Footnotes on Life

Marginalia in Three Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts

Ritgerð til M.A.-prófs

Christine M. Schott

September 2010
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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.¹ 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.² 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,³ 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.⁴ These sorts of scribes Katherine Kerby-Fulton calls “professional readers.”⁵ However, this area of study has

¹ C.f. Thomas Machan.
² 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 Arnamagnæan summer school in manuscripts studies are rapidly adding to the body of knowledge in this realm.
³ C.f. Calabrese and Kerby-Fulton Iconography.
⁴ 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.
⁵ 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, very little has been written on marginalia for its own sake, the one exception being a survey article written by M.J. Driscoll. 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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6 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 Gunnlaugs son “Manuscripts” 253, Stefán Karlsson “Kvennahandrit” and “Localization and Dating,” Karl Óskar Ólafsson, Jón Helgason, Jonna Louis-Jensen “Marginial Poetica,” and Sir William Craigie.

7 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. 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, 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,” 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 línum.
Fegurð alla inni ber
eg í menntun finum.11

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

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8 Soffía Guðný Guðmundsdóttir & Laufey Guðnadóttir, 47.
9 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, lecture, citing research done by Bjórk Þorleifsdóttir, unpublished.
10 Jónas Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 56.
11 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 caesuras in the verse. However, as has been demonstrated with Old English verse, 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 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, 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, skilfully colored or historiated initials, and even miniatures. The situation is similar in Iceland in both scriptural material and legal, 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. 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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12 Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe, Visible Song.
13 Halldór Hermannsson, Manuscripts, 10.
14 C.f. Jónas Kristjánsson, Icelandic Manuscripts, 52.
15 C.f. discussions by Selma Jónsdóttir and Lena Liepe, for example.
16 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.¹⁷ Even before Jónsbók, the first references we have to vernacular writing are to the recording of the Haflíðaskrá in the winter of 1117-18.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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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¹⁸ C.f. Halldór Hermannsson’s discussion in Icelandic Manuscripts, 5.
“paganism or popery” than vernacular manuscripts did. 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. 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. 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. 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 hand...

20 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.
23 C.f. Vésteinn Ólason, 27.
hand, has only about 130 manuscripts but some 1,650 documents from the same period.\textsuperscript{24} 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.\textsuperscript{25}

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 complied 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:

\textsuperscript{24} Guðvarður Gunnlaugsson, 249.
\textsuperscript{25} 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, but at the same time it marks the Icelanders’ new way of valuing the vernacular literature they produced. 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—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

26 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).

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

were no longer copied and have since been lost.\textsuperscript{29} 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 rimur 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\textsuperscript{30}—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\textsuperscript{31}), but the seventeenth-century Danes and Swedes were in a frenzy over the

\textsuperscript{29} Vésteinn Ólason, 31.
\textsuperscript{30} Driscoll, “Unwashed Children,” 1. Jonna Louis-Jensen also discusses the religious control of Icelandic printing (“Frontiers,” 481).
\textsuperscript{31} Jónas Kristjánsson, “Introduction,” 44; Siguður Nordal, 20.
collection of these books—the physical representations of what they considered to be their own cultural heritage. While the Icelanders on occasion used their vellum manuscripts as meal sieves and sewing patterns, they were willing to use them as currency as well, trading them to collectors like Árni Magnússon in hopes of gaining political favors through his office in Denmark. 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. 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, Vigdis Finnbogadóttir.

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, 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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32 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 (Gisli Sigurðsson and Vésteinn Ólason, eds).
33 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).
34 Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, 91; Halldór Hermannsson, Icelandic Manuscripts, 62.
35 C.f. Gísli Sigurðsson, “Bring the Manuscripts Home!”
36 Jónas Kristjánsson, Iceland and its Manuscripts.
37 C.f. Jón Karl Helsgaon.
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. 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. 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.” 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, Icelandic law books, too, can have beautiful marginal drawings, often depicting daily life. We can see why someone might be led to draw a picture of a burial on a page containing inheritance laws, 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

39 C.f. the following discussion of the flyleaves of Rask 72a.
41 Michael Camille, Image on the Edge.
42 C.f. Jónas Kristjánsson, Icelandic Manuscripts, 56.
43 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.\textsuperscript{44} 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.\textsuperscript{45} 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,\textsuperscript{46} 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.\textsuperscript{47} 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

\textsuperscript{44} 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.

\textsuperscript{45} For example, fol. 4r, 11r, 12r, etc. C.f. Illuminations marked “Lower Right” in Appendix Two.

\textsuperscript{46} C.f. Halldór Hermannsson (Illuminated Manuscripts, 26) on the former position and Lena Liepe and Selma Jónsdóttir on the latter.

\textsuperscript{47} 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) 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. Kristian Kålund dates it to around 1500, 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 palaeographic 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). 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, though actually he comments more often on good weather—presumably because it was rare enough that he noticed and appreciated it in particular. In his comments he names himself “Father Einar” (so we can assume he was a cleric), and he once addresses someone he calls “my Jón,” as well as mentioning once that he had

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48 Ólafur Halldórsson, xlvi.
49 Halldór Hermannsson, Icelandic Manuscripts, 68-69.
50 Kålund, Katalog, 543.
51 Kålund, Katalog, 543.
52 C.f. 25r on the former, and 31r and 52r on the latter.
53 27v, 29v, 30r, and 42r.
54 46r and 50r.
55 44r.
a fight with a woman named “Guðný.”  

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. Instead, Einar’s marginalia begins with complaint: “daufur fleinn er þetta” (this is pale coloring ink), 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: “O þeiltallz fyft” (word is the precipitator of everything) and “þat getur huer sem hann gírnízt” (one gets what he desires), the second of which occurs also in AM 604 4to. Only at the opening 43v and 44r does the marginalia turn so personal as to include names: “gud mínn veit ad god er miolkín heit | þat þikkaz jone minum” (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

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56 49r.
57 C.f. 79v: “En guðf*zkef at letta er ekki ánnad · utan bídja guð þelf| þess hann leidz oll til tvrett truaž” (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 ber nu þvi ek fef hvad fém áá ez” (it goes badly now because I fall asleep no matter what).
58 10r.
59 30v and 43r, respectively.
60 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. 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.

61 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). 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 droten en hefur þo 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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62 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. 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. 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, 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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63 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.
64 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.
65 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, xlvi; 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 unrulled 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 Réttarbæetur within the text); 101r: a homiletic text (?); 101v-104v: formulas for oaths andsummonses 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.


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, œ, and ε 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°).
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, ε 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, ε “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\textsuperscript{\textdegree}).

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.\textsuperscript{66}

\textsuperscript{66} Ólafur Halldórsson, xlvi.
16. Chapter numbers up through 45r (charcoal-colored, otherwise unidentified). 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 *Domacapitule* 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. (19th 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:


3. Also described in Ólafur Halldórsson, Ed. Jónsbók: Kong Magnus HakonssoNs lovboog for Island vedtaget paa Altinget 1281. Röttarbætr: de for Island givne Retterböder af 1294, 1305 og 1314 Röttarbætr.

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 Eirik’s Röttarbætur at various places, prefixed with four capitalized initials RBHK (9v, 74r) or RBEK (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,\textsuperscript{67} 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;\textsuperscript{68} 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.\textsuperscript{69} 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 Öndundarfjörður.\textsuperscript{70} 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,\textsuperscript{71} 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.\textsuperscript{72} 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

\textsuperscript{67} 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.
\textsuperscript{68} Kålund, En islandsk ordsprogsamling.
\textsuperscript{69} The edition is one of the products of the Arnamagnæan summer school in manuscripts studies and will be published jointly by the institutes in Copenhagen and Reykjavík.
\textsuperscript{70} Karl Óskar Ólafsson, 15.
\textsuperscript{71} D.15 and D.34.
\textsuperscript{72} 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. 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. 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),
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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73 C.f. Appendix Five for statistics on marginalia in this manuscript.
74 C.f. D.14, E.5, and F.17.
75 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 rimur 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 rimur 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.\textsuperscript{76} The most informative conclusion we can draw from this fact is that we owe the survival of these early rimur 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 rimur 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.\textsuperscript{77}

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—“fæintt er heumlkan at fnotra” (it takes a long time to make a fool wise)\textsuperscript{78}—to the scatological—“fktz er uon uz raze” (excrement is to be expected out of a

\textsuperscript{76} Craigie, 7.
\textsuperscript{77} 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 \textit{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.
\textsuperscript{78} D.6.
backside)—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: “eũn ðæm eru uerstå” and “ollum þicr uif befp,” 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. 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), 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 þkils frett karll uid ondina / ok fer muer fo ok líka þeim fém þkrífat hefur zimumnar fyr en ec / þviat þær ero ut. ok vantar áá ndurlægt” (foully does a contemptible fellow part with his soul, and so it goes with me—and also with him.

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79 C.53.
80 H.59. The proverbs are: “þa ok nei grozer langa þrætni” (yes and no make a long quarrel) and “þa er meyjar nei æftenn munn” (yes is the no of a woman, my dear man).
81 C.26.
82 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). To the basic proverb (fouly 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. 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 of lines of the text, 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. However, at least once the trimmer saw the nomen sacrum before cutting, and he so respected the holy

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83 G.17.
84 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.
85 Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts*, 16.
name that he cut around it, leaving a small projection at the top of the page in which the nomen sacrum is safely housed.87 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,88 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.89 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.90 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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87 A.19.
88 Driscoll says the scribe complains about his handwriting “completely without justification” ("Postcards," 30).
89 F.10 (kukenn), G.16 (kukar), and A.11 (using Kålund’s emendation of lortar for the manuscript’s lottar).
90 C.f. A.75, A.82, B.18, C.98, and C.100.
what exactly it was, criticism cannot decide—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”—perhaps another affectionate address as we saw with Einar and Jón. Interestingly, though, the most frequent addressees in his notes are unnamed women. Kálund interprets many otherwise-meaningless words tacked onto the ends of proverbs as being coded apostrophes to women, and at least once Tómas writes, “utí þat er hon unne mer” (she no longer loves me). Cleric though he was, 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.”

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

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91 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.
92 B.32.
94 G.27.
95 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.
96 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 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. 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, and so it

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97 C.f., for example, Kålund’s comments about the proverbs on C.107 and H.41 (En islandsk ordsprogsamling).
99 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.  

**AM 433a 12mo**

This manuscript of *Margrétar saga*, dated to the turn of the 16th 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. 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. 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. 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). His wife, he claims, loses her temper at him for no reason, and his daughter inherited her mother’s temper, frightening her father into continuing his work. 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

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100 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 Íkrífar nu zeckur. zeiknaz ma ílkt hveckur. lúangur er ‘mun/ fækur. en fell er kalladir 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).
102 The base text for the edition will be AM 433d 12mo with readings from AM 667 4to I as well.
103 Stefán Karlsson, “Kvennahandrit.”
104 Ibid., 77.
105 11v-12r.
106 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. 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, 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

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107 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.
108 His signature on 29v seems to read, “Jon Sigfusson a kver þeðsa”—“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: “Sáá ma ſkrif fa aa vllom hie r a | ſkriſa” (he may write on wool [who] writes here). Then, a later hand added neatly beside it the phrase, “ог aa ḷkotu | ゾd og ḷkolla ḷkm” (and on skate-skin and fox-hide), thereby expanding a 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.109 In an age of poor medical support for anybody much less women in childbirth, 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.110 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.111 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.”112 The saga itself, in fact, contains the seed of this cult of the material. In AM 433a, Christ tells Margaret:

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109 Jón Steffensen. C.f. also Ásdis Egilsdóttir, who builds on Steffensen’s conclusions.
110 Jón Steffensen, 281.
111 Ibid., 279.
112 Jón Steffensen, 276.
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.

113 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.114 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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114 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 fteinn 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)
[. . .] [. . .] vм blekut
[. . .] about the ink

22r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
þetta er miог voаt 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)
ecku er nu *bgg аа um fkrifid 115
There is not now [...] about the writing

24r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 23r)
ok miisafitt letur ok voаtt bokfelle //
...and uneven letters and bad parchment

24v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
mioг er nu димtt fyrir *мi fe ek htid 116

115 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 koln mer åå fíngunum /
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)
maıgr er nu peñái eñ ño2ott 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)
han
he

26v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
Nu rennu₂ miog þ fyir mier
Now it runs much together for me (i.e. his eyes are blurry) 117

27v (top of page, unidentified hand)
S

27v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
Nu er vedz ñagurtt ok brtt //
Now the weather is fair and bright

28r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
uu reńnur j allt faman
Now it all runs together (i.e. his eyes are blurry)

28v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
Ecki íkrífa ek meira vm sinn.
I will not write more at this time...

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

116 The scribe missed the er expansion to write mier.
117 I am grateful to Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir for going to great lengths of inquiry to discover the meaning of this unusual construction “reñnur i.”
Þvi æ2u 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 mier vel varfft
Now I am quite warm

30r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
Nu er kaldí geisgíñ *b2tt
Now has the cold gone away

30v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
O2d er til alla fyft
Word is the precipitator of everything

31r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
Nu rigñir þna a allr faman fyrr mier
Now the rain comes in altogether for me

31v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
Opptt hefur þlla *fara2id
Often has it gone badly...

32r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 31v)
eñ nu all2a veft
...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 fle[. . .]

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

118 The intention was probably brott or burtt.
119 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 værį nu godr *fenni
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 fækt / /
...and much awry

40v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
uu er mal at hatta þbv nu er dímtt
Now it is time to stop because now it is dark

41r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
uu er blodfleka þ þokfellínu
Now there are ink flecks on the parchment

41v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
hier vull faft þ 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 burtt vedur ok fagurtt / /
Now it is bright weather and fair

42v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
gud komí til med mier
God be with me

43r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
þat getur huer sem hann girnizt / /
One gets what he desires

43v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
gud mínn veî ad god er miolkīn heît
My God knows that the milk is good hot...

44r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 43v)
þat þikk12 jone mínun / /

---

120 The intent for fenni was certainly penni.
121 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... 122

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

į dag af Sira einaze
...today from Father Einar

46v (top of page, unidentified hand)

53(?)

46v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

Nu er mal at fara ā til meffynar //
Now it is time to go to Mass

47r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

ek fkal *fkañta *umfìnun mínun ok [...] 123
I shall [...] my [...] and [...] 123

47v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

nu mínazt koñurñar áá forña leka //
Now the women remember old games

48r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

nu geng2 dagfûrur ad mier ñkrif / /
Now there is a lack of daylight for me to write

48v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

gefi hann alldrí betur pennun sa þarñá
May this pen here never flow better

49r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

nu hofu ver gudny bañzt j morgín / /
Now Guðný and I fought this morning

49v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

nu er maññæ magur g2aum
[??] 124

50r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

Nu vill einar prestu2 lata raka fina krunu //
Now Einar the priest wants to have his tonsure shaved

122 Possibly the scribe intended mál for mat, as eitt is neuter.
123 It seems the scribe intended skamta (to share) for skanta, but what is intended in the next word is indeterminate.
124 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 viðdur
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)
kkuku:
crap

61r (bottom of page, unidentified hand)
men sk(ulu) (ein)kenna fie fitt allt nema h20s
Menn shall mark all their property except horses

61v (bottom of page, unidentified hand)
[illegible pen trials]

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

62r (right, unidentified hand)
[unidentified hand]

62r (bottom of page, possibly not Scribe 1)
u[………]
Now [...]

64r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
(nu) er (l)uo dimtt at ek (se) ekki regliðgina 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)
[unidentified hand]

73v (top of page, unidentified hand)

---

125 This line is copied by an unpracticed hand from the beginning of the section in the main text marked “Capitulo 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 [...] hualle 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 *ríkef at leta er ekki ánnað · utan budja gud þeif
*þess hann leið2 off til riettar trú2 126
But to seek God’s reign is nothing other than to ask God to lead us to right belief

81v (bottom of page, unidentified)
Iku lu aale2 Íkylldé2 127
All shall [be] obliged

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

91v (bottom of page, Scribe 4)
ila fer nu þvi ek fet hvd fem áá e2
It goes badly now because I fall asleep no matter what

92v (bottom of page, unidentified hand)
Jon þ 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)
Jesus kome til
Jesus come

99v (bottom of page, unpracticed hand)
[...] bad honum uel
ey [...] ga [...]
Flyleaves of Rask 72a

101r (main text, Hand 6)
Sallamon konungur hin usfhe segir fuo fine
bok. Elfke þær (R(i)e)tttlæte allez kriftnez menn
fem domaraz eru þa fæzd R(iki). Stendur og fuo fkrifat • ef
R(i)e)tttlætten er Ruglat• ok lagmalht fozfmat huat er
þa uraullden vtan fuo fem Reyfara fkafur • fordur
fæn • lydz ok lándz . // þar fyrir skulu yfer bodarneß fyrft og
fremft elfka gud allz ualldanda ok med otta fomum
hug. Vera um hanz dom Gud er allraz ueralldarenar ýfer bod[ar]e
ok æftur herra þeír skulu ok flyia Ranga agrinr ok huerf
þar fra. þeír skulu ok Iafnan elfka Ruttlætte en hata
Rangl(i)td Somuleidis hindra alldrei ne traddka R
ettu male. Og a(Idre) i at þreyningia fatætum. og hitill
glдум / þeim hyzur ok at Vera hyggnum ok uffum skulu
ífæ ípaker ok egi! Rende gærine herdugar Illgjörnus og
Ranglætum. þo med fimmning hrartaS halla eigi Rettum
dome kallazt hann þar fyrir domare at hann a log at fægia
ok þui fkal hann login kunna ok vta þui flendur fuo
fikzif. Omuðkunn domandans gørez morgum fkaða
ok meur fem under hans log fogn eru

King Solomon the wise says so in his book.¹²⁸ 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 wrecked 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 gørt hanz
at minna

¹²⁸ 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 129
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)130
Eg {X} fefn þer {X} fandar fefnu til {X}-{X} dagun 131
nefta. [.]n at b[i].n fyrir {X} konungf umbodz menn ] millum {X} ok {X}
unde þan dom [lem] [.]ar fyrir (fa)ke2 edr nefna letr huerra edr
segja þu vndz mer þar fkylddag fyrir þa fauk [.] ] i kazu
at ek kvar þat til þinna a · þu hefr {X} ok þæ2 fleze faker fuar(a)
ek ma þar med logum til þun tala fefn og þer Jadz grendan dag 132
ok ftað med a[.] ] þinn fannenda profi ok fkiðzde fem þer ma
til gangf ok af batanar uerda ] gre(n)ða man vert þar komen at
hadegi ok fit fo leunge fefna fem domr f(o)lk at ma
lnu fefnu [.] þer at o2d full [.] log(um) [.] ] til logmale
Rettu at utttne þinnu ok þi[.] (a)llra þeira er o2d mun 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 off] (all) those who
hear my words.

101v (main text, Hand 7)
En etter þa muna logfeftu · bîþ feti [.] alla þa pen(in)ga fem
þer fandar faman aa grendi j02d[.] frída ok ofrída utan gardz ok þanno
under Rettu sanflak ok loghga laga launf fem logm
altr til fíkapar fyrir byd ek huerum mann burt at /taka½ flytia edz for(uara)
grendna pennunga aa fy2 grendi jordu under þeirre loghga fíkapan
fem logboken til fíkapar ept[er] log[.] ] utne allra danse manna

129 The repetition of minna does not seem to be part of the sense of the phrase.
130 Passages from 101v-103r In. 6 are supplementary sections of Jónsbók; see Appendix One.
131 {X} represents a stylized design used by this hand to mark where one should insert the appropriate
proper name or date.
132 The reading of “d” 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 fæ handa band (standard text is lag) þelfaþa goda manna fem nu halda hér hondum faman

102r (main text, Hand 7, continues same passage as 101v)
fem er {XX} af eenne allfu ok {XX} af anare enn þat
legg öf ok felz under handa ban(d) þeira at þeir fætaft at aller
þær fækæ þem þeira ðæfa æa millum øðit ok hir ðuro nu kæ
þdar fyrir ofl · ikalu þeir þat at fætt ok ðæmd hattad hir um
funn þæ millum þem þeir xu menn xu 133 dæma þem ek nefne2
til ok at þri holln 134 ok fram komnu þem domr dæme2 eru þeir al.
fattum fatter handlega 135 {XX} fuo mykla þpinnga ok at fl
ikum fala2 ðtefnnum fem dæmr uerd2 at greida {XX} enn þar
þ mott hand fallar {XX} niðr faalnar allar faker Svo at
þæ2 ikalu [...].af (eck)e fækaft ne flehaft 136 ed2 nok
kzum til umbodz ed2 eiga. faft mega at guild ut
ne ok godra manna þeira øðinnum heyra enn handa bandir 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 fóð2 ok fónar ok heilagı anda fæt ek grid ok fullan frid
millum þelfaþa manna {XX} ok {XX} fe ged drottın þ gri
du med of ok hant heilager menn fæt ek þæs grid þ nefndum
þradum (ok) o nefndum millum *nendra manna eptor logum og
(?)kumalak fialfræ þeira ok hond i bande · fe fa gridmundz þem
fæi þeßum *grimur fliller · ækr ok zekenn fræ guða ok godum ok 137

133 It would seem that this number was added by mistake.
134 For hóldnu.
135 Possibly the intent was handlag (agreement), as I use in my translation.
136 Presumably for settlast (to encroach).
May God give good and right understanding to him who owns this book.

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 between these men N. and N. May the Lord God be in truce with us and his holy men.

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. If there is more 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.

Often is the other under a white hide.
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.

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.
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.

Of worldly leadership

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.

[143] 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 rrett heildur
ofrike ok lauf
yrde ok fættrar
ðht

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

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

Ef mennlíkti fundra fæmnðt hi[.]na

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 [……]e2 t[.]
[??]

104r (bottom of page, unidentified hand)

þat ma of sega(?)

It may so be said

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

[……] fie margfallig geznn
(ing) eigi [,]fkyllðuðga at geymaðt ok þeim
[...] hlut(ir) [f[..] þeir i harðe fæmnik [.]
[.]h hann fuare […..] hann hug(ar) fatt vera e(f)
[⸔] [..]aft [.] Sku[..] [……]
[.]hann [……] ma [.]k[.] vtllg[.] [……]
[.]an naud[..] Rıtt við a at
[……] þ[..] erínðe(?) E[…] vt fem rıtt a
ok fa[..] ættflgt ; f[..]u fem [.][va][……]
[[..]k ill[……]da […][d]iga fynd[……]
[..] hann fuermade logluða ok fkal þ[..]]
[..] lauf(a) ef(e) tir[.] 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**

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*Section not entirely represented in this edition

**Réttarbætur Hákonar konungs

***Réttarbætur Eiríks konungs
## Appendix Two
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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 rimur 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 provisionary. 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 rimur 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 “Jheulf” 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 Jh: 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)

Jhefuf (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) 144

My Jesus

Jesus humna konungur (B6, C12, G22)

Jesus king of heaven

Jesus maru 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 vildu lata upp trauff ok launa þanenn fleure. þeir fleygdu honum 1 fulligt puff ok flaut þa allur 1 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)

þennur 145 tekur 1 lodna þrift

The course leads to shaggy writing

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

leodegarus (ora pro nobis)

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

lottar ero ful eyja2 ðændi

Ink-spots are foul kinsmen of an island (i.e. they are that big) 146

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

(leiodegarus sanctus ora pro nobis)

Saint Leodegar pray for us

---

144 In H.14, minn is added later, though it is still scribal.

145 Kålend suggests renna was intended.

146 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.
leodegarus

Undan er tecū enart
Exceptions are made incessantly.¹⁴⁷

Philip's Rimes are done

Philip's Rimes are done

Things worsen now for a man in difficulties/wickedness

I'm getting tired of writing

I'm getting tired of writing

Nan

[illegible trial] þa fe₂m
... them who

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

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

In a temper that bright lily stares

¹⁴⁷ This translation more or less follows Kålund’s.
II.19.A.34 (bottom of page, scribal)
Lok ero komin 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 flupter 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 med 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 fon fia þu til min)
Jesus son of Mary, look now upon me

II.2.A.41 (bottom of page, scribal)
beft 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)
faæt er fut at bida. foæger hurttu 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)
uemte poft 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)
Marímn

I.30.A.50 (bottom of page, scribal)
feintt er enf þud. því klefþur koma þur vid
Slow is the help of one alone, for ink clots appear here [on the parchment]

III.27.A.51 (bottom of page, scribal)
[.....]fæm-grand enn møt

IV. Page 182.A.53 (top of page, scribal)
Jesus gudz lon mylkunní mier nu ok at elifu. Amen
Jesus son of God, have mercy on me now and forever, amen

IV. Page 184.A.54 (bottom of page, scribal)
ſancþa marína

II.22.A.55 (bottom of page, scribal)
mufabnt er (ftkrófat menia na møt ok fogur fem þu mätt 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 hialpí mier fyndugum þræl þinum 148
Jesus help me, your sinful servant

I.30.A.56 (bottom of page, scribal)
feintt er enf þud. (því klefþur koma þur vid)
Slow is the help of one alone, for ink clots appear here [on the parchment]

I.95.A.56 (unlocatable in facsimile)
freft er âå illu beft
Delay is the best of evils

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

II.4.A.58 (bottom of page, scribal) 149
þur inn âå eríndít þat hít feín[n]a er kló2ad er 150
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)

148 Kålund has finum.
149 Kålund says this note runs onto page 59, but it does not.
150 Kålund assumes the scribe missed dotting the n to write seinna.
**A.60 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

Jesus

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

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

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

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)

eŽ enB

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

gudz [.]ad ok hannz fádz fíed

God’s [?] and his peace be with [you]

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

[........] b[.]el[.]m

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

eíngiuerdáfsægurafðngu

No one becomes famous for nothing

IV. Page 182.A.68 (top of page, scribal)

Jesus vínur

Jesus friend

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

fænta fenenna oza pro nobis

Saint Fennenna pray for us

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

ute ero kon2adz zip[ur]

Conrad’s Rimes are done

IV. Page 182.A.75 (top of page, scribal)
Jesus minn hæ til augna minna
Jesus mine take care of my eyes

II.27.A.79 (bottom of page, scribal)
∂angt ʃkrilær nu ʃeckur. ʃeiknañ ma ʃlakt hveckur. ʃuæŋgur er \minn/ ʃeckur. en feʃ
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)
en er
[......]
[......]

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

I.156.A.81 (bottom of page, scribal)
ʃeuut ʃk faʃt geingr.
It goes slowly but surely

IV. Page 182.A.82 (top of page, scribal)
Jesus minn hæ þu til augna minna.
Jesus mine take care of my eyes

IV. Page 182.B.1 (top of page, scribal)
Jesus minn hufi laufnari
Jesus my dear savior

IV. Page 183.B.5 (top of page, scribal)
(fæntus leodegarus)
Saint Leodegar

**B.6 (bottom of page, non-scribal)
2021 f d d2
22 d71 a[...]

IV. Page 182.B.8 (top of page, scribal)
Jesus minn hrifgrafari
Jesus my life-giver

I.51.B.13 (unlocatable in facsimile)
engin verdur frægur af òngu
No one becomes famous for nothing

I.91.B.15 (bottom of page, scribal)
Jlلت feger af illum
Wickeness speaks of wickedness

I.207.B.17 (bottom of page, scribal)
Jlæ fær eınatt yndi med lyndi
Delight always goes badly with bad temper
Jesus sia þu augu min

Jesus see my eyes

Fouly part company with a contemptible fellow; let the fiend have that custom

In the name of Lord Jesus

My eyes are doing badly

Jesus mine be praised

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

I need to answer, my Sigurðr

It is difficult for a spendthrift to keep money

---

151 It is possible that “sia þu augu min” was added by the scribe after he had written the nomina sacra.

152 In this entry, the words between parentheses are reconstructed by Kålund from the ascenders of a trimmed line. Kålund also supplied eigi.
Jillt veit ofarlga klæíar
It means no good when one itches too much

III.26.C.5 (bottom of page, scribal)
nu fer veft. er ætti beft.
Now he goes worst who had the best

I.131.C.6 (bottom of page, non-scribal hybrida style)
uanfêner ero Jesus mennezñer
Men are a disgrace to Jesus

I.201.C.7 (bottom of page, scribal)
uo₂ vatn ok vodu felur hefur ofegum manne 1 hel komit
Spring water and weeds have brought the unlucky man into hell

I.81.C.8 (bottom of page, scribal)
ho₂ hefur mann drept. en baś alfur tuo
A pot-hook has killed one man, but a cow byre elf [has killed] two

I.32.C.9 (bottom of page, scribal)
fleft fylger ellíne
Most go the way of old age

I.7.C.10 (bottom of page, scribal)
spakt fkyldi ellzta barnn ok vel vanit. munu þar fleuri 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 mazia moder hans.
My God and Mary his mother

IV. Page 184.C.11 (unlocatable in facsimile)
nara mater gracie
Mary mother of grace

I.83.C.12 (bottom of page, scribal)
opt vīta 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 þa allan vetur
Never better in any weather

---

153 Kålund gives flok-sæl for vodu, which seems to be a plant.
154 Kålund suggests the sense is, “Hunger has killed one man, but a bull has killed two.”
155 Kålund gives, “Most drawbacks follow old age.”
I.141.C.14 (bottom of page, scribal)
Af litllum nefta. uerdur micull elldur
From little spark comes much flame

IV. Page 182.C.15 (top of page, scribal)
Jesus munn halpare
Jesus my helper

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

I.205.C.16 (bottom of page, scribal)
(opt veldur ltl þufa þugnu) hlaffe
Often a little turf-tuft tips a heavy cartload

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

I.30.C.17 (bottom of page to right, scribal)
féintt er ens (ld. þvi kleifar koma hier vid) 157
Slow is the help of one alone, for ink clots appear here [on the parchment]

I.5.C.18 (bottom of page, scribal)
(eck) leyra augu. ef ann konna manne
[Her] eyes do not hide [it] if a woman loves a man

I.101.C.19 (bottom of page, scribal)
fatt fier áá kinu. huad þ brioftí 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)
druckenf munn talar af hørtanf grunn
A drunken man’s mouth speaks from the depths of the heart

II.35.C.21 (bottom of page, scribal)
vonnt er lkrif þvi vekt er (blek)
The writing is bad because the ink is weak

156 Kålund notes that this proverb appears in Alexanders saga and one manuscript of Sturlunga saga Ch. 48.
157 The corner of the page is cut. Between parentheses is reconstructed.
158 Kålund notes that this proverb appears in Gunnlaugs saga.
Many want to be a lord, but few want to bear the burden.

Fullness understands the most counsel, but hunger [understands only] satiety.

Now my weak eyes are dark.

It is sweet to swallow but sour to pay.

Evil does no good.

Everything is food that comes into the belly except moss campion alone.

The good woman is better than gold.

Tell me your friend; then I know your wisdom.

---

159 Kålund suggests bran as a translation for sada.
160 The scribe likely meant gjalda (to pay) rather than gelda (to geld).
161 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)
(Íkakt ok rangt) ec (Íkífa á á vallt) [...] 
I write crookedly and wrong always

I.100.C.31 (bottom of page, scribal)
þaftr er kid fem kafff. enn kafff engu nytur
A kid is the same as a calf, yet there is no use for a calf

I.147.C.32 (bottom of page, scribal)
[...] á á òngum hrín aætí
The inedible has no effect on anyone

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

I.50.C.34 (bottom of page, scribal)
fulúga fílz fret karil vid aundina
A contemptible fellow parts fouly with his soul

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

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

I.98.C.37 (bottom of page, scribal)
karrli huerum kemur at auverpi
Every man comes to decrepitude

I.140.C.38 (bottom of page, scribal)
marrt er gótt 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)búrd hídur. fa er féll er godf bídur
Things happen. He is blessed who awaits good

III.9.C.39 (bottom right of page, scribal)
(fíri vúft er þat kærí vin)
That is for sure, dear friend

---

162 Kålund gives “The apple doesn’t fall far from the tree.”
163 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 le mer næz
Jesus mine, be near me

I.24.C.40 (bottom of page, scribal)
vínan uerdur keypt en dygdír aldri
The lady friend (i.e. mistress) can be bought but good qualities, never

I.111.C.41 (bottom of page, scribal)
famtr er fknnt á á kunne kellug 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)
Jilt er þat at troll fkuh manna niota
It is evil that a troll should enjoy men

I.128.C.43 (bottom of page, scribal)
fýndu mannenn. en ecki mat keralldet
Show that you are a man and not a tub for food

I.94.C.44 (bottom of page, scribal)
ongm er iltt of gott
Evil is good for no one

II.34.C.45 (bottom of page, to left of succeeding note, scribal)
uefnarr vont tkríf
Bad writing worsens

I.146.C.45 (bottom of page, to right of previous note, scribal)
faer uita omala mein
Few know [the] harm of silence

I.16.C.46 (bottom of page, scribal)
mícíll er bonda rettur. alldrí er hann fo lettur
Great is the farmer’s right. Never is it very light

I.132.C.47 (bottom of page, scribal)
magurt ok gagurt ok múiantt 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

---

164 Kálund gives “men’s attentions” rather than “men.”
I.202.C.48 (bottom of page, scribal)
þack latur madur 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
“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 Íkañ bogna kuad kažll. ok fkeít fstandinge
“Never shall I bend,” said a man, and shat standing up

I.165.C.53 (bottom of page, scribal)
fkitz er uon u₂ raze.
Excrement is to be expected out of a backside

I.23.C.54 (bottom of page, scribal)
margann hefur dult drepit
Pride has killed many a man

IV. Page 183.C.55 (bottom of page, scribal)
(maria min nu þarl 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 Íkríðunarn fem hon ₂ennur
There is expectation of an avalanche when one falls

II.5.C.57 (bottom of page, scribal)
hraedulga hleypur þ. hnípen er ec af þvi.
Frightfully [the wind] rushes in. I am downcast because of it

II.18.C.58 (bottom of page, scribal)
lodit ok litt fellt ok hotlúgt med oll[u]
Shaggy and little (i.e. badly) fitted and ugly in its entirety

165 Kålund suggests the first word may be hlye, not hlyr.
166 Kålund points to the similar sentiment in the old phrase, “When I see a wolf’s ears I expect to see his eyes nearby.”
167 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)

sancte leodegarus 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)

fkrífa ec ðkamærlíga.
I write disgracefully

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

þa fær huernum aptur. at |fart| full| er fram
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 îlla fegi ec ðara. af ðdanum hann nu fea 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 fier ok vatt at mier)
Ari took up [...?] and swung it at me

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

(latuer er fa feim logunfenf flyr)
Slow is he who flees the calm

I.145.C.65 (bottom of page, scribal)

(ilt er þeim at olund er alinn)
It is difficult for him who lives in foreign lands

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

god hond or bætandi
A good hand is one that improves

---

168 The upright slashes are the scribe’s indicator that the words should be switched to read “full farit.”
169 Kålund suggests sler may be for slor, fish offal.
170 Kålund notes that this proverb appears in several Njáls saga manuscripts, chapter 6.
171 Kålund gives, “him who is born with an irritable mind”
III.19.C.67 (bottom of page, scribal)
 litt er bæt fem ætti. firi mær
For me, little is one entitled to what he has

II.25.C.68 (bottom of page, scribal)
 pennenn flia2
The pen grows dull

I.64.C.69 (bottom of page, scribal)
 fær (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 hlota
Good can be gotten from good

**C.71 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)
[single-letter pen trial]

II.24.C.71 (bottom of page, scribal)
 (oettar e re zeglar munar. ætti þerta fætur finar)
My ruling is not right. Let fine women right it

**C.73 (right, unidentifiable)
b
l
[?l]
t

I.67.C.73 (bottom of page, scribal)
 gripuz eingímn gefu þa fem guð fon vîl ei veîta
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 fræfa þ utnyðdungi
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) ¹⁷²
felt ǫfkar tví mæls þa guott 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 ¹⁷³)
ecki er lan længur en lent er. liufan 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 oza pro nobis
Saint Fenenna pray for us

**C.80 (bottom of page, scribal)
z(an)gf verdur frægur af engu.
Wrongly does fame come from nothing

I.1.C.81 (bottom of page, scribal)
mikil þkal / til/ al mæl hafa . / uin kona
It must be a great matter for a general report, [my] lady friend

I.212.C.82 (bottom of page, scribal)
Jill er olít enda er þat illa drückit
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) ¹⁷⁴
(eckí velldur fa vare₂.)
The man who warns is not to be blamed

I.169.C.83 (bottom right of page, scribal)
(ei vet hverum þparez)
One does not know for whom one saves up

I.119.C.84 (bottom of page, scribal)
flekt er længur uppi en hlf mannz.
Most things endure longer than the life of man

I.144.C.85 (bottom of page, scribal)
Ill ero (ondil uræ)dínn
Bad are the ways of despair

¹⁷² C.f. Njáls saga Ch. 44 and 91.
¹⁷³ 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.
¹⁷⁴ C.f. Njáls saga Ch. 41, variant, as Kålund points out, but also Fjótsdæla saga Ch. 23 and Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða Ch. 23.
I.69.C.86 (bottom of page, scribal) 175
betur er at flíla med heður. en hafa med flómm
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
[.]ana
[..] (or e?)d

**C.89 (top of page, non-scribal)
[....]gl[...] S[.....]

I.29.C.89 (bottom of page, scribal)
margur eignar fær þat. er hann aa ecki þar)
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 fær edur fem v[u]ñnen er
An oath goes as it is sworn

I.148.C.90 (bottom right of page, scribal)
þutt rad ok gott. Ætti madur firi fær at gjora
A man should make for himself quick and good advice/decisions

I.82.C.95 (bottom of page, scribal)
uet hundur hvad (jetit hefur)
A dog knows what it has eaten

I.85.C.96 (bottom of page, scribal)
fa bidur hleandi husa fem maten hefur þ malnum
He asks for shelter laughing who has food for his meal 176

IV. Page 182.C.98 (top of page, scribal)
Jesus maru lon fia þu til augna þrælf þinf
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)
ecki er fu betri mufen (er lædez) en hin er ftockur
The mouse that creeps is no better than the one that leaps

I.191.C.102 (bottom of page, scribal)
(vargur) fæter þeim faud. fem u2 kuíum uilliz
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]

175 Cf. Bjarnar saga hitkelakappa Ch. 4, and Orkneyinga saga Ch. 11.
176 Kålund translates bag for malnum.
This wrong and God do [...] with [...] 

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

Often anger eats what kindness spares 177

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

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

Jesus see my eyes 

That treasure is best [which] is gotten with discernment 179

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

A sitting crow dies/goes hungry 

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177 Kålund says that gaeskr is a hapax legomenon.
178 C.f., possibly, Njáls saga Ch. 42 and 44: “eigi annari flugu láta koma i munn þér”—don’t let another fly come into your mouth?
179 Kålund gives, “That tax is best which is just paid.”
180 C.f. Våpnfirdinga saga Ch. 17; Saxo Grammaticus Liber quintus 129-30 VII, and Hávamál 58.
fialldan hlytur lófande madur ðgu. ne hukande happ
Seldom does a sleeping man get victory, nor a squatting man luck

I.179.C.114 (bottom of page, scribal)
fialldan situr lúínuz madur í dyum
Seldom does a wise man sit in the doorway

I.19.C.115 (bottom of page, scribal)
fueiltur faud laufu bu
The sheepless farm dies

I.27.C.116 (bottom of page, scribal)
efnun err beft at ‘bua/
er atti .c. kua
It is best to prosper, [said the man] who had a hundred cows 181

*C.119 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

C.119 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

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

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

*C.129 (bottom of page, semi-hybrida style)
Sigzyduñ 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 veø
Rima dinus e2 fkaufud
Truly this is the end; the ríma of Dinus is written

*C.138 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)
bagz[...],[r]
zo[...e dl[...]
Le[...],ung[.....]

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

I.157.D.1 (bottom of page, scribal)
betra er fent (en alldrí)
Better late than never

181 Kålund adds “said a man” based on analogous proverbs.
I.49.D.2 (bottom of page, scribal)
(faer verda freft verkum) fegner. kaer miinn
 Few become happy by delaying work, my dear man

I.43.D.3 (bottom of page, scribal)
bragd er at *efur fialfur finur. fallda þoll
It is important if one notices it oneself, Fallda þoll 182

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 183

IV.Page 183.D.5 (top right corner of page, scribal)
leodegarus sanctus ora pro nobis
Saint Leodegar pray for us

I.72.D.5 (bottom of page, scribal)
fatt er (verra) en vara heimkan
Few things are worse than to warn a fool

I.73.D.6 (bottom of page, scribal)
feintt er heimkan at fnotra.
It takes a long time to make a fool wise

I.74.D.7 (bottom of page, scribal)
(Jilt er heimkum) ld at veita
It is difficult to offer help to a fool

IV.Page 182.D.8 (top of page, scribal)
Jesus firi gef þu þnvvm fynduga 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 (nazarenes)

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) ecki sockur
A thing floats while it doesn’t sink

182 Kålund suggests the scribe intended ef for efur and that fallda þoll is an address to a woman.
183 Kålund suggests fallda na is another address to a woman.
I.199.D.10 (bottom of page, scribal)
(Vantt er ur vifu von at kaupa)
It is difficult to buy hope out of certainty

**D.11 (bottom of page, scribal but square and textualis in style)
maria mater gracie
Mother Mary, graces

III.11.D.11 (bottom right corner of page, scribal)
glamar firi augu mun. en og er myrkur mena lin
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 bidur buen.)
It seems long to those who wait [for things to be] ready

I.59.D.13 (bottom of page, scribal) 184
martt er lkt. med þ(eim fem goder þicaz. lifit gott)
There is much in common among those who think themselves good, Good Life 185

**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 186

I.151.D.15 (bottom left of page, same line as next proverb, scribal)
ecki lakar ef ecki fier 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)
(mer lizt famt fkrifit þitt... / thomaf)
To me your writing goes along the same [...], Tómas

IV.Page 183.D.16 (top right corner of page, scribal)
leodegarus  fenenra
[Saint L. and Saint F.]

I.170.D.16 (bottom of page, scribal)
(vid rangan ftaf ma ftydzat ei vid) ðongvan. fvo fer um kloz mtt

184 C.f. Grettir Ch. 43, as Kålund points out.
185 Harris gives “They are too proud for their own good” as a translation of the whole. Kålund says lifit gott is another address to a woman.
186 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 lyte *fat fem (matenn etur) ok verdur ecki af fottum liukt
All things live which eat food and do not become sick from soot 187

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

I.42.D.18 (bottom of page, scribal)
þat finnr huef um er húgad 188
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 unclesver 189

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

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

I.138.D.20 (bottom of page, scribal)
marth vill meτa
Much wants more

I.149.D.21 (bottom of page, scribal)
margz æ2 fia22e en kemur næ22i nidur
Many a man rows far off but stops short [of his goal]

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

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

187 Translation as per Kålund. Surely *fat was a slip of the pen for þat.
188 This proverb is also found in Rask 72a, fol. 43r.
189 However, Kålund gives, “The wise and the unwise don’t go together.”
I.159.D.25 (bottom of page, scribal)
fa þicker hæfar hna æžlgu mannonum er þig sídar vel
He seems fitting among honorable men who improves/behaves himself well

I.61.D.26 (bottom of page, scribal)
gott gærer allðri mannum skada
Good never does harm to a man

I.114.D.29 (bottom left of page, on same line as next two proverbs, scribal)
lát gædit þýder mannun
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)
mic vantar vitt
I am lacking in wits

I.79.D.30 (bottom left of page, no space between this and next proverb, scribal)
ecki er allt áá enn hlaðit
Everything is not one-sided

I.55.D.30 (bottom right of page, scribal, continues previous sentence)
gott þícir gomlum badí
...to old men the bath seems good

I.125.D.31 (bottom of page, scribal)
(eugi lytrar þar længi) núdur hann tekur eckí upp
No one bows down long without taking something up

I.150.D.32 (bottom of page, scribal)
bera verdur til (hverar fogu) nocut. godí vin
Something comes of every story, good friend

II.17.D.34 (bottom right corner of page, scribal)
lítt tempraz blekit fíri þíer ga[m]lí mín tomas
The ink mixes little for you, my old Thomas

II.1.D.36 (bottom of page, scribal)
auguz goraz all vek, eigí fkapaz fkríf mtt
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)
There’s little improvement,” said one, who was [already] healthy.

Single examples are the worst.

...everyone thinks his wife is the best.

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

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

That is true which is agreeable to oneself.

By dittography, the scribe has written three t’s in litt.

C.f. Grettis saga Ch. 16.

C.f. Gisla saga Ch. 15.

Kålund points out that this proverb is found also in Ambalis saga.
I.161.D.45 (bottom of page, scribal)
eign hieck ute hinne er fat aa
He did not hang outside who sat up 194

I.28.D.46 (bottom of page, scribal)
(aller ega nocut kvad al konan)
“Everybody has something,” said the common woman 195

I.17.D.47 (bottom of page, scribal)
fatt er bæði bradgiezt 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 garnnan fem fôtt kemur faman
That sours easily which comes together sweet

I.41.D.49 (bottom of page, scribal)
tyfvar finnum uerdur fa fegin. fem recur þ grunn
He is twice happy who drifts aground

I.90.D.50 (bottom of page, scribal) 196
Jilt er ilum 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 óngu verndar
Wretched is he who excuses everything

I.66.D.52 (bottom of page, scribal)
betri er g(aupner gæfu.) en byðdur mannvitz 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 ilt kvad þiofî at fêla ecki
“It is wicked,” said the thief, “not to steal”

I.162.D.54 (bottom of page, scribal)
fýkul er fiôfar (gof)
Treacherous is the gift of the sea

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194 Kålund suggests, “Do not hang him out sitting up.”
195 Kålund suggests álfkonan—elf woman—for al konan.
196 C.f. Grettis saga Ch. 56.
I.48.D.55 (bottom of page, scribal)
fregnaz forn mæli oll
All the old saws are asked [their] advice

I.211.D.56 (bottom of page, scribal) 197
littl er verdr ofundl lauf madur
Little is the honor of an offenseless man

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

I.133.D.58 (bottom of page, probably scribal)
fatt er malum flear
Little is more in speech (i.e. people exaggerate) 198

I.44.D.59 (bottom of page, scribal)
þat ma allt finnaz fem ecki er falt
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 ilt at uera ok kann áá at gæda
It can be bad and it can get better

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

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

I.183.D.65 (bottom of page, scribal)
troll ufa hzofom 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 fterker aa fuellinnu

197 C.f. Saxo Grammaticus Liber quinunts 117 III? Saxo says, “Pauci tacentis egestatem aestimant aut silentis necessitudinem metiuuntur” 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.”
198 Kålund suggests, “Few things are greater than legal actions.”
All are equally strong on the ice

I.104.D.68 (bottom of page, scribal)\(^{199}\)
þangad er klaæn fufaztur. fem hann er kvalda兹ur
The cart-horse is most eager to get there when he is coldest

I.34.D.71 (bottom of page, scribal)
þat er mægt i bure þetande: eckir er aa bord berande
There is much to eat in the pantry: it is not borne to the table\(^{200}\)

I.193.D.72 (bottom of page, scribal)
vex vîhe ef vel geungur
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 òkylld de godum ìefti 2ida
A ride on a good horse should be soft

I.78.E.2 (bottom of page, scribal)
(......heïdfkírum) hímne
In clear sky\(^{201}\)

I.187.E.3 (bottom of page, scribal)\(^{202}\)
úlfar zëka anaðr erndí
Wolves do another’s job \(^{203}\)

I.155.E.4 (bottom of page, scribal)
Half feïnn er madur þo at um ìinn fe
Half late is the man though he be on time/though it be only once\(^{204}\)

I.21.E.5 (bottom of page, scribal)
Illt er at koma tuoþur dugum þ einn feckenn
It is wicked/difficult to bring two men into one guilt/bag\(^{205}\)

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

\(^{199}\) C.f. Ærvar-Odds saga Ch. 23.

\(^{200}\) Kålund gives “cannot be” for my “is not.”

\(^{201}\) Kålund suggests, “Opt er skúrar von úr heiðskírum himni”—often it rains out of a clear sky.

\(^{202}\) C.f. Laxdæla saga Ch. 23.

\(^{203}\) 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.”

\(^{204}\) The latter translation is per Kålund.

\(^{205}\) The latter translation is per Kålund.
He should be wary of evil who thinks himself good

Every troll turns others into trolls

It is bad to seek one’s fortune in a dog’s backside

It is evil to rejoice over another’s misfortunes

He who remains cautious may answer boldly

Few are improvements over their fathers

Mary mine now I need you

My writing is dull, and my pen becomes shaggy. My hand moves foolishly stiff. The winking eyelid recognizes this

206 Kålund gives, “After the sweet itch comes the sour pain.”
III.12.F.6 (unlocatable in facsimile)
gud vet hvad mer er at betur fer.
God knows what goes better for me

III.3.F.6 (bottom left of page, scribal)
Angur ber dyz drengur 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 e2 so
That is so

III.5.F.7 (bottom of page, scribal)
(beit er at bera þ harta þo brennande tregi) ljpenne
It is best to bear [pain] in the heart though burning difficulty grasp it

IV. Page 183.F.7 (top of page, scribal)
(anna) hialf en (þridia)
The very [Saint] Ann the third

IV. Page 183.F.9 (top of page, scribal)
halp mer (maria muk ok fæt)
Help me Mary gentle and sweet

III.13.F.9 (bottom of page, scribal)
J fiofenu er svo fa mannligt. firi frida audar lunda. firi hann klunna er þar
koftuligt. 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)
(heðrum cristi[i] hrenne list ok hanf enu dyr[a] mod[ur], fríd ok blezan varf herra)
Jesu Christi ok ænadar [ord] jungfru (fancte marse)
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)
mynn

II.15.F.10 (bottom of page, scribal)
hotur er penne ok loden at fiá. ok ligguz morg hier kleßan gra[..] mætara væri til
mefü at ga.
en margan fella kukenn upp áá

207 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 fumar [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)
(lauctus leodegarus bid firi mer til guðf at mer vel gange bæde firi hl 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)
leingi 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)
feintt er hemflkan 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)
klafott fer penne minn.
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)
lhul 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)
litd læzíz leidum þrak
Little is learned by a lazy boy

IV. Page 183.F.24 (top of page, scribal)
lancte leodegarium kómi 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 eنظ myzkur komir 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)
(Hring) 208

IV. Page 183.F.31 (top of page, scribal)
myn í make med mér ok þæter
May Mary mine, mother of God, be with me and with you

IV. Page 183.F.31 (unlocatable in facsimile) 209
fia til fingud maria fomaprudd aa dome.
Take care, blessed Mary honored in judgment

IV. Page 183.F.32 (bottom of page, scribal)
kome nu kriftur kæliga til
Come now Christ, lovingly

III.29.F.36 (bottom left, directly below last line of main text, scribal)
þó þiku mér 210
So it seems to me

III.22.F.36 (bottom right, separated from previous note, scribal)
myzkur sædur firi mağan mætare þegnum
Dark masters many a worthier man

208 Hring is the eponymous character in the first ríma of section D.
209 Kålund does not number this proverb separately in his edition, nor does he indicate where it occurs in the manuscript.
210 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”: Hzugazt hlofnær helldur faft. henmfliga fæ eg af [k]ervm
[utti?] laft. ozenn mîn ero mill áá baft. ollum þikir [f]at] fó. //
IV. Page 184. G.3 (bottom of page, scribal)
aue maria gaciat (plena dominus tecum)
Hail Mary full of grace, the Lord is with thee

**G.4 (bottom of page, poor pen, unidentifiable)
þak þu ok
þelan
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)
mültur er gud ok mûkur[samur]
Gentle is God and merciful

III.7. G.12 (bottom of page, scribal)
Eínu ðinne ec unga leit. afladi muer þat þenu. bran ec þiri /þic\ bruduþen teit. beint þ harta þenu.
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 mmer ero komner
My ink-crap shows up [here]

I.50. G.17 (bottom of page, scribal)
fullega fklz frett karl uíd ondina / ok fer muer fo ok lika þeim fem fkrífat hefur
þmur
nar fyr en ec / þvïat þær ero ut. ok vantar áá ndurlægit
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.211

**G.19 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)
[illegible line of text]

III.36. G.27 (bottom of page, scribal)
uti þat er hon unne mer
She no longer loves me

**G.29 (top of page, scribal but textualis in style)
maria

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211 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)
líotl í ga f er nu lode
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)
ingf

**G.35 (bottom of page, non-scribal hybrida style)
gud fadur ok fón ok helge ande
God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit

III.16.G.35 (bottom of page, scribal)
Jlla f er nu yndi
Joy now goes badly

III.10.G.39 [Kålund gives G.38, incorrectly] (bottom of page, scribal)
freclīga tēcur at fiuka āā fīka. falla myklar kīflur āā.
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)
zīmur fkrīfī zēnar [mier?]
The rhyme’s writing diminishes for me 212

II.10.H.7 (bottom of page, scribal)
(leðinnīga er fkrīfát hīfī gott)
The good life is boring to write 213

I.38.H.8 (bottom of page, scribal)
(þa er vel ef vel fēr)
It is good if things go well

III.31.H.11 (bottom of page, scribal)
(ftrīdnar ftrak 1 augum)
This harms the boy’s eyes

I.130.H.16 (bottom of page, scribal)
([...an?] er mannenf hērra en madur [brædinn?]ar þræll)
[...] is the lord of man but man [is] the slave of passion

---

212 This occurs at the end of the poem; Kålund emends rimur to rimna.
213 Based on the fact that Kålund puts this note in his section on scribal complaints and not proverbs, he presumably reads lifi 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)
audſen er faur anarf neff en eckær [a] fialff finf
*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 takar nema þurfe
*It is not necessary to take unless one needs*

I.210.H.21 (bottom of page, scribal)
Eingin veit finna æfi fy2 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)
byńa fkal til batunnadar
*Things must run to an extreme before they get better*

I.164.H.22 (bottom right, scribal)
þkipízt eí nema vefnne.
*Things never change except to worsen*

III.30.H.23 (bottom of page, scribal)
þo þíci meur sem þper
*It seems to me as it does to you*

I.116.H.27 (bottom of page, scribal)
latur bidur latan. en latur nenner huergi 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)
brigð ero ut lendfkrara o2d
*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*

I.110.H.32 (bottom of page, scribal)
(þecker kufe) kopp finn
*The cow knows its bucket*

I.137.H.33 (bottom of page, scribal)
(m[ic]ill koppar fkal m)at dzyga
*A big cup shall eke out food*

214 Or, following Kålund, “One doesn’t stick at taking when one needs something”?
215 This translation is direct from the Zoëga dictionary, which uses this proverb in its definition of *býsna*.
216 Kålund gives, “Improvement only comes after deterioration.”
217 Kålund interprets *en þyda* as another apostrophe to a woman.
218 Translation as per Kålund.
I.108.H.34 (bottom of page, scribal)
(kofter hitler 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 fllo2 en pikar [praun]
The pen becomes blunt but the girl [becomes] narrow

IV. Page 182.H.37
Jesus møxen (lón) (top of page, scribal)
Jesus son of a virgin

I.178.H.38 (bottom of page, scribal)
opt er fvin á á fostnu brennt
Often is the pig burnt on his broth

I.15.H.39 (bottom of page, scribal) 219
bot liggur til hverfl hlutar
There is a remedy for everything

I.117.H.40 (bottom of page, scribal)
leugi kvædur latur madur lig til fuar. 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 á á ofmud fá)
Matter takes little unbuilding 220

I.198.H.42 (bottom of page, scribal)
(mart er kvíkf vodh)
Great is the danger of being alive

**H.44 (bottom of page, unidentifiable)
Magnus

I.88.H.45 (unlocatable in facsimile) 221
futta ftund verdur hond hoggt feëgn
The hand happy at the blow [only] for a short time

I.154.H.46 (bottom of page, scribal)
(fennt feigiz þeim ðem) alldri (feigiz)
Slow are they to speak who never say anything

I.160.H.47 (bottom of page, scribal)
(fiderneðr fæma mannun)
The customs honor the man

219 C.f. Bjarnar saga híðamanna Ch. 10, though worded differently.
220 Kålund suggests, “This matter goes with poor workmanship,” another scribal complaint.
221 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 før lof) firi litir. 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) 222

I.36.H.50 (bottom of page, scribal)
(þat før) hver fem fer áa leit 223
Each gets what he seeks

I.8.H.53 (bottom of page, scribal)
(at þíker barninnu) þa þat gætur
The child is displeased, then it cries

I.203.H.54 (bottom of page, scribal)
boden þíonuzta verdur opt forfmad
Ready service is often disposed

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 hlæ2 litir vît.)
Little wit laughs long

I.40.H.56 (bottom right, scribal) 224
fe er foltrí lkt
The livestock is like the one who raises it

I.80.H.57 (bottom of page, scribal)
hof er áa/ ollu nema (hvilu kollum einum)
Moderation is in everything, except only in kisses in bed

I.4.H.58 (bottom of page, scribal)
(eingn er fo a2gur hann eini fier ei ðallb20dur)
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)
þa ok nei giozer langa (þrætnn)
Yes and no make a long quarrel

222 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.”
223 This proverb is also found in Rask 72a fol. 43r (see similar proverb above, D.18)
224 C.f. Viga-Glúms saga Ch. 13, which has, “Fé sé dróttini glikt.”
I.97.H.59 (bottom right, scribal)
ja er meyñor nei (aftenn mînn)
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)
fleuð er þaz 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)
þa[a...]l[a [illegible trials]
H[...]l[ndr [d[.....] h[...]n +

I.197.H.62 (bottom of page, scribal)
lattu min vte þer at varnadi verda
Let my woe be a warning to you

I.126.H.63 (bottom of page, scribal)
þia þu min (lyti enn alldri þin)
See my fault yet never your own

III.35.H.63 (unlocatable in facsimile)
utility yndif stunden
The time of joy is over

I.56.H.65 (bottom of page, scribal)
(martt er til gamanf górrt)
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)²²⁵
lengi (ma htit geyma)
A little may last long

I.122.H.66 (unlocatable in facsimile)
lengi ma htit *janfaz
Long may a little be divided²²⁶

²²⁵ As lengi 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.

²²⁶ 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 rimur.

### AM 604 a 4to

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<td>Áns rímr bogsveigis</td>
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<td>Hemingsrímrur</td>
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<td>(54-74)</td>
<td>Konráðsrímrur</td>
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<td>(75-80)</td>
<td>Herburtsrímrur</td>
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<tr>
<td>(80-82)</td>
<td>Reinaldsrímrur (gómlu)</td>
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<td>(6-31)</td>
<td>Andrarímrur (fórnu)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(31-32)</td>
<td>Landrészrímrur</td>
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### AM 604 c 4to

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<td>(133-138)</td>
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<td>Sigurðar rímr þöglá</td>
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<td>(55-61)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(61-72)</td>
<td>Þjófarímrur—Rímr af Íll, Verra og Verst</td>
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### AM 604 e 4to

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1-22)</td>
<td>Rímur af Vilmundi viðutan</td>
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### AM 604 f 4to

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<td>(19-36)</td>
<td>Skáldhelgarímrur</td>
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### AM 604 g 4to

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<tr>
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<td>(36-48) Völsungsrímur</td>
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<td><strong>AM 604 h 4to</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(1-26) Ektorsrímur</td>
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<td>(26-35) Úlfhamsrímur—Vargstökkur</td>
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<tr>
<td>(44-53) Klerkarímur</td>
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<tr>
<td>(53-65) Sálus rímur og Nikanórs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 rimur; 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 Kálund’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 433a 12mo**

3r (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
+$postul+
apostle

4v (bottom of page, unidentifiable)
[line of text erased]

11v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
Nu fulsar huffreyiaŋ vid ñer
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)
þ dag fyrir ecki par · Suo er fatt dotter min
...today for no reason. That is true, my daughter

12v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)
En nu hefi ek þo
But nevertheless I now am...

13r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 12v)
litla 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)

\[ \text{þórfr} \text{mun} \cdot \text{Eigi} \text{mann } \text{fkal} \text{yn} \text{ðus} \text{bann} \]

...in my breast. Man shall not be banned from joy

16v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

\[ \text{Nu þikki} \text{mer} \text{længt} \text{en} \text{num} \text{faman} \]

Now I feel I’ve been alone a long time...

17r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 16v)

\[ \text{þkrif} \text{ftofu} \text{n} \cdot \text{aud kender} \text{eru} \]

...in the scriptorium. They are obvious [...]

18v (bottom of page, Guðrún)

(gud)Run Sigfus
dottir [...]  

Guðrún Sigfúsdóttir

19v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

kapitulum drecka abbadisf  

Chapter-house drink abbess...

20r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 19v)

\[ \text{það} \text{fuko} \text{fá} \text{fagir} \text{hun} \text{onur} \text{ok} \text{retti} \text{hland} \]

...That shall you get, says the other, and peed

22r (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

nv gv ed om [...]  

za [.....]

25v (bottom of page, Scribe 1 up to 21r, Thereafter, a younger, hybrida hand.)

Sáa ma \text{fkrifa} aa \text{vllum} \text{hier} \text{a}  
\text{fkrifa} \text{og} \text{aa} \text{fotu}  
\text{zod} \text{og} \text{follka} \text{fkm}  

He can write on wool [who] writes here, and on skate-skin and fox-hide

26v (bottom of page, Scribe 1)

\[ \text{Nv er ek} \text{hræddr} \text{vid} \text{dottur miña} \]

Now I am afraid of my daughter...

27r (bottom of page, Scribe 1, continues sentence from 26v)

\[ \text{su} \text{o ek þor} \text{eckí} \text{anat} \text{en} \text{at} \text{fkrifa} \text{bokína} \text{hennar} \]

...so I dare not do otherwise than to write her book

227 Stefán Karlsson notes that “síðustu orðin kynnu að vera upphaf á málahætti 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).

228 Stefán notes that something is awry in the line, saying it should have read, “Kapitulum! Drekka,” [kvad] abbadis“ to make it a direct address and command to the chapter of nuns (78, f.n. 16).

229 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 Sigfuþson a kver þepsa**
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 230

31r (bottom of page, Scribe 2 or 3)
**litt 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 bry goss bwr or ks/e/g
med giyls : or vvw : n 5 5 7 231

34v (left, horizontal, non-scribal, possibly same as Jon signature on 29v)

|pm |litzy| |pm |

34v (bottom of page, Guðrún)

[guð Run]

[.] [….] Runa
[….]

35r (bottom of page, Guðrún)

gud(Ru)n Sigfuð

dottir

36r (bottom of page, unidentifiable)

mar(greta)

38v (bottom of page, non-scribal, possibly Guðrún)

[….]dru[n […]in
[…..]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)

byndan hlaofa vnmnling
[by]n[..] byndan […]

kr […]

Sinn b[two possible expansions and a series of minims]

by[.]a

230 The descenders of these letters are crossed multiple times each.

231 This and the horizontal marginalia on 34v may be ciphers, but I have not been able to interpret them.
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 \( v \) (\( \textit{w} \) for “\( \textit{úr} \)” 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 \( \textit{ok} \) is \( \varepsilon \) 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 Sigfús dóttir: 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

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<th>Events</th>
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<td>Introduction of Margaret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11v-12r</td>
<td>p 476.25</td>
<td>Margaret is beaten by Olibrius' men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12v-13r</td>
<td>(p 476.25)</td>
<td>The onlookers are afraid to help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13v-14r</td>
<td>p 476.28</td>
<td>Olibrius orders Margaret tortured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16v-17r</td>
<td>p 477.5</td>
<td>Margaret is cared for in prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18v</td>
<td>p 478.12</td>
<td>Margaret is swallowed by the dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19v-20r</td>
<td>p 478.21</td>
<td>Margaret is delivered and encounters Beelzebub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25v</td>
<td>p 479.10</td>
<td>Margaret and Beelzebub's discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26v</td>
<td>p 479.23</td>
<td>Olibrius tries again to convert Margaret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29r</td>
<td>p 479.27</td>
<td>Margaret is tortured with fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29v</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Margaret rebukes Olibrius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31v-31v</td>
<td>p 479.31</td>
<td>Olibrius orders Margaret drowned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34v-35r</td>
<td>p 480.7</td>
<td>Olibrius orders Margaret beheaded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38v</td>
<td>p 481.1</td>
<td>Margaret gives her executioner permission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43r</td>
<td>p 481.15</td>
<td>Final invocation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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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AM 433a 12mo. Manuscript and Images belonging to Stofnunar Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík.

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