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Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra in Sweden

Textual Transmission, History and Genre-Formation in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Introduction

Illuga saga is a short saga about a viking hero, Illugi, who goes raiding with his friend, Prince Sigurður of Denmark, and ends up in the frozen north testing his wits and brawn against a troll-woman named Gríður. As the name suggests (‘Gríðarfóstur’ meaning ‘foster-son of Gríður’), all ends well and Illugi saves Gríður, who is really a princess, from the curse which has changed her appearance and then marries her daughter. The earliest manuscript, AM 123 8vo, is dated to the sixteenth century, but in this article the earliest edition, produced a century later, and the circumstances surrounding its production will be considered.

By focussing on one example of textual transmission, taking place throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and in a specific national context, some broader conclusions about approaches to this type of text, those about pre-Icelandic-settlement Scandinavian history, are reached. It is uncontroversially accepted that textual scholarship,

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Abstract: This article looks at the manuscript transmission and production of the first edition of *Illuga saga*, a short and somewhat fantastic *fornaldarsaga*, in Sweden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Through a consideration of all of the six manuscripts of this saga which appear in Swedish archives, an analysis of how a saga with no ostensible interest for Swedish gothicism came to be produced as an edition within that cultural movement is presented. The hero, Illugi, can be linked genealogically to Swedish heroes, and the Danish king in the saga is reinterpreted as a petty king of Skåne within the Swedish realm. Such ideas were emphasised in eighteenth-century Swedish historical works, which used editions such as that of *Illuga saga* as source material. Furthermore, the intertextual reading required to make such arguments can be seen as leading to an awareness of a connection between a group of texts, which later would be formalised into the genre of *fornaldarsögur*.

Keywords: *fornaldarsaga*, genre, historiography, fantasy, editions, gothicism, *Illuga saga*, Rudbeck.

although just one among many branches of cultural and intellectual production of the time, had strong ties with concepts of Swedish nationalism and pan-Scandinavian historicism in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Study of the saga editions, which stand as milestones of Swedish textual scholarship, is valuable, but presents only a partial picture. A consideration of the handwritten documents used in their preparation gives an insight into the modifications which were deemed necessary for Old Norse-Icelandic texts to become truly Swedish editions. Moreover, looking at manuscripts which were copied from the printed editions allows us to see how the editorial efforts were accepted or rejected, as well as further modified, by contemporary audiences. Since *Illuga saga* is today generally regarded as a historically unreliable source with close links to folktale and *märchen* (and thus unable to shed light on ‘real’ national histories), it presents a particularly interesting case study of the aforementioned modifications. In this paper the process of textual adaptation will be traced in order to elucidate some of the techniques used by scholars of the period. It is also my belief that an analysis of the development of such techniques in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is valuable because they provided a solid basis for subsequent stages of scholarship. At the start of the nineteenth century *Illuga saga* and a number of other texts which had already appeared in Swedish editions, were published in Carl Christian Rafn’s *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda* (1829–30). They have subsequently been considered a genre, the *fornaldarsögur*. Rafn’s edition, although an important development in its own right, followed very much in the tradition of its predecessors.

1 The Background: Swedish Antiquarianism in Print in the Seventeenth Century

In seventeenth-century Sweden a burgeoning interest in Scandinavian antiquarianism and, in particular, the literary tradition(s) of distant Iceland, reared its head. It was out of this milieu that, at the end of the century, the *editio princeps* of *Illuga saga* appeared. This cultural movement cannot be assessed fully here, but to comprehend what led Guðmundur Ólafsson and Olof Rudbeck to produce this first edition, it is necessary to glance, at least cursorily, back over the century which precedes it to glimpse the roots of change in the wake of the Reformation.

In the sixteenth century scholarship on northern themes had been ad-

vanced through the publication of the first edition of Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* (1514) and Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555). Nevertheless, it was in part due to the overall underrepresentation, not to mention the bawdy and at times offensively xenophobic misrepresentation, of Iceland that that land produced its first apologist who was, ironically, to act as a spur to men of mainland Scandinavia who had an eye to aggrandizing their own national histories.

That apologist was Arngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648). Born in Víðidalur in the north of Iceland, he left his homeland and travelled to Copenhagen in order to further his studies. That led to several works, the influence of which Jakob Benediktsson describes as 'a new stream of culture...diverted to the Icelanders' while concurrently 'through him the foreign historians obtained fresh and hitherto unknown source-material' (Jakob Benediktsson 1957: IV, 71).

This influence is confirmed by Peter Springborg's study of the 'Icelandic Renaissance', during which the manual copying of texts experienced a reinvigoration from the 1630s onwards (Springborg 1977). In his article Springborg explains the results of Arngrímur's efforts with respect to Danish and Swedish humanists:

[D]e ledende historikere...begyndte at få øjnene op for de islandske kilde-skrifters vigtighed...at dette også kom til at stå helt klart for deres svenske kolleger og konkurrenter førte snart til en intensivering af den siden år-hundredets midte standende strid om nationalhistorien og...et kapløb om at skaffe sig håndskrifter fra Island.¹ (Springborg 1977: 60)

In Sweden, this race was particularly productive in terms of leading to a slew of printed editions. Of those, the vast majority, including *Gautreks saga*, *Porsteins saga Víkingssonar* and *Örvar-Odds saga*, are what we now term *fornaldarsögur*.² The coincidence with Rafn's corpus is telling and suggests a connection. Texts on septentrional topics assigned to other modern generic categories were also produced, and this production also took place outside of Sweden, yet, as far as editions of texts are concerned, the Swedish output represents the vast majority and that the contemporary designation '*fornaldarsögur*' applies to most of them should not surprise us, since the prevalent Gothicism which led to their publica-

¹ Translation: The leading historians ... began to be aware of the importance of the Icelandic sources ... that this also came to be completely clear for their Swedish colleagues and competitors led quickly to an intensification of the battle over national history which had been ongoing since the middle of the century and ... a race to procure manuscripts from Iceland.

² See Wallette (2004: 401–402) for a full list of the editions.

tion was an attempt to bolster national identity by getting back to the ancient and great roots of Scandinavian (read Swedish) culture.

With reference to the work being carried out outside of Sweden, it has been pointed out that throughout the Scandinavian world at large in the seventeenth century scholars also provide ‘digests of runological knowledge...a grammar...and rudimentary dictionaries’ (Wawn 2000: 18). Some of the endeavours referred to were being carried out in Denmark, most notably Ole Worm’s runic works, but there were also fully-fledged editions such as Hans Peder Resen’s of *Snorra Edda*, *Hávamál* and *Völuspá* (all in 1665). Yet despite the oft-mentioned ‘literary feud’ (Skovgaard-Petersen 1993) between Denmark and Sweden, literary production south of the Øresund was of a distinct nature from that of its northern neighbour. Both the Swedes and the Danes were experimenting with print culture as a means of developing national history and culture, but in quite different ways. The Swedes were involved in the creation of a canon and the development of a library of texts which, by being printed, would become authoritative editions. The Danes, on the other hand, were not starting from scratch. Their previous possession of a great national work, namely Saxo’s *Gesta Danorum*, meant that the printed works which were published in Denmark could be seen in some sense as supplementary to a pre-existing keystone. Examples are Stephanius’ *Notæ uberiores in Historiam Danicam Saxonis Grammatici* (1645), in which we find the first printed outing of verses from *Völuspá* embedded within a textual apparatus. The works by Ole Worm and Hans Peder Resen give information about the runes, wisdom, and cosmogony of the ancient Scandinavian world which could be used in conjunction with Saxo. This seventeenth-century Danish scholarship was of course hugely important in its own right as well, but it did not place the same emphasis on self-contained editions of prose texts as evidenced by Swedish academics’ output. Tellingly, the saga (and *formaldarsaga*) which most aggrandizes Denmark (and, moreover, to the detriment of Sweden), *Hrólfs saga kraka*, despite appearing piecemeal in other places, did not appear in a full Latin translation until 1705, nor in an Old Norse language edition until Erik J. Björner’s *Nordiska kända dater* of 1737 (Lansing 2011: 9–19).

It is also worth mentioning, with reference to the narrative here under investigation, that another key piece of Danish scholarship of the period contains the first appearance in print of a quote from *Illuga saga*. In the first chapter of Thomas Bartholin the Younger’s *Antiquitatum danicarum de causis contemptæ a Danis adhuc gentilibus mortis libri tres*, which makes extensive reference to Saxo’s *Gesta Danorum*, we find the following reference to *Illuga saga* in a list of examples of ancient Danes who showed no fear of death:

Similes immobiles ad minas mortis intentatas vultus pertulit Illugus Gridæ alumnus, qvi a Grida rogatus lectum cum filia ipsius ascendere, paruit, & protinùs ad blanditias versus, ab accurrente cum acuto gladio matre capillos arripitur, qvasi mox caput amissurus. Ille immotus sine metu ullo indicio mansit. Qvocirca missus, sine more lecti sociam aggreditur. Accurrit rursùm mater trahitq; ad spondam lecti, minantibus verbis insultans: *jam morieris*. Ille nihil, nisi: *mortem non timeo*. Anus mirata abit, & verso protinus ad virginem Illugo, deniqve accurrit qvasi jam feriò vitam ipsi adeptura. Illugus nihil motus, placidè ictum opperiebatur. Tunc Grida in admirationem rapta, exclamat: *Tu instar aliorum hominum non es. venæ tuæ nihil tremunt; jam vitam à me, & filiam juxta te collocatam, cui Hildæ nomen, accipe*. Verba ipsa sic sonant in Historia de eodem Illugo composita: “Eigi ertu sem adrer menn. Þinar ædar skialfa hvergi oc skalltu nu þiggja lif af mer, og giefek þer dottur mina er Hilldr heitir”.³ (Bartholin 1689: I, 7–8)

The text is undisguisedly used as evidence of a greatness inherent in the ancient Danish people. Perhaps the most interesting feature from our modern perspective, however, is the way in which Bartholin the Younger feels at liberty to use *Illuga saga* as a historical source alongside classical authors, Saxo Grammaticus and a mixture of saga genres. Apparently diverse texts did not require rigid compartmentalisation in his eyes, and there are few of our contemporary critical or generic prejudices apparent.

With Torfaeus’s published work not making its mark in Norway until the eighteenth century, it is worth concluding this background to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Swedish saga editions with Iceland, the land which provided the source material. While the tradition of hand-copying manuscripts thrived there as ever, the control over printing exercised by the bishoprics of Skálholt and Hólar meant only few *fornaldarsögur* made it off the press. Those were *Norna-Gests þáttur*, *Hversu Noregur byggðist*, *Fundinn Noregur* and *Sörla þáttur*. These all came

³ Translation: Illugi, the foster son of Gríður, endured with similar stoicism threats of death when, entreated by Gríður to get into bed with her daughter, he obeyed, and immediately upon attending to the courtship, had his hair grabbed by the mother rushing at him with a sharp sword, and almost lost his head. He remained motionless without the slightest indication of fear. As a result of this, that bed companion, having been attacked without control, was cast down. Once again the mother ran up and dragged him to the edge of the bed, attacking him with threatening words: Now you will die. He said nothing but: I do not fear death. The old woman went away quite surprised, and with Illugi having turned back immediately to the maid, she finally rushed at him and almost now takes his life from him. Illugi, not the least afraid, calmly awaits the blow. Then Gríður, in rapt admiration, exclaims: You are not like other men, your veins do not tremble in the slightest. Now receive your life from me and my daughter, whose name is Hildur, and lies beside you. The same words appear thus in the story of that Illugi: “You are not like other men, your veins never quiver and so you shall be granted your life from me, and I give my daughter, who is named Hildur, to you”.

interpolated within the much more respectable, not to mention edifying from a Christian perspective, *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*, which was printed by Jón Snorrason under the auspices of Bishop Þórður Þorláksson (Theodor Thorlacius) in 1689 (see Halldór Hermannsson 1922: viii, 82).⁴

2 The Individual: Guðmundur Ólafsson's Life and Editorial Role

As well as the general cultural background, the role of the individuals involved in textual scholarship should be taken into account. In this case that individual was Guðmundur Ólafsson. A short biographical sketch is here given, not solely in order that we may make inferences regarding editorial/authorial intentions involved with the publication of *Illuga saga*, but also because he plays both a key role in the physical transmission of the saga and is notably visible to us on various occasions as a reader of the saga.

A brief summary of Guðmundur Ólafsson's life appears in *Íslenzkar æviskrár* (Páll Eggert Olason 1948–76: II, 173). The story given there is of a promising scholar from quite humble beginnings. His father, Ólafur Hálfðanarson, was an 'aðstoðarprestur' or 'curate' at Undornfell (now Undirfell) in Vatnsdalur in the north of Iceland. Guðmundur moved south in order to study at Skálholt, receiving 'stuðningi', that is '(financial) support', from an Ólafur Kloa, 'umboðsmaður' ('steward') at Besastaðir. With education came the possibility to move to Copenhagen in 1678 with Bishop Þórður Þorláksson's literal seal of approval. We know little of Guðmundur's time in Copenhagen as a student but more, however, of the particularly industrious period which followed on from his relocation from Denmark to Sweden with a number of manuscripts in tow (Gödel 1897: 179). Despite advancement in this working environment, however, he seems to have been plagued by certain personal problems and he died, an inveterate drinker, in his early forties.

The situation in Sweden at the time presented very particular opportunities for Icelanders.⁵ Guðmundur's arrival filled a void which had been present since his predecessor's death. That predecessor was Jón Jónsson from Rúgstaðir (from which he received the name by which he is more

⁴ See also Rowe 2003, where it is argued that the Flateyjarbók *þettir* should not necessarily be considered *formaldarsögur*.

⁵ See Gödel 1897, Schück 1932–44, II, and Busch 2002 for further details.

commonly remembered, Jón Rugman), who had ended up in Sweden by accident after his ship was washed up on Swedish shores in 1658. He was a double windfall for the Swedes since he was both carrying manuscripts (which contained, for the most part, *formaldarsögur*) and, as an Icelander, possessed the ability to read the contents of said manuscripts. He entered into a long and productive working relationship with Olof Verelius at the College of Antiquities (Antikvitetskollegiet). After Rugman's death in 1679 and Verelius' in 1682 a rift appeared between Olof Rudbeck, good friend of Verelius, and his followers in Uppsala, and Johan Hadorph, who was appointed riksantikvarie (State Antiquarian) in 1679 and had his base in Stockholm. The latter had managed to install himself in that post in spite of the nepotistic intentions of the Rudbeckian group to maintain a candidate in the position who, while admittedly less competent, would tow the party line. It was into this rift that Guðmundur stepped in 1681 and he seemingly negotiated his position in it with some aplomb. Although he was brought to work for Hadorph and even stayed at his house in the beginning, as the only Icelander engaged upon such work at the time in the country, we can assume that his services were eagerly desired by the Uppsala-contingent. He seems to have hedged his bets working on an Icelandic lexicon (Kallstenius 1930) at Antikvitetskollegiet while also preparing at least two editions which were published with Rudbeck's patronage in Uppsala. It would seem he also made great inroads with various translations, not all of which ended up being published. His work was cut short but has been characterised as showing 'eine gewisse Exaktheit und Sauberkeit' ('a certain precision and neatness') (Busch 2002: 23). Despite being a necessary commodity on the cultural scene at the time, however, we must not forget that Guðmundur Ólafsson's works had to meet the standards and perhaps accommodate the viewpoints of his patrons, particularly towards the end of his life when, due to his drinking, his options became more limited (his application for the position of 'assessor' in the College of Antiquities in 1693 was, for example, rejected).

It was thus only shortly before his death that the 1695 edition entitled *Sagan af Illuga Gríðarfóstra eller Illuge Grydarfostres Historia. Fordom på gammal Göthiska skrifven, och nu på Svenska uttälkad* bearing Guðmundur Ólafsson's name appears.⁶ It is the first of the Swedish saga editions neither to address the reader in a foreword nor to provide some

⁶ Although Olof Rudbeck's name does not appear it was clearly, to some degree at least, a joint production. Since Rudbeck, however, does not receive credit on the title page I will work on the assumption that his role was more that of a patron and commissioner. Further discussion of his role would be pure speculation.

kind of explanatory notes. Nevertheless, we can get an idea of how Guðmundur conceived of his own role in producing such editions by looking at his introduction to *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*. The first print run of that edition was published one year previously in 1694, the same year in which the *Illuga saga* edition would have been prepared. It has been correctly noted, with respect to the latter edition, that both the ‘Format und Ausstattung des Druckes entsprachen denen der vorhergehenden *Sturlaugs saga*’ (‘the format and decoration of the imprint correspond to that of the previous *Sturlaugs saga*’) (Busch 2002: 90). This is significant when one considers that of all the preceding printed saga editions only one other is in quarto format (Petter Salan’s edition of *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar Berserkjabana*, 1693). This similar format enabled both of Guðmundur’s texts to be bound together, as is the case with at least one of the exemplars which can be found in the Royal Library in Copenhagen today. It is impossible to know if such paratextual modification was intended by those who produced the volumes, but it is certain that the attitudes laid out in the introduction to *Sturlaugs saga* were the opinions of the editor at the time of his work on *Illuga saga* and also has the potential to be, through this process of joint binding in certain cases, a kind of general introduction to composite volumes containing the saga which interests us here. The noteworthy lack of any introductory material or notes in *Illuga saga* could only contribute to such a practice.

The majority of the text of the *Sturlaugs saga* introduction is presented here:

Hwad thenna Historien anbelangar, så är hon en iblandh the Äldste som här i Norrländerna sig tilldragit hafwa, som af dess Sluut synes, och på wårt Tungomåhl sammanskrefwen af Kolben på Klyker, som elliest i den stora Isslendiga Sagan kallas Kolben Frode eller den Lärde, hwilken lefde wijd pass Anno Christi 1300, då sielfwa Historien allareda Sexhundrade åhr tillförenne förelupen war. Hafwandes i föllje med sigh många andra sanfärdige Historier såsom Herwarar Sagan, Wälsunga Sagan, Halfdan Östenssons Saga, Willmunder Widutans Saga, Thorsten Wikingsons Saga, Hwidthiof then Fräknes Saga, Gånge-Rolfz Saga, Romunder Gripsons Saga och flere, the ther icke allenast Swerige, Norrige, Danmark, och Issland angå, uthan jemwäl nästan alla kringomliggiande Länder i Europa, och wijdare uthi werlden. Men hwad Sturlöger wijdkommer, hafwer han warit then Höfdingens, Ingialdz Son i Röme-Dahl i Norige, och giort, tillijka med sina Stallbröder, många manliga bedriffter, så wäl i Norrige, som Biarmeland och Hundingeland. Sedan hafwer han...begifwit sig hijt till Swerige, och blifwit Konung Yngwefreys, eller Ingwes Landwärns Man, och under honom en Fylkes, eller Häradz Konung...Hwad Stur-

lögens dödh och ändalycht wijdkommer, finnas två motsträfwige berättelser; ty här säyes, att han skulle blifwit Sootdöder hemma i sitt Rijke: Men i hans Sons, Gånge-Rolfz Historia läser man, att han i sin höga ålder, är, effter ett hårdt kiämpande, af then arga Slagzkiämpan, och Trällkarlen, Grym Äger ihielslagen...Och emedan denna gamla Saga är nu förnemligast med Cl. OLOF RUDBEKS omkostnad på Trycket framkommen; Altså har man stor orsaak att tacka honom för sin höga nijt och benägenheet att willja befrämia det som länder till våra gamla handlingars uplysning och Fäderneslandetz heder. Sluteligen låter iag then gunstiga Läsaren förnimma att några af förupnemda Historier, äro och så dels färdige, och lära med det snarest uthi dagzliuset framkomma.⁷ (Guðmundur Ólafsson 1694: unnumbered page at start of edition)

This introduction points to the influence of both Rudbeck and the Uppsala-school as well as Icelandic scholars, embodied in the enigmatic reference to the otherwise unknown Kolbeinn on Klyker.

Olof Rudbeck's scholarship (for example *Atlantica*, which appeared between 1679 and 1702), although deemed dubious by modern standards, had strong support in the Sweden of the time. In broad strokes, it sought to situate ancient Sweden as the birthplace of much of Western culture. As to the view which Guðmundur took of Rudbeck's claims, the introduction reveals he either accepted them as 'shed[ding] light upon our old documents and the honour of the fatherland' or at least was

⁷ Translation: With regard to this story, it is among the oldest which have taken place here in the northern lands, as can be seen from its ending, and was written in our language by Kolbeinn on Klyker, who otherwise in the large *Íslendinga saga* is called Kolbeinn Fróði or the Learned, who lived around the year 1300, when the story itself had already taken place six hundred years earlier. It is one of a group of many true stories, such as *Hervarar saga*, *Völsunga saga*, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar*, *Vilmundar saga viðutan*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Hviðþjófs saga frækna* (sic), *Göngu-Hrólf's saga*, *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar* and many others, those which do not only concern Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland, but also almost all of the surrounding countries in Europe and beyond in the wider world. But as far as Sturlaugur is concerned, he was the son of the chieftain Ingjaldur in Namdalen in Norway, and performed many great deeds together with his sworn brothers, both in Norway, as well as in Permian and Hundingaland. Afterwards...he set out for Sweden, and became a sworn defender of King Ingifreyr or Ingi, and beneath him also a 'fylkiskongur' or regional king...Regarding Sturlaugur's death and end, there are two conflicting stories, for in one place it is said that he died of sickness at home in his kingdom, but in his son, Göngu-Hrólfur's, saga one may read of how he was killed in his old age after a hard battle against the angry duellist and magician Grímur Ægir...And because this old saga is now brought out in print principally at the expense of Cl. Olof Rudbeck, there is much reason to thank him for his great zeal and disposition in wanting to encourage that which sheds light upon our old documents and the honour of the fatherland. Finally, let the kind reader be informed that some of the previously mentioned stories are also partly finished and will see the light of day as soon as possible.

gracious enough towards his patron to feign acceptance. As already mentioned, in spite of the Swedish scholars' need for Icelandic scribes, Guðmundur's position was far from secure. His drinking problem may have made him something of a liability, and he could have been playing a balancing act between the two centres of gravity in Swedish historical scholarship of the time, the Stockholm-Uppsala divide. Busch highlights the fact that the introduction of *fornaldarsögur* manuscripts to Sweden after Jón Rugman's misadventures at sea was quite coincidental. Nevertheless, it is a fact that:

[...]as, was sich in SNORRIS *Heimskringla* und den anderen isländischen Werken, in welchen die Schweden vorher schon Einblick hatten, andeutete, wurde in den Vorzeitsagas noch detailreicher ausgeführt. Dabei spielte es keine Rolle, daß die Haupthelden Zauberschwerter besaßen, mehrere hundert Jahr alt wurden, gegen Trolle und andere übernatürliche Wesen kämpfen mußten.⁸ (Busch 2002: 16)

It makes perfect sense that neither Jón Rugman nor Guðmundur Ólafsson had any desire to disabuse their Swedish hosts of the claims of the *fornaldarsögur* to historical authenticity, and that, given the opportunity, they may even have dissembled in order to strengthen those claims and thus ensure their continued value as employees.

Moreover, Guðmundur's time in Skálholt may have specifically trained him in the process of formulating a past. There he would have been in contact with a circle of scholars connected with Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson. They are known for, among other things, producing 'historicizing texts'. We should be careful not to conflate such an idea with 'historical forgeries', but rather recognize a mode of producing texts which, without any necessary intention to deceive audiences, emphasizes (and at times mimics) the forms and content of older texts. Annette Lassen's account of this group's involvement in promoting the acceptance of *Hrafnagaldur Óðins* into the canon of traditional eddic poetry is one example of the results of such a praxis. It is also one in which Guðmundur Ólafsson seems to have played a key role in bringing the A-recension to Sweden and consequently disseminating it there (Lassen 2011: 29).

Furthermore, just as Jón Erlendsson (d. 1672), one of the main scribes of the Skálholt school, saw and transmitted the names of medieval Ice-

⁸ Translation: ...what was hinted at in Snorri's *Heimskringla* and the other Icelandic works, which the Swedes had previously already examined, was expounded in more detail in the *fornaldarsögur*. It was therefore of little importance that the protagonists possessed magic swords, lived until they were several hundred years old, had to fight against trolls and other supernatural beings.

landic scholars through the introduction of his two copies of *Íslendingabók* (Jakob Benediktsson 1968: II:3), Guðmundur Ólafsson, merely by mentioning Kolbeinn on Klyker, shows a recognition of the importance of referring to medieval scholars in work which transmits learning from the Middle Ages. There is and never was a place named Klyker on Iceland, but this confusion is easily cleared up when we look at the errata to Guðmundur's *Sturlaugs saga*-edition (appearing on an unnumbered page after p. 76) and see that Klyker is a typographical error for Reyker. The source of this assertion can be traced to Papp. fol. nr. 56 (discussed in more detail below), where we are told that the saga is 'eftir Kolbeins Reykjabók skrifaðri' (Zitzelsberger 1969: 303). The text of *Sturlaugs saga* in Papp. fol. nr. 56 was written by an Arngrímur Jónsson in 1685. He was a scribe educated in Skálholt and employed by the College of Antiquities between 1683 and 1691, but we have little other information about him (Busch 2002: 23). The manuscript which is currently assigned the name Reykjabók, AM 468 4to, so called because its earliest known home was Reykir on Miðfjörður, contains no text of *Sturlaugs saga* or *Sturlunga saga*, and since the ascription is not found in any earlier manuscripts of *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* our trail runs dry. Thus it seems unlikely that we can corroborate Arngrímur's claim of authorship by Kolbeinn, nor know where Guðmundur supplied the extra information about his presence in 'den stora Isslendiga sagan' from.⁹

One possible explanation is to take Guðmundur at face value and assume that he, perhaps in consultation with Arngrímur, knew of some tradition which attributed *Sturlaugs saga* to a learned man named Kolbeinn. Another alternative, more cynical, is to assume that Guðmundur latched onto the reference added by Arngrímur and decided to expand upon it in order to give weight to his claims about the antiquity of the program of saga-editing and translation which was under way (medieval authors being closer to and thus more reliable with regards to such early material). Hard evidence cannot be evinced for either eventuality, and I believe we are better served by a middle way.

The context of a Swedish intellectual coterie with a fluid and agglutinative approach to the historical, particularly when it was deemed culturally or politically advantageous, along with a crew of facilitating Icelanders, are the currents that feed into Guðmundur's edition. It is a moot point to discuss whether the contributions of the Icelanders were genu-

⁹ Several men named Kolbeinn appear in *Sturlunga saga* (interpreted as being the referent of 'den stora Isslendiga (sic) sagan') but none are called 'fróði' or 'lærði' or said to be saga-authors (Örnólfur Thorsson 1988).

ine or feigned. Guðmundur's agency in producing the text in a certain way should not be exaggerated over and above the conjunction of forces, economic, cultural and institutional, at play. Nor should editorial intention be reduced to one principle when several opposing principles could easily be involved at the same time. Finally, the scepticism which we may feel when apparently fantastic texts are modified and made use of for historical purposes, should be tempered by the recognition that the use of our contemporary categories of history and fantasy, fact and fiction, is anachronistic in the context of Guðmundur's output (a point which will be taken up again in section 6 below). While it is worth mentioning once more that all of these considerations are made with reference to the edition of *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, they may be just as pertinent to the production of the edition of *Illuga saga*, the individual texts of which will now be looked at.

3 The Manuscripts Used in the Production of Guðmundur Ólafsson's Edition

There are six manuscripts containing a text and/or translation of *Illuga saga* which can be found today in Swedish archives and no evidence that any manuscripts containing *Illuga saga* have ever left Sweden. Those six manuscripts are linked to each other and to Guðmundur Ólafsson's 1695 edition of *Illuga saga*, thus, as already stated, any discussion of the edition should not dispense with the handwritten manuscripts if we wish to fully understand the techniques of textual modification applied to and reception of a given work. A fairly simple division can be made between the six manuscripts. It has been determined that three of them, namely Papp. 4to nr. 21 and Papp. fol. nr. 56 in the Royal Library, Stockholm, and R 697, Uppsala University Library, played a part in the preparation of the edition. The remaining three, namely Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 12 and Ericssbergsarkivet 74, in the National Archives (Riksarkivet), Stockholm, and LUB 4to nr. 6, Lund University Library, made use of the edition after its publication. In this section the former group will be considered. The following section will consider features of the edition itself, and the section after that will focus on the latter group of manuscripts which made use of the edition.

3.1 Papp. 4to nr. 21, Royal Library, Stockholm

This manuscript is the earliest of those containing *Illuga saga* to be found in the Swedish collections. The hand of the manuscript has not been identified, but we have a clear *terminus ante quem* for its copying based on the fact that it is mentioned in a list of manuscripts acquired by Guðmundur Ólafsson for the College of Antiquities (Gödel 1897: 179–181). Thus on the basis of this evidence we know that the manuscript was written in or before 1684, and, based on the hand, most likely in the second half of the seventeenth century. In the list the contents of the quarto-format manuscript are given as follows:

Sagann af Jlluga Grijar föstra.
af Dala fylfum og GiafaRef.
af Hrolfe Gautrekssyne.
af Nikuläse leikara.
af Älafleck.
af Nitida frægu.
af Sigurde þóglá.
Sógu brot af Herraud og Bösa.
Sógu brot af Hälfdäne Eysteinsyne.

The manuscript in its current form contains just the first two, those being *Illuga saga* and the shorter version of *Gautreks saga*, the latter defective at the end. What happened to the other items is unknown.

According to Busch, who takes Wilhelm Ranisch's edition as a basis, the text of *Gautreks saga* which is contained in Papp. 4to nr. 21 is based on AM 194 c fol., although probably not directly (Busch 2002: 43). The *Illuga saga* text, however, is said to be based on 'eine ursprüngliche Handschrift der A² gruppe' ('an early exemplar from the A² group') (Busch 2002: 93), of which the closest existing manuscript is AM 203 fol. Both of the named manuscripts were written in Iceland by the aforementioned Jón Erlendsson, who worked for Brynjólfur Sveinsson in the same intellectual ambit within which Guðmundur Ólafsson was educated. Ranisch claims that the AM 203 fol. text of *Gautreks saga* is either from the same source as AM 194 c fol. or a direct copy, since it 'in Kleinigkeiten übereinstimmt' ('agrees on small details') (Ranisch 1900: xiv). We must thus ask ourselves whether AM 203 fol., rather than AM 194 c fol., could be the source of both texts. Assessing the visual aspect of the *Illuga saga* text in Papp. 4to nr. 21 alongside that in AM 203 fol. reveals a striking similarity between the layout of the titles and text divisions (e.g. the starting of sections on new lines with large initials in the same places).

Although Papp. 4to nr. 21 has several alternative readings compared to AM 203 fol., they all appear to be additions or newer alterations not represented elsewhere in the stemma of *Illuga saga*, and thus perhaps the result of a freer copying style. A haplography in Papp. 4to nr. 21 (between two occurrences of the name Hildur) omits text corresponding to a full line from AM 203 fol. and thus gives a strong indication of reliance. Based on this evidence, it seems highly probable that the Papp. 4to nr. 21 text is either a direct copy of AM 203 fol., or perhaps one step removed (a copy of an intermediary manuscript, which had retained the layout of AM 203 fol.). In either case, the evidence shows that Papp. 4to nr. 21 was produced by someone with connections to the Skálholt school prior to 1684. It is most likely through this connection that it made its way into Guðmundur Ólafsson's hands.

As well as stemming from an intellectual milieu, there are further signs that Papp. 4to nr. 21 was more than just a copy to be read for entertainment's sake. There are numerous marginal notes, in the same hand as that in which the main text is written, which serve several purposes. In the margins on the first pages there are some repetitions of words from within the text. These seem to be either terms which are unfamiliar or uncommon (e.g. 'garðshorn') or names of people, perhaps noted down for comparison with other sources due to their familiarity or unfamiliarity (e.g. Skioldur & herman, Wilh: Valland). Finally, the vast majority of the notes simply give brief descriptions of what is happening in the text. These notes, which become more expansive as the text progresses, could be seen as a kind of scaffolding which divide the text up into easily accessible and digestible chunks. For example on ff.2v–3r the following five marginal notes appear: 'Simlod reid Illuga / Siml: hrig brotnum / Samtal Ill: & Hildar / Ill: sat hia Sugurdr / Siglu af land' ('Simlöð rode Illugi /

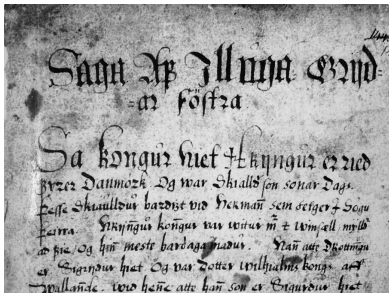


Fig. 1. Title and first lines from AM 203 fol., f.140r.

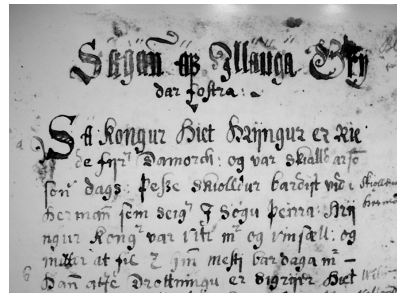


Fig. 2. Title and first lines from Papp. 4to nr. 21, f.1r.

Simlöð's back broken / Conversation between Illugi and Hildur / Illugi sat beside Sigurður / they set sail'). With a text as short as *Illuga saga* it is hard to see these marginal notes as being a normal reader's aid to navigating the narrative (especially since most of them are the same size, if not in a more minute hand than the main text). Rather it seems that they are the work of someone who is trying to get a grip on the content with an eye to working with the text or publishing it in a printed form.

3.2 Papp. fol. nr. 56, Royal Library, Stockholm

Papp. fol. nr. 56, already mentioned in the context of *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, is a large manuscript of 441 leaves containing in total thirteen texts, of which seven fall into our modern category of *fornaldarsögur*. Gödel, in his catalogue, states that with the exception of the first two leaves 'är hela volymen skriven af islänningen Arngrímur Jónsson under den tid, åren 1683–91, som han var anställd såsom amanuens vid Antikvitetskollegiet' ('the whole volume is written by the Icelander Arngrímur Jónsson during the period 1683–91 when he was employed as a scribe at the College of Antiquities') (Gödel 1897–1900: 167). Gödel's statement is confirmed by (and presumably based on) unnumbered documents found in the archive of the College of Antiquities for the years 1692–3. In Guðmundur Ólafsson's hand we find lists of the work done by all of the amanuenses employed in that institution, and under Arngrímur Jónsson, among the names of other sagas found in Papp. fol. nr. 56, we find mentioned *Illuga saga*, which Guðmundur describes using the following words:

Thenne Illuge war then Bonden Swides son i Danmark; een Hialte, som aldrig kunde frukta eller rädas. Han folgde Sigurd Konung Rings son i Danmark, och want medh honom många krögh. Han blef håvt för föster af then Bärgtrollinan Gröder, som doch elliest war een Kongsdotter, af sin stöpsmoder, med Trolldom, uthi een förskräckelig hampn förwandlat. Henne togh sådhan Sigurd Kongson til hustru; men Illuge fjck hennes dätter Hilder til äkta.¹⁰

It is worth noting that in Guðmundur's description of *Illuga saga* almost the first thing mentioned is Illugi's lack of fear, an emphasis which may

¹⁰ Translation: That Illugi was the son of Sviði the farmer in Denmark, a hero who could never be frightened nor become fearful. He accompanied Sigurður, the son of Denmark's King Hringur, and won beside him many a battle. He was taken as a 'fosterson' by the mountain-troll Gríður, who nevertheless was actually a princess, altered by a hideous revenge carried out by means of her stepmother's magic. She was afterwards taken as Prince Sigurður's wife, but Illugi took her daughter, Hildur, as his wife.

suggest that, in this earliest evidence of his reception of the text, he was influenced by Bartholin's abovementioned interpretation.

The texts found in the codex come from a number of different sources, all of which were at hand for the employees of the College of Antiquities to make use of. A comparison of the text of *Illuga saga* with that found in Papp. 4 to nr. 21 shows that the former is a copy of the latter. The idea behind the manuscript seems to have been to collect a number of texts from different sources and copy them out into a form in which they could more easily be worked with and, ultimately, translated. To this effect, all of the abbreviations of the source have been expanded. The intended two-column layout (intended but not executed since the outer column remains blank) may well have been conceived with the idea of a parallel translation alongside. Work on the main text was, however, carried out.

This work takes the form of extensive correction, demonstrably with the purpose of publication. This corrected text of *Illuga saga* can, on the basis of some minor variants in relation to R 697 II (the closest alternative candidate), be determined as the basis of the 1695 edition. For example, 'nærri kongsríki' in Papp. fol. nr. 56 is written as 'nærri kongshöll' in R 697 II, but it is the former form found in the edition. The same is the case with 'reiddi að halsi'/'reiddi að höfði' respectively. The numerous small corrections and normalizations are in a slightly darker ink and include in a fairly consistent manner the following:

- inclusion of punctuation (commas, colons, periods)
- capitalisation at the start of sentences and names ('biörn' becomes 'Biörn')
- 'k' replaced with 'g' in words such as 'ok/og', and 'ek/eg'
- medial and final 'þ' are replaced with 'd'
- 'at' is replaced with 'ad'
- 'e' becomes 'ie' in words such as 'þer/þier', 'het/hiet'
- 'i' becomes 'j' in words such as 'vik/vjk', 'lif/ljf', 'bliþ/bljd'

We can be fairly certain that these changes, which as a whole have the effect of giving the text a slightly more contemporary facade, were carried out by Guðmundur Ólafsson. The few words written in the margin appear to be in his hand (e.g. 'kvólldriþa' on f.345r, see below). Another clue to this identification is given when we find, written alongside 'einginn deyr optar en eitt sinn', the marginal comment 'Proverb'. We know that Guðmundur Ólafsson spent time working on a dictionary of

Icelandic proverbs, and therein appears the proverb as ‘Eingenn deyr optar, enn umm sinn’ (Kallstenius 1930: 43).¹¹

Beyond the emendations and editorial work which aim at producing a standardised orthography and punctuation there are subtle clues pointing towards a deeper interest in the content. One such clue is the fact that the word ‘bäl’ (‘fire, pyre’) is consistently rewritten to ‘Bäl’,¹² while there is no consistent capitalisation of nouns otherwise in the text. Why this word should be selected for such treatment, while others are not, may be explicable if we pay attention to the notes in the margin of R 697, Uppsala University Library. There, a marginal note comments upon funerary practices, such as burial in mounds or cremation. It is possible that ‘bäl’ became ‘Bäl’ because this word needed to stand out as presenting an interesting documentary record of alternative methods of dealing with the dead in ancient Scandinavia.

Other less copious notes in a later hand give indications of how this manuscript was put to use at a later date. I will come back to these notes, of a historical and geographical nature, in the description of Säfsta-holmssamlingen I Papp. 12, National Archives, Stockholm below.

3.3 R 697, Uppsala University Library

This manuscript, in its current form, is what, according to Peter Gumbert’s taxonomy, we should designate a non-homogeneous allogenetic codex, that is a codex which is composed of various sections produced at different times and places by different people (see Gumbert 2004). At the time of producing these various sections there seems to have been no intention that they should be combined at a later point. For this reason, of the six sections represented herein, it is only the second which I consider (R 697 II). That section contains three texts, those being in order *Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra*, *Illuga saga* and *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserjabana*. All three are in Guðmundur Ólafsson’s hand, and while *Illuga saga* is whole, the first and the third texts are defective.

R 697 II may be imagined to have been Guðmundur Ólafsson’s own personal copy. While the text was not the source of the edition (see above), the marginalia make it clear that Guðmundur used it to gather

¹¹ The proverb does not appear in Rugman’s collection, which has also been published by Kallstenius, and was the only other contemporary comparable work.

¹² It should be mentioned that in this manuscript an umlaut is consistently used as a diacritic where one would normally expect an acute in normalised Icelandic orthography (‘bäl’ for ‘bäl’).

ideas about the saga's content and themes. For this reason it is discussed here along with the other manuscripts used in the edition's preparation. The text is a copy of Papp. fol. nr. 56, which incorporates all of the editorial alterations made in that manuscript. For example:

- 'Sä köngur het Hringur er rieþe fyrir Danmórko ok var Skialldar son' (original text in Papp. fol. nr. 56)
- 'Sä köngur hiet Hringur, er riede fyrir Danmórko, **og** var Skialldar son' (corrected text in Papp. fol. nr. 56, editorial corrections shared with R 697 II in bold)
- 'Sä köngur hiet Hringur, er riede fyrir Danmórku, **og** var Skialldar son' (text in R 697 II)

A clear feature which delineates a relationship between these three manuscripts is the description of Simlöð/Sunnlöð. In Papp. 4to nr. 21 she is described as an 'aulldrida'. This becomes 'Ølldriþa' in Papp. fol. nr. 56, edited to 'Ølldrida' and with 'kvólldriða' added in parentheses in the margin. Finally in R 697 II we find 'Ølldrida, (kvólldrida)' with the gloss in parentheses now fully integrated into the text block.

The selection of texts (or compilatory principal) of R 697 II and the marginal notes which are included there are two aspects which allow us to gain further insight into how Guðmundur Ólafsson read (and perhaps would have wanted to be read) the text which he was editing. The three texts copied there do not appear side by side in the source manuscript, Papp. fol. nr. 56, so we may speculate that the new arrangement has been selected for specific reasons, the most obvious being their overlapping content. *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra* and *Illuga saga* begin with almost identical words referring to a King Hringur in Denmark, who one could speculate to be one and the same character. At the other end, *Illuga saga* finishes by mentioning the relationship between Illugi and Gnoðar-Ásmundur after the events told in the saga. This Gnoðar-Ásmundur is, by another name, Ásmundur berserkjabani, one of the heroes of the subsequent saga in the manuscript. Guðmundur thus appears to have seen the potential for reading sagas with shared characters, and thus which covered common ground, together.

The potential for experience-enhancing intertextual readings is also witnessed by the marginal notes found in the manuscript. These, 25 in total, are written in Latin in Guðmundur's own hand and appear only alongside the *Illuga saga* text. A comparison of these notes with the Icelandic ones in Papp. 4to nr. 21 shows many convergences. The same questions are prevalent e.g. '4. gardzhorn quod' ('what is a "gardzhorn"?')

and ‘15. ubi Alfheim’ (‘where is Álfheimur?’). These questions show a desire to ground the narrative in the concrete world of Scandinavia. As well as similar questions there are new emphases placed upon the text by Guðmundur: magic and burial are prevalent e.g. alongside ‘Simlaud hiet, hun var fiolkunnug’ (‘she was called Simlöd and she was well-versed (in magic)’) is found the note ‘7. de scientia septentrionalium’ (‘in the science/art of the northern regions’). This is clarified further in note 8, appearing just below note 7, which apparently glosses the statement ‘hafdi margann mann illa leikit’ (‘had done many a man a bad turn’) with the laconic ‘magia’ (‘magic’). If the questions about locations and names of people try to ground the narrative in the historical, the comments about burial customs and magic try to find a way of integrating the marginal into this worldview. It is noteworthy that what is deemed unfamiliar (the presence of explanatory comments being taken as an indicator of such) is nonetheless taken possession of by the adjective ‘septentrionalis’, which rather than rejecting outlandish practices accepts them as perhaps unconventional and outmoded but indigenous.

The similarities between the notes in Papp. 4to nr. 21 and R 697 II is probably a simple outcome of the fact that Guðmundur had owned and read the one before writing the other, and copied some of them over, translating them into Latin at the same time. There are additional notes, however, which show Guðmundur’s reading from other sources. When Illugi shows no fear in the face of Gríður’s threats, we find again the comment that this is a ‘virtus septentrionalium’ (‘a virtue of the northern regions’), once again bearing witness to a possible reading of Bartholin and the widening of the scope of that writer’s claims. Courage is not just a Danish national trait, but a pan-Nordic one which would chime better with a Swedish audience and an Icelandic writer. As well as the possible connection to Bartholin, we find in Guðmundur’s notes specific references to three sagas. Two of those mentioned are contained in one note which compares Illugi’s meeting of a trollwoman to similar meetings in *Örvar-Odds saga* and *Ketils saga hængs*, two sagas which were published along with *Gríms saga loðinkinna* between 1695 and 1697 and so were probably known by Guðmundur to be in preparation for printing when these notes were written. More significant, however, are a total of five notes which make reference to *Egils saga ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, and specifically Petter Salan’s edition which was published in 1693, also by Olof Rudbeck’s private printing press. The extended notes to Salan’s edition are referred to by page number three times to explain what ‘leik-sveina’ (‘playmates’) were, as well as giving more information on blood-

brotherhood and burial practices. The latter note, number 18, finds a point of comparison in the fact that both sagas have a hero who ‘tumulo fuisse sepultum non crematum’ (‘was buried in a mound not cremated’). Such notes are informative because they highlight an incipient explicit discourse of locating shared motifs and narrative features, which later becomes so prevalent in generic studies of *fornaldarsögur*. Moreover, the ever-growing catalogue of printed editions is beginning to be used as the main source to support and refine interpretations.

4 Features of Guðmundur Ólafsson’s Edition and Translation

The edition of *Illuga saga* which was published in 1695 is most immediately interesting inasmuch as it conforms to models apparent in the other saga editions published in Sweden in the second half of the seventeenth century, yet the points of deviation from that tradition are also worthy of note. As mentioned, the quarto format is shared with only two of the previous editions, those being *Egils saga ok Ásmundar berserkjabana* and *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*. The similarities in format can probably be attributed to the fact that these three editions were produced on Olof Rudbeck’s private printing press. This is implied by the lack of a named printer on the title pages, which goes against Collijn’s attribution of the editions to the Keyser family (Collijn 1942–6: I, 411). The latter, both father and son, who ran the Curio printing house from 1685 onwards, one after the other, seem to have always included the name ‘Henricus Keyser’ on the title pages of their editions. Curio, on the other hand, is known to have received the support of Rudbeck (Annerstedt 1893–1903: III, 295). He would have continued his work following his ousting as university printer, albeit anonymously, at Rudbeck’s press. The fact that the *Illuga saga* edition is the only one of these three editions with no introduction or other textual apparatus is, as I have already noted, possibly due to the publishers’ intending it to be read and bound together with the others. More generally, however, even when not physically bound together, these editions were deemed an appropriate extended textual apparatus for each other, as the marginal comments in R 697 II imply.

In terms of similarities, the 1695 edition follows the others in laying the text out in two columns with Old Norse on the left and the Swedish translation on the right. The Old Norse is given in a roman type and the

Swedish in a gothic. This double-column dual-typeface translation both emphasises the distance between the source text and the translation at the same time as it demystifies it. The central margin divides but, as the layout implies, that gulf can easily be crossed. The Old Norse-Icelandic text may be exotically ‘other’, but through the normalisation of the language appears in a more contemporary form than that in Papp. 4to nr. 21. These normalisations are consistently applied according to the ‘corrections’ in Papp. fol. nr. 56. The simplicity of the roman typeface and the internal regularisation of the orthography and punctuation, have, moreover, elided many of the pre-existing problems with which one might have been confronted when reading the text in a manuscript. It is different, but accessible, and the presence of the translated text next to the source provides the possibility for checking, and possibly challenging interpretations. At the same time, working in the reverse direction, the translation can inscribe itself onto the original, acting as a kind of glossary to the Old Norse which then fixes the reader’s understanding of words.

That translation, in the light of no evidence to the contrary, we may assume to have been prepared by Guðmundur Ólafsson, much as is the generally accepted case with the *Sturlaug's saga starfsama* translation (Schück 1933: III, 102). As a translator Guðmundur has been said to be comparatively uncensorious and not squeamish about the inclusion of ‘obscena uttryck’ (‘obscene expressions’) (Kallstenius 1930: 6). Mats Malm has looked closely at the translation methods applied within ‘nordisk göticism’, mostly concerning himself with poetry. In that respect, he remarks that ‘[ö]versättningar som i *Sagan af Sturlaугe hinum starf-sama* (1694), s. 50–51 är nära nog ordagranna’ (‘translations such as in *Sagan af Sturlaугe hinum starf-sama*, pp. 50–51, are near enough word-for-word’) (Malm 1996: 176). For Malm, poetic translations are fertile ground for an understanding of the reception of Old Norse literature in seventeenth-century Sweden, since the complex nature of much of the poetry leads to a greater demand for interpretation and subjectivity in its decoding. Translated prose, however, even if very close to its source, can pose its own problems and questions. It too presents clear opportunities for interpretation.

In Guðmundur’s translation of *Illuga saga*, one such feature worth considering is the representation of Illugi’s trip to fetch the peat spade for his mother. This section of the saga is interesting in its own right as a scene whereby the main plot action is pre-empted on a smaller and more domestic scale. The main quest involves Illugi being sent off to fetch something and, despite coming across a female opponent, acquiring the

object which he set out with the intention of finding. An interesting aspect of the preceding agricultural trial-run is that the original description strongly evokes an Icelandic setting, despite taking place in Denmark. Illugi is sent to the ‘sel’ to fetch the ‘páll’. The ‘sel’ is the word for a mountain pasture or a hut or shed upon a mountain pasture, at the disposal of the shepherd. It is equivalent to the English word ‘shieling’, mostly found in a Scottish context, and the Norwegian version is ‘setr’ or ‘sætr’. Thus while sheep farming on highland pastures is not an exclusively Icelandic form of agriculture, the word ‘sel’ does strongly imply an Icelandic setting, and certainly does not conjure up a typical Danish environment. The use of the word ‘páll’, meaning a type of hoe or spade used specifically for cutting peat, strengthens the associations with a familiar type of Icelandic landscape. Since our earliest manuscript of *Illuga saga* is from Iceland we may assume that the Icelandic scribe did not purposely use anachoristic (that is, geographically anachronistic) details but simply used a familiar terminology in presenting a conventional agricultural challenge motif. In Guðmundur Ólafsson’s translation, however, this sense of an Icelandic landscape disappears. The ‘sel’ becomes a ‘Ladugården’, basically a barn, and the ‘páll’ becomes a ‘Jarnskyffel eller Spada’ (‘an iron shovel or a spade’). No attempt is made here to reproduce the specific connotations of the original setting of the task, rather that specificity is elided. Although this may be unsurprising, the elision has the convenient side-effect that the events that take place can, without any incongruity, be imagined by a Swedish audience to take place in Sweden or Denmark. This elision is further heightened by the fact that Ladugård is a common element in place names in Sweden, for example in the city district of Ladugårdsgärdet in Stockholm.

Another feature of the translation involves the presentation of King Hringur and Illugi. In the original text the former character goes from being described as a ‘kongur’ (‘king’) at the start of the saga to a ‘fylkiskongur’ (‘regional king’) at the end. The Swedish translation further emphasises this latter statement by explaining that he was a ‘Fyllkis eller Hărădz Konung’. The Swedish Academy’s *Ordbok över svenska språket* says that a ‘hărădskonung’ is a ‘konung som regerar över viss (större l. mindre) bygd, småkonung’ and gives a quote from Reenhielm’s edition of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* to explain how the concept worked. The gloss, albeit again unsurprisingly, thus locates Hringur more precisely within more familiar Swedish administrative divisions and ruling hierarchies. The same is the case with Illugi. Whereas in the original we are told that he revealed to his men (‘mönnum, er voru í hans ríki’, ‘the men who

were in his kingdom’) about how he had come to meet Gríður, in the translation we are told that he told his ‘undersátare’ (‘subjects’) who were in his ‘hófdingedóme’ (approx. ‘chieftainship’) about the matter. The original is somewhat ambiguous. While in the earliest extant manuscript of *Illuga saga* no mention is made of his ‘ríki’, in the Swedish branch the mention of a kingdom is present, although the formulation leaves the full implications uncertain. The translation, by specifically mentioning the men as subjects, removes any doubt as to Illugi’s elevated status.

Thus, while conforming to the standards set out in prior editions, Guðmundur’s work presents a text and translation which could more easily be read within a mainland-Scandinavian context, as well as in line with specific contemporary concepts of historical geographical and political organisation. That this was the case becomes even more apparent when one looks at the manuscripts which followed on from it.

5 The Manuscript Copies of Guðmundur Ólafsson’s Edition

The transmission of *Illuga saga* in Sweden did not end with the 1695 edition. Three manuscripts containing the text appear after that date, and a consideration of how they came into being, their contents and their variants, can tell us about the continued uses and reception of the saga.

5.1 Säfstaholmsssamlingen I Papp. 12, National Archives, Stockholm

This manuscript was catalogued by Jón Samsonarson in his unpublished *Drög að handritaskrá. Um íslenskt handrit og handrit sem varða íslenskt efni í söfnum í Stokkholmi og Uppsölum* (1967: 212). He asks, ‘Er þetta hugsanlega Guðmundur Ólafsson sjalfur?’. Busch takes up this tentative ascription and states, referring to the three translations contained in the codex, that:

Dem äußeren Anschein nach sind es Reinschriften von Übersetzungskonzepten, die keinerlei Verbesserungen oder Korrekturen enthalten, also von einer fertigen Vorlage abgeschrieben worden sind. Da von den anderen beiden Übersetzungen keine gedruckte Vorlage existiert, ist es wahrscheinlich, daß alle drei, einschließlich der *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, von einer handschriftlichen Vorlage abgeschrieben wurden, möglicher-

weise von G. ÓLAFSSONS Übersetzungskonzept. Hierbei übernahm der Abschreiber nicht nur buchstabengetreu den Text, sondern imitierte auch den Stil G. ÓLAFSSONS.¹³ (2002: 92)

The text of Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 12 is extremely close to the Swedish-language text printed in 1695. There are no significant additions or omissions, with, at most, an extra/missing pronoun or temporal adverb on a couple of occasions (e.g. ‘gaf han honom’ in the printed edition, ‘gaf honom’ in the manuscript). The punctuation coincides on the whole, every so often varying slightly, with some commas being replaced by semi-colons. The orthography too is extremely close in the edition and manuscript. Occasionally a vowel is doubled in the handwritten manuscript (‘stoor’ for ‘stor’ or ‘heel’ for ‘hel’) and sometimes an extra ‘h’ is added after consonants (‘tid’ becoming ‘tidh’).¹⁴

Taking solely the body of the two texts into account, it would seem to be impossible on the basis of the minimal variation to assert whether the printed text is based on the handwritten one or vice versa, or whether both are based on a common handwritten exemplar. Nevertheless, the fact that no printed editions of the two following texts in the manuscript (*Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra* and *Sörla saga sterka*) exist (the translations differ distinctly from the earliest printed translations of those texts which are found in Erik Björner’s *Nordiska kämpa dater*, published in 1737) should not lead us to rule out the possibility that the *Illuga saga* text could have been based on one. It is perfectly plausible that different texts in a manuscript could be copied from different sources, and that those sources could be a mixture of both printed and handwritten ones.

The title page of *Illuga saga* in Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 12, on f.2r, would seem to support the idea that at least this part of the manuscript is based upon a printed edition. The disposition of the text is almost identical to that in the edition of 1695, and at the bottom of the title page the words ‘Tryckt i Upsala, Åhr 1695.’ appear. It seems unlikely that such information, identical even in terms of punctuation, would have been included in a draft manuscript, and thus we have reason to doubt Busch’s interpretation. Moreover, a possible error in the printed text, ‘på

¹³ Translation: Based on appearance we are dealing with ‘clean’ drafts of the copy texts for translations, which contained no improvements or corrections, that is to say they have been copied from a finalised draft. Since no printed text of the other two translations exists, it is probable that all three, *Illuga saga Gríðarfostra* included, were copied from a single draft manuscript, probably Guðmundur Ólafsson’s draft translation. In the process the copyist did not only transcribe a verbatim copy of the text, but also imitated Guðmundur Ólafsson’s style.

¹⁴ It should be noted that none of these small variations are closer to any of the other manuscripts’ texts and thus do not point to a distinct provenance.

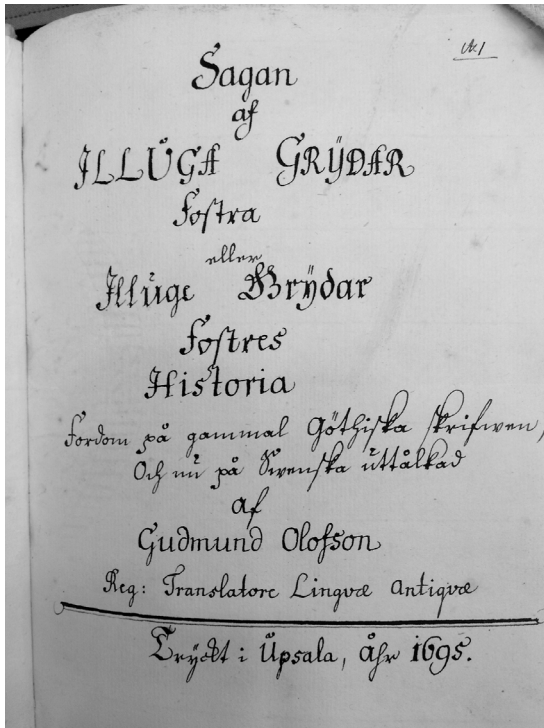


Fig. 3. Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 12, f.2r – Title page copying layout from printed edition.

silyktene’ on p. 7 (which perhaps should be ‘på lyktene’, maybe a neologising translation of ‘að lyktum’), is also present in the manuscript, there as ‘på silyktone’ on f.4r (the printed ‘e’s of the edition are very similar to ‘o’s, where insufficient ink has been applied).¹⁵ Taking both of these admittedly minor details into account, it is more likely that the text in Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 12 is a copy of the printed edition done by a scribe whose hand coincidentally (or perhaps due to familiarity with documents preserved in the various Swedish collections) bears a similarity to Guðmundur Ólafsson’s.¹⁶ The other written texts would have been taken from handwritten manuscripts.

¹⁵ I am grateful to Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, Anders Winroth, Stephen Mitchell and Daniel Sävborg for their helpful suggestions regarding this confusing term.

¹⁶ It is impossible to prove this definitively. The error in the printed text may have been reproduced from an error in a proof. The layout for the title-page, with the year of printing, may also have been set out in a handwritten proof. It would seem unlikely, however, that such is the case.

This manuscript in the form in which it now exists would have been put together at the earliest some time after 1720. This claim can be made based on the printed texts which have been bound together with the handwritten material. They are *Sogubrot Af Nockorum Fornkongum i Dana oc Svía velldi* and *Híalmthers Och Olvers Saga*, both produced by Johann Peringskiöld and published in 1719 and 1720 respectively. They are neatly bound with the other texts in such a way that it is plausible to believe that they were always intended to keep such company. Those who suspected the text to be either in the hand of Guðmundur Ólafsson or someone close to him have dated the manuscript to the end of the seventeenth century or early eighteenth century. In light of the contents as a whole, a dating of some time after 1720 is perfectly plausible.

A thematic thread can be spied running through the volume. The three handwritten texts are curiously also three of the texts which in the previously mentioned Papp. fol. nr. 56 have been commented on in the margins by an unknown person. Papp. fol. nr. 56 cannot be the direct source of the text in *Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 12* (the former is Old Norse, the latter Swedish and as stated apparently a copy of the printed translation), but the notes serve to highlight the connections made by contemporary scholars. These notes are distinct from most of the other additions to the volume in that they are written in pencil. The contents of the notes highlight the fact that somebody was interested in specifically these three texts for their geographic and historical relevance. For example, on f.77v there is a note written in pencil next to the beginning of *Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra*. That text begins ‘Hringur er köngr nefndur. Hann ríeði fyrir danmórk’ and the words ‘Hringur’ and ‘danmórk’ are underlined and a note has been written in pencil alongside, reading ‘NB Vid Sörla saga star Sviþiod’. Moreover immediately next to the word ‘Sviþiod’ in ink has been written ‘ergo Skáun’ (the ink possibly serving to emphasise a preexisting pencil note). If we follow the trail to the beginning of *Sörla saga sterka* there is also a note in pencil ‘vide dest saga sup i Danmark ergo Skane’. Accompanying the *Illuga saga* text in the volume there is no note as such but there is a large pencilled bracket drawn by the side of the three lines which read ‘Hringur hafde verit fylkis köngur yfir Skaney i Danmórk’. Apparently somebody was comparing the various references to King Hringur in these texts as being a king in Denmark, Sweden and Skåne, and coming to the conclusion that as a ‘fylkiskonungr’ over Skåne he could have come to be described as a king with reference to any of the three. On these grounds we may speculate that *Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 12* is a collection of texts which mention Hringur, a partial or possible Swedish king.

5.2 Ericsbergsarkivet 74, National Archives, Stockholm

The text which appears in this volume is another Swedish translation which is helpfully accompanied by the following note, in the same hand as the rest of the text, at the bottom of the first leaf (f.159r):

Not. Denna Saga är väl af Gudmund Olai öfversatt och trycket i Upsala 1695 in 4o. men emedan bokin är rar, och översättningen uti alt ej kommer överens med originalet, så har jag roat mig med dess å nyo översättande in Aprili 1755.¹⁷

The translation itself is somewhat laconic, particularly compared with Guðmundur Ólafsson's translation. The latter contains approximately 3700 words and the former around 2900. For such a short saga this is a fairly significant difference, yet the content of the narrative is maintained and there are no entire sections omitted. Taking just one example, it is fairly clear how the author of the translation in the Ericsbergsarkivet manuscript maintains the same information but in a less prolix form:

[O]ch förordnar iag tig nu ett sådant öde, att tu skalt hasteligen förswinna bort här ifrån, och bebyggia en bärgzkulla, blifwandes ther till then argeste trällpacka, och skall tu blifwa Gryder kallad.¹⁸ (Guðmundur Ólafsson's edition)

[D]et lägger jag dig på, at du skal vräkas bordt, och bebo en Bergskula, blifva värsta Träll, och heta Grydur.¹⁹ (Ericsbergsarkivet 74)

Other than this decluttering of the text there seems to be little difference in the two translations. Certain lexical choices in the translation stand out e.g. 'printzen', which is used fairly consistently to refer to Sigurður instead of 'konungens son', 'du stygge Diäflunge' used by Gríður as an insult instead of 'tin elake Odins son' and the use of the word 'slättet' in place of the word 'konungshöll' which is simply given as 'Staden' in Guðmundur's translation. The overall effect of such choices could be seen as giving the translation a slightly less archaic (or pseudo-archaic) feel.

¹⁷ Translation: Note. This saga is indeed translated by Guðmundur Ólafsson and printed in Uppsala in 1695 in 4to, but since the book is rare, and the translation does not in every respect coincide with the original, I have set myself the task of this new translation in April 1755.

¹⁸ Translation: And now I declare for you such a curse, that you shall in utmost haste disappear from this place and reside in a mountain cave, becoming there the most wretched troll-woman, and you shall be called Gríður.

¹⁹ Translation: I cast a spell upon you, so that you shall be whisked away, and live in a cave, become the worst troll and be called Gríður.

It is not possible to conclusively identify the text which formed the basis of the translation. Phrases found only in the Swedish manuscripts and edition are translated (e.g. ‘de öppnade sedan en åder, låto blod rinna tilsammans’), so the source cannot be a Danish or Icelandic manuscript of *Illuga saga*. The fact that the translation is a direct response to an unsatisfying reading of Guðmundur Ólafsson’s translation (which has the original text alongside it) would make it most probable that the Old Norse text of the 1695 edition was used as the basis.

The manuscript also contains *Jómsvíkinga saga* (ff.2–156r) as well as notes on the *Jómsvíkingadrápa* (ff.157–160r). The notes are copied from Bartholin’s already-quoted work *Antiquitatum danicarum de causis contemptæ a Danis adhuc gentilibus mortis*. As is mentioned above, Bartholin’s book contains references to both of the texts contained in Ericssbergarkivet 74. In the first chapter, where *Illuga saga* is mentioned, a quote is also given from *Jómsvíkinga saga* which chimes nicely with Bartholin’s words on Illugi as an example of the fearless Scandinavian: ‘Einginn madr skyldi sa i Jomsborg vera, er mællte ædru ord, edr kuide nockru, þott i ouænt efne kiæme’ (‘no man who spoke a cowardly word or any apprehension, though things might seem hopeless, might be in Jomsborg’) (Bartholin 1689: 1, 3).

5.3 LUB 4to nr. 6, Lund University Library

This manuscript contains a copy of Guðmundur’s Ólafsson’s 1695 edition, with both the Old Norse text and the Swedish translation taken from that source. The layout of these in two columns is also maintained. As in *Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 12*, the layout of the title page is also reproduced. The copy of the text is close but there are frequent minor errors and the odd more significant one, the most prominent being at the start of the saga where it is stated of King Hringur that ‘[h]ann atti Drottningu. Sigurdur hiet, og war dottir Wilhialms kongs’ (‘he had a queen who was called Sigurður and was the daughter of King Vilhjálmur’). The queen’s name should be given as Sigríður. Such copying errors, as well as the modest format (closest to what we might nowadays call a notebook) would perhaps imply that this book was produced by a student or academic for their private use and/or personal library. The paucity of surviving exemplars of the 1695 edition (see Collijn: I, 411) has led to suggestions of a limited print run or the loss of stock in the Uppsala fire of 1702. Thus a hand-copied text which mimicked the printed book would seem to have been considered an acceptable substitute to ‘the real

thing'. We have no other information about who the scribe or owner was and it is difficult to date it with any more certainty than the eighteenth century.

6 Geography, Genealogy and Fantastic Histories

The analysis of the manuscripts and edition reveals that, through a reorienting of the geography and subtle adaptation of the specific cultural markers, *Illuga saga* was made relevant to a Swedish audience. Intertextual readings with other similar editions were encouraged and took place, and these were frequently used to construct a specific concept of Swedish history.

Bearing in mind this historical usage, it is perhaps unsurprising that the edition and the manuscripts do not dwell overmuch on the fantastic elements of *Illuga saga*. This stands in contrast to recent commentators' preoccupation with just those fantastic features. Where the fantastic elements *are* mentioned in the material discussed here, they are not rejected as ahistorical, but integrated into the idea of the Nordic past. 'Septentrional magic' is an accepted part of times past, not a literary flourish. A recent article by Arngrímur Víðalin (2013) challenges the use of the concept of 'the fantastic' in relation to medieval Icelandic literature. While the term is frequently used with little intellectual rigour, he reminds us that Todorov's concept was developed with modern literature in mind and focuses on the surprise elicited when elements are experienced which break with expectations of the plausible. Since monstrous beings and types of magic were accounted for in the medieval Icelandic worldview, while they may have been disconcerting, they were not necessarily experienced as implausible. Sweden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflects, unsurprisingly, a midpoint between the medieval reception and our modern one. Despite being gradually penetrated by Enlightenment views, scholars were nevertheless able to account for the monstrous and supernatural to a certain degree. The past, where they located them, is in many ways a peripheral location. Far from the centres of civilization, Uppsala, Stockholm and Lund, which they were familiar with, such concepts could more easily have been digested by contemporary audiences.

As mentioned, one of the key developments in the string of editions is the gathering of records which narrate the past of ancient Sweden in particular, although at times in somewhat unexpected, ways. Although they

were published long before the *fornaldarsögur* were explicitly conceptualised as a genre, the oft-stated characteristics of that genre, that they deal with events in Scandinavia prior to the settlement of Iceland, are already visible. The legendary past took place in mainland Scandinavia, and while, as stated, Sweden is the focus for seventeenth-century Swedish scholars, the historic fatherland could be imagined in more expansive terms than the contemporary nation. The borders of the Sweden of the time need not be the limits of the imaginative colonisation of the past.

The texts chosen to appear as printed editions reveal this double movement, focussing on a core of identity in ancient Sweden (where, incidentally, any division between Gautar and Svíar is downplayed) and at the same time extending that core out into Scandinavia at large. For example the earlier texts clearly have stronger Swedish connections, with the sagas starting in Sweden and the protagonists being Swedes, e.g. *Gautreks saga* (1664). Later we have texts where the action moves to Sweden, e.g. *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* (1694), and sagas which are closely related to other sagas which themselves have at least a partial locus of action in Sweden, as is the case with *Gríms saga loðinkinna* and *Ketils saga hængs* in relation to *Örvar-Odds saga* (1697).

Imaginative geography is important but not the only criteria for a text to be deemed relevant to Swedish interests. As Bartholin's work had already shown, the national destiny of the Scandinavian countries could be mirrored in the past by the actions of individuals and peoples, geography in many cases being just an extended metaphor for ethnicity, genealogy and human relations. *Sturlaugs saga's* protagonist is from Norway but, as Guðmundur points out, he becomes a 'Fylkes eller Hæradz konung' or regional chieftain/petty king under a Swedish overlord. As fantastic as *Sturlaugs saga* is to us, it serves to a certain degree to justify a kind of historically-grounded pan-Scandinavian union under the Swedes. The endless problems which Sturlaugur has in Norway are replaced by the much more stable and profitable set-up in Sweden. This is not to say that the medieval audience of the saga would have seen such ideological implications, simply that in seventeenth-century Sweden it could satisfactorily have been read as such. Since *Illuga saga*, at first glance, takes place in Denmark, where the hero also comes from, there is no immediately clear reason for Swedish gothicist interest in it. Yet, bound in with *Sturlaugs saga* or not, it is possible to imagine that the King Hringur of *Illuga saga* could also be a 'fylkiskongur' under a Swedish overlord. The first line of the saga in the various manuscripts always refers to him as a 'kongur', yet at the saga's conclusion we are told that 'Hringur kongur

hafði verið fylkiskongur í Danmörku og hafði ráðið fyrir Skåney' ('King Hringur had been a petty king in Denmark and had ruled over Skåne'). The mention of Skåne, the territory which was both actually and symbolically the field over which Danish and Swedish territorial ambitions were played out at the time, is key here. One can certainly read the saga as saying that Hringur rules Skåne for the Swedes, not instead of the Swedes. The abovementioned pencil notes in Papp. fol. nr. 56 testify to such interpretations. We have in Guðmundur's own hand as note number 24 in R 697 II the statement that 'Hringo non Rex Daniae sed Scaniae' ('Hringur [is] not the King of Denmark but of Skåne'). This must surely be how Olof Rudbeck and his friends would have imagined it.

Yet, Hringur is not the only human link in the chain and is arguably not the most competent of 'fylkiskongar'. He recommends the scheming counsellor Björn to his son, Prince Sigurður. The latter is also far from an outstanding example of a thriving dynasty. His raiding is successful, but when blown off-course into the far north, he slips meekly into the background, not complaining as much as Björn but quite definitely not taking the lead. It is Illugi who sets off on the perilous mission to find the fire and eventually brings it back and saves his men's lives. *Illuga saga* at many points seems to lambast its male leads, and yet Illugi is clearly the hero, not Sigurður. It is here that, to gain some sense of the possibilities of intertextual interpretation, we must again return to the sagas which were published and those which were planned to be published in the seventeenth century.

In the plan laid out in Guðmundur's introduction to *Sturlaugs saga* we see the potential for the extension of the field. One of the texts mentioned is *Vilmundar saga viðutan*. This saga is not considered to be a *fornaldarsaga* due to the ambiguous nature of the geography involved (see Loth 1964). Rather it might fall into the genre of 'indigenous *rid-darasögur*' but clearly earned its way onto Guðmundur's list since, as the end of *Bósa saga ok Herraúðs* makes clear, Vilmundur is the son of Sviði hinn sókndjarfi and thus Illugi's brother. A genealogical principle (rather than a geographical one – eastern Europe is the setting of most of the action in *Vilmundar saga viðutan*) seems to determine inclusion on Guðmundur's list. Curiously *Vilmundar saga* is mentioned immediately after *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar*, the saga in which Sviði features most prominently as a character. There we see how he earned his name through deeds of derring-do. This overlap further suggests that the geographical setting was not the only pertinent element for Guðmundur, but also human connections. Moreover, since Sviði hinn sókndjarfi is the illegitimate

son of Bósi, the result of one of his nighttime adventures, and since Bósi was interpreted as coming from Östergötland, Sviði too can be considered an ancient Swede. The case is likewise for his descendants, Vilmundur and Illugi. They could both be seen as a type of Swedish hero by blood, growing up on farms or in backwoods and yet in many ways more capable than the petty kings and rulers of other lands.

The fact that Illugi and Vilmundur may be brothers, by some genealogical reckoning, and yet neither is mentioned in the other's saga might be seen to pose a problem. How could Guðmundur and others implicitly rely on a genealogical principle as a partial basis for a national literature if it seems so strained and inconsistent? Further incongruities appear as we read closer, for example Sviði hinn sókndjarfi's death in battle in *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinnssonar*, which seems to be at odds with his peaceful life in a little farm near the king's castle in *Illuga saga*. Guðmundur himself was clearly aware of such issues, alluding to the conflicting accounts of Sturlaugur's death in his introduction to that hero's saga. In light of this editorial lack of coyness, I would suggest that the sometimes awkward imbrication of these sagas did not pose insurmountable problems to those people who were interested in them. Here we have a body of literature which in many ways can be seen as working against an accepted historical narrative, that provided by Saxo Grammaticus. The *Gesta Danorum* was considered by many people on both sides of the Øresund at that time to be the orthodox account of Scandinavian history. These editions open up a space for dissonant accounts and dissenting voices, at the same time as they draw authority through their likeness to narratives from the *Gesta Danorum*. They replicate, exaggerate and deviate from Saxo and from each other, their alternatives being judged more valuable than their immediate internal consistency as a group. Thus they establish themselves in the same vein of literature at the same time as they challenge Saxo's hegemony.

More recent scholarship has highlighted the parallel of the journey of Illugi in *Illuga saga* to that of Thorkillus Adalfarus in book VIII of the *Gesta Danorum*. The earliest allusion to this link, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was a brief reference made in the 1820s (Müller 1824: 145) and not expanded upon until the 1850s when M. B. Landstad (1853: 45–50) made the link between the ballad *Kappen Illhugin* and Saxo's work explicit. A few years later in *Danmarks gamle folkeviser* Svend Grundtvig (1853–1976: II, 94–95) specifically discussed the saga itself in this context. Thus there is no evidence to suggest that Illugi's journey, similar and yet different to that of Thorkillus Adalfarus in Saxo, was di-

rectly interpreted as providing a parallel or an alternative to that canonical text in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. More generally, however, both accounts would have been read as exploring the limits of the known geographical world.

A noteworthy example of eighteenth-century scholarship which took up some of the themes which have been discussed is found in Sven Lagerbring's seminal *Swea Rikes Historia* where we find the following:

En konung Hring, som uti regeringen hade sin son Sigurd til efterträdare, har regerat en lång tid i Skåne, fast ingen särdeles märkwärdighet finnes om honom upteknad. Des son Sigurd är något mera namnkunnig, emedan han med härfärd besökt både Örköyarna och Skotland. Illaug war hans trogna följeslagare och fosterbroder, och hade stadfäst sin förening äfwen därigenom, at de öpnat ådrorna på hwar andra, och låtit blodet sammanrinna. Om dessa konungar warit af Danska eller Swenska konungahusen, wet man intet: Sagan nämner allenast, at Konung Hring war Skiölds son, och Dags soneson. Det bör man dock påminna sig om Konung Sigurd och hans folk, at de, under en häftig storm uti Nordsjön, då alt hopp om räddning syntes wara ute, likwäl intet wiste minsta tekn til räddhåga. Frukthan och klenmodighet woro i synnerhet de sinnets rörelser, som man i dessa tider wille wara aldeles Herre öfwer.²⁰ (Lagerbring 1769: I, 348)

This appears in his chapter on 'fylkiskonungarne' in Sweden, alongside mentions of several other *fornaldarsögur* petty kings. Lagerbring's interpretation espouses the previously mentioned geographical reorientation, which is evident in the manuscripts in marginal remarks about Hringur being a petty king over Skåne. There is a shift of emphasis in terms of national relevance but also continuity in the theme of fearlessness which can again be traced back to Bartholin.

Other works of scholarship also make reference to *Illuga saga*. In Denmark too we find Peter Friderich Suhm's *Critisk historie af Danmark, udi den hedenske Tid fra Odin til Gorm den Gamle* where, after assessing all of the characters in the saga according to references in other

²⁰ Translation: A King Hringur, who had a son, Sigurður, as the successor to his reign, ruled for a long time in Skåne, though nothing of any particular note is found written down about him. His son Sigurður is somewhat more renowned, since he visited on raiding expeditions both the Orkney Islands and Scotland. Illugi was his faithful companion and foster-brother, and had affirmed this union by both of them opening their veins and letting their blood flow together. Whether this king was of a Danish or a Swedish royal lineage, nobody knows. The saga only mentions that Hringur was Skjöldur's son and Dagur's grandson. It must be remembered that King Sigurður and his men, in the course of a violent storm in the North Sea, during which all hope of being saved was abandoned, nevertheless showed no sign of fear. Fear and cowardice were truly the movements of the mind which men in those times were always able to govern.

sagas, he comes to the conclusion that ‘ved at overveye alt dette er jeg nær ved at falde paa de Tanker, at Illuge og Sigurd have levet i det 6 Sæculo’ (‘having considered all of this I am close to stating that Illugi and Sigurður lived in the sixth century’) (Suhm 1774–81: 564). It is interesting that Suhm’s method, while analytical in that he faces the problem of fitting all the evidence together, is far from a modern critical approach to textuality. The inconsistencies do not lead to doubts about the sources’ veracity, they merely impel the scholar to more strained feats of synthesis. Although Suhm was Danish and had access to and mentions the manuscripts which he made use of in Copenhagen, he refers to Guðmundur Ólafsson’s edition and was obviously influenced by Swedish scholarship. Most other works of the time, such as Jakob Neikters *De gente antiqua troll* (1793–9: 43) and Suhm’s *Om Odin og den hedniske Gudelære og Gudstieneste udi Norden* (1771: 230) likewise refer to Guðmundur’s printed edition.

To summarise, in the case of *Illuga saga* we can see some of the general trends of scholarship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its first appearance in print is in Bartholin’s work on the greatness of the ancient Danes. There it appears untouched by concepts of genre, historicity or fantasy. It stands on an equal footing with a great variety of other texts. An intertextual reading of the geographical locations involved and the presence of characters from other sagas, reflected in editorial modifications and paratextual comments, provides a justification for its appearing as an edition in Sweden. The avowed aim of its editor, albeit in the introduction to a different edition, is to better understand ancient Scandinavia, but a reinterpretation of the names and geographical details presents a story more amenable to the Swedish people than Bartholin’s work might suggest. Historicity and the supernatural are not deemed mutually exclusive, but are embraced by the historiographical method of the time. The publishing of an array of books with similar settings, overlapping characters and recurring motifs has the side effect of instigating a corpus and a proto-genre. The editions (with readers participating in the margins) start to refer to each other amongst themselves. These editions then feed back into Swedish historiography of the eighteenth century, such as Sven Lagerbring’s *Svea Rikes Historia*, becoming the source texts in a self-propagating cycle. It is only at the start of the nineteenth century that this syncretic paradigm of scholarship starts to come into question, with *Illuga saga* posing problems for a newer style of historiographical source criticism. By that point, however, the connections between this group of texts have been reinforced to such a degree

that even though Carl Christian Rafn saw sagas such as *Illuga saga* as being of little worth, he felt compelled to include it in his genre-making collection.

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