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KLAUS JOHAN MYRVOLL

Fråværet av vokalharmoni i gamalnorsk etter stutt /æ/ og /ɔ/

0. Eit velkjent problem i gamalnorsk fonologi er reglane for vokalharmonien og serskilt det fråværet av vokalharmoni som synest å vera etter trykksterk stutt /æ/ og /ɔ/. I motsetnad til ved andre trykksterke vokalar, der valet millom trykklett *i* og *e* og *u* og *o* tydeleg er styrt av høgdi på vokalen i den trykksterke stavingi fyre, soleis at vokalharmonien kann analyserast som ein progressiv fjernassimilasjon, er det vandt å gjera greida for dei trykklette vokalane etter stutt /æ/ og /ɔ/: Ut frå den ikkje-høge kvaliteten på vokalane skulde ein venta dei ikkje-høge endingsvokalane *e* og *o*, men i staden finn ein dei høge *i* og *u*.

Det hev vore gjort fleire freistnader på å tyda ut dette tilhøvet, men ingi av deim kann segjast å ha fenge gjenomslag. Målet med denne artikkelen er ikkje å koma med ei heilt ny uttyding av vokalharmonien og problemet knytt til /æ/ og /ɔ/, men å vurdera kritisk dei uttydingane som hev vore sette fram tidlegare, og å lyfta fram ein teori um vokalharmonien som fortener meir merksemd, framlagd av Ljubiša Rajić (1975, 1980). Denne teorien vert supplert med nokre eigne observasjonar som gjeld skilnaden i vokalharmoni etter stutt /æ/ og /ɔ/ på den eine sida og stutt /a/ på den andre. Artikkelen munnar ut i ein konklusjon som legg vekt på den underordna rolla kvantitet spelar i vokalharmonien.

Myrvoll, K. J., stipendiat in Old Norse philology, Universitetet i Oslo. “The lack of vowel harmony in Old Norwegian after short /æ/ and /ɔ/”. *ANF* 129 (2014), pp. 5–19.

Abstract: Most Old Norwegian dialects are characterised by the existence of vowel harmony, whereby the unstressed vowels *i/e* and *u/o* are realised as either high (*i, u*) or mid-high (*e, o*) depending on the height of the preceding stressed vowel. However, in words with stressed short /æ/ and /ɔ/ no vowel harmony seems to be present, as these low vowels are followed by the unstressed high *i* and *u*. In this article previous attempts to explain this deviation from the vowel harmony rule are evaluated and subsequently rejected. Particular attention is given to Jan Ragnar Hagland’s 1978 proposal, which does not hold up to closer scrutiny. Eventually, the efforts made by Ljubiša Rajić (1975, 1980) at solving the problem are revived and expanded into a total interpretation where the vowel harmony is seen as a phenomenon that combines both stress, vowel height and, to some extent, vowel length.

Keywords: Old Norwegian, Old Norse, vowel harmony, unstressed vowels, vowel length.

1. I norrønt mål var det stor skilnad på inventaret av vokalfonem i trykksterk og trykklett stoda. Det fanst heile ni vokalfonem i trykksterk stoda, men berre tri trykklette, konvensjonelt normaliserte som *i*, *u* og *a*. Ved dei høge *i* og *u* var det likevel ein del variasjon innanfor det norrøne målvaldet i måten desse trykklette vokalfonemi vart skrivne på. I gamalislensk vart dei i dei eldste handskriftene skrivne <e> og <o>, so i ein tidbolk på 1200-talet <i> og <u>, fyre dei seinare i same hundradåret fekk skrivemåten <i> og <u>, som dei hev havt sidan (Hreinn Benediktsson 1962).

Denne skiftingi i skrivemåten av dei høge trykklette vokalane hev som fyresetnad den skilnaden som fanst millom det trykksterke og trykklette vokalinventaret. Med di det ikkje fanst nokon opposisjon millom [i] og [e], [u] og [o] i trykklett stoda, men derimot i trykksterk stoda, kunde identifiseringi av dei trykklette vokalane ymsa. Hreinn Benediktsson (1962: 14) tenkjer seg at sjølve den ljodlege framburden av dei høge trykklette vokalane i gamalislensk var rimeleg konstant, som [i] og [u], men at identifiseringi av deim som anten <i> eller <e>, <u> eller <o> skifte med tvo endringar i det trykksterke systemet: Ei lægging av dei stutte fremre urunda vokalane /i/ og /e/ førde til at trykklett [i] gjekk frå å verta identifisert med trykksterk /e/ til å verta indentifisert med trykksterk /i/ og vart skriven deretter (dermed millombolken med trykklett <i> og <o>). Ei tilsvarande, noko seinare lægging av dei stutte bakre vokalane /u/ og /o/ førde til at trykklett [u] gjekk frå å verta identifisert med trykksterk /o/ til å verta identifisert med trykksterk /u/, og me fekk soleis den “moderne” islenske skrivemåten med <i> og <u>.

2. Ogso i gamalnorske handskrifter finn me at både <i> og <e>, <u> og <o> vart nytta til å gjeva att dei høge trykklette vokalane. Men her var variasjonen større enn i gamalislensk. Handskrifter frå visse luter av landet hadde eit system som minner um det islenske, der ein anten nytta dei høge <i> og <u> eller dei midhøge <e> og <o>. I handskrifter frå andre landsluter – fremst Austlandet, Trøndelag og Nordvestlandet – finn me derimot at båe vokalhøgdene er nytta, etter eit serskilt mynster avgjort av vokalen i stavingi fyre. Dette mynstret vart fyrst åtgått av Keyser og Unger i innleidingi til utgåva deira av den sokalla legendariske Olavssoga (Delagardieska samlingen nr. 8 frå ca. 1225; Keyser og Unger (utg.) 1849: ix). Dei fann at *i* og *u* fylgde etter rotvokalane *i* (*î*), *u* (*ú*), *y* (*ý*), *au*, *æi*, *æy* og stutt *æ*, medan *e* og *o* fylgde etter *e* (*é*), *o* (*ó*), *æ* og etter *á* “og dets Omlyd *æ*”; etter *a* fylgde *e* og *u*. Desse reglane hev i all hovudsak vorte

stadfeste av seinare gransking. I eit arbeid um eit dilikt tilhøve i gamal-svensk gav Axel Kock ovringi nemningi *vokalharmoni* (Kock 1882: 116, 145). Seinare kalla Marius Hægstad det på norsk for *ljodsambøve* (Hægstad 1899: 12). Båe nemningane peikar på at det er eit visst samsvar, sam-høve, millom vokalane i trykksterk og trykklett staving.¹

Kock (1882: 147) hadde “funnit *o-u*, *e-i* i stafvelsen næst efter rot-stafvelsen växla beroende på vokalens kvalitet i sistnämnda stafvelse”, men han kom ikkje lenger i å generalisera fundane sine enn dette:

Ändelsevokalerna *u-i* å ena samt *o-e* å andra sidan användas såsom likställda. Orsaken härtill torde åtminstone delvis vara att söka däri, att *u* och *i* båda enligt Sweets terminologi äro ”high”[-]vokaler, *o* och *e* däremot icke-”high”-vokaler ... (Kock 1882: 170)

Det Kock tyder ut her, er berre at *u* ter seg likt som *i* og *o* som *e* når det gjeld kva rotvokalar dei fylgjer etter.² Det er etter det eg hev funne Marius Hægstad som fyrst identifiserer vokalharmonien som ei skifting millom trykksterke og trykklette vokalar av same høgd:

Grunndraget i dette ljodsambøve i g[amal]tr[øndsk] er at ein høg ljodsterk vokal ogso vil hava ein høg vokal i endingi, medan ein midhøg eller laag vokal vil hava midhøg vokal i endingi, like vel med den avgrensing at dei stutte og opne ljodbrigde vokalar *ø* og *æ* vil hava høg vokal etter seg, og at *a* vil hava høg guttural og midhøg palatal vokal i endingi, ... (Hægstad 1899: 78)

Hægstad fører so upp ulike skjema for kva vokalar dei ymse endingsvokalane (*i*, *e*, *u* og *o*) stend etter. Systematiserte og noko moderniserte i skrivemåten kann reglane setjast upp som i tabellen på neste sida. Dette er reglar som seinare forskarar hev halde seg til, og som eg kjem til å leggja til grunn for dryfting i lenger fram.

3. Desse reglane er i hovudsak dei same som deim me finn hjå forskarar som seinare hev skrive um vokalharmoni. Hallfrid Christiansen (1947: 100 f.) skil seg frå Hægstad berre i det at ho presiserer at det er ein del

¹ I sume gamalnorske handskrifter er det òg variasjon ved *a*, som skifter med *æ* eller *e*, delvis etter eit vokalreduksjonssystem, delvis etter eit vokalharmonisk system. Eg kjem ikkje til å ganga nærare inn på dette meir spesielle systemet, som hev nokso avgrensa utbreiding (jf. Hødnebo 1977: 379 ff.).

² Det er soleis ikkje rett når Jan Ragnar Hagland (1978a: 141) hevdar at regelen for vokalharmoni “has, since Kock (1882: 170), been that high stressed vowels require high vowels in unstressed syllables and that non-high require non-high unstressed vowels (*i/u* and *e/o* respectively)”. Kock uttalar seg berre um høgdi på dei trykklette vokalane.

Tabell 1. Vokalharmonien i gamaltrøndsk (etter Hægstad 1899).³

	Trykksterk vokal				Trykklett vokal
	fremre		bakre		
	urunda	runda	urunda	runda	
høg	i, í, ei	y, ý, øy		u, ú, au	i – u
midhøg	e, é	ø, ø		o, ó	e – o
låg lang	æ		á	(ǫ)	
låg stutt I	æ			ǫ	i – u
låg stutt II			a		e – u

variasjon etter stutt æ, der det “ble brukt både *e* og *i*, noenlunde regelfast *u*, sjeldnere *o*”. Ho legg til at dette hev med den ulike uttalen av denne vokalen i dei gamalnorske målføri å gjera:

... somme steder er den falt sammen med kort *e*, andre steder har det holdt seg en forskjell i uttalen mellom *e* og æ, men neppe noe sted er det gamle tilhøve mellom opphavlig *e* og *i*-omlydt *a* holdt ved lag. (Christiansen 1947: 101)

Didrik Arup Seip (1955: 128 f.) hev ei dilik presisering av variasjon ved stutt æ (*i ~ e*). Elles er reglane dei same som hjå Hægstad, med det undantaket at Seip (s. 129) hevdar at me etter “brytningsdiftongen *io*” skulde venta *o*, men ofte finn *u*, noko som “synes å vise sammenfall med *ǫ*”. Her byggjer Seip på eit no avaldra syn på brjotingsproduktet av *e* fyre *u* som *jo*, som fyrst seinare vart til *jǫ* ved “sammenfall”. Dersom me legg til grunn at brjotingsproduktet var *jǫ* frå byrjingi av (jf. Skomedal 1980: 129), vert *u* i endingi ved vokalharmoni det ein skulde venta, og det er det Seip hev flest døme på òg (<diofull>, <dioflum>, <iorðunne>, <siolfum>, <híolmulande>). Hægstad synest å leggja til grunn at brjotingsproduktet var *jǫ*, då han nemner <diǫflum> millom dømi sine på *u* i endingi (Hægstad 1899: 79).

Gustav Indrebø (1951: 136) freistar seg med ei større generalisering av vokalharmonien når han skriv at “[r]egelen er at *i* og *u* stend etter høge vokalar i rotstavingi, *e* og *o* etter låge vokalar”, men dette vert upresist, då “låge” vokalar berrsynt er meint å femna um både midhøge og låge vokalar. Dessutan vert det draget som rotvokalane og endingsvokalane hev sams ikkje nemnt. Meir presist vilde det vera å formulera regelen for vokalharmonien soleis (jf. Hagland 1978a: 141, hermt i note 2):

³ Hægstad heldt seg med tvo ulike stutte ø-ar: ø og ö, bytte etter umgjevnadene, men med same endingsvokalar etter seg. Det hev eg valt å sjå burt frå her. Lang ǫ er sett i parentes av di denne ljoden alt tidleg (um lag 1200) fall saman med á.

Høge trykksterke vokalar vert fylgde av høge trykklette vokalar (*i*, *u*), og ikkje-høge trykksterke vokalar vert fylgde av ikkje-høge trykklette vokalar (*e*, *o*).

Med denne formuleringi av vokalharmonien vert dei einaste undantaki at dei stutte låge *æ* og *ɔ* vert fylgde av *i* og *u*. Dei lange låge *á*, *á* og *ó* fylgjer derimot regelen og fær trykklett *e* og *o*, og det same gjeld den stutte låge *a*, som fær trykklett *e*. At stutt *a* fær trykklett *u* etter seg, kunde sjå ut som eit undantak til regelen, men det kann løysast ved å nytta ein meir sofistisert fonologisk analyse enn den Hægstad hadde for handi i 1899. Etter di fonemi /a/ og /ɔ/ var nøytraliserte fyre /u/ i norrønt (det fanst ingen fonologisk opposisjon millom deim i denne stoda), er det inkje som tvingar oss til å lesa grafemet <a> i denne stoda som [a]. Tvert um, denne ljoden kunde truleg verta uttala som [ɔ] = /ɔ/ eller som noko imillom [a] og [ɔ], jf. Hreinn Benediktsson 1963: 422. I so fall er trykklett <u> etter <a> det ein skulde venta, sidan /ɔ/ (som /æ/) fekk <u> etter seg.⁴

4. Ikkje like lette å tyda ut er undantaki stutt *æ* og *ɔ*. Det verkar intuitivt merkelegt at *æ* og *ɔ* skulde få dei høge vokalane *i* og *u* etter seg, då *æ* og *ɔ* er lægre vokalar enn *e* og *o*. Det hev vore gjort fleire freistnader på å tyda ut desse undantaki til vokalharmonien, men ingi uttyding hev vunne ålmenntilslutnad, jf. Schulte 2002: 891: “Although this deviation has been observed by several scholars, it defies a proper solution”.

Her skal eg nøgja meg med å ganga heilt stutt inn på hypotesen at Ottar Grønvik (1998) um at umljodsvokalane i røyndi var stutt-diftongar, fyre eg dryfter grundigare den tolkingi som Jan Ragnar Hagland gav av vokalharmonien i ein artikkel frå 1978 og (mest identisk) i ei bok frå same år (Hagland 1978a og b). Endeleg skal eg leggja fram dei tankane som Ljubiša Rajić målbar i hovudoppgåva si (1975) og i meir utvikla form i eit fyredrag fem år seinare (1980), som eg vil byggja på i ei heilskapleg tolking av vokalharmonien.

Ottar Grønvik (1998: 28 f.) hevdar at umljodsvokalane som vert normaliserte *æ* og *ɔ*, på eit tidlegt tidspunkt var stutt-diftongar, /ai, æi/ og /a^u, ɔ^u/. Dette byggjer han m.a. på tidlegare arbeid av Trygve Knudsen (1967: 18–22) og Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen (1987, jf. òg d.s. 1984: 246), som hev

⁴ Ein slik analyse kann òg tyda ut at me sporadisk finn skrivemåtar som <fiatri> attved <fiotri> og <hafði> (av <havuð>, d.e. *hofuð*) attved <hofði>, med “-i der me venta -e” (Hægstad 1899: 80), i den legendariske Olavssoga. Her òg må grafemet <a> standa for /ɔ/ (grafematisk analogi med <fiaturr> og <havuð>, der <a> stend fyre trykklett *u*), som krev -i etter seg; med andre ord retter endingsvokalen i handskrifti seg etter talemålet og ikkje etter bokstaven på papiret, og i talemålet er -i nett det me skulde venta.

meint at skrivemåtar som *heivir* og *gaurðum* i austnorske handskrifter frå 1200-talet speglar ein slik uttale. Ved å leggja ein tviljoda uttale av umljodsvokalane til grunn kann Grønvik tyda ut at dei tedde seg sameleis som normaldifftongane *ei*, *au* og *øy* når det galdt vokalharmoni. Til dette er å segja at skrivemåtane med tillegg av *i* (*ei*, *æi*) ikkje var avgrensa til stutt *æ*, men òg fanst etter *e* og *é*. Millom dømi Noreen (1923, § 96) gjev på denne ovringi, er *dreipin*, *veirit* (historisk *e*), *léigi* og *landaméiri* (historisk *æ*). Bokstavkombinasjonen <au> vert på si sida rekna som éin av fleire moglege skrivemåtar av /ø/, jf. Noreen 1923, § 29. – Eg kjem ikkje til å forfylgja Grønviks tolking av dei stutte umljodsvokalane *æ* og *ø* lenger.

5. Jan Ragnar Hagland (1978a) gjer ein teoretisk ambisjøs freistnad på å tyda ut undantaki til vokalharmonien, men kjem gale ut av di han ikkje hev fenge reglane rett. Han hevdar at “*a* (and u-umlauted *a*) [is] followed by *u* and *e*, *æ* (i-umlauted *a*) by *i* and *u* (*o*)” (s. 141). Med di Hagland ikkje skil millom *a* og u-ljodbrigrd *a*, d.e. *ø*, fær me det viktuge avviket frå Hægstad og alle hine at *ø* skal vera fylgd av *e* og ikkje *i*. Dessutan hevdar Hagland at *æ* skal vera fylgd av “*u* (*o*)”, og seinare i artikkelen (s. 142), når han ramsar upp kva rotvokalar dei ymse trykklette vokalane fylgjer etter, fører han ikkje upp *æ* millom dei rotvokalane som fær trykklett *u* etter seg, men derimot millom deim som fær trykklett *o*, med tillegget “after 1300” i parentes. Hagland utdjupar dette i neste avsnitt:

Diacronic descriptions of Old Norwegian, e.g. Seip (1955: 129) and Christiansen (1947: 101), maintain that i-umlauted /a/ (*æ*) is usually followed by *u*. There is evidence in the charters from before 1300 to support this (cf. also Hægstad 1922: xxxvi). After 1300, however, historically [+low] fronted vowel is with few exceptions followed by *ø* in the Trøndelag charters. This will be accounted for below. (Hagland 1978a: 142)

Det tilstandet Hagland gjev seg til å skula tyda ut, er soleis tvo radt ulike endingsset for *æ* og *ø*: *i* – *o* etter *æ* og *e* – *u* etter *ø*. Dette ser unekteleg meir mystisk ut enn dei klåre reglane hjå Hægstad og andre, der undantaki *æ* og *ø* hev same, høge endingsset (*i* – *u*). Det fører då òg til at Hagland lyt rekna med heile fire ulike reglar for å gjera greida for endingsvokalane i gamaltrøndsk, der han kombinerer éin vokalharmonisk regel med tri reglar for vokalveikjing (høg > midhøg) i trykklett stoda. Han hevdar soleis at vokalharmonien verkar innanfor eit avgrensa område:

Unlike regressive distant assimilations such as umlaut, VH [= vowel harmony] only seems to operate on phonological closely related vowels. In a vowel system of three distinctive heights such as Old Norwegian, stressed low vowels do no progressively assimilate underlying unstressed high vowels. (Hagland 1978a: 143)

Hagland gjeng med andre ord ut frå underliggjande /i/ og /u/ – det same vil eg òg gjera – og argumenterer for at når desse ljdane ovrar seg som <e> og <o> etter visse låge vokalar, er det utslag av andre fonologiske prosessar enn vokalharmoni, som berre verkar etter midhøge vokalar (etter høge vokalar er dei då uendra). Hagland tek utgangspunkt i tilhøvi i dei tristava ordi, der dei trykklette vokalane i materialet hans *ikkje* samsvarar med vokalane fyre, men som regel vert realiserte som *e* og *o* (ratio 10 : 1 i høve til *i/u*). Dette vil Hagland tyda ut som utslag av vokalveikjing (etter di han reknar med underliggjande /i/ og /u/), og han tenkjer seg so at det kann vera ulike former for vokalveikjing som avgjer framburden av dei trykklette vokalane òg etter låge vokalar i tvostava ord. Denne reduksjonen skal berre vera gjennomført utan undantak etter lang låg vokal (d.e. etter *é* og *á*, *ǫ*):

This may be naturally explained as a result of the high intensity of articulation for such vowels resulting in comparatively little stress on the vowel of the subsequent syllable. As the system otherwise reduces such weakly stressed /i/ and /u/ it is natural that the same should be done in this position. (Hagland 1978a: 144)

Her kann det sjå ut til at Hagland forbyter vokallengd med stavingslengd. At trykklette vokalar kann verta veikte i ulik grad etter lengdi på stavingi fyre, er velkjent (jf. den sokalla jamvektsregelen i austnorsk), men at lengdi på *vokalen* i stavingi fyre skal vera det avgjerande, kjenner eg ikkje parallellar til. Etter di reglane for vokalharmonien som er framlagde i tab. 1, er dei same etter både stutt og lang staving, kann ikkje vokalveikjing og jamvekt tyda ut det me ser. Dersom det var vokalveikjing etter dei låge vokalane, skulde me ha venta t.d. **hofðe*, ikkje *hofði*, men **dali*, ikkje *dale*. Haglands uttyding av endingsvokalane etter dei lange låge vokalane er dessutan minder økonomisk enn å rekna med at det er vokalharmoni som verkar her òg: Ikkje-høg *e* og *o* er det ein skulde venta etter ikkje-høg /æ/, /á/ og /ǫ/ etter den vokalharmoniske grunnregelen.

Problemi med vokalveikjingshypotesen åt Hagland vert ikkje mindre når me kjem til tilhøvi ved dei stutte låge vokalane. Her skal det etter Hagland vera eit vilkor for vokalveikjingi at den trykksterke og trykklette vokalen ikkje hev nokon sams eigenskap (“no common feature”). Motsett, når dei hev “the same specifications for the feature [back] they seem to be phonologically too close for VR to operate” (s. 145; VR = *vowel reduction*). Soleis skal den fremre endingsvokalen /i/ verta veiktil [e] etter dei bakre /a/ og /ɔ/, men halden som [i] etter den fremre /æ/, medan den bakre endingsvokalen /u/ skal verta veiktil [o] etter den fremre /æ/, men halden som [u] etter dei bakre /a/ og /ɔ/.

Denne kryssande operasjonen er elegant, men abstrakt, og Hagland gjev ingi parallellar til at skort på sams faktor fremjar reduksjon (jf. Rindal 1979: 233). Det største problemet er likevel at han, som tidlegare nemnt, baserer seg på feil data. I ingi av dei tidlegare skildringane av vokalharmonien hev det vore hevda at /i/ vert realisert som [e] <e> etter /q/, og Haglands eige materiale hev berre døme i bunden artikkel på trykklett /i/ etter /q/ (8 gg. <e>), men som Hagland sjølv segjer, tyder materialet på at bunden artikkel ikkje fylgjer distribusjonsmynstri som elles gjeld for vokal i trykklett stoda i den perioden desse dømi er frå (Hagland 1978b: 90).

Dersom ein i samsvar med tidlegare skildringar legg til grunn at det fylgjer <i> etter /q/ – og det er det god grunn til å gjera –,⁵ vert dette eit brot med Haglands vokalveikjingsregel, sidan /i/ og /q/ ikkje deler nokon eigenskap. Dessutan: Den veikjingi som Hagland postulerer av /u/ etter /æ/, meiner han sjølv hender fyrst på eit seinare stig (um lag 1300), og han kjem med ei *ad hoc* uttyding um at “VR₂ [d.e. vokalveikjing etter stutt låg vokal] seems to be added to the grammar at a later stage after the [-back] than after the [+back]vowel” (s. 145). Kvifor det skulde vera soleis, hev han ingi uttyding til. Eg kann derimot tenkja meg at når /æ/ oftare fær <o> etter seg frå um lag 1300, kann det koma av at det då hev hendt eit samanfall av stutt /æ/ og /e/. Medan desse tydeleg var skilde fonem i eldste gamaltrøndsk (t.d. i den legendariske Olavssoga, jf. Hreinn Benediktsson 1964: 81), må dei seinare ha falle saman i eitt fonem, som då måtte kunna ymsa i framburd millom [e] og [æ], helst etter ljodlege umgjevnader. At dette samanfallsproduktet, /e~æ/, kunde få <o> etter seg like gjerne som <u>, er ikkje merkelegt med tanke på at det dekte eit fonetisk felt som tidlegare hadde gjeve både <o> (d.e. etter trykksterk /e/) og <u> (etter trykksterk /æ/) i stavingi etter.

Det er med andre ord fleire grunnar til at Haglands freistnad på uttyding av skorten på vokalharmoni ved dei stutte låge vokalane mislukkast. Som nemnt ser eg heller ingen grunn til å fylgja Grønviks “kortdiftong”-teori, og Trygve Skomedals postulat um ein “vokalkontrast” ved æ og ø (referert i Johnsen 2003: 52 f.) er ikkje motiverert. Sverre Johnsen (2003: 53) freistar sjølv å løysa problemet med å dela upp den lægste vokalhøgdi i det stutte delsystemet i tvo, soleis at æ og ø hamnar i ei eigi, tredje høgdi.

⁵ Disse tidlegare skildringane baserer seg på handskrifter som er eldre og mykje meir umfangsrike enn det diplomaterialet Hagland avgrensar seg til. Til dømes nemner Hægstad (1922: xxxvi) at handskrifti til den sokalla legendariske Olavssoga hev trykklett *i* “etter dei stutte midhøge vokalar ø og æ”, og til ø nemner han dømet «*ððl*» (dat. sg. av *søðull*). Jf. òg note 4.

Men kvifor denne tredje høgdi skulde få *i/u*, “og ikkje *e/o* som ventelegt er”, hev han ikkje noko svar på. Dette vert soleis heller ikkje nokor uttyding av fenomenet.

6. Den som etter mi meining hev kome nærast ei uttyding av fråværet av vokalharmoni ved /æ/ og /ɔ/, er Ljubiša Rajić, i hovuduppgåva si frå 1975 og seinare i eit fyredrag frå 1980. Fyredraget er noko knappare formulert enn den aktuelle delen av hovuduppgåva, men argumentasjonen er presisert og utbygd på viktuge punkt som gjer det naturlegt å referera mest frå det, men der eit utfyllande argument berre finst i hovuduppgåva, nemner eg det.

Rajićs teoretiske grep er å draga inn typologisk evidens frå andre språk som hev vokalharmoni, d.e. uralske og altaiske språk. Denne evidensen syner at vokalharmonien gjev seg til kjenne gjennom artikulatorisk likskap millom vokalen i fyrste staving og vokalen i stavingi etter. Den artikulatoriske likskapen ligg i at desse vokalane hev minst éin sams relevant distinktiv faktor. Rajić (1975: 147) finn vidare at vokalharmonien er meir konsekvent gjennomført ved system med tvo høgder (tyrkisk) enn ved system med tri høgder (finsk). Dette hev relevans for gamalnorsk, som hev eit system med tri høgder i trykksterke vokalar.

Rajić formulerer det vokalharmoniske systemet i gamalnorsk i samsvar med Christiansen 1947, som me såg skilde seg frå Hægstad berre i at ho presiserte at det var variasjon etter stutt *æ* (*e/i – u*, sjeldan *o*), og Rajić sluttar at det er råd å formulera reglar for dei høge, midhøge og lange låge, men at det for kvar av dei tri stutte låge vokalane må setjast upp serskild regel.

Rajić vurderer so kva for “utgangspunkt” vokalharmonien i gamalnorsk hadde, d.e. kva for system som fanst for dei trykklette vokalane *fyre* vokalharmonien voks fram.⁶ Han dryfter tri slike mogelege system: 1) *i – u – a*, 2) *e – o – a* og 3) *i – e – u – o – a*. Han konkluderer med at system nr. 2 er i strid med prinsippi for vokalharmonien slik han ter seg typologisk i uralske og altaiske språk, ved at det impliserer ein dissimilasjonssjansprosess ved dei låge stutte vokalane, og system nr. 3 gjev svært kompliserte reglar.⁷ Rajić sluttar at system nr. 1, *i – u – a*, gjev dei einfeldaste reglane, som han set fram soleis:

⁶ Ein annan måte å sjå dette på er kva system som er *synkront* underliggjande, d.e. kva fonologisk verdi dei trykklette vokalane hev når vokalharmonien ikkje verkar. Det er denne synkrone analysen eg kjem til å forfylgja.

⁷ Her må det presiserast at vokalharmonien må vera munaleg yngre enn dette (seine) urnordiske vokalsystemet, og at trykklett /i/ og /e/ og /u/ og /o/ må ha falle i hop fyrst, soleis at vokalharmonien hev utgangspunkt i eit system med tri trykklette vokalar.

1. Ingen vokalharmonisk endring ved høge vokaler ettersom de allerede har felles distinktiv faktor [+høg].
2. Vokalharmonisk endring ved midtre vokaler ved at de “drar” de høge ned til midtre og dermed får en felles distinktiv faktor.
3. Ved lave vokaler inntreer vokalharmonisk endring ved de lange, men ikke ved de korte. (Rajić 1980: 318)

Ved reglane under punkt 1 og 2 er det typologiske prinsippet stetta, skriv Rajić, då vokalane korresponderer horisontalt i systemet. Denne horisontale korrespondansen “burde anses som vokalharmoniens typologiske konkretisering i gammelnorsk” (Rajić 1980: 318). Ved regelen under punkt 3 derimot er det typologiske prinsippet berre delvis stetta, d.e. einast ved dei lange vokalane.

Rajić ser tvo moglege grunnar til den serskilde situasjonen ved dei låge vokalane: Den eine er “vokalsystemets synkrone tilstand” og den andre “vokalsystemets diakrone utvikling” (s. 319). Den synkrone uttydingi gjeng ut på at alle dei låge vokalane i den assimilasjonsprosessen som vokalharmonien er, lyt verka på dei trykklette vokalane /i/ og /u/ yver den midhøge etasjen, i motsetnad til dei midhøge som berre verkar éin etasje upp (frå midhøg til høg). “Denne ekstra avstanden kan virke hindrende på vokalharmonien”, skriv Rajić og held seg til at trykktilhøve truleg hev spela ei stor rolla ved oppkoma av vokalharmonien, men at ein òg kann tenkja seg at kvantiteten var ein faktor:

Artikulasjonsintensiteten i både trykk og lengde var ved de lange stor nok til at den kunne virke vokalharmonisk. Ved de korte var den imidlertid ikke sterk nok til å virke vokalharmonisk. (Rajić 1980: 319)

Dette verkar intuitivt som ei attraktiv uttyding på det tilhøvet me ser ved stutt *æ* og *ø*, ved at Rajić her legg fram ei artikulatorisk forklåring på at desse ljodane gjeng utanum vokalharmonien.

Den diakrone uttydingi hans er derimot minder yvertydande og vanskelegare å fylgja. Han held fram at av dei tri låge vokalfonemi er berre /a/ “det opprinnelige”; /æ/ og /ø/ er “fonemiserte varianter av arkifonemet A der det har virket i- og u-omlyd” (Rajić 1980: 319). Rajić hev rett i at “[d]iakront sett har det vært først omlyd som har virket og deretter vokalharmoni”, men det er vandt å skyna kva han meiner med det næste han skriv: “Vokalharmonisk regel virker altså opphevende på omlydsregelen” (*loc.cit.*). Det synest her som Rajić blandar synkroni og diakroni; eit ord som “omlydsregelen” verkar synkront orientert, og koss vokalharmonien eventuelt skulde verka “opphevende” på ljodbrigdet, vert høgst uklårt. Det Rajić kann ha meint, er at dei trykklette vokalane /i/ og

/u/ ikkje burde verta endra ved vokalharmoni etter dei vokalane som hev kome upp gjennom ljodbrigde på grunn av dei same trykklette vokalane. Dette kann sjåast i samband med noko han skriv i hovudoppgåva si um at dei lange låge vokalane “kan virke senkende på /i/ og /u/ som normalt ikkje skulle blitt berørt ettersom de har bevirka omlyd” (Rajić 1975: 152). Men dette vert ikkje noko problem dersom me legg til grunn at i-ljodbrigdet er ei avslutta tilgonga i norrønt mål, medan vokalharmonien verkar synkront, uavhengig av kva historisk opphav dei einskilde vokalane hev (jf. Hreinn Benediktsson 1964: 99, som syner at skiftingi av trykklett *i* og *e*, *u* og *o* etter stutt *e/æ* i gamalnorske handskrifter som regel er styrd av den synkrone kvaliteten på vokalen og ikkje av det historiske opphavet han måtte ha). At vokalfonemi /æ/ og /ǫ/ hev kome upp ved ljodbrigde, hindrar ikkje at desse fonemi seinare kann ganga inn i eit vokalharmonisk system og påverka dei vokalane som ein gong valda ljodbrigdet. Ein urnordisk sekvens /a:_i(:)/ som ved fonemiseringi av i-ljodbrigdet vart til /æ:_i/, kann so seinare i gamalnorsk verta realisert som [æ:_e] ved verknad av vokalharmoni; ljoden /æ:/ i rotstavingi er ikkje lenger bunden av at han hev ein trykklett [i] etter seg i neste staving.

Rajić endar dryfting i av vokalharmonien i hovudoppgåva si soleis:

Det eneste jeg finner problematisk er at /a/ medfører /e/. Jeg har ikke hatt mulighet til å foreta noen grundigere granskning av dette forholdet, men kan tenke meg en mulighet av at et eventuelt forlenga /a/ kan ha hatt så pass mye artikulasjonsintensitet at det kan ha hatt senkende virkning på /i/. (Rajić 1975: 152)

Her er det uklårt kva Rajić meiner med “et eventuelt forlenga /a/”. I fyredraget frå 1980 hev han ei litt onnor formulering, og no er det samanfallet av /á/ og /ǫ/ som skal verka utløysande:

Det mest problematiske er at /a/ medfører /e/. En kunne tenke seg at årsaken var at en del av de opprinnelige korte vokalene ble forlenget etter at /á/ falt sammen med /ǫ/ slik at /a/ begynte også å virke som det lange fonemet. Det er imidlertid vanskelig å påstå noe uten en nærmere undersøkelse. (Rajić 1980: 320)

Rajićs hypotese fyreset at samanfallet av /á/ og /ǫ/, vanlegvis datert til um lag 1200, resulterte i ein runda /ǫ/-ljod ([ɔ:]), soleis at stutt /a/ kunde verta lengd og fylla “holet” etter /á/ og med di verka vokalharmoni. Til dette er å segja at det ikkje er upplagt at samanfallet av /á/ og /ǫ/ gav ein runda [ɔ:]; ein annan, konkurrerande hypotese er at samanfallet gav ein runda [a:], jf. Halvorsen 1984. I so fall vert det ikkje noko rom for ei tidleg lengjing av stutt /a/ til /a:/ som skal tyda ut vokalharmonien etter *a*. Men

det er heller ikkje naudsynt for at Rajićs hypotese um ein noko større artikulasjonsintensitet ved /a/ enn ved /æ/ og /ɔ/ skal kunna gjelda. Ljodlengder er ikkje absolutte, men relative storleikar. So lenge /a:/ er markert lengre enn /a/, er distinksjonen halden uppe, og det er ikkje nokon fyresetnad for kvantitetssystemet at t.d. /a:/ er like lang som /æ:/, eller at /a/ er like stutt som /æ/. Med andre ord kann /a/ gjerne ha vore – reint fonetisk – litt lengre enn /æ/ og /ɔ/, og denne lengdi kann ha vore nok til at vokalharmonien – som trass i alt er ein fonetisk prosess – hev verka etter /a/, men ikkje etter /æ/ og /ɔ/.

Her kann eg visa til at det er typologisk evidens for ein korrelasjon millom vokallengd og tungehøgde: Når ein korrigerer for andre faktorar, vil ein høg vokal vera stuttare enn ein låg vokal (Lehiste 1970: 18 f.). Det kjem av større artikulatorisk rørsle ved framburden av låge vokalar (*op.cit.*: 19). Ein kann difor ganga ut frå at /a/, som var den lægste vokalen same koss ein set upp vokalsystemet, hev vore noko lengre i uttalen enn andre stutte vokalar i gamalnorsk, medrekna /æ/ og /ɔ/. Dette syner òg den seinare voksteren av gno. *a*: Stuttstava einstavingsord som *dagr*, *dahr* og *matr* hev alltid lang /a:/ i nynorsk; det heiter aldri */dag/, */dal/ eller */mat/ i målføre der det heiter t.d. /vet/ < *vit* n. eller /brot/ < *brot* n. Gno. *a* hev jamvel vorte lengd i målføre som hev halde på den stutte kvantiteten elles; i nordgudbrandsdalsmål heiter det soleis /fa:t/, /ma:t/, /sta:v/ osv., men derimot t.d. /grån/ < gno. *grøn* f. og /bær/ < gno. *bær* pres., jf. Storm 1920: 50–54.⁸

Etter di vokalharmonien etter *a* i denne uttydingi skal vera eit resultat av ein noko større artikulasjonsintensitet (trykk + lengd) ved /a/ enn ved /æ/ og /ɔ/, er det ikkje yverraskande um det skulde finnast undantak der artikulasjonen av /a/ ikkje var sterk nok til å verka assimilerande på den trykklette vokalen, slik at denne vart realisert som (underliggjande) *i*. Det er truleg dette som er tilfellet når Per Nyquist Grøtvedt (1938: 159) hev funne at vokalkorrespondansen *a* – *i* fyrekjem ofte i sudaustnorske diplom frå perioden 1300–1350 i staden for *a* – *e*. Dei dømi han gjev på dette, er talande: *gardi*, *hafdi*, *manni* – alle hev lang konsonantisme etter *a*, noko som venteleg gjer vokalen stuttare og dermed gjer at han fær mindre påverknadskraft på den trykklette vokalen.

I alle fall: Hovudregelen um at /a/ fær *e* etter seg, lèt seg fint ordna inn i eit vokalharmonisk system som òg verkar ved dei låge vokalane (*pace*

⁸ Når sterke preteritumsformer hev halde på stutt *a* i desse målføri, t.d. /las/, /drap/ og /sat/, kjem det av analogi med dei andre bøygingjingsformene, som alle hev stutt vokal, i desse tilfelli /læsa/ (inf.), /læs/ (pres.), /lese/ (perf.part.), /dræpa/, /dræp/, /drepe/ og /siça/, /sit/, /siti/ (alle former etter Storm 1920: 69 f.), jf. Horne 1916: 22.

Hagland) so lenge dei er lange nok til å kunna assimilera den trykklette vokalen (det gjeld /a/, /á/, /ǣ/ og /ǫ/). Dei låge /æ/ og /ǫ/ er for stutte – gjeve at dei ligg so pass langt undan i høgd frå dei trykklette vokalane som dei skal verka på (/i/ og /u/). Derimot er stutt /e/, /ø/ og /o/ nære nok (éi høgd undan) til at lengdi ikkje spelar nokor rolla.

7. Det er tid for å konkludera: Vokalharmonien i norrønt er ein progressiv fjernassimilasjon der trykksterke vokalar verkar på dei trykklette vokalane /i/ og /u/ i neste staving soleis at dei kjem på same høgd som eller nærare i høgd til dei trykksterke vokalane. Det er mest økonomisk å ganga ut frå at dei trykklette vokalane er underliggjande /i/ og /u/, som so vert assimilerte til dei ikkje-høge [e] og [o] etter ikkje-høge vokalar; etter høge vokalar hender det ingi endring. Ved midhøge vokalar (/e/, /ø/ og /o/) verkar vokalharmonien so lenge vokalane hev trykk; lengd er irrelevant. Ved låge vokalar, som ligg lenger undan dei trykklette vokalane dei skal assimilera (tvo høgder), må dei i tillegg til å ha trykk vera av ei viss lengd for at vokalharmonien skal verka: normallange (/ǣ/, /á/, /ǫ/) eller fonetisk “halvlange” (/a/). Dei stutte låge vokalane /æ/ og /ǫ/ verkar soleis ikkje vokalharmoni og fær dei underliggjande høge /i/ = [i] og /u/ = [u] etter seg. Det er med andre ord ein kombinasjon av trykk, høgd og lengd som styrer vokalharmonien, der trykk og høgd er grunnleggjande, men lengd kjem inn som eit tilleggskriterium når fråstandet i høgd millom den trykksterke og den (underliggjande) trykklette vokalen vert for stort, d.e. meir enn éi høgd i vokalsystemet (frå låg yver midhøg til høg vokal).

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IVAR BERG

Om normalisert norrønt

1 Inngang

I løpet av 1800-talet vart det etablert ei norm for det vestnordiske mellomalderspråket. Slik, “normalisert norrønt” møter me i tekstutgåver, grammatikkar, ordbøker og lærebøker, og når ein i språkvitskapleg litteratur finn tilvisingar til “norrønt”, er det helst denne norma som er meint. Ho vart etablert av språkvitarar og filologar som arbeidde innanfor andre vitskaplege paradigme (i Thomas Kuhns forstand) enn me gjer i dag, men resultatata dei kom fram til, vert likevel aksepterte eller jamvel tekne for gjevne utan vidare refleksjon. Det er difor på høg tid å spørja korleis denne norma vart utvikla.

Dét spørsmålet har aldri vorte skikkeleg drøfta, og har heller ikkje noko opplagt svar. I mange utgåver frå 1800-talet finn ein merknader om at normaliseringa fylgjer “den vanlege rettskrivinga i utgåver”, i ymse formuleringar. Ei grundig drøfting finn ein fyrst i andreutgåva av leseboka hans Ludvig Wimmer (1877), som påverka seinare praksis mykje.

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Berg, I., postdoctoral fellow, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU, Trondheim). “On normalised Old Norse”. *ANF* 129 (2014), pp. 21–54.

Abstract: This historiographical article discusses the development of “normalised Old Norse” and how this depended on the understanding of diachronic change and geographic variation within the West Nordic language area. The stable norm of grammars, dictionaries, text editions and introductory books is presented as the common language of Norway and the Atlantic islands during the Middle Ages, yet resembles most closely Icelandic c. 1200 CE. The standard orthography evolved through theory (historical linguistics) and practice (text editions) during the nineteenth century. The resulting norm depended on a historical preference for the oldest language of the “best” manuscripts, i.e. Icelandic ones from the early thirteenth century, albeit with due consideration of Modern Icelandic spelling. The ideological background was the general historicism of the nineteenth century, especially as expressed in historical and historicising linguistics.

Keywords: Old Norse, history of linguistics, history of philology, Rasmus Rask, Ludvig Wimmer, text editions.

Men då hadde normaliseringa utvikla seg lenge allereie, og Wimmer, meir enn å definera noko heilt nytt, gav heller ei fagleg grunngjeving for ein allereie etablert praksis (sjå § 5.3).

1.1 Føremål

Det er ei vedteken språkhistorisk sanning at norrønt var det sams språket i Noreg og Vesterhavsoyane i vikingtid og mellomalder. I praksis, slik det òg gjerne vert innrømt, ligg norma likevel nærast islandsk tidleg på 1200-talet. Eg vil difor i det fylgjande freista å røkja etter korleis norma plasserer seg i høve til diakron og geografisk variasjon innanfor det norrøne språkområdet.

Skilnader mellom norrønt og moderne islandsk vart gradvis klårare for språkvitskapen. For Rasmus Rask var det to sider av same sak, eller jamvel same sida, men etter som tilhøvet vart klårare, fekk dette konsekvensar for norma – og ikkje minst for etableringa av ulike normer for norrønt og nyislandsk. Jamvel om norma ligg nærare islandsk enn norsk på dei punkta der det var dialektskilnader, kan det vera omvendt der islandsk allereie i mellomalderen hadde innovasjonar.

Bakgrunnen for at norma vart som ho vart, er mykje å finna i dei ideologiske føresetnadene på 1800-talet. Eg vil allereie her trekkja fram to hovudtendensar: Den historiserande tendensen i språkforskinga på 1800-talet, med målsetjing om å finna fram til det eldste og opprinnelege språket; og den filologiske preferansen for “dei beste handskriftene”, som er eit utslag av same historiserande tendens. Den idéhistoriske bakgrunnen for det filologiske arbeidet påverka tekstutval og arbeidsmåte og gjer det mogleg å forstå dei resultata forskarane kom fram til; dette vert drøfta i § 2.

1.2 To tilnærmingar

Arbeidet med dei norrøne kjeldene hadde to tilnærmingar: ei språkvitskapleg og ei filologisk. Det språkvitskaplege arbeidet ynskjer å definera ein språkleg storleik. Likevel må både grammatikkar og ordbøker ta praktiske val om kva former dei skal føra opp i paradigma og som oppslagsformer. Der språkforma i utgåvene vil leggja seg nær det “opphavlege” språket, vert på andre sida den språkhistoriske forkinga viktig for å etablera kva som er opphavleg. § 3 ser på korleis tilhøvet mellom norsk og islandsk og ulike historiske steg av islandsk vart forstått, og kva konsekvensar dette fekk for rettskrivinga.

I det filologiske arbeidet ligg studiar av originalhandskriftene og utgjeving av dei, der utgjevarane må velja ei språkform. Som nemnt innleingsvis er det ofte vist til den rettskrivinga som var vanleg i andre utgåver; ein kunne kalla det ein organisk framvekst av ei norm gjennom *praksis*, i motsetnad til den *teoretiske* tilnærminga i språkvitskapen. § 4 tek føre seg prinsipp for tekstutgjeving og språkforma i eit utval utgåver av norrøne tekstar.¹ I § 5 freistar eg å sjå dei to tilnærmingane i samanheng og drøftar korleis norma voks fram.

Ein skal merkja seg at dei språkvitskaplege arbeida ofte byggjer på trykte utgåver og såleis er avhengige av språkforma der, med dei ulemper det medfører (sjå § 4.6). Det er openbert mykje vekselverking mellom desse to sidene av det faglege arbeidet med norrøne tekstar, og mange språkvitarar har samstundes vore aktive som tekstutgjevarar. Særleg junggrammatikarane kopl språkhistorie med tekststudiar (Rischel 2002: 134, 140). Det kan likevel vera grunn til å halda på tanken om to ulike tilnærmingar til språket i mellomalderkjeldene, for det avgjer òg kva slags utgåver ein ynskjer.

2 Fag- og idéhistorisk bakgrunn

Det tidlege 1800-talet var prega av ein romantisk historisme med opphav i tysk filosofi. Romantikken vart kjend i Danmark gjennom førelesingar av Henrik Steffens frå 1802, og slo gjennom i Sverike litt seinare (Hoffmeister 2003: 156–157; Blom 2013: 242, 256). Ei viktig side ved romantikken var interessa for mellomalderen (Schwering 2003), og med det den gamle folkemållitteraturen: “Das Resultat der romantischen Bewegung im Norden war die Rückbesinnung auf die eigene Volksüberlieferung” (Hoffmeister 2003: 156). Folk lenger sør i Europa var òg interesserte i den nordiske mellomalderlitteraturen, og tyske lærde søkte den gamle germanske kulturen i dei norrøne kjeldene. Sist på 1700-talet vart særleg mytologiske tekstar som eddadikt omsette til både fransk og tysk, og fleire omsetjingar vart utgjevne i filosofen J.G. Herders *Volkslieder* (Weber 1996: 82–83).

Ei inndeling av historia i tre epokar har lang tradisjon og vart overteke av romantikarane (Schwering 2003: 545–546). Filosofen F.W.J. Schelling kalla den eldste tida “heroernes og gudernes oldtid” (andre bruka lik-

¹ Berre utgåver som er direkte siterte, er oppgjevne i referanselista.

mande uttrykk), og omtala henne seinare som “myten om gullalderen” (Weber 1996: 87). Sjølve omgrepet ‘gullalder’ har røter attende til gresk mytologi, og vart teke oppatt og tilpassa nyare tids filosofi og tenkjesett: “Der Paradigmawechsel von der Antike zum Mittelalter als imaginiertem Goldenen Zeitalter gilt gemeinhin als typisch für das Geschichtsdendenken der Romantik” (Schwering 2003: 547). I nordisk (kultur-)historie kom denne gullalderen til å verta identifisert med høgmellomalderen, gjerne fastsett til 1100–1350 (Wollin 2000). Wollin nyttar Sverige som døme, men minst like tydeleg er denne tendensen i norsk historieskriving, med framheving av Noregsveldet på 1200-talet under Håkon IV Håkonsson (konge 1217–63) og dei fyrste etterkomarane hans – då stod Noreg på toppen av makta si i verdsleg forstand og produserte ein rik og variert litteratur. I kontrast til dette framstår den lange unionstida som ein periode prega av politisk, kulturelt og språkleg forfall.

Nasjonalromantikken og bygginga av ein norsk nasjonalidentitet var viktig for dei fyrste nordmennene som arbeidde med språkhistorie, særleg P.A. Munch, som knytte band mellom notida og den norske “stordomstida” i mellomalderen i forskinga si (Holm-Olsen 1981: 95). Å byggja bru over dansketida som ein negativ “mellomperiode”, var dessutan i tråd med tredelinga av historia i tradisjonen etter Schelling (Weber 1996: 93). Det nasjonale prosjektet førde til ein strid for å krevja den norrøne litteraturen som norsk, ikkje fellesnordisk (Holm-Olsen 1981: 102). I ei utgreiing om det “ældste fælles-nordiske Sprogs Udseende” vart tilhøvet mellom dei germanske språka uttrykt i ein “genealogisk Tabel” som skilde mellom aust- og vestnordisk (Munch 1846: 223), der det siste omfatta norsk og islandsk – for Munch definitivt i den rekkjefylgja – og mellomalderlitteraturen var i hovudsak vestnordisk. Dei same nasjonale motiva gjorde at “utgjevarinteressa [i Noreg] frå byrjinga av vende seg mot den historiske og juridiske delen av den norrøne litteraturen, dei delane som kunne gje argument for eigne nasjonale institusjonar” (Haugen 1994: 140).

Dei høgst verdsette litterære verka frå nordisk mellomalder høyrer til denne høgmellomalderlege gullalderen: i Sverige frå landskapslovene og fram til Eufemiavisene, i Noreg og Island den klassiske norrøne historie- og sogelitteraturen (Wollin 2000: 40). Allereie i 1754 skreiv den islandske lagmannen Sveinn Sölvason om “þau gömlu gullaldarorð” hjå Ari fróði og Snorri Sturluson – ord han rett nok ikkje nytta sjølv (Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990: 33). Me skal sjå kva utslag denne gullaldertanken fekk på dei to områda som er relevante i vår samanheng: edisjonsfilologi og historisk språkvitskap.

2.1 Edisjonsfilologi

Utgjevinga av tekstar frå nordisk mellomalder på 1800-talet var inspirert av den romantiske interessa for fortida (jf. Rischel 2002: 141). Eit utslag av historiserande tenkjemåte er ideen om ein “urtekst”, den opphavlege teksten, skjult av seinare tradering. På 1800-talet fekk denne tanken eit vitskapleg og metodisk fundament i tekstkritikken, særleg slik han vart utforma av Karl Lachmann. Han meinte at målet var “å nå fram til det eldste laget av teksta, så nær originalen som råd var” (Haugen 1995: 83). Finnur Jónsson (1918: 44) står i denne tradisjonen når han omtalar “moderne kritisk” utgjevingsmåte der “håndskrifterne nøje undersøges og værdsættes, og den oprindelige tekst søges så vidt muligt restitueret.”

Austnordiske tekstar er helst gjevne ut diplomatarisk etter eitt handskrift, medan mange utgåver av islandske mellomalderstekstar er prega av ein slik urteksttankegang med “forbetring” av teksten og normalisering av språket (Rischel 2002: 142 nemner jamvel justering av vers til å høva med dei metriske teoriane hans Eduard Sievers). Til andreutgåva av leseboka si gjorde Wimmer nokre justeringar i tekstane, mellom anna i von om at det “er lykkedes mig at give en tekst av Hákonarmál, der står **det oprindelige** nærmere enn de tidligere udgaver” (Wimmer 1903: VI; mi utheving). Dette gjorde han etter “de principer, som længe har været anerkendte ved behandlingen af græske og latinske forfatters tekster.” I klassisk filologi har tekstkritisk praksis lagt større vekt på urteksten enn det har vore vanleg i utgjevinga av folkemålstekstar.

På same vis kunne ein òg søkja attende til den opphavlege språkforma. I *Fagrskinna*-utgåva av Munch og Unger (1847) heiter det i innleiinga at dei har “gjengivet Afskrifternes vaklende Orthographi med en consequent, og saadan som den i **Sprogets bedste Periode** maatte have været” (s. XIV–XV; mi utheving). I diskusjonen av handskriftgrunlaget for *Eyrbyggja saga* skriv Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1864: XXXV) at språket hadde den reinaste og beste forma si “am Anfange des 14. Jh., den man das goldne Zeitalter unsrer Orthographie nennen möchte”. Han omtalar seinare språket mot slutten av 1300-talet, “als die Orthographie zu verderben begann” (s. XXXVIII). Slike kvalitative vurderingar av rettskrivinga fekk konsekvensar for korleis utgjevarane handsama språkforma på vegen frå handskrift til trykt bok. Desse merknadene gjeld “Orthographi(e)”, men forskarar på den tida skilde ikkje klårt mellom skrift og tale, og dei to nivåa vart gjerne blanda saman.

2.2 Historisk språkvitskap

Språkvitskapen på 1800-talet var historisk i vid meining, og spesielt historisk-komparativ med freistnadene på å rekonstruera det indoeuropeiske urspråket. Ein viktig bakgrunn var “oppdaginga” av sanskrit, som særleg vart gjort kjent gjennom F.W. Schlegels bok *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (1808). Om den fylgjande tida kan ein seia at “historicism and organicism [...] pervade the whole of contemporary intellectual life” (Morpurgo Davies 1998: 83; jf. s. 209 om “the form of historicism which dominated the century”). Den historiske orienteringa gjorde norrønt interessant for å forstå den eldre germanske målsoga. Såleis skriv Grimm i fyrsteutgåva av *Deutsche Grammatik* (1819: LXIX) at språket “hat sich im Norden [...] ungestörter und langsamer fortentwickelt und auf Island in ihren edelsten Bestandtheilen geborgen.”

I organisismen låg tanken om språk som naturlege organismar med eige liv. Dette er særleg knytt til August Schleicher og skiljet hans mellom to fasar i språkhistoria, “entwicklung” i førhistorisk tid og “verfall der sprache” i historisk tid (Schleicher 1861–62: 3), men allereie på 1830-talet sette August Pott fram liknande tankar (Morpurgo Davies 1998: 87; jf. s. 177–178 om Schleicher). Sjølve ordbruken er endå eldre, Grimm nyttar “organisch” omtrent i tydinga ‘etymologisk’. Organisismen hans Schleicher gjorde det mogleg å snakka om kvalitativt ulike steg i språkutviklinga og “det beste språket”. Slik kan ein seia at Schleicher og hans samtidige midt på 1800-talet gav vitskapleg legitimitet til romantiske førestillingar tidlegare i hundreåret. Sitatet frå Munch og Unger ovanfor viser ein slik tanke, og liknande formuleringar finst kringom i litteraturen, t.d. “sprogets bedste periode” hjå Wimmer (1903: XXII).

Gullaldertanken påverka heilt konkret kva for kjelder skildringa av norrønt skulle byggja på. Rasmus Rask (1811: 238) skriv om det “forfinede Sprog” i “den klassiske islandske Litteratur, f. Eks. Niála, Heimskringla, Eigla, Gretla, Sturlúnga, o. fl. desl. Og dette er det egentlig, som i det foregående er beskrevet”.² Dette siste atterhaldet er ikkje med i det tilsvarende avsnittet i den svenske utgåva (Rask 1818: 277), men der er òg ei tydeleg vurdering av kva språk som er best: “Lyckligtvis har man i nyare tider på Island allt mera och mera närmat sig de Gamles renhet, enkelhet och smak, både i styl och rättskrifning” (s. 292). Allereie frå starten vert altså sogene trekte fram, språket i den eldste og beste litteraturen er det primære.

² Rask bruka ligaturen *æ* i staden for digrafen *aa*. Eigla = *Egils saga*, Gretla = *Grettis saga*.

Tilhøvet hans Rask til romantikken var motsetnadsfylt (Blom 2013). Han delte den romantiske entusiasmen for det gamle språket, men hadde samstundes ei vitskapleg haldning til det. Rask skreiv i 1812 at “besynnderligt er det hvorledes Studiet af de herlige Lævninger fra det gamle Norden overalt skal forenes med den lyssky Filosofi, hvorvel intet kan være i sin hele Natur mere stridende derimod end netop vore Fædres gamle Videnskabelighed” (sitert etter Blom 2013: 263). Han var romantisk i tilnærminga si til språket og trekte fram språket i den “klassiske” litteraturen som det kvalitativt beste, men var streng motstandar av diletantisk bruk av norrøne motiv og mytar i diktning og filosofi. Noko liknande er sagt om norske forskarar på 1840- og 1850-talet: Dei “var inspirert av drømmen om sagatidens storhet [...] I sitt granskingsarbeid kunne de likevel være realistiske nok” (Holm-Olsen 1981: 95).

Junggrammatikarane sist på 1800-talet la vekt på vitskapleg metode og førde ei sterkare historisk, i motsetjing til komparativ, orientering inn i språkvitskapen. Ei viktig side av innsatsen deira var skrivinga av historiske grammatikkar for einskildspråk, grammatikkar som hovudsakleg omfatta lyd- og formlære (fonologi og morfologi), dei områda der historisk-komparativ metode hadde nådd lengst (Morpurgo Davies 1998: 236–239). *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* av Adolf Noreen (1923) er eit godt døme på ein slik grammatikk, og likeins den tilsvarende *Altschwedische Grammatik* (1904). Den historiske orienteringa fekk språkforskarane til å søkja attende til det eldste språket som kunne dokumenterast (sjå § 5.4 om normeringa hans Noreen).

2.3 Arven frå 1800-talet

Dei klassiske referanseverka for norrønt, fyrst og fremst Noreen (1923), Fritzner (1886–1896) og Nygaard (1905),³ var ein del av den historisk-komparative språkvitskapen på 1800-talet: Denne perioden “provided our basic knowledge about Nordic language history” (Rischel 2002: 133; jf. s. 142–147 om “The neogrammarian legacy”). Jamvel nyare arbeid byggjer mykje godt på data frå dei gamle handbøkene, sjølv om t.d. Kjartan G. Ottósson (1988: 142) átvarar mot å stø seg for mykje på framstillingar som “för det mesta [är] mycket gamla och föråldrade.” Inndelinga av bøyingsklassane etter dei urnordiske stammesuffiksa (i *ō*-stammene

³ Faarlund (2004) er ei ny framstilling av norrøn syntaks i eit generativt rammeverk, men for skuld fjølda av døme er Nygaard framleis nyttig. Båe har den mangelen at dei byggjer på normaliserte utgåver, der syntaksen kan vera påverka av utgjevaren (sjå t.d. Haraldur Bernharðsson 2005: 189; Zeevaert 2014).

jamvel urgermansk) er slående vitne om korleis grammatikkane voks fram or den tids historisk-komparative språkvitskap.

Desse referanseverka har gjeve oss eit fast haldepunkt i målsoga; “‘det gamla’ är givet, i arketyrisk form, fixerat i en begränsad högmedeltida textkorpus med kanonisk status” (Wollin 2000: 45). Nordisk målsoge vert forstått som ei utvikling frå dette arkimediske punktet, skildra synkront, til dagens språkstode. Språkhistoria mellom desse to synkrone tilstandane vert forstått diakront. Det er då interessant å sjå kva slags språk, lokalisert i tid og rom, den norrøne norma representerer.

Eit problem med desse gamle sanningane som lever med oss, er at “every study of linguistic phenomena has been made from a certain perspective, and [...] this delimited the choice of criteria and the kinds of information which it was considered essential to take into consideration” (Rischel 2002: 144). Resultata av tidlegare språkforsking treng ikkje vera forelda. Men syntesane deira (i den grad dei dreiv det til syntesar, mykje av forkinga kan oppfattast som atomistisk – konsentrert om detaljar) må ein vera varsam med å nytta direkte, for dei er tufta på teoretiske føresetnader me ikkje lenger reknar som gyldige. Framstillingane i gamle handbøker kan vera “misleading if taken out of context and restated in a new theoretical framework, or if used uncritically by scholars who address diachronic issues from a quite different perspective” (s.st.). I denne innsikta ligg grunngevinga for historiografisk arbeid: Me må forstå kva føresetnader tidlegare forskarar arbeidde under, for å kunna nytta den kunnskapen dei vann fullt ut og bringa forkinga vidare med ny teoretisk ballast.

3 Norrønt, norsk og islandsk

Ei fyrste påpeiking av skilnader mellom gammalnorsk og islandsk finst i gjennomgangen av handskriftgrunnlaget for den såkalla Sorø-utgåva av *Konungs skuggsjá* (utgjeven av Hálfðan Einarsson i 1768), som Finnur Jónsson (1918: 36) kallar “[d]en første virkelige udgave”. I “Forberedelse” (s. XXV–LXX) deler Jón Eiríksson handskriftene i norske og islandske etter “Mund-Art”, og Jón meiner skilnadene ligg i “Orthographien” (s. XXIX). Han går så gjennom ymse språktrekk (s. XXIX–XXXIII) og har funne fram til mykje, sjølv om forståingsramma hans er moderne islandsk.

Nokre av dei viktigaste momenta Jón peikar på, er fylgjande: *a* før

stående *u* (t.d. *allum*), men *o* for *ö* (t.d. *hogg* for *högg/högg*; desse punkta dreier seg om handsaminga av *u*-omljod); *a* for *e* i ord som *hverr*, *ø* for *æ* (lang vokal, t.d. *bøcr* ‘bøker’), *øy* for *ey*, manglande *h* i framljod (altså for *l*, *n*, *r*), men derimot *h* i overflod andre stader (døma er *gh* som skrivemåte for [ɣ] i t.d. *sorgh*). I all hovudsak er dette framleis gjeldande kunnskap, men Jón såg på det som ortografiske avvik frå islandsk; dei fonologiske skilnadene som låg til grunn, var ukjende på den tida (jf. Holm-Olsen 1984, som òg gjev fleire døme). Som vanleg til langt ut på 1800-talet skilde ikkje Jón godt mellom ljod og teikn, og når eg i det fylgjande stundom har fonemnotasjon medan skriftformer er i kursiv, er dette ei moderne tydeleggjering.

3.1 Rasmus Rask

Dei spede forsøka på islandsk grammatikkskriving før 1800 er omtala av Finnur Jónsson (1933: 3–20) som innleiing til utgåva hans av ein stutt grammatikk av Jón Magnússon (bror av handskriftsammlaren Árni Magnússon). Den fyrste grammatikken i moderne forstand er *Vejledning til det Islandske eller gamle Nordiske Sprog* av Rasmus Rask (1811). Då “forandredes alt” (Finnur Jónsson 1933: 19), og frå Rask kan me fylgja ein samanhengande tradisjon framover. I tittelen ligg største mistaket hans, som er todelt: 1) han oppfatta nyislandsk som identisk med språket i dei gamle handskriftene, og 2) han meinte dette språket var det “gamle nordiske” og opphavet til moderne svensk, dansk og norsk.

Rask hadde lese Sorø-utgåva og kjende til det Jón Eiríksson hadde skrive om skilnader mellom norsk og islandsk der (Rask 1811: 238). I ein del “om Sprogarterne” sist i boka trekkjer han fram særtrekk ved “Den ældste og digteriske Sprogart” (s. 240–252), fylgt av ein bolck om “Det nyere Sprog” (s. 253–261). Han peikar på nokre trekk i det eldste språket som skil seg frå nyare islandsk, t.d. enkel vokal før *ng/nk* (utan den seinare diftongeringa) og *o* (i staden for *u*) i endingar, men ikkje i *-ur*, som i staden “sammentrækkes” til *r* (s. 241). Rask forstod aldri svarabhaktivokalen i islandsk; han ser at *-u-* i *-ur* må vera sekundær, men reknar med at uttalen har vore den same hjå “de Gamle” (s. 257). Han forstod heller aldri *u*-omljoden rett, som dette sitatet viser (s. 242): “Når man finder det samme Ord snart med o, snart med au, kan man være vis paa, den rigtige Form er med ø.” Dei eldste handskriftene har ulik grafemisk attgjeving av omljodsvokalen, men for Rask var “den rigtige Form” nyislandsk *ö*.

Rask meinte at skilnadene mellom det gamle og det nye språket “for

det meste bestå i Retskrivning” (s. 243), men han er klår over at t.d. personendingane i konjunktiv er endra (s. 142–143, 248). Eit døme på det som står om endringar, er den svært forsiktige merknaden om monoftong før *ng/nk* i den svenske utgåva: “detta uttal [...] är kanhända det rätta och ursprungliga” (Rask 1818: 45). Trass i at han peikar på ei rekkje særkjenne for poesi og den eldste prosaen, er det lite refleksjon over språkendringar. Ein grunn til dette er fulla den manglande forståinga av fonologiske endringar; Rask tilla dei ulike grafema same ljodverdi i formålet som i nyislandsk, og såg til dømes aksent som teikn for diftong, ikkje lengd (t.d. i uttalen av *á*). Då var det berre i tilfelle av endra grafemisk representasjon han kunne sjå språkendringar.

I den svenske utgåva tok Rask med ein bolk om “Gamla uttalet” (1818: 33–42). Sjølv om han innser at moderne svensk og dansk uttale ligg nærare islandsk “skriftsätt”, står hovudtesen fast: den nyislandske uttalen er lik den gamle. Men han er “böjd att anse för mindra äkta” den islandske uttalen av *u*, *y*, *y*, *au* og *ey* (s. 38). I ein bolk om “ljudskiften” (dvs. vokalvekslingar) er han òg (med tilvising til Ólafur Þórðarson hvítaskáld) inne på at *æ* kjem av *á* og *œ* av *ó*, men det er heilt knytt til skriftteikna og langt frå nokon klår teori om uttale (s. 42–43). Desse forsiktige merkna-dene vert klårare i Rask (1832), der han allereie i føreordet tek sjølvkritikk for at “den gamle og almennordiske Sprogform ikke er så tydelig adskilt fra den ny islandske, som den vel burde været” i *Anvisning* (1818). No skil han t.d. mellom *æ* og *œ*, og samstundes er “Isländskan” i tittelen bytt ut med “det gamle islandske Sprog”. Eit døme på eldre former i 1832-grammatikken er paradigmet for *nakkevarr* (s. 46), som “måske kan antages at være den ældste og retteste” forma; det yngre *nokkurr* er nemnt nedanfor.

I *Deutsche Grammatik* skriv Jacob Grimm (1822–37: I, 281) at han stort sett fylgjer Rask (1818) i handsaminga av “altnordisch”, men ikkje der “Rask sich allzu sehr an die heutige isländ. aussprache gekehrt zu haben scheint”. Grimm talar gjennomgåande om “dehnung” av vokalar, som han skriv med sirkumfleks til liks med lange vokalar i dei andre germanske måla, og meiner uttalen har vore lang, men sidan endra seg t.d. frå “áa” til “áo” e.l. (I, s. 285). Det fellesgermanske perspektivet gjorde det lett for Grimm å sjå ein del seinare utviklingar i islandsk, og han nemner t.d. skilnaden mellom *æ* og *œ*, som han forstår heilt rett som i-omljod av høvesvis /a:/ og /o:/ (I, s. 292–293, 300–301). Grimm skil dessutan mellom *e* (omljod av /a/) og *ë* (andre opphav) slik han gjer i gammalhøgtysk, og meiner at dei to vokalane “ohne zweifel” hadde ulik uttale (I, s. 281–283). Konráð Gíslason (1846: 13) tek dels opp dette skiljet

“fyrir fróðleiks sakir”, sjølv om han avviser at det har vore nokon skilnad i uttalen (s. 37). Han byggjer såleis vél mykje på nyislandsk, nett som Rask gjorde.

3.2 Klårare forståing

Konráð Gíslason var likevel “einn sá fyrsti sem gerði skýran greinarmun á forníslensku og nútímaíslensku sem tvennu ólíku” (Kristján Árnason 2005: 108). Det viktigaste arbeidet hans om eldre islandsk ljudutvikling er *Um frumparta íslenzkrar tungu í fornöld* (1846). Han viser stendig til kva “fornmenn” sa, og ser t.d. diftongeringa før *ng/nk* (s. 8–9), endringa *vá > vo* (s. 28; skrivemåten *â* i slike tilfelle (sjå § 4.2) vert avvist s. 36), og han greier godt ut om tilhøvet mellom *ð* og *d*, *t*, *þ* (s. 90–97). Han er litt vagt inne på u-omljud av /a:/ (s. 141), men sette dette heilt klårt fram seinare (Konráð Gíslason 1858: 10). Den ufullførde formlæra frå 1858 kan i det heile seiast å vera syntesen av dømesamlinga frå 1846. Men Konráð er påverka av nyislandsk uttale, t.d. i vuderinga av *é* (1846: 37–40) og uttalen av *g* (s. 89); og han oppgjev diftongisk uttale av lange vokalar i formlæra (1858: 4–5).

Ei anna viktig avhandling er Konráð Gíslason (1866), der han greier ut dei grunnleggjande endringane i kvantitetsomlegginga. Ho var uklår for Rask, som det går fram av utsegner som “Selvlyd foran en enkelt Medlyd er temmelig lang [...] for at tilkjendegive den korte Lyd, fordobles Medlydstegnet” (Rask 1832: 10). Men Konráð var ikkje den einaste som gjorde sitt for å berrleggja skilnadene mellom gammal- og nyislandsk. Det er særleg vokalane som har endra seg, som det allereie har kome fram ovanfor. Flom (1939) gjev ei særskild framstilling av forskingshistoria åt det norrøne vokalsystemet.

C.R. Unger gav i 1843 ut ei avhandling om kvantitetsskilnaden i norrønt. Artikkelen byggjer (påfallande) mykje på tredjeutgåva av Grimms *Deutsche Grammatikk* (1840, berre om vokalisme), til dømes gjev dei nett dei same orda som døme på dei ymse vokalane. Men Unger viser klårare enn Grimm (1840: 486), med tilvising til *Fyrste grammatiske avhandling* (FGA), skaldekvad og jamføring med andre germanske språk, at skilnaden mellom stutte og lange vokalar i norrønt hovudsakleg var eit spørsmål om kvantitet, ikkje kvalitet. Innklemmt i ei endelaus opprømsing av ord og former er det ei rekkje merknader til norrøn fonologi; mange kan Unger ha frå Grimm, men han gjer òg sjølvstendige vurderingar. Unger forstår t.d. svarabhaktivokalen rett (s. 547), vil skriva brytingsprodukta med *j* sidan den fyrste vokalen “er bleven fuldkommen consonantisk”

(s. 552), forstår skilnaden mellom /æ:/ og /ø:/ (s. 553), og at /je/ er nýslandsk uttale av gammal /e:/ (s. 556). Merkeleg nok viser ikkje seinare avhandlingar til artikkelen, så han fekk ikkje den innverknaden han for-
tente (jf. Flom 1939: 553).

K.J. Lyngby (1861) gjev eit heilskapleg bilete av det norrøne vokalsystemet som stort sett er gjeldande enno i dag. Han byggjer på nokre av dei eldste islandske handskriftene og ikkje minst FGA – som Rask hadde gjeve ut saman med *Snorraedda* i Stockholm i 1818, men ikkje tok konsekvensen av. Lyngby slår fast kvantitetsskilnaden og greier ut tilhøvet mellom dei ymse omljodsvokalane, irekna u-omljod av /a:/ som han etter FGA skriv *ó*, og skilnaden mellom *o* og *ø*.

Lyngby (1865) innfører inndelinga av bøyingsklassane etter stamme-
suffiks, som ledd i ei forklaring av skilnaden mellom u-stammar og rot-
stammar (som *sunr* og *rót*).⁴ Lyngby fylgde med i utviklinga av den his-
toriske språkvitskapen og viser til August Schleichers den gongen ferske
*Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen
Sprachen* (1861–62), der han henta systemet med stammeinndeling (sjå
oversynet over “Nominalstämme” hjå Schleicher 1861–62: 420–425;
jf. s. 288–292 om rot- og stammesuffiks-prinsippet). Ved jamføring med
sanskrit viste Lyngby samstundes at somme former i “oldnordisk” var
eldre enn dei gotiske. Den komparative tilnærminga braut med dei som
handsama norrønt primært ut frå tilhøva i moderne islandsk, og Konráð
Gíslason protesterte mot dei delane av klassifiseringa hans Lyngby som
han ikkje fann att i moderne islandsk (Ottosson 2002: 96).

Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1864: XXXIV–LII) tek i innleiinga til utgåva
av *Eyrbyggja saga* opp både historisk utvikling i islandsk og norsk-
islandske skilnader. Attåt dei vanlege trekka (*h*-, handsaminga av u-om-
ljod) nemner han analogisk innsetjing av *v*- i fortid av nokre sterke verb,
t.d. *vurðu* for *urðu* (av *verða*), som eit norsk drag (s. XXXVI), og han er
klár over at norvagismar kom inn i islandske handskrifter på 1300-talet
(s. XXXV). Guðbrandur er ikkje så nøyen med å oppgje kjelder og
byggjer nok mykje på eiga forskning, men han kjende fulla dei utgjevne
arbeida av Konráð og Lyngby. Trass i innsikta han viser, skriv han i føre-
ordet (s. V) at “móðurmálið hefir aldri skipt litum né líkjum á Íslandi, en
haldið fegrð sinni fullri fram á þenna dag”.

⁴ Målsetjinga om å “bestemme, hvilke böjningsendelser der have udviklet sig simpelthen ad lydovergangens vej, og hvilke der skyldes indflydelse fra andre klasser” (Lyngby 1865: 21) peikar framover mot dei to hovudprinsippa åt junggrammatikarane: ljodlover og analogi.

3.3 Gammalnorsk

Munch (1846) gjorde det klart at islandsk ikkje var identisk med fellesnordisk (i nyare terminologi *urnordisk*), og understreka at svensk og dansk er utvikla frå eit sams nordisk språk eldre enn det norsk-islandske mellomalderspråket (Munch 1846: 276–277). Dette skilde seg frå synet hans Rask, og artikkelen syner òg elles at Munch var meir inspirert av Grimm, som han viser til. Munch nemner mellom anna lenging av vokal før *ng/nk* i nyare islandsk, men lenging før *l* + konsonant (dvs. framom *lf*, *lg*, *lk*, *lm*, *lp* og *ls*) i både islandsk og norsk (s. 237). Grimm (1822–37: I, 281, 286) hadde i jamføring med gotisk vist at *a* “wandelt sich in *â*” i desse stillingane, men tilhøvet mellom dei to utviklingane er uklårt hjå han (sjå merknader t.d. under *i* (s. 289) om at lenginga berre skjer framom *ng/nk*).

Dette synet vart teke med i grammatikken Munch gav ut i lag med Unger, der dei skriv i innleiinga at “et omhyggeligt comparativt Studium” gjorde det naudsynt “fornemmelig i Lydlæren og Verbalflexionen, at afvige fra Rasks System, og derimod nærme os Grimms” (Munch og Unger 1847a: III). Men i mangt fortsette dei tradisjonen med å normera språket på islandsk grunn, t.d. med *h* framom *l*, *n* og *r*. Dei skil mellom *æ* og *œ*, men har *ö* som sams teikn for /ø/ og u-omljud av /a/, og skriv *ey* (sjølv om “den ældre [...] Udtale er *øi*”, s. 5). Den nyislandske tradisjonen er òg tydeleg når det heiter at dei lange vokalane kan sjåast “som et Slags Diphthonger” (s. 5). Lengdemarkering av vokalar vart delvis gjort utan å ta omsyn til seinare islandsk utvikling, t.d. har dei lang vokal før *l* + konsonant, men ikkje framom *ng/nk*. Denne normaliseringa vart sidan “arva” av Fritzner i ordboka (jf. Hødnebø 1977: 72–73), og bortsett frå at *ø* og *o* seinare er skilde, representerer dette mykje godt status quo.

Noko meir omsyn til gammalnorsk tok Ivar Aasen (1854) i *En liden Læsebog i Gammel Norsk*. Han tilrår å bruka “den Udtale, som Ordene endnu have her i Landet, især i Fjeldbygderne og i det Vestenfjeldske” (s. 5); såleis står aksentane for “den lange eller lukte Lyd”, ikkje diftong, og *ö* vil han uttala som “det aabne o”. Det er få døme i leseboka, men *ö* for i-omljud av /o/ finst i alle fall i *sökker* (s. 27) og *nörðra* (s. 29), medan *ø* alltid står for lang vokal (skild frå *æ*). Dette er same system som Munch og Unger, bortsett frå valet av *ø* i staden for *œ*. Aasen skriv *øy* (nokre døme på *öy*, men aldri *ey*) og har stutt vokal i ord som *tolf*, *sjalfr* og *hjalp*; her er nok dette norske trekk, ikkje etymologiske skrivemåtar. Men han skriv *hl-*, *hn-*, *hr-* etter islandsk skikk.

Gammalnorsk ordboksverk utvikla seinare ei eiga norm for gammal-

norsk (Hødnebo 1977).⁵ Denne norma skil seg frå den vanlege normaliseringa hovudsakleg på desse punkta: handsaminga av u-omljud (*á* både for /a:/ og omljodsproduktet /ɔ:/, men omljud av /a/ er skriva *o*, ikkje *ø*), ingen *h* framom *l*, *n*, *r*; *øy* i staden for *ey* og *i* for halvokalen /j/. Det siste er i tråd med både norske og islandske handskrifter og har ikkje med språklege skilje å gjera. Ordboksverket viser i retningslinene sine til Holtsmark (1955), som fylgjer dei nemnde punkta og dessutan har vokalharmonisk fordeling av endingsvokalane *i/e* og *u/o*, men elles har ikkje norma vore mykje nytta. Ein del tekstar frå Gammalnorsk ordboksverk er digitaliserte av *Medieval Nordic Text Archive* (Menota), og der fylgjer lemmanormaliseringa denne norma (men den løpande teksten er ikkje normalisert).

3.4 Kodifisering

Språkvitskapen vann altså fram til klårare forståing av geografiske og diakrone skilje innanfor det ein kan kalla norrønt. Munch (1846: 270–271) set i samband med ein diskusjon av gammalsvensk og gammaldansk fram eit program for arbeid med eldre språk (jf. om utgåver i § 4.6): Frå diplomatriske utgåver av “Hovedmanuskripterne” kan ein trekkja ut reglar og setja opp ein “Normalorthographi”; i handutgåver bør ein så bruka “en consequent Orthographi, abstraheret fra hvad der er fælles for de bedste Haandskrifter, og berigtiget ved etymologiske Hensyn.” Og det er nok dei etymologiske omsyna som gjer at Munch og Unger (1847a), trass i “oldnorsk” i tittelen, held seg til ei islandsk rettskriving.

Ordboka hans Eiríkur Jónsson (1863) tek nokre omsyn til den nyvunne forståinga av seinare islandske utviklingar, og somt vart teke inn i tekstutgåver (sjå nedanfor). Eit slikt etymologisk skilje er mellom opphavleg /æ:/ og /ø:/, skrivne høvesvis *æ* og *œ*. Eiríkur nyttar båe teikna (med tilvising til Konráð Gíslason 1846), men alfabetiserer dei i lag som ei mellomløyising. Teikna *æ* og *œ* er nokså like, og særleg i skrifttypar der *æ* ser ut som *æ* i kursiv, vert typen lett blanda saman med *œ*. Det kan faktisk ha vore eit argument for *œ*: Teikna er så like at dei ikkje er til bry for dei som er vane med nyislandsk rettskriving, og der er ingen aksent som i andre lange vokalar – “clearly a concession to modern Icelandic usage” (Haugen 1968: 74).

Adolf Noreen gjer i innleiinga til fyrsteutgåva av grammatikken (1884) klårt greie for tilnærminga si til geografisk og diakron variasjon: “Ich

⁵ Eit dokument frå ordboksverket om m.a. normalisering, dagsett juni 1982, er 9. september 2014 tilgjengeleg på <http://folk.uib.no/hnooh/normalisering/>.

habe also den versuch gemacht, sowol den lautentwicklungen ihr rechtes sprachgebiet als entweder urnordisch, altisländisch oder altnorwegisch anzuweisen, als auch innerhalb jedes der genannten sprachkreise das gegenseitige chronologische verhältnis der erscheinungen, soweit möglich, festzustellen.” Ei oppsummering av skilnader, både mellom aust- og vestnordisk og mellom norsk og islandsk, finst i §§ 8–9.

Denne sida av grammatikken vart utvida i seinare utgåver, mellom anna med mange tilvisingar til gammal- og mellomnorske former, i stor grad tekne frå arbeida hans Marius Hægstad om gammalnorske dialektar. Men sjølv om Noreen tok inn desse opplysningane (særleg i 4. utg., 1923), heldt han seg til ei normalisering som bygde på islandsk; såleis heiter det i føreordet til tredjeutgåva (1903) at dersom anna ikkje er sagt, er oppgjevne former både islandske og norske, “obwol sie nur in ihrem altisländischen gewand auftritt”.

3.5 Namnet på språket

Kva namn ein set på språket, seier både noko om forståinga av det som historisk objekt, og om tilhøvet til det i samtida. Namnet på det gamle språket har stundom vore eit nasjonalt spørsmål. Dei svenske utgåvene på 1600-talet kalla språket “det gamle götiske” eller “lingua sveo-gothica” (Finnur Jónsson 1918: 32). Rask forklarar desse svenske nemningane med at “de så gjærne ville tilegne sig det gamle Sprog” (Rask 1811: VII). Sjølv kalla Rask det som nemnt ganske enkelt “islandsk” eller “nordiske fornspråket”, som i augo hans var det same.

I Noreg kunne ikkje “islandsk” brukast av nasjonale grunnar, og jam-sides forsøk på å kalla språket “norsk” (t.d. Fritzner 1886–1896), bruka Munch og Unger (1847a) “norrønasproget”, eit namn som sidan har fått godt feste i Norden og er parallelt med bruken av “Old Norse” på engelsk. Meir av ei tilsniking er utgåva av *Alexanders saga* (Unger 1848), med undertittelen “norsk bearbeidelse fra trettende aarhundrede af Philip Gautiers latinske digt Alexandreis”. Som Haugen (1994: 144) har peika på, var omsetjinga gjord av ein islending (rett nok på oppdrag frå kong Magnus Lagabøte), og handskriftene er islandske. I serien *Vestnorske målføre fyre 1350* (1906–1942) av Marius Hægstad tek to av banda føre seg færøysk og islandsk – som altså vert rekna for “vestnorske målføre”. Som eit historisk ekko har hovudredaktørane for den nye *Norske språk-historie* fastsett at den etablerte norrøne norma skal fylgjast, med sine islandske særtrekk, men språket skal likevel kallast “gammalnorsk” – heilt i ånda frå 1800-talet.

“Det norske syn falt Oldskriftselskabet [sjå § 4.2] tungt for brystet” (Hødnebo 1977: 73), og i fortalen til *Oldnordisk Ordbog* (Erik Jonsson 1863) forsvara selskapet valet av “oldnordisk”. Eit seinare innlegg i debatten av Jóhannes L.L. Jóhannsson (1929) går hardt ut mot den norske freistnaden på å krevja eigarskap til den sams, og for ein stor del sær-isländske, litterære arven. Jóhannes meiner oppdelinga i aust- og vest-nordisk er ein del av denne freistnaden (jf. § 2), og er sjølv godt nøgd med å kalla det gamle målet “oldnordisk” eller “fornnorðræna” (tysk “altnordisch”). Derimot vil han ikkje nytta “forníslenzku (altisländisch)” som nemning, for “þá væri sem tungan hefði svo breytzt, að þá sé eigi lengur að tala um sama málið [...] það eru Íslendingar einir, sem enn í dag varðveita þenna sameiginlega fornaldardýrgrip norðræna þjóða, með því að skilja, tala og rita þessa tungu áfram, því nær óumbreyta” (Jóhannes L.L. Jóhannsson 1929: 143). I kritikken av éi nasjonalistisk stemme fylgjer han i staden ei anna, som legg vekt på den historiske einskapen i isländsk.

4 Tekstutgåver og tekstutgjeving

Det er lettskjønande at ulike brukargrupper ynskjer ulike utgåver, og hovudsakleg kan dette skiljast etter om lesarane er interesserte i *innhaldet* (ålmenne lesarar, historikarar, litteraturforskarar) eller *forma* (språkforskarar, paleografar). Forskjellige slag tekstutgåver og gradar av normalisering kan sorterast etter korleis teksten er gjeven ut (tekstreproduksjon) og kva tekstgrunnlag utgåva byggjer på (tekstseleksjon) (Haugen 1995). Odd Einar Haugen (1995 og seinare arbeid) deler tekstreproduksjonen inn i tre nivå, ein praksis som er fylgd av Menota:

1. **faksimilært:** så nær handskriftet som det er råd å koma, i grafinventar, avstyttingar, teiknsetjing, ord- og linedeling m.m.
2. **diplomatarisk:** avstyttingar er oppløyste, men markerte (kursiv); ulike, ikkje tydingsskiljande grafar er slegne saman.
3. **normalisert:** til ei intern norm (språksteget åt skrivaren) eller til ei ekstern (norrønt eller nyisländsk).

Det er glidande overgangar mellom nivåa, og Haugen (1995) har to ulike gradar av diplomatarisk og normalisert tekst. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2003) byggjer på Haugen, men gjer ei endå meir finmaska inndeling, og baa to gjev døme på ein tekst i ulike reproduksjonsgradar. I vår

samanheng er det språkforma i dei normaliserte utgåvene som er interessant, og Guðvarður Már (2003: 204) gjer her eit nyttig skilje mellom normalisering til språkforma åt skrivaren (gjerne kalla “tekstintern normalisering”) eller til ei ekstern norm, som kan vera anten “norrønt” eller nysislandsk. Me held oss her til det fyrste, men Haraldur Bernharðsson (2005) drøftar utgåver med nysislandsk rettskriving og peikar på at dei ikkje berre normaliserer rettskrivinga, men òg endrar både morfologi (ord byter bøyingsklasse, endra personendingar i verb) og syntaks (innsetjing av pronomen), slik det i røynda ikkje er snakk om “samræmd nútímastafsetning”, men “samræmt nútímamál”.

Ein kan skilja mellom utgåver etter eitt tekstvitne (handskrift) og kritiske utgåver baserte på fleire tekstvitne; dei kan kallast høvesvis monotypiske og syntetiske utgåver (Haugen 1995: 81–91). Her skal ikkje sjølv edisjonsfilologien oppta oss, men kva språkform som vert vald for dei ulike utgåvene. For i alle utgåver, så nær som faksimilær, må utgjevaren gjera språklege val. Ein tekstkritisk tradisjon som legg vekt på rekonstruksjon av ein “urtekst”, vil truleg vera positiv til å gjera det same med språket: føra det attende til den “opphavlege” forma (jf. § 2.1). I syntetiske utgåver med lesemåtar frå fleire handskrifter er dessutan språkleg normalisering einaste måten å unngå “eit språkleg lappeteppe” (Haugen 1995: 91), og dei er difor særleg interessante i vår samanheng. Monotypiske utgåver ligg derimot betre til rettes for tekstintern normalisering, og dette er til dømes gjort i utgåver av eddadikta, som stort sett berre er overleverte i Codex Regius (GKS 2365 4^{to}).

4.1 Utgjevingsssoge

Finnur Jónsson (1918) skildrar den eldre norrønfilologien, medan Haugen (2013) er eit oppdatert oversyn; sjå dessutan meir utførleg, men berre om norske utgåver, Haugen (1994). Den fyrste trykte norrøne tekst var utgåva hans Olof Verelius av *Gautreks saga* i Sverige i 1664, og fleire andre fylgde dei neste åra. Men Finnur Jónsson (1918: 30) feller ein hard dom over arbeidet: “Hvad der karakteriserer [disse udgaver] er fuldstændig mangel på tekstkritik; som oftest er der kun ét håndskr. benyttet – af naturlige grunde – og da en unøjagtig afskrift med yngre islandsk retskrivning.” I Danmark gav P.H. Resen ut *Snorraedda* i 1665, og same år *Völuspá* og *Hávamál*, men meir vart ikkje gjort i Danmark dét hundreåret. Dei fyrste islandske utgåvene stod Skálholt-bispen Þórður Þorláksson for i 1688. Desse utgåvene vart til på same vis som dei svenske: utan tekstkritikk og etter det handskriftet som var for handa. Slik var situasjo-

nen lenge. Enno i 1817 kritiserte Rasmus Rask kjennskapet til det gamle språket og i det heile nivået på tekstkritikken i Sverige i ei melding av ei utgåve av *Jomsvikinga saga* (Blom 2013: 267).

4.2 Oldskriftselskabet

Finnur Jónsson (1918) set eit skilje ved 1825: Då vart Det kongelige nordiske Oldskriftselskab oppretta med C.C. Rafn som drivande kraft og Rasmus Rask som fyrste formann. Selskapet sette straks i gang med å gje ut serien *Fornmanna sögur* (kongesoger), og utgåvene vekte mykje åtgåum, jamvel om Finnur (1918: 43) meiner dei var “meget mangelfulde i kritisk henseende”. Tekstane vart normaliserte, om ikkje heilt fylgjestrengt, i hovudsak etter ideane hans Rask: “Der er således ingen tvivl om at retskrivningen i Oldskriftselskabets udgaver først og fremmest skyldes Rask” (Jakob Benediktsson 1979: 12). Rask utvikla tankane sine om rettskriving over noko tid, men ikring 1817 var det meste på plass, går det fram av breva hans (s.st.). Jamvel om fyrste bandet av *Fornmanna sögur* (1825) fylgjer eit hovudhandskrift (AM 61 fol.), “er þó víða breytt hennar stafasetningu” (s. 15). Innleiinga gjer stutt greie for nokre få punkt (s. 15–16), men det meste må ein sjå av teksten sjølv. Særleg streng er ikkje normaliseringa, t.d. ymsar *u* og *o* mykje i endingane etter handskriftgrunnlaget, sjølv om dette er det enklaste å normalisera. Reint ortografisk normalisering er *k* for både *c* og *ch* i handskriftene, og gjennomført skilje mellom vokalane *i*, *u* og halvokalane *j*, *v*. Det er skilt etymologisk mellom *i* og *y*, men vanlegvis skrive *æ* og *ö* etter nyislandsk mønster. Aksentteikn er gjennomgåande bruka. Utgåvene har *t/k* der islandsk seinare har fått *ð/g*, men dette er somtíð vorte hyperkorrigert, t.d. *-nat* for *-nað* og verbendinga *-t* i andre person fleirtal, som i grammatikkane hans Rask.

Som Rask talde til, er det skrive *â* for eldre /a:/ som no er uttala /o/ i islandsk (t.d. *vân* og *hânnum*), og *è* og *ì* der uttalen i islandsk no er /je/ og /ji/ (t.d. nom. *vili*). Sidan dette er stigande diftongar, i motsetnad til *á* som er ein fallande diftong i nyislandsk, er det på sett og vis logisk med motsett aksentteikn. I bolken om uttale i *Anvisning* argumenterer Rask dessutan med at *â* og *è* “på en gång kunna uttrycka dess ursprungliga och dess nyare lindrigare uttal” (Rask 1818: 8–9; jf. s. 18–20 om *ì*, som derimot ikkje er nytta i 1832-grammatikken). Dette heng saman med synet på nyislandsk rettskriving (sjå § 5.1).

Men utgåvene vart framleis kritiserte. Unger (1843: 539) skriv at det er døme “i Mængde paa hver Side i en trykt Saga” på at eit ord har “et andet Udseende end det har i Codex” – og slik må det jo verta i normaliserte utgåver. Særleg er det samanblanding av *i* og *y* han siktar til, jf. note om

dette s. 557: “Udgaverne kan man ikke stole det allerringeste paa.” Han spesifiserer ikkje alltid kva utgåver han siktar til, men nemner utgåver frå Oldskriftselskabet. Ei noko vaklande normalisering basert på nyislandsk kunne vel gje former som skilde seg frå handskriftene. Utsegna hans Unger viser såleis ei forventning om at utgåvene skal gjenskapa ortografien i handskriftene.

4.3 Norske utgåver

Nordmenn kom i gang med utgjeving av norrøne tekstar frå 1840-åra, og særleg C.R. Unger var ein aktiv utgjevar. Det ymsar noko mellom utgåvene kor store inngrep som vart gjorde i rettskrivinga, men stort sett er utgåvene bokstavrette (Holm-Olsen 1981: 98). Utgåvene av *Fagrskinna* (1847; jf. § 2.1) og *Konungs skuggsjá* (1848) er derimot normalisert til norrønt med klåre islandske drag, altså etter ei ekstern norm, medan utgåva av *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* (Keyser og Unger 1851) gjennomfører den gammalnorske språkforma i hovudhandskriftet og fylgjer ei tekstintern norm. Dette er gjort jamvel om delar av teksten måtte hentast frå islandske handskrifter og éi side dessutan omsetjast frå latin til gammalnorsk (Keyser og Unger 1851: XXII–XXIII; jf. Haugen 1994: 155).

Dei fleste utgåvene av Unger var altså bokstavrette, og “[t]il Lettelse for dem, der ei ere vante ved Haandskrifternes i enkelte Punkter vaklende Retskrivning” kommenterer han i innleiinga åt *Alexanders saga* dei “viktigste Egenheder” i hovudhandskriftet, t.d. vakling mellom *æ* og *œ* og varierende attgjeving av u-omljoden (Unger 1848: IX–XII). Der han må skifta førelegg på grunn av ein lakune, skiftar han òg språkform. Men skrivefeil er retta opp og utelatingar supplerte, medan oppløyste avstytingar ikkje er markerte, så utgåva er ikkje strengt diplomatarisk. Det kritiske apparatet er dessutan sett attarst, ikkje nedst på kvar side, og såleis meir unnagøymt enn vanleg.

Med Gustav Storm sist i hundreåret vart ein strengare diplomatarisk tradisjon innleidd, og han har halde seg i Noreg sidan (Haugen 1994: 154). Det skal likevel nemnast at ordlistene/registera som gjerne fylgde med utgåvene på 1840- og 1850-talet, var normaliserte.

4.4 Tekstkritikk og vitskaplege utgåver

Frå ikring midt på 1800-talet slo moderne tekstkritikk gjennom i norrøntfilologien. Eldre utgåver hadde òg drøfta handskriftgrunnlaget, men no vart dette gjort grundigare og gjerne framstilt i eit stemma (Haugen 2013: 18). Utgåvene byggjer likevel på eitt utvalt handskrift, men med lesemå-

tar og rettingar frå andre. Finnur Jónsson, ein av dei mest produktive utgjevarane i norrønfilologien, meinte at denne arbeidsmåten ville gjera teksten “sem upphaflegastur” (1931: 14). Finnur ville ikkje markera oppløyste avstytingar, men normalisera teksten og heller gjera greie for rettskrivinga i innleiinga. Men unntak kan gjerast dersom eit handskrift er “gott og gamalt”, som Homilieboka (jf. § 5.3), som bør gjevast ut “með sem mestri nákvæmni” (s. 15).

P.G. Thorsen og Konráð Gíslason gav ut ei syntetisk utgåve av *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* (1839) der dei jamførde alle handskriftene og valde “hvad vi kunde dømme at være det rigtigste, bedste og mest ægte” (s. 25). Denne arbeidsmåten vart ikkje mønsterdannande, men utgåva hans Konráð av *Njála* (1875) er av same slag. Språket i *Hrafnkels saga* er normalisert; utgjevarane prøvde å gje “en Sprogform, der nogenlunde kunde svare til den Standpunkt, hvorpå Forskningen af Sproget befinder sig” (s. 26). Dette kan ein jamføra med prinsippet Munch og Unger fylgde i *Fagrskinna* nokre år seinare.

Guðbrandur Vigfússon var ein aktiv utgjevar midt på 1800-talet (sjå Finnur Jónsson 1918: 48–49). I ei grundig innleiing til *Eyrbyggja saga* (1864, utgjeven saman med tyskaren Theodor Möbius) greier han ut om språkendingar (sjå § 3.2) og kjem somtid inn på kva språklege val som er gjorde i utgåva. Sidan ei av hovudkjeldene er eit handskrift med mange norske drag (*Vatnsbyrna*), er det ofte snakk om å føra språkforma attende til det “echt isländische” (s. XXXVI). Det er interessant at han skriv *ang/eng/öng* utan den seinare diftongeringa, men derimot *úng/íng/ýng*, der aksenten “verstösst [...] gegen keinerlei Lautregel” (s. XLI–XLII). I samband med bruken av *ð* nemner han at å skriva *kð/pð* i substantiv som *spekð* og fortidsformer som *gleyþði* (i samsvar med eitt av handskriftene) “schien uns indessen zu alterthümlich” (s. XL). Trass i at han greier grundig ut om endinga i mediopassiv, vel han den nokså moderne forma *-st* (s. XL), men *-sk* i kvada. Utgåva tek nemleg omsyn til at språket i kvada er eldre (s. XLVI–L), slik det òg har vore vanleg seinare (jf. § 4.5). Vanlege døme er *vesa* og bøyingsformene *es, vas* for *vera*, og enklitisk pronomen og relativpartikkel (*skalk* for *skal ek*, *þars* for *þar es* o.l.). Innleiinga viser tidt til vanleg praksis i utgåver, og Guðbrandur veg tydelegvis praksis mot det han meiner er språkhistorisk rett. Her kan ein leggja til at i ordboka (Cleasby og Gudbrand Vigfusson 1869) har ingen vokalar før *ng/nk* aksent, altså ei strengare etymologisk normalisering som òg er vorten nýislandsk praksis.

Den tyske serien *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek* (1892–1929) gav ut syntetiske utgåver. Der er ikkje variantapparat, men merknader til realia

og språk, og utgåvene er fullt normaliserte. Normaliseringa tek omsyn til alderen på verket – ikkje handskriftene – og er såleis nokså arkaisk i utgåvene av *Íslendingabók* (1892) og *Ágrip* (1929), og ålment i skaldekvad (t.d. berre *þ*, ikkje *ð*), medan hovudteksten i sogeutgåvene fylgjer ei klassisk norrøn norm, t.d. med skilje *æ/œ* og *ø/ø*. Normaliseringa kan likevel synast noko inkonsekvent, når ein t.d. i *Gísla saga* (1903) finn svært gamle former som *hón* og *hánnum* jamsides mediopassiv -z og lengd vokal før *l* + konsonant (t.d. *hólmr*). *Egils saga* (1924) i same serie har i staden *hon* og *honum*, jamvel om bae sogene er gjevne ut av Finnur Jónsson.

4.5 Íslenzk fornrit

Dei mest nytta utgåvene i dag er *Íslenzk fornrit*-serien, som kom med fyrste band (*Egils saga*) i 1933. Der heiter det i innleiinga at “stafsetning er hér samræmd á svipaðan hátt og lengi hefur tíðkapt í þeim útgáfum, sem eru ekki prentaðar stafrétt eftir handritunum” (Sigurður Nordal 1933: XCIX). Men det er likevel teke omsyn til hovudhandskriftet (*Möðruvallabók*, AM 132 fol.) somstad, slik at ein finn veksling *Fidr* ~ *Finnr*, *Reykja(r)dalr* o.l. Skaldekvada har ei meir arkaisk språkform enn utgåva elles (t.d. markert u-omljod av /a:/ og *es* for *er*): “Er í því efni farið eftir sömu reglum og í Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning” (s. CI).

I innleiinga til *Biskupa sögur II* er Ásdís Egilsdóttir inne på vanskane med å elda språket i yngre handskrifter til 1200-talsnorma, og viser då til Larsson (1891) som rettesnor – “enda hefur það löngum verið gert í Íslenzkum fornritum” (Ásdís Egilsdóttir 2002: CXXXIV). Larsson normaliserer i sin tur “åfter det älst a skrivsätt som allmänt förekommer” (Larsson 1891: II; sperra skrift i originalen). I den teksten som har eldste handskriftgrunnlaget, let Ásdís t.d. *nekkverr* og *umb* stå (for yngre *nokkurr* og *um*), medan tekstar som truleg er skrivne på 1300-talet, får *æ* og *ö* etter nyislandsk skikk “eins og venja er að gera í Íslenzkum fornritum verðandi þau rit sem talin eru samin um 1300 eða á 14. öld” (Ásdís Egilsdóttir 2002: CXXXV; jf. innleiingane i ÍF XIII, XIV og XVII, som Ásdís viser til).

Unge tekstar i serien kan òg få mediopassiv -st i staden for den eldre -sk. Omvendt får *Íslendingabók* (ÍF I) ei svært alderdommeleg språkform, jamvel om nokre gamle former er fjerna; utgåva har t.d. *ð* i inn- og utljod (ikkje *þ*), *i* og *u* som endingsvokalar, og *á*, ikkje *ǫ*. Trass i at *Íslenzk fornrit* fylgjer ei nokså streng normalisering, tek altså utgåvene noko omsyn til handskriftgrunnlaget. Som i *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek* er det den trulege alderen på verket som er avgjerande, ikkje handskriftene utgåva byggjer på og språkforma i dei.

4.6 Språkvitskapleg kritikk

For historisk språkvitskap er det overlag viktig med noggranne, diplomatariske utgåver. Finnur Jónsson (1931: 9–13) gjev mange døme på ymse slag lesefeil i vanlege utgåver, og det gjev naturlegvis utrygt grunnlag for språklege studiar, medan normaliserte utgåver skjular den variasjonen språkforskaren gjerne er interessert i.

Konráð Gíslason (1846: II) peikar på at det trengst to slag utgåver: faksimilære (“svo að blaðsíða svaraði blaðsíðu, lína línu, orð orði, stafur staf, band bandi, púunktur púnkti, og allt eptir því”) for språklege studiar, og dinst utgåver for álmenta som er normaliserte til målet “á þeim stað og tíma, er hver bók hefur verið rituð” – altså tekstintern normalisering (jf. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2003: 218). I ei over hundre sider lang innleiing til *Frumparta* (1846) er ei rekkje gamle islandske tekstar trykte bokstavrett, og saman med den syntetiske og normaliserte utgåva av *Hrafnkels saga* kan ein seia at Konráð levde slik han lærde. P.A. Munch hadde liknande tankar, som det går fram av sitatet i § 3.4, og i 1849 uttrykte han eit ynske om “bogstavtro” utgåver for forskarane, “medens jeg selv eller mine Venner paa Spadseretoure kunde stikke smaa stereotyperede Duodezudgaver af den kritisk bearbejdede Text i Lommen” (sitert etter Haugen 1994: 149).

Noreen klaga i føreordet til grammatikken over at utforskinga av dialektar og historisk utvikling innanfor det norrøne språkområdet enno var i startfasen, og alvorleg hindra av mangelen på “genauen (d.h. nicht durch die gewöhnliche normalisierung unbrauchbar gemachten) textausgaben” (1884: VI). Dette betra seg ikkje på alle område, og enno i siste utgåve kalla han praksisen med *e/æ* og *ø/œ* for høvesvis stutt og lang */æ/* og */ø/* “sehr unzuweckmässig” (Noreen 1923: § 30–31). Det har kome til fleire diplomatariske utgåver sidan hans tid, og stendig fleire slike tekstar vert tilgjengelege i søkbar form på nett. Dette kan utnyttast meir i språkhistoriske undersøkingar enn det som har vore tilfelle så langt.

5 Ei norm vert til

Det kan vera på sin plass å spørja kvifor ein skal normalisera i det heile. Skrivarane i mellomalderen fylgde i mangt sin eigen tillærde ortografi; jamvel når dei skreiv av førelegg ord for ord, kunne det einskilde ordet få ei ny form. Denne praksisen varde så lenge handskriftene vart overle-

verte i ein levande tradisjon; fyrst ved den vitskaplege handsaminga av dei og utgjevinga av trykte utgåver vart normalisering eit poeng. Jón Helgason peika på at utgåver med nyislandsk rettskriving berre fylgjer denne gamle tradisjonen (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2003: 216).

Fleire av dei som gav ut lesebøker til undervisningsføremål på 1800-talet, grunnjev normaliseringa i utgåvene sine pedagogisk. Ludvig Wimmer viser til dømes jamleg til “pædagogiske grunde”, omsyn til “disciplen” og “de praktiske hensyn til skolernes tarv” i leseboka si. I språkvitskaplege arbeid som grammatikkar og ordbøker er normalisering naudsynt. Ordbokredaktøren kan velja å oppgje variantar – *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltidsspråket* av K.F. Söderwall har til dømes mange slike – men éi form må vera oppslagsform. Grammatikkar må likeins velja ei form i paradigma og døme, jamvel om det er mogleg å visa til variantar. Noreen er eit godt døme på dét: Han normaliserer i fyrste omgang til ei klassisk (eller snarare arkaisk) språkform, og gjev yngre og/eller norske variantar i fotnotar.

Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2003: 225) føreslår kva slag utgåver ymse brukargrupper treng. Han meiner at det berre er språkvitarar, jamvel berre dei som studerer fonologi, morfologi eller leksikon, som treng diplomatariske utgåver; paleografar må uansett ha faksimil, medan andre er best hjelpte med normaliserte utgåver. Det er ofte hevda at normaliserte utgåver er gode nok for studiar av leksikon, syntaks og stil (t.d. Rischel 2002: 141–142), men sjølv her er det openberre problem, fordi syntaksen òg kan verta endra (sjå t.d. Haraldur Bernharðsson 2005: 189; jf. § 4 ovanfor).

For dei som “berre” er interesserte i teksten *qua* tekst, kan normaliserte utgåver høva best. Guðvarður Már meiner at diplomatariske utgåver (der grafem utan fonologisk tyding er slegne saman) med avstyttingar oppløyste i kursiv kan vera eit brukbart kompromiss. Men dette er samstundes ei løysing som ikkje er optimal for nokon, og Haugen (1994: 154) meiner at den norske “diplomatariske utgjevingstradisjonen har vore ei god løysing for språkhistorikarane, men ei mindre god løysing for litteraturhistorikarane og allmennhistorikarane”. Med digitale utgåver er det no vorte mogleg å gje ut same tekst med fleire ulike normaliseringsnivå, slik Menota legg opp til, og me kan difor sjå fram til (digitale) utgåver som tilgodeser alle. Eit fyrste døme på dette er *Alexanders saga* (etter AM 519 a 4^{to}), utgjeven av Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen, som er tilgjengeleg i Menota-arkivet.

5.1 Nyislandsk rettskriving

Det er uråd å sjå utviklinga av normalisert norrønt lausrive frå moderne islandsk rettskriving, og her skal difor gjerast greie for hovuddraga i utviklinga av henne. Eit skrivemiljø kan nok utvikla rettskrivingsnormer for handskrivne tekstar, men ein verkeleg fast ortografi kjem gjerne som fylgje av prentekunsten. Den fyrste prenta boka på islandsk, *Nýja testamenti* hans Oddur Gottskálfsson (1540), fylgde tradisjonen i handskriftene, t.d. med avstyttingar og avstyttingsteikn, og slik handskriftprega skrivemåte var vanleg fram til slutten av 1700-talet (Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson 1959: 71–74).

Ei historiserande og puristisk stemne i rettskrivinga, med skrivemåtane i dei gamle handskriftene som ideal, har lang tradisjon i islandsk, og særleg Árni Magnússon var ein tidleg målsmann for dette. I 1762 la Eggert Ólafsson fram tankar om rettskriving som vart mykje fylgde; skriftet hans vart aldri trykt, men sirkulerte i avskrifter og påverka mange (Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990: 38–41). Eggert tok mellom anna opp aksenteikna over opphavleg lange vokalar, som i dei eldste handskriftene, og innførde nokre etymologiserande skrivemåtar (Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson 1959: 76). Teiknet ð vart òg atterinnført, fyrste gong på prent i *Syntagma de Baptismo* av Jón Ólafsson (Svefneyingur) i 1770, så i utgåva hans Ólafur Olavius av *Njála* (1772), men vart ikkje vanleg før antikva erstatta frakturen tidleg på 1800-talet (Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1864: XXXIX).⁶ Truleg spela praktiske omsyn inn; ð vart teke med når det uansett skulle støypast nye typar for antikva.

Rasmus Rask fekk mykje å seia i dette òg, som i mangt anna; han hadde “mikil áhrif á allt menntalíf hér á landi á fyrstu áratugum 19. aldar” (Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson 1959: 77). Som formann i Hið íslenzka bókmenntafélag frá 1827 fekk han snart gjennomslag for tankane sine om rettskriving i tidsskriftet *Skírnir*, t.d. innføring av ð (Jakob Benediktsson 1979: 13). I 1830 gav Rask ut leseboka *Lestrarkver handa heldri manna börnum*, med ei rettskriving “sem segja má að séu grundvöllurinn að íslenskri nútímastafsetningu” (Kristján Árnason 2005: 108). Denne rettskrivinga var etymologiserande, m.a. med skilje mellom *i* og *y*, ending *-r* heller enn *-ur* og *è* (merk aksenten) for eldre /e:/ – moment som finst att i utgåvene Rask hadde ei hand med. Medan Rask “miðaði sína stafsetningu við uppruna” (Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson 1959: 80), ynskte tidsskriftet *Fjölnir* ei meir talemálsnær rettskriving. Programmet vart sett klårt

⁶ Det er ikkje rett, som Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson (1959: 77) hevdar, at *Njála* var fyrste prenta bok med ð. Båe bøkene finst på nett for sjølvsyn.

fram i ein artikkel av Konráð Gíslason der det heitte at det er “einkaregla stafsetningarinnar; og er það framburðurinn” (1836: 16). Av dei mest radikale forslaga var oppgjeving av skiljet mellom *i* og *y*.

Seinare la Konráð fram ei rettskriving som var mykje meir etymologiserande; dette høver med at han såg til fornmålet i målreinsingsarbeidet sitt (Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990: særleg 70–71). Rettskrivinga hans vart popularisert av overlærer Halldór Kr. Friðriksson og kjend som *skólastafsetningin*. Ho skilde seg noko frå Rask (Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson 1959: 84–87): *je* i staden for *è*, enkel vokal før *ng/nk* (der Rask hadde *au*, *í*, *ú* etter uttalen), alltid *-ur* i endingar og alltid *pt*, jamvel i *skript* < *skrif*a. Det vart dessutan føreslege å skilja *æ* og *œ* (som Eggert Ólafsson òg talde til), men forslaget vart tidleg lagt bort. Helgi Guðmundsson (1972: 108–109) nemner dette i lag med forsøk på å atteroppliva dualis: “The adoption of this archaism is no doubt due to the classicism of the early nineteenth century”.

Skólastafsetningin var “næsta lík þeirri, sem við búum við í dag” (Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson 1959: 87). Seinare diskusjon har dreidd seg mest om *è/é* eller *je* og bruken av *z*. Den etymologiserande lina vann i rettskrivings-spørsmålet, og det inneber at skilnadene mellom *ny-* og gammalisländsk er større enn skriftbiletet gjev inntrykk av. Som nemnt er ein grunn til dette ynsket frå m.a. Rask om at rettskrivinga *skulle* dekkja både gammalt og nytt (jf. § 4.2 og nedanfor). Jamvel om dei to normene etter kvart skilde seg åt, voks dei fram på same tid og i samband med kvarandre.

5.2 Rask og Oldskriftselskabet

Med grammatikkane hans Rask og utgåvene frå Oldskriftselskabet, som bygde på rettskrivingsideane hans, slo sjølve prinsippet normalisering gjennom. Utgåvene har ei nokolunde eins rettskriving gjennom heile teksten; ein del omsyn er tekne til handskriftgrunnlaget (som ymsar mellom utgåvene), men dette er medvite og drøfta (stutt) i innleiingane til kvart band. Retningslinene i § 4.2 ovanfor er gjennomførde, men som nemnt var ikkje norma heilt fylgjestreng. Denne rettskrivinga tok mykje omsyn til nyare isländsk uttale, dels på grunn av manglande forståing for den historiske utviklinga, dels i samband med ynsket om eins rettskriving for gammal- og nyisländsk. Rask (1818: 8–9) bruka som nemnt slike argument for *â* og *è* (jf. sitatet i 4.2). 1832-grammatikken definerer studieobjektet som “oldnordisk” og opna såleis for to ulike normer, og på same tid gav Rask opp motstanden mot nyisländske skrivemåtar som *-ur* og *-legur* (Jakob Benediktsson 1979: 15).

Finnur Jónsson (1931: 15) skriv beint ut at “Rask skapaði rjettritun [for norrønt] fyrir rúmum hundrað árum, og má segja, að hún hafi haldist til þessa dags, með nokkrum smábreytingum. [...] Þessi rjettritun er að mestu sú, sem notuð er í orðabókum og lestrarbókum.” Ei slik “smábreyting” gjeld seinare endringar i vokalismen i ein del stillingar, t.d. enkel vokal før *ng/nk* hjå Munch og Unger og i *Oldnordisk Ordbog* (1863); dette vart gjennomført i nyislandsk òg. Eit anna moment er fordelinga av *ð*, *d* og *t*. Slike endringar kom i hovudsak som resultat av språkhistorisk forskning, og førde til ei strengare normalisering på historisk og etymologisk grunnlag, altså bort frå det nyislandske, slik det har vore greidd ut ovanfor.

5.3 Wimmers *Læsebog*

I fyrsteutgåva av *Oldnordisk læsebog* (1870) heldt Wimmer seg til “den i de ‘normaliserede’ udgaver af den oldnordiske literatur almindelig fulgte retskrivning”, men til andreutgåva (1877) skreiv han ei innleiing der han drøfta normaliseringsprinsipp og sette fram konkrete forslag. Enno i fjerdeutgåva (1889) er det hans “overbevisning” at desse forslaga “efterhånden i det væsentlige vil vinde almindelig tilslutning i udgaver af oldnordiske skrifter”, og i sjetteutgåva (1903) kunne han slå fast at forslaga “er for længst i alt væsentligt godkendte i de almindelig brugte lærebøger og i udgaver af oldnordiske skrifter.” Somme utgåver viser til denne innleiinga som rettesnor for normaliseringa, så det er all grunn til å gå grundig gjennom henne.⁷

Målet for normaliseringa er “naturligvis den, som kunde fastsættes for skriftsprogets klassiske periode (omtrent 1300 og noget tidligere)” (s. IX), og han viser ofte til bruken i dei eldste handskriftene, og av “særlig vigtighed” er den islandske homilieboka (Stock. Perg. 4^{to} nr. 15), både fordi ho er det største av dei eldste handskriftene, og fordi ho så konsekvent markerer vokallengd. Noreen (1884: § 12) nemner òg at den islandske homilieboka er viktig “wegen [...] seiner **correcten** orthographie” (mi utheving). Hovudprinsippet er altså dei eldste formene, og Wimmer har difor til 2. utg. “ombyttet yngre former [...] med de ældre” (s. XXIV). Døme kan vera pret.pl. *hljópu* for yngre *blupu* (s. XXV), han kommenterer i formlæra at “[f]ormerna med *jó* i præt. plur. äro de äldsta” (Wimmer 1874: § 132); og akk.pl. *sonu* for yngre *syni* (1874: § 52, Anm. 2). Det er

⁷ Innleiinga vart trykt opp att i utgåvene til og med den sjette, som var den siste Wimmer sjølv stod for. Eg siterer her frå sjetteutgåva (Wimmer 1903: VIII–XXXII om rettskriving); sidetala er dei same i 4. utg., men 4–5 sider lenger fram i 2. utg.

tydeleg korleis den historiserande språkvitskapen styrer vala: Norma skal uttrykkja det eldste kjende språket.

Trass i at nokre omljodsfonem tidleg fall saman i islandsk, vil Wimmer av “sproghistoriske og pædagogiske grunde” gjennomføra dei eldre formene. Han skil altså /æ:/ og /ø:/ (skrive *æ*), *ø* og *o* (i 1.–3. utg. skrive *ö*, seinare *o*), og brukar den eldre mediopassivendinga *-sk*. Wimmer hadde i 1. utg. (s. V) nemnt at “man med tiden vil komme til at vælge” ð fleire stader enn han sjølv gjorde den gongen, og i 2. utg. innfører han ð t.d. i fortidsformer som *talði* (av *telja*) og *bleypða* (s. X–XI). Men nokre av dei eldste formene nyttar Wimmer berre i kvad, t.d. *vesa/es/vas* og lang vokal før dobbel konsonant i possessiva (*mínn*, *þínn*, *sínn*). Dette er endra frå 1. utg. (s. V), der han med tilvising til Konráð Gíslason (1866: 298–304) skriv *mínn* o.l. allstad.

Vokallengd er eit særleg vanskeleg felt i normaliseringa, sidan lengda har vorte endra både i særlege stillingar og gjennom den ålmenne kvantitetssomlegginga. Noreen (1923: § 16) kritiserer t.d. Fritznér for å vera “nicht immer ganz zuverlässig” i dette. Wimmer skriv ein del gonger stutt vokal der det ikkje var vanleg, t.d. i preteritum av reduplikasjonsverb som *fekk* (av *fá*, s. XII). Dette er ei endring frå formlæra, der han fører opp *fékk* o.l. i denne klassen (Wimmer 1874: § 126). Omvendt markerer han lengd i ein del høve “hvor de sædvanlige udgaver (for største delen i henhold til den nyere udtale) i reglen bruger kort selvlyd” (s. XIX) – døma han gjev, er alle på overlange stavingar der ein kunne rekna med tidleg stytting av vokalen. Han skriv *skáld* i prosa, men *skald* i dikt, fordi vokalen tidleg var lengd (s. XX), men i nett dette ordet kan lengda vera opphavleg (Noreen 1923: § 123, 4; jf. oppslagsforma *skáld* i ONP). Derimot skriv han t.d. *sjálf-* og *gólf-* med lengd vokal i eddadikta òg, trass i merknaden om vokallenging i denne stillinga i grammatikken (Wimmer 1874: § 16 c). Det fortel elles mykje om haldninga når Wimmer viser til vokalkvantiteten i sanskrit, gotisk og gammalhøgtysk som argument for normaliseringa si (s. XXI).

Wimmer meiner normaliseringa av eddadikt bør leggjast til eit eldre språksteg. Han har nokre meir arkaiske former i kvada, men meiner ei full gjennomføring er “meget upraktisk og derfor urigtigt” i ei lærebok (s. XXVII), t.d. u-omljud av /a:/ . Han lét altså norma vera konservativ, men ikkje arkaisk.

Det er likevel ikkje mange endringar frå fyrsteutgåva, men dei systematiske endringane av vokallengd gjeld til dels svært frekvente ord: *mínn* (o.l.) > *minn*, *hón*, *hánnum* > *hon*, *honum*, fortidsformer som *féngu* > *fengu* o.l. Utgreiinga i andreutgåva (1877) er altså for ein stor del *post hoc*. Han gjer smærre endringar i høve til tradisjonen, men noko klårt brot er

det ikkje. Nyskapinga ligg helst i den eksplisitte argumentasjonen for vala. Ein skal difor ikkje overdriva rolla hans Wimmer i sjølve *utviklinga* av normalortografien, men leseboka hans fekk evlaust stor innverknad på ettertida og bidrog til *spreiinga*.

5.4 Vidare utvikling

Før framlegga hans Wimmer hadde slege gjennom, skreiv Noreen i føreordet til grammatikken at det ville vera “sehr unzweckmässig [...] in einer wissenschaftlich gehaltenen lautlehre die herkömmlische verkehrte rechtschreibung des altisländisch-altnorwegischen anzuwenden” (1884: V). Han hadde drøfta denne avgjerda med Sophus Bugge og Eduard Sievers, framifrå representantar for den tids historiske språkvitskap. Det kan nemnast at Noreen kjende leseboka hans Wimmer, “eine ganz vorzügliche arbeit”, og nemner føreordet eksplisitt (1884: § 16).

Noreen fylgjer ein historiserande tanke som vart sterkare etter kvart. Allereie i 1884 skil han mellom *á* og *ó*, og han skriv *æ* og *ó* med aksent som andre lange vokalar (altså ikkje *œ* for /ø:/). I andreutgåva (1892) gjekk han over til å skriva halvokalane *i*, *u*, ikkje *j*, *v*, og i tredjeutgåva vart *ð* erstatta med *þ* i alle stillingar. Han fører opp både *e*, *o* og *i*, *u* som endingsvokalar, oftast i den rekkjefylgja, i tråd med dei eldste islandske handskriftene.

Få tekstutgåver er så konservative, men Andreas Heusler fylgjer Noreen i *Zwei Isländergeschichten* (1913), og argumenterer med at dei som brukar grammatikken skal sleppa å tenkja på ulike skrivemåtar. Medan fyrsteutgåva (1897) fylgde Noreen (1892), er difor andreutgåva oppdatert etter rettskrivinga i Noreen (1903). Argumentet er altså pedagogisk, og Heusler seier i føreordet at same rettskriving er fylgt i innføringsboka han gav ut same året (*Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, 1913). Dersom føremålet er å undervisa i eldre målsoge, er nok denne rettskrivinga pedagogisk, men skrivemåtar som *Hvíttó* for *Hvítá* styrkjer ikkje sambandet med dagens Island, som t.d. Haugen (1968) legg vekt på.⁸

5.5 Status i dag

Dei fleste normaliserte utgåver fylgjer *Íslenzk fornrit*-tradisjonen. Det er skilnader i normalisering innan ÍF (sjå § 4.5): Kvar utgåve tilpassar seg i

⁸ Jamfør det pedagogiske spørsmålet om studentane skal læra rekonstruert eller nyslandsk uttale. Det fyrste er ein føremon for å forstå språkhistoria, medan det siste styrkjer sambandet med det levande språket. Ein diskusjon med bidrag frå mange forskarar er prenta i *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 1, s. 142–173 (1968).

nokon mon alderen på teksten, slik mellom andre Konráð Gíslason (sjå § 4.6) og Finnur Jónsson (1931: 16) rådde til. I hovudsak kan ein likevel seia at prinsippa skildra i § 5.3 vert fylgde. I somme nyare bøker er *æ* bytt mot *ó* (t.d. femte utgåve av *Norrøn ordbok*), og der finst døme på *æ* med aksent, som allereie Noreen bruka (t.d. i ONP, sjå nedanfor). Det er ein opplagd pedagogisk føremon at alle lange vokalar har aksentteikn, i alle fall innan språkhistorie. Men samstundes fjernar det islandske tekstar (unnteke dei aller eldste) frå handskriftgrunnlaget sitt, og gjer dessutan tekstane meir framande for islendingane, som framleis kan lesa språket utan større vanskar. ÍF-norma tek på mange vis omsyn til islandske lesarar, t.d. ved å bruka *æ* (sjå § 3.4), og ved å halda på dobbel konsonant før bøyingsendingar, t.d. i fortidsformene *kenndi* og *byggði* av inf. *kenna* og *byggja*, slik praksis er i nyislandsk rettskriving.

Prosjektet *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* (ONP) i Kjøbenhavn har lagt seg på ei konservativ line, og viser tidt til Noreen (1923) og Larsen (1891) i retningslinene sine for normalisering:⁹ “Hvor et valg har skullet træffes mellem islandsk og norsk standard, er den mere konservative norm foretrukket”. ONP har t.d. stutt vokal før *l* + konsonant (t.d. *halfr* for gammalislandsk *hálfir*), men alfabetiseringa skil ikkje mellom lang og stutt vokal (slik Cleasby og Gudbrand Vigfusson 1869 gjorde), så dette gjev ingen praktiske problem. Dei viktigaste avvika frå “gjængs praksis” er *æ* og *ó*, “hovedsagelig af praktisk-pædagogiske grunde”. Ein kan òg merkja seg at *kð*, som Guðbrandur Vigfússon i 1864 meinte ville vera “zu alterthümlich” (§ 4.4), er gjennomført i ONP i ord som *spekð*. Her ser ein tydeleg kor historiserande utviklinga av normalortografien har vore. Ved *ft/pt* og *fs/ps* vil ONP normalisera etter etymologien; desse konsonantsambanda har falle saman og har skiftande skrivemåtar både i handskrifter og utgåver (jf. Noreen 1923: § 240, 2).

6 Utgang

Dei tekstutgåvene me arbeider med i dag, og dei referanseverka som hjelper oss til å forstå dei, er resultat av ein lang forskingstradisjon. Det er slåande at mange av utgåvene på 1800-talet viser til “gjængs praksis” for normalisering. Normaliseringa får då preg av å vera meir eit umedvite resultat av *praksis*, enn av teoretisk språkforskning og grunnjevne val.

⁹ Notat som 9. september 2014 er tilgjengeleg på http://onp.ku.dk/adgang_til_ordliste_etc/ortografi1/.

Hensikten er å letta lesinga – norma er *pragmatisk*, meir enn *teoretisk*, fundert. Hødnebo (1977: 71) peikar på at “uklarheten [i normalen] skyldes de historiske forhold; vår vitenskap er en sjølgrodd vitenskap i stadig utvikling, men med et materiale og et siktemål som aldri har vært skikkelig definert verken i tid eller rom”. Den utsegna meiner eg er dekkjande, jamvel om dei kanoniske tekstane frå 1200-talet som Wollin (2000) viser til, har vore avgjerande for ein del val. Wimmer meinte heilt klårt at språket i denne klassiske perioden (“1300 og noget tidligere”) var målet for normaliseringa.

Ei meir teoretisk grunngjeving av norma finn ein fyrst hjå Wimmer (1877), og den er klårt historiserande, men tek samstundes pedagogiske omsyn. Den historiserande tilnærminga er endå sterkare hjå Noreen – målet er det eldste dokumenterbare språket. ONP byggjer på Noreen og dei eldste islandske tekstane (Larsson 1891) i normaliseringa si, og tek likeins konservative val. Slik er den etablerte norma historisk sett lik dei aller eldste tekstane. Ein føremon med ei såpass konservativ – ein kunne seia arkaisk – norm som ikkje tek omsyn til særspårlege utviklingar, er at ho då kan gjelda som sams for norsk og islandsk (jf. Hødnebo 1977: 76). Dei fleste og mest bruka tekstutgåvene, som *Íslenzk fornrit*, held seg til ei normering som tek noko større omsyn til nyislandsk – og ikkje minst islandske lesarar i dag – enn ONP-norma.

Det største framsteget i moderne tekstutgjeving har vore digitale utgåver. Når papirflata ikkje er ei avgrensing lenger, vert det mogleg å gje att teksten på fleire nivå, slik Menota-standarden legg opp til attgjeving på faksimilært, diplomatarisk og normalisert nivå. Det gjev litteratur- og ålmenhistorikarar ein lettlesn normalisert tekst, medan språkhistorikarar kan halda seg til den diplomatariske eller faksimilære versjonen. Dette kombinerer to hovudtypar tekstreproduksjon, slik Konráð Gíslason og P.A. Munch tok til orde for på 1840-talet, utan at ein treng å inngå kompromiss. Den tette kontakten mellom utgjevingspraksis og forskning som var vanleg på 1800-talet, er uansett eit gyldig ideal. Nye teoretiske perspektiv kan gje ny kunnskap og forståing av språk og litteratur i mellomalderen, men forskaren bør alltid ha fyrstehands kjennskap til dei rådata hen arbeider med. Den kunnskapen kan inga utgåve erstatta, uansett normalisering.

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EMILY LETHBRIDGE

“*Hvorki glansar gull á mér /
né glæstir stafir í línunum*”

Some observations on *Íslendingasögur* manuscripts
and the case of *Njáls saga*

I. Introductory remarks

Texts of *Njáls saga* – the best known and most highly acclaimed of the medieval Icelandic *Íslendingasögur* – survive in 18 parchment manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts produced in Iceland in 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.¹ No other saga assigned to the *Íslendingasögur* cor-

¹ The two fragments AM 162 b β fol. and AM 162 b δ fol. are counted separately here but since they are thought to have belonged to one manuscript (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir and

The quotation in the title is the first half of a verse which is, according to Jón Helgason (1958: 27), found in the margin of a parchment manuscript. The second half of the verse is “fegurð alla inniber / eg í menntum fínunum”; on the source of this verse see Gunnlaugur Ingólfsson (2014). I thank the following for comments on aspects of this paper and/or for giving me access to unpublished material: Karl-Gunnar Jóhannsson and the anonymous *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* reviewers, Beeke Stegmann, Bergdís Þrastardóttir, Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, Már Jónsson, Susanne Arthur, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir. Thanks are also due to Bart Besamusca and the HERA-funded “Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript” research group for inviting me to present parts of this research at their closing conference in Utrecht, April 2013.

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Abstract: This article surveys the extant pre-Reformation parchment manuscript evidence for the *Íslendingasögur*. The first half of the article focuses on the manuscript tradition of *Njáls saga*, noting how the preservation of this saga in some manuscripts – where it is the sole text – seems to be anomalous when compared with that of other *Íslendingasögur* in pre-Reformation parchment manuscripts. In the second half of the article, the focus is broadened and the extent to which the nature of the material preservation of *Íslendingasögur* has a bearing on the modern critical reception of individual narratives, and on notions of genre and ‘the canon’ more widely, is considered. Finally, some ways in which the manuscript evidence can give us insights into how the sagas have been read and understood over time are touched on.

Keywords: *Íslendingasögur*, *Njáls saga*, Icelandic manuscript production and reception, intertextuality, genre.

pus survives in as many pre-Reformation parchment manuscript witnesses. In addition to these, there are four further parchment manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts from the 17th century; 17 paper manuscripts from the 17th century; 21 paper manuscripts from the 18th century; and one paper manuscript from the 19th century.²

The oldest of the *Njáls saga* manuscripts and fragments have been dated to around 1300, making them almost contemporary with the time that the saga is thought to have been first set down on parchment as a written, literary composition (around 1280, or at any rate during the final decades of the 13th century; see Einar Ólafur Sveinsson ed. 1954: lxxv–lxxxiv). As is often pointed out, none of the *Íslendingasögur* survives in an ‘original’ or autograph copy and the chronological gap between the posited date of any single saga’s first written composition and the oldest surviving manuscript text of it is often centuries rather than decades (see further Örnólfur Thorsson 1990; Vésteinn Ólason 2007: 114–115; essays in Mundal ed. 2013). Despite their fragmentary condition, these oldest *Njáls saga* manuscripts are additionally interesting for the way that they demonstrate how distinctive textual or scribal variation manifested itself very early on in this saga’s written tradition. The manuscript evidence for *Njáls saga* as a whole is not so divergent that different versions of the saga can be identified but each manuscript witness presents subtly differing interpretations or understandings of individual characters and of the action that the saga narrates.³

Ludger Zeevaert, forthcoming 2014), they are counted as one manuscript elsewhere, so the total number of pre-Reformation parchment manuscripts of *Njáls saga* is given as 17, e.g. in Table 1 below. Throughout this article, I use the term ‘pre-Reformation’ rather than ‘medieval’ to refer to the longer period in Iceland during which parchment was the primary writing support, i.e. from the time when manuscript production began up until around the mid 16th century when the Catholic Church was superseded by the Lutheran Church. While a few vellum manuscripts produced in the 1600s are extant, by the 17th century, paper had become the standard writing support both for copies of texts intended for domestic, secular consumption and for texts copied out by professional scribes working for commissioning patrons.

² Three of the 17th-century parchment manuscript fragments (plus a fourth, now apparently lost fragment), most likely belonged to the same book (see Arthur 2012).

³ Guðrún Nordal (2005, 2008) has drawn attention to variation between manuscript texts of *Njáls saga* with regard to the number of skaldic verses incorporated into the narrative; forthcoming and projected studies by members of the “Breytileiki Njálu” / “Variance of *Njáls saga*” research group explore other types of textual variation (linguistic, stylistic, narrative). The “Breytileiki Njálu” project was funded by RANNÍS (The Icelandic Centre for Research) between 2012 and 2014 and led by Dr Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir at the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík, Iceland. The project website is at http://www.arnastofnun.is/page/breytileiki_njalu.

The pre-Reformation manuscript tradition of *Njáls saga* is unusual in another respect too. It is the only saga for which extant manuscript evidence exists that shows it was copied out and circulated independently of other sagas, that is, as the sole text in whole books. As far as can be seen from the extant evidence for other sagas (if the manuscripts are not too fragmentary to draw a conclusion one way or the other), all other pre-Reformation parchment manuscripts that preserve *Íslendingasögur* texts are compilation or multi-text manuscripts. Even given the major caveat of the fragmentary nature of the surviving manuscript evidence, this is a striking anomaly.⁴ Admittedly, *Njáls saga* is the longest of all of the *Íslendingasögur* and one obvious and pragmatic explanation for the phenomenon of it being copied out unaccompanied by other texts is, quite simply, its considerable length. It is nonetheless worth exploring whether or not other factors had an influence on the seemingly atypical textual preservation of *Njáls saga*, as will be attempted in this article. In order to contextualise these research questions, the extant pre-Reformation manuscript evidence for the *Íslendingasögur* more generally will be reviewed. Since this surveying exercise both highlights certain issues and questions of genre and corpus definition that are pertinent to modern saga scholarship and discourse, and also gives certain insights into the practical processes and ideological impulses behind secular manuscript production and consumption in pre-Reformation Iceland, it is hoped that the study will make a contribution to our understanding of Icelandic manuscript culture more broadly.

II. *Njáls saga* in pre-Reformation manuscripts

None of the pre-Reformation manuscripts of *Njáls saga* contains a complete, undamaged text of the whole saga.⁵ Many are classified as fragments, being badly damaged and comprising only a few leaves whose texts correspond (often discontinuously) to different parts of the *Njáls saga* narrative. This damage means it is impossible to know whether *Njáls*

⁴ It has been estimated that what is extant from the pre-Reformation period – some 750 parchment manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts containing a wide range of texts in the vernacular (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007a: 249) – may represent only 5% to 10% of manuscripts produced in Iceland during these centuries (Driscoll 2004: 21).

⁵ Shelfmarks of *Njáls saga* manuscripts are formatted in bold type in Appendix 1; see Jón Þorkelsson 1889, Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1953, and handrit.is for overviews of the manuscript tradition and details about individual manuscripts.

saga was originally copied out as the sole text in these manuscripts, or preserved alongside other material as part of bigger compilatory projects.

This uncertainty is also present in the cases of the more complete manuscript texts in Kálfalækjarbók (AM 133 fol., c. 1350) and Skafinskinna (GKS 2868 4to, c. 1350–1400). Although the quire arrangement and the disposition of the text of the opening chapter of the *saga* in these manuscripts suggests that nothing else preceded them, both manuscripts end defectively and therefore the possibility that other texts did once follow *Njáls saga* cannot be ruled out. The beginning of the *saga* is copied out on 1v in Skafinskinna, suggesting that this was most likely the first quire of the book; 1r, the outer page, may have been left blank on account of it being most susceptible to sustaining damage from rubbing, particularly if the quires were loose. In Kálfalækjarbók, undamaged quires are made up of four conjoint leaves; the first quire of the book, however, comprises three conjoint leaves (ff. 1 + 6, 2 + 5, 3 + 4) and a singleton (f. 7). The beginning of the *saga* is copied out on 1r as the manuscript is foliated today but the possibility that the last leaf of the first quire (f. 7) was once conjugate with a (blank) leaf that functioned as a flyleaf at the beginning of the book, so that the *saga* text originally began on 2r, is not implausible. This seems to have been the case with AM 468 4to, Reykjabók, as noted below.

The codicology of Reykjabók (AM 468 4to, c. 1300–1325), Gráskinna (GKS 2870 4to, c. 1300) and Oddabók (AM 466 4to, c. 1460) suggests that despite some damage, these books as they are extant today represent the original intentions of their producers and never contained texts other than *Njáls saga*. Reykjabók only lacks two leaves on which text was copied out (after f. 6 and f. 33 respectively). The outermost leaves of the first quire have been lost but since the opening of the *saga* is preserved on the leaf now foliated as 1r, the first leaf must have functioned as a flyleaf (see further Jón Helgason (ed.) 1962: v).⁶ Unfortunately, the binding cannot be used as evidence to support the argument that the book as it is today was originally a complete unit. The two oak boards into which the manuscript is bound and which define it as a single unit have been subjected to dendrochronological analysis in order to establish their age: that of the upper board is uncertain (an initial date of c. 1390 has been retracted) while the lower board dates to after 1570 (see Bonde and

⁶ The present flyleaf at the end of the manuscript (f. 94), on which a Latin hymn to the Virgin Mary and musical notation is found, seems to have been taken from a Catholic liturgical manuscript, perhaps after the Reformation (Jón Helgason (ed.) 1962: v).

Springborg 2005, 2006). The disposition of the *Njáls saga* text at the end of the manuscript, however, lends weight to the supposition that *Njáls saga* was the sole text in this book from the start: the saga ends on 93r and the originally-blank 93v has been filled with so-called ‘additional’ verses in a hand other than that of the main scribe but thought to be contemporary (see Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1953: 6). This may have been an afterthought, though, with the blank leaf thereby being put to convenient use; other ‘additional’ verses are copied into the margins at earlier points in the manuscript (at 24r-v, 29r, 31v, 32v, 33r, 37r, 39r, 40v, 47v and 52r; see further Guðrún Nordal 2005 and 2008).

Neither the beginning nor the end of *Njáls saga* as preserved in Gráskinna in the 14th-century scribal hand is extant: one leaf is lost from the beginning and the last three quires of the manuscript (ff. 99–121), which preserve text corresponding to the last part of the saga, are the work of a 16th-century restorer. However, the Gráskinna manuscript has a rare limp wrap-around cover made out of seal-skin which is thought to be medieval and may even be contemporary with the time of the manuscript’s production. If the cover is as old as the manuscript itself, it must have been taken off the book and re sewn onto it again in the 16th century when the repairer was carrying out his work (which included adding whole replacement quires) but it is nonetheless reasonably safe to assume that the book is whole and that only *Njáls saga* was ever copied out in it.

In Oddabók, text corresponding both to the beginning and to the end of the saga survives in the original scribal hand. The first quire comprises four conjoint leaves; since the text begins on 1r but there is no lacuna between the first and second quire (if the assumption that the book contained nothing but *Njáls saga* is correct), 1r may originally have been preceded by a hooked-in singleton that acted as a flyleaf. The seventh and last quire of this manuscript (ff. 48–57) is now made up of four conjoint leaves (49 + 57, 50 + 56, 52 + 55, 53 + 54) and two singletons (48 and 51). F. 51 must originally have been a conjoint leaf since text is missing between ff. 55 and 56 (i.e. where the leaf’s corresponding half would have been). On 57v (the outermost page of the manuscript), the *Njáls saga* text ends three-quarters of the way down the page and the last quarter has been left blank. It is most likely that f. 48, too, was originally a conjoint leaf; its conjugate – which would have followed f. 57 – may either have been left blank or could have contained some short text on the recto-side the verso-side acting as a flyleaf. Originally, therefore, the last quire most likely comprised six conjoint leaves. Elsewhere in the manuscript, however, complete quires with continuous text are made up of four conjoint

leaves: presumably, if other texts followed, or were intended to follow *Njáls saga*, the final chapters of *Njáls saga* would have been copied into a new quire larger than this last quire being expanded so that the saga could be concluded in it, making it larger than average as a consequence. On this basis, it is plausible to assume that *Njáls saga* was always the sole text in this manuscript.

Two further manuscripts (as opposed to fragments) containing texts of *Njáls saga* need to be considered. These are the 14th-century compilation manuscript known as *Möðruvallabók* (AM 132 fol.) and the late 15th-century manuscript known as *Bæjarbók í Flóa* (AM 309 4to). While both of these manuscripts do contain other texts alongside that of *Njáls saga* (and as such, are the only extant pre-Reformation manuscripts which do not only contain *Njáls saga*), closer examination suggests that in their current state, they do not reflect the original intentions of their producers.

Bæjarbók (or at least the first part of it) has been dated unusually precisely to 1498 on the basis of a scribal colophon on 2r (see further Scott (ed.) 2003: 110*).⁷ The book now comprises 48 leaves arranged into 8 (defective) quires and contains texts of *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* (1r–26v), *Laxdæla saga* (27ra–34va, with lacunae), *Eyrbyggja saga* (34va–38vb, with lacunae) and, last of all, approximately one-third of the *Njáls saga* narrative (39r–48v, with lacunae). The manuscript seems to have been written by one scribe (Scott (ed.) 2003: 110*) but although the hand is the same throughout, variation with regard to the layout of the text area and the number of lines per page, for example, suggest that its component parts may not originally have been intended to be bound together into one volume.

The text is copied out in two columns with the exception of ff. 6, 13, 29, and 38–48 (i.e. the *Njáls saga* text). The *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* extracts (which derive from *Flateyjarbók*) are written out much more densely than the other parts of the manuscript, with 56–57 lines per page; the number of lines per page for the parts of the manuscript that contain texts of *Laxdæla saga* and *Eyrbyggja saga* is around 46–47 lines; the *Njáls saga* leaves contain only 42–43 lines per page. Thus it seems that while *Laxdæla saga* and *Eyrbyggja saga* were clearly copied out together as a pair, *Njáls saga* was probably not originally intended to accompany these two *Íslendingasögur* as part of the original compilation. Whether or not *Njáls saga* was (before being bound into *Bæjarbók*) part of another compilation cannot be determined.

⁷ “hann [i.e. Óláfr Hákonarson] var konungr er su bok uar sk[rifu]d er þessi bok uar epter skrifud þa var lidit fra hingad burd uors h[er]ra iesv christi .M.CCC.LXXX ok siau r. enn nu erv fra hans hingadburd er sia bok er skrifud .M.CCCC. nivtiger ok atta ar”.

In Möðruvallabók, one of the best known extant saga compilation manuscripts, *Njáls saga* is the first of 11 texts. The manuscript is dated 1330–1370 or more specifically to the mid 14th century (see Stefán Karlsson 1967; van Weenen 2000: 1). It originally comprised 26 quires of 8 leaves (see further van Weenen 2000: 20–21); the contents of the book as it is extant are as follows:

1. *Njáls saga* (1ra1–61rb8)
2. *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* (62va1–99ra41)
3. *Finnboga saga ramma* (100ra1–114ra41)
4. *Bandamanna saga* (114rb1–120vb21)
5. *Kormáks saga* (120vb22–129rb7)
6. *Víga-Glúms saga* (129rb8–141va32)
7. *Droplaugarsona saga* (141va33–147vb4)
8. *Ólkofra saga/þáttr* (147vb5–149va31)
9. *Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds* (149va32–156rb10)
10. *Laxdæla saga* (156rb11–198rb8)
11. *Fóstbræðra saga* (198rb9–201vb41)

Attempts have been made to rationalise the selection and order of the texts in Möðruvallabók and some critics have suggested that a certain geographical logic may govern the arrangement of texts in it. Margaret Clunies Ross, for example, writes that “the first seven [sagas] are arranged in a significant geographical order, following the Quarters of the island of Iceland, beginning in the south and ending in the east, the same trajectory as was followed by the original *Landnámabók*. Thus the collection begins with *Njáls saga*, set in the south, and was to have continued with another now lost southern saga that was never copied into the manuscript, **Gauks saga Trandilssonar* ... It continues tracking west, then north, then east ... then, breaking the geographical order, come ‘The saga of Ale-hood’ ... *Hallfreðar saga*, *Laxdæla saga* with *Bolla þáttr* ... and *Fóstbræðra saga*” (Clunies Ross 2010: 144). This is an attractive interpretation but closer examination of the codicology of the manuscript appears to undermine it – largely because it seems that neither *Njáls saga*, **Gauks saga* nor *Egils saga* were, in fact, originally intended to be part of the compilation – and **Gauks saga*, furthermore (which is nowhere else extant), may never actually have existed as a written narrative.

The text of *Njáls saga* in Möðruvallabók begins on 1r (in the hand of a 17th-century repairer whose text fills the first two quires) and it finishes on 61rb8. The rest of the leaf is blank as is 61v and 62r; 62r is the first leaf

of a new quire. *Egils saga* starts at the top of 62v; on the blank leaves (61v and 62r), there are traces of marginalia and drawings. A bearded figure in armour fighting another figure fills most of 61v, with a bird of some kind top-right; a smaller drawing and various scribbles fill 62r. In a study first published in 1939, Jón Helgason claimed he could read a caption on 61v which explained that the image was of Egill Skalla-Grímsson fighting the berserkr Ljótr (an episode related in *Egils saga*); Jón also claimed to be able to read the sentence “lattu rita her *vid gauks sogu trandils sonar* . *mer er sagt at [herra] Grimir eigi hana*” at the bottom of the leaf (1959: 102). Jón Helgason identified this ‘Herra Grímur’ as a certain Grímur Þorsteinsson who was *lögmaður* in the south and east 1319–20 and in the north and west 1330–37, also possibly again 1346–49. He was knighted in 1316 and died around 1350 (Páll Eggert Ólafsson 1949: 108).⁸

Gaukr Trandilsson is a character in *Njáls saga*: chapter 26 of *Njáls saga* notes how Gaukr is killed by his foster-brother, Ásgrímur Elliða-Grímsson, and this incident is referred to again later on in chapter 139.⁹ This intersection would make **Gauks saga* a good one to pair with *Njáls saga* and Jón Helgason suggested that the Möðruvallabók scribe’s original intention was to copy out *Njála* and **Gauks saga* together in one codex, with *Egils saga* being the first text in a second codex: “Hann [skrifari M] virðist þá hafa gert ráð fyrir að Njála og Gauks saga yrði codex út af fyrir sig [...]; fyrir því byrjar hann næsta kver (þar sem Eglá hefst) þannig að ljóst er að hann hefur ætlazt til að þar yrði upphaf annars codicis” (1959: 103; “The scribe of M appears to have made provision for *Njáls saga* and **Gauks saga* being in a codex by themselves [...]; for this reason he begins the next quire (where *Egils saga* begins) in such a way that it is clear he intended this would be the beginning of another codex”).

However, this marginalia is now almost entirely illegible. Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen notes in her description of the manuscript that

⁸ Jón’s dating of Möðruvallabók to the period 1316–1350, a little earlier than the date commonly agreed on by most scholars today, was made on the basis of this identification of Grímur Þorsteinsson, taking the year of his death as a *terminus ante quem*; this is clearly methodologically problematic.

⁹ Gaukr “í Stöng” is also named in *Landnámabók* and in Haukr Valdísarson’s *Íslendingadrápa* (verse 19). Furthermore, he seems to be the Gaukr whose name is carved in runes along with other 11th-century runic inscriptions on the walls of the Neolithic tomb at Maeshowe, Orkney “Þessar rúnar / reist sá maðr, / er rýmstr er / fyrir vestan haf, / með þeiri öxi, / er átti Gaukr / Tran[d]jils sonr / fyrir sunnan land” (see further Barnes 1994), and whose farm, at Stöng in Þjórsárdalur, has been reconstructed on the basis of archaeological excavations (see <http://www.thjodveldisbaer.is/>).

“hardly anything [of the scribal note about **Gauks saga* and herra Grímr] can be made out now, although I could make out part of it in 1980 [with ultraviolet light]. Stefán Karlsson told me that he had scrutinized this passage and could not confirm the reading ‘herra’, and in fact was rather sure that it was not that. He thought it might be a name with the second part -grímr, but none of these names fitted in with the still visible parts of letters” (2000: 27). Unfortunately then, the theory about the intended inclusion of the ‘lost southern saga’ is now impossible to corroborate though the arguments for *Njáls saga* and *Egils saga* at least being intended as separate units are still convincing and accepted and developed by Michael Chesnutt (2010: 152, 155). Furthermore, van Weenen notes (2000: 19) that the standard number of lines per page in *Njáls saga* is 42 but 41 for every other text in the manuscript; this could be taken as another small piece of evidence that supports the theory that *Njáls saga* was not intended on first principles to be the first text in the Möðruvallabók compilation – and that the quires containing it may instead at first have been conceived of and executed as a complete and independent *Njáls saga* unit, like Reykjabók, Gráskinna and Oddabók.

Other recent studies have examined aspects of Möðruvallabók’s codicology and provenance and drawn attention to ways in which the book as it is extant today differs in certain respects to supposed earlier states. On the one hand, while Möðruvallabók may not, at first, have been intended to preserve copies of *Njáls saga* or *Egils saga*, on the other hand, it may have contained other texts that are no longer part of the extant collection. Sigurjón Páll Ísaksson (1994: 110, 113) calculates that *Fóstbræðra saga* would not have filled the posited final 27th quire (now missing) so other texts could have been copied after it (he also notes that original opening of *Njáls saga* alone would not have filled the first quire of the book, so perhaps *Njáls saga* was not unaccompanied in this part of the book). Michael Chesnutt has also drawn attention to the fact that damage to leaves throughout the book is often worst at quire boundaries where a new text begins (2010: 149–52) and he suggests that parts of the book show signs of having been kept stacked in loose quires in one place – perhaps in the place where the book was produced, if it was made ‘on spec’ rather than on commission (assumed to be the most usual course of action), and that what is extant comprises the remains of two or even three books (2010: 154–55).

With regard to the book’s binding, Sigurgeir Steingrímsson notes that the sturdy wooden boards which form its cover are actually too small for

it and do not protect the edges of the leaves (1995: 63). He suggests that the leaves may not have been brought together before the 17th century when the manuscript was taken to Denmark by Björn Magnússon (*sýslumaður* of Munkaþverá in Eyjafjörður) and given to Thomas Bartholin as a gift in 1684.¹⁰ Árni Magnússon acquired the book after Bartholin's death in 1690, and after Árni's death, the book became part of the Arnarnagænan Collection, housed at the University of Copenhagen. Then, around 1890, the quires (bound together as one volume between wooden covers, according to Kristian Kálund's 1889 catalogue entry) were taken out of their binding and arranged into three volumes; in the late 1920s, these three volumes were taken apart and subsequently resewn together as a single unit, and only laced into the wooden boards which form its cover today as late as 1928 by the Danish bookbinder Anker Kyster (Sigurgeir Steingrímsson 1995: 63).

Möðruvallabók often appears in photographs alongside other manuscripts with similar bindings and is presented as one of the foremost examples of 14th-century Icelandic compilation manuscripts. The fact that the book's contents do not necessarily reflect the original intentions of its producer, and that its iconic appearance is due to modern modifications, is often overlooked. Similarly, the work of Möðruvallabók's 17th-century restorer, who seemingly aimed to make good damage to the book by filling in the lacunae in *Njáls saga* and elsewhere with recopied text corresponding to missing material, deserves further attention and is one of a number of examples of such later attempts at restoration. Something comparable is found in the 16th-century 'Gráskinnuauki' additions to the Gráskinna manuscript of *Njáls saga*. Understanding the dynamic processes of change and reconfiguration that these pre-Reformation parchment books and the texts preserved in them have been subject to over time (i.e. not just physical decay or deterioration) gives us insights into their material and ideological significance to different parties at different points in time. This is relevant, too, when – as I argue – the modern, critical reception of certain sagas is often contingent to a significant degree on the circumstances and nature of their manuscript preservation.

¹⁰ See Bartholin's letter to the Icelander Torfæus (Þormóður Torfason, 1636–1719), January 16th 1686, preserved in AM 285 b I fol.: "Her var ellers i Sommer en gammel Islænder Biörn Magnussen. Hand foræret mig et Manuscript paa Kalfveskin, men der var ickun particulæres Islandicæ historix, og en smuch der ibland, nemlig Kormaks saga, som er heel fuld af Antiqviteter"; see also Árni Magnússon's description of his acquisition of the manuscript in AM 435 a–b 4to.

III. Defining the corpus

i) The manuscripts

Stopping to examine what, in fact, comprises ‘the corpus’ of manuscripts on the one hand, and *Íslendingasögur* narratives on the other hand, draws attention to a number of practical and theoretical issues that have a bearing on our understanding of the *Íslendingasögur* as a genre. As already mentioned, *Njáls saga* is preserved in an exceptionally large number of witnesses compared to other *Íslendingasögur*. *Egils saga* comes closest with 13 manuscript witnesses (many of which are fragmentary); *Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds* is extant in 9 manuscripts (some of whose particular characteristics will be described below); *Laxdæla saga* and *Þórðar saga breðu* are extant in 6 manuscripts each; *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar* and *Fóstbræðra saga* in 5 each. Most *Íslendingasögur* survive in a single pre-Reformation parchment; some in none at all. Table 1 on the next page summarises this information.

Information about individual sagas and the manuscripts that preserve texts of them is, of course, routinely included in introductions to text and facsimile editions and found in familiar reference works and catalogues, both printed and online (e.g. Kålund 1889–92; Kålund 1900; Gödel 1897–1900; Páll Eggert Ólafsson *et al.* 1918–90; ONP vol. I; www.handrit.is). On the basis of published catalogue records, I count 64 pre-Reformation parchment manuscripts or manuscript fragments in which texts of *Íslendingasögur* are preserved.¹¹ Appendix 1 lists these manuscripts by century and classmark. Inevitably, any such total count of manuscripts will be provisional; there is always the possibility (albeit unlikely) of hitherto uncatalogued manuscripts coming to light. More often, totals will also vary depending on the criteria for inclusion or the chronological parameters set. Thus Stefán Karlsson (2006: 492) counts 59 manuscripts containing *Íslendingasögur* in a survey article about medieval Icelandic manuscripts but his chronological parameters, 1200 to 1500, are slightly narrower than those used in this study.

¹¹ This total counts as one manuscript instances where books have been broken into multiple parts and these parts given individual shelfmarks; see further below. It does not include lost manuscripts known to have contained saga texts such as the *Vatnshyrna codex which burnt in the 1728 Great Fire of Copenhagen (see Stefán Karlsson 1970); the so-called *Membrana Regia Deperdita (see Loth (ed.) 1960: lxxix–lxxx); the so-called *Gullskinnna manuscript of *Njáls saga* (see Már Jónsson 1996); and another parchment saga-compilation that the scribe and priest Jón Erlendsson at Villingaholt (d. 1672) used to make copies of the sagas and *þettir* that are preserved in his paper manuscript AM 156 fol..

Table 1. Number of extant pre-Reformation manuscript copies of individual sagas. The notation + *1 indicates copies of sagas believed to have been preserved in now-lost manuscripts. Gull = Gullskinna, JE = Jón Erlendsson exemplar, MRD = Membrana Regia Deperdita, Vatns = Vatnshyrna; see further footnote 11 above.

0	1	2	3	4	5+
Fljótsdæla saga	Bjarnar saga Hítðelakappa	Droplaugarsona saga	Bandamanna saga	Bárðar saga Snœfellsáss (+ *1 Vatns)	Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar (5)
Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls	Flóamanna saga (+ *1 Vatns)	Gísla saga Súrssonar (+ *1 MRD)	Eiríks saga rauða	Eyrbyggja saga (+ *1 Vatns)	Fóstbrœðra saga (5 + *1 MRD)
Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings	Grœnlendinga saga	Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu	Finnboga saga ramma	Króka-Refs saga (+ *1 Vatns)	Þórðar saga hreðu (6 + *1 Vatns)
Valla-Ljóts saga	Gull-Þóris saga	Harðar saga ok Hólmverja (+ *1 Vatns)			Laxdæla saga (6 + *1 Vatns)
Þorsteins saga hvíta (+ *1 JE)	Heiðarvíga saga	Kormáks saga			Hallfreðar saga vandráðaskálds (9)
Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallsonar (+ *1 MRD)	Hrafnkels saga	Ljósvetninga saga			Egils saga Skalla- Grímssonar (13)
	Hœnsa-Þóris saga (+ *1 Vatns)	Víga-Glúms saga (+ *1 Vatns)			Njáls saga (17, + *1 Gull)
	Kjalnesinga saga (+ *1 Vatns)	Víglundar saga			
	Reykdæla saga				
	Svarfdæla saga				
	Vatnsdæla saga (+ *1 Vatns)				
	Vápnfirðinga saga				
	Qlkofra saga				

The history of the collection of Icelandic manuscripts from the 17th century onwards, and the subsequent treatment of these manuscripts as parts of book collections around Scandinavia and occasionally beyond, is of course key to understanding how they are classified in catalogues. As is apparent from Appendix 1, there is not always a straight one-to-one ratio or relationship between classmarks and manuscripts. The lion's share of the parchment manuscripts extant today were gathered together by Árni Magnússon (1663–1728; see Már Jónsson 2012 for a recent overview of Árni's life). Much of the material Árni acquired was in poor con-

dition and comprised little more than single, often badly damaged parchment leaves. Árni sometimes managed to reunite leaves that had once belonged to the same manuscript but had become separated; in a few cases, he reconstructed more considerable parts of whole books that had been broken up into smaller units at some point in their history prior to collection. The late 13th- and early 14th-century manuscript known as Hauksbók, now in three parts with three respective classmarks (AM 371 4to, AM 544 4to and AM 675 4to) is one such example (Lethbridge 2013).

Modern paleographical and codicological studies have identified other cases (see e.g. Stefán Karlsson 1970 and McKinnell 1970 on the lost *Vatnshyrna manuscript and the ‘Pseudo-Vatnshyrna’ manuscript; see also Már Jónsson 1997). Árni employed scribes to make paper copies of the parchment manuscripts he obtained (and also copies of those which he could not obtain), and in some cases he himself was responsible for the breaking up whole books into smaller units so that they could be shelved in his collection according to their subject matter (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2013: 24). In these cases, two or more catalogue shelfmarks together represent a single manuscript. In other cases, a single catalogue shelfmark conceals the fact that originally separate manuscripts were bound together into a single volume, either prior to or after becoming part of a collection; AM 309 4to, Bæjarbók (discussed above), seems to be a good example of this.

ii) The sagas

There is no argument over what *Njáls saga* ‘is’ or its place in the *Íslendingasögur* canon but in the case of some other narratives, things are not always so clear-cut. In some cases, I suggest that a direct relationship can be detected between the manuscript evidence for the *Íslendingasögur* narratives on the one hand, and on the other, judgements about which texts belong, or do not belong, to the *Íslendingasögur* corpus. Factors such as whether or not pre-Reformation parchment witnesses are extant; if so, how many and how old they are; how the narrative in question is rubricated and how complete the text of it is in these manuscripts might be seen to have an impact on the degree of critical attention and acclaim that a saga has (or has not) received.

Typically, in survey articles or encyclopedia entries, the *Íslendingasögur* corpus is said to consist of some 35 to 40 narratives. An open-ended answer (“at least X”) to the question “how many *Íslendingasögur* are there?” is arguably the only useful one, not only because of the

nature of the textual evidence for these narratives and their treatment in extant manuscripts – as will be elaborated on below – but also because we do not know the extent of what has been lost. **Gauks saga Trandilssonar* has already been discussed; references are made in texts of *Laxdæla saga* to a certain **Dorgils saga Höllusonar*, for example, for which no text now is extant, and also to **Njarðvíkinga saga* (though this may be *Gunnars þátrr/saga Þiðrandabana*). Then there are sagas which are not named anywhere but which scholars have posited as once-extant written sources for other sagas or written material: one example here is Sigurður Nordal's **Þorsteins saga Kuggasonar*, which he proposed as a source for *Bjarnar saga Hítðelakappa* (see Sigurður Nordal 1938, lxxxi–iii; see also Jesch 1982–85).

Correlating the number and kind of extant manuscript copies of individual sagas with the critical accord granted to them, their inclusion (or not) in the corpus, and their typical placement in the centre or on the periphery of the 'canon' gives pause for thought. Sagas such as *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfjfls*, *Þorsteins saga hvíta* and *Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar*, which are not preserved in any pre-Reformation parchment manuscripts although they are believed to be medieval compositions, are not always included in survey lists of sagas (e.g. Schier 1970; Clunies Ross 2010). *Gunnars saga* is generally deemed to be late and fantastic in terms of its subject-matter and narrative style; *Þorsteins saga hvíta* and *Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar* are relatively short narratives which are seen as supplementary to other more 'mainstream' sagas (e.g. *Vápnfirðinga saga* in the case of *Þorsteins saga hvíta*) with which they have geographical, genealogical or other connections or overlap. No pre-Reformation witnesses for *Fljótsdæla saga*, *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* or *Valla-Ljóts saga* (also all believed to be medieval compositions) exist either. These sagas, although they are included on lists of *Íslendingasögur* narratives, cannot be said to be amongst the better regarded or relatively well-studied of the sagas.

Similarly, those sagas that survive in only a handful of fragmentary pre-Reformation leaves belonging to one manuscript might be said to have suffered on account of this unlucky circumstance as far as their critical reception is concerned. Editors of *Bjarnar saga Hítðelakappa*, *Flóamanna saga*, *Hænsa-Þóris saga*, *Svarfdæla saga* and *Vápnfirðinga saga* are forced to supplement the fragmentary pre-Reformation witnesses with texts from more complete post-medieval paper copies; these sagas have not been the subject of much sustained literary-historical scrutiny either, arguably at least partly on account of their patchy preservation. An exception here, however, is *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*: although the pre-Reformation evidence for this saga comprises a single parchment leaf

dated to around 1500, it is nonetheless one of the most praised and critiqued of the sagas and has been at the centre of the bookprose/freeprose debate over saga origins (see e.g. Byock 2001 for a survey and further references). At the other end of the spectrum, many of those sagas that survive in more numerous but younger 15th- and 16th-century copies have not been granted much attention on balance either. The proportionally greater number of extant manuscripts of *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, *Króka-Refs saga* and *Þórðar saga hreðu* suggests their popularity in pre-Reformation times (if, as is sometimes postulated, extant numbers of manuscripts can be taken as an index for this). It is only relatively recently, though, that saga scholars have begun to examine these narratives on their own terms, rather than seeing them as representative of degenerating literary tastes and skill (see e.g. Arnold 2003).

How sagas are rubricated in manuscripts (by the original scribes rather than later owners or users, though this is also interesting from a reception perspective) is an aspect worth drawing attention to here. Rubrication is not found in all pre-Reformation manuscripts; where rubrics are present, the formulation within individual manuscripts is not always consistent, and the same narrative might well be rubricated differently elsewhere. The rubrication of *Möðruvallabók* is illustrative: variation as far as the formulation of introductory and concluding rubrics, and their presence/absence is the norm, as demonstrated in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Original rubrication of narratives in *Möðruvallabók*.

Text	Opening rubric or incipit	Explicit
Njáls saga	<i>beginning missing</i>	<i>ok</i> lyk ek þar brennunnials sogu
Egils saga	<i>her hefr upp egils sogu</i>	endir egils sogu
Finnboga saga	–	<i>ok</i> lyk ek þar finnbogasogu
Bandamanna saga	saga ofeigs banda kals	lykr þar þessari sogu
Kormáks saga	kormags saga	lykr þar sogu þessi
Víga-Glúms saga	<i>her hefr víga Glums sögu</i>	<i>ok</i> lykr þar sogu Glums
Droplaugarsona saga	af katli þrym <i>capitulum</i>	... vetri síðarr en þangbrannr prestur kom til islandz fell helgi droplaugarson
Ólkofra saga/þáttr	aukofra saga	<i>ok</i> lykr þar sogu olkofra
Hallfreðar saga	hallfredar saga	<i>ok</i> lykr her sogv hallfredar
Laxdæla saga	laxdæla saga	[merges with so-called <i>Bolla þáttr</i> whose beginning is marked with the rubric ‘af bolla <i>bollason</i> ’ and ends with the explicit <i>ok hofum ver eigi heyrtr þessa sogu lengri</i> ’]
Fóstbræðra saga	saga þormod <i>ok</i> þorgeirs	<i>end missing</i>

Some of these rubrics are the titles commonly used today; others are less familiar (e.g. *saga ofeigs banda kals* for *Bandamanna saga*; *saga þor-mod ok þorgeirs* for *Fóstbræðra saga*). Of immediate relevance for the present consideration of ‘the corpus’ is the rubrication of the short narrative about Þórhallr ‘Ölkofri’ which is not generally included in survey lists of *Íslendingasögur* but is nonetheless given the title ‘Ölkofra saga’ in *Möðruvallabók*, the sole pre-Reformation textual witness for it. In other later paper copies, the titles ‘Ölkofra þáttur’ and ‘Ölkofra saga’ are used interchangeably, as in the 17th-century manuscript AM 455 4to, where ‘Ölkofra þáttur’ is given as the title rubric at 70v but the explicit on 72r reads ‘Og lýkur þar sögu Ölkofra’. The *Íslensk fornrit* edition calls the story ‘Ölkofra þáttur’ – though the editor, Jón Jóhannesson, notes that “Þar [in *Möðruvallabók*] er hann kallaður saga, og hefði ef til vill verið rétt að halda því” (Jón Jóhannesson 1950: xxxviii; “there, in *Möðruvallabók*, it is called a saga, and it may be right to think of it as such”). In English translation, the story is just called ‘Ale Hood’ in Hermann Pálsson’s 1971 Penguin translation but it is given the title ‘Ölkofri’s saga’ in the *Complete Sagas of Icelanders* series (Viðar Hreinsson (gen. ed.) 1997).

This variation with regard to the rubrication of *Ölkofra saga/þáttur* underlines an issue that is central to the question of medieval and modern generic distinctions as far as medieval Icelandic prose narratives are concerned. Is the narrative about Ölkofri a saga or a *þáttur*? Does the decision, one way or another, affect how the narrative is regarded by modern critics? The generic dividing line between saga and *þáttur* in this case is clearly a very fine one: where length is often taken as one of the criteria used to distinguish sagas from *þættir*, the narrative about Ölkofri is arguably just as much a short saga as a longer *þáttur*. Modern critics deciding on one or the other generic type (i.e. *saga/þáttur*) may well be implicitly perpetuating certain hierarchical value judgements founded on assumptions about the relative lengths and narrative value or complexity of sagas (longer, more sophisticated) and *þættir* (shorter, less sophisticated). The manuscript evidence shows clearly that the distinction is sometimes not obvious, however (see further Ármann Jakobsson 2013 and Bergdís Prastardóttir 2014). In addition to rubrication and this kind of explicit generic labelling, the arrangement of a text in its physical manuscript context (i.e. its disposition on the page alongside the textual company that it keeps in any single manuscript), is another type of evidence that can be looked to for insights into how these texts were conceived of and understood by those who copied them.

iii) The sagas in their manuscript contexts

In the case of some sagas, nowhere is a continuous text to be found in the extant medieval parchment record. This is not because of damage to the manuscripts but because of the way in which some sagas are copied out in *þættir*-like instalments rather than as uninterrupted ‘whole’ textual units. The narrative usually referred to as *Grænlandinga saga*, for example, is only preserved in one pre-Reformation parchment manuscript. This is the late 14th-century Flateyjarbók manuscript (GKS 1005 fol.), in which the saga is copied out in two instalments inserted at two points into the *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar hin mesta* narrative; it might also be noted that it is in fact rubricated “Eireks þátr rauða” in Flateyjarbók (see further Rowe 2005: 271–75). *Grænlandinga saga* has been criticised for ‘lacking’ a conventional *Íslendingasögur* opening comparable to its Vinland counterpart *Eiríks saga rauða* (or it is thought to have lost this material), that is, a prelude with genealogically-framed character introductions and geographical scene-setting in Norway followed by land-claims in Iceland. Sverrir Tómasson notes that the circumstances of its preservation mean that considering it as an independent or discrete narrative is problematic (2001: 35–36; see also comments in e.g. Ólafur Halldórsson 1985: 369 and Ólafur Halldórsson 2001: 43–44). Invariably, the nature of the narrative’s non-continuous preservation is viewed in a negative light.

Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds and *Fóstbræðra saga* are two further examples of this phenomenon of discontinuous or intermittent textual preservation. These sagas are extant in a relatively large number of pre-Reformation manuscript witnesses: 9 in the case of *Hallfreðar saga* and 5 in the case of *Fóstbræðra saga* as already noted. In both cases, however, many of these manuscript witnesses preserve the sagas in a discontinuous way with episodes from them woven *þættir*-like into texts of other narratives, mostly the *konungasögur Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar hin mesta* and *Óláfs saga helga* (e.g. in Flateyjarbók; AM 53 fol.; AM 54 fol.; AM 61 fol.; AM 62 fol., Holm perg 1 fol. (Bergsbók)).¹² Sigurður Nordal writes about *Fóstbræðra saga* as preserved in Flateyjarbók that “[það] vantar að vísu ekki neitt, en undir lokin eru sögurnar svo fléttaðar saman, að von-

¹² *Fóstbræðra saga*, or a part of it, is also referred to as a *þátr* by the Flateyjarbók scribe Jón Þórðarson in his prefatory material: “þíkir af þui tilheyriligt at setia her nockurn þatt af hirdmonnum hans tuæimr Þorgæiri Hafarssyne ok Þormode Bessasyne” (Guðbrandur Vigfússon and C. R. Unger (eds) 1862: 9; “it seems thus appropriate to include here a *þátr* about his [Óláfr’s] two retainers, Þorgeir Hávarsson and Þormóðr Bessason”).

laust er að greina heillagan texta Fóstbræðra sögu frá” (1943: lxx; “certainly nothing is lacking but towards the end, the sagas are so entwined that there is no hope of distinguishing a whole text of *Fóstbræðra saga* [from that of *Óláfs saga*]”) – a point which highlights the complexity of genre definition and distinction.

Related to this is the phenomenon of what might be described as accretive *þættir*, that is, *þættir* or additional narrative units which function as prologues, epilogues or generally as supplementary narrative material alongside ‘primary’ saga narratives, and which are found in some manuscripts but not in others that preserve the same sagas. The text of *Ljós-vetninga saga* as preserved in the late 14th- or early 15th-century AM 561 4to (alongside *Reykðæla saga* and *Gull-Þóris saga*) does not include the so-called *Sörla þáttur*, *Ófeigs þáttur*, *Vöðu-Brands þáttur* or *Þórarins þáttur ofsa* episodes which are inserted at certain points into the saga narrative in the other pre-Reformation parchment that preserves it, the 15th-century AM 162 c fol. (see further Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007b). Here, the presence or absence of these *þættir* is key to different versions of this saga being distinguished between. The opening and closing sections of *Grettis saga*, rubricated in some manuscripts as *Önundar þáttur tréfóts* and *Spesar þáttur*, respectively, are not included in every manuscript copy of that saga either but are invariably considered to be integral parts of the saga as a whole (see Lethbridge 2012a: 362). While not considered to be a fundamental structural part of *Laxdæla saga* in the same way, the so-called *Bolla þáttur Bollasonar* is sometimes found copied after *Laxdæla saga* in both pre-Reformation manuscripts (e.g. Möðruvallabók) and post-Reformation ones, as a kind of continuation to the narrative. *Kjalnesinga saga* and *Jökuls þáttur Búasonar* is yet another example.

Manuscripts are thus a good starting point for considering questions of genre and generic fluidity or ‘movement’ (see Mitchell 1991: 21–22; 29–30). *Fóstbræðra saga* and *Hallfredar saga* arguably read quite differently in the *Íslendingasögur*-dominated frame of Möðruvallabók on the one hand, and the *konungasögur*-dominated frame of the other manuscripts in which they are discontinuously copied on the other hand, with regard to which common generic markers stand out. Structural, thematic, or motivic features that ally *Íslendingasögur* narratives and distinguish them from, say, *konungasögur* or other saga narratives, are reinforced when *Íslendingasögur* are found copied out together in manuscripts in which no other texts assigned to different genres are preserved alongside them.

This is the situation with *Laxdæla saga* and *Eyrbyggja saga* as found together in the 13th-century AM 162 e fol.; *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Egils saga* as found together in the 14th-century Wolf Aug 9 10 4to; *Bjarnar*

saga and *Kormáks saga* as found together in the 14th-century AM 162 f fol.; *Reykdale saga*, *Gull-Þóris saga* and *Ljósvetninga saga* as found together in the 14th-century/early 15th-century AM 561 4to¹³; *Þórðar saga breðu* and *Króka-Refs saga* as found together in the late 15th-century Holm perg 8 4to; *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, *Víglundar saga* and *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar* as found together in the late 15th-century/early 16th-century AM 551 a 4to; *Króka-Refs saga* and *Bandamanna saga* as found together in the 16th-century JS frg 6 4to. There are obvious connections between the sagas in some of these collections (geographical overlap or proximity for example, or thematic or stylistic similarities) but there is also a large caveat here: the fragmentary nature of these manuscripts means that the possibility that texts typically assigned to other genres (and not necessarily only saga genres) might also originally have been part of these compilations cannot be ruled out.

The strongest pattern that emerges when the contents of all compilation manuscripts containing *Íslendingasögur* texts are analysed, however, is their decidedly mixed or generically heterogeneous character. Much more often than not, *Íslendingasögur* are found copied into manuscripts alongside texts assigned by modern critics to other prose genres. In the so-called Pseudo-Vatnshyrna manuscript from the late 14th or early 15th century (AM 445 b 4to + AM 445 c I 4to + AM 564 a 4to), texts of *Vatnsdæla saga*, *Flóamanna saga*, *Eyrbyggja saga*, *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, *Víga-Glúms saga*, *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, *Þórðar saga breðu* and *Harðar saga* are preserved, and in addition to these, some *þættir* (*Bergbúa þáttur*, *Kumlbúa þáttur*, *Draumur Þorsteins Síðu-Hallssonar*) and the Melabók version of *Landnámabók*. This material is relatively homogenous in that it pertains (predominantly) to Iceland and the settlement age but since the manuscript is badly damaged, other types of text may once have been part of it. And it is not at all uncommon to find *Íslendingasögur* (often, but not always, those thought to be younger or ‘post-classical’) copied alongside texts assigned to *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur* genres.

In AM 586 4to (*Arnarbælisbók*) from the 15th century, for example, *Þórðar saga breðu* and *Króka-Refs saga* are found together with some exempla or *ævintýri* (*Af þremur kumpánum*; *Af þremur þjófum í Danmörk*; *Um bryta einn í Þýskalandi*; *Af meistara Perus*; *Af Vilhjálmi bastarði og sonum hans*; *Roðberts þáttur*); and the *fornaldarsögur* and

¹³ A text of *Úlfhams rímur* was added at 23v–24r and at 16r in this manuscript at some point in the 17th century (see Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir ed. 2001: xlvi–xlix). This is a good example of the dynamically accretive nature of these manuscripts over time, with texts or parts of texts being added (or sometimes scraped away) as the respective users or owners of these books from one generation to the next saw fit or desirable.

riddarasögur Flóres saga konungs og sona hans, Bósa saga ok Herrauðs, Vilmundar saga viðutan, Hálfðanar saga Eysteinssonar, Hrings saga ok Tryggva, and Ásmundar saga kappabana. Two scribes seem to have produced this manuscript, working in tandem and “shar[ing] out between them the writing of pages and even of lines” (Loth (ed.) 1977: 17). Similarly, in the 15th-century AM 471 4to + AM 489 I 4to, *Þórðar saga breðu, Króka-Refs saga, Kjalnesinga saga* and *Bárðar saga* are copied along with the three ‘Hrafnistumannasögur’ *fornaldarsögur* (*Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga*; as a trio, these narratives have strong genealogical connections) and two *riddarasögur* (*Viktors saga ok Blávus* and *Kirijalax saga*). The late 15th-century AM 556 a 4to + AM 556 b 4to (Eggertsbók) contains the three outlaw *Íslendingasögur* *Grettis saga, Gísla saga* and *Harðar saga* alongside one *fornaldarsaga* (*Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*) and three *riddarasögur* (*Sigrgarðs saga frækna, Mágus saga jarls, Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*). *Grettis saga* and *Þorðar saga breðu* are also found in the large compilation manuscript AM 152 fol. from the early 16th century, along with *fornaldarsögur* (*Hálfðanar sögu Brönufóstra; Göngu-Hrólf’s saga; Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar; Hrólf’s saga Gautrekssonar; Gautreks saga*) and *riddarasögur* (*Flóvent’s saga; Sigurðar saga þögla; Ectors saga; Mágus saga jarls*). In the 15th-century GKS 2845 4to (seemingly the work of two scribes, see Jón Helgason (ed.) 1955: viii), *Bandamanna saga* accompanies *þættir* (*Norna-Gests þátr, Orms þátr Stórolfssonar, Rauðúlfs þátr*) and *fornaldarsögur* (*Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka, Göngu-Hrólf’s saga, Yngvars saga víðförla, Eiríks saga víðförla, Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs*).

In the 15th-century manuscript AM 557 4to (Skálholtsbók), as well as *riddarasögur* (*Valdimars saga, Dámusta saga*), a *fornaldarsaga* (*Eiríks saga víðförla*) and *þættir* (*Rögnvalds þátr ok Rauðs, Hróa þátr heimiska, Stúfs þátr, Karls þátr vésela, Sveinka þátr Steinarssonar*), a contemporary *samtíðarsaga* (*Hrafn’s saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*) is copied together with two of the *Íslendingasögur* sometimes sub-categorised as *skáldasögur* (*Gunnlaugs saga* and *Hallfreðar saga*) and *Eiríks saga rauða*. This book seems to have been written by two scribes and although the order of the quires as the manuscript is extant now has been altered at some point in its history – it seems likely that the eighth and last quire, containing *þættir*, may originally have been at the beginning of the book – the distribution of texts over pages and quires suggests that it was conceived of and executed as a whole (see Mårtensson 2011: 49–53). Another example of a *samtíðarsaga*-*Íslendingasaga* combination is found in the 15th-century AM 551 d þ 4to, which preserves *Arons saga Hjörleifssonar* and then *Þórðar saga breðu*. Similarly, the 16th-century AM 510 4to,

produced by three scribes (a father and two sons) working together (see further Karl Óskar Ólafsson 2006), brings together the *Íslendingasögur Viglundar saga* and *Finnboga saga* with *Jómsvíkinga saga*, as well as *fornaldarsögur* (*Bósa saga ok Herrauðs*, *Þorsteins þátr bæjarmagns*, *Friðþjófs saga ins frækna*) and *riddarasögur* (*Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, *Draumma-Jóns saga*).

IV. Concluding remarks: *Njáls saga* and how the *Íslendingasögur* were ‘read’

It is difficult to posit any kind of clear-cut development or trend over time in terms of differing combinations of saga-texts as brought together in compilation manuscripts, principally because of unknown factors such as the ravages of time and vagaries of chance with regard to what survives of all those pre-Reformation Icelandic manuscripts that once existed. The earlier examples of compilation manuscripts are generally fragmentary and thus direct comparison of this evidence with the more complete compilation manuscripts that survive from the later medieval period is problematic – like is not necessarily being compared with like. Despite the loss of the great proportion of manuscripts once produced, however, it does seem possible to say that from early times, the general impulse seems to have been one of compilation. Manuscripts containing types of texts other than sagas also demonstrate this (e.g. GKS 2365 4to Codex Regius of the *Poetic Edda* from the late 13th century; the 14th-century manuscripts of the *Prose Edda* (DG 11 Codex Upsaliensis, GKS 2367 4to Codex Regius, and AM 242 fol. Codex Wormianus) with their varying combinations of the component parts of *Snorra Edda*, Grammatical Treatises, and in the case of the Codex Regius, *Jómsvíkingadrápa* and *Málsháttakvæði*). Hauksbók, Haukur Erlendsson’s early 14th-century compilation volume – which has been variously described or interpreted as a personal encyclopedia or as a private library within the covers of one volume (see e.g. Simek 1991, Sverrir Jakobsson 2007, Rowe 2008) – exemplifies the extreme end of the spectrum.

Since manuscripts were time-consuming and expensive objects to produce, and accordingly must have been highly-prized and rare possessions rather than common and numerous ones, some degree of pragmatism may also have been a factor when they were commissioned by their prospective owners. An explicit desire or need for copies of particular sagas

or other texts may have motivated the commissioning and production of a manuscript book in the first instance but other items may have been included on a more ad hoc basis along with these specified texts, if not exactly “for the sake of it”, at least because they were available for copying and of interest. Once texts had been assembled together as part of a bigger whole though, their material context clearly had a direct influence on how those texts were received and understood from the perspective of their themes and genre, and the ways in which they intersected or interacted with other texts/narratives. The manuscript book as a whole can be seen as framing each narrative, and – whether deliberately planned or not – the co-existence of several narratives together within the single framed material unit forced dynamic, intertextual reading, and generated countless connections between narratives that modern critics would most likely approach as discrete texts (see Lethbridge 2012b).

Intertextuality is thus a fundamental characteristic of saga narratives and their transmission. The way in which the texts of some *Íslendinga-sögur* were broken up and recombined or reassembled with other texts in different manuscript contexts – in conjunction, moreover, with the way in which these narratives lived in the Icelandic landscapes and were accessible through place-names, for example, which functioned as mnemonics that prompted the recall of saga characters and events – explicitly draws attention to this and illustrates one way in which these *Íslendinga-sögur* narratives were not conceived of as discrete entities but rather as flexible and often overlapping constituent parts of a bigger whole or narrative world, the immanent saga world (see Clover 1986; Gísli Sigurðsson 2004, 2007; also Cochrane 2010). This flexibility (in combination with certain other impulses and circumstances surrounding their composition) also encouraged the continuous rewriting which is a fundamental characteristic of their dissemination (see Quinn and Lethbridge (eds) 2010).

What then, are the implications here with regard to *Njáls saga*, if it was – going against the grain of the compilatory impulse – more often than not deliberately copied and circulated as a stand-alone text, the sole content of whole manuscripts, as some of the extant manuscript evidence suggests? If the material circumstances of a saga narrative’s textual preservation directly and indirectly affect how it is ‘read’, was *Njáls saga*, then, read or consumed from the earliest times of its transmission in different kinds of ways to other saga narratives, copied as they were in varying textual constellations that meant that they would have been accessed and digested in a more cumulative, overlapping manner? The answer to this question, I would argue, is “probably, yes”.

But why was *Njáls saga* transmitted as a stand-alone text when other sagas do not seem to have been? As already mentioned at the beginning of this article, doubtless, logistics must have come into play here, to some degree at least. It cannot be a coincidence that *Njáls saga* is easily the longest of the *Íslendingasögur*. Copied out on its own, *Njáls saga* would require a similar amount of parchment as that needed for several shorter sagas copied out consecutively. But books such as Hauksbók and Möðruvallabók are proof that certainly from the end of the 13th century, larger volumes were being produced; ultimately, therefore, the amount of parchment required for a text of *Njáls saga* alone need not have dictated its unaccompanied status in manuscripts. One might think that once the investment in terms of time and expense had been made and *Njáls saga* had been commissioned and copied out, the inclusion of some *þættir* at least (perhaps those set around the south, for example, or associated with individual characters from other parts of the country who appear in *Njáls saga*) might have been an appealing supplementary option. Perhaps it was – but the fragmentary state of most copies we have of *Njáls saga* does not allow us to pursue this speculation much further. One clear direction for the future development of this study would be to look to the post-Reformation paper tradition, however; limitations of time and space did not allow these manuscripts to be taken into consideration here but it could be illuminating to chart which texts assigned to other genres (e.g. *fornaldarsögur*, *riddarasögur*, *samtíðarsögur*?) *Njáls saga* is copied alongside in these younger manuscripts.

What, then, is the relationship between the exceptionally rich manuscript tradition of *Njáls saga* and the saga's status as one of the cornerstones of Icelandic literature, a narrative of huge ideological importance to Icelanders and one which has played an important part in constructions of Icelandic identity over time (see Jón Karl Helgason 1995 and 1999)? In some ways, it is difficult to unravel this. Either, initially the length of the saga dictated the unusual circumstances of its transmission as a single text in manuscripts, and this resulted in it being set apart or regarded as different in some way to other *Íslendingasögur*. Or, from the earliest times of its dissemination, *Njáls saga* was perceived as having a particular intrinsic worth and a different symbolic significance, and because of this, it was transmitted in this unusual fashion – unaccompanied by other texts.

Narrative themes and motifs such as the importance of the law and legal procedure (and, by extension, the conversion to Christianity), Gunnarr of Hlíðarendi's fatally emotional attachment to the fertile slopes of Fljótshlíð, and the independence and success of those characters who

travel abroad and spend time at royal courts, certainly later became highly idealised metaphors for Icelandic nationalism, and contributed to the saga becoming a kind of literary emblem for Iceland. Perhaps these narrative elements or motifs seemed more prominent and invited ideological appropriation because of the self-contained nature of the saga's preservation in manuscripts such as Reykjabók and Gráskinna: unlike *Hallfreðar saga* and *Fóstbræðra saga*, it was always possible to define the narrative as a whole, to hold up the volume and to say "This is *Njáls saga*". While the textual variation that exists between manuscript copies testifies to differing interpretations of infinite aspects of the *Njáls saga* narrative, this variation and the rewriting impulses behind it is demarcated or bounded in a sense; the fact that dramatically diverging versions of *Njáls saga* do not exist could be significant, though this ought not necessarily be seen as a mark of greater status or 'respect' accorded to the saga during the course of its transmission, with people being more hesitant about actively intervening and altering the text.

The great geographical sweep of the *Njáls saga* stage all around Iceland must be recognised as fundamental to the nationally-acclaimed status of the saga – the physical reach or extent of the narrative (see Appendix 2) meant that most Icelanders, in most parts of the country, could find some direct connection between it and their locality. Other sagas, copied, read or told in tandem, complement each other and cover wider districts around Iceland; the inclusion of other sagas alongside *Njáls saga* in manuscript copies perhaps seemed unnecessary because it already covered such a great part of the country. The only other saga comparable in this respect is *Grettis saga* – interestingly, the only other saga with a similarly wide geographical reach (see Appendix 3), one which has enjoyed enduring popularity at a national level over time (see Hastrup 1990), and one which also survives in more pre- and post-Reformation manuscript copies than most other sagas.

It is significant with regard to understanding the place of the *Íslendingasögur* in Icelandic cultural history over time that geography is the ordering principle behind the 14-volume Íslenzk fornrit set of *Íslendingasögur* editions. But where authority, completeness and uniform order with regard to discrete texts and 'the corpus' is the general impression that this printed series and others implicitly convey to their users, the manuscript evidence for the sagas tells a different story as has been shown. The state of the preservation of *Íslendingasögur* in these books and fragments is often anything but complete or ordered and their complex manuscript paradosis (and that of other kinds of saga texts) forces us to question our

assumptions about what these narratives are in terms of narrative unity and wholeness, and from generic perspectives. Charting and attempting to better understand the variation in the manuscript evidence is the most productive way of building up a more nuanced picture of the nature of these medieval Icelandic narratives, and of the dynamic ways in which they were disseminated and received in Iceland, right up until the 20th century.

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Appendix 1

Pre-Reformation parchment manuscripts containing *Íslendingasögur* texts

The date of each manuscript follows that given on *handrit.is*; in the ‘State’ column, ‘frg’ = fragmentary; ‘–’ = more complete though in many cases with lacunae; in the ‘Type’ column, ‘mt’ = multitext; ‘st’ = single text; ‘–’ = unknown on account of fragmentary condition; in the ‘Contents’ column, titles of texts other than *Íslendingasögur* are indicated in italics.

Shelfmark	Date	State	No. of leaves	Type	Contents
<i>13th century</i>					
AM 162 a γ fol.	1275–1300	frg	2	–	Egils saga
AM 162 a δ fol.	1290–1310	frg	8	–	Egils saga
AM 162 a ζ fol.	1250–1300	frg	4	–	Egils saga
AM 162 a θ fol.	1240–1260	frg	4	–	Egils saga
AM 162 d I fol.	1290–1310	frg	5	–	Laxdæla saga
AM 162 d II fol.	1250–1300	frg	1	–	Laxdæla saga
AM 162 e fol.	1290–1310	frg	7	mt	Laxdæla saga Eyrbyggja saga
AM 371 4to	1290–1360	–	18 + 107 + 16	mt	Fóstbræðra saga
AM 544 4to					Eiríks saga
AM 675 4to (Hauksbók)					<i>Landnámabók; Kristnisaga; Geographica qvædam et physica...; Theologica qvædam...; Völuspá; Trójumanna saga; Seven Precious Stones; Císiojanus; Breta sögur; Two Dialogues; þættir; Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks; Algorismus; Skálda saga; Af upplendinga konungum; Prognostica temporum; Elucidarius</i>
<i>14th century</i>					
AM 53 fol.	1375–1400	–	72	mt	Hallfreðar saga <i>Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar hin mesta; Færeyinga saga; þættir</i>
AM 54 fol.	1375–1400/ 1500	–	76	mt	Hallfreðar saga <i>Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar hin mesta; Færeyinga saga; þættir</i>
AM 62 fol.	1375–1400	–	53	mt	Hallfreðar saga <i>Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar hin mesta; Færeyinga saga; þættir</i>

Shelfmark	Date	State	No. of leaves	Type	Contents
AM 132 fol. (Möðruvallabók)	1330–1370	–	200	mt	Njáls saga Egils saga Finnboga saga Bandamanna saga Kormáks saga Víga-Glums saga Droplaugarsona saga Ǫlkofra saga/þátrr Hallfreðar saga Laxdæla saga Fóstbrœdra saga
AM 133 fol. (Kálfalækjarbók)	1350	frg	95	–	Njáls saga
AM 162 a β fol.	1340–1360	frg	1	–	Egils saga
AM 162 a ε fol.	1390–1410	frg	3	–	Egils saga
AM 162 a κ fol.	1390–1410	frg	2	–	Egils saga
AM 162 b β fol. AM 162 b δ fol. (Þormóðsbók)	1300	frg	1 + 24	–	Njáls saga
AM 162 b γ fol. (Ossbók)	1315–1335	frg	5	–	Njáls saga
AM 162 b ε fol. (Hítardalsbók)	1350–1375/ 1500	frg	8	–	Njáls saga
AM 162 b ζ fol.	1315–1335	frg	5	–	Njáls saga
AM 162 b η fol.	1340–60	frg	3	–	Njáls saga
AM 162 b θ fol.	1315–1335	frg	2	–	Njáls saga
AM 162 b κ fol.	1340–1360	frg	2	–	Njáls saga
AM 162 f fol.	1350–1400	frg	3	mt	Bjarnar saga Kormáks saga
AM 325 VIII 2 e–f 4to	1375–1400	frg	1 + 1	mt	Hallfreðar saga <i>Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar</i>
AM 445 b 4to AM 445 c I 4to AM 564 a 4to (Pseudo-Vatnshyrna)	1390–1425	frg	11 + 5 + 7 = 23	mt	Vatnsdæla saga Flóamanna saga Eyrbyggja saga Víga-Glúms saga Gísla saga Bárðar saga Pórðar saga hreðu Harðar saga <i>Þettir; Landnámabók</i>
AM 468 4to (Reykjabók)	1300–1325	–	93	st	Njáls saga

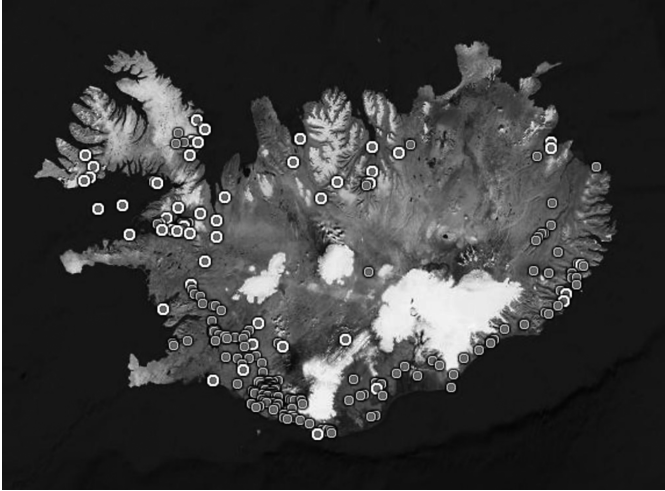
Shelfmark	Date	State	No. of leaves	Type	Contents
AM 561 4to	1390–1410	–	41	mt	Reykðæla saga Gull-Þóris saga Ljósvetninga saga <i>Úlfhams rímur</i>
GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók)	1387–1394	–	225	mt	Hallfreðar saga Eiríks saga Grænlandinga saga Fóstbræðra saga <i>Konungasögur; þættir;</i> <i>Orkneyinga saga; Fereyinga</i> <i>saga; Jónsvíkinga saga</i> (see handrit.is for full details of contents and foliation)
GKS 2868 4to (Skafinskinna)	1350–1400	–	45	–	Njáls saga
GKS 2869 4to (Sveinsbók)	1400	frg	11	–	Njáls saga
GKS 2870 4to (Gráskinna)	1300/1500	–	121	st	Njáls saga
Holm perg 7 4to AM 580 4to	1300–1325	–	58 + 34	mt	Egils saga <i>Konráðs saga keisarasonar;</i> <i>Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar;</i> <i>Jónsvíkinga saga; Ásmundar</i> <i>saga kappabana; Örvar-Odds</i> <i>saga; Elis saga ok Rósamundu;</i> <i>Bærings saga; Flóvents saga;</i> <i>Mágus saga jarls</i>
Lbs frg 1 Holm perg 18 4to	1300–1350	–	1 + 54 = 55	mt	Heiðarvíga saga Gunnlaugs saga
Holm perg 10 IX 8vo	1350–1375	frg	2	–	Laxðæla saga
Wolf Aug 9 10 4to	1330–1370	–	54	mt	Eyrbyggja saga Egils saga
<i>15th century</i>					
AM 61 fol.	1400–1449	–	132	mt	Hallfreðar saga <i>Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar hin</i> <i>mesta; Ólafs saga Haralds-</i> <i>sonar</i>
AM 75 e V fol.	1400–1500	frg	15	mt	Fóstbræðra saga <i>Þættir</i>
AM 162 a η fol.	1450–1475	frg	2	–	Egils saga
AM 162 a ι fol.	1400–1500	frg	1	–	Egils saga
AM 162 b α fol.	1400–1500	frg	2	–	Njáls saga

Shelfmark	Date	State	No. of leaves	Type	Contents
AM 162 b 1 fol. (Reykjarfjarðarbók)	1400–1425	frg	4	–	Njáls saga
AM 162 c fol.	1420–1450	frg	11	mt	Ljósvetninga saga Vápnfirðinga saga Droplaugarsona saga Finnboga saga <i>Þorsteins þátrr stangarböggis;</i> <i>Sálus saga ok Nikanórs</i>
AM 162 g fol.	1400–1500	frg	2	–	Hænsa-Þóris saga
AM 162 h fol.	1400–1450	frg	2	–	Bárðar saga
AM 162 i fol.	1490–1510	frg	1	–	Hrafnkels saga
AM 309 4to (Bæjarbók)	1498	–	48	mt	Laxdœla saga Eyrbyggja saga Njáls saga <i>Excerpts from Flateyjarbók</i>
AM 445 c II 4to	1440–1460	frg	1	–	Svarfdœla saga
AM 466 4to (Oddabók)	1460	–	57	st	Njáls saga
AM 471 4to AM 489 I 4to	1450–1500	–	108 + 26 = 134	mt	Þórðar saga hreðu Króka-Refs saga Kjalnesinga saga Bárðar saga <i>Ketils saga hængs; Gríms saga</i> <i>loðinkinna; Örvar-Odds saga;</i> <i>Viktors saga ok Blávus; Kirja-</i> <i>lax saga</i>
AM 551 a 4to	1490–1510	–	53	mt	Bárðar saga Vígundar saga Grettis saga
AM 551 d β 4to	1400–1450	frg	8	mt	Þórðar saga hreðu <i>Arons saga Hjörleifssonar</i>
AM 556 a 4to (AM 556 b 4to) (=Eggertsbók)	1475–1500	–	88 + 46 = 134	mt	Grettis saga Gísla saga Harðar saga <i>Sigurgarðs saga frækna;</i> <i>Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar;</i> <i>Mágus saga jarls; Hermanns</i> <i>saga ok Jarlmanns</i>
AM 557 4to (Skálholtsbók)	1420–1450	–	48	mt	Gunnlaugs saga Hallfreðar saga Eiríks saga <i>Valdimars saga; Hrafn's saga</i> <i>Sveinbjarnarsonar; Dámusta</i> <i>saga; Eiríks saga víðförla;</i> <i>þættir</i>

Shelfmark	Date	State	No. of leaves	Type	Contents
AM 586 4to (Arnarbælisbók)	1450–1500	–	33	mt	Þórðar saga hreðu Króka-Refs saga <i>Ævintýri; Flóres saga konungs ok sona hans; Bósa saga; Vilmundar saga viðutan; Hálfðanar saga Eysteinssonar; Hrings saga ok Tryggva; Ásmundar saga kappabana</i>
GKS 2845 4to	1440–1460	–	73	mt	Bandamanna saga <i>Þættir; Göngu-Hrólfs saga; Yngvars saga víðförla; Eiríks saga víðförla; Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks</i>
Holm perg 1 fol. (Bergsbók)	1400–1425	–	210	mt	Hallfreðar saga Fóstbræðra saga <i>Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar hinn mesta; Færeyinga saga; þættir</i>
Holm perg 8 4to	1450–1500	–	27	mt	Þórðar saga hreðu Króka-Refs saga
JS frg 6 4to	1475–1500	frg	2	mt	Króka-Refs saga Bandamanna saga
<i>16th century</i>					
AM 152 I fol.	1500–1525	–	201	mt	Grettis saga Þórðar saga hreðu <i>Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra; Flóvents saga; Sigurðar saga þögla; Göngu-Hrólfs saga; Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar; Hektors saga; Mágus saga jarls; Gautreks saga</i>
AM 162 a α fol.	1500–1600	frg	3	–	Egils saga
AM 510 4to (Tómasarbók)	1540–1560	–	96	mt	Víglundar saga Finnboga saga <i>Bósa saga; Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns; Þorsteins þátrr bæjarmagns; Jónsvíkinga saga; Drauma-Jóns saga; Friðþjófs saga</i>
AM 571 4to	1500–1550	frg	12	mt	Grettis saga <i>Ála flekks saga; Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra; Þorsteins þátrr bæjarmagns</i>
DG 10	1500	–	55	–	Grettis saga

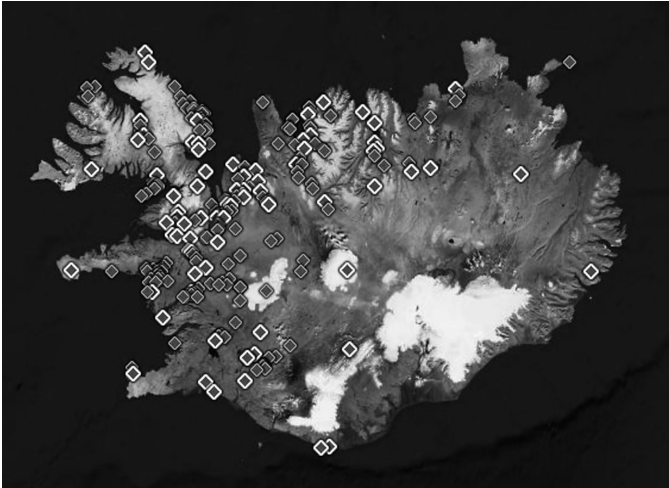
Appendix 2

The geographical distribution of places named in *Njáls saga*



Appendix 3

The geographical distribution of places named in *Grettis saga*



OREN FALK

How many-manned will you ride? Shaming by numbers in medieval Iceland

non enim in multitudine est virtus tua Domine
neque in equorum viribus voluntas tua
nec superbi ab initio placuerunt tibi

Judith 9:16 (in Biblia 1: 702)

Introduction

On 9 September 1208, Kolbeinn Tumason, the predominant *goði* [chief-tain] in the North of Iceland, fell in a clash with the followers of Bishop Guðmundr Arason (1161–1237).¹ Kolbeinn's brother, Arnórr, promptly turned to his kinsmen, the Sturlungar, for support (see fig. 1). The for-

A preliminary version of this paper was presented at Norsestock II (May 2007). All translations are my own. I retain the alternation of tenses typical of medieval Norse literature. To the extent allowed by the fonts available to me, I retain the orthography of editions cited, but normalise spellings when writing in my own voice. I'm deeply indebted to Ármann Jakobsson, Ásdís Egilsdóttir, Roberta Frank, Ian McDougall and Torfi Tulinius for debating with me the interpretation of a key saga passage discussed in this article, as well as to the anonymous referees who read and commented on the article as a whole.

¹ For orientation in Iceland's medieval history, see Jón Jóhannesson (1974); Byock (1988; 2001); Miller (1990); and, specifically for this period, Einar Ól. Sveinsson (1953); Nordal (1998). The best literary and historical analysis of Kolbeinn's killing is Walgenbach (2007), esp. pp. 28–38.

Falk, O., associate professor, Department of History, Cornell University. "How many-manned will you ride? Shaming by numbers in medieval Iceland". *ANF* 129 (2014), pp. 91–120.

Abstract: The words *ffjólmennr* (here rendered 'many-manned') and *fámennr* ('meagre-manned'), as well as related forms, have attracted little attention from philologists: they seem too self-evident to be worth the bother. Close examination, however, shows them to be unevenly distributed across the corpus, and reveals significant patterns in their usage. I focus in particular on a small number of interrelated phrases in the Family Sagas and *Sturlunga saga*, which communicate specific attitudes and thus serve as surprisingly rich sources for a cultural history of medieval Iceland. Beyond their surface meaning, questions like 'how many-manned will you ride?' allude to images of idealized masculinity, express speakers' opinion of the persons addressed, and seek – often belligerently – to motivate addressees to definite courses of action.

Keywords: *ffjólmennr*, *fámennr*, *heljarmadr*, Family Sagas, *Sturlunga saga*, denotation and connotation, cultural history, gender history, heroism, incitement, status and honour, humiliation, intercession, peace-making.

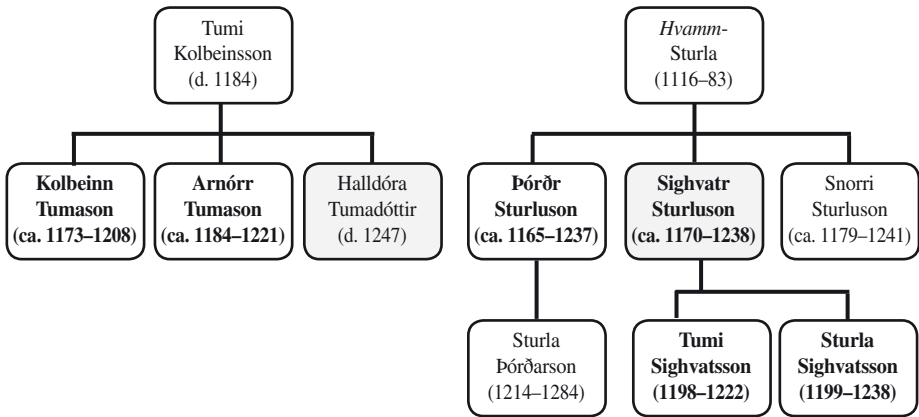


Figure 1. Ásbirningar and Sturlungar, ca. 1208; persons directly involved in the events I discuss are in boldface; the families are linked through Sighvatr Sturluson’s marriage to Halldóra Tumadóttir.

tunes of this family had been on the rise since the time of the eponymous *Hvamm*-Sturla (1116–83) and would continue to soar throughout the life of the Icelandic Commonwealth, into the 1260s. Three of *Hvamm*-Sturla’s sons were politically active in 1208: Þórðr the eldest (b. ca. 1165), whose son, another Sturla, would eventually (ca. 1280) pen *Íslendinga saga*, our main source for these and other thirteenth-century events; Sighvatr, the most ruthless of the brothers (b. ca. 1170); and Snorri, the youngest (b. ca. 1179), future literary genius. Sighvatr had been a close ally of Arnórr’s for some time already (having married his and Kolbeinn’s sister, Halldóra, a decade earlier), so enlisting his backing was not a problem, and Snorri was quick to join the avenging coalition too. Sighvatr then turned to brother Þórðr to recruit his support as well, and Þórðr gave him to understand that he was willing, on principle, to take part in the venture. Encouraged, Sighvatr questioned him further:

[E]ða **hvé fjölmennr muntu vera?** ‘Með fimmta mann’, segir Þórðr. ‘Hvat skal mér þú heldr en annarr maðr, ef þú ert svá fámennr?’ ‘Þú sér þat’, segir Þórðr. Sighvatr var þá reiðr ok hljóp á bak, ok skilði þar með þeim. Ok sagði Þórðr svá, at síðan þótti honum aldri hafa orðit frændsemi þeira slík sem áðr.

(*Íslendinga saga* cap. 23 [28], in *StS* 1: 250–51)

[‘But how many men will you have with you?’ ‘Four others’, says Þórðr. ‘How will you do me any more good than anyone else, if you have so few men?’ ‘You’ll see’, says Þórðr. Sighvatr was then angry and mounted in a

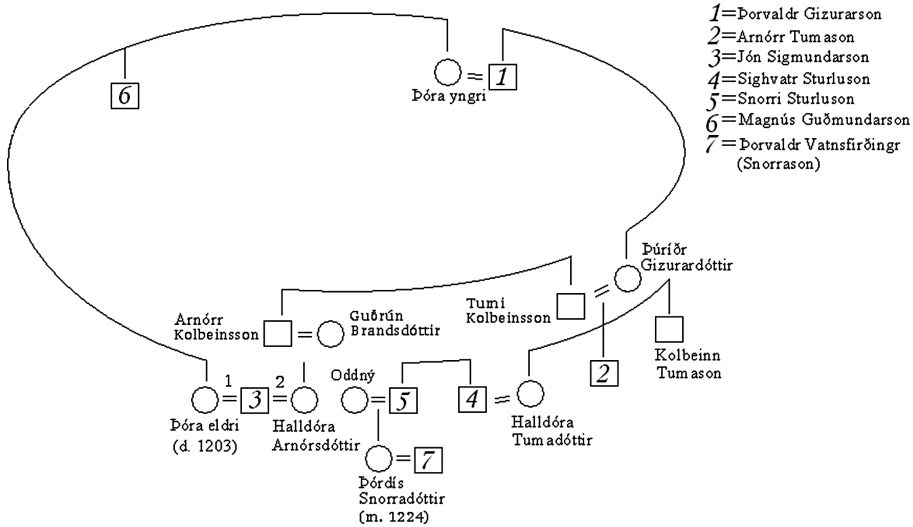


Figure 2. Kinship and affinity relationships among the seven *goðar* [chieftains] who participated in the raid on the See of Hólar, April 1209 (see *Íslendinga saga* capp. 23-24 [28-29], in *StS* 1: 250-54); circles = women, squares = men.

huff, and they parted in this fashion. And Þórðr said this, that afterwards their kinship was never such as it had been before.²

The 700-strong levy that eventually beset the See of Hólar and broke the bishop’s power in April 1209 consisted of the followings of seven *goðar*, almost all of them mutually related by blood or marriage, but Þórðr Sturluson was not among them (see fig. 2).

This paper explores a peculiarity of Sighvatr’s testy dialogue with his brother: the charged question of the number of followers Þórðr would bring if he were to throw his lot in with those opposed to Bishop Guðmundr. A single, unassuming word, *fjölmennr*, is at the hub of my investigation. As befits a quotidian term, it has drawn little attention – neither of the major scholarly editions of the saga, for instance, indexes it as a noteworthy lexical item – if only because its modern reflex, *fjölmennur*, remains a part of the active Icelandic vocabulary, and so has fooled

² The episode gets picked up in the fourteenth-century sagas of Bishop Guðmundr, such as *GSA* cap. 137 (160–61). Zimmerling (2003: 558–59) suggests that *GSA* may have relied on a recension of *Íslendinga saga* closer to Sturla’s original than the version edited into *Sturlunga saga* (ca. 1300).

native speakers into taking its intelligibility for granted.³ Living language functions as a reservoir of differential meanings, silting up over time; it falls to the social and cultural historian, implementing what Thomas Osborne (1999: 59) has called ‘archival reason’, to dredge this lexical ditch in order to reveal ‘the explanatory relevance of the mundane[:] It is not that archival reason necessarily seeks out the obscure detail or the uninteresting fact, but that for such kinds of reason the true field of explanation lies with the realm of ... everyday life’. The historian who chooses to obey archival reason follows the motto ‘that “power is ordinary”. Do not begin with great transhistorical laws and do not begin with the acts and pronouncements of the powerful themselves ... but look behind the scenes of power at its everyday workings and machinations, wherever you may find them’. In its nondescript ordinariness, *fjólmennr* is just such a site where the operation of everyday power may be observed, if only we deign to lower our gaze from the philological heights to the trenches in which historical runoffs pool.⁴

Variations on Sighvatr’s phrase, *hvé fjólmennr muntu vera*, recur elsewhere in the medieval Icelandic corpus in the context of mustering troops for martial purposes.⁵ As I demonstrate below, amidst these recurrences we may perceive an idiom canalising the flow of a minor saga motif. In the fullest realisation of this motif, posing the question of projected posse size becomes a rhetorical funnel for chuting disdain: pre-existing disrespect sloshes against the words, staining them with pejorative sentiment, and sluices out the bottom in a torrent of abuse. Beyond a straightforward enquiry after hard numbers, ‘how many men will you have with you?’ becomes an expression of alarmed scepticism, implying lack of faith in the addressee’s ability to handle himself responsibly, and ultimately an instrument for conferring dishonour, condensing nebulous contempt into a hostile flood of scorn. We must keep in mind, however, that idioms and motifs are meandering, variable verbal rituals, not deep-cut performative riverbeds: users can and do subtly shift their meanings, set different cargos afloat on their current, and channel their flow in idiosyncratic directions.⁶ As should become apparent in the course of the

³ Besides *StS*, I have consulted also Örnólfur Thorsson (1988). *Fjólmennur* appears, for instance, among 96 *fjól-* compounds listed by Árni Böðvarsson (1993: 215–16).

⁴ As a dear former colleague tartly observes, literary scholars are in the business of studying beauty and turning it into dross, while historians begin with dross and proceed in the opposite direction.

⁵ Meulengracht Sørensen (1993) remains the single best, concise introduction in English to medieval Iceland’s history and literature. See also Clover and Lindow (1985); Jónas Kristjánsson (1988); Clunies Ross (2000; 2010); O’Donoghue (2004); McTurk (2005).

⁶ I borrow the phrase ‘variable ritual’ from Poole (2006). Contrast Buc’s view of ritual as ossified and monovalent (2001).

discussion below, the present case is no exception, and medieval Icelanders proved themselves adept at directing the jet of this fluid motif, even in heavy idiomatic seas.

The lexicon of enumeration

The word at the focus of my investigation, *fjólmennr*, is an adjectival form, transparent enough even to those not fully conversant in Old-Norse–Icelandic (ON-I): the first element, *fjól-*, is cognate with German *viel* and Old English *fela*, ‘many’, while the second, *-mennr* (or its variant, *-meðr*), is akin to English ‘man’ (cf. ON-I *maðr*, ‘person’). *Fjólmennr* thus means ‘in the company of many men’ and might literally be rendered as ‘**many-manned**’. Nominal and verbal reflexes of the same compound also occur: *fjólmenni*, ‘a large body of men’ (and, by extension, ‘the people’ or ‘the public’), *at fjólmenna*, ‘to assemble many men’ (including creating a multitude *ex nihilo*, hence ‘to people’), as well as secondary by-forms, such as adverbial *fjólmenniliga*, ‘in a multitude’, or the adjectives *allfjólmennr*, ‘with very many men’, and *jafnfjólmennr*, ‘with an equally large following’. The *fjólmennr*- family of words has also sired a cadet branch, the alliterating antonym *fámennr* (and some byforms), which, predictably enough – *fá-* is cognate with English ‘few’ – means ‘in the company of few men’, or ‘**meagre-manned**’. (Employing such rather ungainly neologisms allows me to emphasise semantic unities in the ON-I vocabulary: different shades of meaning, which in English would normally be rendered by a variety of terms, cohabit within ON-I words like *fjól-* or *fá-mennr*.) I return to the *fámennr* family below.⁷ These lexemes are probably not particularly old, though their precise age is difficult to gauge. The compounds occur infrequently in skaldic (but not in eddic) verse, some of which may reach back into the eleventh century, as well as in *Landnámabók* and *Íslendingabók* of (perhaps) the early twelfth century.⁸ In the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century prose sagas, in con-

⁷ A future desideratum would be a comparative study of the *fjólmennr*- and *fámennr*-word families with structurally homologous and semantically synonymous terms, such as *mannfjöldi*, *mannfár*, etc.

⁸ Hans Kuhn’s eddic glossary (vol. 2 of Neckel 1962–68) gives no attestations of the *fjólmennr*- family, and is likewise silent on *fámennr*- and its byforms. *LP²* lists five skaldic instances of *fjólmennr*, among them two in Snorri Sturluson’s thirteenth-century *Háttatal* (vv. 29, 69; 1999: 16, 29–30, and see pp. 57, 67, assigning both stanzas to Snorri’s own pen), and one each attributed to the eleventh-century Valgarðr á Velli (v. 7 in *Skjld B¹*: 361 = v. 7

trast, we find ca. 700 attestations of *fjólmen-* and its derivatives: a good 300 or more in the Family Sagas (*Íslendinga sögur*),⁹ nearly 160 in *Sturlunga saga* and some 130 in *Heimskringla* – the *summa* of Kings’ Sagas (*Konunga sögur*) – and about 85 further instances in the Legendary Sagas (*Fornaldar sögur*).¹⁰ Words in the *fámenn-* family are considerably rarer, cropping up a mere 35 times or so throughout the sagas.¹¹ Neither word family is frequent in the Norwegian legal corpus, and both are entirely absent from the Icelandic *Grágás*. In contrast, whereas the Icelandic *Hómiliebók* contains seven instances of *fjólmen-* (none of *fámenn-*), Norwegian homilists apparently shun such language altogether.¹² Estimating the frequency of the terms in other corpora (such as the *Riddara* or *Biskupa sögur* [translated romances and Bishops’ Sagas], di-

in *SPSMA* 2¹: 306 = v. 93 in Snorri’s *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* cap. 19, in *Heimskringla*, ÍF 28: 93), to his royal patron, the Norwegian Haraldr *harðráði* (v. 11 in *Skjld B*¹: 330 = v. 6 in *SPSMA* 2¹: 48 = v. 115 in *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* cap. 43, in *Heimskringla*, ÍF 28: 124), and to the twelfth-century Halldórr *skvaldri* (v. 2:7 in *Skjld B*¹: 459 = ‘Útfaradrápa’ v.7 in *SPSMA* 2²: 488–89 = v. 195 in *Magnússona saga* cap. 6, in *Heimskringla*, ÍF 28: 246), but none attested prior to the thirteenth century. *LP*¹ adds an instance of *fjólmen-* in ‘Krossþulur’ (ca. 1450–1550, v. 6, in *Íslenzk miðaldakvæði* 1²: 238–46, at p. 240). *Fámennr* occurs twice in skaldic poetry, in a verse in *Njáls saga* (ca. 1280) attributed to Gunnarr of Hlíðarendi (v. 20 in *Skjld B*²: 216; ÍF 12: 475) and in the twelfth-century *Plácitusdrápa* (v. 44 in *Skjld B*¹: 618 = v. 44 in *SPSMA* 7¹: 208). There are three attestations of *fjólmen-* in *Landnámabók* (capp. 113, 348 [S] / 86, 307 [H], ÍF 1: 153, 353) and *Íslendingabók* (cap. 4, ÍF 1: 10), but none of *fámenn-*; the original texts are datable to ca. 1100 and ca. 1125, respectively, but both survive only in redacted manuscripts of the 1200s and later.

⁹ This rough gauge is based on Bergljót Kristjánsdóttir et al. (1998) – not always the most infallible of tools – which yields 260 occurrences of **fjólmen**. I have cross-checked this number against the texts at the *Fornrit* website, which give a somewhat higher total of 311. Adding *Færeyinga saga* and *Hvana saga brings*, the *þættir* [short sagas], as well as *Jómsvíkinga saga* (all at *Fornrit*), the total rises to 363 hits.

¹⁰ I am greatly indebted to Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson of the University of Iceland for making available to me a digitized, searchable text of Örnólfur Thorsson (1988). My tally of the *Fornaldar sögur* is based on a word-search through the texts posted at the *Norrøne kilde-tekster* website (86 hits), digitized from Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (1943–44), cross-checked against the texts at *Fornrit* (84 hits). For *Heimskringla*, I have searched the texts at *Norrøne kilde-tekster*, digitized from Linder and Haggson (1869–72). No other *Konunga sögur* are available to me in searchable or comprehensively indexed format.

¹¹ I find 22 instances in the *Íslendinga sögur* (none in the *þættir*), seven in *Sturlunga saga*, five in the *Fornaldar sögur* and only two in *Heimskringla*.

¹² For legal sources, I have consulted the (generally reliable) indices of *NGL* and *Grágás*, which yield four attestations of *fjólmen-*, four or five of *fámenn-*. It is worth noting, however, that two instances of *fjólmen-* occur in the late-thirteenth-century lawbooks issued by the Norwegian crown for Iceland, *Jarnsíða* (*NGL* 1: 262) and *Jónsbók* (*NGL* 4: 204). For homilies, I have used de Leeuw van Weenen (1993; 2004). The Norwegian homiliary, also ca. 1200, is edited but not indexed: see Indrebø (1931). The passages in the Icelandic codex containing *fjólmen-* are not paralleled in its Norwegian counterpart.

Table 1. Approximate frequency of *-fjólmen-* and *-fámenn-* words in various types of sources. (The figures provided are my best approximations, based on word searches in machine-readable texts and in comprehensively indexed editions. Given the unreliability of some editions used, the range of manuscript variants not yet edited or not accessible to me, and the possibility of human error on my part, all numbers should be taken as rough indications only.)

	<i>-fjólmen-</i>	<i>-fámenn-</i>
skaldic verse	ca. 6	ca. 2
<i>Landnámabók</i> and <i>Íslendingabók</i>	ca. 3	ca. 0
Family Sagas	ca. 290-360	ca. 22
<i>Sturlunga saga</i>	ca. 157	ca. 7
Kings' Sagas (<i>Heimskringla</i>)	ca. 130	ca. 2
Legendary Sagas	ca. 85	ca. 5
laws	ca. 4	ca. 5
homilies	ca. 7	ca. 0

dactic literature or diplomataria, hagiography or encyclopaedic works), even in an impressionistic manner, is considerably more difficult. All that can be said with any authority, thanks to the wide coverage of the ongoing *ONP* project, is that both word families are attested in practically every genre of Norse texts, from (at least) the late twelfth century on (see table 1).¹³

These compounds lend themselves to neutral enough usage, showing up in every conceivable constellation where the question of numbers might come in for scrutiny. An Icelandic Advent sermon from ca. 1200, for instance, calls on believers: *comet fñemna til kirkio; fyr hótíþer oc fjólmenþ mioc* [come early and many-man greatly to church in honour of the holiday!] (de Leeuw van Weenen 1993: 102r).¹⁴ In chronicles of the

¹³ I am deeply indebted to Þorbjörg Helgadóttir for making available to me *ONP*'s *fjólmen-* and *fámenn-* attestation slips ahead of their release, now at the *dataONP* website. The majority of examples in the next two paragraphs are drawn directly from those slips. I am likewise grateful to Ian McDougall for his patient explanation of the *ONP*'s methodology, which relies on illustrative examples culled from previous dictionaries and other sources, rather than on sifting through a comprehensive concordance of all attestations; it is thus impossible to reconstruct overall statistics from their data.

¹⁴ For the underlying Latin – which says simply *ad vigiliis maturius convenite* [assemble for services earlier] – see Caesarius of Arles, ‘Sermo 188’ (1953: 2.769); the correspondence was first identified by Bekker-Nielsen (1958). Cf. sermon 11, ‘Ermahnung zu christlichen Leben’, in Assmann (1889: 142): *zelomlice mid rihtum zeleafan and mid zodum willan to cyrcan cuman* [come to church often with righteous belief and good intent], a correspondence first pointed out by Turville-Petre (1960). Some Icelanders evidently heeded such calls, as mentioned in one of St Þorlákur’s miracles: *Á Breiðabólstað í Fljótshlíð var fjólmenni mikít at tíðum Jakobsmessu. Áttu menn þangat at sækja kirkjudagstíðir ok byskupsmessu*

same era, we hear of a king who *lét blása til fjölmennrar stefnu* [had (trumpets) blown (to summon) a many-manned meeting] (*Orkneyinga saga* cap. 19, ÍF 34: 39).¹⁵ Several recensions of the *vita* of Jón Ögmundarson, the first Bishop of Hólar (canonised around the same time), tell that the men of the Northern Quarter reinforced their demand for a See of their own by noting that theirs was *fjórðungrinn sá fjölmennstr ok mestr* [the most many-manned and greatest quarter] in Iceland (*Jóns saga ins Helga* cap. 7, ÍF 152: 193). A generation or so later, in his synthesis of Norse mythology, Snorri Sturluson has Hár (routinely identified as an Óðinn avatar) note that *allmikít fjölmenni er [í Valhöll]*, adding plaintively: *ok mun þó oflítt þykkeja þá er úlfrinn kemr* [there are an awful lot of many-men (in Valhalla) ... but still it will seem too few when the wolf comes] (1988: 32). Snorri also measures an earl's pretensions by the fact that *[s]at hann jafnan með fjölmenni, svá sem þar væri konungshirð* [he always had about him many-men, as though it were a king's retinue], and describes each of the Italian cities sacked by King Haraldr *harðráði* as big, powerful and many-manned (*Óláfs saga helga* cap. 22 and *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* capp. 6–8, both in *Heimskringla*, ÍF 27: 29 and ÍF 28: 76–78, respectively). Throughout the thirteenth century, then, the vocabulary of many-manning quite literally and reliably indexes high population densities.

About a century after Snorri, the author of *Stjórn* tells of an Israelite defeat at the hand of the Philistines in which they suffered *mikinn mannskaða i höfðingia falli oc fiölmennis* [a great slaughter, the fall of (both) aristocrats and many-men]; *fjölmenni* here clearly assumes the sense of *multitudo*, a plebeian horde distinct from the élite few (Unger 1862: 435).¹⁶ In a later fourteenth-century translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, we learn that *gud hafði fyrirætlat at fiölmenna kyn Abrahe fra Isaac* [God preordained the many-manning of Abraham's kindred by Isaac], an inspired glossing of the original's drab verb, *multiplicare* (*Benedictus saga Appendix* cap. 8, in Unger 1877: 1.190).¹⁷ Differ-

[A great many-men were at Breiðabólstaðr in Fljótshlíð on St James' feast day (25 July); people had to go there for the church dedication anniversary and for the bishop's mass] (*Þorláks saga C* cap. 66, ÍF 16: 258).

¹⁵ Cf. Snorri's so-called *Separate Saga of St Óláfr* cap. 88 (Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1930–41: 1.249), as well as his *Óláfs saga helga* cap. 102 (in *Heimskringla*, ÍF 27: 170).

¹⁶ Cf. *I Samuel* 4:17: *ruina magna facta est in populo* (in *Biblia* 1: 372). The same usage is evinced in *Konungs skuggsiá* of ca. 1250 (1983: 1): *þrottir bænda og fiölmennis þess er land byggir* [the skills of the farmers and many-men who work the land].

¹⁷ For the underlying Latin (*Deus semen Abrahae multiplicare per Isaac praeestinauerat*), see Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* 1.8.6 (1978–80: 2.74). See similarly *Veraldar saga*

ent manuscript versions of the early fifteenth-century *Beyvers saga* alternate *parlament* with *fiolmenni* (*Beyvers saga* cap. 22 [B] / 23 [C] 2001: 229).¹⁸ And a mid-century adaptation of the *Vita Ambrosii* informs us that one of the saint's beneficiaries *var sva fothrumr, at hann matti eigi i fiölmenni vera* [was so infirm on his feet that he could not be among many-men] (translating *in publico*), until miraculously healed (*Ambrosius saga byskups* cap. 25, in Unger 1877: 1.48).¹⁹ The terminology shows up in legal documents, too: King Christian III's sixteenth-century ordinances for a barely Reformed Icelandic Church, for instance, warn that a bishop's provost on visitation must *ecki koma fiaulmennari enn med einn wagn̄* [never come more many-manned than with one wagon] (*DI* 10 [doc. 95 §5]: 117–328, at p. 229).²⁰

This sampling illustrates the wide range of meanings words in the *fjölmenntenn-* family may have, all of them quite forthrightly denotative. Shades of meaning are easy enough to discern, allowing the lexicographer to map different senses within the word family, but there seems to be no mystery to these usages: no difficulty in determining which of several meanings may apply in a particular case, nor any residual significance clinging to specific instances which might hint at a richer social reality than that captured by formal dictionary definitions.

(15). Snorri, in his Prologue to the *Edda* (if indeed it is his; see von See 1988, esp. pp. 18–30), likewise uses the verb to describe the peopling of the world after the Deluge: *Eptir Nóa ... fjölmenntisk ok bygðisk verðöldin* [After Noah ... the world was many-manned and settled] (1988: 3).

¹⁸ Cf. 'Eindrida þátrr ok Erlings', where some manuscripts give *mannfiolda* and others *fiolmenni* (in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* 1958–2000: 2.215).

¹⁹ The miracle occurs when the poor man is *bægt af fiolmenninu ... ok vard hann undir fotum troðinn af byskupi sialfum* [trampled by the many-men ... and was trod underfoot by the bishop himself]; he is then cured by the stampeding prelate. For the underlying Latin, see Paulinus of Milan, *Vita di Sant' Ambrogio* cap. 44 (1996: 126). Cf. *Óláfs saga helga* cap. 68: *Er þat ok þin þjónosta at tala í fjölmenni þat, er ek vil mæla láta* [It's also part of your duty to say among many-men that which I wish to have announced] (in *Heimskringla*, ÍF 27: 87); and *Egils saga* cap. 31, where *Skalla-Grímr* forbids the three-year-old *Egill* from attending a feast *því at þú kannst ekki fyrir þér at vera í fjölmenni, þar er drykkjur eru miklar, er þú þykkir ekki góðr viðskiptis, at þú sér ódrukkinn* [because you can't handle yourself among many-men when there is heavy drinking, seeing as you're never easy-going even when you're sober] (ÍF 2: 81).

²⁰ This limiting clause is absent from the parallel Latin text, p. 292. Cf. a similar usage in *Jónsbók* part 2 cap. 2 (*NGL* 2: 204); and the complaint voiced in *Óláfs saga helga* cap. 74, that King *Óláfr fór með her manns um landit, en ekki með því fjölmenni, er lög váru til* [travelled about the land with an army of men and not with the many-men allowed by law] (in *Heimskringla*, ÍF 27: 102).

Contextual cues

There is more to language than just dictionary definitions, however. Specific contexts of usage tend to clump particular associative clusters around the strict denotations. In what we may call the ‘historical sagas’, *-fjölmennt-* compounds occur mainly in two contexts.²¹ The first is that of festivities or formal sociable occasions, whose grandeur the vocabulary of many-manning helps celebrate: *Búask þeir bræðr við veizlunni; leggj Óláfr til óhneppiliga at þriðjungi, ok er veizlan búin með inum bestu fongum; var mikit til aflat þessar veizlu, því at þat var ætlat, at fjölmennt mundi koma* [The brothers prepare for the feast; Óláfr lays out his third unstintingly, and the feast is supplied with the best provisions. A lot of effort went into this feast, because it was planned that many-men would come], the author of *Laxdæla saga* recounts. And

er at veizlu kemr, er þat sagt, at flestir virðingamenn koma, þeir sem heitit höfðu. Var þat svá mikit fjölmenni, at þat er soðgn manna flestra, at eigi skyrti níu hundruð. Þessi hefir önnur veizla fjölmennust verit á Íslandi, en sú önnur, er Hjaltasynir gerðu erfi eptir föður sinn; þar váru tólf hundruð. (cap. 27, ÍF 5: 74; cf. cap. 79, ÍF 5: 232)

[when the time of the feast arrives it is said that many distinguished people showed up, they who had been invited. It was so many-manned that it is most people’s opinion that there were no fewer than a thousand. This was the second most many-manned feast in Iceland; but the first was the wake which the sons of Hjalti held for their father. There were fourteen hundred there.]

Having a standing-room-only party – ‘the second most many-manned ever held in Iceland’ – provides a measure of the celebrants’ social prominence and of their success in orchestrating an event that should redound favourably on their reputation. The vocabulary of many-manning here figures in an entirely straightforward role, correlating directly with social significance. Similarly, when Unnr in *djúpúðga* arranges Óláfr *feilan*’s wedding feast, the author of *Laxdæla saga* duly notes: *Bodit*[t] *var allfjölmennt, ok kom þó hvergi nær svá mart manna, sem Unnr hafði bodit, fyrir því at Eyfirðingar áttu farveg langan* [It was an enormously many-

²¹ I follow scholarly convention in referring to the Kings’ Sagas, the Family Sagas and *Sturlunga saga* (as well as, to some extent, the Bishops’ Sagas) as historical in orientation, in contradistinction from the more fantastic *Fornaldar* and *Riddara sögur*; I discuss the question of historicity further in *This Spattered Isle: Violence and Risk in Medieval Iceland* (unpublished manuscript). My impression of the *Fornaldar sögur* is that they use the terms in a manner similar to that of the historical sagas, but I have not studied the question closely.

manned banquet, even though nowhere near as many people came as Unnr had invited, because for the Eyfirðingar it was a long way to go] (cap. 7, ÍF 5: 12). Alongside weddings and wakes, horsefights, too, might be rated for their festive congestion: *Par var fjölmennt ok góð skemmtan* [It was many-manned and there was good entertainment] (*Gunnars þátr Þiðrandabana* cap. 1, ÍF 11: 195). Even clergy, for all their pious focus on matters transcendent, are not immune to this sort of secular status shuffling: *Herra Árni byskup hafði ok optliga fjölmennar veizlur heima á staðnum* [Lord Bishop Árni also often held many-manned feasts at the See] (*Árna saga biskups* cap. 13, ÍF 17: 22).²²

The second main context for speaking of *fjölmennir* is in accounts of calling on supporters for martial or political campaigns, for feuding raids or wrangling at the *þing* [assembly]. (The difference between the two modes is, after all, more often than not exceedingly fine: both feuding and politicking are typically waged armed, both often turn bloody, and either one is liable to metamorphose into the other at the bat of an eyelid.) Here, too, the size of the following one can assemble is a reflection on one's status, of course, but there are also more brusquely pragmatic considerations at work. In antagonistic encounters, be they with swords or words, large crowds of supporters are a prerequisite for facing off with one's adversaries, and sensible men take care to line up their associates before staking out any sort of public position. *Eyrbyggja saga* provides a typical example: *Um várit lét Snorri búa mál til Þórsnessþings á hendr Arnkatli um þraladrápit; fjölmenntu þeir báðir til þingsins, ok hélt Snorri fram málum* [In the spring, Snorri had a case against Arnkell prepared for (presentation at) the Þórsnes *þing* for the slaughter of the slaves. They both many-manned to the *þing*, and Snorri proceeded with the case] (cap. 31, ÍF 4: 86). Both Snorri and Arnkell anticipate trouble and prepare by summoning a sizeable following ahead of time. Often, in fact, the recurring idiom is: *Fjölmenntu þeir þá mjök, hváirtveggju* [They then many-manned greatly on each side].²³ Society's consensus on the

²² The same kind of usage is in evidence in *Sturlunga saga*, as well: e.g. *Porgils saga skarða* capp. 2 [222], 24 [243], 56 [295], 62 [301], 73 [312] (all in *StS* 2: 106, 149, 197, 207, 217). It is curious that, within *Sturlunga saga*, *Porgils saga skarða* alone exemplifies this usage.

²³ See, e.g. *Vöðu-Brands þátr* cap. 4 [11] (ÍF 10: 135). The same idiom is common enough in *Sturlunga saga*, too: e.g., *Porgils saga ok Haflíða* capp. 15, 16, 22, 31, *Sturlu saga* cap. 9, *Guðmundar saga dýra* capp. 2, 3 (×2), 18, *Íslendinga saga* capp. 34 [39] (×2), 48 [53], 57 [62], 75 [80] (all in *StS* 1: 32, 33, 39, 49, 74, 163, 164–65, 200, 267–68, 298, 310, 333). See also *Hákonar saga góða* cap. 18 and *Magnúss saga ins góða* cap. 29 (both in *Heimskringla*, ÍF 26: 174 and ÍF 28: 46).

necessity and propriety of assembling sizeable support squads is evident in the effort all antagonists make to show up with as large an entourage as feasible. Nor is it considered improper to back down before steep odds, as is evident from the following example from 1230 (where the litotes *eigi allfámennr* stands in for the positive form): *var [Þorvaldssonum] sagt, at Sturla væri í Holti eigi allfámennr, með hundrað manna. Treystust þeir þá eigi at sækja fundinn* [(The sons of Þorvaldr) were told that Sturla was at Holt, not at all meagre-manned – with over a hundred men. Then they did not have the confidence to seek an engagement] (*Íslendinga saga* cap. 79 [84], in *StS* 1: 340).

The sagas thus reinforce the commonsensical implications of *fjólmennterminology* by highlighting their political dimension, where high numbers correlate directly with high status. The baseline against which idiomatic variation may be perceived, therefore, is the axiom that multitudes unproblematically embody power: the many-manlier one's assemblage of allies and followers, the further one can expect to project one's will, both on the battlefield and at *þing*.

Idiomatic multitudes: heroics, honour and hellish men

In all of the preceding examples, quantitative compounds fulfill a transparent function, as gauges of the size of friendly ensembles or aggressive squadrons, where more is indisputably better: when the poet Valgarðr á Velli calls the Norwegian monarch Haraldr *harðráði a fjólmennt konungr*, he clearly means to imply that his is a well-endowed lord (*Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* cap. 19 [v. 93], in *Heimskringla*, ÍF 28: 93).²⁴ In more oblique usages, we witness *fjólmennt* begin to exert its own gravitational pull on the semantic field surrounding it, nudging words into idiomatic (though by no means entirely fixed) orbits and indenting the curvature of semiotic space. Thus, for example, when the wily Geitir plans on killing *Brodd-Helgi* – his brother-in-law and former fast friend but now a bitter enemy – he dangles the small following with which he plans to travel to the *þing* as bait:

²⁴ Indeed, all of the ca. 130 instances of *fjólmennt*- I have identified in *Heimskringla* – the only collection of Kings' Sagas available to me in readily searchable form (cf. n. 10 above) – are literal and unremarkable. The discussion that follows thus concentrates on the Family Sagas and *Sturlunga saga*.

En er dró at þingi, þá hittask þeir Brodd-Helgi ok Geitir, ok **spurði Helgi, hversu fjölmennr hann vildi ríða til þingsins**. ‘Hví skal nú fjölmennari fara’, segir hann, ‘þar ek á ekki um at vera? Ek mun ríða til öndverðs þings ok ríða við fá menn.

[But as the *þing* drew near, Brodd-Helgi and Geitir met and Helgi asked how many-manned he would ride to the *þing*. ‘Now why should I go quite many-manned’, says he, ‘when I’ve nothing going on? I’ll ride to the opening of the *þing* and will ride with few men.’]

Brodd-Helgi had earlier remarked that *Geitir er vitrastr vár, þótt hann verði jafnan ofríki borinn* [Geitir is the smartest among us, but still he is overborne by main force every time] (*Vápnfirðinga saga* capp. 13, 8, ÍF 11: 47, 43). This once, however, Geitir uses his superior cunning to manipulate Helgi’s perception of numerical proportions, offsetting the latter’s brute advantage and creating an opportunity for himself to have the upper hand, at long last.

Brodd-Helgi’s enquiry already demonstrates the settling of idiomatic sediment around the terminology of many-manhood. Reported in indirect speech, his question (as I have indicated in boldface above) echoes Sighvatr’s wording in conversation with Þórðr almost verbatim; it suggests that the turn of phrase they both use may have constituted a stable verbal configuration which speakers of ON-I could draw on without too much reflection. As Helgi and Geitir are ostensibly on good terms, the resort to formulaic phrasing may help muffle the raw suspicion driving the former’s enquiry. In *Vápnfirðinga saga*, however, we may still accept the phrase as merely a literal probe for numbers; perhaps the confluence of Helgi’s and Sighvatr’s turns of phrase is no more than coincidence, signifying nothing. Helgi knows enough to be wary of Geitir. When he hears the latter’s response, he proposes: ‘*Þá er ek fer, munum vit hittask, kvað Helgi, ‘ok ríða báðir saman. Ek mun ok með fá menn ríða*’. ‘*Vel mun þat mega*’, segir Geitir [‘We two ought to meet when I go’, said Helgi, ‘and ride together. I too will ride with few men’. ‘Sure, let’s’, says Geitir] (cap. 13, ÍF 11: 47–48). In this way, Helgi thinks, he will be able to keep tabs on Geitir; matching the sizes of their entourages should act as a mutual disincentive to violence. His plan fails miserably, but unfortunately, there is a lacuna in all manuscripts just where we would expect to learn how Geitir gets around Helgi’s precautions and does him to death, so the details of *Brodd-Helgi*’s debacle remain obscure.

In the *Íslendinga saga* conversation, in contrast, Sighvatr both expects and hopes for a multiple-digit reply, and is accordingly surprised and disappointed by Þórðr’s answer. From Sighvatr’s point of view, the issue

is entirely self-evident and simple: numbers are a prerequisite for successful campaigning, a universally accepted fact. There is no upside to committing an undersized troop to battle. The universality of this truism may be illustrated by countless saga examples. For instance, when Egill *Skalla*-Grímsson must lead King Æþelstan's numerically inferior garrison against Ólafr *Skotakonung*[r] *ok fjölmenni hans* [the king of the Scots and his many-men] at Vínheiðr, he famously resorts to subterfuge to inflate the impression his threadbare troops make: *eigi váru menn í inu þriðja hverju tjaldi, ok þó fáir í einu. En er menn Óláfs konungs kómu til þeira, þá höfðu þeir fjölmennit fyrir framan tjöldin öll, ok náðu þeir ekki inn at ganga; sögðu menn Aðalsteins, at tjöld þeira væri öll full af mönnum* [in every third tent there were no men, and few in any. But when King Óláfr's men came to them (to parley terms), they many-manned in front of all the tents and denied them entry; Æþelstan's men said that the tents were all full of men] (*Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* cap. 52, ÍF 2: 130–33). Even so great a hero as Gunnarr of Hlíðarendi, usually capable of handling all comers on his own, gratefully receives his kinsman Óláfr *pá's* friendly advice: *bað hann þó vera varan um sik, – því at þeir munu gera [þér] þat illt, er þeir megu, ok far þú fjölmennr jafnan'. Hann réð honum mörg ráð, þau er heil váru, ok mæltu þeir til innar mestu vináttu með sér* [he (= Óláfr *pá*) asked him (= Gunnarr) to be careful all the same, 'because they'll do (you) whatever harm they can; always go about many-manned'. He counselled him many things which were sound, and they declared the greatest friendship between them]. (The same advice is soon reiterated, worded in the negative, by none other than the sage Njáll himself: *Hann bað Gunnar vera varan um sik ... bað hann aldri fara við fámenni ok hafa jafnan vápn sín* [He asked Gunnarr to be careful ... asked him never to travel with meagre-men and always to have his weapons (ready)]; *Njáls saga* capp. 59, 60, ÍF 12: 151, 152)

Gunnarr voices no objections to Óláfr's and Njáll's advice. Both the narrator's approving commentary and Gunnarr's own avowals of friendship confirm that their counsel is prudent and well-meant. Still, Gunnarr does not follow it. The choice of whether to heed or ignore the commonsensical tactical wisdom of gathering troops can clearly become a touchstone of heroism. Only a fool would go up against his enemies without first assembling supporters – 'bare is a brotherless back'²⁵ – and so he

²⁵ For the aphorism, attested in ON-I in both *Grettis saga* cap. 82 (*Berr er hverr á bakinu, nema sér bróður eigi*, ÍF 7: 260) and *Njáls saga* cap. 152 (*Berr er hverr at baki, nema sér bróður eigi*, ÍF 12: 436), see Harris's *Concordance* website (citing also variants in related traditions).

who deliberately sallies forth without this compulsory safety in numbers must mean to establish his foolhardy credentials. Such a sentiment is paradigmatically enunciated by Þorgils Þórðarson, the tough-as-nails protagonist of *Flóamanna saga*, announcing his intention to attack a certain Ásgrímr: *Gizurr sagði þat óráðligt, – því at hann er miklu fjölmennari en þú*. Þorgils *kvaðst eigi hirða um fjölmenni hans* [Gizurr said that was ill-advised ‘because he is far more many-manned than you’. Þorgils said he didn’t give a damn about his many-men] (cap. 32, ÍF 13: 321).

This point is further illustrated by the closest verbal parallel to Sighvatr’s query, which occurs in *Þorsteins þátr stangarhöggs*. Here – having goaded her husband, Bjarni *goði*, into taking decisive action against his upstart neighbour Þorsteinn – mistress Rannveig is alarmed to discover Bjarni arming himself, evidently preparing to set out to face Þorsteinn on his own: *Hversu fjölmennr skaltu fara?* segir hon. *Ekki mun ek draga fjölmenni at Þorsteini*, segir hann, *ok mun ek einn fara* [‘How many-manned will you go?’ she says. ‘I shan’t recruit many-men against Þorsteinn’, he says; ‘I’ll go alone’]. Rannveig is worried enough to try to dissuade him from the very mission that she herself had urged him, just the previous evening, to undertake. We can almost hear the trepidation in her voice as she puts the numbers question to Bjarni, already anticipating his answer; on hearing his response, she worries that he has truly lost his mind: *Gerðu eigi þat*, segir hon, *at hætta þér undir vápn heljarmannsins* [‘Don’t do it!’ she says, ‘To risk yourself against the weapons of that hellish man!’] (ÍF 11: 74).

But if Rannveig and Sighvatr both respond to the single-digit answers they receive with outrage, the sources of their dissatisfaction are very different. Sighvatr subtly challenges his brother to step up and acknowledge fraternal obligations, to join his kinsfolk in mounting a major campaign; Þórðr’s paltry reply, *með fimmta mann*, brings down upon him Sighvatr’s exasperation and scorn, and ‘their kinship was never such as it had been before’. By failing to promise the *fjölmenni* necessary to render his intervention credible and decisive, Þórðr (in Sighvatr’s view) exhibits spinelessness and infidelity: he is unable to commit forces and unwilling to commit loyalties. Their would-be common enemy, Bishop Guðmundr, is irrelevant to the dialogue except as a reference point in relation to which Þórðr should have aligned his priorities. In *Þorsteins þátr stangarhöggs*, on the other hand, the interplay between the two present speakers and their absent adversary is more complex. In Rannveig’s view, Þorsteinn (who has already dispatched three of Bjarni’s household men) is a *heljarmaðr*, ‘hellish man’, an exceedingly dangerous foe who must be coun-

tered with overwhelming odds; her dismay is aimed at Bjarni's apparent devil-may-care flippancy in the face of such grave peril. Bjarni's bravado, in turn, allows itself to be read as deprecation of Þorsteinn's prowess. He may be dangerous to others, Bjarni could be understood to say, but he's nothing I can't handle on my own. Thus, while Rannveig's question focuses on mental capacities (and implicitly criticises the soundness of her husband's), Bjarni's reply seemingly addresses the issue of physical competence (and seemingly disparages Þorsteinn's). (Only 'seemingly' because, as I have argued elsewhere, Bjarni's disdain is not directed at Þorsteinn at all, but at Rannveig's bellicose needling. Bjarni is playing his cards close to his chest, but his plan is evidently to recruit Þorsteinn to his following rather than to destroy him.)²⁶ Rannveig and Bjarni, like those matrons whom Sydney Smith once observed haranguing each other from their respective apartments across a narrow Edinburgh alleyway, cannot come to an understanding because they are arguing from different premises (Auden 1946: 23).

A similarly complex dynamic plays out in a minor episode in *Laxdæla saga*, where the sagacious Eiðr advises his great-nephew Þorkell Eyjólfsson, future husband of the redoubtable Guðrún Ósvífrsdóttir: *'Þykki mér þú mikla til hætta, hversu ferðin teksk, en at eiga við heljarmann slíkan, sem Grímr er. Ef þú vill fara, þá far þú við marga menn, svá at þú eigir allt undir þér'* [It seems to me you risk much, the way you go about it – and taking on such a hellish man as Grímr! If you wish to go, then go with lots of men, so that you have everything in hand]. Eiðr does not use the word *fjølmenni* and speaks with the voice of authority not enquiry, but the conceptual bottom line is identical: he is critical of Þorkell's judgement and thinks he ought to take reinforcements against a fiendish foe such as he intends to hunt down. His interlocutor is unmoved, however: *'Þat þykki mér engi frami'*, segir Þorkell, *'at draga fjølmenni at einum manni'* ['I see no glory', says Þorkell, 'in recruiting many-men against a single man'] (cap. 57, ÍF 5: 172). Grímr may be a formidable adversary, but not so imposing that it would take a village to raze him; in fact, it would be downright dishonourable to do so. Thus, as in *Þorsteins þáttur stangarhögg*s, Eiðr's numerical concern finds fault with the mental faculties of the man he addresses, while Þorkell's quantitative attention is turned to disparagement of an absent third party's physical capability.

Another variation on this pattern occurs in *Grettis saga*, where the

²⁶ See Falk (2005), e.g., p. 31: 'Bjarni's action is ... not a botched assassination but a successful implementation of the decision to preserve his adversary's life'.

would-be bounty hunter Gísli sets out after the eponymous (and outlawed) protagonist: *skal ek eigi fjölmenni draga at honum* [I shan't recruit many-men against him], Gísli first boasts when he means to track Grettir, and he starts off with only two companions. Here, there is no Eiðr or Rannveig to call Gísli's machismo into question: on the contrary, Þórði líkaði vel þessu ráðagørð [this plan suited Þórðr (the man who egged Gísli on) fine]. Like his solitary analogues, Þorkell in *Laxdæla saga* and Bjarni in *Þorsteins þátrr stangarhöggs*, however, Gísli soon learns that his rival is mightier than he had reckoned – a veritable fiend, even (*kevað þar sjálfan fjándann fyrir vera* [he said the devil himself was there]). After receiving a thorough thrashing at Grettir's hands, Gísli confesses that [*s*]á er eldrinn heitastr, er á sjálfum liggr, ok er illt at fásk við heljarmanninn [that fire is hottest which one is right next to – and it's miserable to contend with a hellish man] (*Grettis saga* cap. 59, ÍF 7: 189–190, 194, 192). Again like Þorkell and Bjarni – though considerably more ignominiously – Gísli is also lucky enough to live to tell of his encounter with his potent opponent.

Thus we find that the question, 'how many-manned will you ride', explicit as in Sighvatr's and Rannveig's rebukes or implicit as in Eiðr's and others' advice, represents a fixed idiom of sorts in ON-I, as mundane and predictable as 'how do you take your tea?' in modern English. Equally standardised is the reply (explicit or implicit) that is deemed narratively appropriate: *skal ek eigi fjölmenni draga at honum* [I shan't recruit many-men against him] – 'black, no sugar' – because, as Þorkell spells out and as others surely think in private, *engi frami [er] at draga fjölmenni at einum manni* [there (is) no glory in recruiting many-men against a single man]. (A further suitable riposte may be to stress the putative supernatural potency of the projected antagonist, a *heljarmadr* to whom normal rules of engagement should not apply.)²⁷ Table 2 details

²⁷ The point is reinforced by Bárðr digri in *Þorvalds þátrr tasalda*, who explains he has prepared a troop in ambush *at effjölmenni væri dregit at mér, ætlaða ek til þeira at taka ok njóta liðsmunar* [so that if many-men were recruited against me, I might resort to them and take advantage of the difference in numbers], but has disdained calling on his men *ef til mín kvæmi tveir eða þrír* [if (only) two or three came at me] (ÍF 9: 125). Bárðr believes the eponymous Þorvaldr must have supernatural powers, since he has all but bested him in unarmed single combat: *Þá verðr nú til þess at taka, sem ek hefi eigi fyrr þurft, at biðja mér liðs í móti einum...* [*E*]n þó vil ek eigi at þú rennir optar á mik, trollit, þó at þú nefndisk Þorvaldr ... en þó mun vera, at þú skulir maðr heita, ok munt vera heldr fjölkunnigr [So now it must be resorted to – what I've never before had to do – to summon help against a single man.... But still, I don't want you charging at me again, you troll (even if you give your name as Þorvaldr) ... then again, it might be that you can be called a man, but you must be rather sorcerous] (ÍF 9: 123).

Table 2. Idiomatic variations in the ‘how many-manned will you ride?’ motif.

Interlocutors and saga reference				
	Sighvatr Sturluson and Þórðr Sturluson (<i>Íslendinga saga</i>)	<i>Brodd</i> -Helgi and Geitir (<i>Vápn-firðinga saga</i>)	Rannveig and Bjarni (<i>Þorsteins þáttr stangarhöggs</i>)	Eiðr and Þorkell (<i>Laxdæla saga</i>)
question 1: how many?	hvé fjólmennr muntu vera?	spurði ... hversu fjólmennr hann vildi ríða	Hversu fjólmennr skaltu fara?	far þú við marga menn, svá at þú eigir allt undir þér
question 2: why so few?	Hvat skal mér þú ... ef þú ert svá fámennr ?			
reply: not too many (or else how would I win any prestige from this?)	Með fimmta mann	Hví skal nú fjólmennari fara ... þar ek á ekki um at vera?	Ekki mun ek draga fjólmenni at Þorsteini	Þat þykki mér engi frami ... at draga fjólmenni at einum manni
caution: he may be alone, but he’s no ordinary fellow			Gerðu eigi þat ... at hætta þér undir vápn heljarmannsins	Þykki mér þú mikla til hætta ... at eiga við heljarmann slíkan

the way this exchange plays out in various texts. In yet another episode in *Laxdæla saga*, the author riffs on this idiomatic cluster when the elderly Hrútr catches one Eldgrímr in the act of making off with his nephew Þorleikr’s stallions:

Hrútr spurði, hvert hann skyldi reka hrossin; Eldgrímr svarar: ‘Ekki skal þik því leyna; en veit ek frændsemi með ykkir Þorleiki; en svá em ek eptir hrossunum kominn, at ek ætla honum þau aldri síðan; hefi ek ok þat efn, sem ek hét honum á þingi, at **ek hefi ekki með fjólmenni farit** eptir hrossunum’. Hrútr segir: ‘**Engi er þat frami**, þóttú takir hross í brott, en Þorleikr liggi í rekkju sinni ok sofi; efnir þú þat þá bezt ... ef þú hittir hann, áðr þú ríðr ór heraði með hrossin’.

[Hrútr caught where he was driving the horses. Eldgrímr answers: ‘I shan’t hide it from you, though I know of your kinship with Þorleikr; but I’ve come for the horses in such a way that I don’t intend him ever to have them again. I’ve also carried it out as I promised him at the *þing*, in that I’ve brought no many-men to fetch the horses’. Hrútr says: ‘There is no glory in it if Þorleikr lies in his bed asleep, even if you do take the horses away. You’d carry on best ... if you met him before you rode out of the district with the horses.’]

Eldgrímr had previously sought to acquire the horses in more above-board negotiations with Þorleikr, but had been rebuffed; their conversation had ended with Eldgrímr threatening to take the animals against

Table 2. Continued.

Interlocutors and saga reference					
Gísli and Þórðr (<i>Grettis saga</i>)	Bárðr <i>digri</i> and Þorvaldr <i>tasaldi</i> (<i>Þorvalds þáttur</i> <i>tasalda</i>)	Eldgrímr and Þorleikr / Hrótr (<i>Laxdæla saga</i>)	Þorvaldr and <i>Hænsa-Þórir</i> (<i>Hænsa-Þóris</i> <i>saga</i>)	Snorri and Þórðr <i>Vatnsfirðingar</i> Þorvaldssynir (<i>Íslendinga saga</i>)	Hafr and Sighvatr Sturluson (<i>Íslendinga saga</i>)
		þetta sumar mun ek fara ... bjóð mér engan liðsmun		hvárt er Sturla væri fyrir fjölmennari ...	
			Hví ertu svá fámennr?	... eða fámennari	Hví er goðinn svá fámennr?
skal ek eigi fjölmenni draga at honum	ef fjölmenni væri dregit at mér	Engi er þat frami ... ek hefi ekki með fjölmenni farit	Ek vissa, at þik myndi eigi lið skorta		Ek vissa eigi, at ek þyrfta nú manna við
er illt at fásk við heljarmanninn ... kvað þar sjálfan fjándann fyrir vera	ek hefi eigi fyrr þurft, at biðjá mér liðs í móti einum ... en þó vil ek eigi at þú rennir optar á mik, trollit				

their owner's will (*þetta sumar mun ek fara at sjá hrossin, hvárr okkar sem þá hlýtr þau at eiga þaðan í frá* ['this summer I'll come view the horses, whoever of us two should happen then to own them thereafter']) and Þorleikr declaring himself unperturbed (*Ger, sem þú heitr, ok bjóð mér engan liðsmun* ['Do as you threaten, just don't come at me with overwhelming odds'] (*Laxdæla saga* cap. 37, ÍF 5: 104, 103). Þorleikr's stipulation acts as the equivalent of Rannveig's question or Eiðr's counsel, albeit in a positive register: rather than criticise Eldgrímr for failing to load the dice in his favour, Þorleikr challenges him to play fair. By showing up alone, Eldgrímr considers himself to have given the traditional reply: his *ek hefi ekki með fjölmenni farit eptir hrossunum* parallels Bjarni's *ekki mun ek draga fjölmenni at Þorsteini*. Yet Hrótr is quick to deflate Eldgrímr's pretension to be acting gallantly: *engi er þat frami*, he says (echoing Þorkell's disavowal of bringing *fjölmenni* to bear on Grímr), since – with his rival snoring blissfully in bed – the odds Eldgrímr gives Þorleikr are more like 1:0 than 1:1 (cf. Miller 1990: 101–4). The question of my title has here been transformed into a challenge and the single archetypical conversation split into two – Eldgrímr with Þorleikr in the first round, Eldgrímr with Hrótr in the second – while the critiques have been realigned to fall solely on the lone interloper, rather than being shared between him and his absent antagonist.

This rearrangement highlights a profound difference between how this shaming motif plays out in the Family Sagas and in the example from *Íslendinga saga* with which I began. Bjarni, Þorkell, Gísli, even Eldgrímur, all use the idiom to express their sense of self-sufficiency: the task I have set for myself, each of them affirms, is not so difficult that I would need to raise a mighty posse in order to accomplish it. In the *Íslendingasögur*, we thus see quantitative assessment serving to proclaim courage and competence, albeit in a manner liable to meet with dramatic irony and leave the speaker with egg (or his own life's blood) on his face: actual prowess laps at the shores of discursive heroism, spraying its rocks but never quite able to wet its higher ground. In the opening example from Sturla's *Íslendinga saga*, on the other hand, rather than a would-be hero using the phrase to toot his own horn, we see one man use it to interrogate another's willingness to contribute to the war effort. In Sighvatr's mouth, the question becomes a tool for direct denunciation of Þórðr's accountability and valour. Sighvatr asks *hvé fjölmennr muntu vera* not in order to protect his brother from himself but to probe (and prod) Þórðr's sense of family solidarity. Accordingly, his deployment of the motif serves not to warn Þórðr against overly ambitious self-confidence but to berate him for an underdeveloped sense of vengeance. To Sighvatr's ears, Þórðr's *með fimmta mann*, rather than swaggering with braggadocio as Bjarni's *mun ek einn fara* did, has the hollow ring of churlishness.

As with the many, so with the few

Sighvatr accordingly underscores his point by throwing in his brother's face the alliterating antonym: *Hvat skal mér þú heldr en annarr maðr, ef þú ert svá fámennr?* [How will you do me any more good than anyone else, if you are so meagre-manned?]. This compound packs just as much semiotic punch as its more numerous counterpart – especially, but not solely, when the two words face off in taut juxtaposition. In *Hænsa-Þóris saga*, for instance, a similarly dubious question serves to characterize the eponymous villain succinctly. *Hænsa-Þórir* has successfully recruited the noble Þorvaldr to go against the equally noble *Blund*-Ketill; when, en route to their ill-fated errand at Ketill's home (which will end with Þórir duping Þorvaldr into committing arson), Þorvaldr meets his scruffy ally accompanied by only two men, he registers surprise – he himself has brought thirty followers: *Þorvaldr mælti: 'Hví ertu svá fámennr, Þórir?'*

Hann svarar: 'Ek víska, at þik myndi eigi lið skorta' [Þorvaldr spoke: 'Why are you so meagre-manned, Þórir?'] He replies: 'I knew you wouldn't be short on troops' (cap. 8, ÍF 3: 21). Not only has Þórir manipulated his better to take up his cause against the righteous Ketill, he has the audacity to dismiss the expectation that he carry his own weight as though he were being importuned: Þorvaldr, Þórir seems to snub, really ought to be responsible enough to arrange for his own supporters – he can't expect others to make up his shortfalls!

Fámennr has a different valence in the account of a similarly ill-fated raid, staged in 1228 by the *Vatnsfirðingar* brothers, Snorri and Þórðr Þorvaldssynir, on Sturla Sighvatsson's farm Sauðafell (see Grove 2008). Here the adjective serves to underline the raiders' zeal in whipping themselves up to a killing frenzy: *Var þat þá ætlan þeira at veita atgöngu, hvárt er Sturla væri fyrir fjölmennari eða fámennari, ok sækja með vápnum bæinn, ef kostr væri, eða með eldi* [Then it was their intent to mount an assault, whether Sturla were more many-manned or more meagre-manned, and to attack the farmstead with weapons if that were an option, or with fire (if they had no choice)] (*Íslendinga saga* cap. 71 [76], in *StS* 1: 326).²⁸ The attackers, a rowdy crowd of boys still wet behind the ears, are eager to commit themselves to desperate resolve, no matter how stiff the resistance they meet, no matter how dastardly the methods they must resort to for overcoming it. To the *Vatnsfirðingar's* greater ignominy, Sturla, it turns out, is not at home at all – a ratio, as in Hrútr's critique of Eldgrím's furtive raid on Þorleikr's horses, of many-to-zero – leaving them to vent their fury on women, servants, clerics and other inappropriate targets.²⁹ (Above, p. 102, we saw the same sons of Þorvaldr, a tad older and perhaps a smidge wiser than at Sauðafell in 1228, disengage when they perceive Sturla to be *eigi allfámennr*.)

But perhaps the most charged instance of *fámennr* occurs a few chapters earlier, during a chance confrontation in 1222 between Sighvatr

²⁸ On the deliberation between an attack with conventional weapons and one with fire, cf. *Njáls saga* capp. 77, 128 (ÍF 12: 188, 327–28).

²⁹ *Fjölmennr* and *fámennr* are similarly juxtaposed in ostentatious indifference in *Hrólf's saga kraka ok kappá hans* cap. 40: *Aðils konungr sagði: 'Þat sé ek, at þit farið ekki at mannvirðingu í okunnu landi, eða hví hefir Hrólfur mágr ekki fleira lið?' Svipdagur sagði: 'Þat sé ek, at þú sparir ekki at sitja á svikráðum við Hrólf konung ok menn hans, ok eru þar lítil undr, hvárt hann riðr þingat fámennr eða fjölmennr'* [King Aðils said: 'This I can see, that you're not travelling in unfamiliar territory in a dignified manner; for why does kinsman Hrólfur not travel with a larger retinue?' Svipdagur said: 'This I can see, that you don't hold back on plotting treason against King Hrólfur and his men; and whether he rides here meagre-manned or many-manned is hardly a matter of note'] (in Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson 1943–44: 2.71).

Sturluson and a few of his neighbours. Among these was a certain Hafr, whose family was neck-deep in feud with the *goði*'s: earlier that winter, Hafr's brother had slain Sighvatr's eldest son, Tumi. On this day, Hafr and two fully armed companions happened to run into Sighvatr, out riding on his own:

sneri hann á móti þeim ok brá at hendi sér kápunni. Þeir Hafr riðu at túngarðinum, ok váru engar kveðjur. Hafr spurði: **'Hví er goðinn svá fámennr?'** 'Ek vissa eigi, at ek þyrfta nú manna við', segir Sighvatr. Þeir Hafr horfðust á um hríð, áðr þeir sneru á brott, en Sighvatr gekk heim. (*Íslendinga saga* cap. 43 [48], in *StS* 1: 289)

[he turned towards them and wound his cloak around his arm. Hafr and his men rode up to the homefield fence and there were no greetings. Hafr asked: 'Why is the *goði* so meager-manned?' 'I didn't know that I'd need men along now', says Sighvatr. Hafr and his companions looked him over for a while before they turned away, and Sighvatr went home.]³⁰

The tension in this face-off is palpable: Hafr's party pondering the risks involved in slaying one of the best-connected men in Iceland against a golden opportunity that may never present itself again, Sighvatr doing his best to project masterly disdain. Had Hafr kept his mouth shut, had he simply gone ahead and tilted at Sighvatr, he might have prevailed; but his very enunciation of the question – his suspicious incredulity at so unlikely an opportunity having landed in his lap – paints Sighvatr into a heroic corner. Whereas in 1209 Sighvatr had perceived a *fámennr* Þórðr as enervated, in 1222 he turns his own precarious solitude into a weapon of psychological warfare: bereft of a chieftainly *fjǫlmenni*, he can do nothing but stand his ground and glare. In this staring match, it is his enemies who blink first.

The recurring question, 'why so meagre-manned?', reiterates the uni-dimensional scope within which the issue of entourage size is typically framed in saga discourse: as a brute expression of political potency. Numbers are routinely assumed to serve no purpose other than to manifest one's power and ram through one's agenda, most often by naked force. Hafr and his companions struggle to wrap their minds around the

³⁰ Hafr's lineage, although not precisely known, was not insignificant: we learn elsewhere that Einarr *skemmingr*, his brother, was related to Bishop Guðmundr (see *Arons saga* cap. 5, in *StS* 2: 241, 311 n.5¹). Hafr's restraint did not pay off: a short while after this encounter, he was murdered in his bed by one of Sighvatr's minions (*StS* 1: 289–90). See also the discussion of Hafr in Nordal (1998: 59–60, 224–27; 'Einarr' thrice misprinted for 'Hafr' on p. 224).

idea that so powerful a magnate as Sighvatr might be out and about on his own; finally, however, they accept that he, like Þorgils Þórðarson or Gunnarr of Hlíðarendi, must be heroic rather than destitute. Sighvatr himself in his 1209 spat with Þórðr (like Þorvaldr *goði* when he meets an under-prepared *Hænsa*-Þórir) adopts the opposite interpretation of unimpressive numbers, but he is clearly operating within the same frame of reference: having already learnt that Þórðr does not intend to ride *fjölmennr*, there would have been no point to Sighvatr's bitter follow-up question, *Hvat skal mér þú ... ef þú ert svá fámennr?*, unless he took it for granted that the levies one raised were the one reliable instrument for projecting chieftainly force. Sighvatr thus could not interpret Þórðr's pale promise as anything but betrayal by a brother who, like *Hænsa*-Þórir, offers token support so anemic as to be no help at all.

Conclusion

Of course, the author of *Íslendinga saga* – Þórðr's son – likely did not share uncle Sighvatr's opinion of the import of Þórðr's unwillingness to raise troops against the bishop. Both Þórðr and Sturla after him were, in fact, rather partial to Bishop Guðmundr, supporting him at many points during his conflict with the other Sturlungar (Ciklamini 1983; Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir 1988: 31; Úlfar Bragason 2010: 76, 127–28, 149, 157, 220). Having authorial bias line up in this way with a character's outlook precludes the unleashing of dramatic irony against Þórðr, barring it from lashing him as it does other *fjölmenni*-disavowing characters. And this raises one final, intriguing possibility of reading the motif under consideration here: if Sturla represents his father Þórðr sympathetically, as a prudent and far-sighted hero, presumably he imputes to him some specific (but unstated) purpose in promising his brother meagre support. What might the scheme Þórðr kept up his sleeve have been?

The answer may be that spurning safety in numbers could serve as a way not only to enhance one's claim to courage, as in Gunnarr's case, or to 'hol[d] one's counsel and [risk being thought] a thief or a murderer', as in Eldgrímr's (Miller 1990: 103), but also as a strategy for courting compromise rather than driving for decisive victory. This is the way Bjarni plays his solitary hand with Þorsteinn, and – more by necessity than by design, no doubt – also the way Þorkell ends up dealing with Grímr in

Laxdæla saga.³¹ It seems that this is what Þórðr Sturluson had planned to do in the encounter with Bishop Guðmundr, as well. At the outset of the dialogue between the brothers, Þórðr had responded to Sighvatr's invitation to join the attack on the bishop by enquiring *hverju hann skyldi ráða, ef hann færi* [what say he should have (in decision-making), if he went], to which Sighvatr replied: *Hví muntu eigi ráða því, er þú vill', segir Sighvatr, 'eða hvé fjölmennr muntu vera?'* ['Why shouldn't you have as much say as you want', says Sighvatr, 'but how many-manned will you be?']. By juxtaposing his willingness to cede a great deal of decision-making power to Þórðr with an enquiry after the amplitude of his brother's following, Sighvatr insinuates a proportional link between raw numbers and political influence: why shouldn't you, he seems to tell Þórðr, have as big a say as the force you are willing to commit? For Sighvatr, aggression is the natural idiolect on every occasion, and *fjólmenni* the necessary vehicle for articulating it; Þórðr, on the other hand, is more interested in *ráð* [counsel], and hopes his words will carry the day when push comes to shove. Þórðr's enigmatic reply to Sighvatr's

³¹ A complementary idea underlies Þorgils's words, spoken in 1121 on the brink of yet another abortive clash with Haflíði's following: *Þat veit ek glögg, ef þar er svá mikit fjölmenni sem sagt er, at þar muni þeir margir, er í mínum flokki myndi sik kjósa heldr, ef þeir þyrði, ok munu þeir lítt berjast við Haflíða* [I perceive clearly that – if there is such huge many-men there as is reported – there will be many (among them) who would prefer to be in my troop, if they dared, and they'll fight little for Haflíði]. His primary point, of course, is to uphold his own men's morale by downplaying the significance of reports that Haflíði's force far outnumbers them; but he is also articulating as a point of strategy the truism that, in a large levy, there are bound to be some whose commitment to the cause is less than die-hard, potential vacillators who might defect or act as intermediaries, if given the chance. His next sentence is even more telling: *Þeir munu ok þar margir, er fagna myndi því, ef annarr tveggja okkar létist, en hirða myndi þeir aldri, hvárr á brott kæmist* [There will also be many there who will be glad if either one of us (sc. Þorgils himself or Haflíði) should perish, and who wouldn't care in the least which one might get out (alive)]. His own troop, in contrast, he says, is made up of *svá trausta menn ... ok mjök örugga, at hvern mun heldr vilja falla um þveran annan en mér verði neitt, ok munum vér af því fram halda* [such trusty and utterly undaunted men that each would prefer to fall in the other's footsteps rather than fail me, and so we will push on] (*Þorgils saga ok Haflíða* cap. 23, in *StS* 1: 40–41). Þorgils is essentially saying that within any *fjólmenni* – his own troop excepted – some *fámenni* may inevitably be found who resemble Bjarni, Þorkell or Þórðr. Cf. also *Sturlu saga* cap. 9, where the presence of multitudes is cited in yet another type of argument against hostilities: *Einnarr hljóp upp ok eggjaði atgöngu. En Þorleifr beiskaldi bað hann eigi stefna mönnum í svá mikinn vada, at aldri leyrist, sem ván var á, ef svá mikit fjölmenni skyldi berjast* [Einnarr leapt up and urged (that they should) attack. But Þorleifr *beiskaldi* pleaded with him not to steer men into so great a danger, from which they might not save themselves, as was to be expected if such huge many-men should fight] (in *StS* 1: 74). Here, the focus is on the presence of the multitudes themselves as disincentives to violence, which is likely to turn horrific when such *fjólmenni* are involved.

derision – ‘you’ll see’ – may therefore be more than just an offended non-sequitur. The role he intends for himself is perhaps not that of providing additional firepower, but rather that of brokering settlement and making peace.

Þórðr’s wording stops short of fully revealing his intention, so neither Sighvatr nor we may be entirely certain of his plans. Numbers alone are inconclusive evidence: there is no strict correlation between pacifism and *fámennir*. Other peacemakers in the sagas sometimes amass troops precisely so that they may force combatants to stand down: this is how the amoral Snorri *goði* presets a limit to the bloodletting at the Battle of the *Alþing* in the wake of Njáll’s burning, how Guðmundr *dýri* breaks up two engagements before they had begun, at the beginning of his public career in 1187, and how a certain Ísleifr Hallsson rescues Bishop Guðmundr from the clutches of his enemies at the end of a hard fight in 1220.³² Conversely, we have already seen examples aplenty of men bent on martial or felonious action who surround themselves with few followers or none, from the heroic Gunnarr of Hlíðarendi to the horse-thieving Eldgrímr and farm-burning *Hænsa-Þórir*. Sighvatr’s exasperation at his brother’s meagre-manned approach confirms that he is bewildered rather than just angry, unsure of just what Þórðr has in mind: ‘How will you do me any ... good?’ Only through painstaking, comparative philology – juxtaposing Þórðr’s words with the nearly synonymous phrases spoken by the likes of Bjarni *goði* or Þorkell Eyjólfsson – would Sighvatr have been able to come to a probable conclusion about Þórðr’s purpose.

The solitary man, able to plot courses that others might regard with shock or alarm, automatically fell under a pall of suspicion; but in some cases, he turns out to have been that rare individual able to avoid the multitude’s groupthink and come up with innovative solutions, dependent on variables other than enforcement by brute numbers. In medieval Iceland, no less than in other societies where testosterone normally speaks louder than words, an enquiry into one’s many-manned intentions (sometimes paired with a contrasting expression of distrust, dismay or disgust at an anticipated or actual meagre-manned reply) tended to fall into the rhythms of virile posturing; the collocation ‘how many-manned will you ride’, in particular, became a catchphrase for ferreting out brag-

³² For these episodes, see *Njáls saga* capp. 139, 145 (ÍF 12: 372–73, 402–8), *Guðmundar saga dýra* cap. 3, and *Íslendinga saga* cap. 37 [42] (both in *StS* 1: 163–65, 276–77); I discuss Ísleifr’s intervention in greater detail in Falk (2015). Cf. also *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða* cap. 19 (in *StS* 1: 36); *Laxdæla saga* cap. 87 (ÍF 5: 246); *Harðar saga* cap. 10 (ÍF 13: 27).

garts or needling sissies. Rannveig and Eiðr illustrate the former usage in their critiques of Bjarni and Þorkell, whom they took to be overgrown boys too big for their britches, on the model of the swaggering *Vatnsfirðingar*; Sighvatr and *Brodd-Helgi* exemplify the latter, chastising Þórðr and mocking Geitir for their unwillingness or inability to live up to the obligations of their gendered position. All four speakers were acting on cues supplied by their culture, drawing on the idiom made available by their language, responding to stimuli provided by their interlocutors: a path as overdetermined and effortless as painting by numbers. Yet, in three of the four cases, later developments proved the criticism misguided: Geitir managed to overpower *Brodd-Helgi*, Bjarni and Þorkell conspired to make peace with Þorsteinn and Grímr, respectively. We may therefore suppose that Sighvatr's denunciation of his brother was, in all likelihood, equally misguided – that Þórðr had, in fact, a plan for negotiating a bloodless resolution, which he was keeping strictly to himself. Unfortunately, any such design did not have the opportunity to be put to the test. In 1209, no less than in other eras, the eagerness of warlords to commit their troops to battle far outstripped their ability to think ahead to how those multitudes of many-men might be extricated once the initial round of carnage were done. Sighvatr had a sound enough military doctrine for initiating hostilities – go in hard, hit 'em with all you've got, shock and awe – but a characteristically deficient exit strategy.

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MIRIAM MAYBURD

“*Helzt þóttumk nú heima í millim...*”

A reassessment of Hervör in light of seiðr’s supernatural gender dynamics

Introduction

Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks, a *fornaldarsaga* whose oldest extant Icelandic manuscript dates to the first decade of the fourteenth century, had excited imaginations of early modern antiquarians, poets, and Romantic nationalists with its tapestry of Danish legendary matter (Fell 1996), but it was not until the end of 20th century – amid the ascent of gender-focused scholarship – that the relatively brief section in the saga concerning Hervör Bjarmarsdóttir started to attract critical attention of its own.

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Abstract: Focusing on *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*, this article examines Hervör’s cross-dressing from the perspective of her confrontation with the dead on Sámsey, attempting to go beyond the conventional binary-gender model which still continues to be employed in saga criticism. Aiming to situate the present inquiry within the discursive matrix of Old Norse-Icelandic worldview, I engage recent research on *seiðr* and *ergi* which challenges standard readings of these concepts, expanding *ergi* from mere “unmanliness” to the broader notion of “queerness” as sexually ambiguous and perverse magical otherness, and *seiðr* to supernatural empowerment. A closer examination of the *ergi* complex provides a platform from which an interplay of multiple gender possibilities may be observed – not as fixed dichotomous polarities as they appear in modern perspective, but as a polyphonic inter-gender continuum. One’s positioning within this continuum, then, depends upon the extent of one’s immersion into the supernatural. The case of Hervör is used as an illustration of how the inter-gender dynamics of sexual abnormality play out in her own situation. It is argued that her cross-dressing activity is not ad hoc, but is crucial to her supernatural transformation into a wielder of power that can awaken the dead at Sámsey.

Keywords: *Fornaldarsögur*, the supernatural, *seiðr*, gender, *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*.

Indeed, *Hervarar saga* presents a curious gender-reversal of a familiar supernatural Eddic motif. While it is Óðinn, the master of *seiðr* and spellcraft, who is famous for summoning dead female sibyls by his magic to inquire for prophesies, and while Svipdagr resurrects his sorcerous matriarch Gróa to ask for magically empowered protection in the Eddic poem *Grógaldr*, in this present saga we have a female hero who is conjuring up her dead father to appear before her: “Vaki þú, Angantýr / vekr þik Hervör”.¹ While the female prophetesses warn Óðinn of impending doom, in Hervör’s case we have the words of prophetic warning being directed to a female from the dead lips of a male. This gender reversal is made all the more intriguing given the context of Hervör’s behavior before as well as after this episode, as the waking of Angantýr occurred at a time in her life when she was clad in male garments, and indeed having assumed a male name.

Despite their prominence, the gender-related supernatural phenomena in this narrative have received little attention to date. The rise of women-focused saga research has run parallel with the rise of gender as a subject in 1970’s feminist identity politics (Wallach Scott 1999), and the latter had left a considerable impact on the former (Stig Sørensen 2009). Old Norse research into gender in the sagas has an ongoing tendency to lean towards literary approaches from a modern theoretical viewpoint, which regards the subjects of magic and supernatural as mere literary motifs without giving them a more thorough consideration (Anderson and Swenson eds. 2002, Bagerius 2009, Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir 2013).

Old Norse scholarship on gender and women in the sagas has a notable tendency, for the most part, to draw parallels and contrasts between Old Norse society and the present, operating under assumption that the cultural vocabulary, values, and social attitudes of modernity are an adequate measuring stick against which the past may be evaluated and judged. Such inquiries and critiques stem from the assumption of a linear progression from the barbarous cruelty of the middle ages to the present, and their tone is not always free of accusatory and pejorative condescension towards the Old Norse texts under examination, from the stance of a modern progressive society looking back at the savage primitive past (Larington 1992, Jochens 1996, Ballif Straubhaar 2001, Helga Kress 2002).²

¹ Jón Helgason 1924: 22. ‘Awaken, Angantýr / Hervör wakes you’.

² Supernatural encounters with the trolls and other *vættir* have been reduced to being seen as “xenophobic situations, caricaturing those thought unfit to dominate” (Ballif Straubhaar 2001: 117). While the ethnic analogy in the human-troll relations is a stimulating proposition, it is somewhat puzzling to encounter the claim that such a reading offers a “more realistic set of principles underlying these narrative tropes” (106) at the expense of alternate folkloric interpretations of the same motif.

The imposition of modern theoretical gender frameworks in such interpretations upon texts stemming from different cultural contexts not infrequently leads to a circular argument, which runs the risk of projecting upon that culture of personal biases and assumptions. They do not bring us any closer to arriving at a more enriched understanding of how gender was constructed within the discursive matrix of Old Norse society, as the latter is approached through the discursive matrix of our own.³ “Repression may be said to produce the object that it comes to deny,” notes Judith Butler (1990: 93) – and indeed, it is the unfortunate irony that such readings are participating in constructing the very same discriminatory attitudes towards women in Old Norse sources that they stand in criticism of.

Such has been the fate, within modern theoretical literary analyses, of the female warrior figure in Norse texts – and in particular, that of Hervör from *Hervarar saga* who may be the most vivid exemplification of this character type. Not only is she depicted as dominant and independent, but engaging in activity and behavior which strikingly challenges the very notion of gender binary – namely, her cross-dressing and assumption of a male name. Furthermore, the saga narrator commences to refer to this character using a male name and masculine pronouns, presenting additional problems for attempts that seek to explain this through the static prism of the above gender model.⁴ Engaging in the battle of wills

³ A notable departure from the biological binary gender model has been undertaken by Carol Clover in a 1993 article where she proposes to divorce gender from sex and read the gender binary not as a biological, but a social construction, consisting in the duality between *hvatr* (‘strong’) and *blauðr* (‘weak’). These social genders were not fixed or pre-ordained, and there was no guaranteed status quo for an individual: thus, one’s social status may slip away if not maintained or defended (1993: 375). This re-interpretation of gender is only handicapped in the conclusion that it draws. After abandoning the notion of gendered sexuality in favor of a one-sex model, and after situating gender within the Old Norse cultural vocabulary, Clover concludes that the default gender in Old Norse society was still “male”, thereby implying the repression of the feminine and the pressure put on women to behave like men in order to be socially accepted. “It goes without saying,” she writes, “that the one-sex or single-standard system ... is the one that advantaged men” (1993: 379). This conclusive summary of the society in question as gendered and unequal is somewhat perplexing, given Clover’s previously stated observations in the same article that “this is a universe in which maleness and femaleness were always negotiable” (378), and that “biological femaleness does not determine one’s juridical status” (370). Thus, we are back to the very same universalized, polarizing gender binary that has so often been applied uninterrogated in earlier saga studies.

⁴ Notably, Christopher Tolkien’s 1960 English translation of the saga ignores the shift towards the masculine pronouns and continues to refer to Hervör’s male *Hervarðr* persona as “she” even when the Old Icelandic text indicates the masculine gender (as it does in all the manuscript versions of *Hervarar saga*). It is not unlikely that the avoidance of gender issues in this English translation may have played a part in their lesser visibility within non-Nordic literary circles.

with a *draugr* who used to be her *berserker*-father, she is the central focus of *Hervararkviða* (indeed, in one saga variant she is presented as speaking entirely in poetry, up until after her marriage when the saga's focus begins to shift to the next generation).⁵ Yet instead of regarding Hervör's depiction in the saga as an invitation to depart from the modern theoretical construct of gender binary, there has been an ongoing tendency to seek some ulterior (and necessarily patriarchal) motive in her portrayal, further limiting the creative range of potential that there is to explore in this multifaceted and complex character.

To Jenny Jochens (1996: 100), Hervör's presence in the saga functions as a mere placeholder in a genealogical link that is being detailed in the narrative. Noting that the latter portion of *Hervarar saga*, constructed around the poem *Hlöðskviða*, is based upon the legendary battle which stems from a more distant historic past than the first few chapters of the saga, Jochens proceeds to refer to Hervör's namesake granddaughter, who is depicted as participating in the aforementioned battle, as "Germanic Hervör", while calling the character we are presently considering as "Viking Hervör". These blatantly anachronistic references are used to posit the "Viking Hervör" as a later invention/interpolation into the older legend to fill the generation gap, a reading which strikingly undermines her own singular importance and contribution to the plot (ibid: 98). Torfi H. Tulinius (2002) and William Layher (2007) follow Jochens in interpreting Hervör's role as bridging the generation gap in the (necessarily male) family legacy, concerned with issues of inheritance.⁶ Layher reads the sword *Tyrfingr* as "emblematic of fallen patriarchy" (2007: 196–97); Angantýr's refusals to give up his sword are thus ascribed to unwillingness of patriarchal authority to recognize a female heir.

Hervör's cross-dressing in the Old Norse context has likewise been regarded as a mere fulfillment of a formal social function (Clover 1986). Hervör being an only child and with no male relatives who could claim

⁵ This is the so-called R version of the saga, on which Tolkien's 1960 edition relies and whose manuscript dates to early fifteenth century (Hall 2005: 1).

⁶ Unlike Jochens, however, Torfi H. Tulinius grounds *Hervarar saga* in the context of thirteenth-century Iceland where it was written, taking as a point of departure this saga's relevance to its contemporary audience and offering a reading of this saga (among others) as an expression of thirteenth-century Icelandic social and political concerns (Torfi H. Tulinius 2002: 73–114). Despite its limited focus on Hervör and a deficiency in considering the agentive power of the supernatural as depicted in this and other medieval narratives, this study remains valuable for its historiographic approach to saga literature and for its effort to reconcile the long-perceived gap between the Old Norse legendary matter and the Christian values of saga writers and their audiences.

her fallen father’s inheritance, Clover interprets her as assuming the symbolic role of a “functional son” in order to get what was hers: “So powerful is the principle of male inheritance that when it necessarily passes through a female, she must become, in legend if not in life, a ‘functional son’”(Clover 1986: 39).

This “functional son” model becomes inadequate, however, when the saga’s supernatural elements are taken into account. Hervör departs to claim her heirloom sword not towards a social assembly, but towards a dire, spectral island aglow with barrow-fires, and instead of presenting her legal case at court among witnesses and officials, she engages on that island in a battle of wills and verses with the dead whom she herself had raised, with no other witnesses save for some maggots and worms, perhaps: “Hervarðr, Hjörvarðr, / Hrani, Angantýr! / vek ek yðr alla / undir viðar rótum...”⁷ Such images as *Hervararkviða* paints in the mind’s eye – the grave mounds gaping open, blazing with otherworldly lights, the warriors’ corpses still in their battle gear stirring back to life under the tangled roots of the trees, the flashes and thunder in the night that may be perceivable from very far away – such a place as this, where no one dares to linger after nightfall even for generous reward (cf. *Hervarar saga*, chapter 4) is so far removed from norm and daily reality, that the symbolic assumption of a “functional son” social role Clover suggests for Hervör does not ring true in the phantasmagoric context of Sámsey. Hervör furthermore identifies herself as the only daughter, and Angantýr repeatedly calls her that, among other feminine terms, thus rendering the functional son procedure redundant. It is evident in the poem that she gets the sword through her relentlessness and overpowers her ghostly father with her sheer determination and stubborn resolve – not through a formalized inheritance procedure.

It is remarkable that given the strong presence of supernatural elements in Hervör’s story – not to mention her cursed heirloom sword Tyrfingr – the scholarship on Hervör for the most part continues to divorce her from that broader magic context, including her cross-dressing activity itself. While John McKinnell’s recent study of *Hervararkviða* does engage the theme of raising the dead, he dismisses Hervör’s assumption of a male persona as mere “self-protection”, as she “presumably cannot afford to be recognized as a woman by her shipmates” (2014: 301). Given the saga’s account of Hervör becoming not just a member,

⁷ Jón Helgason (1924:22). ‘Hervarðr, Hjörvarðr, / Hrani, Angantýr! / I awaken you all / under trees’ roots...’

but a chieftain of that viking group (implicitly, its most dominant alpha), such interpretation is more indicative of its author's uncritical assumption of female subordination than of particular circumstances afforded by the narrative. As with previous interpretations of Hervör considered above, she is taken out of the supernatural context of the saga as a pre-supposed archetype of an uncritically assumed womanhood transcending cultural variables. Without being re-interrogated as to the contemporary gendered conceptions that they employ, such readings only end up limiting the scope of their own analyses, contributing more spokes to the same wheel. The result is that such contemporary cultural vocabulary becomes discursively established as a pre-discursive point of theoretical departure in saga studies, with the assumption of certain universal attitudes and patterns of human behavior being present at all stages of history. "Descriptions of warfare in medieval texts", writes Megan McLaughlin (1990: 17), "were peppered with references to gender, references which equated fighting ability with virility". Yet if capability on the battlefield was equated with virility, then it could just as equally be that that each portrayal of a warlike female character is in fact endowing this female with the very same "virility", thus stretching or indeed negating the modern conception of separate fixed genders in a male-female polarized static dichotomy.

The oppositional binary approach to gender not infrequently enters the discourse hand in hand with other binaries: such as the socio-historical reality of medieval Iceland versus the literary fiction produced therein, as well as the oppositional placement of Old Norse paganism versus Christianity as two discrete entities – equating mythology and magic with religion and finding it incompatible with Christian society (a recurring tendency in medieval studies, as Víðar Pálsson points out (2008: 124)). How then can we attempt to look into medieval Icelandic culture from within itself, transcending these polarizing binary divisions, and how may these findings aid in (re)interpreting gender?

A nuanced direction has been proposed in approaching magic and the supernatural within the context of Scandinavian medieval culture: the concept of "magical reality" and its application to *fornaldarsögur*, as used effectively by Hans Jakob Orning in a recent article, where he argues that the importance of magic applies not only to *fornaldarsögur* but more generally to Old Norse culture as well (2010: 8). Yet this approach is not new to the field, as Orning revitalizes Aron Gurevich's reading of medieval popular culture. Instead of being a mere survival of the past in the medieval present, the magical worldview was absorbed and assimilated

into Christianity in the process of their interaction: “A unity arose from their encounter – a unity surely not devoid of contradictions and ambivalence, but one in which old magical beliefs and Christian teachings found meaning and function precisely in their mutual correlation” (Gurevich 1990: 91).

As an example of the popularly perceived “magic” in Christian context may be mentioned the ceremony of mass, whose theological interpretations tended to remain obscure to passive onlookers, as well as the cult of saints who, in medieval popular imagination, have developed from paragons of virtue into miracle workers (*ibid.*). To this may be added an observation by Dror Segev that the medieval cleric himself “was perceived as a magician, as his education and routine contact with the holy apparatus and instruments of worship ‘charged’ him with occult powers” (Segev 2001: 191). Instead of assuming an existence of an unbridgeable ideological gap between the clerical and the popular spheres, “the supernatural world of medieval reality was a subject for intellectual speculations and a part of daily life at the same time, and practicing magic was [...] a reaction to this reality” (*ibid.*).

This reading of the medieval mind and the magical worldview which it envisioned may be used to reconcile the “history versus fiction” debate in approaching the sagas for pieces of information regarding the past, as has been illustrated by Ármann Jakobsson in a study on *Bárðar saga Snæfellsás*. Despite its fantastical and supernatural content which may defy belief and credibility today, this saga – as attested by its inclusion in the Vatnshyrna manuscript with other *Íslendingasögur* – was nevertheless regarded as a factual history by its contemporaries, as a part of their own perceived reality which by no means has to coincide with ours (Ármann Jakobsson 1998: 53).⁸ In recent years, as part of the resurgent scholarly focus on *fornaldarsögur*, there has been a pronounced interest in collapsing the long-perceived “natural” vs. “supernatural” binary, and both became increasingly regarded as part of the perceived magical reality of the medieval imagination.⁹ Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir sums it up when she writes, “it should be borne in mind that the worldview that

⁸ The oldest surviving manuscript of this saga is preserved in the so-called Pseudo-Vatnshyrna, but its intent as a historical work rather than recreational remains evident by its placement among other accounts of the Icelandic past: “the important criterion seems to be whether the author believed in what he wrote, not whether present-day scholars do” (Ármann Jakobsson 1998: 54).

⁹ As addressed in a number of papers at the 13th International Saga Conference in Durham (preprint volumes ed. McKinnell and Ashurst 2006), whose theme that year had focused on “The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature”.

underlies and distinguishes the *fornaldarsögur* need not reflect historical facts in the Norse past but rather the notions people had about that past” (2006: 34).

Thus, while it would be highly suspect and ill-informed to claim that the sagas – both legendary and those dealing with settlement-era Iceland – are repositories of ‘authentic’ beliefs and events stemming from the past they are depicting, to dismiss them out of hand as mere literary inventions leading an autonomous existence outside of any cultural context is no less misleading. However fantastical in their depictions of magic and supernatural, they may yet provide glimpses into the attitudes which their authors and audiences have had regarding their own contemporary medieval Icelandic society.

With these caveats in mind, it may be possible to circumnavigate the polarizing “history vs. fiction” debate and look to sagas’ depictions and constructions of gender not as some abstract literary devices divorced from day-to-day existence, but as products of a medieval mind that are situated within its magical reality. As enmeshed as these depictions may be within supernatural, the said supernatural content is no longer an obstacle, but a part of a medieval Icelandic worldview and thus a no less dominant factoring agent which plays a part in the construction of gender, as it may have been envisioned.

The present article aims at expanding the current discourse on gender in the context of Old Norse texts by investigating the supernatural involvement in its negotiation, with an objective to develop a new method of approximating gender dynamics within the discursive matrix of medieval Iceland. The modern conception of oppositional gender binary, handicapped by its inflexible absolutism, is not to be pre-discursively assumed for these texts if we wish to go beyond the tautological cycle of self-constructed and self-limited gendered scholarship. The stance I adopt in the present analysis towards magic and supernatural is a recognition thereof as an integral part of the perceived daily reality as portrayed in the sagas, departing from the tendency in literary scholarship to interpret it as mere stylistic motifs or narrative elements inserted by authors within their creative fiction.

The main focus will be the magical complex of *seiðr* as the axis around which discussion of genders will rotate in the context of this study. I engage recent research on *seiðr* and *ergi* which challenges standard readings of these concepts, expanding *ergi* from mere “unmanliness” to the broader notion of “queerness” as sexually ambiguous and perverse magical otherness, and *seiðr* to supernatural empowerment. It is proposed

that a closer examination of the *ergi* complex will provide a platform from which a dynamic and fluid interplay of multiple genders could be observed – not as fixed dichotomous polarities as they appear in modern perspective, but as a polyphonic inter-gender continuum.¹⁰ One’s positioning within this continuum, then, depends upon the extent of one’s immersion into the supernatural. The connotation of perversity and sexual abnormality lurking within the practice of *seiðr* – a distinct magical side-effect within the Norse imagination – will be of especial interest for this study as we explore in what ways it marks and alters those who immerse in it. From these observations, an apparatus will be constructed for approximating the dynamics of behavior and sexual abnormality of characters within that supernatural inter-gender continuum.

Hervarar saga will be used as a case study of how the inter-gender dynamics outlined above play out in Hervör’s situation, with a strong emphasis on the supernatural context of martial activity and its correlation with the hostile use of *seiðr*. The Sámsey episode will form a central part of this analysis as a pivotal point in her story, and the observations made along the way regarding *seiðr* and its various transformative aspects will come into play. It will be argued that her cross-dressing activity (taking up not only male clothing and male name, but internalizing that masculinity to the point that the saga narrator begins to refer to this character using masculine pronouns) is not ad hoc, but is crucial to her supernatural transformation into a wielder of power who can awaken the dead at Sámsey and obtain from them what she wants.

I. The problem of supernatural empowerment

I.1. *Seiðr* as a tool for approaching gender

It is opportune to begin an inquiry into the magic of *seiðr* by examining the range of activities which fall under its practice. This in itself has not been free of controversy in past and present scholarship as to its meaning and interpretation, given the lack of detailed information regarding *seiðr*

¹⁰ It must be emphasized that I do not consider Hervör to be sexually transgender in the way it is understood today (the term, with its modern context of identity politics, is becoming as congealed, restricted, and problematic as the feminist category of ‘women’); hence my preference for the term “inter-gender” for the purpose of the present inquiry. The usage of the term is only meant to illustrate the instability and fluctuation of the conception of gender at large, rather than create yet another category.

rituals in extant sources.¹¹ Snorri, however, does provide a summary of its range of uses in his *Ynglinga saga*, giving us a glimpse of how *seiðr* was imagined in thirteenth-century Iceland:

Óðinn kunnir þá íþrótt, svá at mestr máttur fylgði, ok framði sjálf, er seiðr heitir, en af því mátti hann vita ærlög manna og óorðna hluti, svá ok at gera mönnum bana eða óhamingju eða vanheilendi, svá ok at taka frá mönnum vit eða afl ok gefa öðrum. En þessi fjölkynngi, er framið er, fylgir svá mikil ergi, at eigi þótti karlmönnum skammlaust við at fara...¹²

From this description it becomes clear that *seiðr* was perceived as being used for divination and foreknowledge, as well as deployed against others for hostile and manipulative purposes. Taken together with Snorri's statements that directly preceded this quote – that Óðinn could also change his shape and send his spirit or mind out from his body in any form – has led to a widely held, yet hotly debated – view among scholars that “*seiðr* was an ecstatic kind of sorcery” (Heide 2006: 164), with certain links to shamanism (Strömbäck 1935, Price 2002, Solli 2008).

The term *ergi*, however, which Snorri connects closely with *seiðr*, has proven to be more troublesome in its potential implications for this practice, as well as for its practitioners. The interpretation of *ergi* has for a long time been generally accepted as denoting unmanliness and effeminate behavior, not least due to Preben Meulengracht Sørensen's (1983) classic study of unmanliness within medieval Icelandic social context as depicted in the sagas, and the Cleasby-Vigfusson translation of it as “lewdness” (1957: 133) adds to it a flavor of sexual perversion, as well as

¹¹ The discourse and debate in *seiðr* scholarship, stemming from nearly one-and-a-half-century of focused interest in this subject, is outlined at great length by Neil Price (2002: 73–89) and François-Xavier Dillmann (2006: 289–301, summarizing the debate around *seiðr* from the standpoint of shamanism). Price notes that “sorcery for aggressive ends” has been one of the earliest focal points from which *seiðr* has been approached in scholarship (2002: 76), seconded by Dillmann who suggests that *seiðr* may originally have referred exclusively to such maleficent magic (2006: 137). Clive Tolley notes that the diverse mentions of *seiðr* usage in the sources demolish the notion that it was exclusively a prophetic visionary application, and broadly describes *seiðr* as “effecting a physical change by means of magic – in other words, spells” (2009: 141). Alaric Hall adds that this magic extends into the psychological dimension as well, “manipulation of targets’ states of mind” being among its intended uses (2007: 130).

¹² Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1941: 9. ‘Óðinn knew the skill from which comes the most power, and practiced it himself, which is called *seiðr*, and from it he could know people’s fates and things yet un-happened, and also to cause people death or misfortune or ill-health, and also to take wit or strength from people and give to others. But from this witchcraft, when it is practiced, follows so much *ergi* that it was not thought unshameful for males to practice it...’

of obscene deviation from the norm. In recent years, however, there has been a departure from regarding *ergi* in its strict specificity as unmanliness, in favor of interpreting it within broader frames of transgression and perversion (Price 2002, Ármann Jakobsson 2008, Solli 2008). The still persistent trend in scholarship’s association of *ergi* with effeminacy rests squarely upon Snorri’s paragraph quoted above, yet its transparency may be misleading. All that it says there is that it presents a risk for men and was therefore relegated to priestesses, provoking an uncritical assumption of femininity for these latter figures, while this may just as equally suggest the opposite. These enigmatic priestesses, by the virtue of their craft, may already be so deviant that they could absorb *ergi*’s effects with greater ease than the uninitiated, however virile the latter may be. A word “queer” has been suggested as an alternative definition for *ergi* in its transgressive capacity as a deviation from the norm (Price 2002, Ármann Jakobsson 2008, Solli 2008). It bears emphasizing that this notion of queerness is not to be confused with homosexuality, as the latter belongs within the same oppositional gendered binary as the heterosexual matrix, of which it may be said to be a copy (Butler 1990: 125) – thereby losing the connotation of otherness that queerness suggests. As the extant Old Norse texts themselves do not attempt to grace this term with a precise definition, this broader transgressive reading of it is adequately fitting for Cleasby-Vigfusson’s loose translation without confining it to any one specific feature. Thus, we find mention of a *seiðr* act performed by a male practitioner in *Gísla saga*: “fremr hann þetta fjölkynngiliga með allri ergi og skelmiskap”, it says of his ritual, and the lack of further details as to what this act involved seemingly plays into emphasizing its unspeakable perversity.¹³

An accusation of being *ergi*, furthermore, was a severe insult in medieval Iceland (Strom 1974), and even the One-eyed master of *seiðr* was not immune to it in the Eddic corpus: Óðinn’s involvement with the magic craft is singled out in *Lokasenna* when Loki mocks him for working *seiðr* rituals on Sámsey like female sorceresses (“sem völor”) as well as for appearing like a witch (“vitka líki”) – thus, Loki concludes, “hugða ek þat args aðal”.¹⁴

In light of this “sexual stigma” (Lionarons 1997: 420) and shame that *seiðr* apparently brought upon its male practitioners, some scholars have been inclined to interpret *seiðr* as a distinctly female activity, gender-

¹³ Björn K. Þórolfsson and Guðni Jónsson 1943: 56–57. ‘He carried out that witchcraft with all the *ergi* and devilry...’

¹⁴ Finnur Jónsson 1905: 126. ‘I thought that to be *ergi* behavior.’

based (Higley 1994, Jochens 1996, Raudvere 2003). Eldar Heide connects the practice of *seiðr* to spinning and weaving – thus it becomes “certainly unmanly for men, because spinning was the most characteristic women’s work” (2006: 167). The connections that are drawn between *seiðr* and spinning are worthy of being examined more closely at this point, as we will build upon these observations further in the present discussion.

I.2 Sexual perversion of *seiðr*, and what may cause it

In Heide’s interpretation, not only were the spells of *seiðr* brought forth through the literal or symbolic acts of spinning, but the nature of this magic itself was potentially perceived in spinning-like, thread-like terms. He argues that the magician, in sending out a projection of his own mind or spirit for whatever purpose, is actually “spinning a mind emissary”, and that “the sorcerer’s mind sent forth” – in shape of a wind or of another being – “could be conceived as something spun, a thread” (Heide 2006: 164–5). In support of this argument, copious examples from Scandinavian folklore are cited where magic projectiles take the form of whirlwinds: “whirlwind spins, it resembles a rope or thread, and sorcerers use it for attracting desired objects, like a magic lasso” (ibid). Another case for a mind projection emissary as something spun is found in late medieval Icelandic magic in the shape of *tilberi*, a magic creature that sucked milk from other people’s resources and brought it home to its master. This creature was made from a human rib with wool wrapped around it, and – as Heide notes – it looked like “a shuttle in the traditional, warp-weighted loom”, thus carrying a connotation of being spun. In Sweden and Norway, this same creature (albeit under a different name) looked like a ball of yarn, while in Finland it was made from a spindle with yarn still on it. The thread-like connotation of this magic milk thief is further reinforced by the nature of the milking activity: just as hand milking resembles pulling, a spun *tilberi* is deployed to draw out milk from the cattle as if the sorcerer is “attracting [the milk] by magic, invisible rope”. Heide comments upon the connection of this activity to one of the popular uses of *seiðr* in Icelandic tradition – namely, to attract (“*seiða til sín*”), to draw the object of the spell towards oneself, “as if the victim is pulled by an invisible rope” (Heide 2006: 164–5).¹⁵ The associa-

¹⁵ However, in reducing *tilberi*’s magic role to a yarn-resembling thief deployed to steal the milk from others, Heide’s reading somewhat domesticates this creature and diminishes the horrific scope of its magic, as well as the expense at which it operates. As explored in Ármann Jakobsson’s 2009 article on supernatural parasites, *tilberi* bears a perversely sexual

tion of magic emissaries with spinning or spun threads thus appears to be a frequently encountered theme in Nordic folklore.

Heide takes this further by merging this interpretation with the perversity that *seiðr* can inflict on its male practitioner. Having argued that the *seiðr* mind emissary could be called *gandr*,¹⁶ he notes that “the close derivation *göndull* could in Old Norse mean ‘penis’; and in Icelandic pornography, *gandur* is a common word for the same” (Heide 2006: 167). As an example of this symbolism occurring in magic context, Heide cites the word *næjtiendírre* from the eighteenth-century Saami shamans, which corresponds to *gandr*’s function as a magic emissary projectile. It translates as shaman’s phallus, and it was used by the Saami shamans against each other. Heide ties this symbolism to Sørensen’s concept of “phallic aggression” within Old Norse culture – “based upon the notion that one who penetrates in intercourse is the strongest” (Meulengracht Sørensen 1983: 27). There are also some examples in magic context where ropes themselves resemble phalluses.¹⁷

This phallic interpretation of the spun magic emissary projectiles could spill upon the thread imagery of *seiðr*, and thus the act of spinning itself becomes charged with sexual symbolism and obscenity. Heide notes further that a distaff used for spinning wool was commonly held between the legs of the spinner,¹⁸ and suggests that the excavated staffs from numerous Scandinavian Viking Age female graves, which have recently and

and parasitic relationship to its (female) creator and deployer, sucking on her breast and feeding off of her, and the fact that this creature is fashioned out of a human rib adds an additional tinge of morbidity, going well beyond the yarn spinning imagery into darker and more gruesome magic territories, such as reanimation and vampirism.

¹⁶ This was the subject of Heide’s 2006 dissertation *Gand, seid og ándevind*, where the identification of *gandr* with the *seiðr* mind emissary is central to his argument (for Heide’s overview of the existing scholarship on this matter, as well as for his argument that *gandir* are in fact magic emissaries, pp. 79–155 may be cited). Heide follows the interpretation of *gandr* after Strömbäck 1975, who saw it as “something which is connected with the soul of a magician and can be sent out from him or her in ecstasy” (6–7).

¹⁷ Such as the account of Isaac Olsen, cited by Heide: “When an early 18th century Saami shaman was in a trance, a girl brought him back out of it. In a sign of gratitude, the shaman tells her that “she shall now possess and use his male member in accordance with her will and as it pleases her, and she shall now possess and make use of it as a tether ... and as a draught-rope, and drape it around her shoulders like an ornament, and she shall have it as an oar-loop and a sled-tackle and around her neck like a chain, and over her shoulders like a piece of jewelry and an ornament, and tie it around her waist like a belt” (Olsen 1910: 46–47).

¹⁸ Heide 2006b, p. 298 – which includes an illustration of the distaff held by a woman between her legs, engaged in spinning action. The fact that this illustration comes from a church painting in Uppland, Sweden (ca. 1500), however, begs the question whether the subversive interpretation of this image with the staff is more likely to reside in the imaginative onlooker’s mind rather than in its intent.

convincingly been interpreted as *seiðr* staffs of the *völur* (Price 2002, Gardela 2009 and 2009b),¹⁹ could potentially be regarded as ritual or cultic representations of distaffs (Heide 2006: 166–67).²⁰ Such staffs being quite phallic in their own right, it has been postulated that *seiðr* involved doing sexual or symbolically sexual acts with the distaff (Jochens 1996: 74)²¹ – and certainly the spun thread-like penile magic emissaries deepen the obscenity even further. The male *ergi* has thus been explained through these allusions: while completely unnatural and perverse for men, “it should not be a problem that thread is spun by women” (Heide 2006:168).

While Heide’s observations are greatly stimulating, this conclusion is rather unsatisfactory, as it once again falls within the modern conception of the fixed binary gender system of male-female dichotomy, and rests rather largely upon a colorful imagination of its author in regard to the distaffs’ potential ritual use, while the medieval Icelandic sources on *seiðr* remain deeply ambiguous as to the nature of its rituals, as well as to the actual cause of male perversion; most of Heide’s sources come from relatively late post-medieval Scandinavian folklore.²² That the practice of

¹⁹ Price 2002, as well as Gardela 2009 and 2009b. Writes Gardela: “Those ‘rods’, which in several cases were decorated with bronze knobs, are currently believed to be attributes of the ritual performers and labeled as *staves of sorcery* (a term first introduced by Neil Price in 2002. As Price argued, the staff was one of the main attributes of the Late Iron Age performers and there exist many sources which confirm that they were strongly associated with the practices of *seiðr* (2002: 175–180). Furthermore, an account from *Laxdæla saga* (ch. 76) suggests that the deceased seeresses were actually interred with their staffs. This piece of literary evidence strongly supports the archaeological interpretations of the graves with iron rods as belonging to *seiðr*-workers” (2009b, p. 286). The excavated staffs also bear a close similarity to the one that allegedly belonged to Þórbjörg litilvölva, in the narrative of *Eiríks saga rauða*: “var á knappr; hann var búinn með messingu ok settr steinum ofan um knappinn” (chapter 4). Gardela takes the connection he makes between the excavated staffs and the *völur* further by focusing on the staffs’ often bent, curving shapes and drawing a parallel between them and the similarly crooked staffs that belonged to magicians in Lithuanian and Polish folklore. Noting that “crookedness was considered a form of sacredness”, he remarks that the “crookedness of the staff (or its handle in shape of a twisted basket) would not only refer to the magical qualities of the object itself, but also to the supernatural (or divine) skills of the bearer”. (Gardela 2009: 203)

²⁰ This argument is based upon a visual resemblance of some *seiðr* staffs to the attested distaff artifacts (for a photograph of the distaff artifacts, see Heide 2006b: 252) – including a ring at the top of some staffs that could correspond to a strap for attaching wool.

²¹ Noting that “objects other than babies pass in and out of women’s bodies” (ibid), Jochens seizes on the *gandr/göndull* connection to speculate that the perversity of *seiðr* consisted of the practitioner engaging in a sexual act with it, “but eventually only the staff remained as a symbol”.

²² However, see Heide 2009 where he reviews the methodologies for approaching post-medieval folkloric sources for the purposes of Old Norse research and makes a case that late sources may still be useful and should not be dismissed out of hand.

seiðr for women was natural and unproblematic is taken for granted and left unchallenged. Resolving to stop its inquiry into *seiðr* along these polarized, ‘either-or’ gender lines, such an interpretation does not go further in considering the ramifications of what the involvement in *seiðr* could mean for women, and how they may be impacted by it.

Such explicitly phallic associations do not make female involvement with them any more normative than the male involvement. Handling and applying her ritual staff, the female *seiðr* practitioner makes it an extension of herself and her magic will, and indeed in sending out a mind emissary projectile that could be regarded as a phallus, she is in fact projecting a part of herself in this ubiquitously masculine form. This is quite far from an everyday female stereotype, and implies an increased masculine potency within such female *seiðr* workers. Marginalization of female magic practitioners in the sagas has been oft noted and interpreted – once more, from a modern perspective – as marginalization of females in Old Norse society along gender lines (Jochens 1996: 75, Lionarons 1997: 422, Helga Kress 2008: 21–49).²³ But is it not rather that they are depicted as marginal *because* of being magicians and *seiðr*-workers: ergo, not due to being women?²⁴ In other words, it is their association with supernatural powers that becomes the crucial factor in their otherness, not their female gender.

The weakness of the *seiðr*-along-gender-lines argument is that it can be turned the other way. Given the reasoning above, *seiðr* could just as equally be interpreted as a predominantly masculine activity, wherein

²³ Jochens extrapolates that the teaching of *seiðr* practice to priestesses, in Snorri’s account, is a “misogynistic assignment” in itself, given the general “disapproval of *seiðr*” (1996: 75). That Freyja, in the same account by Snorri, had taught it to Óðinn in the first place appears to be conveniently forgotten.

²⁴ It is worth emphasizing that in his expansive opus on Icelandic magicians, Dillmann (2006) singles out all the named sorcerers in the sagas – and the ratio of the females to males is very narrow (he counts 38 female magicians and 32 male ones), shattering the frequently encountered view that magic in medieval Iceland was exclusively a female activity (157). The statistics gathered by Dillmann are very telling, and serve as a precaution against making a hasty generalization based on a single – or a handful of – text(s) while neglecting the others. How often the perceptions and interpretations of medieval Icelandic magicians are colored by such vibrant portrayals as those of Þorbjörg litlivölva from *Eirikes saga rauða* (chapter 4) or Katla from *Eyrbyggja* (ch. 16), while the no less capable (yet more obscure) male magicians like Hallbjörn Slikisteinsauga of *Laxdæla* (ch. 35) or Svanr of *Njála* (ch. 10) remain more or less in the dark. Dillmann elaborates further that being female (or, for *seiðrmenn*, being male) is not to be seen as a pre-condition for working magic (158). Indeed, in following this argument it may be said that gender may not have been a dividing line when it came to magic practice, thereby dispelling the notion of a strictly “gendered” magic activity.

female magicians – not being biologically endowed – compensate for their phallic lacking by the use of symbolic attributes like the (di)staffs. It is worthy of note that just as their name implies, the staffs of the *völur* are wielded exclusively by females in the extant sources; for a male *seiðr* worker, an external phallic attribute would be redundant. Instead of being defined along clearly drawn gender lines, *seiðr* rather seems to affect its practitioners both ways, “otherizing” and marginalizing its wielder no matter the previous gender. It transforms and alters something in that person, marking him or her with a certain degree of sexual abnormality. Although *ergi* as used in the texts appears to imply male shame and unmanliness, the lack of a female counterpart for this term does not have to mean that the female sort of perversion did not exist – or could not have been imagined – within the Old Norse mind. In fact, the *Grágás* law code is quite egalitarian in its frown upon any kind of “otherness”: the male wearing of female clothes as well as female wearing of male clothes are both sufficient grounds for divorce,²⁵ and thus female and male abnormalities are weighed equally.

I.3 Battle magic: *seiðr* and supernatural aggression

We may investigate what transformative effect *seiðr* could have exercised on females by concentrating upon the hostile, aggressive applications of this magic for inflicting or projecting violence. In keeping with Heide’s sexually-charged imagery, a magic *seiðr* attack may be perceived in terms of phallic aggression against a victim. A woman involved with *seiðr* for such hostile purpose is thus attaining increased male potency, as she takes on the role of a phallic aggressor in this act. When *seiðr* is deployed in the context of battle, this becomes even more so: as has been noted in previous scholarship, war and battle are traditionally regarded as male spheres of activity (McLaughlin 1990: 17, Jochens 1996: 87, Præstgaard 2002: 302–303).

An illustration of such transformed, nonstandard female beings may be found in the poem *Darraðarljóð* which is included in *Brennu-Njáls*

²⁵ Kirsten Wolf 1997, citing *Festa-Páttir* section of *Grágás*, p. 155 (Kónungsbók; ed. Vilhjálmur Finsen 1852). On the features of clothing, as described in the sagas, see Jochens 1991, where she analyzes the two divorce-provoking cross-dressings in *Laxdæla saga*, noting that male and female clothing was sex-specific in that each may have been made to accommodate the respective anatomies, especially the male and female pants. Given the design features she discusses, cross-dressing becomes more closely linked with sexual abnormality.

saga. Having set up a grotesque weaving loom where human heads serve as weights, human entrails serve as warp and weft, bloody spears are spindles and arrows are reels, twelve women begin to chant and work this macabre device, singing of battle and of their evidently supernatural empowerment in influencing this battle’s progress: “vindum, vindum / vef Darraðar... / látum eigi / líf hans farask / eigu valkyrjur / vals of kosti”.²⁶ While spinning wool was indeed a part of the daily social reality in medieval Iceland, this activity is depicted here in unwholesome and gruesome tones, as it is linked to gore and violence of war. As these women weave their battle spells, the loom itself becomes “an apparatus of sorcery employed for projection of destruction” (Price 2002: 331). The hostile magic context of this activity changes the way in which it is perceived, and transplants this seemingly familiar daily reality – women weaving – into an “other” dimension (sic). The weaving in this poem takes on a feminine and masculine aspect at the same time: a seemingly feminine work translated into masculine terms and performed with bristling, gore-besmeared weaponry meant to invoke the bloody chaos of war. This cannot but leave an impact on these weavers themselves.

The allusions to *valkyrjur* in *Darraðarljóð* has led many scholars to postulate that the poem depicts its magically potent weavers as being *valkyrjur* themselves (Price 2002: 334). Perhaps the most stereotyped female creatures of the battlefield in public imagination, the *valkyrjur* have often been cast within a framework of fixed gender boundaries – the fate, as seen above, shared by female *seiðr* practitioners at large within some scholarship. The Old Norse sources’ depiction of these supernatural beings of destruction in female shapes, as well as the resulting disregard for the modern conception of clearly defined gender boundaries, posit a difficulty for viewing these characters through the prism of the latter framework. Jenny Jochens, attempting to explain their existence and function, reduces *valkyrjur* to objects of male desire: “forced by nature of their expeditions to be away from home and women”, the sex-deprived viking men “consoled themselves by fantasizing about women” and “indulged in pleasant notions of female winged companions hovering above them during battles” (Jochens 1996: 111) – thus ironically constructing the very same misogynistic attitude towards women in Old Norse sources that she stands in criticism of. Just as in the case of female *seiðr* workers, such an interpretation only polarizes and freezes them in a narrow role

²⁶ Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1944: 457. ‘We wind, we wind / web of spears / we oughtn’t let / his life be lost / *valkyrjur* have choice of [who is] slain.’

within a pre-supposed male domain, but as noted above, there is more to inter-gender dynamics of *seiðr* than this static male-female framework can allow.

Neil Price notes that the image and poetic representation of *valkyrjur* started undergoing transformation even during the Viking Age itself: by mid-tenth century, skaldic poems already were picturing the *valkyrjur* in the way that would be recognizable to Wagner's audiences nine hundred years later: armed and armored maidens on horses, the choosers of the slain for Óðinn's hall. The fact that the Eddic heroic poems tie the *valkyrjur* to mortal heroes, thus humanizing these female creatures, adds to this evolving medieval notion of perceiving them in tragico-romantic light (Price 2002: 334–5). Focusing on the aggressive use of *seiðr* magic in battle context, an alternative view of *valkyrjur* may be constructed which is in line with the present discussion of *seiðr*'s abnormality effect upon its practitioners.

Price compiles an extensive list of names of the *valkyrjur* from the known sources, pointing out that the meanings of these names have to do with battle to varying capacity. In particular, most of the names stand for the chaotic noises and sounds that any Viking age battlefield would be rife with – names such as *Randgniðr*, “shield-scraper”; *Hjalmþrimul*, “helmet-clatter”; *Tanngniðr*, “teeth-grinder” (339–40).²⁷ Such violent and aggressive depictions of these female creatures have led Price to suggest that the *valkyrjur* “once possessed a more terrible aspect as female demons of carnage” that haunted the battlefield (334).

These battle noise connotations of *valkyrjur*'s names bear significant implications for these creatures' ties with the hostile use of *seiðr* in battle context. Taken together with other names of *valkyrjur* such as *Herfjötur*, “host (war) fetter”; *Hrist*, “shaker”; and *Mist*, “cloud/mist” (all three occur in *Grimnismál*, stanza 36), there arises an intriguing correspondence with Óðinn's magic abilities as outlined by Snorri in *Ynglinga saga*, including infliction of confusion or terror upon his enemies in battle (“Óðinn kunningi svo gera, að í orustu urðu óvinir hans blindir eða daufir eða óttafullir [...]”, 17). Based on these parallels, Price suggests that the *valkyrjur* “were in some sense embodiments of Óðinn's powers, representing the same skills”: clouded disorientation in the mind, freezing/fettering the limbs (hesitation in battle), and causing panic. *Darraðarljóð* vividly brings this idea to life in depicting the weavers at work:

²⁷ The names themselves are taken by Price from among the heiti for *valkyrjur* from *pulur* that supplement *Skáldskaparmál* in Snorri's Edda.

Gengr Hildr vefa
ok Hjörþrimul,
Sanngriðr, Svipul
sverðum tognum;
skapt mun gnesta
skjöldr mun bresta,
mun hjalmgagarr
í hlíf koma.²⁸

As if deployed in particular formation, each of the named weaver-*valkyrjur* steps up to their gory apparatus to contribute her share in the working of the magic, part of an orchestrated effort that escalates the chaotic swirl of violence even more. Once again we find these names reflecting the clamor and turbulence of battle, each with its own particular aspect, and the *valkyrjur* could thus be interpreted as projections of Óðinn’s will on the battlefield, whom he dispatches to perform specific magic actions.

Interestingly, one of the more frequently encountered *valkyrja* names in the sources – as well as making an appearance in the above poem – is *Göndul* (stanza 5). Recalling Heide’s observations on the sexual imagery of *seiðr*, this word carries a phallic ramification in no uncertain terms, as outlined above. Yet this still remains the name of a female *valkyrja*, blurring the gender boundaries even further, if not collapsing them. Taking the meaning of her name into account, she herself becomes a phallic magic emissary projectile of aggression in battle, yet at the same time retaining some semblance of a female guise, as she is still apparently a “she” – but to what extent?

The *valkyrjur*’s supernatural, terrifying, and magically potent nature quite divorces them from being thought of as feminine, or even female, and thus the element of dread around them. They are not male, but in their supernatural aggression they are not female either, but rather liminal beings terrifying in their undefinability.²⁹ On the contrary, Óðinn – who engages in acts of war and aggression, and is thus seemingly rooted within adequately masculine behavior – by the power of his involvement

²⁸ Einar Ól. Sveinsson (1944: 455). ‘Goes Hildr to weave / and Hjörþrimul / Sanngriðr, Svipul / with drawn swords; / spears will shatter, / shields will burst, / helm-hound will / come into the shelter [sword will rend into shield/armor].’

²⁹ A comparison may be made to other supernatural “beings of destruction”, notably in female form, that haunt the battlefields in Old Norse imagination – monstrous ogresses and trollwomen deployed in battles who shoot out arrows from their fingers, aggressively emitting magical projectiles – such as Þórgerðr Hólgabruðr encountered in *Jómsvíkinga saga* (on whom see McKinnell 2002), and others in *Örvar Odds saga*. Once again, such characters may hardly be considered feminine at all.

with *seiðr* attains certain degrees of effeminacy, as he sends out aspects (or magical projections) of himself in the female forms of *valkyrjur*.³⁰ Conversely, this implies that these female beings then contain aspects of maleness from Óðinn himself. Thus we may observe how genders, instead of being fixed, are intertwining, intersecting, and interlooping.

I.4 Magic transvestism, and its supernatural gender ramifications

This magically induced gender blur has been further explored by Lotte Motz (1994) in a study of gold bracteate pendants from Migration-age southern Scandinavia, particularly from Denmark, dating between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. Motz draws attention to the bracteates' value as insights into early cultic practices of Old Nordic religious rituals, the former's find context suggesting their magical function and connection to Germanic beliefs. They were frequently discovered near sacred sites and "appear to be votive offerings or grave gifts" (1994: 5). The particular bracteates that interest Motz have a running theme, depicting a single bearded figure with two sets of concentric circles on his chest, his legs being in movement while his arms are positioned in a particular manner – one hand raised upwards towards the chin while the other is touching or covering the genital area. Based on the decorative styles of depicting humanoid figures in Migration-age Europe, such "cup-like elevations on the human chest almost universally mark a female being", while facial hair universally suffices to denote masculinity (ibid. 10; but see also 8–9 where the images of bracteates in question are provided).

In the light of these bracteates' connection to cultic sites, Motz interprets these strange bearded and prominently nipped figures in a shamanic ritual context, suggesting that these may be images of sexually abnormal beings in performance of a magic act (ibid. 12). Given the symbolic and schematic style of bracteates' visual portrayals, the fact that these evidently male figures are depicted with enlarged and prominent nipples must bear some significance. Motz notes further that "some form of sexual perversion in the context of magical or religious activity" is encountered as a topos throughout ancient and modern cultures"

³⁰ Curiously, one of Óðinn's many names is *Göndli*, which occurs in *Grímnismál* stanza 49 as well as *Gylfaginning* stanza 20, and which has been translated as "controller of the valkyrja Göndul" (Tolley 1995:69). Of course, given Óðinn's numerous erotic adventures and conquests, we should not assume that this name refers only to the wielding of the *valkyrja* and nothing else.

(ibid. 13), and offers an extensive account of cases in shamanic practices worldwide to defend that claim – such as the belief found among indigenous Siberians that “a change of sex increases a shaman’s powers”; myths found among the Koryaks wherein “a transformed shaman may even give birth to children”; ritual male-to-female transvestism among Yakuts and some Native American tribes, as well as among ancient Akkadian, Greek, and Indic societies – and many other instances of similar cultic sexual abnormalities (ibid. 14). The liminality resulting from a deviation from the norm and the blurring of gender lines was regarded as source of sacred power, and – as Motz writes – pointed towards a belief “that a union of male and female elements in one person would create a superior being” (Motz 1994b: 596).

Motz is far from being the only one to have elaborated upon this gender-blurring pattern in supernatural activity in Nordic contexts. Neil Price (2002: 271–2), in analyzing burials of magic practitioners in late-Iron Age Scandinavia, includes a description of a man buried in female clothes, together with unusual items thought to be magic paraphernalia. The “tendency for shamanic practices to involve systematic gender transgression” has been noted by Alaric Hall (2007: 143), while Clive Tolley observes that “sexually liminal position brings with it supernatural powers” (2009:149). In a recent archaeological study, Brit Solli (2008) explores the so-called “holy white stones” associated with Early Iron Age Scandinavian burials from a queer perspective, pointing out that the stones simultaneously resemble both male and female genitalia. When it comes to supernatural creatures of both genders, each appears to have appropriated qualities associated with its opposite. Hence the discussion of the (female) *dísir* as warlike and potentially violently aggressive by Gunnell (2000) and Lionarons (2005), as well as the discussion of (male) *álfar* as “optimistic, gentle, and tender creatures of great brightness and goodness” by Ármann Jakobsson (2006: 237).

Seen within this broader context of magic androgyny, it is tempting to interpret Motz’s bearded and breasted figures on bracteates as the early Scandinavian equivalents of sexual abnormality that later came to be associated with *seiðr* and its *ergi* (Motz 1994b: 596). The bracteate figures’ hands that grip or cover their genital areas certainly account for an element of obscene sexual practice, and with their enlarged nipples those figures themselves appear to be sexually perverted, transfigured within the ritual practice of this magic. As early Scandinavian societies and religious belief systems underwent considerable development and dynamic change through the centuries leading to the time of the written Old

Norse sources, the attitudes towards sexual abnormality within cultic context could not have remained unchanged. What may have once been regarded as sacral could eventually have become taboo and led to being regarded as obscene and perverse.³¹

If there is indeed a parallel between the bracteates in Motz's study and *seiðr* with its *ergi*, then it carries noteworthy ramifications for the discussion at hand. Liminal androgyny in a ritual act may be the target state for the practitioner wherein he or she attains enhanced magic potency and becomes empowered to work the sorcery towards a desired result. This may explain the perverse nature of *seiðr*, as it does not leave the practitioner unmarked – as well as explain why the females are pulled towards increased masculinity while the reverse is the case for males who engage in this craft. Furthermore, androgyny implies a certain sense of balance. Too much of either extreme may be liable to defeat the purpose of this magic inter-gender liminality as it would only thrust the practitioner too far into his or her opposite, prompting the achieved equilibrium to collapse.

I.5 Supernatural inter-gender continuum

Having thus traced the inter-gender variability and dynamism inherent in the *seiðr* complex, a diagram may be constructed in an attempt to express this dynamic nature of varying degrees of sexual abnormalities encountered in the above examination of the sources.

The limitation of this diagram, dictated by its static graphic medium, is to be addressed at once. The spatial connotation of liminal inter-gender “otherness”, represented as the oval-shaped continuum, would be more appropriately imagined as a three-dimensional sphere, thus multiplying exponentially the amount of possible locations and variations within it. The intent is to illustrate the sizable ‘gulf’ of gender ambiguity lying between the Old Norse conceptions of masculine and feminine within the discursive space of *seiðr*'s supernatural empowerment.³² Rather than be-

³¹ On the dynamic development and variation within Old Norse belief systems, and the changing religious attitudes caused by the passage of centuries (and not the least, by the Christian conversion), may be cited McKinnell's *Both One and Many* (1994) where these perspectives are explored at great length.

³² The term ‘discursive space’ in relation to the *seiðr* complex is meant to underline that the latter encompassed an inclusive spectrum of variable conceptions and understandings in medieval Icelandic textual sources. It was more than the sum of its parts (which were themselves obscure) and, as noted by Neil Price, “by the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when many of the *fornaldarsögur* were composed, *seiðr* had become incorporated into the general stock of fantastic magical phenomena” (Price 2002: 67).

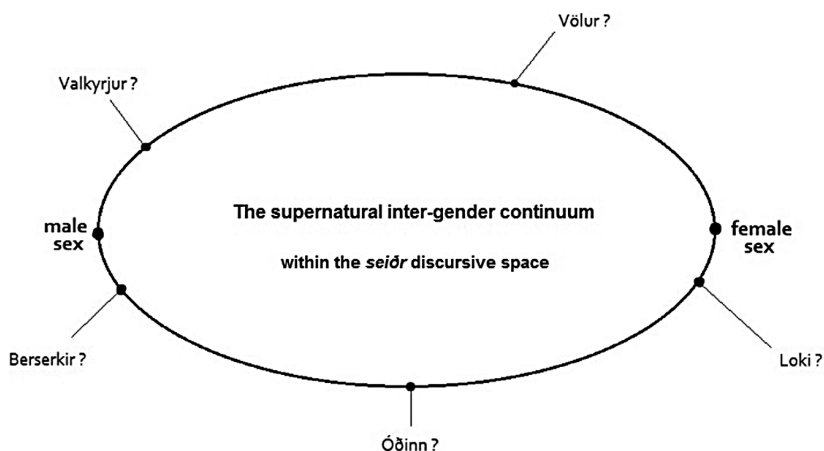


Diagram 1. Dynamics of sexual abnormality in characters within the *seiðr* discursive space.

ing seen as binary either/or, they are but points on the inter-gender continuum, and thus they are themselves more relative than this two-dimensional representation allows. It is impossible to altogether avoid categorization in enforcing graphic structure on such dynamic and variable conceptions, and what appears in the diagram as polarization, namely the placement of male and female magic activities near the stereotyped gender polarities, is meant precisely to illustrate how stretchable and fluid they can be, for they are not at all limited to the singular male and female points on the diagram, and it is rather unclear where one ends and the opposite begins. For example, a stereotypically masculine magic activity of an aggressive outward projection of an emissary could at the same time be regarded as female activity of birth, bringing out or indeed expelling a certain part of oneself, thus externalizing it – depending on the context and on the performer.

Men cannot be made more masculine by *seiðr* as it would not result in liminal potency, and thus when they employ it in the sources (like Óðinn’s battle tricks or a *seiðmaðr*’s malicious spell on Gísli) it is to work things in a more subtle way; to manipulate events into happening not bluntly or straightforwardly, but as if from behind the scenes, to orchestrate situations and bring desired outcomes into being. The rather feminine (in our modern normative conception) capacity to perceive, contain, and notice such delicate subtleties around them could be the very result of *ergi* and sexual abnormality that they undergo in performing their magic acts – such abnormality then is no mere side effect, but the central

enabler. The female parallel of this magic use resulting in perversion in the opposite direction we have already explored at length in our consideration of magical female weavers and *valkyrjur*.

Of course there are also instances of *völur* engaged in prophecy and foreknowledge, such as Þórbjörg lítillvölva in *Eiríks saga rauða* – thus females within female spheres. But there may be noted a different attitude in the sources towards the *seiðr* women who are engaged in beneficial, and indeed nurturing (feminine) uses of magic – they are regarded with respect and even admiring awe, but not with terror. Yet even these benevolent *völur* conduct themselves with a degree of commanding authority, and coupled with their phallic ritual staffs, these are in no way stereotypically delicate feminine women – thus belonging to yet another gender dimension within *seiðr*. It is only the females which use magic for hostile, violent, and aggressive purposes who are marginalized in the sources and regarded with terror: contrary to their feminine nurturing inclinations, such beings of destruction are female in but a name.

Although they do not fall within a strictly supernatural magical context, it may be noted that the *meykóngar*, or maiden kings, in *riddarasögur* conduct themselves in accordance with this diagram.³³ They govern their kingdoms in sovereign authority and may fight in campaigns to preserve their rulership, but they do not stay maiden kings forever: they marry themselves off to appropriate suitors and become wives, thus redressing their acute masculine bend with a strong bend in the opposite, feminine direction, balancing themselves out.³⁴ It must be stated that the

³³ Eric Wahlgren, in his pioneering 1938 study on “maiden kings” which was responsible for coining this term, distinguishes them as a distinct literary motif, popular in Icelandic romance literature to the point that the imported queen characters became re-stamped as *meykóngar* in many *lygisögur* (1938: 20–21). The distinguishing characteristics of the maiden king formula is summarized by Marianne Kalinke: “1. the desired bride is the sole ruler, *meykóngr...* of a country [...]; 2. she disdains and mistreats all suitors; 3. like other suitors, the hero is humiliated and rejected...; 4. the hero returns to engage in a battle of wits and wiles with the misogamous ruler; 5. only after the hero has discerned the woman’s major flaw is he able to outwit and then marry her” (Kalinke 1990: 36). For a recent discussion on the development of the *meykóngar* narratives in medieval Iceland vis-à-vis the *fornaldarsögur*, see Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir 2012.

³⁴ Hervör has been featured alongside maiden kings in multiple gender-themed studies that sought to reconcile maiden warrior figures with their femininity (Wahlgren 1938, Clover 1986, Helga Kress 1993, Jochens 1996, Normann 2000, Layher 2007). Given that Hervör is not a sovereign ruler of a country before her marriage but an active campaigner in a band of vikings, she does not qualify for Kalinke’s above-quoted paradigm and I do not consider Hervör as maiden king within the scope of present study. *Hervarar saga* never refers to her as *meykóngur*, and neither is she ever called a ‘shield maiden’, unlike her granddaughter of the same name.

positioning of characters within the diagram is not meant to be definite, fixed, or conclusive, and is only intended as an approximation for visual purposes.

II. The case of Hervör

II.1 Exposition

It is now time to approach *Hervarar saga* through the previously established prism of magic gender dynamics and *seiðr* transfiguration. This is a saga thoroughly saturated with supernatural otherness – more notable in the Hauksbók manuscript version,³⁵ which begins with painting a mental geographic map of the known regions to set the scene – the said regions extending to “Jötunheimar norðr í Finnmörk”, where giants and their wise king Guðmundr “lifðu marga mannzaldra”, spelling immortality for anyone who arrives to that place.³⁶ Hauksbók’s thematic compilation points to an interest in geography and historiography, and *Hervarar saga*’s inclusion among such texts as *Landnámabók*, *Eiríks saga rauða*, and *Völuspá* (with the latter’s own cosmological and spatial preoccupations) suggests that it was seen by the compiler as belonging to the same reality as its vellum neighbors.

In light of this, there need not be an explicit mention of *seiðr* in Hervör’s story for the audience to be able to perceive her in terms of deviant transfiguring “otherness”: even her very name *Hervör* already suggests it, which she shares with a *valkyrja* from *Völundarkviða*. A more unique name could have been chosen for this memorable mortal heroine to single her out more in the minds of the audience, and the use of this valkyric association could scarcely have been unintentional. Already from birth, the name she carried contained a blueprint of her life: *her-* denoting an army host or a retinue of warriors, and *-vör* implying caution or warning, perhaps with the sense of battle readiness or a warrior’s sharpened awareness (Price 2002: 339).

True to the gender-blurring liminality and terrible aspect of her valkyric namesake, Hervör already in her early days shows a strong affinity for

³⁵ This is the oldest extant version of *Hervarar saga*, dating to the first decade of fourteenth century (Hall 2005:2).

³⁶ Jón Helgason 1924: 1. ‘Jötunheimar north of Finnmörk’ – whose denizens ‘live [for] many ages of men’.

violent activities rather than to feminine pursuits, and even spends time in the forest as a highwayman (*stigamann*), killing travelers for their possessions.³⁷ Hervör's violent behavior stems from yet another supernatural source: it is to be remembered that her father, Angantýr, was a *berserker*, and a theme of offspring inheriting their parents' characteristics is a recurring one in the sagas.³⁸ The forest outsider motif is strongly reminiscent of Sigmundr and Sinfjotli's time spent in the woods as magically transformed wolves who kill travelers in *Völsunga saga* (yet another example of a child following in his father's footsteps). "Fæðisk úlfr í skógi", quoth an Old Norwegian rune poem,³⁹ and Hervör's murderous forest adventure – in light of her father's character – now takes on an even darker dimension. She too undergoes a shape-shifting, albeit not animalistic but gender-based. She quit being a regular girl long ago – and may have never been one to begin with.

Having learned her deceased father's true identity and lineage, Hervör sets out to the terror-haunted barrows of Sámsey to claim the magic sword Tyrfingr that is buried with her *berserker* father and uncles.⁴⁰ The cross-dressing that she undertakes at this point – changing not only into male clothes, but into the male name Hervarðr as well – transports her even deeper into the inter-gender space, and I suggest that her cross-dressing, in the light of its gender-blurring liminality, functioned as preparation for the supernatural encounter that awaited her at Sámsey. She equips herself as if for battle, expecting a confrontation (could this yet again be her name's meaning reflected in her actions?), and by the virtue of undergoing such a deep-rooted deviation from the norm, she attains

³⁷ The mention of *stigamann* does not occur in the Hauksbók version, but it occurs in Tolkien's edition whose earlier chapters are based primarily on the R redaction (1960: 10), or in Jón Helgason's edition which does include both redactions (1924: 15, line 6).

³⁸ A similar darkly violent streak, as well as precocious bloodthirstiness, may be found in Egill Skallagrímsson, who inherited it from his father as well as from his shape-shifting grandfather. Meanwhile, Hervör's own granddaughter will inherit not only her name but her affinity for battle-arms as well. The Hauksbók version of the saga takes this familial legacy to a darker level by elaborating on the circumstance of Hervör's birth: "þótti flestum ráð, at út væri borit, ok sögðu, at eigi mundi konuskap hafa, ef föðurfrændum yrði líkt". (Jón Helgason 1924: 14. 'It was thought advisable to most that it [the child] be exposed, and they said that it would not have female disposition if it were like its father's relatives.') Considering the deeply supernatural genealogy which this saga version provides for her, extending all the way to Hergrím, who was "risi ok bergbúi" (ibid: 1. 'a giant and a mountain-dweller'), this fear may come as no surprise. Hervör's *berserker* father and uncles, furthermore, were mythic enough to be listed in *Hyndluljóð* stanzas 25 and 26.

³⁹ Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957: 668. 'A wolf grows up in a forest.'

⁴⁰ Contrary to the puzzling claim in Norrman 2000, Hervör's motivation has nothing to do with avenging her father's death.

enhanced magic potency to face the horrors of the island as well as the dead in their mounds, and to get from them what she wants. The power of Hervör’s deepening abnormality is made all the greater by the fact that she requests her mother to prepare her for her journey “sem þú son myndir” – thus, in effect, asking of her matriarch to undergo a full rebirth in this new guise.⁴¹ Hervör/Hervarðr’s affiliation with a group of vikings she encounters on her way – not only succeeding in seamlessly blending into their seasoned battle-hardened ranks but also assuming authority and command over this weathered crew – pushes her even further into the masculine dimension of inter-gender space. It is crucial to note that after Hervör’s cross-dressing takes place, the saga narrator proceeds to refer to this character as Hervarðr, using masculine pronouns – implicitly suggesting that she succeeds in crossing so deep into the opposite as to become male in all but biological terms.

II.2 The Sámsey confrontation

But what occurs on the island itself, and how does Hervör’s gender-blurring transformation figure into the equation? This is where the magic begins. Having worked herself into this utterly warlike and masculine state of being, she is unfazed by the otherworldly terrors which are enough to send even her viking companions into flight. Striding across the island full of blazing barrow-fires, “óð hón eldana sem reyk”⁴²: so strong is her unyielding resolve to get to her destination that she does not even appear to feel the burning heat of those flames, driving herself onward as if in a trance, oblivious of any pain or terror.

Having worked up the sense of dominant authority to perform the magic act of summoning the dead, standing there before them as a full-

⁴¹ Jón Helgason 1924: 17. ‘...as you would [prepare] a son.’ The extended exchange of verses between Hervör and her grandfather jarl, wherein she learns of her father’s identity, as well as the verses she speaks to her mother prior to her expeditoin are absent from the Hauksbók manuscript version, wherein the scribe fills in Hervör’s motivation to depart in a more straightforward way: “brott vil ek heðan, því at ekki fæ ek hér yndi”. (ibid. ‘I want [to go] away from here, because I will not gain here delight.’) The fact that she is still heading for Sámsey and is aware of her lineage, without having been told of it in this specific text, may indicate a lacuna of the abovementioned verses, that the scribe prosaically patched over to keep the narrative moving. Within the specific context of the Hauksbók version, however, the absence of the verse exchange with the jarl (as well as the thralls’ accusation of a base descent which leads up to the revelation of Hervör’s true parentage) may have led Hauksbók’s audience to consider that Hervör’s lineage may not have been hidden from her in this particular text.

⁴² Jón Helgason 1924: 21. ‘She waded [through] fire like smoke.’

fledged warrior in battle gear, aggressive and determined, it is however her female name “Hervör” that she uses in her invocation, as well as the word “daughter” – setting the tone for Angantýr’s response where he will also call her by these female names: “Vaki þú, Angantýr, / vekr þik Hervör, / eingadóttir [sic]...”⁴³ Suddenly we are faced with another negation of clear-cut gender identities in our modern sense. As immersed into the realm of masculinity as Hervör is at this point – indeed, as noted above, she seems to have reached the veritable critical limit of it – she refuses to let it define her entire being and thus pin her into a single-sided gender polarity from which she strove to free herself in the first place. Thus, by using her female name in her male guise, she balances out the male and the female within her, and maintains her liminal androgyny by blurring the gender lines yet again. Having reached her opposite male “otherness”, she swings the scale back to maintain a certain state of “otherness within otherness” – neither fish nor fowl – wherein she attains enhanced magic potency, just as other supernaturally empowered androgynous beings that we discussed.

It is this coveted inner state of indefinable magic inter-genderness that allows Hervör to turn her supernatural aggression up a few notches and threaten the following: “Ek vígi svá / virða dauða, / at þér skuluð / allir liggja / dauðir með draugum / í dys fúnir...”⁴⁴

This magical empowerment to impose one’s ruinous devastating will over the addressee and bind him under one’s control is fully within the spectrum of hostile *seiðr*, as we have seen from the previous chapter, and as *seiðr* enters the scene, so does the sexual abnormality that goes along with it. The use of her female name and female connotations notwithstanding, Hervör’s aggressive threat of working a violent spell turns her into a supernaturally-empowered projector of destruction, and leads her into yet another dimension within the magic inter-gender continuum, especially coupled with her male clothing: what is inside that armor is indeed far from female, leading Angantýr to remark:

Kveðkat ek þik, mæðr ung,
mönnum líka,
er þú um hauga
hvarfar á nóttum
gröfnum geiri

⁴³ *ibid*: 22. ‘Awake, Angantýr, / Hervör wakes you, / the only-daughter...’

⁴⁴ *ibid*: 28. ‘I ensorcel thus, / dead men, / that you all shall lie / dead with the ghosts / in rotten grave...’ Hauksbók is the only redaction which preserves this and the following stanza.

ok með Gota málm,
 hjálmi ok með brynju
 fyrir hallar dyrr.⁴⁵

Even the ghostly slain *berserker*, himself a liminal creature summoned from a world beyond, wonders at Hervör’s sexual abnormality and otherness that marks her even visibly – and perhaps, with the insight of a *draugr*, reminding her of this increasing terrifying alteration as a hint to cease before it becomes too late. Hervör’s response is double-edged, bearing at once an apparent negation of the *draugr*’s remark while at the same time containing a darker meaning: “Maðr þóttumk ek / mennskr til þessa, / áðr ek sali yðra / sækja réðak...”⁴⁶ *Til þessa*, she singles out, referring to the present “now” of her quest, which may in equal measure be construed as an acknowledgment of the transformation already taking effect within her.

Her supernatural empowerment escalates, as does her unrelenting obsession with laying claim on Tyrfingr to the utter disregard of all the warnings and dire prophesies uttered by her father. When Angantýr finally unveils the sword as it lies wrapped up in the hellish barrow fires (judging by this climactic placement within the poem, a revelation intended to cause the greatest mortal terror) and gloats that he knows no maiden who would dare to take it, Hervör’s proclamation of will to do exactly that – “Ek man hirða ok í hendr nema...” – is double-edged once again.⁴⁷ On one hand, it is a forceful statement of defiance and intent to prove him wrong; and on the other, with her supernatural empowerment, male war attire, and yet maintaining a female name and terms of address within this dialogue, she becomes a being not limited by any gender at all, thus enabling her to circumnavigate the *draugr*’s stated condition in the way that it was formulated.⁴⁸ Here is that *berserker* madness

⁴⁵ *ibid.* ‘I do not declare you, young maiden, / human-like, / as you walk about / the mounds in the night / with engraved spear / and with Goths’ metal / with helm and with mail / before the door of the halls.’

⁴⁶ *ibid.* ‘Human enough I seemed until this, ere your halls I decided to seek...’

⁴⁷ *ibid.*: 29. “Liggr mér und herðum / Hjálmar’s bani, / allr er hann útan / eldi sveipinn; / mey veit ek enga / moldar hvergi / at þann hjör þori / í hendr nema.” (‘Hjálmar’s bane lies under my shoulders, it is wrapped in fire all about; nowhere on earth do I know a maiden who that sword would dare in hand to take.’ – To which Hervör responds, ‘I will keep and take in hand...’)

⁴⁸ When it comes to magic matters, a concern for precise wording in formulating pre-conditions for the magic to take effect is a common folkloric theme across many cultures, as any loopholes in such wording may be exploited (as may be seen in Higley 1991:138 – wherein a Welsh spell with elaborate pre-conditions is discussed in the comparative context of Norse magic).

fully awakening in her, and her verbalized intent to throw herself into the barrow's fire to grasp the sword – having reached this magically empowered ecstatic state⁴⁹ – is what causes Angantýr's paternal instinct to take over and relinquish the weapon, for the sake of preventing her reckless death.⁵⁰

II.3 I Dovregubbens hall

Due to Tyrfingr's curse to take a life each time it is drawn, Hervör's taking possession of it translates into always having this physical magic attribute at her side that links her to the masculine realm of war and aggressive violence. Now that the scale has been tipped significantly towards this masculine dimension, threatening to upset the liminal balance of Hervör's potent androgyny, it is tempting to view the remaining episodes of her story as her conscious efforts to maintain that balance within her. After the supernatural confrontation at Sámsey, the saga relates that she still went on viking expeditions under the name Herverðr as before – but with a powerful magic attribute of the masculine dimension weighing considerably upon her, she now needed something that will trigger her proportionally just as much into the female dimension. The saga narrative goes on to describe Herverðr's visit at king Guðmundr's court,⁵¹ and as it serves as a turning point in this hero(ine)'s career it is worth quoting in full:

⁴⁹ Hervör's claim that “þegar loga lægir, / er ek lít yfir” (Jón Helgason 1924: 30, 'immediately the flame sinks as I look upon it') at this point may be read as a testimony to the magnitude of her supernatural empowerment, but this does not exclude sheer madness-driven recklessness.

⁵⁰ “Heimsk ertu, Hervör / hugar eigandi, / er þú at augum / í eld hrapar. / Ek vil heldr selja þér / sverð ór haugi...” (ibid: 'Foolish are you, Hervör, possessing courage, that you open-eyed rush into the fire. I will rather yield to you the sword from the mound...')

⁵¹ The court of Guðmundr receives no detailed description in *Hervarar saga*, apart from attention given to it in the episode quoted on the pages. Guðmundr, however, appears to have been a known – yet at the same time, enigmatic and obscure – legendary figure in multiple medieval sources. Hilda R. Ellis Davidson, in her study of journeys to the land of the dead, notes that “a realm closely connected with the dead seems to lie beside his, and sometimes his own land is given a supernatural character also, when we are told that in it lies Óðainsakr – the ‘land of the not-dead’” (1943:185). In the account of Saxo Grammaticus, Guðmundr's realm lies in the far north, and beyond it is only the darkness-enfolded land of death and decay (Saxo: Book 8). Ellis Davidson also cites *Þáttr Þorsteins Bæarmagnis* as another source on this enigmatic king, this time casting Guðmundr himself, whose gigantic stature is given notice (as a ruler of Jötunheim, why not make him a giant?), in the role of a traveller to the dark lands in the far northern beyond. Here too is mentioned that “*Guðmundr* is said to be a title adopted by each of the kings of Glasisvellir when they as-

Einn dag, er Guðmundr lék skáktafl ok hans tafl var mjök svá farit, þá spurði hann, ef nokkurr kynni honum ráð til at leggja. Þá gekk til Hervarðr ok lagði litla stund til, áðr Guðmundar var vænna. Þá tók maðr upp Tyrfing ok brá; þat sá Hervarðr ok þreif af honum sverðit ok drap hann ok gekk út síðan. Menn vildu hlaupa eptir honum. Þá mælti Guðmundr: “verið kvirrir!, ekki man svá mikil hefnd í manninum sem þér ætlið, því at þér vitið ekki, hvern hann er; man þessi kvennmaðr yðr dýrkeypt, áðr þér fáið hans líf.” Síðan var Hervör langa stund í hernaði ok varð mjök sigrsæl, ok er henni leiddiz þat, fór hón heim til jarls, móðurföður síns; fór hún þá fram sem aðrar meyjar, at vandiz við borða ok hannyrðir.⁵²

A question may be asked: what really gave away Hervarðr’s identity? The positioning of the board game advice directly next to the slaying of a man who drew Tyrfing suggests that they have something to do with each other. One, or both, of these activities provided Guðmundr with a clue to recognize that his guest was in fact female. It may be supposed that the renown of Tyrfingr was such that many knew of its previous berserkr ownership and that Angantýr had only a daughter – but if the sword was so instantly recognizable, then the question of Hervarðr’s sex would have never arisen, thus negating the very purpose of the male guise. Could there be anything in the board game activity, then, that may be regarded as revealing?

The nature of the game advice is an advice from behind the scenes, having first taken in the whole picture of the situation on the board and then devising particular moves or stratagems for the active player to follow. Since the game of *tafl* is representational of a table-top battle – complete with a king game piece that needs to be attacked or defended – was

end the throne”. What these multiple accounts of Guðmundr appear to have in common, then, is the placement of his domain in the far North, “and in emphasizing the fact that the way to reach it is through mist and darkness and intense cold” (189). A very different reading emerges for this episode in *Hervarar saga*, when the aforementioned is taken into account, as Hervör – once again as Hervarðr – proceeds from the liminal zone of Sámsey and ends up in a place on the edge of the known legendary world, which is no less fraught with supernatural wonders, and may be even more difficult and perilous to reach.

⁵² Jón Helgason 1924: 33–34. ‘One day, when Gudmundr played chess and his pieces were much beset, he asked if anyone could offer him advice. Then Hervarðr went forward and advised for a little while, ere Gudmundr’s situation improved. Then a man took up Tyrfing and drew it; Hervarðr saw that and grabbed the sword from him and killed him, and afterwards went out. People wanted to run after him. Then said Gudmundr: “Be calm! One would not get as much vengeance from the man as you think, since you don’t know who he is; this woman would be dearly-bought for you ere you take his [sic] life.” Afterwards was Hervör for a long time in military campaigns and was much victorious, and when it wearied her she went home to the Jarl, her mother’s father; she carried forth there like other maidens, at work with weaving and embroidering.’

it not Hervör's rather *valkyrja*-like intervention in this "battle", not to mention manipulating it towards a desired outcome and ensuring victory – that gave her away? The manner in which the advice has been served, moreover, positions it more within the feminine sphere of activity with its indirect, behind-the-scenes instruction (versus a direct and dominant involvement that is more of a masculine sphere feature). That Hervör voluntarily came forward to offer such advice in precisely this rather feminine manner could be regarded as her means of balancing out the violent direct masculinity that Tyrfingr brings out in her. The positioning of these two scenes next to each other certainly juxtaposes Hervör's opposite magic-empowered dimensions; it is as if the sword, dooming its wielder to kill each time it is drawn, has by now become a heavy anchor that constantly poses a threat of inner misbalance. Viewed in this light, Hervör's offer of advice could even be regarded as a provocation to be unmasked – a way to begin regaining her liminal equilibrium that Tyrfingr's curse has thrown into disorder. Leaving the sword unattended, thus inviting it to be picked up and unsheathed by any unsuspecting admirer, may be seen as another such provocation, as it is this killing which has directly triggered the revelation.

Once perceived as a female – even within the above-quoted words of Guðmundr (who, after calling her a "kvennmaðr", still finishes the sentence with a masculine pronoun referring to her)⁵³ – Hervör's "otherness" returns and she is once again within the balanced inter-gender space, being both a reputedly fierce warrior and a female to boot. Hervör's subsequent expeditions are now undertaken in the text as the saga narrator resorts to the usage of female pronouns in describing her⁵⁴ – which

⁵³ Although Guðmundr is being grammatically consistent (the word "kvennmaðr" is grammatically masculine), his usage of this particular word to denote Hervör as a female effectively adds to gender trouble inherent in this episode, given the context. As the legendary king of "otherness" – and a liminal being himself – which he may well be, given Glasisvellir's position on the very periphery of the known world, it may not be a surprise at all that he is able to recognize who Herverðr is, even under (or perhaps, because of!) the increasingly heavy effects of alterity that immersion into *seiðr* is taking upon her. As a king of Jötunheimar, his may be the vast knowledge of occult lore and other cosmic mysteries that are accessible to its denizens – as evidenced by the eponymous *jötun* sage of *Vafþrúðnismál*, and as argued by Lotte Motz (1988) in her study of giants in their capacity of being magic teachers and initiators.

⁵⁴ In the previously-cited quote detailing Hervör's return home ("...Síðan var Hervör langa stund í hernaði ok varð mjök sigrsæl, ok er henni leiddiz þat, fór hón heim til jarls..."), the Hauksbók manuscript contains the masculine name "hervarðr" [sic] in place of "Hervör" in the above sentence. All printed standardized editions of the saga (including Jón Helgason's and Tolkien's) substitute the feminine "Hervör" name in its place, on the basis that *sigrsæl*, *henni*, and *hón* follow it (Jón Helgason 1924: 34), with the obviously feminine gender of these words (which are all unambiguously present in the Hauksbók

by now in no way obstructs her from keeping within her degree of inter-gender liminality, being counterweighed by her far-reaching reputation as well as by the dark violent potential of magic Tyrfingr.

The analyses of Hervör in previous scholarship tend to stop at the point of her return home, considering it a conclusion and a closing chapter to her story (Helga Kress 1993, Jochens 1996, Norrman 2000, Tulinus 2002, Layher 2007, Kozák 2009). But she is not out of the saga just yet, and neither is the supernatural impact upon her may be said to be over. Anatoly Liberman has written on warrior figures – albeit strictly focusing on the *berserkrir* – in the context of *Íslendingasögur*, with a particular emphasis on their apparent inability to fit within the framework of society around them, approaching them from a sociological perspective as displaced soldiers who find themselves out of action (2003: 340).⁵⁵ For Hervör, herself a veteran returning home after spending a long time in military campaigns, and in possession of a magic weapon to boot, it is somewhat difficult to imagine a seamless and instantaneous integration into the household where she had not been an integral part before.⁵⁶

The saga reports that she now immerses in feminine pursuits and patterns of behavior, just like other maidens. After having gone through such heavy and deep-reaching transformations as she did while being Hervarðr – culminating in the supernatural terrors as well as the magic that she engaged in at Sámsey (and considering her *berserkr* lineage and valkyrie connotations), Hervör would never be “sem aðrar meyjar.”⁵⁷ The extent to which she now immerses in the feminine sphere is only an indication of how profound an effect her years spent as Hervarðr have had upon her – and not the least because she still has Tyrfingr in her pos-

manuscript – fol. 74v). Without attempting to guess in futility whether this gender mismatch is due to a scribal slip, this sentence – when taken as it appears in the manuscript – may be seen as an added gender blur. Hervarðr’s/Hervör’s positioning within the inter-gender continuum is shifting before the audience in mid-sentence, and after Guðmundr’s revelation, Hervarðr begins to attain femininity by degrees.

⁵⁵ “With the end of the viking epoch, professional warriors found themselves unemployed. ... Displaced soldiers typically became urban riffraff. Unused to resistance, irascible, and thoroughly unhappy, former vikings often developed psychoses that plagued the middle ages (cf. St. Vitus dance, flagellants), the violent analogs of depression, the scourge of our time [...] The very word ‘berserkr’, like the word ‘víkingr’, acquired highly negative connotations. Gangs of such outcasts (young, unmarried, destitute men in their prime) became the bane of farmer’s life in Norway, and later in Iceland” (Liberman 2003: 340).

⁵⁶ As quoted earlier, Hervör’s reason for leaving home in the first place had been “því at ekki fæ ek hér yndi.” (‘because I will not gain delight here.’) – Thus the Hauksbók version (Jón Helgason 1924:17). Or, as Hervör acknowledges to her mother in other redactions prior to her departure, “satt eitt mun mér / í svefn bera, / fæ ek ekki hér / yndi í næsta.” (‘A truth was borne to me in sleep, I will gain no delight here now.’ Tolkien 1960:13)

⁵⁷ Jón Helgason 1924: 34. ‘...like other maidens.’

session, and thus a gateway into the sphere of violence and aggression, which she needs to keep in constant balance.

There is a change of setting, however, as Guðmundr's son Höfundr receives Hervör's consent to marry her, and takes her home with him.⁵⁸ (Presumably they had seen each other at Guðmundr's court, when Hervör was still Hervarðr, so he knew what he was getting). In keeping with the Hauksbók manuscript version's opening geography, it must be inferred that Höfundr is taking Hervör back to his home in Jötunheimar on the world's periphery, where Guðmundr's court had been, a liminal place perhaps more in line with Hervör's own alterity.⁵⁹

The after-effects of supernatural martial immersion continue to flicker in the background, embodied by her son Heiðrekr who follows in her early footsteps in doing more ill than all the good done by his brother.⁶⁰ There may be more to the fact that he is singled out as her favorite (*ibid.*) than her own dark undercurrent: as she confronted her dead father on Sámsey, he singled Heiðrekr out as her son who is destined for greatness as Tyrfingr's future inheritor (*st.*18). As has been repeatedly noted in studies of the otherworld in Old Norse context, the dead are known to possess prophetic insight (Ellis Davidson 1943, Price 2002, Bonnetain 2006, Gunnell 2006). While it is beyond the scope of this study to engage in the complicated question of whether the otherworldly foresight actually manipulates events into happening, it is enough to say at this point that Angantýr's forecast from beyond the grave may well have contributed to Hervör's particular relationship with Heiðrekr.⁶¹ Perhaps both the daughter and the father in that Sámsey encounter are the "victims of a predetermined fate", as John McKinnell recently suggested, "of which Hervör is the ignorant, headlong agent, while Angantýr can foresee but is powerless to prevent it" (2014: 309).

The last glimpse we have of Hervör in the saga, mirroring her entrance into it, is in the context of weaponry – when she hands the sword Tyrfingr to Heiðrekr before he departs, acquainting him with the weapon and its magic features and instructing him in its use. In passing on the

⁵⁸ *ibid.* "...ok fær ok flytr heim."

⁵⁹ On a note more mythological than legendary (there may have been, after all, multiple different conceptions of Jötunheimar in circulation), Jón Karl Helgasson points it out as an outside place perceived to be beyond the social norms, gender included. (2002: 161)

⁶⁰ Jón Helgason 1924: 34. Heiðrekr's transgressive nature and disregard for social norms carries an air of Óðinnic deviance, and Óðinn's interest in him in the later part of the saga comes as no surprise.

⁶¹ To quote Sarah Connor from the 1984 film *The Terminator*, "Well, at least now I know what to name him".

legacy represented by the sword to her son, she is more of a father-figure in this scene than a “meek” queen as some believe her to be (Jochens 1996: 99) – retaining her gender ambiguity in her actions, if no longer in her assumed name.

II.4 Between the worlds

To illustrate Hervör’s liminal gender-blur, as well as her ongoing balancing act to keep within the state of supernaturally empowered androgyny, the following diagram may be constructed of her early life, starting at her childhood and moving counterclockwise around to her return home and marriage (the Hauksbók manuscript’s single – and singular – non-sequitur occurrence of the name “Hervarðr” after the Guðmundr episode is discussed in footnote 54 above).

Instead of being conceived of as polarizing opposites, both the male and the female sex in this representation carries within it certain elements of the other, and a question of where one ends and the other begins is out of place in such a dynamic and fluctuating organism. Instead of interpreting Hervör from a modern fixed framework of male-female dichotomy, exploring her story from the supernatural context of *seiðr* has yielded a perspective on the innumerable possible locations, variations, and fluctuations within the inter-gender continuum.

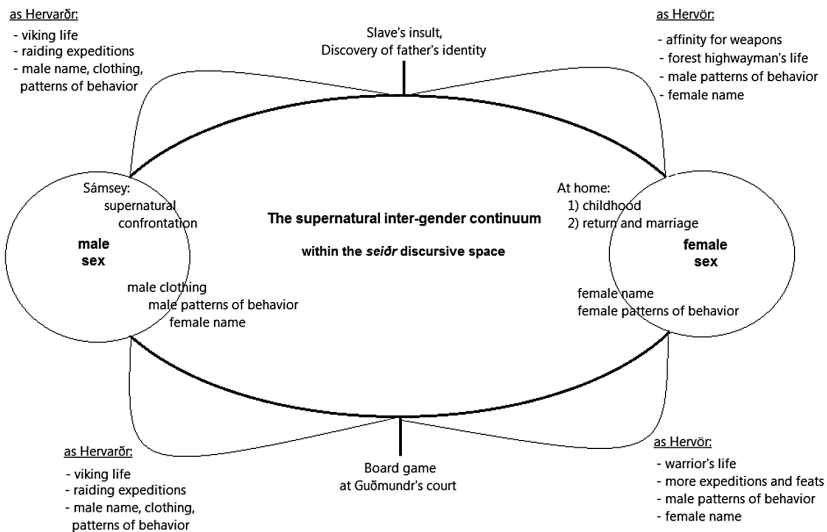


Diagram 2. Dynamics of Hervör’s navigation along the inter-gender continuum.

The Hervör narrative in her eponymous saga is interested in the question of whether it is possible to achieve empowerment through the gender equilibrium, as well as achieving that gender balance itself, without irrevocably and irreparably trapping oneself within the transgressive and antisocial otherness associated in medieval Norse imagination with extended exposure to supernatural forces. While engaging those forces brings empowerment, there is an implicit sense of risk to such activity. The deeper one's immersion in – and exposure to – the supernatural empowerment of aggression, the harder it becomes to maintain control over it and mediate between its extremes, and the harder it becomes to pull back from those alterity-inducing supernatural powers. In other words, maintaining that liminal gender equilibrium becomes a controlled act of counterbalancing and resisting the progressive alterity brought upon the individual by contact with these powers.

Hervör, with her *berserker* heritage, comes perilously close to overstepping that equilibrium on Sámsey,⁶² prompting Angantýr to remark upon her transgressive otherness and evoking an acknowledgment from her of that increasing transformation into an other-than-human entity. As if sensing her proximity to trapping herself within the *seiðr* complex, she knows when she has reached her limit and pulls out of her military career in favor of homecoming and marriage. Perhaps in doing so she is seeking to avoid the violent and socially disruptive fate of *berserker* veterans in *Íslendingasögur* (after Lieberman 2003), who are unable to reintegrate into peaceful society due to their oversaturation in aggressions of war. Yet the after-effects of Hervör's close and extended exposure to the supernatural powers linger on, as may be seen from the dark anti-social streak inherited by her son Heiðrekr. Rather than her marriage becoming a termination of her previous life chapter, it becomes a continuation, Heiðrekr himself being a direct result of the Sámsey venture: as Angantýr forecasts, he is destined for the future as Tyrfingr's inheritor after his mother. The supernatural confrontation on that island thus becomes even more of a central turning point, not only in Hervör's own gender dynamics, but also for her progeny.

It bears to emphasize that in the above referrals to social norms and social integration, this study does not seek to gender these concepts as an oppositional binary of 'female' subordination and 'male' authority. Through the course of this analysis, such categorical and mutually-exclu-

⁶² The island on which Óðinn himself had allegedly practiced *seiðr* on an obscure occasion, as per Loki's suggestive allusion to it in *Lokasenna* 24.

sive gendered polarizations have been extensively questioned. As has been demonstrated, femininity may be achieved through the masculine channel, just as masculinity does not have to belong exclusively to men. Characters can be female, and yet not be female at the same time. There may be many varying degrees of “genders” on the continuum, human as well as supernatural, and being referred to as a “she” for a magic creature does not guarantee femininity as it is commonly understood; nor does being referred to as a “he” guarantee that the character in question is biologically male.

As the perceived boundaries between the genders collapse, so do the boundaries between the socio-normative and supernatural spheres as the latter begins to leak into the former. In the wake of dynamic mutabilities of supernatural identities observed above, the category of humanity itself is thrown into question as an established category. Instead of reducing Old Norse depictions of the ambiguously gendered supernatural entities to readings of mere misogyny or misandry, it may be noted that the texts’ disposition appears to be biased rather against an unhuman, terrible kind of otherness, whatever gender it may assume. In the same vein, instead of reducing the latter to readings of mere xenophobia, it appears to rather be a manifestation of uneasiness that stems not from some distant outside other, but from perception of the everyday life as unstable and potentially other, within the cognitive space of medieval Scandinavia which allows for the existence of supernatural forces as part of its magical reality. It is a fear of the familiar which the medieval saga authors, compilers, and audiences try to project away from themselves and externalize: the otherness within, the dark and violent potential which, if no effort is put into harnessing it and keeping it in balance – internally, socially, politically – is prone to cause destruction and ruin. The tendency to project fears of the darker side of human psychology upon the supernatural ‘other’ has been a long noted subject in folklore studies (Ármann Jakobs-son 2009). The struggle of facing, and ultimately integrating, that internal otherness may be seen as coming to terms with the heritage of the perceived pagan past, whose worldview and values differed from the contemporary Christian(ized) society within which the sagas were committed to vellum. “Culture”, writes Torfi Tulinius, “is continually reinventing itself, both in its relationship to the cultures of others but also in relationship to itself as other” (2009: 213).

From the texts considered earlier in this study, there may be observed a pointed interest in fluid gender negotiations in medieval Iceland, itself a “mutating periphery”(Jóhann Páll Árnason 2009) undergoing dynamic

cultural and social transformation, in search of a balanced reconciliation between the indigenous Scandinavian beliefs of its settlers, and the continental European Christianity of the contemporary times, which has opened Iceland's doors to many new influences and imported concepts, not the least of which is courtly hierarchy, with its invariable impact on gender, and the subsequent emergence of romance literature (Kalinke 1990, Bagerius 2009, Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir 2013).

It has been remarked that “the past is a foreign country”,⁶³ and this statement holds no less true for the minds of those residing in that past, out of whose imaginations have sprung the texts examined above. It is a country that cannot be visited, and its realities are bound to remain out of reach. But recognizing the otherness of the medieval past and refraining from colonizing it with contemporary biases and value systems may nevertheless bring us closer to glimpsing the potential for diverse interpretative possibilities contained within its narratives.

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⁶³ Although originally appearing in the prologue of a novel by L. P. Harvey (1953), the phrase has found considerable resonance in scholarship on cultural history (Lowenthal 1985, Stark 2006, Schiffman 2011). The full quotation reads, “The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.”

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CHRISTELLE R. FAIRISE

Relating Mary's life in Medieval Iceland: *Mariu Saga*

Similarities and differences with the continental *Lives of the Virgin*

Mariu saga is the biography of the Virgin Mary in Old Norse, which begins with her own Conception, as in the apocryphal Infancy Gospels, the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and its Latin renditions, and concludes with her death and her miraculous translation from this world, as in the *Transitus Mariae*. The saga moves well beyond the narrative of events

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Abstract: This article deals with the relationships between *Mariu saga* and other medieval *vitae mariae*, which were composed at the same time in order to discuss the statements made by Wilhelm Heizmann in his article entitled "Mariu saga" published in *Medieval Scandinavia: an encyclopedia* (P. Pulsiano, K. Wolf eds., 1993). *Mariu saga* is the biography of the Virgin Mary in Old Norse, which begins with her own Conception, as in the apocryphal Infancy Gospels, the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and its Latin renditions, and concludes with her death and her Assumption, as in the *Transitus Mariae*. The saga moves well beyond the narrative of events witnessed in these earlier sources as it offers extended exegetical and theological reflections on the significance of its material, and historical background. In the first part, I will focus on Late Antiquity, namely on the New Testament apocrypha and on the Byzantine *Lives of the Virgin* which are the earliest biographies of the Virgin. In the second and the third parts, *Mariu saga* will be contrasted with the most popular and representative continental biographies of Mary in Medieval West; namely the *Vita Rhythmica*, the *Conception Nostre Dame* by Wace and the *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere* by Herman of Valenciennes – a *Sacred History of the Virgin* –, in order to demonstrate that the saga takes its main features from both the *Lives of the Virgin* and the biblical paraphrases, whether it be from a literary or a doctrinal perspective.

Keywords: *Mariu saga*, *Lives of the Virgin*, Apocrypha, Infancy Gospels, *Transitus Mariae*, *Vita Rhythmica*, *Conception Nostre Dame*, *Li Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere*, biblical paraphrases.

witnessed in these earlier sources as it offers extended exegetical and theological reflections on the significance of its material, and historical background. *Maríu saga* is extant in three redactions, A, E and St. The three texts emerged over a period going from the 13th century to the early 14th century. During this period, the Icelandic compilers re-translated, adapted and expanded existing material.

Maríu saga has already been the subject of a philological and stylistic analysis through articles and two dissertations which have reached the following conclusions: firstly, the Old Norse *Life of Mary* is the work of an Icelandic clerk who compiled various and numerous Latin sources; secondly, as stated by Wilhelm Heizmann: “[t]his *vita* contains numerous theological opinions and commentaries, which give the saga its distinctive stamp”;¹ and thirdly: “[i]t is not the literary quality of *Maríu saga* that accords it a special place within the genre of Marian *vitae*, but the unusual, or even eccentric, way of interweaving *vita* and theological commentary”.² He even concludes by saying that the Old Norse saga is: “a work that is unique within the continental medieval tradition on Mary’s life”.³

Wilhelm Heizmann’s article was the starting point of our discussion. This article deals with the relationships between *Maríu saga* and other medieval *vitae mariae*, which were composed at the same time. In order to support this discussion, I will stick to a chronological order and approach these works from a literary and doctrinal perspectives. In the first part of this article, I will focus on Late Antiquity as it is significant for subsequent accounts. In this opening part, I will provide an overview of the New Testament apocrypha which contain accounts of the life and death of the Virgin Mary. Subsequently, a brief insight into the Byzantine *Lives of the Virgin* which are the earliest biographies of the Virgin is necessary in order to explain the genesis of this enormously popular literary genre in the Middle Ages. In the second part of this article, I will address the main features of the most popular and representative continental biographies of Mary in Medieval West; namely the *Vita Rythmica* and the *Conception Nostre Dame* by Wace. I will then compare them with *Maríu saga* in order to demonstrate that the latter shares the same features with its continental counterparts. Finally, in the third part, *Maríu saga* will be

¹ W. Heizmann, “*Maríu saga*”, P. Pulsiano, K. Wolf *et alii* (eds.), *Medieval Scandinavia: an encyclopedia*, New York and London, Garland, Taylor & Francis, 1993, p. 407–408, p. 407.

² W. Heizmann, *ibid.*, p. 408; see also G. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953, p. 124–125.

³ W. Heizmann, *ibid.*, p. 408.

contrasted with the *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere* by Herman of Valenciennes – a *Sacred History of the Virgin* –, which belongs to the continental medieval tradition on Mary's life. In this final chapter, it will be discussed in what way the *Maríu saga* bears a strong resemblance with biblical paraphrases.

I. The “Proto-lives” and *Lives of the virgin* in Late Antiquity

When one reads the four canonical Gospels, it is quite clear that little is learned about the family of Jesus; such as his origins, his birth, his childhood and what happened to him after his death on the cross. As for Mary, she simply is presented as Joseph's bride. Only two gospels provide further information. The *Gospel of Matthew* presents the genealogy of Jesus and then relates that Mary “was found with a child of the Holy Ghost” (1, 18), and the *Gospel of Luke* recounts the Annunciation (1, 26–38) and the Visitation (1, 39–56). Consequently, and very soon, early Christians began asking many questions; for example, about moments in the lives of Christ and his mother Mary. These questions were an inexhaustible source of curiosity. And it is the New Testament apocrypha that filled the gaps in the biblical accounts. In other words, all we know about Mary's story, her parents, her conception, her education in the Temple, the choice of Joseph as her protector, her death and her ultimate fate comes from apocryphal traditions.

Etymologically, the term “apocryphal” comes from the Greek adjective ἀπόκρυφος, “apokruphos”, which means “hidden”, “secret”. Yet the term has led to a misunderstanding; indeed these texts were neither more hidden nor less known than the texts that became part of the canon. Moreover, these works contain no secret; they do not reveal anything to us.⁴ Gradually, the word “apocryphal” took on a negative connotation and eventually acquired a different meaning: that of “non genuine” and “false”. And it is this second meaning of the term that would come to replace the first one; as categorical judgments and decisions were taken by Councils. Regardless, this second sense of “apocryphal” was applied to the entirety of Christian literary production which did not become part of the canon of the New Testament. This occurred even though these texts were contemporaneous and some even earlier to some texts that

⁴ This sense of “secret” corresponds rather to Gnostic texts, whose purpose was to pass on secret words of Jesus to a few disciples he had entrusted.

were to be part of the canon of the New Testament. Regarding the reasons for the selection of future canonical texts, and in order to serve as a background to this analysis, it must be briefly recalled that it was only after many debates and disputes that the list of the texts included in the canon was entirely fixed in the fourth century.⁵ In 360, at the Council of Laodicea, the term “*kanôn*” took the meaning of “rule of truth”, because it is then that the list of holy books was compiled.⁶ From that point, the term then continues to evolve to eventually designate the catalogue of the twenty-seven books selected by the decree of Damasus⁷ (382) as the only true Christian writings of divine inspiration. As for the term “apocrypha”, which was designated as the opposite of “canon” at the Council of Laodicea, it also changes meaning, “[it] no longer is the hidden writing mentioned by Irenaeus [of Lyons] but, from Jerome, every text excluded from the Canon”⁸. The texts, unauthorized by the Catholic Church, are now called “*libri non recipiendi*” (“books not received”).

Among all the apocryphal texts about Jesus, Mary and Joseph, the Gospels take up a prominent place. Etymologically, the word “gospel” means “good news” and is a translation of the Greek εὐαγγέλιον. In the New Testament, the word “gospel” refers to the act of announcing the “good news” but also its content.⁹ According to the *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, the apocryphal gospels are divided into three groups: the synoptic-type gospels – so called because they were associated in genre with the canonical synoptic gospels¹⁰ –, the sectarian-type¹¹ gospels and the “fiction” or “legendary” gospels. The latter have been named so due to

⁵ It was not until the 15th century that the canon was definitely established at the Council of Florence.

⁶ F. Quéré, *Évangiles apocryphes*, Paris, Seuil, 1983, p. 12.

⁷ This decree will be valid only for the Church of Rome.

⁸ “Ce n’est plus l’écrit caché dont parlait Irénée, mais, à partir de Jérôme, tout texte exclu du Canon”, F. Quéré, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Unless otherwise indicated all translations in this essay are my own.

⁹ It is not until the 2nd century that these texts were entitled εὐαγγέλια, “Gospels”. For example, we now know that it was not the original title of the canonical gospels and that they received it only a century after they were written, see F. Bovon, P. Geoltrain, “Introduction générale”, F. Bovon, P. Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens (EAC)*, I, Paris, Gallimard, “Bibliothèque de la Pléiade”, 1997, p. XVII.

¹⁰ The three synoptic gospels are those of Matthew, Mark and Luke. All three show important analogies, whereas the *Gospel of John* proves to be quite original. They are characterized by the word “synoptic” because they can be presented and compared in a table with several parallel columns, in “synopsis”.

¹¹ They were “expressly written to defend heterodox teachings, whether they are made entirely of imagination or whether they are falsifying the canonical writings”, *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément (DBS)*, Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953, p. 470. Among the most famous of them, there is the *Gospel of Thomas*.

the fact that they are fictitious stories whose heroes are Jesus, Mary and their families.¹² These “fiction” gospels are divided into three main groups: “Jesus’s family”, “Jesus’s infancies” and “the Passion Cycle”. The first group is divided into two subgroups. The first one contains texts that narrate Mary’s life; called the Infancy Gospels. The texts of the second subgroup recount Mary’s passing and her fate after death; called the *Dormitio Virginis* or *Transitus (Virginis) Mariae*. The second group, “Jesus’s infancies”, contains numerous various texts, but they all have one thing in common: their authors do not accept the fact that there is no trace of Jesus’s divinity during his early youth. The key text of this cycle is the *History of Jesus’s Infancy* which has long been published under the misleading title of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*. Finally, “the Passion Cycle” contains accounts of the death of Jesus and what followed. Its key text is the *Gospel of Nicodemus* or *Acta Pilati* B which recounts the Harrowing of Hell.

A. The “proto-Lives”¹³ of the Virgin: the Infancy Gospels and the *Transitus mariae*

The two subgroups of apocrypha that are part of the “Jesus’s family”, the Infancy Gospels and the *Transitus Mariae*, were not composed at the same time – the first ones before and the second ones after the canon was fixed – and they do not address the same theological issues.

1. The Infancy Gospels

The Protoevangelium of James

The earliest Infancy Gospel is the *Protoevangelium of James* (BHL 5333m and following). It is a Greek manuscript which dates from around the beginning of the second century. It has been pseudepigraphically ascribed to James the Greater, but the *Gelasian Decree*¹⁴ attributed it to James the Less. In the sixteenth century, a Jesuit named Guillaume Postel discovered the manuscript while travelling in the East. After his return to the West, he published a Latin translation in 1552 and entitled it *Proto-*

¹² For more details, see *DBS, ibid.*, p. 460–514.

¹³ We borrow this term from S. J. Shoemaker, *The Life of the Virgin, Maximus the Confessor*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2012, p. 18.

¹⁴ Written between the late fifth and early sixth century, the Decree of Gelasius is a catalogue of the works forbidden, such as the *Protoevangelium of James* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

*evangelium of James*¹⁵, because it relates events before those recounted in the New Testament gospels. This text was not regarded as a sacred writing, but as a historical one, which allowed this major text to survive despite the fact that it was charged with heresy by the Church of Rome, as it was part of the Eastern Churches' liturgy.

The text consists in the narrative of the prayers of Joachim and Ann who wished to have offspring despite their advanced age, the miraculous circumstances of Mary's conception from sterile Ann, Mary's upbringing in the Temple, her betrothal to Joseph, the Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ in Bethlehem, the Flight into Egypt, and it ends with the murder of Zechariah by Herod. This apocryphon was highly influential as it emphasized Mary's virginity *ante, in* and *post partum*. Its other distinctive feature is that it is the earliest text describing Joseph as a widower with sons, thus offering an explanation for the "brothers of Jesus" mentioned in the New Testament.¹⁶ The *Protoevangelium of James* was enormously successful and widely disseminated. A Latin translation circulated from at least the fourth century in the West, but it was ignored in official circles, mainly as a result of the rejection of its authority by Jerome. But this did not prevent this apocryphon from entering into the tradition.¹⁷

The Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew

The oldest Latin rendition of the *Protoevangelium of James* is the *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew* (BHL 5334 and following), but this is not its original title.¹⁸ This text was pseudepigraphically attributed to Matthew. Its author draws on the *Protoevangelium of James* and the *Infancy Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas*. The *Protoevangelium of James* began with the words *Ego Iacobus* but, as the Decree of Gelasius condemned the text, the author of the earliest form of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, the form A, replaced these words by a fictitious epistolary exchange between Jerome and the bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus. In the first letter, the

¹⁵ M. Neander, *Proteuangelion sive de natalibus Iesu Christi et ipsius Virginis Mariae sermo historicus divi Iacobi minoris...*, Bâle, 1552.

¹⁶ *Mt* 13, 55–56; *Mc* 6, 3.

¹⁷ Brian K. Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven: Marian Doctrine and Devotion, Image and Typology in the Patristic and Medieval Periods*. New York: New City Press Hyde Park, 2012, vol. 1, p. 190–191.

¹⁸ In the manuscripts, the text has another title, *Liber de nativitate (beatae) Mariae et infancia salvatoris* (Book on the birth of the Blessed Mary and the Infancy of the Saviour). It also attained the following title *De nativitate (sanctae) Mariae (virginis)*. For more details, see J. Gijssels, "Évangile du Pseudo-Matthieu: Introduction", *EAC*, I, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. 107.

bishops ask Jerome to translate a “Hebrew Gospel of Matthew” into Latin. The second letter is the positive answer from the translator of the *Vulgate*.¹⁹ The dating of this apocryphon seems to meet general agreement: Jan Gijssel believes that the first two forms independent from one another, form A and form P, should have been written “in the last decades of the sixth century or the first half of the seventh century”²⁰ while Rita Beyers dates it “between 550 and 750”²¹. Between the late eleventh and mid-twelfth century appears a third form, Q, which depends on P, and ultimately, around 1200, a fourth form, known as R, which is a reworking of Q.²²

The *Pseudo-Matthew* is divided into four parts: “History of Joachim and Ann”, “History of Mary”, “History of Jesus”, “The Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt”.²³ As for its distinctive features that differentiate it from the *Protoevangelium of James*, this is what Rita Beyers says:

... in the first part, the reworker shifted the emphasis, from the figure of Ann to that of Joachim, so that the narrative reflected the political and social situation of the reign of the Merovingian kings. He inserted a chapter describing Mary's life in the Temple. [In this chapter], one can clearly see the influence of the early monastic rules and this chapter appears to be taken from another Latin source. He replaced the story of the murder of Zechariah by that of the flight into Egypt, which is presented as a series of four miracles, [...].²⁴

Finally, as an example of reworking and amplification, there is in the *Protoevangelium of James* (20, 4) the scene of the Nativity of Jesus in the cave, in which the hand of the midwife Salome is consumed by fire because she had doubts, whereas in the *Pseudo-Matthew* (13, 4), Salome

¹⁹ J. Gijssel, *ibid.*, p. 112. For more details, see *ibid.*, p. 107–114; R. Beyers, “La réception médiévale du matériel apocryphe concernant la naissance et la jeunesse de Marie : Le *Speculum Historiale* de Vincent de Beauvais et la *Legenda aurea* de Jacques de Voragine”, J. Longère, É. Cothenet (éd.), *Marie dans les récits apocryphes chrétiens : communications présentées lors de la 60^e session de la Société Française d'Études Mariales*, Solesmes 2003, Paris, Médiaspaul, “Études mariales”, 2004, p. 179–200.

²⁰ Jan Gijssel, *ibid.*, p. 112.

²¹ Rita Beyers, *art. cit.*, p. 180.

²² For more details, see J. Gijssel, *op. cit.*, p. 111–113; R. Beyers, *ibid.*, p. 180–181.

²³ *Évangile de l'Enfance du Pseudo-Matthieu*, in *EAC*, I, *op. cit.*, p. 117–140.

²⁴ “... dans la première partie le remanieur a transféré l'accent, de la figure d'Anne à celle de Joachim, de façon que le récit reflète la situation politique et sociale du règne des rois mérovingiens. Il a inséré un chapitre décrivant la vie de Marie au Temple où l'on constate nettement l'influence des premières règles monastiques et qui semble emprunté à une autre source latine. Il a remplacé le récit du meurtre de Zacharie par celui de la fuite en Égypte, qui se présente comme une suite de quatre miracles, [...]”, R. Beyers, *art. cit.*, p. 180.

has a withered hand. Moreover, it is in the latter that the episode of the crib in the stable with the ox and the ass appears – and one knows how enormously successful this tradition will be in Christian liturgy.

The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary

The *Evangelium de nativitate Mariae*, or *De Nativitate Mariae*, (BHL 5343 and following) is a reworking of the *Pseudo-Matthew* dating from around the ninth century. The *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* is a short Latin text which is traditionally attributed to Jerome. In this narrative that the author wanted to be “stripped of the romantic details of the apocryphal tradition”²⁵, some episodes from the *Pseudo-Matthew* are omitted, such as, the complaint of Ann and the crib. The unknown author displays thorough knowledge of the biblical accounts of the Annunciation and Jesus’s birth.²⁶ The text combined the first twelve chapters of the *Pseudo-Matthew* with canonical texts from Matthew and Luke. The narrative gives an account of Mary’s birth and childhood, her betrothal to Joseph and the Nativity of Jesus. The *De Nativitate Mariae* was enormously popular and soon added to the collections of texts to be read during Mass on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin. In fact:

[t]he institution of the feast²⁷ and the writing of this apocryphon proceed from this continuous development of the Western cult of the Virgin, which reached a peak around the year one thousand and then triumphs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁸

These two Latin renditions of the *Protevangelium of James* both show that their authors shared the same will to “legitimate their narrative”. The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* made Mary, the “model of the nuns”, while the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* can be seen to reflect a desire of “harmonization with the canonical Scriptures”.²⁹

²⁵ “dépouillé des détails romantiques de la tradition apocryphe”, R. Beyers, “*Livre de la Nativité de Marie: Introduction*”, in *EAC*, I, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. 146.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

²⁷ It is the feast of the Nativity of Mary which is celebrated on September 8.

²⁸ “L’institution de la fête et la rédaction de cet apocryphe procèdent de ce développement continu du culte occidental de la Vierge, qui atteint un degré éminent vers l’an mille et triomphe aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles”, A. Boureau, “La Nativité de Marie: Notes”, A. Boureau, M. Goullet, P. Collomb *et alii* (eds), *La Légende dorée*, Paris, Gallimard, “Bibliothèque de la Pléiade”, 2004, p. 1372.

²⁹ E. Norelli, *Marie des apocryphes: Enquête sur la mère de Jésus dans le christianisme antique*, Genève, Labor et Fides, “Christianismes antiques”, 2009, p. 96–102.

2. The *Transitus Mariae*

The *Transitus Mariae* (BHL 5348 and following) are apocryphal, homiletic and patristic texts that convey ancient traditions about the ultimate fate of the Virgin, the Dormition, or Assumption³⁰ as it came to be called in the Latin Church in the eighth century. They were written between the fifth and the seventh centuries, that is to say, after the biblical canon was entirely fixed. These narratives were enormously popular. The problem is that the *Transitus* texts are manifold and that the classification criteria suggested by scholars differ. Let us bear in mind that there are two main types of stories, the “Palm from the Tree of Life” family (30 texts) and the “Bethlehem and the Burning of Incense” family (27 texts), to which must be added ten “homilies for the feasts of the death and assumption which draw freely on apocryphal narratives”.³¹ We owe this division to Michel van Esbroeck.³²

The texts of the two families of *Transitus* tell more or less the same story, but some details differ greatly. Two years after his ascension, Gabriel – or Jesus, according to the different versions – appears before Mary to announce her impending death and her assumption. Previously, Mary had asked her son to keep her body safe from corruption. Before she died, the apostles miraculously joined Mary, who is either in Jerusalem or Bethlehem. Many miracles follow. It is on the last point that the two families differ. In the texts of the “Palm from the Tree of Life” family, three days after Mary's death, her body is taken by Christ and a myriad of angels, followed by the apostles, in paradise, under the tree of life, and her soul is reinserted into her body. The apostles then return to their evangelistic mission on earth. The most influential of these *Dormition* narratives is the *Transitus Mariae* of *Pseudo-John*. In the “Bethlehem and the Burning of Incense” family, the apostles and the Virgin's body are miraculously taken to paradise on clouds five days after Mary's death. There they meet, among others, Ann and Elizabeth. Mary's body remains in paradise while her soul ascends to heaven; paradise and heaven

³⁰ Strictly speaking, the Dormition (falling asleep) is a separate event from the Assumption since the Dormition implies the end of Mary's earthly life and the Assumption signifies her ascent to Heaven (*Transitus*), either with or without her body.

³¹ M. Clayton, *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 45.

³² M. van Esbroeck, “Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption avant le X^e siècle”, in *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres : Christianisme et monde païen*, Genève, Labor et Fides, “Publications de la Faculté de théologie de l'Université de Genève”, 1981, 4, p. 265–285.

being two distinct places, body and soul are not reunited. The apostles are then sent back on earth to testify what they have witnessed. The key text in this family is the *Transitus of Pseudo-Melito*.

To conclude, as for the dissemination of apocrypha, Enrico Norelli recalls that the Church reworked these books by assigning them the same functions as hagiographic legends and it is thanks to this new institutional status that the Infancy Gospels and the *Transitus* texts reached the Latin Middle Ages.³³ These homiletic rewritings explain their penetration of the hagiographic literature and enabled these texts to adapt in some way to their context:

... neither with the help of immediate authority of an apostolic character (as *Transitus of Pseudo-John*), nor with the help of an apostolic authority via an intermediary (the *Transitus of Pseudo-Melito*, alleged disciple of John); [these homilies] do so by claiming to adhere to the ecclesiastical institution as such, which supports the feast and ensures the validity of the cult as it keeps it under control.³⁴

The most popular of these homiletic rewritings is the *Letter to Paula and Eustochium*, also called *Pseudo-Jerome* or *Cogitis me*. The text begins with these words: *Cogitis me, o Paula et Eustochium*. Its composition is quite surprising for a letter. Indeed, this treatise is both “a speech, a sermon, a doctrinal exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation, an exhortation to the present and future virgins to imitate the virtues of Mary”.³⁵ Its author is Paschasius Radbertus (ca 790 – ca 868), monk and abbot of Corbie, and an eminent theologian. It is dated between 835 or 836. This treatise presents itself:

... as a homily written by Jerome (Paschasius) at the request of Paula (Theodora, abbess of Soissons) and her daughter Eustochium (Emma) for the nuns of their community (St. Mary at Soissons). He [the author]

³³ E. Norelli, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

³⁴ “[...] non plus à l’aide de l’autorité immédiate d’un personnage apostolique (comme le *Transitus* du *Pseudo-Jean*), mais pas non plus à l’aide d’une autorité apostolique passant par un intermédiaire (le *Transitus* du *Pseudo-Mélicon*, disciple prétendu de l’apôtre Jean) ; [ces homélies] le font en se réclamant de l’autorité de l’institution ecclésiastique en tant que telle, qui soutient la fête et garantit la validité du culte du fait même qu’elle le garde sous son contrôle”, *ibid.*, p. 145.

³⁵ “... un discours, une homélie, un exposé doctrinal du mystère de l’Incarnation, une exhortation aux vierges présentes et futures à imiter les vertus de Marie.”, M. A. A. Jugie, *La Mort et l’Assomption de la Sainte Vierge. Étude historico-doctrinale*, Rome, Presso la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Studi e testi 114, 1944, p. 277.

does not accept the bodily assumption, but he stresses that Mary is glorified by all the angels and saints because of her exceptional dignity as the Mother of God.³⁶

It enjoyed such a huge success that it would be included among the sources of all the medieval *Lives of the Virgin*.

B. The Byzantine tradition: the earliest *Lives of the Virgin*

1. Genesis and generic features

In the seventh century, in the Byzantine Christian Empire, influential members of the clergy began to write sacred biographies of the Virgin Mary. At this time, these works were given the same considerations as the theological treatises. Moreover, it is also during the seventh century that the *Protoevangelium of James* and the “Six Books” Dormition apocryphon, the earliest exemplar of the “Bethlehem and the Burning of Incense” family, circulated. These two texts are considered by Stephen J. Shoemaker as the “earlier ‘proto-*Lives*’ of the Virgin”.³⁷

In his article on the subject³⁸, Simon Claude Mimouni estimated that the *Lives of the Virgin* “also called *Life-Histories of the Virgin*, are an intermediate literary genre between the hagiographic narrative and the homiletic narrative”.³⁹ Generically, they are composite, even heterogeneous texts. These stories offer little originality. The parts are identical: the Nativity and the Infancy of Mary, the life of Jesus, from his Nativity to the Resurrection, and an account of the Assumption. Besides the fact that these are often occasional works, they are also doctrinal writings where their authors take a stand on mariological issues such as the belief in the perpetual virginity of the Virgin or in the Dormition and Assumption. They were probably intended for “liturgical reading in monastic circles or even for a parish audience”.⁴⁰

³⁶ “... comme une homélie écrite par Jérôme (Paschasius) à la demande de Paula (Théodrade, abbesse de Soissons) et de sa fille Eustochium (Emma) pour les moniales de leur communauté (Notre Dame de Soissons). [...] Il [l’auteur] n’accepte pas l’assomption corporelle, mais souligne que Marie est glorifiée par tous les anges et saints à cause de son exceptionnelle dignité comme mère de Dieu”, R. Beyers, “*De Nativitate Mariae* : problèmes d’origine”, *Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, Lausanne, vol. 122, 1990, p. 171–188, p. 175.

³⁷ S. J. Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³⁸ S. C. Mimouni, “Les *Vies de la Vierge*: État de la question”, *Apocrypha*, 1994, 5, p. 211–248.

³⁹ “également appelées *Histoires de la Vierge*, relèvent d’un genre littéraire intermédiaire entre le récit hagiographique et le récit homilétique”, *ibid.*, p. 211.

⁴⁰ “la lecture liturgique en milieu monastique, voire même en milieu paroissial”, *ibid.*, p. 211–212.

It seems that it is a Syriac manuscript, dated from the late fifth or early sixth century, which is at the origin of the genre. Indeed, one finds in the latter the three texts that are usually found in the *Lives of the Virgin*, but successively without any transitional passages:

It contains at the fos 12a–14b, a narrative of the Nativity of Mary (= *Protevangelium of James*), at the fos 14b–16a, a tale of Jesus' youth (= *Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas*) and at the fos 16a–45a, a narrative of the Dormition (= the Syriac *Six Books*).⁴¹

2. The earliest *Life of the Virgin*⁴²

It is attributed to Maximus the Confessor († 662), a Byzantine monk and theologian. Written in Greek, his *Life of the Virgin* is only preserved in an Old Georgian translation. From a literary perspective, it is a biography of Mary which consists of the following parts: the Birth and Childhood, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Revelation, the Passion of Christ, the Resurrection of Christ and the Dormition. The author compiled various sources, including the *Protoevangelium of James* and the “*Six Books*” Dormition apocryphon. In Chapter 2 of his *Life*, Maximus the Confessor refers to the canonical and patristic sources he drew upon. Then he gives an explanation about the use of apocryphal data while placing himself under the authority of a Father:

And if we say some things from the apocryphal writings, this is true and without error, and it is what has been accepted and confirmed by the above-mentioned Fathers. For so the blessed Gregory of Nyssa says, “I have read in an apocrypha book that the father of all-holy Virgin Mary was renowned for his observance of the Law and was famous for his charity”.⁴³

The fact that Maximus the Confessor quotes the favourable comment to the *Protoevangelium of James* that Gregory of Nyssa made in his *Homily on the Nativity* is not surprising. This is because it should not be forgotten that just as hagiographic narratives needed the ecclesiastical institution's recognition, the apocrypha could only exist outside of the biblical canon on the sole condition that they were recognized by the au-

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁴² For more details, see M. van Esbroeck, *Maxime le Confesseur : Vie de la Vierge*, Louvain, Peeters Publishers, “Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium” 478 et 479, 2 vols., 1986, p. i–xxxii; S. J. Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, 2012, p. 1–35.

⁴³ S. J. Shoemaker, *ibid.*, p. 38. All translations of Maximus' *Life of the Virgin* are Shoemaker's.

thority of the Church.⁴⁴ Moreover, Maximus interpolates into his narrative long theological and exegetical comments, and he even adds new episodes; among others, a “surprisingly developed account of Mary’s active involvement in her son’s ministry and her subsequent leadership of the apostles and the early church following his Ascension”.⁴⁵

From a doctrinal point of view, Maximus the Confessor avoids taking a frank stand about Mary’s ultimate fate. Indeed, he mentions the two traditions concluding that only God knows what happened to the Virgin after her death. As for the Immaculate Conception, that says Mary would be born without being tainted with original sin, he adopts the point of view held by the author of the *Protoevangelium of James*. For him, Mary is “the immaculate mother of Christ”, “the ever-virgin Mary” or “the immaculate Theotokos”, *i.e.* Mary is *virginitas ante partum*, *virginitas in partu* and *virginitas post partum*. However, he remains silent on the question of original sin.

3. The other Byzantine *Lives of the Virgin*

Among the other *Lives of the Virgin* written in Greek in the same geographical area, three have been clearly identified until this day, those by Epiphanius the Monk (late eighth century), John the Geometer and Symeon the Metaphrast, both dating from the late tenth century.⁴⁶ The paternity of the genre has long been erroneously attributed to Epiphanius the Monk. In his *Life*, he wished to be a critical compiler with regards to the sources he used; namely the *Protoevangelium of James*, the homilies on the Dormition of John of Thessalonica and Andrew of Crete, as well as the *Pseudo-John*, and he takes care to mention it in his prologue.⁴⁷ Regarding his sources concerning Mary’s fate after death, “Epiphanius’ use of the Dormition narratives from John of Thessalonica’s homily and the Ps.-John *Transitus* reflects the emerging quasi-canonical status of these two texts at around the same time”.⁴⁸

We do not know how the *Lives of the Virgin* born in Christian Eastern Empire arrived in Western Europe, or which of them were then circulating. What we do know is that there is a Latin version of the *Life of Mary* by Epiphanius the Monk, which was disseminated in Medieval Europe,

⁴⁴ E. Norelli, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

⁴⁵ S. J. Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁴⁶ For more details, S. C. Mimouni, *art. cit.*, p. 211–248.

⁴⁷ S. C. Mimouni, *ibid.*, p. 224.

⁴⁸ S. J. Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

and which is attested in several manuscripts.⁴⁹ This translation dates from the twelfth century and is dedicated to Henry Dandolo (ca 1130–1180), Patriarch of Grado. Its author's name is Paschal Romain.⁵⁰

II. *Marín saga* and the continental medieval *Lives of the Virgin*

Thanks to their homiletic renditions, the Infancy Gospels and the *Transitus Mariae* texts were integrated independently into the Dominican hagiographic collections. The five major Dominican compilers were the ones who contributed to disseminating them throughout medieval Europe; namely John of Mailly, Bartholomew of Trent, Vincent of Beauvais, Humbert of Romans and Jacobus of Voragine.⁵¹ At the same period, the *De Nativitate Mariae* appeared in the official liturgy through, *inter alia*, the sermons of Fulbert of Chartres; and during the thirteenth century it was used in lessons at Mass. Thus, these texts which convey traditions long accepted by popular piety came to enrich evangelic history and were included in the traditional teaching clergymen received during that time. Meanwhile, members of the clergy began to compose sacred biographies of the Virgin Mary, both in Latin and in vernacular languages.

A. The continental *Lives of the Virgin*

Two texts were enormously popular in continental Medieval West: the *Vita Rythmica* and the *Conception Nostre Dame*. The latter is the most representative of all the biographies of Mary written in the Old French-speaking area.⁵²

1. The *Vita Rythmica*

In the first half of the thirteenth century, the *Vita Beatae Virginis Mariae et Salvatoris Rythmica* – a Latin *Life of the Virgin* probably written in

⁴⁹ S. C. Mimouni, *art. cit.*, p. 228.

⁵⁰ It has been edited by E. Franceschini, *Studi e note di filologia latina medievale*, Milano, Societa editrice "Vita et pensiero", 1938, p. 111–124.

⁵¹ About the way they used apocryphal data on Mary's birth and adolescence, see R. Beyers, *art. cit.*, p. 189–199.

⁵² For a list and brief description of the other *Lives of the Virgin* in *langue d'oïl* (Anglo-Norman and Old French), see P. Meyer, "Les légendes hagiographiques en français", in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, t. XXXIII, 1906, p. 328–358; R. J. Dean, *Anglo-Norman literature: a Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, London, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999, p. 265–273.

the south-eastern German-speaking countries – experienced some success, as is evidenced by its survival in sixty manuscripts and by its various translations in the vernacular. This text consists of four books: 1) the story of Joachim and Ann, Mary's Immaculate Conception, her childhood and dedication to the Temple, her betrothal to Joseph (l. 1–1477); 2) the Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ, the Flight into Egypt, the return to Judea and the life in Nazareth (l. 1478–3622); 3) Jesus's Ministry, his Passion and Mary's compassion for her suffering son (l. 3623–6061); and 4) the Resurrection, the Pentecost, the Assumption (l. 6062–8031). Each book contains a prologue, and an epilogue concludes this *vita mariae*.⁵³

The main sources of the *Vita Rythmica* – whose unknown author recognizes that this is a *compilatio* (l. 7975) – are three *Lives of Mary*, recently translated into Latin, including that of Epiphanius the Monk (l. 1–14). Other sources include, among others, the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, *Homilies on the Assumption*, references to Augustine and Jerome. Its author also draws on the *Speculum Ecclesiae* by Honorius Augustodunensis and the *Historia scholastica* by Peter Comestor.⁵⁴ Its interest lies in the fact that theological commentaries are interpolated into the narration:

The author takes a firm stand with regard to certain points of Marian doctrine of his time: on the one hand, it states the belief in the Immaculate Conception; on the other hand, it propagates the belief in the Assumption.⁵⁵

The *Vita Rythmica* enjoyed such a success that it was included among the sources of numerous *Marienleben*.

2. The *Conception Nostre Dame* by Wace

Wace defined himself as a “clerc-lisant”⁵⁶ and was one of the most popular Anglo-Norman writers, thanks to his *Roman de Rou* and *Roman de Brut*. He began his poetical activities with three hagiographical poems:

⁵³ *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique (DSp)*, Paris, Beauchesne, 1932–1995, XVI, p. 1025–1028.

⁵⁴ S. C. Mimouni, *art. cit.*, p. 246–247.

⁵⁵ “L'auteur prend fortement position à propos de certains points de la doctrine mariale de son temps : d'une part, il affirme la croyance en l'*Immaculée Conception* ; d'autre part, il propage la croyance en l'assomption”, *ibid.*, p. 246.

⁵⁶ A “clerc lisant” was a sort of notary, whose responsibility was to read texts aloud in various types of assemblies. This means that, as a “clerc lisant”, Wace was used to translate the Latin into French for the benefit of non-clerical listeners.

La Vie de sainte Marguerite, the *Conception Nostre Dame* and *La Vie de saint Nicolas*, composed some time in the second quarter of the twelfth century, before he joined the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II Plantagenet around 1150. All his works were widely disseminated. According to Françoise H. M. Le Saux, the *Conception Nostre Dame* “is likely to have been commissioned” given that “theologically, it was composed in the middle of a polemic” about “the newly formulated doctrine of the Immaculate Conception”.⁵⁷

The *Conception Nostre Dame* is a *Life of the Virgin* from her Conception to her Dormition and Assumption. It is a poem of 1810 octosyllabic lines grouped in rhymed couplets, which were favoured by twelfth-century romance writers. It consists of five parts: 1) the *Établissement de la Feste de la Conception Nostre Dame* is the narrative of the miracle of Helsin that leads to the establishing of the feast in England (l. 8–172); 2) the *Conception Nostre Dame* is the account of Mary’s life, from her Conception to the Nativity of Christ (l. 173–1110); 3) a short transition poem, “where the narrator summarises what precedes and announces a new section on the Virgin’s family”⁵⁸ (l. 1111–1139); 4) the *Histoire des Trois Maries* (l. 1140–1292); and 5) the *Assomption* (l. 1293–1810). These five parts are “connected, in a loose but effective manner, by short transitional passages in the narrator’s voice with a strong homiletic quality”.⁵⁹

The sources consist of the following: 1) the translation of a *Miraculum de conceptione sanctae Mariae*, ascribed at the time to St. Anselm; 2) the second part was inspired by the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* and the *Protoevangelium of James*; 3) the third part is taken from the *Trinubium Annae*⁶⁰; and 4) the last one is the translation of the *Transitus of Pseudo-Melito*. What is interesting is that, from a doctrinal point of view, it draws on both the *Cogitis me* (which represents the hostile tradition to the Assumption) and the Pseudo-Augustine (representing the favourable tradition to the Assumption)⁶¹ at the same time.

⁵⁷ Françoise H.M. Le Saux, *A Companion to Wace*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2005, p. 8; see also W. R. Ashford, *The Conception Nostre Dame : a dissertation...*, Chicago, University of Chicago Libraries, 1933.

⁵⁸ Françoise H.M. Le Saux, *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶⁰ In the ninth century, Haymo of Auxerre composed his *Historiae sacrae epitome*. In this work, according to Jerome’s position, Haymo offered a new explanation for the “brothers of Jesus” mentioned in the canonical Gospels: Ann was married three times and gave birth to three girls named Mary. Their children, Jesus’s cousins, are called his “brothers”. This legend was so popular that it eventually began circulating independently under the title of *Trinubium Annae*. We know several versions in verse and in prose.

⁶¹ M. A. A. Jugie, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

Among the features of the text are, firstly, a narrative economy and, secondly, a strong didactic intent. One example is when, in the end of the second part of the poem, Wace makes a long comment on the mystery of the incarnation and on the perpetual virginity of Mary. He also addresses the contrast between Eve and Mary – Eve is the one who brought sin into the world and Mary is the one who redeemed it by the sacrifice of her son, the Redeemer. Another example is when he comments on a short episode from *De Nativitate Mariae* on the oblation that Joachim did before joining Ann at the Golden Door in Jerusalem:

Par les aigniaus que il ocist,
Nos senefie Jhesucrist,
Qui en la croiz fu morz et pris,
Et por noz pechiez fu ocis :
Aigniau fu qui nul mal ne fist,
Aigniaus qui nul mal ne dist.
Li.xij. tor senefierent
Li.xij. apostle qui p[r]echierent
Et puis furent sacrefié
Por amour dieu et martreie.
Les cent brebiz qu'ot demandées,
Au pueple furent devisées :
Ce nos avis senefie
La celestiaus compaignie,
Car cent, cist nombres, ce savon,
Senefie perfection.
Icil qui sont el ciel lassus
Sont parfait, ne lor estuet plus ;
Sanz enferté sont et sanz vice,
Sanz mauvestié et sanz dampnice.⁶²

In this passage, Wace explains that the twelve white lambs sacrificed to God represent Jesus Christ who died for our sins, that the twelve bulls sacrificed for the poor represent the apostles who preached and who were martyred for their love of God, and that the hundred sheep sacrificed for the people represent all of mankind who one day will enjoy a perfect life in Heaven. Eventually, Wace adopts a firm stand on certain points of the Marian doctrine of his time. Wace professes his belief in the Immaculate Conception and in the resurrection of the soul and the body of the Virgin, *i.e.* in the Assumption.

⁶² G. Mancel et G.-S. Trebutien, *L'Établissement de la fête de la Conception Notre-Dame dite la Fête aux Normands par Wace, trouvère anglo-normand du XIIe siècle, publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Caen, B. Mancel, 1842, p. 20–21.

To conclude, minor differences can be noted between the medieval *Lives of the Virgin* and the Byzantine *Lives* as they did not address the same theological problems. The *Vita Rhythmica* only recounts the great moments of Jesus's ministry in order to emphasize the compassionate attitude of Mary. As for Wace, he did not include moments of Jesus's life after his Nativity in the *Conception Nostre Dame*.

B. *Mariú saga: a Life of the Virgin* in Old Norse

The saga is extant in three redactions all dating from the 13th century to the early 14th century, that were identified by Carl Richard Unger in the introduction to his edition:⁶³

- I – The A-redaction (AM 234 fol). It is also fully preserved in the manuscripts AM 232 fol (B) and AM 633 4to (C);
- II – The St-redaction (Holm perg 11 4to), which is also preserved in a fragment of a manuscript AM 233, folio; it is the text on which the present study is based.
- III – The E-redaction (Holm perg 1 4to); two other manuscripts also contain fragments; namely AM 240 I fol and AM 240 IX folio.⁶⁴

Regarding the content and the stylistic features in the three texts, Laura Tomassini claims in her dissertation that “[n]one of these three texts seems to originate from the others and they are to be treated as parallel redactions of the same saga, probably derived from a common archetype”.⁶⁵

The question of its authorship is still unsolved. An old tradition ascribed the composition of the saga to Kygri-Björn Hjaltason⁶⁶ († 1238),

⁶³ C. R. Unger (ed.), *Mariú saga: Legender om jomfru Maria og hendes jertegn, efter gamle haandskrifter*, Kristiania, Brøgger & Christie, 1871, p. XI–XXXII. The Norwegian philologist published a collection of texts consisting of *Mariú saga* and a collection of some two hundred stories of miracles of the Virgin. This is a diplomatic edition, in the spirit of the facsimile.

⁶⁴ For a complete handlist of the manuscripts with references to their approximate dates and a bibliography on *Mariú saga*, see K. Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints in Old Norse-Icelandic Prose*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2014, p. 231–235. This work is an updated version of H. Bekker-Nielsen, O. Widding and L. K. Shook, “The lives of the Saints in Old Norse prose: A Handlist,” *Mediaeval Studies*, 1963, vol. 25, p. 294–337; on *Mariú saga*, see p. 321–322.

⁶⁵ L. Tomassini, *An Analysis of the three redactions of Mariú saga, with particular reference to their style and relation to their Latin sources*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Københavns Universitet, 1997, p. 17–18.

⁶⁶ Shortly after the election of Guðmundr góði Arason as Bishop of Hólar, Kygri-Björn Hjaltason († 1238) became the secretary of the diocese. However, the two men got along very poorly. Kygri-Björn left Iceland in 1214, traveling first to Norway and then to Rome,

based on a statement in the *Guðmundar saga Arasonar*⁶⁷; firstly, because Kygri-Björn Hjaltason was in Rome in 1214, *i.e.* a year before the Fourth Council of the Lateran was held, and, secondly, because Arngrímur Brandsson, its author, wrote that: “Var Kygri-Björn mikilsháttar klerkr, sem auðsýnask má í því, at hann hefir samsett Maríu sögu”⁶⁸. A controversy however erupted when Ole Widding was the first to challenge this ascription for reasons of chronological ordering:

[...] er det ikke sandsynligt, at han er “forfatteren”, medmindre han har anvendt de samme kilder, som de to ovenfor omtalte latinske forfattere. Man ved dog, at sagaen har været til i det trettende århundrede, for der findes to fragmenter af sagaen, der må stamme fra det århundrede.⁶⁹

Following the Danish scholar, Laura Tomassini⁷⁰ and Wilhelm Heizmann⁷¹ also questioned the ascription to the Icelandic clerk. In order to close the question regarding the identity of the compiler⁷², scholars established that: firstly, there are three versions of the saga clearly identified; secondly, they were not written at the same time; and thirdly, the latter version does not draw on the same sources as the first two versions. Moreover, it is quite possible that there were other versions of the *Lives of the Virgin* in Iceland and Norway at that time. This means that if Kygri-Björn Hjaltason is the compiler of one of the versions of *Maríu saga*, then the question regarding which version remains.

Maríu saga is the biography in prose of Mary in Old Norse. Here is its content schematically summarized:⁷³

where he attended the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Kygri-Björn returned to Iceland in 1224 and was elected Bishop of Hólar in 1236. He then returned again to Rome, but died on the way back in 1237 or 1238. Thus, the year 1215 can in fact be seen as the *terminus post quem* because in one of the last chapters of the saga there is an account of that council.

⁶⁷ This saga was written in c. 1350, cf. R. Boyer, *La vie religieuse en Islande (1116–1264) d'après la Sturlunga Saga et les Sagas des Évêques*, Paris, Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1979, p. 24.

⁶⁸ GSAA, *Biskupa sögur* II, København, 1878, p. 186.

⁶⁹ O. Widding, “Jærtegn og Maríu saga”, O. Widding, H. Bekker-Nielsen, T. D. Olsen, *Norrøn fortællekunst: Kapitler af den norsk-islandske middelalderlitteraturs historie*, København, Akademisk Forlag, 1965, p. 129.

⁷⁰ L. Tomassini, *op. cit.*

⁷¹ W. Heizmann, *art. cit.*, p. 407–408.

⁷² According to A. J. Minnis's work on authorship, I will use the word “compiler” rather than “author” since the *auctor* “bore full responsibility for what he had written, the *compilator* firmly denied any personal authority and accepted responsibility only for the manner in which he had arranged the statements of other men”, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988, 2nd ed., p. 193.

⁷³ The summary of the text of the saga is based on the text St, p. 1–62 (Unger, 1871). I indicate in parentheses the numbering of chapters in the Unger edition.

- A prologue ;
- The story of Joachim and Ann, Mary’s conception and birth (chap. 1–3);
- Two exegetical chapters on the *Song of Degrees* and on the *Psalms* (chap. 4–5);
- Mary’s education and dedication to the Temple from the age of three, her desire to remain chaste, her engagement to Joseph, the Annunciation (chap. 6–10);
- The Visitation, the *Magnificat*, Joseph’s doubts, the departure for Jerusalem, Jesus’s birth in Bethlehem, the Magi (chap. 11–15);
- The Presentation to the Temple (chap. 16);
- Herod’s journey to Rome, his return to Judea, the Slaughter of the Innocents (chap. 17);
- The flight of the Holy Family into Egypt, the story of the miracles then accomplished by Jesus⁷⁴, the death of Herod the Great and the division of his kingdom among his three sons (chap. 18–22);
- A brief summary of the theological and doctrinal issues raised, including that of the precise age of Christ on the day of his death, at the Fourth Lateran Council, which was held in 1215 at the initiative of Pope Innocent III (chap. 23);
- Mary’s death and Assumption, with long exegetical and theological passages on the triple peace, the man made in the image and likeness of God, and the resurrection of the body at the Last Judgement intertwined in the narrative (chap. 24–27);
- The last chapter of the saga includes an exegetical comment about the qualities of the Virgin, followed by a prayer to Mary (chap. 28).

The main sources on which there is a consensus are the following: passages of the Holy Scripture, the *De Nativitate Mariae*, the *Trinubium Annae*, and a *Transitus Mariae* narrative. Other sources, which include, among others, the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, the *Pseudo-Matthew*, Pachasius Radbertus’ *Cogitis me*, Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, works of the Church Fathers and a translation of a poem of Godfrey of Saint-Victor entitled “*Planctus ante nescia*”, are still being debated.⁷⁵ Moreover,

⁷⁴ This is about the miracles of: the dragons who adore him; the wild beast who escort and protect the Holy Family; the miracle of the palm tree, which inclines to the feet of Mary to give her fruit; the miracle Jesus accomplishes to shorten the stages of their journey; and the falling idols when the Holy Family come in a temple and the conversion *ipso facto* of governor Afrodissius.

⁷⁵ For the inventory of the postulated sources and the positions of each, see C. Fairise, *Recherches sur la littérature hagiographique islandaise : les sagas traduites du latin en norrois (XII^e – XIV^e siècles)*, Unpublished Master’s Dissertation, Université de Toulouse II Le Mirail, 2011, p. 112–114.

scholars cannot determine which sources were used, especially for the numerous theological and exegetical comments. However, Carl Richard Unger already postulated in 1871:

Meget finder man i den store encyclopædiske Haandbog Speculum Historiale af Vincent fra Beauvais og i Legenda Aurea af Jacobus de Voragine.⁷⁶

This hypothesis deserves closer attention, firstly, because the “Life of Mary” found in the *Speculum Historiale* is a compilation of numerous sources, among which are two apocryphal gospels, the *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*;⁷⁷ and, secondly, because Vincent of Beauvais:

... completes the narrative passages with numerous extracts from theological or exegetical works that he draws from the great ecclesiastical authorities from Ambrose to Bede, from Bernard of Clairvaux to Peter Comestor.⁷⁸

What is certain is that the clerks had a set of textual models on their desks so it can be assumed that the compiler of *Maríu saga* had at least heard of the literary tradition of the *Lives of the Virgin* as the Old Norse saga shares the same features with the other continental *Lives of Mary*, in other words: the combination of the narrative and homiletic genre and the intertwining of narrative and exegetical passages. Like Wace in the *Conception Notre Dame*, the Icelandic compiler explains qualities of the Virgin, when in Chapter 3, for example, he compares Mary to a star that guides sailors during the night. This comparison is due to Fulbert of Chartres:

En li doit l'en avoir torné	María þýðiz sævar stiarna, en þat
Et son corsage et son pensé.	köllum vér leiðarstiörnu. En því
Con cil qui doit aller par mer	var þessi meyi þat nafn gefit, at
Garde as estoiles de la mer	hon lýsir öllum eilífa braut, hversu
Une estoile qui ne se muet :	ganga skal til eilífs fagnaðar, er sinna
Qui connoistre la set et puet	synda vilia iðraz, sem leiðarstiarnan
Et son cors par lui gouverner	kennir faröndum mönnum rétta leið
Ne puet pas en mer esgarer.	til góðrar hafnar. ⁸¹
Cest estoile nos senefie	
Nostre dame sainte Marie. ⁷⁹	

⁷⁶ C. R. Unger, “Forord”, *Maríu saga*, *op. cit.*, p. III, note 1.

⁷⁷ R. Beyers, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁷⁸ “Vincent complète ces passages narratifs par de nombreux extraits d’œuvres exégétiques ou théologiques qu’il puise aux grandes autorités ecclésiastiques d’Ambroise à Bède, de Bernard de Clairvaux à Pierre Comestor”, R. Beyers, *ibid.*, p. 195.

⁷⁹ G. Mancel et G.-S. Trebutien, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁸⁰ *Maríu saga*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

That said, unlike the text of Wace, but also unlike the *Vita Rhythmica* and the Byzantine *Lives of the Virgin*, the comments of the Icelandic clerk and his doctrinal stand contain nothing personal. In fact, all exegetical and theological comments are made in accordance to the dogma established by the Church. For example, in Chapter 25, when commenting on the *Credo in Deum*, the clerk states that:

ok þeir lutir, er þar vóru boðnir, skylldu eigi breytaz, svá sem þat, er nú er á stórþingum upp tekit eða prestastefnum, er öllum skyllt at hallda, þar sem enir vitruztu menn hvers landz eða ríkis finnaz at.⁸¹

Therefore, it can be assumed that the clerk followed the same didactic and scholastic intent as the commentators, paraphrasers and adaptors of the Bible did, such as Herman of Valenciennes. Thus, the next part will discuss in what way *Maríu saga* also bears a strong resemblance with the *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere*, which is not strictly speaking a *Life of the Virgin*, but which does belong to the continental medieval tradition on Mary's life. Thus, in anthologies and literary dictionaries the *Vita Rhythmica* and the *Conception Nostre Dame* by Wace are in the section "Legends in verse" or "Hagiographic Poems", while the *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere* by Herman of Valenciennes appears in the "Bible" section in the category "sacred histories in verse" or "translations of the Bible in verse".

III. *Maríu Saga* and the "Marian Bible"⁸²

First of all, a brief insight into the translations-adaptations of the Bible is necessary in order to support our argument. In the early twelfth century, eminent members of the clergy, soon joined by clerks, began to translate, adapt, comment and paraphrase the Bible in both Latin and the vernaculars.⁸³ The starting point for all this is the transformation of "methods of

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁸² We borrow this term from J.-R. Smeets, "Les traductions, adaptations et paraphrases de la Bible en vers", H. R. Jauss (ed.), *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, vol. VI, *La littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique*, 2 vol., Heidelberg, Winter, 1968–1970, I, p. 48–57 and II, p. 81–96, I, p. 53.

⁸³ On all this, see P.-M. Bogaert, "Adaptations et versions de la Bible en prose (langue d'oïl)" and J.-R. Smeets, "Les traductions-adaptations versifiées de la Bible en ancien français", *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: définition, critique et exploitation. Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve*

reading and of interpreting the Bible". Amongst other things, this consisted of the addition of history "which is not that of the sole Bible, but that of humanity: this use was introduced in the ninth century in the practice of exegesis" in order to demonstrate "the connections between all the books of the Holy Scripture, between the Old and New Testament".⁸⁴ It then follows that the biblical text undergoes "a true metamorphosis which, certainly, was to meet very contemporary issues".⁸⁵ The biblical paraphrase is defined as:

... a transposition of an entire statement, and in fact, a rewriting of a document, in this case a text in the same language or in another. In other words, paraphrasing is conceived as a rhetorical reformulation [...] targeting an audience, identified explicitly or not. This directional reformulation incites one to piece together, and more specifically, to mix genres in order to captivate, seduce, nurture, convince and carry away.⁸⁶

This new interpretative approach would somehow be validated in a letter addressed by Pope Innocent III in 1199 to the Bishop of Metz, in which he imposed "a clear limit to the ambitions of laymen by submitting them to the doctrinal authority of the clerks. The Pope emphasizes the difficulties in interpreting the Bible, which require the assistance of competent clerks".⁸⁷ In 1228, in Paris, the General Chapter of the Dominican Order decreed that three books should be required in theological study: the *Glossa ordinaria*, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, and Peter Comestor's *Historia Scolastica*.⁸⁸ Consequently, André Vauchez recalls that in addition to the comments of the Fathers of the Latin Church, there were:

(25–27 mai 1981), Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1982, p. 249–258 and 259–277; P.-M. Bogaert, "Bible française", G. Hasenohr, M. Zink (dir.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge*, Paris, Le Livre de Poche, "La Pochothèque", 1994, p. 179–196.

⁸⁴ G. Lobrichon, "Un nouveau genre pour un public novice: la paraphrase biblique dans l'espace roman du XII^e siècle", D. Kullmann (ed.), *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 2009, p. 87–108, p. 94.

⁸⁵ G. Lobrichon, *ibid.*, p. 95.

⁸⁶ "... une transposition de l'ensemble d'un énoncé, et, en réalité, d'une réécriture d'un document, ici un texte, dans la même langue ou dans une autre. En d'autres termes, la paraphrase se conçoit comme une re-formulation rhétorique [...] en direction d'un public, spécifié explicitement ou non. Cette reformulation directionnelle incite au bricolage et, tout particulièrement, au mélange des genres, afin de captiver, de séduire, de nourrir, de convaincre et transporter", G. Lobrichon, *ibid.*, p. 97.

⁸⁷ "une limite claire aux ambitions des laïcs en les soumettant à l'autorité doctrinale des clercs. Le pape insiste sur les difficultés d'interprétation de la Bible, qui requièrent l'assistance de clercs compétents", G. Lobrichon, *ibid.*, p. 88.

⁸⁸ S. R. Daly, "Peter Comestor: Master of Histories", *Speculum*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 1957), p. 62–73, p. 71.

[o]n the desks of medieval libraries, the Bible [which] is, as a general rule, followed by the *Antiquitates Judaicae* and *De Bello Judaico* of the Romanized Jewish historian Flavius Josephus that complement, in Latin version, the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo of Alexandria, the narratives of the canonical books. All of it was summarized in a book of sacred history composed for students and which had a lasting success in teaching. [It is] the *Historia scolastica* of the “master of histories”, Peter Comestor († 1179), which adds excursus drawn from profane sources to the biblical frame, from the Genesis to the Acts of the Apostles.⁸⁹

As for medieval Norway and Iceland, according to Ian J. Kirby, who studied biblical translations into Old Norse in connection with those into French and into Anglo-Norman:

In the 12th century, Paris became especially popular as the centre of learning for the Nordic countries: Archbishop Erik of Nidaros and Bishop Þorlákur Þórhallsson of Skálholt studied there, and the works of the monks of St Victor and Peter Comestor became widely known. It is thus clear that the use of the Bible and translation from it in England, France and Germany in the medieval period may well throw some light on what might be expected in Norway and Iceland in the same period.⁹⁰

A. The “Marian Bible”: the *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere* by Herman of Valenciennes

Everything that is known about Herman of Valenciennes is in his text; namely, that he is a canon and a priest connected to the court of Hainaut. His poem, his only work, was widely disseminated. The *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere* by Herman was completed about 1190. It is a biblical poem written in 744 monorhymed alexandrine *laisses* typical of the *chanson de geste*, that is to say 6687 + 567 lines.⁹¹ The usual title of Herman’s

⁸⁹ “Sur les pupitres des bibliothèques médiévales, la Bible est, en règle générale, suivie des *Antiquités judaïques* et de la *Guerre des Juifs* de l’historien juif romanisé Flavius Josèphe qui complètent, en version latine, avec les *Antiquités bibliques* du Pseudo-Philon d’Alexandrie, les récits des livres canoniques. Le tout sera résumé dans un véritable manuel d’histoire sainte qui a connu un succès durable dans l’enseignement, l’*Historia scolastica* du ‘maître des histoires’, Pierre le Mangeur († 1179), qui agrmente d’excursus puisés aux sources profanes la trame biblique, de la Genèse aux Actes des apôtres”, A. Vauchez, “Bible au Moyen Âge”, *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge*, *op. cit.*, p. 174–179, p. 177.

⁹⁰ I. J. Kirby, *Bible Translation into Old Norse*, Genève, Université de Lausanne, “Publications de la Faculté des Lettres”, vol. XXVII, 1986, p. 7–8.

⁹¹ According to Ina Spiele’s edition which remains the most accessible. Thereupon, her work does not claim the status of a critical edition as she edited a single manuscript, Paris

poem is “*Bible*”, as it is divided into two parts, an “old” and a “new” testament. This compilation, which is for Jean Roberts Smeets a “Marian Bible [because] everything is done according to the Virgin”.⁹² The *Bible* of Herman consists of four parts: 1) the “Old Testament” which actually is a summary of sacred history from Adam to Solomon (l. 1–2694); 2) the account of Mary’s life, from her Conception to Christ’s Nativity (l. 2713–3520); 3) the “New Testament” which chronicles Christ’s life from his circumcision to his arrest (see 3521–6037) and to which is added a long excursus on John the Baptist (l. 3135–3211, l. 3857–4101); and 4) the *Assumption* (v. A1–A562).

The main sources are the following: the *Bible*⁹³, a version of the *De Nativitate Mariae*, the *Protoevangelium Jacobi*, the *Trinubium Annae*, the *Transitus W* (which is one of the Latin versions of *Pseudo-John*) and the *Transitus* of *Pseudo-Melito*, i.e. two *Transitus* that convey different traditions about the ultimate fate of Mary.⁹⁴ Other sources include, among others, sermons with those of Fulbert of Chartres, the *Homilies of the Assumption*, references to Augustine and Jerome. The author also drew on the *Cogitis me*, the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius Augustodunensis and the *Historia Scolastica* of Peter Comestor. According to Peter Morey:

Herman adopted the Comestrian model of telling stories within a biblical historical frame. One possibility [...] is that given Comestor’s predilection for glossing liturgical practice, the liturgical material may have been in the *Historia* and in large part transferred by Herman into his Bible.⁹⁵

The *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere* is one of the numerous translations, adaptations and paraphrases in verse of the Bible that appear from the twelfth century.⁹⁶ Moreover, it is one of the earliest Old French versifications of the Bible and its author is thus considered as “most remarkable

BNF fr. 20039. In her edition, the end of the *Passion* is missing and the *Assumption* is edited independently, which explains the difference in the references of the lines below. However, Ina Spiele was able to identify most of the texts used by Herman to write his *Bible*. For more details, see I. Spiele, *Li Romanz de Dieu et de sa mère d’Herman de Valenciennes, chanoine et prêtre (XII^e siècle)*, Leiden, Publications romanes de l’Université de Leyde, 21, 1975.

⁹² “Bible mariale [car] tout se fait en fonction de la Vierge”, J.-R. Smeets, *art. cit.*, I, p. 53.

⁹³ Ina Spiele suggests that Herman’s main source for biblical accounts was a missal or a breviary.

⁹⁴ See *supra* I.A.2.

⁹⁵ P. Morey, “Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible”, *Speculum*, 68, 1, 1993, p. 6–35, p. 17.

⁹⁶ J.-R. Smeets, *art. cit.*, I, p. 52–53.

for doing in the vernacular what Comestor had done in Latin only some ten or fifteen years before” – even if Herman was “more eclectic” than Peter Comestor when he added to his “mix” Marian apocrypha “which are indigenous to France”.⁹⁷

Among the main features of the text are, firstly, the dramatization of the most important episodes.⁹⁸ Maureen Boulton says that there is “evidence that Herman intended his *Bible* as a sermon – he uses the term to refer to his poem – preaching obedience to the will of God and devotion to Mary. [...] Clearly, Herman’s intent is to move his hearers to change their lives”;⁹⁹ and, secondly, a strong didactic intent. Indeed, in his text, Herman interpolates many comments whose purpose is, for example, to explain how scenes of the Old Testament are a prefiguration of what will happen in the New Testament. And thus, the first part is built according to the theory of the six ages, that is to say, the first age corresponds to Noah, the second, to Abraham, the third, to Moses, and the fourth, to David and Solomon. Herman stops at the fourth age. Thirdly, and far more so than Wace, he cites numerous episodes from the canonical Gospels; for example, the *Magnificat*, whereas Wace does not mention it. Herman includes the song of the Virgin, but inside the scene of the Annunciation, so that the Virgin quotes Luke 1, 38 at the end of the *Magnificat*:

Qant ce ot dit li angles si respondi Marie
 Ele estoit prex et sage et de grant signorie,
 S’ert dou saint esperit durement raamplie :
 3360 “Je ne sai, biaux amis, fait ele, que te die
 Fors tant que mon signor m’ame si magnifie,
 Car ele a grant leece de lui q’a em baillie.
 L’umilité regart li sires de s’amie.
 Les generations qui venront mil mile,
 3365 Faire puet que a fait. Ses nons me beneïe.
 Sor toutes naciõs sa merci et s’aïe
 Bien destruit l’orguillos qui en lui ne se fie,
 Les povres fait toz riches, les mendiz rassasie

⁹⁷ P. Morey, *art. cit.*, p. 17.

⁹⁸ For a detailed study, see C. Van Coolput-Storms, “Démarche persuasive et puissance émotionnelle : le *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere* d’Herman de Valenciennes”, M. Goyens, W. Verbeke (eds.), “*Lors est ce jour grant joie nee*”. *Essais de langue et de littérature françaises du moyen âge*, Louvain, Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2009, p. 71–96.

⁹⁹ M. Boulton, “The Lives of the Virgin by Wace and Herman de Valenciennes: Conventions of Romance and Chanson de Geste in religious Narrative”, D. Kullmann (ed.), *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2009, pp. 109–123, p. 120.

Et les puissanz destruit” les povres edefie.
3370 Israel ait ton fils si soit en ta baillie.
Si com le premeïs si ait de toi aïe
Abrehans et ses lins, com dist la profecie !
Je suis l’ancele Deu, ne sai que plus te die.
Soit selonc ta parole issi com l’aïe oïe !
(*laisse* 425, v. 3357–3374)¹⁰⁰

The fourth feature of the *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere* is that its author takes no stand on doctrinal issues of his time; for example, he does not refer to the Immaculate Conception. This is why Herman’s work can be characterized as a scholastic one in the sense that he “conforms to the method of Christian interpretation: he deciphers each episode in order to deliver its meaning in present history”,¹⁰¹ while not questioning the dogmas established by the Church. His task, as he himself says, is to translate a life of the Virgin from Latin into Old French, “Fai la vie en .i. livre ensi com je fui nee, [...] / De latin en romaniz soit toute transposee !” (l. 450–458), for those who do not read Latin, in order to write a universal history in which everything refers to the Virgin.

B. *Maríu saga*: a Sacred History of the Virgin in Old Norse

As already said, we do not know when, where and by whom *Maríu saga* was written, mainly because “large numbers of mediaeval manuscripts in Old Norse have vanished, especially manuscripts containing doctrinal or devotional matters of little interest to Protestant readers”.¹⁰² What we do know is that:

... the growing popularity of the University of Paris as an international centre of learning; the training of inter alia Archbishop Erik of Nidaros and (probably) Bishop Þorlákr Þórhallsson of Skálholt at the Abbey of St Victor, and the existence in Norway and Iceland of works produced there; the encouragement given by Archbishop Eysteinn to the Augustinians in settling in Norway – all these may be cited as evidence of close connection between the countries and their religious cultures.¹⁰³

The major feature of biblical translations, adaptations, versions and paraphrases – or rather the connections established between the books of the

¹⁰⁰ I. Spiele, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

¹⁰¹ “se conforme à la méthode de l’interprétation chrétienne : il décrypte chaque épisode pour en délivrer le sens dans l’histoire actuelle”, G. Lobrichon, *art. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁰² O. Widding and H. Bekker-Nielsen, “An Old-Norse Translation of the ‘Transitus Mariae’,” *Mediaeval Studies*, 1961, vol. 23, p. 324–333, p. 327.

¹⁰³ I. J. Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

Old and the New Testament – is one of the main features of *Maríu saga*. Indeed the Icelandic compiler often establishes these kinds of connections in his text. He actually began right from the Prologue in which he refers to Christ’s genealogy given in the *Gospel of Matthew*, thereafter explaining why David is listed first:

Ok nefnir Matheus því fyrr Davíð konung, at konungdómrinn merkir eilíft ríki og eilífan guðdóm allzvalldanda guðs, ok því Abraham síðarr, þó að hann væri fyrr í heimi, at guð hét honum at taka á sik manndóm ok láta beraz or hans ætt ok frá hans ættmönnum í þenna heim.¹⁰⁴

Moreover, in Chapter 5 of the saga, we see another connection when he interprets the first five levels of the *Song of Degrees* according to the theory of the six ages, “því at í þeim öllum hafa guðs ástvinir með þessum mannkostum þíónat drótni, sem pallarnir merkia”.¹⁰⁵ He continues by stating that the first age corresponds to Enoch, the second, to Noah, the Ark and the Flood, the third, to Abraham, the fourth, to Moses when he received the Ten Commandments, and the fifth, to David when he fought Goliath. Yet, in Chapter 10 of *Maríu saga*, another correlation can be established with the doctrinal of Pope Innocent III who, in his *Sermon 28*, opposed Marie to Eve because she “indicates the end of damnation and the beginning of salvation”. And this is why “[t]he one was called Eva, to the other was said ‘Ave’ because thanks to her the name of Eva was changed”:¹⁰⁶

Þat skýra ok helgar ritningar, fyrir hveria sök Gabriel hafði helldr þetta orð *Ave* í upphafe sinnar kveðiu til sællar Maríe, en annat þat er iöfn þýðing fylgir. En þat helldr til at þessir stafir ero í nafni Evo. Ok svá sem Eva leiddi bölvon yfir allt mannkyn í óhlýþni sinni í boðorða broti, svá leiddi María allan lýð til blezunar. Ok var því snúit stöfum í nafni Eva, ok hafðr sá fyrstr í hiálparkveðiunni, er síðastr var í nafni Eva, ok allir stafir ero öfgaðir þess nafns ok gört af Ave, at þá er öll sú bölvon niðr brotin, er af Evo hafði hlotiz, ok bakferlut, er almáttigr guð tók manndóm á sic til hiálpur öllu mannkyni.¹⁰⁷

The second feature of the Old Norse *Life of the Virgin* is the inclusion of occasionally lengthy, profane historical passages spelling out the significance of the material just presented; such as, the detailed description of Herod’s reign. We find the same historical background in the *Historia*

¹⁰⁴ *Maríu saga*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ B. K. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 147–148.

¹⁰⁷ *Maríu saga*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Scholastica. The third feature is that *Maríu saga* can be characterized as a scholastic work as, like Herman's work, the Icelandic compiler also conforms to the method of Christian exegesis. Thus, when in Chapter 4, the Icelandic clerk comments on the meaning of the fifteen steps of the Temple and of its associated psalms (*Psalms* 120–134), he does not quote the biblical text, but explains the meaning of each degree and psalm. For example:

Ok ero þeir sálmar síðan kallaðir canticum graduum, þat þýðizt palla lof-söngur. En neðsti pallr merkir heims höfnun. Ok þá er maðrinn steig á pallinn upp, þá skyldi hann hefia upp salminn Ad dominum dum tribul- larer, og biðia þess, at guð veitti honum þat at hafna þessum heimi og hans blíðu en elska himneska dýrð framarr öllum veralldar fagnaði.¹⁰⁸

With regard to the doctrinal stand of its compiler, the Old Norse *Life of the Virgin* remains within the classical scheme. For example, Pope Innocent III explicitly rejected the Immaculate Conception and the same doctrinal stand is taken in Chapter 3 of *Maríu saga*:

En eftir þat fóru þau heim og áttu hiúskaparfar saman, ok af því munúðlifi gátu þau barn. Ok var þat barn getit með hinni gömlu synd sem hvert annat, þat er af karlmanni ok konu gezt. Ok er þat fyrirboþit at hallda getnaðartíð ennar helgu Maríu ok hins helga Johannes baptista, fyrir því at þau vóro bæði með munúð getin. En af gipt ens helga anda var María hreinsut af enni gömlu synd í móður kviði, fyrr en hon væri fædd; ok ef menn vissi, á hverri tíð þat hefði verit er hon var hreinsut af enni gömlu synd og getin til fagnaðar, svá sem nú er barnit getit til fagnaðar, þá er þat er hreinsat í skírnarbrunninum frá enni gömlu synd, þá mætti þessa getnaðartíð hallda henni til dýrðar, ef í þessa minning væri gert, og vitat í hvern tíma hallda skyldi.¹⁰⁹

In this passage, the clerk states that it is forbidden to celebrate the conception of both Mary and John the Baptist as they were conceived in desire and that Mary's soul was purified from original sin by the Holy Spirit while she was in her mother's womb. Then he goes on explaining that only baptism cleanses from original sin. As for the Assumption of the Virgin's body, the clerk draws on the *Cogitis me*, 2 in which Paschasius Radbertus "rejects the *Pseudo-Melito*, negates the possibility that we can know the fact that [Mary's] purported burial place lies empty, and recommends that the question be entrusted to God alone".¹¹⁰ Pope In-

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7–8.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹¹⁰ B. K. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

nocent III avoided any definitive statement about the bodily Assumption. In *Maríu saga*, the clerk expresses his strong scepticism when, at the very end of Chapter 25, he does not add any comment after his final sentence “that now her grave lies empty”:

En önd hennar var upphafin yfir öll engla fylki, ok lúta allir englar henna, ok allir helgir menn á himni. En líkami sællar Marie var iarðaðr í dal þeim er heitir Vallis Josaphat. Þar var síðan dýrðlig kirkia gör henni til dýrðar. En nú er gröf hennar tóm fundin.¹¹¹

It can be taken for granted that the Icelandic compiler knew several *Transitus Mariae* and that he was aware of the theological and doctrinal debate which took place at that time. Yet his stand is in accordance with Hugh of St Victor who was certainly a disciple of Pseudo-Augustine, but that did not prevent him from referring to Pseudo-Jerome, that is to say Paschasius Radbertus, noting “that he had not positively denied the resurrection of Mary”.¹¹² Other mariological issues raised by the compiler of the saga include those concerning the name “Mary”, Mary’s perpetual virginity, Joseph’s doubts, the virginal birth without pain, Magi’s gifts, the Slaughter of the Innocents in Bethlehem.

Unlike Herman’s work, *Maríu saga* has two distinctive features. The first one is that the clerk also addresses christological issues; such as Jesus’s human and divine nature, the tears Christ shed three times, and more general theological problems; for example, the triple peace, the resurrection of the body at the Last Judgement, and the man made in the image and likeness of God. However, a thorough investigation of the content of these exegetical passages cannot be undertaken here. The second distinctive feature is that, far more so than the *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere*, *Maríu saga* contains numerous moral and liturgical instructions intertwined in the narrative of Mary’s life, which gives the saga a strong didactic tone. According to Laura Tomassini, the Icelandic clerk “regards the story of Mary’s life as a means of reminding his audience of the basic principles of their faith, and to instruct them in the essential Christian virtues”.¹¹³ Thus, every point of Mary’s biography is explained and commented in connection with the way the god-believer shall act and think.

¹¹¹ *Maríu saga*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹¹² “que ce dernier n’avait pas nié positivement la résurrection de Marie”, M. A. A. Jugie, *op. cit.*, p. 378–379.

¹¹³ L. Tomassini, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

IV. Conclusion

The study of *Maríu saga* in connection with other continental *Lives of the Virgin* may be summed up in the following way. All these texts share the same features whether it be from a literary or doctrinal perspective: 1) they are compilations that draw on canonical and apocryphal texts as well as the writings of the Fathers or ecclesiastical literature; 2) it is difficult to identify the sources used in the *Lives of the Virgin*; 3) their narrative includes the same parts, that is to say, the life of the Virgin from her conception to her Assumption in which accounts of the life of Jesus are included; and 4) theological explanations and exegetical comments are interpolated into the narration. In fact, these texts are “occasional compilations that are using pre-existing texts, but by interpreting them (one should say, by updating them) according to the doctrinal problems of their times”.¹¹⁴ So, it seems that, unlike what Wilhelm Heizmann stated in his article, if *Maríu saga* “contains numerous theological opinions and commentaries, which give the saga its distinctive stamp”,¹¹⁵ then it must be understood that it is within the genre of the hagiographic sagas as it is a common feature of the genre of the *Lives of the Virgin*. Moreover, as this analysis has tried to demonstrate, there is nothing “unusual, or even eccentric” in the “way of interweaving *vita* and theological commentary”¹¹⁶ in *Maríu saga* as its continental counterparts share the same feature. As for taking a stand on mariological issues, once again, the medieval *Lives of the Virgin* share this same feature, except for the “Marian Bible”. So, like Herman of Valenciennes, it can be implied that the Icelandic compiler of *Maríu saga* wanted to write a *Life of the Virgin*, which would be a *Sacred History of the Virgin* at the same time.

Yet, Wilhelm Heizmann was right when he concluded that *Maríu saga* is: “a work that is unique within the continental medieval tradition on Mary's life”,¹¹⁷ but just as the *Vita Rhythmica*, the *Conception Nostre Dame* and the *Romanz de Dieu et de sa Mere* also are unique. Indeed, if in Late Antiquity the question of the reception was not an issue, the same cannot be said of the Middle Ages. So, it seems that the genre of the *Lives of the Virgin* in the vernacular is now characterized above all by its ecles-

¹¹⁴ “des compositions de circonstances utilisant des textes déjà existents mais en les interprétant (on devrait dire, en les réactualisant) en fonction des problèmes doctrinaux de leur époque”, S. C. Mimouni, *art. cit.*, p. 248.

¹¹⁵ W. Heizmann, *art. cit.*, p. 407.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 408; see also G. Turville-Petre, *op. cit.*, p. 124–125.

¹¹⁷ W. Heizmann, *ibid.*, p. 408.

tic nature; the biographies of Mary are defined by their subject and, above all else, by their audience, even if their composition is the same as the Byzantine *Lives*'. The medieval Marian *vitae* were intended for different kinds of audience with various expectations. The monastic congregations and ecclesiastical audiences of both the *Vita Rythmica* and the "Marian Bible" would only have spiritual needs, while the Plantagenet Court, the intended audience of Wace's hagiographical poems, would look at the same time for literary entertainment. As for *Marín saga*, it seems that this work was intended for both monastic circles and lay congregations as the text contains numerous moral and liturgical instructions. In fact, the point that distinguishes *Marín saga* from other *Lives of the Virgin* is Chapter 24 in which what was said during the Fourth Lateran Council is related. It seems to be an appeal to an authority for the validation of the doctrinal points and spiritual guidance which takes on its full meaning when one realizes that the Council was dedicated to re-awakening lay spirituality. Moreover, it was in 1215 in Lateran that Peter Comestor's *Historia Scolastica*, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and his glosses on Paul and the Psalms received papal approval, and that:

The Church brought the Virgin, a model of obedience to the will of the Father, in its process of religious normalisation. The figure of the "servant" of the Gospels is [therefore] highlighted by medieval commentators.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ "L'Église fait entrer la Vierge, modèle d'obéissance à la volonté du Père, dans son dispositif de normalisation religieuse. La figure de la 'servante' des Évangiles est [dès lors] mise en relief par les commentateurs médiévaux.", S. Barnay, *La Vierge : Femme au visage divin*, Paris, Gallimard, "Découvertes", 2008, p. 59.

PHILIP LAVENDER

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 kildekrifters vigtighed...at dette også kom til at stå helt klart for deres svenske kolleger og konkurrenter førte snart til en intensivering af den siden århundredets 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 ademptura. 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 *formaldarsögur* 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 *fornaldarsögur*.

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 Grýðarfóstra eller Illuge Gryðarfostres 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, Wålsunga 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 jemwål 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 wål i Norrige, som Biarmeland och Hundingeland. Sedan hafwer han...begifwit sig hijt till Swerige, och blifwit Konung Yngwefreys, eller Ingwes Landwårns Man, och under honom en Fylkes, eller Häradz Konung...Hwad Stur-

lögers 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 Trållkarlen, 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 snareste 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 become 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 fyflum 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, Willh: 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: & Hilldar / Ill: sat hia Sugurdr / Siglu af land' ('Simlöð rode Illugi /

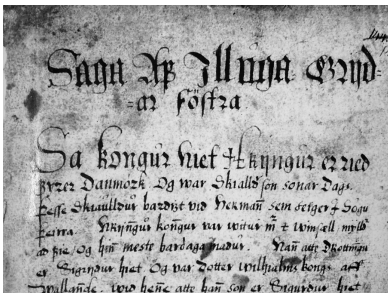


Fig. 1. Title and first lines from AM 203 fol., f.140r.

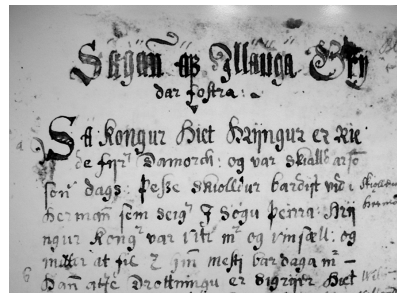


Fig. 2. Title and first lines from Papp. 4to nr. 21, f.1r.

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 foster 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 datter 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 became 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. 4to 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 ('biórn' becomes 'Biórn')
- '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 Brönufóstra* 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 'fylkis-kongur' ('regional king') at the end. The Swedish translation further emphasises this latter statement by explaining that he was a 'Fyllkis eller Häradz Konung'. The Swedish Academy's *Ordbok över svenska språket* says that a 'häradskonung' 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 Säfstaholmssamlingen 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 Gríðarfóstra* 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.

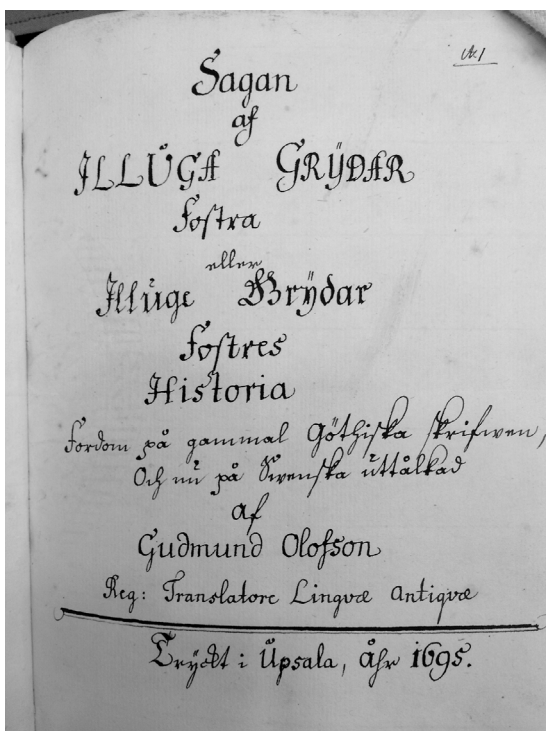


Fig. 3. Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 12, f.2r – Title page copying layout from printed edition.

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 Víðalín (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 Daniæ sed Scaniæ' ('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 *Sturlaug's 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 Herrauds* 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 Eysteinsonar*, 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 upptecknad. 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. Frukantan 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 Neiktors *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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SEÁN D. VRIELAND

The Pronunciation of *hj-* in Modern Faroese

1 Introduction

Handbooks of Modern Faroese (ModFar) treat the pronunciation [j] of *hj-* in anlaut as an “[e]xception” (Adams & Petersen 2009: 282), occurring “sometimes” (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 51) “in a few words” (Lockwood 2002: 17) such as *hjarta* [ja.ɹ̥ta] ‘heart’, *hjálpa* [jɔ̥lpa] ‘to help’, without further explanation of the divergence from the usual pronunciation [tʃ] as in *bjá* [tʃhɔ̥a:] ‘with, by’, *bjól* [tʃhɔ̥u:l] ‘wheel’. As of yet no explanation has been given as to which rules govern these divergent pronunciations, or how these pronunciations developed from a single Old Norse (ON) *hj-*. The present paper aims to fill these two gaps in our knowledge of this Faroese development, providing both synchronic and diachronic explanations of [j] and [tʃ], and comparing this development with that of the closest relative of Faroese, the now-extinct Norn language of Shetland.

2 The Faroese Material

The usual pronunciation [tʃ] is found in words such as the following and their derivatives:

- (1) *bjadna* [tʃhatna] ‘to fade away’ (ON *bjadna*)
- (2) *bjallur* [tʃhatlɔ̥] ‘outhouse for drying and storing’

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Abstract: Faroese displays two different pronunciations of *hj-* in anlaut: [j] before the voiceless approximates [ɹ̥] and [ɹ̥] as in *hjálpa* ‘to help’, *hjarta* ‘heart’; [tʃ] elsewhere as in *bjá* ‘by, with’. This development from Old Norse [h] comes via the intermediate stage [j̥], which later undergoes dissimilation of voice to [j] before voiceless approximates. A parallel development occurs in the Norn language of Orkney and Shetland, providing further evidence for a Faroese-Norn subgrouping of Insular Norse.

Keywords: Faroese, Norn, Insular Norse, language history, initial clusters, voiceless resonants, language subgrouping.

- (3) *hjalt* [tʃʰaɫ̥] or *hjölt* [tʃʰœɫ̥] ‘hilt (of a sword)’, also found in place-names
- (4) *Hjaltland* [tʃʰaɫ̥lant] (literary) ‘Shetland’
- (5) *hjaltakráka* [tʃʰaɫ̥takɾɑ:kɑ] ‘rook (*Corvus frugilegus*)’
- (6) *hjara* [tʃʰɛɑ:ɾɑ] ‘to reek, to utter a sound’
- (7) *Hjarnar* [tʃʰatnaɾ], personal name
- (8) *hjá* [tʃʰɑ:ɾ] ‘with, by’
- (9) *hjálmur* [tʃʰɔlmʊɾ] ‘helmet’
- (10) *Hjálprek* [tʃʰɔɫ̥prek], personal name
- (11) *hjána* [tʃʰɑ:na] ‘to waste away’
- (12) *hjó* [tʃʰɔ:u] ‘hewed’ (literary past tense of *högga* found alongside weak preterite *høgdi*)
- (13) *hjól* [tʃʰɔ:uɫ̥] ‘wheel’
- (14) *hjóm* [tʃʰɔ:um] ‘foam, white clouds’
- (15) *hjúkla* [tʃʰykla] ‘to look after someone’ (ModIcel *hjúkra*)
- (16) *hjún* [tʃʰu:n] ‘married couple’
- (17) *Hjördis* [tʃʰœɟis], personal name
- (18) *björra* [tʃʰœ:ɾɑ] ‘wooden hinge’

Meanwhile, words with the secondary pronunciation [j] consist of the following and their derivatives:

- (19) *Hjarðar-* [jɛɑ:ɾɑɾ] ‘herd’ (gen. sg. of †*hjörð*), found in place-names
- (20) *Hjalm-* [jal̥m] ‘helmet’, found in personal names
- (21) *hjalt* [jaɫ̥] or *hjölt* [jœɫ̥] ‘hilt (of a sword)’
- (22) *hjarta* [jaɾta] ‘heart’
- (23) *-hjálmur* [jɔlmʊɾ] ‘helmet’, found in personal name *Vilbjálmur*
- (24) *hjálpa* [jɔɫ̥pa] ‘to help’
- (25) *Hjør-* [jœɾ] ‘sword’, found in personal names
- (26) *björtur* [jœɾtʊɾ] ‘stag’

Analysis of the second list reveals that four of the words – *hjalt/hjölt* ‘hilt’, *hjarta* ‘heart’, *hjálpa* ‘to help’, and *björtur* ‘stag’ – contain a voiceless approximate [ɫ̥] or [ʃ] (specifically [ɫ̥]) in the first syllable, a feature found only in the pronunciations [tʃʰaɫ̥], [tʃʰœɫ̥] for *hjalt* and *hjölt*, respectively; place-names such as *Hjaltland* ‘Shetland’; the derived bird-name *hjaltakráka* ‘rook’; and the personal name *Hjálprek* among the forms pronounced with [tʃ]. Barring these and the proper names with *Hjarðar-* [jɛɑ:ɾɑɾ], *Hjalm-* [jal̥m], *-hjálmur* [jɔlmʊɾ], and *Hjør-* [jœɾ] as

exceptions, it becomes evident that the voiceless approximates [j̥] and [ɾ̥] play an integral role in the pronunciation of *hj-* in Faroese. Such a synchronic description, however, cannot fully account for the development of these divergent pronunciations.

3 Diachronic Development

In order to better understand how the voiceless approximates [j̥] and [ɾ̥] played a role in the development [hj] > [j], we must posit a three-stage chronology of sound changes from Old Norse to Modern Faroese.

The first stage involves the aspiration of resonants (including /j/) next to the aspirated phonemes /p t k h/, realized as the devoicing [R̥] > [ɾ̥]. While in anlaut the devoicing of resonants after an aspirated stop is not uncommon (cf. English *planned* [pʌænd] vs. *bland* [blænd]; Danish *plade* [pl̥æ:ð̥] ‘board’ vs. *blade* [bl̥æ:ð̥] ‘leaves (pl.)’; Grønnum 1998: 264 and passim), in Faroese this devoicing also occurred word-internally before the fortis stops /p t k/ in e.g. *hørpa* [hœ̥ɾpa] ‘harp’, *svartur* [sf̥aɹ̥tʉɹ] ‘black’, *fólk* [fœ̥lk] ‘people’. This development, connected with the development of preaspiration (cf. Pétur Helgason 2002: 17–21), is shared with Icelandic: *harpa* [har̥pa], *svartur* [sar̥tʉɹ], *fólk* [fœ̥lk].

Icelandic preserves Old Norse [hR̥] in anlaut as the voiceless resonants [ɲ̥ ɳ̥ ʀ̥] in e.g. *hnakki* [ɲ̥aʰkʲɪ] ‘nape (of the neck)’, *hlaupa* [l̥œ̥y:pa] ‘to run’, *brópa* [r̥œ̥u:pa] ‘to shout’; whereas in Faroese, which does not allow for word-initial voiceless resonants (Kristján Árnason 2011: 124), the voiced counterparts developed in e.g. *nakki* [naʰtʃ:ɪ] ‘nape (of the neck)’, *leypa* [l̥e̥i:pa] ‘to run’, *rópa* [r̥œ̥u:pa] ‘to shout’.¹ At an intermediate stage voiceless [R̥] must have occurred in the development of Faroese, however, including [j̥] in anlaut, still preserved in Icelandic in e.g. *bjá* [j̥jau:ɪ] ‘with, by’, *bjarta* [j̥jarta] ‘heart’.²

Faroese shows a divergence from Icelandic in the second stage, which is also the origin of the two distinct pronunciations of *hj-*. During this

¹ Pace Kristján Árnason (2011: 124), Faroese does not seem to have developed an occasional pronunciation [kn] from ON *kn*: ModFar *kneppa* [kn̥e̥pa] ‘to button’ preserves the original ON *kn-*, whereas ModIcel *hneppa* [ɲ̥e̥p:a] ‘id’ shows the development *kn-* > *hn-* also found in e.g. *hné* [ɲ̥je:] ‘knee’ < ON *kné* (ModFar *kn̥e* [kn̥je:]).

² Whether this resonant devoicing occurred in the combination *hv-* is unclear; in both Faroese and Icelandic this cluster merged with *kv-* [kf], although some dialects of Icelandic preserve a distinct pronunciation [xʷ] (cf. Kristján Árnason 2011: 6).

stage, syllables of the shape [jVRC], where [R] represents a voiceless approximate [ɿ] or [ʃ], underwent a dissimilation of aspiration (i.e. of voice), a process similar to e.g. Grassman's Law, which operated independently in Ancient Greek *τίθημι* 'I place, I put' and Sanskrit *dadhāmi* 'id', both from Proto-Indo-European **d^bé-d^beh₁-mi*. Voicing [j] > [j] would have been the only option for dissimilation at this stage, as clusters of the type R[+voice]C[-voice][+aspiration], i.e. a voiced resonant before a voiceless aspirated stop, were impossible. Whether this development would have occurred in syllables of the structure [jVN̥C], with a voiceless nasal, is unclear due to a lack of examples.

During the final stage the remaining voiceless approximate [j] hardened to [tʃ], likely via intermediate stages [j] > [ç] > [c] > [tʃ], the result of which shows a merger with (-)kj- and kV[+front] in e.g. *kjóli* [tʃ^hɔ̃u:lɿ] 'dress', *kirkeja* [tʃ^hɿtʃa] 'church', and with (-)tj- in most dialects as in *tjaldur* [tʃ^haltuɿ] 'oystercatcher (*Hæmatopus ostralegus*)'. Kristján Árnason (2011: 116) notes a preservation of a distinct [tʃ] ([t^hj] in his transcription) on Suðuroy, where the national bird is pronounced [tʃaltuɿ].

That this hardening [j] > [ç] > [c] > [tʃ] must have occurred after the dissimilation [j] > [j] in stage 2 is evidenced by words with initial kj-, which affricate to [tʃ] even when followed by a voiceless resonant as in *kjálki* [tʃ^hɔ̃tʃɿ] 'jaw', *kirkeja* [tʃ^hɿtʃa] 'church', showing syllables of the structure [tʃ^hVRC] are not phonologically impossible in Faroese.

Table 1 provides a summary of these three stages.

Such a diachronic explanation, which accounts for the majority of words with initial hj-, nevertheless leaves a few forms unexplained: the [tʃ] pronunciation in *hjalt/hjølt* 'hilt', *Hjaltland* 'Shetland', and *hjaltakráka* 'rook (*Corvus frugilegus*)', as well as a number of proper names.

Table 1. Diachronic development.

	ON <i>hjalpa</i> 'to help'	ON <i>hjól</i> 'wheel'	ON <i>kjalki</i> 'jaw'
1. Aspiration (devoicing) [R] > [R̥]	[ja]pa]	[jo:l]	[kja]ki]
2. Dissimilation [j] > [j]	[ja]pa]	[jo:l]	[c ^h a]ci]
3. Hardening > [tʃ]	[jɔ̃]pa]	[tʃ ^h ɔ̃u:l]	[tʃ ^h ɔ̃tʃɿ]

4 Proper Names and Other Exceptions

In general, personal names with initial *Hj-* in Faroese show a tendency towards the pronunciation [j], although not exclusively. Table 2 below contains the personal names found on *Fólkenavnalistin*, the list of Faroese names approved by the *Løgting* in 1992 (cf. Andreasen & Dahl 1997: 233–55); names found in the ballads and listed by Hammershaimb in his *Færøsk anthologi* (1891: 432); and place-names found in the Faroe Islands and elsewhere.

The four names listed by Hammershaimb – *Hjálmar*, *Hjálprek*, *Hjarnar*, and *Hjördis* – are all exclusively cited with the pronunciation [tʃ] ([tʃ] in Hammershaimb’s rendering). While Hammershaimb’s pronunciation of *Hjálprek*, the only name not found on *Fólkenavnalistin*, violates the rule of [j] before [R̥], Svabo (cf. Matras 1939: 89) renders the name of the king found in the ballad *Dysjadólgur* (in *Sjúrdar Kvæði*) as *Jaltri*,³ indicating a pronunciation which follows the rule. J.H. Schrøter’s manuscript of *Sjúrdar Kvæði* renders the king’s name as *Hialtri*, distinguishing the pronunciations [j] and [tʃ] in the line “kjaa Hjalti kongji sveav” (Matras 1951–53: 63) and elsewhere in the manuscript (c.f. Matras 1951–53: XL).

Although Hammershaimb’s rendering of *Hjördis* as [tʃördis] follows

Table 2. Faroese names with *hj-*.

Old Norse Element	Names with [tʃ]	Names with [j]
<i>hjørð</i> ‘herd’		<i>Hjarðardalur</i> , <i>Hjarðarvágur</i>
<i>hjalmr</i> ‘helmet’	<i>Hjálmar</i>	<i>Hjalgrímur</i> , <i>Hjalmar</i> , <i>Hjalma</i> , <i>Vilhjálmur</i>
<i>hjalt</i> ‘hilt (of a sword)’	<i>Hjaltaboðarnir</i> , <i>Hjaltastøð</i> , <i>Hjaltland</i>	
<i>hjølþ</i> ‘help’	<i>Hjálprek</i>	
<i>hjarn</i> ‘brain’	<i>Hjarnar</i>	
<i>hjør</i> ‘sword’	<i>Hjördis</i>	<i>Hjördis</i> , <i>Hjørgrímur</i> , <i>Hjørleivur</i> , <i>Hjormundur</i>
<i>hjørtr</i> ‘stag’		<i>Hjørtur</i> , <i>Hjartvar</i> , <i>Hjartvør</i>

³ Cf. *Føroya Kvæði* (ed. Grundtvig & Block 1951–63) vol. I, ballad 10 (pages 311–25), which renders the line “næsta manni Hjálprek kongi” (A: 14), in Svabo’s orthography “Nasta Manni Jaltri Kongji” (Matras 1939: 89). Other versions of the ballad in *Føroya Kvæði* give “næsti maður Hjálprek kongi” (B: 21), “næstur manni Hjálpreki” (C: 21), “næstur maður Hjálprek kongi” (D: 23).

the expected developments outlined above, *Fólknavnalisti*n lists all of the names with the element *Hjør-* as pronounced [jør] (i.e. [jœɪ]). Significantly, the lexeme †*hjør* ‘sword’ (ON *hjorr*) is not found in Modern Faroese. Furthermore, *Hjördis* is a common name in Danish, whose [j] pronunciation may likely be a contributing factor to this and other names beginning with *Hjør-*.

A clearer example of Danish influence on Faroese names can be found in *Hjalmar* [jalmaɪ], a variant which cannot be the result of internal Faroese development not only because of the rules outlined above, but also as it lacks the lengthening of *a > á* before *l* plus non-dental consonant, a development Faroese shares with Icelandic (cf. Thráinsson et al. 2004: 395–96). That *Hjalmar* specifically comes from Danish is especially evident in contrast to the native Faroese form of the name, *Hjálmar* [tʰɔlmaɪ].

Vilhjálmur ‘William’ does show the lengthening of *a > á*, which suggests the name derived internally and thus requires another explanation for the pronunciation [-jɔlmuɪ]. Sørli (1936: 105) notes word-internal *h* was lost in Faroese names with *-hild*, e.g. *Gunnild*, *Svanild*, and *Grimild*, in Sandoyarbók (nineteenth century). The loss of *h* in *Vilhjálmur* (occasionally spelled *Viljormur*, cf. Andreasen & Dahl 1997: 47) may therefore be attributed to its word-internal position.

Two elements found in place-names also seem to defy the rules established above, namely *Hjørð-* ‘herd’ and *Hjalt-* ‘hilt (of a sword)’. The former, which does not survive as an independent lexeme †*hjørð* (ON *hjørð*) in the spoken language, is preserved only in the gen. sg. *Hjarðar-* in the place-names *Hjarðardalur* and *Hjarðarvállur* (cf. Matras 1933: 148–49). A misspelling of *Hjarðardalur* as *Jarðardalur* gives insight to the possible confusion with *jørð* ‘earth’, gen. sg. *jarðar* [jɛ̃aɪ.ɪaɪ], an element found in the place-name *Jarðarkonuáir*,⁴ Sandavágar.

Hjalt- ‘hilt (of a sword)’ is found in two place-names in the Faroe Islands, *Hjaltastøð* (Froðba) and *Hjaltaboðarnir* (Saksun), as well as in the literary form *Hjaltland* ‘Shetland’. The independent lexeme, either *hjalt* (neut.) or *hjølt* (fem.), additionally survives in the ballads, though not in the spoken language. Hammershaimb (1891: 432) assigns the pronuncia-

⁴ This place-name derives from **Jarðarkonu-áir* ‘water rail (gen. sg.)-rivers (nom. sg.)’. The bird-name *jarðarkona* ‘water rail (*Rallus aquaticus*)’, lit. ‘earth-woman’ (occasionally *jaðrakona* with a supposed connection to *jaðar* ‘edge’), may be a folk etymology if connected to Icelandic *jaðrakan* ‘godwit (*Limosa*)’ (cf. Lockwood 1961: 22–23). Nevertheless, the Faroese interpretation of the first element in *Jarðarkonuáir* as the gen. sg. of *jørð* ‘earth’ is clear.

tion [tʃ] to these forms, while Jacobsen & Matras (1961) consider both [j] and [tʃ] as acceptable pronunciations in *Hjaltland* ‘Shetland’ and the derived bird-name *hjaltakráka* ‘rook (*Corvus frugilegus*)’ (lit. “Shetland crow”).⁵ Lockwood (1961: 21) gives only the pronunciation [tʃ] for *hjaltakráka*, and further notes the Northern Islands rendering *skjálvtakráka* [ʃɔ̃lta], lit. “shivering crow”. These two renderings of the ornithonym must have already diverged by the turn of the nineteenth century, as Svabo (1966) lists two separate entries for the bird: *Hjaltakraaka*, to which he gives no indication of a pronunciation [tʃ],⁶ and *Sjalta-Kraaka*, which he connects to Icelandic *skjálfti* ‘shivering, quake’ (ModFar *skjálvti*).

5 Norn: A Similar Development?

The connection between Faroese and its southerly neighbor goes further than the name *hjaltakráka*. Faroese shares many common features with the Norn language formerly spoken in Shetland and Orkney,⁷ including a separate development of *hj-* before voiceless approximates. Jacobsen (1921) defines the regular outcome of ON *hj-* as [ʃ] (orthographically *sj* and rendered as [ʃ] in his pronunciation guide), found in the following examples in his dictionary of Shetland Norn:

- (1) *sjalti* [ʃaˈlti] or [ʃoˈlti] ‘sandhopper (*Grammarus* or *Copepoda*)’, ‘small horse, Shetland pony’. While the meaning ‘small horse’ derives from ON *hjalti*, *hjaltr* ‘Shetlander’ (on which see below), Jacobsen notes the meaning ‘copepod’ may be connected with Sw dial. *skjalta* ‘to spring to and fro’, an explanation preferred by Marwick

⁵ Amusingly, this migratory bird is occasionally dubbed *Føreyjabrafn* ‘Faroe raven’ in Icelandic (cf. Lockwood 1961: 21).

⁶ Svabo’s exceptionally phonetic orthography, which predates the etymological orthography of Hammershaimb (used as the basis of standard Faroese orthography today), provides invaluable clues to the pronunciation of Faroese in the late eighteenth century. Of the words with original *hj-* in ON, Svabo lists those pronounced [j] under *Hj-* and *J-* (e.g. *Hjaalp/Jaalp* ‘help’, *Hjarta/Jarta* ‘heart’), while those pronounced [tʃ] are listed under *Kj-* (e.g. *Kjēul* ‘wheel’, *Kjūm* ‘married couple’). Curiously, *Hjaltakraaka* ‘rook’ is only listed under *Hj-*, although the pronunciation [j] is nevertheless clear.

⁷ Barnes (1984: 362) notes three features shared only between Faroese and (Foula, Shetland) Norn: 1) *skerping* (Verschärfung) following ON *ó* or *ú* as in ModFar *sjógvur* ‘sea’, Norn *sheug* ‘id’ < ON *sjór*; 2) word-final /m/ > /n/ in unstressed position, e.g. ModFar *bonum* [ho:nun] ‘him (dat.)’, Norn *honon*; 3) word-initial /θ/ > /h/ sporadically, e.g. ModFar *betta* ‘this’, Norn *ita* (via **hitta*) ‘id’ < ON *þetta*.

(1929: 154). A possible connection with ON *skjálfti* ‘shivering, quake’ (ModFar *skjálvti*) must not be excluded, considering the Faroese dialectal form *skjálvtakráka* ‘rook’ seen above. Furthermore, the [o] in the second pronunciation [ʃoʔlti] can only be explained as the rounding of ON *a* > (*á* >) *o* before *l* plus non-dental consonant (cf. Shetland Norn *kjolke(a)* ‘jaw’ < ON *kjalkei*), making *skjálfti* the likeliest candidate (ModFar *skjálvti* [ʃoʔlti]).

- (2) *sjar* [ʃār] ‘to creak’; cf. ModFar *hjara* ‘to utter a weak sound’
- (3) *sjarl* [ʃarʲ], *sjarri* [ʃari] ‘wooden hinge’; cf. ModFar *hjorra*
- (4) *sjask* [ʃāsk] ‘mist, fog’; cf. Dan dial. (Jutland) *hjaskevejr* ‘weather with enough precipitation to form puddles’, Dan *sjaskevejr* ‘id’
- (5) *sjask* [ʃask] ‘trouble, fatigue’; cf. Dan dial. (*h*)*jask* ‘poorly executed, sloppy’
- (6) *sjel* [ʃēʲ] ‘plank for hens to sit on’; cf. ModFar *hjallur* ‘storehouse, drying-house’, an outhouse made of vertical slats with space between to let wind through for drying fish or other meat
- (7) *sjolmet* [ʃālmət] ‘white-headed (of a cow)’; cf. ModFar *hjálmuttur*, *hjolmutur* ‘id.’ < ON **hjálmótr* ‘helmeted’

Unlike in Faroese, *hj-* did not harden to [tʃ] in Norn, but rather developed into the sibilant [tʃ] < [ç]. This remained distinct from original *kj-* which was preserved in Shetland Norn *kjolke(a)* [kjāʲlk(a)] ‘jaw’ (Jakobsen 1921: 398) and palatalized in Orkney Norn *chocks* [tʃo:ks] ‘id’ (Marwick 1929: 27), both from ON *kjalkei* ‘id’. In Shetland *hj-* merged with original *tj-* as in *sjalder* ‘oystercatcher’ < ON *tjaldr*, while in Orkney these sounds remained distinct: *chalder* [tʃaldər] ‘oystercatcher’ but *shuimit* [ʃəmət] ‘white-headed (of a cow)’ (Shetland *sjolmet*) < ON **hjálmótr* (cf. Marwick 1929).

Significantly, Jakobsen lists one exception to the development *hj* > *sj* in Shetland Norn, namely *jarta* [jaʲrta] ‘heart’. That such a development should occur in such a common word (which still survives as *yarta* ‘dear’, a term of endearment in the Shetland dialect of insular Scots, cf. *DSL*) provides a strong indication that a similar development [hʲ] > [j] > [j] before voiceless approximates [ʀ] occurred in Norn as it did in Faroese.

6 *Sjalti* and *Shetland*

Of the examples in Jakobsen’s dictionary, only *sjalti* ‘small horse, Shetland pony’ displays the sibilant [ʃ] before a voiceless approximate [j̥]. The form clearly derives from ON *hjalti* ‘Shetlander (person)’, although

Jakobsen gives no indication of this meaning in the Shetland Norn form *sjalti*. That a population would reduce their own ethnonym to the name of a horse is improbable at best, whereas examples of foreign populations reassigning ethnonyms to animal designations are widespread, cf. *Arabian* (horse), *Great Dane* (dog), *Manx* (cat).

The native Norn descendent of ON *hjalti* is recorded by the eighteenth-century natural historian Sir Robert Sibbald in his *Description of the Islands of Orkney and Shetland* (reprinted 1845):

[...] from this Isle [Yell, Shetland] all the Inhabitants of these Isles in their Countrey Language [i.e. Norn] call themselves *Yalts*, which in our Language also signifies a *Shetlander*, and their Language by themselves is called *Yaltmol* [...] (pg. 68)

Sibbald (1845: 11) further tells us that “in the old Language of the Natives, they [Shetland] are name *Yealtaland*”. Barnes (2010: 29) considers these forms to be incorrectly attributed to the Shetlanders, noting that “in both Orkney and Shetland Norn initial *hj-* seems mostly to develop to [ʃ]”, and instead considers these to be Scandinavian designations also described by Sibbald (1845: 11): “the *Norwegians* call them *Yealteland*; and the people are called by them and the *Danes*, *Yealtines*, and their speech *Yealta mole*”.

However, at least the forms *Yalt-* < ON *hjalti* ‘Shetlander’ and *Yaltmol* < ON **hjaltamál* ‘language of the Shetlanders’ must be native Norn forms, as they parallel the development of Norn *jarða* < ON *hjarta*. *Yealtaland* ‘Shetland’ also seems to follow this pattern, although the spelling *Yea-* may reflect a Norwegian progressive umlaut found in *Hjeltland*, *Hjetland*, both later variations of ON *Hjaltland* ‘Shetland’.⁸ The form *sjalti*, however, defies this development; both the initial [ʃ] and the meaning ‘small horse, Shetland pony’ must therefore be of foreign origin.

Scots *schaltie* is recorded once in 1516 with the meaning ‘Shetlander (person)’, and within a century the meaning ‘small horse, Shetland pony’

⁸ Significantly troublesome is the medial *-a-* in Sibbalds rendering *Yealtaland*. Jakobsen (1901: 175–176) notes an ON form †*Hjaltaland* is never found, and that the archipelago is rather named *Hjaltland*. He rejects the etymology being ON *Hjalti* (personal name) in favor of ON *hjalt* ‘hilt (of a sword)’. Such an etymology is further strengthened by the variant form *Hetland*, the form still in use in Faroese, which displays a lack of breaking as a member of a compound, a phenomenon found elsewhere in ON as in *bjarg* ~ *berg* ‘rock’, *fjall* ~ *fell* ‘mountain’, *björn* ~ *ber* (as in *berserkr*) ‘bear’. Though considered by some to be a later form of *Hjaltland* (cf. C-V), *Hetland* is found as early as 1190 in a Latin diploma (see Johnston & Johnston 1907–13: 19).

arises in *scheltie hors* (1612), *shaltie mear* (1685) (*DSL*). The pronunciation [ʃ] for original [hʃ] is not unknown in Scots, and can be found in such variants as *shool* ‘husk (of corn)’ (variant of *huil* ‘id’), *Shewey* ‘Hughie (nickname)’, *shuge* ‘huge’. Britton (1991) considers a phonological development [hʃ] > [ç] > [ʃ] to be native to both Scots and Northern English, evident as early as the thirteenth century in place-names in Yorkshire and Cumbria: *Shap* (Cumbria), *Shaps* (East Riding), *Shipton* (East Riding and North Riding). In the case of *schaltie*, the first stage [hʃ] > [j] may have already occurred within Norn, as this development also occurred in the native form *Yalt-* before the dissimilation [j] > [ʃ], and initial [j] or [ç] borrowed into Scots could have no other outcome than [ʃ].

The development [hʃ] > [ʃ] in the name *Shetland*⁹ is first attested in a Latin diploma from 1289, which mentions *Thorwaldus de Shetland*. While Britton (1991: 14) considers this the earliest evidence of a West Norse [hʃ] > [ʃ], Munch (1852: 47) attributes the form to a Scottish scribe. Lars Brink (personal communication, 2014) suggests a Latin spelling <sh> may also represent [j], as such a sound is difficult to render in the Latin alphabet.

In any case, by the fifteenth century Scots manuscripts show two main variants, *Shetland* and *Zetland* (*Zetland* in print), whereas Norse manuscripts consistently show *Hietland* or *Hieltland*. Initial [ʃ] in *Shetland* may therefore be attributed to a Scots development, while the grapheme <ʒ> in *Zetland* represents the pronunciation [ç] as seen in e.g. *ʒaik* ‘shake’ (variant of *schake*), *ʒho* ‘she’ (variant of *scho*).

7 Conclusion

Despite being labelled as exceptions, Faroese *hjarta* ‘heart’ and Norn *jarta* ‘id’ follow an identical pattern, namely the voicing of [j̥] to [j] before a voiceless approximate [l̥] or [r̥]. Although historical documentation is scant, it is possible to reconstruct the process by which the divergent pronunciations of Faroese [tʃ], [j] and Norn [ʃ], [j] developed from

⁹ Not included in this discussion is *Shapinsay* and the suggested etymology *Hjalpandisey* found as early as Munch (1852: 98) and still common among discussions of Norn [hʃ] > [ʃ]. A number of problems surround this etymology, not least of which being the earliest attestation of the name in Johannes de Fordun’s 1735 work *Chronica Gentis Scottorum*, there spelled *Scalpandisay*.

a uniform ON *hj-*. First, [hj] simplified into the voiceless approximate [j̥] in all of the insular Nordic languages (Faroese, Norn, and Icelandic), while resonants were devoiced before the fortis stops *p t k*. Second, forms with [j̥VR̥C] voiced the initial approximate to [j̥VR̥C] in Faroese and Norn, while such forms remained voiceless [j̥VR̥C] in Icelandic. Third, remaining [j̥] affricated to [tʃ] in Faroese and assibilated to [ʃ] in Norn, both likely via an intermediated stage [ç]. This development of two divergent pronunciations provides further evidence pointing to a Faroese-Norn subgrouping of Insular Norse.

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SANNA SKÄRLUND

Har *folk* blivit ett pronomen?

Utvecklingen av ordet *folk* under perioden 1300–2013

1 Inledning

Ordet *folk* anses vanligen vara ett substantiv (se t.ex. *Svensk ordbok: utgiven av Svenska Akademien* 2009, 1:798). Det finns dock tecken på att ordets ordklassstillhörighet är mer komplicerad än så. I *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* (1926, 8:F1058) nämns att *folk* i vissa användningar liknar ett obestämt pronomen, jämförbart med det generiska *man*. En liknande beskrivning ges i *Svenska Akademiens grammatik* (1999, 2:393). Ordets ordklassstillhörighet diskuteras också i *Språkriktighetsboken* (2005:240) där det förklaras att *folk* i betydelsen 'människor (i allmänhet)' är på väg att bli ett pronomen med flertalsbetydelse. Att substantiv motsvarande det svenska *folk* utvecklas till pronomen rapporteras dessutom från flera

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Skärlund, S., Ph.D. student, Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, Sweden. "Is the noun *folk* ('people') becoming a pronoun? The development of *folk* during 1300–1999". *ANF* 129 (2014), s. 245–280.

Abstract: The Swedish word *folk* ('people') is normally considered an ordinary noun. This classification is, however, not completely unproblematic, since it is sometimes claimed that *folk* is actually undergoing a word-class change, becoming more and more pronoun-like. Similar changes from noun to generic pronoun are also attested for words with the meaning 'people' in other languages, making this a possible grammaticalization path for such nouns. This article investigates the claim that *folk* is becoming a generic pronoun. Is this claim true, and, if it is, when did this development start? Occurrences of *folk* in texts and corpora from the period 1300–2013 are analysed with respect to both syntactic and semantic characteristics. The analysis shows that *folk* in the studied material is used more and more often without premodifiers, in a way similar to that of a pronoun. It is also apparent that almost all occurrences of *folk* today has a general, abstract meaning, compared to before ca. 1900, when the word was used with many different, more specific senses. This is typical for a grammaticalization process as it can be understood as a case of semantic bleaching, and it is argued that the development of *folk* is actually a case of grammaticalization taking place in the present.

Keywords: *folk*, generic pronoun, grammaticalization, syntactic change, semantic change, reanalysis, analogy, Swedish.

andra språk (Taylor 2009, Hoekstra 2010); fenomenet ser allmänt ut att kunna beskrivas som en grammatikaliseringsprocess.

I denna artikel undersöks antagandet att ordet *folk* håller på att bli ett pronomen. Stämmer detta påstående och när påbörjades i så fall en sådan utveckling? För att kunna svara på dessa frågor studeras belägg på *folk* i svenska texter från början av 1300-talet till 2013, både hur ordet används syntaktiskt och dess betydelser under olika perioder.

I följande avsnitt 2 ges den teoretiska bakgrunden till analysen, följt av avsnitt 3 där syfte och utgångspunkter presenteras. Avsnitt 4 och 5 beskriver det material och den metod som har använts i studien. Efter att resultatet av undersökningen redovisas i avsnitt 6, ägnas avsnitt 7 åt att analysera detta resultat genom att relatera de olika studerade perioderna till varandra och till den teoretiska bakgrunden. Avsnitt 8 sammanfattar studien och diskuterar varför den analyserade förändringen har skett.

2 Bakgrund

Detta avsnitt är uppdelat i tre delar. I den första diskuteras skillnaderna mellan substantiv och pronomen utifrån *Svenska Akademiens grammatik* (1999, 2). I den andra ges en bakgrund till begreppet grammatikalisering. I den tredje och sista delen skildras de olika betydelser *folk* har i fornsvenska och modern svenska utifrån Söderwalls ordbok (1884–90, 1:267) och *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* (1926, 8:F1058ff.).

2.1 Skillnader mellan substantiv och pronomen

För att ta reda på om *folk* håller på att genomgå ett ordklassbyte måste vi först undersöka skillnaderna mellan substantiv och pronomen.

Svenska Akademiens grammatik (hädanefter SAG, 1999, 2:57) förklarar att substantivs normala funktion är att vara huvudord i nominalfraser. SAG upplyser också om att svenska substantiv har ett inneboende grammatiskt genus (utrum/neutrum) och att de flesta substantiv böjs efter antal (singular/plural) och bestämdhet (bestämd/obestämd).

Pronomen, å andra sidan, kan delas in i två grupper: substantiviska och adjektiviska pronomen (SAG 1999, 2:236). *Folk* bör tillhöra den förra gruppen om ordet ska ses som ett pronomen.¹ Substantiviska pronomen

¹ *Folk* sägs nämligen likna det generiska pronomenet *man*, vilket ses som ett substantiviskt pronomen (SAG 1999, 2:246).

fungerar enligt SAG (1999, 2:236) som huvudord i nominalfraser på samma sätt som substantiv, dock normalt utan bestämmingar. Pronomen sägs också ha en svag deskriptiv betydelse (SAG 1999, 2:238).

Substantiv och substantiviska pronomen liknar varandra på flera sätt. Skillnaden mellan dessa anses främst vara att substantiviska pronomen inte böjs efter bestämdhet eller numerus och vanligtvis inte kan ta framförställda attribut (SAG 1999, 2:115, 236). En annan skillnad är att substantiv har ett inneboende grammatiskt genus; en del substantiviska pronomen har istället olika former beroende på om referenten är animat eller inanimat, kvinna eller man: *den/det, hon/han* (SAG 1999, 2:256).

Folk har inherent genus på samma sätt som ett substantiv (*ett folk* men inte **en folk*). I likhet med substantiviska pronomen verkar ordet däremot inte böjas efter numerus (*ett folk, flera folk*), vilket dock är inte särskilt förvånande eftersom substantiv i neutrum som slutar med konsonant saknar böjningssuffix i plural (jfr *ett barn, flera barn*). *Folk* kan dessutom böjas i bestämd form som ett substantiv: *folket*. Det finns alltså flera tecken på att *folk* fungerar som ett substantiv.

Att *folk* ska ses som ett substantiv gäller dock inte i alla sammanhang. Enligt SAG (1999, 2:393) kan *folk* anses vara ett generaliserande pronomen med inneboende pluralt numerus när ordet är jämförbart med *man* i betydelsen 'vem som helst av en given grupp personer'. Att *folk* i denna betydelse är pluralt framgår enligt SAG av adjektivens form i exempel (1) och (2) nedan:

- (1) **Folk** är så **tanklösa**, fast de borde veta bättre.
- (2) ***Folk** är väldigt **snällt** här.

Det förklaras emellertid också att *folk* fortfarande har kvar vissa egenskaper som substantiv eftersom det kan ta ett adjektiv i singular som framförställt attribut och dessutom (till skillnad från det generiska pronomenet *man*) följas av ett anaforiskt personligt pronomen i tredje person:

- (3) Så gör **duktigt folk**. **De** skapar världen!

Trots att *folk* i (3) tar ett attribut i singular följs det alltså samtidigt av ett personligt pronomen i tredje person, som om det vore plural. Ett sätt att tolka detta är att *folk* i (3) är grammatiskt singulart men samtidigt uppfattas som semantiskt pluralt.

Språkriktighetsboken (2005:240) förklarar att *folk* håller på att bli ett pronomen med flertalsbetydelse när ordet har betydelsen 'människor (i allmänhet)'. I denna användning sägs ord som hör ihop med *folk* böjas i plural. När ordet har betydelsen 'etnisk grupp' sägs det däremot fun-

gera som ett vanligt substantiv med tillhörande adjektiv i singular. Jämför (4) och (5) nedan:

- (4) **Folk** låg **nakna** på stranden och solade.
 (5) **Zulufolket** blev **kuvat** när boerna utvandrade från Kaplandet.

Enligt *Språkriktighetsboken* kan *folk* i (4) men inte i (5) anses vara ett pronomen. Såsom framgår av (3) måste ordet dock inte nödvändigtvis ha betydelsen 'etnisk grupp' för att kunna ta ett adjektiv i singular som attribut. Även om *duktigt folk* kan ses som en avgränsad grupp är detta knappast en etnisk grupp jämförbar med Zulufolket.

2.2 Grammatikalisering

Om *folk* håller på att förvandlas till ett pronomen kan denna utveckling tolkas som ett exempel på processen grammatikalisering. Hopper & Traugotts (2003:18) välkända definition av grammatikalisering är "a term referring to the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions" (jfr Meillet 1921 [1912]:131, Kuryłowicz 1965:69, Lehmann 1985:303). Kortfattat innebär grammatikalisering alltså en språklig förändringsprocess där lexikala konstruktioner (främst substantiv och verb) får grammatiska funktioner (som t.ex. hjälpverb, prepositioner och pronomen).

Viktiga mekanismer som leder till grammatikaliseringen av ett ord är reanalys och analogi (Hopper & Traugott 2003:39). Reanalys beskrivs som en process genom vilken åhöraren tolkar ett yttrande som att det har en annan struktur och/eller en annan innebörd än vad talaren avsett. Analogiska processer gör sedan att det omtolkade yttrandet sprids till nya sammanhang där den nya tolkningen, vilken i reanalysen varit osynlig, blir synlig (Hopper & Traugott 2003:63f). Då yttrandet dyker upp i en kontext där den gamla tolkningen är omöjlig blir det nämligen uppenbart att en utveckling skett (jfr Traugott & Dasher 2002:44). Analogi är därmed ofta en förutsättning för att en språklig förändring med säkerhet ska kunna konstateras.

Utvecklingen från en äldre form A till en nyare form B kan enligt Hopper & Traugott (2003:122) förstås utifrån formeln $A > B/A$ ($> B$) (jfr även Heine 2003, Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2003). Grammatikalisering innebär dock inte alltid att den äldre formen A helt försvinner ur bruk. Istället kan de två formerna samexistera under lång tid – ett fenomen känt som skiktning ("layering") (Hopper 1991:22ff).

En reanalys antas vara ögonblicklig; den gradvisa utveckling man ofta stöter på i grammatikaliseringsprocesser beror istället på att den nya formen långsamt sprids inom språkliga system och språksamhällen (Hopper & Traugott 2003:229). Kvantitativa studier av en forms frekvens kan enligt Hopper & Traugott (2003:67) användas för att belysa hur denna spridning ser ut. Bybee (2003b) konstaterar att en framträdande egenskap hos grammatiska morfem är att de har en högre textfrekvens än lexikala morfem. Grammatikalisering innebär därmed normalt att formen blir vanligare. Samtidigt måste den form som grammatikaliseras vara frekvent redan från början för att grammatikaliseringen över huvud taget ska äga rum (Traugott & Heine 1991:9). Ett ord som bara används av språkbrukare någon gång om året kommer knappast att genomgå en grammatikaliseringsprocess. Dessutom innebär grammatikalisering vanligen att ordets betydelse blir mer allmän, vilket i sin tur leder till att ordet används oftare eftersom det därigenom blir möjligt att använda det i nya kontexter (Bybee 2003a:157). Och när den grammatikaliserade formen blir vanligare leder detta vidare till att betydelsen blir mer generell: i grammatikaliseringsprocessen rör det sig alltså om en växelverkan mellan frekvensökning och semantisk uttunning.

Just förlust av lexikalt innehåll, även kallad blekning ("bleaching"), nämns ofta som åtföljande grammatikalisering (se t.ex. Heine 2004, Bybee 2003a). Hopper & Traugott (2003:101) påpekar emellertid att processen inledningsvis innebär en omfördelning av innebörd snarare än en ren förlust. I grammatikaliseringsprocessen förloras mer specifika, konkreta betydelser, samtidigt som generella, abstrakta betydelser främjas (jfr Haspelmath 2003:234, Bybee m.fl. 1994:6). Traugott & Dasher (2002:11f) menar till och med att förlust av tidigare betydelser snarare är ovanligt vid semantisk förändring; istället får en form vanligen fler innebörder över tid. Haspelmath (1997:10) framhåller att den form som grammatikaliseras brukar ha en mycket generell betydelse redan innan grammatikaliseringen äger rum. Det är helt enkelt betydligt troligare att ord med den vaga betydelsen 'människa' eller 'person' grammatikaliseras än att ordet *alderspensionär* gör det (jfr Heine & Kuteva 2002:208, 232).

Traugott & Heine (1991:8) slår fast att det finns ett visst antal lexikala uttryck som är troliga källor i grammatikaliseringsprocesser, även om detta inte betyder att andra uttryck omöjligen kan grammatikaliseras. Uttryck med innebörden 'människa', 'folk', 'person' eller 'kropp' är vanliga källor till obestämda pronomen i världens språk (Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007:95f). Om substantivet *folk* börjar användas som ett generiskt

pronomen är detta alltså varken särskilt förvånande eller oväntat: vi finner liknande utvecklingar i flera andra språk.

Ett exempel på detta är hur substantivet *följk* ('folk') i en nordfrisisk dialekt har grammatikaliserats till ett generiskt pronomen (Hoekstra 2010:38). Med detta pronomen är det, till skillnad från med det svenska *folk*, också möjligt för talaren att inkludera sig själv i den grupp som omtalas med *följk*. Se exempel (6) (min övers. från engelska):

- (6) **Följk** koon ai förütseede, hü üülj följk wårt.
Folk kan inte förutse hur gammalt folk blir.
 'Man kan inte förutse hur gammal man kommer att bli.'

I brasiliansk portugisiska har *a gente* ('folket') till och med utvecklats till ett pronomen synonymt med första person plural *nós* ('vi') (Taylor 2009). I vissa dialekter sägs detta ord kunna ta verb både i tredje person singular och i första person plural.

Utvecklingen av *folk* kan också jämföras med hur andra generiska pronomen har utvecklats ur substantiv med betydelsen 'människa', t.ex. det franska *on* ur latinets *homo* och tyskans *man* ur substantivet *Mann* (se Heine and Kuteva 2002:208; jfr också Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007 för fler exempel).

2.3 *Folk*:s betydelse i fornsvenska och modern svenska

Enligt Söderwall (1884–90, 1:267) hade *folk* fem olika betydelser under den fornsvenska perioden (1225–1526), listade här som 1–5 med exempel från Söderwall:

1. kollektivt: folk, människor
fatökt folk, folk plägbar [...] ganga
2. a. människor i någons omgivning eller tjänst, husfolk
huru han skal sit folk medh ärom födha ok klädha
 b. krigsfolk
folk och skep
3. äkta folk, makar
ärlikit folk sigga brwn oc hans husfrw
4. etnisk eller religiös grupp, nation²
israels folk, guz folk

² Söderwall nämner bara *folk*, *nation* som *folk*:s betydelse här, men de exempel han ger visar att han med *folk* i detta fall närmast menar *folkslag*. För att göra avgränsningen mellan betydelsen i 1 och 4 tydligare har jag gjort detta antagande explicit.

5. a. människa, person
hanom möte eet folk, eet annat folk
- b. krigare
mz fyra hundrath folk, the haffdo trätigho twsend folk

Den sistnämnda betydelsen, *folk* som 'människa, person' eller 'krigare', skiljer sig från dagens användning: *folk* används inte längre för att referera till enskilda individer med ett räkneord eller obestämd artikel.

Svenska Akademiens ordbok (hädanefter SAOB, 1926, 8:F1056–1062) ger sju olika betydelser för *folk* i modern svenska (1521–). För att underlätta jämförelser har jag strukturerat om den uppräknings som ges i SAOB så att den överensstämmer med den som ges av Söderwall ovan. Detta ger nedanstående lista:

1. allmänt om människor; personer
2. i vissa användningar där ofta en motsättning till en enskild person, särskilt ett överhuvud, framträder
 - a. anställda, tjänare; släkt; besättningen på ett fartyg
 - b. soldater
3. äkta makar
4. människor som bor i eller härstammar från samma land: nation; folkslag
5. a. enskild person: människa, man eller kvinna
6. de lägre samhällsklasserna; allmogen; arbetarklassen
7. hyfsade, ordentliga människor; människor av förnämlig börd

Innebörden i 5.a., *folk* om en enskild person, sägs vid tiden för ordbokens tillkomst (1926) bara användas i den senare delen av sammansatta ord, t.ex. *kvinnfolk* eller *manfolk*.

Innebörden i 1 ('allmänt om människor; personer') kommer enligt SAOB nära ett obestämt pronomen med betydelsen 'människor i allmänhet' när ordet används i singular, obestämd och obetonad form. I denna betydelse sägs ordet också tidigare ha kunnat användas i plural; exemplen som ges är bland annat *inga folk kommo* (1663) och *obekanta folk* (1836), dvs. *folk* med framförställda attribut i plural. Denna användning ansågs dock inte längre vara i bruk då ordboken skrevs.³

³ I Pär Lagerkvists *Gäst hos verkligheten* från 1925, dvs. samtida med SAOB, finner vi dock ett exempel vilket tyder på att bruket av *folk* i plural som 'människor; personer' inte var helt utdött vid den tid ordboken kom ut: *Se och höra honom kunde ingen som han satt inkrupen här. Och ingen fanns heller till att göra det, ingen i trädgården och inga folk på vägen, det var fredligt och lugnt* (s. 41).

Som framgår av en jämförelse mellan de olika betydelser som tas upp av Söderwall och SAOB liknar de båda ordböckerna till stor del varandra. Den största skillnaden är att Söderwall inte inkluderar de betydelser som nämns som nummer 6 och 7 i SAOB ovan och att den singulara betydelsen i 5.b. i Söderwalls ordbok ('krigare') inte finns med i SAOB, där bara det plurala 'soldater' nämns.

3 Syfte och utgångspunkter

Syftet med undersökningen är att försöka utreda huruvida substantivet *folk* verkligen håller på att utvecklas till ett pronomen, och i så fall, när denna utveckling påbörjades.

Utifrån genomgången av skillnaderna mellan substantiv och pronomen ovan kan vi konstatera att de belägg på *folk* som skulle kunna analyseras som pronomen är de som står i obestämd form utan framförställda attribut (möjligen utan några bestämmingar alls).⁴ Om *folk* genomgår en utveckling mot pronomen kan vi alltså förvänta oss att andelen sådana belägg ökar i materialet över tid. Som pronomen bör *folk* dessutom ha den generella innebörden 'människor (i allmänhet)', och ord som hör ihop med *folk* bör böjas i plural. Om andelen *folk* med allmän betydelse ökar i materialet över tid och det i det nyare materialet finns belägg där ordet tar adjektiv i plural kan detta alltså också ses som tecken på att *folk* blir mer likt ett pronomen.

Utifrån teorier om grammatikalisering kan vi konstatera att *folk* bör få en mer generell, abstrakt innebörd om ordet är på väg att bli ett grammatiskt element. Specifika, konkreta betydelser kan förloras i processen. Dessutom kan vi förvänta oss att *folk*:s frekvens kommer att öka i materialet i takt med att ordet grammatikaliseras som pronomen.

⁴ Att substantiviska pronomen normalt står utan bestämmingar, såsom nämns i SAG (1999, 2:236), stämmer kanske inte riktigt. Många personliga pronomen kan ta efterställda bestämmingar, till exempel i fraser som *jag som har stått här så länge; hon där borta* etc. (SAG 1999, 2:247, 259f., 272f.). Huruvida *folk* kan ta en efterställd bestämning eller inte är därmed antagligen inte något bra test för att analysera ordets ordklassstillhörighet (jfr uttryck av typen *Folk med sådana vanor är ganska obehagliga*, där *folk* med en efterställd bestämning tar ett predikativ i plural och därmed är att betrakta som pronomen enligt *Språkriktighetsboken*).

4 Material

Svensk språkhistoria delas vanligen in i fem olika perioder (se t.ex. Rosenskvis 2004:8):

- Runsvenska ca 800–1225
- Äldre fornsvenska ca 1225–1375
- Yngre fornsvenska ca 1375–1526
- Äldre nysvenska 1526–1732
- Yngre nysvenska 1732–

Den runsvenska tiden kommer inte att studeras i denna artikel. I övrigt kommer undersökningens fokus att vara de senare stadierna av språkhistorien: från 1800-talet till 2013. Tidigare perioder undersöks främst för att ge en bakgrund till utvecklingen.

Det material som har valts ut för analysen utgörs av skönlitterära texter och krönikor, förutom den allra senaste korpussen från 2013 som innehåller bloggmaterial.⁵ Texterna är hämtade från tre stora korpussamlingar: Fornsvenska textbanken (innehållande fornsvenska samt en del nysvenska texter), Språkbankens konkordanser (bl.a. innehållande en korpus med skönlitteratur från 1800-talet) och Korp (innehållande en stor samling korpusar, bland annat korpusar med skönlitteratur från 1800- och 1900-talet och bloggmaterial från 2000-talet).

Det material som har studerats presenteras i Tabell 1.

Tabell 1. Analyserat material.

Korpussamling	Korpus ^a	Period/år	Texttyp	Antal ord
Fornsvenska textbanken	texter	1300–1330	skönlitterär prosa, rimkrönikor	139 800
Fornsvenska textbanken	texter	1385–1450	skönlitterär prosa, rimkrönikor	189 900
Fornsvenska textbanken	texter	1300–1330	krönikor, dagbok, skönlitterär prosa	183 400
Språkbanken	1800-talsromaner	1839–91	skönlitterär prosa	590 300
Korp	Äldre svenska romaner ^b	1891–1942	skönlitterär prosa	3 757 000
Korp	Bonniersromaner I	1976–77	skönlitterär prosa	6 579 300
Korp	Norstedtsromaner	1999	skönlitterär prosa	2 534 500
Korp	Bloggmix 2013	2013	bloggmaterial	33 988 600
Totalt				47 962 800

^a En lista över de analyserade texterna ges i bilagan sist i artikeln.

^b Korpussen ”Äldre svenska romaner” består egentligen av texter från 1839–1942, innehållande totalt 4 347 300 ord, eftersom denna korpus också inkluderar korpussen ”1800-talsromaner”. I min analys av ”Äldre svenska romaner” har jag dock utelutit allt material från korpussen ”1800-talsromaner” för att tidsperiod och material från de två korpusarna inte ska överlappa varandra

⁵ Eftersom endast ett fåtal texter från den äldre fornsvenska perioden finns bevarade och tillgängliga elektroniskt ingår i denna del också *Konungastyrelsen*, vilken kan betraktas som en hövisk uppfostringskrift (Lönnroth & Delblanc 1987:96).

5 Metod

Den metod som används i denna studie är huvudsakligen kvantitativ. Med ett kvantitativt angreppssätt kan utvecklingen $A > A/B (> B)$ ses som en fråga om hur vanliga de olika formerna är i materialet, eftersom den nya formen B blir allt vanligare på bekostnad av den äldre formen A (Hopper & Traugott 2003:67). Undersökningen av *folk* i denna artikel utgår ifrån ett sådant antagande.

Som en följd av diskussionen om skillnaderna mellan substantiv och pronomen ovan, har beläggen på *folk* i obestämd form i de analyserade texterna och korpusarna (med högst 299 belägg per korpus) klassificerats utifrån huruvida de föregås eller följs av attribut eller ingetdera (i det fornsvenska materialet analyserades också dativformen *folke/i*).⁶ Förekomster på *folk* utan bestämningar har vidare klassificerats utifrån huruvida de utgör satsens subjekt eller inte.

Eftersom analysen snart visade att kollokationen *folk och få* var frekvent i materialet har alla belägg på detta uttryck fått utgöra en särskild kategori tillsammans med *folk* i formuleringar som *uppföra sig som folk* och liknande. Belägg på *folk* i dylika uttryck har alla ansetts vara substantiv, trots att de inte föregås av attribut.

För en undersökning av ordets betydelse ansågs materialet, vilket utgörs av totalt 2111 belägg på *folk* spridda över åtta tidsperioder, vara alltför omfattande. Därför valdes 50 belägg från varje period ut för en mer detaljerad analys. *Folk*:s betydelse i dessa exempel klassificerades med utgångspunkt i de definitioner som ges i Söderwalls ordbok och

⁶ Det finns två undantag från regeln att personliga pronomen (vid vilka *folk* och det generiska *man* kan liknas) inte kan ta framförställda attribut. Det gäller dels nominalfraser med vokativ funktion i vilka personliga pronomen kan ta några vanliga känsloladdade adjektiv som attribut (*Snälla du, Lyckliga hon*, SAG 1999, 2:261, 274), dels tillsammans med *alla* och *allt* (*alla vi, allt det*, SAG 1999, 2:259, 272). Det är dock tveksamt om *folk* kan användas på det förstnämnda sättet (jfr *Snälla folk!*, men observera *Gott folk!*). I det undersökta materialet har jag emellertid funnit två exempel på *folk* i den sistnämnda användningen: *alla folk* och *allt folk*, båda i korpusen 1800-talsromaner. Man skulle kunna hävda att dessa två exempel, liksom tre belägg på uttrycket *gott folk* i korpusen Bloggmix 2013, kan vara pronomina trots att de föregås av attribut. Eftersom det endast rör sig om ett fåtal belägg har jag dock valt att inte urskilja dessa från övriga belägg föregångna av attribut.

Alla belägg på *folk* föregångna av attribut har klassificerats som sådana. Detta betyder att även om ett belägg både föregås och följs av attribut har det endast räknats som följt av ett sådant om det inte också föregås av ett attribut. Detta följer av kategoriseringen av substantiv och pronomen ovan: eftersom alla belägg på *folk* tillsammans med framförställda attribut kan ses som substantiv är det inte nödvändigt att analysera dessa vidare syntaktiskt.

SAOB. Dessa belägg analyserades även med avseende på huruvida de följdes av ett anaforiskt personligt eller possessivt pronomen, och utifrån huruvida de tog ett adjektiv som predikativ, och i så fall om detta adjektiv stod i singular eller plural. För förekomster på *folk* föregångna av attribut noterades vidare huruvida attributet hade pluralform eller inte.

De frågor som används i analysen är därmed följande:

Den större studien (totalt 2 111 belägg på *folk*):

1. Föregås eller följs *folk* av ett attribut eller ingetdera?
2. Om *folk* inte föregås eller följs av ett attribut, utgör *folk* satsens subjekt eller inte?

Den mindre studien (50 belägg från varje analyserad period, totalt 400 belägg på *folk*):

1. Vad är *folk*:s betydelse (utifrån Söderwall, SAOB)?
2. Följs *folk* av ett anaforiskt personligt eller possessivt pronomen (t.ex. *de*, *dem*, *deras*)?
3. Följs *folk* av ett adjektiv som predikativ, och står detta adjektiv i så fall i singular eller plural?
4. Om *folk* föregås av ett attribut, står detta attribut i plural?

6 *Folk*:s syntaktiska och semantiska egenskaper under olika tidsperioder

I detta avsnitt beskrivs ordet *folk*:s utveckling med avseende på syntaktiska och semantiska egenskaper genom en analys av förekomster på ordet i texter från äldre fornsvenska, yngre fornsvenska, äldre nysvenska och yngre nysvenska, i nämnd ordning. Mest uppmärksamhet ägnas den senare delen av den yngre nysvenska perioden, eftersom denna antas vara den mest intressanta när det gäller ordets utveckling; ett större material från denna period än från tidigare perioder har därför studerats.

6.1 *Folk* i äldre fornsvenska

Materialet från äldre fornsvenska består av fem texter: två texter med vad som kan betraktas som skönlitterär prosa, två rimkrönikor och en uppfostringsskrift, alla från perioden ca 1300–1330, totalt 139 800 ord. En analys av texterna visar att *folk* förekommer sammanlagt 195 gånger i detta material. Se Tabell 2.

Tabell 2. Belägg på *folk* i det äldre fornsvenska materialet.

Text ^a	Antal <i>folk</i>	<i>Folk</i> med framförställt attribut	<i>Folk</i> med endast efterställt attribut	<i>Folk och få</i>	<i>Folk</i> utan attribut, ej subjekt	<i>Folk</i> utan attribut, subjekt
Cod Bu	76	61	1	1	5	8
Ivan	9	8	–	–	1	–
Mos	55	50	–	5	–	–
KS	29	28	–	–	–	1
Erik	26	20	–	–	5	1
Totalt	195	167	1	6	11	10

^a En lista över texternas fullständiga namn ges i bilagan sist i artikeln.

Som framgår av Tabell 2 föregås nästan alla belägg på *folk* i materialet från äldre fornsvenska av attribut. Det finns dock ett belägg vilket istället följs av en bestämning, i det här fallet en prepositionsfras (*folk mz like*, 'folk med ett lik'). Sex belägg på *folk* förekommer i frasen *folk och få*. Det finns 21 belägg utan attribut, varav 10 som subjekt.

Av de 195 förekomsterna på *folk* i materialet valdes 50 belägg ut för en mer detaljerad analys: 10 belägg från varje text.⁷ *Folk*:s innebörd i dessa exempel kategoriserades utifrån de betydelser som ges av Söderwall (se avsnitt 2.3). Det noterades också huruvida *folk* följdes av ett anaforiskt personligt pronomen eller av ett adjektiv som predikativ, och huruvida framförställda attribut hade pluralform eller inte.

Resultatet av analysen av ordets betydelse i de 50 beläggen ges i Tabell 3.

I Tabell 3 ser vi att *folk* i kollektiv betydelse är vanligast: denna betydelse återfinns i alla fem texter. Vi ser också att det inte finns några belägg alls på *folk* i betydelsen 'äktas makar' i de studerade texterna. I de fem oklara beläggen kan ordet antingen analyseras som kollektivt ('människor') eller som att det pekar ut en allmän enskild person ('människa').

I *Ivan Lejonridderen* och *Erikskrönikan* finner vi flera belägg i vilka *folk* har betydelsen 'krigsfolk' eller 'krigare'. Detta är inte särskilt oväntat eftersom dessa texter i stor utsträckning diskuterar krigföring. Skillnaden mellan *folk* som 'krigsfolk' och *folk* som 'krigare' är, som framgår av Söderwalls exempel (se avsnitt 2.3), att belägg med den senare betydelsen har ett räkneord som attribut, vilket klargör att *folk* står i plural och betraktas som räknebart. Se exempel (7):

⁷ Eftersom *Ivan Lejonridderen* bara innehöll 9 belägg på ordet togs ett extra exempel från *Codex Bureanus*.

Tabell 3. *Folk*:s betydelse i det äldre fornsvenska materialet.

Text	Antal <i>folk</i>	1. män- niskor ^a	2.a. människor i någons tjänst etc.	2.b. krigs- folk	3. ähta folk	4. etnisk grupp, nation	5.a. män- niska	5.b. krigare	oklart
Cod Bu	11	7	–	–	–	2	2	–	–
Ivan	9	3	–	–	5	–	1	–	–
Mos	10	4	1	–	–	2	3	–	–
KS	10	2	1	–	–	2	–	–	5
Erik	10	2	–	–	5	–	–	3	–
Totalt	50	18	2	10	–	7	5	3	5

^a Alla belägg på *folk* i uttrycket *folk och fä* har analyserats som tillhörande denna grupp.

(7) **Atta hundra folk** oc ekke meer / thera forman heet haralder (Erik)

'Åtta hundra folk och inte mer / deras förman hette Haralder'

Det finns fyra belägg där *folk* följs av ett anaforskt personligt pronomen i texten. Alla med ett pronomen i tredje person plural, såsom i (8) nedan:

(8) alth thet **folk** ij landith är, **the** hafua honum alle saman kär (Ivan)
'allt det folk som är i landet, de har honom allesammans kär'

Som framgår av exemplet i (8) förhindrar tolkningen av *folk* som semantiskt pluralt (och därmed möjligt att syfta tillbaka på med pronomenet *de*) inte att ordet föregås av attribut i singular (*allt det folk* istället för *alla de folk*, jfr exemplet från SAG i (3) ovan).

Jag har inte funnit något belägg på *folk* föregånget av ett attribut i plural. I ett belägg följs *folk* däremot av ett adjektiv som predikativ. Detta adjektiv står i singular:

(9) alt þæt **folk** mz þe synd var **smittat** do braþom døþ (Cod Bu)
'allt det folk som var smittat med synden dog en bråd död'

6.2 *Folk* i yngre fornsvenska

Det yngre fornsvenska materialet består av åtta skönlitterära texter och rimkrönikor från perioden ca 1385–1450, totalt 180 900 ord. Det finns sammanlagt 185 belägg på *folk* i dessa texter. Se Tabell 4.

På samma sätt som i det äldre materialet står de flesta av beläggen på

Tabell 4. Belägg på *folk* i det yngre fornsvenska materialet.

Text ^a	Antal <i>folk</i>	<i>Folk</i> med framförställt attribut	<i>Folk</i> med endast efterställt attribut	<i>Folk och få</i>	<i>Folk</i> utan attribut, ej subjekt	<i>Folk</i> utan attribut, subjekt
Jär	6	5	–	–	1	–
KM	14	13	–	–	–	1
SVM	5	5	–	–	–	–
Tröst	18	17	–	1	–	–
Barlaam	9	8	–	–	1	–
Didrik	40	39	–	1	–	–
Valentin	22	17	–	–	3	2
Karl	71	56	–	1	13	1
Totalt	185	160	–	3	18	4

^a En lista över texternas fullständiga namn ges i bilagan sist i artikeln.

folk i det yngre fornsvenska materialet tillsammans med ett framförställt attribut. Tre belägg på *folk* återfinns i uttrycket *folk och få*. Det finns också 22 belägg utan attribut, varav 4 som subjekt.

Av de 185 förekomsterna på *folk* i materialet valdes 50 exempel ut för en mer ingående analys: 5–7 belägg från varje text (se nedan). På samma sätt som för det äldre fornsvenska materialet undersöktes *folk*:s betydelse i de 50 beläggen genom en jämförelse med Söderwalls definitioner. Det studerades också huruvida beläggen på *folk* följdes av ett anaforiskt personligt pronomen eller av ett adjektiv som predikativ, och om framförställda attribut stod i plural eller inte.

Resultatet av analysen av ordets betydelse i de 50 beläggen framgår av Tabell 5.

Tabell 5. *Folk*:s betydelse i det yngre fornsvenska materialet.

Text	Antal <i>folk</i>	1. män- niskor ^a	2.a. människor i någons tjänst etc.	2.b. krigs- folk	3. äkta folk	4. etnisk grupp, nation	5.a. män- niska	5.b. krigare	oklart
Jär	6	3	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
KM	6	–	–	6	–	–	–	–	–
SVM	5	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	1
Tröst	6	1	–	3	–	–	–	1	1
Barlaam	6	4	–	–	–	2	–	–	–
Didrik	7	2	–	3	–	–	–	2	–
Valentin	7	3	1	3	–	–	–	–	–
Karl	7	–	–	7	–	–	–	–	–
Totalt	50	15	6	22	–	2	–	3	2

^a Alla belägg på *folk* i uttrycket *folk och få* har analyserats som tillhörande denna grupp.

I Tabell 5 ser vi att betydelsen 'krigsfolk' är den vanligaste i materialet totalt sett. I två av texterna har alla de närstuderade beläggen denna betydelse. *Folk* i kollektiv betydelse finns emellertid i fler texter (sex texter jämfört med fem med betydelsen 'krigsfolk'). Det finns inga belägg på *folk* med betydelsen 'äka folk' eller 'människa' i materialet från yngre fornsvenska. I de två oklara beläggen syftar *folk* på kungens folk, men kan antingen tolkas som kungens tjänare, släktingar eller liknande (dvs. betydelsen i 2.a.) eller som kungens krigsfolk (dvs. 2.b.).

I texterna följs tre av exemplen på *folk* av anaforiska personliga pronomen i tredje person plural. Inget av beläggen på *folk* föregås av ett attribut i plural, men ett belägg följs av ett adjektiv som predikativ. Detta adjektiv står i singular:

- (10) Ok alt thz **folk** ther war, war alt **klät** mz alzskona wapnom.
(KM)
'Och allt det folk som var där, var allt klätt med allsköns vapen.'

6.3 *Folk* i äldre nysvenska

Det äldre nysvenska materialet utgörs av fem texter från perioden ca 1560–1665: tre krönikor, en dagbok och en självbiografisk roman, totalt 183 400 ord. *Folk* förekommer 236 gånger i detta material. Se Tabell 6.

De flesta belägg på *folk* i det äldre nysvenska materialet föregås av attribut. Det finns också fyra exempel som inte föregås men istället följs av attribut. Av de 237 beläggen på *folk* åtföljs 28 inte av några bestämmningar alls; 3 av dessa står som subjekt.

Av de 236 förekomsterna på *folk* valdes 50 exempel ut för en mer detaljerad analys. Eftersom det bara fanns några få exempel på *folk* i tex-

Tabell 6. Belägg på *folk* i det äldre nysvenska materialet

Text ^a	Antal <i>folk</i>	<i>Folk</i> med framförställt attribut	<i>Folk</i> med endast efterställt attribut	<i>Folk och få</i>	<i>Folk</i> utan attribut, ej subjekt	<i>Folk</i> utan attribut, subjekt
Swart	103	95	2	–	6	–
Brahe	22	21	–	–	1	–
Gyllenhielm	104	81	2	–	18	3
Horn	6	6	–	–	–	–
Hjärne	1	1	–	–	–	–
Totalt	236	204	4	–	25	3

^a En lista över texternas fullständiga namn ges i bilagan sist i artikeln.

terna av Horn och Hjärne fick alla förekomster på ordet i dessa texter ingå i analysen. Resterande 43 belägg togs från övriga texter. På samma sätt som för det fornsvenska materialet undersöktes *folk*:s betydelse i de 50 exemplen. Denna gång jämfördes dock beläggen med de definitioner som ges i SAOB (se avsnitt 2.3). Det noterades också huruvida beläggen på *folk* följdes av ett anaforiskt personligt pronomen eller av ett adjektiv som predikativ, och huruvida framförställda attribut stod i plural eller inte.

Resultatet av analysen av *folk*:s betydelse i de 50 beläggen ges i Tabell 7.

Som framgår av Tabell 7 har nästan alla belägg på *folk* i det äldre nysvenska materialet betydelsen 'soldater' (2.b.). Detta beror förstas på de studerade texterna: den största delen av materialet består av krönikor (Swart, Brahe, Gyllenhielm), och dessa behandlar i stor utsträckning krigföring. Bortsett från betydelsen 'soldater' finns bara ett fåtal exempel på *folk* med andra innebörder: två med den allmänna betydelsen 'människor' (1.), ett om människor i någons nära omgivning (släkt eller personer vid hovet) (2.a.), och ett med innebörden 'Guds folk', det vill säga betydelsen i 4 i tabellen. De andra betydelser som ges i SAOB finns inte representerade i det äldre nysvenska materialet.

I materialet följs 9 av de 50 beläggen av ett anaforiskt pronomen i tredje person plural. Inget av beläggen föregås av ett attribut i plural. I ett exempel på *folk* följs ordet däremot av ett adjektiv som predikativ. Detta adjektiv står i singular:

- (11) att alt hans **folk** han leefft [...] skulle nedre j Folkerne altsamans aff fiendener wara **nederlagt** (Swart)
'att allt hans folk han lämnat kvar [...] skulle nere i Folkerne alltsammans av fiender vara nerlagt'

Tabell 7. *Folk*:s betydelse i det äldre nysvenska materialet.^a

Text	Antal <i>folk</i>	1.	2.a.	2.b.	3.	4.	5.a.	6.	7.	oklart
Swart	14	–	–	14	–	–	–	–	–	–
Brahe	14	–	–	13	–	1	–	–	–	–
Gyllenhielm	15	–	–	15	–	–	–	–	–	–
Horn	6	2	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hjärne	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Totalt	50	2	1	46	–	1	–	–	–	–

^a *Folk*:s betydelser: 1. allmänt om människor; personer, 2. a. anställda; släkt, 2.b. soldater, 3. äkta makar, 4. nation; folkslag, 5. a. enskild person, 6. lägre samhällsklasser, 7. hyfsade människor; människor av förnämlig börd.

6.4 Folk i yngre nysvenska

Eftersom den yngre nysvenska perioden antas vara den mest intressanta att undersöka för att kunna besvara frågan om huruvida *folk* håller på att utvecklas till ett pronomen, har denna studerats mer ingående än tidigare tidsperioder. Belägg på *folk* i fem olika korpusar innehållande texter från fem olika tidsperioder har analyserats: ”1800-talsromaner” (1839–1891), ”Äldre svenska romaner” (1891–1942)⁸, ”Bonniersromaner I” (1976–1977), ”Norstedtsromaner” (1999) och ”Bloggmix” (2013). Dessa korpusar består av mellan 590 300 och 33 988 600 ord vardera, se vidare bilagan i slutet av artikeln.

Eftersom antalet *folk* i korpusarna från 1900-talet och 2013 bedömdes vara alltför stort för att möjliggöra en genomgång av alla belägg, valdes endast 299 exempel på ordet från varje korpus slumpmässigt ut för den större studien.⁹ De 299 beläggen på *folk* från varje korpus analyserades på samma sätt som det äldre materialet. Se Tabell 8.

I Tabell 8 ser vi en intressant förändring. Beläggen på *folk* föregångna av attribut är betydligt färre i materialet från 1976–1977 (”Bonniersro-

Tabell 8. Belägg på *folk* i det yngre nysvenska materialet.

Korpus	Antal analyserade <i>folk</i>	<i>Folk</i> med framförställt attribut	<i>Folk</i> med endast efterställt attribut	<i>Folk och få</i> etc. ^a	<i>Folk</i> utan attribut, ej subjekt	<i>Folk</i> utan attribut, subjekt
1800	299	207	9	15	47	21
ÄSR	299	153	25	7	38	76
Bonnier	299	69	38	6	61	125
Norstedt	299	45	55	–	71	128
Blogg	299	51	50	3	58	137
Totalt	1495	525	177	31	275	487

^a I alla korpusar utom ”Norstedstromaner 1999” finns belägg på *folk* vilka inte föregås eller följs av bestämmningar, men vilka ändå knappast bör analyseras som pronomen. Dessa belägg har i analysen fått utgöra en särskild kategori tillsammans med *folk och få*. Sådana exempel inkluderar förekomster på *folk* med de betydelser som anges i SAOB som ’de lägre samhällsklasserna’ och ’hyfsade människor’, dvs. *folk* i uttryck som *göra folk av, tala som folk, vara av folk, det är skillnad på folk och folk* och liknande uttryck.

⁸ Korpusen ”Äldre svenska romaner” innehåller egentligen texter från 1839–1942 eftersom denna korpus också innehåller det material som finns i korpusen ”1800-talsromaner”. I min undersökning har jag dock valt att utesluta allt material från före 1891 i analysen av *folk* i ”Äldre svenska romaner” för att inte tidsperioder och material från de två korpusarna ska överlappa varandra.

⁹ Att just 299 belägg valdes ut från varje korpus beror på att detta var det totala antalet *folk* i korpusen ”1800-talsromaner”. Genom att studera lika många exempel från varje korpus kan jämförelser mellan dessa enkelt göras.

maner I”) och framåt än i de äldre korpusarna. Det motsatta gäller det antal *folk* som inte föregås av attribut: *folk* som subjekt utan bestämningar är mycket vanligare i det yngsta materialet än i det äldsta.

För materialet som helhet ser vi också en tydlig förändring jämfört med den fornsvenska och äldre nysvenska perioden: antalet *folk* som står tillsammans med framförställda attribut (525 belägg) är inte längre betydligt större än antalet *folk* utan några bestämningar alls (sammanlagt 762 belägg om exemplen med särskild betydelse utelämnas), utan tvärtom avsevärt mindre. Denna förändring, liksom den utveckling som sker under den yngre nysvenska tiden, diskuteras mer ingående i avsnitt 7 nedan.

På samma sätt som tidigare valdes 50 av de 299 beläggen på *folk* ut från varje korpus för en mer detaljerad undersökning. *Folk*:s betydelse i de 50 exemplen analyserades genom en jämförelse med definitionerna i SAOB, och det noterades huruvida ordet följdes av ett anaforiskt personligt pronomen eller av ett adjektiv som predikativ, och om framförställda attribut hade pluralform eller inte.

Resultatet av analysen av *folk*:s betydelse i de sammanlagt 250 beläggen ges i Tabell 9.

En jämförelse mellan det totala antalet belägg med olika betydelser i Tabell 9 och tabellerna 3, 5 och 7 ovan visar att den största skillnaden gentemot tidigare tidsperioder är att *folk* i det nyare materialet sällan används i betydelsen ’soldater’ (2.b.). Istället är det den allmänna betydelsen ’människor’ (1.) som är den i särklass vanligaste i det yngre nysvenska materialet. Betydelseerna ’anställda’ (2.a.), ’nation; folkslag’ (4.) och ’hyfsade människor’ (7.) används också i viss utsträckning, särskilt i den äldsta korpusen ”1800-talsromaner”. Innebörderna ’äкта makar’ (3.) och ’enskild person’ (5.a.) återfinns inte alls i detta material, och resten av de

Tabell 9. *Folk*:s betydelse i det yngre nysvenska materialet.^a

Text	Antal <i>folk</i>	1.	2.a.	2.b.	3.	4.	5.a.	6.	7.	oklart
1800	50	15	10	6	–	10	–	2	7	–
ÄSR	50	34	2	–	–	6	–	–	5	3
Bonnier	50	42	2	–	–	3	–	–	2	1
Norstedt	50	44	–	–	–	1	–	1	2	2
Blogg	50	49	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Totalt	250	184	14	6	–	21	–	3	16	6

^a *Folk*:s betydelser: 1. allmänt om människor, 2. a. anställda; släkt, 2.b. soldater, 3. äкта makar, 4. nation; folkslag, 5. a. enskild person, 6. lägre samhällsklasser, 7. hyfsade människor; människor av förnämlig börd.

angivna betydelserna återfinns bara sporadiskt. I 6 exempel är det oklart exakt vad *folk* betyder.

De slutsatser som kan dras rörande perioden som helhet och i jämförelse med tidigare perioder diskuteras vidare i avsnitt 7 nedan. Eftersom det undersökta materialet från den yngre nysvenska perioden är betydligt mer omfattande än det studerade materialet från tidigare perioder kommer jag emellertid först att i det följande diskutera varje korpus mer ingående.

I "1800-talsromaner" är *folk*:s vanligaste betydelse den i 2. Sammanlagt finns det 16 belägg på *folk* med denna innebörd, antingen *folk* som 'anställda' (2.a) eller som 'soldater' (2.b).¹⁰ Bortsett från denna betydelse är den allmänna innebörden 'människor' den vanligaste i korpusen, följd av 'nation; folkslag'.

Bland de 50 beläggen i "1800-talsromaner" finns fyra exempel på *folk* följda av ett pronomen i tredje person plural. Jag har inte funnit några belägg på *folk* föregångna av attribut i plural eller följda av adjektiv som predikativ.

I "Äldre svenska romaner" ser vi en förskjutning av *folk*:s betydelse. *Folk* syftar inte längre oftast på anställda eller soldater, utan istället är det den allmänna betydelsen 'människor' som är den i särklass vanligaste (34 av 50 belägg). Betydelsen 'soldater' finns inte alls i det undersökta materialet från denna korpus. I korpusen finns dessutom tre exempel där jag inte har kunnat urskilja vilken betydelse *folk* har, ett av dem som ett utrop: *åh, folk!*

I tre av de studerade 50 exemplen följs *folk* av ett anaforskt pronomen i tredje person plural. Jag har inte funnit några exempel på *folk* tillsammans med ett framförställt attribut i plural eller följt av ett adjektiv som predikativ bland de 50 beläggen från denna korpus.

I korpusen "Bonniersromaner I" är antalet belägg på *folk* med den allmänna betydelsen 'människor' ännu större (42 av 50 belägg). Det finns bara ett fåtal exempel med andra betydelser: 'anställda', 'nation; etnisk grupp' eller 'hyfsade människor'. I denna korpus finns också ett exempel vilket jag inte har kunnat klassificera.

Av de analyserade 50 beläggen på *folk* följs fem exempel av ett anafo-

¹⁰ Huruvida *folk* har den förra eller senare av dessa betydelser framgår inte alltid klart, även när den maximala kontext som ges i korpusen studeras (995 tecken). Vid oklara fall har jag analyserat exempel på *folk* där det omgivande sammanhanget nämner att de inblandade slåss och/eller ord som syftar på slagsmål, vapen, riddare eller sårade eller besegrade personer som tillhörande soldat-gruppen och resterande belägg som tillhörande gruppen med *folk* som 'anställda'.

riskt personligt eller possessivt pronomen, alla i tredje person plural. Jag har inte funnit några exempel på *folk* tillsammans med ett framförstållt attribut i plural. Däremot finns tre exempel på *folk* följt av ett adjektiv som predikativ. Till skillnad från sådana belägg i det fornsvenska och äldre nysvenska materialet står dessa adjektiv i plural. Se exemplen i (12)–(14) nedan:

- (12) **Folk** är **trötta** på Bel-kaTrazets hårda styre. (Bonniersromaner I)
- (13) **Folk** var **avundsjuka** på honom. (Bonniersromaner I)
- (14) Jag har aldrig upptäckt att **folk** på stan är så **lättpratade** och **vänliga** förr. (Bonniersromaner I)

I korpusen ”Norstedtsromaner” är antalet belägg på *folk* med betydelsen ’människor’ ännu något större än i ”Bonniersromaner I” (44 av 50 exempel på *folk*). Det finns också ett par belägg med betydelsen ’nation; folkslag’ och ’hyfsade människor’, samt ett exempel på *folk* med betydelsen ’de lägre samhällsklasserna’. För två av beläggen på *folk* har jag inte kunnat avgöra vilken ordets exakta betydelse är.

Tre av de 50 analyserade exemplen på *folk* i denna korpus följs av ett anaforiskt pronomen i tredje person plural. Jag har däremot inte funnit några exempel på *folk* tillsammans med ett framförstållt attribut i plural bland beläggen. I ett exempel följs *folk* av ett adjektiv i plural som predikativ. Se exempel (15) nedan:

- (15) Och då är det inte så konstigt att **folk** blir **missnöjda**. (Norstedtsromaner)

Eftersom ”Bloggmix” utgör det allra senaste materialet i undersökningen har jag förutom de 50 närstuderade beläggen på *folk* också tittat närmare på resten av de 299 exemplen från denna korpus.

Bland de 50 beläggen i ”Bloggmix” finns bara ett enda exempel som inte förefaller ha den allmänna betydelsen ’människor’; detta med innebörden ’nation; folkslag’ (*Sveriges folk*). En genomgång av alla de 299 utvalda beläggen visar också att det bara är dessa två betydelse som återfinns i materialet som helhet; dessutom är det endast ett fåtal belägg som har den senare betydelsen (9 st., dvs. 3 % av beläggen, gentemot 290 st. med den allmänna betydelsen, dvs. 97 %).

Två av de 50 beläggen följs av ett anaforiskt pronomen i tredje person plural. Det finns också ett intressant belägg där *folk* förefaller följas av pronomenet *man* med samma syftning. Se exempel (16) nedan:

- (16) Och bakom blir kön allt längre av **folk** som ska ombord på bussen, stressade för att **man** har tider att passa – och bussen kanske redan ligger efter tidtabellen. (Bloggmix)

Att *folk* här syftar på samma grupp av människor som ett efterföljande generiskt *man* kan ses som ett tecken på att ordet verkligen håller på att få status som ett generiskt pronomen. I detta exempel följs *folk* också av ett predikativ i plural (*stressade*). Förutom detta belägg följs ytterligare fyra av de 50 beläggen av ett sådant adjektiv i plural som predikativ. En genomgång av alla de 299 beläggen i denna korpus visar att det sammanlagt finns 20 belägg med sådana predikativ, alla med adjektiv i plural.

I ett av de 50 närstuderade beläggen på *folk* föregås ordet av ett attribut i plural. Se (17):

- (17) Dock var det **inga folk**. (Bloggmix)

Det verkar därmed som om användningen av *folk* i plural med betydelsen 'människor', vilken enligt SAOB inte längre var gångbar 1926, har kommit tillbaka eller aldrig helt försvunnit (jfr avsnitt 2.3). Kanske har denna användning hela tiden levt kvar i talspråket? En genomgång av alla de 299 studerade beläggen visar att ordet av flera språkbrukare uppfattas som möjligt att använda i flertal i den allmänna betydelsen. Se (18) och (19) nedan:

- (18) Jag hamnade därför, mest av en ren slump, på den "vila i frid"-sida som någon låtit skapa och där **tusentals folk** lämnat sina kondoleanser till flickebarnet. (Bloggmix)
- (19) Ibland kan jag verka ointresserad av **andra folk**, jag frågar inte något om dem, jag gillar bara när de frågar saker om mig och när jag står i centrum. (Bloggmix)

Även om exemplet i (18) inte är helt olikt de belägg i äldre fornsvenska i vilka *folk* föregås av ett räkneord (*åttahundra folk* och liknande) skulle det antagligen upplevas som mer ogrammatiskt av dagens språkbrukare om räkneordet angav ett exakt antal: *ⁱdär tusen folk lämnat sina kondoleanser*. *Folk* tycks alltså inte riktigt motsvara plural av betydelsen 'enskild person', vilket möjligen tyder på att det rör sig om en ny utveckling.

En genomgång av alla de 299 beläggen från Bloggmix visar att *folk* tillsammans med framförställda attribut i nutida svenska oftast förekommer med ord som indikerar att ordet ses som icke räknebart: *mycket* (15 belägg), *lite* (7 belägg), *massa* (3 belägg), *en del* (2 belägg) och *mindre*

(1 belägg) (jfr *Språkriktighetsboken* 2005:173ff). Sammanlagt är det 31 av de totalt 51 beläggen på *folk* med framförställda attribut som har bestämningar som antingen står i plural (3 st.) eller utgörs av sådana mängdord (28 st.), medan 16 belägg har ett framförställt attribut i singular (för 4 belägg går det inte att klassificera attributet som singular eller plural). Fyra av de 16 beläggen med framförställda attribut i singular utgörs dessutom av tilltalsuttrycket *gott folk*, vilket kan ses som en fast fras.

Sammantaget tyder alltså både de adjektiv som används som predikativ tillsammans med *folk* och de attribut ordet förekommer tillsammans med på att *folk* 2013 sällan används i singular. Istället förefaller ordet huvudsakligen tolkas som icke räknebart eller (ibland) som pluralt. I den sistnämnda funktionen kan *folk* jämföras med ordet *personal*, vilket tidigare sågs som ett kollektivord men nu används även om individer inom kollektivet (*Språkriktighetsboken* 2005:147ff). I likhet med detta ord används *folk* dock knappast för att tala om enskilda specifika individer (jfr **Jag träffade en personal/ett folk och en patient i korridoren*, *Språkriktighetsboken* 2005:149f).

7 Diskussion

I föregående avsnitt framkommer att både *folk*:s vanligaste betydelse och utseendet på den nominalfras ordet oftast ingår i har förändrats under den undersökta perioden (1300–2013). I detta avsnitt är syftet dels att jämföra olika tidsperioder med varandra mer ingående än vad som tidigare har gjorts, dels att diskutera hur utvecklingen förhåller sig till de definitioner av substantiv och pronomen som ges i SAG (1999, 2), samt till de teorier om grammatikalisering som presenterades i avsnitt 2.2.

En översikt över beläggen på *folk* i texterna/korpusarna från de undersökta tidsperioderna ges i Tabell 10.

Som framgår av Tabell 10 är andelen *folk* per 1000 ord störst i materialet från den äldre fornsvenska tiden (1,39 belägg per 1000 ord) och minst i den senaste korpusen ”Bloggmix” (0,31 belägg per 1000 ord). Hypotesen att ordet har genomgått en grammatikaliseringsprocess bekräftas alltså inte av hur frekvent ordet är i materialet. Eftersom en grammatisk form brukar vara mer frekvent än en lexikal form bör ett substantiv som genomgår grammatikalisering öka i frekvens (se avsnitt 2.2). Men *folk* är i själva verket betydligt vanligare i materialet från före 1800-talet än i materialet under detta århundrade och senare, det vill säga den exakta

Tabell 10. Översikt över beläggen på *folk* i det undersökta materialet.

Texter/korpusar	Antal ord	Antal <i>folk</i>	Antal <i>folk</i> per 1000 ord	Antal studerade belägg
Äldre fornsvensk litteratur ca 1300–1330	139 800	195	1,39	195
Yngre fornsvensk litteratur ca 1385–1450	180 900	185	1,02	185
Äldre nysvensk litteratur ca 1560–1665	183 400	236	1,29	236
1800-talsromaner 1839–1891	590 300	299	0,51	299
Äldre svenska romaner 1891–1942 ^a	3 757 000	1 228	0,33	299
Bonniersromaner I 1976–1977	6 579 300	2 140	0,33	299
Norstedtsromaner 1999	2 534 300	967	0,38	299
Bloggmix 2013	33 988 561	10 512	0,31	299
Totalt	47 962 800	15 762	0,33	2 111

^a Den del av korpusen ”Äldre svenska romaner” (1891–1942) som utgörs av samma material som ”1800-talsromaner” är här borträknad.

motsatsen mot vad vi kan förvänta oss om ordet har genomgått en grammatikaliseringsprocess som påbörjats runt denna tid. En anledning till att *folk* är vanligare i det fornsvenska och äldre nysvenska materialet än under senare tidsperioder är dock antagligen att ordet under äldre tidsperioder ofta hade innebörden ’krigsfolk’ eller ’krigare’, och att texter från dessa perioder i stor utsträckning behandlar ämnet krigföring med många omnämnanden av hur grupper av soldater strider mot varandra; detta är särskilt uppenbart i det äldre nysvenska materialet.

Att *folk*:s frekvens, såsom framgår av Tabell 10, först minskar och sedan i korpusarna från slutet av 1800-talet och framåt ligger förhållandevis stilla, förefaller emellertid inte gälla alla ordets betydelser. Om de 50 belägg från varje tidsperiod som har undersökts med avseende på betydelse är representativa för materialet som helhet visar det sig i själva verket att *folk* i den allmänna betydelsen ’människor’ ökar i frekvens från den äldre nysvenska perioden och framåt i förhållande till antal ord.¹¹ Något förvånande är emellertid att andelen *folk* även i denna betydelse fortfarande är störst i det äldre fornsvenska materialet, och förhållandevis hög också i det yngre fornsvenska materialet; resultatet är alltså inte helt entydigt.

¹¹ Andelen *folk* i betydelsen ’människor’ per 1000 ord om de 50 analyserade beläggen är representativa för alla belägg på *folk*: 0,50 (äldre fornsvenska), 0,31 (yngre fornsvenska), 0,05 (äldre nysvenska), 0,15 (”1800-talsromaner”), 0,22 (”Äldre svenska romaner”), 0,27 (”Bonniersromaner I”), 0,34 (”Norstedtsromaner”) och 0,30 (”Bloggmix 2013”).

7.1 *Folk*:s syntaktiska utveckling

För en jämförelse av hur *folk* används i materialet under de undersökta perioderna ges en översikt över beläggen på *folk* med avseende på framförställda och efterställda attribut i Tabell 11 samt Figur 1 nedan.

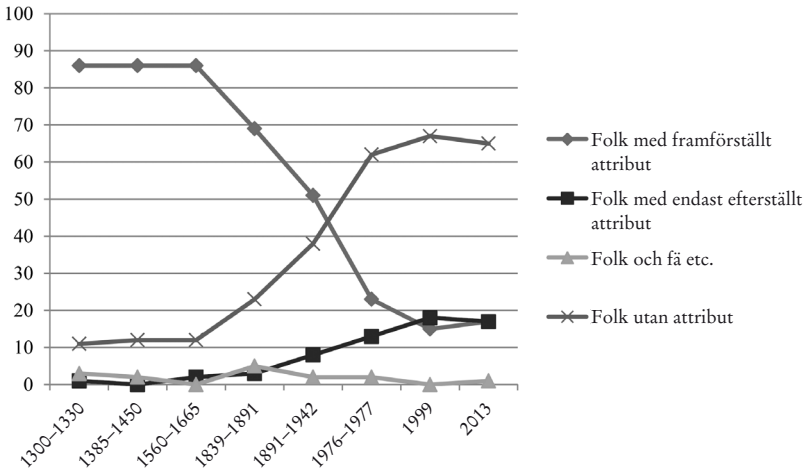
Tabell 11 och Figur 1 visar att andelen *folk* med framförställda attribut ligger stabilt på omkring 86 % i materialet under perioden 1300–1665. Efter detta minskar denna andel snabbt under 1800- och 1900-talet, för att endast utgöra 17 % av beläggen på *folk* i det undersökta materialet från 2013. Föga förvånande ökar beläggen på *folk* helt utan bestämningar under samma period. Andelen *folk* vilka inte föregås men istället följs av attribut ökar något efter 1665, efter att ha varit mycket liten under perioden 1300–1665.¹² Förekomster på *folk* i uttrycket *folk och få*, liksom i andra särskilda betydelse, är ganska ovanliga under hela perioden, men vanligast under 1800-talet (då de utgör 5 % av beläggen).

I avsnitt 3 angavs det, efter SAG (1999, 2), att de belägg på *folk* vilka bör kunna analyseras som pronomen är *folk* i obestämd form utan framförställda attribut. Eftersom sådana belägg har ökat snabbt i det studerade materialet under 1800- och 1900-talet (som framgår av Tabell 11), kan man dra slutsatsen att ordet under denna period syntaktiskt alltmer liknar ett pronomen. Förändringen illustreras ytterligare i Figur 2 nedan.

Tabell 11. Översikt över beläggen på *folk* med avseende på framförställda och efterställda attribut, i relativa tal (%).

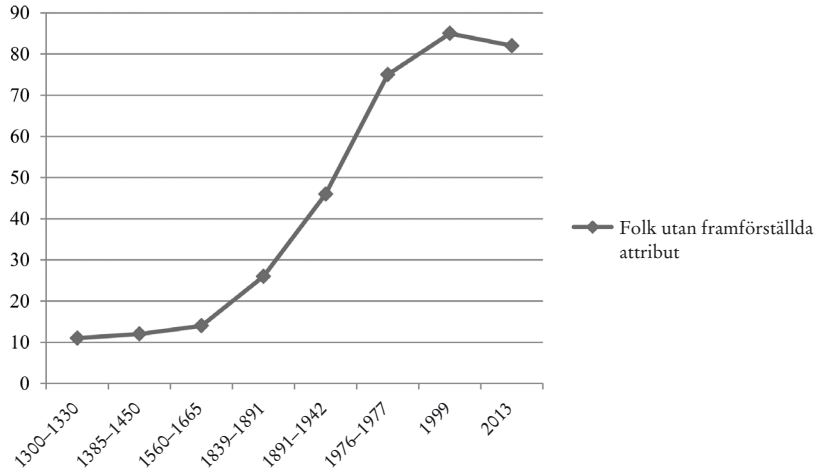
Period/år	<i>Folk</i> med framförställt attribut	<i>Folk</i> med endast efterställt attribut	<i>Folk och få</i> etc.	<i>Folk</i> utan attribut	Andel <i>folk</i> utan framförställt attribut
1300–1330	86	1	3	11	11
1385–1450	86	0	2	12	12
1560–1665	86	2	0	12	14
1839–1891	69	3	5	23	26
1891–1942	51	8	2	38	46
1976–1977	23	13	2	62	75
1999	15	18	0	67	85
2013	17	17	1	65	82
Totalt	50	9	2	39	48

¹² Anledningen till ökningen av dessa belägg är troligen delvis att andelen med framförställda attribut minskar. Sådana belägg som både föregås och följs av attribut har förts till gruppen med framförställda attribut; när beläggen med framförställda attribut blir färre kan de belägg som följs av en bestämning därför förväntas bli mer synliga i genomgången av materialet.



Figur 1. Översikt över belägen på *folk* med avseende på framförställda och efterställda attribut, i relativa tal (%).

Figur 2 visar att andelen *folk* som inte föregås av attribut är stabil på en låg nivå under perioden 1300–1665. Efter detta ökar sådana belägg i materialet snabbt under perioden 1839–1999 för att slutligen minska något i det allra senaste materialet från 2013. Detta kan tolkas som ett tecken på att *folk* genomgår en utveckling i vilken ordet som substantiv allt oftare används på samma sätt som ett pronomen, typiskt för en grammatikaliseringsprocess (jfr avsnitt 2.1 och 2.2).



Figur 2. Översikt över belägen på *folk* utan framförställda attribut, i relativa tal (%).

Samtidigt ser vi att belägg på *folk* utan framförställda attribut återfinns redan i det äldsta materialet från omkring 1300, och utgör 11–13 procent av beläggen på ordet i materialet 1300–1665. Det rör sig alltså inte om införandet av en helt ny struktur utan om en ökning av ett redan befintligt sätt att använda ordet. Bör då de äldre beläggen på *folk* utan attribut också ses som pronominella? Eftersom substantiv naturligtvis inte måste föregås av attribut kan alla belägg på ordet utan framförställda attribut tolkas som antingen substantiv eller pronomen. Den tydliga förändring som sker i användningen av ordet i materialet efter 1665 tyder dock på en utveckling i den nämnda riktningen substantiv > pronomen. Reanalysen av *folk* från ett substantiv till ett pronomen kan då antingen ha skett någon gång före den studerade perioden eller under den; utifrån det undersökta materialet kan vi bara dra slutsatsen att denna reanalys huvudsakligen har spridits till nya sammanhang och/eller bland nya språkavändare efter 1600-talet. I själva verket liknar kurvan i mycket hög utsträckning den S-kurva det ofta hänvisas till i sociolingvistiska studier av språkförändring.

I den senaste korpusen från 2013 finns några exempel i vilka ordet föregås av ett attribut i pluralform; detta visar antagligen att ordet alltmer tolkas som en motsvarighet till *människor* och, kanske i analogi med detta ord, ibland också uppfattas som grammatiskt pluralt. I denna senaste korpus föregås 31 av de 51 belägg på *folk* som står med framförställda attribut av attribut vilka antingen utgörs av mängdord som *mycket*, eller har pluralform.

Att *folk* uppfattas som semantiskt pluralt framgår också av att ordet i 33 av de 400 närstuderade beläggen följs av ett anaforiskt personligt pronomen i tredje person. Sådana exempel återfinns under hela den studerade perioden. Att *folk* i ett belägg från 2013 följs av det generiska pronomenet *man* med samma syftning som *folk* kan kanske ses ett tecken på att språkbrukarna verkligen uppfattar *folk* som ett generiskt pronomen snarare än som ett substantiv.

När det gäller de adjektiv som används som predikativ tillsammans med *folk* visar studien av de 400 närstuderade beläggen att ordet endast står med adjektiv i singular som predikativ i materialet 1300–1665 (det finns emellertid endast ett exempel från varje period, det vill säga sammanlagt tre belägg). De studerade beläggen från korpusarna ”1800-talsromaner” och ”Äldre svenska romaner” inkluderar inte några sådana exempel på adjektiv som predikativ alls. I de tre senaste korpusarna ”Bonniersromaner I” (1976–1977), ”Norstedtsromaner” (1999) och

”Bloggmix 2013” finns emellertid sammanlagt nio belägg på sådana adjektiv bland de närstuderade beläggen (varav fem i ”Bloggmix 2013”), samtliga med adjektiv i pluralform.

Utifrån resonemangen i *Språkriktighetsboken* (2005) och SAG (1999) kan *folk* i sådana exempel ses som ett pronomen (se avsnitt 2.1.). Dessa belägg kan därmed betraktas som bevis för att *folk* verkligen har börjat tolkas som ett pronomen. Det är dock sannolikt att reanalysen ägt rum tidigare än vad som syns i materialet; i SAOB (1926, 8:F1059) ges ett exempel på *folk* med ett adjektiv i plural som predikativ redan från 1904: *Folk har varit snälla mot mig*.

Enligt SAG (1999, 2:393) innebär emellertid det faktum att *folk* kan ta ett adjektiv i singular som attribut samt följas av ett anaforiskt personligt pronomen i tredje person att ordet fortfarande har kvar en del egenskaper som substantiv (se avsnitt 2.1). Också *Språkriktighetsboken* (2005:240) ser exempel på *folk* med adjektiv i singular som substantiv. *Folk* förekommer tillsammans med adjektivattribut i singular under hela den studerade perioden, även om sådana belägg blir allt ovanligare från 1800-talet och framåt.¹³ Exempel på *folk* följt av ett anaforiskt pronomen i tredje person plural återfinns också under hela perioden. Sammantaget visar detta att ordet ännu inte helt har grammatikaliserats som generiskt pronomen. Den diskuterade utvecklingen kan därmed ses som ett typiskt fall av skiktning, med en ny och en äldre form existerande sida vid sida, i enlighet med formeln $A > B/A (> B)$ (Hopper & Traugott 2003:122). Ursprungsformen A är i det här fallet *folk* som substantiv och den nya formen B *folk* som pronomen. Förändringen har ännu inte nått det stadium där ursprungsformen A försvinner, och kommer kanske heller aldrig att göra det.

7.2 *Folk*:s semantiska utveckling

Som framkom i diskussionen av *folk*:s betydelser i ordböcker i fornsvenska och modern svenska är de definitioner som ges av Söderwall och SAOB mycket lika (se avsnitt 2.3). Följaktligen kan tabellerna från de undersökta perioderna kombineras för att illustrera ordets innebörder vid olika tidpunkter. Detta görs i Tabell 12 nedan.

¹³ Andelen *folk* med framförställda attribut uppgår i den senaste korpusen från 2013 endast till 17 % av beläggen jämfört med ca 86 % under den fornsvenska och yngre nysvenska perioden. Dessutom är det bara fem procentenheter av dessa 17 %, som har ett framförställt attribut i singular; de flesta av de framförställda attributen utgörs istället av *mycket*, *lite* etc.

Tabell 12. Översikt över *folk*:s betydelse under olika perioder, i relativa tal (%).^a

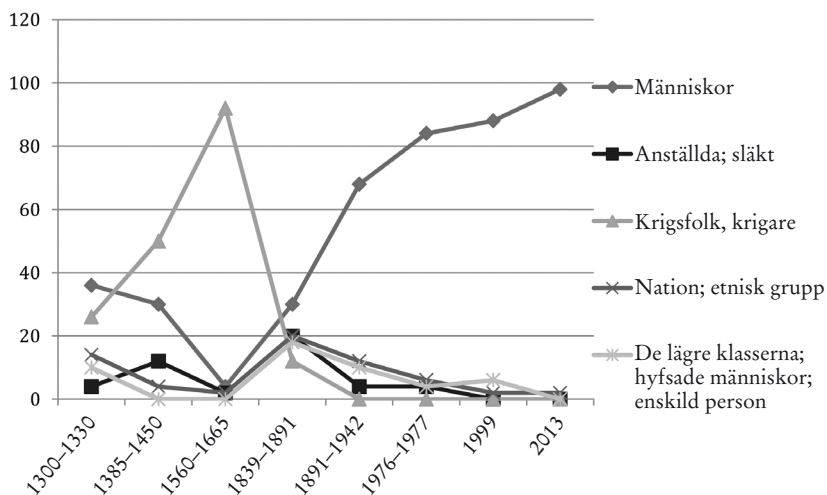
period	1.	2.a.	2.b.	3.	4.	5.a.	5.b.	6.	7.	oklart
1300–1330	36	4	20	–	14	10	6	–	–	10
1385–1450	30	12	44	–	4	–	6	–	–	4
1560–1665	4	2	92	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
1839–1891	30	20	12	–	20	–	–	4	14	–
1891–1942	68	4	–	–	12	–	–	–	10	6
1976–1977	84	4	–	–	6	–	–	–	4	2
1999	88	–	–	–	2	–	–	2	4	4
2013	98	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Totalt	55	6	21	–	8	1	2	1	4	3

^a *Folk*:s betydelser: 1. människor, 2. a. anställda; släkt, 2.b. krigsfolk, 3. äkta makar, 4. nation; etnisk grupp, 5. a. person, 5.b. krigare, 6. lägre samhällsklasser, 7. hyfsade människor; människor av förnämlig börd.

Som framgår av tabellen är *folk* som 'människor' (1.), samt i betydelsen 'nation; folkslag' (4.), de enda som finns belagda i materialet från samtliga perioder. *Folk* som 'anställda' eller 'släkt' (2.a) finns belagt i alla utom de två senaste korpusarna. Betydelserna 'krigsfolk' (2.b.) och det singulara 'krigare' (5.b.) syns bara i materialet från tiden före 1900-talet. *Folk* med innebörden 'äkta makar' (3.) finns inte belagt i något enda exempel alls, medan *folk* använt om en enskild person (5.a.) bara återfinns i de allra äldsta texterna från 1300-talet. *Folk* i betydelsen 'de lägre samhällsklasserna' (6.) eller 'hyfsade människor' (7.) påträffas under 1800- och 1900-talet, med 'hyfsade människor' som den vanligaste av de två.

Folk:s betydelse under de åtta studerade perioderna illustreras ytterligare i Figur 3 nedan, i vilken några av de mindre vanliga innebördena slagits ihop för att framställningen ska bli tydligare.

I denna figur ser vi att det finns två stora skillnader mellan *folk*:s olika betydelser under de undersökta perioderna. Den första är att innebörden 'krigsfolk', vilken är mycket vanlig i materialet från 1560–1665, helt försvinner efter 1800-talet. Denna betydelse är förmodligen *folk*:s allra äldsta i de germanska språken (SAOB, 1926, 8:F1056; Hellquist 1922:151). Den andra är att *folk* i den allmänna betydelsen 'människor' blir allt vanligare efter 1800-talet. Också värt att notera är att *folk* i andra betydelser verkar användas allt mindre under 1900-talet och början på 2000-talet. Den variation i betydelser som finns under 1800-talet har helt försvunnit 2013 då ordet i det studerade materialet bara har två innebörder: 'människor' respektive 'nation; folkslag'; den senare betydelsen är dock inte

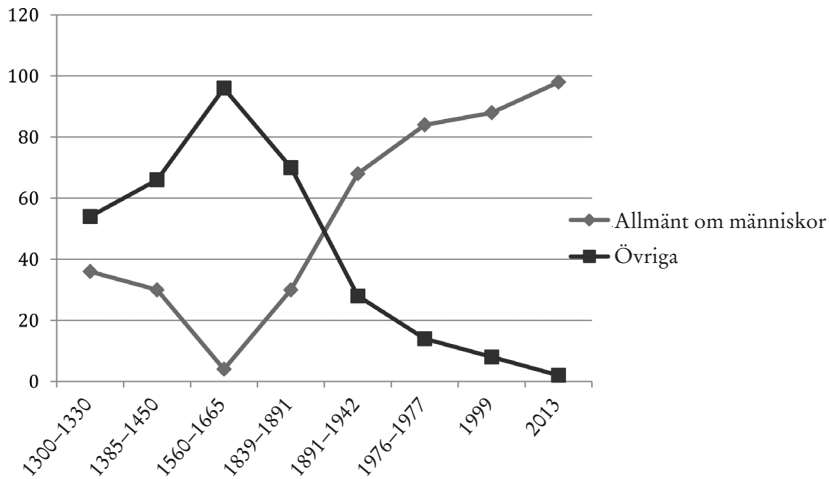


Figur 3. Översikt över *folk*:s betydelse under olika perioder, i relativa tal (%).

särskilt vanlig (endast ett enda av de närstuderade 50 beläggen har denna innebörd). Påståendet att betydelser vanligen inte förloras utan att ett uttryck istället oftast får fler betydelser över tid (jfr Traugott & Dasher 2002:11f.) verkar alltså inte stämma för *folk*.

Som vi såg i avsnitt 2.1, anger *Språkriktighetsboken* (2005:240) att *folk* kan tolkas som ett pronomen när det betyder 'människor (i allmänhet)', men inte 'etnisk grupp'. Också SAOB (1926, 8:F1058) förklarar att *folk* använt i betydelsen 'människor i allmänhet' kommer nära ett pronomen. Av Figur 3 framgår att andelen förekomster på *folk* med denna allmänna betydelse har ökat avsevärt i materialet från slutet av 1800-talet och framåt, vilket alltså kan ses som ett tecken på att ordet alltmer liknar ett pronomen. Utvecklingen blir ännu tydligare om vi ställer den allmänna betydelsen mot alla andra, såsom görs i Figur 4 nedan.

Betydelsen 'människor' måste ses som betydligt mer generell och abstrakt än *folk*:s övriga innebörder som 'anställda; släkt', 'krigsfolk', 'äktamakar', 'nation; etnisk grupp', 'krigare', 'de lägre samhällsklasserna' och 'hyfsade människor' (det enda undantaget är betydelsen 'enskild person', även den mycket allmän, vilken dock bara återfinns i det allra äldsta materialet). Att ordets mest allmänna betydelse ökar kraftigt i frekvens under perioden är förenligt med påståendet att det sker en omfördelning av betydelse i grammatikaliseringsprocesser, vilken främjar generella, ab-



Figur 4. Jämförelse mellan *folk* i allmän betydelse och övriga betydelser under olika perioder, i relativa tal (%).

strakta betydelser (Hopper & Traugott 2003:101). Det faktum att förekomster på *folk* med mer specifik innebörd minskar under perioden 1891–2013 kan ses som ett typiskt exempel på blekning (jfr Heine 2003).

8 Avslutning

Hopper & Traugott (2003:67) påpekar att inledningsskedet av en språklig förändring vanligen uppvisar variation mellan olika former, och att det sista steget i utvecklingen fortfarande kan innehålla sådan variation. Detta är precis vad vi finner i analysen av den syntaktiska utvecklingen hos ordet *folk*.

I inledningsskedet (1300–1330) föregås de flesta belägg på *folk* i materialet av attribut (86%), men det finns också exempel på *folk* utan några bestämmingar (11%). Under den sista analyserade perioden (2013) har antalet förekomster på *folk* föregångna av attribut minskat kraftigt i materialet (de utgör nu 17%), samtidigt som antalet *folk* utan sådana framförställda bestämmingar har ökat markant (till 82%), vilket gör det möjligt att tolka betydligt fler belägg som pronomen. Samtliga undersökta perioder uppvisar en sådan syntaktisk variation. Det är därmed uppenbart att det inte är så enkelt som att *folk* har börjat användas på ett

helt nytt sätt under den studerade perioden; istället samexisterar användningen av ordet med och utan framförställda attribut i hela materialet.

Semantiskt har de flesta beläggen på *folk* i det inledande skedet (1300–1330) betydelsen 'människor' (36 %) eller 'krigsfolk' (20 %), men innebörderna 'tjänare', 'släkt', 'etnisk grupp', 'människa' och 'krigare' finns också belagda i texterna. Variationen i *folk:s* betydelse finns kvar fram till slutet av 1800-talet, men minskar sedan så att den mest allmänna betydelsen 'människor' under den sista studerade skedet (2013) är helt dominerande (98 %), och det bara finns ett fåtal belägg på *folk* med en annan betydelse, alla med innebörden 'nation; folkslag'. Det är förstås rimligt att tänka sig att den syntaktiska och semantiska utvecklingen samspelar: en förutsättning för att *folk:s* betydelse ska tolkas som det vaga 'människor' är antagligen ofta att ordet inte står tillsammans med ett attribut som närmare preciserar dess innebörd.

Ordet *folk* har under den analyserade perioden genomgått en utveckling som är ganska typisk för grammatikaliseringsprocesser: det följer klinen substantiv > pronomen och användningen av dess mest abstrakta och generella betydelse 'människor' har ökat medan de flesta andra betydelser nästan helt har försvunnit ur bruk. Samtidigt har ordets frekvens i materialet inte ökat utan tvärtom minskat, vilket är motsatsen till den utveckling som normalt återfinns i grammatikaliseringsprocesser. Detta faktum kan dock troligen tillskrivas det material som valts ut för studien: i äldre texter har *folk* ofta betydelsen 'krigsfolk' eller 'krigare', och de analyserade texterna behandlar i stor utsträckning krigföringsfrågor, vilket gör ordet mycket frekvent i detta material. Dessutom förefaller andelen belägg på *folk* i den mest allmänna betydelsen 'människa' öka från yngre nysvenska och framåt, också i förhållande till materialet som helhet.

På samma sätt skulle man förstås kunna hävda att anledningen till att belägg på *folk* utan framförställda attribut och belägg med en allmän betydelse ökar i materialet har mer med de studerade texterna att göra än med en faktisk förändring. Äldre skönlitterära texter kan tänkas vara skrivna med en mer litterär stil än senare texter, vilka istället sannolikt omfattar en hel del talspråk. Det senaste materialet utgörs ju dessutom av bloggtext, en typ av text vilken ofta anses ligga nära talat språk. Om användningen av *folk* som pronomen är typisk för talspråk, vilket jag tror är fallet, är förändringen kanske bara symptomatisk för att texterna från det sena 1900-talet och 2013 är mer informella än texterna från 1800- och det tidiga 1900-talet. Jag är dock ganska säker på att detta inte är hela förklaringen. Texterna från 1800- och tidigt 1900-tal inkluderar nämligen

helt uppenbart en hel del talat språk. I korpusen ”1800-talsromaner” återfinns 28 av de 50 exemplen i den mindre studien i en talad diskurs, vilket kan jämföras med ”Bonniersromaner I” där motsvarande antal är 27 av 50 belägg (samt 3 oklara exempel).¹⁴ Jag tror därmed inte att korpusarna stilmässigt skiljer sig för mycket åt för att det ska vara möjligt att göra jämförelser mellan dessa.

Som nämndes i avsnitt 2.2 är det inte bara det svenska substantivet *folk* som har börjar användas som ett generiskt pronomen: liknande utvecklingar finns för motsvarande ord i andra språk. Samma tendens nämns dessutom för det danska och norska ordet *folk* (se *Ordbog over det danske sprog* 1923, band 5, och *Den danske ordbog* 2004, band 2, respektive *Norsk ordbok* 1994, del 3). Varför denna förändring sprider sig så snabbt under 1900-talet är dock inte särskilt enkelt att förklara. Beror det på att andra sätt att uttrycka samma sak minskar i frekvens? Eller har människor ett större behov av att prata om generiska personer i dag än före år 1900? Kanske är det inte helt osannolikt att Sveriges utveckling från ett ruralt samhälle, där människor kände de flesta som bodde runt dem, till ett urbant samhälle, där många kommer i kontakt med främlingar varje dag, har gjort behovet av generiska pronomen större.

Huruvida *folk* kommer att utvecklas vidare till att uteslutande fungera som generiskt pronomen är idag svårt att veta. Att andelen belägg som inte står i grundform minskar (sådana belägg utgör 37 % av alla förekomster på ordet i ”1800-talsromaner” men bara 14 % i ”Bloggmix 2013”) skulle möjligen kunna tyda på att *folk* alltmer uppfattas som ett oböjligt formord. Samtidigt är det uppenbart att *folk* i många fall fortfarande fungerar som ett substantiv: det kan både ta framförställda attribut och böjas i bestämd form, även om detta görs alltmer sällan. Kanske kommer användningen av ordet både som substantiv och som pronomen att leva kvar under lång tid framöver, på samma sätt som substantivet *man* fortfarande används vid sidan av pronomenet *man*. Utvecklingen kan i så fall ses som ett exempel på processen skiktning, vilken är välkänd inom forskning om grammatikaliseringsprocesser (jfr Hopper 1991:22ff.).

¹⁴ Tyvärr är det inte möjligt att analysera ”Norstedtsromaner” och ”Bloggmix” på samma sätt eftersom den kontext som ges i Korp inte är tillräcklig för att det ska vara möjligt att avgöra huruvida passagen innehållande *folk* är en del av en konversation eller inte.

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Bilaga: studerade texter och korpusar

Äldre fornsvenska texter från Fornsvenska textbanken

<<http://project2.sol.lu.se/fornsvenska/>> [hämtade mars–dec 2012]:

Text, handskrift (förkortning)	Daterad till ^a	Antal ord ^b
Fornsvenska Legendariet, Holm A 34 (Cod Bu)	ca 1276–1307	30 000
Ivan Lejonriddaren, Holm D 4 (Ivan)	ca 1303	30 000
Pentateuchparafrasen (MB1B), Holm A 1 (Mos)	ca 1330-tal	30 000
Konungastyrelsen, förkommen (KS)	ca 1330-tal	21 583
Erikskrönikan, Holm D 2, (Erik)	ca 1330-tal	28 167
<i>Totalt</i>		<i>139 800</i>

Yngre fornsvenska texter från Fornsvenska textbanken
och SpråkbankenKarlskrönikan från Språkbanken: <<http://spraakdata.gu.se/ktext/karl.html>>
[hämtad jan 2013]; övriga texter från Fornsvenska textbanken: <<http://project2.sol.lu.se/fornsvenska/>> [hämtade jan–mars 2013]

Text, handskrift (förkortning)	Daterad till ^a	Antal ord ^b
Järteckensboken, Holm A 110 (Jär)	ca 1385	20 000
Karl Magnus, Holm D 4 (KM)	ca 1400	10 933
Sju Vise Mästare (A), Holm D 4 (SVM)	ca 1400	16 345
Själen Tröst, Holm A 108 (Tröst)	ca 1420–30	20 000
Barlaam och Josafat, Holm A 49 (Barlaam)	ca 1442	20 000
Didrik av Bern (hand A), Skokloster 115,116 (Didrik)	ca 1450	20 000
Namnlös och Valentin, Holm D 4a (Valentin)	ca 1450	15 207
Karlskrönikan, Holm D 6 (Karl)	ca 1450	58 405
<i>Totalt</i>		<i>180 900</i>

^a Dateringen gäller textverken (inte handskrifterna) (jfr Wendt 2006).^b När det antal ord som anges är ett jämnt tusental betyder detta att den egentliga texten i Fornsvenska textbanken är längre än det material som valts ut för undersökningen. I dessa fall har den mittersta delen av texten analyserats, utom när det gäller texten *Didrik av Bern* där de första 20 000 orden har analyserats.

Äldre nysvenska texter från Fornsvenska textbanken

<<http://project2.sol.lu.se/fornsvenska/>> [hämtade jan–april 2013]:

Text (förkortning)	Daterad till	Antal ord
Peder Swarts krönika (Swart)	ca 1560	52 268
Per Brahes krönika (Brahe)	ca 1585	26 374
Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielms anteckningar (Gyllenhielm)	ca 1640	53 002
Agneta Horn: Beskrivning över min vandringstid (Horn)	ca 1657	40 463
Urban Hjärne: Stratonice (Hjärne)	ca 1665	11 330
<i>Totalt</i>		<i>183 400</i>

Yngre nysvenska texter, korpusar

1800-talsromaner från Språkbankens konkordanser: <<http://spraakbanken.gu.se/konk/>> [hämtad dec 2012]

Äldre svenska romaner, Bonniersromaner I 1976–77, Norstedtsromaner 1999 och Bloggmix 2013 från Korp: <<http://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/#>> [hämtade dec 2012–maj 2014]

Korpus (förkortning)	Daterad till	Antal ord
1800-talsromaner (1800)	1839–1891	590 300
Äldre svenska romaner (ÄSR) ^c	1891–1942	3 757 000
Bonniersromaner I (Bonnier)	1976–1977	6 579 300
Norstedstromaner (Norstedt)	1999	2 534 500
Bloggmix (Blogg)	2013	33 988 600
<i>Totalt</i>		<i>47 449 700</i>

^c Korpusen ”Äldre svenska romaner” består egentligen av texter från 1839–1942, innehållande totalt 4 347 300 ord, eftersom denna korpus också inkluderar korpusen ”1800-talsromaner”. I min analys av ”Äldre svenska romaner” har jag dock uteslutit allt material daterat före 1891 så att tidsperiod och material från de två korpusarna inte överlappar varandra.

Sigurd Fries †

22/4 1924–24/6 2013

Claes Sigurd Elias Fries föddes i Stockholm den 22 april 1924 som son till Robert Fries – föreståndare för Bergianska trädgården – och Nanna, född Curman. Sigurds studier vid Uppsala universitet resulterade i en filosofie kandidatexamen 1945, och tre år senare blev han filosofie magister i tyska språket, litteraturhistoria med poetik och fonetik samt, med högsta betyg, i nordiska språk. Efter en licentiatexamen 1953 disputerade han 1957 i nordiska språk på avhandlingen *Studier över nordiska trädnamn*, vilket omedelbart ledde till förordnande som docent. Han upprätthöll en docent-tjänst vid Uppsala universitet mellan 1957 och 1968 och vikarierade under kortare perioder på olika professurer vid Institutionen för nordiska språk. År 1968 utnämndes han till professor i svenska språket, särskilt nusvenska, vid det då nyinvidga lärosätet i Umeå. Han emeriterades 1988 men deltog långt därefter vid ämnets seminarier.

Sigurd var en av de pionjärer som bidrog till uppbyggnaden av det nya universitetet i norr. De nya professorerna och deras medarbetare hade åtskilligt att bestyra. Kursplaner skulle sammanställas, lärare och studenter rekryteras, utbildning i på den tiden stora grupper genomföras, forskning och forskarutbildning bedrivs liksom nya forskningsprojekt initieras. I samtliga dessa uppgifter engagerade sig Sigurd helhjärtat, och han trivdes uppenbarligen med det.

Sigurd bidrog också till att skapa ett fint ämnesbibliotek vid dåvarande Institutionen för nordiska språk med hjälp av gåvor och köp, och den språkliga litteraturen på Universitetsbibliotekets hyllor fylldes snabbt på. Sigurd blev dessutom 1969 föreståndare för Folkmåls- och folkminnesinstitutet för övre Norrland (FFÖN), en föregångare till Dialekt-, ortnamns- och folkminnesarkivet i Umeå (DAUM) som nu tyvärr håller på att läggas ner.

Som forskare etablerade sig Sigurd Fries tidigt som dialektolog, namnforskare och språkhistoriker. Mest känd är Sigurd för forskningen om växtbenämningar, där dialektologiska, etymologiska och semantiska problem uppmärksammas.

Avhandlingen behandlar som sagt de nordiska trädnamnen – *trädbenämningar* skulle man med dagens terminologi säga. Rumsligt är per-

spektivet nordiskt, tidsmässigt är det djupt. Huvudsyftet är att ur flera perspektiv undersöka de neutrala avledningarna av typen *äspe*, *birke* och *eke* som finns vid sidan av *asp*, *björk* och *ek*. Författaren menar att avledningarna av typen *äspe* är nordiska nybildningar. Frågan om betydelsen av *asp* i *Aspås* resp. *äspe* i *Äspeberga* diskuteras. I avhandlingen dras slutsatsen att både *asp* och *äspe* har en allmän betydelse 'asp' – den ofta i litteraturen indikerade distinktionen mellan *asp* i en allmänbetydelse och *äspe* i en betydelse 'ställe där det växer asp', 'aspdunge, aspskog' skulle alltså inte träffa rätt.

I en rad artiklar genom åren behandlar Sigurd kunnigt och mångsidigt olika benämningar på träd och andra växter. Älgräset har, visar Sigurd i en artikel, inte med älgar att göra utan med al, i en annan artikel kartläggs mer specifikt orden *al* och *alder* 'al' i nordiska dialekter, och i en tredje de dialektala formerna *havre* och *hagra* 'havre'. Viktigt i denna sist nämnda artikel är de iakttagelser Fries gör om de kulturförbindelser som de olika formerna indikerar. Sammanfattande perspektiv på de dialektala växtnamnen, deras semantik, ombildning och variation lämnas i en viktig studie publicerad i *Saga och sed* 1979.

Inflytelserik i denna del av produktionen är den bok som utgavs 1975, *Svenska växtnamn i riksspråk och dialekt*. Den består av tre fristående artiklar. Ur dialektologiskt perspektiv är genomgången av de folkliga växtbenämningarna i Linnés skrifter viktigast, där en omfångsrik och värdefull ordlista utgör stommen. Algernas svenska benämningar behandlas dialektgeografiskt och etymologiskt i en annan studie som inrymmer åtskilliga kniviga problem. Dessutom behandlas standardspråkets växtbenämningar i ljuset av benämningar i tidiga floror.

Ett antal språkgeografiska och ordhistoriska monografier måste uppmärksammas, främst två böcker från förra hälften av 1960-talet. I *Öländskt och uppsvenskt. En ord- och ortnamnshistorisk studie över uppsvenska drag på Öland och längs Götalands östkust* (1962) bidrar han på ett värdefullt sätt till beskrivningen av de språkliga spår som det gamla sveaväldets expansion söderut efter Östersjökusten resulterat i. Två år senare, år 1964, publicerade Sigurd ännu en monografi, *Stätt och stätta i Norden. Ett verbalabstrakts betydelseutveckling och ett bidrag till studiet av hägnadsterminologien*. Detta sistnämnda arbete utgör ett lysande exempel på vad man kan åstadkomma inom den forskningstradition som kallas Wörter und Sachen.

Ortnamn behandlas i flera av de nämnda studierna, främst i avhandlingen, men det finns också av Sigurds hand en rad mer renodlade ortnamnsarbeten. Ortnamn utefter kustfarleder intresserar honom mycket,

både äldre och yngre namn. I en artikel prövar Sigurd sålunda tolkningen av ett postulerat **Tör* i Sollentuna och det mer kända *Södertörn*. Önamnet *Tarv* i Umeå skärgård sätts i en studie in i ett sannolikt kommunikationssammanhang. Författaren etablerar här en betydelse 'något sönderrivet, sönderstyckat, litet obetydligt, ojämnt till formen' för det ord som ligger till grund för namnet, och fastslår därefter att *Tarv* sedan förhistorisk tid och under tidig medeltid utgjorts av några klippholmar som varit seglingsmärken för sjöfarande, helt enkelt ett slags synlig "klump" i farleden. En grupp yngre farledsnamn såsom *Rödkon*, *Bonden* och *Björn* behandlas i ett annat sammanhang. Hydronymerna *Sången* och *Sångan* återkommer i flera studier, både av de etymologiska förhållandena och av förhållandet mellan sjönamn och vattendragsnamn.

Mer sammanfattande perspektiv redovisas i inträdesföreläsningen i Vitterhetsakademien 1983 där ortnamn och bebyggelsehistoria i Övre Norrland står i centrum. Relationen mellan de nordnorrländska naturnamnen, främst ånamnen, som synes vara av hög ålder och de yngre bebyggelsenamn som här finns (namn på *-mark* och *-böle*) diskuteras, och analyseras i ljuset av paleoekologisk och arkeologisk evidens.

Carl von Linnés författarskap studerade Sigurd ur ett flertal aspekter, inte bara de växtbenämningarna som återfinns i Linnés skrifter utan också hans språk och stil där Sigurd byggde vidare på tidigare stilforskning. Särskilt betydelsefull är en år 1966 publicerad uppsats om Linnés rese-dagböcker i relation till de tryckta reseskildringarna, där Fries finner en del nycklar till tidens språkhistoria och språksociala förhållanden. Bland annat understryks att dagböckerna ofta har en friskhet och omedelbarhet i stilen som gått förlorad vid bearbetning för trycket.

Det är med denna utgångspunkt inte underligt att Sigurd kom att ägna senare delen av sitt liv åt Linnés stilistiskt spänstiga dagbok *Iter Lapponicum* som den då tjugofemåriga resenären förde under resan i norra Sverige och utefter den finländska kusten 1732. Dagboken utgavs av Skytteanska Samfundet (2003–05) i tre omfångsrika volymer som först etablerar texten, ger fylliga kommentarer och dessutom återger dagboken i faksimile. Det var många som deltog i detta arbete, bl.a. makan Ingerd, men Sigurd drog onekligen ett tungt lass.

Sammanfattningsvis kan konstateras att Sigurd Fries forskargärning är mångsidig och av hög kvalitet. Empiri av olika slag fokuseras, och här finns studier rörande fonologi och morfologi, ordbildning, ordhistoria, namn och en del annat. Talat och skrivet språk från olika tider behandlas, ett tidsdjup finns men också iakttagelser rörande senare tiders regionala svenska uppmärksammas. Teoretiskt och metodologiskt håller sig stu-

dierna innanför den traditionella nordistikens rāmärken där frågorna dock ibland läggs på en mer principiell nivå som när morfologisk förändring diskuteras ur systemperspektiv eller språksociala spörsmål tangeras. Sigurds vetenskapliga skrifter präglas av glasklar argumentation och ett enkelt språk men inte sällan spelar han på sitt karakteristiska sätt ner de egna forskningsresultaten. Sigurd var inte de stora ordens man.

Sigurd hade en hel del uppdrag utanför universitetet, bl.a. ledamotskap i tjugofem år i redaktionskommittén för nationalupplagan av August Strindbergs samlade verk och i den arbetsgrupp för svenska växtnamn som etablerades vid Svenska botaniska föreningen. Han var ledamot av ett antal lärda sammanslutningar: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet och Kungl. Vetenskapssamhället i Uppsala. I arbetet vid dessa akademier deltog han så länge krafterna tillät.

Som forskarhandledare förde han många doktorander fram till disputation. Ämnena var också vitt skilda, och vittnar om Sigurds vetenskapliga öppenhet. Han var uppskattande och gav mycket beröm när han handledde. I varje fall i början av sin utbildningstid kunde man nog misstolka denna hans uppmuntrande handledning – var, kunde man inbilla sig, det man formulerat männe helt invändningsfritt? Emellertid – lärde man sig läsa Sigurds kroppsspråk och hans speciella retorik, och det gjorde man ju ganska snart, insåg man att när han aningen höjde högerhanden och milt sade: ”Man skulle möjligen kunna säga ...” (med betoning på ”möjligen”), ja då hade han egentligen sagt: ”Det här håller ju inte, det här måste skrivas om!” Det gällde att läsa av också det finstilta.

Personligen var Sigurd generös, vänlig och uppmuntrande. Det är ett stort privilegium att ha fått ha en sådan människa som kollega och inspiratör – och som vän.

Sigurd Fries avled den 24 juni 2013, och hade då just fyllt 89 år.

Lars-Erik Edlund

Litteraturkrönika 2013

Av Lars-Olof Delsing, Lars-Erik Edlund och Karl G. Johansson

Krönikans avdelningar åtskiljs av asterisk. De är ämnesvis ordnade från allmänt till specifikt: allmänspråkligt (indoeuropeiska, (ur)germanska) * skandinaviskt (ur-, fornnordiska) * särspråkligt: fornvästnordiska, isländska, färöiska * norska * danska * svenska * egennamn: ortnamn, personnamn, övriga namn. Inom avdelningarna redovisas arbetena i alfabetisk följd. Artiklarna signeras L.-O.D., L.-E.E. eller K.G.J.

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Frog & Pauliina Latvala (red.) with Helen F. Leslie, Approaching Methodology, second revised edition with an introduction by Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, 429 s., Helsinki 2013 (Finnish Academy of Science and Letters). ISBN 978-951-41-1085-6. Metod och metodologiska frågor är alltid av stor vikt för forskningen och nödvändigheten av en explicit diskussion om förutsättningarna för hur vi etablerar kunskap och ny förståelse torde inte kräva omfattande argumentation. Inom det som kallas Retrospective Methods Network (RMN) har det under de senaste åren förts en debatt om retrospektiv metod, ”an interest in the problems, approaches, strategies and limitations related to considering some aspect of culture in one period through evidence from another, later period” (s. 5), med krav på en explicit hållning till metodfrågorna. Tidigare har bidrag i denna diskussion publicerats elektroniskt i *RMN Newsletter* men nu har man valt att samla en del av debatten i en tryckt volym, härav den något förvirrande benämningen ”Second revised edition”. De frågor som behandlas i boken delas in i fyra avdelningar: ”Method in Practice”, ”Constructing Data”, ”Culturally Sensitive Reading” och ”Function, Structure and Statistics”. Innehållet i artiklarna under var och en av dessa rubriker är högst varierande och det finns mycket av intresse att hämta i många individuella bidrag. Fokus är tydligt på skandinavisk medeltid och med en viss tyngdpunkt på västnordiskt material. Frågor om metod och metodologiska ställningstaganden är alltid relevanta och boken bidrar definitivt till den pågående debatten. En invändning kan emellertid vara att innehållet i en

del fall snarare påminner om utkast till metodkapitel i en PhD-avhandling, som kräver bearbetning innan det presenteras, något som redaktörerna eventuellt kunde ha arbetat ytterligare med. K.G.J.

Tore Kristiansen & Stefan Grondelaers (utg.), Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies, 401 s., Oslo 2013 (Novus Press). ISBN 978-82-7099-741-1. Denna samlingsvolym är den andra i raden från SLICE (*Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe*), som är ett forskningsprogram vid LANCHART i Köpenhamn. Boken tar sig an olika sorters (de)standardisering i det moderna Europa, särskilt deras ideologiska dimension. Den tar sin utgångspunkt i ett flertal iakttagelser av att enhetligheten i standardspråken luckras upp i det moderna Europa. Detta fenomen väcker förstås intresse bland språkvetare, men även bland icke-professionella språkbrukare. Författarnas huvudfråga är hur sociala värderingar korrelerar med och påverkar språkbruket. Erfarenheter från tidigare studier visar att värderingar skiftar ganska mycket från fall till fall, och boken vill försöka skilja på värderingar på olika medvetandenivåer. Boken inleds med en översiktsartikel av utgivarna, som också presenterar en del av resultaten från tidigare danska studier. Dessa visar bland annat att många danskar (utanför Köpenhamn) värderar köpenhamnskan lågt, när de tillfrågas, men när man manipulerar uttal så visar det sig att köpenhamnskan klarar sig mycket bättre i värderingstest. Denna typ av resultat har inspirerat till en rad nya ”experimentella” studier som nu alltså publiceras i denna bok. Den är delad i två delar där den första (åtta artiklar) redovisar mer konkreta studier med talarvärderingsexperiment. Här finns exempelvis en artikel av Helge Sandøy om norsk dialektförändring, men här finns studier från vitt skilda språksamfund i Europa. En artikel behandlar högtyska och *schwäbisch* i Sydvästtyskland, en annan situationen i Litauen. Tre artiklar handlar om Flandern i Belgien där en regional variant med många namn (bl.a. *Tussentaal* och *Soapvlaams*) kan karakteriseras som en varietet som ligger mellan dialekterna och standardnederländskan. Denna sprider sig idag till nya domäner. En annan artikel handlar om situationen i Bosnien-Hercegovia som trots stora politiska och sociala skillnader mot Belgien uppvisar vissa likartade processer. Den andra delen av boken samlar sju artiklar som i första hand diskuterar metodologiska och teoretiska problem i den typ av undersökningar man gjort. Det handlar ofta om problem med att elicitera värderingar och att finna metoder för att avgöra hur pass medvetna de är. L.-O.D.

Wim Vandenbussche, Ernst Håkon Jahr & Peter Trudgill (utg.), *Language Ecology for the 21st Century: Linguistic Conflicts and Social Environments*, 342 s., Oslo 2013 (Novus). ISBN 978-82-7099-748-0. Denna samlingsvolym presenterar elva engelskspråkiga artiklar om språkeкологи. Volymen har sitt upphov i en konferens vid Agders universitet 2008, varifrån sex bidrag är hämtade. Därutöver har alltså fem andra forskare också fått bidra till boken. Denna tar mycket explicit sin utgångspunkt i Einar Haugen formulering av begreppet, och Stig Eliassons och Jereon Darquennes bidrag ger närmare beskrivningar av hur Haugen använder och definierar begreppet, och hur andra har sett på det. Utöver dessa finns två andra mera teoretiskt inriktade artiklar. Kees Versteegh diskuterar t.ex. hur man kan se på skillnader mellan patrilineära och matrilineära samhällen och deras konsekvenser för språkförändring. Peter Trudgills artikel tar sin utgångspunkt i Haugens definition av (standardiserade) språk och (ostandardiserade) dialekter och Kloss distinktion mellan Abstand- och Ausbau-språk, där det förra – kort sagt – innebär språk som inte har närmare släktingar (som ungerska och engelska) och det senare språk som ingår i ett dialektkontinuum, som de fastlandsskandinaviska eller de västslaviska språken. Distinktionerna och förändringar i dessa diskuteras utifrån en rad konkreta exempel, som sträcker sig från Skandinavien, över Balkan, Katalonien och andra delar av Europa till Karibien och Polynesien. Utöver dessa fyra mera övergripande, teoretiska artiklar delas resten av boken upp i två ytterligare delar, en om språkeкологи i ett europeiskt perspektiv, och en i ett utomeuropeiskt. Dessa sju artiklar fokuserar närmare på ett antal utvalda teman eller områden, där språksituationen beskrivs och analyseras, ofta med en historisk bakgrund. Gro Renée Rambøs artikel behandlar mera specifikt språkkontakten mellan hanseater och skandinaver under medeltiden, och Ernst Håkon Jahr tar sig an den norska språksituationen, med fokus på de norska dialekterna. Här finns också specifika bidrag som behandlar olika aspekter av språksituationen på Iberiska halvön, i Botswana, Sydafrika, Nya Zeeland och situationen för kreolspråket Bequia English på St Vincent och Grenadinerna i Västindien. Boken är försedd med ett omfattande sak- och personregister. L.-O.D.

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*Erzählen im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien II, herausgegeben von Robert Nedoma, 209 s., Wien 2014 (Praesens Verlag). (Wiener Studien zur Skandinavistik (WSS) Band 22.) ISBN 978-3-7069-0777-4; ISSN 1817-8952. Volymen *Erzählen im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien* – som*

är en uppföljare av den bok med samma titel som år 2000 utgavs av Robert Nedoma, Hermann Reichert och Günter Zimmermann – samlar åtta artiklar. Flera bidrag tar utgångspunkt i de norröna sagorna. Andrea Rau och Markus Greulich undersöker sålunda i en lång artikel under rubriken ”Männer in Wort und Tat” maskulinitet, varvid fem sagatexter fokuseras vilka utgör senare delen av *Mǫðruvallabók*. Den ingående analysen i artikeln kan inte relateras närmare i denna korta kröniketext. Författarna resumerar bl.a. att i texterna förekommande motiv ”machen diesen letzten Abschnitt der Handschrift zu einem faszinierenden Zeugnis einer Gesellschaft im Umbruch und ihrer Reflektion der Bedingtheit von Kultur” (s. 131). Marina Mundt belyser Egilssagens kapitel 78 som handlar om Bǫðvars död och den välkända dödsklagan över en bortgången ungdomson. Mundt diskuterar texten i relation till ett persiskt verk, Firdausi’s *Shahnama*, vilket kan ha varit känt för sagans förmodade författare Snorri Sturluson. Visserligen känner vi inte till någon nordisk översättning av *Shahnama* men det är enligt Mundt fullt möjligt ”dass das Gesamtwerk oder Teile davon in einem der Bildungszentren des mittelalterlichen Skandinavien vorhanden waren – egal in welcher Sprache” (s. 67). Verket var hur som helst känt i medeltidens Europa och vi vet att Snorri haft goda möjligheter att ”schöngestige Ideen und Sujets seiner Zeit kennen zu lernen” (ibid.). Hans Kuhn rekonstruerar på basis av *Andra rímur* en fornaldrarsaga **Andra saga* och belyser därvid vissa genretypiska drag. Susanne Kramarz-Bein gör sig intressanta ”familienhistorische Überlegungen” på basis av *Karlamagnús saga*, närmare bestämt utifrån den första av dess ”böcker” (ty. *Branche*); inte minst de metodologiska övervägandena äger i denna artikel intresse. I Hendrik Lambertus bidrag står riddarasögur i centrum, och här visas att det främmande och magin i sagornas berättarkosmos står i nära förbindelse med varandra: ”die Magie [kann] eine markante Chiffre des Fremden sein” (s. 154), låt vara att relationen mellan det främmande och magi också uppvisar andra bottenar. Matthias Teichert presenterar i sitt bidrag ett helt kabinet med mer eller mindre osannolika varelser – levande döda, varulvar, drakar och sjömonster m.fl., vi möter dessutom en konstgjord *trémaðr* – vilka studeras narratologiskt; perspektiven framåt mot romantiken och vidare in i vår tids ”horror fiction” är uppenbara. Volymens redaktör Robert Nedoma uppehåller sig vid etymologiska studier rörande några ord under rubriken ”Miscellanea Eddica”. Adjektivet *bláhvítr*, som finns på ett par ställen i Eddan, tolkas som ’sehr weiss, strahlend (leuchtend) weiß’, och *Ysia* i *Rígsþula* diskuteras och sätts in i ett möjligt etymologiskt sammanhang. Det omdiskuterade ordet *ogur-lógurstund* i *Völundarkviða* dryftas där-

till, utan att problemet vad jag kan se slutgiltigt lösts. Norska runinskrifter från senare delen av vikingatiden behandlas till sist av Michael Schulte i en artikel med underrubriken "Von der Gedenkformel zur Fürbitte und historische Narration". De narrativa funktionerna i dessa texter träder väl mer sällan i förgrunden men kommer i varje fall till synes i några inskrifter; på ristningen från Senja heter det exempelvis (i västnordisk normalisering) "Fórum drengja ll Fríslands á vit / ok vígs fótum ll vér skip-tum" ("Wir fuhren zum Treffen mit Frieslands Burschen/Recken und tauschten die Kampfkleider aus"). Många olika problem sätts som synes under luppen i denna volym. Här behandlas maskulinitet, magi, fantastik och "horror", och de perspektiv som läggs på texterna är mångsidiga genom studier med bl.a. litteraturantropologiska och litteraturpsykologiska, genretypologiska och motivhistoriska ansatser. Härtill kommer även en filologisk och en runologisk artikel. Bokens tematik är inte alltför snävt avgränsad, bidragen är dessutom av högst varierande längd och det finns en del formella olikheter bidragen emellan. Dessa skillnader mellan artiklarna gör dock inget, istället presenteras här ett smörgåsbord där västnordiskt intresserade läsare alltid hittar något av intresse. L.-E.E.

Kirsi Salonen, Kurt Villads Jensen & Torstein Jørgensen (red.), Medieval Christianity in the North. New Studies, 276 s., Turnhout 2013 (Brepols). ISBN 978-2-503-54048-1. Redaktörerna för föreliggande bok inleder med att peka på den ofta stereotypa synen på Norden som perifert och outvecklat innan det inlemmas i den europeiska kristna världen, något som med ett likaså stereotypt perspektiv ofta ses som en direkt överföring av de kristna värderingarna där det nya undantränger och ersätter det gamla utan att det senare lämnar några spår. Civilisation ersätter barbari. Med boken vill man bidra till den viktiga diskussionen om relationen mellan Norden och kontinenten under medeltiden och öka vår förståelse av Nordens roll i det framväxande kristna Europa. Boken innehåller tio artiklar med nog så olika anslag och dessutom en avslutande reflektion av den amerikanske medeltidsforskaren Patrick Geary. I en inledande artikel påvisar Else Mundal de kvarliggande förkristna element som kan urskiljas i det bevarade materialet i det som hon karakteriserar som "popular religion", här representerat av övernaturliga väsen som *landvættir*, *fylgjur* och *nornir*. I en följande artikel diskuterar Stefan Brink framväxten av de tidigaste kyrkliga strukturerna, från 900- och 1000-talets etablering av kristen tro till den senare utformningen av kyrkans infrastruktur och de faktorer som stimulerade dessa processer. Kosthålllets reglering enligt kyrkan och i praktiken behandlas av Sæbjørg Walaker

Nordeide och Jennifer R. McDonald, följt av en artikel om de religiösa funktioner som vin och öl hade i det medeltida nordiska samhället av Lars Bisgaard. Kurt Villads Jensen diskuterar Skandinaviens roll som både centrum och periferi i etableringen av europeisk kristendom och påpekar att spridningen av kulturella fenomen aldrig är enkelriktad utan snarare alltid ingår i en pågående förhandling mellan sändare och mottagare, en viktig insikt som får avgörande betydelse för vår syn inte endast på kristnandet men också på framväxten av ett kulturellt sammanhållet Europa med alla dess varianter. I en följande artikel undersöker Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen kristnandeprocesserna i Baltikum under 1100- och 1200-talet och argumenterar att kristnandet genomfördes med tvång och som del i en korstågsrörelse. Claes Gejrot förflyttar oss till Sverige och de sista decennierna av 1300-talet och behandlar birgittinernas insatser för Birgittas kanonisering. Påvens ingripande i form av dispensation i äktenskapsfrågor och hur detta återspeglas i det skandinaviska materialet behandlas av Kirsi Salonen. De två sista bidragen i boken behandlar juridiska frågor. Torstein Jørgensen diskuterar prästers våldsamhet och hur denna behandlas i kanonisk respektive civil lag medan Bertil Nilsson använder sig av en fallstudie för att beskriva uppfattningen om prästers sexualitet och hur denna behandlas i kyrkorätten under 1400-talet. Som man kan se från denna korta resumé av artiklarnas temata innehåller boken många och ofta löst sammanhängande perspektiv på medeltidens kristendom i Norden. Samlingen utgör en del av rapporteringen från ett projekt, *Nordic Centre of Medieval Studies* (verksam under åren 2005–2010), finansierat av *Nordisk samarbidsnemnd for humanistisk og samfunnsvitenskapelig forskning* (NOS-HS) och med deltagare från universiteten i Bergen, Göteborg, Odense och Helsingfors. K.G.J.

Ann-Catrine Edlund och Susanne Haugen (red.), Människor som skriver. Perspektiv på vardagligt skriftbruk och identitet, 199 s., Umeå 2013 (Umeå universitet och Kungl. Skytteanska samfundet). (Nordliga studier 4; Vardagligt skriftbruk 2.) ISBN 978-91-88466-85-3, ISSN 2000-0391;4. Denna samlingsvolym från det tvärvetenskapliga nätverket *Vardagligt skriftbruk* är den andra volymen i skriftserien med samma namn. Den bygger i stort sett på det symposium som nätverket höll i mars 2011, men volymen innehåller också några artiklar som inte presenterades där. Nätverket består av ett tjugotal forskare från nordiska språk, historia, etnologi, litteraturvetenskap och didaktik, de flesta svenska forskare. Temat är ”vardagliga skriftpraktiker och identitet”, och utöver redaktörernas inledning delas volymen i en större del med historiskt perspektiv (7 ar-

tiklar) och en mindre del med didaktiskt perspektiv. Bland artiklarna kan nämnas Britt Liljewalls som reflekterar över hur personers identitet kan friläggas genom läsning av 1800-talsbrev. Per-Olof Erixon behandlar stildrag i den västerbottniske författaren Thorsten Jonssons noveller från 1939. Det handlar om hur ”hårdkokthet” skapas i litteraturen. Gunnar Thernhag behandlar textsamlade på 1800-talet, närmare bestämt ett fall där en smed i Skåne samlat på vistexter, och han diskuterar också samlande som fenomen och beskriver olika samlartyper: souvenirsamlaren, fetischsamlaren och de systematiska samlarna. Berit Lundgren redovisar en nylig undersökning av ett tjugotal skolbarns reflektioner kring skrivande. Barnen har fått diskutera identitet i förhållande till skrift i samtalsgrupper. Artikeln utgår från fem metaforer för identitet: *olikhet, självförverkligande/subjektivitet, medvetenhet, berättelse och position* (Moje & Luke 2009), och förf. försöker relatera barnens diskussioner om olika sorters skrivande/läsande (med hjälp av dataspel, mobiltelefon, penna etc.) till dessa. L.-O.D.

Sigurður Jónsson, Christer Laurén, Johan Myking & Heribert Picht, Parallelspråk og domene. Nordisk språkplanlegging på 2000-tallet, med særlig vekt på forsknings og utdanningssektorn, 196 s., Oslo 2013 (Novus Forlag). ISBN 978-82-7099-726-8. Denna bok vars huvudtitel egentligen är upprepad på alla de fem nordiska standardspråken behandlar språkpolitik. Huvudsyftet är att diskutera de två begreppen parallellspråkighet och domändynamik, särskilt då i den högre undervisningen och forskningen. Boken är samförfattad av de fyra författarna, och skriven på alla de tre skandinaviska språken samtidigt, så att förf. kan växla språk inte bara mellan kapitlen utan också mellan avsnitten i dem. Boken inleds med några reflektioner om engelskans plats i forskning och högre utbildning, och vad det har för konsekvenser. Förf. pekar bland annat på paradoxen att skälen för att använda de nordiska språken för det avancerade tänkandet är stort, samtidigt som vi behöver bli flerspråkigare i vår forskning. I kapitel 2 görs en genomgång av senare tiders språkpolitiska diskussioner och initiativ såsom utredningar och lagstiftning. Detta går igenom språk för språk: danska, finska, isländska, norska och svenska, vilket följs av särskilda avsnitt om fördelningen mellan finska och svenska i Finland, färöiska och grönländska samt samiska. I kapitel 3 görs jämförelser mellan de olika länderna, och förf. pekar bl.a. på hur olika det ser ut på lagstiftningens sida, där Finland, Island och Sverige nyligen infört (reviderat) språklagar, medan Danmark valt att inte göra det. I Norge är diskussionen inte i mål ännu. Kapitel 4 tar sig sedan an de två centrala

begreppen parallellspråkighet och domänförlust. Inte minst bemödar sig förf. om att klarlägga hur begreppen kan användas på olika sätt. Kapitel 5 värderar analysen av begreppen och utvecklingen, och förf. föreslår fler språkpolitiska beslut, bl.a. föreslås en nordisk vetenskapsakademi, ett nordiskt citatindex som listar allt som citeras på språk i Norden samt diverse belöningar till studenter och universitetsanställda. Förf. argumenterar för omfattande användning av de nordiska språken i forskning och högre utbildning, och boken utmynnar i ett program: *Den nordiska modellen*. L.-O.D.

Lennart Elmevik & Ernst Håkon Jahr (utg.), Talemålsforskning i Norden dei siste 100 åra. Eit symposium i Åseral i 2011 i høve 100-årsjubileet for Didrik Arup Seips hovudfagsavhandling om åsdølsmålet, 157 s., Uppsala 2013 (Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur). (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 127.) ISBN 978-91-87403-03-3, ISSN 0065-0897. Didrik Arup Siep tog hovedfagsexamen i dåvarande Kristiania 1911. Hans uppsats om åsdølsmålet kom att bli mönsterbildande, och 2011 hölls ett symposium om talspråksforskning vid Agders universitet. Denna samlingsvolym bygger till största delen på artiklar som presenterades vid detta symposium, men den innehåller också två andra artiklar. Den inleds med en bakgrundsartikel av Ernst Håkon Jahr, som bl.a. beskriver personen Didrik Arup Seip som språkpolitiker och språkhistoriker. Han var professor i nordiska språk i nästan 40 år och kom att ha ett stort inflytande på nordistiken i Norge och Norden. En lite mera personnära beskrivning av Seip ges av Kjell Venås. Gro-Renée Rambø ger en kortare beskrivning av Seips doktorsavhandling om lånord, och sätter in den i sitt språkliga och språkvetenskapliga sammanhang. Martin Skjekkeland ger en beskrivning av åsdølsmålet, där Seips beskrivning tas till utgångspunkt för en beskrivning av dialekten idag. Jan K. Hognestad behandlar tonemrealiseringen i Agdermålen, med särskild hänsyn till åsdølsmålet. Agder utgör ju ett gränsland mellan de västnorska högtonsmålen och de östnorska lågtonsmålen. Här kontrasteras moderna undersökningar av dialekten med Seips beskrivning. De fyra avslutande artiklarna utgör vetenskapshistoriska översikter över talspråksforskningen i de tre skandinaviska länderna samt England, skrivna av Helge Sandøy, Lars-Erik Edlund, Tore Kristiansen och Peter Trudgill. L.-O.D.

Lars Boje Mortensen & Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen, with Alexandra Bergholm (red.), The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds. Non-Canonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature, 448 s.,

Turnhout 2013 (Brepols). ISBN 978-2-503-54236-2; e-ISBN 978-2-503-54261-4. Forskningen och inte minst undervisningen inom de discipliner som arbetar med nordisk medeltid har alltid mer eller mindre dominerats av texter som betraktats som kanoniska, som t.ex. de isländska sagorna eller eddadiktningen. Utanför denna kanon befinner sig inte endast en mängd texter på folkspråket ofta relaterade till en muntlig tradition; också den stora betydelsen latinets spelade har ofta nedtonats. Föreliggande bok är ett lyckat försök att bryta den kanoniska dominansen och rikta blicken mot mer perifera typer av material, ett syfte som redaktörerna beskriver som följer: "In this way there is a general emphasis on 'lived' literature, performativity, and social and religious identities attached to, or mainly documented through, certain smaller literary forms or specimens. At the same time we want to foreground the widespread use of Latin and the interface between Latin and the vernacular. With these 'non-canonical chapters' we wish to open up new directions for the writing of a possible future history of Nordic medieval literature, in which this undergrowth of texts lying in the borderlands between song, spoken and written, and between Latin and the vernaculars across the entire linguistic spectrum is allowed to play a role." (S. 3.) Den gemensamma utgångspunkten för studierna som presenteras i volymen är att texter under medeltiden ofta var del av ritualer och framföranden som var avsedda (mer eller mindre medvetet) att skapa identitet och tillhörighet. För att beskriva detta använder författarna i boken begreppet *storyworlds*, som alltså anses vara grundläggande för identiteter på alla nivåer. En intressant markering här är också att kristna berättelsevärldar får primat i förhållande till förkristna (här använder redaktörerna det problematiska *pagan*, präglat av den kristna kyrkans negativa syn på de förkristna världsbilderna som "hedniska"). Det är också nytt i den här boken att den finska litteraturen, för medeltidens del på latin men i tidig modern tid i viss mån också på folkspråket, har tagits med i diskussionen. Detta skapar en dynamik som vi vanligen inte upplever när vi läser studier av skandinavisk litteracitet. Boken är indelad i fyra avdelningar och omfattar totalt tretton artiklar förutom den omfattande och mycket intressanta inledningsartikeln. I en första avdelning, "The Impact of Latin Song, Book and Service", fokuserar författarna på latinsk litteracitet främst inom kyrkans sfär. Här får t.ex. liturgin en välförkänt uppmärksamhet i Åslaug Ommundsens artikel medan Toumas Heikkilä och Toumas M. S. Lehtonen båda diskuterar latinets roll i Finland och i relation till den folkspråkliga kulturen. I en andra avdelning, "Christian Discourse Framing Pagan Stories", behandlar de inledande två artiklarna av

Jonas Wellendorf och Henrik Janson mötet mellan latinsk och förkristen tradition. Här kompletteras i Jansons artikel begreppet *storyworld* med en idé om 'oral Christianity', en kristen berättelsevärld som mött och blandats med folkspråkliga berättelsevärldar under den långa period med kontakter som föregick de mer institutionella kristnandeprocesserna. I den sista artikeln i denna avdelning introducerar Lauri Harvilahti i sin diskussion om etnokulturell kunskap och mytologiska modeller begreppet *ethnocultural poetics* för kunskapen om ord, berättelser, myter och andra uttrycksformer som förekommer i den egna kulturen, det som kan anses vara förutsättningen för att vi ska kunna föra den inhemska traditionen vidare. De tre artiklarna i den här avdelningen samverkar till att öppna många nya perspektiv på medeltidens berättelsevärldar och bryter ned den efter hand meningslösa oppositionen mellan muntlig tradition och skriftfästa texter som alltför ofta leder till låsta positioner mellan forskare från olika traditioner. Bokens tredje avdelning, "Educating and Disciplining the community", innehåller fyra artiklar om texter som i en eller annan form av framförande kan anses ha haft som syfte att skapa identitet eller sammanhang i det medeltida samhället. Här behandlas texter som den norska stavkyrkopredikan och islänningasagor av Aidan Conti respektive Slavica Ranković och en latinsk krönika om Henrik av Livonien av Linda Kaljundi. Här kan man alltså notera att också de kanoniska texterna trots allt får en viss uppmärksamhet också i denna bok. I den avslutande delen, "Oral Poetics through the Social Spectrum", kommer å andra sidan de mer marginella, för att inte säga glömda, texterna mer i fokus. Här diskuterar Pertti Anttonen två medeltida ballader med finsk bakgrund medan Else Mundal behandlar genrer som vi kan se spår av i det bevarade materialet men som i övrigt har gått förlorade eftersom de inte nedtecknats, främst genrer som knyts till exempelvis uttryck för sorg i form av sånger framförda av kvinnor. I bokens avslutande artikel diskuterar Senni Timonen traditionen för en karelsk folkvisa om jungfru Marias havandeskap som ett exempel på hur en kristen berättelse assimileras och förändras i muntlig tradition och skapar en ny berättelsevärld, ett exempel som påminner om den 'muntliga kristendom' som Henrik Janson diskuterar i sin ovannämnda artikel. Boken är resultatet av samarbetet i en arbetsgrupp inom nätverket *Nordic Centre of Medieval Studies* (verksam under åren 2005–2010) finansierat av *Nordisk samarbetsnämnd för humanistisk og samfunnsvitenskapelig forskning* (NOS-HS) och med deltagare från universiteten i Bergen, Göteborg, Odense och Helsingfors och är ett gott exempel på hur samarbete av det här slaget kan leda till spännande nya perspektiv.

K.G.J.

Anna Kuusmin & M.J. Driscoll (utg.), *White Field, Black Seeds. Nordic Literacy Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 214 s., Helsinki 2013 (Finnish Literature Society). (*Studia Fennica Literaria* 7.) ISBN 978-952-222-444-6; ISSN 1458-5278. Titeln på denna samlingsvolym anspelar på en spridd finsk gåta som i förordet görs fullständig med ”who can sow?”. Det är alltså en gåta som syftar på vitt papper, svart bläck och skrivkonsten. Boken är en tvärvetenskaplig samlingsvolym med temat skrivande i Norden på 1800-talet och det tidiga 1900-talet. Den tar som utgångspunkt att många oskolade personer i Norden faktiskt fattade pennan och skrev. Boken inleds med en översiktsartikel av utgivarna, där man bland annat pekar på skillnaderna mellan Island och övriga Norden. Det folkliga skrivandet på Island har inte bara en stolt medeltida tradition, utan en kontinuitet sedan dess. Boken innehåller utöver utgivarnas förord 13 artiklar i ämnet skrivna av företrädesvis nordiska forskare. Den första av artiklarna är dock skriven av Martyn Lyons, som sätter in skrivande bland de lägre klasserna i ett europeiskt perspektiv. Av de övriga artiklarna behandlar två svenska förhållanden, medan fyra handlar om isländska förhållanden och sex om finska. Det finns alltså en tyngdpunkt på Finland och Island. Innehållet varierar från studier av specifika material eller enstaka skribenter eller boksamlare till mera metodologiska diskussioner.

L.-O.D.

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Maja Bäckvall, *Skriva fel och läsa rätt? Eddiska dikter i Uppsalaeddan ur ett avsändar- och mottagarperspektiv*, 268 s., Uppsala 2013 (Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet). ISBN 978-91-506-2342-0. Sedan början av 1990-talet har *nyfilologi*, senare mer träffande benämnd *materialfilologi*, som hade sin utgångspunkt i att en kritik av de traditioner för textkritik och utgivning av medeltidens texter som utvecklats inom romansk filologi kommit att skapa debatt också inom nordisk filologi. För norrön filologis vidkommande måste det definitivt konstateras att denna debatt har varit fruktbar och att den har fört med sig ett intresse för nya frågeställningar relaterade till medeltidens manuskriptkultur liksom metodologiska diskussioner bland filologer. Förvisso kan det ibland tendera att bli närmast en fråga om trostillhörighet om man är traditionell filolog eller materialfilolog snarare än om de frågeställningar man arbetar med eller de metoder man etablerar; efter hand ser det emellertid ut som om vi närmar oss ett skede i debatten där filologin kan konsolideras som en viktig deltagare i den flervetenskapliga diskussionen om medeltidens kultur. Maja Bäckvall tar i sin avhandling i hög grad en plats inom mate-

riell filologi med sitt sätt att närma sig handskriften, *textbäraren*, Codex Upsaliensis DG 11 4to, för de flesta väl mest känd som *Uppsalaeddan*. Med sin frågeställning om hur de eddadikter som ingår i Snorri Sturlusons *Edda* har förståtts av skrivaren i den aktuella handskriften lämnar hon emellertid den strikta materialfilologin och väljer i stället ett perspektiv på produktion och reproduktion av text ur ett avsändar- och mottagarperspektiv. Detta visar sig vara både relevant och leda till intressanta iakttagelser angående receptionen av *Edda* liksom de aktuella dikterna i det tidiga 1300-talet. Där rent materialfilologiska studier ofta kan framstå som rent deskriptiva kommer Bäckvall med sitt sätt att kombinera ett materiellt perspektiv med ett receptionsperspektiv betydligt längre i sin analys. Det blir inte längre fråga om att finna vägen tillbaka till Snorri Sturlusons ur-*Edda* eller *arketypen* utan snarare blir det skrivaren (Bäckvalls ersättare som "hjärte" när författaren inte längre är central) som sätts i fokus; det är skrivarens läsning som återspeglas i avskriften och utifrån resultatet kan Bäckvall säga något om samtidens reception. Maja Bäckvalls avhandling har skrivits som en del av det projekt om Uppsalaeddan, *Originalversionen av Snorre Sturlusons Edda? Studier i Codex Upsaliensis*, som drivits vid Institutionen för nordiska språk i Uppsala med stöd från Vetenskapsrådet. K.G.J.

Else Mundal (red.), Dating the Sagas. Reviews and Revisions, 218 s., København 2013 (Museum Tusulanum Press). ISBN 978-87-635-3899-2. Ett återkommande diskussionsämne i sagaforskningen rör de individuella sagornas ålder och den relativa kronologin för hela materialet. Generationer av forskare har anlagt olika synsätt på dateringsfrågorna och ofta kommit fram till nog så divergerande resultat. I föreliggande bok har redaktören Else Mundal samlat bidrag från norrönforskare som på ett eller annat sätt intresserat sig för dateringsfrågor. Bidragen i boken speglar tydligt de olika perspektiv som lagts på dateringsfrågorna, från Jürg Glausers bidrag som närmast konkluderar med att en datering av det enskilda verket är omöjlig att nå och kanske inte heller relevant eller intressant för vår läsning av sagorna till exempelvis Jonna Louis-Jensens intressanta diskussion om möjligheten att datera arketyper av en saga där relationen mellan *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* och *Eyrbyggja saga* är central. En fråga som återkommer i många av artiklarna liksom i Else Mundals inledning rör dateringens objekt. Är det verket, alltså det som skapats av en – nog så anakronistiskt och romantiskt definierad – författare, den föregivet muntliga traditionen för den enskilda sagan eller den enskilda redaktionen av exempelvis *Gísla saga Súrssonar* vi önskar

datera? I senare tids debatt har också de olika handskriftsvittnena till ett verk (och då inte endast som vittne till arketyper) liksom frågan om själva genrens datering kommit i centrum. Jürg Glauser diskuterar dessa frågor grundligt med utgångspunkt i de centrala litteraturhistoriska verk som behandlar genren och sätter dem i relation till varför det alls är nödvändigt eller viktigt att komma fram till en absolut eller relativ datering. Hans slutsats, som inte helt får implikationer för de övriga bidragen i boken är värd att citera i sin helhet: ”If the previously frequent image of blossoming and withering, that is, of the rise, the classical phase and the decline of a genre, is replaced by the now more familiar metaphor of the text as a fluid continuum, then dating – if it is at all philologically possible – can only refer to and define a selected – that is, isolated – stage in this process of textual changes and instabilities (regardless of whether the text happens to be in an oral, written or other medial form). Thus, the dating of a saga, on whatever basis it is made, can never represent more than a small section of the text’s development. It is – to use an image from modern media history – a photographic recording, or perhaps rather a still of a film, which otherwise is largely lost.” (S. 28). De flesta bidragen i boken behandlar dateringen av enskilda sagor eller grupper av sagor, som t.ex. å ena sidan Theodore Anderssons försök på en datering av *Fóstbræðra saga* och Torfi Tulinius argumentation utifrån en kontextualiserande analys för dateringen av *Eyrbyggja saga* eller å andra sidan Emily Lethbridges mer generella reflektioner om datering utifrån arbetet med *Gísla saga Súrssonar*. Jonna Louis-Jensens metoddiskussion är nödvändig och högst relevant för våra fortsatta försök att datera något steg i en texts tradering, vare sig det är arketyper, en avgränsad redaktion eller ett enskilt textvittne och visar tydligt vikten av att explicit klargöra de teoretiska och metodologiska utgångspunkterna. Detta är högst relevant när vi diskuterar relationen mellan traditionell filologi och den så kallade nyfilologin; att förkasta traditionell filologisk metod som irrelevant för de frågor som ställs inom nyfilologin kan annars ofta framstå som mest beroende på bristande insikter i traditionen eller till och med lättja. Boken blir därmed ett viktigt bidrag till diskussionen inte bara om dateringsfrågor men också om filologins roll inom de humanistiska disciplinerna.

K.G.J.

Ríta Duppler & Astrid van Nahl, Isländisch. Ein Lehrbuch für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene, 261 s. + cd-skiva i insticksficka i slutet, Hamburg 2013 (Helmut Buske Verlag). ISBN 978-3-87548-660-5. Den lärobok i nyisländska som Ríta Duppler och Astrid van Nahl här presenterar är

uppbyggd kring 18 lektioner. Till varje lektion finns ett textstycke, en dialogdel, en grammatikdel, en del som ger uppgifter om realia men också kan berätta om språkbruk i anslutning till den text som lästs samt en avslutande övningsdel. Under lektion 1 finner man exempelvis en text där barnen Elena och Lars, som bor i Bonn, är på väg till Island. ”Þau eru að fara með flugvél til Íslands að heimsækja afa sinn og ömmu sína”. En dialog på flygplanet utspelar sig mellan flygvärdinnan och barnen. Väl på Island åker de mot Reykjavík till mormor och morfar, besöker bl.a. ett kafé, är ”á Þingvöllum”, åker till Akureyri, åker ”með rútu til Borgarness”, kommer tillbaka till Reykjavík och återvänder sedan hem. Det jag finner vara särskilt prisvärt i läroboken är dialogerna som systematiskt återkommer under de olika lektionerna. Vidare är det värdefullt att ta del av realia och uppgifter om språkbruk som alltså lämnas i en särskild avdelning. Under den första lektionen får man t.ex. veta hur man åker från Tyskland till Island, man får veta hur förnamn och patronymika används på Island samt presenteras för ett tiotal ”nützliche Wendungen”. Senare i boken får vi veta vilka hälsningsfraser som används, vilka särskilda isländska helgdagar som finns, vi får lära oss lite om isländska platser samt får praktiska informationer om larmnummer vid sjukdom m.m. Det är uppenbart att bokens läsare skall få en bild av det moderna Island och hur det fungerar, och mot det kan ju inget invändas. En översikt över isländsk grammatik lämnas i slutet av boken, liksom man får lösningar till uppgifterna och en ordförteckning. Vad man kan se synes progressionen i boken vara väl genomtänkt, något som knappast förvånar med tanke på de tidigare erfarenheter författarna besitter. *Isländisch. Ein Lehrbuch für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene* bygger nämligen på tidigare läromedel som författarna sammanställt och praktiskt utprovat. L.-E.E.

Odd Einar Haugen (red.), Handbok i norrøn filologi, 2. utgåve, 797 s., Bergen 2013 (Fagboksforlaget). ISBN 978-82-450-1109-8. För ett tiotal år sedan (2004) publicerade en grupp norska filologer under ledning av professor Odd Einar Haugen en handbok i norrøn filologi som har kommit att bli ett standardverk i norsk undervisning på fältet. Boken har senare översatts till tyska (de Gruyter 2007). Nu har man utgivit en andra upplaga på norsk som förutom att utgöra en revision av den första upplagans texter har utvidgats med tre helt nya avsnitt om den norröna lärdomslitteraturen, norrøn mytologi och om diplom och lagtexter av Jonas Wellendorf, Bernt Øyvind Thorvaldsen respektive Jon Gunnar Jørgensen. Boken har därmed blivit än mer omfattande än den första upplagan men också ännu mer oundgänglig för studenter eller den som undervisar

i ämnet. Den innehåller introduktioner till paleografi och kodikologi, till arkivkunskap, norrönt och mellomnorskt språk, till medeltidens namn, runologi och de centrala genrerna i norrön litteratur i välskrivna och uppdaterade texter. Det norröna perspektivet i boken är främst norskt om än också centralt isländskt material behandlas i flera av avsnitten; med tanke på den uppmärksamhet det isländska materialet ofta får på bekostnad av t.ex. det norska 1200-talsmaterialet är detta emellertid ingen stor sak. För svensk och dansk medeltidsfilologi finns ingen motsvarighet till detta introduktionsverk, något som definitivt kunde ha varit ett sätt att väcka nytt intresse också för det östnordiska medeltidsmaterialet. Kanske kunde föreliggande bok inspirera filologer i de östra delarna av Norden att samlas om en motsvarande handbok? K.G.J.

Odd Einar Haugen, Norröne Grammatik im Überblick. Altisländisch und Altnorwegisch, aus dem Norwegischen von Astrid van Nabl, 208 s., Hamburg 2013 (Helmut Buske Verlag). ISBN 978-3-87548-664-3. Odd Einar Haugens grammatik över det fornvästnordiska språket riktar sig främst till skandinavistikstudenter, och är en förkortad utgåva av författarens *Grunnbok i norrønt språk* som kom i en första upplaga 1993 och i en fjärde 2001. Självfallet bygger Haugen vidare på klassiska arbeten som Adolf Noreens *Altnordische Grammatik* (1884, 1923), Marius Nygaards *Norrøn syntax* (1905) och Ragnar Iversens *Norrøn grammatikk* (1923, 1973) – författaren lyfter också fram ett referensverk som Jan Terje Faarlunds *The Syntax of Old Norse* (2004). Författaren säger sig ha en ambition att "die traditionelle Darstellung, wo immer ich konnte, zu vereinfachen und zu erklären", och en läsning av grammatiken visar enligt krönikörens mening att Odd Einar Haugen härvidlag lyckats tämligen väl. Grammatiken har en synkron anläggning, dvs. språkformerna förklaras ur det medeltida språkets perspektiv och inte, som varit vanligt, utifrån ett äldre språkligt tillstånd. Det innebär konkret att substantivflektionen beskrivs utifrån böjningsformernas utseende och inte utifrån egenskaper som gällt de urnordiska stammarna. Bland mycket annat noteras i grammatiken en lättfattlig beskrivning av ljudläran. I kap. 3 uppställs dels fonologiska regler, dels morfologiska, vilka pedagogiskt sammanfattas i en tabell s. 58 f. Grammatiken är som sagt synkron, vilket innebär att författaren ser ett *j*-inskott framför *a* och *u* i gen. plur. *steffa* och dat. plur. *steffjum* (i förhållande till *stef* 'vers' m.m.) och ett *v*-inskott framför *i* och *a* i dat. sing. *hoggvi* och gen. plur. *hoggva* (i förhållande till *hogg* 'hugg' m.m.). Historiskt sett är ju *-j-* resp. *-v-* i dessa exempel en del av stamsuffixet i *alla* former av ordet i de aktuella *ja-* och *wa-*stammarna,

även i exempelvis **stafja* > *stef* n. och **haggwa* > *hogg* n. Valet av ett synkront perspektiv är inte i alla stycken problemfritt. Det blir i framställningen uppenbart att författaren flera gånger måste luta sig mot den språkhistoriska bakgrunden, och det är ju rätt så givet. Vid beskrivningen av substantivflektionen t.ex. finns intill de skilda flektionstyperna hänvisningar till de urnnordiska stammarna, och i en sammanfattande tabell markeras de former där *u-* resp. *i-*omjud verkat. Men det är nog ändå uppenbart att det finns fördelar med den valda modellen, och som helhet är det en grammatik med stora förtjänster. Ett som jag tycker intressant kapitel är det som berör valens, där det norröna språkets verbtypologi presenteras. Uppställda syntax- och kongruensregler liksom beskrivningen av ellipser, opersonliga konstruktioner och akkusativ med infinitiv förmedlas också på ett pedagogiskt sätt. En omfattande översikt över grammatiska termer och ett ordregister avslutar boken. Grammatiken har översatts till tyska av Astrid van Nahl, som härvidlag har gjort ett storartat arbete.

L.-E.E.

Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir (utg.), Íslenska teiknibókin, 178 s., Reykjavík 2013 (Crymogeia). ISBN 978-9935-420-32-9. Medeltidens handskrifter kännetecknas ofta av färgrika illuminationer och utbroderade initialer. För det nordiska materialet är förvisso denna färgprakt och utsmyckning något nedtonad om man jämför med det europeiska materialet. Mönster för hur dessa utsmyckade initialer och större illuminationer spreds över hela det europeiska området och gav hantverkarna förebilder eller mönster vilka ofta kan knytas till olika europeiska traditioner. För det norska och isländska materialet har det t.ex. förts diskussioner om engelsk respektive kontinental påverkan. För isländskt vidkommande finns det en bevarad mönsterbok som ger oss en bild av de förebilder hantverkarna som utsmyckade de isländska handskrifterna hade, den så kallade *Íslenska teiknibókin*. Denna handskrift innehåller en mängd mönster som kunde användas vid utsmyckningen av nyproducerade handskrifter. En utgåva av denna handskrift är av stort intresse för forskare inom alla discipliner som på något sätt studerar den isländska handskriftskulturen. Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttirs faksimilutgåva av handskriften fyller därför redan i utgångspunkten ett behov för att tillgängliggöra detta material. Men utgåvan ger så mycket mer information. I en inledning diskuterar författaren med stor insikt de frågor som rör de olika händer som utfört teckningarna i handskriften och hon kommer dessutom in på de förebilder som tecknarna kan ha haft. Handskriften får en noggrann beskrivning. Därefter följer faksimilbilderna av blad efter blad

i handskriften, varje sida av bladen i avbildning på högra sidan av uppslaget och kommenterad på motstående sida, ett föredöme för hur en handskrift kan presenteras. Eftersom handskriften har bevarats fragmentariskt till vår tid är det också en mycket god lösning att presentera fördelningen av blad över olika lägg på sidorna 73 till 75; detta ger läsaren en överblick över sammansättningen av den bevarade handskriften. Förlaget Crymoegea utmärker sig i den isländska förlagsbranchen i dag med att ge ut praktfulla och ibland innovativt utformade böcker. Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttirs utgåva av *Íslenska teiknibókin* är ett mycket vällyckat exempel på detta. K.G.J.

Alex Speed Kjeldsen, Filologiske studier i kongesagahandskriftet Morkinskinna, 507 s., København 2013 (Museum Tusulanum Press). ISBN 978-87-635-4059-9. Frågor om skrivarattribution och om individuella skrivares arbete har väckt större intresse under de två senaste decennierna med flera doktorsavhandlingar som Lasse Mårtenssons avhandling om handskriften AM 557 4to (publicerad i Reykjavik 2011) och Nils Dverstorps om skrivaren i Codex Holm A 108 (Universitetet i Oslo 2010) och senast Lasse Mårtenssons monografi om skrivaren i DG 11 4to (Uppsalaeddan). Ytterligare ett exempel på detta intresse för enskilda handskrifters och skrivares skrift och språk är den föreliggande reviderade utgåvan av Alex Speed Kjeldsens doktorsavhandling om kungasagahandskriften Morkinskinna. Det är en omfångsrik avhandling Kjeldsen har skrivit med en detaljerad redovisning för de språkliga och grafiska drag som författaren diskuterar i sin analys. Med hjälp av en väl uppmärkt elektronisk text (som författaren har lovat att inom kort göra tillgänglig på Internet via Medieval Nordic Text Archives databas) har han kunnat excerpera mängder av data och göra dem tillgängliga i en överväldigande presentationsdel. Som ett exempel på hur en duktig filolog som Kjeldsen kan utnyttja de digitala redskap som i dag finns tillgängliga är avhandlingen, förutom sina kvaliteter som forskning, imponerande. En invändning kunde möjligen vara att just de digitala möjligheterna kunde utnyttjats till presentationen snarare än den mer traditionella tryckta formen; avhandlingen kunde utan vidare ha gjorts betydligt tunnare om materialet redovisats elektroniskt. Med sin undersökning visar Alex Speed Kjeldsen emellertid med stor precision och noggrannhet de två skrivarnas egenheter. Studien är därmed ett föredöme i filologiskt arbete. I ett appendix, undagömt långt bak i boken, diskuterar författaren tidigare forskning om skrivarattribution och drar slutsatser av metodologisk art med utgångspunkt i sin egen studie. Detta är en utveckling av ett av-

snitt i den ursprungliga avhandlingen som lyfts ut och utvecklats i den nu tryckta versionen. Men varför har det placerats som ett appendix som väldigt få kommer att finna? Jag föreslår att författaren utvecklar denna text ytterligare och gör den klar för publicering i ett mer tillgängligt forum; skrivarattribution är fortfarande en viktig del av filologisk forskning och en aktivitet där metodologisk diskussion är absolut nödvändig och Kjeldsens insikter i fältet är värda mer uppmärksamhet. K.G.J.

Lasse Mårtensson, Den fristående redaktionen av Karls Þáttr vesæla. Undersökning, utgåva och översättning, 97 s., Stockholm 2013 (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia). (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia. Editiones 5.) ISBN 978-91-88568-57-8. Den isländska kortsagan Karls þáttr vesæla behandlas i denna bok, framlagd av Lasse Mårtensson. Kortsagan om Karl existerar i flera redaktioner, dels finns den som inledning till en kungasaga, nämligen Magnúss saga ins góða i Morkinskinna och Flat-eyjarbók, dels i en självständig redaktion i bl.a. två medeltida pergamentshandskrifter (AM 557 4:to och AM 533 4:to). Innehållsligt överensstämmer redaktionerna med varandra. Karl från Hálogaland befinner sig tillsammans med sin bror Björn i Garðaríki för handel, tas där tillfånga och hotas av avrättning men räddas av Magnús inn góði som också finns i Garðaríki. Karl får i uppdrag att bege sig till Norge – där Sveinn Alfífuson och Alfífa nu tagit makten – i syfte att vinna folket för tanken att insätta Magnús som konung. Karl lyckas med uppdraget och tar sig efter en rad dramatiska händelser slutligen tillbaka till Garðaríki. Magnús kan nu återvända till Norge. I Mårtenssons undersökning jämförs mera kortfattat den redaktion som finns av kungasagan med den fristående redaktionen. Detta är en kvalitativ granskning av ett antal textställen, och mynnar ut i ett inte alltför tvärsäkert antagande – detta i anslutning till Finnur Jónsson – om att den fristående versionen möjligen skall uppfattas som ett återgivande ur minnet av den version som finns i kungasagan. Framför allt prövas emellertid i studien relationen mellan de två handskrifterna där de fristående redaktionerna föreligger. I denna del kvantifieras avvikelserna redaktionerna emellan och sätts in i ett sammanhang. Att Karls þáttr i AM 557 och 533 har gemensamt ursprung är uppenbart, vilket ett stort antal identiska formuleringar visar. Undersökningen redovisar dock på ett intresseväckande sätt lexikal variation med semantiska ekvivalenter och lexikal variation som skapar semantisk eller stilistisk skillnad. Exempel på semantisk extension i AM 557 gentemot intension i AM 533 uppmärksammas också. Författaren gör sammanfattningsvis

troligt att AM 557 får betraktas som ”ett äldre textskick” än AM 533. Sist redovisas en utgåva av de fristående redaktionerna, där texten från såväl AM 557 som 533 återges, och denna edition följs av en översättning. De eftermedeltida manuskripten av kortsagan berörs också, och i boken finns dessutom en kort redovisning av textbearbetning i den norröna litteraturen, där Mårtensson dryftar frågan om man utifrån en texts längd kan avgöra huruvida en viss redaktion är primär i förhållande till en annan. Volymen ställer på ett värdefullt sätt dessa forntida texter till läsarnas förfogande – jämte översättning – men behandlar dessutom en del filologiska problem. L.-E.E.

*Andreas Nordberg, Fornnordisk religionsforskning mellan teori och empiri. Kulturen av anfäder, solen och vegetationsandar i idéhistorisk belysning, 426 s., Uppsala 2013 (Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur). (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 126.) ISBN 978-91-87403-02-6; ISSN 0065-0897. År 2003 disputerade Anders Nordberg på avhandlingen *Krigarna i Odins sal. Dödsföreställningar och krigarkult i fornnordisk religion*, och han har därefter framlagt åtskilliga studier på området, bl.a. i samma utgivningsserie som den nu aktuella monografin en bok om kalendrar och kalendariska riter i det förkristna Norden (2006). Det känns på något sätt logiskt att han här samlat sig till denna brett upplagda, om vidsträckt beläsenhet vittnade bok – käll- och litteraturförteckningen upptar cirka 40 sidor – om den fornnordiska religionsforskningen där idé- och forskningshistoriska perspektiv får träda i förgrunden. Nordbergs egen utveckling som forskare på området belyses kort i förordet. Frågor om en forntida anfäderskult, arkaisk soldyrkan och vegetationskult länkas i undersökningen samman med varandra och ett övergripande syfte sägs vara ”att i ett forsknings- och idéhistoriskt perspektiv och genom utvalda exempel studera förhållandet mellan teori, källmaterial och empiri i fornnordisk religionsforskning” (s. 16). Sedan några ytterligare vetenskapliga positioner och begrepp fastlagts, är det dags för Nordberg att ta med sig läsaren på en i hög grad fascinerande, mycket lärd resa. I en första del lämnas en översikt över den anglosaxiska evolutionistiska religionsforskningen vid slutet av 1800-talet och dess betydelse för studier av indoeuropeisk, germansk och nordisk religion. Här möter vi namn som Herbert Spencer och Edward B. Tylor med manistiska resp. animistiska ursprungsteorier liksom James G. Frazers tankar om att religionen härrör ur magi liksom hans studier av vegetationskult och naturanimism. Även Robert R. Marett studier lyfts fram. Den andra delen har överrubriken ”Från komparativ mytologi till primi-*

tiv religion” och skildrar framväxten av den tyska forskningen om indo-europeisk och germansk religion under 1800-talet. Uppkomsten och den senare utvecklingen av den filologiska religionsforskningen beskrivs samt hur solen kommer i fokus för intresset. Utvecklingen mot den kulturhistoriska religionsforskningen poängteras, och vid sidan av dyrkan av solen träder idéer om själsföreställningar och kult av de döda i förgrunden. En kavalkad av forskarnamn passerar revy, en del av dem välkända, andra mera okända: Jacob Grimm, Friedrich Max Müller, Wilhelm Schwartz, Wilhelm Mannhardt, Elard Hugo Meyer, Otto Schrader och Eugen Mogk kan nämnas; dessa har olika disciplinutgångspunkter och var därför vana att arbeta med skilda empirier vilket gav dem lite olika perspektiv. Den skandinaviska religionsforskningen behandlas i den tredje delen. Den historiska skolan presenteras med namn som Sophus Bugge, Gustav Storm, Adolf Noreen och andra. Läsaren får del av den komparativa mytforskningens diskussioner rörande en solmytologi samt får inblick i den solmytologiska teorins integrering i den arkeologiska forskningen om bronsåldern. Anfäderskult är tema för ett följande kapitel där man ser hur manistiska och animistiska teorier så småningom avvisas till förmån för naturanimistiska förklaringar. Evolutionistiska teorier om tro på dödsandar och kult av döda tas upp, och den norske religionshistorikern Emil Birkelis arbeten behandlas utförligt i det sammanhanget. Argumenten för en förkristen anfäderskult granskas så till sist. Givande är det sista stora kapitlet som heter ”Sädesandar och fruktbarhetskult; religionshistorisk folkminnesforskning i Sverige”. ”Mannhardtianerna” Nils Edward Hammarstedts, Martin P:n Nilssons och Hilding Celanders vetenskapliga arbeten dryftas, liksom Carl Wilhelm von Sydows verksamhet. Den sistnämndes kritik av Marin P:n Nilsson och Hilding Celander gjorde att från mitten av 1940-talet knappast ”religionshistorisk folkminnesforskning (folkloristik) längre existerade inom det ämne som senare skulle kallas etnologi” (s. 357). I denna batalj spelar inte blott rena inomvetenskapliga överväganden in. I ett kort avsnitt i slutet av boken ställs frågan om det alls går att studera äldre religionshistoria genom yngre folkloristiskt material; i slutet av det här avsnittet kommer författaren bl.a. in på det intressanta komplexet nordiska *Byggvir*, finska *Pellon-Pekko* och estniska *Peko*. Helt klart visar författarens studie att senare delen av 1800-talet och de första decennierna av 1900-talet på många sätt var ”en formativ period för forskningen om fornnordisk religion” (s. 389). Studien indikerar därtill att vissa delar av forskningen om den fornnordiska religionen som bedrivs idag ”utgör en form av ämneshistoriska *survivals*” (s. 390), dvs. det är traditioner och

uppfattningar ”som har förts vidare av vanans makt till ny kulturell omgivning än den från vilken de [...] ursprungligen härrörde” (ibid.). Jag har redan sagt att Nordberg tar oss med på en lärd forsknings- och idéhistorisk resa i monografin men man måste nog tillstå att resan genom sin avsevärda detaljrikedom ibland kan bli lite ansträngande – detaljerna skymmer ibland något sikten. Men Nordberg hjälper å andra sidan hela tiden läsaren vidare på resan med sina lyckade sammanfattningar och inte minst med hjälp av sin genomtänkta disposition och sina upplysande rubriker, så man kommer i mål – långt bättre upplyst än tidigare, förstås, och framför allt med nya perspektiv på den fornnordiska religionsforskningen. L.-E.E.

Runestudier. Festskrift til Jan Ragnar Hagland, red.: Ivar Berg, Arnold Dalen & Karin Fjellhammer Seim, 285 s., Trondheim 2013 (Akademika Forlag). ISBN 978-82321-0215-0. En samling med 23 runologiska studier av Jan Ragnar Haglands hand har samlats som en hyllning på 70-årsdagen av de tre redaktörerna. Hagland har varit verksam som runologisk forskare under decennier, och allt han skrivit på området har självfallet inte rymts i denna skrift. Samlingsvolymen ger dock en bra bild av det runologiska författarskapet som sträcker sig från en festskriftsartikel år 1984 där Hagland skriver om en ”[r]uneinnskrift i verseform frå Esøya i Vevelstad” fram till ett bidrag från 2010. Ett urval av artiklarna i volymen kommer att behandlas här. Dateringsfrågor återkommer i flera studier, bl.a. en artikel om Kulistenen från Nordmøre behandlar sådana frågor, men den analysen är också av betydelse för bedömningen av kristnandet i Norge. I anslutning till en studie av ristningen vid Eik i Sokndal, Rogaland, diskuteras den syntaktiska konstruktionen *Guðs Þakka*, vilken även möter på en ristning från uppländska Årby (U1033). Kanske vittnar konstruktionen om anglosaxisk påverkan. En viktig artikel är den som handlar om runor på inskrifter från Trondheim som förtjänstfullt samlas och beskrivs av Hagland men dessutom utgör utgångspunkt för tankar om ”utviklinga fram mot eit mellomalderleg sett av runesymbol”. Trondheimsmaterialet figurerar också i andra sammanhang i volymen, bl. a. söker Hagland i ett bidrag se vad runmaterialet kan ge till belysningen av sammanfallet mellan /a:/ och den *u*-omljudda manifestationen av vokalen ifråga. Tyvärr ger just beträffande denna fråga materialet inte särskilt mycket men det är metodologiskt instruktivt att ta del av resonemanget. Rikare på konkreta resultat är då studien av runföljden **ruhta**, funnen på ett litet träföremål från Trondheim, vilken tolkas som *rotta*, benämningen på ett medeltida instrument. I Haglands produktion finns även några stu-

dier som behandlar personnamn på runinskrifter. Mer principiella, närmast literacyrelaterade frågor aktualiseras flerstädes i författarskapet. Intressanta är exempelvis Haglands tankar om en isländsk runtradition som utgjort en alternativ, ”en andra”, skriftkultur, vilken kommit till användning med andra syften och på delvis andra områden än den skriftkultur som nyttjade latinsk skrift på pergament. ”Mykje tyder på at runeskrift i særleg grad har vore handelslivets og kjøbmanskapets skrift også på Island” (s. 61), säger han i ett sammanhang, där han även framhåller att denna runtradition kunnat leva kvar ända fram mot 1400-talet på Island alldeles som i övriga Norden. I en artikel från 2010 under rubriken ”Two Scripts in an Evolving Urban Setting: The Case of Medieval Nidaros Once Again” spanar författaren bl.a. efter drag i handskrifterna som kunde vara ”the result of contact or interplay with what Terje Spurkland likes to call ’runacy’” (s. 256). Drag i ortografen som kan tolkas som ”confusion caused by the scribe’s two-script competence” (ibid.) synes intressant nog kunna finnas i handskrifter. För en kontinuerlig användning av runor under medeltid synes för övrigt enligt Hagland goda skäl tala. I en populärt hållen artikel, ”Runor på tabloidformat”, berörs artefakternas betydelse, i detta fall utifrån fynd av medeltida vaxtavlor, ett ämne som nära knyter an till literacyforskningen. Några artiklar berör senare användning av runskrift, såsom runor nyttjade i ett handskriftsmaterial från 1500-talet och användningen av runor i norska Karlsund på 1800-talet. Ett par artiklar i volymen avhandlar de irländska runinskrifterna och några runinskrifter på Orkneyöarna. Viktiga literacyrelaterade frågeställningar finns som synes flerstädes representerade i Jan-Ragnar Haglands produktion, vilka gör att de äger ett principiellt intresse. Det är utmärkt att studierna nu samlats i en volym, som förutom en inledande översikt över festföremålets vetenskapliga verksamhet också rymmer en bibliografi. Längst bak återfinns man en *Tabula Gratulatoria*.
L.-E.E.

Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages. Vol 1. Poetry from the Kings’ Sagas 1. Part 1, ed. by Diana Whaley, CCXV s. + s. 1–513 s., Turnhout 2012 (Brepols). – Part 2, ed. by Diana Whaley, s. 517–1206, Turnhout 2012 (Brepols). ISBN 978-2-503-51896-1 (båda volymerna). Här föreligger nu ett nytt dubbelband i detta brett upplagda utgivningsprojekt – *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages* (SkP) – där den nordiska skaldediktningen står i fokus. De drivande forskarna bakom projektet är Margaret Clunies Ross, Kari Ellen Gade, Guðrún Nordal, Edith Marold, Diana Whaley och Tarrin Wills, och för bibliografi svarar

Hannah Burrows. Det är som synes en välrenommerad forskargrupp som garanterar verkets kvalitet, och där dessutom en ännu bredare grupp forskare involverats i själva utgivningsarbetet. Resultatet av utgivningsprojektet kommer att bli en heltäckande och kritisk edition av skaldediktningen med engelsk översättning och en synnerligen bred och initierad kommentar. I färdigt skick blir det nio volymer. År 2007 publicerades volym VII, och 2009 volym II i varsitt dubbelband; om vol. II se krönikören i ANF 125, 2010 s. 189 ff. Den här aktuella volymen är den hittills mest omfattande. Volymen – för övrigt blir det seriens första volym – behandlar *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 1: From Mythical Times to c. 1035*. Eftersom detta är det inledande bandet finns här en General Introduction, redigerad av Margaret Clunies Ross där de olika redaktörerna ansvarat för olika delar; ansvarsfördelningen redovisas inledningsvis. Här återfinns först en presentation av skaldepoesin och dess utveckling. Utgångspunkten i främst Finnur Jónssons *Den norsk-isländske skjaldedigtning* men även E. A. Kocks *Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen* nämns, liksom utgivningen beskrivs, varvid bl.a. generella utgivnings- och översättningsprinciper mer i detalj redovisas. Intressant är att läsa den avdelning som heter "Questions of textual reconstruction" (s. xxxix ff.), som ger i varje fall några inblickar i den svåra konsten att tolka skaldedikter. Skaldedikternas meter presenteras brett och exemplifieras. Olika typer av kenningar – vilka i en tabell (s. lxxviii ff.) indelas i *tropic kennings*, *typifying kennings* och *antonomasia* – presenteras i detalj, liksom heiti och metaforer. En sista avdelning i denna allmänna inledning rubriceras "Poetry and society: The circumstances of skaldic production"; detta avsnitt hade gott kunnat vara ännu utförligare. Sammantaget ger denna inledande del en god om och endast kortfattad introduktion till skaldediktningen som sådan. Man får dessutom ta del av allmänna förkortningar, *sigla* över skaldedikter, arkiv- och biblioteksinstitutioner, manuskript m.m. i den aktuella volymen och en översikt över fornvästnordiska tekniska termer som aktualiseras vid läsningen (*erfi-drápa*, *hálfhnept*, *stefjabálkr* etc.). Det finns här även en medarbetarförteckning. Allt som allt upptar denna del cirka 150 sidor i det första halvbandet. Därefter följer en mer allmän inledning på cirka 70 sidor till den nu aktuella volymen. Det rör sig här om dikter i kungasagor som återfinns i Ágrip af Nóregs konunga sǫgum, Fagrskinna, Flateyjarbók, Háuksbók, Morkinskinna m.fl. som relaterar till de norska kungarna, Knýtlinga saga och Orkneyinga saga som relaterar till Danmark och Orkney, och ytterligare andra källor såsom Snorra Edda, de grammatiska avhandlingarna m.fl. De olika furstarnas och några andra personers bio-

grafier tecknas i slutet av denna volyminledning. Sedan kommer så själva editionen. Det första halvbandet inleds med skaldedikter attribuerade till Þjóðólfr ór Hvini, den första hans välkända Ynglingatal (ederad av Edith Marold tillsammans med några medarbetare). Här finns också Eyvindr skáldaspillir Finnssons välkända Hákonarmál (ederad av R. D. Fulk) och Háleygjatal (ederad av Russell Poole) representerade men också ett kort opus av Einarr Pambarskelfir Eindriðason, så lydande: ”Ofveykr, ofveykr//allvalds bogi!” (ederad av Kari Ellen Gade). Man stannar i detta band också upp inför Gunnhildr konungamóðirs lausavísa (ederad av R. D. Fulk). I det andra halvbandet finns bland mycket annat Sigvatr Þórðarsons Nesjavísur (ederad av Russell Poole) och Austrfararvísur (ederad av R. D. Fulk), Bjarni byskup Kolbeinssons Jómsvíkingadrápa (ederad av Emily Lethbridge), en del anonyma skaldestycken såsom Eiríksmál (ederad av R. D. Fulk) samt några lausavísur från Fagrskinna och Vǫlsa Þátr (ederade av Matthew Townsend resp. Wilhelm Heizmann). Skaldedikterna presenteras systematiskt, där strofen återges i normaliserad form och därefter i prosaform. En engelsk översättning ges, kenningar uttolkas och heiti innehållande namn förklaras, manuskript där strofen finns redovisas liksom läsningar från de olika källorna. Ingående ord och sekvenser av ord presenteras och belyses i ljuset av tidigare forskning. Det vore frestande att exemplifiera denna rika kommentar, men jag avstår – låt mig bara säga att det är svårt att slita sig från den slösande rika kommentardelen som ger inte minst ordforskaren en del värdefulla inblickar i det västnordiska ordförrådet. I slutet finns en omfattande referensförteckning, ett index över förstarader samt register över namn av olika slag och några ord. Samma omdöme gäller om detta band som om band II som presenterades i den ovan nämnda krönikan i ANF. De fornspråkliga texter som här ederats kommenteras intresseväckande och därtill högst initierat, och läsaren får härigenom goda uppslag för vidare forskning, vare sig det nu gäller dikternas innehåll eller enskilda ord. Förväntansfullt ser man fram mot fortsättningen av detta storslagna utgivningsprojekt. L.-E.E.

Werner Schäfer, Wertesysteme und Raumsemantik in den isländischen Märchen- und Abenteuersagas, 261 s., Frankfurt am Main 2013 (Peter Lang). (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Germanistik und Skandinavistik 63.) ISSN 0721-4286. ISBN 978-3-631-63906-1. De senmedeltida sagorna producerade på Island med bland annat översatt riddarlitteratur som förebild har under de senaste decennierna fått alltmer uppmärksamhet i den internationella forskningen om norrön litteratur. En livlig diskus-

sion har rört dessa texters ursprung, framväxt och genreindelning. Werner Schäfke har i sin avhandling valt att studera tre sagor, *Ectors saga ok kappá hans*, *Samsons saga fagra* och *Bósa saga ok Herraudís* vilka vanligtvis placeras i tre olika subgenrer, på tyska benämnda *Abenteuersagas*, *originalen Rittersagas* och *Märchensagas*. I inledningen av boken diskuterar Schäfke denna indelning framför allt med utgångspunkt i tidigare tysk forskning. Vidare behandlar han relationen mellan *verk* och *text* med referens till de i handskrifter bevarade textvittnena och för att fastställa sitt materials status. I ett omfattande teori- och metodkapitel diskuterar författaren litteratursemiotik och begrepp som *Raumsemantik* och hur semiotiken används för att rekonstruera en litterär texts värde- och normsystem. Ett tredje kapitel använder metoden i analys av de tre sagaverken och i ett kort fjärde kapitel diskuterar Schäfke hur dessa opererar med olika typer av värde- och normsystem. De två avslutande kapitlen behandlar verken i en litterär kontext och sagornas funktion som kommentarer till sociala fenomen. Werner Schäfkes avhandling ger sammanhållet en intressant inblick i de senmedeltida sagornas plats i litteraturhistorien med utgångspunkt i viktiga teoretiska och metodologiska diskussioner.

K.G.J.

Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (red.), 66 handrit úr fórum Árna Magnússonar, 232 s., Reykjavík 2013 (Bókaútgáfan Opna). ISBN 978-9935-10-058-0. Den 13 november 2013 markerade de två arnamagnænska instituten i Reykjavík och Köpenhamn 350-årsdagen för handskriftssamlaren Árni Magnússon. Under året 2013 hade man flera gemensamma aktiviteter mellan de två systerinstituten och dessutom hade man flera arrangemang som presenterade handskriftssamlaren Árni Magnússon och den samling han överlät till förvaltning vid Københavns universitet när han avled 1630. Föreliggande bok är ytterligare ett resultat av den aktivitet som de två instituten uppåddade för att markera minnet av samlingens skapare. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir har här redigerat korta beskrivningar skrivna av forskare knutna till de två systerinstituten av sextiosex handskrifter som ingår i samlingen förutom att också ge en god introduktion till Árni Magnússon och resultatet av hans verksamhet som handskriftssamlare. Varje beskrivning har fått tilldelat sig en sida text åtföljd av en bild av handskriften, i några få fall utvidgat med ytterligare text och bilder. Och det är inte bara de mest kända och spektakulära handskrifterna som lyfts fram (även om de är med) utan även mindre iögonenfallande handskrifter får sin plats. Det samlade intrycket blir därmed att samlingen spänner över en tidsperiod från de äldsta handskrifterna (1100-talets isländska

och norska handskrifter) till pappershandskrifter från Árni Magnússons egen tid, från praktfulla illuminerade pergamentshandskrifter till fragment och gråa pappersbuntar, allt lika relevant för den som forskar i det isländska och norska handskriftsmaterialet. För oss som undervisar i paleografi och kodikologi utgör boken inte endast en inspiration utan den erbjuder även en samling av goda exempel som kan öppna för nya grepp i undervisningen. I nuläget finns boken endast med isländsk text men från Reykjavik har jag fått besked om att den inom kort även kommer att finnas i en engelsk och en dansk upplaga. De två systerinstituten kan härmed gratuleras till att ha uppmärksammat sin samlings upphovsman med heder och med önskan om att de om femtio år får möjlighet att med samma stil fira jubilarens fyrahundraårsdag! K.G.J.

Anders Andrén (red.), Tracing Old Norse Cosmology. The world tree, middle earth, and the sun in archaeological perspectives, Lund 2013 (Nordic Academic Press). ISBN 978-91-85509-38-6. Projektet Vågar till Midgård har varit både produktivt och relevant för forskningen om nordisk mytologi med en tydligt markerad tvärvetenskaplig hållning och dessutom som en mötesplats för olika perspektiv som ibland har varit i direkt motsättning till varandra; denna ambition hos projektledningen ska nu, när projektet avslutats och den sextonde och sista volymen i projektserien har utkommit, lyftas fram som ytterst lovvärd. Anders Andrén's bok är alltså den avslutande volymen i en serie som presenterar forskningsfältet i hela sin bredd. Andrén's studie behandlar ett centralt ämne i den nordiska mytforskningen, den norröna kosmologin, med tre tematiska avgränsningar, världsträdet, Midgård och solens roll, allt detta ur ett arkeologiskt perspektiv men också med exempel hämtade från det västnordiska skriftmaterialet. Boken är indelad i fem kapitel mer eller mindre byggda på tidigare publicerade artiklar som omarbetats för att forma en helhet. I ett inledande kapitel, "Old Norse cosmology as an archaeological challenge" diskuterar författaren de metodologiska utgångspunkterna (och utmaningarna) för en studie av nordisk (i boken konsekvent benämnt *Old Norse*) kosmologi. Han konstaterar (och tycks acceptera) att: "Today, most philologists, historians, and literary scholars underline the medieval Christian character of Old Icelandic literature, partly as a reaction against earlier views that tended to take the literature as representations of pagan customs and beliefs" (s. 17). För en filolog lovar detta gott inför resten av boken. Tyvärr tycks det dock som om Andrén snarare undviker implikationerna av den här redovisade håll-

ningen. I sin framställning av den norröna mytologin använder han den prosaiska *Edda* som grund för att återberätta Snorris historier och eddadikternas framställning återges utan någon som helst analys eller diskussion. Det framstår för mig som ett alldeles för okritiskt sätt att använda dessa texter i utforskningen av en nordisk kosmologi. I de tre delstudierna i boken, "In the shadow of Yggdrasil", om världsträdet, "A world of stone", där Midgård diskuteras, främst från ett arkeologiskt perspektiv, och "Whirls, horses, and ships", som studerar solens betydelse för nordisk kosmologi, används de norröna texterna utan att avståndet i tid och religion tycks ha någon betydelse. Är det t.ex. viktigt att *Grímnismál* refererar till solen som *scínandi goð* 'skinande gud' i en kristen kontext på 1200-talet och på Island och alltså inte på Gotland många århundraden tidigare? Andréns arkeologiska framställning är både lärd och grundlig, men bruket av de norröna texternas vittnesbörd är som sagt ytligt och utan kritisk analys. I ett femte kapitel söker Andréns syntes med utgångspunkt i de föregående kapitlens delstudier. Andréns delar här upp forskningen om nordisk mytologi i tre huvudgrupper: de som anser de norröna texterna som främst kristet tankegods, de som ser dessa texter som värdefulla källor till förkristen tro och världsbild i ett långt perspektiv och en tredje grupp som ser texterna som källor till en mer närliggande förkristen tid, "at most going back to the sixth century AD". Andréns försöker här placera sig mellan dessa tre grupper; alla har en poäng och ingen har helt fel. Argumentet här är att den arkeologiska forskningen nu visar att de isländska texterna har rötter långt tillbaka i tiden, ett argument som väl ibland riskerar att hamna i cirkelresonemang. Jag blir alltså en aning skeptisk till de långa linjer för nordisk kosmologi som Andréns drar upp, och då främst när det gäller bruket av de norröna texterna. Det är inget tvivel om att den arkeologiska framställningen bygger på gedigen kunskap i fältet, men återgivningen av de norröna texterna framstår som mindre insiktsfull. Den generella slutsatsen, att "[...] Old Norse religion was not a coherent tradition, with a specific origin. Instead different elements had different trajectories" är det lätt att skriva under på. Men att eddadikterna och Snorris historier kan användas som ogravrade vittnen till denna långa process blir det svårare att acceptera. Det är emellertid ingen tvekan om att Andres Andréns bok är både inspirerande och tankeprovocerande att läsa också för en filolog.

K.G.J.

Espen Karlsen (red.), Latin Manuscripts in Medieval Norway. Studies in memory of Lilli Gjerløw, 424 s., Oslo 2013 (Novus forlag). ISBN 978-9979-9649-6-4. Den latinska bokkulturen har ofta fått en nog så styvmoderlig behandling vid utforskningen av framväxten av en nordisk litteracitet. Folkspråken har stått i centrum och i många fall helt överskuggat relevansen av att se folkspråklig utveckling i relation till den övergripande latinkulturen. Reformationens nit när det gäller att ödelägga de latinska handskrifterna som i stor utsträckning representerade en katolsk värld som man önskade bekämpa har naturligtvis bidragit till detta såväl som romantikens syn på folkspråket som bärare av folksjäl och den rena folkliga kulturen. Fenomenet är detsamma i samtliga de nordiska länderna och det latinska materialet består genomgående främst av fragment av handskrifter som återbrukats som pärmar för räkenskaper och i inbindning av tryckta böcker. I Norge och på Island har det emellertid funnits en stark tradition som närmast helt underspelade betydelsen av denna latinska skriftkultur; till och med den katolska kyrkan hade, med denna syn, redan på 1100-talet tagit folkspråket i bruk och någon latinacitet ville man närmast inte kännas vid. En forskare som bidragit till att vi trots allt känner till den latinska bokkulturen i medeltidens Norge är Lilli Gjerløw (1910–1998) som bl.a utgav flera av de centrala liturgiska texterna från ärkebiskopssätet i Trondheim. Föreliggande bok är ett viktigt nytt bidrag till vår kunskap om den latinska bokkulturen utgiven till minne av Lillie Gjerløw. Boken innehåller artiklar av norska och internationellt kända forskare på området och ger en delvis ny bild av latinbruket i Norge under medeltiden. I en inledande artikel presenterar bokens redaktör Espen Karlsen det fragmentariskt bevarade materialet och kommer in på det som med stor sannolikhet har funnits men nu är förlorat. Gunnar Pettersen ger en beskrivning av den trista vägen för många av medeltidens latinska handskrifter från värdefulla böcker till de fragment vi i dag finner i det norska riksarkivets samlingar. Flera av artiklarna i boken behandlar enskilda fragment, framför allt av liturgisk art, medan andra diskuterar importen av handskrifter, t.ex Michael Gullick i en artikel om handskrifter från England. Också det svenska fragmentmaterialet behandlas i en artikel av Gunilla Björkvall, närmare bestämt de fragment av norska handskrifter som kunnat identifieras i det svenska Riksarkivet. Boken innehåller dessutom en kort levnadsteckning för Lilli Gjerløw av Owain Tudor Edwards och en bibliografi över hennes skrifter sammanställd av Nils Dverstorp. Det samlade intrycket av bokens artiklar är att det nu är dags att erkänna latinets och den latinska bokkulturens betydelse för framväxten av ett skriftspråk och en litteratur

för folkspråken i Skandinavien generellt men främst i Norge och Island. Redaktören och hans medarbetare skall dessutom gratuleras till en genomillustrerad och gedigen bokproduktion. K.G.J.

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Den Ryssiske Lov 1649. Oversat og kommenteret af Rasmus Æreboe 1721, utg.: Lars P. Poulsen-Hansen, med forord af Peter Ulf Møller, 589 s., Aarhus 2013 (Aarhus Universitetsforlag). (Beringiana Bind 6.) ISBN 978-87-7124-070-2. Skriftserien Beringiana har sitt namn efter sjöfaren Vitus Bering och skall rymma monografier rörande exempelvis de dansk-ryska förbindelserna och rysk kultur och historia under 1700-talet. Som seriens nr 6 publiceras nu den översättning av *Den Ryssiske Lov 1649* som gjordes av Rasmus Æreboe, en utgåva som utomordentligt väl info- gar sig under seriens tematik. Æreboes översättning utgör en pionjärgär- ning och är ett portalarbete i den danska slavistikens historia. Rasmus Ærebos fascinerande levnadshistoria tecknas inledningsvis i ett förord av Peter Ulf Møller. Æreboe kom från enkla förhållanden i Svendborg, tjänstgjorde hos en dansk kommandör i Ryssland och började därigenom sätta sig in i de ryska förhållandena på ett för tiden ovanligt djuplodande sätt. Den översättning av den ryska lagen som Æreboe sedermera sätter sig ner och gör imponerar enligt Møller ”ikke blot ved sprogkyndigheden bag selve oversættelsen og den baggrundsviden, der ligger i Æresboes kommentarer, men også i kraft af selve det tekstvalg Æreboe har truffet. Han kunne umuligt have fundet et skrift, der bedre viste datidens rus- siske samfund fra top til bund” (s. 15). Översättningen utges nu för första gången, detta av Lars P. Poulsen-Hansen, som även svarar för en omfat- tande och upplysande inledning. Den ryska lagen av år 1649 och dess rättshistoriska ställning är föremål för intresse i översättarens inledning. Lagen är omfattande, bestående som den är av 25 kapitel uppdelad i 967 artiklar. Bland annat redovisas tidens brott och många gånger bru- tala straff. Till grund för den föreliggande utgåvan ligger Frederik IV:s exemplar av lagöversättningen i den Thottske Samling men en avskrift har även använts för att lösa problem vid läsningen. Originalens orto- grafi har följts. Den omfattande utgåvan består av ett företal, de 25 kapit- len samt ”Anmerkninger over en deel af de fornemmeste ubekjendte eller uforstaaelige Poster i den Ryssiske lov”, fördelade på 92 noter. Utgåvan redovisar en lång rad lagöverträdelser, såsom förbrytelser mot kyrkan eller staten, falskmynteri, förfalskning av dokument och sigill, mened, bestickning, utpressning, mord, otukt, ärekränkning och tjuvnad. Det är

på många ställen man stannar upp inför överraskande lagstadganden. En av dessa paragrafer rör en som rider omkull en kvinna, vilken därvid faller och far illa, kanske så illa att hon får ett dödfött foster. Den som befinns skyldig till detta brott skall ”slaaes med Knudpidsken uden skaansel”, betala ”ærepenge og lægeløn dobbelt” till kvinnan och ”sættes udi hullet i trej Maaneder” (s. 386). Det tillägges så: ”Men dersom samme Qvinde af sliig hans slag selv døer, da skal hand for slig sin gierning selv straffes paa livet” (ibid.). Sker detta å andra sidan ”fordj hans Hest kand have revet sig løøs fra ham, eller hand har revet bidselet i støkker, og givet sig paa løb, og hand ei kand holde ham, Da skal det ham ikke regnes som Mord, ei heller nogen udj sliige tilfælde straffes, fordj slig gierning skeer imod hans Villie, uden argelist” (ibid.). De anmärkningar från handskriften som återfinns i slutet belyser en hel del sakförhållanden för läsaren. De avslutande delarna i utgåvan hjälper läsaren ytterligare tillrätta i läsningen. En dansk-dansk ordlista återfinns sålunda här, där ord som *hartkorn*, *rodemester* och *siuvnsbog* förklaras; en *siuvnsbog* (”synsbog”) exempelvis är en bok som efter besiktning beskriver ett områdes befolkning och odlade jord. En lista över ryska ord i lagtexterna och i noterna följer därefter med ord för mått, mynt, titlar etc. Så följer till sist ett ämnesregister och register över orter och personer som nämns. Rasmus Æreboes översättning var för sin tid en stor prestation. När man läser utgivarens inledning förstår man nämligen vilka nästan oöverstigligen problem den danske översättaren måste ha ställts inför i en tid då exempelvis adekvata ordböcker helt saknades. Samtidigt ger texten läsaren inblickar i en värld som känns mycket avlägsen, främmande – och skrämmande.

L.-E.E.

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Carl-Erik Lundbladh & Ingrid Reiz, Blekingska dialektord, 373 s., Lund 2013 (Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Dialekt- och ortnamnsarkivet i Lund). (Skrifter utg. av Dialekt- och ortnamnsarkivet i Lund 13.) ISBN 978-91-86959-10-4; ISSN 1404-4676. I ANF 128 (2013), s. 209 f., presenterades Skånska dialektord som med denna ordbok över det blekingska ordförrådet nu fått en naturlig fortsättning. Utgivare är här Carl-Erik Lundbladh och Ingrid Reiz. Boken om de blekingska dialektorden påminner i upplägg om den tidigare ordboken med sina avdelningar med normaliserade ord, dialektala ord och betydelser. Det presenterade ordförrådet är både rikt och väl beskrivet, och det märks att ordboken sammanställts med lexikografiska ambitioner för ögonen. Inom de mer emotiva delarna av ordförrådet kommer, inte oväntat, en synnerligt rik

ordrikedom tillsynes: för 'slö' redovisas *mödadryg*, *dul*, *sickadejs*, *dall*, *odul*, *pjaskig*, *närmaklig* och *trock*, för 'latmask' uppges *bänkabredare*, *latstake*, *draghas* och *ballsjattning*, för 'lymmel' anføres *kanobb*, *snorhyvel* och *survel* och för 'pratmakare' finns *ballerbytta*, *käkasläare*, *slummerbom* och *slurvetrut*. Många av dessa ordbildningar är lätta att genomskåda men nog hade det varit ett plus om en del härledning här och var tillfogats. Men detta skulle självfallet ha avsevärt utvidgat detta redan ambitiösa utgivningsprojekt; en ordbok med sådana upplysningar får, som påpekas i förordet, uppföras på önskelistan (s. 11). I ordboken finns en del skämtsamma ord representerade, t.ex. *apsvett* 'te', vilket använts i flottan, och *pinanit* 'karlskronit'; Karlskrona kallades för *Pinan*. En hel del andra, ofta lite överraskande men ändå logiskt konstruerade ordbildningar finns i ordboken, exempelvis *havett* 'habegär; födgeni', *muntål* 'tålmod, förmåga att inte jämra sig vid smärta', *omfärd* 'smittosam sjukdom, epidemi', *seut/seuta* 'ful man'/'ful kvinna' samt *stuguroligt* som i substantivisk användning sägs betyda 'dans och lek i stugan'. För dialektala ekvivalenter och synonymer lämnas i betydelsedelen i många fall besked: sålunda uppförs *sända* och *vättjesten* för 'brynsten', *frad* och *krag* för 'fradga', *akarnaskrika* och *våtarsa* för 'gröngöling', *kroppkaka* och *skrubbkaka* för 'kroppkaka', *däka* och *gräbba* för 'flicka' samt kvintetten *påta*, *butta*, *vräkta*, *ljusa* och *skräda* för 'ljustra'. Ordboken lämnar här inte närmare besked om och i så fall hur dessa ord fördelas språkgeografiskt i Blekinge, något som hade varit av intresse att få veta och som kanske hade kunnat ges i mer summarisk form. Också i förbindelse med *sjala* och *svala* 'skvala' samt orden *skirva* (*skirvan*, *skärva*, *skärvan*), benämningar på 'engelska sjukan, rakitis', hade det varit intressant att få veta ordens fördelning olika bygder emellan. Fiskets terminologi återkommer här och var i ordboken, bl.a. finns en del ord för fiskar, som *blekingsdäkor* (dvs. "blekingeflickor") använt om småsill och *buttika* om piggvar. I det här sammanhanget kan också noteras ett ord som *tvetummavante*, vilket är beteckningen på en stickad vante med två tummar, en i vardera sidan, bra att ha vid fiske då man kan vända på den när insidan blivit våt. Läsaren möter här och var oväntade språkexempel, eller vad sägs om följande: "Han va babbetist [baptist] å lädde döba se i äjna kaos [kås, dvs. en liten båthamn] nea pao Tösse" (s. 87). Boken inleds med en kort beskrivning av dragen i äldre blekingska och en konkret beskrivning beträffande ordbokens uppbyggnad. För dialektologen finns en hel del att hämta i ordboken men den är också lättillgänglig för den som talar dialekten. För de senare utgör inte minst de dialektala formerna en väg in i ords-katten.

L.-E.E.

Rickard Melkersson, Skrifterna från Hoppet. C. H. Braads ostindiska resa 1748–49, 385 s. Göteborg 2013 (Göteborgs universitet). (Nordistica Gothoburgensia 30.) ISBN 978-91-7346-752-0 och 978-91-7346-753-7, ISSN: 0078-1134. Denna omfattande doktorsavhandling tar sig an att göra en grafonomisk analys (i Sture Alléns efterföljd) av en grupp hittills ganska okända texter från mitten av 1700-talet. Det gäller ett antal skrifter av Christopher Hinric Braad, som under åren 1748–49 var med på en resa med skeppet Hoppet från Göteborg till Kanton (i Ostindiska kompaniets regi). Braad antecknade flitigt och mycket av hans material, även koncept, finns i bevar. Det material som avhandlingen behandlar gäller skrifter från Hoppet, en resedagbok, en resebeskrivning (med större delen även i koncept), en anteckningsbok från uppehållet i Kanton samt en del mindre anteckningar. Avhandlingen har två syften. Den vill för det första ”bereda en del av det värdefulla braadmaterialet för *vetenskaplig utgivning*”, och för det andra ta upp grafonomiska problem från den tidens texter och diskutera och pröva metoder för att hantera problemen. Avhandlingen innehåller flera väl motiverade steg på vägen mot förslaget till utgåva. I kapitel 2 får vi en noggrann redogörelse för primärmaterial: handskrifternas innehåll och detaljer om karaktär och skick, dvs. textyta, marginalanteckningar, rättelser m.m. Detta följs i kapitel 3 av en noggrann analys av textläget och handskrifternas inbördes relation. Det lyckas också förf. att ge en i stort sett heltäckande beskrivning av när skrifterna har tillkommit och vilka som är förlagor till vilka. I kapitel 4 ges sedan en teoretisk genomgång av grafonomi och författarens ställningstagande i en rad metodiska frågor. Kapitel 5 ger en beskrivning av hur skrifterna tecken transkriberas i datorskriven text. Förf. påpekar att detta innehåller ett moment av tolkning, och han lyfter också fram ett antal frågor som mera problematiska. Dessa frågor utsätts sedan för en grafonomisk analys. Denna tar upp grafemtyper såväl som spatier, understrykning och annat. Analysen är detaljerad och behandlar bland annat olika grafterypers distribution i textsammanhanget och inom ordet. Diskussionen mynnar ut i en detaljerad beskrivning av variationen i texten, men också av tydliga mönster, som kan vägleda en textutgivare. I flera fall visar förf. att den variation som finns mellan olika grafteryper inte är arbiträr, utan att Braad faktiskt ”menat något” med det gjorda valet. Som ett påtagligt resultat av avhandlingens första syfte ges i slutet ett förslag till utgåva av tre av Braads skrifter: den färdiga reseskildringen (UUB:X389), dagboken och den s.k. KVA-resan. Denna del omfattar 97 sidor i avhandlingens slut. Avhandlingens avkastar ganska imponerande resultat. Den bekantgör en intressant grupp texter som tidigare inte varit särskilt

kända. Den utreder deras inbördes relationer, och den ger en grafonomisk analys av materialet. Därutöver utvecklar förf. den grafonomiska metoden, och presterar ett förslag till utgåva av tre texter. L.-O.D.

Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna, häfte 40, SYTA–TILL, s. 2775–2854, redaktör: Kristina Hagren, Uppsala 2013 (Dialekt och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala). (Skrifter utg. av Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Serie D:1.) ISBN 978-91-86959-11-1; ISSN 1651-1204. Med detta fyrtionde häfte tar Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna ännu ett steg närmare målet. Kvaliteten är här alldeles som i de tidigare häftena hög. I häftet upptas orden SYTA–TILL, där dock en fortsättning av det sistnämnda ordet kommer att inleda häfte 41. Ett frekvent ord i språket som *taga* finns med här och avhandlas på hela nio sidor med olika betydelsenyanser och användningar. Det är lätt att fastna i ordbokens garn, såsom när man närmare studerar olika sammansättningar till *syta* 'sköta' (ibland med bibetydelsen av 'vyssja') och lär sig att *sytdryg*, *sytsjuk* och *sytsam* är en som fordrar mycket vård, *syttiden* är den period då man sköter småbarn, medan den som är gravid är *på sytvägen*. En annan svit av sammansättningar utgår från *sälberg* 'fäbodar, fäbodställe' där ordboken upptar bl.a. *sälbergshull* 'hull som man lägger på sig under fäbodvistelse' och *sälbergsdon* 'redskap som inte var mer slitna än att de dög att användas vid fäbodarna'. Självfallet kan en del av dessa sammansättningar vara av mer tillfällig karaktär, och eftersom språket medger just en nästan outtömlig kavalkad av sammansättningar kunde man kanske tycka att antalet medtagna sammansättningar hade kunnat reduceras. Men det är bra att de så generöst medtagits då de visar språkets enastående potential. Många ord vittnar självfallet om tider som flytt. I detta häfte upptas sådana ord som *såfjär* eller *såränd* 'linje som såningsmannen drar upp för att dela upp åkern i för sådden anpassade remsor', *sågkavle* 'trästycke, förvarat i vattensåg och försett med bomärken för dem som brukade såga där, på vilket mängden sågade bräder markerades' och *säckkorv* 'kormsmet inlagd i små, särskilt tillverkade påsar av blånor som användes i brist på tarmar'. Standardsvenska som var dialektfärgad benämndes i dialekten med ord som *bocksvenska*, *bortasvenska*, *dolksvenska* och *träsvenska*, i detta häfte möter dessutom ordet *tackåsvenska*; dessa ord har mestadels nedsättande karaktär. Dialektens interjektioner noteras också, från detta häfte kan återges *så* som används för att förstärka en uppmaning och *tataj* som finns upptecknat i Älvdalen där det används i utrop som utgör varningar, främst till barn. Exemplifieringen från ordbokshäftet skulle kunna fortsätta länge än men jag sätter punkt här. Man ser nu med förhoppning fram mot de sista häftena. L.-E.E.

Lena Peterson, ”En *brisi* vas *lina* sunn, en *lini* vas *unAR* sunn ... En þa *barlaf*”. *Etymologiska studier över fyra personnamn på Malsta- och Sunnåstenarna i Hälsingland*, 88 s., Stockholm 2012 (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia). (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia. Opuscula 15.) ISBN 978-91-88568-53-3; ISSN 1103-7970. De vikingatida runstenarna från Malsta och Sunnå i Hälsingland hör till de mer kända i Sverige, och först och främst har de uppmärksammats då man här kan följa en genealogi om sju generationer. Namnen på stenarna har diskuterats, och en av dem som grundligt studerat ristningarna är Lena Peterson. Denna bok samlar etymologiska studier av fyra personnamn på stenarna, och kan sägas vara en fortsättning på en studie signerad Sven B. F. Jansson 1985. Först behandlas personnamnet **brisi** (nom) / **brisa** (gen.) som efter en ingående genomgång tolkas såsom bildat i anslutning till en ordgrupp som utgår från germ. **brīs-* / *brīs-* med en postulerad betydelse ’den som lyser, den som glänser’ eller, kanske snarare, om man utgår från ordbetydelser på norsk botten, ’den prälände, den skrytsamme’. Den andra delstudien knyter personnamnet **lini** (nom.) / **lina** (gen.) samman med fvn. *linr* m.fl. ’len, mjuk, mild, saktmodig’; kanske ingår ett härtill svarande personnamn som förled i ett norskt *-sta*-namn (som beläggs på flera ställen). Den tredje studien, monografins mest omfattande, behandlar **un** (nom. och ack.)/**unAR** (gen.), där en rad problem noggrant utreds: stamstavelsens kvalitet, kort eller långt /n/ i stammen, utbredningen av namnet **un** och namn på **un-** och *Un(n)-* i Norden, svenska ortnamn på *-sta(d)* och *-torp* som synes innehålla fsv. *Uni*, *Unne*, *Āne* samt en utredning om *Uni* på norrländskt område, vilken knyter an till en tolkning av Ivar Lundahl 1934. Författaren argumenterar i sin etymologiska diskussion för att personnamnet *Unn*, **UnR*, gen. *UnAR*, är bildat till ett ursprungligt *u*-stamsadjektiv **wunuz* ’som trivs, som känner sig tillfreds, som har det bra’. Det sista personnamnet som behandlas är **barlaf** (nom.), vilket identifieras som ett *Berglof* (eventuellt *Bergleif*), innehållande en moverad efterled *-leif* ’efterkommande, arvinge’ (eller dess variantform *-lof*) och en förled bildad till presenstammen i verbet fvn. *bjarga* ’rädda, hjälpa’, alternativt senare associerat med fvn. *berg/bjarg* ’berg’. I slutet av den avslutande sammanfattningen återges ett släkträd men relationerna mellan de nämnda personerna är inte i alla sina detaljer klara, väsentligen för att författaren här inte särskilt fördjupar sin diskussion. Lena Petersons studie diskuterar på ett initierat sätt de nämnda personnamnen. Det är inte bara en framstående runolog och personnamnsforskare som tar sig an dessa problem, det är också en forskare som kunnigt drar in ortnamn och språkhistorisk evidens i sina resonemang och som utomordentligt

väl behärskar ljudhistoria och ordbildningslära. Det är många vägval en forskare måste göra för att kunna säga något av vikt beträffande personnamn av den typ som här kommer ifråga. Lena Petersons vägval är alltigenom väl motiverade, och därför har detta blivit en betydelsefull personnamnsstudie. L.-E.E.

Senmedeltida kopparutvinning i Åtvidaberg speglad i räkenskaper från 1500-talets början, utg. av Evert Melefors, 138 s., Uppsala 2013 (Svenska fornskriftsällskapet). (Samlingar utg. av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet. Serie 1. Svenska skrifter 98.) ISBN 978-91-979881-2-4; ISSN 0347-5026. I denna utgåva återvänder Evert Melefors till sina östgötska hemtrakter i Åtvidabergstrakten. Det blev tidigt påtagligt för honom att han i dessa handskrifter från 1500-talets början konkret kunde "få ta del av de människors vardag som för så länge sedan hade levt på samma ställen som jag". En möjlighet att utge och kommentera de nu aktuella texterna uppades så småningom inom forskningsprojektet "Medeltidens ekonomiska texter" som bedrevs vid Uppsala universitet i slutet av 1990-talet. Med denna utgåva kan nu räkenskaper knutna till herremannen och riksrådet Johan Stensson Bese på Herrsäter läggas fram. Sedan Johan Bese presenterats, liksom dottern Gunnhild Johansdotter Bese, beskrivs de i sammanhanget relevanta handskrifterna, Svenska Riksarkivets Codices Serie C: Världsliga jordeböcker, räkenskaper, domböcker och brevförteckningar från medeltiden, C 45–C 48 samt C 50: VIII och C 50: XVI. Det rör sig ibland om anteckningar på lösa lappar, ibland om längre dokument. Huvudparten av materialet har tillkommit efter Johan Beses död, alltså efter 1505. C 45 synes vara en räkenskapskladd upplagd redan på 1480-talet för Johan Bese som privatman där flera av hans sörmländska gods uppräknas, och här figurerar också Johan Bese som privatman och borgenär för ståndspersoner i sin omgivning. Texterna återges filologiskt med tolkning i spalten intill texten, och person- och sakkommentarer (och en del ordkommentarer) ges. Eftersom den handskrift som har signum C 46 är en renskrift där en mängd poster överförts från de andra listorna, har, för undvikande av upprepningar, kommentarerna och tolkningarna koncentrerats till just den handskriften. En avdelning med allmänna kommentarer till innehållet i handskrifterna följer (s. 78 ff.). Här får vi veta mer om spåren efter kopparhanteringen i området, om hyttor och bergsmän m.m. Intressant är också att läsa om varuhandeln och bergsbruket i Åtvid, där man kan se spåren av "ett småskaligt varuutbyte i en speciell miljö, där privat och offentligt blandas" (s. 83), men också får lära känna exempelvis tidens varudistribution. I slutordet säger utgivaren

att genom denna utgåva ”har människor, främst bönder och bergsmän, knutna till gårdar och bygder och till kopparhantering, gjorts synliga i ett lokalhistoriskt sammanhang [!] och uppförts i personregister och gårdar och socknar ordnats i ortsregister” (s. 89), och inte minst värdefulla i utgåvan är onekligen just dessa register bakom vilka ligger ett mödosamt arbete. Allra sist finns en fotografisk återgivning av handskrifterna. Som helhet är detta en värdefull källutgåva av några av medeltidens ekonomiska texter. L.-E.E.

Texter och tecken från svensk medeltid, utg. av Per-Axel Wiktorsson, 96 s., Uppsala 2012 (Svenska fornskriftsällskapet). (Samlingar utg. av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet. Serie 3. Smärre texter och undersökningar 6.) ISBN 978-91-976118-8-6; ISSN 1103-5692. I serien Smärre texter och undersökningar, som startades 1993, har nu Svenska fornskriftsällskapet utgivit ett sjätte häfte. Det innehåller fem uppsatser, och vi möter här både etablerade svenska forskare och några utomnordiska. Forskarparet Hedda Gunneng och Börje Westlund diskuterar två egenhändiga texter av heliga Birgitta, kallade autograf A och B, som utgör sammanlagt tre sidor. Gunneng och Westlund beskriver språkligt-stilistiskt och retoriskt de båda autograferna, vilka dessutom återges (efter Bertil Högman 1951) med normaliserad ortografi. En översättning fogas till texterna. I den första autografen förmedlas ”en påträngande, nästan överväldigande synupplevelse” (s. 16) medan den andra verkar vara en spontan nedteckning som har till syfte att övertyga och övertala. Bruket av teckenspråk såsom det kommer till användning under svensk medeltid är ett rätt utforskat område som belyses i volymen av Per-Axel Wiktorsson. Han tecknar först kortfattat den allmäneuropeiska bakgrunden, och beskriver sedan teckenspråket såsom det återges i ett par handskrifter från Vadstena kloster (C 31 och C 74 vid UUB). Här får man lära sig hur ord som *calix* ’nattvardskalk’, *diuidere* ’dela’ och *scabiosus* ’skabbig’ skall tecknas; det sistnämnda tecknas exempelvis genom att man rör vid sitt huvud med tummen. 80% av orden i dessa förteckningar hör vardagen till medan resten hör hemma inom den religiösa sfären. I volymen beskriver Margit J. Smith – verksam vid universitetet i San Diego med en kodikologisk beskrivning av medeltida påsband – den s.k. Tallinnskriften av Magnus Erikssons stadslag. Artikelns inledning är onekligen lite påfallande, och texten hade nog generellt med fördel kunnat stramas upp men beledsagas av ett antal fina färgbilder vilket avsevärt förhöjer värdet. Massimiliano Bampi, verksam vid Ca’ Foscari-universitetet i Venedig, vill i sin uppsats om Konung Alexander (i Cod. Holm. D4) visa att

textens mottagande i en aristokratisk miljö påverkat beskrivningen av Alexanders bedrifter. Text måste läsas i sitt sammanhang. Den siste bidragsgivaren, Fulvio Ferrari, arbetar med germansk filologi vid universitetet i Trento, och uppehåller sig i sitt bidrag vid den tidigare rätt förbisedda texten Dikten om kung Albrekt – tillkommen i Vadstena under 1420-talet – och söker besvara frågorna varifrån skrivarna fått texterna i handskriften och varför dikten synes ha behållit sin relevans långt efter tillkomsten. Förklaringen till det senare skulle ligga i den likartade politiska situationen olika tider emellan, med frälsets kamp mot kungamakten som ett bärande inslag. I dessa artiklar lyfts en del tidigare rätt förbisedda texter fram, vilket är av betydelse. Dessutom är det intressant att ta del av de perspektiv som anläggs av några utomnordiska filologer.

L.-E.E.

Tre politiska pamfletter från 1460-talets Sverige, utg. av Roger Andersson, med ett bidrag om Danske kong Christierns handel av Carl Claeson, Ebba Edberg & Peter Isotalo, 50 s., Stockholm 2011 (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia; Centrum för medeltidsstudier, Stockholm universitet). (Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia. Editiones 3.) ISBN 978-91-88568-52-6. I denna skrift återfinns nyutgåvor av tre politiska stridsskrifter tillkomna under 1460-talet, den s.k. Kong Christierns handel eller Danske kong Christierns handel, en obetitlad "flygskrift" från 1466 samt ett brev från Karl Knutsson från 1464 riktat till domkapitlet i Uppsala. Kong Christierns handel har formen av ett brev som utfärdas av menigheten "offuer alla Dalar" (dvs. Dalarna) till bl.a. biskopar, präster, riddare och rikets råd, och behandlar starkt kritiskt det politiska livet under perioden från 1455 till 1463. Måltavla är kung Kristian. Flygskriften, också den riktad mot kungen, sprids bland allmogen i Dalarna. I brevet från Karl Knutsson är det däremot ärkebiskopen Jöns Bengtsson som får ta emot avsändarens vrede. Förebildligt utger här Roger Andersson dessa dokument. Tre studenter i en kurs i medeltidsforskning vid Historiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet, Carl Claeson, Ebba Edberg och Peter Isotalo, analyserar sedan i en kort uppsats pamfletten Danske kong Christierns handel. De sätter in denna politiska nidskrift i ett samtidsperspektiv med kampen mellan Karl Knutsson och kung Kristian I, och lyfter fram "nationalismen" i pamfletten, varvid de diskuterar användningen av begrepp som *nation* och *nationalism* i forskning om förmodern tid. I samband med detta behandlas begreppet *svenska män*, vilken egentligen inte omfattar "samtliga män i landet Sverige, utan begränsar sig till medlemmar av adel, kyrka och borgerskap". Allmogen är i pamfletten offer

för Kristians grymhet men det står samtidigt klart att bönderna kan tänkas ta till våld för att hävda sin rätt – man kan säga att allmogen både är slagpåse och slagträ. På ett ställe sägs allmogen vara enfaldig, vilket synes syfta på ”naiv enkelhet, en välmenande men tämligen lättmanipulerad godtrogenhet” (s. 48). Analysen förs i den korta uppsatsen förvisso inte särskilt långt, men har onekligen sina poänger och kompletterar väl källutgåvan.

L.-E.E.

Lars-Erik Edlund, Inger Larsson & Staffan Nyström (utg.), Växter och växtnamn – ett möte mellan botanik och språkvetenskap. Föredrag från ett symposium i Stockholm och Uppsala 25–26 november 2010, 198 s., Uppsala 2013 (Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur). (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi CXXIII.) ISBN 978-91-8532-99-9, ISSN 0065-0897. Denna volym är en samling av föredrag från en tvärvetenskaplig konferens om växter och växtnamn. Här möts nordister och botaniker för att diskutera frågor som kan ha beröringspunkter med båda ämnena. Artiklarna visar stor bredd i perspektiv och innehåll. Inger Larssons inledande artikel *Från byttgräs till älgört – svensk växtnamnsforskning i ett historiskt perspektiv* ger en klagörande bakgrund till forskningsfältet och dess metoder. Utöver den historiska bakgrunden diskuterar hon bland annat frågor som artbestämning, namngivningsmotiv, namnens beständighet m.m. Björn Aldén diskuterar vetenskaplig och hortikulturell namngivning, medan Svengunnar Ryman beskriver problem och principer för hur man skapar nya svenska växtnamn. I de övriga artiklarna skärs sedan ämnet på flera olika ledder. Några artiklar har ett historiskt perspektiv. Exempelvis behandlar Simon Skovgaard Boeck växtnamn i några danska renässansordböcker, och Mats Rydén ger en beskrivning av William Turner, som levde på 1500-talet, och som kan kallas Englands förste växtnamnsforskare. Ett annat sådant bidrag är Per M. Jørgensens artikel om växtnamn i Gunnerus 1700-talsflora, *Flora norvegica*. Vissa artiklar har en växt eller växtfamilj i fokus, men angreppssätten är också här mycket varierade. Lars-Erik Edlund presenterar en ordgeografisk beskrivning av dialektala namn för våtarv, och Mats Hjertson studerar namngivning specifikt för orkidésläktet och särskilt dess hybrider. Lennart Elmevik ger en etymologisk beskrivning för växtnamnet *missne*. Andra behandlar växtnamn i andra delar av språket; Staffan Nyström tar upp växtnamn som förekommer i ortnamn, och Karin Martinsson diskuterar växtnamn som förnamn. Bengt af Klintbergs bidrag har ett etnologiskt perspektiv, där han beskriver traditioner och folktro kring lummersporer, som genom sin lättantändlighet har gett

upphov till dialektala namn som *käringkerut*, *fjuttmossa* och *poffmjöl*. Som synes är uppslagen till hur växtnamn kan studeras oerhört varierade, och de flesta kan säkert hitta något av intresse i denna bukett av angrepps-sätt. Boken är relativt rikt illustrerad med dialektkartor, växtbilder, bilder på äldre florer och liknande. L.-O.D.

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Målblomar til Margit. Veneskrift til Margit Harsson på 70-årsdagen den 9. juni 2013, redigert av Tom Schmidt, 181 s., Oslo 2013 (Novus forlag). ISBN 978-82-7099-720-6. När den norska namnforskaren Margit Harsson den 9 juni 2013 fyllde 70 år hyllades hon genom denna bok med bidrag av tretton forskarkolleger; en artikel är samförfattad. Här finns bidrag inom namnforskningens område men också några som behandlar andra delar av språkvetenskapen. Några bidrag är etymologiska. Harald Bjorvand behandlar sålunda det norska gårdnamnet *Tom(b)* i Råde, Østfold men förmedlar dessutom utredningar om fem arvord, bland dem det problematiska *jul*. Erik Simensen behandlar för sin del namnet *Oland*, ett namn som bärs av två gårdar, den ena i Froland, den andra i Åmli, i Aust-Agder. Kristin Bakken skriver om en sägen som håller samman tre namn (*Rolandssteinen*, *Sloebella* och *Glomschaug*), varvid hon understryker att en sägen av denna typ är ”uttrykk for eit ønske om å setje den nære og ofte prosaiske røyndomen inn i ein historisk, litterær eller mytisk samanheng”, och dessutom vittnar den ”om ei tidleg folkeleg interesse for namnestruktur og -analyse” (s. 17). De tre personnamnen *Baste* (av *Sebastian*), *Fabian* och *Crispinus* dryftas av Ole-Jørgen Johannessen i ett bidrag som ger mersmak. Dessa namn är knutna till medeltida helgondyrkan i Europa, noteras knappast i den norröna tradingen ”men har en viss plass [...] i tidlig nytid [i Norge], og da med en klar lokalgeografisk distribusjon” (s. 75). Om nybildade förnamn i norskan under perioden från 1750 till 1949 skriver Kristoffer Kruken och konstaterar därvid bl.a. att nybildade namn knyter an till äldre namn i en familj: det är uppenbart att kreativitet och tradition går hand i hand. En översikt över benämningar på blommor nyttjade som personnamn lämnas av Line Lysaker Heinesen, vilken också lämnar en del namnråd i sin artikel. Under rubriken ”Margit – en perle med mange innfatninger” samlar sig Benedicta Windt-Val kring födelsedagsbarnets förnamn (jämte *Margareta*, *Margrete*, *Magret* m.fl.), som behandlas ur olika infallsvinklar. Nyttig och läsvärd är presentationen sammanställd av Gunhild Birkeland och Botolv Helleland som behandlar ”hovudoppgåver i stadnamn” sam-

lade i "Hovudoppgåveregistret" (HOP) vid Oslo universitet. Denna uppsats anlägger också ett vidsträcktare vetenskapshistoriskt perspektiv på uppsatserna med utgångspunkt tagen från Magnus Olsen och Gustav Indrebø. Också bidrag utanför onomastikens fält finns representerade i volymen. Gudlaug Nedreid behandlar sålunda i en uppsats problem i förbindelse med mellomnorsk, och exemplifierar därvid på ett intresseväckande sätt sina resonemang. Om sammanhanget mellan M. B. Landstads Norske Folkeviser och Ivar Aasens Norsk Ordbog skriver Magne Myhren, varvid den aktuella empirin redovisas detaljerat. Om pluralböjningen av verb i Hallingmålet skriver Åse Wetås, och illustrerar i samband med sin studie den ofta gjorda iakttagelsen att språklig förändring verkligen tar tid. Här finns till sist också ett bidrag av Maimu Berezkina om språkanvändningen i det lingvistiska landskapet på Grønland, ett multikulturellt område i Oslo. Studien inkluderar även en del tankar om invånarnas hållningar till namn på platser. Boken avslutas med en bibliografi, sammanställd av Terje Larsen, över Margit Harssons vetenskapliga arbeten, korta författarpresentationer och en Tabula Gratulatoria. Boken till Margit Harssons ära har samlat en vacker bukett "målblomar" från kolleger och vänner.

L.-E.E.

Namn i stadsmiljö. Handlingar från NORNA:s 42 symposium i Helsingfors den 10–12 november 2011, red. av Leila Mattfolk, Maria Vidberg & Pamela Gustavsson, 264 s., Helsingfors & Uppsala 2013 (Institutet för de inhemska språken; NORNA-förlaget). (Institutet för de inhemska språken. Skrifter 7; NORNA-rapporter 90.) ISBN 978-952-5446-82-1; ISSN 2323-4113; ISSN 0346-6728. Man skulle av titeln kanske kunna tro att denna symposievolum skulle innehålla studier av namn på gator, kvarter, broar etc. i städer men "namn i stadsmiljö" har en bredare anläggning än så. Här finns utrymme för alla slags namn i stadsmiljö, även personnamn och t.o.m. namn på kor – här finns det faktiskt även utrymme för en stadsmålsstudie. I vid mening är flertalet bidrag socioonomastiska men det finns också några bidrag som rör namnplanering. Flera bidrag har Helsingfors som geografisk utgångspunkt. Volymen inleds sålunda med Lars Huldéns personliga minnen under rubriken "En främling kom till Helsingfors". Svensk Helsingforsslang från olika tidsskeden från 1900 och framåt belyses av Mona Forsskåhl, varvid karaktärsdrag från olika tider dras fram. Här redovisas även en del slangvarianter av ortnamn som *Espis* för *Esplanaden* och *Bullan* för flickskolan på *Bulevarden*. Staffan Nyström behandlar namn på bostadsområden i Stockholm som lanserats för att skapa en känsla eller stämning; här finns bl.a. sådana namn som

möter i bostadsannonser och i annonser från byggbolag. Stavningen av *Saltsjöqvarn*, tillägg av *Strand* i *Uthamra Strand* och *-terrassen* i *Hammarbyterrassen* m.fl. ges som exempel och blir utgångspunkt för en intressant betraktelse. Det finns en motsägelsefullhet med å ena sidan mer "stadsmissiga" namn med leder som *boulevard* och *esplanad*, å andra sidan rurala namnleder som *glänta*, *höjd* och *strand*. Barns och ungdomars namnbruk beskrivs i Maria Löfdahls och Sofia Tingsells bidrag, där författarna söker belysa hur barn i flerspråkiga miljöer bildar ortnamn. Grundmaterialet har samlats in i Angered där många barn har utländsk bakgrund; barn från enspråkiga familjer i Örgryte utgör en kontrollgrupp. Onomastiska grundfrågor rörande vilka platser som namnges, namnens stabilitet osv. belyses. Ett par teoretiska begrepp används i analysen men det begränsade omfånget gör tyvärr inte just den delen av analysen full rättvisa. Maimu Berezkina undersöker inställningen till ortnamn i Oslo hos några etniska grupper, varvid de faktorer som påverkar uppfattningen av olika namn konkret exemplifieras. Artikeln bygger på författarens masteroppgave 2011. Tom Schmidt framlägger en studie av namn på *-løkke* i Oslo över tid, vilka visar påtaglig variation. Marianne Blomqvist belyser konamnen i städer utefter den finska väst- och sydkusten, där det visar sig att traditionella namn länge används men att nya mönster så småningom kan iakttas. Kreatursskötseln sätter dessutom ännu sina spår i bl.a. gatu- och kvartersnamn. Sophie Holm beskriver det arbete med namngivningen av befästningsverk i nuvarande Finland som Augustin Ehrensvärd hade ansvaret för, där en del innovativa inslag noteras. Nutida namnplanering står i fokus i Johanna Lehtonen och Alisa Isokoskis artikel, där de utmaningar som uppstår vid inkorporering av nya områden i en stad konkret beskrivs. De kreativa tankar som kan uppstå när studenter får möjlighet att fundera över nya namn i ett område presenteras av Sami Suviranta. I en gemensamt författad artikel av Katharina Leibring och Kristina Neumüller jämförs förnamnsskicket i Luleå och Borås vid 1600-talets slut. Bl.a. påpekas att förrådet av mansnamn i Luleå framstår som "stort, varierat och modernt" (s. 126) jämfört med det "begränsade och konservativa" (ibid.) personnamnsskicket i Borås. Bilden för kvinnonamnens del är däremot annorlunda. De urbana nätverk där köpmännen i Luleå ingick var tydligen tätare än motsvarande i Borås, och på den vägen tillfördes impulser utifrån. Socioonomastiska perspektiv på bruket av personnamn läggs i Minna Nakaris bidrag om kvinnors namnfraser som uttryck för makt och identitet i Helsingfors under perioden 1880–1908. Materialet utgörs här av s.k. näringsanmälningar, där man, intressant nog, kommer åt de namnfraser kvinnorna

själva använde. Emilia Aldrin belyser i sitt bidrag förnamnsval i Göteborg, närmare bestämt vilka förnamn som föräldrar valt år 2007 varvid författaren också diskuterar ”i vilken mån några sociala drag som anses typiska för urbana miljöer avspeglas i detta namnmaterial” (s. 71). Drag som nyskapande, trendmedvetenhet och språkmöte lyfts förtjänstfullt fram men en viktig fråga kvarstår obesvarad efter läsningen: med vilken säkerhet kan egentligen typiska urbana namnmönster beskrivas om man inte har ett icke-urbant jämförelsematerial? I volymen återfinns även en studie om namnidentitet hos unga finska och sverigefinska kvinnor av Anna Masanti. Forskningsområdet *urban names* diskuteras och problematiseras av Gunnstein Akselberg i dennes bidrag, men jag tycker, alldeles som Mats Wahlberg i inledningen, att frasen ”namn i stadsmiljö” täcker det man här vill fånga in, ”alla slags namn som förekommer i stadsliknande miljöer” (s. 25). Wahlberg lyfter fram betydelsen av historiska aspekter också inom detta forskningsområde. Det är nämligen notabelt att endast fem av symposiets 22 föredrag har historiskt material som utgångspunkt. Detta bekräftar en trend som kunnat iakttagas vid nordiska symposier under senare år men också märks på den internationella arenan, en trend som självfallet borde brytas. L.-E. E.

Nøvn í strandamentanini. Navne i kystkulturen. Forelesninger fra det 41. NORNA-symposium i Tórshavn 2.-4. juni 2011, red.: Tina K. Jakobsen, Kristin Magnussen, Anfinnur Johansen & Eivind Weyhe, 374 s., Uppsala 2013 (NORNA-förlaget). (NORNA-rapporter 89.) ISBN 978-91-7276-088-2; ISSN 0346-6728. År 1987 avhölls i NORNA:s regi ett symposium i norska Volda om namn i kustområden, och ett kvartsekel senare, 2011, var det återigen dags för en vetenskaplig sammankomst kring detta tema, nu i Tórshavn. Då inte riktigt alla föredrag kommit med i samlingsvolymen är man mycket tacksam över att Mats Wahlbergs i den omfattningsrika sammanfattningen i slutet kort redovisar alla inläggen som framlades; en del av de rubriker som här nämns överensstämmer dock inte med dem som sedan möter i symposievolymer. Ortnamn står naturligt nog i fokus men här finns också en del artiklar om personnamn. Den mönsternamngivning man ibland talar om i samband med kustnamn, erinrar man sig när man läser Lennart Hagåsens bidrag om namn på *-nor* och *-vik* längs den svenska Bottenhavskusten. En del påfallande ljudutvecklingar av dessa namnelement förekommer nämligen och diskuteras initierat av författaren men hur spridningen av dessa uttal utefter kusten sedan konkret gått till förblir mera dunkelt. Aleksandra Petrulevich behandlar *Burstaborg* och *Steinborg* i Knýtlinga saga vilka kan uppfattas som

översättningar av de slaviska namnen *Stettin* och *Kammin*. Hur de nämnda nordiska namnen skall förstås diskuteras försiktigt av författaren utefter flera linjer, och det är uppenbart att problemen med detta inlägg knappast fått sin slutliga lösning. Det bohuslänska fjordnamnet *Gullmarn* behandlas etymologiskt i Birgit Falck-Kjällquist bidrag. Hon stannar för tolkningen av namnet som 'det havsområde som på ett eller annat sätt är knutet till eller samhörigt med gudarna'. Hon nämner därvid att djurlivet i Gullmarn kan "ha bidragit till att ge människor som i forntiden rörde sig i området uppfattningen att högre makter hade nära förbindelse med fjorden" (s. 58). Hon nämner matfiskar av olika slag men framför allt hajarten brugd och trollkrabban. Falck-Kjällquists tolkning är högst beaktansvärd. Namnförrådet inom vissa nordiska kustområden belyses ur olika aspekter i en rad föredrag: av Tom Schmidt ("Skjærgårdsnavn fra ytre Østfold"), Inge Særheim ("Skjergardsnavn som kulturhistorisk kjeldetilfang"), Birgit Eggert ("Kulturhistoriske spor i Læsøs stednavne"), Marjun Arge Simonsen ("Vover og valking") – och av Svavar Sigmundsson ("Navne på fiskebanker ved Island") där namn på fiskeplatser på ett mångsidigt sätt belyses. Line Sandst har sitt fokus riktat mot Møn och Berit Sandnes behandlar namn som knyter an till ålfångsten utefter en del av den skånska Ålakusten. I flera av de nyss nämnda studierna inkluderas kulturhistoriska aspekter – man inser av dessa utredningar vilka utmärkta källor till kustbygders historia ortnamn är, samtidigt som man också kan se hur allmänna och frekventa verksamheter ibland alls inte kommer till synes i ortnamnen. De onomastiska och andra historisk-geografiska spår som kan finnas efter numera försvunna kustskogar i nordvästra Själland behandlas av Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen. Att det finns skillnader mellan gårdnamnen vid kust och i inland illustreras av Gunnstein Akselberg utifrån norsk empiri. Agneta Sundström behandlar personbinamn som speglar kustkulturen vilka kommit till användning i Arboga under medeltiden. Olikheter i personnamnsbruket vid kust och i inland i Övre Norrland vid mitten av 1600-talet belyses av Kristina Neumüller i hennes bidrag. Att mansnamnen är mer varierade vid kusten än i inlandet under denna tid sägs kunna ha samband med kontaktnät och influensmönster "i och kring handelsstäder som Torneå och Luleå" (s. 164) – frågan är dock om just detta är förklaringen, ty dessa städer var ju vid denna tid helt nyanlagda. Om influenserna nu är externa (och det kan vara riktigt) måste rötterna nog istället sökas längre tillbaka i tiden, i de gamla kontakter som funnits mellan det aktuella Bottenviksområdet och områden längre söderut efter kusten. Guðrún Kvaran skriver i sitt bidrag om isländska person- och gatunamn som

givits i anslutning till havet. Gudlaug Nedreid uppehåller sig vid kontakterna mellan Holland och Agder och hur dessa kommer till uttryck i personnamnen. Någon större inströmning av nederländska namn rör det sig inte om. Som sig bör i en volym som denna finns också ett föredrag om namn på fartyg, närmare bestämt på segelskutor i Finlands skärgård 1865–1912, av Anita Schybergson. Exonymerna i Emmerlevs kyrkbok 1650–1757 speglas av Susanne Vogt. Generellare är perspektiven i Peder Gammeltofts bidrag ”Stednavneforskning. Hvad fremtiden har i vente”. Som helhet är detta en innehållsrik volym där flertalet artiklar har stort läsvärde, och där olika delar av det nordiska språkområdet på ett förtjänstfullt sätt belyses. Mats Wahlberg lyfter i sin sammanfattning fram tendensen att namnforskarna vid detta symposium, till skillnad från det inledningsvis nämnda Voldasymposiet 1987, ”tacknämligt nog behandlat yngre namnförråd, medan inget som huvudämne har haft t.ex. förhistoriska önamn [...] Detta är väl i linje med namnforskningens allmänna utveckling, men vi får absolut inte bli så ensidigt modernt inriktade, att vi glömmer bort vad de riktigt gamla namnen har att ge” (s. 373). Dessa slutord är lätta att instämma i.

L.-E.E.

Catarina Røjder, Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län 19. Ortnamnen i Tanums härad. 1. Bebyggelsenamn, XLII+ 239 s. + karta i insticksficka i slutet, Göteborg 2013 (Institutet för språk och folkminnen. Dialekt-, ortnamns- och folkminnesarkivet i Göteborg). ISBN 978-91-86959-01-2; ISSN 0284-1908. I serien Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohuslän (OGB) utkom det första bandet, det om namnen i Sävedals härad, redan 1923, och sedan har decennierna igenom band lagts till band. Föreliggande volym är den fjärde som utkommit sedan millennieskiftet. Catarina Røjder tar sig här an bebyggelsenamnen i Tanums härad. Här belyses, förutom häradsnamnet, namnen på de två här aktuella socknarna Lur och Tanum, namnen på byar, gårdar, och (i förekommande fall) hemmansdelar, torp och mindre bebyggelseenheter. I bokens inledning finns bl.a. en redogörelse för geologiska förhållanden och topografi, och i samband därmed redovisas namn syftande på jordmån, markförhållanden, vattenförhållanden, berg och dalar m.m. Likaså finns korta redogörelser för områdets flora och fauna, varvid namn knutna till växt- och djurliv redovisas. Kortfattat redogör inledningen även för namn som syftar på olika typer av mänsklig verksamhet. Äldre bebyggelsenamnstyper redovisas, i detta område rör det sig om namn på *-by/-bø*, *-hem*, *-land(a)*, *-lösa*, *-röd*, *-sta(d)*, *-torp* och *-vin*. Men också ett antal andra, vanliga namnelement redovisas, såsom elementen *bo(d)*, *hed*, *hog*, *klåva* och

mon. En kort avdelning ägnas dialekten och en del rör källorna. Efter den fyrtyosidiga inledningen följer så en genomgång av häradets bebyggelsenamn. Bland notabla namntolkningar kan nämnas den om *Amdal* (s. 2), som öppnar också för en tolkning till **al-* 'växa', *Torbäl* (s. 43 f.) till ett höjdbetecknande **Pör* och en motsvarighet till fvn. *barð* 'kant, rand' m.m., *Ejgde* (s. 81) som diskuteras i ljuset av dat. *eiði*, här i betydelsen 'passage där man kan eller måste gå, t.ex. mellan två vatten eller utmed en fors' och *Hud* (äldre *Huld*; s. 114 f.), vilket tolkas som 'den dolda', eftersom det aktuella vattendraget slingrar sig fram i starkt kuperad terräng. Ibland är det helt givet svårt för författaren att välja mellan alternativ såsom i samband med *Gilleröd* (s. 7), *Skinmarn* (s. 67), *Skälle* (s. 106) och *Kuseröd* (*Kusseröd*) (s. 130 f.), där man ändå kanske hade kunnat prioritera tydligare bland alternativen. Författarens eget ställningstagande kunde möjligen även i några andra fall ha varit tydligare, exempelvis vid *Häskje*, ett äldre *Hästskeede* (s. 118 f.). Beträffande yngre namn gör man vid läsningen många fynd. Ett intressant namnpar utgör exempelvis *Hajum*, som associerats med *haj*, vid sidan av *Järnhatt*, möjligen samhörigt med fiskbenämningen *järnhatt* 'klorocka', namnen på torp i *Oppen* (s. 155 f.). Ett antal bilder återfinns i slutet av boken och kastar ljus över de topografiska förhållandena som får antas ligga bakom vissa namn. Här kan nämnas fotografi nr 4 som ger läsaren en bild av den jämnt rundade kullen vid *Torim*, nr 6 som visar hur *Havsten* "häver sig upp ur vattnet" och nr 7 där man ser den hjässformade bergknallen vid *Hertseröd*. Än mer anslående hade det nog varit om bilderna placerats i anslutning till resp. namn. På vanligt sätt avslutas volymen med olika register, nämligen över ortnamn, förnamn, binamn samt soldat- och båtsmansnamn samt över ord. Sist finns ett kulturhistoriskt register, något man i dessa band alltid gläds över. I detta sistnämnda register hittar man hänvisningar till ställen i boken där namn finns som anknyter till andakts- och döds kors, hästen i folktron, istäkt, trankokeri samt berättelser om *Olof Haraldsson Kyrres* död och skottarnas general *Kusen*. Volymen är väl genomarbetad, och innehåller utredningar av ett antal äldre namn som behandlas på ett försiktigt och mestadels övertygande sätt. Särskilt värdefulla finner jag bokens många utredningar av yngre bebyggelsenamn i *Tanumsbygd*en. L.-E.E.

Per Vikstrand, Järnålderns bebyggelsenamn. Om bebyggelsenamnens uppkomst och ålder i Mälardalsregionen, 232 s., Uppsala 2013 (Institutet för språk och folkminnen – Namnarkivet i Uppsala). (Skrifter utgivna av Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Namnarkivet i Uppsala, Serie B:13.)

ISBN 978-91-86959-07-4, ISSN 0347-2027. Denna omfattande och intressanta forskningsrapport redovisar i första hand en undersökning av ett antal ortnamnstyper i Mälardalslandskapen. Det rör sig om namnefterledningerna *-by*, *-hem*, *-inge*, *-stad*, *-säter* samt plurala ortnamn. Tanken är att dessa efterledstyper ska kunna säga något om järnålderns bosättningsstruktur och förändringar i denna. Förf. behandlar ortnamnen med nyare arkeologiska rön som en självklar bakgrund. Rapporten består av en textdel på ca 100 sidor, och en materialdel, eller katalog, på drygt 110 sidor. Härtill kommer, förutom referenserna, ett ortnamnsregister med drygt 450 ortnamn. I centrum för diskussionen står den stora bebyggelseomvandling som man brukar anta skedde under järnåldern. Mellan äldre och yngre järnålder antas normalt ha skett omfattande förändringar, både ideologiskt och praktiskt. Såväl gravsederna som utnyttjandet av landskapet och bosättningsmönstren förändras. Här behandlas ett flertal problem; ett av dem rör ortnamnens beständighet vid flyttning av bosättningen. I vissa fall visar förf. att namnen högst sannolikt har följt med bebyggelsen. Rapporter resulterar också i en kronologi för namntyperna, där förf. exempelvis kan visa att *-hem-* och *-inge-*namnen tillsammans med vissa plurala ortnamn är de äldsta, vissa etablerade redan under förromersk järnålder, eller ännu tidigare. Katalogdelen, som redovisar de studerade namnen ett i taget är grupperad efter namntyper, är rikt illustrerad med terrängbilder och kartor. De senare är av flera olika typer och beskriver såväl fornfynd som ägoindelningar och terräng. L.-O.D.