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# Icelandic society and subscribers to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðurlanda*

SILVIA HUFNAGEL

Literary criticism often focuses on authors and the production and meaning of literature, but tends to ignore its actual reception. Research in the fields of history of the book and the sociology of literature has a similar focus but also focuses on the dissemination and reception of literature, and on its wider context.<sup>1</sup> Gunnar Hansson is one scholar who focuses on the reception of literature, in particular on what kind of literature was most popular at a certain point in history, what impact it had on readers and how the readers' reactions to it changed over the course of time.<sup>2</sup> This study takes a similar approach, considering the subscribers to Carl Christian Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðurlanda* and their socio-historic background as a reflection of Icelandic society when the printed medium was in the process of superseding the hand-written medium. Jürg Glauser and Matthew James Driscoll briefly mention the list of subscribers to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðurlanda*,<sup>3</sup> but a more detailed investigation has not yet been undertaken. This article seeks to rectify this situation.

Rafn published his three-volume edition in Copenhagen in 1829–30 after having advertised it in 1827 and again in 1828.<sup>4</sup> With the title he coined the term for the literary genre of sagas (*sögur*) that are set in the northern countries (*norðurlönd*) in ancient times (*fornöld*), i.e. before Iceland's settlement. These sagas were extremely popular in post-Reform-

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the sociology of literature, see for example Furuland and Svedjedal, eds., *Litteratursociologi*. On research into book history, see for example Weedon, ed., *The history of the book in the West*, and Eliot and Rose, eds., *A companion to the history of the book*.

<sup>2</sup> See Hansson, "Läsarnas litteraturhistoria—när, hur och varför?"

<sup>3</sup> See Glauser, "Spätmittelalterliche Vorleseliteratur", 422, and Driscoll, "Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda", 260.

<sup>4</sup> See Rafn, "Súbskripziónsplan" and "Fornaldar sögur norðurlanda".

ation Iceland, as can be seen in the wealth of manuscripts containing the sagas and the increasing amount of research on them during the last three decades.<sup>5</sup> Most of the *fornaldarsögur* had already been published in Sweden; individually during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and then in Erik Julius Björner's *Nordiska kämpa dater* in Stockholm in 1737. It was Rafn's edition that proved to be most influential, however, as it was more easily available than Björner's or the other Swedish editions. Three popular editions of the *fornaldarsögur* were based on it. The latest of these in particular, the four-volume set by Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík, 1950), has been used by many scholars as the source of their research.

A study of the Icelandic readership of Rafn's influential edition and this readership's socio-historic background at the time of its publication will give valuable information on the reading society during that period, which was one when distinctive changes in the production and transmission of *fornaldarsögur* took place. The list of subscribers published on pp. 771–779 in the third volume of the edition is used as the source of information about the edition's readers in the absence of other sources describing the edition's benefactors or audience.

There are 305 subscribers on the list, ordered alphabetically and according to their country of residence. They are listed with their full name, profession and/or title and place of residence, most of them from Central and Northern Europe. Forty-four (one seventh) were institutions, for example the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (*Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien*) in Sweden and the University Library (*Universitätsbibliothek*) of Kiel, Germany. All of these institutions were outside Iceland and most of them were libraries. Of the subscribers, 152 (one half) lived in Iceland.

Subscribers outside Iceland were often political and social leaders or otherwise high-ranking members of society in their country of residence. Several of them, for example the royal house of Denmark, were presumably honorary members of The Royal Society of Northern Antiquities (*Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab*) and did not actively order a copy

<sup>5</sup> There are 37 extant manuscripts from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, 195 from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, 225 from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and 118 from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Of the latter, 34 were written before the publication of Rafn's edition and 57 afterwards. Manuscript production in Iceland was already in decline in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the comparatively large number of 57 manuscripts from after 1830 might indicate that Rafn's edition acted as some form of stimulus. Only dated manuscripts are taken into account. There are at least 213 undated manuscripts extant that are not mentioned here. For a list of manuscripts containing *fornaldarsögur* and a bibliography, see Driscoll and Hufnagel, "Fornaldarsögur norðurlanda".

of the edition. In Denmark there were 63 subscribers, including the royal family and 12 institutions. 16 subscribers worked in the judicial, political and administrative sector, nine were teachers or headmasters, two were professors, and two others were students. We also find aristocrats and officers in the armed forces, pastors, two bishops, a medical doctor, a shop owner and even a bookseller on Rafn's list. Among these are well-known names such as N.F.S. Grundtvig and Rasmus Rask. In Norway, there were 34 subscribers, six of which (one fifth) were institutions. The majority of the subscribers either worked in the judicial, political and administrative sector, belonged to the church, or were students. Others include a painter, a shop owner and a pharmacist. There were two governors and a bishop, i.e. men holding the highest positions in the political and ecclesiastical spheres at that time in Norway. In Sweden the situation is similar. Four of the 12 subscribers (one quarter) were institutions. The remaining eight seem to have been high-ranking individuals. Outside Scandinavia, the majority of subscribers were institutions, and the remaining subscribers were, again, high-ranking persons or scholars. One of Germany's subscribers was Jacob Grimm. He and his brother Wilhelm annotated their copy of Rafn's edition heavily<sup>6</sup> and their interest in Nordic mythology can be clearly seen in their annotations: they often underlined the names of saga characters, or of gods, and phrases about supernatural beings and objects. In the margins they noted references to other works of literature and history, for example the *Nibelungenlied*.

In order to consider the social status of subscribers to Rafn's edition in Iceland, the professions of the subscribers have been divided into four groups: administrative, ecclesiastical, agricultural, and other. The highest administrative office in Iceland at that time was that of governor (*stiftsamtmaður*), followed by two sub-governors (*amtmenn*) and a secretary (*amtskrifari*).<sup>7</sup> The president of the highest court, the *dómstjóri*, was the highest judicial officer, followed by two judges.<sup>8</sup> A sheriff (*sýslumaður*) presided over each county (*sýsla*), and an administrative officer

<sup>6</sup> Their copy is now in the Jacob-und-Wilhelm-Grimm-Zentrum of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

<sup>7</sup> The governor also served also as sub-governor for southern Iceland. In addition, there was one sub-governor for western Iceland, and one for northern and eastern Iceland. On paper there was therefore one governor and three sub-governors, but in reality only three persons. See Einar Laxness, *Íslandssaga*, a–k, 36–37.

<sup>8</sup> See Einar Laxness, *Íslandssaga*, a–k, 100.

(*hreppstjóri*) over each district (*hreppur*).<sup>9</sup> Each sheriff had a summoner (*stefnuvottur*) for assistance. The highest ecclesiastical office was, and still is, that of bishop. The provost was the next in rank, followed by the vicar and the assistant pastors; a deacon (*djákn*) was not fully ordained. The agricultural sector can be divided into land-owners, farmers, sub-tenants and cottars. A household manager (*ráðsmaður*) can probably be put on the same level as a farmer; below them were sub-tenants. Farmhands were on the lowest level, together with the cottars. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most of the farmers did not own their farms but had to pay rent for them and sometimes even for the cattle, if these were provided by the landlord.<sup>10</sup> Within the retail trade, there were shop owners or merchants (*kaupmenn*), shop managers (*faktorar*) and shop assistants (*verslunarmenn*). Within crafts, the standard division was between master craftsmen and apprentices.

Of the 152 subscribers, 39 (one quarter) held offices within the Church: the bishop, seven provosts, 30 pastors and assistant pastors, and one dean. 21 (one seventh) had an administrative profession: these include one sub-governor and one president of the high court, one secretary, five sheriffs, ten administrative officers, one summoner, one administrator and one conciliator (*forlíkunarmaður*). 55 (one third) had an agricultural profession: four were land owners, 42 farmers, one a household manager and eight farmhands. 13 (one tenth) were in business: six merchants, six shop managers and one shop assistant. The remaining subscribers were two doctors, a pharmacist, three teachers, five students, a cooper and an apprentice to a cooper, a bookbinder, a printer, a silversmith, and six teenagers (*unglingar*, literally “young people”). Two subscribers did not specify their profession, and one is simply stated to be a bread-winner (*fyrirvinna*).

This list shows that people from all social strata subscribed to Rafn’s *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda*, some holding the highest offices, many from the middle social sphere, and even some from the lowest, e.g. the cooper’s apprentice and the farmhands.<sup>11</sup>

It should also be noted that people of all ages were involved, ranging from teenagers, such as Eiríkur Árnason, a farmhand and probably 19

<sup>9</sup> *Maður* in sg., *menn* in pl.; *sýsla* in sg., *sýslur* in pl.; *hreppur* in sg., *hreppar* in pl. See Einar Laxness, *Íslandssaga*, a–k, 200–201 and l–ö, 176–179.

<sup>10</sup> See Magnús S. Magnússon, *Iceland in transition*, 30–33.

<sup>11</sup> Beggars and vagrants are not, however, found among the subscribers.



years old,<sup>12</sup> to elderly men, such as the clergyman Páll Hjálmarsson, born in 1752 and thus in his late 70s.<sup>13</sup> Although there are no women listed as subscribers, it might be the case that some of the subscribers ordered a copy of the edition for their wives or other women in their household. It is possible, for example, that Sigurður Brynjúlfsson of the farm Múli in Múlasýsla, eastern Iceland, ordered the edition on behalf of his mother Kristín Nikulásdóttir, one of the few female subscribers to *Fornmanna sögur*, a 12-volume edition of kings' sagas and similar works published in Copenhagen in 1825–37.<sup>14</sup>

Interesting patterns emerge as regards the social class and wealth of the subscribers in the various regions and counties of Iceland. The tax value of the subscribers' farms will here be used as an indication of their wealth. Of course this value is an approximation only; individuals could have supplemented their income with fishing or they could have inherited a fortune or lost their assets due to alcoholism or bad harvests. If such information is known, it will be taken into account. The tax value is measured in hundreds (h), one hundred being the equivalent to one cow or six sheep or 120 ells of homespun. An average-sized farm had a tax value of 20h.<sup>15</sup>

On the Westman Islands, four of the five subscribers were farmers on very small farms, while the fifth, a pastor, was also a subscriber to *Fornmanna sögur* and lived on a large farm with a tax value of 32.3h. This farm was also the largest on the islands, whereas the average farm there, at 8.3h, was very small.<sup>16</sup>

One subscriber lived in Rangársýsla; he was a pastor on a large farm and also a subscriber to *Fornmanna sögur*.

In Árnæssýsla there were four pastors and a provost, a sheriff, and

<sup>12</sup> The term *unglingur*, teenager, is used for teenagers between 13 and 18 years. In the 1835 census, an Eiríkur Árnason is listed as the 27-year-old farmer at Holtar, see Manntalsvefur Þjóðskjalasafns Íslands. If, as the evidence strongly suggests, this is the same person as the teenage subscriber from the farm Holtar, Eiríkur must have been 19 years at the time of subscription.

<sup>13</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV, 120–121.

<sup>14</sup> Volume III (1827) contains a list of subscribers; there were 760 subscribers in Iceland, of whom 68 subscribed to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda*.

<sup>15</sup> See Björn Lárusson, *The old Icelandic land registers*, 32–33, and Gísli Ágúst Gunnlaugsson, *Family and household*, 30, footnote 59. All tax values are taken from *Ný jarðabók fyrir Ísland*, which states the tax values for the year 1848.

<sup>16</sup> In *Ný jarðabók fyrir Ísland*, p. 10, there are 23 main farms registered for the Westman Islands, but half of the farms are divided up into smaller units with their own farm names and tax values, which leads to the actual count of 47 farms and an average tax value of 8.3h.

a student who was also a shop manager. Surprisingly, there were two commissioners in this county, although only 0.14% of the county's population subscribed to the edition.<sup>17</sup> All the subscribers' farms were either of average size or larger. All except one also subscribed to *Fornmanna sögur*.

In Gullbringusýsla, many of the 11 subscribers held high offices. These 11 were a bishop, the president of the high court, a pharmacist, two provosts,<sup>18</sup> a pastor, a printer, a shop manager, a teacher, and two students. There were no farmers among the subscribers, perhaps reflecting the rise in this county of Reykjavík as an administrative centre and its beginning as the capital of Iceland.<sup>19</sup> Only one farm was of average size; three others were large, and the island Viðey, owned by the president of the high court Magnús Stephensen, was worth 261.4h, 13 times more than the average farm of 20h. Eight out of the 11 subscribers were also subscribers to *Fornmanna sögur*.

In Kjósarsýsla the three subscribers were a pastor, an administrative officer and a farmer, all subscribers to *Fornmanna sögur* and living on relatively large farms.

There were no subscribers from Borgarfjarðarsýsla.

In Mýra- and Hnappadalssýsla the only subscriber was a sheriff who lived on a farm with a slightly above average tax value.

In Snæfellssýsla the subscribers were the sub-governor and his secretary, one provost, two assistant pastors (one of them from a large farm, the second from an average-sized farm), three merchants and one shop assistant. Even though the sub-governor lived on only an average-sized farm, he must have had a high income. In the biography of the provost Grímur Pálsson (c. 1775–1853) it is stated that he was well off: “Græddist honum þar talsvert fé”.<sup>20</sup> Five of the nine subscribers also subscribed to *Fornmanna sögur*.

The only subscriber in Dalasýsla was a provost who lived on a large farm with a tax value of 31.7h. He was also a subscriber to *Fornmanna sögur*.

The tax values of the farms of the nine subscribers from Barðastrandar-sýsla ranged from 13.6h to 145.23h. Two farms were smaller than 20h,

<sup>17</sup> The number of county inhabitants is taken from Manntalsvefur Þjóðskjalasafns Íslands for the year 1835.

<sup>18</sup> One of the provosts was the *stiftsprófastur*, the head of the provosts in the see.

<sup>19</sup> See Gunnar Karlsson, *Iceland's 1100 years*, 182–185.

<sup>20</sup> Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenskar aviskrár*, II, 104.

two farms were approximately 20h, and two farms were larger.<sup>21</sup> The average farm size of the subscribers was 50.35h, whereas the average farm size in the county was 20.19h. There were three subscribers in the agricultural sector as well as two pastors, two merchants, a cooper and a silversmith. Four of the subscribers subscribed to *Fornmanna sögur*.

The tax values of the farms of the 13 subscribers from Ísafjarðarsýsla ranged from 5.9h to 27.5h. Seven farms were smaller than 20h, two farms were approximately 20h, and two farms were larger.<sup>22</sup> The average farm size of the subscribers was 17.25h, whereas that in the county was 13.61h. Five subscribers were in the agricultural sector, three in the ecclesiastical sector, two in the administrative, and there were also a merchant and a shop manager. Only one of these subscribers subscribed to *Fornmanna sögur*.

In Strandasýsla there were only two subscribers: a pastor who was made provost in 1827<sup>23</sup> from a farm with a tax value of 26.7h, which was above average size, and a shop manager. The pastor was also a subscriber to *Fornmanna sögur*.

In Húnavatnssýsla there were, again, no farmers among the eight subscribers. Two were pastors, one was a dean, one a sheriff, one an administrative officer, one managed the former cloister of Þingeyrar, and one was a student. All farms were either of average size or large. Five of the eight subscribers were also subscribers to *Fornmanna sögur*.

In Skagafjarðarsýsla, three of the seven subscribers were pastors, two were farmers, one was a doctor and one was an administrative officer. Only two farms were medium-sized: the other six were large. Guðmundur Jónsson, the administrative officer, did not specify his address, and it is stated in his biography that he lived on many different farms,<sup>24</sup> but they were all either small or of average size. Five subscribers subscribed to *Fornmanna sögur*.

Both subscribers in Eyjafjarðarsýsla were also subscribers to *Fornmanna sögur*. One of them, Rev. Gísli Jónsson, lived on a large farm and owned half of Hólar in Hjaltadalur,<sup>25</sup> worth 108.4h. The other subscriber was an administrative officer who lived on a farm with a tax value slightly below average.

<sup>21</sup> Two merchants did not have, or at any rate state that they owned, a farm.

<sup>22</sup> One merchant and one shop manager did not have, or state that they owned, a farm.

<sup>23</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenskar aviskrár*, I, 221–222.

<sup>24</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenskar aviskrár*, II, 165.

<sup>25</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenskar aviskrár*, II, 64–65.

The subscribers in Þingeyrarsýsla were a teacher and a pupil (both living on very large farms), a bookbinder and a pastor (both living on large farms), and a summoner living on a small farm. The last three also subscribed to *Fornmanna sögur*.

The tax values of the farms of the 26 subscribers from Múlasýsla ranged from 8.2h to 110h. Nine farms were smaller than 20h, two farms were approximately 20h, and ten farms were larger.<sup>26</sup> The average tax value of the subscribers' farms was 32.37h compared to an average county tax value of 22.67h. In Múlasýsla, 14 of the subscribers (more than half) were land-owners, farmers or farmhands, eight were vicars, assistant pastors or provosts, two were shop managers and two belonged to the administrative sector. Half of them were also subscribers to *Fornmanna sögur*.

The tax values of the farms of the 18 subscribers from Skaftafellssýsla ranged from 6.4h to 46.1h. Nine farms were smaller than 20h and seven farms were larger.<sup>27</sup> The average tax value of the subscribers' farms was 19.95h, whereas the average-sized farm in the county was 17.11h. 12 of the subscribers (two thirds) were farmers or farmhands or else worked on a farm in some capacity. Two subscribers worked in the administrative sector, two were pastors, one was a doctor and one a teenager. Ten were subscribers to *Fornmanna sögur*.

We can see from the foregoing regional break-down of subscribers that most lived in the north-west and south-east of Iceland. Múlasýsla (east) is, with 26 subscribers, the county with the highest number of subscribers, followed by Skaftafellssýsla (south-east) with 18 subscribers, and Ísafjarðarsýsla (north-west), with 13. If calculated as a percentage of the population, however, Skaftafellssýsla is in the lead, with 0.53% of its inhabitants having been subscribers to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda*, followed by Múlasýsla with 0.49% and Barðastrandarsýsla (west) with 0.38%.<sup>28</sup>

In general, most of the subscribers lived on average-sized farms, with some of them even on large or very large farms. Especially in the southern and western part of Iceland, many subscribers were not farmers but rather held high offices. A copy of the edition was surely affordable for them. It is surprising, though, that so many subscribers

<sup>26</sup> One farm could not be precisely located as there are three farms of that name in the county. Two shop managers did not have, or state that they had, a farm.

<sup>27</sup> The farms at Holtar and Ketilsstaðir had two subscribers each.

<sup>28</sup> The numbers of county inhabitants are taken from Manntalsvefur Þjóðskjalasafns Íslands for the year 1835.

came from south-eastern Iceland, in particular from Múlasýsla. There is general, albeit unwritten, consensus among scholars that few manuscripts were produced or circulated in this part of Iceland. Nor can the large number of subscribers from eastern Iceland be explained by eager and zealous commissioners, as there was only one in Múlasýsla. A possible explanation for the large number of subscribers from the south-east is the lack of good fishing grounds or harbours in south-eastern Iceland, which meant that the inhabitants would have had more spare time during winter for reading rather than fishing.<sup>29</sup> If this was the explanation, it would only hold true for the subscribers from small farms, since the other subscribers from this county were presumably wealthy enough to buy a copy of the edition in any event. Another possible explanation could be that if there were very few or no manuscripts in circulation, a printed edition was their only source of literature.

Although the subscribers to the edition came from all social spheres, the lower classes are represented by rather few subscribers, even though they constituted a fairly large proportion of Iceland's inhabitants. Guðmundur Jónsson gives the proportion of people working in various trades in 1801. Of all the inhabitants, 3.4% had non-physical work, e.g. teachers and officials, 66.1% were farmers, 23% farmhands or servants, 0.5% fishermen, 0.6% day labourers, 0.9% craftsmen, 0.5% tradesmen, 0.3% retired, and 4.7% others. By far the largest percentage of the population, or nine out of ten inhabitants, was in the agricultural trade, and one out of four inhabitants was a farmhand or servant.<sup>30</sup> There were only a few subscribers (several farmers, household managers and farmhands, two administrative officers and a summoner) who lived on small farms—most of them on the Westman Islands and in the eastern part of Iceland. And even though most of the pastors lived on medium-sized or large farms, some of them were poor. For them, the cost of a copy of Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda* must have represented a substantial part of their annual income.

The reason for the rather low percentage of subscribers from lower social spheres might be the relatively high price of a copy of the edition. The cost of the three volumes was 10 silver shillings (*sk í silfri*) for each

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<sup>29</sup> See Loftur Guttormsson, "Island", 157.

<sup>30</sup> See Guðmundur Jónsson, *Vinnuhjú á 19. öld*, 10–11. In this case it seems that the term fisherman applies only to full-time fishermen who did not do any farming. Of course, farmers and farm-hands went fishing during wintertime too, but as their main occupation was farming, they are listed as farmers and farmhands.

sheet, though in Iceland the price was reduced by 20% to 8 silver shillings because of the country's poverty. Each of the three volumes consisted of 30 sheets, so the price for the whole edition was 9 dollars 36 shillings, or 7 dollars 3 marks in Iceland,<sup>31</sup> a price that was, according to Rafn, "rather lower than is usual here [in Iceland] for such books" (nokkuð lægra enn hér [á Íslandi] er almennt á slíkum bókum).<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, it was possible for a group of people to purchase one copy of the edition together in order to split up the costs and make it easier to afford.<sup>33</sup> Even though Rafn states that the edition was cheaper than other similar editions, the price of 7 dollars 3 marks in Iceland still represented an enormous amount of money for a farmhand. The wages for farmhands and servants varied greatly between the counties, between the sexes and even between idle and industrious workers, but the approximate annual wage in 1830, three years after the subscription plan was published, was around 30 dollars.<sup>34</sup> When one considers the steep wage increases in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the wages in 1827 were probably slightly lower than in 1830. *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda* therefore probably cost around a third or a quarter of a farmhand's annual income. In view of that fact, the one apprentice and eight farmhands who subscribed to the edition represent quite a large number, especially as two of the farmhands were teenagers whose income would have been even lower than 30 dollars per annum.

In some cases evidence suggests that some subscribers did indeed share the cost of one copy between them. Einar Pálsson and Eiríkur Árnason were both young farmhands (*vinnupiltar*) on the farm Holtar in Skaftafellssýsla, south-eastern Iceland. Similarly, the young and unmarried Kristinn Árnason (*yingismaður*) from Saltvík farm subscribed to Rafn's edition, as did the farmer Magnús Guðmundsson, also from Saltvík. Even though there are two farms with this name, one in Kjósarsýsla in south-eastern Iceland and one in Þingeyjarsýsla in north-eastern Iceland, the evidence strongly suggests that Kristinn and Magnús shared a copy of the edition and its costs. There are two farmers listed at the farm Melrakkanes in Southern Múlasýsla, eastern Iceland: Eyjólfur Halldórsson and Markús Runólfsson. They could have either shared the costs of the edition between them or purchased two copies. However, as the farm is fairly small, with a

<sup>31</sup> One dollar (*ríkisdalur*) is 6 marks (*mörk*); one mark is 16 shillings (*skildingar*). One dollar is thus 96 shillings. See Einar Laxness, *Íslandssaga*, I-ö, 103–104.

<sup>32</sup> Rafn, "Súbskripziónsplan", 106.

<sup>33</sup> See Rafn, "Súbskripziónsplan", 107.

<sup>34</sup> See Guðmundur Jónsson, *Vinnuhjú á 19. öld*, 33–48.

tax value of only 15.42h, it seems more likely that the two farmers shared the cost of one copy between them.

There are still other interesting clusters of subscribers. Some of them are characterised by their work relationships, others by their educational relationships, and many of them by their family ties. Several subscribers appear in more than one cluster and they seem to have been “literary institutions”,<sup>35</sup> their literary tastes and opinions influencing others and maybe even encouraging others to subscribe to Rafn’s *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda*.

Bjarni Þorsteinsson (1781–1876) and Páll Pálsson (1806–77) were subscribers to Rafn’s *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda* whose relationship can be described as a work relationship. Bjarni was the sub-governor for western Iceland and lived in Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes, western Iceland, and Páll was his secretary. Bjarni worked as a scribe for Bishop Geir Vídalín from 1800 till 1804 and lived in Copenhagen from 1804 till 1821, where he was one of the founders of The Icelandic Literary Society (*Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag*). He put considerable work into the edition of *Sturlunga saga* that was published by the Literary Society in Copenhagen in 1817–20. In 1845, he became the president of the parliament in Iceland. His wife Þórunn was the daughter of Bishop Hannes Finnsson.<sup>36</sup> When Páll, his secretary, lived in Reykjavík in his later years, he (Páll) compiled a collection of poems and was responsible for the purchase of books and manuscripts for the National Library of Iceland.<sup>37</sup>

The name of Bishop Geir Vídalín (1761–1823)<sup>38</sup> comes up several times, although he died several years before Rafn’s edition was advertised. Two subscribers acted at some point his scribe: the aforementioned Bjarni Þorsteinsson from 1800 till 1804 and Rev. Snorri Brynjólfsson (1789–1851) from 1811 till 1813.<sup>39</sup> Each subscribed to both *Fornaldar sögur*

<sup>35</sup> I follow Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and Davíð Ólafsson in their usage and definition of a “literary institution” as “individuals, groups or formal institutions that have influenced the consumption of literature and had an effect on tastes and on the diffusion and discussion of literature in one way or another.” Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and Davíð Ólafsson, “Barefoot historians”, 197.

<sup>36</sup> See Bjarni Þorsteinsson, “Bjarni Þorsteinsson”, and Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I, 199–200.

<sup>37</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV, 136–137, and Finnur Sigmundsson, “Hver var skrifarinn á Stapa?”

<sup>38</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II, 32–33, and Finnur Jónsson, ed., *Geir biskup góði*, 5–10.

<sup>39</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV, 301.

*nordrlanda* and *Fornmanna sögur*. Furthermore, several subscribers received their university entrance diploma from Bishop Geir. It was customary until c. 1830 to be schooled at home by a pastor, and Bishop Geir had quite a lot of students.<sup>40</sup> In 1802 Vigfús E. Reykdal (1783–1862),<sup>41</sup> later a clergyman, and Þórður Sveinbjörnsson (1786–1856), later governor, agent for The Icelandic Literary Society and an active poet,<sup>42</sup> graduated under Bishop Geir. In 1804 Gísli Auðunarson (1781–1842) and Jón Jónsson Reykjalín (1785 or 1787–1857),<sup>43</sup> both later clergymen, graduated. Rev. Gísli is said to have been very poor.<sup>44</sup> In 1806 Sigfús Finnsson (1783–1846), later a clergyman, and Stephán Árnason (1787–1857), later a provost, graduated, both of them having been taught by the clergyman Björn Vigfússon at Eiðar before being taught by Bishop Geir.<sup>45</sup> And in 1817 Benedikt Þórarinsson (1795–1856), later a clergyman, graduated from the bishop. Rev. Benedikt was, from 1844 onwards, the assistant pastor of the aforementioned provost Stephán Árnason and became his son-in-law.<sup>46</sup> Both he and Rev. Stephán subscribed to *Fornmanna sögur* as well.

Another teacher of more than one subscriber was the poet Rev. Þorvaldur Böðvarsson (1758–1836), the head of the so-called *Thorcellii-barnaskóli*, a kind of primary school, from 1792 till 1804.<sup>47</sup> He is said to have been a good teacher and poet, and many of his psalms and poems still exist today.<sup>48</sup> Before 1790, he taught Thómas Sigurðsson (1772–1849), later a clergyman and allegedly an incompetent farmer,<sup>49</sup> who nevertheless had a large farm with a tax value of 41.4h. In the winter of 1793–94, Rev. Þorvaldur taught Ari Jónsson Skordal (c. 1768–1831), later a clergyman who was said to be a talented poet.<sup>50</sup> Prior to 1809, Rev. Þorvaldur taught Einar Pálsson (1789–1830), later a clergyman who was also said to be a talented poet. His *Krossríma* is today preserved in

<sup>40</sup> See Einar Laxness, *Íslandssaga*, I–ö, 43.

<sup>41</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V, 57–58.

<sup>42</sup> See Þórður Sveinbjörnsson, *Æfisauga Þórðar Sveinbjarnarsonar*, and Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V, 113–114.

<sup>43</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III, 249–250.

<sup>44</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II, 41.

<sup>45</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV, 191–192 and 312.

<sup>46</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I, 140.

<sup>47</sup> According to Gunnar Karlsson, the school “was more an orphanage than a school.” Gunnar Karlsson, *Iceland’s 1100 years*, 171.

<sup>48</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V, 240–241.

<sup>49</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V, 16.

<sup>50</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I, 17–18.



the National Library of Iceland.<sup>51</sup> During one winter some time before 1811, Rev. Þorvaldur taught Ólafur Guðmundsson (1796–1867), later a clergyman.<sup>52</sup> Even though Rev. Þorvaldur did not subscribe to the edition himself, it is likely that he had some poetic and literary influence on his students, perhaps resulting in their becoming interested in literature and subscribing to the edition.

A similar form of educational relationship between subscribers is found in the Latin schools at Hólar, Skálholt, Reykjavík and Bessastaðir. Several of their headmasters, teachers and students subscribed to Rafn's edition. Rev. Guttormur Pálsson (1775–1860), later provost, was a student in the school in Reykjavík from 1791 to 1793, the headmaster there from 1801 to 1804, and after that, a teacher at Bessastaðir in 1806–07.<sup>53</sup> Steingrímur Jónsson (1769–1845), later a bishop, was a student at the school at Skálholt in 1782 and at the Reykjavík school from 1786 to 1788, and a teacher at Bessastaðir from 1805 to 1810.<sup>54</sup> Árni Helgason (1777–1869), later a provost and bishop, albeit unconsecrated, was a student at the Reykjavík school from 1795 to 1799 and a teacher at Bessastaðir from 1817 to 1819. He was one of the founders of The Icelandic Literary Society in Reykjavík—together with the sub-governor Bjarni Þorsteinsson<sup>55</sup> and some other subscribers—and was one of those responsible for revising the Bible translations that were printed in 1841 and 1859 in Iceland.<sup>56</sup> Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1791–1852), who graduated from Rev. Árni in 1810, was the headmaster of the school at Bessastaðir from 1819 to 1850. He was also a founding member of The Icelandic Literary Society; he translated Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* into Icelandic, several sagas and poems into Latin, and also compiled a dictionary.<sup>57</sup> It might be a coincidence that several of the teachers' students and classmates became subscribers. However, it is probable that the teachers wielded a certain

<sup>51</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, I, 379–380.

<sup>52</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, IV, 48–49.

<sup>53</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, II, 223–224.

<sup>54</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, IV, 348–349.

<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, their wives were sisters, which adds a family tie to their relationship. See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, II, 310. Árni and Bjarni were classmates and shared a flat during their studies in Copenhagen. Árni's letters to Bjarni are a testimony of their close friendship. See Finnur Sigmundsson, ed., *Biskupinn í Görðum*.

<sup>56</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, I, 49–50.

<sup>57</sup> See Jón Árnason, "Sveinbjörn Egilsson", and Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, IV, 361–362. On the considerable influence of Sveinbjörn's translations and other works, see, for example, Þorleifur Hauksson and Þórir Óskarsson, *Íslensk stílfraeði*, 455–459 and 474–477.

literary influence on them. The fact that several subscribers were students or classmates of the same teacher at the same time might be regarded as evidence of this influence. The headmaster of the school at Hólar, Páll Hjálmarsson (1752–1830), later a clergyman,<sup>58</sup> taught five subscribers, four of them at the same time. Jakob Árnason (1770–1855), who became a provost,<sup>59</sup> had seven subscribers amongst his students at the school in Reykjavík between 1792 and 1801, and one colleague was a subscriber too. Guttormur Pálsson, who was one of these students and succeeded Jakob in his teaching post, had five subscribers amongst his own students.

Parental or sibling relationships are common among the clusters of subscribers. Amongst these are the wealthy Björn Blöndal Auðunarson and his brother, the impecunious Rev. Gísli Auðunarson; the brothers Snorri Sæmundsson and Rev. Einar Sæmundsson Einarsen; the brothers-in-law Rev. Grímur Pálsson and Jón Matthíasson; and the brothers-in-law Rev. Daði Jónsson<sup>60</sup> and the cooper Þórður Þóroddsson. The brothers Snorri and Sigurður Brynjólfsson and their brother-in-law Jón Bergsson were subscribers. Ari Arason and his son-in-law Þórður Bjarnason were both subscribers, as were Magnús Stephensen and his foster-son, the headmaster of the school at Bessastaðir, Sveinbjörn Egilsson. Rev. Jón Austmann Jónsson was one of the subscribers, as was his father Rev. Jón Jónsson. A second son of Rev. Jón Jónsson, Páll Jónsson, farmer at Blómsturvellir, was also a subscriber.

Magnús Stephensen (1762–1833) is a further link between several clusters of subscribers and might therefore be seen as a “literary institution”. He was the president of the high court from 1800 till 1833 and governor from 1809 till 1810. He came from a powerful and very wealthy family; his father Ólafur Stefánsson was governor too, and his brother Stefán Stephensen was sub-governor of western Iceland from 1806 till 1820. His sister Þórunn was married to Bishop Hannes Finnsson, and his other sister Ragnheiður was married to a sheriff.<sup>61</sup> He himself

<sup>58</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV, 120–121.

<sup>59</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III, 5.

<sup>60</sup> Rev. Daði's second wife was the daughter of Rev. Páll Hjálmarsson, who was a teacher of several subscribers, as stated earlier. Before she married Daði she was married to Árni Geirsson, son of Bishop Geir Vídalín, whose role as the teacher and employer of some subscribers was described earlier. See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV, 121.

<sup>61</sup> She was married to Jónas Scheving, son of Vigfús Scheving and brother of Magnús Stephensen's wife Guðrún Vigfúsdóttir. See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV, 82.

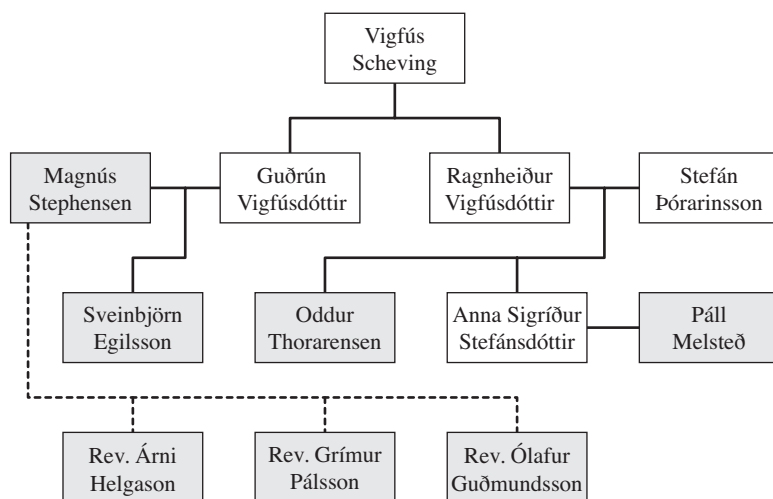


Fig. 1. Family and work cluster of Magnús Stephensen. Solid lines: family; dashed lines: work; grey boxes: subscribers to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda*.

was married to Guðrún, the daughter of the sheriff Vigfús Scheving.<sup>62</sup> Other subscribers to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda* were his foster-son Sveinbjörn Egilsson, his nephew Oddur Thorarensen, and the well-known Páll Melsteð, husband of Magnús' niece. Furthermore, Magnús had, at some point in time, three scribes working for him who were also subscribers: Rev. Árne Helgason, Rev. Grímur Pálsson and Rev. Ólafur Guðmundsson, all previously mentioned.

Many of Magnús's works were printed, mostly judicial texts, but also a book of psalms. A multitude of manuscripts, letters and even parts of his diary are kept in the National Library of Iceland.<sup>63</sup> Guðmundur Hálf-danarson describes him as the

leader of the Icelandic Enlightenment [...] For years, he directed the only printing press in Iceland, a position that gave him a virtual monopoly over what was printed in the country. He used this situation to promote his own ideas, publishing his writings on issues ranging from legal theory to the nutritious

<sup>62</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, III, 457–458.

<sup>63</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, III, 457–458.

value of seaweed. In his literary works [...] Magnús Stephensen remained an ardent spokesman of enlightened rationalism.<sup>64</sup>

The enlightenment of the Icelandic people through reading was certainly very important to Magnús and he disliked *rímur* and stories about trolls, ghosts, elves, dwarves and imaginary heroes.<sup>65</sup> He must therefore have disliked many of the stories in Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda*, and the reasons why he subscribed to the edition probably did not lie in his interest in literature. It might be the case that he simply felt compelled to subscribe to it or saw it as a necessary addition to his library, in the same way that some people would buy a book by a newly announced Nobel prize-winner today—in a way a symbol of status and cultural capital.<sup>66</sup> Or it is possible that somebody else in his household, his wife or one of his children, for example, requested he subscribe to it so that he or she could read it.

Beside work, educational and kinship relationships amongst the subscribers of Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda*, a strong local connection between some of the subscribers seems to have existed. A surprising number of subscribers came from the parish of Kálfafell in Skaftafells-sýsla, where Rev. Jón Jónsson (1756–1839) was pastor. He was another “literary institution”, it seems, with two of his sons and three members of his congregation amongst the subscribers. He is described as being of an intellectual inclination (*hneigður til fróðleiks*) and was the scribe of several manuscripts that are now kept in the National Library of Iceland.<sup>67</sup> The subscribers Jón Hannesson, Jón Jónsson, Runólfur Sverrisson and Páll Jónsson, a son of Rev. Jón, lived close to Kálfafell. Jón's second son, Rev. Jón Austmann Jónsson, was also in the middle of a strong local connection. In his parish on the Westman Islands are four other subscribers, as has been described above. He was furthermore the student and classmate of several other subscribers. Rev. Jón Austmann

<sup>64</sup> Guðmundur Hálfðanarson, *Historical dictionary of Iceland*, 144.

<sup>65</sup> See Ingi Sigurðsson, *Hugmyndaheimur Magnúsar Stephensens*, 133–136.

<sup>66</sup> I use the term “cultural capital” in accordance with Bourdieu, see Bourdieu, “Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital”, 183–198. *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda* is thus an “objectified cultural capital” that can be sold or given to other people. To use this form of capital, however, requires other, incorporated forms of cultural capital—the ability to read and to understand the meaning of the book. Petra Söderlund gives some examples of subscribers in 19th-century Sweden who used books as symbols of status and cultural capital. See Söderlund, *Romantik och förnuft*, 297–298.

<sup>67</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenskar æviskrár*, III, 188–189.

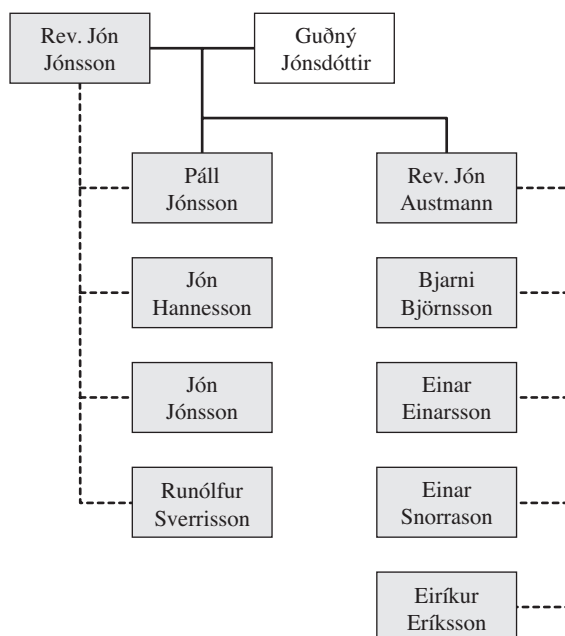


Fig. 2. Family and local clusters of Rev. Jón Jónsson and Rev. Jón Austmann. Solid lines: family; dashed lines: place of residence; grey boxes: subscribers to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda*.

is described as gifted at composing poetry and, like his father, his name appears several times as the scribe of manuscripts in the National Library of Iceland.<sup>68</sup>

Runólfur Sverrisson, a congregant of Rev. Jón Jónsson, was one of the few subscribers from a poor background. He was a young farmer's son on the farm Maríubakki in Western Skaftafellssýsla. In the list of subscribers to *Fornmanna sögur*<sup>69</sup> he is described as *yngrismaður*, a young unmarried person, and in the list of subscribers to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda* his occupation is given as farmhand. According to the 1816 census,<sup>70</sup> he was fourteen years of age and the eldest child of the late farmer, which means that he was born in either 1801 or 1802. In the 1835 census he was listed as sexton (*meðhjálpari*).<sup>71</sup> The farm had a value

<sup>68</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar aviskrár*, III, 57.

<sup>69</sup> See *Fornmanna sögur*, III, n.p.

<sup>70</sup> See *Manntal á Íslandi 1816*, 123.

<sup>71</sup> See *Manntalsvefur Þjóðskjalasafns Íslands*.

of 9.2h in 1848 and should therefore be classified as small. The cost of a copy of Rafn's edition must have represented a considerable part of his yearly income. Further evidence of his interest in literature, books and manuscripts is provided by the existence of two manuscripts that he owned (now in the National Library in Iceland), ÍB 156 8vo and JS 17 8vo. The manuscript ÍB 156 8vo was written in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and contains *rímur*.<sup>72</sup> JS 17 8vo contains songs for service and was written by the aforementioned pastor Rev. Jón Jónsson who lived at the farm Kálfafell<sup>73</sup>—the farm neighbouring Maríubakki. Furthermore, in the binding of JS 100 8vo there are letters to Runólfur from the doctor Sveinn Pálsson,<sup>74</sup> another subscriber to Rafn's edition. Sveinn (1762–1840) has been described as a good poet and one of the best natural scientists of his time: some of his studies were published in print.<sup>75</sup>

Strong local connections also existed in Múlasýsla in eastern Iceland. A good number of subscribers lived in the vicinity of Heydalur<sup>76</sup> and of Hof in Álptafjörður. The pastor at the church of Heydalur, Rev. Snorri Brynjólfsson, and his father, both gifted poets,<sup>77</sup> and Snorri's brother and brother-in-law who were also subscribers have already been discussed above. Thus, Rev. Snorri and his brother-in-law, Rev. Jón Bergsson at the church of Hof in Álptafjörður, may also be said to have been "literary institutions".

There are many pastors among the "literary institutions", and this is in full agreement with research that shows the strong influence pastors had on the sale and distribution of printed material.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, pastors were influential in matters of education, as they supervised home-schooled children once a year and had to ensure that children were able to read before their confirmation took place.<sup>79</sup> As has been mentioned in

<sup>72</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason et al., eds., *Skrá*, III, 38.

<sup>73</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason et al., eds., *Skrá*, II, 621.

<sup>74</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason et al., eds., *Skrá*, II, 639. The letter from Sveinn is not dated; other letters in the manuscript's binding are from Hörgárdalur, 14<sup>th</sup> November 1838, and Efri-Fljótar, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1841.

<sup>75</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV, 372–373, and Sveinn Pálsson, "Sveinn Pálsson".

<sup>76</sup> Also spelled Eydalur.

<sup>77</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV, 372–373.

<sup>78</sup> See Loftur Guttormsson, "Bókmenning á upplýsingaröld", 260 and 263.

<sup>79</sup> See, for example, Loftur Guttormsson, "Læsi" and "Ísland. Læsefærdighed og folkeuddannelse 1540–1800", Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and Davíð Ólafsson, "'Barefoot historians'", 185–187, and Tomasson, "The literacy of the Icelanders", 67–68.

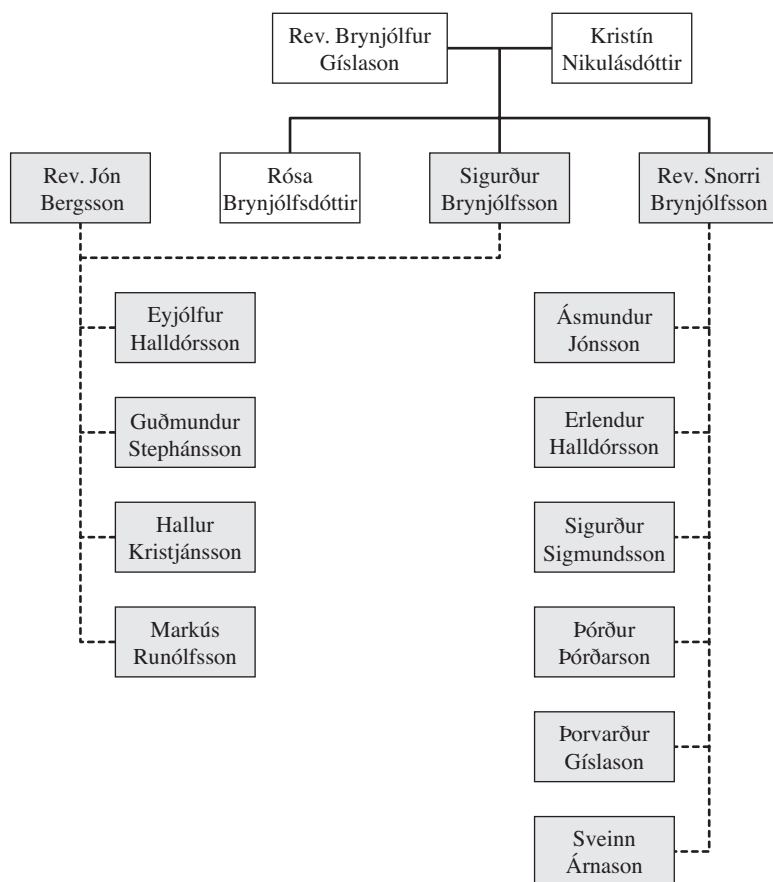


Fig. 3. Family and local clusters of Rev. Jón Bergsson and Rev. Snorri Brynjólfsson. Solid lines: family; dashed lines: place of residence; grey boxes: subscribers to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda*.

this article, a number of clergymen taught children at home and could therefore exert influence over the children's literary tastes.

As has been shown, the Icelandic subscribers to Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda* came from very mixed backgrounds; from all parts of the island though with large numbers from the south-eastern and north-western part of Iceland; and from all social strata from the country's ruling elite down to otherwise unknown farmhands. In this regard they are unlike the subscribers from other parts of the world, who were mostly high-ranking persons or institutions. Many of the subscribers from Iceland

are part of one or more clusters or networks related to the spheres of work, education, kinship or place of residence. Further connections between subscribers probably remain to be uncovered. Biographical information is rather scarce, especially for people with non-ecclesiastical professions. We can also be certain that the leaders of the country were in contact with each other and with other residents of Iceland—something which is not necessarily catalogued or recorded. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that Iceland was, and still is, a very small society and that the clusters may sometimes be due purely to coincidence. There were, for example, approximately 40 students per year at the school at Hólar, 24 at the school at Skálholt, 30 in *Hólavallarskóli* in Reykjavík and between 30 and 40 at the school at Bessastaðir.<sup>80</sup> In view of these numbers, it might be a coincidence that some of the subscribers were classmates. Nevertheless, some of the clusters are too large and too strong to be discarded as coincidental. Some people, especially the president of the high court Magnús Stephensen, the pastor Rev. Jón Jónsson from Kálfafell, and the pastor Rev. Snorri Brynjólfsson from Heydalur, seem to have radiated literary influence and might have inspired others to become subscribers to Rafn's edition. The list of subscribers to the edition thus provides evidence of people in Iceland who were interested in literature and of their networks at a time when the medium of literature was changing from hand-written to printed.

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<sup>80</sup> See Einar Laxness, *Íslandssaga*, 1–ö, 37–44.



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## Summary

This article focuses on the subscribers to Rafn’s *Fornaldar sögur norðrlanda* (Copenhagen, 1829–30) in Iceland at a time when the culture of print was in the process of superseding traditional manuscript culture. People of all ages and from all social strata can be found among the 152 subscribers. A relatively large number, however, came from the upper social sphere; there are rather fewer from the lower social spheres, for example farmhands, even though they constituted a large percentage of Iceland’s inhabitants. This was probably because of the relatively high cost of the edition, 7 rd. 3 sk., which represented a quarter to a third of a farmhand’s annual income. Many subscribers lived in the north-west and in the south-east of Iceland, and many were part of networks determined by work, education, kinship or place of residence. Some seem to have exerted literary influence over their contemporaries and perhaps inspired them to become subscribers too. The list of subscribers thus provides insight into people in Iceland who had literary interests, and into the networks of these people.

**Keywords:** sociology of literature, fornaldarsögur, subscribers, nineteenth-century Icelandic society

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# *Nucleus latinitatis* og biskop Jón Árnasons orddannelse

GUÐRÚN KVARAN

## 1 Indledning

Hensigten med artiklen er at se på den latinsk-islandske ordbog *Nucleus latinitatis*, som Jón Árnason, biskop i Skálholt, oversatte og udgav i København i 1738. Bogens titel blev ganske tidligt forkortet til *Kleyfsi* af eleverne i latinskolen i Skálholt, og denne forkortelse bruges den dag i dag. Jón Árnasons forbillede var en latinsk-dansk ordbog, skrevet af professor Hans Gram. *Nucleus latinitatis* blev genudgivet som det tredje bind i serien „Orðfræðirit fyrri alda“, udgivet af Orðabók Háskólans 1994.

Det islandske ordforråd i ordbogen er ganske stort, og en god del af ordene, som er de eneste eller ældste eksempler i Orðabók Háskólans siddelsamling over skriftsproget (herefter OH), har Jón Árnason lavet selv, hvis de var nødvendige for hans oversættelse af det danske forbillede.

Jeg vil først sige lidt om biskop Jón Árnason og de bøger som han skrev til skolen i Skálholt. Siden følger et kort kapitel om Hans Gram og hans ordbog. Derefter bliver udvalgte lemmaer fra begge bøger sammenlignet, mens den sidste del af artiklen (5. kapitel) først og fremmest handler om brugen af nogle suffikser ved orddannelse i den islandske ordbog.

## 2 Jón Árnason

Jón Árnason blev født i året 1665 som søn af en præst i Dýrafjörður på Vestfjordene. Sin første undervisning fik han i sin fars hjemmeskole, hvorefter han senere blev sendt til skolen i Skálholt. Der hersker ikke enighed om, hvornår han fuldførte sit studium fra skolen. Nogle mener, at

det var i året 1685, mens andre påstår, at det var i året 1690, hvor han rejste til København for at studere teologi. Her tog han sin embedseksamen i 1692. Samme år rejste han tilbage til Island.

Jón Árnason arbejdede som lærer ved skolen på bispesædet Hólar i Nordlandet fra 1695 til 1707, hvor han blev viet til præst på Staður i Steingrímsfjörður. Han blev udnævnt biskop i Skálholt på Sydlandet 1722. Han måtte rejse til København for at blive viet, og mens han opholdt sig der, fik han titlen magister af professor Hans Gram, som på den tid var rektor ved Københavns universitet.

Jón Árnason lagde fra begyndelsen vægt på at forbedre undervisningen i skolen i Skálholt. Noget af det første han gjorde var at tilpasse en dansk *Donat* fra 1729 til det islandske sprog. Bogen udkom i København 1733 under titlen *Donatus, Hoc est: Paradigmata partium orationis Latinô-Islandica* (Jón Árnason 1733), og den var en traditionel lærebog i latinsk grammatik.

Jón Árnason lavede også en islandsk oversættelse af en latinsk grammatik på dansk af Jens Dinesen Jersin, *Epitome grammaticæ latinæ cum interpretatione Islandica ...* (København 1623), og fik den udgivet i 1734 (Jón Árnason 1734a). Det samme år udkom også ordlisten *Lexidion Latino-Islandicum Grammaticale ...* som havde det formål at gøre det nemmere for islandske elever at lære det latinske ordforråd (Jón Árnason 1734b). Den næste bog, som Jón Árnason udgav, var *Nucleus latinitatis*, som allerede er blevet nævnt.

I det islandske landsbibliotek (Þjóðarboðkhláða) er der bevaret et manuskript på 1190 sider, skrevet af Jón Árnason selv (Lbs. 224 4to). Det har titlen *Lexicon Islandico-Latinum* og stammer fra omkring 1740. Denne ordsamling skulle sikkert oprindeligt være en del af *Nucleus latinitatis* og have samme funktion som ordlisten trykt bagerst i den danske *Nucleus*. En sammenligning af den islandske *Nucleus* og ordlisten viser dog, at der i manuskriptet findes en god del ord og ordforbindelser, som ikke forekommer i selve ordbogen. Dette kunne betyde, at Jón Árnason havde haft i sinde at skrive en islandsk-latinsk ordbog, som han dog ikke nåede at skrive færdig. Han døde i året 1743.

### 3 Hans Gram og hans ordbog

Hans Gram (1685–1748) studerede teologi, historie og sprogvidenskab. Han blev professor i græsk ved Københavns Universitet i 1714 og var i to omgange valgt som universitetets rektor. Det er velkendt, at Gram arbejdede på en latinsk-dansk ordbog i årene 1709–1710, som blev udgivet anonymt. Så vidt jeg ved, findes der intet bevaret eksemplar af denne første udgave og ifølge *Bibliotheca Danica* er udgivelsesåret ukendt.

I et brev fra Jón Árnason til kongen fra 1732 skriver han, at ingen latinsk-islandsk ordbog endnu er blevet skrevet og udgivet, men at han selv, når han har tid, arbejder på at oversætte *Nucleus Latinitatis*, som var blevet trykt i kongens og universitetets trykkeri i 1712, til islandsk.

Det ser således ud til, at Grams ordbog udkom i året 1712, og at Jón Árnason oversatte denne udgave. Anden udgave af Grams ordbog udkom i 1722, den tredje i 1733, og i alt udkom den fem gange og var i brug i Danmark til omkring 1900. Al sammenligning af den islandske og den danske ordbog er svær, eftersom Grams udgave og Jón Árnasons forbillede ikke eksisterer. Gram har gennemgået sin første udgave og øjensynlig foretaget mange ændringer, men jeg synes at en kort sammenligning alligevel er umagen værd, da den måske siger noget om, hvorledes Jón Árnasons forbillede så ud. Jeg støtter mig til Grams tredje udgave, da den var den eneste, som jeg kunne få tilgang til.

Grams tredje udgave indeholder 2150 spalter. Bag selve ordbogsteksten findes der en dansk ordliste hvor der er trykt to tal bag hvert opslagsord. Det første henviser til spalte og det andet til linje i spalten.

### 4 Den danske Nucleus latinitatis fra 1733 og den islandske fra 1738

En af de største forskelle på de to udgaver, den danske og den islandske, er at Jón Árnason følger den sædvane at give et verbum i første person singularis som lemma. Det er muligt at det også var blevet gjort i hans forbillede, men det er ikke tilfældet i tredje udgave. I oversættelsen bruger Jón Árnason pronomenet *eg* 'jeg', som ofte virker ganske komisk på den moderne bruger, især der hvor verberne er upersonlige, mens Gram

udelader brugen af *jeg* i sin oversættelse, da dansk i det 18. århundrede havde opgivet den særskilte 1. pers. sg. i verbalbøjningen. Jeg nævner nogle eksempler:

<b>Jon Árnason</b>	<b>Hans Gram</b>
<i>depluo</i> 'eg rigne nidur' ( <i>pluo</i> 241)	'regner need, needregner'
<i>perpluo</i> 'eg rigne i gegnum, lek' ( <i>pluo</i> 241)	'igiennemregner, regner igiennem'
<i>increpo</i> 'eg gef hliod af mier, it. þad brakar, hrickter i mier' ( <i>crepo</i> 45)	'skralder, giver Lyd eller Skrald, knækker, smækker'
<i>nidulor</i> 'eg hreidra mig, by til Hreidur' <i>item</i> 'ligg i Hreidre' ( <i>nidus</i> 190)	'gjør eller bygger Rede, <i>it.</i> ligger i Rede'
<i>lapidesco</i> 'eg verd ad steinum, verd steinhardur' ( <i>lapis</i> 131)	'bliver til Steen, vørder steenhard'

I *Nucleus latinitatis*, såvel den danske som den islandske udgave, er afledninger placeret alfabetisk under hovedlemmaet. *Depluo* og *perpluo* findes f.eks. efter hovedlemmaet *pluo*. Dette gør det lidt sværere at finde frem til de rigtige lemmaer. I udgaven fra 1994 har man løst problemet med en liste over alle lemmaer i ordbogen samt sidetal.

Hans Gram nævner ganske mange ordforbindelser og sætninger for nærmere at forklare de ord, som han er ved at beskrive. De færreste af dem er oversat til dansk, mens Jón Árnason oversætter dem med få undtagelser. Om Gram har udeladt oversættelsen i omarbejdelsen af ordbogen eller Jón Árnason har tilføjet oversættelserne, ved man ikke nu, men de må have været til hjælp for brugerne af ordbogen. Som eksempler kan nævnes:

*Lis pecuniaria* 'Peninga Søk', *Inopia rei pecuniaria* 'Peninga Ørbirgd' (*pecunia* 224)

*Nervi rerum gerendarum pecuniæ* 'Peningarner eru Stod og Styrkur til storra Athafna' (*nervus* 190)

*Nervi sapientiæ, nil temere credere* 'þad er styrkur til Spekennar, ad trua ecke hveriu einu sem framkiemur, ad vera ecke of audtrua' (*nervus* 190)

*Obtrudere alicui aliqvid* 'ad naudga einu uppa einhvern, koma honum naudugum til ad taka a mote' (*trudo* 369)

Det er muligt, at Gram har gennemset og ændret nogle opslagsord og



udeladt det, som han ved revideringen ikke syntes var passende at have med i en ordbog, som skulle bruges i skolerne. Som eksempel kan nævnes verbet *obducto*, som i Grams oversættelse er 'fører, overfører'. I den islandske udgave står: 'eg fære tydt einhversstadar'. Som forklaring af brugen af verbet står: *Non patiar in ædes meas scorta sic obductarier* 'eg vil ecke lyda þad ad Skiækiurnar sieu færðar so tíjdt heim i min hus' (jeg tolerer ikke at man bringer skøgerne så ofte til mine huse).

Da man ikke med sikkerhed ved, hvor meget Gram ændrede i sine oversættelser, er det svært at bestemme i hvilken grad, Jón Árnason fulgte ham. Hvis man f.eks. ser på ordet *humilitas*, så oversætter Gram: 'Lavhed, Nedrighed, Dybhed, 2. Ringhed, Slethed, Foragtelighed, Lumpenhed, 3. Ydmyghed, Fornedrelse, at man forringer og fornedrer sig selv', mens Jón Árnason nøjes med 'Laglende, 2. Audvirdelegleike, 3. Audmykt' (*humilis* 114).

Omvendt forholder det sig med f.eks. *vulpes* som Gram oversætter som 'en Ræv, 2. vulpes marina, en Hav=fisk saa kaldet, Hav=Fuchs'. Jón Árnason bruger ganske mange synonymer for ræven: 'Refur, Toa, Skolle, Dratthali, Lagfota, Hollltaþor, Melracke, Bloddreckur, Tortrigg, 2. Vulpes marina einslags Siofiskur' (413).

Jón Árnason bruger ret mange udtryk, som ikke forekommer i Grams ordbog. Som eksempler kan nævnes: *stemma stiga fyrir* (*coerceo* 12), *leggja fyrir óðal* (*incuratus* 49), *draga e-n á talar* (*produco* 60), *þæfa i moenn* (*oppedo* 224).

I nogle tilfælde bruger Jón Árnason det samme udtryk som Gram, f.eks.:

J.Á.: *Exire ephebis vel ex ephebis*: ad komast af omaga alldre, verða fullorden, ad hafa slyted barnskonum (*exeo* 64); *ex pueris excedere* ad slipta Barnskonum, komast af omaga alldre (*puer* 260). Gram: At komme til Karls Alder, have traad sine Børne=skoe; *ex pueris excedere* at drage sine Barne=skoe af.

J.Á.: *perfricare frontem* 'vera Bligdunarlaus, bijta høfuded af Skømmente' (*perfrico* 91). Gram: 'stryge al Skam og Udseelse af Ansigtet, ☉: blive u=forskammet, bide Hovedet af Skam'.

Begge disse udtryk er velkendte i Island i dag. I OH stammer det ældste belæg for *slíta barn(s)skónum* fra Jón Árnasons ordbog, mens lidt ældre eksempler findes på *bíta höfuðið af skömminni*. Begge er sikkert lån fra dansk.

En mere udførlig sammenligning af de to ordbøger ville være af interesse, hvis man går ud fra, at Jón Árnason har brugt udgaven fra

1712. På den måde kunne man måske få et indblik i Grams første udgave, selvom resultaterne kun kan være spekulationer.

## 5 Jón Árnasons orddannelse

Hovedvægten i dette kapitel ligger på Jón Árnasons oversættelser. Jeg vil især se på de ord, som ifølge OH først synes at forekomme i *Nucleus latinitatis* eller er samlingens eneste eksempler, og derefter gå over til ord dannet med suffikser og med affikser og suffikser.

### 5.1 Simpleksord

Ordet *blor* bruges som oversættelse af latin *stupa* og *stuppa*, d.v.s. ‘Togreskia, Undanlas, Blor (pad er Togreskiann af Hørnum)’ (338). Hos Gram står: ‘Blaar, Tave, som renses fra og tages af Hør eller Hamp’ (1784). Ifølge Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989:66) er *blor* et låneord fra dansk, som blev brugt i det 18. og 19. århundrede. I OH er *Nucleus* den ældste kilde af i alt otte. Den yngste stammer fra slutningen af det 19. århundrede.

I oversættelsen af verbet *adoro* og substantivet *officium* bruger Jón Árnason substantivet *frukt* som neutrum, ‘eg tilbid, 2. eg veite einum stora Lotningu, heilsa hönnum med miklu Frukte’ (oro 209), og ved *officium* ‘3. Lotning, Æra, Virding, Fruckt’ (70). Lidt ældre eksempler findes i OH fra slutningen af det 17. århundrede på *fruckt* som maskulinum.

Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989:211) mener, at ordet er et låneord i islandsk, men at oprindelsen er uklar. Ordret er efter hans mening muligvis beslægtet med det danske verbum *frygte*. Ved betydning 4 under opslagsordet *officium* står hos Gram ‘Æres beviisning, Ære=pligt, Compliment’, mens der ved *adōro* står ‘1. Tilbeder. 2. gjør dyyb Reverents og Compliment for, hilser med stoor Respect, gjør største Ære og Højtiid’. Det er derfor klart, at Jón Árnason ikke har ordet direkte fra Gram, men må have kendt det fra sit eget sprog.

Jón Árnason bruger substantivet *hvin* tre gange som oversættelse af *sibilus* ‘Blystur, Hvin, Tanna hviss’ (312), *susurrus* ‘Hvyn, Hviss’ (345) og *stridor* ‘hrikt, Gnistran, Marr, Brak, Hvin’ (335). Ordet er et neutrumsord. Hans eksempler er de tre ældste i OH, mens det fjerde er fra midten af det 19. århundrede. Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989:398) giver betydningen ‘þys, óp’, som ikke er helt den samme som hos Jón Árnason.

Definitionen i *Nucleus latinitatis* er lidt mildere. I Grams ordbog står ved *sibilus* ‘Hvidsel, Hvidslen, it. Hvinen’, mens ‘Hvinen’ ikke bruges som oversættelse af *susurrus*. Jón Árnason har uden tvivl tilpasset det danske ord det islandske sprog.

Substantivet *karr* bruges som oversættelse af *crepitus*: ‘Karr, Brak, Hrickt’ (44), og det er OHs eneste eksempel på denne betydning. Hos Gram er betydningsbeskrivelsen ‘Knarken, Skralden, Skrald, Knagen og Bragen, Skræppen, Rumlen’. Jón Árnason har ikke sit forbillede herfra og har lavet ordet selv efter islandske regler om orddannelse. Verbet *karra* ‘knirke, knage’ findes i det islandske sprog fra det 17. århundrede.

OH har kun eksempler fra *Nucleus latinitatis* på ordene *mokk*, *skurtl* og *slæng*. *Mokk* (neutrum) bruges som oversættelse af substantivet *situs* ‘2. Migla, Mocka, Duft, Mock, sem sest á þa Hlute, sem leinge liggja i einum stad, hvar þeir verda mockader (moskader) og funer’ (317). *Mokka* (femininum) i den samme betydning er også OH’s eneste eksempel. Hos Gram står ved opslagsordet *situs* ‘2. Skimmel, Mul, Mulenhed, Skarn som samles paa Tøj, der ligger længe paa et Sted og fordærves’. Jón Árnason har ikke sit forbillede derfra. Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon har det ældste eksempel på *mokka* fra det 18. århundrede, og det er næsten uden tvivl fra *Nucleus latinitatis*. Han nævner ikke *mokk*. Oprindelsen er efter hans mening ikke sikker, men muligvis i slægt med *mugga* [‘mørkt, fugtigt vejr’] og *mygla* [‘mug, skimmel’] (1989:630).

*Skurtl* er oversættelse af lat. *vulneratio* ‘Særing, Skurtl, Averk’ (413). I OH findes der eksempler fra det 17. århundrede på *skurtla* som femininum i den samme betydning, og Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon nævner verbet *skurtla* i betydningen ‘særa smávegis, fleiðra’ (såre lidt, skrabe) (1989:876). Gram er her ikke et forbillede, da han oversætter med ‘Saarelse, Saargiørelse, Saaren’.

Der findes flere eksempler på simpleksord, som først synes at være brugt i *Nucleus latinitatis*, som *gjögt*, *hnjak*, *rjátl* og *skjögt* som alle er dannet af verber, *gjögta*, *hnjaka*, *rjátla*, *skjögtá*. De synes ikke at have direkte forbillede i Grams ordbog og er en del af Jón Árnasons orddannelse.

## 5.2 Suffikset *-an*

Jón Árnason bruger suffikset *-an* ret meget til at danne et substantiv af verber for at angive en handling (nomen actionis), og han bruger det hyppigere end suffikset *-un*. I nogle tilfælde bruger han begge to ved af-

ledning fra et verbum, f.eks. *afplokkan* og *afplokkun*, *afskaffan* og *afsköffun*, *malan* og *mölun*. *Afplokkan* (26) er en oversættelse af lat. *carptūra*, hos Gram 'Afplukning', mens *afplokkun* (380) er oversættelse af lat. *avulsio*, hos Gram 'Afplukken'. *Afskaffan* (179, 203) er på den ene side en oversættelse af lat. *amotio*, Gram 'Afskaffelse, Fordrivelse', og på den anden side af lat. *abolitio*, hos Gram 'Afskaffelse, Afsættelse', mens *afsköffun* (282) er en oversættelse af *obrogatio*, hos Gram 'Afskaffelse'. *Malan* (175) er oversættelse af lat. *molitūra*, hos Gram 'Malen', og *mölun* bruges som oversættelse af lat. *molile* 'Verkfære sem heyrer til Mølun', som er det næste opslagsord, hos Gram 'Male-Verktøj'.

Som eksempler på ord, som kun forekommer med *-an* er *farvan* (70), lat. *infectus*, hos Gram 'Farven, Farvning'; *fixeran* (92), lat. *frustratio*, hos Gram 'Skuffelse, Fixeren'; *heilbrigðan* (291), lat. *sanatio*, hos Gram 'Lægen, Heelen'; *samanblandan* (169, 170), lat. *admistio* og *permistio*, hos Gram 'Tilblandelse, Tilblanding'; *samanþjappan* (52), lat. *desatio*, hos Gram 'Tykning, Størkning'; *upptendran* (22), lat. *incensio*, hos Gram 'Antændelse'; *útpressan* (253), lat. *pressūra*, hos Gram 'Af- eller Ud-trykning, Afpressing'. Substantiverne er dannet af verberne *farva*, *fixera*, *samanþjappa*, *upptendra* og *útpressa*, og i to tilfælde synes de at være dannet direkte efter dansk forbillede (*farvan*, *fixeran*).

### 5.3 Suffikset *-un*

Substantiver dannet med suffikset *-un* er ikke så mange som med *-an*. Nogle eksempler er *köstun* (115), lat. *jactatio*, hos Gram 'Kasten, Slængen'; *plokkun* (379), lat. *vulsura*, hos Gram 'Plukken'; *spørnun* (227), lat. *comprendium*, hos Gram 'Profit, Sparen' og *öktun* (325), lat. *respectus*, hos Gram Heenseende, Agten, Agtelse'. De er dannet af verberne *kasta*, *plokka*, *spara* og *akta*. I alle tilfælde er substantiverne dannet efter dansk forbillede.

### 5.4 Suffikset *-ari*

Suffikset *-ari* er ganske almindeligt ved dannelsen af et nomen agentis. Det er tilpasset islandsk med oprindelse i det latinske suffiks *-arius*. Det kan bruges ved dannelsen af substantiver af næsten alle verber, som henviser til en handling. I *Nucleus latinitatis* er der 114 ord som enten er de eneste eller de ældste eksempler i OH, mens der i hele bogen findes 350

ord med dette suffiks. De mest vanlige suffikser i de latinske forbilleder er *-arius* og *-tor*.

Ord med suffikset *-ari* kan deles i tre grupper. Den første gruppe tilhører de ord, hvor suffikset er føjet direkte til verbets stamme:

*færare* (378), lat. *vector*, hos Gram 'Fører'; *geiglare* (101, 231, 383), lat. *gesticulator*, *petaurista*, *ventilator*, hos Gram 'en Gøgler(e)'; *krenkjare* (399), lat. *viticator*, hos Gram 'en Krænkere'; *plagare* (84, 391), lat. *afflictor*, *vexator*, hos Gram 'en Plagere' og *temjari* (58), lat. *domitor*, hos Gram 'en Tæmmer'.

Det kan nævnes, at ingen af disse ord er blevet excerperet hos OH. Det er muligt at redaktørerne syntes, at de var for lidt anpassede og så for danske ud, som f.eks. *færari*, *krenkjari* og *plagari*. Jón Árnason er her under indflydelse af sit danske forbillede ved dannelsen af de islandske ord.

Den anden gruppe tilhører de ord, hvor suffikset *-ari* er føjet til en stamme som også har et affiks. F.eks.:

*afplokkare* (380), lat. *avulsor*, hos Gram 'Afriver, Søndersluder'; *áeggjare* (113), lat. *hortator*, hos Gram 'Tilskyndere, Tildrivere'; *innplantare* (202), lat. *inoculator*, 'Pode-mester, Pode-mand'; *samfagnare* (105), lat. *gratulator*, hos Gram 'Lykynsker'

Ganske få af disse ord findes i OH.

Til den tredje og største gruppe hører sammensatte ord, hvor første sammensætningsled er objekt for det verbum som det senere led er en afledning af. F.eks.:

*asnakeyrare* (14, 182), lat. *asinarius*, *mulio*, hos Gram 'en Æseldriverer'; *dífnavaktari* (38), lat. *columbarius*, hos Gram 'Duevogtere'; *diskaflensari* (216), lat. *parasitus*, hos Gram 'Tallerken-slikker, en som gør sig til Nar for andre for Fødes og Profits Skyld'; *fiskaseljari* (235), lat. *piscarius*, hos Gram 'en Fiskepranger'; *hákrúsari* (34), lat. *cinerarius*, hos Gram 'Haar=kruser'.

I de tre grupper hører verbum og objekt sammen på den måde at oversættelsen „så sem“ (den som) er lige så brugbar som et nyt ord lavet med suffiks. F.eks.: *geiglari* 'så sem geiglar', *afplokkari* 'så sem plokkar af', *fiskaseljari* 'så sem selur fiska'.

Forskellige andre ord med suffikset *-ari* forekommer som ikke kan oversættes på den måde, f.eks.:

*drykkjusvallari* (104), lat. *grassator* hos Gram 'en Slemmer, en Demmer';

*landhlaupari* (34), lat. *circulator*, hos Gram ‘Landstryger’; *línudansari* (96), lat. *funambulus*, hos Gram ‘en Line=danser; *svikalæknari* (233), lat. *pharmacopöla*, hos. Gram ‘1. Apotheker, 2. Quaksalver’.

## 5.5 Suffikset *-ing*

Suffikset *-ing* er som *-ari* ganske almindeligt ved dannelsen af et nomen actionis. I alt forekommer hos Jón Árnason 516 ord dannet på denne måde, deraf er de i 149 tilfælde OH’s eneste eller ældste eksempler. Ord med suffikset *-ing* kan, som ord dannet med *-ari*, deles op i tre grupper, som for det meste er de samme som de ovennævnte. De latinske suffikser er især *-io* og *-tio*.

Til den første gruppe hører de ord, hvor suffikset er føjet direkte til verbets stamme. Ganske mange ord er dannet på denne måde f.eks.:

*birking* (45), lat. *decortatio*, hos Gram ‘Barkens Aftagning’; *bleyting* (152), lat. *maceratio*, hos Gram ‘Udblødelse’; *kembing* (26), lat. *carminatio*, hos Gram ‘Heglen’; *klipping* (362), lat. *tonsura*, hos Gram ‘Klippen’; *kyssing* (17), lat. *basatio*, hos Gram ‘Kysen’

Den anden gruppe tilhører de ord, hvor suffikset *-ing* er føjet til en stamme som også har et affiks, f.eks.:

*burtsending* (155), lat. *amandatio*, hos Gram ‘Bortskikkelse’; *frásnúning* (388), lat. *aversio*, hos Gram ‘Fravenden’; *innsmeyging* (316), lat. *insinuatio*, hos Gram ‘Indsnigelse’; *viðhangning* (108), lat. *adhæsio*, hos Gram ‘Vedhængelse’; *yfirmurning* (403), lat. *perunctio*, hos Gram ‘Oversmøren’

Til den tredje gruppe hører sammensatte ord, hvor det første led enten står i genitiv ental eller flertal, f.eks.:

*hrossalækning* (390), lat. *veterinaria*, hos Gram ‘Heste=Læge=Kunst’; *orðahneiging* (36), lat. *declinatus*, hos Gram ‘Ordenenes Forandring efter Maaderne at tale paa’; *æruveiting* (38), lat. *cultura*, hos Gram ‘Æres Beviisning’

Som før er det danske forbillede åbenbart i Jón Árnasons orddannelse. Han bruger dog *-ing* i stedet for det danske *-en* som svarer til suffikserne *-an* og *-un* i islandsk.

## 5.6 Suffikset *-legleiki*

Til sidst nævnes der nogle ord med suffikset *-legleiki*. I 33 tilfælde er de ord, som forekommer i *Nucleus latinitatis* de eneste eller ældste eksempler i OH. Gram bruger ofte suffikset *-lighed* eller kun *-hed* i sine oversættelser.

Det latinske ord *evidentia* oversætter Jón Árnason som *Auglioslegleike*, *Bersynelegleike*, *Audsianlegleiki* (393), hvor Gram nøjes med ‘Klarhed, Skinbarlighed’ (2060). *Mobilitas* oversætter Jón Árnason som ‘hræranlegleike, bifanlegleike’ (179), mens Gram bruger ‘Rørlighed, Bevægelighed, Snarhed, Flygtighed’. *Fæditas* oversætter Jón Árnason med ‘Slæmska, Liotlegleike, Hryllegleike, Sauruglegleike’ (87), hos Gram ‘Slemhed, Heslighed, Styghed, Grumhed, Gruelighed’.

## 6 Afslutning

Jeg har kun været inde på en brøkdel af de ord, som man med nogen sikkerhed kan antage at Jón Árnason selv har dannet i forbindelse med oversættelsen af *Nucleus latinitatis*. Det står klart, at Jón ønskede at gøre det muligt for latinskoleeleverne i Skálholt såvel som andre at anvende islandske ord i stedet for latinske, og at ordbogen på sin tid havde stor betydning for det islandske ordforråd. Ordbogen skulle tjene som hjælp ved forståelse både af guld- og sølvalderlatin, som det fremgår af titelbladet, noget som skulle tages i betragtning ved oversættelsen. Jón Árnason var ferm til at danne ord, selv om orddannelsen bærer præg af 1700-tallets sprog og stil, og ved at se efter i OH’s samlinger kan man konstatere, at et stort antal af de ord, som først forekommer hos ham, stadig anvendes i moderne islandsk.

Der er meget andet af stor interesse i Jón Árnasons tekst end orddannelsen, som jeg her har været inde på. Der kan blandt andet nævnes mange af 1700-tallets bøjningseksempler, der viser ændringer, som er af stor interesse for forskning i islandsk sproghistorie og kræver en særskilt analyse. Der henvises til nogle af dem i mit forord ved genudgivelsen af ordbogen i 1994 (1994:xxii–xxiii).

I artiklen er der blevet gjort et forsøg på at vise, hvorvidt Jón Árnasons ordbog eventuelt kunne vidne om, hvordan Grams første udgave fra 1712, som ikke længere ser ud til at findes, har set ud. Af den tredje udgave kan

man se, at den danske og den islandske ordbog er ret forskellige. Det vides, at Gram ikke var helt tilfreds med den første udgave og foretog nogle ændringer i næste udgave i 1722. Det fremgår ingen steder om Jón Árnason har anvendt den eller tredje udgave fra 1733 selv om den islandske oversættelse ikke blev trykt før året 1738.

*Nucleus latinitatis*, Jón Árnasons utrykte islandsk-latinske ordsamling og Jón Ólafsson fra Grunnavíks ordbogsmanuskript (AM 433 fol.) er uvurderlige kilder til det islandske 18. århundredes ordforråd, som det i høj grad er værd at lægge mærke til.

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## English summary

*Nucleus latinitatis* is the oldest Latin-Icelandic dictionary. Published in 1738 it is basically a translation prepared by Bishop Jón Árnason (1665–1743) of a Latin-Danish dictionary with the same name by Professor Hans Gram (1685–1748) that appeared first in 1712. No copy of that first edition, on which Bishop Jón's translation is based, seems to exist but in the article a comparison is made with the third edition from 1733, the only one existing in Iceland. It is known, that Gram made several changes from the first to later editions, and Bishop Jón's translation can possibly throw light on them. Several examples are discussed to demonstrate the likeness and the differences between the two books.

Furthermore the article deals with Bishop Jón's word formation, especially words where the oldest or only examples in the University dictionaries collection (Orðabók Háskólans) come from the *Nucleus*. Several examples of simplex words are mentioned where Árnason seems to have been under the influence of the Danish text. Moreover, the use of the suffixes *-an*, *-un*, *-ari*, *-ing* and *-legleiki* is discussed in order to find out if the same influence was the reason for Bishop Jón's Icelandic neologisms. The examples show, that even if this was often the case, his word formation is primarily marked by the Icelandic language and style of the 18th century.

**Keywords:** lexicography, word formation, vocabulary, bilingual dictionary

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# Om källor och källbehandling i Snorris *Edda*

## Tankar kring berättelser om skapelsen

HEIMIR PÁLSSON

Målet med denna artikel är att undersöka de berättelser om jordens skapelse som Snorri Sturluson använde i sin *Edda*, särskilt i den form de fick i Uppsala-*Eddan*, att läsa dessa bredvid varandra och titta på diskrepanserna. Visar det sig vara nödvändigt eller till hjälp, jämför jag med andra versioner av verket, speciellt Regius, Trajectinus och Wormianus.

Snorri kände till olika skapelsesmyter. Han var medveten om *Genesis* berättelse om skaparen i första Moseboken, han kände till *Völuspás* berättelse om jorden som lyftes från havet, han kände till *Vafþrúðnismáls* berättelse om gudarna som dödade ur-jätten och skapade jorden. Pragmatiker som han är, hoppar han mellan skapelsesberättelserna i *Prologen* och *Gylfaginning* men när han talar själv och för sig själv i *Háttatal* väljer han *Völuspás* metafor.

Metodologiskt står mina studier närmare nykritik än filologi. Jag koncentrerar mig på texten och frågar hur de olika berättelserna passar ihop. De kommer tydligen från olika håll och författarens/berättarens mål och arbetsmetoder måste betraktas i det ljuset.<sup>1</sup> Filologiska och religionshistoriska problem lämnar jag åt sidan.

## Skapelsen i prologen

Codex Upsaliensis, DG 11 4to, och Wormianus, AM 242 fol., är de enda *Edda*-handskrifter som har prologen (utan rubrik) i sin helhet.<sup>2</sup> Upsaliensis

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<sup>1</sup> Jag tackar namnlösa läsare för granskning av denna artikel på ett tidigare stadium. Med utgångspunkt i kritiken från en av dem har jag skrivit om texten grundligt.

<sup>2</sup> I sin utgåva (1982/2005) har Anthony Faulkes rekonstruerat Regius prolog med hjälp av

prolog tycks ha varit något kortare än andra prologer, men alla tycks ha börjat någorlunda ens, och vi kan nöja oss med ordalyden i DG 11 4to:

Almáttigr Guð skapaði himin ok jörð ok alla hluti er þeim fylgja, ok síðast menn er ættirnar eru frá komnar, Adam ok Evu. (Grape et al. 1977 s. 1.)

Karl G. Johansson och Mats Malm översätter Regius-texten:

Gud allsmäktig skapade himmel och jord och allt det som hör därtill, och slutligen två människor, Adam och Eva. Ätter kom det av dem [...] (1997 s. 25.)

Det kan knappast råda någon tvekan om att man här har att göra med den kristna skapelsehistorien, den som i den mest kända latinska versionen av Gamla testamentet under medeltiden, *Vulgata*, började med orden:

In principio creavit Deus coelum et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et vacua et tenebrae super facem abyssi et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas.

Det är visserligen inte Guds ande, *spiritus Dei*, som svävar över vattnen i *Edda*, men Wormianus ligger här litet närmare *Vulgata* än väd Upsaliensis gör:

Almáttigr guð skapaði í upphafi himin ok jörð ok alla þá hlut-<i> er þeim fylgja, ok síðarst menn tvá er ættir eru frá komnar, Adam ok Evu. (Citerat efter Eysteinn Björnssons nätutgåva; min kursivering.)

Här har man lagt till *í upphafi* 'in principio'. Självklart kan detta vara den ursprungliga ordalyden och ordet då strukits i Upsaliensis. I Faulkes rekonstruktion (1982/2005) finns inte *í upphafi*. Det mest sannolika är att man gjort detta tillägg under 1300-talet med respekt för *Vulgata*. Det är intressant att båda versionerna talar om allsmäktige Gud, medan han inte tycks vara allsmäktig i det Gamla testamentet förrän man i Credo bejakar sin tro på *deum omnipotentem, creatorem coeli et terrae*. Tydligt räknar traditionen på Snorris tid med att det är den allsmäktige guden som är skapare. Vi kan åberopa en rubrik i en handskrift, AM 229 fol., som bevarar en del av *Stjórn*, den äldsta västnordiska bibelöversättningen. Där kan vi läsa:

Hér hefr Bibleam svá sem almáttigr g[uð] skapaði himin [ok] iörð ok alla [l[uti]]. (Unger 1862 s. xii.)<sup>3</sup>

två bokstavrätta avskrifter. Det är en relativt övertygande och pålitlig text. Se Faulkes 1979 s. 204–13.

<sup>3</sup> Påpekas kan den allsmäktige skaparen i *Den isländska homiliebooken* (Wisén 1872 s. 25;

Det spelar ingen större roll att ingen nordisk källa, utom möjligen prologberättelsen, tycks räkna med att skaparen var *creator ex nihilo*. Teologerna strider den dag i dag om tolkningen av *Vulgata* och Gamla testamentet i allmänhet i detta hänseende. I de nordiska skapelseberättelserna verkar det som regel antingen handla om att jorden mer eller mindre fullskapad lyfts ur havet eller att den skapas av urjättens kött, blod och ben.

## Skapelsen i *Völuspá* enligt Regius

Skapelseberättelsen i *Völuspá* är det mest kända exempel vi har på tolkningen att jorden lyfts ur havet. I Jón Helgasons utgåva låter den så här:

Ár var alda,	Áðr Burs synir
þar er Ymir byggði,	biðum um ypðo,
vara sandr né sær	þeir er miðgarð
né svalar unnir,	mæran skópo;
iqrð fannz æva	sól skein sunnan
né upphiminn,	á salar steina,
gap var ginnunga,	þá var grund gróin
en gras hvergi.	grœnum lauki.

(Jón Helgason 1962 s. 1, jfr Gísli Sigurðsson 1998 s. 3–4.)

Collinders översättning (1964 s. 43):

Arla i urtid fanns ingenting,	förrn Burs söner bragte slättmark,
ej sand, ej hav, ej svala vågor;	hovo ur djupet herrliga Midgård;
jord fanns icke, ingen himmel,	södersol lyste på land och sten,
där fanns omätligt gap—gräs	ur mulden grodde grönskande liljor.
fanns icke,	

Det är anmärkningsvärt att Collinder låter Midgård lyftas ur djupet, medan urtexten talar om att Burs söner skapade Midgård.

Den jord som här lyfts ur havet är i stort sett färdig till användning, men ändå måste gudarna göra sitt för att skapa ordning i himlakropparnas

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Sigurbjörn Einarsson et al. 1993 s. 34), *Heilagra manna sqgur* (Unger 1877 I s. 472), *Veraldar saga* (Jakob Benediktsson 1944 s. 3; Örnólfur Thorsson 1988: 15) och *Postola sqgur* (Unger 1874 s. 281 och 268).

gång. Det härskar m.a.o. en del kaos, men efter gudarnas ingrepp blir det kosmos.

Detta är mycket klart och *Vqluspá* har inget att tillägga om skapelsen förrän det handlar om dvärgarnas skapelse. Om vi tar *Vqluspá* på allvar så håller gudarna rådslag för att bestämma vem som skall skapa dvärgarna. Strof 9 berättar:

Pá gengo regin ǫll  
 á røkstóla,  
 ginnheilög goð,  
 ok um þat gættusz,  
 hverr skyldi dverga  
 dróttir skepia  
 ór Brimis blóði  
 ok ór Bláins leggiom.

(Jón Helgason 1962 s. 2, jfr Gísli Sigurðsson 1998 s. 5.)

Collinders översättning (1964 s. 44):

Makterna satte sig att samfällt rådslå,  
 heliga gudar grunnade på detta:  
 vem skulle dana dvärgars skara  
 av Brimes blod och Blains läggjar?

Här är *Eddas* Regius och *Vqluspás* Regius eniga. Men *Eddas* Uppsala-handskrift (DG 11 4to) citerar samma strof, visserligen med oförklarliga suspensioner i första halvan och senare med verbet *spekja* i stället för *skepja*.<sup>4</sup> Då blir strofen som följer:

Pá gengu v.  
 A.s.  
 g.h.g.  
 ok. um þat g.  
 h.ʹ skyldi dverga  
 drótt um spekja  
 or brimi blóðgu  
 ok Bláins leggjum.

(Grape et al. 1977 s. 8.)

För den insatta är det här enkelt: Strof 9 i *Vqluspá* börjar med diktens första

<sup>4</sup> Om suspensionerna se Lasse Mårtensson och Heimir Pálsson 2008.

omkväde, *stef*: *Þá gengu regin qll á røkstóla* och så vidare. Problemet är bara att det är emot alla regler och traditioner att förkorta ett *stef* första gången det förekommer. Det kan man göra när det upprepas, vilket man bl.a. gör i Regius-versionen av *Vqluspá* men däremot inte i Hauksbók-versionen. Det förefaller därmed klart att en skrivare av Uppsalaversionen har missat att denna formel (*stef*) inte har förekommit tidigare i hans text, därför kan han gå in i sin förlaga när formeln förekommer för andra gången där. Men samtidigt är det tydligt att skrivaren inte förstod det han läste, och därmed blir det omöjligt att tolka hans suspensioner.

*Spekja* behöver varken vara ett skrivarfel eller slump. Alla *Edda*-versioner är eniga om hur dvärgarna kom till. I DG 11 4to formuleras det så här:

Dvergarnir höfðu skapast fyrst ok tekit kviknan í holdi Ymis ok vóru þá maðkar. Ok af atkvæði gudanna urðu þeir vitandi manvits ok höfðu manns líki ok búa þó í jörðu ok í steinum. (Grape et al. 1977 s. 8.)

Detta är nästan ordagrant lika texten i Regius, som Karl G. Johansson och Mats Malm översätter:

Dvärgarna hade tagit form först och kommit till liv i Ymers kött, och de var maskar då. Genom gudarnas beslut fick de förstånd och människoskepnad, men de bor i jorden och klipporna. (1997 s. 42–43.)

Verbet *spekja* betyder att göra klok eller lugn (jfr subst. *speki* och adj. *spakr*). Det passar mycket bra med prosaberättelsen, men inte om gudarna ska *skapa* dem som redan finns. En möjlighet är att *spekja* är det ursprungliga verbet i detta sammanhang men har ändrats till det vanligare *skepja*, kanske t.o.m. i förlagan för RTW-versionen, medan U-versionen höll sig till det ursprungliga och mera logiska.<sup>5</sup> En annan möjlighet är självklart att det gäller två olika muntliga versioner, vilket skulle vara förklarligt.

## Skapelsen i Snorris *Edda*

Det var relativt problemfritt med skapelsen i *Vqluspá*, bara att lyfta upp den färdigskapade jorden ur havet, en liten sak för Burs söner. När det är dags att berätta om skapelsen i *Edda* verkar det först vara samma saga

<sup>5</sup> I Eysteinn Björnssons nätutgåva ändrar man *spekja* utan vidare till *skepja*.

som i *Völuspá*, men nu med dessa ord (och här är versionerna av Snorris *Edda* överens):

Ár var alda  
þar<sup>6</sup> er ekki var;  
vara sandr né sjór  
né svalar undir.  
Jorð fannst eigi  
né upphiminn,  
gap var ginnunga  
en gras hvergi.

(Grape et al. 1977 s. 4.)

Här rör det sig uppenbarligen om samma strof som i *Völuspá*, med varianter. De flesta av dessa är förklarliga: *sær* och *sjór* är samma ord, *æva* och *eigi* är synonymer, *undir* i stället för *unnir* kan vara ett läs- eller skrivfel. Då återstår det bara en rad: *þar er Ymir byggði : þar er ekki var*. Nu kan det inte handla om felläsning eller -skrivning, utan det är uppenbarligen en annan version. Frågan är bara: är det en slump eller ej?

Sigurður Nordal (1953) tog det ovanstående som ett bevis för att Snorris version var den ursprungliga:

Frásögn Snorra um þetta efni í Gylfaginningu er tekin eftir Vafþrúðnismálum, en nærri má geta, að ekki hefði hann farið að sleppa Ými úr Völuspárvísunni, ef hann hefði kunnað hana eins og hún stendur í K og H. Aftur á móti var það eðlilegt, að Ýmis væri saknað úr Völuspá, eftir að menn fóru að bera saman goðakvæðin, ef til vill einkum eftir að Gylfaginning var saman sett. (1953 s. 51.)

’Snorris berättelse i Gylfaginning bygger på Vafþrúðnismál och det är högst osannolikt att han strukit Ymir ur Völuspá-strofen, om han känt till den som den står i R och H. Däremot var det naturligt att man saknade Ymir i Völuspá, när man började jämföra gudadikterna, kanske inte minst efter att Gylfaginning komponerades.’

Som vi känner *Snorra-Eddas* alternativa skapelseberättelse börjar det med att kölden från Niflheimr möter värmen från Múspellsheimr. Versionerna är eniga om att det på så vis har bildats is över Ginnungagap och den jätte har skapats som kallas *Ymir*, även om rimtursarna kallar honom

<sup>6</sup> Sigurður Nordal (1953 s. 51) hävdar att det står *þat* inte *þar* i Edda-handskrifterna. Det stämmer inte för DG 11 4to.



*Aurgelmir*. De olika versionerna hänvisar dock inte alldeles ordagrant till å ena sidan *Hyndluljóð* (*Vqluspá in skamma*) och å andra sidan *Vafþrúðnismál*.<sup>7</sup> Orsaksföljden är den samma: Först skapas jätten Ymir; därefter inleds en ovanlig skapelseprocess, med Uppsala-*Eddas* ord:

Ok er hann svaf fekk hann sveita, ok undir vinstri hendi hans óx maðr ok kona, ok annarr fótr hans gat son við ǫðrum, ok þaðan kómu ættir. (Grape et al. 1977 s. 5.)

’När han sov, svettades han, och i hans vänstra armhåla växte det fram en man och en kvinna, och hans ena ben fick en son med det andra, och det blev ätternas upphov.’

Regius-versionen kan upplysa om att det var rimtursarnas släkter det gällde här (jfr Faulkes 2005 s. 11). Det är alldeles uppenbart att den som berättade denna version skulle få problem om han hade berättat om en jord ”þars Ymir byggði” långt innan Ymir skapades. Då finns det två förklaringsmöjligheter: Antingen har Snorri (eller hans medarbetare) ändrat *Vqluspá*-texten så att den skulle passa i efterföljande skapelseberättelse. Det är osannolikt och vi har inga bevisliga paralleller i *Edda*. Den andra möjligheten är självklart att den version vi möter i *Edda* är den ursprungliga, åtminstone en variant som funnits i muntlig tradition parallellt med den andra.

Sigurður Nordal (1953) var övertygad om att *Edda*-versionen var den ursprungliga men att *Vqluspás* diktare valt bort den:

[...] skáldið var of djúpsær maður og menntaður til þess að geta sætt sig við barnalegar og grófar hugmyndir alþýðu manna um sköpun heimsins, eins og þær koma fram í *Vfþrm.* og *Grímnismálum* [...] hann gerir alls ekki ráð fyrir, að jörðin sé sköpuð úr Ými. Var það ekki líka óþolandi smekkleysa að kalla jörðina í annarri andrání beðju Óðins og móður Þórs (sbr. mögr Hlóðynjar, Fjörgynjar burr í 56. v.), en telja hana í hinni vera hræið af Ými? (1953 s. 53.)

’[...] diktaren var en alltför djupsinnig och bildad man för att kunna acceptera de folkliga, barnliga och grova, idéerna om skapelsen som de framträder i *Vafþrúðnismál* och *Grímnismál*. [...] han räknar inte alls med att jorden skapades ur Ymir. Skulle det dessutom inte vara en oacceptabel smaklöshet att kalla jorden ömsom Óðinns bihustru och Þórrs mor (jfr mögr Hlóðynjar, Fjörgynjar burr i strof 56) och ömsom Ymirs kadaver?’

<sup>7</sup> Här kommer Regius närmast det att nämna dikten *Vafþrúðnismál*: ”Och här säger jätten *Vafþrúðnir*.” DG 11 4to nämner *Vafþrúðnismál* aldrig.

I *Eddas* skapelseberättelse är det nu dags för kon Auð<h>umbla som ur salta stenar slickar fram mannen Buri, som med sin hustru Beysla (av jättarnas familj) får sönerna Óðinn, Vili och Vé. De blir vuxna och skapar jorden, dödar Ymir och:

Peir fluttu Ymi í mitt Ginnungagap ok gerðu af hánum jörð. Af blóði hans sæ ok vötn, björg af beinum, grjót af tönnum, ok af þeim beinum er borin<sup>8</sup> voru, ok af blóðinu, er ór sárunum rann, þá gerðu þeir sjá þann er þeir festu jörðina í. Síðan tóku þeir hausinn ok gerðu ór himininn ok settu yfir jörðina með fjórum skautum, ok undir hvert horn settu þeir dverg, Austr<a>, Vestra, Norðra, Suðra. Þá tóku þeir síur ór Múspellsheimi ok settu í mitt Ginnungagap, ofan ok neðan á himininn at lýsa jörðina. Peir gáfu staði öllum eldingum. Þaðan af voru dægri greind ok ára tal. (Grape et al. 1977 s. 6.)

'De flyttade Ymir till mitten av Ginnungagap och skapade en jord av honom. Av hans blod blev hav och sjöar, bergen ur benen, stenar av tänder och brutna ben; och ur det blod som rann ur hans sår skapade de det hav som de placerade jorden i. Sedan tog de skallen och gjorde himlen av den och satte upp den över jorden med fyra hörn, och under varje hörn satte de en dvärg, Austri, Vestri, Norðri och Suðri. Sedan tog de gnistor ur Muspellheimr och satte dem mitt i Ginnungagap, ovan och under himmelen för att belysa jorden. De bestämde banor för alla stjärnor. Där av bestämde man dygnen och åren.'

Här kan man, självklart, mot slutet höra ekot från *Völuspás* ord om gudarna som måste skapa kosmos ur kaos. Båda författarna kan förmodligen samma myt men resultatet blev helt olika berättelser. Fortsättningen i DG 11 är intressant:

Kringlótt er jörð ok liggr um enn djúpi sær, ok með þeim ströndum gáfu þeir bygd jötnum. En fyrir innan á jörðina gerðu þeir borg fyrir úfriði jötna umhverfis jörðina ok höfðu þar til brár Ymis ok kölluðu borgina Miðgarð. Þeir koptuðu heilanum í loptit ok gerðu af skýin. Svá sem hér segir. (Grape et al. 1977 s. 6.)

'Jorden är rund och kring den ligger det djupa havet, och längs stränderna lät de jätterna bo, men inne på jorden byggde de en borg mot jättarnas ofred; därtill använde de Ymirs ögonfransar och borgen kallade de Midgård. Hjärnan kastade de i luften och gjorde moln av den. Som det heter:'

Ór Ymis holdi	En ór hans brám
var jörð um sköpuð.	gerðu blið regin
En ór sveita sjór.	Miðgarð manna sonum,
b. ór b.	ok ór hans heila

<sup>8</sup> GKS 2367 4to har *brotin*.

b. ór h.                      vóru þau in harðmóðgu  
 en ór h. h.                  ský ǫll um sköput.<sup>9</sup>

Collinders översättning (1964 s. 88):

Av Ymes kött uppkom Jorden  
 och havet av blodet hans,  
 himlen av hans skalle, skog av hans hår,  
 men bergen av jättens ben.  
 Av jättens ögonhår gjorde makterna  
 Midgård åt mänskors söner,  
 men av jättens hjärna gjordes de onda  
 molnen på höga himlen.

Det är lätt att vara överens med Sigurður Nordal om att det här gäller en mer brutal skapelseberättelse än i *Vqluspá*, men det är samtidigt klart att det är denna berättelse som ger författaren den poetiska bilden av en levande jord som förmedlas i prologen. Utan den bilden skulle *Edda* vara ett fattigare verk.

Men det är också klart att berättelsen, som den framstår i *Eddas* prosa, inte kan bygga på *Grímnismáls* strofer, även om dessa åberopas som källa. Suspensionerna i de sista fyra versraderna i strof 40 i *Grímnismál* är oförståeliga, så författaren måste känna berättelsen från ett annat håll, och nu handlar det inte om ett *stef* som har förkortats när det dök upp andra gången, såsom i *Vqluspá*.

Man kan försöka summera: Den som satte ihop *Eddas* skapelseberättelse hade som källor någon version av det vi i dag känner som *Vqluspá*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál* och *Hyndluljóð* (*Vqluspá in skamma*). Ingen av dessa viktiga källor förutom *Vqluspá* nämns vid namn i berättelsen. *Vafþrúðnismál* nämns aldrig, men i Regius-versionen står det en gång att *Vafþrúðnir* jötunn berättade så. Texterna i DG 11 4to tyder på att redaktören / skrivaren hade en annan version av dikterna än den som användes för versionen vi finner i Regius, Trajectinus och Wormianus. Den berättelse om skapelsen som vi kan läsa i Regius-texten av *Vqluspá* (eddadikternas Regius) kan inte vara källan för Uppsala-*Eddan*.

<sup>9</sup> Jfr *Grímnismál* 40–41. Om suspensionerna se Lasse Mårtensson och Heimir Pálsson 2008.

## Skapelsen i *Völuspá* andra gången

*Völuspá* är till sitt innehåll konsekvent, och det är ingen tvekan om att det i *Gylfaginnings* slutkapitel gäller diktens skapelseberättelse:

Sér hón upp koma  
 ǫðru sinni  
 iǫrð ór ægi  
 iðia græna;  
 falla forsar,  
 flýgr ǫrn yfir,  
 sá er á fialli  
 fiska veiðir.

(Jón Helgason 1962 s. 14, jfr Gísli Sigurðson 1989 s. 16.)

Collinders översättning 1964 s. 50:

Upp ser hon komma för andra gången  
 jorden ur havet, ljuvligt grönskande;  
 forsar falla, där flyger örnen,  
 som far och fångar fisk i fjället.

Denna strof citeras inte i *Uppsala-Eddan*, utan den säger:

Upp skýtr jörðunni ór sænum ok er hon græn ok ósáanir akrar. Viðarr ok Váli lifa ok svartalugi hefir eigi grandat þeim, ok byggva þeir á Eiðavelli, þar sem fyrrum var Ásgarðr, ok þar komu synir Þórs, Magni ok Móði, ok hafa þar Mjölni. Þar kemr Baldr ok Höðr frá Heljar. Talast við ok minnast á rúnar sínar, ræða um tíðindi, Miðgarðsorm ok Fenrisúlfr. Þá finna þeir í grasinu gulltöflur er æsir hafa átt. (Grape et al. 1977 s. 34–35.)

Karl G. Johansson och Mats Malm översätter Regius-versionen, som är nästan ordagrant den samma:

Jorden skjuter upp ur havet och då är den grön och vacker. Åkrarna kommer att växa utan att man sår dem. Vidar och Vale lever, havet och Surts låga har inte skadat dem. De bor på Idavall, där Asgård var innan. Dit kommer sedan Tors söner Mode och Magne, och de har Mjölner. Så kommer Balder och Höder från Hel. De sätter sig alla tillsammans och samtalar, drar sig till minnes sina runor och talar om de händelser som en gång inträffade, om Midgårdsormen och om Fenresulven. I gräset finner de gulbrickorna som asarna hade. (1997 s. 90.)

Det är ingen tvekan om att det är *Völuspá*-berättelsen som ligger bakom detta avsnitt men man kan undra varför en författare som gjort Ymirskapelsen till fundament i början av Gylfaginning, utan vidare hoppar till *Völuspá* när jorden behöver återskapas.

## *Háttatal* och skapelseberättelsen

I strof nr. 13 i *Háttatal* ger Snorri exempel på en stilvariant av *dróttkvætt*, bäst känd från Kormákr Ogmundarsons *Sigurðardrápa*, som enligt Skjaldediktningen komponerades omkring 960. Snorri eller den som annars skrev kommentaren till *Háttatal*, beskriver strofvarianten så:

Hér er it fyrsta vísuorð ok annat ok it þriðja sér um mál, ok hefir þó þat mál eina samstofu með fullu orðinu af inu <fjórdá>. En þær fimm samstofur er eptir fara lúka heilu máli, ok skal orðtak við forn minni. (Grape et al. 1977 s. 99.)

Karl G. Johansson och Mats Malm översätter Regius-versionen:

Detta kallar vi vidlagt (*hjástælt*). Här hör första, andra och tredje versraden ihop beträffande meningen, och den meningen omfattar också en stavelse med ett helt ord från den fjärde versraden. Men de fem stavelser som kommer därefter fullbordar en fullständig mening och det som sägs skall vara ett ordspråksartat minne. (1997 s. 228.)

Både i Regius och i verslistan i DG 11 4to (Grape et al. 1977 s. 93) heter detta *hjástælt*, kanske därför att det har ett *stál* (en huvudsats) som förbigår de andra. Snorris exempel enligt DG 11 4to är följande (Grape et al. 1977 s. 99):

Manndýrðir fær mærdar  
 mæt ǫld fira gætir  
 lætr auðgjafa ítrum  
 ǫll. Stóð sær á fjöllum.  
 Rjóðr vendils gátst randa  
 ræki-Njörð at sækja,  
 hæf ferð var sú handa  
 heim. Skaut jörð ór geima.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Om man tillåter sig att ändra *gátst* till *gat* på rad 5 och *handa* till *harða* på rad 7 kan man

Karl G. Johansson och Mats Malm parafraserar:

Hans goda karaktär ger lovord åt männens beskyddare, alla ärofulla människor bugar för den ädle rikedomsgivaren [furstén]. Havet låg över bergen. Jag kunde hälsa på hemma hos sköldarnas rödfärgande stavs [svärdets] drivar-Njord [kungen] (den färden var mycket lämplig). Jorden sköt upp ur havet. (1997 s. 228.)

De ordspråksartade minnen (*forn minni*) som Kormákr verkar ha använt är ”Seið Yggr til Rindar”, ”Komsk Unnr úr brunni”, ”Sitr Þórr í reiðu”, ”Véltu goð Þjaza”, ”Vá gramr til menja” och ”Fór Hroptr með Gungni”. Vissa av dessa kan man utan vidare hitta i *Edda*, andra inte, men Snorris *forn minni* är rätt klara: ”Stóð sær á fjöllum” och ”Skaut jorð ór geima.” *Geimi* avser hav och det kan knappast vara någon tvekan om att vi har med att göra *Vqluspás* skapelseberättelse.

Det kan dessutom synas anmärkningsvärt att diktaren Arnórr Þórðarson, jarlaskáld, komponerade en strof, inte *hjástelt*, som börjar med raden ”Björt verðr sól at svartri” och där det heter på fjärde raden ”allr glymr sjár á fjöllum”. Det är knappast någon tvekan om varifrån Snorri har fått sin förebild för ”(øll). Stóð sær á fjöllum”, men Arnórrs ”glymr sjár” är kraftigare än Snorris ”stóð sær”.

Det viktiga är dock inte en diktares påverkan på en annan utan det andra, att när Snorri vill hänvisa till skapelsen i *Háttatal*, så gör han det med *Vqluspá*-berättelsen, inte *Ymir*-berättelsen som han använt i *Gylfaginning*. Kanske därför att han inte tänkte förbinda *Gylfaginning* med *Háttatal*?

## Slutsatser

Kan man då dra några slutsatser av dessa tankar? Självklart måste man vara försiktig, men tre saker förefaller klara:

Författaren/berättaren i *Edda* känner till åtminstone två nordiska skapelsetraditioner eller berättelser. Den ena påminner om den kristna, om en *deus ex nihilo*, men har fått ett nordiskt sken genom att det handlar om gudar som lyfter jorden ur havet. Den andra berättelsen är den blodiga

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förklara det hela. I en lista över versmått i DG 11 4to och i Regius kallas denna stilvariant för *hjástelt*.

och primitiva, där jorden skapas ur urjättens kött och ben. Den hämtas från *Grímnismál* men suspensionerna tyder på att berättaren också har känt den i en prosaversion.

Även om *Grímnismál*-berättelsen är den viktiga i *Gylfaginning*, är det *Völuspá*-berättelsen som ramar in den. Man börjar *Gylfaginning* med ett citat ur *Völuspá* och efter att ha låtit *Völuspá* skapa tidsaxeln, avslutar man med dess vision efter Ragnarök.

*Völuspá* ligger också till grund för *Háttatal*s trettonde strof och de ”fornu minni”. Sedan kan man beundra diktarens kunskap som gör att han kan använda Arnórr Þórðarsons undergångsstämning för att beskriva den nya skapelsen!

Snorri Sturluson var mycket skicklig när det gällde att skapa en helhet av brottstycken. Där briljerar han i *Gylfaginning*, inte minst därför att han kan låta *Völuspá* hjälpa till att skapa en tråd i verket från skapelsen till Ragnarök. Den gigantiska strofsamling han har i Skáldskaparmál har däremot ingen röd tråd och passar inte lika bra för *Heimskringlas* berättare. Därför skiljer sig diktkorpusen i de två verken mycket åt. Mellan *Gylfaginning* och Skáldskaparmál finns det endast mycket lösa kopplingar, och det är svårt att bevisa att den ena delen skrivits för att förklara den andra.

*Háttatal* är på samma sätt mycket löst knuten till de andra delarna. Skapelseberättelsen hämtar man från *Völuspá*, inte slaktar-berättelsen ur *Grímnismál* som hade blivit kärnan i skapelsen i *Gylfaginning*. Det tyder inte på att författaren tänkt det hela som ett utan som flera verk.

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## English summary

The creation tales are quite different in the different parts of Snorri Sturluson's Edda. This starts with the creation myth of Genesis, which is followed by a quotation from *Völuspá* describing *Ginnungagap*; from there we are taken to the cruelty of creation as described in *Vafþrúðnismál*, but at the end of *Gylfaginning*



we are taken back to *Völuspá* and that seems to be the myth that Snorri himself is quoting in *Háttatal*. This again can be taken as an example of Snorri Sturluson's desperate effort to compose a cosmic mythology from his rather chaotic sources.

**Keywords:** The Poetic Edda, The younger Edda, creation, sources of mythology in Snorri's office

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# **The Flying *Noaidi* of the North: Sámi Tradition Reflected in the Figure Loki Laufeyjarson in Old Norse Mythology**

TRIIN LAIDONER

The early 20th century's revolutionary proposal that there may have been remnants in the multifaceted Old Norse culture of the culture of the Sámi people, whose contact with the Norsemen was close and reaches back to a very early period, has gradually become a very popular topic among many Old Norse scholars. Until now, however, the chief focus seems to have been directed to any connection with the figure of Óðinn and the Norse concept of *seiðr*, of which equivalents can be found in Sámi magic-practices. The aim of this paper is to look at evidence of the ambivalent role and existence of the figure of Loki in northern Europe and certain cultural parallels from those northern and eastern areas with which he seems to be most closely associated. These parallels are suggestive of a "foreign" and possibly Sámi origin for this figure, or at least of strong influence from Sámi culture. In the light of these possible connections with the Sámi, it is noteworthy that in later accounts, Loki seems to have developed into a devilish character at the same time as attitudes toward the Sámi and their "primitive" magic became more hostile with the northerly progress of Christianity in Scandinavia. Under scrutiny will be those features of Loki's dualistic character that reflect various aspects of Sámi beliefs and worldview and the possibility that Loki's figure may possibly have originally developed in the northern parts of Scandinavia, on the border of Sámi and Norse cultures.

Although it is difficult to place any of the figures from Old Norse mythology into a clear-cut framework, the ever-mysterious Loki seems to have remained one of the most puzzling characters in the myths. Countless interpretations, reflecting the varying ideologies current

when they were suggested, have been given for this complex and—as more recent works suggest—possibly changeable figure (Schjødt 1981; McKinnell 1994), ranging from the idea that he is the Nordic Devil (Skúli Magnússon 1780; Finnur Magnússon 1828; Bugge 1881), a chthonic deity or fire-god (Grimm, I, 2004 [1835]; Petersen 1863; Wisén 1873; Rydberg 2004 [1889]; Much 1898; Schück 1904; Liberman 1992), to the suggestion that he originated as a spider (Rooth 1961), a wolf (Rask 1834; Petersen 1863) or even a corpse eater (Schoning 1903). Parallels with the world of the Greek gods (Much 1898; Ohlmarks 1963), disputes over the importance of modern folklore (Olrik 1905, 1908–1909; Nielsen & Olrik 1912; Celander 1911, 1914; Gras 1931: 11), fresher approaches to Loki as a trickster or a culture-hero (Leland 1884; Von der Leyen 1909, 1938; Olrik 1911; de Vries 1933; Rooth 1961; Ellis Davidson 1964, 1979; McKinnell 1994), and comparative religion, most prominently developed by Dumézil (1948), have all contributed a great deal to the analysis and overall understanding of the nature of Loki in Old Norse mythology. The generally erratic nature of Loki's character is certainly striking. However, what initially caught my attention on looking into the Loki myths was not so much the disputed aspects of his character, but rather his intermittent appearance in texts and his complete absence from some sources which otherwise contain myths parallel to those recorded elsewhere which do involve a Loki figure. It is striking that some of the liveliest narratives revolving around Loki that are contained in the thirteenth century Snorra Edda, such as those of Útgarda-Loki or Baldr's death, do not correspond at all with Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum* from about the same period where the possible Loki figure, if it exists at all, is very different.<sup>1</sup> His complete absence from what are probably some of the oldest poems of the Edda, such as *Vafþrúðnismál* or *Grímnismál*, might say as much about his background and position as his important role in others, such as *Lokasenna* and *Prymskviða*, which were probably influenced by the views of Christian writers.<sup>2</sup> Though Loki appears rather prominently in later prose texts, such as Snorri's works or some of the *fornaldarsögur*

<sup>1</sup> Saxo's version of the journey to Utgarthilocus (*Gesta Danorum*, 8, eds. Olrik & Ræder, pp. 243–247; tr. Fisher & Ellis Davidson, pp. 267–270) offers some parallels to the myth of Útgarda-Loki in Snorra Edda (probably also alluded to in Ls. 60 and Hárbli. 26), but Loki has no role in his story. The same applies to the myth of Baldr's death—Snorri (Gylf. ch. 49, p. 71) has given Loki a significant role in the events leading to the end of the world, but in Saxo's account no mention of Loki or of any comparable personage is made (*Gesta Danorum*, 3, eds. Olrik & Ræder, pp. 63–85; tr. Fisher & Ellis Davidson, pp. 69–75).

<sup>2</sup> On the dating of Eddic poems see Gunnell (2005) and Harris (2005).

(*Sörla þáttur* chs. 2–3, FSN 1, pp. 367–370; *Völsunga saga* ch. 14, FSN 1, pp. 143–145), which might suggest that the Loki we know is actually a later adaptation of the stories, and plays the role of the Christian Devil, it is remarkable that he also features in some of the very early skaldic poems, such as *Ynglingatal*, *Haustlǫng*, *Húsdrápa* and *Pórsdrápa*, which were composed by Norse poets between the late ninth and early eleventh centuries and where Loki is regularly called the friend of *æsir*.<sup>3</sup> The sporadic Eddic appearances and not least the complete absence of a Loki-like character in Saxo's text certainly makes one wonder whether Loki was known at all in Denmark and Central Europe at that time. One explanation seems to be that some of the myths that were recorded in skaldic and Eddic poems and most extensively in *Snorra Edda* probably had regional variants, i.e. some of them descending from a common Germanic root remained largely unchanged while others seem to have developed either independently in the northern parts of Scandinavia or at least to have been adapted to include certain features that were especially characteristic of or familiar to the different small-scale societies in the North. In this light it is rather unexpected that Loki's possible "foreign" roots have so far not been considered and that he has rarely been interpreted from the perspective of Sámi beliefs and traditions, despite the fact that the earliest written evidence points to the idea that he was most familiar to the people living in the northern half of Scandinavia.

In addition to the literary treatments in Old Norse myths, further evidence of connections between the figure of Loki and the Scandinavian countries might be found in his geographically isolated appearances in archaeological material and place-names which can be interpreted with reference to certain scenes and characters in the mythological texts. The lack of such evidence in Central Europe again indicates that Loki was almost unknown there (see below). Though it is clear that this kind of evidence is often difficult to interpret and cannot be fully trusted as regards mythology, it can nevertheless offer some indications of the areas in which the mythological figures may have been known. Þórr, Freyr and Óðinn's images are frequently held to be portrayed on archaeological

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<sup>3</sup> In skaldic poems, hardly any allusions are made to Loki's "evil" nature or connection with Ragnarök (except for some *kennings* underlining his relationship with his destructive offspring), which seem to be the main features of his role in several Eddic poems as well as *Snorra Edda*. In *Haustlǫng*, for example, Loki is called "vinr/hugreynandi Hænis" 'friend of Hœnir' (sts. 3, 7, 12, Skj. B1, pp. 14–16), "hrafnásar vinr" 'friend of the raven *áss*', i.e. Óðinn (st. 4, Skj. B1, p. 15) and "Þórs of-rúni" 'Þórr's friend' (st. 8, Skj. B1, p. 16).

material and their names occur as place-name elements; Loki's name, in contrast, has rarely been seen in connection with archaeology and place-names and little weight has been given to the few cautious and mostly early ideas.<sup>4</sup> Putting trust in this highly conjectural and often problematic evidence seems to require a leap of faith, especially in view of Loki's multifaceted character and the ambiguous meaning of his name, which makes the place-names very hard to verify. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the limited archaeological and topographic material, at least according to the current state of research, seems to agree with the literary texts in indicating that his character was possibly known in Norway and Sweden and also in areas which were at least partially inhabited by the Norsemen such as the British Isles and Iceland, some of whose settlers are known to have come from northern Norway bringing some Sámi genes and traditions along with them (see Hermann Pálsson 1997). Certainly one very convincing find that in fact seems to be the most reliable piece of archaeological evidence of Loki—the famous Snaptun forge-stone—comes from Horsens Fjord in Denmark, but it must be remembered that this find probably has a Norwegian background (Glob 1959: 69–83).<sup>5</sup> The second find with possible implications for Central European familiarity with Loki is the sixth or seventh-century Elder Futhark runic inscription on the famous fibula found in 1843 at Nordendorf in Bavaria (Germany) containing the word *Logapore*. Friedrich von der Leyen (1915: 141–146) was the first scholar to associate *Logapore* with Lóðurr who appears in *Völuspá* (st. 18) and is sometimes identified as Loki, suggesting that *lóþurr* is a derivative of Old Norse *luh-puras* which in turn is cognate with the Germanic *logaporas* 'the firebringer' and thus also with *Logapore*. There are, however, two problems with this suggestion: first, even if *Logapore* could be etymologically connected to Lóðurr, there is no evidence that

<sup>4</sup> For suggestions of Loki's possible connection with archaeological finds, see Stephens (1883: 92–95, 134); Calverley (1883 and 1899: 139–167, 218, 240–252); Black (1887: 332); Kermodé (1892: 8; 1892–1896: 355–361; 1907: 59, 68); Collingwood (1927: 156); Berg (1958); Buisson (1976: 56–119); Margeson (1983: 101); Ellis Davidson (1996: 103–106); Pedersen & Staal (2007). For further information on Loki's possible connection with place-names, see Finnur Magnússon (1828: 232); Grimm (1, 2004 [1835]: 242); Olrik (1909: 83); Matras (1933: 32–33); Ólafur Briem (1945: 18); Þórhallur Vilmundarson (1983: 31–37); Helgi Hallgrímsson (1988: 181–182) and Svavar Sigmundsson (1992). A later Icelandic folktale also mentions a place called Lokavellir and a rock named Loki under which a treasure is hidden (Sigfús Sigfússon 1950: 37).

<sup>5</sup> The Snaptun stone shows an image of a man with his lips sewn together—a striking feature which has led to associations with Loki who is said to have had his lips sewn together by the sons of Ivaldi who forged treasures (Skáldsk. ch. 43, p. 145).

Loki and Lóðurr are actually one and the same being; and secondly, von der Leyen's suggestion was based on the outdated assumption that Loki, and therefore Lóðurr, was connected to fire, something which is disputed. If this suggestion could be accepted, along with Loki's possible identity as Lóðurr, it would offer the only existing evidence that Loki was ever known in continental Germanic territory, but it seems rather unlikely.

Although Loki's connection with most of these finds and place-names remains problematic and hypothetical, it seems wrong to affirm his complete absence there, as is not unusual, or to ignore the fact that no certain trace of Loki is found in pagan continental Europe.<sup>6</sup> If, on the basis of the extant written sources as well as archaeological and place-name evidence, we admit the probability that the Loki figure we know probably has no central Germanic roots and thus might be a northern adaptation of the early Germanic myths which evolved in the northern regions of Scandinavia, it is important to consider the possible influences from the "original" inhabitants of this area and look more closely at the nearest and oldest neighbours of the Norsemen who inevitably contributed to local attitudes and beliefs, that is, the Sámi people.

Many of the early literary treatments that have survived focus on the non-Germanic communities in Scandinavia that perhaps on a subtle but important level contributed to the formation of something that we today call Old Norse religion.<sup>7</sup> Research into the history of the Nordic cultural scene, however, has given the lion's share of the attention to Germanic culture and scholarship has only recently started to pay adequate attention to the importance of social variables—both in regard to ethnically and linguistically distinct communities, but also among groups that have a

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<sup>6</sup> Note, however, that Loki features rather extensively in Danish folktales and proverbs that must have emerged later. For examples, see Grimm (1, 2004 [1835]: 242); Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1874: 397); Olrik (1905; 1908–1909); and Nielsen & Olrik (1912). The most recent study of Loki and modern folklore is by Heide (2011).

<sup>7</sup> Although the Sámi and Finnic cultures began attracting attention as early as the nineteenth century when comparisons between Sámi beliefs and Old Norse mythology were first made (Fritzner 1877; Olrik 1904), these studies nevertheless rejected the idea of any bilateral cultural influence and inclined more towards ingrained attitudes by naturally assuming that most features were originally borrowed from the Norsemen. The first scholar to propose the "revolutionary" idea that some practices in the Old Norse religion may have been borrowed from the Sámi was the Swedish folklorist and linguist Dag Strömbäck (1935) who pointed out that the Norse *seiðr*-magic contains features that are characteristic of Sámi shamanistic practices. Studies on the Sámi, Balto-Finnic and Norse cultures available for English readers include those by Ahlbäck (ed.) 1987, 1990; DuBois 1999; Price 2002; Zachrisson 2008; and Tolley 2009.

shared language. The idea that the various religions and cultures in the North comprised a uniform Old Norse religion is confronted by several recent scholars who emphasise that instead of a static and established Old Norse religion it would be more reasonable to talk about a “loose” Nordic system of religion with chronological and geographical variations (Turville-Petre 1964; DuBois 1999; Brink 2001 and 2007; Price 2002; Steinsland 2005; Gunnell 2007). These scholars have started focusing attention on archaeology and place-name studies in combination with investigations into folklore, demonstrating that the early communities in Scandinavia were not immune to external influences and that they were characterised by strong trading relations and the exchange of religious and cultural experiences. It is, of course, natural that cooperation with neighbours would have been a key factor in achieving cultural success and innovation from very early on, and this would have resulted in a high degree of cultural blending. Therefore, at least part of the solution to the “problems” we are facing when dealing with Old Norse sources must lie in the background of the diverse cultures that were linked to differences in environmental and local conditions. It is therefore important to look at the different small-scale communities that once inhabited this area, including the Sámi who were for a long time looked upon by scholars as “primitive” and therefore irrelevant to the study of Old Norse religion, but who clearly belong to the Old Norse cultural landscape.

The Sámi and their pre-Christian religious practices have attracted a lot of academic interest in recent years, to a great extent because of their frequently emphasised connection with the supernatural and magic and for their intriguing magic performances, which seem to have lasted at least until the end of the eighteenth century, although relics of belief arguably existed as late as the mid-nineteenth century (Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 29; Ruong 1982: 58; see Kjellström 1987). The “peculiar” way of life of the (*Skrit*) *Finni* ‘sliding Finns’, i.e. the Sámi was already stressed by several early Roman and Greek historians—mostly in relation to climate and therefore lifestyle—but a different and pronounced emphasis on the Sámi starts appearing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and later, in texts written by the Norsemen themselves.<sup>8</sup> These sources, albeit

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<sup>8</sup> For an overview of the earliest evidence of the Sámi, see Christiansen (1950); Hultkrantz (2000); Meriot (1984); Rydving (2000); and Tolley (2009: 39–65). There appears to be some degree of confusion, probably based on linguistic resemblances between the Finnic-speaking groups, in several accounts that fail to distinguish the Sámi from the Finns: both are referred to as *Finnar* in Norse-Icelandic. The ambiguous term probably initially



to a great extent influenced by Christian preconceptions which tend to cast things in black and white, consistently describe the Sámi as mysterious neighbours who while posing a threat nevertheless have some fascinating qualities, for example, their knowledge of magic skills which, as will be shown later, are to some degree paralleled in Loki's own magical abilities.<sup>9</sup> Many descriptions of the Sámi and their magic practices also come from missionary accounts which, although certainly useful, were mostly written by outsiders who evaluated and probably misinterpreted events according to their own cultural background and social status.<sup>10</sup> The purpose of these accounts should definitely make us wary of how much trust can be placed in them. The constant recurrence of certain themes, however, such as descriptions of the out-of-body flight of the *noaidit* (Rheen 1897 [1671]: 29–33; Lundius 1905 [1674]: 6; Leem 1767: 477–478; Turi 1910: 196; see also Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 20, 40–58), makes it reasonable to assume that, even if not explicitly shamanistic, the Sámi peoples, who officially remained pagan until the eighteenth century, were still engaged in superstitious activities at that time, and that the works by missionaries must in some way reflect the general mentality and lifestyle of these peoples, even if they give a somewhat distorted and exaggerated view.<sup>11</sup>

As far as Sámi-Norse relations are concerned, it is clear that despite

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designated the Sámi and later became used to describe all the Balto-Finns (see Hermann Pálsson 1997).

<sup>9</sup> Literary examples of the Sámi being associated with supernatural skills can be found in a range of texts. The most detailed portrayal of a magic séance conducted by Sámi wisemen is given in *Historia Norwegie* (ch. 4, eds. Ekrem & Mortensen, p. 62; tr. Fisher, p. 63), but several other texts emphasise this connection. *Haralds saga ins hárfagra* (Hkr, ch. 34, ÍF 26, pp. 138–139), for example, tells the story of a girl who went to Lapland in order to learn witchcraft from powerful *Finn* magicians; *Ólafs saga helga* (Hkr, chs. 9 and 193, ÍF 27, pp. 11 and 344–345) adds further information about Sámi magic, suggesting that the Finns could cause storms by will and make coats of reindeer skins which with the aid of witchcraft could become stronger than breastplates; in *Vatnsdæla saga* (ch. 10, ÍF 8, pp. 29) *Finna ein fjólkunnig* 'a Sámi wise-woman' is said to have made a prophecy and in *Qrvar-Odds saga* a dark and evil character named *Qgmundr* is said to have been brought up by Sámi people who had taught him magic (ch. 19, FSN 2, pp. 280–281).

<sup>10</sup> Even the seventeenth and eighteenth-century missionary reports (e.g. Friis (1881) [1613]; Rheen (1897) [1671]; Lundius 1905 [1674]; Leem (1767) etc.) lay strong emphasis on the popularity of the magic performances among the Sámi.

<sup>11</sup> The word for a practitioner of magic among the Sámi—*noaidi*—has corresponding forms in different Sámi dialects and other Finnic languages and it has been suggested that etymologically the word could go back to Proto-Finnic *\*nojta* (Kulonen et al. 2005: 244–245).

close cultural contacts, linguistic dissimilarity is bound to complicate social intercourse and, to some extent at least, have an impact on the level of trust among different communities. This kind of mistrust is certainly traceable in Old Norse-Icelandic sagas and in myths and legends, which frequently imply that the geographically adjacent northern and eastern territories are different and perilous.<sup>12</sup> It is impossible to overlook the fact that the Sámi's characterisation as “different” and dangerous is paralleled by that of another set of intimidating “others”, namely the *jǫtnar*, something which suggests a connection between the natures and roles of the two groups. The mythological *jǫtnar* are rarely described as evil, but rather, as Ármann Jakobsson (2006: 54–55) has noted, they stand out because of their ambiguous nature and their peculiarity, and this clearly seems to parallel the strangeness ascribed to the Sámi in historical works. The feelings of fear and insecurity associated with the mythological *jǫtunn* race that—like the real Sámi people—lived somewhere in the East and North, seem to have been mixed with the hope of profit (in regard to trade and marriage) and with curiosity (in regard to magic practices), and this made them simultaneously attractive and intimidating. This kind of timid fascination can be seen in almost every form of medieval literature where *Jǫtunheimar* (and also the ambiguous *austrvegr* ‘the eastern route’ which is often associated with the *jǫtnar*) are commonly described as dubious territories and the *jǫtnar* themselves as peculiar outsiders, regardless of the fact that the dissimilarity is essentially hard to explain. The same naturally also applies to Loki, who provides the *ǫsir* with valuable services and artefacts but always remains an esoteric outsider who cannot be trusted. The intriguing suggestion that the Sámi might possibly be connected with the mythical *jǫtnar* was first made in 1711 by the Icelander Þormóður Torfason who, in his *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum* (The History of Norway), discussed the geographical location of *Jǫtunheimar* and suggested that since this region was located towards the North or East by Norse authors, it points to the Sámi districts in today's Kola Peninsula and its neighbourhood (Þormóður Torfason

<sup>12</sup> Both the mythological and legendary texts imply that *austrvegr* was inhabited not only by *jǫtnar*, but also by *tröll*, *gýgjar* and other evil creatures. Samsons saga fagra (ed. Wilson, p. 31), for example, states that trolls and monsters live in the lands that are called *Jǫtunheimar* in the East and the North. Snorri's *Gylfaginning* (ch. 12) and the Eddic poem *Vǫluspá* (st. 39) tell of an old troll-woman who lived in the Iron-wood in the East and gave birth to giants in wolf shape. Þórr's travels to *austrvegr* to fight the *jǫtnar/tröll* are a recurring theme in Eddic poems such as *Lokasenna*, *Hárbarðsljóð* and *Hymiskviða* as well as Snorri's collections (*Gylf.* chs. 42, 45; *Skáldsk.* chs. 24, 41).

2008 [1711]: 241–252). In more recent scholarship, loose analogies between these two races have been drawn by several scholars who have with reason accentuated the fact that the Sámi, as the “original” people of Scandinavia, offer a parallel to the mythological *jōtnar* who were the primeval inhabitants of the world, and more importantly, that both of them represent the “other” in mythology and history (Chadwick 1964; Hermann Pálsson 1997; Lindow 1995; Mundal 2000).

Loki’s relationships with the mythological *jōtnar* are frequently alluded to in various sources and his own at least partial genetic connection to the *jōtnar* seems to have been a central feature for the Norsemen. Loki is said to be the son of Laufey—whose background is unclear—after whom he is named, which has led some scholars to believe that this may indicate an absent or unsuitable father, possibly a *jōtunn* (Lindow 1997: 53). Indeed, though Loki’s maternity is never mentioned in skaldic poetry, we learn in *Haustlōng* (st. 5, Skj. A1, p. 17; B1, p. 15) and *Húsdrápa* (st. 2, Skj. A1, p. 136; B1, p. 128) the name of his father who, according to Snorri (*Gylf.* ch. 33, p. 42) at least, belongs to the *jōtunn* race: Loki is called “Fárbauta moǰ” (acc.) and in *Húsdrápa* “Fárbauta maugr” “the boy of Fárbauti”.<sup>13</sup> Though the allusions to Loki’s provenance are not always clear, they nevertheless seem to indicate a link of some sort to the *jōtnar*. The strongest evidence for Loki’s possible *jōtunn* background could perhaps be found in his blood-brotherhood with Óðinn, mentioned in *Lokasenna* (st. 9), which seems to be regarded as his “key” to the circle of the *æsir*. Loki’s mixed ancestry and role as an outsider might also be reflected in the simple fact that he, unlike most of the *æsir*, has no home in *Ásgarðr*, but instead travels regularly between the worlds, something which is indirectly reminiscent of the symbolic travels of the *noaidit*, mentioned in practically every available early report on Sámi religion.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See Clunies Ross (1994: 263). A further indication of Loki’s affiliation with the *jōtnar* might be seen in his name *Hveðrungr* (*Yngt.* 32, Skj. B1, p. 13; *Vsp.* 53), which is also listed as the name of a *jōtunn* in the *nafnapulur* in *Snorra Edda* (p. 282) and it is noteworthy that his love affair with the *jōtunkona* *Angrboða* (unless it is Loki himself in female form [Ellis Davidson 1979: 9]) results in the destructive offspring that play a significant role in the events leading to *Ragnarǰk* where Loki again leads the *jōtnar* (*Vsp.* 49).

<sup>14</sup> The Sámi believed that the soul of the *noaidi* parted from the shaman during the séance and acted as a kind of tutelary spirit that defended the *noaidi* during his journey through various worlds and took the form of an animal, most commonly a bird, fish or reindeer (Niurenius 1905 [c. 1630]: 20–22), but sometimes also the shape of dragon or one of the “little folk” (Lundius 1905 [1674]: 6); see also Eliade (2004 [1951]: 224), and Bäckman & Hultkrantz (1978: 17–19, 41–44, 54–55).

Loki's arrival from outside, his matronymic and his blood-brotherhood with Óðinn may all suggest that he did not originally belong to the circle of the *æsir* and that he only became one of them by mixing blood with an *áss* (Clunies Ross 1994: 263–264). If the suggestion that the *jotnar* in the myths represent the diverse Sámi tribes is accepted, Loki's own origin as a *jotunn* would then make it natural for him to reflect elements of Sámi worldview.

Although the Sámi's own spiritual religion, *noaidevuohta*, persisted until at least the end of the eighteenth century, little information on its actual practices has been recorded and most of this comes from the works of missionaries who doubtless carried cultural prejudices against the more "primitive" Sámi and had their own agenda (Kulonen et al. 2005: 189–191; Pettersson 1987: 70). The essential difficulty with the application of such material is that it was mostly recorded by outsiders, and covers a wide period of time and a wide range of areas.<sup>15</sup> The entire range of known cultural practices should not of course be applied unambiguously to all the linguistically related groups that lived in different surroundings. Certain common archetypal elements of Sámi and other shamanistic cultures in Northern Eurasia, however, indicate that the practice of *noaidevuohta* might be as old as the shamanistic practices known in other hunter communities, such as those in Siberia (Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 28–29). Comparisons between the Sámi practices and North Eurasian shamanism are inescapable and it is therefore generally accepted that the Sámi *noaidi*-tradition is an offshoot of the famous Siberian shamanism and although perhaps somewhat less spectacular, it has some resemblances to it (Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 36, 40–41; Ruong 1982: 58; Pettersson 1985: 158–159; Hultkrantz 1987: 110; see Tolley 2009: 66–92). This can be seen in the notable stability of certain patterns and features in the traditions which provide a good reason to believe that they represent the basic framework of Sámi belief. Recurring features such as soul-journeys, trance, possession of counter-spirits, World Tree ideology etc. all play key roles in the dynamics of these cultures (Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 11–14) and suggest that it is plausible to consider these areas as a cultural unit, albeit with regional variations. Furthermore, if some parallels can be drawn between the *seiðr* practices in Old Norse

<sup>15</sup> A report on the later missionary accounts can be found in an article by Rydving (2000) which lists most of the important persons who dedicated themselves to researching Sámi culture. A collection of articles on the development of Sámi folklore is found in Pentikäinen (ed. 2000).

texts and Siberian shamanism, as suggested by Dag Strömbäck in his *Sejd* (1935), it is natural that these influences would have come about via the different Finno-Ugric tribes of North Europe who formed a bridge to the Siberian cultures. A number of studies have since concentrated on Sámi and Siberian traditions; particularly deserving of mention are works by Bäckman & Hultkrantz (1978), DuBois (1999), Price (2002) and more recently Tolley (2009), all of which reflect on influences from these cultures on the Old Norse religion.

Loki's potential links to the cultural world of the Sámi might perhaps first and foremost lie in his combination of being both a *jotunn* and (possibly) an *áss* and the fact that he seems to lack a home and a clear cultural background (see below). This certainly makes him a very untrustworthy outsider among the *asir* who, irrespective of the fact that their own ancestry goes back to the *jotnar*, frequently show hostility towards them. Loki's *jotunn* background, and the possible connection between the Sámi and the *jotnar* whose headquarters seem to have been placed in an area that corresponded to the Sámi territories, allow us to place the focus of the following discussion on Loki's potential affiliation with Sámi culture, where ideas of symbolic soul travels, cosmic oppositions and ambiguity seem to form a natural part of human existence, something most clearly reflected in the *noaidi*-tradition. It is difficult to overlook the fact that many dualistic ideas of the same kind are also embodied in the Loki figure.

Besides being borderline *jotunn* and *áss*, a curious relic of Loki's possible connection to the Sámi-world can perhaps be found in his ever-present duality. This duality is shown in several contrasting qualities, such as existing in both male and female form and being a father and a mother, representing aspects of both good and evil (to the extent that such clear distinctions existed in pre-Christian times), being a causer and resolver of problems, a thief and a bringer of valuable objects, all of which again seems to be in accordance with the functions of a *noaidi* (see following).<sup>16</sup> Loki is indeed extraordinarily dualistic, but at the same time, he often seems to determine the course of events and acts as some kind of guide between the worlds.

A great deal of attention concerning (Sámi) shamanistic elements in Old Norse mythology has been concentrated on Óðinn, and particularly

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<sup>16</sup> The opposition of good and evil in a *noaidi* who is controlled by his spirit follower is noted for example by Olsen (1910 [1716]: 49).

on such striking elements as his ability to change shape.<sup>17</sup> In particular, his presentation in the thirteenth-century *Ynglinga saga* (Hkr., chs. 6–7, ÍF 26, pp. 17–20) can without doubt be linked to shamanistic tradition, where the shamans are sometimes said to take the form of their accompanying spirit (Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 18). However, it is sometimes overlooked that Óðinn also lacks some features that are characteristic of shamans, such as their gender ambiguity. This feature on the other hand is found in Loki who seems fond of changing his shape, transforming in different accounts into a hawk (Haustl. st. 12; Skj. B1, p. 16), a mare (Gylf. 42; Skáldsk. 23), a salmon (Gylf. 50; Ls. prose), a seal (Skáldsk. 15; Húsd.?), a fly and a flea (Sörl. 2), a young maiden and an old hag (Gylf. 49), and perhaps even *Angrboða* (Hlj. 39; Bdr. 13) if one agrees with the suggestion made by Ellis Davidson (1979: 9). In this light, it might be worth considering the possibility that Óðinn, who at first blush appears more at home in shamanic tradition than Loki, was largely accredited with only those typically *noaidi*-like features that would enhance his image as a great warrior. What is sometimes forgotten is that such warrior-like qualities do not seem to be in accordance with the Sámi religious worldview in which the underlying power of the divine tends to be reflected in transitional figures, rather than in warrior gods who rule the world by means of magic and physical conflict. Aside from small-scale conflicts, the Sámi themselves are not renowned for engaging in all-out warfare. As far as Loki is concerned, it could be said that he, unlike Óðinn, displays no such heroic features, but in many ways seems much closer to the actual nature of Sámi *noaidevuohta*, in which duality and oppositions are dominant characteristics.

It is noteworthy that Loki—unlike Óðinn—also takes on female form, even giving birth. This extraordinary feature might at first be understood simply as an amusing and almost trivial detail that the medieval authors used to add colour to their stories. In the present context, however, it should not be forgotten that such gender ambiguity also exists among the Sámi (Lundmark 1987), although perhaps on a subtler level than in some other circumpolar cultures where it is more explicit (see Nioradze 1925; Hollimon 2001: 124–127). No known sources depict a Sámi *noaidi* actually engaging in a symbolic gender transformation during his trance; this would, of course, be impossible for a foreign observer to discern.

<sup>17</sup> See Pipping (1928); Strömbäck (1935); Ohlmarks (1939); Buchholtz (1971); Dillmann (1992); Tolley (1996) and Asbjørn (1999).

However, the social acceptance of gender ambiguity can be observed in the material life of the Sámi where it was evidently regarded as important to echo this kind of opposition to keep things in cosmic balance.<sup>18</sup> The Sámi home, for example, is said to consist of two worlds, the world of life and of death, which are said to meet at the fireside—a borderland region, where the male and the female meet on neutral ground common to both worlds; furthermore, this ambivalent space was also the place where the *noaidi* carried out his performances (Yates 1989; Gulløv & Appelt 2001: 158).<sup>19</sup> Thus it seems natural to assume that some kind of loose gender boundaries would also be found in a *noaidi* whose chief purpose was to keep things in cosmic balance. Although it is generally understood that the Sámi *noaidit* did not cross-dress, but instead were naked during their drumming (Olsen 1910 [1716]: 45, 84, 86), a missionary account contradicts this by noting that a practitioner from northern Sweden wore his best dress for the performances (Thurenius 1910 [1724]: 396).<sup>20</sup> One late report from Sweden even states that a Sámi *noaidi* had women's clothes on during his séance (Kolmodin 1914, cited in Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 39).<sup>21</sup> In view of these features and the vast range of attributes that cut across gender boundaries among other circumpolar peoples, it is easy to suppose that analogous ideas were at least not entirely alien to the Sámi, even if their own expression thereof was portrayed on a subtler level in the sources available to us. What is even more interesting about this kind of gender flexibility in the present context is the fact that the “transformed” shamans were evidently also the ones who were the most feared and powerful (Bogoras 1904: 453). Although symbolic male pregnancy has not been recorded in Sámi culture, among the Sakha (Siberian Yakut) such gender flexibility could incorporate even more drastic elements, including an apparent ability to symbolically give birth to animals while in a trance (Balzer 1996: 164,

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<sup>18</sup> The question of whether the gender ambiguity evident in the Sámi world is related to the fact that the Finno-Ugric languages are gender neutral is beyond the scope of the present survey, but it is certainly noteworthy that the understanding of supernatural figures and also gods seems less sexual and categorised among the Finno-Ugric groups.

<sup>19</sup> This certainly contains an interesting parallel to the possible Loki figure appearing on the famous Snaptun forge-stone mentioned earlier—Loki who is utterly dualistic is placed in the area where the different dimensions meet each other.

<sup>20</sup> See Ohlmarks (1939: 34, 50–51, 176 ff.); Bäckman & Hultkrantz (1978: 36, 78).

<sup>21</sup> This idea of a potential symbolic gender transformation might also be supported by a number of archaeological finds that contain mixed grave-goods (see Price 2002: 216, 271; Lauritsen & Hansen 2003).



177).<sup>22</sup> If this kind of symbolism were paralleled in Sámi *noaidevuohta* it is definitely tempting to compare the case of Loki in female form bearing children (Ls. 23, 33), giving birth to all the *flögð* ‘female monsters’ (Hlj. 40) and perhaps to a wolf, a monster (Hlj. 39, Gylf. ch. 34, p. 43) and Hel (Gylf. ch. 34, p. 43), and even to an eight-legged foal (Gylf. ch. 42, pp. 54–57, Hlj. 39).<sup>23</sup>

So peculiar is the story of Loki’s giving birth to the eight-legged Sleipnir narrated by Snorri (Gylf. ch. 42, pp. 54–57) that most scholars only accentuate Sleipnir’s role as the riding-horse of Óðinn.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, we know that Óðinn and Sleipnir undertake a journey together to the Underworld (Bdr. 2) and this seems to make Sleipnir a mythical archetype of a shaman’s horse, prominent in most circumpolar cultures where shamanism has left its mark (Eliade 2004 [1951]: 380, 467–469; see Rutherford 1986: 94; Price 2002: 320–323). However, although the connection between Óðinn and Sleipnir is more apparent in the myths, it seems wrong to ignore Loki’s role in this relationship, as has often been done. Irrespective of the fact that Óðinn is the one who rides Sleipnir, Loki is the one who goes through a transformation into a female being and gives birth to him. This extreme and humorous episode might in isolation be seen as a late fabrication of Snorri’s and it might thus be regarded as futile to draw any genuine connection between Loki and Sámi beliefs, but with the link between eight-legged horses and shamans in mind, we can cautiously turn to Siberian traditions where similar accounts have been recorded. A Buryat story, for example, describes how the mare of a female shaman gave birth to an eight-hoofed horse that, as later appears, was the physical incarnation of the one the shamaness rode in her own trance (Eliade 2004 [1951]: 469). If such a parallel is at work here, it at least echoes another shamanistic link possibly connected to Loki who takes the role of both the shamaness and the horse. The involvement of the Sámi in this kind of rarely occurring motif is perhaps tenuous, but considering

<sup>22</sup> In some Siberian cultures there is no clear social distinction between male and female shamans as shamans can be seen as constituting a third gender (Czaplicka 1914: 253; Balzer 1996: 164). For further references on gender ambiguity see Hollimon (2001).

<sup>23</sup> If one is open to the suggestion by Ellis Davidson (1979: 9) that Angrboða might be kind of alter ego of Loki, this reflects Loki’s own symbolic ability to give birth. In accordance with this idea, Viktor Rydberg (2004 [1889]: 146–147) has suggested that the *hálfsviðinn hugstein konu* ‘half-burnt thought-stone of a woman’ that Loki swallows (Hlj. 40) may belong to Angrboða who then gives him her soul.

<sup>24</sup> The late poem Hyndluljóð (sts. 39–40) hints at Loki’s relationship with Sleipnir whom he evidently “gat við Svaðilfara.”



that no similar stories, to the best of my knowledge, have been recorded in continental Europe, it might be reasonable to presume that the Sámi, who share many features with the shamanic cultures in Siberia, might also have “introduced” the idea to the Germanic tribes that approached from the South. It is worth remembering that the idea of eight-legged horses is also found in Scandinavian folk-tradition and that images of multi-legged horses and reindeer appear on some picture stones from Gotland as well as on tapestries found in upper central Sweden (see Price 2002: 320–323). This at the very least supports the idea that multi-legged animals were not entirely unknown to people living in Scandinavia.<sup>25</sup>

The connection between Loki and Sleipnir becomes even more interesting in consideration of a remark made by the Sámi clergyman Nicolaus Lundius (1656–1726) who, in his account *Lappi Descriptio Lapponiae* (The Description of Laplanders) from 1674, states that the *noaidi*'s drum, used for divination and journeys to places beyond the human world, is actually an intermediary for a *noaidi* who is not as powerful as those who possess *sueie*, which he calls “spådoms anda” ‘spirit of divination’ (Lundius 1905 [1674]: 5–8).<sup>26</sup> According to Lundius, only a *noaidi* who is less powerful and does not have a *sueie* needs to use the drum as an aid for his otherworldly travels and this brings us to consider the role of the shamanic drum (or staff), which on a symbolic level was often identified as the “shaman’s galloping horse” (Eliade 2004 [1951]: 380, 467; Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 16). Moreover, part of the art of using the drum encompassed the imitation of the sound of the horse’s clattering hooves, transporting the *noaidi* to distant otherworldly locations (Rutherford 1986: 94; Price 2002: 322).<sup>27</sup> It might therefore be argued, in an ironic sense of course, that Óðinn actually inherits his ability to travel between worlds with Sleipnir from Loki, who is evidently already in possession of a shamanic spirit and who through his own

<sup>25</sup> Folk-plays where two performers imitate an eight-legged horse by walking on both their hands and feet under a skin are known from different parts of Scandinavia and are believed to have ancient roots (Phillpotts 1920: 125).

<sup>26</sup> A similar note is found in the report of Carl Solander (1910 [1726]: 24) where it is stated that the strongest *noaidit* only use their song for magic. Tornæus (1900 [1672]: 31–33) also remarks that some Sámi people are born with magical abilities while others need to learn it through practice.

<sup>27</sup> The reindeer clearly parallels a horse in the Sámi world and represents the most powerful votive spirit of the *noaidi* (Skanke 1945 [1728–1731]: 192). This suggests that the reindeer might be seen as a symbolic tool of travel for a *noaidi* (Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 16) whose helping spirits commonly appear in the shape of these as well as birds and fish.

transformation “creates” Sleipnir. Overall, it would of course be wrong to claim that the idea of gender flexibility could only have come about via influence from the Sámi, but it is undeniable that such ideas have a prominent place in the shamanic traditions of circumpolar peoples (see Balzer 1996). It is possible that some of these elements may have been associated with Loki from the earliest times, perhaps in sources that have not survived. However, such transvestism was certainly not in accordance with Christian ideology, and this may account for the remnants of these elements in myths gradually developing into either humorous satires or simply acquiring negative connotations, something quite clearly demonstrated in later works such as *Lokasenna* and *Snorra Edda*.

Although Loki himself never rides Sleipnir through the air or over the earth, his own means of travel—often by flight—is no less spectacular. At this point it is again worth drawing attention to the travelling souls of the *noaidi*-figures who could transform themselves and fly through the air like birds, an ability which is emphasised in several early accounts (Leem 1767: 415–423, 483; Turi 1910: 197; see also Eliade 2004 [1951]: 224; Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 18, 43). Loki seems to be the most prominent recipient of this ability, although the means used to help him fly differ from text to text. Though *Þrymskviða* (st. 5) and Snorri’s *Geirröðr* myth (*Skáldsk.* ch. 3, p. 26) state that Loki was transformed into a bird with the help of Freyja’s or Frigg’s *hamr* ‘(feather) skin’, according to the early skaldic poems *Haustlǫng* and *Þórsdrápa* it seems more likely that Loki once upon a time flew in bird form without any kind of external help: in *Haustlǫng* (st. 12, *Skj.* B1, p. 16) it is said that Loki was *hauks fló bjálfa aukinn* ‘increased by a hawk’s flying-fur’ and in *Þórsdrápa* (st. 2, *Skj.* B1, p. 139) he is called *gammleið Þóarr* ‘the vulture-path of Þórr’. It could therefore be suggested that the borrowing of the *hamr* is perhaps again a later development. Snorri—being influenced by the classical mythologies of the ancient Mediterranean cultures—unsurprisingly presents Loki with a pair of sky-shoes, which are reminiscent of the winged sandals of the Greek god Hermes and are not mentioned in any other Old Norse sources (*Skáldsk.* ch. 43, p. 46). What is important here is the fact that Loki in one way or another seems to be associated with air and flying.

The range of flight-related features listed above can be supplemented by further elements that on a more abstract level might illustrate Loki’s association with air and wind. The encounter between Loki and Logi in the myth of *Útgarða-Loki*, for instance, in which Loki is presented as the “opponent” of fire and is beaten by it (*Gylf.* ch. 46, pp. 61–65),

certainly raises the possibility that Loki, who frequently seems to be associated with air in the myths, represents the natural element that is essential to keep fire alive.<sup>28</sup> Thus it might be argued that ironically Loki, i.e. the air, feeds Logi, i.e. the wildfire, and helps him to win the contest in the same way he perhaps helps fire by expelling air from the bellows on the Snaptun stone that was mentioned earlier. A forge-stone clearly does not work without the rushing air of the bellows, and beneath the figure's sewn-up mouth on the stone the blowhole can be seen. One more similar and curious reference to Loki's "responsibility" for keeping fire going by blowing air can be found in the myth of the theft of *Iðunn*, in which the gods have difficulties in cooking an ox because the *jötunn* *Pjassi* is said to be cursing the fire (Haustl. st. 4, Skj. B1, p. 15). Once again, *hrafnássar vinr* 'the friend of raven-áss', i.e. Loki, is the one who is expected to blow into the fire (to expel the curse?) and make it burn properly (McKinnell 1994: 121, note 25). It is unsurprising that a figure with these associations should also be granted a related name—*Loptr*, meaning air (Haustl. st. 8, Skj. B1, p. 16; Ls. 6 and 19; Hlj. 40; Fjsvm. 26; Gylf. ch. 33, pp. 42–43). Loki's connection to air, wind and flight runs—albeit with slight variations—like a unifying thread through most of the sources that contain information about him, ranging from early skaldic poems to later prose texts. The persistent recurrence of this element suggests that it is one of the oldest in Loki's exceedingly colourful character. The potentially archetypal relationship between Loki and air, wind and flight might in turn be interpreted as another link to the airborne *noaidi*,<sup>29</sup> and becomes even more interesting when considered together with the fact that the idea of powerful wind-deities is rather prominent in Sámi and Finnic beliefs and that magic associated with wind and airflows in Old Norse material always seems to be attributed to the *Finnar*.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> I am grateful to Professor Terry Gunnell for bringing to my attention the possibility that Loki's reason for losing to Logi is more likely to be suggested by his nature of an air-and-wind-related figure.

<sup>29</sup> According to some sources, the *noaidi* had the ability to fly through air (Leem 1767: 25; Turi 1910: 195–197; 1918–1919: 110; Ohlmarks 1939: 57, 75; Itkonen 1946: 116f.). Other texts suggest that the free-soul of the *noaidi* took the form of a spirit-bird called *Passe vare lodde* who then showed the way to the *noaidi* during his ecstatic trip (see Forbus 1910 [1727]: 84; Leem 1767: 475).

<sup>30</sup> Richard Perkins has discussed wind-raising in Old Norse mythology (Perkins 2001: 1–26) and argued convincingly that the practice of wind-magic was very common among pagan peoples in the North, probably much more than in most other countries or cultures. As an example it could be mentioned that the Sámi had a special class of gods that were connected to the air and sky, belonging to the dimension between the earth and high heaven

The Franciscan monk Bartholomaeus Anglicus in his *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (On the Order of Things [1905: 100]) from the thirteenth century, for example, and the Swedish historian Olaus Magnus (1490–1557) in *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (History of the People of the North [I, 1996–1998 [1555]: 172–173]) both make the interesting note that “Finn wizards” can regulate the natural order by putting spells on elements of nature; furthermore, they offer wind for sale to traders by giving them “three knots tied in a strap”; untying the knots would then help the traders regulate the winds. Similar powers are suggested in a variety of sources, ranging from historical works (Torfason 2008 [1711]: 236) and missionary reports (Thurenus 1910 [1724]: 395) to sagas (Óláfs saga helga, Hkr. ch. 9, ÍF 27, pp. 11) and modern folktales (see Kvideland and Sehmsdorf 1991: 151–152)—all these works again demonstrating that the *Finnar* were believed to have the ability to make the wind blow and cause storms at will.

Further contradictions can be glimpsed in other spheres of Loki’s activities, for example, in his roles as the cause and resolver of problems, as well as his being a thief and a supplier of valuable items, something which again seems to accord with the nature of a *noaidi*. The ability of Sámi magic-workers to find thieves and even force them to return stolen items is mentioned by Olaus Magnus (III, 1996–1998 [1555], ch. 17), but the most colourful description of the ability of a Sámi *noaidi* to summon objects from distant parts and find hidden treasures, is recorded in the Norwegian synoptic history *Historia Norwegie* (ch. 4, eds. Ekrem & Mortensen, p. 60; tr. Fisher, p. 61), written by an anonymous monk in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. As this account indicates, the *noaidit* were also believed to be diviners who could reveal lost things: “they [i.e. the Sámi] attract to themselves desirable objects from distant parts in an astounding fashion and miraculously reveal hidden treasures, even though they are situated a vast distance away.”<sup>31</sup> Sometimes the *noaidi* was even asked to undergo a trial and locate a hidden item to prove his worth (see Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 30). Once again, links

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(Friis 1871: 60–87). They also believed that a god named Biegga-gales or Bieg-olmai, who appears in the creation myth of the Sámi, was a strong and dangerous god of storms and wind (Solander 1910 [1726]: 22–23; Forbus 1910 [1727]: 32–33; Castrén 1853: 49; Friis 1871: 74–75).

<sup>31</sup> The ability to find items is also mentioned by several later authors, such as Niurenus (1905 [c. 1630]: 22), who were probably copying Magnus’s work (see Bäckman & Hultkrantz 1978: 104, 109). The ability of a *noaidi* to find animals by using magic is mentioned in Olsen (1910 [1716]: 32).

could be suggested between the ability to find objects as well as people, and Loki who retrieves the kidnapped Iðunn (Haustl. and Skáldsk., chs. 2–3, pp. 86–89), helps Þórr find his hammer (Þkv. sts. 1–2), and most significantly, provides the *æsir* with most of their key possessions, such as golden hair for Sif, Skíðblaðnir and Gullinbursti for Freyr, Mjöllnir for Þórr, Gungnir and Draupnir for Óðinn (Skáldsk. ch. 43, pp. 142–145), and in another tale, Sleipnir, as mentioned earlier (Gylf. ch. 42, pp. 54–57). Problems often arise because of Loki’s impulsiveness, and he is forced to undergo extreme ordeals and compensatory punishment. For example, the myth of the *jötunn*-builder and Svaðilfari results in Loki’s transformation and Sleipnir’s birth to him (Gylf. ch. 42, pp. 54–57). A second example is found in the story of Loki (possibly) cutting off Sif’s hair, an act for which he compensates by bringing the useful objects to the *æsir*, although his own mouth is sewn up (Skáldsk. ch. 43, pp. 142–145). Thirdly, despite being the one who initially lured Iðunn to a forest outside Ásgarðr to save his own skin in the story of the theft of Iðunn (Haustl.; Skáldsk. chs. 2–3, pp. 86–88) Loki, nevertheless locates her in *Jötunheimar* and brings her back, something which ends with a very unfortunate incident with a nanny-goat. Loki’s own role as the thief of a magical object called Brísingamen that belongs to Freyja is told at greater length in *Sǫrla þátr* (ch. 2. FSN 1, pp. 368–370) and hinted at in *Snorra Edda* (Skáldsk. ch. 23, p. 112); another *kenning* in *Haustlǫng* (st. 9, Skj. B1, p. 16) refers to him as “Brísings girðipjófr” (the stealer of the Brísing girdle).<sup>32</sup> Loki’s association with Brísingamen—over which he and Heimdallr are said to have battled in the shape of seals (Skáldsk. ch. 15, p. 110)—remains rather obscure; he nevertheless always seems at the very least to be present when objects of value are mentioned.

Pursuing Loki’s parallels to *noaidi* practices still further, we can revisit the combat between Loki and Heimdallr in the form of seals and the aforementioned symbolic air–fire contest between Loki and Logi (a transformed double of Útgarða-Loki?); both stories offer a parallel to the symbolic magical battles of Sámi *noaidit*.<sup>33</sup> The most famous and detailed

<sup>32</sup> See de Vries (1933: 125–141). The story of a jewel which Loki steals from the sleeping Freyja is narrated in *Sǫrla þátr*, although this fourteenth-century *fornaldarsaga* does not make any special mention of the jewel being called Brísingamen.

<sup>33</sup> The passages in the skaldic poem *Húsdrápa* (st. 2, Skj. B1, p. 128) mention only that Loki and Heimdallr fought at a place called Singasteinn but make no allusions to their fighting in animal-shape. This information must have reached Snorri through a more extensive version of *Húsdrápa* or some other source (see Tolley 2009: 405).

early description of this kind again comes from the *Historia Norwegie* where the free-souls of three Sámi men engaged in a magic battle. According to this description, a woman had apparently been snatched away by a *gandus* ‘unclean spirit’ of the opponents of her tribe and to bring her back a *noaidi* went into an ecstatic state and “finally threw himself to the ground, black all over like a negro and foaming at the mouth as if he were mad; ripped across his stomach, with a mighty roar he eventually relinquished his life” (ch. 4, eds. Ekrem & Mortensen, p. 62; tr. Fisher, p. 63). The woman nevertheless awoke after another *noaidi* successfully attempted the same thing. According to the words of the second *noaidi*, the spirit of the dead sorcerer in the shape of a whale had met the rival’s *gandus* in the shape of sharpened stakes which pierced the first *noaidi* when he rushed through a lake. This account is, of course, of particular value for the present study because it shows that the otherworld travel of the *noaidi*, as well as conflict and the supernatural movement of objects, were already regarded as key features of Sámi religious belief at that time. Parallels can be found in a number of other texts where travelling through water seems to have been particularly associated with Sámi magic. The twelfth-century *Landnámabók* (ch. 56, ÍF 1, p. 218), for example, makes an interesting note on two *Finnar* who were sent *hamfgrum* ‘travelling in animal shape’ to Iceland, thereby exemplifying the popular understanding that they could change shapes and travel magically.<sup>34</sup> This certainly echoes the way in which (the otherworld egos of) Loki and Heimdallr are said to have fought each other in seal form (Tolley 2009: 405, 516). One more very evocative portrayal of this kind is given by the aforementioned Niculus Lundius, whose account of the Sámi also contains a description of a “magic battle” between two Sámi men who fought each other in a trance while sitting calmly in front of their huts (Lundius 1905 [1674]: 6–8). One of them was overthrown by the other in such a powerful way that blood ran from his eyes, ears, mouth and nose.<sup>35</sup> As mentioned earlier, this kind of soul dualism seems to be a fundamental feature of most shamanic groups and, as the examples above have shown, the power of sorcery

<sup>34</sup> A similar description is found in *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*, in which King Haraldr asks a man to go to Iceland in *hamfgrum* to find out what kind of land it is and the magician journeys in the shape of a whale (Hkr, ch. 33, ÍF 26, pp. 270–272). Parallels can also be found in *Vatnsdæla saga*, in which the Norwegian chieftain Ingimundr asks three Finns to visit Iceland: the bodies of the Finns then became rigid and they sent out their souls, although in which form is not stated (ch. 12, ÍF 8, pp. 33–36).

<sup>35</sup> The magic fights of the *noaidit* are also mentioned in Olsen (1910 [1716]: 46).

allowed the battles to result in rather serious physical damage although they were essentially symbolic.

The final link to Sámi culture that will be suggested here is found in Loki's widely discussed and largely accepted role as a trickster or culture-hero who—akin to a *noaidi*—often violates human social norms (for example, he crosses genders and mediates between worlds), sometimes doing so for the benefit of others (Radin 1969: IX–X, 137; Hultkrantz 1980: 36–37).<sup>36</sup> This has already been seen in the grotesque myths where Loki's tricky and impulsive nature repeatedly gets him into trouble and makes him a victim of the pranks of others, as for instance in the myth of the birth of Sleipnir and the incidents with the nanny-goat and the sewn-up mouth, but also in the story of Útgarda-Loki (Gylf. chs. 46–47, pp. 61–67) and Geirrǫðr (Þórsd.; Skáldsk. ch. 26, pp. 118–120). A number of scholars over the years have reflected on Loki's role as a trickster or culture-hero (Leland 1884; von der Leyen 1909; de Vries 1933; Rooth 1961; Ellis Davidson 1964, 1979; McKinnell 1994). Less consideration, however, has been given to the question of where this type of character may have emerged from before becoming part of Old Norse mythology.<sup>37</sup> Such characters are especially common in circumpolar areas, from the canonical trickster figure of native North American traditions to trickster figures such as Stallo among the Sámi.<sup>38</sup> It should be noted that the natural core of the (mythological) tricksters in folktales overlaps in many ways with that of the real (human) shamans, suggesting that shamanistic thinking and the development of a trickster concept cannot be separated

<sup>36</sup> The exploits of the trickster make him comparable with ancient heroes or mediators between different worlds rather than objects of worship. This distinction also seems to apply to the ever-travelling Loki, who mediates between the worlds of different races but arguably never had a cult of his own (Dumézil 1948: 17; Turville-Petre 1964: 126).

<sup>37</sup> Till Eulenspiegel and Reynard the Fox are probably the best-known tricksters from continental Europe, and some characters in Norse-related material, such as Amleth in Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* (Ellis Davidson 1979), Starcatherus in the same account (Meulengracht Sørensen 1977), Ófeigr in *Bandamanna saga* (Lindow 1977) and Bricriu in Irish tradition (Ellis Davidson 1988: 213–214) certainly have trickster-like features, but they are quite different from the archetypal mythological trickster figures.

<sup>38</sup> The best example of the trickster is the brutal giant Stallo who, although often presented as some kind of *noaidi*, represents the villain and worst enemy of the Sámi and is most often tricked and outwitted by the cleverer Sámi. Similar plots can also be found in the less brutal animal folktales. Information on Stallo can be found in Skanke (1910 [1716]: 104); Solander (1910 [1726]: 26); Leem (1767: 424–425); Turi (1910: 200–206); Lid (1933: 43–65); Aikio (1993). Tales of Stallo can be found in Friis (1871: 73–110); Qvigstad & Sandberg (1887: 62–66; 146–162); Turi (1918–1919: 183–188). Stallo's role as a trickster has also been discussed by McElwain (1987).



from each other (Campbell 1959: 275; Ellis Davidson 1964: 181; Jung in Radin 1969: 196; La Barre 1970: 199; Rutherford 1986: 16). It therefore seems natural that Loki, who displays so many characteristics of the *noaidi* tradition, should also have come to take on the role of the most prominent Norse trickster. It is possible that the “illogical” inconsistencies in Loki’s character could be effectively explained by his role as an impulsive and immoral trickster. This approach to Loki’s role as a trickster—and its potential connections to Sámi tradition—would certainly merit further discussion and investigation, but remains outside the scope of the present study.

Overall, it might be concluded that Loki, regularly found lurking in the shadows behind his famous sworn brother Óðinn—who appears to have his own Sámi connections at later stages of his development—has in fact retained as many (if not more) elements that can be traced back to Sámi culture and therefore merits a place in discussions of shamanistic qualities in Old Norse mythology. The lengthy considerations of whether the “poor misunderstood” good Loki is older than the devilish version of him which largely derives from a time when scholars were searching for an older and purer religion, have nevertheless done a great deal to shape our views today. There is therefore a widespread tendency to “condemn” Snorri for his lack of fidelity to original traditions and for his Christian interpretations that demand clear-cut borders. However, it must be remembered that this kind of reinterpretation is not restricted to Snorri, and derives also from the worldview of modern European scholars—inevitably tinged by Christian tradition—which must be very different from that of the early Christians in Scandinavia and Iceland whose story-telling traditions were essentially oral. If Loki, as the present article suggests, was regarded as embodying elements characteristic of Sámi *noaidi* spirituality from the earliest times, it is logical that he would also be bound to incorporate some eternal oppositions that naturally engendered a certain nervous respect in people, especially among outsiders. Thus there is no reason to believe that people in pre-Christian times ever understood him as a trustworthy figure. All we can be certain of is that every different kind of Loki-figure that we encounter must reflect the understanding of a certain period and must be considered real to its own time and place. Even though we may question whether those Loki-myths that are found only in Snorri’s writings reflect ancient myths or represent later additions designed to add colour to the stories, they should not be ruled out as having less value. Snorri probably had a reason for furnishing Loki with further dubious features, if only



because other similar features were already found in him. Therefore it does not matter whether, for example, the myth of Sleipnir's birth to Loki is essentially pre-Christian or not; what matters is that Snorri ascribed the story of the birth of an eight-legged horse—a beast connected with shamans in most hunting cultures—to the figure of Loki. The story at the very least reflects the popular ideas of Snorri's time, ideas which must have been recognisable to the audience and which did not conflict with their understanding of Loki. It is nevertheless remarkable that the *noaidi*-like features of this ever-travelling and gender-crossing *áss-jötunn* seem to have offered the easiest potential for his development into the Norse Devil at the same time as the popular respect toward the Sámi and their magic practices began to dwindle with the gradual progress of Christianity in the North.

At the same time, the manifest stability of certain features, such as Loki's constant association with air and flight, suggest that these might be archetypal elements that were already present in the oldest versions of the Loki figure. It is this aspect that I find of most interest here and which offers the first immediate suggestion of parallels with Sámi belief. Having said that, however, the aim of this paper was not to find a figure equivalent to Loki in Sámi religion, or to argue that each and every one of the elements discussed are indubitably linked to Loki or that he should be seen in the role of an actual *noaidi* (as is common with Óðinn). The aim was simply to emphasise the fact that the “paradoxical” elements inherent in him find parallels in Sámi folk belief where similar concepts are found. While the possibility that some of Loki's character traits may have evolved elsewhere cannot be ruled out, it seems hard to ignore the likelihood of strong Sámi influence on the development of his character, especially given the literary sources that seem to point towards an original domicile in the northern parts of Europe. Therefore it is important to explore the possibility that Loki was a changeable figure who developed independently in northern Scandinavia and inherited elements from several neighbouring cultures, particularly those of the Sámi. The idea that Loki is at heart a dualistic *noaidi*-like figure—and thereby perhaps connected to the trickster tradition—who belongs to the liminal borderlands of Sámi and Norse culture offers a logical explanation of the various conflicts inherent in his character.

## Abbreviations

- Bdr. = Baldurs draumar (in Eddukv.)  
 Eddukv. = Eddukvæði (ed. Gísli Sigurðsson 1998)  
 Fjssvm. = Fjolsvinnsmál (in Eddukv.)  
 FSN. = Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda (ed. Guðni Jónsson 1954)  
 Gylf. = Gylfaginning (in SnE.)  
 Haustl. = Haustlǫng (in Skj.)  
 Hárblj. = Hárbardsljóð (in Eddukv.)  
 Hkr. = Heimskringla (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 2002)  
 Hlj. = Hyndluljóð (in Eddukv.)  
 Húsd. = Húsdrápa (in Skj.)  
 ÍF. = Íslenzk fornrit (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag)  
 Ls. = Lokasenna (in Eddukv.)  
 Skáldsk. = Skáldskaparmál (in SnE.)  
 Skj. = Den norsk-islandske skjaldediktning (ed. Finnur Jónsson 1912)  
 SnE. = Snorra-Edda (ed. Heimir Pálsson 2003)  
 Sǫrl. = Sǫrla þáttur (in FSN)  
 Vsp. = Vǫluspá (in Eddukv.)  
 Þkv. = Þrymskviða (in Eddukv.)  
 Þórsd. = Þórsdrápa (in Skj.)  
 Yngt. = Ynglingatal (in Skj.)

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## Summary

This article considers possible Sámi influences on Old Norse mythology, specifically, the possible connection of aspects of Sámi *noaidevuohta* practice with the complex mythological figure of Loki Laufeyjarsón. The focus is placed on the dual and ambivalent nature of this figure, qualities which have always made it impossible for him to be placed in a clear-cut framework and suggest that perhaps we are dealing with a changeable figure. The written sources are briefly examined as are possibly connected archaeological finds and place-names that shed light on Loki and point towards his early existence in the northern parts of Europe. Following an analysis of characteristically Sámi features which seem to be inherent in Loki, his character is explained in the light of the *noaidi* tradition. The suggested perspective is that Loki might be better understood in the context of the *noaidi* figures—and perhaps through his role as a trickster—that are found in a number of circumpolar cultures, including the Sámi. This encourages a novel approach to Loki from which tentative conclusions are drawn about his erratic nature and his independent development in the northern parts of Scandinavia from the very first.

**Keywords:** Loki, Sámi, *noaidi*, tricksters

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***Kringla heimsins—Jordennes krets—  
Orbis terrarum***  
**The translation of Snorri Sturluson’s work  
in Caroline Sweden**

LARS WOLLIN

A grand complex of Icelandic literature entered Swedish national culture during the Caroline epoch (1660–1720). It came to stay. The very heart of the matter was Snorri Sturluson’s works. There is no doubt that his Norwegian Kings’ Sagas influenced the Swedes’ historical self-image more extensively and more deeply than any other historical document. The most comprehensive of these sagas, *Óláfs Saga hins helga*, which can be enjoyed as an independent narrative or as a link in the Heimskringla series, belonged in the 17th century to those foreign texts that were most frequently swedified. The famous scene in a chapter of the saga with Torgny “lagman” at the Uppsala thing—a magnificent peak in the dramatic narrative—comprises part of Swedish national heritage. *Óláfs Saga* seems to have been very popular in the Caroline era: at least three distinct versions in Swedish were produced during a relatively short period of time (roughly 1650–1700). The translation ascribed to Guðmundur Ólafsson, substantially revised by the editor Johan Peringskiöld, resulted in the “official” Swedish version. It was published in two monumental volumes in 1697 and 1700, with text in Icelandic, Swedish and Latin. This was a polished product of Caroline philology, undertaken in a spirit of ultra-patriotic Swedish nationalism. In its linguistic form, its creation was readily supported by the Icelanders.

This article concerns the extent and the character of the possible influence exerted on the 1697–1700 Swedish translation of *Óláfs Saga* by the preceding translations of the same text. Is it even arguable, one might wonder, that this important piece of Icelandic narration in a distinguished epoch in the history of national Swedish culture was actually translated

only once, rendered in the national language in basically one and the same version? This problem touches upon some central aspects of cultural history. At the same time, in its empirical dimension, it should be tackled within the framework of translation studies. Both approaches will be adopted here.

Four Caroline Swedish versions of Óláfs Saga will be presented and discussed. In a concluding section they will be contrasted and compared with (a version of) the Icelandic original and—especially—with each other in two brief passages. The printed Latin target version will also be briefly commented upon.

## 1 The cultural setting

In the centuries following the end of the Middle Ages, the dissolution of the linguistic unity which had prevailed in Viking Age and Old Medieval Scandinavia had proceeded so far that Icelandic was no longer generally understandable in mainland Scandinavia, not even as a written language. The reception of Saga literature and Eddic poetry, then, necessitated adequate translation into Danish and Swedish.

The art and the craft of translation had been cultivated in the Nordic countries for centuries at this time. It had been carried out in a double tradition, with the vernacular serving as the source as well as the target language. Latin was translated into the Scandinavian languages on a large scale for the domestication of foreign ideas, and the vernaculars into Latin for the international dissemination of some domestic writing; the latter activity was, of course, a minor affair, although in fact not insignificant. What was required at this time, however, was essentially a different undertaking: translation from one vernacular into another. Icelandic was established, rather suddenly, in Eastern Scandinavia as an ordinary source language for translation, in addition to German. In quantitative terms, certainly, Icelandic was of course hugely overshadowed by the dominant continental vernacular.<sup>1</sup> This development may be paradoxically indicative of the crucial transition from a more or less exclusively Latinate medieval

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<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive general survey of literature translated into Swedish in the 17th century is given in Hansson (1982). For the quantitative distribution of source languages see *op. cit.* p. 29.

Europe into a multilingual modern world: paradoxical in consideration of the fact that the Swedish 17th century is generally considered a “Golden Age” of Latin culture in the country. As for the use of Icelandic as a source language, the translation historian notes with interest, too, that the contemporary patriotic idea of a shared national identity of Icelandic and mainland Scandinavian languages by no means interfered with the necessity of translation. Apparently, in governing Danish and Swedish circles the valuable Geatish stuff was handled in a spirit of linguistic pragmatism.

The language and literature of Iceland was flourishing in continental Scandinavia already at the end of the Middle Ages. Sharing a patriotic Geatish ideology, the two recent nation-states, Denmark and Sweden, soon entered into keen competition with each other in their efforts to monopolize the literary treasures of a prestigious and partly fictitious past. The scramble for preserved Icelandic manuscripts was undertaken at a national level, assuming spectacular forms in some cases. In Denmark, Snorri Sturluson’s *Heimskringla* had already been translated by the mid-16th century. The most renowned Danish pioneers in the field were Laurents Hanssøn and Peder Claussøn; the celebrated editor of the latter’s work was Ole Worm (Gödel 1897: 59 ff.). The Arnamagnæan editorial tradition started, as we know, only in the early 18th century.

In Sweden this development set in after some delay and initially with a slightly different emphasis. In this field as in so many others in contemporary national antiquarian culture, the great pioneer was Johan Bure (his name often appearing in the latinized form Johannes Bureus). He translated the *Vilkinasaga* in the 1630s, a work that was never published (Gödel 1897: 219 ff.). The first Icelandic texts to be edited and printed in Sweden, and even translated into Swedish, were three “fornaldarsögur”: *Götreks och Rolf’s Saga*, *Herrauds och Bosa Saga* and *Hervars Saga*, appearing in the editions of Olof Verelius in the 1660s and 1670s (Gödel 1897: 246–255).

As initially stated, however, the most comprehensive textual complex in this Swedish tradition of Geatish editing and translation is, beyond compare, also the most important one: Snorri Sturluson’s succession of Norwegian kings’ sagas, the memorable title of which was coined in the complete Caroline Swedish edition of 1697 as *Heimskringla*. In particular, the longest story in the series, *Óláfs Saga*, was, as I have stated, a recurrent item on the agenda of Swedish translators in the Caroline epoch.

## 2 A philological approach to translation studies

The particular complex of Scandinavian textual history in question—though certainly thoroughly investigated over at least one and a half centuries of modern philological research—has never, as far as I know, been systematically approached from the perspective of *translation*. Neither has any scholar considered it worthwhile to actually analyse the *very texts* in their Swedish (and Latin) linguistic form. The reason for this traditional indifference is no doubt a question of attitude: not until fairly recently has the perspective of translation been brought to the fore in historical and linguistic research.

Nevertheless, in view of the overall importance of Snorri’s historical writings in Sweden, the translation of these same writings might very well prove to be a rewarding subject for research. What I am attempting is a little like turning the problem on its head, in reference to a statement made by James Knirk on partly the same material: “There are, of course, great difficulties connected with attempting to employ a seventeenth-century abbreviated Swedish translation as the main witness for an Old Norse text” (Knirk 2009: 529). Working as a Swedish translation historian rather than an Old Norse philologist, I will be attempting to employ an Old Norse text as the main witness for Swedish translation. Despite the difficulties connected with this “inverted” undertaking, the shift of perspective will hopefully contribute to our understanding.

## 3 The texts

Johan Bure’s younger kinsman Lars Bure completed his translation of Óláfs Saga in the 1650s; it was followed later in the mid-17th century by another two or three versions which are preserved only in anonymous manuscripts. Printing and editorial undertakings flourished in the latter half of the century and around 1700; two printed versions of the same saga were produced during this time.

A graphic survey of the material is presented in Fig. 1.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> I wish to offer my gratitude to an anonymous peer-reviewer, who suggested substantial improvements in my original arrangement of this figure.



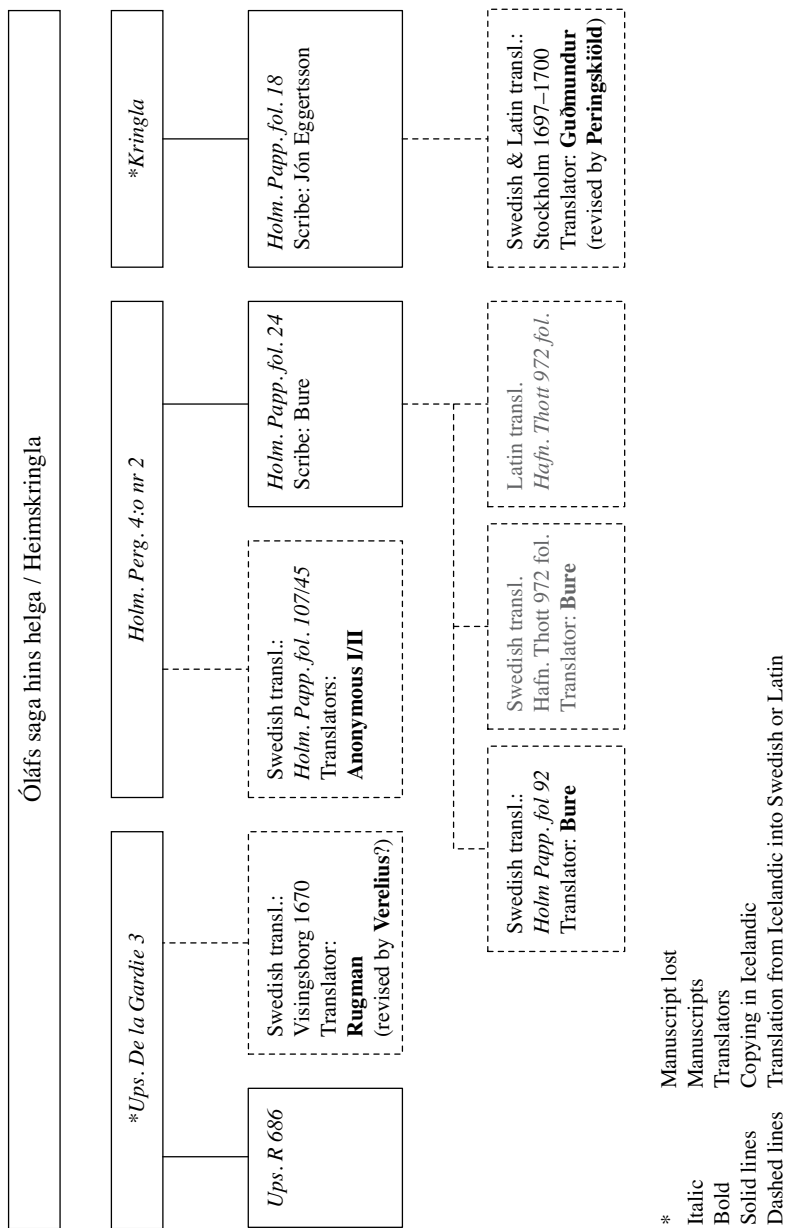


Fig. 1. Copying and translation in the Caroline Swedish tradition of *Óláfs Saga hins helga*. Schematic representation. (The position and attribution of *Cod. Hafn. Thott 972 fol.* is hypothetical.)

### 3.1 Unprinted translation

A handful of 17th-century manuscripts comprising Swedish versions of Óláfs Saga were never printed. They are preserved in libraries in Stockholm and Copenhagen.

#### 3.1.1 Bure

A recurring name in the study of Caroline Swedish translation has been mentioned already: *Lars Bure*, often called *Laurentius Bureus*. He was a younger relative of the legendary antiquarian pioneer Johan Bure, likewise mentioned above. Lars Bure worked as a “translator” in the National Archives (Riksarkivet) in 1651; later in the same decade he was appointed Director of the authority that is today the National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet) and Professor of history at Uppsala (SBL 6 1926: 717–719). In addition to his runological and lexicographic achievements, his philological efforts resulted in three major works on medieval manuscripts: two copies and one translation. One of the former is a Swedish provincial law code: the Older Västergötland Law (*Äldre Västgöotalagen*). The other one is Óláfs Saga, preserved in *Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 24*; this copy was submitted to the National Archives in 1651 (Gödel 1897–1900: 138). Bure’s translation renders the same saga, taken down in *Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 92* and probably contemporaneous with the copy in Icelandic (Gödel 1897: 237 f.). Both of these texts are written in Bure’s own hand and linked to him by notes in contemporary sources. They are mentioned by Count De la Gardie in a letter to Verelius after Bure’s death which explicitly refers to him. There is some suggestion of plans to posthumously print Bure’s versions of the Óláfs Saga; this obviously went no further than the idea (Gödel 1897: *ibid.*, 1897–1900: 138, 222; Johnsen & Jón Helgason 1941: 888). Bure’s Swedish version of Óláfs Saga apparently also exists in a Copenhagen manuscript with verses edited by Jón Rugman (*Cod. Hafn. Thott 972 fol*; for Rugman, see below), which has not been investigated for the present study; there is also a Latin version ascribed to Lars Bure and Verelius (Johnsen & Jón Helgason 1941: 889 f.).

The source text for Bure’s Icelandic and Swedish versions was obviously the *Cod. Holm. Perg. 4:o nr 2* (or an interlink between this manuscript and Bure’s Icelandic version). This is one of the West Norse documents that first came into Swedish possession; it was frequently used by the earliest philologists in the country and was already being referred

to in the late Middle Ages (Gödel 1897: 18 ff., 1897–1900: 35 ff.; Johnsen & Jón Helgason 1941: 886 ff.).

### 3.1.2 *Anonymous works*

Apart from Lars Bure’s translation, there are some further Swedish versions of Óláfs Saga in the Caroline epoch, their translators unnamed, which remained unprinted. Two of them are found in the Stockholm manuscripts *Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 45* and *fol. 107*. These documents have distinct connections with each other, as well as with the other manuscripts containing the same text, in a rather complex relationship. The first manuscript contains on the verso a copy of the Icelandic text following the same Stockholm codex as the one probably used by Bure as mentioned above, and on the recto a Swedish version in the left column, while the right column is left blank; according to Gödel (1897–1900: 156) the arrangement on the recto was designed for a parallel Latin translation which was never included. The manuscript is defective, with the saga text not starting until Chapter 26. In the latter manuscript, which is apparently slightly younger, we likewise find a copy in Icelandic (following the same codex) and a Swedish version. The text here gives the beginning of the saga, ending in Chapter 26, in the very passage where the text of the other manuscript begins; the copyist, Johan Peringskiöld, apparently aimed to complete the defective document (Gödel 1897–1900: 237).

In each manuscript, the Swedish translator is anonymous. In the following, the two works are designated *Anon. I* in the younger (latter) and *Anon. II* in the older (former) manuscript.

## 3.2 Printed translation

Two Swedes, Verelius and Peringskiöld, are closely connected to Geatish editing and printing in the Caroline epoch, and two Icelanders, Jón Rugman and Guðmundur Ólafsson, to its translation. The distribution of roles within this quartet is, however, far from self-evident.

### 3.2.1 *Verelius and Rugman*

The pioneering translation, made by Rugman and Verelius, of three “fornaldarsögur” in the 1660s and 1670s was mentioned above (p. 95).— A Swedish version of Óláfs Saga is included in the volume that Count Per Brahe had his printer Johan Kankel make at his seat of Visingsborg in 1670. It is entitled *Norlandz. Chrönika och Beskriffning* (roughly ‘Chronicle

and Description of the Northern Land’). In the preface to the volume, the count himself is said, in his patriotic zeal and at a considerable cost, to have had “een mächta gammal Chrönika på Pergament sammanfattat och skrefwen / på det Jssländska Tungomålet” (‘a mightily old chronicle summarized and written on parchment in the Icelandic language’) “förswenskad” (‘swedified’) by “een infödd Jssländsk Man” (‘a native Icelandic man’). This Icelander is not mentioned by name. At the end of the preface, together with a recommendation of the book, an apology is made for misprints as well as for linguistic shortcomings:

Then gunstige gode Läsaren täcktes nu detta Wärecket sig behaga låta / och wäl vptaga / som med stoor Flijt och Möda sammandragit är / sampt benägit vrsächta the Fauter / vnder Tryckerijet kunna wara inkomna / och det Translatoren, som een Jssländare vthi Swenska Språcket har felat.

‘The indulgent reader is kindly asked to take pleasure in this work and to take it in good part, which is compiled with great diligence and toil, further favourably to excuse the errors that might have occurred in printing, as well as the mistakes that the translator, as an Icelander, has made in the Swedish language.’

Although unmentioned in the volume itself, the originator of the anonymous swedification is identified in a list of the works of *Jón Rugman*, included in Johannes Schefferus’ *Svecia literata* (1680). One item on this list reads: “Versionem Sueticam Historiæ veteris Islandica lingua scriptæ de Regibus Norvagorum quæ vulgo *Konunga-Sagur* nuncupantur. Wisingsburgi per Johannem Kankel Anno 1670. folio.”

We are informed about the position of this Visingsborg publication in the complicated textual history of *Óláfs Saga* in the same volume. Immediately before the summary of the *Ynglinga Saga*, introducing the succession of texts translated from Icelandic (the sagas of St. Ólaf and several subsequent kings, with *Sverri’s Saga* concluding the series), we find another preface, in which Per Brahe is once again thanked for his services: the count has, it is reverently emphasized, from the library of the Chancellor Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie “behagat låna thenna så mycket gambla, doch wäl på Pergament skreffna Booken, [...] hwilcken så nyttig, och osz här i Swerige här till dagz obekant warit hafwer, och [låtit] henne vpå sin egen Bekostnad fram i Liuset komma” (‘pleased to borrow this so very old, though on parchment well written book, [...] which has been so useful and to us here in Sweden until today unknown, and [made] it at his own expense come into the light’). The book referred

to—containing Rugman’s source text—has been identified as the *Cod. Ups. De la Gardie 3*, which was donated by Count De la Gardie to the University of Uppsala in 1669 and lost in a fire in 1702 (Johnsen & Jón Helgason 1941: 1077, Knirk 2009: 529). Together with a copy of the original (*Cod. Ups. R 686*) and material contained in some philological works of Verelius (the editions of the above-mentioned fornaldarsögur and an extensive glossary), Rugman’s Swedish version is considered to present a certain image of the lost text (Johnsen & Jón Helgason 1941: 1078 ff.).

In view of the close collaboration between the two in translating Icelandic texts, the hypothesis presents itself that Verelius provided Rugman with substantial assistance in polishing his Swedish in the *Óláfs Saga* printed in 1670.

### 3.2.2 *Peringskiöld and Guðmundur*

The epoch’s most well-known contribution to the genre is probably the trilingual edition of *Heimskringla*, published at Stockholm in two magnificent volumes 1697–1700, the work of *Johan Peringskiöld*. The Icelandic text and a Swedish version thereof were here arranged in two parallel columns covering the upper two thirds of each page; the lower third was occupied by a Latin version. Following convention, the Icelandic and Swedish text were set in German type, the Latin in Roman (the two former differed in the size of the type, however, to match the expanding effect of translation on text volume). The document forming the basis of the edition has long been identified as the parchment codex called *Kringla* (Unger (1868: iii, v). Though still in existence in Peringskiöld’s time (it was lost in the Copenhagen conflagration of 1728), only a copy of this manuscript was available to him, made by the Icelander Jón Eggertsson in *Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 18*, and complemented with an authentic leaf of the *Kringla* manuscript (Gödel 1897: 191, 1897–1900: 133 ff.); this fact, of course, contributes to the probability of the derivation. As the translator into Swedish the editor names *Guðmundur Ólafsson*, a younger compatriot of Jón Rugman.

The translation of the *Heimskringla* text into *Latin* in Peringskiöld’s edition is mentioned by the editor who nevertheless does not specify who was responsible (“by Royal order enlarging it with a Latin version”, quoted below). Possibly, although far from certainly, it is the work of the editor himself, whose Latin pen—as we should expect from a Caroline scholar—flows easily and assuredly in the bilingual preface. In general,

although dutifully noted by modern scholars, the Latin versions of the Icelandic sagas have, as far as I know, never been closely studied. cursory glances at some random passages in Peringskiöld's edition give the impression of a far looser relation to Snorri's text in the Latin version of Óláfs Saga than in the vernacular (a difference by no means necessary or predictable!). The unknown latinizer apparently seems inclined to a slightly periphrastic touch in his rendering. Irrespective of this potential difference in translating attitude, the possibility cannot be ruled out that even the Latin version may attest to mutual relations within the entire text complex. Any further study would probably benefit from this extended comparison.

Relevant or peripheral—this Latin version was probably crucial in paving the way for Snorri's worldwide reputation. The monumental printed edition was the first that was widely distributed. Its magnificent title was even responsible for coining the very name of *Heimskringla* in the learned world nationally as well as internationally. It resounds trilingually through the very beginning of the text:

**Kringla heimsins**, sú er mannfólkitt byggja ...

**Jordennes krets** som Menniskjorna byggja ...

**Terrarum orbis**, quam genus incolit Mortalium ...

In his preface Peringskiöld mentions the officially appointed translator behind the Swedish version, the Icelander Guðmundur Ólafsson, by name. He does so having first praised Snorri's achievement as a collector and copyist of sagas and scaldic verses, arranging the material "in a complete work":

[...] hwilket vår *Translator* framledne Gudmund Oláfsson en Isländare / hafwer här wid *Antiquitets* Wäret afsatt på Swenska / men som han intet aldeles warit vårt nu brukelige språk mächtig / hafwer iag nödgads hans arbete til större dehlen förändra / då iag thet emot tränne särskilte i thet gamla språket handskrefne *exemplar* iämfört hafwer / och sedan efter Kongl. befallning med en *Latinsk version* til the utländskas tjenst förökad. Jag förmodar uhrsächt i thet som felat är / eller återstår at förbättras.

‘[...] which our *translator*, the late Gudmund Olofsson, an Icelander, has here at the *Antiquity* Department rendered in Swedish, but since he was not entirely capable of our language as it is now used, I have been forced to change the

major part of his work, comparing it to three particular handwritten copies in the old language, then by royal order enlarging it with a *Latin version* for the service of foreigners. I expect excuse in what has failed or remains to be improved.’

The “three copies” consulted by Peringskiöld to check up on the Swedish of the Icelandic translator are not specified. In the case of Óláfs Saga they may be reasonably identified as the relevant section of the three “original” manuscripts arranged at the top of Fig. 1 (see above); the “Kringla”, however, is represented only by a copy. However it is interpreted, the editor’s words permit two interesting conclusions as to the status of the Swedish version: firstly, it cannot be immediately supposed to reflect exclusively the particular branch of the Heimskringla tradition that is represented by the Kringla manuscript; secondly, its text is Peringskiöld’s own work as much as that of Guðmundur.

## 4 Analysis and comparison

As empirical material I have selected two passages from Óláfs Saga, cited from the *Íslenzk fornrit* edition (Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945). The normalized linguistic form of this edition is of lesser importance on levels of analysis applied to translation procedures. The editor’s critical attitude is certainly eclectic; nevertheless, this text, like Peringskiöld’s edition, is essentially based on the Kringla manuscript, which is a point of particular interest in this connection. One of the two passages selected comprises chapters 4 and 5 (dealing with young Ólaf’s first military undertakings); the other one is part of chapter 80 (the speech of Thorgny “lagman”).

As the basis for an empirical study, this material is certainly sparse: the first passage numbers 166 running words in the source version (exclusive of scaldic verses), the second 379 words. The sum total (545 running words) then makes up roughly half a percent of a narrative containing approximately 100 000 running words (prose text only). The smallness of the sample may, I hope, be justified by the modest intention of inviting further research rather than presenting conclusive results.

## 4.1 Presentation

The initial lines of the two passages in the Icelandic source language and the four Swedish target language versions are presented below; a full version is given in Appendices I and II.

**Óláfs saga hins helga: chapter 4–5**

*ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945*

Óláfr Haraldsson var þá tólf vetra gamall, er hann steig á herskip fyrsta sinn. Ásta, móðir hans, fekk til Hrana, er kallaðr var konungsfóstri, til forráða fyrir liðinu ok í fõr með Óláfi, því at Hrani hafði opt áðr verit í víking.

*Lars Bure*

Oloff Haraldsonn, war tolfß år gammal, thå han förste gången stegh på Härskapp. Asta hans modher, förordnade Rann, som kalladher war konunga Fostrare, att föreståå resan, och folcket som medh Oloff woro. Fördy hann hadhe offta tillförende warit uthi Siööresor.

*Anon. I*

Olof Haralldson war tolf år gamal när han första gången begynte stiga på härskep. Hans moder Asta satte tå Rane, hwilken blef kallader Konungens fosterfader, til at wara Höfdingen och at han altid kulle wara hennes son Olof fölgachtig; ty Rane hade tilförende ofta warit uti siöröfweri.

*Jón Rugman*

Oloff Haraldsson war . år gammal när han steg på Häärskep / then första gången: Asta hans Moder fick Hrana / then ther kallader war Konungens Fostre / Höfwesman till at förestå heela Häären / och Konung Oloffz Reesa / forty Hrana [sic!] hade offta warit i Wijking.

*Guðmundur Ólafsson/Johan Peringskiöld*

Oláf Haraldson war tålf år gammal / när han första gången begynte stiga på Härskep. Hans moder Åsta satte tå Rane / hwilken blef kallat Konungens fosterfader / til at wara Höfdinge öfwer theras krigsmacht / och at han alltid skulle wara hennes son Oláf fölgachtig; ty Rane hade tilförende ofta warit uti siöröfweri.

**Óláfs saga hins Helga: section of chapter 80**

*ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945*

Þá stóð upp Þorgnýr. En er hann stóð upp, þá stóðu upp allir bæendr, þeir er áðr



höfðu setit, ok þustu at allir þeir, er í ǫðrum stöðum höfðu verit, ok vildu hlýða til, hvat Þorgnýr mælti. Var þá fyrst gnýr mikill af fjölmenni ok vápnum. En er hljóð fekksk, þá mælti Þorgnýr:

”Annan veg er nú skaplyndi Svía-konunga en fyrr hefir verit. Þorgnýr, fǫðurfaðir minn, mundi Eirík Uppsalakonung Emundarson ok sagði þat frá honum, at meðan hann var á léttasta aldri, at hann hafði hvert sumar leiðangr úti ok fór til ýmissa landa ok lagði undir sik Finnland ok Kirjálaland, Eistland ok Kúrland ok víða um Austrlond. Ok mun enn sjá þær jarðborgir ok önnur stórvirki, þau er hann gerði, ok var hann ekki svá mikillátr, at eigi hlýddi hann mönnum, ef skylt áttu við hann at ræða. [— —]

*Lars Bure*

Sedhan stegh Thorgnyr up, och med honom reste sikh hele Allmoghen, som tillförende setat hadhe, och tystnadhe alle uthi hwadh rum de hellst woro. dy alle wille lydha till thet som Thorgnyr woro talandes. När han dem syntes beredd till att tala, då giordes der först ett wäpnabrack iblan Allmoghen, medhan de sin wapn samanstötte, Men der gaffz åter ginast liudh, och Thorgnyr der medh så sitt tahl begynte.

Annorledhes ähre nu Sweriges Konungar till sinnes wordne, än som de tillförende warit haffwa. Thorgnyr, min Fadher Fadher, han tiente Erijk Emunsonn Upsala Konungh; och wiste thet aff honom berättta, att den tijdh, han war på sin lättesta ålder, då war han uthi på åthskillige Krigztågh, och fohr han till ymsa Länder, och ladhe under sikh Finlandh, Kirialandh, Estlandh, Kurlandh och widha af österländerne. Och månde Mann ännu see der Jordbårger; och många andre store wärk, som der aff honom haffwa giorde waret; icke dess mindre, war han eij så högdragen, att han icke tålde deras tahl, som medh honom rådslå borde. [— —]

*Anon. II*

Sedan steg Thorgny up, och med honom reste sig hele Allmogen, som tillförende sutit hade, och tystnade alle, uti hwad rum the helst woro; ty alle wille lyda till thet som Thorgny woro talandes. När han them syntes beredd till att tala, thå giordes ther först itt wapnabrak ibland Allmogen, emedan the sin wapn sammanstötte, Men ther gaffs åter ginast liud, och Thorgny ther med så sitt tal begynte.

Annorledes är nu Sweriges Konungar til sinnes wordne, än som the tilförende warit hafwa. Thorgny, min fader fader, tiente Erik Emundson Upsala Konung och wiste thet aff honom berättta, att then tijd han war på sin lätteste ålder, tå war han ute på åtskillige Krigståg, och fohr han till ymse Länder, och lade under sig Finland, Kirialand, Estland, Kurland, och wida öfwer Österländerne. Och månde man ännu see der Jordbårger, och många andre store wärk, som

thär af honom hafwa giorde warit; icke dess mindre war han ey så högdragen, att han icke tålde theras tal, som med honom rådslå borde. [— —]

*Jón Rugman*

Tå stod Torgny op; Och när han war opstånden / reste alla Bönderna sig / the som förr hade sutit / opp / och ther till ruusade fram alla the på andra ställen hade warit / och wille höra / hwad Torgny taalade. War tå först stoort Gny aff Folcketz Myckenheet / och theras Wapn. När som Liud ficks / talade Torgny.

Annorledes är nu Swea Konungs Skaplyndi / än det förr hafwer warit. Torgny min Fader-Fader kunde minnas Erick Upsala Konung Eindridasson / och sade det om honom / at när han war på / sin Ungdoms ålder / at han hade hwar Sommar Ledunger vthe / och häriade i åthskilliga Land / och lade vnder sigh Finland / Kirialand / Estland och Turckland / och wijda om Österlanden må ännu synas Jardborgr / och andra stoora Wärck / som han giorde; Och war han icke så högmodig / at at han icke hörde them / som hade något Nödvändigt at taala med honom. [— —]

*Guðmundur Ólafsson / Johan Peringskiöld*

Sedan steg Thorgny up /och tillika med honom reste sig hela almogen / som tilförende suttit hade / och alle the som annorstädes warit hade luppo thär til / williandes höra på hwad som Thorgny worde talandes. Blef tå först ett stort gny / af wapnabrak och sårlande af folkens myckenhet. Men när thär gafs åther liud / tå begynte Thorgny sit tal således:

Annorlunda äre nu Sweriges Konungar til sinnes / än som the tilförende warit hafwa. Thorgny min fader fader kunde wäl minnas Erik Eymundson / Upsala Konung / och wiste thet om honom berättat / at then tid han war på sin lättaste ålder / tå war han ute på åtskillige krigståg / dragandes hwar och en sommar / med krigshär til siös / til ymsa länder / och lade under sig Finland och Kyrialand / Estland och Kurland / tillika med många andra landskaper uti Österländerne. Och kan man ännu se the Jordbårger, och många andre store wärk / som thär af honom hafwa giorde warit; doch war han icke så högdragen til sinnes / at han icke skulle willa lida theras tal / som något angeläget hade för honom at framställa. [— —]

## 4.2 The philology of translation

In the tradition of Caroline Swedish translation from Icelandic, the three historical “capitals” of Old Norse philology—Copenhagen, Uppsala, and Stockholm—are, as we can see, represented, whether accidentally or not, by one fundamental manuscript each: the three at the top level of

the arrangement in Fig. 1 above. These documents may be considered variants of what we might *rightly* call the “original” of the translated text. In compliance with the doctrine, however, which has been long recognized in most linguistic theory of translation, we should beware of the confusion of ideas that lurks here. The so-called “original text” is (ideally) the text conceived of and written by the author. This text is, of course, by no means necessarily identical with the specific version that was actually used by the translator; in fact, the latter version may not even have been written in the so-called “original language”. In reference to the version used by the working translator we should not, as is often carelessly done, talk loosely about the “original”, but employ the more exactly defined term of *source text*.

This simple but fundamental distinction in the terminology appropriate to the linguistic activity we call translation is almost over-explicit in the “stemmatic” arrangement of Fig. 1 above. There is, certainly, good evidence for the dependence of Bure’s translation on a source text written in his own hand, in all probability even on the variant of the original text in the Stockholm manuscript (see Sect. 3.1.1 above). —The connection of the two anonymous Swedish versions to possibly underlying source texts, to which they are linked in Fig. 1 (Sect. 3.1.2), is, however, in principle debatable.—There is good evidence for connecting Rugman’s/Verelius’ translation in the *Norlandz Chrönika* with the manuscript Ups. De la Gardie 3 (Section 3.2.1).—The connection of Peringskiöld’s Icelandic version with the Kringla manuscript may be commonly accepted but, although well supported by Jón Eggertson’s copy and the authentic leaf (Sect. 3.2.2), it deserves unbiased scrutiny: the possibility of contamination with other versions should not be neglected (a number of additions, based on the afore-mentioned Stockholm Cod. Perg. 4:o nr 2, have in fact been identified; see Unger 1868: xiv f.). Moreover, irrespective of the stemmatic position of Guðmundur’s source text, we cannot assume that he limited himself to this text alone, not even in his first “translation”, prior to Peringskiöld’s revision. As for the latter, the editor himself acknowledges, as we have seen above (p. 103), consulting in his revision “three particular handwritten copies in the old language”. The final Swedish text in Peringskiöld’s edition is, then, obviously contaminated by influences from sources other than the one based on Kringla, maybe even at several stages of its genesis, in a pattern of stemmatic dissolution as yet unexplored.

The “original text” in the strict sense—though varying slightly in some

Tab. 1. *Óláfs saga hins helga*: chapters 4–5

Deviating words		G/P
<b>10</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>presents a unique reading</b>
7		all the four versions present unique readings
1		G/P and another version are unique, the two others agree
2		G/P alone is unique, the three others agree
<b>134</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>agrees with one other target language text; the two others share a different reading or are at variance</b>
–		G/P shares a reading with Bure
134		G/P shares a reading with Anon. I
–		G/P shares a reading with Rugman
<b>27</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>agrees with two other target language texts; the third is unique</b>
15		G/P agrees with Rugman and Anon. I; Bure unique
1		G/P agrees with Rugman and Bure; Anon. I unique
11		G/P agrees with Bure and Anon. I; Rugman unique
<b>171</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>words involved in formally deviating rendering</b>
222		total word number

more or less significant details of wording—may certainly be considered common to all these Swedish versions, but the composition of possible source texts in the translation is undecided. Consequently, an arrangement such as the one presented in Fig. 1 is, of course, no actual “stemma”, since from the perspective of translation it cannot be claimed to depict a real state of generic textual dependence.

The empirical basis of the present study is insufficient for more than mentioning the possibility of interference in translation between different Icelandic codices used more or less simultaneously as source texts, in a pattern that is perhaps impossible to discern. In any case, a field ripe for further philological research on translation presents itself here. I will instead focus on the relationships between the translations, looking

Tab. 2. *Óláfs saga hins helga*: section of chapter 80

Deviating words		G/P
<b>148</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>presents a unique reading</b>
11		all the four versions present unique readings
103		G/P and Rugman are unique, Bure and Anon. II agree
34		G/P alone is unique, the three others agree
<b>33</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>agrees with one other target language text; the two others share a different reading or are at variance</b>
–		G/P shares a reading with Bure
7		G/P shares a reading with Anon. II
26		G/P shares a reading with Rugman
<b>182</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>agrees with two other target language texts; the third is unique</b>
1		G/P agrees with Rugman and Anon. II; Bure unique
2		G/P agrees with Rugman and Bure; Anon. II unique
179		G/P agrees with Bure and Anon. II; Rugman unique
<b>363</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>words involved in formally deviating rendering</b>
493		total word number

for traces of possible influence by the older versions (Bure, Anon. I/II, Rugman) on the youngest (Guðmundur Ólafsson / Johan Peringskiöld).

### 4.3 How did the translators work?

The linguistic form of the four Swedish versions of *Óláfs Saga* is analysed comparatively on the levels of lexicon and syntax (not morphology or orthography). The basis of the comparison is the fourth and most famous version, the one made by Guðmundur Ólafsson and Johan Peringskiöld (in this section called G/P), in the monumental printed edition of 1697. The details are provided in a complete five-column arrangement of the text placed in Appendices I–II. Typographical variation here indicates the

pattern of similarities and differences in the wording of the target text, registered in each single running word in the G/P version: wording shared by all four versions; wording shared by three versions, with the fourth unique; one form of wording shared by two versions, another shared by the other two; wording shared by two versions, the two others differ, with wording unique to each; unique usage in each version.

This arrangement allows even a fleeting glance to recognise the pattern: bold type and underlining mark similar readings in two or three versions respectively, whereas unique reading is marked by double underlining in one version and by capital letters in two. The particular instances of variation in linguistic form are accounted for in quantitative terms in Tables 1 and 2. The items set in bold indicate the overall categories.

The first passage (chapters 4 and 5, exclusive of skaldic verses; Table 1, Appendix I) numbers 222 running words in the G/P target text. Of these, 171 words, or 77%, deviate lexically or syntactically in the four TL texts under study. In 6% of this deviating material (ten words), G/P presents a unique reading; the majority, 94% (161 words [134+27]), are readings shared by G/P with one or two of the others. One particular TL text is almost always involved: *Anon. I*. No fewer than 134 words (81%) are shared by G/P and this version exclusively; G/P agrees in some two dozen words (15+11) with *Anon. I* as well as Rugman or Bure.

The second passage (the speech of Torgny “lagman” in Chapter 80; Table 2, Appendix II) numbers 493 running words in the G/P target text. The amount of grammatical deviation between the four TL texts is similar to that found in the first section: 74% or 363 words. G/P presents a unique reading in 148 of these words, or 41%; of the remaining 59% (215 words [33+182]) G/P agrees with one or two of the others. In 51% of the same total (186 words [7+179]) the versions agreeing with G/P are Bure and *Anon. II* rather than Rugman, whereas the latter agrees with G/P in no more than 29 words (26+1+2), or 8%. Agreeing with the others against G/P in less than a tenth of the same total (34 words), Rugman seems on the whole to hold a position apart in this passage; Bure usually agrees with *Anon. II* and very frequently also with G/P.

The two comparisons result in a complex pattern of similarity and difference. Particularly striking in the first section is, of course, the high degree of agreement between G/P and *Anon. I*. In fact these two versions seem to be mere variants of the same Swedish text: there are few mutual deviations, and they are obviously based on the same translation from Icelandic. In the second and longer section, on the other hand, the version

with an overwhelming number of unique readings is that by Rugman, whereas Anon. II agrees with Bure in a manner similar to that of Anon. I with G/P. Thus the version by Bure plays a different role in the two sections. In the first, it is as far removed from G/P and Anon. I as Rugman is, whereas in the second section the preponderant number of readings tend to exclude Rugman and include Bure in the agreement with Anon. II and G/P, the latter three forming a fairly concordant group.

## 5. Conclusions

The difference between these sections should be viewed in the light of the relationship between the two Stockholm manuscripts designated here as *anonymous*, as described in Sect. 3.1.2 above: the text in the codex comprising the first section selected here ends exactly at the point where it begins in the one comprising the second section. It is then reasonable to hypothesise that the translator here called Anon. I can be identified as the editor Peringskiöld, whose hand is found throughout the document, although this awaits further verification. Assuming a similar connection between Peringskiöld and Anon. II appears less well-founded, since this latter anonymous version is obviously very closely related to—if not identical with—that by Bure, rather than to that by G/P.

As was mentioned in Sect. 3.2.2 above (p. 202), Peringskiöld declares in the preface of his edition that was compelled to provide his Icelandic translator with substantial help in giving his Swedish target text a decent linguistic shape. He also mentions “träne särskilte i thet gamla språket handskrefne exemplar” (‘three particular handwritten copies in the old language’) used for comparison in this correction. One possible interpretation of the context suggested for this quantitatively meagre material allows the assumption that Peringskiöld, in refining the work, sought extra assistance from the Icelandic versions already at hand and readily accessible at his Stockholm archive, i.e. from the Uppsala and Stockholm manuscripts at the top of Fig. 1 above, used together with the probable source text, Jón Eggertsson’s copy of the Kringla. In addition, he obviously also consulted two previous Swedish versions (probably resulting from a single translation): those connected with Lars Bure and the second anonymous “translator”; evidently not, however, the one by Rugman.

Accordingly, the idea of a single translation underlying all the Caroline Swedish versions, as suggested in the introduction to this study, is given

no support here. In particular, the lexical and grammatical differences in Rugman's version compared to the three others are too numerous and too deep-rooted to originate from anything but a separate translation. As for the others, in our present state of understanding, the picture is fragmentary. In the first section, comprising only a relatively small initial part of the saga, it is certainly obvious that the two versions Anon. I and G/P, as opposed to that by Bure, are traceable to the same translation; equally obvious is a shared translation behind Bure and Anon. II in the second section.

Furthermore, the complex printed edition of 1697 still stands out as a result of collaboration between the Icelandic translator Guðmundur Ólafsson and Swedish editor Johan Peringskiöld. It seems a reasonable assumption, too, that the Kringla manuscript shared the role of source text for this final Swedish version with some other Icelandic manuscripts, in the first place with Cod. Holm. Perg. 4:o nr 2 and Cod. Ups. De la Gardie 3.

It should be emphasized again that these observations result from a very limited pilot study, the empirical basis of which is weak. Further investigation based on extended and systematically distributed material and focusing on Icelandic manuscripts as well as Swedish (and perhaps even Latin) translations could ascertain the details of patterns as yet merely suggested here.

## 6. Some concluding questions

It remains to be explained why Peringskiöld apparently made practically no use whatsoever of Rugman's translation together with the others. When he was working on his edition, the *Norlandz Chrönika* had been printed and published for nearly three decades. It was, we must reasonably presume, readily available for consultation during the editorial process. Rugman has certainly been criticized by posterity for tainting his Swedish with Icelandicisms, and in 1670 the editor, as we saw in Sect. 3.2.1 above, explicitly apologized for the unnamed translator's linguistic errors. Nevertheless, however it was revised by Verelius or someone else, the language of Rugman's translation actually works. I would like to state that in general it is by no means poor; at any rate, Rugman's Swedish



cannot be immediately judged as inferior to that of Guðmundur Ólafsson and Peringskiöld.

The crucial question to be put in the 21st century, then, is another one. How could these foreigners, two Icelanders apparently not particularly proficient in Swedish, actually be officially entrusted with the responsibility for producing such important Swedish versions of so esteemed a text, carrying a message directed to so highly respected a readership? The idea that translators need to be professionally competent in the source language only, not in the target language, i.e. in Icelandic, not Swedish, although working in Sweden, is far removed from today's understanding of the essence of serious literary translation. This undeniably tells us a lot about shifting linguistic values.

More precisely, these translators were working during a patriotic phase of Swedish national self-assertion, when the country was presumptuously claiming the treasures of the Saga Island as its own domestic heritage. Is it reasonable to imagine, one might wonder, that translation from Icelandic into Swedish may have been regarded at this time—as implicitly as illogically—as “domestication” of what was “domestic” already?

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*Norlandz chrönika och beskriffning, hwaruthinnan förmähles the äldste historier om Swea och Götha rijken, samt Norrie, och een=deels om Danmarck, och om theres wilkår och tilstånd sammanfattad och ihopa dragen aff åthskilliga trowärdiga böcker, skriffter och handlingar.* Tryckt på Wijsingzborg, aff Hans Hög=Grefl : Nådes Hr. RijkzDråtzetens Boocktryckare Johann Kankel. år 1670.

Snorri Sturluson. *Heimskringla eller Snorre Sturlusons Nordländske konunga sagor. Sive Historiæ regum septentrionalium à Snorrone Sturlonide, ante secula quinque, patrio sermone antiquo conscriptæ, quas ex manuscriptis codicibus edidit, versione gemina, notisque brevioribus ...; illustravit Johann. Peringskiöld.* Tomus I. Stockholmiae, literis Wankiwianis, anno christiano M.DC.XCVII (1697).

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## Summary

During the Caroline epoch in Sweden (1660–1720), Snorri Sturluson's *Óláfs Saga hins helga* in the *Heimskringla* succession of Kings' Sagas was among

the foreign texts that were most frequently translated into the vernacular. The Swedish version ascribed to Guðmundur Ólafsson, substantially revised by the editor Johan Peringskiöld, appeared in the “official” Swedish edition which was published in two magnificent volumes between 1697 and 1700. The entire *Heimskringla* was rendered here in Icelandic, Swedish and Latin. This represented a polished production of Caroline philology, executed in a spirit of ultra-patriotic Swedish nationalism with linguistical support from Icelanders.

The article presents and discusses the Swedish version of this monumental edition along with three preceding Swedish translations of Óláfs saga, dating from the same epoch. In a pilot study the four versions are contrasted with Snorri’s original and compared with one another in terms of linguistic form. The central issue concerns the degree of mutual dependence between some or all of these translations, undertaken as they were in the same cultural setting. Could they possibly be traceable to a single Swedish version?

A close study of the linguistic relationship between the “official” version and the three others in two brief sections of saga text provides little support for this hypothesis. In particular, the work of one of the three previous translators, Jón Rugman, is quite distinct from the three others, while the “official” version in Peringskiöld’s edition tends to correspond with one of the two remaining versions in the first section of the text, and with the other one in the second.

The empirical basis of the investigation is weak. The result is given a tentative philological interpretation in terms of textual history, and some hypothetical culture-historical implications are discussed.

**Keywords:** translation history; translation and philology; history of Swedish; Geatish and Swedish; Caroline Sweden; Latin translation in Sweden; *Heimskringla*; Óláfs saga hins helga.

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## Appendix I

Appendix to Table 1: *Óláfs saga hins helga*: chapters 4–5 (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945) and four Swedish translations. Patterns of divergence in TL wording.

unmarked	x x x x	all four TL versions share one wording
<u>underlining</u> / <u>double underlining</u>	x x x y	three TL versions share a distinct wording; the fourth is unique
<b>bold</b> / <i>bold italics</i>	x x y y	two TL versions share one distinct wording, the two others another
<b>bold</b> / SMALL CAPS	x x y z	two TL versions share a distinct wording, the two others are at variance
<i>italics</i>	x y z â	all four TL versions are mutually at variance

<p>Snorri Sturluson ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945</p> <p>Óláfr Haraldsson var þá tólf vetra gamall, er hann steig á herskip fyrsta sinn. Ásta, móðir hans, fékk til Hrana, er kallaðr var konungsfóstri, til forráða fyrir líðinu ok í for opt áðr verit í víking.</p>	<p><b>Lars Bure</b> Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 92</p> <p>Olof Haraldsson, war tolf år gammal, då gáfú han förste gången stegh på Härskpepp. Asta hans modher, förordnade Rann, som kalladher war konunga fostrare, all förestää Resan, och folcket som medh Oloff woro. Fördy hann hadhe offta tillförnde warit uhi siöoresor.</p>	<p><b>Anon. I</b> Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 107</p> <p>Olof Haraldsson war tolf år gamal när han första gången begynte stiga på här skep. Hans moder Asta satte tá Rane, hwilken blef kallader Koningens fosterfader, til at wara Höfjänge och at han altid skulle wara hennes son Olof fölgachtig; ty Rane hade tilförnde ofta warit uti siörföweri.</p>	<p><b>Jón Rugman</b> Visingsborg 1670</p> <p>Olof Haraldsson war 12. år gammal när han steg på Härskkep / then första gången: Asta hans Moder fick Hrana / THEN THER kallader war Konungens FOSTRE / Höfwesman till at förestää heela Höfären / och Koning Oloff; Reesa / och Hrana [sic!] hade OFFTA warit i WIKING.</p>	<p><b>Guðmundur/Peringskiöld</b> Stockholm 1697</p> <p>Óláfr Haraldsson war tálff áhr gammel / när han första gången <i>begynte stiga</i> på Härskkep. <i>Hans moder Asta satte tá Rane / hwilken blef kallat</i> Konungens <i>fosterfader / til at wara Höfjänge öfwer theras krigsmacht / och at han alltid skulle wara hennes son Óláfr fölgachtig; ty Rane hade tilförnde ofta warit uti siörföweri.</i></p>
<p>Pá er Óláfr tók við líði ok skipum, þá gáfu liðsmenn honum konungsnafn, svá sem siðvenja var til, at herkonungar, þeir er í viking váru, er þeir váru konungebornir, þá báru þeir konungsnafn þegar, þótt þeir seti eigi at lönðum.</p>	<p>När NU Olof Haraldsson fick första gången härskkep och krigfolk at råða öfwer; gaf hans folk honom straxt Konungznamn, efter som then tiden wanligt war, och alle the härkonungar som härjade och röfwade om the woro af Konunga slächt, tá skulle the alle kallas Konungar, fast äñ the intet råða öfwer.</p>	<p>När NU Olof Haraldsson fick första gången härskkep och krigfolk at råða öfwer; gaf hans folk honom straxt Konungznamn, efter som then tiden wanligt war, och alle the härkonungar som härjade och röfwade om the woro af Konunga slächt, tá skulle the alle kallas Konungar, fast äñ the intet råða öfwer.</p>	<p>När som Óláfr Haraldsson fick första gången Härskkep och krigfolk til at råða öfwer / gaf hans folk honom strax Konungs namn / efter som then tiden wanligt war / at alla the Härkonungar / som härjade och röfwade / om the woro af Konungsligt slächt / tá skulle the alla kallas Konungar / fast äñ the intet råða öfwer.</p>	

	Lars Bure	Anon. I	Jón Rugman	Guðmundur/Peringskiöld
	Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 92	Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 107	Visingsborg 1670	Stockholm 1697
Snorri Sturluson ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945	Rann satt <b>widh Styret</b> , ty SOMLIGE SÄJA, ATT OLOFF WAR ALLENAST EN RONINGZMAN, SA ÄHR THET EIJ SA, UTHAN HAN WAR KONUNGH ÖFFWET ALT FOLKET SOM WAR PÅ SKEPEN.	Rane satt <b>allstadiqt</b> , <b>wid rorer och wille några berätta at Olof Harallson sief</b> hafwer warit <b>en roderkarl</b> , och <b>ända ther iemte en Konung öfwer Krigzfolket</b> .	Hrani satt <b>wid Styret</b> / FÖRTHENSKULL SAGA SOMBLIGA / AT OLOFF hade warit HASÄTI / FAST AN HAN WAR KONUNG öfwer HEELA HÄÄREN.	Rane satt <b>alt stadiqt</b> <b>wid rorer / och wille några berätta / at Olof Harald- son sief</b> hafwer warit <b>en roderkarl / och ända thär iämte en Konung öfwer krigzfolket</b> .
Peir heldu austr með landinu ok fyrst til Danmerkr. Svá segir Ottarr swarte, er hann ortu um Olof konung:	De <b>hölle sin kosa</b> , <b>alt</b> östan <b>widh</b> Landet, och <b>först</b> till Dan Marek; SA SÄGHER <b>Ottarr</b> Swarte, DER HAN DICHTAR OM OLOFF KONUNGH.	The <b>seglade</b> öster <b>med</b> landet och <b>först</b> til Danmark, <b>efter som Ottarr Swarte berättar, uti then wisan som han gjorde om Konung Olof:</b>	The <b>höllo</b> Öster <b>wid</b> Landet / och <b>komo</b> först Söder till Danmark / SOM <b>Skaldet</b> Ottarr Swarte MEDH SIN WISA BEKRÄFTAR.	The <b>seglade</b> öster <b>med</b> landet / och <b>först</b> til Danmark / <b>efter som Ottarr Swarte berättar / uti then wisan / som han gjorde om Konung Olof:</b>
En er haustaði, sigldi hann austr fyrir Svíaveldi, tók þá at herja ok brenna landit, því at hann þóttisk eiga Svítum at lauma fullan fjándskaþ, er þeir höfðu tekit af lífi födur hans.	Men SEDHAN HÖSTEN KOM, <b>segladhe</b> han in i östersjön. Landet, DY HAN MENTE SIGH haffwa RÄTT OCH SKIAHL TILL at LÖNA SWENSKOM för <b>fullan</b> fiendskaþ, <i>aldenstundh</i> , de hadhe aff dagha tagit <i>Harald</i> <i>fadher hans</i> .	Men <b>när thet led emot hösten, hölt</b> han <b>med sina skep</b> öster til Sweriget, begynnandes thär <b>samma- städes</b> at häria och bränna landet; <b>ty han tyeckte sig hafwa nog orsak til at öfwa en fulkomen</b> fiendskaþ <b>emot the Swenska</b> , <i>efter som the hade af daga tagit hans fader Konung Harald</i> .	Om HÖSTEN <b>seglade</b> han <b>Öster</b> till Swerige / och begannte ther at häria och bränna Landet / FÖRTY HAN BETYECKTE SIGH <b>anså</b> at BETALA THE SWENSKA medh <b>full</b> fiendskaþ / för the <b>togo aff</b> <b>daga K. Harald hans Fader</b> / skap <b>emot the Swenska / efter som at the hade af daga tagit hans fader</b> .	Men <b>när thet led emot Hösten / hölt</b> han <b>med sina skep</b> / öster til Swerige / begynnandes thär <b>ssamme- städes</b> at häria och bränna landet; <b>ty han tyeckte sig hafwa nog orsak til at öfwa en fulkomen</b> fiend- skap <b>emot the Swenska / efter som at the hade af daga tagit hans fader</b> .

Snorri Sturluson ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945	<b>Lars Bure</b> Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 92	<b>Anon. I</b> Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 107	<b>Jón Rugman</b> Visingsborg 1670	<b>Guðmundur/Peringskiöld</b> Stockholm 1697
Óttarr svarti segir þat berum orðum, at hann fór þá austr ór Danmörk:	Sáledhes säger Óttarr, der han förmähler om Konungh Oloffs resa, östan ifrån Dan Marck.	Thet samma betygar Óttarr Swarte med klara ord, at han then gängen, drog ifrån Danmark och uti Östersjön:	hwilcket Óttarr Swarte medh klare Ord betygar / at han reeste tå Öster ifrån Danmarck.	Thetta samma betygar Óttarr Swarte med klara ord / at han then gängen drog ifrån Danmark / och uti öster-sjön:

## Appendix II

Appendix to Table 2: *Óláfs saga hins helga*: section of chapter 80 (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945) and four Swedish translations. Patterns of divergenc in TL wording.

unmarked	x x x x	all four TL versions share one wording
<u>underlining</u> / <u>double underlining</u>	x x x y	three TL versions share a distinct wording; the fourth is unique
<b>bold</b> / <i>bold italics</i>	x x y y	two TL versions share one distinct wording, the two others another
<b>bold</b> / SMALL CAPS	x x Y Z	two TL versions share a distinct wording, the two others are at variance
<i>italics</i>	x y z â	all four TL versions are mutually at variance



Snorri Sturluson ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945	Lars Bure Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 92	Anon. II Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 45	Jón Rugman Visingsborg 1670	Guðmundur /Peringskiöld Stockholm 1697
Pá stóð upp Þorgnýr. En er hann stóð upp, þá stóðu upp allir boendr, þeir er áðr höfðu sett, ok þustu at allir þeir, er í öðrum stöðum höfðu verit, ok vildu hlýða til, hvat Þorgnýr mælti. Var þá fyrst gnýr mikill af fjölmenni ok vápnum. En er hljóð fekksk, þá mælti Þorgnýr:	Sedhan stegh Thorngnyr up, och med honom reste sigh hele. Allmoghen, som tillförende setat hadhe, och tystnade alle uthi hwadh rum de helst woro. dy alle wille lydhha till thet som Thorngnyr woro talandes. När han dem syntes beredd till att tala, då gjordes der först ett wäpnabrack iblan Allmoghen, medhan de sin wäpn samanstötte. Men der gafiz åter ginast liudh, och Thorngnyr der medh så sitt tahl begynte.	Sedan steg Thorngny up, och med honom reste sig hele. Allmoghen, som tillförende sutit hade, och tystnade alle, uti hwad rum the helst woro: ty alle wille lyda till thet som Thorngny woro talandes. När han them syntes beredd till att tala, då gjordes ther först ett wäpnabrak ibland Allmoghen, emedan the sin wäpn sammanstötte. Men ther gafis åter ginast liud, och Thorngny ther med så sitt tal begynte.	Tá stod Torngny op; Och nær han war opstánden / reste alla Bónderna sig / the som förr hade sutit / opp / och ther till ruusade fram alla the pá andra stállen hade warit / och wille hora / hwad Torngny taalade. War tá först stoort Gny aff Folcketz Myckenheet / och theras Wapn. Nár som Liud ficks / TALAÐE Torngny.	SEðan steg Thorngny up / och tillika med honom reste sig hela.almogen / som tillförende suttit hade / och ALLE THE SOM ANNOR-STÁÐES WARIT HADE LUPO THAR TIL / WILLIANDES HORA PÁ HWAD som Thorngny worde talandes. BLEF tá först ett stort gny / af wäpnabrak och SÁRLANDE af folkens myckenhet. Men när thár gafiz áther liud / TÁ BEGYNTE Thorngny SIT TAL. SÁLEDES:
”Amnan veg er nú skaplyndi Svía-konunga en fyrr hefir verit.	Amnorledhes áhre nu Sweriges Konungar till sinnes wordne, án som de tillförende warit hafwa.	Amnorledes áre nu Sweriges Konungar till fört hafwer warit.	Amnorledes áre nu Sweriges Konungar til sinnes / án som the tillförende warit hafwa.	Amnorlunda áre nu Sweriges Konungar til sinnes / án som the tillförende warit hafwa.

	Lars Bure Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 92	Anon. II Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 45	Jón Rugman Visingsborg 1670	Guðmundur / Peringskiöld Stockholm 1697
Snorri Sturluson ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945	Thorngnyr, min Faderher Fadher, han <b>tiente</b> Erikk Erunsonn Upsala Konungh; frá honum, at meðan hann var á létasta aldri, at hann hafði hvert sumar leiðangr úti ok fór til ýmissa landa ok lagði undir sik Finnland ok Kirjaland, Estland ok Kúrland ok víða um Austurland. Ok mun enn sjá þær jarðborgir ok önnur stórvirki, þau er hann gerði,	Thorngny min faderfader, <b>tiente</b> Erikk Erunsonn. Upsala Konung och wiste thet <b>aff</b> honom berättä, att then tijd han war på sin lätteste älder, tå war han ute på åtskillige Krigståg, och <b>fohr</b> han till ymsa Länder, och lade under sig Finland, Kirialand, Estland, Kurland, och <b>wida öfwer</b> Österländerne. Och månde man ännu see der Jordbärger, och många andre store wärk, som thär af honom hafwa gjorde warit;	Thorngny min Fader:Fader <b>kunde minnas</b> Erikk Upsala Konung Eindridasson/ och sade det <b>om</b> honom / at när han war på sin Ungdoms ålder / at han hade hwar SOMMAR LEDUNGER VTHE / OCH HÄRIADE I ÅTSHKILLIGA Land / och lade vnder sig Finland / Kirialand / Estland och TURCKLAND / och <b>wijda</b> <b>om</b> Österlanden må ännu synas Jarbörger / och andra stooro Wärcck / som han gjorde;	Thorngny min fader fader <b>kunde wäl minnas</b> Erikk Eymundson / Upsala Konung / och wiste thet <b>om</b> honom berättä / at then tid han war på sin lätteste älder / tå war han ute på åtskillige Krigståg / DRAGANDES HWAR OCH EN SOMMAR / MED KRIGSHÄR TIL SIÖS / till ymsa länder / och lade under sig Finland och Kyrialand / Estland och Kurland / <b>tillika</b> <b>med</b> många andra landskaper <b>utj</b> Österländerne. Och <b>kan</b> man ännu se the Jordbärger, och många andre store wärk / som thär af honom hafwa gjorde warit;
ok var hann ekki svá mikilllát, at eigi hlýddi hann mönnum, ef skylt áttu við hann at reða.	<b>icke dess mindre</b> , war han eij så höghdragen, att han <b>talde</b> deras tal, som meðh honom <b>rådhslä borde</b> .	<b>icke dess mindre</b> war han ey så höghdragen, att han <b>icke</b> <b>talde</b> thetas tal, som med honom <b>rådhslä borde</b> .	doch war han <b>icke</b> så höghdragen til sinnes / at han <b>icke</b> SKULLE WILLA LIDA <b>thetas tal</b> / som NÅGOT ANGELÅGET HADE <b>för</b> AT FRAMSTÅLLA.	

<p>Snorri Sturluson ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarmarson 1945</p>	<p><b>Lars Bure</b> Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 92</p>	<p><b>Anon. II</b> Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 45</p>	<p><b>Jón Rugman</b> Vísingsborg 1670</p>	<p><b>Guðmundur /Peringskiöld</b> Stockholm 1697</p>
<p>Porgnýr, faðir minn, var með Birni konungi langa ævi. Var honum hans stór kunnigr. Stóð um ævi Bjarnar hans ríki með styrk miklum, en engum þurrð. Var hann dæll sínum vinum.</p>	<p>Thorgnyr min Faðher var með Konungh Biörn en lángh tídh. Dy wiste han wäll aff hans Sedher, och stodh Biörns Rijke, så länge han lefde medh styrkio uthan alt kif. Dy han war godh, och wenlig e mot sine Männ.</p>	<p>Thorgny min fader war med Konung Biörn en lángh tídh, ty wiste han wäll af hans seder. Och stod Biörns Rijke, så länge han lefde, med styrkio, utan alla stolthet, ty han war god och wenlig emot sina Män.</p>	<p>Torgny min Fader / war een lángh tídh hoos Styrbiörn / och war honom hans Seed wäll bekant; Riket stod i hans Dagar aff MYCKEN STYRKIA / och icke af något Högmod; Han war GOD OCH LEDIG emoot sina Män.</p>	<p>Min fader Thorgny war með Konung Biörn en lángh tídh / ty wiste han wäll om hans seder: och stod Biörns ríke / så länge han lefde / með STOR MACHT OCH STYRKIO utan <b>nágon brist</b> / ty han war WÄNLIG emot sina män.</p>
<p>Ek má muna Eirík konung inn sigrsæla, ok var ek með honum í mörgum herforum. Jök hann ríki Svía, en varði harðfengliga. Var oss gott við hann ráðum at koma.</p>	<p>Migh áhr Erijk Segersäll wäll uthi minnet; huiiken iagh tient haffwer, och haffwer iagh medh honom warit uthi mange Härfärder. Han förökadhe Sweriges Rijke, och förswaradhe thet wälldeligen; Och war oss gott att gå medh honom till rádz.</p>	<p>Mig är Erik Segersäll wäll uthi minnet, och haffwer tag med honom warit uthi många härfärder. Han förökade Sweriges Rijke, och förswarade thet wälldeligen; och war oss gott att gå med honom til Rádz.</p>	<p>JAG MÁ OCH MINNAS <b>Konung Erikk</b> then Segersäll UTI FRISKT MINNE / TY JAG HAFWER warit med honom / uthi många härfärder. Han förökade Sweriges ríke / och förswarade thet waldeligen: DOCH ICKE THESS MINDRE BLEF OSS EFTERLÄTIT / AT RÁDGIORA MED HONOM / NÄR WI WILLE.</p>	<p>JAG HAFWER WÄL <b>Konung Erikk</b> Segersäll UTI FRISKT MINNE / TY JAG HAFWER warit med honom / uthi många härfärder. Han förökade Sweriges ríke / och förswarade thet waldeligen: DOCH ICKE THESS MINDRE BLEF OSS EFTERLÄTIT / AT RÁDGIORA MED HONOM / NÄR WI WILLE.</p>

Snorri Sturluson ed. Bjarni Aalbjarnarson 1945	Lars Bure Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 92	Anon. II Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 45	Jón Rugman Visingsborg 1670	Guðmundur /Peringskiöld Stockholm 1697
En konungr þessi, er nú er, lætr engi manni þora at mæla við sik nema þat einu, ok er hann vill vera láta, ok hefir hann þar við alt kapp, en lætr skatlfönd sin undan þreksleysi. Hann girnisk þess at halda Noregsveldi undir sik, er engi Sviakonungr hefir þat fyrr ágirnz, ok gerir þat mörgum manni óró.	Men den Konungh som nu är, tillåter ingen tahl medh sigh, uthan thet allenast <b>hans willia</b> är, hwilket han med all heffitighet driffwer. <b>Der emot</b> låter han sine Skatt Länder <b>aff dådlöshet och försumelse</b> undan sigh <b>hwerffia, och trachtar thet</b> effter, att <b>hele Norrege hålla</b> under sigh, <b>som Sweriges Konungar</b> tillförende ey, <b>myket</b> hafua; hwar utaff, nu mången Mann måtte UTHI OROO SITTIA.	Men then Konung som nu är, tillåter ingen tala med sig, utan thet allenast, som <b>effter hans willia</b> är, hwilket han med all hæffitighet driffwer. <b>Thet emot</b> låter han sine skattländer <b>aff dådlöshet och försummelse</b> undan sig <b>hwerfwa, och trachtar der</b> effter, att <b>hela Norige hålla</b> under sig, <b>som Sweriges Konungar</b> tillförende ey <b>achtat</b> hafwa; hwar utaf, nu mången Man måste <b>sittia uti oro</b> .	Men thenne Konungen som nu är / låter ingen. <b>Mienniskia</b> drista sig at taala med <b>honum</b> / annat än hwar som HAN WILL LÅTA WARA; OCH gör han det medh all Häffitighet / och låter sina Skattland <b>gå ifrån</b> sigh / <b>igenom sin</b> OACHTSAMHEET OCH SWAGHEET. HAN BEGÄRAR at BEHÅLLA NORRIGES RUIKE vnder sigh / <b>hwilcket</b> ALDRIG NÅGON SWEA KONUNG hafwer <b>begärat</b> / och gör många <b>Menniskior</b> OROO.	Men thenna Konung / som nu är / tillåter ingen tala med sig / utan thet allenast / som HAN WILL HÖRA / OCH WARA LÅTA / hwilket han och med all hæffitighet driffwer. MEN thar TWART EMOT låter han sina skattländer / <b>igenom sin egen</b> SKÖTZLÖSHET OCH WANMÄCHTIGHET / undan sig <b>gånga</b> / TRACHTANDES <b>doch</b> icke des mindre thar efter / at HÅLLA HELA NORIGE under sig / <b>hwilket</b> INGEN IBLAND KONUNGARNA I SWERIGE / tillförende <b>Óástundat</b> hafwer; hwar utaf nu mången man, måste <b>sittia uti oro</b> .
Nú er þat villi várr bóandanna, at þú gerir sætt við Oláf digra Noregskonung ok gipfir honum dóttur þína, Ingegerði.	Ähr fördenskull <b>sådhan</b> wär <b>Allmogens</b> willie; att thu Konungh Oloff, gör fredh medh Oloff Dighra Norreges Konung; <b>och att du gipter</b> honom din Dätter Ingegård.	Nú är thet wära <b>Bönders Willie</b> / at tu Konung Oloff gör Eemthet med Oloff Digre Norriges Konung / <b>och gifwer</b> honom tijn Dotter Ingerid.	Är nu för then skull wär ( <b>böndernes</b> ) willia SALEDES / at tu Konung Olaf gör frid och förlikning / med Olaf Tiocka Norriges Konung / <b>och</b> at tu gifwer honom tin dotter Ingegård til Hustru.	

Snorri Sturluson ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945	Lars Bure Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 92	Anon. II Cod. Holm. Papp. fol. 45	Jón Rugman Vísingsborg 1670	Guðmundur /Peringskiöld Stockholm 1697
En ef þú vill vinna aprt undir þik ríki þau í Austrvegi, er frændr þínir ok forellri hafa þar átt, þá viljum vér allir fylgja þér þar til.	Men, om du will vinna under digh igen de Rijken, som på andra sjðdan om Östersjön liggja, och tina fränder och Förälldrar före digh innehaft hafwa, då welom wij alle fölia digh der till.	Men om tu will vinna under tig igen the Rijken, som på andra sjðdan om Öster Stjön liggja, och tina fränder och förälldrar för dig innehaft hafwa, då willtom wij alle föllia dig ther till.	Och om tu will vinna vnder tig någøt Rijke i Österwäg / som tina Förälldrar och Fränder hafwa ther ägt / så willia wij alla fölia tigh ther till.	Men thär som tu ästundar winna under dig igen the riken / som på andra sidan om öster-stjön liggja / och tina fränder och förälldrar för dig innehaft hafwa / så willtom wi alle föllia dig thär til.
Með því at þú vill eigi hafa þat, er vér mælum, þá munum vér veita þér atgöngu ok drepa þik ok þola þér eigi ófrið ok ólög. Hafa svá gort inir fyrri forellrar várir. Þeir steyðu fimm konungum í eina keldu á Múlaþingi, er áðr höfðu upp fyltzk ofmetnaðar sem þú við oss.	Men der emot, så framt du digh ingaledhes will bekuema digh effter thet som wij begära, thå vele wij stigha öftwer digh medh wäldh, och digh aff dagha tagha; och ingaledhes orätt och ofredh tåla. Sälledhes hafwa våra Förälldrar giortd före oss. hwilke på Mula tinge uti en BRUNN förgiorde fehm Konungar, som då aff wäldh och höghfärdh upbläste woro; lijka som du digh denne tighden emot oss skickar.	Men ther emot, så framt tu dig effter thet som wij begära, thå vele wij stigha öfwer dig med wäld, och dig aff daga taga; och ingaledes orätt och ofrjid af dig tåla. Sälledes hafwa våra förälldrar giort för oss. hwilke på Mule Tinge förgiorde fem Konungar, som thå aff wäld och högfärd upbläste woro. lijka som tu dig themne tighden emot oss skickar.	Men ther tu inthet will höra det wij <u>taala</u> / så mon wij på tigh ETT ANLOPP GÖRA / och <u>dråpa dig</u> / och <u>ljida</u> INGEN ÖFRED ELLER OLAG: SÅ hafwa våra Förfäder giortd / THE <u>styrte</u> fem Konungar i een <u>Källa</u> på Musating [sic!] / hwilcka tillförna woro opfylta med <u>ÄHREGIRICHEET</u> / som tu är emot oss.	Men thär emot / så framt tu ingaledes will beqwäma dig / efter thet som wi nu <u>tala</u> / så wille wi ÖFVERFALLA TIG och <u>dråpa dig</u> ; och INGALUNDA ÖFRID OCH ORÄTT <u>af dig</u> <u>tåla</u> : LY SÄLEDES hafwa våra förälldrar / I GAMLA TIDER giort för oss / NÄR SOM THE på Mula-Thing <u>störte</u> fem Konungar uti en <u>källa</u> / som tå af STOUTHET och högfärd upbläste woro / lijka som tu dig themna tighden emot oss skickar.
Seg nú skjótt, hvárm kost þú vill upp taka.”	DY äshär intet annat att wänta, uthan du digh <u>gimast förklarar</u> , hwilket willkor du emot tagha will.	Theföre <u>dig nu strax förklara</u> , hwilket <u>dera</u> will kor tu emot taga will;	Theföre <u>förklara dig nu strax</u> / hwilka Willkor tu hället besätrar.	Theföre <u>förklara dig nu strax</u> / hwilket <u>dera</u> wilkår tu emot taga will.

Snorri Sturluson ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1945	<b>Lars Bure</b> Cod. <i>Holm. Papp. fol. 92</i>	<b>Anon. II</b> Cod. <i>Holm. Papp. fol. 45</i>	<b>Jón Rugman</b> Visingsborg 1670	<b>Guðmundur / Peringskiöld</b> Stockholm 1697
Pá gerði lýðrinni þegar vápnabrák ok gný mikinn.	<b>Der</b> þá giorde allmoghenn wapna brák, och <b>stort</b> gny.	<b>ther</b> þá giorde allmoghenn wapna brák ok <b>stort</b> gny.	T <sup>A</sup> giorde <del>heela Meenig-</del> <del>heeten</del> <b>straxt ett</b> stoort Wapnabraek / och <b>mycket</b> Gny.	H <sup>AR</sup> þá giorde allmoghenn <b>straxt ett</b> wapnebrak och <b>mycket</b> gny.

# Implicit ideology and the king's image in *Sverris saga*

PORLEIFUR HAUSSON

## Introduction

In his writings on *Sverris saga*, Sverre Bagge has maintained that the saga is characterized more by Old Nordic heroism than by religious ideology. He defends this theory in his reply to Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist and Lars Lönnroth in *Scripta Islandica* 2007.<sup>1</sup> Here he argues that when Lönnroth and Ljungqvist interpret the ideology of the saga as being predominantly religious, they merely rephrase the author's explicit comments. The implicit ideology, he says, is quite different. According to Bagge's interpretation of the saga, the secular element is predominant in the image of Sverrir. The explicit religious ideology, he claims, appears primarily in what he vaguely designates as the first part of the saga, written in the presence of Sverrir himself, and in Sverrir's great speeches after the death of Earl Erlingr and King Magnús. The aim of Bagge's research has been to uncover the saga's implicit views concerning medieval society, ideology and political culture:

Dette har jeg søkt å avdekke, ikke bare ved å studere eksplisitte ideologiske utsagn, men fremfor alt ved å legge vekt på fortellingen, som synes å være en bedre kilde til vanlige oppfatninger, underforståtte holdninger og kanskje til og med praktisk politikk, enn de eksplisitte utsagnene.<sup>2</sup>

Bagge compares the saga with the so-called *Speech against the Bishops*, which was written under Sverrir's auspices as a defence against the clergy. The *Speech* is a rhetorical polemic, while the saga is Sverrir's biography

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<sup>1</sup> Sverre Bagge, "Gang leader" eller "The Lord's anointed" i *Sverris saga*? Svar til Fredrik Ljungqvist og Lars Lönnroth', *Scripta Islandica* 58, 2007, pp. 101–19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

where various facts are played down, such as his being excommunicated until the day of his death. Bagge emphasizes the difference in ideology between these two documents and repeats his theory that even though the saga echoes Sverrir's political propaganda and the ideology later developed by Sverrir's dynasty, it 'does not describe "the ideal royal character" according to the tradition of European clerical historiography'.<sup>3</sup> Instead, it presents a picture of a gang leader who leads his men to victory, not through God's grace and interference but through his own skill as a general.

### Philological presuppositions

Before proceeding further, I should like to make some comments regarding the philology of *Sverris saga*. Bagge's underlying philological suppositions are the same as those outlined in his earlier essays regarding the saga's composition and time of writing.<sup>4</sup> He assumes that the saga was written in two different stages. On the one hand, there is the first part, 'Grýla', defined as the first 31 chapters, covering the life of Sverrir until the end of 1178, written by Abbot Karl Jónsson in the presence of the king himself. Then there is the second part, which Bagge assumes was written by a different author and finished in the beginning of the reign of Sverrir's grandson, Hákon Hákonarson, i.e. around 1220.<sup>5</sup>

This division between the first 31 chapters and the rest of the saga, advocated mainly by Ludvig Holm-Olsen, is certainly not indisputable, as I have recently pointed out.<sup>6</sup> There is good reason to believe that 'Grýla' and the part written by Karl Jónsson, 'when King Sverri himself sat over him and settled what he should write',<sup>7</sup> are in fact two different entities

<sup>3</sup> Sverre Bagge, *From gang leader to the Lord's anointed: kingship in Sverris saga and Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (Odense 1996), p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Sverre Bagge, 'La Sverris saga, biographie d'un roi de Norvège', *Proxima Thulé* 2, 1996, pp. 117–18; *From gang leader to the Lord's anointed*, pp. 15–18.

<sup>5</sup> Bagge, "'Gang leader" eller "The Lord's anointed" i *Sverris saga*?', p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Þorleifur Hauksson, 'Grýla Karls ábóta', *Gripla* XVII, 2006, pp. 153–66; 'Formáli', *Sverris saga, Íslensk fornrit* XXX (Reykjavík 2007), pp. lv–lxiv; Ludvig Holm-Olsen, *Studier i Sverres saga* (Oslo 1953), pp. 30–84.

<sup>7</sup> en yfir sat sjálfr Sverrir konungr ok réð fyrir hvat rita skyldi. *Sverris saga*, p. 3. I quote the translation of J. Sephton: *Sverrissaga. The Saga of King Sverri of Norway* (London 1899), p. 1.



and accordingly that the widely different theories about the division between 'Grýla' and the 'second part' are due to a misinterpretation of the saga's prologue. The first 25 chapters or so may well have been written to Sverrir's own dictation, but otherwise they do not distinguish themselves from the rest of the saga, which shows all signs of being written by one author, presumably Abbot Karl, in different stages during the last 25 years of his life. According to Icelandic annals, he died in 1212 or 1213.

Karl Jónsson came to Norway in 1185, only a year after King Sverrir had won his decisive victory at Fimreiti. The first 100 chapters of the saga, leading up to this battle and its aftermath, are so consistent in structure and so uniform in vocabulary and style that scholars have had great difficulty drawing the line between the part which they assume to be written at King Sverrir's command and the second part which might possibly have been written by another person.<sup>8</sup> My belief is that *Grýla* consists of those first 100 chapters and that this was the book which Abbot Karl finished before returning to Iceland in 1188. The strange name *Grýla*, known in later folklore, may imply a humorous allusion to the threat of the ogress who lives in the wilderness and has the habit of appearing unexpectedly in the dark. It may bear witness to the admiration which this extraordinary Faroese priest and king enjoyed among the brethren at Þingeyrar who were the first readers of the book which their abbot brought with him upon his return from Norway.

Regarding the time of writing, Bagge is 'inclined to accept 1214 as a terminus post quem', and he claims that there isn't 'any conclusive evidence for Karl Jónsson's authorship of the second part of the saga'.<sup>9</sup> It is, however, difficult to ignore Knut Helle's theory that the A-version of *Bøglunga saga* was written after *Sverris saga* was completed and that the latter accordingly must have been finished around 1210.<sup>10</sup>

Karl Jónsson had contact with Sverrir and his closest followers and could rely on eyewitness accounts of the main events of the saga. *Skáldatal*, in the manuscripts of Snorri's Edda, lists the names of thirteen skalds who composed poems in praise of Sverrir. Hardly any of this verse has been preserved in *Sverris saga*.<sup>11</sup> If another author had written the rest of

<sup>8</sup> Þorleifur Hauksson, 'Formáli', pp. lx–lxxv.

<sup>9</sup> Bagge, *From gang leader to the Lord's anointed*, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Helle, *Omkring Bøglunga sǫgur* (Bergen 1958), pp. 98–101, cf. Hallvard Magerøy, 'Innleiing', *Soga om Birkebeinar og Baglar, Bøglunga Sǫgur*, p. 206. This will be discussed further in a forthcoming edition of *Bøglunga saga* in *Íslensk fornrit*.

<sup>11</sup> Þorleifur Hauksson, 'Grýla Karls ábóta', p. 153.

the saga (from Chapter 32 to the end), 15–20 years after Sverrir’s death, it would be difficult to understand why he did not make use of these first-hand sources describing the king’s glorious deeds and battles. We are reminded of the author of *Morkinskinna*, who would have been his contemporary, and who quotes 328 strophes of court poetry.<sup>12</sup>

In what follows, I intend to demonstrate a uniformity in the ideology of *Sverris saga* and the consistency throughout in the image of the king and of his adversaries.

## The virtues of the king

One of the passages referred to in Ljungqvist’s paper consists of the following sentences in Svína-Pétr’s speech in Bergen in chapter 96:

Takið nú við Sverri konungi er Guð hefir sent yðr. Þá hafi þér réttan höfðingja ok vitran, mildan ok málsnjallan, réttlátan ok friðsaman, ágætan ok öruggan til landvarnar ok allrar landsstjórnar.

accept King Sverri, whom God has sent you. You will then have a just chief, wise and eloquent, gracious and righteous, peaceful and merciful, a famous conqueror, fearless in defending and ruling the land.<sup>13</sup>

The speaker here lists three of the four cardinal virtues: *sapientia*, *iustitia* and *fortitudo*. There are various other examples of these virtues being attributed to Sverrir, and the fourth, *temperantia*, is demonstrated in his temperance speech in Chapter 104, and in his character portrayal in Chapter 181. It can be mentioned that this character portrayal ends with a comparison between Sverrir’s character and that of his father, Sigurður munnr, but this section is only preserved in Flateyjarbók and therefore most likely not original to the saga.

The virtue of strength (*fortitudo*) is explicitly mentioned in Sverrir’s dream in Chapter 10, where the prophet Samuel concludes his message to Sverrir thus: ‘Ver þú hraustr ok sterkr, því at Guð mun fulltingja þér’

<sup>12</sup> Ármann Jakobsson and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, eds., *Morkinskinna*, in *Íslenzk fornrit* XXIII, pp. 1–lii.

<sup>13</sup> *Sverris saga*, p. 149; Sephton, p. 121; Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, ‘Kristen kunga-ideologi i *Sverris saga*’, *Scripta Islandica* 57, 2006, pp. 89–90.

(‘Be thou strong and valiant, for God will give thee help’).<sup>14</sup> These words are recalled in Sverrir’s speech in Chapter 94, after the battle at Fimreiti:

Guð sjálfan skulum vér lofa fyrir sigr várn, er hann hefir nú miklu berara en fyrir veitt oss sinn styrk ok kraft í þessi orrostu.

God Himself we must praise for our victory, for much more evidently in this battle than aforetime has He granted us strength and might.<sup>15</sup>

This strength (*styrkr*, *fortitudo*) is a gift from God and proof of His grace towards Sverrir. And it is not only stated explicitly in a dream and a speech. Throughout the saga, Sverrir is presented as an embodiment of this regal virtue, through his undisputed leadership among his men, his endurance in toil and hardship and his calm authority in difficult situations.<sup>16</sup>

Sverrir is also endowed with *providentia*: foresight concerning the outcomes of battles and other events.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, his *prudencia* in the ethical sense of the word—his ability to discern good from bad—is demonstrated in some of his speeches, such as the speech on the mountain in Chapter 20 and his temperance speech in Chapter 104.<sup>18</sup> Sverrir’s *iustitia* is mainly demonstrated in his *clementia*, his willingness to forgive and grant truce to his enemies. Surely we learn about his strong retributions against the farmers, even to the point of burning down their villages, but these actions are always justified by the farmers’ stubbornness and their unwillingness to make peace with him.

The vice predominantly shown by Sverrir’s enemies is *superbia* (*dirfð*, *ofmetnaðr*). In Chapter 15, the townsmen of Niðaróss showed such audacity (*dirfð*) that they seized the banner of Saint Óláfr to bear against King Sverrir. Here Sverrir is greatly outnumbered by the enemy, yet he defeats them and captures the banner, and ‘many came with meekness into the presence of Sverri who before, in excess of pride (*við miklum ofmetnaði*) had been loudest in their talk against him’.<sup>19</sup> In Sverrir’s funeral speech for Earl Erlingr in Chapter 38, he concludes by advising the men to pray to God that the Earl’s sins be forgiven, especially the great sin of

<sup>14</sup> *Sverris saga*, p. 17; Sephton, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> *Sverris saga*, p. 145; Sephton, p. 118.

<sup>16</sup> *Das Moraliūm dogma philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches*, ed. John Holmberg (Uppsala 1929), Lateinischer Text, pp. 30–41.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10; *Sverris saga*, pp. 44, 49, 66–67, 74, 84, 136.

<sup>18</sup> *Das Moraliūm dogma philosophorum*, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Sephton, p. 18; *Sverris saga*, p. 25.

arrogance (*dirfð*). The Earl showed arrogance by giving the title of king to his own son, and by fighting against and destroying many lawful kings.<sup>20</sup> Erlingr's *superbia* is even recognised and admitted by his own men.<sup>21</sup>

Many scholars have observed how favourable the description of King Magnús is throughout the saga.<sup>22</sup> He enjoys 'the support of mighty men and of all the commons', is 'beloved and popular',<sup>23</sup> and 'however disastrous it was to follow him, he never lacked men for his body-guard while he lived'.<sup>24</sup> But does that also imply that he possessed the qualities that make a king in the eyes of the saga's medieval audience?<sup>25</sup>

Even though Magnús is a brave warrior, there is no comparison between him and Sverrir with regard to *fortitudo*. He is irresolute and not as wise as his opponent, and the times he acts against the advice of his chieftains it leads to disaster, as in the battles of Norðnes (Ch. 53) and Fimreiti (Ch. 89). Whereas Sverrir is nearly always willing to grant a truce to his adversaries, Magnús, just like his father, is cruel and merciless towards the Birkibeinar. In his assault on Niðaróss in Chapter 62, he does not even respect the sanctuary of the churches:

Pá var þat gort er aldri varð fyrr, at menn váru drepnir ok dregnir ór Kristskirkju.

Men were dragged out of Kristskirk and slain, a deed that had never been done hitherto.<sup>26</sup>

Before the battle of Norðnes, he exhorts his men in haughty words:

vér hofum til móts við þá gofugmenni ok góða drengi, en þeir hafa ekki nema þjófa ok ránsmenn ok raufara þræla ættar ok stafkarla, sem Guð steypi þeim. En eigi er at réttu hefnt gofugra frænda várra þó at vér drepim þá alla, en brigzlalaust er oss at gera þat. Vil ek birta fyrir yðr minn vilja, at engi verði svá djarfr minna manna at einum gefi grið.

We bring to the fight men of high position and brave gentlemen; they have only thieves and highwaymen and robbers, the kin of thralls and beggars, whom may God confound. Our honourable kinsmen would not be any the more avenged

<sup>20</sup> Sephton, p. 51; *Sverris saga*, p. 63.

<sup>21</sup> Sephton, p. 52; *Sverris saga*, p. 64.

<sup>22</sup> Lee M. Hollander, for example, emphasizes the saga's objectivity and the 'gentlemanly and fair' treatment of Sverrir's enemies, especially King Magnús: 'Notes on the Sverris saga', *The Germanic Review* III:3, 1928, p. 262.

<sup>23</sup> Sephton, p. 3; *Sverris saga*, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Sephton, p. 122; *Sverris saga*, p. 151.

<sup>25</sup> Ármann Jakobsson, 'Sinn eiginn smiður', *Skírnir* 179, 2005, pp. 121–25.

<sup>26</sup> *Sverris saga*, p. 101; Sephton, p. 82.

should we slay every Birkibein, but we should free ourselves from reproach by doing it. Let none of my men presume to give quarter to one of them.<sup>27</sup>

The reader inevitably compares this speech with Sverrir's humble words on the same occasion, where he says that 'our strength lies entirely in God and His Saints, and not in our numbers',<sup>28</sup> and prays to God that He grant victory to those whom He knows to have the rightful cause.

King Magnús's speech bears witness to both *ira* and *superbia*, and the latter vice is the main theme of Sverrir's speeches after Magnús's death. He prays to God to forgive Magnús all his transgressions (*þat allt er hann varð offari í*), and subsequently, in one of his greatest speeches, he counts King Magnús among the proud, who have been most hated by God at all times and most severely punished.<sup>29</sup>

In the final descriptions of Sverrir and Magnús respectively, after their death, *temperantia* is contrasted with *luxuria*: on the one hand Sverrir who 'never drank strong drink to the injury of his reason, and always ate but one meal a day', and on the other Magnús, who 'was fond of drinking-bouts and the society of women'.<sup>30</sup> This *luxuria* is largely to blame for his humiliating defeat in Bergen in chapters 76–77, where his men are 'roused up drowsy and drunk'.<sup>31</sup>

These examples, taken from all parts of the saga, show Sverrir clearly as a representative of European Christian virtues rather than Norse heroic ideals. This is in accord with Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist's conclusions regarding the specific ethical-religious characteristics attributed to Sverrir in the saga.<sup>32</sup>

## Sverrir and King David

A part of *Sverris saga's* implicit ideology is its unspoken references or allusions to saints' lives and to the Bible, which a medieval audience

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<sup>27</sup> *Sverris saga*, p. 85; Sephton, p. 68.

<sup>28</sup> Sephton, p. 68; *Sverris saga*, p. 84: 'Nú mun enn sem fyrr, at vart traust, sem allra annarra, er allt undir Guði ok hans helgum monnum en eigi undir liðsfjöldá.'

<sup>29</sup> Sephton, pp. 122, 124; *Sverris saga*, pp. 150, 152.

<sup>30</sup> Sephton, pp. 232, 123; *Sverris saga*, pp. 280, 151.

<sup>31</sup> Sephton, pp. 96–97; *Sverris saga*, pp. 118–19.

<sup>32</sup> Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, 'Bannlyst kung av Guds nåde. Maktlegitimering och kungaideologi i *Sverris saga*', *Collegium medievale* 21, 2008, pp. 30–36.

would recognize immediately. Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist gives many examples of this.<sup>33</sup> Sverre Bagge has presented a brilliant analysis of Sverrir's own interpretation of his role in his speeches in the saga and of his identification with King David.

In contrast to St. Óláfr, David does not appear before Sverrir in his dreams. Instead, Sverrir is shown in a situation which makes every enlightened reader recognize his similarity to David. In addition to other direct references in the saga and other sources which allude to Sverrir's special relationship to David, Sverrir's whole career suggests such a parallel. Like David he was 'a little and low man' from the periphery, like David he wandered around in the wilderness with a small number of men, and like David, who defeated the giant Goliath, he defeated enemies that were largely superior in numbers.<sup>34</sup>

I can only add that this central identification is implicit; David's name is nowhere mentioned in the saga.

*Sverris saga* is a contemporary saga. It was written so soon after the events that it relates that it would have been difficult for the author not to mention Sverrir's battles, the feud between him and the church, his excommunication etc. The *Speech against the Bishops*, on the other hand, is a fierce and clever polemic, but these two texts can be seen as serving the same objective by different means.<sup>35</sup>

It is difficult to decide which of the medieval Christian kings of Norway were in fact 'gang leaders'. I very much doubt that the 'real' Sverrir was one of them. However that may be, the author of *Sverris saga* manages to depict his protagonist as the incarnation of royal and Christian virtues. God's guidance and His mercy are an integral part of the narrative. Sverrir is seen in the image of King David, and his vocation is confirmed through divine intervention and revelations.

## Summary

This article is a reply to Sverre Bagge's article, "Gang Leader" eller "The Lord's Anointed" i *Sverris saga*?, which appeared in *Scripta Islandica* 2007. The article

<sup>33</sup> Ljungqvist, 'Bannlyst kung av Guds nåde', footnotes on pp. 16, 18, 22, 24, 25, 38, 39, 43.

<sup>34</sup> Bagge, *From gang leader to the Lord's anointed*, pp. 63–64.

<sup>35</sup> For parallels between the *Speech* and the saga, see Ljungqvist, 'Bannlyst kung av Guds nåde', pp. 52–55. See also my article 'Beyond Grýla' in the forthcoming memorial volume to Fred Amory.

begins by arguing on philological grounds that *Sverris saga* is older, and stands closer to the events that it relates, than Bagge claims. The article then shows that (in contrast to Bagge's view) Sverrir is presented in the saga not as a 'gang leader' but as an embodiment of European royal and Christian virtues, virtues which give evidence of God's grace towards Sverrir. Unspoken references or allusions in the saga to saints' lives and to the Bible serve the same purpose. As Bagge has pointed out, Sverrir is repeatedly shown in situations where readers are meant to see him as similar to King David. But this similarity is implicit; David's name is nowhere mentioned in the saga.

*Sverris saga* is a contemporary saga. Its audience knew a great deal about Sverrir's battles and his feud with the church, and they knew that he was excommunicated by the pope. It is in spite of this that the author succeeded in portraying him as a lawful Christian king who enjoys the grace of God.

**Keywords:** kings' sagas, heroic ideals, Christian ideology, cardinal virtues, rex iustus

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## Recensioner

Annette Lassen. *Odin på kristent pergament. En teksthistorisk studie.* Museum Tusulanums Forlag. Københavns Universitet. 2011.

Guden Oden har fascinerat många forskare som studerat förkristen skandinavisk religion. Man har hävdad att Oden är komplex och att hans väsen omfattar många karaktärsdrag. Han har karaktäriserats som "a being of many faces and facets" (N. Price), han är "many-sided" (E.O.G. Turville-Petre), "vielfältig" (J. de Vries) och framställs ofta som en av de mest sammansatta gudarna (H. Schück; jfr G. Dumézil). I sitt lexikon över fornskandinavisk mytologi karaktäriserar Rudolf Simek honom som "the most versatile of all the gods". Tillsammans med arkeologen Anders Kaliff har även undertecknad (Olof Sundqvist) nyligen påstått följande: "His [Odens] character is complex and contains enigmatic and contradictory features". Mot den bilden ställer sig litteraturvetaren och filologen Annette Lassen i avhandlingen *Odin på kristent pergament*. Hon hävdar där att det inte är den förkristne guden Oden i sig som är komplex, utan att det är medeltidens bruk av gudomen som gjort att framställningar av honom fått denna karaktäristik. Hennes tes är att bilden av Oden är beroende av den enskilda textens genre och målsättning, och att den kristna ideologin ofta spelat en avgörande roll i beskrivningen av guden. Det är först under medeltiden som Oden får den sammansatta naturen, som tidigare forskare så ofta velat ge till den förkristna gudomen. Lassen pekar här också på en annan faktor som kan ha påverkat ovan nämnda framställningar av Oden, nämligen de syntetiserande metoder som tidigare forskare ofta tillämpat. Man har i forskningen fört samman uppgifter från olika texter för att skapa en helhetsbild, utan att ta hänsyn till de enskilda texternas medeltida kontext. Syftet med Lassens studie är att kontextuellt studera asaguden och se hur han framträder i de olika medeltida litterära källorna, de vill säga i de enskilda norröna texterna

och i Saxos *Gesta Danorum*. Hon strävar således inte efter att konstruera en religionshistorisk syntes av Odens karaktär.

Lassens avhandling är omfattande (447 sidor) och berör många forskningshistoriska sammanhang. Arbetet riktar sig till alla som ägnar sig åt fornskandinavisk mytologi, till exempel litteraturvetare, filologer, historiker, religionshistoriker och arkeologer. Boken omfattar 16 kapitel, bibliografi och ett register som är uppdelat i (a) "Håndskriftregister" och (b) "Register over personer, værker, steder og begreber". Efter inledningen (kap. 1) kommer en imponerande forskningshistorik över Oden, som täcker perioden från 1600-talet fram till våra dagar (se kap. 2). I kapitel 3 diskuteras de inhemska termer som tillämpas i källtexterna för att beteckna de berättelser som vi idag syftar på med begreppet "myt". I kapitlen 4 och 5 diskuterar sedan Lassen hur Oden mer generellt presenteras i latinska och norröna översättningar samt kyrkans allmänna beskrivningar av "hedendomen". I kapitlen 6–15 kommer den egentliga undersökningen av hur Oden framställs i de enskilda texterna och de olika norröna genrererna: samtidssagor (*Sturlunga saga*)—riddarsagor—kungasagor och tåtar—fornaldarsagor—skaldediktning—*Gesta Danorum*—*Ynglinga saga*—*Snorra Edda*—eddadiktning. Avhandlingen avslutas med en konklusion där författaren anser att hon fått stöd för den tes som inledningsvis postulerades.

Avhandlingen har många förtjänster. Den uttömmande forskningshistoriska översikten saknar motstycke i tidigare forskning. Den kan forskare från olika discipliner ha stor nytta av i framtida arbeten om Oden. Även den grundliga genomgången av de norröna texterna och *Gesta Danorum*, där samtliga textställen som nämner Oden behandlas, kommer många andra forskare att ha bruk av i kommande studier. Det kontextuella tillvägagångssättet, där varje källas enskilda framställning av Oden diskuteras utifrån genre och målsättning är nydanande och tycks vara inspirerat av den så kallade "New Philology". I *Snorra Edda* (särskilt *Skáldskaparmál*), till exempel, betonas Odens roll som skaldegud, medan han i *Ynglinga sagas* inledning är en hövding. Saxo framställer Oden som danernas beskyddare, medan de kungasagor som omfattar Óláfr Tryggvason och Óláfr Harldsson gör honom till en "djävul". Även de medeltida-kristna strategiernas betydelse för behandlingen av asaguden, till exempel euhemerismen och demoniseringen, är naturligtvis viktiga att beakta för alla som studerar Oden. Medeltidens mångfacetterade bild av Oden är således delvis avhängig enskilda texters genre och syfte. Så långt är Lassens resultat både rimligt och pålitligt.

Enligt min mening kan man dock ifrågasätta Lassen's implicita hypotes att bilden av den förkristna Oden som komplex och sammansatt i huvudsak skulle vara ett resultat av sentida forskares syntetiserande metoder och de medeltida källornas olika genrer och målsättningar (se Lassen, sid. 75ff., 384ff.). Om detta skulle vara sant, skulle man ju förvänta sig att även bilden av Tor eller Frö skulle ge ett liknande resultat, eftersom de i många fall uppträder i samma textgenrer som Oden och studerats med samma metod. I handböckerna beskrivs dessa gudomar som homogena och sammanhållna väsen där den fysiska styrkan respektive fruktbarheten tycks dominera deras karaktärer. Frågan är således om inte Odens komplexitet är något som finns i traditionen, så långt bak vi kan spåra den. Enligt min mening kan vi få fram flera centrala karaktärsdrag hos Oden om vi begränsar oss till en i detta fall väsentlig genre, nämligen eddadiktningen. Där kan vi, till exempel, finna en kunskapsgud (som omfattar runkunnande, kunskaper i sejd och trollformler, samt skaldekonst), en gud som vakar över hängningsoffer och initiationer, en gudarnas hövding, en krigar- och dödsgud. Odens heiti *Grímr* (*Grímnir*) 'den maskerade' anspelar också på Odens många roller och dynamiska förmåga att växla skepnad. I *Grímnismál* (46–50), som ofta betraktas som en av de äldre eddadikterna, presenterar Oden sig själv med uttrycket *hétom ec*: "*Hétomc Grímr, hétomc Gangleri*" "Jag kallar mig Grim, jag kallar mig Ganglere". Denna presentation avslutas i strof 54 där Oden kontrasterar det namn han bär för tillfället med de tidigare namn han har haft:

Óðinn ec nú heiti,	Nu heter jag Oden,
Yggr ec áðan hét	Ygg hette jag förr,
hétomc Pundr fyrir þat.	Tund hette jag tidigare.

Dessa formeluttryck med emfatiskt "jag" är troligen reminiscenser av ett slags kultiska gudomliga självpredikationer eller böner. Liknande kultuttryck, så kallade aretalogier 'prisande av [en guds] dygder', var också vanliga under hellenistisk-romersk tid i till exempel mysteriekulterna i den grekisk-romerska världen. I dessa aretalogier presenterar gudomen ofta sina namn, kvalifikationer och karaktärsdrag. Troligen indikerar formeluttrycken med Odens namn (totalt 66 namn) i *Grímnismál* också att asaguden har många olika roller och skepnader.

Då religionshistoriker i dag rekonstruerar den förkristna religionen utgår man sällan från alla de källkategorier som Lassen för fram i sin studie. I regel lägger man, av källkritiska skäl, en större vikt vid de så

kallade direkta källorna, det vill säga skaldediktningen och eddapoetin, som troligen delvis har tillkommit i ett förkristet sammanhang eller åtminstone innehållsmässigt reflekterar en icke-kristen världsbild. Enligt min mening kan man, som ovan visats, även i dessa källor finna Oden som en komplex och sammansatt gud.

Annette Lassen har dock inte som primärt syfte att diskutera den förkristna gudagestalten Oden (även om hon indirekt kommer in på den frågan). Det kontextuella perspektiv som hon tillämpar, med en när läsning av källorna, leder till ett viktigt resultat att framställningen av Oden under medeltiden delvis är beroende av den enskilda textens genre, målsättning och de kristna strategier som skrivaren/författaren tillämpar. Lassens arbete kommer troligen att få stor betydelse för den framtida mytforskningen, som i allt högre grad kommer att kräva en noggrannare granskning av texternas kontexter.

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## Recensioner

*Rómverja saga*. 1. *Introduction*. 2. *Text*. Ed. Þorbjörg Helgadóttir. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Rit 77. Reykjavík. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2010. Pp. ccxx + 413.

With the publication of these two substantial volumes, the field of Old Norse-Icelandic has gained not only a definitive edition of *Rómverja saga*, the Icelandic translation of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum* and *Conjuratio Catilinae* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*, but also the most thorough analysis of this interesting Old Icelandic history of the Romans to date.

There are two recensions of *Rómverja saga*. The older version is preserved fragmentarily in a single manuscript, AM 595 a–b 4to from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The younger version is extant in AM 226 fol. from the fourteenth century and the following copies of the saga in this manuscript: AM 225 fol. from around 1400, AM 598 III β 4to from shortly after the second half of the fourteenth century, AM 598 III γ 4to from the fifteenth century, AM 598 III α 4to from the sixteenth century, Holm perg. 24 4to from the sixteenth century, JS 8 fol. from 1729, Bodley Boreal 141 from the eighteenth century, Lbs. 371–373 4to from the eighteenth century, BLAdd 11238 from the eighteenth century, TCD MS 998 from the eighteenth century, and AM 541 4to from the eighteenth century. In addition, three small strips from a paper manuscript used to strengthen the leaves of AM 578 g 4to when it was rebound have been demonstrated to be the remains of a leaf containing text from the later version of *Rómverja saga*.

*Rómverja saga* has previously been edited, but none of these editions is complete. The first edition is that of Konráð Gíslason in 1860, who edited both versions of the saga, first the younger with the title “*Rómverja sögur*”, based on AM 226 fol., and then the older version with the title “*Úr Rómverja sögum*”, where he printed separately what he considered

to be interpolations in AM 595 a–b 4to into the earlier version from fols. 29v to 30r and 30v and named the passages “Upphaf Rómverja”. Next, in 1910, Rudolf Meissner published an edition of the older recension of the saga. And finally, in 1980, Jakob Benediktsson’s facsimile edition of AM 595 a–b 4to was published along with his scholarly discussion of the manuscript and the saga. Þorbjörg Helgadóttir’s new edition, then, two decades in the making, is a much and long needed complete edition of this Icelandic history of the Romans.

*Rómverja saga* is printed in Volume 2. The texts of AM 595 a–b 4to and AM 226 fol. are printed *in extenso* and synoptically with variant readings to the latter from the fragments (Holm perg. 24 4to, AM 598 III α 4to, AM 598 III β 4to, AM 598 III γ 4to. and AM 764 4to) listed in the textual apparatus, and with the Latin source texts printed at the bottom of the page. Þorbjörg has taken a semi-diplomatic approach in that proper names are capitalized irrespective of scribal usage, which makes for a more readable text. Abbreviations are expanded in accordance with the normal spelling of the scribe in question. Suspensions are extended in round brackets, and supralinear symbols or letters and contractions are marked in italics. The punctuation of the manuscripts has been followed, and accents over letters have been retained. The word-division of the manuscripts has also been followed, though two words written as one are separated in the printed text. Obvious misspellings are corrected and marked with an asterisk, the original being given in the apparatus. Words or letters now illegible but assumed to have originally been in the manuscripts are printed in square brackets. Matter never present but presumed to have been inadvertently omitted is added in diagonal brackets. Where the reading is uncertain, the assumed letters are indicated by zeroes. In cases where a leaf has been damaged by cutting, the missing words or letters are indicated by three points in square brackets. Page and column boundaries in the manuscripts are indicated by a vertical stroke with the foliation numbers in the margin. The editorial policy is sound in every respect. The volume concludes with an index of Latin proper names, an index of Old Icelandic proper names, and an appendix containing a list of hapax legomena in the manuscripts of *Rómverja saga*.

Volume 1, which forms an introduction to the edition and constitutes a monograph in itself, consists of three main chapters. Chapter 1 begins with a survey of the manuscripts and editions of *Rómverja saga*. Then follows a detailed examination of AM 595 a–b 4to, AM 226 fol., and the fragments Holm perg. 24 4to, AM 598 III α 4to, AM 598 III β 4to, and

AM 598 III  $\gamma$  4to. For each manuscript, Þorbjörg provides a codicological description, an account of its linguistic and textual characteristics (paleographic and orthographic), a discussion of its date and provenance, and its relation to other manuscripts in terms of hands and scribes. AM 225 fol., a direct copy of AM 226 fol., receives only modest attention, and the editor confines herself to a discussion of its relationship to AM 226 fol. The chapter concludes with a stemma, which shows that AM 226 fol. and AM 529 III  $\gamma$  4to go back to a common original, and that Holm perg. 24 4to, AM 598 III  $\alpha$  4to, and AM 598 III  $\beta$  4to descend ultimately from the same manuscript. Since the whole of the younger version is preserved only in AM 226 fol., Þorbjörg has chosen this manuscript as the basis for this recension. Chapter 2 treats first the major sources of *Rómverja saga*, that is, Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum* and *Conjuratio Catilinae* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*. With regard to the translation of Sallust, Þorbjörg demonstrates that the source must have been the so-called Y-branch of the transmission of these texts, especially as represented by Codex Monacensis 4559, Codex Turicensis C 143a, Codex Parisinus 10195, and Codex Hauniensis bibl. Vniu. 25. With regard to the translation of Lucan, she has managed to find a group of four manuscripts that seem to agree with the Old Icelandic translation: Codex Parisinus 7502, Codex Bruxellensis 5330-32, Codex Vossianus XIX F. 63, and Codex Vossianus XIX Q. 51. For the Sallust texts in the present edition, Þorbjörg uses the *textus receptus* and quotes the variant readings in Codex Parisinus 10195 and related manuscripts. With regard to the Lucan translation, she uses the text as it is edited in the German Teubner series. She acknowledges that there is commentary in Codex Vossianus XIX F. 63 and Codex Vossianus XIX Q. 51 that frequently matches the Old Icelandic translation, but she has decided not to include it in order to avoid cluttering the page with too much detail. Next she considers the sources of the transition passage between the Jugurtha translation and the Catilina translation as well as those of the introduction and conclusion to the Lucan translation, and examines how the introduction relates to identical or similar passages in *Veraldar saga*, AM 764 4to, and *Clemens saga*. She then turns to the minor sources to discuss a passage on snakes in the Lucan translation, an account of Caesar's last days, and a section dealing with Emperor Augustus and his reign. Þorbjörg concludes that "the author/compiler of the saga had a translation of a manuscript of Sallust's works that was related to the preserved manuscript D [Codex Parisinus 10195] in the transmission of those works. He had a translation of a manuscript

of Lucan, or more likely an abstract of a manuscript of Lucan that was provided with a commentary. And he had an Old Icelandic translation of a *summa historiae* that probably belonged originally to an *accessus* text to Lucan's *Pharsalia*" (pp. cxxv–cxxvi). Chapter 3 discusses the translation style of the two versions of *Rómverja saga*. Þorbjörg examines abbreviations and omissions, amplifications and additions, speeches, deviations and misunderstandings, vocabulary, and Latin influence on morphology and syntax in the Jugurtha, Catilina and Lucan translations first in AM 595 a–b 4to and then in AM 226 fol. The chapter ends with a comparison of the version in AM 595 a–b 4to with that in AM 226 fol., which represents an abridged redaction of the original translation, and an assessment of *Rómverja saga* as a literary work and in a literary-historical context. Þorbjörg concludes among other things that the *Rómverja saga* translations took place in several stages: “[t]he translation of Sallust’s works could very well have been earlier than the translation of Lucan, and of the two Sallust translations, the Jugurtha translation must be the earliest” (p. cxciv). She further argues that the translation belonged to the classroom; that the dating of *Rómverja saga* to around 1180 is questionable, since, as she demonstrates, *Rómverja saga* did not serve as a source for *Veraldar saga* (she posits the second half of the twelfth century as a more likely date); that the condensed and younger version of *Rómverja saga* was based on an exemplar that was not AM 595 a–b 4to and that included a new introduction to the Lucan translation, which reveals a change of focus; and that *Rómverja saga*, *Alexanders saga*, and *Gyðinga saga* accompanied one another from the beginning in their abridged versions. Five plates with facsimile specimens of AM 226 fol., AM 598 III β 4to, AM 598 III γ 4to, Holm Perg. 24 4to, and AM 598 III α 4to, a résumé in Icelandic of the introduction, a bibliography, and an index of proper names round off the volume.

This excellent edition of *Rómverja saga* presents just about everything anyone could possibly want to know about this fascinating work. The edition caters not only to codicologists, linguists and philologists, but also to literary historians. The fine and clear introduction sheds much new light on *Rómverja saga* in terms of its provenance, date, and style, and the compelling arguments are based on solid marshaling of evidence and attention to detail. The quality of this model edition is well matched by the care that the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum has taken in its production.



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# Berättelse om verksamheten under 2010

HEIMIR PÁLSSON & LASSE MÅRTENSSON

Isländska sällskapet styrelse hade under 2010 följande sammansättning:

Ordförande: Heimir Pálsson

Vice ordförande: Veturliði Óskarsson (redaktör för *Scripta Islandica*)

Sekreterare: Lasse Mårtensson

Skattmästare: Mathias Strandberg

Klubbmästare: Maja Bäckvall

Övriga ledamöter: Anna Bredin, Ulla Börestam, Agneta Ney

Ordförande för Isländska sällskapet Umeå-avdelning är universitetslektor Susanne Haugen.

Vid årets slut hade sällskapet ca 220 medlemmar. Sällskapets inkomster under året uppgick till 73 405,59 kronor, och utgifterna till 86 971 kronor.

Den sextionde årgången av *Scripta Islandica*, Isländska sällskapets årsbok 60/2009, har utkommit. De nio bidragen har sitt ursprung i föredrag hållna vid *The 14<sup>th</sup> International Saga Conference* i Uppsala 2009. Tidsskriftens 60-årsjubileum uppmärksammas av den dåvarande redaktören i en inledning: "Scripta Islandica 60 år". Det övriga innehållet är "To the letter. Philology as a core component of Old Norse Studies", av Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Ynglingatal. A minimalist interpretation", av John McKinnell, "Old Norse text as performance", av Lars Lönnroth, "From accusation to narration: The transformation of senna in Íslendingaþættir", av Elena Gurevich, "The formation of the Kings' Sagas", av Theodore M. Andersson, "Law recital according to Old Icelandic law: Written evidence of oral transmission?", av Helgi Skúli Kjartansson, "Ansgar's conversion of Iceland", av Terry Gunnell, "Border crossings: Landscape and the Other World in the Fornaldarsögur", av Helen F. Leslie samt "The Gosforth fishing-stone and Hymiskviða: An example of inter-communicability between Old English and Old Norse speakers", av Tsukusu Itó.

Även den sextioförsta årgången av *Scripta Islandica*, Isländska sällskapetets årsbok 61/2010, har utkommit. Den innehåller "Eine bewusste Antiregel. Die Stimme der Frau in Halldór Laxness Gedichten", av Helga Kress, "Hallgrímur Pétursson and Tormod Torfæus. Their scholarly friendship", av Margrét Eggertsdóttir, "Hefi ek mark á máli mart. Litt om vokabular for særdrag ved folks språk og uttale i gammalislandsk", av Jan Ragnar Hagland samt "Om hängningen, de nio nätterna och den dyrköpta kunskapen i *Hávamál* 138–145", av Olof Sundqvist. Den innehåller även recensioner av "Fri översättning i det medeltida Västnorden", av Jonathan Pettersson, anmäld av Stefanie Gropper samt "Alexanders saga, Manuscripta Nordica 2", utg. Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen, anmäld av Jonathan Pettersson. Dessutom innehåller årsboken en berättelse om verksamheten 2008, av Henrik Williams och Agneta Ney samt "In memoriam. Oskar Bandle, Peter Foote, Björn Hagström", av Lennart Elmevik.

Vid sällskapetets årsmöte den 22 april 2010 höll Odd Einar Haugen ett föredrag med titeln "Heraklios og Khosroes på altarfrontalet i Nedstryn kyrkje (Nordfjord). Ei skriven og ei malt forteljing frå norsk mellomalder". Vid sällskapetets höstmöte den 20 oktober, som var ett samarrangemang mellan Isländska sällskapet, Islands ambassad och Samfundet Sverige-Island, hölls fyra föredrag om glaciärer, jordskalv och vulkaner samt om relationen mellan språk och naturfenomen. Föredragen hölls av Oddur Sigurðsson, från Islands meteorologiska institut, samt av Reynir Böðvarsson, Veturliði Óskarsson och Heimir Pálsson från Uppsala universitet.

Uppsala den 17 maj 2011

*Heimir Pálsson*

*Lasse Mårtensson*

## Författarna i denna årgång

Guðrún Kvaran, professor i isländska vid Islands universitet

Heimir Pálsson, docent vid Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet

Silvia Hufnagel, forskare vid Det arnamagnæanske institut, Köpenhamns universitet

Triin Laidoner, doktorand vid Centre for Scandinavian Studies, University of Aberdeen

Olof Sundqvist, professor i religionsvetenskap med inriktning mot religionshistoria, Högskolan i Gävle

Kirsten Wolf, professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Lars Wollin, professor emeritus i nordiska språk/svenska, senast verksam vid Åbo Akademi

Þorleifur Hauksson, forskare vid ReykjavíkúAkademían, Island



# Scripta Islandica ISLÄNDSKA SÄLLSKAPETS ÅRSBOK

ÅRGÅNG 1 · 1950: *Einar Ól. Sveinsson*, Njáls saga.

ÅRGÅNG 2 · 1951: *Chr. Matras*, Det færøske skriftsprog af 1846.—*Gösta Franzén*, Isländska studier i Förenta staterna.

ÅRGÅNG 3 · 1952: *Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson*, Biskop Jón Arason.—*Stefan Einarsson*, Halldór Kiljan Laxness.

ÅRGÅNG 4 · 1953: *Alexander Jóhannesson*, Om det isländske sprog.—*Anna Z. Osterman*, En studie över landskapet i Völuspá.—*Sven B. F. Jansson*, Snorre.

ÅRGÅNG 5 · 1954: *Sigurður Nordal*, Tid och kalvskinn.—*Gun Nilsson*, Den isländska litteraturen i stormaktstidens Sverige.

ÅRGÅNG 6 · 1955: *Davíð Stefánsson*, Prologus till »Den gyllene porten».—*Jakob Benediktsson*, Det islandske ordbogsarbejde ved Islands universitet.—*Rolf Nordenstreng*, Völundarkviða v. 2.—*Ivar Modéer*, Över hed och sand till Bæjarstaðarskogur.

ÅRGÅNG 7 · 1956: *Einar Ól. Sveinsson*, Läs- och skrivkunnighet på Island under fristatstiden.—*Fr. le Sage de Fontenay*, Jonas Hallgrímssons lyrik.

ÅRGÅNG 8 · 1917: *Porgils Gjallandi (Jón Stefánsson)*, Hemlängtan.—*Gösta Holm*, I fågelberg och valfjära. Glimtar från Färöarna.—*Ivar Modéer*, Ur det isländska allmogespråkets skattkammare.

ÅRGÅNG 9 · 1958: *K.-H. Dahlstedt*, Isländsk dialektgeografi. Några synpunkter.—*Peter Hallberg*, Kormáks saga.

ÅRGÅNG 10 · 1959: *Ivar Modéer*, Isländska sällskapet 1949–1959.—*Sigurður Nordal*, The Historical Element in the Icelandic Family Sagas.—*Ivar Modéer*, Johannes S. Kjarval.

ÅRGÅNG 11 · 1960: *Sigurd Fries*, Ivar Modéer 3.11.1904–31.1.1960.—*Steingrímur J. Þorsteinsson*, Matthías Jochumsson och Einar Benediktsson.—*Ingegerd Fries*, Genom Ódáðahraun och Vonarskarð—färder under tusen år.

ÅRGÅNG 12 · 1961: *Einar Ól. Sveinsson*, Njáls saga.

ÅRGÅNG 13 · 1962: *Halldór Halldórsson*, Kring språkliga nybildningar i nutida isländska.—*Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt*, Gudruns sorg. Stilstudier över ett eddamotiv.—*Tor Hultman*, Rec. av Jacobsen, M. A.—*Matras, Chr.*, Föroyksdonsk orðabók. Færøsk-dansk ordbog.

ÅRGÅNG 14 · 1963: *Peter Hallberg*, Laxness som dramatiker.—*Roland Otterbjörk*, Moderna isländska förnamn.—*Einar Ól. Sveinsson*, Från Mýrdalur.

ÅRGÅNG 15 · 1964: *Lars Lönnroth*, Tesen om de två kulturerna. Kritiska studier i den isländska sagaskrivningens sociala förutsättningar.—*Valter Jansson*, Bortgångna hedersledamöter.

ÅRGÅNG 16 · 1965: *Tryggve Sköld*, Isländska väderstreck.

ÅRGÅNG 17 · 1966: *Gun Widmark*, Om nordisk replikkonst i och utanför den isländska sagan.—*Bo Almqvist*, Den fulaste foten. Folkligt och litterärt i en Snorri-anekdote.

ÅRGÅNG 18 · 1967: *Ole Widding*, Jónsbóks to ikke-interpolerede håndskrifter. Et bidrag til den isländske lovbogs historie.—*Steingrímur J. Þorsteinsson*, Jóhann Sigurjónsson och Fjalla-Eyvindur.

ÅRGÅNG 19 · 1968: *Einar Ól. Sveinsson*, Eyrbyggja sagas kilder.—*Svávar Sigmundsson*, Ortnamnsforskning på Island.—Lennart Elmevik, Glömskans häger. Till tolkningen av en Hávamálstrof.—Berättelsen om Audun, översatt av Björn Collinder.

ÅRGÅNG 20 · 1969: *Sveinn Höskuldsson*, Skaldekongressen på Parnassen—en isländsk studentpjäs.—*Evert Salberger*, Cesurer i Atlakviða.

ÅRGÅNG 21 · 1970: *Davíð Erlingsson*, Etiken i Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða.—*Bo Almqvist*, Isländska ordspråk och talesätt.

ÅRGÅNG 22 · 1971: *Valter Jansson*, Jöran Sahlgren. Minnesord.—*Lennart Elmevik*, Ett eddaställe och några svenska dialektord.—*Bjarne Beckman*, Hur gammal är Hervararsagans svenska kungakronika?—*Baldur Jónsson*, Några anmärkningar till Blöndals ordbok.—*Evert Salberger*, Vel glýioð eller velglýioð. En textdetalj i Völuspá 35.—*Anna Mörner*, Isafjord.

ÅRGÅNG 23 · 1972: *Bo Ralph*, Jon Hreggviðsson—en sagagestalt i en modern isländsk roman.—*Staffan Hellberg*, Slaget vid Nesjar och »Sven jarl Hákonsson».—*Thorsten Carlsson*, Norrön legendforskning—en kort presentation.

ÅRGÅNG 24 · 1973: *Peter Hallberg*, Njáls saga—en medeltida moralitet?—*Evert Salberger*, Elfaraskáld—ett tillnamn i Njáls saga.—*Richard L. Harris*, The Deaths of Grettir and Grendel: A New Parallel.—*Peter A. Jorgensen*, Grendel, Grettir, and Two Skaldic Stanzas.

ÅRGÅNG 25 · 1974: *Valter Jansson*, Isländska sällskapet 25 år.—*Ove Moberg*, Bröderna Weibull och den isländska traditionen.—*Evert Salberger*, Heill þú farir! Ett textproblem i Vafþrúðnismál 4.—*Bjarne Beckman*, Mysing.—*Hreinn Steingrímsson*, »Að kveða rímur».—*Lennart Elmevik*, Två eddaställen och en västnordisk ordgrupp.

ÅRGÅNG 26 · 1975: *Björn Hagström*, Att särskilja anonyma skrivare. Några synpunkter på ett paleografiskt-ortografiskt problem i medeltida isländska handskrifter, särskilt Isländska Homilieboken.—*Gustaf Lindblad*, Den rätta läsningen av Isländska Homilieboken.—*Bo Ralph*, En dikt av Steinþórr, islänning.—*Kristinn Jóhannesson*, Från Värmland till Borgarfjörður. Om Gustaf Fródings diktning i isländsk tolkning.

ÅRGÅNG 27 · 1976: *Alan J. Berger*, Old Law, New Law, and Hoensa-Póris saga.—*Heimir Pálsson*, En översättares funderingar. Kring en opublicerad översättning av Sven Delblancs Åminne.—*Kunishiro Sugawara*, A Report on Japanese Translations of Old Icelandic Literature.—*Evert Salberger*, Ask Burlefot. En romanhjaltes namn.—Lennart Elmevik, Fisl. giögurr.



ÅRGÅNG 28 · 1977: *Gustaf Lindblad*, Centrala eddaproblem i 1970-talets forskningsläge.—Bo Ralph, Ett ställe i Skáldskaparmál 18.

ÅRGÅNG 29 · 1978: *John Lindow*, Old Icelandic *þátrr*: Early Usage and Semantic History.—*Finn Hansen*, Naturbeskrivende indslag i Gísla saga Súrssonar.—Karl Axel Holmberg, Uppsala-Eddan i utgåva.

ÅRGÅNG 30 · 1979: *Valter Jansson*, Dag Strömbäck. Minnesord.—*Finn Hansen*, Benbrud og bane i blåt.—*Andrea van Arkel*, Scribes and Statistics. An evaluation of the statistical methods used to determine the number of scribes of the Stockholm Homily Book.—*Eva Rode*, Svar på artiklen »Scribes and Statistics».—Börje Westlund, Skrivare och statistik. Ett genmäle.

ÅRGÅNG 31 · 1980: *Björn Högström*, Fvn. bakkakolfr och skotbakki. Några glimtar från redigeringen av en norrön ordbok.—*Alan J. Berger*, The Sagas of Harald Fairhair.—*Ilkka Hirvonen*, Om bruket av slutartikel i de äldsta norröna homiliböckerna IsIH och GNH.—*Sigurgeir Steingrímsson*, Tusen och en dag. En sagosamlings vandring från Orienten till Island.—*Jan Terje Faarlund*, Subject and nominative in Old Norse.—*Lars-Erik Edlund*, Askraka—ett engångsord i Egilssagan.

ÅRGÅNG 32 · 1981: *Staffan Hellberg*, Kungarna i Sigvats diktning. Till studiet av skaldedikternas språk och stil.—*Finn Hansen*, Hrafnkels saga: del og helhed.—Ingegerd Fries, Njals saga 700 år senare.

ÅRGÅNG 33 · 1982: *Jan Paul Strid*, Veidrar námo—ett omdiskuterat ställe i Hymiskviða.—*Madeleine G. Randquist*, Om den (text)syntaktiska och semantiska strukturen i tre välkända isländska sagor. En skiss.—*Sigurgeir Steingrímsson*, Árni Magnusson och hans handskriftsamling.

ÅRGÅNG 34 · 1983: *Peter Hallberg*, Sturlunga saga—en isländsk tidsspegel.—*Porleifur Hauksson*, Anteckningar om Hallgrímur Pétursson.—*Inger Larsson*, Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða. En bibliografi.

ÅRGÅNG 35 · 1984: *Lennart Elmevik*, Einar Ólafur Sveinsson. Minnesord.—*Alfred Jakobsen*, Noen merknader til Gísls þátrr Illugasonar.—*Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt*, Bygden under Vatnajökull. En minnesvärd resa till Island 1954.—*Michael Barnes*, Norn.—*Barbro Söderberg*, Till tolkningen av några dunkla passager i Lokasenna.

ÅRGÅNG 36 · 1985: *Staffan Hellberg*, Nesjavísur än en gång.—*George S. Tate*, Eldorado and the Garden in Laxness' *Paradisarheimt*.—*Porleifur Hauksson*, Vildvittror och Mattisrövare i isländsk dräkt. Ett kåseri kring en översättning av Ronja rövardotter.—*Michael Barnes*, A note on Faroese /θ/>/ h/.—*Björn Hagström*, En färöisk-svensk ordbok. Rec. av Ebba Lindberg & Birgitta Hylin, Färöord. Liten färöisk-svensk ordbok med kortfattad grammatik jämte upplysningar om språkets historiska bakgrund.—*Claes Áneman*, Rec. av Bjarne Fidjestøl, Det norrøne fyrstediktet.

ÅRGÅNG 37 · 1986: *Alfred Jakobsen*, Om forfatteren av Sturlu saga.—*Michael P. Barnes*, Subject, Nominative and Oblique Case in Faroese.—*Marianne E.*

*Kalinke*, The Misogamous Maiden Kings of Icelandic Romance.—*Carl-Otto von Sydow*, Jon Helgasons dikt I Árnasafni. Den isländska texten med svensk översättning och kort kommentar.

ÅRGÅNG 38 · 1987: *Michael P. Barnes*, Some Remarks on Subordinate Clause Word-order in Faroese.—*Jan Ragnar Hagland*, Njáls saga i 1970-og 1980-åra. Eit översyn över nyare forskning.—*Per-Axel Wiktorsson*, Om Torleiftåten.—*Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt*, Davíð Stefánssons dikt Konan, sem kyndir ofninn minn. Den isländska texten med svensk översättning och kort kommentar.

ÅRGÅNG 39 · 1988: *Alfred Jakobsen*, Snorre og geografien.—*Joan Turville-Petre*, A Tree Dream in Old Icelandic.—*Agneta Breisch*, Fredlöshetsbegreppet i saga och samhälle.—*Tommy Danielsson*, Magnús berfættrs sista strid.—*Ola Larsmo*, Att tala i röret. En orättvis betraktelse av modern isländsk skönlitteratur.

ÅRGÅNG 40 · 1989: *Alv Kragerud*, Helgdiktningen og reinkarnasjonen.—*Jan Nilsson*, Guðmundr Ólafsson och hans Lexicon Islandicum—några kommentarer.

ÅRGÅNG 41 · 1990: *Jan Ragnar Hagland*, Slaget på Pezinavellir i nordisk og bysantinsk tradisjon.—*William Sayers*, An Irish Descriptive Topos in Laxdæla Saga.—*Carl-Otto von Sydow*, Nyisländsk skönlitteratur i svensk översättning. En förteckning. Del 1.—*Karl Axel Holmberg*, Rec. av Else Nordahl, Reykjavík from the Archaeological Point of View.

ÅRGÅNG 42 · 1991: *Stefan Brink*, Den norröna bosättningen på Grönland. En kortfattad forskningsöversikt jämte några nya forskningsbidrag.—*Carl-Otto von Sydow*, Två dikter av Jón Helgason i original och svensk dräkt med kommentar.—*Carl-Otto von Sydow*, Nyisländsk skönlitteratur i svensk översättning. En förteckning. Del 2.—*Nils Österholm*, Torleiftåten i handskriften Add 4867 fol.—*Lennart Elmevik*, Rec. av Esbjörn Rosenblad, Island i saga och nutid.

ÅRGÅNG 43 · 1992: *Anne Lidén*, St Olav in the Beatus Initial of the Carrow Psalter.—*Michael P. Barnes*, Faroese Syntax—Achievements, Goals and Problems.—*Carl-Otto von Sydow*, Nyisländsk skönlitteratur i svensk översättning. En förteckning. Del 3.

ÅRGÅNG 44 · 1993: *Karl Axel Holmberg*, Isländsk språkvård nu och förr. Med en sidoblick på svenskan.—*Páll Valsson*, Islands älsklingsson sedd i ett nytt ljus. Några problem omkring den nya textkritiska utgåvan av Jónas Hallgrímssons samlade verk: Ritverk Jónasar Hallgrímssonar I–IV, 1989.—*William Sayers*, Spiritual Navigation in the Western Sea: Sturlunga saga and Adomnán's Hinba.—*Carl-Otto von Sydow*, Nyisländsk skönlitteratur i svensk översättning. En förteckning. Del 4.

ÅRGÅNG 45 · 1994: *Kristín Bragadóttir*, Skalden och redaktören Jón Porkelsson.—*Ingegerd Fries*, När skrevs sagan? Om datering av isländska sagor, särskilt Heiðarvígasagan.—*Sigurður A. Magnússon*, Sigurbjörn Einarsson som student i Uppsala på 1930-talet. Översättning, noter och efterskrift av Carl-Otto von Sydow.

ÅRGÅNG 46 · 1995: *Ingegerd Fries*, Biskop Gissur Einarsson och reformationen.—*François-Xavier Dillmann*, Runorna i den fornisländska litteraturen.

En översikt.—*William Sayers*, Poetry and Social Agency in Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar.

ÅRGÅNG 47 · 1996: *Lennart Elmevik*, Valter Jansson. Minnesord.—*Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson*, Blot i forna skrifter.—*Gísli Pálsson*, Språk, text och identitet i det isländska samhället.

ÅRGÅNG 48 · 1997: *Lennart Elmevik*, Anna Larsson. Minnesord.—*Lennart Moberg*, ”Stóð und árhjalmi”. Kring Hákonarmál 3:8.—*Henric Bagerius*, Vita vikingar och svarta sköldmör. Föreställningar om sexualitet i Snorre Sturlassons kungasagor.—*Páll Valsson*, En runologs uppgång och fall.—*Björn Hagström*, Något om färöisk lyrik—mest om Christian Matras.

ÅRGÅNG 49 · 1998: *Veturlíði Óskarsson*, Om låneord og fremmed påvirkning på ældre islandsk sprog.—*Jóhanna Barðdal*, Argument Structure, Syntactic Structure and Morphological Case of the Impersonal Construction in the History of Scandinavian.—*Jan Ragnar Hagland*, Note on Two Runic Inscriptions relating to the Christianization of Norway and Sweden.—*William Sayers*, The ship *heiti* in Snorri’s *Skáldskaparmál*.—*Henrik Williams*, Rec. av Snorres Edda. Översättning från isländskan och inledning av Karl G. Johansson och Mats Malm.

ÅRGÅNG 50 · 1999: *Lennart Elmevik*, Isländska sällskapet 50 år.—*Bjarni Guðnason*, Guðrún Ósvifursdóttir och Laxdæla Saga.—*Veturlíði Óskarsson*, Verbet isländskt *ské*.—*Henrik Williams*, Nordisk paleografisk debatt i svenskt perspektiv. En kort överblick.—*Carl-Otto von Sydow*, Jón Helgasons dikt Kom milda nótt i svensk tolkning.—*Veturlíði Óskarsson*, Är isländsk språkvård på rätt väg?—*Gun Widmark*, Isländsk-svenska kontakter i äldre tid.

ÅRGÅNG 51 · 2000: *Lennart Elmevik*, Vidar Reinhammar. Minnesord.—*Peter Springborg*, De islandske håndskrifter og ”håndskriftsagen”.—*Gun Widmark*, Om muntlighet och skriftlighet i den isländska sagan.—*Judy Quinn*, Editing the Edda—the case of *Völuspá*.—*Kirsten Wolf*, Laughter in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature.—*Fjodor Uspenskij*, Towards Further Interpretation of the Primordial Cow Auðhumla.—*Tom Markey*, Icelandic *sími* and Soul Contracting.—*Björn Hagström*, Den färöiska ”Modersmålsordboken”.

ÅRGÅNG 52 · 2001: *Lennart Elmevik*, Claes Åneman. Minnesord.—*Lars Lönnroth*, Laxness och isländsk sagatradition.—*François-Xavier Dillmann*, Om hundar och hedningar. Kring den fornvästnordiska sammansättningen *hundheiðinn*.—*Mindy MacLeod*, *Bandrúnir* in Icelandic Sagas.—*Thorgunn Snædal*, Snorre Sturlasson—hövding och historiker.—*Guðrún Kvaran*, Omkring en doktorafhandling om middelnedertyske låneord i islandsk diplomsprog frem til år 1500.

ÅRGÅNG 53 · 2002: *Veturlíði Óskarsson*, Studiosus antiqvitatum. Om Jón Ólafsson från Grunnavík, förebilden till Halldór Laxness sagoperson Jón Guðmundsson från Grindavík.—*Pórgunnur Snædal*, From Rök to Skagafjörður: Icelandic runes and their connection with the Scandinavian runes of the Viking period.—*Patrik Larsson*, Det fornvästnordiska personbinamnet *Kíkr*.—*Veturlíði Óskarsson*, Ur en eddadikts forskningshistoria.

ÅRGÅNG 54 · 2003: *Henrik Williams*, Än lever de gamla gudarna. Vikten av att forska om fornisländska.—*Anna Helga Hannesdóttir*, Islänningars attityder till språkliga normer.—*Kristinn Jóhannesson*, Halldór Laxness—samtidens spegel.—*Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist*, Arngrímur Jónsson och hans verk.—*Adolfo Zavaroni*, Communitarian Regime and Individual Power: *Othinus* versus *Ollerus* and *Mithothyn*.

ÅRGÅNG 55 · 2004: *Heimir Pálsson*, Några kapitel ur en oskriven bok.—*Staffan Fridell*, *At ósi skal á stemma*. Ett ordspråk i Snorres Edda.—*Agneta Ney*, Mö-traditionen i fornnordisk myt och verklighet.—*Martin Ringmar*, Vägen via svenska. Om G. G. Hagalíns översättning av en finsk ödemarksroman.—*Svante Norr*, A New Look at King Hákon's Old Helmet, the *árhjálmr*.—*Lasse Mårtensson*, Två utgåvor av Jóns saga helga. En recension samt några reflexioner om utgivningen av nordiska medeltidstexter.

ÅRGÅNG 56 · 2005: *Lennart Elmevik*, Lennart Moberg. Minnesord.—*Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist*, The Significance of Remote Resource Regions for Norse Greenland.—*Andreas Nordberg*, Handlar Grimmesmål 42 om en sakral måltid?—*Daniel Sävborg*, Kormáks saga—en norrön kärleks saga på vers och prosa.—*Ingvar Svanberg* och *Sigurður Ægisson*, The Black Guillemot (*Cephus grylle*) in Northern European Folk Ornithology.—*Staffan Fridell*, *At ósi skal á stemma*. Ett ordspråk i Snorres Edda. 2.—*Else Mundal*, Literacy—kva talar vi egentleg om?—*Leidulf Melve*, Literacy—eit omgrep til bry eller eit brysam omgrep?

ÅRGÅNG 57 · 2006: *Theodore M. Andersson*, *Víga-Glúms saga* and the Birth of Saga Writing.—*Staffan Fridell*, Fvn. *hrynja* och fsv. *rynja*. Om ett eddaställe och en flock i Södermannalagen.—*Kirsten Wolf*, The Color Blue in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature.—*Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist*, Kristen kungaideologi i *Sverris saga*.—*Lars Lönnroth*, *Sverrir's Dreams*.—*Arnved Nedkvitne*, Skriftkultur i skandinavisk middelalder—metoder og resultater.—*Lars Lönnroth*, The Growth of the Sagas. Rec. av Theodore M. Andersson, The Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas (1180–1280).—*Anders Hultgård*, rec. av François-Xavier Dillmann, Les magiciens dans l'Islande ancienne. Études

sur la représentation de la magie islandaise et de ses agents dans les sources littéraires norroises.—*Heimir Pálsson*, Den stora isländska litteraturhistorien. Rec. av Íslensk bókmenntasaga I–V. Red. Vésteinn Ólason, Halldór Guðmundsson & Guðmundur Andri Thorsson. *Sigurd Fries*, Jón Aðalsteinn Jónsson och studiet av nyisländskan i Sverige.

ÅRGÅNG 58 · 2007: *Heinrich Beck*, Die Uppsala-Edda und Snorri Sturlusons Konstruktion einer skandinavischen Vorzeit.—*Gunnhild Røthe*, Þorgerðr Hölgabrúðr—the *fylgja* of the Háleygjjar family.—*Michael Schulte*, Memory culture in the Viking Ages. The runic evidence of formulaic patterns.—*Lennart Elmevik*, Yggdrasil. En etymologisk studie.—*Henrik Williams*, Projektet Originalversionen av Snorre Sturlassons Edda? Studier i Codex Upsaliensis. Ett forskningsprogram.—*Sverre Bagge*, "Gang leader" eller "The Lord's anointed"

i *Sverris saga*? Svar til Fredrik Ljungqvist og Lars Lönnroth.—*Heimir Pálsson*, Tungviktare i litteraturhistorien. En krönika.

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