messunni. Upphaldsstíkur frá Grundarkirkju í Eyjafirði eru varðveittar í Þjóðminjasafni Dana, þær eru með undnum leggjum og járnbroddum sem kertin voru fest á. Ljós voru einnig tendruð við aðrar kirkjulegar athafnir, skírn, útför, vígslur og á kirkju-

39 Margaret Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland: Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400*. Subsidia Hagiographica 78 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1994), gefur besta yfirlitið yfir dýrlingalíkneski í íslenskum miðaldakirkjum en nær aðeins til 1400 og því ekki til *Sigurðarregisturs*. Þeir sem telja að klausturkirkjan á Þingeyrum hafi verið helguð heilögum Nikulási hljóta að sakna líkneskis af honum. Verður sú tileinkun að teljast ósönnuð í ljósi þess að svo lítið þarna inni minnti á Nikulás.

hátíðum, einkum kyndilmessu, hreinsunardegi Maríu meyjar 2. febrúar. Á Þorláksmessu, 23. desember, voru einnig notuð ljós enda var það öðrum þræði hátíð vetrarsólstöðu og hækkandi sólar eins og fram kemur í Þorlákstíðum á latínu í AM 241 a II fol. (frá síðari hluta 14. aldar). Við fyrstu Þorláksmessuna árið 1199 segir í *Þorláks sögu* að logað hafi á hundrað kertum í Skálholtsdómkirkju. Við vígslu skírnavatnsins á páskavökunni dýfði prestur logandi kerti ofan í vatnið. Einnig voru sett ljós fyrir framan dýrlingamyndir. Oft eru nefndar í máldögum standstikur á ölturum eða á gólfi nálægt altari. Góð birta hefur verið nauðsynleg svo að sæist til að lesa guðspjallið og pistlana og syngja texta en steindir gluggar hafa einnig getað skapað litbrigði ljóss í kirkjunni. Ljósahjálmar úr tré eða málm, oftast með fimm til sjö kertapípum, og kertagrindur úr járn með nokkrum pípum komu til sögunnar á 14. öld. Gluggarnir fimm á klausturkirkjunni sem lýst er í úttektinni 1684 (þeir hafa væntanlega einnig verið á miðaldarkirkjunni) hafa varla verið mjög stórir, þótt stærðin sé ekki þekkt, og í henni hefur mögulega verið hálförökkur á sumrin og rökkur eða myrkur í skammdeginu. Í elstu kirkjumáldögum er stundum kveðið á um að lýsa skuli kirkjur frá síðsumri/hausti og fram yfir páska. Ljósið minnir á nærveru Krists í sakramentinu. Ljósið hefur einnig verið vegvísir fyrir ferðamenn. Reykelsisker, glóðaker, voru til í flestum kirkjum, og hefur einnig verið í Þingeyrakirkju þótt ekkert slíkt sé nefnt í *Sigurðarregistri*. Kerinu var sveiflað fram og aftur við messuna eftir ákveðnum reglum. Reykelsið fyllti kirkjuna sætum ilmi Guðs og rak burt hið illa en reykurinn var tákn bænanna sem sendar voru til himna. En hér ber þess að gæta að erfitt er að fullyrða að tiltekinn gripur hafi verið í kirkjunni ef hann er ekki talinn í máldaga eða úttekt hennar. Upptalning gripa í *Sigurðarregistri* virðist þó vera gloppótt.

*Pulpitu* með dyrastöfum og hvelfingum í lofti en svölum ofan á og upphækkaður pallur með tveimur þrepum og fjalagólfi aðskildi innri kórinn frá kórnum og framkirkjunni því inn að altarinu mátti enginn óvígður koma og kórskilin mörkuðu skiptinguna milli lærðra og leikra í kirkjunni. Háaltarið var í innri kór kirkjunnar. Á föstunni var sums staðar hengt föstutjald fyrir kórinn til að hylja háaltarið fyrir söfnuðinum. Þörfin fyrir aðskilnað hefur einnig verið til staðar í klausturkirkju eins og þeirri á Þingeyrum því þótt munkarnir hafi notað kirkjuna meira en aðrir hafa verið fjölmargir leikmenn meðal staðarmanna, gestir og alþýða á bæjunum

í kring. Messan fór fram við háaltarið sem hefur líklega verið úr tré þótt aðeins fjórir altarissteinar hafi verið í kirkjunni 1525 en fimm ölturu. Bendir þetta til að eitt altarið hafi á einhvern annan hátt uppfyllt þá kröfu að vera steinaltari sem var ófrávíkjanleg regla. Mögulegt er að altarissteinn hafi verið innbyggður í eitt af ölturunum sem þá hefur breytt því í steinaltari í einhverri mynd en hin ölturinn haft lausa steina. Stundum voru einnig hólfr í ölturum fyrir helga dóma og sömuleiðis í altarissteinum fyrir mjög smáa helga dóma.

Yfir háaltarinu á Þingeyrum árið 1525 var alabastursaltarisbrík („brík með alabastrum yfer háaltari“), talin ensk og frá 15. öld og er hún enn að hluta varðveitt í steinkirkjunni sem nú stendur á Þingeyrum. Á svona töflum voru gjarnan vængjahurðir með útskornum líkneskjum eins og í aðalbríkinni. Vængjabríkur voru opnaðar á kirkjulegum hátíðum en hafðar lokaðar hversdagslega og voru þá aðeins málaðar helgimyndir á bakhlið vængjanna til sýnis. Alabastursbríkin á Þingeyrum er nefnd í úttektinni 1684 en er þá þegar brotin sums staðar: „Altarisbrík af alabastri, í sumum stöðum brákuð“.<sup>40</sup> Alabastursbríkur voru ekki óalgengar á Íslandi á síðmiðöldum. Mariubrík frá Hítardal er í Þjóðminjasafni, talin gerð í Nottingham um 1450 (Þjms. 3617–3622). Til er á Þjóðminjasafninu í Kaupmannahöfn önnur alabastursbrík frá Munkaþverárklostri, ensk frá um 1425.<sup>41</sup> Reynistaðaklausturskirkja átti einnig enska alabastursbrík sem nú er á Þjóðminjasafni (Þjms. 1064).<sup>42</sup> Hvað var fyrir ofan altarið áður en bríkin á Þingeyrum var sett upp í kirkjunni á 15. öld er ekki vitað, ef til vill ekki annað en koparkrossarnir þrír sem þar voru einnig samkvæmt *Sigurðarregistri*.

Í kór Þingeyraklausturskirkju var einnig gamalt hvítt silfurskrín undir helgan dóm eða dóma. Ekki er sagt í *Sigurðarregistri* hvaða helgur dómur var í skrininu. Oft voru helgidómaskrín húslaga en stundum tók form þeirra mið af þeim líkamshluta dýrlingsins (t.d. framhandlegg eða höfði)

40 Búið er að fjarlægja allt nema krossfestingarmyndina og þá myndhluta sem gátu staðið áfram í lúterskum sið. Mögulega voru þessir hlutar eyðilagðir í siðaskiptunum. Margaret Cormack, “Voru helgimyndir eyðilagðar á Íslandi? Athugun á varðveislu dýrlingamynda fyrsta áratuginn eftir siðaskipti.” *Ábrif Lúthers. Siðaskipti, samfélag og menning í 500 ár*, 243–60; 246.

41 Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, *Leitin að klaustrunum*, mynd 42.

42 Bera Nordal, „Skrá um enskar alabastursmyndir sem varðveist hafa á Íslandi.“ *Árbók hins íslenska fornleifafélags* 1985 (1986), 85–128.

sem í skríninu lá. Helgiskrín þetta hefur væntanlega verið hægra megin í kórnum en mátt færa það fram í kirkjuskipið við sérstök tækifæri svo leikmenn kæmst nær því. Dýrtingar voru álitnir milligöngum milli Guðs og manna og mikilvægt að komast sem næst heilögum dómum þeirra til þess að auka möguleika sóknarbarnsins á bænheyrn. Þá voru fjórir aðrir krossar („pínslarmörk“ ) í kirkjunni, einn standkross með undirstöðum og þrjár aðrir, sem ekki er lýst nánar, mögulega þeir sömu og héngu fyrir ofan háaltarið sem þá eru tvítaldir. Átrúnaður var á einstökum krossum á Íslandi, mest undir lok miðalda á krossinum á Kaldaðarnesi í Flóa. Þangað streymdi margmenni úr sveitum sunnanlands á krossmessunum vor og haust, 3. maí og 14. september, til líknar og áheita. Krossinn sá stóð í kór og gafst mikið fé til kirkjunnar í þessum heitgöngum. Kaldaðarnes var ferjustaður yfir Ölfusá og ferðamenn því ósjaldan í lífsháska. Dýrkun krossins hélt áfram eftir siðaskiptin og varð til þess að Gissur Einarsson Skálholtsbiskup bannaði hana í bréfi 1547.<sup>43</sup>

Framan á háaltarinu í Þingeyraklausturskirkju var einnig samkvæmt máldaganum 1525 „tabulum“, þ.e. skreytt tafla eða fyrirbrík, eins konar altarisbrík fyrir framan altarið. Á háaltarinu sjálfu var klæði/altarisdúkur, sennilega úr hvítu líni og með útsaumi, sem og „saurdúkur“ (þ.e. hvítur hlífðardúkur) sem líklega náði vel niður fyrir mitt altarið til beggja hliða. Neðst framan á altarinu var „brún“ (þ.e. bakki/borði) sem prýddur var nítján „silfurskioldum forgylltum og onnur með nockurum koparskioldum brakudum“, segir í *Sigurðarregistri*. Sama brún virðist hafa enst allavega fram til 1684 en í úttektinni þá hefur skjöldunum fækkað í fimmtán („Altaresbrun med 15 skioldum, og einum brotnum, af giltu silfre“). Altarisbrún frá Skálholtskirkju af svipaðri gerð er enn varðveitt á Þjóðminjasafni (Þjms. 1145). Svona brúnir voru í dómkirkjunum og öðrum stærri kirkjum og var hátíðarbúnaður háaltarisins í Þingeyrakirkju. Kirkjan átti einnig hversdagslegt háaltarisklæði og hversdagslega brún.

Hápunktur og helgasta stund messunnar var gjörbreytingin, eins og áður sagði, þegar brauðið og vínið umbreyttist í líkama og blóð Krists. Áður en altarisgangan fór fram áttu kirkjugestir að friðmælast hver við annan með friðarkossi og var hann staðfesting þess að söfnuðurinn sættist við Guð og náungann. Á 13. öld var farið að nota paxspjöld (einnig nefnd paxblöð), presturinn kyssti þetta spjald fyrstur en síðan var það látið ganga

meðal kirkjugesta um leið og sagt var *Pax vobiscum!* (Friður sé með yður!). Paxspjalda er fyrst getið í íslenskum máldögum á 14. öld en þau hafa ber-sýnilega verið orðin algeng hér á síðmiðöldum. Þau voru úr málm, smelti, tönn og tré og jafnvel er talað um máluð paxspjöld. Í *Sigurðarregistri* 1525 voru „paxblod. iij.“ í kirkjunni á Þingeyrum. Nokkur íslensk paxspjöld eru enn varðveitt á Þjóðminjasafni.

Annað sem tengdist altarisgöngunni var kaleikur og patína undir messuvín og brauð sem stóð á háaltarinu auk patínudúks eða „corporals“ að breiða undir þessi ílát en átta corporalsdúkar voru í Þingeyrakirkju 1525 ásamt þremur corporalshúsum en það var oftast skrautlega útsaumuð ferhyrnd taska til að geyma í patínudúkinn. Mjög vandað corporalshús er varðveitt frá Skálholti á Þjóðminjasafni (Þjms. 421). Kaleikar og patína eru úr dýrustu málmum. Margir fagrir og dýrmætir kaleikar hafa varðveist frá miðöldum á Íslandi, bæði erlendir og íslenskir. Við umbreytingu brauðsins og vínsins í messunni var hringt lítilli bjöllu, kórþjöllu eða sanctus-bjöllu, til að boða komu Krists. Í máldögum eru slíkar bjöllur stundum nefndar söngmeyjar. Það var eftir Lateran-þingið 1215 að farið var að hringja smábjöllum um leið og presturinn lyfti upp hinu helgaða brauði og víni við gjörbreytinguna.

Í *Sigurðarregistri* er sagt að í Þingeyrakirkju séu þrjár smábjöllur („þriar smábiöllur“). Eftir messufórnina var einn þriðji oblátunnar sem presturinn hafði helgað geymdur í sérstakri hirslu til reiðu fyrir sjúka og dauðvona milli þess að messað var. Á altarinu 1525 hefur einnig staðið „propiciorium med silfur“ sem var eins konar guðslíkamahús eða huslker. Þetta hefur verið úr silfri en einnig eru þekkt slík skrín úr tönn og smelti. Eftir að farið var að tilbiðja sakramentið eins og helga dóma var hið vígða brauð haft sjáanlegt í sérstöku sýnikeri. Þar var því komið fyrir í hálfmánalagaðri festingu innan í glerhólki. Sýniker þessi voru borin í helgigöngum á dýradergi, fimmtudaginn eftir þrenningarhátíð. Á sumum þeirra héngu smábjöllur sem gáfu frá sér hljóm þegar keríð var borið um og gegndu þannig sama hlutverki og kórþjöllu. Þess á milli var hið helgaða brauð haft til sýnis fyrir söfnuðinn, oft á bak við rimla, annaðhvort á altarinu eða í þar til gerðum skáp sem nefndist sakramentishús.

Í *Sigurðarregistri* eru einnig nefnd „baksturjarn“, „metaskaler med metum“ (þ.e. við með lóðum) og „hialmur med jarn“ sem allt tengist altarisgöngunni. Á undan og eftir messu þvoðu prestar hendur sínar

og við upphaf og í lok messufórnarinnar. Til þess þurfti konnu sem súbdjákni hellti úr yfir hendur prestsins, skál til að taka við vatninu og handklæði. Vatnskönnurnar voru stundum í manns- eða dýralíki og skýrir það nöfnin „vatnskarlar“ eða „vatnsdýr“ í máldögum. Vatn var tákn hreinsunar og útrekstrar hins illa og það var notað til vígslu. Vígða vatnið var í sérstöku keru og í vígslunni var því stökkt á hlutinn sem átti að vígja með sérstökum stökkli. „Sacarium handklæði“, „einn vazketill“, „ij. munnlaugar.“, „vazkallar .ij.“ er nefnt í registrinu 1525 og „járnkarl“, sem gæti verið vatnskanna, en líklega hefur ýmsu verið sleppt sem ekki þótti nógu verðmætt til að nefna þurfti það í *Sigurðarregistri* því máldaginn virðist ekki vera sérlega ítarleg eignaskrá.

### Bókasafn Þingeyraklausturs í háaltari kirkjunnar

Á altarinu í innri kórnum hafa staðið handrit með guðspjöllunum/pistlunum og fleiri bækur, sumar á púltum og púðum. Líklegt er að mörg þessara handrita og annarra bóka, sem vísað er til í kirkjunni, hafi verið framleidd í klaustrinu sjálfu. Í *Sigurðarregistri* er nefndur einn kopar-texti og tveir silfurtextar í Þingeyraklaustri og er þá átt við handrit með guðspjallatexta sem bundin eru inn með málmlegin tréspjöld utanum. Silfurinnbundnu guðspjöllin hafa legið á púðum („ij. textar buner með silfur. og ij. koddar. einn texti með kopar“). Í *Sigurðarregistri* segir jafnframt „J háalltare margar lätinubækr godar og illar“ sem eru mikilvægar upplýsingar sem lesandinn fær um hvar bókasafn klaustursins er staðsett. Má skilja það svo að einhver geymsla hafi verið fyrir bækur í innri kórnum hjá háaltarinu því ekki hafa þær legið í stöflum á altarinu eða verið inni í því. Innri kórin var að gólfleti um 16,08 fm („að lengd vel 7 álnir... , breiddin 7 álnir“ – þ.e. 4,01 m x 4,01 m). Einnig eru nefndir dúkar („dukur á abotaforma. og annar á framistoduforma“) og með þeim það sem dúkarnir liggja á, sem ekki er síður mikilvægt: „ábótaformi“ og „framistöduformi“. Formar voru bekkir og í þeim hefur verið hirsla undir sætunum þar sem hægt var að geyma bækur og annað.<sup>44</sup> Þessi óbeina tilvísun til bekkja í kirkjunni gefur vísbendingu um hve *Sigurðarregistur* er gloppótt. Ef til vill hafa þessir formar staðið í kórnum og kannski í innri kórnum. Þar hafa þá verið stólar, bekkir og kistur sem nota hefur mátt sem bókahirslur. Auk ábótaforma

44 Sjá Fredrik B. Wallem, „De islandske kirkers udstyr i middelalderen“, 228–33.



og frammistöðuforma er nefndur annar „formi“ og „frammistöðustóll með sessu. og .ij. smástólar“, sem allt getur einnig hafa verið í kórnum. Áðurnefnt orðalag *Sigurðarregisturs*, „J háalltare margar lätinubækr godar og illar“, og síðar „þar til hinar og adrar skrædur rotnar og gamlar“, sem líklega á við norrænubækur, bendir til að í innri kórnum, kannski meðfram veggjunum, hafi bókunum verið raðað svo þétt að ærna fyrirhöfn hafi kostað að skoða þær allar og telja þær upp með réttum heitum sínum, fyrirhöfn sem úttektarmenn *Sigurðarregisturs* hafa viljað sparað sér. Strax eftir upptalningu bókanna eru nefndar sex kistur („kistur .vj.“). Röð muna í upptalningunni sannar ekki að bækur hafi verið geymdar í kistunum því einnig var algengt að geyma messuskrúða í kistum en sennilegt er að einhverjar kistnanna sex hafi verið þannig nýttar. Kisturnar virðast þá hafa staðið í háaltarinu í innri kórnum og þar í hafi verið geymdar hinar mörgu lätinubækur og norrænubækur sem registrið vísar til.

Fyrst eru tilgreindar um fjörutíu latneskar kirkjubækur (sumt er óljóst í þessari upptalningu): þrjár *Evangelia* á altarinu (guðspjallabækur, tvær innbundnar með silfurspjöldum og ein með koparspjöldum), þrjár *Graduales* (kórsöngbækur fyrir allt árið), ein *Gradualis* (kórsöngbók eða víxlsöngsbók fyrir allt árið með Davíðssálmum og hymnum), ein *Lectionarium* (fyrir allt árið með hómilíum, þ.e. predikunum), tvær *Hymnarii* (latnesk hymnasöfn), ein *Capitularius* (óvíst: safn réttarákvæða eða rómversk tíðabók, bréfer), ein *ProceSSIONalis* (messubók með textum og tónlist fyrir helgigöngur), sex *Psalterii* (Davíðssálmar með almanaki), tvær *Communes* (kómmons bækur með *Commune Sanctorum*; sennilega sá hluti víxlsöngsbóka og tíðasöngsbóka sem hefur sameiginlegt efni úr ýmsum dýrlingamessum), tvær *Canticum* (söngbækur), tvær *Martyrologia* (tíðasöngbók með efni um píslarvotta), ein Tíðaskipunarbók, ein Reglubók, tvær *Cyriali*, ein *Missalis* (messubók), ein *Obituarium* (ártíðaskrá), þrjár *Graduales* („með sequencium. er með einum kiriall. enn brestur allar feriumessur“), ein *Gradualis* (fyrir allt árið), ein *Sequencialis* (sekvensíubók), tvær *Missales* (gætu verið fleiri, eyða er í handritinu, fyrir allt árið með collectum, guðspjöllum og pistlum), ein *Missale* (með öllum hátíðamessum), ein *Gradualis* (fyrir allt árið með collectum og söng). Erfitt er að vita *hversu* margar hinar „mörgu“ lätinubækur voru í háaltarinu en væntanlega hafa þarna ekki verið færri en fimmtíu til hundrað bækur. Þá eru taldar norrænubækur og sérstaklega tilgreind

ellefu verk: Gregorsdialógar, *Vitae patrum*, Barlaams saga ok Jósaphats, Maríu saga með jarsteinum, Jóns saga baptista, Jóns saga postula, Jóns saga Hólabiskups, Guðmundar saga góða, Þorláks saga, Gregorius saga, Hátíðapredikanir og sunnudagapredikanir.

Um þessi rit flest ef ekki öll gildir að þau eru norrænar þýðingar úr latínu. Sögur biskupanna Þorláks og Jóns áttu uppruna sinn í latínuskrifum Gunnlaugs Leifssonar og annarra og ef Guðmundar saga góða var sú gerð sem nú er nefnd D, þá var uppruni hennar einnig í latneskum texta.<sup>45</sup> Í lok upptalningarinnar á norrænubókum stendur, eins og áður sagði, eftirfarandi: „þar til hinar og adrar skrædur rotnar og gamlar“ – og á það líklega enn við bækur á norrænu, og samsvarar þannig „J háalttari margar látinubækr godar og illar“ sem kom í lok upptalningar kirkjubóka á latínu. Varlega áætlað hefur þetta bókasafn varla talið færri en hundrað latínubækur í allt auk nokkurra tuga norrænubóka þótt engin leið sé að vita fyrir vist tölu bóka í bókasafni Þingeyramunka. Til hliðsjónar má hafa að í Helgafellsklostri voru vel á annað hundrað bækur, flestar latínubækur, en þrjátíu og fimm á norrænu, eins og sjá má á máldaga klaustursins frá 1397.<sup>46</sup> Á Þingeyrum hafa væntanlega síst verið færri bækur en í öðrum klaustrum ef hliðsjón er höfð af aldri og frægð klaustursins fyrir bóklistir.

Þótt kaflinn um kirkjuna á Þingeyrum í *Sigurðarregistri* sé kynntur eins og hann telji bæði upp verðmæti í kirkjunni og klaustrinu („J sama tima eignar og peningar þingeyraklausturs. Jn primis inventarium kirkjunnar og klaustursins“) virðist það sem þar er upptalið allt hafa verið í kirkjunni. Einhverjar bækur hafa líklega einnig verið í öðrum húsum Þingeyraklausturs, eins og lýst er í samsvarandi en nokkuð ítarlegri máldaga Munkaþverárklausturs, en þar í byggingu sem nefnd er „Kapítuli“ voru nokkrar sögur á norrænu.<sup>47</sup> Í kaflanum um Þingeyraklaustur í *Sigurðarregistri* er hins vegar sleppt öllum bókum og munum sem líklegt er að hafi verið í öðrum byggingum en kirkjunni.

45 Sjá yfirlitskafla greinarhöfundar, „Latin Hagiography in Medieval Iceland“. *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550 / Hagiographies: International History of the Latin and Vernacular Hagiographical Literature in the West from Its Origins to 1550*, ritsstj. Monique Gallet. Corpus Christianorum. CCHAG - Hagiographies, vol. 7, 875–950; 936–42. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.

46 *DI IV*, 165–172; 170–71.

47 *DI IX*, 307.

## Skipulag byggðar á Þingeyraklaustri

Þegar á öndverðri 18. öld hefur ríkt óvissa um staðsetningu klaustursins. Í *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns* frá upphafi aldarinnar segir eftirfarandi um staðarnafn eitt í heimalandi Þingeyraklausturs, Trum(b)saler: „Segja so munnmæli að hjer hafi klaustrið í öndverðu staðið. Engin vita menn rök til þess, og ekki sýna tóftaleifarnar til þess líkindi, því þær eru bæði færri og smærri en klaustri sambjóði.“<sup>48</sup> Á þessum tíma hélt Daninn Lárus Gottrup Þingeyraklaustur og er væntanlega til þess vísað hvað heimafólk hans hafði fyrir satt um staðsetningu hins forna klausturs. Árið 1776 var einnig minningin um gömlu klausturkirkjuna týnd, sem þó virðist hafa staðið fram til 1695, þegar Gottrup lét rífa hana. Þá skrifaði Halldór Vídalín eftirfarandi athugasemd *pro memoria* um þá kirkju: „Um byggingu á Þingeyraklausturskirkju fyrir lögmanns Gottrups tíð hef ég ekkert heyrt né skriflegt séð, því þykir mér líklegt hún hafi verið almennileg torfkirkja svo sem flestar hér í landi.“<sup>49</sup> Svo virðist sem þekkingin á byggingarsögu staðarins hafi glatast þegar á 18. öld.

Eins og þegar hefur komið fram eru elstu heimildir um byggðina á Þingeyrum úttektirnar frá 1684 og 1704 sem ekki hafa áður verið gefnar út. Fyrir neðan verður gerð grein fyrir þessum úttektum skjalfræðilega en hér er meiningin að fjalla með aðeins almennari hætti um þekkingu á klausturbyggðinni. Markmið úttektanna var að leggja grunninn að verðmati einstakra bygginga en ekki að lýsa skipulagi staðarins og staðsetningu húsanna. Aðeins á örfáum stöðum er minnst á innbyrðis afstöðu bygginga eða heildarskipulag Þingeyraklausturs og þá helst í úttekt Gottrups frá 1704. Rétt er að hafa í huga að tungumálið er takmarkaður miðill til að lýsa útliti hluta. Til þess er bert mannsaugað miklu hæfara og mannsheilinn sem leikur sér að því á örskotsstund að greina mynstur og útlínur þess sem augað skynjar. Þetta vissu fornir stílfræðingar mætavel sem klifuðu gjarnan á því að erfiðasta grein ritlistarinnar væri staðarlýsingin eða myndlýsingin (*ecphrasis*). Því er ekki við því að búast að úttektirnar 1684 eða 1704 veiti svo haldgóðar upplýsingar um Þingeyraklaustur að nægi til þess að teikna nákvæmlega upp skipulag byggðar á svæðinu. Til þess væru hvers kyns uppdrættir og teikningar mun betri en af þeim eru því miður

48 *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns* VIII (Kaupmannahöfn: Hið íslenska fræðafjelag, 1926), 250–51.

49 Þjóðskjalasafn. Skjalasafn umboðanna. Úttektir Þingeyraklaustursjarða 1776, skjal VII-2.

engir til eldri en frá miðri 19. öld þegar ásýnd staðarins hafði gjörbreyst frá því sem áður var. Úttektirnar á Þingeyraklaustri lýsa viðum húsa og byggingarlagi og gefa upp málín á flestu þessu timbri í álnum svo líklega gæti kunnáttusamur teiknari dregið upp myndir af einstökum húsum. Slíkar myndir eru þó haldlitlar ef maður vill ákvarða innbýrðis afstöðu húsanna og skipulag klaustursvæðisins. Að því sögðu má engu að síður ráða í skipulag staðarins í grófum dráttum einkum ef jafnframt er tekið mið af þeim fornleifarannsóknnum sem standa yfir þessi árin og hafa gert það mögulegt að staðsetja kirkjuna.

Fyrst skal nefna að umhverfis kirkjuna eða nálægt henni árið 1704 var stór kirkjugarður sem í úttektinni er sagður vera að ummáli 298 ½ al. en umreiknað í metra er það um hundrað sjötíu og einn metri. Garðurinn var myndaður af stæðilegum torfveggjum mannhæðar háum. Flatarmál þessa kirkjugarðs hefur verið í kringum tvö þúsund fermetrar eða um það bil fjórtán sinnum gólfplötur kirkjunnar sjálfrar. Á kirkjugarðinum vestanverðum framan við kirkjudyrnar virðist hafa verið klukknaport með súðþaki árið 1684 en í úttektinni 1704 virðist komið klukknaðhús við kirkjuna þótt inngangurinn í garðinn sé líklega enn á sama stað. Annað port var á suðurhluta kirkjugarðsins sem tengdi hann beint við „Íslenska bæinn“, eins og hann er kallaður í úttektinni 1704, til aðgreiningar frá „Danska húsinu“ (sem í síðari úttektum Þingeyraklausturs er stundum nefnt Norska húsið) en það stóð austan við „Íslenska bæinn“.

Danska húsið sem byggt var af Lárusi Gottrup var bindingsverkshús „listað og bikað með krossbinding og mó“. Það hafði skorstein byggðan úr múrsteinum („múrgrjóti“), frárennsli í röri og auðvitað turn á þakinu með veðurhana í stíl hins danska umboðsmanns. „Íslenski bærinn“ var hins vegar torfbær og gangabær með „ferköntuðu hlaði af hnöttóttu grjóti, vel þétt og skikkanlega niðurlögðu, og með sandi sléttu og jöfnuðu“ í miðri húsapyrpingunni.<sup>50</sup> Þetta er að vísu lýsing úr úttektinni 1704, en þar sem mörg húsanna umhverfis þetta ferkantaða hlað hafa sömu eða

50 Í fornleifarannsókn árið 2015 fannst hleðsla sem líkist steinhlaði á aðeins 45 cm dýpi þar sem nú er talið að kirkjan hafi staðið. Vegna dýptarinnar og staðsetningarinnar getur þetta tæplega verið steinhlað Íslenska bæjarins sem nefnt er í úttekt Gottrups árið 1704. Helst má ætla að hér sé um að ræða endurnýtingu hlaðsins í tengslum við byggingu torfkirkjunnar í byrjun 19. aldar. En um þetta er samt allt óvíst; Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, Vala Gunnarsdóttir og Helga Jónsdóttir. *Kortlagning klaustura á Íslandi: Þingeyrar*. Vettvangsskýrsla VIII (2015), 10. Netútgáfa: [https://notendur.hi.is/~sjk/THING\\_2015.pdf](https://notendur.hi.is/~sjk/THING_2015.pdf)

svipuð nöfn í báðum úttektum (s.s. Karldyr, Andyri, Göng, Stóriskáli, Prestaskáli, Borðhús, Stórabaðstofa, Búr, Eldhús, Ofnshús, Langabúr, Port) virðist mega álykta að þessi húsaþyrping hafi verið það sem eftir stóð af klausturhúsunum.

Torvelt er að vita nákvæmlega hver húsanna voru leifar frá klaustur-tímanum. Í úttektinni 1684 vekur samt athygli lesandans hús sem nefnt er „Prestaskálinn“ og er sagt með „sjö sængum, þar í tvær lokrekkjur með fóðruðum skörum. Húsið vænt og víða sterkt, þó tilgengið og gamalt.“ Aðeins einn prestur var á Þingeyrum eftir siðaskiptin og með honum djákni. Annað hús kallað „Stórabaðstofa“ fær þá umsögn árið 1684 að þar sé „raftviður forn í rjáfri“. Í úttektum þessum, þótt gamlar séu, heita þó engin húsanna „Capítuli“, „Conventa“ eða „Clastrum“ sem allt eru heiti tengd klausturbyggingum á Íslandi. Ég tel þó sennilegast að skipulag klausturhúsanna hafi verið áþekkt því sem ráða má af úttektunum 1684 og 1704, þ.e. að til forna hafi kirkjan staðið norðan við önnur klausturhús<sup>51</sup> en sunnan við hana hafi verið skipað klausturbyggingunum umhverfis ferkantað hlað. Aðrar byggingar, fjós, fjárhús, hesthús, fálkahús, hlaða, skemmur, smiðjur, brunnhús og þess háttar – alls telja byggingarnar á fimmta tug í úttektinni 1684, og nálægt því jafn margar eru þær í úttekt Gottrups – hafi staðið norðan, austan eða sunnan við þetta svæði sem lík-lega hefur með öllu þakið um hektara lands.

51 Staðsetning klausturkirkjunnar og Gottrupskirkju er nú þekkt af gröfum tveggja klausturhaldara sem grafnir voru inni í henni. Kista sem fannst við fornleifarannsóknir á Þingeyrum á vegum Steinunnar Kristjánsdóttur fornleifafræðings sumarið 2021 er með góðum rökum talin tilheyra Jóni Þorleifssyni klausturhaldara 1677/1678–82 og önnur nálægt henni er merkt Oddi Stefánssyni, sem jafnframt var klausturhaldari á Þingeyrum 1783–1803. Í fyrri kistunni var húfa, leifar af bók og signethringur úr gulli með skjaldamerki Eggerts Hannessonar riddara en Jón var í móðurætt afkomandi Eggerts. Hefð var fyrir því að grafa fyrirfólk inni í kirkjunni, oft nálægt altarinu, og má nota það til þess að ákvarða staðsetningu kirkjunnar sem lýst er í úttektinni 1684 og Gottrupskirkju, en þær hafa verið byggðar á sama stað. Móðir Gottrups, Mette Nielsdóttir, sem var 58 ára, lést ári eftir komuna til Þingeyra, 16. október 1685. Var hún „grafin þar í kórnum fyrir altarinu“ samkvæmt Vallaannál (*Annálar 1400–1800 I* [1922–27], 405). Þetta var í gömlu klausturkirkjunni því Gottrupskirkja var fyrst byggð áratug síðar. Og samkvæmt sama annál er Gottrup sjálfur, sem lést á Þingeyrum mánaðamótin febrúar–mars árið 1721, „grafinn norðanvert í kórnum þar að kirkjunni 8. Martii, laugardag annan langaföstu, með virðulegri og vel aflestri útför í margra góðra manna viðurvist“ (*Annálar 1400–1800 I* [1922–27], 518). Gottrupskirkja var samsé reist á sama stað og gamla klausturkirkjan og er hún jafnbreidd henni þótt hún hafi verið nokkrum metrum styttri.

## Skjalfræðileg greinargerð fyrir úttektunum

Úttektin 1684 er í Skjalasafni umboðanna á Þjóðskjalasafni, þar geymd í öskju sem merkt er „Þingeyraklaustur VII, 2“ ásamt fleiri úttektum, vísitásium, uppskriftum máldaga og fleiru þess háttar. Talning og verðmat á lauseyri Þingeyraklausturs var gerð 22. ágúst 1684 (1v-2r). Kirkjan var tekin út mánuði síðar, 21. september 1684 (2r-3r). Dagsetningar þessar miðast við gamla stíl. Lýsing annars húsakosts á Þingeyrum var gerð næstu daga á undan og eftir (3r-4v). Tilefni úttektarinnar 1684 var afhending Þingeyraklausturs Lárusi Gottrup eftir dauða Jóns Þorleifssonar klausturhaldara í lok febrúar eða byrjun mars árið 1682.<sup>52</sup> Árið 1662 hafði faðir Jóns, Þorleifur Kortsson, orðið lögmaður norðan og vestan, og árið eftir tók hann Þingeyraklaustur. Jón sonur hans fékk Þingeyraklaustursumboð 1677 eða 1678 fyrir tilstilli föður síns en dó í embætti 26 ára. Í úttektinni er nefndur „einn kertahjálmur í Miðkórnum með níu liljum, vænn og vel umvendaður“ sem er sagður gjöf Þorleifs Kortssonar og konu hans Ingibjargar Jónsdóttur til kirkjunnar á Þingeyrum „í minning þess blessaða manns Jóns sáluga Þorleifssonar“ (2v). Á blaði 4v er vísað til ástands Fiskaskemmunnar „þá Hr. Þorleifur við tók“. Af því virðist mega ráða að sá „fyrri reikningsskapur“, sem nefndur er á blaði 2v, sé frá þeim tíma er Þorleifur Kortsson kom að Þingeyrum 1663. Sú úttekt hefur ekki fundist. Giska má á að engin úttekt hafi verið gerð á Þingeyraklaustri þegar Jón Þorleifsson tók við umboðinu um 1677/1678. Slíkar úttektir voru reikningsskil gamals umboðshaldara gagnvart nýjum sem hafa þá sennilega ekki þótt nauðsynleg þegar svo skyldir aðilar áttu í hlut.

Úttektarmennirnir 1684 eru nafngreindir og votta skjalið með undirskriftum sínum. Alþingisskrifariinn Árni Geirsson afritaði frumskjalið skömmu síðar og dagsetti uppskrift sína í Snóksdal 6. nóvember 1684. Úttektinni hefur fylgt kvittunarbréf á dönsku frá Lárusi Gottrup til Þorleifs Kortssonar, dagsett 1. júní 1685, til staðfestingar greiðslu hans við afhendingu Þingeyraumboðs. Umboðsmenn áttu að varðveita eigur staðarins óskertar og greiddu uppbót/ábót fyrir rýrnun þeirra. Nítján árum

52 *Annálar 1400–1800* II (1927–32), 459 (*Kjósaramáll* við 1682): „Deyði Jón Þorleifsson á Þingeyrum, er það klaustur hafði fest að föður sínum lifandi.“ Í athugasemd neðanmáls skrifar Hannes Þorsteinsson: „Í isl. ártíðarskrám bls. 194, 217 er Jón talinn látinn 25. febr. 1682, en 4. marz í Vallaannál (I, 393), og eru hvortveggi góðar heimildir, þótt ekki beri saman um dánardaginn, en dánarárið er með vissu 1682.“

síðar þótti afrit Árna Geirssonar (d. 1695) orðið „lasið“ og sums staðar ef til vill erfitt aflestrar (sbr. orðalagið „eftir því næst úrráðið og aðkomist verður“). Eftir því var þá gert nýtt afrit að Geirröðareyri, 30. júní 1703, og var afritarinn Guðmundur Þorleifsson „riki“, bróðir Jóns klausturhaldara. Guðmundur hefur að því er virðist einnig verið viðstaddur úttektargjörðina 1684 enda eru á einum stað hafðar eftir honum upplýsingar um kúgildi á jörðum klaustursins (1r). Afrit Guðmundar er á fimm blöðum og einum seðli sem geymir afrit af kvittun Lárusar. Frumritið og afrit Árna Geirssonar eru nú talin glötuð en afrit Guðmundar er varðveitt í Skjalasafni umboðanna, í þeirri öskju sem áður getur, auk annars afrits á tíu blöðum frá hendi óþekktks skrifara er virðist gert eftir afriti Guðmundar. Nafnlausu afritið hefur nokkuð lakari texta en setur efnið stundum fram með skýrari hætti. Textinn að neðan byggir á afriti Guðmundar Þorleifssonar en við aflestur og frágang var höfð hliðsjón af hinu afritinu og sums staðar til hagræðis líkt eftir framsetningu þess.

Giska má á að Guðmundur Þorleifsson hafi gert afrit sitt fyrir Árna Magnússon og Pál Vidalín þegar þeir unnu að Jarðarbók yfir Ísland.<sup>53</sup> Þeir hafi komist að því að hann átti frumritið frá föður sínum og beðið hann um afrit fyrir skjalasafn jarðarbókarinnar. Varðveisla úttektarinnar 1684 er þá enn eitt dæmið af óteljandi um afrek þessara manna á sviði skjalavarðveislu.

Úttektin 1704, sem efnt hefur verið til seint í marsmánuði það ár, er sannarlega gerð vegna beiðni frá Árna og Páli sem unnu að jarðarbókinni sem erindrekar konungs. Henni fylgir ekki verðmat á húsunum ólíkt úttektinni 1684 sem var liður í fjármálauppgjöri milli gamals og nýs umboðsmanns klaustursins. Skjalið er sýnilega frumskjal með varðveittum innsiglium matsmanna að undanskildu einu innsigli sem rifnað hefur af. Matsmennirnir eru heimamenn á Þingeyrum eða menn að öðru leyti tengdir klausturhaldaranum Lárusi Gottrup lögmanni norðan og vestan á Íslandi. Sýslumaðurinn Jens Spendrup (1680–1735) hafði fengist við kaupmennsku á Íslandi.<sup>54</sup> Árið 1704 var hann ungur og líklega skjólstaðingur Gottrups lögmanns. Sigurður Einarsson (um 1672–1748) var lögsagnari Gottrups í Húnavatnsþingi til 1704.<sup>55</sup> Andrés Þorsteinsson

53 Sbr. *Annálar 1400–1800 I* (1922–27), 678 (Annáll Páls Vidalíns við 1703).

54 Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstímum til ársloka 1940 V* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1952); III (1950), 17.

55 *Íslenzkar æviskrár IV*, 216.

var vinnumaður á Þingeyrum, sagður 29 ára í Manntalinu 1703.<sup>56</sup> Jón Helgason er í sama manntali sagður ráðsmaður á Þingeyrum, 44 ára að aldri. Af undirskriftum þeirra sést að þeir eru óvanir skriftum. Heldur æfðari er hönd Hans Andersen sem í Manntalinu er kallaður „farver fra Danmark“, 31 árs að aldri. Þátttaka hans í úttektinni skýrir án efa hve vandlega er greint frá hvað er málað og með hverju. Andreas Johansen er ekki að finna í Manntalinu né annars staðar og getur hafa verið nýkominn til Þingeyraklausturs. Af nafninu að dæma hefur hann ekki verið íslenskur.

Í Skjalasafni umboðanna er einnig að finna *Inventarium* yfir Þingeyraklaustur, samantekið og undirskrifað af Lárusi Gottrup sjálfum, dagsett 10. júní 1704. Það er sagt gert fyrir erindreka konungs, Árna Magnússon og Pál Vídalín, að beiðni landfógetans Kristófers Heidemans. Rithöndin á báðum skjölum virðist vera sú sama. Þótt skriftin líkist rithönd lögmannsins sjálfs í undirskrift hans er málið á því skjali svo danskt að ólíklegt má teljast að Gottrup sjálfur sé skrifari úttektarinnar, sem er á óbjagaðri og villulausri íslensku. Líklegra virðist að einhver Íslendingur, heimamaður á Þingeyrum, hafi skrifað úttektina. Skriftin er vel æfð, skýr og stafsetningin sjálfri sér samkvæm. Af þeim tæplega fjörutíu sálum sem skráðar eru til heimilis að Þingeyraklaustri í Manntalinu 1703, flest íslenskt vinnufólk, virðist klausturpresturinn Þorvarður Pétursson (um 1675–1707) líklegastur til að hafa verið skrifari lögmannsins. Hann er sagður hafa *Studii Camers* á loftinu í syðri enda Stóra skála. Sr. Þorvarður kom að Þingeyrum 1702 og kvæntist árið eftir danskri þjónustustúlku frá Kaupmannahöfn sem var í þjónustu Gottrupshjónanna. Hann dó í bólusóttinni sem gekk yfir landið á árunum 1707–1709.<sup>57</sup>

Fyrsta blað úttektarinnar er dekkra en hin og hefur líklega legið efst í skjalabunka og hlífðarlaust. Skjalið er annars vel varðveitt og auðlesíð í heild sinni. Þó hefur brotnað úr pappírnum í kjölinn á nokkrum stöðum og þar vantar á stöku stað bókstafi, þótt yfirleitt megi ráða í hvað vanti með nokkurri vissu. Blaðsíðutali er bætt við textann í hornklofum (t.d. svo: [3r]). Stafsetning og greinarmerkjasetning eru færð til nútímahorfs til að auðvelda lesturinn en áhugaverðar orðmyndir varðveittar. Farið er með heiti einstakra húsa og húshluta sem nöfn og þau skrifuð með stórum

56 *Manntal á Íslandi árið 1703, tekið að tillutun Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalín, ásamt Manntali 1729 í þrem sýslum* (Reykjavík: Hagstofa Íslands, 1924–47), 262–63.

57 *Íslenskar aviskrár* V, 256.



upphafsstaf en skáletruð þar sem þau koma fyrst fyrir. Viðbætur orða eða orðhluta eru innan oddklofa (<...>).

## Úttekt Þingeyraklausturs 1684

Þjóðskjalasafn. Skjalasafn umboðanna. Þingeyraklaustur VII, 2  
[fimm blöð í arkarbroti, einn seðill].

[1r]

ANNO 1684, þann 22. ágúst, að Þingeyraklaustri í Vatnsdal vorum vér undirskrifaðir menn, nefndir af göfugum fyrrum lögmanni Þorleifi Kortsyni, ásamt velöktuðum Lauritz Christianssyni Gottrup Þingeyraklausturs forvaltara að meta og álíta eftirskrifaða klaustursins *inventarii* peninga.

### Í fyrstu heima afhent.

1. Kýr svartskjöldótt, ung og veltennt	gild
2. Svört, lágtent	gild
3. Svört, kinnótt með dregna tönn	10 vetra
4. Svartdröfnótt, ung	gild
5. Úrótt, roskin og væn	10 vetra
6. Rauðhelsótt, væn	10 vetra
7. Rauðkinnótt, ung	gild
8. Hvítdröfnótt	þrevetur
9. Svartskjöldótt, að öðrum kálfi	gild
10. Rauðskjöldótt, ung	gild
11. Svarthelsótt, ung	gild
12. Rauðkrúnótt, ung	gild
13. Svartskjöldótt	gild
14. Svört, væn, roskin	gild
15. Hvít, rauðdröfnótt, ung	gild

### Item ásauður heima afhentur

Ær	tvevetra	22	
	þrevetra	28	
	4 vetra	50	
	gamlar	19	<i>Summa</i> 119

## Í Hnausum afhentar kýr

1. Rauðskjöldótt, gild	6 vetra
2. Rauðhelsótt, gild	7 vetra
3. Rauð kýr, roskin	– “ –
4. Svört, hornótt, roskin	– “ –
5. Rauðskjöldótt, hyrnd, gild	– “ –
6. Svartskjöldótt, roskin, tímabær	– “ –
7. Svartskjöldótt, gild	– “ –
8. Hvít, rauð á eyrum, gild	– “ –
9. Gráskjöldótt, gild	– “ –
10. Hvít, rauð á eyrum, gild	– “ –
11. Svört kýr, gild	– “ –
12. Rauðhelsótt, gild	– “ –
13. Svartskjöldótt, gild	– “ –
14. Svarthryggjótt	– “ –
15. Rauðfleckótt	5 vetra

## Item þessi ásauður þar

Ær	tvevetra	51	
	þrevetra	27	
	4 vetra	37	<i>Summa</i> 115

Hér að auk tilsegir Guðmundur Þorleifsson, að á núbyggðum eyðijörðum ásamt öðrum lögbýlisjörðum klaustursins núverandi séu kúgildi 31, nefnilega kýr 11 og ásauður 1, sem í heimaklaustursins kúgildatölu afhendast eiga til þeirra uppfyllingar.

## Item í sama sinn hér heima afhentir

	<i>Hundruð / Álnir</i>
Klifberar á 7 hesta, virtir	17 ½
2 hrífur sem Lauritz Hansson meðtekið hefur, item 5 klárur, 4 orf og 1 klaufhamar, 3 nafrar, 1 laðar- stúfur, fánýtur með tveimur götum, 1 skeifnabor, 1 öxi, forn, 1 brithögg, 1 hornasög, 1 trésög með eina tönn úr brotna; allt	32
[1v] Torfskeri, torfljár og páll	14
Kláfur og torfkrókar	8
Torfhríp	12

	Hundruð /Álnir	
Sexæringssegl af vaðmáli og einskeftu, brúkanlegt og bætt		30
5 ljáir, 2 af þeim nýir, 2 brýni sem Lauritz og svo meðtekið hefur; laxanet að lengd vel 13½ faðmur, vel brúkanlegt og fiskheldið, nær 40 möskva djúp 3 færi ný, af þeim 2 dönsk og eitt þýskt		33
½ fjórðungur notgarns		45
Item 20 trog, strokkur einn		70
4 fötur, gagnlegar		18
Smákeröld 10		35
Kerald, tekur undir 2 tunnur, með 5 gjörðum, nýtt		30
Kerald með skyr, meinast taka 4 tunnur		50
Item kerald, tekur undir 2 tunnur, og ein skyrgrind		38
Nýr ketill, vegur 24 merkur		100
Annar gamall og einn lítill, báðir brúkanlegir, vógu til samans 46 merkur, virtir	1	40
Silungavarpa, 10 faðma löng, brúkanleg		[?]
3 borðdúkar af stóra lérefiti, heilir og vel brúkanlegir, fjórði gamall og bættur en þó brúkanlegur, allir tilsamans virtir		26
Ein tveggja potta kanna og 2 merkur könnur, allar gamlar en þó brúkanlegar, 4 tinföt brúkanleg, eitt af þeim nærri nýtt; þetta tin alt til samans að vigt 31 mörk, að verðaurum		80
Ein koparkanna loklaus, að vigt 20 merkur, verðið		30
10 tréskerborð, brúkanleg, og stór trékanna, fín: item 6 tréföt brúkanleg; virt til samans		23
8 hornspænir, allir vel brúkanlegir		6
½ vættar tréreisla með hlekkjum og steinlóði, virt		10
Járnpundari, vel smíðaður með koparlóði		4 ½ ríxdl.
Járnrist nýtanleg með einum fæti af brenndum		4
Ein munnlaug, sterk og heil, stór		10
2 hndr. álnir vaðmáls, með þeim nýju sem Lauritz Hanson meðtekið hefur	5	
Ein uxahúð, vó 26 merkur		20
Laurits Hanson (hefur) meðtekið 3 húðarskinn slæm, ólarreipi á 7 hesta þar ofan á lögð, hörbandsreipi á 6 hesta, öll til samans virt.....		22 ½

Þetta í búi af búsgögnum og *inventario*

Hundruð /Álnir

1 kerald með skyr, meinast taki 3 tunnu(r), fullt undir efstu gjörð; annað með skyr tekur vel 2 tunnur, bæði væn og sterk með sömu fyllingu; þriðja tekur 3 tunnur með skyr, nær undir efstu gjörð, vænlegt, vantar tvær gjarðir; fjórða 4 tunna kerald með skyr, áður í reikning komið og virt, og eiga þessi öll klaustrinu að fylgja.		
Í fremra búi tveggja tunna kerald með skyr, nýtilegt, og á það líka klaustrinu að fylgja. <i>In summa</i> : 12 tunnur skyr, keröldin virt.....	1	15
Fimm tunna kerald klaustrinu afhent, fyrir utan skyrið virt		80
Enn nú tveggja tunnu ker, tóm		15
Item eitt kerald í Borðhúsi með 5 gjörðum, nýtt, tóm, áður virt og afhent; fyrir utan skyrið virt.....		80
Item tveggja tunna kerald, tóm, lekur um einn staf; item í Eldhúsi 2 tunnu keröld tóm og ný, þessi til samans virt....		36
9 Keröld <i>in summa</i>		
Trog 24, flestöll ný, og sorptrog þrjú – áður afhent 20		48
Einn strokkur, gamall og gagnlegur, tvær fötur og eitt fötukerald		30
Drykkjartunna í Eldhúsi, tillátin, og ein tóm brauðtunna, fyrir þrjá háltunnu[2r]stampa, ein skyrgrind, uppgerðakeröld tvö, og eitt stærra og tvær fötur fyrir kerald, óvirt; tveggja fjórðunga ketill með brotnu eyra og brákuðum botni.		
Annar fjögurra fjórðunga ketill, nær nýr; þriðji lítill vel brúkanlegur, allir að vigt hálf vætt; virtir....	1 12 aurar	
Fjórði gamall, bættur, vó 2 fjórðunga, virtur		35
Fjögur málpottabrot óbrúkanleg, óvirt. Eitt afgangalt stokkhró, fullur með smjör, til sagt muni taka 10 vættir, en hvort á vantar eða yfir hefur, er kosin forlíkun, tillátnir nú og fyrri, tíu sauðir af kjötum, item kýrfall, og eitt gamalt minnis horn.		
Rúmföt með klaustrinu úttekin		
Ein fiðursæng með fornu vaðmálsveri		40
Seglléftshægindi með dún		20

	Hundruð /Álnir
Item fornt vaðmálshægindi, lítið með ull; virt	2 fjórð.
Þrjár grasdýnur fornar, þó brúkanlegar, fjórða í Hnausum tillsögð; þrjár rekkjuvoðir nýjar tilláttnar, og sjö fornar, eitt brekán fornt, virt til samans.....	65
Tvennir ullarkambar með járnkembum	12
Hákarlasókn með skinnvað að lengd 40 faðmar (þar til lofað 20 föðmum vaðs)	45
Item tilláttnir einir smiðjubelgir, töng, járnstykki brúkað fyrir steðja, hamar og sleggja með klofnum skalla, sem ei kunnum virða þar ei sáum; einn gamall strokkur, fánýtur, einir ketilkrókar, afhentir; baðstofutjald að lengd álnir 3 kvartel, breidd vel alin, með svartri kross- saums útrenslu; virt.....	10
Stofutjald ofið, að lengd vart 18 álnir, breidd vel alin 3 kvartel; virt	80
Lestatjald gamalt, í sumar tillátið, nú slitið og rifið; vef- staður alfær	15
Kista í stofu, gömul með hespu	10

Item í Hnausum vísað til 10 troga, smárra uppgerðarkeralda tíu og einnar skyrgrindar, fyrir barinn og óbarinn fisk tilláttnar 9 vættir og 1 fjórðungur. Hestar afhentir, *in summa* ungir og miðaldra níu. Item roskinn einn og tíu hross með fjórum folöldum; hey heima á klaustrinu 5 faðmar tilláttnir, meiripartur taða en úthey. Item 4 faðmar með útheyi, tekið fyrir 9½ útheys faðm og tvo töðu faðma sem klaustrinu á að fylgja.

ANNO 1684, þann 21. september, vorum vér eftirskrifaðir menn, tilnefndir af Hans Kongl. Majestets assessor in Commerce Collegio og landfógeta yfir Íslandi Hr. Christofor Heidemann, Jón Sigurðsson, Þorsteinn Benediktsson sýslumenn, Árni Geirsson landskrifari, Guðmundur Jónsson, Jón Jónsson lögréttumenn, Illugi Jörundsson, Sigurður Jónsson og Hákon Jónsson hreppstjórar, að uppskrifa og vúrdera Þingeyraklausturs kirkju, einnig hennar *ornamenta* að yfirlíta, hver til forvaringar meðtók kirkjunnar djákni Páll Jónsson, og svo voru ásigkomin sem eftir fylgir:

1. Einn hökull af bláu flaeli með baldýruðu silkitaui, kross á baki og lista í fyrir. Annar hökull af kamloti (kölluðu) með kross á baki og baldýruðu silkitaui. Þriðji hökull af þrykktu lérefsti með baldýruðum gömlum krossi í bakið, blátt léreftsfóður undir. Fjórði hökull af lérefsti með rauðum krossi á bakið og lista í fyrir, hann með gati en þó brúkanlegur.

2. Rykkilín gamalt, þó vænt og vel brúkanlegt. Í einum stað þarf aðbót. Annað rykkilín gamalt, þó fínt með rauðu flauelsstykki niður við faldinn í bak og fyrir, einnig á ermunum. Þriðja [2v] rykkilín, brúkanlegt þó gamalt. Fjórða nær ónýtt með mörgum bótum. Ítem eitt slitur af blámerkту lérefsti og annað slitur af kórkápu (af dúklérefsti).

3. Altarisbrún með 15 skjöldum, og einum brotnum, af gylltu silfri. Önnur altarisbrún silkidregin með léreftsfóðri. Hin þriðja slitur, saumað, ónýtt. Ein lítil steintafla með léreftsklút ofan yfir. Innsaumað silki í hornin.

4. Einn silfurkaleikur með patínu, gylltur, gamall, þó vænn. Aðrir þrír silfurkaleikar með patínum, allir lappaðir; einn af þeim lekur. Lítið tin-staup þar með fylgjandi.

5. Fjórar koparpípur, ein af þeim lítið löppuð, fimmta með skildi innsett á þil hjá predikunarstól. Einn kertahaldur nýr með tveimur pípum og vel brotnu verki, í kórstaf settur; hann til kirkjunnar lagður í stað hjámbrots og klukku sem í fyrra reikningsskap umgetur.

6. Lítið skírnarfát af leir, tvenn bakstursjárn, önnur með gati, þó brúkanleg. Ein skriðbytta brákuð. Skrúðastokkur gamall og lamalaus að fornu, lítið járnbundinn. Einn rotinn og rifinn grillari, einnig Biblía sem í umbót fyrir norðan er, mjög lasin. Tvær klukkur í klukknaporti, báðar vænar. Fjórar klukkur brotnar og rifnar með höldunum afstokknum. Einn kertahjálmur í Miðkórnum með níu liljum, vænn og vel umvendaður, hvern þau göfugu hjón Hr. Þorleifur Kortsson og Ingibjörg Jónsdóttir gefa kirkjunni í minning þess blessaða manns Jóns sáluga Þorleifssonar. *Klukknaportið* fínt með lítilfjörlegt súðpak með fjórum stöplum, slám og syllum. Virt 60 álnum.

7. *Kirkjan* á hæð 13 álnir 3 kvartel, eins á breidd, 14 álnir og ½ að lengd. Tíu stöplar í framkirkjunni á hæð hver um sig 8 ½ alin, útbrotastöplar tíu, hver um sig á hæð 4 álnir og 3 kvartel. Fimm bitar undir sperrum, fjórar höggsperrur með skambbitum, reisiþil og súð í rjáfri, þrjú langbönd hvers vegar undir mænitróðu, standþil undir efri syllum og neðri, það laslegt á

syðri síðu. Sex bitar í útbrotum undir sperrum, átta höggsperrur, er sitt langband hvers vegar, þar yfir reisipil og súð að utan. Einlægt standpil undir útbrotasyllum, víða laskað, aurslár að sunnanverðu, nýlega í látnar, norðanfram fyrri; í þriðja stafgólfi moskað. Að framanverðu þil efra og neðra með einni slá og einum skambbita löppuðum. Hurð á trévöltum vel umvenduð með skrá og lykli og lítilfjörlegum koparhring; þilið framan víða lasið. Lausar fjalir í gólfi, fánýtar og laus slá. Virt 35 hndr. með grenistoðum sem kirkjuna að utan styðja.

8. *Kórinn* að lengd 10 álnir 1 kvartel, hæðin 11 álnir 3 kvartel, breiddin vel 13 álnir 3 kvartel. Stöplar fjórir hvers vegar, bitar fjórir undir sperrum, þrjár höggsperrur með skambbitum og þrjú langbönd um hvers vegar. Loft með hvelfingum undir, áður kallað *Pulpitu*.<sup>58</sup> Með reisipili á báðum útbrotum, fánýtu. Standpil á millum syllna hífra [þ.e. þaðan frá], laslegt að sunnan, norðan vænlegra. Reisipil í rjáfri og súð að utan, hvort tveggja vænlegt. Tvær litlar stúkur sín hvoru megin með slæmu reisipili og súð utan á. Stöplar og standpil sunnan fram mjög fánýtt en norðan fram nokkuð skárra. Stöplar þar þrír, fánýtir. Virtur 16 hndr.

9. *Innri kór* að lengd vel 7 álnir, hæð 8 álnir, breiddin 7 álnir. Sex stafir undir bitum og sperrum, tvennar höggsperrur og langbönd tvö hvers vegar mænitróða, þil að framan efra og neðra með dróttum og dyrastöfum. Altarið með tveimur gráðum og góðum umbúningi og sæmilegu fjalagólfi. Glergluggar fimm í kór og kirkju, [3r] þrír af þeim laslegir. Kórinn virtur 8 hndr.

Altarisbrík af alabastri, í sumum stöðum brákuð. Predikunarstóll vel sæmlegra umvendaður.

*Summa*, kirkjan að öllu milli gafls og gátta, fráteknum hennar framan-skrifuðum *ornamentis*, að virðingu 58 hundruð og 10 aurar. Hennar uppbót *in summa* 33 hndr.

Til merkis vorar handskriftir í sama stað, ári og mánuði sem fyrr segir:

(Undirskrifuð nöfn)

58 *Pulpitu* (ýmis önnur form eru þekkt í dönsku, s.s. *pulpitur* og *poppeltur*) er dregið af miðaldalatinu *pulpitum* og vísar til skilrúms milli kórs og kirkjuskipsins í miðaldakirkjum með lofti eða svölum. Skilrúmið átti að greina að helgasta hluta kirkjunnar, innri kórinn með háaltarinu, frá rými leikmanna utar í kirkjunni og af svölunum gátu klerkar lesið og sungið fyrir söfnuðinn. Hvelfingarnar hafa verið undir loftsvölunum.

Jón Sigurðsson	Jón Jónsson mpp	Þorsteinn Benediktsson
Árni Geirsson meh		
Illugi Jörundsson eh	Sigurður Jónsson	Jón Eyjólfsson
	meh	Guðmundur Jónsson mpp
		Hákon Jónsson meh

Anno 1684, þann 20. og 22. september, voru af oss fyrrskrifuðum, tilnefndum mönnum Þingeyraklausturs hús sem *Inventarium* (óúttekin) yfir skoðuð, álitin og virt sem eftir fylgir:

1. *Suðurdyr* að framanverðu með sex stöfum undir syllum, fjórum bitum undir sperrum, sitt langband hvers vegar, með reisipili og mænitróðu, dróttum, dyrastöfum, hurð á járnum. Plássíð þar innar frá milli Borðhúss og Langabúrs með raft við mænitróðu og tveimur langböndum á hverja hlið. Virt 80 álnum, uppbót þar til 10 aurar.

2. *Langabúrið* að lengd 27 álnir, breidd 8 álnir, hæðin vel 8 álnir, með átta bitum og átta stöfum undir syllum hvorum megin, tvennum langböndum á hvora síðu, áfellum, mænitróðu og vænum raftvið. Þil með hurðum fyrir báðum stöfnum ofan og neðan bita með dróttum og dyrastöfum. Virt 5 hndr., álagið 15 aurar.

3. *Borðhúsið* að lengd vel 10 álnir, breiddin 5 álnir. Tíu stafir undir syllum, fjórir bitar undir dvergum og hliðásum, fimm vaglar undir mænitróðu. Þil undir bita að framanverðu með dróttum, dyrastöfum og hurð á járnum. Virt 11 álnir, þess uppbót 1 hndr.

4. *Eldhús* vart 18 álnir á lengd, breidd vel 7 álnir, með tólf stöfum undir syllum, hliðásum, vöglum og sex bitum; með standþili, bjórþili og hurð á járnum, dróttum og dyrastöfum. Húsið alt vænt og vel stæðilegt. Önnur hurð fyrir eldhúsdyrum sem inn í bæinn liggja með dróttum og dyrastöfum. Húsið allt virt 5 hndr., uppbót þar til 50 álnir.

5. *Eldiviðarhús* þar innar af, mjög gamalt með tveimur bitum, sex stöfum annars vegar undir syllum, en annars vegar kunnum ei vel til að sjá sökum þrengsla af eldivið. Brúnásar báðum megin með sjö stöfum undir. Raftviður sumpart og máttartré nýtilegt. Hurð fyrir útidyrum, veggir mjög slæmir. Húsið virt 12 aurum, þess uppbót 3 hndr.

6. *Göng þar frá til Eldhúss*, innfallin að öðrum vegg, með syllum, bitum og þremur sperrum, fjórum stöfum. Virt 12 álnum, uppbót 10 álnir. *Göng*



frá Eldhúsi með tíu stöfum undir syllum, fimm bitum, vöglum og mænitróðu, vel stæðileg efra og neðra. Virt 20 álnum, ábótin 10 álnir.<sup>59</sup>

7. *Göng frá Anddyrum til Lönguganga* með sjö stöfum undir syllum, fjórum bitum, dvergum, mænitróðu og sæmilegum raftvið. Virt 10 aura, álag 20 álnir.

8. *Löngugöngin*, þeirra lengd 42 ½ alin, breidd 2 ½ alin, með tuttugu og sex stöfum undir syllum, þrettán bitum, auknum syllum sums staðar, brotnum sperrum og langböndum lítilfjörlegum, raftvið finum víða, þó sums staðar fáreft, fúíð og innbrotið. Veggir fyrir utan einar 10 álnir gamlir og slæmir. Virt 1 hndr., uppbotin 2 hndr.

9. *Búr* að lengd 8 álnir og kvartel, á breidd vel 6 álnir, með sex stöfum og syllum annars vegar, þremur bitum og þremur vöglum, brúnásam, mænitróðu og mjög fúnnum raftvið. Einn biti lamaður með staf undir. Veggir mjög laslegir og gamlir. Húsið virt 50 álnir, þess uppbot 1 hndr., 60 álnir.

10. *Fremrabúr*, þess lengd 14 álnir 3 kvartel, breidd 6 álnir. Tveir stafir undir syllum og veggglægjum með fjórum bitum, [3v] hliðásam, vöglum og mænitróðu. Raftviðurinn sums staðar nýtilegur, víða þó mjög innfallinn, veggir óduganlegir.

11. *Göng* þar fram frá með tveimur stafgólfum, veggglægjum, fjórum stöfum og mænitróðu, nýtilegum raftvið, hurð fyrir á járnum. Til samans virt 15 aurum, uppbotin 2 hndr.

12. *Stórabaðstofa* að lengd 15 álnir, að breidd 6 ½ alin, hæð 6 ½ alin. Sextán stafir undir syllum, fjórir bitar undir sperrum, höggsperrur fjórar. Skammsperrur einar, tvönn langbönd hvorum megin margaukin, raftviður forn í rjáfri, brotin sylla og flestur viður fánýtur. Sinn pallur hvorum megin, hápallur á bita hinn þriðji í einu stafgólfi. Með hurð á járnum, dróttum og dyrastöfum. Húsið *in summa* virt 3 hndr., uppbotin 9 hndr.

13. *Barnahús* að lengd 6 álnir, að breidd 2 ½ alin. Sjö stafir undir syllum, þrjár bitar undir sperrum, sitt langband hvors vegar og mænitróða. Þil í rjáfri, rúm með palli í einu stafgólfi, þar fyrir dyrastafir með drótt, þiljað fremra stafgólf að mestu á báðar síður. Dyrastafir fyrir framan, hurð á járnum með klinku, þrjár fjalir beggja megin dyrastafa. Húsið sterkt og stæðilegt, virt 2 hndr., ábætislaust.

59 Hér eru talin tvönn göng saman, ein stutt (fjórir stafir, tveir bitar) frá Eldiviðarhúsi til Eldhússins og önnur lengri (tíu stafir, 5 bitar) út úr Eldhúsinu (en hvert?). Þau eru verðmetin hver í sínu lagi en bæði talin undir 6. lið.

14. *Húskofi* fyrir framan Stórubaðstofu. Virtur 30 álnum, uppbót 1 hndr.

15. *Göng millum Stórubaðstofu og Nýjubaðstofu* að lengd vel 20 álnir. Með þrettán stöfum, fimm sperrum, sex bitum, langböndum sínu á hvora hlið. Með innföllnum og fánýtum raftvið, sums staðar tilgenginn, með gömlum og geltum veggjum. Virt 35 álnum, uppbótin 1 hndr. 80 álnir.

16. *Nýjubaðstofa* á breidd 6 álnir, lengd 10 ½ alin, á hæð 6 álnir og kvartel. Með afþiljuðu einu stafgólfi. Reisiþil í rjáfri, gamalt og moskað. Standþil allt í kring, utan í einu stafgólfi annars vegar. Með tveimur bitum og sperrum á lofti, tvenn langbönd á hverja síðu, fóðruðum bekk, borði, stólum og forsæti; með tveimur hurðum á járnum. Tveir glergluggar heilir að mestu. Tröppur undir borði og fjalagólf í húsinu, víða að veggjum tilgengið og hrörlegt. Virt 3 hndr., uppbótin 3 hndr.

17. *Hús innar af Baðstofunni* alþiljað með nýjum fjalavið í rjáfri, einum bita á lofti, fjalagólfi og vænni hurð. Að lengd vart 5 álnir, breiddin 3 álnir. Virt 110 álnum.

18. *Norðurdyr frá Baðstofunni* að lengd 11 álnir, breidd 2 álnir og kvartel. Með fimm sperrum, bitum, syllum og þili undir bita og í rjáfrinu, nema nokkuð úr fallið á hurðarbaki við útidyr; þar með þili framan undir og hurð á járnum og önnur fyrir innri dyrum. Virt 110 álnir, uppbótin 50 álnir.

19. *Kjallarahús* þriggja stafgólfa með átta stöfum og fjórum bitum, að viðum og veggjum lasið og lítillfjörlegt; með hurð á járnum, dróttum og skrá og dyrastöfum. Virt 25 álnir, uppbótin 50 álnir.

20. *Stórastofan* að lengd 20 álnir, breidd vel 8 álnir, á hæð vel 8 álnir. Með fjórtán stöfum, undirsettum beggja vegna, sjö bitum og sjö sperrum, þremur langböndum hvorum megin, bjórþili á einum bita. Fyrir innan tvö stafgólf, þil framan undir efra og neðra með dróttum, dyrastöfum og hurð með skrá á járnum. Stofan þiljuð efra og neðra að tveimur stafgólfum fráskildum, þau með raftvið í rjáfri. Item fyrir framan háborðsstæði þiljað undir bita með fjölum og tralverki. Hurð fyrir á járnum. Fóðraðir bekkir umhverfis, háborðið með fóðruðum skörum. Sex borð í stofunni með bekkjum og forsætum að fremsta stafgólfi. Þeir glergluggar, einn af þeim laskaður og sá fjórði brotinn. Stofan virt 8 hndr. Uppbótin 10 hndr.[4r]

21. *Fyrir framan stofudyr*, sem svarar einu stafgólfi, þiljað uppi og niðri með þremur langböndum hvors vegar og langbekk 4 ½ alin. Virt 12 aurum, uppbót 25 álnir.

22. *Klefi út úr stofum* á hurðarbaki, kominn að falli, fylgir stofunni til uppbotar.

23. *Kakalofnsbaðstofa* vart 11 álnir á lengd, breidd 4 álnir og eitt kvartel, 5 álnir, 3 kvartel á hæð. Með fóðruðum bekk, borði og stólum, fjalagólfi og tröppum. Pallur öðrumegin með tveimur skörum, rúmstæði upp af pallinum. Fánýtur kakalofn og tveir glergluggar lasnir og lítilfjörlegir. Hurð fyrir baðstofunni á járnum með klinku, dróttum og tvennum dyrastöfum. Húsið þiljað umhverfis með nokkrum hillum, allt stæðilegt að vorum sjónum. Virt 4 hndr.

24. *Göng frá Kakalofnsbaðstofu* fram að Anddyrum nýlega uppgjörð með nýjum vegg fyrir sunnan fram og sjö stöfum, sjö bitum og sjö sperrum, með fjalvið í rjáfri; með öllu vel stæðileg. Norðan fram í göngunum gamalt þil undir syllu frá klefadyrum og fram um Sængurstofu allt að Anddyrum, sæmilegt. Virt 80 álnum.

25. *Stóriskáli* sjö stafgólfa, vel 20 álna lengdin, 7 álnir og 3 kvartel á breidd, hæðin 7 álnir 3 kvartel. Með átta stöfum hvorum megin undir syllum, átta bitum undir sperrum, þremur langböndum hvers vegar; fjalpak í rjáfri og mænitróðu. Tólf sængur í skálanum alþiljaðar með rúmstokkum, brikum, stöfum og skörum, þar í tvær lokrekkjur og tvö lausarúm innar við. Það stafgölf undir bita og umkring óþiljað. Þil framanundir skálanum, fyrir ofan og neðan bita, með hurð á járnum, dróttum og dyrastöfum. Virtur 15 hndr., en uppbotin 15 aurar fyrir þilbrest í innsta stafgólfi og veggjahrörnun.

26. *Prestaskáli* að lengd  $9\frac{1}{2}$  alin, breidd  $7\frac{1}{2}$  alin, hæðin 7 álnir og 1 kvartel. Með tveimur bitum á lofti og sjö sængum, þar í tvær lokrekkjur með fóðruðum skörum. Húsið vænt og víða sterkt, þó tilgengið og gamalt; með þili framan undir, hurð á járnum og skrá, dróttum og dyrastöfum. Virt 6 hndr., ábotin 2 hndr.

27. *Sængurstofan* að lengd 9 álnir, hæð 6 álnir, breidd 4 álnir 3 kvartel. Með átta stöfum undir syllum, fjórum bitum undir sperrum, tveimur langböndum auknum hvorum megin, fjalpaki, ræfri; standþil og bjórþil fyrir báðum stöfnum. Einnig (með) standþili undir syllum. Önnur sylla mjög tilgengin og einn stafur. Innihúsið með affúnu bitahöfði og þil þar nálægt úr greypingum. Húsið tilgengið, þó oss lítist víða sterkt. Með vænni stafnsæng, fóðradri skör og tröppum ásamt. Þrjár aðrar sængur með stöplum, rúmstokkum, brikum, skörum. Virt 4 hndr., uppbot 15 aurar. Húsið með dróttum, dyrastokkum og hurð á járnum.

28. *Anddyri* með lofti og þremur bitum undir, lengd 5 álnir og  $\frac{1}{2}$ , breidd vel 7 álnir. Með tveimur syllum slæmum, sex stöfum og fánýtu þili að innanverðu undir. Fjalaloft fint á bitum með þremur sperrum og súðþaki fornu, brostið í mæni. Virt efra og neðra 60 álnir, ábótin 80 álnir.

29. *Karldyr* með fremur stuttum bitum, á lengd vart 4 álnir, og tveimur syllum með sömu lengd, fjórum stöfum og standþili, mjög tilgengnu, skammsyllum, aursyllum, fjalagólfi, dróttum, dyrastöfum og hurð á járnum.

30. *Lítið port* þar upp af með einum sængurstokk og bríkum, hvolfi upp úr og tveimur glergluggum, hurð á járnum með skrá og fódruðum stiga, standþili framan undir og súð þar utan yfir ofan að bita með sínum vind-skeiðum. Það virt 2 hndr., uppbót 15 aurar.

31. *Fiskaskemma* að lengd  $9\frac{1}{2}$  alin, breidd 6 álnir 3 kvartel, [4v] hæð 6 álnir 3 kvartel. Tíu stafir undir bitum og syllum, (með) fjórum sperrum undir tveimur langböndum hvors vegar. Mænitróða, þil fyrir framan, ofan og neðan bita, hurð á járnum, dyrastafir, skrá og hespa fyrir húsinu. Bjórþil aftanvert fyrir ofan bita. Virt 1 hndr. 80 álnir. Þetta hús nær að falli komið þá Hr. Þorleifur við tók.

32. *Annað Skemmuhús* að lengd 9 álnir, breidd 5 álnir og 1 kvartel, hæð  $6\frac{1}{2}$  alin. Átta stafir undir syllum, fjórir bitar undir sperrum, tvö langbönd hvors vegar, og mænitróða. Þil fyrir framan, undir bita, fyrir ofan og neðan. Hurð á járnum með dyrastöfum, hring og hespu. Húsið virt 4 hndr.

33. *Reiðingaskemma* að lengd vel 13 álnir, breidd  $5\frac{1}{2}$  alin, hæð 6 álnir kvartel. Tíu stafir undir syllum, fimm bitar undir sperrum, tvö langbönd hvers vegar og mænitróða. Veggir fánýtir með dróttum, dyrastöfum og hurð á járnum. Húsið virt 80 álnum, uppbót þess 80 álnir.

34. *Smiðjuhús* á hlaðinu, reft um einn mæniás og sinn ás, og um ás á hvorri hlið, með gagnlegum rafti, hurð og dyraumbúningi, langhliðarveggjum stæðilegum, stafnalasið. Virt 25 álnum, ábót 10 álnir.

35. Annað hús, kallað *Gamlasmíðja*, með einum bita, mænitróðu og tveimur langböndum; gagnlegt að raftvið, gafhlað annað lasið. Virt 35 álnum.

36. *Traðarhús*, gjört upp að nýju úr slæmu hesthúsi, með bita, hliðásam og mænitróðu, hurð á járnum með dyraumbúningi, vænt að viðum og veggjum. Virt 80 álnir.

37. *Hesthús* fyrir neðan völlinn með einum bita og stall fyrir gafli, hurð fyrir á járnum. Það virt 35 álnum.

38. *Annað [Hest]hús* reft um einn ás með einni stoð, stallur fyrir gafli, stæðilegt að viðum og veggjum með hurð á járnum og þremur dyrastöfum. Virt 35 álnum.

39. *Tuttugu og fjögurra nauta Fjós* með þrettán stoðum alls og alls undir hliðásum veggglægjur beggja vegna og undir þeim sextán stoðir umhverfis. Sjö bitar undir vöglum og mænitróðu. Húsið vel stæðilegt að viðum og veggjum með hurð á járnum. Virt 3 hndr.

40. *Heyhlaða* þar innar af með sex stoðum undir hliðásum, fánýt og tilgengin að viðum og veggjum, með hurð og dyrastöfum. Virt 80 álnum, uppbót 80 álnir.

41. *Hús fram af Fjósínu* reft um einn ás með tveimur stoðum og sterkum greniraftrið, slæmt að veggjum, með lausri hurð. Virt 35 álnum, uppbótin 20 álnir.

42. *Geldnautafjós* með níu stoðum undir hliðásum og öðrum níu stytum undir veggglægjum. Sex vaglbitar undir mænitróðu. Húsið tilgengið, þó víðast með gagnlegum raftvið, hurð á járnum með dyraumbúningi. Virt 2 hndr., uppbótin 15 aurar.

43. *Stórahesthús* með tveimur bitum á lofti og þremur stoðum undir, dyraumbúningi og hurð á járnum. Virt 100 álnum, uppbót 20 álnir.

44. *Fjárhúsið stærra*. Fjórtán stoðir undir hliðásum; undir fall komið að veggjum og rjáfri. Virt 12 aurum, uppbótin 1 hndr. 5 aurar.

45. *Annað [Fjárhús] minna* með tíu stoðum undir hliðásum margauknum. Virt 100 álnum, þess uppbót 10 aurar.

46. *Brunnhús* reft um einn ás, einn biti með dverg, vænt að viðum og sæmilegt að veggjum. Virt 15 álnum.

Að þetta framan og ofan skrifað svo framfarið hafi vottum <vér> undirskrifaðir á sama ári og mánuði sem fyrr segir.

Að Þingeyrum (Undirskrifuð nöfn)

Jón Sigurðsson,	Hákon Jónsson með eh	Þorsteinn Benediktsson
Jón Eyjólfsson	Sigurður Jónsson meh	Árni Geirsson meh
Illugi Jörundsson eh		Guðmundur Jónsson mpp
		Jón Jónsson mpp

Þetta að vera rétt kópíerað eftir originalnum meðkennir þann 6. nóvember sama árs að Snóksdal,

(Undirskrifað nafn)

Árni Geirsson

[5r]

Að hér framanskrifað á fjórum blöðum viðfestum Þingeyraklausturs inventarii registur, kirkju- og húsaúttekt og uppskrift sé samhljóða þeirri kópíu er hjá mér (með eigin hendi lögþingsskrifarans Árna sáluga Geirssonar) liggur, þó lasin orðin sé, eftir því næst úrráðið og aðkomist varð, kennist undirskrifaður með eigin hendi.

Á Geirröðareyri anno 1703, d. 30. júní,

Guðmundur Þorleifsson

[Á lausu minna blaði með sömu hendi:]

[1v]

Underskreven kendes at have annammet af Hr. lovmand Thorleifur Cortzen, fuldfornøjelig betaling for vis *ábót*, som er pålagt til Tingøre klostets kirke og huses vedligeholdelse, og efter tilnævnte mænds udtægt og vurdering bedrager sig *in alles* efter landets vis 81. hundrede, 45 alen, for hvilke 81 hundrede, 45 alen, så og for en tinkande og 20 alen havkarls vad, som fattes udi klostets *inventario*; i lige måde for klostetsmøret, som udtægten omformelder, er mig fornøjet og afbetalt, hvorfor hermed Hr. lovmand Thorleifur Cortzen tilbørlig kvitteres.

Til vidnesbyrd dette med egen hånd underskrevet Af Tingøre d. 1. juni 1685.

(L.S.) - L. Gottrup

Þetta ofanskrifað er rétt kópía af originalnum, til merkis mitt nafn d. 30. júní anno 1703.

Á Geirröðareyri

Guðmundur Þorleifsson

## Úttekt Þingeyraklausturs 1704

Þjóðskjalasafn. Skjalasafn umboðanna. Þingeyraklaustur VII, 2B  
[9 blöð í arkarbroti]

[1r]

Anno 1704, þann 26. mars, að Þingeyrum, vorum vér undirskrifaðir menn tilkallaðir og beðnir af eðla herra Lauritz Christianssyni Gottrup lögmanni norðan og vestan á Íslandi að skoða og uppskrifa sem og mæling á að leggja Þingeyraklausturs hús og bygging, hver að svo var á sig komin sem eftir fylgir:

1. *Karldýrnar* að þeim íslensku bæjarhúsum, 8 ál. á hæð, á lengd vel 4 ál., á breidd 4 ál. 1 ½ kvart., með sex stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, þremur bitum undir sperrum, langböndum og mænitróðu. Þiljað að framanverðu allt í aurslá með langsettum fjalvið og utan á lögðum listum ofan yfir hvert mót. Ánegldar með járnsaum. Dýrnar eru að utanverðu með útskornum vindskeiðum, stöng og veðurhana upp af; þetta farvað [þ.e. málað] en þilið með listunum allt vel bikað. Á fremra bjórþili dyranna er vænn glergluggi með velvönduðu og förvuðu dragloki af panelverki. Þessar dyr eru byggðar hið efra, alþiljaðar allt um kring með lofti og bjórþili að innan með skralæstri hurð og förvuðum tröppustiga, item þiljaðar hið neðra á báðar hliðar, með fjalviðargólfi og fóðruðum langbekk annars vegar, samt [þ.e. ásamt] velsterkum dyraumbúningi með stórrí hurð á járnum og annarri minni úrskorinni og á járnum, hver að er með járnloku og sterkum hengjum. Aðalhurðin með hespu og kring að utan og tréloku að innan.

2. *Anddyri* innar af með sömu hæð, að lengd 9 ál. 3 kvart., 5 ál. á breidd, með fjórum stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, tveimur bitum á lofti undir sperrum, með langböndum, mænitróðu og reisifjalviðarrjáfri. Í þessum dyrum er og loft að lengd eins og dýrnar.

3. *Göng frá Anddyrum og til Eldhússdyra* að lengd 29 ál. 2 ½ kvart., á breidd 3 ál. 1 ½ kvart. á hæð 5 ál., með [1v] 26 stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, 9 bitum undir sperrum, langböndum, mænitróðu og fjalviðarupprefti.

4. *Stóriskáli* að lengd 22 ½ al., á breidd 7 ál. 3 ½ kvart., á hæð 7 ál. 3 kvart., með sextán stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, níu bitum undir sperrum, þrennum langböndum, mænitróðu og reisifjalvið í rjáfri, þiljaður af þverslám undir syllur á báðar síður, með standþili og bjórþili að framan-

verðu, dróttum, dyrastöfum og hurð á járnum. Í syðri enda skálans eru tvær stafnsængur og þar fyrir framan eru átta bríkarrúm beggja vegna alfær, með slám og stöfum, þar fyrir framan afþiljaðar lokrekkjur, dyr hvors vegar, önnur með hurð á járnum, þar fyrir framan alfær tvö rúm sitt á hverja síðu, með skörum innar í gegn.

5. Í syðri enda þessa húss [þ.e. Stóraskála] er afþiljað loft yfir hálfu öðru stafgólfi velvandað með bjórþili til beggja stafna, með skrálæstri hurð, glerglugga á austursíðu og tröppustiga með tveimur handrimum [þ.e. handriðum] sinni hvors vegar. Þetta er prestsins Studii Camers.

6. Í nyrðri enda skálans [þ.e. Stóraskála] er afþiljað *Loft* yfir einu stafgólfi er djákninn brúkar, alþiljað með bjórþilum, undir fram og til baka, og skrálæstri hurð á járnum og handarhaldsjárni [þ.e. handfangi úr járn]; í þessu Lofti er og glergluggi á austursíðu og rimastigi fyrir.

7. *Prestaskáli* að lengd eitt stafgólf, á breidd 7 ál. 1 kvart. og á hæð 7 ál. með fjórum stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, tveimur bitum undir sperrum, langböndum tvennum, mænitróðu, alþiljað efra og neðra allt í kring með dróttum, dyrastöfum og hurð á járnum. Í húsinu eru tvö alfær bríkarrúm með tvennum skörum.

8. *Borðhús* þar innar af með sömu hæð og breidd sem það, [2r] skemmra, 9 ½ al. að lengd, með sex stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, þremur bitum undir sperrum, tvennum langböndum, mænitróðu og fjalviðarupprefti, með dróttum dyrastöfum og skrálæstri hurð á járnum.

9. *Stórabaðstofa* að lengd 15 ál. 3 kvart., 7 ál. 1 ½ kvart. á hæð og á breidd 6 ½ al. með þrettán stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, fimm bitum undir sperrum, tvennum langböndum og mænitróðu, alþiljuð í rjáfri og einu stafgólfi á báðar síður af slám. Húsið með dróttum, dyrastöfum og hurð á járnum, með járnkljúkku, hespu og kring að framan. Því húsi fylgja tveir pallar vel sterkir með vanalegum umbúningi öðrum.

10. *Matarbúr* á lengd 16 ál. 1 kvart., á hæð 6 ál., á breidd 7 ál. með tólf stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, þremur bitum undir dvergum og brúnásum, vöglum, skammbitum, mænitróðu, mestanpart af fjalviðarupprefti. Dýrnar hússins eru með tveimur stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, tveimur bitum undir sperrum, mænitróðu og fjalviðarárefti, dyraumbúningi og skrálæstri hurð á járnum með hespu og kring.

11. *Eldhús* að lengd 13 ál. 3 kvart., á breidd 8 ½ alin, á hæð 7 ál. með tíu stöfum undir syllum, fimm bitum, brúnásum, vöglum, dvergum, skamm-



bitum, mænitróðu, vel sterku greniviðarupprefti, dyraumbúningi, skrálæstri hurð á járnum með hespu og kring.

12. *Bakaraofnshús* lítið út af Eldhúsinu með 4 stöfum undir syllum, tveimur bitum, mænitróðu og fjalviðar upprefti.

13. *Langabúr* að lengd 16 ál., á breidd 7 ál., á hæð 7 ½ al. með tólf stöfum undir syllum, sex bitum undir sperrum, tvennum langböndum, mænitróðu og þéttu, samfelldu greniviðarupprefti, dyraumbúningi og hurð á járnum skrálæstri. [2v]

14. *Port* þar fram af með fjórum höfuðstólpum, tveimur höfuðsyllum, áfellum, tvennum sperrum, tveimur lægri stöfum undir neðri syllum, tveimur höfuðbitum og þremur undirbitum, langböndum, mænitróðu og þilviðarupprefti. Fremra stafgólfið Portsins er alþiljað efra og neðra á báðar síður og uppi gegnum með álögðum listum að utanverðu og þremur gluggum með hurð á járnum fyrir hverjum, vel bikað með sterkum dyraumbúningi, hespu og kring, vindskeiðum að sunnanverðu, stöng og veðurhana, förvuðu hvorutveggju. Portsins hæð er eins og Langabúrsins, lengdin 4 ½ al., breiddin 3 ál.

15. *Melskemma* að lengd 10 ál. 1 kvart., að breidd 7 ½ al., á hæð 8 ál. með átta stöfum undir syllum, og áfellum, fjórum bitum undir sperrum, tvennum langböndum, mænitróðu og fjalviðarrjáfur, samfelldu bjórþili á eystri stafni hússins allt að bita, með utan á lögðum listum, förvuðum, útskornum vindskeiðum og veðurhana. Dyrnar fram af húsinu með fjórum stöfum undir syllum, tveimur bitum undir sperrum, mænitróðu og greniviðar upprefti, bjórþili með vel vönduðum vindskeiðum og veðurhana, hvorutveggja förvuðu, dyraumbúningi, hurð á járnum með hespu, kring og hring.<sup>60</sup>

16. *Kvarnarskemma* 8 ½ al. að lengd, á breidd 8 ál., 7 ál. 1 ½ kvart. á hæð með sex stöfum undir syllum, þremur bitum undir sperrum og áfellum, tvennum langböndum, mænitróðu með greniviðarupprefti vel sterku, standþili og bjórþili að framanverðu millum skemmanna. Item dyrnar með þremur stöfum undir syllum, tveimur bitum undir sperrum, mænitróðu og vel þéttu greniviðarupprefti. Yfir dyrunum er bjórþilskorn með förvuðum vindskeiðum og veðurhana, hurð á járnum, hespu og kring og handarhaldsjárni.

60 Velta má fyrir sér hver munurinn sé á „kring“ og „hring“. Kringur er algengara en tvisvar er talað um þykkan *koparbring*. Ef til vill er með kring átt við minni hurðarhring eða handfang.

17. *Ráðsmannsskemma* að lengd 9 ál. 3 kvart., á breidd 8 ál. 2 ½ kvart., á hæð 7 ál. 1 ½ kvart. með sex stöfum [3r] undir syllum, þremur bitum undir sperrum, tvennum langböndum, mænitróðu og sterku greniviðarupprefti. Á vestri stafni hússins er bjórþil fyrir ofan bita með vindskeiðum og veðurhana, hvorutveggja förvuðu. Dyr hússins eru með fjórum dyrastöfum undir syllum, tveimur bitum undir sperrum, mænitróðu og greniviðarupprefti, bjórþili að framanverðu með förvuðum vindskeiðum og sterkum dyraumbúnaði, hurð á járnum með hespu og kring.

Öll þessi framanskriðu bygging er svo niður köntuð að tillíkist með [þ.e. hún fellur að] ferköntuðu hlaði af hnöttóttu grjóti, vel þétt og skikkanlega niðurlögðu og með sandi sléttu og jöfnuðu en að utanverðu er Port með tveimur sterkum stólpum og yfirtré samt sterklegri vængjahurð, á hæð 4 al. 3 kvart., eins á breidd, á rammbyggðum járnlömum með kring og loku.<sup>61</sup> Úr fyrrnefndri vængjahurð er úrskorin hurð með vel sterkum járnum, hverja alla hér fyrir skrifaða bygging hefur herra lögmaðurinn að viðum veggjum slétt að grunni uppbyggja látið, svo hún finnst að öllu leyti vönduð og vel sterklega uppbyggð.

Hér fyrir utan upp á þá eystri síðu fyrrskrifaðrar byggingar er eitt *Timburhús uppbyggt með danskri bygging* sem svo er á sig komin að lengd, breidd og hæð sem sérhverju öðru ásigkomulagi er vér fáum næst komist, sem eftir fylgir:

Corpus hússins er að lengd 31 ¼ al., að breidd 11 ½ al., að hæð 10 ½ al. Þetta hús er með bindingsverki og stöfum milli, slegið [þ.e. fyllt] með mó, þiljað allt húsið að utan og listað með móti hvers borðs allt um kring með járnsaum frá höfuðsyllum til aursyllna; rjáfrið er með súðþaki af vænum Gullandsborðum<sup>62</sup> en til gaffhlaða að utanverðu eru settar vindskeiðar með vænum útlenskum vindhönum af úthöggnu járnverki og gylltum [3v] knöppum og veðurvítum. Á syðra bjórþili hússins eru tveir glergluggar með förvuðum panelverksdráttarlokum fyrir en á þeim nyrðra stafni er

61 Þessa úttekt Þingeyraklausturs má bera saman við „Lýsingar á Þingeyraklaustri á fyrri hluta 18. aldar“ í óúttefnum endurminningum sr. Ólafs Gíslasonar á dönsku en hann dvaldist þar í bernsku sinni. Kaflinn um Þingeyrar var þýddur og gefinn út af Sigfúsi Blöndal í *Ársriti Hins íslenska fræðafjelags* 1916, 59–68.

62 Gullandsborð voru innflutt gædatimbur frá Gotlandi í Svíþjóð, segir Páll Vídalín í *Skýringar yfir fornyrði lögbókar þeirrar er Jónsbók kallast*, 209.

gluggi stór með hurð fyrir á járnum og upp yfir þessum glugga í björnum og svo langt inn í húsið sem þénar er byggð ein vinda. Þetta hús er allt um kring ofan og neðan velbrætt og með soðnu biki yfirdregið.

Byggingin að innanverki er svo sundurdeild og afþiljuð sem eftir fylgir:

1. *In primis Stórstofan*, syðstipartur hússins, fimm stafgólf öll innanþiljuð með tré, samfelldum hefluðum borðum, allt frá efsta og til neðsta, með fjórtán stórum glergluggum, þeir allir með velvönduðum körmum og ránum, á járnum og hjörum og „leihna“-tillíkingu.<sup>63</sup> Draglok málað með panelverki er utanfyrir sérhverjum þessara glugga, allt sterklega og veltilsett. Dyrnar að framanverðu af panelverki með dobbelskrá, „teöcher“<sup>64</sup> og vænum útlenskum lömum.

2. Önnur stofa, kölluð *Dagleg stofa*, þar fram af, með panelverki umhverfis frá efsta og til neðsta, prýðilega umvönduð með fjórum glergluggum með körmum, ránum og dráttarlokum fyrir, eins og á syðri stofunni; item einum förvuðum langbekk á vestari síðu, panelverksdyrum og þar á útlenskum lömum með klinku.

3. *Kokkhús* þar næst með þremur stafgólfum, einum glugga, karmi og dráttarloki fyrir af panelverki, það allt og í einu þili fyrir utan gólfið. Þar inni er einn skorsteinn af múrgrjóti, ummúraður upp úr hæð hússins, item rennistokkur [þ.e. frárennslí] úr kokkhúsinu. Fram í stofuna liggja einar dyr, útsnikkaðar með panelverki, hurðin með lömum útlenskum og klinku.

4. Af vestari síðu Kokkhússins er afþiljað *Spidskamers* [þ.e. Broddherbergi] með glerglugga, skrálæstri hurð á útlenskum lömum. [4r]

5. Af austari síðu þeirrar *Daglegu stofu* eru byggð hálfhús með samfastri síðu við aðalhúsið og sömu bygging að utanverðu, listað og bikað með krossbinding og mó, að lengd 10 ál. 3 kvart., á breidd 3 ál. 1 ¼ kvart., á hæð 4 ½ ál., hvert afþiljað er fyrirnefndri stofu og af henni útaukið í þrjú *Kamers* er kölluð eru.

6. *Vetrarstofa* vel og prýðilega umvönduð, öll efra og neðra með olíufarva yfirdregin, samt tveimur stórum glergluggum með uppdráttar panelverks förvuðum lokum fyrir að utanverðu. Húsið er með sama smíðis hurðu á lömum með klinku og handarhallsjárni.

63 Óvíst hvað orðið merkir.

64 Óvíst hvað orðið merkir.

7. Suður af þessari Vetrarstofu er enn afþiljuð stofa, kölluð *Sængurstofa*, hún og að smíði og viðum vel og sómasamlega umvönduð með einum glerglugga og panelverks dráttarloku.

8. Suður af Sængurstofunni er afþiljað hús, kallað *Skrifkontor*, með viðavali og kostulegri bygging, uppgjört með þremur stórum glergluggum með dráttarlokum af panelverki förvuðum. Dyr liggja úr þessum kontor í þá Daglegu stofu með skrálæstri hurð og lömum, ítem eru dyr millum hér-téðra kamersa með skrálæstum hurðum á lömum.

9. Fram af Daglegu stofu er *Forstofa* með þili umhverfis og tveimur hurðum stórum, annarri sem liggur til Kokkhússins en annarri er liggur fram til *Útgangshússins*, hver að er með vænni útlenskri dobbelskrá og lömum.

10. Framan til fyrir húsdyrnum er lítill *Turn*, ferkantaður, allur af útlenskum borðum, byggður efra og neðra með krosssperrum og ávölu fjalviðar súðþaki, velþettu og samansettu í rjáfri, með hurð á járnum, járnklinku og handarhaldi; upp yfir dyrunum er úthöggvið stykki af tré með bildhöggvaraverki,<sup>65</sup> yfirdregið af aðskiljanlegum olíufarva. [4<sup>v</sup>] Turninn sjálfur er farvaður að ofan- og neðanverðu.

11. Yfir Daglegu stofu þessari er loft af stökkfelldum [þ.e. þéttfelldum] fjalvið með ánegldum listum um samkomur [þ.e. samskeyti] í stofunni að neðanverðu, hvert sundurdeilt er í *Gestakamers* til fjögurra sænga stæðis; í hvert afdeilt *Loftkamers* liggur uppgangurinn úr Stóru stofunni með velvönduðum vindiltröppum [þ.e. snúnum stiga], í því eru tveir glergluggar í kvistum út af þakinu með máluðum dráttarhlerum að utanverðu.

12. Er úr Kokkhúsinu velvandaður afþiljaður uppgangur með tröppu-stiga í það *Stóra Loftið* með skrálæstri hurð og útlenskum lömum.

13. Öll framanskriðuð stofa er með *stökkfelldum fjalvið* í gólfi svo vel inni sem afdeildum kamersum.

14. Niður af þessari Daglegu stofu er ein bygging með vel hlöðnum íslenskum grjótveggjum allt um kring, kölluð *Kjallari*, að lengd 7 ál., að breidd 7 ál. 3 kvart., að hæð 7 ál. 3 ½ kvart. með þrennum krosstrjám er styrkja rjáfur kjallarans sem er áður áminnst þilgólf stofunnar. Hann er með afþiljuðum tveimur gluggum og lúku, lokum yfir að utanverðu, ítem með tröppum og dyrum er liggja út í garðinn úr Kjallaranum, með vel-

65 Úr dönsku, *billedhuggerværk*, þ.e. höggmynd og lágmynd; einnig notað um útskornar myndir úr tré.

vandaðri umgjörð og tillíkingu að utanverðu. Item liggur úr Kjallaranum alþiljaður uppgangur á þrjár síður með tröppustiga í stofuna og þar fyrir skrálæstu lúkuloki á hjörum.

15. Framar er þetta Danska hús skorðað og stutt með *fimm trjám* á báðar síður, þau bikuð og velfest húsinu til þarfinda [þ.e. gagns].

16. Af nyrðri enda Kokkhússins eru *Göng*, að lengd 5 al. [5r] 3 ½ kvart., að hæð 4 ½ al., á breidd vart 2 al. með sex stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, þremur bitum undir sperrum, þiljuð umhverfis í rjáfri og á báðar síður. Út úr þessum Göngum eru dyr á austari síðu með fjórum stöfum undir syllum, tveimur bitum undir sperrum, mænitróðu, langböndum, þiljaðar umhverfist efra og neðra með bjórþili að utanverðu og álögðum listum, velseymdum, öllu bikuðu. Item vindskeiðum förvuðum og veðurhana. Ytri dyrnar með hurð á járnum og danskri læsing fyrir, innri og með hurð á járnum, krók og hring.

17. Hús norður af þessum Göngum, kölluð *Barnabaðstofa*, að lengd 7 ál. 3 ½ kvart., á hæð 7 ál., en á breidd 5 ál. með sex stöfum undir syllum og áfellum, fjórum bitum undir sperrum, tvennum langböndum, mænitróðu. Húsið umhverfis efra og neðra allt í einu samfelldu hefluðu þili með innsettum skrálæstum skáp í hvert gaflað með lómum. Öðru megin hússins dyra eru fóðraðar tröppur með fóðruðum langbekk og krokkekkjum, annars vegar er velkantaður pallur, þiljaður allt að aurslá framan verðu með hurð á járnum, stigi fyrir pallinum og göng. Rúmið hússins er með fjalviðargólfi með sterklegum dyraumbúningi, hurð á járnum, handarhalds járn og klinku. Þetta hús hefur herra lögmaðurinn ásamt hinum fyrrskrifuðum að viðum og veggjum uppbyggja látið klaustrinu til þarfinda.

Framar þessari byggingu er eitt hús áfast bænum eftirstandandi af þeim gömlu klaustursins húsum, og þá kallaðist *Stórabaðstofa*, en nú er brúkað til eldiviðar, að lengd 15 ½ al., breidd og hæð hússins viðlíkt og sjá má af Eldahúss uppskriftinni [þ.e. 7 ál., skráð 6 ½ al. í úttekt 1684], það laslegt af viðum og veggjum. [5v]

Hér fyrir utan eru þessi úthýsi sem herra lögmaðurinn hefur að viðum og veggjum klaustrinu til þarfinda upp byggja látið.

1. *Smíðja* að lengd 11 ½ al., að breidd 5 al. 1 kvart., á hæð 5 al. 3 kvart. með átta stöfum undir syllum, fjórum bitum undir sperrum, tvennum langböndum og sterku greniupprefti, dyrnar með fjórum stöfum undir syllum,

tveimur sperrum, sæmilegu upprefti, með björþili að framanverðu, með vindskeiðum förvuðum og stöng þar upp af. Dyraumbúningur, hurð á járnum (með) hespu og kring.

2. *Kolahús* innar af Smiðjunnni að lengd 4 ál., á breidd 3 ál., hæðin 4 ál. 1 kvart. með fimm stöfum undir syllum, tveimur bitum undir dvergum, mænitróðu og hurð á járnum og þéanlegu upprefti.

3. *Fjós* að lengd 22 ál., að breidd 9 ½ ál., að hæð 5 ál. með syllum, brúnásam og þrjátíu stöfum undir hvortveggju, sjö bitum og sjö dvergum, samt mænitróðu og þéttu greniárefti, dyrnar með fjórum dyrastöfum, síðan flatreist yfir, með hurð á járnum.

4. *Hlaða* innar af fjósinu að lengd 15 ál., að breidd 5 ½ ál. en á hæð 4 ½ ál. með tveimur bitum, fjórum stoðum, tveimur dvergum, vegglægjum, hliðásam og mænitróðu, með sterku greniupprefti. Dyrnar með fjórum stoðum, flatreft yfir, og hurð á járnum.

5. *Forfjós* að lengd 7 ál., að breidd 6 ál. og að hæð 4 ál. 1 kvart með einum bita, einum dverg, vegglægjum, hliðásam, mænitróðu, sterku upprefti, með fjórum dyrastöfum, dyraumbúningi og hurð á járnum.

6. *Geldnautafjós* að lengd 12 ál. 1 kvart., að breidd 7 ál. 3 kvart., hæðin er 4 ál. með níu stoðum undir hliðásam, máttartrjám og vænu greniupprefti, samt sterkum dyraumbúningi og hurð á járnum. [6r]

7. *Stóra hesthús* að lengd 13 ½ ál., að breidd 6 ½ ál., á hæð 4 ál. 3 kvart. með fjórum stoðum, tveimur bitum, dvergum, hliðarásam, mænitróðu, sterku upprefti, dyraumbúningi og hurð á járnum.

8. *Vagnhesthús* að lengd 7 ál., eins að breidd, 3 ½ ál. að hæð, að öllu sterkt og velstandandi með dyraumbúningi og hurð á járnum.

9. *Eldishestahús* að lengd 7 ál. 1 kvart., að breidd 7 ál., hæðin 4 ál. Húsið að öllu leyti vel sterkt með dyraumbúningi, hurð á járnum, hespu og kring.

10. *Fálkahús* 12 ál. að lengd, 6 ál. að breidd, hæðin 4 ½ ál. með fjórum stöfum, tveimur bitum, hliðásam, dvergum, sterku upprefti, dyraumbúningi og hurð á járnum með hespu og kring.

11. *Fjánhús* norður frá Vellinum, að lengd 25 ½ ál., á breidd 6 ál. 1 ½ kvart, á hæð 3 ½ ál. með tólf stoðum, tveimur hliðásam, sex vöglum, mænitróðu og vænu greniviðarupprefti, með hurð og tveimur dyrastöfum.

Þessu framar óskar eðla herra lögmaðurinn að Þingeyraklausturskirkja mætti og að lengd, breidd og hæð mælast og uppskrifast, hverja hann og að velli

alsendis aleinn berhendur hefur uppbyggja látið, hve­rrar lengd er 24 ál., breidd 13 ál. 3 ½ kvart, hæð 11 ½ alin. Þetta allt mælt fyrir utan höfuð­stöpla kirkjunnar. Þar fyrir utan athuguðum vér bygging kirkjunnar að utanverðu, á hennar útbrotum sem allt um kring, hver öll er af velsterkum borðum umhverfis þiljuð allt frá aursyllum til yfir­syllna með álögðum listum [6v] vel seymdum, sem og að utanverðu velmargir höfuðstöplar kirkjunnar fóðraðir. Útbrotanna hvorutveggju súðþak fram í gegnum er af völdum Gullandsborðum, hús vel sem [þ.e. jafnt og] höfuðkirkjunnar súðþak beggja vegna. Af útbrotunum að austanverðu er yfirdregið með bikuðum segldúk svo vel sem partur kirkjunnar á þá syðri síðu. Upp úr miðri kirkjunni er gjörður turn áttkantaður með þilþaki allt um kring að utanverðu, sérdeilis velköntuðu, með skynsamlega áskornum glugga á hverjum kanti, hann og samandreginn að ofanverðu með vönduðum hagleik. Fyrir ofan gluggana eru strikaðar rámur allt um kring en upp úr turninum er förvuð stöng með úthöggnu járnverki, gulum knapp og úthöggnum veðurvita með kórónu Hans Kongl. Majest. Christian V. Það allt af járn. Einnig og allt um kring að utanverðu yfirdregin með bikuðum segldúk. Framan og til baka á kirkjustöfnunum er(u) uppsett velgjörð, förvuð og úthöggvin kross­stré, hvar á úthöggvið sést ártal nær kirkjan var byggð, sem er 1695, með þar ofan á settum krossjárnnum, svo vel sem á öllum kirkjukjölnum, vel þétt til baka og að framanverðu er hún þiljuð upp í gegnum með langsettum borðum, listuðum; og upp yfir kirkjunnar dyrum, þeim stóru, er úthöggvinn tafla með rá­mum og latneskum versum förvuðum. Þar upp yfir er úthöggvið stykki með bildhöggvaraverki, þar á úthöggvið Kongl. Majest. Christian V. nafn með yfirsettri úthöggvinni kórónu og af bildhöggvaraverki. Kringum áður­nefnt Kongl. Majest. nafn er úthöggvin pálmaviðargrein með grænum *color*, hvar inn í úthöggvið er kongsins *Symbolum* með latneskum stöfum: *Pietate et Justitia*. Fyrir aðaldyrum kirkjunnar er hurð á rammyggðum, sterkum járnnum, á hæð 2 ál. 3 ¼ en á breidd vel 2 ál. með þrennum þverokum vel breiðum og síðan þeirra í milli krossokar, allt með járn­saum. Hún er ásamt dyrum dyrastafanna förvuð, með velþykkum koparhring og ágröf­nu nafni herra lögmansins, er hann kirkjunni hefur forærðt [þ.e. gefið], með tilhlýðilegum festpinna af kopar. Hún [þ.e. hurðin] er og með íslenski læsingu, valdri og stórri, og þykkum kring. Dyr eru á syðri síðu *Kórsins* með [7r] úthöggvinni farvaðri töflu, þar yfir með bildhöggvaraverki fallega *propor­tio-*

*neraðri* og utan á settum listum allt um kring, á hverja úthöggvin er Christi upprisa ásamt 7. versni af Sálminum Davíðs 5., yfirdregin með aðskiljanlegum olíufarva. Dyrnar eru vel umvendaðar með vænni hurð á járnum með þverokum og þar í milli krossokum, öll með járnsaum vel seymdum. Hurðin ásamt síðu<m> dyrastafanna er yfirdregin [þ.e. máluð] með rauðum og gulum farva, með vænni læsingu og koparhring. Framkirkjudyrnar eru með kringlóttum dróttum, tvöföldum: af miklum hagleik gjörðar og áhöggvið stykki af bildhöggvaraverki. Velvandaða<r> vindskeiðar eru á kirkjunni fram og til baka, svo vel sem á útbrotunum, með snikkaraverki, vel farvaðar. Öll kirkjan með turninum er vel seymd, brædd og bikuð efra og neðra umhverfis.

Framvegis tókum vér fyrir oss að skoða kirkjunnar bygging að innanverðu, hver öll er <frá> aursyllum til útbrotsins höfuðsyllna vel þiljuð af samfelldum hefluðum fjalvið. Kirkjan og kórin eru undir sama formi, sjö stafgólf með sextán höfuðstöplum, höfuðsyllum, bitum og sperrum yfir sérhverju stafgólfi eftir almennilegri timburhúsa byggingu og þar á milli höggsperrur í hverju stafgólfi. Kirkjunnar yfirgrind öll sterklega og að viðum vönduð vel gerð. Þiljað er í millum kórs og kirkju með förvuðu panelverki utan og innan allt frá aurslá undir miðsyllur, þar upp frá með pílárum svartlakkeruðum kostulega *proportioneruðum*, á hæð 1 al.  $\frac{3}{4}$  en að tölu fjörutíu, er lækka eftir því sem útbrotin niðurdragast frá höfuðstöplunum, hverri sinni hér skrifaðri hæð þeirra á milli þeir fá haldið. Framvegis er í milli kórs og kirkju innskorið þvertré í rauða stafi er standa og undir syllum, það farvað á allar síður og með snotrum listum, tvísett framan og innan, þar upp á standa Christi og tólf postula líkneski með bildhöggvaraverk, úthöggvin og ágætlega förvuð. Hurð er í milli kórs og kirkju, 4 ál. að hæð, 2 ál.  $\frac{1}{4}$  að breidd, sundurdeild í samfasta tvo parta, annar með panelverk utan og innan farvaður með olíufarva, hinn efri partur hurðarinnar er með sjö lakkeruðum stórum pílárum [7v]. Hurðin er á þremum vel vönduðum járnum með dubbelskrá. Þiljað er á millum höfuðsyllnanna kórsins og útbrotsins beggja vegna fram í gegn, hver að eru með sextán stöfum undir syllum, sextán skammbitum og hálfsperrum, það og að innanverðu af hefluðu súðþaki beggja vegna fram í gegn.

Úr syðra útbroti kórsins er hurð með panelverk og pílárum fram í stól herra lögmannsins, hún og með olíufarva yfirdregin, skrálæst og á lömum. Á milli hverra höfuðstöpla í kórnum og kirkjunni eru dróttir



útskornar með snikkaraverk og að neðanverðu til endanna og í miðjunni bildhöggvaraverk. Annars vegar altarisins er afþiljaður skrifarstóll af panelverki, yfirdreginn með olíufarva, og hurð á járnum, með langbekk og þverbekk. Langbekkur er á nyrðri síðu kórsins fram í gegn með útskorinni brík að neðanverðu og þar undir settum útskornum styttum. Bekkinn að ofanverðu sundurdeila útskornar bríkur [þ.e. armar] til hvers sætis og eins að sunnanverðu allt að dyrum. Í kórnum er þetta: altari af tré yfirdregið með olíufarva, allt um kring vel vandað með tveimur skápum, sinn á hvorri síðu, og skrálæstum hurðum á lómum fyrir.

Yfir altari er úthöggvin brík af alabastursteini, forgylt og förvuð. Þar upp af brík forgylt með bildhöggvaraverki. Fóðruð gráða er fyrir altarinu, samt stafnpilið kórsins að framanverðu er yfirdregið með olíufarva. Samfelld fjalagólf er beggja vegna altarisins, jafnhátt gráðunni og þar fram frá <með> konstlega niðurlögðu múrgrjóti. Norðan fram í kórnum er fjala-gólf í útbrotinu og eins að sunnanverðu.

Hér næst fylgir kórnum áttkantaður skírnarfontur með mikið nettu smíði og prýðilegu málverki allt um kring. Á sérhverjum kanti fontsins eru mikið netmáluð stykki sem útmála skírnina, með velþéttanlegu skírnarfati af engelsku tini með tveimur kringum. Upp yfir skírnarfontinum er áttkantaður himinn með prýðilega gjörðu verki, krónu og forgylltum hnappi upp af, samt forgylltu letri um kring með latneskum bókstöfum eðla lögmansins og hans kærustu nafn, og það sé þeirra foræring [þ.e. gjöf] kirkjunni til prýðis, hann allur yfirdreginn fyrir utan gyllinguna með listilegum farva, að[8r]skiljanlega <ad> litum, og forsilf(r)aðri dúfumynd með bildhöggvaraverki að neðanverðu.

Yfir altarinu eru tveir glergluggar vænir, samt sinn á hverja síðu í kórnum, og fyrir þeim draglok með förvuðu panelverki. En fyrir tveimur eru panelverkshurðir málaðar á völtum með dragstrengjum að innanverðu. Svo og er í kórnum ferkantaður *lectari* með fæti og umgjörð sæmilegri, að ofanverðu farvaður með vendum kertastjaka upp af förvuðum. Yfir kórnum og allri kirkjunni er ein vel tilsett hvelfing af Gullandsborðum, velþétt seymd við sérhvern bita kirkjunnar, hún samfelld og hefluð prýðilega og vel uppáfundin.

Kirkjan er eftir áðursögðu að öllu leyti að efri og neðri bygging líkt sem fyrrskrifað er.

Í framkirkjunni eru tveir stólar sinn hvers vegar með panelverksbríkum og bakslám, og bildhöggvaraverki á ofanverðum frambríkum, yfirdregnir með olíufarva. Hvorutveggi stólar eru með skrálestum hurðum á lömum. Þar fyrir framan eru sex stólar með bríkum og bakslám, þrír á hvora hönd, með framanáskornu klausturstólamarki, fjórir af þeim með hurðum og lömum. Þar fyrir framan eru fimm stólar á hvora síðu með bríkum og bakslám, af hverjum tveir þeir fremstu eru fóðraðir á bakatil með panelverki. Fremst við kirkjudyr eru sæti með bríkum sitt hvors vegar [...].<sup>66</sup>

Allur gangvegur kirkjugólfsins er niðurlagður með múrgrjót. Í fremsta stafgólfi kirkjunnar kvennamegin er kostlega afþiljaður uppgangur uppá hvelvingarloftið. Hér fyrir utan eru sex glergluggar í framkirkjunni beggja vegna og fyrir sinn hverjum þeirra draglok af máluðu panelverki á völtum. Í framkirkjunni er vel umventur sexkantaður predikunarstóll af snikkaraverki með forgylltum rásum og listum að ofan og neðan, með fjórum utan á lögðum svörtum pílárum, dregnum og vel vönduðum. Þeir allir til endanna gylltir. Framar er gyllt letur ofanvert á predikunarstólnum um kring með nafni herra lögmannsins og það hann kirkjunni til prýðis þennan stól foræri. Utan til á predikunarstólinn eru sett forgyllt og úthöggvið líkneski herrans Christi samt fjögurra Guðspjallamanna með samri prýði umgjörð. Þar fyrir utan er bildhöggvara bríkarverk neðan til á þessum stól, öll forgyllt, samt stóllinn og hans fótur allur með gylling og góðum farva yfirdreginn. Fyrir predikunarstólnum er hurð á úthöggnum járnum með panelverki og forgylltum rásum, öll förvuð.

Til predikunarstólsins liggur fóðraður [8v] tröppustigi með panelverks vængjum beggja vegna og forgylltum römmum og listum utan á. Frá þessum vængjum liggja og dyr farvaðar af panelverki með forgylltum römmum að ofan, samt *dato* þess árs forgylltu. Fyrir ofan predikunarstólinn er himinn af snikkara- og bildhöggvaraverki ofan og neðan forgylltur og að neðanverðu samt milli gyllingarinnar liflega og listilega farvaður með forgylltum rásum.

Öll þessi framanskriðuð klausturkirkja er af eðla herra lögmanninum Lauritz Christianssyni Gottrup uppbyggð, sem áður er skrifað, af nýjum og sterkum viðum, fyrir utan nokkra stöpla, stafi, bita og sperrur, er úr þeirri gömlu kirkju tekin eru og nú eru að reynd og sjón svo góðir sem nýir væri, og þó betri og varanlegri sökum viðarvals og herslu, og þessa

66 Hér gæti vantað orð vegna þess að pappírinn er brotinn við kjólinn.

alla bygging gjört uppá sinn eigin kostnað Guði til dýrðar og klaustrinu til þrýðis.

Hér fyrir utan ásamt predikunarstólnum, skírnarfontinum með himnum þar yfir, lectaranum með sínum tilbúningi, samt pílaronum og postulanna líkneskjum fyrer og yfir kórðyrum, hefur herra lögmaðurinn Kirkjunni til sirats [þ.e. skreytingar] og þrýði tillagt eftirskrifuð *Ornamenta*:

1. Vænt og velumvandað altarisklæði af myrkbláum [þ.e. dökkbláum] farva með góðu silkiflosi og vænu fódri og umgjörð, og þar í hábaldýruðu stykki af gulli og silfri, hvar inni er Lausnarans nafn, og umkring ávalur lárberjakrans með sömu baldýran á báðar síður. Út frá þessu stykki annars vegar er með gulli og silfri baldýrað nafn eðla herra lögmannsins og þar gagnvart annarsvegar nafn hans dýðeðla<sup>67</sup> kærustu, síðan með sömu baldýran datam þess árs 1695. 2. Altarisdúk af góðu klausturlérefi með vænum tókkuðum kniplingum umkring. 3. Háa og stóra ljósastjaka af messing, vel umvandaða, til vaxljósa, og þar með fylgjandi vaxljós. 4. Vænan ljósa hjálm með liljum af látúni.<sup>68</sup> 5. Látúnslampa með útpúklað verk og christallus glas á fjórar síður. 6. Níu stórar látúnsplader [þ.e. látúnsplötur] útpúklaðar [þ.e. úthamraðar] og pólerað[gr]ar með góðu erfiði, kirkjunni til stórrar þrýði og þæginda. Item tvær aðrar minni, hverjar allar herra lögmaðurinn og hans góðir vinir af hans forlagi kirkjunni til þrýðis forært hafa. 7. Tvö spjöld eru beggja vegna altaris með þrýðilegum ránum, á annað þeirra er listilega contrafeyruð mynd [þ.e. eftirmynd]<sup>69</sup> herrans Christi en á annað Maríu með barnið Christum.

2. *Klukknaðús* að lengd 4 ál., breiddin er 4 ál.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , á hæð 7 ál.  $\frac{3}{4}$  með fjórum höfuðstöplum undir syllum, þremur bitum undir sperrum og einum liðugum, fjórum þverslám. Húsið allt af þili umhverfis með súðþaki, vindskeiðum förvuðum og veðurhönum, þeir og farvaðir, með hurð á járnum, hespu og kring, fjórir hringingargluggar eru fallega á skornir hverja síðu þessa ports og það frá ofanverðu allt niður í gegn brætt og bikað.

3. *Syðra Kirkjugarðsport* að hæð 4 ál.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , á breidd 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  ál. með tveimur stöplum og einu þvertre yfir með 4 kröppum samt syllum, sperrum og

67 Úr dönsku: *dyd-adel*, sem er göfug af dygðum sínum.

68 Virðist sami gripur og nefndur er í Úttektinni 1684: „Einn kertahjálmur í Miðkórnum með níu liljum, vænn og vel umvandaður, hvern þau göfugu hjón Hr. Þorleifur Kortsson og Ingibjörg Jónsdóttir gefa kirkjunni í minning þess blessaða manns Jóns sáluga Þorleifssonar“ (2v).

69 Úr frönsku: *contrefait*.

súðþaki, með förvuðum vindskeiðum og veðurhönum á báðum stöfnum portsins, hvert og er með fjalþaki í rjáfri með hurð á járnum, sterkri og vel umvandaðri með handarhaldi og klinku.

4. Framundan aðalkirkjudyr⟨unum⟩ ⟨e⟩r af þil⟨jaður⟩ *Inngangur í Kirkjugarðinn* með hálfsp⟨errum⟩, bjórþili og hálfvindskeið með hurð á sterkum og vel byggilegum járnum, hespu og kring.

5. Kirkjunni eru til stuðnings og stöðugleika sett *sex tré á báðar síður*, nokkur af þeim með borðum, súðuð og brædd, að misjafnri lengd, öll jafnofarlega við höfuðstöpla kirkjunnar vel skorðuð og svo að neðra grunni.

6. *Kirkjugarðurinn* er umhverfis mældur allt um kring að innanverðu 298 ½ al., þriggja álna að breidd, á hæð 2 ál. 3 kvart. Hann allur af herra lögmansins hálfu ei fyrir löngu vel upphlaðinn og sterklega stæðilegur.

Þetta sitthvað, eftir sem framan og ofan skrifað er, svo vel kirkjunnar bygging, þess danska húss og bæjar[9v]ins, að mælingu og uppskrift, hefur svo fram farið er hér greinir í undirskrifaðra ásýnd og nálægð, hverju til vitnis eru undirskrifuð nöfn og hjáþrykkt ⟨insigli⟩.

*Anno die et loco ut supra* [þ.e. ár, dag og stað, eins og að ofan].

Jens Madsen Spendrup, sýslumaður    Sigurður Einarsson, lögsagnari  
 Andreas Johansen    Jón Helgason meh  
 Hans Andersen    Andrés Þorsteinsson<sup>70</sup>

70 Eftir að greinin kom úr umbroti barst höfundu nýtt doktorsrit um norska krossa eftir Kaja Merete Hagen, „O, Holy Cross, You are All Our Help and Comfort”: Wonderworking Crosses and Crucifixes in Late Medieval and Early Modern Norway“ (Ósló: Guðfræðideild Óslóarháskóla, 2021). Þar á bls. 114-115 er vísað í færslu í Gottskálksannál fyrir 1273, sem farið hafði framhjá höfundu: „Á páska deigi kom blod af fotvm rodu einnar at Þingeyrum“ (*Íslandske Annaler indtil 1578*, 331). Færslan er sérstaklega áhugaverð í samhengi greinarinnar af því að hin helga róða sem um ræðir gæti verið sú er stóð í því útaltari Þingeyrakirkju sem helgað var Krosstrénu. Ef svo var hefur það aukið að mun helgi Þingeyraklausturskirkju.

## HANDRIT / SKJÖL

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Þorleifssonar, d. 30. júní 1703

Úttekt Þingeyraklausturs 1684, afrit óþekkts skrifara (ódagsett)

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## ÁGRIP

Heimildir um klausturkirkjuna og bókasafnið á Þingeyrum

**Efnisorð:** klausturmenning, Þingeyraklaustur, stafkirkjur, húsasaga, bókasöfn á miðöldum, skjalfraði

Benediktsklaustrið á Þingeyrum í Húnaþingi vestra var fyrsta klaustur á Íslandi, stofnað snemma á 12. öld. Það er einkum frægt fyrir bókmenntaiðju og handrit sem þar voru gerð og sum hver eru enn varðveitt. Allar leifar klausturbygginganna eru nú horfnar af yfirborði jarðar en til eru nokkuð nákvæmar lýsingar á staðnum í úttekum frá 1684 og 1704 sem varðveittar eru í Skjalasafni umboðanna á Þjóðskjalasafni. Auk þess standa nú yfir fornleifarannsóknir á Þingeyrum sem þegar hafa gefið af sér mikilvæga nýja þekkingu um staðinn, t.d. um staðsetningu kirkjunnar. Úttektir Þingeyraklausturs má bera saman við önnur skjöl, annála og máldaga frá miðöldum til þess að fá heillegri mynd af byggingum og innviðum klaustursins, einkum af kirkjunni þar sem bókasafn munkanna var geymt. Þessi grein er formáli að fyrstu útgáfu úttektanna og ný tilraun til að segja sögu klausturkirkjunnar á Þingeyrum sem virðist hafa staðið að mestu leyti heil fram til 1695 þegar danski embættismaðurinn Lárus Gottrup lét rífa hana og byggja nýja.



## SUMMARY

Sources about the monastic church and library at Þingeyrar

**Keywords:** monastic culture, stave churches, medieval libraries, archives

The Benedictine Abbey of Þingeyrar in North-West Iceland was the earliest monastic house in Iceland, established in the early 12th century. Today, it is mainly famous for its literary production and for manuscripts, some of whom are still preserved. All remnants of the monastic buildings have now vanished from the face of earth, but we have fairly precise descriptions of these buildings in official appraisals from 1684 and 1704, which are found in the Collection of the Procurators at the National Archive of Iceland. Further, current archeological research at Þingeyrar has added considerable new knowledge about Þingeyrar, e.g. the location of the monastic church. The appraisals of Þingeyrar Abbey can be compared to other known documents, medieval annals and charters, to construct a more complete picture of the monastic buildings and their interiors, primarily of the church where the monks had their library. This study forms an introduction to the first publication of the appraisals and it attempts to tell the history of the Church of Þingeyrar Abbey, which as it turns out seems to have survived more or less intact until 1695, when the Danish official Lauritz Gottrup had it torn down and a new one built.

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TIFFANY NICOLE WHITE

## THE “QUEST OF SETH” IN OLD ICELANDIC LITERATURE

### *Sethskvaði* and Its Antecedents

#### Introduction

THE FALL OF MAN is the foundational story in the Christian worldview. Yet, despite Adam and Eve’s importance for the Christian understanding of the existence of humankind as well as good and evil, they “play almost no role in the scriptures of the Hebrew Bible, and certainly the legendary aspects of their doings are not developed in any way in its writings.”<sup>1</sup> The problem with the story of the fall of the protoplasts for the inquiring reader, then, is that it is simply too short.<sup>2</sup> This lack of information has led to the creation of texts that extend the story, further explicating what might have happened after the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. These ‘pseudepigraphal’<sup>3</sup> texts were written as early as the first century and became wildly popular in the Middle Ages via reworkings and vernacular translations. Amongst these is a story that has garnered little scholarly interest, which concerns what happened to the first human couple and their children (especially Seth) after the expulsion from

- 1 Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 1.
- 2 Brian Murdoch, *Adam’s Grace. Fall and Redemption in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 21.
- 3 Frans van Liere, “The Medieval Canon,” *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 65. Scholars have pointed out that the terms “apocryphal” and “pseudepigraphal” are not always used in the same way. The somewhat standard use of the terms is “apocryphal” for extra-canonical texts of the New Testament, and “pseudepigraphal” for extra-canonical texts related to the Old Testament. However, this usage is not always consistent. For a discussion on the terms used for extra-biblical Adamic literature, see Brian Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 6–12.

Paradise, a text Esther Quinn calls “The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life” (hereafter *Quest*).<sup>4</sup> The Old Icelandic rendition of this story is extant in more than ninety manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries, some of which were edited by Marianne Overgaard in *The History of the Cross Tree down to Christ’s Passion* in which she treats the *Quest* as a part of the legend of the True Cross, both in prose and poetry.<sup>5</sup>

In the only in-depth study of the *Quest*, Esther Quinn presents the very problem at hand: that the legend of the True Cross “is not one, but two: first, the journey of Seth to Paradise, and, second, the experiences of the wood which later became the cross.”<sup>6</sup> She is inferring that there is a pre-history of the *Quest* before it was combined with the Legend of the Wood of the Cross (hereafter, *Cross*), when it was an independent tale in Jewish and, eventually, early Christian literature. Because the joining of the *Quest* and *Cross* happened around the twelfth century, it is standard practice to treat the *Quest* in its medieval Christian form as a part of the Legend of the True Cross material.<sup>7</sup> The matter in which the *Quest* was preserved in Old Icelandic manuscripts, however, shows that the *Quest* was separated from its medieval partner, the *Cross*, as early as the thirteenth century and treated as its own individual tale, a phenomenon that has not been observed elsewhere in Adamic literature.

The present study examines the prose *Quest* and its poetic counterpart, *Sethskvæði* in Old Icelandic manuscripts, in order to identify – for the first time – an individual transmission history of the *Quest* in thirteenth- to nineteenth-century Iceland. The implications of this newly revealed transmission are substantial, for the *Quest*, in its Christian medieval form, has

4 Esther Casier Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Quinn’s monograph, which focuses on both Latin and vernacular texts (excluding Icelandic) is the only study of the *Quest* to date.

5 Mariane Overgaard (ed.), *The History of the Cross-Tree down to Christ’s Passion: Icelandic Legend Versions*, Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ, series B, 26 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1968). Overgaard edits twenty-three manuscripts containing prose accounts and twenty-two manuscripts containing poetry but acknowledges in her introduction that there are several texts (albeit mostly poetry) not included in her study. Of those not included are sixty-one known manuscripts of *Sethskvæði* and two additional manuscripts that include the *Quest*.

6 Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life*, 8.

7 In addition to Overgaard, Unger edits the *Quest* in Carl R. Unger (ed.), *Heilagra Manna Sögur. Fortællinger og Legender om hellige Mænd og Kvinder*, vol. I (Copenhagen: B. M. Bentzen, 1877), 298–301.

not been identified as an independent text in any other tradition. In other languages, the *Quest* has only been shown to exist in combination with the *Cross* material. This independent transmission illuminates a unique instance in a medieval vernacular when the *Quest* is afforded an afterlife entirely separate from the *Cross* narrative. This study therefore contributes not only to Old Icelandic studies, but also has implications for the study of Adamic pseudepigrapha. A transcription of two texts of the otherwise unedited *Sethsvkæði* is included in the appendix below.

## The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life

The *Quest* is a modern title given to the story in question by Esther Quinn.<sup>8</sup> Carl Unger edits the Old Icelandic *Quest* portion of AM 544 4to (hereafter Hauksbók)<sup>9</sup> and gives it the Latin title *Origo Crucis*.<sup>10</sup> Theodor Möbius also edits the *Quest* from Hauksbók but gives it the title *Seths för i Paradisum*.<sup>11</sup> As such, there has been no common practice for titling the *Quest*. Within medieval Scandinavia, there is a tradition of two circulating versions of the *Quest*: one in which Seth is given a twig from the tree in Paradise, which can be found in Danish church paintings, and the one in question, in which Seth is given seeds from the infamous apple, which is found in Icelandic literature.

The prose *Quest* as is found in medieval Icelandic manuscripts can be summarized as follows. After Adam and Eve’s expulsion from Paradise, Adam, who is now 932 years old<sup>12</sup> and on his death bed, asks their youngest son, Seth, to go on a quest to Paradise to fetch the Oil of Life

8 Quinn does not address her name-giving and why she settled on The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life. She also refers to the tale as The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Mercy and The Seth Legend throughout her 1962 study. For simplicity, I have chosen to use the title which is also the title of her book-length study, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (abr. *Quest*).

9 Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 544 4to.

10 Unger, I: 298.

11 Theodor Möbius, *Analecta Norrœnna. Auswahl aus der isländischen und norwegischen Litteratur des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichsische Buchhandlung, 1877), 204–7.

12 Traditionally Adam is 930 years old when he dies, but he appears as 932 years old in Hauksbók as well as AM 727 II 4to (text E in Overgaard), and AM 65a 8vo (text B1 in Overgaard). Brian Murdoch notes that Adam also dies 932 years old in a medieval English version of the *Quest*, in Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae*, 78.

(also called the Oil of Mercy) in order that he may live longer. Seth agrees to go as he asks and bids his father to tell him the way. Adam tells Seth to go eastward, where he will find a set of black and grassless footsteps (a result of their sin), which are tracks left from when he and Eve walked out of Paradise. Seth finds the way and comes to the gates of Paradise, where he meets an angel, who tells him to look inside and describe what he sees. He looks in and sees beautiful flowers and fruits and, in the middle of Paradise, their irrigative source, a spring from which four rivers flow: the Pishon, the Gihon, the Tigris, and the Euphrates.

Next to the spring is an apple tree, which is black and without bark, reminding Seth of his parents' footsteps out of Paradise.<sup>13</sup> Seth tells the angel what he saw, and the angel asks him to look in a second time. This time Seth sees a snake twisted around the trunk of the same tree. Seth describes what he sees, and the angel asks Seth to look in a third time. This time, the apple tree is incredibly tall, reaching up to the heavens, and on top of it sits a baby in swaddling clothes. Seth looks down and sees the roots of the tree reach deep into hell, where he sees the soul of his brother Abel. He tells the angel a third time what he has seen. The angel explains to Seth that the baby he saw is Christ, who will be the Oil of Life for all humankind, indicating that he will not receive the oil that day for his father, for it will come later in the form of Christ. Before Seth leaves Paradise, the angel gives him three seeds from the apple of which Adam and Eve ate. The angel tells Seth to put them in the mouth of his father Adam after he dies, for from them will grow three great trees: one cypress, one pine, and one cedar, which represent the trinity, three unique species stemming from the same source. Adam dies, Seth does as he was asked, and three trees grow from Adam's corpse.

In some texts, the *Cross* follows after this portion of the legend. This material that has been amalgamated with the *Quest* tends to vary greatly. Generally, it tells of the finding of the three trees (sometimes one tree,

13 This image is often tied to "the dry tree" motif. For an overview, see M. R. Bennett, "The Legend of the Green Tree and the Dry," *Archaeological Journal* 83.1 (1926): 21–32; Rose Jeffries Peebles, "The Dry Tree: Symbol of Death," *Vassar Medieval Studies*, ed. by C. F. Fiske (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923) 57–79; Rosanne Gasse, "The Dry Tree Legend in Medieval Literature," *Fifteenth Century Studies* 38 (2013): 65–96; and Eleanor Simmons Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree: A Study of the Cosmological Tree in Christian Tradition," *Traditio* 10 (1954): 323–71.

sometimes branches) by Moses and/or David, and how they were used up until the time of Christ, often including a story of Solomon, who attempts to use the wood to build his temple, albeit unsuccessfully. Lastly, the story tells of how the wood of the tree(s) was used to make the cross on which Christ was crucified.<sup>14</sup>

## The Roots of the *Quest*

This seemingly short story has a rather long history, one that is worthwhile reviewing in order to appreciate the complexity that has led to its appearance in Old Icelandic manuscripts. Tracing the precursors of the *Quest*, however, leads us through a tangled web of transmission. From the medieval period, stories of the protoplasts' post-Eden exile and their children's adventures are found in several vernaculars as well as in Latin. The *Quest* had a former life, considerably antedating Christianity, before it was integrated into the medieval True Cross material (see figure 1).<sup>15</sup> Legends of Seth are found in Talmudic and Midrashic lore that can be traced back to Egypt because there was a Jewish sect in Egypt around the first to fourth centuries CE, the Sethians, whose Seth was an amalgamation of the biblical Seth and the Egyptian god Seth (Set).<sup>16</sup> The Sethians authored several Gnostic texts and might have been responsible for the earliest forms of the *Quest*.<sup>17</sup> The Sethians believed that Seth was the Christ; it follows that Christians would have wanted to amalgamate the story of the *Quest* into the orthodox Christian belief structure via the additions of the three glimpses into Paradise, culminating with the vision of Christ in the tree, who would be the savior. This,

14 For a more detailed summary of this material, see Mariane Overgaard (ed.), *The History of the Cross Tree*, XXXX.

15 Quinn, *Quest*, 8.

16 Barbara Baert, *Heritage of the Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*, trans. Lee Preedy (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 315; Christian Onasch, "Der ägyptische und der biblische Seth," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 27 (1980): 99–119; Barbara Baert offers an extensive discussion on the Gnostic roots of Seth as a character in, "Revisiting Seth in the Legend of the Wood of the Cross: Interdisciplinary Perspectives between Text and Image," *The Embroidered Bible: Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 144.

17 Quinn, *Quest*, 29; A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 6.

and of course the combination of the *Quest* with the *Cross*, would erase the heretical aspect of Sethianism and put the focus on Christ as the redeemer.<sup>18</sup>

While the roots of these legends can be traced to pre-Christian Judaic literature, the extant material evidence dates to the Christian period.<sup>19</sup> The earliest extant version of the *Quest* (albeit quite different from the one summarized above) is found in the Jewish pseudepigraphal text *The Apocalypse of Moses*, written in Greek but thought to be a translation of an Aramaic text from the first century CE.<sup>20</sup> The earliest Christian adaptation of the *Quest* is found in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which includes only a passing mention of Seth going to Paradise for the Oil of Life. This mention is also found in the Old Norse-Icelandic adaptation of the text, *Niðrstigningsarsaga*.<sup>21</sup> The *Apocalypse* is thought to have been adapted into Latin, with much modification, in the form of the *Vita Adae et Evae*, probably around the fourth century CE.<sup>22</sup> In both the *Apocalypse* and the *Vita*,

18 For an overview of the history of Sethianism and the texts connected to the Gnostic group, see Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*, 81–117.

19 Murdoch, *Hanz Folz and the Adam-Legends: Texts and Studies*, 3.

20 Quinn, *Quest*, 15–16. For a summary of this text, see Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*, 18–19. An updated edition can be found in D. A. Bertrand, *La vie grecque d'Adam et Eve*, *Recherches Intertestamentaires* 1 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1987).

21 Dario Bullitta, *Niðrstigningar Saga. Sources, Transmission, and Theology in the Old Norse "Descent into Hell,"* *Toronto Old Norse and Icelandic Series* 11 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017). English translation found on 135–36; Old Norse-Icelandic edition found on 159–60.

22 Quinn's *Quest*, 31; D. S. Russel, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London: SCM, 1987), 14–16. For a summary of this text, see Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*, 16–18. The establishing of a single *vita* is not possible, as the texts are fluid. Meyer nevertheless printed an edition and separated the known manuscripts into three classes, mostly based on German exemplars. His class III, the *vita* material with the *Cross* material, is what is found in Old Icelandic literature. Mozley makes a new edition, this time based mostly on English manuscripts, and shows that there is even more variation than was evident in Meyer's work, noting that some *Cross* material was expanded to include the legend of the eight parts of Adam. More details of this classification can be found in Murdoch, *Hanz Folz and the Adam-Legends: Texts and Studies*, 4; J. H. Mozley, "The 'Vita Adae,'" *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1929): 121–47. For a potential connection between the eight parts of Adam and Norse mythology, see Grant Macaskill, "The Adam Traditions and the Destruction of Ymir in the Eddas," *The Embroidered Bible: Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 653–669. Murdoch notes that, "Most important of all, however: the Adamic narrative represented by the Latin *vita* continues to change and develop when it moves into the vernacular. The Latin tradition provides the basis for an equally complex



Seth and his mother, Eve, go to Paradise in search of the Oil of Life, whereas in the True Cross material, Seth goes alone.

The legend of the True Cross first appears in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>23</sup> The earliest extant text of the combined *Quest* and *Cross* is found in a manuscript from c. 1170 of the *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* by Johannes Beleth, but in this version Seth brings back twigs instead of seeds.<sup>24</sup> The twig version appears in several medieval church vault paintings in Denmark, most dating to the fourteenth century.<sup>25</sup> The seed version, which appears in Old Icelandic literature, eventually becomes more popular than the twig version and in due course triumphs as the most common version found in vernacular offshoots.<sup>26</sup> The pairing of Seth with the seeds had an allegorical underpinning: in Gnostic texts, Seth is seen as the "seed" of his great generation, with the Coptic word for "seed" and "Seth" looking very similar.<sup>27</sup> Jerome and John Cassian recognized Seth as Abel's replacement and thus a "new progenitor," which allowed him to become the originator of the Holy Cross.<sup>28</sup> In this sense, it is possible to see the story of Seth receiving seeds to be planted in his father's corpse as a more orthodox version of the Gnostic idea, connecting Seth to Christ and again distancing the text from the heretical Sethian idea of Seth as the saviour. Another element to consider is Augustine's interpretation of Seth's name as "resurrection" (*resurrectio*),<sup>29</sup> which adds further allegorical

series of vernacular adaptations, with differences of genre and context causing further variations." Murdoch, *Adam's Grace. Fall and Redemption in Medieval Literature*, 30.

23 Quinn, *Quest*, 50

24 Quinn, *Quest*, 11; 88; 103.

25 See Barbara Baert, "The Figure of Seth in the Vault-Paintings in the Parish Church in Östofte," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 66.2 (1997): 97–111. The same author gives an overview of medieval church art concerning the *Legenda* in a wider geographical area in "Adam, Seth and Jerusalem. The Legend of the Wood of the Cross in Medieval Literature and Iconography," *Adam, le premier homme*, Micrologus' Library 45 (Venice: SISMEL, 2012) 69–99.

26 This version, in which Seth receives three glimpses into Paradise, the last glimpse culminating in the vision of a child in the branches of a dry tree, and lastly receiving seeds which grow from Adam's corpse into the cross, is classified as "Class III" of the four classes of the *Vita*. Murdoch, *Adam's Grace. Fall and Redemption in Medieval Literature*, 28–29.

27 Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*, 92.

28 Baert, "Revisiting Seth in the Legend of the Wood of the Cross," 143–44.

29 Barbara Baert, "Seth of De Terugkeer Naar Het Paradijs," *Bijdragen Tot Het Kruishoutmotief in De Middeleeuwen* 56.3 (1995): 316; Baert, *Heritage of the Holy Wood*, 314.

meaning to Seth's role in planting the seeds which are to become the cross on which Christ will die and thereafter be resurrected.

The combining of the *Quest* with the *Cross* material – which Barbara Baert calls “The Seth-Wood of the Cross Motif”<sup>30</sup> – came about undoubtedly because of a desire to typologically connect the Fall of Man with the redemption. That is, to link the tree of knowledge from which Adam and Eve ate with the wood of the cross-tree and the subsequent crucifixion of Christ on that same tree, completing the circle of corruption–redemption.<sup>31</sup> This widespread typology was rooted in third-century glosses of Paul's comments in 1 Corinthians 15:21–22 which connected the tree of knowledge with the cross, for which a longer explicit narrative lacked in canonical scripture.<sup>32</sup> The seed version of the *Quest* combined with the *Cross* material fills this gap while also strengthening the typology that is alluded to in the canonical Bible. The seed version of the *Quest–Cross* combination can be traced to a thirteenth-century Latin text, which Meyer terms the *Legenda*.<sup>33</sup> It is this *Legenda* material that Overgaard is most concerned with in her 1968 edition and is also the material that forms the source of the only version of the *Quest* known in Icelandic. It is thus the *Legenda* from which the *Quest* is separated in Old Icelandic literature when it eventually becomes a standalone tale in *Sethskvæði*. Material that appears solely in this version of the *Quest* is the seared footsteps and the three glimpses into Paradise.<sup>34</sup> The development is simplified in Figure 1.

The editing practices of Mariane Overgaard give a false impression that there is one “Legend of the True Cross” (*Legenda*) in Icelandic manuscripts, divided into subsections, as well as a number of poems which treat the same homogenous material. This, however, is not the case, as there is indeed much striking variation amongst the prose texts, even within

30 Baert, *Heritage of the Holy Wood*, 321.

31 An overview of this typology in art, both in Scandinavia and wider Europe, and its connection to Norse mythology is given in Annette Lassen, “The God on the Tree,” *Greppaminni: Rit til heiðurs Vésteini Ólasyni* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 2009), 234–40.

32 Delbert W. Russell and Tony Hunt, “Two Anglo-Norman Inedita from MS Douce d.6,” *Florilegium: The Journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists/La revue de la Société Canadienne des Médiévistes* 24 (2008): 64.

33 W. Meyer, “Vita Adae et Evae,” *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14.3 (1878): 185–250.

34 Both Quinn and Baert claim that the seared footsteps and three glimpses into Paradise cannot be found elsewhere. Quinn, *Quest*, 108–10; Baert, *Heritage of the Holy Wood*, 322.

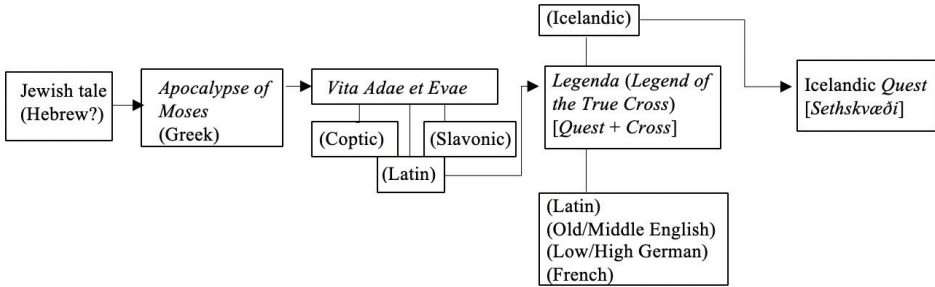


Figure 1: *The Quest as a standalone text in Icelandic literature.*

Overgaard’s subsections. Upon a closer evaluation of the manuscripts containing the *Quest*, it becomes apparent that there are three main developments to be traced which indicate preferential bias towards the *Quest* as a standalone text. The extant evidence does not make clear whether these three trends happened simultaneously or chronologically, eventually culminating in the creation of *Sethskvæði*.

### Abbreviation

Firstly, there is a practice of shortening the second part of the *Legenda*, the *Cross* narrative. Of the known Icelandic manuscripts containing the *Legenda*, there are three examples that display this practice. The earliest instance of this abbreviation of material is found in Hauksbók<sup>35</sup> from the late thirteenth century. The *Quest* appears on folio 17r with the rubric *H[ua]ðan kominn er drotti[ns]*. Overgaard edits this manuscript as text A, comparing it side by side with a seventeenth-century manuscript, AM 65 a 8vo.<sup>36</sup> In comparison with this early modern example, which includes the full story of the *Cross*, the Hauksbók version includes the *Quest* in the expected detail, followed by an abbreviated story of the *Cross* on folio 18v, which begins with *en svo segist*. Overgaard has found no comparable summary in other manuscripts.<sup>37</sup> This might indicate that the *Cross* material was not viewed as being as important as the *Quest* material, which

35 Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 544 4to.

36 Overgaard, *The History of the Cross-Tree*, 1; Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 65 a 8vo.

37 Overgaard, *The History of the Cross-Tree*, XL–XLIII.

is copied more faithfully. Within the summary of the story of the cross, the tree is dropped into a bog (OIce. *fen*) instead of the usual lake, adapting the landscape to a more Nordic one. Taking into consideration that the oldest form of this *Legenda* version can be found in a thirteenth-century Latin text, we should acknowledge the voguish scholarship of Haukr and his scribes. It has been claimed that Haukr and his copyists consciously condensed the texts in Hauksbók and that this abridgement was due to his interest in historical content rather than artistic narrative.<sup>38</sup> With this in mind, we could interpret the shortening of the *Cross* material as a nod to the contemporaneous historical importance of Seth's travel narrative, not least the medieval credence that Paradise was a literal place on earth.

Similar to – yet more succinct than – the text found in Hauksbók, the seventeenth-century AM 727 II 4to<sup>39</sup> written by Jón Guðmundsson lærði (edited as text E in Overgaard) includes the full text of the *Quest* and then a noteworthy summary of the *Cross* material. We are told on folio 12v that Jón will include in the following a part of *Setz reysu*, even though it is known throughout the land and in *Adamz bók*:

Læt eg hier med fylgia nockud af Setz reysu þott hun sie hier all-  
vijda j landinu. Og j Adamz bók.<sup>40</sup>

After Jón is finished with *Setz reysa*, we find a scribal interjection once he reaches the *Cross* material, explicating the fate of the three tree sprouts:

So stödu þeir þar fra Adam til Noa. F[ra] Noa til Abrahamz. fra  
Abraham allt til Moyses. etc. Hier skrifa Jeg ecki meira af. þuiad  
so vijda er umm þetta efni og fleira bædi i Jslenskum bokum og  
Hollenshum [*sic*] annalum.<sup>41</sup>

38 See Sverrir Jakobsson, “Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View,” *Saga-Book* 31 (2007): 24, 29; *Hauksbók: The Arna-Magnæan Manuscripts, 371, 4to, 544, 4to, and 675, 4to.*, ed. by Jón Helgason, *Manuscripta Islandica* 5 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1960), x, xii, xviii.

39 Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 727 II 4to.

40 *Ibid.*, 12v, lines 26–27.

41 *Ibid.*, 13v, lines 17–19.

Jón continues by listing other texts in which similar information about Paradise can be found. He cites several saints’ lives in Old Icelandic, such as *Mattheus saga postula*, as well as *Nichodemi guðspjöll* (*Niðrstigningsarsaga*). In this way, Jón’s commentary acts as a reference guide to the reader, informing them where they can find the same and similar themes elsewhere. In this instance, scribal interjection can clarify the coeval attitude towards the text in question. Not only does Jón’s gloss tell us that by 1644 the story of the *Cross* was widely known in Icelandic books, but it also shows that Jón found it more worthwhile to copy or write out the *Quest* to a greater degree than the *Cross* material. This is the first extant instance of the *Quest* being copied alone without at least a summary of the *Cross* material at the end of the *Quest*.

In a nineteenth-century example, ÍBR 113 8vo<sup>42</sup> (edited as text G in Overgaard), the *Quest* is followed by a short summary of the *Cross* material, similar to that found in *Hauksbók*. This example, however, was compiled from the poems *Sethskvæði* and *Krosskvæði* and supplemented by the *Legenda* material; it is therefore a new creation using old(er) material.<sup>43</sup> The rubric of this re-worked material shows favour towards the *Quest* material: *Hier skriffast æfenntíjr af Adam og Set sjne hanns*. The text is exactly what the rubric indicates, for the summary of the *Cross* material is so short, roughly one-sixth of the text as a whole, that the preponderance of the text is the *Quest*.<sup>44</sup> The practice of using pointed rubrics that favour the *Quest* material is representative of a larger trend, which will be discussed further in the following section.

42 Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, ÍBR 113 8vo, 197r-202v.

43 Overgaard, CXL.

44 The abbreviation of the Holy Cross material in the manuscript is as follows: “Allt til þess Salomon kongur liet smýða það mustere drottens og þá var þetta trie upp høgguid og skilde hafast til musterezinz biggingar enn það var imist óf lant edur óf skamt og var þui þá og burt kastad ut á völlenn. enn þá mustered war algjört þá kóm drottningenn af Zaba af Austurrýkium ad sköda þá dýrdarmætu bigging musterezinz og dýrd Salomoniz. og sá það sama trie á vellenum liggja. og sagde það trie ecke gött vere þui a þui mun verda drepinn og deyddur hialparenn allra manna. enn Salomon villed eida þessare spá drottningarennar og liet taka það trie og sockua þui j diupa leirtiörn. og birgia það rammliga med tórfé lep og gríóte. og so lá þar þetta trie j leirnum tuo heimz aldra og vmm þann týma er drottinn vor Jesus Christur var fæddur þa þornade leirtiörnenn upp. sast þetta trie og var so vr leirnum teked litlu fýrer hannz pýnu og var drottin vor Jesus a þuj sáma trie króssfestur til enderlausnar og hialpar ollumm mōnnum annarz fórtapader. Fines.” ÍBR 113 8vo, 201v, line 11–202v.

*Rubrics*

The second development is the use of rubrics for *Legenda* material that only refer to the *Quest* and not the *Cross*. In these six manuscripts, the story of the cross is not abbreviated, but instead the *Legenda* is found in full, further exemplifying the remarkable use of rubrics that ignore the role of the *Cross* in the story. Our first example is found in AM 65 a 8vo, dated to the seventeenth century. That the *Quest* was the most important part of the text to the scribe copying or recording it is demonstrated by the title, which draws special attention to the beginning of the *Legenda* (i.e., the *Quest*) through the rubric *Eitt æfintir af Adam*.<sup>45</sup>

For the medieval audience, rubrics “gloss the text and cue ‘sedimented reading habits’ which in turn determine the context for the texts’ interpretation. For the modern reader, the rubrics serve as written records of the reading experience and allow us to filter through the ‘sedimented layers’ of [...] reading habits and interpretive patterns.”<sup>46</sup> The text itself tells us a lot about what was interesting or important to readers in the time period in which the manuscript was produced, but the rubrics give us a further look into how these texts were classified and read. AM 65 a 8vo offers a first glimpse at the trend of rubricating the *Legenda* material with titles that label the ensuing story as that of Adam and Seth rather than that of the story of the True Cross.

Further examples include the late seventeenth-century Lbs 457 4to, which titles the *Legenda* material *Fröðleg frásaga af Adam og Seth hans syni*, assigning no importance to the material that follows the *Quest*.<sup>47</sup> The rubric appears on the last line of 154v, but 155r is blank, and text begins on the first line of 155v.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, ÍBR 74 4to, which is dated to 1782, includes the *Legenda* which is titled *Hier skrifast Eitt Æfinntyr af Seth*.<sup>49</sup> This specification that the text is about Seth is entirely the doing of the scribe, as ÍBR 74 4to is a transcript of Lbs 1228 8vo, which entitles the

45 Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 65 a 8vo, 59r.

46 Benjamin C. Withers, “Unfulfilled Promise: The Rubrics of the Old English Prose Genesis,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999): 112.

47 Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, Lbs 457 4to.

48 This is a rather strange occurrence, being the only blank page in the manuscript, and it is not at the beginning or end of a quire.

49 Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, ÍBR 74 4to, 99v, line 1.

*Legenda* material *Hier skrifast eitt Æfintýr*.<sup>50</sup> A transcript of the already-discussed AM 65 a 8vo, the eighteenth-century NKS 1140 fol. entitles the *Legenda* with *Æfentýr af Adam*; however, the table of contents calls the text *Seths-Reisa*.<sup>51</sup> Our fifth example, Lbs 791 8vo, dated to 1888–89, uses the rubric *hier skrifast dáltil saga af Adam*.<sup>52</sup> In a final example, SÁM 157, dated to 1880–95, includes a title of the *Legenda* seven lines long: *Dáltil saga af Adam þegar hann var rekin ur paradís og þegar hann sendi Seth son sinn i aldin garðin og um upp komu þess tres sem Kristur var kross festur á og fleira sem á er vikið*.<sup>53</sup> The *Legenda* texts in Lbs 791 8vo and SÁM 157 are clearly related. The two examples belong to Overgaard’s *Legenda* version C, which is a *Legenda* text that is extensively padded with historical and biblical details, such as the story of Cain and Abel and the story of the flood. As such, the *Quest* takes up only roughly 15 per cent of the text, accentuating the curiosity of the choice in titles.

In his study of religious romance, Keith Busby shows that rubrics, “by their subject and placement [...] can even suggest an interpretation” of the text in which they occur. His study shows that the rubrics secularize the otherwise religious story in question and, in a way, even “re-write” it.<sup>54</sup> The rubrics in our study function similarly as Busby’s example; the use of the terms *æfintýr* and (*frá*)*saga* guides the reader towards *exemplum* rather than a strictly biblical story, steering away from the Holy Cross as the centre of the tale and instead focusing on the trials of Adam and Seth, the rubric “re-writing” the tale’s main point.

### *Separation*

The third main development is the eventual existence of the *Quest* as a standalone text without the *Cross*. The previously discussed AM 727 II 4to can be seen as an example of this third development, as it does not include any part of the *Cross*. Still, Jón lærði writes specifically that he

50 Overgaard, XLVIII; Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, Lbs 1228 8vo, 128r, lines 1–2.

51 Copenhagen, The Royal Library, Ny kgl. sml. 1140 fol., pp. 39–57. This manuscript is a transcript of the last part of AM 65 a 8vo.

52 Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, Lbs 791 8vo, p. 61, lines 1–2.

53 Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 157, 42v.

54 Keith Busby, “Rubrics and the Reception of Romance,” *French Studies: A Quarterly Review*, 53.2 (1999): 140.

chooses not to include this material, so I have chosen accordingly to nest this manuscript's evidence under the first development, 'abbreviation.' The most striking example of the *Quest* as a standalone text is the more than sixty unedited manuscripts of the poem *Sethskvæði*.<sup>55</sup> The poem includes exclusively the *Quest*, its earliest witness dating to 1676–77 in AM 148 8vo, *Kvæðabók úr Vigur*. It is a dramatic retelling of the *Quest* with much more emotion added to the story. The poet, Jón Pétursson from the farm Saurar in Álftafjörður, begins and ends the poetic *Quest* with language that turns the poem into a personal prayer, in thankful meditation on the possibility of receiving redemption from Adam's sins, through the cross. Yet, the connection between the *Quest* and the Holy Cross is limited to two of fifty verses, making only the necessary mention that the three pips became the cross, which brought salvation from Adam's transgressions. My transcription of verses 45 and 46 come from the first of the two *Sethskvæði* that appear in AM 100 8vo; the poem is transcribed in full in the appendix. Verse numbers and placement vary according to manuscript:

12r	45.	Af þeim kornum ur hannz munn eirn spratt þirne runnur þesse sǫgn er þíodum kunn þidur elsku brunnur djrstur drottenn minn þar vaxande þuj á trie þolde daudann sinn
12v	46.	Adam firre át af trie Øllum kom j dauda enn vor Jesus ætla eg sie ending sárra nauda á krosse kualldest hann ad endur lausn oss orkad fieck og óvin sigra vann

55 Natalie M. Van Deusen and Kirsten Wolf, *The Saints in Old Norse and Early Modern Icelandic Poetry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 75–76. The only printed form of the poem is a facsimile of a manuscript in which it appears, Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 148 8vo (*Kvæðabók úr Vigur*), in Jón Helgason (ed.), *Kvæðabók úr Vigur. AM 148, 8vo. Ljósprentaður texti* (Copenhagen: Hinu íslenska fræðafélagi í Kaupmannahöfn, 1955), 116v–121v.



Overgaard chooses not to edit *Sethskvæði* because she posits it contains the same *Quest* material from the *Legenda*:

This poem, which is probably from about 1600, has never been edited and has not been included in the present edition, partly because it does not contain any independent material of significance but first and foremost because it survives in a great number of MSS with varying texts, apparently being recorded from oral tradition on more than one occasion. If an edition of the poem were to be anywhere near exhaustive, it would take up a disproportionate amount of space and fall outside the scope of this book.<sup>56</sup>

Naturally, the wording and content have been reworked to fit the poetic form, so despite Overgaard’s assertion that it does not contain “independent material,” the poetic *Quest* does contain unique imagery and vocabulary, as is made evident in the transcriptions below. She notes herself that the poem “contains a number of details which are not found in any Icelandic or Latin prose texts, but these details are for the most part merely descriptive and they are probably to be ascribed to the poet.”<sup>57</sup> Beyond enriching our knowledge of Icelandic literature, the details found in *Sethskvæði* illuminate new directions in pseudepigraphal literature of the Middle Ages. That there are a large number of manuscripts which contain great variation reveals that there is a wealth of unique elements waiting within the *Sethskvæði* manuscripts.<sup>58</sup>

The afterlife of the *Quest* as its own text in Icelandic literature is in line with the structural history of the *Legenda* material, for the *Quest* portion – although it was extensively altered from its beginning until the medieval period – was copied more faithfully than the cross material, exhibiting “stylistic and structural superiority” over the story of the *Cross*.<sup>59</sup> That readers appear to have been interested mainly in the *Quest* portion of the

56 Overgaard, *The History of the Cross-Tree*, XX.

57 Ibid., CXLI.

58 One notable variation found between texts is the number of verses. Both Kålund and Páll Eggert Ólason claim that the poem has 44 verses; the below transcriptions prove that to be not true, as poem one contains 50 verses and poem two, 40. See Páll Eggert Ólason, *Menn og menntir síðskiptaaldarinnar á Íslandi*, vol. IV (Reykjavík: Bókaverzlun Ársæls Árnasonar, 1926), 623.

59 Quinn, *Quest*, 105.

Old Icelandic *Legenda*, presents an interesting development in the long history of the evolution of the *Quest*. This phenomenon was also present in medieval Denmark in the form of iconography and probably precedes the separation of the *Quest* and *Cross* that occurred in Iceland. Images of the story of Seth appear separately from images of the *Cross* both in manuscript illuminations and in medieval Danish church vault paintings, likely stemming from German influence.<sup>60</sup>

### Pondering Genre in the *Quest*

The Adamic literature describing the life of the protoplasts and their family after they are expelled from Paradise “constitute[s] one of the most widely-known legend-cycles of the Middle Ages.”<sup>61</sup> This accounts for the almost one hundred manuscripts containing the *Quest* in Icelandic. This popularity was likely escalated because the *Quest* fits easily into several secular and religious genres. Further, distinction in the Middle Ages between pseudepigraphal and canonical texts was not as strict in practice as one might think, and Brian Murdoch goes as far as suggesting that medieval readers of vernacular stories containing biblical materials and characters would not have distinguished between them at all.<sup>62</sup> In short, despite clear doctrine having been put in place at the Council of Rome in 382 CE determining a biblical canon, there was still not a clear vision of what an extra-biblical text was in the Middle Ages. This ambiguity lends to apocrypha and pseudepigrapha texts as hybrid texts – functioning as theology, history, and secular literature.<sup>63</sup> As pseudepigrapha, the *Quest* should be seen as a genre-crossing story that functioned in several ways for its readers.

The individual use of the *Quest* is testament to the richness and creati-

60 “Around 1400 thus, Seth and the wood of the Cross also operate iconographically outside the tradition of the legend of the Cross, as an illustration for Genesis passages in world chronicles and verse Bibles. These German manuscripts could have reached Denmark along trading routes.” Baert, “The Figure of Seth in the Vault-Paintings in the Parish Church in Östofte,” 102.

61 Brian Murdoch, *Hanz Folz and the Adam-Legends: Texts and Studies*, Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur 28 (Amsterdam: Rodopi N.V., 1977), 3.

62 Brian Murdoch, *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 49.

63 Murdoch, *Adam’s Grace. Fall and Redemption in Medieval Literature*, 49.

vity of the literary tradition in medieval and post-Reformation Iceland. A tale such as Seth's is appealing for several reasons. In comparison with the *Cross*, the *Quest* is straightforward: one main character (Seth), one main goal (to fetch the Oil of Life), and one destination (Paradise). In contrast, the content of the *Cross* varies widely, frequently an amalgamation that juggles different, often varying stories of biblical characters over a vast period of time – between the death of Adam and the Crucifixion. The themes of the *Quest* resonate with enthusiasts of various genres, including romance, itineraries, travel narratives such as the *viðförla* sagas, and biblical or theological material.

In English and continental traditions, the *Quest* has been linked with Arthurian romances. Esther Quinn connects Seth's quest for the oil with the quest for the grail. She posits that Malory's fifteenth-century Middle English reworking of *Le Morte d'Arthur* includes an episode that is influenced by the *Quest*.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, Barbara Baert connects Seth's vision of the infant Christ in the tree with a scene in the twelfth-century Old French continuation of the *Perceval* romance, noting that the imagery in *Perceval* precedes the extant witnesses of the *Quest* as found in the *Legenda*.<sup>65</sup> Seth's journey is not unlike that of a knight's; both go on a quest to complete a task or goal, during which they must venture out into unknown lands. The main facets of chivalric romance such as court culture are naturally lacking, due to the setting and intended time period, but the theme of love is deeply embedded in the narrative. Seth goes on his quest first and foremost because of love for his father and the desire to have him longer on earth. The narrative takes a turn when he is unable to retrieve the oil to lengthen his father's life; his quest then shifts to his duty as progenitor of the wood of the Holy Cross, which, as is already known by the reader, culminates in the ultimate act of love and sacrifice, the Crucifixion.

Probably the most perennial aspect of the story, however, is the journey to Paradise. Travelling to Paradise was a popular theme in medieval literature, not least in Old Icelandic.<sup>66</sup> In AM 727 II 4to, the scribe Jón

64 Esther Casier Quinn, "The Quest of Seth, Solomon's Ship and the Grail," *Traditio* 21 (1965): 185–222. Quinn claims that a part of the *Tale of the Sankgreal*, which tells of a ship built by Solomon that includes three spindles whose origins stem from a branch Eve brought from Paradise, was directly influenced by the *Quest* in the *Legenda*.

65 Baert, *Heritage of the Holy Wood*, 329–33.

66 For discussion on the manifestation of this theme in Old Icelandic literature, see David

Guðmundsson lærði mentions *Ódáinsakur* in connection with the *Quest*. He titles the very beginning of the *Quest* with *Odains akur Eða oþolnandi Ferð*,<sup>67</sup> followed by the sentence, *Eigi hef eg af oðru odains akur lesið Enn Paradíjs sem Adam var i settur*.<sup>68</sup> In this sense, we could see the *Quest* on par with stories such as *Eiríks saga víðförla*, in which the saga's namesake travels to Paradise (also referred to in the saga as *Ódáinsakr*). This short tale was very popular, evidenced by the more than sixty extant manuscripts from the fourteenth to twentieth centuries.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, the themes of the two texts are intricately linked in that they discuss theological matters important to salvation.

In her study of the thirteenth-century Picard-French Andrius manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale Fr. 95), Esther Quinn notes that its contents are largely Arthurian, the *Quest* and the *Cross* legends placed at the end of the codex.<sup>70</sup> She uses this codicological evidence to speculate about the medieval French perspective on the genre of the *Quest*. That is a valid conclusion when working with manuscripts in their original state; however, Old Icelandic manuscripts have been separated and rebound extensively, for a large part by Árni Magnússon himself, indicating that the extant bindings are often not reflective of original practices of categorizing texts according to theme or other factors.<sup>71</sup> However, these “unstable codicological boundaries”<sup>72</sup> in the Icelandic corpus tell us a variety of other useful things about the history of a text. For example, the manuscript ÍBR

Ashurst, “Imagining Paradise,” *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature. Sagas and the British Isles. Preprint Papers of the Thirteenth International Saga Conference, Durham and York 6<sup>th</sup>–12th August, 2006*, ed. by John McKinnel, David Ashurst, et al., vol. I (Durham: The Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), 71–80; Rosemary Power, “Journeys to the Otherworld in the Icelandic *Fornaldarsögur*,” *Folklore* 96.2 (1985): 156–75; Sverrir Tómasson, “Ferðir þessa heims og annars. Paradís-Ódáinsakur-Vínland í íslenskum ferðalýsingum miðalda,” *Gripla* 12 (2001): 23–40.

67 Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 727 II 4to, 12v, line 25.

68 Ibid, 12v, lines 25–26.

69 Kolbrún Haraldsdóttir, “*Eiríks saga víðförla* í miðaldahandritum,” *Gripla* 30 (2019): 49.

70 Esther Casier Quinn, *The Penitence of Adam: A Study of the Andrius MS. (Bibliothèque Nationale Fr. 95 folios 380r–394v)* (University, Mississippi: Romance Monographs, 1980).

71 For a detailed study on Árni Magnússon's practices in rearrangement, see Beeke Stegmann, “Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts,” (PhD diss., University of Copenhagen, 2016).

72 Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, “Manuscripts and Codicology,” *A Critical Companion to Old Norse Literary Genre*, ed. by Massimiliano Bampi, Carolyne Larrington, and Sif Rikhardsdóttir (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2020), 100.

113 8vo has a cover page that dates the collection of items to 1844. The *Legenda* appears on 197r–202v. The outer-facing leaves of the *Legenda*, 197r and 202v, are significantly darker than the inner leaves, as well as the surrounding leaves, 196v and 203r.<sup>73</sup> The text is contained in its own quire. This likely indicates that the *Legenda* in this manuscript was previously circulated as a standalone text before it was integrated into the collection, which would mean that it is older than the date of binding and/or compilation, 1844.

While the instances in other vernacular traditions of the *Quest's* connections with certain genres might not always be applicable to the Old Icelandic exemplars, they do testify to the *Quest's* hybridity as a text. It is not fully pseudepigraphal but also biblical; not only about biblical happenings but also about adventure into the unknown; not only about a son attempting to save his father but also about the son of God redeeming humankind. The *Quest* can mould to the reader's needs, and therein lies its charisma.

## Concluding Remarks

Unlike Adam, not all texts are created in the image of the divine. Some receive an overwhelming amount of critical attention despite their relatively few extant manuscripts; others fall out of vogue, or never even make their debut, despite their profuse attestations. Luckily for Seth, the winds of scholarship are continuously shifting directions. His once popular story, reporting to the reader of the very seeds from which salvation sprung, will no longer indulge in lying dormant within the pages. Forty to fifty verses later – depending on the text – the reader (or hearer) of *Sethskvæði* is filled with hope for the future, for in Seth's journey to Paradise, the murkiness of the biblical narrative is made clearer, offering up a detailed account of how Adam and Eve's transgressions are to be redeemed through the joining of the forbidden fruit with Adam's corrupted corpse. Adventure, supernatural visions, death, and rebirth: a medieval or modern reader could ask for nothing more in a short story.

73 I am indebted to Beeke Stegmann for this point.

## Appendix: A Transcription of the Two *Sethskvæði* in AM 100 8vo

An example of a codicological unit that was altered by Árni Magnússon can be found in the manuscript used for the following transcriptions of *Sethskvæði*, AM 100 8vo.<sup>74</sup> The manuscript includes two *Sethskvæði*, followed by a fragment of *Krossdrápa*. The first poem 1r–13v, was taken from a larger manuscript that belonged to Jón Vídalín, which is indicated on the flyleaf just inside AM 100 8vo, written in Árni Magnússon's hand. It is tempting to speculate that Árni assembled these three poems together because they share a similar theme, but in practice it is impossible to know his reasoning. The two *Sethskvæði* poems are in different hands and scripts, but are dated to the same period, c. 1700–25.<sup>75</sup> Beyond their differences in appearance and origin, the contents also deviate from one another. The first poem, 1r–13v, includes fifty stanzas, while the second, 15r–21r, contains only forty. There is some variation amongst the order of the verses, as well as their contents. Below, I have transcribed both poems using the first, longer poem as a foundation and lining up the verses of the second poem side by side with the first for comparison. For the most part, the second poem follows the verse order of the first, although several verses are skipped along the way. A notable exception is found in the second poem's verse 6, which is only preserved in part and corresponds to verse 26 in the first poem. Additionally, verse 4 in poem two does not correspond to any verses in poem one. *Sethskvæði* has never been published in full; what follows is but a snippet of the great variation found within the poem in the extant sixty-one manuscripts.

### *Emendations*

This is a semi-diplomatic transcription, as I have chosen to expand all abbreviations. The first poem does not include numbering of verses; I have added them for ease of reading. I have kept the scribe's method of marking vowels.

74 In older literature, this manuscript is often referred to as AM 99 c 8vo.

75 Kristian Kålund (ed.), *Katalog over Den Arnemagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, vol. II (Copenhagen: Kommissionen for det Arnemagnæanske Legat & Gyldendal, 1894), 390–91.

*Two Sethskvæði in AM 100 8vo*

<b>1r</b>	<p>Þetta kallast Seths kvæde</p> <p>1. Otte drottins upphaf er allra vitsku greina hann hinn same hialpe mier huggun allra meina bæde lióst og leint alldrei mun mier epter þad af jllum løstum meint</p> <p>2. Draps hofdinginn daudenn jnn dróst j edlid manna riett sem vottar Ritninginn rædu efnid sanna O Jesu sigur söl</p> <p><b>1v</b> firer drejra dropana þjn mig dragdu j nädar skiöl</p> <p>3. Gud doms miukre glæde vm mic Geislar Jesu blidu þjn velldis maktinn veg samlig vatn og blód af sidu þide þrotann minn sifellt med mier sid og ár sinda eg Jøkul finn</p> <p>4. Sköpunar frá eg skire bók skada sem Adam hrepte Eva þa bannad eplid tók ollum giædum slepte þvj eitrud ofundar kind</p> <p><b>2r</b> ad þeim dró þann jlla prett Orms j vondre mind</p>	<b>15r</b>	<p>Eitt kvæde Vel=gamallt</p> <p>1. Otte drottins upphaf er allra viskugreina hann hinn samj hialpe mier huggun allra meina bædj lióst og leint alldrej mun mier epter þad af illum vitum meint.</p> <p>2. Dráps hofdingen daudin inn dröst i edlid<sup>1</sup> manna riett sem vottar ritning inn og rædu efnid sanna og Jesus sigur söl fýrer dreira dropana þjn mig dragdu i nädarskiöl.</p> <p>3. Skopunar frá eg skire bök skadan sem Adam hrepte þegar hun Eva eplid tók og ollum giædum sleppte þvj eijtrud ofundar kind ad þeim dró þan illa prett Orms i vondre mind.</p> <p><b>15v</b> 4. Hofudid ormsins herran kvad hijrlegt kvennmanns sæde mola skal sundur i margann stad þvj munud þid frelsast bædj. Þvj miskunar Oleum mætt ýckur vid mig aptur skal j eijlifa koma sætt.</p>
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1 *edled* is crossed out in the main text and *edlid* written in the margin.

- |     |   |     |  |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| 5.  | Riettlætess so mistu mekt<br>miög voru ber og nakenn<br>plicktud under sára sekt<br>suo j burtu hrakenn<br>vr prudre para ðis<br>j dalnum Ebron duöldust þau<br>sem drottinn baud alvís               | 5.  | Riettlætis þä minstu megt<br>miög svo ber og naken<br>pligtug under sára sekt<br>so i burtu hraken<br>úr prúdre Paradís;<br>i dalnum Hebron dvöldust þaug<br>sem drotten baud alvís            |
| 6.  | Þau vøfdust so vm veralldar bigd<br>vist firer nedan dalinn<br>mættu ejmdum mædd af hrigd<br>j marg skins naudum kvalinn<br>þad enn er arfur vor  | 7.  | Vøfdust þaug umm veralldar býgd<br>vist fýrer nedan dalenn<br>mættu eimdu mædd af hrigd<br>j mórgum sóttum kvalin<br>þadan   er arfur vor  |
| 2v  | þuj likt neidar prauta strid<br>er þuingan holldsins stór   | 16r | þingist af þvj þrautar strid<br>og þvingun holldsins stór.   |
| 7.  | Adam griet enn alldrei hló<br>vm af brot giørde þeinkia<br>Jdran heit j brióste bió<br>bukinn ried ad kreinkia<br>marg fallt sótta safn<br>j kalldre þiáning kost giæfinn<br>ad kalla a drottins nafn |     |  |
| 8.  | Olust þørninn af þeim mørg<br>efter herrans bode<br>sialfur drottinn sende biørg<br>samt var nærre vode<br>og aumlegt ættar mein  |     |  |
| 3r  | loder vid kinslod løngum slikt<br>og litt er hun firer þad hrein  |     |  |
| 9.  | Þrenn þriu hundrud þreitte ár<br>þennann heimsins alldur<br>heidurs madurinn hiartta klár<br>helldur luenn og kalldur<br>niu og tuttuðu nær<br>til skogar verka valla vel<br>var þa leingur fær       | 8.  | Þrenn þriu hundrud þriátiu ár<br>þennann heimsins alldur<br>heidurs madurenn hiartaklár<br>helldur lüenn og kalldur<br>niü og túttugu nær<br>til skögar verka varla vel<br>var fýrer elle fær. |
| 10. | J bakenu kende hann lang giæ/tt lu\<br>limina fieck þad þuingad<br>so talande sig vid nu<br>nær sendast mun mier hingad   | 10. | J bakenu kiende hann lãnggiãtt lu<br>sem limena alla þvingar<br>so talandj sig vid nu<br>nær sendast mun mier hingad<br>þad miskunar olium mætt  |
| 3v  | þad miskunar olium mætt   |     |  |



- sem lifande drottinn lofode mier  
ad leisa mjna ætt
11. Adam fram á axar skaft  
eirn dag stidiast giörde  
vm manndomz afl og megniss kraft  
margan ellenn skerder  
hun för einz med hann  
so gøfuglegur sem gefenn var  
af Gude j veralldar rann
12. Son minn godur Seth hef eg þier  
sende för til buna  
helldur mun þier hægra enn mier  
ad hlaupa spored nuna  
þvj þu ert vakur og vis  
fagnadar sækia frietter mier  
og fara j para dis
13. Eingill ver þann alldingard  
eirn med nõktu suerde  
sidann ad eg sekur vard  
og særleg af brot giörde  
fardu og findu hann  
frædt mun hann geta fullvel þig  
vm Frelsarann Gud og mann
14. Ferdalag mun frestast mitt  
þuj feta eg veiginn ecke  
vt ad rietta erjnded þitt  
þuj øngua bráut eg þecke  
minn hiarttanns Faderenn hir  
mig of sækia á midre<sup>3</sup> leid  
mein søm grimdar dir
15. Suarade Adam son minn kiær  
sialfur drottinnz Ande  
heil næma þier huggun fær  
svo<sup>2</sup> huerfur allur vande  
barn mitt burt frá þier  
blessan mina beint med grát  
bæta vil eg til hier
- sem lifandj drottenn lofadj mier  
ad leýsa mina ætt.
9. Adam framm á axar skapt  
eirn dag stidiast giörde  
manndöms afl og megniss kapt  
mörgum ellenn skerder  
hun för eins med hann  
so gierfelegur, sem gefenn var  
af Gude i veralldar rann.
11. Sonur minn gödur Seth hef eg þier  
sende ferd til büna  
16v helldur er þier hægra | enn mier  
ad hlaupa spored núna  
þvj þu ert vakur og vis  
fagnadar sækia frietter mier  
og fara i Paradis.
12. Eingill ver þann alldingard  
eirn med nõktu sverde  
sidan ad eg sekur vard  
og særleg af brot giörde  
fardu og findu hann  
frædt mun hann geta fullvel þig  
umm frelsarann Gud og mann.
13. Ferdalag mun frestast mitt  
þuj feta eg veigen ecke  
ut ad rietta erinded þitt  
þuj aungva braut eg þecke  
minn hiartans fader hijr  
mig of sækia á midre<sup>3</sup> leid  
meinsóm skemdar dýr.
14. Svarade Adam son minn kiær  
17r sialfur Drottinnz Andj  
heilmæma þier | huggun fær  
hverfur allur vande  
barn mitt burt frá mier  
blessun minne beint med grát  
þýta vil eg þier.

2 *svo* is written in the margin before *huerfur*.

3 *leid* is crossed out here and written again.

16. Pegar vid miuklat móður þín  
mistum dirdar giæde  
**5r** augliös er su augna sîn  
ad vid geingum bæde  
suørt og suidinn spør  
siást mun æ vm sagða tid  
su sinda minning vor
17. Alldrej græn enn suidinn og suørt  
siást þau ockar sporinn  
ad vid feingum jlla giørt  
þuj er sá sjnda sorinn  
Eilif a minning  
grænkast alldrei get eg þau fir  
enn giørest þad mikla þing
18. Seth ried játa sagdre grein  
og sidann hiöninn kuadde  
**5v** þannenn dira dandess suein  
dagsins liosed gladde  
förrinn fann alvis  
allann dalinn Ebron rann  
og upp ad paradis
19. Hann kende þar Eingil cherubin  
kominn med nøktu suerde  
Erindinn födurz og so sin  
vt hann skira giørde  
og sagdest sende mann  
ad frietta vm drottinz firer heit  
sem fordum lofade hann
20. Eingill suarade jnn gack þu  
vm alldinn gardsins hliðinn  
**6r** helldur drottinn heit og tru  
þo heims sie alldur lidinn  
og lang giæd lifsins tid  
su mun koma framm sidarmeir  
sigur vinninginn blid
21. Jnn gieck Seth og sidann sier  
sömann dirra giæda  
jlm og änga bestann ber  
bilt mun vm ad ræda  
vesølum vesling mier
15. Pegar vid miuklát möder þín  
mistum dýrdar giæde  
augliös var su augna sýn  
ad vid geingum bæde  
svórt og sviden spør  
siást mun æ umm sagða tid  
sýnda minning vor.
16. Alldrej græn enn svidenn og svórt  
siást þar ockar sporen  
ad vid feingum illa giört  
þvj er þad, sýnda þarin  
eýlif äminning  
grænkast alldrej get eg fyrr  
enn giørest þad mikla þing.
17. Seth ried iáta sagdrj grein  
sidann hiönenn kvadde  
**17v** þann hinn dýra dändis | svein  
dagsins liosed gladde  
förrinn fann alvis  
allan dalen Ebron rann  
upp ad Paradis.
18. Sá hann þar eingil Cherubin  
senn med nocktu sverde  
erenden födurz og svo sin  
üt hann skýra giørde  
og sagdest sendemann  
ad frietta umm drottins fyrrerheit  
sem fordum lofade hann.
19. Eingillin sagde inn gack þu  
umm alldengardssins hliðenn  
helldur drottenn hiet og tru  
þö heims sie alldur lidenn  
og läng giæd lifsins tid  
su mun koma framm sidar meir  
sigurviningenn blid.
20. Jnngieck Seth og sidan sier  
**18r** sömann allra giæda  
ýlm og änga bestan ber  
bid mun umm ad ræda  
vesólum vesling mier

- huxa giörde hann vm slikt  
 huad firer augun ber
22. Annare huor þar eikinn laut  
 6v eins og fadmast villde  
 med blöma skart og besta skraut  
 af blidre drottins millde  
 kuister og laufinn liós  
 blærinn heite bærde það  
 sem blankade himnesk rós
23. Vjn og vidsmiör mätte fá  
 meir enn nóg ad smacka  
 hunangs kelddur hreinar sä  
 honum ber ad þacka  
 er situr <sup>4</sup> soddann stad  
 epter þessa æfe tid  
 vnne oss Jesus það
24. Sadning fieck af soddann dird  
 7r seggurinn lucku sterke  
 vt mun verda alldrei skird  
 ägiæt drottinz merke  
 nie hanzz há tigninn nein  
 þo tale fra Adam til domz dags  
 tungann huor Sem ejn
25. J midium garde madurinn sier  
 mikla eik og svartu  
 suidinn þorklaus suört hun er  
 su kann ecke ad skarta  
 ørm og lika aum  
 Seth ried lita soddann trie  
 vid särann vaknar draum
26. Allt frá rotum upp til midz  
 7v er hun j giegnum rifinn  
 mestur hlute mannlegs frids  
 munde j burtu drifinn  
 þá át hann af henne blóm  
 hier firer vrdu hiöninn tuo  
 ad hafa þann rietta dom
27. Höggorm litur halurinn hir  
 hana j giegnum skrida
- huga giördj hann umm slikt  
 hvad fyrrer augun ber.
21. Annare hvor þar eiken laut  
 einz og fadmast villde  
 med blöma tru og besta skraut  
 af blidre drottins millde  
 kvister og laufen liós  
 blærenn litell bærde þeim  
 sem blankandj himnesk rös.
22. Miólk og vjn þar mätte fá  
 meir enn nóg ad smacka  
 hunangs kielldur hreinar þä  
 honum ber ad þacka  
 sem situr i soddan stad  
 epter lidna æfetid  
 unne oss Jesus það.
23. J midium garde madurin sier  
 mikla eik og svartu  
 18v snoden börk | laus sýndest hier  
 su kann ecke ad skarta  
 órm ad lita og aum  
 Seth<sup>4</sup> ried lita soddan trie  
 vid sarann vaknade draum.
- 15v \*6. Allt frá vótnum inn til mids  
 þä at hann af henne blóm  
 hier fyrrer urdu hiönen tvó  
 ad hafa þann rietta dóm.
- 18v 24. Höggorm litur haluren hýr  
 hana i gegnum skrída

4 The letter *l* is crossed out just before *reid*.

- vt og jnn hann ávallt snir  
so alldrei giører ad bida  
vm eitt augna blik  
fieck þær skrifter falsarinn  
firer sin þölvud suik
28. Forbannad Seth fældest trie  
**8r** furdu hryggvann<sup>5</sup> sette  
higgur vist það sama sie  
sem suikarenn dró af prette  
þa foreldra froma sueik  
þvj er hann jafnann frá kvalenn  
vid þessa enu sömu eik
29. Ogná hrædslu ad hönum sló  
aptur a bak ried venda  
jdran heit j briöste biö  
bad sier miskun senda  
dirann drottinn sinn  
siástu vm betur sorgadu ei  
sagde Eingillinn
30. Otta sleigenn þá um sig leit  
**8v** Eik sá fagra standa  
biárta og hreina j blöma reit  
blessan heilags Anda  
mátte merkia þar  
heita má það himnesk rös  
á huörum kuiste Var
31. Birtann skiær enn laufinn liós  
lieku á vidarens greinum  
hátt ad vexte j huirfle rös  
af himna liöma hreinum  
drottinn dird sie þier  
langtum fegra lifa vann  
enn leiptred sólar er
32. J limunum þess ens liösa tries  
**9r** leit hann suein barn sitia  
upp haf þider andar fles  
aumingianna ad vitia  
liking lausnaranns
- ut og inn hann ávallt snir  
alldrej giører ad bida  
umm eitt augnablik.  
fieck þær skriffter falsarenn  
fýrer sin bolvod svik
25. Forbanad það fældest trie  
furdu hriggvann sette  
hýggur vist það sama sie  
sem svikarenn dró ad prette  
þa foreldra fröma sveik  
þvj er hann iafnann þra kvalenn  
vid þessa sömu eik.
26. Ogn og hrædslu ad hönum slö  
aptur ábak ried venda  
ydrun þrátt i briöste biö  
bad sier miskun senda  
dýrann drottenn sinn  
siástu umm betur  
**19r** sorgadu ej sagde Eingillinn.
27. Otta sleigenn umm sig leit  
eik svo fagra standa  
biarta og fagra i blöma reit  
blessun heilags Anda  
mátte merkia þar  
heita matte himnesk rös  
á hvorium kviste bar.
28. J limenu þess hins liösa tries  
leit hann sveinbarn sitia  
upphaf þider andar fles  
var aumingianna ad vitia  
liking lausnarans

5 *blödan* is crossed out and *bryggvann* written above.

- daud leg tunga ej dicta kann  
 vm dird og pride hanns
33. Fegre enn sól su fǫgar heim  
 frá eg barnid sindist  
 j hialpar garde helgum þeim  
 hǫnum Seth ad tindist  
 angur og allskins mein  
 af þeim sueine allt j kring  
 edla Geislenn skein
34. Gledinnar olium Gudzson þar  
 9v giǫrde j Eik ad sitia  
 hann ein mær j hollde bar  
 þa heimsins giǫrde ad vita<sup>6</sup>  
 og leisa af lǫstum hann  
 treigin vr hiartta titt og þrátt  
 enn tár af augum rann
35. Arm vt breiddann ǫllum baud  
 sem ä hann villdu trua  
 helvitiss frá hættre naud  
 ä hialpar veiginn snua  
 veröldinn vjst er aum  
 vill hun helldur vakna seint  
 af vondum sinda draum
36. Eingillenn þa sagde Seth  
 10r sæt legt hialpar efne  
 sem Almáttugur Gud Adam hiet  
 Oleum dirt eg nefne  
 drottinns dirdar son  
 af hǫnum ättu og allt þitt kin  
 endur lausnar von
37. Fardu og seigdu fǫdur þin  
 huad firer þig bored hefur  
 jntu hǫnum ordinn min  
 hann vt af eimdum sefur  
 þa lidinn er litil stund  
 Gud vill ad þier grafid hann  
 jgræna veralldar grund
- daudleg tunga ej dicktad fær  
 umm dýrd og pride hanz.
29. Arm ut breiddan ǫllum baud  
 sem ä hann villdu trua  
 helvítis fra hættre naud  
 ä hiälparveigen snua  
 veröldden víst er aum  
 vill hun helldur vakna seint  
 vid vondan sýnda draum.
30. Eingillen sagde siä nu Seth  
 19v sæt | legt hiälpar efne  
 sem almattugur gud Adam hiet  
 Oleum dírst eg nefne  
 Drottins dýrdar son  
 af hónum ättu og allt þitt kin  
 endur lausnar von.
31. Fardu og seigdu fǫdur þin  
 hvad fýrer þig bored hefur  
 intu hǫnum orden min  
 hann ut af deýr og sefur  
 þa lidenn er litel stund  
 Gud vill ad þier grafed hann  
 i græna veralldar<sup>7</sup> Grund.

6 Likely a scribal error, *vita* should be *vitja*

7 *lund* is written after *veralldar* and crossed out.

38. Priu korn fær eg<sup>8</sup> þegninn þier  
 10v þau skalltu halurinn láta  
 nær fader þinn andast frægur hier  
 fill þu þennann mæta  
 adur enn grafenn er  
 vnder tungur tignar manns  
 tíæer suo drottinn mier
39. Set vard gladur sidann gieck  
 senn a stad og kvadde  
 korninn mætur kappinn fieck  
 kiætinn hiartad gladdj  
 fir greind fõrinn fann  
 fliõtur liette ej ferdu fir  
 enn fõdur sins bigd ad rann
40. Adam heylsar synenum sin  
 11r sætt og kissa næde  
 jntu sonur erjdinn þin  
 af ædsta hialpar ræde  
 feingid hefur þå fregn  
 halur þå komstu heim til vor  
 hrestest allt mitt megn
41. Hermde allt huad heirde og sæ  
 hann vr paradjsu  
 Adam þå j brun suo brå  
 hann broste og hlõ ad visu  
 enn alldrej ådur fir  
 sidann gieck frá sælldar braut  
 j surar daudanns dir
42. Hann leit augum himna til  
 11v og hugde ej meir ad vjlast  
 volldugur drottenn veit þau skil  
 vil eg nu giarnann huilast  
 af langre sinda sekt  
 þitt miskunar Oleum miukt og blidt  
 mier er elskulegt
43. Þadann j frá vm þridia dag  
 ad þegninn sottar kende  
 liet sier falla liuft j hag
32. Priu korn fæ eg þegnenn þier  
 þaug skallt haluren láta  
 nær fader þinn andast frægur hier  
 fýll þu þennann mæta  
 ådur enn grafenn er  
 under tungu tignar manns  
 tiade svo Drottinn mier.
- 20r 33. Seth vard gladur sidan gieck  
 senn å stad og kvadde  
 kornenn mætur kappenn fieck  
 kiæten hiartad gladdj.  
 fýrrgreind fõren fann  
 fliõtur ej liette fõrum fýr  
 enn fõdur sins býgder rann.
34. Adam heilsar synenum sin  
 sætt og kýssa næde  
 ýntu sonur erinden þin  
 af ædstu hiälparrade  
 feinged hefur þu fregn  
 halur þå komstu heim til vor  
 þå hrestest allt vort megn.
35. Hermde allt hvad heýrde og sæ  
 hann ur Paradisu.  
 Adam þå i brun so brå  
 hann broste og hlõ ad visu  
 enn alldreij ådur fýr  
 20v sidan gieck | frá sælu i burt  
 i sýrar daudans dir.
36. Þadann i frá umm þridia dag  
 þegnenn sottar kiende  
 liet sier falla liufft i hag

- þá líkn af drottens hende  
ad hujla hold og blóð  
vt af sofnar jdrun med  
þuj andlätz stund var göð
- 12r 44. Sidann korninn Seth j munn  
snum fõdur lagde  
riett sem eingils ræðann kunn  
reknun firer sagde  
þeir grietu og grõfu hann  
so hefur daudinn sjdar meir  
sokt huõrn veralldar mann
45. Af þeim kornum vr hannz munn  
eirn spratt þirne runnur  
þesse søgn er þiõðum kunn  
þidur elsku brunnur  
djrstur drottenn minn  
þar vaxande þuj á trie  
þolde daudann sinn
- 12v 46. Adam firre át af trie  
øllum kom j dauda  
enn vor Jesus ætla eg sie  
ending sárra nauda  
á krosse kualldest hann  
ad endur lausn oss orkad fieck  
og ovin sigra vann
47. Miõg er ráð ad litil lióð  
loksins falle nidur  
bid eg jdur þõrninn göð  
ad blessann Gudz og fridur  
æ vm krjnge oss  
firer djrstann drottinn vorn  
er daudann þolde á kross
- 13r 48. Eg mig gled þo enn vid þad  
þa er eg vr heime lidinn  
hiá vngu folke eige stad  
sem elskar digd og fridinn  
ad lære skilnings skj  
þeir sem vilia þeinkia j hug  
vm þetta æfinn tjr
- þá líkn af Drottens hende  
ad hvíla hold og blóð  
ut af sofnar ydrun med  
þvj andlätz stund var göð.
37. Sidan kornen Seth i munn  
sinum fõdur lagde  
riett sem eingils ræðann kunn  
reckum fyrrer sagde  
þeir grietu og grõfu hann  
so hefur dauden sídar meir  
sökkt hvern veralldar mann.
38. Af þeim kornumm ur hanns munn  
uppspratt þyrnerunnur  
21r þesse søgn er | þiõðum kunn  
þidur elsku brunnur  
dýrster Drottenn minn  
þar vagsande þvj á trie  
þolde daudan sinn.
39. Adam fyrrer sitt át af trie  
øllum kom i dauda  
enn vor Jesus ætla eg sie  
ending slikra nauda  
ä krosse kvaldest hann  
ad endurlausn oss orkad fieck  
og övin sigra vann.

49. Med sálu og holde skaparinn /skjr\  
 skrid eg þier ad fótum  
 fride mig Jesus frelsarinn dir  
 vr fiãndans kiãfte liótum  
 og alla mjna ætt  
 enn þa nãlgast andlát \mitt/<sup>9</sup>  
 vt af sofne eg sætt
- 13v 50. Brátt ed stutta bragar lag  
 so bjde mædu þrotinn  
 sónar vjn vm sunnudag  
 sendest bendest brotinn  
 fer eg so efne frá  
 einum Gude æra sie  
 vm allar allder Já
40. Brátt hid stutta bragarlag  
 bið mædu þroted  
 sónar vjn umm sunnudag.  
 sundur bendest broted  
 fer eg svo efne frá  
 einum Drottñj æra sie  
 umm allder allda Já  
 Amen.

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9 *stund* is written after *andlát* and crossed out.



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## ÁGRIP

„Quest of Seth“ í forníslenskum bókmenntum: *Sethskvæði* og fyrri gerðir þess.

**Efnisorð:** Bibliúfræði, kvæði, þýðing, Gamla testamentið, krossinn helgi

Í þessari grein er því haldið fram að Sethskvæði sé ljóðræn endurvinnsla á texta sem Esther Quinn hefur kallað „The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life.“ Þessi staðhæfing er þýðingarmikil vegna þess að „Quest of Seth“ hefur einungis þekkt sem hluti Kross sögu. Bakgrunnur frásagnarinnar „Quest of Seth“ er rakinn í upphafi greinarinnar, allt frá hebreskum texta hennar og fram til þess er hún birtist í norrænum handritum. Þróun hennar er skýrð á þrjá vegu sem stuðla að sköpun Sethskvæðis. Í fyrsta lagi er það stytting Kross sögu sem hluta af *Legenda* („Quest of Seth“ og saga krosstrésins), í öðru lagi notkun fyrirsagna (e. *rubrics*) sem gefur til kynna að sagan sé um Adam og Seth frekar en um krossinn og í þriðja lagi er því haldið fram að Sethskvæði byggist á ljóðrænni frásögn af „Quest of Seth“ án Kross sögu. Þar sem Sethskvæði hefur aldrei verið gefið út í heild sinni þá fylgja í viðauka tvær uppskriftir þess úr handritinu AM 100 8vo.

## SUMMARY

The “Quest of Seth” in Old Icelandic Literature: *Sethskvæði* and Its Antecedents

**Keywords:** Apocrypha, Biblical Studies, Hagiography, Old Testament, Poetry

In this article, *Sethskvæði* is identified as a poetic re-working of a text which Esther Quinn calls “The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life.” This connection is important not only for Old Icelandic studies but also for the study of pseudepigrapha and apocrypha, because the *Quest* has not been preserved elsewhere in medieval or early modern literature separated from the Legend of the Holy Cross. The transmission of *Sethskvæði* is traced from its early Judaic beginnings up to its inclusion in Icelandic literature. Three trends are explored: the shortening of the Legend of the Holy Cross in the *Legenda* (The “*Quest of Seth*” plus the Legend of the Holy Cross), the use of rubrics that title the text as having to do with Adam and Seth rather than the Holy Cross, and the eventual existence of the *Quest* on its own in the form of *Sethskvæði*. Because *Sethskvæði* has yet to be edited, a transcription of two versions of the poem from AM 100 8vo is included in the appendix.

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PHILIP LAVENDER

## GROTESQUE ADVICE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ICELAND

### *The Mysterious Origins of Grobbians rímur*<sup>1</sup>

IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY a twenty-five-year-old German student by the name of Friedrich Dedekind (1524–98) wrote, in Wittenberg, a book which advocated foul manners in explicit detail, albeit with the professed aim of acting as a deterrent to offenders against good manners. Dedekind's work elaborated on a figure, Saint Grobian, the patron saint of vulgar people, who had been one of the travellers on Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools; 1494), albeit now presented as a purely secular figure. Around a century later the titular Grob(b)ian made his debut in Iceland. In this article, attention will be paid to this grotesque strand of seventeenth-century writing, as put on display in *Grobbians rímur*.<sup>2</sup> Like so much Icelandic literature of its time, almost nothing has been written about this curious work, and I am aware of only a couple of articles which make more than passing reference to it.<sup>3</sup> Most literary histories mention

- 1 The research necessary for this article was carried out while receiving funding secured from Birgit och Gadd Rausing's Stiftelse för Humanistisk Forskning. I am sincerely grateful to them for their support. I am also extremely grateful for all the help provided by Halldóra Kristinsdóttir at Landsbókasafns Íslands – Háskólabókasafn in securing images of the various witnesses of *Grobbians rímur*.
- 2 Note that there is little agreement on how the name of the work should be spelled. Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímmatal* (Reykjavík: Rímnafélagið, 1966), I:177, gives it as “Grobbiansrímur,” but “Grobbiansrímur” and “Grobbians rímur” also occur. The earliest manuscripts give the name of the work as “Grobbions Rýmur” (AM 615 f 4to, f. 37v) and “heilræða Rymur Grobbians bonda og Gribbu husfreitu hans með merkilegum kienningum” (AM 149 8vo, f. 1r; note that the name is also spelt “grobbon” (f. 1r), “grobbon” (f. 3v) and “griobbon” (f. 6r) in the body of the text). There is no title provided for the work in AM 436 12mo, but the name is usually spelled “grobbon” in the body of the text (e.g. ff. 77v, 80v).
- 3 See Ellert Þór Jóhannsson, “Arfleifð Gróbbians,” *Þórðargleði, slegið upp fyrir Þórð Inga Guð-jónsson fimmtugan 3. desember 2018* (Reykjavík: Menningar- og minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, 2018) and Tryggvi Gíslason, “Bókmenntir um Grobbian,” *Eimreiðin* 1 (1968). In the latter it is only pp. 32–34 (section V) which actually discuss the *rímur*.

it only in passing.<sup>4</sup> The facts that it is based on a foreign work and that it could be considered didactic in nature have probably not helped, since original Icelandic writings and narrative ones have long received more attention. An edition (critical or popular) of this work, generically on the borderline between conduct literature and satirical writings, would make it much easier for scholars to include this poem in their discussions of Icelandic literature, but no such edition exists.

In light of this absence, my purpose here is to pave the way for future work by shedding light on the origins of *Grobbsians rímur* through a narrow focus upon the first four of the eight fitts commonly gathered under that title, which I shall refer to as the core *Grobbsians rímur* (the final four, I refer to as continuations).<sup>5</sup> These original four fitts (fitts I–IV in what follows) are normally attributed to a single author, but this, I will argue, is by no means certain. The four continuations, each an individual fitt, which later came to be appended to the core *Grobbsians rímur*, are connected with five different writers, the earliest of whom was born c. 1648 and the latest in 1713.<sup>6</sup> Thus it is highly unlikely that in the original conception of the work there was any plan to collaborate with these later authors, and it is defensible to look at the earliest four fitts as a single independent unit.

In what follows, I will look at a variety of features of these core *Grobbsians rímur* and consider what they might reveal to us concerning

- 4 Hailing from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is unsurprising that they are not mentioned in Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600* (Copenhagen: S. L. Möller, 1934) or Jón Þorkelsson's *Om digtningen på Island i det 15. og 16. århundrede* (with the exception of a single reference to one of the continuations in the context of explaining kennings for the name "Þorsteinn"). Perhaps more surprising is their absence from Sir William Craigie, *Sýnisbók íslenskra rímna*, 3 vols. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1952). The *rímur* are mentioned briefly in Óskar Halldórsson, *Bókmenntir á lærdómsöld 1550–1770* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1996), 21; also in Sigurður Nordal, *Sambengi og samtíð* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1996), II:106–7; also in Böðvar Guðmundsson et al., *Íslensk bókmenntasaga II* (Reykjavík: Mál og Menning, 1993), 478–79; also in Stefán Einarsson, *Íslensk bókmenntasaga, 874–1960* (Reykjavík: Snæbjörn Jónsson, 1961), 230.
- 5 These four are "first" chronologically and always precede the continuations in those manuscripts which include both. A study of the entire tradition is beyond the scope of a single article.
- 6 The five authors associated with the later fitts are Jón Sigurðsson lögsagnari (c. 1685–1720), Vigfús Jónsson (also called Leirulækjar-Fúsi; c. 1648–1728), Brynjólfur Halldórsson (1676–1737), Árni Böðvarsson (1713–76) and Þorsteinn Jónsson (eighteenth century). Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímmatal*, expresses doubts about two of these attributions (Jón Sigurðsson lögsagnari, II:95; Brynjólfur Halldórsson, II:29).

the earliest phase of composition and authorship. First, I will look at the evidence for who may have written the *rímur* and give some background on the two most likely candidates. Second, I will present the contents and layout of the core *Grobians rímur* in the hope of making them more accessible to other researchers and stimulating interest, but also as a basis for the analysis which follows. Third, I will look at the earliest manuscript witnesses and make some observations concerning the different, previously unacknowledged, versions of the work which they present. Fourth, I will analyse the relationship of the Icelandic text to its German forerunners. And finally, I will make some observations concerning intertextual references in the poem which feed back into the discussion of authorship.

### Attributing authorship

With regards to the author of the core *Grobians rímur*, we may be disappointed to read in the final verse of fitt IV the following:

Rek ég þennan rembihnút á rófukvæði  
að enginn viti Authors heiti, eftir þó að margur leiti.<sup>7</sup>

(I tie this double knot on [i.e. bring to an end] the tail-poem such that nobody might know the author's name, though many a man might try to discern it.)

It was common for *rímur*-poets to include some kind of clue as to their identity in the final verses of their compositions, in response to which we find the contrary decision of the author to make an explicit statement that such will not be the case here. Nevertheless, despite this coyness, which we might guess to have something to do with the crudeness of some of the description in the body of the poem, the author of the core *Grobians rímur* is generally said to have been Jón Magnússon í Laufási (1601–75). The attribution to Jón Magnússon appears already in 1738 in Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík's *Apparatus ad historiam literariam islandicam*: the fifth of the five works which are listed under his name is said to be

7 All quotes from the poem have been normalised and are based on the text found in AM 615 f 4to, unless otherwise stated. Translations are my own. Note that some later manuscripts substitute *rollukvæði* (i.e. “sheep-poem” or, more likely, “repetitive poem”) for *roukvæði* (which I have normalised as “rófukvæði”).

“Grobians rímur 4” (i.e. four fitts of *Grobians rímur*).<sup>8</sup> The attribution is also provided in Hálfðan Einarsson’s *Sciagraphia* (1777), where we read “Johannes Magnæus Laufasinus, præter varia poemata, inprimis sacra, Grobiani & Grobianæ monita (ex Frid. Dedekeni opere sub eodem titulo edito Francof. 1564. forte deducta) cum Apodosi carminibus aliquot complexus...” (Jón Magnússon í Laufási, in addition to various poems of a principally religious nature, composed the advice of Grobianus and Grobiana (from the work of Friedrich Dedekind, published under that title in Frankfurt, in 1564, greatly reduced) and with a moral commentary on some of the verses).<sup>9</sup> Hálfðan Einarsson is likely to have made use of Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík’s work in the preparation of his *Sciagraphia*, so we cannot necessarily take this as independent confirmation of Jón’s association with *Grobians rímur*.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Finnur Sigmundsson goes tentatively along with the attribution saying that “virðist það geta staðizt” (it seems to hold).<sup>11</sup>

The tentativeness seems justified, however, since there is no straightforward comment on authorship embedded in the poem itself, and Jón Ólafsson was born twenty years after Jón Magnússon’s death. Moreover, only two of the many manuscript witnesses of *Grobians rímur* include an attribution to Jón Magnússon, and both are late.<sup>12</sup> To complicate mat-

8 See Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík, *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu, sem skiptist í þrjá hluta*, ed. by Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir and Þórunn Sigurðardóttir (Latin trans. by Hjalti Snær Ægisson), RIT 99 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2018), 213. A fifth and sixth fitt are also mentioned in Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík’s work, and Vigfús Jónsson á Leirulæk and Brynjólfur Halldórsson á Kirkjubæ are mentioned as their authors.

9 Hálfðan Einarsson, *Sciagraphia* (Copenhagen: Sander et Schröder, 1777), 84. Only one other work by Jón Magnússon is mentioned by Hálfðan Einarsson, namely the *Rímur af Auðbirni*. Uno von Troil, in his list of Icelandic literature, does not mention *Grobians rímur*. See *Brefrörande en resa till Island* (Uppsala: Magnus Swederus, 1777), 154. Another literary history written around 1700 by Páll Vídalín mentions Jón Magnússon í Laufási but not his authorship of *Grobians rímur*. See Páll Vídalín, *Recensus poetarum et scriptorum Islandorum hujus et superioris seculi*, ed. by Jón Samsonarson, RIT 29 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1985), 67.

10 See Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík, *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, xii.

11 He also non-committally states that the “fjórar fyrstu [eru] venjulega eignaðar sr. Jóni Magnússyni í Laufási” (first four [i.e. of the wider group of eight associated fitts are] generally attributed to pastor Jón Magnússon í Laufási). Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*, 1:177–78.

12 These are Lbs 188 8vo (dated 1850–70) and ÍB 502 8vo. In the latter manuscript Jón’s name has been added by a later hand next to the title: the person who made the addition seems



ters, there are at least two potentially contradictory attributions. The first is based on a comment which has been inserted between the title of the poem and the first line in one of the earliest manuscripts (roughly dated to the seventeenth century), namely AM 615 f 4to.<sup>13</sup> The comment reads simply “S[era] Guðmundar Erlendzsonar” (i.e. the genitive form of Pastor Guðmundur Erlendsson, suggesting his authorship of the work named immediately before; see Figure 1). The ink is a slightly different colour to the surrounding text, the hand is different, and the words are squeezed into a space seemingly not intended for them, so it is safe to say that they were not included by the original scribe of the manuscript. It is, however, uncertain when exactly these three words were inserted, although they could well be seventeenth century, based on the style of the hand. Guðmundur Erlendsson (c. 1595–1670) was the pastor at Fell, Sléttuhlíð (inland on the north-eastern side of Skagafjörður), from 1634 until his death and was known for being a prolific poet. The attribution of *Grobbians rímur* to him is found nowhere else in near-contemporary sources,<sup>14</sup> though this single appearance in the manuscript has led to *Grobbians rímur* being associated with Guðmundur Erlendsson in a number of more recent ones. For example, Kristian Kálund’s catalogue of the Arnarnagnæan collection mentions the attribution, neither confirming nor refuting it, and the Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans thus lists numerous citations from *Grobbians rímur* along with Guðmundur Erlendsson’s name.<sup>15</sup>

to be Jón Jónsson Borgfirðingur (1826–1912) who was the owner of the manuscript in the nineteenth century.

- 13 This appears on f. 37v (according to the handrit.is foliation) or f. 40v (if one follows the foliation found in the manuscript). For the dating of the manuscript, see Kristian Kálund, *Katalog over den Arnarnagnæanske haandskriftsamling*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1889–94), II:25.
- 14 See Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík, *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, 205–6; Hálfdan Einarsson, *Sciagraphia*, 80–81; Páll Vídalín, *Recensus poetarum et scriptorum*, 38–40.
- 15 Kálund, *Katalog over den Arnarnagnæanske haandskriftsamling*, II:25; Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans, *Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum*, ritmálssafn.arnastofnun.is. Páll Eggert Ólason also repeats this attribution in *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnáms tímum til ársloka 1940*, 6 vols. (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1948–76), II:141–42: “Aðrar rímur eftir hann eru og guðrækilegs eða siðferðilegs efnis [...] nema það, sem hann kann að eiga í Grobbiansrímum” (Other *rímur* by him are either pious or moral in content [...] except for the fact that he might have contributed to *Grobbians rímur*).

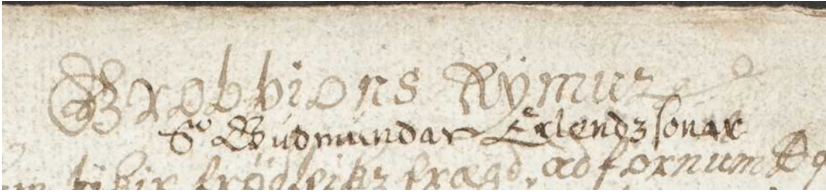


Figure 1: Detail from AM 615 f 4to, f. 37v

The second alternative attribution is explained by Finnur Sigmundsson, who informs us that the fitts attributed to Jón Magnússon have also been attributed to a “Grímur klerkur” (Grímur the clergyman). This attribution seems to stem from a poem by Þorvarður Hallsson (c. 1685–1758) which appears under the title “Ljóðmæli Þorvaldar Hallssonar á Búlandsnesi um nokkur Íslandsskáld og hvað hvort þeirra ort hafi” (Poem by Þorvaldur (*sic*) Hallsson from Búlandsnes about some Icelandic poets and what each of them has composed).<sup>16</sup> The verse in question reads in full “Grímur klerkur gerði slag, af Grobbian merkur þýtt með lag” (Grímur, the fine clergyman, made a ditty about Grobbian, translated in poetic metre).<sup>17</sup> The attribution is also mentioned in two manuscript witnesses of *Grobbsians rímur*, namely Rask 95, appearing along with a Latin title for the work, “carmina ironica kveðinn af Grími Presti fyrir norðan” (ironic poems composed by Grímur the clergyman from the north), and Lbs 1993 8vo where a postscript reads “fjórar fyrstu rímurnar er sagt ort hafa sr. Grímur Bessason” (the first four fitts are said to have been composed by Grímur Bessason).<sup>18</sup> The scribes of both witnesses (dated 1800–15 and 1826–35 respectively) may have drawn on Þorvarður’s poem. This identification of the Grímur in Þorvarður Hallsson’s poem with Grímur Bessason (1719–85),<sup>19</sup> if correct, excludes the possibility that the Grobbian-related work referred to is one and the same as the core *Grobbsians rímur*, given that the earliest manuscripts we have of the core *Grobbsians rímur* are from before Grímur Bessason was

16 The poem is found in Lbs 1685 8vo, images of which can be viewed on [handrit.is](http://handrit.is). The manuscript is dated on [handrit.is](http://handrit.is) to the period 1775–1825, i.e. some years after Þorvarður’s death, which might explain why his name is reproduced incorrectly in the title.

17 The verse appears on f. 84r.

18 These attributions appear on f. 34r and f. 154v respectively.

19 Grímur Bessason lived 1762–85 at Hjaltastaður in Útmanasveit (Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímmatal*, II:45), which could be considered as “fyrir norðan” depending on the location of the scribe.

born. Even if the Grímur referred to is not Grímur Bessason but rather another clergyman named Grímur who lived in the seventeenth century and made a poetic translation, it need not mean that we should displace Jón Magnússon í Laufási or Guðmundur Erlendsson as the more probable authors of the core *Grobbians rímur*, since it is perfectly plausible for two individuals to try their hand at translating or adapting one and the same interesting foreign text.<sup>20</sup> And although the word *þýtt* (translated/interpreted) in Þorvarður Hallsson's poem suggests that Grímur was involved in a work of translation, this term could have been used loosely there to refer to an act of converting material (written or otherwise) into verse. If that is the case, Grímur might have been yet another individual who attempted to compose his own fitt as a continuation of the core *rímur*. If we read Þorvarður Hallsson's verse as such, it is moreover possible that the reference is to Grímur Bessason, and that there was at one time a continuation by him which is simply no longer extant. Due to these uncertainties, it seems reasonable to exclude "Grímur klerkur" from the discussion of authorship here unless further evidence is found.

## Jón Magnússon and Guðmundur Erlendsson

Guðmundur Erlendsson's involvement in producing *Grobbians rímur* cannot, however, be so easily ignored owing to the appearance of his name in one of the earliest manuscripts. Nor, however, can Jón Magnússon's, because of the conviction concerning his involvement as shown by early Icelandic literary historians. Thus some additional information on their life and work is in order.<sup>21</sup>

Jón's father was Magnús Eiríksson (c. 1568–1652) who was the pastor at Auðkúla (Austur-Húnavatnssýsla) from 1596 to 1650. Thus he was living there when Jón was born in 1601. Jón did not stay there long, however, as he was fostered by the married couple Magnús Ólafsson í

20 It is worth noting, however, that Finnur Sigmundsson does not list any other *rímur*-poet named Grímur, apart from Grímur Bessason, either from the seventeenth century or any other period.

21 For information on Jón Magnússon í Laufási's life, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkrar æviskrár*, III:218. See also Páll Eggert Ólason, *Saga Íslendinga, Fimmta bindi: Seytjándi öld* (Reykjavík: Menntamálaráð og Þjóðvinafélag, 1942), 337–38, and Sigurður Nordal, *Sambengi og samtíð*, I:397–99.

Laufási (Suður-Þingeyjarsýsla) and Agnes Eiríksdóttir (also his paternal aunt) when only four years old, beginning an almost lifelong association with Laufás. When Magnús Ólafsson died in 1636, Jón Magnússon took over as pastor there and remained in that office until his death in 1675. Jón's wife was Guðrún Jónsdóttir, and they had four children who survived to adulthood: Jón, Elín, Steinvör and Katrín.<sup>22</sup>

Like his foster-father and predecessor as pastor at Laufás, Jón was a man of letters. We know, for example, that on Magnús Ólafsson's death, Jón took over work on the dictionary which he had been preparing for Ole Worm.<sup>23</sup> For Hálfan Einarsson, however, it seems that it was Jón Magnússon's *rímur* which were most worthy of mention, since it is only *Grobians rímur* and the *Rímur af Auðbirni* that he alludes to in *Sciagraphia*.<sup>24</sup> The *Rímur af Auðbirni* tell the story of an avaricious man's conversion to a moral way of life and are apparently an original composition, an oddity among a style of poetry which most often retells pre-existing material. Another distinctive characteristic is the choice of religious themes for the rest of Jón's *rímur*-œuvre. Finnur Sigmundsson mentions six such examples: *Rímnaflokkur út af ævisögur þeirra fyrstu foreldra*, *Adams og Evu*, the *Rímur af Bileam*, the *Rímur af Enok*, the *Rímur af kónga- og kroníkubókunum*, the *Rímur af lífssögu forföðursins Nóa* and the *Rímur af Salómon konungi hinum ríka*.<sup>25</sup> Other poetic genres also sprung from Jón Magnússon's pen: we have *erfiljóð* (epitaphs) composed for his father and Magnús Ólafsson í Laufási, a *huggunarkvæði* (consolation poem) for the aforementioned Guðmundur Erlendsson and his wife Guðrún Gunnarsdóttir after their son Jón Guðmundsson drowned, and three *harmljóð* (personal elegies) after Jón himself lost children at a

22 We know of other children of theirs who died at a young age, for example Magnús (1636–39), Guðrún (born and died 1638) and Steinvör (born and died in 1640). See Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, *Heiður og huggun: Erfiljóð, harmljóð og huggunarkvæði á 17. öld*, RIT 91 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2015), 287.

23 Páll Eggert Ólason, *Menn og menntir síðskiptaaldarinnar*, 4 vols. (Reykjavík: Bókaverzlun Guðm. Gamalielssonar/Bókaverzlun Ársæls Árnasonar, 1919–26), IV:273–75.

24 See above, footnote 9.

25 See Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*, I:1–3, 78–79, 120, 314–15, 363, 408–9. The topics of most of these *rímur* should be familiar. Bileam is better known in the anglophone world as Balaam (from the Book of Numbers).

young age.<sup>26</sup> We also have hymns and edifying poems, for example the *Píslarsaltari*, the *Vikusálmur* and the *Hústafla*. This latter, also known as *Oeconomia christiana*, is a work of conduct literature in which, in the words of Margrét Eggertsdóttir, “eru heilræðin flokkuð og þeim beint til hinna ýmsu hópa í samfélaginu” (pieces of advice are gathered together and directed at the various social groups).<sup>27</sup> Subdivisions of the work include “Faðerni” (Fatherhood) which discusses “skylda foreldranna við börnin” (the duty of parents to their children) and “Hjónaspegill” (Mirror of Married Couples).<sup>28</sup> In short, Jón Magnússon was a productive and wide-ranging author of poetry.

It seems reasonable to accept that Jón Magnússon was involved with producing the core *Grobbians rímur*, but we cannot exclude Guðmundur Erlendsson’s involvement in some way. He, like Jón Magnússon, was a “clergyman-poet” from northern Iceland,<sup>29</sup> born and raised at Fell in Sléttuhlíð where his father Erlendur Guðmundsson was the pastor. Guðmundur was educated at Hólar, after which he became deacon at Þingeyrar for three years. Following this, he was pastor at various parishes for around fifteen years before returning to Fell in Sléttuhlíð in 1634 and remaining there for the rest of his life as the pastor of the parish which had previously been served by his father. It was during his first assignment as pastor (Möðruvellir) that, around 1620, he married Guðrún Gunnarsdóttir.

26 Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, *Heiður og huggun*, 285, chapter 7 (197–212) and chapter 10 (285–307). See also p. 79 for a discussion of the common English terms used for referring to such poetry and how they relate to the Icelandic taxonomy.

27 Margrét Eggertsdóttir, *Barokkmeistarinn: List og lærdómur í verkum Hallgríms Péturssonar*, RIT 63 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 2005), 65. Three editions came out in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, showing the popularity of the work. See also Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, “Dyggðafull kona er ein eðla gáfa’: Menningarleg mótun kyngervís á 17. öld,” *Áhrif Lúthers: Siðaskipti, samfélag og menning í 500 ár*, ed. by Hjalti Hugason, Loftur Guttormsson and Margrét Eggertsdóttir (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 2017), 341–46.

28 Jón Magnússon, *Oeconomia christiana edur Huss-Tabla sem sierhverium i sinu Stande þann rietta Christendomens Veg fyrir Sioner leider* (Copenhagen: s.n., 1734), 13, 62.

29 Katelin Marit Parsons, “Songs for the End of the World: The Poetry of Guðmundur Erlendsson of Fell in Sléttuhlíð” (PhD Thesis, University of Iceland, 2020): 54. This is *skáldprestur* in Icelandic: see Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, “Hallgrímur með ‘sira Guðmund Erlendsson í Felli í bak og fyrir’: Tveir skáldbræður á 17. öld,” *Í ljóssins barna selskap: Fyrirlestrar frá ráðstefnu um séra Hallgrím Pétursson og samtíð hans sem haldin var í Hallgrímskirkju 28. október 2006* (Reykjavík: Listvinafélag Hallgrímskirkju – Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2007), 56.

They remained together for the rest of their lives until Guðrún died in 1668, two years before Guðmundur. Together they had eight children between 1621 and 1631, although only six of them survived to adulthood. While still fairly young, Guðmundur seems to have been wayward and argumentative, character traits which got him into trouble on more than one occasion. The result of one of his conflicts was his being more or less exiled to the parish of Grímsey between 1631 and 1634.<sup>30</sup> His later life seems, however, to have been much calmer.

Guðmundur's literary production, composed between 1615 and 1668, has not received a particularly warm reception from later critics, possibly in part due to his fairly simple style when compared with that of some of his contemporaries.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps his most popular work, judging by the number of manuscript witnesses, was *Einvaldsóður* (Poem on Monarchy), a reworking into Icelandic of a pre-existing Danish translation of the Scot Sir David Lyndsay's *Ane dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour* (1554) (commonly known as *The Monarche*).<sup>32</sup> In addition to this long poetic work, however, Guðmundur produced a wide array of other writings, among which can be mentioned two poetic anthologies, *Gíjja* and *Fagriskógur*, the latter unfortunately non-extant.<sup>33</sup> Guðmundur was also particularly active in producing religious *rímur*, often based on Old Testament narratives: twelve or so of these exist, among which can be mentioned *Forfeðrarímur* (i.e. on the Biblical patriarchs), the *Rímur af Móses*, *Samsonar rímur sterka* and the *Rímur af Jónasi spámanni*.<sup>34</sup> He also published poems about calamities and current affairs (for example on the Turkish raids, an Italian earthquake, the execution of Charles I in England), poems based on Aesopic fables, numerous short religious poems and occasional poetry. Páll Eggert Ólason made the claim that “veraldlegs kveðskapar gætir ekki að marki eftir síra Guðmund” (no secular poetry

30 See Katelin Parsons, “Gagn, gæði og gömul vísa um Grímsey,” *Són* 10 (2012): 41–60.

31 Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, “Hallgrímur með ‘síra Guðmund Erlendsson í Felli,’” 49–50.

32 See Robert Geiger Cook, “A Critical Edition of *Einvaldsóður* (Poem on Monarchy) by séra Guðmundur Erlendsson (c. 1595–1670)” (PhD thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1962).

33 See Parsons, “Songs for the End of the World,” especially ch. 5, for an extensive discussion of *Gíjja* and p. 218 for her conclusions on the survival (or lack thereof) of *Fagriskógur*.

34 For the full list, see Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*, II:50–51. The prophet Jónas is Jonah in English.

by Rev. Guðmundur is worthy of particular mention),<sup>35</sup> and it is true that religious conviction is a crucial motivation for and feature of much of his *œuvre*. There exist claims, however, that in addition to the two previously mentioned pious poetic anthologies, there was a third with a more secular focus.<sup>36</sup> If this is true, and knowing in any case what we do about his extant production, it would be misleading to pigeonhole Guðmundur as only producing religious literature.

## Contents, structure and manuscript witnesses

Moving now to a discussion of the *rímur* themselves, a disclaimer must be introduced concerning my previous mention of the core *Grobbians rímur* as the “original four fitts,” namely that these four are only “original” in relation to the continuations. This is because in the earliest manuscripts the core *Grobbians rímur* take two forms, consisting of either three or four fitts, and it is not immediately obvious whether the three- or four-fitt version was composed first. I will discuss the relationship of these versions in more detail below, but for now the summary of contents will focus on the four-fitt version of the poem, since that is the one which predominates in the extant witnesses and the only one to be mentioned in previous scholarship.

The four fitts can be divided up into two groups of two: fitts I and II talking about Grobbian and his advice to his sons, and fitts III and IV talking about Gribba, Grobbian’s wife, and her advice to her daughters. Based on this division, one could feasibly divide the work up and call the first two fitts *Grobbians rímur* and the second two fitts *Gribbu rímur*. To give a bit more detail, after a brief *mansöng*, fitt I introduces Grobbian, the epitome of bad manners, and his wife, Gribba, whose behaviour is said to be like that of Hallgerður langbrók (v. 13).<sup>37</sup> Next their sixteen sons are introduced, each with a name which hints at a particular form of bad behaviour: (1) Augnarangur, (2) Bakvaskur,<sup>38</sup> (3) Blásinnkviður, (4) Blóti, (5) Fraktari,

35 Páll Eggert Ólason, *Saga Íslendinga*, 335.

36 See Sigurður Nordal, *Sambengi og samtíð*, I:396.

37 I include verse numbers based on the text in AM 615 f 4to, although there is no explicit numeration there.

38 “Bakvaskur” can be read as “slanderer” or “mud-slinger,” related to Middle Low German “bakwaschen” and Danish “bagvaske”. The advice he is given instructs him, fittingly, to slander all men (II:51–52).

(6) Gortur,<sup>39</sup> (7) Gagari, (8) Svelgbikar,<sup>40</sup> (9) Hákur, (10) Kargur, (11) Fjölþreifinn, (12) Kölski, (13) Fingralangur, (14) Rebbi, (15) Tungulangur, (16) Úlfaldi. After introducing them all, Grobbian proceeds to give advice to the first six. Advice for the remaining ten is the focus of fitt II. Fitt III introduces “Írónía,” a personification who reminds the reader not to take what is said at face value, before presenting the eight daughters: (1) Hispra, (2) Gelgja, (3) Skondra, (4) Skrafsa, (5) Strunsa, (6) Órækja, (7) Himpa, (8) Syrpusnegða.<sup>41</sup> The rest of fitt III is concerned with Gribba giving advice to the first four of her daughters. Fitt IV thus continues the task with advice being given to the final four daughters.

The advice finishes with verse 47, and from there until the end of fitt IV (vv. 48–69) the poet’s voice takes over and explains to us how we should understand the strange material that has been presented thus far.

51. Orðsrok þessi á að líta ei með nösุม  
einfaldlega sem efníð hljómar.  
Eru þetta ei Geiplur tómar.

(These sayings should not be taken literally and accepted at face value.<sup>42</sup> They are not empty Geiplur.)<sup>43</sup>

52. Heldur eru þetta heilræði í huldumáli  
innan undir illum lörfum,  
orða sneis úr fróðleik þörfum.

(These are rather pieces of advice in enigmatic language, deep down under foul rags, a mass of words coming from useful knowledge.)

- 39 “Gortur” means “Bragger” (like “gortari” from the verb “að gorta”). His advice tells him to do just that (I:76–79).
- 40 “Svelgbikar” should be understood as “Swallow-Cup” or “Gulp-Goblet,” and he is advised to drink as much as he can until he vomits (II:32–37).
- 41 Some of these names vary slightly in the different witnesses of the poem. Thus Himpa is Hnuppa and Syrpusnegða is Syrpusvegða in ÍB 105 4to.
- 42 The meaning seems clear from the context, but as a phrase “að líta (ei) með nösุม” is unknown to me. It may mean that merely directing one’s eyes (nose) at the words is not enough, one must actively use one’s senses to go beyond the superficial meaning and perceive the deeper import.
- 43 *Geiplur* is the name of a *rímur*-composition based on a section of *Karlamagnús saga*, i.e. dealing with romantic and unserious subject matter. See Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*, 364–66.



Having got to grips with the standard form of the *rímur*, it is also worth assessing its dissemination in the extant witnesses and considering which witnesses deviate from this pattern. This can help us to reconstruct the earliest history of *Grobbians rímur* and contribute to our understanding of to what extent the different versions might relate to the form which was first composed in response to its continental forerunner. Finnur Sigmundsson mentions thirty-two witnesses containing all or part of the multi-authored work which he calls “*Grobiansrímur*.”<sup>44</sup> By consulting the catalogues of Landsbókasafn Íslands, Uppsala University Library, the Royal Library in Stockholm, the Royal Library in Copenhagen and the British Library, I am able to add four new witnesses to that list.<sup>45</sup> Of the resulting thirty-six witnesses, twenty-four contain the core *Grobbians rímur* in whole or part.<sup>46</sup> This also means that twelve of the witnesses, besides other non-related contents, *only* contain the continuations, be it one or several. This leaves us with twenty-four witnesses of particular interest to the present study. It is worth noting that of these twenty-four, just under half (among which are two of the three oldest witnesses) contain, besides other non-related contents, *only* some form of the core *rímur*, and the other half contain some form of the core *rímur* in combination with some or all of the continuations. The former group, eleven manuscripts in total, provide further justification for looking at the core *rímur* in isolation, since for a number of early modern audiences that is how they would have been experienced.

While a full study of the filiation of all twenty-four of the witnesses containing the core *Grobbians rímur* would, naturally, be desirable, in the present context, I restrict myself to a consideration of only the oldest witnesses, that is to say those probably written in the seventeenth century and thus produced during or shortly after Jón Magnússon í Laufási's and

44 Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*, I:178.

45 Those witnesses are Lbs 3906 8vo, Lbs 4068 8vo, Papp. 8vo nr 8 (containing only ‘Viðbjóðs ríma,’ the continuation by Vigfús Jónsson) and NKS 1131 fol. (a copy of AM 149 8vo, as stated on f. 1r). There seem to be no witnesses containing this work at Uppsala University Library or the British Library. Further witnesses may be present in collections in the UK, Ireland, Norway, Canada and the United States.

46 Two defective manuscripts which contain a fragmentary version of the core *Grobbians rímur* are JS 262 8vo (containing all of the second and third fitts but lacking the start of the first and the end of the fourth fitt) and ÍB 634 8vo (containing the end of the third fitt and all of the fourth fitt).

Guðmundur Erlendsson's lifetimes. These are AM 615 f 4to, AM 149 8vo and AM 436 12mo.

All three of these manuscripts are listed in Kålund's catalogue of the Arnarnagnæan Collection as being from "17. árh." (the seventeenth century),<sup>47</sup> which is imprecise but fits well with both Jón Magnússon í Laufási's and Guðmundur Erlendsson's authorship as they were born in 1601 and c. 1595 respectively. More accurate dating is difficult to arrive at, but there are some clues. AM 615 f 4to also contains the *Króka-Refs rímur* composed by Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–84). Finnur Sigmundsson, when editing these *rímur*, took a different manuscript as his base text, namely AM 614 4to, and said that it was the oldest of the preserved witnesses and written in 1656. He does not explain how he arrived at this conclusion, but if we accept it, then that would mean that AM 615 f 4to must be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, AM 615 f 4to contains a single additional fitt, one of the continuations, named "Háðgætur" (Mocking-Rhymes) and normally attributed to Jón Sigurðsson lögsagnari (c. 1685–1720). If this attribution is correct, then the manuscript must have been composed at the very end of the seventeenth century (if not the start of the eighteenth). The next early witness, AM 149 8vo, is composed of fourteen separate sections, with *Grobbians rímur* in the tenth. Here again, one of the companion pieces, namely a poem named *Hringsdrápa*, helps us date the section of the manuscript with more precision. *Hringsdrápa* was written by Vigfús Jónsson á Leirulæk (often called Leirulækjar-Fúsi, 1648–1728), also author of one of the *Grobbians rímur* continuations. Assuming (generously) that he was at the very least twelve years old by the time he wrote the poem, this lets us know once again that the manuscript section must have been produced, at the earliest, in the late seventeenth century. AM 436 12mo came to Árni Magnússon from his paternal aunt, Halldóra Ketilsdóttir (1640–1727), but we do not know

47 Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnarnagnæanske haandskriftsamling*, II:25, 415, 485.

48 Hallgrímur Pétursson, *Króka-Refs rímur og Rímur af Lykla-Petri og Magelónu eftir Síra Hallgrím Pétursson*, ed. by Finnur Sigmundsson, Rit Rímnafélagsins VII (Reykjavík: Rímnafélagið, 1956), ix. Finnur (p. xi) also mentions that the *rímur* seem fairly clearly to refer to the hardships Hallgrímur suffered with his wife, Guðríður Símonardóttir, so at the very least it seems that the *rímur*, and thus the manuscripts too, must have been produced after the couple met in 1636.

when exactly or who the scribe was.<sup>49</sup> We may now have arrived at slightly more restricted periods of composition for these witnesses, but determining which of the three represents the most original form is still uncertain.

A comparison of the texts in these three witnesses shows that there are a number of differences, but one of the most significant is the fact, alluded to already, that the text found in AM 436 12mo consists of three fitts rather than four. This is not a result of the text being defective and thus truncated at the end. Rather, while fitts I and II are fairly similar to the corresponding fitts as found in AM 615 f 4to and AM 149 8vo, there is in AM 436 12mo only one additional fitt, which I shall refer to as fitt IIIa, and which consists of eighty verses (fitt III in AM 615 f 4to consists of sixty-six verses and in AM 149 8vo of fifty-seven). Fitt IIIa is fairly close to fitt III in the other witnesses, albeit somewhat abbreviated, up until verse 28 (corresponding to verse 43 in AM 615 f 4to), after which it diverges significantly with a little over fifty verses not included in most other witnesses (Figure 2). I use the word “most” because there are in fact two later witnesses which also contain this three-fitt version, namely Lbs 1028 8vo (c. 1770) and Rask 86 (1700–99). While the four-fitt version spreads the discussion of Gribba’s eight daughters over fitts III and IV, the three-fitt version discusses all eight daughters in fitt IIIa. Another more minor difference is that the three-fitt version is abbreviated at the start of fitts I and IIIa as compared to the four-fitt version. More specifically, of the first forty-three verses of fitt I as it appears in AM 615 f 4to (the specific advice to the sons begins with verse 44), the three-fitt version in AM 436 12mo has only nine corresponding verses, and thus the list where the sons are introduced for the first time is missing in its entirety.<sup>50</sup> Likewise in fitt IIIa, verses 3–10 and 15–22 (as reckoned by the text of fitt III in AM 615 f 4to) are missing, the latter eight verses being those in which the names of the eight daughters are first listed.

49 For some context regarding this manuscript and its contents, see Margrét Eggertsdóttir, “Handritið hennar Dóru systur,” *38 vöplur bakaðar og bornar fram Guðrínu Ingólfsdóttur fimmtugri 1. maí 2009* (Reykjavík: Menningar- og minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, 2009) 63–66.

50 AM 149 8vo has forty-one verses prior to the commencement of the specific advice to the sons in fitt I. Thus it has a text much closer to that found in AM 615 f 4to.





a group of approximately five verses. A gap means that fewer than three of the five verses are present. In fitt III, the “o”s are used to show where fitt IIIa diverges significantly from the version found in the other two witnesses. Prior to this point, there are strings of verses which are not found in any other witness, but the longest string is of four verses (e.g. I:4–7 and III:7–10 in AM 615 f 4to). Note that AM 615 f 4to also contains a fifth fitt, but this is not included in the diagram, since it is not considered one of the core *Grobbians rímur*.

This begs the question, is the three-fitt or four-fitt version more original? The fact that large portions of the text are virtually identical lets us know that they are not two completely independent compositions, but rather that one must have been derived from the other. But it is not immediately obvious which has precedence. Based on the different endings alone, one might speculate that a scribe came across a text which was defective at the end and thus made an effort to complete it. This could have worked in either direction, i.e. a defective four-fitt version was found and was completed by a scribe in such a way that it became the three-fitt version, or a defective three-fitt version was found and was completed in such a way that it became the four-fitt-version. But it is not just the endings that diverge. As mentioned, the three-fitt version lacks the lists of sons and daughters found at the start of fitts I and III in the four-fitt version. The missing verses so perfectly excise the lists that it is hard to see this as anything other than conscious, albeit again in either direction. That is to say that a scribe may have consciously omitted the lists of names (seeing them, perhaps, as superfluous) or a scribe may have consciously added the lists of names (deeming them a helpful addition to orient the reader/listener). If the adding or removing of these lists was a conscious modification, then the extending or shortening of the ending might also be seen as conscious work rather than a necessity brought about by damage.<sup>51</sup> Although two versions could be the result of a single scribe producing multiple versions of a work, this discussion also allows for the possibility that two scribes played conscious roles in two quite different versions of the core *Grobbians*

51 It might be pointed out that if a scribe had come across a witness containing the three-fitt version which was defective at the end (i.e. with the text after III:43 missing), then it would have been very difficult to produce the four-fitt version in the way that we have it, since there was no list of daughters at the start of fitt III upon which the scribe could base the advice given after III:43. The names of daughters in both the three-fitt and four-fitt version are the same, even in the diverging endings.

*rímur* and might, moreover, provide a justification for the multiple names which appear in discussions of this work's authorship.

Some seeming errors in the three earliest witnesses might contribute to clearing up the question of precedence. For example, in AM 615 f 4to (four-fitt version), when Gribba's daughters are first listed, we are told of Skrafsa the fourth daughter, then Strunsa whose number in the sequence is not explicitly given, then Órækja the fifth daughter and Himpa the seventh daughter (III:18–21). It appears that Strunsa is the sixth daughter who has somehow got out of order, and this is confirmed later. When Gribba gives her individual advice to the daughters the order is Skrafsa (fourth), Órækja (fifth), Strunsa (sixth) and Himpa (seventh).<sup>52</sup> The correct order appears in both the list and individual advice in the text as it appears in AM 149 8vo (ff. 12r–12v for the list), while AM 436 12mo, as we know, does not have the list at all. Yet another inconsistency with the list of daughters found in AM 615 f 4to presents an even greater problem. This arises when Gelgja is said to be the second daughter and Skondra the third (III:16–17). When we get to Gribba's actual advice to the daughters, however, Skondra is the second to be counselled (III:32–38) and Gelgja is the third (III:39–49). In this case AM 149 8vo (ff. 13r–13v) shares the confusion found in AM 615 f 4to. This inconsistency found in the two earliest witnesses of the four-fitt version could lead us to assume that the additional verses found there in which the daughters are listed is not original: these verses were added when the three-fitt version was expanded, but a lapse of attention led to the names of the daughters being inverted from the order in which they appear in the body of the fitt. Although this is not definitive, it is worth taking seriously the possibility that the three-fitt version is more original and that the four-fitt version represents a reworking of *Grobians rímur*.

## Source and intertextual references

In entertaining the possibility of the three-fitt version's precedence, we must reckon with the fact that it would be closest to the foreign source material, thus a comparison between these two works is in order. Previous discussions of the source are restricted to the bare statement made by Finnur Sigmundsson that “mun fyrirmyndin sótt í þýzkt rit, sem prentað

52 The verses which deal with these four sisters are, respectively, III:50–65, IV:10–22, IV:23–35 and IV:36–40.

var á 17. öld” (the model will be found in a piece of German writing which was printed in the seventeenth century).<sup>53</sup> While indeed produced in Germany, and thus reasonably called “a piece of German writing,” the first version of this work was written in Latin. Regardless, it is not certain why Finnur mentions the seventeenth century, for while editions were certainly printed in the seventeenth century, Friedrich Dedekind’s work was first published in 1549.<sup>54</sup> After the original Latin text of 1549 (*Grobianus, de morum simplicitate*), a German adaptation by Kasper Scheidt, almost twice as long, was published in 1551 (*Grobianus, von groben sitten und unhöflichen geberden*). Scheidt’s reworking influenced Dedekind to produce a second Latin version (1552), incorporating the revisions, adding new material and making the two books into three. A third Latin edition was also produced by Dedekind in 1554, this time with descriptive chapter titles and a new overall title, *Grobianus et Grobiana*, reflecting the inclusion of the chapter on Grobianus’ female counterpart, which had already been present in the second edition of 1552. Many subsequent reprints and translations appeared,<sup>55</sup> among which can be mentioned a fairly close English translation of the three-book version from 1605, apparently carried out by R. F. Gent (possibly a pseudonym).<sup>56</sup> None of these various forms show any close verbal relationship to the Icelandic text, however, which cannot be considered even a loose translation. Nevertheless, in what follows, I take Dedekind’s third Latin version from 1554 as a basis for the discussion, since the presence of Grobbian and Gribba in the Icelandic suggests that the inspiration would have been the three-book version (from 1552, 1554

53 *Rímnatal*, 1:178. Tryggvi Gíslason, “Bókmenntir um Grobbían,” 32–33, discusses Dedekind’s *Grobianus* and *Grobbianus rímur* and compares passages but never explicitly states how the relationship between the two should be understood.

54 This detail, correct but slightly misleading, is also repeated in Óskar Halldórsson, *Bókmenntir á lærdómsöld*, 21, and in a footnote in Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík, *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, 213, where we read the even more misleading statement that “fyrirmyndin er sótt í þýskt rit frá 17. öld” (the model is a German work of the seventeenth century).

55 For a full list of editions of the original and expanded Latin text and the German translations, see Gustav Milchsack, *Friedrich Dedekinds Grobianus verdeutscht von Kaspar Scheidt. Abdruck der ersten Ausgabe (1551)* (Halle an der Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1882), xiv–xxxvi.

56 R. F. Gent, *The Schoole of Slovenrie* (London: Valentine Simms, 1605). Reproduced by Ernst Rühl, *Grobianus in England: Nebst Neudruck der ersten Übersetzung “The Schoole of Slovenrie” (1605) und erster Herausgabe des Schwankes “Grobiana’s Nuptials” (c. 1604) aus Ms. 30. Bodl. Oxf. Palaestra XXXVIII* (Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1904).



or thereafter) with both Grobianus and Grobiana. The 1552 three-book version had chronological precedence but was quickly replaced with the 1554 three-book version, and it is the latter which ended up being the basis of the many future reprints and translations and thus has precedence as regards impact and influence.

It is perhaps easier to compare *Grobianus et Grobiana* with *Grobbians rímur* by focussing on some of the differences between the Latin and Icelandic works. We can start with the fact that Dedekind's text does not make a character out of the narrator. Grobianus is the name attached to the work, appearing on the title page, but thereafter barely mentioned. The narrating voice, rather than being Grobianus, seems to be Dedekind himself (or a construction thereof). He reels off advice and anecdotes but never takes on much of a personality of his own. Thus we cannot see Grobianus as a fully rounded father in the way that Grobbian is in the Icelandic text. Comments by the narrator, discussing the father or master of the addressee in third person, also make it explicit that the narrator is not one and the same as the father or master of the addressee: "si te cogatur pater expectare uel hospes" (if your father or host is forced to wait for you) – as opposed to something along the lines of "if I am forced to wait for you, my son."<sup>57</sup>

Dedekind's Grobianus is, in this way, to be identified with the addressee rather than the speaker. The addressee, male throughout the majority of the work, is never given a name (as are Grobbian's sons and daughters) nor associated with a specific vice. We get very little sense of who the addressee is as a person: he is more of an everyman, although usually treated as young and at times explicitly called "boy," e.g. "surge, puer, reseraque fores venientibus" (get up, boy, and open the doors for those who are arriving).<sup>58</sup> Some of the advice is specifically directed at a servant, as in this quotation from the start of Book II: "convivas exhilarare queas: sed tanquam famulum, cui non est plena potestas, et qui domini cogitur esse manu" (you might be able to gladden dinner guests, but as a servant, who does not have full power and who is obliged to be subject to a master).<sup>59</sup> But at other times the advice is for one who is the dinner guest himself

57 Friedrich Dedekind, *Grobianus, et Grobiana. De Morum simplicitate, libri tres, Ingratiam omnium rusticitatis amantium conscripti* (Frankfurt: Chr. Egenolphus, 1554), 26v.

58 Dedekind, *Grobianus, et Grobiana*, 27v.

59 Dedekind, *Grobianus, et Grobiana*, 40v.

or for one hosting a dinner party. It is hard to say whether the addressee really is a Grobianus – we get no description of what he does, just hear advice concerning what he should do. Perhaps the advice, if successful, brings the potential Grobianus into being. Though we must remember that outside the frame of the advice, the real aim is to discourage any individual from embodying the Grobianus.

The fact that the interlocutors are so different has significant implications for the overall layout of the two works. The Icelandic poet – as described above – structures the material around the list of first sons and then daughters, shifting the focus of the advice with each new child and their particular vices. Dedekind's Latin text is arranged rather differently. The first book gives advice structured around a day in the life of a servant, with the meals dominating. It consists of eleven chapters, the final five of which are dedicated to all the grossness that the servant should get up to during the evening meal. Book II, divided into nine chapters, focusses on what the addressee should do when invited to a meal as guest, while the final chapter gives advice on how to be a bad host to one's own dinner guests. Finally, Book III is more of a mixed bag, divided into eight wide-ranging chapters. It is only the last of these which focusses on advice for women. The name Grobiana appears at the head of that chapter, but the narrator is the same person who has given advice to men: he explains that girls "rogant ipsas pauca docere uelim" (beg that I should want to teach them some few things).<sup>60</sup> Grobiana is not a female counterpart to the male narrator but rather any misbehaving young lady who will receive the advice, an everywoman with the potential to misbehave. Gribba is a thoroughly Icelandic invention.

Thus the Icelandic poem shows a tendency to dramatise the situation of the narrator and addressees, turning them into fleshed-out individuals with Grobbian, the father of a family which includes a wife and numerous children each with their own name and unpleasant habits. Incidentally, a similar approach, which goes beyond merely revelling in fairly anonymous back-to-front advice, can be seen in a work entitled *Grobiana's Nuptials*, a bawdy comedy written in England around 1610 which exists in a single manuscript.<sup>61</sup> In this play, Grobianus is now a character and Grobiana his daughter, for whom he is seeking a suitable marriage. While there is no

60 Dedekind, *Grobianus, et Grobiana*, 89v.

61 Rühl edited the play from the manuscript MS Bodl. 30 in *Grobianus in England*, 163–91.

reason to believe this play had any influence on the Icelandic poem, it is perhaps testament to a shared perception that Dedekind's advice could lend itself to more fully realised situational comedy.

The comparison of *Grobianus et Grobiana* and *Grobbians rimur* is made without ruling out the possibility of intermediary steps in the process of transmission. We know, for example, that many early modern Icelandic translations or adaptations of continental texts are based on Danish intermediaries.<sup>62</sup> Yet while English and Hungarian translations of *Grobianus* are recorded, no Danish translation is known to have existed.<sup>63</sup> Thus it is simplest to assume that it was either a Latin or German form of the text which made it to Iceland. Nevertheless, since the Icelandic version is so different from Dedekind's second and third Latin versions, it cannot be determined specifically which of the many reprints of these texts was the impetus for the Icelandic work. The comment by Hálfðan Einarsson in his *Sciagraphia*, mentioned above, would seem to imply that a copy of the 1564 edition published in Frankfurt was accessible in Iceland in the eighteenth century, so this seems as likely a source as any. But while the comparison of the Icelandic with the Latin text is interesting in general terms, it cannot shed much light on the question of whether the three-fitt or the four-fitt version was more original. One might, however, note that the three books of Dedekind's second and third versions could have inspired a three-fitt structure. The greater space granted to the discussion of the male Grobianus in Dedekind's second and third versions, with only minimal discussion of the female Grobiana, might also better match the three-fitt version with its approximately 2:1 ratio of discussion of Grobbian to Gribba (as opposed to the 1:1 ratio of discussion in the four-fitt version). This is by no means conclusive, but added to the evidence presented above concerning errors in the opening verses of the four-fitt version, it leaves us grounds for speculating about the three-fitt version as the more original of the two.

62 For various examples of Icelandic texts based on Danish translations or adaptations of German works, see Hubert Seelow, *Die isländischen Übersetzungen der deutschen Volksbücher*, RIT 35 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1989).

63 On the bibliographical details of the English and Hungarian translations, see Milchsack, *Friedrich Dedekinds Grobianus verdeutscht*, xxxii–xxxiii. Note that the *Ordbog over det danske sprog*, under the entry for *Grobrian*, gives an example from around 1700 which shows that Danes were by that time familiar enough with the concept of Grobianus to use the term “grobian” as a synonym for a coarse and unpleasant individual.

As a continuation of this speculation, we may also try to understand what might have led to the three-fitt version being adapted into a four-fitt version, where Gribba's advice to her daughters is spread over two fitts and is thus on an equal footing with Grobbian's advice to his sons. The obvious guess is that an author/adaptor/scribe wished to create more balance in the work. Barbara Correll has argued that in the act of taking on board Scheidt's additions and producing the three-book Latin version, Dedekind "redresses an imbalance, seeks completion for a text," and the adaptor of *Grobbians rimur* can be imagined as having continued this process.<sup>64</sup> Extra-literary reasons may also have played a part: bad behaviour in girls and young women may have been seen as equally in need of correction (through lampooning) as it was in boys and young men. Yet another literary inspiration may have come from previous works within the genre of *heilraði* (good advice) literature. One of the most important of such works was the *Disticha Catonis* (Distichs of Cato), which had already been translated into Icelandic in the Middle Ages as *Hugsvinnsmál*.<sup>65</sup> In the sixteenth century it retained its status, as all advanced students at the cathedral schools in Hólar and Skálholt had to study the Latin *Disticha*, as laid out in the Danish Church Ordinance of 1537, accepted at Skálholt in 1542. The work was thus highly familiar to literate Icelanders also in the seventeenth century, all the more so after Jón Bjarnason á Presthólum (c. 1560–c. 1634) produced a new translation, what Halldór Hermannsson called the "Hólar Cato," in the early 1620s and had it printed at Hólar.<sup>66</sup> That the *Disticha Catonis* were viewed as thematically similar to (if inverted) texts about Grobianus can be seen in the subtitle to R. F. Gent's English translation of *Grobianus et Grobiana*: "Cato Turn'd Wrong Side Out."<sup>67</sup> The reason

64 Barbara Correll, *The End of Conduct: Grobianus and the Renaissance Text of the Subject* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 118.

65 Tarrin Wills and Stephanie Würth (eds. and trans.), "Anonymous, *Hugsvinnsmál*," *Poetry on Christian Subjects*, ed. by Margaret Clunies Ross, *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007) 358–449.

66 See Halldór Hermannsson (ed.), *The Hólar Cato: An Icelandic Schoolbook of the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1958). Note that Halldór Hermannsson (p. xxvii) differs slightly from other more recent sources in listing Jón Bjarnason's year of death as c. 1635.

67 See also Dedekind's comment in his preface (*Grobianus, et Grobiana*, 5v) that "forsitan et tetricos offendent ista Catones / carmina" (maybe these poems will also offend shadowy Catos).

for bringing up the *Disticha* here is that they are the pre-eminent model for early modern advice literature and are divided into four books. Jón Bjarnason's translation maintains this four-book structure, and it may be that both the Latin and Icelandic works have played a role in encouraging the three-fitt version of *Grobbsians rímur* to be adapted into a generically appropriate four-fitt structure.

Having come up with a theory of how the three-fitt version was composed on the basis of a Latin/German original and subsequently adapted into a four-fitt version, we can return to the question of authorship which was brought up at the start of this article. There is no reason why both versions should not be the product of a single author, but we should also not rule out the possibility that the four-fitt version was adapted by someone other than the author of the three-fitt version. We know that both Jón Magnússon and Guðmundur Erlendsson have been connected to the core *Grobbsians rímur*, so we can ask the question, are there any clues in either of the versions which point towards one of these men as author?

Just such a clue might be identified in the intertextual references found in the *rímur*. These include several to biblical characters, completely absent in the Latin source. Moreover, a number of these names are only found in the four-fitt version, principally in fitt I where, when the names of the sons are first listed, several of them are compared to characters from the Bible. In addition to Lucifer (I:19) and Satan (I:63), we have Absalom (I:21), Nabal (I:27), Ishmael (I:20), Achan (I:30) and Judas Iscariot (I:31). Since we know that both Jón Magnússon and Guðmundur Erlendsson composed poems and *rímur* on religious subjects, these references should come as no surprise if either of these men were the author. What might tip the balance in favour of Guðmundur Erlendsson as author of the four-fitt version, however, is a comparison of certain of these biblical references with his *Rímur af Sál og Davíð*, written during his stay on Grímsey (1631–34).<sup>68</sup>

One example of such a verse involves Kargur (Stubborn), Grobbian's tenth son, who is said to be "Nabal rétt að nísku jafn" (A perfect equal of Nabal in terms of stinginess; I:27). The story of Nabal's stinginess appears

68 These *rímur* have not been edited in their entirety but can be read in the manuscript JS 232 4to online at handrit.is. According to the foliation in the manuscript (which I use here) they appear on ff. 157r–228v. handrit.is offers a different foliation, such that the *rímur* run from ff. 168r–239v. See Parsons, "Gagn, gæði og gömul vísa um Grímsey," for an edition of the *mansöng* of fitt XVIII.

in fitt VIII of Guðmundur's *Rímur af Sál og Davíð*,<sup>69</sup> where after being rudely refused Nabal's help, David goes to see the "nískan rekk" (stingy man; f. 177r) with violent intent. Nabal's wife, Abigail, intervenes and placates David with gifts, thus avoiding bloodshed. But when Nabal hears of what she has done, he is struck down by something like a heart attack and dies. We are thus told that "svo kom Nabals niskan hörð / nú með skyndi honum í jörð" (Nabal's unrelenting stinginess took him to an early grave; f. 178v). Another example of a verse found only in the four-fitt version of *Grobbians rímur* relates to Fraktari (Freighter/Cargo Ship), Grobbian's fifth son, who is said to be vain and boastful and "við Absalon líkjast vildi" (wanted to be compared to Absalom; I:21). Once again, Absalom appears in the *Rímur af Sál og Davíð*, introduced there in fitt XII as the son of David (f. 190r), and then playing a principal role from the end of fitt XV up to the end of fitt XVIII, first by killing his brother Amnon and then by usurping his father but ultimately dying in an ensuing battle. In the *rímur* we are told that "Absalóns lífs - á - lóni voru lýtin engi / og svo fegurð yfir mengi / auðar viður hafði fengið" (there were no flaws on the living Absalom and that tree of wealth [MAN] had been granted beauty superior to the multitude; f. 206r). It makes sense that Fraktari, vain and superficial and advised by Grobbian to get "sama fatasnið / sem frægast er í landi" (the same style of clothes as the most renowned men in the country), should want to be considered equal to a paragon of male beauty. No definitive conclusions can be drawn from these two examples, especially given that familiarity with Bible stories can be assumed for most learned Icelanders of the time, including Jón Magnússon, but it is intriguing that these two rather more obscure biblical allusions from *Grobbians rímur* match up with Old Testament stories retold by Guðmundur Erlendsson in another context.

If Guðmundur Erlendsson is responsible for turning the three-fitt version into the four-fitt version, he could also be the author of the three-fitt version. Alternatively, we could see Jón Magnússon as author of the three-fitt version and Guðmundur as the adaptor. The motivations for such an adaptation have already been discussed, but, in that regard, it might be worth remembering Robert Cook's comments concerning Guðmundur's adaptation of *The Monarche*, that "séra Guðmundur also has a nice sense of

69 The full story of Nabal appears on ff. 176v–178v (or ff. 187v–189v) of JS 232 4to. I normalise the text when quoting.

balance and repetition.”<sup>70</sup> The equal weighting of the two fitts focussed on Grobbian’s sons and those focussed on Gribba’s daughters certainly provides the poem with more balance, and the inclusion of the lists of names of the sons and the daughters at the start of fitts I and III also clearly provides repetition, in a way which reduces the burden on a listener or reader.

Guðmundur’s lengthy *Rímur af Sál og Davíð* can also provide further food for thought, especially if we consider them alongside Jón Magnússon’s *Rímur af Salómon konungi hinum ríka*. The former covers Old Testament events from Samuel making his sons, Joel and Abijah, judges over Israel (as in I Samuel 8) up to King David’s advice to Solomon just before his death (as in I Kings 2:1–11).<sup>71</sup> Jón Magnússon’s *Rímur af Salómon konungi hinum ríka* continue the story precisely where it was left off by Guðmundur, starting by mentioning David’s death and then discussing the challenge to his rule which the new king Solomon faced from Adonijah (as in I Kings 2:13).<sup>72</sup> In at least one extant manuscript, namely ÍB 509 4to (dated 1770–71), the two sets of *rímur* appear one after the other in this order, suggesting that the compiler might have been aware of this relationship or at least been reliant on an exemplar which was. What this implies, quite simply, is that Jón Magnússon and Guðmundur Erlendsson were engaged in complementary acts of literary composition, the writing of one continuing where that of the other left off. This may have occurred spontaneously, but knowing what we do about the close ties between the clergyman-poets of Northern Iceland in the seventeenth century, it seems perfectly reasonable to guess that such neat dovetailing involved direct consultation.<sup>73</sup> If their work on religious *rímur* seems to have involved collaboration, the possibility of them having collaborated in some way on *Grobbians rímur* is not so far-fetched.<sup>74</sup>

70 Cook, “A Critical Edition of *Einvaldsóður*,” 9.

71 See JS 232 4to, f. 157v (f. 168r) and f. 228v (239r).

72 See JS 45 4to, ff. 133r–134r. It seems that Jón’s *Rímur af kóniga- og kronikubókunum* might also be considered another continuation, since the *Rímur af Salómon konungi hinum ríka* mention Jeroboam’s rebellion against Solomon towards the end (fitt XIV of XV) while the *Rímur af kóniga- og kronikubókunum* start by discussing Jeroboam in Solomon’s old age. More research remains to be done on these works and how they interact with each other.

73 On the friendship between Jón Magnússon and Guðmundur Erlendsson, see, for example, Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, *Heiður og huggun*, 198.

74 It is also worth bearing in mind Katelin Parsons’ recent discussion of the “possibilities of collaborative authorship even at the stage of its initial composition” with regard to

## Conclusions

In this article new information has been presented about *Grobbians rímur*, both definitive and more speculative. Among the more definitive findings, the most important is that the earliest manuscripts contain two versions, namely a three-fitt and a four-fitt version, of the core *Grobbians rímur*. This is certain, but what remains unclear is the relationship between the two versions and who was responsible for producing them. Thus the more speculative findings involve suggesting a possible chronology of composition and a theory of authorship. The hypothesis put forward here, although by no means verifiable or certain at this stage, represents one possible explanation. In the absence of any other research on this material, it seems at the very least a useful jumping-off point for future discussions.

The question of authorship of the two versions draws on the extant manuscripts, in particular the reference to Guðmundur Erlendsson as an author of the four-fitt version of the core *Grobbians rímur* found in AM 615 f 4to, which, it should be noted, is the earliest attribution of authorship of any kind in relation to the poem. An alternative reading of this single attribution is that it was merely the product of a confused or misinformed scribe and thus that little weight should be granted it. I choose, however, to take the isolated attribution at its word and consider how Guðmundur Erlendsson could have been involved in the authorship of *Grobbians rímur*. A couple of problems therefore have to be addressed. First, if Guðmundur is the author of at least one version of *Grobbians rímur*, why is this not independently corroborated elsewhere? Second, what evidence is there within Guðmundur's literary output of him producing material like *Grobbians rímur*? Is it even credible that he would have been involved in authoring or adapting such a work?

In answer to the first question, it is important to recognise that our sources on seventeenth-century authorship are fragmentary and at times unreliable. Katelin Parsons has commented on the fact that Guðmundur Erlendsson “was a well-known poet to whom numerous works are (often spuriously) attributed.”<sup>75</sup> Perhaps the reference to Guðmundur in AM

*Grylukvæði* and her conclusion that “Guðmundur Erlendsson and Ásgrímur Magnússon could easily have composed *Grylukvæði* together” (“Grýla in Sléttuhlið,” *Gripla* 23 (2013): 211–33, at 228).

75 Katelin Parsons, “Grýla in Sléttuhlið,” 213. An example is given, the *Rímur af krossrénu*,



615 f 4to is just such a misattribution, or perhaps the oft-repeated claim that Jón Magnússon was the author is the real misattribution, with the information provided in AM 615 f 4to being a fleeting glimpse of the true state of affairs. Potentially contributing to the hazy picture surrounding *Grobbians rímur*'s authorship is the possibility that a conscious and active effort was made to suppress information about its author. The poem itself attests to an author's choice not to reveal themselves, "að enginn viti Authors heiti."<sup>76</sup> The crudity of much of the content provides a comprehensible motive for a shy author. Moreover, Katelin Parsons' recent work on Guðmundur's poetic anthologies provides ample evidence that both he and his family played a significant role in curating his literary production. One aspect of this is that "Guðmundur seems to have deliberately excluded the carnivalesque from his legacy as a poet."<sup>77</sup> Given all this, it is feasible that Guðmundur might have concealed his authorship and that he and his descendants suppressed any association of it with his more respectable output.

An answer to the second question is dependent upon us determining what type of literature *Grobbians rímur* is. Since the ultimate aim of the *rímur* seems to be didactic and specifically aimed at the schooling of young people, we can say that it falls within the broad genre of conduct literature. On the other hand, since its method of instructing is through description of the inverse of good conduct, in a way which may be considered entertaining, one can say that it has a claim to be considered amongst satirical literature, especially that which uses grotesque imagery and bawdy humour. It is, also, an example of a work dependent upon, although not a direct translation of, writing from early modern Germany.

With regard to the first genre, we know for a fact that Guðmundur took an interest in conduct literature: for example, his poetic translation

which Páll Vídalín attributed to Guðmundur but which were actually by Sigurður Jónsson of Presthólar (224).

76 Note that this quote, mentioned at the start of the article, is the final verse of fitt IV and so is absent in the three-fitt version.

77 Parsons, "Songs for the End of the World," 223. One might, however, speculate about the contents of the aforementioned non-extant third poetic anthology of Guðmundur's work. It was supposed to contain more secular material and thus might speak against suppression of "the carnivalesque." Not all secular literature is, however, necessarily coarse or grotesque, and it is hard to make assessments of its contents *in absentia*. Moreover, the fact that it is non-extant might point to suppression, even if the original act of gathering the poems together implies a differing impulse.

*Heilráð barnagafræðing meistara Antoni Mureti* (Good Advice of the Child Discipline Expert, Antoine Muret);<sup>78</sup> *Vilbaldsrímur*, of which Parsons tells us that “steering young people away from a life of crime is a central theme;”<sup>79</sup> and his numerous poetic translations of Aesop’s fables, a favoured didactic text in the early modern period. As far as the second genre, satirical or grotesque literature, is concerned, while not typical of Guðmundur’s writing, a couple of examples can be found amongst his œuvre: a comic and somewhat grotesque *Grylukvæði* exists, which has recently been suggested to be a collaborative work by Guðmundur Erlendsson and Ásgrímur Magnússon.<sup>80</sup> It is easy to see some kind of family resemblance between the child-eating Gryla and the child-corrupting Gribba. Guðmundur’s “Skeggi til Laugu skrifar og segir” (Skeggi writes to Lauga and says) too is a “parody of a love-letter,” and Katelin Parsons has also suggested that *Brietarkvæði*, a poem which ends with a naked female vagrant lying collapsed on the floor in a puddle of suet, may also be the work of Guðmundur.<sup>81</sup> Sighvatur Grímsson Borgfirðingur, moreover, tells us, with regard to Guðmundur’s illegitimate fathering of a child c. 1617, that “mælt er að Guðmundur hafi ort um barnsmóður sína heldur kímilegt klámkvæði” (it is said that Guðmundur composed a rather amusing pornographic poem about the mother).<sup>82</sup> Thus grotesque, satirical and bawdy literature was not out of the question for this clergyman, despite Páll Eggert Ólason’s claim cited in the introduction to this article.<sup>83</sup> With regards to Guðmundur’s literary influence from early modern Germany, a recent article by Þórunn Sigurðardóttir and Þorsteinn Helgason highlights that his poem on the destruction of Magdeburg in 1631 was probably written soon after the event and that “accounts of events in Magdeburg must certainly have reached Denmark by various channels” but that “from there, and perhaps even directly from Germany, the news could have reached

78 Parsons, “Songs for the End of the World,” 130. See the text in JS 232 4to, ff. 114r–116r.

79 Parsons, “Songs for the End of the World,” 131.

80 Parsons, “Gryla in Sléttuhlið,” 228.

81 Parsons, “Songs for the End of the World,” 78.

82 See Sighvatur Grímsson Borgfirðingur’s *Prestaævir á Íslandi* (Skagafjarðarprófestsdæmi) in Lbs 2371 II 4to, pp. 1439–40 (ff. 297r–297v). See also Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, “Á Krists ysta jarðar hala: Um séra Guðmund Erlendsson í Felli og verk hans,” *Skagfirðingabók* 37 (2016): 171–84, at 175.

83 Páll Eggert Ólason, *Saga Íslendinga*, 335.

Iceland.”<sup>84</sup> Thus writing from Germany could quickly reach Iceland and was certainly capable of piquing Guðmundur’s interest.

All of this means that there is no reason to automatically rule out Guðmundur as having played a role in the composition or adaptation of the core *Grobians rímur*. These arguments do not prove that Guðmundur was the author or adaptor, but the attribution in AM 615 f 4to and the biblical references in the four-fitt version of the core *Grobians rímur*, which match stories retold by Guðmundur in his *Rímur af Sál og Davíð*, are pieces of circumstantial evidence which support this argument. The similarity of the tripartite structure of the three-fitt version to the three-book division of the Latin *Grobianus et Grobiana* and the errors in verse order in the four-fitt version have also been adduced as circumstantial evidence that the three-fitt version was composed prior to the four-fitt version. The evidence of the Old Testament *rímur* also points towards the possibility of collaborative authorship involving both Jón Magnússon í Laufási and Guðmundur Erlendsson.

This article has restricted itself to discussion of the core *Grobians rímur*, since to add the eighteenth-century continuations would have made a complex and lengthy analysis even more unwieldy. Nevertheless, future research will hopefully seek to clarify further the processes of composition and dissemination of the entire complex of *Grobians rímur* and in doing so provide further evidence for alternative configurations of authorship within early modern Icelandic literature. Once we have got to grips with some of the basic questions concerning these poems, it is hoped that literary analyses of *Grobians rímur* will help us to better understand a shadowy yet clearly popular strand of Icelandic seventeenth- and eighteenth-century culture.

84 Þórunn Sigurðardóttir and Þorsteinn Helgason, “Singing the News in Seventeenth-Century Iceland: The Destruction of Magdeburg in 1631,” *Quaerendo* 50 (2020): 310–36, at 314.

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## ÁGRIP

Grótesk heilræði á Íslandi á sautjándu öld: Dularfullur uppruni *Grobians rímna*

**Efnisorð:** heilræði, satíra, *rímur*, sautjándu öld, gróteska

*Grobianus et Grobiana* er áhrifamikið þýskt verk frá sextándu öld eftir Friedrich Dedekind sem setti fram ráðleggingar um hvernig ætti að haga sér illa, að eigin sögn sem öfugmæli til að hvetja fólk til að haga sér vel. Þessi grein fjallar um íslenskt verk frá sautjándu öld, *Grobians rímur*, sem tekur innblástur frá persónu Grobianusar og konu hans Grobiönu (sem verður Gribba á íslensku) og er langt frá því að vera bókstafleg þýðing. *Grobians rímur* eru lítið rannsakaðar og flutningssaga þeirra er flókin, þar sem einhverjir höfundar hafa lagt til viðbótarrímur á margra áratuga tímabili. Í þessari grein er áherslan á fyrstu fjórar rímurnar (þær sem ég kalla “core *Grobians rímur*” eða “kjarna-*Grobians rímur*”), venjulega kenndar við einn höfund, annað hvort Jón Magnússon í Laufási eða Guðmund Erlendsson. Við nánari athugun á þremur elstu handritunum, öllum frá sautjándu öld, kemur í ljós að þar eru tvær gerðir, önnur með þremur rímum og hin með fjórum. Tilgáta er sett fram um að tveir höfundar gætu haft ort þessar tvær gerðir og unnið saman, þannig að Jón Magnússon og Guðmundur Erlendsson gætu báðir talist höfundar. Aðrar rímur þessara manna benda til þess að þeir hafi unnið saman. Þannig eru færð rök fyrir því að þriggja rímna gerðin sé líklega eldri gerð *Grobians rímna*, sennilega ort af Jóni Magnússyni, en gerðin með fjórum rímum sé yngri og líkast til ort af Guðmundi Erlendssyni. Þessi rannsókn mun vonandi ryðja brautina fyrir framtíðarrannsóknum á bókmennta- og menningarlegu gildi þessa forvitnilega verks.

## SUMMARY

Grotesque Advice in Seventeenth-Century Iceland: The Mysterious Origins of *Grobians rímur*

**Keywords:** Didactic literature, satire, *rímur*, seventeenth century, grotesque

*Grobianus et Grobiana* was an influential sixteenth-century German work by Friedrich Dedekind which presented advice on how to behave badly, supposedly as an inverse way of encouraging people to behave well. This article looks at an Icelandic work from the seventeenth century, *Grobians rímur*, which drew on the figure of Grobianus and his wife Grobiana (who becomes Gribba in the Icelandic text) but is no mere translation. *Grobians rímur* is little studied and has a complex transmission history, with several authors contributing additional fitts over a period of many decades. The focus here is the earliest four fitts (what I call the “core *Grobians rímur*”), usually attributed to a single author, either Jón

Magnússon í Laufási or Guðmundur Erlendsson. Through a consideration of the three extant seventeenth-century manuscripts, two early versions come to light, one consisting of only three fitts as well as another consisting of the more familiar four fitts. A hypothesis is developed that these two versions could be the result of two authors working together and expanding on each other's compositions, thus both Jón Magnússon and Guðmundur Erlendsson could equally be considered the authors. Other poems by these poets suggest that they responded to each other's works. Thus arguments are presented that the three-fitt version is most likely the earlier form of the poem, probably composed principally by Jón Magnússon, while the four-fitt version came after and Guðmundur Erlendsson was probably involved in its composition. This study will hopefully pave the way for future research which will consider the literary and cultural value of this intriguing work.

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DARIO BULLITTA AND KIRSTEN WOLF

A REPOSITORY  
OF PROTESTANT EXEMPLA  
IN ICELANDIC TRANSLATION

REYKJAVÍK, LANDSBÓKASAFN ÍSLANDS – HÁSKÓLABÓKASAFN, JS 405 8vo, written between 1780 and 1791 by the farmer Ólafur Jónsson í Arney (c. 1722–1800), contains on fols 25r–56r an Icelandic translation of ninety-four short stories under the title *Nockrar eptertakanlegar smá historíur saman tíndar til fróðleiks 1783* (“Some noteworthy short stories collected for informational purposes in 1783”).<sup>1</sup> The overarching theme of these short stories or anecdotes is relationships. Most of them have to do with the relationship between parents and children, but other relationships are discussed as well, such as the relationship between masters and servants, military chiefs and soldiers, employers and employees, and people and wild or domestic animals. The manuscript is all in one hand, a legible book hand, but now and then at the end of the stories Ólafur Jónsson uses a humanist script for subjective comments.<sup>2</sup>

\* Dario Bullitta is responsible for most of the introduction. *Nockrar eptertakanlegar smá historíur* is compiled from a variety of Humanist collections of exempla ... / ... liturgical year published in 1718–20” and the apparatus fontium. Kirsten Wolf is responsible for the opening introduction “Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands ... / ... a humanist script for subjective comments” and for the edited texts. For ease of reference, early modern Icelandic works are normalized when cited within the discussion. The original spelling of the title pages is maintained throughout the biographical references.

- 1 For a full description of the manuscript and its contents, see *Niðrstigningar saga: Sources, Transmission, and Theology of the Old Norse “Decent into Hell,”* ed. and trans. by Dario Bullitta, Old Norse and Icelandic Series 11 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 35–37. For information about Ólafur Jónsson, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar ævisskrár frá landnáms tímum til ársloka 1940*, 6 vols. (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1948–76), 4:62. See also Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir, “Í hverri bók er mannsandi?": *Handritasýrpur – bókmenning, þekking og sjálfsmynd karla og kvenna á 18. öld. Studia Islandica: Íslensk fræði* 62 (Reykjavík: Bókmennta- og listfræðastofnun Háskóla Íslands, Háskólaútgáfan, 2011), 28–29, 201, and 262.
- 2 The humanist script appears on fols. 27r20–23, 31r16–19, 32r6–9, 32r17–18, 35v21, 36r23–24, 37r20–21, 38r17, 38r26, 39r1, 40r3–4, 40v4–5, 41r6–7, 41r24–25, 41v22–23, 42r7, 43r12, 44v17, 45r7–12, 46v22–23, 47v9–11, 47v23–25, 48v10, 49v13, 50r20–22, 50v17–19, 51v14, 52r2–3, 52r22–23, 53r1–2, 53r23–24, 54r19–20, 55v13–14, 56r5.

*Nockrar eptertakanlegar smá historiur* is compiled from a variety of Humanist collections of exempla, which circulated in a variety of forms and in innumerable editions throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the present study, we concentrate on Andreas Hondorff's *Promptuarium exemplorum* ("Repository of Exempla"), the main source for the Icelandic text, from which at least thirty-five exempla, more than a third of the material, were drawn. The *Promptuarium* was a highly popular compendium gathering wonders, adages, parables, and legends from antiquity, late antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance arranged according to the Ten Commandments. After its first publication in German in 1568,<sup>3</sup> the collection was issued some thirty times in German between 1568 and 1687 and twelve times in Latin between 1575 and 1633,<sup>4</sup> soon becoming "a best-seller of historical collections of the sixteenth century"<sup>5</sup> and "the most successful Protestant collection of exempla".<sup>6</sup>

### *The Promptuarium exemplorum*

After studying theology at the University of Wittenberg and the University of Leipzig, Andreas Hondorff (1530–1572) served as a priest in Merseburg (1547), Großgestewitz (1551), Kistritz (1563), and Droyßig (1563), where he completed the *Promptuarium* four years before his death.<sup>7</sup> According to Schade, Hondorff began to gather material for his collection already during his student years.<sup>8</sup> His editorial purpose was to revamp two

- 3 Andreas Hondorff, *Promptuarium Exemplorum: Historienn und Exempelbuch. Aus Heiliger Schrift, und vielen andern bewerten und beglaubten Geistlichen und Weltlichen Buchern und Schriften gezogen. Zum Spiegel der warhafftigen Christlichen Buß, jedermenniglichen zu diesen letzten und gefehrlichen zeiten fur die Augen gestellt. Mit allem fleis auff's kurtzte nachden heiligen Zehen Geboten fein ordentlich ausgetheilt* (Leipzig: Durch Jacobum Berwaldt, 1568) [20]. The first edition contains 375 pages (foliated).
- 4 See the useful annotated bibliography in Heidemarie Schade, "Andreas Hondorffs *Promptuarium exemplorum*," *Volkserzählung und Reformation: Ein Handbuch zur Tradierung und Funktion von Erzählstoffen und Erzäblliteratur im Protestantismus*, ed. by Wolfgang Brückner (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1974) 646–703, at 693–703.
- 5 See Rudolf Schenda, "Die deutsche Prodigiensammlungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Arkiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 4 (1962): 637–710, at 637–38.
- 6 See Marina Münkler, *Narrative Ambiguität: die Faustbücher des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, *Historische Semantik* 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 46 n. 8.
- 7 See Schade, "Andreas Hondorffs *Promptuarium exemplorum*," 648 and references there.
- 8 See *ibid.*, 653.

well-known medieval collections of exempla by the Dominicans Martin of Opava (d. 1278) and Johann Herolt (d. 1468), also known as Discipulus, which circulated with the same title, and to reform and adapt the genre to the requirements and desiderata of a Lutheran audience.<sup>9</sup> Possibly inspired by Luther's *Decem praecepta Wittenbergensi praedicata populo*,<sup>10</sup> Hondorff divided his material into ten *Praecepta*, that is, the Ten Commandments, which in turn gather a varying number of *loci communes* or commonplace-headings. Along with classical and medieval authors and historians (Livy, Pliny the Elder, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, Suetonius, Aulus Gellius, Aelianus, Virgil, Ovid, Josephus, Paul the Deacon, Saxo Grammaticus, and Petrarch), Hondorff includes numerous excerpts by Humanist thinkers (Erasmus of Rotterdam, Conrad Wolffhart, Johann Manlius, Melancthon, and Martin Luther). The *Promptuarium* found an ever-expanding audience among Lutherans interested in wisdom drawn from Scripture, history, and the natural world, and it entered into the lineage of sixteenth-century evangelical texts that explained natural wonders and disasters as a sign of God's anger and promoted Christian discipline.<sup>11</sup>

The 1595 German edition published in Frankfurt by the Peter Schmidt printshop includes the following *loci communes*:<sup>12</sup>

- 9 See, respectively, the discussion in Anne-Élyse Lebourgeois, "Le *Promptuarium Exemplorum* de Martin le Polonais, O.P. (†1278). Édition critique et commentaire" (Diplôme d'Archiviste Paléographe diss., Ecole nationale des Chartes, Paris, 2002), and Johann Herolt, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. by C. C. Swinton Bland (London: Routledge, 1928), 1–8.
- 10 Martin Luther, *Decem praecepta Wittenbergensi praedicata populo per P. Martinum Luther Augustinianum*. (Wittenberg: Johann Rhau-Grunenberg, 1518).
- 11 See Philip M. Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination: The Evangelical Wonder Book in Reformation Germany*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 158.
- 12 Andreas Hondorff, *Promptuarium Exemplorum. Das ist: Historien und Exempelbuch nach Ordnung und Disposition der heiligen Zehen Gebott Gottes, auß heiliger Schrift, und andern bewerten unnd glaubwürdigen, Geistlichen und Weltlichen, alten und newen Scribenten, mit allem fleiß zusammengetragen. Gottsforscht, Bürgerlicher erbarkeit, redliches wandels, aufrichtiges lebens, und abscheubung aller Sünd, Laster vnd vbels: Jedermeniglichen, hobes und nidriges, Geistlichs und Weltlichs Stands, zu disen lezten und gefehrlichen zeiten für die augen gestelt. Jetz zum tritten mal in Truck außgangen, und auff new widerumb (dabey es auch hinfort bleiben sol) mit allem fleiß ersehen, und sehr vielen nuzbarn Historien und Exmpeln gebessert und vermehret: Durch den Ehrwürdigen, in H. Exmpeln gebessert und vermehret: Durch den Ehrwürdigen, in H. Schrift Hochgelehrten Herren* (Frankfurt: Peter Schmidt, 1595) [20]. The first edition contains 396 folios (792 pages).

(1) **Das erste Gebott** [Thou shalt have no other gods before Me; Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image]: *De Martyribus; De Idolatria; De Hæreticis & Idolatris; De Astronomia;* (2) **Das ander Gebott** [Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain]: *De iureiurando vel iuramento; De blasphemijs; De postestate Sathane; De Magicis artibus; De maleficis, ex malleo maleficarum Iacobi Sprengers;* (3) **Das dritte Gebott** [Thou shalt sanctify the holy day]: *De conuersione & propagatione Ecclesiæ; De oratione; De angelis; Apparitionibus non credendum; De iustificatione; De cruce, afflictione & tribulatione; De Allegorijs; De vita D. Mart. Lutheri; De pænis persecutorum Ecclesiæ Christi;* (4) **Das vierdte Gebott** [Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother] *De liberorum pietate in parentes; De impietate liberorum; De amore & indulgentia parentum in liberos; De ira & seueritate parentum erga liberos; De odio Diaboli erga parentes & liberos; De custodia Angelorum in liberos & parentes; De educatione & institutione & doctrina liberorum; De eruditione magnorum Principum; De doctrina & eruditione fœminarum. De charitate in patriam; De proditoribus patriæ; De transfugis; De gratitudine; De gratitudine beluarum; De ingratitude;* (5) **Das funffte Gebott** [Thou shalt not kill] *De homicidijs magnorum Principum; De nequitia Tyrannorum; Crudelitas erga subditos; De ira, odio, & inuidiâ; De abstinentia ab ira, odio & inuidiâ; De seditionibus & pugnis; De victoria; De Ducis præsentia, &c.; De pace & concordia; De amicitia; De misericordia & compassione erga inimicos; De homicidijs alijsque tragicis casibus; De ijs qui sibi mortem consciuerunt; Iudicium D. Mart. Luth. de talibus;* (6) **Das sechste Gebott** [Thou shalt not commit adultery] *De castitate piorum hominum; De castitate virorum illustrium; De castitate virginum & vxorum; De amore coniugali; De pœna scortorum; De odio & inuidiâ Diaboli erga coniugatos; De ijs qui concubunt cum masculis; Mendacia Monachorum;* (7) **Das siebende Gebott** [Thou shalt not steal] *De furibus & sacrilegis; De latronibus; De usura & fœneratoribus; De auaritia;* (8) **Das achte Gebott** [Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour] *De iustitia, iudicio & iudicibus; De iudicibus incautis; De sententijs; De iustitia; De clementia; De calumnia & obrectatione; De obrectatoribus & proditoribus; Calumnia; De disquisitione per tormenta;* 9 and 10) **Das neunnde vnd zehende Gebott** [Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house and Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his cattle, nor anything that is his] *De abstinentia & concupiscentia; De auaritia in vectigalibus; Vxorem proximi non concupiscentiam; De coniugio; De coniugio iterato; De humilitate; De ambitione & superbia; De vestitu; De abstinentia et sobrietate; De gula & ebrietate, & prodigalitate; De labore & ocio; De fortuna, felicitate & infortunio; De morte & immortalitate animæ.*

It is likely that the compiler of *Nockrar eptertakanlegar smá historiar* made use of the widely popular and rearranged *Promptuarium exemplorum* compiled by Philip Lonicer (1532–1599),<sup>13</sup> which was first published in Frankfurt in 1575 under the title *Theatrum historicum* by the Sigmund Feyerabend print shop.<sup>14</sup> Evidence of such dependence is provided by an

13 Lonicer was first Rector of the Frankfurt Gymnasium and subsequently preacher in Freidberg and had already made himself known by his *Chronicon Turcorum*, published in 1537. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols (Leipzig: Verlag Duncker & Humboldt, 1875–1912), 19:158.

14 Andreas Hondorff, *Theatrum historicum illustrium exemplorum ad honeste, pie, beateque vivendum mortale genus informantium, ex antiquissimis simul ac novissimis sacrarum et profanarum historiarum monumentis constructum, & in decem classes secundum Mosaice legis Præcepta distinctum. Initio quidem a imula c viro, D. Andrea Hondorffio conscriptum: idiomate*

exemplum collected in Precept IV under the locus *De educatione, institutione & doctrina liberorum* (Exemplum 13 in the Icelandic text) – ultimately derived from Laetius’ *De vita et moribus philosophorum* through Conrad Wolffhart’s collection of apothegms *Apophthegmatum sive responsorum memorabilium loci communes* – which preserves one of the few quotations left in Latin in the Icelandic translation.<sup>15</sup> It relates that when Demetrius I of Macedon (c. 377–283 BC) conquered the city of Megara, he ordered Stilpo’s (c. 360–280 BC) house to be saved and made sure that everything his army had plundered from him would be restored to him. But when he asked Stilpo to provide him with a list of what he had lost, Stilpo answered that he had lost nothing of his own, since no one had taken from him his learning, and that he still had his eloquence and his knowledge, which he defines as his best domestic goods “id est domestica propriaque bona,” a reading nowhere to be found in the German editions.<sup>16</sup> Below is a collation of the German *Promptuarium exemplorum* published in Frankfurt in 1595 and the Latin *Theatrum historicum* published by Laurentius Seuberlich in Wittenberg in 1604.<sup>17</sup>

Further circumstantial evidence is provided by another example translated from Precept IV under the locus *De educatione, institutione & doctrina liberorum* (Exemplum 46 in the Icelandic text), originally derived from Pausanias and Valerius Maximus, relating the myth of the Sicilian brothers Amphinomus and Anapius, who saved their parents during an eruption of Mount Etna and were consequently considered by Romans as noble examples of filial piety and devotion to duty.<sup>18</sup> The Icelandic text

*germanico conscriptum, iam vero, labore et industria Philippi Loniceri latinitate donatum, multisque in locis auctum, et illustratum*, trans. by Philipp Loncier (Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1575). [20]. It contains 713 pages (paginated).

- 15 On the use and circulation of Wolffhart’s *Apophthegmatum* in early modern Scandinavia, see especially *Three Humanist Compendia in Icelandic Translation*, ed. by Dario Bullitta and Kirsten Wolf, Bibliotheca Arnarnagnæana 54 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, forthcoming).
- 16 *Domestica* translates the Greek οἰκεῖα.
- 17 Andreas Hondorff, *Theatrum Historicum sive promptuarium illustrium exemplorum ad honeste pie beateque vivendum cuiusvis generis et conditionis homines informantium ex antiquis imula c recentioribus sacrarum et prophanarum historiarum monumentis collectum et in decem classes secundum Mosaicae legis praecepta distinctum* (Wittenberg: Laurentius Seuberlich, 1604) [80].
- 18 See, for instance, James D. Garrison, *Pietas from Virgil to Dryden* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 52–53.

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[149] Als der Kōnig Demetrius die Stat, darin der Philosophus Stilpo Megaricus gewohnet, erobert hatte, vnd der Philosophus gefangen vor den Kōnig bracht war, fragt er jn, ob er auch etwas von den Seinen verloren hette? Sagt er, nichts: Denn dieweil ich meine Kunst vnd Lehr noch habe, kan ich mich noch dadurch ernehren, vnd vnterhalten. <i>Bruso libro tertio, capite vigesimo primo.</i>	[387a] Demetrius, Antigoni filius, cum Megara cœpisset, jussit Stilpontis domum servari indemnem. Admonitus igitur Stilpon, ut libellum daret rerum omnium, quas amisit[387b]set. Ego, inquit, nihil bonorum meorum amisi. Nam eruditio, & eloquentia mihi sunt incolumes, quod hæc vere sunt œceja ( <i>sic</i> ) hoc est, domestica, propriaquæ bona.	[31r]* Laertius lib. 2, cap. 12 oc Seneca skrifa eina merkelega historiu. Þa Demetrius hafde unned Megaram, befalade <i>hann sínun</i> stríðsmónun, ad þeir skyldu þyrma húse Stilponis philosophi, oc at sá lærde <i>mann</i> skilde gefa frá <i>sier</i> uppskrifad, hvad <i>hann</i> hafde mist. Enn <i>hann</i> svarade. Eg hefe <i>eckert</i> mist af <i>mínun</i> avdæfum, því ec hefe <i>mínn</i> <i>múnun</i> óskaddadan oc <i>mínar</i> bóklegar lister. Þetta eru <i>mínar</i> eiginlegar eignar. Οικεία** Id est domestica propriaque bona. Þad er <i>mínn</i> eiginlegr oc beste ríkdómr.

\* Wrongly paginated 149.

\*\* Wrongly transcribed “ΟΙΚΕΛÆ”

follows closely the Latin reformulation rather than the original German edition. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that both a Latin and a German version of the *Promptuarium* were consulted simultaneously for the composition of the Icelandic text.

Most of the exempla in *Nockrar eptertakanlegar smá historiur* drawn from the *Promptuarium exemplorum* concern parent–child relationships and the education of children, as most of them are derived from the *loci communes* of Precept IV (*De impietate liberorum in parentes, De liberorum pietate in parentes, De amore et indulgentia parentum erga liberos, Poena immorigerorum liberorum, De educatione, institutione & doctrina liberorum, De parentibus dira liberis imprecantibus, De ira et severitate parentum erga liberos, De gratitudine beluarum, Exempla ex Discipulo de tempore, De gratitudine et ingratitude*).<sup>19</sup> Only a select number describe historical and legendary

19 Exempla 1, 3, 5, 7, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23, 24, 33, 34, 35, 37, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 56, 60, 90.

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<p>[138] In der Jnsel Sicilia, ligt der Berg Ethna, welcher inwendig brennet, vnd etlich mal grosse Feuerhauffen außwirfft. Darumb vor Christi Geburt, da die Juden auß dem Babylonischen gefengniß wider waren heim kommen, begab sichs, daß diser Berge so sehr Feuerflammete, daß davon die Statt Cathana gar mit Feuer anginge, da lieff, wer da lauffen konte, vnd ergrieff ein jeder, was jm am liebsten war, daß ers davon brechte. Da waren zwen Brüder, Philonomus vnd Callias: Dise liessen jre Güter, Gelt vnd Kleinot dahinden, vnd namen jre alten vnd nun unvermögliche Eltern, vnnd trugen dieselben auff jhren Rucken, auß der brunst: Vnd geschach da ein solch Wunderwerck, daß jnen auch da das Feuer zu allen beyden seiten wieche, vnd raum gab, daß sie ohne schaden jhre liebe Eltern darvon bringen konten. Also hat sich Gott dazumal verkläret, daß er jm auch die natürliche angeborne liebe der Heyden gegen die Eltern gefallen liesse. Pausanias lib. 10 Et Valer. Maximus lib. 5 cap. 4.</p>	<p>[350b] Amphinomus &amp; Anapius, Siculi fratres, cum Ætnæ incendio Catanæ [351a] urbs, &amp; omnia prope Sicilia loca deflagarent, parentes humeris superimpositos per medios ignes Ætnæ periculo subdlexerunt, parcentibus &amp; cedentibus eorum pietati ipsis flammis. Sylius:</p>	<p>[40r] Eins giördu þeir Amphiomus oc Anapius vid sína gömlu foreldra, svo sem Pomonus skrifar De obedientia, lib. 2, kap. 4, oc Valerius, lib. 5, kap. 4, i þann tíma sem sa stadr Catana i Sicilia vard fyrer eldgange af fiallenu Æthna, hvort [40v] alltíð brennr so sem það fiall Heckla. Þá tóku þeir sína gömlu oc ørvasa foreldra úpp á sitt bak oc báru þá midt i gegnum eldin med stórum lífsháska. Gott dæme fyrer börn.</p>

examples of wrath and envy extracted from Precept V (*De ira odio et invidia; De amicitia*);<sup>20</sup> adultery, from Precept VI (*De iis quiconcumbunt cum masculis, De poena scortatorum et moechorum*),<sup>21</sup> sacrilege from Precept VII (*De sacrilegis*);<sup>22</sup> and avarice from Precept IX and X (*De vestitu*).<sup>23</sup> The Icelandic excerpts are translated in an apparently random order and correspond roughly to pages 347–563 and 751–898 in the 1604 Wittenberg edition. Curiously, some of the best-known and highly entertaining passages of the *Theatrum historicum* – most notably the Faust legend, which through the *Theatrum* travelled as far as England where it inspired *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* published by Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593) in 1590 – were not included in the vernacular translation.<sup>24</sup>

While no copies of either the German *Promptuarium exemplorum* or the Latin *Theatrum historicum* appear to have survived in Iceland, sections of the *Theatrum historicum* were certainly known in Iceland through a vernacular translation of the so-called *Harmonia Evangelica* (1583), a Lutheran Gospel harmony by the German theologians Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586), Polykarp Leyser the Elder (1552–1610), and Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), which draws extensively on the sections of Precept I of Hondorff's *Theatrum* dedicated to the lives of the apostles and evangelists.<sup>25</sup> The Icelandic translation was published in Skálholt in 1687 with the title *Harmonia Evangelica það er Guðspjallana Samhljóðan* (“*Harmonia Evangelica* that is the Concord of the Gospels”).<sup>26</sup> The text has been recognized as being

20 Exempla 2 and 81.

21 Exempla 27, 74, 89.

22 Exempla 18, 89.

23 Exempla 61 and 68.

24 The so-called “Faustus Magus” legend is part of the *de magicis artibus* commonplace on sorcery and witchcraft. See Andreas Hondorff, *Theatrum Historicum* (Wittenberg: Laurentius Seuberlich, 1604), 186b–187a. On Hondorff as a source for Marlow's play, see for instance Frank Baron, “Which Faustus Died at Staufen? History and Legend in the *Zimmersche Chronik*,” *German Studies Review* 6 (1983): 85–94.

25 See especially Bernt Torvild Oftestad, “Harmonia Evangelica. Die Evangelienharmonie von Martin Chemnitz – theologische Ziele mit methodologische Voraussetzungen,” *Studia Theologica* 45 (1991): 57–74.

26 *Harmonia Evangelica það er Guðspjallana Samhljóðan, Vm vors Drottens Jesu Christi Hollðgan og Hingaburd, hanns Frammferde, Lærdoom, Kienningar og Kraptaverk, hanns Pijnu, Dauda, Upprisu og Uppstigning, so sem þeir Heilögu Guðspjallamenn, Mattheus Marcus Lucas og Iohannes hafa umm sierbuðrt skrifad. Samanntekenn i eitt af þeim Haattupphystu Guðs Mønnum. D. Martino Chemnitio, D. Polycarpo Lysero, og D. Iohanne Gerhardo. Og nu epter þeirre Röd og Forme, sem þeir Haalærdu Menn hafa sett og samed, A vort Isländskt Tungumaal wtgeingenn i fyrsta sinn, og prentud* (Skálholt: Hendrick Kruse, 1687) [80].



among the sources consulted by Bishop of Skálhot Jón Þorkelsson Vídalín (1666–1720) for the compilation his popular *Húspostilla*, a collection of family sermons for the liturgical year published in 1718–20.<sup>27</sup>

### EDITED TEXT

The text of JS 405 8vo is edited below. Abbreviations are expanded in accordance with the normal spelling of the scribe. Expansion of abbreviations by means of a supralinear symbol or letter or by means of contraction are marked in italics. Letters now illegible but assumed to have originally been in the manuscript are printed in square brackets ([...]). Matter never present but presumed to have been inadvertently omitted is added in diagonal brackets (<...>). Characters to be inserted are placed with insertion marks (‘...’ for interlinear insertions, ‘...’ for marginal insertions). No distinction is made between long or cursive *s* and round or small *s*. The word spacing, the punctuation, and the capitalization of letters are editorial. At the end of the edition, an apparatus fontium provides incipit, explicit, and pagination/foiation for the corresponding thirty-five exempla in the German edition of the *Promptuarium exemplorum* published in Frankfurt in 1595 and in the Latin edition of the *Theatrum historicum* published by Laurentius Seuberlich in Wittenberg in 1604.

### Nockrar eptertakanlegar smá historiur

Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, JS 405 8vo,  
fols 25r–56v

[25r] Nockrar |<sup>2</sup> eptertakanlegar smá historiur |<sup>3</sup> saman tándar til fróðleiks  
|<sup>4</sup> 1783. |<sup>5</sup>

1. |<sup>6</sup> Ad foreldranna elska er stærre til barnanna |<sup>7</sup> enn barnanna  
til foreldrana, þad kann madr |<sup>8</sup> skynia af þeirre historiú sem skede í  
Flanderen, |<sup>9</sup> ad fôðurnum oc synenum var kastad í fangelse |<sup>10</sup> oc skyldu

27 See the discussion in Margrét Eggertsdóttir, “From Reformation to Enlightenment,” *History of Icelandic Literature*, ed. by Daisy L. Neijmann, *Histories of Scandinavian Literature* 5 (London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 174–250, at 221. See also Jón Þorkelsson Vídalín, *Vídalínspostilla: húspostilla eður einfaldar predikanir yfir öll hátíða- og sumudagaguðspöll árið um kring*, ed. by Gunnar Kristjánsson and Mörður Árnason (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1995).

báder missa lífid. Þá var það alíktad af <sup>i</sup><sup>11</sup> yfirvaldinu, að sa eine skyldi hálshöggva <sup>ii</sup><sup>12</sup> hin annann, því böðullin var ecki til stadar. Enn þe <sup>iii</sup><sup>13</sup> gar kom fyrer fòðrin, að hann skyldi retta <sup>iiii</sup><sup>14</sup> sonin, vilde hann það ecki sökum náttúrlegs ki <sup>v</sup><sup>15</sup> ærleika, sem hann hafde til síns sonar. Enn sonurinn <sup>vi</sup><sup>16</sup> bídr sig velviliuglega framm að retta fòðrin. <sup>vii</sup><sup>17</sup> Þegar yfervaldið það sier og formerker, lætr það upp <sup>viii</sup><sup>18</sup> setia einn stolpa til æfinnlegrar minningar og lætr <sup>ix</sup><sup>19</sup> upp grafa þar á, hvornin sonurinn hálshöggv <sup>x</sup><sup>20</sup> fòðrin og lætr skrifa þar fyrer nedann: Kiærle <sup>xi</sup><sup>21</sup> ike stígr niðr enn ecki upp. <sup>xii</sup><sup>22</sup>

2. <sup>i</sup><sup>23</sup> Sozomenus, lib. 7, cap. 24, þar hann skrifar [25v] Theodosij historiu um það mikla fólk sem hann liet <sup>ii</sup><sup>2</sup> drepa í Tessalonica, þá seger hann, að á medal <sup>iii</sup><sup>3</sup> þeirra sem skyldu aflífast voru eins gamals <sup>iiii</sup><sup>4</sup> manns tveir syner, og so geingr þesse gamle fa <sup>v</sup><sup>5</sup> der til og velviliuglega bídr sig i daudan fyrer sína <sup>vi</sup><sup>6</sup> syne, og þar til með vill hann gefa allt sitt góts, so <sup>vii</sup><sup>7</sup> hans syner mættu lífa. Þegar stríðsmennener, sem <sup>viii</sup><sup>8</sup> hófdu befalling af keysaranum að giora þetta <sup>ix</sup><sup>9</sup> mord, sáu þessa fòðrs hiartalag vid sína syne, <sup>x</sup><sup>10</sup> amkast þeir yfer honum og renna honum þá kosti, að hann <sup>xi</sup><sup>11</sup> má fá annan læsan af þeim, um hvorn sem hann vilde um <sup>xii</sup><sup>12</sup> bidia, því vegna tölunnar sem keysarin hafde skipað <sup>xiii</sup><sup>13</sup> at drepa, kynnu þeir ecki báða lausa at gefa. Þa <sup>xiiii</sup><sup>14</sup> tekr þessi gamle fader at gráta og rífr i sitt har <sup>xv</sup><sup>15</sup> og horfer fyrst á þann eina, síðan á hinn annan, og veit <sup>xvi</sup><sup>16</sup> alldre hvorn hann vill óska. Kyssir fyrst þann eina og <sup>xvii</sup><sup>17</sup> so þann annan og veit alldre hvorn af þeim hann skal kíosa, og <sup>xviii</sup><sup>18</sup> því hann hafde þá báða eins kíæra og so leinge, <sup>xix</sup><sup>19</sup> efar hann sig að þeir verda báder drepner. <sup>xx</sup><sup>20</sup>

3. <sup>i</sup><sup>21</sup> Xiphilinus skrifar um Ciceronis bróðr, sem [26r] het Qvintus Cicero, að þann tíma hann var dæm <sup>ii</sup><sup>2</sup> dr frá sinum háls, þa leinde hans sonr honum og var <sup>iii</sup><sup>3</sup> þar fyrer fangin og hardlega píndr, og þegar sonurinn <sup>iiii</sup><sup>4</sup> ecki vilde fyrer nockra pínu seigia til fòðr síns, og fader <sup>v</sup><sup>5</sup> enn skiniade að sonurinn píndist so hardt, þa æm <sup>vi</sup><sup>6</sup> kadist hann yfer synenum og gengr síálfr viliuglega <sup>vii</sup><sup>7</sup> fram og vill heldr deya enn sonurinn skule pinaz. <sup>viii</sup><sup>8</sup>

4. <sup>i</sup><sup>9</sup> Valerius `sk(r)ifar' um Valesio \*Rustico Romano, sem <sup>ii</sup><sup>10</sup> var yfermáta ríkr madr á gull og eignar. Hann <sup>iii</sup><sup>11</sup> hafde tvo syne og eina dóttur. Oc þa þeir fengu <sup>iiii</sup><sup>12</sup> pestelentiu, so at aller medici og læknarar ef <sup>v</sup><sup>13</sup> udu um þeirra líf, þá fellr faderen niðr fyrer sína <sup>vi</sup><sup>14</sup> gude og bídr hiartanlega, at þesse sótt mætti frá <sup>vii</sup><sup>15</sup> þeim takast og leggiast á hann. <sup>viii</sup><sup>16</sup>

5. <sup>i</sup><sup>17</sup> \*Auctolia, sem var Laerte hustru og Ulyssis <sup>ii</sup><sup>18</sup> móder, þegar hún

9 Rústico] Rúrtico

17 Auctolia] Auctelia

heyrd e ein fólks tíðinde, at he <sup>19</sup> nnar sonr Ulysses skylde hafa dáid i því troian<sup>20</sup> iska stríðe, varð hún so sorgfull, at hún <sup>21</sup> tok lífid af siálfri sier. <sup>v</sup><sup>22</sup>

6. [26v] Sabellicus, lib. 3, cap. 4, framse <sup>2</sup> tr eina fallega historiu um Solonis hiartalag oc so <sup>3</sup> rg fyrer sínum syne, oc hlíodar historian so. <sup>4</sup> Solon kom einu sinne til Taletem í Mileto, hvor <sup>5</sup> talin var einn af þeim helstu á medal þeirra 7 visu <sup>6</sup> í Gricklande, oc medal annarar samræðu forundra <sup>7</sup> de Solon sig á oc klagade á Taletem, at hann hef <sup>8</sup> de ecki tekid sier eina qvinnu oc aflad med henne börn, <sup>9</sup> af hvorium hann kynne at hafa glede þá stund hann lifdi <sup>10</sup> oc erfingia epter sinn dæda. Taletes svarade óngvu <sup>11</sup> her til, heldr hugsade at koma med svar til hans í annann <sup>12</sup> máta. Strax epter fáa daga bestilte hann einn <sup>13</sup> framande mann heimuglega, sem skylde koma jnn til <sup>14</sup> þeirra þar sem þeir sátu oc segia tíðindi frá Athenen <sup>15</sup> oc Solonis húse, so sem ordinn voru logd honum í munn. <sup>16</sup> Þegar þesse framandi madr kom inn oc Sólon tók til ad <sup>17</sup> spyria hvor nýtidinde være fra Athenen, svaradi <sup>18</sup> hinn annar oc sagde. Þar er eckert nýtt utan þetta, <sup>19</sup> at þar do nýlega ein \*ung persona, hvors fader at <sup>20</sup> var einn af þeim yppurstu oc nafnkunnugustu mǫnnum <sup>21</sup> þar í stadnum, hvor ed nockurn tíma hefr vered utann <sup>22</sup> lands. Solon varð hræddr oc spurde framar, [27r] hvad sá madr hete. Svarade hann, at hann þad ecki visse, því nafne <sup>2</sup> nu hefði hann gleimt. Enn menn tóludu mikid um hans vísdóm <sup>3</sup> oc rettferdugleika. Þad minnist eg vel. Solon varð fr <sup>4</sup> amar sorgfullr oc sagde frammvegis. Mun þad ecki hafa verit <sup>5</sup> Solonis son sem dó? Þa svarade sa hinn framande. Já, <sup>6</sup> sá er sem þú seger. Her af varð Solon næsta sorgfu <sup>7</sup> llr, fellr um koll so sem hann hefde strax dáid oc klagar <sup>8</sup> sig ómlega, at hann í slíkan máta hefði mist sinn son í sinni <sup>9</sup> fráveru. Enn Taletes huggadi hann oc sagdi, hvornin hann <sup>10</sup> hefde þvílíkt látid giora af gamni oc vildi hafa svar <sup>11</sup> ad honum, þar hann til forna forundrade sig á honum oc klagadi hann, <sup>12</sup> at hann hefði ecki tekid sier qvinnu sem kynni fæda honum lífs <sup>13</sup> erfingia. <sup>vi</sup><sup>14</sup>

7. <sup>15</sup> Plutarchus skrifar um Agesilaum kong þeirra Lace <sup>16</sup> demonum, at hann tók einu sinne einn staf oc leid honum <sup>17</sup> á mille fóta sinna med sínum ungum sonum. Og <sup>18</sup> sem einn af hans hofmǫnnum kom þar ad oc sá þetta, þá <sup>19</sup> seiger Agesilaus til hans. Seig þú óngvum þetta sem <sup>20</sup> þu sást fyrr enn þú verdr siálf fr fader. Med huor <sup>21</sup> iumm ordum hann vilde

menn skyldu <sup>|22</sup> vita, ad þesse leikr være ecke af uvinu <sup>|23</sup> látgiæde heldr af kiærleik til barnanna.<sup>vii</sup>

8. [27v] Licurgus, sem var einn dómare í Sparta í <sup>|2</sup> Gricklande, kende nóglega sinum borgurum barna <sup>|3</sup> agan. Enn þeir meintu, at sín börn mundu vel <sup>|4</sup> líkiast foreldrunum fyrer utan nockra sierlega típtan. <sup>|5</sup> Enn med því hann fornam, ad borgararner voru miðg forsómunar <sup>|6</sup> samer í þessu, þa tok hann tvo hunda, sem vóru komner <sup>|7</sup> af einum fóðr oc einne modr. Annan þeirra vande hann <sup>|8</sup> á jact, enn hinn annan liet hann vera heima oc hlæpa í <sup>|9</sup> kockhus oc þangad sem hann vilde. Nú sem hann hafde upp <sup>|10</sup> alid þessa tvo hunda, batt hann þa saman oc hafdi <sup>|11</sup> med sier í þeirra rádhús. Sídan setti hann fram einn <sup>|12</sup> pott med (mullie) slubri oc einn lifande hiera oc <sup>|13</sup> liet so báda hundana læsa. Sa sem vanr var <sup>|14</sup> vid jactina sokte epter hieranum, enn hinn annar hli <sup>|15</sup> óp at pottinum. Þegar borgararner sáu þetta oc <sup>|16</sup> vildu vita huad Licurgus meinte þar med, sagde hann. <sup>|17</sup> Þesser tveir hundar eru komner af einum fóðr <sup>|18</sup> oc einne módr, enn þeim hefr ecki vered eins kent <sup>|19</sup> báðum. Annan hef eg vanid á jackt, enn annan liet ec <sup>|20</sup> síalfráðan at hlæpa þangad sem hann vilde, af hvor <sup>|21</sup> iu þier meigid nú skilia það, sem ec hefe ætíð sagt ydr, <sup>|22</sup> ad þar er miðc mikid under komid, hvornen madr er <sup>|23</sup> uppfostradr frá barndóme.<sup>viii|24</sup>

9. <sup>|25</sup> Plutarcus seger i einum stad um barnagan. [28r] Ad vera edalboren er nockud, <sup>|2</sup> ad hafa mikid góts oc ríkdóm er nockud, <sup>|3</sup> ad hafa stora magt oc virding er nockud, <sup>|4</sup> ad vera velskapadr og skickanlegr er nockud, <sup>|5</sup> ad hafa styrk oc heilbrigde er oc nockud, <sup>|6</sup> enn ad einn er vel oc ærlega uppstiptadr frá sí <sup>|7</sup> num ungdóme, það geingr yfer allt þetta.<sup>ix|8</sup>

10. <sup>|9</sup> Epterdæmi höfum vier á Domitiano, sem var <sup>|10</sup> forsomadr af sinum fóðr Vespasiano í hans <sup>|11</sup> ungdóme oc illa upptiptadr, hvad honum hefr giørt <sup>|12</sup> skada alla hans lífdaga, því hann giörde ecki annad <sup>|13</sup> á dagin enn hann geck um salen oc stack flugr í <sup>|14</sup> hel med einne spítu oc lærde so i sínum barndóme á <sup>|15</sup> flugunum at fremia mord oc tíranaskap á móðnum. <sup>|16</sup> Oc þar af kom epter á það máltæke, nær menn spurdu at <sup>|17</sup> hvor hiá keisaranum være, þá svóruðu þenararner. <sup>|18</sup> Ne \*musca quidem. Þad er ecke ein einasta fluga.<sup>x|19</sup>

11. <sup>|20</sup> J Róm var einn uppvoxande dreingr, sem hafde þann <sup>|21</sup> sid, at hann stack aþgun út á óllum þeim fuglum sem hann <sup>|22</sup> kunne at na oc liet

10 batt] + þe which is crossed out

18 musca] muse

þá síðan fliúga burt aptr. |<sup>23</sup> Þá þeir vísu menn í Róm feingu þetta at vita |<sup>24</sup> sögdu þeir, at hann mundi verða einn skadlegr |<sup>25</sup> borgare, oc þar fyrer lietu þeir drepa hann, so hann skylde ecki [28v] giðra neitt vondt í sinum alldrðóme. xi|<sup>2</sup>

12. |<sup>3</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, lib. 4, skrifar |<sup>4</sup> eina merkelega historiú um einn kong í Dan |<sup>5</sup> mork, sem het Vermundr. Hann átti einn son, sem |<sup>6</sup> het Uffe, hver ecki talade neitt, helldr geck hann all |<sup>7</sup> tid framm svo einmana sem hann være mállavs med |<sup>8</sup> öllu, so hans fader hafde stórt ángr þar af. |<sup>9</sup> Enn þá Vermundr var ordin gamall, vard |<sup>10</sup> hann síonlavs med öllu. Nu var einn |<sup>11</sup> stolltr oc trastr kongr í Saxlande, sem sendi sína |<sup>12</sup> sendebode til Vermundar kongs, at hann skylde |<sup>13</sup> annadhvört gefa ríkid upp vid hann med því hann være |<sup>14</sup> nu gamall oc blindr oc óduganlegr til kongs em |<sup>15</sup> bættis, oc þar med hefde hann þann son, sem väre bædi |<sup>16</sup> mallavs oc oduganlegr, ellegar hitt at hann skylði |<sup>17</sup> láta þann sama sinn son koma til einvígis á mó |<sup>18</sup> te kongsins syne af Saxlande. Enn þegar |<sup>19</sup> Uffe heyrde soddan spott oc brixle oc sá síns |<sup>20</sup> fòðrs harm oc sorg, geck hann fram oc beiddist or |<sup>21</sup> lofs at svara þessum þysku legátum. Faderenn |<sup>22</sup> spurde, hvor sa være, sem þeim vilde svara, oc þá þeir |<sup>23</sup> sögdu at það være hans sonr, þá meinti hann |<sup>24</sup> at síner eigin þienarar mundu einnin spotta |<sup>25</sup> sig. Enn þegar sonrin feck leife til at tala [29r] fyrer sig, þa sagde hann so sem sa er mist hefr málid oc |<sup>2</sup> fær það aftr. Þad er allt til onítis oc spillt ervi |<sup>3</sup> de, at ydar kongr gyrnist þetta ríke, sem völdug(e)ga |<sup>4</sup> stíríz oc forvarast af síns eiginkongs ráde oc med |<sup>5</sup> vopnum oc atgiorfe hans trúa riddaralíds. Þar at ake |<sup>6</sup> hefr bæde kongrin oc ríkid einn son, sem rík^a^ skal epter |<sup>7</sup> hans dæda oc afgang. Jeg vil ecki einungis koma |<sup>8</sup> til einvígis at fíkta oc slá vid son ydars herra kong |<sup>9</sup> síns af Saxlandi, helldr oc einnin vid hvorn sem hann vill |<sup>10</sup> med sier hafa af þeim allra sterkustu sem þar kunna |<sup>11</sup> at finnast á medal ydar fólks. Og med þesse erind |<sup>12</sup> islok fóru þesser legátar oc sendebodar heim. |<sup>13</sup> Ad sídustu þegar Vermundr fornam í sannleika, |<sup>14</sup> at þetta være sinn sonur sem gaf sendemónnum sod |<sup>15</sup> dan svar, vard hann hughraustr oc spurde sinn son, hvar |<sup>16</sup> fyrer hann hefde dulíd sitt mál so leinge. Uffi svaradi. |<sup>17</sup> Jeg liet mier nægia ydar regimenti oc ríkisstíorn |<sup>18</sup> allt til þessa, at ec fæ nú tilefne at svara þeim út |<sup>19</sup> lendskum legátu(m), sem med þeirra málfime hugdu |<sup>20</sup> at þvinga danskra hiartapride oc forsiálleglei |<sup>21</sup> ka. Oc þá hann skylde reina hardneskiu oc

sverd, <sup>|22</sup> var þad ecki neitt sem kunne at haldaz fyrer hõnum, oc <sup>|23</sup> eckert sverd kunne at finnast so sterkt, at þad <sup>|24</sup> brotnade ecki i småparta i fyrstu hristing á mi [29v] lllum hans handa. Kóngrin siálfr átti enn <sup>|2</sup> þá eitt sverd sem kalladiz Sk(r)æpp, oc var þad so <sup>|3</sup> skarpt oc beitt, at eingin hlutr var so hardr at <sup>|4</sup> kynne at hindra þad, so þad genge ecki strax i ge <sup>|5</sup> gnum i fyrsta høggi. Þetta sverd hafde Ve <sup>|6</sup> rmundr kongr grafid i jörd, so engin ski <sup>|7</sup> ldi þad finna. Hann liet þá leida sig út a mör <sup>|8</sup> kina oc spurdez allstadar fyrer, hvornin þar oc þar <sup>|9</sup> være landslaginu háttad, þar til hann fan af <sup>|10</sup> vissum rókum þann stad sem sverdid var nidr gra <sup>|11</sup> fid. Þegar Uffe så at þad var skemt af el <sup>|12</sup> le oc ride, spurdi hann hvort hann mætti reina þad <sup>|13</sup> so sem hin ðnrr. Vermundr sagdi. Ef þessu <sup>|14</sup> sverdi verdr nockud at skada, þá finnst <sup>|15</sup> her ecki neitt annad i þessu landi, med hvoriu þu <sup>|16</sup> kunnert at vera velforvaradr. Þvi er betra at láta <sup>|17</sup> þad vera oreint at sinne. Nu sem <sup>|18</sup> komin var ákvedin tíme, mættust hvorutve <sup>|19</sup> ggju hóparner á einne ey sem Ederen rann <sup>|20</sup> umkríng, so at engin kunne at komast <sup>|21</sup> þar at utan med skipum. Uffe geck all <sup>|22</sup> eina framm, enn kongsins sonr af Saxlandi <sup>|23</sup> hafdi med sier einn megtugan oc sterkan kappa, <sup>|24</sup> enn þeirra her stóð sinn hvoriu megin fliótsins <sup>|25</sup> oc vildu sia til hvorn enda þetta einvíg mundi <sup>|26</sup> fá. Vermundr kongr setti sig á [30r] brúna oc vilde kasta sier siálfr út i fliótid, ef <sup>|2</sup> hans sonr bære úr lægra hlút, þvi hann vilde heldr <sup>|3</sup> deya med sínum syne enn at lifa í eynd oc fordið <sup>|4</sup> rfun síns fóðrlands. Þessar tvær þysku <sup>|5</sup> oc ungu kempr hiuggu hardlega upp á Uffa, <sup>|6</sup> enn hann bar sinn skiöld under þeirra hōgg enn þordi <sup>|7</sup> ecki at bera sitt sverd under hōggin, enn hugsade at <sup>|8</sup> siá sier fære, nær hann kynne at slá annan hvorn <sup>|9</sup> þeirra i hendtugan tíma. Hans fader ætlade <sup>|10</sup> hann munde giora þad af hrædslu oc vanmætte (van <sup>|11</sup> kunáttu), at hann stóð so kyrr fyrer þeim. Þvi flutti <sup>|12</sup> hann sig ytst á brúnene oc vilde steipa sier siálfum í <sup>|13</sup> vatnid, ef hann heyrde síns sonar olucku. So stór kiærlei <sup>|14</sup> ke var i þessum gamla fóðr til síns sonar, hvörn <sup>|15</sup> luckan verndade. Uffe bad kongsins son at sí <sup>|16</sup> na þad med manndómlegum atburdum at være fæddr <sup>|17</sup> af kongablóde oc ecki láta sinn \*broderstáll vera <sup>|18</sup> fremr enn hann. Hann bad oc einrin hinn þyska <sup>|19</sup> kappa at filgia sínum herra oc sína sinn hravstleik <sup>|20</sup> so sem kongsins sonr hefde gott trævst a honum, <sup>|21</sup> þar hann hefde útvalid hann af óllum odrum kempum. <sup>|22</sup> Sa þyske kappe blygdadist enn hlaut at <sup>|23</sup> ganga fram

26 á] + br

17 broderstáll] br<sup>2</sup>derstáll

21 útvalid] d corrected from n

fyrer brygslis saker oc var strax í <sup>24</sup> fyrsta hógge skyfdr í sundr í tvo parta af Uffa. <sup>25</sup> Þegar Verm(undr) k(ongr) heyrde það, sagde hann. Þar fornam <sup>26</sup> ec míns sonar sverð. Hvorium giörde hann skada. Þeir <sup>27</sup> svörudu honum. Hann afhið ecki einn lym, helldr <sup>28</sup> hið hann þvert í gegnum bæde hardneskiu og <sup>29</sup> kropp. Þá vard Vermundr gladr oc þokade [30v] sier frá vatnenu oc feck nú stóra lyst til at <sup>2</sup> lifa sem hann hafde adr haft til at deyia. <sup>3</sup> Uffe geck þa hardlega epter hinum ødrum oc <sup>4</sup> sagde hann skyldde hefna sins stallbrodr dæda, <sup>5</sup> fyrst hann hefde vogad sínu lífe fyrer hans skulld. <sup>6</sup> Oc sem hann neiddiz til at ganga fram, þa snere Uffi <sup>7</sup> sínu sverde ã hina eggina, þvi hann efadiz no <sup>8</sup> ckud þar um, oc sem hann festi agra á kongsins syne <sup>9</sup> hið hann hann sundr i midiu, so hann fiell dædr til jardar. <sup>10</sup> Verm(undr) kallade þá oc sagde. Nú heyre eg <sup>11</sup> Skrepp í ødru sine. Oc þa hann formerkte <sup>12</sup> at sinn sonr hefde drepid þá báda sina o <sup>13</sup> vine, gret hann af glede.<sup>xii</sup>

13. <sup>14</sup> Laertius lib. 2, cap. 12 oc Seneca <sup>15</sup> skrifa eina merkelega historiu. <sup>16</sup> Þa Demetrius hafde unned Megaram, befal <sup>17</sup> ade hann sínum stríðsmönnum, ad þeir skyldu þyrma <sup>18</sup> húse Stilponis philosophi, oc at sá lærde mann <sup>19</sup> skilde gefa frá sier uppskrifad, hvad hann hafe mist. <sup>20</sup> Enn hann svarade, Eg hefe eckert mist af mínum aðæ <sup>21</sup> fum, þvi ec hefe minn munn óskaddadan oc mínar <sup>22</sup> bóklegar lister. Þetta eru mínar eiginlegar eignar. <sup>23</sup> \*Οικεία. Id est domestica propriaque bona. <sup>24</sup> Þad er minn eiginlegr oc beste ríkdóm.<sup>xiii</sup>

[31r] 14. <sup>2</sup> Sa same Laertius skrifar ocso um Aristippum, <sup>3</sup> ad einn tíma er hann leid skipbrot oc kom í la <sup>4</sup> nd þeirra rhodorum, þa fann hann þar út med síósidunne <sup>5</sup> nockrar astronomiskar töblr, oc þar vid gladdist hann <sup>6</sup> oc huggade sína stallbrædr oc sagde til þeirra. <sup>7</sup> Hér finnum vier fyrer oss það fólk, sem vier munum fá hiá <sup>8</sup> lp af, oc þegar hann kom í skóla þeirra rhodien <sup>9</sup> tímum oc liet heyra sinn lærdom oc sina philosophiam, <sup>10</sup> þa feck bæde hann oc hans medbrædr klæde oc adra hiá <sup>11</sup> lp. Og þegar hans fórunatar vildu ferdast <sup>12</sup> heim aptr, spurdu þeir hann at, hvad þeir skyldu segia <sup>13</sup> hans vinum. Þa svarade hann. Seigid þeim, at þeir skule safna <sup>14</sup> saman slíku liggjande fe oc gótse fyrer sín börn, sem <sup>15</sup> kunne at sveima í land med þeim, ef þau lída skip <sup>16</sup> brot. Hvar med hann vilde under <sup>17</sup>

23 Οικεία] ΟΙΚΕΙΑ

8 þegar] + þr which is crossed out

16 vilde] + kenna which is crossed out

vísa, at vitska og lærdómr er það be<sup>18</sup> sta liggiandi fe sem maunum lengst<sup>19</sup> ecke í uvyliun. Það visse<sup>20</sup> og Seneca, þar hann var adspurdr, hvort være<sup>21</sup> það fegrsta dír. Þá svaradi hann. Homo doct<sup>22</sup> rina ornatus. Það er einn vellærdr madr.<sup>xiv</sup><sup>23</sup>

15. <sup>24</sup> Aristippus philosophus var atspurdr, <sup>25</sup> hvor mismunr være á mille lærds manns [31v] oc hins olærda. Hann svarade. Send <sup>2</sup> þú báda nakta i framande land til ó <sup>3</sup> kunnugs fólks, so skaltu vel siá, hver <sup>4</sup> mismunur sie á milli þeirra, því nær sá <sup>5</sup> hin lærdi lætr í lióse sinn skilning oc <sup>6</sup> lærdóm, þá fær hann bæde góts oc vine, <sup>7</sup> enn hinn annar sem als ber er verdr spottadr <sup>8</sup> oc haldin fyrer einn dóna.<sup>xv</sup><sup>9</sup>

16. <sup>10</sup> Þeir í Persia höfdu soddan skickun, at <sup>11</sup> þeir neyddu þann til, sem geck ydiulav at bera <sup>12</sup> eina nakta skiækiu á bakinu i krí <sup>13</sup> ngum stadin til stórs spotts.<sup>xvi</sup><sup>14</sup>

17. <sup>15</sup> Solon gaf út soddan lógmál í Athenis <sup>16</sup> so sem Sabellius skrifar lib. 6, cap. 1, <sup>17</sup> at þeir foreldrar sem ecki hefdu látid sín börn <sup>18</sup> læra eitthvort handverk edur embætti í þeirra <sup>19</sup> ungdómi, þá skyldu þa börn ecki halda <sup>20</sup> þá fyrer sína foreldra nær þa yrði gömul.<sup>xvii</sup><sup>21</sup>

18. <sup>22</sup> Þar var einn kongr í Egiptalande, sem het <sup>23</sup> Amasio. Hann gaf út soddan almennelega befa <sup>24</sup> lning, at sierhvor valdstiórnamadr skylde [32r] árlega ransaka vandlega sinna undersáta <sup>2</sup> oc gefa vel giætr at hver med sier hvor fæddi sig <sup>3</sup> árid um kring, oc þar sem nockr fyndist sem <sup>4</sup> ecki leitadi síns bræds edur sinnar atvinnu oc <sup>5</sup> næringar med nockru ervide oc embætti sá <sup>6</sup> skyldi strax missa lífid. Ef nú være so <sup>7</sup> ddan tilsión hiá oss, þá være her <sup>8</sup> ecke so marger blóddreckner og um <sup>9</sup> hleipingar sem her eru.<sup>xviii</sup><sup>10</sup>

19. <sup>11</sup> J lande Masen skedi so eitt sinn til Fríberg, at <sup>12</sup> einn fader skipade sínum syni at giöra nockud, <sup>13</sup> enn þá hann af sinni folsku vildi hvorgi fara, vard <sup>14</sup> faderenn reidr oc bad þess hann skylde standa þar <sup>15</sup> so lenge sem hann lifde, hvad ocso skede, því hann stóð þar <sup>16</sup> i þeim sama stad í sið ár allt til þess hann dó til <sup>17</sup> einnrar eilífrar minningar fyrer alla slíka stórlý <sup>18</sup> nda og hóstuga foreldra.<sup>xix</sup><sup>19</sup>

20. <sup>20</sup> Cæsarius skrifar ocso eina hrædilega <sup>21</sup> historiu um einn fódr oc módr, sem höfdu einn <sup>22</sup> þverbrotin oc mótviliugan son, hvorium þa böl <sup>23</sup> vudu oft oc óskudu ad diðfullin skyl <sup>24</sup> de skilia hann vid þa. Það skede ocso, ad diðfu <sup>25</sup> llin kom oc tók hann í burt fra þeirra aögum, <sup>26</sup> so þa sáu hann all dri þadan í frá.<sup>xx</sup>

[32v] 21. <sup>2</sup> Það skedi ocso í Rip, at þar var ein fátæk <sup>3</sup> kona, sem átti 4



born. Þá gengu um stadin efter þ<sup>3</sup> sinni fædu oc næringu, oc sem þad yngsta kom fyrer þ<sup>4</sup> nockrar húsdyr, feck þad ein hálf tveitebr þ<sup>5</sup> ad, oc þegar þad kom aptr til módrinnar med sinum br þ<sup>6</sup> ædrum oc liet hana siá sína ølmusu, þa þ<sup>7</sup> fyrerbæd hun barninu at þad skyldi ecki strax eta þ<sup>8</sup> sitt hveitebræd. Enn þad kunni ecki saker síns barn þ<sup>9</sup> dóms at spara þad. Þegar móderin fornam þad, þ<sup>10</sup> vard hún so reid, at hún óskade ad fiand þ<sup>11</sup> inn skyldi fara í þad, oc jafnskiótt vard barned þ<sup>12</sup> diöfulodt.<sup>xxi</sup>þ<sup>13</sup>

22. þ<sup>14</sup> Til Wittinberg var ein qvinna, sem geck þ<sup>15</sup> þar umkring med sína dótr sem var diöfulód, þ<sup>16</sup> oc madrin medkendi opinberlega, at hann hef þ<sup>17</sup> di í sinni reide blotad stúlkunne hastarlega, oc þ<sup>18</sup> þar epter hefde þad strax sked, at diöfullin he þ<sup>19</sup> fde strax farid í hana. Oc þa D. Lúth(er) þ<sup>20</sup> sál(ugr) taladi til þess vonda anda oc sagde, þ<sup>21</sup> drottjn straffe þig, 'hvor ord postulin Judas hefr í sínum pistle', þá mó þ<sup>22</sup> glade diöfullinn í stulkunne oc sagdi. Jncre þ<sup>23</sup> pet, jncrepet. Straffe þig, staffe þig, so þ<sup>24</sup> at hvor madr mátti heyra at hun var diöfulód.<sup>xxii</sup>

[33r] 23. þ<sup>2</sup> J Cæsaria í Cappadocia var ein edalborin frú þ<sup>3</sup> sem átti x börn, víj syne oc íj dætr, hvor hana þ<sup>4</sup> stiggdu einu sinne. Þar fyrer blótade hún þeim oc óskade þeim þ<sup>5</sup> alls jlls, hvar straffid filgde strax epter, so at börn þ<sup>6</sup> in urdu skiálfande án afláts á öllum þeirra lika þ<sup>7</sup> mans limum oc lidum. Þar um má lesa Disipulum þ<sup>8</sup> de tempore.<sup>xxiii</sup>þ<sup>9</sup>

24. þ<sup>10</sup> Wier lesum ocso eina hrædilega historiu sem þ<sup>11</sup> skedi til Meilon, at þar var ein drengr, sem terte þ<sup>12</sup> fingurnar at módr sinne oc skiælde sinn munn oc spottade þ<sup>13</sup> hana, hvar fyrer hún vard ofrreid oc sagde. Gud ge þ<sup>14</sup> fe, at þú skiæler so þinn munn í gálganum, hvad oc þ<sup>15</sup> so skede, þviat fám dögum þar epter stal hann oc vard þ<sup>16</sup> heingdr, oc so máttu menn siá, at hann skiælde sinn þ<sup>17</sup> munn í gálganum, so sem hann hafdi fyrre giört þ<sup>18</sup> þa hann skiælde sig at sinne módr.<sup>xxiv</sup>þ<sup>19</sup>

25. þ<sup>20</sup> Þar skrifast ein merkeleg historia um þ<sup>21</sup> einn mann, sem hafde einn vingarð plantad sier, þ<sup>22</sup> oc þa hann fornam at hann skylde deya, kalla þ<sup>23</sup> de hann sína sonu til sín oc sagde til þeirra. Syner þ<sup>24</sup> míner, ec hefe saman safnad ydr miklu liggjande þ<sup>25</sup> fe, sem ydr kann vel at nægia, so leinge sem þier [33v] lifed, oc þann sama fesið hefe eg nidr grafid þ<sup>2</sup> i minn vingarð. Þar meige þier taka hann þá ieg er þ<sup>3</sup> dædr. Enn hann sagde þeim þo ecki i hvorium stad þeir þ<sup>4</sup> skildu finna þetta fe. Nú sem hann var dædr, tóku þ<sup>5</sup> þeir til at grafa oc ransökudu so allan vingarðin, oc þ<sup>6</sup> þess lengr oc meir sem þeir grófu (epther þessu liggjand(e) fe) þ<sup>7</sup> þess ávaxtarsamare vard

þeirra vingarðr. So un |<sup>8</sup> derstödu þeir um síder, hvort liggjande fe þeirra |<sup>9</sup> fader hafde þar nidr sád, sem var ervide, ástu |<sup>10</sup> ndan oc kostgæfne til at yrkia þeirra vingarð, |<sup>11</sup> oc at þetta skyld vera eitt gott arfagóts epter |<sup>12</sup> hans afgang so lenge sem þeir lifdu.<sup>xxv</sup>|<sup>13</sup>

26. |<sup>14</sup> Stobeus skrifar, at Antigonus hafde so ámi |<sup>15</sup> nt sína dóttir á sinne \*sóttarsæng. Halltu þier |<sup>16</sup> vid rockin, so kantu að'veld'lega at verða rík, |<sup>17</sup> so þu hafer þitt lífsupphelde, oc aðnist þier at |<sup>18</sup> giptast nockrum manne, þa hegda þier ærlega |<sup>19</sup> oc sidsamlega vid hann, so fær þú honum besta morgun |<sup>20</sup> gáfu. So lesum vier einnin um Aug |<sup>21</sup> ustum keysara, at hann liet sínar dætr læra vef |<sup>22</sup> nad oc önr qvennleg verk upp á þad, at þær |<sup>23</sup> kynne at næra sig þar med ef þær yrde fátækar.<sup>xxvi</sup>|<sup>24</sup>

27. |<sup>25</sup> Elianus skrifar so um þá thebanos i Gricklandi, [34r] at þeir hafde haft eitt merkelegt lógmál, at eingin |<sup>2</sup> af þeirra folke hafde mátt fyrer sitt líf annaðhvört |<sup>3</sup> yfergefa sitt barn edur burtkasta því hvorki í skóg |<sup>4</sup> in ne út á mörkina ellegar annarstadar. Enn |<sup>5</sup> þar sem foreldrarner voru so fátæker, at þeir kunnu |<sup>6</sup> ecki siálfer at uppfæda sín börn, þá skyldu |<sup>7</sup> þeir taka þad sama sitt barn strax þa þad være |<sup>8</sup> fædt oc bera þad til yfervaldsins oc klega þar sína |<sup>9</sup> neyd oc fátækt. Oc svo skyld yfervaldid ta |<sup>10</sup> ka þad sama barn oc afhenda þad hvorium sem þad |<sup>11</sup> vilde uppfostra med soddan skilmála, at þad sama |<sup>12</sup> barn skyld síðan þíóna, nær þad væri vaxid fyrer |<sup>13</sup> sitt uppfóstr þangad til at yfervaldid hielde þad |<sup>14</sup> hefde betalad sitt fóstur.<sup>xxvii</sup> |<sup>15</sup>

28. |<sup>16</sup> Þeir i Spartani giördu miðc víslega, |<sup>17</sup> at hvónær sem nockrt barn kom heim fra |<sup>18</sup> skólanum oc klagade yfer sínum skólameistara, ad hann |<sup>19</sup> hefde sleigid edr strikt sig med vendinum, þá |<sup>20</sup> gáfu foreldrarner barninu tvö slík meire högg |<sup>21</sup> eda híding enn þad hafde ádr fengid í skólanum, |<sup>22</sup> svo þeir vildu í ængvan máta láta sín börn |<sup>23</sup> vera fyrer utan aga oc umvöndun sem oc |<sup>24</sup> tilbærelega hirting.<sup>xxviii</sup>

[34v] 29. |<sup>2</sup> Þad skede i Platonis tíð, at þar voru tveir |<sup>3</sup> mordingiar, sem höfdu giort oseigianlega mikil |<sup>4</sup> skálkheit, so at menn undrudust, hvornin tveir |<sup>5</sup> menn kynne at framqvæma so mikla vondsku. |<sup>6</sup> Oc þegar sa víse Plato heyrde þad, andsvaradi |<sup>7</sup> hann oc sagde. O, hvörsu vísir higg |<sup>8</sup> ner oc nytsamleger menn þeir hefdu ordit til at fr |<sup>9</sup> ammqvæma mikid gott, ef þeir hefdu ver |<sup>10</sup> id vel upptiptader i þeirra barndome, þess |<sup>11</sup> betre sem art

15 \*sóttarsæng > sóttarsang

10 sem] s corrected from þ

23 oc] + um | vöndun which is partly erased

oc náttúra er í börnunum, þess |<sup>11</sup> verre verda þa, ef þa eru ecki rettilega |<sup>12</sup> uppþiptud oc uppfrædd. Ef einn friósa |<sup>13</sup> mr akr er forsómadr, þá ber hann þyr |<sup>14</sup> na oc þystla oc allsháttud jllgrese þar |<sup>15</sup> til hann verdr med öllu fordiarfadr.<sup>xxix</sup>|<sup>16</sup>

30. |<sup>17</sup> Þeir atheniensis i Gricklande höf |<sup>18</sup> du þann sidvana, ad þeir plögudu á |<sup>19</sup> hvoriu áre á vissum tíma at setia sín |<sup>20</sup> börn til at læra lister oc jþrötter sierhvort |<sup>21</sup> epter því sem það var tilhneigt af sinne ná |<sup>22</sup> tt(ú)ru. Og upp á það þeir kynne þess betr |<sup>23</sup> at vita til hvors at sierhvort være hnei [35r] gt af náttúrunne, þá plögudu þeir á sama |<sup>2</sup> tíma ársins at tilskicka eitt spectaculum oc |<sup>3</sup> siónarspil, í hvoriu at allsháttud embæti oc hand |<sup>4</sup> verk vóru tilreidd ecki utan til barnaspils, sem sett var |<sup>5</sup> af sierhvoriu embætte. Þá þetta var so tilbúid |<sup>6</sup> lietu þeir sín born koma þar oc gáfu gæm at |<sup>7</sup> til hvors at sierhvort hafde mest lyst. Oc þar |<sup>8</sup> epter skickudu foreldrarnær sier oc settu sierhvort |<sup>9</sup> til at læra þá list edur íþrótt, sem þeim sýndist það |<sup>10</sup> hafa mest tilhneiging til.<sup>xxx</sup>|<sup>11</sup>

31. |<sup>12</sup> Vier lesum eina gamla historiu um einn |<sup>13</sup> gudhræddan mann, at eitt sinn er hann giordi sína |<sup>14</sup> bæn, þá kom guds engill til hans oc liet hann síá |<sup>15</sup> soddan eina sýn, at hann sá einn mann liggia nedst |<sup>16</sup> i einum hrædelegum eldsloga, oc þar óx upp |<sup>17</sup> af hans líkama ein stór oc há eyk, oc þar |<sup>18</sup> hieingu á greinunum margar manneskir, oc þær |<sup>19</sup> brunnu sárlega af þeim loga i hvorium at sá a |<sup>20</sup> me madr lá nedst. Enn þeir sem láu í bálinu |<sup>21</sup> qvöldust allra mest oc sárlegast. Oc þesse |<sup>22</sup> gudhrædde madr sem þetta sá, spurde þann at sem |<sup>23</sup> hann leidde, hvor sá være, sem læge þar nedst í þeim |<sup>24</sup> eldsloga. Þá svarade hann oc sagde, at þessi |<sup>25</sup> madr være stofn oc rót allra þeirra sem heingu uppe [35v] i eykinne oc hefde i fyrstu verid fátækr, en þegar |<sup>2</sup> gud hefde gefid honum sína blessan, þá hafde hann |<sup>3</sup> framid okr oc orettinde til þess hann var miðc ríkr oc |<sup>4</sup> dáid so í sinne ágyrne oc komid so í þennan qvala |<sup>5</sup> stad. Enn sumer af þessum sem her hánga (sagdi hann) |<sup>6</sup> fengu hans góts oc peninga epter hann oc fró |<sup>7</sup> mda í sama máta okr oc ránginde, oc þar fyrer |<sup>8</sup> hánga þeir her oc lída qvól oc pínu med honum.<sup>xxxi</sup>|<sup>9</sup>

32. |<sup>10</sup> Coccius Sabellicus skrifar um einn keysara |<sup>11</sup> i Constantinopolen, sem het Leo. Þegar hans |<sup>12</sup> módrbroder, sem einnen het Leo, gaf ríkissti |<sup>13</sup> órnena upp fyrer honum oc hann stiörnade nu med |<sup>14</sup> lucku oc fridseme, þa gaf hann ríkisstíór |<sup>15</sup> nena upp aptr velviliuglega vid sinn

6-7 fró|mda] fró + three letters now erased

15 upp] + fyrer honum which is crossed out

|<sup>16</sup> faudr Senonem Isavineum, sem var af litlum |<sup>17</sup> stigum oc so nær sem privata persona oc nafn |<sup>18</sup> botalaus *madr*, því hann þeinke at þad være spott |<sup>19</sup> legt, at sonurenn skilde rikia yfer sinum föðr eda |<sup>20</sup> sonrin skilde vera megtugre enn faderen. |<sup>21</sup> Hvar fást þesse born?<sup>xxxiii</sup>|<sup>22</sup>

33. |<sup>23</sup> Þar um hefr sa romverski borgmeistare Marcus |<sup>24</sup> Cariolanus hugsad, hvornin Livius skrifade, at |<sup>25</sup> þegar hann fyrer utan retta sök var utrekin af Róm, |<sup>26</sup> kom hann til þeirra manna, sem þeir kölludu volseos, |<sup>27</sup> hvorier ed höfdu ovinskap vid þa romversku, oc hann [36r] vard þeirra hershöfðinge oc þá hann hafde unnid margar |<sup>2</sup> borger fra þeim romversku oc kom nú fyrer siá(l)fa Roma |<sup>3</sup> borg, þá sette hann sier at eydeleggja hana allt í |<sup>4</sup> grunn. Þá sendu þeir romversku fyrst út til hans |<sup>5</sup> sína oratoris oc mælskumenn bidiande um frid, |<sup>6</sup> enn þegar þad kunne ecki at hiálpa, þá sendu þeir í |<sup>7</sup> annad sinn sína presta í þeirra prestlegum bún |<sup>8</sup> ade sama erindis, enn þad hiálpade ecki. Ad |<sup>9</sup> sídustu sendu þeir hans móder út til hans, sem het |<sup>10</sup> Veturia, þar med hans hustru oc börn at bidia |<sup>11</sup> um frid. Og þa hann sá sína módr, hlióp hann |<sup>12</sup> í móte henne oc vilde taka hana í sinn fadm, |<sup>13</sup> enn hún sagde. Vert kyrr. Lát mig fyrst fá at víta |<sup>14</sup> hvort ec kem her til míns ovinar ellegar til míns sonar, |<sup>15</sup> oc ec er þinn fange ellegar þín moder í þinum her |<sup>16</sup> búdum. Þa svarade hann oc sagde. \*Expugnasti|<sup>17</sup> et vicisti jram \*meam, o mater. O |<sup>18</sup> mín elskuleg móder. Þu hefr yferunnid oc sig |<sup>19</sup> rad mína reide. Jeg veit, hvad þú villt. Jeg |<sup>20</sup> vil þinna vegna ecki alleinasta þirma Róma |<sup>21</sup> borg, helldr oc einvin fyregerfa öll þav rang |<sup>22</sup> inde, sem þesser romversku borgarar hafa giort mier, |<sup>23</sup> því hann minntest á þann heidr sem hann |<sup>24</sup> være sinne módr skyldugr.<sup>xxxiii</sup> |<sup>25</sup>

34. |<sup>26</sup> Solon var atspurdr hvar fyrer hann hefde enginn |<sup>27</sup> lög skrifad um þá, sem slæge sína foreldra i hel [36v], enn hann svarade. Því ec trúde ecki at sá mun |<sup>2</sup> de nockr vera, sem þad giorde.<sup>xxxiv</sup>|<sup>3</sup>

35. |<sup>4</sup> So hefr verit giort hiá heidingiunum, at nær bó |<sup>5</sup> rnen hafa vered med öllu óhlidin, þa hafa |<sup>6</sup> foreldrarnar slegid med sinne hende med öllu fra |<sup>7</sup> þeim, svo sem Laortius skrifar um Aristippum, |<sup>8</sup> at hann sló sinne hende med öllu frá sinum ó |<sup>9</sup> hlíduga syne. Oc þa hann var ávitadr af noc |<sup>10</sup> krum þar fyrer, at hann yfergiæfe so sinn son, sem |<sup>11</sup> komin være af hans life, þá svarade hann. Minn vin, |<sup>12</sup> hvad sinist þier. Mun þar ecki

16 Expugnasti] Expuonasti

17 mean] in eam

koma hraki <sup>|13</sup> oc annad eindemi, skara oc lýs af vorum líka <sup>|14</sup> ma, oc skyldu vær ecki skíla oss *vid þetta so sem* <sup>|15</sup> *vid adra ónytsamlega oc skadsamlega hlute.*<sup>xxxv|16</sup>

36. <sup>|17</sup> Slíkt hid sama lesum vier um Augustum keysara, <sup>|18</sup> at hann útrak bæde sína dóttir Juliam oc sína <sup>|19</sup> dottrdottr, somuleidis Agrippam, hvoria hann <sup>|20</sup> hafde kosid sier fyrer dóttir oc erfingia vegna <sup>|21</sup> þeirra vonds lifnadar oc þeirra jllrar nátturu, oc hann <sup>|22</sup> liet flytia þær i þa ey, sem nefniz Pandaterca, <sup>|23</sup> oc nær sem nockr talade um þær i hans nærveru, <sup>|24</sup> þá andvarpade hann oc mælti þetta. Gud giæ <sup>|25</sup> fe, eg hefde alldre gipt mig ne börn átt oc dæ <sup>|26</sup> barnlaus. Oc hann kallade þau alldre annad **[37r]** enn þriú blódkýle edr þriú atumein, sem plág <sup>|2</sup> ude oc ætu hann, þvi hann vilde heldr síá, at þær væru da <sup>|3</sup> udar enn at þær skildu lifa honum til spotts. Oc hann befa <sup>|4</sup> lade í sínu testamente, at nær einhvor af þeim þre <sup>|5</sup> mr dæ, þá skyldu þær ecki koma i gróf til hans.<sup>xxxvi|6</sup>

37. <sup>|7</sup> Cyprianus skrifar eina merkelega historiú, at <sup>|8</sup> þar var í borgine Carthagine einn ágiætr gu <sup>|9</sup> ds ords þenare, sem het Numidius, hvor at i ofsóknum <sup>|10</sup> kristilegrar kyrkiu hafde kostgiæfelega huggad <sup>|11</sup> þa kristnu oc ámint þá til stöðugleika í trúnni <sup>|12</sup> a Kristum. Hann hafe oco ríkuglega huggad sína <sup>|13</sup> hustru, sem med ødrum kristnum var á elde brend. <sup>|14</sup> Já, hann var ad sídustu siálfr brendr hálf oc hulin ste <sup>|15</sup> inum oc lá þar sem einn daudr madr. Enn hans góða <sup>|16</sup> dóttir hafde strax brotiz framm til hans, borid hann he <sup>|17</sup> im oc endrnært hann, so at hann vard um síder fyrer guds krap <sup>|18</sup> oc fulltinge heilbrigdr apr oc var sídan af þeim kristnu <sup>|19</sup> sem epter lifdu medtekin med stórre glede til síns fyrra <sup>|20</sup> kennemannlega embættis. Þetta var gott ba <sup>|21</sup> rn vid fódur sinn.<sup>xxxvii|22</sup>

38. <sup>|23</sup> Þad skede i tíð Othonis annars med þvi nafni, at <sup>|24</sup> þar var ein greife, sem het Gero, hvor ed var klagadr <sup>|25</sup> fyrer keisaranum þo ránglega honum siálfum áheyrande á <sup>|26</sup> þeim ríkisdege til Magdeborg af einum ødrum <sup>|27</sup> mikilsháttar herramanne sem het Valden, oc med **[37v]** þvi at hann sagde ney *vid þvi* øllu saman opinberlega, <sup>|2</sup> þá var þeim báðum skipad einvíge, i hvoriu þeir <sup>|3</sup> dóu báder. Nú hellt keisaren mikid <sup>|4</sup> af þessum Valden oc hriggdiz miög *vid hans* <sup>|5</sup> dauda, oc þar fyrer liet hann af hatre hoggva höfud <sup>|6</sup> af þeim dæda Gero oc fyrerbaud at grafa hann <sup>|7</sup> oc vilde, at hrafnar skyldu eta hans líkama. Enn <sup>|8</sup> þegar hans einkadóttir Adola (sem var ein trúlof <sup>|9</sup> ud jungfrú) spurde þetta heim til Alstod

hía Sala, <sup>10</sup> þá ferdadiz hún hastarlega þangad oc fiell á sín <sup>11</sup> kne fyrer keysaranum oc feck þad um síder, at hún <sup>12</sup> mætti greþtra láta sinn fòdr ærlega, þo so <sup>13</sup> hún hlaut at pligta sig þar til, at ef hún <sup>14</sup> vilde ei lata hann liggia út á mörkinne ografin, <sup>15</sup> þa skylde hún gefa allar sínar eigner þar til og alla <sup>16</sup> sína arfleifd til kyrkiunnar i Magdeborg, <sup>17</sup> hvad hún oc einnin giorde alleinasta til þess \*at <sup>18</sup> hennar fader mætti verda ærlega grafín.<sup>xxxviii|19</sup>

39. <sup>20</sup> Fulgosus skrifar eina ágiæta historiú <sup>21</sup> um þad jnbirdis stríð, sem var á millum Augustum <sup>22</sup> keysara oc Antonium, sem var einn borgmeistare i Róm, <sup>23</sup> oc at hvor þeirra hefde soddan stríðsfólk, at faderinn var í <sup>24</sup> móti synenum oc sonurin í móte fòdrnum. Oc þá Antonius <sup>25</sup> var fallin oc hans stríðsfólk var hertekid oc skilde nú <sup>26</sup> frammléidast, þá var þar einn á medal annara, sem het [38r] Metellus, hvors sonr at stríðt hafde med keysar <sup>2</sup> anum. Oc þegar þesse Metellus var framm leiddr oc hans asiá <sup>3</sup> na var ordin miðg torkenneleg bæde af stríðenu <sup>4</sup> oc fangelsenu, so at fáer kunnu at þeckia hann, þá <sup>5</sup> þekte þó hans sonur hann, sá unge Metellus, oc hlióp <sup>6</sup> til hans oc fadmæde hann oc gret beisklega. Oc þá hann hafde <sup>7</sup> nú lenge grátid oc helt honum í sinum fadme, þá sneri <sup>8</sup> hann sier til keysarans oc sagde. Þesse madr hefr verit þinn <sup>9</sup> ovinr oc hefr forskuldad dædan, enn ec hefe stríðt <sup>10</sup> med þier oc únnid til kaupsins. Þar fyrer bid ec þig, at þú <sup>11</sup> vilier fyrer þad kaup sem ieg hefi til unnid þyrma life <sup>12</sup> þessa manns, oc at þu vilier láta slá mig í hel fyrer <sup>13</sup> hann, so at mitt líf meige vera i stadin hans lífs. <sup>14</sup> Þegar Augustus heyrde, at sonrinn hefde slíkann <sup>15</sup> kiærleika til síns fodrs, þá gaf synenum síns <sup>16</sup> fòdrs líf, þo hann være ádr miðg gramr vid hann. <sup>17</sup> Þesser syner eru færre.<sup>xxxix|18</sup>

40. <sup>19</sup> Sa same Fulgosus skrifar i sömu bók adra <sup>21</sup> historiú, at þar var i Theoleto einn gullsmid, \*sem <sup>21</sup> var ránglega klagadr fyrer kongenum, oc þá hann var nú <sup>22</sup> dæmdr til dauda, þá geck sonrin framm oc fell á <sup>23</sup> kne fyrer konginum oc bad med grátande tárur, at hann <sup>24</sup> mætte deya fyrer sinn fòdr enn faderenn mætti lifa, <sup>25</sup> oc sem hann liet ecki af at bidia þar um, þá skede þad svo. <sup>26</sup> Þesse munu fádæme.<sup>xl</sup>

[38v] 41. <sup>2</sup> Herodotus skrifar eina historiú, lib. 6, <sup>3</sup> at Ev(r)ipides Calisthenes, sem ríkte í þeirre ey Sici <sup>4</sup> onia, hann átte eina einkadóttir,

17 at] + |at

21 sem] + |sem

sem het Agatista. |<sup>5</sup> Hana vilde hann gipta þeim manne, sem være ædstr |<sup>6</sup> oc bestr af øllum grickium, oc hann liet sinn her |<sup>7</sup> olld oc kallara úthrópa þad, at hvor sem helde sig |<sup>8</sup> verdugan til at vera Calistenis mágr, sá skylde |<sup>9</sup> koma til hans innan lx daga. Þá komu þar |<sup>10</sup> xiii af þeim yppurstu ungu herramónum i Gri |<sup>11</sup> cklande. Nú sem þesser voru komner, hells kong |<sup>12</sup> urin þeim öllum hiá sier eitt heilt ár umkríng |<sup>13</sup> oc gaf vandlega giætr at, hvor af þeim sier skickadi |<sup>12</sup> allra best, oc þegar sá dagr var tilsettr, á hvorium |<sup>13</sup> brúdkapíd skilde ske, þá visse jómfriúen ecki enn |<sup>14</sup> hvörn af þessum xiii(j) bidlum hún skylde hafa. |<sup>15</sup> Þessir ungu menn vissu ecki heldr, hvörn af þeim ad |<sup>16</sup> kongrin munde vilia taka sier til mágs allt til þess |<sup>17</sup> ad máltíðin skylde ske oc brúdkaupskostrin hal |<sup>18</sup> dast. Þá kallade faderin einn atheniensem til |<sup>19</sup> sin oc gifte hönnum sína dóttir, enn hinum öðrum |<sup>20</sup> gaf hann stórar giafer oc ríkgulegar skeinkingar |<sup>21</sup> oc liet þá fara heim apt. Þetta liet dóttirin |<sup>22</sup> sier vel lika oc hlídde sinum fóðr velviliuglega |<sup>23</sup> oc liet hann ráða útvalningunne ecki aktande þad |<sup>24</sup> þo ske mætte, ad hún hefde haft annan kíerara í [39r] sínu hiarta. Þetta eru góð börn.<sup>xli</sup>|<sup>2</sup>

42. |<sup>3</sup> Þad gengr so til i heimenum sem þad geck med Amasio, |<sup>4</sup> hvór ed var einn fátækr almúgamadr oc vard |<sup>5</sup> þo kóngr i Ægiptalande, so sem Herodotus skr |<sup>6</sup> ifar lib. 2 circa finem. Þegar nockrer af þeim |<sup>7</sup> ypparsta adal i Ægiptalande vildu ecki vera |<sup>8</sup> honum hlídner saker hans lítilmótlega uppruna oc ve |<sup>9</sup> gna hans eigin persónu, þá tók hann þad ker, i hvoriu |<sup>10</sup> bæde hann oc öll hanss hyrd þvode oc laugade |<sup>11</sup> sína fætr oc liet giöra soddan afgud þar af, sem |<sup>12</sup> sá var hvörn þeir i Ægiptalande dírkudu og liet |<sup>13</sup> setia þad god i þann stad, sem þeirra afguds likne |<sup>14</sup> skia stód ádr. Og þeir mektugu, sem hann höf |<sup>15</sup> du ádr foraktad, komu oc fiellu fram fyrer þessari |<sup>16</sup> líkneskiu. Þá liet kongrin þá ad fá ad vita af |<sup>17</sup> hvöriu efne þetta líkneski var giört, sem var af ad |<sup>18</sup> virdelegu edur lítilsháttar efne oc fyrerlitlegu keru, |<sup>19</sup> þá skylde þad þó dírkast vegna þess ærlega oc hei |<sup>20</sup> laga stadar i hvörium þad stæde, hvar med hann |<sup>21</sup> vilde kenna þeim, ad enn þó hann være komin af |<sup>22</sup> lítilsháttar fólke oc ætterne, þá skyldu þeir þó |<sup>23</sup> heidra hann oc vera honum hlídner vegna þess stadar |<sup>24</sup> i hvörium hann stæde, þad er vegna hans embættis.<sup>xlii</sup>

[39v] 43. |<sup>2</sup> Valerius Maximus skrifar lib. 5, cap. 4. |<sup>3</sup> um eina \*konu í

3 konu] koau

3 Róm] Róme with e crossed out

6 fangelse] e<sup>2</sup> corrected from l

Rom, sem hafde brotleg orðid |<sup>4</sup> so ad hún var fyrer þad dæmd til dauda. Enn sa sem |<sup>5</sup> fangelsed skylde vakta, heingde hana ecki strax |<sup>6</sup> i því fangelse so sem honum var befalad, helldr |<sup>7</sup> liet hana þar vera til þess at hún silte i hel. |<sup>8</sup> Enn hún átte eina dóttur, sem nylega var stadenn |<sup>9</sup> af sinne barnsæng. Hún útvegade þad af |<sup>10</sup> vardhaldsmannenum, at hún mætte einu |<sup>11</sup> sinne á dege gánga jnn i fángelsid til sinnar |<sup>12</sup> módr. Þó vilde hann, at hún skylde vera ber, |<sup>13</sup> upp á þad hún skylde ecki bera sinne módr |<sup>14</sup> fædu, oc so fædde hún sína módr i lánga |<sup>15</sup> tíma oc liet hana síuga sín brióst, hvad vard |<sup>16</sup> haldsmadrin undervísade yfervaldenu þá |<sup>17</sup> hann feck þad at vita. Enn þa herrarner heyrdur |<sup>18</sup> þetta, undrudust þeir soddan þacklæte, at so sem |<sup>19</sup> módrin hafde ádr fædt dótrrina á sínum |<sup>20</sup> brióstum, so fædde hún nú módrina aptr |<sup>21</sup> med sine brióstamiólk. Og þar fyrer gaf |<sup>22</sup> yfervaldid þær bádar lausar. Og upp á |<sup>23</sup> þad at þesse giórningr skylde aldre gle |<sup>24</sup> imast, uppbiggdu þeir romversku eitt |<sup>25</sup> alltare i þeim sama stad sem þad fangel(se) [40r] var, hvad þeir kolludu pietatis. Þad er |<sup>2</sup> kiærleiksalltare. Þetta skede 147 árum |<sup>3</sup> fyrer Kristi fæding. Þetta var |<sup>4</sup> þacklát dóttur.<sup>xliii</sup>|<sup>5</sup>

44. |<sup>6</sup> Og í þeim sama kap. skrifar Valerius einn |<sup>7</sup> in, at þar hafe verid einn sem het Simon |<sup>8</sup> Atheniensis, hvor sig hafe velviliuga gefid |<sup>9</sup> i fangelse oc til dadans upp á þad hann kinne |<sup>10</sup> at frelsa sín fòdr Miltiadem, sem opin |<sup>11</sup> berlega var til dadda dæmdr.<sup>xliiv</sup>|<sup>12</sup>

45. |<sup>13</sup> Wirgilius skrifar um Æneam, at hann |<sup>14</sup> hafe borid sinn fòdr Anchisem á bakinu út |<sup>15</sup> af borgine Troia, þá hún unnen var oc hún |<sup>16</sup> var at brenna, enn hann liet þar epter allt sitt góts.<sup>xlv</sup>|<sup>17</sup>

46. |<sup>18</sup> Eins giórdu þeir Amphiomus oc Ana |<sup>19</sup> pius vid sína gömlu foreldra, svo sem |<sup>20</sup> Pomonus skrifar De obedientia, lib. 2, |<sup>21</sup> kap. 4, oc Valerius, lib. 5, kap. 4, i þann |<sup>22</sup> tíma sem sa stadr Catana i Sicilia |<sup>23</sup> vard fyrer eldgange af fiallenu Æthna, hvort [40v] alltid brennr so sem þad fiall Heckla. |<sup>2</sup> Þá tóku þeir sína gömlu oc ørvasa foreldra úpp |<sup>3</sup> á sitt bak oc báru þá midt i gegnum eldin med |<sup>4</sup> stórum lífsháska. Gott dæme |<sup>5</sup> fyrer börn.<sup>xlvij</sup>|<sup>6</sup>

47. |<sup>7</sup> Plinius skrifar lib. 8, kap. 24, at þegar |<sup>8</sup> Centaret(ri)us Galata hafde drepid Anthi |<sup>9</sup> ocum í stríde oc hann setti sig a Anthioci hest |<sup>10</sup> oc þá hann formerke, at ovinnr síns húsbónda |<sup>11</sup> sat á bake sier, beit hann fast i járnmiðlin oc |<sup>12</sup> lagdist so miög í taumana, at engin gat ha |<sup>13</sup> lldid honum aptr, oc hlióp so upp á eitt hátt |<sup>14</sup> biarg oc steipti so bæde sier oc þeim sem



á honum <sup>|15</sup> sat þar ofan fyrer, so þeir hálsbrotnudu bá <sup>|16</sup> der saman, oc so hefnde hann dæda síns herra.<sup>xlvii|17</sup>

48. <sup>|18</sup> Fulgosus skrifar lib. 5, kap. 2 um einn <sup>|19</sup> sem het Titus Sabinus. Þá hann sat i fang <sup>|20</sup> else, þá vilde hans hundr, hvorn (hann) hafde upp <sup>|21</sup> alid, adrei láta reka sig frá honum. Oc þegar <sup>|22</sup> hann var út leiddr at hann skylde steglast, þá <sup>|23</sup> filgde hundrin honum oc gólade oc ilde oc <sup>|24</sup> bar sig illa álika sem einn sorgfullr madr. <sup>|25</sup> Oc þegar nockrer undrudust þetta, gáfu þeir [41r] hundinum bræð, hvórt hann greip, stóck upp oc retti <sup>|2</sup> það at munne síns herra. Oc at sídustu þegar þeir kó <sup>|3</sup> studu þessum manne út í ána Tíberum, stock hu <sup>|4</sup> ndrín strax efter honum oc fór under hans hófud <sup>|5</sup> oc vilde hiálpa, því (hann) ætlade hann munde þá <sup>|6</sup> enn lifa. Þetta var eitt stórt þacklæte <sup>|7</sup> af einne mállæsre skepnu.<sup>xlviii|8</sup>

49. <sup>|9</sup> Ambrosius skrifar um einn i Anthiochia, sem <sup>|10</sup> á náttarþeils var slegin íhel. Hann átte einn hu <sup>|11</sup> nd, sem ecki vilde fara frá þeim dæda líkama, <sup>|12</sup> heldr sat hann þar hiá oc gólade oc geimde líkaman <sup>|13</sup> frá ódrum hundum edr því honum kunne at granda. <sup>|14</sup> Oc at morgne þá þar kom margt fólk oc vilde síá <sup>|15</sup> þetta, þá kom oc einn medal annara, sem þennan mann haf <sup>|16</sup> de myrðt oc hugde hann munde ei opinberadr verda <sup>|17</sup> med því eingin sá hann giora þennan giörning. Enn <sup>|18</sup> strax þá hundrin sá hann, tók hann til at sækia at <sup>|19</sup> honum oc gielta oc greip i hans klæde oc helt honum, enn <sup>|20</sup> madrin vard sorgfullr, og hann vard strax hafdr <sup>|21</sup> grunsamr. Þetta var undervisad yfervaldinu <sup>|22</sup> hvort jafnsnart liet grípa hann, oc hann medke <sup>|23</sup> nde sinn giörning oc leid þar fyrer tilbærelegt <sup>|24</sup> straff. Þesser hundar eru ecke <sup>|25</sup> i hvóriu húse.<sup>xlix</sup>

[41v] 50. <sup>|2</sup> Þad er skrifad, at eitt sinn hafe verid einn ga <sup>|3</sup> mall madr, sem átti 2 syne oc eina dótr. <sup>|4</sup> Þeim afhendte hann allt sitt góts, at þa skyldu ha <sup>|5</sup> fa fyrer honum hans lífstid, enn þá hann hafde vered <sup>|6</sup> sinn mánud hiá hvoriu þeirra, leiddist þeim at ha <sup>|7</sup> fa fyrer honum. Þá liet hann giöra sier eina kystu, hvor <sup>|8</sup> ia hann fylte upp med mold oc steina oc liet so <sup>|9</sup> skrifa utan á kystuna: Þad er einn dáre <sup>|10</sup> sem so gefr sínum börnum, at hann verde \*si <sup>|11</sup> álfur at þyggia. Her meintu börnen, at <sup>|12</sup> hann ætte ennú epter mikid liggiande fe oc tóku <sup>|13</sup> hann til sín oc hófdu fyrer honum, hvad ad skede meir <sup>|14</sup> vegna peninganna sem þa hugdust ad fá <sup>|15</sup> enn af þacklátu hiarta.<sup>l|16</sup>

51. <sup>|17</sup> Þá Antonius Caracalla var ordín keysare, <sup>|18</sup> liet hann aflífa

margan gófugan mann saklavsann <sup>|19</sup> á medal hvórra var Cilon, sem hafde uppfóstrad <sup>|20</sup> hann oc veitt honum marga oc otelianlega velgiörninga. <sup>|21</sup> Ja, hann var ocso fòdr Caracallæ so kiær, at <sup>|22</sup> hann kallade hann opt sinn fòdr. Þad voru vond <sup>|23</sup> laun fyrir stóra mædu og umhyggju. <sup>li|24</sup>

52. <sup>|25</sup> Sigebertus skrifar í sinne Chronicubók <sup>|26</sup> um einn kong, sem het Ansegismus, hvor at var [42r] fader Pipini oc afe Caroli Magni, at hann <sup>|2</sup> hafde fundid eitt hittubarn. Þad kallade han <sup>|3</sup> Gundvinus oc uppfædde þann svein oc kom <sup>|4</sup> honum til stórrar virðingar oc giörde hann at sínum <sup>|5</sup> stríðshöfðingia. Enn þá hann var upphafin til <sup>|6</sup> slíkrar æru, þá drap hann Ansegisinum sviksam <sup>|7</sup> lega. Oþacklátur madr. <sup>lii|8</sup>

53. <sup>|9</sup> Þad skede einu sinne, at nockr börn tólu <sup>|10</sup> du jlla vid sína módr, at hún være ecke so <sup>|11</sup> rík ellegar edalborin sem þeirra fader, oc at þaug <sup>|12</sup> hefdu mátt vel verda fædd af ædra slekte enn <sup>|13</sup> hún være af komin. Enn þav urdu stróffud <sup>|14</sup> þar fyrir af gude, so þav dóu herfelegum dæda. <sup>liii|15</sup>

54. <sup>|16</sup> Herodotus skrifar, ad þegar Orestes ha <sup>|17</sup> fde heimuglega ásett sier í sínu sinne at slá Pol <sup>|18</sup> ycratem íhel, sem red fyrir eygne Samo, <sup>|19</sup> þá útsende þesse same Orestes sinn herold <sup>|20</sup> edur kallara, ad hann skylde tala so vid Polycr <sup>|21</sup> atem med vinsamlegum ordum, at hann skylde ko <sup>|22</sup> ma til hans, því hann vilde styrkia hann med stórrer <sup>|23</sup> peningasummu, so hann kynne med stríde ad því <sup>|24</sup> nga adra nærliggiande eyar oc leggja þær under [42v] sig. Nú dreimde dótr Polycrates um <sup>|2</sup> nottena fyrir, at hún þóttist síá sinn fòdr lí <sup>|3</sup> da upp i lopted, Jupiter þvode honum, oc sól <sup>|4</sup> enn smurde hann. Þá hugsade hún med sier, at <sup>|5</sup> þesse dræmr munde eckert gott þíða oc <sup>|6</sup> áminte þar fyrir sinn fòdr, at hann skylde ecki fara <sup>|7</sup> til Orestem. Enn fòdr hennar klæade efter <sup>|8</sup> þeirre stóru peningasummu oc reiddist henne <sup>|9</sup> þar fyrir oc hótade henne því, at ef sier genge <sup>|10</sup> vel oc hann kiæmist heill heim aptr, þá <sup>|11</sup> skylde hann lata hana sitia heima otrúlofa <sup>|12</sup> da í langa tíma. Enn hún svarade. Gud <sup>|13</sup> giæfe, at þú kinner at komast heim lifandi <sup>|14</sup> aptr. Eg vil lángtum heldr afsegia alla <sup>|15</sup> gifting alla mína lífdaga enn at missa þic. <sup>|16</sup> Enn hefdi hann hlídt hennar ráde, þá hefde hann ecki <sup>|17</sup> verid drepin, svo sem þad skede. <sup>liiv|18</sup>

55. <sup>|19</sup> Þad er skrifad af einum, at þá hann sló <sup>|20</sup> sinn fòdr oc var klagadr þar fyrir, þá svara <sup>|21</sup> de hann oc sagde. Þesse minn fader, hvörn eg <sup>|22</sup> sló, hann hefr einnen sleigid sinn fòdr, oc so <sup>|23</sup> hefe ec nú sleged hann aptr. Oc

síðann [43r] dró hann frammi einn sinn ungan son og sagde. |<sup>2</sup> Svo mun oc þesse sla mig seinna meir, nær hann |<sup>3</sup> verdr fær þar til.<sup>lv|4</sup>

56. |<sup>5</sup> Arestotelis skrifar, at þar hafa vered einn |<sup>6</sup> sonr, sem hafa þrifed i háred á sínum fôður |<sup>7</sup> oc dregid hann at dyraþrepskildenum. Oc þá |<sup>8</sup> hann vilde draga fôðrin út fyrer dyrnar, kalla |<sup>9</sup> de faderen upp og sagde. O minn son. Þyrm |<sup>10</sup> þu mier, því ec dró ecke minn fôðr leingra. Þar |<sup>11</sup> fyrer vill þad ganga börnunum eins svo sem þau |<sup>12</sup> hafa vered vid sína forelldra.<sup>lvi|13</sup>

57. |<sup>14</sup> Fulgus lib. 9, kap. 11 skrifar um einn |<sup>15</sup> kong i Pertia sem het Cosdroa. Þa hann |<sup>16</sup> stridde vid keysara Heraclium, þa drap |<sup>17</sup> hans eiginsonr Siroes hann, því hann hugde hann |<sup>18</sup> munde vilia giðra sinn yngstra bróðr Medro |<sup>19</sup> sem at kónge oc erfingia til ríkisins, oc |<sup>20</sup> so hafde Cosdroa ádr giðrt vid sinn fodr Horista.<sup>lviii|21</sup>

58. |<sup>22</sup> Þad er skrifad um einn gamlan mann, sem |<sup>23</sup> afhendte sinum syne allt sitt góts, oc þá |<sup>24</sup> hann bad sonin um einn kyrtil, þá gaf so [43v] nrin eina alin klædis. Þesse sami sonur |<sup>2</sup> þess gamla mannsins átte oco einn ungan son, |<sup>3</sup> og þá hann sá at hann gaf sínum fôðr eina alin |<sup>4</sup> klædis, liet hann ecki af at bidia oc gráta, fyrr |<sup>5</sup> enn hans fader vard einnenn at gefa honum eina klæ |<sup>6</sup> dis alin. Og þá hann hafde hana fenged, |<sup>7</sup> geck hann i burt oc geimde þessa klædis alin, |<sup>8</sup> enn faderen geck epter honum leinelega oc vil |<sup>9</sup> de vita, hvad hann giðrde. Þá svarade þar |<sup>10</sup> ned oc sagde. Eg vil geima þessa klædis alin |<sup>11</sup> til þess þú verdr gamall sem minn afe er nú, |<sup>12</sup> oc þá vil eg gefa þier hana at bæra þinn ky |<sup>13</sup> rtil med, so sem þú giðrer nú vid minn afa. |<sup>14</sup> Þá faderen heyrd þetta, hugsade hann um |<sup>15</sup> sig oc giorde síðan vel vid sinn gamla fôðr.<sup>lviii|16</sup>

59. |<sup>17</sup> Eginaldus skrifar i sinne historiubók oc |<sup>18</sup> Sigebetis in Chronica oc seiger, at keysare |<sup>19</sup> Lodvik sonr Caroli Magni hafa átt þriá |<sup>20</sup> syne, sem voru Ludovicus hinn yngste, |<sup>21</sup> Carolus sem síðan var kalladr Carolus |<sup>22</sup> Crassus, oc Carolo Mannus. Þesser tveir |<sup>23</sup> sem voru Ludovicus oc Carolus feingu |<sup>24</sup> hatr til sins fodrs, því þeir meintu at hann [44r] munde láta Cárolo Mannum fá ríkissti |<sup>2</sup> órnena. Og nær þeir vóru eitt sinn med þeirra |<sup>3</sup> fôðr til Frankfurt oc hófdu samþicker orded |<sup>4</sup> um forrædaraskap á móte þeirra fôðr, sem þeir |<sup>5</sup> hugdu at nú skylde framqvæmast, þa kom |<sup>6</sup> diðfullen til Carolum i eingils mynd oc sagdi |<sup>7</sup> til hans, at fader hans vilde láta slá hann ihel upp |<sup>8</sup> á þad hann kynne at koma ríkinu under Carolo Manno, |<sup>9</sup> og at gud være þar fyrer reidr. Þá skelfdist Ca |<sup>10</sup> rolus oc flyde

2 ungan] written above gamlan which is crossed out

í eina kyrkiu, enn diðfull |<sup>11</sup> en fylgde epter. Trúer þú mier ecki. Være það |<sup>12</sup> ecke satt, sem ec sege þier, þá geinge eg ecke |<sup>13</sup> inn i kyrkiuna. Þar fyrer máttu trúa mier, oc til |<sup>14</sup> vitnisburðar þar um þá medtak þetta Kristi |<sup>15</sup> sacramente, hvórt hann rette at honum. Oc þar |<sup>16</sup> med for Satan i hann. Og hann tók til ad |<sup>17</sup> hrópa oc hrína, gaula oc baula so sem eitt |<sup>18</sup> naut edr ðnnur skynlaus skepna. Enn þá |<sup>19</sup> hans fader oc prestarner feingu þetta at vita, |<sup>20</sup> sófnudust þeir saman i kyrkiuna oc báðu |<sup>21</sup> jnnelega fyrer honum, so hann vard frelsadr um síder |<sup>22</sup> oc medkende þa opinberlega sinn misgiörning |<sup>23</sup> á móte sínum fòdur.<sup>lix</sup>|<sup>24</sup>

60. |<sup>25</sup> Þad er skrifad i gömlum historium 'Manlius in collect ', [44v] ad þar var ein sonr, sem hafde lofad sínum fò |<sup>2</sup> dr at hafa fyrer honum oc fæda hann sína lífs |<sup>3</sup> tíð. Nú sem honum leiddist það innan lítils tíma, |<sup>4</sup> kom faderen einu sinne inn til hans, þar hann |<sup>5</sup> sat vid eitt bord oc hafde steik fyrer sier, og |<sup>6</sup> þá hann sá sinn fòðr koma, hulde hann |<sup>7</sup> steikina, hvad hans fader formerkte vel |<sup>8</sup> oc geck so grátande burt. Enn þegar |<sup>9</sup> fadirenn var burt vikin, tók sonrin ste |<sup>10</sup> ikina oc sette fyrer sig aptr. Þa kom |<sup>11</sup> þar ein hredeleg eytrpadda oc klemde |<sup>12</sup> med sínum frammfótum yfer um hans munn, |<sup>13</sup> oc so hlæt hann at gefa henne mat med sier, |<sup>14</sup> oc nær hann tók matenn frá henne, þá kreisti |<sup>15</sup> hún hann so hart, at hans agu tútnudu út |<sup>16</sup> sem þa skyldu út sprínga, oc so hlæt hann at |<sup>17</sup> hafa hana til straffs í heil 13 ár. So |<sup>18</sup> er ecke annad mögulegt enn ad jll og |<sup>19</sup> óhlíden börn munu víst fá sitt straff.<sup>lx</sup>|<sup>20</sup>

61. |<sup>21</sup> Þad er skrifad um Julio dottr Augu |<sup>22</sup> sti keysara, um hvòria Macrobius skrifar |<sup>23</sup> lib. 2, kap. 5, ad hún hafe haldid sig miðc |<sup>24</sup> hofmóðuglega oc verid miðc dramblát oc ofr |<sup>25</sup> dáðug. Enn þar var einn af keysarans [45r] vinum. Sá áminte hana, at hún skylde ecki |<sup>2</sup> vera so hofmóðug, heldr skylde hún álíta hvor |<sup>3</sup> su audmiúkr oc litelátr hennar gode fader være. |<sup>4</sup> Þá svarade hún oc sagde. Minn fader giæter |<sup>5</sup> ecke at þvi, at han er einn rómverskr key |<sup>6</sup> sare. Enn ec vil ecke gleima þvi, ad eg er |<sup>7</sup> ein keysara dóttir. So sem hún vilde |<sup>8</sup> segia, þo min fader gáe ecke at sinne |<sup>9</sup> tign og vyrding og vilir ei halda mi |<sup>10</sup> ked út af sier, skylde eg þar fyrer gle |<sup>11</sup> ima minne stiett og hallda ecke út af |<sup>12</sup> síalfre mier, þar eg er keysara dóttir.<sup>lxi</sup>|<sup>13</sup>

62. |<sup>14</sup> Monica móder hins h. Augustini |<sup>15</sup> var ein ágiæt læremóder. Hún vilde ei ley |<sup>16</sup> fa sínum jungfrúm at drecka so miked va |<sup>17</sup> tn sem

þær vildu, því hún sagde. Ef þier |<sup>18</sup> dreckid nú so mikid vatn sem þier vil |<sup>19</sup> ied, þá munu þier seina meir, nær þier |<sup>20</sup> hafed rád yfer ólkiallara edr vínkiallara, |<sup>21</sup> drecka fram yfer ydar efne oc meyra en ydr |<sup>22</sup> gott giðrer edr nytsamlegt er.<sup>lxii|23</sup>

63. |<sup>24</sup> Xenophon skrifar um þá í Persía, [45v] at þeir hafe haldid sínum börnum frá óhófe til |<sup>2</sup> sparneytne oc bindindis í þann máta, at þeir |<sup>3</sup> lietu þá alltíð síá, hvðornen þeirra foreldrar |<sup>4</sup> máttu alldre ganga til bords án þeirra yfer |<sup>5</sup> manna leyfis. Svo máttu börnin ecki heldr |<sup>6</sup> samneyta sínum foreldrum heldr alleinasta |<sup>7</sup> fá sier mat hiá tuktmeisturunum, oc ecke |<sup>8</sup> máttu þav hafa med sier annan mat í skólann |<sup>9</sup> enn eitt litid sticke \*bræds oc eitt litid |<sup>10</sup> staup at taka sier þar med vatn úr elvene ad |<sup>11</sup> drecka.<sup>lxiii|12</sup>

64. |<sup>13</sup> Valerianus skrifar, at þegar Alexander Ma |<sup>14</sup> gnus heyrde rædt um, at þar væru fleire verall |<sup>15</sup> der enn ein (sem oc Anaxarkus oc Demecritus kendu), |<sup>16</sup> tók hann beisklega at gráta, at hann hefde ecki |<sup>17</sup> ennú lagt eina veröldd under sig med magt |<sup>18</sup> oc valde miklu sídr hinar adrar, því hann vilde |<sup>19</sup> ecki láta sier þar med nægia. Juvenalis |<sup>20</sup> seger. Sá unge Alexander, sem kunne at hylia sig |<sup>21</sup> med einu skinne, nægdist ei med eina veröldd enn |<sup>22</sup> mátte þó láta sier nægia med litin part af veröldinne.<sup>lxiv|23</sup>

65. |<sup>24</sup> Melhodus skrifar, at þeir gömlu af Burg |<sup>25</sup> undien oc Svaben hafe fært í þeirra [46r] merke mind eins kattar, hvar med þeir hafa vi |<sup>2</sup> liad merkiast láta, at so sem eckert dír er so |<sup>3</sup> ópolinmott at líða fangelse sem einn köttur, |<sup>4</sup> so kynnu þeir oc óngva at líða yferdrottnan, so |<sup>5</sup> at þeir vildu aldeilis vera siálfráder.<sup>lxv|6</sup>

66. |<sup>7</sup> Marullus skrifar eina undarlega historiú á þenman |<sup>8</sup> hátt. Columbanus Abbas hafde tvo ágíæte læ |<sup>9</sup> resveina, sem hetu Gallus oc Hilldebolder. Þeir stódu |<sup>10</sup> eitt sinn oc voru at fiska, oc sem þeir hófdu nockrn fisk |<sup>11</sup> aflad, vildu þeir eld queikia sama fisk at steikia. |<sup>12</sup> Þá kemr þar framm af skógenum einn hrædelega stór |<sup>13</sup> biðrn, oc þá Hildebolder sier hann, verdr hann ákaf |<sup>14</sup> lega hræddr, enn Gallus var óruggr oc hughrastr |<sup>15</sup> mælande diarflega til þessa biarndírs oc skipar |<sup>16</sup> því at sækia vid til at leggja á elldin. Strax hlíd |<sup>17</sup> de biðrnenn (fyrer guds undrunarlegan krap) þessare |<sup>18</sup> skipan.<sup>lxvi</sup>

67. |<sup>19</sup> Same Marullus skrifar oc adra historiú |<sup>20</sup> um leon nockurt, sem

9 \*bræds oc] + ctc

4 at] a corrected from n

var i einu klavstre, hvort <sup>|21</sup> leon vant var at filgia einum asna út á mörkina <sup>|22</sup> á grasbeit oc vagtade hann eins sem annar hyrder. <sup>|23</sup> Einu sinne bar so vid, at asnin komst burt <sup>|24</sup> frá leoninu, oc þá leoned kom heim i kla <sup>|25</sup> ustred oc hafde ecke asnan med sier, [46v] lögdu klavstrsveinarner þá sómu byrde upp <sup>|2</sup> á leoned sem asnin var vanr at bera, hvad le <sup>|3</sup> onid þolinmódlega úmbar oc var hlided so lenge <sup>|4</sup> asnenn kom ecke heim.<sup>lxvii|5</sup>

68. <sup>|6</sup> Keysare Antonino Caracalla hann <sup>|7</sup> átte oc hafde vid hönd sier eitt leon, hvórt <sup>|8</sup> hann kallade Acinacem. Þetta leon var so hli <sup>|9</sup> ded, at nær keysarinn feck mat, stód leoned <sup>|10</sup> oc þenade, oc þá hann geck i sína sæng filgde þad <sup>|11</sup> hönum. Oc nær þetta hid sama leon vilde ei at <sup>|12</sup> keysarin geinge ecki út af sínum sal, þá tók þad <sup>|13</sup> i hans klæde med tónnunum oc hamlade honum út at <sup>|14</sup> komast. Einu sinne sem leonid aprtrade honum oc <sup>|15</sup> hann sleit sig af því, þá vard hann strax sem hann út kom <sup>|16</sup> ihel slegin, so sem Xiphilinus skrifar.<sup>lxviii|17</sup>

69. <sup>|18</sup> Virgelius skrifar um einn fiárhryrder er het <sup>|19</sup> Thyrrhus, þad hann vande einn hund oc giörde hann <sup>|20</sup> so taminn oc hlídinn, at hann leid þad syster Tyrri. <sup>|21</sup> Silvia kembde honum oc þvode samt þridde hann <sup>|22</sup> med blómstrum oc lilium. Þetta var all <sup>|23</sup> hlíden hundur.<sup>lxix</sup>

[47r] 70. <sup>|2</sup> Ælianus skrifar um einn mann er het Thoas <sup>|3</sup> Achaicus, hvör i langan tíma uppfædde <sup>|4</sup> i sínu húse einn dreka. Enn um sider umhugsade hann <sup>|5</sup> med sier, hvörsu hættelegt þad være ad hafa <sup>|6</sup> slíkt eytrqvikinde i sínu húse, hvar fyrer <sup>|7</sup> hann flutte hann út á mörkina i eina keldu edur <sup>|8</sup> myre oc skilde hann þar epter. Sem hann nú geck heim <sup>|9</sup> aptr, komu ræningjar á móte honum. Þá vein <sup>|10</sup> ade þesse Thoas ákaflega, enn þa drekin <sup>|11</sup> heyrde hans hlíod, kom hann jafnskiótt fliúg <sup>|12</sup> and(e) oc frelsade hann af höndum ræningiana.<sup>lxx|13</sup>

71. <sup>|14</sup> Gvido Pituriensis skrifar eina skritna <sup>|15</sup> oc hlælega historiu so látande. Philippus <sup>|16</sup> fader Alexandri hins stóra hafde hug ad strí <sup>|17</sup> da upp á Corinthoborg. Þá þeir í Corintho <sup>|18</sup> feingu slíkt at vita, urdu þeir miðc hrædder oc <sup>|19</sup> tóku til at ervida i ákefd aller, sumer at <sup>|20</sup> smída vopn, sumer at bera saman steina, sumer <sup>|21</sup> at uppmúra háfa turna, sumer at giöra ska <sup>|22</sup> nsa oc bæta múrveggina, so þar var eingin <sup>|23</sup> þeirra jdiulæs. Þegar Diogenis sa þetta, [47v] vilde hann ecki helldr jdiulæs ganga. Enn med því <sup>|2</sup> hann

21 kembde] b corrected from d

14 látande] t corrected from r

kunne ecki annad verk at vinna, stitti hann sinn kyr <sup>3</sup> til upp um sig oc geck til síns vinfats eda ámu <sup>4</sup> er var hans hús oc híbíle oc velti því hínagad oc <sup>5</sup> þangad, medann hann sá at hiner vóru at ervida. <sup>6</sup> Oc þá einn af hans vinum spurde hann at því hann <sup>7</sup> giörde þetta, svarade hann. Af því aller adrer i Corin <sup>8</sup> thoborg ervida, þá være það minkun, ef eg <sup>9</sup> skylde vera jdiulav. Þar med vilde hann kennd, ad <sup>10</sup> það vanvirðing være hin stærsta ad vera <sup>11</sup> latur og ydia eckert. <sup>12</sup>

72. <sup>13</sup> Einn madr kom eitt sinn til Socrates <sup>14</sup> oc klagade fyrir honum, at hann hefde at sönnu í <sup>15</sup> sinne at ganga til þeirra olympisku leika, enn <sup>16</sup> sá lánge vegr skelfde sig þar frá. Þa svarade <sup>17</sup> Socrates honum. Eg vil segia þier, at þú gengr <sup>18</sup> lengra þá þú ert heima frá morgne til mid <sup>19</sup> dags máltídar oc frá middege til qvöld <sup>20</sup> máltídar, oc það giörer þú optast hvörn dag. <sup>21</sup> Ganger þú eins mikid í 5 edr 6 daga á <sup>22</sup> vegenum, gengr þú til þeirra olympisku leika. <sup>23</sup> Þar med vilde sa merkelege madur <sup>24</sup> kennd, ad það sem hræk maunnum frá <sup>25</sup> ervide er ecke annad enn þanke. <sup>12</sup>

[48r] 73. <sup>2</sup> Democratus var eitt sinn adspurdr, hvör <sup>3</sup> mismunr være á mille verk ydins þiónustu <sup>4</sup> fólks oc þess sem latt er. Svarade hann. So mikill <sup>5</sup> sem þar er millum gudhrædds manns oc ógudlegs, <sup>6</sup> því ydid fólk vonar oc fær gód laun, gialdande <sup>7</sup> aprt i stadin ervide oc dygd, enn þeir jdiulav <sup>8</sup> su oc lötu metta sig af armód oc fátækt. <sup>9</sup>

74. <sup>10</sup> Polienus skrifar eina fagra historiú um Mene <sup>11</sup> laum, at þann tíma hann reiste aprt tilbaka <sup>12</sup> med sína Helenam frá Egiptalande, þá <sup>13</sup> kom hann at eyunne Rhodus. Nu var þar ein <sup>14</sup> landshöfdingiaqvinna, er het Philexo, er <sup>15</sup> mist hafde sinn mann oc herra at nafne <sup>16</sup> Neptolemum i Trojuborgarstríde saker <sup>17</sup> þessarar Helenæ. Þegar þesse Philexo (hvor ennú <sup>18</sup> syrgde sín mann) feck at vita, at þa Menelaus <sup>19</sup> oc Helena láu þar vid land, saman safnade hún <sup>20</sup> öllu fólke á eyunne, mómum oc qvinnum, oc <sup>21</sup> vilde endelega hefna dæda síns manns, giör <sup>22</sup> ande hastarlega eitt áhlöp med elde oc gri <sup>23</sup> óte, er hún sókte at kasta á hans skip. <sup>24</sup> Oc med því hann hafde mótbyr oc komst <sup>25</sup> ei út af höfnine, þá falde hann sína [48v] Helenam under þilium, oc hennar þiónustu <sup>2</sup> stúlka sem var ung oc dæleg, færde sig í <sup>3</sup> hennar kostulegu klæde oc sette hennar koronu <sup>4</sup> upp á sitt höfud, so sem hefde það verid Helena <sup>5</sup> siálf. Oc sem þeir ed ásóktu sáu hana, <sup>6</sup> köstu þeir elde oc grióte stóru oc drápu, meinandi <sup>7</sup>

7-8 Corin[thoborg] h corrected from o

13 Rhodus] u corrected from ii

sig þar med at hafa hefnt Neptolemi dæða |<sup>8</sup> med ad deyða Helenam oc yfergáfu so |<sup>9</sup> Menelaum, enn þav sigldu þadan óskóddud. |<sup>10</sup> Þetta hefr sannlega vered trú stúlka.<sup>lxxiv</sup>|<sup>11</sup>

75. |<sup>12</sup> J þann tíð sá ágiæte mælskumadr Marcus |<sup>13</sup> Antonius var áklagadr þad hann fremde blóðskömm |<sup>14</sup> oc helde vid villulærdóm oc hans þienare |<sup>15</sup> var einnin skuldadr fyrer þad hann |<sup>16</sup> væri honum her i medvitande, med því hann hefði |<sup>17</sup> borid fyrer honum lyktena þángad er hann sömu |<sup>18</sup> blóðskömm skyldde drígt hafa, enn þegar hans |<sup>19</sup> áklagendr gátu ecki komid honum til ad med |<sup>20</sup> kenna þessa sók oc Marcus oc hans þennare komu |<sup>21</sup> heim, þá vard Malcus hrigr oc sorgfullr. |<sup>22</sup> Enn hans þenare huggade hann oc sagde. Hrædist |<sup>23</sup> ecki, herra. Látid mig koma fyrer rettin. \*Ydr [49r] skal eckert skada. Og þa same |<sup>2</sup> þiön kom fyrer rettin, vilde hann eckert vidr |<sup>3</sup> kenna upp á sinn húsbónða, hvörsu sem |<sup>4</sup> þeir píndu hann oc húðstriktu. Lögdu a hann |<sup>5</sup> logande eld oc teigdu, oc þeir komu honum ecki |<sup>6</sup> til at játa nockru upp á sin húsbónða, |<sup>7</sup> heldr afsakade hann hann, hvar med hann frýade |<sup>8</sup> síns húsbónða líf oc æru. Og því |<sup>9</sup> seiger Valerius Maximus. O, hvad mi |<sup>10</sup> klu meire lucku hefði þesse triggve oc trú |<sup>11</sup> fasti þiön verdr verid enn at hata þenare.<sup>lxxv</sup>|<sup>12</sup>

76. |<sup>13</sup> Pontanus skrifar, at þeir regenisku |<sup>14</sup> i Longobardia hafe haft einn konung hvor |<sup>15</sup> ed i sínu testamente giörde einn af sínum |<sup>16</sup> þiönnum formindara oc fiárhaldsmann sinna barna |<sup>17</sup> oc feck hönum ríkisstiörnina i hendr, þar |<sup>18</sup> til hans siner væru fulltíða at aldre. Nú |<sup>19</sup> voru þad marger sem heldu þad fyrer víst, at þesse þenari, |<sup>20</sup> med því hann var ei mikid fyrermann oc af lágum stigum, |<sup>21</sup> munde draga rikid undan kongsins sonum til |<sup>22</sup> sín oc sinna barna. Enn þesse þenare at na |<sup>23</sup> fne Nicetus edur Nycithus, sem nockrer [49v] nefna hann, underþvínegade þa reginisku |<sup>2</sup> so hardlega, at hvörsu megtuger sem þeir \*voru |<sup>3</sup> urdu þeir þo at hlíða honum. Enn þegar þesse |<sup>4</sup> ungu kongabörn uxu upp oc síalf kunnu |<sup>5</sup> at stiörna sínu ríke, afhendte hann þeim þad |<sup>6</sup> med öllu síalfviliugr bæde ríkid, allan |<sup>7</sup> sinn myndugleik oc hlíðne, er hann hafde |<sup>8</sup> tilhaldid undersátunum. Já, hann gyrntist |<sup>9</sup> eckert meira af öllum þeim jnntektum, er saman |<sup>10</sup> dregist

14 þienare] + four words now erased

20 Marcus] r corrected from l

23 Ydr] + | ydr

8 síns] s corrected from h

2 voru] vora



höfdu þann tíma hann stjornade enn <sup>|11</sup> þad honum einsomlum nægdist til tæripenings, þá <sup>|12</sup> hann reisti til þeirra olympisku leika i sitt fö <sup>|13</sup> durland. Þetta var trúr þenare.<sup>lxxvi|14</sup>

77. <sup>|15</sup> Einn romverskr madr at nafne Restio <sup>|16</sup> helt einn þenara at nafne Antius. Hann ha <sup>|17</sup> fde eitthvad lítilfiörlegt brotid á móte húsbón <sup>|18</sup> danum oc liet hann þvi kasta þessum Antio i fúla <sup>|19</sup> dyblissu oc brenna bókstafe á munn hans akl <sup>|20</sup> agande hann hardlega. Enn á medan þiönin sat <sup>|21</sup> í fangelsinu, feingu romveriar nockra <sup>|22</sup> sok uppá Restionem oc dæmdu hann til dæda. [50r] Þá nú adrer hans þenarar urdu vísir, at þeirra herra <sup>|2</sup> Restio var flúen, leitudust þeir aller vid at ná <sup>|3</sup> nockru af hans gotse oc skeittu ecki umm sinn herra. <sup>|4</sup> Enn sem þesse fangne þiön Antius slapp læs, bar hann <sup>|5</sup> sig ængvu at ná, helldr fór strax á stad epter <sup>|6</sup> sínum húsbónða oc vilde ængvu at sídr honum þio <sup>|7</sup> na, þótt hann ádr hefde giört honum mikid jllt til. <sup>|8</sup> Enn sem þesse þenare merkte, at sókt var epter honum oc hans <sup>|9</sup> herra, kindte hann at vörmu bragde mikin elld upp, <sup>|10</sup> oc þá balið brann sem ódast, kom þar einn fátækur <sup>|11</sup> gamall madr framm, at hvorn Antius greip oc kast <sup>|12</sup> ade honum á elldin. Og þegar eptersóknarmennerner <sup>|13</sup> komu á epter, hleipr Antius á móte þeim oc seger. <sup>|14</sup> Siáid þar, oc bendte at eldinum. Nú hef eg <sup>|15</sup> hefnt mín á mínum húsbónða Restione, þvi <sup>|16</sup> so hardlega sem hann plágade mig, so hardlega <sup>|17</sup> plága eg hann nú. Þar liggr hann oc brennr. Og <sup>|18</sup> þá þeir siá nú einn mann liggiande í eldinum, mei <sup>|19</sup> ntu þeir þad munde Restio. Oc í slikan máta <sup>|20</sup> frelsade þesse þenare sinn hussbónða. Þessa <sup>|21</sup> historiú skrifa þeir Valerius oc Díon <sup>|22</sup> í lífssögu Augusti.<sup>lxxvii|23</sup>

78. <sup>|24</sup> Sá danske historiúskrifare Saxo þegar <sup>|25</sup> hann skrifar um Hrolf kong kraka at [50v] hann hafde haldid einn trúan þenara sem Vigge <sup>|2</sup> var at nafne. Hann hafde lofad kongenum <sup>|3</sup> þvi, at ef so kunne til at bera þad Hrolfr kongr <sup>|4</sup> være vegin, þá skyldde hann hefna hans dæda. <sup>|5</sup> Nú bar so vid at Hiartvar kongrin af Sv <sup>|6</sup> íaríke er átte sister Hrólf's kongs kom <sup>|7</sup> med her til Danmerkr oc sló í hel Hrolf kong <sup>|8</sup> samt alla hans trúlinda þenara at fráteknum <sup>|9</sup> Vigga. Sem nú þesse svikare Hiartvar <sup>|10</sup> hafde fengid þennan mikla sigr og sat yfer <sup>|11</sup> bordum, tekr hann til at hrósa þenurum Hrólf's <sup>|12</sup> kongs, þad þeir hefdu verid so trauster oc trúfaster <sup>|13</sup> vid sinn herra oc hvorke viliad flyia nie láta <sup>|14</sup> taka sig til fanga, hvar med þeir í líóse lietu <sup>|15</sup> sína eydsvörnu trú oc dygd vid kongen. <sup>|16</sup> Ámælte Hiartvar kongr þvi luckunne þad hún <sup>|17</sup> vilde ecki unna honum eins þvilíks trúlinds þe <sup>|18</sup> nara,

af því hann vilde giarnan fá slíka þjóna <sup>19</sup> oc menn vid sitt bord oc i sinne þjónustu. <sup>20</sup> Vigge kom fram á þessare happastund <sup>21</sup> oc Hiartvar vard gladr þar vid oc spurde <sup>22</sup> hvort hann vilde ecki þjóna sier. Vigge svara <sup>23</sup> de þar já til. Þa bænd Hiartvar honum eitt <sup>24</sup> dregid sverd at oddenum, en Vigge [51r] vilde ecki taka um odden heldr tók um handfan <sup>2</sup> ged oc mælte, at Hrolfr kongr hefde þannig <sup>3</sup> plagad at fá sínum hyrdmönnum sverd i hendr <sup>4</sup> því eydbundner oc handgeingner þjónar er forðum <sup>5</sup> tíð gáfu sig i herraþjónustu heldu um sverds <sup>6</sup> klóted, medan þeir fóru hollustu oc trúnadar <sup>7</sup> eyda. Þegar Vigge feck sverdid i he <sup>8</sup> ndr, hugsade hann um það heit oc loford, er hann adr <sup>9</sup> giört hafde Hrólfe kónge, oc jafnsnart rak <sup>10</sup> hann Hiartvar i gegnum oc sverdinu oc hefnde þannig <sup>11</sup> dæða síns herra. Hirdmen \*Hiartvar <sup>12</sup> hlupu skiótt á fætr, tóku til vopna oc drápu <sup>13</sup> Vigga, enn hann gaf sig viliuglega oc diarflega <sup>14</sup> fram oc sagde sig miklu meire glede oc fagnad <sup>15</sup> ódlast hafa af dæða þeirra herra þess gri <sup>16</sup> mma tírana, enn það hann hræddist sinn eigin dæða. <sup>17</sup> Og það seger Saxo. Vigge er æfenlegr <sup>18</sup> hress og æruverdugr. Það hann helt so sitt lof <sup>19</sup> ord.<sup>lxxviii|20</sup>

79. <sup>21</sup> Enn adra frásögu skrifar Saxo um einn <sup>22</sup> kong i Norege, Magnus at nafne, er <sup>23</sup> átte ofrid oc orustr vid annan kong i Norege <sup>24</sup> at nafne Harald Gylla, hvor ed tók Ma <sup>25</sup> gnus kong til fanga oc breitte æmkunar [51v] lega vid hann á þann hátt, at hann liet útstínga <sup>2</sup> bæde hans ægu og gelda hann, so það hann være <sup>3</sup> óhæfr bæde til at stíórna ríkinu vegna <sup>4</sup> síónleisis sem oc at eiga börn er kinnu <sup>5</sup> at hefna hans. Þegar Magnus kongr var þannig <sup>6</sup> útleikin oc atspurdr, vid hvörn helst af <sup>7</sup> sínum þjónum hann vilde láta eins fara, svaradi <sup>8</sup> hann oc sagde. Eg held þar sie einginn a medal <sup>9</sup> þeirra, er gyrist slíkt at reina, enn þótt nockr <sup>10</sup> hafe lyst til þess, mun su lyst snarlega rena. <sup>11</sup> Þá var einn af hans þjónum, sem var honum ecki <sup>12</sup> einasta trúr miðg, heldr oc næsta líkr bædi <sup>13</sup> at ásýnd oc litarhætte. Hann gaf sig siálfvili <sup>14</sup> uglegá fram at líða med sínum herra oc qvad <sup>15</sup> það munde ei jlla fara, at þeir stínge hans ægu <sup>16</sup> út og geldtu hann upp á það hann kinne einnin <sup>17</sup> i þessare grein at vera líkr sínum herra, so <sup>18</sup> sem i hinu ódru, hvad honum var veitt epter hans beid <sup>19</sup> ne.<sup>lxxix|20</sup>

80. <sup>21</sup> Philippus Melancthon skrifar í sinne kroni <sup>22</sup> ku, at þann tíð Innocentius hinn 4. med <sup>23</sup> því nafne pave i Róm hafde bannfært <sup>24</sup> keysaran Fridrick þann annan, þa upp <sup>25</sup> vakte hann einnen biskupin

11 Hiartvar] + hlu

21 Melanchton] h corrected from o

í Stratzborg [52r] móte keysaranum. Þá nú same *byskup* fór úrmáta |<sup>2</sup> hardlega með *jnrbyggjarana* í Stratzborg, sen |<sup>3</sup> du þeir bod *um* hiálp til Konrads keysarasonar, |<sup>4</sup> oc þá hann kom oc hafde stillt þetta upp hlap |<sup>5</sup> meinande angva hættu á *ferdum oc svaf* ohræ |<sup>6</sup> ddr í *sinne* hvílu. Nóttina efter kom *byskupsins* |<sup>7</sup> fólk inn oc vilde drepa Konradum. Þá hlióp |<sup>8</sup> einn af hans þenurum strax til, greip hann úr sa |<sup>9</sup> ngingne, kom honum í afvikin stad oc sagde til hans. |<sup>10</sup> Herra, ec vil leggja mig í ydar sang oc deya fyrir |<sup>11</sup> ydr, so þier kinnud undan at komast, hvad oc |<sup>12</sup> skede, at munkarner yferfiellu hann strax oc drápu |<sup>13</sup> oc meintu, at þeir hefdu nu vel sislad at drepa |<sup>14</sup> Konrad keysarason. Hvar eru nú slíker þiónar?<sup>lxxxv</sup>|<sup>15</sup>

81. |<sup>16</sup> Laertius skrifar um einn mann, er het Anax |<sup>17</sup> arehus Abderites, hvörn Nicocreon lan |<sup>18</sup> dshófdinge þeirra í Cypro liet hardlega pína |<sup>19</sup> upp á þad hann í líóse liete sína laxmenn, er hófdu í |<sup>20</sup> huga at helslá þennann tírana. Enn þá Anaxare |<sup>21</sup> hus hafde nú mikla pínu útstadid, átalde hann |<sup>22</sup> herran hardlega oc lastade, beit sídan síalfur |<sup>23</sup> túnguna sundr í munnenum, oc áður enn hann |<sup>24</sup> giörd(e) þad, sagde hann til þessa tíranna. Þú tíranne skalt þo ecke ráða fyrir þessum lim. Hrækte so [52v] tungunne í hans ásíónu. Þesse merkelege madr |<sup>2</sup> vilde heldr bita sína tungu síalfur í sundr |<sup>3</sup> enn úthrópa nockrn góðan mann.<sup>lxxxix</sup>|<sup>4</sup>

82. |<sup>5</sup> So geck þad oc til fyrir einum manne, er het |<sup>6</sup> Zeno Elcates. Hann vard áklagadr at hafa |<sup>7</sup> samþickt *edur* meðvitund verid í fiórráðum |<sup>8</sup> vid landsherran Nearchum, er var einn |<sup>9</sup> tíranne. Þegar þesse Zeno var framleiddr til |<sup>10</sup> at pínast oc átte at aþglísa sína samlagsbr |<sup>11</sup> ædr, tilnefnde hann þá allra bestu oc tráustu |<sup>12</sup> vine Nearchi (enn angvan af þeim sekudu). |<sup>13</sup> Sem þesser vóru nú líflatner, spurde tíranen, hvort |<sup>14</sup> ecki væru fleire í verkinu sem ættu lífed at |<sup>15</sup> missa. Þa sagde Zeno. Nú ertu epter einn |<sup>16</sup> sem er landsins fordiarfare oc ætter ei leingr |<sup>17</sup> at lifa, gefande honum mörg hörd ord, oc |<sup>18</sup> under eins beit hann sína tungu í sundr oc spí |<sup>19</sup> tti í tírannans andlit, því hann vilde heldur |<sup>20</sup> deia enn aþgylsa þá er lande oc lídum hid |<sup>21</sup> besta vildu. Strax þar epter var þesse tíranne |<sup>22</sup> af undersátum líflátin. Þesse var |<sup>23</sup> oc merkesmadr.<sup>lxxxii</sup>

[53r] 83. |<sup>2</sup> Einn sagnaskrifare at nafne Franciscus |<sup>3</sup> Petrarchus skirer frá, at á hans dögum hafe |<sup>4</sup> þar verid einn hardsviradr húsbónde, í hvors |<sup>5</sup> þiód(n)nustu at kom einn hardhnackadr oc skelmis |<sup>6</sup> fullr drengr, hvörn

25 Stratzborg] *erased letter after a2-3*

2-3 Franciscus |<sup>3</sup> Petrarchus] *corrected from* Traneiseus |<sup>3</sup> Patrecius

þesse húsbonde úr hó |<sup>7</sup> fe barde. Enn þesse drengur varð því argare oc |<sup>8</sup> vesnade þess meir. Nú bar so við einn dag, at |<sup>9</sup> þesse drengur tók tvö úngbörn, er hans hús |<sup>10</sup> bónde átte, annað vetr gamalt, annað tvæve |<sup>11</sup> tra, oc bar þæ upp á einn háfan turn, kallade |<sup>12</sup> síðan á sinn húsbónða oc seger. Kom nú oc tak |<sup>13</sup> þín börn í þitt skaut. Med það sló hann þeim niðr |<sup>14</sup> við múrin oc kastade þeim síðann dædum ofan |<sup>15</sup> til föðrsins. Síðan fleigde hann sier siálfum |<sup>16</sup> ofann fyrer oc rotadist til dæds, so hann skylde |<sup>17</sup> ecki lifande koma á vald oc í hendr síns |<sup>18</sup> húsbónða.<sup>lxxxiii|19</sup>

84. |<sup>20</sup> Þeir lacedæmonisku höfdu þá síðveniu, |<sup>21</sup> at þá nockr maðr hafde eitthvad misbrotid, |<sup>22</sup> þá skylde hann ganga í kringum eitt alltare, er |<sup>23</sup> stóð í midre borgine oc qveda þar siálf eina |<sup>24</sup> vísu, er dictud var um hans yfersión, er ecke var |<sup>25</sup> til annars enn honum til vanvirdu, at hann skylde [53v] siálf úthrópa hvad hann hefde hendt. Þetta |<sup>2</sup> var hardur straff.<sup>lxxxiv|3</sup>

85. |<sup>4</sup> Plutarcus skrifar, at í þann tíð sem Scipio |<sup>5</sup> hin meire hafde saman dreged sitt herlid í Sili |<sup>6</sup> cia, þá sagde hann. Her er eingin í öllum þessum |<sup>7</sup> her, sem ecki geingr upp í hinn hædsta turn |<sup>8</sup> borgarinnar oc kastar sier út í síóin (sem þar var fyrer |<sup>9</sup> nedan), ef ec skipa þeim það. Oc strax |<sup>10</sup> giörde hann tilræn til þess oc bevisade það |<sup>11</sup> fyrer einum greifa, er kom til hans, so sem |<sup>12</sup> sendebode af Campania, so at hann skylde siá |<sup>13</sup> hvörn myndugleika hann hefde yfer sínu strids |<sup>14</sup> fóлке. Nefnde því á nafn einn af þeim mōnnum er hann |<sup>15</sup> liet liggja framan á brún hins hærsta borgar |<sup>16</sup> turns oc skipade honum at kasta sier ofan af |<sup>17</sup> turnenum, oc jafnskiótt er hann heyrde þessa skipan, |<sup>18</sup> fleigde hann sier niðr oc deyde at vörmu bragde, |<sup>19</sup> og munde hann hafa upp á lagt hinum öllum er í |<sup>20</sup> turninum vóru hid sama at giöra, hefde ecki þesse |<sup>23</sup> greife beded fyrer þá. Þetta var hard |<sup>24</sup> ydge við sína fátæka þióna.<sup>lxxxv|25</sup>

86. |<sup>26</sup> Sá heidne maðr Demonax sá eitt sinn |<sup>27</sup> einn mann, er barde sinn þenara so ákaflega, at [54r] hann rede sier ecke siálf. Þá sagde hann. Hættu þessu, |<sup>2</sup> so þú verðer ecke siálf þinum þenara líkr. Þesse víse |<sup>3</sup> maðr meinte, at sá være nógu vondr þræll, er ei |<sup>4</sup> kynne at stiórna sínu eigen gede.<sup>lxxxvi|5</sup>

87. |<sup>6</sup> Þegar Claudius keysare kom til ríkisstiörnna |<sup>7</sup> ennar, þá gaf hann út þvilík lög, at hvör sem |<sup>8</sup> burt skúfede edr útræke einn veikann edr lüen |<sup>9</sup> þión, þá skylde sá ængvan þienara fá þar epter.<sup>lxxxvii|10</sup>

88. <sup>11</sup> Pontanus skrifar um einn mann í Róm, er het <sup>12</sup> Portius Cato, þad hann var áklagadr fyrer ráðinu <sup>13</sup> sökum þess hann útskúfade sínum þíonum, er honum lein <sup>14</sup> ge þient höfdu, oc selde þá so sem önnr skinnlæs qvikin <sup>15</sup> de. Oc fyrer þessa sök var hann dæmdr ærulæs oc þad med <sup>16</sup> öllum rette.<sup>lxxxviii|17</sup>

89. <sup>18</sup> Gallius skrifar um einn mann at nafne Draco <sup>19</sup> lagastiptara þeirra í Athenuborg. Hann bar <sup>20</sup> slíkt hatr til þíófanna þad hann gaf þav lög <sup>21</sup> út, at hvor sem stæle so miklu sem einne lúku <sup>22</sup> fullre af myke oc legde á sinn akr ellegar einum <sup>23</sup> kálstock edur stöng, skylde missa sitt líf. <sup>24</sup> Solon gaf þeim athenisku oc slík lög, \*at [54v] hvör sem tæke nockud í burt úr þeim stad <sup>2</sup> sem vera átte, jafnvel þó hann slepte því aptr <sup>3</sup> oc bære þad ecki í burt, sá skylde vera ærulæs.<sup>lxxxix|4</sup>

90. <sup>5</sup> Valerius ritar eina fagra historiu um einn <sup>6</sup> mann í Róm, er Plotinus var at nafne, er dæ <sup>7</sup> mdr var fridlæs oc útlægr af því rómverska <sup>8</sup> ráde, oc þá hann nu duldist oc helt sig á laun <sup>9</sup> í þeim salernitaniska ríke, þektist hann sökum <sup>10</sup> þeirra dírmætu oc vellugtande smyrsla, er hann <sup>11</sup> á sier bar, enn sökum þess at hans oviner ku <sup>12</sup> nnu ecke at ná honum, handtóku þeir hans þi <sup>13</sup> óna oc píndu þá grimmelega, þad þeir segdu <sup>14</sup> til hans, oc med því hann visse fyrer vist, at <sup>15</sup> þeir munde ecki opinbera hann, enn hann merkte <sup>16</sup> þeirra qvaler oc tók þær næsta sárt, geck <sup>17</sup> hann siálfviliugr framm oc liet síá sig, <sup>18</sup> so hans þíonar skyldu ecki leingr pínder verda. <sup>19</sup> Þetta var af þeirre elsku er hann <sup>20</sup> bar til þeirra.<sup>xc|21</sup>

91. <sup>22</sup> Plutarchus frammsetr eina fagra <sup>23</sup> epterlíking úm einn þögulan munn. [55r] Líka so, seger hann, sem tölustafren 1 er <sup>2</sup> eingen tala, því 1 er 1 oc verdr 1 oc <sup>3</sup> þar af hefr hann sitt nafn unitas, <sup>4</sup> enn nær þad verda 2 kann þar af at <sup>5</sup> vaxa ein miög mikil tala. Í sama máta, <sup>6</sup> seger hann, kann einn vel at þeigia um eitt ord <sup>7</sup> oc halda því kyrru hiá sier. Enn nær þad <sup>8</sup> kemr til tveggja, þá verdr þar mikid rik <sup>9</sup> te oc frettaburdr af.<sup>xc|10</sup>

92. <sup>11</sup> Demostenes spekingr í Athenuborg <sup>12</sup> var sonr eins fatæks húsasmids, enn <sup>13</sup> saker síns lítelætis oc iduglegra lesninga <sup>14</sup> vard hann ágiætr madr hía athenumömmum. <sup>15</sup> Hvör hefr meira hrós en Æschines, <sup>16</sup> sem var fatæks mans son í Athenu oc hafde <sup>17</sup> ei adra ydiu enn hann sat á torge oc selde <sup>18</sup> pilsur sem Tulgus skrifar. <sup>19</sup> Virgelius oc Maro enn þótt hann væri <sup>20</sup> eins fatæks leirkerasmids son, þa kann <sup>21</sup> þo öll veröldin af

15 med] + | öngvum which is crossed out

24 at] + at

honum at segja saker hans <sup>|22</sup> atgiðrfes oc lærdoms, so honum verdr hrósad [55v] fremr öllum skáldum er nockurn tíma <sup>|2</sup> hefr til vered. <sup>|3</sup> Popilius Macrinus var í fyrstu einn þíónustu <sup>|4</sup> drengr fátækr, enn vard þó keisare sem Dion skri <sup>|5</sup> far oc það saker hans lítelætis. <sup>|6</sup> Maxeminus hinn 23. keisare var í sínu ungdæ <sup>|7</sup> me einn hyrder i Tracia enn sídan keysare. <sup>|8</sup> Valentinianus 41. keys(are) var frómr oc <sup>|9</sup> gudhræddr *madr*, var sonr eins reipslagara. <sup>|10</sup> Aurelianus 31. keisare var komin af fátæ <sup>|11</sup> ku fólke, enn saker lítelætis oc frómleika upp <sup>|12</sup> hafdest hann til keysaralegrar tignar. <sup>|13</sup> Justinus 51. keisare i Róm var fæddr i Tharsis. <sup>|14</sup> Hans fader var einn svínahyrder, enn þá hann vard <sup>|15</sup> ostríds*madr* komst hann saker aðmyktar oc frómleika <sup>|16</sup> til heidurs. <sup>|17</sup> Agathoeles kongr yfer allre Sicilia <sup>|18</sup> var einn fátækr pottamakare, sem <sup>|19</sup> Fulgosus skrifar.<sup>xciij|20</sup>

93. <sup>|21</sup> Ein dæmesaga. Einn húsbonde skipade <sup>|22</sup> sinum þenara at standa á fætr um nóttina, oc [56r] vita hvórt döggr være. Hann hlídde því ecki oc lá <sup>|2</sup> kyrr oc kallade á hundin til sín, er lá fyrer dy <sup>|3</sup> runum at vita, hvort hann var votr edur ecki, oc er hann fann <sup>|4</sup> á honum at hann var þurr, svarade hann husbóndanum at <sup>|5</sup> þurrvidre være. Oc þá husbóndin kalladi <sup>|6</sup> i annat sinn til hans, at hann skylde fara á fætr oc vi <sup>|7</sup> ta hvort eldr lifde, kallade hann á kóttin oc fann <sup>|8</sup> at honum var heitt oc svarade því husbóndanum <sup>|9</sup> já. J þridia sinn kallade husbóndin á hann, <sup>|10</sup> at hann skylde klæda sig oc lúka upp gluggunum, <sup>|11</sup> enn hann lá í sængine kyr sem ádr oc svarade. <sup>|12</sup> Þess giórdist ecke þórf, því hann hefde þá ecke <sup>|13</sup> aprt láted umm qvölded. Þetta má <sup>|14</sup> tte vera fliótsedr letinge.<sup>xciii|15</sup>

94. <sup>|16</sup> Þeir gömlu hafa uppmálad e`Ýns þie <sup>|17</sup> naramynd soleidis. Fyrst máludu þeir <sup>|18</sup> eina unga persónu i hvítum stórum klædnade, <sup>|19</sup> er hafde havan oc upp mióan hatt á höfd <sup>|20</sup> inu, löng oc há asnaeyru, oc í stadinn munn <sup>|21</sup> sins langt svínstríne á sínum øxlum, <sup>|22</sup> hvar á heingu tvær fòtr edur skióltr, i hvor <sup>|23</sup> ium hann bar vatnn oc annan byrdar þúnga. [56v] J sinne vinstre hende hafde hann einn brennande la <sup>|2</sup> mpa tendradann edur eldker, sem iafnadlega log <sup>|3</sup> ade. Sína hægge hönd rette hann úr frá sier flata oc <sup>|4</sup> útbreidda. Þar at æk hafde hann hiartarfætr. <sup>|5</sup> Þetta meina þeir so. <sup>|6</sup> Sá have oc úppmióe hátr merker frelse <sup>|7</sup> þíónsins það af einum trúum þíón verdr optast nær <sup>|8</sup> einn herra. Þa hvítu fòt merkir trú, <sup>|9</sup> dygd, hreinlinde oc hollustu vid sinn herra. <sup>|10</sup> Svínstríned merker, at einn trúr

14 veita] + oc which is partly erased

þíón skule <sup>|11</sup> ecke gegna vondum oc óþórfum munnræðum <sup>|12</sup> ne jllum lestre um sinn husbónda, heldr þar <sup>|13</sup> vid ney segia oc þad af plána oc síns herra góðu <sup>|14</sup> nafne virding veita sem oc einnen at þíón <sup>|15</sup> enn sie fliótr at heyra síns herra vilia. Þad <sup>|16</sup> hann ber tvær vatnsfótr merker þad hann med kostgiæ <sup>|17</sup> fne frammqvæmer verk síns herra. Lampans þídíng, <sup>|18</sup> umsión oc athugaseme i húsenu. Hans út <sup>|19</sup> retta hønd <sup>|21</sup> merker, at hann er trúr sinum husbónda. <sup>|22</sup> Hiartarfæturner merker þíónsins <sup>|23</sup> skiótleik úr einum stad i annan <sup>|24</sup> húsbóndanum til gagns <sup>|25</sup> og ábata.<sup>xciv</sup>

19 hønd] + merker þíónsins skiótleik úr <sup>|20</sup> einum stad i anan húsbóndanum til gagns which is crossed out

## APPARATUS FONTIUM

- i **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De impietate liberorum in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [365a] In Flandria duos cum haberet mater filios ... / ... [365b] *Ludovicus Vives de institut. Christ. fœm. lib. 2. cap. 10.* FRANKFURT 1595 [145r] Zu Brück in Flandern, von 35. Jaren, hat ein Weib zwen Sone gehabt ... / ... [145r] *Ludo. Viues institutionis Christ. Foem. lib. 2. cap. 10.*
- ii **QUINTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De ira odio et invidia.* WITTENBERG 1604 [466a] Ex Theodosij Imperatoris decreto, quod præcipitis iracundiæ ... / ... [466b] *Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 17. Sozomenus lib. 7. cap. 24.* FRANKFURT 1595 *omitted.*
- iii **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De liberorum pietate in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [355a] Quintus Cicero, Marci frater, cum à Triumviris proscriptus ... / ... [355a] *Xiphil. Dionis abbreviator in Augusto. Zonar. lib. 2.* FRANKFURT 1595 [141v] Als der Martius Coriolanus, auß billicher vrsach, wider die Römer vor Rom sich machen wolte ... / ... [141v] wil ich es als meiner lieben Mutter auff solch bitten also schencken. *Liuius lib. I.* (Diß ist ein schon Exmpel Kindliches Gehorsams).
- iv *not extant in Hondorff.*
- v **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De amore et indulgentia parentum erga liberos.* WITTENBERG 1604 [370b] Auctolia, Sinonis filia, & vxor Laerte ... / ... [370b] apud Trojam in bello decubuisse, impatientiæ mœroris vitam project. *Ravisius.* FRANKFURT 1595 [147v] Auctoliat eine Mutter des Fürsten Vlyssis ... / ... [147v] hat sie sich vor leyde erhencket. *Officina Rauisij.*
- vi *not extant in Hondorff.*
- vii **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De amore et indulgentia parentum erga liberos.* WITTENBERG 1604 [373a] Agesilaus arundini insidiens ... / ... tunc etiam imitaberis patres. *Ælian. lib. 12.* FRANKFURT 1595 [148v] *Den*n so ließt man vom Könige Agesilao ... / ... [148v] wirstu dich auch al sein Kinder Vatter erzeigen. *Aelianus lib. 12. varia hist.*
- viii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- ix *not extant in Hondorff.*
- x *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xi *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xii **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *Pœna immorigerorum liberorum.* WITTENBERG 1604 [356a] Wermundo Danorum Regi filius fuit vnicus Uffo, corporis mole insigniter magnus ... / ... [357b] pressi superbiæ suæ pœnas meritas prendere coacti sunt. *Alber. Cranz. lib. I. cap. 6.* FRANKFURT 1595 [140v] Wermund ein König in Dennemarck, diesem hat Gott in seinem Alter ein Son bescheret ... / ... [141r] bekamen sie selbs vber sich. *Chronica Alberti Kranz, lib. 1 cap. 6.*
- xiii **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De educatione, institutione & doctrina liberorum.* WITTENBERG 1604 [387a] Demetrius, Antigoni filius, cum Megara cœpisset ... / ... [387b] quod hæc vere sunt œceja, hoc est, domestica, propriaq̃ bona. FRANKFURT 1595 [146a] Als der König Demetrius die Stat, darin der Philosophus Stilpo Megaricus gewohnet ... / ... [146a] kan ich mich noch dadurch ernehren, vnd vnterhalten. *Bruso libro tertio, capite vigesimo prim.*



- xiv *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xv **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De educatione, institutione & doctrina liberorum.* WITTENBERG 1604 [391a] Aristippus rogatus, quo different docti ab indoctis? ... / ... [391a] ad omnem vitæ consuetudinem inutilis est. FRANKFURT 1595 [158b] Aristippus ward eins gefragt, was vor ein vnterscheid einem Weisen ... / ... [158b] würde geachtet vnd vorlacht warden. *Max. Serm. 17.*
- xvi *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xvii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xviii **SEPTIMUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De usura et fæneratoribus.* WITTENBERG 1604 [661a] Amasis Ægyptorum Rex lege cavet ... / ... [661a] velut facinorosus noxam lueret. FRANKFURT 1595 [279r] Amasis, der Egypter König der hat ... / ... *Alex. ab. Alex. lib. cap. 13.*
- xix **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De parentibus dira liberis imprecantibus.* WITTENBERG 1604 [381a] In celebri quodam Misniæ oppido accidit, ut biliosus pater ... / ...11. Septemb. anno quinquagesimo secundo, supra sesquimillesimum. FRANKFURT 1595 [153v] In einer namhafftigen Stat in Meissen, hat sich begeben ... / ... [154r] ist er gestorben in warer Erkenntniß vnd Glauben auff Christum, *Anno Domini 1551, den II. Septemb.*
- xx **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De parentibus dira liberis imprecantibus.* WITTENBERG 1604 [380b] Witebergam abducat mater filiam ... / ... 380b Increpet, increpet, inquiring, repetebat, ut facile cuiuis pateret, vere eam è diabolo obsessam esse. FRANKFURT 1595 [153a] Zu Wittenberg hat eine Mutter jre Tochter geführt bracht ... / ... [153a] Daß man wol erkannt, wie der Teuffel sie besessen hatte.
- xxi *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxiii **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De parentibus dira liberis imprecantibus.* WITTENBERG 1604 [380b] Cesareæ in Cappadocia fœmina, & genere & divitijs illustris ... / ... [380b] *Discip. de temp. Serm. 14.* FRANKFURT 1595 [153] In Cesarea Cappadocie war ein Edle Fraw ... / ... vnd den ganzen Leibern ohn vnterlaß gezittert haben. *Discip. de temp. Serm. 14.*
- xxiv **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De parentibus dira liberis imprecantibus.* WITTENBERG 1604 [381v] Mediolani contumax & impius filius ... / ... visus est, pari modo, quo matrem irriserat, os sum intorquere. FRANKFURT 1595 [153v] Zu Meyland war eine Mutter die hatte einen vngehorsamen Son ... / ... [153v] daran er auch die Feigen im auffzichen vnd hencken gemacht.
- xxv *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxvi *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxvii **SEXTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De iis quiconcumbunt cum masculis.* WITTENBERG 1604 [631a] Lajum Thebarum regem ajunt primum formosorum puerorum .../... [631b] Thebanos haberetur, speciosos & elegantes amare. *Ælian. Lia. 13.* FRANKFURT 1595 *omitted.*
- xxviii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxix *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxx *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxxi *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxxii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxxiii **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De liberorum pietate in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [358a] Coriolanus optime de Repub. meritis, iniquissimæ damnationis ruina prostrates ... / ... [358b] continuoque agrum Romanum hostilibus armis liberavit. *Livius lib. I Val. Max lib. 5.* FRANKFURT 1595 [141b] Als der Martius Coriolanus, auß billicher vrsach, wider die Romer vor Rom sich machen wolte ... / ... [141b] wil ich es als meiner lieben Mutter

- auff solch bitten also schencken. *Liuius lib. 1.* (Diß ist ein schon Exempel Kindliches Gehorsams).
- xxxiv **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De impietate liberorum in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [361b] Prudentissima civitas Atheniensium, dum ea rerum ... / ... ex quibus omnia nata esse dicuntur, &c. FRANKFURT 1595 [141v] Der weise Gesetzgeber Solon ward gefragt ... / ... [141v] die solches theten. *Max. Serm. 23.*
- xxxv **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De ira et severitate parentum erga liberos.* WITTENBERG 1604 [377b] Aristippus, incusante quodam, quod filium sic abiceret, negligeretque ... / ... [377b] *Laert. Lib. 2 & Erasm. Apoph. 3.* FRANKFURT 1595 [153r (wrongly paginated 351r)] Aristippus der Philosophus, als er einen beschuldiget warde, daß er seinen Son also verstiesse vnd verwürffe ... / ... [153r (wrongly paginated 351r)] sie aber so gar vngezogen vnd grob bleiben, dann eine Ehr vnd Ruhm).
- xxxvi *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxxvii **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De liberorum pietate in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [350b] Numidicus Carthagine, Christi & Ecclesiae indefessus minister ... / ... [350b] Presbyterorum Carthaginensium numero est adscriptus. *Cyprian. lib. 4. Epist. 10.* FRANKFURT 1595 [138r] Numidicus, ist zu Carthago ein Christlicher vnd fleissiger Diener ... / ... [138r] Davon schreibt S. Cyprianus *lib. 4. Epist. 10.*
- xxxviii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xxxix *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xl **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De liberorum pietate in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [354a] Inter plurima insignum virorum charitatis ... / ... quanto alijs omnibus rebus vita charior est. *Campofulg.* FRANKFURT 1595 [139r] Ein Spanier zu Tholetto hat einen Vatter ... / ... [139v] hoch zu rühmen vnd zu preisen. *Campofulg. lib. 5. cap. 4.*
- xli *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xlii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- xliii **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De liberorum pietate in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [352b] Sanguinis ingenui mulierem Prætor apud tribunal suum ... / ... [353a] Ne tantæ rei memoria intercideri ubi carcer fuit pietatis ara constituta est. *Sabel loco citato.* FRANKFURT 1595 [138v] Ein Edel Weib ist vmm einer bösen that zum tod verurteilt ... / ... [138v] *Etiã legitur in Exemp. M. Anton. Sabel. lib. 3 cap. 6.*
- xliv **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De liberorum pietate in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [352b] Miltiades ob temere suspectam expeditionem adversus Parum ... / ... [352b] *Sabel. lib. 3. cap. 6. Valer. Max. libro 5. cap. 4.* FRANKFURT 1595 [138v] Miltiades, der Atheniensische Hauptmann ... / ... *M. Ant. Sabel. lib. 3. cap. 6 Et Valerius Maximus lib. 5 cap. 4.*
- xlv **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De liberorum pietate in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [351a] Simili exemplo laudatur pietas Æneæ ... / ... [351a] *Vide etiã exempla Sabellici, lib. 3. cap. 6. & Ravisii Officinam.* FRANKFURT [138v] 1595 Eneas, ein Edler Herz von Troia ... / ... [138v] Hievon besihe. *Virg. lib. 2. Aeneid.*
- xlvi **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De liberorum pietate in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [350b] Amphinomus & Anapius, Siculi fratres, cum Ætnæ incendio Catanæ ... / ... [351a] per medios ignes Ætnæ periculo subdlexerunt, parentibus & cedentibus eorum pietati ipsis flammis. *Syllius.* FRANKFURT 1595 [138r] In der Insel Sicilia, ligt der Berg Ethna, welcher inwendig brennet, vnd etlich mal grosse Feuerhauffen ... / ... [138r] gegen die Eltern gefallen liesse. *Pausanias lib. 10 Et Valer. Maximus lib. 5. cap. 4.*
- xlvii **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De gratitudine beluarum.* WITTENBERG 1604 [421a] In equum Antiochi Regis, Centaretrius Galata, cum Regem in prælio occidisset ... / ... [421a] sua

- Domini sui mortem ultus. *Plin. lib. 8. cap. 42.* FRANKFURT 1595 [173r] Als Centaretus Gallata, den König Antiochen im Streit ertodt hatte ... / ... [173r] da hat es sich mit jm herab gestürzt, vnd also seines Herrn tod gerochen. *Ibidem.*
- xlviij **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De gratitudine beluarum.* WITTENBERG 1604 [420b] Cum ex causa Neronis Germanici filij ... / ... dilectus esset. *Auct. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 40.* FRANKFURT 1595 T. Sabinus hat ein Hund gehat ... / ... der in auffgezogen vnd genehrt, danckbarkeit erzeigt. *Ibidem.*
- xliv **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De gratitudine beluarum.* WITTENBERG 1604 [421a] Scribit Ambrosius in Hexamero canem Domini corpus noctu à milite in Antiochia occisi ... / ... [421a] suspicionem perpetratae caedis fecit, itaque captus à Magistratu, confessione criminis exorta mulctatus est. FRANKFURT 1595 [172b] Ambrosius in Hexamero schreibt, daß ein Hund seinen Herren ... / ... [173a] daß man ein argwohn des mordes genommen, ist also gefangen vnd wider gericht worden. *Fulgo. lib. 5. cap. 2.*
- l **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *Exempla ex Discipulo de tempore.* WITTENBERG 1604 [367b] Quidam magnis ditatus opibus cum omnes suos liberos ... / ... [368a] sed misere spe sua frustratus abit. *Discip. de temp.* FRANKFURT 1595 [146] Jtem, ein Vatter hatte zwo Tochter gehabt ... / ... [146] Jst also der hoffnung beraubt worden. *Discip. de temp. In Promp. Exemp.*
- li *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- liii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- liv *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lv *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lvi **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De impietate liberorum in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [366a] Narrat fuisse quendam ... / ... [366a] in quo quis peccat punit. FRANKFURT 1595 [145v] So schreibt Aristoteles in Ethics, Daß ein Son seinen alten Vatter ... / ... [145v] *Sic DEVS plerunque eodem genere, in quo quis peccat, punit.*
- lvii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lviii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lix *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lx **QUARTUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De impietate liberorum in parentes.* WITTENBERG 1604 [364b] Quidam divitiis affluens, patrem annis confectum & gravi pressum pauperie despiciebat ... / ... [365a] serpentem quoque cibare cogeret, quem horrendo admodum spectaculo secum circumgestavit, quo ad vixit. *Manl. in collect.* FRANKFURT 1595 [144b] Philippus Comienus schreibt, daß ein Herzog auß Gellern hab einen Sohn gehabt, mit namen Adolff ... / ... [144b] dieweil er mit seinem Vatter so grausam vnd vnmenschlich gehandelt hatte. *Geor. Lauterb. Von der Kinderzucht.*
- lxi **NONUM ET DECIMUM PRÆCEPTUM** *De vestitu.* WITTENBERG 1604 [823a] Imperator Augustus luxuriam in vestitu summopere aversatus est ... / ... [823b] Cui ipsa: Obliviscitur ille Cæsarem se esse, meminim me Cæsaris filiam. *Suetonius, Macrobius.* FRANKFURT 1595 [359a] Deß Keyzers Augusti Tochter Julia ... / ... [359a] Ich aber bin eingedenck, daß ich sines Keyzers Tochter bin. *Macrob. lib. 2. cap. 3.*
- lxii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lxiii *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lxiv *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lxv *not extant in Hondorff.*
- lxvi *not extant in Hondorff.*



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— — —. *Promptuarium Exemplorum. Das ist: Historien und Exempelbuch nach Ordnung und Disposition der heiligen Zehen Gebott Gottes, auß heiliger Schrifft, und andern bewerten unnd glaubwirdigen, Geistlichen und Weltlichen, alten und newen Scribenten, mit allem fleiß zusammengetragen. Gottsforscht, Bürgerlicher erbarkeit, redliches wandels, auffrichtiges lebens, und abscheubung aller Sund, Laster vnd vbels: Jedermenniglichen, hohes und nidriges, Geistlichs und Weltlichs Stands, zu disen letzen und gefehrlichen zeiten fur die augen gestellt. Jetzt zum tritten mal im Truck außgangen, und auffß new widerumb (dabey es auch hinfort bleiben sol) mit allem feiß ersehen, und sehr vielen nuzbarn Historien und Exempeln gebessert und vermehret: Durch den Ehrwirdigen, in H. Exempeln gebessert und vermehret: Durch den Ehrwirdigen, in H. Schrifft Hochgelehrten Herren.* Frankfurt: Peter Schmidt, 1595 [20].

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## ÁGRIP

Varðveisla mótmælendadæma í íslenskri þýðingu

**Efnisorð:** *Nokkrar eftirtakanligar smáhistoriur*, Andreas Hondorff, *Promptuarium exemplorum*, húmanískt safnrít, lútherskar sagnir, íslenskar bókmenntir, Ólafur Jónsson í Arney

Í þessari grein er stafrétt útgáfa af *Nokkrum eftirtakanligum smáhistoríum samantindum til fróðleiks 1783*, íslenskri þýðingu á köflum eftir Andreas Hondorff í *Promptuarium exemplorum* („Repository of exempla“). Verkið er varðveitt í Landsbókasafni Íslands – Háskólabókasafni, JS 405. 8vo (25r–256r), pappírshandriti skrifuðu á milli 1780 og 1791 af Ólafi bónda Jónssyni í Arney (um 1722–1800). *Promptuarium* var afar vinsælt safn af undrum, sögusögnum, dæmisögum og þjóðsögum frá fornöld, síðfornöld, miðöldum og endurreisnartímanum raðað eftir boðorðunum tíu. Safnið naut mikilla vinsælda meðal lútherskra sem höfðu áhuga á vísu sem sótt er í ritninguna, söguna og náttúruna, og dreifðist víða í Evrópu á bæði þýsku og latínu. Þessi rannsókn sýnir að Ólafur Jónsson hafi að öllum líkindum þýtt hluta af endurröðuðum latneskum texta *Promptuariums* sem Philip Lonicer (1532–1599) gaf út árið 1575 undir heitinu *Theatrum historicum*.

## SUMMARY

A Repository of Protestant Exempla in Icelandic Translation

**Keywords:** *Nokkrar eftirtakanligar smáhistoriur*, Andreas Hondorff, *Promptuarium exemplorum*, Humanist compendia, Lutheran exempla, Icelandic literature, Ólafur Jónsson í Arney

This article offers a first critical edition of *Nokkrar eftirtakanligar smáhistoriur samantindar til fróðleiks 1783*, an Icelandic translation of sections of Andreas

Hondorff's *Promptuarium exemplorum* ("Repository of exempla"), which survives as Item 10 of Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn, JS 405 8vo (fols 25r–25r–56r), a paper codex written between 1780 and 1791 by the farmer Ólafur Jónsson í Arney (c. 1722–1800). The *Promptuarium* was a highly popular compendium gathering wonders, agades, parables, and legends from antiquity, late antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance arranged according to the Ten Commandments. It found an ever-expanding audience among Lutherans interested in wisdom drawn from Scriptures, history, and the natural world and circulated widely in Europe in both German and Latin. The present study demonstrates that in all likelihood Ólafur Jónsson translated sections of the rearranged Latin text of the *Promptuarium* published by Philip Lonicer (1532–1599) in 1575 under the title *Theatrum historicum*.

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## JÓN ÁRNASON OG GRÍSHILDUR GÓÐA

*Um breytingar ritstjórans á frásögn konu af annarri konu*

MARGIR ÍSLENDINGAR hafa lesið eða heyrt þjóðsöguna af Gríshildi góðu sem kom fyrst út á prenti árið 1864 í 2. bindi þjóðsagnasafns Jóns Árnasonar (1819–88).<sup>1</sup> Elsta heimildin um þjóðsöguna er þó líklega listi úr fórum séra Friðriks Eggerz (1802–94), prests í Dölunum, yfir ævintýri en þar er söguhetjan nefnd Hildur þolinmóða.<sup>2</sup> Sagan tilheyrir þeirri tegund þjóðsagna sem Ruth B. Bottigheimer kallar „rise fairy tales“ þar sem söguhetjan rís úr neðri stéttum upp í forréttindastétt<sup>3</sup> og í tilfelli Gríshildar er hún verðlaunuð í sögulok fyrir þolinmæði sína gagnvart þeim þrautum sem á hana eru lagðar. Elsta þekkt frásögnin af persónunni er þó ekki í formi þjóðsögu þótt líklegt sé að þar hafi höfundurinn Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75) unnið með sagnaminni sem hann þekkti fyrir. Í síðari tíma rannsóknnum hefur þessi ákveðna samsetning þjóðsagnaminna enda fengið heitið „Griselda“ eftir aðalpersónu Boccaccios og númerið 887 í yfirlitsverkum um alþjóðlegar þjóðsagnagerðir.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og æfintýri. Safnað hefir Jón Árnason*. II, ritstj. Jón Árnason (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1864), 414–17.
- 2 „Sagan af Hildi þolin móðu og þeirri sem helt á líósínu kongsins“ (Lbs 989 4to, 76r, sótt 4. ágúst 2022, <https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-0939/151?iabr=on#page/75v/mode/2up>). Það sem á eftir fer í handritinu er illlæsilegt og óljóst hvort eigi við sömu sögu eða aðra. (Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Verzeichnis isländischer Märchenvarianten mit einer einleitenden Untersuchung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1929), 133.
- 3 Ruth B. Bottigheimer, *Fairy Tales. A New History* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2009), 11–13.
- 4 Sjá t.d. Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson. Part I: Animal Tales, Tales of Magic, Religious Tales, and Realistic Tales, with an Introduction*, ritstj. Sabine Dinslage, Sigrid Fahrman, Christine Goldberg & Gudrun Schwibbe (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2004), 511–12; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Volume Three. F-H* (Kaupmannahöfn: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1956), 415; og

Söguna af Griseldu er að finna í *Tíðægru* (*Decamerone*) sem Boccaccio skrifaði á ítölsku um 1350. *Tíðægra* er rammafrásögn af tíu manns, sjö aðalskonum og þremur ungum herra mönnum, sem flýja pláguna 1348 í Flórens og fara í sjálfskipaða sóttkví á herrasetri. Þar skiptast þau á að segja hvert öðru sögur, tíu sögur á dag í tíu daga. Hundradasta sagan, og sú síðasta, fjallar um Gualtieri markgreifa í Saluzzo sem kvænist fátæku þorpsstúlkunni Griseldu og lætur svo reyna á fullkomna hlýðni hennar við sig, fyrst með því að láta hana halda að börn þeirra tvö hafi verið borin út, síðan með skilnaði og loks með því að fela henni umsjón brúðkaupsveislu fyrir hann og unga brúði hans af aðalsættum, sem reynist þá dóttir þeirra. Í *Tíðægru* er það Díoneó, spaugarinn í hópnum, sem segir söguna og út frá athugasemdum hans í frásögninni er lesandanum frjálst að túlka söguna sem hálfgerð grín og gagnrýni, bæði á grimmilega hegðun eiginmannsins og fullkomna auðsveipni Griseldu. Sú túlkun er aftur á móti ekki uppi á teningnum í þeirri gerð sögunnar sem í raun varð upphafið að vinsældum hennar í Evrópu.

Francesco Petrarca (1304–74), annar frumkvöðull húanismans og endurreisnarinnar, varð svo hugfanginn af sögunni hjá Boccaccio að hann þýddi hana og endurskrifaði á latínu árið 1373. Þar breytti hann nafni kvenpersónunnar í *Griseldis* og setti söguna fram sem allegoríu, táknsögu, þar sem hlýðni hennar við eiginmanninn væri hliðstæð hlýðni mannsins við Guð.<sup>5</sup> Þannig dreifðist sagan vítt og breytt og til Íslands kom hún flókna leið, eins og Halldór Hermannsson fjallaði um í *The Story of Griselda in Iceland*,<sup>6</sup> bæði gegnum skriflegar þýðingar úr dönsku<sup>7</sup> en þó, að því er

sérstaklega um íslenskt samhengi þjóðsögunnar í skrá Einars Ól. Sveinssonar (*Verzeichnis isländischer Märchenvarianten*, 132–33).

- 5 Franciscus Petrarca, „Francisci Petrarce, Poete Laureati, de Insigni Obedientia et Fide Uxoribus ad Johannem Bocacium de Certaldo,” Ursula Hess, *Heinrich Steinböwels 'Griseldis'. Studien zur Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte einer frühhumanistischen Prosanovelle* (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1975), 238.
- 6 Halldór Hermannsson, *The Story of Griselda in Iceland*, *Islandica VII* (Ithaca: Cornell University Library, 1914).
- 7 Ítarlega grunnnumfjöllun um allar danskar gerðir sögunnar má finna í Richard Jakob Paulli, “Indledning. *Griseldis*,” *Helena, Griseldis, En Doctors Datter*, ritstj. J.P. Jacobsen, Jørgen Olrik og R. Paulli, *Danske Folkebøger VIII* (Kaupmannahöfn: Gyldendalske Boghandel – Nordisk Forlag, 1920), XXXI–LIX; Paulli, “Tekstkritik og Kommentar,” *Helena, Griseldis, En Doctors Datter*, 143–204; og Paulli, “Haandskriftbeskrivelse og Bibliografi,” *Helena, Griseldis, En Doctors Datter*, 205–50. Auk þess má benda á umfjöllun í Leif Söndergaard, „Folkebogens fascination – Griseldis gennem 400 år,” *Griseldis-temaet gennem tiden*, ritstj.

Halldór taldi, fyrst munnlega í lok 16. eða upphafi 17. aldar, líklega úr hol-lensku en þó hugsanlega úr frönsku.<sup>8</sup> Sagan virðist hafa notið talsverðra vinsælda á landinu allt fram á 20. öldina, enda hafa rannsóknir<sup>9</sup> sýnt fram

Leif Søndergaard, *Mindre Skrifter* Nr. 9 (Odense: Laboratorium for Folkesproglige Middelalderstudier, Odense Universitet, 1992), 41–60.

- 8 Halldór rökstuddi þetta fyrst og fremst með nafni markgreifans sem í elstu íslensku gerðunum er Gótýr, Gautýr eða Góvetýr, sbr. Gautier í hollensku og Gaultier í frönsku, en ekki Valtari eða Volter eins og þeim gerðum sem augljóslega eiga rætur í þýsk/dönsku gerðunum (Halldór, *The Story of Griselda in Iceland*, viii). Hubert Seelow benti þó á í yfirlitsverki sínu um íslenskar gerðir þýskra, og þá oft um leið danskra, *almúgabóka* (þ. Volksbücher, da. Folkebøger) að frekari samanburðarrannsókna á hollenskum gerðum og elstu íslensku gerðum sögunnar væri þörf til að staðfesta þessa ályktun (Hubert Seelow, *Die isländischen Übersetzungen der deutschen Volksbücher* (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1989), 121–22). Það er þó ekki efni þessarar greinar.
- 9 Halldór Hermannsson varð fyrstur til að rannsaka almennt íslenskar gerðir Gríshildar-sögunnar (Halldór, *The Story of Griselda in Iceland*, 1914) og þar fjallaði hann um ellefu gerðir sögunnar, þar á meðal þjóðsöguna eins og Jón Arnason hafði gefið hana út 1864 („Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,” *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og afintýri* II). Áður höfðu tvær þýskar þýðingar á þjóðsögunni verið gefnar út með fræðilegum athugasemdum. Annars vegar var um að ræða þýðingu Theodors Möbius, („Das isländische Märchen,” þýð. Theodor Möbius, Reinhold Köhler, „Die Griseldis-Novelle als Volksmärchen,” *Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte* I, ritstj. Richard Gosche (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1870), 420–24) sem birtist í grein Reinholds Köhlers þegar árið 1870 (Reinhold Köhler, „Die Griseldis-Novelle als Volksmärchen“ *Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte* I, 409–27. Grein Köhlers ásamt þýðingu Möbius var endurútfegin árið 1900 í *Kleinere Schriften von Reinhold Köhler* II, ritstj. Johannes Bolte (Weimar: E. Felber, 1900), 534–55 (þýðingin á bls. 546–50) og tekin til umfjöllunar hjá Adeline Ritterhaus (Ritterhaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Märchenforschung* (Halle: [Niemeyer], 1902), 231–32). Hins vegar var það þýðing og inngangur Heinrichs von Lenk (Heinrich von Lenk zu Burgheim und Gansheim (ritstj.), *Griseldis auf Island* ([Vínarborg]: [Án útgefanda], [1900 eða 1901])).

Á síðustu öld hefur smám saman bæst við niðurstöður Halldórs. Árið 1953 birti Margaret Schlauch stutta grein þar sem hún kynnti til sögunnar lausamálsgerð varðveitta í tveimur handritum í Konunglega bókasafninu í Stokkhólmi (Margaret Schlauch, „Griselda in Iceland: A Supplement,” *Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies* XXVIII (1953): 363–70). Stuttu síðar, árið 1958 kom svo önnur gerð þjóðsögunnar út („Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,” Íslenskar þjóðsögur og ævintýri V, safnað af Jóni Árnasyni, ritstj. Árni Böðvarsson & Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (Reykjavík: Bókautgáfan Þjóðsaga & Prentsmiðjan Hólar, 1958), 28–29), og er hún annað aðalumfangfjöllunarefnið í þessari grein.

Árið 1989 birti Hubert Seelow næstu stóru rannsóknina á Gríshildarsögunni á Íslandi, þar sem hann benti á þrjár áður óþekktar lausamálsgerðir (Hubert Seelow, *Die isländischen Übersetzungen der deutschen Volksbücher*, 117–32). Rannsóknir greinarhöfundar fyrir Cand. Mag.-verkefni frá Kaupmannahafnarháskóla (Reynir Þór (Tór) Eggertsson, *Mátte jeg dø for dig, mit unge blod! En transmissionsteoretisk undersøgelse af Griseldis i danske og islandske overleveringer*. Cand.Mag.-ritgerð, Kaupmannahafnarháskóli, 2004) afhjúpuðu loks tvennar rímur, annars vegar *Rímur séra Jóns Hjaltalíns um Valtir/Waltara bertoga og Gressilú frá 1816*, og hins vegar *Frásöguna Raunir Gríshildar (þolinmóðu)* frá 1890, eftir Andrés

á tilvist átján íslenskra gerða, í bundnu máli og lausu, sem varðveittar eru í 52 handritum,<sup>10</sup> fyrir utan ritstýrðar prentaðar gerðir upp úr handritum.<sup>11</sup> Hér<sup>12</sup> verður sjónum beint að tveimur þessara átján gerða, þjóðsögum sem gefnar voru út 1864 og 1958, innbyrðis tengsl og mismunur þeirra á milli rannsökuð, bæði í ljósi kenninga um þjóðsögur almennt og einstaka sagnamenn, og grein gerð fyrir áhrifum þeirra á síðari verk.

## Þjóðsögurnar tvær – eða var hún bara ein?

Við fyrstu sýn virðist þjóðsagnasafn Jóns Árnasonar sem gefið var út 1954–61 innihalda tvær þjóðsögur um Gríshildi góðu. Sú fyrri var, eins og áður sagði, fyrst gefin út árið 1864 en hin síðari ekki fyrr en safnið var gefið út að nýju, og þá í 5. bindi árið 1958. Halldór Hermannsson þekkti aðeins til þeirrar þjóðsögu sem birtist 1864 og allar niðurstöður hans um hana, þróun og tengsl við aðrar gerðir Gríshildarsögunnar verður að skoða í því ljósi. Hubert Seelow hefur enda benti á að samhengið sé öllu flóknara.<sup>13</sup>

Jón Árnason vann útgáfu sína 1864 út frá frásögn sem talið er að Ragnhildur Guðmundsdóttir (1836/7–1921) hafi skrifað niður.<sup>14</sup> Hann

Hákonarson. Finnur Sigmundsson hafði reyndar áður nefnt tilvist þeirra síðari en að varðveislan væri óþekkt (Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal I* (Reykjavík: Rímnafélagið, 1966), 177, og *Rímnatal II* (Reykjavík: Rímnafélagið, 1966), 8). Rannsókn greinarhöfundar leiddi í ljós að rímurnar eru varðveittar í einu handriti, uppskrift eftir eiginhandarriti skáldsins, sem byggði verkið á þjóðsögunni frá 1864.

Nítjándi gerðin er hugsanlega til en skv. Finni á Gunnar Ólafsson að hafa kveðið um Gríshildi en þær rímur virðast, að minnsta kosti hingað til, ekki hafa varðveist (Finnur, *Rímnatal I*, 177).

- 10 Þjóðsagnahandrit Jóns Árnasonar, Lbs 533 4to, inniheldur þær tvær gerðir sem fjallað verður um í þessari grein, frásögn Ragnhildar Guðmundsdóttur (á blöðum 176r–78r) og uppkast Jóns Árnasonar fyrir útgáfuna (220r–23r) þannig að handritatextarnir um Gríshildi eru í raun 53.
- 11 Hér á ég við þjóðsagnagerðirnar tvær, prentaðar fyrst 1864 og 1958 og endurprentaðar nokkrum sinnum, rímur Magnúsar Jónssonar á Laugum, prentaðar 1910 (Magnús Jónsson, *Rímur af Gríshildi góðu: eptir gömlu handriti* (Reykjavík: Skúli Thoroddssen, 1910)), fjórar gerðir sem Halldór birti auk þjóðsögunnar í *The Story of Griselda in Iceland* (1914) og frásögnina sem Margaret Schlauch birti árið 1953. Að auki má nefna óútgefnar rafrænar uppskriftir greinarhöfundar úr handritum sem sumar fylgdu Cand.Mag.-ritgerð hans í fylgiskjólum.
- 12 Greinin byggir að hluta til á Cand.Mag.-ritgerð greinarhöfundar, 'Mátte jeg dø for dig, mit unge blod!' *En transmissionsteoretisk undersøgelse af Griseldis i danske og islandske overleveringer*, frá 2004, en þó fremur á síðari rannsóknunum.
- 13 Seelow, *Die isländischen Übersetzungen der deutschen Volksbücher*, 124–25.
- 14 Sjá Lbs 533 4to, blöð 176r–78r. Eins og Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir („Karlar og kerlingar:

gerði þó ýmsar breytingar á frásögninni og lengdi hana talsvert, eins og sést af uppkastinu sem hann skrifaði fyrir útgáfuna.<sup>15</sup> Í raun bjó hann til nýja gerð sem svo hafði áhrif út frá sér, t.a.m. á rímnaskaldið Andrés Hákonarson á Hóli í Önundarfirði (1817–97) sem orti *Frásöguna Raunir Gríshildar (þolinmóðu)* árið 1890 eftir þjóðsögugerð Jóns. Sú gerð sem Árni Böðvarsson og Bjarni Vilhjálmsson gáfu út 1958 byggir aftur á móti beinlínis á texta Ragnhildar eins og hann er í handritinu. Ég tel rétt að líta á handritstexta Ragnhildar sem *frumtexta* þjóðsögunnar, að svo miklu leyti sem hægt er að nota það orð, og gerð Jóns sem síðari tíma breyttan texta, þótt hann hafi fyrr komið út á prenti, og mun ég því fjalla um textana í þeirri röð.

## Frásögn Ragnhildar Guðmundsdóttur

Ragnhildur Guðmundsdóttir er talin skrásetjari<sup>16</sup> sögunnar í sagnakveri því „úr Dölunum“, sem nú er varðveitt sem bls. 315–96 (bl. 161r–201v) í þjóðsagnahandritinu Lbs 533 4to, og hugsanlega var hún sjálf heimildar- maður sumra eða allra þeirra sagna sem raktar eru til hennar í safni Jóns Árnasonar.<sup>17</sup> Hvort það var í raun Ragnhildur sem skræði Gríshildarsöguna og hvort það var eftir eigin minni eða frásögn einhvers annars skiptir þó kannske ekki öllu máli fyrir þessa rannsókn heldur hitt, að þar birtist sagan í ákveðinni mynd þar sem viðhorf sagnamanns og/eða skrásetjara koma

Um heimildarmenn ævintýra og tengslanet Jóns Árnasonar.“ *Kreddur: vefrit um þjóðfræði*, 2013: 10–11) hefur bent á eru engar upplýsingar í handritinu um uppruna frásagnarinnar en í útgáfu Jóns er hún rakin til Ragnhildar, og sagan nefnd í upptalningu á sögum sem Ragnhildur kann (Árni Böðvarsson og Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, „Skýringar og athugasemdir“, *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri. Safnað hefur Jón Árnason II*, ritstj. Árni Böðvarsson og Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Þjóðsaga & Prentsmiðjan Hólar, 1954), 579, sjá einnig athugasemdir Árna og Bjarna við skrifara handritsins Lbs 533 4to, „líklega Ragnhildur Guðmundsdóttir, síðast í Keflavík (315–96)“ í lokabindi safnsins (Árni Böðvarsson og Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, „Handrit og heimildarmenn“, *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri. Safnað hefur Jón Árnason VI*, ritstj. Árni Böðvarsson og Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Þjóðsaga & Prentsmiðjan Hólar, 1961), 54).

15 Uppkast Jóns er að finna í sama handriti, Lbs 533 4to, á blöðum 220r–23r.

16 Í umsögn um handritið á vefnum *Handrit.is* („Lbs 533 4to“, *Handrit.is*, skrásetjari Sigríður H. Jörundsdóttir, sótt 21. janúar 2022 <https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-0533>) er skrásetjari þjóðsögunnar sagður Finnur Þorsteinsson (f. 1818) en það stenst ekki samanburð á rithönd þessara texta við aðra sem vitað er með vissu að hann hafi skrifað.

17 Aðalheiður, „Karlar og kerlingar: Um heimildarmenn ævintýra og tengslanet Jóns Árnasonar,“ 10–12.

fram<sup>18</sup> og til verður nýtt samhengi, bæði við aðrar gerðir Griseldusögunnar og íslenskan sagnaarf.

Frásögn Ragnhildar hefst á orðunum: „Kóngur er nefndur Artus.“ Þannig er sagan strax tengd sagnahefðinni um Artúr konung og riddara hans, en hann er oft kallaður Artus í íslenskum fornsögum. Í þjóðsagnasafni Jóns Árnasonar er að finna sögu sem virðist eiga rætur í þeirri sagnahefð, „Söguna af Artus konungi grimma“.<sup>19</sup>

Eftir upphafskynninguna eru ástæður hjúskaparstöðu kóngsins, sem er ókvæntur, útskýrðar með þessum orðum:

Hann var ætíð seinn á sér og vildi draga alla hluti sem lengst því hann var ætíð tvísýnn og óafgjörðu[r].<sup>20</sup>

Þessi óákveðni kóngsins er í talsverðri mótsögn við þá mynd sem birtist í *Tíðagru* Boccaccios í íslenskri þýðingu Erlings E. Halldórssonar. Þar segir sögumaðurinn Dioneó að ástæður eiginkonuleysis markgreifans séu einfaldlega þær að

[a]ldrei datt honum í hug að kvænast eða koma upp fjölskyldu

enda

eyddi [hann] tíma sínum mestanpart við að veiða, bæði fugla og spendýr.<sup>21</sup>

Má segja að markgreifinn hjá Boccaccio lifi áhyggjulausu lífi þess unga aðalmanns sem hann er en hann er kynntur til sögunnar sem „un giovane“<sup>22</sup> (ungur maður).<sup>23</sup> Í þjóðsögu Ragnhildar er kóngurinn aftur á móti nokkuð roskinn:

18 Sjá umfjöllun Rósu Þorsteinsdóttur um rannsóknir á rússnesku sagnafólki (Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir, *Sagan upp á hvern mann. Átta íslenskir sagnamenn og ævintýrin þeirra* (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2011), 31–32).

19 „Sagan af Artus konungi grimma“, *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 254–57.

20 „Sagan af Grishildi góðu“, *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28. Ég vitna hér í prentuðu útgáfuna sem er nákvæm uppskrift handritsins.

21 Giovanni Boccaccio, *Tíðagra*, þýð. Erlingur E. Halldórsson (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1999), 686.

22 Giovanni Boccaccio, „Griselda“, *Letterature italiana*, [1350], sótt 22. janúar 2022, <https://letteritaliana.weebly.com/griselda.html>.

23 Í íslensku *Tíðagru*þýðingunni er ekki minnst á aldur hans (Boccaccio, *Tíðagra*, 686). Þýðingin hér að ofan, eins og allar þýðingar á tilvitnunum úr öðrum tungumálum eru greinarhöfundar, nema annað sé tekið fram.

Var hann nú orðinn sextugur að aldri<sup>24</sup>

sem þýðir að hann hlýtur að vera um áttætt í sögulok,<sup>25</sup> þótt ekki sé minnst aftur á aldur hans í þjóðsögunni. Það rímar við kenningar Max Lüthi um að hetjur þjóðsagna eldist ekki og að þjóðsögur skorti raunverulega tímavidd, þótt ákveðinn árafjöldi geti liðið eins og í *Þyrnirós*<sup>26</sup> og börn geti orðið fullorðin, eins og gerist hér í þjóðsögunni um Gríshildi góðu.

Hár aldur kóngsins hér er að auki í anda riddarasögugerðar sem Halldór Hermannsson gaf út 1914 þar sem hann er

á sjötugasta ári síns aldurs, þá saga þessi byrjaðist.<sup>27</sup>

Þótt um tíu ára aldursmunur sé á kónginum í þjóðsögunni og riddarasögunni hljóta báðir að teljast gamlir í þjóðsagnaskilningi og hugsanlegt að þær byggji á sama grunni.

Í sögu Ragnhildar er biðilsför kóngsins lýst svo:

Einn dag lét hann söðla handa sér hest sinn og annan með kvenreiðtygjum svo dýrðlegan sem hugsast mátti ... [og] hesta handa tólf sveinum og tólf meyjum ... [og h]onum fylgdu þrjátíu hermenn. (28)

Hér vekur talan tólf athygli en hún er nokkuð algeng í þjóðsögum, sér í lagi þegar kemur að hópastærð<sup>28</sup> auk þess sem lærisveinar Jesú Krists voru jú tólf.

Stuttlega er nefnt að meyjarnar hugsu „hver fyrir sig hver mesta fegurð bæri til að brúka fallega hestinn“ en ekki er minnst á vonbrigði þeirra þegar ljóst er að engin þeirra fær að ríða honum. Í „kotbæ einum“ finnur kóngur Gríshildi, dóttur fátæks svínahirðis, sem

átti á daginn að hirða svín föður síns og þann litla kotbæ með öllu því er gjöra þurfti, því faðir hennar lá í kör og móðir hennar var vesöl líka.<sup>29</sup>

24 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28.

25 Miðað við að hún fæðir fyrsta barn þeirra ári eftir brúðkaupið og svo tvö önnur, hvert á eftir öðru, og eftir skilnaðinn líða svo 16 ár áður en fjölskyldan er sameinuð.

26 Max Lüthi, *The European Folktale: form and nature*, þýð. John D. Niles (Bloomington og Indianapolis: Indiana University Press), 19.

27 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ Halldór, *The Story of Griselda in Iceland*, 24.

28 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28. 29 Lüthi, *The European Folktale*, 32–33.

29 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28.

Í hefðbundnum Griseldusögum utan Íslands er móðir hennar ekki nefnd til sögunnar og þegar markgreifinn biður um hönd Griseldu eru viðbrögð föðurins við bónorðinu oftast undrun og hræðsla, þótt svarið sé iðulega jákvætt.<sup>30</sup> Hér í þjóðsögunni bregst svínahirðirinn aftur á móti fremur illa við, telur bónorðið „spott“ en kerling svarar að það sé „þó virðingar-skarnið!“

Karl og kóngur kýta um hrið og segist

kóngur þá eiga so mikið ráð að hann tæki dóttur þeirra ef hann ætlaði sér,

og þegar Gríshildur kemur inn,

tók Artus hana á kné sér og kyssti hana. (28)

Karlinn bregst ókvæða við og ekki batnar það þegar dóttirin, sem hann telur „einka-ellistoð“ sína, er færð „í fagran skruða“ og kynnt fyrir föru-neyti kóns.

Enn eitt atriðið í frásögn Ragnildar sem sker sig úr í samanburði við Griselduhefðina er lýsingin á viðbrögðum hirðarinnar við þessari upphefð Gríshildar: „var fúll svipur yfir allri fylgdinni.“ Þessi óánægja fær þó ekki frekari umfjöllun í frásögninni en þegar kóngur rekur Gríshildi aftur heim

sagði karlinn faðir hennar að sona hefði þetta legið í huga sínum.

30 Boccaccio nefnir viðbrögð hans ekki (Boccaccio, *Tidagra*, 688), hjá Petrarcha er gamli maðurinn „stupefactus“ (undrandi) og „obriguit (stjarfur), en svarar „[n]ichil ... atu velle debeo aut nolle, nisi quod placitum tibi sit, qui dominus meus es“ (ekkert ætti ég að vilja og engu hafna, nema sé það þinn vilji, þú sem ert minn herra, Petrarcha, „Francisci Petrarce, Poete Laureati, de Insigni Obedientia et Fide Uxoris ad Johannem Bocacium de Certaldo,“ 192), og í dönsku almúgabókinni frá 1592 eru viðbrögðin svipuð og hjá Petrarcha: „Den fattige gamle Mand forskrack / hand bleff saa forfærit at hand i lang tiid icke kunde suare / Dog paa det siste met stor suck oc retzle suarede hand til disse ord oc sagde: Herre / aldrig skal ieg andet ville end du vilt / oc dig behager / Helst fordi / du est min alder kærste Herre“ (gamli fátæki maðurinn varð hræddur, hann varð svo dauðskelkaður að hann gat ekki svarað í langan tíma. Þó að lokum svaraði hann þessum orðum með þungu andvarpi og hræðslu og sagði: Herra, aldrei mun ég annað vilja en þú vilt og þér hentar, mest þar sem þú ert minn allra kærasti herra, *Griseldís. Tuende deylige oc Nyttelige Historier at læse. Den Første om Griseldís. Den Anden om en Docters Daatter aff Bononia / Aff huilcke Historier alle ærlige Quinder maa begribe gode lærdom / oc besynderlige at haffue gaat taalmodighed* (Lübeck: Affwerus Krøger, 1592), 6r, sótt 4. ágúst 2022, <https://archive.org/details/den-kbd-pil-130018148987-001/page/n20/mode/2up>).



Ári eftir brúðkaupið byrjar Artus kóngur að sannreyna hlýðni Gríshildar sem hann hefur þó aldrei krafist hér í þjóðsögunni. Hún færir fyrst mjög frítt meybarn

og er það lá í reifum í kjöltu hennar kom einn konungsþjón og tók barnið og sýndist henni hann drepa það og í burtu fara.

Síðar færir hún tvö sveinbörn „og sami maður tók öll.“<sup>31</sup> Gríshildur eignast sem sé þrjú börn í stað tveggja hjá Boccaccio og Petrarca. Eins og Axel Olrik benti á er þrítekningin eitt af lögmálum þjóðsagna,<sup>32</sup> og því ekki óeðlilegt að Gríshildur eignist hér þrjú börn.

Samkvæmt Griselduhefðinni eru viðbrögð persónunnar við barnsmissinum ætíð þau sömu, hún sýnir engin svipbrigði en biður þess að þau verði ekki „að fæðu fyrir dýr eða fugla“.<sup>33</sup> Í þjóðsögu Ragnhildar eru viðbrögð hennar á annan hátt, eins og kemur fram í svari þjónsins þegar Artus spurði „hvurnin hún bæri sig við barnamissirinn“:

í fyrsta sinn hefði hún brugðið litum, orðið eldrjóð við annað, en grátið sárt við það þriðja.<sup>34</sup>

Gríshildur Ragnhildar sýnir sem sé alltaf sorgarviðbrögð og þau verða meiri eftir því sem missirinn eykst. Þetta er í samræmi við kenningu Olriks um „stigende række“ (stigmögnun) sem einnig er nátengd þrítekningarlögmálinu:

Når folkedigtningen har sådan forkærlighed for gentagelsen, synes det navnlig at have sin årsag i at den mangler midler til at udmale den enkelte situation tilstrækkelig fyldig; kun gennem gentagelsen når den til at give en forestilling om hvor væsentligt et moment det pågældende er.<sup>35</sup>

(Dálæti munnmælaskáldskapar á endurtekningunni virðist eiga rætur í því að hann skorti áhöld til að lýsa einstökum atburði fyllilega;

31 Sama rit, 28..

32 Axel Olrik, „Episke love i folkedigtningen“, *Danske studier*, 1908, 81.

33 Boccaccio, *Tidægra*, 689–90.

34 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu“, *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og avintýri* V, 28.

35 Olrik, „Episke love i folkedigtningen“, 82–83.

einungis með endurtekningu næst að skapa mynd af því hversu afgerandi atburðurinn er).

Kóngur hættir þó ekki prófunum, heldur lætur sem hann viti ekkert um hvarf barnanna og spyr Gríshildi hvar þau séu, og þegar

hún féll honum um háls og kyssti fætur hans og sagði að hans bezt þénari hefði fyrir sínum augum myrt þau og burtu farið [...]agði Artus að hún kæmi ekki oftar fyrir sín augu.<sup>36</sup>

Þetta er talsvert öðruvísi<sup>37</sup> en hjá Boccaccio þar sem skilnaðurinn er fyrst „mörgum árum“ eftir fæðingu dótturinnar og ekki refsing fyrir dauða barnanna, heldur segist markgreifinn þar ætla að giftast annarri eiginkonu, „miklu samboðnari“ sinni stétt.<sup>38</sup> Út frá kenningu Lüthis um tímaleysi í þjóðsögum<sup>39</sup> skiptir þó í raun engu máli fyrir frásögnina hvort skilnaðurinn verði rétt eftir barnamissinn eða rétt fyrir endurkomu barnanna, heldur er það einungis röð atburðanna sem þarf að vera rétt.

Sextán<sup>40</sup> árum eftir skilnaðinn í þjóðsögu Ragnhildar „gerir Artus ströng boð til Gríshildar“, hann ætli að kvænast kóngsdóttur og hún skuli þjóna honum og brúði hans „til sængur og komst hún ekki undan þessu.“

Tötrum klædd heldur Gríshildur til hallar og þegar brúðhjónin ganga til sængur

36 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28–29.

37 Fleiri íslenskar gerðir hafa skilnaðinn strax eftir sonarmissinn, t.d. rímur Eggerts Jónssonar (1. ríma, vísur 61–67, sjá Eggert, *Tvær Ríjmur af Grísjillá*, í handritinu AM 132 I 8vo, bl. 4r–v).

38 Boccaccio, *Tidægra*, 690–91.

39 Lüthi, *The European Folktale*, 19.

40 Í latnesku gerð Petrarca líða tólf ár frá fæðingu dótturinnar að skilnaðinum (Petrarca, „Francisci Petrarce, Poete Laureati, de Insigni Obedientia et Fide Uxoris ad Johannem Bocacium de Certaldo,“ 208), og þannig er það í þýskri þýðingu Steinhöwels (Heinrich Steinhöwel, „Griseldis,“ Ursula Hess, *Heinrich Steinhöwels 'Griseldis'*, 209) og flestum dönsku almúgabókunum (t.d. *Griseldis*, 1592, 13v, sótt 4. ágúst 2022, <https://archive.org/details/den-kbd-pil-130018148987-001/page/n36/mode/2up>). Talan sextán virðist þó upprunnin í danskri útgáfu sögunnar frá síðari hluta 18. aldar (t.d. *Historie om en fattig Bondedaatter, navnlig Griselde, fra en liden Bye i Valland, som Herr Marggrev Volter tog til Ægte, og hvorledes hun af ham maatte udstaae mange store og haarde Fristelser, hvilke hun dog alle med største Taalmodighbed overvandt* [án ártals]: 17). Sjö varðveittar danskar útgáfur innihalda töluna sextán, fimm án ártals, og svo tvær frá annars vegar 1799 og hins vegar 1819.

vill Artus ekki annað ljós hafa en Gríshildur haldi á litlum stubbi sem rétt sé dauður.

Hún horfir á kóng, mjög stirðan, fara upp í og þegar hann segir að ljósið sé að deyja

er sagt að kviknað hafi á gómum hennar og hún hafi þá sagt: „Sárt brenna fingurnir, en sárara brennur hjartað.“<sup>41</sup>

Þessi orð Gríshildar sem hún segir hér óspurð er, að því er greinarhöfundur veit, hvergi að finna í Gríseldufrásögnum, íslenskum eða evrópskum, annars staðar en í þjóðsögu Ragnhildar og í kjölfarið ögn umorðuð í útgáfu Jóns og svo rímum Andrésar. Betur verður vikið að þeim og senunni í heild sinni í sérkafla síðar í greininni.

Kóngur svarar þessum orðum Gríshildar:

„Ég er nú að sýna góðlyndi og þolinmæði þína. Þetta er þín og mín eigin dóttir.“

Þessi orð kónigs má skilja sem hann sjálfur þekki – og hafi jafnvel alltaf þekkt – góðlyndi hennar og þolinmæði, og að raunir hennar séu einungis til að sýna öðrum – og hugsanlega henni sjálfri – fram á að hún hafi þessar dyggðir til að bera, en eins og áður sagði krafðist hann aldrei að Gríshildur sýndi honum fulla hlýðni, eins og í hefðbundnum Gríseldusögum.

Synir þeirra, sem ásamt dótturinni „voru alin upp í öðru landi“, eru líka komnir til hallarinnar og „verður nú gleði mikil“ og sagði kóngurinn:

„Hvur mundi þetta hafa getað? Og gef ég henni nú það nafn að hún heiti Gríshildur góða.“<sup>42</sup>

Það er því kóngurinn sem ákveður viðurnefni konu sinnar.

Eins og sést er frásögn Ragnhildar stutt og án mikilla málalenginga, Artus kóngur er óákveðinn persónuleiki, þrátt fyrir nokkuð háan aldur sinn, en tekur svo af skarið eftir ítrekaða áeggjan ráðgjafa sinna. Hann tekur Gríshildi fyrir eiginkonu þvert gegn vilja föður hennar, eignast með

41 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 29.

42 Sama rit.

henni þrjú börn sem öll eru tekin af henni, refsar henni með skilnaði en sækir hana svo aftur sextán árum síðar til að reyna hollustu hennar í síðasta sinni. Þrátt fyrir að sýna miklar tilfinningar, samanborið við hina hefðbundnu Giletu-persónu, stenst Gríshildur öll próf og fær viðurnefnið *góða* en ekki þolinmóða, eins og hefð er fyrir. Snúum okkur þá að gerð Jóns Árnasonar og þeim breytingum sem hann gerði á frásögn Ragnhildar fyrir útgáfuna 1864.

## Ritstýrð útgáfa Jóns Árnasonar og breytingar hans

Þýski háskólaprófessorinn Konrad Maurer (1823–1902) var einn ötulasti bakhjarl Jóns Árnasonar og þjóðsagnaútgáfu hans og kom meðal annars á samningum við útgefendurna í Leipzig. Í aðdraganda útgáfunnar skrifuðust þeir reglulega á og í bréfum Jóns koma fram ýmsar vangaveltur um útgáfumálin. Í einu bréfi, frá 17. september 1859, veltir hann fyrir sér hvort og hvernig skyldi gefa frásagnirnar út þannig að þær kæmu til að mynda ekki illa við eftirlifandi ættingja sögupersóna eða móðguðu heimildarmenn og að þar gæti verið erfitt „að synda laglega milli skers og báru“. Í því samhengi nefnir hann hvernig söguefnið er kynnt í sænsku þjóðsagnasafni, danskri þýðingu Grimmsævintýra og enskri þýðingu á ýmsum sögum úr sænsku, dönsku og þýsku.<sup>43</sup>

Af orðum Jóns í bréfinu má ætla að hann hafi viljað sýna fólki nærgætni en að sama skapi gerði hann sér ljóst að hann gæti og mætti laga það til sem honum þætti nauðsynlegt. Með samanburði á frásögn sagnakonunnar og skrásetjarans Ragnhildar og útgefnum texta ritstjórans Jóns á Gríshildarsögunni næst þannig fram mynd af þeim breytingum sem hann gerði. Gegnum greiningu og túlkun á þessum breytingum afhjúpast svo annars vegar viðhorf einstaklingsins Jóns, og hugsanlega samtíma hans, og hins vegar endurspeglar breytingarnar þekkingu ritstjórans á íslenskum og evrópskum bókmennta- og sagnaarfi. Á sama tíma myndast með ritstýrðri útgáfu Jóns á frásögn Ragnhildar enn nýtt sagnasamhengi. Það sést þegar í upphafi sögunnar sem Jón lætur hefjast svo:

Einu sinni var kóngur í ríki sínu og átti hvorki konu né börn.<sup>44</sup>

43 Jón Árnason, *Úr förum Jóns Árnasonar. Sendibréf. Fyrra bindi*, ritstj. Finnur Sigmundsson (Reykjavík: Hlaðbúð, 1950), 142.

44 „Sagan af Gríshildi göðu,“ *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og afintýri* II, 415.

Hér er kóngurinn nafnlaus og aldur hans er ekki nefndur. Ástæður þess að Jón velur að fjarlægja nafn kóngsins eru ókunnar en leiða má líkum að því að hann hafi ekki viljað tengja söguna sagnahefðinni um Artúr konung. Með þessu nafnleysi kóngsins og upphafsfrasanum sem fjölmörg ævintýri í safni Jóns hefjast á „einu sinni var kóngur í ríki sínu“, verður frásögnin auk þess líkari hefðbundnum ævintýrum.

Eyðir kóngur jafnan umræðum vildarmanna sinna um „að hann ætti eingan réttborinn ríkis erfingja“ en Jón útskýrir ekki áhugaleysi hans á hjónabandi. Sá dagur rennur þó upp að hann lætur

söðla tuttugu hesta, tíu handa karlmönnum og tíu handa konum,

Útgáfa Jóns á Þjóðsögunni kom út 1864, eða rúmum fjörtíu árum áður en Axel Olrik gaf út grein sína um lögmál þjóðsagna, „Episke love i folkedigtningen“ (1908). Því væri erfitt að halda því fram að Jón hafi meðvitað brotið lögmál sem síðari tíma fræðimaður sýndi fram á. Jón gerir þó ákveðnar breytingar á þjóðsögunni sem draga úr eðlisuppbyggingu hennar og tilvitnunin hér að ofan inniheldur dæmi um það. Samkvæmt þjóðsöguhefðum eru hópar iðulega skipaðir þremur, sjö eða tólf manns,<sup>45</sup> en hér hefur Jón breytt því í tíu karla og tíu konur. Hugsanlega var það alþjóðlega metrakerfið sem byggir á grunntölunni tíu og ruddi sér til rúms á 19. öld sem hafði áhrif á Jón hér. Það er að minnst kosti athyglisvert að hann valdi að nota ekki töluna tólf eins og í frásögn Ragnhildar.

Jón gerir mun meira úr áhuga hirðmeyjanna á hestinum sem lagður er logagylltum kvensöðli:

Fóru þá hirðmeyjar kóngs að tala um það, hver þeirra mundi nú njóta þeirrar upphafar að fá að ríða í gullna söðlinum, og vildu allar verða fyrir því, og þóktist hver um sig vera þess maklegust. En þetta fór öðru vísi, en þær ætluðu ...<sup>46</sup>

Hér lætur Jón hirðmeyjarnar metast opinskátt um það hver sé þess verðugust að ríða hrossinu og svo ýjar hann að vonbrigðum þeirra án þess þó að nefna þau berum orðum. Þessi breyting Jóns, frá þögulli von kvennanna um að verða fyrir valinu í frásögn Ragnhildar í háværan meting, breytir persónuleikum þeirra umtalsvert og er hugsanlega

45 Lüthi, *The European Folktale*, 32–33.

46 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* II, 415.

eitt mýmargra dæma um þá kvenfyrirlitningu sem margir karlkyns þjóðsagnasafnarar og -ritstjórar gerðu sig seka um, þar sem þeir gerðu markvisst lítið úr kvenpersónunum, drógu úr jákvæðum eiginleikum þeirra, sér í lagi sjálfstæði, völdum og styrk, og ýttu þannig undir neikvæð viðhorf til kvenna og stúlkna almennt. Þessar breytingar eru þáttur í því sem Jack Zipes, sem rannsakað hefur elstu gerðir Rauðhettusögunnar, kallar siðvæðingarferli („civilizing process“) þjóðsagnanna í prentuðum útgáfum fyrir börn af efri borgarastétt þar sem vald karlpersóna eykst á kostnað kvenpersóna.<sup>47</sup> Við sjáum fleiri dæmi um þennan kynjahalla síðar í greininni.

Ferðalagi hópsins að „húsabæ einum“ er lýst með nokkuð fleiri orðum en í frásögn Ragnhildar þar sem hann

47 Jack Zipes, *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood. Versions of the Tale in Socio-cultural Context* (Lundúnir: Heinemann, 1983), 13. Zipes bendir á dæmi um þetta í ævintýrum Charles Perraults (1628–1703) frá 1697, þar sem hann gerir m.a. Rauðhettupersónuna, sem í frönskum munnmælasögum hafði verið „ákveðin, hugrökk og klók“ bóndastúlka („forthright, brave, and shrewd“ „peasant girl“, sama rit, 9) sem „platar úlfinn með klókindum og bjargar sér sjálf, án hjálpar frá ömmu, veiðimanni eða föður“ („shrewdly outwits the wolf and saves herself. No help from granny, hunter, or father!“, sama rit, 7) „fallega, ofdekraða, auðtrúa og ósjálfbjarga“ („pretty, spoiled, gullible, and helpless“, sama rit, 9). Í Þýskalandi gerðu Grimms-bræðurnir sambærilegar breytingar á þjóðsögnum sem þeir gáfu út á 19. öld. Í yfirlitgrein um feminískar þjóðsagnarannsóknir vitnar Donald Haase m.a. til rannsókna Ruth. B. Bottigheimer sem „sýndi í greinaröð frá 1980 til 1985 fram á hvernig ritstjórnaraðgerðir bræðranna – þar á meðal þeim sem virðast einfaldar orðalagsbreytingar – veiktu kvenpersónur sem [í niðurskrifuðum munnmælasögum] voru sterkar, gerðu valdamiklar konur djöfullegar, bættu við karllægu sjónarhorni í sögum þar sem konur vöktu máls á óánægju sinni, og gerðu kvenhetjur valdalausar með því að gera þær mállausar“ („In a series of articles from 1980 to 1985, Bottigheimer demonstrated how the Grimms’ editorial interventions – including their apparently simple lexical revisions – weakened once-strong female characters, demonized female power, imposed a male perspective on stories voicing women’s discontents, and rendered heroines powerless by depriving them of speech.“ Donald Haase, „Feminist Fairy-Tale Scholarship,“ *Fairy Tales and Feminism. New Approaches*, ritstj. Donald Haase (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), 11).

Í íslensku samhengi má annars vegar nefna rannsókn Baldurs Hafstaðs á því hvernig sífjaspell og kynferðisleg misnotkun gagnvart dætrum af hálfu feðra hvarf þegar Öskubuska og aðrar þjóðsögur með sama minni voru prentaðar; í eldri gerðum Öskubuskusagnanna voru það ekki eingöngu stjúpán og stjúpusturnar sem beittu söguhetjuna ofbeldi, heldur einnig faðirinn, með sífjaspelli (Baldur Hafstað, „Mjaðveig og Öskubuska“, *Hrafnahing* 2 (2005): 20). Hins vegar sýndi rannsókn Aðalheiðar Guðmundsdóttur á mismunandi gerðum *Úlfhams sögu* hvernig rímnaskáldið og fræðamaðurinn Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík (1705–79) dró úr hlutverki sterkra kvenna í rímnagerð sinni (B-gerð) en jók að sama skapi hlut karlanna (Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, „Inngangur,“ *Úlfhams saga*, útg. Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2001), cxxiii–vi).

reið lengi dags að ekki talaði hann [kóngurinn] við neinn og enginn þorði á hann að yrða.<sup>48</sup>

Í gerð Jóns

vissi [enginn], hvert kóngur ætlaði og einginn vildi spyrja hann þess. Þegar reiðfólkið kom nokkuð frá borginni, sá það, að kóngur stefndi út á skóg. Reið það svo leingi og réð kóngur ferðinni<sup>49</sup>

Þangað til þau koma á áfangastað. Tónninn breytist talsvert þegar „enginn þorði á hann að yrða“ er skipt út fyrir „einginn vildi spyrja hann þess“. Hjá Ragnhildi var samferðafólkið greinilega hrætt við að tala við kóng að fyrra bragði en hjá Jóni kemur hvergi fram að ekki hafi verið rætt við kónginn um annað, þótt hirðfólkið hafi ekki viljað spyrja hvert ferðinni væri heitið.

Hjá Ragnhildi gekk kóngur beint inn og hitti svínahirðinn en hér kemur Gríshildur sjálf „óvenju frið og fögur“ til dyra þegar kóngur bankar. Þannig lætur Jón hana kynna sjálfa sig og foreldra sína til sögunnar sem svar við spurningum kóningsins.

Framkoma kóningsins er öll mun formlegri í gerð Jóns. Hjá Ragnhildi gekk hann beint inn og segir að Gríshildur „skuli verða sín eiginkona“<sup>50</sup> en hjá Jóni segist hann „hafa erindi við“ foreldra hennar og

heilsaði þeim karli og kerlingu, og sagðist vera kominn þess erindis að biðja dóttur þeirra.

Karl bregst illa við og spáir því að

víst mundi hann [kóngur] finna aðrar konur, sem honum fyndist sèr meira jafnræði í annarstaðar, ... mundi honum innan skamms þykja lítið til hennar koma og líklega reka hana frá sèr með skömm.<sup>51</sup>

Hjá Ragnhildi var það fyrst eftir á, við heimkomu Gríshildar eftir skilnaðinn, að karlinn sagði

að sona hefði þetta legið í huga sínum ...<sup>52</sup>

48 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28.

49 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* II, 415.

50 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28.

51 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* II, 415.

52 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28.

Jón lætur kóng sýna meiri biðlund en í frásögn Ragnhildar og það er ekki fyrr en eftir þessi neikvæðu viðbrögð karlsins að

[k]óngur firtist þessum ummælum karls, og læzt mundi hafa vald til að taka dóttur hans að honum fornspurðum.<sup>53</sup>

Mestar breytingar telur greinarhöfundur Jón þó gera á hlutverki kerlingar í þessum samskiptum. Hvorki Boccaccio né Petrarcha minntust á móðurina og hún var næsta ósýnileg í frásögn Ragnhildar en hér fær hún það hlutverk að blíðka kóng og miðla málum:

Kerling var öll auðunnari, og vildi mýkja málin fyrir karlinn, og bað kóng að erfa ekki ummæli manns síns, því hann væri armæddur af elliburðum, sem legðust svo þúngt á hann og gætti þess vegna ekki ávalt að stýra túngu sinni.

Hún reynir líka að friða eiginmanninn, bað að hann tæki

öllum málum kóns vel og blíðlega

enda

væri það [þeim] til vegs og sóma, ef kóngur ætti dóttur þeirra,

jafnvel þótt það yrði bara í skamma stund, og loks

[f]ór þá svo fyrir umtölur kerlingar að þau karl föstnuðu kóngi Gríshildi.<sup>54</sup>

Einhver gætu undrast þessa nýbreytni Jóns, að stækka svona hlutverk móðurinnar, og talið það í mótsögn við þá tilhneigingu sem fjallað var um hér að framan, að draga úr gildi kvenpersóna. Á hinn bóginn má einmitt líta á framlag móðurinnar til þess að koma á hjónabandi milli Gríshildar og kónsins sem hluta af því siðvæðingarferli þjóðsagnanna, sem Zipes benti á, þar sem valdefling karla af efri stéttum er aðalatriðið.

Gríshildur sjálf beið utandyra á meðan þessu fór fram og fær fyrst að vita hvað til standi þegar kóngur segir henni að

53 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og afintýri* II, 415.

54 Sama rit.

55 Sama rit.



stíga á bak hestinum með gylta söðlinum.

Ragnhildur minntist ekki á viðbrögð hennar við bónorðinu en hér

datt ofan yfir Gríshildi og þókti þessu heldur fljótráðið.

Kóngur setur henni þá afarkosti,

ef hún vildi ekki fara með góðu, mundi hann láta hafa hana burtu með sér með valdi.

Það er ljóst að Gríshildi var þetta þungbært þegar hún „kvaddi foreldra sína grátandi,“ en eftir brúðkaupið „tókust [þó] með þeim góðar ástir.“<sup>55</sup> Enn og aftur sér lesandinn að kóngur hafði rétt fyrir sér og vald hans því styrkt í frásögninni.

Eins og áður kom fram brást hirðfólkið hjá Ragnhildi fremur illa við fyrirhuguðu brúðkaupi („var full svipur yfir allri fylgdinni“) en svo er ekki minnst aftur á neina óánægju með ráðahaginn.<sup>56</sup> Jón gerir meira úr þessu og eftir brúðkaupið undu

[h]irðmenn kóngs ... því illa, að hann hafði tekið sér drottningu af svo lágum stigum, og reyndu til með öllu móti að spilla kóngi við hana.

Þetta olli því að „kóngur varð fálátari við drottningu“ sem útskýrt er með því að „enda var hann einrænn í lund.“<sup>57</sup> Þannig má segja að Jón undirbúi jarðveginn fyrir það sem koma skal í frásögninni, og útskýri óbeint ástæður þess að kóngur lætur fjarlægja börnin, og geri á sama tíma minna úr þeirri mannvönsku sem kóngur sýnir konu sinni og börnum.

Hjá Jóni eignast Gríshildur einungis tvö börn, dóttur og son. Það að Jón brjóti þannig, ómeðvitað, þrítekningarlögmál þjóðsagna, sem minnst var á hér áður, bendir til þess að hann hafi þekkt til tveggja barna hefðarinnar í Griselðusögunum og valið að fylgja henni.

Við fæðingu dótturinnar segir kóngur að Gríshildur skuli „gæta þess [barnsins] vel.“ Þegar hann svo skipar einum af

55 Sama rit, 415–16.

56 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28.

57 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* II, 416.

vildismönnum sínum ... að taka frá henni barnið

á hann einnig að

gá að, hvort henni bregði nokkuð.

Nauðugur fer maðurinn og tekur barnið gegn vilja móðurinnar sem biður „hann að láta barnið vera,“ en hún bregst við þeim orðum hans

að kóngur hefði boðið sér að taka það

með því að gráta hástöfum. Barnið er síðan sent í fóstur hjá frænda kóngs „eða föðurbróður.“ Ári síðar fæðir Gríshildur son en allan þann tíma

þorði [hún] ekki að kvarta um þessa meðferð við kóng, enda spurði hann aldrei eptir barninu ...

Stuttu eftir fæðinguna lætur kóngur taka soninn og bætir sögumaður þar við

[e]n svo illa sem drottning barst af áður eptir dótturmissinn, undi hún þó enn ver sonarmissinum, og grèt sáran, þegar hann var borinn burtu.<sup>58</sup>

Í frásögn Ragnhildar sáum við að sorg Gríshildar jókst stigvaxandi við barnamissinn, frá dótturinni til sonanna tveggja. Þrítækningin og stigmögnun sorgarinnar byggðu upp ljósa mynd af því sem Olrik kallaði afgerandi atburð („et væsentligt moment“),<sup>59</sup> sem hér er barnsmisur. Það eru því fremur endurtekin og ítrekuð áföll móðurinnar sem ollu þessum auknu sorgarviðbrögðum en kyn barnanna. Í útgáfu Jóns er aftur á móti augljóslega um kynjamun að ræða, þar sem sonur er meira virði en dóttir. Engin eldri íslensku gerðanna sem varðveittar eru inniheldur neitt þessu líkt, en í þremur þeirra er þó tekið fram að Gríshildarpersónan andvarpi mæðilega eða stynji þungan þegar eiginmaðurinn segir henni frá ákvörðun sinni að láta drepa soninn, eins og dótturina,<sup>60</sup> en hvergi er þó ýjað að því

58 Sama rit.

59 Olrik, „Episke love i folkedigtningen“, 83.

60 Hún „andvarpar mæðilega“ („Æfintýr af einum hertoga, er kallast Valtari,“ Halldór, *The Story of Griselda in Iceland*, 10). „[Þ]úgangur [hún] Stundi“ í rímum Jóns Hjaltalíns, rímu 3, vísu 49 (Jón, *Rímur um Valtir/Waltara hertoga og Gressilu*, sjá t.d. handritið Lbs 2901 8vo, bl. 10v), sem byggir á fyrrnefndu Æfintýri, og það gerir hún einnig í riddarasögu Magnúsar

að það sé tilhugsunin um sonarmissinn sem auki sorgina. Með þessari athugasemd, sem virðist nýbreytni hjá Jóni og hugsanlega enn eitt dæmi um kvenfyrirlitninguna sem minnst var á hér að ofan, eyðir hann um leið stigmögnuninni út úr þjóðsögunni.

Stuttu eftir hvarf sonarins vill kóngur fá að sjá börnin og lætur sem hann viti ekkert um hvarf þeirra. Viðbrögðum Gríshildar við þessari ósk hans er lýst svo:

Við það ýfðust enn upp harmar hennar, svo hún flóði öll í tárur og sagði að börnin hefðu verið tekin frá sèr eptir hans undirlagi, svo hún gæti ekki sýnt honum þau, og mætti hann bezt vita, hvað um þau væri orðið.

Kóngur bregst „reiður“ við þessum tilsvörum, sakar hana um morð og lygar og skipar henni

hamslaus af bræði ... að snauta burtu og koma aldrei fyrir augu sín optar, sagði að hún hefði unnið til þess að hún væri drepin.<sup>61</sup>

Þannig teiknar sögumaður Jóns smám saman mynd af vondum og duttlungafulllum kóngi sem móðgast þegar bónorðið er ekki samþykkt tafarlaust, verður reiður þegar kona hans segir honum sannleikann um hvarf barnanna og loks „hamslaus af bræði“ þegar hann rekur hana á brott. Þrátt fyrir þessa neikvæðu mynd af kónginum verða völd hans yfir lífi hennar og barnanna skýrari og afdráttarlausari í samræmi við áður nefnda valdeflingu karlpersóna á kostnað kvenpersóna.

Eins og hjá Ragnhildi dvelur Gríshildur í foreldrahúsum í sextán ár áður en kóngur sendir menn til að biðja hana um að

vera forgångskona með matreiðslu í brúðkaupi sínu, sem hann ætlaði að halda sama daginn.

Bæði hún og foreldrar hennar eru treg til að hlýða þessari bón en hún lét sig þó hafa það og

þókti henni fara það af milli snild og skörúngskap ...

í Tjaldanesi (Magnús Jónsson (í Tjaldanesi), *Sagan af Gríshildi Drottningu hinni þolinmóðu*, sjá t.d. handritið Lbs 1494 4to, bl. 206v).

61 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og æfintýri* II, 416.

Líkt og í frásögn Ragnhildar lætur kóngur Gríshildi fylgja brúðhjúnonum til hvílu að kvöldi brúðkaupsdagsins og lýsa þeim með litlu *kertisskari* meðan þau háttu. Þegar skarið var

svo brunnið, að það logaði á berum gómunum

spyr kóngur „hvort hún brenni sig ekki.“ Hér verður staðhæfing hennar, ögn breytt frá fyrri þjóðsögunni:

„Sárt brenna gómarnir, en sárar brennur hjartað“

að svari við spurningu og hjá Jóni fellir hún líka tár um leið. Þá loks „þoldi kóngur ekki leingur að horfa á hana,“ segir henni sannleikann um börn þeirra tvö og biður hana „með mörgum orðum fyrirgefningar.“<sup>62</sup> Líkt og hjá Ragnhildi er það svo kóngurinn sem gefur Gríshildi nýja viðurnefnið, *góða*.

Frásögn Jóns er eins og sést lengri og að mestu ítarlegri en frásögn Ragnhildar og lýsingarnar hjá honum á orðum, gerðum og viðbrögðum persónanna gefa fyllri mynd af persónuleikum þeirra. Þannig birtist Gríshildur skýrar sem fórnarlamb illsku kóngsins, píslarvottur sem er þvinguð í hjónaband, reynir að stöðva hvarf dótturinnar með orðum, hrakin á brott fyrir að segja sannleikann, reynir að neita bóninni um að þjóna fyrrverandi eiginmanni og nýrri brúði hans á brúðkaupsdaginn og -nóttina. Aldrei dylur persónan tilfinningar sínar heldur grætur hún þegar hún kveður foreldra sína, þegar börnin eru tekin af henni og þegar hún er rekin úr höllinni. Þó stenst hún próf eiginmannsins. Gríshildur sýnir ekki einungis þolinmæði, sem er hennar helsta dyggð, heldur einnig góðlyndi sem aukinheldur er nefnt fyrst og fær enn aukið vægi sem viðurnefni. Í frásögn Ragnhildar segir kóngur einfaldlega að hann sé

að sýna góðlyndi og þolinmæði<sup>63</sup>

hennar. Eins og áður var bent á má skilja þessi orð kóngs á þá lund að hann sjálfur þekki þessar dyggðir hennar og sé með raunum hennar einungis að gera öðrum þær ljósar. Aftur á móti velur Jón að breyta og auka við orð kóngs:

62 Sama rit, 417.

63 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og avintýri* V, 29.

Eg hefi nú reynt góðlyndi þitt og þolinmæði til hlítar með öllu því, sem fram við þig hefir komið ...<sup>64</sup>

Jón sýnir hér með notkuninni á sagnorðinu *reyna* að breytingar hans byggja að einhverju leyti á þekkingu hans á annarri eða öðrum gerðum Gríseldusögunnar, íslenskum eða erlendum, t.d. segist markgreifinn vera að „forsøge“ (reyna) hana og/eða „friste“ (freista) hennar í elstu dönsku gerðum sögunnar<sup>65</sup> en í yngri gerðum eru nafnorðin „prøve“ (próf) og „prøvelse“ (hugraun) og/eða sagnorðið „prøve“ (reyna) notuð.<sup>66</sup>

Þær breytingar sem Jón gerir á frásögninni eins og Ragnhildur skrifaði hana niður má skipta í þrjá aðalflokka. Í fyrsta lagi bætir hann við þar sem frásögn hennar er heldur stuttaraleg. Þá lagar hann að Gríselduhefðinni sumar þær breytingar sem orðið hafa í munnmælum, t.a.m. barnafjöldann úr þremur börnum í tvö og fjarlægir hugsanleg tengsl við aðrar sagnahefðir þegar hann gerir kónginn nafnlausan. Í þriðja lagi virðist hann undir áhrifum frá tíðarandanum þegar hann eykur áhrif og völd kóningsins og annarra karlpersóna á kostnað kvenpersónanna. Samanlagt gera breytingar Jóns raddir ráðandi samfélagsafla, s.s. aðalsins og karla almennt, sýnilegri. Jón bjó í raun til nýja gerð sögunnar og líta verður á hana sem sjálfstæðan texta, óháðan frásögn Ragnhildar, ekki síst í ljósi áhrifa hans á rímnaskáldið Andrés Hákonarson sem fjallað verður um í næsta kafla.

## Rímur Andrésar Hákonarsonar

Andrés Hákonarson á Hóli í Önundarfirði var þekkt rímnaskáld<sup>67</sup> en rímur hans þrjár um Gríshildi frá 1890 voru þó, eins og áður kom fram í

64 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og afintýri II*, 417.

65 Sjá t.d. *Griseldis*, 1592, 9v og 11v, sótt 4. ágúst 2022, <https://archive.org/details/den-kbd-pil-130018148987-001/page/n26/mode/2up>, og <https://archive.org/details/den-kbd-pil-130018148987-001/page/n30/mode/2up>.

66 Sjá t.d. *En meget mærkvædig Historie om Grysælde, en fattig Bondepige, født i en liden Landsbye i Italien, som Markgræve Wolder tog tilægte; samt hvorledes han i Ægtestanden paa det haardeste prøvede hendes Dyd, men hvilket alt hun dog med største Taalmodighed udholdt* (Kaupmannahöfn: [Johan Rudolph Thiele], [án ártals, en kom út milli 1797 og 1808]), 1, 11, 14 og 23; og *Historie om den fattige Bondepige Griseldis, som blev valgt til Ægtefelle af Markgreve Walther; hendes Prøvelser, Lidelser og tro Kjærlighed* (Kaupmannahöfn: I. Behrend's Enke, 1847), 1, 13, 16 og 19.

67 Finnur, *Rímnatal II*, 8.

neðanmálsgrein 9, að mestu óþekktar í Gríshildarfræðunum fram að Cand. Mag.-ritgerð greinarhöfundar frá árinu 2004. Rímurnar virðast einungis varðveittar í einu handriti, Lbs 4407 8vo, afriti af eiginhandarriti skáldsins. Titillinn í handritinu er *Frásagann / Raunir Gríshildar (þolinmóðu)* og fylgdi rafræn uppskrift greinarhöfundar á rímunum sem fylgiskjal með ritgerðinni.

Rímur Andrésar byggja á þjóðsagnaútgáfu Jóns Árnasonar og fylgja frásögninni þar nokkuð vel, t.a.m. er þar að finna aukna sorg Gríshildar við sonarmissinn:

Sína dóttir, svo sem þótti að missa,  
hálfu | midur mæt sig þar,  
missir viður sveinsinns | þar.<sup>68</sup>

Þetta er annars eina íslenska gerð Gríshildarsögunnar sem inniheldur þennan kynjamun, auk þjóðsögu Jóns. Þrátt fyrir að fylgja þeim texta vel bætir Andrés nokkrum smáatriðum við, t.d. gagnrýnir sögumaður kónginn með þessum orðum í mansöng þriðju rímu:

enn sjóli sá  
sem seigi eg frá,  
sízt var góður mað|-ur.<sup>69</sup>

Í næstu erindum heldur gagnrýnin á framferði kóngs við konu sína áfram.<sup>70</sup> Í þjóðsögunum var áherslan á góðlyndi Gríshildar en í titli rímnanna er hún á þolinmæði hennar sem þannig fær á ný aukið vægi. Andrés breytir þó í raun aldrei söguþræðinum. Aftur á móti gefur hann konungi nafnið *Guðvarður* í upphafi frásagnarinnar sem hann staðsetur í Garðaríki.<sup>71</sup> Andrés setur söguna sem sé í norrænt sagnasamhengi og tengir hana norrænum svæðum í því sem nú er hluti Rússlands og Úkraínu, í kringum Kænugarð, án þess þó að gera meira úr því síðar í frásögninni.

68 Andrés, *Frásagan Raunir Gríshildar (þolinmóðu)*, 1890, 2. ríma, 59. erindi (Lbs 4407 8vo, bls. 15).

69 Sama rit, 3. ríma, 6. erindi, 3.–4. lína (sama handrit, bls. 20).

70 Sama rit, 3. ríma, 7. –15. erindi (sama handrit, bls. 20–21).

71 „hjet Goðv-|=arður hauður sá, hjellt í Garðaríki.“ (Sama rit, 1. ríma, 16. erindi, 3.–4. lína (sama handrit, bls. 2).

## Sárt brenna gómarnir – áhrif á síðari bókmenntaverk

Að lokum skal vikið aftur að orðum Gríshildar við brúðarsæng kóngs og dóttur þeirra sem í texta Ragnhildar hljómar svo:

„Sárt brenna fingurnir, en sárara brennur hjartað.“<sup>72</sup>

en eftir breytingu Jóns:

„Sárt brenna gómarnir, en sárara brennur hjartað.“<sup>73</sup>

Eins og áður sagði þekkir greinarhöfundur ekki til þess að aðrar Gríseldu-frásagnir, íslenskar eða evrópskar, innihaldi þessa upphrópun og óljóst er hvernig hún hefur komist inn í íslensku þjóðsöguna. Hugsanlega er hún viðbót Ragnhildar sjálfrar en út frá breytingu Jóns á orðunum er hugsanlegt að hann hafi annað hvort þekkt til þessara orða Gríshildar í munnlegri geymd þjóðsögunnar eða aðra mynd málsháttarins.

Senan sjálf þar sem Gríshildur þarf að halda á kerti við brúðarsæng eiginmanns síns er þó ekki íslensk uppfinning. Svipaða lýsingu er til að mynda að finna í latneskri frásögn danska miðaldafræðimannsins Saxós (Saxo Grammaticus) af afrekum Dana, *Gesta Danorum*,<sup>74</sup> eins og Reinhold Köhler benti á í umfjöllun sinni um þjóðsögu Jóns árið 1870. Köhler benti að auki á gríska þjóðsögu þar sem konungsdóttir þóttist vera heyrnar- og mállaus í þrjú ár eftir að prins nam hana að heiman; hún kemur loks upp um sig þegar hún heldur á brennandi kerti yfir brúðarsæng prinsins og annarrar brúðar.<sup>75</sup> Þá nefnir Axel Olrik í grein sinni um lögmál þjóðsagna söguna um „pigen der skal bære brudelys ved sin husbonds bryllup med heksedatteren“ (stúlkuna sem heldur á brúðarkerti við brúðkaup eiginmanns síns með nornardótturinni).<sup>76</sup>

Upphrópun svipaða orðum Gríshildar er þó ekki að finna í neinu þessara dæma og gegnum íslensku þjóðsöguna urðu þau að íslenskum

72 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og ávintýri* V, 29.

73 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og ávintýri* II, 417.

74 Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum. Danmarks Historien. Bind I*, ritstj. latneska textans Karsten Friis-Jensen, dönsk þýð. Peter Zeeberg (Kaupmannahöfn: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab og Gads, 2005), 458–59).

75 Köhler, „Die Gríseldis-Novelle als Volksmärchen,“ 425–27.

76 Olrik, „Episke love i folkedigtningen,“ 72.

málshætti sem öðlaðist sjálfstætt líf<sup>77</sup> og íslenskar skáldkonur hafa vísað til þeirra og þjóðsögunnar í verkum sínum, t.d. Hulda (Unnur Benediktsdóttir Bjarklind, 1881–1946) í ljóði sínu *Rokkhljóð*:

»Brunnið er kertið, Gríshildur – þú gómana skalt ljá!  
 »Gómar brenna sáran«, hún mælir þá,  
 »en sárar brennur hjartað af sorg og þrá«.  
 Gríshildur hin góða hafði gengið þrautaskeið;  
 sigrað hafði dygðin sorgir og neyð.  
 Lýsti kong og drotningu hamingjusól heið.<sup>78</sup>

Sams konar tilvitnun til Gríshildar og brenndra góma hennar og hjarta er að finna í fyrsta bindi *Dalalífs* Guðrúnar frá Lundi (1887–1975) frá 1946<sup>79</sup> og árið 1958 kom út þriðja bókin í bókaflokki Ragnheiðar Jónsdóttur (1895–1967) um Þóru frá Hvammi en titill hennar er *Sárt brenna gómarnir*.<sup>80</sup> Málshátturinn virðist því einna helst höfða til kvenna og endurspeгла þeirra reynsluheim.

## Niðurlag

Undir safnmarkinu Lbs 533 4to má finna fjölda handskrifaðra þjóðsagna og ævintýra, bæði með rithöndum ýmissa þjóðsagnasafnara og svo vinnu-pappíra Jóns Árnasonar sjálfs þar sem hann bjó textana til útgáfu. Þar á meðal er annars vegar „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu“ eins og Ragnhildur Guðmundsdóttir skráði hana og hins vegar endurskoðuð gerð Jóns sem gefin var út í 2. bindi þjóðsagnasafns hans árið 1864. Frumgerð Ragnhildar birtist ekki almenningi fyrr en við endurútgáfu safnsins á 6. áratug síðustu aldar, í 5. bindi árið 1958. Það varð því gerð Jóns sem lagði grunninn að útbreiðslu þjóðsögunnar meðal almennings og fræðimanna. Eins og sjá má af tilvitnunum um brenndu gómana í ljóði Huldu og skáldsögum Guðrúnar frá Lundi og Ragnheiðar Jónsdóttur hér að ofan er ljóst að einnig þar er vitnað til gerðar Jóns, sem að auki lagði grunninn að Gríshildarrímum Andrésar Hákonarsonar.

77 Jón G. Friðjónsson, *Orð að sönnu. Íslenskir málshættir og orðskviðir* (Reykjavík, Forlagið, 2014), 147.

78 Hulda, „Rokkhljóð“, Óðinn 8, 12, 1913, 94.

79 Guðrún frá Lundi, *Dalalíf 1. Ástir og alvara*, 2. útg. (Reykjavík: Almenna bókafélagið, 1982 (1946)), 519–20.

80 Ragnheiður Jónsdóttir, *Sárt brenna gómarnir* (Reykjavík: Helgafell, 1958).



Samanburður á textum Ragnhildar og Jóns sýnir ekki einungis hvernig Jón lengdi frásögnina heldur gerði afgerandi breytingar á henni. Tilgangurinn með sumum þessarar breytinga virðist að færa söguna nær gerðum Boccaccios og Petrarca, t.a.m. fækkun barnanna úr þremur hjá Ragnhildi í tvö og þegar Jón lét kóng segja að hann hafi „reynt góðlyndi [hennar] og þolinmæði“<sup>81</sup> en ekki bara *sýnt* þessar dyggðir hennar eins og hjá Ragnhildi.<sup>82</sup> Aðrar breytingar hans virðast endurspeglar karlrembu- tíðarandann hjá Þjóðsagnasöfnunum 19. aldar, þar sem sonarmissirinn snertir Gríshildi „enn ver“ en dótturmissirinn og hirðmeyjaskarinn í upphafi biðils- fararinnar fór að metast opinskátt um það hver þeirra yrði valin í fegursta söðulinn, í stað þess að hugsa það bara hver fyrir sig eins og hjá Ragnhildi. Í sama anda má líta það hvernig Jón feugar kynninguna á kónginum í upphafi sögunnar þannig að hinn sextugi, óákveðni Artus með frestunaráráttuna hjá Ragnhildi verður nafnlaus, á óráðum aldri og áhugaleysi hans á hjónabandi látið óútskýrt. Meira að segja er sú mynd sem síðar birtist af vondum og duttlungafullum kóngi hjá Jóni í samræmi við valdeflingu karlpersóna á kostnað kvenpersóna í Þjóðsagnaútgáfum þess tíma.

Í báðum gerðum Þjóðsögunnar koma báðir foreldrar Gríshildar við sögu en í evrópsku hefðinni er ekki minnst á móðurina. Þá eru viðbrögð föðurins við bónorðinu mun neikvæðari í íslensku Þjóðsögunum en annars tíðkast. Hlutverk móðurinnar er aftur á móti að miðla málum og taka mál- stað kóningsins, og gerði Jón mikið úr hennar þætti þar.

Í Griseldusögum Boccaccios og Petrarca er óánægja hirðarinnar og almennings með hjúskap markgreifans og bóndadótturinnar einungis uppspuni markgreifans en í báðum íslensku Þjóðsögunum er slík gremja nefnd. Hjá Ragnhildi var þetta einungis „fúll svipur yfir allri fylgdinni“<sup>83</sup> þegar Gríshildur var færð í brúðarskrúðann en hjá Jóni hélt óánægjan áfram eftir brúðkaupið og tókst hirðmönnum meira að segja „að spilla kóngi við hana.“<sup>84</sup>

Að síðustu skal vikið að viðbrögðum Gríshildar við raunum sínum í íslensku Þjóðsögunum. Hjá Boccaccio og í evrópsku hefðinni eru við- brögð hennar alltaf eins; án svipbrigða biður hún þess að þau verði ekki

81 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur og æfintýri* II, 417.

82 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur og æfintýri* V, 29.

83 Sama rit, 28–29.

84 „Sagan af Gríshildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur og æfintýri* II, 416.

„að fæðu fyrir dýr eða fugla“,<sup>85</sup> en í þeim íslensku sýnir hún svo sannarlega sorgarviðbrögð við barnamissinum. Hjá Ragnhildi bregður hún fyrst litum, verður svo eldrjóð og loks grét hún sárt þegar þriðja barnið var tekið af henni<sup>86</sup> en hjá Jóni grætur hún þegar hástöfum þegar fyrra barnið, dóttirin, er tekin, þótt hún hafi grátið enn meira við sonarmissinn.<sup>87</sup> Það er þó ekki eingöngu við barnamissinn sem íslenska þjóðsagna-Grishildur sýnir viðbrögð, það gerir hún líka við skilnaðinn og eins þegar hún þjónar kóngi og nýrri brúði hans á brúðkaupsnóttina og segir „Sárt brenna fingurnir/gómarnir, en sárara brennur hjartað“<sup>88</sup> auk þess sem hún grætur hjá Jóni af því tilefni. Þrátt fyrir að sýna miklar tilfinningar í báðum þjóðsagnagerðunum stenst Grishildur þó öll próf kóngsins sem gefur henni viðurnefnið *góða* en ekki þolinmóða eins og hefð er fyrir.

## HEIMILDIR

### HANDRIT

*Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík*

AM 132 I 8vo. Óþekktur skrifari, 17. öld.

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85 Boccaccio, *Tidagra*, 689–90.

86 „Sagan af Grishildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 28.

87 „Sagan af Grishildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og æfintýri* II, 416.

88 „fingurnir“ í „Sagan af Grishildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri* V, 29, og „gómarnir“ í „Sagan af Grishildi góðu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og æfintýri* II, 417.

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## ÁGRIP

Jón Árnason og Gríshildur góða: Um breytingar ritstjórans á frásögn konu af annarri konu

**Efnisorð:** Þjóðsögur, þjóðfræði, Gríshildar saga, Gríselða, Gríselða, Gríseldis, ritstýrðar útgáfur frumtexta, Boccaccio, Petrarca, Decamerone, Tíðagra, Volksbücher, folkebøger, almuðgákur

Árið 1864 kom íslenska þjóðsagan *Sagan af Gríshildi góðu* í fyrsta sinn út á prenti í þjóðsagnasafni Jóns Árnasonar og Guðbrands Vigfússonar. Þjóðsagan á rætur í *Tíðagru (Decamerone)* Boccaccios frá u.þ.b. 1350 sem Petrarca endursamdi á latínu 1373 þannig að hún náði mikilli útbreiðslu um Evrópu næstu aldirnar. Til Íslands berst sagan í kringum 1600 og nær talsverðum vinsældum, enda eru til a.m.k. átján gerðir sögunnar, bæði í bundnu og lausu máli, varðveittar í 52 handritum, auk þess sem nokkrar hafa verið gefnar út á prenti.

Þegar þjóðsagnasafnið var endurútféið á sjötta áratug síðustu aldar birtust í því tvær Gríshildarþjóðsögur, annars vegar sú frá 1864 og hins vegar styttri, áður óútféin gerð í 5. bindi árið 1958. Við nánari athugun kemur í ljós að báðar byggja á sömu skrásetningu sögunnar, frásögn Ragnhildar Guðmundsdóttur á bl. 176r–78r í þjóðsagnahandriti Jóns, Lbs 533 4to. Útgáfan frá 1864 er í raun endursamning Jóns sjálfs á frásögninni, sem einnig er varðveitt í Lbs 533 4to bl. 220r–23r, en útgáfan frá 1958 er aftur á móti sagan eins og Ragnhildur hafði skrifað hana. Í greininni leitast höfundur við að greina og útskýra þær breytingar sem Jón gerir á sögunni, auk þess að kanna áhrif þjóðsögunnar á síðari bókmenntaverk.

Helstu niðurstöður rannsóknarinnar eru að breytingum Jóns megi skipta í þrjá aðalflokka. Í fyrsta lagi bætir hann við þar sem frásögn Ragnhildar er heldur stuttaraleg. Í öðru lagi breytir hann *til baka* að Boccaccio-/Petrarca-hefðinni sumu því sem aflagast hefur í munnmælum, t.a.m. barnafjölda titilpersónunnar úr þremur börnum í tvö, og fjarlægir hugsanlega tengsl við aðrar sagnahefðir þegar hann gerir kónginn Artus nafnlausan. Í þriðja lagi virðist hann undir svipuðum karlrembúáhrifum og evrópskir kollegar hans þegar hann eykur áhrif og völd kóningsins og annarra karlpersóna á kostnað kvenpersóna. Með breytingum sínum bjó Jón í raun til nýja gerð Gríshildarsögunnar og í rannsóknum á textatengslum og þróun verður því að líta á hana sem sjálfstæðan texta, óháðan frásögn Ragnhildar.

## SUMMARY

Jón Árnason and Gríshildur the good: How the editor changed one woman's narrative about another woman

**Keywords:** Folktales, folklore, Gríselða story, The Patient Gríselða, Gríseldis, text editing, Boccaccio, Petrarch, The Decameron, Volksbücher, folkebøger, chap-books

In 1864, an Icelandic folktale, *Sagan af Grishildi góðu* (the Story of Grishildur the Good) was published in print for the first time, in Jón Árnason and Guðbrandur Vigfússon's folktale collection. The story, a version of the famous story of the Patient Griselda, has its roots in Boccaccio's *Decamerone* from c. 1350, which Petrarch rewrote in Latin in 1373, so that it became widespread in European literary circles during the next centuries. The story reaches Iceland c. 1600 and became relatively popular, as at least 18 different versions of the story exist in Icelandic, both in prose and verse, preserved in 52 manuscripts, in addition to the few that have been published in print.

When the folktale collection was republished in the 1950s, it included two Griselda folktales, the one from 1864, and also, a shorter, previously unpublished tale, which appeared in volume 5 in 1958. Upon a closer inspection, it turns out that both tales go back to the same handwritten tale in Jón Árnason's folktale manuscript, Lbs 533 4to, written by Ragnhildur Guðmundsdóttir (fol. 176r–78r). In fact, the 1864 edition is Jón Árnason's own rewriting of the tale (also preserved in Lbs 533 4to, fol. 220r–23r) while the one from 1958 presents Ragnhildur's *original* version. The article attempts to analyse and explain the changes Jón Árnason makes to Ragnhildur's story, in addition to present the folktale's influence on later literary works.

The main results of the study is that Jón mainly makes three types of changes. Firstly, he embellishes segments where Ragnhildur's narrative is short and without many details. Secondly, he changes *back* to the Boccaccio/Petrarch tradition some details which have been *spoiled* by orality, for instance, by returning the number of Griselda's children from the folktale traditional three, to Boccaccio/Petrarch's *original* two. Jón also removes connections to other narrative traditions, when he makes Ragnhildur's King Artus (Arthur) nameless. Thirdly, Jón seems to be influenced by the same misogyny as his contemporary colleagues in Europe, when he increases the power of the king and other male characters at the cost of female ones. With his changes, Jón actually created a new version of the Griselda story, so further research into the story's intertextuality and development must treat his version as an independent text, different from the one written by Ragnhildur.

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