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Innehåll

Verbal Hyperbaton in the Viking Age Runic Inscriptions

Eric Lander

1. Introduction

A handful of runic inscriptions display syntactic discontinuities in the noun phrase which linguists might choose to categorize as *scrambling* and which rhetoricians might call *hyperbaton*.[1] Adams (1971) defines *verbal hyperbaton* in Latin as cases where a non-predicative adjective is separated from its head noun by a verb, such as in Cicero's *in eadem es navi* 'you are in the same boat'. While hyperbaton in Latin primarily has the function of marking one or the other of the disjoined elements as somehow prominent in the discourse (see also Devine & Stephens 2000 on Classical Greek), additional factors – such as rhythmic and stylistic considerations – also play a role. In general, it seems that the "device was artistic rather than natural to ordinary speech" (Adams 1971: 1). Hyperbaton is also found in the older runic material (e.g. KJ 127 Sjælland **hariuha haitika farauisa**,

[1] I am grateful to audiences at Grammatikkollokviet in Uppsala (September 19, 2023) and Högre seminariet in Gothenburg (April 15, 2024) for valuable comments and discussion. Special thanks to John Ankarström, Marco Bianchi, Johan Brandtler, Elisabet Engdahl, Per Holmberg, Magnus Källström, Anastasia Makarova, Lasse Mårtensson, Stellan Petersson, Alexandra Petrulevich, Henrik Rosenkvist, Ulla Stroh-Wollin, Matteo Tarsi, Fredrik Valdeson, Veturliði Óskarsson, and Henrik Williams. I would also like to thank two anonymous reviewers for insightful comments and suggestions from which this paper has greatly benefited. Abbreviations: # = infelicitous, / = syllable with primary stress, \ = syllable with secondary stress, _ = missing final syllable in hypometrical verse, Am. = *Atlamál*, Fáfn. = *Fáfnismál*, Hárb. = *Hárbarðsljóð*, Háv. = *Hávamál*, O = object, Reg. = *Reginsmál*, V = verb, V_{inf} = infinitival verb, × = unstressed syllable.

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with the verb **haitika** 'I am called' splitting **hariuha** from its apposition **farauisa**; KJ 67 Noleby **runo fahi raginakudo**, with the verb **fahi** 'I paint' interrupting the noun phrase 'rune of divine origin'), a fact which Braunmüller (2004) has attributed to contact with Latin. Schulte (2005a), however, presents convincing reasons to be skeptical of this hypothesis. There is every reason to believe that the phenomenon was homegrown (see also Hopper 1975: 66–67, with references, and Sonderegger 1998). In this paper I focus not on the older runic material but rather on the Viking Age runic inscriptions. There is no need to posit direct influence from Latin in order to account for the phenomenon's existence in these inscriptions either, but the term *hyperbaton* is nevertheless a useful term insofar as it has an established usage in the classical tradition. In this paper I intend it to be a descriptively neutral term.

The paper considers half a dozen cases of hyperbaton in the Viking Age runic inscriptions,[2] along with some parallels in Old Norse, especially Eddic poetry. The texts considered are both poetry and prose, but all of them are plausibly categorized as stylistically marked in some way. I will argue that the range of cases, both poetic and prosaic, can be given the same basic analysis in terms of post-syntactic movement of prosodic constituents, along the lines of Agbayani & Golston (2010, 2016). The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 introduces two attestations of hyperbaton in Vg 32 and Sö 61, both of which display versification. I derive these orders by movement which is triggered by alliterative considerations. Movement targets a prosodic constituent, a claim which finds support in a third inscription (U 512). Section 3 begins by presenting cases of hyperbaton in the prose texts of three runic inscriptions (U 735, Sö 46, and Öl 10), and it continues by discussing different ways in which hyperbaton can be triggered in prose. The relationship to left branch extraction (LBE) and verb second (V2) is also considered, especially with regard to work by Kristján Árnason (2002) and Dewey (2006). Section 4 concludes the paper.

[2] Broadly speaking, the Viking Age spans the period 725–1130. The main inscriptions discussed in this paper are stylistically dated to the period between 980 and 1080 (see Gräslund 2006 for general background).

2. Hyperbaton in early Nordic poetry

In this section I discuss the use of hyperbaton in three versified runic inscriptions. I argue that the word order should be thought of as motivated by considerations of phonology, more specifically alliteration, a view that aligns with and complements the analysis of hyperbaton put forth by Agbayani & Golston (2010, 2016).

2.1. Dem V N (Vg 32 and Sö 61)

Evert Salberger (1959) discusses the nature of the discontinuous noun phrase in the inscription Vg 32 (Kållands-Åsaka parish), the text of which is given in full in (1). Wenning (1930: 8) suggests that the word order might be a "kompromissform" between an ancient (verb-late) order and the newer (verb-second) one. A more likely proximate cause for the word order is versification (Brate & Bugge 1887–1891: 367–368, Naumann 2018: 156–157), where *þenna* alliterates with *Þōrðr* and *Þōrunn*, and *allgōðan* alliterates with *Ærra*. Svärdström – to Salberger's great dismay – does not mention versification in her 1958 treatment of Vg 32 in SRI 5. By 1970, however, she has clearly identified this text as instantiating a helming of *fornyrðislag* (introduction to SRI 5: xxxvi; see also Salberger 1976: 39, fn. 27).

(1)[3] **þurþr × uk × þurun × þana × risþu × stin × efti × era × alkuþan : trik**

Þōrðr ok Þōrunn þenna ræistu
stæin æftiʀ Ærra allgōðan dræng

'Þōrðr and Þōrunn raised this stone after Ærri, a very good lad.'

As Svärdström (SRI 5: 50) points out, **alkuþan** is an uncommon word in the runic corpus (more common options for 'very' being *harða* or *miok*). Salberger (1959: 234) sees this *all-* as a choice allowing for alliteration with *Ærra* in the on-verse, and he sees a parallel in the sequence **estriþ × iftʀ × inkuar × alkoþan × trenk** on U 143, where *all-* in the off-verse alliterates with *Æstrīð* and *Ingvar* in the on-verse.[4]

As Naumann (2018: 15) points out, runologists are constantly faced with

[3] Runic Swedish forms are given in normalized form, following Peterson (2006, 2007).
[4] Where relevant, I will refer to odd-numbered half-lines as *on-verses* and even-numbered half-lines as *off-verses*. See Fulk (2016) for an overview of the system originally devised by Sievers (1893) as it relates to Eddic poetry.

"Unwägbarkeiten" and the concomitant challenge of controlling for "akzidentielle Phänomene" in the texts they investigate. Had the word order of Vg 32 been a unique occurrence in the runic corpus, one might wonder about its status as an 'accidental phenomenon'. However, as Salberger observed more than 60 years ago, this kind of discontinuity is not unique but attested elsewhere in early Nordic. The same linear sequence of syntactic categories (Dem V N) is also found on Sö 61 (Ösby, Husby-Oppunda parish), given in (2), and a similar one (Adj/Det V N) is found on Sö 35 (Tjuvstigen, Trosa-Vagnhärad parish), given in (3), which forms a pair monument with Sö 34. Like Vg 32, these inscriptions show versified text according to Brate & Bugge (1887–1891: 185–186, 155–157) and Naumann (2018: 172–173, 162–164). See also Hübler (1996: 43–45).

(2)[5] **þorstain : lit · þina : rita : stain : e̩fila : stetr : eftiʀ : þorbiarn : salui · auk : simiþr : at · sen boroþur**

Þōrstæinn lēt *þenna rētta*
stæin hæfila *stændr æftiʀ Þōrbiorn*
Salvi ok Smiðr *at sinn brōður*

'Þōrstæinn had this stone erected. Stately it stands after Þōrbiorn. Salvi and Smiðr after their brother.'

(3) **lit · igikeʀ · anan · raisa · stain · at · suni · sina · su[n·]a · kiarþi · kuþ · hialbi · ant · þaira × þuriʀ · hiu ·**

Lēt Ingigæiʀʀ/Ingigærðr *annan ræisa stæin*
at syni sīna, *sýna gærði.*
Guð hialpi and þæiʀa. Þōriʀ hiō.

'Ingigæiʀʀ/Ingigærðr had another stone raised after his/her sons, made (them) visible. May God help their spirits. Þōriʀ cut.'

It is true that the word order Dem V N is attested in Eddic poetry as well (Salberger 1959: 232–233; see also Schulte 2005b: 187 on *Vǫluspá*), although more needs to be said about the exact structures involved in this genre (see Section 3.2 below). I provide only one Eddic example here (4), with additional cases to be discussed in more depth below (stanza numbers for the Eddic are taken from the Codex Regius edition of Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019).

[5] For some discussion of the problematic element **e̩fila** see Hübler (1996: 44) and Naumann (2018: 21, 173).

(4) *at* ***sá*** *gengr* ***gumi*** *ok* *mælir* *við* *mik*
that that walks man and speaks with me
'that that man comes and speaks to me' (Háv. 154)

For Salberger, the Eddic attestations make it highly unlikely that the word order found on Vg 32 is a mistake or a "korrekturändring" (*contra* Larsson 1931: 33), rather it must be quite the contrary, namely a deliberate stylistic choice and in all likelihood a "versindicium" (Salberger 1959: 234).

It is worth pointing out that Wulf (1998: 94), in his review of Hübler (1996), keeps the demonstrative and its head noun within the same half-line (compare also (3) above), leaving *æftiʀ* to bear the stress and alliterate in both Vg 32 and Sö 61 (see also Wulf 2003: 978).

(5) a. ***Þ****ōrðr ok* ***Þ****ōrunn* *þenna rœistu stœin*
æftiʀ ***Æ****rra* ***a****llgōðan dræng*
b. ***Þ****ōrstœinn lēt* *þenna rētta stœin*
æ*fila stændr* ***æ****ftiʀ Þōrbiorn*
S*alvi ok* ***S****miðr* *at* ***s****inn brōður*

That a preposition should be stressed, as in (5), is no doubt an irregularity, but it is in keeping with Wulf's reasoned views on runic poetry: "Wir haben es mit wenigen Ausnahmen mit anspruchsloserer Kleindichtung zu tun, in der nicht immer alle Regeln streng befolgt wurden" (Wulf 2003: 1004). For Sö 61, one could avoid a stressed preposition by adopting the metrical structure in (2) instead of (5b). For Vg 32, however, there are issues not only with (5a) but also with (1), where the on-verse *stœin æftiʀ Ærra* shows a stressed yet non-alliterating element (*stœin*) to the left of the alliterating element *Ærra*, something which is strictly speaking not allowed (see e.g. Fulk 2016: 255). Still, we can observe that (1) scans straightforwardly as / × / × || / × / × || / × × / × || / \ × /, whereas (5a) yields the more awkward / × / × || / × × × / _ || / × / × || / \ × /.[6] I will not attempt to settle the question

[6] To be more precise, it is the off-verse *þenna rœistu stœin* (/ × × × / _) (and, for that matter, *þenna rētta stœin* in (5b)) that is problematic. There are two main reasons. For one, as Fulk (2016: 254) notes, there are "rarely more than two" unstressed syllables in the first dip of a verse, but in this case we have three. Nevertheless, it has been observed in the literature (Suzuki 2014: 26, 86, 91; Males 2023: 123) that there was a relatively high degree of freedom in *fornyrðislag* with regard to how many syllables could occupy the first dip position in verse types A, B, and C, as long as the relevant elements were prosodically light. The second issue is that the half-line in question is three-positional, lacking an unstressed syllable in final position. Fulk (2016: 258–59) points out that diachronic processes can sometimes account for

here, but the fact that both options are imperfect lends credence to Wulf's stance on the less-than-rigorous nature of runic poetry. Suffice it to say that there are different ways of thinking about the precise metrical patterns involved here, but there can be little doubt that both texts are representatives of alliterative verse.

Vg 32 and Sö 61 do not appear to be monuments of especially high (or particularly low) prestige. Although it is difficult to diagnose the social status of runic monuments (see Williams 2013 for general discussion), we might make note of the name *Smiðr* 'smith', which in all likelihood does not belong to the upper echelons of society.[7] The names *Þōrstæinn* and *Þōrbiorn* (Sö 61), moreover, are common names in the runic inscriptions, as are *Þōrðr* and *Þōrunn* (Vg 32). Recall here also that Svärdström considers it likely that Ærri (Vg 32) was a simple farmer. Now, the fact that Sö 61 is a bit less formulaic (making use of the phrase *(h)æfila stændr æftiʀ* NN) and also slightly longer than Vg 32 might indicate a difference in social status, but both of these inscriptions give the overall impression of medium-status monuments.

If my social classification of these two monuments is correct, then alliterative verse is not exclusively restricted to high-status inscriptions. This is not so surprising, as long as we accept that speakers of East Nordic in Viking Age society had a range of different registers available to them depending on the communicative context (see Schulte 2006, 2008 for discussion). In the cases of Vg 32 and Sö 61, we have plausibly "middle-class" speakers who are employing a more formal register in order to fulfill perceived requirements on the kind of language considered appropriate for memorials. It is also worth emphasizing in this regard that the elements involved in the versification are just those of the standard raiser formulas ('NN raised this stone in memory of NN' for Vg 32 and 'NN had this stone raised in memory of NN' for Sö 61) but reshuffled in more poetic fashion. Michael Schulte has dis-

such patterns, but this does not appear to be relevant here. Still, the fact remains that hypometrical/catalectic half-lines are attested in verse types A, C, and D (Sievers 1893: 68, Suzuki 2014: 196, Males 2023: 123). Perhaps neither of these two issues on its own is enough, but in combination they cast some doubt on the analysis in (5). A reviewer also suggests the possible scansion / × / × \ (D*4).

[7] There are no clear indications from the (almost entirely eastern) Viking Age inscriptions that *Smiðr*, which especially in the Danish material appears as an epithet, is indicative of higher social status. This does not mean, of course, that smiths and their skills were not valued by society, but these individuals belonged to the class of free men. After all, as *Rígsþula* tells us, Smiðr and Drengr were sons of Karl (= Churl) (in Collinder's 1957: 109 translation: 23 *hon giftes med Karl; Snör hette hon …* 24 *Barn fingo de, de bodde och trivdes – Hall hette de och Dräng, Höld, Tegn och Smed*). Thanks to Magnus Källström (p.c.) for discussion of this point.

cussed the role of formulaic elements in the runic inscriptions, with various alliterative phrases not necessarily meeting the standard of full-blown verse but still functioning "as a structuring device and a mnemonic tool" (Schulte 2007: 69). A distinction between "hochstilisierender, stabender Rede" and a text which goes beyond alliteration by also regulating "durch Ikten und Wortgewicht" is also made by Naumann (2018: 14).[8] Vg 32 and Sö 61 certainly go beyond "structuring devices", fulfilling enough of the alliterative and rhythmic criteria to be considered *bona fide* poetry, but they are poetry of a perhaps less creative and (as Wulf might say) unsophisticated sort.

2.2. Analysis: Alliteration-triggered movement

An attempt at a more formal syntactic analysis will help to shed some light on the nature of verbal hyperbaton in the language of the Viking Age runic material. Let us first consider Vg 32 and Sö 61.

Considering that demonstratives almost always show postnominal positioning in the Viking Age inscriptions (see Stroh-Wollin 2016: 163, Table 5; see also Perridon 1996), we can assume generalized NP-movement to the left periphery of the nominal extended projection at this stage of the language, as sketched in (6).

(6) $[_{NP}$ *stæin*$]$ $[_{DP}$ *þenna* $[t_{NP}]]$

From here there are different analyses available for modeling the movement of *þenna* to a position to the left of the verb. On the one hand, it could be posited that the demonstrative is a DemP in Spec-DP and undergoes phrasal movement (7a) (see, among many others, Leu 2015 on demonstratives as internally complex), or we could imagine that the entire DP, including the trace of the moved NP, undergoes movement (7b).

(7) a. $[_{\mathbf{DemP}}$ ***þenna***$]$ [Verb $[[_{NP}$ *stæin*$]$ $[_{DP}$ t_{DemP} $[t_{NP}]]]]$

b. $[_{DP}$ ***þenna*** $[\boldsymbol{t}_{\mathbf{NP}}]]$ [Verb $[[_{NP}$ *stæin*$]$ $[t_{DP}]]]$

Whichever option one chooses in (7), the crucial point is that *þenna* in Vg 32 and Sö 61 is still to the right of the subject, so we cannot assume fronting of the demonstrative to any of the typical left-peripheral positions in the C-domain of Rizzi (1997). Instead we would have to assume movement to

[8] Metrical structure without rhyme is also a possibility: Herschend (2001: 30), for instance, points out that Torbjörn skald's Hillersjö inscription (U 29) has a strophic structure of the traditional type (Herschend's Types 1 and 2) but without alliteration or other forms of rhyme.

some lower middle field position, at the left edge of VP (for Sö 61) or TP (for Vg 32) (see also Agbayani & Golston 2010: § 3.3 for similar reasoning). While such positions have been proposed in the literature (see e.g. Belletti 2001 on low focus in Italian), it is difficult to argue on positive evidence from the runic material for the existence of such a position.

Typical triggers for this sort of movement are contrastive focus or contrastive topicality (see Pereltsvaig 2008 and Fanselow & Féry 2013, among others, for discussion of left branch extraction in Slavic; see Devine & Stephens 2000 on Classical Greek), but there is no obvious reason to attribute a contrastive reading to 'this' in either Vg 32 or Sö 61. The case of Sö 34 and Sö 35 is interesting in this regard, since these two inscriptions make up a pair monument, where the former informs us that *Styrlaugʀ ok Holmbʀ stæina ræistu at brōðr sīna* 'Styrlaugʀ and Holmbʀ raised (the) stones in memory of their brothers' and the latter shows fronting of **anan** 'another' in *Lēt Ingigæirʀ annan ræisa stæin at syni sīna* 'Ingigæirʀ had ANOTHER(?) stone raised in memory of his sons'. As indicated by the small capitals in my translation, it is conceivable that fronted *annan* functions as a contrastive topic ('yet another stone') or focus ('not the other but rather this stone'). That being said, the case of Sö 35 could also be explained entirely on the basis of alliteration, where fronting of *annan* allows for alliteration with the vowel-initial name *Ingigæirʀ* in the first half-line. My point is simply that this is the *kind* of evidence we need if we are going to make arguments invoking information structure: since Sö 34 and Sö 35 are a pair monument, we have a discourse environment where topic and focus are potentially relevant. Such a context would make it possible to find convincing evidence of topic- or focus-driven word order. With this in mind, it should be clear that Vg 32 and Sö 61 are not as amenable to such an analysis. If Vg 32 had been one of two runestones, then perhaps the argument could be made that Þōrðr and Þōrunn had raised THIS stone (as opposed to some other), but there is no evidence that this might be the case for either Sö 61 or Vg 32. What Vg 32 and Sö 61 do show, however, is a word order which is easily understood from the point of view of restrictions imposed by alliterative verse, which is to say that the fronting of *þenna* in both Vg 32 and Sö 61 has the crucial function of allowing for proper alliteration.

Let us explore this idea in more depth. The regularly expected word orders for Vg 32 and Sö 61 would be *ræistu/rētta stæin þenna* or *ræistu/rētta þenna stæin* (unattested as such but *ræisa þenna stæin* is attested in a dozen Viking Age inscriptions from Uppland, along with a handful of *ræisa þessa stæina*). The former option does not yield an alliterating first lift,

and the latter only does so if the ictus is not on the verb. There are two permutations that unambiguously allow for alliteration: *þenna stæin ræistu/rētta* or *þenna ræistu/rētta stæin*. The former option is problematic for two reasons. First, as already mentioned, Dem N order is highly unusual in the runic material (Stroh-Wollin 2016, Perridon 1996). Second, OV (whether V is finite or non-finite) is remarkably unusual in the runic material.[9] For instance, a search for ON *reisa/reisti/reistu stein (þenna)* in the Scandinavian Runic Text Database yields over 1000 hits, while ON *stein (þenna) reisa/reisti/reistu* yields only three hits (for *stein reisa*, all three of which are rather uncertain, but two attestations are included in Tab. 1).

Tab. 1[10] is not exhaustive, but it suffices to demonstrate that OV with a determined object is extremely uncommon in the runic material, which is to say that most of the runic attestations of OV have an object which is a bare noun.[11, 12] Objects which are to the left of the verb and which also have a

[9] This in spite of the fact that the earliest Old Swedish, i.e. the stage immediately following the "Runic Swedish" stage, was a language tending towards OV_{inf} (see Wenning 1930, Delsing 1999, Magnusson Petzell 2011). As Cecilia Falk (2011: 175) notes, OV_{inf} was quite dominant in *Äldre Västgötalagen*, and the word order was found "redan i runsvenska, om än belagd med färre exempel" (with U 654 provided as an example on p.176). Interestingly, Sangfelt (2019) – partly motivated (see Sangfelt 2019: 169, citing Valdeson 2017) by the situation in the Viking Age runic inscriptions – argues that Old Swedish was neither strictly OV nor VO. In unpublished work, Valdeson (2017, also citing Wessén 1965: 219) suggests that VO order in the Viking Age material had become a fixed part of the memorial formula ('X let raise Y in memory of Z'). It seems likely that genre plays a role in the gap observed between the two stages.

[10] *stein rétta*: U 92, U 273, U 377 †, U 418, U 515, U 572, U 885; *stein rétti*: U 514; *stein réttu*: U 378, U 889 (somewhat uncertain); *brú gera*: Sö 30, Sö 141, Sö 300, Sö 312, Sm 130, U 45, U 92, U 114 (with *laðb[r]ō*), U 118, U 142, U 145, U 146, U 217, U 267, U 272, U 310, U 317 †, U 330, U 377 †, U 505, U 572, U 791, U 828, U 839, U 856, U 859, U 861, U 1017 (somewhat uncertain), U 1031, U THS30;83 †, Vs 27/28, G 203; *brú gerði*: Ög 132, Vg 4 (with *stæinbrō*), Hs 12, G 309; *brú gerðu*: Sö 142, Sö 328, U 236, U 363 †, U 378; *stein reisa*: Sö 60 (somewhat uncertain), Sö 141 (somewhat uncertain); *stein hǫggva*: U 45, U 114, U 206 †, U 211, U 249, U 277, U 294, U 295 (x2), U 318, U 365 †, U 509, U 604, U Fv1959;188, U THS10;58; *helli hǫggva*: Sö 359; *rúnar rista*: U 112; *braut ryðja*: Sö 311, Sö 312, U 101, U 149 †; *brú þessa gerði*: Ög 214, U 127, U 164, U 165, U 261; *brú þessa gerðu*: U 135; *kuml þetta gera*: U 585 † (though uncertain); *kuml þessi gera*: DR 36. Excluded from the table: U 594 (**s... ...[is]...** is too uncertain), U ATA4741/44 (**---n · ---ụa** is too uncertain), Sö 213 (*stæin hiogg* is fronted object with verb-second, i.e. not VP), Ög 53 † (**[inl hk]** is too uncertain), Ög 183 (not perfectly clear what **uruni** is). Also excluded from the table are the inscriptions which I discuss later in this article: U 735, Sö 46, Öl 10 †.

[11] Indeed, even the handful of cases of a determined object to the left of the verb are fewer than they appear, since four attestations of *brú þessa gerði* belong to Jarlabanke's self-raised runestones, and an additional attestation of *brú þessa gerðu* is on a stone raised by Jarlabanke's father.

[12] Curiously, this brings to mind a rule proposed by Delsing (1999: 205, his (84)) for a later

Tab. 1. Some OV orders in runic inscriptions from the Viking Age

OV order	Search string in normalized Old Norse	Hits	Totals
OV where O = N	*stein rétta / rétti / réttu*	7 / 1 / 2	
	stein setja / setti / settu	0 / 0 / 0	
	brú gera / gerði / gerðu	32 / 4 / 5	
	stein reisa / reisti / reistu	2 / 0 / 0	
	stein hǫggva / hjó / hjoggu	15 / 0 / 0	
	helli hǫggva / hjó / hjoggu	1 / 0 / 0	
	kuml reisa / reisti / reistu	0 / 0 / 0	
	kuml gera / gerði / gerðu	0 / 0 / 0	
	rúnar rista / risti / ristu	1 / 0 / 0	
	braut ryðja / ruddi / ruddu	4 / 0 / 0	**74**
OV where O = N Dem	*stein þenna rétta / rétti / réttu*	0 / 0 / 0	
	stein þenna setja / setti / settu	0 / 0 / 0	
	brú þessa gera / gerði / gerðu	0 / 5 / 1	
	stein þenna reisa / reisti / reistu	0 / 0 / 0	
	stein þenna hǫggva / hjó / hjoggu	0 / 0 / 0	
	helli þessa hǫggva / hjó / hjoggu	0 / 0 / 0	
	kuml þetta reisa / reisti / reistu	0 / 0 / 0	
	kuml þetta gera / gerði / gerðu	1 / 0 / 0	
	kuml þessi reisa / reisti / reistu	0 / 0 / 0	
	kuml þessi gera / gerði / gerðu	1 / 0 / 0	
	kuml þessa reisa / reisti / reistu	0 / 0 / 0	
	kuml þessa gera / gerði / gerðu	0 / 0 / 0	
	rúnar þessar rista / risti / ristu	0 / 0 / 0	
	braut þessa ryðja / ruddi / ruddu	0 / 0 / 0	**8**
OV where O = Dem N	*þenna stein rétta / rétti / réttu*	0 / 0 / 0	
	þenna stein setja / setti / settu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þessa brú gera / gerði / gerðu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þenna stein reisa / reisti / reistu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þenna stein hǫggva / hjó / hjoggu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þessa helli hǫggva / hjó / hjoggu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þetta kuml reisa / reisti / reistu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þetta kuml gera / gerði / gerðu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þessi kuml reisa / reisti / reistu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þessi kuml gera / gerði / gerðu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þessa kuml reisa / reisti / reistu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þessa kuml gera / gerði / gerðu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þessar rúnar rista / risti / ristu	0 / 0 / 0	
	þessa braut ryðja / ruddi / ruddu	0 / 0 / 0	**0**

prenominal demonstrative, moreover, appear to be completely unattested.[13] Given this gap, it is reasonable to assume that alternatives like *þenna stæin ræistu* or *þenna stæin rētta* were ruled out for grammatical reasons. One interpretation of the available evidence, then, is that [[Dem N] V] order (e.g. *þenna stæin ræistu*) was impossible or sufficiently unnatural in early East Nordic for the authors of Vg 32 and Sö 61 to consciously choose the discontinuous order (*þenna ræistu stæin*) instead. But how is it derived?

If we assume a syntactic output of V N Dem in Old East Nordic, then the word order of Vg 32 and Sö 61 can be seen as involving fronting of *þenna*, as sketched in (8).

(8) a. *Þōrðr ok Þōrunn* ***þenna*** *ræistu stæin* ~~*þenna*~~ …

b. *Þōrstæinn lēt* ***þenna*** *rētta stæin* ~~*þenna*~~ …

Again, the basic word order of the second half-line in (8) is *ræistu/rētta stæin þenna*. Either the noun or the verb could be considered stressed, but either way the first lift in the off-verse would not alliterate. Such a configuration would violate the basic rule for "even verses (off-verses)" that "the first syllable bearing primary stress must alliterate" (Fulk 2016: 255). The solution in both cases is to move a prosodic word (ω), the demonstrative determiner, to the left, making it the first lift of the off-verse (we can furthermore assume that each half-line is a phonological phrase φ; see e.g. Golston & Riad 2003 on Old English). From this position, *þenna* is able to alliterate with the proper name(s) in the on-verse.[14]

The movements I propose in (8) are in line with Agbayani & Golston's (2010, 2016) views on hyperbaton in Greek and Latin, which they analyze as postsyntactic phonological movement of discourse-prominent elements. They argue that hyperbaton belongs in the phonological component,

stage (15th and 16th centuries) of Swedish, according to which an object argument is licensed either by having an occupied D(eterminer)-position or by moving the object to the left of the (non-finite) verb.

[13] It has been known at least since de Boor (1922: 8), Wenning (1930: 5, see also 67), and Larsson (1931: 34, 45–52) that OV in main clauses tends to appear in coordinated contexts, more specifically as a second VP conjunct. This pattern of [VO & OV] has been termed *kiastisk ordställning* by Wessén (1965: 220).

[14] A demonstrative determiner as a lift of course amounts to a bending of the regular rules of alliterative poetry. We would probably want to classify this item not as an article and thus in metrical terms a so-called *clitic* (unstressed element), but rather as a pronoun and thus a *particle* (potentially stressed element). See Fulk (2016: 253) for general discussion.

strictly after narrow syntax, on the grounds that the phenomenon flouts a number of expectations concerning syntactic movement. For example, as already alluded to above, hyperbaton is able to target elements which are not syntactic constituents. Moreover, the movement involved can be "extremely local" (see Agbayani & Golston 2010: § 3.1, 2016: § 3.5), sometimes skipping over just a single word.[15] The phonological movement is, according to them, due to a constraint called Prom-L: "Prominent material occurs to the left of its interface position" (Agbayani & Golston 2010: 158, 2016: 33),[16, 17] where 'interface' refers to the syntax-phonology interface. According to generative assumptions going back to Chomsky (1965), syntactic structure is at this point no longer relevant to the derivation; only phonological information is accessible in the phonological component.

A similar type of prosodic movement is attested in Eddic poetry. While

[15] As Agbayani and Golston point out, such movements defy so-called *anti-locality* (Grohmann 2002, Abels 2003).

[16] One might wonder if the mirror image of Prom-L is also a possible constraint, i.e. shifting non-prominent material to the right. Consider for instance the discontinuous phrase **[k]unburka faþ[i stin þina in kuþa]** ***Gunnborga*** *fāði stæin þenna* ***hin gōða*** on Hs 21, with right-extraposition of the prosodic unit *hin gōða*, separating it from *Gunnborga* (see Åhlén 1994: 48). Assuming that the narrow-syntactic output is *Gunnborga hin gōða fāði stæin þenna*, only right-extraposition of the prosodic unit (*hin gōða*) would produce the observed word order, since there is no unit (*Gunnborga fāði stæin þenna*) to move to the left, whereas assuming the (dubious) narrow-syntactic output *Hin gōða Gunnborga fāði stæin þenna* would be compatible with either approach. In *Guðfastr, Sæulfr* ***ræistu*** *at Holmstæin, brōður sinn,* ***stæin*** on Sö 51, similarly, either leftward movement of (*at Holmstæin, brōður sinn*) from its base position at the end of the sentence or rightward movement of (*stæin*) to the end of the sentence would produce the observed configuration. The proper analysis of extraposition would seem to have some bearing on how we analyze hyperbaton. Ultimately, however, this is a much wider issue than the one I am concerned with here, and I must leave the questions raised in this footnote for future research.

[17] Another question I will not address here is tmesis, which is when an intervening element breaks up a single word. The term is often associated with a phenomenon observed in Gothic verbs, where a "preverb may be separated from the verb whilst retaining its close cohesion with the verb" (Booij & van Kemenade 2003: 1), e.g. *diz-uh-þan-sat* 'and then seized' (Miller 2019: 266). Tmesis also applies to more dramatic discontinuities, usually in skaldic poetry, where not clitics but rather an entire word or phrase can split up a single word or name, e.g. *þá vas* ***Ið-*** *með jǫtnum /* ***-unnr*** *nýkomin sunnan* 'then Idunn, newly arrived from the south, was with the giants' (Clunies Ross 2005: 111, giving an example from Þjóðólfr ór Hvini's *Haustlǫng*). Reichardt (1969: 200–201) points out that tmesis in Old Norse results in "grammatically recognizable word elements" (his example being *Stiklar* [X] *stǫðum*, where *Stiklarstǫðum* is morphologically decomposable as a noun in the genitive singular plus a noun in the dative plural; *Iðunnr*, moreover, is equivalent to *ið* 'restless movement' + *unnr* 'wave(s)'), whereas tmesis in Latin can result in "grammatically unnatural" elements.

granting that runic poetry is demonstrably a genre of its own (see Naumann 2018: 20, 29), there are a number of Eddic cases of verbal hyperbaton which parallel the runic cases in that they display short-distance movement motivated by verse structure. Consider the case of verbal hyperbaton in (9), from *Fáfnismál*.

(9) *Eitri ek fnæsta er ek á **arfi** lá*
poison I sniffed.out when I on inheritance lay

***miklum** míns fǫður*
great my.GEN father.GEN

'I blew out poison when I lay on the great inheritance of my father' (Fáfn. 19)

Let us assume something like the syntactic output in (10a) for the *er*-clause. While it would perhaps not be impossible to imagine an off-verse like *er ek lá á arfi* (× × × × / ×) in *ljóðaháttr*, it would be much less irregular to have two lifts (where the first lift must alliterate with *eitri*).

(10) a. *er ek lá á arfi miklum míns fǫður*

b. *Eitri ek fnæsta* || *er ek **á arfi** lá ~~á arfi~~* || *miklum míns fǫður*

As shown in (10b), with stressed syllables underlined, the movement of *arfi* (along with a presumably proclitic preposition *á*; see discussion in next section) resolves this issue, ultimately giving us two lifts (a noun and a finite verb), with alliterating staves in *ei-* and *a-*.[18] The example from *Reginsmál* in (11), also *ljóðaháttr*, can be analyzed in the same way: the stressed element *gjǫld* has been moved in order to alliterate with *gull*.

(11) *Gull er þér nú reitt en þú **gjǫld** hefir*
gold is to.you now brought and you reward have

***mikil** míns hǫfuðs*
much my.GEN head.GEN

'Gold is now brought to you, and you have a great reward for my head' (Reg. 6)

[18] A reviewer points out that such movement resembles displacement, whereby the finite verb *lá* should be automatically endowed with stress by Kuhn's Laws. Indeed, *lá* is a finite verb in an embedded clause, which in *fornyrðislag* forces it to bear stress (Fulk 2016: 253). While such rules are not necessarily relevant for *ljóðaháttr* (Fulk 2016: 261), I agree that more than just alliteration might be at the root of this operation. The same goes for *hefir* in (11).

In addition to the 'proactive' hyperbaton seen in (9) and (11), there also appear to be cases of 'preventative' hyperbaton. Consider (12) (in *málaháttr*).[19]

(12) *okkr* *mun* *gramr* ***gulli*** *reifa* ***glóð****-rauðu*
us will king gold.DAT enrich ember-red.DAT
'The king will enrich us with ember-red gold' (Am. 14)

In (12) it seems that the head noun in 'ember-red gold' is fronted to the left of the verb in order to prevent the second half-line from containing two alliterating lifts (i.e. *okkr mun gramr reifa* || *gulli glóðrauðu*).

As noted above, Agbayani and Golston assume that 'prominent' elements are targeted for post-syntactic movement due to their being marked for topic or focus. It is not impossible, of course, that Vg 32 and Sö 61 have topic- or focus-driven movement of *þenna*, but hard evidence for such an analysis is hard to come by. What is perfectly straightforward, however, is an analysis which treats the movement of *þenna* as triggered by alliterative considerations. Such considerations, however, should not be accessible to the syntactic component: alliteration is reliant on phonological information, and phonological information should be invisible to the syntactic module. Thus, an analysis in terms of movement in the phonological component, where phonological information is accessible, is perfectly natural and appropriate for such cases.

2.3. Supporting evidence for prosodic movement from U 512

An interesting piece of additional evidence for the phonological approach to verbal hyperbaton comes from U 512. Only the bottom part of this inscription could be published in 1946 (SRI 7: 367–368), but a few years later, thanks to an especially low water line at the time, two large additional pieces of the runestone were observed at the bottom of a bay a couple of kilometers away from the base of the stone. These pieces were recovered and reunited with the rest of the runestone, resulting in a mostly complete text (see Jansson 1954).

[19] The alliterating staves in (12) are clearly *g-*, and thus *glóð-* must be the first syllable with primary stress in the off-verse × × / \ ×. This means that *reifa* occupies the first drop, even though it is a non-finite verb, which would normally be stressed. See Suzuki (2014: 456) for more such examples.

(13) A **fryb. . . . . .i × huk fr̥. . . . . .f̥-þr × þiʀ ristu × sti- -. . .n̥a × iftiʀ × kuþ-ar × . . .a̧þur × sin kuþan × huk tuma + þ̣. . .-þur × sin ×× kuþ . . .i ot × þiʀa × huk × salu × hu. . . . . .uþiʀ × bitr × þan × þiʀ × -ar- × h. . .**

B **. . .ir × skal × sta͡nta × stin × uiþ- bryku × suniʀ × at × faþuʀ satu · kuþan · kaiʀ -. . . . . .**

C **--u̧-aʀ × mirki × at × bua-. . . . . .**

Frøyb[iorn] … ok Fr[øy] … f[i]ðr þæiʀ ræistu stæi[n þe]nna æftiʀ Guð[m] ar [f]aður sinn gōðan ok Tumma b[rō]ður sinn. Guð [hialp]i and þæiʀa ok sālu o[k Guðs m]ōðiʀ bætr þan þæiʀ [g]ær[t] h[afa].

*[H]ēr skal **s**tanda* *stæinn við[r] bryggiu.*
*S**y**niʀ at faður* *sattu gōðan.*

Gæiʀ(-) … mærki at bōa[nda] …

'Frøybiorn ... and Frøy ... -fiðr, they raised this stone after Guðmar, their good father, and Tummi, their brother. May God and God's mother help their spirits and souls better than they have done. Here the stone shall stand by the bridge. Sons placed it after their good father. Gæiʀ(-) ... landmark after husband.' (Based on Jansson 1954: 92.)

The part I would like to focus on is *at faður sattu gōðan*, where the head noun is to the left of the finite verb and the adjective is to the right of the finite verb. *Syniʀ at faður sattu gōðan* on U 512 appears to be a line of *fornyrðislag*, found within "en halvstrof utan lyte" [= 'an immaculate half-strophe'] according to Jansson (1954: 95). Jansson's somewhat zealous word choice invites dissent, and indeed, a couple of metrical imperfections may be noted. The first on-verse (*[H]ēr skal standa*), for instance, appears to have only a single lift, scanning as × × / ×. In the second on-verse (*Syniʀ at faður*), moreover, both the first and the second lift appear to be resolved, ultimately yielding a catalectic of the form / × / _ (alternatively, *faður* acts as a light second lift). Either way, as two reviewers have also noted, this is not perfectly standard *fornyrðislag*. Still, it falls comfortably within the boundaries of the form.

Interestingly, the preposition *at* is involved in this movement. Any syntactic analysis one might be tempted to propose is complicated by the fact that P and N do not together form a syntactic constituent to the exclusion of the adjective. While this resembles what has sometimes been termed "extraordinary LBE" in the literature (Bošković 2005: § 6; see Borsley & Jaworska 1988, Corver 1990: 335–338, among others), we will see that the construction in the runic inscriptions has different properties. As seen in (14a), the runic example does not involve a left-peripheral position in the same way that a typical LBE construction in Serbo-Croatian (14b) does.

Furthermore, the movement of P and N together (14a) is not allowed in Serbo-Croatian (14c). See also Agbayani & Golston (2010: § 3.3 and 2016: 13, fn. 3) for relevant discussion. Examples (14b) and (c) are from Bošković (2005: 30–31).

(14) a. *Synir* ***at faður*** *sattu* ~~*at faður*~~ *gōðan*

b. ***U veliku*** *on udje sobu*
in big he entered room
'He entered the big room.'

c. ****U sobu*** *on udje veliku*
in room he entered big

Let us instead treat U 512 in the same way we treated the other cases of verbal hyperbaton in the runic material. We can start by observing that a monosyllabic preposition *at* is involved. Selkirk (1996) explores at length the different possible ways in which a function word, such as a preposition or a conjunction, can enter into a prosodic structure with a lexical word. A monosyllabic function word like *at* can be thought of as a syllable which is cliticized to the lexical word (which is always a full prosodic word unto itself; see also Dewey 2006: 84, her (103), for a similar case from *Atlakviða*). Selkirk argues that the structural status of this stray syllable can be different depending on the language or dialect at stake. We can here adopt Agbayani & Golston's (2010, 2016) approach wherein the function word (a single syllable, σ) enters into a recursive word structure with the lexical word (corresponding to (18b) in Selkirk 1996: 196), which for our purposes results in $(at\ (faður)_{\omega})_{\omega}$.[20] A reasonable assumption might be that this prosodic unit has been moved leftwards, as illustrated in (15). We can assume that each half-line corresponds to its own phonological phrase.

[20] Note that U 512 shows both the (older) monosyllabic preposition *at* and the bisyllabic **iftiʀ** *æftiʀ*, a variant which should also be perfectly appropriate in this context. In fact, *at* and *æftiʀ* appear to be basically interchangeable as far as their semantics. As Peterson (1996: 247) puts it: "Palms [1992] enkla konstaterande att *at* var en kort och praktisk variant till *æftiʀ* tycks, utifrån vad som hittills kunnat utrönas, komma sanningen närmast. Till sitt innehåll är formerna synonyma." We know that both *at* and *æftiʀ* were available to the runemaster responsible for U 512, since both prepositions appear in the inscription. The fact that he employs monosyllabic *at* in the verbal hyperbaton construction may not be a coincidence, assuming that a monosyllabic function word like *at* is more likely to form a prosodic word with *faður* than *æftiʀ* is. While *æftiʀ* can no doubt form a phonological phrase (φ) along with its object *faður*, it is possible that a unit of type φ was too large to be moved into the first half-line.

(15) (…)$_{\varphi}$ (…)$_{\varphi}$
(*Syniʀ*)$_{\omega}$ **(*at* (*faður*)$_{\omega}$)$_{\omega}$** (*sattu*)$_{\omega}$ (*at* (~~*faður*~~)$_{\omega}$)$_{\omega}$ (*gōðan*)$_{\omega}$

As discussed above, the movement is in all likelihood motivated by alliteration. The syntactic output *Syniʀ sattu at faður gōðan* would demand alliteration on *f-*, even though there are no other words starting with *f-*. Swapping one prosodic word (*at faður*) with another (*sattu*), however, produces a pattern with alliterating lifts in *s-* (***S****yniʀ* – ***s****attu*).

3. Hyperbaton in early Nordic prose

Interestingly, the mirror image of the order discussed in Section 2.1 above is also attested in the runic inscriptions. The order N V Dem, in which the head noun is to the left of the verb and the demonstrative determiner to the right of the verb, is found in three inscriptions (also noted in SRI 1: 55), all of which appear to be prose. While it is challenging to extract the subtleties of register, formality, and social stratification from the runic material (but see Schulte 2008 and Williams 2013), I think it is possible to argue that verbal hyperbaton in this kind of runic prose is a stylistic choice belonging to higher or more formal registers of the language.

Some authors draw very strict boundaries between the syntax of poetry and prose. Salberger (1959: 231), for instance, explicitly states that facts about word order in versified texts can teach us nothing about word order in prose,[21] a position I think we are wise to reject. More recently, researchers like Kristján Árnason (2002) and Dewey (2006) have demonstrated important links between the rhythms of poetry and prose. Poetry can reveal deep synchronic properties of prosaic prosody and also cast light on the development of word order constraints such as V2. With this in mind, I will assume that it is entirely possible and even desirable to present a unified analysis of hyperbaton. While hyperbaton may be triggered by different considerations depending on the poetic vs. prosaic status of a text, the basic operation (i.e. post-syntactic movement of prosodic constituents) remains the same.

[21] "Ordställningstyper i vers – dit hör även versifierade runinskrifter – visar ingenting om ordställningsregler i prosa" (Salberger 1959: 231).

3.1. N V Dem in U 735, Sö 46, and Öl 10 †

Consider first U 735 (see Brate & Bugge 1887–91: 127–129, Hübler 1996: 64–65, Wulf 2003: 987, Bianchi 2010: 86, Naumann 2018: 265–256), given in (16).

(16) **· ueþralti · lit · uʀ · lakarni · stan · almikin · uʀ · staþi · fyra · auk ·· arker · þau · litu · kubl · raisa · þisa · at · siktryk · sun · sen ·**

Veðraldi lēt ūʀ Langgarni
stæin allmikinn ūʀ staði fōra
ok Arngærðr þau lētu kumbl ræisa þessa at Sigtrygg, sun sinn.

'Veðraldi had the massive stone brought from its place out of Langgarn, and (he and) Arngærðr, they had these monuments raised after Sigtryggʀ, their son.'

U 735 recounts first how Veðraldi had a massive stone transported from Langgarn in order to raise monuments with his wife Arngærðr in honor of their son. The inscription could be seen as an example of conspicuous consumption, trumpeting the fact that Veðraldi had the financial means to transport a large stone and to construct a runic monument, surely a sign of high social prestige. Another status marker is the text's originality. In contrast with Vg 32 and Sö 61, the verse on U 735 is not formulaic or generic at all, but highly specific to the situation, describing the costliness of this individual project. Notably, this first part of the text is clearly composed in *fornyrðislag*, while the last part, containing the discontinuity, appears to be prose. Assuming that Balli, to whom U 735 is attributed, would not switch abruptly from a formal to an informal register, it is reasonable to classify the end of this text as belonging to a higher style of prose, consistent with the versified text preceding it.

Sö 46, given in (17), also tells of long-distance travel, with Ǣskæll and Gnauðimandr honoring their departed brother, who had died out west in England.

(17) **iskil : auk : knauþimanr : raistu : stain : þansi : at : bruþur : sin : suera : as : uarþ : tauþr · o · eklanti kuml · kiarþu : þatsi [: ki]til [s]ḅ[akʀ]**

Æskæll ok Gnauðimandr ræistu stæin þannsi at brōður sinn Sværra, es varð dauðr ā Ænglandi. Kumbl giærðu þatsi Kætill [ok] Spakʀ.[22]

[22] Brate (SRI 3: 35) supposes the last element to be [**slakʀ**], which he sees as a possible mistake for *[**stakʀ**]. The reading [**s**]**ḅ**[**akʀ**] *Spakʀ* is Källström's (2007: 358–359) suggestion.

> ‘Æskæll and Gnauðimandr raised this stone after their brother Sværri, who died in England. Kætill (and) Spakʀ made this monument.’

It is difficult to classify Sö 46 straightforwardly in terms of register and genre. It is also difficult to determine if *kumbl* is meant to alliterate with *Kætill*. The rest of text, at least, does not seem to be versified, and the inscription is not included in Naumann (2018). Given the context of an expedition to England, one could argue that this memorial is indicative of higher than average social status in Viking Age society. If this is true, then the prose – if this is prose – might be of a more formal or stylized character.

Consider also Öl 10 †, the third and final inscription showing the configuration N V Dem.

(18) [**: eimunr : auk : kuna- . . . þeiʀ · -uku · kirþu · þisn · eftiʀ : kinu : fatran**]

> *Æimundr ok Gunna[rr] … þæiʀ [k]umbl(?) gærðu þessa æftiʀ* **kinu fatran**.
>
> ‘Æimundr and Gunnarr ... they made these monuments after ...’

Williams (2004) offers *Gīna* ‘the yawning/gaping one; the voracious/greedy one’ as the name underlying accusative [**kinu**] in Öl 10 †. Williams also criticizes as wholly unsubstantiated Brate’s (SRI 1: 143) claim that *kumbl* (assuming [**-uku**] should be read **-uml**) should alliterate with [**kinu**], there being no strong reason to assume that (18) is versified (Williams 2004: 79). The social standing of the people involved in this inscription is harder to discern, especially considering that the probably masculine accusative [**fatran**] has not been satisfactorily explained. The fact that *Æimundr* was a name shared by a Swedish king, Emund the Old, also mentioned in a handful of the Ingvar runestones, is suggestive of a higher level of prestige (Williams 2013: 71, citing Wessén in SRI 7: 427, mentions names like *Eiríkr* and *Hákon*, both associated with Scandinavian royalty, as candidates for high-prestige names). An important caveat here, however, is that Öl 10 † has been lost for quite some time. This in combination with the fact that both the reading and interpretation of not one but multiple parts (**-uku**, **kinu**, **fatran**) of Öl 10 † are uncertain should lead us to be cautious.

Källström also points out that there may be enough room in this part of the inscription for an additional rune, possibly giving *Ōspakʀ* ‘unwise, untamed’. However this sequence should be read, the ending on **kiarþu** demands a plural subject. A conjunction *[ok]* has therefore been supplemented between *Kætill* and the following name. This was the case already with Erik Brate (SRI 3: 36), who provides ‘Kättil (och) Stack’.

Even with these caveats in mind, the hyperbaton seen in the inscriptions U 735, Sö 46, and Öl 10 † seems to be associated with *formal* prose.[23] That hyperbaton can contribute rhetorical flare without necessarily forcing the label 'verse' has been obvious for quite some time. Wessén (1965: 220), for instance, describes Noleby's **runo fahi raginakudo** as "högtidligt, rytmiskt och allittererande, sannolikt traditionellt; därmed sammanhänger utan tvivel ordställningen." It is of course difficult to categorize the genre of the older runic texts, but Wessén gives us a relatively nuanced view of the use of hyperbaton here, one that would not be out of place in the more recent literature. Stefan Sonderegger, for example, sees such stylistic discontinuities as part of an ancient "indogermanisches Erbe" that provided Germanic with "eine große, vor allem poetisch genutzte Möglichkeit" that could also be used "in Stilisierungen der Prosa" (Sonderegger 1998: 44). The exact function of hyperbaton and how it might be triggered in prose texts, however, is a question that still needs to be addressed.

3.2. "Intonational V2" and information-structural triggers

It is well known that discontinuities targeting the left edge of the clause are attested in the sagas (19) and even in the medieval runic material (20) (for discussion and examples see Nygaard 1905: 355, Faarlund 1990: 94–96, Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson 1995: 9–11, Kristján Árnason 2002: 210, Platzack 2008, among others).[24]

(19) a. ***Góðan*** *eigum vér* ***konung***
good have we king
'We have a good king' (*Heimskringla II* CCVIII: 362)

b. ***Hversu marga*** *munu vér* ***menn*** *þurfa?*
how many will we men need
'How many men do we need?' (*Njáls saga* LXI: 153)

c. ***enga*** *hafði hann* ***brynju***
no had he chainmail
'He had no chainmail' (*Laxdœla saga* LV: 166)

[23] As Per Holmberg (p.c.) has kindly pointed out to me, the Rök runestone (Ög 136) appears to show verbal hyperbaton in the passage *hvar* ***hæstʀ*** *sē* ***gunnaʀ*** *etu vēttvāngi ã* 'where the horse of the battle [i.e. the wolf] sees food on the battlefield' (Holmberg et al. 2018–19: 26–27; see also Holmberg 2015: 95). While this sentence does not appear *within* the famous Rök stanza, it can easily be considered poetically adjacent.

[24] Stylistic fronting may result in patterns which are superficially similar, but it is clearly different in that it targets an empty subject position (Holmberg 2000).

d. ***Engan*** *hefi ek* ***náttverð*** *haft*
no have I supper had
'I have had no supper' (*Egils saga* LXXVIII: 244)

e. *Ok* ***þessi*** *hefir* ***hólmganga*** *síðast framið verit á Íslandi,*
and this has duel last performed been on Iceland
er þeir Hrafn ok Gunnlaugr bǫrðusk
which they H. and G. fought
'And this was the last duel performed on Iceland, the one which H. and G. fought' (*Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* XI: 95)

(20) Vg 94 (Ugglum parish, early 13th century)
+ þrir : liggia : mænn : undir : þæmma :+ ¶ + stene : gunn͡arr : sihvat͡r : ha͡llstenn+
Þrīr liggia mænn undir þæima stæini Gunnarr Sighvatr Hallstæinn
'Three men lie under this stone: Gunnarr, Sighvatr, Hallstæinn.'

Such word orders are typically associated with a particular information structure. For example, the sentence in (19c), from *Laxdœla saga*, contrasts quite saliently with the previous discourse, since it comes after a description of all the weapons and equipment that Bolli *does* equip himself with: Bolli takes his helmet, shield, and sword, but *not* his chainmail. Consider also the following cases from the Poetic Edda (see also Salberger 1959: 232–233), where the dislocated element in the prefield is probably licensed by focus in (21a) and by topicality in (21b).

(21) a. *Hversu snúnuðu yðr konur yðrar*
how turned for.you women your
'How were your women for you?'
Sparkar *áttu vér* ***konur***
lively had we women
'Lively were our women' (Hárb. 18–19)

b. *gladdak ina gullbjǫrtu gamni mær unði*
gladdened.I the gold.bright joy maiden was.satisfied
'I gladdened the gold-bright girl, and she was happy'
Góð *áttu þeir* ***mankynni*** *þar þá*
good had they love there then
'Good fortunes in love they had there' (Hárb. 31–32)

In the generative tradition, such constructions are termed *left branch extraction* (LBE) (see Ross 1967: 207–217 on the Left Branch Condition), since

a left branch modifier has been extracted out of the noun phrase to a left-peripheral position. Nygaard identifies the phenomenon by way of a number of examples where "et attributivt adj[ektiv] sættes først for at udhæves, og det subst[antiv], som det hører til, stilles efter verbet" (1905: 355). Platzack (2008) discusses the phenomenon in Scandinavian, arguing that changes in the syntactic structure of the noun phrase have led to the loss of LBE in the modern languages, largely following Bošković (2005, 2008) and his work on the NP/DP parameter. Lander & Haegeman (2014) argue that the availability of LBE and scrambling in Old Norse is in fact indicative of its typological status as an NP language, which is to say a language without grammaticalized definite articles, something that has broad consequences for the grammar outside of just the noun phrase. From a generative perspective, the dislocated element is commonly said to move to a kind of Spec-CP (more precisely, to TopP or FocP in the left periphery of Rizzi 1997).

Syntactic approaches to LBE abound in the literature, but there are also non-syntactic approaches on offer.[25] Dewey (2006) calls cases like (19–21) "intonational V2" since the unstressed finite verb is in second position after the first *stressed word* rather than the first *syntactic constituent* (see Dewey 2006: 83–86 for the Eddic cases). Whereas clear cases of syntactic V2 with relatively large constituents in the prefield are also attested in the older poetic material, this is a newer kind of V2 compared to intonational V2, which Dewey considers to be an archaism, a byproduct of metrical restrictions ultimately stemming from the workings of Kuhn's Laws (see Kristján Árnason 2002, Dewey 2006, 2016 for discussion; see Rice & Svenonius 1998 for a distinct yet relevant phenomenon in modern Northern Norwegian). Even though syntactic V2 begins to push out intonational V2, the latter option (or at least some version of it) remains an option well into later stages, as seen in (19) for the sagas.[26] And while intonational V2 or LBE can be seen as metrically driven, Dewey (2006) does not deny the role that information structure may play in the interaction between word order, semantics, and prosody. What is interesting for our purposes is that Agbayani & Golston (2010, 2016) see movement of prosodic constituents in the phonological component as triggered by topic or focus features which have piggy-backed their way from the syntax. This offers a unified way to look at both short-distance hyperbaton in the

[25] Platzack (2008: 364 fn. 12) cites personal communication with Lars-Olof Delsing concerning the possibility of a PF-movement-based analysis.

[26] Veturliði Óskarsson (p.c.) informs me that LBE is ruled out in modern Icelandic except as a deliberately archaicizing feature. The handful of cases that turn up in a corpus search of modern Icelandic are jocular or performative/poetic (or both) in nature.

middle field (of the 'they **this** raised **stone**' type, often because of alliteration) and the longer-distance type of hyperbaton involving the prefield (of the '**this** raised they **stone**' type, usually attributable to topic or focus).

First it is important to note that intonational V2 can interact with purely alliterative triggers without information structure playing much of a role. Consider Vs 15 (Björksta parish), the B-side of which is given in (22) (see Naumann 2018: 20 for discussion; see especially Wulf 2003: 986–987 for discussion of the metrical structure of the second line).

(22) B × **sten : hafir** × **riton** × **þon** × **stonta** × **mo** × **bali ḥi- rauþi** × **yftir** × **bruþ[u]r** × **bali**

***S**tæin hafiʀ rēttan, þann **s**tanda mā,*
***B**alli hi[nn] Rauði æftiʀ **b**rōður. (Balli.)*

'Balli the Red has erected the stone, which will stand, in memory of his brother. (Balli.)'

The beginning of this text shows an archaic version of the periphrastic perfect, with the verbal adjective *rēttan* agreeing with the object *stæin*.[27] If we assume a syntactic output with VO order as in (23a), we can begin the derivation by positing movement of *stæin* to the prefield position and movement of the finite verb to the second position in the clause (in (23b): S = strong position, w = weak position; see also Kristján Árnason 2002 for discussion).

(23) Vs 15: *Stæin hafiʀ rēttan, þann standa mā, Balli hi[nn] Rauði* (surface order)

a. Syntactic output
Balli hi[nn] Rauði hafiʀ stæin rēttan, þann standa ma

b.

S	w	S
Prefield	Finite verb	Middle field...
Stæin	***hafiʀ***	*Balli hi[nn] Rauði ~~hafiʀ stæin~~ rēttan …*

At this point it would be reasonable to assume right-extraposition of the heavy subject *Balli hinn Rauði* to the right of the relative clause. This ultimately yields *Stæin hafiʀ rēttan, þann standa mā, Balli hi[nn] Rauði*. This combination of intonational V2 and right-extraposition of a heavy subject – both operations which are plausibly metrically motivated – ultimately results in a structure which correctly alliterates. Alliteration, in other words, is

[27] The archaic form of the perfect can be thought of as '(Balli) has [(the) raised stone]', whereas the later form of the perfect could instead be bracketed '(Balli) [has raised the stone]'.

what drives the movements required to get from the syntactic output to the surface word order of Vs 15.

Consider now Sö 46, where alliteration is one possible motivation for the observed word order, but not the only one. First of all we can note that the fronted element *kumbl* does not appear in the middle field but rather in clause-initial position, immediately followed by the finite verb, *giærðu*. I assume that this is an instantiation of intonational V2.

(24) Sö 46: *Kumbl giærðu þatsi Kætill [ok] Spakʀ.* (surface order)

a. Syntactic output
Kætill [ok] Spakʀ giærðu kumbl þatsi.

b.

S	w	S
Prefield	Finite verb	Middle field…
Kumbl	***giærðu***	*Kætill [ok] Spakʀ ~~giærðu kumbl~~ þatsi*

Again, it is characteristic of intonational V2 that only part of a syntactic constituent, in this case the noun *kumbl*, has been fronted to the prefield position; as seen in (24b), the demonstrative determiner *þatsi* stays *in situ*. Still, the word order of Sö 46 is not yet fully accounted for, since the subject should occupy the rightmost position (as opposed to (19) above, where the subject precedes the non-fronted part of the object). Given the phonological heaviness of the subject, right-extraposition is the next step in the derivation, as sketched in (25).

(25) *Kumbl giærðu* [*~~Kætill [ok] Spakʀ~~*] *þatsi* **[*Kætill [ok] Spakʀ*]**

If I am on the right track by invoking both intonational V2 and right-extraposition of a phonologically heavy element, then metrical factors are again crucial for correctly deriving the word order of Sö 46. Furthermore, if *kumbl* and *Kætill* really are meant to alliterate, then positing prosodically motivated movements would certainly not be out of place. It is more likely, however, that Sö 46 is pure prose, with only happenstance alliteration in ***k****umbl* – ***K****ætill*. Thus, another explanation is needed, and we must also ask what other kinds of triggers might be available.

One possibility to explore is that the word order on Sö 46 is motivated by properties of information structure. Upon closer examination, both Sö 46 and U 735 (I leave Öl 10 † to the side considering some of the uncertainties discussed above) show some evidence for the idea that the fronted noun could be seen as discourse-prominent. Observe that both inscriptions show *stæin* in a syntactically neutral position towards the beginning of the text, while *kumbl* exhibits a marked word order, i.e. fronting, later on in the text.

Interestingly, it has been suggested in the literature that *stæinn* 'stone' and *kumbl* 'monument' are not just synonyms and do not (always) refer to one and the same thing. Kitzler Åhfeldt (2000: 118) points out that *kumbl* is used with the verb 'do' whereas *stæin* is used with verbs like 'carve', and that the former might not usually refer to a runestone at all but rather to a burial mound or a royal standard (on this Kitzler Åhfeldt cites Palm 1992: 177). If this is true, then there might very well be a clear contrast intended between 'stone' and 'monument' in both Sö 46 and U 735, where something is first stated regarding the runestone, on the one hand, and then a distinction is drawn with regard to the monument. Sö 46 might be interpreted along the lines of 'They made the stone, but the *kumbl*, that was Kætill and Spakʀ'. U 735 could be thought of as 'Veðraldi had the massive stone transported from afar, and along with Arngærðr they also had *kumbl* (pl.) made'. In both cases, hyperbaton can be seen as triggered by features encoding information-structurally relevant properties related to topic or focus. And if *kumbl* is marked with a topic or focus feature, then it could be targeted by prosodic movement according to Agbayani & Golston (2010, 2016).

Another interesting case is the runic inscription U 112 (Ed parish), a versified inscription with a number of high-status markers, including that the commissioner, Ragnvaldr, was a *liðs forungi* (cf. Sö 338) who had been in Greece. The text is "gesamthaft hochstilisiert" and shows a remarkable word order in *rūna[ʀ] rīsta || lēt Ragnvaldr* (Naumann 2018: 231; see also Hübler 1996: 42, who characterizes the word order as "wohl im gesamten schwedischen Inschriftenmaterial einmalig"). U 112's word order is a clear case of V2 with a fronted VP, an exceptionally rare syntactic phenomenon in the context of early Nordic. Þórhallur Eyþórsson (2009: 70–73) has pointed out that VP-fronting is nonexistent in Old Icelandic with the exception of the more archaic language of the Poetic Edda, specifically in poems composed in *ljóðaháttr* (where VP-fronting is attested, usually with OV order; Þórhallur Eyþórsson 2009: 73, fn. 7). Interestingly, the fronted VP of U 112 can be analyzed as a topic, since the first part of the inscription, in prose, has already mentioned that *Ragnvaldr lēt rīsta rūnaʀ*. In addition to this information-structural trigger, it could be argued that not fronting the VP would have led to an illicit alliterative schema, with two alliterating lifts in the second half-line (as in the prose: *Ragnvaldr lēt rīsta rūnaʀ*). Thus, VP-fronting is in some sense forced due to poetic considerations. It would seem, then, that both types of triggers are involved for U 112, or at the very least that we cannot, in principle, decide which of the two is the "true" trigger. Various Eddic cases probably also fit under this rubric.

3.3. A note on middle-field hyperbaton in Old Icelandic prose

As a final note, it is difficult to find prose attestations in the sagas of hyperbaton in the middle field, i.e. cases of the 'they **this** raised **stone**' type. One of the few cases I have come across is (26).[28] It is hard to determine if this should count as formal or stylized prose, but the fact that it concerns the formalities of a legal process is suggestive.

(26) *ok mun hann* ***þann*** *hafa* ***málatilbúnaðinn*** *ok er sá réttr*
and will he that have lawsuit.preparation and is that right
'(that's how) he has initiated the suit in a correct manner' (*Njáls saga* XXIII: 65)

It seems that verbal hyperbaton in prose has a strong tendency to be of the intonational V2 or LBE type, which is to say that the dislocated element is in clause-initial position and the remainder of the syntactic constituent has been stranded lower down in the clause. Non-clause-initial hyperbaton, such as the example in (26), is clearly attested in the Viking Age runic material and in the Poetic Edda, but my working hypothesis is that it seems to be less common in the sagas. While more work is needed to establish this as a fact, it is worth briefly exploring the implications of this hypothetical asymmetry.

It could be argued that intonational V2 "boosted" certain types of verbal hyperbaton (of the '**this** raised they **stone**' type), in that the V2 constraint encouraged fronting of a prosodic word to the left of the finite verb. Of course, intonational V2 (and thus clause-initial hyperbaton) was already competing with syntactic V2 in the Poetic Edda (Dewey 2006), but the former pattern seems to have been frequent enough for it to have survived into the language of the sagas, though by this time it was probably a syntactic relic. Since they target different parts of the clause, hyperbaton in the middle field probably never received the same kind of boost from intonational V2. Indeed, while

[28] Thanks to Veturliði Óskarsson for bringing this example to my attention. A quick search in the Saga Corpus for [pos = "f" & fall = "o" & tala = "e" & kyn = "k"] [pos = "s"] [pos = "n" & fall = "o" & tala = "e" & kyn = "k"], i.e. a pronoun in the masculine accusative singular plus a verb plus a noun in the masculine accusative singular, turns up the example in (26), but no other convincing cases. Similar results are obtained by searching for Dem V N in the feminine (kyn = "v") and neuter (kyn = "h") accusative singular, as well as for Adj (pos = "l") V N in the masculine/feminine/neuter accusative singular. Most hits are not hyperbaton (many strings being of the sort 'bade **him** send for **master**'), with one or two cases of stylistic fronting also turning up. Such searches do not, of course, constitute a comprehensive or particularly well-designed study of hyperbaton in the middle field. More research is needed.

middle-field hyperbaton ('they **this** raised **stone**') is attested in the Poetic Edda, it appears to be less frequent than prefield (intonational V2/LBE-type) hyperbaton. If the trend continued this way, then we can reasonably expect middle-field hyperbaton to have even fewer remnants surviving later on in the saga texts (by which time *all* types of hyperbaton have probably decreased). Future quantitative research should be done to establish the basic frequency facts across text types and to elucidate the developments over time. I leave this question open for now.

4. Conclusion

Verbal hyperbaton in the Viking Age runic material has not been given much attention in the literature, even though there are a number of interesting linguistic and stylistic connections to be made to other forms of early Nordic, especially Eddic poetry. In this paper I have argued that hyperbaton was available primarily in poetry but also in stylized prose. This suggests that the prose cases are imitations or emulations of poetic style, where higher or more formal registers of prose introduce the availability of poetic (or poetically inspired) word orders.

Different triggers of verbal hyperbaton have been discussed: alliterative constraints, information structure (topic and focus), and a combination of both trigger types. Analyzing poetic hyperbaton as triggered by alliteration is relatively straightforward, but alliteration is obviously not a driver of movement in the prose cases. Relevant in this regard is that Agbayani & Golston (2010, 2016) propose an analysis involving post-syntactic movement, where features which are relevant to the syntax can have effects in the phonological component. As we have seen, alliteration appears to be a major driver of hyperbaton in early Nordic, both in the runic and in the Eddic material. If hyperbaton is best seen as movement in the phonological component rather than syntactic movement, then the poetic cases motivated by alliteration can be considered the purest forms of hyperbaton, driven exclusively by phonological and metrical factors. This is the kind of hyperbaton seen in Vg 32, Sö 61, U 512, Vs 15, and probably the Eddic cases in (10–12). The prose cases of hyperbaton, in my view, are extensions of the poetic cases, where information-structural features trigger a stylized word order that resembles the word order freedom which is so characteristic of poetry. Examples of this type include the prose on U 735 and Sö 46, not

to mention various attestations in the sagas, which must also be seen as stylized prose, with a marked word order licensed by topicality or focus. There are also cases where both alliteration and information structure may play a role in licensing verbal hyperbaton, such as U 112.

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Öl + number = inscription in *Ölands runinskrifter* (SRI 1).

Summary

Verbal hyperbaton is a kind of word order discontinuity where a verb intervenes between a nominal modifier – e.g. an adjective or a demonstrative determiner – and its head noun, e.g. 'they **this** raised **stone**' or '**this** raised they **stone**'. This phenomenon is found in a handful of East Nordic runic inscriptions (Vg 32, Sö 61, U 512, U 735, Sö 46, Öl 10, Vs 15) representing both poetry and prose. I argue that verbal hyperbaton was a device probably belonging to higher registers or styles, and that the phenomenon should be analyzed in terms of movement of a prosodic – not syntactic – constituent (Agbayani & Golston 2010, 2016). This post-syntactic movement can be triggered for different purposes: to achieve alliteration, to mark topic/focus, or a combination of these two. Relevant comparisons can also be made with cases of verbal hyperbaton in the West Nordic material, specifically the Poetic Edda and the sagas.

Keywords: alliteration, Eddic poetry, hyperbaton, meter, movement, runic, syntax, Viking Age

Eric Lander
Uppsala University
Department of Scandinavian Languages
ORCID-iD 0000-0001-8898-5307

Uno von Troils *Bref rörande en resa til Island* som kunskapsförmedling

Alexandru Lefter

Under andra halvan av 1700-talet börjar Island bli känt för lärda läsare i Norden genom det arbete som *Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission* i Köpenhamn bedrev med att ge ut isländska handskrifter. En annan kunskapskälla om Island för en bredare allmänhet i Norden och Europa utgjordes av olika skildringar som hade sin bakgrund antingen i tidigare känd litteratur eller i avslutade expeditioner till ön. Reseskildringar var en populär genre på de europeiska 1700-talsbokmarknaderna. Den franske historikern Roger Chartier har beskrivit den som ”l'un des genres les plus conquérants” (Chartier 1984: 216). De utvidgade horisonterna hos en kunskapstörstande publik och gav nyheter om och beskrivningar av mer eller mindre avlägsna världsområden. Många lärda resenärer gav sig i väg på jakt efter oupptäckta territorier, allt enligt upplysningstidens krav på sunt förnuft och ett nyttoperspektiv.

En av dessa 1700-talsresenärer var den svenske ärkebiskopssonen Uno von Troil, som under sin studieresa i Europa stiftade bekantskap med den engelske naturforskaren Joseph Banks i vars expedition till Island år 1772 han fick en plats. Väl återkommen till Sverige insåg han chansen och vände sig med färska nyheter om det fortfarande föga kända Island till högt positionerade lärda till vilka han skickade brev om olika isländska förhållanden. Breven gav han ut 1777 i en volym med titeln *Bref rörande en resa til Island MDCCLXXII*. Publikationen bidrog till hans snabba karriärgång – från enkel präst kom han så småningom att bli överhovpredikant, biskop i Linköping och ärkebiskop. Boken var den första svenska skildringen av Island som riktade sig till en icke-specialiserad, bildad publik.

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Syftet med den här artikeln är att belysa på vilka sätt von Troils bok bidrog till kunskapsförmedlingen om Island. Hur samlade han in kunskaper? Hur och till vilka förmedlade han dessa kunskaper samt vad slags kunskaper spred han till läsarna?[1]

Island på 1700-talet

Island var på 1700-talet en del av riksunionen Danmark-Norge. Ön, som mellan landtagningen på 800-talet och 1262 hade varit självstyrande, blev sistnämnda året inkorporerad i kungariket Norge som i sin tur gick in i en union med Danmark år 1380 (Karlsson 2000: 4 f; Gustafsson 1994: 120). Den danske kungens högsta representant på ön var en *stiftamtmaður* (stiftamtman) som blev dess högsta överhuvud och som residerade i Köpenhamn, men som först år 1770 blev tvungen att installera sig på Island (Gustafsson 1985: 48 ff, 59 ff; Pétursson 1995: 97). Religiöst var Island protestantiskt och ekonomiskt sett var ön underkastad det danska handelsmonopolet som infördes 1602 och som kontrollerades under perioden 1764–1774 av det i Köpenhamn baserade Det almindelige Handelscompagni. Den isländske historikern Gunnar Karlsson påpekar att Island på 1700-talet gick genom ”en riktig nödens tid” (Karlsson 2000: 34 f). Befolkningen minskade från 50 358 invånare år 1703 till 38 400 år 1786 och landet drabbades av en smittkoppsepidemi (isl. *stórabóla*) 1707–09, en hungersnöd 1751–58, ett vulkanutbrott 1783 och flera jordskalv 1784 (Karlsson 2000: 35; Gustafsson 1985: 25 f samt 1994: 38; Agnarsdóttir 2013: 12 anger årtalen 1701–09 för smittkoppsepidemin).

Island var nästan helt och hållet ett agrarsamhälle på 1700-talet, med över 90 % av befolkningen som bodde på gårdar utspridda runt om i landet. Omkring 95 % av de isländska bönderna var arrendatorer, och en liten jordägarelit dominerade alla förbindelser med centralmyndigheten i Köpenhamn (Agnarsdóttir 2013: 12; Karlsson 2000: 161–168; Gustafsson 1985).[2] Adel och en medelklass enligt kontinental modell saknades på Island. Djurhåll-

[1] Artikeln är en omarbetning av masteruppsatsen ”Island – det andra och det samma. Uno von Troils *Bref rörande en resa til Island MDCCLXXII* som kunskapsförmedling”, Alexandru Lefter (Uppsala universitet: 2015). I fortsättningen refererar jag till von Troils bok genom att använda den förkortade formen *Bref*.

[2] Jag tackar den anonyme granskaren för viktig upplysning kring denna aspekt av det isländska samhället på 1700-talet.

ning bedrevs i stor skala och fiske var en viktig sysselsättning. Varken byar eller städer fanns på Island under 1700-talet, utan befolkningen bodde utspridd på gårdar. I latinskolorna i de två biskopssätena Skálholt och Hólar utbildades präster och studenter (så när som undantagslöst tillhörande eliten) som senare kunde välja att resa till Köpenhamn och få en universitetsutbildning. Att färdas inom landet var inte en lätt uppgift eftersom det saknades vägar och broar (Gustafsson 1985: 63 f; Gustafsson 1994: 39 ff, 76).

Vad fanns då skrivet om Island för den europeiska publiken före Banks expedition år 1772? Fram till 1500-talet tycktes ön vara ett mystiskt land, en bild upptecknad från flera fantasifulla berättelser som till exempel Sebastian Münsters *Cosmographia* (1544) eller Johannes och Olaus Magnus arbeten om de nordiska folken. Som en reaktion mot dessa häpnadsväckande berättelser gav islänningen Arngrímur Jónsson 1593 ut sin *Brevis Commentarius de Islandia* där han försökte vederlägga och tillbakavisa skrönorna och försvara islänningarnas förflutna (Pétursson 1995: 102 ff). En tämligen populär bok blev på 1700-talet tysken Johann Anderssons skildring av Islands och Grönlands etnografi, natur, språk och religion med titeln *Nachrichten von Island, Grönland under der Strasse Davis* (1746) som skrevs med skrockfulla berättelser och information hämtad från sjömän och handelsmän som huvudkälla (Christensson 2001: 150; Agnarsdóttir 2013: 17; Bergström 1933: 32 ff; Pétursson ibid.). Juristen Horrebow gav 1752 ut *Tilforladelige Efterretninger om Island* och naturvetaren och poeten Eggert Ólafsson gav tillsammans med sin reskamrat läkaren och naturvetaren Bjarni Pálsson ut *Reise igiennem Island* år 1772. Den sistnämnda boken var den senaste skildringen av Island vid tiden för Banks expedition, en väldokumenterad bok på 1 100 sidor med 51 gravyrer och en karta över ön.

Vi ska dock inte glömma att det också fanns en lång inhemsk tradition av sagoskrivande som gick tillbaka till perioden mellan 1100- och 1300-talet. Under 1600-talet väcks svenskarnas och danskarnas intresse för det fornnordiska och denna period av idéhistorikern Mats Malm har kallats för ”den fornnordiska renässansen” (Malm 1996: 13 f). Svenska och danska författare och vetenskapsmän konkurrerar ännu under 1700-talet med varandra om att placera olika ursprungsbefolkningar och urspråk i det ena eller det andra landet genom att lyfta fram sitt land i sina arbeten. Malm skriver om detta: ”[d]en svenska vetenskapen utvecklas i nära kontakt och kamp med den danska [...]” (ibid.). Kring mitten av 1700-talet organiserades i ren upplysningsanda flera expeditioner till Island, både i vetenskapligt syfte för att tillbakavisa den gängse felaktiga bilden av Island och ge en ny, uppdaterad bild av ön, och för att undersöka och kartlägga ön samt ta tillvara dess resurser.

Tanken på att undersöka områden omtalade i en gemensam nordisk sagodiktning och i den gemensamma fornnordiska historien, i kombination med ”ett sökande efter ursprunglighet och exotism” (Christensson 2001: 150), lockade till exempel åren 1749–51 dansken Niels Horrebow (1712–60) och snart därefter islänningarna Eggert Ólafsson (1726–68) och Bjarni Pálsson (1719–79) som skickades till Island av *Det Danske Selskab*, stannade på ön mellan 1752 och 1757 och sedan gav ut den ovannämnda Islandsskildringen.

Uno von Troil – förutsättningar

Uno Troilius föddes den 24 februari 1746 i Stockholm som son till överhovpredikanten, sedermera Västeråsbiskopen och ärkebiskopen Samuel Troilius (1706–64), och adlades tillsammans med sina fyra syskon med namnet *von Troil* år 1756. Familjen tillhörde samhällets elit och Uno fick en gedigen utbildning i enlighet med tidens utbildningsideal. Speciellt bör nämnas hans studier i Uppsala där han läste för bland andra språkforskaren Johan Ihre och kemisten och mineralogen Torbern Bergman. Ihre var Sveriges främste humanistiske forskare och en auktoritet inom nordisk och germansk språkforskning. von Troil studerade fornisländska för Ihre och det var med honom som preses som han disputerade år 1769 över avhandlingen *De runarum in Suecia antiquitate,* som bestämde åldern på runorna till 500-talet (jfr. Östlund 2000). Året därpå påbörjade von Troil sin grand tour genom Tyskland, Frankrike och England under vilken han stiftade bekantskap och knöt kontakter med samtida lärda (däribland upplysningsfilosoferna Rousseau, Diderot och d’Alembert enligt von Troils dagbok) och med landsmän. Här bör nämnas svenskarna Gustav Philip Creutz, som var ambassadör i Paris, och linnélärjungen Daniel Solander, som introducerade honom för den brittiske upptäcktsresanden och naturforskaren Joseph Banks i London (Christensson 2001: 145; Uppsala universitetsbibliotek X 400; Christensson 2005: 197; Bergström 1933: 10; von Troils *Självbiografi*: 165 f; Jónsson 2018: 86 ff). Med sådana kontakter kunde von Troil visa att han var en del av ” ’de lärdas republik’, det internationella vetenskapssamhället” (Nyberg 2010: 221; jfr. också Lindberg 2006).

År 1772 företog Joseph Banks en resa till Island som blev ”the first scientific expedition undertaken by foreign naturalists” till ön och vars främsta mål var att utforska Island ur ett geografiskt och antropologiskt perspektiv med huvudfokus på undersökningen av vulkanberget Hekla

(Agnarsdóttir 1994: 31; Jónsson 2018: 87). Till besättningen anslöt sig von Troil vars huvudsakliga funktion var att tolka, då han behärskade, förutom latin, även fornisländska och danska. Fartyget *Sir Lawrence* lämnade det kentiska Gravesend den 12 juli 1772 och lade ankare efter 48 dagar i Hafnarfjörður på sydvästra Island den 28 augusti. Lavaformationerna runt Hafnarfjörður var föremål för undersökning de första tre veckorna och den 18 september gav man sig av vidare mot Hekla via Þingvellir, de varma källorna i Laugarvatn, den stora gejsern i Haukadalur och Skálholt. Efter 10 dagar återkom de till Hafnarfjörður och den 9 oktober satte de kurs mot Skottland dit de anlände den 13 november.

von Troils kunskapssamlande

Uno von Troil inhämtar kunskap på olika vägar, dels under Islandsresan genom egna observationer, dels genom olika kontakter och gåvoutbyten på ön, i Köpenhamn och i Stockholm. Den största informationskällan är dock de böcker om Island som han hade tillgång till i Sverige och införskaffat från Köpenhamn samt den samling av isländska böcker som han skaffade under resan och som kom att utgöra stommen för hans Islandicasamling.

I slutet av augusti 1772 anländer besättningen till Island och det första von Troil ser när han sätter sin fot på ön är den spektakulära naturen med lavaformationer och olika stenar. Han blir överraskad eftersom han ser med egna ögon det som få har blivit förunnade att se. Med hjälp av självsyn observerar von Troil naturen och människorna och förlitar sig på sina egna sinnen. Idéhistorikern Pär Eliasson skriver om denna form av kunskapsinhämtning: ”[d]en egna blicken gör egna observationer som leder till egna reflektioner över det sedda. Genom reflekterandet tränas resenärens iakttagelseförmåga eller hans förmåga till uppmärksamhet” (Eliasson 1999: 52). Att inhämta kunskap genom självsyn stämmer överens med upplysningstidens centrala idéer som förnuft och nytta. Vetenskapsmän och andra uppmanades att undersöka sina objekt med egna ögon, samtidigt som de skulle fokusera på den praktiska nyttan. von Troil inhämtar kunskap med hjälp av både direkta observationer gjorda av honom själv, som till exempel naturen, sällsynta böcker och fornlämningar, eller islänningarnas livsstil, sysselsättningar, dräkter, hus och matvanor, och indirekta observationer gjorda av andra i hans närvaro, som till exempel mätningarna gjorda vid Geysir och på Hekla. Uppe på vulkanberget gör han uppskattningar av dess höjd (över 5 000

fot i brev XX) och beskaffenhet, samlar in stenar samt mäter med olika instrument såväl snötäcket som luft- och marktemperaturen: ”[det] var så hett [i små hål i marken], at vi svårligen med en liten hand-thermometer kunde observera värman” (*Bref*, s. 8).

De varma källorna och ”vattusprången” (gejsrar) undersöks också och i brevet till Torbern Bergman försäkrar von Troil att det han sett genom direkta observationer är sant hur fantastisk berättelsen än må låta: ”beskrifningen torde förekomma M.H. [Min Herre] äfven så otrolig, som den förekommit mig; men jag kan försäkra om sanningen däraf, då jag ej säger mera än jag sett” (*Bref*, s. 11). Kanske den tydligaste beskrivningen av hur självsynen fungerar i praktiken är i brev XXI där ”[...] hvar och en af sällskapet, vid hvarje sprutning [af gejsern], antecknade hvad ögonmåttet honom sade, hvaraf sedan ett medium antogs” (*Bref*, s. 266). Resultaten av de omtalade gemensamma iakttagelserna är sammanställda i flera tabeller innehållande olika sprutningars höjd och varaktighet, (s. 266 ff). Han försöker i sitt brev övertyga Bergman om att det han skriver är en exakt återgivning av det observerade vilket ligger inom det som Eliasson kallar för ”det autopiska idealet”, där resenären skulle vara som ”en objektiv och pålitlig faktasamlare” (Eliasson 1999: 52).

Att noggrant observera naturen, människor och seder är en del av en upplyst vetenskapsmans självsyn, men däri ingår även att återge lokala skrönor och vidskepligheter som i vissa fall fungerar som motpol för de vetenskapliga observationerna, som i följande exempel: ”[islänningarna] tror här [gejsrarna] vara en öpning til helfvetet, hvadan de äfven sällan gå förbi en sådan öpning, utan at spotta i den samma, som de säga: *uti fandens mund* [kursivering i original]” (*Bref*, s. 14). Vi kan här lägga märke till att samma naturfenomen som av allmogen uppfattas som vidskepligt beskrivs och förklaras av von Troil både vetenskapligt och utifrån folkliga föreställningar som tillbakavisas som ovetenskapliga.

Ett annat sätt att inhämta kunskap på var via nätverk och von Troil hade ett brett kontaktnätverk både i Sverige och i utlandet. Hans nätverk var i huvudsak homosociala och de viktigaste kontakterna befann sig framför allt i Sverige, på Island och i Danmark, men även i Tyskland, Nederländerna, Frankrike och England vilka han besökte under sin grand tour. De olika aktörerna var både enskilda individer – som professorer, publicister, hovpersoner och ämbetsmän – och lärda samfund och institutioner. I fortsättningen fokuserar jag framför allt på kunskapssamlande om Island på ön och i Köpenhamn.

Till sina isländska kontakter kunde von Troil räkna högt uppsatta per-

soner inom det isländska samhället. Den danske kungens högsta representant på Island, stiftamtmannen Lauritz Andreas Thodal, besöks av expeditionen och beskrivs i positiva ord av von Troil i Brev IV i samband med en middagsmåltid där besökarna, iklädda sina bästa kläder, åtnjuter hans lärda sällskap: ”en utmärkt skicklig man, och af *Island* ganska förtjent, i anseende til den outtrötteliga flit, hvarmed han arbetar på dess uphielpande” (s. 52). Amtmannen Ólafur Stephensen vid Sviðholt, som också får besök av besättningen, låter insamla böcker åt dem och hjälper dem med resan till Hekla. Den tidigare nämnde läkaren och naturforskaren Bjarni Pálsson på Nes tar också emot dem, ett viktigt besök för von Troil då han får träffa en tidigare lärd resenär som givit ut en bok om Island strax före deras Islandsresa. Boken var von Troils huvudkälla enligt ett brev adresserat till den kunglige sekreteraren Gabriel Axelsson Lindblom: ”[j]’ai eu pour guide les voyages d’EGGERT OLAFSEN & de BJORNE PAULSEN”.[3] von Troil använder mycket av bokens stoff i sina egna brev, men inte på ett helt okritiskt sätt. Han hänvisar på flera ställen till Eggerts och Bjarnis reseskildring (brev III, VI, VIII), men han är ofta mån om att påpeka vissa uppgifter som dels behöver kompletteras, dels inte längre stämmer, som till exempel att isländska män inte bär skägg fastän teckningarna i de isländska resenärernas bok visar att de gör det. Islandskartan som von Troil använder i sin egen bok är hämtad från islänningarnas bok, men till ritningen har von Troil lagt en detaljerad beskrivning. Han hanterar sina källor med omsorg och vill visa de nyaste och färskaste nyheterna om Island genom att positionera sig exakt vid vad vi idag kallar ”forskningsfronten”.

En central figur på Island är den lärde biskopen Finnur Jónsson i Skálholt som besättningen också besöker. Finnur höll precis på med att ge ut *Historia Ecclesiastisca Islandiæ*, ett vetenskapligt verk som behandlar kristendomens historia på Island och som von Troil, får vi förmoda, blev intresserad av att läsa. Ett annat antagande är att Finnur, under detta korta besök, förmedlade kontakten med sin son Hannes, som då bodde i Köpenhamn och arbetade för *Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission*. Denna var ett lärt sällskap, som bland annat höll på med att ge ut fornnordiska texter i nya utgåvor (Jónsson 2018: 113 f). von Troil inledde en brevväxling med Hannes förmodligen när de två männen träffades i Köpenhamn under von Troils tillbakaresa. Denna brevväxling kom att visa sig oerhört gynnsam för hans kunskapssamlande. Hannes stod i nära kontakt med de danska historikerna Peter Fredrik Suhm

[3] Brevet till Lindblom är daterat Stockholm, den 14 november 1780, och finns publicerat i Lindbloms franska översättning av von Troils *Bref*.

och Jakob Langebek samt med den isländskfödde juridikprofessorn och sedermera bibliotekarien Jón Eiríksson, som alla var viktiga medlemmar i ovannämnda sällskap. Hannes kunde därför förmedla kontakten mellan von Troil och dessa lärda och underlätta för svenskens insamling av både äldre och nyare litteratur om Island.

I min masteruppsats (2015) visar jag att Hannes Finnsson var en viktig förbindelselänk mellan lärda kretsar i Sverige, Danmark och Island och att von Troil agerade ”sambandscentral” för Hannes. Med utgångspunkt i tre handskrivna originalbrev daterade Stockholm 1773, Uppsala 1774 och Stockholm 1774 som jag fann på Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn i Reykjavík visar jag hur dessa nätverk och tjänsteutbytena dem emellan fungerade i praktiken på 1770-talet. Hannes Finnsson hade lånat ut sitt exemplar av *Lexikon Islandicum* (1683) till språkforskaren Johan Ihre i Uppsala och von Troil ber i första brevet daterat den 3 juni 1773 ödmjukt om uppskov och meddelar också att han överlämnat Hannes brev till Antikvitetsarkivets i Stockholm sekreterare respektive kanslist Carl Reinhold Berch och Johan Adolf Stechau vilka, troligen tack vare Hannes omtalade brev, försåg von Troil med böcker om Island. De två breven och *Lexikon Islandicum* fick han med största sannolikhet när han träffade Hannes i Köpenhamn på vägen tillbaka till Sverige. von Troil ber i samma brev från 1773 om hjälp med införskaffandet av Finnur Jónssons *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiæ*, *Landnámabók* och flera isländska sagor vilka alla höll på att ges ut av den ovannämnda kommissionen (se också nedan om kunskapsinhämtning via böcker). von Troil håller alltså på och samlar in information inför redigerandet av sina *Bref* och Kommissionen är en viktig länk däri. Han skriver i sitt tidigare nämnda brev till Gabriel Axelsson Lindblom: ”Je me suis procuré aussi, & j’ai fait venir de Copenhague tout ce qui est relatif à l’Islande, & tout ce qui a été publié dans les temps modernes ayant quelque rapport à cette île”.[4] Slutligen ber von Troil Hannes att sända sin respekt till herrarna Suhm, Langebek och Erichsen (Islandskartans författare) som han sannolikt träffat under sin vistelse i Köpenhamn, samt att hålla honom underrättad om nyheter från Island där ju Hannes fader Finnur, som von Troil fick tillfälle att besöka på Island, var bosatt.

Även de andra två breven visar hur kunskapssamlandet fungerade i praktiken. I brevet daterat den 20 juni 1774 får vi upplysning om att von Troil lämnat tillbaka *Lexicon Islandicum* genom Uppsalabokhandlaren Magnus

[4] Min översättning: ”Jag har också skaffat mig, & har beställt från Köpenhamn allt det som berör Island, & allt det som publicerats kring detta i modern tid i relation till denna ö”.

Swederus, som hade bokhandelsaffärer i Köpenhamn. På tillbakavägen fick Swederus med sig ett brev från Hannes till von Troil som denne tackar för. von Troil ber i sin tur Hannes om att hjälpa Swederus med alla hans ärenden i Köpenhamn. I det tredje brevet daterat 5 juli 1774 får vi veta att samme Swederus har fått en lista på några böcker som von Troil önskar att Hannes inhandlar åt honom i Köpenhamn. von Troil vill införskaffa nyutkomna böcker, både på danska och isländska, om Islands ekonomi och handel (jfr. Jónsson 2018: 115).

Det går inte att överskatta den roll som Hannes Finnsson spelat för von Troils kunskapsinhämtning. Han är islänning med kontakter både på Island där hans fader är en centralfigur inom kyrkan och i Köpenhamn där han själv är verksam i *Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission* och håller på att ge ut sin faders stora verk om den isländska kyrkohistorien. Han har också kontakter i Stockholm och Uppsala och befinner sig i en position som tillåter honom att skaffa böcker åt von Troil och förmodligen även korrekturläsa dennes *Bref*. I ovannämnda brev till Lindblom får vi läsa en uppgift som kan ge antydningar om att Hannes Finnsson korrekturläst von Troils manuskript: ”Slutligen bör jag inte underlåta att nämna att mina Brev, innan de publicerades, granskats av en mycket lärd islänning, som även har behagat berika dem med olika högintressanta detaljer”.[5] Om det är Hannes som uppgiften syftar på kan vi bara spekulera i. Det är en kittlande tanke att Swederus har tagit med sig manuskriptet ner till Köpenhamn och tillbaka till Stockholm på någon av sina affärsresor.

Ett tredje sätt som von Troil inhämtar kunskap på är via böcker. Dels inhämtar han kunskaper *om* böcker, dels *från* böcker. I slutet på förordet i sin bok placerar von Troil en förteckning över 105 titlar med anknytning till Island i syfte att ge en övergripande bild av den tillgängliga Islandslitteraturen under 1770-talet. Om dessa är böcker som han införskaffat eller sett på Island är omöjligt att fastställa, men vi vet från resedagböckerna och hans olika brev att han skaffade sig en samling böcker på ön som han troligtvis kompletterade efter hemkomsten. Vi vet inte heller hur mycket kunskap om Island som von Troil hade haft tillgång till före expeditionen (bortsett från att han kunde fornisländska), men det sannolikaste är ändå att han samlade in kunskap efter resan inför skrivandet av resebreven (jfr. Jónsson 2018: 112). I handskrift U 142 på Uppsala universitetsbibliotek finns bevarad en av von Troil handskriven förteckning över tryckta isländska böcker i alfabetisk ordning och med noggranna anteckningar och tillagda beskrivningar. Vi

[5] Översättning från originalspråket franska av Marie-Christine Skuncke.

vet också att han samlade systematiskt på böcker om mycket som berörde Island, och denna Islandicasamling bestående av 121 nummer skänktes år 1784 till Linköpings stiftsbibliotek.[6] Vi kan läsa om en del av denna samling i von Troils brev till publicisten Carl Christoffer Gjörwell: ”Jag har gjordt så stor samling af Isländska böcker som kunnat ske; rarast bland dem är Bibeln, tryckt i *Hoolum* [Hólar] 1584 in folio, och hoppas jag äfven 15 obekanta sagor blifva välkomna” (*Bref*, s. 27).

Den bibliografiska förteckningen i *Bref* är tematiskt arrangerad. Femtio verk är författade på latin och sedan i fallande ordning på danska, isländska, tyska, svenska, franska och engelska. Tryckta på Island är bara åtta böcker, varav fyra har Hólar som tryckort, två Skálholt och två Hrappsey. Övriga tryckorter är i fallande ordning Köpenhamn, Sorø, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Leipzig, Stockholm, Uppsala samt med endast ett förekommande exemplar var Rostock, Oxford, Paris, Frankfurt, Wittenberg, Lund och London. De flesta böckerna är tryckta under 1600- och 1700-talen, med endast fyra titlar från 1500-talet (varav den äldsta är från 1575). De nyaste titlarna är från 1776, året innan publiceringen av *Bref*, vilket vittnar om ett brett intresse hos von Troil för allt som hade med Island att göra. Förteckningen är ett omfattande bibliografiskt företag som i sig är en form av kunskapsförmedling, liksom den omfattande notapparaten i *Bref*. Hela 17 brev av totalt 22 innehåller noter, från endast en not (brev XV, XVI, XX och XXI) till nio noter i brev IX. En not i brev XIV sträcker sig över hela sex sidor och innehåller en gedigen lista över samtliga utgåvor av Snorre Sturlasons samlade kungasagor *Heimskringla*! Vi kan med fog hävda att förteckningen är den första tryckta bibliografin över litteratur om Island, inte bara i Sverige utan även i Europa och internationellt överhuvudtaget.

Några viktiga titlar från förteckningen som haft stor betydelse för författandet av *Bref* är Arngrímur Jónssons *Brevis Commentarius de Islandia* (1593), Niels Horrebows tidigare nämnda bok, Ludvig Harboes arbeten om reformationen på Island, Finnur Jónssons *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiæ* (1772–78; under publicering vid von Troils besök) samt Eggert Ólafssons och Bjarni Pálssons *Reise igiennem Island* (1772) som är hans huvudsakliga tryckta källa som han kompletterar som vi sett ovan. *Landnámabók* är en annan titel i förteckningen som visar att von Troil hanterar sina källor kritiskt. Berättelsen om landstigningen på Island författades först 400 år

[6] Uno von Troils samling Islandica finns bevarad i Linköpings stiftsbibliotek, se förteckning i Carl Magnus Stenbocks artikel *Linköpings Bibliotheks Handlingar*, Ny Serie 3 (Linköping, 1922). von Troil skänkte samlingen medan han tjänstgjorde som biskop i Linköping. Endast 49 av samtliga 121 böcker är tryckta på Island.

efter den historiska händelsen, något som von Troil visar sig medveten om genom att han tar avstånd från källan: ”men det torde vara tryggast, at ej utlåta sig i en sak, som i mycket mörker ligger inveklad” (*Bref*, s. 44). Han jämför även olika källors informationsvärde med varandra: ”icke [h]eller kan jag påminna mig at i någon Isländsk saga därom [efter landstigningen] hafva funnit ringaste spår” (*Bref*, s. 44). Trots att han ser på *Landnámabók* med ett kritiskt öga väljer han ut vissa avsnitt som belyser att svenskar ska ha varit med och koloniserat Island på 800-talet, det vill säga de uppgifter som passar hans syften, i det här fallet att placera sitt eget land i centrum (se också nedan under ”*Bref rörande en resa til Island* – ett led i kunskapsförmedlingen om Island”).

Från handskrivna brev till en svensk bok och europeiska översättningar

På hemvägen och efter hemkomsten till Sverige skrev von Troil lärda resebrev om olika aspekter om Island (jfr. Christensson 2001 samt Killander Cariboni, Raudvere, Sabatakakis & Stenström 2021 för mer om lärda resebrev). Breven är författade mellan 1 december 1772 och 1 oktober 1776 och är daterade Stockholm (flerparten) samt London, Utrecht och Göteborg (ett stycke var). De är adresserade till strategiskt valda personer som representerar olika kunskapsområden. De handskrivna breven skickades med största sannolikhet till dessa personer innan de bearbetades och samlades in i en svensk bok med titeln *Bref rörande en resa til Island MDCCLXXII*. Litteratursociologen Bo Bennich-Björkman visar i sin avhandling *Författaren i ämbetet* (1970) ett vanligt förekommande mönster bland svenska 1700-talsförfattare, nämligen att de flesta skrev för att meritera sig i ämbetsmannakarriären. In i detta mönster passade också von Troil som var en ung man klok nog att visa upp sin kompetens för de rätta personerna i det svenska samhället. Han förser sina adressater med information och färska nyheter ”vid forskningsfronten” och lyfter också fram dem genom publiceringen av breven vilket kan återgäldas dels med vetenskapligt stöd, dels med stöd i karriären (jfr. Skunckes monografi över Carl Peter Thunberg, 2014).

Vilka var då dessa högt positionerade adressater? Språkforskaren Johan Ihre i Uppsala, von Troils tidigare lärare och preses vid hans disputation om runor, får högsta antalet brev. Det handlar om 12 brev som behandlar olika kulturhistoriska och etnografiska aspekter av Island: landets beskaf-

fenhet (brev III), historia, politik och religion (brev IV och V), handel (XIII), litteratur, boktryckerier och fornlämningar (XIV, XV, XVI) samt islänningarnas lynne och levnadssätt (VI), kläder (VII), byggnader (VIII), sysselsättningar och tideräkning (X och XII). Genom att skicka brev till Ihre visar von Troil sin kompetens inom framför allt litteratur, språk och historia – kunskaper som han förvärvat som Ihres student i Uppsala. Ihres vetenskapliga respons ”Ifrån Herr Cancellie Riddaren och Riddaren IHRE” publicerar von Troil i sin bok som brev XXIII (daterat ”Upsala d. 21 Oct. 1776”) vilket kan ses som en form av meritering och bekräftelse både för honom och för Ihre.

Naturforskaren och kemisten Torbern Bergman emottar sex brev samt von Troils samling av isländska mineraler. Breven behandlar olika naturalhistoriska aspekter från ön som lavaformationer (brev I), vulkaner (brev XVIII och XIX), vulkanberget Hekla (brev XX), heta källor (brev XXI) och basaltpelarna (brev XXII). Bergman var Sveriges främste kemist och mineralog med ett starkt intresse för stenformationer och von Troil visar här sin kompetens inom ett område som inte är direkt hans. Bergman ger i sin tur sin vetenskapliga respons på von Troils observationer som denne låter publicera i sin bok.[7]

Övriga mottagare med ett brev var är publicisten och den kunglige bibliotekarien Carl Christoffer Gjörwell i Stockholm som får brev II ”Om Island i allmänhet”, hovläkaren Abraham Bäck som tar emot brev XI om sjukdomarna på Island, hovmannen och presidenten i Åbo hovrätt Axel Gabriel Leyonhuvud som får brev XVII om poesi samt ”Fru S.Carls.-n i Göteborg”. Bäck och Leyonhuvud för ordet om von Troil vidare i hovkretsar samtidigt som denne publicerar Bäcks vetenskapliga respons i sin bok. Gjörwell låter i sin tur publicera brevet i sin *Nya Allmänna Tidningar* år 1773.[8] Den sistnämnda adressaten ovan är von Troils enda kvinnliga kontakt, fru Sophia Lamberg, gift Carlsson, lärd medlem i *Göteborgs K.*

Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälle och som han sannolikt stiftade bekantskap med på vägen tillbaka från Helsingborg efter hemkomsten från Island. Denna kvinna, i vilkens sällskap von Troil åtnjöt en läcker måltid (*Bref*, s. 78), kunde inte göra så mycket för von Troils karriärbefordran, men hon bidrog säkert till att han blev känd bland de lokala lärda kretsarna.

[7] En intressant iakttagelse här är vetenskapshistorikern Tore Frängsmyrs (2000: 254) konstaterande att professor Bergman låg lite efter vad gällde de nya upptäckterna inom sitt område.
[8] Gjörwell (1773). Brevet är daterat den 26 januari 1773. Det publicerades i *Nya Almänna Tidningar* nr 55 den 8 mars 1773, 59 den 12 mars (fortsättning på föregående brev) och 61 den 15 mars (fortsättning på föregående två brev)..

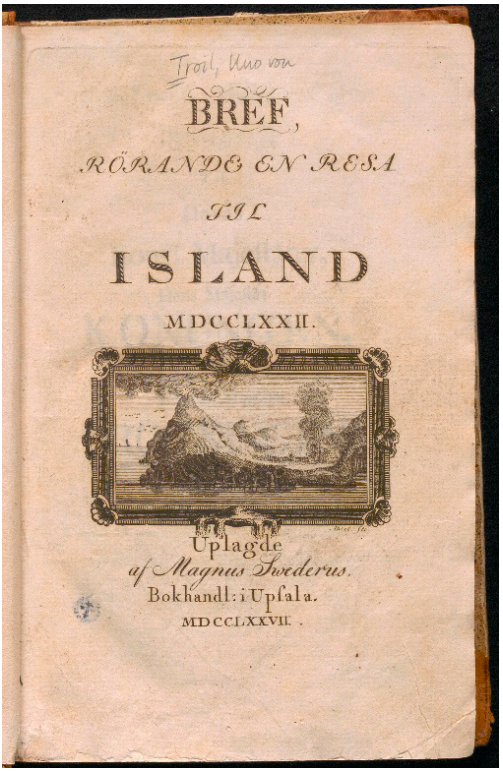

Fig. 1. Försättsblad till *Bref rörande en resa til Island MDCCLXXII*. Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.

Boken utgavs av uppsalaförläggaren Magnus Swederus hos boktryckaren Anders Jacobsson Nordström i Stockholm och utkom den 28 april 1777 (se fig. 1). Priset var 1 riksdaler, vilket var överkomligt för en välbärgad läsare från de högre stånden (jfr. Lars O Lagerqvist 2011). Boken är utgiven i stor octavo-format och består av 25 brev, 12 kopparsticksgravyrer signerade av Vetenskapsakademiens kopparstickare Fredrik Akrel samt en vikbar karta över Island. Gravyrerna är ett viktigt led i kunskapsförmedlingen. De gjordes efter teckningar av de engelska illustratörbröderna John Frederick och James Miller som deltog i expeditionen, och föreställer platser eller etnografiska aspekter som visar något nytt eller sällsynt och som väcker läsarens intresse (Agnarsdóttir 1994: 32). Kartan är gjord av Jon Erichsen och Gerhard Schøning och hade tidigare publicerats i ovannämnda Ólafssons och Pálssons reseskildring från 1772 (se fig. 2). von Troil använder kartan i

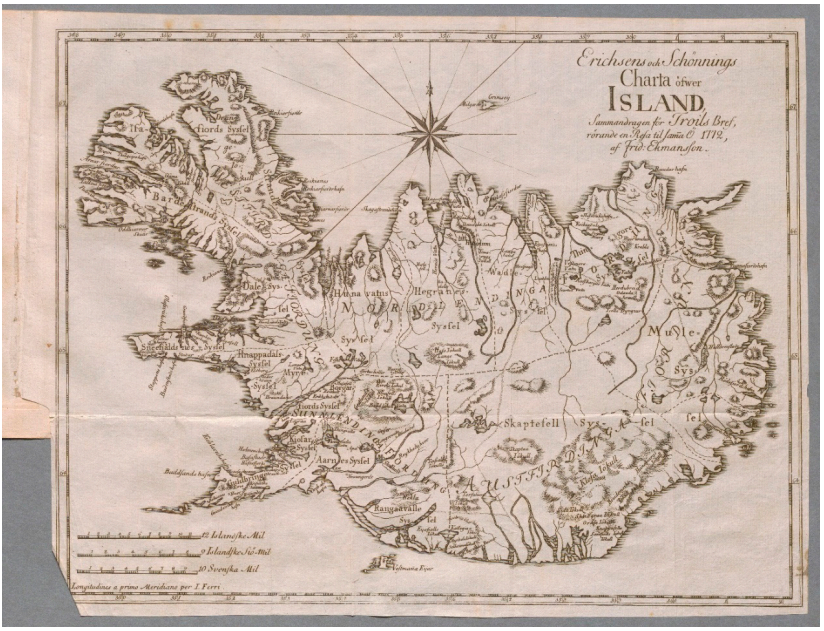

Fig. 2. Erichsens och Schönnings Charta öfwer Island. *Brev rörande en resa til Island MDCCLXXII*. Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.

sin egen bok, dock med kommentaren att den ”[...] ännu i några afseenden torde kunna förbättras” (*Bref*, s. 29) och med mindre modifikationer i form av smärre rättelser och uteslutna platser då kartan i hans *Bref* är i mindre skala.[9] Boken är relativt stor, men ändå behändig. Den är vackert tryckt och presenterar solida kunskaper. Med andra ord är boken ett föremål som man gärna kunde visa upp.

Breven är strategiskt placerade i boken som inleds med ett brev till Torbern Bergman om ”eldens värkningar” på Island. Det förvånar inte att von Troil valt att inleda boken med lavaformationer. Dessa, tillsammans med vulkanerna och de heta källorna, framstod som unika och främmande för en svensk publik. De olika gravyrerna ger styrka åt de deskriptiva delarna och lockar till vidare läsning. Andra brevet i boken är brevet till Gjörwell som han låter publicera i sin tidning eftersom det innehåller de färskaste nyheterna om Island. von Troil placerar detta brev i början av sin bok på ett

[9] I min masteruppsats finns en bild av Islandskartan från Eggert Ólafssons och Bjarni Pálssons reseskildring som ingår i von Troils Islandicasamling. På kartan kan man se olika anteckningar som kan ha stått som förlaga för de modifikationer i den tryckta Islandskartan i von Troils *Bref*. Jfr. Jónsson (2018: 116).

strategiskt genomtänkt sätt då dess innehåll utgörs av en allmän presentation av Island, som utvecklas senare i breven som följer.

Bref rörande en resa til Island – ett led i kunskapsförmedlingen om Island

Boken åtnjöt stor popularitet både i Sverige och utomlands där den översattes till tyska av hovrådet J. G. P. Möller (1779, med en reviderad upplaga 1789), till franska av ovannämnde Gabriel Axel Lindblom (1781), till holländska (1784, 1802) samt till engelska (1780, 1783, 1808). En modern svensk upplaga utkom 1933 och en första isländsk översättning gavs ut hösten 1961 av bokförlaget Menningarsjóður. Boken fyllde därmed en dubbel funktion för von Troil – dels meritering i karriären, dels ett viktigt led i kunskapsförmedlingen om Island till en bredare europeisk publik. Genom översättningarna gjorde von Troil Island känt också för en icke-skandinavisk publik.

Breven har ett stort nyhetsvärde eftersom de behandlar aspekter av Island som läsarna i Sverige aldrig tidigare fått läsa på svenska. I sammanlagt 22 brev rapporterar von Troil om praktiskt taget allt som han har sett och erfarit och delger sina intryck. Denna information kan delas in i kulturhistoriska, naturalhistoriska och etnografiska aspekter.

Redan i brev II till Gjörwell lyfter von Troil upp den isländska litteraturen: ”Det är för 5 a 600 år sedan, som Isländarena voro namnkunnige för vitterhet och historisk lärdom” (*Bref*, s. 25). I brev XIV till Ihre som handlar om just isländsk litteratur prisar von Troil det isländska folkets kunskapstörst ”[d]eras Guda-lära, ehuru upblandad med fabler, var dock bragt i någon ordning; och deras moral, fast ej den lyckligaste och bästa, dock bindande til flere dygder, som saknades hos de mera uplyste Greker och Romare” (*Bref*, s. 134). På Island talar man isländska, ett språk som är närbesläktat med svenska. I både brevet till Gjörwell och till Ihre nämns att isländska talas i inlandet, det vill säga av allmogen, och att danska talas endast vid kusterna där handeln med Danmark sker: ”In uti landet, är vårt gamla språk nästan aldeles rent bibehållit, men vid stranderne, hvar de haft at gjöra med Danske Köpmän, gå de något ifrån. Många tala god Danska, men de som ej förstodo något därutaf, kunde lättare hjelpa sig fram med oss Svenskar än med Danskarne” (*Bref*, s. 25–26). Det är viktigt att påpeka här att svensken von Troil på 1700-talet, efter studier i fornisländska hos Ihre i Uppsala,

kunde kommunicera på isländska med lokala invånare inne i landet. Här märks en stolthet från von Troils sida att islänningar, trots åratal av danskt välde, inte anammat det danska språket, utan bibehållit sitt forna språk tack vare ”deras flit och smak för de gamla sagornes läsning” (*Bref*, s. 180).

I brev XIV till Ihre presenterar von Troil ett stycke litteraturhistoria i en lång fotnot – han ger den lärde läsaren en bild av den isländska litteraturen från landtagningen och fram till sin egen tid. Vi får en tydlig bild av en omfattande litteratur författad under olika epoker med en höjdpunkt under medeltiden. Indirekt kan man utläsa en allmoge som intresserar sig för bevarandet och överföringen av sagorna till kommande generationer. Samtidigt får man också en bild av de lärda som värnar om kunskapernas tillstånd genom att nedteckna sin egen och andras historia (som till exempel Snorres kungasagor). All ”litteratur” på Island (”litteratur” i bemärkelsen det som är nedskrivet, nedtecknat), både historiska verk och sagor, vittnar om en vilja att bli ihågkommen, om att vara en kunskapskälla för kommande generationer. von Troil skriver i brev XIV: ”Nu får man sådedes [sic!] ej föreställa sig *Island* [von Troils kursivering] såsom något hemvist för okunnoghet och mörker, utan kan jag tvärtom försäkra, at til och med bland allmogen man där träffar mera insigter, än på de flästa andra ställen, då näppeligen någon bonde är, som jämte sin Christendom icke känner sit egit lands historia, hvilket kommer af sagornes flitiga läsande, som utgjör deras förnämsta nöje” (s. 174–175). Men den upplyste vetenskapsmannen von Troil ser på den isländska ”litteraturen” ur ett nyttoperspektiv. Han förtecknar alla dessa titlar för att hans läsare ska kunna använda dem i sina olika vetenskapliga verksamheter. Litteraturhistorikern Anton Blanck skriver om von Troils företag: ”Hans synpunkt på den isländska litteraturen är framför allt den lärde forskarens och sist estetikerns” (i Bergström 1933: 38).

Brev XV, som också är adresserat till Ihre, tar upp de isländska boktryckerierna, och brevets innehåll är ännu mer intressant då von Troil placerar sitt land i centrum (se också ovan under ”von Troils kunskapssamlande”). Det första boktryckeriet på Island, det i Hólar, fördes dit år 1531 av svensken Jon Mathieson som också tryckte ”den första bok på *Island* [von Troils kursivering], Breviarium Nidarosiense” (*Bref*, s. 185). von Troil drar sig inte för att stoltsera med den roll som svenskar (och inte danskar!) har spelat för kunskapsspridningen på Island, men även för bevarandet av isländska manuskript. I nästa brev till Ihre som har nummer XVI och som handlar om fornlämningar och handskrifter är von Troil mån om att påpeka att diverse gamla isländska handskrifter har kunnat räddas undan tack vare svenskar. Han skriver: ”*Sverige* [von Troils kursivering] kan tilräkna sig den hedren,

at hafva gjordt första steget til deras [handskrifternas] samlande. Början därmed gjorde Jonas Rugman, som 1661, på Svensk bekostnad, reste öfver til *Island* [kursivering i original], och därifrån hemförde et vackert antal manuscripter, som lade grunden til den samling af Isländske handlingar vårt Svenske Antiquitets Archivum nu kan upvisa" (*Bref*, s. 192–193).[10]

Isländsk poesi berörs i brev XVII till hovmannen Leyonhuvud. Diktkonsten är ett ämne som enligt von Troil "i så mycket mörker ligger invecklad" (*Bref*, s. 206). Han tycker att isländsk poesi är svårbegriplig, otydlig och "är äfven intet skalde-stycke ibland dem, hvilket såsom mönster för snille och smak skulle kunna framsättas" (ibid, s. 213). Mats Malm skriver om brev XVII: "Ett kapitel om den isländska poesin bidrar till kännedomen om denna, men har inga nya infallsvinklar" (Malm 1996: 118). Det tål att upprepas att von Troil hade studerat fornisländska och isländsk litteratur för Ihre i Uppsala och därför kunde uttala sig om språket på följande sätt: "[...] intet språk tillåter poëten så mycken frihet som det Isländska" (*Bref*, s. 214). Språket är rikt på ord och uttryck, men dess svåra syntax kanske inte tillåter känslouttryck i lika stor grad som till exempel svenskan gör. von Troil ger i sitt brev flertalet exempel på isländsk poesi och diskuterar även den karaktäristiska isländska allitterationen där ord i en strof binds samman av att de inleds med samma ljud, som i hans exempel: "Hann feck gagn at gunne,/ Gunnhörda slög mörgum,/ Slydurtungur let slingra/ Sverd leiks reigenn ferdar,/ Sende Gramur at grundu,/ Gullvarpathi snarpann" (*Bref*, s. 218).

De etnografiska aspekterna rör islänningarnas livsstil och har en deskriptiv karaktär där von Troil genom visuellt starka beskrivningar jämför islänningarna med övriga européer. Genom en traditionell uppräkning av folkets karaktärsdrag får läsarna veta i brev VI till Ihre att islänningarna har en fin kroppsbyggnad, är gästfria, glada, tjänstaktiga och laglydiga och älskar sitt land över allt annat just på grund av dess särpräglade egenskaper: "Visst tror jag åtminstone vara, at kärleken till födelse orten, tiltager i samma mohn, som stället är mindre gynnat af naturen än andra" (*Bref*, s. 68). von Troil fortsätter i samma brev med en beskrivning av islänningarnas sysselsättningar. De samlas och roar sig på olika sätt – de läser, hör sagor berättas, spelar spel och sjunger glatt trots att de "af musiquens nyare behagligheter, ej äga den ringaste kännedom" (s. 70).

De naturalhistoriska aspekterna beskriver von Troil i sina brev till Torbern

[10] Heimir Pálsson (2017: 58-60) hävdar att islänningen Jonas Rugman faktiskt aldrig åkte tillbaka till Island efter att ha lämnat landet år 1658 med bland annat en handskrift med Gautreks och Rolfs saga i bagaget. Jag tackar granskarna för denna upplysning.

Bergman på ett retoriskt skickligt sätt. I egenskap av kyrkoman framhäver han Guds skapande kraft samtidigt som vetenskapsmannen von Troil använder sin självsyn för att granska naturen: ”Hvilken vet, om ej MOSES, här under poetisk drägt, vill framföra en physicalisk sanning?” (*Bref*, s. 229).[11] Han målar upp bilden av ett ogästvänligt och ofruktbart land med ”förskräckliga lämningar” och ”glasade klippor” där man ”[...] vid första ögnasigtet af et sådant land, skulle man ej tro någon dödlig dväljas där, om man ej såg dess strander fylde med båtar” (*Bref*, s. 20 ff.), vilket med Christenssons ord är ”en generationstypiskt skräckblandad och mot det sublima syftande förundran” (Christensson 2001: 157). I allt detta märkvärdiga och underliga landskap finns även estetiskt förundransvärda element liksom lavafälten som ”å ena sidan ej roa ögat, eller på något sätt kunna nyttjas, men å den andra, sätt en upmärksam åskådare i största förundran” (*Bref*, s. 30). Med ett kritiskt öga och smått förtjust ser von Troil på en lokal sed som förälskade islänningar brukar i brist på något mer romantiskt: ”Fattigdomen hindrar en älskling at gifva sin sköna skänker, och naturen lämnar ej de blommor, hvaraf krantsar på andra ställen bindas, de bruka därföre at rensa et sådant bad väl, som sedan hedras med fästemöens besök” (*Bref*, s. 9 f.).

Avslutning

Uno von Troil skrev lärda resebrev som han skickade till strategiskt valda personer i syfte att meritera sig i karriären. Genom självsyn, ett brett nordeuropeiskt nätverk med centrala personer på Island, i Köpenhamn, i Uppsala och Stockholm samt med hjälp av en bred litteratur om Island insamlade han kunskaper om ön. Den lärde islänningen Hannes Finnsson utgjorde en viktig länk i von Troils kunskapssamlande framför allt tack vare sin position inom *Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission* i Köpenhamn. Brevens adressater var de främsta svenska auktoriteterna inom sina områden och här utmärks språkforskaren Johan Ihre som von Troil studerade för under sin tid i Uppsala. I drygt 12 brev till Ihre behandlar von Troil olika aspekter av ön, framför allt historia, språk, litteratur, politik och etnografiska aspekter. *Bref rörande en resa til Island MDCCLXXII* utgör ett led i kunskapsförmedlingen

[11] Naturalhistorien legitimeras här inom ramarna för det som Nyberg kallar ”en traditionell, lutheranskt ortodox världsbild, där utforskandet av naturen var ett sätt att förhärliga Gud” (Nyberg 2010: 218).

om Island under andra halvan av 1700-talet. Boken fick en snabb spridning i Västeuropa genom översättningar till olika språk och bidrog också till von Troils snabba karriärbefordran. Det är just vid hemkomsten som hans karriär skjuter uppåt i hastig fart. I maj 1773 vigs han till präst i Västerås, 1775 blir han befordrad till kunglig hovpredikant och efter publiceringen av boken får han överta tjänsten som överhovpredikant och i januari året därpå även pastorstjänsten i Storkyrkan i Stockholm på kungens personliga begäran. Det fortsätter hösten 1779 med att han utnämns till serafimerordens predikant och till biskop i Linköping i april 1782. Toppen i sin karriär når von Troil år 1786 när han, endast 40 år gammal, utnämns av Gustav III till tjänsten som ärkebiskop som han innehar ända till sin död den 27 juli 1803.[12]

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För värdefull hjälp under arbetets gång tackar jag varmt professor emerita Marie-Christine Skuncke som kommit med värdefulla kommentarer och utan vilkens hjälp och uppmuntran föreliggande artikel inte hade utvecklats ifrån sitt idéstadium. Ett stort tack riktar jag också till professor Veturliði Óskarsson för hjälp med slutredigeringen av artikeln samt till de tre granskarna. Artikeln tillägnas professor Sigurður Pétursson (1944–2020) från Háskóli Íslands.

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Summary

The aim of this article is to highlight the ways in which Uno von Troil's book *Bref rörande en resa til Island MDCCLXXII* (1777) contributed to the transmission of knowledge about Iceland in the second half of the 18th century. The young Swede was part of a crew, under leadership of the renowned English naturalist Joseph Banks. The expedition sailed to Iceland in 1772 with the purpose of exploring its geography and the Icelanders' way of life, traditions and beliefs. Upon his return to Sweden, von Troil wrote letters about different aspects of Icelandic culture and

terrain that he, strategically, sent to high-status individuals who would appreciate the information, and, at the same time, help von Troil advance his career. The letters were later compiled in a book that was the first Swedish depiction of Iceland aimed at a non-specialized, educated audience. In this article, I try to answer to questions: How did von Troil gather the information for writing his book? How and to whom did he convey this knowledge and what kind of knowledge did he disseminate to the readers?

Keywords: Uno von Troil, resebrev, Island, kunskapsförmedling

Alexandru Lefter
Uppsala universitet
Institutionen för nordiska språk
Uppsala, Sweden
ORCID iD 0009-0004-3933-3598

Latin *in situ* Fragments Connected to Iceland
A Survey

Tom Lorenz

1. Introduction

In early modern Iceland, many obsolete Latin parchment manuscripts were dismantled so that their material could be recycled and used for bookbindings of other manuscripts or printed books, e.g. as wrappers or covers, pastedowns, flyleaves, spine linings and reinforcements (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 2017). Although many of these fragments were detached from the bookbindings of their host codices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several parchment fragments remain *in situ* ('in position'; 'on site') in the bookbindings of manuscripts connected to Iceland.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Kristian Kålund (1888–1892, 1900) and Vilhelm Gödel (1892, 1897) catalogued the major collections of Icelandic manuscripts, the Arnamagnæan Manuscript Collection, today divided between the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen and the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies in Reykjavík, the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen, the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm and Uppsala University Library.[1] Both Kålund and Gödel mention *in situ* fragments in the description of the respective host codices. However, in many cases, they identify these fragments only tentatively as "beskrevet pergament fra et latinsk ritualhåndskrift" ('parchment with writing from a Latin litur-

[1] To my knowledge, there are no known Icelandic codices containing Latin *in situ* fragments in their bindings in manuscript collections in Finland or Norway.

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gical manuscript'), "pergamentblad efter en messbok" ('parchment leaf from a liturgical book') or similar. The Latin *in situ* fragments connected to Iceland in the Royal Danish Library and Uppsala University Library remain incompletely catalogued and identified to this date.

In the twentieth century, most of the *in situ* fragments in the Arnamagnæan Collection were systematically detached from the bookbindings, assembled in separate fragment collections and meticulously catalogued (Andersen, 2008). Still, a few Latin fragments remain *in situ* and incompletely uncatalogued in the collection. In contrast, the *in situ* fragments in the National Library of Sweden were never systematically detached and many remain *in situ* in their original bookbindings (Springborg, 2000, p. 137). Although the fragments were catalogued by Oluf Kolsrud (unpublished handwritten catalogue preserved in the manuscript Holm U 170) and Lilli Gjerløw (1980), a few of the texts preserved in these fragments remain unidentified.

The smaller number of in situ fragments in the National Library of Iceland were catalogued together with their host volumes by Páll Eggert Ólason (1918–1935). Based on this catalogue, Jakob Benediktsson (1959, pp. 23–24) compiled a list of *in situ* fragments in the library.

Despite the increasing interest in the Latin fragments connected to Iceland in recent years (Attinger and Ommundsen, 2013; Attinger, 2017; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 2017), the Latin fragments which remain *in situ* have often been overlooked in favour of the more accessible and well catalogued collections of detached fragments, and some of them seem to have never been studied since they were tentatively catalogued in the nineteenth century. As these catalogues in many cases are lacking or erroneous, we have no comprehensive and updated overview of such fragments, neither their number nor where they are kept.

In this article, I provide a survey about the remaining Latin *in situ* fragments connected to Iceland, as a supplement to the existing catalogues of Icelandic manuscripts. This survey is based on archival work which I conducted at the respective manuscript collections in 2022 and 2023. I provide several updates and corrections to obsolete or inaccurate descriptions of Latin *in situ* fragments in the existing catalogues as well as information about newly-identified text in the corpus of Latin *in situ* fragments connected to Iceland. Furthermore, I discuss how the distribution of the remaining *in situ* fragments among the different manuscripts collections reflect different historical archival practices at these collections.

2. Method

2.1 Corpus

In my survey, I included parchment fragments of dismantled liturgical and other Latin manuscripts which remain *in situ* in bookbindings of manuscripts with a known Icelandic provenance and which were there probably dismantled in Iceland. I excluded any kind of *in situ* fragment made of paper, written *in Old Norse or Icelandic, or belonging to a printed book as well as fragments which are in* situ in the bookbindings of printed books or as wrappers for administrative documents.[2]

I identified the relevant fragments in two steps. In the first step, I compiled a list of manuscripts with an Icelandic provenance which at one point contained Latin *in situ* fragments based on a systematic review of the existing catalogues. In the second step, I verified whether these *in situ* fragments are still part of the bookbindings today or whether they were removed after the publication of the respective catalogues. The second step is based on archival work which I conducted at the respective manuscript collections between spring 2022 and summer 2023. Excluding ÍB 230 8vo and ÍB 346 8vo in the National Library of Iceland (see Section 3.4), I have investigated all manuscripts discussed in this survey in person.

Although these catalogues were compiled meticulously and adhere to a high standard, they do naturally not include any information about *in situ* fragments which were previously hidden in bookbindings and only uncovered later, e.g. the cover of AM 463 4to (see Section 3.3). In the survey, I included any later discovered fragments which I am aware of as well as one fragment which I discovered myself, an inlay preserved in AM 623 4to (see Section 3.1). Still, further so far unknown *in situ* fragment may be uncovered in the future.

[2] The National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm hold six fragments belonging to the dismantled Latin psalter written in Iceland in the first half of the fourteenth century which were used as wrappers for administrative documents (Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 1983). Five of these fragments, SRA Fr 878, SRA Fr 879, SRA Fr 943, SRA Fr 944 and SRA Fr 5238 remain *in situ* while the sixth fragment, SRA 28002, was detached. Pictures of the fragments are available in the fragment database of the National Archives (MPO). The respective administrative documents have no Icelandic provenance.

2.2 Classification

The surveyed *in situ* fragments are incorporated into the bookbindings of their host volumes as covers, pastedowns, flyleaves or spine reinforcements.

Roughly half of these fragments are used as covers for hardboard bindings and limp bindings. In hardboard bindings, the book case consists of two boards made of wood or cardboard in the front and back of the book respectively as well as some flexible covering material such as leather, cloth or parchment leaves from dismantled manuscripts (Roberts and Etherington, 1982, p. 47). In a limp binding, the cover consists solely of the flexible covering material (Roberts and Etherington, 1982, p. 160; Springborg, 2000, pp. 134–136). Some Icelandic limp bindings have a lid which can be folded around the book or a thread of leather which can be used to tie the book up to protect the book block from damage.

Moreover, several fragments are used as end leaves (also called end sheets or endpaper) which connect the book block with the bookbinding. A pastedown is an end leaf which is pasted onto the inside of the board (in a hardboard binding) or directly on the cover (in a limp binding) in the front or back of a book to fix the book block to the bookbinding. A flyleaf is an end leaf which is not pasted down on the boards or cover but remains free, protecting the book block by minimising wear and tear (Roberts and Etherington, 1982, pp. 89–92; Ryley, 2022, pp. 79–82).

Besides covers and end leaves, recycled parchment can be used in different ways to reinforce the spine of a book. Spine linings, for example, are thin strips of parchment which extend beyond the spine and are attached to the end leaves or the hardboards of the book case to strengthen the spine and hold the shape of the book while maintaining the flexibility of the binding (Roberts and Etherington, 1982, p. 245). Similarly, an inlay is a larger piece of stiff yet flexible material situated between the wooden boards of the case which strengthen or stiffen the spine (Roberts and Etherington, 1982, p. 139). As such reinforcements are situated between the book block, the sides and the covering material, they are usually not directly accessible without dismantling the bookbinding.

In addition to these common types of *in situ* fragments, I found several unusual cases in which an *in situ* fragment was reinserted behind the book block of its respective host codex after it was detached when the original bookbinding was dismantled. This type of *in situ* fragment is particular to the National Library of Sweden and does not occur in the other surveyed manuscript collections in Denmark, Iceland and Sweden.

2.3 Identification

The dating of manuscript fragments written in Latin and the identification of their origin relies on both palaeographic and codicological features. Attinger and Ommundsen (2013) compiled an overview about the various orthographic, palaeographic and codicological features which may indicate that a Latin fragment was written in Iceland, based on earlier research by earlier scholars such as Gjerløw (1980) and Andersen (2008) as well as their own observations. In my survey, I relied primarily on the various palaeographic features which point to Iceland, especially the use of small capital 'ʜ' which is specific to Icelandic Latin manuscripts and which occurs in several of the previously unidentified *in situ* fragments.

Compared to a completely preserved codex, the limited size and often bad condition of a fragment may provide a challenge for its dating, localisation and the identification of the text it preserves as well as the type of book it once belonged too. As several of the Latin fragments in this corpus are very small or in parts illegible, I was in these cases not able to date them or identify their geographical origin or exact type of liturgical book.

However, I identified several Latin texts which Kålund, Gödel, Kolsrud and Gjerløw identified tentatively as fragments of medieval Latin liturgical books or theological treatises. I furthermore identified several *in situ* fragments which belong to the same dismantled liturgical book as catalogued detached fragments in the Arnamagnæan Collection and the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies based on agreement in textual content, script, orthography, layout, decorations and materials. Moreover, I found several cases, in which the description of the *in situ* fragments in a catalogue conflicts with the present state of the *in situ* fragments in the host codex, either because *in situ* fragments were overlooked during the compiling of the catalogue or because the *in situ* fragments were altered when the bookbinding of the host codex was modified or replaced with a new bookbindings. In the following section, I provide an overview about these cases.

3. Survey

3.1 The Arnamagnæan Collection, Copenhagen

In the early twentieth century, the majority of Latin *in situ* fragments in the Arnamagnæan Collection were detached from the bookbindings of their

Tab. 1. Latin *in situ* fragments in Icelandic manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan Collection.

Shelfmark	Description	Dismantled codex	Related fragments	Catalogue
Am 618 4to (end leaf)	1 folio used as end leaf in the front of the codex	Calendar, Wales or Western England 1200–1300[i]		Kålund, 1888–1892, II, pp. 31–32 [no. 1606]
AM 623 4to (cover)	1 folio used as cover for a hardboard binding	*psalterium*, Iceland ca. 1400	SÁM 60	Kålund, 1888–1892, II, p. 37 [no. 1611]?
AM 623 4to (end leaves 1–2)	2 trimmed folios used as end leaves in the front and back of the codex	*graduale*		Kålund, 1888–1892, II, p. 37 [no. 1611]?
AM 623 4to (inlay)	1 inaccessible strip situated between book block and bookcase	*graduale* or *antiphonarium*		Kålund, 1888–1892, II, p. 37 [no. 1611]?
AM 678 4to (end leaf)	1 trimmed folio used as end leaf in the front of the codex, possibly formerly used as a cover	*manuale*, 1200–1250		Kålund, 1888–1892, II, p. 95 [no. 1691]; Gjerløw, 1980, pp. 62–65

Note

[i] The codex was palimpsested and recontextualised in the second half of the sixteenth century by inserting an Icelandic translation of the psalms, proving that the codex was in Iceland at that time. It remains unknown whether the folio was first repurposed as a flyleaf in Iceland or whether it may have come to Iceland already as part of the bookbinding of AM 618 4to.

host codices. According to Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2017, 171), there remain ca. 60 manuscripts which contain *in situ* fragments in their bookbindings. However, most of these manuscripts containing Latin *in situ* fragments have no Icelandic provenance, e.g. the Danish law codices AM 12 4to (spine reinforcement, *homiliarium*) and AM 25 4to (pastedown, *missale*) or the Norwegian law codex AM 62 4to (two pastedowns, printed liturgical book).

Based on my own investigation, three of these manuscripts contain Latin *in situ* fragments and are connected to Iceland (see Tab. 1).

AM 623 4to

This codex requires a more extensive discussion as Kålund's description of the *in situ* fragments in the bookbinding differs considerably from the current state of the manuscript. Kålund (1892, p. 37 [no. 1611]) describes the *in situ* fragments in the following way: "Om membranen findes et omslag,

dannet af to sammenhængende perg.-blade af et latinsk ritualhskr. med noder (c. 1300), envidere er bindet betrukket med perg. fra et latinsk kirkelig hskr." The current bookbinding, however, contains not two *in situ* fragments but four.

The first fragment mentioned by Kålund can be identified as the cover of the codex. This fragment belonged to a Psalter with the outside of the cover containing Ps 39,2–12. A major initial which is painted on the other side of the folio facing the wooden boards is visible through the parchment, likely the 'D' initial introducing the beginning of Ps 39 *Dixi custodiam*. This psalm is usually marked in Psalters with illuminated initials to divide the psalms into sections for liturgical use. The inside of the cover is thus likely the recto side while the outside is the verso side. Based on the layout and script, the Psalter was written in Iceland. One notable feature pointing to Iceland as place of origin is the use of small capital 'ʜ' (see further Section 2.1).

This folio is similar to the psalter fragment SÁM 60, which is today held by the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies in Reykjavík. SÁM 60 contains most of Ps 26 and 27 and is dated to ca. 1400 (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 2017, p. 171). The two fragments have not only a similar size, format and layout, but are written by two very similar hands that share specific palaeographic features, such as distinctive long hairlines for the lowercase letters 'r' and short 's'. One significant difference between the hands of the two fragments is that AM 623 4to (cover) uses small capital 'ʜ' (5 instances) in whereas SÁM 60 uses lowercase 'h' (4 instances). Nevertheless, the strong similarity between the two hands suggest that they are indeed the same hand and that the two fragments may belong to the same dismantled psalter.[3]

The other fragment mentioned by Kålund, that is the bifolio of a liturgical book with musical notation used as an additional wrapper, cannot be identified with certainty with any of the other three fragments which are *in situ* in the codex today. This fragment may have been detached from the bookbinding. The Arnamagnæan Collection holds several Latin fragments with an unknown secondary provenance, including sixteen of the liturgical fragments stored under the shelfmark AM accessoria 7 (Andersen, 2008, p. 139). Alternatively, this former wrapper may have been cut in two and repurposed in form of the two flyleaves which are today situated in the front and back of AM 623 4to respectively. These two fragments belong to the same Latin *graduale* and may have formed part of the same non-consec-

[3] This assessment was confirmed by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson.

utive bifolio. The first fragment in the front contains the liturgy for Ash Wednesday whereas the second fragment in the back contains the liturgy for Monday of the Second Week in Lent.

Furthermore, I discovered a fourth *in situ* fragment in the binding of AM 623 4to which is used as spine reinforcement. Only a small part of this fragment is visible between the separate quires of the book block. Still, it is possible to make out musical notation as well as text written in two different sizes of script. This layout is typical for liturgical books containing church music, e.g. the *antiphonarium* or *graduale*, with the larger script used for the text of the chants and the smaller script for instructions.

AM 678 4to

In addition to the parchment fragment, the bookbinding of AM 678 4to contains paper maculature used as pastedowns in the front and back of the codex. The paper is evidently printing waste and corresponds to Peter Frederik Suhm's historiographical work *Om de Nordiske Folkes ældeste Oprindalse* (pp. 239–240), printed by B. J. Christian and G. C. Berling in Copenhagen in 1770. The current bookbinding of AM 678 4to was therefore probably made in Copenhagen in the 1770s.

3.2 The Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen

In his catalogue of the more than 1000 Old Norse and Icelandic manuscripts in the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen, Kålund (1900) mentions several codices containing *in situ* fragments of liturgical books in their binding. Most of these *in situ* fragments were detached in the twentieth century while a smaller number of Latin *in situ* fragments were returned to Iceland together with their host codex.

To my knowledge, only five Icelandic codices containing Latin *in situ* fragments in their bookbindings remain in the library (see Tab. 2).[4]

In his catalogue, Kålund identifies all five Latin *in situ* fragments in Icelandic manuscripts in the Royal Danish Library only tentatively as belonging to Latin liturgical books. The *in situ* fragment in Thott 2010 8vo, for example, is describes as "beskrevet pergament fra et latinsk ritualhåndskrift" ('parchment with writing from a Latin liturgical manuscript') (Kålund, 1900, p. 361 [no. 1154]). Still, all five Latin *in situ* fragments preserve enough text

[4] In addition to these Latin in situ fragments, the Thott 2099 4to contains an Icelandic *in situ* fragment transmitting *Stjórn* (Kålund, 1900, pp. 352–353 [no. 1126]).

Tab. 2. Latin *in situ* fragments in Icelandic manuscripts in the Royal Danish Library.

Shelfmark	Description	Dismantled codex	Catalogue
Thott 210 8vo (cover)	1 folio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	*missale*, Iceland	Kålund, 1900, p. 361 [no. 1154]
Thott 243 8vo (cover)	1 folio, used as cover for a limp binding	*antiphonarium*, Iceland	Kålund, 1900, p. 361 [no. 1155]
Thott 478 8vo (cover)	1 folio, used as cover for a limp binding	*graduale*, Iceland	Kålund, 1900, p. 362 [no. 1159]
Thott 484 8vo (cover)	1 bifolio, used as cover for a limp binding	*evangeliarium*, Iceland	Kålund, 1900, p. 364 [no. 1164]
Thott 513 8vo (cover)	1 folio, used as cover for a limp binding	*antiphonarium*, Iceland	Kålund, 1900, p. 368 [no. 1175]

to identify the specific type of liturgical book and the part of the liturgy they contain. All five fragment were probably written in Iceland.

Thott 210 8vo

The cover fragment belongs to a dismantled *missale* and contains part of the liturgy for the Nativity of Christ [25 December]. Based on the dark parchment, the script and the polychrome major initial, it seems to have been written in Iceland. Specific features that point to Iceland are the use of the open 'e' as well as the shape of the Tironian note for 'et'.

Thott 243 8vo

The cover fragment belongs to a dismantled *antiphonarium* and contains the liturgy for the feast of Peter and Paul [29 June]. Based on the ink, parchment and initials, the manuscript was written in Iceland. In addition, it contains double notes as well as the small capital 'ʜ', features particular to Iceland.

Thott 478 8vo

The cover fragment contains part of the liturgy for the Purification of Mary (Candlemas) [2 February], St. Blaise [3 February] and Agatha [5 February]. The dismantled codex was a *missale* written in Iceland. Evidence for an Icelandic origin include the ink and parchment, the script as well as the particular style of the major and minor initials. The binding contains traces of paper used as inner cover or pastedowns which has been removed.

Thott 484 8vo
The cover fragment is worn and for the most part illegible on the outside. In contrast, the text on the inside is mostly readable and contains parts of the Gospels of Mark and Luke. The dismantled codex may thus have been an *evangeliarium*. Based on the parchment, ink and script, especially the use of small capital 'ʜ', it was written in Iceland.

Thott 513 8vo
The cover fragment can be identified as an *antiphonarium* containing the liturgy for the fourth Sunday of Advent as well as the vigil of the Nativity of Christ [25 December]. The ink and parchment of the fragment suggest that the dismantled codex was written in Iceland.

3.3 The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, Reykjavík

The majority of the manuscripts held today by the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies has been transferred either from the Arnamagnæan Collection or the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen during the 1970s and 1980s (Greenfield, 2007, pp. 37–38). As both the Arnamagnæan Collection and the Icelandic manuscripts in the Royal Danish Library were catalogued by Kålund (1888–1892, 1900) long before the return of the Icelandic manuscripts to Iceland, these catalogues include descriptions of the manuscripts which are today in the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies in Reykjavík, including information about the Latin *in situ* fragments in their bookbindings.

In total, the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies today holds five manuscripts with Latin *in situ* fragments (see Tab. 3).

AM 463 to
The *Latin in situ* fragment is used as a cover for hardboards made of cardboard. The fragment was formerly hidden by an additional paper cover and only discovered when the paper cover was removed during repair in 1994, and it was therefore overlooked by Kålund when he catalogued the Arnamagnæan Collection (Springborg, 1995, p. 46).

The fragment belongs to a Latin Psalter and contains Ps 88,32–43 (outside of front cover) as well as Ps 88,53–89,9 (outside of back cover). As the two folios contain consecutive text passages, they seem to belong to a bifolio which was situated in the middle of a quire. The script is a *Textualis formata*.

Tab. 3. Latin *in situ* fragments in the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies.

Manuscript shelfmark	Description	Dismantled codex	Related fragments	Catalogue
AM 463 4to (cover)	1 bifolio used as cover for a hardboard binding	*psalterium*, England 1200–1300	AM accessoria 7 Hs 111 Lbs fragm 96 Þjms 366	Springborg, 1995, p. 46
AM 471 4to (end leaves 1–2)	2 fragments belonging to the same dismantled folio used as end leaves in the front and back of the codex	*graduale*, Netherlands 1400–1500	AM accessoria 48 a AM accessoria 48 d [= AM accessoria 7 Hs 130]	Kålund, 1888–1892, I, p. 655 [no. 1243]
AM 38 8vo (end leaves 1–2)	2 fragments used as end leaves in the front and back of the codex	*sequentiarium*, Iceland		Kålund, 1888–1892, II, p. 351 [no. 2235]
GKS 3270 4to (end leaf 1)	1 trimmed folio used as end leaf in the front of the codex	*breviarium*, Iceland?		Kålund, 1900, p. 72 [no. 126]
GKS 3270 4to (end leaf 2)	1 trimmed bifolio used as end leaf in the back of the codex	*antiphonarium*		Kålund, 1900, p. 72 [no. 126]
NKS 11 fol. (end leaf)	1 trimmed folio used as end leaf in the back of the codex	*homiliarium* (Paulus Diaconus), England 1200–1300	AM accessoria 7 Hs 94	Kålund, 1900, p. 86 [no. 158]

The verses are introduced by flourished initials in red and blue. Comparing this fragment to other Psalter fragments in collections in Reykjavík and Copenhagen, I was able to identify three further fragments which belong to the same dismantled codex: AM accessoria 7 Hs 111, Lbs fragm 96 and Þjms 366. AM accessoria 7 Hs 111 consists of 32 folios which were detached from bookbindings in the Arnamagnæan collection. Andersen identified AM accessoria 7 Hs 111 as a Psalter written in England in the thirteenth century (Andersen, 2008, pp. 102–103).

GKS 3270 4to

Kålund (Kålund, 1900, p. 72 [no. 126]) describes the two end leaves in the front and the end of the codex as "beskrevet og med notetegn forsynet pergament fra latinske ritualhåndskrifter." ('parchment with writing and musical notes from Latin liturgical manuscripts'). The first fragment is of a trimmed folio of a *breviarium*. It contains the liturgy for the Sabbath. The second fragment is an incomplete bifolio of part of an *antiphonarium*. It

contains part of the responsories for the period after Pentecost, the so-called summer histories: 1r–1v contains part of the chants for the *historia De libro Sapientiae* whereas 2r–2v contains part of the chants for the *historia De libro Iob*. In addition, the binding contains paper maculature from an Icelandic translation of the psalms (Ps 69,16–20 & Ps 69, 32–36).

NKS 11 fol.
Kålund (Kålund, 1900, p. 86 [no. 158]) identified the flyleaf as a "beskr. Perg.-bl. fra et latinsk ritual". Based on my own investigation, the fragment contains part of Fulgentius Ruspensis' sermon *De sancto Stephano protomartyre et de conversione sancti Pauli* (Sermones, ch. 3, 4–6). Moreover, I have identified the fragment as belonging to the same dismantled manuscript AM accessoria 7 Hs 94, three detached fragments which belong to the *homiliarium* compiled by Paulus Diaconus. (McDougall, 2003; Andersen, 2008, pp. 85–86).

AM 38 8vo
Kålund (Kålund, 1888–1892, II, p. 351 [no. 2235]) describes the two end leaves as "beskrevet og med nodetegn forsynet perg. fra et latinsk ritual-hskr." ('parchment with writing and musical notes from Latin liturgical manuscripts'). Based on my own investigation, they stem from the same folio of a dismantled liturgical book, likely a *sequentiarium*. They contain the final part of the sequence *Resonet sacrata jam turma diva symphonia* (AH 53:74) for Pentecost Monday as well as the complete sequence *Eia Musa die quaeso praeclara chorea* (AH 53:75) for Pentecost Tuesday, both with considerable lacunas. The dark parchment, the script, the use of small capital 'ʜ' and the style of pencil-drawn major initials suggest that manuscript was written in Iceland.

3.4 The National Library of Iceland, Reykjavík

In his catalogue of the parchment fragments in the National Library of Iceland, Jakob Benediktson (1959, pp. 23–24) provided a list of 19 uncatalogued fragment items, including both detached fragments and *in situ* fragments. Among these fragments are both manuscript and printed fragments, made of paper or parchment and written in Latin or the vernacular.

The majority of the *in situ* fragments in this list are today detached from their host volumes and stored under the shelfmarks Lbs fragment 83–109. However, two manuscripts still contain a Latin *in situ* fragment today (see Tab. 4).

Tab. 4. Latin *in situ* fragments in Icelandic manuscripts in the National Library of Iceland.

Shelfmark	Description	Dismantled codex	Catalogue
ÍB 230 8vo (cover)	1 trimmed leaf used as front cover for a limp binding; the back cover has been lost	*martyrologium*	Páll Eggert Ólason, 1918–1935, III; p. 55; Jakob Benediktsson, 1959, p. 24
ÍB 346 8vo (cover)	1 trimmed bifolium used as a cover for a limp binding	*missale*, 1200–1300	Páll Eggert Ólason, 1918–1935, III, p. 80; Jakob Benediktsson, 1959, p. 24

In addition to the parchment fragment, ÍB 346 8vo contains a second *in situ* fragment, not mentioned by Páll Eggert Ólason (1918–1935, III, p. 80) and Jakob Benediktsson (1959, p. 24): a trimmed paper leaf belonging to a printed Latin *missale* which is used as end leaves in the front and back of the codex.[5] This fragment falls outside the scope of this survey which does not cover paper or print fragments.

3.5 The National Library of Sweden, Stockholm

The National Library of Sweden holds ca. 300 West Norse manuscripts, including manuscripts written in Iceland or Norway or copies of such manuscripts written in Sweden. Several of these manuscripts contain Latin *in situ* fragments in their bookbindings. Some of these manuscripts are not connected to Iceland, e.g. Holm papp 72 fol. (cover; Pseudo-Chrysostomus: *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*) and Holm papp 71 4to (cover; *missale*, 1300–1400), both written in Sweden.

Still, there remain ten Icelandic codices that contain 27 Latin *in situ* fragments (see Tab. 5).

In addition to the *in situ* fragments discussed above, there is another type of fragment present among the Icelandic codices in the National Library of Sweden: In several cases, parchment fragments were first detached but then appended to the same codex behind the book (see Tab. 6).[6] Although these

[5] Fragments of printed books in the Latin manuscript material connected to Iceland include the detached fragments Lbs fragment 93 (parchment, *missale*, undated) (Jakob Benediktsson, 1959, p. 24) and AM accessoria 48 l II (paper, *graduale*, undated) (Kålund, 1900, pp. 69–70 [no. 118]).

[6] Two further such reinserted fragment can be found in Holm papp 16 I fol. (*antiphonarium*, ca. 1500), written by Olof Verelius in the second half of the seventeenth century (Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 22r), and Holm papp 52 4to (*antiphonarium*, 1300–1400), written by Jakob

Tab. 5. Latin *in situ* fragments in Icelandic manuscripts in the National Library of Sweden.

Manuscript shelfmark	**Description**	**Dismantled codex**	**Related fragments**	**Catalogue**
Holm perg 13 4to (end leaves 1–2)	2 trimmed folios belonging to the same bifolio	*breviarium*, 1400–1500		Gödel, 1897, p. 53 [25]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 16r; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 91
Holm perg 18 4to (cover 1)	1 bifolio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	Hieronymus: *Vita Sancti Hilarionis* (ch. 14–20), non-Icelandic 1100–1500		Gödel, 1897, p. 60 [no. 30]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 17r
Holm perg 18 4to (cover 2)	1 bifolio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	*psalterium*, Iceland? 1350–1400		Gödel, 1897, p. 60 [no. 30]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 17r; Gjerløw, 1980, pp. 115–116
Holm perg 25 4to (end leaves 1–2)	2 trimmed folios from same bifolio, used as pastedowns	Petrus Lombardus: *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, 1200–1300		Gödel, 1897, pp. 71–73 [no. 35]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 18r
Holm perg 5 8vo (cover 1–3)	3 bifolios, patchwork cover	*ordinale*, Iceland 1200–1300		Gödel, 1897, pp. 109–110 [no. 51]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 20r; Gjerløw, 1968, pp. 69–70; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 5
Holm perg 8 8vo (end leaves 1–2)	2 loosened pastedowns, in the front and back of the codex	*missale*, England 950–1000		Gödel, 1897, p. 113 [no. 54]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 21r; Gjerløw, 1980, pp. 9–17
Holm papp 10 4to (cover 1)	1 trimmed folio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding (lid)	*homiliarium*? (Guilielmus Peraldus), Iceland 1300–1400		Gödel, 1897, pp. 272–273 [no. 188]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 24r; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 6
Holm papp 10 4to (cover 2)	1 trimmed folio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	*graduale*, 1400–1500		Gödel, 1897, pp. 272–273 [no. 188]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 24r; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 6
Holm papp 17 4to (cover 1)	1 trimmed bifolio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding (lid)	*psalterium*, England? 1150–1200		Gödel, 1897, p. 282 [no. 195]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 25r; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 6
Holm papp 17 4to (cover 2–3)	2 folios, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding (outer + inner cover), the second fragment has been detached and reinserted behind the book block	*psalterium*, Iceland 1400–1500	Holm papp 18 4to (cover 1) Holm papp 19 4to (cover 2–3)	Gödel, 1897, p. 282 [no. 195]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 25r; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 6

Manuscript shelfmark	Description	Dismantled codex	Related fragments	Catalogue
Holm papp 18 4to (cover 1)	1 folio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	*psalterium*, Iceland 1400–1500	Holm papp 17 4to (cover 2–3) Holm papp 19 4to (cover 2–3)	Gödel, 1897, p. 287 [no. 196]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 26r; Gjerløw, 1980, pp. 6–7
Holm papp 18 4to (cover 2–5)	4 strips, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	*sequentiarium*, Iceland? 1200–1300		Gödel, 1897, p. 287 [no. 196]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 26r; Gjerløw, 1980, pp. 6–7
Holm papp 19 4to (cover 1)	1 bifolio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding (outer cover)	*graduale*, Iceland 1400–1450		Gödel, 1897, p. 288 [no. 197]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 27r
Holm papp 19 4to (cover 2–3)	1 trimmed bifolio + 1 trimmed folio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding (inner cover + lid)	*psalterium*, Iceland 1400–1500	Holm papp 17 4to (cover 2–3) Holm papp 18 4to (cover 1)	Gödel, 1897, p. 288 [no. 197]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 27r
Holm papp 27 4to (cover 1)	1 trimmed folio, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	*missale*, Iceland 1300–1400		Gödel, 1897, p. 297 [no. 205]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 29r; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 66
Holm papp 27 4to (cover 2–3)	2 trimmed folios, part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	*breviarium*, Iceland (Jón Þorláksson) ca. 1470		Gödel, 1897, p. 297 [no. 205]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 29r; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 56

fragments do not remain in their original position in the host codex, they are in a way still '*in situ*'. This type of fragment is here referred to as a *reinserted fragment*. This type of fragment does not occur among the Icelandic codices held by any other Nordic manuscript collection; it is specific to the National Library of Sweden.

Furthermore, the National Library of Sweden holds a unique manuscript consisting of two parts which are entirely written on the empty margins of a large liturgical book, meaning the whole book block of the manuscript consists of fragments (see Tab. 10; Section 4.3). These fragments constitute a different type of fragment which is essentially closer to palimpsests than

Isthmén Reenhielm in the second half of the seventeenth century (Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 31r). Neither the host manuscripts nor the Latin fragments have an Icelandic provenance

Tab. 6. Detached and reinserted fragments in Icelandic manuscripts in the National Library of Sweden.

Manuscript shelfmark	Description	Dismantled codex	Related fragments	Catalogue
Holm papp 26 4to	1 trimmed folio, formerly used as a cover for a limp binding	*missale*, Iceland 1400–1500		Gödel, 1897, p. 296 [no. 204]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 28r
Holm papp 34 4to (fragment 1)	1 trimmed folio, formerly part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	*missale*, Ireland? 1200–1300	Lbs fragm 22	Gödel, 1897, pp. 306–308 [no. 212]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 30r; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 18–19
Holm papp 34 4to (fragment 2)	1 trimmed folio, formerly part of a patchwork cover for a limp binding	*missale*, Iceland? ca. 1400		Gödel, 1897, pp. 306–308 [no. 212]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 30r
Holm papp 2 8vo (fragment 1)	1 trimmed folio, formerly used as a cover for a limp binding	*graduale*, 1300–1400		Gödel, 1897, p. 357 [no. 259]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 33r
Holm papp 2 8vo (fragment 2)	1 strip, formerly part of the binding	Unidentified liturgical book, Iceland ca. 1350		Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 33r
Holm papp 8 8vo	1 bifolio, formerly used as a cover for a limp binding	*psalterium*, Iceland ca. 1300		Gödel, 1897, p. 357 [no. 259]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 34r
Holm papp 15 8vo	1 bifolio, formerly used as a cover for a limp binding	*antiphonarium*, Iceland ca. 1300		Gödel, 1897, p. 376 [no. 272]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 35r

fragments which are *in situ* in bookbindings. They are therefore not included in this survey.

Due to the meticulous cataloguing of Latin *in situ* fragments connected to Iceland in the National Library of Sweden by Kolsrud (Holm U 170) and Gjerløw (1980), only a few texts preserved in these fragments have so far remained unidentified. During my survey, I was able to identify these Latin *in situ* fragments.

Holm perg 25 4to

The codex is bound in two parchment leaves belonging a dismantled manuscript. Kolsrud (Holm U 170, f. 12br, 18r) identified the text contained in the fragment tentatively as "Tractatus de creatione(?)" or "et hdskr. fra 1200talet, av theologisk indhold, formodentlig en dogmatisk avhandling om skabelsen". Based on my own investigation, the fragments contain part of

Petrus Lombardus' *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* (liber II, 12, 2 (25)–13, 2 (65)). This work was widespread in Europe from the twelfth century on and its study was a fundamental requirement for the degree of theology. The Latin *in situ* fragment presents the first witness of the work in the Icelandic manuscript material.

Holm papp 10 4to

The codex is bound in a such a patchwork cover consisting of two fragments (Gödel, 1897, pp. 272–273 [no. 188]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 24r). While the first fragment belongs to a *graduale* written in the fifteenth century, probably in Iceland (Gjerløw, 1981, p. 6), the identification of the second fragment, used as a lid for the codex, is more complicated. Kolsrud (Holm U 170, f. 12ar, 24r) identified this manuscript as "Tractatus theologicus". Likewise, Gjerløw (1979, p. 6) described it as a "manuscript of theological contents, now very difficult to read" and dated it to the fourteenth century. Based on my own investigation, the legible text in the left column corresponds to Guillelmus Peraldus' (William Perault; ca. 1190–1271) *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*. The legible text in the right column, however, corresponds to the text of one of Peraldus' sermons on the epistles (sermo 44: *Hoc sentite in vobis quod in Iesu Christo* [Phil 2:5]).[7] Both Peraldus' *Summa* and his sermon cycles were very popular in medieval Europe and survive in many late medieval manuscripts. Siegfried Wenzel (2017, pp. 63–64) provides several examples of manuscripts which insert extracts of the *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* into the text of Peraldus' sermons. The lid fragment in Holm papp 10 4to probably belongs to such a manuscript.

Holm papp 2 8vo

This codex contains two *in situ* fragments which were removed from the original bookbinding and appended behind the book block. One of these two fragments, belonging to a liturgical book, is difficult to identify due to its small size and limited content (Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 33r). However, certain palaeographic features such as the use of open 'e' suggest that it was written in Iceland. Furthermore, ff. 1r4–5 read "Aue nobilissima u*ir*go m*ar*ia ancilla s*anct*e t*r*initatis". This is a variation of *Ave maria ancilla trinitatis*, a common prayer often attributed to St. Bernhard of Clairvaux. The fragment

[7] The *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* was first printed by Heinrich Quentell in Cologne in 1497. Peraldus' sermons where first printed by André Pralard in Paris in 1674, wrongly attributed to Guillelmus Alvernus (William of Auvergne; ca. 1180–1249). As of yet, there exist no critical editions of Guillelmus Peraldus' works.

Tab. 7. Latin *in situ* fragments in Icelandic manuscripts in Uppsala University Library.

Manuscript shelfmark	Description	Dismantled codex	Catalogue
R 717 (end leaves 1–2)	2 fragments of the same leaf, formerly used as a cover for a limp binding, now used as flyleaves in the front and back of the codex	*graduale* or *sequentiarium,* Iceland	Gödel, 1892, pp. 68–69

corresponds to a version of the prayer particular to *Breviarium Nidrosiense* (ff. 305r4–8), printed in Copenhagen in 1519 as a standardised *breviarium* for the Archdiocese of Niðaróss which Iceland was part of.

3.6 Uppsala University Library

Although Uppsala University Library holds more than 50 West Norse manuscripts, mostly paper manuscripts written in early modern times, only two manuscripts contain *in situ* fragments. The first, DG 8 (2 pastedowns, glossed canon law), received its current binding in sixteenth-century Norway (Gödel, 1892, p. 4; Holtsmark, 1956, p. 4), and the Latin *in situ* fragments in its bookbinding are not connected in Iceland. Only the two *in situ* fragments in the second codex are connected to Iceland (Tab. 7).

R 717

Gödel (1892, pp. 68–69) identified the Latin *in situ* fragment only tentatively as a "pergamentblad efter en messbok från omkring 1300" ('parchment leaf from a liturgical book from ca. 1300'). At this time, the codex was still bound in a limp binding with a parchment fragment used as cover. When the manuscript received a new hardboard binding, however, the cover fragment was evidently divided into two and used as flyleaves in the front and the back of the codex respectively. The part of the fragment which originally covered the spine of R 717 was not preserved.

Based on my own investigation the now divided fragments belong to a dismantled *graduale* or *sequentiarium* and contain the sequence *Alme concrepent* (AH 10:211) for the translation of St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. This sequence, uncommon outside the diocese of Durham, is documented in Iceland in the form of another liturgical fragment, AM accessoria 7 Hs 14,

Tab. 8. Latin *in situ* fragments connected to Iceland by collection.

Collection	Host volumes		*in situ* fragments		Dismantled books	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Arnamagnæan Collection	3	9,7%	6	10,5%	5	12,5%
Royal Danish Library	5	16,1%	5	8,8%	5	12,5%
Árni Magnússon Institute	5	16,1%	8	14,0%	5	12,5%
National Library of Iceland	2	6,5%	2	3,5%	2	5,0%
National Library of Sweden	15	48,4%	34	59,7%	21	52,5%
Uppsala University Library	1	3,2%	2	3,5%	2	5,0%
Total	**31**	**100%**	**57**	**100%**	**40**	**100%**

which belongs to a *graduale* written in Iceland in the fourteenth century (Andersen, 2008, p. 28). These two newly identified fragments provide further evidence for the cult of St. Cuthbert in medieval Iceland.

4. Discussion

4.1 Distribution by collection

Few Latin fragments remain *in situ* in the bookbindings of Icelandic manuscripts held by collections in Denmark, Iceland and Sweden. In my survey of the Latin *in situ* in fragments connected to Iceland, I found the following number of fragments in the investigated manuscript collections in Denmark, Iceland and Sweden (see Tab. 8).

The Latin parchment fragments connected to Iceland which remain *in situ* in the different collections demonstrate different approaches to the preservation of manuscripts and bookbindings by the librarians and conservators of these collections.

Although Kålund's catalogues show that the Arnamagnæan Collection held the by far largest number of Icelandic codices containing Latin *in situ* fragments at the end of the nineteenth century, these fragments were systematically detached in the early twentieth century (Andersen, 2008, p. xii). While there remain ca. 60 manuscripts containing *in situ* fragments in the collection (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 2017, p. 171), only three of these manuscripts have an Icelandic provenance (see Tab. 1). In contrast, the Latin *in situ* fragments preserved in Icelandic manuscripts in the National Library of Sweden were never systematically detached from their host volumes. As a

Tab. 9. Latin *in situ* fragments connected to Iceland by fragment type.

	***in situ* fragments**		**Dismantled books**	
Fragment type	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Covers	30	52,6%	20	50,0%
End leaves	19	33,3%	12	30,0%
Reinforcements	1	1,8%	1	2,5%
Reinserted fragments	7	12,3%	7	17,5%
Total	**57**	**100%**	**40**	**100%**

result, the library holds today more than half of the remaining Latin *in situ* fragments connected to Iceland (see Tab. 5 and Tab. 6). The four remaining collections all hold smaller number of Latin in situ fragments connected to Iceland.

4.2 Distribution by fragment types

The Latin *in situ* fragments connected to Iceland demonstrate different ways in which parchment of obsolete manuscripts was recycled as material for bookbindings in early modern Iceland. In the survey, I ordered the *in situ* fragments into four distinctive groups: covers, end leaves, reinforcements, and reinserted fragments (see Tab. 9).

Among the different types of *in situ* fragments, fragments used of covers for limp bindings demonstrate the lowest degree of modification by later scholars and librarians and are therefore most indicative for early modern bookbinding practices. In the survey, I identified 30 parchment fragments used as covers or part of covers, 28 of which are part of limp bindings.

The National Library of Sweden holds several Icelandic manuscripts bound in limp bindings made of recycled parchment taken from dismantled Latin manuscripts. Limp binding constitutes the most simple form of bookbinding and seems to have been common in medieval and early modern Iceland (Soffía Guðný Guðmundsdóttir, Laufey Guðnadóttir and Hansen, 2015). Most of the limp bindings of Icelandic manuscripts in the National Library of Sweden consists of several leaves of dismantled liturgical books which were sewn together to form a patchwork-cover. Several of these bindings have a lid which could be folded around the book or a thread of leather which could be used to tie the book up to protect the book block from damage. The bindings were evidently made in Iceland and are often of lower quality (Gjerløw, 1981, pp. 6–7).

Holm papp 17 4to (Gödel, 1897, pp. 282–287 [no. 195]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 25r), Holm papp 18 4to (Gödel, 1897, pp. 287–288 [no. 196]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 26r) and Holm papp 19 4to (Gödel, 1897, pp. 288–290 [no. 197]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 27r) are bound in similar patchwork covers made of parchment from different liturgical books. As all three bindings include parchment from the same Psalter written in Iceland in the fifteenth century (Gjerløw, 1980, pp. 6–7; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, ff. 26r–27r), they were probably made by the same bookbinder. The binding of Holm papp 17 4to originally consisted of three fragments in addition to a piece of new parchment: Two folios of the Icelandic fifteenth-century Psalter were used as outer and inner cover respectively. However, the inner cover was later detached and inserted in the back of the codex in a way similar to the reinserted fragments discussed below (see Tab. 5). The third fragment, used as a lid for the codex, belongs to a Psalter written in England in the second half of the twelfth century (Gjerløw, 1981). The cover of Holm papp 18 4to consists of one folio of the Icelandic fifteenth-century Psalter in addition to a piece of new parchment as well as four strips cut from a *sequentarium* written in Iceland in the thirteenth century (Gjerløw, 1981, pp. 6–7). Finally, Holm papp 19 4to consists of two fragments from the Icelandic fifteenth-century Psalter: The first is used as inner cover, the second is used as a lid for the binding. A third fragment, belonging to a dismantled *graduale* written in Iceland, is used as outer cover.

Moreover, the five Icelandic codices containing Latin in situ fragments in the Royal Danish Library five are bound in very similar limp bindings with a cover made of recycled parchment from dismantled manuscripts wrapped around paper maculature. While four of these bindings consists of a single leaf of recycled parchment, Thot 210 is bound in a patchwork cover made of a leaf of recycled parchment and a piece of new parchment which were sewn together. The paper maculature consists for the most part of letters written in Icelandic. As all five limp bindings are very similar to each other in the way in which they combine recycled parchment leaves and paper maculature, they may have been bound by the same person, probably in the eighteenth-century Iceland. The respective *terminus post quem* for each bookbinding is the production of the host codex; the *terminus ante quem* is the incorporation of the host codex into the private book collection of Danish statesman and book collector Otto Thott (1703–1785).

In addition to the limp bindings in the National Library of Sweden and the Royal Danish Library, the two *in situ* fragments in the National Library of Iceland are used as covers for similar Icelandic limp bindings. Furthermore,

the *in situ* fragments in bookbinding of R717 in Uppsala University Library seem to have formed part of such a limp binding before the manuscript was rebound and the fragment was cut in two and repurposed as end leaves.

In the survey, I identified 19 fragments used as end leaves, including both pastedowns and flyleaves. Most of the end leaves in my survey are pastedowns which were loosened from the hardboards by librarians or scholars who wanted to access the text on the hidden side of the leaf. Still, these end leaves form an original part of an early modern Icelandic bookbinding. Despite being modified, these thus represent a valuable source for early modern Icelandic bookbinding practices. For example, Holm perg 13 4to is bound in limp binding which combines a cover made of sealskin with two leaves of a dismantled fifteenth-century *breviarium* used as flyleaves in the front and back of the codex respectively (Gödel, 1897, pp. 53–54 [no. 25]; Gjerløw, 1980, p. 91; Springborg, 2000, p. 134; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 16r). A smaller number of bookbindings containing end leaves made of recycled parchment are younger, for example R717 in Uppsala University Library which received its current bookbinding in the twentieth century and whose end leaves where used as a cover for the same codex in an earlier bookbinding which is described by Gödel (1892, pp. 68–69).

In contrast, I found only one single example of a Latin *in situ* fragment used as a cover for a hardboard binding: AM 463 4to in the Arnamagnæan Collection (see Section 3.3). This bookbinding was probably made during Árni Magnússon's time and does thus not constitute evidence for early modern Icelandic bookbinding practices.

In my survey, I identified only one single case of a parchment fragment used as some sort of spine reinforcement which is part of the early modern bookbinding of AM 623 4to. However, this type of binding fragment is the most probable to remain undiscovered as it is often hidden by the cover and book block. As reinforcements are less likely to be discovered, they were also less likely to be detached by librarians and scholars interested in the fragments in the nineteenth and twentieth century. It is therefore possible that there exist more undiscovered fragments of this type in the preserved early modern bookbindings of Icelandic manuscripts.

In my survey, I identified a fourth group of *in situ* fragments particular to the National Library of Sweden which I have termed 'reinserted fragments'. This group included fragments which were at one point detached from their original context when the original bookbinding of the host codex was dismantled and later reinserted in the back of the same codex behind the book block and bound together with the manuscript in a new bookbinding. In

my survey, I found 7 such fragments belonging to 7 dismantled manuscripts which are today preserved in the bookbindings of 5 manuscripts. For the study of early modern bookbinding practices, this type of *in situ* fragment has no direct value.

The comparison of the preserved *in situ* fragments in these collections with the descriptions of the former *in situ* fragments in the printed catalogues reveal different approaches to the preservation of *in situ* fragments. In the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen which held the by far largest number of Latin fragments which were *in situ* in Icelandic manuscripts in the nineteenth century, these fragments were systematically detached in the early twentieth century by Ehlert and Kålund. In contrast, *in situ* fragments were more sporadically detached from Icelandic bookbindings in other collections. For this reason, the largest number of Latin fragments connected to Iceland is today preserved *in situ* in the National Library of Sweden.

Even in those cases in which fragments remain *in situ* in the bookbinding of an Icelandic codex, the original bookbinding was often modified by the librarians and conservators of the holding institutions, e.g. to stabilise the original bookbinding or to give the codex a new bookbinding. As a result, the physical description of an *in situ* fragment in Kålund's and Gödel's nineteenth-century catalogues in several cases does not correspond to the current state of the *in situ* fragments in the bookbinding. In my survey, I identified several examples in which pastedowns were loosened from the hardboards they were originally pasted on as well as several cases in which *in situ* fragments were repurposed and reinserted in a different position in their host volume during a rebinding. Moreover, I identified one case, AM 623 4to in the Arnamagnæan Collection, in which the discrepancy between Kålund's description of the *in situ* fragments and the current state of the manuscript cannot be adequately explained by a later modification of the bookbinding. The most probable explanation is therefore an error on the part of Kålund. As the four *in situ* fragments in the bookbinding of the codex have never been studied since the nineteenth century, the error in Kålund's catalogue has remained uncorrected to this day.

4.3 Excursus: Recycling of margins in Holm perg 5 8vo

In addition to using parchment leaves from dismantled books as material for bookbindings, such parchment may be reused as writing material for a new book, for example in a palimpsest. Palimpsestation consists of a two-step process: first the original content of a manuscript, the so-called undertext

Tab. 10. Recycled margins in Holm perg 5 8vo.

Manuscript shelfmark	Description	Dismantled codex	Related fragments	Catalogue
Holm perg 5 8vo (I)	54 strips of parchment, sewn together to create 27 patchwork folios	Empty margins of an *antiphonarium* or *graduale*	Holm perg 5 8vo (II)	Gödel, 1897, pp. 109–110 [no. 51]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 18r; Gjerløw, 1968, pp. 69–70); Gjerløw, 1980, p. 3
Holm perg 5 8vo (II)	33 strips of parchment used as folios	Empty margins of an *antiphonarium* or *graduale*	Holm perg 5 8vo (I)	Gödel, 1897, pp. 109–110 [no. 51]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 18r; Gjerløw, 1968, pp. 69–70); Gjerløw, 1980, p. 3

or *scriptio inferior*, is erased, effectively recreating the empty state of the parchment. In the second step, new content, the so-called overtext or *scriptio superior*, is inserted in the new empty parchment. The result of this process is a complex, multi-layered manuscript, the actual palimpsest, also called *codex rescriptus* (Hødnebø, 1968; Jakob Benediktsson, 1968, p. 82; Lowe, 1972, p. 480; Roberts and Etherington, 1982, p. 186; Declercq, 2007, p. 7; Ryley, 2017, p. 7).

In medieval and early modern Iceland, palimpsestation was a very common phenomenon. Especially after the introduction of the Reformation in Iceland, large numbers of obsolete liturgical books were palimpsested and their parchment used to create new manuscript, charters and even parchment prints (Lorenz, forthcoming). Among the manuscripts discussed in this article, AM 618 4to and Holm perg 13 4to are palimpsests written on recycled parchment from an older liturgical book.

Holm perg 5 8vo represents a very different way of recycling of parchment as writing material (Tab. 10). Although Gjerløw (1968, pp. 69–70) refers to the codex as a 'palimpsest', this codex does not fulfil the accepted standard definition of the term. The manuscript is rather a composite codex consisting of two distinctive parts written by the same scribe, Gottskálk Jónsson í Glaumbæ (ca. 1524–1590) (Gödel, 1897, pp. 109–111 [no. 51]; Gjerløw, 1968, pp. 69–70, 1980, p. 3; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 20r). Both parts consist of leaves which are made of the empty margins of a large liturgical book which were cut out and sewn together to create a new manuscript.

Part I consists of 27 patchwork folios. Each of these patchwork folios is made up of two strips of parchment which were cut out from the empty

outer margins of a liturgical manuscript and then sewn together to form a larger piece of parchment. The fragments preserve the original ruling as well as remains of musical notation, both clefs and notes in German Gothic notation, and flourished initials in red or blue.

Part II consists of 33 folios. Each of these is made up of one single large strip of parchment cut from the empty top and bottom margins of a liturgical manuscript in folio format. The fragments preserve the original ruling as well as remains of German Gothic notation, parts of flourished major initials in red and blue and part of the bottom line of the original text.

While both Gödel and Kolsrud imply that these strips of parchment stem from two different manuscripts (Gödel, 1897, pp. 109–111 [no. 51]; Kolsrud, Holm U 170, f. 20r), Gjerløw assumes that they derive from the same dismantled codex (Gjerløw, 1980, p. 3). Based on the similar flourished initials and Gothic notation in both parts, it is likely that the parchment was indeed taken from the same manuscript, a large liturgical book with musical notation, probably a *graduale* or *antiphonarium*.

Many liturgical manuscripts contain large margins in the top, bottom and outer edges to provide a space where a user can customise the codex by adding marginalia such as a commentary, glosses, memory aids, illustrations or decorations. Cutting out these margins does not necessarily damage the main text. The use of empty margins as writing material for another manuscript would thus seem to be an obvious way to recycle obsolete parchment manuscripts. As far as I am aware, however, Holm perg 5 8vo constitutes an isolated case of parchment recycling which has no equivalent in the Icelandic or other European manuscript materials. Rather than representing a widespread early modern recycling practice, this patchwork manuscript may be interpreted an experimental attempt by Gottskálk Jónsson to make use of parchment from an obsolete liturgical book to create a new manuscript.

4.4 New findings

As only very few Latin fragments connected to Icelandic survive today, any single fragment holds a high value as source for medieval Icelandic book history, liturgical practices and intellectual culture. Any new Latin fragment connected to Iceland which is discovered or identified significantly widens our knowledge about what types of books were used.

In my survey, I identified the specific book type or textual content of several fragments which were previously only known to belong to an unspecified liturgical or Latin manuscript, including botch patristic writings

and medieval liturgical, theological and homiletic texts which widen our knowledge about which texts were present.

The sequence *Alma concrepent* for the translation of St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, which is very uncommon outside the diocese of Durham, was previously only documented in Iceland in the form of AM accessoria 7 Hs 14, a fragment of a fourteenth-century Icelandic *graduale*. The two new fragments of the sequence, preserved as end leaves in the bookbinding of R 717, provide further evidence for the cult of St. Cuthbert in medieval Iceland (see Section 3.6).

The prayer *Ave maria ancilla trinitatis* is preserved in a large number of medieval European manuscripts where it is often attributed to St. Bernhard of Clairvaux. The version of this pseudo-Bernardine prayer preserved in Holm papp 2 8vo as a reinserted fragment corresponds to the particular version printed in the *Breviarium Nidrosiense* (ff. 305r4–8), the standardised *breviarium* for the Archdiocese of Niðaróss printed in 1519 (see Section 3.5). The fragment suggests that the prayer may have been known in Iceland in this specific form already before the completion of *Breviarium Nidrosiense*.

In other cases, the newly-identified fragments constitute the first known witness of a Latin work in the Icelandic fragment material. The cover of Holm perg 25 4to, for example, preserves part of the *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* written by the scholastic theologian Petrus Lombardus (†1160) in the last decade of his life (see Section 3.5). The study of this work was a fundamental requirement for the degree of *baccalarius sententiarius*, the Bachelor's degree in theology, from the end of the twelfth century onwards. The discovery of a witness of the work in the Icelandic fragment material demonstrates that medieval Icelanders were familiar with contemporary European theological literature.

In the survey, I furthermore identified two examples of homiletic fragments. The first fragment is preserved as an end leaf in the back of NKS 11 fol. The leaf preserves part of Fulgentius Ruspensis' sermon *De sancto Stephano protomartyre et de conversione sancti Pauli* and belongs to an dismantled exemplar of Paulus Diaconus' sermon collection. Three further fragments of the same manuscript were detached from bookbindings in the Arnamagnæan Collection and are today stored under the shelfmark AM accessoria 7 Hs 94 (see Section 3.3). The identification of a fourth fragment outside the Arnamagnæan Collection strongly suggests that the manuscript was not first dismantled and reused as material for bookbindings by Árni Magnússon but already earlier.

The second homiletic fragment consists in a largely illegible parchment

leaf used as a lid for Holm papp 10 4to. The leaf preserves part of a sermon Guillelmus Peraldus' cycle of sermons on the Epistles (*sermo 44: Hoc sentite in vobis quod in Iesu Christo* [Phil 2:5]). As common in many medieval European exemplars of the Peraldus' sermons, the fragment includes textual interpolations from Peraldus' *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*. The fragment, which was written in Iceland, is the first known witness of Peraldus' sermons in the Icelandic manuscript material, adding to our knowledge about which Latin homilies and sermons were known in medieval Iceland. (see Section 3.5).

Taken together, these different liturgical, theological and homiletic fragments, some of which constitute the first known manuscript witness of a work in the Icelandic fragment material, paint a picture of medieval Iceland as a society which closely followed contemporary European intellectual culture.

5. Conclusion

The Latin manuscript material connected to Iceland, most of which is preserved only as fragments, remains incompletely catalogued to this day. With this article, I hope to contribute to the ongoing research by providing additions and corrections to the existing catalogues as well as an overview about which Latin fragments remain *in situ* in bookbindings of manuscripts connected to Iceland today.

Using recycled parchment as binding material for another book, e.g. as covers, pastedowns, flyleaves or reinforcements, was the most productive way of parchment recycling in Iceland. The catalogues of Kålund (1888–1892, 1900) and Gödel (1892, 1897) mention hundreds of codices containing *in situ* fragments in their bookbindings. However, very few of these fragments remain *in situ* in manuscript collections in Denmark, Iceland and Sweden today while the overwhelming majority of the former in situ fragments were detached in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and are preserved as separate items. In my survey, I identified 31 manuscripts containing 57 in situ fragments belonging to 40 dismantled Latin manuscripts connected to Iceland in the Arnamagnæan Collection and the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen, the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies and the National Library of Iceland in Reykjavík, the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm and Uppsala University Library (see Section 3).

Due to different approaches to the preservation of historical bookbindings

and *in situ* fragments, the remaining *in situ* fragments are today unequally distributed between the different collections. In the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen which held the by far largest number of Latin *in situ* fragments in the nineteenth century, these fragments were systematically detached in the early twentieth century by Ehlert and Kålund. In contrast, the largest number of Latin fragments connected to Iceland is today preserved *in situ* in the National Library of Sweden where such fragments were more sporadically detached from bookbindings (see Section 4.1).

In my survey, I identified several so far unidentified texts, including both liturgical, homiletic and theological works. In some cases, the newly identified fragments represent the first known witness of a text in the Icelandic fragment material, for example Fulgentius Ruspensis' sermon *De sancto Stephano protomartyre et de conversione sancti Pauli* (NKS 11 fol., end leaf), Petrus Lombardus' *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* (Holm perg 25 4to, cover) and Guillelmus Peraldus' Sermons on the Epistles with interpolations of his *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* (Holm papp 10 4to, lid) (see Sections 3.3 and 3.5). As only very few Latin fragments survive in the Icelandic manuscript material, any additional text which can be identified in this material holds a high value as source for medieval Icelandic liturgical practices and intellectual culture. Although they have often been overlooked in favour of the more extensive and more easily accessible collections of detached fragments, the closer look at the Latin fragments which remain *in situ* in the collections of Icelandic manuscripts has resulted in the discovery of new sources for medieval Icelandic liturgical practices and intellectual culture.

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Bibliography

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Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Copenhagen (DAS)
AM 12 4to
AM 25 4to
AM 62 4to
AM 618 4to
AM 623 4to
AM 678 4to
AM accessoria 7 Hs 14
AM accessoria 7 Hs 94
AM accessoria 7 Hs 111
AM accessoria 7 Hs 130

Den Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (DKB)
Thott 2099 4to
Thott 210 8vo
Thott 243 8vo
Thott 478 8vo
Thott 484 8vo
Thott 513 8vo

Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm (SKB)
Holm perg 13 4to
Holm perg 18 4to
Holm perg 25 4to
Holm perg 5 8vo
Holm perg 8 8vo
Holm papp 16 I fol.
Holm papp 72 fol.
Holm papp 10 4to
Holm papp 17 4to
Holm papp 18 4to
Holm papp 19 4to

Holm papp 26 4to
Holm papp 27 4to
Holm papp 34 4to
Holm papp 52 4to
Holm papp 71 4to
Holm papp 2 8vo
Holm papp 8 8vo
Holm papp 13 8vo
Holm U 170

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ÍB 230 8vo
ÍB 346 8vo
Lbs fragm 22
Lbs fragm 93
Lbs fragm 96

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SRA Fr 878
SRA Fr 879
SRA Fr 943
SRA Fr 944
SRA Fr 5238
SRA Fr 28002

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AM 249 l fol.
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Summary

In this article, I provide a survey of the fragments of dismantled Latin books that are *in situ* in bookbindings in the major collections of Icelandic manuscripts in Denmark, Iceland and Sweden as a supplement to the existing printed catalogues of the collections, including additional information, updates and corrections.

In the survey, I found six Latin *in situ* fragments in the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen, five in the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen, eight in the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies in Reykjavík, two in the National Library of Iceland in Reykjavík, 34 in the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm and two in Uppsala University Library. These numbers demonstrate different approaches to the preservation of fragments in the respective collections. While the Arnamagnæan collection once held the largest number of *in situ* fragments preserved in Icelandic manuscripts, these fragments were systematically detached from their host volumes in the twentieth century. In contrast, the *in situ* fragments preserved in Icelandic manuscripts in the National Library of Sweden were never systematically detached. As a result, the library holds today more than half of the remaining Latin *in situ* fragments connected to Iceland.

In the survey, I furthermore identify the content of several so far unidentified Latin liturgical, theological and homiletic fragments, including the sequence *Alme concrepent* for the translation of St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne (R 717, end leaves), the pseudo-Bernardine prayer *Ave maria ancilla trinitatis* (Holm papp 2 8vo, reinserted fragment), Petrus Lombardus' *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* (Holm perg 25 4to, cover), Fulgentius Ruspensis' sermon *De sancto Stephano* (NKS 11 fol., end leaf) and Guillelmus Peraldus' Sermons on the Epistles with interpolations of his *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* (Holm papp 10 4to, lid). Moreover, I discovered a previously unknown fragment of a Latin musical liturgical book preserved as an inlay in the binding of AM 623 4to.

Keywords: Binding waste, book bindings, maculature, *in situ* fragments, liturgical books, parchment recycling

Tom Lorenz
NTNU – Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Department of Language and Literature
ORCID iD 0000-0002-5642-6380

Writing on Skin and Bone
The Material Culture of Beginner Literacy in Premodern Iceland

Katelin Marit Parsons

1. Introduction

Although we generally treat them as waste products today, animal bones were a normal part of the Icelandic home environment until very recent times.[1] It was possible to turn bones into a digestible meal through an extended process of soaking them in fermented whey and boiling them into a form of bone pudding or aspic jelly, known as *strjúgur* or *beinastrjúgur* (Hallgerður Gísladóttir 1999: 83–84). However, bones were not only viewed as a potential source of nourishment. Household uses ranged from spools for thread to gaming pieces and toys for children.[2]

In a recent article on the intersection between environmental studies and manuscript culture, Viðar Hreinsson (2023: 372–74) discusses the use of weathered, sun-bleached bones as writing surfaces. In the cases examined by Viðar, which date from the early nineteenth century, children turned to

[1] I am grateful to Viðar Hreinsson and Birna Lárusdóttir for their comments on this research, as well as to the anonymous peer reviewers and editors. An earlier version of this article was presented at the AASSC 40th Annual Conference, 16–19 May 2022. Many thanks to the audience for the lively and insightful discussion that followed. The research for this article was supported by the Icelandic Research Fund, grant no. 218209-051. My deepest thanks to the National Museum of Iceland for permission to reproduce images from their collections.

[2] Several bone spools survive in Icelandic museums, some intricately carved and decorated. The use of bones for playthings is discussed below. On bone gaming pieces, see Lucas (2024: 328–330).

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bones in the absence of paper. I argue here that nineteenth-century accounts of animal jawbones serving as writing surfaces for children and adolescents – while they can seem like a mark of extreme privation to modern readers – belong to a longer tradition in Iceland that gradually vanished with improved access to paper and formal schooling for beginner writers.

Due to the ephemeral nature of children's writing, very little premodern material has been preserved that can be definitively identified as having been the work of a child or beginner writer. As will be discussed below, beginner writers in Iceland did not learn in formal school settings that were physically separate from everyday living spaces. While recent research on material practices of reading and writing is invaluable for its insights into scribal culture, it is difficult to draw conclusions on early education. The availability of various writing surfaces is discussed briefly below, comparing paper with bone, vellum, wax tablets and stone writing slates.

Relatively little has been written on practices of beginner writing in Iceland before the nineteenth century. Changing practices of childhood reading are somewhat better documented, as they are closely linked with children's religious education and the spread of printed books to ordinary households in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To explore the stability of the premodern material culture supporting children's pathways to literacy, this article compares the case study of a young Icelandic boy in the 1780s with a series of poems written in the 1660s by poet Stefán Ólafsson of Vallanes (c. 1618–1688). These poems, all of which deal at least briefly with children's writing, offer a valuable perspective on the material environment of writing. As examined below, they suggest that bone was enlisted as a writing surface for those learning to use a quill pen and ink, even in households like Stefán's with reliable access to paper. Stefán's poems are valuable as they embed children's writing practices within their wider social context (cf. Boyes, Steele and Astoreca 2021: 11), highlighting both children's experiences of learning and the relationship between education and play.

2. The transformation of education and play

The material culture of early education and play in Iceland both underwent a major transformation during the twentieth century. Ethnographic surveys of Icelandic toy culture collected in 1973 and 1974 reveal that imported, mass-produced toys did not have a widespread impact on Icelandic children's

Fig. 1. A young boy in Reykjavik, ca. 1902–1911. Photograph by Gunhild Augusta Thorsteinsson. National Museum of Iceland, A-GTh-54. ©National Museum of Iceland.

play before the 1920s and 1930s, although wealthy parents could afford much earlier to provide their children with factory-made toys identical to those encountered in middle-class households in mainland Scandinavia (Spurningaskrá 1973-1: Leikföng).[3] These toys were a marker of their parents' social status, as displayed prominently in a photograph taken by Gunhild Augusta Thorsteinsson (1878–1948) in Reykjavik between 1902 and 1911, which shows a young boy proudly surrounded by his doll, building blocks and other manufactured toys (Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, A-GTh-54, see Fig. 1).

[3] A total of 192 responses were collected from individuals born between 1882 and 1944. The survey covered use of animal bones as playthings, as well as shells, plants, wood, metal, stones, homemade dolls and finally imported toys. Bones continued to serve as toys for rural children long after they vanished from urban households.

Fig. 2. The household at Víðar in Reykjadalur in 1906. Photograph by Bárður Sigurðsson. National Museum of Iceland, BS-11. ©National Museum of Iceland.

Before such toys became available, children's play incorporated mainly self-created objects made from materials found in their immediate environment, such as sheep and horse bones. Bárður Sigurðsson (1877–1937) captured this aspect of childhood in a photograph from 1906 (Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, BS-11, see Fig. 2), in which the farm family at Víðar in Reykjadalur in North Iceland is posed as if enjoying a long winter evening together. The farmer's brother reads to the family while the other adults and older children engage in woolworking activities. Two of the farmer's young sons are seated on the floor, playing with bones for toys. The bones are evidently from the children's own collection, lined up as proudly and prominently as the Reykjavik boy's doll and blocks.

Expansion of school education for children was a parallel development. The earliest legislation on school attendance for children in Iceland dates from 1907, when laws on compulsory education for children between the ages of 10 and 14 were passed. Prior to this, most Icelandic children's educations had been managed exclusively within the home, with reading and catechism being required subjects from 1746. Writing and basic arithmetic were introduced only in 1880.

The primary function of early education before 1880 was to support religious instruction, in which respect Iceland did not differ from other Nordic countries (Laine 2019; Haarberg 2011). As elsewhere in northern Europe, the number of readers far outstripped the number of active writers. Literacy campaigns in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries focused narrowly on the development of religious literacy, in which context the Church played an active role in promoting reading across all social classes (Loftur Guttormsson 1989, 1983, 1981).

During and immediately following the Reformation in Iceland, production of printed religious books in Icelandic served to supply churches with the core texts required for performing religious services (Kristján Valur Ingólfsson 2003). The first and arguably most significant of these was Oddur Gottskálksson's New Testament translation from 1540, which laid the foundation for subsequent publications and cemented the status of Icelandic as a church language. While Danish was used for church services in Norway and the Faroe Islands, Icelandic was established as the language of vernacular religious education at the outset of the Reformation period.

The project of bringing Lutheran doctrine to Icelandic households began with Guðbrandur Þorláksson (c. 1542–1627), who became bishop of Hólar in 1571. Recognising that the scattered rural population, harsh climate and difficult terrain between farms meant that regular church attendance was impossible for many, he printed a flood of devotional titles aimed at a lay audience (Margrét Eggertsdóttir 2017; Einar G. Pétursson 2006). This project was continued by Guðbrandur's descendants, including his grandson and successor Þorlákur Skúlason (1597–1656) and grandsons Bishop Gísli Þorláksson of Hólar (1631–1684) and Bishop Þórður Þorláksson of Skálholt (1637–1697). The publication of the first alphabet in 1686 at Skálholt as a supplement to Luther's Small Catechism is an important milestone; the publication of the first primer in 1695 is another (Luther 1686; Eitt lijted stafrofs kver 1695).

The pietist movement in the mid-eighteenth century strongly emphasized personal reading as one of the cornerstones of Christian devotional

practices, promoting universal literacy across social class and gender. The ability to read thus became linked to the ability to participate as a full adult member of society. By this time, nearly all Icelandic households owned at least one book: 97.2% of households for which data on religious book ownership for the period 1748–1763 has survived (Loftur Guttormsson 1988, see also Sólrún Jensdóttir 1974–1977). By the end of the eighteenth century, printed book ownership was near-ubiquitous regardless of social standing, and even female servants and paupers might own their own personal libraries (Guðný Hallgrímsdóttir 2019).

While the growth of villages and towns in the nineteenth century permitted the gradual expansion of formal schooling to a wider segment of the population, no parallels existed to early modern grammar schools (cf. Árni Daníel Júlíusson 2003). Most children's educational opportunities were dictated by the social status and attitudes of their parents and other adults within their household. For motivated children not fortunate enough to have parents willing and able to support them in their studies, self-education typically filled the gap between the most rudimentary reading skills (essentially the ability to recite core religious teachings from a book when prompted) and full literacy in the modern sense of the word (cf. Loftur Guttormsson 2000, Davíð Ólafsson 2009).

Aside from the printed Catechism, which was intended for rote learning, no fixed curriculum or formal standards existed. Virtually the only mass-produced educational materials known to have been used by beginners in early modern Iceland were printed books such as the above-mentioned primer. As explored in greater depth below, a common theme in nineteenth-century biographies and autobiographies is the need for self-educated children to make or acquire their own materials for writing practice.

3. Writing surfaces: paper, wax, skin, bone and stone

Writing surfaces are a central aspect of the materiality of writing and have become increasingly visible as an object of research in recent decades (Piquette and Whitehouse 2013). In Iceland, this has led to a number of valuable studies, most of which have focused on paper (e.g., Arna Björk Stefánsdóttir 2013; Silvia Hufnagel 2023).

For the majority of Icelanders before the nineteenth century, writing

paper was primarily a material from which to read someone else's written text. Paper was introduced relatively late to Iceland. While it existed in extremely limited quantities in the fifteenth century, it was not an import commodity. Larger quantities entered Icelandic document culture in the sixteenth century, but not until the early seventeenth century did paper make inroads into manuscript culture (Arna Björk Stefánsdóttir 2013).

As Silvia Hufnagel's (2023) research highlights, paper could not have been manufactured in premodern Iceland even on a small scale, as conditions were unfavourable and necessary resources unavailable. Nevertheless, it can be stated with confidence that writing on paper was a practice broadly familiar to all Icelanders long before the country-wide population census taken in 1703, even among those who were themselves illiterate. Writing paper remained a relatively scarce import commodity even in the early nineteenth century.

One obvious downside to use of paper for practicing writing with a quill pen is that it cannot be easily wiped clean for reuse. The act of carving text into wax with a stylus can be repeated, and the premodern practice of using wax writing-tablets for children's education is well-established (Rouse and Rouse 1989, Cribiore 1996). Wax writing-tablets were certainly known in Iceland, and several such tablets were discovered with the wax still intact during the excavation of the former site of the Viðey monastery (Margrét Hallgrímsdóttir 1990; see also Þórður Tómasson 1982). Metal styli for writing on wax tablets were also among the writing implements uncovered during excavations at Skálholt (Lucas 2024b).[4] However, writing wax was an import to Iceland, and even wood was a much scarcer resource than in most other parts of Europe. References to medieval use of wax tablets in Iceland relate either to clerical literacy or use by the upper echelons of Icelandic society, rather than early learners. While it was possible that some Icelandic children did learn to write with the help of wax tablets, their use was likely limited mainly to religious houses, Latin schools, well-equipped churches and wealthy households.

Another imported surface was stone slate, which was used for writing slates in premodern Europe. A large number of slate fragments were found at Skálholt in the nursery belonging to the bishop's family, most of which were dated to the period 1670–1750, but slate fragments were also identified in areas associated with the Latin school (Sólveig Guðmundsdóttir Beck

[4] Silvia Hufnagel (2018) has also observed the use of dry point writing with a stylus in the margins of a paper manuscript from c. 1700.

2024). This is consistent with the status of Skálholt as a centre of education and knowledge production (Margrét Eggertsdóttir 2010; Springborg 1977). Besides traditional wax tablets and stone writing slates, various reusable products were also commercially available in Europe that might have been known in Iceland in very small quantities, such as booklets containing erasable leaves (May 2023).

One resource that existed in relative abundance in Iceland was bone. Bone has been a writing surface for as long as humans have used writing systems: arguably the best-studied instances of bone writing are inscriptions made on the scapula bones of oxen in China, the oldest of which were produced over three thousand years ago (Shaughnessy 2023). The use of bone for runic inscriptions was known throughout much of Northern Europe even before the settlement of Iceland (see Looijenga 2003).

Jónas Jónasson from Hrafnagil (1934/2010: 276) characterises bone as a paper substitute, citing the self-educated poet Sigvaldi Jónsson *skáldi* (1814–1879) as an example of a child who learned to write on a horse's jawbone in a stable. In addition to Sigvaldi, Viðar Hreinsson (2023: 375) cites the case of Ólafur Sigurðsson Sivertsen (1790–1860), the eldest son of a farming couple in Dalasýsla in West Iceland whose journey to literacy also began with a horse's jawbone, supplemented by paper strips cut from the margins of old letters. His posthumously published biography (Stutt æfiágrip 1862: 5–6) suggests that this was due to hard times and general shortages of paper and other import goods in the early 1800s when he was learning to write – the Napoleonic Wars caused major disruptions to the Iceland trade.[5] Viðar's third case (2023: 374) is that of Guðjón Jónsson (1826–1881), a child who practiced his letters on a horse's shoulder-bone, despite receiving no encouragement from the adults in his household.

The bones described in the above-mentioned nineteenth-century sources on children's literacy were not characterized as decorated or modified. Guðjón, for instance, found his bone while wandering outdoors. However, more elaborate bone tablets have survived. Most notable is a kind of reusable notebook made from four thin, flat sheets of bone that have been pinned together at the top by a rivet and can be fanned out (Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, Þjms 4896, see Fig. 3). This object is known to have belonged to the Rev.

[5] A second independent source on Ólafur Sigurðsson Sivertsen's education is a letter from Ingibjörg Finnsdóttir from Kjörseyri (1880–1972), whose mother, Jóhanna Matthíasdóttir (1845–1927), was his niece. Ingibjörg credits his mother, Katrín Þorvaldsdóttir (1765–1819), with teaching her sons to read using a horse's jawbone, carbon ink (*sótblek*) and a feather pen (Nanna Ólafsdóttir 1990: 58).

Fig. 3. Bone writing tablet owned by the Rev. Jón Steingrímsson of Hruni. National Museum of Iceland, Þjms 4896. ©National Museum of Iceland.

Jón Steingrímsson of Hruni (1777–1851) and is believed to have been made in Iceland (Guðmundur Magnússon 1994). For the purposes of this article, "bone slate" will refer to a bone object with a surface intended for writing practice or note-taking, however rudimentary.

Located on the spectrum between imported writing supplies and leftover bones is a final writing surface worth mentioning in connection with early education, namely recycled vellum. As late as the second half of the seventeenth century, discarded medieval books made from vellum, including liturgical books, continued to circulate in Iceland. Although produced for use in scribal culture and not intended as a temporary surface for writing practice, vellum was an exceptionally durable writing surface that could be palimpsested for reuse.[6] Even in the case of vellum manuscripts and documents that continued to be carefully preserved by owners, generous margins meant that it was possible to practice writing with a quill pen and ink

[6] Tom Lorenz is currently researching reuse of parchment from Icelandic liturgical manuscripts as part of his doctoral research at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) on liturgical fragments.

without damage or destruction to the main writing block. Of the surfaces mentioned here, writing on the margins of vellum manuscripts is the most likely to be preserved, but the extent to which surviving manuscripts were used for writing practice (e.g., copying out letters of the alphabet, words and phrases) has not been systematically catalogued or studied.

4. Jón Jónsson Therkelsen: a child's journey to literacy

Children's historical experiences of reading and writing tend to be poorly documented, particularly within premodern manuscript cultures. Childhood, not unlike the phenomenon of the manuscript itself in post-Gutenberg Europe, tends to be viewed as a transitional phase on the path to full participation in literary culture (Karen Sánchez-Eppler 2008, 188). Even after children became increasingly visible as readers during the educational reforms of the 1740s, it was not until later that children's own responses to literacy began to be documented as part of the learning process.[7] Appel, Christensen and Baden Staffensen (2022) advocate for the use of memoirs and autobiographies, and this is also the approach taken by Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and Davíð Ólafsson (2017), who connect the quest for literacy with the emotional development of the child (cf. Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon 2010: 91–97).

An account of one young Icelander's struggle to learn to write in the 1780s illustrates the circumstances in which children might progress from reading to writing through self-education (Steingrímur Jónsson 1825). Jón Jónsson Therkelsen (1774–1805) was born in Rauðanes in Mýrasýsla in West Iceland. His parents, Ragnheiður Oddsdóttir (1731–1788) and Jón Þorkelsson (d. 1775), were landowners at the time of his birth but not wealthy; Therkelsen characterizes them as a couple of average means. A fire at Rauðanes in July 1774 had destroyed their farmhouse only a few months before his birth, with considerable loss of property. The following year, when Therkelsen was only four months old, his father and older half-brother drowned while fishing at sea, leaving his mother a widow.

Therkelsen was an unlikely candidate for a scholar, a farmer's son who beat overwhelming odds to become a university graduate. In spite of his poverty,

[7] On the development of Icelandic children's literature, see Dagný Kristjánsdóttir (2015).

he successfully completed an education at the Latin school in Reykjavik and later sailed for the University of Copenhagen, where he gained a reputation as an exceptionally intelligent student. He died as a young graduate in Denmark. Shortly before his death in hospital in Copenhagen, he entrusted his friend Steingrímur Jónsson with his personal account of his struggle for education, asking Steingrímur to publish his biography, with special attention to his early years. Steingrímur indicates in his introduction that his contribution to the first part of Therkelsen's biography was as a translator and editor: Therkelsen had written his recollections in a mixture of Latin and Icelandic with the intention of eventual publication (Steingrímur Jónsson 1825: iv–vi). While the precise words used may not always be Therkelsen's own, the narrative and the impulse to share it are his.

Therkelsen's first memorable encounter with books occurred in his fourth year, when he was left alone in his mother's farmhouse and opened an unlocked cupboard to discover a collection of handwritten and printed religious and devotional books. Being an unsupervised child unaccustomed to handling books, Therkelsen tore up an old paper manuscript copy containing poet Guðmundur Bergþórsson's translation of Jesper Rasmussen Rachløv's *Taareperse* (1684), for which his mother beat him harshly (Steingrímur Jónsson 1825: 4–5). In his fifth year, his mother married a poor farmer, characterized by his stepson as a God-fearing and exceptionally gentle man who treated him well. It was in this year that Therkelsen learned to read, progressing from the alphabet to entire printed books within a single winter. There was no shortage of religious reading material at Rauðanes, although the books were not specifically tailored to young children, and Therkelsen notes that during the winter and spring of his sixth year he read the entire Bible aloud to his mother, who corrected his reading to the best of her ability (Steingrímur Jónsson 1825: 7–8).

Considerably more difficulties arose when Therkelsen decided in his eighth year that he wanted to learn to write. According to Therkelsen, a second half-brother was the only close family member to have ever learned to write, having received some limited instruction from his own late father (Therkelsen's mother's first husband). However, his older half-brother was more interested in farming than literary practices and had put writing activities aside. Therkelsen lacked paper, pen, ink and a tutor, and he began by forming letters on a dirty chest lid with his finger or a stick. Next, he was able to obtain a few drops of homemade ink from a boy from a neighbouring farm in exchange for food. He found a seabird's feather and took it to his literate half-brother, who cut it into a pen to the best of his ability. However,

his stepfather became concerned when Therkelsen began writing on wooden surfaces within the turf farmhouse (including the doorway, support beams, chests and bed-boards), fearing that the unreadable scribblings could inadvertently bring evil to the household. The scribblings were painstakingly scrubbed away with salt water, although Therkelsen was not punished for the act. Therkelsen explains at this point that he turned to a bleached horse jaw as a slate for writing practice, to which his mother and stepfather did not object (Steingrímur Jónsson 1825: 9–10).[8]

The idea that pre-writing on the wrong surfaces could bring harm to the young writer by attracting evil forces is echoed in nineteenth-century warnings to enthusiastic children who experimented with writing in snow or other surfaces without adult supervision and were said to have been taken by the Devil (Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and Davíð Ólafsson 2017: 130–31). Here, one finds a clear division of the world into regulated, safe and neutral writing surfaces (presumably including animal bones) and surfaces that ought not be inscribed with unknown characters – including the domestic interior and the natural landscape. Teaching children not to scribble on walls is something modern parents still struggle with, but Therkelsen's account underlines that his family was less concerned with the aesthetics of a house filled with scribbling and more with the potential to open the home to malevolent spirits through the creation of accidental magic. Surfaces and objects in close proximity to the household, such as bed-boards, were entirely off limits for early writing practice. Writing magical symbols, or *charactares*, on *eikarspjöld* (wooden tablets) is a forbidden practice documented in court cases from seventeenth-century Iceland (Már Jónsson 2021), and it may be that there was an enduring association between harmful magic and experimental writing on wood in the home.[9]

[8] "Nú var hann eins rádalaus, sem hugsandi um, hvad hann gjæti haft til at skrifa á, þar til at fyrir hönum vard hvítr og skininn hross-kiálki; hann reynir strax á hönum penna sinn, og þó illa tæki á, var kiálkinn, af hvörium jafn-ódum mátti útslétta, lengi eptir þetta hans einasta skrif-bók" ('Now he was at an utter loss as to what he could possibly use to write on, until he came across the white and bleached jawbone of a horse; he immediately attempted to use his pen on it, and though it went rather badly, the jawbone, which could be wiped off at once, for a long time after that his only copy-book') (Steingrímur Jónsson 1825: 10). Although the narrative foregrounds Therkelsen's ingenuity and personal initiative, it does not clarify whether the idea was entirely Therkelsen's own.

[9] Although *eik* is cognate with English *oak*, an *eikarspjald* is not literally an oaken tablet: in premodern Icelandic usage, *eik* generally refers to a tree rather than a particular species. Younger words for a wooden tablet, *tréspjald* and *viðarspjald*, are first attested in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively.

As Anthony J. La Vopa (1988: 9,19–20) observes, a centuries-long tradition existed within the Lutheran church of identifying and training poor but exceptionally intelligent boys like Therkelsen for careers in the clergy, and charity and state-sponsored support for young men from less privileged backgrounds meant that a pathway existed for them to complete university studies. By the early 1800s, there was less emphasis on higher education as preparation for an ecclesiastical career: Therkelsen was to have become a grammar teacher at the Latin school in Reykjavik. Nevertheless, the idea of merit-based advancement is central to what is in some sense an educational or intellectual biography, in which adversity threatens the individual's intellectual maturation rather than his spiritual progress and/or physical wellbeing (cf. Elín Bára Magnúsdóttir 1994). The unusually close attention to detail in describing Therkelsen's early efforts to write makes Therkelsen's biography a valuable source on practices of self-education in the late eighteenth century, but its primary focus is on the obstacles a peasant child must overcome to achieve literacy.

5. Premodern educators and education without schools

While the premodern use of animal jawbones by children for writing practice among highly motivated self-taught learners such as Therkelsen is well attested, these cases are treated as exceptional by nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors. This raises the question of whether children made a spontaneous decision to incorporate available objects from their immediate environment into their self-education, just as they did in their play, or whether this was a more established practice.

A majority of Icelandic parents in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were like Therkelsen's mother Ragnheiður: they could support their children's reading activities to at least some degree but lacked the ability to write. Stefán Karlsson's (2008) research on literacy among farmers in the mid-seventeenth century indicates that this would also have been the case in earlier times, with around 20–25% of taxpaying farmers in Iceland able to write their names in 1649. This broad social group included individuals who would have grown up in households where writing was a part of everyday life, e.g., ministers' sons who did not pursue a clerical career and property-owning farmers from elite families who did not seek out

positions within the Church or the administration (Bragi Guðmundsson 1985).[10] Literacy was thus unevenly distributed throughout communities, as children from wealthier families and households with family connections to individuals who had completed formal schooling had significantly better access to education.

Although there were no schools for beginner learners in Iceland and the Latin schools at Skálholt and Hólar accepted only more advanced male students, fosterage within kinship networks could support the development of literacy and other forms of learning. For instance, Guðrún Árnadóttir (d. 1619) learned reading, writing and arithmetic from her foster-father, Jón Björnsson of Grund in Eyjafjörður (1538–1613), who was married to Guðrún's aunt (cf. Þórunn Sigurðardóttir 2015: 175–83). The largely self-taught scholar Jón Guðmundsson *lærði* (1574–1658), born in Ófeigsfjörður in the Westfjords, states in a genealogical treatise that he was fostered by his paternal grandfather Hákon Þormóðsson (d. about 1597 in his late seventies), a shipwright, but spent three years (between the ages of seven and nine) in the company of his maternal grandfather, the former priest Indriði Ámundarson, who died in 1583 (Jón Guðmundsson 1902: 708,713; see also Einar G. Pétursson 2013, 1984).

Given that both Guðrún and Jón were born in the later sixteenth century (Guðrún was likely in her thirties when she and her infant died of smallpox during an epidemic), vellum would have played a significant role in the education of both. In his *Tíðfordríf* (1644), Jón Guðmundsson confirms that an old book from Skálholt made its way to his parish in the wake of the Reformation, from which he learned when he was young (AM 727 II 4to: 9r).

Even children born after paper had replaced calfskin as the dominant writing material in Iceland might learn from vellum books. According to Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík's biography of Páll Vídalín (1667–1727), Páll was tasked by his tutor with reading a vellum copy of the *Jónsbók* law code at the age of seven or eight (Jón Ólafsson 2013: 116). A similar account of a child learning to read from a vellum codex is preserved in Árni Magnússon's notes (AM 435 a 4to: 9v–10r): he records that Guðbrandur Björnsson (c. 1657–1733), who spent his childhood at Munkaþverá but emigrated to

[10] Some upper-class Icelanders such as the district administrator Gísli Magnússon (1621–1696) wished to establish a hereditary aristocracy in early modern Iceland that was formally distinct from the peasantry, but these efforts were unsuccessful (Jakob Benediktsson 1939: 48–85).

Denmark as a young man and served in the Danish army, learned to read from a volume of saints' lives, AM 232 fol.

As Loftur Guttormsson notes, educational opportunities for the children (and especially the sons) of wealthy landowning families like Páll's and Guðbrandur's were significantly better than those of peasant children (Loftur Guttormsson 1983: 163–168). Elite families frequently hired tutors and/or arranged for their children to stay in the households of clergymen or other teachers. Given that children's early educations were managed entirely in home settings, however, very little documentation exists beyond (auto) biographical prose and poetry, which can sometimes mention details of everyday life.

6. Stefán Ólafsson as educator and poet

The relationship between children and writing surfaces is the theme of several poems by Stefán Ólafsson, a university-educated provost and minister in East Iceland. Stefán was born into a significantly more privileged family than Therkelsen's. His father, Ólafur Einarsson (c. 1573–1651), was a university-educated provost, a respected scholar and poet and an experienced educator who had served as rector of the Latin school at Skálholt in 1600–1608.

After returning from the University of Copenhagen in 1648 and receiving the living of Vallanes in East Iceland, Stefán married Guðrún Þorvaldsdóttir (c. 1625–1700). The couple had eight children. Stefán's two sons, Ólafur (1659–1740?) and Þorvaldur (c. 1666–1749), attended the Latin school in Skálholt and later travelled to Copenhagen for university studies. Less is known of their six daughters' education, but his eldest daughter, Þóra (1653–1727), learned advanced needlework (cf. Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, Þjms 728), and one of his poems describes three of his daughters weaving an elaborate floral design together (SÓ II: 124).

In the late 1660s, one of Stefán's daughters, Guðrún (c. 1657–after 1704), spent an extended period away from home, although surviving sources unfortunately fail to mention where or with whom she lived. As she is not known to have been fostered by another family from early childhood, it is possible that her stay was related to her education. Stefán sent at least four poems to his daughter during this period, conveying love and greetings from her parents and siblings at Vallanes.

In two of the poems, the speaker is Guðrún's younger brother Ólafur. The first of these poems opens with Ólafur sitting inside, bored of his writing exercises and thinking back to a happy memory of playing games outside with his siblings and their grown-up friend Bjarni Þorsteinsson, a saddler who despite his greying hair and 45 years had not lost sight of his inner child. Although the poem itself would presumably have been sent on paper, Ólafur mentions the use of a bone for writing practice in the opening lines:

> Ber eg mig enn að bagla vísur beins á spjald, / iðka pár og pennahald. (SÓ I: 32)
>
> (I'm still scrawling verses on a slate of bone, / practicing my scribbles and penhold.)

The twenty-fifth stanza returns to this image of the bored Ólafur at his lessons, learning his books, making ink and placing lines correctly on a page (SÓ I: 35). Ólafur's comically disinterested attitude toward his studies presents a remarkable contrast to images of self-educated peasant children in younger and better-known sources on childhood education. Unlike these less fortunate children, Ólafur had a university-educated father who took a proactive role in his early education, with the objective of preparing his eldest son for a successful career in the clergy. Stefán's poem is thus evidence that bones were more than an improvised writing surface used by a handful of self-taught children. The poem playfully contrasts the freedom of the childhood world outdoors with the neatly ordered, closely regulated space of the written page. The poet's sympathy for his young son as he makes the unwilling transition to the adult world indoors shines through, but the sense of a single-minded desire to learn, so prominent in works like Therkelsen's biography, is wholly absent.

The second poem in which Ólafur is the speaker takes the form of a more traditional *ljóðabréf* or verse epistle. The rise of the verse epistle in Iceland as a literary genre coincided with the spread of paper in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but they are only sporadically preserved; Stefán's grandfather, Einar Sigurðsson of Eydalir (c. 1538–1626), is among the earliest poets to have composed verse epistles that still survive (Þórunn Sigurðardóttir 2021). As a form of correspondence, verse epistles were typically structured in the manner of ordinary letters, offering personal news and news from the community before ending with good wishes and a farewell to the recipient, although they tend to remain light and playful in tone even when the subject matter is serious (Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir 2006). In the case of Ólafur's verse epistle, it contains a brief reference to a recent

disease outbreak at Vallanes and elsewhere in the region, indicating that the poem was composed during the epidemic winter of 1669–1670, when the boy was around 10.[11]

Ólafur assures his sister that her siblings are in good health, but he's nonetheless discontent with his lot. According to Ólafur, he sits with calfskin and is also supposed to be copying out the content of some printed leaves (*þrentblöð*). Ólafur's description (SÓ I: 36) implies that his calfskin was formerly a leaf from a medieval manuscript – he calls it "saurljót / sinni einu kálfskinn" ('filthy once-upon-a-time calfskin'). The same stanza mentions his use of a quill pen for practicing writing on paper, suggesting that at least some privileged children would progress to paper as part of their early education:

> Þríf eg fjöður og hníf / sker penna og skrifa stór / skýran orð á pappír. (SÓ I: 37)
>
> (I take up a feather and knife, / cut a pen and write large, / clear letters on paper.)

If the poet's teasing portrayal does not exaggerate, Ólafur remains less than enthusiastic about book-learning. A later verse describes the many delays he manages to contrive in his studies, with the outcome that Ólafur's writing remains clumsy and uneven. It is possible that the message copied by Ólafur onto paper was the letter sent to Guðrún and that the poem itself was intended as a more interesting writing assignment than copying out dry printed material (presumably a religious or didactic text in Icelandic, given that the 1686 alphabet had not yet been published).

The conjecture that Ólafur practiced writing on vellum manuscript leaves as part of his early education is supported by an eight-line verse also attributed to Stefán Ólafsson, which conjures up a noisy scene of two beginner writers – one of whom is his daughter Kristín – and the crackling pieces of vellum on which they write:

[11] Historical chronicles mention an epidemic in Iceland in the autumn of 1669, the victims of which were mainly the poor (ÍA II: 220; ÍA III: 152). The contagion is unknown, and Stefán Ólafsson's poem calls the sickness *göngusótt* ('walking disease'), a poetic synonym for *landfarsótt* ('epidemic disease'), which could describe a range of contagious diseases, including the common cold. The chronicles also describe the winter of 1669–1670 as a period of harsh weather and severe famine. Jón Steffensen (1975: 290–295) suspected that fatalities were caused not by an exceptionally virulent virus but by the spread of opportunistic pathogens in a vulnerable population. In Iceland as elsewhere, infectious diseases were a major cause of death during pre-modern famines (cf. Joel Mokyr and Cormac Ó Gráda 2002).

> Oddur og Kristín klóra / á kálfskinns þunna bjóra, / með brakið, busl og óra / bögla stafina fjóra, / a og b með opið c, / einninn D-ið stóra, / þá kemur e-ið, f og g, / og að því brosir hún Þóra. (SÓ II: 109)
>
> (Oddur and Kristín scratch away on thin calfskin hides, with creakings, swishings and clamourings, struggling with the four letters – 'a' and 'b' with open 'c', and also capital 'D' – then comes 'e', 'f' and 'g', at which Þóra smiles.)

The young writers are surprisingly loud. The poem evokes the image of an old vellum codex open at the spine, groaning in its binding as the children labour away at their writing. Many medieval codices do indeed have marginalia suggestive of use by beginner writers in later centuries, including the abovementioned AM 232 fol. As an adult, Ólafur Stefánsson gave a fourteenth-century manuscript, AM 791 4to, to the collector Árni Magnússon, which contains an ordo or calendar outlining the Masses and Offices to be celebrated throughout the ecclesiastical year (*Ordo ecclesiastici usus per anni circulum observandus*). Some margins have been cut away entirely, presumably for the purpose of recycling the vellum. Elsewhere, one can find a brief inscription by a beginner writer (26r) and various markings and letters that are either intended as writing practice or pen trials (25v, 26v, 36r, 39r, 46v, 51v and 56v).[12]

Kristín Stefánsdóttir died on 19 December 1671, when she was in her fourteenth year. It is unclear at what age she began to learn to write, but the poem in which she and Oddur learned to write together likely dates from the mid-to-late 1660s. It was less common for girls to learn to write than boys, even in upper-class households such as Stefán's (cf. Guðrún Ingólfsdóttir 2016). Kristín must have been a more eager would-be scribe than her reluctant brother Ólafur. Stefán's eldest daughter Þóra was around four years older than Kristín and presumably a more experienced writer, who found the scene amusing. However, Oddur was not a close family member. Although his identity is unknown, Oddur was likely a child fostered by the family at Vallanes or a young boy staying with the household whom Stefán

[12] The manuscript's provenance is uncertain. Both Ólafur and his brother Þorvarður married daughters of Björn Magnússon (1623–1697), who managed the former monastery at Munkaþverá in Eyjafjörður and was the son of Magnús Björnsson of Munkaþverá (1595–1662), who owned a sizeable collection of medieval manuscripts (cf. Sigurjón Páll Ísaksson 1994). The abovementioned Guðbrandur Björnsson was their brother-in-law. Vernacular marginalia from more advanced writers can also be found on ff. 32r, 46v, 51v and 53v (the opening address of a letter to an unknown Oddur). These hint that the manuscript may also have functioned as a portable writing surface for some users, since many Icelandic households did not have writing desks.

taught to write alongside his own daughter.[13] This is supported by another single-stanza poem, also attributed to Stefán Ólafsson, about a boy named Oddur Jónsson:

> Oddur Jónsson er að skrifa upp á kjálka, / því mun bagga beinsins hálka / burt úr stöfunum teygist álka. (SÓ II: 108)
>
> (Oddur Jónsson is writing on a maw, / the bone's slipperiness plagues his paw: / away from the letters juts the jaw.)

Although this is a single-stanza poem, it provides better evidence than "Ber eg mig enn að bagla vísur beins á spjald" that the *bein* ('bone') in question is specifically an animal jawbone (i.e., *kjálki*) being used for writing practice, just as described in the younger biographical sources. The poem on Oddur Jónsson seems to teasingly address the seldom-discussed topic of how difficult children found it to write on a jawbone, which was not a flat writing surface like recycled vellum.

Yet another poem attributed to Stefán, "Nú er komið nýtt bein" ('Now a new bone is ready'), is a stanza of eight lines describing the preparation of a bone slate for writing, although no names are mentioned, making it impossible to date the stanza or identify for whom the bone slate might have been intended (SÓ II: 108). The speaker of this poem seems to be an adult, possibly the poet himself, who has prepared the bone by polishing it on a *slípsteinn* ('grindstone') and refers to the bone as a *skrifteinn* ('writing bar') for *rein stafanna* ('the strip of letters'). While it is possible that the bone object described here was akin to the slate used by the Rev. Jón Steingrímsson (see above) and never intended for a beginner writer's use, the poem hints at the use of modified bones for writing practice, with adult involvement in the process of preparing the bone slate. Polished bones would have been more slippery than those that were merely weathered, but they would also have been smoother surfaces on which to write.

Finally comes an alphabet poem, "Eg er nú við það illa 'd'" ('I am now at the troublesome 'd''), which describes in comic terms an unwilling child's earliest efforts to learn to write the alphabet.[14] The child as the poem's speaker complains continually, exaggerating the difficulties in forming the letters, but also mentions that the letter 'q' is placed on the jaw (*kjálki*) – i.e., a bone slate made from an animal jawbone:

[13] One possibility is that the boy is Oddur Jónsson (1661–after 1734) of Kirkjuból in Norðfjörður, a farmer who served as the *hreppstjóri* for his local community in 1703. He was around four years younger than Kristín.

[14] According to the rubric, the poem's speaker is the poet's son Ólafur Stefánsson.

> Q-ið set eg á kjálkann hress, / krókótt verður r og s / í t-ið fellur kúkakless / kemur mér 'u' á vondan sess. (SÓ II: 123)
>
> (I put the Q on the jaw with glee, / R and S go slithering free, / a doo-doo dropping plops onto T, / in a tight spot U gets me.)

The poem's final stanza again mentions a jawbone as the writing surface, associating use of the bone slate with the very earliest stage of learning, when the child has very little control of the ink flow. The poem has an obvious pedagogical function in helping the child to remember the order of the alphabet letters. It can thus be used as a teaching aid, although unlike some other premodern poems it does not also help the learner to remember the letter shapes (cf. Margrét Eggertsdóttir 2001). One possibility is that the instructor pre-inscribed the bone with the correct letter shapes (i.e., a strip of letters), which the pupil could then trace and retrace in carbon ink; a bone could be more easily washed and reused than a vellum leaf or a wax or wooden tablet, and it would have been a durable and easily replaced writing surface.

By late 1672, thirteen-year-old Ólafur Stefánsson had successfully progressed from basic writing exercises at home in Vallanes to more intensive Latin studies. His tutor was the Rev. Þorvarður Árnason of Klyppstaður in Loðmundarfjörður, who taught the rudiments of Latin to boys from the region, in preparation for more advanced studies at the Latin school in Skálholt. Ólafur was at Klyppstaður when an avalanche buried the living quarters on Christmas Eve of 1672. The minister, the Rev. Þorvarður Árnason, had been sitting at a table and was killed instantly when a support beam fell on him; Ólafur was saved by crawling under the minister's knees (ÍA II: 453).

Ólafur was a fluent writer by the time that he left Vallanes and presumably no longer needed a bone slate. He may have acquired his own wax tablet or stone slate but would have needed to write extensively on paper after gaining entrance to the Latin school at Skálholt (cf. Gunnar Marel Hinriksson 2023). However, Stefán's poems normalise the use of bone slates in home settings among Icelandic children of the highest social strata in his day – free from later associations with poverty and scarcity.

Taken together, Stefán Ólafsson's playful poems on childhood literacy give an unusually rich glimpse of the materials that might be used to teach a young pupil the craft of writing in a cultural household in the mid-seventeenth century. Four poems describe the use of a bone or jawbone for writing practice (one specifically for writing the alphabet), two name calfskin (one also for writing the alphabet) and one mentions paper.

Using poetry as a source on historical writing does have its limitations. The

impulse to play with words and images is stronger in poetry than in prose accounts like Therkelsen's. Likewise, each of these scattered micronarratives provides only the briefest of glimpses into children's writing activities, with no unifying thread to link the fragments together. Nevertheless, one potential advantage of poems like these is that they originate from a beginner writer's immediate environment instead of looking back from the perspective of the fully mature writer. Biographies and memoirs tend to be highly selective in their presentation of the individual's past, reflecting mainly on significant life milestones and deeply formative moments, whereas poems like Stefán's can vividly describe an instant in time without needing to construct a stable, coherent identity for their subjects. Preadolescent acts of writing on skin and bone were irrelevant to Ólafur Stefánsson's adult identity as a high-ranking clergyman. Like other mundane household objects, bone slates are invisible except when captured by the poet's perceptive eye – Stefán's poems include descriptions of everything from servants licking and scraping the tallow off equipment used for candle-making (SÓ I: 69–70) to a badly made iron *panna* ('pan') that failed to help light his home (SÓ I: 79–81).[15]

7. Conclusion

Although the absence of mass-produced toys from a modern child's home environment is often seen as a mark of desperate poverty or extreme neglect, the history of toys as inherently disposable objects of consumption produced outside the child's own environment is fleeting when one compares it to the much longer history of play. Using resources from one's immediate surroundings was an ordinary part of play. This article argues that children's literacy practices in Iceland followed a parallel trajectory. As Jón Therkelsen's biography illustrates, premodern children could practice writing in Iceland without reliance on scarce import goods, thanks to bones, homemade ink

[15] Stefán also calls the iron receptacle a *kola*, which in some premodern sources specifically refers to a type of open stone or metal lamp fuelled with fish oil. Given its association with *kol* ('coal, charcoal'), a *kola* might also describe a brazier (i.e., a 'coal-pot') in earlier usage. Stefán's poem, which dates from 1649, does not clarify whether the primary function of the *panna* was to carry light from the hearth into the household's living quarters or act itself as a static source of light. The poem's complaint that it was not sturdy enough indicates a need for portability (and thus a shaft or handle). Lendinara (2017) provides a fascinating discussion of words for pans and other equipment used to heat and light premodern homes in Northern Europe.

and quills sourced from local birdlife. In such a setting, no one rigidly standardized pathway exists to becoming a writer, and the acquisition of literacy is driven by natural, organic experimentation and improvisation.

Most surviving prose accounts of children's early literacy practices describe exceptionally motivated peasant learners for whom the act of learning to write was a significant accomplishment, such as Jón Therkelsen in the late eighteenth century. As Stefán Ólafsson's poetry hints, not all children were equally thrilled at the prospect of learning to write. While his daughter Kristín is depicted as a noisy but diligent beginner, poems in which his son Ólafur is the speaker make no bones about the boy's lack of motivation and preference for unstructured outdoor play. Although written by an adult, these poems illustrate how literacy had different meanings for different children. If Therkelsen was driven by a seemingly unquenchable passion for learning, Ólafur's education was central to shaping his identity as a member of the Icelandic elite. His father took an active role as educator, and his poems playfully transmit both the correct letter-forms and the social values informing them.

A commonality between these otherwise dissimilar sources is the association between animal bones and children's writing practice. Stefán Ólafsson's poetry makes repeated reference to bone slates, whereas paper is named only once. The poet from Vallanes also mentions the use of old or scrap vellum, which continued to be available in some households in the second half of the seventeenth century. As the supply of medieval vellum in Iceland dried up, the practice of using recycled vellum must have gradually vanished. Alternatives such as wax tablets and stone writing slates were comparatively expensive import products, and at least sporadic use of bone slates continued until the nineteenth century, when paper became increasingly obtainable even for rural children. Bone slates became associated with backwardness, as children's writing culture began to revolve increasingly around consumption of a ready-made product, namely commercially manufactured writing paper and copy-books.

Stefán's poetry is a reminder that the material conditions of the premodern Icelandic cultural and literary elite did not differ greatly from those of ordinary Icelanders (cf. Viðar Hreinsson 2023: 369), with the main distinction being the level of attention given to their children's education. Stefán himself would have learned to write on skin and possibly bone in the 1620s and certainly benefited from his own father's experience as a teacher at Skálholt in 1600–1608.

Crucially, while the material culture of writing depicted by Stefán Ólafsson differs from that in mainland Scandinavia due to the differences in the

natural resources at hand, comparison with studies of premodern children's literacy suggests that the poet's objectives were closely aligned with those of elite parents beyond Iceland's borders. In impressing upon his children the importance of letter-writing and good penmanship from an early age, Stefán's poetry reflects contemporary attitudes elsewhere in Europe (Blas 2017).

As discussed earlier, Stefán Ólafsson may have composed some of his verses on childhood writing with the intention of having learners copy them. For instance, "Eg er við það illa d" would provide the writer with practice in writing out the entire alphabet, including less common letters such as 'c' and 'q'. The choice of his young son as speaker for poems sent to his daughter may also have been a deliberate attempt on the poet's part to find a writing activity that would interest her brother and demonstrate for him the value of literacy. The poems reveal an unexpectedly sympathetic attitude towards frustrated young beginner writers and a desire to foster children's literacy by appealing to their sense of fun. Whereas children are frequently addressed in premodern children's literature in the capacity of passive listeners or readers, these poems provide some of the earliest evidence of Icelandic children's engagement with writing tasks, whether imagined or not.

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Summary

The article explores the material culture of the first stages of writing in premodern Iceland, arguing for the importance of repurposed writing surfaces in supporting beginner literacy. The article compares a biographical account of a self-taught writer, Jón Jónsson Therkelsen (1774–1805), with poetry composed in the 1660s by Stefán Ólafsson of Vallanes (c. 1618–1688), who taught his children to read and write. While the practice of writing on bleached horse bones is well-known from nineteenth-century accounts of self-educated children, Stefán's poetry demonstrates that use of bone slates was not limited to socially disadvantaged or self-educated children. Stefán's poems depict writing on animal jawbones as an exercise for those learning to control their pen and form letters correctly, and his poems provide evidence that bones were deliberately supplied by educators for use as reusable writing slates. Also described in Stefán Ólafsson's poetry is the use of calfskin for children's writing, a practice that has left enduring material traces in the margins of surviving vellum manuscripts. Vellum became increasingly scarce in the later seventeenth century and was no longer available for beginner writers by Therkelsen's day. Recycled vellum nevertheless played a role in the process of becoming a writer many decades after paper had become the dominant material for manuscript production.

Keywords: literacy development of literacy, children's writing, materiality of writing, Stefán Ólafsson of Vallanes

Katelin Marit Parsons
The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies / University of Iceland
ORCID id 0000-0003-2064-3604

Correcting Icelandic manuscripts in the second half of the fourteenth century

Techniques and context

Lea D. Pokorny

1. Introduction

A vital part of the production of any book, whether it be a medieval manuscript or an e-book, is the correction process.[1] This procedure can occur at various points in time. Corrections can be made while the text is written or copied. For example, an author or scribe might intervene immediately after noticing a small mistake; the author, scribe, or separate corrector could also make changes after the writing is finished. Even users of books can make corrections long after their production. Modern editorial software offers the opportunity to 'invisibly' make these corrections and reprint revised and updated editions of a publication. Medieval manuscripts, however, remain the way they are, traversed by corrections.

These corrections "make visible [...] the craft of copying the text, by making part of the process less smooth than elsewhere" (Wakelin 2017: 115). Therefore, they are an invaluable aspect for understanding the flow and process of manuscript production, revealing information about actors involved and the point in time at which it was corrected. While the copying conventions of Icelandic manuscripts are a well-established and productive research field regarding their paleography and orthography, the correction

[1] This article is no exception. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their helpful feedback, Beeke Stegmann and Erik Kwakkel for their guidance, and Cassidy Croci and Þórdís Edda Jóhannesdóttir for their help.

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of these same manuscripts has not been closely studied. The topic of corrections has primarily been considered in the context of in-depth analyses of single manuscripts without diving deeper into implications for the overall book production, such as the order of production phases or the question of responsibility. This is particularly helpful for medieval Icelandic as there is comparatively little knowledge about the process and organization of manuscript making in Iceland during this period.

This article thus provides an overview of correction techniques used in Icelandic manuscripts dated to the second half of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, it contextualizes the medieval Icelandic correction process within contemporary Western European conventions as well as within the sequence of stages in book production. By investigating selected manuscripts dated between 1350 and 1400 AD, the study shows what correction practices were used in Iceland at the time. The individual ways used to rectify scribal errors, such as different methods of deletion and insertion, are analyzed and compared with their use abroad to highlight similarities to and differences from other scribal cultures. Where possible, it is assessed whether a main scribe, a collaborator or a separate corrector made the corrections and the possible moment during the production process at which corrections were executed.

The present study of corrections reveals valuable insight into Icelandic book production in the second half of the fourteenth century by highlighting the correction process as a separate phase. While the results show that Icelandic scribes usually followed a simpler pattern with a less varied and specific repertoire of correction signs and were freer to choose what technical signs to apply in which context compared to scribes from other parts of Europe, the techniques and signs used show similarities to other vernacular Western European traditions. The analysis uncovers first and foremost parallels to the British Isles, but also to German-speaking areas. In addition, it appears that Icelandic scribes, like their contemporaries abroad, were for the most part responsible for correcting their own work. Finally, the results suggest that the moment of correction preceded that of further work on the manuscript such as rubrication.

2. Corrections in medieval manuscripts

Generally, the word 'correction' can be understood as two different kinds of rectification. The term is sometimes used for changing the text based on its

contents and corresponds to emendations – textual revisions or rectifications, whereby the mistakes in question have implications for the authenticity of a text (Reynolds and Wilson 1974: 187) and subsequently its interpretation and any understanding of its content. Emendations are thus "concerned with the restauration of accuracy to texts that have deteriorated" (Rouse & Rouse 1991: 430). The second definition of the term 'correction' concentrates more on the writing process itself and is the one used in the present study:

> A correction is a textual alteration made to rectify a mechanical error, such as an unintentionally omitted word or a misspelling, in the writing or copying of a document. The term implies that the alteration simply amends a mistake and entails no textual rethinking by the author or scribe, nor any substantive change, such as verbal deletion or rephrasing, made to the text as originally intended. (Beal 2009: 93)

With this definition, it is not the content of the text as such but the mechanics behind its copying that are at the center of attention. While both emendations and corrections of mechanical errors aim towards providing the reader with an error-free text, the former tries to eliminate unfavorable variants, while the latter strives towards a text that is spelled correctly and is complete.

Some of the most common scribal errors include:

1. anticipation (the conflation of several words due to a lapse by the scribe, whereby letters or words are written too early, e.g. 'put putting' instead of 'but putting')
2. dittography (repeating letters or words)
3. eyeskip or *homoioteleuton* (also referred to as *saut du même au même*; the scribe moves to a wrong point in the exemplar, often leading to an omission)
4. *homoioarchon* (whereby two words are confused because they begin the same)
5. metathesis (whereby the order of letters is confused within a word)
6. transposition (the writing of words in the wrong order) (Beal 2009: 360–361).

Oftentimes, several different techniques of correction can be used to rectify a single error; for example, a dittography may be crossed over, erased, or otherwise marked as "to be ignored". Similarly, erasures could be used not only to delete a mistake but also to make room for an omitted word (Wakelin 2017: 107). While it is not always feasible to reconstruct the nature of

an error, it is often possible to define the method of correction used for its rectification, which is why corrections are at the center of this analysis rather than errors. Some of the most common correction techniques, and the ones that will garner attention in this study, include:

1. Deletion: Deletions are, broadly speaking, any form of correction whereby a letter, word or larger portion of text are rendered "deleted", not meant to be read. There are different ways to achieve making the reader's eye ignore a mistake. Erasure was probably the neatest way to remedy an error (Wakelin 2017: 102), where the scribe used a penknife to scratch off the ink from the parchment. The writing surface was thus clean and ready to be written on again. Traces of erasure in form of discoloration or roughness of the writing support, as well as traces of erased letters, are sometimes very well detectable, but not all of them remain visible to today's observer (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2019: 351). Crossing out was another very common method to rectify a mistake. Letters or words are deleted by placing a stroke through them. This quick way to edit out words is effective, as evidenced by its continued use to the present day. Due to its persistent use, it can be difficult to assert whether all corrections made in this manner stem from the time of production. The color of ink can be indicative, but caution should be heeded when encountering this method.[2] Another way to delete is subpunction, or expunctuation, a method where dots are placed beneath a letter or word to indicate that this word should be ignored (see, for example, Muzerelle 1985: 122). The number of dots can, but does not have to, correspond to the number of letters erased. Other techniques of deletion include underscoring, the underlining of incorrect words, and obliteration, whereby words or entire passages are blacked out completely (Petty 1977: 29).
2. Insertion: One of the most common ways to correct medieval manuscripts was to add something that had been omitted. Additions were achieved by either writing the omitted text between the lines (interlineation) or by placing the text in the margins. To ensure that the reader understood how to read these additions, signs indicated the correct location in the main text and were, occasionally, repeated in the margins. Broadly speaking, such markers are called *signes de renvoi*, 'signs of referral' (Ker 1960: 50; Muzerelle 1985: 125). Muzerelle

[2] In GKS 2365 4to, for example, Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2019: 351) found that corrections by crossing out are almost certainly younger.

(1985: 125) further specifies that a *signe de renvoi* in the main text is an *appel*, a 'call'. The *appel* corresponds to what Lowe (1946: 36) calls an "omission sign"; in this context, the corresponding marker in the margin is called "insertion sign" (Lowe 1946: 36). Other scholars do not make this distinction between "omission signs" and "insertion signs" and refer to any such markers simply as insertion signs or insertion markers (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965: 95; Leeuw van Weenen 1993: 47; Steinová 2019b: 163). In the following, the term "insertion sign" will be used both for signs that appear in the main text and signs that appear in the margins.

3. Separation: When words were written too closely together, there might be a need to clarify that these words are, in fact, not one. To indicate this, a separation or diastole was created, a vertical or oblique line separating the words (Muzerelle 1985: 127).
4. Transposition: The term transposition was not only used for an error where words were copied in the wrong order but also for their correction. The edited word order can be indicated by means of alphabetizing (placing "a", "b", "c", etc. over words to indicate the intended word order), or dots or slashes (Leeuw van Weenen 1993: 47).

Finally, the cross will find attention in the analysis. As the cross was used in different ways in the analyzed corpus, it will find attention in the discussions of the respective techniques listed above. The cross was "one of the most common annotation symbols [...] throughout the entire Middle Ages" (Steinová 2017: 47) and used for different purposes. According to Muzerelle (1985: 126), a cross is the result of a vertical and a horizontal line intersecting. Three variants found in the analyzed corpus can be distinguished: the Greek cross (*crux quadrata*) with arms of equal length (+), the Latin cross (*crux immissa*) with an elongated descending arm (†) (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 2024), and a cross made of individual dots (⁘).

The use and popularity of certain types of correction, and particularly the symbols used during the process, could vary from region to region and from period to period. E. A. Lowe's influential study on the oldest omission signs in Latin manuscripts gives a comprehensive overview of these regional and chronological variations (Lowe 1946), spanning from the oldest Greek papyri over Visigothic manuscripts to Insular manuscripts. Recently, Evina Steinová has published extensively on regional variants of annotation and correction signs in early-medieval European manuscripts (Steinová 2019a; 2019b; 2021). Although Lowe's and most of Steinová's studies are based on

older material, they highlight the presence of regional variance in correction techniques, which is relevant for the discussion of Icelandic practices in the context of other vernacular Western European traditions.

The person tasked with the correction of a text in a manuscript could either be the main scribe or someone else who may or may not have contributed elsewhere during the production process. Occasionally, scribes would comment on the correction process or invite future corrections (Schneider 2014: 150–151; Wakelin 2017: 29). For instance, they might name themselves in a colophon and indicate that they were the ones responsible for rectifying mistakes. Without such distinct indications of task division, identifying the person responsible for corrections can be difficult, since "a scribe correcting himself often writes less fluently and much smaller than he usually does, and sometimes with different pens or ink, so that his writing might look different" (Wakelin 2017: 72). Furthermore, a collaborator might actively try to imitate the main scribe's ductus, which also hampers a possible identification of the corrector (Wakelin 2017: 72).

The consensus among scholars working with vernacular insular manuscripts is that, unless there are counter arguments, it was usually the main scribes who corrected their own work (Ker 1960: 55; Petti 1977: 28; Doyle and Parkes 1978: 166; Huws 2000: 32; Wakelin 2017: 71–72). Wakelin furthermore emphasizes the concept of the "thinking scribe" throughout his analysis of late medieval English manuscripts. By correcting their own work, scribes engaged in conscious thought processes (Wakelin 2017: 63–64) in a "moment of sharpened attention, often after a moment of inattention" (Wakelin 2011: 55). Those who corrected a text but were not its main scribe are referred to as a "corrector" (Ker 1960: 50) or more generally as "collaborators", i.e., other main scribes working on the same manuscript, or rubricators and others involved in later phases of production (Wakelin 2017: 75–76).

In some regions of Western Europe, there seems to have been a difference between who corrected manuscripts written in the vernacular and Latin manuscripts. As Schneider (2014: 150) points out, codices written in the German vernacular were typically corrected by the main scribe, while Latin texts (especially when produced for libraries) were corrected by others, as such productions that required a higher degree of coordination and care. Similarly, Wakelin (2017: 71) asserts that manuscripts written in the English language in the late Middle Ages were mostly self-corrected, due to a lack of organization and collaboration during the book production process.[3]

[3] Occasionally, "some supervisory correcting" can be found in connection with English

Understanding when during the production process of a manuscript its copied text was corrected provides significant insight into medieval book production. Generally, medieval manuscript production consists of multiple steps, starting with the production of the writing support, its arrangement into gatherings and its preparation for the writing through pricking and ruling. Once the page is prepared, the copying can take place, which is typically followed by the rubrication and illumination processes.[4] Finally, the gatherings can be bound together. Some of these steps, such as the rubrication or illumination of a manuscript, are occasionally skipped. The correction process could happen at any point during or after the writing process.

While there are many scholars participating in the discussion on the possible people responsible for correcting texts (e.g. Huws, Petti and Schneider), the question in which phase corrections took place is primarily addressed by Wakelin. He argues that especially "interlinear and marginal additions reveal the time delay and retrospection involved in correcting" (Wakelin 2017: 248). Additions in the margins highlight that a scribe was attentive to the text "beyond the initial moment of copying" (Wakelin 2017: 249). The same may be said for interlinear additions, since by the time of adding omitted words or text, the ink may have become too dry to scrape out the main text (Wakelin 2017: 138), making it impossible to accommodate the addition in the principal text (Wakelin 2017: 248). Erasing and writing anew is thus presumed as a correction technique done primarily during the initial copying act rather than later. A different supporting argument for erasure happening primarily during the writing process is the space that would be created by scraping off ink. Erasures executed after the initial writing process might not provide enough (or too much) space for the correction, resulting in an odd appearance compared to the rest of the main text (Wakelin 2017: 108). What Muzerelle (1985: 121) calls "repentir" ('to repent'), a correction made by a scribe who realizes the error immediately, could, for example, be an erasure which was written over. Methods such as crossing over or the overwriting of a single letter without erasing could further be an indicator of correcting in haste, whereby a scribe notices the error immediately but

religious houses (Wakelin 2017: 83). Due to the high loss of Latin manuscripts produced in Iceland, the fragmentary nature of the surviving specimen and a prevailing lack of scholarship on their production, it is currently not possible to say whether they were treated differently with regard to the correction process than manuscripts written in the Icelandic vernacular (see also Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2017).

[4] Gumbert (2009: 322) briefly mentions the possibility of initials being executed immediately during the writing of the text.

does not want to break the flow of his copying and thus decides against the more laborious erasing. This phenomenon is described as "*currente calamo* ('with the pen still moving')" (Wakelin 2011: 55). Yet, most corrections happen in retrospect – because something unwritten cannot be the subject of the process.[5]

The level of organization of Icelandic book production is not well documented. Occasionally, scribal collaboration will be either addressed in a colophon or preface (as is the case in GKS 1005 fol., Flateyjarbók) or uncovered through detailed scholarly analysis (Stegmann 2018). The discussion of corrections in medieval Icelandic manuscripts mostly takes place as part of detailed descriptions of individual codices. The most noteworthy are Alex Speed Kjeldsen's (2013) study of GKS 1009 fol., Morkinskinna, Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen's (1993) description of Isl. perg. 15 4to, the Icelandic Homily book, and Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson's (2019) analysis of GKS 2365 4to, the Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda. Furthermore, the topic of the corrector is briefly touched on by Beeke Stegmann (2018) in her analysis of scribal collaboration in AM 468 4to, Reykjabók. These studies are certainly valuable because they reflect the techniques used to correct the respective manuscripts; however, they are also limited because they are case studies of individual codices without further contextualization.

Two more comprehensive studies on Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts drawing on larger corpora by Didrik Arup Seip (1954) and Hreinn Benediktsson (1965) describe correction techniques, albeit not in much detail. Seip investigated Norwegian and Icelandic manuscripts dated before 1225 until after 1300. He describes the use of certain correction practices, such as expunctuation and specific signs (Seip 1954). Hreinn Benediktsson identifies the caret mark as the insertion sign used most often in Icelandic manuscripts dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but mentions that other signs were used for this purpose as well (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965: 95). Finally, a selection of correction techniques is discussed by Odd Einar Haugen (2019) in the handbook of the *Medieval Nordic Text Archive* (*Menota*), and although the goal of these descriptions is the encoding of errors for digital editions of texts, the selection of techniques may be reflective of some of the most common mistakes in Nordic manuscripts.

[5] However, it is also true that a scribe can also adjust the text of the exemplar as the text is copied, by correcting scribal errors found in the exemplar in the respective copy. This is a more pro-active correction method and hidden from later users unless the used exemplar is known and still extant. A correction of this kind is, however, beyond the scope of the present study.

Descriptions in the scholarship of correction methods in medieval Icelandic manuscripts are limited to brief sections in general surveys on the script or general recommendations for the encoding the most common types of corrections. A systematic examination of correction techniques in a corpus of different scribal hands is, therefore, still lacking.

3. Corpus

The present study analyzes a cross-section of Icelandic manuscripts from the second half of the fourteenth century for visual signs of corrections. The corpus consists of leaves and fragments of 22 original manuscripts, written in the vernacular and dated between 1350 and 1400. Today, some of these are preserved under more than one shelfmark, meaning that the leaves are found in a total of 28 shelfmarks. The specimens were examined both in-situ and from digital images.

The corpus includes some of the most impressive representatives of their time, such as the manuscripts SÁM 1 (also known as Codex Scardensis) and AM 350 fol. (also named Skarðsbók Jónsbókar). In fact, 16 of the original manuscripts – now under 22 shelfmarks – belong to the so-called "Helgafell group", a set of manuscripts commonly connected to the Augustinian house of Helgafell on the Snæfellsnes peninsula in West Iceland (Ólafur Halldórsson 1966; Stefán Karlsson 1967).[6] The remaining six original manuscripts were chosen to complement the Helgafell group: they are contemporaries, but from different origins and written by unrelated scribes.

Some of the manuscripts in the corpus are attributed to the same scribe, while others are the products of hands not identified elsewhere. Thus, the study allows for not only inter-scribal variation but also intra-scribal variation. The content spans from law texts and religious texts to sagas. The selected specimens are not limited to any one type of text but rather represent the variety of vernacular literature preserved from the second half of the fourteenth century.

Tab. 1 lists the examined manuscripts by their current shelfmarks; those belonging to the same original codex are presented using a + sign. Additions

[6] The relation of the manuscripts belonging to the "Helgafell group" is currently being reexamined and reassessed. A volume edited by Beeke Stegmann (SÁM) and Þórdís Edda Jóhannesdóttir (SÁM) on this topic is forthcoming.

Tab. 1. Corpus of Icelandic manuscripts dated to between 1350 and 1400 used in this study. Dating according to the Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog (ONP). Scribal attribution according to ONP and handrit.is unless otherwise stated.

Shelfmark	**Date**	**Main scribe**	**Fol.**
AM 53 fol.	c. 1375–1400	53.1	1ra–72vb
AM 61 fol.	c. 1350–1375	H2	1va–109vb
AM 66 fol.	c. 1350–1375	66.1	2r–51v31; 52r–141v
		Magnús Þórhallsson	51v32–33
AM 73 b fol.	c. 1370–1390	H1.A	1r–4v
AM 122 a fol.	c. 1350–1370	122a.1	1–43r
		122a.2	43v–62v
		122a.3	63r–69v; 95r–109v
		122a.4	70r–94v
AM 180 c fol.	c. 1400	180c.1	1ra–73vb
AM 219 fol.	c. 1370–1380	H1.B	1ra–17vb
+ JS fragm. 5			1rv
+ JS fragm. 6			1rv
+ SÁM 2			1rv
+ Þjms. 176			1rv
AM 226 fol.	c. 1360–1370	H1.A	1ra–61vb; 70ra–117ra; 117rb9–158ra; 158rb5–41
		226.1	117rb1–8
		226.2	158rb1–5
AM 233 a fol.	c. 1350–1375	H1.A	1va–12vb; 28ra–29vb
		233a.1	13rv[a]
		233a.2	14r7
		H2	15va–27vb
AM 238 VII fol.	c. 1350–1375	H2	1rv
AM 239 fol.	c. 1350–1400	H1.A	1v–2r6; 2r8–35v
		239.1	2r6–7[b]
		239.2	36r–85v; 96r–109v

Shelfmark	Date	Main scribe	Fol.
AM 347 fol.	c. 1350	347.1	1r–94va
		347.2	27rb:1–18, 40ra:16–32, 41rb:9–22, 41va:1–13, 43v, 77vb, 78rb:13–26, 79rb, 79vb:1–10, 80ra, 80vb, 81rb, 81vb, 82vb, 83va; 84vb:8–23
	c. 1350–1370	H1.C	94vb–98v
AM 350 fol.	c. 1363	H1.A	1r–17v; 24r–150va
AM 156 4to	c. 1350–1375	H2	1v–79r
AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to	c. 1370	H1.B	1rv
+ AM 325 X 4to			1r–14v
AM 344 a 4to	c. 1350–1400	344a.1	1r–21r3
		344a.2	21r3–24v
AM 383 IV 4to	c. 1370–1390	H1.B	1r–4v
AM 653 a 4to	c. 1350–1375	H2	1r–9v
+ JS fragm. 7			1r–2v
AM 48 8vo	c. 1375–1400	48.1	2r–53v
	c. 1400	48.2	53v16–25; 56r
Isl. perg. 5 fol.	c. 1350–1360	5.1	1v–48ra5
	c. 1360–1370	5.2	48ra6–48rb
		5.3	48v–64r
		H1.A	54ra23; 57ra5–8
		5.4	64v–68vb31
		5.5	68vb32–71r
Isl. perg. 34 4to	c. 1350–1400	34.1	1–7r7
	c. 1370	H1.B	91r–128r
SÁM 1	c. 1350–1375	H2	1v–81v
		1.1	82–83ra4
		1.2	83ra4–94va18
Investigated mss. total	***22***	**32**	

Notes

[a] According to Ólafur Halldórsson (1966: 31). *Handrit.is* and ONP do not contain this information.

[b] Cf. Pokorny (2023: 183).

to the manuscripts dated after 1400 are excluded from the subsequent discussion. The table further identifies the main scribes (here defined as any scribes appearing in the main text of a manuscript or fragment). Those that occur in more than one manuscript are referred to as H1.A, H1.B, H1.C and H2, respectively, following common practice in scholarship on the Helgafell group, though also observing the newest research by Katrín Lísa L. Mikaelsdóttir and Haraldur Bernharðsson (both forthcoming).[7] Other scribes are referred to using a corpus-internal system, whereby a signa consisting of the shelfmark number and the order in which they appear is used.

In total, 32 main hands occur in the 22 original manuscripts. Corrections and additions were documented for each manuscript by noting down the page, line, and nature of the respective correction.[8] An effort was made to distinguish between ones that are (likely) contemporary and those that are (likely) later additions. Deciding factors were script type (ductus and aspect), ink color and overall appearance. Corrections were counted independently from the number of letters: for example, a single letter erased is counted as one correction; likewise, a deletion of several letters or words in one go is counted as one correction.

In the following, deletions, insertions, separations, and transpositions are discussed based on the results of the analysis. Simultaneously, the discussion is broadened to show how the observed Icelandic tradition compares to broader Western European patterns. By doing so, parallels and possible connections between Icelandic conventions and other contemporary practices from abroad become apparent. Subsequently, questions of responsibility and possible placement of the correction process in the sequence of manuscript production phases are addressed.

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[7] See Haraldur Bernharðsson (2014), who gives a detailed paleographical analysis of this scribe.

[8] The codicological features of all listed manuscripts were catalogued following Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart and Marilena Maniaci's *Syntaxe du codex* (2013) in the scope of two projects "Bókagerð í Helgafellsklaustri á fjórtándu öld", led by Beeke Stegmann, and the doctoral project "Bookmaking in late-fourteenth-century Iceland. A codicological study on the production of manuscripts in the European context" (Rannís-grant-nr.: 228433-051), of which this article is a part. Production units, entities produced in one continuous process, were defined to reconstruct and comprehend the manuscripts' production history. Due to the ambiguity of when some of the corrections were added to a text (an issue discussed at length below), production units will not be considered in the present study unless implicitly stated. For more information about the production units of the "Helgafell-manuscripts", see https://hirslan.arnastofnun.is/.

4. Corrections in Icelandic manuscripts dated 1350–1400

Of the 22 investigated original manuscripts, all but two contain corrections. It is therefore safe to assume that it was customary in Icelandic vernacular manuscript production to correct manuscripts, as the two specimens in which no corrections were found are short fragments (AM 73 b fol. and AM 383 IV 4to) that provide only a limited opportunity for examination. In fact, almost all examined manuscripts contain some leaves on which no corrections are visible, making it likely that now lost leaves of those two former manuscripts had been corrected.

Tab. 2 provides an overview of the different correction techniques found in the 20 manuscripts in which corrections were detected. Techniques are divided into five categories: erasures that were written over, other modes of deletion (incl. erasures which were left blank), interlineation, marginal corrections (with a subcategory of matching insertion signs in the main text and margin) and combinations of techniques and 'others' (e.g. individual letters that were redrawn or changed without any mode of deletion and transpositions).

4.1 Deletions

The most widely used modes of deletion in the analyzed corpus are erasure, crossing out and subpunction (or expunctuation).

Most of the manuscripts contain identifiable erasures.[9] AM 226 fol., for example, presents an extremely frequent use of erasure over other correction methods. Here, most corrections are individual letters and words that were scratched out and written anew, while only a handful of insertion characters and other signs could be found (see Tab. 2).[10] Crossing out can also be found widely in the examined corpus.

Subpunction (or expunctuation) also appears, although it is used slightly less frequently than a simple stroke over a word or letter. This technique

[9] The cases in which no erasures could be detected are usually one-leaf fragments in a condition where the text has suffered substantial damage. For more on material issues in this regard, see below.

[10] Letters are occasionally also simply turned into another one through simple overwriting of the original letter without erasures. In AM 226 fol., in H1.A's part, for example, an 'h' is turned into an 'd' (see fol. 88rb3).

Tab. 2. Corrections in Icelandic manuscripts dated between 1350 and 1400 according to shelfmarks. Younger additions are excluded.

	Total no. of corrections		Erasure & written over		Deletion (crossing out, subpunction, erasure)		Interlineation		Correction in margin (thereof matching insertion signs in main text and margin)		Combination / other*	
AM 53 fol.	51	100%	5	10%	12	24%	15	29%	15 (7)	29%	4 (4+0)	8%
AM 61 fol.	271	100%	4	1.5%	50	18%	150	55%	59 (1)	22%	8 (4+4)	3.5%
AM 66 fol.	59	100%	1	2%	26	44%	22	37%	4 (1)	7%	6 (5+1)	10%
AM 122 a fol.	140	100%	7	5%	29	21%	79	56%	19 (0)	14%	6 (4+2)	4%
AM 180 c fol.	69	100%	3	4.5%	11	16%	30	43.5%	18 (2)	26%	7 (4+3)	10%
AM 219 fol.	4	100%	3	75%	–		–		1 (0)	25%	–	
AM 226 fol.	313	100%	185	59%	75	24%	12	4%	2 (0)	0.5%	39 (3+36)	12.5%
AM 233 a fol.	39	100%	1	3%	20	51%	14	36%	4 (0)	10%	–	
AM 238 VII fol.	2	100%	–		–		1	50%	1 (0)	50%	–	
AM 239 fol.	341	100%	14	4%	53	15.5%	217	63.5%	40 (7)	12%	17 (14+3)	5%
AM 347 fol.	59	100%	3	5%	25	42%	27	46%	3 (1)	5%	1 (1+0)	2%
AM 350 fol.	64	100%	36	56%	9	14%	4	6%	12 (4)	19%	3 (1+2)	5%
AM 156 4to	64	100%	–		7	11%	26	41%	25 (2)	39%	6 (3+3)	9%
AM 325 X 4to	1	100%	–		–		1	100%	–		–	
AM 344 a 4to	52	100%	–		16	31%	33	63%	3 (2)	6%	–	
AM 653 a 4to + JS fragm. 7	12	100%	–		3	25%	4	33.5%	4 (0)	33.5%	1	8%
AM 48 8vo	10	100%	1	10%	4	40%	1	10%	3 (2)	30%	1 (1+0)	10%
Isl. perg. 5 fol.	87	100%	4	5%	16	18.5%	30	34.5%	28 (1)	32%	9 (7+2)	10%
Isl. perg. 34 4to	21	100%	7	33%	13	62%	1	5%	–		–	
SÁM 1	228	100%	13	6%	76	33%	119	52%	7 (0)	3%	13 (9+4)	6%
Total	**1,887**	**100%**	**287**	**15%**	**445**	**24%**	**786**	**42%**	**248 (30)**	**13%**	**121**	**6%**

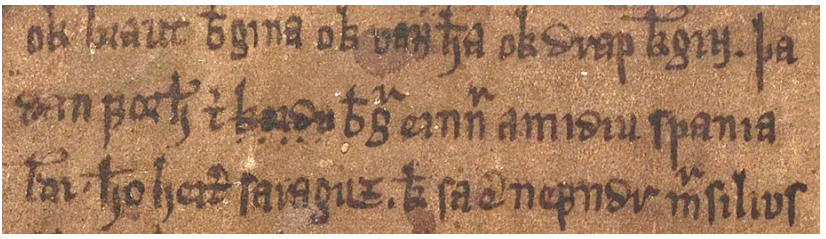

Fig. 1. Word crossed out and subpuncted in AM 180 c fol., fol. 8va2. Photo: handrit.is.

was only found to delete entire words in the examined corpus rather than single letters, and the number of dots placed underneath the deleted word does not always correspond to the number of letters in the word. In AM 122 a fol., expunctuation is the predominant method of deletion used in the part written by the manuscript's first scribe (122a.1). The following parts written by other hands in this manuscript do not show expunctuation; instead, words are either crossed out or erased. Occasionally, subpunction and crossing out were found together. This combination is especially common in AM 66 fol. (written by 66.1), but examples also occur in Isl. perg. 5 fol. and, as can be seen in Fig. 1, AM 180 c fol. (written by 180c.1).[11]

Underscoring occurs more rarely than the other methods of deletion in the investigated corpus. Apart from the standard underscoring with a straight line, a single occurrence whereby a repeated word was underlined with a zig-zag-like line was found in AM 226 fol. on fol. 80vb20.[12] Obliteration was only found twice in the analyzed manuscripts; once, a letter was blacked out in AM 239 fol., fol. 85r19, and once, a word was obliterated in AM 350 fol., fol. 116vb22.

Finally, crosses were found in connection with deletions. At the end of line 12 on fol. 9ra in SÁM 1 (written by H2), something was obviously erased and a Greek cross was drawn over the erasure (see Fig. 2). The preceding word appears to have undergone correction as well. Whether the cross was supposed to function as a line filler or to mark a deletion is difficult to determine. However, this form of line filler was not found elsewhere in the investigated corpus, making it more likely a deletion marker.

[11] Here, the sentence reads: "Þadan for hann t*il* kordu b*orgar* einn*ar* amidiu spania l*an*di" ('From there, he went to kordu a city in the middle of Spain'). The deleted word is difficult to make out because of the stroke placed through it, but likely either reads or "kordu" or "keidu".
[12] The second occurrence of the verb "er" ('is') is underscored thusly.

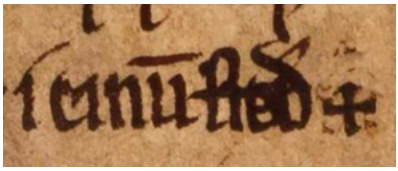

Fig. 2. Greek cross drawn over an erasure. SÁM 1, fol. 9ra12. Photo: handrit.is.

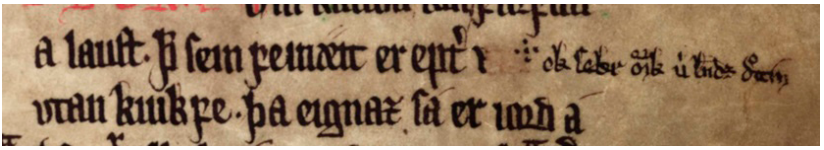

Fig. 3. Dotted cross in AM 350 fol., fol. 36rb26. Photo: handrit.is.

One occurrence of a dotted cross ·:· was found in the text attributed to H1.A in AM 350 fol., fol. 36rb26 (see Fig. 3). Like in the previous case of SÁM 1 (in the part written by H2), the cross was drawn over an erasure and is followed by the correction, strengthening the argument that it could be used to mark deletions.[13] According to Már Jónsson (2004: 164), this addition was written by somebody other than the main scribe, an assessment also made by Ólafur Halldórsson (1981: 47), discussed further below.

In SÁM 1, fol. 17rb, the scribe H2 mistakenly copied the same passage twice, resulting in a dittography of several lines. The first and correct occurrence of the passage spans over lines 21–24 and marks the end of a chapter. The second, incorrect occurrence spans over lines 27–30. To indicate the deletion of this mistake, two Latin crosses (†) were added, judging by the color of the ink most likely by the main scribe himself. One is found at the beginning of the miscopy in line 27 and the other at its end in line 30, essentially declaring this portion 'dead' (see Fig. 4). The cross' function in this example is thus clearly that of a deletion sign.

Overall, deletion was used widely throughout the investigated corpus – in particular erasure, crossing over and expunctuation. In 18 of 20 manuscripts,

[13] Interestingly, the erasure seems to be incomplete, as one minim remains. Már Jónsson, who addresses this correction in his edition of Jónsbók (2004: 164), does not further facture in this minim in his transcription, which reads "þat sem fémætt er eftir utan kvikfé, þá eignast sá er jörð á" for the main text. Már (2004: 164) places the addition thereafter ("og sekur mörk við landsdrottin"). If this reading is correct, it would mean that the passage should have been inserted after "kvikfé" and not after "eftir", and that the dotted cross should be placed two words later.

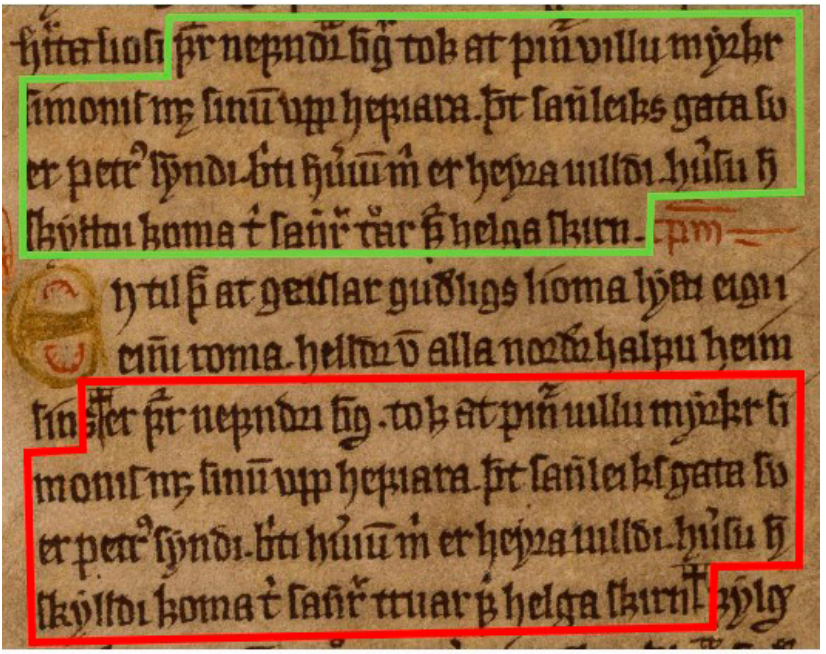

Fig. 4. Latin cross used to delete dittography (marked in red) in SÁM 1, fol. 17rb. Photo: Sigurður Stefán Jónsson

one or a combination of these three techniques was found; they appear in the work of 20 of 32 of the main scribes. These three methods of deletion were also the most popular ones in Western European book production (Beal 2009: 116).[14] According to Schneider (2014: 149), expunctuation was a frequent method in the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century in Germany; however, simple crossing out of mistakes became increasingly the norm during the fourteenth century. Crossing out is also preferred over subpunction in the examined corpus of Icelandic manuscripts, mirroring the ongoing trend in German manuscripts.[15] The observation that words were deleted using both subpunction and crossing out could point towards a change of techniques; possibly, expunctuation had already started to lose its meaning and correctors (or later users) deemed it safer to cross over a passage to ensure the correct reading of the text.

[14] While it is likely that crossing over was already a popular practice in the late fourteenth century, it should be kept in mind that corrections made thusly could stem from a younger date.
[15] A scribe could of course use both crossing out and subpunction, however, usually not with the same frequency (Wakelin 2017: 109).

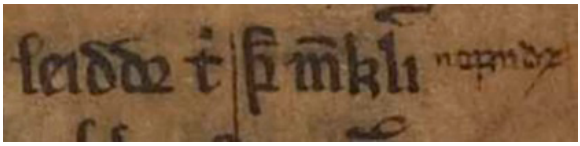

Fig. 5. Vertical stroke as insertion sign. AM 233 a fol., fol. 25vb31. Photo: handrit.is.

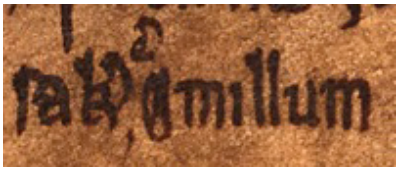

Fig. 6. Comma-like insertion sign in AM 180 c fol., fol. 15ra24. Photo: handrit.is.

4.2 Insertions

The most frequently used insertion signs found in the examined corpus were vertical strokes and virgules of different lengths. The strokes can be either straight (see Fig. 5), slightly tilted or bent, or drawn as single or double strokes. Strokes that occupy the full height of the line may resemble a slash or sometimes, if they are slightly bent, a bracket. Shorter strokes resemble commas (see Fig. 6 or small hooks, if they curve at a sharper angle. The occurrence of strokes is more commonly tied to an interlinear correction, rather than a correction added into the margin, but, as Fig. 2 illustrates, this was also used for marginal additions.[16]

Another common insertion sign used for interlineation and corrections in both European manuscripts and the investigated corpus are caret signs (see Fig. 7). From lat. *carere*, caret means "it lacks" or "it needs". According to Johnson and Jenkinson (1915,1: 78), the earliest form of the caret was a slash or two parallel lines, before the sign evolved into its typical shape ^, which Muzerelle (1985: 126) describes as capital lambda. In the examined manuscripts, the caret can also appear open towards the top of the line, thus resembling a 'v'. Just like slashes and commas, its function is to indicate where an interlinear addition should be inserted.[17]

Other insertion signs that appear less frequently, but still are found in the corpus, include an x-shaped mark, which sporadically occurs in AM 53 fol.,

[16] For example: AM 48 8vo, fol. 20v20; AM 180 c fol., fol. 42va24; AM 347 fol., fol. 82rb21.
[17] For example: AM 66 fol., fol. 133r24; AM 122 a fol., fol. 4va6; AM 347 fol., fol. 86vb15.

Fig. 7. Caret insertion sign in AM 347 fol., fol. 86vb15. Photo: handrit.is.

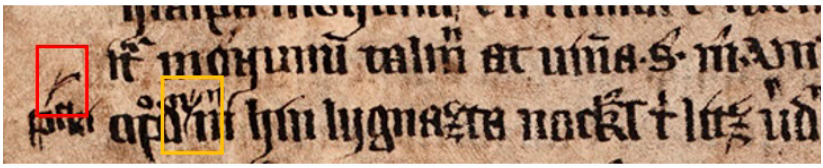

Fig. 8. Psi-like or m-rune-like insertion sign in main text (marked in yellow) and broomstick of f-rune-like sign in margin (marked in red). AM 239 fol., fol. 82vb. Photo: handrit.is.

AM 66 fol., AM 180 c fol. and AM 350 fol. The function of the x-sign is no different from other insertion signs encountered in these manuscripts – it can be used for both interlinear and marginal insertions. A common trait of the use of 'x' as an insertion marker in the three named manuscripts (be it for an interlineation or a marginal addition) is, that it is typically repeated in front of the respective insertion.[18]

One insertion sign could only be found in a single analyzed manuscript – a symbol that resembles both the Greek letter psi Ψ and the Germanic rune ᛘ (**m**) (see Fig. 8). The sign appears in the main text written by the scribe 239.2.[19] It is used as insertion sign, occasionally for interlineations in the main text (e.g. fol. 56v), but more often it is found in the context of insertions placed in the margins (e.g. fols. 104v, 108v and 109v). It commonly appears in pairs, with one insertion sign placed in the main text and the other in the margin. Occasionally, the sign will be repeated, but most often, the two insertion signs used for the same correction do not match up (see, for example, image 5). The execution of the sign suggests that it was written without great care, which raises the question of whether the scribe was consciously writing a psi, a rune, or simply placed strokes that gather at the middle or bottom. The most carefully executed specimen

[18] For example, an 'x' is used in the main text and repeated in the outer margin in AM 66 fol., fol. 38v15, and for an interlineation in AM 53 fol., fol. 62ra33.
[19] For a detailed codicological analysis of AM 239 fol., see Pokorny (2023).

of the sign can be found on fol. 82v6. In other cases, the sign resembles something between a psi (or m-rune) and a "broomstick" or even the rune ᚠ (**f**) (see the insertion sign in the margin, Fig. 8).[20]

The origin of the psi-like symbol found in AM 239 fol. is unknown. Functions in the European application of psi included an abbreviation for *psalterium* or *psaltere*, or a discrepancy marker for Gk. ψεύδος ('lie, falsehood') (Steinová 2019a: 219). Steinová further describes psi as an insular sign that may have functioned as a marker for "passages with textual problems" (Steinová 2019a: 219). Its use in AM 239 fol., however, is firmly that of an insertion sign because it always occurs as part of a correction inserting a word that has been (accidentally) omitted. Whether any connection between this application and the insular one exists remains uncertain. The runes ᛘ (**m**) and ᚠ (**f**). are mentioned by Seip as abbreviations found in Icelandic manuscripts dated to between 1225 and 1300 for the words *maðr* ('man') and *fé* ('money, sheep'), respectively (Seip 1954: 101). ᛘ (**m**) to shorten *maðr* is furthermore used in Norwegian manuscripts from the same time (Seip 1954: 81). In AM 239 fol., however, the function of these symbols is not to abbreviate *maðr* or *fé*, but to mark that something is to be inserted. Should the origin of the insertion characters be the runic alphabet, Fuþark, it would indicate a previously undescribed use of runes during manuscript production.[21] A third possibility cannot be discarded, namely that the signs' resemblance to psi and the runes is purely coincidental. Further research is needed, but at present, the unique use could also point towards an individual-based origin, which in turn would suggest that Icelandic scribes were at liberty to invent or adapt insertion signs at their leisure.

Both the Greek and Latin variants of the cross appear as insertion signs in the investigated corpus, although they are used less frequently than slashes or the caret.[22] Often, the Greek cross is used for marginal insertions; however, it also occurs with interlineations. When used for the former, the sign is typically repeated in the margin (Fig. 9).

The Latin cross is also found as in the corpus. For example, in H1.A's AM 350 fol., fol. 57ra, it was used to mark an insertion at the beginning of

[20] Here, the text reads: "S*imon* m*ælti*: Und*r*umz ek hin godi ces*ar* þ*at* e*r* þ*ér* ætlit of*roðan* *fiski m*ann* hin lygnazta nock*urs* t*il* litz u*er*dan." ('Simon spoke: I am surprised, the good emperor, if you consider an ignorant fisherman, the most lying of all, worthy of consideration.').

[21] Runes in medieval Icelandic manuscripts are known as part of the text or marginalia (Þórgunnur Snædal 2023: 55).

[22] For example: AM 344 a 4to., fol. 1v3; AM 180 c fol., fols. 46rb35 and 70rb22, and AM 53 fol., fol. 70va10.

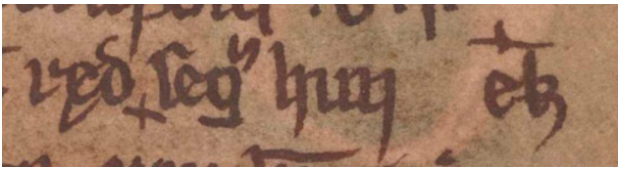

Fig. 9. Greek cross as insertion sign in main text and margin. AM 344 a 4to, fol. 1v3. Photo: handrit.is.

line 7, written into the inner margin.[23] Three other occurrences of the Latin cross as insertion signs can be found in AM 350 fol., all of them on fol. 32r and in the same hand, which likely did not belong to the main scribe H1.A.[24] The cross appears here as an insertion sign in the main text, while little x-markers were used in the margin (see fol. 32rb18).

Apart from these occurrences in AM 350 fol., all Latin crosses were found on leaves in manuscripts attributed to H2. In AM 61 fol., fol. 9rb, a Latin cross was added to the main text in line 37 to indicate a missing portion of text, which was then added below line 38, the last line of the column. Further occurrences of † in AM 61 fol. also show that the sign was used as an insertion character,[25] but contrary to the use on fol. 9, the sign is not repeated in the margins but only in the main text as an indicator of where the missing word is to be placed. The Latin cross is used in AM 653 a 4to, fol. 3v15 to mark where the word added in the outer margin is to be placed. Finally, examples of this variant as an insertion sign are found in AM 156 4to.[26] Like in AM 61 fol., there is one instance where a † was added to the main text and again below the last line of the page, supplying an omitted portion of text (see Fig. 10). Judging by the ink color and the script, it appears that it was H2 himself who was at work here and tended to use the Latin cross for inserting larger portions of texts rather than single words, for which the typical insertion sign in his works is a comma.

Both interlineations and additions to the margins were used widely in the examined corpus. All investigated manuscripts with corrections contain insertions of words or passages (see Tab. 2 above); they appear in the work of

[23] See below for a discussion on the possible scribe responsible.

[24] While the ink's color is highly similar to that of the main text, the ductus of the scribal hand appearing in the margin is more cursive than that of the main scribe. The script is also significantly smaller and the pen thinner (which might hamper the comparison, as discussed above). Ólafur Halldórsson (1981: 47) remains silent on the matter.

[25] For example, fols. 52ra38, 52rb14, 54rb7.

[26] For example, fols. 24r2, 51r22, 52r11, 58v15.

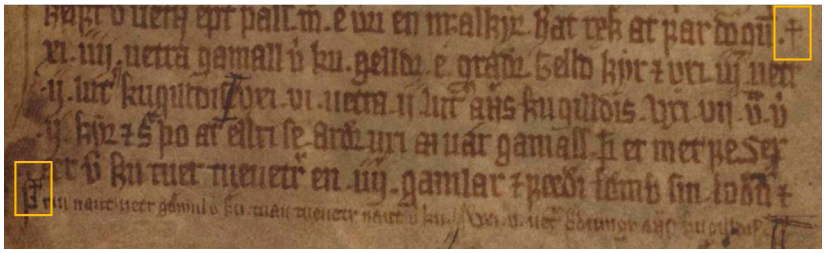

Fig. 10. Line added using Latin crosses as insertion sign in main text and lower margin. AM 156 4to, fol. 61r. Photo: handrit.is.

24 of the 32 main scribes. The most frequently used insertion signs, strokes of various lengths and shapes, are also common in German and English vernacular manuscripts (Schneider 2014: 150; Wakelin 2017: 113). Their popularity could be explained by their simplicity: they were convenient and timesaving. The caret sign, which may have evolved from slashes or virgules, was used in European manuscripts at least from the thirteenth century onwards, if not earlier (Beal 2009: 59). The caret was overwhelmingly used specifically for interlineation in the analyzed corpus, an observation that corresponds with the European use of the sign (Ker 1960: 51; Wakelin 2017: 113). Its application could, nevertheless, also extend to marginal additions (Muzerelle 1985: 126); yet, this use of the caret was less employed in the manuscripts examined for this study. While Hreinn Benediktsson (1965: 95) describes the caret as the most frequently used insertion sign in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Icelandic manuscripts, a shift towards simpler vertical strokes of various lengths appears to have occurred by the time of writing of the present corpus. The Greek and Latin variation of the cross are both found to mark insertions, however, the use of the cross is not limited to this type of correction, as shown above. Furthermore, the Greek cross was also found to function as an attention sign. In AM 61 fol., fol. 67vb4, a cross in the inner margin is followed by "h*er* v*ant*ar or blad" ('Here, a leaf is missing'), which, according to Ólafur Halldórsson (1982: 22), is likely written in the hand of the main scribe (see Fig. 11). He asserts that this call for attention refers to a missing leaf from the exemplar. The remark is the only one in the investigated corpus where a scribe commented on the physical state of the manuscript that was copied from.

The cross' functions as a sign of deletion, attention marker and correction sign in the investigated corpus are all attested in Western European manuscripts as well (Beal 2009: 116–117; Wakelin 2017: 111; Steinová 2019a:

Fig. 11. Greek cross as attention marker in AM 61 fol., fol. 67vb4. Photo: handrit.is.

209). Thus, the versatile use of the cross was not specific Icelandic but equally common in Western Europe. Its most common shape in the analyzed corpus is that of a Greek cross, featuring a horizontal and vertical stroke of equal length +, sometimes ending with serifs. One occurrence of the dotted variant, ·⁝·, was found. Steinová in her overview describes this as a shape connected to early medieval Northumbria (Steinová 2019a: 209). The Latin variant of the cross, with its elongated descender, was observed in several investigated manuscripts and used in different scenarios, similarly to the Greek cross. It appears that one scribe, H2, had a predilection for using the Latin over the Greek variant.

4.3 Separations

Only two cases of separation were found in the corpus, both in texts attributed to H1.A. The diastole, used to separate words, does not necessarily have to be a continuous line, as the examples from AM 350 fol., fol. 33va27, and AM 226 fol., fol. 24ra23, show, but could also be broken up. In the first example, the two words "við konung" ('to the king') could be mistakenly read as one, due to the missing space between them. Therefore, a separation marker was inserted, <vid⁞k*onung*> to ensure the correct reading (see Fig. 12).

The second example could confuse the reader, as "engan erfingian" ('no heir') is written without a space between the two words (see Fig. 13). Here, a line was inserted: <engan|erfingian*n*>. There are hints in AM 226 fol.'s example that another scribal error preceded it and made the diastole necessary: the <er> in "erfingian" is written in a slightly smaller script that both looks a little thicker and 'rougher'. The text could have originally read "engan fingian" (which would be nonsensical), but the error was noticed and "er" was squeezed in – now reading "enganerfingian". Subsequently, the diastole was needed to establish that here, two words should be read. Judging by the color of the ink, it could have been the main scribe who corrected the

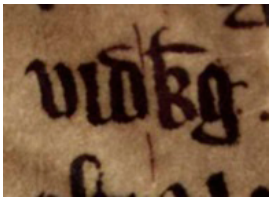

Fig. 12. Separation in AM 350 fol., fol. 33va27. Photo: handrit.is.

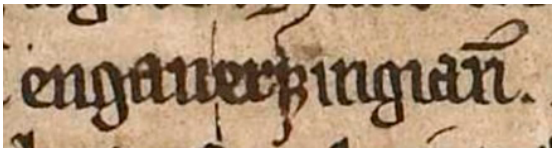

Fig. 13. Separation between words in AM 226 fol., fol. 24ra23. Photo: handrit.is.

mistake; however, the added "er" is written in a slightly thicker pen and the ductus of "r" does not quite match that of the main scribe H1.A.

The rare instances of missing space between two words indicate that this was not a common error. It is worth mentioning that prepositions before nouns were commonly written as enclitics in Icelandic manuscripts and, thus, they were usually left uncorrected (Haugen and Stegmann 2023). Scholarship dealing with Western European corrections is silent on the use of diastoles; however, based on their nature and Muzerelle's definition, it can be expected that they were used in the same manner as in Iceland.

4.4 Transpositions

Only a handful of cases of changed word order were detected in the examined manuscripts. One example is in the part of SÁM 1 written by H2, on fol. 36vb22. Here, vertical lines are used between the words to indicate that they are in the wrong order: <gaf | h*onu*m | h*an*n> ('gave him he'). The edited word order would be <gaf hann honum> ('gave he him') (see Fig. 14). Another such case, using vertical strokes, can be found in the same manuscript on fol. 52va4; here the scribe wrote <þan*n* | likam | sæla> ('the body blessed') but the edited order would have been <þann sæla likam> ('the blessed body').

Vertical strokes as an indicator for reversed word order were also used in the part of Isl. perg. 5 fol. attributed to scribe 5.3. On fol. 51ra36 the text

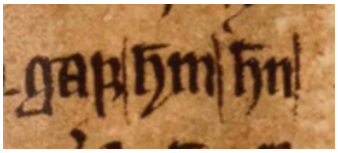

Fig. 14. Transposition in SÁM 1, fol. 36vb22. Photo: handrit.is.

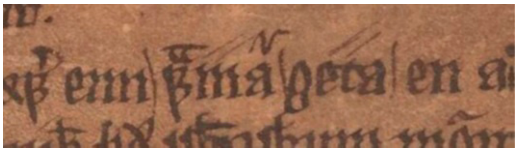

Fig. 15. Transposition with vertical strokes and double accent markers in Isl. perg. 5 fol., fol. 51ra36. Photo: manuscripta.se.

reads: <enn | *fra*m*a*r | geta | en> ('still further can than'), while it should be <enn geta framar en> ('still can further than'). In addition to the vertical strokes between the words, double slashes were inserted above two of the words to indicate that these are the two that should be read in reversed order (see Fig. 15).

A few examples of vertical strokes to indicate a change in the word order are also found in AM 61 fol. written by H2, for example, on fol. 33ra17. The most intriguing case is the one on fol. 103r in column b, where a passage was placed between two vertical strokes and the letters 'a' and 'b' were added superscript in column b, line 26 (see Fig. 16).[27]

It appears that vertical strokes are a popular choice for transpositions in the investigated corpus, possibly because of their simplicity, quick execution and neatness compared to interlinear alphabetizing or numbering. Alphabetizing, dots, and accents are described as transposition methods in earlier scholarship dealing with Icelandic material (de Leeuw van Weenen 1993: 47; Kjeldsen 2013: 91). In the manuscripts investigated here, one case of alphabetizing and one case of accents was detected; dots as transposition markers were not found. Like in the examples described above, slashes were

[27] The text reads: "Siþ*an* skaut Asm*undr* spioti t*il* Asb*iorns* selsb*ana ok* ko*m* aa h*ann* miðian / s*ua* at[b] fast stoð i fota fiolini *ok* flaug[a] þeg*ar* i gegnu*m* h*a*nn./" (Then Ásmundr threw a spear at Ásbjörn selsbani and hit him in the middle so that it got stuck in the foot board and it flew through him.') The edited and flipped word order would be: "Siþ*an* skaut Asm*undr* spioti t*il* Asb*iorns* selsb*ana ok* ko*m* aa h*ann* miðian *ok* flaug þeg*ar* i gegnu*m* h*a*nn s*ua* at fast stoð i fota fiolini." ('Then Ásmundr threw a spear at Ásbjörn selsbani and hit him in the middle and it flew through him so that it got stuck in the foot board.')

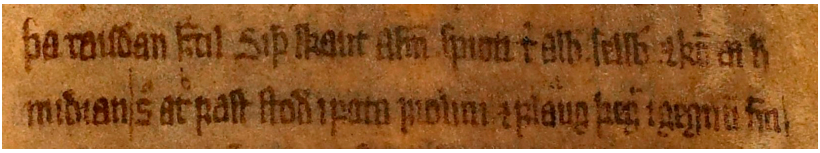

Fig. 16. Transposition with vertical strokes and superscript "b" and "a". AM 61 fol., 103rb26. Photo: handrit.is.

used in English vernacular manuscripts, in addition to letters, to indicate the changing of the word order (Wakelin 2017: 116–117).

4.5 Summary

The examined corpus indicates that certain techniques for correcting were widespread in Icelandic book production in the second half of the fourteenth century. As Table 2 above illustrates, the correction method encountered most often was insertion through interlineation (42%). Insertion signs consisting of strokes especially found frequent use. Deletions make for a total of 39%, whereby crossing out and erasing are most commonly found. Subpunction, while present, is less observable. The cross had several functions, namely, to delete, insert and alert. It appears as if transpositions were mainly indicated by vertical strokes rather than numbering or alphabetizing. Overall, different signs and markers are seemingly used in the corpus without a fixed connotation: for example, a scribe could switch between using a comma and a caret for interlineations without running the risk of confusing a potential user. What is more, marginal additions are often indicated using two different insertion signs in main text and margin; only 30 of the 248 marginal additions are marked using a pair of identical insertion signs (see Tab. 2). Overall, no set standard for correcting texts can be identified from the presented findings.

What is absent in the investigated corpus are specialized signs with a prescribed function, such as the *require* sign, the *obelus* or the *hic sursum* / *hic deorsum* signs, which have a long tradition in Greek, Latin and Western European manuscripts (Lowe 1946; Steinová 2017; 2021). Their purpose was to indicate omissions, deletions, and other corrections. What is more, *require* signs result from explicit correction rounds and indicate the need for another deliberate round of correction, perhaps on the basis of another copy (Steinová 2021: 477–478). However, these technical signs have neither been found in the present investigation nor been mentioned in previous studies

on Icelandic material considering corrections. The absence of these symbols in Icelandic manuscripts could be interpreted as a simplification of signs used during the correction process. Another possible explanation could be the influence from insular, or other vernacular, practices. According to Wakelin, Irish scribes working during the early Middle Ages "preferred crosses, asterisks, lines and dots, and later English scribes from the fourteenth century on preferred these and other abstract symbols" (Wakelin 2017: 118).

5. Parallels to other vernacular traditions

Some of the observations made in here and in previous studies addressing corrections in Icelandic manuscripts suggest parallels with other vernacular writing conventions. Examples from the present corpus include the use of slashes as markers of transposition, which is also described as a transposition technique in English manuscripts. The dotted variant of the cross, which was found once in AM 350 fol., and has otherwise not been observed in the Icelandic context (as of yet), is otherwise known from scribal conventions in Northumbria during the seventh and eighth century, as previously mentioned. No particular meaning or use is attached to the dotted cross; presumably it was used universally like the standard cross (Steinová 2019a: 209). Finally, the possible origin of Ψ in the insular writing tradition as a marker for a problematic passage might point towards a connection between Iceland and the British Isles; psi's other connotation in the European context, the abbreviation for psalter, can be discarded as a possible origin. Additionally, two parallels with the German vernacular tradition can be drawn from the examined corpus, namely the use of slashes as insertion signs and the potential chronological development from subpunction to crossing over.

Previous studies make mention of symbols and signs that further support the hypothesis that Icelandic correction methods parallel insular methods. The occurrence of signs like the trigon ∴ (Kjeldsen 2013: 90–91; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2019: 447) and a sign resembling the number 7 or a closing bracket preceded by one or two dots (Kjeldsen 2013: 90) are examples from manuscripts dated to the late thirteenth century. The latter has a potential connection to the insular writing tradition, as it strongly resembles the insular quotation marker (Steinová 2017: 48); yet, its use in Morkinskinna is described as that of a correction sign (Kjeldsen 2013: 90). The trigon is

known from insular practices; however, its use is not restricted to this region alone: it can also be found in Carolingian manuscripts not produced on the British Isles (Steinová 2017: 48; 2019a: 222–223). Its use is described as highly versatile, without any fixed meaning (Steinová 2019a: 222).

Insular connections with Iceland with regards to manuscripts and writing reach as far back as the settlement period, when the *papar* are said to have left behind Irish books when they left the island (*Íslendingabók* 1968: 5). The English missionary bishop Hróðólfr founded Iceland's first (documented) religious house, Bæjarklaustur, in 1030 (Gunnar Harðarson 2016: 313; Patzuk-Russel 2021: 77–110). The insular writing tradition's influence on the Icelandic conventions is specifically mentioned in the First Grammatical Treatise, which is dated between 1125 and 1175 (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972: 31). As the treatise's author explains, he follows the example of the English in proposing an alphabet for the Icelandic language based on Latin (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972: 208–209). Paleographers have long considered the effects of conventions from the English scribal milieu on Norwegian and Icelandic script, such as the use 'ð' and 'ƿ' (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2005: 255–256). Furthermore, the Insular abbreviation system made its way into the Icelandic script (Haugen 2002: 830), and it appears that a certain degree of this influence may also have extended to correction methods.

The earliest surviving manuscript with an English connection found in Iceland is dated to the early twelfth century (Etheridge 2021: 29). There further are mentions of English books in Icelandic *máldagar* (church inventories): Three of them, all from 1318, [28] highlight the English origin of graduals, psalters and missals (*DI* II: 435, 439, 448). These books may have been shipped as cargo, come back with Icelanders who went abroad, or been brought to Iceland by foreign visitors, for example, clergymen coming to the island. According to Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2017: 171), of the 218 extant Latin fragments which are related to Iceland, three are from England and one originates from Ireland. In addition, two fragments likely to be of German origin and one of potentially French provenance have been found (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2017: 171).

Scholars of different disciplines have further highlighted cultural connections to and influences from the British Isles on Iceland. Christian Etheridge, who explores intellectual connections between Iceland and Lincoln in the twelfth century, stresses that "a strong influence from England on the intellectual climate in medieval Iceland, most noticeably during the second half

[28] From the churches Múlakirkja, Hálskirkja and Laufáskirkja.

of the twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries" existed (Etheridge 2021: 29). According to Patzuk-Russell (2021: 196), there is "significant evidence that English, and possibly other vernaculars, had a profound impact on the development of Icelandic intellectual culture and vernacularity" as evidenced by loanwords and translations of Old English texts, which "all point to the use of OE in the development of the Icelandic church and ON sermon writing." Parallels and influences of insular art in Icelandic book painting has been discussed by Selma Jónsdóttir, who identified a psalter-fragment from East Anglia, dated c. 1290–1320, as an early influence for Icelandic book painting (Selma Jónsdóttir 1971: 36–42). Lena Liepe (2009: 220) also highlights influences that thirteenth-century English illuminations had on Icelandic book painters.

Suffice it to say, historical connections between the British Isles and Iceland are not the only possible source for influences on the Icelandic learned milieu. Other connections, for example to German-speaking areas, Norway and Paris (Etheridge 2021: 53) should not be left unmentioned. The role of the Augustinian house of St Victor is especially mentionable for the Nordic countries: its influence spread over Denmark, Norway and Iceland (Gunnar Harðarson 2016: 136), where the Augustinian house of Helgafell has been presumed to be part of the Victorian order (Hermann Pálsson 1967: 90). Furthermore, the "transmission of knowledge of vernacular grammatical writing from German-speaking areas" to Iceland "is [...] a real possibility" (Patzuk-Russell 2021: 199). In his study on the development of education in medieval Iceland, Ryder Patzuk-Russell (2021: 68) traces influences on the Icelandic learning tradition, which were likely connected to the archbishoprics Hamburg-Bremen, Lund and Niðarróss.

In total, the discussed parallels in correcting manuscripts fit well with the broader historical context and other known connections between Iceland and the regions in question. In particular, the observed preference for a symbol-based repertoire of correction signs mirrors the insular conventions at the time. Moreover, should the occurrence of the insular quotation marker, the trigon and the psi-like symbol indeed have roots in the insular tradition, it could mean that Icelandic scribes were to some degree influenced by conventions from today's Ireland and Great Britain. The case of the dotted variant of the cross, if in fact related to the Northumbrian tradition, would further imply that they were employing some symbols that were centuries old, if not outdated, by the fourteenth century. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that the Icelandic scribe in question independently chose to bring some variation to the basic cross-shape. Yet, the appearance of a sign re-

sembling the insular quotation marker as well as the particular usage of psi in manuscripts from Iceland could be taken to suggest that Icelandic scribes were not (or were no longer) aware of the symbols' original meaning. This in turn could speak for some kind of indirect influence, where symbols seen elsewhere were merely used as inspiration but applied freely and in different contexts. At the same time, the parallels to some German-speaking tendencies for correcting manuscripts might indicate that Icelandic scribes in the second half of the fourteenth century were aware of at least some contemporary continental practices and that Iceland's correctors may have adopted practices from abroad while developing and adapting them for their own needs.

6. The corrector

The difficulties of attributing corrections to certain people have already been discussed above. In the analyzed corpus, no colophons or other comments could be found that clearly connect a scribe to the correction process. The ductus and aspect of the script, however, lead to the assumption that the main scribes were first and foremost the correctors of their own work.

Paleographical similarities between correction and the main text are often unambiguous in the analyzed corpus. This observation holds true both for corrections located in the text area (interlineations and erasures that were written over) and for corrections added into the margins. Erasures that were written over provide perhaps the best opportunity to evaluate whether they are the product of self-correction, because the size of the script does not change (contrary to interlineations), and, as mentioned above, they are often done during the initial writing act, which is why the ductus and the thickness of pen are less likely to change from the main text around them. Particularly good examples can be found in AM 156 4to (H2), AM 61 fol. (H2), AM 239 fol. (both in text written by H1.A and scribe 239.2), AM 66 fol. (in text by scribe 66.1), AM 226 fol. and AM 350 fol., (both written by H1.A).[29]

Non-textual corrections, that is, corrections that consist of expunctuation, crossing out or erasing without writing over the blank spot, are almost impossible to connect to a particular scribe with any certainty. In the cases of subpunction and crossing out, the ink color is the most indicative factor:

[29] See, for example: AM 156 4to, fol. 61r25; AM 61 fol., fol. 9rb37; AM 239 fol., fol. 77v1; AM 66 fol., fol. 31v12; AM 226 fol., fol. 5vb38; and AM 350 fol., fol. 12va5.

if it matches the ink used for the main text, it might be a hint, but it can by no means be taken as proof that the main scribe was at work. An exception may be manuscripts like AM 122 a fol., in which subpunction is only present in the main text written by scribe 122a.1. Either this scribe corrected his own work or had a different corrector from the other three main scribes. Judging by the color of the ink, the first scenario is a possibility. What is more, some of the main scribes show a tendency to use insertion signs that were not or rarely used by others in the corpus, e.g., scribe 239.2, who uses the psi-like symbol, or H2, in whose texts the Latin variant of the cross is predominant. As previously mentioned, judging by the ink color and their frequent occurrence in connection with H2, it is likely that they are the product of this scribe rather than another person who corrected his work. These signs' use suggests that the people correcting were at liberty to choose or adapt signs at their convenience.

There are, however, cases in which it is not completely clear who rectified an error, particularly when the script size or ductus changes, as mentioned above. One such instance is a marginal correction found in AM 66 fol., fol. 38v (image 17 below). Whether it was the main scribe who added the correction, or another contemporary, cannot be said for certain. The color of the black ink does match; however, the ductus appears to be slightly more relaxed in the marginal addition (see the minims of 'm, n'). At the same time, the looped descender of 'y' is highly similar to that of the main scribe, as is the round shoulder of the 'h'. The tip of the quill seems to be sharper and thinner than that of the main text, which could explain the slight difference in appearance of the script.

Tab. 3 shows how frequently the five correction technique categories discussed above appear in the respective scribes' work. Certain tendencies and trends become apparent when looking at individual scribes. For example, the main texts ascribed to H1.A contain a much higher number of deletions than those of other scribes, where 57% are erasures that were written over and 23% are other techniques of deletion. In contrast, the percentage of interlineations in H1.A's writings is extremely low: they make for only 5% of corrections. While the connection between the so-called "Helgafell scribes" is not unambiguous, it is worth comparing them both to one another and to other scribes not closely connected to Helgafell. Texts written by H1.A and H1.B show a much higher use of deletion techniques (80% and 92%, respectively) than H2 (28.5%). In turn, H2's writings contain significantly more insertions (67%) than texts written by H1.A (9%) or H1.B (8%). Overall, the distribution of correction types found in main texts written

Tab. 3. Corrections in Icelandic manuscripts dated between 1350 and 1400 according to main scribes. Younger additions are excluded.

Scribe	Total no. of corrections appearing in main texts		Erasure & written over		Deletion (crossing out, subpunction, erasure)		Interlineation		Correction in margin (thereof matching insertion signs in main text and margin)		Combination / other*	
H1.A	407	100%	233	57%	93	23%	21	5%	15 (4)	4%	45	11%
H1.B	25	100%	10	40%	13	52%	1	4%	1 (0)	4%	–	
H1.C	1	100%	–		–		–		1 (0)	100%	–	
H2	600	100%	17	3%	153	25.5%	303	50.5%	99 (3)	16.5%	28 (17+11)	4.5%
53.1	51	100%	5	10%	12	24%	15	29%	15 (7)	29%	4 (4+0)	8%
66.1	59	100%	1	2%	26	44%	22	37%	4 (1)	7%	6 (5+1)	10%
122a.1	63	100%	2	3%	18	28.5%	35	55.5%	3 (0)	5%	5 (4+1)	8%
122a.2	26	100%	–		7	27%	14	54%	4 (0)	15%	1 (0+1)	4%
122a.3	19	100%	2	10.5%	2	10.5%	10	53%	5 (0)	26%	–	
122a.4	32	100%	3	9%	2	6%	20	63%	7 (0)	22%	–	
180c.1	69	100%	3	4.5%	11	16%	30	43.5%	18 (2)	26%	7 (4+3)	10%
226.1	0		–		–		–		–		–	
226.2	0		–		–		–		–		–	
233a.1	0		–		–		–		–		–	
233a.2	0		–		–		–		–		–	
239.1	0		–		–		–		–		–	
239.2	314	100%	3	1%	46	15%	212	67.5%	39 (7)	12.5%	14 (14+0)	4%
347.1	57	100%	3	5%	24	42%	27	47%	2 (1)	4%	1 (1+0)	2%
347.2	1	100%	–		1	100%	–		–		–	
344a.1	51	100%	–		16	31%	32	63%	3 (2)	6%	–	
344a.2	1	100%	–		–		1	100%	–		–	
48.1	9	100%	1	11%	3	33%	1	11%	3 (2)	33%	1 (1+0)	11%
48.2	1	100%	–		1	100%	–		–		–	
5.1	72	100%	3	4%	12	17%	21	29%	28 (1)	39%	8 (7+1)	11%
5.2	0		–		–		–		–		–	

Scribe	Total no. of corrections appearing in main texts		Erasure & written over		Deletion (crossing out, subpunction, erasure)		Interlineation		Correction in margin (thereof matching insertion signs in main text and margin)		Combination / other*	
5.3	7	100%	–		2	28.5%	4	57.5%	–		1 (0+1)	14%
5.4	5	100%	–		1	20%	4	80%	–		–	
5.5	3	100%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	–		–	
34.1	1	100%	–		–		1	100%	–		–	
1.1	2	100%	–		–		2	100%	–		–	
1.2	11	100%	–		1	10%	9	80%	1 (0)	10%	–	
Total	**1,887**	**100%**	**287**	**15%**	**445**	**24%**	**786**	**42%**	**248 (30)**	**13%**	**121**	**6%**

by H2 is much more similar to other scribes in the examined corpus than H1.A and H1.B.

The overall observation made in the examined corpus, that most of the examined manuscripts appear to have been self-corrected, points towards a situation similar to the one Wakelin describes for late medieval English vernacular book production and what Huws implies for medieval Welsh vernacular manuscript making (Huws 2000: 32), namely, that the level of organization typically did not include a designated corrector review of another scribe's work. This conclusion also falls in line with an assessment made by Stegmann in her analysis of scribal collaboration in AM 468 4to, Reykjabók, namely that the main scribe was responsible for the majority of corrections in the main text (Stegmann 2018: 38).

There are a few instances in the corpus where it can be argued that a collaborator or corrector were involved in reviewing the text.[30] The dotted cross and the following insertion in AM 350 fol., fol. 36rb, discussed above, were likely written by someone other than the main scribe. According to Ólafur Halldórsson (1981: 47), the same person added this and two further comments on fols. 56v and 57r. Ólafur also believes that this person compared AM 350 fol. to other law codices and that it might be the scribe of SÁM 1,

[30] Here, in turn, different forms of deletion might be the key to the identity of the corrector, but as previously pointed out, it is not possible to attribute simple lines that cross out a word or text portion to someone in particular.

H2. The commenting function of the additions might be true for the marginalia on fols. 56v and 57r. The case of fol. 36r, however, involves an erasure that was partially written over and might be considered more of a correction than an emendation. The hand that wrote these three additions is not found elsewhere in the manuscript and was perhaps not otherwise involved in the production of AM 350 fol.[31] This would then spark the question of what role this second person had: whether it was somebody tasked with the correction of the manuscript or an early user. The main argument against the first possibility is that many of the corrections in AM 350 fol. can be attributed to its main scribe. Were the person an additional corrector, it would mean that one and the same manuscript was reviewed more than once by two different people. The possibility of an early user of the codex would disconnect the person from the original production process entirely and put them into another category – users – which is beyond the scope of this study.

Several examples in the analyzed corpus suggest that a collaborator was somehow connected to the correction process. Rubricators, working primarily with red ink to insert chapter headings, are not only found to embellish corrections from time to time but also to actively act as correctors, either of their own contribution or of the main text. On fol. 143va in AM 226 fol., the rubricator (who was not the main scribe) omitted a word in the red chapter heading in line 25, which was then added into the middle margin, using a slash insertion sign in the main text without repeating it in the margin. Red was also used in the same manuscript on fol. 7ra19 to cross over and under a word in the main text. Another case of a correction in a rubric can be found in AM 653 a 4to on fol. 3r, where the rubricator inserted an omitted letter using a small comma insertion sign. In both instances, the rubricators likely noticed the mistake while still at work with the red ink – either immediately after writing the rubric, or as soon as the work on a page, leaf, or the overall rubricating was finished. Stegmann's study on Reykjabók shows that one correction to the main text was added by a second scribe, who was mainly responsible for the rubrics and adding stanzas to the text (Stegmann 2018: 38).

Occasionally, corrections are decorated in red. In AM 66 fol., several marginal additions were embellished or framed by what appears to be contemporary scribes. Three examples on fols. 38v, 88r and 134r show such frames, whereby the previously mentioned marginal addition on fol. 38v stands out

[31] The rubrics are highly likely written by the main scribe. The book painting is also suggested to be the product of the main scribe (Liepe 2009: 172).

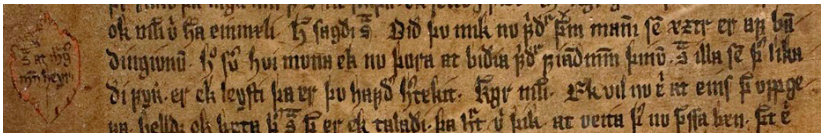

Fig. 17. Decorated marginal addition in AM 66 fol., fol. 38v15. Photo: handrit.is.

the most. The addition, which is to be inserted in line 15, as the x-like marker shows, is framed by a black and red shield (see image 17).[32] The adjacent Þ-initial is drawn in a very similar-looking bright red ink that almost "glows" on the dark vellum. The similarity of the red initial and the red frame might indicate that the same color was used, perhaps by the same person.[33]

In H1.A's text in AM 226 fol., on fol. 8v, there is another case of an addition in an embellished frame; however, there is no insertion marker anywhere. [34]

The sporadic occurrence of red in connection to corrections suggests that rubrication was done after the initial correction process, regardless of whether the rubricator was the main scribe or another person. This brings the discussion to the question where in the sequence of production steps the correcting of a text took place.

7. Time for corrections

Tab. 2 shows that the majority of correction instances in the investigated manuscripts, 42%, are interlineations.[35] Corrections added into the margins

[32] The added text reads: "*sua* at marg*ir* m*enn* heyri", so that the sentence in its entirety goes as follows: "Bið þu mik nu f*riðar* **sua* at margir menn heyri* þ*ei*m man*ni* se*m* æztr er af ba*n*dingiunu*m*." ('Ask me now for peace, so that many men hear the man who is requested by the prisoners.').

[33] At present, no color analysis for the red ink in AM 66 fol. is available.

[34] Other cases of red ink connected to corrections were found in younger parts in AM 350 fol. On fol. 152va22, the main scribe (working around 1500) added some omitted words into the outer margin, using a // insertion sign in the main text and a cross in the margin. One of the slashes and the cross were then traced in red, and the entire addition was enclosed in a red frame. AM 350 fol. furthermore contains one quire (fols. 18–23) dated to the fifteenth century. Here, the rubricator was evidently also acting as corrector, as can be seen from the usage of red ink during the process. From the ductus of the script, it is highly likely that the main scribe and the rubricator were one and the same person (see AM 350 fol., fol. 23ra24).

[35] Due to the fact that it is not possible to ascribe certain corrections such as a subpunction to specific hands, the manuscripts in Tab. 2 are not further divided based on their production units.

make for 13% of the total. Following Wakelin's hypothesis that these techniques indicate a certain time of delay (or at least not an immediate rectification of an error), these numbers suggest that correcting happened mostly after the copying of a text (or texts) was finished. Deletions that stand by themselves (crossing out, subpunction and erasures which were left blank) make up for roughly a quarter, or 24%, of corrections. When exactly these corrections were made cannot be assessed with any certainty, due to the possibility of certain deletions being made at a (much) later point in time. Seldomly, deletions were combined with either interlineations or marginal corrections. Erasures which were written over only make for 15% of the total, which seems peculiarly little. As discussed above, this technique was likely applied during the writing process. In Wakelin's corpus of medieval English manuscripts, the majority of corrections, or 42%, are erasures that were written over (Wakelin 2017: 107). The low proportion shown by the results in the present study must be taken with caution, as there might be a material reason behind it. The state of the writing support could play a critical role for recognizing erasures that were written over – the darker and more worn the vellum appears, the more difficult the recognition of this type of correction becomes. In manuscripts with a comparably "light" or "unworn" writing support, such as AM 226 fol. and AM 350 fol., a higher number of erasures were written over compared to other manuscripts. In summary, the high use of corrective methods associated with a post-writing process in the corpus process strongly suggests that it was customary in Iceland in the second half of the fourteenth century to correct most errors after the copying of one (or multiple) texts was concluded.

In addition to the methods themselves, the use of red in correlation with corrections is indicative of the sequence of correction. The decorated and highlighted corrections found in some manuscripts indicate that the corrections themselves were already in place when the red embellishments were added. For the sequence of steps of the book production process, this means that the main text was corrected before moving on to the next step: rubricating. At the same time, the occasional correction in red (that is, not a decoration, but a rectification of a mistake), shows that the rubrication process provided a second, perhaps sporadic, opportunity for corrections, where the occasional unnoticed error was remedied. In AM 180 c fol., an omission on fol. 14va25 was corrected in red ink. According to Agnete Loth (1980: 361), the rubricator of this manuscript was the main scribe. Not only did the main scribe correct the main text with black ink, but the rubrication process was used for a second round of checking for errors. Similarly, Steg-

mann's observation that the rubricator of Reykjabók added a correction to the main text supports the assumption that, sometimes, the texts of Icelandic manuscripts were checked for errors more than once.

Such a potential second round of correcting, however, implies that the person rubricating is not only filling in chapter headings, but also pays close attention to the text. In other words, corrections in red are as equally indicative of a "thinking scribe" as corrections in black ink. Thus, Wakelin's concept, which is primarily concerned with main scribes, may be extended to other collaborators whose tasks included perhaps more than to just decorate.

8. Conclusion

This study investigated correction techniques in Icelandic manuscripts dated to the second half of the fourteenth century and brought the correction process into context with the contemporary Western European conventions and the sequence of phases in book production. As shown, Icelandic scribes employed standard techniques such as deletion and insertion through interlineation and additions in margins, which are highly common in contemporary Western European manuscripts. However, the symbols used for rectifying omissions in the Icelandic corpus are less varied and appear to not have specific meanings tied to them. Interlineation and additions placed in the margins were predominantly indicated using various forms of vertical strokes, but also caret markers, crosses, and other symbols. Crosses could furthermore function as signs calling for attention or deletion. Crossing over appears more often than subpunction, yet, both techniques were applied, and sometimes used together. Erasures that were written over have been proven to constitute only a small part of the corrections; however, material reasons might be hampering their identification. Only seldomly was it necessary to place boundaries between to words that could otherwise be read as one, and transpositions were typically marked by vertical strokes between words. Indications that scribes could choose freely what signs they used for marking the right spot for an insertion could be found, as could tendencies that suggest that individualizing shapes of symbols was possible.

The results indicate that Icelandic scribes working during the second half of the fourteenth century were mostly responsible for correcting their own texts. Paleographic indicators as well as tendencies towards certain techniques suggest that self-correction was common practice. Possible reasons may be

convenience or a lack of organization during the book production. A lack of organization could explain why only few occurrences appear in the analyzed manuscripts in which a contemporary of the main scribe contributed to the correction process. In these cases, it was usually a collaborator, more specifically the rubricator of the manuscript in question, who added a sporadic correction and not somebody tasked exclusively with correcting the copied text. Whether a different degree of organization existed for Latin manuscripts from Iceland remains to be seen.

The main correction process is likely to be situated after the copying process and before the rubrication. Occasionally, embellishments in red ink were added to existing corrections, suggesting that that the initial correction process was concluded before the manuscript was exposed to colorful ink. The fact that the rubrication process was sometimes used to rectify errors suggests that the insertion of red details into a manuscript could be used as a second layer of correction.

The methods used to correct manuscripts in Iceland in the second half of the fourteenth century correspond to other contemporary vernacular traditions. Indicators like the preference of abstract symbols over descriptive markers and some of the signs found in the analysis might suggest that Icelandic correctors were aware of (if not influenced by) insular scribal conventions. Previous studies on the development of script and book painting in Iceland, as well as the English source of inspiration for the First Grammatical Treatise's author, have already shown that Iceland's book milieu took cues from its neighboring islands. Additionally, the discussed parallels to German vernacular manuscript culture are in line with historic ties between Iceland and Northern Germany. The similarities between Icelandic correction techniques and those from the insular as well as German traditions, thus, situate Iceland in the vernacular Western European contemporary scribal tradition.

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Summary

Writing is a task prone to errors and mistakes. While modern devices allow for invisible corrections, medieval scribes often had to use methods that would remain visible to a manuscript's future users. Previous studies on Western European manuscripts indicate that these methods can be indicative of the people responsible as well as the time of correction, thus revealing important information about the book production process. Yet, corrections in Icelandic manuscripts have hitherto not found much scholarly attention.

This article focuses on correction techniques used in Icelandic book production in the second half of the fourteenth century in the context of Western European conventions. It discusses the used methods in their context of the possible time of correction and the people responsible for correcting, embedding the correction process in the overall sequencing of book production. It is argued that Icelandic scribes were largely responsible for going over and correcting their own material. It appears as if they used a simpler set of symbols when correcting than elsewhere in contemporary Western European manuscripts. The main correction process highly

likely occurred after the copying of a main text was finished and before it went on to the rubrication and decoration.

Keywords: Corrections, errors, book production, Icelandic manuscripts, codicology, vernacular book culture

Lea D. Pokorny
University of Iceland
Faculty of Philosophy, History and Archaeology
ORCiD ID 0009-0007-3766-992X

The Beating Royal Heart and the Unruly Limbs

Bodily Imagery in *Rauðúlfs þáttr* and the *Speech against the Bishops*

Jonas Wellendorf

Bodies are close at hand and easy to relate to.[1] They may come in different forms, shapes, and hues, but the fact that we all have a body, at least for the time being, means that they, as the phrase goes, are good to think with.[2] We intuitively understand that an ailing body needs healing to restore equilibrium and that in cases where no healing is feasible, the best cure may be to isolate and remove the ailment, even if this may cause irreversible damage to the integrity of the body. The immediate relatability of bodies means that they can be used to raise questions, both great and small, about human existence, history, society, the universe, and more or less everything else.

Old Norse literature is rife with instances of such bodily imagery. The myth of the killing of Ymir (related in *Grímnismál*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, and *Gylfaginning*), and the Prologue to the Prose *Edda* both develop, although in somewhat different ways, the idea of a correspondence between the earth and a body. Whereas the Ymir myth identifies aspects of the world as parts of Ymir's dismembered body, the learned *Prose Edda* prologue differentiates the two and sees an analogy: One finds water by digging into the surface of the earth, similarly one finds blood by digging under the skin of a living

[1] A first draft of this text was presented at the annual SASS meeting in 2023 in a session organized by Kate Heslop and T. Liam Waters.

[2] The phrase is derived from Lévy-Strauss (1963: 89).

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being. However, having rejected the Light of Truth, primordial humankind according to the *Prose Edda* prologue mistook analogy for identity.

A different use of bodily imagery is found in the *Norwegian Book of Homilies*. This compilation draws on the body to drive home a series of points of a more spiritual nature. "Just as the body is nurtured by bodily food", we read in the translation of Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, "so the spirit is fed and sated by divine words."[3] The so-called Stave Church Homily, "In dedicatione templi", contained in the same manuscript, exhorts its audience to turn their bodies into temples of God by performing good deeds:

> And just as we say that the church signifies the Christian community, it may also signify each individual Christian who truly becomes a temple of the Holy Spirit through good deeds. For each person shall build a spiritual church inside themselves, not out of timber or stone, but rather out of good deeds.[4]

In this tradition – and additional examples could easily be accumulated – one sees a strong normative thrust in the use of body imagery. Order is opposed to disorder, harmony to disharmony, and the conventionally functioning body to one that is not:

> The blind falls more often than the sighted. Similarly, one who is unaware of God's law commits sins more frequently than one who is knowledgeable. Just like a blind person cannot stay on the correct path without a guide, a person cannot walk straight without a teacher.[5]

The examples take their point of departure from everyday physical bodies and their functions, and with some schematic deftness, they transition to a tropological exposition.[6]

In what follows, two elaborate Old Norse textual passages that engage with bodily imagery along allegorical and political lines will be discussed in

[3] Svá sem líkamr fǫðisk af líkamligum fǫzlum, svá fǫðisk ok sezk ǫndin af guðligum málum (ed. Indrebø 1931: 4). Quotations in Old Norse are given in normalized orthography throughout.
[4] En svá sem vér segjum kirkju merkja allan kristinn lýð, svá má hon merkja sér hvern kristinn mann þann er sannliga gerisk mysteri heilags anda í góðum siðum. Því at hverr maðr skal smíða andliga kirkju í sér, eigi ór trjám né steinum, heldr ór góðum verkum (ed. Indrebø 1931: 97). See Hjelde (1990: 290–306) for an analysis of this text and its sources.
[5] Oftar fellr blindr en sjándi. Svá er ok: oftar misgerir óvitandi lǫg Guðs en hinn er veit. Svá sem blindr gengr eigi rétta gǫtu án leiðtoga, svá gengr ok eigi maðr rétt án kennanda (ed. Indrebø 1931: 4).
[6] In the pervasive interpretive framework used for Biblical accounts, and later also non-biblical accounts, events, objects, ideas etc., the tropological mode of interpretation gives a moral interpretation of the interpretandum as it relates to every individual human being.

some detail. In the first example, the body is used to reflect on the anatomy of history in a diachronic manner, while the second example uses the body to contemplate the order of society synchronously. As will be seen, both examples belong to broader medieval intellectual traditions with roots in Antiquity. The protean nature of these traditions has generated a multitude of hermeneutic possibilities and trajectories. Far from being stale reiterations, the Norse examples mobilize and inflect the fundamental concepts of this enduring tradition in unconventional ways to shape or reveal new layers of meaning.

The dream figure of *Rauðúlfs þáttr*

Óláfs saga helga in *Heimskringla* contains a curious and somewhat obliquely told anecdote in which Bjǫrn, King Óláfr's deputy (*ármaðr*) in Eystridalir, accuses Sigurðr and Dagr, the sons of a certain Rauðr, of cattle theft. An encounter with the two brothers convinces Óláfr that they are *óþjóflegir* or not inclined to thievery. The king also learns of the brothers' unusual abilities: Sigurðr can interpret dreams and tell the time of day without seeing the sun. Dagr, on the other hand, is able to discern the virtues and vices of whomever he meets by looking into their eyes. Dagr proves his abilities by revealing to Óláfr his main character flaw (although *Óláfs saga* does not disclose to its audience what that flaw is). This convinces Óláfr of the validity and accuracy of Dagr's abilities, and he then asks Dagr to reveal Bjǫrn's major flaw. It turns out to be thievery, and thus it becomes apparent that Bjǫrn is the cattle thief, leading to his expulsion from Norway (*Hkr* II: 298–299).

A fuller version of this story is related in *Rauðúlfs þáttr*, which is found in some manuscripts containing the *Great Saga of Óláfr Haraldsson* (ed. Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941: 655–82).[7] In this tale, Óláfr visits the farm of Rauðr or Rauðúlfr in Eystridalir. At the farm, Rauðúlfr has constructed a highly unusual circular, revolving building that is described in great detail.[8] Sleeping in the turning building, Óláfr has an elaborate allegorical dream

[7] The two editors refer to *Rauðúlfs þáttr* as "den interpolasjon som finnes i langt de fleste håndskrifter [of the *Great saga of Óláfr Haraldsson*]" (Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941: 1129).
[8] Óláfr at first mistakes the building for a church and later learns that there is no church at the farm because a bishop has never come to the farm to consecrate a church. Given that Óláfr travels with his bishop and the bishop celebrates mass in a tent he has erected outside the

that Rauðúlfr subsequently interprets for him. While dream interpretation in Old Norse saga literature usually relies on allegory to make sense of dreams, *Rauðúlfs þáttr* is unusual in that the building itself, in which the dream takes place, is described in such detail that it too invites allegorical interpretation. The text, however, does not present such an interpretation, leaving that matter to its readers. This challenge has been taken up by Árni Einarsson (1997), who has proposed an elaborate interpretation where the dream-house is understood as a representation of the universe as well as the individual human soul. King Óláfr is placed at the very center of this neo-Platonic microcosm/macrocosm framework as a representation of both the sun and Christ. The purpose of the allegory thus seems to be to glorify Óláfr by highlighting his cosmological centrality and holiness.

The question of the relative age of *Rauðúlfs þáttr* and the anecdote in *Óláfs saga* is not the main issue here, but it is of some importance to the question of the development of vernacular narrative literature in the North and the role of allegory in this literature of kings and chieftains that most often encourage literal understanding and surface-reading rather than figurative interpretations. For this reason, a few (inconclusive) notes on the relationship between the two versions will be offered here.

It is well established that *Rauðúlfs þáttr* contains elements inspired by the parodical *chanson de geste* known as *Le pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (ca. 1140) or the Old Norse translation of that tale, *Af Jórsalaferð*, in *Karlamagnús saga* (mid-13th cent.) (Faulkes 1966: 10–11; 30–46). The *þáttr* therefore prompts questions about the incorporation of elements in saga literature that are not drawn from local tradition and about Franco-Norse literary relations. Such relations are evidenced by the Old Norse translations of the French romances and the *lais* of Marie de France which are usually associated with the reign of Hákon Hákonarson (1217–1263); the first such translation is held to have been made in 1226 when Brother Robert translated Thomas of Britain's *Tristan* into Old Norse. However, if the *þáttr* predates *Heimskringla*, it provides evidence of influence from Francophone materials before the reign of Hákon Hákonarson.[9]

Scholarship tends to see *Rauðúlfs þáttr* as the primary version dating it

building, one might expect that the bishop will consecrate the building as a church at the end of the tale, but this does not happen.

[9] The earliest attested Old Norse text translated from French appears to be the translation of *Un samedi par nuit* which is found in the *Old Norwegian Book of Homilies* under the somewhat confusing title *Visio Pauli*. A recent study of this text by Fardin suggests that *Un samedi par nuit*, or *Desputisun de l'âme et du corps* as she calls it, was translated shortly before or after

around 1200, and *Heimskringla*'s version of the tale is therefore considered an abbreviation of the *þáttr* (Faulkes 1966: 57–68; 2007; Árni Einarsson 1997: 179; Bornholdt and Heyne 2022: 75 fn28). The opposing view is represented by Widding who on stylistic and lexical grounds has argued that the *þáttr* is the younger of the two texts (1968). In this he was followed by Loescher (1981) who drew on art historical parallels to the description of the crucified figure in Óláfr's dream (see below) to argue for a late date.

Readers of *Heimskringla* have noted that the compiler of the text often left out narrative materials from his sources that did not fit his vision of the history of the kings of Norway and streamlined the text by omitting anecdotes and episodes of minor consequence to the overall narrative of the lives and reigns of the kings of Norway. It is conceivable that the dream house and Óláfr's dream fell under this rubric. On the other hand, no elements in *Heimskringla*'s version of the tale suggest that the *Heimskringla* compiler knew of the dream-house and Óláfr's dream. Both elements may therefore have been added at a later point in time, as Widding suggests. The *þáttr*'s revolving dreamhouse, inspired as it is by the *Chanson de geste* about Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem (whether in French or Old Norse), may be the best candidate for a later addition, given that French epic materials generally do not enter the Old Norse tradition until later.

Óláfr's dream, on the other hand, aligns well with our general knowledge of what saga narratives composed around 1200 could look like, and elements of the episode can be paralleled in *Jómsvíkinga saga* (ed. Þorleifur Hauksson and Marteinn Helgi Sigurðsson 2018: 6–7) and *Sǫgubrot af fornkonungum* (ed. Bjarni Guðnason 1982: 49–50) which is believed to have been a part of the now-lost *Skjǫldunga saga*. One could therefore also argue that the highly unusual elaborate symbolism found in the passage about the dream house points to an early date if one sees it as a stylistically aberrant passage that was pruned away by later saga writers as they began to establish the parameters of the so-called saga style.[10]

The most cogent resolution to this issue of relative dating seems to be that the author of *Heimskringla* abbreviated a no longer extant version of the *þáttr* and that the extant *Rauðúlfs þáttr* is a revised and perhaps expanded version of that no longer extant text.

Hákon Hákonarson's accession to the throne by a Norwegian cleric trained in France (2023: 96). The Norwegian Book of Homilies is usually dated 1200–1225.

[10] In that respect, one may point to Haki Antonsson's exploration of symbolism and typological thinking in the writings of the Þingeyrar monks Oddr Snorrason and Gunnlaugr Leifsson (2012), both of whose texts belong to an early phase in the saga writing tradition.

In *Rauðúlfs þáttr*, Rauðúlfr possesses some knowledge of the future, but he is also characterized as a good Christian and denies being a prophet (*spámaðr*). He also seems somewhat 'out of time', although the tale does not make a point of this, for he claims to be married to the sister of the Swedish king Hringr Dagsson (who is elsewhere said to be a contemporary of Haraldr hárfagri). When asked by Óláfr how he obtains this otherwise hidden knowledge, he answers: "I perceive some things from the winds [...], some things from the heavenly bodies – the sun, the moon, or the stars – and some things from dreams."[11] After further conversations about these matters, the king asks Rauðúlfr for advice on how he can receive a dream in which that which he is most eager to know will be revealed to him.[12] Rauðúlfr somewhat mysteriously tells the king that he is unable to do that because the king already knows everything, and he continues: "But I do this occasionally [...] when I want to inquire in dreams about the truth of great matters, that I take new sheets and sleep on a new bed or couch, standing in a new place, so that no person has slept in that place, in those sheets or bed or building. And I remember what I dream under such circumstances, and things will mostly turn out as that dream is interpreted to me."[13] Óláfr heeds Rauðúlfr's advice and sleeping in Rauðúlfr's revolving building that night he has a prophetic dream in which he sees an immense cross upon which hangs a crucified figure. The figure is composed of various materials and is described in detail from head to toe. Rauðúlfr interprets the dream as a dynastic prophecy that characterizes Óláfr's successors and their reigns.

Readers of the text have long pointed out that Óláfr's dream resembles Nebuchadnezzar's dream of four kingdoms in the Biblical Book of Daniel. The Babylonian king dreams of an enormous terrifying statue (*statua una grandis* [...] *et intuitus eius erat terribilis*, Dn 2:31). The statue is composed of four elements, and Daniel interprets the dream as signifying four consecutive kingdoms/reigns that will eventually be destroyed by the Kingdom of God.

[11] Sumt marka ek af vindum [...] en sumt af himintunglum – sól eða tungli eða stjǫrnum – en sumt af draumum (ed. Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941: 660).

[12] Later in the tale, it is revealed that Óláfr is most eager to know "the outcome of the present unrest and tumult [...] and how the realm will fare henceforth" (hvern enda eiga mundi órói þessi ok nǫkkur styrjǫld [...] eða hvernig fara mundi ríkit heðan af; ed. Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941: 672).

[13] En þat geri ek stundum [...] þá er ek vil forvitnask í draumi sannindi stórra hluta, at ek tek ný klæði ok fer ek í nýja sæng eða rekkju, þá er stendr í nýjum stað, svá at engi maðr hafi fyrr sofnat í þeim stað eða klæðum eða sæng eða húsinu. Ok slíkt sem þá dreymir mik marka ek ok mun mjǫk ganga eptir því sem þá fæ ek ráðit drauminn (ed. Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941: 660–661).

Below follows a paraphrase of the dream and Daniel's interpretation based on the Latin text of the Book of Daniel in *Vulgata* (ed. Gryson *et al.* 1994):

- The head, which is made of the purest gold, signifies Nebuchadnezzar himself.
- The chest and arms, which are made of silver, signify a kingdom of lower standing emerging after Nebuchadnezzar's.
- The belly and the femur are made of bronze and signify a kingdom that will rule over the entire earth.
- The shins are made of iron and signify a hard kingdom that will destroy all others.
- The toes are of made iron and clay, signifying that the iron kingdom will be weakened by mixed marriages.
- The statue is struck by a stone and crumbles. The wind carries the remains of the statue away, while the stone grows into a large mountain that fills the entire earth. This signifies God's eternal kingdom, which will destroy all previous kingdoms.

This prophecy has had an enormous impact and has given rise to the historiographical concept of *translatio imperii*, which sees a linear succession of empires leading from Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom down to the present and beyond to the Eternal Kingdom of God. Historical exegetical scholarship on the Biblical Book of Daniel sees the prophecy as for the most part a *vaticinium ex eventu* and identifies the four successive kingdoms of Nebuchadnezzar's dream as the Neo-Babylonian empire (gold), Media (silver), Persia (bronze), the Greek kingdom of Alexander (iron) and his successors, the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Seleucids in Syria; marriage unions between the two latter dynasties were attempted in 252 and 194/3 BCE (*NOAB* 1253–1254, commentary to *Dn* 2.36–45). Thus, the only event in the prophecy that had not already occurred when it was being "foretold" was the coming of the Kingdom of God. However, the indeterminate character of the prophecy and the sparseness of detail in Daniel's interpretation left some exegetical wiggle room and have resulted in a number of differently configured interpretations.[14] Of particular influence in Papal Europe was Jerome's commentary on the Book of Daniel, which circulated widely and was adopted in *Glossa ordinaria* (Breed 2021: 307). Jerome vacates a position for Rome as the fourth empire, by merging the second and the third empires and by advancing Alexander and the successor kingdoms from the fourth to

[14] See the essays collected in Perrin and Stuckenbruck (2021).

the third position in the list. According to Jerome, the four successive reigns are therefore the Babylonian (gold), the Median and Persian (silver), that of Alexander and his successors (bronze), and, finally, the Roman (iron). Jerome's own present is the time of a fragile mixture of iron and clay. This fragility, Jerome states, is evident in the fact that the Romans rely on the aid of barbarian peoples in their wars among themselves and against foreign nations (ed. Glorie 1964: 794–795). The reign of the Romans would then be followed by the Second Coming of Christ. In this way, Jerome, writing in c. 407, also sees most of the prophecy as having been fulfilled already.[15]

In the following paragraphs, a paraphrase of the text's description of the dream figure and Rauðúlfr's interpretation will be provided:

- The crucified figure of Óláfr's dream is described in greater detail than the statue of which Nebuchadnezzar dreamt, and it also receives a more elaborate interpretation. The figure is hanging on a large cross that is green as grass. The cross and the crucified figure signify warfare.
- The head of the cross is made of red gold and signifies Óláfr himself, who is referred to as *høfuðsmaðr* 'chief, headman'. Just as red gold is more valuable than other metals, Óláfr surpasses all other humans. The shape of the head, which is round rather than oblong, signifies that Óláfr's life and reign will be short instead of long.
- The figure's face is encircled by a halo that is rainbow-colored and adorned with images of angels and heavenly glory. The halo is sharp (*hvass*) at the top and bottom, but thicker in the middle. The face signifies that Óláfr has converted many people to the Christian faith through his words and power, as the organs of speech and sight are located on the face. As a reward for his efforts, Óláfr will attain the kingdom of heaven and heavenly glory. The halo signifies Óláfr's life and the magnificence of his reign. Just like a halo has no end, Óláfr's fame will endure. The sharpness of the halo signifies the difficulties that will mark the beginning and end of his life, while the middle part of the halo signifies Óláfr's reign.
- The neck of the figure is made of copper and surrounded by *skoteldr* 'Greek fire'. Just as copper is the hardest metal and the loudest bells are made of it, the reign that follows that of Óláfr will be beautiful and its fame will spread far and wide, just like the ringing of bells. However, Greek fire is a terrible weapon, and copper is brittle, suggesting that

[15] What he could not know was that just a few years later, in 410, Rome would be sacked by Alaric. However, this did not usher in the Kingdom of God.

this reign will be unbearable. There is a smooth area where the metal transitions from the copper of the neck to the material of the shoulders. This signifies that the reign will be short and will not produce any successors in Norway.

- The shoulders, arms, and upper chest are made of bright silver beautifully decorated with the paths of the heavenly bodies, and the arms are stretched out. Just as the heavenly bodies illuminate the air and earth and just as everyone rejoices in the brightness of the sun, so this reign will be exceedingly honorable. Just as the heat and light of the sun are beneficial to the world, this reign will be loved and prosperous for the inhabitants. The stretched-out arms signify that this ruler will extend his reach further than other rulers and subdue other peoples and realms, but also that his reign will be short. The shoulders are furthermore connected to the head by a golden lock of hair. This signifies that Óláfr's honor will be most celebrated in Norway and many other places, and that there will be a connection between the head and shoulders.
- The chest is covered by a shining belt of iron. This "belt of power" (*megingjǫrð*) signifies that this reign will be supported by powerful chieftains. It shines because many shining swords will be drawn in this reign, but since iron is hard and causes harm to many, this reign will be harsh from beginning to end. However, the belt is decorated with images depicting events from ancient tales (Sigurðr Fáfnisbani, Haraldr hilditǫnn, Haraldr hárfagri). This signifies that this king will perform great deeds comparable to those of the heroes of old.
- The belly is made of gold alloy/pale gold and artfully embellished with vegetal and animal imagery. Because the gold alloy shares a part of its name with gold, yet is not gold, this king will bear Óláfr's name although he is not comparable to Óláfr. Nevertheless, he will adorn the kingdom with his just rule.
- The area from the navel to the genitals (*skǫpin*) is made of impure silver. Just as this kind of silver is used as currency in this land but cannot be used abroad, similarly this king will be honored in this land but to a lesser extent abroad. He will follow his fate (*skǫp*) throughout his life. In most parts, this king will be equal to his predecessors, but from below the crutch, the body is split. Likewise, power will be split from now on.
- The thighs (*lær*) are skin-colored. The kingdom will be divided between two brothers who will treat each other fairly (*mannliga* lit. 'manly'). Like the legs (*fǫ́trnir*) supporting up the entire body, these

kings will set good examples for their subjects, and everything will be arranged properly and in accordance with common human nature (*eptir almennilegri mennsku*).
- The shins are made of wood. As the saying goes: "that matter goes on wooden feet [is in a bad state]", so this reign will be hard and dreadful to live in. It will be divided between relatives and will ultimately come to an evil end.
- The feet/insteps are made of wood and crossed in an unnatural position, perforated with an iron nail. This indicates that brothers will turn against each other, raising spears in conflict.
- The toes are interlocked. Just as children make rams with their fingers,[16] so the offspring of previous kings will suppress each other for a long time.

As Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, Óláfr's dream, and the interpretation given by Rauðúlfr, is clearly a *vaticinium ex eventu*. However, rather than Daniel's relatively indeterminate outline of reigns of successive dynasties/peoples, Rauðúlfr provides so many clues to the identities of the individual kings following Óláfr's reign that anyone familiar with the broad outline of the history of the Norwegian kings as related in the kings' sagas would be able to identify the kings referred to in the dream with relative ease:

Head:	Óláfr Haraldsson
Neck:	Sveinn Alfífuson
Shoulders:	Magnús góði
Belt:	Haraldr harðráði
Belly:	Óláfr kyrri
Abdomen:	Magnús berføttr
Thighs:	Sigurðr Jórsalafari and Eysteinn Magnússon
Feet:	Period of dynastic strife ('Borgerkrigstiden')

The tale does not look beyond the period of dynastic strife to the reigns of Sverrir Sigurðarson or Hákon Hákonarson. While it is tempting to take this as a hint to the date of the text, it cannot be considered conclusive evidence as other explanations could be provided as well. The most evident explanation

[16] *Gera hrúta með fingrum sér*. This is apparently a reference to a children's game (see Faulkes 2011: 41).

is that the lower part of the human body is split into two parts that are not united again. The anatomy of the human body has thus determined the presentation and duration of history given in the text. One could argue that if the author had wished to do so, he could have continued by describing the destruction of the figure, as in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and its replacement by something altogether different. However, this would break with the entire concept of the dream and the general ideology of succession that also characterized the reigns of Sverrir and his successors, who saw themselves as heirs to Óláfr Haraldsson. One may also compare with Theodoricus's ending to his *De antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* where he states that he considers it unfitting to record for posterity all the atrocities and abominations that took place after the death of Sigurðr Jórsalafari.[17] Therefore, the period of dynastic strife is a fitting point on which to end the prophecy.

Rauðúlfs þáttr adapts its model by providing much greater detail. Although it is presented in a somewhat disorganized manner, this allows the audience to unmistakenly identify the kings whose reigns are alluded to. The tale also expands it model by increasing the number of reigns from four to eight (although the eighth represents is an era rather than the rule of a single king). The text achieves this by breaking down the body into smaller parts and including additional details such as the lock of golden hair that connects Óláfr Haraldsson to his son Magnús góði and the somewhat unusually placed belt signifying Haraldr harðráði. The linkings between the elements of the dream figure and their interpretations are established through analogies, sayings, puns, and other means. Perhaps the most notable of these is homonymy between *skǫpin* (n.pl.def.) 'genitals' and *skǫp* (n.pl.) 'fate' which is used in the characterization of Magnús berføttr's reign.

The description of the reign of the copper neck (Sveinn Alfifuson) is somewhat paradoxical. On one hand, it emphasizes the harshness of Sveinn's rule by comparing it to Greek fire and the brittleness of copper.[18] This characterization aligns with the general portrayal of Sveinn in the kings' sagas, which emphasize the severity of his new laws (e.g. *Hkr* II: 398–401). On

[17] Nos quoque hujus schedulæ hic finem facimus, indignum valde judicantes memoriæ posterorum tradere scelera, homicidia, perjuria, parricidia, sanctorum locorum contaminationes, Dei contemptum, non minus religiosorum deprædationes, quam totius plebis, mulierum captivationes et ceteras abominationes, quas longum est enumerare. (cp. 34, ed. Storm 1880: 67).

[18] Þar lék útan um skoteldr, þat er it grimmasta herskaparføri, hræðiligt ok óstaðfestligt. Koparr er harðr ok støkkr. Þat ríki mun vera ok óþolligt (ed. Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941: 674).

the other hand, the text also characterizes Sveinn's reign in analogy with (church) bells, stating: "But the neck of the figure seemed to you to be made of copper. That is the hardest metal and the bells that are made of this sound loudest. The reign that follows yours [i.e. Óláfr's] will be beautiful and will be known to everyone's ears, just as the sound of great bells."[19] This representation is noteworthy in that it does not match the general characterization of Sveinn and his reign in saga literature. One may wonder if this characterization was influenced by another factor. One possibility is that the author was inspired by Jerome's commentary on the Book of Daniel, which describes the third (bronze) reign in Nebuchadnezzar's dream as follows: "it is properly said to be of copper – for that is the most resonant of all metals and rings out brightly, and its sound is spread far and wide – so that it not only shows the fame and might of the reign, but also the eloquence of the Greek tongue."[20] As mentioned earlier, Jerome's commentary would have been known through the *Glossa ordinaria*.

However, the most striking feature of Óláfr's dream and its interpretation is its grimness and Óláfr's reaction to Rauðúlfr's interpretation. While Nebuchadnezzar's dream presented a general devolution from Nebuchadnezzar's golden reign to the leaden reign mixed with clay, it ultimately ends on an optimistic note, theologically speaking, as it foretells the coming of an empire of a different nature than the earthly empires; one that will extend over everything. Óláfr's dream, on the other hand, not only foretells his own painful death but also presages the fragmentation and destruction of the (earthly) kingdom he has worked to conquer and convert to Christianity. The cross, on which the dream figure hangs, is not a Christian symbol of victory and salvation but a grim portent of discord, unrest, and ultimately death. While the endlessness of the halo signifies Óláfr's eternal glory, its sharp edges indicate the painful and distressing beginning and end of his earthly life. From Óláfr's reign onwards, everything gradually deteriorates, although there are intermittent points of light. The interpretation ends with the image of the twisted feet pierced by an iron nail signifying the

[19] En halsinn á líkneskinu sýndisk þér ór kopar gert. Þat er inn harðasti malmr ok þar af eru klukkur gervar er mest hljóð fylgir. Þat ríki er næst kemr eptir þik mun vera fagrt ok birtask fyrir hvers manns eyrum, svá sem hljóð stórra klukkna (ed. Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941: 674).

[20] *Et regnum tertium aliud, aeneum, quod imperabit uniuersae terrae*, Alexandrum significat et regnum Macedonum successorumque Alexandri: quod recte aeneum dicitur – inter omnia enim metalla aes uocalius est et retinnit clarius, et sonitus eius longe lateque diffunditur –, ut non solum famam et potentiam regni, sed et eloquentiam graeci sermonis ostenderet (ed. Glorie 1964: 794).

brutal internecine struggle among Óláfr's descendants. The dream and its interpretation offer no hope that this deplorable state will be overcome and replaced by something utterly different.

One would expect that Óláfr, upon hearing the interpretation of the dream, would be affected in one way or another by its dire message, but that is not the case. Óláfr stoically thanks Rauðúlfr for his interpretation and praises his discernment: "The king bade him have thanks for this and said that he thought no one would be found to be equally discerning as Rauðúlfr, unless his sons followed in his footsteps." After that the king goes, seemingly unaffected, to take his lunch.[21]

Óláfr's dream can be characterized as a dynastic dream presaging the fortunes and reigns of his descendants. As such it belongs to a common type of dreams related in historiography from Antiquity onwards.[22] Nebuchadnezzar has one such dream (*Dn* 4), and so does Ragnhildr, the mother of Haraldr hárfagri. In her dream, she takes a thorn from her garment, and it grows into a large tree; one end takes root in the ground and the other almost reaches the sky. The branches spread out widely, spanning the breadth of Norway and beyond. The dream is later interpreted as presaging the glory and reigns of Haraldr and his successors. Similar to Óláfr's dream, the trunk of the tree has a chronological aspect, and three colors (blood-red, bright green, and snow-white) are used to characterize the qualities of different phases in Haraldr's reign (*Hkr* I: 90 and 148). In Old Norse literature, dynastic dreams like these are usually employed to presage the greatness and success of the line founded by the figure at the center of the dream. The most obvious exceptions are Sigurðr Jórsalafari's dream of a tree trunk drifting towards Norway and splintering into many pieces (*Msk* II: 146–147) and *Rauðúlfs þáttr* discussed here. Sigurðr's reaction to this ill-boding dream is immediately understandable and relatable; he is silent and dejected (*fámálugr ok ókátr*, *Msk* II: 146), and everyone at court fears that another of his episodes of *vanstilli* is in the offing.[23] Óláfr, on the other hand, seems strikingly indifferent to the gloomy vision of the future with which he is presented.

In the biblical example, Daniel spells out the more general message of

[21] Konungr bað hann hafa þǫkk fyrir ok lézk þat ætla at hans jafningi mundi varla finnask fyrir vitru sakir, nema synir hans stigi honum í spor. Gekk konungr síðan brott ór málstofunni ok til borða (ed. Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941: 680–681).

[22] For a recent study on saga literature that uses the term, see Králová 2017. For a more detailed study and discussion of analogues, see Schach (1971).

[23] *Morkinskinna*, in a series of episodes, implies that Sigurðr is suffering from a mental illness and uses the nouns *vanstilli* 'intemperance' and *staðleysi* 'unsteadiness' to describe this.

Nebuchadnezzar's dream when he prays for the Lord to reveal the dream and its interpretation to him, saying: "May the name of the Lord be blessed from age to age, for wisdom and power belong to him, and he changes times and ages, and he transfers and erects kingdoms.[24]" If there is a deeper point to Óláfr's dream, it is that the reins of the Norwegian kingdom in the future will be held by Óláfr's increasingly unworthy successors – no indication is given of what God's larger plan may be.

Rauðúlfs þáttr intends to show how history proceeds linearly from one reign to the next. However, by using the universalizing Danielan prophecy as a model for the local future *Rauðúlfs þáttr* shoehorns an amorphous local past into a mold that only partly fits.

The Body Politic in the Speech against the Bishops

Another, perhaps more obvious, metaphorical use of the human body is to perceive the conventionally functioning body as a representation of order and mutual dependence between a whole and its constituent parts. As was the case with Óláfr's dream-figure, this analogy has ancient roots and can already be found in the Aesopian fable about the Stomach and the Body. In this tale, the hands, mouth, teeth, etc. of the body consider it unfair that they toil while the stomach is idle, so they revolt against it by refusing to feed it. But as the stomach starves, the members also wither (Perry Index 130). As related in Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (2.32, eds. Conway and Walters 1914), it is explicitly applied to the political situation in Rome where the commoners revolt against the governing class. In the text, the fable is used to defend and preserve the prevailing order by underscoring the importance of the belly because it distributes nourishment back to the members.

A common motif is to use the unity of the human body to illustrate the unity of a community. Saxo Grammaticus provides one example of this in his *Gesta Danorum*: The Danish kingdom has been split into five parts as every male member of the royal family has perished. Gyuritha (ON Gyríðr), the sole survivor of the royal family, promises that she will marry the suitor who "has gathered the kingdom of the Danes, which has been torn limb

[24] sit nomen domini benedictum a saeculo usque in saeculum quia sapientia et fortitudo eius sunt et ipse mutat tempora et aetates transfert regna atque constituit (*Dn* 2:20–21, ed. Weber et al. 1994: 1345).

from limb, into a single body".[25] A more famous example is provided by Paul the Apostle who uses the unity of the human body to illustrate the unity of the church in I Cor 12:12–31. As in Livy, the point is that each part plays its designated role and that no parts are dispensable: "The eye cannot say to the hand: 'I don't need your work', neither can the head say to the feet: 'I don't need you'. Rather it is so that the parts of the body that seem to be lowlier are more necessary ... but you are the body of Christ and members of member."[26] Not everyone can be a prophet, an apostle, or have the power of healing, Paul continues, implying that one should be content that one's role, however seemingly insignificant, fulfills its function in the great ecclesiastic organism.[27]

From Paul, the allegory entered the Christian tradition, and it can, for instance, be found in the dialogue *Elucidarius*, which was translated into Old Norse at some point in the 12th. cent.[28] In this primer of theology, the disciple asks his master: "How is the Church his [Christ's] body and the elect his limbs?"[29] The master provides a detailed answer to this – here translated from Old Norse:

> Master: "As the limbs are attached to the head and controlled by it, so God's holy Christendom is joined together and united in a single body with him through his incarnation. Furthermore, all the righteous are governed by him in their actions, just as the limbs are governed by the head.
>
> The eyes of this head are the prophets who foresaw events that had not yet come to pass, and the apostles who showed others the right path to the true light.
>
> His ears are the obedient, and the nostrils are the discerning who distinguish good from evil, just as nostrils detect smell.

[25] ... [qui] Danorum regnum membratim diuisum in unum corpus redigeret (vii.9.17; ed Friis-Jensen 2015: 510). A few pages later, Saxo reports that Haraldus Hyldetan (ON Haraldr hilditǫnn) "reunites the divided kingdom of Denmark in the shape of its original body (distractumque Danie regnum in pristinum corpus reformat; vii.10.4, ed Friis-Jensen 2015: 514).

[26] non potest dicere oculus manui opera tua non indigeo aut iterum caput pedibus non estis mihi necessarii sed multo magis quae videntur membra corporis infirmiora esse necessariora sunt [...] vos autem estis corpus Christi et membra de membro (I Cor 12:21–22, 27; ed. Weber et al. 1994: 1783).

[27] Numquid omnes apostoli, numquid omnes propheti [...] numquid omnes gratiam habent curationum (I Cor 29–30; ed Weber et al. 1994: 1783).

[28] Another example that must have been known in the Old Norse world is found in Pope Anastasius IV's 1154 letter of foundation for the archdiocese of Nidaros (ed. Vandvik 1959: 52).

[29] Quomodo est Ecclesia ejus corpus et electi membra? (ed. Lefèvre 1954: 393). This part of the Old Norse *Elucidarius* is only preserved in AM 675 4to (a part of *Hauksbók*) where the text of this question is slightly garbled: D: Hversu kallask kristnir menn líkamar Guðs en helgir menn liðir hans? (ed. Firchow and Grimstad 1989: 79); "How come Christians are called the bodies of God and saints his limbs?"

> But the mucus that flows from the nostrils is the heretics whom the judgments of the wise blow away from the head of Christ like mucus from the nostrils.
>
> His mouth is the preachers who recount and interpret the holy scriptures.
>
> His hands are the powerful who fight for Christians against enemies.
>
> His feet are the workers who support the entire people with their labor.
>
> The waste leaving the belly is sin and the sinful and unclean who burden the belly of Christendom. Devils seize them in their moment of death like swine leaving the pigsty, but all bodies of Christ are joined by a common bond of love.[30]

This widespread image of Christendom as a body was put to a different use in the Old Norse so-called *Speech against the bishops*. This text is a highly effective rhetorical piece that argues the case of King Sverrir in his protracted conflict with the Norwegian bishops and the Church at large.[31] The speech is preserved in a single early 14th cent. Norwegian manuscript (AM 114a 4to), but it is held to have been composed after Pope Innocent III had issued an interdict for the kingdom of Norway in 1198 (Holtsmark 1931: 55–59; Gunnes 1971: 342–345) or in the preceding years (Brégaint 2015: 154).[32]

The *Speech* is an exceptionally clever rhetorical piece that effectively weaponizes the laws and history of the church against the church itself. The author mobilizes canon law to argue his case against the bishops and includes numerous Latin quotations with translations into the vernacular.[33] The concluding section presents a bravura list of bishops who have led their followers astray and highlights that in these instances secular rulers have taken action to protect the Church from these renegade bishops, such as

> Bishop Arius of Alexandria who led everyone into heresy and away from Christendom … and this heresy would have spread throughout the world if Emperor

[30] M: Svá sem liðir eru áfastir hǫfði ok stýrask af því, svá samtengisk heilug kristni Guðs ok gerisk einn líkamr með honum fyrir holdtekju hans. Auk af honum stýrask allir réttlátir í sinni skipan svá sem liðir af hǫfði. Þessa hǫfuðs augu eru spámenn er sá fyrir óorðna hluti ok postolar er ǫðrum [*ms.* eða aðrir] vísuðu rétta gǫtu til hins sanna ljóss. Eyru hans eru hlýðnir menn, en nasar skynsamir menn, þeir er gera gótt frá illu svá sem nasar ilma daun. En horr er út ferr ór nǫsum eru villumenn þeir er dómr skynsamra manna hryðr út ór hǫfði Krist sem horr ór nǫsum. Muðr hans eru kennimenn er telja ok skýra helgar ritningar. Hendr hans eru ríkismenn þeir er berjask fyrir kristnum mǫnnum ígegn óvinum. Fǿtr hans eru verkmenn þeir er upphald veita ǫllum lýð í sínu erfiði. Saurr farandi ór kviði eru syndir ok syndugir menn ok óhreinir þeir er þyngja kviði kristninnar. Þá grípa djǫflar í dauða svá sem svín í útgang en allir líkamir Krists samtengisk í einu ástarbandi (ed. Firchow and Grimstad 1989: 79–80).

[31] See Brégaint (2015: 153–171) for a recent discussion of this text.

[32] The papal interdict meant that most public celebrations of Christian rites were prohibited. Exceptions were baptism and the last rites for the dying (see Gunnes 1971: 283–290).

[33] The tendentious nature of these translations was documented by Salvesen (1955).

> Constantine had not turned against him along with those bishops who wished to protect the true faith. Arius was condemned as a result. There was also Macedonius in Constantinople who led everyone astray until Emperor Theodosius turned against him, and Macedonius was condemned.[34]

The list goes on, and the implications should be clear: Sverrir is fighting *for* the church rather than against it, while the Norwegian bishops are seditious and lead their flocks astray, or as the *Speech* states: "We have spoken these things so that people may understand and know that heresies have more often come from bishops than kings."[35]

This highly effective strategy of subversion is also evident in the opening section of the *Speech*, which presents an unusually elaborate version of the allegory of the Church as a body. As in *Elucidarius*, the head is Christ and the body is the Church. While this bodily imagery is conventional at that point in time, the *Speech* adds an unconventional element. The chest and the heart of this body is the king who "should have solicitude for, deliberate and act on behalf of, embolden and defend the other members."[36] The king is thus not only placed at the center of the body but also at the top of the hierarchy of the Church/Kingdom as the one responsible for its health and wellbeing. This point is also stressed later on in the *Speech*:

> Now all of you, learned and unlearned, should know and understand that kings and secular potentates are not appointed against God or the Holy Church. Rather, God himself joins together worldly power and the offices of the Holy Church, and kings have power and protection over the Holy Church ...[37]

The allegory can be summarized as in Tab. 1.

The *Speech* continues by arguing that the present state of the church, or of the kingdom of Norway – it is somewhat hard to distinguish the two in

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[34] Aríus biskup í Alexandria er sneri ǫllu folki til villu ok frá kristni ok er hans biskupsdómr allr í dag heiðinn ok myndi þá villa hafa gengit um allan heim ef eigi hefði Konstantínus keisari móti honum snúisk með þeim biskupum er gæta vildu réttrar trúar ok var hann fyrirdómdr. Þá var Macedonius enn í Miklagarði er sneri ǫllu folki til villu þar til er Theodósius keisari snerisk í móti ok var hann svá fyrirdómdr (ed. Holtsmark 1931: 19).

[35] En vér hǫfum fyrir því þessa hluti talda at menn skili þat ok viti at optar hefir villa komit af biskupum en af konungum (ed. Holtsmark 1931: 19).

[36] Hjarta ok brjóst þessa líkams skyldu vera konungar þeir er bera skyldu áhyggju ok ætlan ok ráðagerð, dirfð ok vǫrn fyrir ǫllum ǫðrum limum (ed. Holtsmark 1931: 1).

[37] Nú skulu þér vita allir lærðir ok ólærðir ok skilja at eigi eru konungar skipaðir eða veraldligir hǫfðingjar gagnstaðligir Guði eða heilagri kirkju, heldr samtengir Guð sjalfr saman veraldarríki ok embætti heilagrar kirkju ok eigu konungar vald ok gæzlu heilagrar kirkju [...] (ed. Holtsmark 1931: 7).

Tab. 1. Summary of the allegory in the Speech against the Bishops

Body part	Interpretation	Function
Head	**Christ**	
Eyes	Bishops	Show everyone the right path and watch over the other members
Nostrils	Archdeacons	smell the sweet scent of righteousness and true faith
Ears	Deacons and provosts	hear and settle difficult issues of the true faith
Tongue and lips	Priests	provide sound teachings and be examples of good conduct
Body	**Church**	
Heart and chest	King	have solicitude for, deliberate and act on behalf of, embolden and defend the other members
Shoulders and upper back	Earls and great chieftains	carry and lighten the burden that befalls the body
Arms	The landed men	provide unfailing support for shoulders and chest
Hands	Knights, retainers, and other warriors	carry shields and other means of protection before the chest and the other members
Stomach and intestines	Monks and ascetics	eat the food from which the rest of the body should receive nourishment and strength
Legs and feet	Farmers and crowds	support the rest of the body with their labor and work

the text – falls short of this harmonious ideal, for a great disease (*mikill sjúkleikr*, ed. Holtsmark 1931: 1) has struck the body and the parts fail to fulfill their natural function and even resist their charge.[38] For the eyes now squint and go blind, the nostrils only smell stench, the ears go partly deaf and are unable to hear the truth. The mouth and lips stutter and the tongue lisps. By means of this straightforward model, the *Speech* argues that the entire clergy, that is, the head, debilitates the Church/kingdom, represented by the body, which is made up of all the non-ecclesiastical estates.[39] The *Speech* is

[38] Nú skipta allir limir sinni náttúru, því at hverr limr hafnar þeiri sýslu ok þjónustu er hann skyldi hafa (ed. Holtsmark 1931: 1–2).

[39] The only ecclesiastical estate that functions as it is supposed to do (the monks and ascetics), belongs to the body rather than the head. While this could be taken as a reflection of King Sverrir's relationship with the Norwegian monasteries, it seems more likely that this element is taken over from the model of the *Speech* (to be presented below).

careful to place the blame with the Norwegian clergy and excuses the pope for any responsibility arguing that the pope has no way of knowing what goes on in faraway regions, such as Norway, and therefore has to rely on the false information and gossip brought to Rome by the Norwegian clergy.[40]

The most detailed study of the *Speech* is *Kongens ære* by Norwegian historian Erik Gunnes (1971). In an addendum added to his study at the proofing stage, Gunnes states that he had become aware of a close parallel in Latin to the text's use of the allegory of the body politic in a German manuscript from the 12th cent. He also printed excerpts from that text along with a translation and a few comments (1971: 367–371). However, neither Gunnes nor anyone else appears to have pursued this line of inquiry further.[41] Unknown to Gunnes, the text can be found under the title *Sermo de ecclesia* 'a sermon on the church' among Werner of St. Blaise's *Deflorationes SS patrum* (*PL* 157: 1047–1049).[42] It has also been printed by Rochais and Binont (1964: 86–88) from an English manuscript (12th cent., Lincoln Cathedral Library 201). Rochais and Binont attributed the text to Bernhard of Clairvaux and it has since been published among his *Sententiae* (III, 118, ed. Leclercq and Rochais 1972: 213–215).

In an appendix, the Latin text (ed. Leclercq and Rochais 1972) is presented alongside the opening of the *Speech*. As one can see, the Old Norse leaves out some of the sections of the Latin text (3, 5, 8, 16, 17, and 20), adds or expands on a few (4, 11, 13, and 14), moves sections 10 and 15 to the end (section 21), but otherwise it follows the Latin element by element. The Old Norse text stands out due to the central position it gives to the king (section 11). In the Latin text, no king is mentioned, and the entire upper part of the torso is identified with the knights who protect the church. Rather than being in charge they are subordinate to the leadership of the head.[43]

The most well-known medieval elaboration of the metaphor of the body politic is found in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159). In this work of political theory, John identifies the king with the head, the senate with the heart, soldiers with the hands and so on. This thoroughly secular body, how-

[40] En þó at vér hljótim ávít af Rómaborgarbiskupi eða af kardinálum þá megum vér þat ekki páfa kenna, því at ekki veit hann heldr til hvat fram ferr í þessu landi eða í ǫðru því er honum liggr í fjarska, heldr valda því biskupar várir ok kennimenn, því at þeir bera drósu ok lygi fyrir páfa oss til fjandskapar (ed. Holtsmark 1931: 3).

[41] Gunnes' discovery is mentioned in passing by Brégaint (2015: 159–160) who, following Gunnes, refers to the text as "A German sermon".

[42] *PL*'s edition is a reprint of a text published in Basel in 1494 (*PL* 157: 721–722).

[43] The heart is conceived as the seat of courage, but not as the center of the Church as in the *Speech*.

ever, is subordinate to the clergy who are the soul. The same basic idea had been expressed a century earlier by Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida who in his *Against the Simoniacs* explained that "just as the soul excels the body and commands it, so the priestly dignity excels and commands the royal, for the heavenly dignity excels and commands the earthly."[44] So although *The speech against the Bishops* uses a conventional model as its point of departure, it departs significantly from it and shapes the model to suit its own purpose.

Rauðúlfs þáttr and the *Speech against the Bishops* both draw on a well-established tradition of using bodily imagery to convey messages about the inevitable passing of earthly kingdoms and the organization of society. While Nebuchadnezzar's dream statue and Daniel's interpretation of it, as well as the concept of the body politic, were well-attested models of thinking, the two Old Norse texts discussed above employ these models in unique and original ways. The *Speech against the Bishops* uses it to stress his point about the relative position of royal and ecclesiastical power, placing the king at the very top of the local earthly hierarchy, subordinate only to God. The unknown author of this unparalleled Old Norse text likely found inspiration for the opening of the speech in either the text that is published among the writings of Bernhard of Clairvaux as *Sententia* III, 118 or in a closely related, but so far unidentified text. If *Sententia* III, 118 was indeed his source, the fact that it is found in a 12th century English manuscript, kept and probably written at Lincoln Cathedral (Rochais and 1964: 15) is of some significance given King Sverrir's English connections (see Johnsen 1970) and that he was instrumental in appointing the Englishman Marteinn, his former *hirðprestr*, to bishop of Bergen. It is therefore possible, but by no means certain, that Marteinn, whom *Sverris saga* describes as a *forkunnar góðr klerkr* 'an exceptionally good cleric' was somehow involved in the creation of the *Speech* (see also Holtsmark 1931: 60–61).[45]

While one cannot help but admire the rhetorical skills on display in the *Speech, Rauðúlfs þáttr* is a more enigmatic text that invites questions about the possible intentions of the author as well as the interpretation of the text. While clearly created by a widely read individual (or individuals) who drew on a range of sources, the overall message of the text is difficult to pin down

[44] Sicut praeminet anima et praecepit [corpori], sic sacerdotalis dignitas regali, utputa caelestis terrestri (ed. Thaner 1891: 225). So also Canning (1996: 86 and 110–112) upon whom this paragraph is based.

[45] For more general comments on the role in Sverrir's administration of Marteinn and Ríkharðr svartameistari, another Englishman, see Bregáint (2015: 170).

and align with the general ideology surrounding the figure of St. Óláfr. The suggestions provided above offer a, perhaps unexpectedly, bleak reading of the tale, describing the slow but certain decline of the kingdom of Norway from Óláfr's reign down to the period of civil strife in the second half of the twelfth century. The nadir is reached with the pierced feet of the crucified dream figure representing the internecine strife between rival claimants to the Norwegian throne. While the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzer's dream figure concludes on an optimistic note, Rauðúlfr provides no such hope.

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Summary

This article examines how two Old Norse works, *Rauðúlfs þáttr* and the *Speech against the Bishops*, use bodily imagery to convey ideas about the transient nature of earthly kingdoms and societal organization. Both texts draw from established models but adapt them uniquely. Inspired by a text attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, the opening of the *Speech against the Bishops* emphasizes the king's supremacy over ecclesiastical power. *Rauðúlfs þáttr* is more complex and enigmatic, and its overall message is ambiguous. The tale seemingly reflects a pessimistic view of Norway's decline from St. Óláfr's reign to the civil unrest of the late 12th century. The text's portrayal of a dream figure with pierced feet symbolizes internal conflicts among Norwegian throne claimants. Nebuchadnezzar's dream with Daniel's interpretation provides the obvious model for Óláfr's dream and Rauðúlfr's interpretation, but while Daniel's interpretation ends on an optimistic note, Rauðúlfr's interpretation offers no such hope.

Keywords: bodily imagery, allegory, interpretation, Óláfr Haraldsson, Sverrir Sigurðsson

Jonas Wellendorf
University of California, Berkeley
Department of Scandinavian
ORCID-iD: 0009-0008-3721-4930

Appendix

Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sententia* III, 118 and the opening of the *Speech against the bishops*

The texts are based on the edition by Leclercq and Rochais (1972: 213–215) and Holtsmark (1931: 1–2), but the orthography of the Old Norse text has been normalized for ease of comprehension. The texts have also been broken down into numbered sections and arranged to facilitate cross-reference and comparison. Translations, provided by the author, are given after the Latin and Old Norse texts.

	***Sententia* III, 118**	**Opening of *The Speech against the Bishops***
1	Christus et Ecclesia unum corpus constituunt.	Kristr ok heilug kirkja fullgera einn líkam algǫrvan, óskaddan med ǫllum limum.
2	Christus caput, Ecclesia corpus,	Kristr sjalfr er hǫfuð þessa líkams, kirkja er bolrinn.
3	quia sicut in capite vita et vegetatio totius corporis, ita in Christo vita et sustentamentum Ecclesiae, quae, si velit capiti conformari et ei servire, pro diversitate personarum et officiorum fiet cum eo unum in aeternum.	
4	Huius corpus oculi qui debent membris inferioribus providere sunt episcopi,	Augu þessa líkams skyldu vera biskupar várir, þeir er oss skyldu vísa á rétta leið ok grandlausa þjóðgǫtu án allra villustíga ok sjá vel fyrir ǫllum limum út í frá.
5	qui non solum oculi, sed etiam pastores; et subditi non solum membrorum nomine, sed horum respectu dicuntur oviculae. Multum interest inter pastorem et ovem, praelatum et subditum. Ille regit, iste regitur; ille pascit, iste pascitur. Et sicut pastor praeest ovibus dignitate praelationis vel creationis, quia rationabilis erectus est ad caelum, ita episcopi dici debent rationabiles et discreti comparatione subditorum. Hi debent habere canem, funem ad illum scilicet tenendum; baculum ad arcendum lupum; virgam ad regendas oves quae non possunt baculum pati; peram ubi portent panem suum. In Ecclesia Dei sunt praedones	

	***Sententia* III, 118**	**Opening of *The Speech against the Bishops***
	lupi, contra quos necessarius est canis, id est latratus asperae correctionis et comminatio de supponendo gladio materiali, si non sufficit spiritualis; hic tamen fune tenendus est, ne impetuose discurrat, quia dandae sunt induciae, faciendae sunt vocationes pro modo facti et dignitate personae. Baculo excommunicationis arcendi sunt lupi; sed iterum quod debetur amori Dei et utilitati proximi et quod est iustitiae, canis impendat amori vel odio? Utendum est baculo, id est non parcendum est sibiipsi, quia IUSTUS IN PRINCIPIO SERMONIS SUIIPSIUS ACCUSATOR EST. Virga tenerae correctionis regendae sunt oves, id est simplices, ne aberrent. In pera debet habere panem verbi Dei reconditum, ut sit paratus reddere rationem omni poscenti.	
6	Nares sunt archidiaconi, qui sagaci odoratu debent olfacere vitam aliorum et ad episcopum referre.	Nasar þessa líkams skyldu vera erkidjáknar. Þeir skyldu þefja ok ilma allan sǫtleik réttlætis ok heilagrar trúar.
7	Aures sunt decani qui debent audire iudicia et, secundum quod audierunt, iudicare.	Eyru þessa líkams skyldu vera decani ok prófastar er heyra skyldu ok skilja [*ms* vilja] sakir ok vandendamál heilagrar kristni.
8	Unde dicetur: QUOD AUDIO IUDICIO, non quod odi, non quod amo.	
9	Os et lingua sunt presbyteri et diacones, predicatores verbi Dei.	Tunga þessa líkams ok varrar skyldu vera prestar várir, þeir er telja skyldu fyrir oss góðar kenningar ok sjalfir sýna góð dómi í sínum meðferðum.
10	Sic esse deberet, sed modo omnia confusa et posteriorata. Oculi non sunt erecti. Inclinantur ad munera, ad odium, ad amorem. In eis est quod dicitur: TENEBRAE ERANT SUPER FACIEM ABYSSI. In eis est facies Lazarus ligata sudario.[46] In eis	*See 21*

[46] The Speech against the bishops mentions Lazarus and the cloth tied around his face later: ok er þat nú opinbert at klæði ok dauðaband er Guð leysti af andliti Lazari í grǫfinni, þá er nú bundit um andlit lærifeðra várra (Holtsmark 1931: 3) "And it is now clear that the cloth and band of death which God removed from the face of Lazarus in the grave, that is now tied over the face of our teachers."

	***Sententia* III, 118**	**Opening of *The Speech against the Bishops***
	sunt somno oculi gravati. In eis est Saulus squamas habens super oculos. Nares amiserunt odoratum, putantes malum bonum, et e converso tuentur quos volunt, gravant quod volunt. Aures pervertunt iudicia. Os et lingua silent.	
11	Pectus,	Hjarta ok brjóst þessa líkams skyldu vera konungar þeir er bera skyldu áhyggju ok ætlan ok ráðagerð, dirfð ok vǫrn fyrir ǫllum ǫðrum limum.
12	dorsum, brachia, manus, Ecclesiae sunt milites. In pectore est cor, in quo est audacia. Hi audacter debent defendere ministros Ecclesiae. Dorsum congruit hominibus portandis, brachia levandis, manus contractandis. Hi debent portare, sustollere, contractare diligenter onera ecclesiastica.	Axlir ok herðar ok hryggr þessa líkams skyldu vera jarlar ok stórhǫfðingjar þeir er bera mætti ok létta allan þunga þann er til handa beri.
13		Armleggir þessa líkams skulu vera lendir menn þeir er øruggir stuðlar væri bæði brjósti ok herðum.
14		Handleggir ok hendr þessa líkams skyldu vera riddarar ok hirðmenn ok aðrir hermenn út í frá, þeir sem bera skyldu hlífðarvápn ok varnir fyrir brjósti ok ǫllum ǫðrum limum.
15	Sed haec omnia conversa sunt.	*See 21*
16	O quam iniquae manus, quae crepant et eruunt oculos quos deberent abstergere, obtruncant nares quas deberent emungere, amputant aures quas deberent purgare, claudunt manus cui deberent ministrare! De vita clericorum sunt apud eos litterae in conviviis, discreptationes in triviis.	
17	Venter, qui pro infirmitate vilis habetur, receptaculum est tantum ciborum, nutritorium est corporis, decoquit cibos, porrigit vitales succos superioribus et inferioribus membris.	
18	Monachi et eremitae sunt venter Ecclesiae, quos mundus despicit. Hi iam recipiunt cibum spiritualem vel doctrinae. Hi sunt sustentamentum Ecclesiae, significati per Moysen orantem in monte, per	En kviðr ok innyfli þessa líkams skulu vera munkar ok hreinlífismenn þeir er þá eina fǫzlu skulu nýta ok bergja er allr líkamr skyldi taka nøring ok styrk af.

	***Sententia* III, 118**	**Opening of *The Speech against the Bishops***
	Samuelem excubantem in templo, per Eliam morantem in deserto. Hi porrigunt spirituales succos superioribus et inferioribus. His convenit quod dicitur: Humanum genus vivit paucis, quia nisi hi essent, mundus periret vel fulmine vel hiatu terrae.	
19	Pedes, qui totum corpus portant, sunt rustici de quorum labore vivunt omnes praedicti.	En leggir ok fǫtr þessa líkams skulu vera bøndr ok fjǫlmenni þeir sem upphaldi bæði með verknaði ok allri atvinnu þeima líkama.
20	Haec est contatenatio Ecclesiae, si capiti suo velit uniri.	
21	*See 10 and 15*	En því er verr at nú skipta allir limir sinni nattúru, því at hverr limr hafnar þeiri sýslu ok þjónustu er hann skyldi hafa. Augu skelgjask ok óskyggnask, ok er þat sama hreist á fallit á augu biskupa várra er fell af augum postula þá nátt er Guð var tekinn. Sá hinn sami hǫfgi ok þungi er nú kominn á augu biskupa várra ok sjá þeir nú alla hluti sem í svefnórum er þeir eigi skilja bjartleik né sanna sýn. Nasar þefka nú daun en eigi ilm eða sǫtleik. Eyru eru nú lemheyrð ok megu eigi heyra sannindi, né rétta skilning, því at nú verða sannindi hvárki heyrð eða séð, ok blindar nú biskupa vára ok aðra hǫfðingja þá er kristni skyldi gæta fésínki, óhóf, ágirnð, dramb, ok ranglæti ...

Translation of the Latin text

1 Christ and the church constitute one body. 2 Christ is the head, the church the body, 3 for just as the life and the entire body's power of growth reside in the head, so in Christ one finds the life and sustenance of the Church which, if it wants to agree with the head and serve it, will through the diversity of persons and functions become one with him in eternity. 4 The eyes of this body, which should look after the lower members, are bishops 5 who are not only eyes but also shepherds; and subordinates are not only termed limbs, but little sheep in relation to them. There is a great difference between the shepherd and the sheep, the prelate and the subordinate. One

rules, the other is ruled; one feeds, the other is fed. And just as the shepherd ranks over the sheep by virtue of the dignity of the prelate or creation, – because being rational he stands upright towards heaven – so bishops should be considered rational and discerning in comparison with their subordinates. They should have a dog, a leash to restrain it; a staff to keep wolves away; a twig to govern the sheep who cannot bear the staff; a bag where they can carry their bread. In the Church of God, there are larcenous wolves against whom a dog is necessary – that is the barking of stern rebuke and the threat to bring down the material sword if the spiritual does not suffice; it should, however, be kept on a leash, so that it does not stray impetuously because truces should be given, summons made in accordance with the deed and the rank of the person involved. Wolves should be kept off with the staff of excommunication; but again, does it befall the dog to love or hate that which is owed the love of God and the benefit of the neighbor and what is just? The staff shall be used, that is, one shall not spare oneself, for the JUST ACCUSES HIMSELF IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SPEECH. The sheep, that is the common people, shall be controlled with a twig of mild correction so they do not go astray. In the bag he should keep the bread of the word of God, so that he is ready to give a portion to everyone who asks for it. 6 The nostrils are the archdeans who, keen-scented, should smell the lives of others and report to the bishops. 7 The ears are the deans who should hear judgments and judge in accordance with what they have heard. 8 Therefore it is said: I JUDGE WHAT I HEAR, not what I hate, not what I favor. 9 The mouth and the tongue are priests and deacons, preachers of the word of God. 10 Thus, it ought to be, but now everything is jumbled and turned around. The eyes are not straight. They are bent by gifts, by hate, by favor. What is said is evident in them: Darkness was over the face of the deep. In them is the face of Lazarus bound with cloth. In them are eyes heavy with sleep. In them is Saul with scales before his eyes. The nostrils have lost their sense of smell, considering evil good, and conversely protecting those they choose, harming those they choose. The ears distort their judgments. The mouth and the tongue are silent. 11 The chest, 12 the back, the arms, the hands are the knights of the church. In the chest is the heart in which courage resides. These should defend the servants of the church bravely. The back corresponds to humans that carry, the arms to those that lift, the hands to those that grasp. These should carry, lift, grasp the ecclesiastical burdens. 15 But this has all been overturned. 16 O how wicked are the hands that burst and dig out the eyes that they ought to dry, cut the nostrils that they ought to wipe, cut off the ears that they ought to cleanse, close the hands with which they ought to serve! Texts about the lives of clerics are matters

of entertainment at their banquets and of disputes at crossroads. 17 The stomach, which is often considered worthless because of its weakness, is so much as a receptacle of food, provides nourishment for the body, digests the food, distributes necessary energy for the upper and the lower members. 18 Monks and hermits, whom the world looks down upon, are the stomach of the church. They take in spiritual food and that of doctrine. They are the underpinning of the church, signified by Moses praying on the mountain, by Samuel sleeping in the temple, by Elijah staying in the desert. They extend spiritual energy for the upper and the lower. It fits them when it is said: The human lives a short while, for if they were not, the world would be destroyed by lightning or earthquake. 19 The feet that carry the entire body are the farmers by whose labor all the aforementioned live. 20 This is how the Church is linked together if it would unite with its head.

Translation of the Old Norse text

1 Christ and the holy church make up one body, complete and undamaged, with all limbs. 2 Christ himself is the head of this body, the church is the trunk. 4 The eyes of this body should be our bishops, those who should show us the right way and the honest high road without any false paths, and furthermore, look well after all the limbs. 6 The nostrils of this body should be the archdeacons. They should smell and sense every sweetness of righteousness and the holy faith. 7 The ears of this body should be the deacons and the provosts who should listen and decide legal cases and the difficulties of the holy Christendom. 9 The tongue and lips of this body should be our priests, those who should give us good instruction and themselves be good examples in their conduct. 11 The heart and chest of this body should be the kings who should have solicitude for, deliberate and act on behalf of, embolden and defend the other members. 12 The shoulders, upper back, and back of this body should be the jarls and great chieftains who might carry and lighten the burden that befalls the body. 13 The upper arms of this body should be the landed men who should provide unfailing support for the chest and the shoulders. 14 The lower arms and hands of this body should be the knights and retainers, and moreover the other warriors, those who should hold shields and protections up before the chest and all the other limbs. 18 But the stomach and intestines of this body should be the monks and ascetics who should only eat and consume food from which the entire body can take nourishment and strength. 19 But the legs and feet of this body should be the farmers and common people who might sustain this body with their work and all their activities.

Defining the Human
Skin, Shapeshifting, and Sin

Tiffany Nicole White

Introduction

This article focuses on depictions of skin(s) – fleshy objects used to cover the human body that are representative of a state of being or a specific identity. In contrast to the traditional interpretation, connecting skin-wearing with mythological or shamanistic shapeshifting, I connect the literary use of skins donned by monstrous figures in the Old Icelandic corpus to the animal skin garments that were fashioned for Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise. This important detail of the protoplasts' new clothing within the widely-disseminated story of the fall of man has been overlooked as a literary topic of any substance in the field of Old Norse-Icelandic literature, although it has recently received attention in neighboring fields,[1] underlining its wider literary importance in the Middle Ages. The allegorical meaning attached to the garments by Late Antique and medieval theologians – that of shame and animality – provides a fruitful avenue through which to interpret further depictions of humans in animal skins in Old Icelandic literature. This symbolism surrounding the human-in-animal allows for a reading of a human-animal hybridity, while also underlining the negative connotations that come with bestial behavior, thus distinguishing man from beast. Non-human behavior and appearance can be tied to the corruption of humanity as a result of original sin.

[1] Two of the most influential works in neighboring medieval area studies are Salisbury (1994) and McCracken (2017).

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These reflections clarify the task of defining what *is not* or *should not* be the paragon of humanity.

This study focuses on two examples. The first is the trolls of the *Hrafnistumannasögur*. There are four sagas in total, *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Örvar-Odds saga*, and *Áns saga bogsveigis*. Each saga presents (a) troll-ish figure(s) wearing animal skin clothing, using the same terminology for the clothing that is used to describe Adam and Eve's garments in Old Norse-Icelandic biblical and exegetical texts.[2] The second focus of this study is on later medieval depictions of humans donning an animal skin in order to "turn" into wolves (were-wolves, if you must), stories that provide fertile material with which to interpret the Christian rhetoric of the animality of humans after the fall of man. These depictions are found in medieval Romance or sagas from nearby genres that are heavily influenced by the Romance genre, such as *Völsunga saga*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Tíodels saga*, and Marie de France's *Strengleikar*. The were-wolf and the troll are a critical pair to view together, for while at first they might seem rather different, the troll often showcases wolfish qualities (Su 2022: 49) and both figures represent uncanny representations of the human: "whereas the wolf is a human being who comes a bit too close to monstrosity, the troll is a monster with disturbing traces of humanity" (Su 2024: 118). These two examples of skin-wearing represent a medieval Icelandic mindset that grapples with the separation of humans from other animals, what that means, what the consequences of crossing over from humanity to animality are, and finally, how to define the human by identifying the animal.

Skin: *kyrtill*, *stakkr*, and *hamr*

First a note on terminology. The terms used to describe Adam and Eve's garments, as well as the trolls' garments in the *Hrafnistumannasögur*, are the nouns *skinn-kyrtill* and *-stakkr*, which are found throughout the Old Icelandic corpus. In her study of clothing in the *Íslendinga sögur*, Anita Sauckel (2014: 91–96) shows that those who practice magic are often depicted wearing animal skins or pelts, of which both *skinnkyrtill* and *skinnstakkr* are employed. She emphasizes that the clothing is a reflection of the character's traits – such as that they are pagan, have a poor standing in society, or are generally of bad character, and of course, their ability to perform magic. Additionally,

[2] *Áns saga* does not present a specific character in an animal skin but rather refers to trolls as those who wear animal skins.

she shows that *skinnstakkr* specifically was usually worn by those who were considered part of the lower classes of society (Sauckel 2014: 49–54).

Matteo Tarsi (2016: 89) notes that *kyrtill* was a liturgical term borrowed into Old Icelandic from Old English in the 11th century, although the term does not appear in dictionaries as being used as a word for liturgical vestments in the Old Icelandic corpus. At the very least, his observation indicates that the noun was one that was used within the Church, which exemplifies its use in the biblically-inspired stories of Adam and Eve. *Kyrtill* comes from the Old English *cyrtel*, 'A kirtle, vest, garment, frock, coat' (Bosworth 1921: 190). This noun is thought to be derived from the Latin *curtus*, 'short, mutilated, broken' (Lewis & Short 1969: 504). *Stakkr*, on the other hand, appears to be of Nordic origin and indicates a short garment. de Vries (1962: 542) gives *kyrtill* as a synonym.

The noun *hamr* is a term used to denote the skin which a human puts on in order to "change" into an animal. Additionally, it is used to refer to the sheddable skin of an animal, as it appears in *Stjórn I*, when the reader is told that a snake sheds its *hamr* in the winter (Astås 2009a: 147).[3] Novotná (2024: 100) defines *hamr* as "an outer surface, which is separable from the protagonist, and can be removed without change of his or her essence. Transformation of *hamr* is then merely the donning of an outer layer, not a transformation of the entire being."[4] The were-wolf, a man who puts on a *hamr*, is the focus in this study, but this imagery has been considered just one version of a man turning into wolf, what is often referred to as the 'later' or 'foreign' variant.[5] Knight (2020: 28) points out that instances of shape-shifting that are 'foreign' are often dismissed as not as important as 'native'

[3] This instance is also a translation, specifically from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, where *exuvias corporis* is found.

[4] Novotná (2024: 100) argues that this definition only applies to foreign-influenced texts, in contrast to "Old Norse transformations of *hamr*", which she claims portrays a full transformation of soul and body. Ármann Jakobsson (2023: 6) does not address any different categories, but basing his study only on *Ynglinga saga*, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Eyrbyggja saga*, and *Njáls saga*, claims that "Even though the contemporary Icelandic word *hamur* would seem to signify the body and its skin rather than the mind and its thoughts, the medieval Icelandic usage of the word *hamr* often indicates that it signifies the mind no less than the skin, or perhaps that these are not easily distinguished. This is potentially unwelcome news for modern scholars asking the question of whether medieval Icelanders believed a human could fully transform into a beast or not."

[5] The "earlier" or "Old Norse" variant includes full transformation (mind and body), where the transformation itself is depicted in various ways; whereas the "later" or "foreign" variant includes a skin that must be put on in order to shapeshift. See Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (2007) and Novotná (2024: 97).

ones, considered simply of continental or Celtic influence. While this distinction might be important for understanding the history of scholarship within the corpus, I maintain that all instances of shapeshifting are foreign and heavily influenced by Christian literature and thought. Rather than focusing on which stories are inherently Norse and which are imported, however, I prefer to look at manuscript transmission.[6] The oldest extant manuscript containing *hamr* in prose is that of De la Gardie 4–7, a Norwegian manuscript from *c.* 1270 which contains the oldest translations of courtly literature.[7] The text in which the term appears is the *Strengleikar* translated from Marie de France's *lais*. As might be expected, *hamr* is used in this text to describe the skin Bisclavret puts on when he "becomes" a werewolf.[8] The term itself is related to the body word *líkhamr* (lit. "body-shape" or "body-skin"), often seen in texts as *líkamr*. Like *stakkr* and *kyrtill*, it is a clothing-related word. Its cognates in the Germanic languages all refer to a type of body covering (cf. Old English *ham* "undergarment"; Middle Low German *ham* "cloak, hide, blanket"; and Middle High German *ham* "cloak, skin, net" (Clark Hall 1960: 168; de Vries 1962: 208).[9]

Adam and Eve's Garments

The biblical story of Adam and Eve is extant in Old Norse-Icelandic in the fourteenth-century biblical compilation now called *Stjórn I*. While *Stjórn I* does show influence from the *Vulgate*, this foundational Latin Bible translation was not the single source for the Old-Norse Icelandic biblical text, and the documentation of the story of Adam and Eve's garments reflects this. The verse that describes the skins is Genesis 3:21, which reads as follows in the *Vulgate*:

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[6] Gwendolyne Knight (2020: 42) advocates for a similar approach: "Trying to separate the 'native' from the 'new' traditions hardly holds water, but pointing out the peculiarities as well as the unifying features of individual narratives has the potential to reveal vital cultural and literary insights."

[7] The word appears in poetry preserved around the same time, for example in Codex Regius, *Vǫluspá* verse 39. Here I am concerned more with the date of preservation of the physical manuscript rather than the assumed (older) date of said poem.

[8] While the noun shows up in pre-Christian poetry, I am mainly concerned in this study with how Christian scribes use the term to describe animal skins and their effect on humans.

[9] However, in the wider Old Norse context, Novotná (2024: 141–201) shows that the root *-hamr* can take on a wide variety of meanings. In the appendix to her 2024 volume, she includes every textual instance where the root *-hamr* appears. Additional overviews of the use of *hamr* are provided in Knight (2020: 32–33) and Novotná (2024: 55–59).

> Fecit quoque Dominus Deus Adam et uxori eius tunicas pellicias et induit eos (Edgar 2010: 16).
>
> And the Lord God made for Adam and his wife garments of skins, and clothed them (Edgar 2010: 17).

The adjective used here to describe the garments is *pellicius* which means generically 'made of skin' (Lewis & Short 1969: 1325) and is therefore not specific as to whether the skin is that of human or animal. This ambiguity likely fed the interpretation of the skins as human bodies. Appropriately, some Classical and medieval commentary, and all Modern Bible translations, explain that the passage refers to God giving the protoplasts a physical body, that is, their own human skin in place of an angelic or heavenly body, rather than animal pelts to cover themselves.[10]

In contrast, the *Historia Scholastica*, an incredibly popular source for medieval vernacular biblical exegesis, specifies that the garments were of animal skins and even gives further interpretation as to the meaning of them:

> Fecitque Deus Ade et uxori eius tunicas pelliceas, id est de pellibus mortuorum animalium, ut signum sue mortalitatis secum ferrent, et ait: Ecce Adam factus est quasi unus ex nobis. Ironia est, quasi uoluit esse ut Deus, sed in euidenti est modo quia non est. (Sylwan 2005: 45).
>
> And God made tunics of skin for Adam and his wife, that is, out of the skin of dead animals, so that they should carry a sign of their mortality with them, and said: "See Adam is made like one of us." This is irony, for he wanted to be like God, but now it is clear that he is not.[11]

It should not come as a surprise that the more interpretive *Historia* version of Genesis 3:21 is found more prevalently than that of the *Vulgate* in medieval Icelandic texts, for the *Historia* was one of the most common sources for pre-Reformation biblical material. Morey (1993: 8–9) points out that there are thirteenth-century translations of the *Historia* into Saxon (c. 1248), Dutch (c. 1271), Old French (c. 1295), Castilian (1221–1284), as well as fourteenth-century Catalan and Portuguese translations. This is in line with *c.* fourteenth-century compilation/adaptation of *Stjórn I*. This interpretation

[10] For example, "Early Jewish and Christian commentators identify these *tunicas pellicias* metaphorically, as skin-like garments or as human skin, that is, as humanity: to be clothed in skin is to shed the garments of glory worn in Paradise and to become human and mortal. Some commentators understood the garments of skin more literally, as animal skins or clothes made from animal skins." (McCracken 2017: 16).

[11] Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

underlines that the giving and/or wearing of the skins indicates a divergence from the protoplasts reflecting the image of God.

Equally important and perhaps the most detailed exegesis of the skins is that of Augustine, whose texts were also used extensively in the compilation of *Stjórn I*.[12] In his *De Genesi contra Manicheos*, Augustine discusses the significance and meaning of the skins in great length, interpreting that the skins (or here, tunics) are representative of the protoplasts' mortality. He goes further to say that their own human skin concealed their lying hearts and thoughts; this is when his exegesis begins to sound as if he is suggesting the skins that were given were human bodies. He leaves his allegory behind, however, and specifies at the end of the passage that the skins were made from cattle, putting Adam and Eve on par with "monstrous beasts."

> Nam illa mors, quam omnes qui ex Adam nati sumus coepimus debere naturae, quam minatus est deus, cum praeceptum daret ne fructus ille arboris ederetur, – illa ergo mors in tunicis pelliciis figurata est. Ipsi enim sibi fecerunt praecinctoria de foliis fici, et deus illis fecit tunicas pellicias, id est ipsi appetiverunt mentiendi libidinem relicta facie veritatis, et deus corpora eorum in istam mortalitatem carnis mutavit, ubi latent corda mendacia.
>
> Neque enim in illis corporibus caelestibus sic latere posse cogitationes credendum est, quemadmodum in his corporibus latent; sed sicut nonnulli motus animorum apparent in vultu et maxime in oculis, sic in illa perspicuitate ac simplicitate caelestium corporum omnes omnino animi motus latere non arbitror. Itaque illi merebuntur habitationem illam et commutationem in angelicam formam, qui etiam in hac vita, cum possint sub tunicis pelliciis occultare mendacia, oderunt ea tamen et cavent flagrantissimo amore veritatis et hoc solum tegunt, quod hi qui audiunt ferre non possunt, sed nulla mentiuntur. Veniet enim tempus, ut nihil etiam contegatur: *nihil est enim occultum quod non manifestabitur*.
>
> Tamdiu autem in paradiso fuerunt isti, quamvis iam sub sententia damnantis dei, donec ventum esset ad pellicias tunicas, id est ad huius vitae mortalitatem. Quo enim maiore indicio potuit significari mors, quam sentimus in corpore, quam pellibus, quoniam mortuis pecoribus detrahi solent? Ita cum contra praeceptum non imitatione legitima, sed illicita superbia deus esse appetit homo, usque ad beluarum mortalitatem deiectus est. (Weber 1998: 154–156).

> This death, you see, which all of us who are born of Adam have owed to nature from the start, and with which God threatened Adam when he gave the command that the fruit of that tree was not to be eaten, so then this death is presented under the figure of the skin tunics. They themselves, you see, had made aprons

[12] Within the text itself, this is evident by the continual note of "Ágústínus segir ..."; additionally Astås' (2009a) edition provides abundant references to the text, indicating which parts of *Stjórn I* were taken from which of Augustine's works.

> out of fig-leaves for themselves, and God made them tunics of skin; that is, they set their hearts on the pleasures of lying after turning their backs on the face of Truth, and God changed their bodies into this mortal flesh, in which lying hearts are concealed.
>
> It is not to be supposed, after all, that thoughts can remain hidden in celestial bodies in the same way as they do in these present bodies of ours; but just as some at least of our inner thoughts and feelings are revealed by the expression on our faces, and especially by our eyes, so I am convinced that in a similar way no feelings and thoughts of the spirit whatsoever are concealed in the transparent simplicity of heavenly bodies. And so such a dwelling place and such a change into angelic form will be earned by those people who even in this life, when it has been possible for them to conceal lies under tunics of skin, have still hated and avoided such falsehood out of a most ardent love of truth, and who only keep covered up what their listeners are unable to bear, but lies they never tell at all. The time will come, you see, when nothing will be covered up; *for nothing is hidden which will not be made manifest* (Luke 12:2).
>
> But these two continued to remain in Paradise, even though now under the sentence of God's condemnation, until it came to the tunics of skin, that is, to the mortal condition of this life. What more effective indication, after all, can be given of the death, which we are aware of in the body, than skins which are flayed as a rule from dead cattle? And so when the man went against the commandment and sought to be God, not by lawful imitation but by unlawful pride, he was cast down into the mortal condition of monstrous beasts. (Rotelle 2002: 92–93).

Similarly, in book 13 of his *Confessions*, Augustine reiterates the mortality which the skins represent: "And you know, Lord, you know how you have clothed humanity in skins when – by reason of their sin – they became subject to death."[13] Augustine's stance is thus: The prelapsarian form of Adam was made in God's image; the new sinful human covered in clothing (that of an animal) does not reflect God's image. Kay (2017) elaborates on this foundational perspective:

> Because they come from dead animals, the tunics of skin fittingly represent the mortality with which God punished the first couple's sin. Additionally, they imply that sin *animalizes* the human being. Augustine understood the statement that human beings were created in the image of God as marking their difference from other animals, which lacked likeness to their creator. The garments made from animal skin symbolize how far human beings, through sin, have fallen away from this privileged resemblance to God into the dissimilitude from him of the beasts. On the other hand, the fact that the effects of sin can be represented as

[13] "Et tu scis, domine, tu scis, quemadmodum pellibus indueris homines, cum peccato mortals fierent." (Hammond 2016: 362–363).

> donning a garment means that, like a garment, they can also be taken off, laid aside, and replaced with another (Kay 2017: 43).

The tradition that was received in Old Icelandic texts is reflective of the Augustinian interpretation and that found in the *Historia Scholastica*, which specifies that the skins Adam and Eve were given were *animal* skins from God to cover themselves after they sinned. This is contrastive to the Vulgatian exegesis, that Adam and Eve did not have physical bodies before the Fall. The animal skin both defines what humans are against something they should not be (animalistic), but also unsettles the boundary between human/animal in that it brings to light that which humans *are* in their current postlapsarian state of being. The only theological way to remedy this is through salvation. Both the *Historia* and Augustine's works were well known in medieval Iceland and both undoubtedly had a strong impact on how the story of the garments was interpreted in Icelandic texts.[14] The *Historia* emphasizes the mortality the skins represent, while Augustine goes further to emphasize both the mortality and *animality* that the skins represent.

In his edition of *Stjórn*, Reidar Astås (2009b: 59) records in his marginal notes that the source for the interpretation of Genesis 3:21 in *Stjórn I* is the *Scholastica Historia* (25,2–4 and 7), which reads as follows:

> let guð drottín*n*, þa f*yrer* englan*n*a þionostu kyrtla af dauðra kuikenda skin*n*um ve*r*ða giǫrfa adam ok eue synandi þ*ei*m s*ua* mark sialfra þ*ei*ra dauðleiks.[15]
>
> The Lord God had shirts of skins of dead living beings made for Adam and Eve by means of the service of angels, showing them [Adam and Eve] in this way a sign of their own mortality.

Kvikendi refers only to a living being; it could refer to either animal or human ('a living creature') (Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1957: 364). Yet the mention of shirts, *kyrtla* (acc. pl.), and the adjective *dauðra* ('dead', gen. pl.) underlines that this does not indicate the giving of human bodies but rather something to put on the body, likely that of a dead animal. The Palm Sunday sermon that immediately follows this passage specifies further, however, that the scribe believes the *kyrtlar* in the biblical passage are in fact

[14] In addition to the plentiful references within the text of *Stjórn I*, the impact of the *Historia* in medieval Iceland is overviewed in Wolf (1991).

[15] Cf. Astås (2009b: 58–59). This line appears in the manuscripts AM 226 fol. 9ra lines 21–23 and AM 227 fol. 9ra lines 9–12. Astås indicates there is no notable variations in this verse. All quotes from *Stjórn* are represented exactly as they appear in Astås' edition. Italics represent expansions of suspensions, contractions, and truncations.

animal skins, as the term *hárklæði* ('hair-shirt') is used indicating an animal pelt, again underlining the mortality the skins typify:

> h*er*filigt hærkleði gefr h*on* (kirkjan) þ*ei*m [stórglœpamǫnnum] i m*er*kíng fýr sagðra skinn kỳrtla (Astås 2009b: 59).
>
> A wretched hairshirt she [the Church] gave them [sinners] as a sign of the aforementioned skin shirts.

Despite the importance of *Stjórn* in the dissemination of biblical material, the extant manuscripts are rather late, the earliest copy of *Stjórn I* dating to c. 1350. Interestingly, there were several other Old Norse-Icelandic texts that pre-date the *Stjórn* manuscripts that discuss the garments of Adam and Eve. One example, from *Konungs skuggsjá*, as is found in the manuscript AM 243 b α fol., 54v, offers a c. 1275, albeit similar, interpretation of the meaning of the skins. The story of the fall of Adam and Eve is contained in a chapter concerning verdicts and penalties that is meant to demonstrate how mercy should be practiced in justice, using Adam and Eve as examples.

> Ðvi næst gaf guð þeim Adami oc Eyvo skinnkyrtla oc mællti við þau. Mæðr þvi at þit skamþuz noctra lima þa hylit yccr nu mæðr starfs ismottum oc uglæðis klæðum oc farit nu aviðatto iarðar mæðr annsamligho starfi oc leitit yccr fœzlo. (Holm-Olsen 1945: 83).
>
> Thereafter God gave Adam and Eve coats of skin and said to them: "Since you are ashamed of your naked limbs, cover yourselves now with the garments of travail and sorrow and fare forth into the wide fields to find your food with irksome toil [...]" (Larson 1917: 27).

In this exegesis, there is an emphasis on the skins as covers for their nakedness. The use of the verb *at hylja* ('to cover, hide') indicates an external cover to the body, since it is their naked private parts ('limbs', *lima* gen. pl.) that should be covered. The garments then exist because of their sin, as the need to cover their nakedness came only after their disobedience and resulting awareness of their unclothed parts; the garments thus physically represent the reason they must leave Paradise. Larson's translation does not fully encapsulate the meaning of the original: *í-smótt* is a 'cloak with a hole for the head to pass through' indicating a specific type of clothing that is *starfs*, 'of trouble/labor' (i.e. travail), and then a synonymic parallel, *uglæðis klæðum* (normalized to *ógleðis-klæði*), 'a mourning dress' (i.e. sorrow). (Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1957)

The garments are "sorrowful" garments because they represent the protoplasts' new animality. Just after they eat of the apple and directly before they

receive the tunics, Adam and Eve compare themselves to animals, realizing that unlike themselves, animals are covered with fur or feathers, and recognize that they, too, now need this same covering for their nakedness.

> Þa kunnu þau þægar at skammazt nocðra lima þar sæm þau sa fugla licami hulða væra mæðr fiaðrum en dyra licami mæð hari en þau sa sialfra sinna licami necta væra. oc skamðuz þau þæss mioc. (Holm-Olsen 1945: 81).
>
> For immediately they were ashamed of their naked limbs, since they saw that the bodies of the birds were covered with feathers and those of the beasts with hair, while their own bodies were naked, and they were much ashamed of that. (Larson 1917: 266).

The skins offer the reader the common typology that corruption *can* lead to redemption – in this case, Adam's sin and new animality will allow him to learn through suffering and serve as an example for medieval readers, who will acknowledge the solution available to them – through the figure of Christ.

The version of *Kross saga*[16] in *Hauksbók* (c. 1290–1334) states that

> Sva er sagt siðan Adam hafði syndína gerua i paradíso. ok hann var þaðan brott rekinn í einum skinnstakki firir syndína. (Overgaard 1968: 1).[17]
>
> So it is said that after Adam had sinned in Paradise he was thrown out of that place in a skin shirt for his sin.

Again, we have a specificity of garment type – a new noun, *stakkr* – as well as a description of the meaning of the skin-shirt. This section of *Hauksbók* is dated to 1302–1310 by Stefán Karlsson (1964), still earlier than the extant *Stjórn I* manuscripts.[18]

Early Modern Continuity

Representative of the continuing popularity of the story of Adam and Eve, *Eitt æfintir af Adam* appears at the end of AM 65a 4to (seventeenth century). The tale is expanded upon from the version in *Hauksbók* and is written as a

[16] This title is created by Overgaard; the rubric on the MS is *hvaðan kominn er drottins*. (AM 544 4to 17r).

[17] This is the first line of both A and B versions.

[18] The story appears to be well read, for the mention of the skin is the first line of the story, marked in the middle of the folio by a red initial. The page where the text begins (17r) is rather worn in comparison to the surrounding folios. It is the last bit of the quire, just before a well-known (in modern times, at least) map of Jerusalem, and is written in its own hand (no other parts of the MS were written in this same hand).

standalone tale. As an individual excerpt, it represents what Quinn (1962) has termed *Seth's Quest*.[19] The first line of the tale reads:

> So er sagt sidann Adam og Efa vorv vt rekinn vr paradis j einvm skinnkirlvm firer sitt brot [...] (Overgaard 1968: 1).[20]
>
> So it is said that then Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise in a skin shirt for their violation [...]

The mention of the skins appears again in the apocryphal tale *Seth's Quest* that covers the time period after Adam and Eve left paradise.[21] In the eighteenth-century manuscript Lbs. 841 8vo, the story is expanded upon and now we are told of an exact time of day when Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise. Similar to the episode found in *Konungs skuggsjá*, the skin shirts are used to hide the protoplasts' nakedness, using the verb *hylja*.

> Nærri umm middag edur litlu sydar enn umm nyundu stundu tyd dags voru þaug ut rekinn bædi nakinn. Gud gaf þeim tvo skinnkyrtla til ad hilia med syna bligdun. (Overgaard 1968: 19).
>
> Near midday or a little later than the ninth [canonical] hour [nones] of the day they were expelled, both naked. God gave them two skin shirts to cover themselves in their shame.

In what Overgaard terms texts E and F of *Kross saga*, we see another Early Modern example (1644) of a continuation of the previously discussed texts. In this manuscript, a title states that this tale comes from chapter 22 of "*Adamz bok*":

> Adam burtrekin ur paradysu epter synd sijna skrijddur skinnkyrtli. (Overgaard 1968: 59).
>
> Adam, driven out of Paradise after his sin, [was] dressed in a skin-tunic.

Overgaard (1968) prints a parallel Latin edition of the *Vitae Adae et Evae* under the text of *Kross saga*, which shows that the Latin description of the above sentence does not mention a shirt. If the Old Icelandic was based on

[19] It follows a short ghost story about a priest in England. Again, the line about the animal skins is the opening sentence in the story, on the page, and thus on the quire. The format of the manuscript in octavo indicates that it was transportable and the content implies the little book was likely used for storytelling.

[20] The text appears on fol. 59r in the manuscript AM 65 a 4to. The version in *Hauksbók* reads as such: "Sva er sagt siðan Adam hafði syndína gerua i paradíso. ok hann var þaðan brott rekinn í einum skinnstakki firir syndína" (fol. 17r).

[21] For further background on this text, see White (2022).

such a text, it would mean that the scribe felt it necessary to add in that the protoplasts had received the shirts.

In another Early Modern example, this time in poetic form, *Kross rímur* offers us an emotional picture of Adam after receiving the skins:

> [17] Hriggur hræddur kirtle klæddur komenn
> ä eimdar palla
> særdur græddur i mǫrgu mæddur
> ä myskun guds reid kalla.
> (Overgaard 1968: 95–96).
>
> [17] Grieved, scared, dressed in a kirtle
> placed on the throne of misery
> wounded yet healed, in much exhaustion
> he decided to call upon God's mercy

The contemporary poem *Adams óðr* 'Adam's song' underlines the garments as punishments for their sins:

> [26] Adam, far þú úr augsyn mér og
> þið hjónin bæði.
> Skinnkyrtla tvo skikka eg þér, skulu
> það ykkar klæði.[22]
>
> [26]Adam, leave my sight
> the both of you [Adam and Eve]
> I ordain you with two skin shirts
> with which you should clothe yourselves.

It is clear that the story of Adam and Eve's demise was not just a popular medieval story, but one that lived on through the Early Modern period, when it was copied and re-worked into different prose and poetic forms. That a seemingly minor detail of the skin shirts consistently appears in the story of the Fall stresses that they were a central element of the overall story.

A Popular Theme

By no means is the incorporation of the Latin story of the protoplasts receiving skins unique to the Old Norse-Icelandic corpus; although some versions provide a slightly different interpretation and some versions even state the opposite. The related material is found in many other medieval vernacular

[22] AM 622 4to, 46v, line 22. In the last line, the MS reads *skulu* although it should be *skulud*.

traditions and media beyond prose texts, such as passion plays and poetry. For example, a similar description of the garments is found in the German *Eva und Adam*, a translation of the apocryphal text *The Life of Adam and Eve*, in which the protoplasts are given woolen garments (i.e., skin with the hair still attached) that are said to be extremely uncomfortable (McCracken 2017: 17). Although the medieval French vernacular bible, *La bible française du XIIIe siècle*, does include Adam and Eve receiving skins, it also notes that it is foolish to think that God would have slayed the animals in order to provide skins for Adam and Eve. It does not, however, provide an alternative as to who would have done the slaying (McCracken 2017: 18–19).

Stephen D. Ricks shows that the garment was the topic of many stories in Islamic and Judaic literature (both Classical and Medieval). In some cases, the garment was handed down, all the way to Noah, and worn by these men for different reasons. The Judaic take on the skins seems to be much more detailed, positive, and forward-looking than that of the medieval Christian interpretation:

> The source of our knowledge of the garment of Adam is Genesis. But where the account in Genesis is strikingly spare, later Jewish and Muslim traditions are unswerving in describing its sacredness: it was divinely bestowed; it was originally a garment of skin; the skin itself may have been of some extraordinary origin such as Leviathan; it was a primordial creation, created on Friday evening; its celestial origins justify its use as priestly garb; its sacred nature and force as a symbol of authority was recognized by others who could either use or abuse them; and the garment of Adam is seen as the type of the heavenly garb that would be acquired by the righteous [...]. The vestments given to Adam symbolize the dignity of fallen man and the possibility of restoring to him the glory of God that he had originally enjoyed. (Ricks 2000: 721).[23]

These passages about Adam and Eve's garments found within the Old Norse-Icelandic corpus are not simply being copied from one place to another; the use of different vocabulary and descriptions of the scene and the shirts themselves indicates that the scribes were interpreting and recording a story they already knew rather than copying a text from one manuscript to another. This certainly underlines the popularity of the story and, because of its early (and continuing) attestation, the influence the image had on other texts. The following sections will explore that influence, first on the *fornaldar-*

[23] Rick's description of the skin garment as "priestly garb" or "vestments" gives us a link to the Old Norse-Icelandic word *kyrtill* borrowed from Old English in the 11th century, which, according to Tarsi (2016: 89) was a word used for liturgical vestments.

sögur, and then on the *riddarasögur*. The focus in both investigations is the animal skin: its literary purpose, its moral indications, and its connection, directly or indirectly, to the Christian belief in the story of the fall of man.

Trolls in Animal Skins

The troll as a figure continues to develop in the Icelandic literary tradition; that is, the medieval troll is not the same as the pre-Christian trolls of poetry nor the fairy-tale trolls of the nineteenth century to the present (Lindow 2014). The elusive figure of the medieval troll has been approached and discussed in various ways. Ármann Jakobsson (2008: 44–52) counts no fewer than fourteen classifications of trolls in medieval Icelandic literature. Wilbur (1958: 139) evaluates the historical linguistic roots of the word *troll*, settling on a definition of "a monster, an evilly disposed being who confuses and deceives his victims." What is of most interest to this study, however, is that trolls are often depicted wearing a *skinnkyrtill* or *skinnstakkr*. These skin-wearing trolls appear in medieval Icelandic literature from around the fourteenth century and onwards, post-dating the previously discussed foundational sources on Adam and Eve's garments. This particular troll of medieval Icelandic literature that this study is concerned with is an outcast; he or she (usually she) lives in the forest or another wild landscape such as a cave or the ocean. (S)he is depicted as strangely similar to pagans, in that (s)he can usually perform magic, eats horse meat (and sometimes human meat), and is of poor ethical character. (S)he usually has very bad hygiene and looks generally messy, dirty, and sometimes scary, with a giant stature.[24] In this sense (s)he can be easily compared to the Old English figure of the Wild Man or Wodewose. While the Wodewose's wildness is often depicted by the plentiful amount of hair on his body (thus hiding his nakedness), the troll's wildness shines through via the donning of a skin shirt or skirt, which is described as being long in the front and buttocks-exposing short in the back. This tunic or skirt is described in Old Icelandic texts with the same terminology as the garments of Adam and Eve. The strange and uncanny differences underline the corruption of the human

[24] Many scholars (esp. Merkelbach and Ármann Jakobsson) have pointed out that the term *troll* can be used for a variety of figures, including humans. My goal here is not to reclassify how the term is used but rather to reinterpret a group of trolls that are depicted a certain way.

race: while the protoplasts' garments were meant to *cover* their nakedness, the trolls' garments *expose* that which is meant to be hidden, enhancing their monstrosity.

Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir is the first scholar to dedicate a study to the topic of trolls' clothing.[25] Her study concludes that the skins symbolize two main concepts: firstly, they depict the perceived wildness and inferiority of northern inhabitants such as the Sámi and Finns, as understood by medieval scribes. Secondly, the shortness of the skins at the back signifies the perceived unbridled sexuality and inappropriateness of women outside of society. Aðalheiður suggests that trolls are often depicted wearing skins because the northern regions are renowned for fur goods, particularly clothing (Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir 2017: 336). While she does not make a connection between trolls' clothing and Adam and Eve's garments, she acknowledges that clothing reflects both an individual's social standing and the audience's worldview. While trolls share features with other supernatural beings, they ultimately reflect "an extreme and exaggerated version of human nature and characteristics" (Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir 2017: 329). Similarly, Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (2013: 60) characterizes trolls as "[...] Other, that is, everything that is not human, or [...] humans in 'disguise'." Applying Cohen's Monster Theory, she claims that "the monster is a pure construct. A hybrid figure that embodies and mirrors not only the fears and anxieties but also the desires of the culture that produces it." (Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir 2013: 60–61) She goes further to say that monsters that share features with humans make the greatest impression on the reader because they bring out feelings of vulnerability within the recognizable. The characteristics of trolls that are monstrous are therefore those which are the most "undesirable and dangerous" to society's ideas of what is considered normal. The monstrousness, or that which the reader fears in the figure of the troll, is actually the fear of that which is "inherent in human beings, ourselves, and our corporeality [...] it is man's deep-rooted fear of aspects of his own nature" (p. 61). Like Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise, trolls who are depicted wearing skin shirts represent the animality that is inherent within humans, placing them, skin-shirt clad, somewhere in between animal and human. This depiction reflects the anxieties of late medieval Icelanders, especially those related to theological questions surrounding human nature and original sin.

[25] Her study builds on previous scholarship, such as Hermann Pálsson (1997: 23), Motz (1993), and Vídalín (2013), who come to similar conclusions.

Giant Humans – Definitions and Origins

The task of nailing down a solid definition of what *troll* indicates in the Old Icelandic corpus is an impossible one. As already mentioned, several scholars have shown that the noun *troll* can refer to a variety of things, including monsters, humans, and annoying women.[26] It is, however, possible to group the skin-clad trolls of the Hrafnista sagas together as they share a variety of features, namely their size. In each case of the encounters in the sagas in question, the trolls are described as large, even giantish.

The appearance of Adam and Eve's animal skin garments on trolls is in line with the biblical narrative of colossal humans, for the protoplasts were often described as being of giant stature, like trolls. AM 764 4to (folio 2r) states "Þessi maðr hinn fyrsti var lx at hæð", 'This man, the first, was 60 [cubits] tall'. On the same folio Eve is said to have been 50 cubits. While the method of measurement is not specified, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2000: 90) supposes it to be the cubit (OIcel. sg. *alin*/*ǫln*, pl. *álnir*) due to the fact that the tradition of Adam and Eve's colossal height uses this mode of measurement. Because a cubit was a unit of measurement measured by the length between one's elbow and longest finger, there is no precise translation of this height; but 60 cubits is roughly equal to 100 feet. It is unclear just why Adam and Eve were thought to have been so tall;[27] one can speculate both a positive and negative interpretation, that of a super-human created in the image of God and thus "larger than life", or that the protoplasts were sinners and therefore were connected with the corruptions of the human race, such as those of the giants.[28]

The biblical explanation for the existence of giants appears in the Genesis section of *Stjórn I*, where it states that giants existed both before and after the flood:

> þan*n*tíma sem man*n* folkit tok at fiǫlgaz iu*er*olldin*ní* þa sa sýn*ir* Guds dǽtr man*n*an*n*a. at þǽr ua*ru* miok uęn*ar*. þ*at* er s*ua* at skilia. at sid ferdug*ir* menn sýnir seth. sa girndar augum t*il* dęttra kaýns *ok* þ*ei*ra afkiępmís. lǫgðuz meðr þ*ei*m *ok* toku þęr ser t*il* eigin kuen*n*a af hu*er*re sambuð er þ*ei*m fedduz risar. þ*at* er *ægi* akueðit a hu*er*ium tíma þetta varð. huart þ*at* varð a dǫgum eðr fýʀ. *ægi ok* huart

[26] For an overview and further citations, see Grant (2019: 78).

[27] Cohen (1999: 5–6) points out that the medieval English rather believed that *all* ancient people (in this case, the pre-Celts) were giant-sized. This is intricately connected with the larger-than-life stone ruins found in the area.

[28] The narrative of Adam and Eve's gigantic form is also found in the teachings of Islam. The difference from the Christian story is that the protoplasts were created as giants, but shrunk in size once they were expelled from Paradise, casting a positive light on their gigantism.

> þ*at* var micklu f*yrer* h*an*s dagha eðr litlu. fedduz *ok* aðrer risar ept*er* flodit iþ*ei*ri b*or*g sem ebron heit*er* huer*er* er siðan stað festuz i þ*ei*ri b*or*g a egipta l*an*dí sem tham heit*er ok* þar af voru þ*ei*r kallað*er* týthanes af hu*er*ra ætt er enath feddiz *ok* býgðu h*an*s sýner ifýrrsagðri ebron af hu*eri*u*m* er golias meðr fleirum oðrum var komin*n*. (Astås 2009b: 79).
>
> In that time when humans began to multiply over the earth, God's sons saw that the daughters of men were very beautiful. It should be understood thus, that virtuous men, the sons of Seth, looked with lustful eyes at the daughters of Cain and their offspring, lay with them and took them as wives. From their relationships giants were born. It is not known when this was, whether it was recently or farther in the past, during [his] time [Noah's] or a short time before. Other giants were born after the flood in that town called Hebron, who later settled down in that city in Egypt called Tanis and from there they are called titans from which line Anak comes, and his sons dwelt in the aforementioned Hebron whence Goliath and many others came.

The notion linking giants to Anak's lineage originates from Numbers chapter 13 (quoted below from the *Vulgate*). In this passage, it tells of the account of spies who were sent to various places, including to Hebron, who then report their findings to Moses and Aaron. They describe encountering the descendants of Anak in Hebron, who live in a land flowing with milk and honey. Caleb proposes conquering the land, prompting responses from the others:

> "Nequaquam ad hunc populum valemus ascendere quia fortior nobis est." Detraxeruntque terrae quam inspexerant apud filios Israhel, dicentes, "Terram quam lustravimus devorat habitatores suos; populum quem aspeximus procerae staturae est. Ibi vidimus monstra quaedam filiorum Enach, de genere giganteo, quibus conparati quasi lucustae videbamur." (Edgar 2010: 734).
>
> "No, we are not able to go up to this people because they are stronger than we." And they spoke ill of the land which they had viewed before the children of Israel, saying, "The land which we have viewed devoureth its inhabitants; the people that we beheld are of a tall stature. There we saw certain monsters of the sons of Anak, of the giant kind, in comparison of whom we seemed like locusts." (Edgar 2010: 735).

That giants were said to be created and reside in Hebron links them to Adam and Eve, who were created and buried in that same place.[29] Tina Boyer (2016: 35, footnote 24) highlights that biblical giants are consistently portrayed as

[29] This is noted in several places in Old Icelandic literature, including *Elucidarius*, *Stjórn*, and the Holy Cross material.

evil antagonists in opposition to the will of God. Linking them to the originators of sin, Adam and Eve, is thus a logical step. According to Augustine, the determining factor of humanity was reason, regardless even of the outer appearance of a being: "Whoever is born anywhere as a human being, that is, as a rational mortal creature, however strange he may appear to our senses in bodily form or colour or motion or utterance, or in any faculty, part of quality of his nature whatsoever, let no true believer have any doubt that such an individual is descended from the one man who was first created" (Friedman 1981: 91; see also Wei 2020: 107). Viewing biblical giants through this perspective, we should recognize biblical giants as humans.

The first and second sons of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, also play an important role in the genealogy of giants. Out of jealousy, Cain killed his brother Abel and was thereafter associated as the father of sinful and corrupt offspring, including anyone with any type of deformity (see Mellinkoff 1981). It is therefore even more fitting that giants are said to be descended from Cain (while humans of "normal" stature are said to be descended from Seth). The association of Cain with monsters and giants is found both in the Bible and in Judaic folklore.[30] *Stjórn I* states that many large and strong men inhabited the city which Cain and Enoch built, assumed to be giants.[31] Jewish lore says that Cain received two horns after he was exiled for killing his brother, representing his degradation from humanity. According to the Armenian Adam book, when Cain wanted to die, God covered him with an animal skin, which resulted in his death, for he was mistaken as an animal (Friedman 1981: 97; see also Mellinkoff 1981: 59–62).

Giants and trolls are not simply "a handful of stupid and wild loners in caves and desolate places" (Ármann Jakobsson 2009: 185), although, when taken at face value they certainly might appear to be just that. Instead, they should be seen as deeply representative of the beliefs and anxieties of medieval Christian Icelanders, playing a significant role in the definition of selfhood.[32] More modern folklore both in Scandinavia and Iceland underlines the connection between the sinful characters in the Bible and monsters, spirits, and demons. In Iceland, the elves and hidden folk are said to be the unwashed children of Eve – the ones who were not as bright looking as her

[30] Another notable mention is found in Beowulf, where Grendel is said to be Cain's kin and bear some sort of mark indicating this. Cf. Mellinkoff (1981: 32).

[31] "Heðan af er þat auðsynt at þann tima hafa verit marger storer menn ok sterker." (Astås 2009b: 66).

[32] Merkelbach (2019: 12) suggests that we define ourselves against the Other, exactly as I will suggest below in my evaluation of the *Hrafnistumannasögur*.

other children and whom she neglected. As a result of her hiding them from God, he made them invisible. In Scandinavia, land spirits are thought to be the offspring of the Nephilim – fallen angels who in the biblical tradition, were said to have been like giants (Werth et al. 2021).

The Sagas of Hrafnista – *Hrafnistumannasögur*

The sagas of the men of Hrafney are four in number, beginning with Ketill *hængr* and subsequently telling of the next three generations, one each saga. Their oldest attestation together is in AM 343 a 4to (*c.* 1450–1475), wherein they appear in genealogical order. The first saga, *Ketils saga hængs*, takes place in Hálogaland, Norway, a locale infamous in the sagas for being a pagan area, led by jarl Hákon. Each protagonist, like a saintly figure, is portrayed as a *puer senex* in the beginning of his story,[33] similar to the popular saga hero, Egill Skallagrímsson, who is said to have begun composing poetry at the age of three. Their troll-slaying abilities (arguably the protagonists' main function) underline their commitment to ridding the land of evil beings. They do this with a set of supernatural arrows that Ketill receives and then are passed down each generation. Although the first two heroic figures, Ketill and Grímr, are not Christian, they are depicted as noble pagans, on several occasions denouncing the Norse gods, a foreshadowing of the conversion of Örvar-Oddr to Christianity. The Christian perspective, then, is shown through the protagonist. Despite Ketill's obvious hatred for trolls, he is the son of a half-troll. The trolls are thus representative of something he hates but are also reflective of the self. The Christian undertones of the saga are thus evident from early on.[34] Ketill assumes in the third chapter that the bad weather is brought on by witchcraft. The noble heathen theme becomes clearer during Ketill's encounter with the pagan king Framarr, who asks for Ketill's daughter's hand in marriage (and is denied). Framarr is said to be one who sacrifices often to Odin at a burial mound, and it is there where they decide to duel over his daughter's hand. Ketill turns angry when Framarr's son states that his father has been given much strength from Óðinn, because "hann trúði ekki á Óðin", 'he [Ketill] didn't believe in Odin'. Ketill goes further to speak a verse about it: "Óðin blóta gerða ek aldrigi, hefik þó lengi lifat", 'I've never offered to Odin any sacrifices, yet I've lived long'. The anti-Óðinn story culminates in Framarr

[33] An overview of this *topos* can be found in (Carp 1980). She explains that "[...] certain children were characterized as having traits appropriate to persons of very advanced years [...]".
[34] Arngrímur Vídalín (2013) connects all four of the Hrafnista sagas to a Christian worldview.

denouncing the god on his deathbed after receiving a deadly blow from Ketill's sword: "Hugr er í Hængi, hvass er Dragvendill, beit hann orð Óðins, sem ekki væri. Brást nú Baldrs faðir, brigt er at trúa honum", 'The Salmon has daring. Dragvendil is sharp; it hacked Odin's words as if they had not been. Balder's father fails now, it's folly to believe in him'. To underline Ketill's role as noble heathen, the troll calls Ketill *inn viðfǫrli* in chapter five, likening him to the holy men who have traveled on pilgrimage or long trips on a holy mission.

Like his grandfather Ketill, Örvar-Oddr is portrayed as a *puer senex* in the first portion of *Örvar-Odds saga*. Portrayed as large (even giant-like) and strong, he is also a troll-slayer like his father Grímr. To continue this family business, he inherits the supernatural arrows from his father. Although he is born into a pagan family, he is early on portrayed as possessing the knowledge that the pre-Christian gods are feeble and eventually he converts to Christianity. We are told that "Odd wasn't accustomed to making sacrifices, because he trusted in his own might and main [...]" (Hermann Pálsson 1986: 44) Although he is a reluctant Christian, Oddr soon becomes an ascetic figure. He travels far and wide until he comes to the river Jordan where he "washes himself" (90) likening him to Jesus, who was baptized in the same river by John the Baptist. He then goes into the forest and becomes a wild man, clothing himself in bark (108). After this transition, Oddr is said to believe only in one God and is then depicted as burning pagan temples and killing priestesses (130–133).

Although the *Hrafnistumannasögur* are full of supernatural characters and Viking-era events, the scribe(s) are clearly writing from their own Christian perspective, with the aim of depicting the pre-Christian protagonists as a foreshadowing of the future belief of their descendants. The use of literary topoi such as the *puer senex* figure points to the influence of hagiography,[35] which is also seen in the figure of Oddr, who mimics the practices of the ascetics. His addition of a bark covering emphasizes his vulnerability in the wild in comparison to his indestructability in his silk shirt, which is discussed in more detail below.

[35] Teresa Carp (1980: 737) claims that this literary *topos* was most common in hagiography: "This motif [*puer senex*] was particularly popular if not stereotypical in hagiographical literature of the central and late Middle Ages. Hagiographers used it as a foreshadowing device and to reinforce the pious belief that sainthood was predestined and manifested at a very early age. The notion that a future saint would reveal his or her religious calling through precocious and preternatural behavior goes back ultimately to apocryphal accounts of the infant Jesus, who was seen as paradigmatic of the ideal child. Parallel notions also occur in the Old Testament and other ancient religious literatures."

Skin on Skin

> Wearing is a powerful act. (Bain 2017: 117).

Sarah Kay (2011: 17) points out that readers of parchment books would have been constantly exposed to the "fragility" of the animal-human divide simply by thumbing through a book made out of animal skin. The act of reading and writing on parchment reminds the human that the animal skins represent the status of animals as serving the will of humans – an inferior status. In many medieval stories, the skin "works" for the human in practical ways: to cover, provide, warm. In the same way, the wearing of skin often entails the absorption of qualities of the skin by the wearer, the skin providing something, positive or negative, for the human. Such an interaction is underlined in stories of humans donning wolf skins, and thus "becoming" wolves (a theme discussed below in more detail). The same is seen in the figure of the trolls in the Hrafnista sagas. Both the appearance of the figure in their own skin, and that which is covering their skin, play an important role in defining the character. Skin is a threshold or barrier between self and society. It defines the one in it by race, color, age, features, and more. The appearance of the protagonists in contrast to the trolls, then, is a reflective one: the protagonist sees what he is but does not want to be or become in the figure. The troll in the skin-shirt reminds the man of the range of possibilities within the human race: outside of the tame, built world, the wild takes over and is reflected on the surface. As Derrida (2008: 93) states, "the power over the animal is [...] the essence of the human," underlining that the resistance by the protagonists to become what is in front of them defines their humanity – the "right" kind of humanity.

An illuminating example of this is found in the figure of Forað, a troll whom Ketill encounters when he goes to shore to fish in *Ketils saga hængs*. Forað (OIcel. "dangerous place" or "monster") is wearing a *skinnkyrtill*, her skin is dark as pitch, and she is first portrayed as wading out of the sea. Her name encompasses both the locale trolls usually inhabit – the wilderness, the forest, or in this case, the sea – and the danger she represents as Other. She and Ketill exchange a number of poetic verses, in which the reader learns that Forað is hated by *búmenn*, a term that refers to humans who live in a cultivated area such as a farm, and later, a town or city (*bú* and *bær*, 'town' or 'farm', come from the same root). As such, she represents the wild, untamed, and uncultivated landscape and those who live in it and positions herself in opposition to men like Ketill who live in cultivated areas and

participate in structured society.[36] She is called both a *tröll* and *flagð*.[37] Yet, the status of her (in)humanity is blurred, for her ability to produce poetic verses on demand underlines her ability to reason and at the same time connects her to the tradition of the past. Her poetic exchange with Ketill is for the most part a battle of wits; she is no stupid troll. Forað is said to be engaged to a Jarl, and the reader cannot help but wonder if this is referring to Hákon jarl, the infamous pagan leader of Hlaðir, for in the section directly following the encounter with Forað, Þorgerðr Holgabrúðr is mentioned, who is portrayed in other sagas as Hákon's patron goddess. Further blurring the line between human and animal, Forað is able to shapeshift. She turns into a whale just before going back into the water, when Ketill manages to land a lethal arrow just under her fin.

In *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, Lopthæna (the unique name meaning "air-chicken" or "sky-hen") appears first to Grímr on the shore as an ugly troll woman wearing a skin-shirt, come to save the dying Grímr after a fight with a local landowner. She offers him life and he accepts, whereafter she takes him into her shirt for transport and then to her cave. In this way, the skin-shirt offers him a second chance at life. She keeps offering to help him in exchange for his attention (such as to kiss her or lie with her) and when he rejects her, she tells him she won't help him, so he gives in. After sleeping next to her, he wakes up to see his betrothed, Lopthæna, who had been cursed into that troll-shape. She had been missing for a long while and had been cursed to never leave the troll shape until he came and accepted help from her. The skin-shirt thus acts as a disguise for Lopthæna, while also representing her curse. Its malleability to carry Grímr to safety lends to its function as a gateway out of both his and Lopthæna's situations. Like the garments of Adam and Eve, Lopthæna's skin shirt represents the corruption of her humanity while also being, both literally and figuratively, the way out of that corruption. After she turns back into her beautiful human self, Grímr sees the skin of the troll woman lying on the floor and he quickly burns it. The story of the enchanted Lopthæna connects the trolls of Hrafnista to stories of shape-shifting were-wolves, discussed in greater detail below, in that the wolfskin of the shape-shifter is typically burned after the supposed transformation is over, in order to keep the skin from again affecting anyone else.

[36] For deeper ecocritical evaluation of the dichotomy of wild/tame and the literary theme of wilderness in Old Icelandic literature, see White (2023: 180–189).

[37] The variation of terms might not be important, as scholarship has shown that troll/giant terms can be interchangeable, although a plethora of views (mostly from the past) can be found to the contrary. For an in-depth overview of the history of this discussion, see Grant (2019).

Forað and Lopthæna are major characters in *Ketils saga* and *Gríms saga* that represent foils to the protagonist. In both cases, they define Ketill and Grímr by reflecting that which the two heroes are not and even fear becoming. While in these two instances the narrative gives enough pause for the reader to reflect on the figures of Forað and Lopthæna, the skin-shirt clad troll as foil appears quite often elsewhere in the Hrafnista sagas, but only fleetingly in the narrative and the trolls are not given names. A striking encounter is found in *Örvar-Odds saga*, when Oddr is chased out of his boat onto the shore by a troll in a skin-shirt. Like Forað, the woman seems to be able to travel underwater easily. When she comes up to shore, Oddr shoots an arrow at her. An uncanny moment happens when the troll puts her hand up to stop the arrow, and it goes through her hand, into her eye and out the back of her head, which seems to only perturb her. As if this otherwise lethal blow was only an annoyance, the monstrous figure goes back to the mainland to leave Oddr in peace. In one of his first encounters with a troll, Grímr finds himself chasing a skin-shirt clad troll up a mountain and into a cave. Once he enters, he sees two trolls, both in skin shirts, lying next to a fire discussing him. They appear to know all about his family, for they state that Grímr and his father are the most skilled at killing trolls. They go on, however to gossip about how Grímr will never be able to get close to his wife (the missing Lopthæna), indicating that they are fiends sent to throw him off his quest. In a passage that mimics a famous scene from Gregory's *Dialogues* in which demons sit around a fire discussing the downfall of the protagonist (see Grønlie 2009), Grímr pays them back for their gossip by killing them both. While the presence of the trolls' animal skin tunic is fraught with meaning, the lack of skin (here, flaying) and the introduction of a magical silk tunic constantly reflects back and forth the importance of wearing, and therefore, not wearing. The layer on one's body defines the human and not-so-human characters in *Örvar-Odds* saga in various ways.

The evil figure Ögmundr is the son of a human man and a female giant with a human head and an animal body. He is also called a demon and has black and blue skin. This coloring defines him from the beginning as Other and particularly as an evil human, but he is redefined when Oddr pulls his beard so hard during battle that the skin comes off with the hair, essentially flaying Ögmundr's face completely off to the bone.[38] With this flaying, Ögmundr goes from a dark monstrous figure to an inhuman, spirit-like

[38] Ögmundr is what Merkelbach (2019: 18) identifies as a social hybrid: "someone who is (or was) human but has now taken a step outside of the human community."

being. His loss of skin represents his further loss of humanity.[39] In an attempt to remedy his loss of beard, he begins demanding the kings of the eastern realms pay him tribute by sending their beards once a year, which he makes into a cape and wears regularly. By displaying his collection of royal beards on his cloak he attempts to restore the human, male identity which Oddr took from him with the flaying. Despite this futility, by the end of the saga Ögmundr has become nothing more than a spirit, having completely lost his humanity.

At the same time, Ögmundr's opponent Oddr gains a second skin when he receives a tunic made of silk woven by several women around the world. This human-made tunic of human-spun material gives Oddr the magical ability to resist any blows that hit his tunic. His gaining of this second skin underlines his humanity and signals a shift in position both for Oddr and Ögmundr, while Ögmundr's loss of skin pushes him farther away from his human half and closer to his giant ancestry. Skin thus works in multilayered ways: The animal skins worn by the trolls symbolize their animality and corruption. In contrast, the silk tunic worn by Oddr, a "second skin", symbolizes his humanity, while Ögmundr's lack of skin underscores his inhumanity and lack of human traits.

Corrupted Humans in Animal Skins

The trolls (and by default, giants) in the *Hrafnistumannasögur* represent a multi-faceted yet theologically sound image: a giant animalistic human with outward features contrary to the humans made in the image of the Christian God and inner features also reflecting the sinful nature of one branch of Adam's descendants. Their size is reflective not only of their connection to the original sinners, but also representative of their otherness and their antiquity, that is, existing since before the coming of Christ. Their given form of clothing again connects them to the protoplasts but also underlines their belonging to a time and place of which medieval readers could only imagine. The seemingly passing mention of the existence of the skin shirt casts an uncanny image on the reader; the skins were well known to have been clothing for the protoplasts after their expulsion from Paradise but imagining them on a monstrous character requires the reader to think deeper into the symbolism of why a troll would be skin-shirt clad. The uncanny experience of the reader would thus be immediate: one would expect the

[39] In a wider context, it also represents the stripping of his masculinity and authority. See Livingston (2017: 308).

wearer (in this case, trolls) to be connected, possibly in age, definitely in character, to the exiled protoplasts, meaning their character would be in one way or another, sinful. That they are also giants with unsightly features further connects the reader's knowledge of primordial giants as the offspring of Cain's sons and Seth's daughters to the creature on the page in front of them. The trolls depicted in these skins, then, can be interpreted as a corruption of the original couple, descendants that represented the straying from God's original plan for creation. As Adam was created in the image of God, any diversion from his likeness would be construed as either a punishment for sin or a corruption of his kind.[40]

The encounter between the protagonists and the skin-clad trolls is manifold: on a basic level, it represents the conquests of the noble heathen (and later, Christian) hero in the wild, clearing the peripheral lands of their outlawed and wild inhabitants who get in the way of the protagonists' quests. On a deeper level, the skin-clad trolls represent the past, the long-lived descendants of Cain, who were corrupted on account of their ancestor's sinful choices. Every aspect of their being constitutes the antithesis of Christian society yet also speaks to its very existence. Ugly, large, animalistic humans donning skin-shirts is an uncanny image in light of the story of Adam and Eve: after they sinned God made them the garments to wear as a reminder of their animality and mortality. In that same way, the skins remind the protagonist of the sinful past of his race, while it also acts as a warning (Friedman 1981: 90). That each troll-slayer is partly troll himself, is a reminder that what he sees in the troll is partly a mirror image of the self. He is a part of this troll and could just as easily become like it should he choose a certain path.

Humans in Wolf Skins

The Creation of animals

The *Vulgate* mentions that God created both wild animals and cattle,[41] but *Stjórn I* specifies that God created both wild and domesticated animals because he foresaw that man would sin:

[40] Friedman (1981: 90) elaborates: "[...] mixtures of animal and man, or physically anomalous men, could only be regarded with extreme distaste" because "a minority was *per se* inferior to the majority because the majority was closer to God's image."

[41] The text reads: "Dixit quoque Deus, "Producat terra animam viventem in genere suo,

> Skapaði h*a*nn á̋ þeima deghí vꝑ á iǫrðina þren*n* kuikenda kỳn eítt er alidỳr þ*at* er v*er* kǫllu*m* bu smala. an*n*at skridq*ui*kendí. þridia ǫn*n*ur *fer*fętt kuikendi sem villí dýr *ok* f*yrer* þa sǫk at guð uissi þ*at* f*yrer* at maðren*n* mundi sỳndalegha falla þa skapaði h*ann* bueð ho*nu*m t*il* feðu *ok* viðrhialpar ept*er* komanda erfiðí. (Astås 2009b: 29).
>
> He created on the earth that day three types of creatures: one is the domestic animal, which we call sheep and cattle. Secondly, reptiles. Thirdly, other four-footed animals such as wild animals, and because God knew beforehand that humans would sinfully fall, he created for them food [animals] and help [beasts of burden] for the coming difficulties.

This interesting gloss to the story of the creation of animals indicates a belief that God foresaw the Fall and thus the usefulness of wild and domesticated animals as maintenance for humanity. The servile status into which animals were created was thus on account of the sinful act of humans. This subservience was constantly underlined by Late Antique and medieval theologians. The most common analysis places humans above animals because of their reason, which is also considered the defining mark of humanity. Augustine was a leader in this rhetoric, discussing it in his *Confessions* and several other works (Sorabji 1993: 195–207).

> Quod habet potestatem piscium maris et volatilium caeli et omnium pecorum et ferarum et omnis terrae et omnium repentium quae repunt super terram. hoc enim agit per mentis intellectum, per quem percipit quae sunt spiritus dei. alioquin homo in honore positus non intellexit; comparatus est iumentis insensatis et similis factus est eis. (Hammond 2016: 390).
>
> That human beings have power over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the air, and all livestock and wild beasts, and all the land, and every crawling thing that crawls over the earth. They do so by reason of their mental acuity, which enables them to discern what is from the Spirit of God. Otherwise "those in positions of honor have no understanding: they are compared to senseless cattle, and become like them." (Hammond 2016: 391).

As is evident in the above quote, Augustine is basing his thoughts concerning the definition of a human on biblical ideas. In his *City of God* he goes even further in his exegesis to ponder whether the "do not kill" command (of the ten commandments) could also be valid for animals and plants since they are

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iumenta et reptilia et bestias terrae secundum species suas." Factumque est ita. Et fecit Deus bestias terrae iuxta species suas et iumenta et omne reptile terrae in genere suo. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum." (Edgar 2010: 6–7).

clearly living and could die. But he states that that is an error in belief by the Manicheans, and rather, we should believe that the command is only reserved for humans, for animals and plants lack reason (see Wei 2020: 107).[42]

This belief is evident in *Stjórn I*, where it states that animals do not have reason like men and are therefore inferior:

> [...] erv ǫll ǫn*n*ur kuikendí man*nínu*m vnd*er* lagit æ*igi* f*yrer* likamsims skýlld vtan helldr f*yrer* þa skýnsemd *ok* skiln*in*g sem v*er* hǫfvm *ok* þau hafa æ*igi* þo at likamin*n* váǿ se ǻǻ ia*m*uel s*ua* uorðin*n* sik at ha*nn* sýní þ*at* a sialfu*m* s*er* at v*er* sém bet*ri* en*n* ǫnnur kuikendi *ok* f*yrer* þa greín guði liker. þ*uia*t mannzins likamr at eins er rettr skapaðr *ok* uppreistr t*il* himíns sem fýʀ var sagt. (Astås 2009b: 34).
>
> [...] all other creatures are subject to the rule of man not because of the body, but rather because of the reason and understanding, which we have and they do not, even though our body is such that it shows in that we are better than other creatures, and on that account, similar to God. For that reason, the body of man is the only one created properly and raised up towards the heavens, as has been previously stated.

Pertinent to our discussion on were-wolves, Augustine notes that wild animals "punish [man] for his sins, exercise his virtue, try him for his own good, or without knowing it teach him some lesson" (quoted in Wei 2020: 124). Although animals were created as inferior to humanity, they serve an important purpose beyond being food and clothing. Encounters with, or *as*, wild animals, are thus deeply significant in the post-Fall salvific journey.

"Were-wolves": Origins

From Ovid's *Metamorphosis* to Pliny's description of the Arcadians, tales of werewolves abounded in the Classical period. Eventually, these popular tales – seen as remnants of pre-Christian belief – caught the eye of the early Christian Church. Such a transformation from man into beast was contradictory to Christian theology and thus warranted comment. Early Christian thinkers such as Tertullian (155–220 CE) and St. Ambrose (339–397 CE)

[42] An overview of this ageless debate, which certainly predates Augustine, is beyond the scope of this article. What is important to this study is where the discussion was when these texts were being produced. However, it is important to note that the topic of whether humans were the only animals with morals and reason, thus separating them and putting them above non-human animals, was a hot topic in Classic Philosophy, which trickled down to Augustine, and still continues to be a point of discussion today. A fantastic overview of the debate can be found in Sorabji (1993).

wrote that men can be *like* beasts but cannot *be* beasts because they, unlike animals, have a soul, which is made in the likeness of God, and souls cannot change; thus metamorphosis is impossible (Kratz 1976; Sconduto 2008). Conceivably the most influential stance taken against literal shapeshifting is that of St. Augustine. In his fifth-century work, *De Civitate Dei*, or *The City of God*, he begins by discussing tales he had read and heard, of men changing into beasts. These tales, he writes, are not to be believed:

> Haec uel falsa sunt uel tam inusitata, ut merito non credantur. Firmissime tamen credendum est omnipotentem Deum posse omnia facere quae uoluerit, siue uindicando siue praestando, nec daemones aliquid operari secundum naturae suae potentiam (quia et ipsa angelica creatura est, licet proprio uitio sit maligna) nisi quod ille permiserit, cuius iudicia occulta sunt multa, iniusta nulla. Nec sane daemones naturas creant, si aliquid tale faciunt, de qualibus factis ista uertitur quaestio; sed specie tenus, quae a uero Deo sunt creata, commutant, ut uideantur esse quod non sunt. Non itaque solum animum, sed ne corpus quidem ulla ratione crediderim daemonum arte uel potestate in membra et liniamenta bestialia ueraciter posse conuerti, sed phantasticum hominis, quod etiam cogitando siue somniando per rerum innumerabilia genera uariatur et, cum corpus non sit, corporum tamen similes mira celeritate formas capit, sopitis aut oppressis corporeis hominis sensibus ad aliorum sensum nescio quo ineffabili modo figura corporea posse perduci [...] (Dombart et al. 1955: 608–609).
>
> Stories of this kind are either untrue or so at least so extraordinary that we are justified in withholding credence. And in spite of them we must believe with complete conviction that omnipotent God can do anything he pleases, by way of either punishing or of helping, while demons can effect nothing in virtue of any power belonging to their nature – since that nature is angelic by creation, though now it has become wicked by their own fault – except what God permits; and his judgements are often inscrutable, but never unjust. Demons do not, of course, create real entities; if they do indeed perform any feats of the kind we are now examining, it is merely in respect of appearance that they transform beings created by the true God, to make them seem to be what they are not. And so I should not believe, on any consideration, that the body – to say nothing of the soul – can be converted into the limbs and features of animals by the craft or power of demons. Instead, I believe that a person has a phantom which in his imagination or in his dreams takes on various forms through the influence of circumstances of innumerable kinds.[43]

[43] He continues: "This phantom is not a material body, and yet with amazing speed, it takes on shapes like material bodies; and it is this phantom, I hold, that can in some inexplicable fashion be presented in bodily form to the apprehension of other people, when their physical senses are asleep or in abeyance. This means that the actual bodies of the people concerned are lying somewhere else, still alive, to be sure, but with their senses suspended in lethargy far more deep and oppressive than that of sleep. Meanwhile the phantom may appear to the senses

Building on Tertullian and St. Ambrose, Augustine thus denies that metamorphosis can take place by any means except through God's power alone. Any transformation brought about in other ways must then be illusory and demonic. Augustine's beliefs concerning shapeshifting were not only used as an authority for later medieval thinkers such as Burchard of Worms, St. Boniface, and Thomas Aquinas, but also became a foundation for depicting shapeshifting in line with Christian thought.[44] One example of this is found in Gerald of Wales' *Topographica Hibernica*, a treatise on Ireland's geography and folklore. It tells a story of a priest who is approached in the woods by a talking werewolf. The male wolf tells the priest not to be afraid, for he is only a man under a curse from St. Natalis. His friend, a she-wolf, who is under the same curse, is dying, and he bids the priest to give her last rites. The priest reluctantly follows the wolf into the forest to find a she-wolf who greets him with human speech. In order to reassure the priest that he will not be committing blasphemy by giving an animal communion, the wolf pulls down the skin of the she-wolf from the head to the navel, peeling it back to reveal her human body. Reassured, the priest then gave the woman her last rites and the wolf rolled back the skin into its original form. An interesting aspect of this tale is that the wolves are in lupine form as the result of a curse from a saint, which could be interpreted as a form of divine punishment. We see a similar instance in *Konungs skuggsjá*, or "The King's Mirror," in which a group of men are cursed by St. Patrick as a divine punishment for wickedness. After St. Patrick prayed to God to curse the disobedient clan, they were all turned into wolves for a period of time, during which they were "worse than wolves, for in all their wiles they have the wit of men, though they are eager to devour men as to destroy other creatures." (Sconduto 2008: 33).

After Gerard tells his story of the priest and two wolves, he goes on to explain the theological implications of such a happening, which he attributes to Augustine:

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of others as embodied in the likeness of some animal; and a man may seem even to himself to be in such a state and to be carrying burdens – one may have the same experience in dreams. But if these burdens are material objects, they are carried by demons to make game of men, who observe partly the actual bodies of the burdens, partly the unreal bodies of the animals." (Bettenson 1984: 782–83). [ita ut corpora ipsa hominum alicubi iaceant, uiuentia quidem, sed multo grauius atque uehementius quam somno suis sensibus obseratis; phantasticum autem illud ueluti corporatum in alicuius animalis effigie appareat sensibus alienis talisque etiam sibi esse homo uideatur, sicut talis sibi uideri posset in somnis, et portare onera, quae onera si uera.sunt corpora, portantur a daemonibus, ut inludatur hominibus, partim uero onerum corpora, partim iumentorum falsa cernentibus.]

[44] Werle (2021: 102–105) likewise acknowledges the importance of Augustine's views on shapeshifting for medieval audiences.

> Dæmones igitur seu malos homines sicut nec creare, ita nec naturas veraciter mutare posse, simul cum Augustino sentimus. Sed specietenus, quæ a vero Deo create sunt, ipso permittente, commutant; ut scilicet videantur esse quod non sunt; sensibus hominum mira illusione captis et sopitis, quatinus res non videant sicut se habent, sed ad falsas quasdam et fictitias videndum formas, vi phantasmatis seu magicæ incantationis, mirabiliter abstrahantur. (Dimock 1867: 106).
>
> We agree, then, with Augustine, that neither demons nor wicked men can either create or really change their natures; but those whom God has created can, to outward appearance, by his permission, become transformed, so that they appear to be what they are not; the senses of men being deceived and laid asleep by a strange illusion, so that things are not seen as they really exist, but are strangely drawn by the power of some phantom or magical incantation to rest their eyes on unreal and fictitious forms. (Wright 1894: 83).

The wolves' ability to speak in Gerard's story immediately reveals their human nature and points to a difference between their appearance and their true humanity. Furthermore, it underlines one interpretation of the Christian Augustinian lycanthropy model, that of an illusory change rather than a change in nature. Before the woman pulls down the skin, she appears to onlookers as a wolf, the skin, or covering, acting as a layer that conceals her true identity – that of a human. The werewolves in Old Norse-Icelandic literature discussed below follow a similar pattern: a man puts on a skin of a wolf and, accordingly, behaves as the animal would.

This is not the only type of shapeshifting that appears in the corpus, however.[45] Bynum points out (2005: 96–97) that by the thirteenth century, attitudes towards werewolves becomes complicated. While the Augustinian model had much influence and staying power, it also heightened the fear of true transformation. Thus, literature begins to reflect these fears of a literal severance of soul from body.[46] This fear might explain the multiple depictions

[45] Gwendolyne Knight (2020: 41) criticizes the use of the term "shapeshifting" because it puts all instances into one pot, so to speak, and even more so the idea of a "tradition" of shapeshifting within the corpus: "Although shapeshifting was certainly a well-known motif in Old Norse literature, the plurality of not only methods but also ideologies and inspirations precludes any sort of 'tradition of shapeshifting'; rather, many traditions, some indigenous, some borrowed, some part of cultural memory, others adapted to suit the needs of the story, combined and drew upon a shared vocabulary to express a multiplicity of ideas."

[46] Bynum (2005: 102–103) shows that this discussion amongst theologians, notably Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard, becomes especially fraught when attempting to explain how angels and demons take on the shape of humans. They both concede that angels and demons can be "overclothed" with human bodies, thus circumventing a theologically problematic full transformation: "these theologians actually tipped the discussion to emphasize angelic or

of shapeshifting within Old Norse-Icelandic literature. Gwendolyne Knight (2020) separates depictions of transformation in the corpus into three categories, while Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (2007) separates them into two.

Small categorizes the texts in question as part of her "overlay model" of reading skin: that of when a wolf skin is presented to a human and is placed on top of human skin. This type of literary werewolf goes through an illusory change (i.e. Augustinian) rather than an actual metamorphosis (Small 2013: 83).[47] The texts in Small's study are written in Latin and French, yet the vocabulary corresponds well to the Old Norse-Icelandic. The noun *hamr*, skin or form, the term used to denote both the wolf skin and the shape or form of the animal, in this sense resembles the Latin and French terms used to describe the change in form when one becomes a werewolf (Latin *forma*, Old French *forme*). The changing of form or skin is reflected in the terms *hamskipta*, 'to change form/skin' and *hamrammr*, 'to be able to change one's shape or form' (Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1957). The parallels in vocabulary advocate for engagement between the Old Norse-Icelandic scribe(s) and older continental traditions of literary werewolves. Bearing in mind that the first attestation of a literary werewolf in Old Icelandic comes from the translated *lai* of Marie de France,[48] the employment of cognate vocabulary is unsurprising. Yet, the associated lexis underlines an understanding of the regnant Augustinian illusory lycanthropy model, which implies an illusory change over a material one. Like the horror of seeing one's self in a trollish creature, the man-in-wolfskin reflects the horror of transformation.

Wearing Skin

The earliest literary werewolf of Old Norse-Icelandic literature is found in a translation from the Breton *lai*, *Bisclavret* written by Marie de France named *Bisclaretz ljóð*, first preserved in De la Gardie 4–7, a thirteenth century Norwegian manuscript (Cook & Tveitane 1979; Knight 2020: 40). The story

demonic use of bodies (a topic that clearly titillated and horrified them) while continuing to deny metamorphosis."

[47] Minjie Su (2022: 36–37) questions the applicability of Small's models to Old Norse-Icelandic literature, focusing on the fact that some skins are not implicitly said to be put on before transformation (cf. *Ála flekks saga*), although they might be shed afterwards. For our purposes, this detail does not matter, as the focus here is on the skin (which we know was worn because it was shed) and that the human keeps his reason while in the skin.

[48] In the form of *Bisclaretz ljóð*, a translation of the French *lai*, *Bisclavret*.

tells of a knight who says he *hamskiptumk*, using a reflexive form of *hamskipta* 'to change form/skin' (Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1957). This reflexive act – that of changing the form or skin of *one's self* – is only attested in prose in this text and a later rewriting of it, *Tíodels saga* (see Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1957; ONP). Elsewhere, the process of "becoming" wolf is expressed using the active verb *hamskipta* or the phrase *fara í ham*, 'to go in to a form/skin.'[49] The reflexive verb is especially pertinent, as the knight Bisclavret is only able to change form by the act of taking off his clothes, and can only come back to his human form by putting his clothes back on. The act of disrobing encapsulates the reflexive act inherent in the verb; he undresses *himself* into a naked state, revealing his animality. When he again dons his clothing, he is putting on, as it were, his humanity.[50] Like Oddr's silk tunic in *Örvar-Odds saga*, Bisclavret's second skin of cloth, his clothing, is thus the defining factor of his humanness; it is also why he must hide them in order to be sure that he will be able to "become" human again after his stint in the wild, by putting the clothes on again. Not only does he willingly "become" wolf, but he explicitly retreats during his naked bouts into the wild forest, in which he performs the ultimate taboo, homicide. This anti-chivalric behavior can only take place if the knight removes his identifying qualities – namely clothing – and is physically outside of society, in this case, in the forest. That he specifically leaves his clothes by an old chapel symbolizes the shedding of the societal expectations imposed upon humans by the Church; laying down his humanness in the form of clothing, he leaves the chapel into the wild and behaves in ways that would not be accepted in Christian society. Like Adam and Eve after the Fall, the werewolf, possessing human intellect and rationality, must exist in the wild.

Wearing acts as a medium through which the wearer takes on a new identity, willingly or unwillingly (Novotná 2024: 96). While the second-skin for Bisclavret is his clothing, the natively-written sagas discussed in this study portray an actual wolfskin used to change shape. For example, in chapter eight of *Völsunga saga*, we are told that Sigmundr and Sinfjötli come upon a hut in the forest, where they find men sleeping with magical wolves' skins hanging above them. The men, and thus also the skins, are under a curse, and whoever puts the skins on will only be able to take them off every ten

[49] It is pertinent to underline here, as already mentioned, that the instances of shapeshifting discussed in this article are not the only types of shapeshifting found within the corpus.

[50] Although throughout the process he retains his human reason, as pointed out by the king when he encounters Bisclaret in wolf form: "Þetta kuikuendi hævir mannz vit" (Cook & Tveitane 1979: 92).

days. They don the magical wolves' skins ("þeir fóru í hamina") (Guðni Jónsson 1950: 123) before going into the forest and behaving like wild animals. During their time wearing the skins, they talk to one another in human language, although they are able to howl like wolves. Their constant bickering and disagreement indicates that they retain their human nature and reasoning. On the tenth day, when they are finally able to take the skins off, they make sure to burn them so that no one else would suffer from such a curse while wearing the skins. Like the burning of Lopthæna's troll/animal skin, the burning of the wolf skin represents the purgative aspect of ridding one's self of the animal covering; a shedding and resolution of a difficulty in the character's life.

This episode in the saga was added by its medieval composer, and is not based on Eddic poetry like the latter parts of *Völsunga saga* (Ashman Rowe: 203). This Christianized version of the werewolf is reflective of Augustine's teachings and even shows evidence of being influenced by the works of Marie de France, the author of *Bisclavret*. Carol Clover (1986: 80) shows that chapter eight of *Völsunga saga*, the same chapter in which the shapeshifting occurs, a scene is borrowed from Marie de France's *lai*, *Éliduc*. I therefore boldly pair this episode with other similar instances of shapeshifting with a skin, instead of considering it as an older, native tradition such as Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (2007) and Bourns (2021).

Similarly, in *Ála flekks saga*, the protagonist Áli is cursed by a half-troll to become a wolf, "verða at vargi" (Hui et al. 2018: 26). The fiend approaches him while he is in bed with his new bride, and it is specified in the text that Áli is naked except for his undergarments, "Áli var þá afklæddr ǫllum klæðum nema línklæðum" (Hui et al. 2018: 26). Like Bisclavret, Áli's nakedness characterizes his state of animality. While in the wolf's skin he maintains his reason and is able to remember his kin, who recognize him by his eyes when they see him. We are not told the details of his initial transformation, most notably how he got into the skin, but when he is left in a room alone overnight, his foster-mother wakes up to him naked in human form, on the bed next to a wolf's skin. Like in *Völsunga saga*, they quickly make sure to burn the skin so that no one else suffers further from its curse. White (2019) points out that Áli's constant encounters with trolls and his transformation into a wolf are reflective of his inner struggles with identity. In this way, Áli's experience is similar to the protagonists' in the *Hrafnistumannasögur*.[51]

[51] To further connect the themes within the sagas, the troll Nótt in *Ála flekks saga* is depicted wearing a *skinnstakkr* and plays a similar role as the trolls discussed in the *Hrafnistumannasögur*.

Shapeshifting is found abundantly in Old Norse-Icelandic literature, but werewolves are rare. The depictions in *Völsunga saga* and *Ála flekks saga* are the only ones of their kind in the corpus, where a man puts on a skin to turn into a wolf as a result of a curse, while keeping his humanity, aside from the similar narrative involving a troll skin, discussed above, in *Gríms saga loðinkinna*. This version of the werewolf is in line with Augustine's beliefs concerning shapeshifting and Gerard's depiction of those beliefs, and if not transmitted directly from Augustine's works, these ideas could have easily come to Iceland via other ecclesiastical or literary works containing those ideas. In line with Augustine's general stance on shapeshifting, then, the men who "become" wolves in *Völsunga saga* and *Ála flekks saga* do so as a result of magic (what Augustine would call "demonic work"), by means of wearing a magical skin that creates an illusion for those looking on, and even perhaps some kind of delusion for those who are wearing the skins, so that they believe they are actually animals. The key to both stories is that their humanity stays intact.

Tíodels saga, a later adaptation of *Bisclaretz ljóð*, gives us a clear picture of an acknowledgement in Iceland that shapeshifters could not literally change from human to animal, and the story of Adam and Eve is even directly discussed in connected with nakedness. When Tiodel is discovered, he does not want to go back into his clothes in front of others; a knight then proposes that the story of Adam and Eve might explain his reluctance to be naked in front of people:

> Hafa þær bækur haldið sem um heimsköpunina eru, að tveir menn voru skapaðir af almáttigum Guði, syndlausir í Paradís: Adam og Eva. Og svo voru þau sköpuð, að þau skömmuðust sín eigi nakin að standa, og forðuðu engum lið né lim á sér, heldur enn augna sinna. Enn eftir boðorðabrotið, skömmuðust þau nakin að standa. Má vera, að svo megi hér fara, að dýrið megi skammast að auðsýna sig mörgum manni (Hall et al. 2018: 9).

> Those books which are about the creation of the world have maintained that two people were created by Almighty God, sinless in Paradise: Adam and Eve. And they were created such that they were not ashamed to stand naked, and they hid neither their joints nor limbs, let alone their eyes. Yet after the Fall, they were ashamed to stand naked. It is possible that it might be the same thing here: the beast may be ashamed to exhibit himself to many people (Hall et al. 2018: 9).

Tiodel, the main character, is able to "change" into a variety of animals, simply by putting on the appropriate skin, including a white bear's and a wolf's skin. Tiodel remarks that while in the forest, he is the strongest of all the animals, because unlike them, he possesses human nature and

wisdom: "and I am the strongest of them [animals] on account of human wisdom and nature" ("er [eg] þeirra sterkaster fyrer saker mannligrar visku og natturu") (Ohlsson 2009: 17). The illusory transformation thus behaves as a mode with which people's animalistic predispositions come to the fore. The abominable behavior of the wolves reminds the reader of what is *wild* in comparison to what is *civilized*. Like the trolls discussed above, the ravenous acts of the wolves represent that which is inherent in humans, an untamed savagery which, from the Christian perspective, is a result of the depravity of humanity after the Fall. The fact that these werewolves retain their human reason shows that the human race is not completely lost into corrupted animality; for through the same perspective, it is still possible to find salvation via Christ.

Wrapping Up

> Metamorphosis represents the degradation of the human into the bestial. (Salisbury 1994: 168)

These literary tales of man parading as beast reflect the belief that humans have the potential to deviate from their rational selves by giving into their animalistic capabilities. At the same time, the tales underline the real fear of medieval Christians that lust, hunger, and rage – those qualities which exist as a result of the first sin – can overwhelm their spiritual and sensible selves.

Yet, the image of the werewolf clearly emphasizes the hierarchical relationship between humans and animals. In the Augustinian vein, wild animals exist not only for food,[52] but to test humans, punish them, or teach them a lesson. All three of these are accomplished in the tale of the man-into-wolf story, while also underlining the undesirableness of being-animal and the status of animals as subservient to humans.

Bisclavret willingly experiences his wolfish adventures, while Áli, Sigmundr, and Sinfjötli are cursed to do so. The unwilling transformation that the wolfskins bring send the men into an experience that is precisely anti-human. They kill humans and cattle – domesticated animals used for the maintenance of humans – as well as horses. Their behavior while in the skins encapsulates that which humans *should not* do, explicating for the reader what is acceptable within human society and outside of it. Their

[52] It is important here to note that wolves are not a source of food. Their role as predators thus exaggerates Augustine's roles for wild animals.

actions represent what real wolves actually do – terrorize and kill humans and cattle while residing in hidden, wild, spaces. This intricate connection with hunting for food is explored further below.

The forced "transformation" is representative of their inner animality, outwardly embodied by the animal skin. Like the skin-clad trolls, the wolf skin is reflective of the "were-wolf's" inner state, yet can be taken off, underlining the character's ability to change, learn, and grow. Transformation, as Caroline Walker-Bynum (2005) has shown, is really a question of identity.

Beneath the Skin: Hunger

> One of the ways communities defined themselves was by what they ate. (Salisbury 1994: 55).

The literary portrayal of wildness and animality is intricately connected with food and hunger. Likewise, the connection of the themes of hunger and famine with the Fall is a natural one, for hunger only exists in connection with hunting because of Adam and Eve's sins. In the garden they needed not toil for food, while after their expulsion tilling of the ground was necessary to grow food for their maintenance. Both (were)wolves and the trolls of the *Hrafnistumannasögur* are positioned as threats to humans' food supplies. While wolves, by nature, attack cattle and sheep, werewolves are depicted as killing both cattle and humans.[53] The trolls in question hoard not only meat useful to humans, that of cow and sheep, but also forbidden meat: that of horses and humans (see Maraschi 2019). Both the wolf and the troll thus endanger the food supply for the saga characters, while also putting themselves in danger.

In the *Hrafnistumannasögur*, the protagonists in *Ketils saga hængs* and *Gríms saga loðinkinna* travel outside of their normal habitations because there is a famine; they therefore go into the wild north to find food in unconventional spaces in times of desperation. When the protagonists encounter trolls, there is always a matter of food to be dealt with. The story lines in *Örvar-Odds saga* and *Áns saga bogsveigis* portray a rather different environment than its predecessors. The status of religion is linked to the

[53] The historical evidence for the presence of wolves in Scandinavia is reviewed in (Pluskowski 2006: 79–85).

depiction of food scarcity. While the pre-Christian figures of Ketill and Grímr deal with famine, and struggle further with trollish adversaries who limit their ability to hunt and fish, the Christian figures of Oddr and Án live a life where feasting is a normal event, both at home and at the royal court. Ketill and Grímr must travel north to get food because of scarcity at home, while Oddr chooses to travel north so that he can raid the pagan Finns. The Christian figures enjoy a life of abundance while their pagan ancestors struggle for food.[54]

The first time Ketill encounters a troll, it is because he has wandered out into unknown territory to fish during a famine. The second troll whom Ketill encounters, Kaldrani, steals his fish while he is sleeping. The following night, Ketill stays awake to discover Kaldrani stealing his fish, after which he kills the giant. Several years later, there is again a famine, which causes Ketill to go north to fish. As he comes to shore he encounters the troll Forað, who tries to prevent him from fishing. He shoots an arrow at her as she flees in the shape of a whale. Only after this could he successfully fish and take his catch back home. Each time Ketill encounters a fiend, its purpose is to coerce him or distract from successful hunting. Like his father, Grímr also experiences famine in Hálogaland. He travels north to fish. During his first night in the north all of his catch has been stolen. The second night, he intercepts two trolls, Feima and Kleima, trying to break his ship. In poetic verse the two women tell Ketill that it was their father who stole his fish the night before. Grímr immediately kills Kleima, and Feima dies shortly thereafter. The trolls act as foils to the human struggle for food; they highlight the exertion the protagonist must endure in order to procure food during the famine, in a landscape known to the reader as an unchristianized northern wilderness. While the above interactions underline the struggle of hunting, the giant Surtr, whom Ketill encounters, accentuates the Christian viewpoint of the story. Ketill discovers that the giant Surtr has been hoarding various types of flesh. Ketill finds the flesh of several northern animals and at the bottom, salted human flesh. This triggers a warning in Ketill that Surtr is not a friend and as soon as he comes close to the giant he chops off his head.

While the animality of trolls is uncannily reflective to humans of their potential animal nature, putting on a wolf skin and taking on animalistic be-

[54] Pernille Ellyton (2021) shows in her study that *Örvar-Odds saga* is likely the oldest of the *Hrafnistumannasögur*, indicating that *Gríms saga* and *Ketils saga* were composed to fill in the history of the family before Oddr. This would highlight the scribe's tendencies to depict the pre-Christian past as a time of struggle before the coming of Christianity.

havior is a medium through which humans can act out, and thus rid themselves of, their inherent animalistic behavior. This behavior, as we see in the exegetical descriptions of Adam and Eve's garments, is a direct result of the original sin. As a literary device, both the skin-clad troll and the werewolf remind the reader of the corruption of humans after the Fall, and more specifically how the boundaries between human and animal become more blurred than in Paradise due to the more real possibility that humans might not always choose correctly. Humans' animal nature is reflected in the need to hunt for food – a punishment for sin – while also struggling to balance the rules of humanity, namely, to eat only certain meat, and never human.

Cannibalism upsets the order imposed upon humans and animals during the creation, that man should rule over and eat animals and fish. This separation and hierarchy between humans and animals is evident in the figure of the werewolf. The werewolf, a man in animal's clothing as it were, performs exactly the actions and behaviors that humans should not. He violently attacks and kills other animals, as well as humans, both for consumption. The werewolves in all cases are said to eat, and sometimes ravage, their prey. Voracious hunger is intricately connected with the wolf. This is encapsulated in the Icelandic vocabulary of consumption. The verbs *að éta* and *að borða* separate man from beast by placing man at a table. *Að éta* was used for both humans and animals to describe general eating up to around the fifteenth century, when *að borða* (literally, 'to [sit at a] table') comes into use. This late usage is undoubtedly tied to the introduction of courtly culture and the need for a new way to describe it. *Að éta* then becomes an insult to humans, for they should not be eating like animals.

Conclusion: What Defines a Human?

> Bodies in medieval texts can be perceived as a matter in the narrated world, as being a consciously created part of a textual universe. (Künzler 2016: 153).

Usually scholars discuss monstrous, shapeshifting characters, especially trolls, as distinct from humans, specifically belonging to the category of "Other". I am claiming, however, that it is precisely humans who are the Other. More specifically, it is sin – fallen humanity – that informs the Christian idea of corrupted humankind and civilization, thus othering humans.

Humanity is thus defined by belief and behavior. This extends to how

one dresses and what one eats. How one's behavior fits into the accepted social domain determines how one is classified. This is intricately connected with theological ideas of what separates humans from other animals, that is, the ability to reason. Humans thus are expected to make choices, the right choices (in contrast to the wrong choices made by Adam and Eve), that place them within the confines of the civilized, Christian world. Any deviation from choices that place one in this sphere results in a classification of Other.

This otherness is captured in the material of the *skinn*. Immediately upon their expulsion, the gifts of animal skins from God covered Adam and Eve's shame while embodying their new role in the world: one in which they must work for food and clothing and strive to control their sinful nature. In the same way, the trolls in animal skins act as reminders to the protagonists of the *Hrafnistumannasögur* of the post-Fall state of humanity. The uncanny resemblance between the protagonists and the trolls, both physically and of ability, prompts the realization and warning that humans *can* be animalistic. The figure of the man-in-wolfskin takes that realization one step further by demonstrating that animality in words. The were-wolf performs that which the protagonists of the *Hrafnistumannasögur* recoil at in the figure of the troll. Both the skin-clad troll and the wolfskin-wearing man warn the reader of their potential wildness, which also underlines the opposite: that a civilized life is possible through salvation and participation in the Christian Church – a life that one must choose, perhaps even against their nature.

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Summary

This article focuses on depictions of skin(s) – fleshy objects used to cover the human body that are representative of a state of being or a specific identity. In contrast to the traditional interpretation, connecting skin-wearing with mythological or shamanistic shapeshifting, I connect the literary use of skins donned by monstrous figures in the Old Icelandic corpus to the animal skin garments that were fashioned for Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise. This important detail of the protoplasts' new clothing within the widely-disseminated story of the fall of man has been overlooked as a literary topic of any substance in the field of Old Norse-Icelandic literature, although it has recently received attention in neighboring fields, underlining its wider literary importance in the Middle Ages. The allegorical meaning attached to the garments by Late Antique and medieval theologians – that of shame and animality – provides a fruitful avenue through which to interpret further depictions of humans in animal skins in Old Icelandic literature. This symbolism surrounding the human-in-animal allows for a reading of a human-animal hybridity, while also underlining the negative connotations that come with bestial behavior, thus distinguishing man from beast. Non-human behavior and appearance can be tied to the corruption of humanity as a result of original sin. These reflections clarify the task of defining what *is not* or *should not* be the paragon of humanity.

This study focuses on two examples. The first is the trolls of the *Hrafnistumannsögur*. There are four sagas in total, *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Örvar-Odds saga*, and *Áns saga bogsveigis*. Each saga presents (a) troll-ish figure(s) wearing animal skin clothing, using the same terminology for the clothing that is used to describe Adam and Eve's garments. The second focus of this study is on later medieval depictions of humans donning an animal skin in order to "turn" into wolves (werewolves, if you must), stories that provide fertile material with which to interpret the Christian rhetoric of the animality of humans after the fall of man. These depictions are found in medieval Romance or sagas from nearby genres that are heavily influenced by the Romance genre, such as *Völsunga saga*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Tíodels saga*, and Marie de France's *Strengleikar*. These two examples of skin-wearing represent a medieval Icelandic mindset that grapples with the separation of humans from other animals, what that means, what the consequences of crossing over from humanity to animality are, and finally, how to define the human by identifying the animal.

Keywords: Biblical Studies, Theology, Werewolves, Trolls, Shapeshifting, Identity

Tiffany Nicole White
The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies
ORCID iD 0000-0001-6172-9880

Recensioner

Ryder Patzuk-Russell. *The Development of Education in Medieval Iceland*. The Northern Medieval World: On the Margins of Europe. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021.

Udviklingen af uddannelse i middelalderens Island er ikke et enkelt emne at behandle. På grund af manglende kildemateriale er kildesituationen meget udfordrende. Samtidig er emnet helt centralt for at kunne forstå det intellektuelle miljø, som udgjorde baggrunden for de litterære aktiviteter, der kendetegnede det islandske kulturliv i middelalderen. Selvom der er skrevet en hel del om uddannelse i Island i middelalderen, findes ikke noget omfattende værk om det. Ryder Patzuk-Russells bog, *The Development of Education in Medieval Iceland*, har det ambitiøse mål at være en sådan slags bog, i hvert fald mere omfattende end tidligere værker. Forfatteren oplyser indledende, at han vil behandle emnet som et selvstændigt forskningsemne uden direkte forbindelse til andre forskningsområder, f. eks. middelalderens litteraturhistorie.

Bogen er delt op i fire kapitler samt inledning hvor Patzuk-Russell giver en almindelig oversigt over forskningsområdet. Han gennemgår tidligere forskning med et kritiskt blik og præsenterer de vigtigste kilder. Det viser sig fra begyndelsen, at Patzuk-Russell går til emnet på baggrund af en meget omfangsrig kildeanalyse, hvilket er en af bogens hovedstyrker. I inledningen betoner han *grammatica*'s centrale stilling – *grammatica* var en af de syv *artes liberales* – for dannelsens udvikling i middelalderens Island; *grammatica* spiller endvidere en meget fremtrædende rolle i bogen i øvrigt, især i de sidste to kapitler.

Det første kapitel handler om de forskellige former for uddannelse i perioden før den romerske kirke blev en dominerende institution i det islandske samfund. I den periode var uddannelsen ikke så formel som i senere, og Patzuk-Russell understreger, at begrebet "skole" ikke altid kan bruges til ad beskrive den sammenhæng, som uddannelsen fandt sted i. På baggrund af en detaljeret kildeanalyse giver kapitlet en oversigt over de områder, som forfatteren regner som hørende til uddannelse, herunder lov og ret, magi, historie, genalogi, digtning og *hannyrðir* (håndarbejde). Som forfatteren fremhæver, skal disse fag ikke forstås som isolerede områder,

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men sammenhængende. Kapitlet er meget oplysende, men dets største problem er konceptuelt. Vigtige begreber, f. eks. "uddannelse" efterlader Patzuk-Russell udefineret, og det samme gælder begrebet "sekular". Som det vil blive diskuteret senere, irriterer denne konceptuelle uklarhed læseren også i bogens senere afsnit.

Det andet kapitel er tilegnet den kirkelige uddannelse med vægt på den ydre og institutionelle kontekst, som uddannelsen foregik i. Forfatteren begynder med at betone vigtigheden af opfostring (e. fosterage) og forholdet mellem mester og lærling, især i kristendommens tidligste periode i Island og før uddannelse blev en vigtig del af domkirkernes og klostrenes aktiviteter. I de følgende afsnit diskuterer Patzuk-Russell – meget deskriptivt – uddannelsen på bispesæderne Skálholt og Hólar samt i klostrene på Island. Han diskuterer også uddannelsens praktiske del, dvs. det klassiske spørgsmål om det økonomiske aspekt. Et interessant resultat af dette kapitel er det faktum, at der er meget vanskeligt at skelne mellem sekulær og religiøs uddannelse i det sociale miljø i middelalderens Island.

Det tredje kapitel handler om indholdet af den kirkelige uddannelse med stor vægt på det latinske sprog, dets plads i det islandske samfund og samspillet med det oldislandske folkesprog. Det sidstnævnte punkt er særlig vigtig for at forstå udviklingen af *grammatica* som central del af den kirkelige uddannelse. Ligesom mange forskere i de senere år (f.eks. Gottskálk Þór Jensson og Lars Boje Mortensen), betoner Patzuk-Russell det latinske sprogs stærke position i middelalderens Norden, især i kirkelige sammenhæng, og tilføjer talrige eksempler fra relevante kilder, hvoraf nogle (f. eks. boglister) ikke har fået meget opmærksomhed i forbindelse med latinsk lærdom i middelalderen. Af særlig interesse er det, at forfatteren udforsker detaljerne i samspillet mellem folkesproget og latin, og hvordan det kom til at udgøre et tosproget undervisningsprogram. Dette aspekt af uddannelse såvel som af det religiøse liv i middelalderens Island er ikke blevet udforsket og forklaret så detaljeret før nu, og det er en vigtig tilføjelse til forskningsfeltet. Et vigtigt forbillede for den måde, det foregik på, finder Patzuk-Russell in den angelsaksiske verden, nemlig i Ælfric af Eynshams tosprogede grammatiske arbejde, *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*.

Fjerde kaptitel indeholder en detaljeret undersøgelse af de oldislandske grammatiske afhandlinger og andere skrifter relevante for Patzuk-Russells diskussion af udviklingen af et folkesprogligt grammatiskt og sprogfilosofiskt system, der udviklede sig parallelt med den latinske *grammatica*. Forfatteren selv definerer det som "the discourses and ideologies arround the creation of a normative, authoritative ON language, and the interpretation

of texts in ON" (268). Selvom kapitlet er baseret på en grundig analyse af de ovennævnte værker og indeholder mange interessante punkter, har den for det meste ikke meget at gøre med bogens hovedemne, uddannelse i middelalderen. I to lange og tekniske afsnit, argumenterer Patzuk Russell for brugen af folkesproglig *grammatica* (e. *vernacular grammatica*) som et passende begreb for et sådant sprogfilosofisk og hermeneutisk grundlag. I en tredje del, vender forfatteren tilbage til emnet middelalderlige uddannelse og den plads et folkesproglig *grammatica* kunne have haft i den pædagogiske kontekst. Konklusionen er, at det er vanskeligt at bestemme, hvilken rolle folkesproglig *grammatica* spillede i uddannelsen i middelalderens Island, men dens betydning var i hvert fald ikke den samme som den latinske *grammatica*.

Patzuk-Russells bog er et vigtigt bidrag til udforskning af middelalderens islandske kultur, og den kaster, delvis, nyt lys over, hvordan den kristne religion etablerede sig i samfundet gennem pædagogisk praksis. Det er uden tvivl det mest omfattende værk om emnet forskningsfeltet har set, men om det er så omfattende, som forfatteren mener i sin indledning, er et andet spørgsmål. Bogen er, især dens anden halvdel, stærkt fokuseret på den litterære uddannelse, og i det sidste kapitel glider diskussionen over i ekspertområdet af middelalderlig digtning og anden sprogkunst, der ikke har meget at gøre med uddannelseshistorie som et selvstændig forskningsfelt. På den måde, ligesom ældre værker om uddannelse i middelalderens Island, er bogen i høj grad formet af og rettet mod forskningen i middelalderens bogkultur. Det er der selvfølgelig ikke noget forkert i, men hvis den konceptuelle baggrund ville have været tydeligere defineret fra begyndelsen, ville bogen give et stærkere helhedsindtryk.

Haraldur Hreinsson
Háskóli Íslands
ORCID iD 0000-0003-4649-7502

Pious Fictions and Pseudo-Saints in the Late Middle Ages. Selected Legends from an Icelandic Legendary. Trans. & ed. Marianne Kalinke & Kirsten Wolf. Mediaeval Sources in Translation 61. Toronto. Pims, 2023. Pp. xi + 281.

Pious Fictions er en kærkommen åbning ind i det store islandske håndskrift Holm perg 3 fol, *Reykjahólabók* kaldet, der blev ført i pennen af den hovedrige Björn Þorleifsson (†1548–1554) fra det vestlige Island engang i årene 1530–1540. Membranen består i dag af 168 blade og indeholder 25 legender, af hvilke de 22 formentlig er oversat fra middelnedertysk. Det er dels dateringen (tiden lige før Reformationens endelige gennemførsel på Island), dels dette at det hovedsageligt drejer sig om nyoversatte tekster, der gør håndskriftet særlig interessant. De pågældende tekstversioner findes i øvrigt kun bevaret i *Reykjahólabók* i islandsk sprogdragt, så det islandske håndskrift er vores eneste kilde til de nu tabte forlæg. *Reykjahólabók* er endvidere det sidste middelalderlige legendarium skrevet i Europa (p. 2). Der er således mange grunde til, at det er vigtigt, at dette håndskrift præsenteres for en bredere kreds af forskere end den meget snævre gruppe af eksperter, der uden problemer kan læse den diplomatariske udgave i to bind, som Agnete Loth udgav i 1969–1970, og som i øvrigt ikke er kommenteret på nogen måde. Ja, videre er tanken med oversættelsen og den normaliserede tekstudgave tillige at åbne teksterne for forskere med andre sproglige forudsætninger, så som middelnedertyske filologer (p. 21).

Den nye udgave forsøger at løfte denne opgave ved at give oversættelser af følgende 8 tekster fra *Reykjahólabók*: (1) *Ósvalds saga*, (2) *Hendreks saga og Kúnígúndísar*, (3) *Jóns saga gullmunns*, (4) *Jerónímuss saga*, (5) *Kristófórs saga*, (6) *Georgíuss saga*, (7) *Sjö sofanda saga* og (8) *Saga Gregóríuss hins góða syndara*. Man skal dog være opmærksom på, at halvdelen af disse (nr. 2, 3, 4, 6) er forkortet på forskellig vis (cf. p. 159). *Ósvalds saga* og *Jóns saga gullmunns* har begge tidligere været udgivet i forskellige sammenhænge, men er blevet revideret i forbindelse med den nye udgave. Udvalget giver et bredt udsnit af håndskriftets indhold, omend man selvfølglelig skal huske på, at der kun er tale om et lille udvalg af et meget stort håndskrift. Bogen

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indeholder, foruden indledning og oversættelse, udgave af den islandske grundtekst i normaliseret form samt selvfølgelig bibliografi og register.

Efter udgivernes forord følger *indledningen*, der på 25 sider afhandler forholdene omkring genre, håndskriftets historie, indhold, skriver-oversætter-problematikken for derpå at give en gennemgang af de enkelte tekster og deres baggrund. Indledningen rundes af med et afsnit om sproget i de islandske oversættelser med en gennemgang af germanismer i teksterne (af hvilke der er ganske mange) og i sammenhæng hermed af problemer med ord af samme etymologiske rod, men med forskellig betydning på islandsk hhv. nedertysk (og, må man tilføje, på skandinavisk), t.eks. *örlög–orloge*, *orloch* (pp. 21–22; se videre nedenfor). Afsnittet rundes af med omtale af sproglige problemer i enkelte af teksterne. I forbindelse med sproget omtales også en række inkonsekvenser i teksterne samt regulere fejl, t.eks. i stednavne (pp. 23–25). Rettelser indføres i oversættelsen med bemærkning herom i noterne.

Man kunne godt have ønsket nærmere overvejelser over teksternes sproglige særheder, hvilket i sidste ende måske kunne være med til at kaste lys over spørgsmålet om, hvorvidt Björn Þorleifsson var både skriver og oversætter, for i begyndelsen af indledningen nævnes det, at der i forskningen har været uenighed om, hvorvidt Björn Þorleifsson blot var håndskriftets skriver, eller om han tillige var oversætteren af teksterne i *Reykjahólabók*. Håndskriftets udgiver, Agnete Loth, argumenterede i sin tid for, at Björn både var skriver og oversætter, men historikeren Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir mener derimod – på baggrund af bl.a. ordforråd, ikke-islandsk syntaks og en overvældende mængde af ortografiske særegenheder – at det er usandsynligt, at kompilator og oversætter er den samme (ibid.). Guðrún Ása mener desuden ikke, at der er beviser for, at Björn har studeret eller lært nedertysk (ibid.). Udgiverne er ikke enige i dette med følgende begrundelser:

Først og fremmest fordi det (1) ikke (således udgiverne) virker sandsynligt, at en gejstlig (som Guðrún Ása foreslår, kunne have lavet oversættelsen) skulle have læst en oversættelse højt for Björn eller måske endda have nedskrevet én, som Björn så kunne afskrive på pergament (ibid.). Det er svært at se, at der skulle være noget problem her, som det er fremstillet. Tværtimod kunne det udmærket være tænkeligt, at det var foregået på den måde. Modvendt er det også sandsynligt, at Björn har oversat selv. På baggrund af fremstillingen må begge muligheder holdes åbne.

Udgiverne lægger videre vægt på, at Björn (2) *kan* have lært nedertysk, da han opholdt sig i Bergen. At Björn skulle have lært nedertysk i Bergen er meget oplagt – måske kan han endda have lært eller fået kendskab til

det allerede på Island? I hvert fald begyndte hanseforbundets Islandssejlads formentlig i midten af 1400-tallet, og fra omtr. 1470 sejlede hanseaterne årligt til Island. Tyske handelsfolk og kongelige gesandter kendes allerede fra 1420'erne, og islændinge studerede bl.a. ved universitetet i Rostock fra midt i århundredet (Veturliði Óskarsson 2003, p. 72–73). Springer vi lidt længere frem i tiden, ser vi, at generationen, der blev født i 1530'erne, begik sig overordentlig vel på netop nedertysk (cf. Jón Þorkelsson 1895, p. 12–13), og der kom efterhånden en stor oversættelsesvirksomhed fra nedertysk til islandsk i gang. Alt i alt må der være stor sandsynlighed for, at Björn i et eller andet omfang har haft kendskab til nedertysk.

Endelig fremføres som argument (3), at Björn tilhørte en kreds af islændinge, der var meget aktive skrivere – ja, endog flere i Björns slægt tilhørte denne klasse (p. 5).

På denne baggrund konkluderes, at der er "stærke" indicier for at antage, at Björn er oversætteren.[1] Men ret beset er det kun punkt (2) ovenfor, som kan sandsynliggøres i nogen grad, og at Björn Þorleifsson har kunnet nedertysk, beviser ikke, selvom det muliggør, at han er oversætteren.

Det har ikke været tanken med disse bemærkninger at bidrage til besvarelsen af spørgsmålet om, hvorvidt Björn Þorleifsson er oversætter eller ej (selvom det, cf. Loths indledning, vol. I, p. xxix–xl, virker sandsynligt), men blot at pege på, at spørgsmålet efterlades ubesvaret i nærværende indledning.

Det kunne i øvrigt se ud til, at den indledende tekst er skrevet i nogen hast. Der er gentagelser af oplysninger her og der og enkelte uklare formuleringer; cf. videre anm. 16, p. 5, hvor det åbenbart er faldet ud, at det konkrete sted i Stefán Karlssons artikel "Bókagerð bænda", hvor Björn Þorleifsson omtales, er pp. 325–326, og omtalen af *Reykjahólabók* i Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttirs artikel findes på pp. 91–92, ikke 88–89 i den pågældende tekst. Teksten er ellers veloplagt skrevet og den giver et godt overblik; kun havde man ønsket flere overskrifter til at støtte orienteringen under læsningen.

Efter indledningen følger så *oversættelsen*. I indledningen får vi kun følgende at vide om oversættelserne (p. 25):

> In the translations that follow, notes are provided primarily to identify historical persons, to indicate factual inaccuracies in legends based on historiographic sources, and to remark on semantic descrepancies between Middle Low German and its Icelandic cognates.

[1] Hvis "Existing evidence strongly suggests ..." da skal forstås således. Er det ikke tilfældet, henvises til ikke fremlagt og ikke nærmere specificeret materiale.

Det havde været oplagt i den forbindelse tillige at give et par enkelte linier om, hvilken oversættelsesstrategi, der var lagt. For en ikke modersmålstalende virker det engelske solidt og koncist i forhold til grundteksten. Sammen med ikke mindst de anmærkninger, der findes om "descrepancies between Middle Low German and its Icelandic cognates" giver det læseren en følelse af at blive holdt fast i den anderledeshed, de gamle tekster repræsenterer. Eller sagt med andre ord, så udstyrer oversættelserne samt apparat læseren med de nødvendige forudsætninger, så han kan læse de gamle tekster, skulle han ikke være særlig bekendt med den sennorrøne sprogform.

Tekstudgaven af de for oversættelsen til grund liggende tekster gives i et godt 100 siders tillæg ('Appendix'), og den bygger på den eneste videnskabelige udgave af Holm perg 3 fol, Agnete Loths førnævnte udgave. Udgaven, der er udformet som ett stort kapitel, hvoraf de enkelte tekster udgør afsnit, indledes med en oversigt over de medtagne tekster og en nøjagtig angivelse af, hvad der er medtaget (i de tilfælde, hvor ikke hele teksten er medtaget, angives de medtagne kapitler). Loths tekstrettelser er indarbejdet i teksten, men udgivernes egne emendationer er indsat i skarpe parenteser (p. 158). Teksten er, som allerede nævnt, normaliseret, og da der er tale om en sen tekst, set i norrønt perspektiv, har man valgt at tage udgangspunkt i moderne islandsk, frem for den standard, man t.eks. finder i *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* (ONP), der ellers dækker perioden frem til 1540 for Islands vedkommende. Dette betyder bl.a., at visse verbalendelser er ændret i forhold til forlægget, og den i dag uvante nominativ-form *mann* er erstattet med *maður*, ligesom *eðr* er erstattet med *eða* (pp. 159–160). Det er oplagt at normalisere teksten, og man kan også føre gode argumenter for en forholdsvis vidtgående ensretning af teksternes ortografi, når man betænker læsergruppen. Alligevel kunne man overveje, om man mon burde have forholdt sig mere konservativ i forhold til forlægget og beholdt afvigende verbalendelser og formen *mann* som nominativ-form af *maður*. Det er ikke punkter, der gør teksten særlig fremmedartet, og samtidig ville man holde fast i nogle karakteristiske træk, og til den ende ville ONPs standard måske have været meget oplagt.

Under teksten findes et noteapparat, der særlig sigter på at oplyse om låneord i teksten, men som i øvrigt også lejlighedsvis giver andre sproglige oplysninger. Der gives desuden henvisninger til andre behandlinger af ordene, hvoraf navnlig fremhæves Veturliði Óskarssons *Middelnedertyske låneord i islandsk diplomsprog frem til år 1500* (2003), Christian Westergård-Nielsens *Låneordene i det 16. århundredes trykte islandske litteratur* (1946) samt den lille ordbog, som findes i Kirsten Wolfs udgave af *Saga heilagrar*

Önnu (2001), pp. cxv–cxxxvi. I den forbindelse kan man undre sig over, at der ikke er henvist til ONP, som dels kan bidrage med redigerede artikler (så langt som redaktionen er nået p.t.), og dels under alle omstændigheder kan give – ofte ældre – belæg for de pågældende ord.

Set i forhold til ambitionen om at nå en bredere læserkreds, er noteapparatet naturligvis afgørende med hjælp til ord, der ikke nødvendigvis kan findes i de gængse ordbøger, eller som ikke er, hvad de ser ud til, t.eks. *örlög* 'kamp' (frem for 'skæbne'), *serkur* 'kiste, sarkofag' (frem for 'særk, lang underskjorte, natskjorte') samt udtryk, der ikke findes på islandsk, men som middel- eller umiddelbart er overført fra middelnedertysk. Løber man gennem anmærkningerne og alle de ord, man finder her, så er det i øvrigt slående, hvor mange af dem, der har nærere slægtninge i skandinavisk fremfor nedertysk, t.eks. (her med de nty. modsvarigheder, som gives i anmærkningerne, og da. modeksempler) *ómak* (nty. 'ungemak', da. 'umage'), *kunngjöra* (nty. 'kundich gedaen' – eller måske hellere 'kunt dōn', cf. Veturliði Óskarsson 2003, p. 271 – da. 'kundgøre'), *þenkja* (nty. 'denken', da. 'tænke') og *útvelja* (nty. 'uterwelen', da. 'udvælge'). Der findes også enkelte ord og fraser her og der, som henføres eksplicit til skandinavisk (t.eks. *bera sig að*, *í bland*, *langs*). Selvom ord som de førstnævnte utvivlsomt i sidste ende stammer fra nedertysk, så er det spørgsmålet, om det ikke skulle være fremhævet, at mange af dem ser ud til at være overtaget gennem det ene eller det andet af de skandinaviske sprog, måske snarest norsk (Westergård-Nielsen 1946, p. lxxiv; Veturliði Óskarsson 2003, p. 15, 28, 86), også selvom det nævnes, at flere af dem tidligere end 1530–1540 er indgået i islandsk (p.158).

Desværre er hele tillægget sat med en lidt mindre type end selve oversættelsen, hvilket besværliggør brug af udgaven for dem af os med knap så gode øjne. Og det kunne næsten få tekstudgaven til at virke mindre vigtig end oversættelsen, hvilket vel næppe er tanken. Det havde været langt bedre, om man – som t.eks. i Kalinkes herlige *Norse Romance* I–III – havde trykt oversættelse og grundtekst på modstående sider, så man altid nemt kunne bevæge sig mellem oversættelse og grundtekst.

In summa: Med *Pious Fictions and Pseudo-Saints in the Late Middle Ages* har vi fået en formidabel indgang i et interessant håndskrift fra Reformationstidens Island, selvom nærværende anmelder gerne havde set, at udvalget havde været større (skrives vel vidende, at det er lettere at ønske end at opfylde). Bogen henvender sig til en bred skare af læsere med mange forskellige interesser og forskningsmæssige baggrunde, og den udruster endvidere gennem indledning og anmærkninger læseren til at trænge ordent-

ligt ind i teksterne, ligesom den koncise litteraturliste leder videre til den relevante forskning i *Reykjahólabók*. Forhåbentlig kan bogen være med til at anspore til ny forskning i de tekster, samlingen omfatter, såvel som *Reykjahólabók* selv!

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Johnny F. Lindholm
Københavns Universitet
Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog
ORCID iD 0000-0003-2160-6151

Stephen A. Mitchell. *Old Norse Folklore: Tradition, Innovation, and Performance in Medieval Scandinavia*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2023. 333 sidor.

Begreppet *folklore* (av engelskans *folk* 'folk' och *lore* 'lära') myntades av den brittiske forntidsforskaren W. J. Thomas 1846 som en ersättningsterm till det äldre begreppet *popular antiquities*, det vill säga den traditionella allmogekulturens yttringar och produkter. Internationellt kallas det vetenskapliga studiet av folklore för folkloristik, som ofta omfattar allmogens materiella, sociala och andliga företeelser. Redan 1834 lanserade Peter Wieselgren termen folkminnen, som då främst syftade på den andliga folkkulturen, folkdiktning, folktro och festsed. Det vetenskapliga studiet av folkminnen kallades under lång tid för folkminnesforskning. Man ville då gärna hålla detta akademiska fält isär från folklivsforskning, som syftade på studiet av social och materiell kultur. Efter andra världskriget blev folkminnesforskning en inriktning inom folklivsforskning, och de två inriktningarna omvandlades därmed till ett enhetsämne. Vid Uppsala universitet kallades ämnet nordisk och jämförande folklivsforskning från åren 1948 till 1969. I början av 1970-talet bytte ämnet namn till etnologi.

Den folkloristik som behandlar äldre folkkultur har i Sverige fört en alltmer borttynande tillvaro och har också blivit en mer begränsad del av etnologin. Det är därför mycket glädjande att Sverigebekantingen och professorn i skandinavistik och folklore vid Harvard University, Stephen A. Mitchell, har samlat ett urval av sina artiklar som rör fornnordisk folklore och folkloristik i den intressanta och innehållsrika volymen *Old Norse Folklore: Tradition, Innovation, and Performance in Medieval Scandinavia*. Mitchell har under flera decennier varit en viktig röst inom fornnordistiska kretsar, oavsett om man sysslat med litteraturvetenskap, filologi, runologi, onomastiska studier, språkvetenskap, religionshistoria eller folkloristik. Han har särskilt gjort sig känd inom den forskningstradition som rör forskning om muntlighet och kollektiva minnen, där han bland annat hade en central roll som redaktör och kapitelförfattare i översiktsverket *Handbook of pre-*

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Modern Nordic Memory Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches (2018). Han har också publicerat skarpsinniga analyser av norröna myter samt viktiga studier om medeltidens andliga liv och rituella praktiker, som publicerats i monografin *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages* (2011).

Volymen *Old Norse Folklore* omfattar 13 delvis omarbetade artiklar, samt ett viktigt, nyskrivet introduktionskapitel till forskningsfältet fornnordisk folklore. Några av de artiklar som här ges ut på nytt har aldrig presenterats tidigare för en engelskspråkig publik. Kapitlen är disponerade i tre breda avdelningar. Den första delen, ”Orality and Performance”, inkluderar artiklar som fokuserar på den filosofiska, teoretiska och metodologiska utgångspunkten för hur vi kan närma oss berättelser och annat material med rötter i vikingatid och nordisk medeltid. Del två, ”Myths and Memory”, omfattar arbeten om andligt liv i det medeltida Skandinavien och då särskilt de berättelser som utgör en del av den hedniska traditionen. Hur mindes man dessa traditioner under medeltiden och hur omformades de under inflytande av den dominerande kristna kulturen som hade starka band till kontinenten? Här finns även uppsatser som behandlar fornnordiska gudar och gudinnor, föremål och nordiska minneskultur. Artiklarna i avdelning tre, ”Traditions and Innovations”, tar upp den kulturella utvecklingen, kontinuiteter och brott som äger rum i senmedeltidens Skandinavien.

I det som följer kommer jag lägga en tonvikt på det nyskrivna inledningskapitlet som nästan har en programmatisk karaktär. Mitchell redogör där för sin syn på folkloristikens forskningsfält, dess karaktär och utveckling. Han inleder med att ställa den viktiga frågan: Vad är fornnordisk folklore och vilka var de människor som skapade, delade och använde dessa traditioner? Enligt författaren syftar begreppet fornnordisk folklore på berättelser, seder och praktiker hos de folkgrupper som talade nordgermanska språk under förmodern tid (särskilt under vikingatiden och medeltiden), men då inte enbart de grupper som bodde i de nuvarande nordiska länderna utan även de som fanns i dess omnejd, i till exempel de baltiska länderna och på olika platser och öar i Nordatlanten. Fornnordisk folklore är enligt Mitchell lättast att hitta (men inte enbart) genom berättelser, till exempel myter, legender, sagor, ballader, gåtor, ordspråk och andra textcentrerade genrer. Förutom dessa välkända berättarformer och uttryck av fornnordisk folkkultur innefattar även begreppet seder och beteenden, till exempel ritualer kopplade till kalenderåret, byggnader och hantverkstraditioner, konstnärliga och musikaliska konventioner samt andra former av traditionella och nedärvda kunskaper och värderingar, allt från julfirande till jordbruk. Källmaterialet för folkloristiska studier är heterogent, men utgörs i synnerhet av textkällor,

särskilt den fornisländska litteraturen har stor betydelse för folklorister, till exempel de isländska sagorna, Snorre Sturlassons *Edda* och *Den poetiska Eddan*. Mitchell är också mån om att ta upp de östnordiska texter som finns att tillgå på folkspråk, till exempel *Sju vise mästare* och *Skämtan om Abbotar*. Under senare delen av medeltiden har också de så kallade *rímur*, *knittel*-verserna samt balladerna en viktig betydelse för utforskandet av folkloren. Även latinska och folkliga krönikor och andra historiska skrifter, såsom Saxo Grammaticus *Gesta Danorum*, utgör ett viktigt källmaterial; brev, domstolsprotokoll och andra dokument; runinskrifter och monument. Det finns också betydelsefulla källor som tillkommit under tidigmodern tid men med rötter i äldre traditioner. Folkloristik är i grunden en tvärvetenskaplig disciplin som lägger stor vikt vid frågor om hur dessa folkliga traditioner uppkom och förmedlades till senare generationer. För att finna nytt material och nya infallsvinklar till detta söker folkloristiken källor och metoder i en rad angränsande discipliner.

Mitchell behandlar också de kontexter som omgav den fornnordiska folkloren. Han ger en översikt av den historiska, religiösa och politiska utvecklingen under vikingatiden och medeltiden, där europeiseringen och kristnandet under medeltiden fick en avgörande betydelse för människornas kulturella, sociala och andliga liv. Även de nordiska ländernas näringar och ekonomi behandlas, till exempel jordbruk och fiske, men också handelsresor och plundringståg diskuteras, liksom den nordiska kolonisationen av Atlantöarna. Den religiösa utvecklingen, där den fornnordiska religionen kom att ersättas av kristendom i Norden under perioden 900- till 1100-talet utgör en särskilt viktig kontext för denna folklore. Efterhand kom denna transformation att påverka inte bara eliten utan hela samhället. Betydelsen av rutinmässiga kristna praktiker för folkloren, som mässa, bön och pilgrimsfärd, kan knappast överdrivas. Helgonkulten var särskilt viktig på lokal nivå med pilgrimsfärder till Sankt Olovs, Sankt Knuts, Sankt Eriks och Sankta Birgittas helgedomar. I den medeltida kristendomen förekom healing och magi, det vill säga praktiker som i dag brukar benämnas performativa ritualer. Dessa praktiker togs på stort allvar och bekämpades i lagar och renderade höga böter.

I inledningskapitlet behandlas också utvecklingen av folkloristiken, det vill säga, det vetenskapliga studiet av folklore. Tidiga uttryck för dessa studier finner Mitchell hos Olaus Magnus och hans stora verk *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555). Andra lärda arbeten skrevs på 1600-talet av Ole Worm i Danmark, Johannes Bureus i Sverige, och Jón Guðmundsson på Island. På tidigt 1800-tal samlade Jacob och Wilhelm Grimm in folk-

sagor i ett ambitiöst projekt som publicerades i *Deutsche Sagen* (1816–1818). Det moderna studiet av fornnordisk folklore kan spåras bak till Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius *Wärend och Wirdarne: Ett försök i svensk ethnologi* (1863–1868). Utifrån lokala traditioner hämtade från Hyltén-Cavallius hemtrakter i Småland, identifierade han ett slags ”survivals” med rötter i hedniska traditioner. Enligt Mitchell kan den typ av material som Hyltén-Cavallius samlade in innehålla ett ”kulturellt minne” med hisnande tidsdjup.

I ett särskilt avsnitt behandlar Mitchell också den heta debatten om de isländska sagornas historiska tillförlitlighet. I den debatten fanns två positioner, dels de som hävdade att sagorna byggde på en lång muntlig tradition (friprosateorin) och dels de som menade att de utgått från en enskild författare som skapat ett medvetet konstverk (bokprosateorin). Mitchell menar att den fornnordiska folkloristiken har möjlighet att bidra till denna diskussion med stöd av moderna minnesteorier. Då W. J. Thomas 1846 myntade begreppet folklore utgick han från tyskans begrepp *Volkskunde*, en term som i Norden översattes ”folkminne”. Studiet av folkminnen kallades folkminnesforskning (*þjóðminjafræði*), som tidigt smälte samman med fornnordisk filologi. I den forskningen intresserade man sig för hur kulturella uttryck nedärvdes från det förflutna, hur de mottogs och uppfattades, framfördes, transformerades och resulterade i minnen. Maurice Halbwachs lade grunden för den moderna forskningen om kollektiva minnen i sitt banbrytande verk *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925). Där visade han hur minnet av det förflutna konstrueras genom det sociala och kulturella ramverk som utgör kontext för reproduktionen. Egyptologen Jan Assmann utvecklade senare en terminologi kring minnet med olika kategorier som individuellt, kommunikativt och kulturellt minne. Enligt Mitchell har folklorister i första hand studerat det kulturella minnet, det vill säga den gren av nuvarande minnesteori som undersöker ”samspelet mellan nutid och dåtid i sociokulturella sammanhang”. När det gäller den isländska sagalitteraturen, måste man därför väga in att de minnen som upprätthåller information om det förflutna där bär på ett inflytande från den medeltida kultur som utgjorde ramverk för reproduktionen.

I ett annat avsnitt visar Mitchell att den tidiga folkloristiken fokuserade på ”produkten”. Man studerade där folklore som motiv, folkloristiska genrer och taxonomier. I dag studerar många folklorister folklorens sociala och performativa dimensioner, där man avlägsnar sig från själva kulturprodukten och i stället närmar sig de sociala processer genom vilka dessa föremål, praktiker och föreställningar fått sin betydelse. Denna ”vändning” har enligt Mitchell hämtat inspiration från den så kallade lingvistiska antro-

pologin. Föregångare där var Milman Parry och Albert Lord, som i sina etnografiska fältarbeten studerade muntligt traderade sånger och poetiska verk på Balkan. Lord myntade 1960 uttrycket ”(re-)composition-in-performance” och poängterade att det muntliga framträdandet hade en avgörande roll för de kontinuerligt skapade verk som utgår från en oral tradition.

En annan inspirationskälla för studiet av fornnordisk folklore är den antropologiska ritforskningens uppmärksamhet på ritens så kallade perfomancedimension, det vill säga studiet av ritual som drama, med fokus på vad riten kan åstadkomma. Vissa folklorister, till exempel Dag Strömbäck, som hade sina intellektuella rötter i filologi, arkeologi och religionshistoria, var skeptiska till inflytandet från kultur- och socialantropologin. Mitchell menar att Strömbäcks oro var överdriven. För de som undersöker fornnordisk folklore i dag har det varit nödvändigt att anamma antropologins performativa modell i syfte att förklara muntliga kulturers karaktär. Den modellen betonar processer i anslutning till folklorens tradering, performativa praktikerna, muntliga framträdanden och andra kontexter, som påverkar utformningen av den folkloristiska produkten. Mitchell exemplifierar med Terry Gunnells forskning rörande den fornnordiska poesins performativa dimensioner och Uppsalaprofessorn Neil Prices ”perfomance archaeology”, där till exempel en begravningsritual kan ses som ett uppträdande på en scen med rekvisita och rituella agenter.

Kapitlet ”Orality, Oral Theory, and Memory Studies” handlar om hur frågan om muntlighet, muntlighetsteorier och teorier om kollektiva/kulturella minnen har behandlats i utforskningen av den fornvästnordiska litteraturen. Å ena sidan har dessa begrepp fått beteckna ett brett spektrum av idéer som diskuterats alltsedan det sena 1800-talet och som rör frågan hur norröna traditioner har berättats innan skriftspråket slog igenom i Norden. Å andra sidan har dessa begrepp fått sin betydelse i ljuset av Milman Parrys och Albert Lords banbrytande arbeten om muntlig episk sång på Balkan. I forskningen om norrön folklore har dessa två forskningsspår slagits samman, även om överlappningen inte är absolut. Mitchell tar här utförligt upp de teoretiska och metodologiska möjligheter och problem som finns i denna forskning. Kapitlet ”Continuity: Folklore’s Problem Child?” diskuterar det svåra kontinuitetsproblemet i forskningen om fornnordisk folklore. Forskare har, till exempel, hävdat att Paulus Diakonos berättelse från 700-talet om hur Frea lurade Godan att ge langobarderna segern över vandalerna kan förstås bättre med stöd av prosainledningen till den fornisländska eddadikten *Grímnismál* som nedtecknades i Codex Regius 1270. Sådana antaganden måste betraktas som problematiska då de inte tagit hänsyn till berättelsernas

kontexter i tid och rum. Mitchell exemplifierar med Otto Höflers hissnande jämförelser i sina studier av de germanska mannaförbunden och Rudolf Muchs ståndpunkt om den långa kontinuiteten i germanska traditioner, som materialiseras i senare tysk kultur. Att den politiska och ideologiska kontexten för dessa forskare varit avgörande i deras ställningstagande kring kontinuiteter och traditioner är uppenbar. Den insikten är också generellt viktig för folklorister som arbetar med kontinuiteter över tid och rum.

Kapitlet ”Performance and Norse Poetry” tar också sin utgångspunkt i Milman Parrys och Albert Lords teorier om muntlighet och performance. Syftet är här att förstå vilken roll den fornnordiska poesin spelade socialt i det medeltida samhället, hur den framfördes och uppfattades. Mitchell analyserar den poetiska företeelsen där mjöd metaforiskt får beteckna mytisk visdom och poesi. Eftersom Óðinn i myten stal skaldemjödet (= poesin) från Suttungr och förde det till gudarnas och människornas värld, kallas mjödet och poesin i en kenning *Viðurs þýfi*, ’Óðinns stöldgods’. Kopplingen mellan mjöd, poesi och skaldekonst uttrycks i flera kenningar, till exempel *hrostabrim Alfǫður* ’Óðinns maltskum’ (= poesi). Denna kenning rymmer således en hel myt som också måste ha varit bekant för publiken. Samtidigt omfattar den information om sociala konventioner som hörde till den hallmiljö där mytisk poesi och andra berättelser framfördes offentligt. Mitchell tar här upp det reciproka förhållandet mellan gästen och värden i hallen, där värden förväntas bjuda gästen på mjöd, medan gästen ska underhålla och prisa värden med sin skaldekonst och poesi. I kapitlet “Old Norse Riddles and Other Verbal Contests in Performance” diskuterar Mitchell narrativa traditioner som omfattar gåtor och visdomstävlingar i hallmiljöer. Han tar här upp den berömda passagen i *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* som handlar om Gestumblindis (Óðinns) besök hos kung Heiðrekr, där gästen och värden utväxlar gåtor med varandra i en intellektuell tvekamp. Precis som i eddadikten *Vafþrúðnismál* avslutas denna tävling med att Óðinn ställer en fråga, som motståndaren inte kan svara på: ”Vad sade Óðinn i Baldrs öra innan denne bars upp på bålet? (*Hvat mælti Óðinn í eyra Baldri, áðr hann væri á bál hafðr?*)” Kungen svarar: ”Endast du vet detta, hemska varelse! (*Þat veiztu einn, rǫg vættr!*)”. Därmed får kung Heiðrekr också sin dödsdom offentligt eftersom han förlorat den verbala kampen.

Kapitlet ”Skírnir’s Other Journey. The Riddle of Gleipnir” tar sin utgångspunkt i Snorres beskrivning av Skírnirs andra resa till dvärgarna i Svartálfaheimr för att be dem tillverka den boja som kallas Gleipnir, och som avser att hålla Fenrir fängslad. Snorre nämner att Gleipnir skapades av kattens buller, kvinnans skägg, bergets rötter, björnens senor, fiskens

andetag och fågelns spott. Enligt Mitchell omfattar berättelsen om Gleipnir ett folkloristiskt element, som hänger samman med det episka tretalet. Bindandet med Gleipnir utgör gudarnas tredje och även lyckade försök att fängsla Fenrir. Mitchell diskuterar också de två medeltida manuskript av Snorres *Edda*, AM 748 I, 4to (ca 1300) och AM 757a, 4to (ca 1400), som återger svartalvernas skapelseprocess i poetisk form: *or kattardyn/ ok or konv skæggi/ or fisks anda/ ok or fvgla miólk/ ór bergs rótvm/ or biarnar sinvm/ or þvi var hann glæfnir gerr* ("av kattens buller, av kvinnans skägg, av fiskens andetag, och av fågelns mjölk, av bergets rötter, av björnens senor, av detta var Gleipnir gjort"). Mitchell menar att den versen kan associeras med andra äldre gnomiska texter, till exempel visdomsverser i *Hávamál*, ordspråksfragment i *Äldre Västgötalagen* (*þæn a værgh ær vinþer/ þæn a biorn ær betir*: "att den äger vargen som besegrar den, den äger björnen som jagar den") och dialogiska visdomstävlingar i eddakväden som *Vafþrúðnismál, Alvíssmál och Fjølsvinnsmál*. Mitchell föreslår att versen om Gleipnirs tillblivelse inte behöver vara ett resultat av en sen bearbetning i handskriftstraditionen, utan att den snarare kan var den prototyp som Snorre utgick från.

Kapitlet "The Goddess Gná" handlar om den obskyra varelsen Gná i den fornnordiska mytologin. Denna varelse är endast känd genom Snorres *Gylfaginning* och i en *þula* som finns i *Skáldskaparmál*. Snorre menar att hon var den fjortonde av asynjor: "Henne sänder Frigg på ärende i olika världar. Hon har en häst som springer över luft och vatten, den heter *Hófvarfnir*. ... Efter Gnás namn säger man att det som far högt upp *gnæfar*." (Johanssons och Malms övers.). Hennes namn förekommer även i tre kenningar. En av dem finns i en vers diktad redan på 800-talet av Qlvir hnúfa: *fúr-Gnáar fýris* = "av den Gná (eller gudinna) av furubranden". I *Ynglingatal* (ca 890), str. 7, finns en annan kenning med hennes namn, *Glitnis Gná* "hästens gudinna", som flera forskare hävdat syftar på Hel. Denna varelse benämns nämligen i samma strof med kenningarna *jódís Ulfs ok Narfa* "Ulfs och Narfas hästkvinna" och *mær Loka* "Lokes dotter". Mitchell kommer slutligen fram till att Gná troligen var en traditionell gudinna och spådomsväsen, som kände till allas öden. I kapitlet "Óðinn, Charms and Necromancy: Hávamál 157 in its Nordic and European Contexts" diskuterar Mitchell det trossystem som ligger bakom den nekromanti som kommer fram i *Hávamál* str. 157: "En tolfte kan jag om jag ser i ett träd en död man dingla. Då rister jag och målar magiska runor så att liket får liv och talar till mig" (Lönnroths övers.). Mitchell ställer frågan om denna trollformel (*ljóð*) projicerar rena fantasier eller om den återspeglar det som en gång var en verklig praktik? Fanns det en ritual där Óðinn åkallades för att få en *virgilnár* "strypt (hängd)

man" att tala? Mitchell kommer fram till att det är högst osannolikt att den typ av nekromantiska riter med runor och trolldomsformler som omtalas i strofen tillämpades under högmedeltiden i Norden. Den praktik och de religiösa föreställningar som uttrycks i strofen speglar ett slags "surviving mythological materials" (s. 146). Kapitlet "Memory, Mediality, and the 'Performative Turn': Recontextualizing Remembering in Medieval Scandinavia" tar sin utgångspunkt i inledningen av inskriften på runstenen vid Rök kyrka (ca 800): "Till minne av Vämod står dessa runor. Men Varin skrev dem, fadern, till minne av den döde (döende) sonen". Dessa meningar syftar på ett minne över en död son. I inskriften förekommer även de återkommande fraserna *sagum mōgminni* "Jag säger/berättar ett folkminne" och *sagum* "jag säger"/"jag berättar" (enligt Mitchells tolkning). I motsats till det individuella minnet av sonen ger dessa uttryck emfas åt ett slags kulturella och gemensamma minnen, som även tycks ha en performativ karaktär, det vill säga att de kan ha reciterats publikt och att de syftade till att åstadkomma något. Mitchell visar att begreppen minne, medialitet och performance kan bidra med nya tolkningsmöjligheter och kontextualiseringar i studiet av runstenar, norröna texter och folklore. I kapitlet "Memory and Places that Matter. The Case of Samsø" studeras de kollektiva minnen som är relaterade till den danska ön Samsø i Kattegatt. Dessa minnen är knutna till namn, platser och landskap, samt de monument som finns där. Minnena uppträder även i de muntliga och litterära traditioner som omtalar platsen. En liknande målsättning finns i kapitlet "The Mythologized Past: Memory in Medieval and Early Modern Gotland". Där analyserar Mitchell två kollektiva och mytologiserade minnen från Gotland, nämligen det som finns återgivet i *Guta saga* och som handlar om Gotlands omvändelse i samband med Sankt Olofs besök på ön och minnet om Digerdöden som bland annat omtalas på en runsten i Lärbro. Kapitlen "Heroic Legend and Onomastics. Hálfs saga, Das Hildebrandslied and the Listerby Stone", "Courts, Consorts, and the Transformation of Medieval Scandinavian Literature" och "On the Old Swedish Trollmöte or Mik Mötte En Gamul Kerling" diskuterar olika kontinuiteter och brott i traderingen av fornnordisk folklore.

Mitchells bok är ett viktigt och intressant bidrag till utforskningen av den fornnordiska folkloren. Visserligen får denna typ av samlingsverk med texter som skrivits vid olika tider och i olika sammanhang ofta en repetitiv och delvis redundant karaktär då vissa metoder, teoretiska perspektiv och begrepp upprepas i flera av bokens kapitel. I Mitchells fall presenteras till exempel Milman Parrys och Albert Lords teorier om muntlighet och performance på flera håll, liksom Maurice Halbwachs och Jan Assmanns kultu-

rella minnesstudier. Mitchell har dock varit medveten om detta och varierar dessa presentationer på ett föredömligt sätt. Framställningar av Stand der Forschung och referenser till sekundärlitteratur kan också delvis bli obsoleta i denna typ av samlingsverk. Då Mitchell, till exempel, diskuterar runinskriften på Rökstenen saknas både Bo Ralphs och Henrik Williams viktiga bidrag till tolkningen av inskriften, eftersom den artikel som utgör bakgrund till kapitel 8 publicerades redan 2013, det vill säga långt innan de svenska tolkningarna sett dagens ljus. Men fördelarna med Mitchells samlingsverk överväger nackdelarna. Boken utgör den perfekta introduktionen till den fornnordiska folkloren och folkloristiken. Den bidrar med nya perspektiv på isländsk sagaforskning och fornnordisk mytologi, där moderna muntlighets- och minnesteorier tillämpas på ett spännande sätt. I motsats till den tidiga folkloristikens fokusering på ”produkten”, motiv och genrer, vittnar Mitchells studier om att folkloristik kan tillämpas som ett teoretiskt perspektiv och metod, ett sätt att se på och att arbeta med de norröna källorna. Stephen Mitchells bok är rätt och slätt en guldgruva för alla som sysslar med nordisk vikingatid och medeltid.

Olof Sundqvist
Stockholms universitet
Institutionen för etnologi, religionshistoria och genusvetenskap
ORCID iD 0000-0002-4304-9782

Krönika över nyutkomna doktorsavhandlingar

Från och med häfte 74 (2023) vill vi erbjuda nydisputerade forskare inom tidskriftens intresseområden en möjlighet att presentera sina avhandlingar. För denna andra doktorskrönika bjöd vi in några som disputerat mellan 2023 och första halvan av 2024. Förslag till kommande årgångars krönikor lämnas till tidskriftens redaktörer.

Malo Adeux

Thesis: Adeux, Malo. Appropriation et légitimation du discours historique. L'exemple de trois traductions vernaculaires du *De Excidio Troiæ* de Darès le Phrygien: *La Veraie Estorie de Troies*, l'*Ystoria Daret* galloise, la *Trójumanna saga* islandaise (XIII[e] siècle). Université de Bretagne Occidentale, Brest, 2023. https://theses.fr/2023BRES0078

Keywords: comparative medieval literature, Trojan War, Dares Phrygius

ORCID iD: 0009-0009-4760-290X
E-mail: malo.adeux@gmail.com

Abstract

Presenting himself as an eye-witness of the Trojan war, Dares Phrygius is the reference historian of the Latin Middle Ages when it comes to the war of Troy. In the 13th century, his work, *De Excidio Troiæ*, was translated in many vernacular languages, amongst them French, Welsh and Norse (i.e.

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Icelandic). But the story of Dares seldom comes alone: it is often associated with the story of Romans or even of Bretons (i.e. Welsh), as they thought themselves then to be of Trojan ascent.

In this study, I analyze the textual strategies at work in the French *La Veraie Estorie de Troies* (The Real Story of Troy) included in the French compilation *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (also called *Estoires Rogier*), the Welsh *Ystoria Daret* (The History of Dares), and the Norse *Trójumanna saga* (The History of Trojans), in order to legitimize the transfer of Dares's story towards vernacular languages and to appropriate this story into a new, unlatinized, textual community.

This work presents itself as a compared study of these three corpuses. After a presentation of the context in which they were written and their manuscripts comes an analysis of the sources and their uses by the translators. After analyzing the compilations, I turn towards internal textual strategies, that is, the treatment of the story of Dares, the modifications, the explanation of references, the role of the narrator and how history was conceived therefore in these works. In this study, I endeavor to show that appropriating the Trojan matter, even if the process is never made explicit in the texts, came from a specific interest for the story of Dares and more generally for the history of Troy.

Discussion

The vernacular translations of *De Excidio Troiæ* have often been described as attempts to promote the political agenda of their patrons, especially in a period of crisis (e.g. the invasion of Wales in 1282 by the English King Edward I, the loss of political autonomy of Iceland to Norway). Such considerations appear to clash with the latest, reassessed dating of the first redaction of these texts, which reveal the texts were often created earlier than the crises. But they also disregard the fact that these texts often remain silent about possible goals or motives. Therefore my work consisted of a compared analysis of the translations in regard to their original Latin source, studying both the modifications of Dares's narrative and the incorporation of interpolations.

The different aspects of the texts I studied, such as the autonomy of the Trojan narrative in the compilations, the formal transformation of the its diegesis (the reorganization of time and the spatial references especially), and the presence of the narrator as the organizer and commentator of Dares's testimony, emerged in my work as the result of a series of comparative close-

readings, trying to make sense of the translators' choices in their works by comparing similar excerpts.

This analysis brought me to the idea that the project of rendering the Trojan narrative into vernacular languages emerged among *literati* communities (i.e. mastering Latin), giving the opportunity to *illiterati* historians, not only to be confronted to radical otherness, but also to access a kind of superior knowledge formerly reserved to a Latinized elite. This is mostly shown by the tendency to copy the Latin source or to try to explain it even when it is the most exotic or with the most obscure references. Ultimately, this work proved to be a study of textual strategies, in which Dares's narrative appeared to be as much a political and ideological tool as a means to the emancipation of vernacular languages and historical writings from the Latin standard.

As the study of the translations of *De Excidio Troiæ* is an ongoing project, the annex to my thesis included a normalized edition of the three versions of *Ystoria Daret*, using what B. G. Owens published in his master thesis in 1951; I added to it the variants of MS Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, 8680.O, discovered later, translated the texts in French, added an index of the names and places, and a series of remarks about problematic passages. I also added a summary of the narrative found in the manuscripts of *Trójumanna saga*, with references to the edition by Jonna Louis-Jensen (1968, 1981).

A review of the thesis appeared in the 2024 issue of *Perspectives médiévales*.

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Bio

After graduating with BAs in French literature, English studies, Breton studies and Philosophy, I joined the Viking and Medieval Norse Studies Program in Reykjavík. I passed the Agrégation (teacher exam in France) in French literature, before receiving a scholarship for a PhD at the Université de Bretagne Occidentale (Brest, France), which I defended in December 2023. I am now an associated researcher within the Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique (CRBC) in Brest, and teach both at middle school and university levels. I am currently looking for post-doctoral projects involving French, Welsh, and Norse translations of Latin works during the medieval period. In my free time, I also teach Breton, my native language, and write and edit for local magazines and publishers.

Selected publications

Adeux, Malo (forthcoming): How much French did Icelanders read in the Middle Ages? A case study in *Trójumanna saga*, *Alexanders saga*, *Breta sǫgur*. To appear in a Festschrift.
Adeux, Malo, 2019: La matière de Troie dans les textes gallois. In: *Troianalexandrina* 19. Pp. 435–444.
Adeux, Malo and Hélène Tétrel, 2019: La Matière de Troie dans l'Islande médiévale. In: *Troianalexandrina* 19. Pp. 445–455.

Adèle Kreager

Thesis: Kreager, Adèle. Boundaries of the Human: Identities, Ontologies and Transformations in Old Norse Literature. Cambridge 2023. https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.106845
Keywords: posthumanism, human–nonhuman relations, Old Norse concepts of body and self, shapeshifting, the environment
ORCID iD: 0009-0006-3918-6406
E-mail: aek48@cantab.ac.uk

Abstract

My thesis examines the definition of the human in vernacular texts preserved and transmitted in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Iceland. It seeks to understand how the literature of this period grappled with the question of what it means to be 'human' – what features humanity inheres in, what processes it emerges through – specifically by examining episodes of transformation as test cases for evolving cultural ideas of embodiment and selfhood. This critical inquiry is guided by four categories of research questions: the first concerns the perdurance and plasticity of human identity; the second, the relationship between the body and identity; the third, concepts of agency and materiality; and the fourth, the impact of a text's mode, genre and intellectual framework on its treatment of human identity.

My study draws on a variety of sources, from saga literature, mythological narrative and traditional poetics (eddic and skaldic) to legal compilations, religious works and medical texts. Using three theoretical frameworks (critical posthumanism, new materialism and disability studies), I analyse how different literary modes examine concepts of human identity. I find that the material and conceptual boundaries between humans and their nonhuman environment of plants, landscapes, animals and objects become key sites of negotiation in constructions of the embodied self. I explore how narrators and poets offer audiences diverse visions of the human subject and body as critically embedded in, and co-constituted by, the nonhuman world – an entanglement that some texts embrace, and others reject. My research reveals the relational and contingent nature of Old Norse ontologies as expressed in literary texts, which posit identity as an evolving process rather than a fixed state.

Discussion

The conceptual premise of this research is that, due to the intimate connection between identity and change, motifs of transformation in literary texts can be analysed to reveal cultural concepts and conversations surrounding human identity in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Iceland. Transformation-episodes prompt close inspection of the parameters of personal identity and the ways humans categorise and perceive the surrounding world. My approach is shaped by three scholarly frameworks (critical posthumanism, new materialism and disability studies), the utility of which is demonstrated by the findings of the study. These frameworks, through their distinct but

complementary reappraisals of bodies, identities and environments as intimately connected, offer valuable lenses for researchers working on Old Norse cultural concepts of the human, departing from Cartesian binaries and challenging Enlightenment-informed approaches to the self-sovereign body.

Chapter 1 investigates the productive dismemberment of male bodies in mythic narrative (*Snorra Edda*, *Poetic Edda*), alongside the fragmentation of bodies in the image-worlds of skaldic kennings and eddic riddles (*Heiðreks gátur*). I then extend this discussion by examining impaired and vulnerable bodies in *fornaldarsögur* that are supplemented by nonhuman matter, focusing on (more-than-)human embodiment in *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana* (Chapter 2). Chapter 3 addresses human and divine perceptions of matter in mythological narrative and traditional poetics, focusing on the interconnectivity of bodies and environments, the distribution of agency and personhood across actors and objects, and the portrayal of animacy in skaldic verse and eddic riddles. Moving away from object–human relations, in Chapter 4 I examine the 'intimate caesura' between animals and humans in the Sigurðr-cycle (*Poetic Edda*, *Snorra Edda*, and *Vǫlsunga saga*), using two case studies: the first explores the relationship between social and ontological alterity, analysing how animals and humans coalesce through the adoption of each other's traits; the second investigates acts of consumption which blur human and animal identities. Finally, I survey the Old Norse lexicon of shapeshifting, arguing that transformation terminologies are far richer and more heterogeneous than previously acknowledged, with poets and narrators drawing on a wide vocabulary of transformation to shape the audience's understanding of a given change. This lexical overview is rounded off with a discussion of recurrent characteristics of transformation-episodes, including the rarity of permanent transformations, the significance of volition and the frequency of 'motifs of recognition' (Chapter 5).

I contend that these literary works facilitated cultural reflection on the boundaries between humans and their more-than-human environment of plants, landscapes, animals and objects. I find that human identity is frequently presented as contingent and flexible (rather than essential and fixed). However, the *valency* of this concept of the human varies across the literature: some texts embrace human–nonhuman entanglement as an advantageous reality, while others construct rules that militate against the perceived openness of the human. This suggests that audiences had access to (and appetite for) different approaches to human identity, indicating that traditional *and* experimental ways of conceptualising the world in Old Norse

literature were not necessarily suppressed by more 'orthodox' medieval intellectual frames of reference.

Bio

Adèle Kreager (b. 1996, United Kingdom) has recently defended her doctoral thesis at the University of Cambridge. She holds an MPhil degree in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic from the same university, where she has also taught classes and seminars in Old Norse language, poetics and textual criticism, and lectured on eddic verse and saga literature. Her research interests include Old Norse concepts of the body, cognition and selfhood; human-nonhuman relations; the environment; health and medicine; materiality and agency; skaldic kennings.

Selected publications

Kreager, Adèle (forthcoming): Metamorphosis, Hybridisation and Illusion in the Language of Old Norse Transformation. In: Nováková, Barbora, Jan Kozák, Jiří Starý, Marie Novotná and Zuzana Stankovitsová (eds), *Hybrids and Metamorphoses in Old Norse Mythology*. (Studia Fennica Folkloristica.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Kreager, Adèle, 2022a: Encounters at the Mound in Old Norse Literature: Dialogues between Landscape and Narrative. In: *Scandinavian Studies* 99(4). Pp. 399–430. <https://doi.org/10.5406/21638195.94.4.01>

Kreager, Adèle, 2022b: Lapidaries and *lyfsteinar*: Health, Enhancement and Human-Lithic Relations in Medieval Iceland. In: *Gripla* 33. Pp. 115–155. <https://doi.org/10.33112/gripla.33>

Berättelse om verksamheten under 2023

Agneta Ney & marco Bianchi

Isländska sällskapets styrelse hade under år 2023 följande sammansättning:

ordförande: Agneta Ney
vice ordförande: Veturliði Óskarsson
sekreterare: Marco Bianchi
skattmästare: Jessica Holmlund
vice sekreterare: Simon Karlin Björk
ledamöter: Simon Karlin Björk, Tommy Kuusela, Lasse Mårtensson, Matteo Tarsi
redaktörer för Scripta Islandica: Veturliði Óskarsson, Lasse Mårtensson, Matteo Tarsi (bitr. redaktör)

Vid årets utgång var 39 personer och institutioner ständiga medlemmar eller hedersmedlemmar i sällskapet. Antalet medlemmar/prenumeranter på sällskapets e-postlista uppgick till 135 personer. *Scripta Islandica* prenumererades av 34 personer och institutioner.

Den sjuttiofjärde årgången av *Scripta Islandica* kommer att publiceras under våren 2024. Följande sakkunniggranskade uppsatser ingår i volymen: *Magnus Källström*, Från sorgerader till förolämpning: Några gotländska runinskrifter i fornvästnordisk belysning; *Már Jónsson*, Drapsmannen Þormóður Torfason; *Heimir Pálsson*, Regius translator: Den förste isländske studenten i Uppsala. Årgången innehåller följande recensionsartikel: *Mikael Males*, Approaches to Dating the Poetry in the Sagas of Icelanders. Årgången innehåller följande recensioner: *Agneta Ney*, Rec. av Úlfar Bragason. Reykjaholt Revisited. Representing Snorri in Sturla Þórðarson's Íslendinga saga; *Úlfar Bragaso*n, Rec. av Helen Fulton och Sif Ríkharðsdóttir (red.). Charlemagne in the Norse and Celtic Worlds; *Ásdís Egilsdóttir*, Rec.

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av Agneta Ney. Vänskap mellan kvinnor på vikingatiden. Om urval och historieskrivning i de isländska sagorna. Årgången innehåller för första gången en presentation av nydisputerade forskare: *Johan Bollaert*, *Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir*, *Felix Lummer*, *Jules Piet*, *Andreas Schmidt*, *David Šimeček* och *Romina Werth*, Krönika över nyutkomna doktorsavhandlingar.

Den 24 maj 2023 genomfördes sällskapets årsmöte. Mötesföredraget hölls av prof. Olle Sundqvist (Stockholms universitet) över ämnet ”Den fornnordiska religionens upplösning och död: en presentation av ett bokmanus”. I samband med sällskapets höstmöte den 5 december talade doc. Gunnlaugur Magnússon (Uppsala universitet) över ämnet ”Brev från självvald exil – Reflektioner om rötter och skrivande”.

Uppsala den 21 maj 2024
Agneta Ney och *Marco Bianchi*

Författare i denna årgång

Malo Adeux, docteur en littérature médiévale, Université de Bretagne Occidentale, Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, ORCID iD 0009-0009-4760-290X

Haraldur Hreinsson, lektor, Háskóla Íslands, ORCID iD 0000-0003-4649-7502

Adèle Kreager, PhD, University of Cambridge, ORCID iD 0009-0006-3918-6406

Eric T. Lander, biträdande universitetslektor, Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för nordiska språk, ORCID iD 0000-0001-8898-5307

Alexandru Lefter, adjungerad universitetsadjunkt, Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för nordiska språk, ORCID iD 0009-0004-3933-3598

Johnny F. Lindholm, ordbogsredaktør, Københavns Universitet, Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog, ORCID iD 0000-0003-2160-6151

Tom Lorenz, ph.d.-student, NTNU – Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, Institutt for språk og litteratur, ORCID iD 0000-0002-5642-6380

Katelin Marit Parsons, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum (Project Manager) och Háskóli Íslands (aðjúnkt), ORCID iD 0000-0003-2064-3604

Lea D. Pokorny, BA MA, doktorsnemi í sagnfræði við Háskóla Íslands, Háskóli Íslands, Deild heimspeki, sagnfræði og fornleifafræði, ORCiD ID 0009-0007-3766-992X

Olof Sundqvist, professor, Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för etnologi, religionshistoria och genusvetenskap, ORCID iD 0000-0002-4304-9782

Jonas Wellendorf, Associate Professor, University of California, Berkeley, Department of Scandinavian, ORCID-iD: 0009-0008-3721-4930

Tiffany Nicole White, Postdoctoral Researcher, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, ORCID iD 0000-0001-6172-9880

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ÅRGÅNG 24 · 1973: *Peter Hallberg*, Njáls saga—en medeltida moralitet?—Evert Salberger, Elfaraskáld—ett tillnamn i Njáls saga.—*Richard L. Harris*, The Deaths of Grettir and Grendel: A New Parallel.—*Peter A. Jorgensen*, Grendel, Grettir, and Two Skaldic Stanzas.
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ÅRGÅNG 29 · 1978: *John Lindow*, Old Icelandic *þáttr*: Early Usage and Semantic History.—*Finn Hansen*, Naturbeskrivende indslag i Gísla saga Súrssonar.—Karl Axel Holmberg, Uppsala-Eddan i utgåva.
ÅRGÅNG 30 · 1979: *Valter Jansson*, Dag Strömbäck. Minnesord.—*Finn Hansen*, Benbrud og bane i blåt.—*Andrea van Arkel*, Scribes and Statistics. An evaluation of

the statistical methods used to determine the number of scribes of the Stockholm Homily Book.—*Eva Rode*, Svar på artiklen »Scribes and Statistics».—Börje Westlund, Skrivare och statistik. Ett genmäle.

ÅRGÅNG 31 · 1980: *Björn Högström*, Fvn. bakkakolfr och skotbakki. Några glimtar från redigeringen av en norrön ordbok.—*Alan J. Berger*, The Sagas of Harald Fairhair.—*IIkka Hirvonen*, Om bruket av slutartikel i de äldsta norröna homilieböckerna IsIH och GNH.—*Sigurgeir Steingrímsson*, Tusen och en dag. En sagosamlings vandring från Orienten till Island.—*Jan Terje Faarlund*, Subject and nominative in Old Norse.—*Lars-Erik Edlund*, Askraka—ett engångsord i Egilssagan.

ÅRGÅNG 32 · 1981: *Staffan Hellberg*, Kungarna i Sigvats diktning. Till studiet av skaldedikternas språk och stil.—*Finn Hansen*, Hrafnkels saga: del og helhed.—Ingegerd Fries, Njals saga 700 år senare.

ÅRGÅNG 33 · 1982: *Jan Paul Strid*, Veiðar námo – ett omdiskuterat ställe i Hymiskviða.—*Madeleine G. Randquist*, Om den (text)syntaktiska och semantiska strukturen i tre välkända isländska sagor. En skiss.—*Sigurgeir Steingrímsson*, Árni Magnusson och hans handskriftsamling.

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