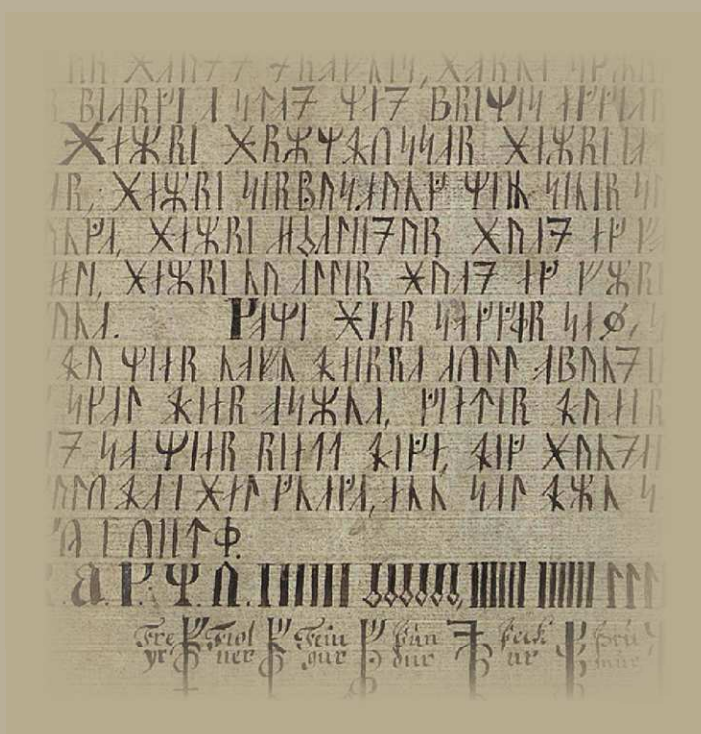


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RITSTJÓRAR

HAUKUR ÞORGEIRSSON
OG
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XXXI



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MICHAEL MACPHERSON AND YOAV TIROSH

A STYLOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF *LJÓSVETNINGA SAGA**

Introduction

LJÓSVETNINGA SAGA is a medieval text grouped with the so-called *Íslendingasögur*, the Sagas of Early Icelanders. It concerns the exploits of the northern Icelandic *goði* Guðmundr inn ríki in tenth to eleventh century Iceland and his family's feud with the vigorous *Ljósvetningar*. The saga has two medieval redactions that in certain segments are quite similar (though not identical) and in others tell a significantly different story. If in the past this text garnered attention for its elusive composition, it is exactly this issue that now deters many scholars from dealing with this chimerical saga. It is a text which reveals that, despite scholarship having moved on from debates about the oral vs. literary nature of *Íslendingasögur* composition, the effects of this disagreement are still evident in the very fabric of the saga. Editorial decisions made a century ago (or more) have a continued influence on our distorted understanding of how the two redactions of *Ljósvetninga saga* differ from each other, and have thus far prevented our complete re-evaluation of their relationship.

The advent of stylometry, the computer-assisted analysis of style, has scholars revisiting old debates with new tools. That is the purpose of this article. In particular, we address debates surrounding *Ljósvetninga saga*'s two redactions (A and C) which have remained dormant for quite some time after twentieth-century engagement with the subject resulted in no scholarly consensus. First, we will introduce the problems of the saga's transmission and identify the differences between its two main redactions. Next, we will address the scholarly debates on the subject and then discuss

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how editors approached them. Finally, we offer our contribution to the debate: a stylometric analysis of the two redactions which supports the primacy of the C-redaction and rehabilitates the notion that the unique section of the A-redaction is a retelling. This opens the way for future research into the saga's redactions and, in particular, stresses the need for a new edition.

Understanding *Ljósvetninga saga's* Transmission and Redactions

Ljósvetninga saga has a famously complex transmission. One version of the saga, the A-redaction, is only preserved in lacuna-filled form in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century manuscript AM 561 4to (561) and in a nineteenth century copy of it produced by Guðbrandur Vigfússon, Bodleian MS Icelandic c. 9. The other version, designated the C-redaction, is preserved in 3 leaves of the fragmentary AM 162 C fol. (162), and in more than 50 paper copies which are all likely derived from it.¹ The two medieval manuscripts and their copies garnered much attention due to the fact that, while in certain parts they contain similar (though not entirely the same) wording and order of events, other parts are completely omitted from 561 (the A-redaction), or are executed with significantly different details, wording, and narrative in 561 and 162 (the C-redaction).

As illustrated in Figure 1, the A- and C-redactions differ in three major ways:

1. Following the highly similar chapters 1–4,² the C-redaction features three episodes traditionally designated as *þáttir*: *Sörla þáttir*,
- 1 See Yoav Tirosh, “On the Receiving End: The Role of Scholarship, Memory, and Genre in Constructing *Ljósvetninga saga*” (Doctoral thesis, University of Iceland, Reykjavík, 2019), 36; *Origines Islandicae, A Collection of the More Important Sagas and Other Native Writings Relating to the Settlement and Early History of Iceland*, Vol. 2, ed. and trans. Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 344, 346; *Glúma og Ljósvetninga saga*, xix–xx, xxv, xxviii; *Ljósvetninga saga*, ed. Björn Sigfússon, Íslenzk fornrit 10 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1940), lvii; and Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “AM 561 4to og *Ljósvetninga saga*,” *Gripla* 18 (2007): 70. Analyses of the B-redaction point to it being derived from the C-redaction; see Tirosh, “On the Receiving End,” 43–45.
- 2 Chapter numbers follow the C-redaction. The C-redaction chapters 5–12 were probably never a part of the A-redaction, but we refer to A chapters 13–18 so that the numbers are aligned with C. We are aware that this is an “editorial” choice that prioritizes the organization of material in the C-redaction, but this accords with our main conclusions.

Ófeigs þátr and Vöðu-Brands þátr. Scholarly consensus is that these never appeared in 561.³

2. When 561 picks up the narrative after a lacuna between 34v and 35r,⁴ the story is very similar to that of the corresponding chapters 13–18 of the C-redaction. However, the narrative structure, wording, and sometimes even the character names are dramatically different between these two segments.⁵ Near the end of chapter 18, the two narratives converge again with similar text.
3. Towards the end of chapter 21, the A-redaction manuscript breaks off (at the words “gekk til”). A codicological analysis of the manuscript quires conducted by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson shows that it is unlikely that 561 would have continued beyond this point,⁶ meaning that the C-redaction’s chapters 22–32 are unique to that redaction. The final C-redaction chapter 32 is a tale about Þórarinn ofsi, his killing of Þorgeirr Hávarsson, and Eyjólfur Guðmundsson’s prosecution of the affair. The story is a variant of *Fóstbræðra saga*’s account of the affair and ends in a lacuna.⁷

3 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “AM 561,” 78–79. See also Adolfine Erichsen, *Untersuchungen zur Ljósvetninga Saga* (Berlin: Verlag von Emil Evering, 1919), 10, and *Origines Islandicae*, ed. and trans. Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell, 347–348.

4 Folio 34v ends abruptly in the middle of chapter 4. When 35v begins, it is in the middle of chapter 13.

5 The medieval text on folio 37v was worn down to such an extent that even in the seventeenth century only small parts of it were intelligible. A hitherto-unidentified seventeenth-century hand attempted to recreate the text with partial success, creating a narrative bridge to compensate for the lacuna. According to Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson’s codicological analysis, one leaf is missing between 37v and 38r, which means that the 210 word summary could not possibly have entirely recreated the ca. 1200 missing words (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “AM 561 4to,” 76 ft. 20). See also *Origines Islandicae*, ed. and trans. Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell, 430.

6 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “AM 561,” 79–81. See also *Sturlunga Saga including the Islendinga Saga of Lawman Sturla Thordarson and Other Works*, ed. Guðbrandur Vigfússon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1878), lvi, *Origines Islandicae*, ed. and trans. Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell, 348, and Tirosch, “On the Receiving End,” 22–26.

7 This tale is commonly referred to as *Þórarins þátr ofsa*, though there is no indication in the text that it is in any way separate from the main *Ljósvetninga saga* narrative, despite its clear deviation from its main chronological and plot trajectory. For a view of how this segment is in fact consistent with *Ljósvetninga saga*’s C-redaction as a whole, see Yoav Tirosch, “On the Receiving End”, 165–166. For an untraditional interpretation of this episode see the epilogue of Yoav Tirosch, “Trolling Guðmundr: Paranormal Defamation in *Ljósvetninga saga*,” *Paranormal Encounters in Iceland 1150–1400*, ed. Ármann Jakobsson and Miriam

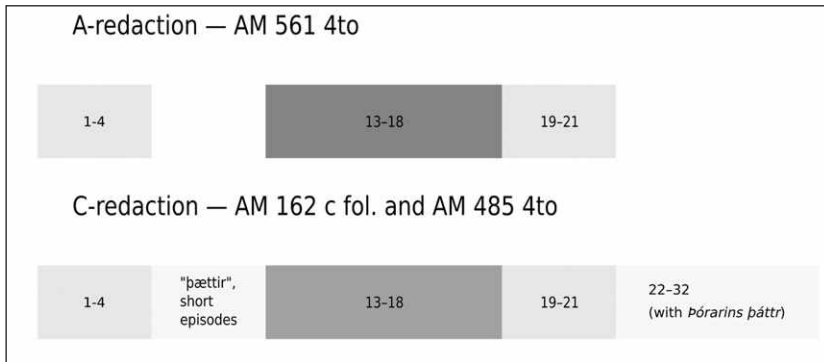


Figure 1 — Comparison of the A- and C-redactions⁸

Some examples will illustrate the differences in the redactions. We should be careful not to overstate the parallel correspondence between chapters 1–4 and 19–21 of the redactions. The texts are somewhat different, as this example illustrates:

A-Redaction, ch. 4⁹

Þá mælti Höskuldur: “Hér horfist til málaferla, og horfir mjög í móti **með** oss frændum. Er þér vandi á báðar hendur. Og kalla þeir oss **ómaga, er í kviðinum eru**. Nú **höfum** vér þriðjung **goðorðs**, en faðir vor annan. En **þú** ræður, hvar þú **snýr** að, og þeir hafa meira hlut, **er þú vill fylgja.**”

C-Redaction, ch. 4¹⁰

Þá mælti Höskuldur: “Hér horfist til málaferla, og horfir mjög í móti oss frændum, **en** þér vandi á báðar hendur. Og kalla þeir oss **ómæta í kviðinum**. **En** nú **eigum** vér þriðjung **í goðorði**, en faðir

Mayburd, *The Northern Medieval World: On the Margins of Europe* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2020), 407–409.

- 8 Chapters 1–4 and 19–21 are the same shade due to their similarities while chapters 13–18 in both redactions reflect two divergent traditions. The C-redaction’s “þættir” as well as chapters 22–32 do not have a parallel in the A-redaction.
- 9 *Íslendingasögur og þættir*, II, ed. Bragi Halldórsson et al. (Reykjavík: Svart á hvítu, 1986), 1720, confirmed with AM 561 4to, 34v.
- 10 *Íslendingasögur og þættir*, II, ed. Bragi Halldórsson et al., 1658, amended according to AM 485 4to, 5v. Notice that the Svart á hvítu edition does not take into account all of these deviations and therefore misrepresents the textual variance between these two redactions. For more on our treatment of the text of the C-redaction, see the discussion below and n. 45.

vor annan. En þar ræður, hvar þú snýst að, og þeir hafa meira hlut ef þú snýst að með.”

As is clear, while the textual correspondence is similar, certain word choices and clauses are different in style. Nevertheless, these are the kinds of variations we would expect from the normal process of saga transmission.¹¹

When we reach chapters 13–18, however, it is difficult to identify such a strong textual correspondence:

A-redaction ch. 14¹²

En er á leið ríður Guðmundur með **tuttuganda** mann út á Laugaland að stefna Þóri um sauðalaunin. Nú var leitað um sættir. Guðmundur vill ekki sættast og lést nú reyna skyldu hvor þeirra rökari væri. Hann ríður nú heim á leið.

C-redaction ch. 14¹³

Síðan reið Guðmundur í braut. En Einar skipaði sauðamanni sínum að hann skyldi snemma upp rísa hvern dag og fylgja sólu meðan hæst væri sumars. Og þegar er út hallaði á kveldum skyldi hann halda til stjörnu og vera úti með sólsetrum og skynja alla hluti “þá er þér ber fyrir augu og eyru,” og segja sér öll nýnæmi, stór og smá. Einar var árvakur og ósvefnugur. Gekk hann út oft um nætur, og sá himintungl og hugði að vandlega, og kunni þá alls þess góð skyn.

Þetta var snemma morguns. Einar bróðir hans var því vanur að rísa upp snemma og hitta sauðamann sinn. Þetta var enn í það mund er Guðmundur hafði heiman farið.

Það var einn morgun að sauðamaður hafði út gengið. Hann litaðist um, þá sá hann reið **tuttugu** manna ofan með Eyjafjarðará hvatlega. Hann gekk inn til rúms

11 But see Tirosh, “On the Receiving End,” 101–169 for a literary analysis that takes these minute differences into account in the construction of meaning in the saga.

12 *Íslendingasögur og þættir*, II, ed. Bragi Halldórsson et al., 1724, confirmed with AM 561 4to, 36v.

13 *Íslendingasögur og þættir*, II, ed. Bragi Halldórsson et al., 1677–1678, amended according to AM 485 4to, 25r.

Einar mælti að

hann skyldi **vís verða þess** er þeir færu heim aftur. En er á líður daginn kom sauðamaður og sagði Einari að þá voru þeir utan á leið. Einar **mælti að hann skyldi** taka hest hans og leggja á söðul og svo gerir hann.

Einars og sagði honum hvað hann hafði séð. Hann stóð upp þegar og gekk út, hugði að reið manna og starði á um hrið. Einar var skygginn og heyrður vel og glöggþekkin. En er sólin rann upp og skein um héraðið þá mælti Einar: “Með skjöldu ríða þessir menn. Mun það annaðhvort að þeir eru utan-héraðsmenn, er virðing er að, og munu þeir hafa farið að sækja heim Guðmund bróður minn þó vér höfum það eigi spurt eða Guðmundur mun þar ríða sjálfur og þykir mér það miklu líkara. En eigi mun örvænt hvert hann stefnir eða hvert erindið mun vera. En skammt mun til að vér munum **þess vísir verða.**”

Einar **bað að húskarlar skyldu** gefa geymdir að er hann ríði aftur “og látið hesta vora vera nærri túni.”

As this example illustrates, while there are some textual parallels (marked in bold) the prevailing impression is that two versions of the same story are being told in different words. Nevertheless, scholars have disagreed on the connection between the divergent sections of redactions A and C, as well as the sections which show close correspondence between the versions, and it is to these debates we now turn.

Ljósvetninga saga's Redactions in Scholarship

This situation where a part of the text is similar and a part is significantly different has been the source of much disagreement, in particular in the

context of the twentieth-century Freeprose-Bookprose debate.¹⁴ The debate between these theories reflected opposing stances on the origins of the *Íslendingasögur*. Freeprose theory argued that these sagas were composed orally as unities before being written down. Bookprose theory, on the other hand, supposed that, while the *Íslendingasögur* could have originated from oral traditions to one degree or another, they were effectively literary compositions.¹⁵ Both schools of thought saw *Ljósvetninga saga* as an important test case where their own view of saga composition would triumph. Despite scholarship having moved on from these debates to a more nuanced understanding of the sagas' oral origins,¹⁶ their importance lies in the way that they shaped the editions that outlived them and the general debate surrounding *Ljósvetninga saga*.

The issue of *Ljósvetninga saga*'s redactions was first highlighted by Adolfine Erichsen's stylistic examination of the saga: she prioritized the C-redaction variant as the more logical version and stylistically closer to the parallel parts of the saga, arguing that the redactor of the A-redaction had rewritten the text, possibly due to a lacuna in the exemplar that was filled by recourse to oral tradition.¹⁷ These results were emphasized by Freeprose scholar Knut Liestøl, who framed *Ljósvetninga saga* as providing us with the "only reliable example" of two separate oral traditions for

- 14 "Freiproza" and "Buchprosa." Andreas Heusler, *Die Anfänge der isländischen Saga*, Abhandlungen Der Königl. Preuss. Akademie Der Wissenschaften. Phil-hist. Classe 1913: 9 (Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1914), 53–55.
- 15 See Theodore M. Andersson, *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins: A Historical Survey* (London: Yale University Press, 1964), 65–81.
- 16 See e.g. Gísli Sigurðsson. *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition, a Discourse on Method*, Translated by Nicholas Jones, Publications of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature 2, Cambridge, MA: Milman Parry Collection Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2004; and Slavica Ranković, "Who Is Speaking in Traditional Texts? On the Distributed Author of the Sagas of Icelanders and Serbian Epic Poetry," *New Literary History* 38.2 (2007): 293–307.
- 17 Erichsen, *Untersuchungen*, 58–60. Erichsen's stylistic arguments are explored in greater detail below. See also Andersson, *Problem of Saga Origins*, 151. Björn M. Ólsen argued similarly in his posthumously published lecture series on the *Íslendingasögur*, though he prioritized the A-redaction over the C-redaction, Björn Magnússon Ólsen, "Íslenzkar fornsögur gefnar út af hinu íslenzka bókmenntafélagi: I. Glúma- og Ljósvetningasaga. Khöfn 1880," *Tímarit Hins íslenzka Bókmenntafélags* (1880): 374–375. Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell stated that "It almost seems as if the story of Acre-Thore [in the A redaction] has been retold imperfectly from memory" (*Origines Islandicae*, ed. and trans.

a saga.¹⁸ Liestøl attributed the differences in narrative structure and information – such as character names – to the relative lack of importance of these, which allowed for a change in detail.¹⁹

Bookprose scholars, in particular Björn Sigfússon, saw a challenge in Erichsen and Liestøl's arguments that the redactions could be seen as oral variants. Instead, Björn frames the C-redaction as a historical novelization of *Ljósvetninga saga's* A-redaction,²⁰ arguing for the A-redaction's linguistic and stylistic consistency with the rest of the saga – while Erichsen argues the opposite.²¹ In his subsequent Íslenzk fornrit edition of *Ljósvetninga saga*, Björn stressed the awkward style of the C-redaction and argued that chapters 13–18 function more as an individual *þáttur* in the C-redaction than in the A-redaction, where they are more connected to the main narrative.²² Björn argues that the irregularities and clunky style found in the C-redaction are proof that it was not transmitted orally: in oral transmission, one would expect these kinds of illogicalities to be smoothed over by the storytellers.²³

Following Anne Holtsmark's review of Björn Sigfússon's *Um Ljósvetninga sögu*, in which she questions Björn's dismissal of oral transmission as an explanation for the redactions' variance,²⁴ Hallvard Magerøy argued that the differences between these texts stem from a textual connection.²⁵ Magerøy goes through the divergent parts of the A- and C-redactions

Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell, 348), but they do not expand their argument beyond this.

18 Knut Liestøl, *The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas*, trans. Arthur Garland Jayne. Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie A: Forelesninger; 10 (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1930), 48, translated from Norwegian "einaste trygge dømme" (Knut Liestøl, *Upphavet til den Isländske attesaga*, Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie A, Forelesninger 9a (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1929), 50).

19 Liestøl, *Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas*, 49–51.

20 Björn Sigfússon. *Um Ljósvetninga sögu, With a Summary in English*, *Studia Islandica* 3 (Reykjavik: Ísafoldarprentsmiðja h.f., 1937), 38, 42 (English summary).

21 Björn Sigfússon, *Um Ljósvetninga sögu*, 11–19.

22 *Ljósvetninga saga*, xxv.

23 *Ljósvetninga saga*, xxxix. On Björn's Íslenzk fornrit edition see more below.

24 Anne Holtsmark, "Anmälan av 'Studia Islandica. Íslenzk fræði 1–4, p. 15'" *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 55 (1940): 138–139.

25 Hallvard Magerøy, *Sertekstproblemet i Ljósvetninga saga*, *Afhandlinger utg. av det Norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo. 2 Hist.-filos. Klasse 1956, 2* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1957), 16–17. See also Andersson, *Problem of Saga Origins*, 155, 158–159.

thoroughly, stressing the A-redaction's closeness in almost all cases to what he deems the original saga²⁶ and arguing for a consistent and intentional tendency of the C-redaction towards expansion of the plot.²⁷ Finally, Magerøy accounts for the deviations in certain character names as a systematic misreading made by the C-redaction's original scribe.²⁸

Andersson responds to Björn Sigfússon and Magerøy's studies by refuting most of their claims regarding the C-redaction's corruption, pointing out that many of the logical mishaps that the Íslenzk fornrit editor argued for were in fact literary technique in practice, and that the inconsistencies that remain are not unique within the *Íslendingasögur* corpus.²⁹ Andersson dismisses Magerøy's argument for a systematic misreading of names that caused the variations in detail in the A and C-redaction, stating that the nature of these variations as well as their "sheer number" prove that these cannot be attributed to a fault in the scribe's practice.³⁰ Andersson agrees with Magerøy that the most logical explanation for the redactions' relationship is a textual one, with priority instead given to the C-redaction, declaring the A-redaction a rushed abbreviation.³¹ In what could be seen as a compromise between the Bookprose and the Freeprose approaches, he argues for an authorial agency behind the two redactions, with the difference in details as stemming from local oral variants.³² As Andersson later points out, there is a consensus in subsequent *Ljósvetninga saga* scholarship

- 26 The C-redaction portrayal of Rindill's discussion with Þorkell hákr is a noteworthy exception, Hallvard Magerøy, *Sertekstproblemet*, 78.
- 27 Magerøy, *Sertekstproblemet*, 64, 89. Haakon Hamre finds this explanation of the C-redaction being written "in order to 'increase the dimensions' in content and narration ... not so convincing." "Reviewed Work: *Sertekstproblemet i Ljósvetninga Saga* by Hallvard Magerøy," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 58.3 (1959): 469.
- 28 Magerøy, *Sertekstproblemet*, 86–87.
- 29 Andersson, *Problem of Saga Origins*, 153, 156. In addition, Andersson claims that the Íslenzk fornrit editor is too invested in the fallacy that "older is better," which sees a text's quality as an indication of age.
- 30 Andersson, *Problem of Saga Origins*, 158.
- 31 Andersson, *Problem of Saga Origins*, 159–165.
- 32 Andersson, *Problem of Saga Origins*, 165. The fact that this is a compromise between the two schools of thought finds support in the words of Bookprose scholar Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Freeprose scholar Knut Liestøl. As Einar states: "If the author of a saga had succeeded in getting all the material from the best-informed people, it might well be that he had included everything with which the story was concerned, and there was then no good reason to add anything. But if much of the material had been left unused, there might

that the connections between the different parts of the saga are textual rather than oral.³³

The debate has been largely dormant until now.³⁴ Nevertheless, our modern understanding of the saga is heavily dependent upon the editions produced while this debate was in full swing, as will now be explored.

On *Ljósvetninga saga's* Editorial History

It is important to note how the scholarly editions of *Ljósvetninga saga* have influenced the way that this saga has been received; at the end of the day, the ways that these texts have been presented inform much of our thinking about them.³⁵ The first edition of the saga from 1830 was edited by Þorgeir Guðmundsson and Þorsteinn Helgason and stuck almost exclusively to the post-medieval C-redaction manuscript AM 485 4to, to the point of sometimes preferring its readings even when equally-viable ones were available in the medieval 162.³⁶ Furthermore, Þorgeir and Þorsteinn's

then be good reason to make additions, or a new version." Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Dating the Icelandic Sagas, An Essay in Method*, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series 3 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1958), 33. Liestøl, on the other hand, points out that "A manuscript of a saga may have been used for reading aloud or as a sort of prompt-book when reciting, and its contents may have become oral tradition again through the medium of the hearers." *Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas*, 43.

- 33 *Law and Literature in Medieval Iceland: Ljósvetninga Saga and Valla-Ljóts Saga*, trans. Theodore Murdock Andersson and William Ian Miller (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989), 70. Cecilia Borggreve offered an interesting reversal of the "older is better" premise, proposing that the C-redaction is indeed the older of the two versions, with the younger A-redaction introducing more structure and order into its retelling of the plot. Cecilia Borggreve, "Der Handlungsaufbau in den zwei Versionen der Ljósvetninga saga," *Arkiv for nordisk filologi* 85 (1970): 238–246.
- 34 The most recent contribution to the debate is Yoav Tirosch "On the Receiving End", though there he emphasizes the narratological consistency and intrinsic value of both versions rather than attempting to trace the compositional origins of the text.
- 35 See, for example, Ármann Jakobsson, "Sögurnar hans Guðna: Um "lýðveldisútgáfu" Íslendingasagnanna, hugmyndafræði hennar og áhrif," *Skírnir* 192 (2018): 116. On the Icelandic *Alþingi's* reaction to Halldór Laxness's mere intention of creating an edition of *Brennu-Njáls saga*, see Jón Karl Helgason, *Hetjan og höfundurinn. Brot úr íslenskri menningar sögu* (Reykjavík: Heimskringla — háskólaforlag Máls og menningar, 1998), 135–168 as well as Jón Karl Helgason, *The Rewriting of Njáls Saga. Translation, Ideology and Icelandic Sagas*, Topics in Translation 16 (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1999), 119–136.
- 36 *Ljósvetninga saga: Eptir gömlum hár. útg. at tilhlutun hins konungliga Norræna fornfræða félags*, ed. Þorgeir Guðmundsson and Þorsteinn Helgason, Sérprent úr Íslendinga sögum, 2

edition gave only brief mention to the divergence between 561 and the C-redaction, stating that the former narrates chapters 13–18 “með öllum öðrum orðum.”³⁷ In what could be seen as a controversial decision (though not by the present authors), their edition also prefers AM 485 4to and AM 514 4to’s readings over those of the medieval 561 in the common segments of the saga (chapters 1–4 and 19–21), thus again preferring the younger reading over an older one.

Guðmundur Þorláksson’s 1880 *Glúma og Ljósvetninga saga*, which was edited with the assistance of Finnur Jónsson, is probably the best critical edition of the saga to date and is still of great utility, mostly due to its marking of most of the variants between the major manuscripts.³⁸ In the parallel chapters (i.e. chapters 1–4 and 19–21), Guðmundur usually opts for the readings offered in the A-redaction, while in the divergent chapters he prefers the C-redaction rendering of events, with the A-redaction text added as an appendix. In what seems to be his most influential decision, Guðmundur decided to split the saga into two parts: *Guðmundar saga* and *Eyjólfs saga*. He further split *Guðmundar saga* into six parts:

1. *Deilur Þorgeirs goða ok sona hans*
2. *Kvánfang Sörla Brodd-Helgasonar* (commonly referred to as *Sörla þáttr*)
3. *Reykðæla þáttr* (commonly referred to as *Ófeigs þáttr*)
4. *Vöðu-Brands þáttr*
5. *Þóris þáttr Helgasonar ok Þorkels háks*
6. *Draumr ok dauði Guðmundar ens ríka*

bindi (Copenhagen: S.L. Möller, 1830). For example, in chapter 7 of the saga Þorgeir and Þorsteinn prefer the AM 485 4to reading “eyrði allvel” (111r) over AM 162 c fol.’s reading “dygdi alluel” (1v), “Syv Sagablade (AM 162 C fol., bl. 1–7),” ed. Jón Helgason, *Opuscula 5, Bibliotheca Arnarnagana*: 31 (1975): 47, or preferring AM 485 4to’s “Bæsa” (21r) over “[b]ægis á” (2v), Jón Helgason, “Syv Sagablade,” 53.

37 *Ljósvetninga saga: Eptir gömlum hdr.*, ed. Þorgeir Guðmundsson and Þorsteinn Helgason, unnumbered introduction.

38 *Glúma og Ljósvetninga saga.*, ed. Guðmundur Þorláksson and indexed by Finnur Jónsson, Íslenskar fornsögur. Vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1880). Not everyone shares this opinion. Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell criticized the edition, stating that “there are too many worthless various readings, the text is based on a second-rate MS., and important clauses are skipped,” 348. They then add, in a display of admirable generosity, that “one would not be too severe on this work, for to edit this Saga is no task for a prentice hand, and the state of the text demands exceptionally delicate treatment,” 348.

In the case of *Eyjólfs saga*, he added a splitting line before chapter 32 (which is commonly referred to as *Þóraríns þáttr ofsa*), to indicate that it is out of place in the saga.³⁹ The decision to separate the saga into various episodes through the added headings and the creation of a composite text that incorporated segments from both redactions had a profound effect on the saga's reception as highly episodic, and has been heavily criticized.⁴⁰

Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell edited and translated *Ljósvetninga saga* in their posthumous *Origines Islandicae* compilation of historical texts. In their edition they decided to not include the chapters following Guðmundr's death (that is, chapters 22 and onwards). This decision was both due to the irrelevance of the period after Guðmundr inn ríki's death to their project, as well as their assertion that this segment is "much inferior" to the part focused on Guðmundr.⁴¹ Like Guðmundur Þorláksson, Guðbrandur and Powell also prefer the A-redaction readings for the common chapters but the C-redaction readings for the divergent part, and therefore use 561 for chapters 1–4 and 19–21, but the C-redaction 162 and its paper copies for chapters 5–18, as well as the end of chapter 21.

In his Íslenzk fornrit edition of *Ljósvetninga saga*, Björn Sigfússon prioritized the A-redaction over the C-redaction, both in terms of preferring 561's readings over the C-redaction paper copies in the common sections of the saga, but also in the printing of the A-redaction text above the C-redaction text and in larger letters in the divergent chapters. Björn contends that Guðmundur Þorláksson's edition and its dividing of the saga into two parts and *Guðmundar saga* into *þættir* interfered with the understanding of the saga and led to fallacious interpretations.⁴² Björn

39 See n. 7.

40 See, for instance, Albert Ulrich Bååth, *Studier öfver Kompositionen i Några Isländska ätt-sagor* (Lund: [Gleerup], 1885), 1–2; Erichsen, *Untersuchungen*, 70; Björn Sigfússon, *Um Ljósvetninga sögu*, 4–5. Björn Magnússon Ólsen, "Íslenzkar fornsögur gefnar út af hinu íslenzka bókmenntafélagi: I. Glúma- og Ljósvetningasaga. Khöfn 1880," *Tímarit Hins íslenzka Bókmenntafélags* (1880): 266–7. See also Magerøy, *Sertekstproblemet*, 10, 13, and n. 38 regarding Guðbrandur and Powell's criticism. On Björn Sigfússon's further criticisms see below. Guðmundur would most likely have responded thusly: "Ljósvetninga saga er svo auðsjánlega safn af smáþáttum, að eg hefi ekki hikað mér við að skipta henni niður," *Glúma og Ljósvetninga saga*, iii.

41 *Origines Islandicae*, ed. and transl. Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell, 350.

42 *Ljósvetninga saga*, ed. Björn Sigfússon, xxiii, ft. 1. In *Um Ljósvetninga sögu* Björn stresses that Erichsen's misunderstanding of the text's flow stems from Guðmundur's forced division into parts and interpolated episode titles (8).

emphasized what he read as the fragmentary nature of the C-redaction by removing the three *þættir* and printing them after the saga's main text, as well as by printing *Þóraríns þáttir ofsa* as a text entirely separate from *Ljósvetninga saga*.⁴³ In addition, his critical apparatus and overall argumentation gives the impression that chapters 22–31, which can only be found in the C-redaction, were a part of the A-redaction' – despite the fact that, as discussed above, codicological evidence indicates that this part would not have been included in 561.

The Svart á hvítu edition of the saga from 1986 was used as the basis of our stylometric analysis.⁴⁴ This edition published the A- and C-redactions separately, by which – unlike Björn Sigfússon's *Íslenzk fornrit* edition – it highlighted the A-redaction's fragmented nature. In the Svart á hvítu edition segment that is titled "Ljósvetninga saga (C-gerð)," i.e. the C-redaction, there are several readings where the C-redaction manuscript readings are indeed preferred, but in most places the edition keeps the unamended A-redaction reading over that of the C-redaction, thereby underplaying the differences in phrasing throughout the parallel text. From the viewpoint of a stylometric analysis where the choice of words is key, we have therefore opted to revise their reading of the parallel chapters in the C-redaction, based on the readings in AM 485 4to.⁴⁵ We also confirmed their version of the A-redaction against the manuscript.

All of these editors of *Ljósvetninga saga* made decisions that influenced the text's reception: Þorgeir Guðmundsson and Þorsteinn Helgason ignored the significant variance evident in the A-redaction; Guðmundur Þorláksson created a composite text, providing misleading episode titles

43 *Ljósvetninga saga*, ed. Björn Sigfússon, 143. Despite this, the three first *þættir* still influence Björn's chapter count of the C-redaction but not that of the A-redaction, creating a somewhat disorienting effect which further strengthens his representation of an 'eclectic C-redaction'.

44 *Íslendingasögur og þættir*, II, ed. Bragi Halldórsson et al.

45 The choice of AM 485 4to as the basis for our revisions of the Svart á hvítu text is justified in Tirosh, "On the Receiving End," 36–50. There it is argued that of the earliest extant paper manuscripts, AM 485 4to reflects the most faithful (though certainly not perfect) transmission of AM 162 c fol. In a text-sensitive study like the one conducted here, the manuscript chosen by Björn Sigfússon for his *Íslenzk fornrit* edition JS 624 4to is problematic due to its addition of too many words and clauses for the purpose of clarification and creating a more streamlined narrative.

that influenced readers into receiving the text as fragmentary; Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Powell also created a composite text, as well as removing Eyjólfur's entire segment from the saga; Björn Sigfússon presented a flowery picture of the extant A-redaction material that inaccurately reflects the manuscript transmission, dismissing the importance of the *þættir* for the wholeness of the C-redaction in the process; and finally, the Svart á hvítu editors present an incomplete picture of the full variance between the A-redaction and the C-redaction. With the exception of Guðmundur Þorláksson, all these editions fail to point out the significant variations found in the parts shared between both redactions, preferring 561's rendering of the events without properly acknowledging the noticeable differences even in these parallel parts.

Bridging the Stylistic Gap

One thing that is clear from the above discussion is that scholars and editors of *Ljósvetninga saga* disagree about the relationship between the A- and C-redactions of the text. These opinions were colored by the Freeprose-Bookprose debate which was at its height when the two central stylistic studies of *Ljósvetninga saga* were conducted. We now turn to the specific stylistic arguments put forward by these scholars to frame our stylometric analysis. In the following, we refer to the divergent chapters in A and C (chapters 13–18) as “A-divergent” and “C-divergent.”

Above we have mentioned the work of Erichsen and Magerøy who offer opposing stances on the redaction problem, the former arguing for the primacy of the C-redaction and the latter for the A-redaction. While both authors employed various methods which were based on their ideas of saga narrative and aesthetic, overall their studies can be situated in the field of stylistics. It is relevant then to take a closer look at the specific stylistic arguments of these two studies.

Erichsen stresses that A-divergent tends towards the repetition of words in similar situations, while C-divergent has a somewhat more diverse vocabulary;⁴⁶ A-divergent tends syntactically more towards simpler

46 Notice that here she takes care to note that this characterizes A-divergent specifically and not the A-redaction as a whole.

parataxis, while C-divergent tends towards more complex hypotaxis, and chapters 1–4 do somewhat as well.⁴⁷ Having compared the style of these divergent chapters to the parallel chapters, she concludes:

Here one must accept a mix of sources within the written text transmission. One scribe – be it that of 162 or an exemplar or that of 561 or an exemplar – took the middle section [chapters 13–18] from a secondary source (either written or oral), presumably because the main exemplar had a lacuna here, or because there was a source for this part which he liked better... In other words, A is the result of a mix of sources and C follows one consistent exemplar, or vice versa.

Of these two options, the first is preferable. After all the vocabulary and style of AX [A13–18, A-divergent] have some features that differ from I [1–4] and II [19–21] (in A and in C [the parallel chapters]),

47 Erichsen, *Untersuchungen*, 56–58. She also provides an argument based on an analysis of the narrative, stating that chapters 1–4 (in both redactions) are a summary of a lost, longer rendering, pointing to, for example, Guðmundr inn ríki entering the saga without any introduction, as well as the vagueness of the *níð* against Guðmundr that was circulated by Þórir Helgason and Þorkell hákr. Erichsen, *Untersuchungen*, 66–70. Björn Sigfússon firmly disagreed with Erichsen’s assertion that chapters 1–4 are an abbreviation, providing several examples of characters entering a saga without an introduction (*Um Ljósvetninga sögu*, 8–9, n. 2). He also responds to her opinion that the *níð* is unclear, arguing that she failed to understand the art of the saga (*Um Ljósvetninga sögu*, 10). In the context of Þórir and Þorkell’s *níð* see Tirosh, “On the Receiving End”, 120–122 as well as Yoav Tirosh, “Arg Management: Vilifying Guðmundr inn ríki in *Ljósvetninga saga*,” *Bad Boys and Wicked Women. Antagonists and Troublemakers in Old Norse Literature*, ed. Daniela Hahn and Andreas Schmidt. Münchner Nordistische Studien 27 (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2016) 240–72. She further argued that the *þættir* stand out stylistically and from a narrative perspective, but this is beyond the scope of the present research. Magerøy responded to Adolfine Erichsen’s argument that chapters 1–4 were an abbreviated version of a lost text, supporting this with a literary and linguistic analysis that shows a consistency between the different parts of the A-redaction. “Den indre sammenhengen i Ljósvetninga saga,” *Norroena Et Islandica: Festskrift til Hallvard Magerøy På 75-årsdagen Den 15. Januar 1991, Utvalde Artiklar* (Øvre Ervik: Alvheim & Eide, Akademisk Forlag, 1991) 63–91. This analysis includes ch. 22–31 which, as mentioned above in reference to Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson’s research, probably could not have been part of the A-redaction manuscript 561, which puts a question mark on Magerøy’s arguments.

whereas no differences were noticeable between CX [C 13–18, C-divergent] and I–II [C 1–4, 19–21, the parallel chapters].⁴⁸

Thus Erichsen argues that the A-redaction is likely a result of the mixing of sources, whereas the C-redaction is more internally consistent. In the stylometric analysis that follows, we agree with this conclusion.

Magerøy, on the other hand, argues that the primacy of the A-redaction is reflected syntactically when compared to C-divergent, but also with the C-redaction's *þættir* standing out in particular. For example, he finds a higher use of “ok” in chapters 1–4 and A-divergent compared with C-divergent;⁴⁹ he repeats Björn Sigfússon's assertion that there are more dependent clauses in C-divergent than in A-divergent and chapters 1–4, noting an exceptionally high number of these clauses in the C-redaction *þættir*; also, like Erichsen, he agrees that C-divergent is characterized by hypotaxis and A-divergent by parataxis, but unlike her he suggests that chapters 1–4 are characterized more by hypotaxis than parataxis.⁵⁰

At this point the stylistic discussion largely ended with the matter remaining unsettled. With the Freeprose-Bookprose debate losing steam as the twentieth century went on, so too did the *Ljósvetninga saga* redaction problem drift away from scholarly attention. The task of this study is to engage with the problem once again, leveraging the advent of stylometrics.

48 “Hier muss man eine Quellenmischung, innerhalb der schriftlichen Textüberlieferung annehmen: ein Schreiber — sei es der von 162 oder einer Vorlage, sei es der von 561 oder einer Vorlage — hat dieses Mittelstück aus einer Nebenquelle (einer mündlichen oder einer schriftlichen) geschöpft, vermutlich weil die Hauptvorlage hier eine Lücke hatte, oder auch weil ihm gerade für diese Strecke eine Quelle zu Gebot stand, die ihm besser gefiel... Mit anderen Worten: A ist das Ergebnis einer Mischung, und C folgt einer zusammenhängenden Vorlage, oder umgekehrt. Von diesen zwei Möglichkeiten ist die erste vorzuziehen; denn Wortschatz und Stil von AX weisen immerhin einige Züge auf, die von I und II (in A wie C) abweichen wogegen zwischen CX und I–II keine Unterschiede bemerkbar [sind] ...” Erichsen, *Untersuchungen*, 59–60.

49 Magerøy here uses the 561 readings for the parallel chapters 1–4 and 19–21 for comparison with both A-divergent and C-divergent. This assumption does not take into account manuscript transmission. If Magerøy had counted the use of ‘ok’ in C chapters 1–4 and 19–21, he would have found that ‘ok’ is a scribal tendency in 561 and not necessarily a stylistic feature of A-redaction, discussed further below.

50 Note that he frequently reveals that the gap between C-divergent and A-parallel widens when the parts of chapters 13–18 that are not extant in A-divergent are taken into account. However, it could very well be that dependent clauses are a stylistic characteristic enforced by the plot itself, for example due to the introductory nature of these chapters.

That said, when we break the problem down to address it with a stylometric method, it turns out that, in fact, we are dealing with at least three separate problems each requiring a dedicated approach to a solution. First, there is the problem of whether A or C's divergent text in chapters 13–18 contains greater stylistic consistency with the text of the parallel chapters. This is a problem which stylometry is well-positioned to address, as will be discussed. Second is the problem of whether the sections unique to the C-redaction — the three *þættir* in chapters 5–12, the post-Guðmundur section in chapters 22–31, and finally *Þórarins þátr ofsa* (chapter 32) — are stylistically related to the canonical Guðmundur chapters. This is a more complex problem from a stylometric point of view. To date, our attempts to test this second problem have been inconclusive.⁵¹ The third problem is whether chapters 1–4 in both redactions should indeed be considered an abbreviation of a now-lost text. This is also a difficult problem to approach stylometrically, since chapters 1–4 are very short.⁵² In light of these matters, this article focuses on the first problem: is A-divergent more consistent with the parallel chapters of both versions, as Magerøy argued? Or is C-divergent more consistent, as Erichsen argued? As will be shown, the stylometric evidence is sufficient to accept Erichsen's conclusion and reject Magerøy's: C-divergent is more consistent with the style of the parallel chapters in both A and C, while A-divergent is likely a retelling.

From stylistics to stylometry

Before we proceed, let us discuss stylometry in general. What is stylometry and what distinguishes it from stylistics? From the point of view of its fundamental premise, there is little separating the former from the

51 In particular, we applied Multidimensional Scaling to these different parts of the C-redaction to determine their stylometric relationships. The results supported neither the hypothesis that these sections are interpolations nor the hypothesis that they are straightforwardly consistent with the remaining texts. As such, further research will be required to address this problem.

52 The word counts for these chapters alone falls well below the acceptable thresholds discussed below. As with the previous problem, we performed some initial tests which were inconclusive. Namely, the calculated cosine distances were highly dependent upon parameterization (for more on these terms, see below), indicating a high likelihood that the results could be explained as random chance.

latter: both methods are premised on the notion that writers, consciously or unconsciously, employ patterns in their use of language. For a given document, then, it should be possible to identify these patterns and compare them with other documents to determine how tendencies appear across the corpus. While it is certainly possible to do this sort of investigation manually, as Erichsen and Magerøy did, the stylometric method allows us to perform this sort of analysis in a statistically-robust, computer-assisted manner.⁵³ Stylometric methodologies are supported by a growing body of research conducted by scholars operating in an interdisciplinary manner at the intersection of language, literature, statistics, machine learning, and corpus linguistics. When done correctly, it also allows us to reduce bias, since the selection of features is generally not conducted by the human investigator (though the human investigator can still very well introduce bias into the research design, as discussed below).

The advent of stylometry has not changed the fact that the original premise of stylistics (that writers have particular habits) is not without its complications. While it is mostly uncontroversial to talk about the existence of style, scholars undertaking the analysis of style must constantly interrogate whether identified “patterns of language use” should be explained by style, or by something else entirely. There are, in fact, a large range of possible explanations for a given pattern. It may be that a particular pattern emerges because of circumstances arising due to a text’s manuscript transmission, thematic content, genre, setting, narration, editorial practice, or something else. Stylometry has provided us with powerful methods for identifying patterns in our texts and measuring the similarity between documents based on the frequencies of these patterns. But we must be careful not to get carried away by these advancements and neglect to inter-

53 At least four published studies in the Old Norse field have applied stylometry to illuminate old debates surrounding mainly questions of authorship. These studies are: Rosetta M. Berger and Michael D.C. Drout, “The relationship between *Víga-Glúms saga* and *Reykðæla saga*: Evidence from new lexomic methods,” *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 11 (2015): 1–32; Jón Karl Helgason et al., “Fingraför fornsagnahöfunda: Fráleiðsla í anda Holmes og stilmæling í anda Burrows,” *Skírnir* 191 (2017): 273–309; Haukur Þorgeirsson, “How Similar are *Heimskringla* and *Egils saga*? An Application of Burrows’ delta to Icelandic Texts,” *European Journal of Scandinavian Studies* 48.1 (2018): 1–18; and Michael MacPherson, “Samdi Bjarni biskup Málsháttkvæði? Glímt við dróttkvæði með stilmælingu,” *Són* 16 (2018): 35–58.

rogate the underlying premise at the center of both traditional stylistics and stylometry.

The need for caution can be illustrated with a recent exchange. In a 2018 article, Hartmut Ilseman applies a stylometric method to the works of Christopher Marlowe and concludes to strip him of around 5/7th of the texts traditionally attributed to him, justifying this bold move on stylometric grounds.⁵⁴ In a response to this article in 2019, Ros Barber takes Ilseman to task, arguing (convincingly) that Ilseman's study is flawed in its implementation and overreaching in its interpretation.⁵⁵ Barber's contention is mainly that Ilseman's results are predetermined by bias introduced into the test environment by the investigator. A number of lessons can be learned from this exchange:

- 1) Great care should be taken in the preparation of the documents. Critical engagement with the texts before any stylometry occurs is paramount.
- 2) The ideal test environment should be designed in a way which eliminates bias towards a particular document or class of documents.
 - a) Proper handling of texts of variable length is particularly crucial.
- 3) Investigators must always interrogate whether their documents are meaningfully comparable in terms of "style."

In keeping with these points, the present study will first address the preparation of the texts in light of the textual and editorial context discussed in the first part of this article (in keeping with point 1 above). For the stylometric investigation proper, we offer a series of iterative test environments, each iteration designed to improve upon the previous and communicate how the manipulation of the input documents and the adjustment of parameters affects the results. We emphasize an understanding of how and why these iterative modifications result in slightly different

54 Hartmut Ilseman, "Christopher Marlowe: Hype and Hoax," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 33 (2018): 788–820.

55 Ros Barber, "Marlowe and Overreaching: A Misuse of Stylometry," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 34.1 (2019): 1–12.

figures. It is our hope that this will make the investigation both accessible and transparent. It is also our hope that this iterative process will assist the reader in assessing whether, indeed, we are successful in removing bias from the test environments (in keeping with point 2). Between each iteration, we attempt to determine whether the results can be explained by style rather than something else (in keeping with point 3).

Preparing the documents

The basic precondition for stylometry is to have the texts in machine-readable format and split into different documents. Given the reconstructive editorial history of *Ljósvetninga saga* discussed above, we could not rely on a particular edition at the outset. We opted instead to produce new texts of the A- and C-redactions according to a best-text approach. As mentioned above, the texts of the redactions from the Svart á hvítu *Íslendingasögur* edition were used as a beginning text⁵⁶ and were updated to be closer to the manuscript readings of 561 for A and 162 and 485 for C,⁵⁷ applying consistent normalization practices between the two versions.

Once this was achieved, the texts of each version were split into the following documents:

Document 1: *Ljósvetninga saga* A chapters 1–4, 19–21 (hereafter “A-parallel”)

Document 2: *Ljósvetninga saga* C chapters 1–4, 19–21 (hereafter “C-parallel”)

Document 3: *Ljósvetninga saga* A chapters 13–18 (“A-divergent”).

Document 4: *Ljósvetninga saga* C chapters 13–18. (“C-divergent”)⁵⁸

56 *Íslendingasögur og þættir*, II, ed. Bragi Halldórsson et al.

57 On the selection of 485, see n. 45.

58 A- and C-parallel also include the last part of chapter 18 in A and C, which is where the versions converge. The A-divergent document omits the seventeenth-century summary on 37v of 561 mentioned in n. 5.

Table 1 — Document sizes

Document	Word count	Distinct terms
A-parallel	4002	1151
A-divergent	3277	913
C-parallel	4013	1159
C-divergent	4641	1280

Since we are specifically interested in determining whether A or C's divergent text is closer to the rest of the parallel text, this test environment is indifferent towards the question of whether A and C chapters 1–4 are, as Erichsen suggested, abbreviations of a lost text. It is more important for this stylometric setup that we have the two versions of the parallel text of substantial length. Once the documents are split in this manner, we arrive at the word counts in Table 1.

Are these documents of sufficient length for stylometric purposes? A-divergent in particular is quite short, possibly so short that any results would not be able to be explained by anything other than random chance. Maciej Eder has studied the matter for a range of poetic and prose corpora, attempting to arrive at a shortest acceptable length for reliable stylometric authorship attribution.⁵⁹ He observes that some corpora, such as English novels, require documents to be at least 5000 words in length before they provide acceptable results in stylometric authorship attribution. Meanwhile, results on Latin prose samples become acceptable at 2500 words.⁶⁰

It remains unclear where, precisely, we should place Old Norse saga prose on this spectrum. From literature on the vocabulary of the *Íslendingasögur*, we can confidently state that saga texts have a rather small vocabulary when compared to modern Icelandic texts.⁶¹

59 Maciej Eder, "Does Size Matter? Authorship Attribution, Small Samples, Big Problem," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 30:2 (2015): 167–182.

60 Maciej Eder, "Does Size Matter?" 180.

61 The narrowness of saga vocabulary relative to, for instance, modern Icelandic texts was proved quantitatively in the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s, as is discussed in Örnólfur Thorsson, "Orð af orði: hefð og nýmæli í Grettlu" (Doctoral thesis, University of Iceland, 1994): 35–36.

Since this is the case, we could certainly argue *a priori* that, when comparing *Íslendingasögur* documents, our word frequencies are more significant since the total range of possible words is narrower (effectively reducing the dimensionality of the feature space). But proving such a claim would require a methodological study extending Eder's research into the Old Norse field, and such a study still remains to be conducted (and is much desired). Nevertheless, it is important to note that Eder's goal, and the goal of many stylometricists to whom Eder was responding, was unequivocal authorship attribution. In order to appear as a correct attribution in his study, the stylometric classifier would have to determine the correct author. In practice, textual researchers are (or perhaps should be) seldom after such strong classifications. Rather, in situations where antiquity has afforded us with a limited set of evidence, we must resort to fuzzier probabilities. Given this, it is worthwhile to point out a similar experiment conducted by Burrows which found that stylometry could rank the correct author among a list of top candidates with documents as short as 150 words.⁶²

Various factors lead us to believe that the results of our investigation are not based on random chance, but rather genuinely speak to the relationship between *Ljósvetninga saga* A and C. First, the investigation is rather simple, targeting a small number of texts, two of which are almost the same. This means that the dimensionality of the problem is low, which is helpful. If we were exploring a corpus of hundreds of small texts (as Eder was), the dimensionality of the problem would be much larger, increasing the likelihood that the significance of word frequencies would get lost in the void of an excessive feature space. The documents have also been heavily reviewed by the authors for consistency, which is not the case for many textual corpora in stylometric literature. Finally and most importantly, in what follows we conduct a series of tests with different setups and at every stage the overall pattern of the results is always the same. This is a good sign, since it indicates that the overall relationship between the documents (that the C-redaction is most internally consistent with the parallel

62 See in particular Table 3 in John Burrows, "Delta": A Measure of Stylistic Difference and a Guide to Likely Authorship," *Literary and Linguistic computing* 17:3 (2002): 275. In this article John Burrows was working with the original delta metric which he devised here, and it should further be pointed out that metrics have improved since that time.

chapters of both A and C) is stable even through multiple test designs. Nevertheless, in the absence of benchmarking studies establishing the minimum document size for acceptable stylometric results in Old Norse saga prose, caution dictates that the present study should remain qualified by the possibility that our observations be explained merely as the result of random chance. As with any study, trust in the results ultimately rests in the reader's hands.

Measuring similarity

Having arranged the documents in the above manner, let us now begin with an initial stylometric experiment. Here we are chiefly interested in probing the stylometric similarity between A- and C-parallel and -divergent. As an initial hypothesis based on what we know about the manuscripts, we might expect that A-divergent should be more similar to A-parallel than it is to C-parallel, whereas C-divergent should be more similar to C-parallel than it is to A-parallel. Additionally, A-divergent should be more similar to A-parallel than C-divergent is to A-parallel, and C-divergent should be more similar to C-parallel than A-divergent is to C-parallel. This is a neutral hypothesis which assumes that documents of the same version are coherent stylistic units and can be summarized as follows: documents of the same version should be closer to documents of that version. This would be the case if nothing particularly special is going on.

The stylometric method we employ here is to calculate the stylometric distance between the documents. Having divided the texts in the manner described above, we scrub the documents of punctuation so that only individual word-forms remain. These individual words are then tokenized, each word being one token. We then tally the word frequencies for each word in each document, so that each document has a list of word frequencies. Next, we apply two parameters to this list of frequencies. First, in order to eliminate the randomness of less-frequent words, we only want to factor in a list of Most Frequent Words (MFWs). With the MFW parameter set to 100, we would only consider the top 100 most frequent words in each document. This has the effect of reducing the dimensionality of the problem and removing a great deal of noise, but it is also conceivable that it eliminates marginal data points which might contribute meaningfully to

a different result. We begin in the first test with MFW set to 100. Second, we may wish to only consider words which appear in a certain number of documents and remove the other words from the list of frequencies. This prevents words which are unique to one or more documents from contributing to the result. This is known as the “culling” parameter. With culling set to 100%, a word must be present in every single document to be included. This would allow us to remove the influence of anomalous words which appear in one redaction but not the other, focusing instead on more general patterns. But it has the possible downside of eliminating words which may be truly characteristic of a redaction. We begin with culling set to 100%. After applying these two parameters, the resulting list of frequencies are then normalized as z-scores and the distances between the documents are computed with these matrices using the cosine distance metric.⁶³ This results in a number between 0 and 2, with 0 indicating that two documents are exactly the same and 2 indicating that two documents have nothing in common.

In Figure 2, we observe the distances between A-divergent (in dark gray) and C-divergent (in light gray) to A-parallel (on the left-hand side) and C-parallel (on the right-hand side). As a reminder, the smaller the number, the more related the documents are stylometrically. Thus, the two closest documents are C-parallel and C-divergent, which have a cosine distance of 1.383, while the least similar documents are A-parallel and A-divergent with a cosine distance of 1.534. In this experiment, it turns out that C-divergent is closer to A-parallel than A-divergent is with a cosine distance of 1.497. Meanwhile, A-divergent is slightly closer to C-parallel than it is to A-parallel with a similarity of 1.519. As it turns out, our hypothesis does not accurately capture the results of this initial investigation. Instead of texts of the same version being more similar to one another, we observe that C-divergent is more similar to everything than A-divergent is. Taken at face value, this means that the C-redaction would be the most

63 See Jannidis et al., “Improving Burrows’ Delta – An empirical evaluation of text distance measures,” *Book of Abstracts of the Digital Humanities Conference 2015, ADHO, UWS* (2015) for a full description. In this work, the authors demonstrate that this metric outperforms other nearest-neighbor methods, making it a good fit for our present study. The stylometry is implemented in R, leveraging the Stylo package, M. Eder, J. Rybicki, and M. Kestemont. “Stylometry with R: a package for computational text analysis,” *R Journal* 8.1 (2016): 107–21. <https://journal.r-project.org/archive/2016/RJ-2016-007/index.html>.

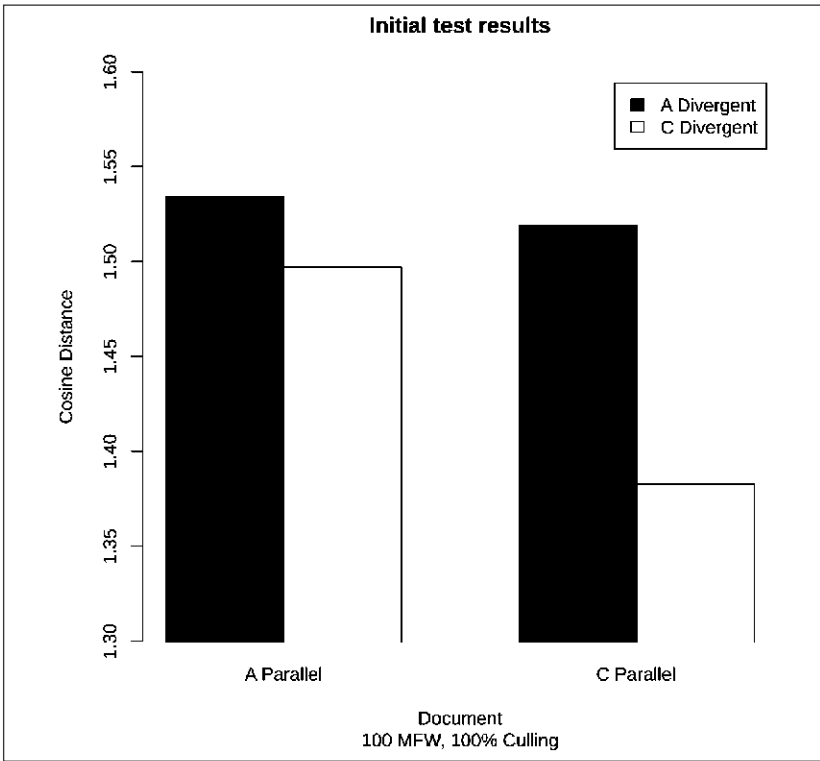


Figure 2 – Initial Cosine Distance.

stylistically-consistent text, whereas A-divergent is less similar not only to the entirety of the C-redaction, but also to A-parallel. A-parallel, it seems, has more to do with C than it does with A.

That said, we have a problem. Perhaps C-divergent is dominant simply because it is the longest document at 4641 words, compared to the 3277 words of A-divergent. To address this, we will run the test again having randomly sampled each document down to the length of our shortest document. For texts longer than 3277 words, we grab 3277 words at random and use the frequencies for the randomly sampled words to calculate our distance scores. This “bag-of-words” method is known to outperform other random sampling methods.⁶⁴ To prevent a single anomalous sampling

64 Eder, “Does Size Matter?” 169.

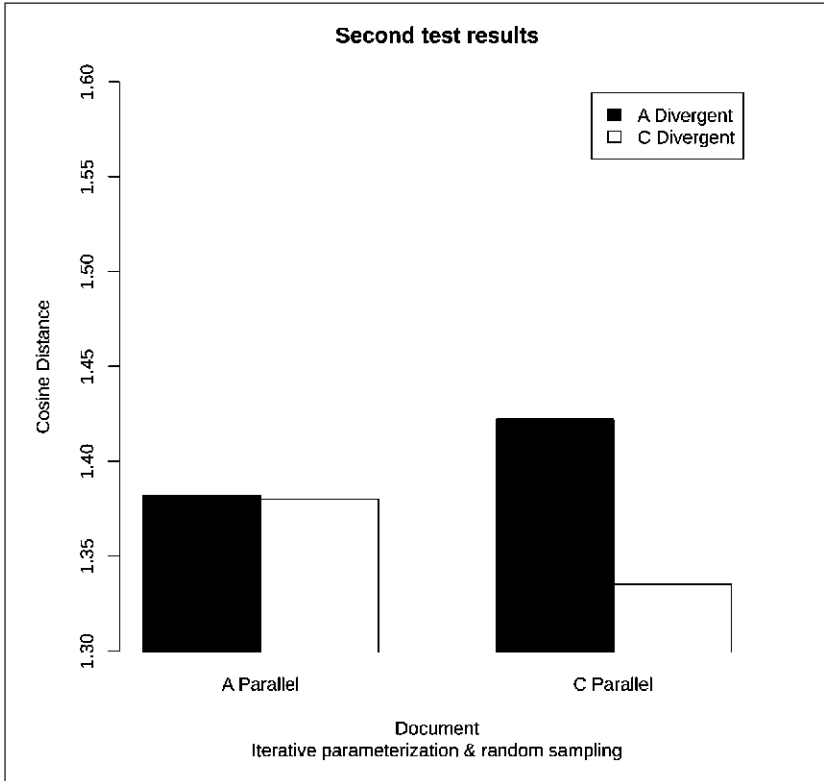


Figure 3 – Test 2

from having an undue influence, though, we take ten random samples and average out the results.

Another problem is that we may be placing too much weight on an *a priori* selection of our MFW and culling parameters. It may be that our assumption to use 100 MFWs at 100% culling is simply too strict to allow us to accurately assess the relationship between the documents. As such, in addition to implementing random sampling, we will also run a series of iterative tests with different parameters and average out the results. To do this, we run the first test at 100 MFWs and 0% culling and then run successive tests, increasing the culling by 25% each test, resulting in 5 tests in total. We then increase the MFWs by 100 and repeat the process so that the parameters are as high a value the tallied word lists allow. For instance,

we are not able to cull 800 MFWs at 50%, since the documents do not have 800 words total in common with at least 50% of them. This results in 24 different tests and the average cosine distances of each are calculated to arrive at a sort of consensus between many parameterization scenarios.

Having done this, we obtain the results in Figure 3. This time around the distances to A-parallel for A- and C-divergent are virtually identical (1.382 in dark gray and 1.380 in light gray respectively), but we can still clearly see that C-divergent is closer to C-parallel than A-divergent is (on the right-hand side). Having brought the word counts of our documents in line with A-divergent, it would appear that A-divergent has more opportunity to compete with the similarity scores over other documents. Nevertheless, our observation remains that C appears to be the most internally-coherent redaction.

But is this result explained by style, or by something else? For instance, one of the words which the above tests always take into account is “Guðmundur.” On the whole, the appearance of certain characters or, generally, proper nouns, in one document versus the other does not have much to say about “style.” It has more to do with thematic content and narrative. To be safe, for our third and final test, we remove all proper nouns.⁶⁵

Another class of words have more to do with the circumstances of manuscript transmission rather than style. We are particularly concerned about the highly-frequent discourse verbs which may appear either in present or preterite: *svaraði* instead of *svarar* or *sagði* instead of *segir*. While the usage of one over the other may very well be stylistic, these words are simply too volatile in manuscript transmission to be considered here. Moreover, these words are often abbreviated such that it is impossible to tell which word form is being used. Thus, these finite verbs were collapsed into their present forms. Other word forms to consider would be other frequently occurring words such as *en* and *og* which display volatility in manuscript transmission. The frequencies of these words were inspected individually and it was concluded that there was no need to remove them. Though 561 has a tendency to use *og* more than the C manuscripts, its only result is bringing A-parallel and A-divergent closer together, and in the results that

65 That said, the substitution of a proper name for a pronoun may indeed be a stylistic tendency which we want to address. But this would be caught by an increase in frequency of those pronouns, meaning this is still accounted for.

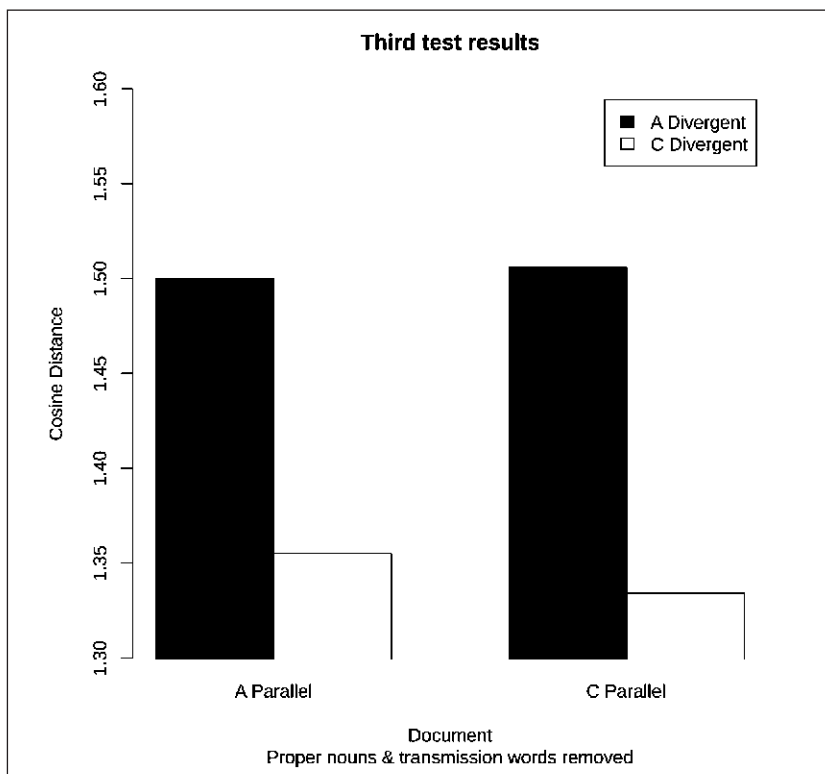


Figure 4 – Test 3

follow the internal consistency of the A-redaction are not at all supported by stylometry anyhow, even with this word included.⁶⁶

Having performed the above emendations to the text of the documents, we run a third and final experiment implementing everything as in the second experiment with regard to random sampling (taking into account the slightly adjusted word counts) and iterative parameterization. The results of this experiment can be found in Figure 4. This time around, we observe

⁶⁶ See Magerøy's comments discussed above regarding the usage of *ok* in chapters 1–4 and in A-divergent. This is a clear case where not taking manuscript variance into account led the scholar to a problematic philological conclusion. It could also be argued that choosing to leave *og* in the documents could create bias favoring the C-redaction by moving A further from C-parallel. As a measure of additional caution, a separate test was conducted with *og* and *en* removed which resulted in virtually the same result as in Figure 4 below.

that C-divergent (in light gray) is again more similar to both parallel documents than A-divergent is. A-divergent (in dark gray) is slightly more similar to A-parallel (1.500) than it is to C-parallel (1.506) and C-divergent is slightly more similar to C-parallel (1.334) than it is to A-parallel (1.355), but the fact that these values are so close indicates to us that we have removed most of the interfering noise. Meanwhile, C-divergent is once again more similar to A-parallel and C-parallel than A-divergent is, indicating that C-divergent is more stylometrically similar to both parallel documents than A-divergent is. Having eliminated most of the words which could have contributed to statistical noise or otherwise were not stylistic, we get what is probably our clearest result yet. C-divergent is again closer to the other documents than A-divergent is, supporting Erichsen's argument for the internal consistency of the C-redaction.

The fact that the overall trend remains consistent makes us doubtful that further manipulation of the text or of the test environment would affect the result significantly. We are therefore confident enough in the results to argue that stylometry firmly supports the internal consistency of the C-redaction over the A-redaction.

The results support Erichsen's understanding of A-redaction: it is a result of a mix of sources. It is important to note that she remains ambivalent regarding whether the "secondary source" of A-divergent is written or oral. She also does not explain why this alternative source was sought. It could have been due to an exemplar, personal choice, or something else. All told, this explanation is cautious but sufficiently captures the various possibilities. Furthermore, this explanation best fits our results: stylometry agrees that the A-redaction is indeed the result of a mix of sources when compared with the C-redaction. On the other hand, we can safely dismiss, as Andersson did, Magerøy's attempt to demonstrate a stronger stylistic affinity between A-divergent with the parallel chapters than C-divergent. Nevertheless, we cannot necessarily dismiss Magerøy's attempt to demonstrate a textual connection between A- and C-divergent, as this was not tested. Overall, it is our impression that A- and C-divergent's textual relationship is minor, such that Erichsen's argument has much greater explanatory power than Magerøy's argument that the two are textually related.⁶⁷

67 Our impression is based on the fact that there is not even a single clause which is exactly the same in A and C in these chapters.

Conclusion

Through a stylometric analysis, we have shown that C-redaction chapters 13–18 are more similar in their use of language to the common chapters 1–4 and 19–21 (in both A and C) than the divergent A-redaction chapters 13–18 are. The importance of this conclusion is that it affirms the primacy of *Ljósvetninga saga*'s C-redaction. On the other hand, it also rehabilitates the notion that chapters 13–18 in the A-redaction can be safely studied from the point of view of orality. It does, indeed, seem to be a retelling.

What this article also makes clear is that a new critical edition of *Ljósvetninga saga* is required. Following the groundbreaking codicological analysis conducted by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, as well as the present analysis, it becomes clear that the picture that Björn Sigfússon's Íslenzk fornrit edition of the saga portrays is not tenable.

Nevertheless, further work is required to fully demonstrate the role of the additional sections in the C-redaction. It seems clear, though, that the C-redaction has been somewhat misunderstood by Bookprose editors who preferred the succinctness of the A-redaction. This resulted in a misrepresentation of the C-redaction narrative, at the same time obfuscating the true nature of the A-redaction.

This cannot be the final word on the issues that arise from *Ljósvetninga saga*'s problematic transmission. Further research into the structure and composition of this saga is required: attempts to recover the palimpsest readings on 37v of 561, in particular, would be incredibly valuable;⁶⁸ a stylometric analysis of the *þættir* as well as chapters 22–31 could help to understand their role within the composition history of the C-redaction; we might ask how establishing the primacy of the C-redaction influences the issue of dating the saga, and saga dating in general; finally, we might return to an understanding of A-divergent as a retelling informed by oral tradition, armed with improved granularity and terminology offered by advances in the study of cultural memory.

68 The authors wish to thank Þorgeir Sigurðsson and Haukur Þorgeirsson for their initial efforts in creating multi-spectral images of the leaf, though it seems that with more funding dedicated to this more could be achieved.

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ABSTRACT

Keywords: *Ljósvetninga saga*, Íslendingasögur, stylometry, philology

Ljósvetninga saga is preserved in two primary versions, the A-redaction and C-redaction. These two redactions feature parallel (though not identical) sections as well as a section (chapters 13–18) which is entirely divergent. Scholars and editors have long disagreed over the question of which version of the saga is more internally consistent. Two stylistic studies by Adolfine Erichsen in 1919 and Hallvard Magerøy in 1956 arrived at opposite conclusions: the former preferring the stylistic coherence of the C-redaction and the latter preferring the A-redaction. The conclusions of these scholars reflected opposing stances on the Freeprose-Bookprose origin of the *Íslendingasögur*. Proponents of the Freeprose school including Knut Liestøl leveraged Erichsen’s stylistic investigation to argue that the divergent section in A-redaction should be considered a genuine oral variant, whereas proponents of the Bookprose school (including the editor of the saga’s *Íslensk formrit* edition, Björn Sigfússon) criticized the oral understanding and instead framed the divergent C-redaction section as a historical novelization of what was originally the A-redaction. The development of stylometry in recent years has provided us with a statistically-robust set of methods to interrogate the style of texts. In this article, the authors revisit the debate and present stylometric evidence to support Erichsen’s conclusion and reject Magerøy’s: the divergent section of the C-redaction has more in common with the parallel chapters and the A-redaction is likely an independent version of the text retold, possibly with recourse to oral tradition.

ÁGRIP

Lykilorð: *Ljósvetninga saga*, Íslendingasögur, stílmælingar, textafræði

Ljósvetninga saga er varðveitt í tveimur gerðum, A-gerð og C-gerð. Að mestu leyti er textinn í köflum 1–4 og 19–21 í báðum gerðum hinn sami, en í köflum 13–18 eru textarnir mjög ólíkir. Fræðimenn og útgefendur hafa lengi verið ósammála um þetta gerðarmál og þá sérstaklega um spurninguna hvort A-gerð eða C-gerð sé samkvæmari sjálfri sér. Stílfraeðingarnir Adolfine Erichsen (í 1919) og Hallvard Magerøy (í 1956) komust að andstæðum niðurstöðum: Erichsen taldi að C-gerð

væri samkvæmari sjálfri sér og Magerøy A-gerð. Niðurstöður þeirra tengjast þeirri umræðu um hvort Íslendingasögurnar væru byggðar á munnlegri hefð eða á rithefð ('Freiprosa-Bochprosa'). Til dæmis taldi Knut Liestøl að kaflar 13–18 í A-gerðinni eigi í raun uppruna sinn í munnmælahefð. Hins vegar taldi Björn Sigfússon (ritstjóri útgáfu Íslenzkra fornrita) að C-gerðin væri sagnfræðileg útfærsla A-gerðarinnar. Stílmælingar hafa veitt okkur tækifæri til að rannsaka stílfraðileg vafaatriði að nýju með sterkum tölfræðilegum aðferðum. Þessi grein fjallar um álitamál hinna ólíku gerða Ljósvetninga sögu og notar stílmælingar til þess að sýna að C-gerðin er samkvæmari sjálfri sér; A-gerð er hins vegar endursögn sem byggir mögulega á munnmælahefð.

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„HUGBLAUÐ HORMEGÐARBIKKJA“

Um Bósa sögu yngri

BÓSA SAGA OG HERRAUÐS er að sumu leyti einstæð meðal íslenskra miðaldabókmennta. Berorðar lýsingar á kynlífi annarrar aðalhetjunnar hafa aflað sögunni nokkurrar frægðar og eiga sér ekki hliðstæðu í lausamálsfrásögnum miðalda, ekki aðeins vegna þess hve hispurslausar þær eru heldur ekki síður fyrir tungutakið. Skrauthvörfin og líkingarnar sem höfundur grípur til eru listilega smíðaðar og erfitt að finna sambærilegt myndmál í miðaldasögu sem jafnast á við frásögn *Bósa sögu*. Ljóst er að ekki hefur öllum þótt lýsingarnar tilhlýðilegur hluti sögunnar enda hafa þær verið skafnar upp í einu elsta skinnhandritinu, AM 586 4to, og í elstu prentuðu útgáfum hennar er þeim sleppt, enda þótt þær standi í öðrum handritum. Um svipað leyti eða nokkru áður en fyrsti útgefandi sögunnar, Olof Verelius, lét prenta hana í Uppsölum árið 1666 tóku íslenskir sagnaritarar í auknum mæli að beina sjónum sínum að annarri *Bósa sögu* og *Herrauðs* sem finnst fyrst í handritum frá um og upp úr miðri sautjándu öld. Um þessa sögu hefur lítt verið rætt og ritað en jafnan vísað til hennar sem „yngri gerðar“ *Bósa sögu*. Sagan er vissulega yngri og önnur gerð en það mætti einnig halda því fram að hún sé *ný saga* sem er í raun fjarskyld þeirri eldri. Í þessari grein er fjallað um varðveislu *Bósa sögu*, yngri sagan borin efnislega saman við þá eldri og loks ræddar mögulegar skýringar á því hvernig þróun hennar var háttáð í samhengi við aðra skylda texta. Um leið er lögð áhersla á að greiningin á sambandi þessara texta getur þjónað sem fordæmi fyrir frekari rannsóknir á sambandi ólíkra texta sem spretta af sama sagnaefninu.

1. Varðveisla

Af varðveislu *Bósa sögu* að dæma eru heitin „yngri gerð“ og „eldri gerð“ hárrétt. Alls hef ég fundið 33 safnmörk sem eru handrit *Bósa sögu* og er

yfirlit þeirra að finna í *Töflu 1* og *Töflu 2*.¹ Í handritaskrá er þess ekki alltaf getið hvor gerðin er í handritum heldur einungis tekið fram að þau varðveiti *Bósa sögu*. Töflurnar hér að neðan eru því bragarbót þar á. Til eru fjögur skinnhandrit *Bósa sögu* sem öll varðveita eldri gerðina. Þrjú þeirra eru talin rituð á fimmtánda öld, AM 586 4to, AM 343 a 4to og AM 577 4to en hið fjórða er AM 510 4to frá um miðri sextánda öld. AM 343 a 4to varðveitir aðeins lítið brot sögunnar á þremur blöðum og í AM 577 4to vantar eitt blað en AM 586 4to og AM 510 4to varðveita söguna heila ef frá eru taldir þrjár uppskafningar í AM 586 4to þar sem siðprúður eigandi eða lesandi bókarinnar hefur skafið upp beðmálsævintýri Bósa. Af sam-
anburði á texta þessara fjögurra handrita er ljóst að þeir eru allir náskyldir og í meginatriðum fylgjast handritin að án stórkostlegra frávíka.

Tafla 1: Yfirlit yfir varðveitt handrit eldri Bósa sögu

Safnmark	Aldur	Annað í hdr. ²	Skrifari	Aths.
AM 340 4to	1610–1650	Fs.	Jón Gissurarson	
AM 343 a 4to	1450–1500	Fs. og rs.	NN	Tvö brot.
AM 361 4to	Sautjándi öld	Bósa saga tvisvar	Tveir skrifarar	Upphaflega tvö handrit.
AM 510 4to	Um 1550	Sögur	Ari Jónsson, Jón og Tómas Arasynir	
AM 577 4to	1450–1500	Sögur	Fjórir skrifarar	
AM 586 4to	1450–1500	Sögur og ævintýri	Tveir skrifarar	

- 1 Þessi tala er lægri en ef öll handrit *Bósa sögu* sem talin eru í handritaskrá væru talin með en ég undanskil eftirfarandi handrit: AM 576 a 4to geymir stuttan útdrátt eldri sögunnar frá sautjándi öld ásamt athugasemdinni „þessi saga sýnist góð og nytsamleg.“ ÍB 173 4to geymir örlítið brot sem er partur af kápunni. GKS 1019 fol., þýðing Torfæusar á dönsku. R: 708 Salanska samling no 71, þýðing á latínu.
- 2 Fornaldarsögur og riddarasögur eru stytta með skammstöfunum fs. og rs.

Safnmark	Aldur	Annað í hdr.	Skrifari	Aths.
AM 591 f 4to	1650–1700	Ekkert	Ólafur Gíslason, Hofi	Var líklega hluti stærri bókar.
AM 1039 4to	17. öld	Ekkert	Jón Erlingsson?	Vantar framan af.
GKS 1006 fol.	1620–1670	Sögur	Jón Erlendsson	
NKS 1155 fol.	1750–1800	Friðþjófs s. og Finnboga saga	NN	Skr. eftir AM 510 4to.
NKS 1186 fol.	1750–1800	Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar	NN	Skr. eftir AM 586 4to.
Holm papp 13 4to	Um 1670	Einkum fs.	Jón Eggertsson að mestu	Vantar Buslubæn.
Uppsala R: 715	1650	Samtíningur	NN	Var í eigu Jóns Rúgmans.
ÍB 131 8vo	1833	Sögur, rímur, kvæði	Guðmundur Guðmundsson og Guðmundur Sveinsson	Brot.
ÍB 132 8vo	Átjándi öld	Samtíningur	NN	Eitt blað sögunnar úr öðru óþekktu handriti.
JS 409 8vo	1759–1773	Sögur	Sigurður Magnússon, Holtum	
Lbs 272 fol.	um 1700	Sögur	NN	Skrifað fyrir Magnús í Vigur.
Lbs 423 fol.	Átjándi. öld	Fjöldi sagna	Ýmsar hendur	Skrifað fyrir Bjarna Pétursson, Skarði. Buslubæn er aukin og rituð með rúnalettri.

Safnmark	Aldur	Annað í hdr.	Skrifari	Aths
Lbs 4837 4to	1878	Fs. og rs.	Guðmundur Jónsson	Líklega skrifað eftir útg. Rafns.
Lbs 5567 4to	1913	Rs.	Tvær hendur	Líklega skrifað eftir útg. Rafns.
Einkaeign 20	Nítjnda öld	Sögur		Líklega skrifað eftir útg. Rafns. ³

Elsta handrit yngri gerðar sögunnar í heild er frá 1663, AM 360 b 4to en aftan við söguna stendur „Anno 1663 19 decembris“.⁴ Lítið annað er vitað um handritið; því fylgja engar upplýsingar um feril og í *Katalog over den Arnemagnæanske håndskriftsamling* bætir Kristian Kålund litlu við. Handritið er tíu blöð og varðveitt aðeins *Bósa sögu* yngri og hefur líklega upprunalega verið hluti stærri bókar en hver hún var er óvíst. Eftir þessu handriti var sögugerðin prentuð í útgáfu Otto Jiriczek frá 1893 en þar fylgir hún strax á eftir eldri sögunni. Litlu yngra er handritið AM 345 4to, skrifað undir lok sautjándu aldar en aftan við *Bósa sögu* stendur: „Enduð á Kálfavík 1695“. Skrifari er Jón Þórðarson.⁵ Sami skrifari virðist reyndar einnig hafa skrifað þessa sögugerð upp í Lbs 222 fol. en óvíst er hvort handritið er eldra. Aðrar uppskriftir eru frá um 1700 og síðar, sjá *Töflu 2*.

Tafla 2: Yfirlit yfir varðveitt handrit yngri *Bósa sögu*

Safnmark	Aldur	Efni	Skrifari	Annað
AM 345 4to	1695	Fs.	Jón Þórðarson	
AM 360 a 4to	1700–1725	Ekkert	Sigurður Vigfússon	
AM 360 b 4to	1663	Ekkert	NN	

- Þessi þrjú handrit sem ég tel að runnin frá útgáfu Rafns varðveita öll sömu úrfellingar og finna má í útgáfunni, þ.e. styttingu á næturfundum Bósa og bændadætranna.
- Lítið brot sögunnar er varðveitt í Holm papp 4to nr. 1 sem er talið frá miðri sautjándu öld. Handritið er í tveimur hlutum sem upphaflega voru tvær bækur og yngri gerð *Bósa sögu* er í þeim síðari en aðeins frá lokum tólfta kafla til upphafs þess sextánda. Það er mögulegt að þetta sé elsta varðveitta brot sögunnar.
- Beeke Stegmann, „Árni Magnússon’s rearrangement of paper manuscripts,“ (Doktorsritgerð, Univeristy of Copenhagen, 2016), 77.

Safnmark	Aldur	Efni	Skrifari	Annað
AM 362 4to	Um 1700	Ekkert	Magnús Ketilsson	Fyrir Magnús í Vigur.
NKS 1701 4to	1750–1800	Fs.	NN	Skr. eftir AM 345 4to.
NKS 1767 4to	1750–1800	Ekkert	NN	Skr. eftir AM 360 a 4to.
Holm papp 1 4to	Sautjándi öld	Ekkert	NN	Brot.
Lbs 222 fol.	1695–1746	Sögur og ævintýri	Jón Þórðarson	
Lbs 5203 8vo	1804	Samtíningur	NN	Hlutar handrits gætu verið eldri.
ÍB 245 4to	1804	Ekkert	Benjamín Bjarnason, Bakka	Vantar framan af.
ÍB 297 4to	Um 1750	Ekkert	NN	Brot.
ÍBR 38 8vo	1828–1831	Sögur og fræði	Jón Eiríksson, Þrándarstöðum	

Af þessum elstu handritum yngri gerðar er lítið hægt að draga ályktanir um uppruna sögugerðarinnar eða kringumstæður þess að hún var skrifuð niður. Í formála að útgáfu sögunnar tekur Jiriczek fram að hann telji sögunna á þessu formi ekki eldri en frá um 1600 og taka má undir með honum því að varðveislan gefur ekki tilefni til annars.

2. Yngri og eldri gerð

Í ljósi þess að yngri *Bósa saga* er ekki sérstaklega þekkt er þráður hennar dreginn hér stuttlega saman lesendum til hægðarauka. Í upphafi er kynntur til sögunnar Hrólfur konungur yfir Gautlandi, bróðir Haralds konungs hilditannar. Hann er giftur Ingibjörgu, hertogadóttur af Ungaríu, en á frilluborinn son, Sjód, og skilgetinn sonur þeirra Herrauður fæðist ekki fyrir en Sjódur er orðinn átján ára. Hrólfur konungur á mikið og gott lið sem er í hernaði hvert sumar og setur fyrir liðinu Brynþvara, son Codusar sem síðan fylgdi Viktori og Blávus.

Í Rússía ræður Úlfur jarl, bróðir hans er Hrafnsteinn svartí, og eru þeir óvildarmenn Hrólfs konungs. Dóttir Úlfs, Brynhildur, gat „öngva list þá lært sem kvenmann mátti prýða“ og var þess vegna kölluð Brynhildur бага. Af þessum sökum fer hún í nám í riddaraskap og verður öllum köppum harðfengari, nýtur velgengni í hernaði allt þar til hún kemur til Gautlands og lendir í hörðum bardaga við Brynþvara sem drepur alla menn hennar, handtekur hana en eftir samningaviðræður, burtreiðar og skylmingar, neyðist hún til þess að giftast Brynþvara, þvert á vilja Úlfs. Þeirra sonur er Bósi, jafnaldri Herrauds konungssonar og þeir verða nánir vinir. Bósi kemur sér í vandræði við hirðina með því að limlesta, beinbrjóta og drepa nokkra menn konungs í leikum. Steininn tekur úr þegar hann tekur þátt í leik þar sem fimmtán deyjja en tíu lamast og er útlægur ger úr ríkinu ellegar rétt-dræpur.

Bósi og Herraudur fara í herför og lenda meðal annars í miklum bardaga við berserkina Surt og Sám og hljóta á leiðinni aðstoð frá hjálpsama dvergunum Lit. Bardaganum er lýst í nokkuð löngu máli og ásamt berserkjum og blámönnum mæta fóstbræðurnir einnig fílum, gammi, ljóni og dreka en þeir hrósa sigri að lokum. Þeir halda þá aftur til Gautlands en í millitíðinni hafði Sjóður rænt fé Brynþvara svo að Bósi drepur Sjóð og lendir að nýju í ónáð konungs.

Þá slær í bardaga milli konungs liðs og Bósa og Herrauds sem endar með því að þeir fóstbræður eru hnepttir í varðhald. Busla, fóstira Bósa, kemur þá til sögunnar og þylur sína særingabæn yfir konungi en texti bænarinnar er þó ekki hinn sami og í eldri sögunni. Fyrir bæn Buslu sleppa Bósi og Herraudur en þurfa að færa konungi dýrmætt gammsegg að launum fyrir lífgjöfina. Þeir halda því af stað á ný, fara til Bjarmalands og koma þar að kotbæ. Þar fá þeir gistingu og Bósi eyðir nótt með bóndadóttur en lýsingar á fundi þeirra eru þó mun hófstiltari en í eldri gerð. Bóndadóttirin segir síðan Bósa hvar og hvernig þeir geta fundið gammseggð sem er geymt í hofi gyðju og þar er einnig fangi Geirriður dóttir Godmundar konungs á Glæsisvöllum.

Bósi og Herraudur halda af stað í átt að hofinu en á leiðinni bjarga þeir fagurri jómfúru úr klóm bjargbúa sem er um það bil að fara að nauðga henni. Mærin reynist dóttir dvergs sem launar þeim með göldróttum hundsrakka, herklæðum og töfrasverði. Þeir ná gammsegginu í hofinu með aðstoð tveggja hjálpsamra dverga áður en þeir ráða niðurlögum gyðjunnar og frelsa

Geirríði. Þau halda svo öll til Gautlands, Geirríður og Herrauður bindast heitum og Bósi afhendir kóngi gammseggið.

Áður en að brúðkaupi Herrauðs og Geirríðar verður þurfa Bósi og Herrauður að veita Haraldi hilditönn liðsinni í bardaga og í þeirra fjarveru uppgötvar Goðmundur konungur að systir hans hefur verið tekin og sendir menn sína, Hárek og Hrærek, að leita hennar. Vegna þess að Hrólfrur konungur er fámennur fella þeir hann fljótt og taka Geirríði með sér aftur til Glæsisvalla. Goðmundur blæs þá til brúðkaups Geirríðar og Háreks. Bósi og Herrauður halda þá strax til Glæsisvalla og koma í brúðkaupið í fínnum dularklæðum og þykjast bjóða konungi þjónustu sína. Með hljóðfæraslætti og ótæpilegri drykkju svæfir Herrauður brúðgumann og rænir brúðinni en Goðmundur sigar á eftir þeim tólf hundum sem þeir með naumindum og göldrum komast undan og halda heim þar sem Herrauður og Geirríður halda brúðkaup.

Goðmundur er þó enn ekki af baki dottinn og dregur saman mikinn her, meðal annars úr Risalandi og Jötunheimum, og býður Herrauði bardaga. Eftir mikla orrustu lýtur lið Goðmundar í lægra haldi og hann sjálfur handtekinn en fyrir orð Geirríðar gefur Herrauður honum grið og bindast þeir vináttuböndum. Að lokum sendir Herrauður eftir bóndadótturinni sem veitt hafði Bósa upplýsingar um gammseggið og biður Bósa um að giftast henni. Bósi er mjög tregur til þess en fyrir fortölur Herrauðs lætur hann til leiðast og hlýtur síðan jarlsnafn.

Þeir sem á annað borð þekkja Bósa sögu hafa yfirleitt aðeins lesið eldri söguna. Af samantektinni hér að ofan má sjá að ákveðinn meginþráður er gerðunum sameiginlegur, persónur eru flestar hinar sömu og hvati atburðarásarinnar er leit að gammseggi og frelsun Geirríðar – sem raunar heitir Hleiður í eldri gerð – en þó ætti að vera ljóst að yngri gerð vikur um margt frá þeirri eldri. Þetta sést bæði í frásagnartækni, efnistöfum og lýsingum. Yngri sagan hefur ýmsar viðbætur eins og hjálpsama dverga, bergbúa, risa, jötna, berserki og blámenn sem ekki leika neitt hlutverk í eldri gerð. Þessa þróun má væntanlega rekja til aldursmunar sagnanna tveggja og útbreiðslu rómönsunnar, en uppskriftum þeirra fjölgar jafnt og þétt frá fimmtánda öld til þeirrar nítjándu.⁶ Hjálpsamir dvergar eða aðrar

6 Sjá t.d. Matthew James Driscoll, *The Unwashed Children of Eve: The Production, Dissemination and Reception of Popular Literature in Post-reformation Iceland* (Enfield Lock, Middlesex: Hisarlik Press, 1997), 1–10.

hjálpssamar vættir er víða að finna í riddarasögum og sama má segja um óvinina berserki og blámenn.⁷

Í báðum sögum er raunar að finna töfra og hluti sem hafa galdramátt en það er ákveðinn eðlismunur milli sagnanna. Í eldri sögunni eru Busla og hofgyðjan Kolfrosta göldróttar og flest allt í hofinu er göldrum blandað. Þá eru nýttar nágrímur sem dulargervi og drekar og aðrar furðuverur birtast. Í yngri sögunni eru hins vegar mun fleiri munir sem hafa töframátt, til að mynda bæði herklæði og vopn sem ekki birtast í eldri sögunni, enda fylgja dvergum í sögum oft haglega smíðaðir töfragripir en engir dvergar taka þátt í eldri sögunni.⁸

Í upphafi er strax ljóst að um ólíkar sögur er að ræða. Konungurinn sem í eldri sögu er Hringur heitir nú Hrólfur. Úlfur sterki í Rússía, faðir Brynhildar, og bróðir hans Hrafnsteinn eru ekki þekktir af eldri gerð. Forsagan að aðdraganda hjónabands Brynþvara og Brynhildar er langtum rækilegri í yngri gerð þó að í báðum sögunum sé hún skjaldmey og sigruð í bardaga. Viðurnefni hennar „baga“ er dregið af fötlun í eldri sögunni en í yngri sögunni af því að hún hefur enga kvenlega kosti. Bardaga Herrauðs og Bósa við berserki er að engu getið í eldri sögunni en er líklega að hluta til ættaður úr *Bósa rímum* og *Viktors sögu* eins og betur verður vikið að hér að neðan.

Með sanni má segja að Bósi í yngri sögunni sé vart nema skugginn af þeirri persónu sem hann er í eldri sögunni því að þar er hann bæði mælskur og útsjónarsamur en í yngri sögunni er hann fyrst og fremst fylgdarmaður Herrauðs og hreystimenni mikið. Þennan áherslumun má meðal annars merkja í varðveislunni því að ef litið er á titil sögunnar í handritum, nefna sex handrit yngri sögunnar hann „Bósa hinn sterka“ en í titilorðum handrita eldri sögunnar er hann ýmist nefndur Bögu-Bósi, Bósi hinn kven-

7 Um þetta sjá t.d. Ármann Jakobsson, „Enabling Love: Dwarfs in Old Norse-Icelandic Romances“, *Romance and Love in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland*, ritstj. Kirsten Wolf og Johanna Denzin (Ithaca: Cornell University Library, 2008).

8 Um galdragripir og dverga í riddarasögum sjá t.d. W. Schäfke, „Was ist eigentlich ein Zwerg? Eine prototypensemantische Figurenanalyse der „dvergar“ in der Sagaliteratur,“ *Mediaevistik* 23 (2010): 247–257 og Inna Matyushina, „Magic mirrors, monsters, maiden-kings: (the fantastic in riddarasögur),“ *The fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic literature. Sagas and the British isles preprint papers of The 13th International Saga Conference Durham and York, 6th–12th August, 2006*, ritstj. John McKinnell, David Ashurst og Donata Kick (Durham: The Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Durham University, 2006), 660–662.

sami, eða einfaldlega Bósi. Önnur ástæða þess að persónusköpun Bósa breytist liggur í frásagnartækninni því að í yngri sögunni mælir Bósi mun sjaldnar í beinni ræðu og fremur sagt frá honum í óbeinni ræðu. Munar þar mest um samræður Bósa við bændadæturnar þrjár í eldri sögunni þar sem mælskubrögð hans komast í hámmæli. Má hér líta til samanburðar á fund hans og fyrstu bóndadótturinnar í eldri sögunni:

En er fólk var sofnað, stóð Bósi upp ok gekk til sængr bóndadóttur ok lypti klæðum af henni. Hún spyr, hvern þar væri. Bósi sagði til sín. „Hví ferr þú hingat?“ sagði hún „Því, at mér var eigi hægt þar, sem um mik var búit,“ ok kveðst því vilja undir klæðin hjá henni. „Hvat viltu hér gera?“ sagði hún. „Ek vil herða jarl minn hjá þér,“ segir Bögu-Bósi. „Hvat jarli er þat?“ sagði hún. „Hann er ungr ok hefir aldri í aflinn komit fyrri, en ungan skal jarlinn herða.“⁹

Í yngri sögunni er þessu lýst á nokkuð annan veg:

Stóð nú Bósi á fætur mjög hljótt og gekk nú til þess að hann hitti á rúm bóndadóttur, háttaði síðan hjá henni og breiddi á sig klæði; hún mælti hljótt til hans: Ærið ertu djarfur, eður hvör bauð þjer hingað? Bósi mælti: Hvört veistu ei forlög þín, því er nú sú stund komin, að þú átt að missa meydóm þinn; en hún mælti. Ei kann eg það að skilja, hvörninn það muni takast, en Bósi mælti: Nú skaltu það fá að vita.¹⁰

Þó að fundur þeirra sé sviðsettur með beinni ræðu er mál Bósa fjarri því að vera jafn skrautmikið og blæbrigðaríkt og í eldri sögunni. Þvert á móti eru orð hans skrautlaus og jafnvel ruddaleg.

Þetta atvik dregur einnig fram reginmun á mynd Bósa í sögunum tveimur því að ef frá er talin þessi stutta frásögn gerir yngri sagan mjög lítið úr kvensemi Bósa. Frægðarorð hans á síðari tímum er þannig að engu orðið: hann er ekki lengur kvennabósi. Í söguna vantar tvær bændadætur af þeim þremur sem Bósi rekkir hjá og auk þess vantar alfarið frásögnina

9 *Bósa saga*, útg. Bjarni Vilhjálmsson og Guðni Jónsson, Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda 1–3 (Reykjavík: Forni, 1943–1944), II: 476–477.

10 *Die Bosa Saga in Zwei Fassungen*, útg. Otto Luitpold Jiriczek (Strassburg, 1893), 106. Héðan í frá er vitnað til þessarar útgáfu með blaðsíðutali einu í svigum aftan við tilvitnanir.

af því þegar Bósi rænir Eddu konungsdóttur sem síðan verður kona hans. Þvert á móti giftist Bósi nauðugur viljugur þessari einu bóndadóttur fyrir vin sinn Herraud og þar að auki gefur sú ónefnda bóndadóttir honum undir fótinn ekki síður en hann:

Gekk nú húsfreyja og dóttir hennar að búa til borðs, bar dóttir bónda mat á borðið; og sem Bósi lítur hana, stje hann á fót hennar undir borðinu og tók að renna augum blíðlega og brosti við, og sem hún sá þetta, stje hún aptur á fót Bósa, brosti við og mælti ei neitt (106).

Í raun virðist það fremur Herraudur sem helst hlýtur athygli kvenna í yngri sögunni því að „engin kona var sú á Gautlandi, að ei liti girndar- augum til hans, hvort hún var gipt eður ógipt“ (77). Þess utan hefði þessi eina bóndadóttir sem Bósi sefur hjá líklega fremur kosið Herraud í rekkju sína. Þegar Bósi og Herraudur eru nýkomnir á bæinn hvískra bóndadóttir- irin og ambátt um komumennina í samtali sem með örlítið uppfærðu orðalagi gæti allt eins verið ættað úr kvikmynd um ástir og örlög unglinga á vorum tímum en fortíðarsögu:

Einatt horfði dóttir bónda þangað sem kóngsson var, gáandi mjög að fríðleik hans og öllum burðum, og mælti hljóðlega til vinnukonu: Aldri leit eg vænni mann, og ei mundi illt að sofa hjá honum, eður virðist þjer eigi það? Ambáttin sagði: Það væri gefandi gjald að sofa hjá slíkum einum ... (105).

Mynd Bósa er þannig nokkuð rýrari í yngri sögunni og í heild má segja að sú eldri standi þeirri yngri tvímælalaust framar í frásagnartækni. Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen lét til dæmis þau orð falla um eldri *Bósa sögu* að hún skilji sig frá öðrum fornaldarsögum vegna þess að hún sé svo vel samin.¹¹ Undir þetta hefur Jon G. Jørgensen tekið og bætir við að frásögnin sé svo vel úthugsuð að hún sé næstum *of* góð.¹² Slík orð myndu líklega seint falla um

11 Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen, „Bósa saga,“ *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder 2.* (Kaupmannahöfn: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1957), 172–173.

12 Jon Gunnar Jørgensen, „Bósi hét annarr son þeirra,“ *Frejas psalter*, ritstj. Bergljót S. Kristjánsdóttir og Peter Springborg (Kaupmannahöfn: Det Arnamagnæanske Institut, 1997), 102.

yngrri gerðina. Hún er nokkuð langdregin og atburðum er yfirleitt lýst af mikilli nákvæmni eða á þann hátt að lesandi velkist ekki í vafa um hvað gerist og hvernig. Lítið er skilið eftir til túlkunar, lausnir eru einfaldar og fyrirsjáanlegar sem kemur heim og saman við tísku í rómönsuritun.¹³ Þetta má til að mynda sjá í yfirnáttúrulegri aðstoð sem Bósi og Herraður hljóta á leið sinni. Í yngri sögunni sjá tveir dvergar þeim fyrir ýmsum aðferðum til að sigrast á óvinum, gefa þeim töfragripi og fleira. Slík utanaðkomandi aðstoð er sjaldséð í eldri sögunni og þeir reiða sig yfirleitt á eigið ágæti eða sinna nánustu.

Gott dæmi um þetta er þegar þeir fara að hofinu til að leita gamms-eggsins. Í yngri sögunni fá þeir aðstoð dvergs sem gefur þeim töfrarakka. Herraður spyr dverginn síðan hvernig þeir eigi að finna hofið og dvergurinn segir þeim að hafa engar áhyggjur, rakkinn muni finna leiðina. Dvergurinn gefur þeim einnig herklæði sem hvorki járn bítur né eldur grandar, og sverð sem bítur allt. Í eldri sögunni komast þeir að hofinu með upplýsingum frá bóndadótturinni sem Bósi gisti hjá og sigra síðan gyðjuna að mestu fyrir eigin rammleik og snjöll bellibrögð.

Á hinn bóginn er yngri gerðin á köflum rituð á blæbrigðaríku og auðugu máli sem lyftir textanum upp. Má hér nefna einkenni eins og stuðlun, hliðstæðuklasa og ýkjur. Þessi einkenni ná yfirleitt hámarki í bólvi og blótsyrðum eins og marka má af eftirfarandi dæmum:

En sem jall þetta heyrði, varð hann ærið reiður og mælti: Þú hin leiðasta geit og grey allra greyja dirfðist mjer slíkan boðskap að bera? (74).

Hjer hef eg sjeð leiðasta þræla saman komna í þessu tjaldi, sem öngri gæfu stýra munu, heldur óhappi og smán, og munu þetta vera hinir leiðu þýjarsynir Surtur og Sámur (87).

Enginn kemst þó í hálfkvisti við Buslu og svívirðingar hennar, fyrst við Brynþvara og síðan Hrólfr konung:

13 Sjá til dæmis góða greiningu á byggingu rómönsunnar hjá Driscoll, *The Unwashed Children of Eve*, 133–156.

Busla mælti: Aldri má mjer ver fara heldur en þjer, þar þú liggur nú heima sem hugblauð hormegðabikkja og bannsett þý (99–100).

Hér liggur þú, Hrólfur, Gauta kóngur, þig veit eg vera hrak allra manna á jörðunni af þinni allri breytni, af því þú vilt myrða og af dögum ráða þinn eiginn son, og munu allir segja þig hinn versta níðing og fordæðufól, falsara fordæmdan og fúlasta gauð, leiðan lygara, sem löstum er bundinn, væri rjettast þjer kólnaði í kjapti, fyr en þinn flærðarsaman vilja hefðir í þessu (100).

Loks má nefna að hin svo kallaða *Buslubæn* virðist hafa átt einhvers konar sjálfstætt framhaldslíf á sautjándu öld og síðar. *Buslubæn* er særingarþula sem Busla kveður yfir konungi í framhaldi af tilvitnuðum svívirðingum hér að ofan. Í eldri sögunni er þulan kynnt til sögunnar svo:

Þetta kveld it sama kom Busla í þat herbergi, sem Hringr konungr svaf í, ok hóf upp bæn þá, er síðan er kölluð *Buslubæn*, ok hefir hún víðfræg orðit síðan, ok eru þar í mörg orð ok ill, þau sem kristnum mönnum er þarfleysa í munni at hafa, en þó er þetta upphaf á henni.¹⁴

Þó nokkur erindi eru tilfærð í kjölfarið og að lokum ein vísa úr svo kölluðu *Syrpuversi* sem „mestr galdr er í fölginn“. Í yngri sögunni eru einnig tilfærðir hlutar *Buslubænar* og *Syrpuvers* en fyrri titillinn ekki nefndur heldur segist Busla ætla að syngja konungi „Syrpuvers hið gamla“ (100). Aftan við yngri söguna prentar Jiriczek síðan tvö „apókrýf“ *Syrpuvers* sem hann segist annars vegar hafa fengið í handriti í eigu Jóns Þorkelssonar og sé skrifað um 1870 og hins vegar í AM 247 8vo sem varðveitir samanbland af þulum, galdrastöfum, lækningum og villuletur.¹⁵ Bæði apókrýfu versin sem og kvæðið í yngri sögunni eiga lítið sem ekkert sameiginlegt við bæna eins og hún birtist í eldri sögunni.

Athyglisverð uppskrift bænarinnar í Lbs 423 fol. styður einnig að versin hafi átt sér sjálfstætt líf. Handritið er stórt sagnahandrit frá átjándu öld og varðveitir eldri söguna en þegar kemur að *Buslubæn* er skipt um texta og

14 *Bósa saga*, útg. Bjarni Vilhjálmsson og Guðni Jónsson, 472.

15 Ég hef ekki fundið þetta handrit Jóns í handritaskránn en mörg handrit sem voru í hans eigu eru á Landsbókasafni og hafa hvorki verið mynduð né allt efni þeirra skráð nákvæmlega.

bænin öll rituð með rúnalettri.¹⁶ Textinn er samsuða af vísunum í eldri sögunni, með nokkrum úrfellingum, en ýmsum viðbótum. Sumar viðbætur hef ég ekki fundið annars staðar en sumt má finna í apókrýfu útgáfunni hjá Jiriczek. Fyrstu fjórar vísurnar fylgja eldri sögunni. Þá kemur ein vísa sem er endurómur sextánda vísu *Reginsmála*:

Reginsmál	Lbs 423 fol., 330 r ¹⁸
„Hverir ríða þar	„Þá þú ríður
Ræfils hestum	ræfils hestum,
hávar unnir,	hávar voðir,
haf glymjanda?	haf glymjandi,
Seglvið eru	seglvið verði
sveita stokkin,	sveita storkinn
munat vágmarar	svo að vogmarar
vind of standask.“ ¹⁷	vind ei standist.“

Stuttu síðar má einnig finna enduróm úr *Helgakviðu Hundingsbana II* þar sem segir:

„Kominn væri nú,	„Verðu eigi svá ær,
ef koma hygði,	at ein farir,
Sigmundar burr	dís skjöldunga,
frá solum Óðins;	draughúsa til;
kveð ek grams þiníg	verða oflgari
grænask vánir,	allir á nóttum
er á asklimum	dauðir dolgar, mær,
ernir sitja	en um daga ljósa.“
ok drífr drótt ǫll	
draumþinga til.“	

16 Það væri ómaksins vert að gefa þessa gerð kvæðisins út og biður það betri tíma.

17 *Eddukvæði*, útg. Jónas Kristjánsson og Vésteinn Ólason (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 2014), 300.

18 Umritun rúnanna er mín eigin og fór ég þá leið að samræma til nútímamáls svo textinn sé auðlæsilegur því að það er efnið sem leikur lykhillutverk í samanburðinum fremur en átjándu aldar máleinkenni textans.

19 *Eddukvæði*, útg. Jónas Kristjánsson og Vésteinn Ólason, 282–283.

En í Lbs 423 fol.:

„Drífi þig valdrottinn
draumþing á
og náð í²⁰
sér til draughúsa
hvar öflugari verða
allir á nóttu,
dólgar dauðir
en um daga ljósa.“

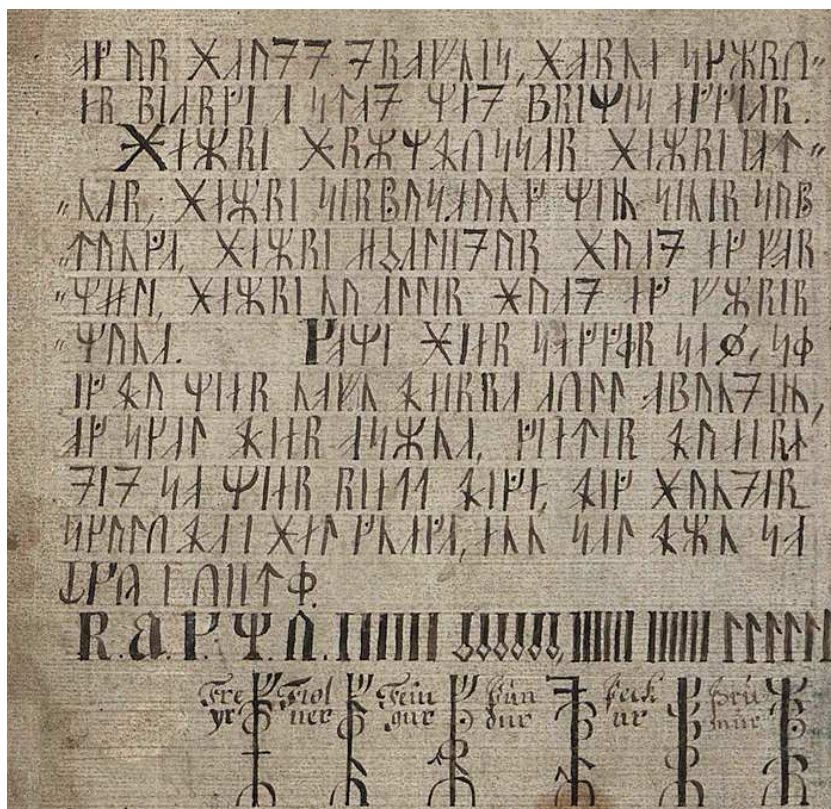
Síðasti hluti kvæðisins í Lbs 423 fol. er síðan að mestu leyti samhljóða fyrra apókrýfa Syrpuversinu sem Jiriczek prentar í sinni útgáfu og hann segir úr handriti Jóns Þorkelssonar. Ekki verður fjölyrt frekar hér um þróun kvæðisins og mögulegar útskýringar á hvernig þessi gerð varð til, enda þyrfti sjálfstæða og nákvæmari athugun á kvæðunum til að álykta nokkuð. Þessi útúrdúr um *Buslubæn* og *Syrpuvers* sýnir þó ljóslega að fleira var að verki í breytileika uppskrifta *Bósa sögu* en sem snýr eingöngu að lausamálinu.

Ef dæmin hér að framan eru tekin saman, bæði beinar tilvitnanir í yngri söguna, samanburður við eldri sögu, og þáttur *Buslubænar* og *Syrpuvers*, er ljóst að hæpið verður að teljast að um bein rittengsl geti veri að ræða milli eldri sögunnar og þeirrar yngri. Lykilþáttur í samanburðinum er að í þeim tilvikum þar sem atburðarás beggja sagna fylgist að er aldrei um sams konar orðalag að ræða.

3. Breytileiki og sögugerðir

Það er ekki einsdæmi að íslenskir miðaldatextar hafi varðveist í ólíkum gerðum eða mismunandi formi. Þó nokkrar sögur eru þekktar í fleiri en einni gerð, til að mynda *Gísla saga*, *Bandamanna saga*, gerðir *Ólafs sögu Tryggvasonar*, *Jómsvíkinga saga*, *Örvar-Odds saga* og fleiri. Fyrir því er löng hefð að fjalla um þessi verk í ólíkum gerðum en þeim fylgir þó yfirleitt ekki rækileg umræða um hvers vegna eigi að skilgreina þær sem ólíkar gerðir.

20 Hér leikur aðeins vafi á umritun vegna þess að skil milli orða eru óljós.



Lok Buslubænar með rúnaletri í Lbs 423 fol., síða 331v. Mynd: Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn.

Vert er að spyrja hvenær frávikin milli handrita eru nægilega veigamikil til þess að handrit teljist varðveita ólíka gerð sama verks. Í ljósi þess að breytileiki sögutexta milli handrita er fremur regla en undantekning í íslenskum handritum er full ástæða til þess að ræða aðeins frekar hvernig þessi mörk eru skilgreind því að slíkar skilgreiningar eru ekki auðfundnar. Eitt viðmið getur falist í því einfaldlega að telja lesbrigði milli tveggja handrita og þegar þau hafa náð einhverju ákvednu hlutfalli teljist textinn nógu frábrugðinn til að verða að teljast önnur gerð. Í slíkum tilvikum mætti aftur á móti velta fyrir sér hvort ekki væri edlilegra að rýna betur í lesbrigðin. Ef þau felast

eingöngu í fjölmörgum orðalagsbreytingum en ekki efnislegum breytingum, er hægt að halda því fram að um ólíkar gerðir sé að ræða?²¹

Í umræðu um varðveitt handrit *Brennu-Njáls sögu* komast Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir og Emily Lethbridge að skynsamlegri niðurstöðu um breytileika handritanna sem þær flokka í *greinar* handrita sama verks en ekki ólíkar gerðir og útskýra þannig:

[T]he Njáls saga texts tend to diverge from each other at the micro-rather than macro-level which is to say that for the most part the texts run in parallel with differences at the word or sentence level, rather than that of the paragraph or bigger, structural, textual division. Although they are on a more self-contained scale, these variants can still exert influence on a reader's impression of the action and characters presented in any part of the narrative as a whole.²²

Þessi orð mætti vel nýta sem skilgreiningu á breytileika milli handrita sama verks. Þar sem breytileikinn er bundinn við einstök orð og einstakar setningar er ekki um aðra sögugerð að ræða en þegar breytileikinn nær yfir efnislegar breytingar, eins og viðbætur eða styttingar, breytingu á byggingu, og svo framvegis, þurfi að gera ráð fyrir ólíkum gerðum.

Af þeim textum sem nefndir eru hér að framan sem dæmi um fulltrúa þekktra sagna sem varðveittar eru í ólíkum gerðum er þó ljóst að breytileikinn virðist liggja í þróun á ritunarstigi fremur en munnlegu. Um þetta er vissulega erfitt að fullyrða nokkuð án nákvæmra samanburðarrannsóknna en þó er ljóst að í öllum tilvikum má finna dæmi þess að texti tveggja gerða fylgist að hér og hvar, og það jafnvel nokkuð nákvæmlega. Breytileikinn nær ekki til hvers einasta orðs þegar til dæmis eru bornar saman ólíkar gerðir *Jómsvíkinga sögu*, *Bandamanna sögu* eða *Örvar-Odds sögu*.²³ Vissulega

21 Ég þakka Guðvarði Má Gunnlaugssyni fyrir góðar ábendingar í samræðum okkar um skilgreiningar á ólíkum gerðum sagna.

22 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir og Emily Lethbridge, „Whose Njála? Njáls saga Editions and Textual Variance in the Older Manuscripts,“ *New studies in the Manuscript Tradition of Njáls saga*, ritstj. Emily Lethbridge og Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018), 10.

23 Þennan samanburð er auðvelt að gera í eftirfarandi útgáfum þar sem tvær gerðir hvernar sögu hafa verið prentaðar saman: *Jómsvíkinga saga*, útg. Þorleifur Hauksson og Marteinn H. Sigurðsson, Íslenzk fornrit 33 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 2018), *Bandamanna*

kunna munnleg áhrif að leika eitthvert hlutverk í breytileikanum en í ljósi ýmissa sameiginlegra smáatriða milli gerða verður að gera ráð fyrir rittengslum á einhverju stigi.

Hér gegnir allt öðru máli um *Bósa sögu* því að bein rittengsl milli eldri sögunnar og þeirrar yngri eru hvergi sjáanleg. Í formála að útgáfu sinni telur Jiriczek að yngri sagan eigi mögulega rætur í aldagamalli hefð en að hún hafi síðan verið endursamin í munnlegri geymd.²⁴ Ljóst er að inn í myndina af þróuninni milli eldri og yngri sögu vantar marga búta. Þetta kemur berlega í ljós þegar litið er í *Bósa rímur*. Líkt og oft gildir um rímur eru þær ortar upp úr sögugerð, í þessu tilviki eldri sögunni af Bósa. Í rímunum eru þó viðbætur miðað við eldri söguna og þessar viðbætur birtast einnig í yngri sögunni en þar virðist þó ekki heldur um rittengsl að ræða.

Bósa rímur eru taldar ortar um 1500. Jiriczek taldi þær ortar eftir glötuðu handriti eldri sögunnar sem hafi staðið AM 510 4to næst og undir þetta tók Ólafur Halldórsson sem gaf rímurnar út í undirstöðuútgáfu 1974.²⁵ Á sautjándu öld orti Guðmundur Bergþórsson (d. 1705) einnig *Bósa rímur* sem fylgja eldri sögunni nokkuð nákvæmlega. Ekki er að sjá að Guðmundur hafi nýtt eldri rímur né þekkt yngri söguna því að þar eru engin merki um viðbæturnar sem birtast í eldri rímunum og yngri sögunni.²⁶

Allar líkur eru á að *Bósa rímur* byggi á ritaðri *Bósa sögu* eldri, efnið fylgir henni að mestu leyti og auk þess vitna um það fjölmörg orðalagslíkindi.²⁷ Má sem dæmi taka þegar Bósi og Herraður hreppa óveður á heimsigliingu skömmu áður en Bósi drepur Sjóð. Í sögunni segir þá: „Þeir fengu veðr svá mikil, at skip þeira skildust, ok týndust þau öll, sem Herraður hafði heiman haft, en hann komst með tvö skip í Elfarsker, en Bósa rak til Vindlands einskpa.“²⁸

saga, útg. Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 7 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1936), *Orvar-Odds Saga*, útg. Richard C. Boer, Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 2 (Halle a.S.: Niemeyer, 1892).

24 Otto Luitpold Jiriczek, „Einleitung,“ *Die Bosa Saga in Zwei Fassungen*, útg. Otto Luitpold Jiriczek (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner 1893), lxxiv–lxxv.

25 Ólafur Halldórsson, „Inngangur,“ *Bósa rímur*, útg. Ólafur Halldórsson (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1974) 21; Jiriczek, Einleitung, xxviii–xxxí.

26 *Bósa rímur* Guðmundar eru ekki til á prenti, hér styðst ég við uppskrift þeirra í Lbs 2527 8vo.

27 Sjá nánar: Ólafur Halldórsson, „Inngangur,“ 20–23.

28 *Bósa saga*, útg. Bjarni Vilhjálmsson og Guðni Jónsson, 469.

Í rímunum er svipað uppi á teningnum, og lendir Herraður þar einnig með tvö skip í Elfarskerjum:

Feingu j hafinu feikna uedur	Baran fra eg at bragna þuær
fyrðar reidann treysti	bylgian knoru gleypti
skildi j sionum skotnum meður	odlings son med alkur tuær
skipinn j sundur leysti:	at Elfar skerium hleypti. ²⁹

Rímurnar víkja þó frá sögunni víða; úrfellingar og styttingar eru algengar en einnig viðbætur. Búast má við úrfellingum þegar saga er færð úr prósa í bundið mál og því eru það viðbæturnar sem eru áhugaverðastar til að kanna tengsl texta. Hér leikur lykilhlutverk dágóð viðbót í annarri og þriðju rímu þar sem segir frá bardaga Bósa og Herrauds við berserkina Surt og Sám. Bardagann og aðdraganda hans má einnig finna í yngri sögunni og ýmis smáatriði eru sameiginleg. Bósi og Herraður koma að bóndabæ, þar finna þeir mann sem reynist föðurbróðir Bósa; í rímunum heitir hann Klárus en Gyrðir í sögunni. Hann býður þeim gott að borða og gefur þeim klæði sem Viktor og Blávus höfðu borið í bardaganum við berserkina Fal og Sóta. Bóndinn segir síðan fóstbræðrum frá berserkjunum Surti og Sám sem þeir ákveða að berjast við til þess að auka frægð sína.

Yngri sagan er þó miklu efnismeiri á þessum stað en rímurnar, þar kemur til dæmis við sögu hjálpsamur dvergur sem ekki er nefndur í rímunum og fleiri þátttakendur í bardaganum sjálfum. Því er ljóst að rímurnar eru ekki megin innblástur yngri sögunnar á þessum stað. Björn K. Þórolfsson sýndi með dæmum að líklegast væri þessi kaflí í *Bósa rímum* spunninn upp úr bardaganum við berserkina Fal og Sóta í *Blávus rímum* og *Viktors* og Jónas Kristjánsson tók undir það.³⁰ Þá bendir Jónas einnig á að yngri *Bósa saga* styðjist við *Blávus rímur* fremur en *Viktors sögu* því að þar sé nefnt sverðið Suðranautur sem er einnig í rímunum en hvorki í *Bósa rímum* né *Viktors sögu*.³¹ Einnig bregður annar berserkurinn sér í ljónslíki í *Blávus rímum* og yngri *Bósa sögu* en í galtarlíki í *Bósa rímum*. Af þessu dró Jónas þá ályktun að höfundur yngri *Bósa sögu* hafi nýtt *Blávus rímur* á sjálfstæðan hátt.

29 *Bósa rímur*, útg. Ólafur Halldórsson, 62.

30 Björn K. Þórolfsson (útg.), *Rímur fyrir 1600* (Kaupmannahöfn: Hið íslenska fræðafélag, 1934), 407–408; Jónas Kristjánsson, „Inngangur,“ *Viktors saga og Blávus*, útg. Jónas Kristjánsson (Reykjavík: Handritastofnun Íslands, 1964), lxxx.

31 *Rímnasafn. Samling af de ældste islandske rimer*, útg. Finnur Jónsson (Kaupmannahöfn: Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 1905–1922), II:624.

Til að greina þessi líkindi, sem nefnd eru hér að framan, nánar má taka dæmi úr textunum þremur sem er góður fulltrúi fyrir textatengslin í heild. Þetta er þegar Viktor og Blávus annars vegar og Bósi og Herraúður hins vegar ganga á fund berserkjanna og skora á þá í bardaga.

Blávus rímur

Sote fretti seggi nv:
„segi þit yckart heite
adr enn skyfvm skilfings brv
med skygdum hialma hneite.“

„Wicktor kann med Vidris glod
væna hialma at snida,
Blavus æsir brodda hlíod
buen er þegnnt at strida.“

Brosti Falr uid beiska lvnd
ok beit i skiolden ravda:
„þit hafit feingit feigdar stvnd
og felmtrad yckr i dauda.“³²

Bósa rímur

Surttur spurdi snartt j stad
snudugt þessa garpa
huadan ur londum hielldu þeir at
er hefia upp romu snarpa:

Bosi ansar bradur j lund
buin til fremdar uiga
þig uardar ecki hinn uondi hundur
fyrir uirdum skaltu hniga

Hilmir glotti og hofudit sker
hartt med ordum bradum
huad skal bornum beria a mier
bernskur ertu j radum.³³

Bósa saga yngri

En sem þeir bræður
heyru orð kóngssonar,
bystu þeir sig og bitu
í skildi með hlátri og
hljóðum og sögðu þetta
vera hið mesta feigðar-
fleipur, að nokkrir menn
voguðu svo dristuglega
til orrustu bjóða. Surtur
mælti: Segið ykkar heiti,
áður vjer reynnum með
oss. Bósi mælti: Þú hinn
svarti hundur þarft ei
nöfn okkar vita, því þig
varðar lítið um það, því
þú skalt fyrir vopnum
hníga, áður vjer skiljum
þennan fund (87–88).

Í báðum rímunum er röð efnisatriða hin sama en henni hefur verið snúið við í sögunni, fyrst hlæja berserkirnir og spyrja síðan að nafni. Þarna má vissulega finna orðalagslíkindi. Í *Blávus rímum* bitur Falur í skjöldinn eins og berserkurinn gerir í sögunni. Í *Bósa rímum* kallar Bósi berserkinn vondan hund og neitar að segja til nafns líkt og í sögunni þar sem hann kallar berserkinn svartan hund. Bæði í *Blávus rímum* og sögunni er notað orðið „feigð“ um það sem biður hetjanna.

Það er áreiðanlega rétt að *Blávus rímur* og ef til vill *Viktors saga* einnig hafi haft áhrif á þróun *Bósa sögu* yngri og *Bósa rímur*. Það verður þó að segiast að tengslin eru nokkuð óljós og fyrst og fremst efnisleg, og kunna því vel að hafa verið eingöngu á munnlegu stigi. Hið sama má í raun segja um

32 *Rímnaafn. Samling af de ældste islandske rimer*, útg. Finnur Jónsson, 625.

33 *Bósa rímur*, útg. Ólafur Halldórsson, 56–57.

áhrif *Bósa rímna* á yngri söguna. Ef hún hefði byggt á rímunum í rituðu formi hefði mátt búast við skýrari áhrifum. Orðalagslíkindi eru fá milli *Bósa rímna* og yngri *Bósa sögu*. Þess má einnig geta að rímurnar hafa ekki varðveist í mörgum uppskriftum sem getur bent til þess að þær hafi ekki endilega verið mjög útbreiddar í rituðu formi á sautjándu öld.³⁴

Loks má nefna að ættfærslur í lok yngri og eldri sagnanna draga einnig ljóslega fram ólíkt textasamhengi þeirra. Eldri sögunni lýkur á tengslum við *Ragnars sögu loðbrókar* þar sem ormurinn sem Þóra borgarhjörtur fær að gjöf frá föður sínum, Herraúði, er sagður koma úr gammsegginu.³⁵ Þetta kemur heim og saman við *Ragnars sögu* nema að þar er ormurinn ekki tengdur gammseggi og enga vísun í *Bósa sögu* að finna, enda verður að teljast líklegt að *Ragnars saga* sé eldri en *Bósa saga*. Þá er að auki vísun í *Vilmundar sögu viðutan*, því að Vilmundur er sagður sonarsonur Bósa. Vísanir sem þessar eru nokkuð algengar í fornaldarsögum og má víða finna persónur eða nöfn sem tengja viðkomandi sögu við aðra. Þetta er með öllu horfið í yngri sögunni þar sem ekkert er minnst á ættboga Bósa og aðeins sagt frá einum syni Herraúðs, sem er ýmist ritaður Fábuxtus eða Taluxtus í handritum og stjórnáði Indíalandi hinu góða. Þessi endir tengir söguna miklu frekar við fjarlæg söguvið rómönusagna en heim fornaldarsagna og undirstrikar þannig í hvaða samhengi sögurnar tvær voru skrifaðar.

Þrátt fyrir þræði sem má tengja milli varðveittra *Bósa sagna*, *Bósa rímna*, *Viktors sögu* og *Blávus rímna* er samt ljóst að marga hlekki vantar í keðjuna sem leiðir til yngri *Bósa sögu*. Orðalag sem bendir til að sá sem skrifaði yngri *Bósa sögu* hafi nýtt ritað form af þessum textum sem hér eru nefndir er vandfundið. Einhlítt svar við því hvernig sagan varð til er þannig ekki til en mögulegt er að gera sér í hugarlund nokkrar leiðir við endurritun sögunnar sem hér mætti nefna.³⁶ Í fyrsta lagi kemur til greina sú skýring sem Jiriczek setti fram og er nefnd hér að framan, það er, að yngri sagan sé afsprengi aldagamallar sögugerðar, gerðar sem hafi mögulega verið af sama stofni og eldri sagan en þróast á annan hátt í munnlegri geymd. Hér væri

34 Handritin eru AM 146 a 8vo, Holm perg 23 4to og uppskrift þeirra í JS 382 4to. Önnur handrit sem eru skráð með *Bósa rímum* geyma yngri rímur Guðmundar.

35 *Bósa saga*, útg. Bjarni Vilhjálmsson og Guðni Jónsson, 497; *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, útg. Bjarni Vilhjálmsson og Guðni Jónsson. Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda 1–3 (Reykjavík: Forni, 1943–1944), I: 99–100.

36 Ég þakka ónefndum ritrýni fyrir afar gagnlegar ábendingar um mögulegar skýringar og byggi umræðuna meðal annars á hugmyndum frá honum.

einnig hægt að ímynda sér að tvær gerðir hafi verið í umferð í handritum en að handrit annarrar gerðarinnar hafi öll glatast þar til þessi saga kemur fram á sautjándu öld. Í annan stað getur verið að sextándu eða sautjándu aldar maður hafi tekið sig til og samið nýja sögu, byggða á þeirri eldri, sem félli betur að nýjum straumum og smekk samtímamanna. Þessi þróun er ekki ólíkleg og væri angi af aldagamalli hefð í íslenski sagnamenningu því að elstu riddarasögur eru síður en svo nákvæmar þýðingar á frönskum fyrirmyndum þeirra heldur einmitt endursamdar og aðlagaðar. Má nefna sem dæmi *Partalópa sögu* sem tók ljósum breytingum undir áhrifum íslenskra sagna, eins og til dæmis mynd aðalkvenhetjunnar Marmoriu sem er meykönungur í íslensku gerðinni fremur en hefðbundin drottning en meykönungahefðin er séríslensk.³⁷

Þriðji möguleikinn sem kemur til greina til þess að skýra þróun *Bósa sögu* yngri væri að sá sem ritaði hana fyrst hafi heyrt söguna lesna, eða lesið sjálfur, en hafi síðar ekki haft aðgang að henni ritaðri og viljað bæta úr því, ritar hana eftir minni en bætir við og fellir út, undir áhrifum fleiri sagna. Þessi möguleiki minnir til að mynda á endurskrif Jóns úr Grunnavík á upp-hafi *Heiðarvíga sögu*, þegar handrit hennar brann í Kaupmannahöfn. Þessi leið er þó ekki sennileg sem skýring á yngri *Bósa sögu* í núverandi mynd vegna þess hve gjörólik hún er eldri sögunni og hve margar efnislegar viðbætur þar er að finna. Þetta gæti þó hafa gerst á einhverju stigi í þróun sögunnar. Þessu tengt mætti einnig ímynda sér að langt væri liðið frá því að viðkomandi heyrði söguna sem getur skýrt hvers vegna mynstur og atburðir annars staðar frá nýtast til þess að líma saman það sem fallið er í gleymiskunnar dá.

Fjórði og síðasti möguleikinn sem hér verður nefndur er að yngri sagan hafi verið samin sem svar við eldri sögunni, á svipaðan hátt og lítið hefur verið á *Jarlmanns sögu* og *Hermanns* sem svar við og jafnvel gagnrýni á *Konráðs sögu keisarasonar*.³⁸ Auðvelt er til dæmis að ímynda sér að ýmsir hafi viljað fella burt afrek Bósa í rúmi bændadætranna, enda hafa þær frásagnir lítið sem ekkert vægi í yngri sögunni, og raunar ekki í *Bósa*

37 Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse. The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 121–123; Marianne Kalinke, *Stories Set Forth with Fair Words. The Evolution of Medieval Romance in Iceland* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 92–99.

38 Marianne Kalinke, *Stories Set Forth with Fair Words*, 141–153.

rímum heldur. Þá er ekki útilokað að einhver hafi beinlínis viljað draga úr orðsþori kvennabósans og fremur ýkja hreysti hans, eins og sést í lýsingu á Bósa og hefur verið rætt hér að framan. Þá gætu hjálpsamir dvergar og töfragripir einnig verið viðbót þess sem er vanur því að hetjur hljóti slíka aðstoð á vegferð sinni og þótt vanta þau sjálfsögðu hjálparmeðul í upphaflegu söguna.

Þessar framangreindu skýringar eru aðeins vangaveltur og ber ekki að taka sem öðru. Þær eru fyrst og fremst settar fram til þess að opna umræðu um mögulega þróun í ritmenningu sem er að mestu hulin myrkri. Eins og yngri Bósa saga hefur varðveist, og þegar hún er borin saman við eldri söguna, hlýtur að þurfa að gera ráð fyrir munnlegri menningu á einhverju stigi og að hún hafi í núverandi mynd ekki verið skrifuð niður fyrir en á sautjándu öld. Í henni eru persónur *Bósa sögu* og þráður hennar lauslega nýttar en einnig sótt í minni og atburði annarra sagna, einkum riddarasagna, eins og dverga, töfragripi o.s.frv..

Þessi þróun er ekki óþekkt í íslenskum bókmenntum og má teljast líklegt að frekari rannsóknir á síðari alda uppskriftum sagna eigi eftir að leiða í ljós fleiri dæmi um svipaða nýsköpun í sagnaritun. Þekktasta nýsköpunin af þessu tagi á síðmiðöldum og síðar eru auðvitað rímurnar sem yfirleitt voru ortar upp úr eldri lausamálsfrásögnum. Af framangreindri umræðu um handrit *Bósa sögu* sést að ekki er alltaf ljóst af skráningu handrita hvort þau geti mögulega geymt nýjar eða breyttar gerðir sagna og af þeim sökum ekki ólíklegt að fleiri sambærilegar sögur séu til. Hér má til dæmis nefna að Katarzyna Kapitan fann svipaða tilhneigingu í uppskriftum *Hrómundar sögu Greipssonar* þar sem til eru tvær gerðir á sautjándu öld en síðan ný og lengri saga sem er varðveitt í nítjándu aldar uppskriftum.³⁹ Kapitan komst að þeirri niðurstöðu að nítjándu aldar sagan sé svo ólík eldri uppskriftum að líta beri á hana sem nýja sögu en ekki aðra gerð. Þetta verður fljótt ljóst þegar textarnir eru bornir saman.⁴⁰ Munurinn á þróun *Hrómundar sögu* og *Bósa sögu* er þó sá að hin nýja *Hrómundar saga* er ekki varðveitt fyrir en á nítjándu öld og Kapitan telur enn fremur að hún hafi ekki verið samin fyrir en á þeirri öld.⁴¹

39 Katarzyna Anna Kapitan, „Studies in the transmission history of *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*,“ (Doktorsritgerð, University of Copenhagen, 2018), 131–158.

40 Uppskriftir gerða *Hrómundar sögu* má finna í viðauka hjá Kapitan, bls. 274–280, 370–375 og 384–409.

41 Sama rit, 152–154.

Nýsköpunin sem endurspeglast í sautjándu aldar *Bósa sögu* er kannski ekki síst athyglisverð vegna þess að sautjándi öldin er einmitt þekkt fyrir uppskriftaölduna sem rís með fornmenntastefnunni þar sem mikið var lagt upp úr nákvæmum uppskriftum fornra texta.⁴² Sögufnið af *Bósa* og *Herrauði* sýnir að fleira var að verki í textamenningu sautjándi aldarinnar. Ef til vill endurspeglar ritun yngri *Bósa sögu* einfaldlega viðleitni til að skrifa niður efni úr munnlegri geymd eða að hún er merki um nýsköpun þar sem gamalt efni er sett í búning sem fellur að vinsælum bókmenntum þess tíma. Ekki er útilokað að hvort tveggja blandist saman.

4. Lokaorð

Hér að framan hefur verið leitast við að gefa skýrari yfirsýn yfir það sem mætti kalla textamengi *Bósa sögu* með áherslu á að draga fram sérstöðu *Bósa sögu* yngri. Gild rök eru fyrir því að ekki eigi að líta á *Bósa sögu* yngri sem yngri gerð *Bósa sögu* heldur sé hún beinlínis ný saga, lauslega byggð á eldra efni. Sagan er gott dæmi um að textatengsl og rittengsl geta reynst flóknari en virðist við fyrstu sýn og í tilvikum eins og þessu verður aldrei hægt að skýra að fullu hvernig þróun frá eldri sögu til þeirrar yngri hefur verið. Ljóst er að ólíklegt verður að telja að nokkur rittengsl séu milli yngri og eldri sögunnar. Sagan sýnir að þáttur munnlegrar menningar er áreiðanlega oft umfangsmikill og lítil takmörk eru fyrir nýsköpun í endurritun og uppskriftum miðaldasagna á síðari öldum. Greiningin á textunum sýnir einnig að tilefni er til þess að kanna nánar miðaldasögur í ungum handritum og vafalaust eiga eftir að koma fram rannsóknir á öðrum sögum sem geta skýrt betur þá þróun sem varð við endurritun *Bósa sögu*.

42 Sjá t.d. Jakob Benediktsson, „Den vågnende interesse for sagalitteraturen på Island i 1600-tallet,“ *Lærdómslistir* (Reykjavík: Mál og menning – Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1987), 227–241; Peter Springborg, „Antiqvæ historieæ leporis: om renæssancen i den Islandske håndskriftproduktion i 1600-tallet,“ *Gardar* 8 (1977): 53–89.

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ÁGRIP

Efnisorð: *Bósa saga*, handrit, varðveisla, sautjándi öld, breytileiki

Í nokkrum handritum *Bósa sögu* frá sautjándi öld og síðar er að finna texta sem er allsendis ólíkur *Bósa sögu* frá miðöldum. Jafnan er vísað til þessa yngri uppskrifta sem yngri gerðar *Bósa sögu*. Í greininni er varðveisla *Bósa sögu* könnuð, gerðirnar bornar saman og rök færð fyrir því að yngri gerðin sé ný saga sem er aðeins lauslega byggð á eldri sögunni. Persónur og ákveðinn þráður er sögunum sameiginlegur en yngri sagan vikur frá þeirri eldri í fjölmörgum atriðum og engin rittengsl eru sjáanleg milli textanna tveggja. Tengsl yngri sögunnar við rímur og aðrar sögur má finna en þau tengsl eru óljós. Þáttur munnlegar menningar leikur áreiðanlega lykilhlutverk í þróun þessara ólíku *Bósa sagna*.

SUMMARY

Keywords: *Bósa saga*, manuscripts, transmission, seventeenth century, variation

A few manuscripts of *Bósa saga* from the seventeenth century and later preserve a text that is quite different from the medieval *Bósa saga*. The two texts are often referred to as the older and younger versions of *Bósa saga*. This article explores the transmission of *Bósa saga* and compares the two versions. It is argued that the younger version is in fact a new story, only loosely based on the older version. Most of the characters are the same and some of the plot, but the younger version differs from the older in many ways, and no signs of a textual relationship between the two versions are evident. Some connections between the younger version and *rímur* and other sagas can be found, but they are vague. Thus, oral culture undoubtedly played a part in the development of the two different *Bósa sagas*.

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FÓSTBRÆÐRA SAGA: A MISSING LINK?

IDENTIFYING the first saga of Icelanders is an inherently interesting prospect, since it would be tantamount to identifying the moment at which a genre in the making broke off from the established kings' saga tradition – a development on which there is broad scholarly consensus.¹ Like a number of other scholars, Sigurður Nordal believed that *Heiðarvíga saga* was the earliest saga of Icelanders, and that *Fóstbræðra saga* also belonged in the beginning of that genre.² Today most scholars are more cautious, and the assessment in *Íslensk bókmenntasaga* may be taken as representative. There, Vésteinn Ólason attributes a date after – probably well after – c. 1230 to both sagas, based on the scholarship of Bjarni Guðnason and Jónas Kristjánsson. Vésteinn concludes that while there may be earlier sagas of Icelanders, *Egils saga* is certainly early.³

Vésteinn's view of *Egils saga* is not controversial, but his conclusion leaves us without a clear conduit from kings' sagas to sagas of Icelanders, and the two older suggestions are therefore worth revisiting.⁴ With regard to *Heiðarvíga saga*, Sigurður advocates for its position as the first saga of Icelanders only with reference to its quality of being *viðvaningsleg* (beginner-like).⁵ This is not a convincing argument on its own, but Einar Ól. Sveinsson has listed linguistic and orthographic archaisms that are retained

- 1 See, for instance, *Íslensk bókmenntasaga 2*, ed. by Vésteinn Ólason, 2nd ed. (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 2006), 43.
- 2 *Borgfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 6 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1943), cxxxvii–cxxxix; *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 3 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1938), lxxi–lxxii.
- 3 *Íslensk bókmenntasaga 2*, ed. Vésteinn Ólason, 43.
- 4 Jónas Kristjánsson believed *Egils saga* itself to be that conduit, but his own research on *Fóstbræðra saga* – to be dealt with below – forms a premise for his argument (Jónas Kristjánsson, 'Var Snorri Sturluson upphafsmaður Íslendingasagna?', *Snorrastefna 25–27. júlí 1990*, ed. Úlfar Bragason (Reykjavík: Stofnun Sigurðar Nordals, 1992), 99–112).
- 5 *Borgfirðinga sögur*, ed. Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, cxxxvii–cxxxix.

in the only medieval, incomplete manuscript of the saga (c. 1300).⁶ The collected evidence of the ratio of *of* versus *um*, the spelling *-ðr* for *-nnr* and *komi* for *kæmi* strongly suggests an original from early in the thirteenth century.⁷ There can thus be little doubt that *Heiðarvíga saga* belongs to the oldest group of sagas of Icelanders, and this is supported by a reference to it in *Eyrbyggja saga*.⁸ The only complication is that Bjarni Guðnason has pointed to a passage where it is likely that *Laxdæla saga* has influenced *Heiðarvíga saga*.⁹ If this is correct, the formal criteria suggest that *Laxdæla saga* must have exerted some influence on *Heiðarvíga saga* after its original composition.

By all appearances, then, *Heiðarvíga saga* is one of the earliest sagas of Icelanders, but there is little to suggest that it represents an attempt to write a local saga based on the older conventions of the kings' sagas. It shows no thematic overlap with these and, perhaps more importantly, the treatment of poetry conforms to the conventions of sagas of Icelanders, not of kings' sagas: all poetic quotations in the main manuscript are situational (on this term, see below).¹⁰ *Heiðarvíga saga* is therefore not a likely representative of an initial transition from kings' sagas to sagas of Icelanders.

Fóstbræðra saga is a different matter. First of all, it is the most obvious 'missing link' between kings' sagas and sagas of Icelanders, since its ending overlaps thematically, but not verbally, with the *Oldest Saga* of Óláfr Haraldsson. Secondly, the stylistics of *Fóstbræðra saga* are in some respects unique. Its learned 'digressions' and marked rhetorical features have received much attention, but I shall argue that the saga's treatment of poetry is equally important, or even more so, since the conventions for

6 Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Ritunartími Íslendingasagna. Rök og rannsóknaraðferð* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1965), 115 (expletive *of*), 117–18 (*of/um* ratio), 121–22 (orthography). Some additional archaisms are noted in Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (København: G.E.C. Gads forlag, 1920–1924), 2: 484 n. 3.

7 On the use of standard Latin letters for mutated vowels, see Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*. Íslenzk handrit 2 (Reykjavík: The Manuscript Institute of Iceland, 1965), 56–57.

8 *Borgfirðinga sögur*, ed. Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, xcvi.

9 Bjarni Guðnason, *Túlkun Heiðarvígasögu*. *Studia Islandica* 50 (Reykjavík: Bókmenntafræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands, 1993), 250–52.

10 See *Borgfirðinga sögur*, ed. Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, 263–311.

the use of poetry in a prose setting can be plotted along a chronological axis. Finally, while Jónas Kristjánsson uses *Fóstbræðra saga*'s intertextual connections and stylistic features to date the saga to the second half of the thirteenth century, none of these really warrant the conclusion, and Theodore Andersson has provided a more convincing explanation of the saga's connection to the sagas about Óláfr Haraldsson than that given by Jónas. All of these matters will be dealt with in turn, and I shall argue that *Fóstbræðra saga* is the product of an early attempt at creating a new kind of historical narrative: namely, what would eventually come to be known as 'sagas of Icelanders'.

The debate about the date of *Fóstbræðra saga* falls into two parts: whether the so-called 'digressions' belong to the archetype or were added later, and whether the saga is one of the earliest sagas of Icelanders, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, or rather belongs late in that century. I begin with the digressions.

Are the Digressions Original to the Saga?

Fóstbræðra saga survives in a short, acephalous version, found only in Hauksbók (AM 544 4to; below Hb), and in a long version, found in Möðruvallabók and its transcripts (AM 132 fol.; below M), Flateyjarbók (GKS 1005 fol.; below F), R (transcripts only: AM 142 fol. and AM 566 a 4to) and, acephalous and with a number of chapters missing, in Bæjarbók (only four leaves preserved as AM 73 b fol., but there are several transcripts, chief among them AM 73 a fol. and AM 76 a fol.; below B).¹¹ *Fóstbræðra saga*'s long version has attracted much scholarly interest, due to its unique digressions of a 'rhetorical, devotional or anatomical nature'.¹²

For my larger argument to be plausible, the additional text in the long version must belong to the archetype of the saga. This hypothesis was first proposed by Vera Lachmann and later – independently – by Sigurður Nordal in his introduction to *Fóstbræðra saga* in *Vestfirðinga sögur*.¹³ He

11 See the description in *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. by Björn K. Þórolfsson (København: Samfund til Udgivelse af Gammel Nordisk Litteratur, 1925–27), iii–xliv.

12 Denne recensens mest iøjnefallende ejendommelighed er dens, i hele sagalitteraturen enestaaende, udsmykninger og digressioner, af retorisk, gudelig, eller anatomisk art' (*Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, vii).

13 Vera Lachmann, *Das Alter der Harðarsaga* (Leipzig: Mayer & Mayer, 1932), 222–23;

there announced that he would publish a book on the topic, but it never appeared.¹⁴ In the introduction, Sigurður gives general arguments in favour of seeing the additional text as original, but he discusses no diagnostic instances, and this is true also of Jónas Kristjánsson, who subsequently embraced Sigurður's view. The question would therefore remain open if it were not for Sven B.F. Jansson's study of *Fóstbræðra saga* in *Hauksbók*, in which he demonstrated how Haukr abbreviated the saga text, including some of its most famous digressions, whereas his 'first secretary' did not.¹⁵ The text of *Hauksbók*'s exemplar must therefore have been of roughly equal length to that of other witnesses. Based on the evidence of Jansson's analysis, scholars today agree that the digressions belong to the archetype. One point has escaped notice, however: namely, that Jansson ignores important evidence that would have rendered his results more ambiguous. The question must therefore be addressed once more.

What Jansson does not say is that the digressions and their style are largely absent in the text of Haukr's first secretary as well. Jansson actually quotes one such instance in full, namely that of Þormóðr's interaction with Lúsa-Oddi (Louse-Oddi). F, R and Hb all note that Oddi's coat was covered in lice. F and R then go on:

F: Því at þá er sólskin var heitt þá gengu verkfákar fullir frá fóðri hans hõrunds á inar yztu trefr sinna herbergja ok létu þar þá við sólu síður við blika.¹⁶

Because when the sunshine was hot, then the workhorses went, full from the fodder of his body, onto the fringes of their lodgings and there they let their sides glimmer against the sun.

Vestfirðinga sögur, ed. by Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson. Íslenzk fornrit 6 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1943), lxx–lxxvii.

14 *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson, lxxiii.

15 Sven B.F. Jansson, *Handskrifterna till Erik den rödes saga* (Stockholm: Wahlström och Widstrand, 1945), 234, 255–59; for which portions of the manuscript are written by the first secretary, see '*Hauksbók*' *udgiven efter de arnamagnæanske håndskrifter no. 371, 544 og 675, 4^o*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (København: Det kongelige nordiske oldskrift-selskab, 1892–1896), xlvi.

16 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 70; *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson, 168–69; '*Hauksbók*', ed. Finnur Jónsson, 398; Jansson, *Handskrifterna till Erik den rödes saga*, 232.

R: ok því at veðr var gott ok heitt þá gengu verkfákar fullir frá fóðri hans hórunds á inar yztu ræfr sinna herbergja ok létu þar blika við sínar síður.¹⁷

And because the weather was good and hot, then the workhorses went, full from the fodder of his body, onto the roof of their lodgings, and there they let their sides glimmer.

Using such strongly metaphorical language about lice is somewhat extreme even among the digressions, and stylistically, the passage should clearly be grouped with these. The variants are mostly inconsequential, except that the article *inar* (f. pl.) shows that *trefr* (f. pl.) in F has been changed to *ræfr* (n.), presumably to achieve a consistent metaphor (the roof, rather than the fringes, of their lodgings), unless the scribe omitted the *t* by mistake.

This passage is missing in Hb, and it is noteworthy that Jansson does not comment on this difference. On the contrary, he argues that the two texts are strikingly similar, and that this is because the first secretary, not Haukr himself, is now holding the pen. Jansson also does not comment on four other digressions, all among the most noteworthy in the saga, which are absent from the text of the first secretary. These relate to the position of various emotions inside the body (F and R),¹⁸ the daughters of Stupidity (F and R),¹⁹ the number of bones, teeth and veins in the human body (only F);²⁰ and the origin of Rome (F and R).²¹ The result is that only one of Jansson's two claims is true: the text of the first secretary is of roughly equal length to that found in other manuscripts, but it is not true that the lack of digressions is a feature of Haukr's text only.²² Rather, it is a feature of the Hb text in general.

The implications of Jansson's omission are considerable, since other scholars have not clearly shown why the digressions of the long version cannot be expansions of the text in the short version, rather than

17 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 70; *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 168–69.

18 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 149; *Hauksbók*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 390.

19 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 155; *Hauksbók*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 392.

20 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 162; *Hauksbók*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 395.

21 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 201; *Hauksbók*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 409.

22 For the first claim, see Jansson, *Handskrifterna till Erik den rödes saga*, 234, 255–59; for the second, see 245–48.

the other way around. The matter is further complicated by B, which is not consulted by Jansson and not included in the apparatus by Björn K. Þórólfsson.²³ Björn notes that the B text is somewhat abbreviated, but that it leaves out no information except for ‘nogle af digressionerne’ – he does not state which.²⁴ In fact, B has none of the five digressions found in R and F (the fourth is found only in F) but missing in the text of the first secretary of Hb, even though B is more closely affiliated with F than with any other manuscript.²⁵ It does have the full digression about the smallness of Þorgeirr’s heart, however, like F, R and M, as well as the preceding one about how God created it.²⁶

The beginning down to page 51 in Björn K. Þórólfsson’s edition is missing in B, and the digressions are found in chapters that are omitted in B.²⁷ The evidence is thus limited, but I believe that B may offer some clues with regard to the character of Hb’s exemplar. Several factors complicate the analysis, however: *Fóstbræðra saga* in M ends just after the first secretary takes over in Hb;²⁸ both Hb and B are acephalous; and B has omitted several relevant chapters. Furthermore, B shares many variants with F against M, but also a number of variants with Hb and R against F.²⁹ Björn and Jónas have constructed one stemma each.

The key point to bear in mind in the evaluation of these stemmas is that it is unlikely that R and F would independently have added the last five digressions (except the fourth one, only in F), but equally unlikely that Hb and B would independently have omitted them. This observation would suggest grouping R and F together against Hb and B, but that would run counter to the fact that Björn and Jónas both see Hb as closely related to R and F as closely related to B. Constructing an alternative stemma under these circumstances would entail *ad hoc* solutions, and this would undermine the credibility of the stemma. I therefore restrict myself to the

23 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson, xxxiii.

24 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson, xxxii.

25 I have consulted AM 76 a fol. The missing digressions would have been on 121r, 122v, 124r, 125v.

26 AM 76 a fol. 118r.

27 See the table in Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um ‘Fóstbræðrasögu’*, 66–68.

28 See the table in Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um ‘Fóstbræðrasögu’*, 62–68. The text of transcripts of M ends on ‘*Hauksbók*’, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 388, whereas the first secretary begins writing on 387.

29 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson, xxxi–xxxii.

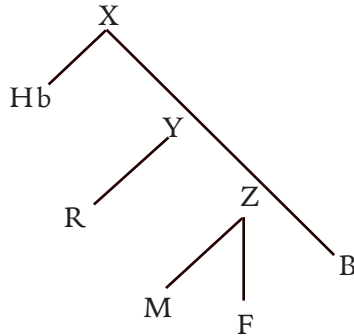


Figure. Simplified stemma based on *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, xlv.

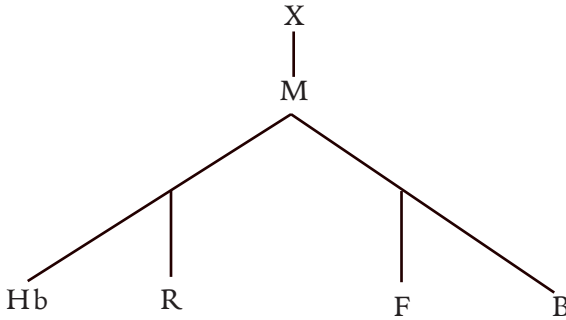


Figure. Simplified stemma based on Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 53.

following observation: The last five digressions show that neither stemma can be fully correct, and for lack of a reliable stemma, other factors become decisive – namely, that Haukr's first secretary did not generally abbreviate, which suggests that the last five digressions were absent in his exemplar, and that this observation is supported by their absence in B, which is certainly not dependent on Hb. In all likelihood, then, Hb's exemplar had many digressions, which were abbreviated by Haukr, but it did not have the last five digressions.

The case now becomes less clear-cut, with most digressions probably being archetypal but five having been added in transmission. It would therefore be desirable to find additional parameters to test whether the digressions before the text of the first scribe and the lost text in M were

original to the saga. I wish therefore to discuss two instances that, I believe, bear this out.

One of the most well-known digressions is the anatomical description of Þorgeirr's heart (present also in B). The long version reads:

Svá segja sumir menn, at þeir klyfði hann til hjarta ok vildu sjá hvílikt væri, svá hugprúðr sem hann var, en menn segja at hjartat væri harðla lítit, ok hǫfðu sumir menn þat fyrir satt, at minni sé hugprúðra manna hjörtu en huglaussa, því at menn kalla minna blóð í litlu hjarta en miklu, en kalla hjartablóði hræðslu fylgja, en segja menn því detta hjarta manna í brjóstinu, at þá hræðiz hjartablóðit ok hjartat í mannum.³⁰

Some men say that they cleft him to the heart and wanted to see what it was like, so courageous a man as he was, and men say that the heart was very small, and some men held it to be true that the hearts of courageous men are smaller than those of cowards, since men say that there is less blood in a small heart than in a big one, and [they] say that fear follows the blood of the heart, and men say that men lose heart [lit. men's heart falls in the breast], since then the blood of the heart and the heart becomes afraid in the man.

Hb simply has:

Þeir skáru upp líkam hans ok vildu sjá hjarta hans, ok var þat eigi meira en vallnot ok hart sem sigg ok ekki blóð í.³¹

They cut open his body and wanted to see his heart, and it was no bigger than a walnut and hard as pork skin and there was no blood in it.

Hb's description gives no explanation as to why the men wanted to see Þorgeirr's heart. The passage makes cultural sense in Norse literature, since we find a number of references to the physical appearance of hearts in mythological texts. Most famously, Hjalli's shivering heart and Högni's

30 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 125.

31 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 125.

steady heart are both presented to Gunnarr in the snake-pit.³² Sigurðr is able to understand bird speech after tasting some of the blood of Fáfnir's heart, but there is no mention of the physical appearance of the heart in that context.³³ In *Skáldskaparmál*, Hrungnir's heart is described as made of stone and with three corners.³⁴ This is the only one of these hearts which is hard, like Þorgeirr's heart in Hb – a characteristic that matches Hrungnir's general toughness, also evident in his head of stone. Þorgeirr's heart is less exceptionally hard, suitable to his extreme, yet still human, toughness.

The smallness of Þorgeirr's heart and its lack of blood are consistent with the overall image of compactness and hardness. Nonetheless, these features stand out in Old Norse heart lore. Thus, for instance, the power of understanding birds' speech is transmitted through the blood of Fáfnir's heart, and the lack of blood in Þorgeirr's heart is therefore apt to raise questions about the significance of this fact – questions that are not answered in the short version. This suggests that the passage in Hb is the result of abbreviation. The opposite scenario is possible, however, namely that this short passage was elaborated into the passage in the long version precisely because it raised questions. If so, the detail of the hardness of Þorgeirr's heart was lost in the process, since it is not found in the corresponding passage in the long version. This detail is found at another juncture in the long version, however, after Þorgeirr's first martial exploit:

[...] því at eigi var hjarta hans sem fóarn í fugli. Eigi var þat blóðfullt svá at þat skylfi af hræðslu, heldr var þat *bert* af inum hæsta hofuðsmið í qllum hvatleik.³⁵

[...] since his heart was not like the entrails of a bird. It was not full of blood, so that it shook from fear; rather it was *hardened* with all courage by the highest artisan.

32 Thus *Atlakviða* 23 and 25; *Völsunga saga* ch. 37. See *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda* 7, ed. Klaus von See et al. (Heidelberg: Winter, 2012), 282–87, for a discussion of these instances, as well as a comparable expression in *Pórsdrápa*.

33 *Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius*, ed. by Gustav Neckel and Hans Kuhn (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1983), 186 (in the prose of *Fáfnismál*); *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda 1*, ed. Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, 1950), 155 (*Völsunga saga*).

34 Snorri Sturluson, *Edda. Skáldskaparmál*, ed. by Anthony Faulkes (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1998), 21.

35 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 10.

This passage is clearly related to the passage in Hb, since lack of blood and hardness are mentioned together also here. It therefore seems likely that the long digression about Þorgeirr's heart has been reworked in Hb under the influence of this passage. In this instance, we cannot compare the text in Hb, since the quire which contained the end of *Heiðreks saga* and the first part of *Fóstbræðra saga* is missing.³⁶ The passage as a whole, however, is of precisely the type lacking in Hb: an anatomical digression with alliterative pairs and devotional elements.³⁷ Hb's exemplar, then, must have had characteristics that are found in the long version, but not in Hb.

Also in another instance, it is highly plausible that the long version is primary. We are not here dealing with a digression, but with the general difference of lofty versus down-to-earth style between the long version and Haukr's text. In a stanza by Þormóðr, both versions read: 'frá ek Þorgeir eiga hug þann er við mun brugðit' (I have heard that Þorgeirr's courage is such that men will praise it). A few lines further down, the long version reads:

Þorgeirr hjó hart ok tíðum, af miklu afli ok ǫruggum hug, ok var hánúm sjálfum *hug* sinn bæði fyrir skjöld ok brynju [...]³⁸

Þorgeirr slashed hard and often, with great force and firm courage, and his *courage* served as both shield and byrnie for him [...]

Hb reads:

Hann hjó hart ok tíðum, ok váru hánúm lengi sín *hogg* bæði fyrir skjöld ok brynju [...]

He slashed hard and often, and for a long time his *slashes* served as both shield and byrnie for him [...]³⁹

36 'Hauksbók', ed. Finnur Jónsson, xi.

37 The passage reads in full: 'Eigi roðnaði hann, því at eigi rann hánúm reiði í hǫrund; eigi bliknaði hann, því at hánúm lagði eigi heipt í brjóst; eigi blánaði hann, því at hánúm rann eigi í bein reiði; heldr brá hann sér engan veg við tíðindasǫgnina, því at eigi var hjarta hans sem fóarn í fugli. Eigi var þat blóðfullt svá at þat skylfi af hræðslu, heldr var þat hert af inum hæsta hǫfuðsmið í ǫllum hvatleik (*Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson, 10).

38 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson, 121–22.

39 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson, 121–22.

Here, the long version picks up on the word *hugr* (courage) in the stanza, a technique that is common in the sagas and that is sometimes used in *Fóstbræðra saga* itself (thus, for instance, the word *þrvendr* [left-handed] in both versions).⁴⁰ This suggests that the long version is primary, and that ‘hug’ has been changed to ‘høgg’ in accordance with the more concrete stylistics of Haukr.

These two instances – the description of Þorgeirr’s heart and the variants *hug/høgg* – are the clearest indications that the long version is primary. In other instances, the changes could have gone either way, but a number of factors – above all Haukr’s tendency to abbreviate – suggest abbreviation as the most likely explanation. This collected evidence is, I believe, sufficient to conclude that most of the digressions are original to the saga, but that the last five have probably been added under the stylistic impact of previous digressions. This means that the earliest reconstructable version of *Fóstbræðra saga* displays stylistic features that are strongly at odds with the style of other sagas of Icelanders.

Date of the Saga

The next question is when this stylistically anomalous saga was composed. Jónas Kristjánsson argued that the saga should be dated to the late thirteenth century against the scholarly consensus of an early date, and his view was subsequently embraced in *Íslensk bókmenntasaga*.⁴¹ Some of his arguments have been countered convincingly by Theodore Andersson.

Jónas assumes that the author of *Fóstbræðra saga* draws on the *Oldest Saga* of Óláfr Haraldsson, the *Legendary Saga* and ‘Styrmir’s book’. These texts all treat the life of Óláfr Haraldsson and were probably composed in that order. They all predate *Heimskringla*. As Andersson notes, this would be a peculiar set of sources in the late thirteenth century, since the manuscript record suggests that *Heimskringla* and the *Separate Saga* were enormously successful once they were composed in the 1220s–1230s, whereas we only have six fragments of the *Oldest Saga*, one Norwegian manuscript of the *Legendary Saga* and excerpts of ‘Styrmir’s book’ in Flateyjarbók. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that an author would collate many king’s sagas only in order to produce a saga of local interest.

⁴⁰ *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson, 164.

⁴¹ See above n. 3.

Andersson discusses the similarities between *Fóstbræðra saga* and *Heimskringla*, and his explanation of them is fully convincing. There are too many textual convergences between them to be coincidental, but their number is still quite limited, and if the author of *Fóstbræðra saga* had used *Heimskringla*, one would have expected many more. If the author of *Heimskringla* used *Fóstbræðra saga* as one of his many sources, however, the moderate number of convergences makes sense. This is by far the most plausible scenario, and it would place *Fóstbræðra saga* before 1225 or so.

As for the *Oldest Saga*, the *Legendary Saga* and ‘Styrmir’s book’, only the *Legendary Saga* is preserved intact, so that it may be compared with *Fóstbræðra saga*, and the wording is almost never close enough to suggest direct influence. The most noteworthy convergence is that the order of Þormóðr’s last is the same.⁴² As Andersson notes, there is one exception to the lack of lexical overlap between *Fóstbræðra saga* and the *Legendary Saga*:

Önnur ráð munu vér nú verða taka heldr en brenna lǫnd sjálfra vára.
(*Legendary saga*)

Annat ráð munu vér taka en brenna land vart sjálfra. (*Fóstbræðra saga*)⁴³

We will now [*Legendary Saga*: have to] adopt another plan than to burn our own land [*Legendary Saga*: lands]

This clause occurs at different places in the narrative, and because of the lack of other verbal correspondences, Andersson concludes that the matching order of the stanzas but almost complete lack of overlap in the prose suggests descent from a written exemplar for the stanzas, but from oral versions for the prose.

There is, however, one important factor which Andersson does not take into account. The fragments of the *Oldest Saga* are extensive enough to verify that the style is the full-blown prosimetrum of the somewhat later

42 Theodore Andersson, ‘Redating *Fóstbræðra saga*’, *Dating the Sagas: Reviews and Revisions*, ed. by Else Mundal (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2013), 55–76 (at 60–61). Andersson counts eight stanzas, but after the first of these, *Fóstbræðra saga* does not have stanzas 53–55 of the *Legendary Saga*.

43 Quotations following Andersson, ‘Redating *Fóstbræðra saga*’, 60.

kings' sagas (they contain the remains of seven stanzas and the first line of a *drápa*).⁴⁴ This is further confirmed by the somewhat later *Legendary Saga* (c. 1225, manuscript c. 1225–1250): the often exact correspondence in wording shows that the *Legendary Saga* is an abbreviated witness to the same redaction as the fragments of the *Oldest Saga*.⁴⁵ This makes the *Oldest Saga*, together with *Orkneyinga saga*, the first witness to the rich prosimetrical form that would have such a great future in the thirteenth century. This is a noteworthy innovation, and given the early date of *Fóstbræðra saga* indicated by *Heimskringla's* use of it, it is one that the *Oldest Saga* shares with *Fóstbræðra saga*. (*Orkneyinga saga* treats a completely different topic and is likely younger than the *Oldest Saga*, so it is of limited relevance here.) It seems unlikely that two texts, treating the same people and events and quoting the same poetry, would independently innovate in this regard. I would therefore contend that the author of *Fóstbræðra saga* was indeed familiar with the *Oldest Saga*. But how, then, should the stark differences be explained?

The lack of overlap seems to rule out that the author of *Fóstbræðra saga* actively consulted the *Oldest Saga* in the process of writing. He may have read it at some earlier time, or heard it read. He must have read considerable portions of it in order to decide to emulate its rich prosimetrical style, which only becomes evident after some reading. Unlike Andersson, however, I am not convinced that the matching order of the final stanzas is due to a written exemplar, since the evidence for such collections is tenuous.⁴⁶

44 *Otte bruddstykker av den ældste saga om Olav den Hellige*, ed. by Gustav Storm (Christiania: Det norske historiske kildekriftsfond, 1893), pp. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10. Dating according to *ONP Registre*, p. 351. Note that fragments seven and eight of Storm's edition have since been shown to belong to another text (see Theodore Andersson, 'Kings' Sagas (*Konungasögur*)', *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature. A Critical Guide*, ed. by Carol J. Clover and John Lindow, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 212–13 and references there). The form of other historiographical texts that have since been lost cannot be reconstructed with a sufficient degree of certainty (see Andersson, 'Kings' Sagas', 214–15 and references there).

45 Theodore Andersson, *The Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas (1180–1280)* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 46–47.

46 Suspensions – that is, that only the first letters of the words of a poetic line or lines are given – in the U manuscript of Snorri's *Edda* suggest that Snorri used one or more compilations of continuous poems when compiling *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál* (Lasse Mårtensson and Heimir Pálsson, 'Anmärkningsvärda suspensioner i DG 11 4to (Codex Upsaliensis av Snorra Edda) – spåren av en skriven förlaga?', *Scripta Islandica* 57

These seven final stanzas are connected to the battle of Stiklarstaðir. As I have argued elsewhere, several texts suggest that sets of stanzas could be transmitted orally with a minimal narrative frame, or even just set in a scene.⁴⁷ One example may suffice here. The poet Einarr Skúlason alludes to the two first stanzas of the cluster of six stanzas found in the beginning of the sixth chapter of *Hallfreðar saga*. In *Øvarflokk*, Einarr Skúlason employs wordplay involving the meaning of the name of Freyja's daughter, Hnoss (treasure), thereby alluding to Hallfreðr's 'nú ák Sýrar mey dýra' (now I own Sýr's [Freyja's] precious daughter [Hnoss > *hnoss*]).⁴⁸ In *Geisli*, Einarr quotes the line 'Fyrr vas hitt es harra' (it was in the past that [...] the lord's/to the lord) by Hallfreðr, turning Hallfreðr's mention of pagan sacrifice into an image of the Passion. Einarr's allusions suggest that the stanzas constituted a well-known cluster in his day as well, connected to Hallfreðr's encounter with Óláfr Tryggvason.

In the first of these six stanzas, Hallfreðr thanks the king for a gift, whereas the remaining five are Hallfreðr's so-called 'conversion stanzas', where he reluctantly takes leave of the gods. The first stanza must thus have belonged to a different original context of composition than the other five, but it had apparently become part of the Hallfreðr-meets-Óláfr cluster by Einarr's day. Einarr was probably born around 1090, and he is mentioned as a priest in *Morkinskinna* and in a list of high-born priests in the year 1143.⁴⁹ This brings us to a point in time much earlier than that of the saga authors. It would appear that the saga author has made few adaptations of this cluster to the saga, since the six stanzas are connected by minimal passages of prose, mostly consisting of the king saying that the previous stanza was not good enough and that Hallfreðr has to compose another. This is little more than a frame for the stanzas, and this is also

(2008), 135–55). Only one such suspension has, however, been found in a skaldic poem (Mårtensson and Heimir Pálsson, 147–52).

47 Mikael Males, *The Poetic Genesis of Old Icelandic Literature* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 80–85, 210–12, 259–62.

48 *Vatnsdæla saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Íslenzk fornrit 8 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1939), 156.

49 *Morkinskinna*, ed. by Ármann Jakobsson and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, 2 vols. Íslenzk fornrit, 23–24 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 2011), 2, 87, 124; Guðrún Nordal *Skaldic Versifying and Social Discrimination in Medieval Iceland*. The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies delivered at the University College London 15 March 2001 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2003), 4.

likely to have been the case when Einarr treated these stanzas as a group long before the saga was written.

In my book, I provide a fuller treatment of this and two additional instances, where we can follow the growth of the prose around a set of stanzas.⁵⁰ In these instances, we are in all likelihood dealing with conceptual frames for given sets of stanzas, but not with prosimetrical oral accounts. When sagas were written down, these frames would be adapted and expanded to suit the saga account. Such a mode of oral transmission of *lausavísur* makes sense, since it provides a way of cataloguing and contextualising them, while it still retains full focus on the stanzas, which is required by the demanding art form of skaldic poetry, as opposed to the more accessible eddic poetry.

Such a 'conceptual frame' scenario can account for the remarkable convergence of the order of the stanzas in *Fóstbræðra saga* and the *Legendary Saga*, while also explaining why there is almost no overlap in the prose; in oral transmission, there was almost no prose to begin with, but all focus was on the stanzas set in a scene. The shared but differently placed sentence presumably belonged to the setting of the scene. This explanation might appear counterintuitive, given the likelihood of influence from the *Oldest Saga*, where the order of the stanzas was probably the same. The author does not appear to have a very clear memory of that saga, however, and I therefore suggest this possible, alternative explanation. Whether the order of the stanzas is dependent on the *Oldest Saga* or not, the combination of thematic and poetic overlap with the shared innovation of rich prosimetrum strongly suggests that the *Oldest Saga* exerted some influence on *Fóstbræðra saga*.

Jónas's remaining arguments in favour of a late date are either intertextual or stylistic, and Andersson does not address these. These features are of limited value for dating *Fóstbræðra saga* to the end of the thirteenth century, but some of them may suggest a dating to the beginning of that century. With regard to intertextual connections, Jónas discusses similarities to number of sagas of Icelanders and contemporary sagas (as well as the Bible, which is irrelevant for dating). Importantly, however, he consistently focuses on whether direct influence is plausible, but not on the direction of influence, and I have found no diagnostic instances

⁵⁰ See note 45.

among his examples.⁵¹ With regard to courtly sagas (*riddarasögur*), Jónas presents no likely instances of influence in either direction.⁵² He suggests that the author was familiar with the concept of courtly love, but admits that the taxonomy of love and depictions of women is an inexact science.⁵³ In any event, Røgnvaldr jarl's *lausavísur* and Bjarni Kolbeinsson's *Jómsvíkingadrápa* suggest that aspects of courtly love entered the literature more than half a century before the royal commission to translate French romances from 1226 onwards.

With regard to stylistics, Jónas's empirical evidence is weak. For instance, he states that *Fóstbræðra saga* uses kennings in prose, and that other instances of this are not found until around 1300 or later. He only presents examples from *Karlamagnúss saga*, however: *hildarleikr* (game of battle), *hildarvöndr* (battle-rod; sword), *hjärtaborg* (heart-castle; breast). To this may be added a few similar instances discussed by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.⁵⁴ These kennings are all intuitively comprehensible and appear as embellishments with some poetic inspiration. *Fóstbræðra saga*, by contrast, has *Ránar dætr* (daughters of Rán; waves) and *elris hundr* (the hound of the elder-tree; wind), which require knowledge of skaldic diction.⁵⁵ Such kennings are otherwise never found in saga prose, but only in poetry and in prose treating kennings. *Fóstbræðra saga* thus represents an approach to how poetic resources may be used in prose that is not found in any other saga (see further below).

Jónas classifies the style of *Fóstbræðra saga* as 'florid' or 'learned' and uses this as an argument for a late date. Jónas does not correlate these features with developments among sagas of Icelanders or kings' sagas, but compares them only to courtly sagas, which draw on conventions established by the early translations (from 1226 on). But why, then, are there no clear analogues? Later in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many authors were certainly familiar with the conventions of courtly literature, but these were nonetheless kept apart from the established conventions of sagas of Icelanders. Thus, for instance, the 'courtly' *Laxdæla saga* is courtly only in relation to other sagas of Icelanders, since it features a lion on a

51 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 224–49.

52 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 249–51.

53 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 251.

54 Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Ritunartími íslendingasagna*, 137–39.

55 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 268.

shield and a few other relevant details; in general, it has little in common with other courtly literature. Einar Ól. Sveinsson gives a list of courtly features that may be used to date sagas after c. 1240, but none of these apply to *Fóstbræðra saga*.⁵⁶

Furthermore, many of the relevant features are also found in early homilies. Indeed, the religious, hyperbolic and learned character of the ‘digressions’ sounds more homiletic than anything else, and this is precisely what makes them so unusual in a saga context. While homilies and sagas serve very different purposes, it would perhaps not be strange if some of the rhetorical conventions of homiletic discourse spilled over into the saga text of an author who is accustomed to them, and I would argue that this is a likely explanation of some of the unusual features in *Fóstbræðra saga*. I turn now to the features that Jónas sees as indicative of a late date, and I use the Icelandic Homily Book (below IHB) as a point of comparison, because of its early date and relatively varied content.

The most compelling feature, in so far as it is linguistic and probably not exclusively the product of an active choice on the author’s behalf, is the use of the indefinite article *einn* (‘a man’, ‘a boat’, etc.). Over time, it became more common to write ‘maðr einn hét Mǫrðr’ (a man was named Mǫrðr), rather than ‘maðr hét Mǫrðr’ ([a] man was named Mǫrðr), and we find relatively numerous examples of such use of the indefinite article in *Fóstbræðra saga*.

It is somewhat unclear exactly what Jónas is referring to when counting the occurrences of the indefinite article in *Fóstbræðra saga*, given that the number varies between different versions. I have read the text of M as printed in Björn K. Þórolfsson’s edition, as well as Hb after M’s text stops.⁵⁷ While I come up with the same number of occurrences of *einn* as a numeral with temporal expressions (*einn dag*, *einn vetr*, etc.), namely 16, I find only 22 instances of unequivocal use of *einn* as indefinite article (up to 25 if three doubtful cases are included), against Jónas’s 50. Given that our numbers for the use of *einn* as a numeral in temporal expressions are identical, I suspect that in order to reach so high a number, Jónas may have included instances of *einn* where it is not used as indefinite article.⁵⁸

56 Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Ritunartími Íslendingasagna*, 141.

57 See *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, vii, xvii.

58 There are some borderline cases. Thus, for instance, ‘einn ungr maðr’ (one young man)

The number is still relatively high, but it is doubtful that it would be higher than in most other sagas if it were not for the concentration of occurrences in the Greenland episode: 13 occurrences on 32 pages versus 9 occurrences on the remaining 184 pages.⁵⁹ R lacks many occurrences, in the Greenland episode and elsewhere, but since these are generally found in the other manuscripts, their absence seems to be due to scribal preference rather than to the archetype.⁶⁰ Their concentration in the Greenland episode may at least partly be due to the nature of the action there, since it contains many encounters between people who are previously unknown to each other or who say that they are someone who they are not.

As Jónas notes, indefinite *einn* is also used in the IHB.⁶¹ This point calls for some elaboration. In fact, the number of occurrences in the IHB is very low, but in this instance, numbers are deceptive. The indefinite article generally occurs in ‘down-to-earth’ narrative sequences where a person or entity not previously mentioned is introduced. While this is a common state of affairs in the sagas, it is rare in the IHB, but when these criteria are met, we get some examples of the indefinite article.⁶² Furthermore, the very uneven distribution within *Fóstbræðra saga* should warn us against using the indefinite article as a dating criterion for this saga; the numbers outside of the Greenland episode are roughly compatible with those that Jónas gives for *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* in *Heimskringla* (9 in *Fóstbræðra saga*, 12 in *Óláfs saga*, but given the length of *Óláfs saga*, the ratio in *Fóstbræðra saga* is slightly higher).⁶³

(*Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 18.1) and ‘einn útlendr maðr’ (a foreigner) (*Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 166.14), could be taken as indefinite articles, but *einn* in these cases underlines the point that protagonist has singlehandedly performed a feat.

59 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, pp. 169.3 and 9, 174.2 (not R), 181.8, 126.9 (not R and F) and 15 (not R), 188.12 (not R), 190.6 (not R), 193.3 (not R), 195.2, 197.8, 198.3 (not F), 200.7 (not R). Occurrences not related to the Greenland episode are: 19.1 (not R), 21.9 (not R), 33.16, 35.1 (not R), 55.2, 88.6, 101.16 (not R), 152.10 (not F), 213.14. Doubtful instances are: 18.1, 63.14, 166.14 (in these cases it is relevant that the person is alone).

60 See previous note.

61 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um ‘Fóstbræðrasögu’*, 283.

62 78r l. 22, 78v l. 4 (*unus* rather than *einn*), 80v l. 14. See ‘The Manuscript Sthm. Perg. 15 4°. A Diplomatic Edition and Introduction’, ed. by Andrea van Arkel-de Leeuw van Weenen (PhD Diss., Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1977). Similar characteristics are found on 94r–97r, but only *nokkurr* (some) is used there.

63 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um ‘Fóstbræðrasögu’*, 285.

Another recurrent feature in *Fóstbræðra saga* is alliteration, in particular alliterative pairs of nearly synonymous words: ‘vittr ok vinsæll’, ‘hvatr ok harðráðr’, etc.⁶⁴ As Jónas notes, this is found in courtly literature, but it is also a staple of homiletic and hagiographic literature, sometimes to the point of extravagance. The IHB has the occasional pair, stretches of pairs, and sometimes even sequences approaching *fornyrðislag*. Again, pairs of nearly synonymous words are particularly common: ‘öfund ok illska’, ‘vit ok vísdómr’, etc.⁶⁵ Unlike the indefinite article, alliteration has a very natural place in homilies, with their lists of concepts and their emotional addresses, and we thus find a more conspicuous use of it here than in sagas of any kind. Alliterative pairs are thus not a late phenomenon, and homiletic interference probably explains the presence of alliteration in courtly literature as well, since it is not present in the French originals.

The question thus becomes why the author of *Fóstbræðra saga* opted for the hyperbolic style found in homilies, hagiography and courtly literature. Comparable features may be found in *Sverris saga*, the first full-length saga of an individual king (see discussion below), and *Íslendingabók* opens with a Latin-style period.⁶⁶ This suggests that features such as hyperbole, simile and alliteration may belong to an early, experimental phase of the development of kings’s sagas and sagas of Icelanders, but that these characteristics gradually came to be seen as inappropriate for such local, recent and comparatively realistic topics.

Drawing on Lars Lönnroth, Jónas also discusses the anatomical lore of some digressions. In this context, it is important that the last five digressions are likely to have been added later, as noted above, and that one of them is found only in F. Neither Lönnroth nor Jónas takes this into account.

The first anatomical digression is that on the smallness of Þorgeirr’s heart, discussed above. The idea that the heart of a brave man is hard is a rather straightforward metaphor that could be drawn from either local

64 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um ‘Fóstbræðrasögu’*, 279–80.

65 See the lists in David Macmillan McDougall, ‘Studies in the Prose Style of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian Homily Books’ (PhD diss., University College London, 1983), 98–127 (see also 26–42).

66 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson. Íslenzk fornrit 1 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1986), 4.

or Latin tradition (notably Pliny).⁶⁷ The specific explanation that a small heart has little room for blood in which fear may reside seems to be the author's own, but the fact that the amount of blood is decisive for Þorgeirr's character probably draws its inspiration from humoral theory, since the fundamental parameters of that theory are the excess or lack of humours, heat or moisture.⁶⁸ This theory became commonplace with the spread of Salernian medicine in the twelfth century, and it envisioned four types of blood (black and yellow bile, phlegm and actual blood), which in conjunction with the parameters hot and cold, wet and dry were decisive for the character and well-being of the individual. In the Norse area, aspects of this theory (heat and moisture) are found already in Theodoricus monachus, c. 1180, in his discussion of how men's bodies have become smaller over time:

Cuncta namque in terra ex calore et humore procreantur; in quibus calor abundat, fiunt exiliora, graciliora et subtiliora; et ubi preualet humor, sunt grossiora, proceriora et magis corpulenta.

Everything in the world is generated from heat and moisture; where heat is preponderant, creatures are made thinner, leaner and more delicate; where moisture has the advantage, they are thicker, taller and fleshier.⁶⁹

General knowledge of humoral theory is thus attested at an early date. Interestingly enough, it is here found in a Latin kings' saga, and one that makes ample use of digressions, like *Fóstbræðra saga*.⁷⁰ It should be noted, however, that the theory is also found in the Old Norse translation of Honorius Augustodunensis' *Elucidarius*, before 1200.⁷¹

67 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 246–47; *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda* 7, ed. von See et al., 285–86.

68 Lars Lönnroth, 'Kroppen som själens spegel – ett motiv i de isländska sagorna', *Lychnos* (1963–64): 24–61 (at 46–48).

69 Theodoricus, *De antiquitate regum Norwagiensium. On the Old Norwegian Kings*, ed. and trans. by Egil Kraggerud (Oslo: Novus forlag, 2018), 66–67; cf. Lönnroth, 'Kroppen som själens spegel', 35.

70 For a recent discussion, see Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir, 'Humoral Theory in the Medieval North. An Old Norse Translation of *Epistula Vindicani* in Hauksbók', *Gripla* 29 (2018): 35–66.

71 Honorius Augustodunensis, *The Old Norse 'Elucidarius'. Original Text and English Translation*, ed. and trans. by Evelyn Scherabon Firchow (Columbia: Camden House, 1992), 14.

Two additional anatomical digressions are found in the saga. The first of these states that:

Reiði hvers manns er í galli en líf í hjarta, minni í heila, metnaðr í lungum, hlátr í milti, lystisemi í lifr.⁷²

The anger of every man is found in the gall, and life in the heart, memory in the brain, pride in the lungs, laughter in the spleen, lust in the liver.

The second reads:

Öll bein hans skulfu, þau sem í vǫru hans líkama, en þat vǫru cc beina ok xiiij bein. Tennr hans nǫtruðu, þær vǫru xxx. Allar æðar í hans hǫrundi pipruðu fyrir hræðslu sakir, þær vǫru cccc ok xv.⁷³

All his bones shook, the ones that were in his body, and that was 214 bones. His teeth rattled, they were 30. All the veins in his body trembled with fear, they were 415.

No exact match to the first digression has been found, but related material may be found in Pliny, Isidore and others.⁷⁴ By contrast, the second digression exactly matches the thirteenth-century Salernian *Flos Medicines*, to the point that the numbers can be shown to be misreadings of numbers given in that text (CCCCXV for CCCLXV and CCXIV for CCXIX). The same can be said, however, about the Old English *Prose Solomon and Saturn*, and the 365 bones can also be found in Irish texts.⁷⁵ This digression may have been influenced by *Flos Medicines*, in which case it is unlikely to predate c. 1300 by very much, but it is equally possible that the numbers have entered the Icelandic tradition through, for instance, Insular monastic influence.

These two digressions belong to the last five in the saga, and as noted above, the texts of Haukr's 'first secretary' and B suggest that these have been added under the influence of earlier digressions. Four of them are

72 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 149.

73 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 162.

74 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 244.

75 See *The 'Prose Solomon and Saturn' and 'Adrian and Ritheus'*, ed. by James. E. Cross and Thomas D. Hill (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 34, 123–26.

found only in F and R, and the last one quoted here is found only in F. This digression thus has the weakest claim to having belonged to the archetype, even among the five. It can therefore at best be used to date itself, and certainly not the saga.

Other features mentioned by Jónas, such as personification, the focus on courage and the comparisons between Þorgeirr and a lion, are certainly reminiscent of what one may find in courtly literature. It should be noted, however, that courage is a staple of eddic poetry, and the door from Valþjófsstaðir (c. 1200) reminds us that knights and their lions were known before courtly literature was translated. With regard to personification, it may be true that the expression ‘dætr Heimskunnar, þær Dul ok Rangvirðing’ (the daughters of Stupidity, Conceit and Bad Judgement) is unlikely to date to the beginning of the thirteenth century, but it belongs in one of the digressions that are likely to have been added.⁷⁶ With regard to the lexicon, this is, I believe, no trustworthy guide. The words discussed by Jónas generally have early attestations.⁷⁷ Somewhat surprisingly, he does not discuss the courtly *hugprúðr* (courageous), but this is a good example of the problems involved. It is found in later hagiographical and courtly literature, but *hugprúðr* once turns up in *Skáldskaparmál*, and its presence in R and C shows it to be archetypal.⁷⁸ This, like other typically courtly words, would thus have been available for someone who aimed for a particular style already at an early date.

In general, I consider the features discussed by Jónas to be marked stylistic choices otherwise largely absent from sagas of Icelanders, much like the ‘digressions’ where many of these features are found. The saga’s stylistic isolation should be taken seriously and the question needs to be addressed when an experiment of this kind could have been conducted, and under what circumstances. I suggest that a plausible setting for influence from established genres – such as hagiography, homiletic literature and kings’ sagas – was at a time when there were as yet no clear generic conventions for sagas of Icelanders. This hypothesis is supported by the scenario outlined by Andersson, in which *Heimskringla* draws on *Fóstbræðra*

76 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um ‘Fóstbræðrasögu’*, 269–72; Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Ritunartími íslendingasagna*, 154–55.

77 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um ‘Fóstbræðrasögu’*, 285–91.

78 *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson (København: Kommissionen for det arnamagnæanske legat, 1931), 140 (abbreviated to ‘h.’ in C, but clearly designating ‘hugprúði’).

saga. We have also seen that anatomical lore and digressions are found in conjunction in Theodoricus's history of the Norwegian kings and noted some stylistic affinities with *Sverris saga* – both early texts. In a period close to the composition of these texts, it would make sense to draw on similar rhetorical resources in the composition of local narrative for which no clear conventions as yet existed. Breaking with these conventions once they were established would be more surprising, but perhaps not inconceivable: an unexpected scenario cannot be rejected out of hand. Additional parameters would therefore be desirable, and here *Fóstbræðra saga*'s treatment of poetry becomes a valuable asset, since the diachronic development of conventions for the treatment of poetry in other prosimetrical genres (kings' sagas and hagiography) can be charted in some detail and compared to those of the sagas of Icelanders.

Poetry

I begin with the author's choice regarding the use of authenticating versus situational quotations.⁷⁹ In the sagas, authenticating quotations are typically introduced with the words *svá segir N. N* (as N. N. says) or the like, whereas situational quotations are typically introduced with words like *þá kvað N. N visu* (then N. N recited a stanza). *Fóstbræðra saga* falls into two parts in this regard: before Þormóðr travels to Greenland, the author uses authenticating quotations, with only two exceptions.⁸⁰ After this point, only situational quotations are used.

The bulk of the quotations in the first part belong to Þormóðr's Þor-

79 See Alois Wolf, 'Zur Rolle der *Visur* in der altnordischen Prosa', *Festschrift Leonhard C. Frans zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Osmund Menghin and Hermann M. Ölberg (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Geisteswissenschaften, 1965), 459–84; Bjarni Einarsson, 'On the Rôle of Verse in Saga-Literature', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 7 (1974): 118–25; Diana Whaley, 'Skalds and Situational Verses in *Heimskringla*', *Snorri Sturluson. Kolloquium anlässlich der 750. Wiederkehr seines Todestages*, ed. by Alois Wolf (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1993), 252.

80 These are found in *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 58, 75. With regard to the authenticity of the stanzas, both *Þorgeirsdrápa* and the stanzas connected to king Óláfr in the end of the saga contain hiatus and other early forms. The stanzas from Greenland, however, do not, and some doubt may accrue to these. See *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, lix. There is one exception: the stanza where Þormóðr reports his revenge has *aðalþending* in *ǰ*: *a* ('gjørt': 'svartan'). See Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um 'Fóstbræðrasögu'*, 118; *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 166.

geirsdrápa, stanzas of which have been distributed across the narrative. This is a common technique in kings' sagas, but it is rare in sagas of Icelanders: the only other saga of Icelanders that does it to any considerable extent is *Eyrbyggja saga*. There, Oddr's *Illugadrápa* is quoted twice in the beginning, and Þormóðr Trefilsson's *Hrafnsmál* five times towards the end.⁸¹ With roughly half of its stanzas being authenticating, *Fóstbræðra saga* has far more authenticating quotations than any other saga of Icelanders.

Fóstbræðra saga is therefore a generic hybrid with regard to its quotation of poetry, being more reminiscent of kings' sagas than of other sagas of Icelanders. In *Egils saga*, for instance, long poems are not used in this way, even though the author clearly had access to them. *Fóstbræðra saga*'s technique thus appears to have been carried over from the kings' sagas without the interference of established conventions for how to quote poetry in sagas of Icelanders. This makes it likely that it belongs to the beginning of the tradition of sagas of Icelanders. It should be noted, however, that authenticating quotations are absent in the last part of the saga, which overlaps in content with the sagas of Óláfr Haraldsson. It would appear that the technique of constructing a back-bone of authenticating quotations has been carried over from the kings' sagas to the part of the saga which was not already in existence, whereas the situational quotations that are common in sagas about Óláfr Haraldsson in particular have been retained in *Fóstbræðra saga*.

In two instances, we find traditional, poetic diction in the flowery language of the digressions. Thus, we read: 'Reyndu Ránar døtr drengina ok buðu þeim sín faðmlog'⁸² (the daughters of Rán tested the men and offered them their embraces). In skaldic diction, the daughters of the goddess Rán are the waves, and their embraces appear to be borrowed from another mythological topos, namely the embraces of the goddess of death, Hel. Indeed, this topos appears somewhat later, where we read: '[...] ok mun Hel, húsfreyja þín, leggja þik sér í faðm [...]'⁸³ (and Hel, your lady of the house, will take you in her embrace). In another instance, we read:

81 As Russell Poole has shown, it is also likely that the stanzas by Þórarinn Máhlíðingr belonged to one poem (or to a 'frame of transmission' as outlined above), but these are all situational quotations (Russell Poole, 'The Origins of the *Máhlíðingavisur*', *Scandinavian Studies* 57 (1985): 244–85).

82 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 20.

83 *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson, 26.

Fjúk ok frost gekk alla nóttina: gó elris hundr alla þá nótt óþrotnum
kjöptum ok tǫgg allar jarðir með grimmm kuldátönnum.

Snow and frost drove all through the night: the hound of the elder-
tree [the wind] howled all that night with tireless jaws and bit all
lands with cruel teeth of cold.

This personification of the wind as a hound is typical of the flowery digressions in *Fóstbræðra saga*. This is not, however, personification of a general kind: *elris hundr* is a conventional kenning.⁸⁴

As noted above, *Fóstbræðra saga* is unique in embedding non-intuitive kennings in flowery, figurative prose – or any saga prose. The fact that it does so suggests experimentation with the possibilities of poetics without much restraint from established conventions. The norms for how to quote and what to do with poetry took shape gradually in the decades around 1200. Thus, for instance, *Sverris saga* quotes two stanzas to prove a moral point, which is a common strategy in Latin prosimetra but almost unheard of in Old Norse.⁸⁵ Among the kings' sagas, the portions of *Morkinskinna* that are likely to be original to the work display many quotations that are of a merely descriptive character, some of which are composed in simple eddic metres.⁸⁶ The compilations *Fagrskinna* and *Heimskringla*, composed only slightly later, avoid quotations of this type.

It seems likely that the unusual treatment of poetry in *Fóstbræðra saga* – both the mode of quotation and the use of non-intuitive kennings as rhetorical flowers – is a sign that it belongs very early in the tradition of sagas of Icelanders. The flowery style is presumably due to the same factors, and we may again compare it to *Sverris saga* – an early king's saga with an unu-

84 For kennings of this type, see Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden. Ein Beitrag zur skaldischen Poetik* (Bonn: Kurt Schroeder, 1921), 102.

85 The moral character of both quotations may be related to the particular circumstance that they belong in speeches (*Sverris saga*, ed. by Þorleifur Hauksson. Íslenzk fornrít 30 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 2007), 72, 257). Stylistically, *Sverris saga* is more similar to Latin historiographical works than later kings' sagas (Sverre Bagge, 'The Old Norse Kings' Sagas and European Latin Historiography', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 115 (2016): 1–38 (at 4, 11)).

86 *Morkinskinna. The Earliest Icelandic Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030–1157)*, trans. by Theodore Andersson and Kari Ellen Gade, *Islandica* 51 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 25.

sually ‘European’ rhetorical style, partly similar to that of *Fóstbræðra saga*: some speeches have a classical, rhetorical structure,⁸⁷ synonymous word pairs and unnecessary adjectives – both often alliterating – are used,⁸⁸ and the author makes frequent use of similes and opposites.⁸⁹ As in the case of *Fóstbræðra saga*, the most flowery version of the text is clearly oldest, and the saga was gradually redacted to conform to ‘classical’ style during the fourteenth century.⁹⁰ *Sverris saga* appears mainly to have been composed by abbot Karl Jónsson of Þingeyrar in the years 1185–1188 and somewhat later. *Fóstbræðra saga* is probably later than *Sverris saga*, drawing on conventions established for the kings’ sagas, but still so early that conventions for how to compose sagas of Icelanders had not been set: around or after 1200 and before c. 1220 seems plausible, since *Egils saga* must probably have been composed before *Heimskringla*, and *Egils saga* is fully developed generically.⁹¹

Original Context

Many factors support the hypothesis that *Fóstbræðra saga* is the earliest preserved saga of Icelanders: no saga is more directly dependent on a king’s saga; the rhetorical register is consistent with an early king’s saga like *Sverris saga*, but not with later ones; experiments with the use of poetry in prose are found in early sagas like *Sverris saga* (moral quotation) and *Morkinskinna* (descriptive quotation), but not in later ones; the authenticating mode of quotation is much closer to kings’ sagas than what may be found in any other saga of Icelanders.

Since *Fóstbræðra saga* treats the West Fjords, a northwestern point of origin seems likely, and the saga’s presence in F and M supports this. The scribes of F drew on books from Þingeyrar when compiling the manuscript, and while the precise point of origin of M is uncertain, it appears to have been written in northern Iceland c. 1330–1370.⁹² This rough loca-

87 *Sverris saga*, ed. Þorleifur Hauksson, lxix–lxx.

88 *Sverris saga*, ed. Þorleifur Hauksson, lxxii–lxxiii.

89 *Sverris saga*, ed. Þorleifur Hauksson, lxxvii, lxxiii–lxxiv.

90 *Sverris saga*, ed. Þorleifur Hauksson, xlvii–lii, lxxiv.

91 See Males, *The Poetic Genesis*, 235–36 and references there.

92 On F, see, for instance, *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson, lxxv; on M, see *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*. Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile VII, ed. Stefán Karlsson (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1967), 28–29.

tion of *Fóstbræðra saga* is further corroborated by its use in *Grettis saga* – a point that calls for some elaboration.

Þorgeisdrápa forms the poetic backdrop of the first part of *Fóstbræðra saga* and has no independent transmission, except one stanza which is quoted in *Grettis saga*.⁹³ The line of borrowing – from *Fóstbræðra saga* to *Grettis saga* – is suggested by the quotation of a stanza by Grettir in *kviðuháttir* in both sagas.⁹⁴ In *Grettis saga*, this is the third of a group of four *kviðuháttir* stanzas on the topic of how Þorbjörg saved Grettir. At least two of these can be deemed spurious, since they draw on Snorri's *Edda*, and the remaining one is highly likely to be, since it employs wordplay (*marþaks fjörðr* 'sea-roof's [ice's] fjord [Ísafjörðr]), which is typical of the style of Pseudo-Grettir.⁹⁵ The stanza found in both sagas differs from the other three in being stylistically simple, and it is probably authentic. It is likely that this stanza is what prompted the author of *Grettis saga* to compose the additional ones, in the same metre but with the elaborate style that he had devised for Grettir. Like *Þorgeisdrápa*, this stanza has no independent transmission, and it would thus appear that the author of *Grettis saga* got both Grettir's stanza and the stanza from *Þorgeisdrápa* from *Fóstbræðra saga*.⁹⁶ The author of *Grettis saga* was active in northwestern Iceland, and it seems likely that he was in contact with the monastery at Þingeyrar, if he did not belong to it.⁹⁷

Þingeyrar was an important centre for the development of kings' sagas in the decades around 1200: Karl Jónsson composed *Sverris saga* and Oddr munkr and Gunnlaugr Leifsson both composed Latin sagas about Óláfr Tryggvason there – Oddr's saga was soon translated into Norse.

93 *Skj A I*, 277–81; *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, ed. by Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 7 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1936), 92–93.

94 Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson assume that the influence went from *Grettis saga* to *Fóstbræðra saga* in this instance, since the episode is missing in F (*Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, lxix). In F, however, *Fóstbræðra saga* has been split into three sections and inserted at various points in *Óláfs saga helga*. The saga heroes, Þormóðr and Þorgeirr, both had dealings with the king, but Grettir did not. Under these circumstances, the Grettir episode became unnecessary, and it is likely that it was dropped for that reason.

95 Males, *The Poetic Genesis*, 266–67, but there I do not discuss the special status of the stanza preserved in both sagas.

96 *Skj A I*, 310 (6).

97 *Grettis saga*, ed. Guðni Jónsson, lxxi–lxxv.

Fóstbræðra saga's indebtedness to kings' sagas, its manuscript transmission and connection to *Grettis saga*, and its learned and hagiographic tendencies may suggest that it was first written at Þingeyrar – but this can be no more than an educated guess. The saga's point of origin in northwestern Iceland may be regarded as certain, however.

Preceding Traditions and Models

We can follow the development of skaldic prosimetra in some detail, which evolved from quoting very little poetry to quoting substantial amounts in the decades around 1200.⁹⁸ There are also indications that the lore about the deeds of early Icelanders gradually accumulated a degree of canonicity during the twelfth century, but not in a prosimetrical setting. With regard to *Landnámabók*, the part of the text that was originally written by Kolskeggr, sometime before c. 1130, often displays a particularly compact style: X took land in Y, his son was Z.⁹⁹ It is also likely that Ari fróði composed some version or part of *Landnámabók*, around the same time or slightly later. A reference to Teitr as a source to Ketilbjørn Ketilsson's taking of land in *Haukdæla þáttur* in all likelihood goes back to Ari, since it refers to Teitr as informant, which is typical of Ari.¹⁰⁰ It seems likely that the text by Ari in this instance was a version of (a part of?) *Landnámabók*, but it cannot be ruled out that we are dealing with the first, lost version of Ari fróði's *Íslendingabók*, which contained genealogies.¹⁰¹ Either way, we know Ari's style through *Íslendingabók*, and while we may here see the signs of a degree of canonisation of some prominent Icelandic people and events, the information is meagre and annalistic in comparison to later sagas. Except for one couplet, it is composed in prose only, and this is likely to have been the case with Kolskeggr's *Landnámabók* as well.

When searching the twelfth century for lore that would evolve into sagas of Icelanders, more promising sources are Haukr Valdísarson's *Íslendingadrápa* and the inscription from c. 1150 in Maeshowe, Orkney, mentioning the axe of Gaukr Trandilsson: 'Þessar rúnar reist sá maðr, er

98 See Males, *The Poetic Genesis*, 195–200.

99 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, cvii.

100 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, cxiii.

101 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, viii–x, cxv.

rúnstr er fyrir vestan haf, með þeiri øxi, er átti Gaukr Trandilssonr fyrir sunnan land' (The man who is most skilled in runes west of the ocean carved these runes with the axe that Gaukr Trandilssonr owned in the south of the country [Iceland]).¹⁰² Gaukr is briefly and enigmatically mentioned in *Njáls saga*, where we learn little more than that he was killed by his foster brother.¹⁰³ We know that there existed a saga about him in the fourteenth century, since in M, the commissioner has informed the scribe that he should write down *Gauks saga Trandilssonar* after *Njáls saga*.¹⁰⁴ This never happened, and the saga is now lost to us. Gaukr is also mentioned in *Íslendingadrápa*, where we learn that he made the birds of the battlefield happy and that he was harmful to many a man in combat.¹⁰⁵ The importance of his axe to the carver in Maeshowe suggests that he was connected to martial, saga-like events.

Íslendingadrápa is a poetic list of Icelandic saga heroes. Its date has been disputed, but indications of a twelfth century date are strong, not only because such historical poems seem later to have been replaced by saga writing, but also because the poem repeatedly differs from saga accounts in ways comparable to other twelfth century poems (notably *Háttalykill* and *Rekstefja*). There is also some linguistic evidence in support of this date.¹⁰⁶ We thus have a few indications that the lore of the heroes of Iceland was at the focus of attention in the twelfth century, but while it may have been collected into a precursor of *Landnámabók*, it is unlikely that it was written

102 Michael P. Barnes, *The Runic Inscriptions of Maeshowe, Orkney*, Runrön 8 (Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk, 1994), 152–53.

103 *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ed. by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson. Íslenzk fornrit 12 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1954), 72–73, 371.

104 The reading of parts of this notice is insecure and has become progressively more so in recent years, but the words 'láttu rita hér við Gauks sögu Trandilssonar' (let *Gauks saga Trandilssonar* be written here) have not been called into doubt (*Sagas of Icelandic Bishops. Fragments of Eight Manuscripts*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson. Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile VII (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1967), 27; Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen, *A Grammar of Möðruvallabók* (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 2000), 27).

105 *Skj* A I, 558–59 (19); B I, 543 (19).

106 On the dating of *Íslendingadrápa*, see Jónas Kristjánsson, 'Íslendingadrápa and Oral Tradition', *Grippl* 1 (1975): 76–91. Later dates have been proposed, but largely without responding to Jónas's solid arguments: thus Bjarni Einarsson, 'Íslendingadrápa', *Tímarit Háskóla Íslands* 4 (1989): 127–31; Ernst Walter, 'Argumente zur Bestimmung des Alters der *Íslendingadrápa* Hauks Valdisarsonar', *Deutsch-nordische Begegnungen. 9. Arbeitstagung der Skandinavisten des deutschen Sprachgebiets 1989 in Svendborg*, ed. by Kurt Braunmüller and Mogens Brøndsted (Odense: Odense University Press, 1991), 96–103.

down into sagas. If it had been, *Íslendingadrápa* would probably have been in better factual agreement with the saga accounts, and sagas composed in this early period would have reflected the prevailing prose format of the twelfth century, rather than the prosimetrum of the thirteenth.¹⁰⁷

If we attempt to answer what *Fóstbræðra saga* was to its author, then, it was a saga about local heroes, drawing on the lore of Icelandic heroes that had accumulated a degree of canonicity during the twelfth century. In order to produce such a text, the author drew on known poetry, some of it transmitted as a long poem, some of it perhaps as part of the situational setting of Þormóðr-at-Stiklarstaðir. As written models, he looked to kings' sagas, where the authenticating mode of quotation of poetry dominates (though not for Þormóðr-at-Stiklarstaðir specifically). For rhetorical embellishment, he drew on homiletic models, but he also explored the potential of skaldic diction. All of these factors suggest a tentative approach, and several of them – such as authenticating quotation, skaldic diction in prose and hyperbolic rhetoric – would be rejected by later authors as the genre began to find its own peculiar register. The experiment undertaken by the author of *Fóstbræðra saga*, however, was all-important for later authors to have something to emulate and partly reject, and in order for the genre to reach the perfection of *Egils saga*, *Gísla saga*, *Njáls saga* and others.

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AM 73 a fol. (Bæjarbók)	AM 142 fol.
AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók)	GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók)

Den Arnamagnæanske Samling,

AM 73 a fol.
AM 73 b fol.
AM 76 a fol.

107 On a famous passage in *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða* and why it cannot be used to reconstruct twelfth-century literary forms, see Males, *The Poetic Genesis*, 201–05.

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ABSTRACT

Keywords: *Fóstbræðra saga*, sagas of Icelanders, kings' sagas, prosimetrum

This article argues that *Fóstbræðra saga* constitutes a link between kings' sagas and sagas of Icelanders, and that it is the first prosimetrical saga of Icelanders. It evaluates Sven B.F. Jansson's arguments regarding the long and the short version and whether the 'digressions' were found in the archetype. It is argued that Jansson's

analysis is partly flawed, but that his claim that the digressions were found in the archetype is probably right, except for the last five. In addition, Theodore Andersson has argued convincingly against Jónas Kristjánsson that *Fóstbræðra saga* must be older than *Heimskringla*. The present author accepts Andersson's arguments, but since *Fóstbræðra saga* – like most sagas of Icelanders – offers few dating criteria, additional parameters would be valuable. Under favourable circumstances, the poetry in the sagas may offer some clues, and this article takes two poetic features into account. *Fóstbræðra saga* is unique among sagas of Icelanders both in its high proportion of authenticating quotations of poetry, which is reminiscent of kings' sagas, and in using kennings that require skaldic competence as part of the overblown language of the digressions. A comparison with the treatment of poetry in the kings' sagas suggests that these features indicate an early, experimental approach.

ÁGRIP

Lykilorð: *Fóstbræðra saga*, Íslendingasögur, konungasögur, samþáttun lausamáls og kveðskapar

Í þessari grein er því haldið fram að *Fóstbræðra saga* sé hlekkur sem tengir saman konungasögur og Íslendingasögur og jafnframt að hún sé fyrsta Íslendingasagan sem beitir samtvinnun lausamáls og kveðskapar (*prosimetrum*). Sven B.F. Jansson setti fram athuganir um tengsl styttri og lengri gerðar sögunnar og taldi hann að hinar svokölluðu „klausur“ hefðu verið til staðar í erkiritinu. Hér er málið tekið til endurskoðunar. Þótt ákveðnir gallar séu á rökfærslu Janssons er sú niðurstaða hans að klausurnar séu upphaflegar líklega réttar – en á þó ekki um þær síðustu fimm. Um aldur sögunnar hélt Theodore Andersson því fram að *Fóstbræðra saga* væri eldri en *Heimskringla* en Jónas Kristjánsson var á öndverðum meiddi. Málflutningur Anderssons er skynsamlegur og fallist á hann hér en í raun er þó ekki miklu til að dreifa við aldurssetningu Íslendingasagna og væri dýrmætt að finna fleiri rök í málinu. Ef heppnin væri með mætti reyna að ráða eitthvað af kveðskapnum í sögunni og hér eru tveir eiginleikar þessa kveðskapar skoðaðir. *Fóstbræðra saga* er einstök meðal Íslendingasagna í því að þegar hún vitnar í kveðskap er það að miklu leyti til að staðfesta atburðarásina, eins og gert er í konungasögum. Annað sérkenni á sögunni er að nota kenningar úr skáldamáli í því flúraða máli sem notað er í klausunum. Þegar litid er á það hvernig kveðskapur er notaður í konungasögum má gera því skóna að þessir eiginleikar bendi til hás aldurs og vísi aftur til tíma þegar sagnagerð var á tilraunastigi.

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ÞJÓÐSÖGUR MAGNÚSAR GRÍMSSONAR

*Hlutur Magnúsar Grímssonar
í upphafi Þjóðsagnasöfnunar á 19. öld¹*

SEGJA MÁ að árið 1845 sé upphafsár Þjóðfræðasöfnunar á Íslandi í anda Grimmsbræðra. Það ár tóku þeir Jón Árnason (1819–1888) og Magnús Grímsson (1825–1860) sig saman um að safna öllum „alþýðlegum fornfræðum“ sem þeir gætu komist yfir og átti Magnús að safna sögum en Jón „kreddum, leikum, þulum, gátum og kvæðum.“² Afraksturinn af þessu samstarfi varð fyrsta prentaða íslenska Þjóðsagnasafnið, *Íslenzk æfintýri*, sem þeir félagar gáfu út árið 1852. Í formála bókarinnar kemur fram að þeir félagar hugsu sér að halda áfram að safna og gefa út,³ en viðtökurnar sem ritið fékk urðu aðrar en þeir höfðu vænst. Þeir höfðu þess vegna því sem næst gefist upp þegar Þýski fræðimaðurinn Konrad Maurer (1823–1902) kom til landsins árið 1858. Hann kynntist bæði Magnúsi og Jóni, hvatti þá til dáða og lofaði að finna útgefanda í Þýskalandi. Magnús lést árið 1860 svo það kom í hlut Jóns að ljúka við verkið og það er aðeins nafn hans sem prentað er á titilsíðu Þjóðsagnasafnsins sem kom út í Leipzig 1862–1864. Sumir hafa talið það nokkuð óréttlátt gagnvart Magnúsi og að þetta fyrsta stóra íslenska Þjóðsagnasafn hefði jafnt átt að vera kennt við hann.⁴ Hér á eftir er ætlunin að segja nokkuð frá Magnúsi Grímssyni, sögunum sem

- 1 Greinin er tileinkuð minningu Ögmundar Helgasonar (1944–2006) en hann eftirlét höfundu möppu með afritum af ýmsum heimildum um Magnús Grímsson.
- 2 Jón Árnason, „Formáli Jóns Árnasonar,“ *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur og ævintýri*. Safnað hefur Jón Árnason. Ný útg. 6 bindi, útg. Árni Böðvarsson og Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (Reykjavík: Þjóðsaga, 1954), I xvii–xxiii, hér xx.
- 3 Magnús Grímsson og Jón Árnason, „Formáli,“ *Íslenzk æfintýri*. Söfnuð af M. Grímssyni og J. Árnasyni. Reykjavík: E. Þórðarson, 1852, iii–vi, hér iii.
- 4 Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ *Merkir Íslendingar*. Nýr flokkur V, ritstj. Jón Guðnason (Reykjavík: Bókfellsútgáfan, 1966), 115–130, hér 128–130. Áður prentað undir titlinum „Ágrip af æfisögu Magnúsar Grímssonar“ í Magnús Grímsson, *Úrvalsrit. Aldarminning 1825–1925*, ritstj. Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson (Reykjavík: Bókaverzlun Guðm. Gamalielssonar, 1926), 5–27. Sjá einnig Sigurður Nordal, *Síra Magnús Grímsson og Þjóðsögurnar* (Reykjavík: Þjóðsaga, 1971), 45–56.

hann safnaði og kanna hver hlutur hans í þjóðsagnasafni Jóns Árnasonar var í raun og veru.

Ævi og störf

Magnús Grímsson var fátækur bóndasonur úr Borgarfirðinum, sonur hjónanna Gríms Steinólfssonar (1791–1854) og Guðrúnar Þórðardóttur (1802–1876) sem lengst bjuggu á Grímsstöðum í Reykholtssdal. Magnús er þó fæddur að Lundi í Lundarreykjadal 3. júní 1825,⁵ fyrsta barn for-eldra sinna og þar með elstur í stórum systkinahóp.⁶ Hann varð snemma bókhneigður og séra Búi Jónsson (1804–1848) á Prestbakka í Hnútafirði tók að sér að kenna honum undir skóla þar sem hann taldi Magnús „hið líklegasta mannsefni bæði sökum gáfna sinna, skapsmuna og hjartalags.“⁷ Magnús settist í Bessastaðaskóla 1842 en lauk prófi frá Reykjavíkurskóla 1848. Hann lauk síðan tveggja ára námi í Prestaskólanum en vann þá jafnframt fyrir sér sem dyravörður og kyndari Lærða skólans og hafði því ekki tök á að sitja fyrirlestra og æfingar sem fram fóru á vinnutíma hans. Magnús lauk þó prófi og í brottfararskírteini hans er sagt að hann hafi „ljósar og liprar gáfur og eigi hægt með að koma orðum að því sem hann veit.“⁸ Næstu árin átti Magnús heimili í Reykjavík, hann fékkst við blaðamennsku, þýðingar, ritstörf og veitingasölu, en árið 1855 var honum veitt prestsembætti að Mosfelli í Mosfellsveit sem hann gegndi til dauðadags, 18. janúar 1860. Magnús kvæntist Guðrúnu Jónsdóttur (1815–1880) 28. september 1848. Dóttir þeirra, Ragnheiður (1850–1909), var eina barnið sem upp komst, en a.m.k. þrjú önnur voru andvana fædd.⁹ Ragnheiður fór með föðurfólki sínu til Vesturheims og segir Sighvatur Grímsson að hún hafi alltaf verið fátæk og „heilsulin“ og oft haft „óyndi“, hún giftist ekki og átti engin börn.¹⁰

5 Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ 115–116, við ritun um æviatriði Magnúsar er að mestu studd við ritgerð Hallgríms. Æviatriði Magnúsar eru rakin í mörgum öðrum heimildum þar sem fjallað er um hann og verk hans, þeirra verður getið í öðru samhengi smám saman.

6 Heimildum ber ekki saman um hvort þau Grímur og Guðrún eignuðust þrettán, fimmtán eða sextán börn, en ellefu virðast hafa náð fullorðinsaldri.

7 Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ 116.

8 Sama heimild, 117.

9 Lbs 2362 4to, Sighvatur Grímsson, Prestaævur á Íslandi, 307v.

10 Lbs 2362 4to, 311r.

Benedikt Gröndal (1826–1907) minnst Magnúsar í ævisögu sinni og segir að þeir hafi strax orðið vinir þar sem þeir voru „báðir gefnir fyrir skáldskap og unnu íslenskri fornöld meir en piltar almennt gerðu.“ Benedikt segir að mynd af Magnúsi sem birtist í *Sunnanfara* sé ekkert lík honum, en segir að Magnús hafi verið „fremur lítill maður, fríður sýnum og vel vaxinn, nema hvað annar fóturinn var of stuttur svo hann gekk haltur og kallaði sig „bægifót“.“¹¹

Flestum heimildum ber saman um að Magnús Grímsson hafi verið gáfumaður og efni í raunvísindamann,¹² en víða kemur fram að hugur hans hafi ekki staðið til þess að verða prestur.¹³ Hann virðist hafa haft áhuga á tækni og jafnvel verkfræði og reyndi sig við smíði á ýmsum vélum, svo sem sláttuvél og róðrarvél, auk þess sem hann reyndi að finna upp einhvers konar vindvél fyrir skip. Þó að ekkert yrði úr því að uppfinningar Magnúsar kæmust í notkun sýna þær fjölhæfni hans og eru merkilegar fyrir að vera fyrstu tilraunir á þessu sviði hér á landi.¹⁴ Áhugi hans virðist þó helst hafa beinst að náttúrufræðum, sérstaklega jarðfræði og hefur því verið haldið fram að hann hafi verið „fróðastur manna í jarðfræði á Íslandi á sínum tíma.“¹⁵ Þá þekkingu ávann Magnús sér að mestu á síðustu skólaárum sínum þegar hann vann fyrir sér á sumrum sem fylgdarmaður erlendra vísindamanna sem hingað komu til að rannsaka jarðfræði landsins.¹⁶ Sumarið 1846 ferðaðist Magnús víða um land með hópi þýskra og danskra náttúrufræðinga. Einn þessara manna útvegaði Magnúsi síðan ferðastyrk frá konungi til að skoða fjöll og safna grjóti og í þá ferð fór hann síðsumars 1848 um Vesturland, allt norður í Bitru.¹⁷ Eftir þessar

- 11 Benedikt Gröndal, *Dægradvöl*, útg. Ingvar Stefánsson (Reykjavík: Forlagið, 2014), 147–148.
- 12 Undantekningin er Benedikt Gröndal sem talar um náttúrufræðikunnáttu Magnúsar af nokkrum menntahroka (*Dægradvöl*, 148).
- 13 Sjá t.d. Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ 117.
- 14 Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ 123–124.
- 15 Sveinn P. Jakobsson, „Steinasafn Magnúsar Grímssonar,“ *Land og stund. Afmælistveðja til Páls Jónssonar á 75 ára afmæli hans 20. júní 1984* (Reykjavík: Lögberg, 1984), 207–229, hér 229.
- 16 Þorvaldur Thoroddsen, *Landfræðisaga Íslands. Hugmyndir manna um Ísland, náttúruskoðun og rannsóknir, fyrr og síðar* (Kaupmannahöfn: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1904), 48.
- 17 Ferðalýsingar úr báðum þessum ferðum er að finna í Magnús Grímsson, „Úr ferðabókum Magnúsar Grímssonar,“ útg. Einar E. Sæmundsen, *Hrakningar og heiðavegir II*, ritstj. Pálmi Hannesson og Jón Eypórsson (Akureyri: Norðri, 1950), 114–175 og Magnús Grímsson, *Ferðabók Magnúsar Grímssonar fyrir sumarið 1848. Lýsing Kjósarsýslu og Reykholtalds*:

ferðir ritaði hann töluvert um náttúru og staðhætti á Íslandi en fæst af því var birt fyrr en áratugum seinna.¹⁸ Þetta sama sumar, 1848, fékk Magnús einnig styrk frá Hinu konunglega norræna fornfræðafélagi og samdi þá „Athugasemdir við Egils sögu Skallagrímssonar.“¹⁹ Sumarið þar á undan, 1847, var Magnús aftur á móti fylgdarmaður danska læknisins Peter Anton Schleisners (1818–1900) sem með konunglegri tilskipun var sendur til að kynna sér heilbrigðisástand hér á landi. Ekki er vitað til að Magnús hafi ritað nokkra ferðadagbók eða lýsingu á þeirri ferð, en fjöldi ljóða og vísna sem hann orti það sumar hefur varðveist og af fyrrisögnum og dagsetningum þess skáldskapar má ráða í hvert leiðin lá.²⁰ Í þessari ferð safnaði Magnús einnig þjóðsögum, eins og getið verður seinna, en af þeim má einnig fá hugmynd um ferðina. Ljóst er að hugur Magnúsar stóð til þess að stunda frekara nám í náttúruvísindum en fjárráð hans leyfðu það ekki.²¹ Hann reyndi árangurslaust að sækja um styrki til frekari rannsóknarferða um landið eins og sést á bréfum hans til Jóns Sigurðssonar frá árunum á milli skólaútskriftar og prestsvígslu. Í þeim kemur fram töluverð örvænting Magnúsar vegna peningaleysis, atvinnuleysis og ónógrar menntunar á þeim sviðum sem hugur hans stóð til.²² Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson telur að vegna fátæktar hafi Magnús tekið að sér að ritstýra tímaritinu *Ný tíðindi* sem var mál gagn landsstjórnarinnar, en í samningi lofar hann að birta aðeins stjórnmalagreinar sem stiftsyfirvöld vilja láta birta eða hafi samþykkt.²³ Bláðamenska átti ekki við Magnús og hann gerði sér fulla grein fyrir því eins og sést á yfirlýsingu hans í lokatölublaði *Nýrra tíðinda*, þann 16. desember 1852:

Vegna þess að jeg hef enn ekki getað samið svo við forstöðumenn prentsmíðju landsins nje við hin háu stiptyfirvöld Íslands, og eink-

Ferðadagbók, útg. Sveinn Jakobsson og Ögmundur Helgason (Reykjavík: Ferðafélag Íslands, 1988). Steinasafn Magnúsar er nú varðveitt á Náttúruminjasafni Íslands.

18 Yfirlit yfir „ritsmíðar Magnúsar Grímssonar á sviði náttúrufræða og skyldra greina“ er að finna í Sveinn Jakobsson og Ögmundur Helgason, „Inngangur,“ í Magnús Grímsson, *Ferðabók Magnúsar Grímssonar fyrir sumarið 1848*, xvii–liii, hér xxxiii–xxxv.

19 Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ 124.

20 Sjá Magnús Grímsson, „Úr ferðabókum,“ 170.

21 Sveinn Jakobsson og Ögmundur Helgason, „Inngangur,“ xxvii.

22 Þjsk E 10/9, bréf frá Magnúsi Grímssyni til Jóns Sigurðssonar, skrifuð í Reykjavík 1849–1854.

23 Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ 124–125.

um vegna þess, að mig vantar fje, lagaveð eða peninga, þá lýsi jeg því yfir að jeg veit ekki til að jeg fáist framar við ritstjórn blaðs þessa; það dregur og til þessa, að jeg þykist ekki fær til að vera blaðamaður, þar sem jeg er frásneiddur allri stjórnarfræði og blaðakeppni, og ekki lipur að rita, og það enn, að jeg get ekki birt allar þær skýrslur og reikninga, sem jeg vildi, margra hluta vegna.²⁴

Stjórnmalaskrif lágu sem sagt ekki vel fyrir Magnúsi en hann lagði stund á skáldskap bæði í bundnu og óbundnu máli. Hann orti vísur og ljóð, samdi skáldsögur, smásögur og leikrit²⁵ og þýddi einnig leikrit og kennslubækur. Þá má geta þess að hann þýddi Grimmsævintýrið um Mjallhvíti og kom það út árið 1852.²⁶ Magnús tók virkan þátt í menningarlífi Reykjavíkur á meðan hann bjó þar og hefur líklega verið einn af mörgum ungum menntamönnum sem komu saman og ræddu málin á heimili Jóns Guðmundssonar (1807–1875) ritstjóra *Þjóðólfs* og konu hans Hólmfríðar Þorvaldsdóttur (1812–1876) í Aðalstræti.²⁷ Ekki virðist „blaðakeppni“ þeirra Jóns og Magnúsar²⁸ hafa komið í veg fyrir vinskap og samvinnu því saman þýddu þeir, ásamt fleirum, leikritið *Pak* sem Jón stóð fyrir sýningu á. Magnús fór einnig með hlutverk í sýningunni eins og Hólmfríður Þorvaldsdóttir og Benedikt Gröndal meðal annarra.²⁹

Þeim sem hafa fjallað um skáldskap Magnúsar finnst yfirleitt ekki mikið til hans koma, en þó segir Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson: „Sum hin „lyrisku“ kvæði hans eru hreinar perlor,³⁰ og a.m.k. tvö þeirra hafa lifað með þjóðinni og heyrast enn sungin, Bára blá og Haustvísur (Lóan í flokkum flýgur). Hallgrímur telur einnig að þýðingar hafi legið betur fyrir Magnúsi en skrif skáldsagna og leikrita.

24 Magnús Grímsson, [Yfirlýsing] *Ný tíðindi* (16.12.1852): titilblað (24.12.1851).

25 Um leikritaskrif Magnúsar, sjá Sveinn Einarsson, *Íslensk leiklist I. Returnar* (Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfa Menningarsjóðs, 1991), 291–292.

26 Yfirlit yfir rit og þýðingar Magnúsar má fá í Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ 118–122 og Gunnar Sveinsson, „Íslenzkur skólaskáldskapur 1846–1882,“ *Skírnir* 130 (1956): 127–171, hér 127–130.

27 Sveinn Einarsson, *Íslensk leiklist*, 237.

28 Sjá Einar Laxness, *Jón Guðmundsson alþingismaður og ritstjóri. Þættir úr ævisögu* (Reykjavík: Ísafoldarprentsmiðja, 1960), 165–166.

29 Sveinn Einarsson, *Íslensk leiklist*, 237; Einar Laxness, *Jón Guðmundsson*, 399–401; Benedikt Gröndal, *Dægurvöl*, 233.

30 Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ 119.

Þjóðsagnasöfnun

Eins og áður sagði ákváðu þeir Magnús og Jón Árnason árið 1845 að safna öllum þjóðlegum fróðleik sem þeir gætu náð í. Þetta sama ár lagði George Stephens (1813–1895), breskur fræðimaður sem þá var búsettur í Svíþjóð, einnig fram tillögu um að hafist yrði handa við að safna alþýðusögum og kvæðum á Íslandi. Tillagan var samþykkt á fundi Hins konunglega norræna fornfræðafélags 17. júlí 1845. Félagið starfaði í Kaupmannahöfn í nánnum tengslum við Fornleifanefndina (Den Kongelige Commission for Oldsagers Opbevaring) og lagði aðaláherslu á rannsóknir fornleifa og útgáfu íslenskra fornrita. Innan þess voru íslenskir lærdómsmenn búsettir bæði í Kaupmannahöfn og á Íslandi.³¹ Tillögu Stephens var vel tekið, strax var hafist handa við undirbúning og árið eftir gaf Fornleifanefndin út „Boðsbréf til Íslendinga um fornritaskýrslur og fornsögur“ sem prentað var í *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*.³² Boðsbréfið var einnig sent til „allra presta og sýslumanna, og ymsra annara fróðleiksvina“³³ og gaf nokkurn afrakstur því ýmsar uppskriftir fornsagna, kvæða og þjóðsagna bárust félaginu á næstu árum, eins og hægt er að lesa um í skýrslum um handrit félagsins í *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*. Einn þeirra sem svaraði kallinu var einmitt Magnús Grímsson. Nokkur umræða hefur orðið um það meðal fræðimanna á ýmsum tímum hvort tillaga Stephens hafi orðið til þess að þeir Magnús og Jón ákváðu að hefja sína söfnun.³⁴ Sjálfur segir Jón að þeir hafi tekið ákvörðun sína ári áður en boðsbréfið var gefið út og Konrad Maurer rifjar það upp í bréfi til Jóns Árnasonar að Magnús hafi sagt honum að kynni þeirra af ævintýrasafni Grimmsbræðra (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*) hafi verið kveikjan að verkinu.³⁵ Benedikt Gröndal skrifar Magnúsi 10. ágúst

31 Ögmundur Helgason, „Upphaf að söfnun íslenskra þjóðfræða fyrir áhrif frá Grimmsbræðrum,“ *Árbók Landsbókasafns Íslands* 15 (1989): 112–124, hér 117.

32 George Stephens, „Forslag til Islændernes uudgiven folkesagn og sanges optegnelse og bevaring,“ *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* (1843–1845): 191–192.

33 „Den oldnordisk-islandske afdeling,“ *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* (1846–1848): 39–44, hér 39.

34 Sjá t.d. Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson, „Þjóðsagnasöfnun og þjóðfrelshreyfing,“ *Gripla* 4 (1980): 186–197, hér 189; Ögmundur Helgason, „Upphaf að söfnun,“ 119–120; Terry Gunnell, „Clerics as Collectors of Folklore in Nineteenth-Century Iceland,“ *Arv* 68 (2012): 45–66, hér 50; Terry Gunnell, „From Daisies to Oak Trees. The Politics of Early Folktale Collection,“ *Folklore* 121 (2010): 12–37, hér 22.

35 NKS 3009 4to, bréf frá Konrad Maurer til Jóns Árnasonar, skrifað 29. desember 1859 í München.

1846, sem nýjar fréttir, að boðsbréf hafi borist frá Fornfræðafélaginu þar sem það biðji „alla, að útvega sér söfn, einmiðt öldungis einsog þau sem þú og J. Árnason eruð að safna,“ síðan varar hann Magnús við því að láta safn sitt til félagsins og hvetur hann til að gefa það heldur út sjálfur.³⁶ Af skýrslu félagsins fyrir árið 1847 sést síðan að vitneskja hefur borist til Kaupmannahafnar um að Magnús Grímsson eigi stórt skrifað safn þjóðsagna³⁷ og 1849 er sagt frá því að hann hafi nú sent félaginu uppskrift af því og að þar séu „margar sögur sem fylgja stöðum og örnefnum, álfa sögur og um útilegumenn, yms átrúnaður, skýrslur um leiki o.fl.“³⁸ Magnús hefur þar með farið að ráði vinar síns og sent afrit frekar en frumhandritið sjálft.

Þjóðsagnahandrit Magnúsar Grímssonar, önnur en það sem hann sendi til Kaupmannahafnar, eru nú hluti af þjóðsagnahandritum Jóns Árnasonar í handritasafni Landsbókasafns Íslands – Háskólabókasafns og má finna sögur með hans hendi í níu handritum í því safni sem telur samtals 21 handrit.³⁹ Margar sögur birtast í afskriftum, oft í fleiri en einu handriti, en ljóst er að langflestar þær sögur sem Magnús safnaði sjálfur úr munnlegri geymd er að finna í handritunum Lbs 415 8vo og Lbs 417 8vo. Þar er þó einnig að finna sögur sem hann hefur skrifað upp úr handritum annarra.

Fyrsti afrakstur söfnunar þeirra félaga, Magnúsar og Jóns, kom út 1852 í bókinni *Íslenzk æfintýri*, eins og áður hefur komið fram.⁴⁰ Þrátt fyrir titillinn er þar ekki að finna neinar sögur af kóngi og drottningu í ríki sínu eða karli og kerlingu í koti sínu, sögur sem venjulega kallast ævintýri, heldur 31 tölusett atriði, kvæði og sagnir (undir sumum tölulíðum eru fleiri en ein sögn, svo sem af Sæmundi fróða og Galdra-Leifa). Kvæðin eru öll komin úr safni Jóns og hið sama má segja um sagnaþáttinn af Þorbirni Kólku sem

36 Lbs 323 fol. Bréf Benedikts Gröndal til Magnúsar Grímssonar, skrifað 10. ágúst 1846 á Eyvindarstöðum. Prentað í Benedikt Gröndal, *Ritsafni V*, útg. Gils Guðmundsson (Reykjavík: Ísafoldarprentsmiðja, 1954), 11–13.

37 „Den oldnordisk-islandske afdeling“, *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* (1846–1848): 154–172, hér 169.

38 „Det historisk-archæologiske archiv“, *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* (1849–1851): 13–27, hér 24. Sagnahandritin, bæði með fornsögum og þjóðsögum, sem söfnuðust hjá Fornfræðafélaginu gengu til Árnasafns árið 1883 og þar fékk handrit Magnúsar safnmarkið AM 968 4to.

39 Handrit sem innhalda blöð með hendi Magnúsar eru Lbs 415 8vo, Lbs 417 8vo, Lbs 528 4to, Lbs 529 4to, Lbs 530 4to, Lbs 531 4to, Lbs 532 4to, Lbs 533 4to og Lbs 538 4to.

40 Frekari umfjöllun um útgáfuna má t.d. finna í Gíslí Sigurðsson, „Þjóðsögur“, *Íslensk bókmenntasaga III*, ritstj. Halldór Guðmundsson (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1996), 409–494, hér 422–425; Ögmundur Helgason, „Upphaf að söfnun,“ 122–123.

er síðasta sagan í bókinni.⁴¹ Allar aðrar sögur í bókinni finnast í handritum með hendi Magnúsar Grímssonar og allar, nema tvær sagnir um Sæmund fróða, er að finna í handritinu Lbs 415 8to.

Handritið er 223 blöð og er nær eingöngu sögur og þjóðtrúaratriði skrifað af Magnúsi Grímssyni, undantekning eru bl. 120–122 sem virðast vera innskot í handritið og eru merkt (með hendi Jóns Árnasonar) „frá Brynj. Jonssyni“ með sögum af Eiríki í Vogsósum og bl. 212–213 með hendi Þórðar Árnasonar á Bjarnastöðum í Hvítársíðu með sögu af Oddi biskupi. Á bl. 214–215 er listi yfir sögur Magnúsar með hendi Jóns Árnasonar þar sem hann flokkar þær eftir efni og á 216–222r er þýðing á listaævintýrinu „Álfarnir“ eftir Ludwig Tieck líklega með hendi Benedikts Gröndal (bl. 223 er autt).⁴² Allt efnið í AM 968 4to, handritinu sem Magnús sendi Fornfræðafélaginu, er einnig að finna í Lbs 415 8vo, svo það er handritið sem frést hafði af til Kaupmannahafnar árið 1847. Stundum er erfitt að afmarka atriði í stakar sögur og stundum eru í handritinu klasar af þjóðtrúaratriðum en gróft reiknað má segja að í því séu um 180 atriði og þarna sé um að ræða það þjóðfræðafni sem Magnús safnaði allra fyrst. Í handritinu er yfirleitt ekki getið um hvaðan sögurnar koma eða hvenær þær voru uppskrifaðar en þeim upplýsingum er í mörgum tilfellum bætt við í afskriftum og hlýtur þá Magnús að hafa þurft að reiða sig á minnið.

Sú viðbót að nefna uppruna sagnanna hefur komið til sögunnar eftir að ákveðið var að láta þess getið í útgáfunni 1862. Umræðu um þetta má sjá í bréfum sem fara á milli Jóns Árnasonar og Konrad Maurers eftir að útgáfan hefur verið ákveðin árið 1859. Sú aðferð Magnúsar að nefna upprunastaði sagnanna frekar en að nafngreina ákveðna einstaklinga kemur heim og saman við skoðun Maurers hvort sem Jón Árnason hefur miðlað þeirri skoðun til Magnúsar eða ekki.⁴³ Margar sagna Magnúsar koma úr

41 Sjá *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri*. Safnað hefur Jón Árnason. Ný útg. 6 bindi, útg. Árni Böðvarsson og Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (Reykjavík: Þjóðsaga, 1954–1961), II 572.

42 Sjá *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri*, VI 51.

43 NKS 3009 4to, bréf frá Konrad Maurer til Jóns Árnasonar skrifað 15. ágúst 1859 í München og Lbs 2655 8vo, bréf frá Jóni Árnasyni til Konrad Maurers skrifað 17. september 1859 í Reykjavík (pr. í *Úr fórum Jóns Árnasonar*, útg. Finnur Sigmundsson (Reykjavík: Hlaðbúð, 1950), I 141–144). Maurer taldi (og Jón tekur undir) að þegar mörgum tilbrigðum væri steipt saman gæti verið erfitt að nafngreina heimildarmenn, en jafnframt að e.t.v. vildi fólk ekki láta geta nafns síns við ýmsar þjóðtrúarsagnir, s.s. draugasögur. Eftir að safnið kom út fundu ýmsir að meðferð sagnanna, m.a. Benedikt Gröndal sem þótti einnig óþarfi að hafa „nafn hvers durgs [...] prentað við söguna, sem hana hefr sagt eða skrifað

Borgarfirði, oft „eftir vanalegri sögn í Borgarfirði“, en einnig nánar tiltekið svo sem „eftir sögn Hvítsíðunga“ eða „eftir sögn Síðumúlamma“ eða jafnvel „eftir sögn gamallar konu í Borgarfirði.“ Þá finnast sögur hafðar eftir Hrútfirðingum og „eftir sögn gamallar konu úr Rangárþingi.“ Nokkuð margar sögur eru hafðar eftir skólapiltum sem Magnús hefur þá líklega skrifað upp eftir skólabræðrum sínum í Bessastaðaskóla, en allar þær sögur eru tímasettar til ársins 1845. Þetta eru „skólapiltar úr Múlasýslu“ eða „skólapiltar að austan“; einnig „skagfirzkir“ eða „nordlenskir“ og „að vestan.“ Nafngreindir heimildarmenn Magnúsar eru séra Búi Jónsson, sem kenndi honum undir skóla, Halldór Guðmundsson (1826–1904) frá Ferjukoti í Borgarfirði, Þorfinnur Jónatansson (1823–1883) og Arnljótur Ólafsson (1823–1904), en þeir þrír voru allir teknir í Bessastaðaskóla árið 1845. Nokkrar sögur tekur Magnús síðan eftir handritum annarra, þrjár eftir handriti fyrrnefnds Arnljóts og aðrar þrjár eftir „blöðum frá Guðmundi í Gegnishólum er Jón Sigurðsson alþm. léði mér“, skrifar Magnús. Þessi blöð eru hluti þess efnis sem barst Fornfræðafélaginu og líklegast er að Jón Sigurðsson hafi fengið þau afhent hér á Íslandi og lánað Magnúsi áður en hann fór með þau til Kaupmannahafnar. Guðmundur Sigurðsson (1808–1874) sendi félaginu ýmislegt þjóðfræðafni á árunum 1847 til 1851, þjóðsögurnar tilheyra nú handritinu AM 969 4to og voru gefnar út fyrir nokkrum árum.⁴⁴ Undir lok Lbs 415 8vo eru síðan nokkrar sögur tímasettar til ársins 1847, greinilega sögur sem Magnús hefur safnað á ferð sinni um landið með lækninum Schleisner. Þær sögur eru sagðar úr Hornafirði, Álftafirði eystra, Lóni og Múlasýslum.

Eina sögu úr þeirri sömu ferð, sem höfð er eftir Öxndælingum, er síðan að finna á blöðum í Lbs 417 8to en þar eru bl. 213–222 með hendi Magnúsar með u.þ.b. 20 sögum. Þar eru einnig tvær sem hafðar eru „eftir sögn skólapilta að austan“ og tímasettar til ársins 1847. Annars eru flestar

(nema það sé einhverr eldri og dáinn merkismaðr)“ (NKS 3010 4to, bréf frá Benedikt Gröndal til Jóns Árnasonar skrifað 22. júlí 1865 í Kaupmannahöfn (pr. í *Úr forum Jóns Árnasonar*, II 82–86 og í Benedikt Gröndal, *Ritsafn* V, 134–137)), en eins og sjá má liggja allt aðrar ástæður að baki skoðana Benedikts og Maurers. Sjá einnig Ólína Þorvarðardóttir, „Þjóðsögur Jóns Árnasonar? Tilraun til heimildaryni.“ *Þjóðlíf og þjóðtrú. Ritgerðir helgadar Jóni Hnefli Aðalsteinssyni*, ritstj. Jón Jónsson et al. (Reykjavík: Þjóðsaga, 1998), 245–269, hér 262–263.

44 Ögmundur Helgason, „Guðmundur Sigurðsson og þjóðfræðaskrif hans,“ *Þjóðsögur Guðmundar Sigurðssonar frá Gegnishólum*, útg. Kristján Eiríksson og Sjöfn Kristjánsdóttir, Ritroð Sögufélag Árnesinga II (Selfossi: Sögufélag Árnesinga, 2013), 15–42, hér 28–33.

sögur með hendi Magnúsar í 417 uppskriftir hans úr AM 970 IV 4to, einu handriti enn sem sent var til Fornfræðafélagsins og inniheldur mest örnefnasögur skrifaðar af Jóni Þórðarsyni (1826–1885). Jón Þórðarson var bróðursonur Jóns Árnasonar og skólabróðir Magnúsar Grímssonar.

Allt frá því að Ólafur Davíðsson (1864–1903) setti fram þá skoðun sína að Magnús Grímsson og Jón Árnason hefðu haft mismunandi skoðanir á hvernig ætti að skrá þjóðsögur hafa ýmsir fræðimenn fjallað um málið og venjulega borið blak af Magnúsi.⁴⁵ Ólafur hélt því fram að „Jón vildi segja sögurnar sem líkast því sem þær væru sagðar manna á millum, ... Magnús vildi aptur skreyta þær með náttúrulegum og íburðarmiklu orðaskrauti ...“.⁴⁶ Dæmin sem Ólafur notar máli sínu til stuðnings eru tvær sögur sem hann telur komnar frá Magnúsi, „Hornafjarðarfljót“ og „Selið.“ Báðar sögurnar eru upphaflega skrifaðar í „Bræðrablaðið“, skólablað Bessastaða- og síðar Reykjavíkurskóla og má segja að þær séu „eins konar listrænar stílæfingar í meðferð þjóðsagnalegs efnis á þessum árum, er sýna ljóslega, að hin stranga aðgreining listævintýra og alþýðufrásagna er enn ekki komin á hreint í hugum hinna ungu skólapilta.“⁴⁷ „Hornafjarðarfljót“ er sannarlega runnin úr penna Magnúsar og þó að hann hafi skrifað hana sem nokkurs konar listævintýri í skólablaðið hefur hann ekki gert það þegar hann skrifaði hana í handrit sitt sem hluta af þjóðsagnasafni, hvort svo sem hann hefur skrifað á undan.⁴⁸ Aðrar sögur sem Magnús safnaði bera ekki vott um annað en að hann hafi haft í heiðri það sem hann og Jón hafa einsett sér „að aflaga ekkert í meðferðinni, heldur segja það með sömu orðunum, og tíðast er manna á meðal.“⁴⁹ Strax eftir þessa yfirlýsingu afsaka þeir einmitt að fyrsta sagan, „Selið“ sé prentuð með öðru sniði en hún sé sögð en þeir hafi ekki viljað breyta henni frá því sem þeir hafi fengið hana. Ólafur Davíðsson hefur ekki vitað að höfundur þessarar sögu var ekki Magnús

45 Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Um íslenskar þjóðsögur* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1940), 117; Sigurður Nordal, *Strá Magnús Grímsson og Þjóðsögurnar*, 16 o.áfr.; Ögmundur Helgason, „Upphaf að söfnun,“ 121–122.

46 Ólafur Davíðsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ *Summanfari* 5/8 (1896): 57–59, hér 57.

47 Ögmundur Helgason, „Upphaf að söfnun,“ 121.

48 Sagan birtist í Bræðrablaðinu 5. desember 1847 (Lbs 3317 4to, bls. 120–121) og er sú gerð sögunnar prentuð af Ólafi Davíðssyni í *Summanfara* 1896 (þó með orðamun), sjá Gunnar Sveinsson, „Íslenskur skólaskáldskapur 1846–1882,“ 129. Í Lbs 415 8vo er sagan höfð eftir Hornfirðingum 1847.

49 Magnús Grímsson og Jón Árnason, „Formáli,“ iv; sjá þó Ólína Þorvarðardóttir, „Þjóðsögur Jóns Árnasonar?“, 245–269.

Grímsson heldur áður nefndur Jón Þórðarson. Í 415 stendur við söguna „Þessi saga er orðrétt rituð eftir handarriti Jóns Þórðarsonar“.⁵⁰ Hún er ein af fáum sögum sem birtist í *Íslenzkum æfintýrum* sem Jón Árnason tók ekki með í útgáfu sína á *Íslenzkum þjóðsögum og æfintýrum* og má reikna með að stíllinn á sögunni hafi ráðið þar einhverju um.⁵¹

Auk handritanna tveggja sem hér hefur verið gerð grein fyrir er hægt að finna um 25 sögur Magnúsar í öðrum handritum í þjóðsagnasafni Jóns Árnasonar. Þar af eru sex sögur líklega skrifaðar af Magnúsi eftir handritum Sveinbjörns Guðmundssonar (1818–1885), en flestar hinna með heimildir af svipuðum toga og aðrar sögur sem Magnús safnaði úr munnlegri geymd, svo sem „eftir vanalegri sögn manna í Borgarfirði,“ „eftir sögn skólapilta að austan 1847,“ „eftir sögn konu einnar á Seltjarnarnesi“ o.s.frv. Nafngreindir heimildarmenn að stökum sögum eru Helgi prentari Helgason (1807–1862), Þorkell [Valdason] (1802–1855) bóndi í Krýsvík og séra S[igurður]. B. Sívertsen (1808–1887) á Útskálum. Ekki er gott að vita hvort allt þetta efni hefur upprunalega verið saman í einu handriti, en það er þó líklegast. Ekki þarf annað en skoða lýsingu útgefenda 2. útgáfu þjóðsagnasafns Jóns Árnasonar á þjóðsagnahandritum hans til að sjá að hann hefur oft tekið í sundur handrit skrásetjara til þess að flokka sögur saman eftir efni.⁵²

Við athugun á handritum Magnúsar hefur komið í ljós að í þjóðsagna-handritunum er að finna um 225 sögur og klasa af þjóðtrúaratriðum sem hann hefur skrifað. Þar af eru 23 sögur sem hann hefur tekið eftir handritum annarra og þá rúmlega 200 sem hann hefur safnað úr munnlegri geymd. Af heildarfjöldanum hefur Jón Árnason birt eða nýtt á einhvern hátt um 150 sögur í útgáfunni frá 1862 og 1864, ýmist eftir frumhandritum Magnúsar eða eftir afskriftum Magnúsar sjálfs í öðrum handritum.

50 Lbs 415 8vo, 202r.

51 Gunnar Sveinsson varð fyrstur til að benda á hinn rétta höfund í „Íslenzkur skólaskáldskapur 1846–1882,“ 133; í kverinu *Síra Magnús Grímsson og Þjóðsögurnar*, (37–44) telur Sigurður Nordal að höfundurinn sé Jón Þórðarson Thoroddsen og Ögmundur Helgason kallar hann fyrst Jón Þórðarson Austmann („Upphaf að söfnun,“ 121), en leiðréttir það seinna: Ögmundur Helgason, „Listævintýri Selið í upphaflegri gerð eftir Jón Þórðarson,“ *Slæðingur* 1 (1996): 27–33, hér 32–33.

52 *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri*, VI 51–56.

Sagnagreinar

Af öllum sögum sem finnast með hendi Magnúsar Grímssonar er ekki að finna nema tíu sögur sem geta talist regluleg ævintýri, eða sem myndu flokkast í ATU 300–749,⁵³ og af þeim eru þrjú skrifuð upp úr handritum Sveinbjörns Guðmundssonar. Örfáar sögur í viðbót væri hægt að fella inn í ATU, aðallega kímnisögur. Langstærsti hluti sagnanna eru þar með sagnir af álfum, draugum, útilegumönnum og göldrum, þjóðtrúarsagnir, örnefnasagnir og sögulegar sagnir. Eins og áður sagði eru engar sögur af kóngi og drottningu í ríki sínu í fyrstu útgáfu Magnúsar og Jóns, *Íslenzk æfintýri*, en sögurnar „Una álfkona“ og „Gilitrutt“ myndu þó flokkast með ævintýrum skv. ATU.⁵⁴ Þetta fellur vel að því viðhorfi sem þeir félagar virðast hafa lagt upp með, að safna „alþýðlegum fornfræðum“,⁵⁵ og því sagnaefni sem Jón óskar eftir að fá safnað. Strax eftir hvatningu þá sem Magnús og Jón fengu frá Konrad Maurer til að halda áfram að safna skrifaði Jón í allar áttir og sendi „milli 50 og 60 bréf til kunningja ... og fræðimanna“ þar sem hann bað þá að safna fyrir sig.⁵⁶ Þessi „hugvekja“ var síðan prentuð í *Norðra* og þar sést eftir hverju Jón var helst að sækjast.⁵⁷ Hann biður t.d. hvorki um kímnisögur né ævintýri en Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson telur að hann hafi heldur ekki viljað sögur sem ekki höfðu gengið lengi í munnmælum. Þegar Jón talar um fornsögur eigi hann við „gamlar munnmælasögur, en ekki sögur af forn mönnum í okkar skilningi.“⁵⁸ Það er ljóst

53 Hér er átt við alþjóðlega flokkun þjóðsagna sem á rætur sínar að rekja til skrár sem finnski fræðimaðurinn Antti Aarne átti upphafið að, skrá hans var endurskoðuð og uppfærð af bandaríska þjóðfræðingnum Stith Thomson í útg. frá 1961 (*The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*, 2. útg. FF Communications 184 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1973)), en síðan enn endurskoðuð af Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography*, 3 bindi, FF Communications 284–286 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 2004). Flokkunin er kennd við þessa þrjá höfunda með skammstöfuninni ATU.

54 „Una álfkona“ ATU 306 og „Gilitrutt“ ATU 500.

55 Jón Árnason, „Formáli Jóns Árnasonar,“ xx; einnig Guðbrandur Vigfússon, „Formáli 1. útgáfu,“ *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og ævintýri*. Safnað hefur Jón Árnason. Ný útg. 6 bindi, útg. Árni Böðvarsson og Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (Reykjavík: Þjóðsaga, 1954–1961), II xv–xxxviii.

56 Bodl. GV Icel. d.1, bréf frá Jóni Árnasyni til Guðbrands Vigfússonar skrifað 19. júní 1859 í Reykjavík.

57 Jón Árnason, „Hugvekja um alþýðlega fornfræði,“ *Norðri* 7 (30.05.1859): 56.

58 Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson, „Sagna- og samstarfsmanna hans. Nokkrar athugasemdir,“ *Skirnir* 145 (1971): 78–88, hér 79; sjá einnig Ólína Þorvarðardóttir, „Þjóðsögur Jóns Árnasonar?“ 252–253.

að þjóðsagnasöfnun þeirra Magnúsar og Jóns hófst fyrir áhrif frá þjóðernisrómantík og Terry Gunnell hefur bent á að í upphafi hafi hugmyndin verið sú að munnmælasögurnar ættu rætur langt aftur í aldir, en síðar hafi menn áttað sig á því að einnig væri hægt að benda á sögurnar sem dæmi um sköpunarkraft hinnar „nýju“ þjóðar.⁵⁹

Útgáfa þjóðsagnasafnsins

Þegar Jón Árnason fékk bréf frá Konrad Maurer sem færði honum þær fréttir að hann hefði gert samning um útgáfu þjóðsagnasafnsins varð Jóni það fyrst fyrir að senda bréfið áfram til Magnúsar Grímssonar, enda segir Maurer í bréfinu að hann telji sjálfsagt að Magnúsar sé getið sem með-útgefanda:

Ich habe im Bisherigen der Vereinfachung wegen immer nur von Ihnen und zu Ihnen gesprochen, es versteht sich übrigens von selbst, dass dem Verleger Séra Magnús als Mitherausgeber genannt ist, und dass er als solcher auf dem Titel mit erscheinen wird. Wie Sie sich, unter sich, in Bezug auf Honorar etc. auseinandersetzen werden, geht weder mich noch den Verleger an.⁶⁰

Jón svarar bréfinu 20. júní sama ár og segir að hann hafi sent Magnúsi bréfið og jafnframt að það sé sjálfsagt „að hann á að standa á titilblaðinu á safni þessu, ef og þegar að því kemur, að það verði prentað.“ Hann lýsir einnig yfir ánægju þeirra beggja með samninginn við forleggjarann, en kemur síðan að því að þeir verði ekki tilbúnir með fullbúið handrit fyrir en vorið eftir. Um Magnús segir hann: „Mér þykir gott, ef Síra Magnús hreinskrifar sitt safn, sem þér sáuð hjá mér í haust; en það hossar ekki hátt upp í 30 arkir.“⁶¹ Hið sama er uppi á teningnum seinna á árinu þegar Jón þarf að afsaka að hann hafi ekki sent neitt ennþá:

59 Terry Gunnell, „From Daisies to Oak Trees,“ 26; sjá einnig Ólína Þorvarðardóttir, „Þjóðsögur Jóns Árnasonar?“ 261–262.

60 NKS 3009 4to, bréf frá Konrad Maurer til Jóns Árnasonar, skrifað 25. mars 1859 í München.

61 Lbs 2655 8vo, bréf frá Jóni Árnasyni til Konrad Maurers skrifað 20. júní 1859 í Reykjavík. Bréfið er pr. í *Úr fórum Jóns Árnasonar*, I 125–129.

Nú er högum mínum svo varið, sem Yður er að nokkru leyti kunnugt, að skyldustörf liggja á mér, sem eg má ekki og get ekki af mér snarað, 8 stundir dags daglega. En þar að auki stendur æfinlega svo illa á um miðjan veturinn, þegar hér mætist póstskip frá útlöndum og póstafréiðslur í allar áttir innan lands, að eg hlýt þá að erviða á skrifstofunni frá 9 til 12 tíma á dag, og félagi minn Síra Magnús á Mosfelli er, auk sjálfsgæðra skyldustarfa, sökum fjarlægðarinnar, sem er milli okkar, hér um bil 2 mílur, ekki eins vel fallinn til að veita mér sína liðsemd, eins og ef hann væri hér í bænnum.⁶²

Við landa sinn Guðbrand Vigfússon er Jón öllu opinskárrí:

Þér ætlið, að mér verði mikið lið að síra Magnúsi Grímssyni, og má vera að svo verði, en eptir hinu auma ástandi hans sem nú er, horfir ekki til mikils úr þeirri átt, nema ef hann gæti hreinskrifað eitthvað af því, sem hann hefir áður safnað, eða í bezta lagi, ef hann skrifaði það alt. En hans safn er alt frá skólaárum hans svo að segja, eg veit ekki hvort hann hefir bætt neinu við í vetur. Þér vitið eins og eg, ef til vill, að hann er of mjög gefin fyrir vín, og búskapurinn fer því á ringulreið, heimilisstaðan örðug, og í sveitinni þykir arðlítið að sitja við skriptir nema prédikanir.⁶³

Magnús Grímsson lést 18. janúar 1860 og eftir það er aldrei minnst á það í bréfaskriftum þremminganna, Jóns Árnasonar, Konrad Maurers og Guðbrands Vigfússonar að nafn hans sé nefnt sem meðútgefanda þjóðsagnasafnsins. Það er þó alveg ljóst að þangað til litu þeir allir á hann sem samstarfsmann Jóns. Guðbrandur óskar þeim báðum til hamingju með útgáfusamninginn í bréfi til Jóns og í sama bréfi nefnir hann samstarf þeirra við útgáfuna á Mjallhvítarsögunni, sem Magnús þýddi.⁶⁴ Það er frekar svo að sjá að Magnús sjálfur hafi ekki reiknað með að taka mikinn þátt í útgáfunni. Eina bréfið sem hefur varðveist frá honum til Jóns Árnasonar er einmitt það þar sem hann lýsir gleði sinni yfir því að samningur um útgáfu þjóðsagnasafnsins sé í höfn. Þar segir m.a.:

62 Lbs 2655 8vo, bréf frá Jóni Árnasyni til Konrad Maurers skrifað 14. nóvember 1859 í Reykjavík. Bréfið er pr. í *Úr fótum Jóns Árnasonar*, I 166–169.

63 Bodl. GV Icel. d.1, bréf frá Jóni Árnasyni til Guðbrands Vigfússonar skrifað 19. júní 1859 í Reykjavík.

64 NKS 3010 4to, bréf frá Guðbrandi Vigfússyni til Jóns Árnasonar, skrifað 10. apríl 1859 í Kaupmannahöfn. Bréfið er pr. í *Úr fótum Jóns Árnasonar*, I 111–113.

Af því eg þykist nú fá vissa ferð sendi eg þér okkar dýrmæta bréf frá dr. Maurer. Þú getur nærri hvað vænt mér þykir um það, og eg fel þér að öllu leyti að svara því; það stendur þér næst. Eg tala kann ske við þig fyr en við vitum báðir. Þú notar mig ef þú þarft og getur til að hreinskrifa eitthvað af sögum, því sögurnar ættu víst að vera fyrstar, eins og Maurer segir. ... Ef þú létir mig hreinskrifa nokkuð, þá þarftu að senda mér með hreinskrifaða sögu frá þér, svo handritið yrði allt í sem líkustu lagi. – Pappír á eg ekki til nema af þeirri gerð, sem þetta bréf er. – En því ætla eg 3 bindi okkur hentari en 2 að við gætum þá líklega fyllt 1. b. með sögur, og bætt svo við því, sem þarf í 3. bindið. – Fyrir formála og titilblaði verður þú að hugsa, að nokkru leyti strax við 1. bindi. Þar ætti að standa í Æfisaga Æfintýra þessara og kvæða á meðan við höfum haft þær á brjósti, að ógleymdum styrk dr. Maurers og hans manna. Eg óska af alhuga að verkið blessist okkur báðum og öllum, sem að því styðja.⁶⁵

Magnús gerir sem sagt ekki ráð fyrir því að þáttur hans í söfnuninni verði það mikill að þeir félagar munu skrifa formála fyrir útgáfunni saman. Í formála sínum⁶⁶ talar Jón fallega um Magnús og segir:

Svo var sumsé til ætlazt að við séra Magnús værum báðir útgefendur safns þessa. En þegar hann var búinn að skrifa upp rúmlega það sem hann hafði safnað sjálfur kvaddist hann héðan 18. janúar 1860, og má nærri geta hvað það hefur bæði tafið og bagað safnið að missa þess manns sem svo margt var vel gefið, auk þess sem ég missti þar ástfólginn skólabróður og tryggan vin.⁶⁷

Eins og áður sagði birtist efni frá Magnúsi um 150 sinnum í frum-útgáfu þjóðsagnasafnsins en það getur ekki talist stór hluti af safninu sem inniheldur yfir 1200 atriði. Hann tók heldur hvorki mikinn þátt í þeirri þjóðsagnasöfnun sem Jón Árnason setti af stað með „Hugvekju“ sinni né

65 NKS 3010 4to, bréf frá Magnúsi Grímssyni til Jóns Árnasonar, skrifað 30. maí 1859 á Mosfelli. Bréfið er pr. í *Úr fórum Jóns Árnasonar*, I 119–120.

66 Reyndar fór það svo að formáli Jóns birtist fyrst á prenti 1939 vegna þess að Guðbrandur Vigfússon og Konrad Maurer voru ekki ánægðir með hvernig hann hljóðaði. Um þetta má lesa í ýmsum heimildum, en nýjast er Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir, „Jón Árnason, ævi og störf,“ *Andvari* (2019): 87–101, helst 92–93.

67 Jón Árnason, „Formáli Jóns Árnasonar,“ xxi.

undirbúningi að útgáfu safnsins. Sumir telja að Magnús Grímsson hafi átt frumkvæði að því að þeir Jón Árnason hófu að safna þjóðfræðafni⁶⁸ og hvort sem það er rétt eða ekki er ljóst að Magnús varð fyrstur til að safna þjóðsögum skipulega hér á landi á 19. öld. Söfnun hans fór aðallega þannig fram að hann skrifaði upp eftir fólki öfugt við Jón Árnason sem að mestu leyti virkjaði aðra til að safna fyrir sig. Þó að Jón hafi einnig átt sína heimildarmenn taka sögur sem hann safnaði beint af vörum fólks ekki eins mikið pláss í þjóðsagnasafninu og sögur Magnúsar.⁶⁹ Þrátt fyrir að Magnúsi Grímssyni hafi ekki enst aldur, kraftar eða tími til að vinna að útgáfu fyrsta stóra þjóðsagnasafnsins sem út kom á íslensku verður því að líta á hann sem frumkvöðul í þessum efnum.

HEIMILDIR

HANDRIT

Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík

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AM 969 4to	NKS 3010 4to

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68 Hallgrímur Hallgrímsson, „Magnús Grímsson,“ 126; Gísli Sigurðsson, „Þjóðsögur,“ 422; einnig Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Um íslenskar þjóðsögur*, 116–117, sem telur það líklegt en bendir þó á að ekki sé það öruggt.

69 Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir, „Jón Árnason þjóðsagnasafnari og heimildarfólkið hans,“ *Grasahross. Minningarrit um hjónin Rögnu Ólafsdóttur og Ögmund Helgason*, ritstj. Gísli Magnússon et al. (Sauðárkróki: Sögufélag Skagfirðinga, 2014), 127–142.

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ÁGRIP

Þjóðsögur Magnúsar Grímssonar: Hlutur Magnúsar Grímssonar í upphafi þjóðsagnasöfnunar á 19. öld

Lykilorð: þjóðsagnasöfnun, Þjóðsögur Jóns Árnasonar, þjóðsögur, *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og æfintýri* (1862–1864), nítjándi öld

Árið 1845 tóku þeir Jón Árnason (1819–1888) og Magnús Grímsson (1825–1860) sig saman um að safna þjóðsögum og kvæðum og gáfu út fyrsta prentaða íslenska þjóðsagnasafnið árið 1852. Þeir höfðu hugsað sér að halda áfram að safna og gefa út en ritið fékk ekki góðar viðtökur og ekkert varð úr framhaldinu þangað til þýski fræðimaðurinn Konrad Maurer kom til landsins árið 1858. Hann hvatti þá til dáða og lofaði að finna útgefanda í Þýskalandi. Magnús lést árið 1860 svo það kom í hlut Jóns að ljúka við verkið. Sumir hafa talið það nokkuð óréttlátt gagnvart Magnúsi að nafn hans skuli ekki vera prentað á titilsíðu þjóðsagnasafnsins sem kom út 1862–1864. Hér er sagt frá ævi Magnúsar og störfum en síðan skoðað nokkuð nákvæmlega hver raunverulegur hlutur Magnúsar var í söfnuninni og sjálfri útgáfunni á safninu sem ætíð er kennt við Jón Árnason. Niðurstaðan er sú að efni frá Magnúsi birtist um 150 sinnum í þjóðsagnasafninu en það inniheldur alls yfir 1200 atriði og hann tók hvorki mikinn þátt í þeirri þjóðsagnasöfnun sem Jón Árnason setti af stað með „Hugvekju“ sinni né undirbúningi að útgáfu safnsins. Magnús varð þó fyrstur til að safna þjóðsögum skipulega hér á landi á 19. öld

og þrátt fyrir að honum hafi ekki enst aldur, kraftar eða tími til að vinna að útgáfu fyrsta stóra þjóðsagnasafnsins sem út kom á íslensku verður því að líta á hann sem frumkvöðul í þessum efnum.

SUMMARY

Magnús Grímsson's Folktales: Magnús Grímsson's Place as a Folktale Collector in the Nineteenth Century

Keywords: Folktale collections, Jón Árnason's folktales, *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og æfintýri* (1862–1864), the nineteenth century

In 1845 Jón Árnason (1819–1888) and Magnús Grímsson (1825–1860) agreed to collect Icelandic folktales and poetry; they published the first printed collection of Icelandic folktales in 1852. They had intended to continue publishing further collections, but their first publication was poorly received, and nothing further came of their work until the German scholar Konrad Maurer came to Iceland in 1858. He encouraged them and promised to find them a publisher in Germany. Magnús died in 1860 so it fell to Jón to complete the project. Some have considered it something of an injustice to Magnús that his name does not appear on the title page of the collection of Icelandic folktales that was published in 1862–1864. This article describes Magnús's life and work. It then investigates precisely what Magnús's contribution to the collection of folktales was as well as his role in the publication of *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og æfintýri* itself, which has always been associated with Jón Árnason. The article concludes that only about 150 of the over 1,200 items in the folktale collection of 1862–1864 can be traced directly to Magnús's work. Moreover, Magnús was not very active in the further collection of material inspired by Jón Árnason's famous letter calling for further collection of tales ("Hugvekja") nor in the preparation of the volumes for publication. Magnús was, however, the first to collect folktales in Iceland in a systematic way in the nineteenth century. Although he did not live long enough or have the time and strength to work in any major way on the first large edition of folktales to be published in Icelandic, he must be considered a trailblazer in this work.

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PHILIP LAVENDER

TIMUR, ‘THE WRATH OF GOD’

*An Unknown Source of Oddverjaannáll
and the Vindication of a Tyrant
in Ambáles saga and Ambáles rímur*

TIMUR (1336–1405), born at Kesh in the Chagatai Khanate in modern-day Uzbekistan), is perhaps better known to contemporary anglophone audiences as the protagonist of Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine the Great*.¹ There he is represented as an almost unstoppable force, sweeping across the world in a way that is reminiscent of previous conquerors such as Alexander the Great, Attila the Hun and Genghis Khan. While not related to the latter, Timur seems to have styled his imperial aspirations upon and seen himself as the heir to the founder of the Mongol Empire. His conquests did not match those of his role model in extent, but were nevertheless seen as prodigious. He was particularly famous for his defeat of the Ottoman Emperor Bayezid I at the Battle of Ankara in 1402, and the tortures and humiliations which Bayezid subsequently suffered were in certain sources recounted in a way which leant more of an air of Eastern tyrant than illustrious empire-builder to their perpetrator. In fact, it is the many ambivalences in the portrayal of Timur which make him such an interesting object of study. Through European humanist eyes, Timur represented an almost contemporary figure who impressively rivalled the colossi of the classical past. But he could also represent the terror of oriental rule. The fact that the Ottoman empire came to represent an ever greater threat to Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also meant that Timur’s defeat of Bayezid could come to be seen in a new light by later generations, that is, as the actions of an early challenger to

1 For a brief but clear biographical summary of Timur see Marcus Milwright, “So Despicable a Vessel: Representations of Tamerlane in Printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 318. Note that while there seems to be a recent consensus on 1336 as Timur’s year of birth, Milwright says merely that he was born in the 1320s or 1330s.

the looming Turkish threat. Thus, Timur was rehabilitated as a hero for Europeans floundering in a new geopolitical climate. As Milwright states '[o]f all the great warriors who swept across Central Asia and the Middle East in the medieval period, Tamerlane [i.e. Timur] is arguably the one who had the most enduring impact on the culture of Renaissance and early modern Europe.'²

That such a figure, in the decades and centuries after his dramatic rise and fall, would spark interest among learned and intellectually-curious Icelanders should come as no surprise. Already in the Middle Ages, Icelanders had written and copied works which highlighted previous ambitious conquerors, for example *Alexanders saga*, dedicated to the exploits of Alexander the Great, and the various narratives which discuss Atli and draw on legends of Attila the Hun. The first evidence of Timur's penetration into Icelandic literary culture is not to be found in a saga or eddic poem, however, but rather in *Oddverjaannáll* 'the annal of the men of Oddi' under the entry for 1398.³ The work which frames this entry was thus named because in the seventeenth century it was mistakenly assumed to have its origins in the learned circle which formed around Sæmundur Sigfússon (*hinn fróði* 'the wise', 1056–1133) and his descendants, the *Oddaverjar* 'men of Oddi', in the twelfth century. The text exists in its entirety in only one sixteenth-century manuscript, AM 417 4to,⁴ and can be dated on the basis of references within the text and margins to the period 1575–1591.⁵ *Oddverjaannáll* is a heterogeneous work, the style changing greatly as the centuries flow by, and the ever more abundant interpolations have the effect of shifting it generically from a typical medieval annal towards an early modern chronicle. The early section focusses

2 Milwright, "So Despicable a Vessel," 317.

3 To my knowledge Timur appears in no other Icelandic annals. See, for example, the single reference to Timur ("Tamerlanes Scyta") in the 'navneregister' in *Íslandske annaler indtil 1578*, ed. by Gustav Storm (Oslo (Christiania): Grøndahl & Sons, 1888), 641.

4 A number of excerpts, all of which can be traced back to AM 417 4to, appear in manuscripts of later provenance. See *Oddaannálar og Oddverjaannáll*, ed. by Eiríkur Þormóðsson and Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, Rit 59 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2003), cxlix–cliv.

5 The most recent editors, however, give the time of writing of the main text as 1540–1591 (*Oddaannálar og Oddverjaannáll*, cxii). It would thus seem that they choose to see the many borrowings from Anders Sørensen Vedel's *Den danske Krønike* (1575) (listed on cxlii–cxliii) as additions to a preexisting 'main' text.

on Roman emperors and the growth of the church, often taking the form of a series of short biographical sketches or anecdotes of wonders and martyrdoms. As the annals reach the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the information provided is denser: each year is supplied with information on climate conditions, natural phenomena, the sinking of merchant ships, church matters, lay disputes and Scandinavian monarchs, all of this stacked together with little attempt being made to smooth over transitions from one topic to another. This unevenness is of course natural, since the sources available for the various periods differed greatly. The early part (up to AD 67) seems to rely more heavily on the so-called *óstyttir* 'unabbreviated' *Oddaannálar*, a non-extant forerunner to both the extant *styttir* 'abbreviated' *Oddaannálar* and the text under consideration here. Eiríkur Þormóðsson and Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir formulated the hypothesis of the dependence on the unabbreviated forerunner, which may itself have taken texts as varied as Tacitus' *Annals*, Hector Boece's *Historia gentis Scotorum* and Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* as source material.⁶ The later sections, within which the description of Timur is found, focus predominantly on Scandinavian events and rely more heavily on a number of sagas, as will be mentioned below, with the most recent period also most likely making use of oral traditions which transmitted information on events within a national ambit.

Timur, while nowadays identified as a Turco-Mongol, is presented in the annals as a Tartar king,⁷ yet prior to his appearance the place of the Tartars within world history is far from being a principal interest of the annals' compiler. Nevertheless, changing times and new geopolitical entities such as the Turks (Ottomans) or Tartars do gradually make their presence felt to a certain degree as the Middle Ages wear on. The Tartars are first mentioned in 1241, the same year that Snorri Sturluson dies, with the unobtrusive comment 'Tartarar baurdust j Vngaria' [the Tartars fought in Hungary]. Following this in 1246 Cam, King of the Tartars, is said to be baptised, in 1260 a Tartar army is massacred in Jerusalem, in 1277 Tartars kill the Sultan of Babylon, in 1286 they send messengers to the Danish

6 *Oddaannálar og Oddverjaannáll*, xx–xxv, xxxviii–xliv.

7 On the Icelanders' complex and changing relationship to the Turkic peoples see Sverrir Jakobsson, "Saracen Sensibilities: Muslims and Otherness in Medieval Saga Literature," *JEGP* 115 (2016): 226–29.

King Erik (presumably Erik VI, r. 1286–1319) and in 1306 Tartars save Jerusalem from *Saratina* ('the Saracens?') and Tartar messengers sent to Rome are baptised there.⁸

Thus, a mildly positive picture of the Tartars, flirting with Christianity and fighting other non-Christian peoples, emerges prior to the entry concerning Timur. That entry, dated indirectly to 1398 since it occurs *are seirna* 'a year later' than 1397, reads as follows:

J þenna tíma var sa Tartara kongur er Tamerlanes Scytha hiet hann var skotskur að ætt: hann var mjökell tyranni og blóðhundur: Eitt sinn sat hann í borg: Og er borgarmenn voru svo nær sem yfir komner: lietu þeir sínar jungfrur og meyjar vt ganga í huijtum klæðum með olífu kústu í sínum haundum: Enn þessi grimmi víkingur: lét sitt hóffolk með hestafötum sundur Ríða greiðt fólk: þá hann var af einum sínum vndir manni aðspurður hvar fyrir hann slíkkann hardann og ógudligann gíorning fremdri kúað hann sig ekkj einn manni heildur Reidi Gudz vera: hann er líkjari við hinn grimma Hannibal til allrar manni jllsku.⁹

[At that time a king named Timur Scythia ruled the Tartars. He was of Scottish (i.e. Scythian) extraction. He was a great tyrant and bloodthirsty. On one occasion he was besieging a town, and when the citizens were as good as defeated, they sent their maidens and young women out in white clothes bearing olive branches in their hands. But this cruel marauder had his retainers trample said women beneath their horses' hooves. When he was asked by one of his inferiors why he had committed such a harsh and ungodly act, he said that he was not a man but the wrath of God. He is most similar to the cruel Hannibal in all deeds of human evil.]

My principal aim in this article is to identify the source of this information, although a secondary aim, following on from the first, will be to show how such information has been put to use in one example from Icelandic

8 *Oddaannálar og Oddverjaannáll*, 146–47, 150, 155–56, 163. It should be mentioned that most of these events are not unique in being mentioned in *Oddverjaannáll* but appear in other annals which cover the same period.

9 *Oddaannálar og Oddverjaannáll*, 183.

saga and *rímur* literature. In attempting the first aim it is, however, worth bearing in mind Thomas C. Izard's words (in discussing the search for the influences upon Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*) that one could be 'understandably led astray in the maze of sources'.¹⁰ Gustav Storm, the first editor of *Oddverjaannáll*, discusses the array of texts which the compiler of this work made use of. In addition to the dependence upon previous annals, Storm mentions the inclusion of excerpts from Anders Sørensen Vedel's Danish translation of Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* (1575), *Knýtlinga saga*, Philip Melanchthon's reworking of *Carion's Chronicles*, *Ólaf's saga Tryggvasonar hin mesta*, *Sverris saga*, and a number of *Íslendingasögur* and *samtíðarsögur*.¹¹ Of these, the most relevant (since it is the only one to mention Timur), is the Melanchthon revision of *Carion's Chronicles*, of which Storm says 'Laanene fra denne findes dog kun i Keiser Sigismunds Historie, nemlig ved Aar 1396–98, 1400, 1410, 1414 og 1416' [loans from this work are found only in the story of Emperor Sigismund, namely for the years 1396–1398, 1400, 1410, 1414 and 1416].¹² No mention is made of Emperor Sigismund in 1398 – rather we find a reference to the killing of Gunnlaugur bóndi Magnússon in Iceland (about which more below) and the passage about Timur – so we may assume that Storm is including the Timur reference under the vague and inclusive umbrella of *Keiser Sigismunds Historie*.

Carion's Chronicles (also *Chronica Carionis*), which included information on Emperor Sigismund, was one of the major works of sixteenth-century Lutheran historiography. It was prepared by Johann Carion (1499–1537) and appeared in its earliest German-language form in 1531 in Wittenberg. Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) and, after his death, his son-in-law Casper Peucer (1525–1602) prepared an expanded Latin version of the first two sections of the chronicle which appeared in parts between 1558 and 1565 and then in a single volume, also in Wittenberg, in

10 Thomas Izard, "The Principal Source for Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*," *MLN* 58 (1943): 416. See also Eric Voegelin, "The Humanists' Image of Timur," trans. by M.J. Hanak. *Anamnesis: On the Theory of History and Politics*, ed. by David Walsh, The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin 6 (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 178.

11 *Íslandske annaler*, ed. by Storm, xxx–xxxii.

12 *Íslandske annaler*, ed. by Storm, xxxi. I believe that additional loans from a similar source also appear earlier in the annal (for example the entry for 1338 on Dante's involvement at the Diet of Frankfurt), but there is not space to discuss these here.

1572. Many reprints and translations exist, making charting how material from this chronicle-complex circulated difficult, but we can be sure of its influence on Icelandic culture through, in particular, an Icelandic translation found in BL Add. 11153. Robert Cook produced a survey of this and other Icelandic works which show the influence of *Carion's Chronicle* and addressed Storm's comments regarding *Oddverjaannáll*.¹³

To summarise Cook's assessment, he shows that in spite of what Storm affirms, the entries around the year 1400 in *Oddverjaannáll* show too many divergences from the known versions of *Carion's Chronicles* for them to be directly derived from them.¹⁴ In the case of the entry on Timur, for example, the detail of the olive-branch-carrying maidens being trampled to death, which is the core of the portrait provided in the Icelandic annal, simply does not appear in Carion's work, which thus cannot be the source.¹⁵ The description of the maidens does, however, as Cook notes, appear in Petrus Perondinus' *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita* (1551), Pope Pius II's *Asiae Europaeque elegantissima descriptio* (1458), Pedro Mexia's *Silva de varia lección* (1543), Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544), as well as many of the translations and adaptations that all of these works spawned. Cook does not proceed any further in an attempt to determine which of these texts might lie at the root of the entry in the annal (which is understandable, since his interests lie solely with the influence of *Carion's Chronicles*), and Eiríkur Þormóðsson and Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir in their more recent edition of *Oddverjaannáll* add no new information on this matter.¹⁶

To determine which, if any, of the sources mentioned by Cook was available (in one form or other) to the compiler of the Icelandic annal, a comparison of the main points is required.¹⁷ These are five, namely (i) the Scythian origin of Timur (combined with the statement that he is called the king

13 Robert Cook, "The *Chronica Carionis* in Iceland," *Opuscula* 8 (1985): 226–63.

14 Cook, "The *Chronica Carionis*," 233.

15 Cook, "The *Chronica Carionis*," 231. Examples which give an idea of the variety of descriptions of Timur to be found in different versions of *Carion's Chronicles* can be found on f. 157v of the 1531 German edition and pp. 1027–28 of the 1573 German edition.

16 *Oddaannálar og Oddverjaannáll*, cxlvii–cxlix.

17 It should be noted that no known direct translations into Icelandic of the works of any of these authors are known. See, for example, their absence from the (admittedly not comprehensive) list of personal names which can be browsed on handrit.is.

of the Tartars), (ii) the already-mentioned trampling of the olive-branch-bearing maidens, (iii) the affirmation, by Timur, when questioned about his harshness, that he is the wrath of God, (iv) the comparison to Hannibal, and (v) the dating of the events to 1398. While the latter point could be merely coincidental – the compiler simply having inserted the material at a point deemed reasonable – the others should be present in some form or another in a putative source. If no such source exists, then we must assume either that it has been lost or that there has been a work of synthesis at some point, where points from various accounts were combined.

Pedro Mexia's work, first published in 1543 in Spanish but reprinted and translated on numerous occasions, has been of great interest to literary scholars, since Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587/1588) can be traced back to it.¹⁸ The *Silva* ('forest', i.e. literary miscellany) is a collection of many stories, that of Timur being just one among many. They are not provided with dates, such only being normal practice in works which present themselves as history. Mexia describes his sources, the principal of which for the section under consideration seems to be an Italian work by Andrea Cambini (d. 1527) entitled *Della origine de Turci* (1529).¹⁹ Cambini himself remarks that his information is based on that provided by Pope Pius II.²⁰ A comparison of these three works shows that in the step between Cambini and Mexia an important detail, namely the comparison of Timur to Hannibal, drops out. This effectively rules out Mexia's work, or any of its derivatives, from being the direct source of *Oddverjaannáll's* entry.

The *Cosmographia* of Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) first appeared just a year after Mexia's *Silva*, but was subsequently reissued and translated on numerous occasions. Münster was a Lutheran, employed at the University of Basel from 1529 until his death, and his *Cosmographia* describes the en-

18 See Thomas C. Izard, "The Principal Source for Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*," *MLN* 58 (1943): 411–17; see also Leslie Spence, "The Influence of Marlowe's Sources on *Tamburlaine*," *Modern Philology* (1926): 181–99; Leslie Spence, "Tamburlaine and Marlowe," *PMLA* 42 (1927): 604–22; Hugh G. Dick, "*Tamburlaine* Sources Once More," *Studies in Philology* 46 (1949): 154–66.

19 Pedro Mexia, *Silva de varia lección* (Madrid: Matheo de Espinosa y Arteaga, 1673), 197.

20 Andrea Cambini, *Libro d'Andrea Cambini della origine de Turci et imperio delli Ottomanni* ([Florence]: [Heredi di Philippo di Giunta], 1529), 2.

tire known world as well the histories of many nations.²¹ Timur appears on two occasions, firstly in Book V (principally concerned with Asia), where the Tartars are described and a list of their leaders is given.²² The section of interest to us here, however, appears in Book IV, as part of the description of Greece. The recent history of that land is presented through a list of the Ottoman emperors, and Timur's cruelty and claim of divine justification appears within the description of *Baiatset der vierd Türckisch keyser* 'Bayezid, the Fourth Turkish Emperor'.²³ Münster's description, which tells summarily of the trampling of the olive-branch-bearing maidens and Timur's haughty response on being questioned about his cruelty (points ii and iii), includes no comparison with Hannibal, no date when the events took place, and, while saying that Timur is a Tartar, only mentions Scythia as one of the regions he conquered. Thus for similar reasons to those presented with respect to Mexia's text, Münster's, which also owed a clear debt to Pope Pius II's work, is unlikely to have been the immediate source of the entry in *Oddverjaannáll*.²⁴ Later editions and translations of the *Cosmographia* often contain additional material, but none of it seems to bring us any closer to the extract in *Oddverjaannáll*.

Of the four potential sources suggested by Cook, the *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita* 'Life of the Great Timur, Emperor of the Scythians' (1553, reprinted on many occasions) by Petrus Perondinus stands out as being the only work exclusively concerning itself with Timur as a

21 See Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

22 Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia: Beschreibung aller Lender durch Sebastianum Munsterum in welcher begriffen aller völccker, Herzschaftten, Stetten und namhaftiger slecken herkommen* (Basel: Henrichus Petri, 1544), dcxxv.

23 Münster, *Cosmographia* (1544), dlxxvii.

24 The title alone is suggestive of the influence, Pope Pius II's work also commonly being referred to as his *Cosmographia* (see, for example, the title page of his *Cosmographia Pii Papae in Asia et Europæ eleganti descriptione* ([Paris]: Henricus Stephanus & Ioannis Hongontius, 1509)). Münster's phrasing, *Sibstu mich für ein Menschen an: Du irrst, dann ich bin der Zorn Gottes und ein Verderbung der Welt* [You consider me a man: You are wrong, for I am the wrath of God and the destruction of the world], *Cosmographia* (1544), dlxxvii, is also a faithful reproduction of Pope Pius II's *Tu me hominem esse arbitraris? Falleris: Ira dei ego sum et orbis vastitas* [You judge me to be a man? You are mistaken: I am the anger of God and the destruction of the world], *Cosmographia* (1509), 26v. Münster also includes details about Bayezid being used as a stool for Timur to climb up onto his horse, taken from the *Europa* of Pope Pius II (*Cosmographia* (1509), 93r).

historical personage. Almost nothing is known of the author, who, in twenty-six short chapters, gives the most extensive account of Timur to be produced up to that time. Perondinus' description of the trampling of the maidens appears in Chapter 18, entitled *De sævitia et crudelitate eius contra victos, et supplices* 'About his savagery and cruelty towards those defeated by him and supplicants',²⁵ while the questioning of his cruelty and his response appears in Chapter 19.²⁶ The description thus has all of the main points of the narrative (i, ii and iii), including a comparison to Hannibal (iv) somewhat later in Chapter 21.²⁷ Nevertheless, these details are spread out over several chapters and with a great amount of other material intercalated, giving an impression which is, on the whole, much further away from the entry in *Oddverjaannáll* than the previously described passages in Mexia and Münster. It is also the case that the year in which the events took place is not given. Perondinus' work came to be reprinted a few years later in Conrad Clauser's Latin translation of Laonikus Chalkokondyles' *Proofs of History* and had an influence on later portraits of Timur such as those by Louis Le Roy (1510–1577) in his *De la vicissitude ou variété des choses en l'univers* (1576) and Philipp Lonicer in *Chronica Turcica* (1578), but it is not the source of the Icelandic material.²⁸

The last to be discussed of the four potential candidates mentioned by Cook is Pope Pius II, or Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464) as he was known prior to his pontificate. He was, as we have seen in the cases of Mexia and Münster, a forerunner to many of the early modern writers who portrayed Timur's deeds, preceded only by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459).²⁹ Pope Pius II's work on Asia, called *Cosmographia* when it was

25 Petrus Perondinus, *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita* (Florence, 1553), 53.

26 Perondinus, *Magni Tamerlanis*, 54.

27 Perondinus, *Magni Tamerlanis*, 57.

28 Conrad Clauser, trans., *Laonici Chalcondyle Atheniensis, de origine et rebus gestis Turcorum Libri Decem, nuper è Graeco in Latinum conuersi* (Basil: Joannes Oporinus, 1556), 235–48; Louis Le Roy, *De la Vicissitude ou Variété des Choses en l'Univers* (Paris: Pierre l'Huilier, 1575); Philipp Lonicer, *Chronica Turcica* (Frankfurt am Main: [Feyerabend], 1578).

29 Pope Pius II made use of Bracciolini's account, which appeared in his *De varietate fortune*, effectively complete by 1447 and circulating in manuscripts or piecemeal in print afterwards. See the first complete printed version, Poggio Bracciolini, *Historie de varietate fortune*, ed. by Dominico Giorgio (Paris: Coustelier, 1723), 36–39. Bracciolini does not mention the trampling of the maidens.

published posthumously in Paris in 1509 alongside his work on Europe,³⁰ was written shortly after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 and thus is permeated by this looming threat. He describes an east-west itinerary, but ends up devoting most space to Asia Minor and its inhabitants. Before arriving at this destination, Timur is described ‘in the section devoted to Parthia - the country lying just south of Scythia’.³¹ A compelling case is made by Margaret Meserve for Pope Pius II’s having occluded Timur’s ‘barbarous’ Central Asian, Mongol or Scythian origins, for the purpose of presenting a Parthian/Persian power of the kind which Christian Europe could attempt to forge an alliance with against a common threat which lay between them. It is probably for this reason that, though the account of the siege with the olive-branch bearing maidens (ii), Timur’s angry response on being questioned about his lack of mercy (iii) and the comparison with Hannibal (iv) are all present,³² Timur is clearly not said to be a Scythian king (i). Once again the year when the events took place (v) is absent.

While none of the four authors mentioned by Cook quite fit the bill as being the source of the entry in *Oddverjaannáll*, Pope Pius II’s account is the closest, and this aids us in identifying the actual source. The Nuremberg Chronicle, written in Latin by Hartmann Schedel in 1493 and translated into German in the same year by Georg Alt, is yet another of the texts which borrows the section on Timur almost word-for-word from Pope Pius II’s *Asia*.³³ While the Nuremberg Chronicle begins its entry on Timur by stating that he died in the year 1402, yet another work based pri-

30 Other influential editions in the sixteenth century were his collected works, *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basel: Henricus Stephanus, 1551; repr. 1571).

31 Margaret Meserve, “From Samarkand to Scythia: Reinventions of Asia in Renaissance Geography and Political Thought,” *‘El Piu Expeditivo Pontifice’: Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464)*, ed. by Zweder von Martels and Arjo Vanderjagt (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 34.

32 Pope Pius II, *Cosmographia* (1509), 26r–26v.

33 Hartmann Schedel, *Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cum figuris et imaginibus ab initio mundi* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493); Hartmann Schedel, *Register des Buchs der Croniken und geschichten mit figuren und pildnussen von anbeginn der welt bis auf disse unssere Zeit*, trans. by Georg Alt (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493). The description appears on the same page (ccxxvii) in both the Latin and German versions. As already stated, the *Asia* was first published in Paris in 1509, thus Schedel’s sources were handwritten manuscripts. See Bernd Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation der Schedelschen Weltchronik*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 71 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), 250.

marily on the Nuremberg Chronicle, namely Sebastian Franck's *Chronica, Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibell* (1531) begins its entry by stating that *Anno Mcccxcviii war Tamerlanes der groß künig der Tartern oder Parthier* 'in the year 1398 Tamerlanes the Great was the king of the Tartars or Parthians'.³⁴ The year given by Franck matches that in *Oddverjaannáll*, and as can be seen from the text below, the main points of the story of the trampling of the maidens, along with Timur's statement that he is the wrath of God and the narrator's statement that he was like Hannibal in his cruelty, make this a very likely source of the material in the Icelandic annal:

eins mals verzug die auffgebung ein statt biß an andern tag, da schickten sy all yr kinder vnd junckfrewlin her auß in weissen kleidern, ölzweiglin vor jhn tragende, in hoffnung mit yrer vnschuld des fürsten zorn zuuersunen. Aber er schaffet dise all mit dem reisigen zeug zuertreppen, vnnnd die statt zuerbrennen. Als er aber von ein geheymen seins gesinds gefragt, warumb er die grausamkeit also geübt hett an disem vnschuldigen blüt, da hat er ym zornigklich mit entstellung seiner geberdt antlitz, vnd mit feürschiessenden augen geantwort Meinstu ich sey ein mensch: Nein du irrest, ich binn der zorn Gottes vnd ein verwüstung der erden, hüt dich das du mir hinfürter nit meer begegnest, mitt solcher frag. Die disen Tirannen gesehen haben, sagen er sy dem wütterrich Hanibal gleich gwesen in aller wütterey.³⁵

[On one occasion the surrender of a town was delayed until the second day, and then they sent all their children and maidens out in white clothes, holding out olive-branches in front of themselves, in the hope that they would placate the prince's anger with their innocence. But he caused them all to be trampled by the mighty troop and the town to be burnt to the ground. When he was asked, however, by a close confidant, as to why he had exercised such cruelty upon these innocent souls, he then looked at him furiously and with a change having come over his demeanour, and with fire in

34 Sebastian Franck, *Chronica, Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibell* (Strasbourg: Balthasar Beck, 1531), cxcviii recto.

35 Franck, *Chronica* (1531), cxcviii recto and verso.

his eyes answered, ‘Do you consider me to be a man? Oh no, you are mistaken. I am the wrath of God and the destruction of the earth. Take care that you henceforth never more confront me with such questions’. Those who have seen this tyrant, say that he is similar to the despotic Hannibal in all his ruthlessness.]

Having located such a likely candidate in the 1531 *Chronica, Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibell* of Franck, it is worth mentioning that a second extended edition appeared in 1536 (although with the section on Timur close to identical), and that Franck also reused much of his material in his *Germaniae Chronicon* (1538).³⁶ The latter, however, cannot in either of its two print runs be the source of the section on Timur as it omits the telltale comparison with Hannibal. Taking the 1531 edition as a starting point, however, a yet stronger case for Franck’s role as source for the Timur passage in *Oddverjaannáll* might be made if we could show that it is the source of the other passages from the end of the fourteenth and start of the fifteenth centuries which Storm believed all came from a single source covering the life of Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund (1368–1437). As it turns out, several correspondences do come to light.

Cook says that under the year 1400 in *Oddverjaannáll* there is an entry which reads “woru slegnir [sic] margar þusundir Gydinga af Praga jnnbyggjurum”. This is not reported in any of the consulted versions of *Chronica Carionis*.³⁷ In Franck’s *Chronica*, however, we read ‘Darnach Mcccc kamen die Prager [...] und überfielen die Juden [...] unnd schlügen etlich tausent zustodt’ [Afterwards in 1400 the inhabitants of Prague came and attacked the Jews and killed several thousand of them].³⁸ Cook also comments that ‘Under “Ano 1416” O-A [i.e. *Oddverjaannáll*] has “waru a daugum Petrus Cameracensis Leonhardus Aretinus Pogius Florentinus

36 For the corresponding section on Timur see Sebastian Franck, *Chronica, Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibell* (Ulm: Varnier, 1536), ccxxxiii recto; Sebastian Franck, *Germaniae Chronicon. Von des gantzen Teutschlands aller Teutschen völker herkommen* (Augsburg: Westermair, Alexander Weyssenhorn and Heinrich Stainer, 1538), ccxxviii recto; Sebastian Franck, *Germaniae Chronicon. Von des gantzen Teutschlands aller Teutschen völker herkommen* (Frankfurt: Egenolff, 1538), ccxlii verso.

37 Cook, “The *Chronica Carionis*,” 231. The annal entry translates as ‘many thousands of the Jews who lived in Prague were killed’. For the original text see *Oddaannálar og Oddverjaannáll*, 183.

38 Franck, *Chronica* (1531), cxcvii verso.

Johannes Gerson.” Gerson is mentioned in Melanchthon-Peucer, by last name only [...] the other names do not appear in any version of Carion’.³⁹ In Franck’s *Chronica*, however, we find the following: ‘Anno Mccccxvi leuchtet [...] Petrus Cameracensis, Leonhardus Aretinus, ein Philosophus, Orator und Historicus, Poggius Florentinus, Johannes Gerson’ [In 1400 Petrus Cameracensis, Leonhardus Aretinus, philosopher, orator and historian, Poggius Florentinus and Johannes Gerson shone brightly].⁴⁰ That is to say, Franck records all four names in exactly the same order. Other details found in *Oddverjaannáll* and also recorded by Franck are 1396 as the year of the Battle of Nicopolis (*Carion’s Chronicle* has 1395),⁴¹ the detailed description of Emperor Sigismund’s lascivious second wife Barbara (as opposed to the single sentence in *Carion’s Chronicle*) and the comment that Jerome of Prague was burnt 140 days after Jan Hus.⁴² Not all the information which Cook refers to can be found, however, in Franck’s work, so it is clear that information has been supplemented from elsewhere. A case in point is the reference to Emperor Sigismund becoming the 36th Holy Roman Emperor in 1410 and the enigmatic reference to a strange occurrence in Augsburg ten years previously. The earliest editions of *Carion’s Chronicles* say that Sigismund is the 35th emperor, while Franck’s *Chronica* makes him number 117 in an unbroken line of emperors all the way from ancient Rome (and records no significant events in Augsburg in 1400). Curiously, in another work by Franck, his *Germaniae Chronicon*, the numbering of the German emperors is much more in line with that found in *Oddverjaannáll*, with Sigismund the 36th emperor. Moreover in *Germaniae Chronicon* under the entry for 1380 we are told of the discovery of gunpowder for firearms by a monk and that this technology came to be adopted in Augsburg in 1400 (Franck’s *Chronica*, both the edition from 1531 and that from 1536, seem to contain an error at this point and

39 Cook, “The *Chronica Carionis*,” 233.

40 Franck, *Chronica* (1531), cccix recto. Cook states that he has ‘not been able to identify “Petrus Cameracensis”’. This would seem to be Pierre d’Ailly (1351–1420), at one time Bishop of Cambrai and Gerson’s teacher.

41 Franck, *Chronica* (1531), cxvii recto. For the battle of Nicopolis, the number of Christians killed is given as 100,000, which, admittedly, does not match the 920,000 of *Oddverjaannáll*.

42 Franck, *Chronica* (1531), cciiii recto, ccccx recto.

Tamerlanes Scythar. Imp.



TAMERLANES Schytharum Imperator, qui propter inauditam animi feritatem atque scuitiam portentosasque vires, orbis **TERROR**, & **CLADES** Orientis appellatus est; ex humili militia loco per omnes honorum gradus ad eximiam bellicae virtutis opinionem, & denique ad summum imperium ascendit; insigni praesertim applaudentium militum studio, quum adulatione quadam Temir Cuthlus vocaretur, quae vox Tartaricè fortunatum ferrum significat. Eum Samarandae urbis, quae est ad Iaxartem amnem Sogdianae regioni finitimum, infimae classis ciuem fuisse tradunt. Quam urbem vsque ab Alexandri Magni temporibus Quinto Curtio notam videmus: restanturque Persae, homines historiae non ignari, quibus cum nos collocuti sumus, Samarandam à Tamerlane tanquam patriam suam totius subacti à se Orientis opibus & spolijs mirè auctam atque exornatam fuisse. Erat Tamer-

Images 1 and 2: Details of text and a woodcut of Tamerlanes Scytharum Imperator [Tamerlan, Emperor of the Scythians] from Paola Giovio, Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium (Basel: Pietro Perna, 1575), 102–03. This work was originally published in 1551 (with Timur described on pp. 95–97) but without the images.

state that the technology was adopted in Augsburg in 1330).⁴³ Thus the *Germaniae Chronicon* seems a more likely source for the detail mentioned in *Oddverjaannáll* that ten years prior to 1410 (i.e. 1400) ‘war first tidskat Bÿsna med ferd j Augzburg’ [the use of shotguns first caught on in Augsburg].⁴⁴

Even if Franck’s works in tandem are the sources of the added material in *Oddverjaannáll*, they seem not to have been used completely in isolation. Someone involved in the chain of transmission has at some point seen fit to call Timur *Tamerlanes Scytha*. This cannot be from Franck, who always refers to Timur as King of the Tartars or the Parthians (even if in his *Weltbuch* he alludes to the fact that the Scythians had been conquered

43 Franck, *Germaniae Chronicon* (Strasbourg, 1538), ccxxxviii verso–ccxxxix recto; Franck, *Germaniae Chronicon* (Frankfurt, 1538), ccxxiii recto; Franck, *Chronica* (1531), cxcvii recto; Franck, *Chronica* (1536), cxxxiii recto.

44 *Oddaannálar og Oddverjaannáll*, 188. ‘bysna’ here is presumably the genitive plural of ‘byssa’ [rifle]. Compare Danish ‘bøsse’ and German ‘büchsen’ (the word used in Franck’s *Germaniae Chronicon*).



by the Tartars and now live *Tartarisch*).⁴⁵ Whoever added this epithet could have been inspired by, among others, the aforementioned Petrus Perondinus, the Italian biographer Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) (see Image 1 and 2) and/or the German historian Philipp Lonicer (1543–1599) (see Image 3). The latter is perhaps a strong contender, since exactly the same orthography is used.

While doubts still remain as regards some of the material in *Odd-verjaannáll*, we now have a much clearer picture of the provenance of the Timur-related material. Moreover, in the course of determining the

⁴⁵ Sebastian Franck, *Weltbuch* (Tübingen: Morhart, 1534), xciii verso.

source of the Timur excerpt in *Oddverjaannáll* we have seen the wealth of representations of this historical figure in early modern writing, from tyrant, to potential eastern savior of Christendom, to moral exemplum of martial virtues and vices. We must, however, be cautious when assessing the process whereby material was selected for inclusion in the annal. We cannot be sure that the compilers were aware of many of these sources, and they may simply have used the only material that was to hand, namely a slightly modified version of Franck's *Chronica*. Moreover, we cannot know whether the author of *Oddverjaannáll* had a full text of Franck's work(s) or was already using an edited version. Perhaps the excerpts we see were the only ones available, but there may also have been a process of selection. If the latter, perhaps there is a reason why information about Timur and his merciless actions is juxtaposed with another event of more local interest. That local event is the killing of Gunnlaugur bóndi Magnússon from Reykholt (in Borgarfjörður) as retribution for his killing of Jón afbragð the previous year (1397). Gunnlaugur Magnússon was *sýslumaður* 'county magistrate' in Borgarfjörður between 1375 and 1399, and the killing of Jón afbragð is said to have been just one example of his overbearing behavior and is linked with 'annad hardligt framferdj wid bændur þa hann hafdi kongz syslu' [other harsh actions taken against farmers when he held the position of the king's magistrate].⁴⁶ It seems that Gunnlaugur, like Timur according to some accounts, took excessive advantage of his position, and thus abuse of power emerges as a theme uniting east and west, distant lands and more familiar districts. The killing of Gunnlaugur may even have been moved in the annal to 1398 to highlight this correspondence: Hannes Þorsteinsson says in a footnote to his edited text of Bogi Benediktsson's *Sýslumannaæfir* that it is more likely that Gunnlaugur was killed in 1400, as appears in *Lögmannsannáll*.⁴⁷

The preceding discussion of the potential sources for the description of Timur in the *Oddverjaannáll* was extensive, especially considering the fact that the entries taken from Franck's work represent only a very small

46 *Oddaannálar og Oddverjaannáll*, 183. Gunnlaugur bóndi Magnússon is not mentioned in Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstímum til ársloka 1940*, I–VI (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmenntafélag, 1948–1976), but he does appear in *Sýslumannaæfir eptir Boga Benediktsson á Staðarfelli*, I–V, ed. by Jón Pétursson and Hannes Þorsteinsson (Reykjavík: Prentsmiðjan Herbertsprent, 1881–1915), III. 385–86.

47 *Sýslumannaæfir*, ed. Jón Pétursson and Hannes Þorsteinsson, III. 386.



Image 3: Picture of Tamerlanes Scythia from Lonicer, Chronica Turcica, 14 verso.

portion of the annals as a whole. Nevertheless, it can hopefully serve as an example. Much work has been done on the continental sources of medieval Icelandic literature, but a similar effort remains to be made as regards the continental sources of much early modern and post-Reformation Icelandic literature. The necessary legwork may be slow and painstaking but is vital if we are to get a comprehend fully on the intellectual and cultural possibilities of sixteenth and seventeenth century Iceland. Moreover, annals and historiographical works have been particularly neglected, lacking the easy appeal of more literary text types to modern readers.⁴⁸ But as Ingi

⁴⁸ A study which forefronts historiographical writing, but is little known due to it only existing

Sigurðsson has pointed out, '[b]lómaskeið í annálaritun var hér á landi frá því um 1630 fram yfir 1800' [the heyday of Icelandic annal-writing took place from around 1630 up to after 1800], so a better understanding of this form of writing and the sources it made use of is all the more important if we are to get to grips with intellectual culture after the Reformation.⁴⁹

There is yet one more reason why the example of Timur in particular is worthwhile investigating, that being that it contributes to filling out our picture of how Icelandic authors had access to information on and adapted materials pertaining to the east and Asia Minor (modern Turkey). In the medieval period eastern themes appear in texts in a number of ways, albeit particularly in religious texts, learned histories and fantastic or exoticising accounts (these groups not being mutually exclusive). Limited contact with peoples from the east and an absence of Jewish or Muslim communities in Iceland played into what Cordelia Heß and Jonathan Adams have described as their 'absent presence', since '[t]he Muslims and Jews from the Scandinavian and Baltic sources are products of the imagination, an imagination created from ignorance, maybe curiosity'.⁵⁰ It has been well-documented how Snorri Sturluson explained the Nordic pantheon as euhemerised Trojan refugees, ensuring an enduring conceptual connection between Scandinavians and the area of modern-day Turkey. Sverrir Jakobsson has shown how the schism between the Western and Eastern church remained amorphous in the minds of Icelanders, and Constantinople and its emperor retained a superlative position in the minds and hearts of Icelandic writers even after they had been associated with heresy and thus rejected by other parts of the Roman Catholic world.⁵¹ Geraldine Barnes has described how Icelandic romance, unlike English and French Romance which were shaped by their national experiences of the crusades, 'had no comparable history of religious dispute, violated cultural taboos, military failure, ter-

as an unpublished doctoral dissertation, is Louis Pitschmann, "*Dýzkalands saga: A Critical Edition with a Philological Commentary*," (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1975).

49 Ingi Sigurðsson, "Þróun íslenzkrar sagnfræði frá miðöldum til samtímans," *Saga* 38 (2000): 13.

50 Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, "Introduction: Encounters and Fantasies: Muslims, Jews and Christians in the North," *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews, and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. by Cordelia Heß and Jonathan Adams (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 3–4.

51 Sverrir Jakobsson, "The Schism that Never Was: Old Norse Views on Byzantium and Russia," *Byzantinoslavica* 66 (2008): 173–88.

ritorial conquest or the involvement of their countrymen in the sack of Constantinople'.⁵² Constantinople and its environs thus remained central for Iceland in ways which it did not for mainland Europeans, but the relationship with the east was constantly developing. By the seventeenth century, for example, the dominant power in Asia Minor, the Ottomans, came to be associated with abductions and terror as Algerian pirates (called *Tyrkjar* 'Turks' in Icelandic sources), raided the coasts of Iceland.

As an example of the ways in which historiographical texts were made use of in imaginative engagements with the east, I will end with a discussion of a post-Reformation literary text which makes use of material familiar from the Timur entry in *Oddverjaannáll*. The example will show how the annal entry can aid our wider comprehension of Early Modern Icelandic literature. Thus, following the appearance of 'Tamerlanes Scyta' in *Oddverjaannáll*, the conqueror's name is absent from Icelandic culture until it surfaces again in the seventeenth-century *Ambáles saga* and *Ambáles rímur*.⁵³ The relationship between these two works (and the versions of the prose saga) remains a matter of debate,⁵⁴ but the precise nature of their relationship need not be determined in order to appreciate the ways in which they present anew the character Tamerláus (as he is called), as I

52 Geraldine Barnes, *The Bookish Riddarasögur: Writing Romance in Late Medieval Iceland*, The Viking Collection 21 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2014), 13.

53 The form of the name 'Ambáles' varies. Israel Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland* (London: David Nutt, 1898), always uses 'Ambales'. In *Ambáles rímur eftir Pál Bjarnason*, ed. by Hermann Pálsson, Rit Rímnafélagsins V (Reykjavík: Rímnafélagið, 1952), the form 'Ambáles' is consistently used (and I follow this usage). In Heiko Uecker, ed., *Der nordische Hamlet, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Germanistik und Skandinavistik* 56 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005) the earliest form of the saga is called 'Amlóða saga', but Uecker says that 'Ambales saga' (without accent) is the title commonly used in later witnesses. In fact, the earliest manuscript witnesses also provide alternative titles: in AM 521 b 4to we read 'saga af Amlod edur ambales' (f. 1r) and in AM 521 c 4to 'hier biriar søgu Af Ambulo edur Amloda enum heymska' (f. 1r). I use 'Ambáles saga' when referring to the prose text.

54 Earlier scholars assumed that the *rímur* were based on the saga, but then Hermann Pálsson claimed that sagas had been written on the basis of the *rímur* on two separate occasions (*Ambáles rímur*, x). The two similar sagas based on the *rímur* are the texts found in, on the one hand, AM 521 a 4to and AM 521 b 4to and, on the other hand, in AM 521 c 4to and the majority of other manuscripts. More recent studies such as Uecker, *Der nordische Hamlet*, and Ian Felce, "In Search of *Amlóða saga*: The Saga of Hamlet the Icelander," *Studies in the Transmission and Reception of Old Norse Literature: The Hyperborean Muse in European Culture*, ed. by Judy Quinn and Adele Cipolla (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 101–22, have not fully accepted Hermann Pálsson's thesis, and more work needs to be done before the relationship can be stated with certainty.

will discuss here. Tamerláus first appears in chapter 4 as the son of King Soldán and the brother of Málprýant and Fástínus.⁵⁵ With the support of the latter brother, Tamerláus leads an attack on Venice and abducts a Christian princess, allowing her to continue practicing her faith after he marries her.⁵⁶ Thus, although the brothers are presented as the antagonists of the saga, Tamerláus seems to have some redeeming features.

From this point on the story leaves Tamerláus behind in order to follow Ambáles, whose father, Salman, has been killed by Fástínus. Fástínus allows Ambáles to live because he thinks he is a fool, but, eventually suspecting Ambáles of acting and being a potential threat, he sends him away. Fengi and Claudius, Fástínus's counterparts in Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, send the Prince of Denmark to the British Isles to die. Fástínus, however, sends Ambáles to Tamerláus in Scythia. At this point there are a number of differences between the saga and its forerunner in Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* (and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*). They share the fact that the protagonist swaps the letter which his traveling companions were supposed to give to the king at the destination and thus avoids the ensuing trouble. In *Ambáles saga* and *Ambáles rímur*, however, Ambáles develops a close relationship with Tamerláus after revealing that Tamerláus is not actually Soldán's son. Tamerláus' mother had an affair with Duke Artax of Indíaland and Tamerláus is the result. When Tamerláus' mother's infidelity is revealed, she writes, enraged, to her legitimate sons and encourages them to take back the kingdom from their bastard brother. They happily consent (although this conflict does not materialise, since their delayed response is preempted by other events), and thus Tamerláus is no longer on the side of Málprýant and Fástínus. In league with Ambáles he has now switched from being a villain to a good guy.

Tamerláus' rehabilitation becomes even more patent when he sets out, along with Ambáles, to fight the heathens who are besieging Christian Constantinople (which, of course, forms no part of either Saxo Grammaticus' or Shakespeare's versions). We are told that:

55 I refer to the chapter numbers from Uecker, ed, *Der nordische Hamlet*, 63–64, which provides an edition of AM 521 b 4to. This corresponds to chapter 3 in Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, 13–14, and fitt 2 in *Ambáles rímur*, 18–19.

56 The *rímur* tell us that the 'drottning [...] þess heiðna manns [...] helgri trú fékk [...] að halda inn til dauða' [queen of this heathen man was allowed to keep her pious faith until she died]. See *Ambáles rímur*, 18–19.

Sä keisarj, er Catalichtuz var ad nafni [...] sat i Constantynopel, sem hófudborg var ä Gricklandi og sem med sýnum lóndum, vardveitti tru cristinna manna, hann atti jafnan orrostu vid þær þiödir, sem kólludust Sarasenz, sem voru grimmar þiödir og vykningar [...] og ei þirndu þeir vóggubornum nie þeim sem ä elli sæng läu og því mätti þä blóðhunda kalla, af þeirri þiöd, eru tartarar komnir [...] vmm þennan tuma var eirn grimmur kongur þesza lydiz [...] sem sat vm Constantynopel med iiij M vopnfæra manna [...] hann het Baiasetez, eda Bastianus, óknafn hanz var ottomanus, hann hafdi störan ofmetnad, i öllu öhofi holldzinz eptirlætj [...] hann framdi hinn vesta lifnad, med ærnum skómmum, hann tok þær ägiætustu meyar og konur, þar höndla kunni, og lagdj þær i syna huilu, og hiellt med þ[eim] samfarir medann hann listi, og þa hann girnist ecki leingra hina sómu, risti hann hennar kuid i sundur med hnyfi og drap so eina eptir adra⁵⁷

[The emperor named Catalichtuz [...] ruled from Constantinople, which was the capital of Greece, and which along with his lands observed the faith of the Christian people. He was always having battles against those people who were called Saracens, who were cruel peoples and marauders [...] and did not spare children in the cradles nor the aged lying in their beds, and thus they might be called bloodthirsty. The Tartars are descended from those people. [...] At that time there was a cruel king ruling over those people [...] who had besieged Constantinople with 4,000 armed men [...] He was called Bayezid or Bastianus and his cognomen was 'the Ottoman'. He displayed overweening pride and partook of corporal pleasures beyond all moderation [...] his lifestyle was most terrible and exceedingly shameful. He would take the most excellent maidens and women whom he could get his hands on and lay them down in his bed and have sex with them as much as he liked and when he no longer desired the woman, he would cut open her belly with a knife and in this manner killed them one after the other] (my translation, likewise below)

57 My own transcription of AM 521 c 4to, f. 6v. Italics are used where I have expanded abbreviations. The same applies to the two additional passages from AM 521 c 4to quoted below.

Following this horrific description, Tamerláus explains to Ambáles that it is because of these cruelties that he is going to war with Bastíanus. Moreover, Tamerláus has a personal motivation: his sister was one of the maidens previously abducted, raped and slaughtered by Bastíanus. Thus in Bastíanus we are presented with a figure who is not only sharply distinguished from Tamerláus (remember that when Tamerláus abducted the Venetian princess, he allowed her to keep practising her faith and married her rather than keeping her as a concubine), but has a fair amount in common with Timur as we know him from other sources (such as *Oddverjaannáll*). The description of Bastíanus and the Saracens whom he leads focusses on their cruelty to innocents, young children, the elderly and maidens, all of whom they slaughter mercilessly.⁵⁸ They are, moreover, besieging a city. It is also the slaughter of innocents during a siege which lies at the heart of the description of Timur found in *Oddverjaannáll*.

It is worth noting at this point that the text I have quoted is my own transcription from AM 521 c 4to, and the reason for this is that this witness seems to show a particularly dense interplay of details traditionally associated with Timur, moreso even than the texts in the *rímur* (from AM 521 e 4to) and from the other version of the prose saga (represented by AM 521 b 4to, as edited by Uecker). So, for example, while those texts refer to Tamerláus and Ambáles' enemy as 'Bastíanus' and 'Bastijnus' respectively,⁵⁹ AM 521 c 4to calls him 'Baiaasetez, *eda* Bastianus'. In doing so, AM 521 c 4to draws attention to the historical figure who presumably forms the model for Bastíanus, namely the Ottoman emperor Bayezid I (1354–1403), who, as was mentioned at the start of this article, was famously defeated by Timur at the Battle of Ankara in 1402. Bayezid had interrupted his siege of Constantinople precisely to go and face the threat presented by Timur, whereas in the imaginative version being discussed here Tamerláus brings the battle to Bastíanus mid-siege. Likewise, AM 521 c 4to is the only one of the three texts which mentions the Tartars, apparently descended from the Saracens/Ottomans whom Bastíanus leads. This, like the descriptions

58 Compare also, the slightly less gruesome account in, Uecker, ed., *Der nordische Hamlet*, 155.

59 *Ambáles rímur*, ed., 202; Uecker, ed., *Der nordische Hamlet*, 154.

of extreme cruelty to innocents, links Tamerláus' enemies in *Ambáles saga* to the description of Timur himself as presented in *Oddverjaannáll*, where he is called *Tartara kongur* 'king of the Tartars'.⁶⁰

The similarity between the description of Bastíanus and earlier descriptions of Timur, which might lead us to see the latter as a possible source for *Ambáles saga* and *Ambáles rímur*, is brought into focus by two more passages which follow and also resonate strongly with earlier accounts of Timur, such as that in *Oddverjaannáll*. These passages, moreover, continue to use material from the earlier descriptions of Timur while apparently consciously distancing Tamerláus from the barbaric image of his literary predecessor. A more positive Timur than the ethically dubious one of certain historiographical texts thus emerges.

The first of these passages is when Ambáles responds to Tamerláus' account of the horrors perpetrated by Bastíanus upon his sister. Ambáles suggests a plan which involves Tosti, a dwarf friend whom he has enlisted to provide support to Tamerláus' army. Ambáles explains to Tamerláus:

þennan kong muntu sigra, með ollum hanz monnum, því reidi þess mikla guds mun yfir hann falla, og alla þá sem með honum eru, eg mun lata tosta felaga minn skielfa þá með ludri sinum [...] Spyr kongur menn syna, huada hliöd þeir hugdu þetta vera, enn þeir sögdu það er róddz [sic] gudz *crístinna manna* sem i lopti heirist, og bodar þier og ozz hans stränga reidi og hefnd, því þitt vont athæfi hefur vpp vakid hanz grimdar reidi yfir ozz⁶¹

['You will defeat this king and all his men because the wrath of the great God will come down upon him and all of those who are with him. I will have Tosti, my companion, make them quake with his trumpet' [...] The king [i.e. Bastíanus] asks his men what sound they thought it was, and they said 'that is the voice of the Christian men's God which can be heard in the air and announces to you and us his

60 Interestingly enough, a later text from the same group as AM 521 c 4to calls the Saracens *Tíran(n)ar* 'tyrants', which may remind us of the description of Timur as a *tyranne* from *Oddverjaannáll*. See Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, 148. This may, however, be a mere coincidence.

61 AM 521 c 4to, f. 6v.

fierce anger and vengeance because your evil behaviour has roused his wrathful anger against us].⁶²

This passage notably uses *reiði* ‘anger’ on three occasions, once when Ambáles assures Tamerláus victory since God is angry at Bastíanus, and twice when Bastíanus’ own men interpret the sound of Tosti’s horn as revealing God’s wrath. In *Oddverjaannáll* Timur justifies his seemingly harsh behaviour by saying that he is not a man, but rather *Reidi Gudz* ‘God’s anger’. The text of *Ambáles saga* presented here seems to draw upon this famed comment, but makes it more acceptable and less arrogant: by placing the words in the mouths of Ambáles and Bastíanus’ men, Tamerláus seems not to be ‘blowing his own horn’, so to speak. Moreover, the idea that Tamerláus is a tool of God’s anger is more acceptable when placed in the context of his confronting the malevolent Bastíanus, rather than trampling olive-branch-bearing maidens.

The second of the two passages refers back to those olive branches and occurs when Bastíanus, having heard Tosti’s horn, puts together a group of men and sends them to investigate the army which has recently arrived in the vicinity of Constantinople:

kongur skipadj 30 mónnum til forvitnj, alla vel vopnada, þeirra foringi het Taliruz, honum treisti kongur vel vpp ä frödleik, frægd og fram göngu, og er hann kom so nær, ad hann sä her budir og merki Tamerlans kongs Skot honum skielk i bringu, tok nu oliu kuistu, og menn hanz sier i hendur, og ridu ad her voctrunum, var honum Rum gefit, kvad tulk ad finna, liet kongur Ambales honum mæta ad Andsuórum, Ambales spyr hann nafnz og erinds, enn hann sagdi sem var, Ambáles sagdi honum þu mätt segja herra þynum, ad kongur Tamerlan af scytia sie yfir hann komin[n] med sinn her, ad hefna svjvirðingar, og dóða sistur sinnar og annara þeira illsku verka, sem cristnum mónnum giortt hefur, og ä hann óngvan kost, lifs nie vægdar, og vogi hann sig ad veria, þä mä hann ozz mæta, nær buin þicist: Taleriuz sagdi ad lytt mundi hann ottazt skial þetta, og mundi hanz ei langt ad byda. Skilldu þeir talid⁶³

62 Compare the very similar passage in Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, 150. Also, the corresponding passages in *Ambáles rímur*, 204–05; Uecker, ed., *Der nordische Hamlet*, 156.

63 AM 521 c 4to, f. 6v.

[The king arranged for 30 men to satisfy his curiosity, all of them well-armed. Their leader was named Talirus. The king trusted him greatly on account of his wisdom, renown and valiant deeds. And when he got so close that he saw King Tamerláus' war-tents and standard, he was overcome with fear. Now he took an olive branch in his hands, and his men too and they rode up to the sentries. A space was made for him, and he said that an interpreter should be found. The king had Ambáles meet with him to answer his questions. Ambáles asks him his name and purpose, and he said what they were. Ambáles said to him: "You may tell your lord that King Tamerláus of Scythia has come upon him with his army to avenge the disgrace done to his sister and her death and the other evil deeds which he has done to Christian people. And there is no chance that he will live or receive mercy, and should he dare to defend himself, then he will have to meet us when the time seems right'. Talirus said that he would hardly be scared of such prattle and they would not have to wait long for him. Thus they ended their conversation.]

The fact that Talirus bears an olive branch (a white flag of sorts) to avoid facing a violent reception must surely bring to mind the olive branches which the maidens carried before being trampled to death upon Timur's orders. This is all the more the case since olive branches are few and far between in Old Norse literature: the Dictionary of Old Norse Prose lists only a handful of appearances of the word *ólifakvistr/ólifukvistr/olíuviðarkvistr* 'olive branch', all of which involve a messenger being sent to parley but otherwise have nothing distinctly in common with the description in *Ambáles saga*.⁶⁴ The point here, however, is that Tamerláus responds in a very different way to Timur as represented in *Oddverjaannáll*. Talirus is rude and condescending, but nevertheless is treated with dignity and provided with space and an interpreter. While Timur did not hesitate

64 Two occurrences are from the same passage in *Karlamagnús saga*. See C.R. Unger, ed., *Karlamagnus saga ok kappá hans: Fortællinger om Keiser Karl Magnus og hans Jævninger i norsk Bearbejdelse fra det trettende Aarhundrede* (Oslo (Christiania): H.J. Jensen, 1860), 334–35. Another two are from *Rémundar saga keisarasonar*. See Sven Grén Broberg, ed. *Rémundar saga keisarasonar*, STUAGNL 38 (Copenhagen: S.L. Møller, 1909–1912), 155, 323. The Dictionary of Old Norse Prose only covers the period up to 1550.

to slaughter even the epitome of innocence (maidens), even when they pled for mercy, Tamerláus here goes to lengths to be hospitable even to the haughtiest visitor. It is worth noting that the description of Talirus' visit to Tamerláus' camp and meeting with Ambáles is much more extensive in AM 521 c 4to than in either the *rímur* or the saga text as it appears in AM 521 b 4to. In the corresponding four verses of the *rímur* we read simply:

XI.46 Þaðan ríða þrjátíu lét
þengill strangur hljóðs á braut
með tundur randa, og Tólýrus hét,
sem treysti hann bezt í hvörri þraut.

47. Stóru dýri rekkurinn reið
rétt og hitti á plássið það,
sem herinn fyrir á brautum beið,
brjótar spjóta fundust að.

48. Fulla og alla fékk hann raun,
fróður varð af kominni þjóð,
að vondur mundi að vonum laun
vísir kjósa engin góð.

49. Aftur sneypstur hraðan heim
hann þá rann með téðan róm,
svörtum birti sjóla þeim
satt og rétt af hefndardóm.⁶⁵

[46. The stern lord had 30 men ride from there in the direction of the sound with the fire of shields [SWORDS], and Tólýrus (=Talirus) was the name of the one in whom he had most faith in any difficult moment.

47. The warrior rode a large beast directly until he found the place where the army waited upon the road before them, the breakers of spears came together.

65 *Ambáles rímur*, 205–06.

48. He fully and completely found out about and got knowledge of the people who had arrived, and that it seemed that the evil lord would not get to choose any good outcome.

49. He then raced quickly back to camp with the already-mentioned news, made known to that dark king truly and clearly the avenging judgement which awaited them.]

The corresponding passage in AM 521 b 4to's text of *Ambáles saga* reads thus:

Liet kongur giora so sende hann xxx manna þa sem best treistu sier Sa hiet Taulirus sem firer þeim var, hann sat a Góðumm reidhiortt og sem hann sa herbuder kongs Tamerlaus reid hann sem adrer sende menn ad hertioldumm og villd[e] vita huor þiod þetta være og sem hann fieck það ad uita og so lijka huor huor [sic] sa være sem hernum stjrde og það Tamerlaus kongur være kominn hefnda ad vitia bastinus konge firi Jll verk sijn reid Taulirus heim aptur og kunngjórdi allt þetta.⁶⁶

[The king thus did the following: he sent 30 of the men who trusted him most. Talirus was the name of the one who was their leader. He sat upon a fine steed, and when he saw King Tamerláus' war-tents, he and the other men rode up to those tents and wanted to know who those people were, and when he found that out, as well as who it was that was in charge of the army, and that King Tamerláus had come there to take revenge upon King Bastíanus for his evil deeds, Talirus rode back again and made this all known.]

The *rímur* thus mention that Tólyrus/Talirus was sent out to do reconnaissance and succeeded in his mission, acquiring the relevant information and returning, although without any dialogue mentioned. The text of the saga in AM 521 b 4to tells pretty much the same story, and while it is possible that Taulirus/Talirus got his information through actually conversing with members of the camp (it is said, after all, that he rides up to the tents), it is by no means certain and he might have simply gotten close enough

⁶⁶ Uecker, ed., *Der nordische Hamlet*, 156–57. I have slightly adapted Uecker's text, removing the repetitions which occur there due to inclusion of catchwords.

to eavesdrop and spy. It is only in AM 521 c 4to that Talirus is received into the camp and has an actual conversation with Ambáles as the camp's representative. Likewise, it is only in AM 521 c 4to that an olive-branch is mentioned.

The aim here has not been to determine the relationship between the different texts of *Ambáles saga* and *Ambáles rímur*. Nevertheless, if the text in AM 521 c 4to is dependent upon the *rímur* or the other prose text, then the scribe has clearly made significant additions.⁶⁷ Alternatively, if the text in AM 521 c 4to stands before the other versions in the textual tradition, then it has retained a number of interesting details which have been lost in the later versions. In either case, source material has been made use of, but preexisting scholarship on *Ambáles rímur* and *Ambáles saga* provide little help in identifying it. That is because most preexisting work has focused on a comment in the *mansöngur* [approx. poetic introduction] to one of the fitts of the *rímur* which reads 'Að sönnu téðan sagna þátt / sá eg títt að vana; / í þýzku máli eg hef átt / áður forðum hana' [In truth I was in the habit of looking at the account in question. Earlier on, I had it in the German language].⁶⁸ Based on this comment it has often been suspected that *Ambáles rímur* (and thus by extension *Ambáles saga*) build upon a German source. Since it is specifically the more traditionally Amlethus/Hamlet features which have interested scholars, speculation about the German source has focused on the epitome of Saxo previously attributed to Thomas Gheysmer which was published in Low German in 1485.⁶⁹ That work could certainly have influenced the sections of the saga which correspond more closely to material found in the *Gesta Danorum*, but there is no known source, German or otherwise, which mixes material about Amlethus with material about Timur. It may be that such a composite source exists but is as yet unidentified, but it seems more likely that the Icelandic authors responsible for the *rímur* or sagas are also responsible for joining these two traditions together in literary form. Accepting this

67 In favour of this interpretation are the details in AM 521 c 4to which seem to be errors but where a more correct form appears in AM 521 b 4to and the *rímur*. For example, in the first passage quoted above Bastíanus is said to be besieging Constantinople with 4,000 men, a not particularly impressive troop, as compared to the more hyperbolically impressive 400,000 men in the other two versions.

68 *Ambáles rímur*, 225.

69 See Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, 260–73, for both the Latin and Low German texts.

latter hypothesis, it is still hard to say where the information on Timur comes from, since the treatment is so idiosyncratic that much of it may be original. Nevertheless, as I have hoped to show in the discussion above, those creative choices seem to be responding to and consciously subverting traditions about Timur such as those which we see in *Oddverjaannáll*. With such a wealth of sources on Timur which could have been used (as we saw above), it would be risky to claim any direct connection between *Oddverjaannáll* and *Ambáles rímur* and *Ambáles saga* (especially the form the text takes in AM 521 c 4to), but nor can such a connection be ruled out, and by putting these texts side by side our reading of the latter two is certainly enriched.

The question still remains as to why in this version of Amlethus' story the British king is swapped out for Timur and, moreover, why Timur is rehabilitated. There are a number of possible answers to the first question, not the least likely of which is that Britain was simply deemed too pedestrian. Many sagas written in the post-medieval period revel in the use of exotic locations and characters, and Tamerláus of Scythia may simply have been more captivating to Icelandic audiences. In answering the second question, it is fair to say that the demonising of a Turkish ruler and consequent elevation of Timur fits neatly with the political imagination of late-seventeenth-century Icelanders. The North African pirates who raided coastal locations around Iceland in 1627 were generally called *Tyrkir* (hence the attacks were called *Tyrkjaránið*).⁷⁰ North Africa was under Ottoman rule, and thus an Ottoman leader could be seen as an enemy. An Icelandic scribe with knowledge that an Ottoman leader had been defeated and humiliated in battle by Timur could well choose to make literary use of the latter figure and, although not Christian, present him as a tool of God. Þorsteinn Helgason has described how Icelanders in the seventeenth century made use of writing as a kind of collective therapy for dealing with the trauma of the *Tyrkjarán*.⁷¹ In such a context it seems reasonable that Timur could be rehabilitated for Icelandic audiences. After all, common wisdom has it that the enemy of one's enemy is one's friend.

70 For several contemporary sources on the Turkish Abductions see Jón Þorkelsson, *Tyrkjaránið á Íslandi, 1627*, Sögurit 4 (Reykjavík: Prentsmiðjan Gutenberg, 1906).

71 Þorsteinn Helgason, "Historical Narrative as Collective Therapy: The Case of the Turkish Raid in Iceland," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 22 (1997): 275.

This said, we should not imagine that Timur is being exonerated of all his savagery, especially since the battle which follows ends with Tamerláus defeating Bastíanus and then imprisoning him and torturing him mercilessly. But it seems clear that a more ambiguous picture of Timur emerges, one which does not deny his brutality but balances it out with his respect for the rules of fair combat and both justifies his actions (as vengeance for his sister's rape and defense of Christian people) and contextualises them (being less serious than the brutality carried out by Bastíanus Ottomanus). Tamerláus is not a Christian king, as Ambáles ends up being, and so he is not at the top of the hierarchy laid out in the saga, but nor is he at the bottom with the heathen Ottoman king, Bastíanus.

To summarise, this article has shown that *Oddverjaannáll* most likely makes use of Sebastian Franck's *Chronica, Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibell* or a work derived from it in the section which describes Timur. A number of other entries around the year 1400 seem likewise to make use of a source stemming from Franck's writings. Moreover, the writers of *Ambáles saga* and *Ambáles rímur* seem to have had access to a source similar to the description in *Oddverjaannáll* and consciously adapted it to present a version of Timur (Tamerláus) who is more heroic than the original tyrant. Thus we see Icelandic writers of the sixteenth century working with new and unexpected mainland European historiographical texts and Icelandic writers of the seventeenth century reworking annal material for changing times and audiences. And these modifications mean that Timur, in his new incarnation, really does represent the 'Wrath of God'.

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S U M M A R Y

Keywords: annals, post-Reformation sagas, *rimur*, Hamlet, Saxo Grammaticus, representations of the East, Ottomans, Tamburlaine

Timur was a renowned Central Asian conqueror who fascinated Early Modern writers, and this article takes up the question of the source of the description of him found in *Oddverjaannáll*. Robert Cook, in an article from 1985, suggested several possible candidates. These are analysed and a new candidate is proposed, that being Sebastian Franck's *Chronica, Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibell* (1531). Following this, an example is given of how such historiographical material came to be used in saga- and *rimur*-literature of the seventeenth century, namely in *Ambáles saga* and *Ambáles rimur*. These works adapt the well-known story of Hamlet, but

have him sent to Timur (Tamerláus) instead of to the King of Britain. An analysis is made of how the representation of Timur in these works (in particular in the witness AM 521 c 4to) functions as a kind of vindication of the earlier gruesome accounts of Timur the tyrant. Moreover, an attempt is made to explain how such a vindication would have been welcome in an Iceland reeling from the recent *Tyrkjarán*.

ÁGRIP

Timur, 'Reidi Gudz': Óþekkt heimild *Oddverjaannáls* og endurmat á harðstjóra í *Ambáles sögu* og *Ambáles rímum*

Lykilorð: annálar, sögur eftir siðaskipti, *rímur*, Hamlet, Saxo Grammaticus, lýsingar á Austurlöndum, Ottómanar, Tamburlaine

Timur hét sigursæll konungur í Asíu sem fræðimenn á árnýöld voru áhugasamir um. Honum er lýst í *Oddverjaannáli* og í þessari grein er grennslast fyrir um það hvaða heimild liggja að baki þeim fróðleik sem þar má finna. Áður hafði Robert Cook bent á nokkra möguleika í grein sem birtist 1985. Þær heimildir sem hann nefnir hef ég athugað en engin þeirra er nán hliðstæða textans í annálnum. Ég legg í staðinn til að heimildin sé *Chronica* eftir Sebastian Franck sem prentuð var 1531 en þar koma fram öll lykiltríðin í lýsingu *Oddverjaannáls*. Ýmislegt fleira í annálnum gæti verið af sömu rót runnið.

Í seinni hluta greinarinnar fjalla ég um það hvernig fróðleikur um Timur hefur verið nýttur í *Ambáles sögu* og *Ambáles rímum*. Þessi verk segja söguna um Amlóða eða Hamlet en hér er það ekki Bretakonungur sem aðalpersónan sækir heim heldur Timur eða Tamerláus. Ég fjalla um þá mynd sem birtist af Timur í þessum heimildum, einkum *Ambáles sögu* í AM 521 c 4to. Sjá má að myndin af Timur er hér geðþekkari en í eldri ritum og hann birtist ekki aðeins sem blóðþyrstur harðstjóri. Nú vissu menn að Timur hafði barist gegn Tyrkjum og má geta þess til að eftir Tyrkjaránið hafi íslenskum höfundum legið heldur betra orð til allra andstæðinga Tyrkja.

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LEIV OLSEN

OF/UM-PARTIKKELEN SOM DATERINGSKRITERIUM FOR EDDAKVADA

I DENNE ARTIKKELEN argumenterer eg for at bruken av *of/um*-partikkelen, også kalla «fyllord», «ekspletiv partikkel», er det beste kriteriet for å anslå alderen på eddakvada. Det var ein tanke Hans Kuhn var inne på i 1929,¹ og som *Bjarne Fidjestøl* undersøkte nærmare.² Korleis det kan gjerast, prøver eg å visa i denne artikkelen. Eg ser òg på andre gamle språktrekk i eddakvada og viser at det er nokså godt samsvar mellom dateringane bruken av *of/um*-partikkelen antyder og dateringar andre språktrekk antyder. Artikkelen bygger på masteroppgåva «Alderen til eddakvada i *Codex Regius*. Spesielt om *of/um*-partikkelen som dateringskriterium».³

Innleiing

Problemet: kan me finna dateringskriterium forskarane kan semjast om?

Så lenge det har vore forska på eddakvada, har det stått strid om alderen. «Trass i eit omfattande forskingsarbeid for å datere eddadikt og for å finne kriterium for datering er problemet langt frå løyst,» skriv Else Mundal i *Handbok i norrøn filologi*.⁴

På 1800-talet var det lenge vanleg å sjå eddakvada som kulturarv frå fellesgermansk fortid, dikta i tidsrommet ca. 400–900, dei originale kvada var eldre enn midten av 800-talet.⁵ Sophus Bugge og Edvin Jessen snudde

1 Hans Kuhn, *Das Füllwort of-um im Altwestnordischen. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der germanischen Präfixe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929).

2 Bjarne Fidjestøl, «Ekspletivpartikkelen som dateringskriterium: Forsøk i filologisk statistikk», *Festskrift til Finn Hødnebo* 29. desember 1989 (Oslo: Novus, 1989), 46–64; Bjarne Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, red. Odd-Einar Haugen (København: Reitzel, 1999).

3 Leiv Olsen, *Alderen til eddakvada i Codex Regius. Spesielt om of/um-partikkelen som dateringskriterium*, masteroppgåve i norrønt, Universitetet i Bergen (2019).

4 Else Mundal, «Edda- og skaldediktning», *Handbok i norrøn filologi*, red. Odd Einar Haugen (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2013), 366.

5 Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 4f; Rudolf Keyser, *Nordmændenes Videnskabelighed og Literatur i Middelalderen* (Christiania: Malling, 1866), 269.

opp-ned på desse førestillingane og hevda at *ingen* av «de til os bevarede» kvada var eldre enn 800-talet.⁶ Seinare har det vore meir og meir vanleg å datera eddakvada, eller store delar av denne diktinga, til kristen mellomalder; «the tendency of recent time is to propose ever later dates».⁷ Det mest autoritative verket i dag er sjubandsverket *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, red. von See et al.; dei argumenterer for å datera dei fleste kvada til kristen tid, og då særleg til 1100- og 1200-talet.⁸ Også desse dateringane er omstridde, innvendingar er reiste blant anna av Bernt Øyvind Thorvaldsen og Haukur Þorgeirsson.⁹ Særleg Haukur argumenterer for at eddakvada må vera eldre.

Problemet har vore å finna kriterium ein kan semjast om. *Gabriel Turville-Petre* skreiv: «... in general it must be admitted that critics fall back on subjective arguments in dating the mythological lays».¹⁰ Ein har prøvd ut eit stort tal kriterium, forskarar har blant anna sett på språk og stil i eddakvada og sett om kvada inneheld lån av ulike slag, utan at det har avslutta debatten.

Kuhn nemnde i doktoravhandlinga si i 1929 at bruken av *of/um* som såkalla *Füllwort* (fyllord, ekspletiv partikkel) kanskje kunne nyttast som dateringskriterium, men fann ikkje ut korleis. Fidjestøl gjennomførte ein detaljert studie av bruken, spesielt i skaldekvad, og konkluderte at sjølv om bruken av «den ekspletive partikkelen» *of/um* viste ein tydeleg fallande tendens over tid, varierte bruken frå skald til skald så mykje at partikkelen

6 Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 5; Sophus Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, (Christiania: Cammermeyer, 1881–1889), 7.

7 Joseph Harris, «Eddic Poetry», *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature. A Critical Guide*, red. Carol Clover og John Lindow (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 93f.

8 *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda* (7 bd.), red. Klaus von See, Beatrice La Farge, Eve Picard, Katja Schulz og Matthias Teichert (Heidelberg: Winter, 1997–2019).

9 Bernt Øyvind Thorvaldsen, «Om Prymskviða, tekstlån og tradisjon», *Maal og Minne* (2008): 142–166; Bernt Øyvind Thorvaldsen, «The Dating of Eddic Poetry», *A Handbook to Eddic Poetry. Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*, red. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn og Brittany Schorn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 72–91; Haukur Þorgeirsson, «Late Placement of the Finite Verb in Old Norse *Formyrðislag* Meter», *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 24 (2012): 233–269; Haukur Þorgeirsson, «The Dating of Eddic Poetry – Evidence from Alliteration. *Approaches to Nordic and Germanic Poetry*, red. Kristján Árnason et al. (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2016), 33–61.

10 Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion of the North: The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), 13.

ikkje kunne nyttast til å datera enkeltkvad.¹¹ Fidjestøl drøfta ikkje korfor det var så store utslag frå skald til skald når tendensen over tid var eintydig; eg vil visa at materialet hans inneheld opplysningar Fidjestøl ikkje ser ut til å ha vore merksam på. Om me samanliknar informasjonen dette gir med kva andre språktrekk antyder, får me eit interessant bilde som seier mykje om kvadas alder.

Eg vil fyrst gjera greie for tidlegare forskning på *of/um*-partikkelen og drøfta kva funksjon eller meininginnhald partikkelen kan ha hatt. Deretter vil eg ta opp korleis partikkelen er brukt i skaldekvad og drøfta føresetnadene for å bruka det materialet til også å datera eddakvada. Ut frå dette vil eg anslå dateringar for eddakvada, for deretter å jamføra desse anslaga med dateringar me kan utleia frå andre gamle språktrekk i kvada. Ei så omfattande undersøking gir grunnlag for å vurdere kor eigna *of/um*-partikkelen er som dateringskriterium.

Tidlegare studium av of/um-partikkelen

Norrønt *of* 'over; om, omkring' og *um* 'over; om, omkring' er preposisjonar (opphavlege adverb?) som i alle fall sidan urnordisk tid også kunne nyttast som trykksvak forstaving. I eldre norrøn tid blei denne trykksvake forstavinga uttala *of*, på 1200-talet *um*. Me må skilja mellom preposisjonane *of*, *um*, adverbet *um(b)*, *of* som forsterkande, trykksterk forstaving (t.d. *of-drykkja* 'drikka for mykje') og *of/um* som (rest etter) trykksvak forstaving, sjølv om dette ikkje alltid er enkelt. Det eg undersøker i denne artikkelen, er *of/um* som *rest etter trykksvak forstaving*, til vanleg kalla *Füllwort*, *füllord*, *ekspletiv partikkel*. Eg vil heller kalla den *of/um-partikkelen*, og vil seinare forklara korfor.

Ingerid Dal påviste at *of/um*-partikkelen kunne ha dei same verkna-dene som trykksvake forstavingar i andre germanske språk, noko også Kuhn hadde vore inne på ved fleire høve i avhandlinga si, som blant anna perfektiv funksjon (ingressiv og resultativ), inkoativ, gjera eit intransitivt verb transitivt, og ha emfatisk eller syntaktisk funksjon.¹² Eg har ei systematisk oversikt i 2. vedlegg i masteroppgåva mi (2. vedlegg, s. 79–89).

11 Fidjestøl, «Ekspletivpartikkelen...», 58; Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 217.

12 Ingerid Dal, *Ursprung und Verwendung der altnordischen «Expletivpartikel» of, um* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1930); Kuhn, *Das Füllwort*. Desse to doktoravhandlingane er dei grunnleggande verka om *of/um*-partikkelen.

Alle tilfella der *of/um*-partikkelen er nytta i eddakvada i *Codex Regius av den eldre Edda*,¹³ er lista opp i det 2. vedlegget til masteroppgåva mi (sjå litteraturlista).

Det har vore mange studiar av partikkelen. To doktoravhandlingar som begge blei leverte i 1929, dei nemnde av Kuhn og Dal, er grunnleggande.¹⁴ Andre viktige arbeid er levert av Dal (i *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*), Hallfrid Christiansen, Bjarne Fidjestøl, Kari Ellen Gade og Klaus Johan Myrvoll.¹⁵ Dei har forska både på *kva meiningsinnhald* (om noko) partikkelen hadde og *korleis den blei brukt*. I meir enn hundre år har forskarane vore samde om at partikkelen var ein rest etter trykksvake forstavingar; slike forstavingar fanst i urnordisk så vel som i andre gamle germanske språk, og er enno vanlege i vestgermanske språk i dag (som i tysk *geboren*, engelsk *become*). Det er mest semje om *korleis* partikkelen blei brukt, det er ikkje semje om partikkelen var reint fyllord eller enno hadde eit meiningsinnhald i norrøn tid.

Kuhn og Dal studerte både eddakvad, skaldekvad og prosa, og drøfta ut frå dette bruken av partikkelen generelt. Christiansen følgde opp denne diskusjonen. Fidjestøl studerte bruken av partikkelen i eddakvad. For å testa om partikkelen kunne nyttast til å datera dei, slik Kuhn hadde foreslått, kartla han bruken av partikkelen i skaldekvad som kan daterast med nokolunde visse. Resultatet var negativt. Han nytta også bruken av partikkelen i eddakvad til å anslå kva for ei *rangering* av alderen på kvada som hadde mest for seg. Gade og Myrvoll studerte bruken av partikkelen i skaldekvad, frå 800-talet til 1200-talet, og kartla korleis bruken endra seg over tid.

Partikkelen er mest brukt i kvad. Kuhn hevda den utelukkande blei brukt i kvad,¹⁶ Dal at den blei brukt både i kvad og i prosa, og på same vis

13 Heretter bare kalla 'Codex Regius'.

14 Står det ikkje anna, viser eg med 'Kuhn' og 'Dal' til doktoravhandlingane deira frå 1929–1930.

15 Ingerid Dal, «Zur Geschichte der schwachtonigen Präfixe im Nordischen», *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 4 (1930): 179–210; Hallfrid Christiansen, «De germanske uaksentuerte prefikser i nordisk», *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* 19 (1960): 340–382; Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*; Kari Ellen Gade, «The Dating and Attributions of Verses in the Skald Sagas», *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 27 (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2001), 50–74; Klaus Johan Myrvoll, *Kronologi i skaldekvæde* (Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo, 2014).

16 Kuhn, *Das Füllwort*, 2.

i begge høve. I kvad stod partikkelen alltid i trykklett posisjon, og utelukande føre substantiv, adjektiv eller verb. Kuhn viste at føre substantiv og adjektiv stod partikkelen, med eitt mulig unntak, alltid føre ord som hadde trykksvak forstaving i eldre germansk.¹⁷ Unntaket er vendinga *ofsvangan* i ei lausavisa av Einarr Skúlason frå 1100-talet, men andre forskarar meiner at der er *of* preposisjon.¹⁸ Føre substantiv viste han at partikkelen står føre ord med sositativt eller kollektivt innhald eller verbalabstrakt, aldri føre trestavingsord, samansette ord eller attributt. Føre verb står den føre infinitiv, presens, preteritum og perfektum partisipp, men aldri føre imperativ, presens partisipp eller trestavingsord og sjeldan føre verb med etterhengd nektingsledd.¹⁹ Partikkelen kan òg vera brukt i verb som, etter det me veit, ikkje hadde trykksvak forstaving i eldre germansk (det er ikkje lett å vita kva verb som ikkje hadde slik forstaving).²⁰ *Of/um* er også brukt i prosa, Kuhn og Dal trekte fram meir enn hundre døme. Kuhn meinte dette var noko anna, noko han kalla *potensial of*, mens Dal meinte bruken av *of/um* i prosa ikkje skilde seg frå bruken av det forskarane hadde kalla «ekspletiv partikkel» i kvad. Dal sette nemninga «ekspletiv partikkel» i hermeteikn.

Dei fleste forskarane meiner som Kuhn at *of/um*-partikkelen i norrønt var redusert til eit reint fyllord utan meningsinnhald, eit ord som bare blei nytta til å ta vare på rytmikken i kvad. Når Dal var usamd, og meinte at partikkelen enno hadde eit visst meningsinnhald, var det blant anna fordi den, etter hennar mening, blei brukt både i prosa og kvad, og på same måte i begge høve. Ho viste òg at i dei fleste tilfella kan det sjå ut som partikkelen forsyner følgjeordet med same mening som trykksvake forstavingar gav følgjeorda i eldre germansk. I andre tilfelle ser det ut som *of/um*-partikkelen har syntaktisk funksjon; også det samsvarar med bruken av trykksvak forstaving i eldre germansk. Christiansen var usamd med henne, då same ord blei brukt både med og utan *of/um* føre utan at ein kan påvisa nokon meningsforskjell.²¹ Det viste, etter hennar mening, at *of/um* var tømd for meningsinnhald i norrønt.

17 Same stad, 25f, 32.

18 Same stad, 32; Einarr Skúlason, Lausavisur, red. Kari Ellen Gade, *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 2*, Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 571f.

19 Kuhn, *Das Füllwort*, 32 (om substantiv og adjektiv), 42, 44 (om verb).

20 Same stad, 43.

21 Christiansen, «De germanske uaksentuerte prefikser i nordisk», 346f.

Funksjonen til *of/um*-partikkelen: fyllord eller meningsberande?

Skal me nytta partikkelen til datering, er det ein fordel å finna ut kva funksjon den hadde. Var den i bruk i daglegtalet, hadde den enno eit meningsinnhald i norrøn tid, eller var den bare eit dikterisk verkemiddel som skaldar kunne nytta etter behov for å fylla ut trykklette stavingar i verselinja?

Fyllord?

Dersom *of/um*-partikkelen blei nytta som fyllord, utan anna hensikt enn å ta vare på rytikken i kvad, må me venta at (1) plasseringa var tilfeldig, utan anna avgrensing enn at den alltid blei nytta i trykklette stavingar, (2) utelukkande eller så å seia utelukkande blei nytta der det var nødvendig å fylla ut ei trykklett staving, (3) aldri eller så å seia aldri blei nytta i prosa, som ikkje treng slik utfylling, og (4) at verknaden alltid var at rytikken blei bevart.

Ingen hevdar at plasseringa var heilt tilfeldig. *Of/um* blei utelukkande nytta føre visse substantiv eller adjektiv eller føre verb, aldri elles, og bare føre substantiv, adjektiv eller verb under bestemte omstende. Forventning (1) kan me sjå bort frå.

Kuhn peika på at *of/um*-partikkelen også blei nytta i fleire tilfelle der verselinja ikkje mangla trykklette stavingar.²² Då fekk verselinja ei ekstra trykklett staving den ikkje trong. Når partikkelen blei nytta i slike høve, må den ha hatt ein annan funksjon enn å vera rytmefyll. Me kan sjå bort frå forventning (2).

Stemmer det at «fyllordet» aldri blei brukt i prosa, at det Kuhn kalla *potensial of* var noko anna? «Fyllordet» var ein rest etter ei forstaving som markerte perfektiv funksjon, men i norrøn prosa er *of/um* ofte nytta om potensielle tilfelle. Det som bare er potensielt, har enno ikkje hendt og kan følgjeleg ikkje vera perfektivt (fullført). Kuhn skjelna derfor mellom *of/um* som fyllord og det han kalla *potensial of*.²³ Han medgav at det ofte er vanskeleg å skilja dei frå kvarandre i praksis.

²² Kuhn, *Das Füllwort*, 45f.

²³ Same stad, 104.

Blant prosadøma Dal trekte fram, er også ei rekke omtalar av fullførte, fortidige hendingar der modus er indikativ. Her vil eg trekka fram enkelte av eksempla Dal nemnde.

Ingjaldr på Keldur rir vekk frá staden der Flosi har brent Njál og familien inne, men støyter på Flosi og flokken hans. No står det om livet for Ingjaldr:

«mér þykkir þú við vant um kominn»²⁴

«For meg ser det ut som du har hamna i alvorlege vanskar» (mi omsetting); *um* markerer korleis situasjonen er endra og framhevar Alvoret (perfektiv og emfatisk funksjon).

Homilieboka fortalde om då Heilaganda kom over apostlane på den fyrste pinsedagen:

«en hver þið þóttesk sína tungu skilia, þót hann mælte á eina; þá þóttosc þeir of skilia, hvé mikill guðs kraftr fylgðe mále hans»²⁵

‘Skilia’ er fyrst brukt durativt, ‘oppfatta’; *offøre* ‘skilia’ andre gongen verbet blei nytta, markerte «eine plötzlich entstehende und bedeutsam empfundene Einsicht».²⁶ Partikkelen har her punktuell og emfatisk funksjon.

Eit døme frå legendane om heilage kvinner og menn:

«auglióst es, at Benedictus vissi leynda hluti guðs, es hann of leit, at klerkrinn vas diðfolóðr»²⁷

Offøre ‘leit’ framhevar at Benedictus kunne sjå det som var skjult for andre, det som elles bare Gud kunne sjå, og har dermed perfektiv funksjon og samtidig emfatisk: dette var mirakuløst.

Desse eksempla gjeld faktisk gjennomførte handlingar, det som er omtala, skjedde, og blei gjennomført, og det er omtala i indikativ. Dal har fleire døme der *of/um*-partikkelen er brukt i prosa om fullførte fortidige hendingar i indikativ modus.²⁸

24 Dal, *Ursprung und Verwendung*, 29.

25 Same stad, 52f.

26 Same stad, 53.

27 Same stad, 53.

28 Dal, *Ursprung und Verwendung*, 35–62 (gjekk igjennom både fullførte hendingar omtala i indikativ og potensiale utsagn).

Elles kan alle germanske språk nytta perfektiv partisipp i konjunktiv, som i tysk: *Er hätte es getan können*. Då er handlinga bare *tenkt* gjennomført, utan at det hindrar bruken av forstaving som markerer perfektiv funksjon.

Når det er mange tilfelle der *of* og *um* er nytta i prosa som forstaving føre verb der fullførte handlingar er omtala i indikativ modus, og der verk-naden er perfektiv, emfatisk eller punktuell, og når det heller ikkje er noko hinder for å nytta perfektiv forstaving også i potensial modus, må konklusjonen bli at me ikkje kan skilja mellom bruken av *of/um*-partikkelen i kvad og prosa. Me må sjå bort frå forventning (3).

Stemmer det at *of/um*-partikkelen alltid bevarte rytmikken? Eit godt døme på det motsette er korleis partikkelen er brukt i *Vaǫfrúðnismál*. Kvadet har ei vending som blir gjentatt ei rekke gonger, med bare små variasjonar: *hvaðan jǫrð um kom* (20:4), *hvaðan dagr um kom* (24:4), *hvaðan vetr um kom* (26:4), *hvaðan vindr um kǫmr* (36:4), *hvaðan Njǫrðr um kom* (38:4) — men også *hvaðan máni um kom* (22:4). I det siste tilfellet blir rytmikken *endra* av det innsette 'um'. Dersom poenget var å ta vare på rytmikken, skulle linja vore *hvaðan máni kom* — så korfor står eit førestilt *um* også i denne linja? Hensikta kan *ikkje* ha vore å ta vare på rytmikken. Ingen stader i kvadet blir vendinga *hvaðan... um kom* nytta utan det førestilte 'um'. Det ser ut som denne forstavinga var så nødvendig at den ikkje kunne droppast, heller ikkje når den endra rytmikken.

Eit vel så viktig spørsmål er: *kva for ein rytme* skulle partikkelen ta vare på, når me veit at talet trykklette stavingar varierte stort i eddakvada, utan at det skapte problem for versemålet? I dei verselinjene der *of/um*-partikkelen er nytta i eddakvada i *Codex Regius*, dei har alle to trykkktunge stavingar, varierer talet trykklette stavingar frå éi (*lær um getr*, *Háv.* 58:5)²⁹ til átte (*ok verðr þá þinu fjǫrvi um farit*, *Ls.* 57:6) og jamvel ni (*eða hefði honum Suttungr of sóit*; *Háv.* 109:7; *en þat of hyggi hverr ósviðra apa*; *Grm.* 34:3). Sjølv om me heller bør telja *morae* enn stavingar, er det klart at éi trykklett staving frå eller til ikkje kan ha skapt problem. Forventning (4) kan me sjå bort frå.

29 Andre døme: *margt um dvelr* (*Háv.* 59:4); *þær um vindr* (*Sd.* 13:4); *þær um vefr* (*Sd.* 13:5); *þær of réð* (*Sd.* 14:4); *þær of reist* (*Sd.* 14:5); *vindr of lék* (*Gðr.* I 7:4); *ills um fyllð* (*Sg.* 8:2); *yðr um líkr* (*Sg.* 39:6); *mærr um lék* (*Hm.* 12:3).

Ingenting av det me må forventa, dersom *of/um*-partikkelen var reint rytmefull, stemmer. Funksjonen må ha vore ein annan.

Hadde of/um-partikkelen eit meiningsinnhald enno i norrøn tid?

Når *of/um*-partikkelen er brukt i eit stort tal tilfelle der den umulig kunne tena som rytmefull, må det vera andre grunnar til at partikkelen blei brukt. Me veit òg at partikkelen blei mest brukt av meisterskaldane, dei Snorri Sturluson framheva som førebilde då han skreiv *Snorra Edda*, læreboka i skaldskap (jf. oversikta over skaldane lenger nede, tabell 1). Korfor skulle meisterskaldane ty til fyllord i stort monn når langt meir ubetydelege skaldar klarte seg fint utan? — Sant nok blei *of/um* alltid brukt i trykklette stavingar, men det var jo fordi stavinga ikkje hadde trykk og følgjeleg *ikkje kunne* gis tyngd i verselinja.

Som Christiansen peika på var bruken av partikkelen ikkje konsekvent. Same følgjeord kunne stå med eller utan eit førestilt *of/um* utan at ein kan sjå det gav ei anna mening. Men det gjeld også forstavingar i andre germanske språk. «In allen germanischen Sprachen standen Wörter mit Präfix neben präfixlosen ohne merkbaren Bedeutungsunterschied». ³⁰ Det betyr ikkje at forstavinga hadde mista meiningsinnhaldet, men at det var underforstått. Me kan samanlikna med ordparet *gjennomsnitt/snitt*, som blir nytta om kvarandre i moderne norsk, utan meiningsforskjell, då det framgår av samanhengen om *snitt* blir brukt i tydinga 'gjennomsnitt' eller i ei anna tyding. Me kan òg samanlikna med subjunksjonane *om*, *at* og *når*, som i visse samanhengar kan droppast utan at det fører til misforståingar, då det framgår av samanhengen at subjunksjonen i slike tilfelle er underforstått. ³¹

Kuhn påviste at Bragi var konsekvent i bruken av *of/um*-partikkelen, noko som tyder på at den enno høyrde til talemålet på hans tid og enno fungerte som trykksvak forstaving, mens bruken var inkonsekvent hos alle skaldar etter hans tid. Det tolka han som at partikkelen forsvann frå talemålet etter midten av 800-talet, då Bragi levde, og seinare bare blei brukt som dikterisk verkemiddel i kvad. Men når me veit at partikkelen må ha blitt brukt av andre grunnar enn som rytmefull, er det ikkje så

³⁰ Kuhn, *Das Füllwort*, 99.

³¹ Lars Anders Kulbrandstad, *Språkets mønstre* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget 2012; 1. utg. 1993), 231; 233; Olsen, *Alderen til eddakvada*, 79f.

sikkert at den var forsvunne frå talemålet. Kanskje den inkonsekvente bruken av partikkelen tvert om *spempla* bruken i daglegtalet? Både Kuhn, Dal, Christiansen, Fidjestøl, Gade og Myrvoll har påvist at partikkelen blei brukt mindre og mindre over tid, at den så etter ei tid ikkje lenger blei brukt føre nomen og rundt 1300 forsvann heilt. Det stemmer godt med ei utvikling der partikkelen som forstaving gradvis kjendest mindre nødvendig i *talespråket* innntil den forsvann heilt. Som Kuhn sjølv peika på: forstavingar kan vera brukt inkonsekvent i alle germanske språk, slik at prefigerte og ikkje-prefigerte former kan nyttast side om side.

Me kan slå fast at *of/um*-partikkelen må ha hatt andre funksjonar enn bare å vera rytmeffyll, og at det er fullt mulig at den kan ha bevart noko av meiningsinnhaldet som eldre forstavingar hadde. Men om partikkelen faktisk *hadde* slikt innhald enno langt inn i norrøn tid, kan me bare finna ut ved å undersøka bruken i dei konkrete tilfella.

Bruken av of/um-partikkelen i eddakovada

Eg har undersøkt bruken av *of/um*-partikkelen ved kvart enkelt tilfelle i eddakovada i *Codex Regius*. Det er ikkje alltid sikkert om det har vore eit *of/um* i originalen eller ikkje, og om det i så fall er snakk om preposisjon, adverb, det forsterkande *of-* (som t.d. i *ofdrykkja*) eller «fyllordet», så me har ikkje eit eksakt tal, men kan rekna med at det er snakk om 220–230 døme totalt. Fidjestøl talde 223 døme, eg talde 225.³²

Føre substantiv og adjektiv er *of/um*-partikkelen i eddakovada nytta på same måte som trykksvake forstavingar i eldre germansk, det er forskarane samde om. Spørsmålet gjeld dei 213 tilfella der *of/um*-partikkelen er brukt føre verb (i nokre av desse tilfella kan partikkelen vera brukt syntaktisk).

Eg talde opp 79 tilfelle der partikkelen er brukt føre perfektum partisipp. Bruken er ikkje konsekvent, og det var den heller ikkje i eldre germansk. Ved fleire tilfelle der *of/um*-partikkelen blei brukt føre perfektum partisipp, ser me at partikkelen også kan ha hatt andre funksjonar som samsvarar med bruken av trykksvake forstavingar i eldre germansk, så tala for slike andre tilfelle kjem ikkje alltid i tillegg til dei 79 tilfella med perfektum partisipp.

32 Olsen, *Alderen til eddakovada*, 2. vedlegg.

I 8 tilfelle gir *of/um* verbet ei tyding ‘fylt heilt opp’, ‘fullført’, ‘fullstendig dekt’, ‘over alt’,³³ t.d. *ok hefir fjöld um farit* (Háv. 18:3); *ills um fylld* (Sg. 8:2); i 37 andre tilfelle markerer partikkelen ingressiv eller resultativ (perfektive funksjonar), t.d. *vígdrott ǫll um vakin* (Háv. 100:3); *ok ek drykk of gat* (Háv. 140:4); *hvaðan jörð um kom* (Vm. 20:4); i 15 andre tilfelle gir partikkelen verbet den spesielle perfektive tydinga ‘bli drepen, dø, bli gjort til inkjes’, t.d. *uppi, ertu, dvergr um dagaðr* (Alv. 35:6); *ok Fáfnir um farit* (Fm. 23:3); *eða sverð um beit* (HHv. 39:6). Ved alle desse tilfella blir *of/um* brukt på same måten som gotisk og vestgermansk *ga/ge/gi-*. Ved minst 2 andre tilfelle markerer partikkelen inkoativ (endra tilstand; *um saknaði*, Þrk. 1:4; *um sofnaði*, Vkv. 27:4). Dal peika på at dei fleste inkoative verb blei prefigerte i gotisk.³⁴ Ved 4 andre tilfelle fører bruken av partikkelen til at eit intransitivt verb blir transitivt (*Frigg um grét vá Valhallar*, Vsp 33:5-7; *mund um standa*, Vsp. 53:6; *ef mik nauðr um stendr*, Háv. 154:2; *því ek land um sték*, Ghv. 13:7); både i gotisk og vestgermansk var det vanleg å danna transitive verb ved å gi eit intransitivt verb ei trykksvak forstaving.³⁵ I 12 tilfelle ser det ut som partikkelen markerer at verbet er knytt til magi (t.d. vendingane i *Sd.* 13–14). Me veit ikkje om dette var vanleg bruk av trykksvake forstavingar i eldre germansk, men me har eksempel som ght. *bigelen* ‘verhexen’, og Dal peika på at det skjer påfallande regelmessig i eddakvada.³⁶ I tillegg fann eg 58 andre tilfelle der *of/um* står føre verb me veit var prefigerte i eldre germansk, med tydingar som svarar presist til dei aktuelle eldre germanske tilfella. For alt dette, sjå oversikta mi i 2. vedlegget til masteroppgåva mi.³⁷ Eg må dessutan nemna (*mærr*) *um lék* (Hm. 12:3); i masteroppgåva hadde eg inga forklaring på bruken i det tilfellet, men vendinga kan ha same tyding som got. *bi-láikan* ‘hána’.

Utanom desse lite omstridde tilfella fann eg 18 tilfelle der me har grunn til å *tru* at eldre germansk hadde prefigerte verb, 12 tilfelle der det førestilte *of/um* ifølgje Dal hadde emfatisk funksjon og 37 tilfelle der partikkelen ifølgje Dal er brukt syntaktisk. Det er ikkje opplagt at *of/um* då er brukt på

33 I masteroppgåva skriv eg ni tilfelle, men der kom eg i skade for å rekna det eine tilfellet (*Rm.* 2:3) to gonger.

34 Dal, *Ursprung und Verwendung*, 15.

35 Same stad, 13; 69; Christiansen, «De germanske uaksentuerte prefikser i nordisk», 341.

36 Jan de Vries, *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 153; Dal, *Ursprung und Verwendung*, 75, 82.

37 Olsen, *Alderen til eddakvada*, 2. vedlegg, 81–86.

same måte som dei trykksvake forstavingane i eldre germansk, men det er gode grunnar til å meina det. Sju tilfelle gjenstår, dei er verre å forklara:

fǫður um hefna (*Grp.* 9:2)

karl orð um kvað (*Hym.* 32:5)

alls fyrst um kvað (*Prk.* 2:2; 3:4; 9:10; 12:4; repetisjonar i same kvad blir ikkje talde)

alls fyrst um kvað (*Brot* 5:4)

orð viðr um kvað (*Sg.* 51:4)

alls fyrst um kvað (*Od.* 3:10)

flest orð of kvað (*Od.* 15:4)

Hefna har ein usikker og omdiskutert etymologi. Harald Bjorvand og Fredrik Lindemann skriv at verbet kan ha hatt prefiks i enkelte tydingar.³⁸ Eg dreg då den slutninga at *um* også i dette tilfelle kan stå i staden for ei eldre trykksvak forstaving; det er i det minste ei mulighet. Underleg er alle utsagna med *um-kvað*. *Kveða* er eit perfektivt verb som ikkje blei prefigert i andre germanske språk, med mindre det gjaldt tydingar som ‘legga til, setta saman’, ‘seia seg einige’, tydingar som slett ikkje passar dei aktuelle stadene i eddakvada. Samtidig er det noko merkeleg standardisert ved desse vendingane, som om dei var standardvendingar — og det var kanskje nett det dei var? Thorvaldsen har peika på at *ok hann þat orða / alls fyrst um kvað* fungerer som det han kallar ein taleformel, ei standardvending som varslar (førebur) overgang frå referat til direkte tale.³⁹ Ein slik overgang vil eg rekna som perfektiv funksjon (ingressiv). Nett slik fungerer vendinga i fem av dei seks døma lista opp over; bare verselinja *flest orð um kvað* (*Od.* 15:4) kan ikkje ha ein slik funksjon, då den kjem eit godt stykke inne i ein lang sekvens med direkte tale.

Eg kan oppsummera at ved det store fleirtalet av verselinjer der *of/um*-partikkelen er brukt i eddakvada i *Codex Regius*, svarar bruken godt til korleis trykksvake forstavingar blei brukt i eldre germansk. Partikkelen tilfører følgeordet tydingar som svarar godt til kjende tilfelle i eldre germansk. Eit mindre tal tilfelle er meir usikre og ved eitt tilfelle (*flest orð um kvað*, *Od.* 15:4) har eg inga god forklaring. Totalinntryket er etter mitt syn at *of/um*-partikkelen i eddakvada hadde same funksjonar, eller liknande

38 Harald Bjorvand og Fredrik Lindemann, *Våre arveord*, 3. utg. (Oslo: Novus, 2019), 501f.

39 Thorvaldsen, «Om Þrymskviða, tekstlån og tradisjon», 153f.

funksjonar, som trykksvake forstavingar i eldre germansk. Eg har ikkje bevist at det er sånn, men det er den beste forklaringa me har etter studiar så langt.

Konklusjon om meningsinnhaldet til partikkelen

Me kan ikkje forklara *of/um*-partikkelen som rytmevoll, den må ha vore nødvendig av andre grunnar, og då blir det misvisande å kalla den «fyllord», «ekspletiv partikkel». Kanskje den inkonsekvente partikkelbruken spegla bruken i daglegtalet? Viss det er tilfelle, blir den eit meir truverdig aldersmål enn viss den bare var eit dikterisk verkemiddel som skaldar vilkårlig tydde til. Det ser ut som partikkelen enno hadde bevart noko av funksjonen og innhaldet til dei eldre trykksvake forstavingane, sjølv om den i norrøn tid blei brukt inkonsekvent og gradvis forsvann ut av språket. Eg vel derfor å kalla partikkelen for *of/um*-partikkelen.

Korleis *of/um*-partikkelen kan nyttast til datering

Me har bevart ein rik norrøn litteratur frå 1200- og 1300-talet, men bare eit fåtal handskrift frå 1100-talet og ingen eldre enn det. Runeinnskrifter er ofte særskild kortfatta og omdiskuterte. Kvad er vår beste kjelde til talemålet i norrøn tid eldre enn 1200-talet, men kvad kan vera vanskelege å datera, dei kan ha blitt endra under overleveringa og dei var ein spesiell sjanger; kvar sjanger set sine særlege krav til språkføringa. Det som er vanleg språkbruk og ordforråd i sjangeren, treng ikkje vera like vanleg i daglegtalet. På den andre sida er skaldekvad ein sjanger som ligg eddakvada nær. I den grad desse to sjangrane skilde seg frå kvarandre i ordforråd, var det helst i kenningbruk og knapt i bruken av *of/um*-partikkelen. Spørsmålet er om det finst så klare trekk i *of/um*-bruken i skaldekvada at me kan bruka det til å datera eddakvada.

Kor godt kan ein rekna med at språket er bevart i kvada? Kvada blei overleverte munnleg, ofte i generasjonar, før dei blei skrivne ned. Språket kunne endrast under overleveringa, bli jenka etter det som til ei kvar tid var gjengs talemål. Men rimkrava var strenge, særleg i dei versemåla som er typiske for skaldekvada, og bidrog til å bevare kvada med bare små endringar. Endringane er truleg større i kvad dikta i eddaversemål, der rimkrava var færre, men også i dei versemåla verka rimkrava bevarande. Skaldeversemåla

regulerte både trykkunge og trykklette stavingar. Eddaversemåla regulerte bare dei trykkunge stavingane, då var nok trykklette stavingar meir utsette for slitasje.

Spegla språket i kvada samtidas språkbruk? Ikkje nødvendigvis. Visse ord blei langt oftare brukte i kvad enn i daglegtale, særleg ord som blei nytta i *heiti* og *kenningar*. Skaldar lånte vendingar frå eldre kvad og kunne få gamle språktrekk med på kjøpet. Det er òg hevda at enkelte skaldar medvite la an på arkaisk språk i visse kvad. Når versematerialet er omfattande nok, ser me likevel at endringar under overleveringa har ein tendens til å drukna i mengda. Eldre dikting skil seg tydeleg frå yngre; det ser ein av den nemnde undersøkinga til Fidjestøl og spesielt av Myrvolls omfattande undersøking av både språk og metrikk i si doktoravhandling. Eit viktig spørsmål er derfor *kor omfattande* materialet må vera for at me kan bruka det til dateringar.

Of/um-frekvensen i skaldekvada

Fidjestøl, Gade og Myrvoll har alle kartlagt bruken av *of/um*-partikkelen i skaldekvada. Fidjestøl undersøkte skaldekvad i perioden 800–1200, men bare kvad med minst 80 (kort)verslinjer, Gade undersøkte kvad, både lange og korte, i perioden 800–1300, men bare kvad i versemålet *dróttkvætt*, Myrvoll undersøkte kvad i versemåla *dróttkvætt*, *brynhent*, *kviðuhátt*, *fornyrdís*lag og *málahátt*, kvar for seg, i perioden 800–1300, stort sett bare kvad med minst 80 verselinjer. Dei gjorde med andre ord ulike utval, men det er stort samsvar mellom funna hos alle tre. Det tyder på at bak tala dei rekna seg fram til, ligg det eit mønster som speglar ordbruken i samfunnet.

I alle versemåla Myrvoll undersøkte, fann han den same tendensen: omfattande bruk av *of/um*-partikkelen på 800–900-talet, langt sjeldnare på 1100–1200-talet. Utslaga var litt kraftigare i enkelte versemål enn i andre. Forskjellane mellom versemåla er ikkje store og det bare er i *dróttkvætt* materialet er omfattande. Eg vel derfor å leggja saman tala hans for å få eit tydelegare bilde av utviklinga. Myrvoll undersøkte ikkje kvad i *ljóðahátt*. Eg kjenner bare til tre skaldekvad med fleire enn 80 overleverte linjer i det versemålet: *Hákonarmál*, *Heiðreks gátur* og *Sólarljóð*. *Hákonarmál* frå rundt 960 har 7 *of/um*-partiklar på 84 verselinjer i *ljóðahátt* (i 8,1 % av alle verselinjene), *Heiðreks gátur* av uviss alder har 3 partiklar på 159 verselinjer

(i 1,9 % av verselinjene), *Sólarljóð* frá seint 1100-tal eller 1200-talet har 4 partiklar på 498 verselinjer (i 0,8 % av verselinjene). Tendensen over tid ser ut til å vera den same som i andre versemål.

Eg bruker Myrvolls tal, som er mest identisk med Fidjestøls, då Myrvolls arbeid er det nyaste og då han, i motsetning til Fidjestøl, også har med skaldekvad frå 1200-talet. Myrvoll summerte bare versemåla kvar for seg.⁴⁰ Eg slår saman tala hans, tar bare med skaldar (eller anonyme kvad) med minst 80 verselinjer, og får då denne oversikta (tabell 1):

Tabell 1. *Of/um-partikkelen i skaldekvad frå 800- til 1200-talet*

Oversikta nemner den enkelte skalden, med samla tal bevarte kortverslinjer (tal i parentes for verselinjer i *dróttkvætt* – *hrynhent* – *kviðuhátt* – *fornyrðislag/málahátt*), deretter samla tal verselinjer med *of/um*-partikkel (tal i parentes for verselinjer med *of/um*-partikkel i *dróttkvætt* – *hrynhent* – *kviðuhátt* – *fornyrðislag/málahátt*), til slutt verselinjer med *of/um*-partikkel i prosent av alle verselinjer.

Skald	Bevarte vers ⁴¹	Of/um-part	% av alle vers
800-talet			
Bragi	128 (128-0-0-0)	8 (8-0-0-0)	6,3%
Þorbjörn Hornklofi	244 (72-0-0-172)	2 (1-0-0-1)	0,8%
900-talet			
Þjóðólfr ór Hvini ⁴²	529 (169-0-360-0)	41 (12-0-29-0)	7,8%
Egill Skallagrímsson	906 (376-0-390-140)	51 (16-0-23-12)	5,6%
Eyvindr skáldaspillir	344 (104-0-100-140)	14 (5-0-2-7)	4,1%
Holmgöngu-Bersi	104 (104-0-0-0)	2 (0-0-0-0)	1,9%
Víga-Glúmr	82 (82-0-0-0)	6 (6-0-0-0)	7,3%
Glúmr Geirason	100 (100-0-0-0)	4 (4-0-0-0)	4,0%
Gisli Súrsson	266 (266-0-0-0)	6 (6-0-0-0)	2,3%
Kormákr	530 (530-0-0-0)	19 (19-0-0-0)	3,6%

40 Myrvoll, *Kronologi i skaldekvæde*, 293–308.

41 Med 'vers' meiner eg kortlinjer.

42 Me veit ikkje om diktinga til Þjóðólfr skal leggst til andre halvdel av 800-talet eller til tidleg 900-tal. *Ynglingatal* blei dikta til Røgnvaldr heiðum-hárr, ein konge me ikkje veit når levde, *Haustlög* til Þórleifr spaki, som må ha levd på tidleg 900-tal. Eg reknar derfor Þjóðólfr til tidleg 900-tal.

Skald	Bevarte vers ⁴¹	Of/um-part	% av alle vers
Einarr skálaglamm	284 (284-0-0-0)	11 (11-0-0-0)	3,9%
Þórarinn máhliðingr	136 (136-0-0-0)	0	0%
Tindr Hallkelsson	96 (96-0-0-0)	1 (1-0-0-0)	1,0%
Eilífr Goðrúnarson	168 (168-0-0-0)	3 (3-0-0-0)	1,8%
Hallfreðr vandr.skáld	504 (504-0-0-0)	11 (11-0-0-0)	2,2%
1000-talet			
Hávarðr Ísfirðingr	108 (108-0-0-0)	0	0%
Þórðr Kolbeinsson	214 (214-0-0-0)	3 (3-0-0-0)	1,4%
Björn Hítðælakappi	174 (174-0-0-0)	1 (1-0-0-0)	0,6%
Gunnlaugr Ormstunga	100 (100-0-0-0)	0	0%
Sigvatr skáld	1158 (1158-0-0-0)	16 (16-0-0-0)	1,4%
Óláfr helgi	136 (136-0-0-0)	0	0%
Óttarr svarti	240 (240-0-0-0)	5 (5-0-0-0-0)	2,1%
Þórmóðr Kolbr.skáld	312 (312-0-0-0)	5 (5-0-0-0)	1,6%
Þórarinn loftunga	76 (0-0-76-0)	1 (0-0-1-0)	1,3%
Haraldr harðráði	113 (113-0-0-0)	1 (1-0-0-0)	0,9%
Arnórr jarlaskáld	576 (450-126-0-0)	6 (2-4-0-0)	1,0%
Þjóðólfr Arnórsson	595 (595-0-0-0)	5 (5-0-0-0)	0,8%
Þórleikr fagri	90 (90-0-0-0)	2 (2-0-0-0)	2,2%
Steinn Herdísarson	187 (187-0-0-0)	0	0%
1100-talet			
Markús Skeggjason	196 (0-196-0-0)	0	0%
Halldórr skvaldri	96 (96-0-0-0)	0	0%
Gísl Illugason	160 (0-0-0-160)	0	0%
Ívarr Ingimundarson	318 (0-0-0-318)	0	0%
Einarr Skúlason	889 (889-0-0-0)	6 (6-0-0-0)	0,7%
Rognvaldr jarl	260 (260-0-0-0)	0	0%
Gamli kanóki	536 (504-32-0-0)	7 (5-2-0-0)	1,3%
Placidusdrápa	451 (451-0-0-0)	0	0%
Nóregs konungatal	664 (0-0-664-0)	0	0%

Skald	Bevarte vers ⁴¹	Of/um-part	% av alle vers
Uviss alder, plaserte på 1100-talet			
Hallar-Steinn	298 (298-0-0-0)	3 (3-0-0-0)	1,0%
Haukr Valdísarson	210 (210-0-0-0)	2 (2-0-0-0)	1,0%
Óláfs drápa Tryggv.	219 (219-0-0-0)	4 (4-0-0-0)	1,8%
Leiðarvísan	344 (344-0-0-0)	0	0
1200-talet			
Bjarni byskup	324 (324-0-0-0)	4 (4-0-0-0)	1,2%
Grettis saga	418 (418-0-0-0)	0	0%
Sturla Þórðarson	504 (0-168-336-0)	4 (0-1-3-0)	0,8%
Sturlunga saga	802 (802-0-0-0)	1 (1-0-0-0)	0,1%
Njáls saga	372 (372-0-0-0)	1 (1-0-0-0)	0,3%
Líknarbraut	400 (400-0-0-0)	2 (2-0-0-0)	0,5%
Óláfr hvítaskáld	88 (0-88-0-0)	0	0%

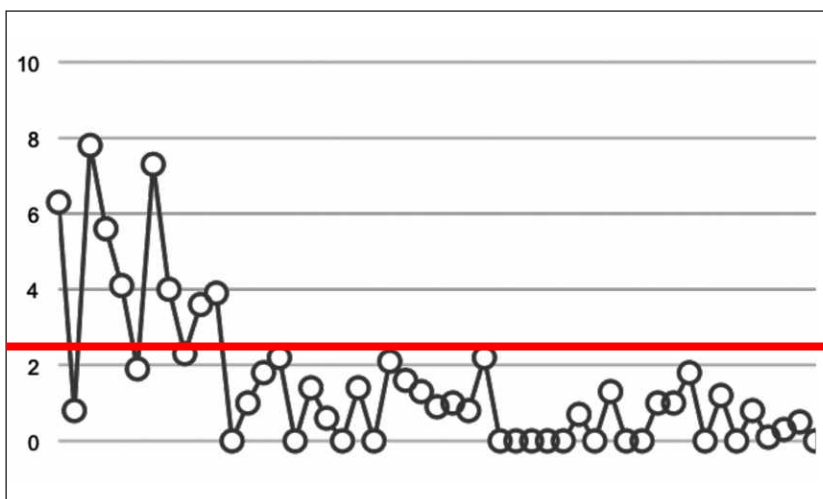
Repetisjonar i kvad (f.eks. i stef) blir ikkje talde. Set eg opp Myrvolls tal grafisk, får eg figur 1 (sjå neste side).

Kvar enkelt sirkel er ein skald. Den horisontale aksene er ein tidsakse, den vertikale aksene viser frekvensen av *of/um*-partikkelen, rekna som verselinje med *of/um*-partikkel i prosent av alle overleverte verselinjer av skalden. Repetisjonar i same kvad blir ikkje talde. Her ser me kor hyppig kvar enkelt skald nytta *of/um*-partikkelen. Me har t.d. 128 overleverte verselinjer etter Bragi (sirkelen lengst til venstre), 8 med *of/um*-partikkel, som gir $(8 : 128) \times 100 \% = 6,3 \%$.

Me ser eit tydeleg skilje før og etter 980-åra. Fram til 980-åra, det vil seia alle skaldar tilmed Einarr skálaglamm, brukte så å seia alle skaldar *of/um*-partikkelen i meir enn 2,5 % av alle (kort)verselinjer; sjå tabell 1. Bare tre skaldar (Þorbjörn Hornklofi, Holmgöngu-Bersi og Gísli Súrsson) hadde færre, bare Hornklofi hadde klart sjeldnare bruk av partikkelen. Etter 980-åra hadde *ingen* skald så hyppig bruk av partikkelen (jf tabell 1). Dei usikkert daterte skaldane som her er rekna til 1100-talet, rokkar ikkje ved dette.

Figur 1. *Of/um-partikkelen i skaldekvad*

Skaldar i kronologisk rekkefølge frå 800-talet til 1200-talet. Kurva viser verselinjer med *of/um*-partiklar i prosent av alle verselinjer frå den enkelte skalden. Kvar sirkel er ein skald, eit anonymt kvad eller ei islendingasaga med kvad. Øvre kant av den raude, vassrette streken går ved 2,5 %.



Eit anna skilje ser me rundt 1060. Etter 1060 var det få som brukte *of/um*-partikkelen i det heile tatt.

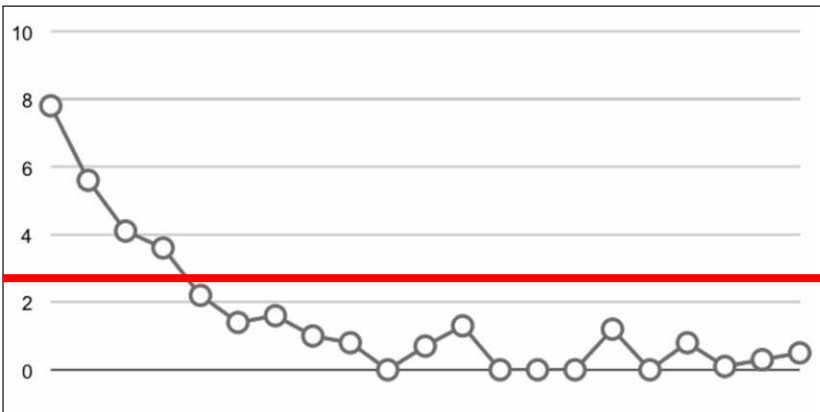
I korte tekstar vil me alltid få vilkårlege utslag. Kva skjer dersom me skjerpar kravet til ordmengd og bare tar med skaldar me har minst 300 overleverte verselinjer etter? Då får me figur 2 (sjå neste side).

Kurva fell jamt, med få unntak: Einarr Skúlason og Gamli kanóki skilde seg ut på 1100-talet, Bjarni byskup og Sturla Þórðarson på 1200-talet. Endå meir regelmessig blir kurva om me bare tar med skaldar me har bevart minst 500 verselinjer etter (figur 3) (sjå side 180). Då blir den religiøse diktinga til Gamli kanóki det einaste som bryt ei elles jamt fallande kurve.

Samlar me opp skaldar på heile hundreår (eg slår saman 800- og 900-talet, då me bare har to skaldar – Bragi og Hornklofi – me nokolunde sikkert kan datera til 800-talet), og bruker tala til Myrvoll, får me denne utviklinga:

Figur 2. Of/um-partiklar hos skaldar med minst 300 verselinjer

Skaldar i kronologisk rekkefølge frå 800-talet til 1200-talet, bare skaldar (isl.sagaer/anonyme kvad) med minst 300 overleverte verselinjer. Kurva viser verselinjer med of/um-partiklar i prosent av alle verselinjer frå den enkelte skalden. Kvar sirkel er ein skald, eit anonymt kvad eller ei islendingasaga med kvad, frå venstre mot høgre: Þjóðólfr, Egill, Eyvindr, Kormákr, Hallfreðr, Sigvatr, Þórmóðr Kolbrúnarskáld, Arnórr jarlaskáld, Þjóðólfr Arnórsson, Ívarr Ingimundarson, Einarr Skúlason, Gamli kanóki, *Placidusdrápa*, *Nóregs konungatal*, *Leiðarvísan*, Bjarni byskup, *Grettis saga*, Sturla Þórðarson, *Sturlungasaga*, *Njáls saga*, *Liknarbraut*. Øvre kant av den raude, vassrette streken går ved 2,5 %.

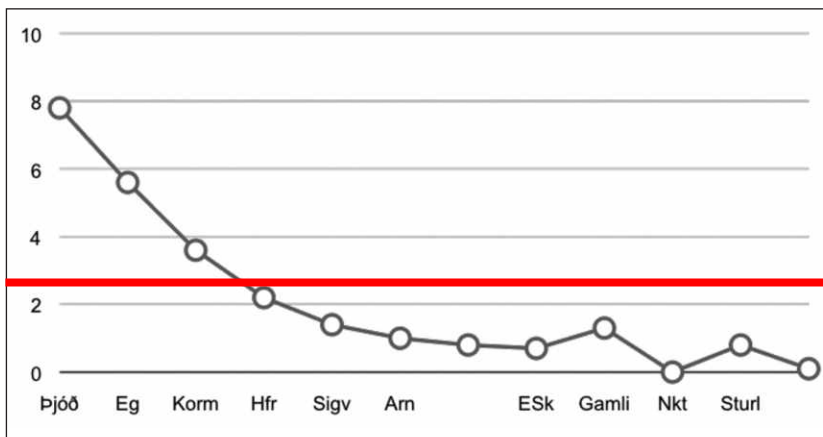


Hundreår	Of/um-part. pr. verselinjer	Prosent
800- og 900-talet	179 : 4421	4,0 %
1000-talet	45 : 4079	1,1 %
1100-talet	22 : 4641	0,5 %
1200-talet	12 : 2908	0,4 %

Til saman blir det 258 verselinjer der of/um-partikkelen er brukt av dei til saman 16 049 overleverte og undersøkte verselinjene. Det interessante er det markerte fallet, *meir enn halvering frå hundreår til hundreår*: frå 800–900-talet til 1000-talet fell prosenten til grovt rekna fjerdedelen, frå 1000-talet til 1100-talet til knapt halvparten.

Figur 3. *Of/um*-partikkelen hos skaldar med minst 500 verselinjer

Skaldar i kronologisk rekkefølge frå 800-talet til 1200-talet, bare skaldar, anonyme kvad eller islendingasaga med kvad som me har minst 500 verselinjer etter. Kvar sirkel er ein skald, anonymt kvad eller islendingasaga med kvad. Övre kant av den raude, vassrette streken går ved 2,5 %.

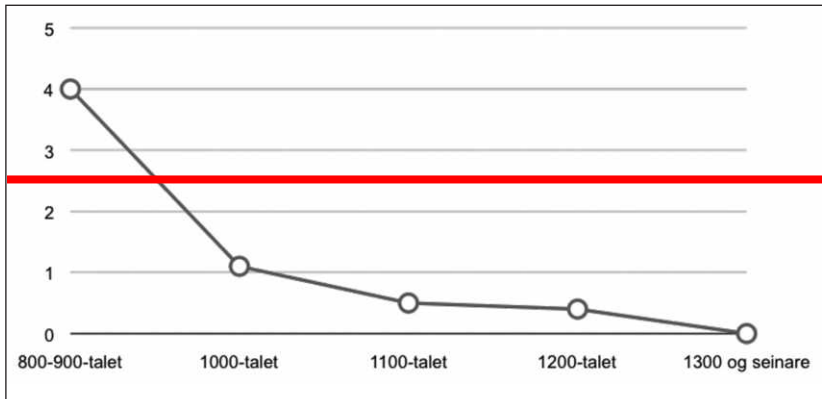


Samla tal overleverte verselinjer er høgt, og bortimot like mange i alle dei undersøkte hundreåra (4000–4641 i dei fyrste hundreåra, knapt 3000 i det siste hundreåret), så samanlikningsgrunnlaget er betryggande. Framstilt grafisk blir utviklinga som i figur 4 (sjå neste side).

Tala viser at variasjonane i den fyrste oversikta (figur 1), der alle skaldar med minst 80 overleverte verselinjer er med, i stor grad skuldast at ordmengda frå den enkelte skalden er begrensa. Tar me bare med skaldar med minst 300 overleverte verselinjer, ser me at kurva fell jamt, med bare få avvik, endå jamnare, mest utan avvik, når me bare tar med skaldar med minst 500 verselinjer, og kurva blir heilt regelmessig når me samlar opp skaldar på heile hundreår, det vil seia minst 3000 verselinjer. Dette tyder på at omfanget av *of/um*-partikkelen er eit godt dateringsmiddel om ordmengda er stor nok. Særleg interessant er dei to periodane med bratt fall: før og etter 980-åra, før og etter midten av 1000-talet. Frå den eldste perioden (800- og 900-talet) til den yngste perioden (1100- og 1200-talet) fell frekvensen frå 4,0 % til 0,4–0,5 %, det vil seia *til ein tiandedel!* Då bruker eg tala til Myrvoll.

Figur 4. *Of/um*-partikkelen hos alle skaldar i heile hundreår.

Of/um-partiklar hos alle skaldar, anonyme kvad eller islendingasagaer med kvad, samla i heile hundreår. Usikkert daterte kvad er rekna til hundreåret dei står oppførte på i tabell 1. Øvre den raude, vassrette streken går ved 2,5 %.



Tala til Fidjestøl er så å seia identiske med Myrvolls, mens Gade, som bare undersøkte kvad i *dróttkvætt*, får eit fall frå 4,3 % på 800-talet til 0,5–0,7 % på 1100–1200-talet.⁴³ Ein frekvens på rundt 4 % av alle verselinjer indikerer at om lag 1 % av alle orda i ein tilfeldig valt, større tekst var *of/um*, med andre ord: partikkelen må då ha vore mellom dei mest brukte orda i språket. Ein frekvens på tiandedelen indikerer at *of/um* hadde blitt eit uvanleg ord som sjeldan blei brukt. I alle tilfelle er fallet så markert at det knapt kan ha andre forklaringar enn at talespråket hadde endra seg. Det ser ut som partikkelbruken i kvada speglar eit underliggende mønster, som knapt kan vera noko anna enn bruken i daglegtalen.

Of/um-frekvensen i eddakvada

I eddakvada i *Codex Regius* er det 9442 verselinjer når me ikkje tel repetisjonar.⁴⁴ Eg talde 225 *of/um*-partiklar (mot Fidjestøls 223). Det gir eit snitt-tal på $(225 : 9442) \times 100 \% = 2,4 \%$ av alle verselinjene. Det er stor

43 Mine utrekningar bygde på Gade, «The Dating and Attributions», sjå Olsen, *Alderen til eddakvada*, 43.

44 Fidjestøl talde 9466 verselinjer, men det ser ut som han då rekna med Bugges restituerte versjon av *Völuspá*. Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 224. Eg tel 9442 verselinjer når eg reknar med verselinjene i *Codex Regius*-versjonen av *Völuspá* i staden.

forskjell på kor hyppig partikkelen er brukt i kvada, frå 6,9 % i *Þrymskviða* (*Þrk.*) til 0,4 % i *Atlamál* (*Am.*). Me ser at kvada fell i fleire grupper, med *Þrymskviða* for seg. Eg gjengir ei oversikt bygd på tala i tabell 10 hos Fidjestøl;⁴⁵ han delte *Hávamál* i tre kvad, kalla *Háv. I*, *Háv. II* og *Háv. III*, då det er vanleg meining at *Hávamál* ikkje er éitt verk, men fleire, eller eit verk som over tid fekk fleire tillegg. Andre kvad har tydeleg opning, oppbygning og avslutning, det har ikkje *Hávamál*. Forskarar har valt å dela inn kvadet på fleire måtar; Fidjestøl skreiv at inndelinga han valde, var «somewhat arbitrary» (1999:218). Eg følgjer Fidjestøl, og får då min tabell 2:

Tabell 2. *Of/um*-partikkelen i eddaskvada i *Codex Regius*

Kvad tal	Kortlinjer	of/um-partikkel	i % av kortlinjer	
Þrymskviða	218	15	6,9%	
Oddrúnargrátr	250	12	4,8%	
Vafþrúðnismál	274	12	4,4%	
Guðrúnarkviða I	201	8	4,0%	
Sigrdrífumál	255	10	3,9%	
Hávamál III	182	7	3,8%	
Hamðismál	218	8	3,7%	
Hávamál I	662	24	3,6%	153 part
Völuspá ⁴⁶	503	17	3,4%	4077 vers
Lokasenna	368	12	3,3%	gj. sn
Brot af Sigurðarkviðu	150	5	3,3%	3,8%
Grímnismál	336	10	3,0%	
Guðrúnarhvøt	174	5	2,9%	
Völundarkviða	286	8	2,8%	

45 Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 224.

46 Her má Fidjestøl ha talt verselinjer og «ekspletivpartiklar» i Bugges restituerde versjon av *Völuspá*. Eg tel 16 trykksvake forstavingra (*of/um*) på 480 kortlinjer i *Codex Regius*-versjonen, når alle gjentatte linjer bare blir rekna ein gong, men 17 trykksvake forstavingar på 502 verselinjer i Bugges restituerde versjon. Skilnaden i prosent er utan betydning: 3,3 % i *Codex Regius*-versjonen, 3,4 % i Bugges restituerde versjon.

Kvad tal	Kortlinjer	of/um-partikkel	i % av kort linjer	
Sigurðarkviða hin sk.	558	13	2,3%	
Alvissmál	174	4	2,3%	
Hymiskviða	304	7	2,3%	
Skírnismál	246	5	2,0%	
Helreið Brynhildar	108	2	1,9%	56 part
Reginismál	175	3	1,7%	3012 vers
Guðrúnarkviða II	350	6	1,7%	gj. sn
Atlakviða	351	6	1,7%	1,9%
Fáfnismál	269	4	1,5%	
Hávamál II	146	2	1,4%	
Guðrúnarkviða III	80	1	1,3%	
Hárbarðsljóð	251	3	1,2%	
HHv.	318	3	0,9%	14 part.
Gripisspá	418	3	0,7%	2377 vers
HH I	454	3	0,7%	gj. sn
HH II	426	2	0,5%	0,6%
Atlamál	761	3	0,4%	
	9466	223	2,4%	

Kvada samlar seg í klyngar. Desse klyngane kan ein gruppera på ulike vis, t.d. er avstanden i prosentpoeng like stor mellom *Brot* og *Grm.* som mellom *Hrbl.* og *HHv.*, men den *relative* avstanden er langt større mellom *Hrbl.* og *HHv.* Relativ avstand (avstand i prosent) mellom eit kvad A og kvad B reknar ein ut med formelen $(A - B) : A \times 100 \%$. Eg deler inn etter relative avstandar.

Dei prosentvis største spranga er:

– frå *Þrk.* til *Od.* (6,9 % – 4,8 %): $6,9 \% \times 100 \% = 30 \%$;

– frå *Vkv.* til *Sg.* (2,8 % – 2,3 %): $2,8 \% \times 100 \% = 18 \%$,

– frå *Hrbl.* til *HHv.* (1,2 % – 0,9 %): $1,2 \% \times 100 \% = 25 \%$.

Samlar me kvada i grupper, der ei gruppe må innehalda meir enn eitt kvad, gir dette tre grupper: kvada frå *Þrk.* til *Vkv.*, med frå 6,9 % til 2,8 % of/um-partiklar eller 3,8 % av alle verselinjene, i éi gruppe; kvada frå *Sg.* til

Hrbl., med frå 2,3 % til 1,2 % *of/um*-partiklar eller 1,9 % av alle verselinjene, i neste gruppe, og kvada frå *HHV.* til *Am.*, med frå 0,9 % til 0,4 % *of/um*-partiklar eller 0,6 % av alle verselinjene, i den tredje gruppa. Dette kan sjå ut som tre alderslag. Til saman i *Codex Regius* er det *of/um*-partiklar i 2,4 % av alle verselinjene.

Ved skaldekvada fann eg ein samanheng mellom alder og frekvens av *of/um*-partiklar ved kvad med meir enn 300 verselinjer, tydelegare ved fleire enn 500 verselinjer. Då bør *of/um*-partikkelen kunna nyttast som ein noko usikker indikator også ved eddakvad med meir enn 300 verselinjer, sikrare ved eddakvad med meir enn 500 verselinjer. Samanhengen var særst tydeleg i skaldekvada når ein samla dei opp på heile hundreår, meir enn 3000 verselinjer. I heile *Codex Regius* er det 9442 ikkje-repeterte verselinjer. Det tilseier at omfanget eg fann, *of/um*-partiklar i 2,4 % av alle verselinjene, bør reknast som eit sikkert aldersmål, men det gir bare ein *gjennomsnittleg* alder.

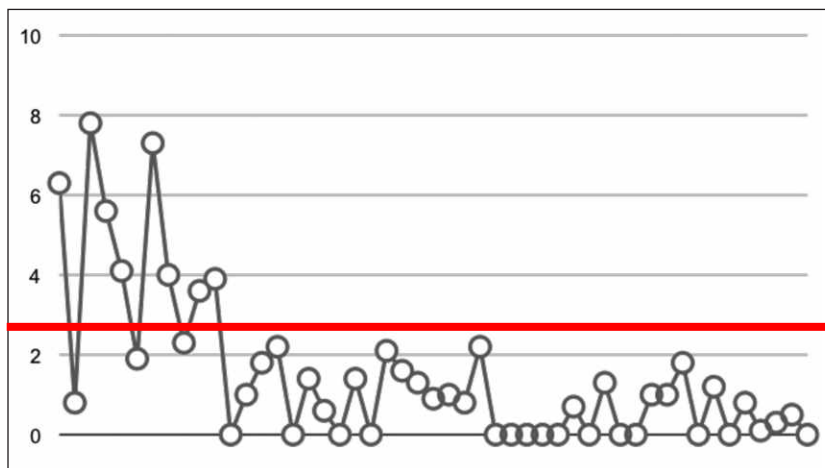
Om me samanliknar med bruken i skaldekvada (figur 1), og set inn ei raud vassrett linje for å markera gjennomsnittet for eddakvada i *Codex Regius*, får me figur 5 (sjå neste side).

Figuren viser at *den gjennomsnittlege bruken av of/um-partikkelen* ligg så høgt som *ingen* skaldar etter 980-åra (etter Einarr skálaglamm) nådde opp til (nærmast kjem Hallfreðr og Þorleikr fagri med 2,2 %). Bare skaldar på 800- og 900-talet brukte partikkelen så ofte som den er brukt i eddakvada. Det betyr ikkje at samtlege eddakvad må vera frå 800- og 900-talet, men indikerer at hovudmengda av dei er minst så gamle, og ikkje yngre. Dersom hovudmengda av eddakvada var frå 1000-talet eller yngre, er det underleg at dei skulle ha nytta *of/um*-partikkelen i så stort omfang.

Hávamál er særleg vanskeleg å datera, då kvadet kan ha blitt bygd ut litt etter litt over lang tid. Dei andre kvada har ei tydeleg opning, ei tydeleg oppbygning og ein tydeleg slutt, dei er i større grad heilskaplege kunstverk, sjølv om heller ikkje dei er overleverte utan endringar; strofer eller helmingar kan ha blitt lagt til eller falle frå, enkelte ord og verselinjer har truleg blitt endra. Reglane i versemålet (stavrim i kvar langlinje eller fullinje, to trykktinge stavingar i kvar kortlinje) har verka konserverande; etter mitt syn har det bidratt til at kvada bare har fått mindre endringar under overleveringa, slik at me kan snakka om originale kvad i munnleg form, kvart av dei skapt av éin kunstnar, overlevert munnleg gjennom noko

Figur 5. *Of/um-partikkelen i eddakvada*

Svart kurve: *of/um*-partiklar i skaldekvad, anonyme kvad eller islendingasagaer med kvad, plasserte frå venstre mot høgre i kronologisk rekkefølge, jf. fig. 1. Vassrett raud strek: gjennomsnittleg bruk av *of/um*-partiklar i Codex Regius (2,4 % av alle verselinjer).



tid til dei blei skrivne ned på 1200-talet. Kan omfanget av *of/um*-partiklar hjelpe oss til å datere desse kvada?

Utanom *Hávamál* har me tre kvad med rundt 500 verselinjer eller meir: *Völuspá*, *Sigurðarkviða in skamma* og *Atlamál*. Ved desse tre kvada bør me leggja stor vekt på alderen som *of/um*-partiklane antyder. I tillegg til dei har me ni andre kvad med meir enn 300 verselinjer. Der bør omfanget av *of/um*-partiklane kunna brukast som ein noko usikker indikator.

Alle kvada i det som ser ut som det yngste alderslaget (dei tre Helgekvada, *Gripisspá* og *Atlamál*), har meir enn 300 verselinjer. Det er eit tungt argument for å datere alle desse kvada til den tida då *of/um*-partikkelen bare blei brukt i 0,9–0,4 % av verselinjene, det vil seia til tida etter år 1000 (jamfør tabell 1).

Kvada i det som ser ut som eit mellomlag (kvada frå *Sigurðarkviða in skamma* til *Hárbarðsljóð*), 12 kvad der fire av dei har meir enn 300 verselinjer, har *of/um*-partiklar i frå 2,3 % til 1,2 % av versa, gjennomsnittleg 1,9 % av alle verselinjene. Det svarar til bruken av partikkelen hos skaldar etter Eyvind Skáldaspillir, men før midten av 1000-talet (sjå tabell 1), og antyder

dermed at desse eddakvada kan ha blitt dikta på 900-talet eller tidleg 1000-tal. Det er 3012 verselinjer til saman, så partikkelbruken bør gi eit påliteleg anslag for den gjennomsnittlege alderen. Enkelte kvad i gruppa kan likevel vera eldre eller yngre enn dette, særleg om det er korte kvad.

Kvada i det som ser ut som det eldste laget (frå *Þrymskviða* til *Völundarkviða*), 14 kvad der 4 har meir enn 300 verselinjer (men blant dei er *Hávamál*), har *of/um*-partiklar i frå 6,9 % til 2,8 % av verselinjene, med gjennomsnitt 3,8 %. Ingen skaldar etter 980-åra ligg i nærleiken av ein slik omfattande bruk av *of/um*-partikkelen, jamfør tabell 1, og det er snakk om heile 4077 verselinjer til saman, så partikkelbruken bør gi eit påliteleg overslag for alderen til gruppa som heilskap. Det er vondt å tru at nokon av desse kvada er frå tida etter 980-åra, dei kan heller vera langt eldre. Me veit ikkje kor omfattande partikkelbruken var før Bragis tid, så det er uråd, bare ut frå samanlikning med skaldekvada, å anslå noka tidsgrense bakover i tid. Foreløpig kan me seia at det ser ut som desse kvada neppe er yngre enn frå 800–900-talet. Di kortare kvada er, di meir usikre blir overslaga.

Då ser det ut som me kan samla eddakvada i tre grupper som kan date-rast til «ikkje yngre enn 800–900-talet», «900-talet eller tidleg 1000-tal» og «tida etter år 1000», og at eddakvada som gruppe, det vil seia storparten av kvada, ser ut til å vera eldre enn 980-åra. Me bør undersøka korleis dette stemmer med kva aldersoverslag studiar av andre språktrekk antyder.

Alder ifølgje *of/um*-partikkelen jamført med andre språktrekk

Det er gjennomført studiar av ei rekke andre språktrekk som alle kan gi antydningar om alderen på eddakvada. Eg har undersøkt om dei stadfestar eller motseier overslaga som *of/um*-partikkelen antyder, og har sett på følgjande fenomen: (1) såkalla *vinðandin forna* ('forelda språk'), det vil seia ord på innleiande *vr-* som fekk former på *r-* i yngre norrønt (yngre oldvestnordisk), t.d. *vreiðr* > *reiðr*; (2) hiatus (vokal-samanstøyt) i ord som fekk samantrekte former på 1100-talet, t.d. *séa* > *sjá*; (3) preposisjonane *fyr*, *ept* og *und*, som seinare blei til *fyrir*, *eptir* og *undir*; (4) enklitisk bruk av *ek* og *es*; (5) etterhengd artikkel; (6) verb plassert seint i setninga (brot på den såkalla V2-regelen); (7) bortfall av 'w/v' føre runda vokal; (8) overgang /w/ > /v/ og stavrim *v/vokal*; (9) språkgrensa mot urnordisk og i tillegg

(10) nektingsorda (*né; né + -at, -t, -a*; utsagn + *-at, -t, -a; eigi*). Alt er språkendingar som kan anslås innafor meir eller mindre klare tidsperiodar, og me finn spor av eldre språk i dei nedskrivne eddakvada. Det er uvisse om i kva grad me kan leggja vekt på det enkelte språktrekket, det kan vera uvisse om det faktisk kan påvisast gamalt språk i kvart omdiskuterte tilfelle, og i mange kvad er det ikkje brukt slike ord og vendingar at me kan seia noko om det aktuelle språktrekket. Bare ved *of/um*-partikkelen kan me seia noko sikkert om bruken i alle kvada.

Ved såkalla *vinđandin forna* bygger eg på studia til Fidjestøl og Haukur Þorgeirsson.⁴⁷ Sjå diskusjonen av desse, og av innvendingane til Sävborg, i masteroppgåva mi.⁴⁸ Eg meiner det opphavleg må ha vore stavrim *vr-/v-*, og dermed former på *vr-*, som t.d. *vrøngr, vreiðr*, i *Háv., Vm., Ls., Fm., Sd.* og *Akv.*, kanskje òg (men meir usikkert) i *Þrk.* av kvada i *Codex Regius*. Desse kvada bør då reknast som eldre enn rundt 1000. Dei same orda ser ut til å ha opphavlege stavrim *r-/r-*, og dermed former på *r-* (*røngr, reiðr*), i kvada *Grp.* og *Am.*, kanskje også (men meir usikkert) i *HHv.* og *HH. II*, noko som tyder på at desse kvada høyrer til eit yngre lag; yngre enn rundt 900 ifølgje Fidjestøl, yngre enn rundt 1000 ifølgje Haukur.⁴⁹ Her stør eg argumenta til Fidjestøl og Haukur.

Hiatus i ord som fekk samantrekte former på 1100-talet er studert av Fidjestøl, Gade og Myrvoll.⁵⁰ Skiftet i dei undersøkte orda var fullført rundt 1150.⁵¹ Kva form orda har hatt i dei originale kvada, må rekonstruerast ut frå versemål, noko som inneber uvisse, særleg i kvad i versemålet *ljóðabátt*, men det ser ut som former med hiatus var heilt dominerande. Fidjestøl fann eit fåtal samantrekte former, men tilmed *Grp.*, det einaste med meir enn eitt døme på samantrekte former, har flest former med hiatus.⁵² Etter mitt syn tyder det på at i det minste kvada som er dikta i andre

47 Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 231–245; Haukur Þorgeirsson, «The Dating of Eddic Poetry — Evidence from Alliteration», *Approaches to Nordic and Germanic Poetry* (red. Kristján Árnason et al., 2016), 33–61.

48 Daniel Sävborg, «Om eddadikternas ursprung och ålder. Gamla och nye tankar», *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 119, 83f; Olsen, *Alderen til eddakvada*, 27f.

49 Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 245; Haukur Þorgeirsson, «The Dating of Eddic Poetry», 46, 58.

50 Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 246–259; Gade, «The Dating and Attributions», 52f; Myrvoll, *Kronologi i skaldekvæde*, 309–328.

51 Myrvoll, *Kronologi i skaldekvæde*, 327f.

52 Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 253–259.

versemål enn *ljóðabáttr*, bør vera eldre enn skiftet, det vil seia: eldre enn midten av 1100-talet. *Hm.* var det einaste kvadet som bare hadde samantrekt form i dei aktuelle orda (men bare eitt einaste døme), seks andre kvad (fem i *Codex Regius*) hadde eitt eller høgst tre døme (*Gðr. I, Gðr. II, Akv., Fm., Grp.*). Kvad med samantrekte former kan høyra til dei yngste eddakovada, men sidan det er snakk om eitt eller høgst tre døme i kvart kvad, har desse døma lita tyngd.

Overgangen av preposisjonane *fyr, ept* og *und* til *fyrir, eptir* og *undir* er studert av Finnur Jónsson og Gade.⁵³ *Eptir* kom inn i danske og svenske runeinnskrifter frå slutten av 900-talet, i norske rundt 1000,⁵⁴ *fyrir* er brukt i skaldekvad frå 1000-talet, *undir* seinast frå 1100-talet. Dei eldre formene dominerer i eddakovada, tre eddakovad (*Grp., Sg. og Am.*) har 2–4 yngre former ved sida av dei eldre formene, men me kan ikkje utelukka at dei yngre formene har komme inn under overlevering eller nedskrivning. Ut frå dette bør alle eddakovada i *Codex Regius* reknast som eldre enn 1100-talet, med ei viss opning for at dei tre nemnde kvada kan høyra til ei overgangstid.

Enklitisk bruk av ek og es blei behandla av Finnur Jónsson. Han konkluderte at enklisen av *ek* var det alminnelege til langt inn på 1100-talet, så tok det slutt.⁵⁵ Enklitisk bruk av *es* ser ut til å ha tatt slutt tidlegare. I *Codex Regius* er det enklitisk bruk av *ek* «i så at sige alle digtene», bare to kvad (*Vsp. og Rm.*) har ikkje enklitisk *ek*, men dei har begge enklitisk *es*.⁵⁶ Konklusjonen min blir at knapt noko eddakovad i *Codex Regius* er yngre enn 1100-talet.

Den etterhengde artikkelen er behandla av Nygaard og Finnur Jónsson.⁵⁷ Eldste runeinnskrift med etterhengd artikkel er ei innskrift frå Gotland datert til slutten av 900-talet, frå rundt 1100 ser det ut til å ha blitt vanleg

53 Finnur Jónsson, «Nogle bemærkninger om behandlingen af sprog og form i eddadigtene», *Seks Afhandlinger om Eddadigtene*, (København: Gad, 1933), 46f; Gade, «The Dating and Attributions», 69.

54 Yngste norske runeinnskrift med *ept* er frå rundt 1030; Ingrid Sanness Johnsen, *Stutruner i vikingtidens innskrifter*, Universitetforlaget (Oslo 1968), 54.

55 Finnur Jónsson, «Nogle bemærkninger...», 39–46.

56 Finnur Jónsson, 41–43; sjå òg Olsen, *Alderen til eddakovada*, 30.

57 Marius Nygaard, *Eddasprogets Syntax*, Giertsen (Bergen 1865), 47f; Finnur Jónsson, *Det norsk-islandske Skjaldesprog omkr. 800–1300* (København: Møller, 1901), 79ff.

språkbruk.⁵⁸ Tre eddakvad (*Vsp.* 23:7, *Gðr.* II 23:6 og *Ghv.* 20:2) har kvart eitt tilfelle med etterhengd artikkel, men dei har truleg komme inn under overlevering eller nedskriving. Eitt einaste kvad, *Hrbl.*, har meir enn eitt tilfelle med etterhengd artikkel; i dette kvadet er det 19 tilfelle med etterhengd artikkel (mens eg tel 28 tilfelle utan). Finnur Jónsson meinte at også her har den etterhengde artikkelen komme inn under overlevering og nedskriving. Det kan ikkje utelukkast, men det relativt høge innslaget kan tolkast som teikn på at dette kvadet er dikta i ei overgangstid då etterhengd artikkel begynte å bli vanleg, det vil seia mellom seint 900-tal og tidleg 1100-tal. Me merker oss at *Hrbl.* heller ikkje har mange *of/um*-partiklar (sjå tabell 2). Dei andre eddakvada i *Codex Regius* bør då reknast som eldre enn 1100-talet.⁵⁹

Verb plassert seint i setninga er spesielt behandla av Kuhn og Haukur Þorgeirsson.⁶⁰ Kuhn skilde mellom bundne setningar (leddsetningar og heilsetningar som begynte på konjunksjon) og sjølvstendige setningar (heilsetningar som ikkje begynte på konjunksjon). Skaldekvad i versemålet *dróttkvætt* kan ha brot på V2-regelen (at verbet aldri står seinare enn i andre posisjon i setninga) i bundne setningar, men aldri i sjølvstendige setningar. Kvad i versemålet *fornyrðislag* kan bryta med V2-regelen også i sjølvstendige setningar. Kuhn meinte det skuldast vestgermanske lån og kalla kvad med slike brot for «Fremdstofflieder».⁶¹ Haukur påpeika at Kuhns «Fremdstofflieder» er ein hypotetisk storleik, dei antatte vestgermanske långivarane er aldri påviste, og når ein undersøker kvart enkelt kvad, viser det seg at det er store sprik mellom dei ulike antatte «Fremdstofflieder». Derimot er det klart samsvar mellom talet brot på V2-regelen i sjølvstendige setningar og frekvensen av *of/um*-partikkelen; han tolka det som at kvad med mange slike brot var spesielt gamle, og at setningsbygginga

58 Ingrid Sanness Johnsen *op.cit.*, s. 53; Elias Wessén, «Tjängvide, Alskogs sn. Nu i Statens Historiska Museum», *Gotlands runinskrifter*, granskade och tolkade av Sven B.F. Jansson och Elias Wessén, första delen, 11. band i serien *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Almqvist & Wiksell (Stockholm 1962), 195; Olsen, *Alderen til eddakvada*, 31.

59 Olsen, *Alderen til eddakvada*, 30f.

60 Hans Kuhn, «Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Altgermanischen», *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 57 (1933), 50–68; Haukur Þorgeirsson, «Late Placement of the Finite Verb in Old Norse *Fornyrðislag* Meter», *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 24 (2012), 233–269.

61 Kuhn, «Zur Wortstellung...», 61f.

med verbet langt bak i setninga også i sjølvstendige setningar var ein arv frå urnordisk, og frå urgermansk før den tid.⁶² Kurt Braunmüller har studert setningsbygging i eldre germansk, urnordisk og vestgermansk.⁶³ Braunmüller tolkar setningar med verb plassert seint i setninga som ein arv frå pregermansk som var på vikande front alt i urgermansk. I eldre vestgermansk var det vanleg i leddsetningar, men ikkje brukt i heilsetningar, mens runeinnskrifter i urnordisk har verb plassert seint i setninga i ca. 30 % av dei kjende tilfella. Eg konkluderer at det tyder på at verb plassert seint i sjølvstendige setningar knapt kan skuldast lån frå vestgermansk, der den setningstypen ser ut til å ha forsvunne, noko som gir støtte til Haukurs påstandar. Brot på V2-regelen, det vil seia: verbet er plassert seint i sjølvstendige setningar, bør oppfattast som eit arkaisk trekk. Kvad med få slike brot på V2-regelen (særleg *HHv*, *HHI*, *HHII*) kan ein anta er yngre enn kvad med spesielt mange slike brot (særleg *Brot*, *Vkv.*, *Gðr. I*, *Gðr. II*, *Þrk.*, *Vsp.*, *Ghv.*).⁶⁴

Stavrim v/vokal, bortfall av w/v før runda vokal: *Lokasenna* (*Ls.*) har stavrim der *orð* og *ulfr* rimar på ord på *v*- og eitt der *ulfr* rimar på vokal. Slike stavrim ville vera naturlege dersom kvadet var dikta før 'w/v' fall bort før runda vokal. Forskarane forklarar tilfella som medvitne arkaismar då dei ikkje har trudd at *Ls.* kunne vera så gammalt.⁶⁵ Runeinnskrifter tyder på at *w*- fall bort før runda vokal etter 600, fullført rundt 700.⁶⁶ Tilfella i *Ls.* kan like gjerne oppfattast som stavrim *v*-/vokal, noko me har mange døme på i eddakvada. *Winfred Lehmann* og *J.L. Dillard* har påvist slike døme i ni eddakvad (*Háv.*, *Vm.*, *Hrbl.*, *Ls.*, *Þrk.*, *HHv.*, *Sg.*, *Gðr. II* og *Od.*).⁶⁷ Stavrima

62 Haukur Þorgeirsson, «Late Placement...», 261, 264.

63 Kurt Braunmüller, *Syntaxtypologische Studien zum Germanischen*, (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1982); «The Ancient-Nordic linguistic system from a topological point of view. Phonology, graphemics, morphology, syntax and word order», *The Nordic Languages* 1, (2002), 649–656.

64 Olsen, *Alderen til eddakvada*, 32–35.

65 Erik Noreen, *Den norsk-isländska poesien*, Norstedt (Stockholm 1926), 70; von See et al. (red.), *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda* (2. bd.), *Götterlieder*. Skírnismál; Hábarðslióð; Hymiskviða; Lokasenna; Þrymskviða. (Heidelberg: Winter, 1997), 376.

66 Helge Sandøy, «The typological development of the Nordic languages I: Phonology», *The Nordic Languages* 2 (2005), 1852–1871; Ottar Grønvik, *Rune på Eggjasteinen. En bedensk gravinskrift fra slutten av 600-tallet*, (Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger, Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1985), 162f; *Fra Ågedal til Setre. Sentrale runeinnskrifter fra det 6. århundre*, (Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger, Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1987), 187.

67 Winfred Lehman & J.L. Dillard, *The Alliterations of the Edda* (Austin, 1954), 140–153; dei

kan vera autentiske også om kvada er langt yngre enn 600-talet dersom 'w/v' blei oppfatta som vokal. Finnur Jónsson konkluderte at slike stavrim var mulige, sjølv om dei er uhyre sjeldne i skaldekvada.⁶⁸ Slike stavrim ville etter mitt syn vera naturlege så lenge 'v' blei uttala vokalisk, som engelsk 'w', /w/. Når skjedde overgangen frå bilabial /w/ til labiodental /v/? Bo Ralph og Tomas Riad daterer den til slutten av «Common Old Nordic Period», truleg på 1000-talet.⁶⁹ Eg konkluderer at stavrim v/vokal var mulig i eldre norrøn tid. Samtidig er det påfallande at dei er relativt hyppige i eddakvada, men uhyre sjeldne i skaldekvada, noko som tyder på at eddakvada høyrer til ein eldre sjanger. Yngre enn rundt 1100 er dei neppe — det er i alle fall min konklusjon for dei ni skaldekvada med stavrim v/vokal.

Språkgrensa mot urnordisk er behandla av Bugge, Noreen og Fidjestøl.⁷⁰ Bugge hadde påvist at kvad i versemålet *ljóðaháttr* følgde ein spesiell regel, kalla Bugges regel, i fullverslinjene. Når han rekonstruerte kvada til urnordisk, ville eddakvada bryta med denne regelen. Det tolka han som at ingen av kvada var eldre enn overgangen frå urnordisk til norrønt. Noreen påviste at fleire kvad kunne rekonstruerast til urnordisk utan å bryta med Bugges regel, noko som gav grunn til å tru at enkelte av dei var eldre enn norrøn tid. Fidjestøl undersøkte dei same døma, avgrensa til tilfella der norrøn eller urnordisk form ville gi ulikt utslag for Bugges regel. Han konkluderte med at med nokre få mulige unntak blei Bugges funn bekrefta, og at avvika, kvada der urnordisk form ville gi få eller ingen brot på Bugges regel, var for få til at dei kunne gi positiv støtte til ei datering til urnordisk tid. Mot det vil eg innvenda at så lenge enkelte kvad faktisk *kan* førast

same døma finn ein også hos von See et al. *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda* 1997–2019; jf. Olsen, *Alderen til eddakvada*, 38.

- 68 Finnur Jónsson, *Norsk-islandske kultur- og sprogforhold i 9. og 10. årh. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser udg. af Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabers Selskab III, 2*, (København: Bianco Luno, 1920–1921), 253f.
- 69 Bo Ralph, «Phonological and graphemic developments from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic», *The Nordic Languages* (sjå d.) 1 (2002), 716; Tomas Riad, «Phonological and graphemic developments from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic», *The Nordic Languages* 1 (2002), 901.
- 70 Sophus Bugge, «Nogle bidrag til det norrøne sprogs og den norrøne digtnings historie, hentede fra verslæren», *Beretning om forhandlingerne på det første nordiske filologmøde i København den 18.–21. juli 1876*, red. Ludv. F.A. Wimmer (København, 1879), 140–146; Erik Noreen, «Eddastudier.» *Språkvetenskapliga sällskapets i Uppsala förhandlingar Jan. 1919–Dec. 1921*, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1921 (Uppsala 1921), 1–44; Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry*, 260–269.

tilbake til urnordisk utan brot på regelen, kan me ikkje avvisa *muligheten* for at dei er eldre enn norrøn tid. Om dei faktisk kan vera så gamle, må drøftast konkret for kvart enkelt kvad. Eg vil oppfatta få brot på Bugges regel som eit arkaisk trekk, slik at kvad i *ljóðahátt* med få slike brot (særleg *Háv.*, *Alv.*, *Vm.*, *Fm.*) ofte er eldre enn kvad med mange slike brot.

Samsvarar dei språklege kriteria?

Det er ikkje fullt samsvar mellom alle kriteria, noko som heller ikkje er å venta. Samsvaret er likevel stort. Dei fem kvada eg har rangert som det yngste laget ut frå omfanget av *of/um*-partikkelen, Helgekvada, *Grp.* og *Am.*, ser også ut til å ha låg alder ut frå dei andre kriteria, med unntak av at *Grp.* har eit middels tal brot på V2-regelen (og dei fleste kvada ser ut til å vera eldre enn 1100-talet). Inntrykket av at desse kvada er unge, blir bekrefta. Dei 13 kvada eg rangerer som det eldste laget ut frå omfanget av *of/um*-partikkelen, kvada frå *Þrk.* til *Vkv.* i tabell 2, ser stort sett ut til å vera av høg alder også ut frå andre kriterium. Unntaka er at *Od.* bare har middels tal brot på V2-regelen, *Hm.* har éi (einaste) samantrekt form der me ventar hiatus og *Sd.*, *Ls.* og *Grm.* har middels tal brot på Bugges regel. Bortsett frå *Od.* og *Grm.* blir alle dei 13 bekrefta som gamle av minst eitt kriterium i tillegg til *of/um*-partikkelen.

Dersom me deler alle dei 29 kvada i to store bolkar, 'antatt eldste' og 'antatt yngste', ut frå omfanget av *of/um*-partikkelen, får me dette resultatet: Av dei 15 antatt eldste eddakvada (f.o.m. *Þrk.* t.o.m. *Alv.*) er det bare to — *Hm.* og *Sg.* — som blir antyda som unge på noko anna kriterium, begge bare på eitt einaste kriterium. Av dei 14 antatt yngste eddakvada (f.o.m. *Hym.* t.o.m. *Am.*) er det bare to — *Gðr. II* og *Fm.* — som blir antyda som gamle på noko anna kriterium, begge bare på eitt einaste kriterium.

Dei kvada som får litt sprikande resultat, er ofte så korte at me ikkje kan leggja stor vekt på kriteria. Mønsteret blir bekrefta: me kan skilja mellom tre alderslag, og frekvensen av *of/um*-partiklar ser ut til å vera eit brukbart kriterium for å skilja mellom eldre og yngre kvad. Men spesielt ved kortare kvad skal me vera forsiktige med klare konklusjonar om alderen.

Haukur Þorgeirsson har rekna ut kor ofte ulike nektingsord er brukt i eddakvada, og samanlikna med omfanget (frekvensen) av *of/um*-partiklar. I dei 14 kvada som har høgast innslag av *of/um*-partiklar, er nektingsorda

ofte *né*, *né* + etterhengt *-at*, *-t*, *-a* eller bare etterhengt *-at*, *-t*, *-a*. I dei 15 kvada som har lågast innslag av *of/um*-partiklar, er *né* langt sjeldnare brukt mens *eigi* er hyppig, i tillegg til at nektinga ofte blir markert som etterhengt *-at*, *-t*, *-a* utan eit førestilt *né*. Då det førestilte *né* er antatt eldre og *eigi* (etterhengt *-gi*) antatt yngre, styrkar denne undersøkinga tiltrua til *of/um*-partikkelen som alderskriterium. Haukur presenterte dette på konferansen «Metodologi i mytologi», Bergen 31. oktober–1. november 2019. Eg trykker figurane med Haukurs løyve, sjå tabell 3 og 4 (side 192–193).

Når me ser at frekvensen av *of/um*-partikkelen i eddakvada fell i samsvar med skiftet i bruken av ulike nektingsord, eit skifte som har samanheng med alder, blir det endå eit argument for at frekvensen av *of/um*-partikelen i eddakvada seier noko om alderen på kvada. Når jamføring med alle andre gamle språktrekk også tyder på det same, blir det vanskeleg å finna andre forklaringar enn at frekvensen av *of/um*-partikkelen i dei overleverte eddakvada heng saman med alderen på kvada. Ordmateriale må sjølvstøtt vera så pass omfattande at me har grunnlag til å trekka slutningar bygd på frekvens. Eg meiner å ha påvist at me må ha minst 300 verselinjer, helst 500 verselinjer eller meir, for å bruka partikkelen som indikator, og at slutningar bygd på frekvens er heilt sikre når me har tusener av verselinjer.

Konklusjon

Of/um-partikkelen var ikkje fyllord, men ein rest etter trykksvake forstavingar som enno hadde eit meiningsinnhald i norrøn tid. Nemninga «ekspletiv partikkel», «fyllord», er derfor misvisande; partikkelen var ikkje eit reint dikterisk verkemiddel, det ser ut til at den høyrde til daglegtalen inntil den gradvis gjekk ut av bruk. Dersom det er tilfelle, og bruken speglar bruken i daglegtalen, blir den meir truverdig som aldersmål enn om den bare var eit dikterisk verkemiddel skaldar nytta vilkårleg.

Frekvensen av *of/um*-partikkelen er eit godt aldersmål dersom ordmengda er stor nok, og den er det beste dateringskriteriet me har, også fordi det kan nyttast, med større eller mindre atterhald, for samtlege eddakvad. Partikkelen kan nyttast som ein usikker indikator ved kvad på minst 300 kortverslinjer, ein sikrare indikator ved minst 500 kortvers, og eit særst godt aldersmål når me har meir enn 3000 kortvers (då er utvik-

Tabell 3. Omfang av of/um-partikkelen samanlikna med nektingsord; dei 14 eddakovada med høgast frekvens of/um-partiklar. Undersøkt av Haukur Þorgeirsson, gjengitt med hans løyve.

Kvad	Verselinjer	Partiklar	né	né + a/t	a/t	eigi
Prymskviða	218	15	0	0	1	1
Oddrúnargrátr	250	12	0	1	6	3
Vafþrúðnismál	274	12	1	0	3	0
Guðrúnarkviða I	201	8	0	0	2	0
Sigrdrífumál	255	10	1	0	8	1
Hamðismál	218	8	2	2	5	0
Völuspá	503	17	5	0	1	0
Brot af Sigurðarkviðu	150	5	0	0	4	0
Hávamál	990	33	6	0	36	2
Lokasenna	368	12	6	1	16	2
Grimnismál	336	10	0	1	2	0
Guðrúnarhvøt	174	5	0	0	4	1
Völundarkviða	286	8	0	0	8	1
Sigurðarkv. skamma	558	13	1	0	16	4
Til saman	4781	168	22	5	112	15

linga eintydig, jf. figur 5). Studiar av andre språklege trekk gir god støtte til dateringane som of/um-partikkelen antyder.

Kartlegginga har avdekt nokre tydelege skilje i bruken av partikkelen over tid. Det er eit markert fall i bruken etter 980-åra og eit nytt, markert fall etter midten av 1000-talet. Etter midten av 1000-talet er frekvensen ein tiandedel av det han var på 800–900-talet. Etter 1200-talet forsvinn partikkelen heilt.

Arbeidet mitt antyder at eddakovada kan delast inn i tre alderslag. Det yngste laget (dei tre Helge-kvada, *Grp.* og *Am.*) bør daterast til 1000-talet eller tidleg 1100-tal. Eit mellomlag kan vera dikta på 900-talet eller tidleg 1000-tal, mens det ser ut til at det eldste laget ikkje er yngre enn 800–900-talet, og kan vera endå eldre. Dateringane gjeld fyrst og fremst

Tabell 4. Omfang av of/um-partikkelen samanlikna med nektingsord; dei 15 eddakovada med lågast frekvens of/um-partiklar. Undersøkt av Haukur Þorgeirsson, gjengitt med hans løyve.

Kvad	Verselinjer	Partiklar	né	né + a/t	a/t	eigi
Hymiskviða	304	7	0	0	4	0
Alvíssmál	174	4	0	0	4	0
Skírnismál	246	5	1	0	4	0
Helreið Brynhildar	108	2	0	0	1	2
Reginismál	175	3	0	0	6	0
Guðrúnarkviða II	350	6	1	2	7	4
Atlakviða	351	6	0	1	6	0
Fáfnismál	269	4	1	1	8	1
Guðrúnarkviða III	80	1	0	0	3	0
Hárbarðsljóð	251	3	0	0	6	1
Helgakv. Hjørvarðss.	318	3	1	0	11	5
Grípisspá	428	3	1	0	7	5
H. Hundingsb. I	454	3	1	0	14	2
H. Hundingsb. II	426	2	0	0	13	4
Atlamál	761	3	0	3	32	6
Til saman	4685	55	5	7	116	27

alderslaga; som dateringar for enkeltkvad er dei sikrare for lange kvad og meir usikre for korte kvad.

Storparten av eddakovada ser ut til å vera eldre enn 1000-talet, frå før-kristen tid.

Forkortingar

Akv. *Atlakviða*

Alv. *Alvíssmál*

Am. *Atlamál*

Brot *Brot af Sigurðarkviðu*

f. og følgjande side

ff. og dei to følgjande sidene

Fm. *Fáfnismál*

Gðr. I *Guðrúnarkviða I*

Gðr. II *Guðrúnarkviða II*

Ghv. *Guðrúnarhvøt*

Grm. *Grímnismál*

Grp. *Grípisspá*

Háv.	Hávamál	Ls.	Lokasenna
HH. I	Helgakviða Hundingsbana I	Od.	Oddrúnargrátr
HH. II	Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	Rm.	Reginismál
HHv.	Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar	Sd.	Sigrdrífumál
Hm.	Hamðismál	Sg.	Sigurðarkviða in skamma
Hrbl.	Hárbarðsljóð	Þrk.	Þrymskviða
Hym.	Hymiskviða	Vkv.	Völundarkviða
jf.	jamfør	Vm.	Vafþrúðnismál
l.	linje	Vsp.	Völuspá

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ÁGRIP

Ögnin *of/um* sem aldursgreinandi einkenni í Eddukvæðum

Lykilorð: ögnin *of/um*; fylliorð; áherslulaus forskeyti; Eddukvæði; aldursgreining kvæða

Í greininni er leitast við að gera grein fyrir hlutverki og merkingu agnarinnar *of/um* í norrænu og enn fremur rannsakað hvaða gagn megi hafa af þessari ögn við aldurssetningu Eddukvæða, eins og Hans Kuhn lagði til 1929. Niðurstaðan er sú að ögn þessi sé ekki réttnefnt „fylliorð“, eins og margir fræðimenn hafa kallað hana, heldur sé hér um að ræða áherslulaust forskeyti sem ljær orðinu sem á eftir kemur nánari merkingu, eins og Ingerid Dal hélt fram 1929/30. Ögnin var sennilega notuð í talmáli á meðan norræna var töluð en sjaldnar eftir því sem leið á uns hún hvarf um 1300. Mesta breytingaskeiðið hefur verið frá lokum 10. aldar fram á miðja 11. öld. Tíðni *of/um* í dróttkvæðum frá 9. og 10. öld er tíföld á við það sem finnst í dróttkvæðum 12. og 13. aldar. Þetta er lykilatriði þegar hugað er að aldursgreiningu Eddukvæða.

Ögnin *of/um* nýttist fyrst og fremst þegar um verulegan efnivið er að ræða. Til að draga ályktanir um aldur er rétt að hafa um 300 vísuorð. Þegar um þúsundir vísuorða er að ræða stendur niðurstaðan mjög styrkum fótum. Aldursgreining á Eddukvæðum miðað við tíðni *of/um*-agnarinnar kemur vel heim við aldursgreiningu miðað við önnur málfræðileg einkenni. Þegar á allt er litið má segja að *of/um*-ögnin sé besta viðmiðið sem við höfum til að aldurssetja Eddukvæði.

SUMMARY

The *of/um* Particle as a Dating Criterion in the Eddic poems

Keywords: *of/um* particle; expletive particle; Eddic poems; dating of poetry

The author investigates the function and possible meanings of the *of/um* particle and how this particle can be used as a dating criterium for Eddic poems, as Hans Kuhn proposed in 1929. The author concludes that the *of/um* particle was not a filler word (“expletive particle”), as most philologists have assumed, but an unstressed prefix which supplied the following word with a specific meaning – as Ingerid Dal claimed in 1929/30. The particle was probably used in daily speech when Old Norse was spoken, but gradually fell out of use, and disappeared after the end of the 13th century. The most marked change occurred between the end of the 10th and the middle of the 11th centuries. The frequency of the *of/um*-particle in skaldic poems from the 9th and 10th centuries is 10 times the frequency in skaldic poems from the 12th and 13th centuries. This is important when dating Eddic poems.

The *of/um* particle can be used as a dating criterium only when the material for analysis is extensive. This requires at least 300 short verses to use the particle as an indication for age. It is a very sound criterium when the material includes thousands of short verses. Dating of Eddic poems based on the frequency of the *of/um* particle corresponds well with dating based on other linguistic criteria. All in all, dating based on the *of/um* particle is the best criterium we have for dating Eddic poems.

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GÍSLI SÚRSSON AS EGÐA ANDSPILLIR

An Obscure Kenning and its Implications for Tribal Identities in Tenth-Century Iceland

Introduction

GÍSLA SAGA SÚRSSONAR (thirteenth century) is famous for the tragic destiny of its main character, the Norwegian settler and outlaw Gísli Súrsson, a destiny that to some extent is predicted by the many dream stanzas Gísli utters in the saga. In one of these stanzas, Gísli refers to himself as *Egða andspillir* ‘confidant of the *Egðir*’, i.e. the people of the Norwegian region of Agder.¹ This kenning has puzzled skaldic scholars and editors of *Gísla saga*, and no satisfactory explanation has so far been proposed. In the present article, this kenning will be explained as a *við(r)kenning*, that is, a description in terms of a person’s attributes, which is based on factual knowledge about the person involved. I will evaluate the stanza as authentic, which implies that Gísli actually was the friend of people in Iceland in the tenth century who could be called *Egðir*. I will show who these *Egðir* most likely were, and the reasons why they could be regarded as such in Iceland in the tenth century – far away from their ancestors’ homeland Agder in Norway. This involves close reading of *Landnámabók*, which implies that these *Egðir* were related to people involved in the battle of Hafrsfjord (ca. 900).

There is a total of twenty stanzas that relate Gísli’s dreams, arranged in six sequences of three to four stanzas each, spread throughout his saga, coming at shorter intervals towards the end of the saga. The main function of the dreams is to presage the death of Gísli and to relate his expectations

1 *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* (= *Skj.*), ed. by Finnur Jónsson, 2 vols, A: *Tekst efter håndskrifterne*, B: *Rettet tekst* (København – Kristiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel / Nordisk Forlag, 1912–1915), vol. A 1, p. 104; B 1, p. 98; *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit VI (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1943), 71.

of the afterlife. Moreover, the dreams provide insight into the tormented mind of Gísli, and thus add a deeper psychological dimension to the saga.

The first of these dream sequences is placed within the saga narrative six years after Gísli is outlawed, in ch. 22 of the saga (following the edition in *Íslenzk fornrit*). After staying at home in Geirþjófsfjörður for three years and wandering around Iceland without finding any chieftain who will give him shelter, Gísli is now back in Geirþjófsfjörður at his wife Auðr's farm, where he has made two hiding places for himself. Þorkr, the brother of Þorgrímr whom Gísli killed and who is now married to Þórdís, Þorgrímr' widow and the sister of Gísli, has started to search for Gísli, and two men whom Þorkr has hired, Eyjolfr inn grái and Njósнар-Helgi, have been in Geirþjófsfjörður and looked for him. Gísli now clearly realizes that he is living on borrowed time, and at this point the saga introduces his bad dreams. The saga tells that one night, as he awakens from another bad dream, he explains to Auðr that there are two dream women ("ek á draumkonur tvær") who repeatedly come to visit him in his sleep. While one of the women is friendly, the other prophesies his downfall.² This concept of one good and one bad dream woman may be an invention of the saga author, and there is in fact nothing in the stanzas themselves to suggest the existence of two separate women.³ In one of his dreams, Gísli enters a hall where many of his relatives and friends are sitting and where seven fires are lit. The "good" dream woman tells him that the fires symbolize the remaining years of his life, and she advises him to abandon heathendom and to do good for the deaf, lame, poor and powerless. "Eigi var draumrinn lengri", Gísli ends his retelling of the dream, and the saga author adds: "Þá kvað Gísli visur nokkurar" and cites four stanzas in a row, without further comment.⁴

The four stanzas that make up this first poetical dream sequence are somewhat diverse from a formal perspective. Whereas in the first three

2 *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson, 70.

3 See further Klaus Johan Myrvoll, "The Authenticity of Gísli's Verse", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 119 (2020): 220–57, at p. 256. For recent discussions of Gísli's dreams and dream women, see P.S. Langeslag, "The Dream Women of *Gísla saga*", *Scandinavian Studies* 81 (2009): 47–72, and Christopher Crocker, "All I Do the Whole Night Through. On the Dreams of Gísli Súrsson", *Scandinavian Studies* 84 (2012): 143–62. None of them discuss, however, the possibility of merging the saga's two dream women into one.

4 *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson, 70–73.

stanzas (sts 16–18 in the saga), Gísli relates his dream, with some interference of direct speech by the dream woman, marked by “kvað [WOMAN]”, the last stanza (st. 19) is one long speech uttered by the dream woman. It is this last stanza that bears the clearest marks of Christian thought within the whole corpus of Gísli’s verse, and it is reasonable to regard this particular stanza as a later addition.⁵

An obscure kenning: *Egða andspillir*

It is the second stanza of this poetic dream sequence that will be the focal point in this article, because of a distinctive kenning in which Gísli refers to himself as *Egða andspillir* ‘confidant of the *Egðir*’, i.e. the people of the Norwegian district of Agder (ON *Agðir*). This kenning has puzzled skaldic scholars as well as editors of *Gísla saga*, and no satisfactory explanation has so far been proposed. The whole stanza runs as follows, with variants, prose order and translation:⁶

Hyggið at, kvað Egða
andspilli Vqr banda,
mildr, hvé margir eldar,
malmrunnr, í sal brunnu.
Svá átt, kvað Bil blæju,
bjargs ólifat marga,
veðrs Skjöldunga valdi,
vetr. Nú’s skammt til betra.

- 5 See Fredrik Paasche, “Estras aabenbaring og Pseudo-Cyprianus i norrøn litteratur”, *Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson den 29. maj 1928*, ed. by Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen *et al.* (København: Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, 1928), 199–205. Cf. Myrvoll, “The Authenticity of Gísli’s Verse”, 252.
- 6 The normalization of the stanza as well as the translation are my own, but I have been guided by Kari Ellen Gade’s forthcoming edition of Gísli’s poetry for *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages (SkP)*, ed. by Margaret Clunies Ross *et al.* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007–). Compare also *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, 71. The manuscripts are AM 556 a 4to (the M-version), dated to ca. 1475–1500; the S-version, probably from the mid-fourteenth century, now lost, but copied in AM 149 fol. (1690–1697) and Ny kgl. Saml. 1181 fol. (ca. 1780); and the fragment (B) in AM 445 c 1 4to (ca. 1390–1425).

Hyggið] *so M*, Hugðir *B*, Dvelr þú *S*; Egða] *so B*, Agða *M*, *S*; and-spilli] *ann- M*; brunnu] *brunni M*; bjargs] ‘baurks’ *B*; marga] *marg-ann M*; veðrs] *so S*, veðr *M*, *B*; betra] *betri B*

“Hyggið at, mildr malmrunnr, hvé margir eldar brunnu í sal”, kvað Vör banda Egða andspilli. “Svá marga bjargs vetr átt ólifat”, kvað Bil blæju Skjöldunga veðrs valdi. “Nú’s skammt til betra.”

“Pay attention, generous weapon-tree [WARRIOR], how many fires burned in the hall”, said the Vör (goddess) of ribbons [WOMAN] to the confidant of the Egðir (i.e. Gísli). “So many winters of safe-keeping you have un-lived”, said the Bil (goddess) of the head-dress [WOMAN] to the ruler of the Skjöldungs’ storm [BATTLE > WARRIOR]. “Now it is a short time until something better.”

We notice that there are some variant readings to the stanza, but none that alters the meaning. In the kenning *Egða andspillir* ‘confidant of the *Egðir*’, only one of the manuscripts, the fragmentary AM 445 c 4to (B), has the reading *Egða*; the other two have *Agða*. Nevertheless, it is clear that the skald is referring to the people of Agder – the *Egðir* – here; there is no Old Norse word **agði(r)*.⁷ The form *Agða* is thus most easily explained as secondary to *Egða*, formed by analogy with the provincial name *Agðir*, even though the manuscript evidence (two of three manuscripts) would seem to indicate that *Agða* is the most original reading.⁸

7 There are admittedly some apocryphal persons in the sagas named *Agði*, but in most instances the name is clearly extracted from place-names (eponyms). That must be the case with the mountain dweller (*bergbúi*) *Agði* in *Sneglu-Halla þátr*, based on *Agðanes* (*Eyfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Jónas Kristjánsson, Íslenzk fornrit IX (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1956), 265), and *Agði* Þrymsson in *Hversu Nóregr bygðist*, based on *Agðir* (*Flateyjarbok. En Samling af norske Konge-Sagaer med indskudte mindre Fortællinger om Begivenheder i og udenfor Norge samt Annaler*, ed. by Guðbrandr Vigfusson and C.R. Unger, 3 vols (Christiania: P. T. Mallings Forlagsboghhandel, 1860–1868), vol. 1, 23). Apparently, the troll *Agði* jarl in *Þorsteins þátr bæjarmagns* is not linked to a place-name, cf. *Die Saga von Þorsteinn bæjarmagn. Saga af Þorsteini bæjarmagni*. Übersetzung und Kommentar, ed. by Andrea Tietz, Münchner Nordistische Studien 12 (München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2012), 52 ff.

8 Finnur Jónsson, *Norsk-islandske kultur- og sprogforhold i 9. og 10. årh.* (København: Andr. Fred. Høst & Søn, 1921), 303, believed that this was an old, unmutated genitival form *Agða* to *Egðir*, similar to the forms that form the first parts of the provincial names *Rogaland* and *Þelamørk*. A gen. pl. *Agða* would, however, be difficult to explain as original in accordance with the rules of Old Norse sound change. Judged by its form, *Egðir* must originally have

The base-word of the kenning, *andspillir* ‘confidant’, is found only here, but the corresponding abstract *andspilli* n. ‘confidential talk’ is attested in both skaldic and eddic poems, for instance by Sigvatr (*Vestv* 2) and in *Guðrúnarkviða* II, 11.⁹ The last citation is particularly interesting in light of the numerous other parallels between *Guðr* II and Gísli’s poetry.¹⁰ It seems therefore safe to regard *andspillir* as a word for ‘confidant; intimate friend’. The question remains, however, why Gísli is referring to himself as “the confidant of the people of Agder”.

The standard interpretation of *Egða andspillir* has been that this is a kenning for ‘Norwegian’, and that it reflects the fact that Gísli was born and raised in Norway. This interpretation is already in Sveinbjörn Egilsson’s original *Lexicon poeticum* in Latin from 1860:

ANNSPILLIR, m., qui colloquium habet cum aliquo, familiaris alicui: *a. Egða*, qui cum Agdensibus sermones miscet, familiaris Agdensium, vir Norvegicus, GS. 10.¹¹

The same interpretation is reproduced, but more condensed and in Danish in both editions of the *Lexicon poeticum* by Finnur Jónsson (1913–1916;

been an *ija*-stem derived from a primary place-name **Agð* (now lost) to which the provincial name *Agðir* (f. pl., older **Agðar*, an *ō*-stem) later was formed as a kind of collective (cf. Alf Torp, “Gamalnorsk ordavleiding”, *Gamalnorsk ordbok med nynorsk tyding*, ed. by Marius Hægstad and Alf Torp (Kristiania: Det Norske Samlaget, 1909), xxviii, as well as the correct *ija*-stem formation acc. pl. *Egða* in BjHall *Kalffl* 2, ca. 1050, *SkP* I, 880). In the gen. pl. of an *ija*-stem like *Egðir* one would expect *i*-mutation, and the attested form (outside *Gisla saga*) is indeed *Egða*. The first, genitival parts of *Rogaland* and *Þelamörk* should most likely be explained differently: these cannot be old *i*-formations as previously held (cf., e.g., Adolf Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische grammatik (laut- und flexionslehre) unter berücksichtigung des urnordischen*, 4th ed. (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1923), § 392, and latest Dietrich Hofmann, “Hálogaland – Rogaland – Þelamörk. Zur Entwicklung der *i*-Deklination im Urnordischen”, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 97 (1982): 144–54), but may, however, be remnants of old *a*-stems (Proto-Nordic pl. **rugōr* and **þelōr*, respectively), which in due course were replaced by *ija*- and (later) *i*-stem formations (cf. ON *Rygir* and *Þilir*).

- 9 See *Lexicon poeticum antiquæ linguæ septentrionalis. Ordbog over det norsk-islandske skjaldesprog* (= *Lex.poet.*). Oprindeligt forfattet af Sveinbjörn Egilsson. Forøget og påny udgivet for Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab ved Finnur Jónsson, 2nd ed. (København: I kommission hos Lyng & Søn, 1931), s.v. *andspilli*.
- 10 See Magnus Olsen, “Gisla saga og helteediktningen”, *Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson den 29. maj 1928*, ed. by Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen *et al.* (København: Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, 1928), 6–14.
- 11 Sveinbjörn Egilsson, *Lexicon poeticum antiquæ linguæ septentrionalis* (Hafnia: J.D. Qvist & Comp, 1860), s.v. *annspillir*.

1931): “**andspillir**, m, som fører samtaler (med en anden), fortrolig ven, a. *Agða* (om Gisle) GSúrs 14”.¹² In his skaldic edition, Finnur translates the kenning in accordance with Sveinbjörn’s analysis as “Egðernes ven (Nordmanden, mig)”.¹³ In the appendix with verse commentary in his 1929 edition of *Gísla saga*, Finnur does, however, allow for some doubt as to how this expression should be interpreted:

Egða andspillir, ‘som fører samtaler med Agðerne’, Gisle selv; det er usikkert, om Gisle bruger ‘Agðerne’ som et slags pars pro toto, = Nordmænd i almlh., eller om der mulig ligger noget bestemt – for os ukendt – til grund for denne betegnelse; i mangel heraf må vi holde os til det første.¹⁴

Here, Finnur touches on something important: a kenning does not necessarily have to be an empty label, where the different parts reveal nothing specific about the person or object involved; in some instances, a kenning can be characterizing or even situational, in cases where the separate parts of the kenning form a whole that, for instance, characterizes a person, in either a general way or by linkage to the actual situation in the poem. Snorri Sturluson, the great master of Old Norse skaldic art, was aware of this, and in his *Skáldskaparmál* he introduces the terms *viðkenning*, *sannkenning* and *fornafn*, used of kennings for persons where there is a closer tie between the reference (the kenning) and the referent (the person) than in “conventional” kennings:

Enn eru þau heiti er menn láta ganga fyrir nofn manna. Þat kóllum vér viðkenningar eða sannkenningar eða fornöfn. Þat eru viðkenningar at nefna annan hlut réttu nafni ok kalla þann er hann vill nefna eiganda eða svá at kalla hann þess er hann nefndi foður eða afa; ái er hinn þriði. Heitir ok sonr ok arfi, arfuni, barn, jóð ok moðgr, erfingi. [...] Þessi heiti kóllum vér viðkenningar ok svá þótt maðr sé kendr

12 *Lex.poet.*, s.v. *andspillir*.

13 *Skj.*, B, 1, 99. The same interpretation is found in *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, 71 (“málvinur Egða: Norðmaður, Gíslí Súrsson”) and in many translations of *Gísla saga* into modern languages.

14 *Gísla saga Súrssonar*. Udgiven efter håndskrifterne af Det kongelige nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab, ed. by Finnur Jónsson (København: Gyldendalske Boghandel / Nordisk Forlag, 1929), 100.

við bœ sinn eða skip sitt þat er nafn á eða eign sína þá er einkanafn er gefit. Þetta kóllum vér sannkenningar at kalla mann spekimann, *ætluarmann, orðspeking, ráðsnilling, auðmilding, óslækinn, gæimann, glæsimumann. Þetta eru fornöfn.¹⁵

Anthony Faulkes defines *við(r)kenning* as “circumlocution, a description (of a person) in terms of something else (i. e. in terms of an attribute or ‘accidental’; cf. *kenna við*)”, and *sannkenning* as “true description, a description (of a person) in terms of their qualities or essence”.¹⁶ Snorri’s third term, *fornafn*, Faulkes defines as “substitution (of a name or description for the normal one), replacement (of a proper name), ‘pronomination’”.¹⁷ This must in fact be the overarching category for both *við(r)kenning* and *sannkenning* – both types of kenning replace the name of the person, irrespectively of the kenning’s verbal content. The difference between these two terms is, in other words, whether the description is based on the person himself or on something that only belongs to or is associated with the person. Common to *við(r)kenning* and *sannkenning* is that both depend on facts of real life, for instance who one’s father is, e.g., *Haralds arfi* ‘Haraldr’s heir’ and *sonr Tryggva* ‘the son of Tryggvi’ for Óláfr Haraldsson and Óláfr Tryggvason in *Sigv Berv* 6,¹⁸ or, in the case of mythological kennings, the name of a man’s spear, e.g., *vöfudr Gungnis* ‘the swinger of Gungnir (Óðinn’s spear)’ for Óðinn in *Bragi Frag* 4;¹⁹ they do not rely on a totally different, often mythological world, as the more conventional kennings do. They are kennings “without metaphorical content”, as Margaret Clunies Ross puts it.²⁰ I believe that in *Egða andspillir*, this is exactly the case; in Snorri’s terminology this is a *við(r)kenning*, in which Gísli is *kendr við* his friendship with the *Egðir*.

I will soon explain how I believe this relationship should be understood, but first I will take a closer look at the earlier interpretation of *Egða andspillir* as ‘Norwegian’: Gísli was born and raised in Norway – accord-

15 Snorri Sturluson, *Edda. Skáldskaparmál*, vol. 1: *Introduction, Text and Notes*, ed. by Anthony Faulkes (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1998), 107.

16 *Skáldskaparmál*, ed. Faulkes, 427, 382.

17 *Skáldskaparmál*, ed. Faulkes, 277–78.

18 *SkP* II, 17.

19 *SkP* III, 59.

20 Margaret Clunies Ross, *A history of Old Norse poetry and poetics* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), 115.

ing to the Icelandic annals, his family came to Iceland in 952, at a time when Gísli must have been nearly twenty years old.²¹ He would accordingly most likely have been identified as ‘a Norwegian’, if indeed such a term would have made any sense in the mid-tenth century (in Iceland he would more likely have been an *austmaðr* ‘easterner’). It is, however, problematic to take a kenning that literally means ‘confidant of the *Egðir*’ as a term for ‘Norwegian’. If one accepts that *Egðir* here are *pars pro toto* for ‘Norwegians’, a ‘confidant of the *Egðir*’, that is ‘of the Norwegians’, would rather be someone like a Swede or an Icelander; possibly it could also be a kenning for a Norwegian king (see below). If one instead takes the term *Egðir* more literally, then a ‘confidant of the *Egðir*’ would probably be a man from another part of Norway, presumably from a district close to Agder, for instance Rogaland. We know, however, that Gísli Súrsson came from Nordmøre, which is far from Agder, and one gets the impression that something else is at the bottom of the expression *Egða andspillir*.

Both Sveinbjörn Egilsson and Finnur Jónsson most likely based their interpretation of the kenning *Egða andspillir* as ‘Norwegian’ on a well-known kenning type in which a Norwegian king is referred to in periphrases such as *Dæla dróttinn*, *Hǫrða fylkir* or *Sygna rásir*.²² But these are obvious cases of *pars pro toto*, in so far as the king is *dróttinn*, *fylkir*, *rásir* etc. over the inhabitants of a certain part of Norway as well as the country as a whole. Moreover, the base-word of such constructions is always a poetic synonym (*heiti*) for ‘king’ or ‘ruler’, as in the examples above. The only exceptions to this are some rare examples of *vinr* ‘friend’: Magnús góði is called *Hǫrða vinr* ‘friend of the *Hǫrðar*’ in Arnórr jarlaskáld’s *Magnúsdrápa* (ca. 1047), st. 1,²³ as is Óláfr Tryggvason in a half-stanza attributed to Hallar-Steinn (twelfth c.) that seems to be modeled on a stanza by Arnórr.²⁴ In addition, Haraldr Sigurðarson is called *gjafvinr Sygna* ‘gift-friend of the Sygnir’ in the *drápa* Arnórr composed about him (ca. 1066),

21 Cf. *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, xlii. As the ÍF editors note, it is highly unusual for the arrival of a settler to be precisely dated like this in the annals, and the explanation they give is that Ari fróði Þorgilsson (1067–1148) might have recorded the year in his writings.

22 For more examples, see Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden. Ein Beitrag zur skaldischen Poetik* (Bonn og Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1921), 353–58.

23 *SkP* II, 207.

24 *SkP* I, 939–40.

st. 9.²⁵ It seems, then, that it was Arnórr who originally coined kennings for rulers by combining gentile names with words for ‘friend’.²⁶ A pattern for such periphrases was provided by already existing kennings for rulers like *gumna vinr* (Glúmr *Gráf* 3, ca. 970) and *vinr virða* (Sigv *Ást* 3, ca. 1035), both meaning ‘friend of men’.²⁷ However that may be, *Egða andspillir* could perhaps have functioned as a kenning for a Norwegian king – even though *andspillir* implies an intimacy (‘confidant’) that neither *vinr* nor *gjafvinr* does – they emphasize the custom of gift-giving and generosity – but it can hardly be a kenning for ‘a Norwegian’ in general.

The closest semantic parallels to *andspillir* among the base-words of kennings that I am aware of are *spjalli* m. and (*of*-)*rúni* m., both covering the meaning ‘confidant’. These words are used mainly in mythological kennings (e.g., *spjalli Hrungnis*, a giant, *Hym* 16; *Þórs of-rúni*, i.e. Loki, *Þjóð Haustl* 8) or in kennings for ‘ruler’ (e.g., *gotna spjalli* ‘men’s confidant’, Arn *Hryn* 8; *rekka rúni* ‘warriors’ counsellor’, *Ótt Hfl* 13).²⁸ The only occurrence with a possible gentilic determinant is the Óðinn-kenning *Gauta spjalli* in Egill’s *Sonatorrek* 21, which could possibly be translated ‘the confidant of the Gautar’ and refer to a special association between Óðinn and the inhabitants of Götaland.²⁹ This could just as well, however, be a simple *heiti* for humans in general.³⁰ If so, the kenning *Egða andspillir* seems to be isolated from a semantic point of view as well. The closest match is represented by a verbal echo in Sigvatr’s *Vestrfararvísur* 2, vv. 1–2, with the collocation of a demonym and the neutral counterpart of *andspillir* in exactly the same metrical positions as in Gísli’s stanza: *Útan varðk, áðr Jóta | andspilli fekk’k stillis*, compare *Hyggið at, kvað Egða | andspilli Vör banda*.³¹ Of course, here *Jóta* functions not as a determinant for *andspilli*, but the meaning is rather

25 *SkP* II, 270.

26 There are, however, Anglo-Saxon examples in *Beowulf*, e.g., *wine Scyldinga* (ll. 30, 2026), *wine Deniga* (l. 350). These certainly predate Arnórr’s poetry, even if the very latest date proposed for *Beowulf* is accepted.

27 *SkP* I, 251, 649.

28 *Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern*, ed. Gustav Neckel, 4th ed. by Hans Kuhn (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1962), 90; *SkP* III, 443; *SkP* II, 192; *SkP* I, 756.

29 So Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden*, 252.

30 Cf. *Lex.poet.*, s.v. *Gautar*, and *SkP* I, 175, commenting on the Óðinn-kenning *Gauta-týr* in *Eyv Hásk* 1.

31 *SkP* I, 618.

áðr fekk'k andspillir stillis Jóta 'before I got an audience with the ruler of the Jótar (DANISH KING = Knútr)',³² so the parallel is purely on the surface. Gísli's kenning thus remains unique.

Who were Gísli's *Egðir*?

As already hinted at, I believe that there must be something concrete behind Gísli's referring to himself as *Egða andspillir* 'confidant of the *Egðir*'. There seems to have been some with whom Gísli was acquainted who could be called *Egðir*, and to whom Gísli alludes in one of the stanzas in which he relates the dream that reveals how much time he has left to live. These "friends" do not necessarily have to come from Agder themselves; it would probably suffice if their family hailed from there. Both *Landnámabók* and the sagas of Icelanders demonstrate that the early Icelanders had knowledge about their ancestors back in the places in Norway where the original settlers came from, and that this type of knowledge was kept in memory for a long time; in the introductory chapters in the family sagas it is customary to account for the forefathers of the leading characters, the *landnámsmenn*, and their background in one or more districts of Norway. One obvious reason for this wide-spread interest in genealogy in Iceland was the detailed legal regulation of inheritance, maintenance responsibilities and homicide fines in the Old Norse laws, which were also adopted in Iceland. These regulations made it necessary to keep trace of one's relatives at least up to fourth cousins.³³

We may ask, then, whether there is anyone with forefathers from Agder mentioned in *Landnámabók* or in the sagas who could be connected to Gísli in one way or another? The one who first comes to mind is of course Vésteinn, Gísli's sworn brother and dearest friend, but his father came from Sogn, as so many other settlers in Iceland.³⁴ If instead we start at the other end and look for people in *Landnámabók* who are said to have come from Agder, there is one entry that stands out. It concerns a certain Þrándr mjóbeinn who arrived in Iceland together with the chieftain

32 So *SkP* I, 618.

33 See Jón Jóhannesson, *Íslands historie i mellomalderen. Fristatstida*, trans. by Hallvard Magerøy (Oslo – Bergen – Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), 11.

34 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, Íslenzk fornrit I (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1968), 180, 188.

Geirmundr heljarskinn. About this Þrándr and his family, *Landnámabók* relates:

(S 114, H 86) Maðr hét Þrándr mjóbeinn; hann fór til Íslands með Geirmundi heljarskinni; hann var ættaðr af Qgðum. Þrándr nam eyjar fyrir vestan Bjarneyjaflóa ok bjó í Flatey; hann átti dóttur Gils skeiðarnefs; þeira son var Hergils hnappraz, er bjó í Hergilsey. Dóttir Hergils var Þorkatla, er átti Már á Reykjahólum. Hergils átti Þórqrnu, dóttur Ketils ilbreiðs; Ingjaldr var son þeira, er bjó í Hergilsey ok veitti Gísla Súrssyni. Fyrir þat gerði Þorkr enn digri af honum eyjarnar, en hann keypti Hlíð í Þorskafirði. Son hans var Þórarinn, er átti Þorgerði, dóttur Glúms <Geirasonar>; þeira son var <Helgu->Steinarr. Þórarinn var með Kjartani í Svinadal, þá er hann fell.³⁵

In other words: Ingjaldr in Hergilsey, who according to *Gísli saga* gave Gísli shelter for as many as three winters, during which Gísli built him three boats – one for each year –,³⁶ was a third-generation “*Egðr*” in Iceland (in a direct male lineage Þrándr > Hergils > Ingjaldr). Ingjaldr was important to Gísli and would be a good candidate for being his *andspillir* ‘confidant’, which *Gísli saga* bears witness to in an afterthought when Gísli has escaped from his enemies with the help of Ingjaldr:

Ok þat hafa menn mælt, at Ingjaldr hafi Gísla mest veitt ok þat at mestu gagni orðit; ok þat er sagt, at þá er Þorgrímr nef gerði seiðinn, at hann mælti svá fyrir, at Gísla skyldi ekki at gagni verða, þó at menn byrgi honum hér á landi; en þat kom honum eigi í hug at skilja til um úteyjar, ok endisk því þetta hóti lengst, þótt eigi yrði þess á lengðar auðit.³⁷

The opening formula here – “þat hafa menn mælt” (in the S-version: “þat hafa menn oc sagt”)³⁸ – indicates that this is an appraisal which the saga author supposedly has taken from oral tradition about Gísli and is not

35 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 153–54.

36 *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, 79.

37 *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, 84.

38 *Membrana regía deperdita*, ed. by Agnete Loth, Editiones Arnarnagnænae, Series A 5 (København: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960), 56.

something he has made up himself. In this context it is important that *Landnámabók* and *Gísla saga* are relying on totally different traditions about Ingjaldr in Hergilsey. In *Landnámabók* he is, as already noted, a third-generation “Egðr” in Iceland, and the island on which he lives, *Hergilsey*, is named after his father, Hergils, who was the first to settle there. (Islands are often named after the persons who settle there, and there is no reason to doubt the tradition here.) In *Gísla saga*, however, Ingjaldr is referred to as Gísli’s kinsman who arrived in Iceland together with him; he is introduced as a “systrungr Gísla at frændsemi ok hafði með honum farit út hingat til Íslands”.³⁹ As is pointed out in a comment in the ÍF edition, it is likely that the saga author confused Ingjaldr in Hergilsey with another Ingjaldr, who is introduced earlier in the saga and who actually was a kinsman of Gísli, i.e. the father of the siblings Geirmundr and Guðriðr who came with Gísli’s family to Iceland and were divided between Gísli and Þorkell when they parted households.⁴⁰ Both Geirmundr and Guðriðr play central roles later on in the saga.

Another difference between *Landnámabók* and *Gísla saga* concerns what is said about Ingjaldr’s subsequent destiny. In *Landnámabók* we are told that because Ingjaldr had given shelter to Gísli, Þorkr inn digri

39 *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, 78; similar wording in S (*Membrana regia deperdita*, ed. Loth, 53).

40 The name of the father is mentioned only in the longer version of the saga (S): “þat voro born ij, het sveinninn Geirmundr enn mærin het Guðriðr, þessi voro born Ingialldz frænda þeiRa, Guðriðr for med G(isla) enn Geirmundr með Þorkeli” (*Membrana regia deperdita*, ed. Loth, 24). The fact that this first Ingjaldr is needed to explain the alternative genealogy that Ingjaldr in Hergilsey is given in *Gísla saga* (in both versions) is a strong argument in favour of the longer version having in this case the most original text. For the relationship between the different versions of *Gísla saga*, see Vésteinn Ólason and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, “Sammenhængen mellem tolkninger og tekstversioner af *Gísla saga*”, *Den fornordiska texten i filologisk och litteraturvetenskaplig belysning*, ed. by Kristinn Jóhannesson, Karl G. Johansson and Lars Lönnroth (Göteborg: Litteraturvetenskapliga Institutionen, Göteborgs Universitet, 2000), 96–120; Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, “Editing the Three Versions of *Gísla saga Súrssonar*”, *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. by Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010), 105–21, as well as Klaus Johan Myrvoll, “Islanding gjeng seg vill i norske fjell og dalar. Dei norske stadnamni i *Gísla saga* og fylgjone for teksthistoria”, *Þórðargleði slegið upp fyrir Þórð Inga Guðjónsson fimmtugan 3. desember 2018* (Reykjavík: Menningar- og minningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, 2018), 57–58.

“gerði [...] af honum eyjarnar” ‘took the isles from him as a fine’,⁴¹ and that Ingjaldr had to move to the farm Hlíð in Þorskafjörður. In *Gísla saga* we hear nothing at all about these measures taken by Þorkr; the saga simply states (in both versions) that “Berki þykkir eigi þat til liggja at veita Ingjaldi atgöngu, landseta sínum” (M); “B(orkr) þottiz eigi mega veita atgöngu Ingjalldi landseta sinom, oc qvez eigi nenna at lata drepa hann” (S).⁴² Even though Þorkr did not want to kill Ingjaldr, he could, of course, have driven him off the islands. In any case, it is conspicuous that the author of *Gísla saga* does not include any of the information that *Landnámabók* has to offer, namely, that Ingjaldr after having given refuge to Gísli, was forced to move from Hergilsey and settle anew in Þorskafjörður. This strengthens the hypothesis that the versions given in *Landnámabók* and *Gísla saga* must be traced back to different (oral) traditions about Ingjaldr, and they need to be assessed independently of each other.

The chapter about Ingjaldr’s family (see above, p. 209) is fairly similar in two of the versions of *Landnámabók*, *Sturlubók* and *Hauksbók* (of which the latter is most likely based on the former), but it is not found in the third version, *Melabók*.⁴³ Therefore, Björn Magnússon Ólsen argued convincingly that this chapter is a later addition to *Landnámabók*, introduced in the *Sturlubók*–*Hauksbók*-recension from an older, now lost version of *Þorskfirðinga saga* or *Gull-Þóris saga* (“Ældre Gull-Þóris saga”), which is referred to towards the end of the chapter about Ingjaldr in *Landnámabók*: “af því gerðisk Þorskfirðinga saga”.⁴⁴ In the extant version of *Þorskfirðinga saga*, which was written probably in the fourteenth century, we find statements about Ingjaldr in Hergilsey similar to those in *Sturlubók*:

Þórir eignaðist Flatey eptir Hallgrímu ok hafði þar sæði, en Hergils, son hennar, bjó í Hergilsey, sem fyrr var ritat. Hann var faðir Ingjalds, er þar bjó síðan, ok hann barg Gísla Súrssyni, ok fyrir

41 Translation from Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson, *An Icelandic–English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. by William A. Craigie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874), 225.

42 *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, 84; *Membrana regia deperdita*, ed. Loth, 57.

43 *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, xv.

44 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 154; Björn Magnússon Ólsen, “Landnáma og Gull-Þóris (Þorskfirðinga) saga”, *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, 2nd series, vol. 25 (1910): 55–58.

þat gerði Börkr inn digri af honum eyjarnar, en Ingjaldr fór í Þorskafjarðardali ok bjó á Ingjaldsstöðum. Hans son var Þórarinn, er átti Þorgerði, dóttur Glúms Geirasonar. Þeira son var Helgu-Steinarr.⁴⁵

The only major difference in the text of Sturlubók (see above, p. 209) is the name of Ingjaldr's farm in Þorskafjörður: in *Þorskfirðinga saga* it is called *Ingjaldsstaðir*, but *Hlíð* in Sturlubók. Whereas *Ingjaldsstaðir* is otherwise unknown, *Hlíð* is the name of a farm in Þorskafjörður to this very day. Kálund thought *Ingjaldsstaðir* could be an invention of the saga redactor because he did not know where in Þorskafjörður Ingjaldr actually lived or, less likely, that *Hlíð* may have been called *Ingjaldsstaðir* for a time.⁴⁶ Whether the redactor of the younger *Þorskfirðinga saga* copied this part from Sturlubók or took it over from the older **Þorskfirðinga saga* (as Björn Magnússon Ólsen believed), is irrelevant for our purposes. The crucial fact is that *Landnámabók* and *Þorskfirðinga saga* bear witness to a distinctive tradition about Ingjaldr in Hergilsey that is not represented in *Gísla saga*. According to this tradition, Ingjaldr was forced to re-settle in Þorskafjörður when his landlord, Þorkr, heard about his dealings with Gísli, and in this tradition, Ingjaldr was a descendant of the settler Þrándr mjóbeinn from Agder. This relationship may thus explain why Gísli, in one of his stanzas composed during his outlawry, refers to himself as the *Egða andspillir* 'confidant of the people of Agder'.

It is evident from certain other differences between the two texts concerning Gísli's closest family that the author of *Gísla saga* did not make use of *Landnámabók* as a source. In this case, there are also some discrepancies between the different versions of *Landnámabók*. It is probably the Hauksbók-version, which in addition to Sturlubók built on the older and now lost Styrmissbók, that represents the oldest layer of this chapter.⁴⁷ In Hauksbók, we are told that Þorbjörn súrr had the children Gísli, Þorkell and Þórdís, but no Ari is mentioned as in the saga. Further, it is said that

45 *Harðar saga*, ed. by Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, Íslenzk fornrit XIII (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1991), 198.

46 P.E. Kristian Kálund, *Bidrag til en historisk-topografisk Beskrivelse af Island*, 2 vols (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1877–82), vol. 1, 519–20.

47 See Jón Jóhannesson, *Gerðir Landnámabókar* (Reykjavík: Félagsprentsmiðjan H.F. 1941), 105–06.

Porkell was married to a certain Sigríðr Sléttu-Bjarnardóttir, whereas in the saga his wife is Ásgerðr Þorbjarnardóttir. In the Sturlubók-version, these discrepancies are smoothed out in such a way that Ari is added as the last of Þorbjörn súrr's sons, and the mention of Þorkell's wife is deleted along with that of Gísli's wife Auðr.⁴⁸ In other words, Sturla Þórðarson must have known *Gísli saga* when he wrote his version of *Landnámabók*, and he brought the latter up to date with the information he found in *Gísli saga*, which he – for obvious reasons – considered more reliable. This strengthens the hypothesis that *Landnámabók* and *Gísli saga* were built on totally different traditions about Ingjaldr in Hergilsey as well. Moreover, it is reasonable to conclude that *Landnámabók* has the most reliable tradition about Ingjaldr, that he really was a descendant of settlers from Agder, and that he did not arrive in Iceland together with Gísli as *Gísli saga* relates.

Is the stanza composed by Gísli?

The information gleaned so far leads us to a most important question: is the stanza composed by Gísli? Is it the historical person Gísli Súrsson who referred to himself as *Egða andspillir*, or is it someone else, later in the tradition about Gísli, who put these words in his mouth? In a recent article, I analyse in detail the stanzas in *Gísli saga* and rely on formal criteria for dating only, that is, numerous linguistic and metrical criteria as well as distinctive rhyme patterns that disappeared after the tenth century.⁴⁹ These formal criteria lead me to conclude that the stanzas of *Gísli saga* divide into four groups: authentic, inauthentic, uncertain (where no dating criterion applies) and ambiguous stanzas. The first group is the largest by far, with 19 out of a total of 35 complete stanzas, followed by 8 uncertain and 5 inauthentic, and finally 3 ambiguous stanzas, in which different criteria point in different directions. If one isolates the stanzas that have diagnostic criteria – 27 stanzas – there are almost four times as many authentic (19) as inauthentic (5), which indicates that four fifths of the stanzas in *Gísli saga* are authentic. For details, I refer to my article.

The stanza that contains the kenning *Egða andspillir*, st. 17 in the saga, was grouped among the “uncertain” stanzas in this analysis; that means

48 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 180–81.

49 Myrvoll, “The Authenticity of Gísli's Verse”.

that it did not have any diagnostic criteria. In other words, from a formal perspective it is as likely to be authentic as inauthentic. Its status must, if possible, be established on the basis of other arguments, and it seems reasonable to place some emphasis on the peculiar kenning *Egða andspillir*. This kind of *við(r)kenning* (see above, p. 204 f.) presupposes some specific knowledge about the person referred to (in this case Gísli) that would not necessarily be available to someone outside his closest circle. It depends, of course, on what exactly the person is *kendr við*, but in this instance, the kenning must have been difficult to decipher for someone outside Gísli's inner circle even in his own time; the kenning bears a clear stamp of being a covert nod to a select audience, which is reasonable to believe that Gísli at any rate would have had during his outlaw years. Since Ingjaldr in both versions of *Gísla saga* is made into a relative of Gísli, and the saga author does not know or ignores the tradition about Ingjaldr and his family transmitted in *Landnámabók* and *Þorskfirðinga saga*, it is highly unlikely that the author of *Gísla saga* could have composed st. 17 – even though he may have been responsible for a few other stanzas in the saga.⁵⁰ The fact that the stanza is placed in the narrative two winters before Gísli arrives at Ingjaldr's in Hergilsey would seem to support this conclusion, but only if the stanza in reality was performed for the first time at Ingjaldr's. The saga author may not – as is often the case in Old Norse sagas – have been familiar with the original context of the stanza and has perhaps chosen to put it in where he thought it would fit.⁵¹ This is, however, not necessarily true here: since Gísli sought refuge with Ingjaldr and was received in such a friendly manner, they must have known each other well before Gísli arrived in Hergilsey. It would, then, perhaps not be unexpected that Gísli should allude to this acquaintance in a stanza composed and performed elsewhere – he might just have invented the kenning to satisfy metrical requirements. The author of *Gísla saga* has Gísli recite all his poetic dream sequences to his wife Auðr in Geirþjófsfjörður. This may or may not be historically correct – we cannot be certain – but there are some indications of this in the stanzas themselves: st. 16, whose content is closely connected to st. 17, describing Gísli entering the hall with the fires, twice addresses

50 See Myrvoll, "The Authenticity of Gísli's Verse", 250–51.

51 For some examples of stanzas that appear to have been misplaced in the narrative in *Gísla saga*, see Myrvoll, "The Authenticity of Gísli's Verse", 254–55.

a woman (*fold unnfúrs* ‘land of the wave-fire (gold)’ and *Eir aura* ‘goddess of the gold’). It would make perfect sense if the woman was Auðr, as the saga author clearly understood it, which implies that st. 17, including the kenning *Egða andspillir*, was first performed for Auðr as well.

With regard to the special kenning *Egða andspillir* as a *við(r)kenning*, I find it quite implausible that someone could have fabricated this stanza before the written saga came into being. Many scholars have attributed spurious poetry in the sagas to the twelfth century, under the assumption that there was a flowering of saga-like, “prosimetrical” oral tradition at that time.⁵² There is, however, nothing in the Old Norse sources to suggest such a development; instead, the actual comparable texts that we have from the twelfth century are either lengthy skaldic poems in which the whole narrative is contained within the poem without any accompanying prose (e.g., *Plácitusdrápa*, *Rekstefja*), or rather rudimentary prose works with little poetry or none at all (e.g., *Íslendingabók*, *Ágrip*). A supposed prosimetrical “oral saga”, developed through the continuous production of spurious skaldic stanzas, thus seems unlikely at this stage of Old Norse literary development.⁵³ Even if one were willing to accept the possibility of such productions at a general level, it would be very difficult to argue in favour of this in the particular case of *Gísla saga* st. 17: the stanza requires a poet who knows Gísli’s story inside out and who is aware of the fact that Ingjaldr in Hergilsey was of Agder descent – an “*Egðr*” – and who finds it appropriate for Gísli to insert a hidden allusion to his friend in one of his stanzas. I cannot think of any person being capable of this other than Gísli himself, and for that reason I regard the stanza as authentic.

Another stanza about Ingjaldr

Relevant in this context is the fact that Ingjaldr is mentioned in yet another stanza by Gísli, in st. 23 of the saga. That stanza is quoted when Gísli real-

52 See, e.g., Peter Foote, “An Essay on the Saga of Gísli and its Icelandic Background”, *The Saga of Gísli*, trans. George Johnston (London: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 93–134; Russell Poole, “Compositional Technique in some Verses from *Gumlaugs saga*”, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 80 (1981): 469–85; *idem*, “The Origins of the *Máblíðingavísur*”, *Scandinavian Studies* 57 (1985): 244–85.

53 For a full rebuttal of this kind of reasoning, see Mikael Males, “1100-talets pseudonyma skaldediktning: En kritisk granskning”, *Maal og Minne* 2017 (1): 1–24.

izes that he must flee from his enemies after having stayed at Ingjaldr's for three winters. The content of the stanza fits rather well with its context in the saga. The stanza runs as follows, with variants, prose order and translation:⁵⁴

Ráðs leitar nú rítar
 ruðr – vekjum mjöð Suðra –,
 skorð, þvít skiljask verðum,
 skjaldsteins, frá Ingjaldi.
 Þó munk, hyrs, at hvóru
 hafa, bláfoldar skafla
 snyrtigótt, né sýtik,
 snauð, þats mér verðr auðit.

mjöð] mjök *B*; skjald-] skáld *S*; hyrs] hlys *B*, hlyrs *M*; -gótt] -lát *B*;
 snauð, þats] snúð þanns *S*; verðr] verð *S*, er *B*

Rítar ruðr leitar nú ráðs, skorð skjaldsteins, þvít verðum skiljask frá Ingjaldi; vekjum mjöð Suðra. Þó munk at hvóru hafa, þats mér verðr auðit, snauð bláfoldar skafla hyrs snyrtigótt. Né sýtik.

The shield's shoot [WARRIOR = Gísli] now looks for a plan, prop of 'shield-colour' [= *baugr* 'ring'] [WOMAN], because we [I] must part from Ingjaldr; we [I] stir the mead of Suðri [POETRY]. Yet I will nonetheless accept what is fated for me, poor blue-land's crest's fire's adorned door [SEA > WAVE > GOLD > WOMAN]. Nor do I complain.

This stanza attests what “menn hafa mælt” (see above, p. 209), namely, that Ingjaldr was in fact important to Gísli. The skald mentions Ingjaldr by name, and he includes a meta-comment that he is “stirring the mead of Suðri”, that is, the mead of poetry or the poem itself. Apparently, Gísli has had ample opportunity to make use of his skaldic gift during the years he has stayed at Ingjaldr's, and his poetry has probably found resonance in the household of the *Egðir*. In this context, one should attach importance to the fact mentioned in both *Landnámabók* and *Þorskfirðinga saga* (but not

54 Once again, the normalization of the stanza as well as the translation are my own, but I have been guided by Kari Ellen Gade's forthcoming edition of Gísli's poetry for *SkP*. Compare also *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, 82.

in *Gísla saga*) that the son of Ingjaldr, Þórarinn, was married to a daughter of the skald Glúmr Geirason, who stayed at the court of King Haraldr gráfeldr in Norway and composed *Gráfeldardrápa* in the memory of him ca. 970, about the same time as Gísli is supposed to have been in Hergilsey.⁵⁵ This points to a certain poetic milieu around Ingjaldr. Ingjaldr possibly showed an interest in the skaldic art himself, and when Gísli alludes to him and his family with the rather obscure kenning *Egða andspillir*, he might have had Ingjaldr as one of his addressees and thought that Ingjaldr would grasp the allusion. In any case, through these stanzas Gísli and Ingjaldr would share a common literary destiny. We may now understand better the desperation of st. 23, in which Gísli comes straight to the point: “Ráðs leitar nú ritar ruðr”, ‘the warrior [I] now looks for a plan’, – and then: “Þvíit skiljask verðum frá Ingjalði”, ‘because we [I] must part from Ingjaldr’. The peaceful time at the friend’s house in Hergilsey is now over; Gísli must run away.

Incidentally, as was the case with st. 17, st. 23 was not included among the clearly authentic stanzas in the analysis in my article for *JEGP*. Rather, it was categorized as “ambiguous” because of an uneven rhyme in verse 6 (*hafa: skafla*), where *f* rhymes with *fl*; at that point I regarded this either as an early feature – with the only parallel in Bragi’s *Ragnarsdrápa* v. 14.3 – or as a late, misconstrued rhyme.⁵⁶ In light of the findings presented in this article, I am now inclined to regard this as an early feature. There is otherwise nothing in the stanza to suggest a late date. To conclude positively: if we now, for reasons of content, accept both stanzas 17 and 23 as genuine compositions by Gísli, the number of authentic stanzas in *Gísla saga* increases from 19 in my previous article to 21 (of a total of 35 complete stanzas).

Inherited regional identities?

The question that arises is to what extent the kenning *Egða andspillir* ‘confidant of the *Egðir*’ by Gísli can be used as an indication of inherited regional or tribal identities in Iceland in Gísli’s times. If the kenning in the foregoing is understood correctly and the stanza is placed in its original

55 See the chronology in the introduction to *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson, xli–xliii.

56 See Myrvoll, “The Authenticity of Gísli’s Verse”, 245; *SkP* III, 47.

context, this implies that Ingjaldr, whose family had lived in Iceland for three generations, still could be identified by the home district of his paternal grandfather, Þrándr mjóbeinn, who arrived in Iceland from Agder some time around the year 900 (judged from the count of generations; Ingjaldr in Hergilsey was probably about the same age as Gísli or a bit older, and born around 930). Was this a common phenomenon in Iceland in the tenth century, or was there something special about these *Egðir*? Could people who had lived in Iceland for a couple of generations still be characterized and identified by the home district of their ancestors back in Norway? One could point to the fact that Iceland at that time still was a community of settlers; the people who arrived in Iceland during the 870s came to a land almost without any previous population – the people who may have been present, the Christian *Papar*, soon left.⁵⁷ There could then hardly have been any local or regional *Icelandic* identities; such identities would need some generations to develop, after people had had time to establish roots in the new country. It is thus a reasonable hypothesis that the first couple of generations of settlers in Iceland were more strongly tied to the districts in Norway where their family had come from than to the fjords and headlands in Iceland where they had recently settled.⁵⁸

There is a parallel from more recent times: in North America, immigrants from Europe identified with their homelands and could regard themselves as “Norwegian”, “Swedish”, “German”, “Irish”, “Italian” etc., a long time after their forefathers had left the countries referred to. In spite of the apparent similarities, however, there are also differences between this tendency and tenth-century Iceland. The most important is that, in Iceland, language did not distinguish immigrants coming from different parts of Norway – or from different parts of Scandinavia for that matter – whereas in nineteenth-century North America it most certainly did so. A common Old Norse language – at least as long as Irish-speaking thralls

57 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 5. The oldest excavated settlements in Iceland are found just above the tephra plane caused by the volcanic eruption in South Iceland ca. 871, see Orri Vésteinsson, “The Archaeology of *Landnám*. Early Settlement in Iceland”, *Vikings. The North Atlantic Saga*, ed. by William W. Fitzhugh and Elisabeth I. Ward (Washington – London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 164.

58 We noted above that knowledge about the roots of one’s family was important among other things for lawsuits about inheritance. The Icelandic family sagas provide several examples, for instance the famous case of *Egils saga*.

are set aside – served to facilitate a greater integration in Iceland. Nor did there exist any strong national identities in the Viking Age, whereas the reverse was clearly the case at the time of the great immigration waves to North America in the nineteenth century. What we today know as “Norway” was probably still in the making.⁵⁹ We may be quite certain that old Norwegian districts such as Hålogaland, Møre, Sogn, Hordaland and Rogaland can be traced far back in time, and in the Viking Age people probably had more or less strong identities tied to these smaller “home-lands”. It would not then be remarkable if a family that came to Iceland from Agder in the early 900s continued to consider themselves and – more importantly – continued to be considered by others as *Egðir* for a long time after they had migrated.

These are, of course, just more or less persuasive hypotheses; we are left with very little material on which we base our assumptions. Nevertheless, it seems worth-while to consider whether the alternative hypothesis, that there was something special about these *Egðir*, could have something to recommend itself. If so, the existence of a certain “*Egzk*” identity in the tenth century would not have to be assumed for all families in Iceland, irrespective of their origin. There are some circumstances, particularly in *Landnámabók*, that suggest that there was something distinctive about the families who came to Iceland from Agder. For one thing, it is not obvious why someone should be identified by such a vast area as Agder. To the contrary, Gísli Súrsson and his family were not regarded as *Mærir*, but rather as *Súrdælir*, and Gísli’s patronym is *Súrsson*, not **Þorbjarnarson*, so here the ties seem to be to a particular place in Møre (today’s Surnadalen, ON *Súrnadalr*), rather than to Møre as a district. That also goes for such nick-names (of early settlers) as Þorbjörn gaulverski (from Gaular), Heyjangrs-Björn and others. What, then, could be so distinctive about people from Agder? Interestingly, we see that there is a certain link between settlers from Agder and participation in the battle of Hafrsfjord (ca. 900), and this connection could have been even stronger in reality than it appears in *Landnámabók*. Here, it is important to remember that the battle of Hafrsfjord and its alleged consequences – Haraldr hárfagri’s *ofríki* ‘harsh rule’, which forced many to flee the country – has become an integral part

59 See, e.g., Claus Krag, *Vikingtid og rikssamling 800–1130*, Aschehougs Norgeshistorie, vol. 2 (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1995), 89–91.

of Icelandic national mythology.⁶⁰ Hence it may well be that the “veterans” from Hafrsfjord and their descendants enjoyed a special status in Iceland, or at least regarded themselves as distinct from the rest of the settlers, and that the characteristics of this exceptional branch of people were later, in the Icelandic historical tradition, generalized to apply to all Icelanders; they had apparently all resisted the consolidating efforts of Haraldr hárfagri, if not necessarily at the battle of Hafrsfjord.

There is some evidence to suggest that those who fought against Haraldr at Hafrsfjord represented one or perhaps even two petty kingdoms to the south and south-east of Haraldr’s original kingdom, which most likely was limited to Hordaland, though it possibly also included Sogn.⁶¹ In Þorbjörn hornklofi’s *Haraldskvæði*, which describes the battle in most lively terms and which was probably composed shortly thereafter, the skald speaks of ships that came from the east (“knerrir kvómu austan”, st. 7) and that the “austkylfur”, ‘the east-cudgels’, “of Jaðar hljópu / heim ór Hafrsfirði” ‘ran across Jæren, homewards from Hafrsfjord’ (st. 11).⁶² The last sentence in particular makes the most sense geographically if the home of Haraldr’s adversaries was somewhere in Agder. We dimly perceive the contours of a lost kingdom of Agder, possibly also a smaller, conjoined kingdom in Rogaland, since Haraldr, judging from *Haraldskvæði*, had two opponents in Hafrsfjord, Kjøtvi and Haklangr (both nicknames). In *Heimskringla*, there is a whole coalition of kingdoms opposing Haraldr at Hafrsfjord, among them “Kjøtvi inn auðgi, konungr af Qgðum, ok Þórir haklangr, sonr hans”.⁶³ This identification is probably only an interpretation of the poem on the part of the saga author, but in the case of at least these opponents the connection to Agder seems to be correct. Before the battle, a kingdom of Agder might have existed side by side with Haraldr’s *Hørða*-kingdom and the Vestfold-kingdom of the kings of *Ynglingatal*.

60 See, e.g., Jón Jóhannesson, *Íslands historie i mellomalderen*, 22–25, who admittedly is well on the way to accepting the “official” version of these events.

61 The reconstruction of Haraldr’s original kingdom is based in part on *Haraldskvæði*, in part on the royal estates that the kings’ sagas say that Haraldr possessed. The southernmost of these, at least Utstein and perhaps also Avaldsnes, he might have won at Hafrsfjord. See also Krag, *Vikingtid og rikssamling 800–1130*, 84–86.

62 *SkP* I, 100, 106.

63 Snorri Sturluson. *Heimskringla* I, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbarnarson, Íslenzk fornrit XXVI (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1941), 114.

It is possible that the king of Agder was a vassal under the Danish king just like the king of Vestfold.⁶⁴ Naturally, the most prominent leaders (of those who had not fallen) must have had the most compelling reasons to flee the country after such a decisive battle as Hafrsfjord. People further down the social ladder would have had better opportunities to come to terms with the new rulers. On this assumption, it follows that a substantial number of the settlers coming late to Iceland from Agder would have been prominent aristocrats in the then fallen kingdom of Agder, and this circumstance may have strengthened their identity as *Egðir* even long after they had arrived in Iceland, as a precious family memory.

These people from Agder, including the veterans of Hafrsfjord, would, however, amount to only a small minority of the settlers in Iceland, and they must have come later than most other immigrants, about a generation after the first settlers in the 870s. A passage of *Landnámabók* (see below) indicates as much, and it is also evident from a plain count of generations based on genealogies in *Landnámabók* and other sources. Archaeological excavations indicate that large parts of Iceland were settled within a relatively short period of time; the archaeologist Orri Vésteinsson claims that the best land was taken already by the 880s.⁶⁵ That is relatively long before the battle of Hafrsfjord, which most likely was fought in the last decade of the ninth century or as late as around the year 900.⁶⁶ In other words, the

64 Krag, *Vikingtid og rikssamling 800–1130*, 89.

65 Orri Vésteinsson, “The Archaeology of *Landnám*”, 167.

66 The traditional dating of the battle of Hafrsfjord to 872 cannot be correct, as pointed out by Halvdan Koht, “Um eit nytt grunnlag for tidrekninga i den elste [*sic*] historia vår”, in *idem, Imhogg og utsyn i norsk historie* (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1921), 34–51. Koht relied to a large extent on the number of generations in otherwise uncertain royal lineages when he argued for a dating of the battle closer to the year 900. A more reliable method would be to base the dating on the fact that the son of Haraldr hárfagri, Eiríkr blóðøx, must have been still going strong and able to bear arms when he fell in combat in 954 on Stainmore in Cumbria on the Yorkshire border, and he was thus probably born around 895 at the earliest (so also Koht, “Um eit nytt grunnlag”, 41; Claus Krag, “Eirík 1 Blóðøks”, *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, vol. 2, *Bry–Ernø*, ed. by Jon Gunnar Arntzen (Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget 2000), 435–36). Even though the kings’ sagas say that Eiríkr took over the kingdom after his father because he was the only queen-born of the brothers, it is more likely that Eiríkr inherited the kingdom by virtue of being the eldest (*pace* Krag, “Eirík 1 Blóðøks”); he was probably born about the same time as the battle, and not more than twenty years later (as the traditional dating implies). This is confirmed by the fact that his mother, Queen Ragnhildr, is mentioned in *Haraldskvæði*, in a manner that on the one hand gives the impression that she had been married to Haraldr for a while, and on the other lends confidence to the authenticity

Egðir from Hafrsfjord had to be satisfied with less fertile land than Ingolfr and his men who had arrived earlier; a fellow named Qunndr tréfótr, for example, whose participation in the battle of Hafrsfjord is mentioned in *Landnámabók*,⁶⁷ settled on a farm with the telling name of *Kaldbakr* ‘cold back’.

Recent DNA-studies of the Icelandic population have shown a considerable genetic element from the British Isles, and particularly so in the maternal lineage (mitochondrial DNA): as much as 62 percent of the maternal lines of today’s Icelanders can be traced back to Gaelic women, whereas between 75 and 80 percent of the male lines lead back to Scandinavia.⁶⁸ The simplest explanation of this is that a considerable contingent of the men who settled Iceland had lived in the British Isles for some time, that they had intermarried with Gaelic women, and had children by them. This explanation may be backed up to a certain extent by *Landnámabók* and the sagas, where it is a topos that Irish kings’ daughters were brought to Iceland and eventually married to Icelandic chieftains. Such intermarriages were probably not as common among the settlers that came somewhat later from Agder, who most likely were of Norse origin in both male and female lines. Even this may have contributed to distinguish them within the early Icelandic population.

of the stanza in question (st. 13 in the editions, e.g., *SkP* I, 107–08). A dating of Eiríkr blóðøx’s birth to about 895–900 and the battle of Hafrsfjord to ca. 900 seems on the whole to give the most likely chronology.

67 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 198.

68 Agnar Helgason *et al.*, “Estimating Scandinavian and Gaelic Ancestry in the Male Settlers of Iceland”, *American Journal of Human Genetics* 67 (2000): 714; *idem*, “mtDNA and the Islands of the North Atlantic: Estimating the Proportions of Norse and Gaelic Ancestry”, *American Journal of Human Genetics* 68 (2001): 731. A recent study of skeletons from the settlement period indicates a somewhat larger Gaelic element in the male lines (Y-chromosome) in a sample of 24 pre-Christian and 1 early-Christian individual, which shows a median of 57 percent Old Norse origin (S. Sunna Ebenesersdóttir *et al.*, “Ancient genomes from Iceland reveal the making of a human population”, *Science* 360 (2018): 1028–32). This is, as the authors call attention to, best explained by assuming that the men of Gaelic ethnicity came to Iceland as slaves and had inferior opportunities for successful reproduction than men of Norse origin. This must have been the case both short and long term, since their inferior socio-economic status would in most instances be inherited by the next generations.

Evidence of people from Agder and Hafrsfjord-veterans in *Landnámabók*

How do these hypotheses about a lost kingdom of Agder and latecoming *Egðir* to Iceland fit in with the written sources? We have seen that Ingjaldr's paternal grandfather, Þrándr mjóbeinn, supposedly came to Iceland as one of the men of the chieftain Geirmundr heljarskinn. According to *Landnámabók*, Geirmundr was a “herkonungr” and “átti ríki á Rogalandi”.⁶⁹ We learn that his reason for emigrating to Iceland was that he had been away from his kingdom for a long time “í vestrvíking”, and when he turned home, the battle of Hafrsfjord had taken place, and Haraldr had won all of Rogaland. Geirmundr then saw no other possibility except leaving for Iceland to seek his fortune there. According to *Landnámabók*, “Úlfr enn skjálgi frændi hans ok Steinólfr enn lági, son Hrólfhs hersis af Qgðum ok Qndóttar, systur Qlvis barnakarls” travelled together with him, and a little later we hear that also Þrándr mjóbeinn was with Geirmundr.⁷⁰ In other words, two of Geirmundr's closest allies came from Agder, and one of them is explicitly said to have been the son of a *hersir* and thus belonged to the aristocracy. Geirmundr's relative Ulfr, on the other hand, was most likely from the same district as Geirmundr himself in Rogaland. All these men took land in Breiðafjörður and in the Westfjords: Geirmundr first settled in Skarðsströnd, but later moved to the far north of the Westfjords and had his home at Hornstrandir;⁷¹ Ulfr inn skjálgi settled in Reykjanes,⁷² Steinólfr inn lági in Fagradalur in Skarðsströnd⁷³ and Þrándr mjóbeinn in Flatey.⁷⁴ Apart from those men who were closely associated with Geirmundr, there were other settlers from Agder in the same area as well. For example, there is one Eyvindr kné who “fór af Qgðum til Íslands” and took land in Álftafjörður and Seyðisfjörður.⁷⁵

69 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 152.

70 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 152–53.

71 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 153–54.

72 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 161.

73 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 156.

74 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 153.

75 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 187, 189.

These people were further connected through marital bonds: the son of Ulfr, Atli inn rauði, was married to a daughter of Steinolfr, Þorbjörg,⁷⁶ and their son, Már, was married to Þorkatla, the daughter of Hergils hnappraz after whom Hergilsey is named,⁷⁷ and whose father was Þrándr mjóbeinn; in other words, she was the sister of Ingjaldr in Hergilsey. The wife of Þrándr mjóbeinn was the daughter of Gils skeiðarnef, whose other daughter, Þorbjörg knarrarbringa, married Jorunðr, the son of Ulfr inn skjalgi.⁷⁸ There were thus multiple bonds for generations between these families from Agder.

Aside from this clustering in Breiðafjörður and in the Westfjords, there is mention of some people from Agder who settled in other areas, but these are fewer by far. Several places in *Landnámabók* mention a certain Qndóttir kráka, “er bjó í Hvínisfirði á Qgðum” and was married to Signý Sighvatsdóttir from Hlíðir in Víkin, and who was a kinsman by marriage to Helgi inn magri.⁷⁹ Qndóttir’s sons were Ásmundr and Ásgrímr, who came separately to Iceland and both settled in Eyjafjörður; in *Landnámabók*, the family of Ásgrímr is traced down to Hvamm-Sturla.⁸⁰ Together with Ásmundr a certain Bøðolfr ór Hvíni came to Iceland,⁸¹ the son of a Grímr Grímolfsson “af Qgðum”, who took land at Tjörnes in Suður-Þingeyjarsýsla in North Iceland.⁸² Later, a daughter of Bøðolfr, Þorgerðr, was married to Ásmundr.⁸³ Moreover, Qndóttir kráka had a sister’s son, Þrándr mjòksigliandi.⁸⁴ Of him it is told that he “var í Hafrsfirði mót Haraldi konungi ok varð síðan landflótti ok kom til Íslands síð landnámatiðar”; here we have an explicit reference to someone who fought in

76 In *Sturlubók* and *Hauksbók* it is said that Þorbjörg was a *sister* of Steinolfr, but she was more likely his daughter, as related in *Melabók* (see comment in *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 161).

77 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 161.

78 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 161, 163.

79 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 248. Peculiarly, this Qndóttir kráka has the same name, but in masculine form, as Qndótt, the mother of Steinolfr inn lági (see above). Possibly, different persons have been mixed up here, since the name, whether male or female, is uncommon.

80 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 264–67.

81 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 265.

82 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 278–80.

83 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 265.

84 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 249, 260.

Hafrsfjord and came “late” to Iceland. Þrándr took land between Þjórsá and Laxá and lived at Þrándarholt.⁸⁵

Finally, there were some people from Agder within the area claimed by Ingolfr on the Reykjanes peninsula, among them a certain Alfr inn egzki who “stókk fyrir Haraldi konungi af Qgðum ór Nóregi”.⁸⁶ He lived at Gnúpar in Ölfus in Southwest Iceland. Alfr had no children but brought with him to Iceland a brother’s son, Þorgrímr Grímolfsson, who would inherit from him. Þorgrímr was the paternal grandfather of Þóroddr goði (the maternal grandfather of Bishop Ísleifr) and Qzurr, who married Bera, the daughter of Egill Skalla-Grímsson.⁸⁷ Just before Alfr inn egzki, *Landnámabók* (both S and H) mentions Ormr inn gamli, “son Eyvindar jarls, Arnmóðssonar jarls, Nereiðssonar jarls ens gamla”, who took land in the same area; he lived at Hvammur in Ölfus. It is told of his father Eyvindr jarl that he “var með Kjøtva auðga mót Haraldi konungi í Hafrsfirði”.⁸⁸ This Ormr Eyvindarson probably came from Agder as well; Magnus Olsen has placed him among the members of the aristocratic Oddernes-family, which he reconstructs on the basis of two runic inscriptions on one and the same stone monument in the central church site Oddernes outside today’s Kristiansand.⁸⁹ The oldest of these inscriptions, from the tenth century, however fragmentary, mentions a (n)iriþs sun, and the other, from ca. 1025–1050, an ayintr (= *Æy[v]indr*), who states that he karþi kirkiu þisa (= *garði kirkju þessa* ‘made this church’) ... aopali sinu (= *á óðali sínu* ‘on his property’) and adds that he was kosunr olafs hins hala (= *go[ð]sunr Óláfs hins hal[g]a* ‘godson of St Óláfr’).⁹⁰ This Eyvindr is probably identical with the Eyvindr úrarhorn who, according to *Heimskringla*, was a close friend of Óláfr inn helgi.⁹¹ The similar names (*Nereiðr*, *Eyvindr*), the place (Agder) and the high positions that these men

85 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 379.

86 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 390, cf. pp. 391, 393.

87 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 392–93.

88 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 390.

89 *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer* (= *NlyR*), ed. by Magnus Olsen, 5 vols (Oslo 1941–1960), vol. 3, 97–100.

90 *NlyR*, vol. 3, 78, 80.

91 Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla* II, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, *Íslenzk fornrit XXVII* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1945), 82–85.

held – *jarls* in *Landnámabók* and church builder and the king’s godson in the Oddernes-inscription – seem to confirm Olsen’s hypothesis.

Landnámabók provides information about other men who fought against Haraldr in Hafrsfjord without revealing any link to Agder. About a certain Balki, who is supposed to have been “son Blæings Sótasonar af Sótanesi” (i.e. Sotenäs in Västergötland), it is told that “hann barðisk á mót Haraldri konungi í Hafrsfirði”. Balki took the whole of Hrútafjörður and lived at Bær.⁹² Balki was the paternal great-grandfather of Björn Hítðlakappi, the main character of *Bjarnar saga*. Likewise, *Landnámabók* places a Hallvarðr ságandi, who “var í orrostu móti Haraldri konungi í Hafrsfirði”, in “Súgandafjörður ok Skálavík til Stiga”,⁹³ which is in Ísafjarðarsýsla in North-West Iceland, close to the aforementioned Eyvindr kné.⁹⁴ Finally, Qnundr tréfoþr, “son Ófeigs burlufótar, Ívarssonar beytils”, was “í móti Haraldri konungi í Hafrsfirði ok lét þar fót sinn”. Afterwards, he left for Iceland and settled in Strandir in the Westfjords and lived at Kaldbakr,⁹⁵ not far from one of the farms of Geirmundr heljarskinn. Qnundr, according to *Landnámabók*, was the paternal great-grandfather of Grettir Ásmundarson, the hero of *Grettis saga*, and the brother of Guðbjörg, who was supposedly the paternal grandmother of Ásta Guðbrandsdóttir, the mother of Óláfr inn helgi. The historicity of this last lineage could be contested, but it would not be surprising if Óláfr, who was clearly of Norwegian descent, had ancestors in the fallen kingdom of Agder.

To sum up: there is a clear match in *Landnámabók* between an Agder origin and participation in or association with the battle of Hafrsfjord. That applies to Geirmundr heljarskinn and his men, as well as to Þrándr mjöksiglandi, who came to Iceland “late in the settlement period”, Alfr inn egzki and Ormr inn gamli, the son of a *jarl* and probably of the Oddernes-family. This is hardly accidental, but lends credence to the hypothesis that Haraldr’s main adversaries in Hafrsfjord were aristocrats from Agder.

92 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 89, 200.

93 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 186.

94 See the settlement map of the Westfjords in *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, “Vestfirðir”.

95 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, 198.

Conclusions

In this article, we have seen that the kenning *Egða andspillir* in st. 17 of *Gísla saga* most likely should be understood as a *við(r)kenning*, as a factual statement about Gísli, that he indeed was ‘a confidant of the *Egðir*’, that is the people from Agder. We have further seen that the *Egðir* referred to are most likely to be the family of Ingjaldr in Hergilsey, who according to *Gísla saga*, *Landnámabók* and *Þorskfirðinga saga* housed the outlaw Gísli, for three full winters if *Gísla saga* is to be believed. According to *Landnámabók*, Ingjaldr’s paternal grandfather, Þrándr mjóbeinn, came to Iceland from Agder as one of the men of the legendary chieftain Geirmundr heljarskinn. The author of *Gísla saga* evidently did not know this tradition and confused Ingjaldr in Hergilsey with another Ingjaldr who plays a marginal role earlier in the saga and who was a Norwegian relative of Gísli. This, in turn, is a strong argument in favour of the authenticity of the stanza that contains the kenning *Egða andspillir*: it was not composed by the author of *Gísla saga*, notwithstanding that he may have composed other stanzas in the saga.⁹⁶ The obscure kenning *Egða andspillir*, which would make sense only to a select group of people, is a strong indication that this stanza belongs to the core of Gísli’s authentic compositions. The circumstance that Ingjaldr is mentioned in another of Gísli’s stanzas (st. 23 in the saga) – this time by name – where Gísli is lamenting that the good days at Ingjaldr’s in Hergilsey have come to an end, and that he has to run away to escape his enemies, points in the same direction: both stanzas (17 and 23) should be regarded as genuine productions of the historical Gísli, and there is nothing formal about them, in language, metre or rhyme, that precludes such a conclusion.

These observations on Gísli’s poetic language raise the question whether the mention of Ingjaldr’s household as the *Egðir* implies that such classification or characterization of the settlers according to their ancestors’ home districts in Norway was a common feature of early Icelandic society. There is nothing unreasonable about such a hypothesis in itself, given that Iceland at the time was a recently settled community, but a study of persons who are said to have come to Iceland from Agder in *Landnámabók* rather suggests that they came relatively late (about one generation after

96 See Myrvoll, “The Authenticity of Gísli’s Verse”, 250–51.

the first settlers in the 870s) and had a special identity and status linked to the fact that the military leaders among them had fought against Haraldr hárfagri in the decisive battle of Hafrsfjord around the year 900. Although it is not stated explicitly in *Landnámabók*, the forefathers of Ingjaldr in Hergilsey most likely belonged to the retinue of aristocrats who had to flee from the conquered kingdom of Agder after Haraldr hárfagri's victory in the battle of Hafrsfjord. Later this originally small contingent of settlers would occupy a prominent place in Icelandic historiography, where those Norwegians who were forced to leave their homeland because of Haraldr's *ofriki* became a symbol of the independent and freedom-seeking Icelanders who insisted on being their own masters and refused to be subjugated by the Norwegian Crown. Thus, the *Egðir* of Hafrsfjord became the seeds of a crucial part of Icelandic national mythology.

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ABSTRACT

Keywords: *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, skaldic poetry, kennings, the settlement of Iceland, the battle of Hafrsfjord

Gísla saga Súrssonar (thirteenth century) is famous for the tragic destiny of its main character, the Norwegian settler and outlaw Gísli Súrsson, a destiny that to some extent is predicted by the many dream stanzas Gísli utters in the saga. In one of these stanzas, Gísli refers to himself as *Egða andspillir* 'confidant of the *Egðir*', i.e. the people of the Norwegian region of Agder. This kenning has puzzled skaldic scholars and editors of *Gísla saga*, and no satisfactory explanation has so far been proposed. In the present article, this kenning is explained as a *við(r)kenning*, that is, a description in terms of a person's attributes, which is based on factual knowledge about the person involved. I evaluate the stanza as authentic, and so implying that Gísli actually was the friend of people in Iceland in the tenth century who could be called *Egðir*. I show that these *Egðir* most likely were members of the family of Ingjaldr in Hergilsey, who according to the saga hid Gísli from his enemies for three years, and whom Gísli mentions in one of his other stanzas. *Landnámabók* tells us that Ingjaldr's paternal grandfather came to Iceland from Agder together with the chieftain Geirmundr heljarskinn, and that Geirmundr and his men had to flee from Norway because of the new centralized rule of Haraldr hárfagri. The story about Haraldr's *ofríki* ('harsh rule') is probably exaggerated in the Icelandic tradition, but there is support in the sources for the hypothesis that a retinue of men who lost against Haraldr in the battle of Hafrsfjord (ca. 900) left Agder for Iceland. The fact that Ingjaldr and his family could be considered *Egðir* two generations and more than sixty years after they had left Agder calls for an explanation.

This article argues that the special background of these families in a lost kingdom of Agder may have contributed to strengthening their identity as a special group of people in the recently populated Iceland.

ÁGRIP

Lykilorð: *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, dróttkvæði, kenningar, landnám Íslands, Hafursfjarðarorrusta

Gísli Súrsson sem *andspillir Egða*: Einkennileg kenning og það sem hún gefur til kynna um sjálfsmynd Íslendinga á 10. öld

Gísla saga Súrssonar (frá 13. öld) er þekkt fyrir harmþrungin örlög Gísla en hann var landnámsmaður frá Noregi og síðar útlagi. Þessi örlög koma meðal annars fram í mörgum draumvísum sem Gísli mælir í sögunni. Í einni vísunni kallar Gísli sig *Egða andspilli*, ‘málvin Egða’, en Egðir eru þeir sem byggja Agðir í Noregi. Útgefendur og vísaskýrendur hafa brotið heilann um þessa kenningu en ekki komist að sannfærandi niðurstöðum. Í þessari grein er kenningin skýrð sem *við(ur)kenning*, það er að segja mannkenning sem byggist á staðreynd um tiltekinn einstakling. Ég tel að Gísli sé raunverulega höfundur vísunnar og að hún gefi þar með til kynna að hann hafi átt vini á Íslandi á 10. öld sem hægt hefur verið að kalla Egði. Ég sýni að Egðir þessir voru líklegast ættmenn Ingjalds í Hegilsey en Gísli nefnir Ingjald í einni vísunni og samkvæmt sögunni faldi hann Gísla fyrir óvinum hans í þrjú ár. Landnámabók segir að föðurafi Ingjalds hafi komið til Íslands frá Ögðum með höfðingjanum Geirmundi heljarskinni en Geirmundur og menn hans flýðu undan Haraldi hárfagra. Sennilega gera íslenskar frásagnir of mikið úr „ofriki“ Haralds hárfagra en heimildir styðja þó að þeir sem biðu ósigur fyrir Haraldi í Hafursfjarðarorrustu (um 900) hafi flúið til Íslands frá Ögðum. Þá á þó eftir að skýra hvers vegna Ingjaldur og hans fólk gætu nefnst Egðir tveimur kynslóðum og sextíu árum eftir flóttann frá Ögðum. Hér legg ég til að fólkið sem um ræðir hafi verið upprunnið í föllnu konungdæmi í Ögðum og það hafi styrkt tengslin í nýja heimalandinu.

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THE SILENCED TRAUMA
IN THE *ÍSLENDINGASÖGUR*¹

1. Introduction

‘BÆNDUR FLUGUST Á’, or ‘farmers fighting each other’: this is Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík’s description of the *Íslendingasögur*, the ‘family sagas’. Despite its apparent cynicism, Jón’s impression is accurate in that it seems true that saga characters release social tension by seizing every opportunity to initiate fights, duels, and skirmishes, which often turn into long-lasting feuds.² It would be only logical, then, for the narratives to feature countless descriptions of injuries and of impairments; yet, the *Íslendingasögur* refrain from dealing at length with injuries, wounds, chopped-off legs, or other physical or mental traumas. In contrast to the modern-day culture of intensive discussion of physical and mental well-being, the *Íslendingasögur* follow a different path by remaining silent about impairments. One cannot help but develop the impression that such incidents are not considered relevant either for the plot or for the character concerned.³

Nonetheless, dis/ability⁴ does not go unnoticed in the saga world, even though it is not often verbally expressed and addressed. This article aims

- 1 This publication is part of the interdisciplinary project *Disability before Disability* (dbd.hi.is), based at the University of Iceland and chaired by Prof. Hanna Björg Sigurjónsdóttir. The research is funded by the Icelandic Research Fund, Grant of Excellence, no. 173655-051. My thanks go to Sólveig Ólafsdóttir for very helpful discussions when preparing this article. I am also indebted to Ármann Jakobsson, Stefanie Gropper, Rebecca Merkelbach, Eva Þórdís Ebenezersdóttir, and Alexander Wilson for very valuable and inspiring feedback on previous drafts of this article.
- 2 In this article, the terms *saga world*, *saga character*, and *saga society* refer exclusively to observations made in context of the genre of the *Íslendingasögur*.
- 3 See John P. Sexton, “Difference and Disability: On the Logic of Naming in the Icelandic Sagas,” *Disability in the Middle Ages. Reconsiderations and Reverberations*, ed. by Joshua R. Eyler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 149–150; and Lois Bragg “From the Mute God to the Lesser God: Disability in Medieval Celtic and Old Norse Literature,” *Disability & Society* 12.2 (1997): 172–173.
- 4 On dis/ability studies, the spelling of dis/ability with a slash, and the differentiation between *impairment* and *disability*, see below.

to unlock the silence of the *Íslendingasögur* regarding embodied difference that saga characters experience and suffer through their participation in combat. I argue that this silence has deeply personal implications for the impaired characters concerned and can potentially be understood as an expression of trauma connected to a loss of symbolic capital, in the sense articulated by Pierre Bourdieu.

When a saga character becomes impaired, three different but inter-related responses by the saga character, saga society, and the saga narrative can be identified. Saga characters, mostly men, who are wounded in combat and suffer an impairment, hardly ever voice their attempts to cope with the situation and remain silent. They are left alone to work through this traumatic experience and come to terms with the impairment and its potential implications for their social standing and reputation – that is, the loss of symbolic capital through the impairment becoming a disability. Saga society, is not interested in the feelings or the personal and social implications of an impairment. For saga society, the body is primarily of interest as a valuable asset that is used for negotiating peace agreements and defining compensation payments; in part, these discussions aim at redressing the impaired character, but their greater purpose is the restoration of social equilibrium. Once negotiations have successfully come to a close, neither the saga character nor the impairment are of societal concern any longer, and any social reaction fades into silence.

The silence on the intradiegetic level is also mirrored on the extradiegetic level, where the narratorial voice tends to mention injuries and impairments inflicted in battle only in passing and expresses these details using an unemotional and matter-of-fact tone. The saga narrative itself thus resorts to a fragmentary depiction of impairment in order to maintain an ostensibly objective stance. In refraining from dealing with such traumatising experiences, saga narratives employ the device of narrative prosthesis. Modelled on the idea of a material prosthesis, the concept of narrative prosthesis refers to the use of textual elements and modes to disguise or distract attention from potentially unsettling embodied difference in order not to disturb an audience.⁵ Hence, the silence in the *Íslendingasögur*

5 David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis: Disability and the Dependencies of Discourse*, Corporealities: Discourses of Disability (Ann Arbor (MI): The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 3–8.

towards impairment functions as a narrative prosthesis, but it should not be considered an expression of indifference or even ignorance; rather, it emerges as a serious and telling taciturnity that strongly urges an audience to read between the lines.

In this article, I suggest that the narrative silence of these texts represents a disability, or more accurately an inability – namely, the inability to deal with traumatic incidents of impairment on the narratological level of the saga as much as on the intradiegetic level of the saga characters and their society. After a brief introduction to those aspects of dis/ability studies and dis/ability history that are foundational for my argument, I focus on an episode from *Eyrbyggja saga* (ch. 45) as a starting point and case study to support my argument; the discussion also occasionally draws on examples from other *Íslendingasögur*. Methodologically, the aforementioned dis/ability approach is complemented by and expanded in reference to further relevant concepts, including the previously mentioned idea of narrative prosthesis, insights from trauma theory, and Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of capital. I argue that these theoretical concepts offer a way to see beyond the reluctance of the sagas to talk about embodied difference and to understand how saga society attempts to deal with the traumatic experience of dis/ability.

Before beginning the discussion, it is important to define certain terminological usages. I use the terms *dis/ability* and *embodied difference* synonymously to refer generally to a holistic, multi-faceted, and context-dependent discourse of dis/ability as outlined and developed by scholars such as Cordula Nolte, Irina Metzler, and Tom Shakespeare.⁶ Moreover, I spell *dis/ability* with a slash in order to emphasise the complex relationship between disability and ability, which are best thought of not as mutually

6 For modern dis/ability studies, see Tom Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs* (London: Routledge, 2006) and *Disability Rights and Wrongs Revisited* (London: Routledge, 2014). For dis/ability history, see Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking About Physical Impairment During the High Middle Ages, c. 1100–1400*, Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture (London: Routledge, 2006); Christina Lee, “Able, Disabled, Enabled: An Attempt to Define *Disability* in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Dis/ability*, ed. by Cordula Nolte, *WerkstattGeschichte* 65 (Essen: Klartext, 2015), 41–54; Cordula Nolte, “Editorial,” *Dis/ability*, ed. by Cordula Nolte, *WerkstattGeschichte* 65 (Essen: Klartext, 2015), 3–8; and Nolte et. al., *Dis/ability History der Vormoderne: ein Handbuch. Premodern Dis/ability History: A Companion* (Affalterbach: Didymos, 2017).

exclusive, but rather as inseparable categories of analysis.⁷ The distinction that I employ between *impairment* and *disability* emerges from certain branches of dis/ability studies that differentiate between the two terms,⁸ using *impairment* to denote the medical aspects of a dis/ability and *disability* to refer collectively to potential social reactions that can take place to an impairment (e.g. tolerance or stigma). In their studies into medieval, mostly non-Scandinavian European sources, Irina Metzler and Christina Lee observe that these sources primarily show impairment, which suggests the distinction is a useful one for analysis of medieval material.⁹ Consequently, I follow Metzler and Lee to the extent that I distinguish between impairment and disability whenever applicable or helpful for the argument.

Finally, it should be noted that the Old Norse texts quoted in the following pages use terms that may appear offensive and derogative to a modern audience. The terms are quoted unchanged in order to give an unaltered impression of the original semantics and their contexts. Thus, the choice and use of the Old Norse terms represent neither the author's choice of formulation, nor her personal opinion on the topic of dis/ability. In the general discussion of dis/ability, which is informed by recent scholarship, I use terms that are as neutral as possible in their connotations so as not to offend or hurt people.

2. Dis/ability Studies and Dis/ability history

In the 1980s the field of dis/ability studies emerged from an intense and newly surfaced discourse about society's reaction to and interaction with disabled people. Strongly influenced by disability activism, dis/ability studies has experienced significant developments in moving from a pre-

7 Cordula Nolte, "Editorial," 3–4.

8 One of these branches is that of 'social dis/ability studies', which was first developed in the UK in the 1970s. This model maintains that it is society that disables people because it is not open enough to accept embodied difference; it thus proposes thinking about the binary pair of impairment / disability in order to capture the physical and social issues that disabled people have to deal with. For further reading, see Shakespeare, "Disability Rights and Wrongs Revisited," and Watson et al., *Routledge Handbook of Disability Studies* (London: Routledge, 2012).

9 Metzler, "Disability in Medieval Europe," 190; Lee, "Able, Disabled, Enabled," 41.

dominantly medical approach, which saw dis/ability as a defect inherent to an individual,¹⁰ to a more holistic understanding of dis/ability.¹¹ Because of the universal presence of dis/ability in society, dis/ability studies play a crucial role in any sociocultural discourse. Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky therefore demand that '[l]ike gender, like race, disability must become a standard analytical tool in the historian's tool chest'.¹² Only then will it be possible to move beyond a monothematic history of dis/ability.

The subfield of dis/ability history, which has developed over the past few decades, shares the premise that dis/ability is most accurately understood as a multifactorial phenomenon. Yet whilst dis/ability studies and dis/ability history share certain critical approaches and research questions, they are distinctive disciplines for a simple reason: it is not generally advisable to apply modern dis/ability concepts and methodological tools directly to premodern sources. The need to take sociocultural contexts into account becomes even more pressing with regard to premodern sources, as there is no fixed definition of dis/ability that applies in all historical contexts; rather, the notion of dis/ability can be defined only in relation to a particular set of social, economic, cultural, temporal, and geographical parameters, and is therefore given shape in countless expressions. Accordingly, one of the basic research questions in dis/ability history more broadly is whether premodern societies used a concept of dis/ability that was defined by physical, mental, and psychological parameters.¹³

Yet our comparatively limited understanding of the various contextual parameters outlined above means that it is often much more challenging to define dis/ability in earlier historical contexts than in our contemporary

10 Shakespeare "Disability Rights and Wrongs," 15–19, and "Disability Rights and Wrongs Revisited," 13.

11 The scope of this article does not allow for a detailed overview of the state of the art in the field of dis/ability studies. For further reading, see Shakespeare, "Disability Rights and Wrongs" and "Disability Rights and Wrongs Revisited," Watson, "Routledge Handbook," and Joshua R. Eyer, *Disability in the Middle Ages: Reconsiderations and Reverberations* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

12 Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky. "Introduction: Disability History: from the Margins to the Mainstream," *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, ed. by Paul Longmore and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 15.

13 Bianca Frohne and Cordula Nolte, "In der Werkstatt: Das Forschungsprogramm 'Dis/ability History in der Vormoderne,'" *Dis/ability History der Vormoderne: ein Handbuch. Premodern Dis/ability History: A Companion*, ed. by Cordula Nolte, Bianca Frohne, Uta Halle and Sonja Kerth (Affalterbach: Didymos, 2017), 21.

world. Because of this difficulty, many scholars consider it helpful to speak of *embodied difference*.¹⁴ Any physical or mental difference – be it a congenital, temporary, or lasting impairment – eventually becomes an embodied difference. This concept not only frees us from conventional perspectives, enabling us to paint a more diversified picture, but also emphasises how physical as well as mental health issues are manifested in and expressed through the body, which remains a central element in the discussion on dis/ability. The body acts as a translator and makes the embodied difference visible to the society.¹⁵

Within Old Norse literary studies, dis/ability history perspectives have been introduced only in the last couple of decades.¹⁶ In the 1990s, Lois Bragg took up the dis/ability discourse in various articles that were later collected in her seminal book *Oedipus borealis* (2004).¹⁷ Since then, the topic of dis/ability has generated some interest in the field, not least in relation to Old Norse mythology and the conspicuously high number of physically impaired gods.¹⁸ Regarding Old Norse saga literature, especially

- 14 Nolte, “Editorial,” 3; and Anne Waldschmidt, “Warum und wozu brauchen die Disability Studies die Disability History? Programmatische Überlegungen,” *Disability History: Konstruktionen von Behinderung in der Geschichte. Eine Einführung*, ed. by Elsbeth Bösl, Anne Klein and Anne Waldschmidt, Disability Studies: Körper – Macht – Differenz 6 (Bielefeld: transcript, 2010) 14–15.
- 15 Visibility is not necessarily coterminous with scrutinising glances or staring, but refers in the first place to becoming aware and perceiving embodied difference. On the topic of staring, see Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, *Staring: How We Look* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- 16 For an overview of the state-of-the-art of history in Old Norse literary studies, see Ármann Jakobsson, “Fötlun á Íslandi á miðöldum: Svipmyndir,” *Fötlun og menning: Íslandssagan í öðru ljósi*, ed. by Hanna Sigurjónsdóttir, Ármann Jakobsson, and Kristín Björnsdóttir (Reykjavík: Félagsvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands – Rannsóknarsetur í fötlunarfræðum, 2013), 51–69; and Ármann Jakobsson et al., “Disability Before Disability: Mapping the Uncharted in the Medieval Sagas,” *Scandinavian Studies* 92.4 (2020): 440–460.
- 17 See Lois Bragg, “Disfigurement, Disability, and Dis-integration in *Sturlunga saga*,” *alvissmál* 4 (1994): 15–32, “Mute God”, “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 / New York: Routledge, 2000), 128–143, and *Oedipus Borealis: The Aberrant Body in Old Icelandic Myth and Saga* (Madison / Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004).
- 18 See Kolfína Jónatansdóttir, “‘Blindur er betri en brenndur sé’: Um norræna guði og skerðingar,” *Fötlun og menning: Íslandssagan í öðru ljósi*, ed. by Hanna Björg Sigurjónsdóttir, Ármann Jakobsson, and Kristín Björnsdóttir, (Reykjavík: Félagsvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands – Rannsóknasetur í fötlunarfræðum, 2013), 27–49.

the *Íslendingasögur*, the main research interest of dis/ability-oriented publications has been in the analysis of injured and impaired saga characters¹⁹ and less on the narratological function of and saga society's reaction to dis/ability. In the following discussion, I explore how saga society deals with dis/ability and suggest some analytical tools, i.e. narrative prosthesis and trauma theory, that may prove effective for moving beyond the silence of non-verbalised and potentially traumatising experiences of dis/ability.

3. The Case of the Þorbrandssynir

Chapter 45 of *Eyrbyggja saga* presents an account of a battle and its aftermath, told in a superficially humorous way. Shortly before Yule, the now-rival groups of the Þorbrandssynir and the Þorlákssynir unexpectedly encounter each other at a cliff of the ice-covered Vigrafjörðr on the Snæfellsnes peninsula, where they immediately begin to exchange blows. The fight is the climax of long-simmering animosities between these two groups, who were once relatively closely acquainted and are already connected by marriage. Tensions first arose when Þorleifr kimbi Þorbrandsson has his request to marry the sister of the Þorlákssynir denied on the alleged grounds that Þorleifr is unmanly and has not avenged insulting statements and actions against him in the past. Several men become wounded in the fight and the Þorbrandssynir retreat to the farm of their foster-brother Snorri goði at Helgafell.

Snorri goði accommodates the men and takes care of their wounds. The saga mentions Þóroddr Þorbrandsson's large neck-wound first ('hafði svá mikit sár aptan á hálsinn,²⁰ [(he) had such a big wound at the back of his neck]), then turns to a second wound of his that seems to be discovered only by accident. As the men at Helgafell assist Þóroddr with taking off his blood-soaked leggings, they comment that it is difficult to remove his

19 For studies on impaired saga characters, see, for example: Bragg, "Disfigurement", "Impaired and Inspired," and *Oedipus Borealis*; Ármann Jakobsson, "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: *Bárðar saga* and its Giants," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 15 (2005): 1–15, "Svipmyndir," and *The Troll Inside You: Paranormal Activity in the Medieval North* (New York: Punctum Books, 2017); and Sexton, "Difference and Disability."

20 *Eyrbyggja saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, *Íslensk fornrit* 4 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag 1935, repr. 1985), 129. All English translations from Old Norse sources are my own.

leggings: ‘Eigi er þat logit af yðr Þorbrandssonum, er þér eruð sundrgörðamenn miklir, at þér hafið klæði svá þrøng, at eigi verðr af yðr komit’²¹ [It is no lie that you, sons of Þorbrandr, are very fancy dressers, as you have such tight-fitting clothes that it is difficult to get them off you]. Only then does Snorri goði notice that it is not the tight clothes that are the problem, but rather the fact that ‘spjót stóð í gegnum fótinn milli hásinarinnar ok fótleggsins’²² [a spear pierced the leg through between the heel and the lower leg]. Despite this description of the wound, the saga does not specify, or even mention, if and how the men take care of it; the audience is left to assume that this severe wound is treated medically.

The scene is soon after mirrored in the depiction of Þóroddr’s brother Snorri, of whom it is initially said that he ‘var hressastr þeira bræðra’²³ [was in the best condition of the brothers]. This comment is soon put into perspective, however, when it turns out that Snorri is having difficulty eating; and on being asked why he is eating so little and so slowly, Snorri answers laconically that ‘lombunum væri tregast um átit, fyrst er þau eru nýkefld’²⁴ [lambs are quite reluctant to eat just after they are newly gagged].²⁵ As he did previously, Snorri goði investigates his kinsman for a further wound; in feeling his name-sake’s throat, he discovers a broken-off arrowhead sticking in the throat down to the root of his tongue (‘Þá þreifaði Snorri goði um kverkrnar á honum ok fann, at or stóð um þverar kverkrnar ok í tungurætrnar,’²⁶ [Then Snorri goði felt his (Snorri Þorbandsson’s) throat and found that an arrow stood across the throat and in the roots of the tongue]). This time, however, it is made explicit that the object is removed with the help of a pair of tongs, but again the saga does not say how the wound is treated after the arrow-head’s removal. Instead, the short scene is brought to a close with another offhanded comment: ‘Ok eptir þat mataðisk hann [Snorri]’²⁷ [And after that he ate].

21 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 129.

22 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 130.

23 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 130.

24 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 130.

25 This statement alludes to the practice of farmers weaning lambs by putting a stick in their mouth laterally, meaning that they can no longer suckle as the stick pokes the udder of the ewe.

26 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 130.

27 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 130.

One of the striking aspects of this episode is the way the wounds are noticed and dealt with on a narratological level. The injuries are not noticed because a character expresses severe pain or because the wounds are quickly identified by the people at Helgafell; rather, they are noticed only when those injured find it difficult to perform mundane actions. Astonishingly, it is not the warriors themselves but Snorri goði, a third party, who discovers the literal thorn in each character's flesh. Furthermore, Snorri goði identifies the nature of injuries because he *feels* the limbs that are causing problems. In each case, the verb *þreif*a, meaning 'to feel with the hand, touch'²⁸ is used to express how Snorri goði traces and identifies the impaired person's medical problem, as is apparent from the above quotation regarding Snorri Þorbrandsson's injury and the following lines regarding Þóroddr's leg injury: 'Þá gekk til Snorri goði ok þreifaði um fótinn [Þórodds] ok fann, at spjót stóð í gegnum fótinn milli hásinarinnar ok fótleggsins ok hafði níst allt saman, fótinn ok brókina'²⁹ [Then Snorri the chieftain went up and touched the foot (of Þóroddr) and realised that a spear pierced the leg between the heel and the lower leg and had pinned everything together, the leg and the breeches]. Apparently, saga characters have an unusually high tolerance for pain.

The saga then turns back to Þóroddr and the injury at the back of his neck that was first mentioned. As the blow that Þóroddr received has cut through the sinews, his head is tilted slightly forward. While Þóroddr wants Snorri goði to reposition his head in a violent manner, Snorri goði refuses to do anything about the injury. Instead, he offers a rudimentary medical analysis of the situation and mentions a period of healing. In the form of a prolepsis the audience is even told about the result, a rare insight:

Þá segir Þóroddr, at Snorri vildi grœða hann at ørkumlamanni, en Snorri goði kvazk ætla, at upp myndi hefja hofuðit, þá er sinarnar knýtti; en Þóroddr vildi eigi annat en aptr væri rifit sárit ok sett hofuðit réttara. En þetta fór sem Snorri gat, at þá er sinarnar knýtti, hóf upp hofuðit, ok mátti hann lítt lúta jafnan síðan.³⁰

28 Geir T. Zoëga, *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in assoc. with the Medieval Academy of America, 2004), 516.

29 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 129–130.

30 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 130.

[Then Þóroddr says that Snorri wanted to heal him by making him a cripple, but Snorri the chieftain said he thought that the head would raise up again once the sinews knitted together; but Þóroddr did not want anything other than for the wound to be torn open again and the head set straighter. But it went as Snorri guessed: when the sinews knitted together, the head raised up, and from then on he could only bend it slightly.]

Þóroddr's reaction to Snorri goði's decision is striking in that he does not consider himself maimed at this point: In Þóroddr's opinion, he will only become an *ørkumlamaðr*, that is, a person maimed for life, if Snorri refuses to do something about his head.³¹ The conceptualisation of the impairment as a lasting condition is thus only a possible outcome and not yet seen as a reality, since the outcome depends on Snorri goði's actions. He is evidently skilled in treating wounds and predicting healing processes, as his suggestion proves to be true: the sinews heal and Þóroddr's head straightens again. The only remaining consequence is that Þóroddr can no longer properly incline his head, but this issue is of no importance for the rest of the saga.

The episode concludes with the saga stating that Snorri goði healed all the Þorbrandssynir. This is not entirely true, however, as Þorleifr kimbi, the third brother, was also involved in the fight and was wounded. During a fierce exchange of blows, 'hjó hann (Steinþórr Þorláksson) til Þorleifs kimba ok undan honum fótinn fyrir neðan kné'³² [he (Steinþórr Þorláksson) struck at Þorleifr kimbi and cut off his leg below the knee]. Later, at Helgafell, nothing is said about whether and how Þorleifr's wound is taken care of. It is only at the very end of the chapter that one short sentence informs the audience about Þorleifr's fate: 'Þorleifr kimbi gekk alla stund síðan við tréfót'³³ [From then on Þorleifr kimbi always walked with a wooden leg].

31 The word *ørkum(b)lamaðr* translates as 'maimed person, cripple, invalid'. The semantic core is a compound of *ørr* ('scar') and *kum(b)l* ('mark, sign, badge'); see Zoëga, "Dictionary," 530, 251. *Ørkumlamaðr* thus emphasises the fact that the scars are not temporary, but mark the individual for a lifetime; hence, being or becoming an *ørkumlamaðr* implies a crucial change in one's fate.

32 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 127–128.

33 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 130.

It is worth noting that this episode from *Eyrbyggja saga* is in many ways unusual within the corpus of the *Íslendingasögur* precisely because of its lengthy description of the events at Helgafell and its detailed depictions of the brothers' injuries and impairments. Yet whilst the passage is not paradigmatic of the *Íslendingasögur*, it nonetheless offers a good starting point for further discussions of dis/ability. Its unusual features potentially facilitate an approach to the topic of dis/ability in the sagas, because the contrast to conventional saga comments on injuries and impairments is made clearer by comparison. The episode can therefore serve as a useful bridge to the main focus of the article, namely the narrative silence regarding dis/ability and trauma.

4. 'Silence of the Limbs'

It is striking how seemingly uninterested *Eyrbyggja saga* is in telling the audience about Þorleifr kimbi's fate, particularly as regards the last sentence in the episode about his wooden leg, but this brevity and detached style is encountered fairly regularly when sagas talk about injuries and impairments. Still, the apparent indifference of the *Íslendingasögur* in this respect should not be considered to the detriment of these narratives. Being taciturn does not necessarily imply that the sagas are devoid of engagement with dis/ability; rather, this apparent lack suggests that the sagas follow a literary agenda with different priorities. The silence about medical issues of all sorts is broadly comparable to the lack of verbalised expressions of emotions, as Sif Ríkharðsdóttir details in her *Emotion in Old Norse Literature*.³⁴ Sif's close readings demonstrate that the sagas tend to transpose verbal expressions of emotions by transferring them into dramatic action. In view of the narrative silence regarding impairments, it may well be that the sagas choose to convey their concern for dis/ability in ways other than descriptions.

Regarding dis/ability, the previous discussion of the episode in *Eyrbyggja saga* suggests that four main aspects constitute the conspicuous narrative silence. First, the injured often refrain from pointing out their wounds, while the narrative itself pays little to no attention to the medi-

34 Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, *Emotion in Old Norse Literature: Translations, Voices, Contexts*, Studies in Old Norse Literature 1 (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), 57.

cal treatment of their injuries and impairments. Second, there is a paucity of emotional response to injuries from both the impaired persons and society at large. Third, the potential medical and social consequences of injuries and impairments are not openly addressed. Fourth, the saga does not return to previous cases of injuries and impairment, but rather moves on after incidents leading to dis/ability. At this point, of course, these four aspects could only be thought of as tendencies; whether they apply more generally within the corpus of the *Íslendingasögur* will require further refinement on the basis of exhaustive and detailed discussions well beyond the scope of this article. Yet they are useful here as a brief sketch of some key ways in which saga narratives are generally silent when it comes to matters of injuries and impairments.

The episode from *Eyrbyggja saga* depicts neither the injured characters nor the community as paying attention to wounds, to the extent that such impairments seem to go entirely unnoticed. The Þorbrandssynir only seem to acknowledge publicly their injuries when they experience difficulties with everyday actions; otherwise, it suffices for the narrator to mention their injuries in passing by employing stereotypical and unspecific formulations and terms.³⁵ In a fight against a group of the Norwegian king's followers, Egill Skallagrímsson receives multiple wounds that are described in a rather superficial manner, with the saga saying of him only that he had 'mörg sár ok engi stór'³⁶ [many wounds, but no serious (literally 'big') ones]. It is similarly said of the eponymous protagonist of *Þórðar saga breðu* that he 'hafði fengit mörg sár ok stór'³⁷ [had received many serious wounds] from a fight against three attackers. Yet neither Egill nor Þórðr is fated to die at this point in his saga, and there is presumably no narrative benefit to be gained in being more specific about their injuries.

Of course, there are exceptions to this general tendency, as in the case of Auðr, the wife of Þórarinn svarti Þórólfsson, in *Eyrbyggja saga*. When Auðr tries to separate two groups in battle, her hand is cut off, perhaps accidentally; Þórarinn notices the incident only after the attackers have

35 It can often be observed that those wounds that either do not cause a character to become *óvígr* 'unable to fight' or that prove fatal often remain unspecified in the *Íslendingasögur*.

36 *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, *Íslenzk fornrit 2* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1933, repr. 2012), 237.

37 *Þórðar saga breðu*, in *Kjalnesinga saga*, ed. by Jóhannes Halldórsson, *Íslenzk fornrit 14* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag 1959, repr. 2007), 197.

left the farm and he sees a woman's hand lying in the yard. Þórarinn looks for his wife and finds her lying in bed; she does not positively confirm his suspicion that it is she who lost the hand, but merely asks him not to worry about her ('Auðr bað hann ekki um þat hirða,'³⁸ [Auðr asked him to pay no mind to it]). Her behaviour is a sure sign for her husband that it is her hand that he found in the yard, however, and he rushes off to pursue the attackers in order to avenge Auðr's impairment. While Auðr plays her injury down, potentially to stop Þórarinn from any further actions, it seems that Auðr's impairment is ultimately less disturbing for Þórarinn than the potential social damage that he and his wife experience because of the incident. This reading is reinforced later on when rumours spread that Þórarinn himself cut off Auðr's hand, a claim later disproven, which suggests the damage to one's reputation that could emerge from such situations if not dealt with quickly.

In all the aforementioned cases, the sagas remain silent as to how wounds are taken care of, how long the injured take to recover, and, even more importantly, how they feel after having been injured, as well as the impacts that injuries and impairments have on everyday life. Despite potentially serious and life-changing consequences arising from injuries and impairments, the *Íslendingasögur* refrain from assuming the perspectives of the impaired. The narratives display little to no interest in the well-being of individual characters or how they deal with the medical issues and consequences of their physical ailments, and personal experience is given less importance than the social implications – that is, the disability that can be caused by the impairment.³⁹

The silence is also underlined by the lack of the patient perspectives and saga characters who do not express or complain about physical discomfort or pain even when they have ample reason for doing so, at least from a modern perspective. As Stefan Buntrock puts it, 'man würde in diesem Umfeld [der altnordischen Sagaliteratur] nur allzu selbstverständlich erwarten, dem Thema Schmerz auf Schritt und Tritt zu begegnen. Doch die

38 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 36.

39 One of the few cases in which an impaired person's perspective is shown in the sagas is that of Öundur tréfótr in *Grettis saga*. For an excellent analysis of this character, see Sexton, "Difference and Disability."

Rolle des Schmerzes ist in diesen Texten alles andere als offensichtlich⁴⁰ [In this context (of Old Norse saga literature) it would only be natural to expect a continuous confrontation with the topic of pain. The role of pain in these texts, however, is anything but straightforward].⁴¹ Buntrock adds that this approach to injury and pain can be considered a generic feature of the *Íslendingasögur*, and thus represents a community's particular attitude and expectation towards health and the (unblemished) body.⁴²

At the same time, references to healing and recovery are repeatedly made, although as with descriptions of injuries such instances offer only minimal information. In such contexts, sagas often resort to generalised, formulaic descriptions of healing, as in the following examples: 'Þormóðr bindr sár sitt'⁴³ [Þormóðr binds up his wounds]; 'Álfgerðr batt sár hans (Gríms)'⁴⁴ [Álfgerðr bound up his (Grímr's) wounds]; 'Þeir létu græða sjúka menn'⁴⁵ [They had the sick men healed]; 'Þat er frá Þorsteini at segja, at honum batnaði'⁴⁶ [It is to be reported about Þorsteinn that he recovered].

Although *Egils saga* portrays Egill very often as a ruthless warrior, he also repeatedly assumes the role of a healer and a leader concerned about the well-being of his followers.⁴⁷ On his third trip to Norway, the topic

40 Stefan Buntrock, 'Und es schrie aus den Wunden': *Untersuchung zum Schmerzphänomen und der Sprache des Schmerzes in den Íslendinga-, Konunga-, Byskupasögur sowie der Sturlunga saga*, Münchner Nordische Studien 2 (München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2009), 19.

41 According to Buntrock, the only *Íslendingasaga* that features a cry of pain is *Eiríks saga rauða* ("Schmerzphänomen," 255–257). In some of the manuscripts, Eiríkr shouts 'ái, ái' in direct speech when he falls off his horse ("Schmerzphänomen," 256). This reading has been debated, however, because the passage is difficult to decipher due to the poor condition of the manuscript.

42 Buntrock, "Schmerzphänomen," 140.

43 *Fóstbræðra saga*, in *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 6 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1943), 251.

44 *Droplaugarsona saga*, in *Austfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Jón Jóhannesson, Íslenzk fornrit 11 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1950), 166. By referring to Álfgerðr in this episode as *Álfgerðr lækni* 'Álfgerðr the physician,' *Droplaugarsona saga* underlines that she is medically skilled.

45 *Egils saga*, 55.

46 *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, in *Austfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Jón Jóhannesson, Íslenzk fornrit 11 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1950), 11.

47 This observation strongly contrasts with Ármann Jakobsson's persuasive argument that Egill lacks empathy and that his behaviour is motivated by egoism (Ármann Jakobsson, "Egils saga and Empathy: Emotions and Moral Issues in a Dysfunctional Saga Family," *Scandinavian Studies* 80 (1) (2008): 17). I do not intend to discuss at this point whether Egill could be called a healer or a physician, not least as the saga does not refer to him as

of healing appears first when Egill and his men visit the farmer Þorfinnr in Eiðaskógr. During dinner, Egill notices a ‘kona sjúk’⁴⁸ [sick woman]. It turns out that she is Þorfinnr’s daughter Helga, who has been afflicted by *vanmátt* (‘failing strength, illness’)⁴⁹ for quite some time. Egill cures her by carving a rune stick, and Helga, though still frail, soon seems to be revived: ‘Henni þótti sem hon vaknaði ór svefni’⁵⁰ [It seemed to her that she had woken up from sleep]. Egill and his men continue their journey, but are soon worn and wounded after several fights. In spite of his own wounds, Egill primarily takes care of his men: ‘Hann batt sár fõrunauta sinna’⁵¹ [He bound up the wounds of his companions]. On their way back, they stay twice with farmers, and in each location their wounds are again taken care of. When the men eventually return to Þorfinnr’s, Helga is up and well again: ‘Helga, dóttir bónda, var þá á fótum ok heil meina sinna’⁵² [Helga, the farmer’s daughter, was up again and her health was restored]. Regardless of the gendered aspects of this episode, it is unusual for saga narratives to turn back to a previous incident of sickness and healing. In light of the fact that Helga and her family do not appear again in the saga, the emphasis on Egill’s healing of Helga stands out, thereby illustrating an unexpected aspect of his character.

In contrast to how little attention is paid to wounds and impairments when they are inflicted, references to healing and recovery are surprisingly numerous.⁵³ As discussed below in more detail, this disparity suggests that healing and recovering were key issues for saga society as regards the maintenance of social equilibrium. Assuming a historical perspective, Cordula

a *læknir* (‘physician’). In some *Íslendingasögur*, references to *læknar* are made, as occurs in *Droplaugarsona saga* (see the above footnote regarding *Álfgerðr læknir*) and in *Fóstbræðra saga*, especially in the Hauksbók version, which is notably interested in physiology and medical concepts.

48 *Egils saga*, 229.

49 Zoëga, “Dictionary,” 470.

50 *Egils saga*, 230.

51 *Egils saga*, 237.

52 *Egils saga*, 238.

53 This observation is made on the basis of a database previously compiled in the context of the project *Disability before Disability*; however, there are currently no plans to publish this database. To summarise the basis of this assertion: The software Atlas.ti was used to tag dis/ability-related aspects in the *Íslendingasögur*, and in the sixteen sagas that were tagged, 56 instances of impairment were found in contrast to 53 instances of healing and recovery. In both cases, instances were tagged only if they related to named saga characters.

Nolte emphasises that irrespective of a person's social standing physical and mental conditions affected an individual's life as well as a community at large⁵⁴ This applies also to Old Norse saga society, which depends on individuals who are able-bodied, can provide for their family, and, most importantly, can protect their own and their family's honour, for maintenance of its social structure.⁵⁵ The notion of able-bodiedness, however, is not restricted to unblemished bodies, but connected to the concept of *utilitas* – that is, of being useful for the community and not depending on others for a living.⁵⁶ It is at this juncture that it will therefore be useful to introduce Pierre Bourdieu's notion of capital and consider the body's role in accruing symbolic capital in saga society.

5. The Body as Capital

Regardless of the extent to which the verbalised emotional response to injuries and impairments may appear limited in scope, dis/ability does not go unnoticed in the sagas. Concerns about embodied difference and reactions to it, such as empathy and compassion, often translate into feelings of honour and shame and thus surface repeatedly in connection to juridical negotiations. In light of this, it is important to consider why both saga narratives and saga society pay close attention to arbitrations and legal considerations after fights and feuds, and the role that impaired bodies play in these negotiations. After all, many a fight is brought to a close by comparing the numbers of wounded and killed men on both sides in order to make sure that the parties involved have suffered comparable losses.⁵⁷

54 Cordula Nolte, introduction to *Homo debilis: Behinderte – Kranke – Versehrte in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. by Cordula Nolte, Studien und Texte zur Geistes- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters 3. (Korb: Didymos Verlag, 2009), 18.

55 Buntrock, "Schmerzphänomen," 235.

56 Cordula Nolte, "Funktionsfähigkeit, Nützlichkeit, Tauglichkeit: Was in Vormodernen Leistungsgesellschaften zählte," *Dis/ability History der Vormoderne: ein Handbuch. Pre-modern Dis/ability History: A Companion*, edited by Cordula Nolte, Bianca Frohne, Uta Halle and Sonja Kerth (Affalterbach: Didymos, 2017), 170–172.

57 In the *Konungsbók* version of *Grágás* (Gks 1157 fol.), the section on *víglóði* 'treatment of homicide' offers a variety of homicide scenarios, definitions of wounds and details as to how such incidents should be punished and what rights and duties the parties involved have; see *Laws of Early Iceland. Grágás, the Codex Regius of Grágás with Material from other Manuscripts*, transl. by Andrew Dennis, Peter Foote, and Richard Perkins (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1980), 139–174. Both on a historical and a literary level,

In case of an imbalance, monetary compensation is paid. At times, these negotiations give rise to the impression that wounds, injuries, and cases of homicide are traded as if they were detached and inanimate objects that can be exchanged to re-establish the social balance. The parties involved are remarkably accurate and thorough when it comes to the comparison of losses, despite so little narrative attention being given to details of injuries.

Saga society's accuracy in these specific moments of peace negotiations strongly contrasts with the ostensible indifference generally shown to dis/ability by saga narratives and saga society. It is only in these negotiations that saga society reveals its concern for individual able-bodiedness and shows that cases of wounds and impairments are taken seriously and do not simply fall under the idea of 'collateral damage'. Indeed, injuries and impairments could cause severe disruptions to a (small) community because of the potential sources of social stigma and hence the sagas choose to deal with losses and impairments on a juridical level. Negotiations for compensation, whilst focused on pecuniary aspects, are part of a wider process that attempts to restore social balance and satisfy a sense of justice. In this way, the sagas do not break their silence about dis/ability completely but point to the importance of able-bodiedness for the maintenance of social structures and the reputations of individuals and their families.

I suggest that the body can therefore be thought of as a form of capital in the *Íslendingasögur* in line with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capitals.⁵⁸ Bourdieu suggests a model of four types of capital that expands considerably on the conven-

punishment is also executed with the help of physical mutilations depending on the severity of a legal trespass; see, for example, *Egils saga*, 9–12. Given the importance of being able-bodied, being physically punished would represent a severe encroachment on the capital of an individual in jeopardising their potential to accrue and to demonstrate physical abilities, social reputation, and economic standing. What is more, the scars or missing limbs would stand as lasting outward reminders of past events, both for the individual and for wider society. On the use of physical punishment in medieval English and Old Norse legal and literary sources, see Sean Lawing, "Perspectives on Disfigurement in Medieval Iceland: A Cultural Study Based on Old Norse Laws and Icelandic Sagas" (Doctoral thesis, Háskóli Íslands, 2016).

58 On the general applicability of Bourdieu's theory of capitals onto Old Norse literature, see Kevin J. Wanner, *Snorri Sturluson and the Edda: The Conversion of Cultural Capital in Medieval Scandinavia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); and Torfi H. Tulinius, "Pierre Bourdieu and Snorri Sturluson: Chieftains, Sociology and the Development of Literature in Medieval Iceland?" *Snorres Edda i europeisk og islandsk kultur*, ed. by Jon Gunnar Jørgensen (Reykholst: Snorrastofa, 2009), 47–70.

tional understanding of capital as being constituted predominantly or exclusively by financial means, or *economic capital*.⁵⁹ In addition, Bourdieu introduces the concepts of *social capital*, *cultural capital*, and *symbolic capital*. Social capital encompasses the resources gained by individuals as a result of their participation in various social groups and networks.⁶⁰ Cultural capital entails education and other acquired skills and how they are put to use; because the individual incorporates these skills, so to speak, they tend to seem as natural as character traits.⁶¹ Symbolic capital refers to the reputation and respect gained from demonstrating one's access to the three previously mentioned forms of capital. Central to Bourdieu's theory is the idea that all four capitals can be traded with and transferred into one another in order to accumulate wealth and to advance one's social standing and reputation. His approach is therefore flexible, allowing for the various forms of capital to be adapted to a wide variety of historical and social situations.

Even though Bourdieu does not explicitly define the body as being a (major) part of a specific form of capital,⁶² the importance and meaning of the body in the creation and movement of capital cannot be denied, neither on a general level nor as regards Old Norse literature in particular. It is reasonable to suggest that physical integrity and able-bodiedness are crucial factors for success in saga society. In this context, the body is best understood as a highly valuable form of capital that must be preserved in order to thrive in a society in which reputation and social stature are fundamentally dependent on physical prowess. The body

59 See Pierre Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, ed. by Reinhard Kreckel, *Soziale Welt, Sonderband 2* (Göttingen: O. Schwartz, 1983), and *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. and introduced by John B. Thompson, translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Oxford: Polity Press, 1983). My understanding of Bourdieu's theory of capital is heavily influenced by the work of Joseph Jurt.

60 Joseph Jurt, "Bourdieu," *Grundwissen Philosophie* (Stuttgart: Philip Reclam jun, 2008), 77.
61 Jurt, "Bourdieu," 73.

62 Catherine Hakim suggests *erotic capital* as a fifth capital in the context of modern society, arguing that especially women have the possibility to make use of their physical appearance in order to achieve their goals, both in relation to the job market and in private. While it is certainly useful to emphasise the importance of the body as an asset, it is limiting to reduce the body's potential for capital to erotic components. Hakim's discussion could benefit by considering the body as a neutral entity with many potential functions in relation to different forms of capital, rather than as a limited form of capital that mostly applies to Western European heterosexual women (Catherine Hakim, "Erotic Capital," *European Sociological Review* 26.5 (2010): 499–518).

is part of social capital in the role it plays in establishing family connections and friendships, and also in how it is used in the context of animosities and fights; it expresses cultural capital when saga characters make use of their (legal) learnedness and their physical prowess in fighting; and it can be understood through the concept of symbolic capital in as much as the body is a means for accumulating and representing social standards and is thus crucial for determining the honour and reputation of an individual or their family. To come full circle, the body, or rather the blemished body, also translates into pecuniary worth – in other words, economic capital – when agreements are made and compensations paid out depending on specific types of injury and the social positions of the individuals involved.

The juridical aftermath of the feud between the Þorbrandssynir and the Þorlákssynir stretches over almost a whole chapter of *Eyrbyggja saga* (ch. 46) and involves a detailed account of the negotiations of the compensations. While some of the serious wounds and killings are considered to be equivalent, other incidents are not compared in a one-to-one ratio, neither with regard to the injuries nor the (number of) people involved.⁶³ In the course of these negotiations, Þorleifr kimbi experiences the greatest overall loss of capital, in all forms, from the animosities: he has a burn on his neck, his marriage proposal is refused, he receives an impairment, and he is even fined for his lost leg.

6. Narrative Prosthesis

Although the saga does not subsequently comment on Þorleifr kimbi's prosthesis, which replaces his lost leg, it stands as a silent reminder of the defeat that he experienced in his dealings with the Þorlákssynir. In contrast to saga figures such as Öundur tréféotr (*Grettis saga*), Þórir viðlegggr, and Þórólfr bægifótr (both *Eyrbyggja saga*), however, Þorleifr kimbi does not receive a new or additional nickname that highlights his impairment and reminds of an unpleasant incident. By choosing to give people revealing nicknames, the typical saga silence towards dis/ability is broken in an exceptionally restrained way: Whilst a nickname can acknowledge an embodied difference, it is not itself a guarantee that the story behind the impairment will be narrated. Hence, it is often the case that the narrative silence about an impairment extends to its robbing the individual of a biographically crucial

⁶³ *Eyrbyggja saga*, 131–132.

story even in the process of highlighting the existence of the impairment itself. As I argue below, the traumatic aspects of such cases of dis/ability may even make it impossible to narrate such stories in the first place.

As mentioned above, juridical negotiations and arbitrations tend to centre on the (unblemished) body. Besides their capability for restoring the social equilibrium, such negotiations are a means of making both communal relationships and individual bodies appear whole and undamaged – or at least not distinctively damaged – through the tallying up of certain injuries as equivalent and the prescription of financial compensation for outstanding impairments without apparent equivalence. This pretence at effacing the damage caused is, of course, an illusion. No financial compensation could reverse the physical damage caused by cases of killings and dis/ability. Yet such compensation can be read as a form of prosthesis, in the sense that it attempts to create a substitute for the aspect of the body damaged or displaced by the conflict so as to downplay the embodied difference signalled by its presence.

This process has notable similarities to the concept of narrative prosthesis developed primarily by David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder. Following on the symbolic aspect of the material prosthesis, Mitchell and Snyder suggest that certain narrative elements can be used to cover up instances of dis/ability, thereby making them acceptable to a specific society and its perception of ‘normal’, in similar ways to the use of material prostheses. It is worth emphasising that narrative prosthesis is neither a specific narrative mode nor a particular use of language; rather, identifying its use involves the in-depth analysis of how narratives deal more broadly with experiences and representations of dis/ability, as well as the tracing of narrative devices that are in fact unsuccessful in deceiving a reader or an audience in regard to dis/ability. As Mitchell and Snyder put it, ‘*Narrative Prosthesis* is first and foremost about the ways in which the ruse of prosthesis fails in its primary objective: to return the incomplete body to the invisible status of a normative essence’.⁶⁴ Tracing and decoding the use of narrative prosthesis thus allows for a better understanding of a given community’s notion of and their literary response to dis/ability. No matter the extent to which a society attempts to silence the public discourse on dis/ability, such discourse always resurfaces, forcing society to take seriously the topic and the concerns of those it affects and to deal with them adequately.⁶⁵

64 Mitchell and Snyder, “Narrative Prosthesis,” 8.

65 Mitchell and Snyder, “Narrative Prosthesis,” 49. On comparable confrontations that society

It is therefore worth considering whether negotiations for compensations after fights in the *Íslendingasögur* are best understood as manifestations of narrative prostheses, given their ostensible purpose of making up for a physical loss or a killing, through which the members of saga society attempt to restore a former condition that cannot be fully recovered. In Bourdieu's terms, the paying out of such compensations is a transfer of capital across different forms, as physical and especially social and symbolic forms of capital are turned into economic capital – the only form of capital that the offending party can return to the aggrieved party and that is of some use to them, albeit not one that provides any substantial emotional or physical redress. From a narratological perspective, the payment of compensation acts as a narrative prosthesis because it shifts the focus of attention away from the discomfort and loss caused by the presence of dis/ability, and instead emphasises – or at least attempts to emphasise – that the pending case has come to a close with the final payment.

The narrative silence continues, however, in the sense that the *Íslendingasögur* generally do not revisit cases of dis/ability and show little interest in a saga character's well-being or dis/ability later in life. Indeed, many characters who experience traumatic physical injuries either vanish from the saga narrative or, if they make another appearance, the texts do not make any further reference to their previous injury or impairment. Apparently, dis/ability is out of sight and out of mind once a juridical agreement has been accepted, and all parties involved have little choice other than to accept the situation. Even in the case of saga characters whose nickname reveals their impairment, the impairment itself is in most cases not relevant for the plot.

Hence, the Þorbrandssynir vanish from *Eyrbyggja saga* shortly after their stay at Helgafell, with Þorleifr kimbi and Snorri dropping out of the story a few chapters later. Both move to Greenland, with Snorri eventually sailing to Vínland where he dies in a battle against the *skrálingjar*, the native inhabitants. Þóroddr stays in Iceland and makes another appearance in the last chapters of the saga in fighting the monstrous bull Glæsir, but not even in this last stand does the saga point to the injuries that Þóroddr suffered earlier in the narrative. Auðr also disappears from the text a few chapters

has with representatives of monstrosity and alterity, see Rebecca Merkelbach, *Monsters in Society: Alterity, Transgression, and the Use of the Past in Medieval Iceland*, *The Northern Medieval World: On the Margins of Europe* (Kalamazoo / Berlin: Medieval Institute Publications / Walter de Gruyter, 2019).

after her hand is cut off; it is not clear whether she accompanies her husband Þórarinn svarti when he is made to leave Iceland, but in any case her impairment is not mentioned again.

7. The Silenced Trauma

The manifest silence of the *Íslendingasögur* regarding injuries and dis/ability can also be interpreted on a psychological level as a manifestation of trauma.⁶⁶ The term *trauma* as used in modern psychology is ambiguous in as much as it refers to three different aspects of traumatic experiences: first, a disturbing event that causes a psychic response; second, the emotional shock that the event causes; and third, the psychosomatic impact that this experience has on a person.⁶⁷ Trauma theory conceptualises life as a continuous narrative and suggests that it is possible to process and verbally narrate most of our experiences in life as such. In the case of a traumatic experience, however, the individual is overwhelmed by the sudden emotional intensity of an incident and does not have the necessary mental capacities to deal with the situation adequately. Being caught off guard by an unsettling event, individuals can find themselves unable to put into words their experience, and hence often resort to silence. To verbalise the experience and transform it into a stringent narrative proves painful and difficult, even impossible in some cases. Thus, trauma evades the individual's control and remains in a state of fragmentary, non-verbalised memory, which hinders the individual in coming to terms with the traumatising incident: it cannot be defused and integrated into the continuous biographical narrative of the patient's life, leaving them to be haunted by it.⁶⁸

66 On the value of psychological approaches to Old Norse saga literature, see Ármann Jakobsson, "Empathy." On the application of the trauma framework to the *Íslendingasögur*, see Torfi H. Tulinius "Honour, Sagas and Trauma: Reflection on Literature and Violence in 13th Century Iceland," *Literature and Honour*, ed. by Aasta Marie Bjorvand Björkøy and Thorstein Norheim (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2017), 81–94, and "Skaði kennir mér minni minn: On the Relationship Between Trauma, Memory, Revenge and the Medium of Poetry," *Skandinavische Schriflandschaften. Vänbok till Jürg Glauser*, ed. by Klaus Müller-Wille, Kate Heslop, Anna Katharina Richter, and Lukas Rösl (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), 129–135.

67 Donna Trembinski, "Comparing Premodern Melancholy/Mania and Modern Trauma: An Argument in Favor of Historical Experiences of Trauma," *History of Psychology* 14.1 (2011): 82.

68 Fabian Hutmacher, "Vom Unsagbaren sprechen. Trauma in Psychologie und Literatur am

In the context of a general discussion on whether it is advisable to apply modern terms and concepts from psychology to premodern contexts, it has been contested in particular whether trauma as a modern concept can be sensitively applied to premodern sources. As Donna Trembinski shows, a consensus on this issue is still lacking as most scholars working on this topic take either a strong pro or contra stance.⁶⁹ While proponents of reading trauma in premodern sources argue that it is possible to identify transhistorically comparable psychological and mental reactions to traumatising experiences, their opponents insist that the nature of trauma as a modern, Western-European concept is not a suitable analytical category for premodern sources.⁷⁰ As regards the use of the term trauma in this article, I follow Wendy Turner and Christina Lee, who claim that even though there was no comparatively uniform understanding of trauma in premodern societies as there is in our contemporary world, traumatic experiences themselves must have existed;⁷¹ and Donna Trembinski,⁷² who suggests that trauma can be a useful category of analysis if we acknowledge that its potential meanings and depictions of it are dependent on its historical and cultural context.⁷³ Trauma as an analytical tool thus goes beyond the medical and diagnostic aspects of the term, historically contingent on modern understandings of medicine, to encompass the broader socio-cultural aspects of individual and collective traumatic experiences.⁷⁴

Beispiel Paul Celans," *The German Quarterly* 92 (3) (2019): 329. Along with the unsettling details of the traumatic experience – for example, of an accident or being held hostage – another difficult aspect for many traumatised people is being confronted with the question of, why they specifically survived the event (Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 7, 60, and 65). The growing awareness of what could have gone wrong and how close they were to death's door is often the most traumatising feature.

69 Trembinski, "Melancholy" and idem, "Trauma as a Category of Analysis?" *Trauma in Medieval Society*, ed. by Wendy J. Turner and Christina Lee, *Explorations in Medieval Culture* 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 13–32.

70 Trembinski, "Melancholy," 80–81.

71 Wendy J. Turner and Christina Lee, "Conceptualizing Trauma for the Middle Ages," *Trauma in Medieval Society*, ed. by Wendy J. Turner and Christina Lee, *Explorations in Medieval Culture* 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 8.

72 Trembinski, "Trauma," esp. 14, 21, and 26.

73 See Trembinski's discussion of the premodern concepts of melancholia and mania that feature some similarities to the modern notion of trauma ("Melancholy," 87–93).

74 On the difference between (individual) psychological trauma and (collective) cultural trauma, see Neil J. Smelser, "Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma," *Cultural Trauma*

Even though (individual) physical causes for traumas may have remained unchanged over time, the psychological damage they cause is likely to have changed depending on the various ‘emotional and cultural experiences of the individual’.⁷⁵ Along with categories such as gender, race, religion, and – in the present case – dis/ability, trauma offers an additional approach for analysing processes of othering and of (embodied) difference.⁷⁶

Similar to dis/ability, trauma as a methodological tool can be used to explore depictions of differences related to body and mind, as well as the ways in which both individuals and society deal with such (embodied) difference. In a literary context, ‘trauma narratives’ can be understood as a ‘narratological phenomenon’⁷⁷ focused on painful and disturbing events and their aftermath, which aims at finding a way of dealing with and ideally coming to terms with a trauma. In the same way that there is no universal definition of trauma applicable to premodern sources, trauma narratives do not feature uniform narrative patterns, but require distinct readings and interpretation.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Trembinski suggests that such stories may have common features, such as ‘[n]arrative disjunctures, disordered prose, formulaic language or metaphors,’⁷⁹ that reflect the fragmented recollections of the event and figure as the only way of (temporarily) verbalising a traumatic experience. The substance of the traumatic experience will of course be specific to the historical context of the society that produced the narrative, and it is worth keeping in mind Turner and Lee’s emphasis on the importance of identifying what aspects the sources are specifically silent about, which is very much the aim of this article.⁸⁰

and Collective Identity, ed. by Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, Pitor Sztompka (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 31–59.

75 Trembinski, “Trauma,” 16.

76 Trembinski, “Trauma,” 29–30; Sonja Kerth, “Narratives of Trauma in Medieval German Literature,” *Trauma in Medieval Society*, ed. by Wendy J. Turner and Christina Lee, *Explorations in Medieval Culture* 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 276. On ‘other(-ing)’ see e.g. Jean-François Staszak, “Other/otherness,” *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2008), 43–47. For a very recent discussion of ‘other(ing)’ in Old Norse-Icelandic literature, see Merkelbach, “Monsters,” esp. 11–15, 26–28.

77 Kerth, “Narratives of Trauma,” 279.

78 See e.g. Trembinski, “Melancholy,” 85–86, and “Trauma,” 22–29; and Kerth, “Narratives of Trauma,” 281–296.

79 Trembinski, “Trauma,” 21.

80 Turner and Lee, “Conceptualizing Trauma,” 12.

Several aspects that trauma theory posits as characteristic of traumas can be identified in the *Íslendingasögur*. While the sagas allow audiences a level of insight into the legal discussions and juridical decisions concerning arbitrations and compensation payments, they do not give much attention to the physical and mental implications of fights. Instead, audiences are presented with short, fragmentary descriptions of injuries and impairments rather than with a coherent narrative. The sagas hardly ever offer a glimpse of how saga characters supposedly feel after having suffered an injury or impairment, more often the narratives make do with famously succinct phrases that reveal little more than brief details of what a character has been through. Typical sentences in this context include the following: ‘Þá lét Gyrðr auga sitt’⁸¹ [Then Gyrðr lost his eye]. ‘[Þormóðr] var jafnan ǫrvendr síðan, meðan hann lifði’⁸² [from then on (Þormóðr) was left-handed as long as he lived]; ‘ok varð Helgi Ásbjarnarson þegar óvígur’⁸³ [and Helgi Ásbjarnarson immediately became unable to fight (or: dis/abled)]; and ‘Gunnarr hjó hönd af Óttari í ǫlbogabót’⁸⁴ [Gunnarr cut off Óttarr’s lower arm at the elbow]. In these sentences, the characters involved suffer serious injuries that bring about crucial changes to how they experience their lives, and which in some cases lead to dis/ability, yet such consequences are addressed in detail neither when the incidents happen nor in later narration. I suggest that this is because such experiences represent too severe a blow, both for the individual and their community, for them to discuss at length.

The characters and the narrators of the sagas thus resort to a fragmented silence on the matter, in which they are unable to embed the traumatic experience into a narrative. What remains are the scars, the missing limbs, the compensation payments, and the nicknames that stand as constant reminders of what happened, but that do not allow for individuals or society itself to verbalise a narrative that could break the pervasive silence.

81 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 176.

82 *Fóstbræðra saga*, 167.

83 *Droplaugarsona saga*, 162–163.

84 *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit 12 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1945, repr. 2010), 159.

8. Conclusion

This discussion has shown that the silence of the *Íslendingasögur* towards the topic of injury and dis/ability is by no means impenetrable, even though the sagas neither elaborate on this topic nor tend to focus on impaired characters. When discussing fighting, the sagas refrain from dwelling at length on descriptions of the injuries and non-congenital impairments caused by violent encounters; it is only in the course of negotiating peace agreements and compensation payments that any medical issues are listed, but without any verbalised emotional or empathic responses regarding either the impairments themselves or the impaired individuals. The sagas therefore appear markedly indifferent towards such crucial life-changes, but this apparent indifference need not equate to apathy.

Considering the precision and strictness with which peace agreements are conducted in the *Íslendingasögur*, it is evident that the body is of utmost importance to saga society, especially as regards being able-bodied. Both the individual and the community at large depend on the bodily prowess of individuals, particularly men, to provide for the household materially and to uphold family honour and reputation. Becoming injured, or worse, becoming *óvígr* ('unable to fight, disabled'),⁸⁵ is therefore a serious issue reflected in the severity of punishment for those who cause such injuries and the amount they have to pay as compensation. The importance of the body, or more precisely of being able-bodied, is thus highlighted in the sagas. The body is, in Bourdieu's terms, a valuable form of capital that can be translated into considerable sums of money. Furthermore, the body is an asset for trading both for the individual and for society: during compensation negotiations, society as a whole makes use of the individual's body and its impairments as a means to resolve disputes and re-establish societal equilibrium. Yet as soon as the sentence is passed and the payment is made, the individual is left alone with the impairment and the potential trauma associated with it. Society's interest in the injury or impairment stops when the incident is considered avenged and the social equilibrium is restored. The sagas are not especially interested in how impaired saga characters feel about this *quid pro quo* as they hardly ever render individual perspectives. In light of Mitchell and Snyder's theory, it seems reasonable

85 Zoëga, "Dictionary," 466 *úvígr*.

to conclude that the peace agreements during the aftermath of animosities therefore qualify as a kind of narrative prosthesis, because they reinforce a pretence that nothing of lasting significance has happened – or at least nothing significant enough that it could not be compensated with money.

Based on the psychological premise that life is a continuous narrative that is disrupted by traumatic experiences which cannot be verbalised, it is reasonable to consider whether saga society itself is too traumatised to discuss such dramatic experiences of dis/ability. The sagas mostly resort to brief statements that record the more factual aspects of dis/ability, fragmentary details that remain isolated and are not turned into a cohesive narrative strand. I have argued that the reason for this silence, which necessitates a narrative prosthesis, may lie in the potential damage that could be done to one's social standing because of one's potential dis/ability and the dependence on others that it can engender. This threat is especially pressing in saga society, which attributes great importance to the notion of honour – that is, the need to maintain one's symbolic capital, and the anxieties that go along with that of losing such capital through the loss of one's able-bodiedness.

It goes without saying that the discussion of dis/ability, trauma, and narrative prosthesis in the Old Norse saga literature calls for further research, both regarding the *Íslendingasögur* and other literary genres. Furthermore, it is an enticing prospect to follow up this research by investigating the question of whether, and to what extent, the individual traumatic experiences of saga characters – that is, instances of psychological trauma – may relate to potential communal traumas more deeply rooted in historical Icelandic society and the literature it produced – that is, a kind of cultural trauma. It may be revealing to consider the corpus of *Sturlunga saga* for further research on this particular aspect, given the temporal closeness of the narrative material to the historical individuals who compiled it.

At this stage, however, it should be clear that by reading the *Íslendingasögur* through the lens of traumatology, as well as by applying to the texts the conceptual frameworks of narrative prosthesis and Bourdieu's theories of capital, we can open up new perspectives in regard to dis/ability itself and the social perception and response to this multi-faceted topic. This article has demonstrated how such concepts are useful for unlocking the os-

tensibly nondescript nature and characteristic silence of the *Íslendingasögur* towards embodied difference, and has suggested that even this silence itself may be best understood not simply as a quirk of the corpus, but as representing a form of long-standing trauma.

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A B S T R A C T

The Silenced Trauma in the *Íslendingasögur*

Keywords: disability, impairment, narrative prosthesis, trauma, *Íslendingasögur*

Although the *Íslendingasögur* feature countless episodes with saga characters who are wounded and impaired in martial encounters, the sagas are remarkably silent on these (physical) traumas. Indeed, in most cases such injuries and impairments are addressed only in succinct comments, if at all. Nonetheless, longer-term consequences such as dis/ability and social stigma can seriously jeopardise a character's social standing and reputation (i.e. Bourdieu's symbolic capital). Although peace negotiations and compensation payments (i.e. Bourdieu's economic capital) can attempt to restore this imbalance and the social equilibrium more broadly, they cannot relieve a saga character of the experienced trauma. Hence, the trauma keeps evading narrativization, a process mirrored in the narrative prosthesis of the sagas' silence. It is thus argued that narrative silence has deeply personal implications for the individuals concerned and is potentially an expression of a trauma. In order to penetrate this 'silence of the limbs', the article draws on four interlinked methodological approaches that allow for a fruitful interpreting of the taciturnity of the sagas. Starting from the perspective of dis/ability history, the article draws on the key concepts of narrative prosthesis, as articulated by Mitchell and Snyder (2003); Pierre Bourdieu's notion of capital; and trauma theory.

Á G R I P

Þaggaður skaði í Íslendingasögum

Lykilorð: fötlun, skerðing, frásagnarfræðilegur gervilimur, tráma, Íslendingasögur

Þrátt fyrir fjölda frásagna í Íslendingasögunum af bardögum sem leiða til líkamlegra áverka og skerðinga, er það athyglisvert hversu þöglar Íslendingasögurnar eru um afleiðingar áverkanna. Þá sjaldan sem slíkar afleiðingar eru nefndar er það í fáum orðum. Þrátt fyrir fá og stuttaraleg dæmi eru líkamlegar skerðingar og félagslegar afleiðingar þeirra á líf sögupersónanna þó áberandi sem og áhrif fötlunar á sæmd og heiður (áhrif á menningarlegt auðmagn í anda Bourdieu). Sættir og fébætur sem eiga að leiða til nýs jafnvægis í átt að aukinni sæmd til handa sögupersónunni koma ekki í staðinn fyrir áfallið og lífsreynsluna sem því fylgir. Segja má að áfallið sjálft sé á sífelldu undanhaldi eða á flóttu undan frásögninni en endurspeglast um leið í þögninni sem styður framvindu sögunnar. Hér er því haldið fram að þögn Íslendingasagnanna sé birtingarmynd hins persónulega áfalls.

Þessu til rökstuðnings er þögnin rannsökuð með fjórum samhangandi fræðilegum aðferðum til að draga fram hina kerfisbundnu valþögli sagnanna. Í anda fötlunarfræða eru sögurnar greindar út frá hugtakinu „frásagnarfræðilegur gervilimur“ (e. *narrative prosthesis*) sem Mitchell and Snyder settu fram árið 2003 auk kenninga Pierre Bourdieu um áföll og auðmagn.

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NARRATING BLINDNESS AND SEEING OCULARCENTRISM IN *ÞORSTEINS SAGA HVÍTA*¹

Introduction

AS A MEDIEVAL TEXT, *Þorsteins saga hvíta* (hereafter simply *Þorsteins saga*) presents modern scholars with certain challenges. For example, although the saga has commonly been dated to the mid-thirteenth century, its oldest surviving attestations are from the early seventeenth century, where it commonly appears alongside other *Íslendingasögur* primarily set in the Eastfjords. The paper manuscripts AM 156 fol. and AM 496 4to, both dated to around the mid-seventeenth century, have primarily been used for modern editions of the saga. The former is attributed to the priest Jón Erlendsson (c. 1600–1672) and the latter is said to have been written at the direction of Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason (1597–1656).² The saga's apparent relationship to the more well-known *Vápnfirðinga saga* is also a matter of some contention. In particular, the question of whether the saga was written as a standalone narrative, a concise prequel, or survives as an incomplete expanded revision of *Vápnfirðinga saga* remains unresolved and is probably unresolvable.³ Although not unique in presenting these

- 1 This article emerges from the research project *Fötlun fyrir tíma fötlunar* [Disability before disability], which is supported by *Rannsóknasjóður* [the Icelandic Research fund], Grant of Excellence No. 173655-05.
- 2 On the dating and manuscript attestations of the saga, see Jón Jóhannesson, "Formáli," *Austfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Jón Jóhannesson, Íslenzk fornrit XI (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1950), xi–xiii; Jakob Jakobsen, "Indledning," *Austfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Jakob Jakobsen (Copenhagen: S.L. Møllers, 1902–03), iii–xi; Sigríður Baldursdóttir, "Hugmyndaheimur Vopnfirðinga sögu," *Gripla* 13 (2002): 76–79.
- 3 See Jón Jóhannesson, "Formáli," vi–viii; Grímur M. Helgason and Vésteinn Ólason, "Formáli," *Íslenzkar fornsögur*, ed. by Grímur M. Helgason and Vésteinn Ólason, 9 vols. (Hafnarfjörður: Skuggsjá, 1968–76), 7. viii; Gisli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition: A Discourse on Method*, trans. by Nicholas Jones (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 138–39.

and similar difficulties for modern scholars, the uncertainty surrounding the saga's medieval "authenticity" and the indeterminable nature of the text have likely contributed to a general lack of scholarly interest in *Þorsteins saga*.⁴

The saga's brevity and relatively simplistic or perhaps unbalanced plot might also factor into this. Of its artistic merits, Jón Jóhannesson, for example, was rather dismissive, writing that "Eigi þarf margt að ræða um Þorsteins sögu sem listaverk. Samsetningunni er mjög ábótavant ... samtöl og tilsvör flest fremur dauf, persónurnar óbrotnar og sviplitlar" [There is little to discuss of Þorsteins saga as a work of art. The composition is very wanting ... the dialogue is mostly rather dull, the characters simplistic and feeble]. He concludes that it is "furðulegt, hve lítið höfundinum hefir þar orðið úr tilvöldu söguefni" [amazing how little the author has made of this very suitable story material].⁵ Yet, *Þorsteins saga* has typically avoided the pejorative "postclassical" label applied to certain of the sagas, perhaps on account of its "realism" and the absence of paranormal elements in the text.⁶ Others, such as Gwyn Jones, have been more complimentary of *Þorsteins saga*, suggesting that there is "much beauty in the story" and,

- 4 What little attention it has attracted is often centred on how aspects of the narrative coincide with or differ from certain aspects of either *Vápnfirðinga saga* or the parts of *Landnámabók* with which it seems to share some intertextual relationship; see Sigríður Baldursdóttir, "Hugmyndaheimur Vopnfirðinga sögu," 70–79; Gísli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition*, 139–42; Guðfinna Kristjánsdóttir, *Frá Bjólan til Bjólfs: Mannanöfn í sögum tengdum Austfirðingafjórðungi* (MA diss., University of Iceland, 2009); Jakob Benediktsson (ed.), *Íslendingabók, Landnámabók, Íslenzk fornrit I* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1968), 289, 290–91, 334, 336, 396–97. The saga has sometimes also been referenced, often briefly, in discussions of bloodfeuds, conflict resolution, and the law in early Icelandic society; see, for example, William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 234, 369n22; Merrill Kaplan, "Once More on the Mistletoe," *News from Other Worlds: Studies in Nordic Folklore, Mythology and Culture in Honor of John F. Lindow*, ed. by Merrill Kaplan and Timothy R. Tangherlini (Berkeley: North Pinehurst Press, 2012), 46, 58; see also Theodore M. Andersson, *The Icelandic Family Saga: An Analytical Reading* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 23–24, 272–73.
- 5 Jón Jóhannesson, "Formáli," xi; see also Grímur M. Helgason and Vésteinn Ólason, "Formáli," viii. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.
- 6 On the ideological construction of the classical and postclassical categories, see Ármann Jakobsson and Yoav Tirosh, "The 'Decline of Realism' and Inefficacious Old Norse Literary Genres and Sub-Genres," *Scandia* 3 (2020): 102–38.

with respect to the final meeting between the two Þorsteinns – discussed in more detail below – he wonders “if this is not great literature, we may well ask what is.”⁷ Valdimar Ásmundarson similarly considered the saga to be “víst sögulega sönn og vel rituð” [certainly historically accurate and well written].⁸

Regardless of the subjective opinions of scholars concerning the artistic value of the saga, *Þorsteins saga* is worthy of greater scholarly interest than it has hitherto provoked, not least when regarded from a disability studies perspective. It has commonly been remarked that Þorsteinn fagri [the fair] Þorfinnsson rather than the eponymous Þorsteinn hvíti [the white] Ólvisson, is the saga’s real protagonist and hero.⁹ Indeed, the story of the younger Þorsteinn fagri’s journeys abroad, his partnership with Einarr Þórisson, Einarr’s betrayal, Þorsteinn’s vengeance, and the latter’s exile and return to Iceland take up much of the central part of the narrative. Notably, the enmity between the two arises after Þorsteinn fagri experiences an illness abroad, becomes incapacitated for some time, and Einarr takes advantage of the situation. Though absent during many of these events, the elder Þorsteinn hvíti nevertheless plays a significant role at both the opening and, even more so, during closing stages of the narrative, one that is particularly concerned with his vision loss and subsequent blindness. Through these narrative elements, the saga provides a striking example of what John Sexton refers to as “the rich cultural response to the premise of disability” found in medieval saga writing.¹⁰ With respect to the eponymous Þorsteinn hvíti in particular, the saga’s audience is provided with an opportunity to contemplate the experience of vision loss or blindness, which surely some of its members would be familiar with firsthand. More than this, however, through his character, the saga confronts the hegemony of vision that commonly characterizes medieval saga writing.

7 Gwyn Jones, “Introduction,” *Four Icelandic Sagas*, trans. by Gwyn Jones (New York: Princeton University Press, 1935), 8; see also Jakobsen, “Indledning,” i, xii–xiii.

8 Valdimar Ásmundarson, “Formáli,” *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, ed. by Valdimar Ásmundarson (Reykjavík: Sigurður Kristjánsson, 1902), i.

9 See, for example, Jón Jóhannesson, “Formáli,” vi; Jakobsen, “Indledning,” xi–xii.

10 John Sexton, “Difference and Disability: On the Logic of Naming in the Icelandic Sagas,” *Disability in the Middle Ages: Reconsiderations and Reverberations*, ed. by Joshua R. Eyler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 163; see also Ármann Jakobsson, Anna Katharina Heiniger, Christopher Crocker and Hanna Björg Sigurjónsdóttir, “Disability before disability: Mapping the uncharted in the medieval sagas,” *Scandinavian Studies* 92 (2020): 440–60.

Narrating blindness

Þorsteinn hvíti is first introduced in the saga as a late-coming settler in the east of Iceland. He nevertheless manages to purchase land in the Vápnafjorðr region, establishes a farm, soon marries, and fathers five children, the most promising of whom is a son named Þorgils. Þorsteinn eventually accumulates great wealth, power, and property in the form of the farmstead at Hof and even a *goðorð* [chieftainship]. Some years later his wife Ingibjörg takes ill and dies, which is said to be a great loss for Þorsteinn, but he carries on at Hof as before. Þorsteinn is next mentioned when, after some unspecified measure of time, it is said that he “tók augnaverki svá mikinn, at þar fyrir missti hann sjónina” [experienced eye-pain so severe, that he lost his vision]. Following this, he “þykkisk vanføerr til umsýslu” [felt incapable of managing things] and, at his father’s request, his son Þorgils agrees to help manage things and to assist Þorsteinn as much as he can to maintain the farmstead at Hof. This arrangement seems to work, and both Þorsteinn and Þorgils, along with the latter’s wife Ásvör and the couples’ two children Helgi and Guðrún, carry on living at Hof.¹¹ The narrative then expands the cast of the saga, including the introduction of Þorsteinn fagri, who becomes the focus of the central part of the narrative. Yet, Þorgils, the elder Þorsteinn, the arrangement between father and son, and the latter’s loss of vision all come to play a crucial role in Þorsteinn fagri’s story and the later stages of the narrative.

Þorsteinn hvíti’s *hagr* [condition] is, of course, not unique in medieval saga writing. References to vision loss, or at least its threat, similarly following the onset of *augnaverkr* [eye-pain] appear in several sagas, including, for example, *Bjarnar saga Hítðelakappa*, *Ljósvetninga saga*, *Fóstbræðra saga*, and *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, and perhaps also implicitly in *Vatnsdæla saga*.¹² Kirsi Kanerva has shown that, in medieval saga writing, *augnaverkr*

11 *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, in *Austfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Jón Jóhannesson, Íslenzk fornrit XI (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1950), 3–6.

12 *Bjarnar saga Hítðelakappa*, in *Borgfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit III (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1938), 191–92; Björn Sigfússon (ed.), *Ljósvetninga saga*, Íslenzk fornrit X (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1940), 103; *Fóstbræðra saga*, in *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit VI (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1943), 174–77; *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, in *Harðar saga*, ed. by Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, Íslenzk fornrit XIII

is often closely associated with perceived moral transgressions and seems to have “informed the saga readers of the conflicting emotions of the saga protagonists who were recognized as flouting certain social norms.”¹³ She goes on to suggest that, “whatever its emotional aspects, eye pain was also a disease, and a moral one, that affected the well-being of the individual and suggested inferiority of character in the sufferer.”¹⁴ While this may be the case for some or all of those examples cited above, there is little to suggest that the *augnaverkr* and subsequent loss of vision Þorsteinn hvíti experiences should be associated with any perceived moral transgression nor that the saga’s contemporaneous audience would have viewed him as a man of inferior character on this account. In fact, Þorsteinn may stand out as an exception among several other “nasty old men” in the sagas who seem to “lash out in fury against their destiny,” which might include the onset of vision loss or other infirmities.¹⁵

Þorsteinn’s vision loss is, nevertheless, a crucial aspect of his story. However, it does not seem to invite social stigma, affect his social status, or preclude Þorsteinn from seemingly continuing to live what might be considered a “good and normal life.”¹⁶ Certainly, his vision loss requires him to take certain steps to adjust to his new reality, mainly by enlisting his son Þorgils to assist him with or perhaps even take over the running of

(Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1991), 170; Einar Ól. Sveinsson (ed.), *Vatnsdæla saga*, Íslensk fornrit VIII (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1939), 95–96.

- 13 Kirsi Kanerva, “‘Eigi er sá heill, er í augun verkir’: Eye Pain as a Literary Motif in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Íslendingasögur,” *ARV – Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 69 (2013): 10. On the occasional connection between dreams and the onset of *augnaverkr*, see Christopher Crocker, “Disability and Dreams in the Medieval Icelandic sagas,” *Saga-Book* 43 (2019): 42–54.
- 14 Kanerva, “‘Eigi er sá heill, er í augun verkir,’” 25; see also Annette Lassen, *Øjet og blindheden i norrøn litteratur og mytologi* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2003), 52–55.
- 15 Ármann Jakobsson, “The Spectre of Old Age: Nasty Old Men in the Sagas of Icelanders,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 104 (2005): 325; see also Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, “Ageism and Taking Care of the Elderly in Iceland c. 900–1300,” *Youth and Age in the Medieval North*, ed. by Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 227–42; Thomas Morcom, “After Adulthood: The Metamorphoses of the Elderly in the *Íslendingasögur*,” *Saga-Book* 42 (2018): 25–50; Gareth Lloyd Evans, *Men and Masculinities in the Sagas of Icelanders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 78–83.
- 16 Benjamin Haas, “Dis-/ability and Normalism: Patterns of Inclusion in Romance Literature,” *Culture – Theory – Disability: Encounters between Disability Studies and Cultural Studies*, ed. by Anne Waldschmidt, Hanjo Berressem, and Moritz Ingwersen (Bielefeld: transcript, 2017), 225.

the farmstead at Hof.¹⁷ Yet, there is no mention of Þorsteinn giving up, for example, his *goðorð* [chieftainship]. Although Þorsteinn's vision loss makes it difficult or perhaps impossible for him to perform certain physical tasks associated with looking after a farm, his ability to fulfill other important responsibilities expected of someone in his position is not affected by this change. He evidently also continues fulfilling his role as a patriarch by advising and helping arrange Þorgils's marriage to Ásvör Þórisdóttir. In contrast, the once heroic Egill Skalla-Grímsson becomes an object of ridicule and scorn when, as an old man, he has lost his vision and hearing. Even the *matseljan* [housekeeper] derides the elderly Egill for getting in the way as he warms himself by the fire on a cold winter day. It might be noted that of Egill, having now reached his ninth decade, the saga's narrator nevertheless contends "var hann þá hress maðr fyrir annars sakar en sjónleysis" [he was still a hearty man but for the sake of his vision loss].¹⁸ Yet, the narrative construction of this final act of Egill's life appears to be at great odds with, and perhaps even undermines the saga's account of his earlier years, even if its portrayal of the aged hero may ultimately be a sympathetic one.¹⁹ Annette Lassen has demonstrated that keen eyesight is frequently depicted as a symbol of masculine strength in medieval saga writing and the act of blinding was concurrently regarded as a symbolic equivalent to the act of castration, particularly when brought about through violence or torture.²⁰

17 Cf. *Vápnfirðinga saga*, in *Austfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Jón Jóhannesson, Íslenzk fornrit XI (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1950), 23.

18 Sigurður Nordal (ed.), *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, Íslenzk fornrit II (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1933), 294–96; see also Todd Michelson-Ambelang, *Outsiders on the Inside: Conception of Disability in Medieval Western Scandinavia* (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2015), 111–13. Based on these and other "symptoms," cases have been made for retroactively diagnosing Egill with either Paget's disease or Van Buchem disease; see Þórður Harðarson, "Sjúkdómur Egils Skallagrímssonar," *Skírnir* 158 (1984): 245–48; Jesse L. Byock, "The Skull and Bones in *Egill's saga*: A Viking, a Grave, and Paget's disease," *Viator* 24 (1993): 23–50; and Peter Stride, "Egill Skallagrímsson: The First case of Van Buchem disease?" *The Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* 41 (2011): 169–73.

19 Morcom, "After Adulthood," 44–48; Ármann Jakobsson, "The Spectre of Old Age," 316.

20 Lassen, *Øjet og blindheden*, 24–25, 43–52. On deliberate acts of blinding and symbolic castration in saga writing, see also Sean Lawing, *Perspectives on Disfigurement in Medieval Iceland: A Cultural Study based on Old Norse Laws and Icelandic Sagas* (PhD diss., University of Iceland, 2016), 164–66.

Although Egill's vision loss, which was not the result of violence or torture, may not result in his outright feminization, it does seem to play a vital role in diminishing his masculine status to a discernible degree.²¹

Although, due to his own vision loss, Þorsteinn does express some trepidation over being incapable of managing things on his own, he is never treated, like Egill, as an inconvenient burden to those around him and a pale shadow of his former self. Björn Hítðelakappi, who also experiences some kind of visual impairment later in life in the saga bearing his name, is – somewhat like the blind yet hearty Egill – simultaneously described as “dapreygðr ok manna bezt vígr” [weak-sighted and the best warrior]. Björn never faces the same kind of ridicule and social stigma as Egill.²² Yet, like Qnundr tréfótr [wooden-leg], great-grandfather of the eponymous hero of *Grettis saga*, while the elderly Björn's acumen as a warrior may be enhanced by his loss of vision, at least during his later years, the narrative seems to suggest that such “praise is inescapably predicated in part on his ability to supersede his disability.”²³ In *Vatnsdæla saga*, on the other hand, the elder Ingimundr Þorsteinsson develops quite a reputation as a raider and a warrior before settling in Iceland. However, he becomes *nær blindr* [nearly blind] as an old man and is easily disposed of when he attempts to intervene in a conflict between his sons and the nefarious Hrolleifr Arnaldsson.²⁴ Of course, unlike Björn, Egill, Ingimundr, and Qnundr, there is no mention of Þorsteinn hvíti engaging in raiding, combat, or any other great physical feats as a younger man. Rather, his elevated social standing seems to rest upon his penchant for astute financial dealings, clever resource management, and popularity among his neighbours. A less frequently commented upon figure, the aged and blind Hlenni inn spaki/skakki [the wise/wry] in *Ljósvetninga saga*, may offer an interesting comparison. Like Þorsteinn, he is never depicted in this saga as a warrior but uses other qualities, such as his cunning and wit, to get the better of the

21 Morcom, “After Adulthood,” 44–47; see also Evans, *Men and Masculinities*, 80–83.

22 *Bjarnar saga Hítðelakappa*, 197; Michelson-Ambelang, *Outsiders on the Inside*, 100–04.

23 Sexton “Difference and Disability,” 156.

24 Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Vatnsdæla saga*, 60–62. For Ingimundr's earlier career as a raider and warrior, see Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Vatnsdæla saga*, 19–27.

powerful chieftain Guðmundr Eyjólfsson.²⁵ Yet, for both men, blindness remains an indelible part of their identity.

From a socio-cultural perspective, the question of whether Þorsteinn's blindness – as well as Hlenni's – should be viewed as a disability, carrying with it any social disadvantages, even if the same kind of thing can be regarded as a disability, for example, for Egill and perhaps Ingimundr, if not for Björn and Qnundr as well, remains unclear.²⁶ Such a question, however, may imply that the representation of Þorsteinn's visual impairment should be viewed primarily as a reflection of real, lived experience during the Middle Ages in Iceland. In this regard, it has been pointed out, for example, that the *augnaverkr* that he and several others in the sagas experience, as mentioned above, might reflect traditions stemming from a widespread historical vitamin A deficiency during the Middle Ages due to shortages of green and yellow vegetables.²⁷ Yet, the Þorsteinn hvíti found in the narrative of the saga bearing his name cannot be simply equated with the historical figure from which this depiction, in all likelihood, ultimately derives. The text does not provide a physical body through which something like a vitamin deficiency can be detected. There are, indeed, no contemporary documentary sources or physical evidence against which this aspect of the literary Þorsteinn, who postdates his living counterpart by at least several centuries, can be measured. This also happens to be the case for those other figures mentioned above. Although it may be a compelling prospect, particularly in light of the possibility of applying certain diagnoses using the sagas alongside other historical evidence, these figures – like all other literary characters – cannot be read simply as representations

25 Björn Sigfússon, *Ljósvetninga saga*, 54–57; Yoav Tirosh, *On the Receiving End: The Role of Scholarship, Memory, and Genre in Constructing Ljósvetninga saga* (PhD diss., University of Iceland, 2019), 143–45. The same Hlenni also appears or is mentioned in *Brennu-Njáls saga*, *Kristni saga*, *Landnámabók*, and *Víga-Glúms saga*. He is referred to as Hlenni inn gamli [the old] in each of these sources.

26 On the socio-cultural distinction between an impairment and a disability in a medieval context, rooted in the so-called “social model of disability” developed by disability activists in the 1970s and 80s, see Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about physical impairment during the high Middle Ages, c. 1100–1400* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1–37. For a general criticism of both the social model as well as a strictly cultural model of disability, see Tom Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs Revisited* (London: Routledge, 2014).

27 Bernadine McCreesh, *The Weather in the Icelandic Sagas: The Enemy Without* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 55.

of real people and the practice of interpreting these sources using modern medical criteria should hardly be seen as an endpoint of textual criticism.²⁸ Representations in the medieval sagas of nonconformist bodies or atypical sensory experiences do not generally welcome close comparison with modern medical understandings of these phenomena, not only on account of cultural, historical, or social differences, but because of the nature of the sagas themselves.

The *Íslendingasögur* are immensely valuable as sources of ideas, ideologies, and mentalities, if not of the period and society they purport to represent (ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-century Iceland), then of the period and society in which they were written and received (thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century Iceland, if not even later). Adopting such a perspective toward the sagas may allow for some insight regarding the varied ways sensory impairments such as vision loss or blindness were perceived and how they affected the everyday life of medieval Icelanders during this later period. Although, as discussed above, *Þorsteins saga* presents particular difficulties if regarded as a medieval text. In any case, scholars attempting to flesh out specific aspects of how a given saga reflects past social realities associated with vision loss or blindness run the risk of obscuring some of the more interesting questions a disability studies approach can generate. As Michael Bérubé explains, focusing solely on questions of representational accuracy or attempts to apply retrospective diagnosis “leads us away from the grainy details and specific passages and utterances, distracting us from what we should be asking about narratives as such.”²⁹ In this respect, Þorsteinn hvíti’s reappearance near the end of the saga is of particular interest less for the sake of how his depiction might reflect broader socio-cultural attitudes outside of the text and more with respect to how the narrative invokes Þorsteinn’s atypical sensory experience to confront the kind of ocularcentrism that commonly characterizes medieval saga writing.

28 Michael Bérubé, “Disability and Narrative,” *PMLA* 120 (2005): 570; Michael Bérubé, *The Secret Life of Stories: From Don Quixote to Harry Potter, How Understanding Intellectual Disability Transforms the Way We Read* (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 19–20, 27, 66; see, for example note 18 above.

29 Bérubé, *The Secret Life of Stories*, 130.

Seeing ocularcentrism

As mentioned previously, much of *Þorsteins saga* concerns the younger Þorsteinn fagri's journey abroad to Norway, his partnership with Einarr Þórisson, Einarr's betrayal and Þorsteinn's vengeance, and the latter's exile from and eventual return to Iceland. Amid these events, the elder Þorsteinn hvíti's son Þorgils, who had previously allied with Einarr at the behest of the malicious Hrani gullhǫttr [gold hood], is killed by Þorsteinn fagri's brothers, who also lose their lives in the conflict. Interestingly, the trouble between the two men begins with an illness – *skyrbjúgr* (scurvy) – that Þorsteinn fagri contracts while journeying abroad, which leads to him becoming *eigi liðfærr* (incapacitated) for some time. At Einarr's prompting, Þorsteinn becomes an object of ridicule among all those onboard on account of the illness and, once in Norway, Einarr has mocking verses made about his unwell partner. Later still, upon his return to Iceland, he arranges for the false news of Þorsteinn's death to spread in the community, which allows him to arrange a marriage with Helga Krákadóttir who had previously been betrothed to Þorsteinn. Þorgils Þorsteinsson, as a friend of Einarr's, helps to make the marriage arrangement and, thus, becomes embroiled in the feud that eventually results in his own death.³⁰ The elder Þorsteinn is hardly mentioned during this part of the saga, but he is predictably distraught when Hrani informs him of Þorgils's death, remarking “Fjándliga segir þú frá tíðendum. Illt hefir jafnan af þér hlotizk ok þínum ráðum” [You relate the news fiendishly. Evil has always proceeded from you and your counsels].³¹ There is no subsequent explanation for how Þorsteinn hvíti gets along without his son, who had previously taken over management of the farmstead at Hof. It is said, however, that Þorgils's son Helgi, who was three years old when his father was killed, now shared ownership of the farm. Neither Þorgils's wife Ásvǫr nor their daughter Guðrún are ever mentioned again in the narrative, though the saga's medieval audience may have taken for granted their roles in maintaining the farm and Ásvǫr's role in raising Helgi. Yet, their absence from the narra-

30 *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, 8–11.

31 *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, 16. The elder Þorsteinn's remarks about Hrani allude to the fact that Þorgils's involvement in the feud between Þorsteinn fagri and Einarr was largely at Hrani's urging; see *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, 10.

tive is still be worthy of note.³² In any case, there is little apparently worth telling until five years later when Þorsteinn fagri returns to Iceland and the two Þorsteinns share a remarkable encounter.

Following his exile for the killing of Einarr, Þorsteinn fagri immediately sets out for Hof. On his arrival there he first meets the young Helgi, who is eight years old at the time, playing outdoors. After a short exchange with the boy, he and his travelling companions enter the farmhouse. It is then said that “Þorsteinn hvíti kenndi farmanna daun ok spurði, hverir komnir væri” [Þorsteinn hvíti recognized the reek of seafarers and asked, who had come], leading his younger namesake and the brother of Þorgils’s slayers to identify himself.³³ Though slight, this “grainy detail” of the narrative is rather striking. The elder Þorsteinn’s keen sense of smell may recall certain motifs commonly found in folk tales where a prodigious sense of smell is sometimes associated with nefarious humans or other – often dimwitted – paranormal beings.³⁴ Yet otherwise absent of paranormal elements, the text more simply refers to those smells associated with the sea and seafaring travelers with which its original audience – probably no less than many of their modern counterparts – would have been well acquainted. Although the seafarers’ “reek” is stated as a fact and does not give the saga’s audience direct access to Þorsteinn’s inner thoughts and feelings, this small detail is a subtle gesture towards his atypical sensory experience of the event, which is contingent upon his vision loss. There is, for example, no such reference to the senses when the younger Þorsteinn had previously encountered Helgi playing outside, likely taking for granted that they had become aware of one another through the faculty of vision.

32 In *Vápnfirðinga saga* it is specifically stated that Þorsteinn “fæddi upp Helga, sonarson sinn” [brought up Helgi, his grandson], with no mention of his mother or a sister; *Vápnfirðinga saga*, 24.

33 *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, 16.

34 Christine Goldberg, “Cannibalism, Motif G10,” *Archetypes and Motifs in Folklore and Literature: A Handbook*, ed. by Jane Garry and Hasan El-Shamy (London: Routledge, 2016), 228; see also Yoav Tirosh, *On the Receiving End*, 244–45. Norwegian folk tales, such as “Soria Moria slot” and “Småguttene som traff trollene på Hedalskogen,” feature Trolls, for example, who detect the presence of unwanted visitors by the smell of their Christian blood; see Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe (eds.), *Norske Folke-eventyr*, 2 vols. (Christiania: Johan Dahl, 1843–44), I, 166–80 and Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe (eds.), *Norske Folke-eventyr: ny samling* (Christiania: I kommission hos J. Dybwad, 1871), 151–54.

Thus, although invoked using only a few words, the narrative methods of the saga's writer become apparent as the text briefly veers from Old Norse literature's typical ocularcentric norm. While far from a conclusive analysis, it is worth noting, for example, that the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* (ONP) contains 1179 citations for the verb *sjá* [to see/look], 470 citations for the verb *heyra* [to hear/listen], 94 citations for the verb *bergja* [to taste], 51 and 45 citations for the verbs *snerta* [to touch] and *þreifa* [to feel with the hand] respectively, and 27 and 12 citations for the verbs *þefa* [to smell] and *ilma* [to give off a pleasant scent] respectively.³⁵

Concerning blindness and ocularcentrism more broadly, disability studies scholar Rod Michalko explains that "blindness is always experienced in the midst of sightedness" where "people are either born blind into a world organized by sight or lost their sight in the same world." Thus, he continues, "the meaning of blindness is wrapped in its immersion in a 'sighted world.'"³⁶ Consequently, vision loss or blindness, often conceptualized as the "empty other, the polar (and defining) opposite to the wholeness and norm of 'seeing,'" is often seen to be antithetical to knowledge acquisition and other mental processes.³⁷ Though certainly with some exceptions, vision has been widely privileged over any other sense across history, including during the Middle Ages.³⁸ The same seems to hold true for the

35 Aldis Sigurðardóttir, Alex Speed Kjeldsen, Bent Chr. Jacobsen, Christopher Sanders, Ellert Þór Jóhannsson, Eva Rode, Helle Degnbol, James E. Knirk, Maria Arvidsson, Simonetta Battista, Tarrin Wills, and Þorbjörg Helgadóttir (eds.), *ONP: Dictionary of Old Norse Prose [Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog]* (Copenhagen: Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission), <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php>

36 Rod Michalko, *The Mystery of the Eye and the Shadow of Blindness* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 8; Rod Michalko, *The Difference that Disability Makes* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002), 136–40.

37 Scott Wells, "The Exemplary Blindness of Francis of Assisi," *Disability in the Middle Ages: Reconsiderations and Reverberations*, ed. by Joshua R. Eyler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010) 67; see also Michalko, *The Mystery of the Eye*, 8–34, 65–101; David Michael Levin, "Introduction," *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, ed. by David Michael Levin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 2–4.

38 In the context of medieval Christian culture, some have suggested that hearing, and sometimes even touch, rather than vision assumed primacy among the senses; see, for example, Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, trans. by Richard Miller (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 65. However, some of these claims are made on rather thin evidence and, while hearing is commonly privileged above the remaining senses and sometimes touch as well, the hegemony of vision remains widely prevalent, particularly during the later Middle Ages; see Walter J. Ong, "The Shifting Sensorium," *The Varieties of Sensory*

world depicted in *Þorsteins saga* and in other Old Norse literature where the visual is often taken for granted as a means through which the world is most naturally engaged with, but it is also often explicitly privileged as, if not the sole, then certainly the primary seat of knowledge generation and motivation. Pernille Hermann has demonstrated that the faculty of sight was intimately entwined with thought and memory in medieval Norse culture.³⁹ This is the case too, for example, for paranormal experiences such as dreams and, naturally, waking visions as well, the vehicle of which is predominantly visual imagery. Like other Indo-European languages, Old Norse is also highly dependent on a variety of explicit and occluded terms, metaphors, and other idiomatic phrases associating seeing and the visual with knowing, remembering, and thinking.⁴⁰ Yet, by giving way to this small but striking detail, *Þorsteins saga* confronts the hegemony of vision, if only momentarily, by relating the experience of blindness not as an empty other but as an experience that involves its own means for knowledge motivation and generation. Moreover, rather than an obstacle, the saga presents vision loss and blindness as something capable of generating its own narratives, including the story of sightedness' common inability to see itself as a norm about which everything, including stories, is typically constructed.⁴¹

The acknowledgement of Þorsteinn's atypical sensory experience, indeed, seems to entail a subtle and perhaps rare shift from the kind of ex-

Experience: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses, ed. by David Howes (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 30; Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 34–45; Edward Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks Before the Blind: Medieval Constructions of a Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 14–18; Béatrice Caseau, "The Senses in Religion: Liturgy, Devotion, and Deprivation," *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard G. Newhauser (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 89–91; and Pekka Kärkkäinen, "The Senses in Philosophy and Sciences: Mechanics of the Body or Activity of the Soul?" *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard G. Newhauser (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 118–20.

39 See Pernille Hermann, "Memory, Imagery and Visuality in Old Norse Literature," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 114 (2015): 317–40; Pernille Hermann, "The Mind's Eye: The Triad of Memory, Space and the Senses in Old Norse Literature," *European Journal of Scandinavian Studies* 47 (2017): 203–17.

40 On the pervasiveness of ocularcentrism in Indo-European languages, see Stephen A. Tyler, "The Vision Quest in the West, or What the Mind's Eye Sees," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 40 (1984): 23–40.

41 Michalko, *The Mystery of the Eye*, 156–67.

ternal focalization that broadly characterizes this and other saga narratives toward the internal.⁴² This movement helps to render what would surely already be a tense meeting all the more poignant. The elder Þorsteinn begins by asking his younger namesake, the brother of his son Þorgils's killers, "Hvárt þótti þér of lítil mín skapraun, ef þú sóttir mik eigi heim, blindan karl ok gamlan?" [Do you think my trials too little without you seeking me out at my home, a blind old man?]. Þorsteinn fagri did not arrive at the farm, however, with hostile intents but is seeking to make amends for the killing of Þorgils. He promptly offers Þorsteinn hvíta sjálfðæmi [self-judgment] and claims that Þorgils will be compensated "svá at eigi hafi annarr maðr dýrri verit" [so that no man had been put at a higher price]. The elder Þorsteinn refuses the offer, claiming that he "eigi vilja bera Þorgils, son sinn, í sjóði" [does not want to carry Þorgils, his son, in a purse]. Þorsteinn fagri then dramatically leaps forward and places his head on his elder namesake's knee, forfeiting his life.⁴³ Þorsteinn hvíti replies,

Eigi vil ek láta höfuð þitt af hálsi slá. Munu þar eyru sœmst, sem uxu. En þá geri ek sætt okkar í millum, at þú skalt fara hingat til Hofs til umsýslu með allt þitt, ok ver hér, meðan ek vil, en þú sel skip þitt.

[I don't want to have your head struck from your neck. Ears fit best where they grew. But then I'll make an agreement between us, that you will come here to Hof to manage things with all you have and will stay here as long as I wish, and you will sell your ship.]

Þorsteinn fagri agrees to these terms and the arrangement between the two lasts for eight years. The saga relates that, during this time, the younger

42 On external focalization and saga style, see Daniel Sävborg, "Style," *The Routledge Research Companion to the Medieval Icelandic Sagas*, ed. by Ármann Jakobsson and Sverrir Jakobsson (London: Routledge, 2017), 112–15.

43 William Ian Miller Miller has referred to this act as a "forgiveness ceremony," noting that similar arrangements are made by Brodd-Helgi's son Bjarni in both *Vápnfirðinga saga* and in *Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs*, among other places; Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking*, 57, 322n32, 369n22; see *Vápnfirðinga saga*, 62–63; *Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs*, in *Austfirðinga sögur*, ed. by Jón Jóhannesson, Íslensk fornrit XI (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1950), 77–78; see also Andersson, *The Icelandic Family Saga*, 23–24; Sigríður Baldursdóttir, "Hugmyndaheimur Vopnfirðinga sögu," 74–76.

Þorsteinn was to the elder Þorsteinn “í sonar stað í allri umsýslu” [like a son in managing everything], taking the place of the deceased Þorgils.⁴⁴

The meeting between the two Þorsteinns is remarkable for several reasons, not least the lingering effect of the opening and subtle textual gesture toward the elder Þorsteinn’s inner life.⁴⁵ Although he seems to deprecatingly refer to himself as a “blind old man,” the saga’s audience has hardly been conditioned to pity the elder Þorsteinn as they might readily pity Egill, for example, during his later years, as mentioned above. However, as Sif Ríkharðsdóttir has shown, in contrast to the prose that surrounds it, the poetry in *Egils saga*, including a few verses Egill recites lamenting the effects of aging, often appears to “manipulate the reader into an empathetic position and provide an alternative insight into characters’ inner lives.”⁴⁶ The same can be said of the subtle gesture the narrative makes toward the elder Þorsteinn’s inner life through its intimation of his atypical sensory experience; that is, his awareness of the presence of the seafaring visitors through his sense of smell. Yet, he is never confronted with the kind of ridicule, scorn, or social stigma Egill faces. In this respect, the younger man’s refusal to treat his arguably vulnerable counterpart in the same way that Einarr had treated him during his own period of illness and convalescence years earlier is also noteworthy. That Þorsteinn fagri makes no attempt to take advantage of the “blind old man” demonstrates both his moral character and – contrasted with Einarr’s behaviour – the saga’s overall attitude toward the proper conduct toward those with illnesses or impairments.

Regarding the elder Þorsteinn’s refusal to take the offered vengeance for his son upon Þorsteinn fagri, Ámundi inn blindi [the blind] in *Brennu-Njáls saga*, though not an old man and said to have been blind since his birth, may offer an interesting point of comparison. He miraculously gains momentary sight and, unlike Þorsteinn, opts for violence when

44 *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, 17–18.

45 For a somewhat similar reading of a scene featuring the aforementioned Hlenni in *Ljósvetninga saga*, see Yoav Tirosh, *On the Receiving End*, 145–46.

46 Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, *Emotion in Old Norse Literature: Translations, Voices, Contexts* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), 103; see also Lois Bragg, *Oedipus Borealis: The Aberrant Body in Old Icelandic Myth and Saga* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004), 189–90; and Yelena Sesselja Helgadóttir Yershova, “Egill Skalla-Grímsson: A Viking Poet as a Child and an Old Man,” *Youth and Age in the Medieval North*, ed. by Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 295–304.

given the opportunity to avenge the killing of his father.⁴⁷ Yet, in Ámundi's case, following immediately on the heels of the saga's account of Iceland's conversion to Christianity, his act of vengeance is arguably understood to be divinely sanctioned and serves – at least to the saga's audience – as an obvious illustration that God “can intervene when and as he sees fit.”⁴⁸ Yet, through the miraculous killing of his father's slayer, Ámundi fans the embers of an old feud, reigniting the conflict between the sons of the eponymous Njáll and the Sigfússons, which eventually culminates in the burning at Bergþórshváll.⁴⁹ The aforementioned efforts of the aged and nearly blind Ingimundr Þorsteinsson to prevent violence, his extended dramatic death scene, and his son's vengeance upon their evil pagan adversaries in *Vatnsdæla saga*, convey a similarly didactic and moral tone. Ingimundr and his sons are portrayed as proto-Christians whose actions are informed by a strong sense of Christian morality, which is preoccupied with determining and doling out both rewards and punishments.⁵⁰ No such spiritual framework is provided or even vaguely implied during the encounter between the two Þorsteinns. Rather, doubtlessly drawing on the experience of losing his own son to violent conflict, Þorsteinn hvíti is afforded an opportunity and succeeds in expressing his own personal views on the futility of the retributive cycle of violence that society seems to demand he must help to perpetuate.⁵¹

47 Einar Ól. Sveinsson (ed.), *Brennu-Njáls saga*, Íslenzk fornrit XII (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1954), 248, 272–74.

48 Elizabeth Walgenbach, “Inciting Miracle in *Njáls saga*: Ámundi hinn blindi's Gift of Sight in Context,” *Saga-Book* 43 (2019): 132; see also Siân Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero: Hagiography and Early Icelandic Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), 142–43. This episode has generated a great deal of scholarly debate centring on its religious dimensions and whether the return of Ámundi's blindness following his act of vengeance should be interpreted as a punishment for having miscomprehended God's will by killing rather than offering Christian forgiveness to his father's killer; see, for example, Lars Lönnroth, *Njáls saga: A Critical Introduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 145; Annette Lassen, “Hedninge på kristent pergament: Fremstillingen af mødet mellem hedenskab og kristendom i dele af den norrøne litteratur,” *Transfiguration: Nordisk tidsskrift for kunst og kristendom* 3 (2001): 23–41; William Ian Miller, *Why is Your Axe Bloody? A Reading of Njáls saga* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 188–91; Andrew Hamer, *Njáls saga and its Christian Background: A Study of Narrative Method* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 122–30.

49 Walgenbach, “Inciting Miracle in *Njáls saga*,” 134.

50 Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero*, 123–33; cf. Morcom, “After Adulthood,” 26–30.

51 Sigríður Baldursdóttir, however, contends that Þorsteinn should be regarded as a proto-Christian or “noble heathen.” Based on the idea that *Þorsteins saga* and *Vápnfirðinga saga*

Yet, unlike a number of other elderly men in the sagas, some of whom also experience vision loss or other infirmities associated with aging, Þorsteinn hvíti does not simply retire out of the vengeance game – often ritualized through the act of literally retiring to bed – in which he never really seemed to take part anyway.⁵² Vengeance, of course, is not the only viable option, but the elder Þorsteinn is equally defiant in refusing financial compensation. His refusal to do so once again seems to demonstrate a keen awareness of the pitfalls of the social structures within which he and his younger namesake are operating. Þorsteinn’s defiant refusal to “carry his son in a purse” may speak to his awareness that taking such a payment in lieu of blood vengeance could make him the object of shame.⁵³ Moreover, as William Ian Miller contends, while financial compensation may appear to serve as a mechanism to thwart violent conflict, the purse itself can just as easily act as a token or reminder of the corpse for whom it was paid, creating a situation in which the violence it was meant to avert is ironically hastened.⁵⁴ The depth of Þorsteinn’s desire to prevent further violence is apparent when, after the saga jumps several years ahead, he encourages Þorsteinn fagri to leave Iceland when he suspects that Þorgils’s orphaned son, Brodd-Helgi, who has now come of age, might begin looking to avenge his father’s death.

Returning to the poignant encounter between the two Þorsteinns, with the traditional mechanisms for conflict resolution seemingly having been exhausted, the elder Þorsteinn opts for a radical method of conflict resolution such that his younger namesake becomes “like a son” to him, filling in for the son he has lost. This solution allows the elder Þorsteinn

share not only an intertextual connection but also an ideological one, she suggests that the encounter between the two Þorsteinns should be viewed as conveying a similarly positive Christian message as the one found in *Vápnfirðinga Saga*; see Sigríður Baldursdóttir, “Hugmyndaheimur Vopnfirðinga sögu,” 81, 99–100.

52 On the common trope of “retiring to bed” and, thus, out of the vengeance game in medieval saga writing, see William Ian Miller, *Losing It* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 129–40.

53 Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking*, 190.

54 William Ian Miller, *Eye for an Eye* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 106–07; see also, for example, Guðni Jónsson (ed.), *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, Íslenzk fornrit VII (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1936), 80; Otto J. Zitzelsburger (ed.), *The Two Versions of Sturlaugs saga starfsama: A Decipherment, Edition and Translation of a Fourteenth Century Icelandic Mythical-Heroic Saga* (Düsseldorf: Michael Tritsch, 1969), 15.

to avoid the shame and the potential for an escalation of violence that financial compensation might entail while simultaneously preventing the abilities of his younger namesake from being squandered, putting them rather to productive use. Instead of inflicting punitive damage, either through violence or imposing a financial burden designed to damage the opposing side as much as possible, the arrangement can be regarded as a more restorative approach to justice. Þorsteinn's solution is centred not on punishment but on repairing the harm, where possible, that has resulted for both the surviving victims and the perpetrators of the killings of Einarr and Þorgils.⁵⁵ The elder Þorsteinn gains a surrogate son who is able to take over the management of the farm at Hof as his own son once had done. The younger Þorsteinn, though his father Þorfinnr is still living, gains a surrogate father who, for example, helps to arrange a marriage with Helga Krákadóttir, whom he had previously planned to marry prior to his friend Einarr's betrayal.

Conclusion

After eight years at Hof and at his surrogate father's urging, the younger Þorsteinn departs for Norway along with his wife, father, and father-in-law, where he lives for the remainder of his life, and "þótti inn vaskasti maðr" [was thought the most valiant man]. Þorsteinn hvíti, remaining at Hof with his grandson Helgi, dies the following year whereupon it is said he was thought to have been "it mesta mikilmenni" [the greatest of men].⁵⁶ The meeting that took place nearly a decade earlier between the two Þorsteinns is a defining moment for both men. During that tense en-

55 On the differences between restorative and punitive justice, see, for example, John Braithwaite, "A Future Where Punishment is Marginalized: Realistic or Utopian?" *UCLA Law Review* 46 (1998–99): 1727–50.

56 *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, 18–19. The saga ends following a perhaps awkwardly placed anecdote explaining how Helgi, whose story is told in much fuller detail in *Vápnfirðinga saga*, acquired his nickname *Brodd* [Spike], which has attracted the particular attention of scholars seeking to establish connections between *Þorsteins saga*, *Vápnfirðinga saga*, and perhaps also *Trójumanna saga*; see *Vápnfirðinga saga*, 24n1; Jón Jóhannesson, "Formáli," vi–ix; Halldór Stefánsson, "Austfirðingasögur í útgáfu Fornritauðgáfunnar," *Múlaþing* 2 (1967): 46–52; Jón Helgason, "Paris í Troja, Þorsteinn på Borg och Brodd-Helgi på Hof," *Nordiska studier i filologi och lingvistik: festskrift tillägnad Gösta Holm på 60-årsdagen den 8 juli 1976*, ed. by Lars Svensson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1976), 192–94; and Gisli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition*, 141–42.

counter, the younger Þorsteinn adopted an entirely different approach to that of his former partner Einarr when confronted with the vulnerability of a potential adversary and chose not only to avoid taking advantage of the “blind old” Þorsteinn but agreed to take over the management of his farm in order to atone for the killing of Þorgils. Yet, the elder Þorsteinn is not depicted as only a physically vulnerable figure even if his vision loss is an indelible part of his character. Þorsteinn hvíti’s blindness and his ability to recognize what many others cannot appreciate, namely the apparent flaws inherent in the traditional methods by which disputes are managed in the society depicted in the saga, appear to be intimately entwined within the narrative. The construction of the poignant encounter between the two men and the emphasis placed on the elder Þorsteinn’s atypical sensory experience of the event, from its outset, lingers over the scene. Yet, rather than pity, the narrative method of the saga’s writer directs the reader into an empathetic position, providing a fine psychological portrait of Þorstein hvíti as he deftly resolves the situation. In so approximating life experiences otherwise inaccessible to sighted people, *Þorsteins saga* subtly confronts the hegemonic status of sightedness, not only as the principal seat of knowledge motivation and generation, but also as an essential or at least normalized condition for narrative itself.

If understood as a reflection of actual attitudes toward embodied differences, either during the period the saga describes or that during which it is thought to have been written, *Þorsteins saga* never seems to depict blindness as inevitably disabling. Yet, as in Þorsteinn hvíti’s case, this would naturally be contingent upon being a part of a social network that is able and willing to adapt to the new reality such a change brings about and to provide suitable support. It is also important to note that Þorsteinn’s blindness, unlike that of the aforementioned Ámundi, is not congenital but that his vision loss comes well after he has accumulated wealth and achieved a high-ranking social status in a society in which the foundations of leadership were structured around reciprocity and support.⁵⁷ Yet, the saga and the story of Þorsteinn’s blindness, when regarded against the backdrop of ocularcentrism and the hegemonic status of sight, seems to reveal even more. The story of Þorsteinn’s blindness is not that of an empty other,

57 See Sverrir Jakobsson, “From Reciprocity to Manorialism: On the peasant mode of production in Medieval Iceland,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 38 (2013): 273–95.

as something conceptualized as an absent antithesis to the fullness of sightedness. Neither is it a story of passing, overcoming, or erasing difference. Certain elements of the narrative may seem to echo the familiar link between visual impairment or blindness and clairvoyance or superability, which can be found in many instances in Old Icelandic literature, including in the well-known tale of Óðinn giving one of his eyes in exchange for knowledge at Mímir's well.⁵⁸ Yet, *Þorsteins saga* does not point toward this motif in any obvious ways and there is no indication that Þorsteinn gains any kind of paranormal knowledge or ability in conjunction with his loss of vision. Yet, apart from his access to visual stimuli, there is no indication that anything much is lost either. Þorsteinn's blindness is a noteworthy but not a principally abnormal or utterly defining quality. However, it performs a vital role as a narrative device within the saga, providing an opportunity for the saga's audience to contemplate not only the experience of vision loss and blindness, which surely some of its members would be familiar with firsthand, but also its potential for motivating and generating both knowledge and narrative in its own unique ways.

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- 58 See, for example, Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*, ed. by Anthony Faulkes, 2nd ed. (University College London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2005) 17, 50. On this and other associations between visual impairment or blindness and clairvoyance or superability in Old Icelandic literature, see Bragg, *Oedipus Borealis*, 71–78, 107–23; Lassen, *Øjet og blindheden*, 56–59, 84–106; Kolfinna Jónatansdóttir, “Blindur er betri en brenndur sé.’ Um norræna guði og skerðingar,” *Fötlun og menning: Íslandssagan í öðru ljósi*, ed. by Hanna Björg Sigurjónsdóttir, Ármann Jakobsson, and Kristín Björnsdóttir (Reykjavík: Félagsvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands og Rannsóknarsetur í fötlunarfræðum, 2013), 35–38.

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SUMMARY

Narrating Blindness and Seeing Ocularcentrism in *Þorsteins saga hvíta*

Keywords: sagas, disability, blindness, narrative

This article explores *Þorsteins saga hvíta* using a disability studies approach. It considers how the saga’s depiction of the eponymous Þorsteinn might reflect how vision loss or blindness was perceived and may have affected the everyday life of medieval Icelanders. Greater focus, however, is placed upon how the saga makes use of Þorsteinn’s vision loss and subsequent blindness to confront the hegemony of vision in connection with both knowledge and narrative.

ÁGRIP

Að segja frá blindu og sjá augnmiðjun í *Þorsteins sögu hvíta*

Lykilorð: sögur, fötlun, sjónleysi, frásögn

Í greininni er fjallað um Þorsteins sögu hvíta frá sjónarhorni fötlunarfræði. Þar er fjallað um hvernig lýsing sögunnar á Þorsteini gæti endurspeglað hvernig sjóndepra

eða blinda voru skilgreind og birtust í daglegu lífi Íslendinga á miðöldum. Á hinn bóginn er megináherslan á það hvernig sagan nýtir sér sjónmissi og blindu Þorsteins til að takast á við ráðandi hugmynd um sjónina sem meginskynfærið í tengslum við bæði þekkingu og frásögn.

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SLÉTTTSÖNGUR Í LÚTHERSKUM SIÐ Á ÍSLANDI 1550–1800¹

SLÉTTTSÖNGUR eða *cantus planus*, rómversk-kaþólskur kirkjusöngur sem stundum er kenndur við Gregor I. páfa, nam land á Íslandi við kristnitöku og var iðkaður hér eftir regluverki Rómarkirkjunnar í meira en 500 ár. Með siðbreytingunni komst á annars konar messusöngur í samræmi við lútherska kenningu, en allnokkuð af hinni eldri tónlist átti sér þó framhaldslíf í nýjum sið. Í *Graduale* eða grallaranum, messusöngsbók íslensku kirkjunnar sem kom út fyrsta sinni árið 1594 og nítján sinnum allt til ársins 1779, er allnokkuð um sléttisöng bæði við latneska og íslenska texta. Í handritum hafa auk þess varðveist sléttisöngvar sem ekki standa í prentuðum bókum íslenskum og má ætla að sumir þeirra hafi verið sungnir utan hins formlega helgihalds. Heimildir um sléttisöng í lútherskum sið á Íslandi spanna tímabilið frá um 1550 og langt fram á 18. öld. Í þessari grein er fjallað nánar um þessi lög og reynt að komast nær orsökum þess að kirkjusöngur spröttinn úr rómversk-kaþólskri hefð átti svo lengi hljómgrunn meðal íslenskra söngvara, skálda og handritaskrifara.

Í upphafi er rétt að skilgreina hvað við er átt. Hugtökin sléttisöngur og Gregorssöngur (*cantus planus*, *cantus Gregorianus*) eru höfð um söngva sem gegna tilteknu hlutverki í helgihaldi rómversk-kaþólsku kirkjunnar. Þeir falla í flokka eftir því hvar þeim er skipað niður á daga og innan þeirra, við tíðir og messugjörð.² Söngurinn líður áfram í flæðandi hendingum; ritháttur er kvaðrat- eða ferningsnótnaskrift (*Quadratnotation*, *square notation*) sem segir til um tónhæð en ekki lengd nótna eða hrynn. Textar eru

- 1 Rannsókn þessi er hluti af verkefninu *Hið hræranlega helgihald: Hefðir og sambengi sléttisöngs á Íslandi 1500–1700* sem naut styrks úr Rannsóknasjóði árin 2017–2019 (styrknúmer 173666).
- 2 Messuliðir eru ýmist fastir, þ.e. sömu textar sungnir eða lesnir árið um kring (til dæmis Kyrie, Gloria og Credo), eða breytilegir eftir dögum (til dæmis inngangssálmur og sekvensar), sjá nánar Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, *Saga tónlistarinnar. Tónlist á Vesturlöndum frá miðöldum til samtímans* (Reykjavík: Forlagið, 2016), 14–21.

á latínu og flestir í óbundnu máli, gjarnan biblíuvers, en einnig yngri kvæði, sum í bundnu máli og eftir nafngreinda höfunda.³

Fræðimenn hafa fremur lítt fjallað um áhrif kaþólskunnar í lútherskum sið á Íslandi. Þó hefur Hjalti Hugason nýlega lýst þeirri túlkun sinni að siðbreytingin hafi falist í seigfljótandi þróun sem spannaði áratugi, jafnvel aldir, og megi skipta í tvö stig. Hið fyrra hafi staðið fram undir aldamótin 1600, en hið síðara í einhverjar aldir eftir það og hafi sú hæga þróun helst stafað af „einsleitni og kyrrstöðu íslenska samfélagsins miðað við mörg önnur“.⁴ Hjalti nefnir að líklega hafi töluverður fjöldi presta úr kaþólskum sið „þvælst fyrir helgisíðaskiptum í sóknum sínum og þar með aukið teygjuna í siðaskiptaþróuninni“.⁵ Íhaldssemi eða fortíðarþrá varðandi tiltekna þætti hins gamla siðar var þó ekki bundin við presta 16. aldar. Í *Visnabók Guðbrands* frá 1612 birtust Maríuljóð eftir tvö lúthersk skáld úr prestastétt, séra Einar Sigurðsson í Eydölum og séra Ólaf Guðmundsson í Sauðanesi.⁶ Finnur Jónsson segir um Brynjólf biskup Sveinsson (1605–1675) í kirkjusögu sinni að þótt hann hafi metið Lúther mikils hafi honum stundum þótt hann ganga full langt í vandlætingu sinni. Sagt hafi verið að Brynjólfur hafi haft um hönd talnabönd, notað dýrlingamyndir og lesið tíðir að rómverskum hætti. Finnur kvað þetta vera ósannindi, þótt Brynjólfur hafi vissulega viljað gæta þess að góðum og gagnlegum siðum frá fyrri tímum yrði ekki varpað fyrir róða.⁷ Einar Sigurbjörnsson komst að þeirri niðurstöðu að í hinu mikla Maríukvæði sem Brynjólfur orti á latínu,

- 3 Hymnar (sungnir við tíðasöng) hafa nokkra sérstöðu hvað texta og tóna snertir. Þar er sungið undir reglulegum bragarháttum, oftast ambrósiönskum hætti í stígandi tvíliðum. Hymnar féllu vel að kirkjusöng lútherskra og náðu ekki siður útbreiðslu í hinum nýrri sið en hinum eldri. Páll Eggert Ólason gerði í riti sínu *Uppþök sálma og sálmalaga í lútherskum sið á Íslandi* (Reykjavík: Árbók Háskóla Íslands, 1924) grein fyrir uppruna lútherskra sálmalaga en gat einnig um latneska hymna þar sem það átti við. Hér verður því látið hjá líða að taka þá til frekari skoðunar og einblínt á aðrar greinar sléttisöngs.
- 4 Hjalti Hugason, „Seigfljótandi siðaskipti“, *Ritið* 18/1 (2018): 176 og 195.
- 5 Sama heimild, 189.
- 6 Einar Sigurbjörnsson, „Maríukveðskapur á mótum kaþólsku og lúthersku“, *Til heiðurs og hugbótar. Greinar um trúarkveðskap fyrri alda*, ritstj. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir og Anna Guðmundsdóttir (Reykholt: Snorrastofa, 2003), 120.
- 7 Einar Sigurbjörnsson, „Ad beatam virginem“, *Brynjólfur biskup. Kirkjuhöfðingi, fræðimaður og skáld*, ritstj. Jón Pálsson, Sigurður Pétursson og Torfi H. Tulinius (Reykjavík: Háskóla-útgáfan, 2006), 64.

Ad beatam virginem („Til hinnar sælu meyjar“) hafi hann gengið „lengra en evangelískir kennimenn yfirleitt í hugleiðingum um Mariú“.⁸

Marteinn Lúther var raunar ekki mótfallinn sléttsöng þótt tónlist af þeim toga fengi minna hlutverk í hinni lúthersku kirkjudeild en þeirri kaþólsku. Í *Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gotes diensts* (1526) mæltist Lúther til þess að sléttsöng yrði áfram við haldið, ekki síst í bæjum og borgum þar sem latínuskólar störfuðu, því að honum var umhugað að ungviðið kynntist bæði gömlu lögunum og tungumálinu sem sungið var á. Afstaða Lúthers í kirkjusöng var einmitt dregin eftir mærum tungumálsins; hann kaus að hin nýrri þýsku sálmalög væru sungin á móðurmálinu en sléttsöngur á latínu.⁹ Í seinni útgáfum á söngbók Johanns Walter (*Gesangbüchlein*, 1. útg. 1524) má jafnvel greina aukinn fjölda latínusöngva, sem er til marks um vilja kirkjuleiðtoga til þess að einhver latínusöngur héldist á öllum meginhátíðum. Sömuleiðis var mikið um sléttsöng í annarri lykilsöngbók snemmlútherskunnar, *Psalmodia, hoc est, Cantica Sacra Veteris Ecclesiae selectae* sem guðfræðingurinn Lucas Lossius gaf út árið 1553. Innan tónlistarfræðinnar er þó oftast en ekki fjallað um hinn kaþólska og lútherska söngarf sem aðskilin fyrirbæri og þeirri skörun sem greina má milli þeirra lítill gaumur gefinn.

Sléttsöngvar í sálmabók og gröllurum

Áður en fjallað er um sléttsöng í prentuðum bókum íslenskum þarf fyrst að gera grein fyrir þeim ritum sem voru á sinn hátt fyrirmyndir þeirra. Helstu söngbækur dönsku kirkjunnar á síðasta þriðjungi 16. aldar voru *Den danske Psalmebog* (útg. Hans Thomissøn, 1569) og *Graduale* (útg. Niels Jespersøn, 1573). Þessi rit lögðu línur fyrir messusöng í Danaveldi en voru um margt ólík. Bók Thomissøns geymir að mestu lútherska sálma

8 Sama heimild, 74. Fleira bendir til þess að Íslendingar hafi verið tregir til að segja með öllu skilið við Mariudýrkun eftir siðbreytingu. Til dæmis hefur kvæðið Mariutíðir varðveist heilt í handriti frá 18. öld (Lbs 3013 8vo) og brot af því í öðru handriti, einnig frá 18. öld (ÍB 629 8vo); sjá Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, „Í ástarbing. Marian Sentiments in Lbs 3013 8vo,“ *Sainthood, Scriptoria, and Secular Erudition of Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavia*, ritstj. Dario Bullitta og Natalie Van Deusen (Turnhout: Brepols, væntanleg).

9 Christian Thomas Leitmeir, „Beyond the Denomenational Paradigm: The Motet as Confessional(ising) Practice in the Later Sixteenth Century,“ *Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era*, ritstj. Esperanza Rodríguez-García og Daniele V. Filippi (London: Routledge, 2019), 156.

þótt þar sé einnig að finna nokkra sléttisöngva í danskri þýðingu, en í riti Jesperssøns fær sléttisöngur við latneska texta mun meira vægi. Líklega var slíkur söngur almennt á undanhaldi um það leyti sem hið danska *Graduale* kom út, þótt hann hafi lifað í einhverja áratugi í bæjum þar sem latínuskólar voru starfræktir.¹⁰ Siðbreytingarmenn í Danmörku vildu að einhverju leyti halda í gamla siði og má vera að menning húmanista hafi þar haft áhrif, ekki sist eftir að Kaupmannahafnarháskóli opnaði dyr sínar að nýju sem lúthersk menntastofnun árið 1537.¹¹

Tiltölulega lítið er um sléttisöng í sálmabók Guðbrands Þorlákssonar frá 1589. Að mestu er þar fylgt meginlínunum dönsku litúrgíunnar: jólasekvensinn *Grates nunc omnes* án nótna á latínu og íslensku (15v), versíð *Resurrexit Christus / Christur reis upp frá dauðum* á páskadag (46v), sekvensar fyrir páska (*Victimae paschali laudes*, 52r–v) og hvítasunnu (*Kom Guð helgi andi hér / Veni sancte spiritus*, 60v–61r), íslensk þýðing á *Kyrie fons bonitatis* (*Kyrie Guð faðir sannur*, án nótna, 61r) og *Te Deum*. Allt er þetta efni í sálmabók Thomissøns, og hefur hún marga sléttisöngva til viðbótar sem sleppt er í íslenska prentinu. Einhverjir þeirra voru þó sungnir hér á landi, því þá er að finna í handriti frá 18. öld (sjá nánar að aftan). Eina óvænta frávikið í sálmabók Guðbrands biskups er sekvensinn *Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð* (*Celeste organum*, 19v–20v), sem ekki er í neinum dönskum heimildum úr lútherskum sið. Um þennan söng og aðra sekvensa í íslenskum heimildum er fjallað hér að aftan.

Í *Graduale* Niels Jesperssøns frá árinu 1573 er mun meira um sléttisöng en í dönsku sálmabókinni. Við efnisval í rit sitt fylgdi Jesperssøn almennt þeim boðum Lúthers sem getið var hér að framan, að sléttisöngur skuli sem fyrr hafa gömlu latínutextana en nýir hrynbundnir sálmar sungnir á móðurmáli safnaðarins. Jesperssøn gaf iðulega kost á tvenns konar efni við tiltekinn messulið eftir því hvort messa væri sungin í kaupstað, þar sem meira var um latínusöng, eða til sveita. Einu sléttisöngvarnir í danskri þýðingu í riti hans eru *Te Deum* (*O Guð wi loffue dig*), sem tekið er fram

10 Henrik Glahn, *Melodistudier til den lutherske salmesangs historie fra 1524 til ca. 1600* (Kaupmannahöfn: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1954), 1:52; eftirmáli við *Niels Jesperssøns Graduale 1573* (Kaupmannahöfn: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1986), 513.

11 Nils Holger Petersen, „Continuity and Change: The Official Danish Lutheran Gradual of Niels Jesperssøn (1573),“ *Music and Theology in the European Reformations*, ritstj. David Burn o.fl. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 411.

að skuli syngja „Paa Lands byer effter Predicken“, og þrjú tróperuð Kyrie eða miskunnarbænir (þ.e. með viðbættum texta og tónum miðað við hina hefðbundnu gerð).¹² Þó má telja til nokkur fleiri dæmi þar sem skilin milli gamla og nýja söngsins voru ekki ávallt skýr, til dæmis var jólasekvensinn *Grates nunc omnes* prentaður á latínu með sléttsöngsnótum en einnig í danskri þýðingu (*Nu lader oss alle tacke*), með sama lagi en í hrynbundinni gerð (bls. 46–47).

Íslensk útgáfa grallarans 1594 var allfrábrugðin hinu danska *Graduale* eins og bent hefur verið á.¹³ Sléttsöngur í íslenska prentinu er að mestu sóttur í dönsku bókina en þó eru á því nokkur frávik. Þau helstu eru eftirfarandi:

- Sanctus á íslensku á jólum (*Heilagur, heilagur*) er ekki sami söngur og hafður er við latínutextann fáeinum blaðsíðum frammar; í hinu danska *Graduale* er engin móðurmálsþýðing á Sanctus. Einnig er Kyrie á móðurmáli á jólum (*Kyrie Guð faðir himna ríkja*) ekki í hinu danska *Graduale*, en það er sótt í sálmabók Thomissøns.
- Halelúja á sunnudegi í föstuinngang er á íslensku (*Drottinn Guð gjör ei við oss*) en á latínu hjá Jespersøn (*Domine non secundum*), en hann býður að á móðurmáli sé sunginn einfaldari lútherskur sálmur. Þá er tónarunan á orðinu „Halelúja“ önnur en fylgir sama lagi í danska prentinu (*Graduale* 1573, bls. 138), og óvenjumörg frávik eru um tónefni í meginhluta söngsins. Í grallaranum 1607 er lagið bæði á íslensku og latínu.
- Kyrie á páskum er mjög breytt hvað tónefni snertir.
- Gloria á páskum er mjög breytt hvað tónefni snertir og liggur heilum tóni neðar en í hinu danska *Graduale*.
- Introitus á hvítasunnudag er við íslenskan texta (*Kom þú góði heilagi andi*) en er sungið á latínu í hinu danska *Graduale*. Þar er móðurmálsþýðing höfð á annan í hvítasunnu.

12 Þau eru: *Kyrie Gud Fader allsom höyeste tröst* (sungið fyrsta og annan sunnudag í aðventu og 3. í hvítasunnu, einnig í íslenskum gröllurum en þar aðeins á 1. sunnudag í aðventu); *Kyrie Gud Fader aff Himmerig* (annan jóladag, en á jólanótt í íslenska grallaranum); og *Kyrie Gud Fader forbarne dig* (annan og þriðja páskadag, en á páskadag í íslensku gerðinni).

13 Smári Ólason, „Grallari Þórðar Þorlákssonar 1691,“ *Frumkvöðull vísinda og mennta. Þórður Þorláksson biskup í Skálholti*, ritstj. Jón Pálsson (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 1998), 226–227. Þegar hið danska *Graduale* gefur tvo valkosti, annan fyrir kaupstaði en hinn fyrir sveitakirkjur, fylgir íslenski grallarin almennt síðarnefndu fyrir mælunum.

- Sekvens er við íslenskan texta á annan í hvítasunnu (*Kom Guð helgi andi hér*); Introitus og Halelúja á þrenningarhátíð eru einnig á íslensku (*Blessuð sért þú heilaga þrenning / Heyr þú hin sæla blessaða*). Engar sambærilegar þýðingar er að finna í danska prentinu.
- Lokahendingar þrenningarsekvensins *Benedicta semper sancta sit trinitas* eru gerðar að sjálfstæðum sekvens á íslensku, *Ó þú göfuglega þrenning*; ekkert slíkt er að finna í dönsku bókinni.
- Þrír Halelúja-söngvar sem Jesperssøn nefnir hvergi (*O beata benedicta gloriosa; Confitemini Domino; In conspectu angelorum*) eru tilteknir í grallaranum 1594, og allir prentaðir með nótum í gröllurum frá 1607–1679. Þessi lög og textar virðast hafa varðveist hér á landi úr rómversk-kaþólskum sið (sjá aftar).
- Nokkrum viðamiklum sléttsöngvum er alfarið sleppt í íslenska grallaranum, til dæmis *Discubuit Jesus* sem þó stendur á íslensku handriti frá 17. öld (sjá hér aftar). Einnig er sleppt tveimur sekvensum sem Jesperssøn býður að skuli syngja í kaupstöðum sem fórnarsöng á jólum og páskum (*Eia recolamus* og *Mane prima sabbati*) auk þriggja Responsorium-söngva sem standa aftast í riti hans.

Eftir slíkan samanburð vaknar óneitanlega sá grunur að sumar þessara breytinga – sem og annað val og uppröðun á lútherskum sálmum – séu aðeins gerðar breytinganna vegna, til þess að íslenski grallarinn væri sjálfstætt rit en ekki aðeins eftiröpun hins danska. Þó má vera að einhver þeirra frávika sem snerust um lög eða laggerðir eigi sér rætur í hinum gamla sið, að hér á landi hafi menn haft mætur á söngvunum og ekki viljað fórna þeim. Þetta gildir líklega einnig um síðari viðbætur sléttsöngva við íslenska grallarann sem ekki eiga sér fyrirmynd í Danmörku, eins og sekvensana *Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð* og *Guðdómsins hæsta náð* (sjá aftar).¹⁴ Að minnsta kosti er ljóst að íslenskir biskupar sáu sig ekki knúna til að fylgja hinni dönsku forskrift nema í megindráttum, þeir slepptu sumu en bættu öðru við.

14 Hér eru aðallega skoðaðar fyrstu tvær útgáfur íslenska grallarans, enda er lítið um viðbætur á sléttsöngsefni í síðari útgáfum. Þó má nefna Sanctus á íslensku á þrenningarhátíð sem birtist fyrst í 6. útgáfu 1691. Nánari umfjöllun um breytingar í útgáfum grallarans er Kristín Þóra Pétursdóttir, „Alltaf sami Grallarinn? Samantekt á efni allra 19 útgáfna Grallarans,“ Lokaritgerð (BA-ritgeð) við Listaháskóla Íslands, 2016.

Eins og sjá má af upptalningunni hér að framan var ólíkt meira um sléttsöngva á móðurmáli í grallara Guðbrands Þorlákssonar 1594 heldur en í útgáfu Jesperssøns. Þetta kann að styðjast við eldri venju, því að á Íslandi höfðu þegar um miðja 16. öld verið gerðar tilraunir með þýðingar sléttsöngstexta eins og ráða má af tveimur handritsbrotum með slíku efni.¹⁵ Guðbrandur sótti þó ekkert af efni sínu í umrædd brot, heldur nýtti hann sér aðrar heimildir og hugsanlega lét hann gera megnið af þýðingunum eða þýddi sjálfur. Lagið við „Heilagur, heilagur“ (Sanctus á jólum) er ekki að finna í dönsku söngbókunum en það stendur við latneska textann í tveimur íslenskum handritum frá síðustu áratugum 16. aldar (NKS 138 4to, sem er handrit Gísla Jónssonar Skálholtsbiskups frá því um 1575, og grallarahandritinu Thott 154 fol.); það stendur einnig í fjölda handrita frá Englandi og meginlandi Evrópu og má gera ráð fyrir að það hafi verið sungið hér á landi fyrir siðbreytingu.¹⁶ Af öðrum þýðingum má nefna *Drottinn Guð gjör ei við oss*, sem hafður er á íslensku alla lönguföstu, *Dýrðlegi kóngur ó Christe* og *Páskalamb vér heilagt höfum* á páskum, *Kom þú góði heilagi andi* á hvítasunnudag, *Kom Guð helgi andi hér* á annan og þriðja í hvítasunnu, auk þriggja sléttsöngva á þrenningarhátíð (Introitus, Haleluia og sekvens). Sé hugað að því hvernig hinir þýddu sléttsöngvar dreifast á daga kirkjuársins kemur ákveðið mynstur í ljós. Í útgáfu sinni tryggði Guðbrandur að einhver sléttsöngur væri viðhafður á íslensku á jólum, páskum, hvítasunnu og þrenningarhátíð, einnig í hinni einfaldari gerð messunnar á móðurmáli. Svo virðist sem honum hafi þótt æskilegt að ekki væri aðeins unnt að velja á milli þess að messa á íslensku (sálmalög) og latínu (sléttsöngur), heldur að jafnvel þegar guðsþjónustan færi fram á íslensku væri á stórhátíðum kirkjuársins haldið í eitthvað af hinum gamla söngarfi.

Í grallaranum 1594 var latínusöngsins ávallt getið á réttum stað í litúrgíunni en nótur ekki prentaðar nema á stórhátíðum. Bók Jesperssøns var að finna á báðum biskupsstólunum og því var unnt að syngja hina latnesku messu þar, en varla höfðu aðrir söfnuðir aðgang að lögnum á prenti.¹⁷

15 Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, „Tvö íslensk söngbókarbrot frá 16. öld í Stokkhólmi,“ *Gripla* 29 (2018): 7–33.

16 NKS 138 4to, 57v; Thott 154 fol., 51v. Sjá einnig Peter Josef Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (München: Walter Rieke, 1962), 196–197.

17 Í Skálholti voru tvö eintök af *Graduale* Jesperssøns á 17. öld og tilheyrði annað kirkjunni

Þegar 2. prentun grallarans kom út þrettán árum síðar var latínusöngnum gefið meira vægi, því þótt litúrgían héldist óbreytt voru allir sléttisöngvar skrifaðir út með nótum og bættust þannig við 104 lög sem áður var aðeins getið með upphafsorðum. Hinir „nýju“ sléttisöngvar í grallaranum 1607 einskorðast að mestu við tvo messuliði, Introitus og Haleluia, og nær öll þessi lög og textar eru fengin úr bók Jesperssøns þar sem þau standa einnig með nótum.¹⁸ Segja má að íslensk kirkjuyfirvöld hafi með 2. útgáfu grallarans fært sig nær dönsku fyrirmyndinni en áður hafði verið. Jafnvel nótnamyndin sjálf tók á sig fornlegri blæ. Bæði í hinu danska *Graduale* og íslenska grallaranum frá 1594 eru öll lög rituð á nótnastrengi með fimm línunum, en í útgáfunni 1607 eru aðeins fjórar línur við sléttisöngslög, rétt eins og í söngbókum hins gamla síðar.

Á nokkrum stöðum er ósamræmi milli lagavals í dönsku forskriftinni og prentun grallarans 1607 (og fram til 1679). Í sex tilvikum eru aðrir söngvar settir við Introitus og Haleluia í íslenska prentinu eins og sjá má á *Töflu 1* (bls. 301). Tveir þessara söngva eru í *Graduale* 1573 en ekki á sama messudegi. Í báðum bókum er *Puer natus est nobis* Introitus á jólum en í dönsku litúrgíunni er hann ekki endurtekinn á annan eða þriðja jóladag heldur koma nýir söngvar sem ekki eru í íslenska prentinu. Hér er því um einfaldað fyrirkomulag að ræða. Jesperssøn tilgreinir *Domine non secundum* á fyrsta sunnudag í föstu en lagið er notað viku fyrr í íslenska grallaranum

en hitt skólanum. Í afhendingarskrá frá árinu 1657 er getið um „tvenn Gradualia latindanica, annað í vakt prestsins en annað skólans“. Árið 1674 voru taldir upp í bókaskrá þar „kirkjugrallarar í latínu og dönsku“ og 24 árum síðar voru þar tveir „sönggrallarar danskir, prentað í folio“ (AM 271 fol., bl. 137; Hörður Ágústsson, „Bækur“, *Skálholt, skríði og áhöld*, ritstj. Kristján Eldjárn og Hörður Ágústsson [Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1992], 98). Í bókaskrá Hóladómkirkju frá árinu 1685 er talinn upp „Danskur Grallare í litlu folio“ og í bókaskrá skólans er getið um „Graduale Danicum“ (Bréfabók Þórðar biskups Þorlákssonar, IV. bindi, 1684–1689, ÞÍ Bps A IV, 3, 158). Vera má að þetta sé eintakið sem Páll Madsen Sjálandsbiskup sendi Guðbrandi Hólabiskupi („Graduale cum papyro“) og Guðbrandur þakkar honum fyrir í bréfi árið 1574 (sjá Finnur Jónsson, *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiæ* 3, 389). Eitt eintak grallarans danska er varðveitt á Landsbókasafni Íslands – Háskólabókasafni en óvist er um uppruna þess, sjá Pétur Sigurðsson, „Niels Jespersen, Gradual 1573“, *Árbók Landsbókasafns Íslands* 22 (1965): 137.

18 Rannsaka þarf nánar frávik í nótum þar sem um sömu lög er að ræða í báðum heimildum. Þótt grallarin 1607 fari yfirleitt mjög nálægt forskriftinni eru frávik frá *Graduale* Jesperssøns stundum töluverð. Þetta virðist helst eiga við um upphafshendingar söngvanna, ekki síst Halelúja-vers. Sum lög eru jafnvel í annarri tóntegund en í danska prentinu, til dæmis *Memento nostri Domine*, á fjórða sunnudag í jólaföstu.

Tafla 1. Frávík í latneskum messusöng milli *Graduale Niels Jesperssens* 1573 og íslenska grallarans í 2.–5. útgáfu (1607–1679).

Messudagur	Messusöngur	NJ 1573	GP 1607
Annar dagur jóla	Introitus	Et enim seder- unt principes	Puer natus est nobis
Þriðji dagur jóla	Introitus	In medio ecclesie	Puer natus est nobis
Sunnud. í föstuinngang	Haleluia	De profundis	Domine non secundum
Þrenningarhátíð	Haleluia	Benedictus es Domine Deus	O beata benedicta gloriosa
15. sun. e. trinitatis	Haleluia	Paratum cor meum Deus	Confitemini Domino
Michaelis messa	Haleluia	Concussum est mare	In conspectu angelorum

(og endurtekið viku síðar). Í ofangreindum tilvikum var grallarinn 1594 í samræmi við dönsku litúrgíuna, þótt nótunum væri þar sleppt.

Haleluia-söngvana *O beata benedicta*, *Confitemini Domino* og *In conspectu angelorum*, sem nefndir eru í grallara 1594 og prentaðir með nótum í útgáfunni 1607, er aftur á móti hvorki að finna í dönsku grallarané sálmabókarútgáfunum né heldur í hinni útbreiddu þýsku söngbók *Psalmodia* eftir Lucas Lossius. Þá eru þeir ekki í hinum tveimur stóru sléttsöngssöfnum íslenskum sem notuð voru við tíðasöng undir lok 16. aldar (NKS 138 4to og *Antiphonarium Holense*), og nótturnar eru heldur ekki í *Graduale* 1573 við aðra texta. Svo virðist sem þessi lög hafi verið sótt beint í messuarf hins gamla Niðaróssbiskupsdæmis, sem líklega var enn í minni kirkjuleiðtoga undir lok 16. aldar. Alleluia-söngurinn *O beata benedicta* er með nótum, til söngs á þrenningarhátíð rétt eins og í grallaranum, í íslensku handritsbroti frá 14. öld (Þjms 833); textinn er auk þess í *Missale Nidrosiensis* 1519.¹⁹ *Alleluia In conspectu Angelorum* var útbreiddur

19 Þjms 833, 2v; *Missale pro usu totius regni Norvegie* (Kaupmannahöfn, 1519), 264. Norræn gerð þessa Alleluia-söngs eins og hann birtist í Þjms 833 er nokkuð óvenjuleg. Utan Niðaróss tíðkaðist að syngja textann „O beata benedicta“ við andstef í tíðasöng, sbr. László Dobszay og Janka Szendrei, *Antiphonen*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 5/2 (Kassel:

et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum Amen.

Kyrie og Gloria so sem a Huitasunno.

Haleluta latinum.

Na le // lu ia. O Be // ata

Bene // // dic // ta Gloriosa Trini //

tas Pa // ter Fi // lius Spi // ri //

tus Sanctus. Na le // lu ia.

Sequentian.

S ij. Bene

Mynd 1. Haleluia. O beata benedicta gloriosa (úr Graduale 1594).

söngur hjá kaþólskum á Mikjálsmessu og er hér í svipaðri gerð og tíðkaðist annars staðar.²⁰ Lagið við *Alleluia Confitemini Domino* ber keim af því sem þekkt er úr erlendum söngbókum en laggerð grallarans er allmjög ólík og er óvíst hvert Guðbrandur sótti hana.²¹ Í öllum þremur framangreindum söngvum er löng tónaruna á síðasta atkvæði orðsins „Halelúja“ (það sem kallað er *jubilus* og er eitt einkenni slíkra söngva) felld brott í íslenska grallaranum. Þetta er í samræmi við venju hins danska *Graduale*, þar sem slíkum strófum var einnig sleppt. Þótt þau frávik í lagavali íslensku grallaranna sem hér hafa verið nefnd séu undantekning fremur en regla eru þau til marks um styrk sléttsöngshefðarinnar hér á landi fram á 17. öld. Þau sýna að kirkjunnar menn skorti hvorki kunnáttu né vilja til að fara sínar eigin leiðir þegar kom að því að flétta hana inn í íslenskt helgihald.²²

Húmanismi og fortíðarþrá í lútherskum sið

Því hefur verið haldið fram að sú lútherska trú sem hér var lögfest um miðja 16. öld hafi í raun verið eins konar bræðingur tveggja trúarheima. Jónas Jónasson frá Hrafnagili orðaði það svo:

Bärenreiter, 1999), 399–400. Lagið sem í norrænum heimildum er ritað við *Alleluia O beata benedicta* var haft við annan texta, *Alleluia Posuisti domine super caput ejus*, sem einnig er í *Missale Nidrosiensis* (1519) til söngs við messu píslarvotts. Sjá nánar Karl-Heinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (München: Walter Ricke, 1965), 90 (lag nr. 46); Karl-Heinz Schlager, *Alleluia-Melodien 1*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 7 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), 390; *Missale pro usu totius regni Norvegie*, 503.

20 Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, 144 (lag nr. 165); *Alleluia-Melodien 1*, 218.

21 Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, 96 (lag nr. 58); *Alleluia-Melodien 1*, 81–82.

22 Sumt efni úr *Graduale* Jespersenssóns var lengi að komast í prentaðar bækur á Íslandi en fann sér annan farveg um sinn. Í danska prentinu er svonefnt *Credo I* við latneska gerð trúarjátningarinnar, í hrynbundinni gerð. Íslenska þýðingunni við lagið er fyrst að finna í handriti Gísla Jónssonar Skálholtsbiskups frá því um 1575 og má vera að hún sé hans eigið verk; þar er lagið með sléttsöngsnótum (NKS 138 4to, 89v–91r). Lagið komst ekki á prent fyrr en í 4. prentun grallarans (1649), í hinnu hrynbundnu dönsku gerð með yfirskriftinni „Messu Credo á íslensku, nóteruð sem næst má eftir latínunni. Sem syngja má á útkirkjum á hátíðum.“ Í 6. útgáfu grallarans 1691 er það í sömu gerð og í handriti Gísla en yfirskriftin er önnur: „Þetta Symbolum Nicænum, eður Messu Credo, eftir gamalli Versione, látum við hér með fylgja, helst eftir því það er alkunnugt og tíðkanlegt víðast í suðurstiftinu á hátíðisdögum.“ Svo virðist sem þessi trúarjátningarsöngur hafi verið iðkaður í Skálholtsstifti löngu áður en hann komst á prent, jafnvel allt frá dögum Gísla biskups. Sjá Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, „Copying the Icelandic *Graduale* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,“ *Opuscula* 18 (2020): 1–59.

Það er líkast því, að eftir siðaskiptin hafi lengi ráðið einskonar samsteypa af katólsku og lúthersku, og eimdi lengi af því, jafnvel fram á 18. öld. Það var ekki nema eðlilegt, að svo færi. Prestar voru alls ekki hámenntaðir, sízt framan af, og var víst oft óljós greinarmunurinn, og fólkíð hafði fátt af bókum og var lítt læst. Þó að Guðbrandur biskup gerði sitt til að breiða út bækur og sannan lærdóm, var það lengi að komast inn í alþýðu; menn trúðu að vísu bókunum og lútherskri kenningu, en létu hitt fljóta með (...)²³

Þau nótnahandrit sem varðveist hafa sýna raunar að það sem eftir eimdi af kaþólskum sið var sannarlega ekki bundið við hina ólærðu og ólæsu. Allmargir sléttisöngvar eru varðveittir við latneska texta og slíkt var aðeins á færi skólagenginna, en jafnvel þegar textum var snarað á íslensku eða nýir ortir í þeirra stað þurfti færni til að flytja slíka tónlist svo vel færi.

Sléttisöngvar gera almennt meiri kröfur í flutningi en hin einfaldari sálmalög Lúthers, til dæmis um sveigjanlega mótun hendinga og fimi í að fara lipurlega með langar tónarunur. Söngur af þessum toga, hvort sem var á íslensku eða latínu, var líklega helst iðkaður af tiltölulega fámennum hópi menntamanna, skólapilta, klerka og embættismanna. Þeir hafa kynnst slíkum söng á biskupsstólunum því að þar var honum haldið við lengur en annars staðar (sbr. handritin NKS 138 4to og Antiphonarium Holense, sjá nmgr. 26). Nokkuð kemur á óvart hversu margir sléttisöngvar hafa aðeins varðveist í handritum og eru því viðbót við þann forða sléttisöngva sem grallarinn geymdi. Lögin virðast ekki eingöngu hafa verið sungin við guðsþjónustur heldur einnig önnur tækifæri þar sem tilbeiðsla var með óformlegri hætti. Ekki er ljóst hvort sá hópur sem flutti sléttisöng við íslenska texta hafi verið sundurleitari og þau jafnvel einnig náð til alþýðu manna, eða hvort sléttisöngur hafi helst verið iðja hinna efri stétta, hvort sem var á íslensku eða latínu. Að minnsta kosti virðist mega fullyrða að söngur af þessu tagi hafi að einhverju leyti verið til marks um þjóðfélagsstöðu og að í honum hafi falist menningarauðmagn.²⁴

23 Jónas Jónasson frá Hrafnagili, *Íslenzkir þjóðhettir*, Einar Ólafur Sveinsson bjó undir prentun (Reykjavík, 1934), 372.

24 Í formála fyrir 9. útgáfu grallarans (1721) gefur Steinn Jónsson Hólabiskup í skyn að alþýða manna hafi í einhverjum tilvikum sungið sléttisöng á latínu að eigin vilja, með misjöfnum árangri þó: „En hvað annars latínusöngnum viðvikur, veit eg að enginn kann, sem ei skilur það tungumál, með því Guð að dýrka réttilega. Og þó ólærður almúgi vilji fara með þetta, má það verða Guðs heilaga nafni framar til lasts en heiðurs“(4v).

Vera má að húmanismi og fortíðarþrá hafi átt sinn þátt í því að sléttisöngur var í svo miklum metum á Íslandi á 17. öld. Biskuparnir Guðbrandur Þorláksson, Þorlákur Skúlason og Brynjólfur Sveinsson voru hámenntaðir fylgismenn fornmenntastefnunnar. Undir stjórn slíkra manna mátti búast við því að sléttisöngur yrði áfram við lýði í einhverri mynd, sem minning um liðinn tíma og menningu sem vert þótti að halda á lofti. Í 4. útgáfu grallarans (1649) var jafnvel aukið við kaþólskum sekvens, *In sapientia disponens omnia* eða *Guðdómsins hæsta náð*, í íslenskri þýðingu Ólafs Guðmundssonar í Sauðanesi. Þessi sekvens finnst víða í erlendum heimildum og var sunginn við messu sunnudaginn eftir þrettánda í kaþólskum sið, en samkvæmt grallaranum mátti syngja hann „á öllum stórhátíðum ársins og oft“. Ólafur lést árið 1609 svo að í millitíðinni hefur þýðing hans væntanlega lifað í handritum sem nú eru týnd. Í 5. útgáfu grallarans, sem þrykkt var 1679 að forlagi Gísla Þorlákssonar, var dýrðarsöng og trúarjátningu (Gloria og Credo) bætt við aftast sem hátíðasöng í íslenskum þýðingum. Það að syngja þessa lykilsöngva messunnar við sléttisöng á móðurmáli átti sér engin fordæmi í útgáfum dönsku siðbótarkirkjunnar; hjá Jespersøn er Credo aðeins í einni gerð á latínu og alls engin Gloria, heldur voru lútherskir sálmar sungnir í staðinn.

Þegar grallarinn kom út í sjötta sinn árið 1691 hafði prentverkið verið flutt í Skálholt og Þórður biskup Þorláksson bar ábyrgð á efni hans. Þórður kvaðst í formála sínum lítið hafa út af breytt miðað við fyrri útgáfur „nema hvað formatinu kann viðvíkja“, því að nú var bókin í fyrsta sinn í ílöngu áttblöðungsbroti sem eftir þetta var stundum kallað grallarabrot. Þó voru breytingar á 6. útgáfu grallarans öllu viðameiri en biskup gaf í skyn. Nokkrar nýjar þýðingar lútherskra sálma birtust þar í fyrsta sinn og sömuleiðis tónfræðiágríp sem biskup hafði sjálfur samið, en latínusöngur var felldur í brott nema á stórhátíðum — jólum, páskum, hvítasunnu og þrenningarhátíð. Í formála skýrði Þórður rökin fyrir ákvörðun sinni:

Latínusöngur er í þessum grallara undanfelldur nema á stórhátíðum, og er sá latínski söngur óvíða brúkaður hér í landi fyrir utan dómkirkjur báðar, hvar flestir eru *intelligentes lingvæ Latínæ* [skilja latneska tungu], og því sýndist mér ekki öldungis að aftaka þann latínusöng svo nokkur greinarmunur gjörðist milli stórhátíða og ann-

arra helgra daga, einkum þar vér hér í landi höfum ekki *instrumenta musica artificialis vel organica* [neins konar hljóðfæri].²⁵

Þar sem latínusöngurinn var aðallega iðkaður við dómkirkjurnar var vissulega lítið vit í að gefa honum svo mikið rúm í bók sem átti að vera til almenns safnaðarsöngs. Það að fella brott latínusöng einfaldaði stórum litúrgíuna því að hann var bundinn tilteknum messudegi en sálmar á íslensku voru oft hafðir nokkra sunnudaga í röð. Með brottfalli latnesku messuliðanna varð söngurinn á sinn hátt fábreyttari en að sama skapi urðu tengsl tónlistar og kirkjuárs einfaldari og gegnsærri. Þórður biskup hafði þó ekkert á móti sléttsöng í sjálfu sér. Í grallaranum 1691 var enn nokkuð um þess konar söng á stórhátíðum (á latínu) en einnig á öðrum messudögum við íslenskan texta. Hann bætti meira að segja við tveimur sléttsöngvum í íslenskrri þýðingu: *Heilagur, heilagur* á þrenningarhátíð, sem einnig er að finna í nokkrum handritum frá um 1600 (sjá *Töflu 2*, bls. 324–326), og jólasekvensinum *Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð / Celeste organum* sem áður hafði birst í sálmabókunum 1589 og 1619. Þetta reyndust síðustu viðbætur sléttsöngs í íslenska grallaran; frá og með 9. útgáfu hans (1721) var latínusöngur felldur burt með öllu. Sléttsöngvar á móðurmáli héldust flestir allt til síðustu útgáfu 1779.

Sléttsöngvar í íslenskum handritum eftir 1550

Ríflega 30 sléttsöngvar sem ekki voru prentaðir í útgefnum bókum hafa varðveist í íslenskum handritum (sjá *Töflu 2*).²⁶ Af þeim eru 22 við íslenska texta; þar af er um helmingur í tveimur handritum sem virðast skrifuð

25 Þórður Þorláksson, formáli fyrir *Graduale*, 6. útg. (1691), 3r.

26 Þrjú handrit sem einnig geyma latínusöng eru undanskilin í þessari grein þar sem þau eru að nokkru leyti annars eðlis og um þau hefur verið ritað áður. Handritin NKS 138 4to (á Konungsbókhöfðu í Kaupmannahöfn) og „Antiphonarium Holense“ (á Þjóðskjalasafni Íslands) eru bæði skrifuð um 1570–1580 og hafa að geyma tíðasöng, hið síðarnefnda einnig að nokkru leyti messusöng; sjá Arne J. Solhaug, *Et luthersk graduale-håndskrift fra 1500-tallet: spor av Nidarostradisjon i Island* (Ósló: Norges musikkhøgskole, 2003) og Jón Þórarinnsson, „Latnesk tíðasöngsbók úr lúterskum sið“, *Ritmemnt* 6 (2001): 67–82. Handritið AM 622 4to hefur að geyma latínusöngva sem þó hafa ekki litúrgískt hlutverk og suma þeirra má fremur telja skólasöngva. Þótt nótnaskrift handritsins gefi ekki til kynna hryn er ljóst af erlendum heimildum að margir þeirra voru sungnir með hrynbundnum hætti; sjá Marius Kristensen, *En klosterbog fra middelalderens slutning (AM 76, 8°)* (Kaupmannahöfn, 1933), xviii–xxvii og 205–237.

fyrir 1590, en yngsta handritið er frá 1764.²⁷ Fjórtán sléttsöngvar til viðbótar standa í handritum við latneska texta og er stærstur hluti þeirra, níu söngvar, í Rask 98 eða Melódíu.

Efninu má skipta í þrjá flokka:

- Sléttsöngur við latneska texta. Þetta efni er fengið víða að, úr hinu danska *Graduale* en einnig úr öðrum handritum og prentuðum bókum. Rask 98 er helsta heimildin í þessum flokki; handritið geymir viðamikla söngva eins og *Fulgens praeclara* og *Discubuit Jesus* auk þriggja sléttsöngva í tvísöng, til dæmis páskasekvensinn *Victimae paschali laudes* sem er í öllum gröllurum en tvíradda gerð hans er aðeins í þessu eina handriti. Einnig má nefna tvíradda Sanctus úr handriti frá 18. öld, lag sem er varðveitt við latneska frumtextann í einu handriti (ÍB 323 8vo) en barst víðar um landið við íslenskt kvæði Ólafs Jónssonar á Söndum í Dýrafirði, *Heyr þú oss himnum á*.
- Sléttsöngur við íslenskar þýðingar. Hér er efni meðal annars sótt í hið danska *Graduale* og sálmabók Thomissøns, en einnig er að finna efni sem virðist lítt tengjast söngbókum lútherskra og ætla má að hafi varðveist allt frá því fyrir siðbreytingu, til dæmis *Stóð álengdar staðlaus að gá* (AM 102 8vo) og *Svo sanmarlega sem ég lifi* (Sloane MS 503), auk söngva sem voru prentaðir í íslenska grallaranum og síðan skrifaðir upp í handritum, til dæmis *Guðdómsins hæsta náð* og *Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð*.
- Sléttsöngur sem ekki hefur tekist að finna fyrirmyndir að í þeirri gerð sem birtist í handritum. Ekki er óhugsandi að þeir hafi verið settir saman af Íslendingum, hvað varðar tóna, texta eða hvort tveggja. Dæmi um þetta eru *Ó Jesú Christe* (Thott 154 fol.) og textinn við *O Jesu dulcissime* í þeirri mynd sem birtist í handriti frá 17. öld (AM 102 8vo).

Allnokkur handrit rituð á 17. öld hafa að geyma sléttsöng, alls fjórtán lög. Níu til viðbótar eru í handritum frá 18. öld. Engin skörun er milli þessara handrita, hvert einasta lag og texti hefur aðeins varðveist í einni heimild. Geymd sönghandrita frá 17. öld er raunar afleit og varasamt að draga álykt-

27 Um handritin Holm perg 8vo nr. 10, I b og S. 252 a sjá nánar Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, „Tvö íslensk söngbókarbröt,“ 9–23.

anir af henni, en vera má að lögin hafi hlotið fremur takmarkaða dreifingu; einnig er líklegt að allnokkuð af slíkum söng hafi glatast. Sjaldan er vitað með vissu um skrifara eða uppruna þeirra handrita sem geyma sléttisöng. Almennir virðast skrifarar þeirra hafa kunnað góð skil bæði á nótnaskrift og latínu. Tvær heimildir sem geyma sléttisöngs-*unica* eru grallarahandrit frá því um 1600; annað þeirra uppfærði einn skrifari á 17. öld (Sloane 503), en við hitt var efni aukið smám saman og voru margir skrifarar þar að verki (Thott 154 fol.). Í tveimur öðrum handritum frá því um 1670–1680 eru allnokkrir sléttisöngvar ýmist á latínu eða skrifaðir upp í tvísöng, nema hvort tveggja sé, og má vera að sé vísbending um það umhverfi sem slíkur söngur þreifst í (Rask 98 og AM 102 8vo).

Handritið Rask 98, eða Melódía, virðist ritað um 1660–1670 og geymir 223 lög, flest við íslenska texta. Meðal efnis eru tíu lög sem telja má til sléttisöngva, öll á latínu nema hið síðasta sem sótt er í grallaraprent. Fáein lög til viðbótar eru latneskir trúarsöngvar en þau ber að flokka sem *cantio* (þ.e. einradda trúarsöngva við latneska texta, sem stóðu utan hins eiginlega helgihalds) og voru þeir hugsanlega sungnir hrynbundið þótt nótnaskriftin í Rask 98 gefi slíkt ekki til kynna.²⁸ Sléttisöngvarnir standa aftarlega í handritinu, þeir eru stærstur hluti laga á bilinu 191–202 og virðast hafa myndað nokkurn veginn heildstætt safn í huga skrifarans. Lög nr. 204–224 eru sótt í sálmabókina 1619 en að lokum koma tveir sléttisöngvar til viðbótar, án númera, sem gefur til kynna að skrifarinn hafi bætt þeim við síðar eða til uppfyllingar. Af fjölbreytilegu efni handritsins má ráða að það hafi verið skrifað í Skálholti eða tengist þeim stað með einhverju móti.

Næstsíðasta lag í Rask 98, *Discubuit Jesus* (nr. 225), hefur hvergi varðveist í íslenskri heimild nema hér. Lagið er talið ættað úr rómversk-kaþólskum tíðasöng; textinn er meðal annars byggður á innsetningarorðum altarisöngunnar (Lúk 22:19–20 og víðar) en í helgihaldi Lúthers var því fundinn staður sem altarisöngulag og samkvæmt elstu heimildum var það ætlað til söngs af skólapiltum við messugjörð. Það var prentað í *Psalmodia* Lossiusar 1553 og var einnig algengt í lúthersku helgihaldi á Norðurlöndum. Heimildin hér er án efa hið danska *Graduale*, þar sem lagið á sinn stað sem Tractus á skírdag, þ.e.a.s. sem staðgönguliður fyrir

28 Sjá John Caldwell, „Cantio,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ritstj. Stanley Sadie og John Tyrell, 2. útgáfa (London: Macmillan, 2001), 5:58–59.



Mynd 2. *Discubuit Jesus* (Rask 98, 89r).

Halelúja sem ekki þótti hæfa á lönguföstu.²⁹ Engin vísbending er um það í íslenska handritinu hvar lagið eigi heima í helgihaldinu og þar eru heldur engar vísbendingar um flutningsmáta þess, en Jesperssøn skiptir flytjendum í Chorus og Duo Pueri, þ.e. kór og tvo einsöngvara.

Rask 98 ber vitni um íhaldssemi skrifarans sem hafði dálæti á gömlu efni. Til dæmis eru tvö lög hér sótt í handritið NKS 138 4to, sem var ritað um öld fyrr (sjá *Töflu 2* bls. 324–326) og eitt til viðbótar (*Nesciens mater*) stendur í tveimur handritsbrotum frá miðri 16. öld en hefur annars ekki varðveist í lútherskum heimildum. Þrjú tvisöngvar í þessu handriti (*Meliora sunt*, *Ave regina celorum* og *Victimae paschali laudes*) eru auk tveggja slétt-

29 *Niels Jesperssøns Graduale* (1573), 169–172. Samkvæmt Dal og Glahn er lagið „senmiddelalderlig (germansk) elevations-sang“. Sjá einnig Frieder Schulz, „Discubuit Jesus“: Verbreitung und Herkunft eines evangelischen Abendmahls-gesanges, *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 25 (1981): 27–48; Ann-Marie Nilsson, „Discubuit“: A Service, a Procession, or both? Some Notes on the ‘Discubuit Jesus’ in North European Traditions, *Laborare fratres in unum. Festschrift László Dobozay zum 60. Geburtstag*, ritstj. Janka Szendrei og David Hiley (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1995), 241–248. *Discubuit Jesus* er ekki varðveitt í öðrum íslenskum heimildum en þess er getið í handritinu *Antiphonarium Holense*, sem varðveittir tíðasöng skólapipta á Hólum og er frá síðasta fjórðungi 16. aldar, og er þar atlast til þess að það sé sungið á pálmásunnudag (bl. 63).

söngs-tvísöngva í AM 102 8vo (sjá að neðan) vísbending um að þessar tvær sönghefðir hafi að einhverju leyti haldist í hendur. Að því leyti sem tvísöngshefð 17. aldar byggðist enn á ritmenningu tilheyrði hún hinum efri stéttum samfélagsins og hér fylgjast því að efniviður og flutningsmáti.

Annað handrit frá svipuðum tíma sem hefur að geyma sléttisöngva er AM 102 8vo, kvæðabók talin rituð um 1680, með nótnakveri aftast. Handritið er að hluta með hendi Guðbrands Jónssonar, sonar sr. Jóns Arasonar í Vatnsfirði, og virðist líklegt að það sé allt sprottið úr því umhverfi.³⁰ Alls eru í handritinu ellefu lög, allt tvísöngvar nema tvö síðustu sem eru fyrir fjórar raddir. Þrjú laganna eru við latneska texta og virðist ljóst að skrifari handritsins og þeir sem sungu úr því voru menntamenn sem kunnu skil á bæði latínu og tónlist. Í handritinu eru tveir sléttisöngvar, annað og þriðja lag í röðinni. Annar þeirra er sekvensinn *Stans a longe* við íslenska þýðingu textans, sem er útlekking sögunnar um tollheimtumanninn í helgidóminum, úr Lúkasarguðspjalli 18:13–14 (*Stóð á lengdar staðlaus að gá*, sjá hér aftar). Í rómversk-kaþólskum söngbókum er þessi söngur hafður á tilteknum degi (tíunda sunnudag eftir hvítasunnu) en eftir siðbreytingu var hann hugsanlega fluttur við önnur og fjölbreytilegri tækifæri en messugjörð.

Hinn söngurinn, *O Jesu dulcissime*, á sér flóknari sögu. Textinn hefst á tveimur línunum úr versum sem eignað var heilögum Bernharði frá Clairvaux (d. 1153) og var alþekkt á miðöldum og lengur. Hér á landi var það prentað í íslenskri þýðingu í flestum gróllurum og sálmalögum, og erlendis varð það tónskáldum innblástur til tónsmíða allt fram á 17. öld: „Ó Jesú sálar unun trú / allra sætasti minn Jesú.“³¹ Í AM 102 8vo hefur upphafsliðinum verið skeytt saman við gamalt Mariúkvæði, *O florens rosa*, sem var sungið víða

30 Um handritið sjá nánar Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, „AM 102 8vo, Kvæða- og tvísöngsbók frá Vestfjörðum,“ *Góssið hans Árna. Minningar heimsins í íslenskum handritum*, ritstj. Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2014), 36–49; Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, „Constructing Cultural Competence in Seventeenth-Century Iceland. The Case of Poetical Miscellanies,“ *Mirrors of Virtue. Manuscript and Print in Late Pre-Modern Iceland*, ritstj. Margrét Eggertsdóttir og Matthew James Driscoll (Kaupmannahöfn: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2017), Bibliotheca Arnarnagæna 49, Opuscula 15, 308–311.

31 „O Jesu mi dulcissime,“ sjá André Wilmart, O.S.B., *Le „Jubilus“ dit de Saint Bernard (Étude avec textes)* (Róm: Edizioni di „Storia e letteratura“, 1944), 189. Íslenska þýðingin er sótt í *Graduale* 1691 og er hún eftir Pál Jónsson rektor í Skálholti, sjá Páll Eggert Ólason, *Uppþök sálma og sálmalaga*, 152–153.

um álfuna í kaþólskum sið og einnig á Íslandi því að nótur og texti standa í kveri með Mariúsöngvum frá fyrri hluta 16. aldar (AM 461 12mo). Seinni línunum þessa kvæðis hefur þó verið breytt nokkuð og þeim snúið upp í lofsöng til Kristis í stað Maríu svo að útkoman hefur heildstæðan svip þótt versin séu tekin úr tveimur áttum.³²

Fleiri handrit frá 17. öld geyma sléttsöngva sem hvergi annars staðar eru varðveittir í íslenskum heimildum. Í grallarahandritinu Sloane 503 frá um 1600, sem var uppfært seint á 17. öld, er að finna (með yngri hendinni) sléttsöng sem aðeins er varðveittur hér við íslenskan texta: *Svo sannarlega sem ég lifi*, sem er þýðing á andstefi fyrir lönguföstu, *Vivo ego dicit Dominus* (Esekiel 33:11). Þessi söngur er raunar hvorki varðveittur í öðrum íslenskum bókum né dönsku sálmabókinni eða grallaranum. Seinni hluta yfirskriftarinnar vantar í handritið, þar stendur aðeins „Huggunar vers af“ og virðist nafn þýðanda vanta. Varla hefur andstef úr tíðasöng kaþólskra heyrtil hinni eiginlegu lúthersku guðsþjónustu, en um hlutverk þessa söngs í öðru samhengi verður ekki fullyrt.

Þessi sami skrifari, sem uppfærði messusöngsbók frá um 1600 allt að öld síðar, jók einnig við handritið tveimur blöðum (fol. 81 og 98) með íslenskum þýðingum hinna föstu messuliða í sléttsöng, en sömu messuliðir voru ritaðir við latínutexta í eldri hluta handritsins: tróperað Kyrie, tveir dýrðarsöngvar, tveir trúarjátningasöngvar, Sanctus og Agnus Dei, og voru lögin flest sótt í fimmtu og sjöttu prentun grallarans.³³ Þýðing annars dýrðarsöngsins (*Dýrð, lof og heiður sé Guði í upphæðum*, 81r) hefur ekki fundist annars staðar, en lagið sjálft (þ.e. *Gloria in excelsis Deo*) var kunnugt allt frá fyrstu prentun grallarans. Þetta sýnir að undir lok 17. aldar tíðkaðist enn að syngja messuliði við sléttsöng í íslenskum þýðingum, einnig þá messuliði sem samkvæmt boði Lúthers mátti fella burt fyrir nýrri sálma (*Alleinasta Guði í himnaríki* í stað Gloria og *Vér trúum allir á einn Guð* í stað Credo), og jafnvel efni sem fór aðeins um í handritum en komst ekki á prent.

Í öðrum tilvikum hefur leit að meintri fyrirmynd engan árangur borið. Í íslensku grallarahandriti frá því um 1600 (Thott 154 fol.) eru fjórar síðari tíma viðbætur tengdar sléttsöng, líklega allar verk ólíkra skrifara. Tvö lög

32 Sjá nánar Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir og Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, „Dýrlingar og daglegt brauð í Langadal. Efni og samhengi í AM 461 12mo,“ *Gripla* 30 (2019): 134–135; Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, *Tónlist liðinna alda*, 125.

33 Sjá nánar Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, „Copying the Icelandic *Graduale*,“ 30–34.

eru rituð við textann Sanctus/Heilagur, en þriðja lagið er sléttisöngur við íslenskan texta sem hvergi er til annars staðar (81r, sjá *Mynd 3*). Skrifitin er klossuð og lagið ritað ofan í leiðbeiningar sem áður hafði verið vandað til, með rauðu bleki, og vísa í að þar sé að hefjast sá hluti grallarans sem geymi útfararsálma. Líklega var viðbótin skrifuð á fyrri hluta 17. aldar. Hún hljóðar svo:

O Jesu christe Blessadur þinn likame sie,
 sem liflatinn var a krossins trie
 lifsins(?) forn fyrir Syndanna vie
 fyrir þinn Bitra dauda
 og suo blodid Rauda
 Laat þijna kristne af Syndum snauda
 og sitia j dyrd þinna vtualldra sauda
 O JESV christe O Millde
 O sæte JESV sonur Marie.

Uppruni textans er ekki ljós en þó er ákveðinn skyldleiki með kunnnum sléttisöngstexta, *Ave verum corpus*.³⁴ Lagið sem nóterað er í Thott 154 fol. er þó ekki það sem alla jafna var haft við latínutextann. Vera má að Íslendingur hafi sett saman lagið og ort texta undir áhrifum fyrrnefnda sléttisöngsins. Upphafshending lagsins er áþekkt þeirri í *O Maria generosa*, úr AM 622 4to (kvæðakveri Gísla Jónssonar Skálholtsbiskups frá árinu 1549), en framhaldið er annað. *Ave verum corpus* er hvergi tekið upp í lútherskan sið enda var textinn sunginn við upphald sakramentisins (*elevatio*).

Í sama handriti er texti sem finnst hvergi annars staðar, íslensk þýðing á Kyrie-trópa á hvítasunnudag, *Kyrie fons bonitatis* (89r). Eins og í tilviki *Ó Jesú Christe* er hér um að ræða síðari viðbót við grallarahandritið, þó ekki með sömu hendi og sléttisöngurinn sem fyrr er nefndur. Nú vill til að *Kyrie fons bonitatis* stendur í hinum prentaða grallara við latneska textann, en þýðingin *Kyrie Guð faðir sannur* var prentuð í sálmabókum 1589 og 1619

34 Hvorki atkvæða- né línuföldi er hinn sami í íslenska söngnum og *Ave verum corpus*, en textarnir eiga ýmislegt sameiginlegt (ekki síst hendingarnar „*Ave verum corpus . . . immolatum in cruce pro homine . . . O Jesu dulcis, o Jesu pie, o Jesu fili Mariae*“); lokaávarp beggja texta telur 18 atkvæði. *Ave verum corpus* er ekki nefndur í Orðubók, sjá *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, útg. Lilli Gjerløw (Ósló: Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt, 1968).

svo og gröllurum 1691 og síðar.³⁵ Því hljóta tvær þýðingar á sama litúrgíska söngnum að hafa verið sungnar um sama leyti þótt aðeins önnur hafi með réttu átt samþykki kirkjuleiðtoga. Varla hefur þýðingin verið gerð til annars en að syngja hana; atkvæðafjöldi er nokkuð ólíkur frumgerðinni en hið sama gildir raunar einnig um *Kyrie Guð faðir sannur*; alltaf mátti bæta við eða taka burt nótur til að texti félli betur að lagi.

Thott 154 fol., 89r:

Kyrie O gud faðir sem Eyllifd ser
 óþrotnande líknar ker
 allt hid goda giefst af þier
 E lei son.

Kyrie fons bonitatis,
 Pater ingenite,
 a quo bona cuncta procedunt
 eleison.

Kriste himnum ä
 vorum Bænum verttu hia
 oss Andvarpande sia
 sem heidrum þig med heitre þra
 O JESU christe vier kollum þig a
 E ley son.

Christe caelitus
 adsis nostris precibus,
 pronis mentibus
 quem in terris devote colimus,
 ad te, pie Jesu, clamamus
 eleison.

Kyrie Eyrn gud doms Elldur klar
 vpplijs vor hiortu syd og ar
 so þier ætjld sem ertt här
 syngium vier lof jafnann ætjld skar
 E ley son.

Kyrie ignis divine,
 pectora nostra succende,
 ut digne pariter
 proclamare possimus semper
 eleison.

Sekvensar í íslenskum heimildum

Athygli vekur hversu margir þeirra sléttsöngva sem finna má í íslenskum heimildum eftir siðbreytingu eru ekki nefndir í kirkjuskipan Kristjáns III. Danakonungs frá árinu 1537 sem er elsta heimild um það hvernig lútherskum messusöng skuli háttað á Íslandi. Þetta á ekki síst við um sekvensa (eða sekvensiur, *Sequenz* eða *sequentia*) sem eru tiltekin grein messusöngs, sungin beint á undan lestri guðspjallsins. Í kirkjuskipaninni voru allir

35 Páll Eggert Ólason, *Upptök sálma og sálmalaga*, 104–105.

sekvensar felldir brott úr helgihaldinu nema þrjár: *Grates nunc omnes* (frá jólum til kyndilmessu), *Victimae paschali laudes* (frá páskum til hvítasunnunn) og *Veni sancte spiritus* (á hvítasunnunn).³⁶ Þessir söngvar voru prentaðir í grallaranum og má gera ráð fyrir að þeir hafi hljómað í kirkjum hér á landi.

Óvæntara er að fimm sekvensar sem ekki er getið um í kirkjuskipaninni skuli standa með nótum í íslenskum heimildum eftir siðbreytingu, fjórir í íslenskri þýðingu og tveir þeirra í prentuðum bókum. Þessir sekvensar eru: *Að óbrugðnum, óskertum* (í tveimur handritsbrotum frá miðri 16. öld); *Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð* (í Hólabók 1619 og grallara frá og með 6. útgáfu 1691); *Guðdómsins hæsta náð* (í grallara frá og með 4. útgáfu 1649); *Fulgens praeclara* (í Rask 98); og *Stóð á lengdar staðlaus að gá* (í AM 102 8vo).³⁷ Sekvensar eru með lengstu söngvum kaþólskunnar en eru þó fremur auðveldir til söngs; þeir eru oftast syllabískir og lítið um langar samkveður.³⁸ Bragarháttur er fremur hrynbundinn, stundum með endarími en oftár hálfrími eða hljóðlíkingum. Íslensku skáldin nota aftur á móti heilrími og einnig ljóðstafi. Sem dæmi má taka upphafshendingar úr þremur sekvensum sem sungnir voru á 17. öld, *Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð*, *Guðdómsins hæsta náð* og *Stóð á lengdar staðlaus að gá*:

36 Kirkjuskipanin leyfir tvo valfrjálsa sekvensa til viðbótar, *Psallite regi* á Jónsmessu og *Laus tibi Christe* á Mariu Magdalenu dag. Hvorugur finnst í íslenskum heimildum eftir siðaskipti. Sjá Arngrímur Jónsson, *Fyrstu handbækur presta á Íslandi eftir siðbót* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 1992), 136, og Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, „Tvö íslensk söngbókarbrott frá 16. öld í Stokkhólmi,“ 24.

37 Sekvensarnir *Celeste organum*, *In sapientia*, *Fulgens praeclara* og *Stans a longe* eru í Orðubók (sjá *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, 431–439), en *Inviolata* (sem í íslensku handritsbrotunum er þýddur „Að óbrugðnum, óskertum“) er ekki þar. *Fulgens praeclara* var vinsæll páska-söngur og er talinn með elstu sekvensum, sjá Denis Stevens, „Further Light on “Fulgens praeclara”,“ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9 (1956): 3, og Heinrich Husmann, „Notre-Dame und Saint-Victor. Repertoire-Studien zur Geschichte der gereimten Prosen,“ *Acta Musicologica* 36 2/3 (1964): 110. Jólasekvensinn *Celeste organum* er talinn frá 11. öld, á uppruna sinn í Picardie en sú gerð hans sem sungin var í biskupsdæmi Niðaróss virðist hafa borist frá Englandi; sjá Lori Kruckenberg, „Two *Sequentiae novae* at Nidaros: *Celeste organum* and *Stola iocunditatis*,“ *The Sequences of Nidaros. A Nordic Repertory & Its European Context*, ritstj. Lori Kruckenberg og Andreas Haug (Þrándheimi: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), 297–342, og Kruckenberg, „The Relationship Between the Festal Office and the New Sequence: Evidence from Medieval Picardy,“ *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 5 (2013): 201–233.

38 David Hiley, *Western Plainchant. A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 172–195; Richard L. Crocker, „The Sequence,“ *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ritstj. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn og Hans Oesch (Tübingen/Basel: A. Francke, 1973): 269–322.

Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð himnesku organs hljóð heyrði há. Englanna fylki fríð fæðingu meyjar við fögnuð tjá.	Celeste organum hodie sonuit in terra. Ad partum virginis superum cecinit caterva. ³⁹
Guðdómsins hæsta náð hefur með visku gáð háttum mannkynsins að. Liðum vér langa pín leit hann með miskunn sín og lét sig aumka það.	In sapientia disponens omnia superna deitas. Nobis condoluit quos diu tenuit dira calamitas. ⁴⁰
Stóð á lengdar staðlaus að gá stórsyndugur maður sá sín brotin smá og þar með stór hann þenkti á. Í hörmung seldur himnanna dýrð áleit ei heldur. Á brjóstið hreldur barði hann og sagði tárfeildur ...	Stans a longe qui plurima perpetrarat facinora. Atque sua revolvens secum crimina. Nolebat alta contemplari cæli sidera. Sed pectus tundens hæc promebat ore lacrimans ... ⁴¹

Vera má að sekvensar hafi vakið áhuga íslenskra skálda vegna þess hve auðvelt var að fella texta þeirra að íslenskum bragreglum. Þetta kynni að skýra hvers vegna þessir tilteknu söngvar, sem ekki er að finna í helstu messusöngsbókum lútherskra í Skandinavíu eða Þýskalandi, skuli hafa verið iðkaðir hér svo lengi. Kannski varð frumkvæði orðhagra presta og lærdómsmanna til þess að meira var sungið af slíku efni á íslensku en annars tíðkaðist í lútherskum löndum. Þó hljóta þýðingarnar fyrst og fremst að vera sprotnar af áhuga á að viðhalda söngvunum. Í Niðaróssbiskupsdæmi var fram að siðbreytingu sterk hefð sekvensa. Bæði *Celeste organum* og *In sapientia* voru prentaðir í *Missale Nidrosiensis* (1519) og má gera sér í

39 *Analecta hymnica* 7, 51; *Analecta hymnica* 54, 3.

40 *Analecta hymnica* 54, 178.

41 *Analecta hymnica* 53, 158.

hugarlund að flutningshefð þeirra hafi verið óbrotin á Íslandi úr hinum eldri sið yfir í hinar yngri prentuðu söngbækur.⁴² Í þessu tilliti má benda á að yfirskrift annars hinna prentuðu sekvensa í grallaranum vísar í háan aldur hans (*Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð*: „Gømul Sequentia sem Sungenn var j Christelegre Kyrkiu“); yfirskrift hins er „Su fagra Sequentia“ (*Guðdómsins hæsta náð*).

Í Rómarkirkjunni voru sekvensar ekki aðeins hluti messunnar heldur mátti einnig hafa þá sem viðbót, til dæmis fyrir eða eftir guðspjónustu.⁴³ Vera má að svipað hafi tíðkast hér á landi eftir siðbreytingu; að um hafi verið að ræða óformlegar viðbætur við helgihaldið þegar smekkur manna bauð. Ofangreindir sekvensar fylgdu ekki tilteknum messudegi í grallaranum heldur voru þeir settir í þriðja hluta bókarinnar, sem ber yfirskriftina „Hymnar og lofsöngvar“, og bendir það til þess að söfnuðum sé gefið algjört frelsi um notkun þeirra.

Það var ekkert áhlaupaverk að skrifa upp sekvensa enda eru þeir víðamesta grein sléttsöngs. *Fulgens praeclara* er einn sá lengsti sem fyrirfinnst, hann spannar fjögur heil blöð í Rask 98 og er lengsta lagið í þeirri bók.⁴⁴ *Stóð á lengdar staðlaus að gá* er lengsta lag af þeim ellefu sem rituð eru í AM 102 8vo og hið eina sem nær yfir meira en eina síðu (það fyllir alls sjö tvöfalda nótnastrengi). *Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð* er lengsta nóteraða lagið í sálmabókinni 1589 að undanskildu *Te Deum*, spannar tvær og hálf blaðsíðu. *Guðdómsins hæsta náð* var sömuleiðis einn lengsti sléttsöngur sem prentaður var í grallaranum, þrjár síður í fjórblöðungsbroti eldri grallaranna en fimm í útgáfum frá 1691 og áfram. Þessir tveir sekvensar sem aukið var við grallara og sálmabók sýna að biskupar hikuðu jafnvel ekki við að fella langa og flókna kirkjusöngva inn í helgihaldið — en þó aðeins í íslenskum þýðingum.

42 Lori Kruckenberg, „Making a Sequence Repertory: The Tradition of the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*,“ *The Sequences of Nídaros*, 42. Samkvæmt Orðubók var *Celeste organum* sunginn við seinni messu á jóladag (ad secundam missam) en *In sapientia* við messu á sunnudögum eftir þrettánda. Í grallaranum 1691 er sagt um *Celeste organum* / *Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð* að hann sé „af fæðingunni herrans Christi“ (bls. 238) en um *In sapientia* / *Guðdómsins hæsta náð* segir „Um sending Guðs sonar af himnum, í vort hold. Má syngjast á öllum stórhátíðum ársins og oft“ (bls. 240).

43 Richard L. Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 81.

44 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 181.

Í þessu sambandi ber einnig að nefna nokkra texta latneskra sekvensa sem varðveittir eru í íslensku handriti en án nótna. Í Kvæðabók úr Vigur (AM 148 8vo, líklega rituð á árunum 1676–1677) standa textar fjögurra sekvensa: *Laudes crucis attollamus* (á krossmessu), *Lauda Sion salvatorem* (á Dýradag/Corpus Christi), *Verbum bonum atque suave* (á Maríuhátíð) og *Hodierna lux dei* (á páskum). Sekvensar voru alla jafna sungnir og er líklegt að svo hafi einnig verið ætlunin hér þótt nóturnar væru ekki festar á blað.⁴⁵ Kvæðabókin frá Vigur var rituð undir handarjaðri Magnúsar Jónssonar digra, sýslumanns í Vigur, bróður Guðbrands sem hafði hönd í bagga með ritun AM 102 8vo. Þetta sýnir hvernig tiltekin valdamikil fjölskylda menntafólks ræktaði sléttisöngshefðina og líklega þótti menningarlegt auðmagn fólgið í slíkum söng eins og áður er getið.

Sléttisöngvar úr dönskum bókum í íslenskum handritum frá 18. öld

Sléttisöngvar úr sálmabók Thomissøns og *Graduale* Jesperssøns voru sungnir á Íslandi langt fram á 18. öld, einnig lög úr þessum bókum sem aldrei voru prentuð hér á landi heldur ferðuðust eingöngu í handritum. Þá voru liðin um 200 ár frá því að dönsku ritin komu út og í Kaupmannahöfn höfðu nýjar söngbækur leyst hinar eldri af hólmi.

Handritið ÍB 171 8vo er líklega skrifað um 1720. Það telur alls 247 blöð og hefur að geyma trúarlegt efni af ýmsum toga, til dæmis *Andlega keðju* eftir Hans Jacobsen Hvalsøe (*De Bedendes aandelige Kiæde*, fyrst prentuð í Kaupmannahöfn árið 1700), *Jesú Christi blóðskírn* (1653) eftir Erik Pontoppidan eldri, sem var þýdd á íslensku 1714 og er handritið því ekki eldra en svo, og *Soteria Animæ* eða „Andvarpanir sálarinnar á hverjum degi“, vikubænir eftir séra Árna Halldórsson í Hruna (d. um 1689).⁴⁶ Hér er því efni sem ber blæ af lútherskri guðfræði og virðist fyrst og fremst

45 *Kvæðabók úr Vigur*, útg. Jón Helgason (Kaupmannahöfn: Hið íslenska fræðafélag, 1955), 1: 311r–315r; 2: 62–63. Tveir þessara sekvensa, *Laudes crucis attollamus* og *Lauda Sion salvatorem*, voru raunar sungnir við sama lag, þar sem Tómas af Akvínó orti síðari textann til að falla að lagi hins fyrri (Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 190).

46 Páll Eggert Ólason segir að handritið sé skrifað 1714 (*Skrá um handrit Landsbókasafns* 3, 41), en ekkert bendir til þess að þetta sé frumrit af þýðingunni á Pontoppidan (220r: „Enn a vort mal utsett 1714“) eða að handritið sé skrifað um leið og bókin kom út. Líklega má telja að það sé ritað á bilinu 1715–1730.

HALELUJA
 A Mariameßu a Sangapöstu

Ru. l. luja. Engill Guðs á
 Jörð. badskap var, blesðe mey þu er
 heyrð var. maria Af heilogum Andan
 þu er ol. Son, Guozn þu rítt
 Kallaz manlegt þin fielsaz an,

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Mynd 4. Haleluja. Engill Guðs á jörð / Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariæ (ÍB 171 8vo, 230r).

ætlað til heimilisbrúks. Í riti Hvalsøes eru bænir sem biðja á að sérstöku tilefni, til dæmis áður en Biblían er lesin, og vikubænir voru grundvöllur heimilisguðrækni um land allt á 18. öld. Í þessari bók er skrifað upp Halelúja fyrir boðunardag Maríu (*Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariae*, við texta sem byggður er á frásögn Lúkasarguðspjalls) í íslenskri þýðingu, *Engill Guðs á jörð*. Þessi þýðing er hvergi til nema hér, en lagið stendur við latneska textann í *Graduale* Jesperssóns, í NKS 138 4to (27r) og í 2.–5. útgáfu íslenska grallarans. Raunar vantar aftan á lagið í ÍB 171 8vo, líklega sem svarar einum nótnastreng eða svo. Nótturnar fylla recto-hlið blaðsins en á verso-hlið hefst *Soteria Animæ* með sömu hendi.

Sá sem þýddi textann á íslensku fór nokkuð frjálstlega með fyrirmyndina, bæði hvað varðar merkingu orðanna og fjölda atkvæða. Oft brýtur hann upp langar samkveður og setur á þær fleiri atkvæði. Frumtextinn er þrjár langar hendingar í óbundnu máli en íslenska kvæðið er bæði stuðlað og rímað. Þó gætir íslenska skáldið þess að nafnið María lendi á sömu tónum í íslensku gerðinni og þeirri latnesku; latneski textinn telur fjórtán atkvæði þar til kemur að nafni Maríu en íslenska skáldið kemur þar fyrir tuttugu atkvæðum.

Haleluia. Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariæ,
et concepit de Sancto Spiritu,
et peperit salvatorem. Haleluia.

Halelúja. Engill Guðs á jörð boðskap bar,
blessaðri mey sú er nefnd var
María.
Af heilögum anda hún ól son,
hvörn sinn rétt kallar mannlegt kyn
frelsarann <...>

Þetta Haleluia er eina lagið með nótum í allri bókinni og það er einnig eini messuliðurinn, annað eru allt bænir eða söngvar til heimabrúks. Ekki virðist ósennilegt að við íslenskan texta hafi sléttöngurinn gegnt svipuðu hlutverki og annað efni bókarinnar, verið til þess að fara með innan veggja heimilis þegar svo bar undir, í þessu tilviki á Maríumessu á lönguföstu. Hún var með stærstu hátíðum í kaþólskum sið og loddi sú helgi lengi við

hér á landi eftir siðbreytingu. Guðsþjónusta á þeim degi var lögbundin til ársins 1770 en haldið var til dagsins mun lengur.⁴⁷

Annað og umfangsmeira dæmi um iðkun sléttsöngs á síðari hluta 18. aldar er Lbs 1239 8vo sem er handrit upp á 204 síður í grallarabroti og hugsanlega ættað af Snæfellsnesi. Á titilsíðunni stendur: „Nockrer psalmar og saungvar. Samantijnt epter sem feingest hefur ur ýmsum Bökum og i eitt samanskriafad ANNO 1764.“ Fremst standa „Nockrer psalmar og söngrvar Epter þeirre Dónsku psalmabök, sem prentud var í Kaupenhafn Anno 1569“, þ.e. sálmabók Thomissøns. Meðal hinna dönsku „sálma og söngrva“ eru sléttsöngrvar úr riti Thomissøns sem ekki finnast í öðrum íslenskum heimildum. Alls eiga sjö lög í þessu handriti uppruna sinn í kaþólskum kirkjusöng en birtast hér í íslenskum þýðingum sem hvergi er vitað um annars staðar (sjá *Töflu 2*, bls. 324–326). Tíu lög til viðbótar eru við íslenskar þýðingar á dönskum sálmum úr bók Thomissøns.

Þótt ofangreind lög séu sótt í sálmabók Thomissøns eiga þau sér mun lengri sögu.⁴⁸ Hið fyrsta, *Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi*, er svar-söngur eða Responsorium, sungið við náttisöng á hátíðum meyjardýrtinga sem ekki áttu sinn eigin tíðasöng (*commune virginum*). *Gloria laus et honor* er hymni sem frá fornu fari hefur verið sunginn sem prósessíusálmur á pálmásunnudag, rétt eins og getið er í yfirskrift í íslenska handritinu: „Ma sýngia ä PalmaSunnudag“. Ekki er þó víst að hann hafi verið hafður sem göngulag hjá mönnum siðskiptanna enda var Lúther andvígur slíkum venjum.⁴⁹ Páskasöngurinn *Sedit angelus* er í ýmsum miðaldaheimildum, meðal annars grallara Tómasarkirkjunnar í Leipzig frá 14. öld. Lag og texti tengist upphaflega páskaritúali þar sem frásögnin af upprisu Krists var leikin í tali og tónum. Í dönsku sálmabókinni er lagið í tveimur ólíkum þýðingum við sama lag sem annars vegar er skrifað út með kvaðratnótnaskrift, hins vegar nóterað í heilnótum og hálfnótum við danska þýðingu Hans Tausen.⁵⁰ Báðar gerðirnar eru í Lbs 1239 8vo við tvær ólíkar íslenskar þýðingar. *Miskunna oss eilífi Guð* er hluti stærri söngs; sekvensinn *Ave praecleara maris stella* var í kaþólskum sið sunginn við himnaför Maríu (*In Assumptione Beatae Mariae*

47 Árni Björnsson, *Saga daganma* (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1993), 606.

48 Um uppruna laganna og sögu þeirra innan dansks kirkjusöngs sjá Henrik Glahn, *Melodistudier*, 1: 51–53; 67–71.

49 Sama heimild, 1:71.

50 Sama heimild, 1:68; Hans Thomissøn, *Den danske Psalmebog* (Kaupmannahöfn, 1569) 87v–88v.

Virginis) og hann er að finna í heild sinni í *Psalmodia* Lossiusar, en í sálmabók Thomissøns var aðeins prentaður hluti hans, strófur 7–9, við texta eftir Hans Tausen. Í Lbs 1239 8vo er þessi texti íslenskaður og yfirskriftin gefur upprunann til kynna: „Ein Sequentia Aue præclara. fra versenu Audi nos.“⁵¹ Eins og getið var að framan er talið að latínusöngvar hafi almennt ekki verið langlífir í dönsku siðbótarkirkjunni og því er enn óvæntara að þessir söngvar úr sálmabók dönsku kirkjunnar 1569 skuli koma fram hjá íslenskum handritaskrifara tæpum tveimur öldum síðar.

Tilvist söngvanna í íslenskri þýðingu, og í svo ungu handriti, vekur spurningar. Hverjir sungu þá, og hvar? Varla hefur það verið í kirkju nema gengið væri gegn fyrirmælum grallarans en kannski hefur efnið þótt hæfa við guðræknisiðkanir í heimahúsum. Hver stundaði það að snara textum þeirra á móðurmálið? Ekkert er um það vitað, né heldur hver skrifaði handritið. Sá eða sú hlýtur að hafa verið vel að sér bæði í söng og latínu.⁵² Annað efni síðar í handritinu bendir til þess að það sé ekki hugsað til notkunar við guðsþjónustur; þar er að finna vikusálma en einnig *Ó ég manneskjan auma* úr Kvæðabók Ólafs Jónssonar á Söndum og lagið *Rís upp, Drottni dýrð* í tvísöng.⁵³ Þetta handrit er því enn ein vísbendingin um að tvísöngur og sléttisöngur hafi að einhverju leyti verið skyld fyrirbæri, iðkuð af sama þjóðfélagshópi lærðra manna. Um leið er tilvist þessara söngva til vitnis um það að sumir landsmenn héldu enn á 18. öld í arf gamla latínusöngsins.

Í enn einu handriti frá 18. öld, ÍB 323 8vo, er vísbending um að tiltekinn sléttisöngur í tveimur röddum hafi lifað hér um langt skeið. Á nokkrum blöðum kvers sem líklega var eitt sinn í eigu skólapihlts standa tvíradda söngvar af ýmsum toga, meðal annars Sanctus.⁵⁴ Það lag hlaut að því er virð-

51 Sjá *Analecta hymnica* 50, 313–315.

52 Páll Eggert Ólason segir að handritið „virðist munu vera af Snæfellsnesi“ (*Skrá um handrita-söfn Landsbókasafnsins* 2, 240), hugsanlega vegna þess að á síðu 190 er krotað „Scheving Ingaldshóli“. Stefán Vigfússon Scheving sat á Ingaldshóli á Snæfellsnesi á árunum 1790–1830 og má vera að handritið hafi eitt sinn verið í eigu hans, en ekki er hann skrifarinn.

53 Um þessi lög sjá Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, *Tónlist liðinna alda*, 92, 136, 193.

54 Handritið er allnokkuð skemmt og að minnsta kosti eitt blað með nótnaskrift hefur verið rífið burt og ekki varðveist. Fyrstu tíu síður handritsins í núverandi mynd hafa að geyma nótur, og á þremur næstu síðum standa auðir nótnastrengir. Aftar í handritinu eru guðfræðiglósur á íslensku og latínu, listi yfir bragarhætti á latínu og annað efni sem varla getur verið upprunnið annars staðar en í Skálholti eða á Hólum. Páll Eggert Ólason getur þess að handritið sé með hendi Halldórs Finnssonar í Hítardal (1736–1814) en ekki er unnt

ist meiri útbreiðslu við annan texta, *Heyr þú oss himnum á eftir séra Ólaf Jónsson á Söndum*, en í ÍB 323 8vo stendur upprunaleg gerð lagsins. Eins og Róbert A. Ottósson benti á er þetta lag, við Sanctus-lið messunnar, í allnokkrum fjölda handrita sem rituð voru á meginlandi Evrópu frá því síðla á 14. öld þar til snemma á 16. öld.⁵⁵ Líklegt má telja að Sanctus-lagið hafi verið sungið við latínuskólana um langt skeið, jafnvel nokkrar aldir, en að kvæði Ólafs á Söndum hafi notið hylli hjá breiðari hópi.⁵⁶

Af ofangreindu er ljóst að á 17. og 18. öld naut sléttsöngur hylli meðal íslenskra klerka, söngvara og skrifara langt umfram það sem ætla mátti af því takmarkaða hlutverki sem honum var ætlað í hinni lúthersku guðsþjónustu í Danaveldi. Prestar og menntamenn sóttu í arfleifð sléttsöngsins og beittu jafnvel ímyndunaraflí sínu og sköpunargáfu á lögin með umbreytingum og aðlögunum, til dæmis *Ó Jesú Christe* í Thott 154 fol. og *O Jesu dulcissime* í AM 102 8vo. Þá var meira um það á Íslandi en í Danmörku að sléttsöngur væri þýddur og sunginn á móðurmáli. Lúther hafði ekki gert ráð fyrir því í sínu regluverki og var það næsta sjaldgæft þótt dæmi um slíkt finnst einnig í öðrum löndum.

Hvati þess að viðhalda sléttsöngnum var líklega margvíslegur. Kannski hafði fornmenntastefna og fortíðarþrá kirkjuleiðtoga áhrif á það hve lengi hann lifði. Þá hlýtur sjálf tónlistin einnig að hafa haft aðdráttarafl. Íslenskar þýðingar söngtextanna eru áhugaverðar í bókmenntalegu tilliti og má líta á þær sem metnaðarfullt verkefni til að varðveita sönginn og jafnvel auka útbreiðslu hans. Af samhengi efnisins í handritum má ráða að stundum hafi sléttsöngur tengst menningarlegu auðmagni; að með því að syngja hann, þýða og skrifa upp í handrit hafi fólk staðfest stöðu sína innan valda- og menntastéttar.

að staðfesta það með vissu (*Skrá um handritasöfn Landsbókasafnsins* 3, 75; sjá einnig *Íslenskar æviskrár* 2, 252–253).

55 „Ein fægur Saung Vijsa...“ *Afmálisrit Jóns Helgasonar 30. júní 1969* (Reykjavík: Heimskringla, 1969), 251–259; Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus*, 112–113.

56 Lagið er í sjö íslenskum handritum við texta Ólafs (NKS 139 b 4to, Rask 98, ÍBR 86 4to, JS 385 8vo, JS 385 8vo, ÍB 70 4to, Lbs 837 4to og JS 643 4to) og textinn í a.m.k. þremur til viðbótar; auk þess er lagið við textann „Kannist við kristnir menn“ í Lbs 1927 4to (*Hymmodia sacra*) og afbrigði lagsins er við textann „Ó Kriste hinn krossfesti, klár faðir ljóss“ eftir Stefán Ólafsson í Vallanesi í ÍB 669 8vo. Sjá Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, *Tónlist liðinna alda*, 141.

Þeir sléttisöngvar sem lifðu áfram á Íslandi eftir siðbreytingu voru af ýmsu tagi, bæði fastir messuliðir og söngvar sem nota mátti við ýmis tilfni. Raunar virðist margt benda til þess að allnokkur hluti þessa söngvaforða hafi einmitt fremur verið hafður við óformlega tilbeiðslu og ekki verið eiginlegur hluti messunnar. Langlífi sléttisöngs á Íslandi í ýmsum myndum, sumum óvæntum, verður ekki aðeins skýrt með „einsleitni og kyrrstöðu“ í menningarlífinu, heldur var að einhverju leyti um að ræða virka viðleitni til að rækta tiltekinn þátt hins gamla siðar sem þótti nokkuð varið í.

*Tafla 2. Sléttisöngvar í íslenskum handritum
(að NKS 138 4to, Antiphonarium Holense og heildstaðum grallarahandritum undanskildum) um 1550–1800.*

	Lag í handriti	Latnesk frumgerð	Aðrar heimildir
<i>Holm perg 8vo nr. 10, I b (um 1545–1570):</i>			
1r	Ó sæla og blessaða	O beata benedicta [ON]	
1r	María mey og móðir	Nesciens mater virgo	S. 252a, Rask 98
1r–v	Að óbrugðnum, óskertum	Inviolata	S. 252a
2r	[Barnið er oss borið], skert	Puer natus est nobis [ON]	
2r	Alleluia. Helgur dagur birtist oss	Dies sanctificatus [ON]	
2r–v	Kærleiki guðs er úthelltur	Caritas dei diffusa est	
2v	Alleluia. Christur er uppvakinn	Christus resurgens est [ON]	
<i>S. 252a (um 1545–1580):</i>			
1r–v	Sjáið þeir dagar munu koma	Ecce dies venient [ON]	
1v	Ecce dies venient	(niðurlag vantar)	ON
2r	Hodie Christus (á íslensku, niðurlag)	Hodie Christus [ON]	
2r	Nesciens mater virgo	(auðir nótnastrengir)	BN; ON
2r–v	María mey og móðir mann ei snerti	Nesciens mater	Holm nr. 10; Rask 98
2v	Að óbrugðnum, óskertum...	Inviolata	Holm nr. 10
<i>Thott 154 fol. (um 1600–1610):</i>			
51v	Sanctus	á íslensku í GR1 (jóladaður)	Tha nr. 203

	Lag í handriti	Latnesk frumgerð	Aðrar heimildir
81r	Ó Jesú Christe (seinni hönd, um 1600–1650)	texti útlekking á Ave verum corpus?	
87r	Heilagur (Sanctus)	í GR6 (þrenningarhátið)	Tha nr. 223
89r	Kyrie Ó guð faðir, án nótna	Kyrie fons bonitatis	
<i>KB Add 17 4to (um 1600–1610)</i>			
9r	Heilagur (Sanctus)		Thott 154 fol.; AM 249 g fol.
<i>AM 249 g fol. (um 1600–1610):</i>			
1r	Heilagur (Sanctus)		Thott 154 fol.; KB Add 17 4to
<i>Rask 98 (um 1660–70):</i>			
65r	Da pacem, Domine (nr. 191)		NKS 138 4to
65r	Precamur, Domine (nr. 192)		NKS 138 4to
65v	Congaudeat turba fidelium (nr. 193)		AM 622 4to; <i>Piae Cantiones</i> o.fl.
66r–69v	Fulgens praeclara (nr. 194)		ON; Eggen
70r–70v	Nesciens mater virgo (nr. 196)		BN; ON; Holm nr. 10; S. 252a
71v–72r	Meliora sunt (nr. 198)*		Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna Ms 58
72v–73r	Ave regina celorum (nr. 199)*		ON
74v–76v	Victimae paschali laudes (nr. 202)*		ON; NJ; GR1
89r–90r	Discubuit Jesus et discipuli eius (nr. 225)		NJ
90v–93r	Guðdómsins hæsta náð (nr. 226)	In sapientia [ON]	GR 4
<i>AM 102 8vo (um 1680):</i>			
125r–125v	Stóð á lengdar staðlaus að gá*	Stans a longe [ON]	Eggen
125v	O Jesu dulcissime*	O florens rosa	AM 461 12mo
<i>Sloane MS 503 (skrifari B, um 1690–95):</i>			
18v–19r	Svo sannarlega sem ég lifi	Vivo ego [ON]	

	Lag í handriti	Latnesk frumgerð	Aðrar heimildir
81r	Dýrð lof og heiðr sé Guði	Gloria (lag úr GR1, texti <i>unicum</i>)	
<i>ÍB 171 8vo (um 1720):</i>			
230r	Halelúja. Engill guðs á jörð	Angelus Domini nuntiavit	NJ
<i>Lbs 1239 8vo (1764):</i>			
9–10	Heimsins blóma, hefð og sóma	Regnum mundi	TH
10–12	Ó dýrðar kóngur Christe kær	Gloria laus et honor	TH
17–19	Engill Guðs situr hjá gröfinni	Sedit angelus	TH
19–22	Herrann Christur af himnum kom	Cum Rex gloriae	TH
32–34	Miskunna oss eilífi Guð	Ave praeclara maris stella	TH
37–38	Haleluia. Guði sé lof og æra	Angelus domini descendit	TH
38–39	Haleluia. Allt hvað lifir á jörðu	Alleting som leffue paa Jorden	TH
<i>ÍB 323 8vo (18. öld)</i>			
--	Sanctus*	(cf. Heyr þú oss himnum á)	Tha nr. 6

BN: Breviarium Nidrosiense

Eggen: *The Sequences of the Archbishopric of Nidarós*

GR: *Graduale. Ein almenneleg Messusöngs Bók*

NJ: Niels Jesperssøn, *Graduale*

ON: Ordo Nidrosiense

TH: Hans Thomissøn, *Den danske Psalmebog*

Tha: Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe*

* = tvísöngur

HEIMILDASKRÁ

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ÁGRIP

Sléttsöngur í lútherskum sið á Íslandi um 1550–1800

Efnisorð: tónlist, handrit/handritafræði, kirkjusöngur, sléttsöngur, litúrgía/helgi-siðir

Sléttsöngur á uppruna sinn í rómversk-kaþólskum helgiathöfnum en lifði áfram í lútherskum sið ásamt nýrri sálmum frá Þýskalandi. Hér er fjallað um heimildir sléttsöngs á Íslandi eftir 1550. Í gröllum var allnokkuð um slíkt efni og var að ýmsu leyti vikið frá forskrift hins danska *Graduale* (1573). Þetta átti bæði við um val efnis og tungumálið sem sungið var á, því að í íslenskum heimildum er meira um að sléttsöngur sé á móðurmáli en tíðkaðist í Danmörku og Þýskalandi. Þetta bendir til þess að meðal annars hafi áhugi á söngtextum og þýðingum þeirra, með ljóðstöfum og rími, knúið áfram hina íslensk-lúthersku sléttsöngshefð. Þá er allmikið um efni sem aðeins hefur varðveist í handritum, bæði söngvar sem kunna að hafa varðveist úr Niðaróshefð og aðrir sem voru þýddir á íslensku úr dönskum bókum og sungnir hér langt fram á 18. öld.

SUMMARY

Plainchant in Lutheran Iceland, 1550–1800

Keywords: music, paleography/manuscripts, church singing, plainchant, liturgy

Plainchant originated within the Roman-Catholic liturgy, but continued to be sung in Lutheran church services alongside more recent hymns from Germany. This article discusses the sources for plainchant in Iceland after the year 1550, both printed books and manuscripts. The Icelandic *Graduale* (the official missal of the Icelandic church, first printed in 1594) contained a substantial number of such pieces, yet did not fully adhere to the Danish *Graduale*, published in 1573. In some cases, the Icelandic bishop chose different chants altogether, while other chants were sung in Icelandic, to a far greater extent than seems to have been the case in Denmark or Germany. This suggests that the Icelandic Lutheran chant tradition was partly fuelled by a local interest in producing ambitious translations,

including alliteration and end rhyme not always found in the original texts. A substantial number of chants not found in Icelandic printed books have survived in local manuscripts. They include chants possibly derived from the medieval Nidaros tradition, as well as chants from the Danish hymnal (1569) and *Graduale*, which were transmitted via manuscripts in Icelandic translations well into the eighteenth century.

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Handrit

