



**HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS**

Hugvísindasvið

## **Footnotes on Life**

*Marginalia in Three Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts*

**Ritgerð til M.A.-prófs**

**Christine M. Schott**

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### Abstract

This project investigates what paratextual material—specifically marginalia—can tell us about the way medieval Icelandic readers felt about their books, and how they participated in the creation of the reading experience for future readers through the marks they left on the page. This branch of Material Philology is shedding light on reading and literary practices across medieval Europe, but within the realm of Icelandic literature much still remains to be uncovered.

This thesis discusses and provides a transcription of the marginalia in three particular medieval Icelandic manuscripts, focusing first and foremost on a little-noted *Jónsbók* manuscript: Rask 72a. This book contains a fairly extensive collection of comments by the scribe on his environment and equipment, all written into the margins. I argue that the scribe was led to record such comments in the margins because of the specifically written (and therefore specifically physical) nature of the *Jónsbók* law code, which is quite different from the sagas or eddas that had at least some roots in the oral history tradition.

As a supplement to this discussion of the *Jónsbók* manuscript, I also examine AM 604 4to (a manuscript of *rímur*) and AM 433a 12mo (*Margrétar saga*). This secondary investigation provides a broader basis for the discussion of Icelandic book culture. I argue, for instance, that the extensive recording of proverbs in AM 604 indicates a certain awareness of the manuscript as an archival force—a lasting physical artifact instead of simply a record to prompt oral performance in reading. The presence of such collections of deliberately-formulated marginalia in all three manuscripts indicates a certain consonance of attitude toward these three very different kinds of books: on some level conscious or unconscious, the scribes were aware of the physical, enduring nature of their material as much as they were of the value of the text, and at the same time they participated in the creation of future reading experiences by inscribing themselves on the page.

## Part One

### Chapter One: Material Philology and the Case of Icelandic Manuscripts

#### Material Philology and the Study of Marginalia

Beginning perhaps with Bernard Cerquiglini's *Éloge de la variante*, both literary and textual criticism have come to revalue the multiplicity of manuscript evidence—the most telling remaining traces of a culture otherwise lost into the obscurity of the past. This New or Material Philology, along with the editorial schools that have branched from it, sees multiplicity as an embarrassment of riches, not just an embarrassment as so many earlier critics had held; these riches offer insight into how redactors, copyists, and even readers adapted their literary heritage to suit their own tastes, values, and social needs.<sup>1</sup> In the wake of such a paradigm shift, the study of codicology has taken on a new dimension, and especially in the past thirty to forty years, great advances have been made in the study of individual manuscripts not simply as transmitters of a text but as unique physical witnesses to the times that produced them.<sup>2</sup> One of the areas of interest within codicological study, which is accruing traditions both in the practical and the theoretical realms as criticism progresses, is the study of paratextual material—specifically, marginalia.

Much work has been done on marginalia in English manuscripts, particularly in the tradition of the poetic work *The Vision of Piers Plowman*,<sup>3</sup> though perhaps the balance still tips toward what remains to be done. Nevertheless, fruitful theory is growing in critical circles regarding how marginalia affects the reading process; the focus has tended to fall on the way in which scribes or even later annotators attempt to guide the experience of their future readers by highlighting aspects of the text they find important and downplaying aspects they find questionable.<sup>4</sup> These sorts of scribes Katherine Kerby-Fulton calls “professional readers.”<sup>5</sup> However, this area of study has

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<sup>1</sup> C.f. Thomas Machan.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of fruitful codex study in the realm of English literature include Michael Calabrese, Kevin Kiernan, Andrew Taylor, and the essay collection in *Medieval Professional Reader at Work* edited by Katherine Kerby-Fulton; the Icelandic side has perhaps a less-developed tradition in this sort of study as yet, but recent work on the Flateyjarbók by Elizabeth Ashman Rowe and forthcoming projects like the products of the Arnarnagæan summer school in manuscripts studies are rapidly adding to the body of knowledge in this realm.

<sup>3</sup> C.f. Calabrese and Kerby-Fulton *Iconography*.

<sup>4</sup> C.f., again, Kerby-Fulton *Iconography*, but also John Dagenais on the growth of this tradition from classical modes of commentary; Dagenais especially highlights the potential of the commentary and marginalia tradition to take over and become more important than the supposedly central text.

<sup>5</sup> C.f. Kerby-Fulton, *Iconography*.

yet to make its full impact in the field of Icelandic codicology, perhaps because the institutionalization and standardization of commentaries and rubrics was never as dominant in this isolated culture. While marginalia in Icelandic manuscripts is frequently mined for the information it can provide about origins and provenance,<sup>6</sup> very little has been written on marginalia for its own sake, the one exception being a survey article written by M.J. Driscoll.<sup>7</sup> Yet Icelandic marginalia, varied and plentiful in this highly literate and literary society, pleads a strong case for study in and of itself. Besides providing the sheer pleasure of reading scribal complaints, witticisms and scraps of verse, marginalia offers us a window into the lives and thoughts of individuals recording their momentary whims on a page for future generations to encounter as if by chance. Professional readers in Kerby-Fulton's sense they are not, and they are more like Charles Plummer's Irish scribes than they are like Continental commentators, but their unique situation as recorders of an independent and remarkable literary culture on the outskirts of Europe is all the more reason to read Icelandic marginalia with the same sensitivity, imagination, and receptiveness with which we read any medieval text.

This project seeks to do just that: taking one little-studied manuscript as its center and supplementing it with two other manuscripts on which more has been written, this thesis discusses the cultural and social circumstances that are reflected in the collections of (mostly scribal) marginalia in these three late-medieval codices. The main focus is on Rask 72a, a manuscript of the *Jónsbók* law code from around 1500, and the other two manuscripts are AM 604 4to (a *rímur* manuscript from 1540-60) and AM 433a 12mo (a manuscript of *Margrétar saga* from around 1500). What we find is that these Icelandic scribes, though in many ways participating in the widespread manuscript culture of Continental Europe, demonstrate two particularly striking features in the traces they leave on the page: first, they are highly aware of the physical nature of the books they are writing, a sensitivity that they demonstrate in various ways; and second, they are part of a larger tradition of participating in the process of literary creation, a process that marks Icelandic literary tradition in a remarkable manner that continued right up through the twentieth century.

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<sup>6</sup> One example would be the considerable amount of work discussing the father-and-sons group of scribes from the Westfjords, whose identities have been deciphered based on the marginalia they left in the manuscripts they copied. C.f., among others, Guðvarður Gunnlaugsson "Manuscripts" 253, Stefán Karlsson "Kvennahandrit" and "Localization and Dating," Karl Óskar Ólafsson, Jón Helgason, Jonna Louis-Jensen "Marginalia Poetica," and Sir William Craigie.

<sup>7</sup> Driscoll, "Postcards from the Edge."

In order to examine these two facets of the marginalia here, this project will begin with a brief discussion of the history of Icelandic manuscripts, to set in perspective the tradition we are following. It will then proceed to a discussion of the three manuscripts selected for study, and will conclude with an edition of the marginalia in Rask 72a, which has not yet been published or analyzed elsewhere.

### **The History of Icelandic Manuscripts**

In many ways the story of medieval Icelandic book culture is the story of book culture all over medieval Europe: with the coming of Christianity came the introduction of the codex and the slow but steady process of transitioning from an oral to a written culture. What sets Iceland apart, however, is the surprisingly high volume of manuscript production in comparison to population size, and perhaps more interestingly the unique flowering of vernacular literature that was never subjected to a Latin hegemony. Without falling into romantic notions of a remote island charting its own course in opposition to the literary life of the Continent, we can still say that Icelandic manuscripts were bound up in the unique culture of Iceland with its strong oral history. Yet, possibly because of the continued knowledge of oral culture, Icelandic scribes seem to have been especially sensitive to their books' very written physicality, a physicality they both celebrated and utilized. They seem, in fact, to have their closest parallels not with the contemporary book culture of fourteenth-century mainland Europe but with that of ninth and tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England, which was similar to Iceland in many ways. However, where England experienced a series of marked breaks in its culture over the centuries, Iceland was fortunate enough to enjoy great continuity over more than a millennium, and the value of its manuscript treasures, though experiencing its own ups and downs, continued to play a role in politics and society even through the twentieth century.

Beginning with their appearance, Icelandic manuscripts are set apart from their continental counterparts. As anyone who has seen even a facsimile of practically any medieval Icelandic codex will know, the vellum tends to be dark—so dark sometimes that the text is difficult to distinguish. The first explanation for this state, and the only explanation for many years, was that Icelandic manuscripts tended to be kept in dank, sooty, turf-house conditions. However, recent thought has suggested that production



may have had as much to do with color as storage did.<sup>8</sup> Continental vellum was treated with lime to remove hair and chalk to smooth the surface; both of these chemicals whiten the surface, and both of these chemicals are lacking in Iceland. Geothermal water has been put forward as a possible substitute for lime,<sup>9</sup> but in any case the vellum would not have received the bleaching effect that is evident in Continental manuscript pages.

Clearly, these manuscripts were used heavily and were, for the most part, intended for reading as opposed to display. Jónas Kristjánsson says Icelandic manuscripts are “grubby from repeated use, as they were not kept as valuable exhibits but were constantly read and handled,”<sup>10</sup> though this attitude, we will see, begins to shift toward the end of the medieval period. We have few beautifully illuminated Icelandic books on the scale of the Ellesmere Chaucer or the Utrecht Psalter from the Continent, and there is not even as great a tradition of Books of Hours as there is in France and Germany. Such a situation may, at first glance, seem to negate my claim that the physical nature of the book was as much celebrated as the text it conveyed, but one set of exceptions to this general rule of unadornment will be raised momentarily, and it is the lynchpin on which my argument turns. Many of the Icelandic manuscripts that we have are small—quarto, octavo or even duodecimo size—and most have narrow margins and well-thumbed corners. An old verse found in one manuscript, in fact, declares the primacy of content over form:

Hvorki glansar gull á mér  
né glæstir stafir í línun.  
Fegurð alla inni ber  
eg í menntun fínum.<sup>11</sup>

*Neither gold shines on me, nor fair characters on my lines. All beauty I bear within my fine teachings.*

Nevertheless, we will see that the physical form plays a persistent role in the way scribes conceived of their work, whether consciously or unconsciously.

The manuscripts’ production speaks of economy and utility, with nothing wasted and nothing extra. In particular, the texts we consider the most valuable today come in the most un-prepossessing packages imaginable. The Codex Regius of the

<sup>8</sup> Soffía Guðný Guðmundsdóttir & Laufey Guðnadóttir, 47.

<sup>9</sup> Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, lecture, citing research done by Björk Þorleifsdóttir, unpublished.

<sup>10</sup> Jónas Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 56.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

*Poetic Edda*, for instance, is about the size of a thick paperback, with the text written continuously and densely on each page. We should compare it, in fact, to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts some two hundred years their senior: *Beowulf*, too, is written in dense, continuous lines with very little effort to distinguish line breaks or cæsuras in the verse. However, as has been demonstrated with Old English verse,<sup>12</sup> we should not conclude that this straightforward presentation indicates that the scribes did not value the poetry they were copying. On the contrary, I believe the Icelandic situation is largely the same as the Anglo-Saxon one: that is, this continuous presentation of text is evidence of some midway point on the continuum between completely oral and completely written culture. Perhaps the fact that verse tended in Icelandic manuscripts to be marked with a marginal *v.* for *visa*<sup>13</sup> indicates it is further along in the process of transition than Anglo-Saxon verse that is not marked at all, but the fundamental parallel remains. The sound of the verse, not its visual format, is still primary, with the rhythm of syllable count and alliteration telling the reader that this is not prose but poetry. We should consider it not a slight to the verse that it was written this way, but an indication of how it was valued (and, by extension, how the written medium was valued), to be written at all when it was still a primarily auditory medium.

Two general exceptions exist to the rule that Icelandic manuscripts are small, unadorned productions: books of religious nature and books of law,<sup>14</sup> and I will argue that they are exceptions for very specific reasons. As on the Continent, books of saints' lives and Scripture translations sometimes have extensive commentary, skillfully colored or historiated initials, and even miniatures. The situation is similar in Iceland in both scriptural material and legal,<sup>15</sup> but one element unites these two genres and helps to explain why these specific kinds of literature, scriptural and legal, were favored with such decoration: they are decidedly written, not oral, in origin. A long tradition of study exists on the emphasis of the written word in Scripture: Christianity is a literate religion based on the physical incarnation of the Word.<sup>16</sup> However, my claim may require some explanation in regards to law, as Iceland was certainly a legal culture long before writing arrived on the island. Yet the *Jónsbók* law code is the version of

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<sup>12</sup> Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*.

<sup>13</sup> Halldór Hermannsson, *Manuscripts*, 10.

<sup>14</sup> C.f. Jónas Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 52.

<sup>15</sup> C.f. discussions by Selma Jónsdóttir and Lena Liepe, for example.

<sup>16</sup> C.f., as just one example, Mary Carruthers's *Book of Memory*.

law that draws the most decoration in manuscripts and it is in a similar, if less mystical, situation to Scripture: unlike *Grágás*, the older Icelandic law code written down after the Conversion, *Jónsbók* was assembled from various preexisting law codes in Norway by King Magnús Hákonarson and sent, physically, to Iceland around 1280. It was adopted, used, and reproduced in such numbers that more *Jónsbók* manuscripts survive than any other work of medieval Iceland.<sup>17</sup> Even before *Jónsbók*, the first references we have to vernacular writing are to the recording of the *Haflíðaskrá* in the winter of 1117-18.<sup>18</sup> I believe that the fact that *Jónsbók* especially has its roots so firmly in written culture led those who commissioned copies of it to treat it differently than they did their native stories, which in the very least had elements of oral history at their root. This law code is linked both bureaucratically and educationally to the institutionalization of literacy, as its introduction heralded the fourteenth-century “golden age” of Icelandic manuscript production.<sup>19</sup> *Jónsbók* existed as much on the page as it did in the mind, and in this light it should not be surprising that it, like religious material, garnered a tradition of decoration that celebrated and emphasized the physical existence of the text.

Here, then, Icelandic culture is very much in step with its contemporary counterpart on the Continent. Yet what sets it apart most remarkably is its sheer volume of output, and its reliance on the vernacular rather than Latin for conveying that output. Let us compare, momentarily, the timeframe at hand: in the generation when Geoffrey of Monmouth (c.1100-c.1155) was writing his history of Britain in Latin, Ari Froði (1067-1148) was writing his history of Iceland in Icelandic. By the time Chaucer jump-started the writing of English secular literature in the 1380s, the Icelanders had been reading and copying the *Íslendingasögur* for well over a century. One should first note, of course, that the survival of manuscripts may skew the statistics somewhat; during the Reformation, Latin manuscripts more than any others in Iceland were destroyed or disassembled for reuse in other capacities, because they smacked more of

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<sup>17</sup> C.f. Jónas Kristjánsson (“*Jónsbók*”) and Halldór Hermannsson (*Illuminated Manuscripts*) on the history of *Jónsbók* and its manuscript tradition. Jónas Kristjánsson cites 250 surviving manuscripts, but Már Jónsson puts the count at some 320 (“Trends,” 15).

<sup>18</sup> C.f. Halldór Hermannsson’s discussion in *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 5.

<sup>19</sup> C.f., for example, Gísli Sigurðsson, “Oral Sagas,” 11.

“paganism or popery” than vernacular manuscripts did.<sup>20</sup> However, the Reformation did not lead to a devastating destruction of Latin manuscripts on the Continent, and we must look for the underlying reason that the Icelanders had such a strong tradition of vernacular literature to replace their Latin books.

The most historically-minded explanation begins with the unique governmental system that held sway in Iceland at the time that literacy was being introduced.<sup>21</sup> Instead of rule by a king, Icelanders, of course, had their system of *goði*—chieftains who held both secular and religious leadership positions. When Christianity came with its books in one hand and a new system of religious hierarchy in the other, Icelanders reacted as legally-minded people might do in the face of a paradigm shift, adapting their practices to incorporate the new element in their society. The *goði* retained their political positions and simply took orders in the new religion, or had their sons take orders while remaining within the political system.<sup>22</sup> Hence, at least early on, the secular and religious powers in Iceland were linked in a way that they generally were not in contemporary mainland Europe.<sup>23</sup> The literacy training that came from the religious side of life therefore transferred more readily and more naturally into the secular one. Because Icelandic was far more removed from Latin than medieval French or Spanish was, and because the island was physically isolated, the newly literate inhabitants undoubtedly found a greater use for the vernacular, already in service for their native legal and literary system, than for the much more foreign language of the Church.

However, while this explanation may elucidate why the Icelanders developed such a strong written tradition in the first place, one might also expect to find more by way of the utilitarian records and daily notes that paleographers generally class as documents. Instead, we have a vernacular tradition of manuscript books—whole codices full of sagas and histories. By way of comparison, Iceland boasts some 315 manuscripts produced before 1370, but less than 50 documents; Norway, on the other

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<sup>20</sup> Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 39 (though he also suggests that the pagan themes of vernacular literature decreased the rate of copying these genres as well). C.f. also Guðvarður Gunnlaugsson, “Manuscripts and Paleography,” 248.

<sup>21</sup> Vésteinn Ólason, 27; Guðvarður Gunnlaugsson, “Manuscripts and Paleography,” 246; Jónas Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 41. C.f. Vésteinn Ólason, 33, and Jesse Byock for additional theories explaining the vernacular flourishing as the efforts of an immigrant people to establish cultural roots in their rootless new land.

<sup>22</sup> Jónas Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 41; “Introduction,” 39.

<sup>23</sup> C.f. Vésteinn Ólason, 27.

hand, has only about 130 manuscripts but some 1,650 documents from the same period.<sup>24</sup> We should note, of course, that documents were the primary victims of the great Copenhagen fire in 1728, but the discrepancy still remains large. Surely we must trace the dominance of vernacular literature in Icelandic book culture at least in part to the oral history that characterized Icelandic culture before the era of writing began. Debates over the oral origins of the sagas will probably be perennial for as long as scholars study them, but the existence of an oral tradition and the value placed on the remembered and spoken word is beyond a doubt. Here we may draw yet another parallel between Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon culture, where, just as famously, the vernacular also flourished: isolated by sea from the exchange of mainland Europe, both the Icelanders and the Anglo-Saxons were able to develop and continue to value a literature that did not rely on a general Continental market for its sustenance. Of course, Iceland produced literature for export to Norway up until the end of the fourteenth century, but the fact that literary production continued after the language diverged and the overseas market dried up testifies to an interest in books that persisted at home and provided a viable market for Iceland's considerable output.<sup>25</sup>

Very late in the period, though, and continuing well into the Reformation era, the oral history of the texts, to whatever extent it once existed, seems to have faded from scribal consciousness. With the passage of time, the literature seems to lose, at least in part, the flexibility of an active oral tradition and the familiarity that comes from being memorized and recited, and instead it becomes the focus of antiquarian interest. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the change in attitude that occurred from the fourteenth century to the Reformation. Where, during most of the medieval period proper, the manuscripts of the sagas and poetic material tend to be utilitarian and unadorned, by the late fourteenth century we begin to see a different aesthetic applied to saga material. In this so-called Golden Age of Icelandic manuscript production, sagas begin to be compiled into large collections. One of these is *Flateyjarbók*, dating from the last two decades of the fourteenth century and containing many kings' sagas and other materials. It is the largest surviving Icelandic manuscript and one of the only saga manuscripts to be quite lavishly decorated, clearly intended as a valuable heirloom. I suspect that this compilation marks a shift in the sagas' status:

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<sup>24</sup> Guðvarður Gunnlaugsson, 249.

<sup>25</sup> C.f. Sverrir Tómasson, "History," 796.

once copied for the purpose of being recited aloud from plain manuscripts, now they are beginning to be encased like relics in clearly expensive codices, just as “written” in nature as the *Jónsbók* law code. This shift does not truly mark the end of the era of creative life for the sagas, for even through the seventeenth century manuscripts like the *Möðruvallabók* show evidence of alterations as readers participate in preserving and shaping the sagas,<sup>26</sup> but at the same time it marks the Icelanders’ new way of valuing the vernacular literature they produced.<sup>27</sup> The shifting tradition that adheres to oral literature still persisted, but the Golden Age begins to demonstrate a sense that a single copy of a text could be valuable for its physical beauty and lastingness. We can see this sense carry through for hundreds of years, in fact: as late as the seventeenth century, long after paper had come into regular use for both printing and copying, copies of the *Snorra Edda* were still being commissioned on expensive vellum<sup>28</sup>—a mark, surely, of their status in contemporary society, even if they were no longer primarily oral narratives.

One must hasten to add, though, that while the codicological record seems to attest to a certain shift from literature as living tradition to codex as a reliquary, the tradition of participation in literary creation continues all the way through the medieval period and up to the modern day, more distinctly in Iceland than anywhere else in Europe. I have already cited examples of redactors intervening, even after the Reformation, in the texts of the sagas to alter or improve (in their view) the way in which they can be experienced, but we can see medieval scribes and modern politicians alike participating, in their own ways, in the use of physical manuscripts to achieve personal and societal goals. One well-known medieval example is the case of the *Landnámabók* text, which was originally probably much shorter, but as it progressed from copy to copy, it grew by the addition of saga and other material, and the result was apparently seen as so much superior to the shorter version that the earlier texts

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<sup>26</sup> Sverrir Tómasson, “History,” 798. As Sverrir describes in his discussion of *Möðruvallabók*, a new quire of 9 leaves was written and added in the seventeenth century to replace a missing gathering, and parts of *Laxdæla saga* were written over, around the same time, to improve legibility. These efforts were clearly dedicated to preserving the usefulness of the book as a text, but other instances show involvement in reshaping the text itself. As an example unconnected with *Möðruvallabók*, one seventeenth-century version of *Egils saga* has been edited to end with a show of Egil’s strength—a very different conclusion from the well-known plight of the aging Viking (cited in Sverrir Tómasson, “Re-Creation of Literature,” 77).

<sup>27</sup> Halldór Hermannsson notes that another consequence of this compilation trend was the loss of what was not compiled (*Manuscripts*, 19).

<sup>28</sup> Sverrir Tómasson, “History,” 799.

were no longer copied and have since been lost.<sup>29</sup> It does not seem unwarranted, then, to see marginalia as participating in the creation of meaning in a very similar way. Drawing on the tradition of marginal commentaries that were copied as an integral part of the text, marginalia of all sorts shapes the reading experience as manuscript users encounter the marks left behind by previous jotters. As we will see in the AM 604 4to manuscript, for example, a marginal proverb collection and scraps of probably scribal verse represent one scribe's participation in the process of literary creation, augmenting the main text with folk wisdom and even wry cynicism garnered from long experience. Accustomed by the commentary tradition to taking in all the information on a page, it is doubtful whether any medieval reader could encounter the *rímur* entirely independent of these proverbial notes, once they had been set on the page.

Before progressing to a more in-depth discussion of the individual manuscripts of this study, it would be appropriate to highlight the fact that, as I have noted several times already, the tradition of valuing the physical manuscripts of the Icelandic Middle Ages continued right down into the twentieth century. Because the printing presses in Iceland eschewed the secular, vernacular material for so long—first because they were controlled by the bishoprics, which saw the material as pagan, and second because they were controlled by Enlightenment thinkers who saw it as benighted<sup>30</sup>—the sagas and other literary products of the Middle Ages were copied by hand and recited from memory up until the beginning of the last century. In itself, this situation is a powerful reminder of the coexistence of a written and oral culture, but even beyond this famous evidence for the continuation of the literary tradition, the epic of the struggle over who had the rights to own the physical codices attests to the continuity in how greatly the material products were valued. The story we are tracing here, in other words, is not cut off by the Reformation but in many ways is a story of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as well.

True, of course, for a long period after the Reformation it was not the impoverished Icelanders who wanted to keep their vellum manuscripts (by the seventeenth century they had “modern” paper copies, after all, which were easier to read<sup>31</sup>), but the seventeenth-century Danes and Swedes were in a frenzy over the

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<sup>29</sup> Vésteinn Ólason, 31.

<sup>30</sup> Driscoll, “Unwashed Children,” 1. Jonna Louis-Jensen also discusses the religious control of Icelandic printing (“Frontiers,” 481).

<sup>31</sup> Jónas Kristjánsson, “Introduction,” 44; Siguður Nordal, 20.

collection of these books—the physical representations of what they considered to be their own cultural heritage.<sup>32</sup> While the Icelanders on occasion used their vellum manuscripts as meal sieves and sewing patterns,<sup>33</sup> they were willing to use them as currency as well, trading them to collectors like Árne Magnússon in hopes of gaining political favors through his office in Denmark.<sup>34</sup> The Independence Movement of the nineteenth century, though, saw the revival of native interest in possessing the physical evidence of Iceland's cultured past, and that episode in the saga of Icelandic manuscripts did not conclude until the last codices that were going to be returned to their home were finally sent from Denmark in 1997.<sup>35</sup> The close link between national pride and the physical manuscripts is underscored by the striking fact that one book on Icelandic manuscript culture written for a popular audience (not an edition of sagas, we hasten to point out, but a book on books) boasts a preface written by none other than the former President of Iceland, Vigdís Finnbogadóttir.<sup>36</sup>

As we progress into a discussion of the particulars of these three manuscripts, then, it will be instructive to keep in mind that our two themes of participation in the manuscript tradition and the consciousness of the power of the physical codex are not fossilized remnants of a dead past but an ongoing tradition still alive today, if somewhat altered. Halldór Laxness engaged in a political scuffle with the Icelandic parliament over whether a modern-spelling edition of the sagas was a debasement of the tradition or a revitalization of it,<sup>37</sup> and then went on to produce works like *Gerpla*, based on material from the sagas. The sagas are still read even in scholarly circles using the pronunciation of Modern Icelandic—a practice impossible with the equivalent literature in English, which remains fixed in the past because its language is so foreign. All of these examples attest to the continuity enjoyed uniquely by Icelandic literary culture, and the impulse even of modern people to participate in it. Perhaps, with the advent of the scholarly edition, the physical manuscripts have outlived their usefulness as matter for everyday reading, but at the same time they have confirmed their status as

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<sup>32</sup> This history has been told in practically every overview of Icelandic manuscripts, but the most convenient and complete retelling is probably the essay collection in *Manuscripts of Iceland* (Gísli Sigurðsson and Vésteinn Ólason, eds).

<sup>33</sup> Two leaves of a translation of *Physiologus* were apparently used as a sieve (Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, 95) and AM 122b fol., a copy of *Sturlunga saga*, was cut into a sewing pattern for a vest (Jónas Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 57).

<sup>34</sup> Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, 91; Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 62.

<sup>35</sup> C.f. Gísli Sigurðsson, "Bring the Manuscripts Home!"

<sup>36</sup> Jónas Kristjánsson, *Iceland and its Manuscripts*.

<sup>37</sup> C.f. Jón Karl Helgason.



national treasures (for more than one nation), and this very status is in keeping with the growing sense we see, beginning with the great codices of the fourteenth century, that the book, in this increasingly literate medieval culture, was just as valuable as the text it conveyed.

## Chapter Two: Rask 72a (*Jónsbók*)

In the previous chapter I posited that the written as opposed to oral origins of the *Jónsbók* law code may be responsible for the fact that manuscripts of the legal code tend to be more ornamented and luxurious than other codices. Like Scripture, *Jónsbók* was both decorated like an artifact in itself and used, almost paradoxically, as a teaching text for students learning to read and write.<sup>38</sup> Long passages of both law and Scripture were memorized and recited, and many manuscripts have flyleaves bearing the signs of students learning to write by copying passages.<sup>39</sup> One might assume that classroom use is antithetical to the argument that these codices were valued and preserved for their physical form as well as their content, but one should point out that the most elaborately decorated books are rarely the same ones used as teaching texts, and the two obviously different uses of the codices attest to the livingness of the literature: not static to the point of being a reliquary, as Jónas Kristjánsson says, “the code regulated people’s lives for centuries, in big matters and small, in company with Scripture and other books of the Church.”<sup>40</sup> Both forms of valuing the literature—preserving the physical codex that contained it and using its subject matter in daily life—coexisted and added to the life of the text.

A brief discussion of the illumination tradition will provide useful background for understanding the succeeding description of the marginalia of our particular *Jónsbók* codex: Rask 72a, held in the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen and dated to around 1500. Some of the best surviving examples of Icelandic illumination come from *Jónsbók* manuscripts. As Michael Camille famously studied in Continental Gothic law manuscripts,<sup>41</sup> Icelandic law books, too, can have beautiful marginal drawings, often depicting daily life.<sup>42</sup> We can see why someone might be led to draw a picture of a burial on a page containing inheritance laws,<sup>43</sup> but many of the marginal drawings in the tradition could not be classified as illustrations. Frequently the subject of the drawing is a monster or beast of some sort, although even these might be related

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<sup>38</sup> Jónas Kristjánsson, “*Jónsbók*,” 367.

<sup>39</sup> C.f. the following discussion of the flyleaves of Rask 72a.

<sup>40</sup> Jónas Kristjánsson, “*Jónsbók*,” 367.

<sup>41</sup> Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge*.

<sup>42</sup> C.f. Jónas Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 56.

<sup>43</sup> AM 345 fol., cited by Halldór Hermannsson, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 16-17. The marginal illustrations in *Jónsbók* codices are often from multiple hands (Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 27), a fact that points to creative participation by scribes, readers, and users alike, as I will discuss later.

in some way to the content of the text they accompany. For example, the *Skarðsbók* manuscript has a Crucifixion miniature next to the section on manslaughter, while a few pages later, almost as if inspired by that miniature, a younger hand has added a monster next to the section on marriage laws.<sup>44</sup> This drawing both illustrates the tradition of participation in the shaping of readers' experience (because the hand does not belong to the original scribe) and demonstrates, it seems, a certain cynical humor on the part of some unknown reader of the codex.

However, most of the monsters and foliate decorations populating the margins of the *Jónsbók* codices seem unrelated to the context in which they appear. Instead, especially in the Rask 72a manuscript, these illuminations demonstrate the keen sense of physicality of the book, which we will see again and again. The most frequent location for a decoration of any kind in the section of Rask 72a written by the main scribes is in the area surrounding the final word on the page when it runs over onto the next line.<sup>45</sup> Highlighting the lone word at the bottom corner of a page serves little practical purpose, for it would be difficult for a reader to miss it, but it does underscore the physical presence of the word on the page. We will see this idea demonstrated in an even more striking way in AM 604 4to. A long debate has persisted in art-critical circles about whether the artists who drew such decorations in Icelandic manuscripts were the same person as the scribe or independent professionals,<sup>46</sup> but the evident link here between the text (its physicality though not its content) and the decoration would seem to argue that the scribe and artist were one and the same.<sup>47</sup> Also arguing for this position is the fact that on folio 11 (both sides of the leaf) and folio 97v, two pre-production holes in the vellum are outlined in red ink that may be the same as the scribes used in rubrication. What is more striking about these outlines, though, is the way in which they highlight the sense of the physicality of the manuscript. They give the holes the appearance of wounds, and they serve as reminders that the vellum is, indeed, the hide of a once-living animal. They may also serve as a reminder of the wounds of Christ, never far from the medieval conscience in a world that drew few

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<sup>44</sup> Jónas Kristjánsson, "Introduction," 42. It is Jónas' suggestion that the monster on the marriage page might be a wry comment on the part of the scribe regarding the myth of wedded bliss.

<sup>45</sup> For example, fol. 4r, 11r, 12r, etc. C.f. Illuminations marked "Lower Right" in Appendix Two.

<sup>46</sup> C.f. Halldór Hermannsson (*Illuminated Manuscripts*, 26) on the former position and Lena Liepe and Selma Jónsdóttir on the latter.

<sup>47</sup> This hypothesis is furthered by the fact that the style and color palate of the drawings changes when the scribes change (i.e. 73r versus 94r). C.f. Appendix Two.

lines between religious and secular activity. Rather than trying to hide the imperfections in the support for the text, the scribe or artist deliberately draws attention to them, pulling the reader out of the abstract text and onto the page itself.

Rask 72a has accrued almost no critical commentary; its text of *Jónsbók* is incomplete and not particularly authoritative (though Ólafur Halldórsson notes that it might have been used in the preparation of a printed edition in 1578)<sup>48</sup> and I have found no record as to its provenance or how it came into the possession of Rasmus Rask. We might only assume that he probably acquired it while he was collecting manuscripts in Iceland from 1813-1815.<sup>49</sup> Kristian Kålund dates it to around 1500,<sup>50</sup> but based on its hand it could date as late as the Reformation, making it contemporaneous with AM 604 4to. Regardless, Rask 72a, like any other medieval manuscript, has its own story to tell, and it is an interesting one. First and foremost, the main scribe (see paleographic description below) wrote in the lower margins a collection of what Kålund calls “temmelig intetsigende *skriver-fraser*” (rather meaningless scribal phrases—italics in the original).<sup>51</sup> They might not be of great intrinsic import, but dismissing them as meaningless is unfortunate, because they offer compelling insight into the life and work of a scribe who, it would seem, is less than pleased with his lot.

The scribe’s most frequent comments are complaints about his ink, his pen, his vellum, and especially his blurry eyes. These sorts of phrases are common in manuscripts, used most often as trials after sharpening a pen or mixing new ink, but here there is an insistence in the frequency of occurrence that is almost unique. The only other comparable collection of which I am aware is AM 604 4to, which I discuss in the next chapter. The scribe also complains about his cold fingers, the rain, and the wind,<sup>52</sup> though actually he comments more often on good weather—presumably because it was rare enough that he noticed and appreciated it in particular.<sup>53</sup> In his comments he names himself “Father Einar”<sup>54</sup> (so we can assume he was a cleric), and he once addresses someone he calls “my Jón,”<sup>55</sup> as well as mentioning once that he had

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<sup>48</sup> Ólafur Halldórsson, xlvii.

<sup>49</sup> Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 68-69.

<sup>50</sup> Kålund, *Katalog*, 543.

<sup>51</sup> Kålund, *Katalog*, 543.

<sup>52</sup> C.f. 25r on the former, and 31r and 52r on the latter.

<sup>53</sup> 27v, 29v, 30r, and 42r.

<sup>54</sup> 46r and 50r.

<sup>55</sup> 44r.

a fight with a woman named “Guðný.”<sup>56</sup> The collection on the whole is appealing in its own way, and the sense one derives from reading these notes is that this priest was a rather disgruntled copyist—his ink and his pen, in fact, are not bad, and his complaints are either false modesty or the exasperation of one quite bored with his work. He also had an impulse to communicate to and about people he knew; “my Jón” sounds affectionate enough to be addressed to his child, especially given that the comment is about this Jón liking hot milk (see below). Whether or not he expected those he addresses by name to read what he had written, what he wrote remains today a poignant example of the effort to convey some personal feeling across time to some possibly unknown future reader connected to the scribe only by the physical book they both used.

However, the use of personal names does not seem to have been part of the scribe’s plans for his marginal collection from the beginning, if indeed he had a plan at all. This Father Einar is not particularly remarkable for his piety, especially in comparison to the fourth scribe, whose most extensive note is religious.<sup>57</sup> Instead, Einar’s marginalia begins with complaint: “*daufur steinn er þetta*” (this is pale coloring ink),<sup>58</sup> written in rubricating ink that is not, in fact, overly pale at all. From here, though, he records with increasing frequency his complaints about the writing process. He also records two proverbs: “*Ozd er til allz fyft*” (word is the precipitator of everything) and “*þat getur huer sem hann girnizt*” (one gets what he desires),<sup>59</sup> the second of which occurs also in AM 604 4to.<sup>60</sup> Only at the opening 43v and 44r does the marginalia turn so personal as to include names: “*gud mín veit ad god er míolkín heit | þat þikk12 jone mínum*” (God knows that the milk is good hot—so it seems to my Jón). Interestingly, the entrance of personal names into the margins coincides with the only instance of rhyming verse in the manuscript (veit/heit). Perhaps the verse was proverbial and the scribe personalized it by applying it to his Jón—as we will see that the scribe of AM 604 does regularly—but it may also indicate that the verse form, possibly oral and flexible even in the mind of a late-medieval copyist, invited

<sup>56</sup> 49r.

<sup>57</sup> C.f. 79v: “*En gudf \*zikef at leita er ekkí ánnad · utan biðja gud þess | \*þess hann leidz off til ríettar trúaz*” (but to seek God’s reign is nothing other than to ask God to lead us to right belief), though the same scribe writes a wonderful complaint as well on 91v: “*illa fer nu þvi ek fef hvad sem áá e2*” (it goes badly now because I fall asleep no matter what).

<sup>58</sup> 10r.

<sup>59</sup> 30v and 43r, respectively.

<sup>60</sup> D.18, H.50.

participation in a way that the text of the law code did not. The names—both Father Einar’s and Guðný’s—occur in a cluster just after this opening, and it seems that the scribe has grown into a sense not only that the margins of the page are appropriate places to memorialize his complaints but also that they are the place to report and record his personal signature and the events of his own daily life, from fights with a woman to meals and tonsure-shaving.

We can say, regardless of the intent of this scribe, that the phenomenon of writing personal marginalia like this is a part of a literate culture in which private, if not silent, reading was at least known if not the norm.<sup>61</sup> Writing such personal comments in a book that was to be read aloud would make little sense (unless, indeed, the writer did not want them to be read at all and was simply relieving his own boredom by doodling—a possibility that seems unlikely given the sheer volume of marginalia in this case) because the comments would undoubtedly be skipped by the one reading aloud. These sorts of marginalia could only gain widespread popularity, it would seem, in a milieu where readers were growing accustomed to encountering texts at least sometimes by themselves, when their eyes were free to wander over the page rather than being forced by the exigencies of reading aloud to follow the line of text without deviation into the margins. Indeed, the physical position of this scribal marginalia indicates that it was intended to be viewed independently of the main text: never does the scribe place the marginalia close to the *Jónsbók* text, but rather it is always in the lower margin, close to the bottom of the page—usually arranged in pairs of phrases across an opening, an arrangement evident in AM 604 and AM 433a as well (see Appendices).

In this milieu of private reading, further hands left their mark on the Rask 72a codex. As is common with most manuscripts of the period but is very rarely discussed, the margins and blank spaces are full of pen trials, brackets, signs, names, and monograms, frequently illegible and almost always unattributable but nonetheless too plentiful to be ignored. Some of them provide us with a fascinating narrative of how users of the manuscript interacted with each other across time and space. For example, a later corrector (who adds sections from the Réttarbætur amendments) changes the main text’s “brott” to “burt” on 68v, as though the older spelling somehow offended him, though nowhere else does he make another effort to alter the text in such a way.

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<sup>61</sup> C.f. Paul Saenger for a discussion of the development of silent reading in the Middle Ages.

So many pen trials, emendations, and doodles inhabit the available spaces on the page that the experience of reading the text becomes a noisy affair. Even if it were read silently, as it might have been later in its use, the experience of the reader would have been more akin to reading in a subway station than to reading in a private study. In this sense, medieval reading was never private even when only one person was present; the physical text always reminded the reader of the many hands that had turned the pages and the many voices that had left their written traces on the vellum, whether they communicated something to him or simply stared up at him from the surface of the page.

The flyleaves provide yet another chapter in the story of this manuscript, because they bring in a collection of material that sometimes does and sometimes does not belong to *Jónsbók* proper. After the main text of *Jónsbók* breaks off, a new scribe using a later style writes on 101r a text about the moral duties of temporal leaders. Referring in the opening to Solomon, the text has the feel of a homily or speculum regale, but I have not been able to identify it; Kålund simply calls it a “retterbod” (edict).<sup>62</sup> This hand, too, adds a pair of monsters at the bottom of the page, but the pious marginalia next to them does not belong to his hand. In fact, this marginalia is the only Latin in the codex: “omnia dat dominus” (the Lord gives everything). Yet another hand then translates it into Icelandic with additional material to round out the sentence: “Allt gefur drotten en hefur þó eigi nockur gort hanz at minna” (the Lord gives everything, but no one has remembered him [for it]). It is impossible to tell how far apart these accretions built up on the page, but even if they followed closely one upon another, they are fascinating evidence that even marginalia on a flyleaf was read and understood by, and even elicited a response from, its later readers.

There follows on the next pages (101v-103r) a series of set declarations and summonses written in a scrawling hand. They are drawn for the most part from the Réttarbætur (the amendments added by various kings after *Jónsbók* was initially ratified), though they are not word-for-word what is published in print editions. It is possible that these sections were intended to be an integral part of the *Jónsbók* text that takes up the rest of the previous hundred leaves, but in that case they were added after the anomalous homily-style text and therefore in an odd position of being separated from the rest of the book. Because of the style of the writing (it is also much larger

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<sup>62</sup> Kålund, *Katalog*, 543.

than the scribal style), it is reasonable to posit that these sections were written by students, copying parts of the law code from some other source as practice.

Regardless of whether this last possibility is true, it would seem that the final pages (middle of 103r – middle of 104r) are indeed the product of school-children, or at least writers in early training.<sup>63</sup> One large, loose hand copies a text on the qualities of a good leader, followed by a quaint and very Icelandic paragraph on the qualities of a tyrant. These small texts, amateurish as they look based on handwriting, carry on some sense of the preceding homiletic text on the qualities of judges and rules, and so they may represent some effort at continuing the formal theme of the post-*Jónsbók* material. The bottom half of 104r, however, is broken up into loose columns and much less interpretable text fills this half of the folio; it does not seem to be legal in nature (see Part II). Again it is impossible to tell over how long a period these texts were gathered onto the page, but they do suggest the use of this manuscript as a schoolbook even in the absence of obvious writing drills.<sup>64</sup> The fact that it survives in as good a shape as it does (missing many leaves but without more damage than is typical of an Icelandic manuscript) indicates that even use as a schooling text was not necessarily antithetical to the preservation of a book. In fact, the evidence we have that a later hand went through the text quite carefully, adding sections from the *Réttarbætur* that were missing,<sup>65</sup> indicates an interest in making the text “correct” even though it had been used (or possibly was still being used) as a schoolbook.

What follows is a provisional paleographical description of Rask 72a, provisional because the manuscript, being housed in Copenhagen, was not accessible to me in Reykjavík. However, I hope it will help tell the story of this book which, though not being the rich production *Flateyjarbók* can claim to be, is nevertheless a fascinating witness of the manuscript culture that produced it.

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<sup>63</sup> The exception is the very last page, 104v, which is so worn that its text cannot be firmly identified beyond saying that it appears to be a legal text as well. It is possible it was reused from another book.

<sup>64</sup> Possible drills include the unpracticed “a d c” on 29v and the lines copied unsteadily from the main text in the margin of 61r and 81v.

<sup>65</sup> Because these notes are editorial in nature, having to do with the formation of the main text, I have not transcribed them, though see my note at the end of the Paleographic Description below. Ólafur Halldórsson holds a brief discussion of this hand in the introduction to his edition of *Jónsbók*, xlvii; again, see Paleographic Description below.



### **Rask 72a Paleographical Description**

1. Title: MS Rask 72a (Rasmus Rask collection within the Arnamagnæan Collection at the University of Copenhagen)
2. Language and country of origin: Icelandic, from Iceland
3. Date: ca. 1500
4. Number of Leaves: 104
5. Support: Vellum
6. Condition of Support: Somewhat dark but not very dark except on outer leaves of gatherings, particularly the first and last leaves of the codex. Some bleaching and discoloration due to mildew (c.f. 20r, etc.), particularly bad in final gathering, where some crumbling has occurred (especially fol. 101). 97r has a post-production hole in the page, and 34v may show signs of post-medieval repairs. In untrimmed pages, horizontal slit pricking is visible (c.f. fols. 1-4, etc.). The bottom half of 35r and the whole of 101v and 102v appear to be palimpsests.
7. Sizes: Leaves 10cm x 13cm; text 7cm x 8.5cm. Fols. 19-20 trimmed of their upper and lower margins (to 11cm in height); fol. 101 may have had a corner cut out after production.
8. Text Area: varies between 18 and 19 lines/page (even on a single folio, though favoring 18) except 35r-38r (15-17 lines, written by different scribes—see below) and 103r-104v (probably originally blank and unruled flyleaves—see below), single column, ruling only rarely visible (98r, etc.). Text ink is dark black and readable throughout except 104v where it is much faded. Rubrics are in rust-colored red, some quite faded (c.f. 3v, etc.)
9. Collation: Deferred. Generally gatherings of 8 leaves, but after the first 6 gatherings many leaves are missing.
10. Contents: 1r-101v: *Jónsbók* (begins mid-sentence, includes most elements of the Réttarbætur within the text); 101r: a homiletic text (?); 101v-104v: formulas for oaths and summonses more or less from *Jónsbók*; rubrics at section breaks, nearly every page (1r, 1v, 2r, etc.); Dóma chapter titled (7r only); Landsleigu bálkur section titled (45v-66r); Reka bálkur titled inconsistently (66v-72v); Kaupa bálkur titled on first page of section (73r).

11. Illumination: Decorated initials at section breaks (2-3 lines high, in black, two different tones of red, and green (c.f. 10v), some simply colored (c.f. 3r), some with flourishes and foliage (c.f. 10r), some with animal or human decoration (c.f. 26r, 73r, 79r, 94r possibly with white coloration, 99v); 45v very large initial (6 lines plus margins) with all 4 colors and foliation. Illuminations in same colors (beast 51r, 101r black only, by scribes who writes only those pages); many illuminated foliate designs throughout, particularly surrounding words that run over from last line of text on a page (c.f. 4r, 11r, 12r, etc.); many capitals tipped in red up until 101r (c.f. 5v), when all color tipping stops. It seems that the main scribe is responsible for the drawings except those on 101r, as they stop when scribe changes. Time or enthusiasm seems to have run out to complete the decorated initials, because in the final pages of the main text, the initials are simply written in text ink with red tipping except for one final initial M (99v-100v). No color use on the flyleaves.
12. Binding and Covers: Modern conservation binding.
13. Paleographical Information: The following hands are found in this manuscript:
  1. Main text of *Jónsbók*, rubrics, and marginalia written in text and rubricator's ink 1r-35r ln. 11, 39r-66v (Gothic cursive antiquior, occasionally switching to recentior especially in marginalia, two-storey a alternates with one storey, rounded and well-formed f, never uses round r word-initial, uses ʒ, o<sup>e</sup>, and ɛ for "ok").
  2. Main text on 35r ln. 11-ln. 16 (Gothic cursive recentior, bottom loop of f at steeper angle to descender, long s frequently with hook at top left). Writes over a palimpsest likely written by scribe of previous pages. The color tipping of letters may still be done by the first scribe.
  3. Main text and probably rubrics of 35v-38v (Gothic cursive recentior, unlooped ascender on d, long i has a distinctive long tail). 38v ends a quire.
  4. Main text and probably rubrics 67r-100r ln. 7 (Gothic cursive recentior, longer loop on l ascender, bottom loop of f at steeper angle to descender, "ok" abbreviated with three horizontal strokes or o<sup>e</sup>).

5. Main text 100r ln.8-100v (Gothic cursive antiquior with fraktura traits, unlooped d, ascender of k often unlooped, two-storey a with bottom open,  $\epsilon$  for “ok”).
6. Main text 101r but not marginalia at bottom (Gothic cursive antiquior with fraktura traits, very square and spidery, two-storey a, o looks like single-storey a, hook on ascender of þ turns right, crossed l). No rubrication or color tipping.
7. Main text 101v-102v ln. 10 and marginalia at top of 102v (Hybrida, quite shaky and uneven in size,  $\epsilon$  “ok,” uses round r initially). No rubrication or color tipping.
8. Main text 102v ln. 11-103r ln.6 (Semi-hybrida, larger, rounder hand, “ok” abbreviation looks like round r on top of horizontal stroke).
9. Main text 103r ln. 7-104r ln. 5 and marginalia at top, and possibly bottom, of 104r (Semi-hybrida, very large, round, and uneven in size, double stroke on ascender of þ)
10. Main text 104r ln. 6-ln. 10 (Semi-hybrida, only loops ascender of l, abbreviates “ok” o<sup>e</sup>).
11. Main text 104r column a ln. 11 (Semi-hybrida, loop on d extends length of ascender, uses 3 for “ok”).
12. Main text 104r column b ln. 1 and single letters beneath it (Semi-hybrida, much smaller, large loops on l and d).
13. Main text 104r column b ln. 2-5 (Hybrida, reddish-brown ink mostly rubbed out). Possibly the same hand as the rubbed out lines on 7v, 8r, etc.?
14. Main text 104v (Hybrida, wide letters, mostly rubbed out, spells medio-passive with -sk).
15. The reddish-brown-ink corrector of main text from 1v-97v (Hybrida, writes with a heavy, thick pen, single-storey a, tends not to close loops of f, uses round r initially). Ólafur Halldórsson suggests this hand may have been using the text in the preparation of the print edition of *Jónsbók*, 1578.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Ólafur Halldórsson, xlvii.

16. Chapter numbers up through 45r (charcoal-colored, otherwise unidentifiable). Possibly the same hand as numbers chapters after 45v, considering in Kaupa bálkur the ink and style become indistinguishable.
17. Section titles and chapter numbers beginning 45v—see Contents section, above (Kansellifraktur, grayish ink, decorative). Also likely responsible for single *Doma capitule* title on 7r and text correction in gray ink on 6v.
18. Reddish lines of text, often too rubbed out to read, in margins of 7v, 8r, 16v, 26v, 39r, 81v (Hybrida, sharp and angular, thin pen).
19. Folio numbers, top right corner (Humanist, bright red ink, possibly responsible for a thick splatter of bright red ink on 95v-96r?).
20. Notation of missing leaves 16v, 19v, etc. (19<sup>th</sup> century cursive).
21. Secondary folio numbers on 11r, 21r, and 36r (modern pencil).  
Numbering is incorrect according to the current state of the codex.
22. Many various pen trials, nota bene symbols, and brackets which cannot be attributed with certainty. However, the style of the shaky brown text on 61r and 99v share some resemblance; likewise the gray horizontal pen trials on 60v and 61v were likely written by the same hand, and “m/ng” written on 61v, 68r, and 76v, though they do not closely resemble each other, may be written by one hand.
14. Provenance: Unknown. Rask probably acquired it while he was collecting manuscripts in Iceland between 1813 and 1815.
15. History of the Manuscript: Codex shows evidence of having served as a schoolbook; the final pages of last gathering and the lower margin of 61r seem to have been used by various students to practice handwriting. A post-medieval hand has numbered the folios and noted where pages were missing from the text (c.f. 60v, 65v, etc.).
16. Bibliography:
  1. Cited for its marginalia in Driscoll, M.J. “Postcards from the Edge.” *Variants: The Journal of the European Society for Textual Scholarship* 2-3 (2004): 21-36.
  2. Catalogued in Kålund, Kristian. *Katalog over Den arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling, II*. Copenhagen: Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat, 1888-1894 (Number 2646).

3. Also described in Ólafur Halldórsson, Ed. *Jónsbók: Kong Magnus Hakonssons lovbog for Island vedtaget paa Altinget 1281. Réttarbætr: de for Island givne Retterbøder af 1294, 1305 og 1314 Réttarbætr.* Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1970.

Statement about marginalia not represented in transcription: Most of what is written in the margins is either pen trials or corrections to the main text by a later hand writing in reddish-brown ink. This reddish ink hand added sections from Hákon's and Eirík's Réttarbætur at various places, prefixed with four capitalized initials RBHK (9v, 74r) or RB EK (74v) depending on the source. The main scribe also made marginal corrections in text ink as he wrote. An unattributable hand has bracketed sections of the text and another (possibly the same) hand has made *nota bene* marks in the margins, particularly heavily starting on 67v.

Notes on the order of hands: the later, reddish ink corrector certainly came after the rubbed-out reddish text, as he writes over it on 26v. The bright red folio numbers came after the cropping of folios 19 and 20, dating the cropping to before the nineteenth century. The chapter numbers were written before the Hybrida corrector, as he writes around a number on 33v. The Hybrida corrector also came after trimming of pages, as he rewrites a correction the main scribe wrote but which was lost in trimming on 42v. The Hybrida corrector also came after the fraktur numerator (c.f. 53v), but all the chapter numbers may be from the same hand anyway. The title "balkur" at the top of 66v appears to have been added by a later hand, not in kansellifraktur (several leaves are missing before this one). On the bottom of 101r, a hand not that of the main text wrote the Latin phrase, and another hand (also not the main hand) wrote the translation and amplification around it.

### Chapter Three: AM 604 4to (Rímur) and AM 433a 12mo (*Margrétar saga*)

The two other manuscripts that I have selected to supplement my discussion of Rask 72a are AM 604 4to, a manuscript of early rímur (Icelandic poems), and AM 433a 12mo, a copy of *Margrétar saga*, Version III. Both of these codices have garnered more critical attention than Rask 72a, the former because it is, at least mostly,<sup>67</sup> the product of a scribe whose identity we know—Tómas Arason, whose brother and father were also scribes of many surviving manuscripts from the Westfjords region—and the latter because it is part of a literary tradition of hagiography that is growing more and more interesting to literary critics. AM 604 has been published in facsimile, and its marginalia is published separately;<sup>68</sup> AM 433a has not yet been printed (in fact, only one of the three versions of the saga has found its way into print), but an edition of *Margrétar saga* III, of which AM 433a represents one witness, is forthcoming.<sup>69</sup> Both these manuscripts' collections of marginalia are fascinating and share substantial relationships to the kind of marginalia we found in Rask 72a; the former has a collection of proverbs and scribal complaints, and the latter has a collection of complaints of much more familial nature. As each of the manuscripts is quite different, they will be discussed separately.

#### AM 604 4to

AM 604 4to is dated to 1540-60 and localized to the Westfjords area, likely to Mosvellir in Öndurarfjörður.<sup>70</sup> Critical opinion is much divided over who exactly is responsible for each section of this rímur manuscript; it was long unbound in eight different sections (lettered A through H), and some argue that Tómas Arason, who names himself twice in the marginalia,<sup>71</sup> may not have written all eight sections, but no two critics agree on which ones he did not write, nor do they agree on what other manuscripts and documents can be attributed to him.<sup>72</sup> The problem lies in the fact that Tómas' hand is so similar to his brother Jón's, and in turn both of their hands are so

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<sup>67</sup> Considerable scholarly disagreement exists over just how much of the text comes from the hand of Tómas himself (see the following discussion), but I am of the opinion that the body of marginalia, at least, is attributable to him.

<sup>68</sup> Kálund, *En islandsk ordsprogsamling*.

<sup>69</sup> The edition is one of the products of the Arnarnagæan summer school in manuscripts studies and will be published jointly by the institutes in Copenhagen and Reykjavík.

<sup>70</sup> Karl Óskar Ólafsson, 15.

<sup>71</sup> D.15 and D.34.

<sup>72</sup> C.f. Jón Helgason, Sir William Craigie, Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, and Karl Óskar Ólafsson.

similar to their father Ari's as to be almost indistinguishable. One interesting contribution that marginalia study can make to this debate, actually, is that Karl Óskar Ólafsson may be right in positing a different scribe at least for section E because this section contains no scribal complaints or personal comments and only a few marginal proverbs, which still seem to be the work of the main scribe who wrote the rest of the manuscript.<sup>73</sup> However, the fact that even section E has proverbs at all is either evidence that the first scribe was involved in assembling the whole project (at which point he would have gone back through the section he did not write in order to add the marginalia) or that both scribes shared a tendency toward jotting axiomatic phrases in their margins. Though I lean toward the former explanation, if the latter is true this case is an interesting demonstration that such interest in recording phrases in the margins could be as much a family trait—possibly passed down in training—as it is a personal idiosyncrasy.

As in the Rask 72a manuscript, we see in AM 604 a population of foliate decorations and monsters in the margins, and I would posit that they are scribal for the same reason I do in Rask 72a: they are clearly related to the physical presentation of the text, with which the scribe would have had more investment than future users or hired artists. In fact, in AM 604 the relationship is even more evident, because the monsters (much more frequent here than in Rask 72a) do not simply accompany the lone run-over words at the end of the page, but they even threaten to swallow them.<sup>74</sup> This action may be intended as humorous rather than threatening or hostile in any real sense (we also have examples in this manuscript of a hand gently holding the text up<sup>75</sup>), but however it was meant to be read, it is evidence of the scribe's very real, if perhaps unconscious, sense of the physical layout of the page.

Given the usual condition that the only manuscripts from medieval Iceland that received decoration were religious or legal codices, it may seem strange that this book garnered such decoration and attracted the scribe's pen so often into its margins. Rímur, just as oral as written, would seem not to demand inherently a more lasting manuscript than the sagas or eddas. However, this particular codex is a later manuscript, a product of the mid-sixteenth century, an era in which texts were now often being treated as antiquarian curiosities and manuscripts being treated as valuable

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<sup>73</sup> C.f. Appendix Five for statistics on marginalia in this manuscript.

<sup>74</sup> C.f. D.14, E.5, and F.17.

<sup>75</sup> C.f. A.51, F.16, and F.27.

property. As such, it participates in the same valuation of vernacular literature that inspired bibliophiles from the fourteenth century onward to commission expensive and decorated manuscripts of their favorite texts. One notices the variance in treatment of the different genres of native literature across the period: sagas on vellum were often discarded when new copies were made on paper in a more modern hand, but this *rímur* manuscript—like other grand codices of the Golden Age and later—was spared. The valuation of the text over the material (sagas on paper) coexisted, and probably alternated by turns, with the valuation of the material over the text (the expensive codices). AM 604 4to is not as lavish as something like *Flateyjarbók*, but it was no doubt intended to please the eye, and to endure beyond a generation or two of heavy use. The *rímur* were clearly valued for their intrinsic worth to be collected into such a massive codex, but it is suggestive to note that the ones that survive from before 1600 only do so in such collections; individual copies were lost.<sup>76</sup> The most informative conclusion we can draw from this fact is that we owe the survival of these early *rímur* not to the inherent value that contemporary readers attached to the poetry itself but rather to the monetary value of the physical codex in which they were preserved. This situation is perhaps quite different from that surrounding the preservation of *Jónsbók*, which was so much a part of daily life, but if we have doubts that our *rímur* manuscript shares with the *Jónsbók* text this sense of the physical value of the codex, we might simply point to the fact that these two collections of marginalia are formatted for the most part in exactly the same way in both books: written in a single line across the bottom margin of the page, almost always in pairs in across an opening. They are clearly separated from the main text, but they are meant for viewing and reviewing, just as much as the rest of the book.<sup>77</sup>

The proverb collection in itself is an entertaining and revealing archive of axiomatic wisdom and often cynical comments on humanity. Items range from the serious—“*feíntt er heimfkan at fnotra*” (it takes a long time to make a fool wise)<sup>78</sup>—to the scatological—“*fkítz er uon u2 raze*” (excrement is to be expected out of a

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<sup>76</sup> Craigie, 7.

<sup>77</sup> The value of proverbs in the scribe’s contemporary culture may be inferred from the frequency with which they occur in saga literature, not to mention the *Hávamál* collection. C.f. Richard Harris’s *Concordance to the Proverbs and Proverbial Materials in the Old Icelandic Sagas*. Hence, the assumption that their recording was meant for real readers seems well warranted here.

<sup>78</sup> D.6.



backside)<sup>79</sup>—and cover every aspect of medieval life. The cynicism of the marginalia is easily missed in referring only to Kålund’s edition, in which he breaks up paired items in order to classify each part by subject. The most marked example occurs on D.41, where two phrases appear: “*einf dæmin eru uerft*” and “*ollum þiciz uíf beft*,” which, by themselves, might be translated respectively, “the unprecedented is worst” and “every man thinks his wife is the best.” However, when linked together, as they are in the manuscript, the united phrase becomes a wry and rather misogynistic comment on married life: “Single examples are the worst; every man thinks his wife is the best.” The order of the proverbs seems mostly random, or at best linked only by specific words—for example “yes” and “no,” which occur in two proverbs one after the other, though they are not thematically related.<sup>80</sup> This situation suggests, perhaps, that the scribe was recording these proverbs from memory as opposed to copying a pre-existing collection, which in turn makes the collection that much more intriguing as the original assembly of one or (if another scribe was involved) at most two individual men.

As we saw with Father Einar in Rask 72a, Tómas also writes himself into the manuscript, not just by signing his name but by attaching himself to the very proverbs he records. Some proverbs simply give an amusing picture of the scribe’s tastes—for example “*allt er þat matur í magann kemzt nema holta zætur einar*” (everything is food that comes into the belly except moss campion alone),<sup>81</sup> immortalizing a distaste for that particular vegetable. Others, though, are more suggestive of an underlying participation in the proverb tradition—both its creation and its use. Just as Father Einar may have added the comment about “my Jón” to the axiomatic expression about warm milk, Tómas seems to have added tags to many proverbs to make them apply to himself and his own situation. The most suggestive for our purposes is one of the longest notes: “*fullega fkilz frett karll uid ondína / ok fer mier so ok lika þeim sem fkrifat hefur zimurnar fyr en ec / þviat þær ero uti. ok vantar áá nidurlægir*” (foully does a contemptible fellow<sup>82</sup> part with his soul, and so it goes with me—and also with him

<sup>79</sup> C.53.

<sup>80</sup> H.59. The proverbs are: “*ja ok nei gjozer langa þrætni*” (yes and no make a long quarrel) and “*ja er meyar nei aftenn minn*” (yes is the no of a woman, my dear man).

<sup>81</sup> C.26.

<sup>82</sup> While Zoega gives “*fretkarl*” as “contemptible fellow,” etymologically it means “a farting man.”

who has written the poems before me, because the end is missing).<sup>83</sup> To the basic proverb (foully does a contemptible fellow part with his soul), Tómas adds the personal comment that he is parting just as dissatisfactorily with the ríma he is copying (“Þrændlur – Færeyinga rímur”), which ends on this page. He demonstrates, in this added phrase, the application of proverbial material to one’s personal life—though, because of his wry and self-deprecating humor, he does so in a rather atypical way here; in fact, it is unclear whether he means to refer to his exemplar, the previous copyist, or himself as the “fretkarl.” It is clear in the final phrase, though, that he draws the explicit parallel between his own position and the scribe who preceded him in the process of textual transmission, cursing him for leaving off before the poem ended. He places himself within a community of participants in the rímur tradition. The fact that he treats the end of the poem’s text (which is missing) and the end of the written exemplar as much the same thing suggests that he is capable of conflating the poetic work and its written witness. This note, then, draws together both his sense of participation in creation and his sense of the book’s physicality.

We have evidence that the later owners or users of this codex were just as aware of the book’s physical worth (not just monetarily but culturally and even spiritually) as were its original creators. As in Rask 72a, where a later hand added text that was missing long after the book had been “completed” by its first scribes, in AM 604 a post-medieval hand has gone through and added running titles in the top margin in some of the places where they were left out by the original titler.<sup>84</sup> Likewise, a later user (how late we cannot know) trimmed the margins of the pages, probably to make them uniform with other parts of his collection. The practice of trimming margins is well-known throughout Europe, and sometimes the trimming is so severe it severs illustrations and cuts off lines of the text,<sup>85</sup> but here, we have evidence that the trimmer was more sensitive than we often assume later users to be. Almost every page has the nomen sacrum brevigraph *IHS* written in the center of the top margin, so close to the edge of the page that it is sometimes sheered in half by trimming.<sup>86</sup> However, at least once the trimmer saw the nomen sacrum before cutting, and he so respected the holy

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<sup>83</sup> G.17.

<sup>84</sup> C.f., for example, F.11. Even in nineteenth century hands have taken part in this titling process, as on H.1 where a humanist hand has printed over the faded original title.

<sup>85</sup> Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 16.

<sup>86</sup> C.f. D.47 and F.20.

name that he cut around it, leaving a small projection at the top of the page in which the *nomen sacrum* is safely housed.<sup>87</sup> This user, whoever he was, had a sense that the physical letters, when they were connected to the deity, were just as sacrosanct as when uttered aloud. The marks of post-medieval use are almost always ignored in scholarly discussion of medieval codices, and indeed it may not be of great cultural interest when nineteenth-century hands mark how many pages are missing and where, but every mark on the page affects the reading experience of the readers who come later, including modern ones. My discussion, of course, focuses on the experience of medieval readers, but it is worth recalling that the reading tradition continues (particularly in Iceland) even to today. Post-medieval owners participated in trying to improve and perfect the books that came to them, and even modern users take part in a tradition of manuscript use, though now we are discouraged from leaving the tracks of our reading upon the page.

As in Rask 72a, the scribe of AM 604 4to alternates between collecting proverbs in the margins and writing complaints about his handwriting and especially his eyes. With this manuscript it is even more evident that the complaints about the handwriting are false modesty,<sup>88</sup> and one begins to wonder about Tómas's disposition when he repeatedly refers to his ink using words otherwise known only to refer to excrement.<sup>89</sup> But the complaints about his weak eyes ring somehow more anxious and true—not the least of which because he frequently attaches these complaints to pious invocations.<sup>90</sup> No less than five of the eleven complaints about his weak and smarting eyes are addressed to Jesus with a prayer. It is not difficult to sense from these repeated and urgent complaints not only the draining effort the work demanded of the scribe, but also the anxiety and fear that might have come from anticipating the loss of his vision, which was as much a key to his profession as was his hand.

Also as in Rask 72a, AM 604 demonstrates the impulse to record personal (as opposed to professional) feelings and thoughts as if in appeal for future readers' sympathies. Tómas notes at one point that one Ari slung something at him—though

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<sup>87</sup> A.19.

<sup>88</sup> Driscoll says the scribe complains about his handwriting “completely without justification” (“Postcards,” 30).

<sup>89</sup> F.10 (*kukenn*), G.16 (*kukar*), and A.11 (using Kålund's emendation of *lortar* for the manuscript's *lottar*).

<sup>90</sup> C.f. A.75, A.82, B.18, C.98, and C.100.

what exactly it was, criticism cannot decide<sup>91</sup>—and he may well be referring to his father, though Ari is a common enough name that the correspondence is not necessary. He also notes in a very small item at the corner of a page that he “needs to answer” (again, answer what, we cannot tell) and addresses the note to “Sigurðr minn”<sup>92</sup>—perhaps another affectionate address as we saw with Einar and Jón. Interestingly, though, the most frequent addressees in his notes are unnamed women. Kålund interprets many otherwise-meaningless words tacked onto the ends of proverbs as being coded apostrophes to women,<sup>93</sup> and at least once Tómas writes, “*utí þat er hon unne mer*” (she no longer loves me).<sup>94</sup> Cleric though he was,<sup>95</sup> he seems to have envisioned that a particular woman would read this manuscript, and he addresses himself to her across an unknown span of time and space, in the margins of the book.

In the first chapter I noted several parallels between Anglo-Saxon book culture and medieval Icelandic book culture. AM 604 4to demonstrates yet another suggestive similarity, this one specifically in reference to marginalia, although Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are generally quite devoid of the kind of marginalia we find in Irish or Icelandic codices. Both in the Anglo-Saxon and the Icelandic manuscript tradition we can find one particular kind of marginalia that reveals much about the surrounding culture: not disjointed notes but entire collections of texts written in the margins. Sarah Larratt Keefer calls such use of available space treating “the margin as [an] archive.”<sup>96</sup> She points out that perhaps we should not read too much into the fact that we find whole homilies and poems copied into at least one Anglo-Saxon book, because in all likelihood the intention was to copy them properly into a separate book when the materials became available. But it seems such an intention was not always the case, particularly in the Icelandic manuscript at hand here. The collection is too extensive to be pen trials or idle doodling; we can infer a definite intent to record these aphorisms together, and as no collection of proverbs exists as an independent codex (except such literary works as *Hávamál*, which are quite of a different order of complexity and

<sup>91</sup> C.64; c.f. the note on this item in Appendix Three. Tómas also refers to “Sera Ari” (Father Ari) in C.62 in an insult that may have to do with Ari’s handwriting.

<sup>92</sup> B.32.

<sup>93</sup> D.3, D.4, D.13, D.14, H.7, and H.31.

<sup>94</sup> G.27.

<sup>95</sup> Of course AM 604 might have been written after the Reformation removed the regulations of celibacy from clerical vows, but it was also common enough practice for clerics to have “fylgikonur” (something between mistress and wife) even before the Reformation.

<sup>96</sup> Sarah Larratt Keefer, “Margin as Archive.” This article specifically discusses Corpus Christi College Cambridge 41.

sophistication), we have no reason to believe that the intent was to copy them to a more permanent place at a later date. The margins *are* the permanent home for these proverbs. Such a phenomenon could not take place without a certain mentality regarding the permanency of the book in which the collections were written. An everyday copy of a saga did not attract the pens of such archivists, as we might call them, not only because the utilitarian copies had too-narrow margins, but also because they were not the kind of book whose very physicality was just as valuable as its content.

Kålund, in his edition of the marginalia from AM 604, divided the contents into four sections: proverbs, platitudes about writing, complaints and private notes, and invocations. However, I would not discuss the proverbs and the often poetic complaints as entirely separate genres of marginalia. As Kålund points out and as we have noted already, the versified complaints are often tags added onto more common axioms, and as such they would seem to participate in this use of the margins as archive. By attaching these sentiments to the proverbs he is collecting, Tómas immortalizes his experience as scribe and man along with them. However, I believe these tags and poems also represent the phenomenon of participation, which we have been following in various forms since the first chapter. Tómas, clearly a witty and well-read man, seems just as interested in invention as he is in copying and recording. The fact that he writes scraps of what commentators assume is his own poetry<sup>97</sup> in the margins of a manuscript whose main text is vernacular rhymed verse may seem a coincidence, but the idea that the form of what he copied might have inspired him is not as fanciful as it might appear. Jonna Louis-Jensen points out that a name-riddle poem appears in the margins another manuscript copied by one of the so-called *feðgar* (father and sons) of which Tómas was a member.<sup>98</sup> These riddle poems used the same style and composition strategies as the *rímur*, which were in turn descendents of the skaldic poetic tradition. We know that marginal invocations of the obscure saint Fenenna was a characteristic trait of Tómas evident across more than one manuscript,<sup>99</sup> and so it

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<sup>97</sup> C.f., for example, Kålund's comments about the proverbs on C.107 and H.41 (*En islandsk ordsprogsamling*).

<sup>98</sup> Louis-Jensen, "Marginalia Poetica," 261.

<sup>99</sup> Jón Helgason, 46-7. Jón points out that the same hand wrote invocations to this noncanonical saint in AM 510 4to and AM 713 4to; because I attribute the invocations to Tómas in AM 604, I would attribute them to him in the other two manuscripts as well, but the hands of Tómas, Jón, and Ari are so similar scholars could find fault with my attribution. It may be a family trait as opposed to a personal one.

seems that poetry-writing may have been a pastime for him in more than one instance as well. The fact that he was copying a book of rímur may naturally have encouraged this scribe to record his complaints in the same form, representing his participation in the poetic tradition, small and ephemeral as his contributions may have been.<sup>100</sup>

### AM 433a 12mo

This manuscript of *Margrétar saga*, dated to the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is actually connected distantly to AM 604, as another copy of the same text has been attributed to one of the feðgar trio of scribes.<sup>101</sup> Its main text has not been printed, although where it differs from the base texts its readings will accompany the edition of *Margrétar saga* III forthcoming from the Arnamagnæan summer school in manuscript studies.<sup>102</sup> A description of the manuscript itself will also accompany that edition. Many of the marginal notes, however, which are for the most part scribal complaints of a very unusual order, have been printed and discussed by Stefán Karlsson.<sup>103</sup> The main scribe (and author of the notes), if his marginalia is true, is writing this copy of the saga for his daughter; he is therefore like Tómas in apparently writing with a woman in mind. He may even be a cleric like Einar and Tómas, but he seems to be no more fortunate in his companion (fylgikona or wife) than Einar was in his associate Guðný. The marginalia demonstrates that he “virðist hafa búið við konuríki” (seems to have been hen-pecked).<sup>104</sup> His wife, he claims, loses her temper at him for no reason,<sup>105</sup> and his daughter inherited her mother’s temper, frightening her father into continuing his work.<sup>106</sup> Several factors, though, may argue against reading his comments at face value. First, he knew his daughter was to receive this book, and unless she was always going to have it read to her (a possibility made less likely by the fact that he addresses her directly in the margins), she undoubtedly would have read the unflattering marginalia along with the hagiography. Second, the scribe never finished his work; a new scribe picks up after fol. 28v and this style of personal marginalia stops, with the

<sup>100</sup> One of the most amusing notes, in fact, is a scrap of verse on A.79 probably written by Tómas, with little import but much charm: “zangt skrifar nu zeckur. zeiknaz ma flíkt hveckur. fuangur er \mínn/ feckur. en fell’er kalladur b(ekkur).” (Wrongly now the man writes; such a thing may be reckoned a bad trick. Hunger is my burden, but the seat is called a bench).

<sup>101</sup> Stefán Karlsson, “Kvennahandrit,” 77.

<sup>102</sup> The base text for the edition will be AM 433d 12mo with readings from AM 667 4to I as well.

<sup>103</sup> Stefán Karlsson, “Kvennahandrit.”

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>105</sup> 11v-12r.

<sup>106</sup> 26v-27r.

exception of a few phrases that are most likely actual pen trials. If he had been so terrorized by his daughter and his wife, one would think the first scribe would have finished his work. I am inclined to consider at least the comment about his fearsome daughter to be facetious, perhaps even playful, given that he knew she would read it. Such a hunch cannot be proven, of course, but it would coincide with this impulse to express oneself to a future readership that we were seeing in the use of proper names in the Rask 72a marginalia. Regardless of his intention and how it was received, this scribe's marginalia would have affected the reading experience of his daughter, if she ever did receive the completed book.

However, at least one daughter may have enjoyed the use of this manuscript, if signatures in the margins provide any evidence, but for a different purpose than the hen-pecked scribe intended. In this manuscript, we have at least two names—Guðrún Sigfúsdóttir and Jón Sigfússon—doodled in the margins multiple times.<sup>107</sup> They are probably brother and sister, a charming indication of family ownership and use of books even across gender lines. Both hands are post-medieval, though Jón's is significantly more sophisticated than Guðrún's rather unpracticed-looking scrawl. It is possible that she was using this book for the purpose of learning to read (and, judging by her signatures, learning to write), but we have no evidence to assume that she had any sense of the religious intent behind the creation of the book. In fact, Jón and not Guðrún seems to claim ownership of the book,<sup>108</sup> and given the distinctly feminine interests attached to St. Margaret's story, to be discussed shortly, it seems all the more likely that the original intent of the book had been forgotten by the time it came to be used for writing practice. Whatever we can infer about their uses of the manuscript, this brother and sister contribute, as do the writers of the many pen trials in AM 604, to the sense that a crowd of readers has existed around the book and still does exist on the page all around the text.

This copy of *Margrétar saga* also shows, in its own small way, a participation in a continuous life of the manuscript even beyond the fact that it was still in use after the Reformation. Besides being its own redaction of a hagiography of which there exist at least three separate versions surviving from medieval Iceland (which is in itself an impressive tradition of which to be a part), one single note in the bottom margin of

<sup>107</sup> Guðrún writes her name on 18v, 34v, 35r, and possibly 43r; Jón writes his on 29v and may have written what look to be ciphers on 31v and 34v.

<sup>108</sup> His signature on 29v seems to read, "Jon Sigfußson a kver þefsa"—"Jón Sigfússon owns this sheet."

folio 25v demonstrates a more personal participation in the manuscript's history. The original scribe wrote, in a typical enough complaint about vellum: "Sáa ma *fkri*fa aa vllom hler a | *fkri*fa?" (he may write on wool [who] writes here). Then, a later hand added neatly beside it the phrase, "og aa *fkotu* | *zod* og *fkolla* *fkín*" (and on skate-skin and fox-hide), thereby expanding and completing the statement. Like the glossed and expanded Latin note on the flyleaf of Rask 72a, this single note gives us a charming demonstration of how marginalia was read, understood, and amplified as time passed. The younger hand was not the scribe and therefore would seem to have had no reason to add to the complaint about the vellum, but whether his sympathy for the scribe or his interest in the image led him to take up the pen himself, he left his own mark on the page for future generations to experience.

Given the discussion in the first chapter about the physicality of scriptural and legal books, we should not be surprised to find a book of religious nature drawing a collection of comments into its margins; the *Life of St. Margaret* undoubtedly came to Iceland in Latin versions and, even if it was told aloud in the vernacular, was certainly more written than oral in its nature and origin. However, Margaret in particular is connected more than any other saint with the power of the physical book. Jón Steffensen was the first to point out that St. Margaret's story survived the anti-hagiographical bent of the Reformation because she was the patroness of women in childbirth.<sup>109</sup> In an age of poor medical support for anybody much less women in childbed, people in dire straits were wont to have recourse to any method of aid they could find, even if it was connected to "popery" and indeed, for some time, to witchcraft.<sup>110</sup> The book itself, and not just the text, was key to the invocation, and the fact that three other *Margrétar saga* manuscripts also contain other prayers for childbirth indicates that the books were actually intended for this purpose.<sup>111</sup> As Steffensen says, "There is a special sanctity in the text itself, the book on its own, and this is not found in connection with any other lives of virgin saints—it may be noted, moreover, that a book and quill-pen are emblems of St. Margaret."<sup>112</sup> The saga itself, in fact, contains the seed of this cult of the material. In AM 433a, Christ tells Margaret:

<sup>109</sup> Jón Steffensen. C.f. also Ásdís Egilsdóttir, who builds on Steffensen's conclusions.

<sup>110</sup> Jón Steffensen, 281.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 279.

<sup>112</sup> Jón Steffensen, 276.



fæl ert þu mar(gretta) | þat þu mÍntÍzt fyndugt mann í þÍllum þÍnum | þat  
 hueruetna þar sem heilog bein þín eru edr í þÍllar bok þín ok kemur  
 fyndugur madr med tarafalle ok lætur munn sinn yfer bok þína þa skal  
 honum áá þÍne stundu fyrir gefazt fynder ok ei skal ohreinn andi mega  
 þarín koma sem bok þín er fyrir ok huer er áá þík karllar af sollum hug í  
 bænum sínum þa skal hann finna laufn fynda.

*Blessed are you, Margret, that you remembered sinful men in your  
 passion, so that everywhere that your holy prayers are or your passion-  
 book is, [if] a sinful man comes there shedding tears and casts his mind  
 over your book, then shall his sins be forgiven him on your account, and  
 there shall be no unclean spirit coming in where your book is, and  
 whoever calls on you from the depths of his soul in his prayers, he shall  
 find forgiveness of sins.<sup>113</sup>*

It is due to this sense of the physicality of the book, dwelling probably subconsciously in the mind of the scribe as he prepared the text for his daughter, that I believe the AM 433a manuscript attracted its copyist's pen into the margins.

### Conclusions

In the preceding discussion we have seen the sense of the physical book manifest itself in various ways and for various reasons in the three manuscripts that are the subject of this thesis. We have also seen their scribes and later annotators—even though not “professional readers”—participate in the creation of meaning and affect future reading experiences across a spectrum of attitudes and circumstances. My hope is that this discussion will contribute to the general body of critical work on marginalia and Material Philology, and more specifically that it will serve to bring Icelandic manuscripts more into the spotlight than they currently are. A great deal of work remains to be done, not just in the field of Icelandic codicology but even on the single manuscript that was the focus of this project. Every manuscript tells a unique story, even if the text it conveys has no particular interest for the literary community today. Marginalia of the kind I have discussed here is not commentary upon the text but in fact it may be even more intriguing because it reveals to us, if we care to examine it, a sense of how the people that produced it valued their books and saw themselves in relation to literary production. We can and should read this marginalia for the pleasure it affords, which is considerable, but we can also let it renew in us a sense of the power of the codex, to which our digitally-adapted eyes are often insensitive.

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<sup>113</sup> AM 433a 12mo, fol. 37v.

## Part Two

### Marginalia of Rask 72a

The following is a diplomatic transcription of the marginalia and then the flyleaves in Rask 72a, accompanied by a translation where possible. Even where few or no words can be made out, I have retained a note of their presence to give a sense of the noisiness of the crowded margins. Each item is labeled by folio, location on the page, and hand, if attributable. To contextualize the marginalia in relation to the main text (though there seems to be no semantic or thematic relationship between main text and marginalia), Appendix One lists the sections of *Jónsbók* to which the locations of the annotated pages correspond.<sup>114</sup> Editorial marginalia, scribal or later, is not represented because, although it holds interest for the treatment of the *Jónsbók* text, it would best be represented in a transcription of the entire text, which was outside the scope of this project.

Separated words, individual letters, and completely illegible lines are in small font. Full sentences are in bold. Rubrications, rubric guides, and marginalia that add to the main text of *Jónsbók* are not transcribed here, because, like editorial marginalia, they would properly be the subject of study in an investigation of the *Jónsbók* textual history. Nineteenth-century notes pointing out missing pages and numbering folios are also not transcribed, not because they are without interest but because they are more useful as aides to codicological study conducted in person than as marginalia in themselves. The flyleaves are transcribed separately.

When dealing with Scribe 1 (Father Einar), dotted n's have been expanded as geminate only where orthographically appropriate, as the scribe dots n's habitually but does not double them unnecessarily when writing words out in full; on the flyleaves all dotted n's are expanded as geminate because the scribes themselves write out double n's even where not necessary. Throughout, expansions are made according to dominant scribal spelling when writing out words in full.

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<sup>114</sup> This strategy is adapted from C. David Benson's edition of the marginalia in the *Piers Plowman* manuscript tradition.

## Marginalia in MS Rask 72a

1r (top of page, not Scribe 1)  
[several words, illegible]

1v (left, possibly by Hand 16)  
N

7v (bottom of page, similar to illegible lines on 1r)  
[two lines of text, illegible]

8r (bottom of page, similar to illegible lines on 1r)  
[two lines plus one or two words, illegible]

### 10r (bottom of page, Scribe 1 in rubricating ink)

**daufur steínn er þetta**  
*This is pale coloring ink*

16r (bottom of page, unidentified pen trial)  
R

16v (top of page, similar to illegible lines on 1r)  
[several words, illegible]

17v (top of page, not Scribe 1)  
ed[.]

### 21v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

[..] [...] **vm blekt**  
*[...] about the ink*

### 22r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

**þetta er míog voñt blek**  
*This is very bad ink*

22v (bottom of page, unidentified hand)  
myl ad

23r (bottom of page, unidentified pen trial)  
*Pro*

### 23r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

**eckí er nu \*bgg áá um fkrífid**<sup>115</sup>  
*There is not now [...] about the writing*

### 24r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 23r)

**ok mífíafñtt letur ok voñtt bokfelle / /**  
*...and uneven letters and bad parchment*

### 24v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

**míog er nu dímtt fyrir \*mí fe ek htíd**<sup>116</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Clearly *bgg* makes no sense, but it is difficult to determine what was intended.

*Now it is very dark to me; I see little*

**25r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu kolnar mīer áá fíngzunum /**

*Now my fingers are getting cold*

25v (bottom of page, unidentified pen trial)

k[...] mer

[...] me

25v (bottom of page, unidentified pen trial)

iesus

**25v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**magur er nu þénní eñ fno2ott letur**

*Now the pen is narrow but the letters [are] twisted*

**26r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**þetta er blacktt bokfelle**

*This is dark parchment*

26v (top of page, similar to illegible lines on 1r)

[line of text, illegible]

26v (left, unidentified hand)

hann

he

**26v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**Nu rennu2 míog j fyrir mīer**

*Now it runs much together for me (i.e. his eyes are blurry) <sup>117</sup>*

27v (top of page, unidentified hand)

S

**27v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**Nu er ved2 fagurtt ok birtt / /**

*Now the weather is fair and bright*

**28r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu rennur j alltt faman**

*Now it all runs together (i.e. his eyes are blurry)*

**28v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**Ecki fkrifa ek meira vm sínn.**

*I will not write more at this time...*

**29r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 28v)**

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<sup>116</sup> The scribe missed the *er* expansion to write *mīer*.

<sup>117</sup> I am grateful to Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir for going to great lengths of inquiry to discover the meaning of this unusual construction “rennur i.”

**þvi æzu lauf er penninn mín**  
*...for honorless is my pen*

29v (bottom of page, unpracticed pen trial)  
 a d c

**29v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**  
**Nu er mior vel varmtt**  
*Now I am quite warm*

**30r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**  
**Nu er kaldin geingin \*bzt**<sup>118</sup>  
*Now has the cold gone away*

**30v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**  
**Ozd er til alla fyft**  
*Word is the precipitator of everything*

**31r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**  
**Nu rignir jnn a allr saman fyrir mior**  
*Now the rain comes in altogether for me*

**31v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**  
**Opptt hefur jlla \*fariazid**<sup>119</sup>  
*Often has it gone badly...*

**32r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 31v)**  
**en nu allza velt**  
*...but now worst of all*

32v (bottom of page, unidentified later hand)  
 Gud  
*God*

34v (left, unidentified hand)  
 S

34v (bottom of page, unidentified hand)  
 [illegible trial]

35r (top of page, Scribe 2)  
*jesus*

36r (bottom of page, possibly Scribe 1 using rubricator's ink or writer of illegible lines on 1r)  
 [... ...] godur ste[...]

**39r (bottom of page, possibly Scribe 1 using rubricator's ink)**  
**[..] godur hefer hann uerid**  
**[.] fkrifenu**

<sup>118</sup> The intention was probably *brott* or *burt*.

<sup>119</sup> By dittography the scribe has written *fariarid* for *farid*.

[...] *he has been good (in) the writing*

**39r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**þetta er vænt bokfell væri nu godr \*fenní** <sup>120</sup>

*This is fine parchment, if only it were a good pen*

39v (left, unidentified hand)

V

**39v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu er jlla reglad**

*Now it is badly ruled...*

**40r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 39v)**

**ok miog fkaktt / /**

*...and much awry*

**40v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu er mal at hatta því nu er dímtt**

*Now it is time to stop because now it is dark*

**41r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu er blodflekaz j bokfellínu**

*Now there are ink flecks on the parchment*

**41v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**hier vill fast j renna fyrir mier**

*Here it will run right together for me (i.e. his eyes are blurry)*

**42r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**Nu er birtt vedur ok fagurt / /**

*Now it is bright weather and fair*

**42v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**gud komi til með mier**

*God be with me*

**43r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**þat getur huer sem hann gírnízt / /**

*One gets what he desires* <sup>121</sup>

**43v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**gud mín veit ad god er míolkín heit**

*My God knows that the milk is good hot...*

**44r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 43v)**

**þat þikkiz jone mínum / /**

<sup>120</sup> The intent for *fenni* was certainly *penni*.

<sup>121</sup> This proverb is also found in the margins of AM 604 4to D.18 and H.50.

*...so it seems to my Jón*

**45v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu verd ek at fa eitt \*mat**

*Now I need to get some food...* <sup>122</sup>

**46r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 45v)**

**þ dag af Sira eínaze**

*...today from Father Einar*

46v (top of page, unidentified hand)

53(?)

**46v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**Nu er mal at fara á til meflvnr / /**

*Now it is time to go to Mass*

**47r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**ek skal \*lkaða \*umstínum mínum ok [...]** <sup>123</sup>

*I shall [?] my [?] and [...]*

**47v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu mínnað konurðar áá forða leika / /**

*Now the women remember old games*

**48r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu gengð dagfkortur að miera skrifa / /**

*Now there is a lack of daylight for me to write*

**48v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**gefi hann alldri betur penninn sa þarna**

*May this pen here never flow better*

**49r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu hofu ver gudny baðt þ morgín / /**

*Now Guðný and I fought this morning*

**49v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**nu er malfa magur gzaum**

*[??]* <sup>124</sup>

**50r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**Nu vill einar prestur lata raka fína krunu / /**

*Now Einar the priest wants to have his tonsure shaved*

---

<sup>122</sup> Possibly the scribe intended *mál* for *mat*, as *eitt* is neuter.

<sup>123</sup> It seems the scribe intended *skamta* (to share) for *skanta*, but what is intended in the next word is indeterminate.

<sup>124</sup> The transcription is clear, and the meaning of each word except *massa* can be discerned, but I can make no sense of the construction.

**52r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)****nu er mikill auftur víndur***Now there is a great east wind*

52v (left, possibly the same hand as the illegible lines on 1r?)

S[.]G

60v (left, horizontal pen trial, unpracticed hand)

kkukuz

*crap***61r (bottom of page, unidentified hand)****menn sk(ulu) (ein)kenna fie litt allt nema hzofs** <sup>125</sup>*Menn shall mark all their property except horses*

61r (bottom of page, unidentified hand)

[illegible pen trials]

61v (left, horizontal pen trial, possibly same hand as 60v)

leigu

*loan*

61v (bottom of page, unidentified pen trials)

mg[.]

62r (right, unidentified hand)

feni[.]

**62r (bottom of page, possibly not Scribe 1)****nu [.....]***Now [...]***64r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)****(nu) er (I)uo dímtt at ek (s)e ekki reglínína fra***Now it is so dark that I cannot see the ruling*

67r (top of page, unidentified hand)

balka

*sections*

68r (top of page, unidentified hand, but note 'mg' on 61v)

mg

70r (right, unidentified hand)

[pointing hand]

72v (bottom of page, unidentified hand)

f

73v (top of page, unidentified hand)

<sup>125</sup> This line is copied by an unpracticed hand from the beginning of the section in the main text marked "Capitula 47," two lines from the bottom of the page. Yet more evidence of the book being a schooling text.



*christus*

**74v (top of page, unidentified hand)**

**gudd [..] hiallpe miez**

*God [...] help me*

76v (top of page, unidentified hand, but note 'mg' on 61v and 68r)  
ng[.]

**79v (bottom of page, probably Scribe 4)**

**Eñ gudf \*zikef at leita er ekkí ánnad · utan bídja gud þeff**

**\*þess hann leidz off til riettar trua<sup>126</sup>**

*But to seek God's reign is nothing other than to ask God to lead us to right belief*

**81v (bottom of page, unidentified)**

**fkulu aalez fkylldez<sup>127</sup>**

*All shall [be] obliged*

82r (bottom of page, unidentified hand)  
[ascenders of a line of text trimmed off]

82v (bottom of page, pen trials, unidentified hand)  
g      fn   h  
            VV

**91v (bottom of page, Scribe 4)**

**illa fer nu þvi ek fef hvad sem áá ez**

*It goes badly now because I fall asleep no matter what*

92v (bottom of page, unidentified hand)  
~~Jon~~ Jon þ f ~~Jon~~ Jon  
f

93r (bottom of page, unidentified hand, but note pointing hand on 70r)  
[pointing hand]

94r (left, unidentified hand)  
M

94r (bottom of page, unidentified hand)  
f

**97v (top of page, possibly Scribe 4)**

**Iesus kome til**

*Jesus come*

**99v (bottom of page, unpracticed hand)**

**[...] bad honum uel**

**ey [...] ga [.]**

<sup>126</sup> Sense dictates *rikes* or *rikez* for *rikef*. By dittography the scribe wrote *þess þess* over the line division.

<sup>127</sup> This phrase is copied from the start of the second paragraph in the section labeled "15," which is located three lines above. It was probably copied as practice by a student (c.f. 61r).

[...]

[...] bade him well [...]

## Flyleaves of Rask 72a

101r (main text, Hand 6)

Sallamon konungur hin uiffe feigir suo fine  
 bok. Ellke þier (Rie)ttlæte allez kriftnez menn  
 fem domaraz eru á lazd R(iki). Stendur og suo skrifat • ef  
 Ri(e)ttlætenu er Ruglat• ok lagmalit forsmat huat er  
 þa ueraullden vtan suo sem Reýfara skafur . forðiar  
 fan • lydz ok landz . // þar fyrir skulu yfer bodarnez fyrft og  
 fremft ellka gud allz ualldanda ok med otta fomum  
 hug. Vera um hanz dom Gud er allraz ueralldarenar ýfer bod[ar]e  
 ok æftur herra þeir skulu ok flyia Ranga agirne ok huerf  
 þar fra. þeir skulu ok lafnan ellka Riættlætte en hata  
 Rangl(æ)tid Somuleidis hindra alldrei ne tradka Ri  
 ettu male. Og a(ldre) i at þreyngia fataetum. og htilfi  
 gldum / þeim hyziar ok at Vera hyggnum ok uiffum skulu  
 ifez fpaker ok eigi Reide giarnez herduger Illgiornum og  
 Ranglatum. þo med fampining hartanS halla eigi Riættum  
 dome kallazt hann þar fyrir domare at hann a log at feigia  
 ok þui skal hann login kunna ok vita þui stendur suo  
 skzift. Omilkunn domandans giorez morgum skada  
 ok meir sem under hans log sogn eru

*King Solomon the wise says so in his book.<sup>128</sup> Let all Christian men love justice who are judges on earth. It is also thus written: if justice is confounded and the law denigrated then what is the world but as if wracked by pirates bold of nation and land? Therefore shall overlords first and foremost love God, ruler of all, and with a fearing mind be about his judgment. God is the overlord of all the world and highest of lords. They shall also flee wrong ambition and turn from it. They shall also always love justice but hate wrongdoing, likewise never hinder nor tread upon right proceedings, and never afflict the poor and little-sailed. It gladdens them also to be trustworthy, intelligent, and not quick to anger with the wise and intelligent; stern with ill-doers and the unjust; but with agreement of the heart not to dissuade from right judgment. He is called a judge who ought to speak the law, and therefore shall he know the law and know what stands thus written in it. Lack of mercy in the judge does many harm, the greater [the harm] the more people are under his law speakership.*

101r (bottom of page, translating and augmenting Latin phrase below, unidentified hand)

Allt gefur drotten en hefur þo eigi  
 nockur gort hanz  
 at minna

<sup>128</sup> For ease of use, translations are placed at the end of each paragraph regardless of page breaks. Divisions between paragraphs in the manuscript are marked by larger initials.

**minna** <sup>129</sup>

*The Lord gives everything but no one has paid attention to him [for it]*

**101r (bottom of page, unidentified hand)**

**omnia dat dominus**

*The Lord gives everything*

101v (top of page, Scribe 7)

*jesus jesus jesus*

**101v (main text, Hand 7)** <sup>130</sup>

**Eg {X} stefni þier {X} stundar stefnu til {X}-{X} dagin** <sup>131</sup>  
**nefta. [.]n at b[.]n fyrir {X} konungf umbodz menn j millum {X} ok {X}**  
**undeþ þan dom fl[em] [.]ar fyrir (fa)keþ edr nefna letr huerra edr**  
**fegia þu vndþ m[er] þar flkylldugr fyrir þa fauk [.] i kæzu**  
**at ek k[æ]ri þat til þinn a · þu hefr {X} ok þæþ fleiþe faker fuar(a)**  
**ek ma þar med logum til þin tala stefni eg þier Jadþ greindan dag** <sup>132</sup>  
**ok stad med a[...]** þinn sannenda profi ok flkiloþde fem þier ma  
**til gangf ok af batanar uerda j grei(nd)a man vert þar komen at**  
**hadegi ok fit fo leinge stefna fem domr f(o)lk at ma**  
**lnu stefni [.] þier at oþd full [.] log(um) [...] til logmale**  
**Riettu at uittnne þinnu ok þi[...]** (a)llra þeira er oþd min hæyra

*I, N., summon you, N., at the summoning time on the coming date N. [...] before King N.'s stewards between N. and N. under that jurisdiction which [...] for this offense or to cite what is written about each [offense] or to say you [are] there indebted to me for that cause [...] in the complaint that I bring before you. You N. also have those additional offenses to answer. I may there lawfully speak to you. I summon you on the aforementioned day and place [...] your true evidence and explanation which may be forthcoming for you and helps your case. At the hearing one must come there at noon and sit as long at the summons as the judges summon [people] to the case. [I] summon you legally [...] to the law case rightly by your witness and [that of] (all) those who hear my words.*

**101v (main text, Hand 7)**

**En efter þa m[inn]a logfestu · biþ feti [.] alla þa pen(in)ga fem**  
**hier standa saman aa greindi joþd[.] frida ok ofrida utan gardþ ok jnnan**  
**under Riett zanfak ok loghga laga laufn fem login**  
**alþt til flkipar fyrir byþ ek huerium manni burt at /taka\ flytia edþ forf(uara)**  
**greinnda penninga aa fyþ greindi joþdu under þeirre loghigþi flkipan**  
**fem logboken til flkipar ept[er] log[...]** uitne allra dande manna

<sup>129</sup> The repetition of *minna* does not seem to be part of the sense of the phrase.

<sup>130</sup> Passages from 101v-103r ln. 6 are supplementary sections of *Jónsbók*; see Appendix One.

<sup>131</sup> {X} represents a stylized design used by this hand to mark where one should insert the appropriate proper name or date.

<sup>132</sup> The reading of “d<sup>aa</sup>” as “dag” is unusual but fits the sense here and could have resulted from a lack of space in the line.

*But after my law-setting I ask for possession [...] of all those moneys which stand together here on the disputed ground [in] peace and unpeace, withindoors and without, under lawful search and lawfully released by law entirely as the laws arrange. I forbid any man to take or move away or forswear the dividing of money before [him] on the disputed ground under their ordinance as the law book arranges according to law, by witness of all titled men.*

**101v (main text, Hand 7)**

**Gud fiae handa band (standard text is lag) þessara goda manna sem nu hallda hier hondum saman**

**102r (main text, Hand 7, continues same passage as 101v)**

**fem er {XX} af einne allfu ok {XX} af anare enn þat  
legft ok felz under handa ban(d) þeira at þeir sættaft at aller  
þær sækez sem þeira hafa aa millum ozdít ok hier uoro nu kiae  
zdar fyrir off · fkulu þeir þat at sætt ok sæmd hattad hier um  
finn j millum sem þeir xii menn xiiij <sup>133</sup> dæma sem ek nefnez  
til ok at því hollnv <sup>134</sup> ok fram komnu sem domr dæmez eru þeir al.  
fattum fatter handlegz <sup>135</sup> {XX} suo mykla \*pinnga ok at fl  
ikum salaz stefnnum sem dæmr uerdz at greida {XX} enn þar  
j mott hand fallar {XX} nidr faalnar allar faker Svo at  
þæz fkulu [...]af (eck)e sækíast ne sielhaft <sup>136</sup> edz nok  
kzum til umbodz edz eiga. faft meiga at gudz uit  
ne ok godra manna þeira ozdinnnum heyra enn handa bandit fia**

*May God observe the hand-bond of these good men who now hold their hands together, who are N. of one region and N. of another. All this lies in and falls under their hand-bond: that they be reconciled in all their grievances which have occurred between them and here were now discussed before us. They shall [have] settlement and honor arranged here between them as judged by those 12 men whom I name, and [according to the decision of] those sound and present who make judgment. They are settled with all settlement [by] agreement N.: so much coinage and such sales in summons as is judged in the dispute N. But as a result of the hand-shake agreement N. all grievances are dropped, so that they shall [...] neither come to blows nor encroach upon one another in any way for affairs or property. May this be held fast by God's witness and that of good men who hear these words and see this hand-bond.*

**102r (main text, Hand 7)**

**J nafne fodz ok sonar ok heilagj anda fet ek grid ok fullan frid  
millum þessara manna {XX} ok {XX} se gud drotten j gri  
du med off ok hanf heilager menn fet ek þesse grid j nefndum  
ftadum (ok) o nefndum millum \*nendra manna epter logum og  
(f)kilmala sialfra þeirra ok hond i bande · se fa gridnidngz sem  
faí þessum \*grium spiller · zækr ok zekenn fra gudi ok godum ok <sup>137</sup>**

<sup>133</sup> It would seem that this number was added by mistake.

<sup>134</sup> For *höldnu*.

<sup>135</sup> Possibly the intent was *handlag* (agreement), as I use in my translation.

<sup>136</sup> Presumably for *seilast* (to encroach).

**102v (top of page, Hand 7)**

**glud] gefi þeim godan ok 2iettan skilning sem þessa bok a**

*May God give good and right understanding to him who owns this book*

**102v (main text, Hand 7, continues same text as 102r)**

**heima j heluete Enn fa sem þesse grid helldz uel \*fæ**

**fætt ok fanan frid hafi gudz hylle ok godra manna þa**

**uck hofum himi 2ikuff frid ok halldit uel grid**

*In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit I set peace and truce between these men N. and N. May the Lord God be in truce with us and his holy men. I set this truce in named places and unnamed among named men according to the law and their own agreement and [their] hands in bond. May the man subject to this truce who sees it spoiled be rejected and driven from God and good and be at home in Hell. But he who holds this truce well, may he have sweet and true peace in God's favor and the thanks of good men. May we have the peace of heavean and a truce well held.*

**102v (main text, Hand 7)**

**Ef eigi eru log giafer anefndaz ok gefr madr audzum mun ymlar**

**giafer. þa skulu þæz gæfer halldazt þar til þæz verda**

**jafnaz uid log giafer · Enn ef meiza ez gefit þa skal**

**fkezdast fyrir huerium sem tala zennz til · Efter fiar ma**

**gnne · wtan failu giafer · Ok þæz giafer ez madr gefr fyrir**

**heil ok ofiukz · ok afennde2 sialfr ef skyn**

**fomum monnum virdist eigi til azfe uika gjozt**

*If there is not [an amount for] the law-gift named and people give money, the gifts will be various. So those gifts shall be held there until they become equal to the law-gift. But if more is given then [the amount demanded] shall diminish for each as the tally runs, according to ability to pay, except for gifts given out of wealth and those gifts which one gives for health and soundness. And [it shall] be invalid if to reasonable men it is not valued as properly-gotten gains.*

**102v (main text, Hand 8)**

**Eg log byd þier · {XX} omaga \*þra {X} til**

**fram fæzflu þvi ek veit ævngvan skylldaza**

**þann ez fee hafi til annan enn þik ok þvi ek þu la**

**tez vızda fee þitt ok tela omaga þinna ok**

**fidan stefne ek þier ok þessu þinnu logligu profin**

**til þingf j zetta laga stefnu {X} ok ef þu vı**

**llt**<sup>138</sup>

**102v (bottom of page, Hand 7)**

**oft er hinn undez huitt skinn**

*Often is the other under a white hide*<sup>139</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Translated as a whole with the main text on 102v, below.)

<sup>138</sup> Translated as a whole with the main text on 103r, below.

103r (top of page, unidentified hand)  
jesvs

**103r (main text, Hand 8, continues same text as 102v)**

ei at logum ueziast þa mun þessi omage  
til þinn flutter at þing manna dome edz logmanz vr  
fkurde er þessi ættaz tala \*fonnn fænnnd seme  
told. stefne eg þier at ozd fullu ok log fullu  
nema þu verdez þik undann at logum at vittne þerzi  
ok þinu ok allra þeirza er ozd min heyra

*By law I offer you N., pauper, from N. support because I know no one who has property who is more obligated to another than [I am] to you, and therefore I allow you to value your property and count up your need and afterwards I summon you and this your lawful evidence to the Thing according to the correct law-summons N. And if you do not want to defend yourself at law then this support will be conveyed to you at the thing-men's judgment or lawman's decision who [in] his genealogy counted up his son as being related. I summon you by full words and full law unless you excuse yourself at law by those witnesses and yours and all those who hear my words.*

**103r ln. 7 (main text, Hand 9)**

Hvad eru valldzmen \*fkyllderuger <sup>140</sup> at  
hallda viduz sitt under folk / /  
Helst þzi hlvte / / hinn fyzfta / at þeir  
hlyde med godvilja þeiza male / \*ei  
kvm <sup>141</sup> þeiza sem sialfez eru vann ma  
ttuger til at fram bera a fin erinnde.  
Sem erv Ekkivr / fodurlavf bozn  
/ og fataeker menn / þessa ber þeim  
at stykia til zettinda / og dæma þ(eira) mal  
eptez logvm /

*What are ruling men obliged to hold to with those under them? Most of all, three things. The first: that they listen with goodwill to the private cases of those who themselves are powerless to make progress in their own matters—which are widows, fatherless children, and poor men. It behooves them to assist these to justice and judge their cases according to the law.*

103r (bottom of page, pen trial of badly cut pen, unidentified hand)  
ha

**103v (main text, Hand 9, continues passage as 103r)**

nu annaz / ezat þeir vernndi sinn [minim erased] vnder

<sup>139</sup> This rather obscure phrase is probably analogous in meaning to the proverb in *Eyrbyggja saga*, Ch. 16: “eru ok opt flögð í fögru skinni”—“often are witches in fair skins” (c.f. Richard Harris’ concordance of proverbs found in the sagas).

<sup>140</sup> The scribe/student meant either *skyldir* or *skyldugir* and tried to write both.

<sup>141</sup> He missed the nasal expansion to make *einkum*.

gefennlyd / halldi þa með log og frid  
 zeffe vonndum ok ran[~~minim erased~~]glatum / enn  
 vernnde godfufa / og vel finnade  
 og þat krifthgar kenningar / eirnnen /  
 heidur ok æra inur godri þoliza  
 þat er veralldlige ftorn //  
 Hinn þridie / þat þeir halldu at folke  
 nu / og a eggie þeim / með heilrædum at  
 ottaft gud svo at menn hofe kynn  
 ning gudz nafns / og breyte þeim frem  
 ft þeir geta epter gudz bodordum /  
 og þessi verk pryda miog þeirra vall  
 d og lika gudi fem beft. / / / /

*Now the second is that they protect their subject people, keep them in law and in peace, punish the wicked and unjust, yet protect the benevolent and support them well, and [uphold] that Christian doctrine that esteem and honor performs good patiently. That is worldly leadership. The third: that they rule the folk and urge them with good counsel that God be feared so that men lift up the knowledge of God's name and conduct themselves as best they can according to God's commandments, and this work [is] greatly to adorn the ruling of them and also [to bring glory] to God as much as possible.*

103v (bottom of page, obscured by main text, unidentified hand)  
 [line of illegible text]

**104r (top of page, Hand 9)**  
**af veralldliger valldftorn**  
*Of worldly leadership*

**104r ln. 1-5 (main text, Hand 9)**  
**Hvad er Tyrannas · / / þat er einn**  
**yfer gangf vikingr / sem er einn vond**  
**zannglater valldz madr / sem ekkı vill**  
**ftiorna epter logum / helldur epter**  
**finum \*zanngstivnum vilha ok grimdarged** <sup>142</sup>

*What is a tyrant? It is simply a Viking of tyranny who is a bad, unjust ruler who does not wish to rule according to law but rather according to his wrong-ruling will and fierce wits.*

**104r ln. 6-9 (main text, Hand 10)**  
**Mannfins hugur fie alldrei svo avihugur til at med /**  
**taka / þat gud fie ekkı miklu fufare ok reidv bunre**  
**til at gefa þui at hann er einn \*sanarligur gud / ok helldur fi** <sup>143</sup>  
**na lofin ok fyrir heit stadfasthganna /**

<sup>142</sup> Likely this scribe meant *stiornum* for *stivnum*.

<sup>143</sup> Probably *sannligur* was meant for *sanarligur*.

*Man's heart can never be so willing to receive that God will not be more willing and more prepared to give, for he is a true God and holds fast his [own] promises and also the vow of the steadfast.*

**104r ln. 11 (column a, Hand 11)**

ei riett helldur  
ofrike ok lauf  
yrde ok fættar  
flit

*Never does right hold with tyranny and gossip and breach of reconciliation.*

**104r ln. 11 (column b, Hand 12)**

Ef meinleyki fundra samnift hi[.]na  
ll

*If hindrance is gathered together (here?) [...]*

**104r column b ln. 11-14 (column b, Hand 13, mostly illegible)**

eitt nu [..]all[.] fie [.....]  
þ[.] er [...]]ldur ue[.....]  
þa [.]gaz [.....]  
sem [.....]ez t[.]  
[??]

**104r (bottom of page, unidentified hand)**

þat ma fo sega(?)

*It may so be said*

**104v (main text, Hand 14, mostly illegible)**

[.....] fie margfallig geznn  
(ing) eigi [.]fkylduliga at geymaft ok þeim  
[.] hlut(ir) fl[.] þeir i harrne samnisk [.]  
[.]m hann fuare [.....] hann hug(ar) fatt vera e(f)  
[...][.]aft [.] Sku[.] [.....]  
[.] hann [.....] ma [.]fk[.] vthg[.] [.....]  
[...][.]an naud[.] Riett visu a at  
[.....] þ[.] erinde(?) E[...][.] vit sem riett a  
ok fa[...][.]ætthgt ; fl[...][.]u sem [.]vera[.....]  
[...][.]k ill[.....]da [...][.]dliga fynd[.....]  
[...][.]hann fuerade lohgga ok skal þ[.....]  
[.....] lauft (ei)g(i) til skripta

*[...] be manifold not doing [...] dutifully to be kept and to them [...] things [...] they increase harm [...] he answer (what) he thinks to be true if [...] outward [...] necessity [...] show the right [...] business [...] wisdom who has the right and [...] rightly [...] he swore lawfully and shall [...] not to confess*



## Appendix One

### *Jónsbók* Context for Rask 72a Marginalia

General Correspondence of *Jónsbók* Editions

Ólafur Halldórsson	Már Jónsson	Subject
I	Þingfararbálkur	Rules for the Þing
II	Kristinn réttur	Christian practice
III	Konungs þegaskylda	Duty toward King
IV	Mannhelgi	Sanctuary
V.1-6	Kvennagiftingar	Marriage
V.7-22	Erfðatal	Inheritance
V.23-13	Framfærslabálkur	Support of poor
VI	Landabrigðabálkur	Land reclamation
VII.1-59 (Landleigubálkur)	Búnaðarbálkur	Tenancy
VII.60-71	Reka þáttur	Salvage rights
VIII	Kaupabálkur	Mercantile law
IX	Farmannalög	Traveling merchants
X	Þjófabálkur	Theft

Rask 72a	Ólafur Halldórsson	Már Jónsson
10r	IV.18, IV.19	Mannhelgi.18, 19
21v	V.16	Erfðatal.22
22r	V.16, V.17	Erfðatal.22, 23
23r	V.18	Erfðatal.24
24r	V.19	Erfðatal.25
24v	V.19, V.20	Erfðatal.25, 26
25r	V.20, V.21	Erfðatal.26, 27
25v	V.22	Erfðatal.28
26r	V.23	Framfærslabálkur.1
27v	(V.24)*	Framfærslabálkur.2
28r	V.24, V.25, V.26	Framfærslabálkur.2, 3, 4
28v	V.26	Framfærslabálkur.4
29r	V.26, V.27	Framfærslabálkur.4, 5
29v	V.28	Framfærslabálkur.6
30r	V.29	Framfærslabálkur.7
30v	V.29	Framfærslabálkur.7
31r	V.29, V.30	Framfærslabálkur.7, 8
31v	V.30, V.31	Framfærslabálkur.8, 9
32r	V.31, RBHK.II.6**	Framfærslabálkur.9
39r	VI.1	Landabrigðabálkur.1
39v	VI.1	Landabrigðabálkur.1

40r	VI.1, VI.2	Landabrigðabálkur.1, 2
40v	VI.3	Landabrigðabálkur.3
41r	VI.3	Landabrigðabálkur.3
41v	VI.4	Landabrigðabálkur.4
42r	VI.5	Landabrigðabálkur.5
42v	VI.6	Landabrigðabálkur.6
43r	VI.6, VI.7	Landabrigðabálkur.6, 7
43v	VI.8	Landabrigðabálkur.8
44r	VI.9	Landabrigðabálkur.9
45v	VII.1	Búnaðarbálkur.1
46r	RBEK.I.Byggingakapituli***	Búnaðarbálkur.2
46v	RBEK.I.Byggingakapituli	Búnaðarbálkur.2
47r	VII.2	Búnaðarbálkur.3
47v	VII.2, VII.3	Búnaðarbálkur.3, 4
48r	VII.6	Búnaðarbálkur.7
48v	VII.6	Búnaðarbálkur.7
49r	VII.7	Búnaðarbálkur.8.footnote2
49v	VII.9	Búnaðarbálkur.9
50r	VII.10	Búnaðarbálkur.10
52r	VII.17	Búnaðarbálkur.17
61r	VII.47	Búnaðarbálkur.47
62r	VII.47, VII.48	Búnaðarbálkur.47, 48
64r	VII.49, VII.50	Búnaðarbálkur.49, 50
74v	VIII.3	Kaupabálkur.3
79v	VIII.10	Kaupabálkur.10
81v	VIII.15	Kaupabálkur.15
82r	VIII.26, VIII.27	N/A
91v	IX.25	Farmannalög.25
97v	X.19	Þjófabálkur.20
99v	??	??
101v ll. 1-17	N/A	~ p. 273 Stefnar til Þings and Um Eiða
101v ll. 18 - 102r ll. 1-12	N/A	p. 274 Handlögum Manna
102r ll. 13-18 - 102v ll. 1-3	N/A	p. 274 Um Griðamál
102v ll. 4-10	N/A	p. 297 RBEK frá sumrinu 1280
102v ll. 11-16 - 103r 1-5	N/A	p. 275 Ómaga lögboð

\*Section not entirely represented in this edition

\*\*Réttarbætur Hákonar konungs

\*\*\*Réttarbætur Eiríks konungs

**Appendix Two**  
**List of Decoration in Rask 72a**

Folio	Decorated Initials	Type of Decoration	Illumination	Type of Illumination
1r	E (red)	Colored	0	
1v	S (dark red, red)	Flourished	0	
2r	E (red)	Colored	0	
2v	0		0	
3r	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
3v	N (red)	Colored	0	
	V (dark red)	Colored		
4r	0		Lower Right	Foliate (red, black)
4v	P (red)	Colored	0	
5r	0		0	
5v	P (dark red)	Colored	0	
	S (red)	Colored		
6r	0		0	
6v	N (dark red, red)	Historiated (human face)	0	
7r	0		0	
7v	0		0	
8r	0		0	
8v	0		0	
9r	0		0	
9v	0		0	
10r	E (dark red, red)	Geometric	0	
10v	E (green)	Colored	0	
11r	0		Lower Right	Foliate (red, black)
11v	0		Inside Margin	Foliate (red, black)
12r	N (red)	Geometric	Lower Right	Foliate (red, black)
12v	E (green)	Colored	0	
13r	0		0	
13v	N (red)	Foliate	0	
14r	E (green)	Colored	Lower Right	Foliate (red, black)
14v	0		0	
15r	P (black, red)	Foliate	0	
15v	E (red)	Colored	0	
16r	P (dark red, red)	Geometric	Right Margin	Foliate (red, black)
	M (red)	Colored	Right Margin	Foliate (red, black)
16v	K (red)	Foliate	0	
17r	S (green)	Colored	0	
	S (red)	Colored		
17v	S (dark red)	Colored	0	
18r	S (red)	Colored	0	
	S (dark red)	Colored		

18v	S (green)	Colored	Lower Right	Foliate (black)
	S (red)	Foliate	Lower Right	Foliate (black)
19r	S (dark red, red)	Foliate	0	
	S (green)	Colored		
	S (dark red, red)	Foliate		
19v	S (dark red)	Colored	0	
20r	N (red)	Colored	0	
20v	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
21r	N (red)	Colored	0	
21v	N (green)	Flourished	0	
22r	H (red)	Colored	0	
22v	0		0	
23r	E (red)	Colored	0	
23v	0		0	
24r	A (red)	Colored	0	
24v	H (dark red)	Colored	0	
25r	N (red)	Colored	0	
25v	N (red)	Colored	0	
26r	H (black, green, red)	Historiated (monster)	0	
26v	0		0	
27r	0		Lower Right	Foliate (black)
27v	0		0	
28r	N (red)	Colored	0	
	E (green)	Flourished		
28v	0		0	
29r	E (red)	Flourished	0	
29v	E (dark red, red)	Flourished	0	
	P (red)	Colored		
30r	F (black, red)	Flourished	0	
30v	0		0	
31r	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
31v	V (dark red, red)	Foliate	0	
32r	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
32v	S (red)	Colored	0	
33r	H (green, red)	Flourished	0	
33v	N (red)	Colored	0	
34r	0		0	
34v	P (green)	Flourished	0	
35r	0		0	
35v	E (red)	Flourished	0	
36r	H (red)	Flourished	0	
36v	0		0	
37r	H (red)	Flourished	0	
37v	0		0	
38r	H (red)	Flourished	0	
38v	0		0	
39r	H (black, red)	Foliate	0	

39v	0		0	
40r	E (green)	Colored	0	
40v	N (red)	Colored	0	
41r	0		0	
41v	P (red, dark red)	Historiated (human face)	0	
42r	N (red)	Colored	0	
42v	N (green, red)	Flourished	Right Margin	Foliate (red, black)
43r	E (red)	Colored	0	
43v	S (green)	Colored	0	
44r	N (green, red)	Flourished	Lower Right	Foliate (red, black)
44v	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
	E (dark red, red)	Foliate		
45r	N (dark red)	Colored	0	
45v	S (black, red, dark red, green)	Foliate	Left Margin	Foliate initial S
46r	N (dark red)	Colored	0	
46v	0		0	
47r	N (red)	Colored	0	
47v	N (green)	Colored	0	
48r	E (green)	Flourished	0	
48v	S (black, red)	Foliate	0	
49r	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
49v	N (dark red)	Colored	0	
50r	H (red, dark red)	Colored	0	
	L (red, dark red)	Colored		
50v	N (red)	Colored	0	
51r	E (dark red)	Flourished	Lower Right	Monster (black, red)
51v	N (red)	Colored	0	
52r	E (green)	Colored	0	
52v	E (red)	Colored	0	
53r	0		0	
53v	M (green, red)	Flourished	0	
54r	0		0	
54v	H (red)	Colored	0	
55r	0		0	
55v	E (red)	Colored	0	
56r	0		0	
56v	N (green, red)	Historiated (human face)	0	
57r	N (red)	Colored	0	
57v	0		0	
58r	E (green)	Colored	0	
58v	H (red, green)	Flourished	0	
59r	E (green)	Colored	0	
59v	E (red)	Colored	0	
60r	A (green)	Colored	0	
60v	0		0	

61r	M (dark red)	Colored	0	
61v	0		0	
62r	0		0	
62v	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
63r	H (red, dark red)	Flourished	0	
63v	0		0	
64r	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
64v	0		0	
65r	H (red)	Colored	0	
65v	0		0	
66r	E (red)	Colored	0	
66v	0		0	
67r	N (red)	Flourished	0	
67v	0		0	
68r	0		0	
68v	E (green, red)	Flourished	0	
69r	P (red, green)	Flourished	0	
69v	0		0	
70r	E (red)	Colored	Right Margin	Pointing hand (red)
70v	0		0	
71r	E (dark red, red)	Foliate	0	
71v	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
72r	E (green)	Flourished	0	
	P (red, dark red)	Historiated (human face)		
72v	0		0	
73r	P (black, red)	Historiated (monster)	0	
73v	E (red)	Colored	0	
74r	0		0	
74v	E (green, red)	Flourished	0	
75r	E (green)	Colored	0	
75v	P (red, green)	Flourished	0	
76r	0		0	
76v	0		0	
77r	0		0	
77v	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
78r	N (red)	Colored	0	
78v	N (black, red)	Flourished	0	
79r	H (black, red)	Historiated (human face)	0	
79v	0		0	
80r	H (dark red, red)	Foliate	Lower Right	Geometric (red, black)
80v	0		Lower Right	Geometric (red, black)
81r	0		0	
81v	N (red, dark red)	Foliate	0	
82r	N (green, red)	Flourished	0	
	N (red)	Colored		
82v	S (black, red, dark red,	Foliate	Left Margin	Foliate initial S

	green)			
	S (red)	Colored	Left Margin	Foliate (black)
83r	0		Lower Right	Foliate (red, black)
83v	N (red)	Colored	0	
84r	P (red, green)	Flourished	0	
	N (red)	Colored		
84v	E (dark red)	Flourished	0	
85r	E (red)	Colored	0	
85v	N (red, dark red)	Flourished	0	
86r	0		0	
86v	N (red)	Colored	0	
87r	N (dark red)	Flourished	0	
	H (dark red)	Colored		
87v	N (green, red)	Flourished	0	
88r	E (dark red)	Colored	0	
88v	S (green)	Colored	0	
	P (red, green)	Flourished		
89r	N (dark red)	Colored	0	
89v	N (red, dark red)	Flourished	0	
90r	N (red)	Colored	Lower Right	Foliate (red, black)
90v	N (green, red)	Flourished	0	
91r	N (red)	Colored	0	
91v	0		0	
92r	0		Lower Right	Foliate (red, black)
92v	N (green, red)	Flourished	0	
93r	E (dark red)	Flourished	Lower Right	Pointing hand (black)
93v	0		0	
94r	P (red, black, white, green)	Historiated (monster)	0	
94v	0		0	
95r	N (red)	Colored	0	
95v	(?) (red)	Colored	0	
96r	E (red)	Colored	0	
96v	N (red)	Colored	0	
97r	E (red)	Colored	0	
	E (dark red, red)	Flourished		
97v	S (red)	Colored	0	
	K (green, red)	Flourished		
	P (red)	Colored		
98r	A (green, red)	Flourished	0	
98v	0		Text Space	Line fillers (x3)
99r	0		0	
99v	0		0	
100r	H (red)	Historiated (human face)	0	
100v	0		0	
101r	S (text ink black)	Colored	Lower Right	Monsters (text ink)

101v	0		0	
102r	0		0	
102v	0		0	
103r	0		0	
103v	0		0	
104r	0		0	
104ra	0		0	
104r b	0		0	
104v	0		0	



### Appendix Three

#### Marginalia of AM 604 4to

This diplomatic transcription is highly indebted to Kålund's print edition and is not intended to replace but rather to supplement it. My own transcriptions are incomplete because of the image quality in the facsimile edition of the *rímur* manuscript, and as a result I rely heavily on Kålund's transcriptions where the images are illegible; in places where Kålund offers no transcription my own are provisional. The same rule applies in this manuscript as in Rask 72a regarding bold typeface of sentences and small font of single words and pen trials. I mark passages with parentheses when they are illegible in facsimile. Each item is labeled by section and page (not folio) in accordance with general practice when citing this manuscript, and each is labeled with location on the page, and hand, if attributable. The Roman numerals followed by Arabic numbers or pages at the head of each item correspond to the divisions and page numbers in Kålund's print edition of the marginalia; letters indicate in what section of AM 604 the marginalia occurs (A-H). Double asterisks indicate that the item of marginalia does not appear in Kålund. See Appendix Four to place the marginalia in context with the *rímur* texts.

The *nomina sacra* and variations thereon are so ubiquitous that they are listed in chart form at the beginning of the transcription, except where a variant appears only once or twice (in which case it is placed with the rest of the marginalia). They all appear to be in the hand of the scribe except possibly the word "Jhesuf" at the top of C68, which may be the hand that wrote the contemporary titles. Editorial and later codicological marginalia is not represented, for the same reason cited for Rask 72a. The facsimile edition should be consulted for such marginalia.

Expansions are made as Kålund makes them, but I represent long s and r rotunda according to the manuscript or according to general scribal practice when the manuscript is illegible. I also represent line breaks as they appear in the original, regardless of verse form.

Kålund often notes where proverbs in 604 occur in other known sources, and I have additionally noted other correspondences, which I have drawn based upon Richard Harris's *Concordance* of proverbs in the sagas. While correspondence does not prove relation, of course, we might infer the widely-read nature of the scribe who copied such material into his margins as he worked, and the ubiquity of the proverb culture.

### Marginalia in AM 604 4to

#### IV. Page 182. In column titles:

**Jesus** (occurs at the top of the following pages in the form Jhs or Jhf: A1, 5, 10, 12-16, 18-29, 31-34, 39-40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 50, 52, 54, 58, 59, 61-74, 76-81; B4, 9, 11-15, 17, 21, 23-25, 27-32; C1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 14, 17-27, 29-36, 38, 39, 43, 46-64, 66, 67, 69, 71, 74-76, 78-94, 97, 99, 100, 102, 104-107, 109-120, 122-124, 127-136, 138; D1-6, 10-13, 16-26, 29-35, 37-40, 42, 45-50, 52-70; E2-8, 11, 14-16, 18-21; F3, 20, 22, 23, 30; G1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 16, 20, 26, 32, 33, 35-40, 42-45, 47; H1-13, 16-29, 31-33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41-46, 48, 49, 51, 53, 55-59, 61-63, 65)

**Jheful** (top of A30, B10, C3, C68, C73, C121, D15, D44)

**Jesus Christus** (top of A51, C16, 28, H30)

**Jesus minn** (top of C7, C137, D36, F12, G24, H14) <sup>144</sup>

*My Jesus*

**Jesus himna konungur** (B6, C12, G22)

*Jesus king of heaven*

**Jesus mariu fon** (top of A2, 12, B2, 19, H15)

*Jesus son of Mary*

**Jesus [.....]** (top of A14, 19, B5, 7, C4, C101, G27, 31)

**Jesus minn frelfari** (cited by Kålund but unlocatable in facsimile)

*Jesus my redeemer*

**Jesus minn grædare** (cited by Kålund but unlocatable in facsimile)

*Jesus my healer*

#### III.20.A.2 (bottom of page, scribal)

**lyder villdu lata upp trauff ok launa þanenn fleire. þeir fleygdu honum i fulligt puff ok flaut þa allur i leire**

*The people wanted to open up the truce and borrow more from it; they threw it right into a little purse, and then all floated in the mud*

#### II.28.A.5 (bottom of page, scribal)

**zennur <sup>145</sup> tekur i lodna fkript**

*The course leads to shaggy writing*

#### \*\*A.8 (top of page, scribal)

**leodegarius (ora pro nobis)**

#### II.20.A.11 (bottom of page, scribal)

**lottar ero ful eyiaz fzændi**

*Ink-spots are foul kinsmen of an island (i.e. they are that big) <sup>146</sup>*

#### IV. Page 183.A.11 (top right corner of page, scribal)

**(leodegarius sanctus ora pro nobis)**

*Saint Leodegar pray for us*

<sup>144</sup> In H.14, *minn* is added later, though it is still scribal.

<sup>145</sup> Kålend suggests *renna* was intended.

<sup>146</sup> Kålund says *lottar* makes no sense but the scribe might have meant *lortar*, with the same meaning as *kukar*—that is, referring to ink as excrement.

IV. Page 183.A.13 (top of page, scribal)  
leodegarius

**I.181.A.15 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**Undan er tecid einartt**

*Exceptions are made incessantly*<sup>147</sup>

\*\*A.18 (top of page by sacred name, apparently scribal)  
[.]ll[.]of

**II.3.A.18 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**faznar ero filpo 2imur**

*Philip's Rimes are done*

**II.33.A.21 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**veftnar nu firi vondum dreing**

*Things worsten now for a man in difficulties/wickedness*

\*\*A.22 (bottom of page, possibly non-scribal)  
[.....]ttu launf

**II.12.A.25 (bottom of page, more Gothic textualis-influenced script, scribal)**

**leidizt mīer at fkrifa**

*I'm getting tired of writing*

\*\*A.26 (bottom of page, possibly fraktur titler)  
Nan

\*\*A.30 (bottom of page, non-scribal, possibly titler)  
[illegible trial] þa fem  
... *them who*

\*\*A.31 (bottom of page, non-scribal, possibly titler)  
1 [.]nf mynna vera morg eg er g

**III.6.A.30 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**docknar dreing firi augum. en drofen er hladen Baugum. heima er hrafnn áá  
haugum. hæfverfkt**

*It darkens before a man's eyes, but the girl is laden with rings; the raven is at home on  
the gravemound;*

**III.6.A.31 (bottom of page, scribal, continues sentence of A.30, mid-phrase)**

**vifit aa Laugum.**

*...the proper woman [is at home] at the baths*

**III.18.A.33 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**J lyndi ftaz fu líliann klaz**

*In a temper that bright lily stares*

---

<sup>147</sup> This translation more or less follows Kálund's.

**II.19.A.34 (bottom of page, scribal)****Lok ero komín áá bok***An end has come to this book***IV.Page 184.A.37 (top of page, scribal)***Jesus Jesus gracie**Jesus, Jesus, graces***I.209.A.37 (bottom of page, scribal)****um flíptur æfi mannz***The life of a man is change***IV.Page 184.A.38 (top of page, scribal)***Jesus Jesus Christus Christus***III.8.A.38 (bottom of page, scribal)****far þu með mín godi***Go with [God], my good man***I.6.A.39 (bottom of page, scribal)****verker í veik augu***Weak eyes smart***IV.Page 182.A.41 (top of page, scribal)****(Jesus marie son þu til mín)***Jesus son of Mary, look now upon me***II.2.A.41 (bottom of page, scribal)****belt er nu bleck***The ink is now the best***III.4.A.42 (bottom of page, scribal)****augna veikur er aulinn***The dunce is weak in the eyes***I.174.A.45 (bottom of page, scribal)****fastt er fut at bida. fozger burttu lida***Painful it is to endure grief, [and] to pass through sorrow***IV.Page 183.A.47 (top of page, scribal)****(sancte leodegarius ora pro nobis)***Saint Leodegar pray for us***IV.Page 184.A.47 (bottom of page, scribal)****uenite þoft me***Come after me***III.14.A.49 (bottom of page, scribal)****Jlla fer**

*It goes badly*

IV.Page 183.A.49 (top of page, scribal)  
Maria mín

**I.30.A.50 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**feintt er einf lid. þvi kleffur koma hær vid**

*Slow is the help of one alone, for ink clots appear here [on the parchment]*

III.27.A.51 (bottom of page, scribal)  
[.....]feim-grund enn mæt

**IV.Page 182.A.53 (top of page, scribal)**

**Jesus gudz son myskunní mæ nu ok at eilífu. Amen**

*Jesus son of God, have mercy on me now and forever, amen*

IV.Page 184.A.54 (bottom of page, scribal)  
sancta maria

**II.22.A.55 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**míhafnt er (þkrifat menia na mæt ok fogur sem þu matt fa)**

*It is decreed unevenly [whether one] gets a memorial famous and fair as you may see  
(i.e. not everyone is destined to get a memorial)*

**IV.Page 182.A.56 (top of page, scribal)**

**Jesus hialpi mæ syndugum þræl þinum** <sup>148</sup>

*Jesus help me, your sinful servant*

**I.30.A.56 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**feintt er einf lid. (þvi kleffur koma hær vid)**

*Slow is the help of one alone, for ink clots appear here [on the parchment]*

**I.95.A.56 (unlocatable in facsimile)**

**frest er áá illu best**

*Delay is the best of evils*

IV.Page 182.A.57 (top of page, scribal)  
Jesus minn fæti  
My sweet Jesus

**II.4.A.58 (bottom of page, scribal)** <sup>149</sup>

**hær inn áá eríndit þat hit feín[n]a er klozad er** <sup>150</sup>

*This place has the material whose beginning is scrawled later*

\*\*A.59 (bottom of page, scribal)  
[line of text illegible in facsimile]

\*\*A.60 (top left corner of page, unidentifiable)

<sup>148</sup> Kålund has *finum*.

<sup>149</sup> Kålund says this note runs onto page 59, but it does not.

<sup>150</sup> Kålund assumes the scribe missed dotting the n to write *seinna*.

[several words, illegible]

\*\*A.60 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

*iesus*

*aue maria*

**III.23.A.60 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**nauder giora nu ftrid. nada fæ ec ftiz gad. þoli ec hartt firi þorn fpaung. þrunge af gledi ut.**

*Now needs cause distress. During leisure I receive a goad [to drive me] from rest. I suffer hard before the thorn-point, plain out of gladness*

**II.14.A.63 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**hotliga fer nu loden fkrift. hof ok kleff firi bauga nipt.**

*In an ugly way goes the shaggy writing now: light and ink-clots for the sister of rings*

\*\*A.64 (bottom of page, scribal, possibly a textual emendation)

[erased line of text]

\*\*A.65 (right margin, horizontal, non-scribal)

e12 e12B

**\*\*A.65 (bottom of page, non-scribal)**

**gudz [.]ad ok hannz fzadz fie med**

*God's [?] and his peace be with [you]*

**II.16.A.65 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**litt er leturid longum fuanget. lyti ber þad flioda. fkrifa ec bædi fkakt ok rangt. (fkall ec þat virðum bioda.)**

*Scarcely is the writing thin for long; it bears the fault of women. I write both crooked and wrongly; I shall offer it to men*

\*\*A.67 (top of page, unidentifiable)

[.....] þ[.]e[.]m

**I.51.A.67 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**eíngin uerður fægur af óngu**

*No one becomes famous for nothing*

IV.Page 182.A68 (top of page, scribal)

*Jesus vinnur*

*Jesus friend*

**IV.Page 183.A.69 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**lancta fenenna oza pro nobis**

*Saint Fennenna pray for us*

**II.32.A.74 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**ute ero konzadz zım[ur]**

*Conrad's Rimes are done*

**IV.Page 182.A.75 (top of page, scribal)**

**Jesus minn fiae til augna minna**  
*Jesus mine take care of my eyes*

**II.27.A.79 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**zangt fkrifar nu zeckur. zeíknaz ma flíkt hveckur. fuangur er \minn/ feckur. en felf  
 er kalladur b(ekkur).**

*The man writes wrongly now; such a thing may be reckoned a bad trick. Hunger is my  
 burden, but the seat is called a bench*

**\*\*A.80 (top left corner of page, scribal, possibly text addition)**

enn er

[.....]

[.....]

**\*\*A.80 (top right corner of page, next to scribal title)**

*Christus*

**I.156.A.81 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**feintt ok falt geingr.**

*It goes slowly but surely*

**IV.Page 182.A.82 (top of page, scribal)**

**Jesus minn fia þu til augna minna.**

*Jesus mine take care of my eyes*

**IV.Page 182.B.1 (top of page, scribal)**

*Jesus minn lufti laufnari*

*Jesus my dear savior*

**IV.Page 183.B.5 (top of page, scribal)**

*(sanctus leodegarius)*

*Saint Leodegar*

**\*\*B.6 (bottom of page, non-scribal)**

2022 f d d<sup>tt</sup>

22 d71 a[...]

**IV.Page 182.B.8 (top of page, scribal)**

*Jesus minn lifgíafari*

*Jesus my life-giver*

**I.51.B.13 (unlocatable in facsimile)**

**eingin verdur frægur af öngu**

*No one becomes famous for nothing*

**I.91.B.15 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**Jllt feger af illum**

*Wickeness speaks of wickedness*

**I.207.B.17 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**Jlla fer einatt yndi med lyndi**

*Delight always goes badly with bad temper*

**IV.Page 182.B.18 (top of page, scribal)*****Jesus sia þu augu mín***<sup>151</sup>*Jesus see my eyes***\*\*B.21 (top of page, fraktur titler)**

þg

**I.50.B.21 (bottom of page, scribal)*****fulliga skilzt fret-karll vid. fiandinn eigi þenna fid.****Fouly part company with a contemptible fellow; let the fiend have that custom***IV.Page 182.B.22 (top of page, scribal)*****Jn nomine domini Jesus****In the name of Lord Jesus***\*\*B.24 (top of page, non-scribal but written next to scribal sacred name)***Jesus***III.17.B.25 (bottom of page, scribal)*****Jllt gierer i augum****My eyes are doing badly***IV.Page 182.B.26 (top of page, scribal)*****Jesus minn fe lofadur****Jesus mine be praised***I.13.B.27 (bottom of page, scribal)*****fialldan bladraslk allt áá einn at [eigi] fe micít at (fo tru ec vera fatt vinur godur nu er ec modur ok frodur en eckí hlhodur)***<sup>152</sup>*Seldom is everything noised abroad about a single person when not much is in it (i.e. without a good reason). Thus I believe to be true, good friend. Now am I tired and wise, but not silent***III.32.B.32 (bottom right corner of page, scribal)*****fvara verd ec figurdr minn****I need to answer, my Sigurðr***\*\*B.32 (bottom of page, unidentifiable hybrida hand)**

N[.] hann [.] sitt [...] abo[...]inu

**\*\*C.1 (bottom of page, non-scribal)**

[.]tíð er ft[....]

**I.35.C.2 (bottom of page, scribal)*****Jllt er at hallda ut fufum eyri****It is difficult for a spendthrift to keep money***I.106.C.3 (bottom of page, scribal)**<sup>151</sup> It is possible that “sia þu augu mín” was added by the scribe after he had written the nomina sacra.<sup>152</sup> In this entry, the words between parentheses are reconstructed by Kålund from the ascenders of a trimmed line. Kålund also supplied *eigi*.



**Jllt veit ofarlíga klæíar***It means no good when one itches too much***III.26.C.5 (bottom of page, scribal)****nu fer velt. er ætti beft.***Now he goes worst who had the best***I.131.C.6 (bottom of page, non-scribal hybrida style)****uanfener ero Jesus mennezner***Men are a disgrace to Jesus***I.201.C.7 (bottom of page, scribal)****uo2 vatnn ok vodu felur hefur ofeigum manne í hel komit***Spring water and weeds<sup>153</sup> have brought the unlucky man into hell***I.81.C.8 (bottom of page, scribal)****ho2 hefur mann drepit. en baf alfur tuo***A pot-hook has killed one man, but a cow byre elf [has killed] two<sup>154</sup>***I.32.C.9 (bottom of page, scribal)****fleft fylger ellíne***Most go the way of old age<sup>155</sup>***I.7.C.10 (bottom of page, scribal)****fpakt fkyldi ellzta barnn ok vel vanit. munu þar fleiri epter ueníaz***Quiet should an eldest child be, and well raised. Other [siblings] will model themselves on him***IV. Page 183.C.11 (bottom of page, scribal)****gud minn ok ma2ía moder hans.***My God and Mary his mother***IV. Page 184.C.11 (unlocatable in facsimile)****maria mater gracie***Mary mother of grace***I.83.C.12 (bottom of page, scribal)****opt vita hundar þa híu matazt***Often dogs know when the household takes a meal***IV. Page 182.C.12 (top of page, scribal)****Jesus himna konungur***Jesus heaven's king***III.1.C.13 (bottom of page, scribal)****alldri betur í allan vetur***Never better in any weather*

<sup>153</sup> Kålund gives *flok-sæl* for *vodu*, which seems to be a plant.

<sup>154</sup> Kålund suggests the sense is, "Hunger has killed one man, but a bull has killed two."

<sup>155</sup> Kålund gives, "Most drawbacks follow old age."

**I.141.C.14 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**Af litlum neifta. uerdur micill elldur**  
*From little spark comes much flame*

IV. Page 182.C.15 (top of page, scribal)  
*Jesus minn hialpare*  
*Jesus my helper*

**I.158.C.15 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**meiri er virdíngen en fendingen**  
*The honor is greater than the gift*

**I.205.C.16 (bottom of page, scribal)** <sup>156</sup>  
**(opt velldur litl þufa þugnu) hlaſſe**  
*Often a little turf-tuft tips a heavy cartload*

**I.45.C.17 (bottom of page to left, same line as other proverb, scribal)**  
**fer fiſke faga. en flygur hval faga**  
*A fish-story goes, but a whale-story flies*

**I.30.C.17 (bottom of page to right, scribal)**  
**feíntt er eins (hd. þvi kleffur koma hier vid)** <sup>157</sup>  
*Slow is the help of one alone, for ink clots appear here [on the parchment]*

**I.5.C.18 (bottom of page, scribal)** <sup>158</sup>  
**(eckí) leyna augu. ef ann kona manne**  
*[Her] eyes do not hide [it] if a woman loves a man*

**I.101.C.19 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fatt fier áá kinn. huad ı bríoſtı byz**  
*Little shows on the cheek what lives in the breast*

**III.15.C.19 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**Jlla fer med ollu**  
*It goes badly entirely*

**I.22.C.20 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**druckenſ munn talar af hıartanf grunn**  
*A drunken man's mouth speaks from the depths of the heart*

**II.35.C.21 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**vontt er fkrif þvi veikt er (blek)**  
*The writing is bad because the ink is weak*

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<sup>156</sup> Kálund notes that this proverb appears in *Alexanders saga* and one manuscript of *Sturlunga saga* Ch. 48.

<sup>157</sup> The corner of the page is cut. Between parentheses is reconstructed.

<sup>158</sup> Kálund notes that this proverb appears in *Gunnlaugs saga*.

**\*\*C.22 (top right corner of page, scribal)**  
[.]ur hínz

**I.75.C.22 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**margz vill herzann vera. en faer ulia feckenn bera**  
*Many want to be a lord, but few want to bear the burden*

**I.52.C.23 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fullur kann til fleft rad. en fvangr til fada**  
*Fullness understands the most counsel, but hunger [understands only] satiety*<sup>159</sup>

**III.25.C.23 (bottom right corner of page, scribal)**  
**nu ero min veik augu m[yr]k**  
*Now my weak eyes are dark*

**I.177.C.24 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fætt er at fvelgia. en aztter at gellda.**  
*It is sweet to swallow but sour to pay*<sup>160</sup>

**IV.Page 183.C.24 (top right corner of page, scribal)**  
**lancta fenenna ora pro nobis**  
*Saint Fenena pray for us*

**I.68.C.25 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fialldan verdz gagnn at gongu kvenna uerki**  
*Seldom comes profit from vagrant women's work*

**I.92.C.25 (bottom left corner of page, scribal)**  
**Jllt gíorez óngum gott**  
*Evil does no good*

**I.136.C.26 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**allt er þat matur i magann kemzt \nema/ holta zætur einar**  
*Everything is food that comes into the belly except moss campion alone*<sup>161</sup>

**I.107.C.27 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**god konan er gulle betri**  
*The good woman is better than gold*

**I.194.C.28 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(fegdu) mīer uínenn þínn. þa veit ec vitet þítt**  
*Tell me your friend; then I know your wisdom*

**I.102.C.29 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**gott er at hafa tuo kíaptana ok tala fitt med hvorum.**

<sup>159</sup> Kålund suggests *bran* as a translation for *sada*.

<sup>160</sup> The scribe likely meant *gjalda* (to pay) rather than *gellda* (to geld).

<sup>161</sup> It is Kålund who gives *holtarætur* as *Silene acaulis*, or moss campion, which was eaten in sub-Arctic regions as a vegetable—and which apparently this scribe did not like.

*It is good to have two jaws and speak with both*

**II.30.C.30 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(flakt ok rangt) ec (flrifa áá vallt) [...]**  
*I write crookedly and wrong always*

**I.100.C.31 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**jafnt er kíð fem kíaffe. enn kíaffe engu nytur**  
*A kid is the same as a calf, yet there is no use for a calf<sup>162</sup>*

**I.147.C.32 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**[...] áá ðngum hrín oætít**  
*The inedible has no effect on anyone*

**I.124.C.33 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**þat er beft at lofa at madur vill efna**  
*It is best to promise what one will do*

**I.50.C.34 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fulliga flkílz fret karll víð aundína**  
*A contemptible fellow parts foully with his soul*

**I.86.C.35 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(gott er þat at hylla fem vel er gíortt)**  
*It is good to praise according to how well it is done*

**I.206.C.36 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(ymíft) er beft gott edur lett**  
*Good and easy are best by turns*

**I.98.C.37 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**karlli huerium kemur at auzverpí**  
*Every man comes to decrepitude*

**I.140.C.38 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**martt er gott j godu nautenu**  
*There is much good in good cattle*

**I.62.C.39 (bottom left of page, same line as next proverb, scribal)**  
**(at)burð lídur. fa er fæll er goðf bíður**  
*Things happen. He is blessed who awaits good<sup>163</sup>*

**III.9.C.39 (bottom right of page, scribal)**  
**(firi víft er þat kæri vín)**  
*That is for sure, dear friend*

<sup>162</sup> Kålund gives “The apple doesn’t fall far from the tree.”

<sup>163</sup> Kålund gives “who has something good awaiting him,” which makes better sense but is not in keeping with the syntax.

**IV. Page 182.C.40 (top of page, scribal)*****Jesus minn fe mæ næz****Jesus mine, be near me***I.24.C.40 (bottom of page, scribal)*****vínan uerdur keypt en dygdír alldri****The lady friend (i.e. mistress) can be bought but good qualities, never***I.111.C.41 (bottom of page, scribal)*****famt er fkinnt áá kunne kelling mín****The skin on the cow is the same, my old hag (i.e. a leopard can't change its spots)***I.185.C.42 (bottom of page, scribal)*****Jllt er þat at troll skuli manna níota****It is evil that a troll should enjoy men* <sup>164</sup>**I.128.C.43 (bottom of page, scribal)*****fyndu mannenn. en eckí mat keralldet****Show that you are a man and not a tub for food***IV. Page 182.C.44 (top of page, scribal)*****Jesus minn lifgíafari****Jesus my life-giver***I.94.C.44 (bottom of page, scribal)*****ongum er illt of gott****Evil is good for no one***II.34.C.45 (bottom of page, to left of succeeding note, scribal)*****ueftnar vontt fkrif****Bad writing worsens***I.146.C.45 (bottom of page, to right of previous note, scribal)*****faer uíta omala meín****Few know [the] harm of silence***I.16.C.46 (bottom of page, scribal)*****micill er bonda rettur. alldri er hann so lettur****Great is the farmer's right. Never is it very light***I.132.C.47 (bottom of page, scribal)*****magurt ok gagurt ok mífiantt fagurt. mun þat ollum lítazt****Lean and poor and unevenly fair: that will be seen to all***\*\*C.48 (bottom of page, non-scribal)***gude*

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<sup>164</sup> Kálund gives “men’s attentions” rather than “men.”

**I.202.C.48 (bottom of page, scribal)****þack latur maður er þeckur gude.***A grateful man is liked by God***III.37.C.49 (bottom of page, scribal)****(vedur ero uti)***There is a storm outside***I.99.C.50 (bottom of page, scribal)****hlyr hangande tetur kvad kelling. ok fefti garnn hnoda firi raz ser** <sup>165</sup>*“Let hanging rags cover [me],” said an old hag, and fastened yarn-knots over her backside***I.195.C.51 (bottom of page, scribal)****vítid er verði betra. varlla hafa þat aller.***Wit is better than worth. Scarcely do all have it***I.14.C.52 (bottom of page, scribal)****ei fkal bogna kuad kazll. ok fkeít fstandande***“Never shall I bend,” said a man, and shat standing up***I.165.C.53 (bottom of page, scribal)****fkítz er uon uz raze.***Excrement is to be expected out of a backside***I.23.C.54 (bottom of page, scribal)****margann hefur dulit drepit***Pride has killed many a man***IV. Page 183.C.55 (bottom of page, scribal)****(maria min nu þarf ec þin klar ok fin)***Mary mine, now I need you, bright and fine***I.166.C.56 (bottom of page, scribal)****þaz er von fkríðunar fem hon zennur***There is expectation of an avalanche when one falls* <sup>166</sup>**II.5.C.57 (bottom of page, scribal)****hræðiliga hleypur j. hnípen er ec af því.***Frightfully [the wind] rushes in. I am downcast because of it***II.18.C.58 (bottom of page, scribal)** <sup>167</sup>**lodit ok lítt fellt ok hotligt með oll[u]***Shaggy and little (i.e. badly) fitted and ugly in its entirety*

<sup>165</sup> Kålund suggests the first word may be *hlye*, not *hlyr*.

<sup>166</sup> Kålund points to the similar sentiment in the old phrase, “When I see a wolf’s ears I expect to see his eyes nearby.”

<sup>167</sup> This note was only legible to me because a better photograph of the page was tucked into the copy of the facsimile I was using.

**III.33.C.59 (bottom of page, probably scribal but different style of informal script)**  
**fuei þier hundur áá golfe.**

*Fye upon thee, dog on the floor*

**IV. Page 183.C.59 (top of page, scribal)**

**fancte leodegarius ora pro (nobis)**

*Saint Leodegar pray for us*

**\*\*C.60 (top left of page, unidentifiable)**

[several words, illegible]

**II.31.C.60 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**fkriða ec fkamarliga.**

*I write disgracefully*

**I.39.C.61 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**þa fer huerium aptur. at |farit | full| er fram** <sup>168</sup>

*Everything comes back that has gone as far as it can go (i.e. what goes up must come down)*

**III.28.C.62 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**feíntt ok illa segi ec fara. af stadnum hann nu feza aza**

*Slowly and badly I say Father Ari gets underway now*

**I.84.C.63 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**martt finna hundar fier i haugum**

*Dogs find much for themselves in (grave) mounds*

**III.34.C.64 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**(tok up are fler ok vatt at mier)**

*Ari took up [...?] and swung it at me* <sup>169</sup>

**I.115.C.65 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**(latur er fa fem lognnsenf flyr)**

*Slow is he who flees the calm*

**I.145.C.65 (bottom of page, scribal)** <sup>170</sup>

**(illt er þeim at olund er alinn)**

*It is difficult for him who lives in foreign lands* <sup>171</sup>

**I.87.C.66 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**god hond er bætandi**

*A good hand is one that improves*

<sup>168</sup> The upright slashes are the scribe's indicator that the words should be switched to read "full farit."

<sup>169</sup> Kålund suggests *sler* may be for *slor*, fish offal.

<sup>170</sup> Kålund notes that this proverb appears in several *Njáls saga* manuscripts, chapter 6.

<sup>171</sup> Kålund gives, "him who is born with an irritable mind"

**III.19.C.67 (bottom of page, scribal)****lítt er bæzt sem ættí. firi mier***For me, little is one entitled to what he has***II.25.C.68 (bottom of page, scribal)****pennenn fliaz***The pen grows dull***I.64.C.69 (bottom of page, scribal)****fier (grefur grauf) þo grafi***He digs himself a pit who digs [one for others] (i.e. one falls in the pit he digs for others)***I.60.C.70 (bottom of page, scribal)****(gott af godu) ma hliota***Good can be gotten from good***\*\*C.71 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**

[single-letter pen trial]

**II.24.C.71 (bottom of page, scribal)****(ozettar ero zeglur minar. zetti þetta lætur finar)***My ruling is not right. Let fine women right it***\*\*C.73 (right, unidentifiable)**

b

l

þ[.]

t

**I.67.C.73 (bottom of page, scribal)****gripuz eíngínn gefu þa sem gudf son vill ei veíta***No one gives the boon, then, that God's son will not offer***II.23.C.74 (bottom of page, scribal)****nu er krape uti en klozad inne***Now is there slush outside and bad writing inside***II.7.C.75 (bottom of page, scribal)****Jllt er bleck mitt***Bad is my ink***II.6.C.76 (bottom of page, scribal)****Jllt er at flkrifa j utnyzdngi***It is awful to write in a northwest wind***IV. Page 182.C.77 (top of page, scribal)***Jesus minn [.....]*



**I.186.C.77 (bottom of page, scribal) <sup>172</sup>****fleſt oʒkar tví mælis þa giortt er***Most things are twofold (i.e. double-edged) once they are done***\*\*C.78 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)****Aldal****I.113.C.78 (bottom of page, scribal <sup>173</sup>)****eckí er lan leingur en lent er. líufan mín***The loan is not longer than the loan period, my dear girl***IV.Page 183.C.80 (top right corner of page, scribal)****ſancta fennenna oʒa pro nobis***Saint Fenenna pray for us***\*\*C.80 (bottom of page, scribal)****ʒ(an)gf verdur frægur af engu.***Wrongly does fame come from nothing***I.1.C.81 (bottom of page, scribal)****mikit ſkal /ti/ al mæliſ hafa . / uín kona***It must be a great matter for a general report, [my] lady friend***I.212.C.82 (bottom of page, scribal)****Jllt er olit enda er þat illa druckit***Bad is the ale, but it is also badly drunk***I.190.C.83 (bottom left of page, scribal, no break between this and next proverb)**<sup>174</sup>**(eckí velldur fa vareʒ.)***The man who warns is not to be blamed***I.169.C.83 (bottom right of page, scribal)****(ei veit hverium ſpareʒ)***One does not know for whom one saves up***I.119.C.84 (bottom of page, scribal)****fleſt er leingur uppi en liſ mannz.***Most things endure longer than the life of man***I.144.C.85 (bottom of page, scribal)****Ill ero (oindif uræ)dínn***Bad are the ways of despair*

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<sup>172</sup> C.f. *Njáls saga* Ch. 44 and 91.<sup>173</sup> However, *liufan mín* is in a different pen and slightly off the line, so it may be non-scribal or added at a later time.<sup>174</sup> C.f. *Njáls saga* Ch. 41, variant, as Kålund points out, but also *Fljótsdæla saga* Ch. 23 and *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* Ch. 23.

**I.69.C.86 (bottom of page, scribal) <sup>175</sup>****betur er at flíka með heidur. en lífa með fl(ómm)***It is better to depart (i.e. die) with honor than to live with shame***\*\*C.87 (top of page, horizontal, non-scribal)**

So hann

[.]zana

[..]z(or e?)d

**\*\*C.89 (top of page, non-scribal)**

[....]g[.] S[.....]

**I.29.C.89 (bottom of page, scribal)****margur eignar hær þat. er hann aa eckı par ı***Many a one claims/acquires that which he does not own a scrap of***I.25.C.90 (bottom left of page, same line as next proverb, scribal)****þar fer eidur fem v[u]nnen er***An oath goes as it is sworn***I.148.C.90 (bottom right of page, scribal)****ftutt rad ok gott. Ætti madur firi hær at giora***A man should make for himself quick and good advice/decisions***I.82.C.95 (bottom of page, scribal)****ueit hundur hvad (jetit hefur)***A dog knows what it has eaten***I.85.C.96 (bottom of page, scribal)****fa bıdur hleandı husa fem maten hefur ı malnum***He asks for shelter laughing who has food for his meal <sup>176</sup>***IV. Page 182.C.98 (top of page, scribal)****Jesus mariu lon fia þu til augna þrælf þınf***Jesus Mary's son, take care of the eyes of your servant***\*\*C.101 (bottom of page, non-scribal)**

[single letter pen trial]

**I.139.C.101 (bottom of page, scribal)****eckı er fu betri mufen (er lædez) en hın er ftockur***The mouse that creeps is no better than the one that leaps***I.191.C.102 (bottom of page, scribal)****(vargur) sæter þeim faud. fem uz kuıum uillız***The wolf sits in wait for those sheep who wander out of the pen***\*\*C.103 (top of page, unidentifiable)**

[erased and trimmed line of text]

<sup>175</sup> Cf. *Bjarnar saga hıtdælakappa* Ch. 4, and *Orkneyinga saga* Ch. 11.

<sup>176</sup> Kålund translates *bag* for *malnum*.

**\*\*C.103 (bottom of page, unidentifiable semi-hybrid)**

**þessi zongu ok gwd gzi n[.] wíð [...]**

*This wrong and God do [...] with [...]*

**I.12.C.103 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**þat kemur at því sem mælt er. þat bitur best sem stælt er**

*It comes to pass as it is said: it [the sword] bites best which is tempered*

**I.63.C.104 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**opt bitur þat gramuz. sem gæfkz spazer**

*Often anger eats what kindness spares* <sup>177</sup>

**\*\*C.107 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**

Jon

**I.200.C.107 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**brúgdiz hefur betri vón. þó mezar fonenn zynne**

*Better hopes have been disappointed, though the son of a mare may run*

**I.47.C.108 (bottom of page, scribal)** <sup>178</sup>

**fialldan er fluga j feígf mat. nema daud dalppe.**

*Seldom is there a fly in a doomed man's food unless it is thrown in there dead*

**IV.Page 182.C.108 (top of page, scribal)**

**(Jesus fía þu augu mín)**

*Jesus see my eyes*

**I.163.C.109 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**fa er fkatturen bestur. með fkílum er feíng[inn]**

*That treasure is best [which] is gotten with discernment* <sup>179</sup>

**I.118.C.110 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**([þat e]r best at gefa upp) hvern leik at best geíng**

*It is best to give up every game at its best going*

**I.18.C.111 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**fatt er (betra brotíð enn heilt)**

*Few things are better broken than whole*

**I.109.C.112 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**fuelltur sitíande kraka**

*A sitting crow dies/goes hungry*

**I.168.C.113 (bottom of page, scribal)** <sup>180</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Kålund says that *gæskr* is a hapax legomenon.

<sup>178</sup> C.f., possibly, *Njáls saga* Ch. 42 and 44: “eigi annari flugu láta koma í munn þér”—don't let another fly come into your mouth?

<sup>179</sup> Kålund gives, “That tax is best which is just paid.”

<sup>180</sup> C.f. *Vápnfirðinga saga* Ch. 17; Saxo Grammaticus Liber quintus 129-30 VII, and *Hávamál* 58.

**fialldan hlytur fofande madur figuz. ne hukande happ**  
*Seldom does a sleeping man get victory, nor a squatting man luck*

**I.179.C.114 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fialldan fitur fuínuz madur i dyzum**  
*Seldom does a wise man sit in the doorway*

**I.19.C.115 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fuelltur faud lauft bu**  
*The sheepless farm dies*

**I.27.C.116 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**efnum er best at \bua/  
er atti .c. kua**  
*It is best to prosper, [said the man] who had a hundred cows*<sup>181</sup>

**\*\*C.119 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**  
p

**I.197b.C.121 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**utur madur [.....]**  
*A wise man...*

**\*\*C.123 (top left, unidentifiable)**  
IVI(or W?).x. hjá 1765

**\*\*C.129 (bottom of page, semi-hybrida style)**  
Sigzyduz Jonsdottez [.....]

**\*\*C.134 (top left of page, unidentifiable)**  
[a line of text and several words, illegible]

**\*\*C.138 (bottom left of page, unidentifiable)**  
[illegible line of text]

**\*\*C.138 (bottom right of page, possibly original titler)**  
**finis est vezo**  
**Rima dinus ez flkzifud**  
*Truly this is the end; the ríma of Dinus is written*

**\*\*C.138 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**  
bagz[....]f  
zo[..]z d[...]  
Le[..]ing [....]

**\*\*D.1 (middle of page, non-scribal)**  
Ragnarson

**I.157.D.1 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**betra er feint (en alldri)**  
*Better late than never*

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<sup>181</sup> Kálund adds “said a man” based on analogous proverbs.

**I.49.D.2 (bottom of page, scribal)****(faer verda freft verkum) fegner. kæri mín***Few become happy by delaying work, my dear man***I.43.D.3 (bottom of page, scribal)****bragd er at \*efur hialfur finur. fallda þoll***It is important if one notices it oneself, Fallda þoll*<sup>182</sup>**I.182.D.4 (bottom of page, scribal)****(fatt er þat at full treyfta) ma. fallda na***Few things may be fully trusted, Fallda na*<sup>183</sup>**IV. Page 183.D.5 (top right corner of page, scribal)****leodegarius sanctus ora pro nobis***Saint Leodegar pray for us***I.72.D.5 (bottom of page, scribal)****fatt er (verra) en vara heímlkan***Few things are worse than to warn a fool***I.73.D.6 (bottom of page, scribal)****feíntt er heímlkan at fnotra.***It takes a long time to make a fool wise***I.74.D.7 (bottom of page, scribal)****(Jílt er heímlkum) líd at venta***It is difficult to offer help to a fool***IV. Page 182.D.8 (top of page, scribal)****Jesus firi gef þu þínm lynduga ok auma þræl //***Jesus forgive your sinful and wretched servant***I.37.D.8 (bottom of page, scribal)****(fatt er betra) en fara uel***Few things are better than to get on well (i.e. be lucky)***IV. Page 184.D.9 (top of page, scribal)***Jesus (nazareus)***I.134.D.9 (bottom left of page, same line as next proverb, scribal)****martt kemur til malugf mannz***Much [news] comes to a talkative man***I.46.D.9 (bottom right of page, scribal)****(flytur medan at) eckı sockur***A thing floats while it doesn't sink*

<sup>182</sup> Kålund suggests the scribe intended *ef* for *efur* and that *fallda þol* is an address to a woman.

<sup>183</sup> Kålund suggests *fallda na* is another address to a woman.

**I.199.D.10 (bottom of page, scribal)****(Vantt er ur vífu von at kaupa)***It is difficult to buy hope out of certainty***\*\*D.11 (bottom of page, scribal but square and textualis in style)**

maría mater gracie

*Mother Mary, graces***III.11.D.11 (bottom right corner of page, scribal)****glamar firi augu mín. en og er myrkur memia lín***Deception [is] before my eyes, but the dark is also the lady of memories***I.11.D.12 (bottom of page, scribal)****(langt þíker þeim fem bíður buen.)***It seems long to those who wait [for things to be] ready***I.59.D.13 (bottom of page, scribal) <sup>184</sup>****martt er líkt. með þ(eim fem goder þícz. líft gott)***There is much in common among those who think themselves good, Good Life <sup>185</sup>***\*\*D.14 (left, horizontal, unidentifiable)**

[several words, illegible]

**\*\*D.14 (bottom of page, non-scribal)**

[...] H

**I.135.D.14 (bottom of page, scribal)****þa ma marka (anar þarf enn anar ma. audar na)***One may mark need, yet another may get riches <sup>186</sup>***I.151.D.15 (bottom left of page, same line as next proverb, scribal)****eckí fakar ef eckí fíer áá***No guilt/harm if it isn't seen/doesn't show (May be interpreted either as "no harm, no foul" or as "what they don't know can't hurt you")***II.21.D.15 (bottom right of page, scribal)****(míer lízt samt skrifit þitt... / thoma)***To me your writing goes along the same [...], Tómas***IV. Page 183.D.16 (top right corner of page, scribal)**

leodegarius fenenna

*[Saint L. and Saint F.]***I.170.D.16 (bottom of page, scribal)****(víð rangan staf ma ftydiazt ei víð) óngvan. ívo fer um kloz mitt**<sup>184</sup> C.f. Grettir Ch. 43, as Kålund points out.<sup>185</sup> Harris gives "They are too proud for their own good" as a translation of the whole. Kålund says *líft gott* is another address to a woman.<sup>186</sup> Kålund gives "It may be noted when one gets in, the other can" and interprets *audar na* as an address to a woman.

*One may lean on a crooked stave, but not on nothing. So it goes with my writing*

IV.Page 183.D.17 (top of page, scribal)  
leodegarius fenenna

\*\*D.17 (top left corner, unidentifiable)  
[a word or two, illegible]

**I.120.D.17 (bottom left of page, smaller than next proverb, scribal)**  
**allt lifer \*fat fem (matenn etur) ok verdur eckı af fottum fiukt**  
*All things live which eat food and do not become sick from soot*<sup>187</sup>

**IV.Page 183.D.17 (bottom right of page, scribal but in textualis style)**  
**gud minn komı \til/ mín**  
*My God come to me*

**I.42.D.18 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**þat finnur huer fem um er hūgad**<sup>188</sup>  
*Each finds what is sought*

**I.105.D.19 (bottom left of page, scribal)**  
**hia ferft klokur ok oklokur**  
*Side-by-side go the clever and the unclever*<sup>189</sup>

**IV.Page 184.D.19 (bottom right of page, scribal but very informal script)**  
**Jnn te domine speravı**  
*In you, Lord, I hoped*

\*\*D.20 (top left corner, unidentifiable)  
[illegible word]

**I.138.D.20 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**martt vill meıza**  
*Much wants more*

**I.149.D.21 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**margz zæz fiazzı en kemur næzzı nıdur**  
*Many a man rows far off but stops short [of his goal]*

**I.167.D.22 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fkyst þo \at/ fkyr fe**  
*One may go astray even though he be wise*

**I.91.D.24 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**Jllt feger af illum**  
*Wickedness speaks from wickedness*

<sup>187</sup> Translation as per Kålund. Surely *fat* was a slip of the pen for *þat*.

<sup>188</sup> This proverb is also found in Rask 72a, fol. 43r.

<sup>189</sup> However, Kålund gives, “The wise and the unwise don’t go together.”

**I.159.D.25 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**fa þicker hæfur hia æzligum monnum er sig líðar vel**

*He seems fitting among honorable men who improves/behaves himself well*

**I.61.D.26 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**gott gíorer alldri manninum íkæða**

*Good never does harm to a man*

**I.114.D.29 (bottom left of page, on same line as next two proverbs, scribal)**

**lat gæðit þýðer mannen**

*Fine manners adorn the man*

**I.65.D.29 (bottom middle of page, scribal)**

**gud er oll(um) æðri**

*God is higher than all*

**III.21.D.29 (bottom right of page, scribal)**

**míc vantar vītīt**

*I am lacking in wits*

**I.79.D.30 (bottom left of page, no space between this and next proverb, scribal)**

**eckí er allt áá einn hlaðit**

*Everything is not one-sided*

**I.55.D.30 (bottom right of page, scribal, continues previous sentence)**

**gott þicir gomlum baðit**

*...to old men the bath seems good*

**I.125.D.31 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**(eingi lytur þar leingi) niður hann tekur eckí upp**

*No one bows down long without taking something up*

**I.150.D.32 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**bera verður til (hverar fögu) nocut. goði vín**

*Something comes of every story, good friend*

**II.17.D.34 (bottom right corner of page, scribal)**

**lítt tempraz blekit firi þier ga[m]lí mínna tomas**

*The ink mixes little for you, my old Thomas*

**II.1.D.36 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**augun gíoraz all veik. eigi íkípaz íkrif mitt**

*The eyes become entirely weak; my writing does not come together*

**\*\*D.37 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**

þ H

**I.70.D.38 (bottom of page, scribal)**



**\*litt batnar kvad hinn. er þa heill** <sup>190</sup>

*"There's little improvement," said one, who was [already] healthy*

\*\*D.40 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)  
[line of cursive text, illegible]

**IV. Page 183.D.41 (top of page, scribal)  
(sancta fenenna oza pro nobis)**

\*\*D.41 (bottom of page, non-scribal)  
[pen trials of illegible letters]

**I.31.D.41 (bottom left of page, no space between this and the next proverb, scribal)**  
<sup>191</sup>

**einf dæmin eru uerft**

*Single examples are the worst*

**I.192.D.41 (bottom right of page, scribal, continues previous sentence)**

**ollum þiciz uíf beft**

*...everyone thinks his wife is the best*

**I.57.D.42 (bottom left of page, no space between this and the next proverb, scribal)**  
<sup>192</sup>

**opt kemur gíof til gíallda**

*Often a gift comes to repayment (i.e. must be repaid)*

**I.33.D.42 (bottom right of page, scribal, continues previous sentence)**

**gott er þeim fem eckı þa.**

*...it is good for those who received nothing*

**I.142.D.43 (bottom of page, scribal, Kålund indicates that this proverb comes before the succeeding one)**

**(leingı skal nytum kenna)**

*It takes a long time for useful things to be taught*

**I.89.D.43 (bottom of page, scribal)** <sup>193</sup>

**(İllt skal ıllum bıoda)**

*Evil shall invite evil*

IV. Page 184.D.43 (top of page, scribal)  
*Jesus nazoreus (rex judeorum)*  
*Jesus of Nazareth king of the Jews*

**I.152.D.44 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**þat er fatt fem (İalfum femur)**

*That is true which is agreeable to oneself*

<sup>190</sup> By dittography, the scribe has written three t's in *litt*.

<sup>191</sup> C.f. *Grettis saga* Ch. 16.

<sup>192</sup> C.f. *Gisla saga* Ch. 15.

<sup>193</sup> Kålund points out that this proverb is found also in *Ambalis saga*.

**I.161.D.45 (bottom of page, scribal)****eigi hieck ute hinn er fat aa***He did not hang outside who sat up* <sup>194</sup>**I.28.D.46 (bottom of page, scribal)****(aller eiga nocut kvad al konan)***“Everybody has something,” said the common woman* <sup>195</sup>**I.17.D.47 (bottom of page, scribal)****fatt er bædi bradgíezt ok lang gætt***Few things are both hastily made and long kept***\*\*D.48 (top of page, unidentifiable)**

Jon

**I.173.D.48 (bottom of page, scribal)****þat furnar giarnnan fem fott kemur saman***That sours easily which comes together sweet***I.41.D.49 (bottom of page, scribal)****tylfvar finnum uerdur fa fegin. fem recur j grunn***He is twice happy who drifts aground***I.90.D.50 (bottom of page, scribal)** <sup>196</sup>**Jllt er illum at vera. opt er honum illt ætlad***Wicked it is to deal with a wicked man: often one is thought wicked [by association]***\*\*D.51 (top of page, later cursive style)***Jesus [...]***I.3.D.51 (bottom of page, scribal)****argur er fa at ðngu verndar***Wretched is he who excuses everything***I.66.D.52 (bottom of page, scribal)****betri er g(aupner gæfu.) en byrdur mannvítz godi minn***Better is a double handful of luck than a burden of sense, my good man***I.171.D.53 (bottom of page, scribal)****þat er illt kvad þioffi at stela ecki***“It is wicked,” said the thief, “not to steal”***I.162.D.54 (bottom of page, scribal)****fvikul er fíofar (gíof)***Treacherous is the gift of the sea*

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<sup>194</sup> Kålund suggests, “Do not hang him out sitting up.”<sup>195</sup> Kålund suggests *álfkonan*—elf woman—for *al konan*.<sup>196</sup> C.f. *Grettis saga* Ch. 56.

**I.48.D.55 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**freggnaz forn mæli oll**  
*All the old saws are asked [their] advice*

**I.211.D.56 (bottom of page, scribal) <sup>197</sup>**  
**lítill er verdur ofundf lauf madur**  
*Little is the honor of an offenseless man*

**I.129.D.57 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**þat ma epter manninum hafa sem hann talar**  
*What a man speaks may be repeated after him*

**I.133.D.58 (bottom of page, probably scribal)**  
**fatt er malum fleira**  
*Little is more in speech (i.e. people exaggerate) <sup>198</sup>*

**I.44.D.59 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**þat ma allt finnaz sem ecki er falit**  
*Everything may be found which is not hidden*

**\*\*D.60 (bottom of page, non-scribal)**  
*ongum er ak[...]*

**I.93.D.60 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**kann illt at uera ok kann áá at gæða**  
*It can be bad and it can get better*

**I.175.D.61 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fvangur er madur áá hveríu none**  
*A man is hungry every noon*

**I.208.D.62 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**betri er einn med yndi enn tveiz med trega**  
*Better is one with joy than two with grief*

**I.183.D.65 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**troll uifa hzoffom at haga**  
*Trolls show horses how to manage*

**IV.Page 183.D.66 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(gud komi til fvo er vantt at dugi)**  
*God come where there is a want of strength*

**I.172.D.67 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**aller eru jafnn sterker aa füellinnu**

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<sup>197</sup> C.f. Saxo Grammaticus Liber quinatus 117 III? Saxo says, “Pauci tacentis egestatem aestimant aut silentis necessitudinem metiuntur” translating as “Few value or calculate the needs of a man who keeps quiet”. However, Kålund gives, “Insignificant is the one whom no enmity threatens.”

<sup>198</sup> Kålund suggests, “Few things are greater than legal actions.”

*All are equally strong on the ice*

**I.104.D.68 (bottom of page, scribal) <sup>199</sup>**

**þangad er klazen fufaztur. fem hann er kvaldaztur**

*The cart-horse is most eager to get there when he is coldest*

**I.34.D.71 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**þat er margt í bure jetande: eckí er aa bord berande**

*There is much to eat in the pantry: it is not borne to the table <sup>200</sup>*

**I.193.D.72 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**vex vilie ef vel geingur**

*Will/willingness grows if it goes well*

**\*\*E.1 (top of page, 19th century hand)**

**1. rimur V(ilmun)dar upphafið [...] 146**

*The beginning of the first rime of Vilmundr (...)*

**\*\*E.1 (bottom of page, non-scribal monogram)**

GLE

**I.76.E.1 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**þpakt fkyllde godum Hefu zida**

*A ride on a good horse should be soft*

**I.78.E.2 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**(.....heidfkirum) himne**

*In clear sky <sup>201</sup>*

**I.187.E.3 (bottom of page, scribal) <sup>202</sup>**

**ulfar zeka anarf erindi**

*Wolves do another's job <sup>203</sup>*

**I.155.E.4 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**Half feinn er madur þo at um sinn fe**

*Half late is the man though he be on time/though it be only once <sup>204</sup>*

**I.21.E.5 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**Illt er at koma tueimur digzum j einn feckenn**

*It is wicked/difficult to bring two men into one guilt/bag <sup>205</sup>*

**I.58.E.6 (bottom of page, scribal)**

<sup>199</sup> C.f. *Örvar-Odds saga* Ch. 23.

<sup>200</sup> Kålund gives “cannot be” for my “is not.”

<sup>201</sup> Kålund suggests, “Opt er skúrar von úr heiðskírum himni”—often it rains out of a clear sky.

<sup>202</sup> C.f. *Laxdæla saga* Ch. 23.

<sup>203</sup> *Laxdæla* gives “úlfar eta annars ørendi” which is translated “when one wolf hunts for another he may eat the prey”; Harris’s note gives *reka* as a variant for *eta*. Kålund gives, “People do others’ errands like wolves—i.e. with selfish recklessness.”

<sup>204</sup> The latter translation is per Kålund.

<sup>205</sup> The latter translation is per Kålund.

**fa fkyllde gran var. fem godur þiciz**  
*He should be wary of evil who thinks himself good*

**I.184.E.7 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(hvert) trollit tzyller annad**  
*Every troll turns others into trolls*

**I.71.E.9 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**Jllt er at leita heilla j hundz zazen**  
*It is bad to seek one's fortune in a dog's backside*

**\*\*E.10 (top of page, unidentifiable but roughly contemporary with scribe)**  
**dzottin minn kom**  
*My Lord come*

**I.103.E.10 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fvidur fætur klade \kvad/ kerllinn**  
*"The sweet itch stings," said the old hag*<sup>206</sup>

**I.143.E.11 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**Jllt er at hlacka yfer anarf oforum**  
*It is evil to rejoice over another's misfortunes*

**I.176.E.12 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(hver hann blifur varliga.) fa ma fuara diarfliga**  
*He who remains cautious may answer boldly*

**I.53.E.13 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fa[ir] eru fõdur betrinngaz**  
*Few are improvements over their fathers*

**\*\*E.14 (bottom of page, non-scribal)**  
 BW heille

**IV.Page 183.F.1 (top of page, scribal)**  
**maria min nu þazf ec þin**  
*Mary mine now I need you*

**IV.Page 182.F.2 (unlocatable in facsimile)**  
**Jesus minn fia þu til med [mer]**  
*Jesus Jesus take care of me*

**II.11.F.3 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**leidínlegt er letuzit mitt. ok lodín gíorezt**  
**minn penne. honden mín fer heímlíga stízt**  
**hvarma tok þeff kenne.**  
*My writing is dull, and my pen becomes shaggy. My hand moves foolishly stiff. The winking eyelid recognizes this*

<sup>206</sup> Kálund gives, "After the sweet itch comes the sour pain."

**III.12.F.6 (unlocatable in facsimile)****gud veit hvad mæ er at betur fer.***God knows what goes better for me***III.3.F.6 (bottom left of page, scribal)****Angur ber dyz dreingur datt firi þic mengatt.***The worthy man bears grief; it fell to you mixed***III.39.F.6 (bottom right of page, one line lower than previous proverb, scribal)****þat ez fo***That is so***III.5.F.7 (bottom of page, scribal)****(best er at bera ) hiartha þo brennande tregi) fpenne***It is best to bear [pain] in the heart though burning difficulty grasp it***IV.Page 183.F.7 (top of page, scribal)****(anna) fialf en (þridia)***The very [Saint] Ann the third***\*\*F.8 (top right corner, scribal)**

[possibly a running title, but looks like an invocation, illegible]

**IV.Page 183.F.9 (top of page, scribal)****hialp mæ (maria miuk ok fæt)***Help me Mary gentle and sweet***III.13.F.9 (bottom of page, scribal)****J fíofenu er svo fa mannlígt. firi frída audar lunda. firi hann klunna er þar****kóftulígt. þvi hann kann ei betra at (ftunda)***In the cow byre is so little manliness to pacify Auðr's temper, to cling there is costly for him, for he knows how to strive no better***IV.Page 183.F.10 (top of page, scribal)****(heidrum crist[1] hreinne list ok hanf enu dyr[a] mod[ur], fríd ok blezan varf herra)****Jesu Christi ok aznadar [ord] jungfru (lancte marie)***Let us honor pure Christ's craft and that of his dear mother, peace and blessing of our lord Jesus Christ and intercession of the holy virgin Mary***\*\*F.10 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**

minn

**II.15.F.10 (bottom of page, scribal)****hotur er penne ok loden at fiá. ok lígguz morg hær kleffan gra[.] mætara vęri til meflu at ga.****en margan fella kukenn upp áá<sup>207</sup>**

<sup>207</sup> Two characters erased between the square brackets.

*Ugly is the pen and shaggy to see, and many a gray clot of ink lies here. It would be more fitting to go to Mass than to drop more ink-crap on this*

**III.2.F.11 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**(alldri far þu betur hvorki sumar [ne vetur?])**

*You never go better either in summer or winter*

\*\*F.12 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

[possibly an erased line of text?]

**IV.Page 183.F.13 (top of page, scribal)**

**(sanctus leodegarius bid firi mier til gudf at mier vel gange bæde firi hf ok fal)**

*Saint Leodegar pray for me to God that it may go well with me both for life and soul*

**I.54.F.14 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**leíngi er gamall madur barnn. ok fvo er e[...]**

*Long is an old man a child. And so is [...]*

**I.73.F.15 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**feíntt er heimfkan at fnotra.**

*The foolish man is slow to become wise*

\*\*F.17 (top of page, non-scribal)

[illegible monogram]

**II.8.F.17 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**klaftott fer penne mín.**

**nu um finn.**

*Claw-footed is my pen now for once*

**III.38.F.18 (bottom right corner of page, scribal)**

**þanenn geingr**

*Thence it goes*

\*\*F.19 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

Sa [...]

**I.10.F.19 (bottom left, with a space between this and the next note, scribal)**

**braud er barnf leika**

*Bread is a child's toy*

**I.9.F.19 (bottom right, scribal)**

**lítill er barnf (hugunn)**

*Small is a child's mind (i.e., presumably, children are easily consoled)*

**I.127.F.21 (bottom of page, scribal but textualis style)**

**lítill læziz leidum ftzak**

*Little is learned by a lazy boy*

**IV.Page 183.F.24 (top of page, scribal)**

**fancte leodegariuf komi nu til med gude**

*Saint Leodegar come now with God*

**IV. Page 183.F.25 (bottom left, no space between this and next note, scribal but larger than main text)**

**gud kome til mín.**

*God come to me*

**III.24.F.25 (bottom right, scribal)**

**nu ez myzkur komit mengrund**

*Now has men's plain become dark*

**\*\*F.26 (top of page, large unschooled pen trials)**

mynime [.] likw

**\*\*F.26 (bottom of page, same hand as top)**

[illegible individual letters]

**\*\*F.27 (right, same hand as F.26)**

[illegible trials]

**\*\*F.27 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**

[illegible signature]

**\*\*F.30 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**

(Hr)ng<sup>208</sup>

**IV. Page 183.F.31 (top of page, scribal)**

**mín mazia moder gudf fe med mīer ok þīer**

*May Mary mine, mother of God, be with me and with you*

**IV. Page 183.F.31 (unlocatable in facsimile)<sup>209</sup>**

**fia til signud maria lomaprúdd aa dome.**

*Take care, blessed Mary honored in judgment*

**IV. Page 183.F.32 (bottom of page, scribal)**

**(kome nu kriftur kæzliga til)**

*Come now Christ, lovingly*

**III.29.F.36 (bottom left, directly below last line of main text, scribal)**

**fo þíki mīer<sup>210</sup>**

*So it seems to me*

**III.22.F.36 (bottom right, separated from previous note, scribal)**

**myzkur zædur firi mazgan mætare þegn**

*Dark masters many a worthier man*

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<sup>208</sup> Hring is the eponymic character in the first ríma of section D.

<sup>209</sup> Kálund does not number this proverb separately in his edition, nor does he indicate where it occurs in the manuscript.

<sup>210</sup> This comment follows the last lines of poem in section F and may be intended as the scribe's expression of agreement with those "allir" who "þikir þat so": Hægazt hlofðenn helldur faðt. hennmfliga fæ eg af [k]ervm [utti?] laðt. oðdenn mín ero mill áá baðt. ollum þikir þ[at] fo. //



**\*\*G.3 (top of page, scribal)**  
 ma21a

**IV. Page 184.G.3 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**aeue maria g2acia (plena dominus tecum)**  
*Hail Mary full of grace, the Lord is with thee*

**\*\*G.4 (bottom of page, poor pen, unidentifiable)**  
**þak þu ok**  
**hjelan**  
*Thank you and be well*

**\*\*G.6 (bottom of page, possibly the same hand as G.4)**  
 [illegible word]

**\*\*G.7 (top of page, scribal)**  
 maria

**IV. Page 183.G.7 (bottom of page, scribal but textualis style)**  
**míldur er guð ok mífkunn [fámur]**  
*Gentle is God and merciful*

**III.7.G.12 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**Eínu sinne ec unga leit. aflaði mæir þat þínu. þran ec fíri /þic\ brúduzen teít. beint j**  
**hiarta mínu.**  
*Once I saw a girl; it tortured me. I burned for you, merry bride, right in my heart*

**II.9.G.16 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**kukar mínar eru komnar**  
*My ink-crap shows up [here]*

**I.50.G.17 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fullega skilz frett karll uid ondína / ok fer mæir so ok líka þeim sem skrifat hefur**  
**21mur**  
**nar fyr en ec / þviat þær eru uti. ok vantar áá nídurlægt**  
*Fouly does a contemptible fellow part with his soul, and so it goes with me—and also with him who has written the poems before me, because they are finished and the end is missing.*<sup>211</sup>

**\*\*G.19 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**  
 [illegible line of text]

**III.36.G.27 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**uti þat er hon unne mér**  
*She no longer loves me*

**\*\*G.29 (top of page, scribal but textualis in style)**  
 maria

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<sup>211</sup> Kålund gives, “A miserable fellow simps through life” for my “fouly does a contemptible fellow part with his soul.”

**II.13.G.29 (bottom of page, scribal)****líotliga fer nu loden íkript. lófen þo en vez***The shaggy script goes now in an ugly fashion. Praise, however, [goes] worse***\*\*G.30 (top of page, scribal but textualis in style)**

mazia

**\*\*G.31 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**

[.] J S

**\*\*G.33 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)**

ungf

**\*\*G.35 (bottom of page, non-scribal hybrida style)****gud fadur ok son ok helge ande***God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit***III.16.G.35 (bottom of page, scribal)****Jlla fer nu yndi***Joy now goes badly***III.10.G.39 [Kålund gives G.38, incorrectly] (bottom of page, scribal)****frecklga tecur at fiuka áá íkía. falla myklar kleffur aa.***It begins to snow immoderately on what is clean: many clots fall upon it (i.e. the vellum)***II.29.G.48 (bottom of page, scribal)****zímur íkrifit zenar [mier?]***The rhyme's writing diminishes for me* <sup>212</sup>**II.10.H.7 (bottom of page, scribal)****(leidinnliga er íkrifat lífit gott)***The good life is boring to write* <sup>213</sup>**I.38.H.8 (bottom of page, scribal)****(þa er vel ef vel fer)***It is good if things go well***III.31.H.11 (bottom of page, scribal)****(ftridnar strak í augum)***This harms the boy's eyes***I.130.H.16 (bottom of page, scribal)****([...an?] er mannfenf herra en madur [bræðinn?]ar þræll)***[...] is the lord of man but man [is] the slave of passion*

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<sup>212</sup> This occurs at the end of the poem; Kålund emends *rimur* to *rimna*.

<sup>213</sup> Based on the fact that Kålund puts this note in his section on scribal complaints and not proverbs, he presumably reads *lífit gott* as yet another address to a woman (making the rest of the line read simply, "It is boring to write"), but there is no punctuation to make this a necessary reading.

**I.153.H.17 (bottom of page, scribal)****audfin er laur anarf neff en eckı [a] fıalff fınf***Dirt is obvious on another's nose but not on one's own***I.180.H.18 (bottom of page, scribal)****eigi þarf til at taka nema þurfe***It is not necessary to take unless one needs*<sup>214</sup>**I.210.H.21 (bottom of page, scribal)****Engin veit finna æfi fız en oll er***No one knows his years before they are all [completed]***I.20.H.22 (bottom left, with large space between this and the next proverb, scribal)****byfna fkal til batnnadar***Things must run to an extreme before they get better*<sup>215</sup>**I.164.H.22 (bottom right, scribal)****fkipızt ei nema vefnne.***Things never change except to worsen*<sup>216</sup>**III.30.H.23 (bottom of page, scribal)****fo þıcı mıer sem þıer***It seems to me as it does to you***I.116.H.27 (bottom of page, scribal)****latur bıdur latan. en latur nennez huergı at fara.***A lazy man waits for a lazy man, but neither lazy man bothers to go***I.188.H.28 (bottom of page, scribal)****brıgd ero ut lendfkra ozd***Fickle are a foreigner's words***I.204.H.31 (bottom of page, scribal)****þa er þreytt at þreyfvar er. (en þyda)***Good things come in threes, Love*<sup>217</sup>**I.110.H.32 (bottom of page, scribal)****(þecker kufe) kopp fınn***The cow knows its bucket*<sup>218</sup>**I.137.H.33 (bottom of page, scribal)****(m[ıc]ıll koppur fkal m)at dzygia***A big cup shall eke out food*

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<sup>214</sup> Or, following Kålund, "One doesn't stick at taking when one needs something"?

<sup>215</sup> This translation is direct from the Zoëga dictionary, which uses this proverb in its definition of *býsna*.

<sup>216</sup> Kålund gives, "Improvement only comes after deterioration."

<sup>217</sup> Kålund interprets *en þyda* as another apostrophe to a woman.

<sup>218</sup> Translation as per Kålund.

**I.108.H.34 (bottom of page, scribal)****(kofter litler er huff vera enn leidur verdur alldri fylltur)***It costs little to be loved, but being hated never becomes full (i.e. it costs a great deal)***II.26.H.36 (bottom of page, scribal)****Pennenn flíoz en pikan þraung***The pen becomes blunt but the girl [becomes] narrow***IV. Page 182.H.37***Jesus mæzenf (fon) (top of page, scribal)**Jesus son of a virgin***I.178.H.38 (bottom of page, scribal)****opt er fvin áá lodenu brentt***Often is the pig burnt on his broth***I.15.H.39 (bottom of page, scribal) <sup>219</sup>****bot liggur til huerff hlutar***There is a remedy for everything***I.117.H.40 (bottom of page, scribal)****leingi kvedur latur maður sig til fiar. ok fo fer muer***Long does a lazy man call on himself for money, and so it goes with me***I.26.H.41 (bottom of page, scribal)****(efnni áá ofmid fa)***Matter takes little unbuilding <sup>220</sup>***I.198.H.42 (bottom of page, scribal)****(martt er kvikf vodi)***Great is the danger of being alive***\*\*H.44 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)***Magnus***I.88.H.45 (unlocatable in facsimile) <sup>221</sup>****ftutta ftund verdur hond hoggí feigenn***The hand happy at the blow [only] for a short time***I.154.H.46 (bottom of page, scribal)****(feintt feigiz þeim fem) alldri (feigiz)***Slow are they to speak who never say anything***I.160.H.47 (bottom of page, scribal)****(fidernez fæma mannin)***The customs honor the man*

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<sup>219</sup> C.f. *Bjarnar saga hítðælakappa* Ch. 10, though worded differently.

<sup>220</sup> Kålund suggests, "This matter goes with poor workmanship," another scribal complaint.

<sup>221</sup> C.f. *Njáls saga* Ch. 42, 99, 134 (as Kålund points out) and also Saxo Grammaticus Liber quintus 116

III. Kålund places this note on H.43, but it occurs on H.45.

**I.123.H.48 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(margur fær lof) firi litit. En laft firi ecki**  
*Many get praise for little but blame for nothing*

**I.112.H.49 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**fo er lag fem á legzt**  
*It is due as it has been laid out (i.e. reward goes according to deserts)* <sup>222</sup>

**I.36.H.50 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(þat fær) hver fem fer áá leít** <sup>223</sup>  
*Each gets what he seeks*

**I.8.H.53 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(at þiker barninnu) þa þat gætur**  
*The child is displeased, then it cries*

**I.203.H.54 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**boden þionuzta verdur opt forfmad**  
*Ready service is often dispised*

**I.189.H.55 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(vanen gefur liftena)**  
*Practice makes perfect [lit. "practice makes skill"]*

**I.196.H.56 (bottom left, small space between this and next proverb, scribal)**  
**(longum hlæz litit vit.)**  
*Little wit laughs long*

**I.40.H.56 (bottom right, scribal)** <sup>224</sup>  
**fe er foltri likt**  
*The livestock is like the one who raises it*

**I.80.H.57 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**hof er \áá/ ollu nema (hvílu koflum einum)**  
*Moderation is in everything, except only in kisses in bed*

**I.4.H.58 (bottom of page, scribal)**  
**(eingin er fo azgur hann eigi fier ei ftallb2odur)**  
*No one is so low that he does not have a fellow*

**I.96.H.59 (bottom left, with space and slightly different orientation between this and next proverb, scribal)**  
**ja ok neí giozer langa (þrætnni)**  
*Yes and no make a long quarrel*

---

<sup>222</sup> Kålund seems to give, "The value is in the set," though this may be a bad translation of his Danish "Værdien er som den fastsættes."

<sup>223</sup> This proverb is also found in Rask 72a fol. 43r (see similar proverb above, D.18)

<sup>224</sup> C.f. *Víga-Glúms saga* Ch. 13, which has, "Fé sé dróttni glíkt."

**I.97.H.59 (bottom right, scribal)****ja er meylar nei (aftenn minn)***Yes is the no of a woman, my beloved man***I.77.H.60 (bottom of page, scribal)****(þat heyrer annar ecki heyrer) annar***What one hears another does not***I.2.H.61 (bottom of page, scribal)****fleira er þ azf at taca enn audæfi ein***There is more to inherit than riches alone***\*\*H.62 (top of page, possibly a rubric or copying practice, unidentified)**

[first line plus three words of the main text poem copied in upper margin]

**\*\*H.62 (bottom of page, unidentifiable cursive secretary style)**

hja[.]l[.]a [illegible trials]

H[...].smundr [..]d[.....] h[...].nn +

**I.197.H.62 (bottom of page, scribal)****lattu mín vite þer at varnadi verda***Let my woe be a warning to you***I.126.H.63 (bottom of page, scribal)****fia þu mín (lyti enn alldri þin)***See my fault yet never your own***III.35.H.63 (unlocatable in facsimile)****uti er yndif stunden***The time of joy is over***I.56.H.65 (bottom of page, scribal)****(martt er til gamanf giortt)***Much is done for [the sake of] fun***\*\*H.66 (within main text area, various hands)**

[illegible pen trials, letters, and signatures]

**I.121.H.66 (extreme bottom of page, scribal) <sup>225</sup>****leingi (ma litit geyma)***A little may last long***I.122.H.66 (unlocatable in facsimile)****leingi ma litit \*janfaz***Long may a little be divided <sup>226</sup>*

<sup>225</sup> As *leingi* is the only word visible, it could be the beginning of either of the proverbs Kålund gives for this page. However, Kålund says that this proverb is placed immediately before the next one, to explain it.

<sup>226</sup> The scribe likely intended *jafnaz* for *janfaz*.

## Appendix Four

### Rímur Context for AM 604 4to Marginalia

Section and page number are listed according to contents. See *Early Icelandic Rímur* facsimile for print editions of the rímur.

#### AM 604 a 4to

(1-18) Filipórímur
(18-39) Áns rímur bogsveigis
(39-54) Hemingsrímur
(54-74) Konráðsrímur
(75-80) Herburtsrímur
(80-82) Reinaldsrímur (gömlu)

#### AM 604 b 4to

(1-6) Reinaldsrímur
(6-31) Andrarímur (fornu)
(31-32) Landrésrímur

#### AM 604 c 4to

(1-19) Landrésrímur
(19-40) Hjalmpérsrímur
(40-50) Friðþjófsrímur
(50-60) Rímur af Haraldi Hringsbana
(60-64) Gríms rímur og Hálmars
(64-106) Hálfðanar rímur Brönufóstra
(107-122) Blávus rímur og Viktors
(123-133) Bæringsrímur (gömlu)
(133-138) Dínusrímur

#### AM 604 d 4to

(1-28) Hrings rímur og Tryggva
(29-54) Sigurðar rímur þögla
(55-61) Ormars rímur (gömlu)
(61-72) Þjófarímur—Rímur af Ill, Verra og Verst

#### AM 604 e 4to

(1-22) Rímur af Vilmundi viðutan
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#### AM 604 f 4to

(1-18) Jarlmannsrímur
(19-36) Skáldhelgarímur

#### AM 604 g 4to

(1-17) Þrændlur—Færeyinga rímur
(18-26) Rímur af Sörla sterka
(27-30) Þrymlur—Óðins rímur
(30-36) Lokrur

(36-48) Völsungsrímur
-----------------------

**AM 604 h 4to**

(1-26) Ektorsrímur
--------------------

(26-35) Úlfhamsrímur—Vargstökkur
----------------------------------

(35-44) Dámustarímur—Rímur af Dámusta
---------------------------------------

(44-53) Klerkarímur
---------------------

(53-65) Sálus rímur og Nikanórs
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## Appendix Five

### Statistical Analysis of AM 604 4to Marginalia

The purpose of this analysis is to give a sense of what kinds of marginalia Tómas Arason (and possibly though not probably his brother Jón, if Jón had a stint in copying the later sections) recorded in copying the rímur; for that reason, only scribal marginalia is included here. The percentage gives the percent of pages in that section that contain the type of marginalia. These statistics are based on Kålund's divisions of the marginalia into four groups, and the column-heading invocations (*Jesus, Jesus minn*, etc.) are not included. If they are included, they tip the scale vastly in favor of religious-minded marginalia, but because they are so systematically added at the head of almost every page, the numbers are more informative if we exclude the simple nomina sacra headings.

#### Proverbs

Section:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Number:	9	5	87	61	12	5	1	40
% of Pages:	11%	16%	63%	85%	55%	14%	2%	62%

#### Writing Platitudes

Section:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Number:	13	0	11	3	0	3	3	2
% of Pages:	16%	0%	8%	4%	0%	8%	6%	3%

#### Complaints and Personal Comments

Section:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Number:	8	2	10	2	0	10	4	3
% of Pages:	10%	6%	7%	3%	0%	28%	8%	5%

#### Prayers and Invocations

Section:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Number:	15	4	11	10	0	11	2	0
% of Pages:	19%	13%	8%	14%	0%	31%	4%	0%

#### All Marginalia

Section:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Number:	45	11	119	76	12	29	10	45
% of Pages:	55%	34%	86%	105%	55%	81%	21%	69%

#### Conclusions

If we can chart a general course of development within the marginalia of this manuscript, we can see that the scribe seems to have started out by recording mostly

religious invocations, writing platitudes, and complaints. This interest gradually grew to include proverbs to a much larger degree, and only later does the scribe come to write himself and those he knew onto the page by name. Whether interest flagged in the latter sections or the scribe changed, it is intriguing to note that the marginalia never drops off entirely, and the final section shows a renewed enthusiasm for recording proverbs especially. We might conclude that, while this manuscript only gives us a good picture of one (probably fairly exceptional) scribe, the impulse to use the margins as an archive and to record the copyist's personal presence at the creation of the manuscript is certainly not limited to Tómas Arason.

## Appendix Six

### Marginalia of AM 433a 12mo

This transcription of the marginalia in the *Margrétar saga* manuscript is intended to supplement the discussion in this thesis; much of it has also been printed and discussed by Stefán Karlsson in “Kvennahandrit í karlahöndum.” Each item is labeled by folio, position on the page, and hand if attributable. As with Rask 72a and AM 604, editorial marginalia is not represented; no later hands have written codicological notes on the pages. Fragments and single letters or words are in small font; full sentences are in bold.

Dotted letters have not been expanded as geminate because the scribes give no evidence of having intended the dots to represent a double letter; expansions are made, as much as possible, according to scribal practice when writing out words in full.

### Marginalia in AM 433 a 12mo

3r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)  
+postuli+  
*apostle*

4v (bottom of page, unidentifiable)  
[line of text erased]

**11v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**  
**Nu fulsar huffreyián vid mier**  
*Now the lady of the house snubs me...*

12r (bottom of page, unidentifiable)  
[line of text erased]

**12r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 11v)**  
**j dag fyrir ecki par · Suo er fatt dotter min**  
*...today for no reason. That is true, my daughter*

**12v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**  
**Eñ nu hefi ek þo**  
*But nevertheless I now am...*

**13r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 12v)**  
**líla favk vid hana**  
*...little at fault with her*

**13v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**  
**huat er ek fann edr hallda kann hugar**  
*What I felt or knew how to believe abides...*

**14r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 13v)**

**j biorfti minv · Eigi mann fkal yndis bann**

*...in my breast. Man shall not be banned from joy*

**16v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**Nu þikkí mīer langt einum saman**

*Now I feel I've been alone a long time...*

**17r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 16v)**

**j fkrif ftofuñ · aud kender eru**

*...in the scriptorium. They are obvious [...]* <sup>227</sup>

18v (bottom of page, Guðrún)

(gud)Run Sigfus

dottir [...]

*Guðrún Sigfúsdóttir*

**19v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**kapitulum drecka abbadílf**

*Chapter-house drink abbess...* <sup>228</sup>

**20r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 19v)**

**það fculo fáá lagir hun onur ok retti hland**

*...That shall you get, says the other, and peed*

22r (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

nv gv ed om [...]

2a [.....]

**25v (bottom of page, Scribe 1 up to fkrifaz. Thereafter, a younger, hybrida hand.)**

**Sáá ma fkrifa aa vllom hier a**

**fkrifaz og aa fkotu**

**zod og fkolla fkin**

*He can write on wool [who] writes here, and on skate-skin and fox-hide*

**26v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)**

**Nv er ek hræddr víð dottur míña**

*Now I am afraid of my daughter...*

**27r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 26v)**

**suo ek þori ecki anat eñ at fkrifa bokina hennar**

*...so I dare not do otherwise than to write her book*

28v (left, horizontal pen trial, possibly by new scribe who begins 29r)

d d n : B d g f d s f d n <sup>229</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Stefán Karlsson notes that “síðustu orðin kynnu að vera upphaf á málshætti sem ekki hefur verið skrifaður til enda”—the last word may be the beginning of a proverb that has not been written to the end (78, f.n. 15).

<sup>228</sup> Stefán notes that something is awry in the line, saying it should have read, “Kapitulum! Drekkja,” [kvad] abbadís” to make it a direct address and command to the chapter of nuns (78, f.n. 16).

<sup>229</sup> The ascenders of these letters are crossed multiple times each.

**29r (bottom of page, Scribe 2)****Lítt fer huer er skodar**

*He makes little headway who looks [at this] (i.e. he who tries to read this gets little for his effort)*

**29v (bottom of page, not scribal)****Jon Sigfússon a kver þessa**

*Jón Sigfússon owns this sheet*

30v (left, horizontal, by Scribe 2 or Scribe 3, who begins 31r; c.f. 28v)

p p n : B p g f p s f p n <sup>230</sup>

**31r (bottom of page, Scribe 2 or 3)****lítt fer huer er fier**

*He makes little headway who sees [this] (i.e. the same meaning as the note on 29r)*

31v (left, horizontal, non-scribal, possibly same as Jón signature on 29v)

nwr bý goss bwr or ks\é/gid  
med giylls : or vvw : n 5 5 7 <sup>231</sup>

34v (left, horizontal, non-scribal, possibly same as Jon signature on 29v)

ipm 2ltzy2 2pm

34v (bottom of page, Guðrún)

~~g gud Run~~  
[.] [...] Runn  
[...]

35r (bottom of page, Guðrun)

gud(Ru)n Sigful  
dottir

36r (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

mar(greta)

38v (bottom of page, non-scribal, possibly Guðrún)

[...]drun [...]ín  
[.....]n

43r (bottom of page, non-scribal, possibly Guðrún)

[two lines of text mostly rubbed out and illegible except for ...Ru.....ttur]

43r (bottom of page, non-scribal, unidentifiable)

med [.....]  
anno 1657

43v (in text space, ignores ruling, very large and mostly illegible, unidentifiable)

byndaft hlaofa vnmling  
þry[.] byndan [.....]  
kr [...]  
Sinn b[two possible expansions and a series of minims]  
by[.]a

<sup>230</sup> The descenders of these letters are crossed multiple times each.

<sup>231</sup> This and the horizontal marginalia on 34v may be ciphers, but I have not been able to interpret them.

bryftid[... ...]  
[last line illegible]

Wrapper on back board: (Gothic textualis, Latin)

[..]antifn  
men[.]  
[.]fantef

Brief description of hands in AM 433a 12mo:

Scribe 1 (main scribe): writes 1r-28v. Gothic cursive recentior, uses a neat, closed loop f and an unlooped d, sometimes uses dots for geminates and occasionally uses w for initial u or v (wz for “úr” on 26v). He is responsible for the complaints in the margins about his wife/consort and daughter.

Scribe 2: writes 29r-31r. Gothic cursive antiquior, more or less, with a double storey a and looped d but some variation in the tidiness of f. The Tironian sign for *ok* is  $\tau$  with the diagonal line missing between base line and midline.

Scribe 3: writes 31v to the end. Similar to the second scribe but his o has a tail that makes it look like a single-storey a, and his Tironian sign is often akin to an 8.

Guðrún Sigfússdóttir: signatures on 18v, 34v, 35r, and possibly 43r, more or less Kurrentschrift style with d and g whose lower loops do not close.

Jón Sigfússon: signature on 29v and possibly “ciphers” on 31v and 34v, Kurrentschrift with Fraktura tendencies in the signature, especially a long, looping f and several variations of s.

## Appendix Seven

### *Margrétar saga* Context for AM 433a 12mo Marginalia

AM 433 a 12mo	Unger (page.line*)	Events
4v	p 474.20	Introduction of Margaret
11v-12r	p 476.25	Margaret is beaten by Olibrius' men
12v-13r	(p 476.25)	The onlookers are afraid to help
13v-14r	p 476.28	Olibrius orders Margaret tortured
16v-17r	p 477.5	Margaret is cared for in prison
18v	p 478.12	Margaret is swallowed by the dragon
19v-20r	p 478.21	Margaret is delivered and encounters Beelzebub
25v	p 479.10	Margaret and Beelzebub's discussion
26v	p 479.23	Olibrius tries again to convert Margaret
29r	p 479.27	Margaret is tortured with fire
29v	N/A	Margaret rebukes Olibrius
31r-31v	p 479.31	Olibrius orders Margaret drowned
34v-35r	p 480.7	Olibrius orders Margaret beheaded
38v	p 481.1	Margaret gives her executioner permission
43r	p 481.15	Final invocation

\*Line numbers are approximate, as the only print edition of *Margrétar saga* is of Version I and AM 433a belongs to Version III.

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