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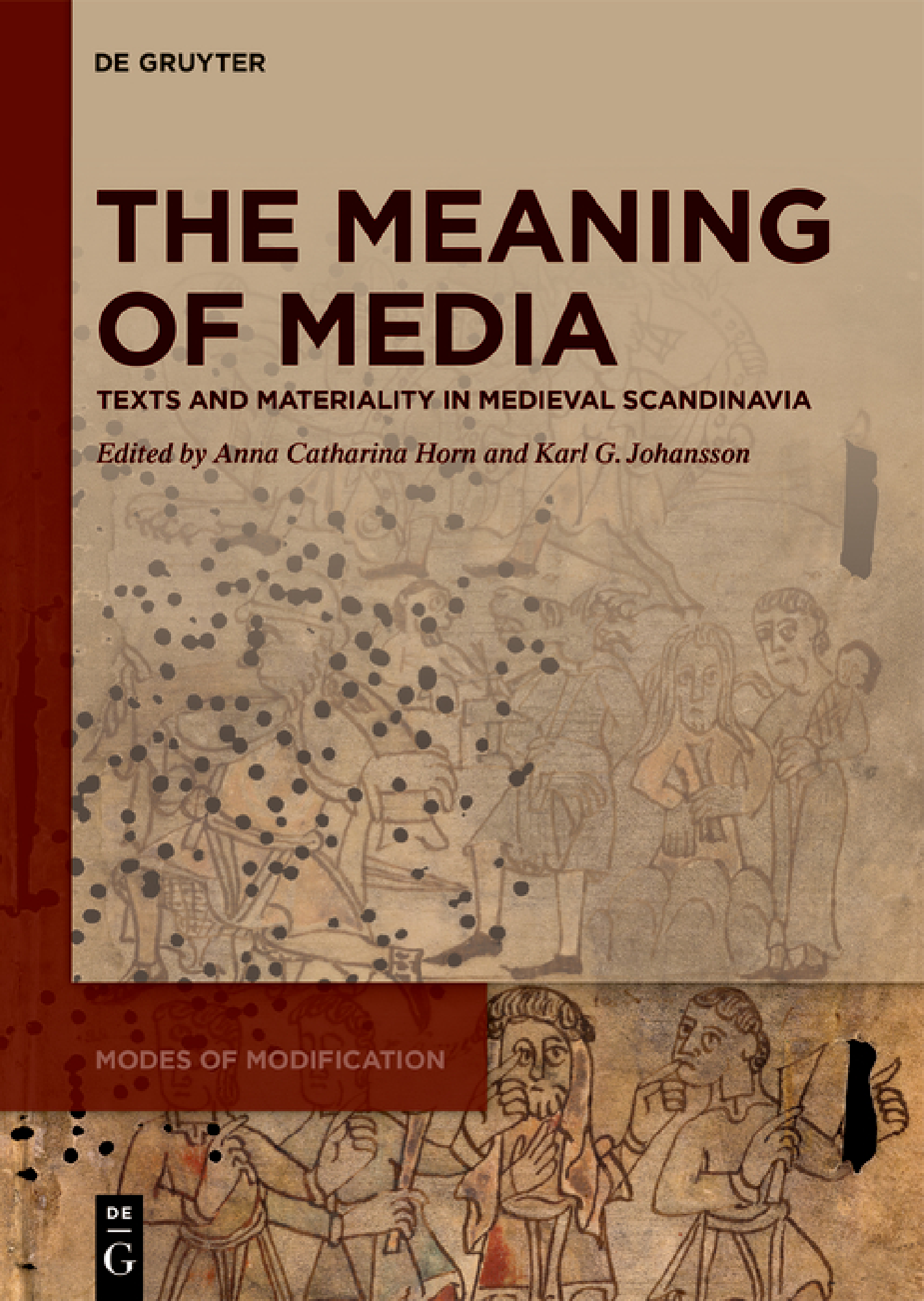
THE MEANING OF MEDIA

TEXTS AND MATERIALITY IN MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA

Edited by Anna Catharina Horn and Karl G. Johansson



MODES OF MODIFICATION

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The Meaning of Media

Modes of Modification: Variance and Change in Medieval Manuscript Culture

Edited by
Karl G. Johansson

Volume 1

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Some Reflections on Writing a New History of Texts for the Scandinavian Middle Ages

The present book is the first in a new series intended to provide the foundation for a new history of texts in transmission in the Scandinavian Middle Ages. It is therefore relevant to stress what is central to and new about this approach to medieval manuscript culture. The traditional synthesis in the form of literary history is generally presented as a chronological narrative formed around the production of works, primarily works at the centre of an accepted canon. Our contention is that it is more relevant to establish a dynamic model based on the dissemination, distribution, and reception of *texts* in motion rather than static *works*, while to some degree, however, retaining relevant aspects of the production of the original form. One central aim is to provide the theoretical and methodological framework for such a narrative of the history of texts. Our use of the concepts of *genre* and *type* of text will, for example, as a consequence also be determined by the actual reception of texts over time rather than by fixed and static categories. At the outset, it is also important to stress that the material taken into account will to a large extent involve texts that are traditionally placed outside of the canon. This enables us to form a more comprehensive view of the emerging literate culture in Latin and the vernacular.

The literate culture of the Middle Ages, in manuscripts and epigraphic writing, has with good reason been characterized as constituted by *variance* on all levels, from palaeography and orthography to the transmission of motifs and larger textual units (see e.g. Zumthor 1987). It is obvious, however, that there has been a tendency in earlier scholarship to divide the investigation of this culture into various fields of study, with the result that interrelations and conflicting tendencies leading to *changes* in a longer-term perspective may have been overlooked. Good examples of this would be the lack of studies on the relation between epigraphy and manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages, or on the interaction between manuscript traditions and the emerging print culture of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It has been common to focus on runic material as representative of regional literacy, while inscriptions in Latin have very often been neglected. And yet, from the introduction of Roman script and Latin texts, probably as early as the tenth century, but attested more clearly only in later centuries, our material demonstrates the interaction between the traditional use of runes and the novelty of Latin texts in various media. Runes are primarily found in epigraphic contexts, sometimes in direct connection with Latin inscriptions. In the manuscript material, Roman script dominates, but we do find examples of written runic messages, both

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shorter phrases in marginalia and also a few longer texts. Latin was primarily written and carved with Roman letters, but there are already instances in the earlier material of Latin being written or cut in runes. In the earliest period of the printing press, the relation between handwritten and printed texts needs to be studied further; there is no obvious or definite breaking point at which the move from a manuscript culture to a print culture has taken place, or consensus about how this change should be defined. An important contention at the outset, therefore, is that the rich diversity found in the medieval material plays perhaps the most significant role in our understanding of the emerging literate culture. It is therefore necessary to carry out further investigations of variance and change – what we choose to refer to as *modes of modification* – on various textual and material levels in the transmission and dissemination of texts in order to establish a systematic synthesis.

Materiality, in the form of stone, lead amulets, parchment, and paper, and how it formed part of literate culture, must be a central part of the study of reception and literacy in the Middle Ages. It is interesting to note, however, that the new interest in the full range of medieval literate culture represented in what is today often referred to as the *New Philology* or *Material Philology* already had its predecessors in the longer tradition of philology. Ernst Robert Curtius can suffice as an example. He stated in the early 1950s:

> Now, to reading conceived as the form of reception and study, corresponds writing conceived as the form of production and creation. The two concepts belong together. In the intellectual world of the Middle Ages they represent as it were the two halves of a sphere. The unity of this world was shattered by the invention of printing. The immense and revolutionary change which it brought about can be summarized in one statement: Until that time every book was a manuscript. Merely materially, then, as well as artistically, the written book had a value which we can no more feel. Every book produced by copying represented diligence and skilled craftmanship, long hours of intellectual concentration, loving and sedulous work. Every such book was a personal achievement – we find this expressed in the colophon, in which the scribe often tells us his name and unburdens his heart: "sicut aegrotus desiderat sanitatem item desiderat scriptor finem libri". (Curtius 1990: 328)

Scholarship interested in the emerging literacy in Scandinavia and in the diversity of the uses of texts that we meet in the extant material should take Curtius at his word and study the whole range of literate production and reception. The materiality of literate culture, in manuscripts as well as epigraphic contexts, is essential to our understanding of medieval literacy. It is important here to stress the importance of networks of patrons and craftspeople such as scribes and stonemasons, the contexts in which literate culture was formed. A new understanding of this culture and its changes throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period must focus on the production and re-production of written texts in accordance with Curtius's view and with a perspective that includes use and reception.

The present chapter, therefore, has a twofold purpose. The first aim is to briefly treat theoretical and methodological aspects of writing a history of texts in the case

of the Scandinavian Middle Ages. We wish here to present some general reflections on the writing of a new history of texts in the Scandinavian Middle Ages and the challenges that face a research programme pursuing this goal. The second aim of the chapter is to treat aspects of materiality and mediality, be they represented in epigraphic writing with runes or Roman script, or texts on parchment and subsequently paper. This preliminary discussion also functions as an introduction to the following chapters of the present book: a number of case studies that focus on a wide range of topics relevant for a new history of texts in medieval literate culture.

Finally, just a few words on the "Modes of Modification" research programme, financed for the period 2018–2025 by the Swedish Riksbankens jubileumsfond. The programme's core group consists of seven participants who each have responsibility for a particular subproject (or what we prefer to call a *strand*, so as to indicate that the individual projects are all closely related to the overall research questions of modes of modification).[1] Each of the strands is expected to explore a certain perspective or a particular kind of material in order to contribute to the final synthesis of the whole programme. Within each strand, we intend to establish *observation points* (see below) that will provide information on the spatial and temporal aspects of the emerging literate culture of the Nordic realm, viewed within a larger European context and with a focus on the relevance of variance and diversity rather than the more traditional view of linear developments. The overall aim of the research programme is to further our understanding of processes of literarization within a common theoretical framework. Each strand will obviously need to establish and use methods relevant to the study of its main research questions and its particular material or field of interest, but at the same time, all strands are coordinated so that their results will be compatible and form a coherent presentation in the final volumes of the programme, which will be published in the same series as the present book.

General considerations: Background and theoretical starting points

With the establishment of Church institutions in Scandinavia, from the first decades of the eleventh century, the Latin book culture of the Roman Church was finally firmly established. There is a relative consensus among scholars today that the earliest production of Latin manuscripts in the Nordic area for use within Church institutions

1 The core group consists of Massimiliano Bampi (Università Ca'Foscari Venezia, Italy), Anna Blennow (Göteborg University, Sweden), Stefanie Gropper (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany), Anna Catharina Horn (University of Oslo, Norway), Karl G. Johansson (University of Oslo, Norway), Elise Kleivane (University of Oslo, Norway), and Jonatan Pettersson (Stockholm University, Sweden).

can be dated to the second half of the eleventh century. As in most parts of Europe, Roman script was soon adapted for use in writing vernacular texts; judging from the extant material, this happened earlier in western Scandinavia, while the use of Latin dominated for a longer period in the eastern parts, and Latin book culture was to interact with the vernacular throughout the period under study (see e.g. Ommundsen & Heikkilä 2017; Mortensen 2018). The introduction of a new tool for linguistic communication and a new medium, writing with Roman script on parchment leaves gathered in booklets and codices, can be expected to have had an immense impact on the cultural, administrative, and political structures of society. It is only from the mid-twelfth century, however, that we find extant writing in the vernacular, primarily in the western regions – in Iceland and the Norwegian realm – and what is preserved from this period is primarily translated from Latin and related to the religious sphere. The earliest known writing in Scandinavian languages shows signs of novelty and uncertainty in orthography and form, but soon the script is used more effortlessly.

Translations played an important role throughout the Middle Ages. They brought the word of God to every part of what was becoming Europe as the Church understood it. Moreover, translations contributed to spreading the ideas of a common European cultural heritage. In this way, the narratives of, for example, the siege of Troy and Aeneas became part of the learned world of medieval scholars in the vernacular languages. Lars Boje Mortensen (2006a) discusses the relation between medieval Latin book culture and the vernacular literacy that was being established throughout Europe. Vernacular literacy, he argues, was established on the models of Latin literacy and should be studied in this light.[2] In recent years, the study of Latin fragments found in Scandinavian collections has further stressed the importance of medieval book culture as being at least bi-, if not to say multilingual.[3]

The discussion of theoretical and methodological aspects of analysing the emerging textual culture and the processes of change is in itself a central part of writing a new history of texts in transmission. In order to arrive at a synthesis from the various aspects of literacy and manuscript culture that have appeared over recent decades, we need to reconsider a number of traditional delimitations often established with national and Romantic biases. This is not unique to the situation in Scandinavia, but is rather, we contend, a general challenge for modern investigations into the earliest history of vernacular literacy and manuscript culture in the larger, European context. It is therefore, we argue, necessary to discuss these issues and their implications for the study of the emerging vernacular cultures in medieval

2 For a comparative European perspective, see the studies in Mortensen (2006b). The comparative perspective necessarily also involves a wider field to which Scandinavian literate culture needs to be related. It will also be relevant to take into account contacts with and influences from the Byzantine realm, for example. For an important study, see Scheel (2015).

3 See e.g. Karlsen (2013) and Ommundsen & Heikkilä (2017) for recent collections of studies of Latin fragments, primarily from Norway and Iceland.

Europe in general. Further, this understanding of changes in the material dissemination of texts in manuscript culture is also relevant for the subsequent introduction of the printing press and the mass production of texts.

There are a number of groundbreaking works from the last decades of the twentieth century that provide a new understanding of the processes at work in the emerging European literate culture. D.H. Green's work on reading in the Middle Ages (1994) will be of importance to our understanding of how translations were mediated and received. Of great significance is the work of Rita Copeland (e.g. 1991) on hermeneutics and rhetoric, and on the function of translations. Martin Irvine's (1994) discussion of the role of *grammatica* in medieval education is central. Brian Stock's (1983) important study of the implications of literacy, and more specifically of the formation of 'textual communities' where written works are interpreted and play central roles in the everyday lives of members of a group, should also be mentioned. These studies opened new avenues of investigation that are still valid and relevant for our understanding of literacy and the use of texts in a multilingual manuscript culture.

More recently, we have been inspired by the innovative studies of medieval narratives in what are referred to as *storyworlds* presented in a volume edited by Lars Boje Mortensen and Thomas M. S. Lehtonen (2013). Another important study in the field of literary studies was edited by David Wallace (2016). Here, the timeframe was limited to the years 1348–1418 and attention was directed at literary texts extending beyond the traditional canon from a broad European perspective. These studies have been very influential for our approach. It is already important here to stress, however, that our perspective on texts in general, and the use and dissemination of texts throughout our period of study, is rather different from the more literary viewpoints presented in the volumes just mentioned.

We take as a starting point the idea of the *Europeanization* of not only Scandinavia but of European culture at large, that is, the formation of a common European worldview (see e.g. Bartlett 1993; Moore 2000), and distinguish three important processes in the emerging literate culture as part of this Europeanization. It is important here to stress that the idea of a Europeanization is in itself problematic. It has primarily been applied to historical studies and related to the establishment of administrative units. In the present context – that of processes of literarization and literacy – it is used instead to delimit the expansion of Latin literacy and the use of texts, including the processes of *Latinization* and *vernacularization* discussed in what follows.[4]

With the Roman Church, its administration, liturgy, and education, Latin literacy and book culture were introduced to Scandinavia. We can speak here of processes of Latinization. It is important to stress that these processes are active throughout the

4 For a recent critical discussion of the concept of *Europe* in literary studies on the period, see Borsa et al. (2015: esp. 13–17). See also Wallace (2016) for an example of a European literary history.

Middle Ages and well into the early modern period. They provide models for the use of written texts, and the translation of both texts and models for text production continues to be influential even when vernacular literacy with Roman letters is well established. Further, we can expect the processes of Latinization to bring diversity and change to the use of Latin texts as well; that is to say, the Scandinavian Latin book culture is not a static entity but rather in itself also part of the overall processes of Latinization. With Roman letters and Latin texts and models come interaction with the old written language, the Scandinavian runes, as well as the opportunity of developing literate activities in the vernacular. These processes of transferring Latin models and texts, and of their transformation in the vernacular, we refer to as vernacularization. It is again important to stress the ongoing processes here rather than the all-too-simplified idea of a direct and unimpeded transfer. We expect these processes to be central to our understanding of the diversity, variance, and inevitable change that we can observe in literate culture throughout the period. If the processes of Latinization and vernacularization have their origin in the institutions of the Church, it is also relevant to further study the transition of literate culture from these institutions into more secular milieus, in what we could refer to as *secularization*. It is, admittedly, difficult in the medieval material to make clear divisions between religious texts belonging to the milieus of the Church on the one hand and secular milieus such as, for example, the courts of kings and nobility on the other. To understand the literate culture of the Middle Ages in all its variance and its various routes of change, it is, however, crucial to further our insights into the spread of book culture in new social contexts involving new institutions as well as individuals from a wider societal range.

It should be stressed again that we use the often-contested concept of Europeanization here for the emerging consciousness in the twelfth century of Europe as a cultural unit defined by the extension of the administration of the Catholic Church (Bartlett 1993). We are aware of the problem of defining the historical processes suggested by Bartlett. In relation to our focus on medieval literate culture and the manuscript book, we still choose, however, to use the concept, and suggest the following hypotheses about central phenomena in the processes of Europeanization.

- An overall hypothesis is that the establishment of Latin literacy in Europe is a prerequisite for Europeanization. This should be tested with reference to the Scandinavian material, but the outcome would obviously be significant for our understanding of processes of Europeanization as a shared European phenomenon.
- In order to establish a vernacular written language, we expect that there must be an indigenous production and re-production of Latin works. The earliest Latin works produced in Scandinavia therefore play an important role for the emerging written vernaculars.

- The early translations are highly relevant for our understanding of the vernacularization of Roman script, providing not only a system of script but also models of writing for the emerging vernacular textual cultures.
- The translations were significant in opening the way for a secularization of written culture in which individuals of the indigenous elite could participate. This transfer of an institutional Latin book culture into a more secular literate culture in the vernacular has its starting points in the earliest period we are discussing here, and is active throughout the period under scrutiny.

The processes of Europeanization in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scandinavia, as they are reflected in both Latin and vernacular traditions, are obviously central to our discussion. In a European perspective, Latin literate culture, that is, the general use of written texts in various media, was re-established in Europe at large after a period of decline in the centuries preceding the introduction of Church institutions to Scandinavia, and in all regions of the Church, vernacular written languages emerged during the high Middle Ages. Our contention is, therefore, that the establishment of a literate vernacular culture should not be seen as unique to Scandinavia in this period. The processes of Europeanization include the establishment of vernacular written languages all over Europe and the subsequent replacement of Latin by the vernaculars in a growing number of domains. The translation of not only Latin works but, perhaps more significantly, of Latin models and types of texts, must therefore be studied as an important part of the Europeanization of Europe. Closely related to the Europeanization processes is the establishment of Latin book culture. In order to account for a Latin literacy, we must expect a long period of Latinization during which Latin as a language as well as the Roman script is introduced to Scandinavia.

If Latin at the outset is the universal and also all-encompassing language of which every literate person needs to have at least basic knowledge, while the vernacular represents the regional, this changes under the influence of translations from Latin. Translations influenced the linguistic form as well as the literary system(s) for writing in the vernacular that emerged in the period under study. In order to further illuminate the role of translation, we need to study a variety of aspects concerning translations as target-language texts. A translation will, as soon as it is transferred, be part of the receiving culture, and sometimes not even marked as being foreign to that culture. As the amount of translations increases and there is also a rise in the production of indigenous works in the vernacular, the status of the vernacular will be augmented. It can therefore be expected that the vernacular will, in the course of time, change its role in Scandinavian society (and similarly for vernaculars all over Europe). It could perhaps be said that the vernacular, in the long run, takes on the role of being the universal language. By this, we mean that over time, the vernacular literate system establishes generic forms to cover the domains originally restricted to Latin literacy. When the vernacular can be used in a variety of contexts, it obtains the same status as

Latin, or a similar one. This means that when the vernacular written languages in Europe were established in such a way as to be able to replace Latin, they all fulfilled a new kind of universal function, each language within its own specific area but still within the overall European community. In this process, we can also note that there is an increase in the number of translations from one vernacular into another. In Scandinavia there are already translations from French and German in the thirteenth century. Translations from the vernacular into Latin are not frequent, but they do appear in the later part of the Middle Ages. It is only in the early modern period that the vernaculars are more definitely taking the place of Latin in many contexts.

An overall theoretical framework for a study of the use and transmission of texts is provided by the *polysystem theory* developed by Itamar Even-Zohar (e.g. 1990). This notion of networks of texts placed in relation to each other in hierarchical systems, primarily applied by Even-Zohar to the role of translations in modern literary traditions, will however need to be adjusted in a number of ways for our intended purposes. The polysystem, in our understanding, will not just consist of relations between works in a literate system. We are interested in how works are represented in the ongoing transmission of manuscript tradition: the textual witnesses of works found in various contexts over time will, that is, be treated individually as sources of variation and modes of modification. We also intend to incorporate the material artefacts, that is, the manuscripts and other written documents and their representation of the texts in various contexts, as well as institutions, social groups, and individuals. This expanded system will enable us to connect the modes of modification in literate culture on a number of levels.

In order to control this network of interrelated systems, we need to establish nodes, or what we choose to refer to as observation points. These points allow us not only to provide a number of individual studies but also to connect the various points to the overall polysystem over time. This will also enable us to combine the synchronic perspective of the individual observation point and the synchronically defined system with a diachronic perspective mapping modes of modification, variance, and diversity within the system as they change in space and time. The concept of observation points is chosen to stress the importance of long processes rather than a one-way chronology; that is, the point of observation is not seen as a station on a line but rather as a place from which it is possible to observe a landscape of routes in various directions: every point is related to its preceding observation points, its contemporary context(s), and its role in the changing polysystem. A typical observation point could, for example, be an individual manuscript, a single version of a text, or that same version in its relationship to a scribal milieu. The manuscript is obviously the result of intentions and norms on many levels, for example the collection of individual texts, the material production of the manuscript, and the ordering and re-writing of the texts, all of which is related to a context of commissioner, scribe, illuminator, and so on, where the individuals are part of social

and institutional milieus. Central observation points could therefore also be institutions associated with the writing and re-writing of texts and with manuscript production, such as, for example, the archbishop's see in Niðarós in the late twelfth century or the large Icelandic church-farm of Möðruvellir fram in the second half of the fifteenth century. The polysystem approach could be used to describe the relations between the various observation points from a synchronic perspective in which texts, manuscripts, institutions, and individuals from a well-defined period within the overall timeframe are mapped and interrelated, while in a diachronic perspective we might relate the observation points over time and with a focus on variance and modes of modification.

Another important aspect of variance and change concerns the relation between social groups and institutions on the one hand and individuals on the other. It is obvious that the first two categories are highly relevant for the changes in the use of, and for our understanding of, texts in transition, but the third – the individuals responsible for text production and re-production – is also important. The choice to reproduce a text or part of a text, or to introduce it into a new context with new meanings, is always made by an individual in interplay with social conventions and institutional expectations. It would therefore be of great importance to investigate medieval understandings of the role of the individual in text transmission through studies of individuals as agents in various roles of text (re-)production as well as in changes in adapted narratives concerning, for example, the perspective of the narrator.

Time and space

Two central perspectives in the investigation of an emerging literate culture concern time and space. We suggest that it would be necessary to operate with relatively open definitions of both the time period covered and the delineation of the geographical area in question, something that may obviously prove challenging but is essential to our approach. Regarding the time period, the preliminary timeframe could be *c*. 900 to *c*. 1600, but this period would need to be transcended in both directions when necessary to achieve the synthesis we wish to establish. The primary object of study is the literate output of the Nordic realm – what is today Denmark, Sweden and Finland, Norway and Iceland – but our perspective will inevitably lead us into European comparisons.[5]

In all historical scholarship, the use of defined time periods, such as Antiquity or the Middle Ages, is essential in order to structure and further study certain well-defined aspects of human society and culture. It is, however, also often the case that the use of these established temporal categories can stand in the way of observations

5 For a similar approach, see Borsa et al. (2015).

that transcend the artificial but well-established limits set by earlier scholarship. A relatively recent example of the necessity of rethinking periods can be found in the scholarly debate on Late Antiquity as a period that replaces the early Middle Ages in order to highlight the continuity of Roman culture in the first centuries after the fall of the Empire (see e.g. Brown 1971). More recently, Garth Fowden (2014) has argued for a new periodization of what he refers to as the First Millennium in order to take into account the relevance of the emerging Islam for the larger picture of Eurasian history. An interesting and inspiring approach was presented by David Wallace in his European literary history for the period 1348–1418 (Wallace 2016). One important aspect of studying Latin book culture and how it fostered vernacular literate cultures in European manuscript culture, then, must be delimiting an appropriate time period for scrutiny.

The definition of a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* for our period of study will consequently be part of the objective of our investigation, and may be adjusted as it proceeds. It is, therefore, important at this stage only to provide a preliminary definition that may very well be refined in order to better provide empirical support for the theoretical discussion. As mentioned above, a tentative *terminus post quem* could be *c*. 900, when writing in Latin was being introduced with the earliest establishment of Church institutions in Scandinavia while an earlier writing system, the runic script, was still in use but being adjusted in relation to the emerging Latin literacy. This choice takes into consideration the long period of knowledge about writing and its media in Scandinavia, and the fact that the Scandinavians had employed a writing system of their own for more than a millennium when Latin script was introduced. It will be relevant, therefore, to include studies of early epigraphic writing with runes as well as with Roman characters in order to provide points of departure for our overall investigation into the establishment of a literate culture in the Nordic realm (see the above remarks on observation points). The *terminus ante quem* is rather more complicated. Manuscript culture is complemented by the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, and as early as the second half of this century, printing is introduced in Scandinavia. This could provide a possible *ante quem*, but at the same time manuscript culture does continue more or less unimpeded over the following centuries, parallel to the emerging dominance of printed texts. Icelandic textual culture provides an excellent example of this continuity, one in which a literate scribal tradition survives until the early twentieth century. It is, further, important to see manuscript culture in light of this emerging new medium. A preliminary *terminus ante quem* could therefore be *c*. 1600. Even in this book, however, we stretch this *terminus* in the two articles involving material from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see below).

Whatever time period we define for our study, it will be necessary to make further divisions into shorter segments within the overall timeframe, or into contextually defined segments related to individuals or institutions. It is of great importance for our final results that these shorter periods be chosen with care. The very definition of

a *terminus post quem* in itself amounts to marking the fact that the main interest is concentrated on the time following that *terminus*. It could, however, also be seen as an observation point, a point from which it would be possible to view the preceding events and tendencies in light of the appearance of the phenomenon used to define the *terminus*. For example, the printing of the New Testament in Swedish in 1526 has often been used to define the end of the Swedish Middle Ages, but this printed book comes from the same year as one of the most impressive *medieval* manuscripts produced in the Birgittine Vadstena Abbey, containing a paraphrase of the Old Testament Pentateuch. These two works, one a printed book representing the Reformation and the beginning of the early modern period in Sweden and the other a late example of medieval monastic culture, could be used to further illuminate the fifteenth century as leading up to the important changes we see in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, as well as throwing new light on what had become two parallel media by the mid-sixteenth century.

Another delimitation concerns the spatial scope of the investigation. In earlier scholarship, the modern national borders have often set the limits. A scholar working with Norwegian literate culture and language may, for example, have limited insights into the material from (say) Sweden. For the fourteenth century, this could as a consequence mean that this scholar working with Norwegian culture will note a complete breakdown of literate culture by mid-century, often without taking into account the emergence of new genres and a flourishing vernacular literate culture in the Swedish, and subsequently Danish, areas of Scandinavia. If Scandinavia is seen as an overall system, however, it appears that the changes should be studied as interrelated (see e.g. Johansson 2015). The Scandinavian system, in turn, cannot be studied independently of the larger European system of which it is a part. Any study of a region of Europe in the Middle Ages, we contend, must see it as part of and in constant interaction with the larger European context, taking into account possible encounters with Arabic and Byzantine literate cultures as well. For our purposes, it would, however, be appropriate to define the central object of study as the Nordic realm, that is, more or less the area that today forms Denmark, Sweden and Finland, Norway and Iceland; but at the same time, it would always be important to consider the ongoing parallel processes of change in the European literate system.

The meaning of media and materiality

The material aspects of manuscripts and epigraphs as artefacts and as the carriers of texts, the media of communication, must be central to a study of variance and change. The range of tools that emerged over time and enhanced the way manuscripts and other media were used, and the variance in performance and craftsmanship, is important not only from the perspective of the codicologist or art historian. These aspects

are also highly relevant to our investigation of the use and function of texts in context. A text found in one context and with a certain function may very well be transmitted into a new context with a new function. We can also expect that additions of texts to a manuscript over time may indicate changes in the function of the whole manuscript. A modern parallel to this would be the publication of a text in a printed journal with a certain authority and a relatively well-defined group of intended readers and the subsequent transmission of that same text digitally and with an extended group of readers. Our contention, therefore, is that the models we apply to the study of the material transmission of texts in manuscript culture have implications for our understanding of the transmission of written communication in modern media as well.

Another important perspective concerns the dissemination of texts in manuscripts or in epigraphic writing with all its inherent variance. The continuous rewriting of texts and incorporation of whole texts or parts of texts into new contexts, into new compilations, and into new collections where the old text often, if not always, is provided with a new function and new possible receptions must be central to a study of variance and change in manuscript culture (see e.g. Johansson 2014). A new understanding of the processes involving the introduction of Latin models as well as Roman script for the vernacular must be built on thorough investigations of this culture of writing and re-writing. This perspective should therefore form the backbone of any study intended to establish the synthesis we are aiming for.[6] In this inaugural volume of our series, we have invited scholars from various areas of research related to literate culture to provide some examples of the transmission and dissemination of texts in a wide spectrum of media, from inscriptions on lead amulets and stone monuments, through the time of manuscripts on parchment and paper, to the earliest days of print culture.

The materiality of media has traditionally been more in scholarly focus when dealing with the earliest stages of the emerging literate culture of Scandinavia, that is to say the period before the introduction of Roman script and the Latin language. Runology has generally paid more attention to the form of the inscriptions and the material they are written on: stone, metal, wood, and animal bones (in some instances, human bones).[7] In a transition period in the late Viking Age and the first centuries of the Scandinavian Middle Ages, when both runes and Roman letters were used, the focus of scholars has often been directed primarily at the runic material. It is therefore relevant to widen the field of study to further our knowledge of this long period of multiglossic (the vernaculars and Latin) encounters as well as digraphic

6 An important contribution to the study of media and materiality in the Middle Ages has been made by the project "Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen. Historische Perspektiven" at the Universität Zürich; see e.g. Lutz et al. (2010) and, for a more specifically Scandinavian perspective, Heslop & Glauser (2018).

7 For recent examples of runological studies with a focus on materiality and media, see e.g. Källström (2007) and Bianchi (2010).

practice (runes and Roman letters). We have asked three scholars working in this fascinating field to present their investigations and ongoing projects. In a first chapter, Lisbeth Imer introduces a new and still relatively unknown body of material: a treasure of runic, and to some extent Roman-script, inscriptions that has been revealed in the form of lead amulets. These inscriptions offer material that is both diglossic and digraphic, and that also provides insights into milieus where it seems to have been unproblematic to use the two parallel script systems to represent two different languages. A second chapter presents another set of material from this period and some preliminary results. Anna Blennow and Alessandro Palumbo study the epigraphic inscriptions in the Västergötland region of Sweden from the perspective of writing in runes and Roman letters, and the use of the vernacular and the Latin language. This material may be seen in relation to the lead amulets discussed by Lisbeth Imer, as it probably to some extent reflects a more institutional use of writing at the same time as seeming to fulfil similar functions. In both chapters, the interrelation between the two script systems is highlighted in a way that opens up new questions of relevance for a new history of texts.

Parchment and paper were the two most frequently used materials for writing with Roman letters. In the earliest period, parchment was the main material and the codex (or booklets, later bound into codices) was dominant. Paper was introduced rather late in Scandinavia, from the fourteenth century, and becomes more common only in the fifteenth century. These materials offered a more flexible medium for the dissemination of texts than wooden sticks, stones, and metal objects, but they were, as far as we can see, never really used to represent language in runic writing to any significant extent. From the mid-twelfth century, texts in the vernacular were produced, often translations from Latin, soon also from French and German, and distributed in parchment codices. We have invited three scholars to present aspects of this new use of writing with Roman letters and its implications for the literate culture of the Scandinavian Middle Ages.

The emerging manuscript culture obviously had its roots in an already-existing tradition from the continent, where writers and scribes, illuminators, and bookbinders had introduced models for the production of texts and manuscripts. Many of these models were adapted in similar form in the Scandinavian realm. Samu Niskanen treats the roles of authors as publishers of their texts in a Danish context. Niskanen's authors were all writing in Latin in the twelfth century or at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and therefore also represent an aspect central to the earliest period of literacy in the Roman script in Scandinavia, when the Latin book culture was still dominant and only just opening up to the use of the vernacular. These authors used the new medium of writing on parchment and promoted their texts in various ways. Another form of text production introduced with the new medium was that of the translator. In a second chapter, Hjalti Snær Ægisson provides an example of translated texts in transmission in the Icelandic thirteenth century. His investigation of a text related to saints' lives and relics provides insights into

the use of parchment to disseminate religious spirituality as well as the more material sides of these types of texts. It also presents an example of how a narrative was translated and subsequently disseminated through re-writing and integrated into the vernacular textual culture. If the two first chapters in this strand discuss the *auctoritas* of authors and translators, and focus on the dissemination of their work in re-writings, Sif Ríkharðsdóttir in her chapter treats the new medium of writing with Roman letters on parchment and its implications for the distribution of material texts as well as the less tangible ideas of the time. She addresses the aspects of time and space in this movement and how it relates to the concrete image of the ocean as "the means of engaging and enforcing exchange".

The emerging literacy in Scandinavia and the use of parchment and paper did not just trigger literary activities such as those treated in these three chapters. From the mid-twelfth century, administrative texts such as law texts, charters, and cadastres survive, the oldest generally in Latin, but soon also in the vernacular. These types of texts would not be treated in a traditional literary history, but in a history of texts in transmission they should obviously be given close attention. In the chapter by Ingela Hedström, the important question of legitimacy is discussed in relation to the vidimus charters, where witnesses are mentioned to legitimize the message in the copy or summary of an older charter. This type of charter reflects a certain use of texts and how the relation between the written word and the use of witnesses to legitimize content was still important.

In the last centuries of the domination of handwritten texts, a new medium appears with the printing press. The preferred material for printing is paper, but we do find examples of early prints on parchment. In order to understand the transition from a literate culture based on handwritten texts to a print culture well established by the end of the sixteenth century, we also need to take into account how the genres and text types of the handwritten culture were moved into print, and how they changed and took part in changing the use of texts and – no less importantly – our own understanding of texts. This transition period with its interrelations between manuscripts and printed texts is discussed in two chapters. Anna Katharina Richter presents a manuscript from *c*. 1700 containing book I of the originally Spanish novel of chivalry *Amadís de Gaula*. The tradition of this text in translations from all over Europe in the sixteenth century is a good example of how the medieval genre of chivalric texts is transferred to early print culture. The Danish text treated here, however, never reached the printing press. It is only extant in a single manuscript that might be the setting copy for a printer. Richter is primarily interested in the distribution of the text and how it reached this Danish manuscript. A different aspect of the interrelation between handwritten and printed texts is treated by Lukas Rösli in a chapter on the emergence of the title *Íslendingabók* for a text from the twelfth century in manuscript and print versions, from the earliest extant manuscripts of the mid-seventeenth century to the first printed editions. The primary object of study are the paratexts used in the various versions, which Rösli

uses to argue for a relatively late appearance of the title *Íslendingabók* in the eighteenth century; it is only in post-Reformation manuscripts and printed editions that the title is used in relation to the twelfth-century Icelander Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði. This brings us to the point where the medieval manuscript tradition meets the scholarly and editorial world of print culture, and it provides the natural end for our, admittedly neither truly chronological nor spatial, journey from epigraphic texts in runes and Roman script, through the manuscript culture of parchment and paper, to the typography of the printing press.

Why write a new history of texts?

In this introductory chapter, we have tried to sketch the possibilities of writing a new kind of history of texts in transmission in the medieval manuscript culture of Scandinavia. Our intention has been to indicate a way of writing a history of texts rather than the more traditional history of literature or language. The idea of texts in motion, undergoing processes of re-production in new contexts and with different functions, is central to this intention. A new kind of historical synthesis needs to be open to the variance found in handwritten texts, whether they are produced with ink on parchment or paper, or carved in stone. It needs also to encompass all kinds of texts rather than the canonical texts of more traditional literary scholarship.

Three main areas can be pointed out that will be of great importance to the research we envisage:

- the production and re-production of texts in physical artefacts – the medieval manuscripts and epigraphic writing on various materials – and the changes we can register over time in the layout and use of various graphic markers to enhance both public reading to an audience and private, silent reading;
- the importance of institutions and social groups for changes in the emerging literate system, that is, the influence of, for example, church and secular schools, as well as monastic, church, and secular scriptoria; and
- the importance of individuals as agents in the changes in the literate system, including, for example, commissioners, scribes, illuminators, and later owners.

These perspectives should be adopted over a long timeline with the establishment of what we refer to as observation points, as described above, which could consist of, for example, individual texts in transmission over time, representative manuscripts, translations from various times or milieus, institutions, social groups (ascending or disappearing), as well as individuals with known relations to texts and manuscripts. The observation points will allow us to form a network of information that can subsequently be related to the overall system and provide a synthesis.

The main objective is to form a new synthesis in viewing texts in transmission in the Nordic realm based on recent approaches in a number of fields of research. Our contention is that scholarship in these fields has reached a point at which it is now possible to open up wider perspectives and again provide a more comprehensive view. A second objective, closely related to the first, is to explore the new theoretical and methodological possibilities further in order to encourage theoretical debate and to present methods for connecting insights from the various fields of scholarship involved in the investigation of the use of script and texts.

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Lisbeth M. Imer

Lumps of Lead – New Types of Written Sources from Medieval Denmark

So let me get this right, you are also interested in those with Roman-letter writing?

This question was posed to me after a paper given at the National Museum of Denmark in 2014, at an event where we opened one of the first of our recurring exhibitions on 'danefæ' (treasure finds). I had been talking about medieval lead amulets to an audience of metal detectorists on the basis of a recently discovered find from Ærø with minuscule writing (Imer & Uldum 2015; Imer & Steenholt Olesen 2018). In Denmark, metal detecting is legal, as the treasure law ensures that all finds of cultural-historical importance are handed over to the National Museum. The "sport" is increasingly popular, and among the Danish detectorists there is a large group of skilled and historically interested people. Collaboration between museums and the detectorists is vital for research and for ensuring the correct handling of finds before they are handed over to the museum. The National Museum, for instance, has initiated a 'Treasure Day' at the end of January every year since 2013, where more than 150 detectorists are invited to the opening of an exhibition on the past year's treasure finds. On that occasion, researchers will give talks on various subjects. It was during one of these events that I had the opportunity to enlighten a large group of detectorists about the highly interesting theme of lead amulets.

Up until around 2013, researchers were under the impression that the inscriptions on lead amulets were mainly carved with runes. Approximately eighty-five lead amulets had been found in Denmark, and most of those – almost sixty – were carved with runes. In the runic archives of the Scandinavian countries, the tradition had been that all finds with runic inscriptions were meticulously recorded, whereas finds with Roman letters – although carved on the exact same types of artefacts – had led a life in the shadows. Then the above-mentioned amulet from Ærø was found, gaining much attention in the press as well as among detectorists. When I had finally given my talk and stressed the fact that Roman-letter inscriptions were quite as interesting as the runic ones – and quite as old – new finds immediately came to light. The day after the exhibition event, a very experienced detectorist sent an e-mail with a photo of an old find of a lead amulet with minuscule writing, asking if this was what I was looking for. The impression among the detectorists in general had simply been that runes are old, Roman letters are modern.

Lisbeth M. Imer, National Museum of Denmark

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In the years since then, more finds of lead amulets than ever before have come to light in Denmark. Almost fifty new finds have been picked up from ploughed fields by metal detectorists in the years 2014–2018, that is, an average of almost one new find each month. Most of these newly discovered amulets have been carved with Roman letters. Although a dozen have been carved with runes, almost twice as many present minuscule writing (a large group have no visible writing on the outside and await further investigation to see what kind of writing they contain). So, where earlier researchers may have thought that most lead amulets were carved with runes, the present, and presumably also future, finds will probably tell exactly the opposite story. This implies that the tradition in Denmark – as well as probably in the rest of Scandinavia – of producing and wearing Christian amulets made of lead, and presumably also other materials, was more closely linked with the European tradition of Roman-letter writing than we have been aware of before.

Because of the extent of the use of metal detectors, more than 130 finds have turned up in Denmark, and the number is increasing at a steady pace. Norway holds around seventy to eighty finds, whereas Sweden has only twenty finds (information kindly provided by Prof. emeritus James Knirk, Museum of Cultural History in Oslo, and Senior Researcher Magnus Källström, Swedish National Heritage Board). In none of the Scandinavian countries has there been a tradition of registering amulets with Roman-letter writing until recently, which implies that future finds will probably reveal more of this type. In The British Isles, a few lead amulets are known containing runes and Roman letters (Barnes 2011; Hines 2012; Jackson 2006), whereas textual amulets of other varieties, for example parchment amulets, are more common (Skemer 2006: 185–186). Magical texts may also have been written on sacramental wafers, bread, or other provisions in order to be eaten or swallowed. The effect would have been the same as having physical contact with a textual amulet (Hindley 2019: 368). During archaeological excavations in Sachsen-Anhalt, around ten lead amulets have been found, and a number of finds have been retrieved from all over Europe (Muhl & Gutjahr 2013; Vavřik et al. 2020). Such finds show us that the wearing of lead amulets was practised all over Europe. The relatively large amount of finds in Scandinavia, particularly in Denmark, probably reflects the meticulous administrative work with runic amulets, which has no counterpart in the rest of Europe. Hence, we must assume that the tradition was just as common in other parts of Europe as in the Scandinavian countries.

The amulets and their inscriptions

Lead amulets look like lumps of lead, but on closer inspection, each lump is made of different types of thin lead sheets. Some are very large square sheets, some are long strips of lead, and some are just small pieces of lead. The lead sheet is furnished

with a text, and of course the inscriptions differ considerably in length according to the size of the lead strip or sheet. After the production of the text, the sheet is folded a number of times and squeezed tightly. In some instances, an impression of teeth is visible on the outside (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The Åhave amulet was found on the Danish island of Lolland in 2011/2012, and the text still remains to be deciphered. The amulet clearly has marks of teeth used to press the lead sheets tightly together. Photo: Søren Greve, National Museum of Denmark.

In recent years, a small team at the National Museum has been working on unfolding the amulets so that the inscriptions will come to light (Imer & Stemann-Petersen 2016). This has resulted in a number of inscriptions (Imer & Steenholt Olesen 2018), but the task is time-consuming. In addition, the mechanical unfolding of each item is not an optimal choice from the perspective of preservation. Every time the lead layers of an amulet are taken apart, the amulet will lose its original shape. The process is comparable with an archaeological excavation, which in a strict sense is a controlled and documented destruction of an archaeological context. Once an amulet is unfolded, it is impossible to reconstruct its original shape. Instead of mechanical unfolding, we are seeking new options for reading the texts inside the tightly folded lead sheets, for example 3D neutron imaging or very strong X-ray photos that will hopefully result in 3D data and the possibility to unfold the amulets digitally.

The inscriptions present a variety of texts, ranging from a few cryptic runes and rune-like characters to very elaborate, high-quality Latin texts. The short texts with cryptic runes or rune-like characters are perhaps imitations of the "genuine" texts, where the combination of lead and the presence of some sort of writing represents the power that is necessary for expelling or avoiding sickness of any kind. A few newly unfolded amulets present inscriptions that have provided us with new words for the Old Danish lexicon. These are four amulets from Bornholm (Imer & Steenholt Olesen 2018), and they present the first evidence of apotropaic texts on lead amulets written

in the vernacular. One of them is the amulet from Kællingeby (Figure 2), where large parts of the text are preserved. It seems to begin on the outside of the amulet and end on the inside. The transliteration is as follows:

inomenom batris æ(þ) . . .s : . . .
spirit(u)s : saktus : (i)-. . .
as(u) gorda- gordin ingor-an
gulmalme iak sit. . . (þ)(u)(l)a

run. . .st : -æn hælkuna
þors . . .n : grimilika : greþ fra
þæ m. . .ær. . . : sue(n)(i) : magnusi

This text translates into English thus:

> In the name of the Father and . . . Holy Spirit . . . . . Gordan, Gordin, Ingordan. Into/On/With gold metal, I place/sit skald-runes/a skald-rhyme (in runes) [I carved] the giant that derives from hell/is sorcery-skilled and the terrible cry/sorrow(?) from you(?) . . . Sveinni Magnus.

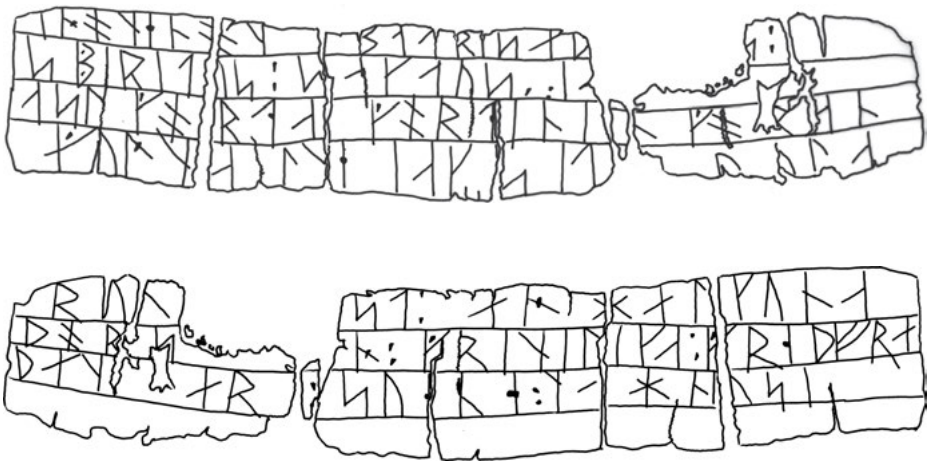

Figure 2: The Kællingeby 2 amulet was found on the Danish island of Bornholm in 2004 but was not properly read until a decade later. The inscription presents one of the first recorded Old Danish texts on a lead amulet. Drawing: Lisbeth M. Imer, National Museum of Denmark.

The sequence **þæn grimilika greþ** is not known from other sources, and there may be other solutions for the translations than the one given here. The three other amulets from Bornholm present the exact same phrase, which reveals for us that the **grimilika greþ** must have been a well-known evil being or an evil phenomenon that one should try to avoid (Imer & Stemann-Petersen 2016; Imer & Steenholt Olesen 2018).

Two of the amulets from Bornholm were presumably carved by the same rune-carver. They both have dotted **l**- and **n**-runes to indicate long consonants, for example in the words *troll* and *þænn*. These are features that we would also find in other parts of medieval Denmark and Sweden (Källström 2016; Palumbo 2020: 59–83). They also have the extremely rare one-sided **m**-rune that has parallels in as diverse places as Gotland and Greenland (Imer 2017: 45, 61). Additionally, the carver's handwriting is quite special. It seems that he cuts very deep into the lead – he almost beats the knife into the lead – and the branches of the runes are very long. This unusual handwriting is also visible on a third amulet from Bornholm, the Østermarie 1 amulet, which is still folded tightly (Figure 3). It was found in 2001 and published by Marie Stoklund with the following tentative reading:

. . . -(æ)þ-(-)ti-us : (a)-. . .--. . .|
. . . : os : ræh(n)aþ : k(r). . . |
. . .-. . .(l)(i)(s)l(æ)i : --ks(i). . .

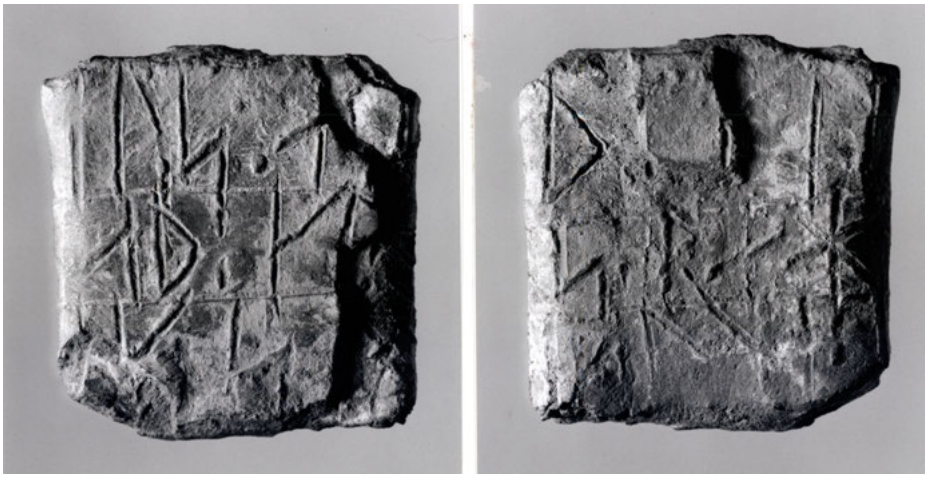

Figure 3: The Østermarie 1 amulet was found in 2001 and is still folded tightly. The visible part of the inscription has similarities with the unfolded amulets from Kællingeby and Østre Skovgård in the shape of the runes and the way the runes have been carved. Photo: John Lee, National Museum of Denmark.

Stoklund suggested that part of the text refers to *[. . .] Christ reigns [. . .]*, but left the rest of the inscription uninterpreted (Stoklund 2002). At the time, no vernacular inscriptions on lead amulets were known, but on the basis of the inscriptions now

known from Bornholm, it seems more appropriate to transliterate the visible part of the text with

. . .(:) æþ : fi(l)ius : (æ)|
. . .- : os : ræhnaþ : k(r)|
. . . L(m)(a)lme : (i)(a)(k)s|

The interesting sequence is **L(m)(a)lme**, which has great similarity with the **guLmalme** of Kællingeby and Østre Skovgård. The sequence **ræhnaþ** is similar to the **ræ . . . oþ** of Østre Skovgård, and the spelling of 'Christ', **krestos**, in Østre Skovgård might also be the same in the Østermarie amulet. A tentative translation would be '[In the name of the Father] and the Son and [the Holy Spirit] . . . [Christ] reigns, Chr[ist] . . . gold metal I . . . '.

What is also evident from the amulets from Bornholm is that the texts of these amulets combine a Nordic tradition that we know from West Norse sources with a Christian tradition.

The amulets that have been carved with Roman letters only demonstrate the use of the Latin language. Texts written in the vernacular with Roman letters are still missing among the amulets. Although Roman letters were used in written sources to express the vernacular from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, there generally seems to have been a closer connection between Roman letters and Latin than between Roman letters and the vernacular. On the other hand, runes were used for expressing the vernacular as well as Latin. Among the runic amulets, we find Latin texts in combination with vernacular ones as described above. This is probably a result of the fact that the runes had been in use for almost a thousand years when the Roman letters were introduced, and the carvers must have been more used to expressing themselves in runic writing when they used the vernacular.

Some of the Roman-letter amulets have been presented in Imer & Steenholt Olesen (2018). One of them is the Svendborg amulet from the fourteenth century (Imer & Dørup Knudsen 2019). It was found during the excavations of central parts of the town, lying in the middle of a medieval street. It was folded from one end to the other five times and has the Latin text:

> *+ In nomine patris. Amen. ++ . . . nomine(?) . . . amen. + Gordan, alfa et omega + Gordin, alfa et omega + Ingordan, alfa et omega + Adiuro vos elvos et elvas et omnes demones per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per omnes sanctos dei ut non noceatis famulam dei Margaretam nec in oculis nec in aliis membris. Amen + a+g+l+a+*

In English translation:

> + In the name of the Father. Amen. + . . . Amen. + Gordan, Alpha and Omega + Gordin, Alpha and Omega + Ingordan, Alpha and Omega. I adjure you, elf men and elf women, and all demons, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and all the saints of God, that you do not harm this servant of God, Margaret, neither in the eyes nor in any joint of her limbs. Amen. +a+g+l+a+

'AGLA' is the well-known Hebrew abbreviation that means 'You are strong in eternity, o Lord'.

The amulet from Vester Broby was found by a metal detectorist and has no visible text on the outside, meaning that the text was hidden from the eye and kept firmly within the amulet. Some of the text has gone missing in the folding of the metal, but the overall sense of it is clear. The Latin text goes:

> *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen. Adiuro vos elvas sive elvas atque . . . adiuro(?) . . . ut non noceatis hanc famulam, haec sancta portanta . . . in oculis nec in genibus [nec in ullo] compagine membrorum suo[rum]. Sententiam fugiatis velut luce tenebre. Gordin, Gordan, Ingordan. Crist[us] vincit. Cristus regnat, Cristus [imper]at. Cristus me benedicat . . .*
>
> In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. I adjure you, elf women and elf women [*sic*] and . . . that you do not harm this servant, this holy carrier(?) . . . in the eyes, nor in the knees, nor in any joint of her limbs. May you fly from this decree just as darkness flies from the light, Gordin, Gordan, Ingordan. Christ conquers, Christ reigns. Christ blesses me . . .

The Latin texts on the amulets can also be very short, like the one from Troelseby. As in the case of Vester Broby, the Troelseby amulet did not carry any text on the outside; it has the inscription:

> *+ Adiuro vos elvos vel elvas in nomine dei patris omnipotentis ut non noceatis portanti. In nomine domini +*
>
> + I conjure you, elf men and elf women, in the name of God the Father the Almighty, that you do not harm the carrier. In the name of the Lord +

Some of the runic amulets have purely Latin texts, for example the Lille Myregård amulet from Bornholm (Figure 4) with this Latin text:

> *Ave sanctissima Maria, gratia plena. Dominus tecum. Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui. Increatus Pater. Immensus Pater. Aeternus Pater. Gala agla a[g]la la[ga]. Gala a[g]la agla la[ga].*
>
> Hail most holy Mary, full of grace. The Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. The Father is uncreated. The Father is incomprehensible. The Father is eternal.

The main text is followed by different versions of the AGLA formula (Stoklund, Imer & Steenholt Olesen 2006).

The longest runic inscription from Denmark is the Blæsinge amulet with the Latin text:

> *Coniuro vos, septem sorores . . . Elffrica(?), Affricca, Soria, Affoca, Affricala. Coniuro vos et contestor per patrem et filium et spritum sanctum, ut non noceatis istam famulum Dei, neque in oculis neque in membris, neque in medullis, nec in ullo comp[ag]ine membrorum eius, ut inhabitat in te virtus Christi altissimi. Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes adverse, vicit leo de tribu Juda, radix David. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat, Christus liberat, Christus te/et benedicit, ab omni malo defendat. Agla. Pater noster . . .*

> I invoke you, seven sisters . . . Elffrica(?), Affricca, Soria, Affoca, Affricala. I invoke and call you to witness through the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that you do not harm this servant of God, neither in the eyes nor in the limbs nor in the marrow nor in any joint of his limbs, that the power of Christ Most High shall reside in you. Behold the cross of the Lord; flee, you hostile powers. The lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, has conquered. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ rules, Christ liberates, Christ blesses you, defends you from all evil. AGLA. Our Father . . .
>
> (Stoklund 1987: 205)

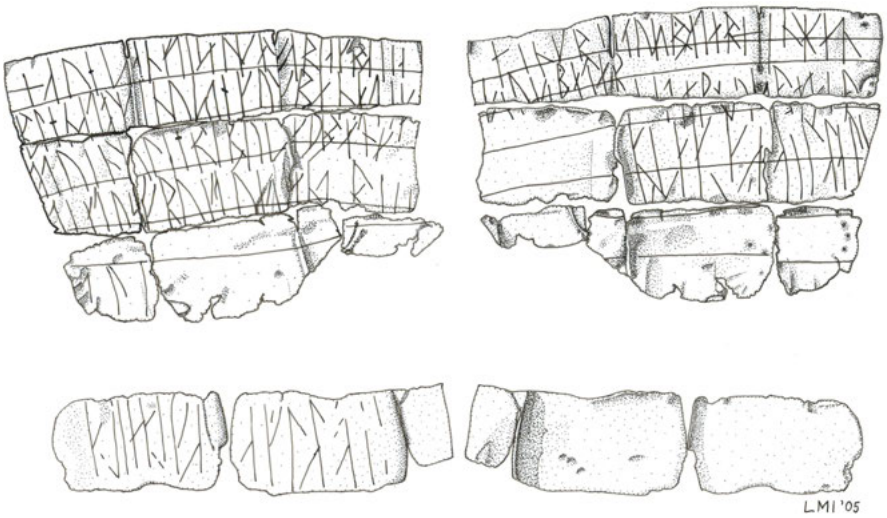

Figure 4: The lead amulet from Lille Myregård on Bornholm was found in 2002 and has a Latin text carved with runes. Drawing: Lisbeth M. Imer, National Museum of Denmark.

The earliest recorded find of a lead amulet with runes is from Odense. It was found as early as 1883 in the churchyard of St Canute in Odense. It is unclear if it was found in a grave. The text is mostly in Latin and begins with some rhyming words that we cannot translate. Among them are **| anakristi : anapisti (k)ard--r : nardiar | : ipodiar :**, and then the text proceeds with

> *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat, Christus ab omni malo me Asam liberet, crux Christi sit super me Asam, hic et ubique.*
>
> Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands, Christ from all evil deliver me, Asa, the cross of Christ be over me, Asa, here and everywhere. (Jacobsen & Moltke 1942: 242)

Then follows the sequence **: khorda : : inkhorda : khord(a)i**, which was unknown at the time of the find and was later interpreted as a chorda-formula (Knirk 1998: 502; McKinnell et al. 2004: 159–161; MacLeod & Mees 2006: 136–137). However, in light of the many recent finds, it seems more appropriate to interpret the sequence as the three demon or elf names Gordan, Gordin, and Ingordan, although the sequence

seems to be mixed up. The origin of these names is unknown, but it is characteristic that they occur as a triad, like the introductory rhyming words. It might be hypothesized that they are of Hebrew origin, but this needs closer examination. Finally, the text has the AGLA formula and concludes with

> *sanguis Christi signet me.*
>
> The blood of Christ bless me. (Jacobsen & Moltke 1942: 242)

The amulets and the contexts in which they are found

Most of the amulets that have been found with the aid of a metal detector are obviously recorded as stray finds, which means that we are on shaky ground as to where (and when) the amulets were in use. It is clear that the texts were meant to help and protect the person that carried them. The Kävlinge amulet from Skåne shows us that the text could also protect a whole farm or a whole community (Gustavson 1999: 20–23). From the lead roll that was found in Sverker's chapel in the monastery of Alvastra in Östergötland, we learn that the amulets could also accompany the deceased in their graves. The inscription says: "In the mountain of Celion and in the state of the Ephesians, the seven holy sleepers rest: Malchus, Maximian, Martinian, Dionysius, Serapion, Constantine, John. May the servant of Jesus Christ, Benedicta, rest in the same way, if she succumbs to her illness. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen" (Brate 1918). A Norwegian example is the Sande cross, which was found at the edge of an Iron Age grave mound that was excavated in 2000. It has the inscription: "Behold the cross of the Lord; flee, you hostile powers. The lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, has conquered. Four letters on the forehead-plate that Aaron bore on his forehead, Jesus. John, Mark, Matthew, Luke. AGLA. Alpha and Omega [. . .]" (Sørheim 2000; Nordby 2003).

In Denmark, we have only a few finds that have been found in specific archaeological contexts. The Viborg amulet was found in 1994 when the Viborg Stiftsmuseum was excavating the old churchyard of St Matthew. This lead roll with a runic inscription in Latin was found in a man's grave, and the text is very damaged: "[. . .] Alpha Omega [. . .] name(?) [. . .] name spirit Matthew and John(?) fever. Amen. AGLA. Mary" (revised translation after Stoklund 1996: 283). An amulet from Randers with minuscule writing and a Latin text was found as a stray find in St Peter's churchyard. It has a long Latin text that invokes the holy powers to protect a man named Skjalm, and it also includes the first fourteen verses of the Gospel of John (Andersen 2002: 105–108).

The archaeological context – i.e. the place where the artefact is found – is one thing, however; the systemic context – i.e. the place(s) where the artefact was used – is another. The archaeological context is where the artefact ended up: lost in the street,

placed in a grave, or in a grave mound, for example. The systemic context is much harder to detect because objects move with people in different environments. It is also possible, as some of the directions for preparing textual amulets in British manuscripts state, that the amulets were either to be destroyed or thrown away after their use (Hindley 2019: 369). That could be one of the reasons that we find many amulets lying in the fields, seemingly without any systemic context.

In some cases, the systemic context may coincide with the archaeological context. An amulet ending up in a grave could be regarded as part not only of an archaeological but also of a systemic context (cf. Gilchrist 2008). The Romdrup amulet, which was found wrapped around the relics in the reliquary within the altar of Romdrup Church, the most holy place in the medieval church, also represents both contexts. It has the text: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. I adjure you, elf men and elf women and demons, by the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that you do no harm to this servant of God, Nicholas, neither in the eyes, nor in his head, nor in any joint of his limbs. But reside in them shall the power of Christ Most High. Amen. Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands. Christ bless these eyes, and the head, and all limbs. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. +++ +a+g+l+a+". On the other side of the strip, we find different versions of names of God (Adonai, Alpha and Omega, Emmanuel), and then again the AGLA formula (Christiansen 1981).

The physical manifestation of Nicholas's name in the amulet and the position of it in the most holy place of the church, surrounded by carved manifestations of holy words and powers, was probably part of the same plan: to seek the best possible way of ensuring good health for the person mentioned in the text. We might ask if the position of the amulet was a recognized Christian practice or if we are faced with superstition and a behaviour that was not accepted within the Church (Christiansen 1981: 178). The text itself, which is a mixture of benediction and adjuration, however, does not suggest any such connection, which can only be drawn if we accept that there was an official and an unofficial form of religious practice. In the light of research within the field of lived religion within the past decade (Ammerman 2016), this is hardly likely.

It seems instead that the Romdrup lead strip is related to other containers of relics, like that from Stokkemarke in Denmark and the Ingleby Arncliffe crucifix in Britain. The Romdrup Nicholas was presumably lucky – or rich – enough to be mentioned in a prayer on the lead strip, and that prayer took up the most holy of holy places in the church, touching the relics. We can compare the setting of Nicholas's amulet to the location of the textual amulets that were found inside the Limoges crucifix dated to the thirteenth century at Ingleby Arncliffe in Britain. The crucifix probably belonged to the married couple Adam and Osanna – the latter is a female name used in Yorkshire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – and served as a general protection for the household. It is now lost, unfortunately, but it contained two textual amulets written on parchment as general protection against demons,

elves, and everything evil. Most of the text is an invocation of the Trinity, Christ and the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Evangelists, and other elect of God: an abridged list of divine names, separated in writing by crosses and other marks (Skemer 2006: 185). The Stokkemarke reliquary (Figure 5) was found in 1835 during the restoration of the medieval altar of the church. On the outside of the lead casket, the inscription "Bishop Gisico" was carved with runes. The reliquary is dated to an inauguration of the altar around 1300 – Gisico was the bishop of the diocese of Odense from 1286 to 1304 (Jacobsen & Moltke 1942: 260–261). There was no liturgical obligation for the bishop to put his name on the reliquary, so the reason for his doing so might lie in the fact that he would benefit personally – maybe eternally – from placing a physical manifestation of his name in close contact with the holy relics (Imer 2018: 84).

Figure 5: The reliquary from Stokkemarke Church on the Danish island of Lolland measures 6 × 2 × 1.7 cm, and the height of the runes is 1.5 cm. The name of Bishop Gisico is carved on the outside of the casket. Photo: Roberto Fortuna, National Museum of Denmark.

The idea that writing is a physical manifestation of the spoken word is not new. In all religions, the word is invoked with great power (Schindler 1858: 96), and a person or an object takes residence in its name (Skemer 2006: 108). The spoken word vanishes in the exact second it is articulated, and there is no verbal way to keep it fixed. If one stops speaking in the middle of the word, the sounds obviously stop with it, and if one continues speaking, the word is gone in the same second as the last sound is expressed (Ong 1982: 32). But by writing down the word, one is able to give the word a physical form that is permanent – or at least longer lasting than the spoken word.

In 2007, an organization called the Times Square Alliance organized "Good Riddance Day" in New York, where an industrial-size paper shredder was brought to Times Square to give people an opportunity to get rid of their most unpleasant memories: failed exam results, mortgages, evidence of broken engagements, and other forms of disagreeable paper documentation (Schapiro 2007). By shredding

evidence, reducing materialized words to illegible matter, the owners had the ability to act on material stuff to enact a hoped-for transformation of thought and feeling. One might call it a ritual to materialize something elusive in order to be able to interact with it. The American social anthropologist Webb Keane speaks of "spirit writing" (Keane 2013).

These examples from social anthropology are highly relevant in relation to textual amulets from the Middle Ages. The writing down of spoken words gives them a physical representation, and they become durable in a way that spoken words cannot be. Once they are written down, one can make them act for oneself in any way that one wants them to. Take the text from Vester Broby with the phrase "May you fly from this decree just as darkness flies from the light" as an example. The holy words are given a physical presence, and the textual amulets become mediators of a single medieval person's direct communication with God. The Romdrup amulet with Nicholas's name is another example. Here, the physical manifestation of Nicholas, that is, his name on the amulet, is placed in eternal close contact with the holy relics of the church, so that the text as well as the context plays a role in religious practice.

Within this framework of materialized words, there are numerous questions and possibilities for retrieving new information from the artefacts and their interaction with the people that used them.

Most of the Roman-letter texts must have been carved by clergymen, maybe by local priests. Some of the texts indicate extensive knowledge and training in manuscript-writing, with beautiful carving technique and abbreviations of Latin words.

One of the local metal detectorists has found around ten to fifteen amulets from the vicinity of Tamdrup Church in Jutland. Analyses of these amulets are still ongoing – all of them are carved with Roman letters – but they seem to have been carved by different people, presumably all members of the clergy.

We could discuss if clerics produced the runic amulets as well as the Roman-letter ones. A few amulets are written in a combination of Old Danish and Latin, but most of them have been written in Latin, suggesting that the rune-carver would have been trained in Latin and Roman-letter writing as well as Old Danish and runic writing. And we could discuss who would be able to write with runes as well as Roman letters. In the Middle Ages, most people were not able to read and write Latin, unless they were trained in clerical circles, but some people would probably have learned runic writing at home. One of the best examples of the interaction of runic and Roman-letter writing from the Old Danish area is the stylus from Dalby in Skåne, on which Bovi wrote a short text in Old Danish with runes: "Bovi owns the stylus". The item was most definitely used for Roman-letter writing in Latin (Moltke 1985: 469–473), and Bovi was possibly one of the well-educated men in the monastery at Dalby and trained in both writing systems. In relation to the lead amulets, though, the choice of writing system does not seem to have had the same significance as the choice of language. Perhaps the Latin formulae – not their translations into the vernacular – held magical power in themselves.

Scandinavia and Europe

The large amount of lead amulets in Scandinavia, especially in Denmark, easily leads to the conclusion that the tradition was first and foremost a Scandinavian one. However, the resemblance to finds of textual amulets across Europe suggests that the Christianization of Scandinavia pulled the existing tradition out of paganism and into a Christian context.

The Ingleby Arncliffe crucifix is a good example of a European tradition that resembles the Scandinavian one, also in terms of where the amulets are placed. The Halberstadt amulets from Germany are also important as parallels. During the excavation of a graveyard at the Liebfrauenkirche in Halberstadt, a lead amulet was found in a child's grave, where it was uncovered in the chest area of the deceased. The text invokes God and other divinities (angels, apostles, and prophets) to help and protect the young Tado from any harm, day and night, and no matter whether he is eating or drinking (Muhl & Gutjahr 2013: 33–36). Several other such amulets have turned up in Sachsen-Anhalt and in excavations in other parts of Europe (Vavřík et al. 2020), so the tradition of inscribing benedictions in lead is also known from the European area, although finds seem to be more numerous in Denmark. That we find so many lead amulets in Denmark compared to the rest of Europe is undoubtedly due to the treasure law and the liberal legislation in Denmark that allows amateurs to go searching the fields for archaeological artefacts. We should probably interpret the Roman-letter amulets – and also a good deal of the runic ones – as part of a Christianization process that began quickly after the introduction of Christianity. And it was probably a process that found fertile ground because a textual amulet tradition was already rooted in the pagan North. In Anglo-Saxon England, the pagan practice of charms was also Christianized with the advent of Christianity (Gilchrist 2008: 123).

The human skull fragment with a runic invocation of the pagan gods from early eighth-century Ribe is the earliest Danish evidence (Stoklund 2004), and several other metal amulets with different types of apotropaic texts have been recorded all over Scandinavia (Pereswetoff-Morath 2019). The use of textual amulets seems to have gone through a transformation process in which the pagan gods were exchanged with the Christian world of divine characters. But it also seems that the transformation process came to a stop. The Latin invocations and prayers continued to be written in Latin and were not translated into Old Danish. The Latin texts could, however, be carved with runes, so that the original words were retained but transformed by lettering into a Northern context. The Christian model seems more to have met and blended with an old Northern tradition, whereby potentially rather old formulae to expel evil beings were mixed with characters from the Christian world. In that sense, the amulets reflect an older and continued tradition more than a vernacularization of Roman script.

The Østermarie silver amulet, traditionally dated to the eleventh century, has a text that points more to West Norse literature than towards Christianity. The text

was presumably carved as a means of help during childbirth, and transliterates according to Rikke Steenholt Olesen as

si(g)moþʀ i-. . . | . . .-arns mo|þiʀ s(i). . .
sua ristaʀ . . . | . . . aki reist b(i)|-rk|runaʀ auk . . . | . . .ʀ heil (i)

Sigmóðr . . . child's(?) mother(?) . . . In ths way NN carves(?) . . . Áki carved helprunes and . . . Heal in/forever.

The text is comparable to a phrase from the poem *Sigrdrífumál*, stanza 2: *Bjargrúnar skaltu kunna, ef þú bjarga vilt ok leysa kind frá konum* 'You need to know help-runes if you want to help and deliver the child from a woman' (Stoklund 2003: 863–867; Steenholt Olesen 2008; Steenholt Olesen 2010: 169–171).

One interesting feature on this particular amulet is that the text has a special outline on it. The most logical reading of the text implies that the text was carved in a spiral, beginning in one corner of the object and continuing towards the middle around the hole (Figure 6). This was first noted by Rikke Steenholt Olesen during her PhD studies (Steenholt Olesen 2007: 87–88). A similar text order is found in one of the Sigtuna copper amulets, presumably of the same age (Nordén 1943; Pereswetoff-Morath 2019: 70–72). That we find two amulets with a similar reading order is reasonable if we expect an established Scandinavian tradition. What is more interesting, though, is that this particular text order is also found in a British manuscript, Additional MS 15236, fol. 54r, from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The text includes directions for the preparation of a lead plate to help a woman conceive (Skemer 2006: 128), and the drawing in the right-hand margin shows the text – or characters – as written in a circle or a spiral (Muhl & Gutjahr

Figure 6: The Østermarie silver amulet from eleventh-century Bornholm was found in 1998. The text points towards well-known West Norse literature, but the layout and reading order of it points more towards material in medieval German manuscripts. Photo: John Lee, National Museum of Denmark.

2013: 2). The charm text says that the plate should be wrapped in cloth or leather and hung around the woman's neck until she conceives. Soon after the birth of the child, it should be removed to prevent various diseases from entering (Hindley 2019: 369). A similar practice relates to *Margrétar saga*, which deals with the life of St Margaret of Antioch. St Margaret was known to protect women from dying in labour and children from being deformed. It was a widespread belief that it was beneficial for a woman to have a small manuscript copy of *Margrétar saga* nearby during childbirth. The saga is often found in small formats that would support such a practice (Wolf 2010). Such recipes are good parallels to the Østermarie silver amulet, which on the basis of this evidence might be interpreted as an amulet to help during childbirth. The charm text in the British manuscript points in a European direction, suggesting that the production and use of amulets followed some geographically more widespread standards than we are able to detect if we confine our studies to the Scandinavian material. A few women's graves from England have preserved textual amulets in the shape of granular material, interpreted as parchment, wrapped in textile or lead. The amulets have been found on the abdomen or between the legs of adult females (Jackson 2006: 141; Gilchrist & Sloane 2005: 200; Gilchrist 2008: 125). Such finds indicate that textual amulets were indeed used across Europe.

The text on the Østermarie silver amulet is also comparable with the text on the lead amulet from Kællingeby that has 'runes of rhyme' and 'giants from hell' and seems to have some sort of rhythm when read aloud. At the same time, the text invokes holy characters from the Christian world, demonstrating how these types of texts combine the best features from two worlds. Maybe the oral traditions of the North were influenced by the manuscript tradition, so that with the advent of Christianity it became increasingly important to write down incantations that were previously more part of an oral tradition.

Maybe the closer contacts with Europe also resulted in the use of lead for the production of textual amulets as described in the above-mentioned British manuscript (Skemer 2006: 128; Hindley 2019: 369). Lead was hardly ever used in metal production in the Iron and Viking Ages, and the textual amulets that we normally ascribe to the Viking Age are all made of other materials: copper alloy, bone, or wood. A medieval manuscript from the thirteenth century that is now in the University Library in Uppsala (Codex Upsaliensis C 222 of the *Gemma animae* by Honorius Augustodunensis) is said to be of German origin. On one of the pages is written the beginning of the Gospel of John ("In the beginning was the Word [. . .]"), and then comes the sequence "I adjure you elves Gordin, Ingordin, Gord'i, and Ingordin, Gord'i by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, by Holy Mary, the mother of our Lord [. . .]". In the margin of that particular phrase, it is said that "You should inscribe this in lead to avoid the elves" (*contra elphos hoc in plumbo scribe*; Gjerløw 1960: 21). The above-mentioned directions in the Additional MS 15236 from Britain also mention that the charm should be carved on lead.

So, it seems that lead as material has significance for the function of the amulet *as well as* the words written on it. And it also seems that this tradition was not rooted in a Scandinavian context, but rather in a European one. The use of lead for amulets was not necessarily a Christian tradition – it could originate from the Greek and Roman *defixiones* that we know of as far back as Antiquity. In a medieval context, it is also possible that lead was a popular type of material for amulets because lead was usually used to wrap the reliquaries of churches. Or it could be that lead was so popular because it was heavy. The weight of the amulet would then serve as a constant reminder of its presence.

Future research

There are, of course, a number of other questions and themes that could be addressed in future research concerning textual amulets. Some of these are related to linguistic research. First of all, the amulets provide us with new words in Old Danish vocabulary; second, they provide us with further insight into the question of runic Latin. The texts on the lead amulets could contribute to a better understanding of the interaction of runic writing and Latin language, the pronunciation of Latin words, and the educational level of parish priests, which might be revealed in the poorly written Latin of some of the texts. The introduction of dotted runes, which has been much debated (e.g. Spurkland 1995; Knirk 2010; Seim 2004; Kornsæther 2013), may also have something to do with an increased need or wish to transliterate Latin, Christian texts into runes. Dotted runes were introduced in runic writing at the advent of Christianity, but because of the poorly preserved finds from the time, our understanding of the reasons for this innovation is rather fragile. The increasing amount of Latin texts from the early medieval period might help to shed light on this problem. And finally, the amulets in many cases contain personal names. They reveal that amulets were used and worn by men as well as women, but we do not know if there was any social status connected with the possession of lead amulets, or if certain texts were related to either men or women – apart from the childbirth formulae.

When learning more about the context, the discussion needs to separate the archaeological and the systemic contexts. The archaeological context is where the artefact is found. It can be helpful in terms of dating the object, although stray finds are rarely datable, and in understanding the geographical distribution, but when it comes to the interpretation of the object, the archaeological context will only inform us about the final destination of the artefact. The archaeological context might well be where the object was used, or where it was of use to people – for example, the Ingleby Arncliffe crucifix or the Romdrup lead strip – but it might also be a grave or a field into which the amulet had been thrown when its function was no

longer of any use. Most amulets are found in fields that have never been excavated, and future investigations of some of these fields would probably provide us with much more information and details about the final destination of amulets. The systemic context for stray-find amulets is much harder to detect, but the texts and their outlines, and maybe the shape of the artefacts, can be helpful in the interpretation process.

The amulets form an interesting hybrid between epigraphic and manuscript writing, one in which the text, the way that it is carved, the material, and the way that it is handled are equally important components in a ritual for ensuring the best possible health and prosperity for the user. The tradition of wearing such amulets in Scandinavia is rooted in the pre-Christian era, and by the advent of Christianity, the tradition was immediately influenced and in some ways transformed into a Christian setting that covered most of Europe. Whereas the European medieval manuscripts contain directions for the production of amulets, the Scandinavian soil is bursting with the archaeological remains of their use.

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Anna Blennow and Alessandro Palumbo

At the Crossroads between Script Cultures

The Runic and Latin Epigraphic Areas of Västergötland

The late eleventh and early twelfth century constituted a pivotal period for the development of literacy in medieval Sweden.[1] The Latin script and the Latin language, previously unattested in this part of Scandinavia, were gradually introduced into local writing practices that for centuries had been dominated by the use of the runic script and the vernacular language.

The arrival of Latin written culture, particularly manifest in the emerging manuscript culture, did not, however, cause the runic tradition to be abandoned, but led instead to several centuries of coexistence (e.g. Söderberg & Larsson 1993: 62–66; Palm 1997; Spurkland 2001; 2004). This is particularly evident in the epigraphic sources, as Latin epigraphy gradually became established alongside runic epigraphy. Moreover, the spread of the new language and alphabet entailed far-reaching consequences for the existing runic epigraphy. One of the most apparent effects is the number of runic inscriptions that include passages in Latin or that are carved in the Latin language in their entirety (Düwel 1989: 48–51; 2001; Ertl 1994; Gustavson 1994a: 317–321; Knirk 1998: 484–489, 495–505). The introduction of Latin written culture also influenced both the runic writing system itself and the memorial formulas used on funerary monuments (see e.g. Liestøl in NIyR 6: 26, 34, 58; Gustavson 1994b: 74; 2013: 31; Knirk 1994: 206–207; 2010: 196; Steenholt Olesen 2007: 22–23; Källström 2013: 116; 2015: 135; Palumbo 2020: 232–234; forthcoming). On a more general level, the adoption of the Latin writing tradition is believed to have had an impact on the development of runic literacy, and it has been hypothesized that the adoption of the Roman script might have instigated a renaissance for runic epigraphy that was to last for over a century (e.g. Carelli 2001: 365–366).

Notwithstanding the interest that the relationship between runic and Latin literacy has attracted in previous research, most studies on this topic have either compared runic epigraphy with the Latin manuscript culture, or have focused solely on runic sources and on how runic writing was influenced by the Latin writing conventions. There is a lack of comparative studies on the relation between

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these two traditions in a domain of writing where they actually can be directly correlated, namely the epigraphic material.[2]

The purpose of the present paper is to present a pilot study performed as the starting point for a larger collaborative project on the development of runic and Latin epigraphy, epigraphic habit, and literacy in medieval Sweden. This first step compares the establishment of the two epigraphic traditions in the province of Västergötland during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The perspective chosen combines epigraphic analyses with a geographical approach that aims to identify and characterize what we term "epigraphic areas" – i.e. the geographical areas where runic and/or Latin inscriptions are attested most frequently. This investigation will serve to shed light on where each of the two traditions was established, how they developed during the time under scrutiny, and how they relate to sociocultural centres such as monasteries, bishops' sees, and early towns. However, in order to understand the changes that these epigraphic traditions underwent, we believe it is necessary to analyse the use of both scripts in parallel and comparatively, as their developments during this time are deeply intertwined. As we will see, in some geographical areas, the nature of the two traditions' coexistence prompts the question of whether it is useful to talk about two separate script cultures, or whether the literacy practices there are better understood as part of a single two-script culture.

Central questions addressed in this investigation are thus whether the runic and the Latin epigraphic traditions occurred in the same areas or whether they had separate geographical domains, and whether the epigraphic areas identified resembled or differed from one another with regard to the number and kind of inscriptions attested, as well as the level of literacy and professionalism shown by the carvers. We will also investigate whether the relation between these epigraphic areas remained constant or rather changed over time, and whether their developments affected one another. Moreover, special attention will be given to the inscriptions where both Latin and runes are used together.

As already mentioned, the Swedish province of Västergötland has been selected as a case study. The reason behind this choice is that it is one of the areas in today's Sweden where Latin epigraphy arrived at an early stage, and where occurrences of both Latin and runic inscriptions are plentiful during the period under scrutiny. Furthermore, we will concentrate mainly on monumental and public epigraphy, rather than on inscriptions on movable objects from the private sphere. In contrast to inscribed loose objects – and manuscripts as well – monumental inscriptions are largely either still found *in situ* or have a secure provenance, which provides a reliable foundation for a geographical survey of the material. Such an analysis

2 Cf., however, Källström (2018: 70–73) and Kleivane (2019: 73–75), who draw parallels with Latin epigraphy to illustrate some features of runic orthography attested in selected inscriptions.

can in turn serve as a basis for identifying socioculturally prominent areas and hubs of written culture, even when these are scarcely documented in other sources.

This pilot study focuses primarily on the geographical spread of the inscriptions in runes and in the Latin alphabet, combined with representative observations on the level of literacy shown in some of the texts included in the corpus. Thus, this study offers an overview of the radical geographical shifts in the epigraphic areas that took place during the earliest phases of contact between runic and Latin epigraphy. It also aims to test an interdisciplinary method of enquiry that unites the runologists' and the Latinists' perspectives on the complex relationship of two script cultures in early medieval Sweden. An in-depth textual and epigraphic analysis of each inscription, however, lies outside the scope of the present paper, as does an exhaustive consideration of the historical and archaeological context of each of the areas under scrutiny. To gain a nuanced understanding – as complete as it can be – of written culture in medieval Scandinavia, these and other factors are, however, of great importance, and they will be taken into consideration in future investigations.

The early medieval Latin and runic corpora in Västergötland

The material analysed in this study is characterized by the varying use of two languages and two scripts: Old Swedish and Latin, the runes and the Latin alphabet. The inscriptions under scrutiny belong traditionally to two different corpora, the runic and the Latin ones. The distinction between them, however, is neither self-evident nor unproblematic. The defining criterion of the runic corpus is the use of runic script, independently of the language in which the texts are produced. The Latin corpus, on the other hand, is generally defined by the use of both the Latin alphabet and the Latin language. Of the inscriptions studied here, most are either in the Latin language and alphabet or in Old Swedish and runes. However, there are also examples of inscriptions in Old Swedish written with the Latin alphabet, and several instances where the Latin language is written in runes (see below). Furthermore, some artefacts bear mixtures of both languages and both scripts. Therefore, apart from the expected combinations of languages and scripts – i.e. runes and the vernacular on the one hand and Latin letters and the Latin language on the other – a diverse group of mixed inscriptions bears witness to the intricate and fascinating development of vernacular and Latin literacy in this area.

The present paper primarily focuses on the geographical spread of the two scripts, and the terms *Latin inscription* and *runic inscription* will therefore be used to refer to the alphabet used, regardless of the language.[3] However, in the overview below and in the following analyses, the language used will be taken into account when important to the argument.

Apart from the runic and Latin inscriptions, we operate with a separate category which includes biscriptal inscriptions, that is, inscriptions where both runes and Latin letters are employed. In this study, all text attested on the same artefact is regarded as one single inscription, despite the fact that different parts of it may be carved in different scripts, for in most cases the passages in runes and in the Latin alphabet can be proved to have been made by the same carver, and possibly composed by the same author.

The material chosen for this pilot study encompasses inscriptions that show a more or less marked formal or official character. They are found on artefacts such as funerary monuments, baptismal fonts, church bells, architectural elements in churches, and other objects such as reliquaries and altars (see Table 1). Inscriptions on smaller objects for private use, such as wooden sticks or everyday utensils, as well as informal graffiti inscriptions on church walls, have not been included. This has particular consequences for the selection of the runic material in our study, as a great deal of rune-carved loose objects from urban environments have not been taken into account. But since the provenance of monumental inscriptions is often known, such texts constitute a much more reliable basis for the study of the geographical spread of the two scripts than movable objects. Furthermore, monumental inscriptions can provide us with important insights into the competing role of the runes and the Latin alphabet in the public sphere. Lastly, there is to date no overview of movable artefacts inscribed with Latin letters, which makes it impossible to compare these Latin inscriptions with the corresponding and well-documented runic material.

3 Runic inscriptions are identified here by the standard practice of referring to the relevant volume and entry in the corpus edition, *Sveriges runinskrifter* (SRI); Vg 81, for instance, refers thus to the inscription number 81 in volume 5 of SRI, i.e. *Västergötlands runinskrifter*. Latin inscriptions on stone will be identified by their number in the edition of medieval Latin inscriptions in Sweden, 1050–1250 (Blennow 2016), or (for inscriptions on metal, or stone inscriptions after 1250) through reference to other relevant studies.

Table 1: Overview by dating and artefact type of the runic, Latin, and biscriptal inscriptions studied.[4]

	Runic inscriptions		Latin inscriptions		Biscriptal inscriptions	
	12th century	13th century	12th century	13th century	12th century	13th century
Funerary monuments	16	19[5]	2	6	1	8
Baptismal fonts	3	5	4	2[6]	0	0
Church bells	0	7	3	7	0	1
Other artefacts	0	0	3	0	0	0
Architectural elements	4	5	6	0	0	0
Total	**23**	**36**	**18**	**15**	**1**	**9**

The corpus studied includes 102 inscriptions, most of which are found on funerary monuments. Their chronology primarily relies on archaeological, art-historical, and palaeographical analyses.[7] The runic material makes up the greater part of the material and amounts to fifty-nine inscriptions, of which twenty-three are dated to the twelfth century and thirty-six to the thirteenth century. This latter category of inscriptions also includes three texts whose datings stretch across both centuries and place them from the end of the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth century. As regards the language of the runic inscriptions, most of them (forty-nine inscriptions) only consist of Old Swedish, nine contain either only Latin or a combination of both Old Swedish and Latin, and one is uninterpretable.

4 The material in this table is gathered from the corpora *Sveriges runinskrifter*, *Sveriges medeltida latinska inskrifter 1050–1250* (Blennow 2016), *Sveriges medeltida kyrkklockor* (Åmark 1960), and academic journals where the relevant runic inscriptions have been published. The Latin inscriptions from the twelfth century included in the category "Other artefacts" have not yet been published, but consist of two reliquaries from Jäla (preserved in Västergötlands Museum, Skara, inventory number 1M16-1503) and Eriksberg (preserved in the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm, inventory number 5561), and an altar frontal from Broddetorp (preserved in the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm, inventory number 4674).

5 One thirteenth-century rune-inscribed grave slab, Vg 196 Älvsborg, has been excluded because its original location is unknown.

6 One presumably medieval, now-lost baptismal font with an inscription in Latin letters, Örgryte 1, has been excluded because it is only known from a description from 1692 with an unreliable transcription of the text (see Blennow 2016).

7 With two exceptions – the consecration inscription in Forsby (Forsby 1) and the runic text on a church bell from Saleby (Vg 210) – no inscriptions in the corpus of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries studied here include a date to a specific year.

The inscriptions in Latin letters amount to thirty-three in total. The number of inscriptions is fairly stable during the two centuries studied: eighteen in the twelfth century and fifteen in the thirteenth century. Among the latter inscriptions, two are included whose dating stretches from the end of the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth century. As regards the language used in the Latin inscriptions, all of them, with one exception, are carved entirely in Latin. The exception is an inscription on a funerary monument (Valtorp 2) that includes both Old Swedish and Latin, carved entirely in Latin letters. The predominance of funerary monuments carved with runes over those with Latin letters in the twelfth century is striking, while we can see that in the thirteenth century, inscriptions totally or partly in the Latin alphabet (i.e. biscriptal ones) amounted to fourteen in total, compared with nineteen monoscriptal runic inscriptions. Where the other artefact types are concerned, the distribution of Latin and runic inscriptions is more even.

Regarding the biscriptal texts, ten inscriptions in the corpus under consideration include a combination of runes and Latin letters. One of these texts has a tentative dating to the twelfth century (Vg 54/Husaby 2), and a second one (Vg 221 Flakeberg) is dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, but all the others are concentrated between the end of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. Language-wise, these biscriptal inscriptions always show a combination of both Latin and the vernacular, with the exception of the aforementioned inscription Vg 54/Husaby 2, which has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted.

The epigraphic areas in Västergötland

To provide a background for the analysis of the epigraphic areas presented later in the paper, we will in the following section give an overview of some socioculturally important areas of Västergötland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thereafter, we will present the results of the geographical analysis.

Religious and sociocultural centres of early medieval Västergötland

What do we know about the province of Västergötland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries?[8] Archaeological and historical evidence is rather scant for the earliest part of the Scandinavian Middle Ages, and concerns mainly the bishop's see in Skara, founded in the eleventh century, the earliest monasteries established

8 In the following, we rely mainly on the general overviews of the history of medieval Västergötland found in Franzén (2002), Theliander (2004), and Lindkvist (2012).

in the twelfth century, and the many parish churches that appeared from the early twelfth century onwards. Excavations have shown that Christianity arrived in the province much earlier than that: Christian burial places are found here already from the mid-tenth century. In Varnhem (for this and other locations, see Figure 1), recent excavations have confirmed a Christian presence already in the first half of the tenth century: a burial place with around three thousand tombs and the remains of a wooden church with a stone crypt, connected with a Viking-Age farming estate (Vretemark 2014).

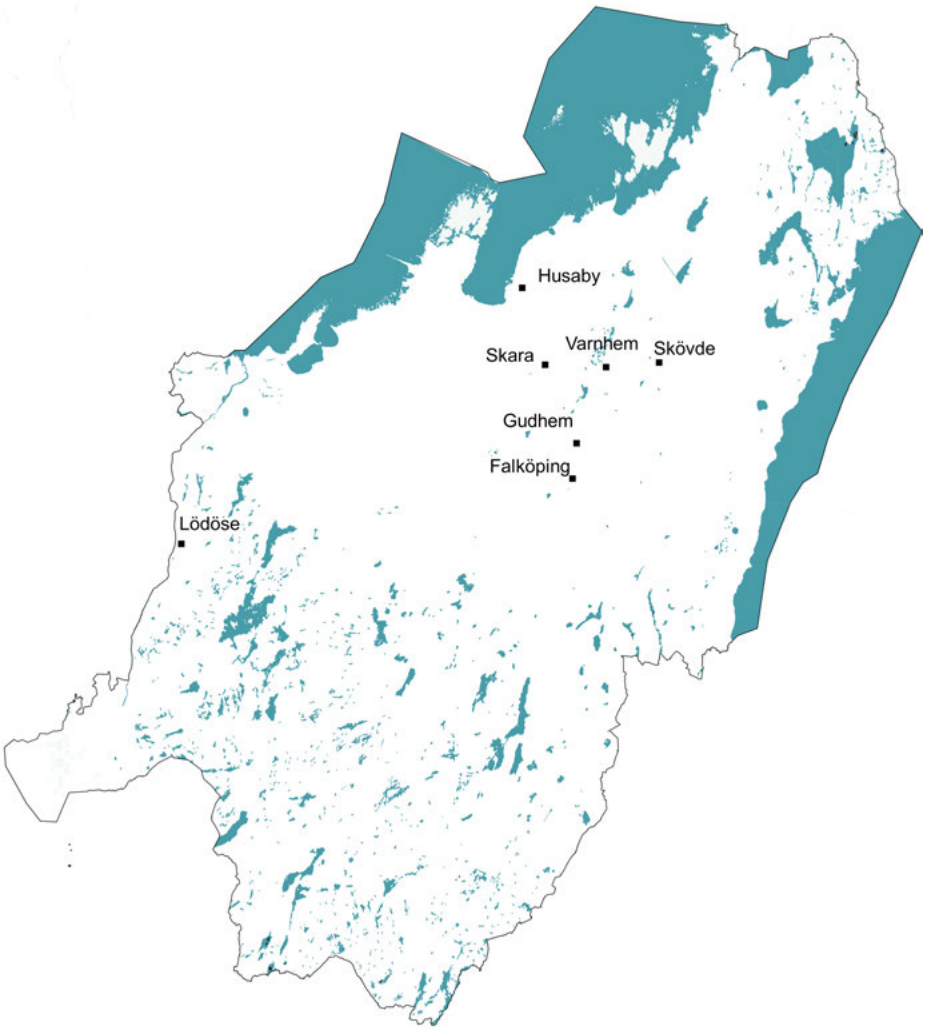

Figure 1: Map of sociocultural and religious centres of early medieval Västergötland. Map by Alessandro Palumbo.

The area of Kinnekulle, a plateau mountain at Lake Vänern in northern Västergötland, is also a place that may have been especially connected with Christianity early on, according to the legend that King Olof Skötkonung was baptized at Husaby by Sigfrid, an English bishop, in the early eleventh century, and the unconfirmed tradition that Husaby was the oldest bishop's see in Västergötland, preceding the diocese of Skara, which is considered to have been founded in 1014 (the year when its first bishop, Thurgot, is mentioned in the sources). The first stone cathedral of Skara (of which nothing remains after a rebuilding in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) was probably built around 1060, but may have been preceded by a wooden church.

With the consolidation of the administrative structure of the Church in the early twelfth century, a large number of Romanesque stone churches were built all over Västergötland, with the highest frequency of parishes around Kinnekulle and today's Falköping. But it is not until the mid-twelfth century and later that the first monasteries are attested in Västergötland. At Varnhem, a male monastery is known to have existed from 1150. According to tradition, a group of Cistercian monks from the Alvastra monastery in the province of Östergötland (founded in 1143 by monks from Clairvaux) settled in Varnhem, where a certain Sigrid (possibly related to Queen Kristina, wife of King Erik) had donated land. The monastery and the church were destroyed in a fire in 1234 and rebuilt afterwards. In nearby Gudhem, a female Cistercian monastery was founded in 1170, after a donation of land by King Knut Eriksson in the vicinity of a *kongsgård* estate. In the mid-thirteenth century, one Dominican and one Franciscan monastery were founded in Skara, and a Dominican monastery was established in Lödöse.[9]

With time, several settlements in Västergötland grew into the first towns; most of them were situated in the central-north parts of the province. Skara is mentioned in the *Gesta* of Adam of Bremen in the 1070s, and archaeological remains are found from around 1050, but the area is believed to have already been important during the Iron Age (Sigsjö 1980: 10). Skövde is mentioned for the first time in a charter from 1281 (DS 709), but no traces of an actual town have been found from before the early fifteenth century. The greater part of the old town centre has been lost due to later rebuilding, which makes a reconstruction of its medieval history difficult. A cult of the local saint, Elin/Helena, is attested in Skövde in the early twelfth century (Klackenberg 1980: 10). The earliest settlements around today's Falköping go back as far as ten thousand years, and it is mentioned as a market place in the late thirteenth century, a function that it had probably already held for a long time. It is not until 1281 that Falköping is explicitly mentioned as a town, in the charter of Bishop Brynolf (an appendix to *Västgötalagen*). Very little is known of its medieval history due to the lack of archaeological excavations and/or remains (Klackenberg 1981: 10). Lödöse stands out as the only early town in the western part of Västergötland. Archaeological remains from the second part of the eleventh century have been found here. The town is mentioned in the

9 See Karlsson (1993). For the Alvastra monastery, see Bonnier (2012).

sources for the first time in 1151, when Saxo, among others, attests that the Danish king Knut Magnusson landed there (Carlsson & Ekre 1980: 6). It must, though, be kept in mind that only a small percentage of the population of Västergötland lived in these early towns or settlements in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As seen in Figure 1, all the aforementioned locations are situated in a fairly well-defined area in the central and mid-northern regions of Västergötland, with the exception of Lödöse in the west. How does this geographical pattern correspond to the epigraphic areas of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? In the following, we will show how geographical analysis of the runic and Latin epigraphic monuments delineates partly new and somewhat surprising areas of sociocultural importance in the province.

Epigraphic areas up to and including the eleventh century

The oldest epigraphic tradition present in Västergötland is the runic one, which starts long before the Scandinavian Middle Ages. There are a few Proto-Norse inscriptions from the period AD 300–600, but it is the geographical spread of runic inscriptions from the tenth and eleventh centuries that is of relevance for the present study. During this timeframe, two types of runic monuments were produced: the rune stones and the so-called early Christian grave monuments. Despite the fact that only the monuments of the latter type are explicitly called Christian, it should be pointed out that a majority of the inscriptions on the rune stones are believed to have been produced in a Christian context too.

The Viking-Age rune stones from Västergötland, for the most part erected from the late tenth century and throughout the first quarter of the eleventh, are concentrated in what can be defined as three major epigraphic areas (SRI 5: xxvii; Palm 1992: 92–93; see Figure 2): Redväg Hundred in the central part of the province south of Falköping, Kålland Hundred in the north, and Vadsbo Hundred in the north-east.[10] Of these three areas, Kålland Hundred is richest in monuments.

At least partly contemporary with the rune stones, the so-called early Christian grave monuments were produced during the first half of the eleventh century. They differ from the rune stones through their localization directly at the tomb (they are hence funerary monuments rather than cenotaphs), and through their shape, consisting of

10 In his study from 1992, Rune Palm focused on the geographical patterns evident in Viking-Age and medieval runic inscriptions. Differently from the present study, which differentiates between Viking-Age and medieval material on the basis of the inscriptions' dating, Palm operated with a typological differentiation between raised and recumbent stone monuments, and dated the former to the Viking Age and the latter to twelfth century. Such a way of grouping the inscriptions, however, faces the problem that some recumbent slabs belonging to the corpus of so-called early Christian grave monuments may be from the same period as the Viking-Age rune stones, and so the categories established by Palm very likely overlap in time (Ljung 2016: 101).

lying slabs with or without head- and foot-stones, or more or less elaborate coffin-like constructions, ornamented in the same Viking-Age styles as many rune stones (Ljung 2016: 14–19; 2019: 156–156). Some of them bear runic inscriptions. Examples of these monuments can be found in several Swedish provinces, indicating a widespread, although varying practice. In Västergötland, most occurrences have been found in the northern parts of the province (Ljung 2016: 92; 2019: 159; see Figure 2), mainly in Husaby (Kinnekulle area) and in Råda and Häggesled (Kålland area).

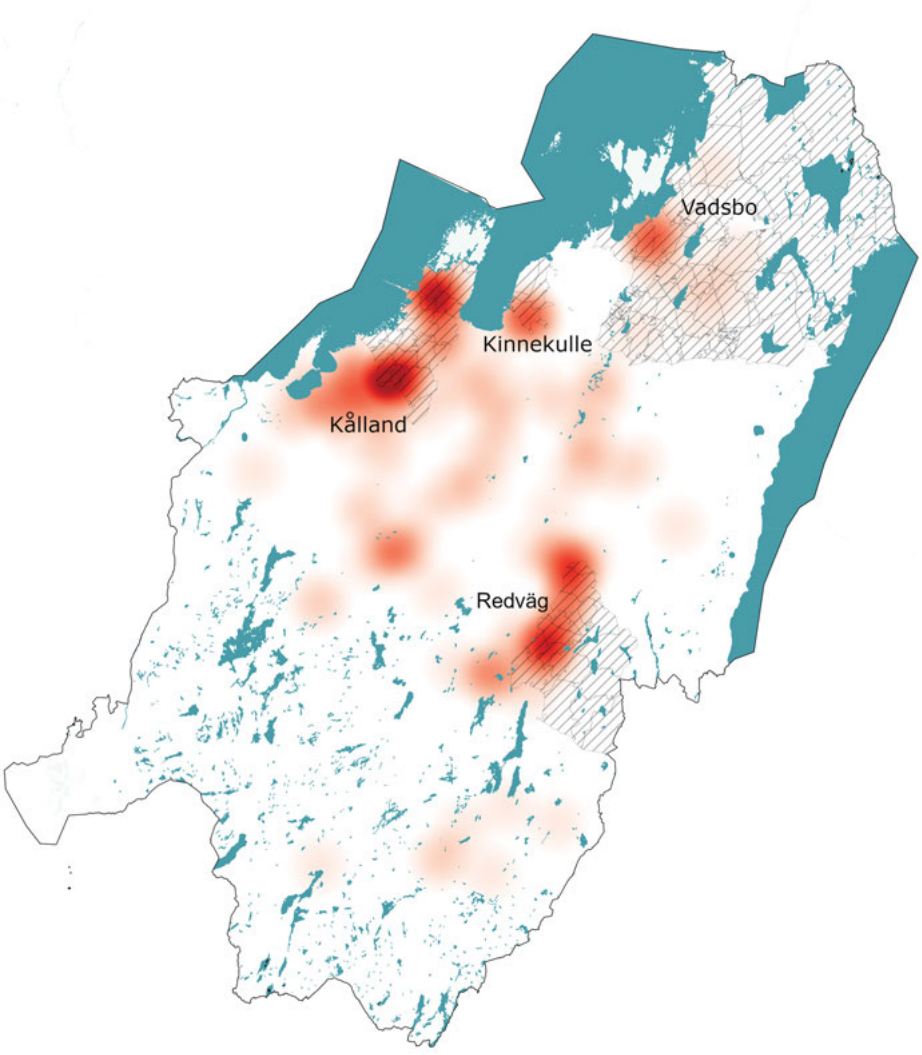

Figure 2: Heatmap of rune stones and the rune-inscribed early Christian grave monuments in Västergötland showing the four major eleventh-century epigraphic areas (marked with diagonal lines), which are located in Redväg Hundred, Kålland Hundred, Vadsbo Hundred, and Kinnekulle (Kinne and Kinnefjärding Hundreds). Map by Alessandro Palumbo.

Cecilia Ljung (2016: 102) has pointed out that in general, the spread of these early Christian grave monuments coincides with some of those areas of Västergötland which also show the greatest concentration of Viking-Age rune stones.

At this point in time, the runic tradition constitutes the only form of epigraphy attested in Västergötland. No Latin inscriptions securely dated to the eleventh century are found in the province; in the entire corpus of Latin inscriptions in Sweden from the early Middle Ages, there is only one inscription securely dated (stratigraphically) to the eleventh century: a fragment of an early Christian grave monument in Linköping Cathedral in the province of Östergötland (Blennow 2016: Linköping 1).

The twelfth century – innovation and development

During the twelfth century, two major changes affect the nature and location of Västergötland's epigraphic areas: the appearance of Latin epigraphy and a shift in the runic epigraphic areas.

As regards runic epigraphy, the monuments dated to the twelfth century – mostly grave slabs and baptismal fonts – show a different distribution compared to the aforementioned epigraphic areas where the Viking-Age rune stones and the early Christian grave monuments are found. Strong Viking-Age epigraphic areas in the hundreds of Kålland, Vadsbo, and Redväg decline in importance, whereas a new area (see Figure 3) located around the modern-day town of Falköping gains a more prominent role (cf. Palm 1992: 114–116; 1997: 90). Concentrations of runic inscriptions are now found in the Falköping area, in the hundreds of Gudhem, Valle, and Kåkind (north and north-east of Falköping), and in the hundreds of Vartofta, Frökind, Redväg (northern part), and Vilske (south and east of Falköping). Gudhem in particular stands out as the hundred with the highest concentration of runic monuments, which might be due to a stronger presence of both religious centres (e.g. the Gudhem monastery) and worldly power in the area. The northern part of this area clearly shows a denser concentration of runic inscriptions compared to the south-eastern part, where the inscriptions are more scattered.

Thus, we can detect a clear geographical shift in the twelfth-century runic epigraphic areas compared with the Viking-age ones, consisting in a concentration of the runic tradition in the central part of the province.

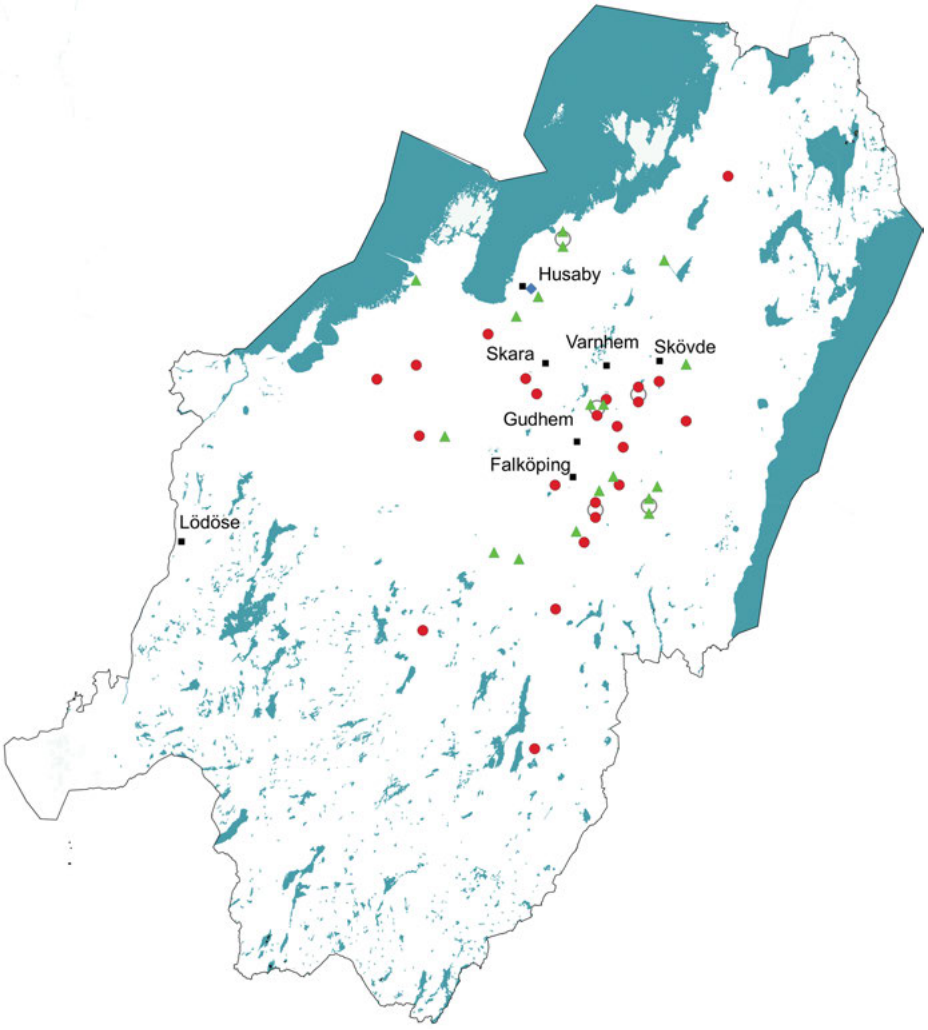

Figure 3: Map of the runic (red dots), Latin (green triangles), and biscriptal (blue diamonds) inscriptions from the twelfth century. Map by Alessandro Palumbo.

A representative example of the runic tradition from this period is the inscription on a funerary monument from Broddetorp (Vg 81; Figure 4). Its chiefly Old Swedish text reads as follows:[11]

benḍikt · romfarari : let ǥera : hualf : þenna : ifir · maǥnus · ḳoþan dræǥ · ------ s. . . ok : dǫ : hạn om nat : firir · þeira : postla : messoạftan : simonis : æð iute : in þat er · ret · hu. . . . . .

Bendikt rōmfarari lēt gæra hvalf þenna yfir Magnūs, gōðan dræng . . . Ok dō hann om nātt fyrir þæira postla mæssoaftan Simonis et Iudæ. En þat er rētt hv[*ærium at biðia Pater*].

Benedict the Rome-traveller had this vault made over Magnus, a good valiant man . . . And he died in the night before the eve of the Mass of the apostles Simon and Juda. And it is right for everyone [to pray the paternoster].

Figure 4: Rune-carved funerary monument from Broddetorp (Vg 81), Gudhem Hundred. Photograph by Harald Faith-Ell.

This monument and its inscription form part of the flourishing epigraphic area north of Falköping, contributing to the considerable number of epigraphic texts stemming from Gudhem Hundred. Both the orthography and the wording of the inscription bear witness to a high degree of literacy.

The text shows orthographical features that are either absent or very rare during the Viking Age, such as the double-spelling of long consonants and the use of dedicated

11 The text in bold is a transliteration of the inscription; an Old Swedish normalization is given in italics. Dashes in the transliteration signal now-unreadable runes. A dot under a transliterated rune indicates that the rune in question is damaged and its reading unsure. Three dots mark lacunae, and square brackets indicate reconstructed text passages. The end of the inscription, with the request to the reader to read the paternoster, is reconstructed on the basis of another twelfth-century runic inscription from Västergötland, Vg 76 Backgården (Valle Hundred in the Falköping region), which bears the same formula: *þat er rētt hværium at biðia Pater*.

runes for the sounds [ɛ] and [ð], for instance in the word **æð** for the Latin conjunction *et*. Such medieval innovations are part of a series of changes that the runic script underwent during the Middle Ages. Many of these developments consisted in an expansion of the runic alphabet through the modification of certain runes, either with regard to their shape or their function. In medieval Sweden, these developments appear at different times and show varying degrees of consistency of use, depending on the region. While the general chronological tendency is that their employment becomes more widespread from the twelfth to the thirteenth century, many of these innovations seem to have had their Swedish starting point in the aforementioned epigraphic area around Falköping, especially in the hundreds of Gudhem and Vartofta (Palumbo 2020: 227–230).

Another important feature of the inscription from Broddetorp is that it also bears evidence of the influence that the Latin epigraphic tradition exerted on the runic tradition, both linguistically and socioculturally. The aforementioned double-spelling of long consonants, for instance, is surely a consequence of such influence (see e.g. Peterson 1994: 74; Gustavson 1994a: 324; 1994b: 74; Palumbo forthcoming). Elements in the Latin language can also be found, namely in the reference to the Lord's Prayer, the paternoster, and in the liturgical dating to the eve of the Mass of the apostles Simon and Juda, where both the names in the genitive and the conjunction *et* are in Latin, embedded in an otherwise vernacular text. The liturgical dating itself is a unique feature in the corpora under consideration, both the runic and the Latin one, and is inspired by the Latin epigraphic tradition on the continent.[12] These traits may anticipate (or be more or less coeval with) the bilingual and biscriptal culture that emerged in the Falköping area, probably towards the end of the twelfth century (as described below).

The runic attestations in the Falköping area, their concentration, their dating, and their orthographical and textual features, seem to testify to a renaissance of the runic epigraphy in that part of the region. As we will see below, this geographical area also coincides with one of the early Latin epigraphic areas in Västergötland.

The first Latin inscriptions in Västergötland are attested from the first half of the twelfth century. Why did Latin epigraphy arrive in Västergötland at this point in time? It was not prompted by a newly performed conversion to Christianity – as we have seen, the Christian religion had been introduced to the region over a hundred years earlier. Most probably, the introduction of Latin epigraphy was instead connected with the stabilization of the administrative structure of the Church (see e.g. Dahlberg 1998: 77–79), which led to the large-scale building of stone churches all over the region, and which brought stonemasons more or less versed in a European tradition of Latin epigraphy to Scandinavia. The twelfth

12 In the corpus of Latin consecrative inscriptions from Rome of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, liturgical dating becomes common in the late twelfth century, and from the 1230s it is used almost exclusively in the inscriptions. See e.g. Holst Blennow (2011: 256–257).

century also brought the first monasteries to Västergötland – important nodes for written culture in general, including epigraphic knowledge.

The locations of the Latin inscriptions show that the emerging Latin epigraphic tradition both overlaps with and differentiates itself geographically from the runic one. The Latin inscriptions appear in two main epigraphic areas (see Figure 3): in the Kinnekulle area, where the medieval runic tradition, by contrast, appears to be almost non-existent in this period, and in the Falköping area, where, as we have seen, runic inscriptions are also found.

Some variation regarding textual content can be found in the two epigraphic areas. The Kinnekulle inscriptions exhibit liturgical content, such as information regarding church consecrations, to a greater degree. An example can be found in an inscribed tympanum relief in the church in Forshem (Forshem 1; Figure 5). It is situated above the south door of the church, and depicts Christ surrounded by the apostles Peter and Paul. The first part of the inscription runs along the border of the tympanum, and reads:[13]

> Ist[---] sit in honore D(omi)ni n(ost)ri Ie(s)u Ch(rist)i et s(an)c(t)i sepulcri
>
> May this [---] be in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Sepulchre.

The second part of the inscription is situated below the relief, and consists of the Latin alphabet, ending with the Greek letter omega.

Figure 5: Latin inscription on the tympanum field above the south door of the church of Forshem (Forshem 1; photograph by Anna Blennow).

13 Abbreviations are spelled out in parentheses. Three dashes within square brackets signal a lacuna where the number of lost letters is unknown. Text within square brackets renders reconstructed passages.

The lacuna in the inscription is due to damage to the stone and has previously been conjectured as *ecclesia*, 'church', thus signifying that the church was consecrated to Christ and the Holy Sepulchre. But, as recently shown by Anna Blennow (2016), the lacuna most probably contained the word *elemosina*, 'alms', meaning that the building or the consecration of the church was funded as an act of charity by a wealthy patron. It has also been suggested that the mention of the Holy Sepulchre implies that the church must have possessed a relic of the Sepulchre, perhaps brought there by someone with connections to the Crusades to Jerusalem. The style of this and several other stone reliefs preserved in the church has been attributed to the stonemason who produced decorations for the now-lost Romanesque cathedral of Skara – they, however, lack inscriptions, which could mean that the incentive for making an inscription was to be found in Forshem, perhaps deriving from the patron of the church.

While the Kinnekulle area is characterized by the presence of liturgical inscriptions, the two Latin funerary inscriptions preserved from the twelfth century are found instead in the Falköping area. These long and elaborate inscriptions (Åsle 1, Figure 6; Vårkumla 1) show a radical break with the tradition of runic funerary epigraphy in the area – they are composed more or less in verse, and use a highly stylistic Latin with elaborate formulas. This points to the presence in the Falköping area of advanced authorial competence in Latin, a fact not attested in previous research.

The fragmentary and heavily worn inscription rediscovered in Åsle cemetery by Anna Blennow in 2016 has not been interpreted in its entirety due to its worn surface, but elements such as *generose* 'nobly', *moribus insignis* 'excellent regarding manners',

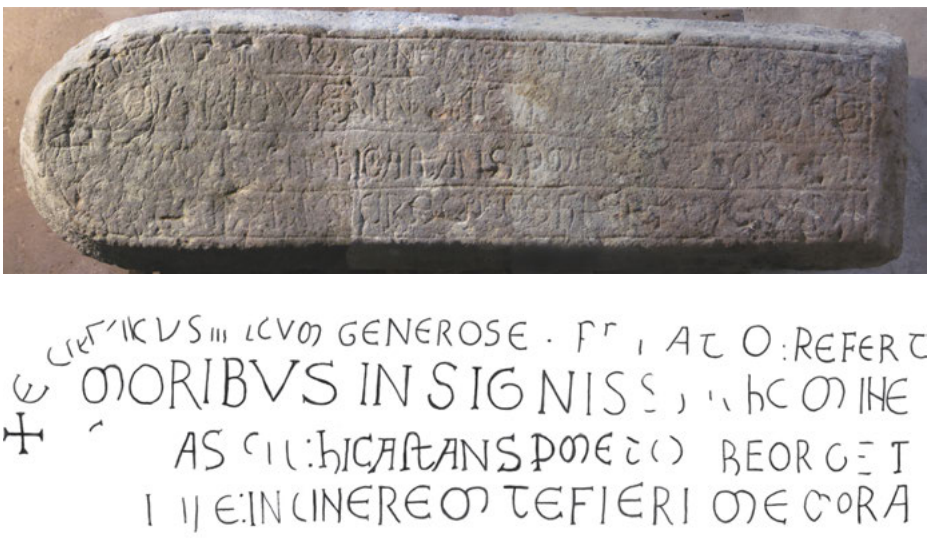

Figure 6: Fragmentary Latin inscription on funerary monument from Åsle Church, Vartofta Hundred (Åsle 1). Photograph and drawing by Anna Blennow.

and *hic astans p(ro) me* [*ora*] '[pray] for me, you who stand here' can be deciphered, as can the tentative reading of the female name *Torbeorg* (near the end of line 3).

The Latin inscription on the funerary monument from Vårkumla, made in memory of Hanes, a Benedictine priest, was interpreted in its entirety for the first time by Blennow (2016: 201–205) and reads *Presbiter ordine Benedicti nominetur* / *Hic resuscitet Hanes hoc marmore teste*, 'May the priest Hanes of the Benedictine Order be mentioned/appointed. Here Hanes will arise with this stone as witness.'

The two funerary inscriptions from Åsle and Vårkumla testify to an advanced Latin epigraphic literacy previously unattested in the Falköping area in the twelfth century, a fact that provides an important background to the bilingual and biscriptal culture documented in the area towards the end of the twelfth century (for which, see below).

Latin inscriptions on precious metal objects are found on two reliquaries in wood covered with gilded copper, from Jäla and Eriksberg, and on an altar frontal in wood covered with gilded copper from Broddetorp, all of them located in or near the Falköping area. Two of the three occurrences of inscribed church bells tentatively dated to the twelfth century are also found in the Falköping area.[14] Thus, we can see that Latin inscriptions on metal are found mainly in connection with the epigraphic area around Falköping, something which makes this region richer in variety where the material of the inscriptions is concerned, and also, in the case of the reliquaries and the altar frontal, indicates the presence of wealthy individuals providing financial support to the church.

As previously pointed out, it is probable that the introduction of Latin epigraphy to Västergötland was prompted by the spread of Latin literacy that came with the gradual consolidation of ecclesiastical structures and the presence of international craftsmen and stone-cutters connected with the large-scale building of stone churches all over the province. But the fact that the Latin inscriptions are so few in relation to the overall number of churches from this period – around three hundred – suggests that the incentives for adding a text to a monument were more complex and rarer than the incentives for manufacturing the monument itself, an issue we intend to address in a future study.

The late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: expansion of both Latin and Runic areas

Towards the end of the twelfth century and in the thirteenth century, we can observe a change both in the location of the runic and Latin epigraphic areas, and in the use of the two scripts, which consists in their combined employment in the same inscriptions.

14 Karleby (Vartofta Hundred), Valstad (Vartofta Hundred), and Tråvad (Laske Hundred); see Åmark (1960).

During this timespan, both the runic and the Latin epigraphic areas undergo similar developments: a consolidation of previous epigraphic areas and an expansion to other sites in the province. As regards the runic tradition, the aforementioned area around Falköping retains its character as a hub of epigraphic production. At the same time, the runic script expands its domain, as runic inscriptions are attested in a wider geographical region than during the twelfth century, one that includes an epigraphic area around Skara (with especially frequent attestations in Saleby Parish), as well as the epigraphic area in Vadsbo Hundred in the north-east (see Figure 7).

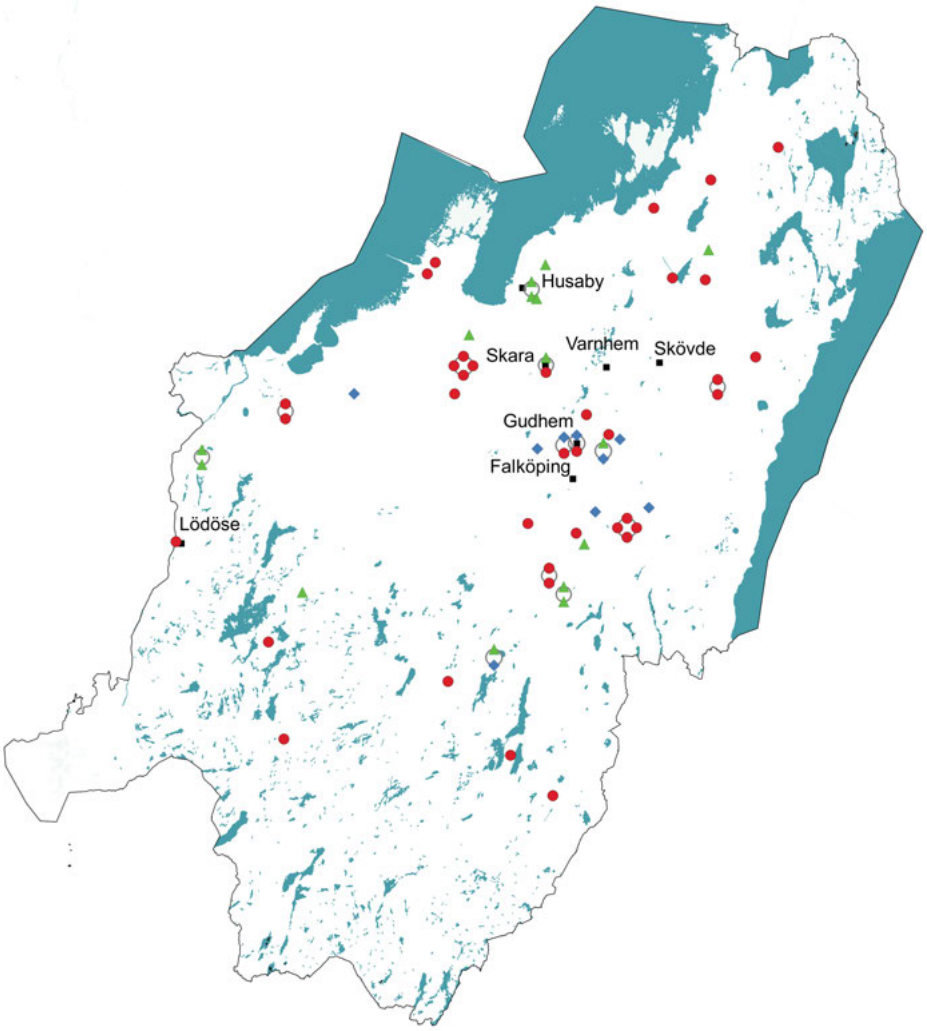

Figure 7: Map of the runic (red dots), Latin (green triangles), and biscriptal (blue diamonds) inscriptions from the late twelfth century and the thirteenth century. Map by Alessandro Palumbo.

While the epigraphic area around Skara resembles that of Falköping with regard to the type of inscriptions present there (see below), the area of Vadsbo seems to have had a more marginal character. First, in Vadsbo the inscriptions are not as concentrated as those in the Falköping area. Because of its fairly large size compared to other hundreds, the inscriptions appear quite scattered. Also, the types of inscriptions and artefacts that are found here might indicate that this region was more peripheral regarding literacy compared to the Falköping area. Of the five inscriptions from the thirteenth century found in Vadsbo, only one is on a grave slab, whereas a second is partly a maker's signature on a door fitting, and the remaining three are all futhark inscriptions on church bells – i.e. inscriptions which only consist of the rune-row **fuþorkhniastblmR**. In these last three cases, the script-bearing objects are less bound to the area where they have been found than grave slabs, meaning that they could have been imported from more central epigraphic areas, and the inscriptions themselves show a lower degree of literacy.

An artefact which both exemplifies this geographically expanded epigraphic manufacturing and the possible discrepancy between the inscriptions' place of production and their distribution (see also below) is a church bell from Saleby Church (Vg 210), east of Skara. This and three fragmentary thirteenth-century gravestone inscriptions testify to a spread of the runic tradition to this new epigraphic area. As pointed out before, the tradition across the Skara area furthermore seems to differ from the other aforementioned thirteenth-century epigraphic area, Vadsbo Hundred. Apart from the more geographically confined distribution of the Saleby inscriptions, the texts produced here show a higher degree of acquaintance with writing than those in Vadsbo, and the church bells from these localities are a case in point. Whereas the bells in Vadsbo Hundred bear inscriptions containing variations of the rune-row **fuþorkhniastblmR**,[15] the Saleby bell inscription consists of a longer bilingual text, entirely in runes, that includes a part in Old Swedish, a sequence in Latin, and the Hebrew Kabbalistic acronym *agla*:

> *Þā iak var gør, þā var þūshundrað tu hundrað tiugu vintr ok ātta frā byrð Guðs. Agla. Ave Maria gratia plena. Dionysius sit benedictus.*
>
> When I was made, it was a thousand two hundred and twenty winters and eight from God's birth. Agla. Hail Mary, full of grace. May Denis be blessed.

Inscribed artefacts like church bells raise the question of whether they testify to epigraphic traditions and literacy practices of the place where they were produced, or rather of the localities where they were used, as further discussed below. The Saleby church bell represents a thought-provoking example in this respect as well. It is believed to be the work of a craftsman named Sköldulv, who cast another rune-inscribed

15 The relevant church bells are from Färed Church (Vg 203), Odensåker Church (Vg 205 †), and Älgarås Church (Vg 206).

bell found in Tibro Church (Vg 219), in the same province of Västergötland but in Kåkind Hundred in the Falköping area (Åmark 1960: 241). This latter bell can in turn be connected to a third one from the province of Småland, in Burseryd Church (Sm 49), since both are apparently signed by the same carver, Björn. Closing the circle, the runic inscription on the Burseryd bell shows interesting textual similarities with the one on the Saleby bell, since both use the same kind of dating.[16] However, despite the connections between these three church bells, the language choices in their runic texts differ from one another. In fact, the Saleby inscription is carved in Swedish and Latin, the text from Tibro is solely in Swedish, and the one from Burseryd is entirely in Latin.

In the late twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century, the location of the Latin inscriptions confirms the tendencies seen in the runic material, namely a continued importance of the twelfth-century epigraphic areas as well as a spread of epigraphic monuments over larger areas in Västergötland (see Figure 7). Latin inscriptions are still found in the two main areas of Kinnekulle and Falköping, while new areas also come into play. As for the runic inscriptions, they are now found in the Vadsbo area as well as in the Skara area (e.g. the funerary inscription in Figure 8), but also in new, isolated localities in the western part of the province, namely Flundre and Kulling Hundreds (Figure 7).[17] Interestingly, Latin inscriptions are now attested

Figure 8: Funerary inscription on a so-called lily stone in Skara Cathedral (Skara 1), Skånings Hundred, at the tomb of *Benedictus electus*, 'Benedict elect', previously interpreted as the mid-twelfth century bishop Bengt "the Good" of Skara. It should most probably be dated to the thirteenth century, and the identity of Benedictus is not certain. Photograph by Harald Faith-Ell.

16 The Burseryd bell bears the following runic inscription: *Anno incarnationis Domini millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo octavo erat facta haec campana. Bero scripsit.*

17 Stone inscriptions are found in Österplana, Kinne Hundred (Österplana 1); Husaby, Kinnefjärding Hundred (Husaby 1 and Husaby 3); Humla, Redväg Hundred (Humla 1); Tidavad, Vadsbo Hundred (Tidavad 1); Fors, Flundre Hundred (Fors 1); Skara, Skånings Hundred (Skara 1). Inscriptions on church bells are found in Bälinge, Kulling Hundred; Fors, Flundre Hundred; Humla, Redväg Hundred; Hjälstad, Vadsbo Hundred; Norra Härene, Kinnefjärding Hundred; Norra Åsarp, Redväg Hundred; Södra Ving, Ås Hundred; see Åmark (1960: s.v.).

only on funerary monuments, baptismal fonts, and church bells – no Latin inscriptions on architectural elements or on other objects occur from the period.

Besides the geographical developments of the aforementioned epigraphic areas, a major new phenomenon concerning both runic and Latin epigraphic practice towards the end of the twelfth and the first part of the thirteenth century is the production of biscriptal and bilingual inscriptions, where both runes and Latin letters, as well as both Old Swedish and Latin, are used on the same artefact. The localities around Falköping, again, seem to have played an important role in this development. It is here, in fact, that almost all biscriptal/bilingual inscriptions in the province are concentrated. They constitute a unique corpus, which for the most part consists of funerary monuments either signed by or attributed to the stonemason *magister* Harald.[18]

Harald's opus consists of nine monuments.[19] These inscriptions normally refer both to the buried individual and to the commissioner of the monument (a continuation of the Viking-Age runic tradition), in some cases together with Harald's signature, either in Latin: *Haraldus* or *Haraldus magister* (see Figure 9), or in Old Swedish: *Haraldær* or *Haraldær stenmæstari*. Sometimes a short prayer (Ave Maria) is also added. Since both the mason signatures and the rest of the inscriptions show the same duality regarding alphabet and language, it seems probable that not only Harald, or not only the client, were to some extent bilingual, but also that this signifies a general use of both languages and both scripts in certain strata of society in the Falköping area at the time.

A typical Harald inscription, which contains Old Swedish written in runes as well as both Old Swedish and Latin written in Latin letters, is a funerary monument from Ugglum, a few kilometres north of Falköping (see Figure 9). The text reads as follows (transliterated runes are in bold and Latin letters without bolding; an arch connecting two runes indicates a ligature):

18 The precise dating of Harald's inscriptions has been much debated, with suggestions, ranging from the second half of the twelfth century to the beginning of the thirteenth century, that have mainly been based on art-historical criteria. Through an in-depth study of palaeographical and linguistic aspects of these inscriptions, forthcoming studies by the authors of this paper will hopefully refine and develop this discussion further. Only one other inscription on stone combines runes and Latin letters, namely Vg 54/Husaby 2 on a funerary monument at Husaby Church, traditionally called "The tomb of Olof Skötkonung". Since this inscription is neither interpreted nor dated securely, it is difficult to analyse its relation to the Harald inscriptions. Furthermore, the material includes an inscription (Vg 221) on a thirteenth-century bell from Flakeberg Church that bears a prayer in Latin letters and a personal name in runes.

19 Gudhem (Vg 88/Gudhem 1, possibly by Harald), Kyrketorp (Vg 97/Kyrketorp 1, possibly by Harald, now lost), Sjögerås (Vg 131/Sjögerås 1, possibly by Harald, now lost), Slöta (Vg 146/Slöta 1, now lost), Södra Ving (Vg 165/Södra Ving 1), Ugglum (Vg 95/Ugglum 1), Valstad (Valstad 1), Valtorp (two inscriptions, of which one is Vg 96/Valtorp 1 and the other is the lost Valtorp 2). See Blennow (2016: 235–237) and Källström (2018).

Figure 9: Funerary inscription from Ugglum Church (Vg 95/Ugglum 1), Gudhem Hundred (now in Historiska museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 3276:2). Photograph by Harald Faith-Ell.

Reginmot · let · gera · hvalf :
ifir : Gunnar : Esbeornar : son
rehinmoþ : læt · gæra : hualf : ifir · gunnar : æsbeornar̂ · sôn :
Haraldus : me fecit : mahister ·

Reginmod had this vault made for Gunnar, Åsbjörn's son. Master Harald made me.

The inscription starts with a passage in Latin letters and Old Swedish that conveys a memorial formula well known from many other runic inscriptions from both the Viking Age and the Middle Ages (see e.g. Palm 1992: 134–135, 137–138). The same content is then expressed in runes and Old Swedish. Lastly, we find the signature of the carver written in Latin letters and in the Latin language.

One Harald inscription, from Valtorp (Vg 96/Valtorp 1), falls out of the pattern in that it predominantly contains text in Latin and in the Latin alphabet, namely a lengthy poem in hexameters about the deceased person, probably named Florens, whereas only traces of a short runic inscription of uncertain reading are preserved. Though often misspelled and rather cryptic, the Latin text nevertheless attests the existence of advanced Latin knowledge in the early medieval Falköping area.[20]

20 The text reads: [*Qui legis i*]*sta mea fata na*(*m*) *modo ride* / [*mors nil aet*]*atis n*(*i*)*l parcit nobilitati*. *Florens* / *floreba*(*m*) *bona fersbona cucn*[*t*]*afe* [---] / [---]*scu*(*m*) *nil caui defunctus ab orbe meau*[*i*], tentatively interpreted as 'You who read this, look at my fate, but just laugh, because death pardons neither age nor nobility. I, Florens, flourished and was of a noble personality and owned goods, which I had not yet bequeathed to anyone. I migrated as deceased from earth' (Blennow 2016: 193–198).

The fourteenth century onwards: The stabilization of Latin epigraphy and decline of runic epigraphy

Although not primarily included in our pilot study, the development of the epigraphic areas after the thirteenth century deserves some brief comments.

From the fourteenth century onwards, the epigraphic areas of Västergötland are subject to major changes. The runic tradition starts declining and, as a result, its geographical domains shrink. In contrast, the production and use of Latin epigraphy becomes stronger, and its hubs shift more clearly to religious and urban centres.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the runic tradition seems to have weakened significantly. No rune-inscribed funerary monuments are securely dated to the fourteenth century, and the only remnants of a possibly public use of the runes are two rune-inscribed bricks from Skara and Aranäs, which bear uninterpreted runic inscriptions,[21] and a few biscriptal texts on church bells (see below). By this time, the runes thus seem to have lost their role in the public sphere in favour of inscriptions in the Latin alphabet. However, they still retain their place in more private texts, as several fourteenth-century rune-carved movable objects found in the town of Lödöse show.

As Annika Ström (2002: 18–23) has shown, Latin funerary inscriptions are distributed in three main areas in this period: the town of Skara, Varnhem Monastery, and the town of Lödöse.[22] In these locations, almost no Latin inscriptions are preserved or known from before the fourteenth century, with the exception of one inscription in Skara Cathedral (Skara 1, see Figure 8), even though the rural area around Skara developed as an epigraphic area in the thirteenth century. We can thus detect another great shift in the geographical distribution of Latin epigraphy, whereby both early towns and monasteries now obviously offered the strongest incentives for the making of epigraphic monuments. Latin epigraphy is now found exclusively on funerary monuments and church bells, and not, as in the preceding centuries, on baptismal fonts or architectural elements.

Latin inscriptions on church bells are sparse in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in fact, the main production of church-bell inscriptions stems from the fourteenth century onwards, with a peak in the first half of the sixteenth century. They are spread more or less evenly all over the province, which suggests that decidedly different needs were at play regarding inscribed church bells. They are almost exclusively in Latin letters, except for a group of four church bells from the fourteenth century where the biscriptal tradition that emerged in the previous century finds a continuation.[23] All of them are signed by the same craftsman, Haquinus. Similarly to

21 Vg Fv1973;201A, Skara, and Vg NOR2001;28, Aranäs.

22 According to Ström's study, a total of sixteen inscriptions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are preserved from Skara, ten from Varnhem Monastery, and eight from the town of Lödöse.

23 Vg 222, Malma Church (Viste Hundred); Vg 245, Herrljunga Church (Kulling Hundred); Vg 247, Hössna Church (Redväg Hundred); Vg 253, Älvsered Church (Kind Hundred).

the stonemason Harald, Haquinus uses both runes, for the text *Ave Maria Jesus*, and Latin letters, for his own signature in the Latin language. Differently from Harald's *oeuvre*, which was mostly concentrated in a geographically delineated area around Falköping, Haquinus' inscriptions are spread over a large area in Västergötland, which is further proof of the fact that craftsmen producing church bells, like those producing baptismal fonts, served wider areas of the province, as will be touched upon briefly below.

Production, distribution, and epigraphic areas

A question of importance when it comes to defining epigraphic areas is the fact that the final location of the epigraphic monument may or may not coincide with the place of its production. This becomes especially evident in the case of material such as baptismal fonts and church bells, objects where the impetus of production, from the twelfth century and after, must have been less related to cultural and social centres. Each parish would need a font and one or more church bells, and it is probable that these objects were to some extent prefabricated at a workshop near a stone quarry and/or a stonemason's workshop, and then distributed all over the province. We know that even ponderous objects such as these could be moved over long distances, in addition to the fact that craftsmen were obviously also movable.

For example, the baptismal font in Åkirkeby on the Danish island of Bornholm (DR 373) was made by a stonemason of Gotlandic origin, Sigraiv, as shown by his signature on the font (DR, cols 427–431).[24] Another example is the oeuvre of Master Harald which, as discussed above, is located very neatly in a circle around today's Falköping, with the exception of one funerary monument found around fifty kilometres south the town, in the church of Södra Ving. A third example may be the stonemason Alexander, who left his signature in Latin on the baptismal font in Fors in the north-western part of Västergötland (Fors 1), and was also the craftsman behind two fonts with Latin inscriptions in medieval Denmark: in Tikøb, Sjælland, and in Fjelie, Skåne (Blennow 2016: 45–48, 116–120). The literary skills and status of a stonemason may, regardless of other factors, also have been the incentive for the making of an inscription, especially in the case of baptismal fonts, where inscriptions often consist solely of the craftsman's signature.

A case in point is the striking geographical pattern shown by the distribution of inscribed baptismal fonts in Västergötland, which displays a clear division between runic inscriptions and Latin inscriptions (see Figure 10): the fonts with Latin inscriptions are found in the central and northern parts of the province, while fonts

24 The inscription ends with a somewhat damaged part, which can be reconstructed as *Sigraifʀ mestari* 'Master Sigraiv'.

with runic inscriptions are located in the southern parts. Such patterns raise the question of where the decisive factors for the making of an epigraphic monument, and in determining which language and script were used, are to be found, whether in the area of use of an object, or rather in the area of its production.

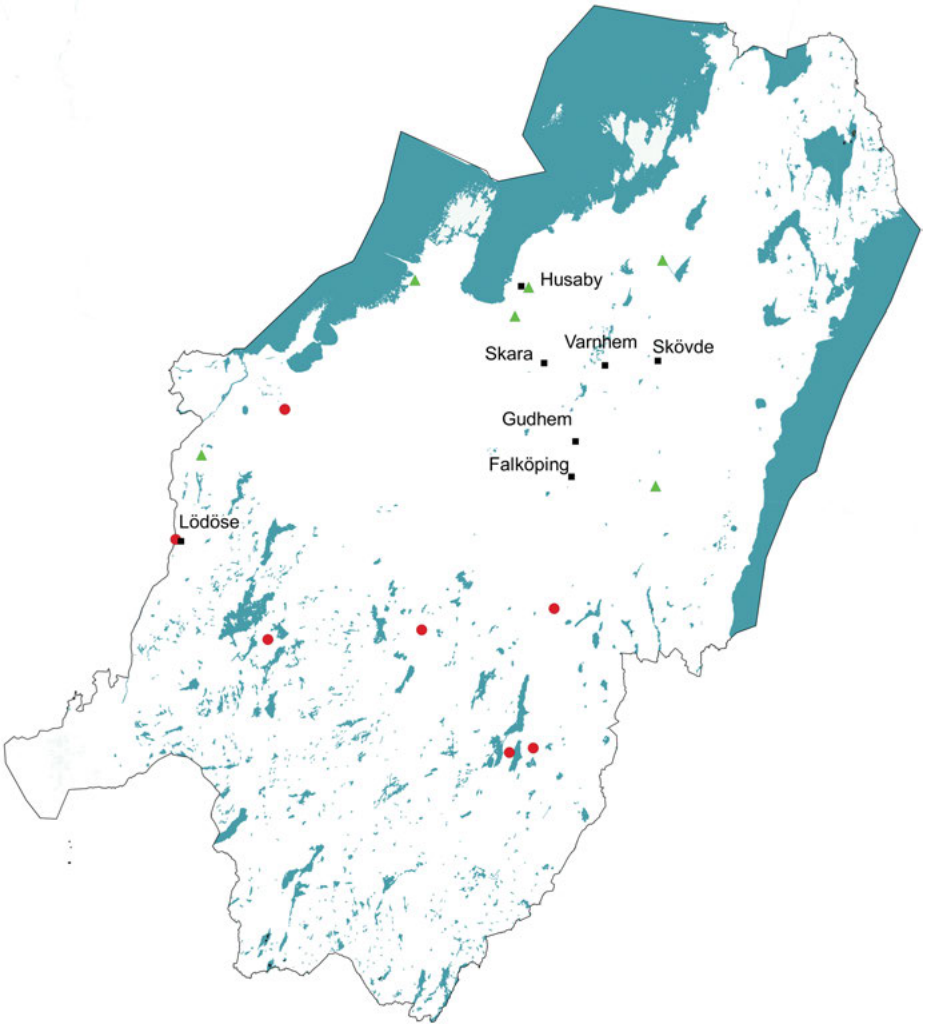

Figure 10: Map of the occurrence of medieval baptismal fonts in Västergötland with runic (red dots) and Latin (green triangles) inscriptions. Map by Alessandro Palumbo.

Conclusions

In this pilot study, we have investigated the establishment and development of runic and Latin epigraphy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Swedish province of Västergötland. We have compared the geographical spread of these two traditions in order to identify hubs of epigraphic culture, here called epigraphic areas, and to track their evolution and mutual relationship during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By means of this comparison, we have been able to detect several complex and dynamic shifts in the use and distribution of runic and Latin epigraphic literacy.

Before the period in focus here, the only form of epigraphy present in Västergötland was the runic one. During the late Viking Age, rune stones were mainly distributed in three separate areas: Vadsbo in the north-east, Redväg in the central part, and Kålland in the mid-northern part of the province. The partly contemporary early Christian grave monuments, both those inscribed with runes and the uninscribed ones, further accentuate the importance of the mid-northern area of the province, as they are primarily found in Kålland Hundred and in the nearby area of Kinnekulle.

This picture changes drastically in the twelfth century, as two major events affect the epigraphic areas of Västergötland: Latin epigraphy is introduced, and the runic tradition shifts its geographical domain.

One of the two main areas where Latin epigraphy established itself in Västergötland in the twelfth century is Kinnekulle in the mid-northern part of the province. As mentioned above, several sites in Kinnekulle and in the neighbouring area of Kålland constituted the main centres of production of the so-called early Christian grave monuments in the eleventh century. This development of an intensified use of monumental epigraphy in the mid-eleventh century possibly created the preconditions for Latin epigraphy to be introduced to the Kinnekulle area in the early twelfth century. Several of the Latin inscriptions here are dated to the early twelfth century, which may point to continued epigraphic activity in the area.

The beginning of the twelfth century further marks the start of a coexistence of runic and Latin epigraphy that in this part of Sweden will last for over two centuries. This coexistence is evident on several levels, not least the geographical one, as both traditions flourish in a new epigraphic area located around today's Falköping. This town is not historically attested until 1281, but the epigraphic evidence gathered in this study testifies to intense sociocultural activity in the area already in the twelfth century.

As regards the runic tradition, the older Viking-Age epigraphic areas in Redväg, Kålland, and Vadsbo decline in importance in favour of this new hub of written culture, which also implies that the focal area for runic epigraphic production now appears more centralized compared with the three separately located Viking-Age epigraphic areas.

The Falköping area shows not only a comparatively high number of Latin and runic inscriptions but also signs of a high level of writing competence. Where the

Latin corpus is concerned, this is shown by inscriptions whose composition represents a clear break with the runic funerary epigraphy. The use of stylized Latin, poetry, and elaborate formulas furthermore indicates the presence of individuals who were very well versed in the Latin language. Where runic written culture is concerned, its vitality in this area is indicated, among other things, by a number of innovative traits in the writing system used, which seem to have originated here and spread later to other Swedish provinces. Moreover, some runic inscriptions in this area also show clear influences from the Latin epigraphic tradition, which can be seen in the orthographical conventions employed, in the presence of elements in the Latin language, and in the use of formulas inspired by continental Latin epigraphy.

In the hundreds around Falköping, therefore, we find during the twelfth century a simultaneous occurrence of a strong Latin and a strong runic epigraphic tradition. Here, we witness a unique intersection of the two written cultures, which seem to have reinforced each other, as both appear to be flourishing and expanding at the turn of the thirteenth century.

The two main epigraphic areas of Västergötland in the twelfth century, Kinnekulle and Falköping, differ in several aspects from each other. Kinnekulle is almost exclusively a Latin epigraphic area – no rune inscriptions are attested here, apart from the funerary monument in Husaby (Vg 54/Husaby 2). Moreover, the monuments here are characterized by a higher grade of "professionalization" with regard to both craftsmanship and religious organization, with craftsmen's signatures, liturgical inscriptions, and mostly institutional inscriptions, rather than texts connected to single individuals. Husaby, as a remarkably big church founded at an early date, is a signifier of religious importance that could have attracted this kind of epigraphic production. Yet another important factor might have been the stone quarries that we know were established at Kinnekulle in the twelfth century, where internationally recruited craftsmen would have been active, bringing with them Latin epigraphic culture from the continent.

From a sociocultural point of view, the epigraphic area of Falköping is remarkable because of its substantial production of inscriptions connected to wealthy individuals in the form of many funerary monuments. Furthermore, the epigraphic attestations from this area make clear that in Västergötland, not only clergymen and monks but also rich, influential, and educated lays of both genders participated in medieval literary culture and learned tradition, which shows that international cultural connections must have existed even outside the clerical milieu.

The evidence collected from the Falköping area seems to point towards both worldly and religious power becoming increasingly established around the location where the medieval town of Falköping was later to be founded. Thus, both the runic and Latin epigraphic areas show that "proto-Falköping" had by this time developed into one of the most important cultural, social, and religious centres of Västergötland, a fact that enriches our understanding of the early medieval history of the area, scantily documented in archaeological and other historical sources.

Towards the end of the twelfth century and during the thirteenth century, it is possible to detect a general spread of both runic and Latin epigraphy over larger areas of Västergötland, which illustrates the renaissance that the two script cultures enjoyed in the province at the time. The two traditions seem to have bolstered each other, as they both continued to flourish in the area of Falköping and, moreover, established themselves in other areas, for instance in Vadsbo Hundred and around the town of Skara. Furthermore, the intersection of these two traditions resulted around the turn of the century in the production of not only bilingual but also biscriptal inscriptions, as seen in the *oeuvre* of Master Harald. While this phenomenon is too limited, both in the number of such inscriptions and in their geographical spread, to allow us to speak of a fully fledged blended, two-script culture, it is clear that the two traditions were closely intertwined in the area of Falköping, and that individuals gave expression to a truly mixed written culture in the epigraphic monuments that they created. This feature makes this particular epigraphic area unique for medieval Västergötland.

It is not until the fourteenth century – a period which lies outside the scope of this pilot study – that Latin epigraphy eventually gains the upper hand over the runic tradition, and reaches a stabilization in form, language, and function, in contrast to the rich variation typical of the preceding centuries. During this time, Latin epigraphy also shifts its geographical domains and is concentrated in the towns of Skara and Lödöse, as well as in the monastery at Varnhem. This change in the distribution of monumental Latin inscriptions shows the increasingly important role that monasteries and the growing towns played for the production of epigraphy. During the same period, formal and monumental runic epigraphy was rapidly declining, and is found only on a few church bells, whereas runes still seem to have been used on movable objects, as findings from the town of Lödöse witness.

As has been demonstrated in this paper, epigraphic studies can complement and add nuance to archaeological and historical sources to a high degree, and also, as in the case of Falköping, present entirely new evidence for the sociocultural importance of a region despite a lack of other sources from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Moreover, this study shows that the combined investigation of runic and Latin epigraphy can shed new light on the development of a literate society in medieval Sweden.

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Vg + number = Runic inscription in SRI 5.

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Samu Niskanen

The Emergence of an Authorial Culture: Publishing in Denmark in the Long Twelfth Century

This essay seeks to outline how the publication of original Latin literary works began and matured as a process in Denmark in the course of the long twelfth century.[1] Characterized by cultural and societal transformations in Western Christendom, the period witnessed the emergence of a Latin literary culture in Scandinavia. The present paper's geographical focus is on Denmark because, in comparison with other Scandinavian realms, the kingdom was a forerunner in the field of Latin composition.[2] The corpus of texts discussed embraces selected Latin literary works from Denmark datable to the long twelfth century. The principle governing the selection was that the texts furnish evidence regarding their publication and are representative of pertinent key trends. The corpus tends towards the hagiographical and historical, rather than the theological and scholarly, because writings falling into the former categories were authored throughout the period under study. The earliest text in our corpus is an anonymous hagiographical text from the turn of the eleventh century; the latest is the *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus, published in 1208 or soon after.

Before embarking on the analysis, I must clarify how the terms *literary* and *publication* are applied here, and how the subject is approached. *Literary* here denotes texts that were transmitted by means of books or booklets (as opposed to inscriptions), that were not produced in the course of business and were characterized by at least a degree of commitment to elegance of expression (as opposed to administrative documents), and that were longer than a few lines. The term *publication* calls for a more detailed treatment; a short overview of previous research on authorial publication in the Middle Ages is likewise necessary. Today, the vehicle for publishing is a printed or

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2 This assessment pertains to quantity and variety. The earliest Scandinavian literary text in Latin was composed possibly in mid-eleventh-century Norway; see Mortensen (2012: "Sanctus Olavus"): *Missa*. For twelfth-century texts in Norway, see also Mortensen (2012: "Sanctus Olavus") and Ommundsen (2012: "Sanctus Hallvardus"): *Vita* and *Officium*. For Sweden, see Ståhl (2012: "Sanctus Bodvidus") and Haki Antonsson (2012: "Sanctus Ericus"). For Iceland, see Egilsdottir (2012; "Sanctus Thorlacus Thorhallson").

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digital book, rather than a manuscript.[3] In the context of modern publishing, the word *manuscript* stands for "an author's handwritten or typed text that has not yet been published", as the *Oxford Dictionary of English* puts it. Many would instinctively equate *manuscript* with the quality of not being published. Some scholars have accordingly considered the word *publishing* inappropriate in pre-print contexts. The majority opinion today, so it seems, is otherwise: *publishing* as a term is applicable to manuscript cultures.[4] I am in favour of that latter position. I define *publishing* for the purposes of this paper as follows: the word denotes here an authorial act of releasing a work to a public. The vehicle was a manuscript, on occasion supported by voice (if the event of release involved reading in public). Release could naturally have been repeated, resulting in "a series of publishing moments" for a single work.[5] While that aspect of repeated acts is important for attempts to conceptualize medieval publication, the thin manuscript evidence for the works to be studied below does not provide for pertinent discussion here. We shall, however, encounter a fragment of an unpublished text, testifying to processes prior to publication in manuscript.

Furthermore, the essay cannot delve into another key feature that makes medieval publication fundamentally distinct from mass-produced prints. This is the fact that textual variation is a virtually inevitable side-effect of the process of copying by hand. All medieval authors were certainly aware that in the course of transmission, writings would become subject to scribal inaccuracy and intervention. In some cases, departures from an authorial text were so radical that its descendants should be classified as adaptations rather than copies. An unpolished authorial text and failure to claim authorial ownership – i.e. issuing a work anonymously – was a combination that could turn copyists into redactors.[6] Some authors took efforts to prevent such vagaries. Prologues to their works urged, for instance, that the whole text must be copied, including its prefatory devices such as the proem and the list of chapter headings.[7] None of the authors to be discussed below did this.[8] It should be emphasized, however, that the sample is far too small to indicate that twelfth-century writers in

3 For a more detailed discussion of scholarship on publishing in manuscript cultures, see Tahkokallio (2019: 3–9); Hobbins (2013: 153–154); Tether (2014: 23–26; 2017: 13–26); Sharpe (2009: 1–2).

4 See e.g. Laidlaw (1987: 35–75); Doyle (1989: 109–123); Riddy (2004: 29–49); Hobbins (2013); Sharpe (2009); Tether (2014; 2017); Dunning (2016).

5 The phrase "publishing moment" is introduced in Hobbins (2013: 152–182).

6 See e.g. Niskanen (2019: 103–114). One of the earliest historians of the First Crusade implied that an incentive for him to write was the anonymity of the writer of his main source (*Historia Ierosolimitana*: 4).

7 For near-contemporary instances, see Anselm of Canterbury (*Sancti Anselmi Opera*: *Monologion*, Prologus (vol. 1: 8); *De ueritate*, Praefatio (vol. 1: 174); *Cur Deus homo*, Praefatio (vol. 2: 43)).

8 Note that at the close of his *Lex castrensis*, Sven Aggesen, one of our authors, invited readers to elaborate the treatise, which should primarily be taken as a demonstration of humility, a common literary trope (*Lex castrensis*: 43).

Denmark would not have been concerned about textual variation in the course of transmission. Furthermore, provincialism would hardly have accounted for such a lack of concern. A Scandinavian writer operating in a far remoter context, the Icelandic abbot Bergr Sokkason († *c*. 1350), prefixed a letter to his *Nikulás saga erkibyskups*, entreating that his audience say Ave Marias for his soul. Hence, he insisted that copyists not leave out the prefatory letter. Bergr's pious request was a success in that *Nikulás saga erkibyskups*, together with the letter, is preserved in an unusually precise antiquarian copy, Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 638 4to.

In outlining how Latin literary publishing took hold in Denmark, the present paper attempts a theoretical contribution. It aims to categorize those types of publishing that emerge from the texts studied. The emphasis is on the social aspect of publishing; the exercise concentrates on the engagement of third parties in authorial publication. This approach is necessitated by the paucity of source material, especially contemporary manuscript witnesses. The evidence comes almost exclusively from prefatory texts with which medieval authors equipped their works. These typically identify individuals and institutions that were in some way relevant to publication. More often than not, such parties were dedicatees, who were, at least in theory, the first to receive the finished work. A dedication conspicuously stated in a preface informed readers of the social and/or institutional context in which the work in question had, in actual fact or purportedly, been released. Pertinent remarks abound in medieval prefaces to an extent that suggests two corollaries; one is potentially positive, and the other is potentially negative. The former is that even the absence of references to third parties relevant to publication may be instructive. This is something that will be proposed below.

The latter, potentially challenging quality is that statements on dedication and commission were first and foremost literary gestures, deriving from the Latin classics and tending towards affected modesty. Dedications, which were more frequent than statements of commission, were often addressed to parties superior to the author. One function of dedicating, then, was to convince readers that the writer belonged to important circles. The snag is the fact that dedications and commissions were almost exclusively reported by authors, who would benefit from prestigious connections. Such circumstances would have encouraged distortion. As a result, medieval dedications have sometimes been dismissed as evidence of historical realities.[9] Nonetheless, being formulaic does not necessarily equate with being inaccurate. A recent study on three twelfth-century Anglo-Norman historians demonstrates that they sought, at times with success, to obtain concrete benefit from high-standing individuals to whom they dedicated their works. Dedications were genuine in their case (Tahkokallio 2019: 79–80). Furthermore, even fictitious testimonies serve some purpose. A dedication to

9 See e.g. Curtius (1961: 95).

an eminent party could have furnished a work with a certain aura of authority, even if no actual relationship between the author and the dedicatee existed. Feigned connections should be considered as belonging to authorial efforts to publish and gain readership. While it may be challenging to assess how accurately remarks on dedication and commission matched the actual reality, they can and should be taken as evidence of social evaluations relevant to publishing.

Although the modern discussion of authorial manuscript publishing began more than a century ago, the act of publication – the step that carries a new text from author to audience – in the Middle Ages is mostly unexplored (Root 1913: 417–431). The most recent edition of Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* is demonstrative of the current situation. The edition represents the cutting edge of today's textual scholarship, to which glowing reviews and awards attest. The introduction, which is extremely learned, makes no comment on how Saxo published.[10] Such an approach is typical of modern critical editions. The acts through which authors released their works are rarely scrutinized. Attempts to conceptualize medieval publication are even rarer, even though the first concentrated scholarly effort, by Robert Root, sought to classify various types of publishing in the manuscript age.[11] The present paper continues that discussion. Three types of release will be put forward: issuing (contrasting with publication proper), donative publication, and independent publication. In comparison to the classifications of Root, who was a philologist, mine focus more on the institutional setting of release. What follows is a historian's attempt to conceptualize authorial publication in the Middle Ages. It should also be emphasized that my classifications are intended neither to be comprehensive nor universal. A central aspect of medieval publishing was its responsiveness to the contingencies of time and place, as will be briefly argued in the final section of this paper.[12] To conclude, the aim here is to propose categories of how works were released that help us characterize the earliest history of authorial publishing in Denmark. The most profound trend to emerge is increasing authorial self-assertion.

It should be emphasized that the following discussion does not cover intended audiences that could not be immediately reached through acts of publication. All the writers to be considered probably hoped not only to secure a contemporary reception in their immediate circles but also to erect monuments for posterity. Such considerations would have affected how some of them released their works. Yet

10 The closest we get is a discussion of the time of composition concerning Saxo Grammaticus (*Gesta Danorum*: xxxiii–xxxv).

11 Root (1913) proposed a fourfold classification: publication by presenting a text to a patron, publication by public reading, publication sanctioned by a religious authority, and commercial publication by making the text available to urban professional scribes. For a critical assessment, see Riddy (2004: 30–37).

12 My view resonates with Eisenstein (2016: 8), although I do not share her scepticism.

causalities of this nature are hard to establish, for which reason the subject must go undiscussed here. One should keep in mind, however, that the writings categorized below as relevant to specific institutions were probably also composed with an eye on external readerships in the future.

Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martiris: issuing

As far as the surviving evidences goes, the earliest piece of Latin literature from Denmark is the *Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martiris*, a hagiographical work whose protagonist is King Canute IV († 1086).[13] The composition is datable to 1095 × 1101. We do not know who the author was. On account of his open hostility to the Normans, it has been conjectured that he was possibly an Anglo-Saxon emigrant from England (Haki Antonsson 2012a: "Sanctus Kanutus Rex"). His anonymity may have to do with the genre of his writing. Hagiographical pieces were often, but (as we shall see) not always, anonymous. The Scandinavian corpus of Latin literature is a demonstration of this state of affairs. The *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin* database, which is the best available bibliography and embraces roughly 80 per cent of the total corpus, itemizes 108 Latin authors and writings. While anonymous hagiographical works, many consisting of various sections such as *legenda* and *officia*, amount to twenty-two, those by identifiable authors are ten in number.[14] Hagiographical works, especially those by unknown authors, were often composed for a specific purpose and audience, typically an ecclesiastical community that used the text in its ritual life. Such qualifications apply to the *Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martiris*. The text reads as a set of homilies, providing for *lectiones* at matins (Sønnesyn 2016: 135). This liturgical association is reflected by the medieval reception: the subsequent *Breviarium Arhusiense*, *Breviarium Lundense*, and *Breviarium Nidrosiense* adopted parts of the work as *lectiones* (Haki Antonsson 2012a: "Sanctus Kanutus Rex"). The first sentences of the *Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martiris*, and its historical context, suggest that it was to serve in the veneration of St Canute in a specific community. The passage in question deserves to be quoted here because of the fact that it inaugurated Latin literature in Denmark. It may be added, because the fact has gone unobserved in previous scholarship, that the opening sentence was lifted from Alcuin's homily for the

13 *Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martiris* (62–76); see also Mortensen (2006: 247).

14 These figures are only provisional. The figure of twenty-two counts different texts on an individual saint as one. The figure of ten does not include sermons, which are not thoroughly catalogued in *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin* (https://wikihost.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Medieval_Nordic_Literature_in_Latin).

anniversary of St Willibrord (*Omelia*: 138–139).[15] In other words, Latin literature in Denmark was ushered in with a quotation from a central Carolingian author.

> Licet per totius orbis ecclesias conueniat omni populo christiano festa sanctorum celebrare, uictorias martirum laudare uitamque istorum imitari, in singulis tamen locis propter familiaritatem cohabitantium et propter sanctarum presentiam reliquiarum, que in solacium istis uel illis habitatoribus condonate sunt, ueneratione (inquam) speciali apud ciues populosue suos digni habentur atque honorantur. Omnium ergo uirtutum opifice spiritu sancto aspirante nunc de sancti Kanuti regis ac martiris tractaturi passione ammonemus uel obsecramus uos, qui hec audituri estis [. . .].[16] (*Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martiris*: 62)

> It is customary that throughout the churches in the entire world, Christian people assemble to celebrate the feasts of saints, praise the victory of martyrs, and imitate the lives of the righteous. Yet, I should say, among the inhabitants or people of certain places [certain saints] are regarded and revered as having special honour by virtue of familiarity between them and their compatriots and the presence of their holy relics, which have been given to the inhabitants of the place in question for consolation. Therefore, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the source of all virtues, as we are to explore the passion of St Canute, the king and martyr, we urge and request that you, who will be listening to this [. . .].

As noted in several studies, the context of the *Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martiris* was the church of St Mary and St Alban in Odense, where King Canute had been slain and where his relics were held (Haki Antonsson 2012a: "Sanctus Kanutus Rex"). Given that the author had participated in the translation of St Canute's relics to the said church in 1095, he apparently belonged to its fraternity (*Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martiris*: 71). But how was the work released for reception? Not identifying himself, the writer did not claim any authorial ownership. Nor did he remark on his authorial process or how he made the work available. Faced by the absence of evidence, one must proceed by way of deduction. Anonymous pragmatic literature that had been composed to meet the needs of a community must often have been released in a casual manner. It would have been natural to bring such writings into use with no or little ceremony to mark the occasion. The odds are that the *Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martiris* was released more or less along these lines in the church of St Mary and St Alban in Odense. The work is likely to have been aired as homilies, or *lectiones*, from a pulpit. Nothing suggests that the release constituted a conscious act of publishing to obtain written circulation. The noun *issue* and the verb *to issue* seem to convey such a setting more accurately than do the words *publication* and *to publish*. These deductions are applicable at least to some of the other anonymous twelfth-century hagiographical works. Their writers' shared disregard for authorial recognition suggests that when writing, they identified themselves more

15 Slighter affinities with other texts have previously been identified, see Gertz (1907: 67, note 1); Mortensen (2006: 248); Friis-Jensen (2006: 195, note 2).

16 For a recent discussion of the passage, see Mortensen (2006: 248).

as servants of their home institutions than as authors. Their writings were likely to have been issued rather than published.

Ælnoth and Robert of Ely: donative publication

King Canute proved a persistent figure in Danish Latin literature. Denmark's first identifiable Latin author likewise wrote on him; the work in question is the *Gesta Swenomagni regis et filiorum eius et passio gloriosissimi Canuti regis et martyris*, hereafter *Gesta et passio*.[17] We are now furnished with key coordinates relevant to publication: we know who wrote the work and to whom it was dedicated. The writer was called Ælnoth. The work can be securely dated to the period from 1104 to 1125. A recent conjecture, which I find persuasive, narrows this down to the years 1110 and 1113 (Gelting 2011: 38–39). Ælnoth did not identify his ecclesiastical status other than by vague expressions, laden with affected modesty. Yet he made it manifest that he was not a native of Denmark but an Englishman from Canterbury. This detail seems to have been of some significance to him, as he cared to mention it twice (*Gesta et passio*: 77, 135). While Ælnoth's English background has been discussed in a number of papers, a fresh connection can be propounded. By his own account, he had been living in Denmark for almost twenty-four years when writing (*Gesta et passio*: 77). The combination of the timing of Ælnoth's move from Canterbury to Denmark and the recently proposed *termini* of 1110 and 1113 for his writing hints that he may have been implicated in a revolt at St Augustine's at Canterbury. In 1087, the monks of that house rebelled against their new abbot, Wido, a Norman monk. While some monks returned to their house without sanction, punishments were imposed on those who persisted in resistance. Ill-will lived on. In 1088, a party devised a secret plan to physically harm the abbot. The plot proved futile, and the culprits were caught. The retribution was harsh (*Acta Lanfranci*: 84–89).[18] Ælnoth might have been a monk who was exiled or fled from Canterbury. That background would account for his antipathy towards the Normans (*Gesta et passio*: 96–97). Yet Ælnoth refers to himself as a priest, never as a monk or brother, in the *Gesta et passio*. He may not have lived as a cloistered monk in Denmark, but as a royal chaplain, an argument put forward already in the nineteenth century and reasserted recently with fresh circumstantial reasoning (Gelting 2011: 39–41). Such a status seems to be incompatible with a recent judicious characterization of Ælnoth as a writer, according to which he "wrote within a tradition profoundly informed and animated by monastic ideals" (Sønnesyn 2016: 146). While my conjecture that Ælnoth was perhaps an ex-monk of St Augustine's is beyond verification, it has the merit of harmonizing the quoted assessment of him as author with what we

17 For a recent discussion, with references to previous scholarship, see Conti (2010: 189–218).

18 For modern commentary, see Sharpe (1995: 5) and Hayward (2004: 141–160).

know of his trajectory for certain. What is more, the identification of Ælnoth as an ex-monk of Canterbury resonates with advice Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury gave to Archbishop Asser of Lund by letter at some time between 1104 and 1109. The latter should "cleanse the kingdom of apostates [. . . who are] foreign [. . . and] expelled by their bishops".[19]

Ælnoth's *Gesta et passio* was associated with the brethren of St Canute's Priory in Odense. His baroque literary idiom makes it somewhat difficult to establish precisely how this relationship functioned, but it is patent that the project served the cause of that church. We can safely assume that the *Gesta et passio* was written under the aegis of the brethren of St Canute's, and perhaps at their invitation.[20] The work opens with a dedicatory letter to King Niels (1104–1134). Ælnoth hoped that his writing would "exhilarate" the king and "inspire him to emulate the virtues of his kinsman" St Canute.[21] Moral edification was something of a *sine qua non* for medieval historical writing of any kind, be it hagiographical or secular. A more concrete objective was that the king would make "fitting donations" to the Odense brethren, the keepers of St Canute's relics.[22] The context of that request was King Niels's patronage of St Canute's Priory in Odense, which manifested itself in massive gifts. A key substratum in Ælnoth's dedication of his work to the king was, then, the medieval system of gift-giving. "Give and ye shall receive", instructs the Bible, and that is what medieval people did. Reciprocal gift-giving was a very serious business in quantity and value. Exchanges of donations were the glue that held medieval networks, even societies, together.[23] Receiving material gifts from the king, St Canute's Priory was to repay, but not in kind. The brethren offered the king their prayers and, so it seems, a literary testimony to the sanctity of his predecessor.

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19 *Sancti Anselmi Opera* (vol. 5: 394–395; *Ep*. 447): "[. . .] regnum illud uestro sancto studio emundetis ab apostatis, ut nullus alienigena ibi recipiat aliquem ecclesiasticum ordinem, quia illi qui ab episcopis suis repelluntur, illuc pergunt et execrabiliter ad diuersos ordines sacrantur".

20 *Gesta et passio* (79): "[. . .] quę de gestis religiosi principis et deo dilecti martyris probabilibus personis utriusque sexus et ordinis referentibus agnoui, religiosi habitus uiris, Ihesu Christo ibidem insignique triumphatori deseruientibus, obnixe suffragantibus posterorum memorię reseruanda apicibus contradidi [. . .]". Conversely, *obnixe suffragantibus* could be construed as connected to the end of the quoted extract rather than to *religiosi habitus uiris* as follows: *suffragantibus apicibus obnixe contradidi*, or 'I strenuously laid out in praiseful words'. In that case, *religiosi habitus uiris* should be read as the dative, expressing to whom Ælnoth wrote.

21 *Gesta et passio* (79): "[. . .] ea pietati maiestatis uestrę representans, ut et de tanti germani glorificatione plenius exhilaretur et ad eiusdem uirtutis insignia emulanda superno prouisore aspirante ardentius incitetur".

22 *Gesta et passio* (81): "Tanti igitur germani pignora regia condignis adornet donis potentia, edis sacrę decus amplificet, spiritualis normę uiros cultui ibidem diuino iugiter insistentes solidando corroboret, ut pro temporalis suffragij amminiculo superne remunerationis in ęternum potiaris premio".

23 Scholarly discussion on gift exchange in the Middle Ages is a massive field. For an overview, see Bijsterveld (2007: 17–50). The gift-exchange aspect has not been fully explored in studies on medieval publishing and literary patronage.

Ælnoth's *Gesta et passio* is demonstrative of the fact that literary dedications did not necessarily bring together writings and the readerships intended for them. The complexities of Ælnoth's style emphasize the lack of an effective connection between his work and its dedicatee.[24] King Niels, the dedicatee, hardly belonged to the class of men at whom Ælnoth directed his piece. Almost certainly illiterate, the king knew a few Latin words at best.[25] Ælnoth's diction is considerably artificial, such that only able Latinists can enjoy, or fully comprehend, his narrative. Oral renditions in the vernacular may perhaps have been envisaged, so that the text would have served as "a memory aid for a vernacular storyteller".[26] But even that would have been a challenging task in anything but a simplified paraphrase. Be that as it may, Ælnoth crafted his Latin diction with men other than his king in mind. The readership intended for the *Gesta et passio* must have consisted of the learned elite of the brethren of St Canute's Priory and other churches, and perhaps a very few clerics at the royal court. The king's primary role was to receive the work as a gift and in so doing participate in its publication.

Ælnoth did not make explicit remarks on how the *Gesta et passio* was put into circulation. Our two extant manuscripts do not provide any insights either; they are too late. As regards subsequent transmission, they mirror an entirely monastic affair, resonating with our identification of Ælnoth's primary intended audience.[27] Our only piece of evidence in relation to the act of publication is the work's dedication to King Niels. That dedication, conspicuously displayed, communicated to medieval readers the understanding that the work had been released in the presence of the king. Such an event would not have been a rarity, as is clear from the great amount of medieval depictions of kings, and other magnates, receiving books as donations. So, at least in the medieval imagination and probably in reality, King Niels had been presented with a copy of the work. Ælnoth – or possibly the brethren of St Canute's, the ultimate beneficiaries from the work's royal dedication – would have given it to him in person.

Another hagiographical work, the *Life of Canute Lavard*, may be briefly commented on at this juncture, as its background resembles that of Ælnoth's *Gesta et passio*. The *Life of Canute Lavard* only survives in fragments incorporated into other

24 For his style, see Winterbottom (2016: 119–130).

25 Bäuml's term *semi-literate* probably has less relevance to early twelfth-century contexts in Scandinavia than on the continent, especially those where the vernacular was Romance; see Bäuml (1980: 246–247).

26 The terminology is from Mortensen (1995: 99).

27 The two survivors, St Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 716 and Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, MS 403, come from the Cistercian houses of Ter Doest and Clairmarais respectively. The St Omer manuscript is datable roughly to the final decades of the twelfth century and the Bruges manuscript to the turn of the twelfth century. Both manuscripts transmit the *Legendarium Flandrense*, a vast compilation of saints' lives. The *Gesta et passio* is embedded in that collection, a context that was certainly established decades after Ælnoth's career.

works. While no source transmits the work's title (and hence the English title here), we know that it was authored by Robert of Ely at some time between 1135 and 1137 (*Canute Lavard*: 234–241). Robert of Ely was an English emigrant well versed in Latin composition. His *Life of Canute Lavard* was dedicated to King Eric II (1134–1137) (*Canute Lavard*: 234). The project was certainly associated with Ringsted Abbey (OSB), which Eric II founded on the site of an older priory in 1135. The church was the resting place of Canute Lavard, a prince who had been killed in 1131. It is not known whether or not Robert was affiliated to Ringsted Abbey (Friis-Jensen 2012). Either way, the *Life of Canute Lavard* was probably a commission from the abbey's brethren or, perhaps less likely, written at the invitation of the king, who would have profited from promoting Canute Lavard, his kinsman. A pattern emerges. Latin authors in Denmark were English clerics, suggesting that the native clergy was lacking in linguistic skills. Their writings were connected to monastic communities closely associated with their saintly protagonists and to royal patronage of the houses in question. One factor was the exchange of gifts between the king and the monasteries of St Canute's Priory in Odense and Ringsted Abbey. I would propose that the aspect of gift-giving was so significant that we can characterize the release of Ælnoth's *Gesta et passio* and Robert of Ely's *Life of Canute Lavard* as donative publication. The classification is tentative, especially for Robert of Ely's work.

Sven Aggesen: independent publication

Within a generation or so of its inception in Denmark, Latin composition began to diversify in terms of geography, institutional setting, and genre. The earliest surviving historical piece that cannot be classified as hagiography is the *Chronicon Roskildense*, composed *c*. 1138. The work was followed by other chronicles such as the *Chronicon Lethrense*, and various annals known today by the generic title *Annales Danici*. These writings resembled the hagiographical tradition in that the writers did not identify themselves. Their anonymity emphasized the fact that they were compilers-cum-authors, lifting material from other works. Some of these histories were related to one another in ways that are hard to establish (Kristensen 1969). The most significant centres were the cathedrals of Roskilde and Lund, secular churches contrasting with the regular status of St Canute's Priory in Odense and Ringsted Abbey. Lund became a hub of annalistic writing, which was being practised there from 1140 to 1265 (Kristensen 1969: 150). The annalistic tradition stimulated more ambitious historiographical endeavours launched in the 1180s. Two men associated with the entourage of the archbishop of Lund wrote national histories. They were Sven Aggesen and Saxo Grammaticus. In contrast to previous literary works from Denmark, theirs testify to a self-contained sense of authorship, something that their publication bore out.

The years of Sven Aggesen's life are unknown, but he was certainly active in the 1180s.[28] His family represented Denmark's highest nobility. He was probably an archdeacon of Lund, then under Archbishop Absalon.[29] He is known to have written three pieces: *Lex castrensis sive curiae* (a law code, henceforth *Lex castrensis*), *Genealogia regum Daniae* (of which only fragments survive), and *Historia regum Daniae compendiosa* (henceforth *Historia compendiosa*). The secure *termini* for the *Lex castrensis* are 1181 and 1201. Because this work patently preceded the *Historia compendiosa*, it is likely to have been composed in the 1180s. The *Historia compendiosa* was written at some time between 1185 and 1202, and can be dated tentatively to *c*. 1188 (Christiansen 2012: "Sueno Aggonis"; 1992: 25–26).

The *Lex castrensis* and *Historia compendiosa* open with prologues. They make no mention of third-party involvement in the publication process. Sven presented his works neither as commissions nor as having been dedicated to someone. Indeed, he made it clear that his writing stemmed not from external requests but from his own inclination.[30] He intended the *Lex castrensis* for 'budding youths who flourish in the art of eloquence' (i.e. schoolboys) and posterity. He did not define target readers for the *Historia compendiosa*. Whoever they were, their number was not large, a condition strengthened by Sven's convoluted Latin diction. Most or all of them would have been associated with the Lund cathedral and other major churches, and perhaps the royal court.[31]

The absence of references to patronage or other relevant third-party commitment to the authorial process is significant in respect to publishing. Under such circumstances, the release of a work, as conveyed to readers by implication, was an independently conducted affair. While publication, if successful, must in effect have involved some external participation, uncredited parties did not belong to the dramatis personae of the authorial narrative of how Sven's works had begun their journey to the reader. His decision not to acknowledge external engagement implied that publication had been arranged by him alone. This impression is consistent with the manner in which he preserved his works for posterity. Two references to his own work, which are found in the *Lex castrensis* and *Historia compendiosa*, indicate that he had made an anthology. The reference in the *Lex castrensis* explains that "at the end of this little work the pedigrees of the kings and their succession" would be

28 He must have been older than Saxo; Sven's father was an active warrior in 1132, whereas Saxo's grandfather fought for Valdemar I, possibly after 1157.

29 These biographical details come from Eric Christiansen (1992: 1–4; 2012: "Sueno Aggonis").

30 The observation was first made in Christiansen (1992: 4). *Historia compendiosa* (46–47).

31 *Lex castrensis* (12–13, 42–43). It has been argued that Sven wrote for "a select audience of educated initiates" or "a very restricted elite"; see Christiansen (2012: "Sueno Aggonis") and Mortensen (2011: 69).

unfolded.[32] The reference is either to the *Historia compendiosa* or, less likely, the *Genealogia regum Daniae*. That reading resonates with our only manuscript witness of Sven's *oeuvre*, Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 33 4to, datable to the seventeenth century. This book arranges the three works in the following order: *Lex castrensis*, *Historia compendiosa*, and *Genealogia* (edited and expanded by an unknown author). The second reference is unambiguous and as such more instructive. It can be quoted here in full.

> Hic primus, dum in Anglia pacis tranquillitate poteretur, leges condidit castrenses, quas pro modulo ingenioli mei *supra* libaui.[33]
>
> While he enjoyed the calm of peace in England, he was the first to make laws for retainers, which I have outlined *above* according to the small measure of my slight abilities.

The reference is found in the middle of the *Historia compendiosa* and is to the *Lex castrensis*. The emphasized word *supra* implies that the two works were accessible in one manuscript. This minute detail is of significance to us because it demonstrates that Sven assumed his writings would also be available together for his readers. He did not publish the *Historia compendiosa* singly. Such a method of authorial preservation betrays a writer who regards his works as a coherent body. Sven considered that his *oeuvre* constituted a discrete legacy, to be handed down as a whole. This can be taken as testimony to a developed sense of authorship. The mode of transmission also emphasizes Sven's own efforts to preserve his works. There is nothing in this meagre evidence to suggest that they would have circulated separately from one another.

Authorial anthologization characterized by internal references was by no means unique to Sven. The method was convenient for minor authors. One instance is Ralph of Battle († 1124), a monastic author from Anglo-Norman England, whose treatises were circulated as an organic whole in a single book (Niskanen 2016: 220). In his case, like Sven's, the approach proved rather ineffective. The manuscript transmission of Ralph's treatises was a much more limited affair than that of his prayers (Niskanen 2016: 201–202). Sven's works seem to have failed almost completely to obtain contemporary dissemination. They survive, as has been said, in a single manuscript, which dates from the early modern period. He was read by Saxo, whom he knew in person, but traces of reception by other medieval authors have not been detected (Christiansen 2012: "Sueno Aggonis").

Sven's assertion that he wrote of his own volition, his silence on external patronage, and his anthologization of his *oeuvre* are relevant to his approach to publication.

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32 *Lex castrensis* (12–13): *regum genealogias regnorumque successiones circa finem huius opusculi explicabo*.

33 *Historia compendiosa* (84–85). The English translation, which I have modified slightly, is from Christiansen (1992: 63).

On the basis of these aspects, it would appear that the release of the *Lex castrensis* and *Historia compendiosa* should be categorized as independent publishing. The conclusion must, however, be qualified with respect to the preservation of his works for posterity. It was a universal condition in the Middle Ages that books stored in the libraries of institutions had much better chances of survival over a long period of time than those in any other kind of ownership. This law also applied to societies and literary circles more sophisticated than those of high medieval Denmark. For instance, the celebrated humanists Petrarch and Boccaccio thought that in Renaissance Italy the best way to ensure the preservation of their writings for future generations was to consign them to a religious institution (Regnicoli 2013: 387–393). So, some dependence on the established structures of his home institution, which was probably the Lund cathedral, must have been necessary for Sven as an author.[34]

Sven's case demonstrates that towards the end of the twelfth century, a Danish writer could exclusively cite his calling to assume an authorial identity. Although Sven's independence was of course only relative, it contrasts with the obvious institutional character of his predecessors' status as writers. Sven operated in a milieu that provided more room to entertain and pursue one's literary ambitions. He was also fortunate to possess a substantial asset that would have contributed to his liberty to realize personal preferences. Bonds of blood were critical to one's prospects in the Middle Ages. A clerical immigrant without family ties to local clans, such as Ælnoth and Robert of Ely, would essentially remain a client. Coming from a powerful family, Sven would have had a variety of prospects that had not been available to the two Englishmen. A case in point is the fact that he was able to accomplish his literary project without the need to find a patron.

Saxo Grammaticus

The *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus towers over all other Latin compositions from Denmark. The work is an exceptionally grand history, stretching from mythological days of yore to Saxo's own times. The most recent edition, including a facing-page English translation, runs to 1,539 pages. Prose is interspersed with poetry.[35] Interludes with wider geographical perspectives feature.[36] Saxo began writing in about 1188 at the latest and completed the project in 1208 at the earliest (*Gesta Danorum*: xxiii–xxiv). The prologue to the *Gesta Danorum* asserts that it was a commission from Archbishop Absalon of Lund (1177–1201) (*Gesta Danorum*: Pr. 1. 1). A foremost protagonist of the so-called Valdemarian Age (a period characterized by the consolidation

34 For an argument emphasizing Sven's institutional associations, see Mortensen (2011: 67–70).

35 A course of action stated in the prologue: *Gesta Danorum* (Pr. 1. 3).

36 Again a stated course of action: *Gesta Danorum* (Pr. 2. 6–8).

of royal and ecclesiastical institutions, and their cooperation), the archbishop was a very mighty patron. His lordship was second only to that of King Valdemar I "the Great" (1154–1182), to whom he acted as the principal adviser. While reports of commissions received from high-ranking parties were a cliché in medieval prefaces, strong circumstantial evidence validates Saxo's testimony. A comment by Sven Aggesen verifies by implication that Absalon not only knew but also approved of Saxo's project. Indeed, the passage in question could be read as stating that Absalon was Saxo's source and commissioner.[37] It is evident that Saxo consulted Absalon in person when recounting the archbishop's exploits under Valdemar I; it can plausibly be argued that the chapters in question were Absalon's own memoirs written down by Saxo under his oversight.[38] There was also an official connection between the men. Making his career in the Lund cathedral, Saxo operated in close proximity to the archbishop, to whom he served as secretary. The epithet 'Grammaticus' suggests that at some point he may have taught at the cathedral school. Saxo was, no doubt, one of the canons of the chapter of Lund, a post which offered access to the archbishop and other magnates (*Gesta Danorum*: xxix–xxx).

While the context of Saxo's career was the archbishop's household, the *Gesta Danorum* was not directly associated with the cause of the Lund cathedral, or any other particular church for that matter. In this respect, Saxo's undertaking, like that of Sven Aggesen, contrasted with the undertakings of Ælnoth and Robert of Ely, whose hagiographical writings served definable pragmatic purposes. Sven's and Saxo's projects were manifestations of Lund's historically oriented intellectual milieu. Archbishop Absalon certainly wielded influence therein. Taking a personal interest in recording things Danish, he composed a law code in the vernacular.[39] Although Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* surpassed the cause of his home institution, he is unlikely to have envisaged a wide external circulation for the work. The text was too long to be copied without a notable investment of resources and time. Saxo's Latin was too complex to be rendered in translation to non-Latinate audiences without considerable effort. His narrative did not yield sections straightforward to extract (Mortensen 2019: 73–74). Readerships intended for the *Gesta Danorum* outside Lund must have been very limited, and Absalon seems to have had a role in reaching them. Four

37 *Quorum gesta plenarie superfluum duxi recolere, ne crebrius idem repetitum fastidium pariat audientibus, cum illustri archipresule Absalone referente contubernalis meus Saxo elegantiori stilo omnium gesta executus prolixius insudabat*, as amended in Karsten Friis-Jensen (1989: 334). For the ambiguous meaning of the ablative absolute *Absalone referente*, see Friis-Jensen (1989: 334, note 2), Mortensen 2011: 67–68), and Christiansen (1992: 127, note 121) with further references. Note that Mortensen propounds a fresh contextual reading of the passage in question. While our positions are not fully in agreement as to the level of Sven's authorial cooperation with the household of the Lund cathedral, I acknowledge that Mortensen's contextualization of Sven's and Saxo's relationship is justifiable.

38 *Gesta Danorum* (Pr. 1. 5 and books xiv–xvi); see Mortensen (2019: 41–46).

39 Absalon's work has not survived for us, but Sven Aggesen cited it as a source for the *Lex castrensis*.

fragments of the work kept in the Royal Library of Copenhagen under the shelfmark NKS 570 fol have recently been identified as belonging to three separate books of Cistercian origin from about 1230–1260. As such, they would attest to a significant twelfth-century transmission within the network of the ten Cistercian monasteries in Denmark (Gullick 2011: 65–77). Absalon's association with the Order by virtue of his great donations to its monastery at Sorø could explain the Cistercian circulation (Mortensen 2019: 74).

Completed after Absalon's death, the *Gesta Danorum* was dedicated to his successor, Archbishop Anders Sunesen (1202–1228), as stated in the prologue. Like Absalon, Anders Sunesen was an extremely well-connected man of letters. Having studied extensively abroad, he composed at least three Latin works: *Hexaemeron*, *Leges Scaniae*, and a treatise on the sacraments of the Church, now lost.[40] He came from a wealthy family and, prior to his election as archbishop, he had worked as a royal secretary. Referring to Anders's elevated social status, piety, and learning, Saxo hoped that the archbishop would act as a shield against potential criticisms. Entreaties to that effect were customary in medieval prefatory texts (*Gesta Danorum*: Pr. 1. 2). Saxo also had another dedicatee, King Valdemar II "the Victorious" (1202–1241). Unlike the archbishop, the king was not requested to contribute to the *Gesta Danorum*'s dissemination. Rather, Saxo presented the work as rendering service to Valdemar. The *Gesta Danorum* depicted the king's lineage by recounting the deeds of his ancestors. In so doing, Saxo explained, he fulfilled his hereditary obligation to the Crown. That remark was designed to slip in his family's connection to royal circles, a source of pride for Saxo. Prefatory mentions of commissions and dedications were literary topoi, as discussed above, whose intention was to portray the act of publication in propitious terms. This general rule applies also to the *Gesta Danorum*. This is not to say that Saxo's implicit testimony regarding the social context of publication was somehow inaccurate. His career guaranteed familiarity with Archbishop Anders Sunesen and made personal acquaintance with the king entirely plausible. A great achievement in every respect and a monument to the triumphs of Valdemar's predecessors, the *Gesta Danorum* was an adornment to his monarchy.

How the *Gesta Danorum* was presented to its dedicatees cannot be known, but I am willing to speculate. While primary copies do not survive, four leaves of a working copy have come down to us.[41] The leaves constitute the so-called Angers Fragment, Copenhagen, Royal Library, NKS 869 g 4to. The Angers Fragment is not necessarily Saxo's autograph in the precise sense of the word. The script dates from his time, but we do not possess a control to verify whether or not the hand was his. The text may have been copied from his dictation or an earlier draft under his oversight. That the

40 For a survey of his *oeuvre*, see Ebbesen (2012: "Andreas Sunonis").

41 What follows in this paragraph relies on *Gesta Danorum*, Introduction (lii–liii; with references to previous scholarship).

fragment comes from his workshop has been established from textual evidence. The leaves carry two layers of writing: the main text and insertions executed between lines and in the margins. The interlinear and marginal insertions are stylistic revisions. They contain borrowings from Justin and Valerius Maximus, on whom Saxo modelled his Latin diction. The finished version of the *Gesta Danorum*, transmitted via another route, combines formulations from the fragment's main text and its insertions, and also includes material found in neither. The main text in the Angers Fragment is, then, an early draft, while the interlinear and marginal insertions represent authorial editing. The final version would have been worked up from these two layers of material and further modifications.

My interest is the layout of the Angers Fragment, to which less attention has been drawn than its texts.[42] The leaves, slightly trimmed, measure *c.* 20.5 × 14.5 cm. The space between lines is unusually large, and the outer margin is spacious. A page only accommodates fifteen rather short lines of main text. In terms of the ratio of the main written area to the leaf size, the layout is generous. Contemporary library books of roughly the same size could easily accommodate more than thirty lines of text, twice as many as in the Angers Fragment. The layout of the Angers Fragment betrays a book unmistakably designed as a working copy. The fragment differs from working copies I have seen of other near-contemporary authors. Their use of space is far less liberal, such that their layout does not differ markedly from what was typical of library books. Significantly, surviving working copies seem to have been such that they could have served copyists as exemplars. In contrast, the Angers Fragment, supplemented by numerous additions and failing to provide the published version, must have been followed by a clean copy. Saxo could afford a working copy written in a neat book-hand at an early stage of drafting.

Did Saxo present copies to his dedicatees? In the absence of surviving ones, the question is of course unresolvable. Yet, the odds must be that he did. The gifting of books to royal and ecclesiastical magnates was a widespread practice. The so-called Copenhagen Psalter, MS Thott 143 fol of Copenhagen's Royal Library, evidences that the custom found application in twelfth-century Denmark. Lavishly decorated in the extreme, the Copenhagen Psalter is considered to have been presented to a member of the Danish royal family. Datable to the latter half of the twelfth century, the manuscript attests to a milieu relevant to Saxo's literary career. Commanding very fine resources to produce books, he could have had presentation copies made.

I find it hard to categorize the release of the *Gesta Danorum* other than as testimony to a mature literary culture. Contrasting with the above-discussed writers, Saxo's authorial process and publishing were not characterized by any limiting

42 The most vigorous student of the Angers Fragments is Ivan Boserup, who has written several papers on the subject. While his approach is textual and literary, his codicological remarks are scarce. See e.g. Boserup (1981: 22).

external factors. His project enjoyed support from his superior, but it was not connected to a discrete institutional purpose, unlike Ælnoth and Robert of Ely. In this respect, Saxo resembles Sven Aggesen. Their authorial circumstances were otherwise very different. Sven emerges as a somewhat isolated figure who did not benefit from promotion by superior parties. Claiming to be the first Latin historian in Denmark, Saxo dismissed Sven in silence (*Gesta Danorum*, Pr. 1. 1). The latter's lack of success in publishing was a precondition for such treatment.

Conclusions and qualifications

This essay has argued that purpose and third-party involvement can be used as variables to conceptualize how original compositions were released in the Middle Ages. Three subcategories have emerged: issue, donative publication, and independent publication. To have been issued rather than published, a literary piece must fulfil two criteria. It must primarily have a pragmatic function that the author conceived as relevant to a specific audience, most often a church. In addition, such a text should not include explicit indications of an aspiration to dissemination outside the confines of its target community. Our second category, donative publication, embraces texts that were likewise connected to the cause of an institutional body. The main point of divergence from issuing is the engagement of a third party in publishing. In most cases, this would have been a dedicatee from whom some sort of benefit was being or had been solicited. Our third category is that of independent publication. In such cases, publishing as conveyed to readers did not involve parties other than the author, in contrast to donative publication. Target audiences are likely to have consisted of authors' friends and associates. An independently published piece would, furthermore, have primarily served the author's literary ambitions rather than an institutional purpose.

No subcategory was proposed for the release of Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*. The work attests to publishing with authorial confidence, in association with the king and the archbishop of Lund, who represented the pinnacle of lordship in Denmark, and a high degree of pomp. Its publication is unlikely to have compared unfavourably with authorial publishing in regions that had shared in Latin civilization for centuries. This is not to say that other types of publishing were not to be found in fully developed medieval literary cultures. Instances of issue, donative publication, independent publication, and other types of publication abound throughout the period. But Saxo personified a climax to previous developments in Denmark.

Human action defies tight categorizations, and authorial publishing in the Middle Ages was no exception. An obvious qualification to this paper's conclusions is that modes of medieval publication constituted continuums in which one type morphed into another. Our classifications must, then, be treated as approximations, subject to

overlaps and grey areas. Furthermore, our categories are by no means exhaustive. They do not embrace all the ways in which medieval authors released their works. The further one moves in whatever direction from Denmark and the twelfth century, the more different the circumstances. So, publication by the authors discussed here contrasted profoundly, say, with the release of the *Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII* by Leonardo Bruni († 1444). Bruni published his work in instalments. These acts constituted grand municipal events, sometimes associated with major civic festivities. Whereas publishing was mainly an ecclesiastical and royal business in twelfth-century Denmark, it could be a grand civic affair in fifteenth-century Italy. The act of publishing evolved over time, reacting to changes in the wider world. To conceptualize medieval publishing in breadth and depth, one needs different sets of typologies for different historical contexts.

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Hjalti Snær Ægisson

A Reading of the Canons of Laon Story

Amid the plethora of tales and episodes related to saints in European literature, relic tales are one category that is by and large associated with a localized religiosity rather than a universal reverence. Significantly, these are stories linked to and promoted by those Church institutions that preserve the relics concerned. However, in some instances, there is a demand for implanting translated relic tales into literatures distant from the establishment that produced them. One is tempted to hypothesize on the causes behind such translations and speculate on whether they can be seen as arguments for or against matters that are being debated in the target language. In the case of Iceland, relics of a foreign origin are rarely mentioned in vernacular sources and relic tales are mostly found in the sagas of the three Icelandic saints, Þorlákur, Jón, and Guðmundur. In *Maríu saga*, a collection of miracles from various manuscripts edited by C.R. Unger in 1871, we find the story of the canons of Laon, a translated medley of tales where relics play a large part (*Mariu saga*: 639–654). This is an exception to the regional emphasis of most relic tales, and it seems worthwhile to consider how this text reflects Icelandic society at the time of its translation.

The story of the canons of Laon is an account of two fundraising tours carried out in order to rebuild a cathedral that was burned down in a riot. It is presumably based on real events that happened in the wake of a revolt in 1112 when the people of Laon turned against their bishop, Waldric, and burned down his house. The burning of the cathedral was unintentional and happened by accident. The translated text is somewhat unclear about how this all came about; it simply says that Bishop Waldric wanted to "prevent the townsfolk from keeping that oath they had wrongly sworn". We are not told what oath or why it was wrongly sworn. It is an abrupt beginning, and the narrator seems eager to get to his main concern, the ensuing travel story. There is actually an even earlier prelude to the narrative. It all begins with a murder in the cathedral of Laon, where a certain Gérard of Quierzy is brutally killed by his enemies while he is kneeling in prayer. As with the revolt against Bishop Waldric, we are not given the backstory; we have practically no idea who this Gérard is or what he did to deserve his harsh fate. But Gérard's blood is spilled on the church floor and cannot be washed off. Anselm, dean of the cathedral, is said to have secretly whispered to his assistants that he was afraid that Gérard's blood could never be washed off unless the cathedral was purged by fire. So, when the revolt against Bishop Waldric breaks out and the flames engulf the cathedral of Laon, it is not a complete misfortune. The cathedral had already been blemished by the spilling of innocent blood, and the overall motivation behind our story is the need to build a new cathedral in Laon.

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Seven canons of Laon are selected to go on a journey around northern France to collect money for the enterprise. To guarantee their collection takings, the canons bring with them the holy relics from the old cathedral, and various miracles occur during their travels. It is the opposite of pilgrimage: not people travelling to relics but the relics travelling to the people. The tour around Northern France is quite successful; large sums of money are collected, and some serious construction work takes place in Laon during the next winter. The funding falls short, however, and the next spring, it has become clear that the project has exceeded its budget. Consequently, another group of canons is put together to go on a second fundraising tour, this time to England. Much like the first tour, the England tour is full of marvels and astounding happenings that move bystanders to open their wallets and make sumptuous donations to the travelling fellowship. The canons return to Laon, and their takings are sufficient to finish the construction of the new cathedral.

Before analysing the story in more detail, it is worth considering what source is behind the Old Norse translation. The story of the canons of Laon is reported by two contemporary historians and one who came approximately a century later. First, there are the *Monodies* of Guibert of Nogent, composed in 1115, when the canons of Laon had only recently returned from their wanderings (Archambault 1996). This is the best available account of the events that led to the destruction of the cathedral of Laon. Guibert describes the actions of Gérard of Quierzy and Waldric the bishop in much more detail than the Old Norse translator.[1] It is a fascinating text for several reasons, not least because of its classical connotations: Guibert labels the events in Laon as a "tragedy" (*tragoedia*), which is an uncommon word in early twelfth-century Latin. The man who gives shelter to Gérard's murderers is compared to Catiline, as if to underline his wickedness. Guibert is extremely judgemental of the whole thing; he sees the revolt in Laon as a dirty war with no real heroes, and strongly implies that the fundraising tours are based on a false premise. Around five years later, Guibert would compose an essay called *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus* (On Saints and their Relics), where he explicates his views on the whole practice of promoting relics for financial gain (Head 2001: 399–427). In this text, Guibert acknowledges that he was present at one of the early stops in France when the canons of Laon were starting their first tour, and he regrets not having exposed their hyperbolic portrayals of relics that were allegedly not as holy as they claimed.

Second, there are *The Miracles of St Mary of Laon* by Hermann of Laon, also known as Hériman of Tournai (*Hermanni Monachi*: 961–1018). The double name stems from the fact that Hermann served as abbot and chronicler at the abbey of St Martin of Tournai, but he was expelled from there in 1136 and spent the rest of his life wandering from one place to another. He spent some time in Laon and wrote

1 A fine overview of book 3 of the *Monodies*, where the events in Laon are described, is found in Rubenstein (2002: 101–110).

this work, which is probably the reason for him being associated with Laon. This account was composed at some time in the 1140s, and it is constructed as an eyewitness testimony, a first-person narrative of one of the canons from the travelling group. Third, there is the *Chronicon* of Hélinand of Froidmont, compiled between 1211 and 1223. This is one of the sources of, and perhaps a major model for, the colossal *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, composed a few years later, a well-known text in Iceland and quoted by several authors of historical and hagiographical translations. Gabriel Turville-Petre assumed in 1959 that Hermann's text was the source of the Old Norse translator, but Ole Widding suggested in 1996 that Hélinand's *Chronicon* is a more likely candidate (Turville-Petre 1959: 111; Widding 1996: 71). At first glance, the differing views are not surprising, because Hélinand in fact incorporates large parts of Hermann's text, abridging it generously. Guibert's version is different, and can easily be ruled out. The translator actually names his source in the beginning: *Svo segir Helimandr munkur [. . .]* 'Thus says Helimandur the monk [. . .]' (*Mariu saga*: 639). Unger modified the name *Helimandr* as *Helinandus*, and it only takes few minutes of reading to realize that the Icelandic translation is much closer to the Hélinand version; most of it can be matched word by word to Hélinand's text. Hermann's text is longer and has a strong tendency to attach biblical citations to his descriptions – comparing, for example, the burning of Laon to the fall of Jerusalem – something not found in the Icelandic text. Hermann also includes various details, like the names of the travelling canons and several names of the people they meet. This is absent from Hélinand's abridged version and consequently not found in the Icelandic text. One can therefore safely assume that the translation is based on Hélinand's rather than Hermann's account.

When estimating the date of the Old Norse translation, both the manuscript tradition and a comparison with related translations should be taken into account. The translated text is preserved in two manuscripts: Holm perg 1 4to (1450–1500) and AM 635 4to (early eighteenth century). The more recent manuscript was written by Eyjólfur Björnsson (1666–1746), one of those painstaking scribes who circulated around Árni Magnússon and faithfully reproduced every archaic word-form they found in their text. This has led people to believe that the exemplar behind the surviving fifteenth-century manuscript was probably older than it (Turville-Petre 1959: 112). One of the miracles included in the collection (in which the canons of Laon are included) is dated to 1330, which must therefore be the *terminus post quem*. We can get somewhat closer to dating the translation by considering two other translations for which Hélinand's *Chronicon* is the reference point. One of them is a biography of St Nicholas, *Nikulás saga erkibyskups* 2 by Bergur Sokkason, a composite work based on a variety of sources. Early in his saga, Bergur provides three positions on the qualities of God, and then adds a story to illustrate each of them. Bergur's second statement is that God sometimes resorts to supernatural events to scare humans into behaving well. The exemplum Bergur presents as his case in point is borrowed from the narrative of the canons of Laon. It is an incident that takes place in Christchurch, where

the canons get an unfriendly reception from the local clergy, who only reluctantly let them place their relics in a distant side-chapel in the cathedral. When it turns out that the townsfolk are much more interested in donating their alms to the visitors from Laon than their own church, the canons are thrown out and left to wander in the pouring rain. It is a motif that gets repeated in the narrative; the canons of Laon are frequently met with hostility because they are suspected by the local ministry of undermining their source of income. After the canons have moved out of the town, God's anger towards the dean of Christchurch is expressed in a straightforward way when a fire-breathing dragon attacks his home and the cathedral, reducing both to ashes *sva at engi sa ormul eptir* 'so no trace of it could be discerned' (*Heilagra manna søgur* 2: 58).

The other significant benchmark when dating the Old Norse translation of the canons of Laon story is an *ævintýri* (i.e. a short sermon-tale) called "Af skólaklerk", preserved in the manuscript AM 657 a–b 4to (*Islendzk æventyri* 1: 153–154). It is a simple dream narrative where a student from an unspecified school dreams that he is on his way to a city but has to cross a river to get there. He sees Christ and the Apostles washing their clothes in the river, and when he asks them if they know where to cross the stream, they tell him that he will not be able to do so unless he washes his clothes first. The washing is explicated as a metaphor for doing penance. When the boy wakes up, he goes for a walk in the woods and knocks on the door of a newly established monastery, where he is received by twelve monks who look exactly like the Apostles from his dream. Deciphering the dream as a wake-up call from God, the student decides to enter the monastery, where he stays for the rest of his life. Not only is this tale extracted from Hélinand's *Chronicon* – it is situated there in book 47, just before the narrative of the canons of Laon in book 48. Since Bergur Sokkason is believed to have died around 1350 and the manuscript AM 657 a–b 4to is dated to around the same time, we can safely assume that Hélinand's *Chronicon* was circulating in Iceland in the mid- to late fourteenth century.

The overall moral of the Laon narrative is to encourage kindness towards visitors and reverence for holy relics. However, some more specific conclusions can be drawn in those cases where the translation is made to reflect contemporary issues in Iceland during the period of composition. By selecting this particular sequence from Hélinand's *Chronicon* and concentrating on canons regular as subject matter in a serious story, the translator is indirectly making observations about an office that had become increasingly important for public affairs in Iceland. The canons of Niðarós came to real prominence in *Lárentíus saga* and can be considered a major object of interest within that saga as a whole. When Lárentíus Kálfsson (1267–1331), future bishop of Hólar, travels to Niðarós as a young man in 1294, he gets involved in a conflict between the canons regular and Archbishop Jörundur. The origin of the dispute is not clarified in the saga, but it obviously relates to the distribution of power between the two institutions. Lárentíus is assigned by the archbishop to read a letter in which three of the canons regular are excommunicated for refusing to comply with

their lawful superior. Since Jörundur does not appear to have the nerve to read out the denouncement himself, Lárentíus's deed is seen as an act of bravery. It haunts him for a long time; years later, when Jörundur Þorsteinsson, bishop of Hólar, is humiliated by Lárentíus in a quarrel over inheritance issues, Jörundur falsely accuses Lárentíus of forging documents in order to afflict the chapter. Enraged, the canons throw Lárentíus into a dungeon where he is kept for a whole winter. Subsequently, he is sent to Iceland in chains, where Jörundur Þorsteinsson temporarily deprives him permission to chant Mass. This fierceness reverberates throughout the story, and the author of *Lárentíus saga* portrays the new power elite at Niðarós as a highly perilous and unpredictable force.

Lárentíus saga was composed at approximately the same time as the episode about the canons of Laon was translated.[2] When comparing the two texts, it is tempting to see the Laon narrative as a normative description of how canons regular are supposed to perform their duties as loyal servants of a chapter. The canons in *Lárentíus saga* overstep their limits and go beyond what is appropriate for their place in the larger ecclesiastical scheme. Yet such a reading is slightly confounded when the aggravating qualities of the canons of Laon are considered. In many of the towns they visit, the canons clash with the local clergy, but the narrator never hints that the deans and bishops who are offended by visitors collecting money within their diocese actually have a right to object to what they see as an unwelcome intrusion. The fundraising project of Laon is given complete priority over everyday matters in each region. At every destination, a number of maimed, mute, blind, and disabled people are drawn to the canons and donate alms. It seems that simply by standing or lying close to the holy relics, the healing effect takes place. The normal procedure is to place the casket on the high altar of any church, presumably to make it visible and accessible to as many people as possible. At Saint-Laurent de Cala, the canons are not allowed inside the cathedral because the local administrator is envious and afraid that the visitors will drain his income. As expected, the man is punished, not as brutally as his colleague in Christchurch, however, but rather by suffering an epileptic fit. But when the canons are kicked out, they are favourably received by *sa haufdingi sem kastalann hellt* 'the chieftain who was in charge of the castle' (*Mariu saga*: 641).[3] He provides the canons with a large tent where they can arrange the relics appropriately, with lights and decorative

2 According to Guðbrandur Vigfússon, it is "no matter of doubt" (*ekki efamál*) that *Lárentíus saga* was written shortly after Lárentíus's death in 1331. Guðbrandur suggested a more precise date by highlighting the saga's reference to Árni vaði's election as archbishop, which happened in 1346. Cf. Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1858: xc).

3 The translated text is characterized by some terminological inaccuracies when it comes to provincial and regional matters; no castle has been introduced in the story, and it seems probable that *castellum* in this case means a town or village. *Præpositus castelli*, the corresponding phrase from Hélinand's *Chronicon*, would then be the town mayor.

curtains. The fundraising tour is all about making homes: it has the aim of building a new cathedral, and along the way temporary places of residence are also created. The relics from Laon can turn even a mediocre tent into a glorious place of worship.

When the canons have returned to Laon and all the money raised has been spent on the building project, a second tour is prepared. We are halfway through the story, and it is only now that we are told what relics they have been carrying with them. This is revealed by quoting an inscription from the reliquary: a piece of the Holy Sponge, offered to Christ to drink during the Crucifixion, a fragment from the Holy Cross, a fragment from a cloth, supposedly one that was used to dry the Lord's face, and finally a few hairs of the Holy Virgin.[4] Images of the Passion are strongly evoked in the description. Before sailing to England, the group makes a few stops in northern France, and the visit to Arras serves as a turning point. Among those who receive the canons in Arras is a blind goldsmith who asks permission to touch the reliquary with his hands and finds out that it is his own handiwork, an early piece he made in his youth. He has heard of some objects that have been kept in the box at one point or another, and this gives him occasion to evoke St Remigius, whose presence seems to change the story rules to some extent. It turns out that among the relics that used to be kept in the casket carried by the canons of Laon is the head of Montanus, the monk who predicted the birth of St Remigius. Just like our goldsmith, Montanus the monk was blind, but he gained sight when Cilinia, the mother of Remigius, sprinkled a few drops of her breastmilk on his eyelids.[5] The goldsmith of Arras asks the canons to wash their relics in water and then give him the wash water. When drops of the wash water have been sprinkled on the goldsmith's eyelids, he drinks the rest of it and then gains his sight again. After this incident, having people drink the wash water of the relics becomes the preferred mode of performing miracles, and this is how the canons do so most of the time during their tour in England. Access through presence is replaced by access through drinking.

This way of using the Laon relics, and how it may have been understood by those readers in fourteenth-century Iceland who originally read the translation, merits some attention. As it happens, textual evidence for holy relics in Iceland increases from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, mostly starting with Bishop Gyrðir Ívarsson, who served in Skálholt between 1349 and 1360. In the church inventories made by Gyrðir, several examples are found of holy relics in Icelandic

4 The inscription is given verbatim in Latin in the Old Norse text, straight from the *Chronicon*: *Spongia, crux domini, cum sindone, cum faciali / me sacrat, atque tui, genitrix et virgo, capilli* (*Mariu saga*: 643). The final item in the list is called into question by Guibert of Nogent (Archambault 1996: 174).

5 Cf. "Remigius saga" (222–223). The Nursing Madonna appears in other Old Norse miracles, for example in a tale where St Bernard of Clairvaux receives breastmilk from the Virgin, not because of illness but because the Virgin wanted to give him the ability to preach (*Mariu saga*: 195–196); detailed discussion in McGuire (1991: 189–225).

churches.[6] Unfortunately, details about what type of relics they were or how they were used are entirely missing from these documents, and one must to go a bit further back for more descriptions.[7] The use of relics was most likely a part of Christian worship in Iceland from the beginning, but it became essential with the translation of the relics of St Thorlak in 1198. The main instigator behind this event, and the rainmaker of Icelandic relic culture, was undoubtedly Bishop Guðmundur Arason. As in so many other respects, Guðmundur was a nonconformist when it came to collecting, consecrating, and applying holy relics. He was even reprimanded by the archbishop for being too active in consecrating various objects – mostly wells – as relics (*Biskupa sögur* 2: 96).[8] This might indicate that what is called *helgir dómar* in the church inventories of Gyrðir Ívarsson around 1350 is not necessarily pieces of a saint's clothing or hair, but probably a much wider category. In the biographies of the Icelandic saints, we do see how relic wash water is sprinkled over the lame and those with wounded limbs in order to heal them.[9] However, drinking the water does not seem to have been a standard practice in relation to any of them. When the canons of Laon story is translated into Icelandic in the mid-fourteenth century, the modes of engaging in Christian ritual have become more standardized than before, mainly with the spread and increased use of the Eucharist. When the canons of Laon come to Canterbury, a new story rule is added. When a pregnant woman who has been in labour for eight days without success is brought to the travelling group, she is advised to confess her sins first and then drink the relic wash water. Consequently, her baby is born and she quickly regains her health. After the event, the narrator adds the information that from now on, anyone who wanted to drink the relic water had to fulfil two requirements: they had to have formerly belonged to the bishopric that the canons are visiting with the relics, and they had to do penance before drinking (*Mariu saga*: 647). This is why the canons take an unscheduled detour from Exeter to Salisbury and back, before moving on further west: they meet a disabled person who asks to be cured, but since he is a parishioner from the diocese of Salisbury, he cannot be helped unless both he and the relics are located within his diocese.

The story element of confession as a prerequisite for cure is a familiar one. It is easy enough to associate it with one of the decrees from the Fourth Lateran Council.

6 See *Diplomatarium Islandicum* (III: 84, 86, 89, 105, 160).

7 A rare exception, where a holy relic is precisely described as *hond hins hælaga johannis holensis med armlegginum* 'the hand and arm of St Jón, bishop of Hólar', is found in a directory for the church at Breiðabólstaður in Fljótshlíð in 1371 (*Diplomatarium Islandicum* III: 269).

8 The adjective used by the archbishop to describe Guðmundur is *vígslugjarn* 'eager to consecrate'. It is not found in other Old Norse sources.

9 "Jóns saga helga" (255–259); "Þorláks saga C" (267); "Saga Guðmundar Arasonar" (173). In "Guðmundar saga B", a farmer's eye disease is cured when water from Guðmundur's personal wash basin is sprinkled on his eyes (*Guðmundar sögur biskups* 2*:* 55–56).

In 1215, confession was established as an annual obligation for all Christians and an unconditional precondition for receiving the Eucharist. This is strongly emphasized in most of the exempla collections that were composed after 1215 (Le Goff 1992: 79–80). If the relic wash water in the Laon narrative can be taken as a symbolic parallel to the Eucharist, it makes sense as a topic of interest in a mid-fourteenth-century Iceland where the bishops were greatly devoted to expounding on the causal relationship between penance and absolution, confession and Eucharist. It would also be in keeping with the larger evolution of Christian piety as a movement from the tactile to the visual, from relics to Holy Communion. In this case, it is the selection of material for translation, rather than the intention behind the original composition, that matters most. Potentially, this is an example of Christian sacraments as narrative kernels. The story of the canons of Laon certainly gives insight into twelfth-century regional history and spirituality, but it is also one of those instances where viewing a translated text in terms of fidelity to the original version seems less rewarding than analysing it from within the cultural context in which it is embedded.

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Sif Rikhardsdottir

Oceanic Networks

Literary Production, Transmission, and Mediation across the North

Icelandic literary history has traditionally been defined by borders, particularly the sea as the geographical barrier separating Iceland (as a nation and as a people) from other countries. Yet in terms of content, even the most fundamentally "native" of the Icelandic sagas extend beyond those boundaries; their stories frequently begin in Norway, their characters spend years abroad. This crossing of the seas of the saga characters in search of home, valour, and selfhood replicates the movement of peoples, ideas, and texts that shapes and characterizes Northern literary history. This chapter considers how a transnational approach to the literary history of Iceland can reshape our perception of literary activity and its function both as a regional product of terra firma, and as evidence of the complex and multifaceted movement of ideas and texts across the Northern seas.

This approach draws its conception of literary geography from David Wallace's (2016) notion of history as movement in time and space as well as from Sebastian Sobecki's (2007) conceptualization of the ocean as emblematic of British geography as well as literature. The focus here is not on the literary symbolism of the ocean, so wonderfully expounded by Sobecki (2007) and by Helen Cooper (2004), but rather on the physicality of the ocean as a means of engaging and enforcing exchange. The ocean is here understood as a pathway that serves as the route of transmission and movement, as opposed to a geographical border of enclosure. At the same time, such an approach provides insights into a distinctive local engagement with literary ideas, suggesting both a diachronic view of narrative movement and a synchronic insight into the particular cultural dialogue occurring within a community of readers and their literary representations.

Iceland's history is indeed defined by movement. Its origins in Viking excursions across the sea and, ultimately, settlements in Iceland reveal a history steeped in geographical expansionism that defies the national demarcations that nineteenth-century nationalism was to impose upon its history. The cultural expansion of the Vikings (southwards and south-westwards), and later of the Normans (Norsemen), is replicated in the opposite movement of textual or narrative material north and north-east in the importing of courtly material at the royal court of Norway in the mid-thirteenth century. The translated material passed from Norway to Iceland, presumably shortly after it was translated, where it sparked a flourishing native

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tradition of romance writing that was to be active for five hundred years.[1] This circularity of cultural movement across the Northern seas underlies the origins of the inhabitation of Iceland as well as its later literary history.

Following Wallace's (2016: xl) conception of literary history as viewed synchronically across space, rather than diachronically within defined borders, encourages us to envisage literary history as an expansive network of connections where "topoi are to be seen not only as literary figures, rooted in classical antiquity, but as places on the ground". According to him, "the space of this new Europe, expanded and interconnected, has no hard and fast borders but rather sites of cultural negotiation producing literatures of extraordinary variety, ingenuity, and regenerative power" (Wallace 2016: xl). Geography thus features here as the tangible surface upon which the travels, intersections, and translations (understood in the medieval sense of the word) of objects and ideas can be traced. Shifting attention away from the European landmass and its associated insular margins, this essay argues that the ocean features as a significant channel of cultural interaction and transmission, serving as the means of mediation between the settlement of Iceland in the North Atlantic and the medieval maritime empires in the Mediterranean Sea. This is obviously particularly apparent for the Viking and settlement periods, when the ocean served literally as a pathway for exploration, trade, and eventual settlement, both in Iceland and elsewhere. Yet these routes persisted as conduits for political and/or religious ideologies, cultural conventions and symbolisms, and artistic representation in the wake of the so-called Viking expansion. Diplomatic, mercantile, and religious connections across Scandinavia and the British Isles (and extending down to Rome and Byzantium) provided a platform for the mediation of material and ideas, both in Latin and in the vernaculars, that formed the basis for a flourishing production of literary material in Old Norse.[2]

Returning to the concept of transnational literary history, how can we determine such interdependencies, and what can they tell us about the particular local literary developments? Given the space constraints here, this chapter will expand very briefly on three separate examples that are intended to provide an insight into the way in which a transnational approach impacts the perception of literary history.

Materiality and mediation

The first example is based not on textual transmission, but on materiality and the mediation of narrative material across both geographical and, significantly, medial

1 See e.g. Kalinke (2011; 2017); Sif Rikhardsdottir (2012); Johansson & Flaten (2012); Glauser & Kramarz-Bein (2014); Barnes (2014).

2 For the transmission of Latin material, see e.g. Würth (2005), Mortensen (2017), and the *Islandia Latina* database (http://islandialatina.hum.ku.dk).

or material borders.[3] The wooden door depicted here (see Figure 1) belonged to a medieval wooden church at Valþjófsstaðir in the east of Iceland. The door is slightly over two metres tall and one metre wide, and contains two carved circular images. It is believed to have been approximately one third taller originally and to have contained a third carved image, which must at some point have been cut off, perhaps when the church was torn down in the eighteenth century and replaced with a smaller church.[4] The medieval door is now preserved in the National Museum in Iceland, but a replica can be found in the church at Valþjófsstaðir.[5]

Figure 1: Valþjófsstaðahurð, National Museum of Iceland.

3 For works on mediality generally, see e.g. Kiening & Stercken (2018). For works on mediality in relation to Old Norse literature specifically, see e.g. Heslop & Glauser (2018) and works cited there.

4 For further information, see Björn Magnússon Ólsen (1884–1885); Kristján Eldjárn (1962: section 68); Paulsen (1966); Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir (2017: esp. 306–309).

5 National Museum of Iceland, nr. 11009. All images are reproduced by permission of the National Museum.

Looking more closely at the images, the bottom circle features familiar Norse motifs of interlaced dragons biting their own tails. The carved image depicts four serpent- or snake-like dragons, whose bodies are entangled with each other in an intricate knot, each biting their own tail. Their wings and claws are similarly enmeshed in the centre of the image, forming the midpoint of the circular frame that is bordered by the interlinked bodies of the dragons. Both the content – i.e. the dragons – and its framing – i.e. the intertwining limbs, branches, or animal forms – are typical of Viking art. Admittedly, both animal forms and interlacing can also be found in Celtic and Romanesque art, and indeed, Viking art is considered to share some affinities with both art forms, particularly insular art forms. Nevertheless, the image of the intertwined snake-like animal bodies is a typical ornamental motif found in Viking art and decoration.

The upper circle features, on the other hand, a different set of motifs (see Figure 2). The two half-circles depict scenes of a knight, his lion companion, and the knight's battle with a dragon to save the lion – images that correlate closely with the medieval tale of the Knight with the Lion. The story of the Knight with the Lion is best known from Chrétien de Troyes's late twelfth-century romance *Yvain ou Le Chevalier au lion*, but it also features in the Middle Welsh *Mabinogion* as *Owain, neu larlles y Ffynnon*

Figure 2: Carved image from Valþjófsstaðahurð (upper circle).

(*Owein, or the Lady of the Fountain*) as well as in multiple translations of Chrétien's romances into the various medieval European vernaculars, including translations into Old Norse and Old Swedish. The scenes depicted are specific enough to refer to the story as we know it in Chrétien's version (or the Welsh version, for that matter), and hence likely reflect familiarity with that particular version, whether in Chrétien's rendering or an alternative form or medium.[6] Most likely, the story matter circulated in the British Isles and passed from there to Iceland, either directly or through Norway. That said, it is difficult to ascertain where the content might have come from or what the artist might have intended – or, for that matter, how the images might have been perceived or interpreted.

If we take a closer look at the images, we see that the bottom half (see Figure 3) shows the "chevalier au lion" as he strikes the dragon with his sword, saving the lion. The carving depicts a moment in action, yet the images are intricately woven together so that the horse, dragon, lion, and the surrounding vegetation are all interlinked, intimating that their respective fates are entwined. The intricate interweaving of the animals in the image defies the action it depicts, revealing a movement in stasis.

Figure 3: Bottom half of upper circular carved image on Valþjófsstaðahurð.

6 For a discussion of the legend of the Knight with the Lion in Iceland and its relation to the image on the door more broadly, see e.g. Harris (1970) and Kjesrud (2014).

This is, indeed, reminiscent of the way in which the medieval literary heritage has come down to us. The preserved manuscripts of literary works can be said to represent a moment of stasis that defies the previous mobility of the works in their transmission history as well as in their codicological history. The carved image thus, in a sense, not only freezes the action described in the story at the moment of its reception, but it moreover epitomizes the contradictory reality of medieval textuality, that is, the inherent mobility of medieval narrative transmission on the one hand and its stasis through the act of textual (or visual) preservation on the other.

Given the religious context of the door's setting, the tale of a knight killing a dragon to save a lion might have been mistaken for (or fused with) the legend of St George, with the lion possibly featuring as a royal symbol. Alternatively, it could have drawn on or been associated with popular and widespread legendary stories – such as the Nibelung material or the legends of Theodoric the Great (Dietrich von Bern) – featuring a battle with dragons and/or symbolic representations of animals like the lion and the dragon/serpent.[7] Yet both the horse and the bird (a falcon?) that apparently accompanies the knight evoke direct associations with a knightly *chevalier* and the symbolic realm of chivalry. The knight's outfit and gear similarly call to mind images of Norman knights with their nasal helmets and kite shields.[8] The accoutrements depicted, from the animals to the image of the knight and his armour, thus seem to foster associations with courtly conventions rather than biblical scenes (although the two are certainly connected). Additionally, the narrative structuring of the images, moving from the bottom half, which depicts the killing of the serpent/dragon and the salvation of the lion, to the upper two panels, which showcase the subsequent stages of the story, suggests that the carvings feature the visual depiction of an embryonic (or possibly a fully fledged) narrative tale of the Knight with the Lion.

Turning to the top half of the upper circle (see Figure 4), two scenes are portrayed: the left half depicts the knight (now at ease) and his faithful lion, while the right half shows a grave with the grieving lion resting on it (see Figure 5). Below the lion is a

7 Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir (2017: 308), indeed, suggests that the story of the knight featured in the carved image may be derived from the Germanic heroic epic *Wolfdietrich*. While this may certainly be the case – not least as oral narrative topoi tend to be conflated with alternative local or imported legends with similar narrative elements – the correlation with the material featured in Chrétien's *Yvain* is fairly compelling. The carving includes scenes that are surprisingly accurate in their representation of the narrative progression of the tale of the Knight with the Lion as it is known today. Moreover, the visual imagery of the knight and his feline companion, and the details of the accoutrements, clearly draw on a courtly context, although this may of course follow (either directly or indirectly) from the Romanesque style of the carved image.

8 Piotr Grotowski (2009: 231–234) has suggested that the kite shield, featured so prominently in the Bayeux Tapestry for instance, was introduced to continental Europe by the Vikings. There has, however, been no archaeological evidence to support this hypothesis. The round shields typically associated with Viking armour are notably different from the clearly distinguishable triangular form depicted here.

Figure 4: Top half of upper circular carved image on Valþjófsstaðahurð.

Figure 5: Close-up of the right half of the upper section of the carved image (upper circle).

runic inscription *Sjá inn ríkja konung hér grafinn er vá dreka þenna* 'see the mighty king buried here who slew this dragon'.[9] The inscription acts as an annotation to the story, a textual commentary on the visual depiction of the story matter, presumably by the artist who carved the door. It replicates the aural mandate to "harken" or "listen" in its invitation to "see" what the image is conveying. The carving thus invites the visual reading of its narrative material in the manner of stained-glass windows, murals, or frescoes in churches, merging text and art to convey its story.

The two circles thus enact a mirroring effect that enhances the visual impact of the figure of the knight. The bottom half of the upper circle replicates the interlaced imagery of the bottom circle through the visual arrangement of the entangled bodies of the lion (to the far left), the serpent-like dragon (to the far right), and the surrounding vegetation. Featuring front and centre is the figure of the knight on his horse brandishing a sword – a clear visual shift from the non-figurative ornamental patterning of the bottom image. The visual cue of the figure of the knight is then taken up in the upper half, where the intricate interlacing of the lower half and bottom circle are dispensed with to enact instead a narrative sequence that features the relevant protagonists, the setting, and the main narrative elements. The images thus stage the companionship of the knight errant and the lion and, ultimately, the presumed death of the knight and the mourning of his companion beast. While the upper circle thus shifts the focus to the narrative elements of the story, the interlocking branches and limbs replicating the interwoven imagery of the lower circle reveal how the Matter of Britain has been enmeshed with the artistic conventions of the North. The story of Yvain – which originates in Celtic folklore and assumes its courtly form in Chrétien's romance *Yvain ou Le Chevalier au lion* – is here featured in an image that merges the courtly romance content with visual forms associated with Viking art (and possibly Celtic and other art forms).[10]

Interestingly, the final scene deviates from the tale as we know it from Chrétien's version, where the lion merely vanishes from the story once it has served its narrative purpose and Yvain is reconciled with his wife, Laudine. The deviation suggests either an alternative plot structure in the source, a deviation from the ending for a specific purpose, or contamination between sources and/or various cultural influences. The cross on the grave intimates a Christian burial, and while the building featured behind the lion remains indistinctive, it could have been intended as a stave church, given its steep triangular roof and the apparently timber-plank structure. Yet the

9 All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

10 Indeed, if the story matter originated in alternative sources, whether associated with the legend of St George, *Wolfdietrich*, or alternative popular narrative motifs, it nevertheless reveals a similar movement of material across geographical and medial borders and the fusion between legendary material (classical, Germanic, or courtly) in narrative form and visual mediation in multiple art forms and styles. See also Liepe (2008) for a discussion of the visual representation of such images in manuscript illuminations.

runic inscription seems an odd choice given the presumed Christian courtly context. By 1200, the Latin alphabet would have long since replaced runic inscriptions as the conventional script, although runes may still have been used for decorative purposes. Given the medium of the material (i.e. wood) and the convention of runic carvings on wood, the choice of runes can perhaps be rationalized, yet the combination of the courtly matter in its ecclesiastical context with a runic inscription that the audience may or may not have been able to decipher is peculiar at best.[11]

What is perhaps most remarkable about this door is that it is considered to have been carved in Iceland around 1200. Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir (2017: 307–308) has suggested in a recent book that the door was built specifically for a convent at Keldar in Rangárvellir in the south-west of Iceland. She hypothesizes that Sæmundur Jónsson (1154–1222), son of Jón Loftsson (1124–1197) in Oddi, may have had the door to the convent at Keldar carved in honour of his father and that the door may later have travelled to Valþjófsstaðir with Randalín Filippusdóttir, the grandchild of Sæmundur Jónsson, as part of her dowry when she married the chieftain Oddur Þórarinsson at Valþjófsstaðir in 1249. If she is right, the door was likely carved around 1200, most likely in Iceland.[12] Chrétien's romance of *Yvain*, from which we know the story of the Knight with the Lion, is, however, believed to have been translated at the court of King Hákon Hákonarson IV (r. 1217–1263). Even dating the translation to the early years of Hákon Hákonarson's reign, it is unlikely to have been made before the 1220s. Assuming the text passed relatively directly from Norway to Iceland, the translated version of Chrétien's story still postdates the door (this assumes of course that the dating of the door is accurate). If the door was indeed carved in Iceland around 1200, we can assume that the material was already known in Iceland – although possibly in a different form or state – prior to the translation of Chrétien's story in Norway. The carvings on the door therefore reveal artistic engagement with the underpinnings of the *materière de Bretagne* (Matter of Britain) in Iceland as early as 1200, or approximately twenty to fifty years before King Hákon Hákonarson presumably requested that the French romance of *Yvain* be translated into Old Norse.

The door therefore stands as evidence not only of early engagement with the Matter of Britain in Iceland (or Norway) but also of native artistic visual renderings of narrative material stemming from a semi-Celtic and semi-courtly French origin. The runic inscription furthermore signals the entangling of multiple media forms that in turn

11 Admittedly, runic inscriptions are frequently found in Christian contexts, where they may have been considered as decorative or traditional. Yet their choice here is nevertheless curious considering the courtly context of the imagery depicted.

12 The catalogue at the National Museum lists a date for the carving of the door between 1175 and 1200, and states that it was "án efa skorin hér á landi og er nú einstæð, fleiri skornar hurðir kunna þó að hafa verið til því að svipaðir hringir hafa varðveist frá kirkjum á Austurlandi" ('without doubt carved here [i.e. in Iceland] and is now unique, although more carved doors may have existed, since similar rings [i.e. iron door rings] have been preserved in churches in the east of Iceland').

belong to and reflect different cultural realms, associated belief systems, and narrative modes and mediums. Ultimately, the carvings on the door reveal the meeting of two worlds usually conceived as opposites: the Icelandic pagan past, represented by myth and the pre-Latinate runic evidence, and the courtly romance tradition as represented by *Yvain*, mediating the Celtic narrative lore of Owain. Its representation on the carved door, which thus features both conventional artistic imagery from an earlier cultural history and the anachronistic images of Yvain with his lion embedded into the circular interlaced imagery, stands as evidence of the creative force of cultural fusion.

The image thus bears witness to the crossing of multiple borders; those of historical linearity and periodization, those of form and functionality, and, ultimately, linguistic and cultural borders. Here we see, in essence, how the sea has acted as a means of intercultural, intermedial, and cross-historical mediation, resulting in the enmeshing of Celtic folkloric material, French courtly figural representations, and Nordic art forms stemming from a pre-Christian runic and Viking past.

Literary traces

The second example shifts the focus from visuality to textuality as it aims instead to trace textual mediation across cultural and linguistic borders. It draws on the complex transmission pattern of the romance of *Partonopeu de Blois*. This anonymous French text was composed at the end of the twelfth century in France and spread from there across Europe, where it was translated into various vernaculars, including Middle English, Middle High German, and Middle Low German, along with a loose adaptation in Italian. The story begins by tracing the genealogy of Clovis, the king of France, and his favourite nephew, Partonopeu de Blois, back to Troy, thereby affirming the topos of *translatio imperii* for the French royal line. It then recounts how during a hunt with his uncle, Partonopeu is lost in the woods. He boards a magical ship that carries him to a mysterious kingdom where the citizens are invisible. He is served food in a resplendent hall and is later brought to a bedchamber to rest. During the night, he is joined by an enigmatic being, who we later find out is the empress of Constantinople. He is not allowed to see her (despite sharing her bed) for two years or until he is of age and they can be united publicly in marriage. As in the case of the Cupid and Psyche myth, Partonopeu eventually breaks his promise and Melior, the empress, is exposed. In the end, they are reconciled, and Partonopeu marries Melior and becomes the ruler of Constantinople.[13]

The story of Partonopeu also exists, however, in a second version, and it is this second version that I will be focusing on here. The main difference between the

13 The following discussion draws partially on an analysis of gender and representation in the various versions of the Partonopeu story in Sif Rikhardsdottir (2012: 113–151).

two versions is an alternative narrative order, as the second version begins with Melior, who has Partonopeu transported to her kingdom to share her bed at night. While the second version thus features a more basic narrative order (and hence is frequently considered to be older), it also shifts the emphasis from the male protagonist to the female protagonist and her agency in bringing Partonopeu to her kingdom. This second version is either a derivative version of one of the translations – England being a likely place of origin given that both versions exist in Middle English – or a derivative or earlier version of the French text that has, however, not been preserved in French.[14] This second version spread north and south, creating a complex pattern of transmission that reveals the mobility of literary material in the Middle Ages. It exists in a Middle English fragment (distinct from the longer version, which is instead a close translation of the French source text), in Old Norse, in Old Danish, and in Catalan – with English being the only language in which both variant versions are preserved.

The two English versions have both been preserved in fifteenth-century manuscripts, creating a significant divide between the composition of the French original and the writing of the preserved copies of the English translations. The Norse text has similarly only come down in fifteenth-century or later manuscripts, yet there is evidence that the text existed in a fourteenth-century manuscript that is now lost.[15] This manuscript is conventionally referred to as the Ormsbók (or the Book of Ormr), and has been attributed to Ormr Snorrason at Skarð in Skarðströnd (*c*. 1320–1402), a royal legislative official and lawspeaker.[16] The lost vellum manuscript is conventionally dated to the second half of the fourteenth century and so provides a *terminus ante quem* for the translation.[17] Multiple lexicon entries from the seventeenth century stem from the lost manuscript, and much of the content was copied in later

14 There are multiple textual witnesses to the French *Partonopeus de Blois*, as the romance seems to have been immensely popular in the Middle Ages. There is, however, no evidence of the second version's existence in French, whether in France or in England, although this could simply mean that manuscripts containing version II were lost, or that version I became the standardized form at the cost of the other one. For a discussion of the manuscript tradition of the French romance, see e.g. Simons (1997) and Eley (2011).

15 The last listing of the manuscript is from a late seventeenth-century inventory. It is generally assumed that the manuscript was lost when the Royal Palace burned down in Stockholm at the end of the seventeenth century, or that it perished in a large fire in Uppsala at the turn of the eighteenth century.

16 For further information on the manuscript, its dating, and its potential content, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (forthcoming).

17 Ormr is thought to have owned and potentially commissioned two other major codices: the legal codex Skarðsbók Jónsbókar (AM 350 fol) and a large collection of the Acts of the Apostles, Skarðsbók postulasagna (SÁM 1 fol) – considered to be two of the more resplendent Icelandic codices that have been preserved in Iceland. The copy of *Partalopa saga* in the paper manuscript Holm papp 46 fol is thought to stem from the Ormsbók. See *Partalopa saga* (1983: lxi–lxv) and Sanders (1979).

paper manuscripts, partially preserving the presumed content of the lost fourteenth-century manuscript. The codex is believed to have contained multiple romances, both translated and indigenous, including *Partalopa saga*, along with the Norse translations of the story of Troy, the *Historia regum Britanniae*, and the *Disciplina clericalis*. I have suggested before (Sif Rikhardsdottir 2012: 117–119), and so has Lise Marie Præstgaard, the editor of the Icelandic *Partalopa saga* (xi–xxii), that the text may in fact have been translated in Iceland around the mid-fourteenth century. If this is so, it reveals not only that Icelandic reading communities were recipients of the romance material flowing through Norway in the thirteenth century, but that the fourteenth century saw independent translation activity besides the copying of existing saga and romance material, whether translated or native.

The actual routes of transmission and potential manuscript connections are, however, dizzyingly convoluted. When the four translations of version II are compared with the existing French manuscript copies, it becomes apparent that none of the preserved textual samples is a direct translation of another. Moreover, the English text of version II only exists as a fragment, making it particularly difficult to trace potential textual correlations or deviations. It is apparent, however, that the Old Norse text is not a direct translation of the Middle English text, although both share clear deviations against the French text. Moreover, the Old Danish text is not a direct translation of any of the extant manuscript copies of the Norse text, though it is clearly closely related. Finally, the Catalan text is an independent variant.

A couple of examples tracing textual variants demonstrate the complexity of the transmission pattern of the story. In the Old French version, Partonopeu becomes lost in the woods when following *un grant sengler* 'a wild boar' (*Partonopeu de Blois*: l. 608). In the fragmented Middle English text (version II), the boar has become a hart: *an hart with hornis wyde*.[18] The longer Middle English version, which correlates closely with the Old French text, features a *wylde boore* like the French text (*Partonope of Blois*: l. 541). The change might simply signal a shift to an animal that would have been more familiar locally, or it might indicate an adaptation of the material to the Middle English romance convention, where the hart has a specific symbolic function. The Old Danish text follows suit by featuring a hart (*hiort*) as well (*Persenober og Konstantianobis*: 156).

The Old Norse text befuddles the issue here, as the story is preserved in two variant versions, A and B. A is represented by several manuscripts, the oldest of which is AM 533 4to, dated to the mid-fifteenth century or later. The B variant is represented by a single manuscript, Holm papp 46 fol, which was copied in 1690. Interestingly, the manuscript was presumably copied from the lost Ormsbók manuscript, thereby

18 *The Middle English Versions of Partonope of Blois* (fragment l. 102). The edition of the two English versions will hereafter be referred to as *Partonope of Blois* for the sake of simplicity. For a comparison of the various versions of the Partonopeu story, see Rikhardsdottir (2012: 152–163).

theoretically providing a textual copy close to the ostensible time of the translation.[19] The B version follows the English fragment in featuring a hart: *þà sà Partalope | hiǫrt eirn mïkinn laupa at sier* 'then Partalopi saw a large hart run towards him' (*Partalopa saga*: 10, l. 40 in B1). The A variant, however, contains a wild boar like the French manuscript: *P(artalopi) sa hlavpa fyrir hvndvnvm einn mikinn *villi gòllt* 'Partalopi saw a large wild boar run before the dogs' (*Partalopa saga*: l. 7 in A1). So does the Catalan version (*História de l'esforçat cavaller Partinobles*: 25). It is therefore apparent that either both the hart and the boar variants must have been in circulation, or that there was cross-contamination somewhere along the way (unless the choice of the two animals is simply a random coincidence).

Another minor textual detail might assist in throwing light on the potential manuscript transmission. In the French text, Partonopeu wanders through a large hall as he is lead to his bedchamber upon his arrival in the mysterious land. The text states that the hall is lit by *cierges alumés* (i.e. lighted wax candles or tapers): *Vers l'uis de la cambre est alés, / Et voit deus cierges alumés / Qui vers la cambre vont adés* 'He goes (is gone) towards the door of the chamber / and sees two lighted candles / that depart for the room at once' (*Partonopeu de Blois*: ll. 1063–1065). While the B variant of the Norse text followed the English fragment against the French source in the previous example, here it follows the French instead. The B manuscript states that the hall is lit by *stafkerti*, i.e. long tapered candles (*Partalopa saga*: 20, l. 141 in B1). In the Middle English fragment, the hall is on the other hand illuminated by *greete torchys* 'great torches':

> Atte Eeven whanne he sholde go to bedde,
> He was browght a fayir chavmber tille.
> This gentil chyilde Pertinope
> Into a Chavmber was hee * gone.
> Ryght greete torchys uppon to see
> By-fore hym were lyght fulle good wone (*Partonope of Blois*: fragment ll. 203–208)

> In the evening when he should go to bed
> he was brought into a fair chamber,
> this gentle child (or honourable young knight) Pertinope.
> He goes to a chamber,
> Before him great torches were to be seen
> lighting the way.

19 Admittedly, the romance could have been translated earlier and been transmitted in two (or more) variant versions in Iceland, of which the Ormsbók (and its paper copy) would have preserved one variant while the other was copied more extensively, as there are approximately thirty extant manuscripts of the A variant of the text versus the single copy of the B variant. For further information on the manuscripts, see *Partalopa saga* (xxvi–xcv).

The Catalan text similarly features *una torxa encesa* 'a lighted torch' that lights his way (*História de l'esforçat cavaller Partinobles*: 31). The Old Danish version does not mention any details regarding the lighting.[20]

The A variant of the Norse text features, however, an interesting deviation here. In the A text, the hall is lighted by *tortísar myklir* 'great torches', which includes a word that does not seem to be in evidence before the fourteenth century but can be found in manuscripts from the fourteenth century onwards.[21] The meaning of *tortis* here remains uncertain. In later usage, it is clearly associated with a torch (the conventional sense of the word). Here, however, it remains unclear whether the term is intended to indicate a wax candle or a twisted tow dipped in wax, or whether these were indeed considered interchangeable:

> Nv var kvelld dags ok hvgsadi hann hvar er hann skylldi sæng fa vm nottina þvi næst kvomv fram .ij. tortisar myklir med favgrvm loga þa hvgdi hann at þav mvndi til þess þar komin at visa honvm til sængvr hann stod vpp ok geck þangat eptir er kertin forv fyrir
>
> (*Partalopa saga*: 19–20, ll. 32–37 in A1)

> Now the day had turned to night and he thought about where he would find a bed for the night. Then two large torches appeared with a beautiful flame, and he presumed that they were there to show him to bed. He stood up and followed the candles.

Yet, the choice of the word *tortís* – otherwise rather uncommon – seems suggestive in this context when considering the cross-relations between the various versions and the affinities between the Middle English fragment and the Old Norse text.

Beside its appearance in *Partalopa saga*, the word can be found in a manuscript featuring *Maríu saga* (The story of the Virgin Mary) from the latter half of the fifteenth century (Holm perg 1 4to) and a manuscript copy of *Karlamagnús saga* (The Saga of Charlamagne) copied around 1700 (AM 180 d fol). In both cases, the precise meaning of the word remains unclear. In *Karlamagnús saga*, the reference to *önnur kerti* 'other candles' might suggest that it refers to candles rather than torches.[22] The manuscript featuring *Maríu saga*, Holm perg 1 4to, may similarly indicate a derivative meaning similar to the English 'torch', as the story describes a vision featuring men dressed in

20 All the versions are more or less in agreement here regarding the order of events. Partonopeu is provided with food by invisible servants, he marvels at the wonders of the place and the opulence of the decor, and is then taken to his bedchamber by the invisible servants carrying candles or torches.

21 *Partalopa saga* (20, l. 34 in A1 and A3). Holm perg 7 fol (A2) is dated to the late fifteenth century and has a variant spelling, i.e. *tortiSar miklar*, but otherwise agrees with AM 533 4to. JS 27 fol (A3) is dated to *c*. 1670 and follows A1 with only slight spelling variations and a minor deviation, as the torches are said to have bright flames as opposed to the beautiful ones in A1 (*ij. tostizar störer med biörttum logumm*).

22 See also *Karlamagnus saga ok kappa hans* (52). For information on the word *tortís*, see the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*. https://nors.ku.dk/english/research/arnamagnaean/a-dictionary-of-old-norse-prose/ (1 October 2020).

white carrying *digra tortísa med brennundum logum* 'broad torches with burning flames' and later states that a certain Bishop Bonus sought to do good *berandi sier i haundum logandi tortís godra verka til eptirdæmis sinum undirmonnum* 'carrying in his hand a flaming torch as an example for his subordinates', although these passages could certainly also indicate candles.[23] It is, therefore, tempting to think that the Old Norse *tortís* may have affinities with the Middle English *torchys* featured in the English fragment, although its derivation and meaning (torch, flame, or wax candle) remain unclear.

Retracing our steps back to England, we find the two versions extant there in the fifteenth century. Version I is a close translation of the French text that shows some possible influences of Chaucerian prose and mannerisms that would indicate that the translation postdates Chaucer and thus most likely stems from the fifteenth century. Version II is a much-simplified text reminiscent of the Breton lays. If the second version came into being in England (whether in French or in English) and passed through England to Iceland, then that version must already have been present there in the first half of the fourteenth century, as that is the latest possible date for the Icelandic translation. The interconnections between the versions would thus entail the existence of the Partonopeu story in England as early as the first half of the fourteenth century, almost a century earlier than the English manuscript history would indicate. The correlation between the Norse and the English versions thus offers an alternative literary history to what the English evidence on its own would do. The transmission pattern of the story therefore reveals an intricate pattern of literary engagement that is not unilateral, but rather complex and interactive.

Monastic and mercantile networks

Returning to Icelandic literary history, the Partonopeu story has a second significant implication, one that pertains particularly to the development of Icelandic romance. The French romance tells the story of a Franco-Byzantine imperial affair that in the Norse romance has metamorphosed into an apparently uniquely Icelandic narrative representation, the maiden king romance. The maiden king romance is directly related

23 See also *Maríu saga* (408 and 544 respectively). Holm perg 1 4to is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century. The word appears in several other manuscript copies of *Maríu saga*, always associated with torches or candles being carried. The earliest of these would be Holm perg 11 4to, from around the mid-fourteenth century (the earliest dating of the manuscript would be 1325, the latest one 1375), where the text refers to *digrvm tortisvm* 'large torches/candles'. It is, of course, quite possible that the word was in existence before that, and it may very well have been mediated via alternative routes, whether by means of the Middle English *torchys* or the Old French *torche*, which is the source for the Middle English word.

to the Germanic/European bridal quest romance, yet there are subtle differences in the narrative orientation that separate the maiden king romances from their European counterparts. While in bridal quest stories the focus is on the quest of a male for a bride, in the maiden king stories the emphasis shifts from the quest of the male to the resistance of the female object. These stories form a small group within the corpus of the Icelandic romances and were apparently fairly popular based on manuscript preservation.[24] The motif of the female ruler who refuses to marry appears in legendary material stemming from the thirteenth century, but the earliest extant fully fledged maiden king romance is *Clári saga* (The Saga of Clarus).[25]

The oldest preserved copy of the tale of Clárus (although incomplete) is a vellum manuscript from the latter part of the fourteenth century, AM 657 a–b, 4to.[26] The prologue to the story declares that Jón Halldórsson translated the story from Latin into Norse:

> Þar byrjum vér upp þessa frásögn, sem sagði virðulegur herra Jón biskup Halldórsson, ágætrar minningar, – en hann fann hana skrifaða með latínu í Franz í það form er þeir kalla rithmos, en vér köllum hendingum. (*Clári saga*: 1)

> We begin this story, as told by the honourable reverend Bishop Jón Halldórsson, blessed be his memory – which he found written in Latin in France in the form that they call 'verse' [Lat. *rhythmus*] and we call verse lines.

Jón Halldórsson was a bishop in Skálholt, the episcopal see in south-west Iceland, in the early fourteenth century. He was born sometime before 1300 and was likely of Norwegian descent, although he may have been Icelandic. It is known that he entered a Dominican monastery in Bergen as a youth and that he later travelled to both Paris and Bologna for his studies. He returned to Bergen in the early fourteenth century and then became a bishop in Iceland from 1322 to his death in 1339.[27] If the

24 The number of manuscripts preserved (both medieval and post-medieval) ranges from twenty-nine to sixty-four for the so-called indigenous maiden king romances, exceeded only by two other indigenous romances, *Hermanns saga ok Jarlmanns* with sixty-eight manuscripts and *Mágus saga jarls* with an astounding seventy-five manuscript copies preserved. For comparative purposes, *Tristrams saga ok Ísöndar*, the Old Norse translation of the well-known *Tristan* by Thomas de Bretagne, has been preserved in a total of eight copies, several of which are in a fragmented state. The Norse translation of the noted *Alexandreis*, *Alexanders saga*, has been preserved in twenty-three manuscript copies, mostly post-medieval (as is the case with the majority of the romances).

25 For further information about the maiden king topos, see Kalinke (1990). The interconnections between *Clári saga*, *Partalopa saga*, and the maiden king motif are elaborated on at greater length in a recent article (Sif Rikhardsdottir (2018).

26 For further information on the manuscripts of *Clári saga*, see *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Romance*: 72–73.

27 For details of Jón Halldórsson's life, see Gunnar Kristjánsson & Óskar Guðmundsson (2006: 36–37, 505).

prologue is accurate in ascribing the story to Jón Halldórsson, this would mean that the manuscript copy of the tale may have been written as early as two decades after his death (if one assumes the manuscript dates back to the mid-fourteenth century).

It remains uncertain whether the manuscript is a copy of Jón Halldórsson's own text (or a version of such a text), or a copy of a text written down from Jón Halldórsson's recital of the story (directly or indirectly), or whether the scribe merely attributed the tale to Jón Halldórsson for authenticity or by mistake. Jón was known to have translated and incorporated exempla and tales into his sermons, and so the notion that he could have brought with him a Latin tale from his journeys or sojourns abroad may have been considered plausible. The presumed Latin original cited in the prologue to *Clári saga* has never been found, and critics disagree on whether the text is indeed a translation or a native rendition, although there is no particular reason to doubt the prologue's veracity, given Jón's penchant for adopting Latin exempla in his sermons.[28]

The transmission pattern and dating of *Clári saga* are significant, as it may be the earliest fully fledged maiden king romance to have been preserved. While there is evidence of the topos of the maiden king as a typecast figure in the thirteenth century in at least two legendary sagas – and, in fact, in figures such as Brunhild in the *Nibelungenlied* – it is seemingly only in the fourteenth century that we see a sustained attention directed at the maiden king as the main focus of narrative arrangement and functionality. Given the dating of *Clári saga*, it is not unlikely that the translation (or writing) of the story of Clárus took place during a similar period to that of *Partalopa saga*. It is, moreover, perfectly conceivable, based on the evidence of the adaptation of *Partalopa saga*, that the narrative reshaping of the presumed Latin original of *Clári saga* shows a similar shift in emphasis to accommodate an apparent interest within Icelandic reading communities in the haughty bride who refused to relinquish her power to her male suitor.

It is therefore tempting to think that the two translations, containing similar structures of powerful women and their suitors, were not only translated for their interesting and entertaining stories of faraway adventures, but may have been the ideal *locus* for addressing the apparent cultural concerns that Icelandic medieval audiences had about female power (Rikhardsdottir 2018). The two translations may have taken an undeveloped narrative motif, known from other bridal quest romances, of the haughty bride and made it into the underlying source of narrative agency. The subsequent maiden king romances would then have drawn their inspiration and motifs from the prototype established in the merging of native narrative patterns with an imported narrative framework of romance that provided the ideal form with which to address such cultural concerns within the imaginative realm of adventure in exotic lands. The

28 See e.g. the discussions in Jakobsen (1964), Johansson (1997), Kalinke (2008), and Hughes (2008).

generic flexibility of romance may well have provided the textual space for engaging with such social or cultural concerns.

The key point I want to make here is to call attention to the historical and socio-literary circumstances surrounding the conception of *Clári saga* and its afterlife. Jón Halldórsson's travels epitomize the widespread web of interlinked mendicant orders, monasteries, and sites of learning that reached across Europe and beyond. In the figure of Jón Halldórsson, we can therefore trace lines of exchange and interconnections extending from the farthest reaches of the known world in the North, Iceland, to Norway, passing potentially across England (as Norwegian monastic orders had extensive connections with fraternal orders in England) to Paris, and reaching as far south as that other major European centre of learning, Bologna in Italy.

Bologna itself was one of the largest European cities in the late Middle Ages, and strategically placed mid-way between Florence – another key centre for art and literature – and the Republic of Venice – the ancient maritime empire whose rule extended across the Adriatic Sea, reaching as far down into the Mediterranean Sea as the island of Crete. The Florentine Republic had produced literary brilliance in the form of Dante, who died in 1321, a year before Jón took up office in Iceland, and Giovanni Boccaccio, another major literary figure, who would have been twenty-six years of age when Jón died in 1339. At that time, Boccaccio would have been living in Naples – a city that boasted a cultural heritage from the Sicilian Kingdom and a new-found prestige through a conglomeration of bankers, merchants, and Renaissance artists – and writing his early works, including *Filocolo* and *Filostrato*. Francesco Petrarca, the third of the so-called *tre corone* (three crowns) of Italian literary history, similarly has crossties across the geographical region described above, being born in Arezzo in Toscana, approximately seventy-eight kilometres south of Florence, spending time in Naples, and residing for several years in Venice. Indeed, he studied in Bologna in the years between 1320 and 1323, or around the same time as Jón took up the bishopric in Skálholt, signalling an interacting network of literary productivity before and after Jón's residency in the area.

It is in this complex web of interacting literary productivity, mercantile exchange, and ecclesiastical and scholarly environments that we find the Norwegian-Icelandic Dominican. The *Clári saga* motif of wifely obedience and patience bears a resemblance to the Griselda motif, elaborated on by both Boccaccio and Petrarca, and later by Geoffrey Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*. Yet the plotline and motivations of *Clári saga* are radically different, suggesting either a different treatment (with or without a potentially Latin source) or, possibly, an innovative elaboration of the motif of female autonomy and wifely obedience or resistance. Either way, Jón's travels place him in key sites for cultural fusion, productivity, and the transmission of material, motifs, and learning. Bergen itself, where Jón resided or may even have been born, was a multicultural city as it served as the hub for the Hanseatic network that, like the Venetian empire in the south, extended across the North Sea and into the Baltic Sea,

providing routes of trade and exchange for both goods and non-material products, such as linguistic and/or cultural identities and, potentially, literary motifs.[29]

Marteinn H. Sigurðsson has called attention to a little-known anecdote by Jón Halldórsson, located in *Jóns þáttr biskups Halldórssonar* (The Tale of Bishop Jón Halldórsson), that has been shown to be based on an older version of a tale also found in Petrarca's *Res memorandae* (Memorable Tales).[30] The story tells of two stone statues of lions – that most likely flanked the entrance to the cathedral in Bologna at the time – and a death caused by a snake (in Jón's version) or a scorpion (in Petrarca's version) lurking in the mouth of one of the lions. The anecdote may have been intended as a cautionary tale. As with *Clári saga* before – and indeed the carved door as well – the travelling anecdote reveals the complex interacting web of oral, visual, and written material plundered, adapted, and reworked for diverse purposes within each literary community. Jón Halldórsson's far-reaching oceanic networks, extending across the Norwegian Sea from Iceland to Bergen and across the North Sea to Paris and perhaps into the Mediterranean Sea, thus reveal again the complex patterns of transmission that lie at the roots of local creativity and literary identity. Those convergences interlink the various localities and their respective traditions, resulting in the creation of artistic material that is, however, uniquely localized in its cultural relevance and functionality.

Conclusion

Returning to the notion of insular identity, literary development, and the concept of the ocean as a pathway, both romance and the more "native" genre of the sagas exemplify both geographical isolationism and expansionism. While the focal point of the saga material was Iceland, the saga characters drew their symbolic substance from crossing the seas and engaging with other cultures. Questions of manhood, respect, value, and selfhood are, indeed, settled by departing from the Icelandic centre to Norway or the British Isles (or further), making the sea a pathway for the negotiation of identity, or at the very least of male identity. This identity, however, only assumed meaning once it was repositioned within the context of the centre. In romance, however, the geographical centre was far removed from insular regionalism, yet its material provided a means of addressing local concerns in a non-contextualized and

29 The Hanseatic League was a powerful mercantile guild and confederation that originated in northern Germany in the twelfth century and expanded in the subsequent centuries across the Baltic Sea and the North Sea, dominating maritime trade across the region for several centuries until the League slowly lost its position of prominence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

30 Marteinn H. Sigurðsson (2004) and *Islendzk æventyri* (447–448). My thanks go to the external readers for drawing my attention to this.

non-local specific narrative functionality. With romance, the audience could be transported across the ocean to faraway lands and imaginary realms, only to encounter cultural concerns that did not originate in those same faraway lands but rather reflected the very local concerns of the reading community for whom the romances were written and by whom they were being read.

David Wallace (1986: 36) once described England – when viewed from a continental European perspective – as both eccentric and delayed, its eccentricity being geographical. If England's geographical location on the margins made it of scant literary consequence within the broader context of European literary history, how would the even more remote island of a few struggling Vikings have been viewed? While geographical marginality and/or centrality may determine literary prominence, it does not necessarily affect literary production. It is not so much marginality or centrality as *contact* that impacts production. This contact may be sporadic, minimal, or overwhelming. Tracing these routes and the often unique and singular literary results of such contacts reveals a history that can be viewed as both native *and* transnational in its origins.

The three examples trace different routes of transmission and different means of mediation, from the appearance of the story of the Knight with the Lion on the church door in Valþjófsstaðir in Iceland in 1200, to the complex web of literary transmission and manuscript connections of the story of Partonopeu de Blois, and ultimately to the monastic and mercantile networks that are exemplified through the travels of Jón Halldórsson and that in many cases underlie such cultural exchange. Tracing such transmission patterns may reveal vibrant literary activity where previously none was discernible, it may reveal intricate social probing in material that was assumed to be frivolous, and it may allow for a literary history that acknowledges that literary sophistication is rarely reached in isolation, but is generally the result of cultural, literary, and/or linguistic encounters.

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Ingela Hedström

The Language of Legitimacy

On the Vocality and Visuality of Old Swedish Vidimus Charters

The medieval charter is a normative text.[1] Its nature is pragmatic and regulative, the language is formulaic, and the vernacular texts follow the Latin exemplar closely. However, the Scandinavian vernacularization of these texts allowed both variance and change. As medieval society evolved and developed, so did this legislative genre. It is not implausible to think that the changes in culture and context that occurred in the Scandinavian Middle Ages were also reflected in the variance of the charters issued. As society moved from being mainly oral to becoming more literate, the different literary genres were also modified. Hence, the aim of this paper is to study the vocality and visuality of Old Swedish vidimus charters. By examining the changes in the attesting phrases of these documents, I hope to shed light on how variance and modifications of these texts might reflect changes in the literacy and orality of the time.

Medieval literacy and charters

In the high Middle Ages, northern Europe had shifted from being a mainly oral culture to becoming a literate one.[2] Written traditions up to the thirteenth century largely appeared as islands of higher culture in an environment that was non-literate rather than illiterate (Stock 1983: 7). The majority of medieval people in Europe were still illiterate, yet medieval culture was a literary one. People could not read and write, but rules and regulations had long since been written down and the written word was, to some extent, controlling peoples' lives. Although society and

1 In the following, the term *charter* is used widely, and includes deeds, charters, and wills, as well as epistolographic letters. In modern Swedish, *diplom* is commonly used for all of these medieval documents, while Old Swedish uses variants of the word *breff* (originally from Latin *breve scriptum*), thus e.g. *køpobreff* 'deed of sale', *testamentzbreff* 'will', *dombreff* 'letter of judgement'. On the different compounds of *-bref* and the implications of these genre terms, see Söderberg (1994).

2 Of course, I write "mainly" here since *literate* tends to be equated with Latin literacy. For Scandinavia, this ignores the already-existing vernacular epigraphic runic writing culture and what we may call *runic literacy* or even *runacy*; on this, see e.g. Spurkland (2004: 341–343). It also plays down the importance of vernacular literacy in Latin script.

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its members were still largely dependent on oral (and thereby also aural) functions, these were mainly performed by written texts. Society needed writing to function.

Still, the nature of reading in the Middle Ages was oral: "literary works, especially those written in the vernacular, were often explicitly aimed at a listening audience rather than a reader. Reading was seen as an auditive act rather than something visual" (Spurkland 2000: 47). The verb *to read* often had the meaning 'to narrate, recount, tell' (Green 1994: 84). There was a clear oral dimension to reading, as this was normally not done quietly by an individual but aloud as a performance to others assembled. "This collective function was underlined by a collective reception by an audience gathered together as listeners and as spectators" (Green 1994: 94). It is thus in many ways impossible to separate the medieval reader from the listener. Consequently, medieval society was not only oral but also aural. Medieval literature was embedded within a community of hearers (Coleman 1996: 178).

In communities where not everyone could read, people gathered around those who could communicate and interpret the written texts for them. The core in these environments, the *textual communities*, was not the written text per se but instead the person who was trusted by the group to interpret the text. Members of a medieval textual community were not necessarily able to read themselves, but accepted the authority's interpretation of what was written (Stock 1983: 90). The textual community "involved new uses for orality. The text itself, whether it consisted of a few maxims or an elaborate programme, was often re-performed orally" (Stock 1983: 91).

The acceptance of the performed text by the community was perhaps especially important in the medieval legal process:

> For not only those who could read and understand the legal language of the written documents, but also those who, even if they could neither write nor read nor understand the documents' language, consented to the outcome of what had been debated and decided on legal occasions, can be said to have shared in the same 'legal mentality'. It was not necessary for everyone to be fully 'literate' in legal language, written and oral, for the law to function as a social system which aimed to regulate human behaviour. (Mostert 2011: 10)

In Scandinavia, the importance of accepting written communication and seeing the written word as trustworthy is evident already in the *Íslendinga saga* (Rohrbach 2017: 97). "As apparent from the oldest references to letters in the Old Norse tradition, it was obviously *en vogue* at the Norwegian court of the latter half of the thirteenth century to reflect upon literacy practices, just as in the continental vernacular tradition of the time" (Rohrbach 2017: 100). While it is possible to see medieval Scandinavia as a literate culture, there are still – as will be illustrated in the following – aspects of what we may call lingering orality.[3]

Although only known from late medieval manuscript copies, it has long been established that the early Old Swedish provincial laws "contain older layers, or at

3 On studies of medieval literacy in Scandinavia, see e.g. Johansson (2006) and Fritz (2011).

least fragments and even some law rules produced in an oral legal culture and then passed on and used in the written laws" (Brink 2011: 155). The fact that the medieval legal district was called a *lagsaga*, i.e. 'to say the law', is evidence of a strong oral culture. The law was delivered orally by the *lagman*, the 'lawman', and legal practices were performed both through rituals and through formulaic oaths.[4] The rituals and oaths are mirrored in the extant charters.

For medieval Sweden, there are some 45,000 charters registered in the online database of the *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, the Swedish national charter edition.[5] The database includes records of extant originals on parchment and paper, medieval as well as post-medieval copies, and items we only know of through secondary records of them. About one quarter have been published so far. Of these 45,000 charters, a little less than half are in Old Swedish.[6] In the earliest examples, Latin is the only language used in producing charters, and compared to Norway, for instance, Sweden is quite late in writing letters in the vernacular. The oldest extant charter in Old Swedish is from 1330.[7] However, around 1350 the king established a law for the entire country (*Magnus Erikssons landslag*, 'Magnus Eriksson's law of the realm'), in which it is stated that all documents should be written in the vernacular:

> Sculu oc all breff, kunungx, laghmanz oc hæræzhøfþinga, i þolkum malum oc anþrum, a swænsko skriwas. (SKB B 107, fol. 23r, 1388)
>
> All letters, those of king, lawman, and the hundredman, should, in these cases and others, be written in Swedish.

It took a while before the new regulations were implemented, and in the 1370s the vernacular charters make up about half of all surviving documents. However, by the fifteenth century the vernacular had taken over and constitutes about 75 per cent of all extant charters. This level remains fairly stable throughout the Middle Ages, as Latin continued to be the language of the Church and used for foreign correspondence.

The protocol of charters is highly formulaic, and the audience is commonly greeted by the phrase *Alla them thetta breff høra ella see helsa iak [. . .]* 'All those who hear or see this letter, I greet [. . .]'.[8] This is nothing uniquely Scandinavian, but is found in the Middle Ages throughout the Western world. In Latin charters, we similarly find the phrase *Uniuersis presentes litteras visuris vel audituris*, or similar.

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4 See e.g. Brink (2011) and, for German parallels, Green (1994). *Lagman* is sometimes also translated as 'lawspeaker'.

5 The database can be found at sok.riksarkivet.se/sdhk.

6 About 20,700 are in Old Swedish and 14,400 are in Latin. The rest are mainly in Danish, Norwegian, or German, although there are also entries in the database that do not have a language registered.

7 In Uppsala University Library; SDHK no. 3679.

8 The orality of charters has of course long been known, even if perhaps not thoroughly studied, although aspects of it are brought up in Michael Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record* (1993) in particular. For Sweden, see Larsson (2009: 149–164).

These open letters were often read aloud at the thing assembly, and the issuer (or rather, the reader) is directly addressing the audience. The voice is talking to those present, who are supposed to be "hearing" the charter. "Seeing" it was also important, and should here be interpreted as seeing the actual document rather than reading it. This is not only an oral performance but also a visual act of witnessing the legal procedure. Addressing those "hearing" and "seeing" a document, whether these phrases were regarded as mere formulas or not, makes the audience participants of a textual community.

Later, the salutation becomes somewhat more abstract: "Let all persons, present and future, know that I [. . .]". The changes in the English formulary that occur in the thirteenth century have been interpreted, by Clanchy, among others, as indications of increased familiarity with writing.[9] The same phrase, *Thæt scal allom viterlichet vara, sva eptercomandom som thøm ther nw ærw, at iak [. . .]*, occurs also in Old Swedish, so this shift is nothing unique, but seems to have been – at different times, perhaps – more or less universal. Thus, it is difficult to say if the occurrence of this new protocol does in fact mirror a substantial change in society and its attitude to the written word. Although the literary practices of society were certainly shifting at this time, this variation could alternatively be seen simply as a reflection of changes in usage and phrasing on the continent.

With this new development, the reader of an open letter was still addressing the audience directly. However, this new protocol caused the audience to focus on a different kind of memorial aspect: "it should be known". The listeners should remember what they have heard, so that this will be known in the future. Witnesses were a very important part of the legal process throughout Europe, and Scandinavia was no exception.[10] In a society so dependent on oral traditions and on collective memory, the use of witnesses was fundamental. The lawspeakers had memorized the laws before they were written down, attesting to the validity of these texts. During the codification of the laws, the importance of witnesses was recognized and formalized; the significance of memory – and the orality which that entails – remained strong.

When it became necessary to copy or confirm documents, witnesses were needed to attest the copy, the vidimus. *Vidimus* means 'we have seen' in Latin, and refers to an authenticated copy or a summary of an original document.[11] These vidimus documents have the form of a charter themselves, with an introductory text framing the

9 See e.g. Clanchy (1993: 253–254).

10 "[I]t is in accordance with the Roman law principle that witnesses, not documents, should be relied upon (*testibus, non testimoniis, creditur*)" (Knudsen 2011: 155). It is interesting in this context to read a Swedish charter from 1378 in which Nils Djäken, the lawman for the local district, certifies that he has written and sealed a charter regarding a land transaction. However, the issuer confesses to not being able to remember all the witnesses of the transaction (SDHK no. 11353).

11 In Norwegian and Danish (and sometimes also Swedish), the term *vidisse* 'to have seen' is normally used for these attestations; in Swedish *vidimation* is the most common term.

charter(s) being confirmed. These are, like the formulaic language of most other types of charters, based on Latin formulas. In the vidimus, an audience is addressed, just as in any other charter. However, it is then explained in the protocol that the issuer has seen and carefully read the letter that is being copied. This is often followed by phrases regarding the original letter (its condition, seals, and perhaps also material), as well as letting the reader/audience know that the original is worded exactly as follows. Sometimes, this is also repeated in the eschatocol, which otherwise contains an attestation (via new seals) and usually information about place and date for the new charter. In this way, an older document was validated.

There has been very little research on the Scandinavian vidimus charters. There are two studies of the Scandinavian material: that of Jan Ragnar Hagland (1976) on the Norwegian examples, and that of Roger Andersson (1997) on the Swedish ones. In these studies, both scholars focus their investigations on what happened to the text and what changes can be discerned between the copy and the original in the cases where we have both the vidimus and the text it is attesting.

There are also a few studies of specific vidimus charters, the main one probably being the vidimus of the Kalmar Union charter (a 1425 charter witnessing a 1397 original), for instance those by Henry Bruun (1962) and Anders Leegaard Knudsen (forthcoming).[12] Other than that, there are only smaller, very general sections on vidimus charters in works on diplomatic and in handbooks, such as in Lars Hamre's *Innføring i diplomatikk* (1972).

In fact, one of the most comprehensive surveys of Scandinavian vidimus charters is to be found in the *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*. While the main article (by the Norwegian scholar Finn Hødnebø) is informative and descriptive and explains the genre, it is in many ways the article on the Icelandic material that is the most interesting. It was written by Stefán Karlsson, and he draws attention to the fact that the vidimus charters were built up around the declaration that the witnesses have (*a*) seen, (*b*) read through, and/or (*c*) heard the transcribed letter being read out.

Stefán Karlsson claims that phrases that use *seen*, *read*, and *heard* on their own are almost unknown in the vidimus charters. Instead, the combination of *seen* and *read* is by far the most common attestation phrase. The use of *seen*, *read*, and *heard* together (and possibly *seen* and *heard*, or *read* and *heard*) becomes more common towards the end of the Middle Ages. He states that "it is uncertain whether or not the statement of *c* (i.e. *hear*) implies that gradually it was not necessarily required that the issuers of the vidimus could read".[13] From this statement, it is clear that the vidimus charters contain some of the same kinds of oral traits as the texts that they copy, as well as textual and visual elements that relate to the ritual of attesting a charter.

12 My thanks to Anders Leegaard Knudsen for sharing his study with me prior to publication.

13 "Det er usikkert hvorvidt anførelsen af c indebærer at man efterhånden ikke ubetinget krævede at udstederne av v. var læsekyndige" (Stefán Karlsson 1975: col. 696; my translation).

The question thus presents itself: how do the issuers of these attested documents claim that they can confirm they have seen an authentic and un-faked original?

Furthermore, Stefán Karlsson's statement reveals that there were changes in these protocols over time. Do these changes reflect new attitudes towards texts, and can the phrases used tell us anything about changes in society – in people's attitudes towards the written word? Can this tell us anything about the literacy and orality, and thereby also the visuality and vocality, of people in late medieval Sweden? It is the aim of the present study to try and answer these questions.

The Old Swedish vidimus charters

As a starting point for the observations in this study, I needed a defined time period. The earliest Old Swedish vidimus charter is from 1370, so I set that as the starting point. I set 1525 as the final date – not because that year is viewed as the end of the Swedish Middle Ages (or the limitation of the *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, which includes charters registered up to 1559), but because it is generally considered by modern academics to mark the end of the Old Swedish period.[14] I then divided these 155 years were into six shorter periods: 1370–1400, 1401–1425, 1426–1450, 1451–1475, 1476–1500, and 1501–1525, in order to be able to control the data and perhaps discern some patterns.

The *Diplomatarium Suecanum* database allows the user to search in a combination of different fields, such as date, summary, place of issue, archival source, and so on. A search in the database for the term *vidi** in the content (summary) field and with the language set to Swedish, in the time period 1370–1525, resulted in 341 hits.[15] However, this is not an exact result, as not all vidimus charters have been registered as such in the database. Some are labelled *vidimation* in the physical archive, but as *bekräftelse* 'confirmation' or similar in the catalogue. Also, several are registered as a medieval copy in the source field of the database without this being mentioned in the main summary. Thus, if one searches for *vid** in the source field (and Swedish as language) the result is instead 769 (with only 248 in Latin). I am bringing this up to make the reader aware of the fact that this is in no way a complete study, that there are several database entries that I have missed, and also that there was not enough space in this limited study to go through all the results that my search revealed. In the end, I settled for 190 charters (which would – if one counts the two different searches – make up about one fifth of the entire Old Swedish

14 With the printing of the New Testament in Swedish in 1526, we reach the generally agreed period of Early Modern Swedish.

15 As a comparison, the same search with Latin as the language produced 304 hits.

vidimus material), with the data relatively evenly spread out over the six time periods. There were very few from before 1400. For some reason, there were quite a large number from the third period, but it should also be added that not all are dated; the dates are then set according to the issuing of the original charter or time period of the person issuing the vidimus, if known. I have tried to place them in roughly the right time period, but they might differ by a few years. Also, any post-medieval copies of vidimus charters have been excluded. Most of these originate from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At this time, the need to preserve the validity of the documents was replaced by a purely antiquarian or historical interest. Scribal errors are numerous, with a great many examples of corrupted forms, which is why they are of less use to us here.

After transcribing the appropriate parts of these 190 charters, I marked up any terms or phrases that might relate to the vidimus act. Primarily, words for seeing, hearing, or reading the original texts were selected. Secondly, terms for other actions relating to voice and performance were chosen; these have been put in a general "other" category. The result was Table 1 (for a complete list of all 190 texts, see Appendix 1):

Table 1: Terms or phrases that might relate to the vidimus act.

	1370–1400	1401–1425	1426–1450	1451–1475	1476–1500	1501–1525
Seen	7	5	3	3	2	2
Read	–	–	–	–	1	–
Heard	–	2	1	–	–	–
Seen and read	3	4	8	11	9	4
Seen and heard	3	17	20	2	7	4
Read and heard	–	–	–	–	1	–
Seen, read, and heard	1	4	6	4	5	2
Other	–	3	6	7	4	2
Seen and other	–	1	3	1	–	1
Seen, read, and other	–	1	6	2	1	4
Read and other	–	1	–	–	–	1
Seen, heard, and other	–	1	1	1	–	–

Table 1 (continued)

	1370–1400	1401–1425	1426–1450	1451–1475	1476–1500	1501–1525
Seen, read, heard, and other	–	–	–	–	2	–
Total number in the period	14	39	54	31	32	20

Looking at the first period (1370–1400), there is a clear focus on "seeing" a charter. Despite the fact that Stefán Karlsson claims that this never occurs on its own, it clearly does so here (and in fact also in the Latin charters). Just seeing a document is as common as the other three categories represented in this period (seeing and reading it; seeing and hearing it; or seeing, reading, and hearing it) put together. There is a clear focus on the visual aspect of attesting a document. This probably not only has to do with the remnants of a pre-written custom – in which symbols and visual rituals were very important – but was also an integral part of the actual authorization, in that the issuers needed to have seen the document that they were attesting.[16] In order to confirm that the document was not a forgery, the text had to be 'un-cut' (*ey skurin*), 'un-scraped' (*ey skrapath*),[17] 'in no way forged' (*j ængo mato falsadh*), or similar, and with the correct, unbroken seals. This was not so much for the audience at the thing assembly as for the issuer, who needed a valid document that, in later contexts, could be shown and confirmed again. However, the extant number of vidimus charters from this period is quite limited, so it is certainly possible that the addition of just a few more charters would change the pattern.

In the second period (1401–1425), there is not only a great increase in the number of vidimus charters but also a significant change in what phrases are being used. There is still a great emphasis on seeing the original, but most commonly together with "hearing" it. Hearing a text now also occurs on its own, without it being seen or read. The issuers should no longer just see that the original is complete and not a forgery; they should also hear the text. Presumably, somebody read the original texts to the issuers, and this moves the focus to an aural aspect of the texts. This took place in two stages – addressing both the audience of the original and the audience of the new attested copy.

16 Another example of pre-written customs is the act of *skötning* (Lat. *scotatio*), a term for land conveyance, whereby the transferrer put turf in the receiver's cloak. Similarly, *skafthållning* 'the holding of a handle' meant that the witnesses touched a spear shaft or sword hilt and thereby confirmed a land purchase or a transfer of immovable property.

17 This refers to a common method of altering texts written on parchment, through scraping the ink off of the page – a task much more easily and thoroughly achieved when writing on parchment rather than on paper – and writing new text into the now-blank space.

In this period, the "other" category also appears for the first time. The expressions vary, from having 'received' (*vntfik*) or 'been present' (*owerwarom*) to having 'inspected' (*ranzsakathom*) an original. In the case of the last two terms here, the issuer is voicing the physical act of being present. Closer to the standard categories are the expressions 'had [material] read' (*læth læsa*) and 'beheld' (*skudhat*). They could perhaps be considered synonyms for reading and seeing, but they also appear in combinations such as *haffwom* ***seet*** *oc* ***skodhat***, ***læsit*** *oc* ***latit læsa*** *naghor breff* 'have seen and beheld some letters, read them, and had them read' (SDHK no. 20529, 1425). These phrases are alliterative, and could been seen as parallel word-pairs, a literary stylistic device that was commonly used in medieval texts.[18] In this context, however, *skodha* should instead be interpreted as 'investigate'. *Lata læsa* indicates a more passive voice compared to the active *læsa*. In fact, this suggests an aural and vocal dimension to the text which is not always evident. A clear distinction has been made between reading oneself (aloud or quietly) and having someone else read for one.

The third period (1426–1450) contains the greatest number of vidimus charters, almost a third of the total. Having seen an original is still in focus, with all but seven of the examples referring to the attested text having been seen. The visual dimension is thus still very much the focal point, although greater variety now occurs. Perhaps more important are the growing numbers of those claiming to have read a document, possibly indicating a gradual move towards a more literate society.

This trend continues in the second half of the fifteenth century (1451–1475), when there is suddenly a rapid decline in examples of having seen and heard the original text: this drops from twenty to only two cases. While seeing is still strong, the focus slowly moves towards having read a text. These patterns can also be seen in the last two periods (1476–1500 and 1501–1525). The different variants of the original formulaic attestation phrases level out. Having seen a document is still important, but these actions occur together with others, and the variance is greater.

A clear development is also apparent if one merges the standardized phrases (the different variants and combinations of the "seen", "read", and "heard" categories) on one hand and the independent, new phrases (the "other" and any combinations with it) on the other hand (See Table 2).

Except for a decline in the fifth period, there is an obvious pattern over time, showing that there is an steady rise in the number of charters in which phrases from the "other" categories are included. This development most probably reflects a change in the use of the vidimus charters and a growing independence from Latin influence.

18 These double expressions were especially common in Old Swedish religious literary translations. It has been discussed whether they were remnants of an oral tradition or should be seen as strategies for translating texts; see e.g. Lindell (2000: 108). It is perhaps tempting here to interpret this as a stylistic form chosen by the scribe, who might have been the local priest, and was thus familiar with such Old Swedish translations from Latin religious literature.

Table 2: The relationship between standardized and new phrases.

Phrases	1370–1400	1401–1425	1426–1450	1451–1475	1476–1500	1501–1525
Seen or read or heard (%)	100	82	70	65	78	60
Other (%)	0	18	30	35	22	40

Discussion

If one looks at all the examples of vidimus phrases – from 1370 to 1525 – having "seen" a document and "heard" it being read out loud is by far the most common combination, used in almost one third of all cases in my material. For some reason, the combination of seeing and hearing experiences a dip in the fourth period, but remains important in the following two periods. Also, there are examples of expressions like "heard reading", where it is clearly stated that the issuer has heard someone else read the document. Similarly, the phrase *i thera ahøro* (1403) translates as 'in their presence', but its literal meaning is 'hearing' (or, to be exact, 'in their hearing'). Although the phrase clearly relates to the physical presence of the witnesses, it could also be seen as relating to the aural reception of the text. It gives a spatial dimension to the vidimus, in that it emphasizes that the audience is present, but they might at the same time be hearing the charter being read out.

A different aspect of the aurality of the charters is that the attestation phrases often include information that the original is *lydande ordh fran ordh*. This expression means that the model 'contains [the following] word by word'. However, *lydande* can also be interpreted as 'sound, be heard'.[19] Thus, the uses of this phrase could be understood as meaning that the following is being (or will be) read out, and heard. This would further strengthen the vocality of the issuer.

Another dominant category is having "seen" and "read" a document. Of course, we cannot say what "read" actually meant: whether it was silent reading by the issuer or whether someone read it aloud and the issuer was simply part of an audience. The only time it can be assumed that "read" actually meant reading in our modern sense, and not acoustic reception, is when the word is used together with "heard". As it is often combined with hearing, one would assume that reading here is an action separate from listening. However, the phrase 'had read' (*læt læsa*) or even 'heard read' (*hørt læsas*) clearly implies that someone else read the text aloud – an oral recital. The phrase 'read and had [it] read' (*læsit oc latit læsa*), on the other hand, suggests that the use of "read" by itself should be seen as private, quiet reading, not referring to the reciter.

19 Cf. Söderwall: *lydha* 1 and 2.

Admittedly, the combination of *read* and *heard* is one of the least common ones, but when combined with *seen* and other phrases, the numbers go up. Of course, there is a difference when it is specified that the issuer "had heard reading" or "had heard being read". However, there are definitely examples here when one should assume that the issuer actually was able to – and did – read the document.

Occasionally, it is difficult to separate the different layers of the vidimus phrases used. As an example, here is a charter from 1454 (SDHK no. 26405):

> Ok gør jak vetherleget medh thenne vthscripth ath jak haffwer **hørth** tw skælegh breff medh hel oc hængiande jncigle oc lydande ordh fran ordh som her epther skriffwath staar [. . .] Theth andra breff iac haffwer **seth oc offwer læseth** lydher [. . .] til vithnisbyrdh herom ath jac [. . .] haffuer sadana breff **seth oc læsith** sæther jac mit jncigle pa ryggen a thetta breff.
>
> And I make it known with this transcript that I have **heard** two just letters, with whole and hanging seals, containing word by word that which follows written hereafter [. . .] The second letter I have **seen and read through** follows [. . .] as a witness hereby that I [. . .] have **seen and read** such letters, I put my seal on the back of this letter.

Initially, it is declared that the witness has heard two letters – i.e. a reciter has read them aloud. Later, the man attesting the vidimus reports that he has seen and read the original documents. The focus has shifted from the aural to a visual and literary performance. Did hearing a document also equate to seeing it? Obviously, reading it could mean the reciter performed it, but would that also include the use of the phrase 'read through' (*offwer læseth*)? In these two cases, it is tempting to understand "read" as an aural act, but it is still open to interpretation.

Nevertheless, any form of reading is clearly set apart from having seen a document. It can be compared to just having read a text, which is the least common case. It is obvious that the visual act is dominant throughout the Middle Ages. The visuality can refer both more generally to seeing the text (unscraped and unaltered) and to inspecting the actual document (the materiality, the correct seals, and so on). Even in combinations with other terms, there is a focus on the visuality of the text and/or the document.

Throughout the entire period examined here, seals are mentioned in the protocol, and they are described with words such as *whole* and *complete*.[20] The descriptions seem to become more specific towards the end of the period, when the seals are counted, or specified by colour or whether they are hanging or pressed onto the back of the letter. Pressed seals at the back do not occur until paper was being used

20 It was important that a charter was undamaged, as it might otherwise be rendered invalid. A document from 1428 (SDHK no. 20999) exemplifies the fears of what could happen. In this text. the local authorities confirm, with the attestation of neighbours, that Johan in Vrångfall had been affected by great damage. His five-year-old daughter had torn his land grants to pieces and ripped off the seals. The people witness that this has happened in the way told – because of the mad girl – and not because of anything else, and that therefore his grants should remain valid.

as a writing material. Compared to parchment, paper was rarely strong enough to take the weight of hanging seals. Thus, specifying this is not necessary until the introduction of paper. Of course, the purpose of this entire procedure is to ensure that forgeries were not involved. Fraudulent documents were not uncommon.[21]

At the same time, there was also a rise in descriptions of the original material, that is, whether it was on parchment or paper. Obviously, this is a consequence of the increased use of paper as writing material in the late Middle Ages. This indicates that the witness had in fact seen the original document. The descriptions become – slowly – more descriptive and precise, emphasizing the visuality and materiality of the original artefact, and not only the text.

Beyond the seeing, hearing, and reading categories listed by Stefán Karlsson as the main vidimus phrases, there are also several examples of other expressions used to attest vidimus charters. In this category, there are a number of one-off or infrequent occurrences of terms like 'received' (*vntfik* 1401), 'took' (*togh* 1442), and some examples of 'having' (*haffuom* 1451, 1453, 1461). These could be said to be connected to acts of physical reception. The issuer is operating actively.

Other phrases have to do with space and presence. Examples of this are 'were present' (*owerwarom* 1402), 'carried before us' (*før oss fram bar* 1458), or the relatively common 'came before us' (*komo for vs* 1435, 1445, 1462, 1463, 1477, 1490, 1499, 1519). This gives the issuer of the vidimus a less active voice – the original document is there, but the person attesting appears to be passive. However, in some cases these phrases were also connected to specific situations or places, for example 'came before us a letter in our town hall' (*kom fore oss eth breff pa vare radstoffw* 1462). This is a contextualization of the document, one that sanctions the text and gives it authentication. Nevertheless, these phrases might also illustrate a

21 It is important to remember that medieval views on the authenticity of documents were not as strict as our modern ones. Religious centres such as Christ Church, Canterbury, Durham, and similar produced many forgeries. If a monastic house required a document to support its claim to some property, then it would create that document, presumably justifying such activity through the notion that if God and the patron saint wished for this particular monastic house to flourish, they also wished to provide the means for it; see e.g. Constable (1983) and Hiatt (2004). In medieval Sweden, the Cistercian Nydala Monastery is the best example of this. Here, the members not only produced forgeries but also manipulated earlier documents. One example is a charter from 1380 (SDHK no. 11720). It is sealed by the issuer and four other prominent men. However, the actual seals do not correspond to the names listed in the text. One of the seals belonged to a man called Harald Hecheson or Häggesson, whose seal also appears attached to three other charters concerning the monastery of Nydala. He is not connected to the text of any of these four documents, and moreover, these three subsequent charters were issued in 1342, 1372, and 1518. Rather than assuming he lived for about two centuries and attested documents with which he had no connection, it seems safer to assume that someone in the convent fraudulently attached seals to earlier letters that perhaps had lost one of their seals and had to look complete. On other Swedish examples of forgeries, see Gejrot (2004).

visual aspect of the attestation process. Although not explicitly stated, "being present" and similar expressions imply that the document has also been seen.

The phrase 'renewed and completed' (*fornyath ok fwlbordhath* 1467) emphasizes the attestation process as a legal act. However, the words 'consider, reflect upon' and 'pay attention to' (*betenkia* and *atwakta* 1465) reflect a more literary process on a completely different level. The entire quotation from which these terms are drawn reads: *at see owerlæsa betenkia atwakta copiera oc thernest aff latin oppa suenska wenda oc wt casta forscriffit breff* 'to see, read through, reflect upon, pay attention to, copy, and thereafter translate from Latin to Swedish and write out the letter'.[22] It is clear that here we do not have a normal attestation, but a situation where the issuer must have been highly literate. Evidently, this is not the standard visual situation but a context in which the voice of the authorizer becomes evident. It reflects a relationship with texts that is much more complex than what is normally presented in the charters. There is a whole literary process embedded in just these two lines. In the Middle Ages in Sweden, the issuer and scribe were rarely the same person, and the scribe is hardly ever identified by name. However, in this case we know that the issuer was a priest at Skara Cathedral, as well a *notarius publicus*, and in the eschatocol we are told that he wrote this vidimus in his own hand. Thus, we know that this is a well-educated man.[23] His way of expressing the vidimus is certainly exceptional.

At the opposite end of the scale is to 'look at' (*skodha* or *beskodha* 1411, 1425, 1432, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1450), one of the most frequent "other" phrases. The word is also very common in Danish vidimus charters. Closely related to this is *ranzsakathom* ('examined' 1425, 1439, 1440, 1443, 1450, 1462, 1482, 1497, 1520). This is, in this study, the most common "other" phrase in the material. Both are probably derived from a Latin formula containing *perspexisse*, *inspexisse*, or *examinasse*. Thus, this is nothing new or unexpected, but comes from an international tradition.

There is, however, one phrase for which I have not been able to find a straightforward Latin equivalent in the Swedish material, and that is the word 'handled' (*hanterathe* 1440, 1451, 1493, 1515). The variants 'had in our hands' (*hafft j warom handom* 1515, 1524) and 'touched' (*handladh* 1516) also exist, although 'handled' is certainly the most common. I have not been able to find a similar phrase in any vidimus charters from Denmark or Norway either. The few Danish or Norwegian charters that have any forms of the word *handla* use it in the meaning of 'administer', 'negotiate', or 'treat, deal with'.[24] This does not necessarily mean that there are

22 Likewise, in the eschatocol the issuer confirms that he *forscriffne breff anamadhe, laas, wnderstodh, atuaktadhe, copieredhe vt aff latine oppa suensko sætthe oc thesse wtscript medh minne hand scriffde* 'received, read, understood, paid attention to, copied from Latin, and put into Swedish the letter above, and wrote this transcription by my own hand'.

23 The scribe, Olof Bengtsson, is presented and identified by Per-Axel Wiktorsson (2006: 76–77), albeit without noting the charter discussed above.

24 Cf. Söderwall: *handla* 1 vs 2–4.

no comparable phrases in any of those languages. In a Latin charter, one might expect the phrase *manibus tracto* or similar. Yet I have not found this phrase in any of the Swedish vidimus charters written in Latin in the database, although of course only a small part of the material has as yet been published and is available to search in. However, it is probably safe to say that it is a step away from a more common Latin formula. It is also a step towards not only a visual but also a physical contact with the original letters. This, in turn, also includes a visual investigation of the object – perhaps with a more active voice.

Nevertheless, it is important to be aware of the possibility that the examples here might not be representative of the material as a whole. As an illustration, one can take the vidimus charters issued by the Danish court in the spring of 1414. A total of no less than 103 vidimus charters were issued in Old Danish, all with an identical formulaic attestation phrase.[25] An event like this, with mass (re)issuing of similar documents, would obviously affect the overall sample – especially when the total number for comparison is relatively small.

Conclusion

Of course, given the ongoing publication of the material, any conclusions reached here must remain tentative. However, some patterns do emerge, and it is especially interesting to compare these to some of the conclusions made by Jan Ragnar Hagland in his study of literacy in late medieval Norway (2005). Hagland notes that there is a decline in the use of the vernacular as a written language in the Norwegian material in the late fourteenth century. Despite this general decline, the literacy process continues in administrative functions. Hagland interprets this as a non-institutional literacy: that the ability to read and write has spread outside the institutions. Literacy thereby also becomes more important for the rest of society. These people were part of a system that gradually became more dependent on the written word and writing in cases that affected judicial or economic consequences for individuals (Hagland 2005: 56–58). In fact, one could talk about *pragmatic literacy* (in the words of Malcolm Parkes (1973)), in that all members of the society are now affected by literacy – also those who cannot read or write themselves. This Norwegian development seems to be paralleled in Sweden, but occurring somewhat later.[26] Some of the changes in the administration – and thus also the literacy – of the Scandinavian countries, of course, occur more or less simultaneously, largely due to the close political ties of the Kalmar Union.

25 24 February (24 vidimus charters); 12 March (3); 15 April (31); 25 April (1); 1 May (10); 3 May (2); 25 May (32). See *Diplomatarium Danicum* at https://diplomatarium.dk (1 October 2020).

26 Cf. also the establishment and modernization of the national law codes, which in Sweden happened about seventy-five years after Magnus Lagabøte's *Landslov* (1274).

The examples presented in this study have, nonetheless, shown that while there are basic formulas for how the vidimus should be expressed, variance is permitted and does occur. With a limited corpus of material, the patterns of change might not be great, but there were certainly changes in the period. The importance of visuality is more or less constant throughout, although the visual phrases tend to appear together with other kinds of acts. This does not necessarily reflect a move towards a more literate society or a less oral one. Instead, it can be seen as a move away from the strict formulas of the Latin and towards expanding domains of the vernacular. Of course, a more thorough study is needed – looking at a greater number of documents, comparing them to the Latin material as well as other vernacular languages, and looking at variables that I have only briefly touched upon here, such as who issued the different texts and where.

Even if in the late Middle Ages there were changes in legal practice and how vidimus charters were issued, these do not necessarily come through in the material. People familiar with legal documents were also accustomed to hearing them being read aloud (or just being shown them). The public at the thing assembly were therefore accustomed to the normal formulaic language – especially the greeting phrase, where "all those who see or hear this" would introduce the content of the document to the audience (which immediately suggests the act of listening). The same phrases might therefore have been expected to appear in the vidimus as well.

We might also want to consider the fact that the creation of a medieval charter is a two-step process: firstly the legal act, which in itself is an oral (and aural) process, and secondly the execution of the written proof that this act has occurred. Thus, we are dealing with an oral as well as a textual performance, and the two work together. Medieval literacy and medieval orality must not be considered as two separate and unrelated cultures or modes of communication; they were in constant interplay and functioned in symbiosis with each other. Word-pairs like *orality* and *literacy*, *listening* and *reading*, continue to be seen as oppositions, while they were in fact working together.

Finally, the changes in the material discussed here should not be seen as a direct evolution, as if complete literacy is a stage that naturally follows an oral (or visual) stage. Instead, one should remember how orality and literacy existed as parallel forms of expression and communication in the Middle Ages, taking on different functions. While it would of course be fruitful to make a complete comparison between the Old Swedish vidimus charters and the Latin ones from medieval Sweden, I also think that the extant number of charters informs us that the vernacular tradition was strong enough at this point. The tradition was in no way completely independent, but the vernacularization of the genre allowed the issuers of vidimus charters to step away from formulaic language. New texts could be created based on partly different situations in an evolving culture that had new textual demands. The variations in the phrasing of the vidimus charters are good indications of these changes in society as a whole. The modes of modification that they display reflect a society that is textual, not just oral or written.

Appendix 1

SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
9600	1370–00–00	. . . oss hafua **seet** oc **læsath** . . . breff ey skurin ok ey skrapath ok ii ænga motha lasthat vtan m*edh* heelu*m* insighlum ok rætlika forhe*n*gdum ludande i swa matho . . .
11683	1380–05–17	. . . at wy hafuo*m* **seet** . . . breff . . . jncighlad m*ædh* thera · eyno*m* · oc rættom jncighlom ey skrapadh · oc j ængo mato falsadh · ludhande ordh · fra ordhe som hær æpte*r* følghe*r* . . .
11983	1381–09–14	. . . os hafua **seeth** wælborins manz bref . . . inciglat m*edh* hans wisso incigle swa ludhande ordh fran ordhe som her æpte*r* staar . . .
12097	1382–02–00	. . . haua **seet** oc **ouirlæsit** . . . bref . . . m*edh* fullo*m* bokstafwm oc helom insighlom swa lyghande ordh fran ordhe som hær epte six . . .
12581	1384–01–30	. . . wi hafuo*m* **seet** . . . breff oc hans incighle fore ey brotit ey skrapat oc ij enga mato skat swa ludhande ordh fra ordhe . . .
13165	1386–09–13	. . . os hawa **seth** . . . breff . . . ordh fran ordhe swa ludhande som hær æpte*r* sæx vndir hans sa*n*na insighil . . .
13313	1387–07–07	. . . os haffwa **seeth** . . . breff . . . swa som hæræpte*r* six ok hans breff lydhe*r* ordh fra ordhe som swa byrias . . .
13329	1387–07–31	. . . oss hafua hørt oc **seet** . . . breff ludhande ordh fran ordhe . . .
13478	1389–11–30	. . . haua **seet** oc **ouirlæsit** . . . bref swa lydhande ordh fra*n* ordhe som hær epte sc*ri*fuas . . .
13963	1391–10–21	. . . wi hafuu*m* **seet** ok granlica **læsit hørt** eet bref . . . incighlat m*edh* hans oc hans brodhe*r* och hans magha incighlom oc andra the the*r* mædhe*r* j sama brefuit sc*ri*fua sta . . .
14239	1394–00–00	. . . ath wj hafuo*m* **seet** ok **hørt** eet opit breff m*edh* helom inciglom ok osarghat . ludhande . . . ath wj . . . th*e*tta hørt ok seet hafuu*m* . . .
14735	1397–02–12	. . . os hawa **seet** oc **hørt** . . . breff . . . m*edh* heel oc ofalsaat incigle ludhande j alle mato som hær epte*r* staar . . .
15272	1400–00–00	. . .. hørdh haffua ok **seeth** . . .. m*edh* v insigle . . .
15281	1400–00–00	. . . th*et* wi **hørth** oc **setth** hawm ærlixz ma*n*s b*r*eff .. oppa latin skriwath o skrapath oc o skwrin m*edh* helu*m* i*n*cigl*u*m he*n*gi*an*du*m* . . .
15615	1401–04–05	. . . hafwm **seet** ok **hørt** eet breff sc*ri*fuat a papiir ok inciglat a ryggen m*edh* grøno vaxe obrutit ok vtan last i allo mato swa ludhande ordh æpter ordh . . .
15711	1401–10–22	. . . at jak **vntfik** . . . breff . . . m*edh* stora wyrdning wæl bewarad oc jnciglat skæliga m*edh* the*r*a eghin jncigle swa ludhande ord fran ord . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
15801	1402–03–08	. . . hawa **seeth** al the breff . . . wæl bibrewat insighlath oriwin ok wælbewarath hwilkit swa børias . . .
15891	1402–07–09	. . . kungørom wi ok withnom ath wi **saghom**, **hørdhom** ok **owerwarom** . . . meth siin breff ok bewiisning læslikom brefuom ok helom inciglom swa ludhande . . .
	1403–1409	. . . th*et* wii haffwm **hørth** Nissa Swenss*ons* breff och bewisn*i*gh ordh fran ordhe . . .
16009	1403–01–26	. . . i thera ahøro, **hørdhom** wy oc **saghom** . . . breff som hær æpter scrifwit stander ordh fran ordhe mædh helom hængiandom incighlom, oskrapat oc ofalskat i alla matto, som eet breff bør att wara, som ær nw i dagh . . .
16211	1404–00–00	. . . oos hafwa **seeth** eth b*r*eff m*edh* hængiande insigle lydhande . . .
16585	1405–10–31	. . . hawa **seed** oc **hørt** oc **øwerlæsæd** opne breff vndir heel oc san incighle, ey skrapat, ey smittad oc ey skatæd i nokre modo, swa luthandis oorth fra ordh som hær æfter følyær . . .
16629	1406–00–00	. . . os **hørth** haffwa th*et*ta breff fran ordh ok thil ordh . . .
16662	1406–02–27	. . . oss hafwa **seet** oc **læset** . . . opet breff vrider therra hængiandæ incighle, som her efter næmpnæs oc ordh fran ordh
16672	1406–03–17	. . . kænnomps **hørt** oc **seet** oc wnderstandit hawa thetta breff oskrapat oc i allom sinom articulis owanat, ordh fran ordhe . . .
16727	1406–07–10	. . . kennomps wy . . . openbara i thænne scrift, at wy **seet**, **hørt** oc **læset** hafwom thenna forscripna fyra breff meth helom hængianda incighlom, oskrapat oc ofalskat oc i alla matto rættelika bewarat . . .
16809	1407–00–00	. . . wi hafwin **seet** oc **læsit** . . . breff oc beuisning . . . i swa matto ludhande . . .
17089	1408–09–03	. . . th*et* vi hafua **set** ok **hørt** . . . bref lik*er*uis luda*n*de m*edh* alla articla som hær før*e* skrefed star helt ok haldit ok v spilt . . .
17231	1409–08–03	. . . oss haffwa **hørt** [oc] **seet** j Vatsteno clost*er* eth breff vel bewarad vta*n* alt lyte m*edh* scr*i*pt oc inciglo*m* swo ludande . . . Till tessm*er*e visso oc vitnisbyrd at vi thetta breff swo ludande som førsc*ri*uit staar **hørt** oc **seet** haffuo*m* . . .
17310	1409–09–14	. . . at wi **hørt** oc **seth** hafuom . . . opet breff vppa perman screffuat, meth hengiande insiglom, oskoret, oskrapat oc ohindrat i allom sinom articulis, swa ludhande ordh fra orde . . .
17413	1410–00–00	Till thæs mer*e* wisso oc witnis byrdh at breffwit swa ludhir som thessin vtsc*ri*pthin tha thrykkir jak . . . mith jnsigle for*e* thessa vtsc*ri*pt.

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
17638	1411–05–03	. . . wi hafua **seeth** ok **skudhat** . . . breff . . . meth bewaradhom incighlom vppa pærman scrifuat, vtan all lyte ok misthanka, ordh fra ordhe ludhande . . .
17658	1411–06–11	. . . oss hafua **seet** oc **hørt** læsas et fulkomliket breff . . . oc oscraffeliket i alle matto i papiir screfuat, medh hans incigle, helt oc obrutit vpa ryggen intrykt sitiande . . . ludhandis ordh fraan ordhe . . .
17834	1412–05–23	wij oss hafwa **seet** ærlekx mantz breff . . . ofordarfwat oc m*edh* helom jncighlo*m* væl bewafrat swa ludhande ordh fra ordh . . .
18024	1413–06–15	. . . os hawa **seeth** eeth b*re*ff oppa p*er*man sc*ri*ffwath om eth jordha scipthe hengiande fo*r*e thu incigle lywdande . . .
18160	1413–11–23	. . . hafwm **seet** ok **hørt** eet skiptisbref . . . som war meth hængiande incighlom, oskaddom ok helom, swa ludhande ordh fraan ordhe . . .
18165	1413–11–25	. . . haua **hørt** oc **seet** eth breff hær nw i Lynchøpunge, ey scrapat ella falsat oc vnder theras incighle, som i breueno standa screfne, ludhande ord fran ordhe, som her epter sigx . . .
18191	1414–00–00	. . . oos hafwa **seth** oc **hørt** eth breff wæl bewarath m*edh* fwlle skrift oc helom fø*r*ehængyandom insighlum oc oofordarwadhum lydhande . . .
18458	1415–00–00	. . . os ath hafwa **hørt** ok **seeth** . . . breff – vppa ooskrapat ok oscuryt p*er*ment swa ludhande i ordh –
18514	1415–04–03	. . . oss haffua **seet** ok **hørth læsas** . . . breff . . . wnder sit eghit insighle oc . . . helom oc oforderffuadum, swa ludandhe ordh fra ordh . . .
18677	1416–02–01	. . . os hafwa **høørt** oc **seet** . . . breeff oc insighle . . . faast oc wælbewaradh oc swa Scrifwath aa latino som nw æpte staar . . . . . . Ok thætta kænnomps vi visseleka oos hafwa **høørt at læsa swa** oc **læsith** ordh fraan ordhe, som firi staar Scrifwat a latino, oc **seeth** insighlin wæl bewaradh oc færdogh . . .
19357	1419–09–20	. . . hafua **hørt** ok **seet** heelt oc ospiællat ok allaledhis meth helom oc vælbeuaradhom incighlom swa ludhande breff, som hær æpter screfuat star ordh fran ordhe . . .
19357	1419–09–20	. . . os hafua **hørt** ok **seet** heelt oc ospiællat ok allaledhis m*edh* helom oc vælbeuaradho*m* incighlom swa ludhande . . .
19416	1420–00–00	. . . at wi haffwo*m* **hørt** oc **seet** . . . br*e*ff hwilk*e*t som lydh*e*r . . .
19776	1422–01–02	. . . ath wi haffw*m* **seet** ok granlegha **owirlæset** noghor breff oskæmdh oskrapadh ok wæl bewaradh m*edh* helom ok haldom inciglom . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
20024	1423–02–15	. . . iak hafu*er* **seet** ok **hørt** eth breff . . . swa lydandhe . . . hafu*er* hørt ok seet . . .
20096	1423–06–28	. . . at wi hafwo*m* **seet** skæligz manz b*re*ff . . .. hwilk*e*t han haffw*er* vp a bradhthorp heelt ok oskapat (!) ok hwarghin vanskelik*e*t j sigh . . .
20099	1423–07–01	. . . kom for mik beskedelikin man . . . thy som han saghde ath wælborne mæn . . . haffdhe ho*no*m sakt pa stokholm ok **læth læsa** ena wtskripth wndh*er* wælborna ma*n*na insigle . . . ludhandhe ordh fran ordhe . . .
20248	1424–03–19	. . . wi haffom hørt oc **seeth** it opit breff aff papeer ooschadh oc oo falssath lvdandhe allaledis som h*err* æpt*er* scriffwat staar och inczilath mæd*er* trim incziglom trycht niddhan for breffwit . . .
20426	1425–02–21	. . . wi hafuom **seet** ok **ow*er*læsit** eth papirzbreff heelt ok haldhit m*edh* ferdhogo*m* inciglu*m* egh bruthit ælla sindh*er*riwit egh skrapat ællas j nokrom sino*m* stykkio*m* fordarwat wtha*n* gylt ok færdhokt som h*er* æpth*er* star . . .
20473	1425–04–21	. . . tha **øwerlassom** wy och granligha **ranzsakathom** først eth køøpebreff vppa p*er*ma*n* sc*re*ffet m*edh* fæm hængend*es* jncigle . . . ludand*es* ordh fran ordh . . . Jtem lothom wy och **øw*er*læsæ** och ransaka . . . vppa p*er*ma*n* sc*re*ffet m*edh* tw hengend*e* jncigle . . . ludand*e* och ordh fran ordh . . .
20504	1425–06–11	. . . **saghom** och **hørdhom** och jnw*er*delica **ofw*er*lasom** war . . . m*edh* helom hængiandom och oskaddom jnsighlom swa watande ordhe fraa ordhe . . .
20529	1425–06–29	. . . haffwo*m* **seet** oc **skodhat læsit** oc **latit læsa** naghor b*re*ff oskrapadh oc wæl bewaradh badhe m*edh* sc*ri*pt oc incighlo*m* . . .
21260	1429–11–25	. . . wj hafuo*m* **seet** ok **hørt** oc ow*er*læsit eet breff m*edh* helom jnciglom ok osarghat j allo*m* stykkio*m* ludha*n*de som hiær æpt*er* skrifuas . . .
21295	1430–00–00	. . . ath wi haffua **seeth** oc **læsith** eeth b*re*ff m*edh* heelo*m* hængia*n*dom insiglo*m* oskrapat oc oskado*m* i*n*siglo*m* swaa lydha*n*de . . .
21344	1430–03–21	. . . oss hafua **hørt** ok **offuerseet** et breff m*edh* helom hengiandom jncyglom ok meth oskrapadhe ok w smyttadhe sc*ri*fft . . .
21413	1430–07–02	. . . ke*n*nomss wi os **seet** oc **læsit** hafua eet breff oscadhat m*edh* helom insiglom oc bewaradhom lydhande ordh fran ordh som her æptir sc*ri*uit star . . .
44720	1431–01–07	. . . ath wj waro*m* til kalladhe j ath **høra læsit** eet bref . . . **saghom** wj th*et* breff m*edh* helo jncigle bewarath oc orifwith oc oslitith lywdhande . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
21625	1431–07–15	. . . oss hawa **seeth** och **hörth läsith** . . . thw b*re*ff sc*ri*ffuin oppa p*er*man m*edh* heel hængiande incigle oskrapath och oplumpath och heel och i allo*m* sino*m* artic*u*lis wel bewarath . . .
21857	1432–10–29	. . . wy haffwo*m* **seet** ok **skodhat** ok granlika **ower**l**æsit** nakor breff . . . oskrapat oskad ok j engo handa mato straffande m*edh* pawaslico*m* incigl*om* fore*h*enghia*n*de ordh fran ordhe . . .
22066	1434–00–00	. . . os hafua **hørt** ok **seet** m*edh* helom oc beuaradho*m* incighlom swa ludhande breff ordh fra*n* ordhe . . .
22235	1434–09–17	. . . os hawa **seet hørt** oc **læsit** eth p*er*mans bref m*edh* fyro*m* helom hængiæ*n*de i*n*cighlom osplitit oc oskrapat ludhande ordh fran ordhe . . .
22377	1435–06–08	. . . vi tilkalladhe varom ok oppa **hørdom** . . . om th*et* breff . . . swa ludha*n*dis ordh fra ordhe . . . vskrapat ok vpu*m*pat (!) . . .
22413	1435–08–10	. . . komo for vs . . .. m*edh* enna wtscript . . . panta breff som han han (!) hafde besighlt . . . fore hwilken wtskcript fore hengt war jdh*er*s stadz jnsighle . . .
22577	1436–05–27	. . . m*edh* et opit b*re*ff vppa p*er*ma*n* sc*ri*ffuit m*edh* heel henghind*is* jncigle oforfalschat oc oskaddhe j alle hande matte . . . ludhand*es* ordh fra*n* ordh . . .
22620	1436–07–31	. . . wi **seet** ok **hørt** hafuom et opit breff a perman scrifuat oskrapat ok oplumppat medher femptan hengiande jnsighle ok allaledhes wel bewareth ok ludhandes ordh fran ordh . . .
22942	1438–03–08	. . . oss **seet læsit** ok **hørt** hafva ethb*re*ff m*edh* hæggiande jncig*le* oførdarfwat oskat ok wfalskat ludhande . . .
22943	1438–03–09	. . . wi **seet** ha*n*nadh oc **læsit** hafuo*m* et permans breff m*edh* godhom hængiande inciglom ey skrapat rifuit æll*er* sunder æll*er* i nokra matto straffande vtan allaledhis ostraffande ludhandis ordh fran orde . . .
22957	1438–04–23	. . . at hafwa **seeth** ok **læsit** thæssen æptir sc*ri*ffna b*re*ff . . .
22988	1438–05–25	. . . at hafwa **set** oc **hørt læsas** thesse efft*er*sc*reffne* iij open breff vppa p*er*men sc*re*ffwu*m* oforfalskadh m*edh* heel hengiand*e* jncigle . . .
22991	1438–05–27	Th*er* **saghom** wi ok **hørdom** breff sc*ri*ffuin vppa p*er*men m*edh* heel ok halden hengiande jncigle oskrapat ok o plu*m*pade . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
23114	1439–00–00	. . . och **loth læsa** eth breff . . . och badh os ath wi for*nemp*da breff skuldho*m* till os anama granlika **skudha** och fulkomlika **ranska** om for*nemp*da breff war ræthfærdhugth goth och gilth ff[*or*] hwath ræth th*et* hælsth kunde koma. Tha **skuddom** wi **sagho*m*** och fulkomlika **ranzsakadhu*m*** for*nemp*da breff och funno*m* i sanna ath th*et* ey war skrapath æl[l*er*] forgiorth aff naghrahandha handawærk æll*e*r nakra andra wansko i sigh haffdhe. Och ku*n*nom wi ey annath finna m*edh* warth rætta samweth æn for*nemp*da breff war fasth goth och gilth i alla handha matto och jncigleth thær fo*re* hængdhe war oskadth . . ..
23240	1439–07–18	. . . ath wj hafuo*m* **hørt** oc **seet** breffwe oforderffwada oskrapadha oc oplumpadhæ ell*e*r j nokra ha*n*da matta arghadha m*edh* heela*n* oc fasto*m* jnciglom vppo perma*n* sc*ri*ffna . . .
23241	1439–07–18	. . . at wj haffwo*m* **hørt** oc **seet** breffwe oforderfwada oskrapada oc oplu*m*pada ell*e*r j nokra matta fore*a*rdhada m*edh* heelo*m* oc fasto*m* jnciglo*m* . . .
23280	1439–09–17	. . . wij **seet** hafuo*m* heelt b*re*ff m*edh* færdhogh jnsigle ludhand*es* som æpt*er*følgh*e*r . . .
23299	1439–10–09	. . . ath wi haffuo*m* **seeth** och **hørt** tw breff so*m* æro oppo pærma*n* sc*ri*ffuat mæth hænghiandom jnciglom oskaddom och wælbeuaradom . . .
23339	1439–12–15	. . . **seet** oc **hørt haffua læsit** eet b*re*ff a pærman sc*ri*ffuat heelt oc askat jnciglat m*edh* vp hængiando*m* inciglom heelom oc wællbæwaradhu*m* ludhandes alloledhis ordh fran ordhe . . . . . . at wi . . . forsc*ri*ffna b*re*ff **seet** oc **hørt** haffwm . . .
	1440–1442	. . . at wi haffuu*m* **seeth** oc **owe*r*læsith** wælborno*m* manz b*re*ff . . . hæ
23549	1440–06–17	. . . ath haffwa **seeth** ok **beskodhat** . . . ith doom b*re*ff som lydh*e*r . . . heelth oc wælbewaradh m*edh* bezskedhelika danda ma*n*na jncigle . . .
23557	1440–07–01	. . . oss hafua **seet læsit** oc **hanterathe** et p*er*mans b*re*ff oskrapath oc ofalskat inciglat oc wæl bewarath j alla handa matto lydhande ordh fran ordhe . . .
23610	1440–09–29	..wy hafwu*m* **seeth læsit** ok granleka **ransakadh** . . . breffue m*edh* theras hængia*n*dom ok wælbewaradom incighlom . . . Jtem framdelis **saghom** wy ok **owirlaasom** . . . b*re*ff som swa lydh*e*r . . .
23931	1441–10–09	. . . haffua **seth skodhat** oc fulko*m*plika **offu*er*læseth** thry latinobreff all m*edh* helo*m* hængia*n*do*m* i*n*cigl*o*m oskrapat oc oplu*m*path ludha*n*dis ordh fran ordh . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
23949	1441–11–04	. . . loodh oss **see** och **skoodhe** eet obet breff war heelt och holdt och wskad j allæ made m*edh* ffærd – och wforderffuæde hengende jnciglæ lwdendis ordh fron ordh . . .
23961	1441–12–08	. . . att wii haffwe **seetth skodett** och **lesitt** i breff . . . vell bewarett m*edh* insegle ord fran ord . . .
24082	1442–03–21	. . . **togh** iac eth br*e*ff j dande ma*n*na nærwaro vth aff e*n*ne kisto so*m* min modh*er* . . . hwilk*et* br*e*ff ordh fra ordh ludhar heelt oc ohindrat badhe j sc*ri*pt oc jncigle so*m* hær ept*er*følgh*er* . . .
24216	1442–11–08	. . . **lodh læse** fo*re* oss . . . br*e*ff swa ludendes . . . huilkit som luddethe ordh ffran ordh . . .
	1443–1457	. . . th*et* vi **seeth hørt** oc **offwerlæset** haffwom eth br*e*ff m*edh* helom hængiandhom i*n*siglom m*edh* vskrapade oc osni*t*tade skrifft . . .
24316	1443–05–18	. . . wi hafuo*m* **seeth** oc **øuerlæsit** oc granligha **ransakat** jt helt papirs br*e*ff m*edh* helo jncigle allo ledhis bewarath some no br*e*ffue bør vara . . .
24550	1444–06–14	. . . oss **seeth** och **hørth** eth p*er*mans br*e*ff m*edh* heelom jnciglu*m* j allo motho ostraffande ludha*n*d*es* . . .
24674	1445–01–08	. . . som han th*er* tha fo*re* oss strax bewiste mædh sin domb*re*ff som hær æpt*er*staa sc*ri*ffue*n* ordh fraa ordhe ludhande . . .
24711	1445–03–07	. . . oss hawa **seeth hørt** oc **læsith** eth br*e*ff aff papper m*edh* ij incighle ordh fran ordh . . .
24856	1446–01–13	. . . at wi haffw*m* **seet** ok **hørt** eet wpp*et* br*e*ff sc*ri*ffuat wppa p*er*man heelt ok oskrapat m*edh* heel hængiand*e* i*n*cigle swa lywda*n*d*e* ordh fran ordh . . .
24944	1446–05–09	. . . os **seet** ok **hørt** hafwa ordh fra ordh swa lyudhandis breff ofalskat oskrapat ok oskat mædh helsom ok wælbewæradhom inciglom som hær æpth*er* scrifwat star . . .
24968	1446–06–22	. . . oss haffua **seeth** oc **hørth for oss ath læsas** . . . thessin breff . . . vppa perman oskrapat oc oskad j alle mattho m*edh* thera helom oc hengiande jnciglom ludha*n*d*e* ordh fran ordhe . . .
24986	1446–07–25	. . . th*et* wy hafuo*m* **seet** oc **hørt** . . . br*e*ff vppa papir sc*ri*wat m*edh* heelom oc oskaddom inciglom vppa ryggen thrykto*m* / oskat oc i alla matto oskraffelighit ludhandes ordh fraan ordh . . .
25142	1447–05–24	. . . wi **sagom** oc **iuirlæsom** eth br*e*ff m*edh* heilom oc hangandom insiglom . . .
25201	1447–09–08	. . . haffua **hørt** och **seeth** tw breff m*edh* h[elom] hængia*n*de i*n*cigl*om* oskrapat och oplu*m*pat allaledhis ludhand*e* æpt*er* thessom wtsc*ri*pto*m* . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
25266	1448–00–00	
25267	1448–00–00	. . . at wy haffuo*m* **seet** tw bre*f*f m*edh* hengiandom jnciglom oskrapat oc oplu*m*pat . . .
25312	1448–03–31	. . . **sagho*m* laaso*m*** oc **hordho*m* læsas** eth dombreff . . . huilkit breff lydh*e*r ordh fran ordh som hær epte*r* staar . . .
25467	1449–01–30	. . . oss haffwa **hørt** oc **seet** ith thestame*n*t b*re*ff m*edh* helo*m* oc bewaradho*m* jnciglu*m* . . .
25527	1449–06–16	. . . wij haffuom **seet** oc **hørt** et breff sc*ri*ffuit vppa p*er*men o skrapat o plu*m*pat m*edh* heel oc halden hengende jncigle allaledis o fordærffuadh ludand*e* ordh fran ordhe . . .
25625	1450–00–00	. . . wi [**skodat**] breff vnder godra manna Jncigle oskadat oc ospillat ordh epter orde swa liwdande som her staar . . .
25699	1450–03–18	. . . wi hawom **seet** ok gra*n*ligha **owerlæsit** tw b*re*ff th*et* ena pa p*er*man m*edh* iiij henggiande jncigle th*et* and*ra* pa papir m*edh* ii jncigle olastande pa ryggen trykt heel oskatd ok olyt allastadz . . .
25701	1450–03–21	. . . wi hawom **seet** ok gra*n*ligha **owerlæsit** tw b*re*ff th*et* ena pa p*er*man m*edh* iiij henggiande jncigle th*et* and*ra* pa papir m*edh* ij jncigle olastande pa ryggen trykt heel oskatd ok olyt allastadz . . . . . . wy hawom oc **seet** oc gra*n*lika **owerlesit** for*nemp*da tw b*re*ff ett paa p*er*me*n*t m*edh* iiij henggiande insigle thet andra paa papir met ii insigle paa ryggen trykt heel oskad och oolych allastadz lydha*n*des ord fran ord . . .
25743	1450–06–30	. . . haffuo*m* **seet hørdh** oc **ranzsakat** the witnisbreff oc dombreff . . . scriffuat oppa p*er*man oc somlikin oppa pappir m*edh* wælbewaradhom incighlom swa ludhande som hær æpth*e*r staar sc*ri*ffuat ordh fra ordhe . . .
25786	1450–11–03	. . . oss **seeth hørt** oc **læsith** haffua swa ludha*n*de b*re*ff ordh fraan ordh som hær æpte*r* følghe m*edh* heelo*m* oc bewaradho*m* jnsighlom . . .
25944?	1451–00–00	. . . th*et* jak hauer **seet** och **offwerleset** eth papers b*re*ff helth och vskrapet m*edh* iij helah och ferdug insigle . . .
25814	1451–01–01	. . . wi haffuom **sett hanterat** oc **hørt læsa** . . . breff . . . m*edh* mangom wælbewaradho*m* hængiando*m* incighlom . . .
25831	1451–01–25	. . . wi **haffuo*m*** tw breff wælbewaradh m*edh* hængiando*m* incighlo*m* swa ludhande so*m* hær epth*e*r staar . . .
25877	1451–04–04	. . . oss haffua **seet** oc **hørt** oc **offu*e*rlæsith** . . . breff ludhande ordh fraan ordh . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
25976	1451–10–08	. . . oss hafua **seet** oc **hørt** oc **ower**læsit . . . b*re*ff ludha*n*de ordh fraan ordh . . . . . . kæ*n*no*m*ps wi oss hafua **seet** oc **hørt** . . . opna b*re*ff oc incigle m*edh* hwilko the kæ*n*dos sik **seet** oc **hørt** haffua . . . . . . at wi swa **seet hørt** oc **læsit** haffuo*m* . . .
	1452–1475	. . . oss haffwa **seet** ok granlika **offu*er*læsith** thw b*re*ff m*edh* heelom hiængiandhe insiglom oskrapat ok ofalsaadh . . .
26080	1452–03–23	. . . at wy haffua **seeth** oc **læsedh** konu*n*g Erics breff ludandis ordh fra orde som h*er* epter scriffuat star . . .
	1453–1479	. . . gør jak vetirleght m*edh* thesce bescegle vth scr*i*ft th*et* jak **haffis** Bo Jonss*ons* opne b*re*ff saa lyddande . . .
26320	1453–08–28	. . . oss haffua **seet** och **hørt** oc **ower**læsit . . .. b*re*ff ludhande ordh fran ordh . . .
26405	1454–00–00	Ok gør jak veth*er*leg*e*t m*edh* th*en*ne vthscr*i*pth ath jak haffw*er* **hørth** tw skælegh b*re*ff m*edh* hel oc hæ*n*giande jncigle oc lydande ordh fran ordh som h*er* epth*er* sk*ri*ffwath staar . . . Th*eth* and*ra* b*re*ff iac haffw*er* **seth** oc **offw*er* læseth** lydher . . . til vithnisbyrdh h*er*om ath jac . . . haffu*er* sadana b*re*ff **seth** oc **læsith** sæth*er* jac mit jncigle pa rygg*en* a th*etta* b*re*ff.
26407	1454–00–00	. . . at wi haffuom **seet** ok **ofwerlæsit** tw dombreff . . . manna hængiandom ok wælbewaradhom incighlom . . .
27019	1457–07–05	. . . **sagh** jak et breff j vpsala m*edh* he*n*giendhe incigle / oskat / oskrapedh / ok ostu*n*gith ludend*es* ordh fran ordh som hær æfther scr*i*fwidh staar . . .
27222	1458–05–27	. . . før oss **fram bar** ena vtskorna besegelda scr*i*fft ludendes ordh fra ordhe som h*er* effth*er* scr*i*ffwet star . . .
27232	1458–06–01	. . . wi haffuo*m* **seet** oc **owirlæsit** . . . breeff m*edh* hængiandu*m* inciglom oc wælbewaradho*m* ordh fraan ordh som hær æpt*er* følgh*er* . . .
27416	1459–00–00	. . . haffwa **seeth** oc **læsed** hoffwod breffw*it* ath th*et* swa jnne holler ord fran ordh . . . m*edh* heell jndcigle . . .
27725	1461–01–26	. . . kungørom beke*n*nomps och tilstandom m*edh* thesso nerwarande varo opno breffue oss **haffuo** j gømo eth opidh breff scr*i*ffuit vppa p*er*man som hengia fore xij jncigle och hører til erlighom och wælbornom man . . . huilkit breff swa ludhandis ær . . .
28016	1462–09–27	. . . **kom fore oss** eth b*re*ff pa v*are* radstoffw beeseglath lvdand*e* ord fran ordh som her epth*er* scr*i*ffvat star . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
28052	1462–12–29	. . . ath wy væl **læsith seet** och **ranzsakat** hano*m* eth b*r*eff . . . m*edh* heelt got och gilt jncigle huilkens breffs vtscriffth ordh fran ordh vppa latina . . .
28085	1463–01–24	. . . Tha **kom ffor mik** eeth . . . breff opit oc heelt bade br*e*ff och jncigle oriffwith och ofordiærfuadh j alle motto ordh fra*n* ordh . . .
	1464–00–00	. . . th*et* vi ha*n* **ower*s*eth** ith b*r*eff oppa p*er*ma*n* skrivith m*edh* tre*m* helw*m* ok hollw*m* insiglw*m* v smittat ok v skrapath allalwndh swm b*r*eff bør adh wara . . .
28412	1465–04–27	. . . framfik oc antwardadhe mic eth b*reff* oppa p*er*man liuslica sc*ri*ffuat m*edh* vi hengan*d*e heel obruten oc omiste*n*kelic jncigle, bidiende . . . til at **see ower*l*æsa betenkia atwakta copiera oc th*e*rnest aff lat*in* oppa sue*n*ska wenda oc wt casta** forsc*riffit* br*e*ff . . .
28524	1466–01–27	. . . **sage** wy gra*n*ligt ok **hørde** . . . ij obne b*r*eff po perkme*n*t sc*ri*we*n* m*edh* he*n*gie*n*de j*n*ceg*e*l vstunge*n* ok vskrabet j alle matte . . . . . . at wy th*etta* soo klarlige hørt ok seet hawu*m* . . .
28525	1466–01–30	. . . letho oss **see** oc **læsæ** eth p*er*me*n*s b*r*eff m*edh* twem henge*n*de jnciglo*m* j allo mattho heelo*m* oc oforderffuedho*m* huilke*t* breff swa ludher . . .
28689	1467–02–22	. . . at wi haffua **seet** och **øffue*r*læsit** eet . . . vpit breff vnd*er* hans hengende secreth allelede*s* swa ludhande som hær ept*er* sc*ri*ffuat staar . . .
28690	1467–02–23	. . . oss haffwa **seet** oc **les[it** . . .] breff so*m* lydh*er* . . . lywslika skriffwat appa pærman m*edh* iiij hænggiande heel ga*m*mol hwit insigle . . .
28747	1467–09–28	. . . wy haffwo*m* m*edh* welia ok beeradhno modhe . . . **fornyath ok fwlbordhath** . . . breff ludha*n*d*es* . . . ordh fran ordh . . .
28928	1469–03–04	. . . at wy hafuo*m* **seet** ok **hørt** et breff som lydher . . .
	1470–1479	Wppa thessens b*r*effz wthkastilse aff hwffwdhb*r*effuith so*m* forsc*ri*ffuith staar sæth*er* jach . . . mith jncigle for th*etta* b*r*eff i flere ærlighama*n*na nærwaro . . . hwilkth wy **lasom** oc **offu*er*saghom** wa*r*a heelth oc oskath m*edh* syn hængiandhe jnciglom.
29068	1470–02–10	. . . vy **saghom** m*edh* skæligha manna insigle besiglat th*etta* epth*er*sc*ri*ffna iordab*r*eff oc hørdom ordh vidh ordh som hær epth*er* sc*ri*ffuas . . .
29506	1472–11–23	. . . wj **seet** oc **læsith** haffwm eth breff aff paper m*edh* try insægil, huilkith b*r*eff wæl forwaradh ligg*er* . . . lydand*e* ordh fraan ordh . . .
29644	1473–08–31	. . . wi haua **seth** oc **ower *set*** læsit et oskat perma*n*s breff m*edh* iij hængiande incigle . . . lydandis ordh fran ordh . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
30237	1477–03–24	. . . tha **kom for rette** . . . m*edh* eith . . . opeth b*re*ff or*i*fvidh och oslittidh lydend*es* ordh fran oordh . . .
	1480–1485	. . . at wij **offu*er*sagho*m*** och **offu*er*lasom** eth . . . dombreff vskrabet wplu*m*pet och oskath m*edh* hal (!) hengende jnsigle . . .
30713	1480–04–23	. . . haffue **seeth hørth** ok **læsidh** eth dombreff . . . m*edh* hengiende incigle lwdend*es* ordh fran ordh . . .
30831	1481–00–00	. . . wi hafwa **hørt** oc **ow*er*lesit** eth perme*n*tz b*re*ff vij he*n*gede jnsigle helt oc hollit oplu*m*pat lydend*es* ord fra*n* ordh . . .
30885	1481–03–17	. . . kæ*n*nomps oss haffua **see** (!) och **hørt læsas** ffor oss swa ludande b*re*ff . . . m*edh* helom och oskaddo*m* jnciglom . . .
31132	1482–07–02	. . . haffuo*m* wii **seeth hørth** oc **offuærlæsith** oc fulko*m*pnile*ca* **ra*n*sakat** th*en*na æpth*er*skriffne breff . . .
31133	1482–07–02	. . . vii **seeth hørth** oc **offuerlæas*i*t** oc **ransakat** th*e*nna æpth*er*skriff*na* breff . . . m*edh* thes*a* frya færdoga oc oskrapadhe henge*n*de jncegle . . . sua ath før*nemp*da breff æra fullo t*ro* tilsætiandhis oc lydha ord fra*n* ord . . .
31172	1482–08–29	. . . oss haffwa **seeth** och **hørt** swa lydhandhis b*re*ff oordh fran ordhe . . . m*edh* heel och wælbewa*rat* jncigle . . .
31304	1483–05–26	. . . loth oss **see** eth pergame*n*tz breff m*edh* hængiande jnsigle oskrapat ok oplanat helt m*edh* all sin skickilsse j alla motto ludand*es* fraa oorde som h*er* ept*er* følgh*er* . . .
31399	1484–01–31	. . . wy haffwa **seet** ok **læsit** eth breff . . . ynne haller ordh fran ordh . . .
31608	1485–07–03	. . . beke*n*no*m*ps oc tilsta*n*do*m* ath wi **laso*m*** eth breff m*edh* fem he*n*gia*n*de i*n*sighle welferdogh oc oskrapat alla falska listh føruth*an* lyda som forsc*ri*ffuith staar . . .
31782	1486–07–24	. . . oss haffua **seeth** och **ow*er*læsedh** swa ludandhe b*re*ff oordh fran ordhe so*m* h*er* ept*er*ffølghir m*edh* heell ok bewarat jncigle . . .
31898	1487–04–29	. . . oss haffua **seet** och **hørt** eth perme*n*s b*re*ff oskrapat oc ofordærffwet j allo mattho besigilt m*edh* iij henge*n*de jnciglom . . .
32001	1488–01–29	. . . wi haffuom **seeth lesith** oc **hørt** th*etta* p*er*mentz breff ostænghne oskrapadhe oplwmpedhe helne holne oforderwedhe m*edh* sine hele och hengedes insigle ludend*es* ordh fran ordh . . .
32429	1490–05–29	. . . ad wi haffue **seeth hørth** oc **offu*er* læsth** eth oppeth beseglt b*re*ff oppo permen sc*ri*ffuit medh fem hengiande i*n*cigle oskrappt oc oskar*e*th . . .
32511	1490–12–13	. . . tho laagmandz ting holzt . . . **kom for oss** . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
32612	1491–06–26	. . . wy haffue **seeth** oc **hørth læse** eth obeth besegelth p*er*me*n*s breff m*edh* v helæ oc færduge hengend*e* incigle huelket breff dom war wskrabeth wskoreth wstwnget oc wsmytteth j alle made lwdend*e* ordh fran ordh . . .
32724	1492–02–05	. . . ath wy haffwe **seth** ok **owerlæseth** eth permans b*re*ff m*edh* hel ok hængia*n*dhe insigle wskæ*re*th wskrapeth wstwngh*et* m*edh* hel ok hengia*n*de insigle . . .
32773	1492–07–02	. . . oss haffua **hørth seeth** och g*r*anlika **offu*er*læsith** . . . m*edh* helom inciglom och wæl bewaradhom. . . . ath wj saa **hørth seeth** och **læsith** haffuo*m* . . .
32775	1492–07–22	. . . ath wij haffwm **seet** och **offuerlæset** jth øpet helt p*er*mentz breff m*edh* iij hele oførderffuede hengende jnsigle . . .
32936	1493–05–15	. . . oc **sagom** wij tha th*er* **handteradom** oc gra*nn*eliga **hørdom læsas** tw open b*re*ff ludande . . . oskrapath oplwmperadh ok oskald i allo*m* syno*m* ordo*m* articulom wæll beseglada m*edh* hængiande jncigle ok førwarada i alla matto . . .
32947	1493–06–17	. . . at wij haffwe **seeth** oc **offwerlæsit** eth permeants b*re*ff m*edh* firæ hængende incegle oskrappet ostwnget j alle motthe offordærffwet . . .
33092	1494–05–18	. . . ke*nn*is jach . . . haffwa **hørth** och **seeth** swaludhand*e* b*re*ff . . . m*edh* hell och well beffwaradh jnsigle.
33102	1494–06–20	. . ..loth . . . oss **se** eth oppeth p*er*ma*n*tz breff m*edh* hængiande incigle or*i*ffuith oplu*m*path oc alledeles offe*r*dæruath ludhand*es* ordh fran ordh . . .
33369	1496–04–21	. . . wij haffue **hørtt** och grauelige **ow*er*seeth** eth besegld opith p*er*gamentz b*re*ff medh eth hengende jncigle oskrapith och ostwngith ludend*e*s . . .
33475	1497–02–23	. . . os haffwa **seeth ransakath** och **ow*er*læsith** j abbadisones talaporth eth tæstame*n*tz breff besiglth m*edh* goda ma*nn*a jnc*ig*lom och j alle mathe wæl fowa*ra*th . . . ludend*es* ordh fran ordh . . .
33643	1498–10–09	. . . ath wy haffwo*m* **seeth** ok **offw*er*lasith** swa dana b*re*ffh m*edh* hel hyængi*n*de ympceggle (!) o sc*ra*padhe ok o skurne . . .
33644	1498–10–09	. . . ath wy haffwo*m* **seeth** ok **offu*er*lasith** swa dana b*re*ffh m*edh* heel hagy*n*dhe ympcegle (!) v sc*ra*pede och skurne (!) . . .
33724	1499–03–08	. . . **kom ffo*re* oss** et b*re*ff ludand*es* ord fran ord som her epte*r*sc*ri*ffuet staar . . .
33786	1499–07–06	. . . os haffua **set hørth** och **læset** eth opet beseglt pærmes b*re*ff oskrapat och ostrung*et* och aldeles offørsk*r*apath och eth lith*et* permes b*re*ff læst thær vedh lydendes . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
	1500–00–00	. . . th*et* jak hauer **seeth** och **owerleset** eth permens b*r*eff m*edh* ij ferduge (?) hengende insigle pa . . .
	1500–00–00	J*tem* bekæ*n*nes jak . . . ath abbadisen j Rysab*er*gha clost*er* baadh mik wænda til swe*n*sko eeth hwffwdh b*r*eff . . . wtgiffuid pa latino hwilk*et* jak giordhe allaledhis som th*et* lwdh*er* oordh fran ordh i*n*the tillagth oc i*n*the borthsath Ok ath swa santh ær so*m* nw ær sagth trykk*er* jak mith i*n*sigle fo*r*e tæssa wtsc*ri*ffth etc.
34673	1503–10–10	. . . at wij haffwe **seet** oc **øffu*er*læsit** ith . . . b*r*eff ludand*e* . . .
34694	1503–12–07	. . . th*et* vy hawo*m* **hørth** ok gra*n*nelegha **seeth** eth b*r*eff m*edh* liwsa sc*ri*ff (!) ok oskrapadha bokstawa ok m*edh* helo*m* he*n*gia*n*dom jnsiglo*m* . . .
35018	1505–00–00	. . . oss haffwa **seet** oc **høørt** m*edh* helom inciglom oskrapat oc ofordærffwat i alle mottho epte*r*sc*ri*ffne breff ord fran ordh . . .
35042	1505–01–16	. . . wij haffwe **seeth** och **owe*r*læseth** iiij latins perkmants breff och fwnno*m* wij th*e*m heell och wsmittat med wforfalskadom bockstaffwom aldelis i allom sinom articulis wfordarffwat med skelige wid*er*hængde jncigle huilken for*nemp*de iiij breff wij wændom aff latine jn wppo swenska lydend*e* oord fron oord . . .
35935	1507–09–10	. . . wy haffwe **seet lesit** oc **høørth** eet p*er*mentz b*r*eff m*edh* v hengiande jncigle oskadde oc oførfalsket j nogre motthe . . . oc lydh*er* ordh fran ordh . . .
36498	1509–05–11	. . . **saagho[*m*]** och **losom** (!) eth p*er*me*n*ss b*r*eff med hengiande jncigle vskrapath och vffordørffwadh . . .
36719	1510–04–14	. . . keno*m*ps oss **seet** haffua swalydand*e* b*r*eff som h*er* epte*r*ffølgh*er*.
37547	1514–02–19	. . . **saagho** wij eth paperss b*r*eff helth wplumphet wælforwarith m*edh* jndzigle . . .
37694	1515–02–18	. . . wij haffw*m* **seet** och **ha*n*terat** eth helth och i alle motthe ost*r*affeli*g*t p*er*man*s* b*r*eff med helom och welførd*om* insig*el*om lydend*es* ord fra*n* ord . . .
37755	1515–07–10	. . . wij haffwom **seet læsit** oc **hafft j warom handom** et b*r*eff m*edh* heelt insigle lywse sc*ri*pt allaled*es* færdigt oc ostraffande ludend*es* ord fra ord . . .
	1516–05–29	. . . at iak haffu*er* **seet lesit** oc **handladh** ena wtskorne skrifft som gør ær i Stokholm radzstwge hela obesmittade oryffne oc allaled*es* i saa matte skriffne oc skikkade at jngh*e*n kan haffue mystroo til mynsthe ordh th*er* jnnelikt ær jnthe ordh forwent jnthe affsat jnthe tillagt wtan allaledhes lydand*e* . . .

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SHDK no.	Date of vidimus	Text
37980	1517–01–07	. . . **satte før rætta** . . . lagde j rætten . . . perma*n*te breff swa luda*n*d*es* . . . at wor ko*mm*i*t* fraa swada*n* pappers b*r*eff . . .
	1519–03–01	. . . **kom for r*e*tto** j . . . b*r*eff oriffuit ok ofordarffuat ludha*n*d*e* . . .
38412	1520–10–26	. . . huilkit wij **laase offu*er*sage** oc grannelige **ransakede** och fwnnom th*et* helt oskrapet med ren script oc bokstaffuom med helom oc oskadadom jnsiglom j all sin stykke oforfalskadom lydend*es* j alle sine pu*nct*e*r* oc article ord fraa ord . . .
38411	1520–10–26	. . . huilkit b*r*eff wy **laasom offu*er*sagom** oc grannelige **ransakadom** oc fwnnom th*et* helt oskrapet med ren script oc bokstadom (sic!) med helom oc oskaddom jnsiglom j allom sino*m* stokkiom oforfalskadom lydend*es* j alle sine punct*er* oc article ord fraa ord . . .
	1522–02–21	. . . ke*n*nomps oss **seet** oc **hørt** saludand*e* eth br*e*ff som h*er* effte*r* sc*ri*ffu*it* star m*edh* heel oc welfforwaret i*n*cigle.
38459	1521–04–07	. . . os **seeth læssidh** ok **hørth** haffua . . . hel ok hollen lydha*n*dæ ordh fran ordh . . .
38628	1524–09–26	m*edh* th*etta* oppit b*r*eff oss haffwa **seet** oc **hørt læsas** før oss . . . fire breeff oc vidisse m*edh* heel oc oskad insegle oc j alle motto ostraffligin . . .
38631	1524–10–12	Gøro*m* vitt*er*lighet oss **haffwa j hændh*er* hafft** Och **læsith** all the hoffwodh b*r*eff och vidisser so*m* the*n*na stora vithnisb*r*eff och sc*ri*ffth . . . i*n*ne holdh*er* m*edh* heel och holden [inci]ghle oskad ok ost[r]affeligh j alla mattho . . .
38661	1525–04–10	. . . adh vii **seth** och **offerlæss*et*** haffwa tw pappers b*r*eff oskrapath oplumpath ostw*n*gen huarth ter*e* . . .

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The Danish Translation of *Amadís de Gaula* in the Thott Collection in the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen

A Novel of Chivalry in Denmark

This chapter is concerned with an early modern manuscript, kept in the Thott Collection of the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen (Ms. Thott 470 8vo), which contains a Danish translation of book I of the famous novel of chivalry *Amadís de Gaula*.

The following contribution will start with some remarks on the European transmission of the *Amadís* novel in order to illuminate the international cultural background of the text presented in the Danish manuscript. The first extant edition of *Amadís de Gaula* was printed in Spain in 1508, and soon it advanced to probably the most popular and most widely disseminated European novel of chivalry in the early modern period. Numerous translations as well as continuations were produced. Its success also reached northern Europe, represented mainly by the Thott manuscript but also by references in other literary works and in various cultural contexts in Scandinavia (e.g. theatre performances at the Swedish royal court in the late eighteenth century).

In the main part of the chapter, some relevant questions concerning the transmission of the text are discussed. Being part of a cross-European tradition, the Danish *Amadís* translation is regarded as a text in motion, which means that various aspects of textual instability and textual dynamics have to be focused on here. Hence, paratexts also play an important role. The designation in the Danish title as *historie* 'story/history' refers back to the genre tradition of early modern novels and chapbooks in Denmark (and Sweden), which had been printed continuously since the sixteenth century. Another important aspect is the relationship between the manuscript, its dissemination and reception, to the early novel in Scandinavia, especially to the Danish novel *Den beklædte sandhed* (1723), consistently regarded in Danish literary history as the first Scandinavian novel. It is also significant that the Danish *Amadís* manuscript, Thott 470 8vo (which can cautiously be dated to the time around 1700), was produced within a relatively well-established print culture. As proved by the bibliographical data, no printed copy of the Danish *Amadís* translation seems to exist. Therefore, interactions between manuscript culture and print culture also appear of great interest in this context.

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The present chapter is part of a larger study of the Danish manuscript Thott 470 8vo and the reception of the *Amadís* novel in Scandinavia. The following presentation, therefore, is intended as a kind of prelude to this investigation.

The European dimensions of the story

The earliest extant edition of *Amadís de Gaula* consists of four books and was printed in Zaragoza, Spain, in 1508 by Jorge Coci's printing house as *Los quatro libros del virtuoso cavallero Amadís de Gaula*.[1] Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo (*c*. 1440–*c*. 1503) is named as the author or corrector, and also announces a book V, which was printed in Seville in 1510 under the title *Las sergas de Esplendian, hijo de Amadís de Gaula* (Norton 1978: 296). *Amadís* has a long and complex history of both manuscript and print transmission; the earliest references to a text called *Amadís* are Castilian and date from the fourteenth century (Weddige 1975: 1–11; Schaffert 2015: 1–22).[2] The chivalric and love narrative about Prince Amadís and his many adventures is inspired by the French Arthurian romances, which came to Spanish and Portuguese courts from the end of the twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth century. In a second stage, they were adapted and translated, and finally, they served as inspiration for the creation of new chivalric novels like *Amadís* (Weddige 1975: 2).

A very short summary of the complex plot structure of *Amadís de Gaula* could be the following. Amadís is the son of the secret love between Perion, king of Gaul (Wales), and Princess Elisena. As an infant, he is carried out to sea and brought to Scotland, and later on, as a young man, even to the court of the king of Scotland. There he meets Oriana, the daughter of Lisuarte, king of Great Britain, and falls in love with her. In various adventures and encounters, Amadís proves himself a marvellous knight, also together with his brother Galaor (in the meantime, Perion has married Elisena and had another son with her, Galaor, who is now grown-up). Amadís and Galaor manage to help Lisuarte, who has been deprived of his kingdom and, together with Oriana, been taken prisoner by the wizard Arcalaus. Amadís manages to rescue Oriana, and they have a son together, Esplandian, who is the hero of the later part of the story and also of its continuations. The series of adventures and combats Amadís has to experience in different parts of Europe as well as

1 It seems to be a general consensus that the *editio princeps* was produced in 1496, but the earliest extant version is the 1508 print. Cf. Thomas (1920: 41–42). For details on the 1508 print, cf. Thomas (1920: 63) and Norton (1978: 178, 231–232, 296, 350, 365). Cf. also Cacho Blecua (2008: 128–162).

2 The Castilian fragments of a medieval *Amadís* romance were found in 1955 and have been published by Lucía Megías (2008: 80–94).

in fictive places continues in the following books II, III, and IV. Finally, Amadís and Oriana, who appear as the epitome of a knight and his lady, are united again.[3]

The Spanish romance developed very soon into what one might call an early modern bestseller and a very successful novel series: as early as 1510 (i.e. when Montalvo's book V was printed), the first continuation of the *Amadís* novel, written by another author, Ruy Páez de Ribera, was printed in Salamanca, followed by further continuations (books VII–XII) by three different Spanish authors (Weddige 1975: 10–15; Thomas 1920: 41–83).[4] Shortly afterwards, the international career of *Amadís de Gaula* began. First, the Spanish books I–V were translated from Spanish into French by Nicolas de Herberay Des Essarts, and printed in Paris, between 1540 and 1544, then books VII and IX (which became the French books VI, VII, and VIII, also translated by Des Essarts and published 1545–1548), followed by further French translations and continuations until 1615 (Weddige 1975: 22–28). Italy was a successful market, too; in the period 1546–1551, the Venetian publisher and book dealer Michele Tramezzino published ten of the twelve already-existing Spanish *Amadís* books in Venice, translated into Italian by Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano, and followed by new continuations and diverse *supplementa* (Weddige 1975: 16–21). Between 1540 and 1615, the French *Amadís* books grew into the famous *Amadís* series consisting of no less than twenty-four books, involving nine translators and around thirty printers and publishers – and with a very complex transmission (Weddige 1975: 26).

In Germany, *Amadís* first appeared in 1569 with German translations from the French editions, printed by Sigmund Feyerabend's printing house in Frankfurt; the last *editio princeps* (of book XXIV) was published in 1595, the last reprint of an *Amadís* book in 1617 (Weddige 1975: 29–95). The enormous success of the *Amadís* series also reached the Netherlands and England; even a Hebrew translation of book I, dating from 1534–1547, is extant (Thomas 1920: 59–63; Weddige 1975: 97–113).[5]

In actual fact, the novel series had a Europe-wide success and a long afterlife until the end of the eighteenth century – not only in translations, continuations, and critical-theoretical discussions about fictional literature and the novel in general, for it was also transformed into operas composed by Jean Baptiste Lully (*Amadis*, 1684), Georg Friedrich Händel (*Amadigi*, 1715), and others.[6] Above all, *Amadís*

3 For this brief summary, cf. Thomas (1920: 41–47).

4 For the early *Amadís* editions, cf. Norton (1978: 178 (*Amadís* book VI), 296 (book V), 350 (book VII)).

5 Cf. also the overviews by Neri (2008: 565–591), Schaffert (2015: 9–22), and Bologno et al. (2013, esp. the tabular overview of the European diffusion of *Amadís* by Stefano Neri (196–197)). Buzon (2018) discusses the various translations of *Amadís*.

6 Other adaptations for the opera stage were, for example, the three *opere serie Amadis de Grèce* (Paris, 1699) by André Cardinal Destouches and Antoine Houdar de La Motte, *Oriana* (Hamburg, 1717) by Reinhard Keiser and Joachim Beccau, and *Amadis aus Griechenland* (Munich, 1724) by Pietro Torri and Sebastiano Biancardi. German *opere buffe* and *Singspiele* based on *Amadís* were also composed, corresponding to the literary *Amadís* parodies. Cf. Weddige (1975: 296–308).

plays an important role in the history of literary fiction as a starting point for many adaptations, parodies, or free renderings – from Bernardo Tasso's Italian verse adaption *Amadigi de Gaula* (1560) until the end of the eighteenth century, for example Christoph Martin Wieland's *Der Neue Amadis* (1774) (Weddige 1975: 309–314). The most famous text among them, is, of course, Miguel Cervantes's *Don Quijote* (1605/1615), often regarded as the first European novel. The emergence of a *Don Quijote* would probably never have been possible without *Amadís*.

The Thott Collection manuscript

In early modern Sweden and Denmark, the *Amadís* novel was obviously read and well known (probably in German editions) by members of the educated upper class and the nobility, as can be seen from various literary references dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Richter & Glauser 2018: 33–34).[7]

7 One important example is the private library of the Swedish nobleman and politician Hogenskild Bielke (1538–1605), "one of the greatest collectors of printed books and legal manuscripts in Sweden of his generation" (*Hogenskild Bielke's Library*: 9), who owned six volumes of German *Amadís* prints in his famous book collection. Further indication of the knowledge of *Amadís* is provided in the seventeenth-century Swedish translations of a moral-didactic work by Aegidius Albertinus (1560–1620), a German Catholic writer and translator in the age of the Counter-Reformation. His *Weiblicher Lustgarten* (itself a translation of the Latin work *Hortulus muliebris quadripartitus* by the Spanish author and Jesuit Juan de la Cerda, 1560–1643) was first printed in Munich in 1605 (*editio princeps*). The Swedish translation performed by the Royal Translator Ericus Schroderus was printed in Stockholm in 1638; later editions were published in Gothenburg in 1645 and 1675. I have used only the 1675 edition of *Ægidii Albertini Hortulus muliebris* (which has been digitized) in this article. Cf. also Collijn (1942: 8–9). *Amadís* is mentioned in the first part (which deals with the education of girls and young women) of the latter work, in chapter 2, where young ladies are warned against the reading of secular books, which are depicted as "false and untruthful books", because they seduce their (female) readers to moral debasement: *Och på thet alt Tilfälle til onda Tanckar och Kättja må them affstäckt warda / skal man affhända them / och aldeles vthur theras Ögon affskaffa the Böcker / som äre skrefne om Ridderskap och fåfäng Älskogh / såsom äre Amadís de Gaula, H. Tristrant och andra slijka skamlösa Böcker. Ty huru är thet möijeligit / at then kleena Kyskheeten kan wara säker / emellan then snöda och fåfänga Kärleekens Wapn / hwar medh slijka Prophaniske / oährlige / falske och förlugne Böcker äre vpfylte* (*Ægidii Albertini Hortulus muliebris*: fol. C2v (p. 26)). 'And in order to extinguish every opportunity for bad thoughts and voluptuousness for them [i.e. young women], you should take away and remove those books from their eyes that deal with chivalry and vain love, such as *Amadís* de Gaula, Sir Tristant, and other impudent books. Because how would it be possible for weak chastity to be safe, facing the weapons of vile and vain love, which these secular, dishonest, false, and untruthful books are filled up with' (all English translations are my own if not indicated otherwise). This view is the typical argument against the reading of *Amadís* and the reading of romances in general; cf. e.g. Weddige (1975: 181–291) on the discussion and criticism of *Amadís*.

Regarding the novel's extensive circulation in Germany and its Europe-wide success, it is not very surprising that it was well known in Denmark and was even translated into Danish. It is rather remarkable, however, that the Danish translation of book I of *Amadís de Gaula*, which actually exists in manuscript form (Ms. Thott 470 8vo in the Thott Collection of the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen), seems to date to have been neglected by researchers in early modern Scandinavian literature (cf. Richter & Glauser 2018). Since 1785, when the huge private book and manuscript collection of Count Otto Thott (1703–1785), minister of state and book collector, was acquired, the manuscript has been owned by the Royal Danish Library. Although already recorded in 1795 in the *Index codicum manuscriptorum*, the Bibliotheca Thottiana's printed catalogue of manuscripts belonging to the Thott Collection,[8] its existence still seems to be unknown to Danish (and Scandinavian) literary scholars.[9] The international *Amadís* scholarship does not mention any Scandinavian translation of the novel either.[10] It is therefore about time to bring this line of the transmission of the work into scholarly discussion.

The manuscript Thott 470 8vo is a paper manuscript in octavo format. It has a book cover and contains a good six hundred unpaginated pages, starting directly

8 In the *Index codicum manuscriptorum* (1795: 529), the *Amadís* manuscript is listed as no. 470: *Historien om Amadis af Frankerige, udsat af Tydsk* (The history of Amadis of France, translated from German). In the *Index*, it is recorded in the section on Danish, Norwegian, and northern German history ("Danica, Norvegica, Slesvico-Holsatica"; cf. *Index*: 529).

9 Paulli comments on "Folkebøgernes Historie" (History of the Danish chapbooks) in Jacobsen, Olrik and Paulli (1936: 230): "Amadis-Romanerne, som allerede i Slutningen af det 16. Aarhundrede fortrænger Folkebøgerne i den tyske Overklassens Gunst, bliver slet ikke oversat hos os [. . .]" (The Amadis novels, which had already displaced the chapbooks in the favour of the German upper class in the late sixteenth century, were not translated here [i.e. in Denmark] at all). The main Danish literary histories do not mention any Danish translation of *Amadís* either: cf. e.g. Petersen (1867); Petersen and Andersen (1924–1934); Friis (1975); *Dansk Litteraturhistorie* (1983–1985); Jørgensen and Wentzel (2005); Mai (2010). Stangerup (1936: 22–23) mentions that "[f]ørbarokkens Romantyper: Amadisromanen og Hyrderomanen maa siges at være saa temmelig forsvundet i Danmark efter Aar 1700. At de har været kendt tidligere, fremgaar af Auktionskatalogerne, der endnu annoncerer 'Livre de Amadis' et Par Gange og har et temmeligt stort Udvalg af Hyrderomaner [. . .]" (it might be said that models of the pre-baroque novel, i.e. the Amadis novel and the pastoral novel, almost disappeared in Denmark after 1700. But it is evident from catalogues of book auctions, which still announce 'Livre de Amadis' several times and which present quite a big selection of pastoral novels [. . .], that they had previously been known). A commentary in an 1843 edition of the Danish writer Ludvig Holberg's comedies states directly that there is no Danish translation of the *Amadís* novel at all (*Ludvig Holbergs Comedier* (1843: 309)): "Den franske Ridder-Roman fra Middelalderen: *Amadis de Gaule*, er derimod aldrig oversat paa Dansk" (The French chivalric romance from the Middle Ages, *Amadis de Gaula*, however, was never translated into Danish).

10 Cf. the discussion of the French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, and English versions in Weddinge (1975: 107–111); *Amadis de Gaula 1508* (2008); Schaffert (2015); Bologno et al. (2013); Lucía Megías and Marín Pina (2008).

with the *Amadís* story on the first page, without a separate title page (cf. Figure 1). There are no other texts apart from *Amadís* in the manuscript. No translator or owner of the manuscript is named, and there is neither a dedication nor a preface. The headline presents the following text as a translation from the German:

> Historie / om Amadis af Franckrige, meget Lystig og Kortwillig for unge Mennisker at læße med hoß følgende goede Lærdommer paa vores dans[ke] sprog, af tydsken udsatt.
>
> (Thott 470 8vo, [pag. 1])

> History of Amadis from France, very pleasant and diverting to read for young people, with good advice attached, in our Danish language, translated from German.

Figure 1: Manuscript Thott 470 8vo, [pag. 1]. © The Royal Library Copenhagen. Photo: Photographic Studio, The Royal Library Copenhagen.

This Danish *Amadís* contains forty-four chapters, which correspond to the German tradition, as does the order and the numbering of chapters in book I. It also takes over the brief summaries of each chapter from the German prints and thus follows

the tradition of the first German edition.[11] The text seems to be written by a single hand, dating approximately from the last part of the seventeenth or the very beginning of the eighteenth century.[12] The manuscript on the whole is in a very neat script, with only a few corrections (if any) on each page. Might it have served as a printer's setting copy? As there are no Danish *Amadís* prints registered in the *Bibliotheca Danica* (1961–1963 [1877–1914]), it seems that, according to the bibliographical data, the Danish translation remained in manuscript status and never went into print.

Another idea might be that the manuscript was produced just for a limited literary circle in Denmark (in Copenhagen?) and was never actually intended to go into print at all.[13] My current research project, which includes an annotated edition of the Danish *Amadís* manuscript, Thott 470 8vo, with a commentary on its literary and book-historical context, will hopefully shed some light on the circumstances surrounding the creation of this Danish *Amadís* translation. Probably the most fascinating aspect, however, is what we could describe as the dynamics of *Amadís de Gaula* and its international transmission – including the case of Thott 470 8vo and its importance as a manuscript documentary in a predominantly printed culture. Moreover, the manuscript is a fascinating document in the history of (translated) prose literature in early modern Scandinavia.[14]

The Danish *Amadís* as a text in motion

As a text circulating in so many European language areas throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and with roots in the medieval Arthurian tradition, *Amadís* is a highly relevant object for a larger study focusing on the transmission, the movement, and the instability of (early modern) texts. The following

11 This is evident if we compare the Danish manuscript to the German first edition (*Newe Historia [. . .]*; Frankfurt, 1569). The second German *Amadí*s edition was published in 1571, again by Feyerabend's printing house in Frankfurt. It is not clear yet exactly which copy of the first edition was used as source text by the Danish translator. But it seems to be obvious that the German text served as a model for the translation. In my project, the relations to the German tradition will be analysed in more detail.

12 Cf. Kroman (1943: 54–55). This is a first assessment based on the style and writing design of the manuscript, but of course this needs to be further investigated.

13 I would like to thank my colleague Simon Skovgaard Boeck, Copenhagen, who proposed considering this aspect at the "Modes of Modification Kick-Off-Conference" in Oslo, 29–30 November 2018.

14 My work on Ms. Thott 470 8vo is part of a larger research project on prose literature in late premodern Scandinavia, supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF). The project started in February 2020 at the Scandinavian Department at the University of Zurich, and is led by Klaus Müller-Wille and Lena Rohrbach: "Romanhaftwerden. Skandinavische Prosaliteratur der späten Vormoderne" https://www.ds.uzh.ch/de/projekte/romanhaftwerden.html (15 June 2020).

considerations, therefore, will discuss some aspects concerning the Danish *Amadís* as an example of a dynamic text – a text in motion.[15]

The idea of *mouvance*, as described by Paul Zumthor for medieval literature (cf. e.g. Zumthor 1972; 1987) and further developed by Bernard Cerquiglini in his concept of *variance* as the main criterion for medieval writing (cf. Cerquiglini 1989), is also applicable to premodern texts. Even premodern texts are (still) marked by textual instability and by a textual dynamic that was not automatically replaced by textual stability when book printing was established, as pointed out by Jürg Glauser:

> Während sich zur Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Manuskriptkultur und ihrer umfassenden handschriftlichen Kopiertätigkeit der Begriff der Varianz inzwischen allgemein durchgesetzt hat und diese geradezu als eine der Voraussetzungen der Text- und Schriftkultur des Mittelalters verstanden wird, zeigt sich bei genauerer Betrachtung, dass das Oszillieren zwischen Textkonstanz und Textvarianz keineswegs an die Handschriftlichkeit gebunden ist. Vielmehr definieren Unfestigkeitsphänomene auch den frühen Buchdruck, so dass zumindest in Bezug auf die Aspekte der Textualität spätmittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Erzählungen keineswegs von einer durch den Medienwechsel bedingten Ablösung von Varianz durch Stabilität gesprochen werden kann. (Glauser & Richter 2011: 1)

We can identify two aspects, interconnected with each other, where the Danish *Amadís* manuscript in the Thott Collection and the question of textual dynamics and variance are concerned. Regarding the discussion of the (early modern) novel in Scandinavia, the rhetoric of the paratext plays a significant role. This could be described as a first aspect of dynamics and variance. The second aspect then touches on the literary context in Denmark around 1700.

"Historie": what the paratext tells us

The Danish manuscript in the Thott Collection has no separate title page, but the heading says, as already mentioned above: *Historie / om Amadis af Franckrige, meget Lystig og Kortwillig [. . .] at læße* (History of Amadis from France, very pleasant and diverting to read [. . .]). Defining itself as a "historie", the text ties in especially with the poetics of the "pleasant histories", that is, the early modern novel and chapbook tradition in Scandinavia (cf. e.g. Richter 2009; Wingård 2011; Glauser 2016). These texts are mostly referred to as "folkebøger" and "folkböcker" in Danish and Swedish literary history respectively (for surveys, cf. e.g. Richter 2009; Wingård 2011). The intended close relation to historiography and its inherent objective truth that is established by the use of "historie" in the title of early modern prose narratives has

15 The present chapter can only give an outline of some of the main aspects my research project will deal with.

been discussed extensively for the German and, partly, the Scandinavian traditions (cf. e.g. Müller 1985; Braun 2004; Richter 2009).

Since the very first edition in 1569, German *Amadís* editions use *Historie* in their title. With its reference to "historie", however, the Danish title of the *Amadís* manuscript can be seen not only as a translation and a tradition taken over from the source text. This title is also a reference to a specific literary tradition: the tradition of the "folkebøger" ('chapbooks') or early modern novels in Scandinavia. It is quite possible that it is this particular literary background that the Danish *Amadís* translator wanted to refer to and wanted the text to be received and placed in, as many of these early modern novels were still reprinted, read, and well known in eighteenth-century Scandinavia (cf. e.g. Richter 2009: 33–139). The likely dating of the manuscript was also the time when the (modern) Scandinavian novel emerged: *Den beklædte Sandhed* by Anna Margrethe Lasson was published in 1723 in Denmark as the first Scandinavian novel (cf. Mai 2011), and Jacob Mörk and Anders Törngren in Sweden wrote what is considered the first Swedish novel, *Adalriks och Giöthildas Äfwentyr* (1742–1744) (Malm 2001).

Early novels and "folkebøger", like *Amadís*, were disseminated across large parts of Europe and translated into numerous vernacular languages, and thus adapted to varying cultural and social (and sometimes also religious) contexts – *Melusine*, *Magelone*, *Griseldis*, *Flores and Blancheflor*, *Octavian*, *Reynicke Vosz (Reynard the Fox)*, *Ulenspiegel*, *Doctor Faustus*, and so on. Many of these early novels were reprinted again and again from the sixteenth until the late nineteenth century (cf. e.g. Richter 2009: 7–22).[16] Unquestionably, we can regard them as texts with a great *Zeittiefe* (cf. Tristram 1994), that is, a complex transmission in time and space, and thus as highly relevant for studies in textual transmission. Various modes of modification and variance can be observed in these texts during their transmission, concerning textual and medial changes, as well as omissions in the narratives and various forms of changes in title pages and illustrations (cf. e.g. Richter 2009; Wingård 2011). Even if *Amadís* neither shows the same process of such a complex reception in Scandinavia until the nineteenth century, nor reached the same popularity as the "folkebøger" did, we can nonetheless say that it holds a special position in the history of the early novel in Scandinavia. *Amadís* is – like the "folkebøger" – part of the tradition of translating and adapting continental European narratives to the Scandinavian literary cosmos, and it was produced at a time when different modes of experiencing the early modern novel were circulating in Scandinavian literature.

16 Many of the titles (Danish first editions) are recorded in the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC): https://www.ustc.ac.uk/ (15 June 2020).

The Danish *Amadís* and the early Danish novel

The Danish *Amadís* manuscript in the Thott Collection could be seen as an interesting example of the dynamic process of translating and adapting a very famous "old text" for a "new" context in Denmark around 1700. It is striking that the phase of the greatest popularity of *Amadís* in continental Europe had long passed when the Danish manuscript was probably produced (cf. Weddige 1975: 110–113). We can assume that the Danish readership of the manuscript was literate and learned, maybe even multilingual, and thus familiar with the long European *Amadís* tradition. It is also remarkable that the first Danish and Nordic novel, Anna Margrethe Lasson's *Den beklædte sandhed* (published 1723, but complete in manuscript form already in 1715) "takes as its models seventeenth-century pastoral romances and heroic-galant novels" (Mai 2011).

It is a well-known fact that European, especially French and German, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature was well known and read in early modern Scandinavia: Søren Terkelsen's Danish translation of the first part of Honoré d'Urfé's famous novel *Astrée* (1645/1646), and especially his setting to music of the songs in *Astrée* as well as his translations of baroque love songs by Johann Rist and Gabriel Voigländer in the collection entitled *Astree Siunge-Choer* from 1648–1654,[17] or Urban Hiärne's pastoral novel *Stratonice* from 1666/1668,[18] are only two famous examples of the reception of continental baroque texts in Scandinavian literature, each reflecting the influence and the aesthetics of the early modern (French) novel.

Of course, it would be thrilling if we could figure out the possible translator of the German *Amadís* book I into Danish, or at least track down a closer circle of scholars and/or authors who could have been involved in the translation. But even if we do not (yet) know the circumstances of the production of the Thott manuscript in detail, it is of great interest to examine the extent to which the Danish *Amadís* translation can be set in the context of the emergence of the novel in Denmark. It is quite possible that the *Amadís* tradition could have served (in part) as inspiration for the *sujet* and the style of Anna Margrethe Lasson's novel, a matter that will hopefully be discussed in more detail in my study. *Amadís* still seems to have been both present and prominent as an intertextual reference in the writings of influential Danish authors in the eighteenth century, as there are references to *Amadís* by Ludvig Holberg in the fictional preface to *Peder Paars* (1720) and in his comedy *Den Vægelsindede* (1731).[19] Later on in the eighteenth century, Johannes Ewald also

17 Cf. the chapter on Søren Terkelsen in vol. 1 of *Dansk litteraturs historie* (2007: 346–350).

18 Hiärne's novel remained in manuscript form and was published in 1952 by Magnus von Platen (cf. Hiärne 1995: 7).

19 Cf. *Ludvig Holbergs Skrifter* 2009–. www.holbergsskrifter.dk (15 June 2020).

refers to the novel and its hero in his autobiographical *Levnet og Meeninger* (letters written 1774–1778).[20]

The textual dynamic of the Danish *Amadís* can be seen on the one hand in its literary background in the long and rich narrative tradition of the original Spanish novel, with its translations and adaptations into different European languages, and the textual variations that can be found in this broad transmission. On the other hand, the possible impact on early Danish novels like Lasson's *Den beklædte sandhed* (genre, plot, style, and so on), and the position of the Danish *Amadís* manuscript in the aesthetic and poetological discussion of the novel in general in the first part of the eighteenth century in Scandinavia, actually creates a textual dynamic of its own. As pointed out by Sif Rikhardsdottir,

> [t]he history of European literature is one of transformation, refashioning and intertextual relations. Narrative modes and ideas spread across the continent, influencing and enriching existing native literary forms. As old poetic traditions either stagnated or died out, new literary modes were fashioned from pre-existing forms, which were combined with novel narrative structures and ideas from imported materials. The foreign literary conventions did not replace existing forms, but rather served as the impetus for the enrichment of the native literary language and of its poetic and thematic representation. (Sif Rikhardsdottir 2012: 1)

This statement is extremely relevant for any analysis of the Danish *Amadís* manuscript, as this document is part of the rich and various European (though primarily printed) *Amadí*s tradition and contains a famous example of the "imported materials", as Sif Rikhardsdottir puts it, that enriched the Danish native literary language. Regarding the references in contemporary Scandinavian literature, but also the enriching influence on both literary texts and other cultural representations, the reception of *Amadís* created a certain textual and cultural dynamic. At this point, the connections, or rather parallels, to the Scandinavian transmission of the "folkebøger" and early modern novels can be seen once again. Even these texts are rooted in European and international narrative modes from the ancient, the medieval, and the Renaissance traditions. By being translated into Danish and Swedish (and Icelandic),[21] and thus "imported" into Scandinavia, they went through a complex process of adaptation to a new readership in a new culture – and enriched the native literary languages in the Nordic countries. There should also be little doubt that the Danish *Amadís* can be regarded as a part of the intertextual relations between Nordic and

20 "Jeg kunde, om det havde behaget Himmelen, gjerne have blevet en Aesopus, eller en Diogenes, gjerne en Hercules eller en Amadis, selv en Zopyrus, en Scævola og en Curtius – Men en Aristoteles eller en Scotus, en du Guesclin eller en Cartouche, en Colbert eller en Sejan – det var mig platud umueligt at blive – [. . .]" (Ewald 1988: 93–94). (If Heaven had wished it, I also could have become an Aesop or a Diogenes, a Hercules or an Amadis, even a Zopyrus, a Scævola, and a Curtius – but an Aristotle or a Scotus, a du Guesclin or a Cartouche, a Colbert or a Sejan: this was just impossible for me to become – [. . .]).

21 For the Icelandic "folkebøger", cf. the fundamental study by Seelow (1989).

continental literature described by Sif Rikhardsdottir in the quotation above, and hence as a part of a dynamic European textual network.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a first insight into the manuscript Thott 470 8vo, probably dating from *c*. 1700 and containing a Danish translation of book I of the novel of chivalry *Amadís de Gaula*, a document which has to date been considered neither by international *Amadís* research nor in Scandinavian literary historiography. A brief illumination of the complex European history of the transmission, translation, and reception of the *Amadís* novel has shown how widespread and present (in literature as well as in other cultural manifestations) this text was over a long period of time and in many parts of Europe. Aspects of transmission, variance, *Zeittiefe*, and textual dynamics have been related to this text, allowing us to observe some parallels with the tradition of the early modern novels and "folkebøger". My future study, therefore, will focus on the context and the literary environment of the Thott manuscript, relating it to the emergence of the early novel in Denmark, for example Anna Margrethe Lasson's *Den beklædte sandhed* (1723). As one of the "imported materials" transferred from the continent to Scandinavia, as described by Sif Rikhardsdottir, the Thott manuscript will also be examined with regard to the relationships between the Danish translation and its source text, and to possible cases of variance that are unique to the Danish translation. The aim of the study is to analyse the manuscript in a wider context, considering among other aspects the reception of the *Amadís* novel in Denmark (and Scandinavia) in the early modern era, its impact on the history of literary translation, and its status in the discussion about the novel as a (new) literary genre in Denmark in the time around 1700, when Thott 470 8vo was probably produced.

Last but not least, the Thott manuscript is also a fine example of the representation of manuscript culture and manuscript transmission in a culture dominated by printing and the printed book. It is remarkable that at the time when the Danish translation was probably produced, a six-hundred-page manuscript was circulating and (probably also) read and studied by an audience still interested in the famous Renaissance romance of chivalry of *Amadís de Gaula* and his adventures, which had already been disseminated in print all over Europe in numerous languages and various editions for almost a century, and had a rich afterlife in literature and music even as far as the end of the eighteenth century. The Danish manuscript is thus understood as part of this European history of transmission and as part of the rich literary exchange between Scandinavia and the continent.

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Lukas Rösli

From *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* to *Íslendingabók* – When an Intradiegetic Text Becomes Reality

In this chapter,[1] I will argue that the text we know today as *Íslendingabók* was not understood as such in the days of its textualization in the mid-seventeenth century. In fact, *Íslendingabók* in its present-day manifestation and conception can be regarded as a product of an interaction between different modes of modification. These modes of modification can individually be enumerated as follows: paratextual, medial, scholarly or editorial, and mnemonic. Most of the modifications applied to the text seem to be rather marginal, in the most literal sense, as they mainly affected the title of the text, as well as the narrative's textual, or rather, paratextual framing. Nevertheless, together with the paratextual feature we call the title of a text, the whole notion of the text in question changed tremendously due to the aforementioned modifications. Hence, I will argue that the modification of the title influenced the text's perception on a scholarly level and on the levels of the cultural memory and the national identity that the text produces.

I did not chose *Íslendingabók* to discuss these modes of modification on the basis of paratexts and paratextual features simply because it is a highly canonized text in the corpus of Old Norse-Icelandic literature or because this is something solely to be found in this specific text. On the contrary, the present study of *Íslendingabók* can readily be transferred to other texts of the same literary corpus from the "renaissance of Old Norse-Icelandic manuscript production".[2]

1 The present chapter presents findings from the SNF Ambizione project "Gedächtniskultur im Paratext – Textränder altnordischer Prosahandschriften" (PZ00P1_174231), which is generously funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. For further information on the project, see www.ds.uzh.ch/paratext (1 October 2020). I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the two anonymous peer reviewers, whose feedback was extremely valuable.

2 The expression was coined by Jürg Glauser to describe the revival of quasi-medieval manuscript production by scribes in Iceland after the Reformation and after the introduction of the printing press in Iceland, a scribal period between the early seventeenth and the early twentieth century; see Glauser (2016: 21).

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Background

Íslendingabók as a historical source

Íslendingabók, The Book of Icelanders, is considered by scholars as both the oldest known prose text ever written in a Scandinavian language,[3] and as "a highly concentrated history of the nation" (Jónas Kristjánsson 1997: 120). The nation mentioned by Jónas Kristjánsson is, of course, Iceland, as the story presented in *Íslendingabók* covers the period of time between the settlement of Iceland around the year 870 up to the days of the first Icelandic bishops at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century.

The content of the text of *Íslendingabók* is divided into an unmarked prologue, a chapter overview, ten chapters, and two genealogies.[4] In the prologue, the first-person narrator reports how he wrote *Íslendingabók* and showed it to the Icelandic bishops Þorlákr and Ketill and to the priest Sæmundr, who rejected the first version because of the genealogies and reigns of kings it contained. However, after the topos-like call for improvement of the text by people who have more knowledge of the subject, a short Swedish-Norwegian royal genealogy follows. In the chapter overview, which has a Latin heading, the individual chapters are marked with Roman numerals, which appear after the content of the respective chapters. This is followed by another Latin heading, which states that "The Booklet of Icelanders" now begins, before the ten chapters that tell the story of Iceland from the settlement to the first two Icelandic bishops. Throughout the narrative, great emphasis is placed on the establishment of institutions, such as the parliament and the judiciary, on the conversion of Iceland to Christianity, and on the institutionalization of the Church in Iceland. The closer the narrated time is to the time of the narrator, the more detailed his narrative becomes. This may also be due to the oral transmission that the narrator refers to as the origin of his knowledge of Iceland's history. The narrator then assesses the people who passed on their knowledge of Iceland's early history to him as very trustworthy and knowledgeable. In the first genealogy following this history of Iceland, the pattern of the previous narrative is taken up again, with a line of ancestors tracing the first two bishops of Iceland and the two bishops mentioned in the prologue back to the first settlers. The second genealogy then extends this pattern, since it describes the ancestral line of the narrator himself, starting from the mythical Yngvi, the progenitor of the Swedish Yngling lineage. The whole narrative of *Íslendingabók*, which in the manuscripts takes

3 "Its [*Íslendingabók*'s] great age gives it inestimable value as a source of history, and it is no less precious as a literary monument, for it is the oldest example of narrative prose in a Scandinavian language" (Turville-Petre 1967: 90). "*Íslendingabók* ('Buch von den Isländern') ist der älteste bekannte erzählende Prosatext in einer skand[inavischen] Sprache [. . .]" (Simek and Hermann Pálsson 2007: 208).

4 For an English translation of *Íslendingabók*, see *Íslendingabók* 2006 (3–14).

up about twenty pages in folio format and is about fourteen pages long in print, is thus very dense in terms of content. The narrative thereby presents itself as a quasi-oral history transmitted in the form of a medieval, scholarly historiography that is not only intended to present the early history of Iceland but to inscribe Iceland as an independent entity in the world.

The prevailing opinion considers *Íslendingabók* to be a historical source that can be dated to the years between 1122 and 1133 (Jónas Kristjánsson 1997: 120–121) or, as Sveinbjörn Rafnsson argues, to the exact year of 1134 (Sveinbjörn Rafnsson 2001: 159). Such a dating of the text is mainly based on the assumption that the author-character mentioned in the narrative of *Íslendingabók*, known as Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði, is the same person as the alleged medieval author of *Íslendingabók* (Jónas Kristjánsson 1997: 120–123). Furthermore, and according to the prologue of the narrative called *Heimskringla* in modern editions, the same Ari Þorgilsson is said to be both the first person ever to write in the Old Norse-Icelandic vernacular and the first Icelandic historian (*Heimskringla* 1911: 2–3). Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði is also mentioned in the prologue to the four *Grammatical Treatises* in Codex Wormianus, AM 242 fol, on fol. 42r,[5] where he is said to have created – together with Þóroddr rúnameistari – an Old Norse alphabet on the basis of runes, which they opposed to the Latin script.[6] At the beginning of the *First Grammatical Treatise*, however, on fol. 42v,[7] the first-person narrator claims to have independently compiled an alphabet for the Icelanders, which was composed both of Latin characters and of other characters that he found useful. This statement follows directly after a passage of text in which the narrator refers to books in which Ari wrote down historical knowledge in an understandable way. Since both the books attributed to Ari and the script system used in them remain completely unspecified, it is not possible to infer from the passage what narratives are to be found in them and in which language they were written. However, it can be stated at this point that on the basis of current knowledge, there are no actual medieval autographs associated with Ari Þorgilsson or medieval manuscripts known to contain a text called *Íslendingabók*.[8] Having said this, someone called Ari prestr inn fróði is also mentioned as part of the rubricated incipit on fol. 1v in Fríssbók (Codex Frisianus, AM 45 fol), dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[9] The beginning of the incipit reads: *Her*

5 For a digitized version of Codex Wormianus and the relevant folio, see https://myndir.handrit.is/file/Handrit.is/AM%20242%20fol./83/HIGH_QUALITY_DISPLAY (1 October 2020).

6 For an insightful discussion of the prologue, see Johansson (1997: 43–46).

7 For a digitized version of the relevant folio, see https://myndir.handrit.is/file/Handrit.is/AM%20242%20fol./84/HIGH_QUALITY_DISPLAY (1 October 2020).

8 For the supposed influence of Ari on medieval Old Norse-Icelandic literature, see Turville-Petre's chapter on 'Ari and his influence' (Turville-Petre 1967: 88–108).

9 I would like to thank Prof. Dr Lena Rohrbach (University of Basel and University of Zurich) for drawing my attention to AM 45 fol. For a digitized version of the manuscript and the relevant folio,

hefr vpp kon[vn]*ga bok / ept*[ir] *savgn ara prestz froða [. . .]* 'Here begins the kings' book, after the account of Prester Ari the Wise'. This rubric is not only remarkable due to the fact that it is an actual instance where a character named Ari prestr inn fróði is directly associated with an account or a narrative in a medieval manuscript,[10] but also because the character mentioned in the rubric is associated with *Heimskringa* – named after the first two words of the continuous text also to be found on fol. 1v in AM 45 fol: *KRINGLA heímsíns* – which is commonly attributed to the name and authorship of Snorri Sturluson today (*Heimskringla* 2016: vii–ix).[11] Furthermore, there is a reference to Ari as the co-author of an earlier version of what later becomes known as *Landnámabók*,[12] The Book of Settlements, a narrative describing the settlement of Iceland in the ninth and tenth centuries (*Landnámabók* 1968: 395–396). However, the text passage mentioned presents a problem of transmission, since it only occurs in the Hauksbók redaction of *Landnámabók*. The *Landnámabók* part of the medieval Hauksbók, AM 371 4to (*Landnámabók*: 155–184), written at the beginning of the fourteenth century is very fragmentary today and does not provide the epilogue containing the reference to Ari. This reference to Ari as the co-author of an earlier version of *Landnámabók* can be found in the manuscript AM 105 fol,[13] written by Jón Erlendsson, dated to the mid-seventeenth century, which is assumed to be a copy of the not yet heavily fragmented Hauksbók, and in a text known as *Skarðsárbók*, a compilation produced before 1633 by Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá using both the Hauksbók and the *Sturlubók* redactions (*Skarðsárbók*: vii–ix), but Björn's autograph no longer exists either.[14]

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see https://myndir.handrit.is/file/Handrit.is/AM%2045%20fol./2/HIGH_QUALITY_DISPLAY (1 October 2020).

10 A character called Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði is also mentioned several times in Flateyjarbók (Gks 1005 fol), where the name mainly serves as confirmation for the accuracy of cultural memory or of the story told in the narrative. For an overview of these denominations, see the index of personal names in *Flateyjarbók* (1860–1868: 3:587).

11 The earliest reference to Snorri Sturluson as being the alleged compiler or even author of *Heimskringla* can be found in AM 93 fol, a Danish or Norwegian manuscript dated to 1540–1569: https://handrit.is/is/manuscript/view/en/AM02-0093 (1 October 2020).

12 For a thorough discussion of the hypothesis of Ari as the co-author of *Landnámabók*, see *Landnámabók* 1968 (cvi–cxx) and *The Book of Settlements* (1972: 4–6).

13 For a digitized version of the manuscript, see https://handrit.is/is/manuscript/view/is/AM02-0105 (1 October 2020).

14 There are several manuscripts containing the *Skarðsárbók* compilation or redaction of *Landnámabók* that are believed to derive from Björn's autograph, all of which contain the reference to Ari's co-authorship with Kolskeggr inn vitri. AM 104 fol, a manuscript written by Ásgeir Jónsson between 1690 and 1697, is said to be a direct copy of Björn's autograph, which was presumably lost in the Copenhagen fire of 1728 (*Landnámabók*: xxxvi–xxxviii; similarly, Sveinbjörn Rafnsson 1974: 34–36) and depicts the passage in question on fol. 98r. Interestingly, the following manuscripts, which contain the same passage on the co-authorship of Ari and Kolskeggr, are dated as older than AM 104 fol on handrit.is: AM 108 fol, fol. 39v, written between 1650–1699; AM 110 fol, fol. 22v,

And, just as in the case of the text we call *Íslendingabók* today, which is analysed in detail below, there is also no material evidence from the Middle Ages for *Landnámabók* that could be attributed to a historical Ari Þorgilsson or would prove his co-authorship. Today, the association of both narratives with Ari Þorgilsson and his (co-)authorship only derive from manuscripts produced in Iceland in the seventeenth century.

There is also a reference to a text called *Islendinga bok* on fol. 45v in the manuscript Holm Perg 18 4to,[15] which includes the narrative of *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* and dates to 1300–1325. However, this passage of the narrative, which refers to an intradiegetic version of *Islendinga bok* as a textual source, only states that all the Icelandic people were Christianized at the *alþingi*, the medieval general assembly of the Icelandic Commonwealth (*Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*: 127–128).

These examples clearly show that the narrative we know as *Íslendingabók* gains its authority and credibility as a historical source for the early history of Iceland not only due to the assumed age and originality of the text, but also (*a*) due to the fact, that – in contrast to the anonymously composed *Íslendinga sögur*, which cover roughly the same historical period of time – *Íslendingabók* is ascribed to an intratextually and intertextually well-known author-name, Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði, and (*b*) on the basis of a reference to an intradiegetically mentioned text of the same name known in the diegesis of an early fourteenth-century *konungasaga* manuscript. The arguments used by previous scholars thereby refer to different levels of textual and narratological relations. An intratextual relation "guarantees the immanent integrity of the text" (Plett 1991: 5), whereby the references created by semiotic, semantic, or discourse structures are only analysed in a single manifestation of a text.[16] If, on the other hand, the analysis focuses on intertextual relationships, several different texts and the semiotic, semantic, or discourse structures made up by the textually and narratologically interlinked network of those texts are taken into account.[17] In contrast to the textual level, the analysis of the diegesis – the world created and presented in a fictional story – is an entirely narratological one. Every object or character mentioned in the narration is part of the diegesis, and as such it exists only intradiegetically.[18]

It must be noted, however, that all these mentions of Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði or of *Íslendingabók* occur in manuscripts produced at least one hundred years – sometimes even several hundred years – after the supposed writing of *Íslendingabók* in the

1650–1682; and AM 111 fol, fol. 18v, 1600–1677. For a very detailed description of all known manuscripts of *Skarðsárbók* and of their stemmatological relationship, see *Skarðsárbók*: ix–xxxiv.

15 For a digitized version of the manuscript and the relevant folio, see https://image.landsbokasafn.is/source/Holm_Perg_18_4to/Holm._Perg._18_4to,_0045v_-_91-hq.pdf (1 October 2020).

16 For a discussion of various theories of intertextuality, see Obermaier (2004: 23–35).

17 See also Obermaier (2004: 11–23) and Plett (1991: 3–29).

18 Most contemporary narratological theories using *diegesis* as part of their nomenclature rest on Genette (1980). For a more accessible introduction to Genette's theory, see Puckett (2016: 223–289).

first half of the twelfth century. Therefore, the examples described cannot be interpreted as contemporary historical sources, but at best as quasi-historical literary testimonies of cultural memory. Nevertheless, I think it is no exaggeration to say that *Íslendingabók* is accepted as a highly canonized text today, structuring the scholarly understanding of both the early history of Iceland and the beginning of Old Norse-Icelandic literary production, as well as shaping the self-conception of modern-day Icelanders and their cultural memory.[19]

Íslendingabók as a mythically veiled past

As just described, one can say that what we call *Íslendingabók* today is treated by some scholars as an original text from the twelfth century, or even as the "leiðstjarna íslenskrar sagnaritunar" ('the guiding star of Icelandic saga writing/historiography'; Björn Sigfússon 1944: 9). Such an assessment of the text is based mainly on palaeographical and linguistic approaches, on the understanding of the story told in the text as being historical fact, on the intratextually and intertextually well-established author-character of Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði, and on an early fourteenth-century textual reference. Other scholars, who have a more critical view of *Íslendingabók*, are concerned with the narratological function of the text and its significance as the Icelandic foundation myth, rather than with the actual age and historicity of *Íslendingabók*.

In recent years, scholars with a more theoretical focus have started to argue that medieval literature should not be understood in accordance with modern standards of categories such as *fictional* and *factual* or *mythological* and *historical*. Margaret Clunies Ross for example, argues convincingly in her two volumes of *Prolonged Echoes* (Clunies Ross 1994; 1998) that, basically, no medieval Old Norse-Icelandic text can be categorized as being either historical or mythological in the sense of the modern dichotomy. From her point of view, history and mythology are integral parts of both the literary production and the exegesis and reception of every Old Norse-Icelandic literary text, and thus also structure the understanding and memory of Old Norse-Icelandic culture. Picking up on these fundamental assumptions, John Lindow published a much-noticed article in which he argued that the narrative structures of *Íslendingabók* resemble those otherwise known from Old Norse-Icelandic foundation myths (Lindow 1997: 454–464). Furthermore, Lindow specifies the mythological nature of *Íslendingabók* as being manifest in two respects. On the one hand, he identifies *Íslendingabók* as a myth in the anthropological sense, as a story about how

19 The fact that the contemporary online database on genealogical information about all the inhabitants of Iceland is called *Íslendingabók*, too, shows how vivid the idea remains of a book containing all the names and genealogical relations of the Icelandic people from the very beginnings to today. For more information about this modern version of *Íslendingabók*, see https://www.islendingabok.is/english (1 October 2020).

Iceland came into being, and shows how Iceland was inscribed into some sort of reality on the basis of a narrative (Lindow 1997: 454–455, 462). On the other hand, Lindow draws parallels between the narrative structure of *Íslendingabók* and of other literary forms of Old Norse-Icelandic creation myths known from the *Prose Edda* and the *Poetic Edda* (Lindow 1997: 455), to show "how Icelanders made sense of themselves, of their identity and their society, within the wider geographical and historical world in which they lived" (Lindow 1997: 463).

In her articles on "Spatial and Temporal Perspectives in Íslendingabók" (Hermann 2005) and on "Íslendingabók and History" (Hermann 2007), Pernille Hermann picks up on Lindow's and Clunies Ross's preliminary considerations, adding Jan Assmann's theoretical concept of cultural memory (Assmann 2008; 2011) to her approach. On the basis of *Íslendingabók*, Hermann distinguishes the concepts of *past* and of *history* which, according to her understanding, never correlate with each other (Hermann 2005: 82–84). Furthermore, Hermann states that *Íslendingabók*, by means of its typological structure (Hermann 2007: 26–29), takes a formative share in the production of the cultural memory of a society, but is – at the same time – influenced by that society and its cultural memory (Hermann 2005: 84). Moreover, Hermann points to the fact that it is also the literary modes and discourses used in *Íslendingabók* that allow the text to be recognized and accepted as a foundation myth, turning *Íslendingabók* into one of the main actants in the creation of an Old Norse-Icelandic cultural memory (Hermann 2007: 19–22).

The above-mentioned positions continue to accept that the narrative in what we call *Íslendingabók* is somehow descended from the beginnings of Old Norse-Icelandic literary production in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, these approaches take an epistemological step forward insofar as they evaluate the narratological structure of *Íslendingabók*, describing it as being closely connected to the mythological mode of other Old Norse-Icelandic narratives, rather than accepting the narrative of *Íslendingabók* as a factual depiction of the history of the first centuries of Icelandic society.

A short introduction to paratextuality

My argumentation will build on these preliminary considerations by adding the theoretical approach of paratextuality – a term defined by the French literary theorist Gérard Genette (1997) – to analyse the modes of modification affecting *Íslendingabók*. According to Genette, a text – and this also applies to manuscripts – is rarely presented as a mere sequence of verbal statements but most often structured by additional information, which he labels as the paratext:

> A literary work consists, entirely or essentially, of a text, defined (very minimally) as a more or less long sequence of verbal statements that are more or less endowed with significance. But this text is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a

> certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, a preface, illustrations. And although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, precisely in order to present it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to make present, to ensure the text's presence in the world. (Genette 1997: 1)

According to Genette, such a paratext is a "threshold" between the inside and the outside of a text:

> For us, accordingly, the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public. More than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a *threshold*, [. . .] a 'vestibule' that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back. (Genette 1997: 1–2)

Paratexts structure both the textual layout of a manuscript or a book and its textual memory by referring to the narrative as well as to the world outside the text (see e.g. Rösli 2018). The narrative and its depicted or narrated diegesis, as well as the extradiegetic discourse associated with the narrative, are closely linked to the cultural and the scholarly memory of a given text and its literary value.

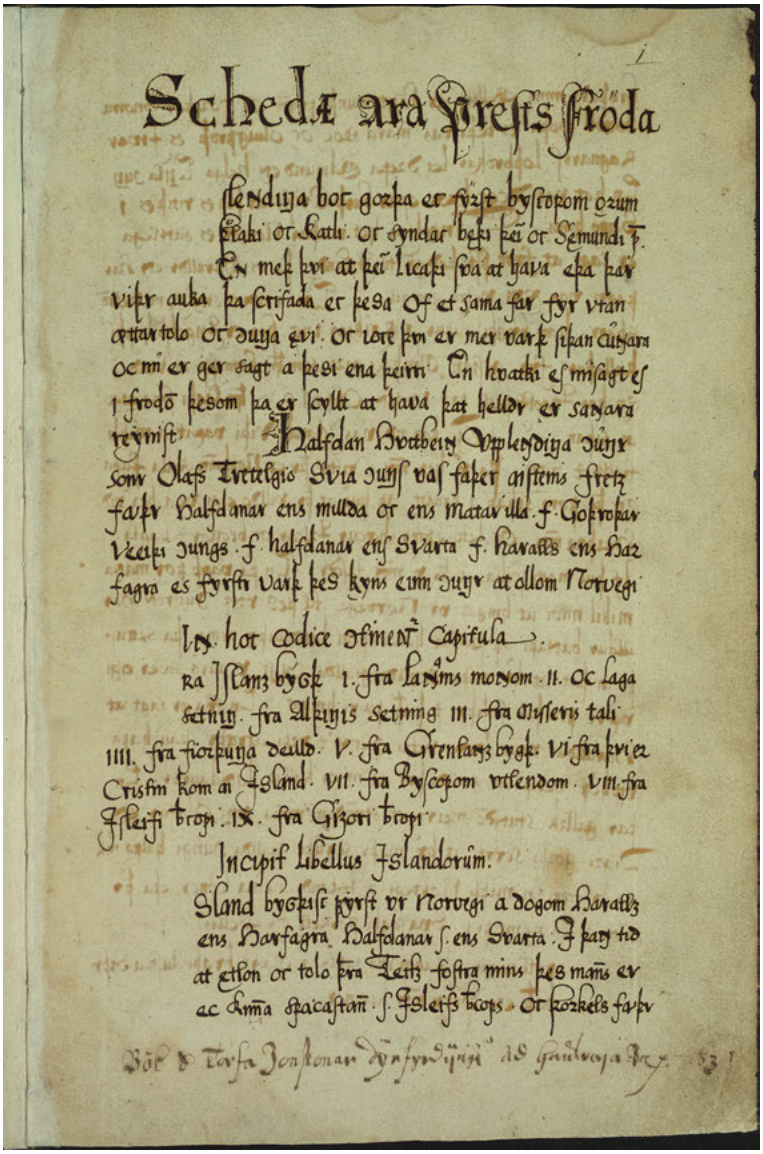
One of the best examples of a paratext that shapes our memory of a narrative is the title given to a text containing a particular narrative.[20] The title enables us to refer – at least among speakers of the same language – to a certain text. The title thereby stands in place of the whole text or its narrative. It becomes a label, a *pars pro toto* for the whole text, without being, strictly speaking, a part of the text or narrative itself. I will therefore focus on the modification of titles in the following argumentation.

Paratextual frameworks

The titles in the early manuscript transmission of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*

On the Monday after Dominica Jubilate – which is the Monday after the third Sunday after Easter – in the year 1651, the priest Jón Erlendsson finished a manuscript today known as AM 113 a fol, on behalf of Brynjólfur Sveinsson, the bishop of Skálholt (Már Jónsson 2012: 38). According to today's knowledge, this manuscript is the oldest manifestation of the text we commonly call *Íslendingabók*. Having said that, this is not what this text was titled in the year 1651. The title clearly reads *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* (Figure 1).

20 For an extensive study of the function of literary titles, see Rothe (1986).



Schedæ ara Prests fróda

Sendiuia bot gozka er fyrst byscopom ozum
Staki or Katli. or syndar beki kē or Semundi f.
En mek þvi at þē Lucasi sva at hava eka þar
vitr auka þa scrifada er þesa of et sama far fyr vtan
attartolo or duya ęvi. or uore þvi er mer varþ sidan cūnara
oc mē er ger sagt a þesi ena þeirri En hvatki es misagt es
i frodō þesom þa er scylde at hava þat heldr er sannara
reynist. Halfdan Bordbeiy Vpplendiya duyr
sonr Olafs Þrettelgis Svia duyss vas faþer ansteins frets
fadr Halfdanar ens mialda or ens Matavilla. f. Gofrobar
Veidi dungs. f. halfdanar ens Svarta f. haralls ens Har
fagra es fyrsti varþ þes kyns cum duyr at odlom Norvegi

In hoc codice ordinē Capitula.

Ra Islanz byggþ i. fra Landnams monnom. ii. oc laga
setning. fra Alþingis setning iii. fra ordzins tali
iiii. fra fiorþunga deildd. v. fra Grenlanz byggþ. vi fra þvi er
Crisdom kom a Island. vii. fra Byscopom vtlendom. viii. fra
Islendzk kongā. ix. fra Gizori kongi

Incipit Libellus Islandorum.

Sland byggdiz fyrst vr Norvegi a dogom haralldz
ens Harfagra. Halfdanar s. ens Svarta. I þann tid
at ætlon or tolo fra Leidz fostra minz þes manz er
ac landnam gracastan. s. Islendzks kongs. Or kiarkels faþ

Bók á Torfa Jonssonar [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 53

Figure 1: AM 113 a fol, fol. 1r.[21]

21 Unless otherwise noted, the copyrights for all images from manuscripts are owned by handrit.is.

This title is a little tricky, as the ancient Greek word *σχέδη* means 'papyrus leaf' and its Latinized version *scheda* can be translated as 'piece of paper'. According to Halldór Hermannsson, the term *schedae* – in its plural form and as used in seventeenth-century Iceland – refers to a collection of unbound or unsorted folios with some notes in it (*The book of the Icelanders*: 41–42), and could thus be translated as 'sheets'. If we take the title given to the oldest known manifestation of this text seriously, the word can be understood as a reference to a materially relatively "unstable text",[22] rather than to a solidified text or narrative that is written down and irrevocably preserved in a book in the manner suggested by the title *Íslendingabók*.[23] The concept of an unstable text based on an unsorted stack of folios to which the title refers as *schedae* is reinforced by the explicit (Figure 2) in AM 113 a fol.

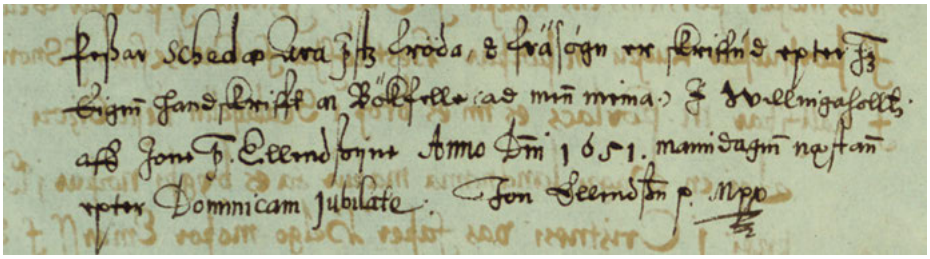


Figure 2: AM 113 a fol, fol. 7v (extract showing only the explicit).

In this explicit, Jón Erlendsson, the scribe of AM 113 a fol, again calls the text he has written *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*. This double labelling of the text as *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* – through the actual title at the very beginning and as part of the explicit at the end of the text – encloses the whole text. The whole narrative is thereby framed by the term *schedae*, highlighting the unstable idiosyncrasy of the text. This notion of textual instability is supported by yet another reference to an unreliability when Jón Erlendsson writes about the opinions other people had about the exemplar he copied: *Þessar schedæ Ara prests fróða og frásögn er skrifuð eftir hans eiginhandskrift á bókfelli (að menn meina) í Villingaholti af Joni p. Ellendssyni Anno domini 1651, mánudaginn næstan eftir Dominicam jubilate. Jon Ellendsson p. mpp* 'This *Schedæ* by Priest Ari the Wise and the story [in it] was written after his autograph on parchment (as people believe) at Villingaholt by Priest Jon Erlendsson, Anno Domini 1651, the next Monday

22 The concept of *unfester Text* was very fruitfully introduced to medieval German studies by Joachim Bumke to describe the nature of premodern textuality, where we cannot assume that a certain version of a text is more authoritative than another, even if it is transmitted in an older manuscript or in an allegedly more carefully copied one (Bumke 1996: 118–129).

23 For an alternative position to this argument, see Mundal (2012, esp. 217–220), using the title *Íslendingabók* as proof of the concrete "writtenness" (2012: 217) of the text.

after Dominica Jubilate [= the third Sunday after Easter]. Jon Ellendsson *p. mpp.* [= *per manu propria*, [signed] with one's own hand]'.[24] According to the explicit in AM 113 a fol (Figure 2), some people, at least, thought the exemplar to be an autograph on parchment written by Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði. Such a statement in the explicit clearly expresses a recognizable doubt on the part of the scribe about the exemplar he copied from. Jón Erlendsson's concerns raised in the explicit cannot be rebutted on a material level today, as the supposed original has been missing ever since. There is a letter from Reverend Torfi Jónsson to the famous Þormóður Torfason dated to 8 August 1684 – and thus thirty-three years after the self-referential dating in the explicit of AM 113 a fol, which is the only part of that manuscript qualifying as factual and extradiegetic content, as it clearly refers to the scribe and the explicit is written in his own hand.[25] In the letter, Torfi writes that a vellum was found around 1650 in the cathedral at Skálholt containing what was thought to be *Íslendingabók* (Már Jónsson 2012: 38). The manuscript supposedly found at Skálholt has since disappeared, and even such notorious collectors of manuscripts as Árni Magnússon found no trace of it (Már Jónsson 2012: 38).

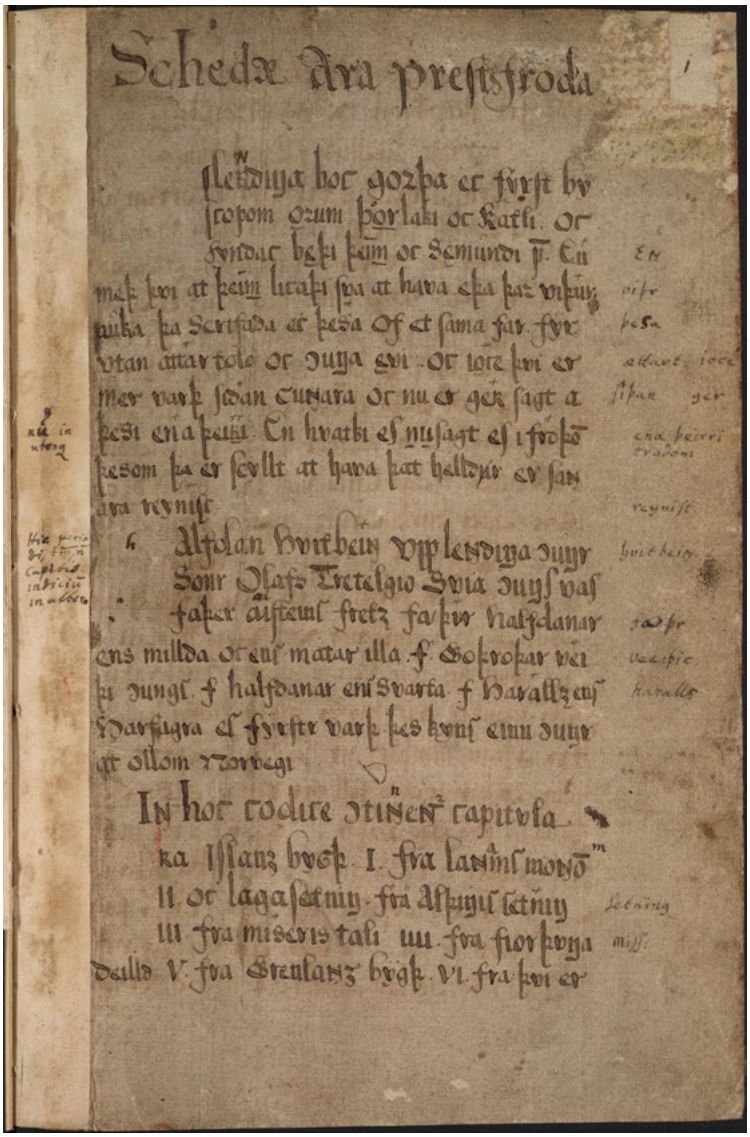
Shortly after the first manuscript of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* (AM 113 a fol), Jón Erlendsson produced a second one now called AM 113 b fol (Figure 3), which, according to Árni Magnússon, has a text of the same narrative that is written in a slightly older script and is thus better looking (*Íslendingabók Ara Fróða*: xvij–xix). The title given to this narrative is the exact same as in AM 113 a fol (Figure 1): *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*.

Furthermore, as all the other manifestations of the text, which now bear the shelfmarks AM 113 c–k fol (Figure 4) and were all produced in the second half of the seventeenth century, are derived from the two aforementioned manuscripts written by Jón Erlendsson, the title *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* appears on the first folio of every instance of this text.

As a result, it seems safe to say, that – at least where the seventeenth-century paper manuscripts now bearing the shelfmark AM 113 fol are concerned – no one regarded the transmitted text as being called *Íslendingabók*; *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* was obviously the title ascribed to the narrative in question.

24 Unless otherwise noted, all transcriptions and translations are my own.

25 Cf. Margrét Eggertsdóttir (2010) or Helgi Ívarsson (2007).



Schedæ ára prestsfroda

Sleidnya hof gozþa er fyrst bv
scopom ozum þorlaki oc Katli. Or
fundac beþi þeim oc Semundi þ. En
meþ þvi at þeim lucaþi spa at hava eþa þar viþur
þikia þa Scriftada er þesa Of et sama far fyr
vtan attar tolo or dvya evi. Or lore þvi er
mer varþ sidan Cunnara or nu er gek sagt a
þesi ena þetta En hvatbi es nv sagt es i froþo
þesom þa er scvlit at hava þat haldyr er san
ara reyniſ

h Alfdan hvitbein vpplendinga dvyr
Sonr Olafs Tretelgio Svia dvyſ vas
. faþer aistein fretz faþir halfdanar
ens milda oc enſ matar illa. f. Gofrobar vei
li dungſ. f halfdanar enſ svarta. f Haralldz enſ
Harfagra. Er fyrstr varþ þes kyns einn dvyr
at ollom Norvegi

In hof codice Stiſen capitvla
ka Issanz bvsk. I. fra lavſns morſo
II. or lagaſetniy. fra Aſbyrgi ſetniy
III fra miseris tali. IIII. fra fiorþvnga
dalls. V. fra Grenlanz bvsk. VI. fra þvi er

Figure 3: AM 113 b fol, fol. 1r.

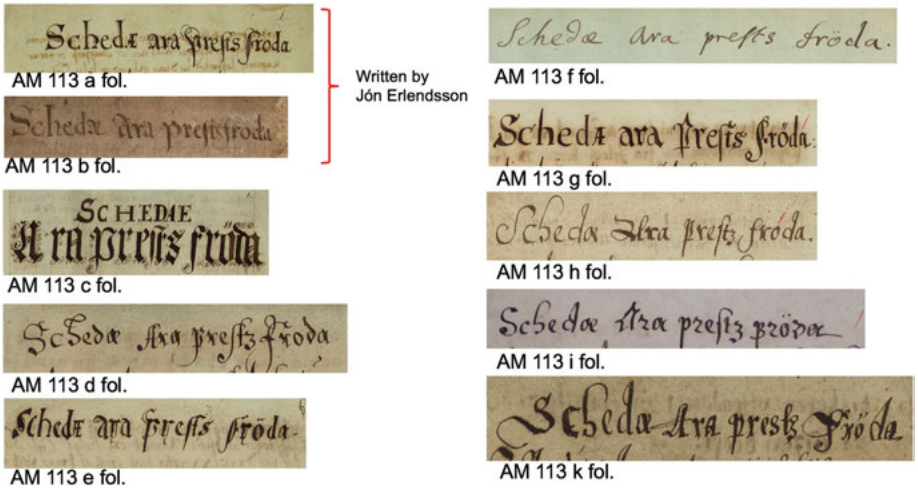


Figure 4: AM 113 a–k fol (extracts showing only the titles in each manuscript).

The names of the text in *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*

A closer look at fol. 1r of AM 113 a fol (Figure 5) reveals that three different texts are mentioned on this very first page:

At the top, there is the already-discussed title that calls the whole text *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*. The second reference to a text is to be found in the first two words of the continuous text, reading [I]*slendinga boc*, with the initial *I* of the word *Islendinga* left out. Another reference, to a third text, is to be found just after the short table of content. Thereby, the Latin phrase *Incipit Libellus Islandorum* states a new beginning of the text. These are references to three different texts with different lengths and different ontological statuses. The title *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* provides the framework for the whole text, which in AM 113 a fol includes the title and the explicit. The first two words of the continuous text, [I]*slendinga boc*, are uttered by a personified narrator as part of the diegesis of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*. This intradiegetic first-person narrator tells that he once made a text called [I]*slendinga boc* (*gorþa ec*). This same narrator tells that the text he calls [I]*slendinga boc* was an initial version that he later changed. It is not before the very end of the continuous text, and before the explicit closes the frame of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*, that this narrator reveals his identity (Figure 6) by calling himself Ari: *enn ec heiter Are* 'and I am called Ari'.

The third part of the text starts just after the table of content, which appears to be influenced by early modern printing practices as well as by the typographical layout of books. This part of the text, which corresponds to the intradiegetic story or the main narrative, has the title *Libellus Islandorum* (The Booklet of Icelanders). This section of the text is probably thought to include the table of content, even though the

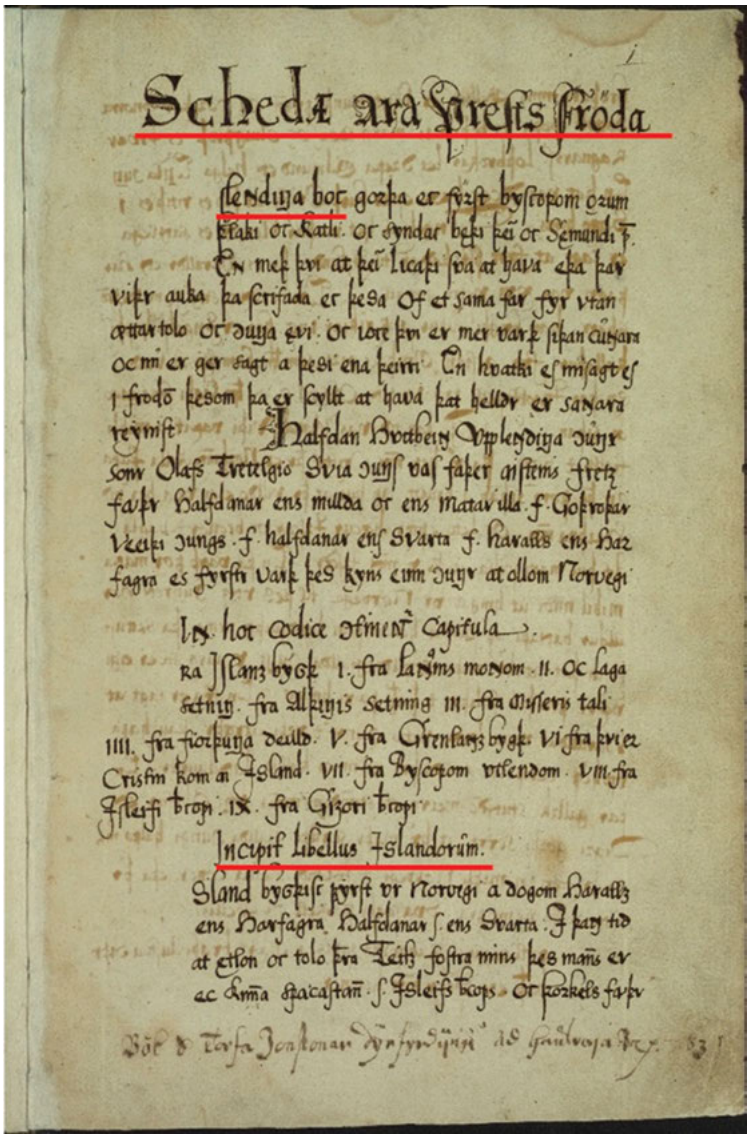


Figure 5: AM 113 a fol, fol. 1r (highlighting added).

actual intradiegetic narrative starts after it. It is evident, however, that *Libellus Islandorum* ends on fol. 6v (Figure 7) with the words *Her lycr sia bóc* 'Here ends this book'.

In AM 113 a fol, we have at least two frames for the body text, which is called *Libellus Islandorum*. The first framing of the body text and narrative starts with the diegesis presented by the intradiegetic narrator (who refers to an [I]*slendinga boc*, which he made previously but which is not presented, only referred to and

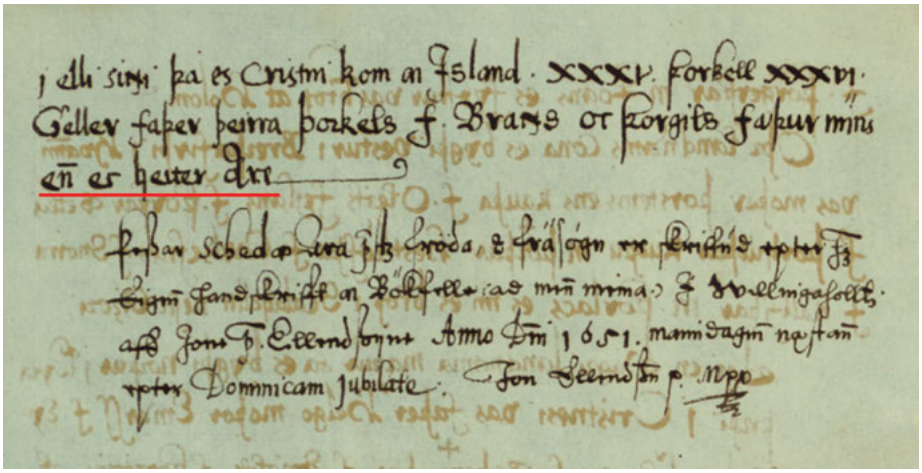


Figure 6: AM 113 a fol, fol. 7v (extract showing only the end of the continuous text and the explicit; highlighting added to show the self-referential naming of the intradiegetic first-person narrator).

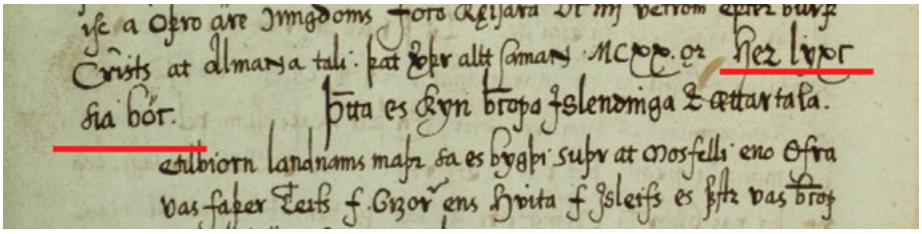


Figure 7: AM 113 a fol, fol. 6v (extract showing only the end of the intradiegetic story, or body text, and the beginning of the genealogy of the Icelandic bishops; highlighting added to mark the closing formula).

remembered, in *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*) and ends when this narrator states his name and calls himself Ari. The second framing is an extradiegetic one and present only in AM 113 a fol: an autograph by Jón Erlendsson, consisting of the title *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* (Figure 1) and the explicit (Figure 2).

The intradiegetic first-person narrator *Ari Þorgilsson* has often been interpreted as being the historical author of the text Ari Þorgilsson. However, the analysis of the narratological layers of the text presented in AM 113 a fol demonstrates that the intradiegetic first-person narrator *Ari Þorgilsson* is a mere literary character in this narrative, and thus cannot be the same person as the extratextual author of the text or of the narrative.[26]

26 For an alternative position to a narratological argument, see Mundal (2012, esp. 216–217), which interprets the name of the narrator and the first-person narrating voice as proof of Ari's authorship.

The explicit of AM 113 a fol and its transmission

From a strictly material philological point of view, the explicit in AM 113 a fol (Figure 2) is the only textual part rightly aspiring to an extradiegetic indication of the existence of a medieval exemplar, which was copied by Jón Erlendsson in 1651. Nevertheless, the reference to an autograph written by Ari Þorgilsson, which is established and doubted at the same time in the explicit, creates only a memory of this medieval exemplar. As mentioned above, the main problem with this putative exemplar is that it vanished just after Jón Erlendsson produced the second copy, now known as AM 113 b fol (Figure 8).

It seems that Árni Magnússon realized how valuable the explicit in AM 113 a fol is with regard to the narrative's claim to authenticity, its authorization function for the whole narrative, and its creation of a cultural memory of the early history of Iceland. This is why Árni Magnússon himself copied the explicit from AM 113 a fol (Figure 2) into AM 113 b fol (Figure 9) when he got hold of Jón Erlendsson's second autograph.

Furthermore, Árni Magnússon considered this second manuscript produced by Jón Erlendsson to be a more exact copy of the ostensible medieval exemplar he never saw. He thus used B to denote AM 113 a fol and A to denote AM 113 b fol (*Íslendingabók*: xliv–xlix). This hierarchical assessment of AM 113 b fol was solely based on how archaic the scriptographical features of this paper manuscript seemed to him. In

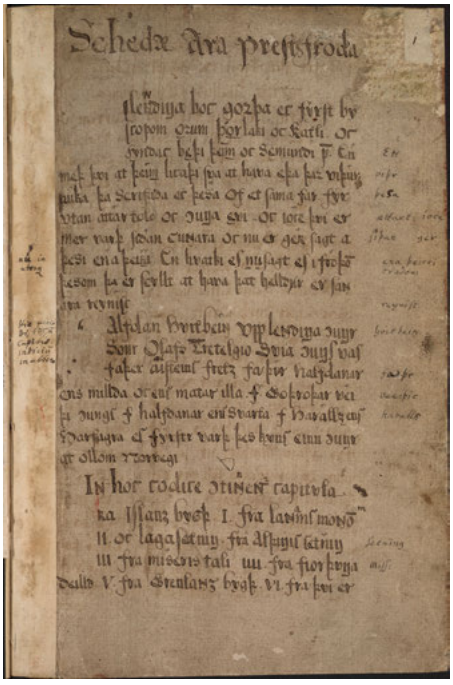


Figure 8: AM 113 b fol, fol. 1r.

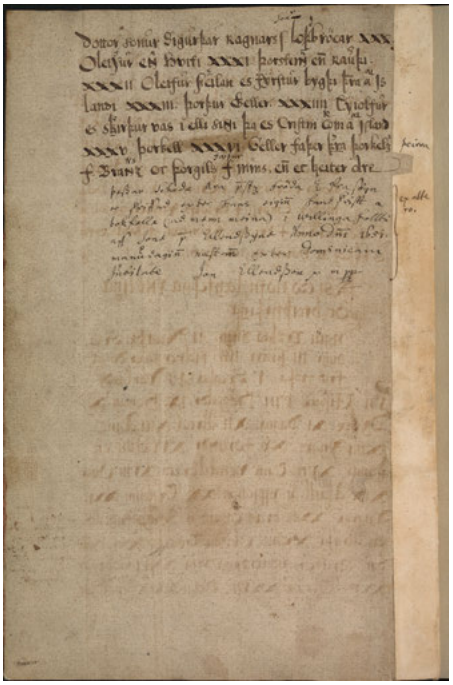


Figure 9: AM 113 b fol, fol. 10v.

order to make AM 113 b fol into a valuable source with the same authority as AM 113 a fol, he had to add the explicit, which he therefore copied verbatim, including the *per manu propria* and Jón Erlendsson signature (Figure 10). This can be read as a scholarly or editorial mode of modifying both the actual artefact of the manuscript and the text that material artefact contains. Árni Magnússon did not only hierarchically classify these two manuscripts on the basis of how old the texts looked to him; he deliberately modified the manuscript AM 113 b fol by altering the extent of the text. One can argue, of course, that this can be seen as following the medieval practice of glossing or of commenting in the margin. Nevertheless, Árni Magnússon tried to complete and thereby to edit the very text version he considered to be older, which created, with regards to the explicit, a memory performance in the absence of the actual scribe. At the same time, this subsequent transmission through copying, which is highlighted in the manuscript by the sentence *ex altero* in the margin (Figure 10), creates a reminiscence of the manuscript AM 113 a fol, unintentionally emphasizing the dependence on the creation of memory in the original explicit.

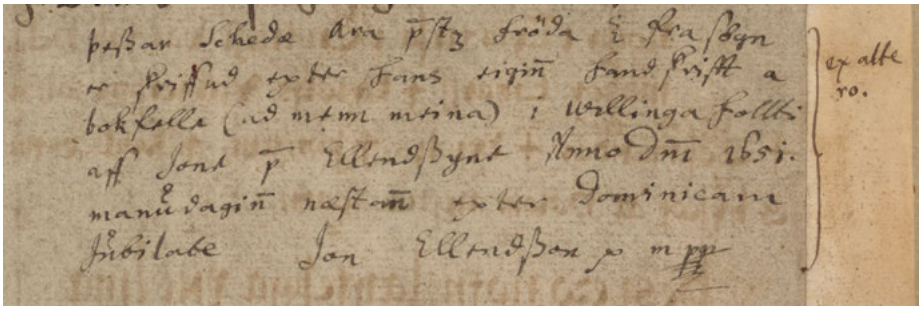


Figure 10: AM 113 b fol, fol. 10v (extract showing only the explicit).

In this context – and with regard to the title *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* and the explicit, which formed the main frame for the narrative and its diegesis in AM 113 a fol – it is interesting to note that we are not dealing merely with the textual medium of the manuscript. Title and explicit also found their way into early printed versions of the text.

The first printed edition was produced by the printing shop at Skálholt and published by Bishop Þórður Þorláksson in 1688, just thirty-seven years after Jón Erlendsson had produced the first manuscript containing *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* (Figure 12). In contrast to the manuscripts discussed above, the title of the first printed edition includes a short addition, as the title now reads *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island* (Figure 11). Thereby, the text itself (and not only the narrative presented in the text) becomes – for the first time in its history – explicitly marked with a quasi-national impetus, through a direct combination of the *schedae* with Iceland in the title of the printed book.

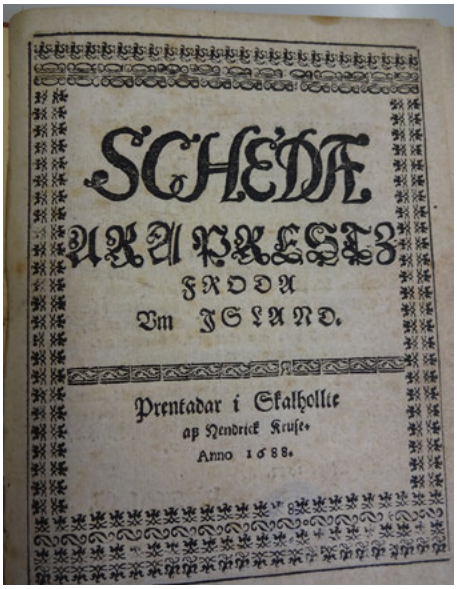

SCHEDÆ
ARA PRESTS
FRODA
Vm ISLAND.
Prentadar i Skalholltie
ap Hendrick Kruse.
Anno 1688.

Figure 11: First printed edition, *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island*, Skálholt, 1688, title page.[27]

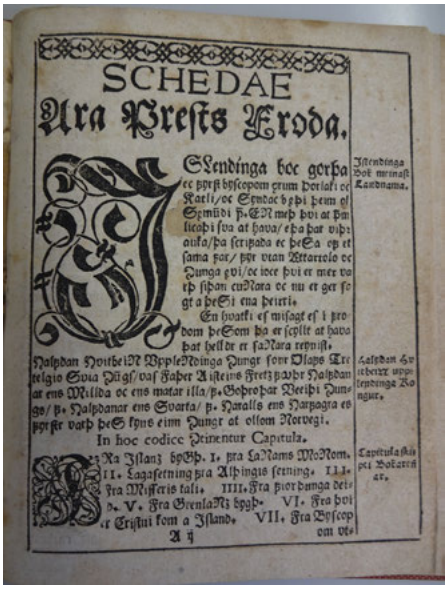

SCHEDÆ
Ara Prests Froda.

Figure 12: *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island*, p. 1.

On the bottom of page 14 (Figure 13), the explicit – originally and uniquely written by Jón Erlendsson as part of AM 113 a fol – is once again depicted, as AM 113 a fol was used as the setting copy for this first printed version of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*.

The last part of the text in the first printed edition from 1688 is still identifiable as a paratext due to the different size of the typeface (Figure 14). What was once an actual explicit in AM 113 a fol establishing the memory of when and where the manuscript was finished by Jón Erlendsson, and stating what people thought about the exemplar he used, becomes modified in the printed version, however. It is no longer the starting point of a memory that implies the existence of a supposedly medieval manuscript that was used as the exemplar. In its printed version, the explicit evoked the memory of a memory. The *per manu propria* abbreviation and the original signature seem to be totally out of place here, as it is materially evident that they are clearly not written by someone's own hand but printed with block letters. However, what once served as an explicit in AM 113 a fol did survive the medial modification from manuscript to printed book. This again shows that not only the manuscript, but in this instance the whole text of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* and the creation of cultural memory that goes along with its narrative, are authorized and historicized through this paratext at the end of

27 The photos of the first print were taken by the author.

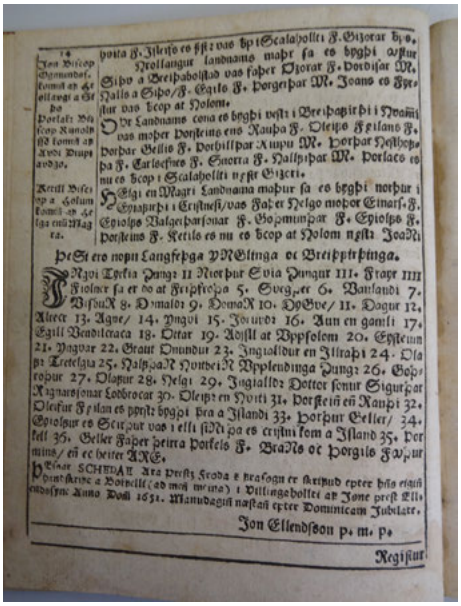


Figure 13: *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island*, p. 14.

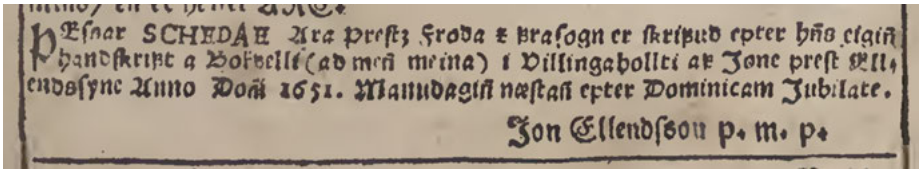


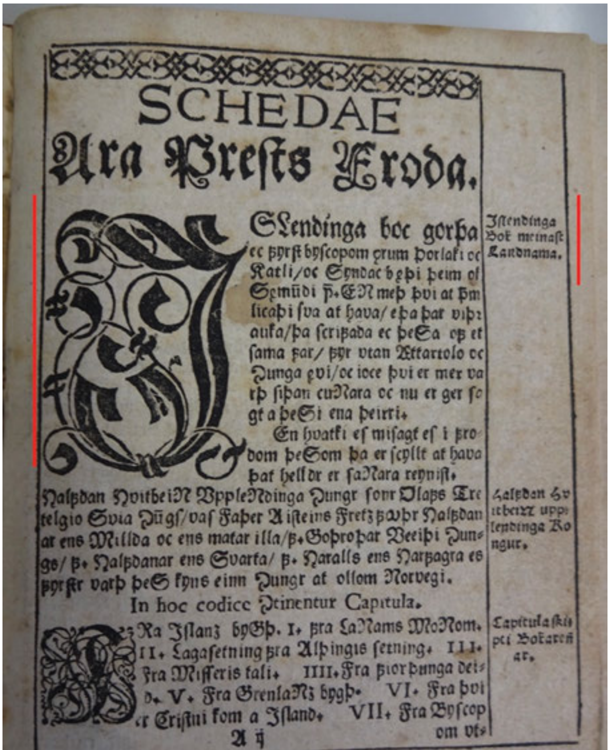
Figure 14: *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island*, p. 14 (extract showing only the explicit).

the body text. The explicit, which is – both in its content and style – clearly linked to a hand-written manuscript, is used in this first printed version of the narrative to reaffirm the creation of cultural memory with regards to the foundation myth and the supposed transmission of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*. In the case of the first printed version, the text passage depicting the explicit can no longer claim to be a reference to extradiegetic or even factual information, because the whole frame became a part of the main narrative when the paratexts of the printed version (such as the front page, the introduction, and the comments following the body text) singled out the body text *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* and its narrative to become an edited text, and thus became the central focus of the edition.

The equation of *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*

It might be argued that the publisher and the printer of the 1688 printed edition tried to recreate the manuscript AM 113 a fol as accurately as possible, just as we would expect a modern facsimile edition to do. But they altered too much in the actual text for such an argument to work.

Not only the initials at the beginning of chapters and paragraphs (Figure 15), which were not filled in throughout AM 113 a fol (Figure 1), but also marginalia (Figure 15), like glosses and comments, were added to the text of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*. The addition of initials and marginalia makes the text less ambiguous, as it fills in – with regards to both the material and the content of the text – the gaps that demanded some interpretative competence in AM 113 a fol. A very interesting clarification, which tries to explain the continuous text, can be found in the margin of page 1 of the first printed edition. The intradiegetic *Íslendinga bóc* is explained as *Islendinga Bok meinast Landnama* (Figure 15). Such an equation of *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*, The Book of Settlements, might seem


SCHEDAE
Ara Prests Froda.

ISlendinga boc gorþa ec fyrst byscopom orum Þorlaki oc Katli/oc Syndac bæþi þeim of Sæmūdi p. EN meþ þvi at þm licaþi sva at hava/ eþa þat viþr auka/þa scrifaða ec þeSa of et sama far/ fyr utan Ættartolo oc Kunga ævi/oc ioce þvi er mer va rþ siþan cuNara oc nu er ger sogt a þeSi ena þeirri.

En hvatki ef misagt ef i froþom þeSom þa er scyllt at hava þat helldr er saNara reyniſt.

Halfdan HvitbeiN UppleNdinga Kungr sonr Olafs Tretelgio Svia Kūgs/vaf Faþer Aisteins Fretz faþr Halfdan at ens Millda oc ens matar illa/f. Goþroþar Veeiþi Kungs/ f. Halfdanar ens Svarta/ f. Haralls ens Harfagra es fyrstr varþ þeS kyns einn Kungr at ollom Norvegi.

In hoc codice cōtinentur Capitula.

FRa Islanz byGþ. I. Fra LaNams MoNom. II. Lagasetning fra Alþingis setning. III. Fra Missiris tali. IIII. Fra fiorþunga deild. V. Fra GrenlaNz bygþ. VI. Fra þvi er Cristni kom a Island. VII. Fra Byscopom ut.

A ij

Islendinga Bok meinast Landnama.

Halfdan Hvitbeinn uppi lendinga Kongur.

Capitulaskipti Bokarennar.

Figure 15: *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island*, p. 1 (highlighting added).

strange to modern readers, but it looks as if in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the intradiegetic *Íslendinga bóc* was understood by recipients of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* not as being the text and narrative of the *schedae* itself but as another text, not included in *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*. At least the publisher thought of the intradiegetic *Íslendinga bóc* as referring to *Landnámabók*, which becomes an intertext to *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island*. An economically oriented explanation for the equation might be the fact that the first printed version of *Landnámabók* (*Sagan Landnama*) was separately published by Þórður Þorláksson at Skálholt alongside *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island*. However, as *Sagan Landnama* is based on the *Skarðsárbók* redaction[28] of *Landnámabók* (*Landnámabók*: xxxviii) discussed above, this first printed edition also contains the reference: *NU er farit yfer um landnam þav er verit ha=fa a Jslandi epter þvi sem froder men*[n] *skrifad ha=fa+ Fyist Are prestir hin*[n] *Froþi Þorgilssun/ z* [ok] *Kolskegor en*[n] *vitri [. . .]* (*Sagan Landnama*: 173) 'Now the account of the settlements of Iceland is completed, according to what wise men have written, first Ari prestr inn fróði and Kolskeggr inn vitri'. The marginalium next to this section reads: *Hvørier skri*[f]*ad hafi La*[n]*dnamo* 'Those who have written *Landnáma*'. The intertextual reference of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island* to *Sagan Landnama*, which is established as discussed above (Figure 15), not only creates a simple connection between these two first printed editions of the two narratives but also establishes the merely intradiegetically mentioned *Íslendinga bóc* of the *Schedæ* as a synonym for the original version of *Landnámabók*. The authorship of both texts – of the original *Landnámabók* and of *Íslendinga bóc*, which is only mentioned in the *Schedæ* – is thereby confirmed and reinforced. Nonetheless, the problem remains that both intradiegetically mentioned texts, the *Íslendinga bóc* and the co-authored, presumably original version of *Landnámabók,* are not accessible, since they exist only within the diegesis that creates them.

All of these paratextual features and frames found in *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island* are again to be found in the first edition containing a Latin translation, *Aræ Multiscii Schedæ de Islandia*, which was published by Christen Worm in Oxford in 1716 (Figure 16).

It is interesting to note that Worm inserted the word *Prologus* (Figure 17) after the Latinized title *Aræ Multiscii Schedæ de Islandia* on page 1 of the text. Thereby, Worm gives a new structure to the text, as not only the word *Prologus* becomes a new paratext to the body text, but, according to Genette's theory on paratextuality (Genette 1997: 161–293), the text part labelled and identified as prologue becomes perceptible in its entirety as a paratext. On the other hand, the intradiegetic title *Libellus Islandorum* is omitted in Worm's edition and translation. As a result, the text does not give

28 For a thorough discussion of which manuscripts were used to create *Sagan Landnama*, see *Skarðsárbók* (xxxiv–xxxvii).

ARÆ MULTISCII

SCHEDÆ

DE ISLANDIA.

ACCEDIT

COMMENTARIUS,

Et DISSERTATIO *de* ARÆ MULTISCII *Vita & Scriptis.*

OXONIÆ,

E THEATRO SELDONIANO.

An. Dom. MDCCXVI.

Figure 16: *Schedæ de Islandia*, front title page.

(1)

ARÆ MULTISCII SCHEDÆ

DE ISLANDIA.

PRÓLOGUS.

[1] Slendinga [2] boc gortha ec fyrst [3] Byscopom vorum [4] Þorlaki oc Katli, oc [5] syndac barþi theim oc Semundi [6] Presti. En merk thvi at theim [7] licaþ i sva at hava, etha thar vithr auka, tha scrifatha ec thessa of et sama fat, fyr utan [9] Ættartolo oc [10] Kunga [11] avi, oc ioce thvi et mer varth sithan cunnara, oc nu er gler sagt a thessi en a theirri.

En huatki es misagt es i [12] frodum thessom/ tha er scyllt at hava that heldr er sannara reinist.

I Slandorum librum confeci ego primum, Episcopis nostris Thorlako & Ketillo, & videndum obtuli tam illis, quam Sæmundo Sacerdoti, cum vero illis hæc placuisse viderem, & posse augeri viderem, tum scripsi hæc ejusdem generis, præter genealogias, & Regum vitas, & adjeci quæ mihi postea notiora, & nunc clarius dicta in his quam illis.

Quod vero est erratum in historiis hisce, æquum est habere illud potius quod vero propius.

Halfdanus

INTERPRETATIO.

Ut rem Episcopis nostris Thorlako & Ketillo gratam facerem, primo jam tum loco composueram libellum de inhabitatione Islandiæ, quem prædictis Episcopis uti & Sæmundo Sacerdoti videndum exhibui. Cum vero illis hunc placuisse animadverterem, quem augeri posse non ignorabam, hæc ejusdem generis conscripsi, præter genealogias & Regum vitas, eaque adjeci, de quibus postea fueram certior factus, & proinde luculentius in hoc quam isto opere dicta sunt.

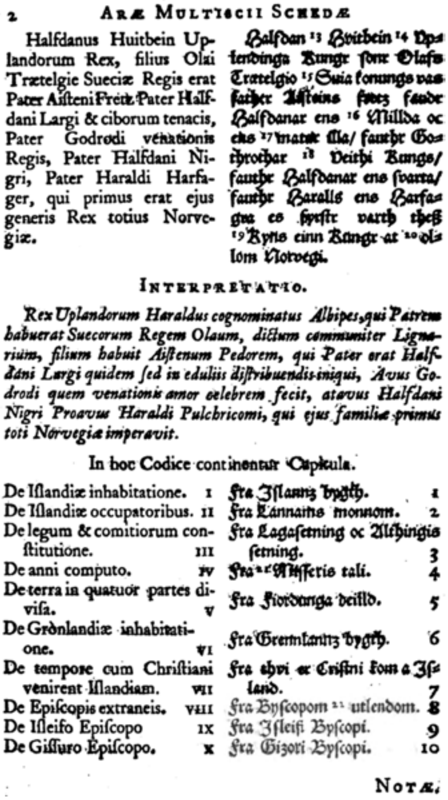
Inter illa vero, quæ in hisce dicta historiis, æquissimum erit ea seligere, quæ ad veritatem accedunt propius.

A *Rex*

Figure 17: *Schedæ de Islandia*, p. 1.

any indication of where the *Prologus* ends. However, as Worm's edition presents a vast amount of commentary notes after every section of the text (Figure 18), which together with the Latin translation expand the paratextual apparatus of the whole text, one can argue that the *Prologus* ends with (and includes) the table of content, as the second section begins with a subheading reading *Cap. 1* (Figure 19). Even though the title of the text in Worm's edition is translated into Latin and presented as *Aræ Multiscii Schedæ de Islandia*, it is still obvious that the text is remembered in the same way as it was in all the manuscripts and the first printed edition discussed above.

With the aid of a new paratextual element, the note number on page 1 (Figure 17) and its corresponding note on page 3 (Figure 20), Worm refers to Þórður Þorlákssons's reading of the intradiegetic *Íslendinga bóc* as being equivalent to the extradiegetic text known as *Landnámabók*, as found in the printed edition from 1688. The Latinized version of this equation solidifies the intertextual relationship between *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island* and *Landnámabók* on an international level. Worm also took the explicit from AM 113 a fol, which was printed in the Skálholt edition as part of the intradiegetic narrative, and moved it into the preface to the commentary


2 ARÆ MULTISCII SCHEDÆ

Halfdanus Huitbein Uplandorum Rex, filius Olai Trætelgie Sueciæ Regis erat Pater Aisteni Fretz Pater Halfdani Largi & ciborum tenacis, Pater Godrødi venationis Regis, Pater Halfdani Nigri, Pater Haraldi Harfager, qui primus erat ejus generis Rex totius Norvegiæ.

Halfdan [13] Hvitbein [14] Upplendinga Kungr sonr Olafs Trætelgio [15] Svia konungs vas fadhir Aisteins fretz faudr Halfdanar ens [16] Milda oc ens [17] matar illa/ faudr Godrodhar [18] Veidhi Kungs/ faudr Halfdanar ens svarta/ faudr Haralls ens Harfagra es fyrstr varth thess [19] Kyns einn Kungr at [20] ollom Norvegi.

INTERPRETATIO.

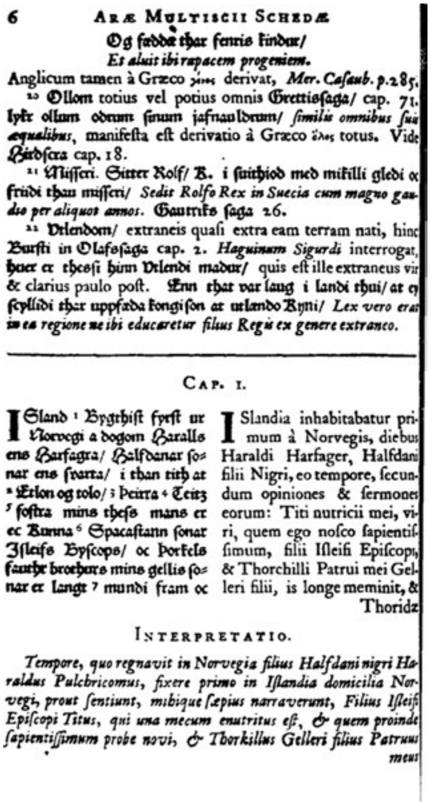
Rex Uplandorum Haraldus cognominatus Albipes, qui Patrem habuerat Suecorum Regem Olaum, dictum communiter Lignarium, filium habuit Aistenum Pedorem, qui Pater erat Halfdani Largi quidem sed in eduliis distribuendis iniqui, Avus Godrodi quem venationis amor celebrem fecit, atavus Halfdani Nigri Proavus Haraldi Pulchricomi, qui ejus familiæ primus toti Norvegiæ imperavit.

In hoc Codice continentur Capitula.

De Islandiæ inhabitatione.	I	Fra Islands bygth.	1
De Islandiæ occupatoribus.	II	Fra Landnams monnom.	2
De legum & comitiorum constitutione.	III	Fra Lagasetning oc Althingis setning.	3
De anni computo.	IV	Fra Missiris tali.	4
De terra in quatuor partes divisa.	V	Fra Fiordunga deilld.	5
De Grønlandiæ inhabitatione.	VI	Fra Grænlands bygth.	6
De tempore cum Christiani venirent Islandiam.	VII	Fra thvi er Cristni kom a Island.	7
De Episcopis extraneis.	VIII	Fra Byscopom [21] utlendom.	8
De Isleifo Episcopo	IX	Fra Isleifi Byscopi.	9
De Gissuro Episcopo.	X	Fra Gizori Byscopi.	10

NOTÆ.

Figure 18: *Schedæ de Islandia*, p. 2.


6 ARÆ MULTISCII SCHEDÆ

Og fœddi thar fenris kindir/
Et aluit ibi rapacem progeniem.

Anglicum tamen à Græco λύκος derivat, *Mer. Casaub. p.* 285.
[20] Ollom totius vel potius omnis Grettisaga/ cap. 71. lyfr ollum odrum fiurum jafnaulldrum/ *similis omnibus suis æqualibus*, manifesta est derivatio à Græco ὅλος totus. Vide Hirdskra cap. 18.
[21] Misseri. Sitter Rolf/ K. i sviithiod med mikilli gledi oc frudi thau misseri/ *Sedit Rolfo Rex in Suecia cum magno gaudio per aliquot annos.* Gautriks saga 26.
[22] Utlendom/ extraneis quasi extra eam terram nati, hinc Burfti in Olafsaga cap. 2. *Haguinum Sigurdi* interrogat, hver er thessi hinn Utlendi madur/ quis est ille extraneus vir & clarius paulo post. Enn thar var laug i landi thui/ at eg fyllidi thar uppfæda kongi son ar utlendo Kyni/ *Lex vero erat in ea regione ne ibi educaretur filius Regis ex genere extraneo.*

CAP. I.

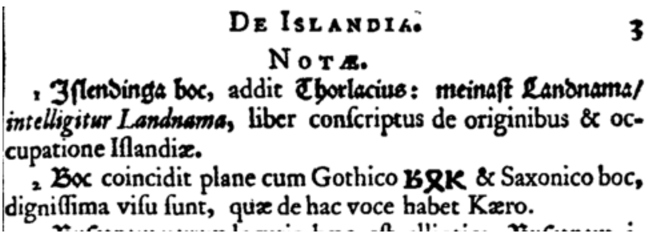
ISland [1] Bygthist fyrst ur Norvegi a dogom Haralls ens Harfagra/ Halfdanar sonar ens svarta/ i than tith at [2] Etlon og tolo/ [3] Þeirra [4] Teitz [5] fostra mins thess mans er ec Kunna [6] Spacastann sonar Isleifs Byscops/ oc Þorkels faudhr brodhurs mins gellis sonar er langt [7] mundi fram oc

ISlandia inhabitabatur primum à Norvegis, diebus Haraldi Harfager, Halfdani filii Nigri, eo tempore, secundum opiniones & sermones eorum: Titi nutricii mei, viri, quem ego nosco sapientissimum, filii Isleifi Episcopi, & Thorchilli Patrui mei Gelleri filii, is longe meminit, & Thoridz

INTERPRETATIO.

Tempore, quo regnavit in Norvegia filius Halfdani nigri Haraldus Pulchricomus, fixere primo in Islandia domicilia Norvegi, prout sentiunt, mihique sæpius narraverunt, Filius Isleifi Episcopi Titus, qui una mecum enutritus est, & quem proinde sapientissimum probe novi, & Thorkillus Gelleri filius Patruus meus

Figure 19: *Schedæ de Islandia*, p. 6.

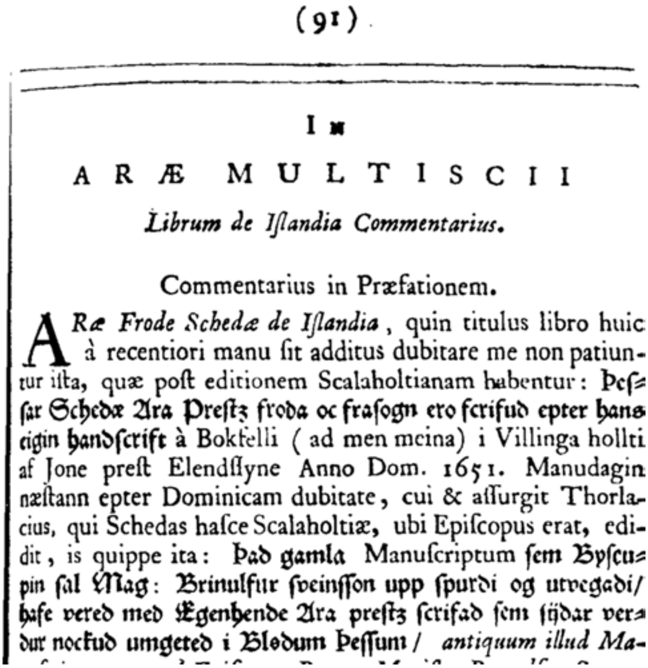

DE ISLANDIA. 3

NOTÆ.

1 Islendinga boc, addit Thorlacius: meinast Landnama/ *intelligitur Landnama*, liber conscriptus de originibus & occupatione Islandiæ.
2 Boc coincidit plane cum Gothico ᛒᚱᚴ & Saxonico boc, dignissima visu sunt, quæ de hac voce habet Kæro.

Figure 20: *Schedæ de Islandia*, p. 3 (extract showing only some commentary notes).

section of the edited and translated text (Figure 21). Hence, one of the framing elements of the text and of the narrative, as presented by Jón Erlendsson in AM 113 a fol, is lost in this edition. The reason why Worm excluded the explicit from his edition might be due to the fact that the commentary section states that this explicit was part of the Skálholt edition. It thus seems likely that Worm did not know about Jón Erlendsson's manuscript at all, and that he therefore was not able to verify the value of the


(91)

I N

ARÆ MULTISCII

Librum de Islandia Commentarius.

Commentarius in Præfationem.

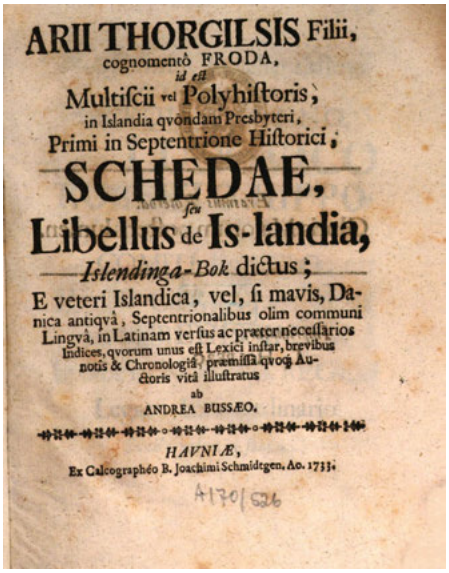
ARæ Frode Schedæ de Islandia, quin titulus libro huic à recentiori manu sit additus dubitare me non patiuntur ista, quæ post editionem Scalaholtianam habentur: Þessar Schedæ Ara Prests froda oc frasogn ero scrifud epter hans eigin handscrift à Bokfelli (ad men meina) i Villinga hollti af Jone prest Elendssyne Anno Dom. 1651. Manudaginn næstann epter Dominicam dubitate, cui & assurgit Thorlacius, qui Schedas hasce Scalaholtiæ, ubi Episcopus erat, edidit, is quippe ita: Þad gamla Manuscriptum sem Byskupin sal Mag: Brinulfur sveinsson upp spurdi og utvegadi/ hafe vered med Egenhende Ara prests scrifad sem sijdar verdur nockud umgeted i Blodum þessum / *antiquum illud Ma-*

Figure 21: *Schedæ de Islandia*, p. 91 (extract showing the preface to the commentary).

explicit. Nevertheless, Worm uses the explicit in the commentary section of his edition to reconfirm the Old Norse-Icelandic title attributed to the text and to the narrative, which he knows as *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða Um Island* (Figure 21). In addition, Worm's printed version of the explicit emphasizes the statement about the presumed author and about the original by highlighting this passage using a special font. Those passages in the explicit that refer to the completion of Jón Erlendsson's actual writing process are, however, set in the same font as the rest of the commentary. This procedure of using an older-looking print type shows a clear historization of part of the explicit, which also manifests itself paratextually.

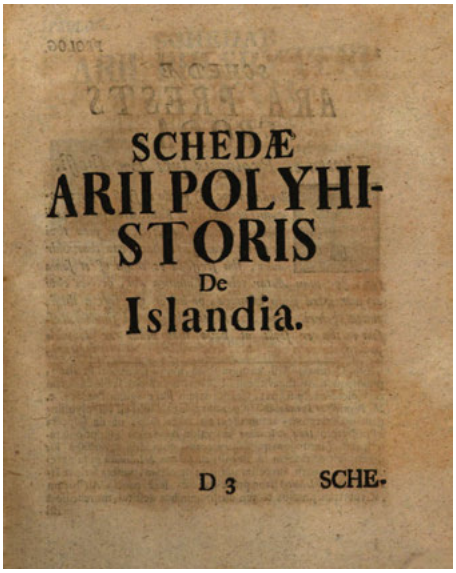
The third printed edition of the same text, which again includes a Latin translation, was published by Andreas Bussæus in Copenhagen in 1733.

Even though the front title page (Figure 22) of Bussæus' book includes the words *Schedae*, *Libellus de Is-landia*, and *Islendinga-Bok*, the bastard title page (Figure 23) and the first page of the actual text (Figure 24) refer to *Schedæ Arii Polyhistoris De Islandia* and *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* respectively. The equation of the three different designations established on the front title page is thus diminished or even contradicted on the following pages, as the body text is still referred to as *Schedæ Ara Prests Froda*, and is therefore labelled in the same way as in the manuscripts and the two printed editions discussed above. In contrast to Worm, Bussæus modifies the title's paratextual significance on page 2 by adding a footnote



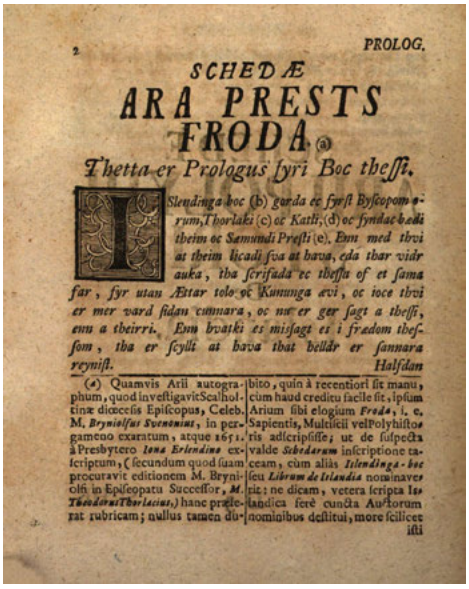
ARII THORGILSIS Filii,
cognomentò FRODA,
id eſt
Multiſcii vel Polyhiſtoris,
in Islandia qvondam Presbyteri,
Primi in Septentrione Hiſtorici,
SCHEDAE,
ſeu
Libellus de Is-landia,
Islendinga-Bok dictus;
E veteri Islandica, vel, ſi mavis, Danica antiqvà, Septentrionalibus olim communi Lingvà, in Latinam verſus ac præter neceſſarios Indices, qvorum unus eſt Lexici inſtar, brevibus notis & Chronologiâ præmiſſâ qvoq; Auctoris vitâ illuſtratus
ab
ANDREA BUSSÆO.
HAVNIÆ,
Ex Calcographéo B. Joachimi Schmidtgen. Ao. 1733.

Figure 22: *Schedae, seu Libellus de Is-landia*, front title page.



SCHEDÆ
ARII POLYHI-
STORIS
De
Islandia.
D 3 SCHE-

Figure 23: *Schedae, seu Libellus de Is-landia*, bastard title page.



2 PROLOG.

SCHEDÆ
ARA PRESTS
FRODA.

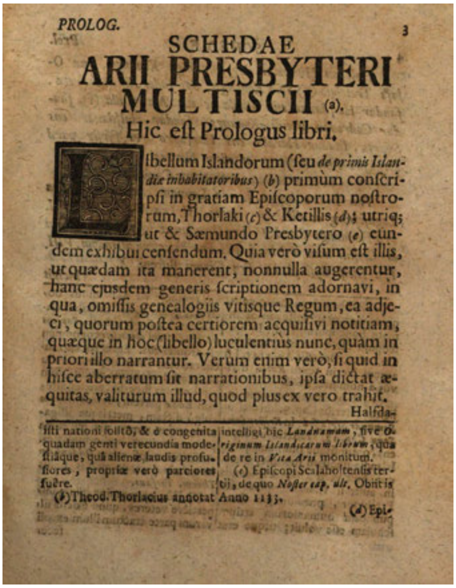
Thetta er Prologus fyri Boc theſſi.

Islendinga boc (b) gorda ec fyrſt Byſcopom-orum, Thorlaki (c) oc Katli, (d) oc ſyndac hedi theim oc Samundi Preſti (e). Enn med thvi at theim licadi ſva at hava, eda thar vidr auka, tha ſcrifada ec theſſa of et ſama far, fyr utan Ættar tolo oc Kununga ævi, oc ioce thvi er mer vard ſidan cunnara, oc nu er ger ſagt a theſſi, enn a theirri. Enn hvatki es miſſagt es i fræðom theſſom, tha er ſcylli at hava that beſtr er ſannara reynift. Halfdan

(d) Quamvis Arii autographum, quod inveſtigavit Scalholtinæ diœceſis Epiſcopus, Celeb. M. *Bryniolfus Svenonius*, in pergameno exaratum, atque 1651. à Presbytero *Iona Erlendino* exſcriptum, (ſecundum quod ſuam procuravit editionem M. Bryniolfi in Epiſcopatu Succeſſor, *M. Theodorus Thorlacius*,) hanc præfixerat rubricam; nullus tamen dubito, quin à recentiori ſit manu, cùm haud creditu facile ſit, ipſum Arium ſibi elogium *Froda*, i. e. Sapientis, Multiſcii vel Polyhiſtoris adſcripſiſſe; ut de ſuſpecta valde *Schedarum* inſcriptione taceam, cùm aliàs *Islendinga-boc* ſeu *Librum de Islandia* nominaverit: ne dicam, vetera ſcripta Islandica ferè cuncta Auctorum nominibus deſtitui, more ſcilicet iſti

Figure 24: *Schedae, seu Libellus de Is-landia*, p. 2.

stating that *Schedæ Ara Prests Froda* is the title known from the manuscripts, but he somewhat doubts that this exact designation was already used in Ari's autograph. Moreover, the front title page labels Ari as being *Primi in Septentrione Historici*, the first Nordic historian. By doing so, the front title page establishes both a geographical and a temporal beginning, using Ari as the point of reference for the memory of Old Norse-Icelandic history and historiographical writing. Furthermore, Bussæus also modifies the part of the text which – at least since Worm's edition – is known as the *Prologus*, as he embeds the Latin *Prologus* in an Old Norse-Icelandic phrase: *Thetta er Prologus fyri Boc thessi*. This unmarked modification in the Old Norse-Icelandic text thereby appears as if it was always a part of the original text written by Jón Erlendsson in AM 113 a fol or AM 113 b fol.



PROLOG. 3

SCHEDAE
ARII PRESBYTERI
MULTISCII (a).
Hic est Prologus libri.

Libellum Islandorum (seu *de primis Islandiæ inhabitatoribus*) (b) primùm conscripsi in gratiam Episcoporum nostrorum, Thorlaki (c) & Ketillis (d); utriq; ut & Sæmundo Presbytero (e) eundem exhibui censendum. Quia verò visum est illis, ut quædam ita manerent, nonnulla augerentur, hanc ejusdem generis scriptionem adornavi, in qua, omissis genealogiis vitisque Regum, ea adjeci, quorum postea certiorem acquisivi notitiam, quæque in hoc (libello) luculentiùs nunc, quàm in priori illo narrantur. Verùm enim verò, si quid in hisce aberratum sit narrationibus, ipsa dictat æquitas, valiturum illud, quod plus ex vero trahit.

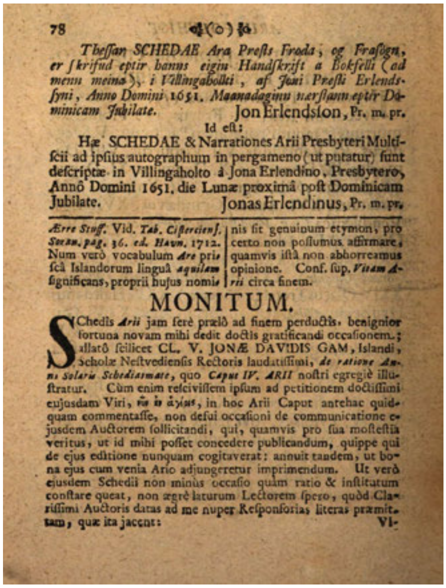
Halfda-

isti nationi solitò, & è congenita quadam genti verecundia modestiâque, quâ alienæ laudis profusiores, propriæ verò parciores fuêre.

(b) Theod. Thorlacius annotat intelligi hic *Landnamam*, sive *Originum Islandicarum librum*, qua de re in *Vita Arii* monitum.

(c) Episcopi Scalholtensis tertii, de quo *Noster cap. ult.* Obiit is Anno 1133.

(d) Epi-



78

Thessan SCHEDAE Ara Prests Froda, og Frasögn, er skrifud eptir hanns eigin Handskrift a Bokfelli (ad menn meina), i Villingaholti, af Joni Presti Erlendssyni, Anno Domini 1651. Maanadaginn nærstann eptir Dominicam Jubilate. Jon Erlendsson, Pr. m. pr.

Id est:

Hæ SCHEDAE & Narrationes Arii Presbyteri Multiscii ad ipsius autographum in pergameno (ut putatur) sunt descriptæ in Villingaholto à Jona Erlendino, Presbytero, Annô Domini 1651. die Lunæ proximâ post Dominicam Jubilate. Jonas Erlendinus, Pr. m. pr.

Ærre Stuff. Vid. *Tab. Cisterciens. Soran. pag.* 36. *ed. Havn.* 1712. Num verò vocabulum *Are* prisca Islandorum linguâ *aquilam* significans, proprii hujus nominis sit genuinum etymon, pro certo non possumus affirmare, quamvis istâ non abhorreamus opinione. Conf. sup. *Vitam Arii* circa finem.

MONITUM.

Schedis *Arii* jam ferè prælô ad finem perductis, benignior fortuna novam mihi dedit doctis gratificandi occasionem; allatô scilicet CL. V. JONÆ DAVIDIS GAM, Islandi, Scholæ Nestvediensis Rectoris laudatissimi, *de ratione Anni Solaris Schediasmate*, quo *Caput IV. ARII* nostri egregiè illustratur. Cùm enim resciviſſem ipsum ad petitionem doctissimi cujusdam Viri, ἐν ἐν ἀγίοις, in hoc Arii Caput antehac quidquam commentasse, non defui occasioni de communicatione ejusdem Auctorem sollicitandi, qui, quamvis pro sua modestia veritus, ut id mihi posset concedere publicandum, quippe qui de ejus editione nunquam cogitaverat: annuit tandem, ut bona ejus cum venia Ario adjungeretur imprimendum. Ut verò ejusdem Schedii non minùs occasio quàm ratio & institutum constare queat, non ægrè laturum Lectorem spero, quòd Clarissimi Auctoris datas ad me nuper Responsorias literas præmittam, quæ ita jacent:

Vi-

Figure 25: *Schedae, seu Libellus de Is-landia*, p. 3.

Figure 26: *Schedae, seu Libellus de Is-landia*, p. 78.

Bussæus' edition refers, just like Worm's did, to Þórður Þorláksson's reading of the intradiegetic *Islendinga boc* as equivalent to *Landnámabók* (see footnote b, Figure 26), but this topic is already critically discussed in the prepended chapter on Ari's life (*Schedae, seu Libellus de Is-landia*, *Islendinga-Bok dictus*: without page numbers). In contrast to Worm's edition, Bussæus' publication includes the explicit written by Jón Erlendsson in AM 113 a fol, which is even translated into Latin in the edition, but it is not discussed or commented on in any way (Figure 26). Hence, the framing of *Schedæ Ara Prests Froda* generating the memory and perception of the assumed medieval exemplar remains intact, even though the text of the *schedæ* is modified tremendously

by a vast amount of additional paratexts such as editorial and scholarly comments, a glossary, various prefaces, and instructions for the reception of the text.

From *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* to *Íslendingabók*

The change of name

The first written evidence of the intradiegetic text *Islendinga boc* becoming *Íslendingabók*, and as such the title for what once was known as *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*, can be found in one of Árni Magnússon's notebooks. Árni Magnússon always wanted to publish a scholarly edition of the text in question on the basis of all the AM 113 fol manuscripts he collected, using AM 113 b fol as the body text of the edition. It is probably no surprise to mention that Árni Magnússon never managed to finish this project of a scholarly edition of the collected AM 113 fol manuscripts.

The notebook in question, consisting of three volumes today, bears the shelfmark AM 254 8vo. According to the description of the manuscript on handrit.is, Árni Magnússon wrote the notebook between 1700 and 1725.

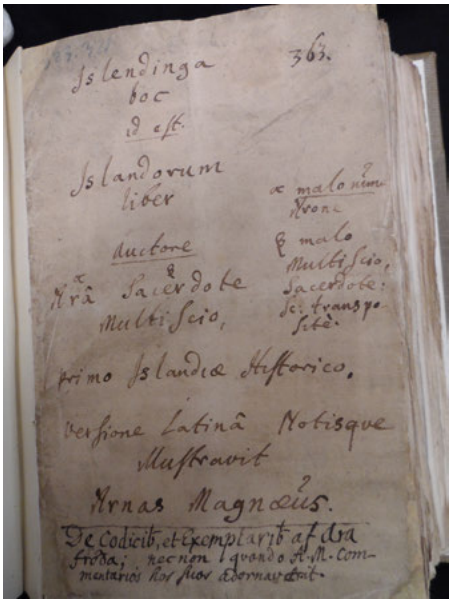


Figure 27: AM 254 8vo, fol. 1r.[29]

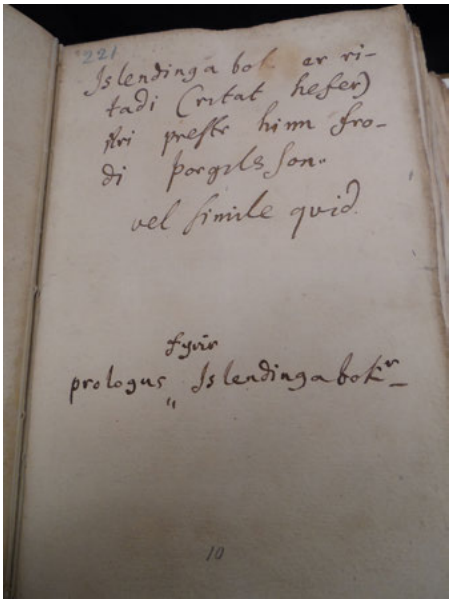


Figure 28: AM 254 8vo, fol. 10r.

29 All images of AM 254 8vo are my own.

On fol. 1r of the first volume of AM 254 8vo, Árni Magnússon seems to modify the whole notion of the text, as he calls it *Islendinga boc* (Figure 27). Further down the page, which is structured like the front title page of a printed book, Árni Magnússon labels *Ara Sacerdote Multiscio*, which seems to be his Latin translation of Ari prestr inn fróði, as *auctor*, which refers to the editor or the author of a text. Furthermore, he calls Ari *primo Islandiæ Historico*, the first Icelandic historian. By doing so, Árni Magnússon establishes Ari as the point of reference for Old Norse-Icelandic historical memory, at least in the semi-private context of a notebook, several years or even decades earlier than discussed for Bussæus' edition, which, of course, had a far more public outreach.

On fol. 10r (Figure 28), Árni Magnússon states that *Islendiga bok* was written (*er ritadi*) by Ari *vel simile quid* 'probably in a similar way'. It is uncertain here if this assessment of the similarity of the written text refers to the intradiegetic *Islendinga bok*, which according to the narrating Ari in the diegesis was a first version, or if it refers to the actual text and narrative from the *schedae*. Either way, this statement tries to close the temporal and factual gap between the *schedae* from the middle of the seventeenth century and a supposed medieval text written by Ari. According to his own notes, Árni Magnússon considered it appropriate to change the title to *Islendinga boc*, although all manuscripts and printed editions gave *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* as the title, since he assumed that it was an invention of Jón Erlendsson, since

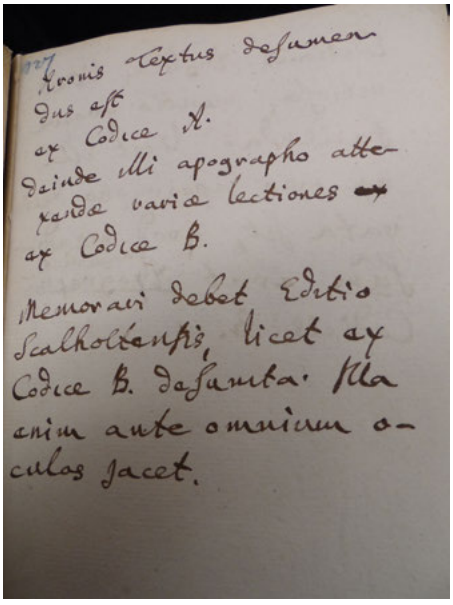


Figure 29: AM 254 8vo, fol. 25r.

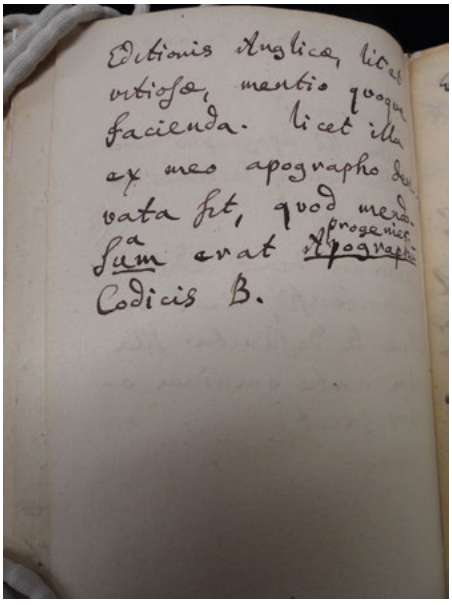


Figure 30: AM 254 8vo, fol. 25v.

the text itself referred to an *Islendinga boc*, and since the incipit heading referred to *Libellus Islandorum* (*Árni Magnússons Levned og Skrifter* 2: 21).[30]

On fol. 25r (Figure 29), Árni Magnússon comments on the two manuscripts AM 113 a and b fol, which he calls *Codice A* and *Codice B*, but Árni's A is AM 113 b fol and his B is AM 113 a fol, as he thought the later one (AM 113 b fol) presented a more archaic and thus a more original text, as mentioned before. On the same folio, Árni Magnússon also comments on the Skálholt edition from 1688, which he correctly identifies as being based on AM 113 a fol, and on fol. 25v (Figure 30) he comments on what he calls *Editione Anglicæ* (the English edition), which is Christen Worm's edition published in Oxford in 1716. He criticizes both editions for making use of AM 113 a fol instead of AM 113 b fol, which he thought to be closer to the archetype of the text. On the basis of these statements, one can see Árni Magnússon's argumentation, and his evaluation of manuscripts and their reliance on an autographical original or on a hypothetical archetype, as an anticipation of Lachmann's textual criticism.

In 1755, the scribe Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík, together with Bernhard Møllmann and Jón Sigurðsson, produced a manuscript today known as AM 411 fol. It is a posthumous attempt to create at least a manuscript version of Árni Magnússon's intended edition of what he called *Islendinga boc*.

In accordance with Árni Magnússon's notebook, the front title page of this manuscript (Figure 31) states that Ari Þorgilsson was the first Icelandic historian, and the text now called *Libellus de Islandia* is directly attributed to Ari in this function of mediating the early history of Iceland. Furthermore, the title page states that *Libellus de Islandia* was written almost six hundred years earlier in the Icelandic vernacular. This, of course, evokes the assumption that the narrative presented in this manuscript is a direct account of the early history of Iceland written down in the eleventh century. The fact that the narrative was originally mediated through a seventeenth-century manuscript written by Jón Erlendsson is, at least on the front title page, totally omitted. The starting point of the memory of the early history of Iceland, or rather of the narrated past as presented in AM 113 a fol on the basis of a supposed medieval manuscript, is thereby ignored. By mentioning Árni Magnússon as translator of the text, the front title page, on the other hand, builds a bridge between the eleventh century and the most recent past, elevating Árni Magnússon to the source of the Latin version of the memory created in the translation.

At the top of page 4 (Figure 32), which is the beginning of the Old Norse-Icelandic text in AM 411 fol, the scribe states that he copied the text from the Skálholt edition of 1688 to produce this manuscript. The fact that AM 113 a fol was used to produce this edition in memory of Árni Magnússon is not without a dash of irony, as it represents the exact manuscript Árni Magnússon thought to be a less good copy of the unknown exemplar, and which he thus called *B*. As Jón Ólafsson copied the text from the

30 I would like to thank one of the two anonymous peer reviewers for pointing this out to me.

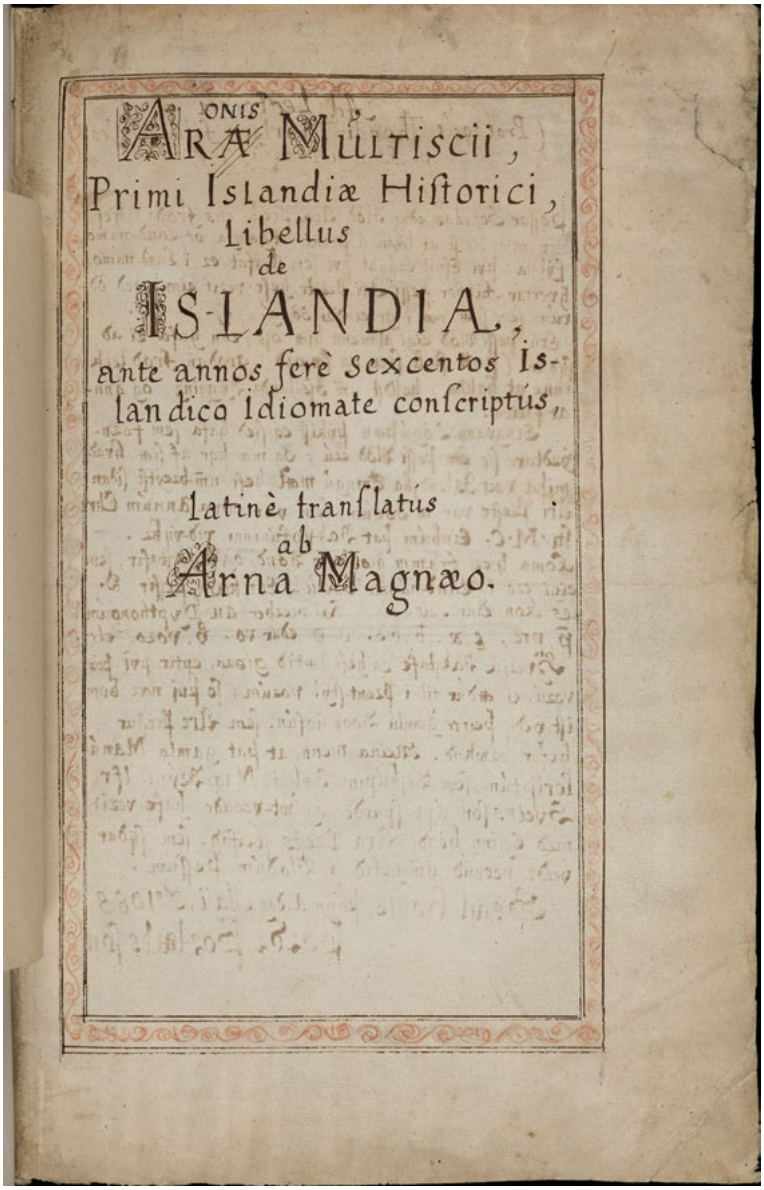

ONIS
ARÆ MULTISCII,
Primi Islandiæ Historici,
Libellus
de
ISLANDIA,
ante annos ferè sexcentos Islandico Idiomate conscriptus,
latinè translatus
ab
Árna Magnæo.

Figure 31: AM 411 fol, front title page.[31]

31 I would like to take this opportunity to thank Sigurður Stefán Jónsson who, at my request, professionally photographed the manuscript AM 411 fol. The copyright to the images is owned by *Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum*.

Skálholt edition, the Old Norse-Icelandic title reads *Schedae Ara Prests Fróða*. On page 5 (Figure 33), the facing Latin text following Árni Magnússon's translation does not provide a proper title but instead introduces the following text as being the *Prologus*. Consequently, the Latin version of the whole text or narrative anticipates its title with the front title page. *Libellus de Islandia* has thus to be interpreted as the Latin equivalent of the Old Norse-Icelandic *Schedae Ara Prests Fróða*.

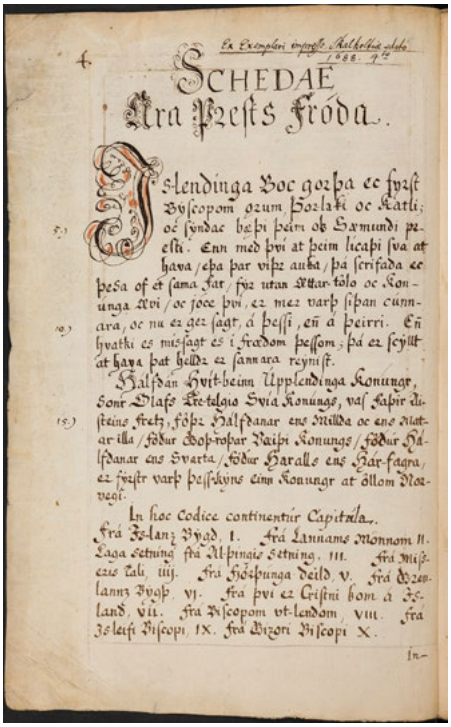


Figure 32: AM 411 fol, p. 4.

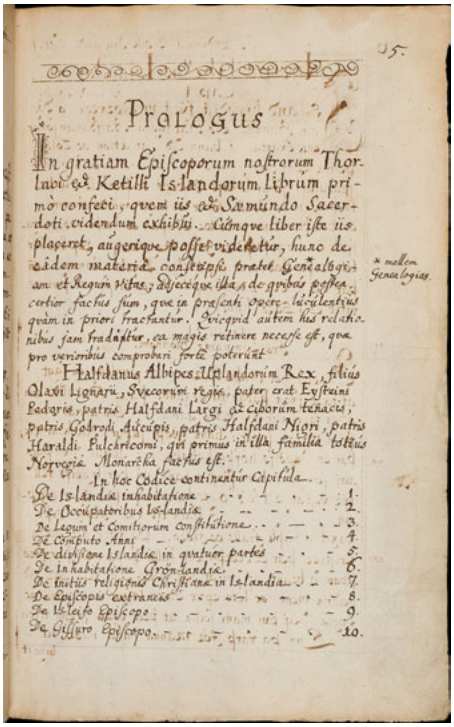


Figure 33: AM 411 fol, p. 5.

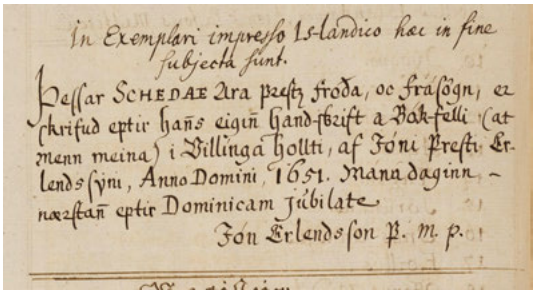


Figure 34: AM 411 fol, p. 44 (extract showing only the explicit).

On page 44 (Figure 34), where the register starts – it is adapted but not actually copied from the Skálholt edition – the explicit once written by Jón Erlendsson in AM 113 a fol appears again. The explicit is not translated into Latin in AM 411 fol, and there is no reference to be found to its original source, only to the first printed edition from 1688. Even though the explicit is presented scriptographically, written by Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík, the text no longer functions to produce the memory of the existence of a medieval exemplar, as the explicit written by Jón Erlendsson intended to, due to the exclusive reference to the printed version, in which both the *per manu propria* and the Jón Erlendsson signature became meaningless as credible statements.

In this bilingual edition of AM 411 fol, the body text is equipped with running titles:

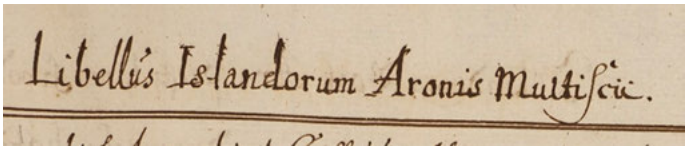


Figure 35: AM 411 fol, p. 23 (extract showing only the running title).

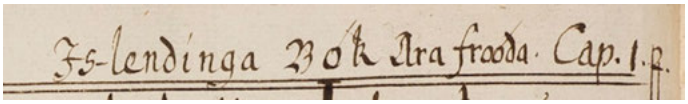


Figure 36: AM 411 fol, p. 6 (extract showing only the running title).

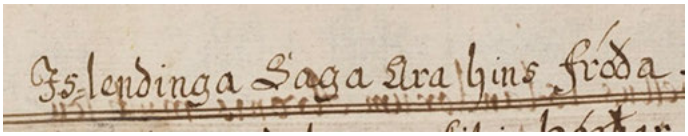


Figure 37: AM 411 fol, p. 16 (extract showing only the running title).

While the Latin titles always refer to *Libellus Islandorum Aronis Multiscii* (Figure 35), the scribe fiddled around with the Old Norse-Icelandic running titles. They change slightly on almost every page, from *Is-lendínga Bók Ara frooða* (Figure 36) to *Is-lendinga saga Ara hins fróða* (Figure 37). As Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík was, of course, very proficient with regards to both his skill as a scribe and his knowledge of Árni Magnússon's philological methods and high copying standards, these changes in the running titles do not appear to be made by mistake, but seem to function as an in-joke. Still, one can see Jón Ólafsson's awareness of how such running titles are meant

as paratextual labels for the whole text, or at least the text segment depicted on any given page.

The larger part of AM 411 fol consists of a rearrangement of Árni Magnússon's notes and comments on the text, mainly originating from Árni's notebooks, today known as AM 254 8vo (as discussed above).

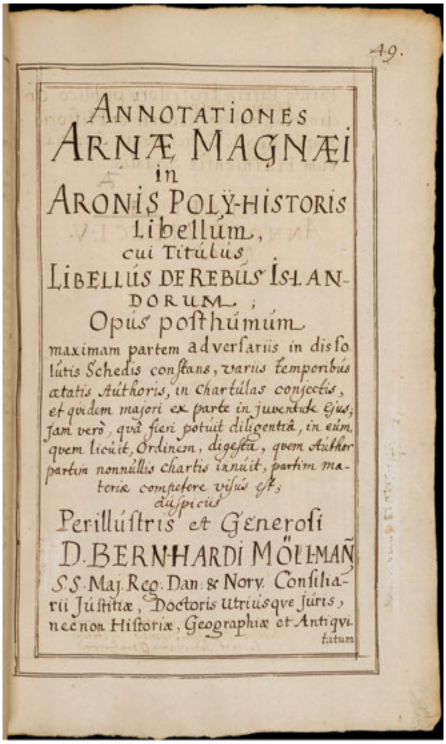

49.
ANNOTATIONES
ARNÆ MAGNÆI
in
ARONIS POLY-HISTORIS
Libellum,
cui Titulus
LIBELLUS DE REBUS ISLAN-
DORUM;
Opus posthumum
maximam partem adversariis in disso-
lutis Schedis constans, variis temporibus
ætatis Authoris, in Chartulas conjectis,
et quidem majori ex parte in juventute ejus;
Jam vero, qua fieri potuit diligentia, in eum,
quem licuit, Ordinem, digesta, quem Author
partim nonnullis chartis innuit, partim ma-
teriæ compleere visus est;
auspiciis
Perillustris et Generosi
D. BERNHARDI MÖLLMAN
S.S. Maj. Reg. Dan. & Norv. Consilia-
rii Justitiæ, Doctoris utriusque Juris,
necnon Historiæ, Geographiæ et Antiqvi-
tatum

Figure 38: AM 411 fol, p. 49.

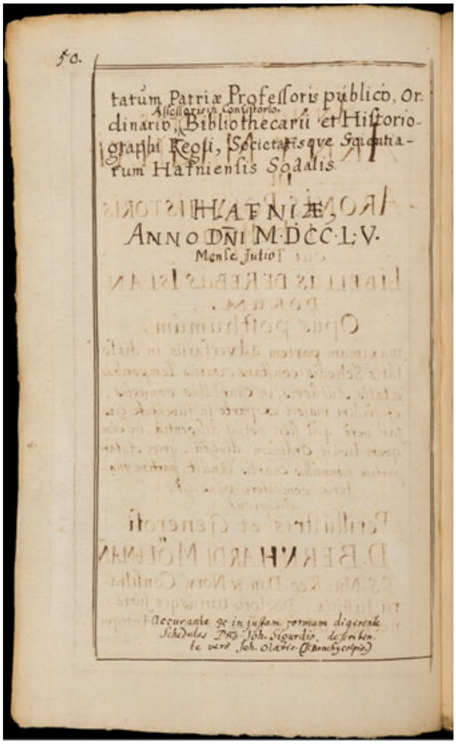

50.
tatum Patriæ Professoris publici, Or-
dinarii, Assessoris Consistorii, Bibliothecarii et Historio-
graphi Regii, Societatisque Scientia-
rum Hafniensis Sodalis.
HAFNIÆ,
ANNO DNI M.DCC.LV.
Mense Julio
Accurante & in justam formam digerente
Schedulas Dno Joh. Sigurdio, describen-
te vero Joh. Olavio (Grunnavico)

Figure 39: AM 411 fol, p. 50.

The title page (Figure 38) of this second part of the manuscript explicitly refers to the text on which Árni Magnússon's comments are based as *Libellus de Rerbus Is-landorum* 'The Booklet of Icelandic History', which is declared to be the *titulus* 'title' of *Aronis Poly-Historis Libellum* 'The Booklet of Ari the Polymath'. Furthermore, the title page's layout is structured in the fashion of a contemporary printed book, including a special mention and praise of Bernhard Møllmann. The verso page (Figure 39) includes a handwritten imprint with place and date of writing, and instead of the printer, Jón Sigurðsson and Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík are mentioned as the scribes. The title page, with its front matter and imprint, thus tries to mimic a printed book (cf. Rösli 2017). The actual beginning of the comments (Figure 40), on the other hand, explicitly refers to Árni Magnússon's autograph (AM 254 8vo) at the top of the page, and thus to the

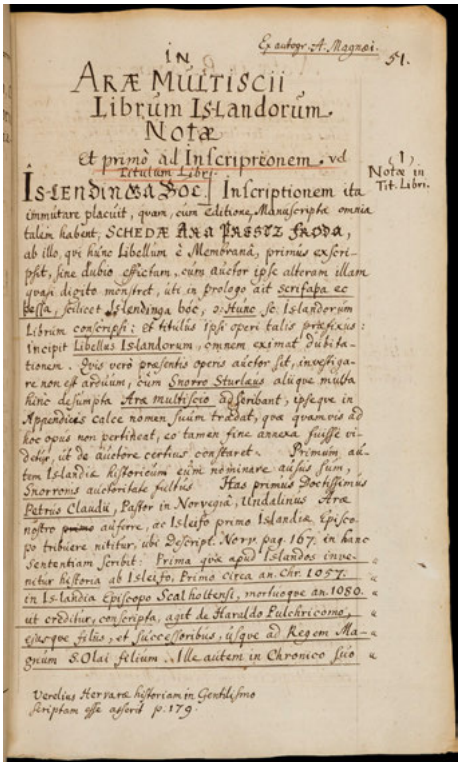

In
Ex autogr. A. Magnæi. 51.
ARÆ MULTISCII
Librum Islandorum
Notæ
et primò ad Inscriptionem, vel
Structum Libri.
(1)
Notæ in
Tit. Libri.
Îslendinga Boc Inscriptionem ita
immutare placuit, quam, cum Editione, Manuscripta omnia
talem habent; SCHEDÆ ARA PRESTZ FRODA,
ab illo qui hunc libellum è Membranâ, primus exscripsit, sine dubio effictam, cum auctor ipse alteram illam
quasi digito monstret, uti in prologo ait scripsa ec
hessa, scilicet Islendinga boc, i. Hunc sc. Islandorum
Librum conscripsi: et titulus ipse operi talis praefixus:
incipit Libellus Islandorum, omnem eximat dubitationem. Quis verò praesentis operis auctor sit, investigare non est arduum, cum Snorro Sturlaus aliique multa
hinc desumpta Ara multiscio adscribant, ipseque in
Appendicis calce nomen suum tradat, quamvis ad
hoc opus non pertineat, eo tamen fine annexa fuisse videbis, ut de auctore certus constaret. Primum autem Islandiae historicum eum nominare ausus sum,
Snorronis auctoritate fultus. Has primus Doctissimus
Petrus Claudii, Pastor in Norvegiâ, Hindalinus Ara
nostro primo asscribere, ac Isleifo primo Islandiae episcopo tribuere nititur, ubi Descript. Norv. pag. 167. in hanc
sententiam scribit: Prima quae apud Islandos invenitur historia ab Isleifo, Primo circa an. Chr. 1057.
in Islandia episcopo Scalholtensi, mortuoque an. 1080.
ut creditur, conscripta, agit de Haraldo Pulchricome,
ejusque filio, et successoribus, usque ad Regem Magnum S. Olai filium. Alle autem in Chronico sic
Vercelius Herrara historiam in Gentilismo
scriptam esse asserit p. 179.

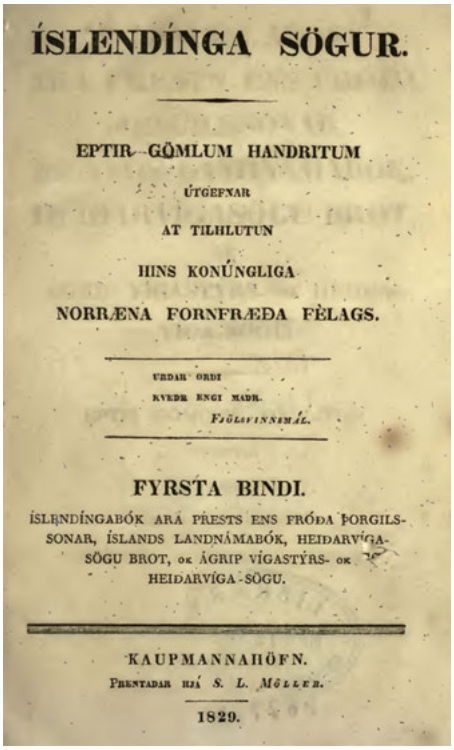
Figure 40: AM 411 fol, p. 51.

medium of the manuscript. Yet the most remarkable thing about this page is that the text or narrative it comments on is called *Librum Islandorum* as well as *Îs-lendinga Boc* (Figure 40). The comments further explain that there is no doubt about this title or about the author of the text, Ari inn fróði. The commentary, which is compiled on the basis of Árni Magnússon's notes, presents the same arguments for both the authorship of Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði and the authenticity of *Íslendingabók* as those arguments used by scholars today and discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

The stabilization and affirmation of *Íslendingabók*

Árni Magnússon's comments and his notion of *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* being the actual *Íslendingabók* had a huge influence on the two following editions, which were published more than one hundred years after Árni Magnússon's death.

In 1829, Þorgeir Guðmundsson and Þorsteinn Helgason published the first volume of *Íslendínga Sögur. Eptir Gömlum Handritum* in Copenhagen (Figure 41). The *Fyrsta Bindi* (vol. 1) of *Íslendínga Sögur* contains *Íslendíngabók Ara Prests Ens Fróða*


ÍSLENDÍNGA SÖGUR.

EPTIR GÖMLUM HANDRITUM

ÚTGEFNAR

AT TILHLUTUN

HINS KONÚNGLIGA

NORRÆNA FORNFRÆÐA FÉLAGS.

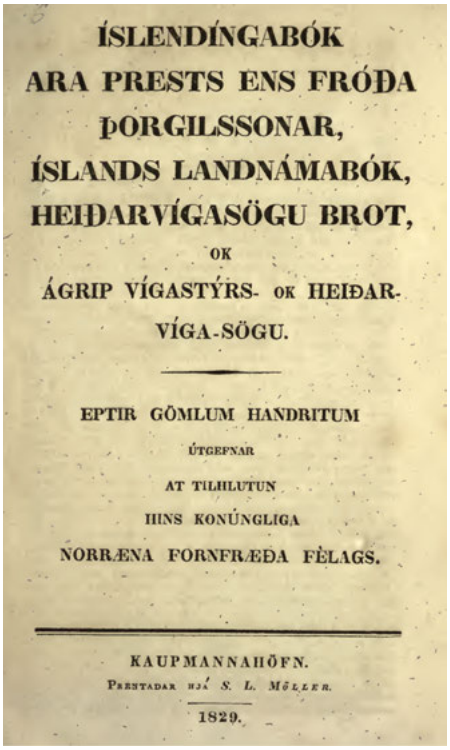
UÐAR ORÐI
KVEÐR ENGI MAÐR.
Fiölsvinnsmál.

FYRSTA BINDI.

ÍSLENDÍNGABÓK ARA PRESTS ENS FRÓÐA ÞORGILSSONAR, ÍSLANDS LANDNÁMABÓK, HEIÐARVÍGASÖGU BROT, OK ÁGRIP VÍGASTÝRS- OK HEIÐARVÍGA-SÖGU.

KAUPMANNAHÖFN.
PRENTAÐAR HJÁ *S. L. Möller.*
1829.

Figure 41: *Íslendínga Sögur* (1829), book series title page.


ÍSLENDÍNGABÓK
ARA PRESTS ENS FRÓÐA
ÞORGILSSONAR,
ÍSLANDS LANDNÁMABÓK,
HEIÐARVÍGASÖGU BROT,
OK
ÁGRIP VÍGASTÝRS- OK HEIÐAR-
VÍGA-SÖGU.

EPTIR GÖMLUM HANDRITUM

ÚTGEFNAR

AT TILHLUTUN

HINS KONÚNGLIGA

NORRÆNA FORNFRÆÐA FÉLAGS.

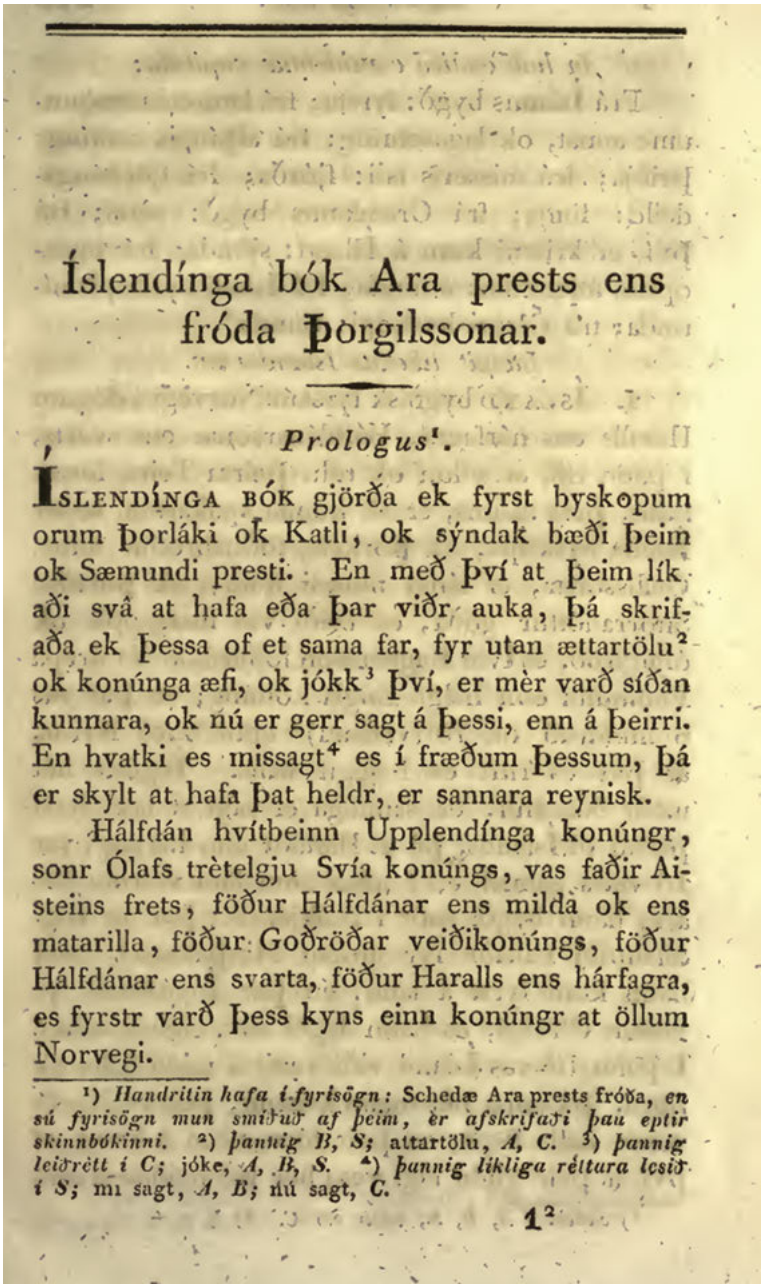
KAUPMANNAHÖFN.
PRENTAÐAR HJÁ *S. L. Möller.*
1829.

Figure 42: *Íslendínga Sögur* (1829), title page.

Þorgilssonar besides other texts such as *Íslands Landnámabók* (Figure 42). The juxtaposition of *Íslendíngabók* and *Landnámabók* on the title page demonstrates the fact that the intradiegetic *Islendinga boc* is no longer interpreted as a reference to *Landnámabók*, and that these two texts are instead single textual entities.

The first page of the body text (Figure 43) depicts the title *Íslendínga bók Ara prests ens fróda Þorgilssonar* followed by the subheading *Prologus*, which has a footnote marker referring to the fact that the manuscripts transmitted the title of the text as *Schedæ Ara prests fróða*. Hence, the footnote, at least, still creates a memory of the actual title once used in the oldest extant manuscript of the narrative produced by Jón Erlendsson.

In 1843, the famous politician, historian, and philologist Jón Sigurðsson produced a new edition of the text, published in Copenhagen as part of the first volume of *Íslendínga Sögur* (Figure 44). In his edition, the title of the narrative in question simply reads *Íslendíngabóc* (Figure 45), which has a note stating again that the manuscripts transmitted the title attributed to the narrative as *Schedæ Ara prests fróða*. In Jón Sigurðsson's comments on the designation *Schedæ Ara prests fróða*, the historical



Íslendínga bók Ara prests ens fróda Þorgilssonar.

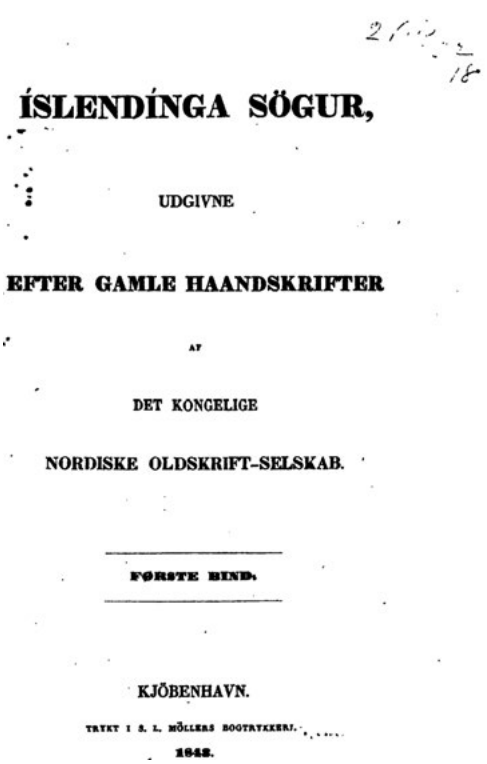
Prologus[1].

Íslendínga bók gjörða ek fyrst byskopum orum Þorláki ok Katli, ok sýndak bæði þeim ok Sæmundi presti. En með því at þeim líkaði svá at hafa eða þar viðr auka, þá skrifaða ek þessa of et sama far, fyr utan ættartölu[2] ok konúnga æfi, ok jókk[3] því, er mèr varð síðan kunnara, ok nú er gerr sagt á þessi, enn á þeirri. En hvatki es missagt[4] es í fræðum þessum, þá er skylt at hafa þat heldr, er sannara reynisk.

Hálfdán hvítbeinn Upplendínga konúngr, sonr Ólafs trètelgju Svía konúngs, vas faðir Aisteins frets, föður Hálfdánar ens milda ok ens matarilla, föður Goðröðar veiðikonúngs, föður Hálfdánar ens svarta, föður Haralls ens hárfagra, es fyrstr varð þess kyns einn konúngr at öllum Norvegi.

[1]) *Handritin hafa í fyrisögn:* Schedæ Ara prests fróða, *en sú fyrisögn mun smíðuð af þeim, èr afskrifaði þau eptir skinnbókinni.* [2]) *þannig B, S;* attartölu, *A, C.* [3]) *þannig leiðrètt í C;* jóke, *A, B, S.* [4]) *þannig líkliga réttara lesið í S;* mi sagt, *A, B;* nú sagt, *C.*

Figure 43: *Íslendínga bók Ara prests ens fróda Þorgilssonar* in *Íslendínga Sögur* (1829), p. 1.



ÍSLENDÍNGA SÖGUR,

UDGIVNE

EFTER GAMLE HAANDSKRIFTER

AF

DET KONGELIGE

NORDISKE OLDSKRIFT-SELSKAB.

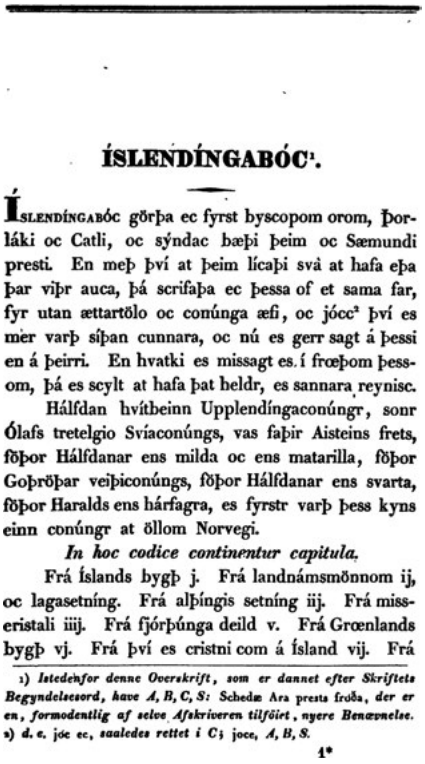
FØRSTE BIND.

KJÖBENHAVN.

TRYKT I S. L. MÖLLERS BOGTRYKKERI.

1843.

Figure 44: *Íslendínga Sögur* (1843), front title page.



ÍSLENDÍNGABÓC[1].

Íslendíngabóc görþa ec fyrst byscopom orom, Þorláki oc Catli, oc sýndac bæþi þeim oc Sæmundi presti. En meþ því at þeim lícaþi svá at hafa eþa þar viþr auca, þá scrifaþa ec þessa of et sama far, fyr utan ættartölo oc conúnga æfi, oc jócc[2] því es mer varþ síþan cunnara, oc nú es gerr sagt á þessi en á þeirri. En hvatki es missagt es. í frœþom þessom, þá es scylt at hafa þat heldr, es sannara reynisc.

Hálfdan hvítbeinn Upplendíngaconúngr, sonr Ólafs tretelgio Sváconúngs, vas faþir Aisteins frets, föþor Hálfdanar ens milda oc ens matarilla, föþor Goþröþar veiþiconúngs, föþor Hálfdanar ens svarta, föþor Haralds ens hárfagra, es fyrstr varþ þess kyns einn conúngr at öllom Norvegi.

In hoc codice continentur capitula.

Frá Íslands bygþ j. Frá landnámsmönnom ij, oc lagasetníng. Frá alþíngis setníng iij. Frá missseristali iiij. Frá fjórþúnga deild v. Frá Grœnlands bygþ vj. Frá því es cristni com á Ísland vij. Frá

1) *Istedenfor denne Overskrift, som er dannet efter Skriftets Begyndelsesord, have A, B, C, S:* Schedæ Ara prests fróða, *der er en, formodentlig af selve Afskriveren tilföiet, nyere Benævnelse.*
2) *d. e.* jóc ec, *saaledes rettet i C;* joce, *A, B, S.*

1*

Figure 45: *Íslendíngabóc* in *Íslendínga Sögur* (1843), p. 1.

context of the manuscript tradition is totally twisted, as he states that this was a "nyere Benævnelse" (more recent designation).

It probably needs no further explanation that the explicit once written by Jón Erlendsson stating that the text and narrative in AM 113 a fol are based on a medieval manuscript or even on Ari Þorgilsson's autograph is not used in either of these two editions from the first part of the nineteenth century. As both these editions tried to produce something similar to a text-critical edition, depicting a supposedly medieval text or even some form of archetype, they had no use for such a sceptical explicit that scrutinized the originality of the narrative in question.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*, a text from the mid-seventeenth century, was paratextually modified to become *Íslendingabók*, a narrative today associated with the first historical writing in Old Norse. It should be emphasized at this point that the question is not whether or not the seventeenth-century text was based on a medieval exemplar, since it is of course possible that a later manuscript is a direct copy of a much earlier one, or whether the narrative conveys historical facts or not, but how the attitude towards this narrative changed during the modifications made.

A narratological reading of the manuscript tradition and transmission of the *Schedæ* has given evidence that the intradiegetically mentioned *Íslendingabók* has not been interpreted as the actual text depicted on the folios of the manuscript. By analysing the manuscript tradition, it becomes obvious that the *Íslendingabók* in the continuous text was never perceived as something accessible by the reader. Consequently, the manuscripts discussed here always evoked a memory of *Íslendingabók* as a text that only existed as part of the diegesis produced in *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*. At the beginning of the transmission in the second half of the seventeenth century, *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* and its content were authorized through an explicit written by Jón Erlendsson in AM 113 a fol, the oldest accessible manifestation of this narrative. The explicit's purpose, as has been shown, was to authorize the continuous text as a copy of a lost medieval autograph and, in addition, to stylize the text in the manuscript as the carrier of a created cultural memory of the earliest history of Iceland by means of a quasi-medieval narrative, allegedly written by an intertextually well-known character called Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði. The same explicit was used in other copies of the text and even in printed editions to create a memory of a supposed medieval manuscript on which the narrative they contained was based. Árni Magnússon realized that the explicit was of uttermost importance in the case of the *Schedæ* in order to be able to pass the narrative off as medieval even if it was written in seventeenth-century paper manuscripts. Therefore, he copied the explicit into the manuscript AM 113 b fol, which he considered to be a better copy of the assumed autograph he had never seen. Furthermore, the explicit was completely transferred both into other manuscripts and into the first three printed editions. The fact that even Jón Erlendsson's signature and the abbreviated reference he made to his own handwriting were copied shows how important the explicit was for authorizing the narrative. However, the fact that the actual meaning of the explicit as a form of imprint and the memory generated by it were lost in the process seemed to be of secondary importance.

During the medial transfer of the narrative into print, further paratextual changes can be observed, which were aimed at presenting the *Schedæ* as a text by Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði and as an original report on Icelandic early history. In the printed editions, the narrative is not only integrated into a quasi-national discourse through

the addition of *um Ísland* to the title of the text; it is also placed in an intertextual context that increases the national-historical significance of the *Schedæ* by referring to the fact that the intradiegetically mentioned *Íslendingabók* actually refers to the *Landnámabók* or its original manifestation co-authored by Ari.

It was Árni Magnússon's scholarly work on *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*, accompanied by paratextual, medial, scholarly, or editorial and mnemonic changes to the text, which initiated the renaming of the text and its narrative. Only by adapting the title to the otherwise only intradiegetically comprehensible text *Íslendingabók*, by naming Ari as the official author of this now also extradiegetically accessible *Íslendingabók*, and by stylizing Ari as the first Icelandic historian did Árni Magnússon create what we know today as *Íslendingabók*. Since Árni Magnússon's re-evaluation of the *Schedæ* was done solely on a handwritten basis, it was not until the medial transformation into print that this newly created *Íslendingabók* with all its quasi-historical, national, and memory-creating implications was able to assert itself. These modifications were finally concluded in the nineteenth century by Icelandic scholarly editors, and the acceptance of the existence of a text called *Íslendingabók* became reality. This notion of the text is still very much alive today, and scholarly studies are done on this purportedly medieval *Íslendingabók,* a text supposedly written by an author known as Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði, and bearing the title of an intradiegetic text known from a mid-seventeenth-century text called *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða*.

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Personal name Index

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Manuscript Index

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