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Kyrie Ekaterina Bouressa

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**The Report Committee for Kyrie Ekaterina Bouressa**  
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**Monasticism and textual communities in Iceland:**  
**Hauksbók and Þingeyrar**

**APPROVED BY**

**SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:**

Luisa Nardini, Supervisor

Daniel Birkholz

**Monasticism and textual communities in Iceland:**

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**Kyrie Ekaterina Bouressa**

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## **Dedication**

For my family,  
who have helped me come so far.

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## Abstract

### Monasticism and textual communities in Iceland:

#### Hauksbók and Þingeyrar

Kyrie Ekaterina Bouressa, M. Mus.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2022

Supervisor: Luisa Nardini

By examining the *Hervararkviða* and *Völuspa* within the *Hauksbók*, section AM 544 4to, and AM 98 8vo alongside similar Latin fragments, also containing the sequence *Lux illuxit laetabunda* from the Mass of St. Olaf, this work examines the textual culture, and transmission of material, and manuscript culture of these two examples.

*Hauksbók* is a complex item. Named for its main organizer and compiler, Haukr Erlendsson, it is built up of separate pamphlets, bound into quires, and then into the extant manuscript. It contains a range of material from clerical considerations, theological ponderings, a map of Jerusalem, a version of the pagan poem *Völuspa*, christianized in its context, various sagas and poetry, notably the *Heiðreks saga*, and other tales from Britain (such as a version of *Merlínuspa*). *Hauksbók* was apparently redacted in several places, notably at the monastery Þingeyrar in the bishopric of Hólar. The individuals and the places who worked on this manuscript provide insight into Haukr's goals, as well as on the Icelandic hands that completed the *Hauksbók* following Haukr's death before it was acquired by the Haukr's family.

*Lux illuxit* laetabunda and the excerpts examined here provide an opportunity to study transmission within the sacred context, whereas Hauksbók demonstrates a secular-sacred-secular transmission. The objects examined and evaluated begin with several fragments from Norway and culminate with a version of the sequence within the manuscript AM 98 8vo from Iceland. Evaluating these side by side demonstrates the transmission and changes made from Norway to Iceland.

The picture provided by examining Þingeyrar and the materials it influenced and produced is only a partial one, informed by extant textual sources. Understanding where these individuals were raised and trained, where and how they traveled, and what items they encountered demonstrates the unique position Icelandic monastic circles had in the development not only of the saga genre, but in the shaping of other textual materials as well.

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### **List of Abbreviations**

<b>AM</b>	Arnamagnæn Institute
<b>ON</b>	Nidaros Ordinary or Orðu
<b>AN</b>	Nidaros Antiphonarium
<b>Hb</b>	Hauksbók
<b>544</b>	AM 544 4to
<b>DG</b>	De la Gard, in Uppsala Universtet Manuscript Collection
<b>GKS</b>	Safn Konunglega bókasafnsinlí Kaupmannahöfn (Museum of the Royal Library in Copenhagen)
<b>DRL</b>	Danish Royal Library

### A note on spelling and patronyms

Spelling used here is Anglicized for access to the non-specialist; this means Niðaross is Nidaros and so on. Place names have been simplified or shortened following common use, meaning that long and difficult place names have been shortened. This refers particularly to monasteries, wherein, for example Þingeyrarklaustur, the Icelandic reference name, is shortened in Þingeyrar for clarity in English, as well as because “Þingeyrarklaustur monastery” is repetitive.

Suggestion for the pronunciation of special letters:

Þ, þ is a [provide the appropriate linguistic term (I think is a “dental fricative”)] like in the English word “thorn”

Ð, ð = same as above the

Þorr, is pronounced like Thor for English speakers

“Norse” and “Norsemen” refer primarily to the individuals from the territories that are today recognized as Norway, Iceland, and Greenland. The geographic distinctions recognized by the modern reader somewhat obfuscate comprehension of the term, particularly when combined with the lack of distinction made by contemporary writers. This was also an issue with English writers who would refer to the individuals indiscriminately as “Norse” “Northmen” or “the Danes”. “Norse” in this work shall refer to individuals from these regions enumerated above, regardless of eventual possession of territory.

“Danes” generally refers to the individuals which raided from and lived in modern-day Denmark, and areas of western England (the ‘Danelaw’), though again at times these references could be used broadly by contemporary writers. In this work “Dane” shall be used to refer to the individuals operating within unified Denmark.

Old Norse is an ancestor of several modern Scandinavian languages, most closely linked to modern Icelandic. It was established in written form shortly after the introduction of literacy, wherein a number of adapted letters were added to the Latin alphabet to span the necessary phonemes. These phonemes are local, and later editions would have locally developed letters which might not be found in earlier Old Norse. Generally, every item mentioned or pictured in the following work is in Old Norse or Latin.

Patronymic names. In Iceland the use of patronyms remains common, which means individuals listed in-text and in the bibliography will be listed as “Jon Karlsson” as standard in lieu of “Karlsson, Jon,”. This also means that some of the individuals listed in this work do not share a second name with other individuals noted to be directly related to them. An example here is Snorri Sturluson, who is of the Sturlungar and (supposedly) descended from Egil Skallagrímsson.

## INTRODUCTION

The Scandinavian world is an old one. So too are the traditions of storytelling and poetry, which thrived for so long in oral transmission. With the arrival of Christianity and the gradual conversion which then swept through the area, this tradition met one equally old and entrenched tradition: that of the unique textuality of the Roman Catholic Church. These two traditions would meet and synthesize into many products, among them the saga. The means of this synthesis and how it came about was, at first, centered on the monasticism of Iceland.

The specifics of such, examined in this report from both sacred and secular origins, were a gradual thing. They were shaped by the shifting of kingdoms and changing notions of power, and further instigated with the unique circumstances of how the aristocracy of Iceland adapted to literacy, further growing the brew. The swift spread of literacy, initially disseminated from a clerical position, quickly saw the rise of local school farms and family instruction. These establishments, often close to the great centers of learning, Skálholt and Hólar, would create unique textual communities. These communities, and the one involved with Þingeyrar monastery particularly, would shape the transmission of material as well as shape songs and stories for centuries to come.

To explore this, this report examines two spheres—the secular and the sacred—and studies their context, transmission, and eventual contact with Þingeyrar. This is done via the *Hervararkviða* and the *Völuspá* within the AM 544 4to section of the *Hauksbók*, and via the sequence *Lux illuxit laetabunda* from the Mass of St. Olaf. Both materials journeyed from Norway to Iceland, through multiple waves of transmission. The alterations that occurred once at Þingeyrar, and the history and context which led up to such results, reveal not only an aspect of

the Icelandic world view, but an aspect of Þingeyrar and its community and all the forces associated with it.

## CHAPTER 1: Viking Kings, Christian Kings

The following section serves a multi-purpose role: the first to familiarize the reader with the historical context of Scandinavia circa 1000, including the shifting religious scene in the region. The second, to demonstrate the gradual transformation of the centralization of kingship as a result of the conversion of Norway, Iceland, and Denmark, and the third to present this increasingly feudal system's relationship up to the rise of Christianization, while considering the ascent of kings, their method for ruling, developing alliances, and broadening larger-scale trades.

As such, the pattern of the conversion of the kings and the conversion of the nations, spot-specific as it was initially, began to gradually evolve following the ambitions of their rulers. Unfolding from local chieftains and petty kings, local rulers gradually turned their attention from local power grabs, taking over their neighbor's lands and resources, to larger scale efforts at either unification and local conquest or outright annihilation. In this respect, Norway and Denmark are similar: both had galvanizing figures who promoted themselves at the head of various provinces and territories and became Kings writ large, rather than operating on a more local scale. Conversion to Christianity was also often a pragmatic choice, since it afforded greater alliances, assistance, and political consideration from neighboring Christian kingdoms. An example of this pragmatic approach is represented by raiders donning crosses to enter a township or market unmolested. Donning a cross allowed easier maneuvering through English territory, and put in mind a trust in mutual trade and nonviolence for individuals with whom the Norse and Danes sought more peaceable trade while in the British Isles.

Conversion also trickled down locally. Some of the Christian kings were more interested than others in the conversion of local individuals and peasants in their domain. In some cases their efforts towards eradicating the pagan practice even led to the destruction of pagan sites of



worship in (such as Olaf Tryggvason, in Norway). These local converts remained Christian while their ruling kings shifted through the periods of wars, a useful strategy for those Christian kings who would immediately garner the support of converted locals. As missionary efforts increased in the region, so too did the number of ready locals. Identifying as Christian allowed kings not only an international relevance, but also allowed them to take advantage of implemented Christian hierarchies. This gave them the means to fill hierarchical ranks with their preferred appointees.

The following outlines of the kings of Norway and Denmark are chronologically brief, spanning only a little over 150 years. These kings, ranging from 990-1100, shape the Christian foundations in Scandinavia. Their deeds range from the creation of cities, to facilitating the arrival of various monastic orders, which subsequently led to the establishment of monasteries and convents, to the spreading of literary technologies that facilitated manuscript creation. Understanding the role of the kings and the reflection of their political goals provides context for the discussion of monasteries and religious institutions in Norway and Iceland and of the people and manuscripts that interacted with them.

## I. Norway

*Heimskringla*, composed and collated by Snorri Sturluson, contains several early vernacular accounts of the unification and later Christianisation of Norway. Its content was expanded upon in contemporary and later saga sources, and served as an introduction to the kings sagas among others as a means of delivering the history of lineage in vernacular form. Later works focusing on the kings of Norway shed further light on these events, but the majority

of the early sources regarding the Christianization of the area can be found in the *Heimskringla*<sup>1</sup>. The significance of this manuscript reflects as much the narrative of the conversion of Norway as it is representative of the vernacular historical narrative then produced from those monasteries established after the conversion. The history contained therein is not reported in Latin, but in the vernacular language in the saga format.

Medieval Norway does not resemble modern Norway in a geographical or political sense. Numerous smaller kingdoms and hereditarily inherited land built up a patchwork of neighboring lands and territories of varying sizes, as well as of available arable land, principally in southern Norway. There were occasional land grabs, when rising chieftains and kings sought to take over neighboring territories. Broad, massive unification or conquering of territories and ensuing submission to a central king did not occur in full until the arrival of Harald Fairhair. Fairhair united vast swathes of Norway, mostly along the western and northern coasts, with disputed areas located in the south, next to the border with Sweden and Denmark. The northwestern territories of Norway regularly drove for separation from a central ruling class that preferred to keep to their own styles of governance and procedure and remained distinct from the rest of the kingdom. Rulers semi-regularly acted as a disruptive element to the power of Norwegian kings, who strived for complete unification and rule until the mid-fourteenth century.

During Fairhair's drives for conquest, those who did not submit or work to some kind of alliance under him left for Norway's extended holdings and neighboring territories. As a consequence, recently discovered areas like Iceland began to quickly surge in population (the

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<sup>1</sup> Among the multiple/innumerable kings' sagas and the various genealogical works within this particular saga, there are sections for nearly every dynasty, moving from the Fairhair onwards. Notably the *Heimskringla* begins with the Yngling saga, which opens with a mytho-poetic account and spans to the period of its writing, culminating with Fairhair.

founding, establishment, and growth of Iceland discussed in several of the sagas). This was also the case of the Orkney Islands, Shetland Islands, and Faroe Islands, further detailed in sagas such as the *Landnámabók*, which focuses on the settlement of Iceland and the families there established.

Fairhair maintained a grip on his unified Norway from approximately 872-930 CE, with his son, Eric Bloodaxe, rising briefly to the throne of Norway and Northumbria. Bloodaxe then held the throne of Norway from 931-933 and of Northumbria from 947-8 and again from 952 to 954. Håkon the Good, rising to the throne swiftly in a united usurpation of Eric Bloodaxe, ruled from 934 to 961 CE and was the first officially Christian king of Norway.

The boundaries and territories of Norway constantly shifted, becoming all the more muddled with later war and disputes between the neighboring kingdoms of Sweden and particularly of Denmark. Most of Håkon the Good's successors continued as Christian kings of Norway, generally being baptized abroad. There were no ensuing kings of Norway (or Denmark) who were not Christian after approximately 1020<sup>2</sup>. Håkon is said to have been the youngest son of Fairhair, and was sent to Æthelstan of England for fostering<sup>3</sup>. There he was exposed to Christianity and was subsequently baptized while at court. Håkon's overthrowing of his half-brother, Eric Bloodaxe, provoked constant wars between Håkon and Bloodaxe's sons, one of whom would eventually ascend the throne a few years after being baptized in England.

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<sup>2</sup> There is some discussion on Håkon being an apostate, and practicing pagan and Christian customs simultaneously. This would not be unusual, particularly in some prior saga accounts of Norsemen, either pragmatically converting or to don a Christian cross when walking about Christian spaces in Britain so as to be unhindered.

<sup>3</sup> The fostering of Håkon is thought to have been potentially a cunning trick on the part of Æthelstan to gain a means of gainsaying against any thoughts on the part of Fairhair to getting further involved in England and particularly Wessex.

Harald Greycloak, the eldest surviving son of Eric Bloodaxe, ascended to the throne after the death of Håkon the Good, although he would rule predominantly only over western holdings in Norway. Many of Greycloak's attacks against Håkon the Good's territories and authority were facilitated by his alliance with the then king of Denmark, Harald Bluetooth.<sup>4</sup> Greycloak, once king, proceeded to eliminate his rivals, both within the united areas and in the territories outside of the boundaries created by Harold Fairhair. A number of these local leaders were legitimate kings over their own territories, and when killed they left behind their own sons with legitimate claims on the territory of their fathers' property. Among them were Olaf Tryggvason and Håkon son of Sigurd, whose fathers were both killed in Greycloak's purge.<sup>5</sup> Håkon Sigurdsson was closely affiliated with Bluetooth and had previously assisted Greycloak in his raids against Håkon the Good in his drive for power.<sup>6</sup> This all came to backfire fairly spectacularly against Greycloak when Håkon, allied to and urged by King Bluetooth of Denmark, lured Greycloak into Denmark. There he was subsequently killed in a twist of alliances and ambition. Tryggvason, abroad and *aviking*<sup>7</sup> throughout England and Ireland, remained unmolested abroad and later returned to claim the throne.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Harald Bluetooth is as much a figure in Danish history as Harald Fairhair; both established dynasties of rule and conquest throughout Scandinavia and into England and its island surroundings. Bluetooth would also wield personal religion as a weapon as much as his predecessors and neighbors. While his descendants would certainly practice Christianity devoutly and assert their rights as kings in part due to their Christian affiliation, Bluetooth was not so interested or affiliated and often came into conflict with Otto II, then Holy Roman Emperor over the continued pagan practices and presence in Denmark.

<sup>5</sup> Sverrir Jakobsson. "*The Process of State Formation in Medieval Iceland*", Viator 40, 2009. p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Viking is a profession, and so to go aviking, as the origin of the word "Viking", means raiding and trading abroad ranging from the British Isles to the Mediterranean, establishing a presence in particular upon Ireland.

<sup>8</sup> Tryggvason was well established in Ireland, having married an Irish woman and was settled as a local chieftain, staying in Ireland instead of returning to Norway in the spring. Likely this was as much to avoid political clamor as it was to maintain his gathered lands and ownings.

Tryggvason was baptized while raiding in England and married twice while away from Norway. This continued the trend of Christian kings in Norway and set a precedent for religious pragmatism, Christian kings recognized as legitimate abroad so that they could receive support and resources from other Christian kingdoms.<sup>9</sup> With the death of Greycloak, Norway came under the control of Bluetooth via his vassal king Håkon, and then under the control of Bluetooth's son, Svein Forkbeard.<sup>10</sup> Tryggvason was recalled as a potential legitimate claimant to the throne of the Fairhair dynasty while local rulers became more and more discontented with the current ruler and vassal representative, and Tryggvason entered Norway in about 995 and subsequently ascended the throne, remaining king until 1000.

Tryggvason established his seat in Trondheim, which became the traditional and significant center of power for religious purposes as well, since Tryggvason established a church there which became the basis to further Christianity throughout Scandinavia, also thanks to missionaries sent to Iceland, Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe. Trondheim was to be renamed and referred to as Nidaros, a name also used for its cathedral. Tryggvason was initially only recognized as king by the Christian Norse. As a consequence most of his power remained on the western and southern coast of Norway, similarly to Greycloak's sphere of influence, but broadening in the westward direction over the North Sea.

After Tryggvason's death, Denmark once again ruled over Norway, this time more directly under Svein Forkbeard's command. He remained king of Denmark and Norway from 1000 to 1014 CE, at which point Olaf II Haraldsson, eventually to be St. Olaf, declared himself

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<sup>9</sup> Expansion on this shifted support because of Christian affiliation, also a link from the English missionary efforts with Håkon.

<sup>10</sup> Also at times spelled "Sweyn", Svein would father Cnut, to be Cnut the Great. Cnut's line remained on and off the throne of England, Norway, and numerous other provinces for quite some time. Significantly, his later wedding to Emma of Normandy allowed William to claim to the throne.

king of Norway in 1015. In so doing he shifted rule of Norway back to the reign and ambition of local kings.

Olaf II secured the support of the remaining petty kings in the Upplands (northern and western territories of Norway), annihilated the kings holding out in the south, and formed a peace treaty with Sweden, while taking swipes at Denmark to assure some form of peace and unification within Norway.<sup>11</sup> Olaf II was overthrown by his own nobles in 1029 with the aid of Cnut the Great, son of Svein Forkbeard. Cnut invaded Norway and claimed Trondheim, while Olaf II fled abroad and was eventually killed in an attempt to reclaim the city. The Nidaros Cathedral is supposedly built upon his burial site. A year after his death, he was canonized by the local Bishop Grimkell<sup>12</sup>, an event that further encouraged the spread of Christianity in Scandinavia and the conversion of local Norsemen.<sup>13</sup> Pope Alexander III confirmed his canonization in 1164; St. Olaf was recognized as a saint in both Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox traditions, and once the Reformation swept through Scandinavia remained relevant to Lutheran liturgical purposes and historical significance.<sup>14</sup> Whether Olaf II was as personally religious as suggested by his later cult is a matter of controversy; early sources and skaldic renditions portray him as one of the many kings who Christianized more as a method of alliance

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<sup>11</sup> A note about these relationships with Denmark in particular is found in the contemporary sources, as *Heimkringla* makes several assertions about Olaf II's interests in destabilizing Danish rule in England. He worked to dislodge Cnut the Great and restore Æthelrad Unraed "the Unready" when this attempt failed in the interests of Æthelrad's sons before turning his attentions to Norway [this part is unclear. I made some suggestions, but I am not sure they work]. This involvement with Danish efforts in England were only possible and were initiated after the death of Svein Forkbeard, then king of Denmark and Norway. It would be on this return from England that Olaf would stop over in Normandy on his return home and be baptized in Rouen.

<sup>12</sup> Bishop Grimkell was St. Olaf's missionary bishop, brought over with him from England.

<sup>13</sup> The poem "*Glælognskviða*" or "Sea-calm Poem" written by Icelandic skald Þórarinn loftunga in the early 1030s outlined nine miracles later attributed to Olaf, used for his canonization.

<sup>14</sup> St. Olaf would be the last saint worshiped by both eastern and western practices prior to the Great Schism. His worship was included in Byzantium alongside the Mother of God as patron saints of the chapel of the Varangians, the Norse who went to Byzantium to act as bodyguards for the emperor.

and convenience than for personal faith. Some skaldic descriptions apply pagan descriptions to his relationships.<sup>15</sup> Regardless, his death and canonization became an effective tool through which the Church continued to convert the rest of Norway through Nidaros.<sup>16</sup>

Norway remained in a shifting state between self-rule to Danish rule for the next several centuries until it was wholly occupied and ruled by Denmark with the establishment of the Kalmar Union in 1387. The ascension of Margaret I of Denmark, shortly also acclaimed queen of Sweden, marked the large shift in centrality of rule over the three nations, particularly when her grand-nephew, Erik VII was named her heir as well as heir apparent of Norway. With his rise to kingship, Erik VII was crowned king of all three nations in 1397. Norway remained in a union with Denmark until 1814. Both Margaret and Erik left the highest administrative positions of Norway empty, with positions once available generally given to Danes or Germans. Norway's national council was not granted the same powers as those in Sweden and Denmark, in large part as a result of the weakening of its aristocracy after the plague of the fourteenth century and the lack of arable land, which prevented the formation of powerful and large estates differently from what happened in southern Sweden and Denmark.

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<sup>15</sup> Lönnroth, Lars. ed. Michael Dallapiazza and others. "The Baptist and the Saint: Oddr Snorrason's View of the two King Olavs", in *International Scandinavian and Medieval Studies in Memory of Gerd Wolfgang Weber*, 2000, 257–64.

<sup>16</sup> Olaf's claiming as a saint came quickly on the heels of his death, though he was not so much an active missionary in life; he would be portrayed by later writers (especially out of Þingeyrar in such works as the saga of Olaf Tryggvason) as completing the work initiated by Tryggvason.

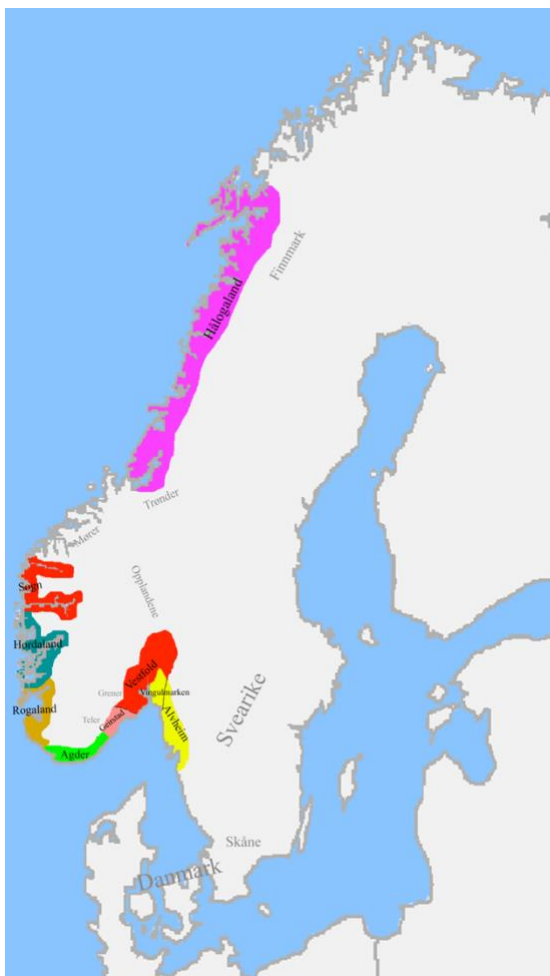


Fig. 1.1

(In Figure 1 the various petty kingdoms of Norway circa 860 CE. In Figure 2 Harald Fairhair's unified Norwegian territories in red).

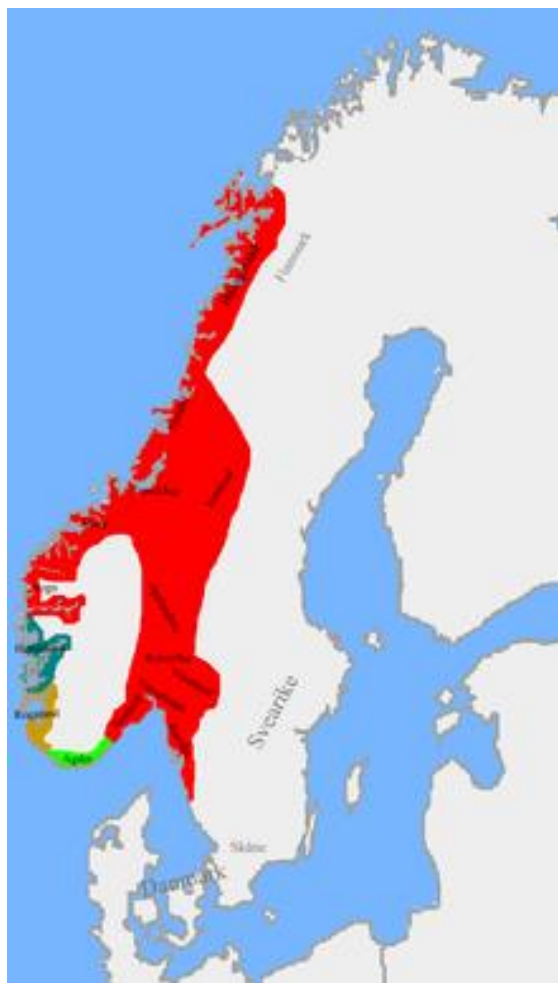


Fig. 1.2

a. The Christianization, the Sees

In *Heimskringla*, the conversion of Norway is primarily attributed to the four kings mentioned above: Håkon the Good, Harald Greycloak, Olaf Trygvason, and Olaf II Haraldsson. All of them were baptized abroad in the 10th and 11th centuries. Christians in Norway prior to this time—or even during their reigns—are not so explicitly discussed in the sources.

Baptism became a tool for local chieftains to forge a closer relationship to the Christian king, for all the individuals may have equally or similarly converted as a means of pragmatism



over faith. Similarly, these missionary kings could utilize the drive for conversion to replace high ranking individuals with Christian chieftains and persons of their choosing.

The introduction and similar implementation of a hierarchy of Christian priests further served to undermine local religious leadership. Local individuals could convert on their own terms up until the return and subsequent rise of Olaf Tryggvason to the kingship. His interest in converting the masses along with chieftains surpassed his predecessors' primarily hierarchical interest in conversion. Locals prior to this point converted out of their own interest or as a means to demonstrate loyalty to the Christian kings and otherwise engender their support.<sup>17</sup>

As discussed above, most of the Christian kings were baptized abroad, with Håkon the Good being baptized in England among the Benedictines and Harold Greycloak in Northumbria. Olaf Tryggvason was similarly baptized while in England, and Olaf II Haroldsson was baptized while in Normandy, in Rouen.

With the decisive early influence from England, though either fostering at court (as with Håkon) or familiarity and friendship with monks and bishops (as with Tryggvason), much of the early conversions and Christian influence was via these English bishoprics and methods of hierarchy. However, the Nordic bishopric was officially governed by the See of Bremen by no small influence of Otto II, then Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>18</sup> The Nordic nations did not have a central bishopric until the archbishopric of Lund was established in 1104 with the main goal to diminish the influence of the Holy Roman Emperor in the North as much as to provide a local center of influence.

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<sup>17</sup> With a degree of exception, as will be discussed later, the Icelanders for the first century or so after the conversion were allowed to retain pagan practices inside the home, while being publicly.

<sup>18</sup> This was possible along with simultaneous exposure and interest from the Irish Church, which held traits and practices closer to those of what would become the Eastern Orthodox Church than to Roman Catholic practices. See *Ulf 2017*.

In 1152, the then Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear (later Pope Adrian IV) established the archbishopric of Nidaros, encompassing the five local bishoprics of Norway (Nidaros, Bergen, Stavanger, Oslo, Hamar) and six more spanning the western islands (Skálholt and Hólar in Iceland, Greenland, the Faroes, Orkney, and the Hebrides). The implications of establishing such a realm of influence was felt as much upon the new structures of rule and administration as it is on the smaller level of person conversion; an example of this was in the changing means of inheritance, particularly through establishing a standard rule of inheritance for a now centralized crown. As such, primogeniture was established as the primary rite of succession for the crown, and the methods of election shifted from the traditional Þing to an electoral body primarily composed of church representatives. Similarly, with these establishments of bishoprics, a number of monasteries and nunneries began to spread throughout Scandinavia. The following pages focus primarily on Norway, Denmark, and Iceland and on Nidaros and Hólar in particular.

## II. Iceland

### a. Establishment and Conversion

Iceland, as mentioned above, was populated in two waves: first as an extension of various seafaring voyages, and second as a result of political refugees fleeing the reign of Harald Fairhair in Norway. According to *the Sagas of the Icelanders*, the first settlers were Vikings who were blown off course, thus discovering the landmass by accident. Initial attempts at settlement were tenuous, and could fail easily because of the great difficulty to bring sufficient supplies from the mainland and the inability to make the trip across the stretch of sea for resupply in the midst of winter.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The two primary sagaic records for the settlement and establishment of Iceland, the *Landnámabók* and the *Íslendingabók* would both outline numerous initial failures at the settlement of Iceland, with the great winters and unique artifacts of the geography making certain types of livestock support difficult.

Archaeological records confirm the claims of the sagas and the rough dating provided by later writers. These literary and historical accounts include the sagas *Islendingabók* (Saga of the Icelanders) and *Landnámabók*<sup>20</sup> (Book of Settlements) as well as Norwegian sources compiled in Latin (the *Historia Norwegiae* and the *Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium*, both completed by monks, the latter by known to us as monk Theodoricus).<sup>21</sup> The texts agree and generally place the settling of Iceland as beginning around 870 CE, a fact that is confirmed by later archaeological radiocarbon dating and other analyses that place the earliest arrival and settlement perhaps around 840 CE.

After the initial discovery, word spread about Iceland. Its relative nearness to Norway saw its first settlers being primarily from the mainland. One of the first named settlers to establish themselves permanently in Iceland was a Norwegian by the name of Ingólfr Árnason. He traveled twice to Iceland in the lifetime of Harald Fairhair and settled permanently when Fairhair began to actively pursue his ambitions as a young man towards the control of most of Norway and shape it into a more feudal system above local kings and territories.

The tumult within Norway greatly accelerated the immigration process to Iceland. A number of the individuals fleeing Fairhair came to the British Isles and began launching raids on Norway. This culminated in Fairhair retaliating with his own raids against the British Isles, and resulted in additional displacement and fleeing of people to Iceland. The number of those who fled from western Norway to Iceland were so great that the dialect of western Norse spoken by

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<sup>20</sup> Landnámabók was composed by Ari the Wise, a monk at the monastery of Helgafell. The work was continuously expanded by later scribes and copyists, and the document as a whole became a means of legitimacy for both the Icelanders and Iceland as an independent entity as a whole.

<sup>21</sup> On the archaeological methods of dating Iceland's settlement and the truth of the sagas more and more research is being done, with various excavations being carried out when possible. The sagas were waved off as historical documents, though they were eventually proven correct in the approximate timings and settlement locations.

them became the ancestor for modern Icelandic (see Fig. 2 on page 8; the area in pink largely fled to Iceland, resulting in Fairhair's control as pictured in Fig. 1).

These new arrivals brought with them both an oral system of law, which took root, flourished, and became the preferred means for the dispensation of justice as well as for the organization of complaints and other issues pertaining to property and land.<sup>22</sup> The greatest of these institutions was the establishment of the þing, wherein systems of small courts could be held locally. According to this system, larger courts deliberated on trials that could not be resolved at the local level, the highest level being the court of Iceland, the Althing.

In the mid-tenth century Iceland was divided into four administrative districts, or quarters. Each quarter was the home of three þings, with the northern quarter holding a few more courts than its neighbors. This was balanced appropriately by the other quarters, which had a few extra representatives at the higher courts. Þing meetings were held in the spring, prior to the meeting of the Althing, always held in the longest days of summer. These quarters became the modern counties of Iceland, and laid the foundations of the episcopal divisions of the church. Power in these Quarter Courts, or Þings, was held by three chieftains called goðar, who were of the noble families of Iceland. The term itself, "goði" and "goðar" stems from the English word "god", a circumstance that provides some insight into the roles of these individuals— they not only held leadership positions but they were also spiritual leaders, holding sacrificial feasts throughout the year in the pagan tradition.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Norway's existing system of things were readily imported. The significance of the adoption in Iceland outstripped the function and significance of the thing in Norway, perhaps somewhat because Iceland did not have a king (initially) to which the things could be overturned or dominated.

<sup>23</sup> Words as such coming from the fact these individuals operated with the affairs of the gods and so earned 'god-' as a root of their reference.

There were a rough total of thirty-nine goðar, each of whom presided on the highest court, the Althing, and sat on the Lögregta (the highest legislative body). There were also appointed men on the Quarter Courts. The Lögregta passed and amended laws as well as adjudicated disputes that could not be settled in the lower courts. These ranged from administrative quarrels to criminal proceedings.

The goði were also accompanied by prominent farmers and other important individuals, each coming together to the Althing in the summer to hear the reading of the laws, performance of poetry, and to participate in various games. These ceremonies also included speeches pronounced before the gathering. Each individual was responsible for standing for the interests of their home quarter and þing.

Among the large issues brought before the Althing, there was the question of Christianity, which had become increasingly relevant both abroad on the mainland and in the bounds of the island. Olaf Tryggvason had risen to the throne of Norway and set about sending missionaries to his various holdings in the west, among them Iceland. These missionaries did not operate so peacefully as contemporaneous and later records expounded (regarding the 'bloodless' conversion of Iceland).<sup>24</sup> The dispute was brought before the Althing, where the Lawspeaker was asked to come to a decision as to the practice of religion on Iceland.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The conversion was, for many centuries, touted as an entirely bloodless effort. This was not wholly true, as, while missionaries sent by Tryggvason were present in Iceland, there were records of disputes between the representatives and locals over religion and conversion. These culminated with the death of an Icelander. At that point the matter was brought before the Althing and not the local court, and the Lawspeaker was asked to make a decision.

<sup>25</sup> For quite some time the conversion of Iceland was touted proudly as entirely bloodless and a common-sense decision on the part of not only the Lawpseaker, but the Althing and the people of Iceland as well. Within the sagas there is a record of various squabbles, some ending in deaths, over the missionaries and their efforts in Iceland. Most notably talked about within the *Kristni saga* and the *Islendingabók*.

The lawspeaker Þorgeir Þorkelsson eventually decided that Iceland would declare itself officially Christian, with other caveats about limiting the forced conversion of individuals, not allowing missionizing over every person on the island, not enforcing and punishing individual practice within the home, and enforcing Christian practices in public through the wearing of a cross or attending a church.<sup>26</sup> The pagan tradition maintained itself for a couple of decades following the conversion, and officially died out on the island by about 1200.

The Althing and the Quarter system were integrated into the hierarchical system of the church fairly easily; two seats were added to the Althing for the bishops or their appointees. Eventually the Quarter system became roughly congruous to the episcopal system. Two large bishoprics were established on the island, Skálholt in the south in 1056 and Hólar in the north in 1106. Both areas became the main educational centers of Iceland, with goði often arranging for churches to be built on their lands.

The reason for this land and church building system was as similarly pragmatic as the initial conversion; the goði were interested in retaining their power and influence and saw a close relationship with the church as the greatest means to do this. As a result, Iceland's churches initially sent their revenue not to the mainland and to the holdings of Nidaros, Bremen, or Rome, but to the goðar. The goði did not hold services themselves, but employed a cleric and sent some of their sons to the churches to be educated, and were directly involved to master the written tradition of the Church.

With this initially subordinate position of the church in Iceland as well as with the widespread interest in the literate traditions of the Church literacy spread quickly across the island. This was the seed for the development of Iceland's manuscript and written tradition not

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<sup>26</sup> This meant, in effect, that no one was really converted and pagan practice would continue to flourish initially only within the home, but with time passing these pagan ritual waned.

only in Latin but also in the vernacular; Icelanders would translate not only religious passages into Old Norse (and later Icelandic), but secular poems, songs, and story traditions (which became known as the sagas). Among these adapted traditions was the Latin genre of the *vita*, where Icelandic monks were commissioned by kings of Norway and Denmark to write their lives in the style of the *vitae* but in the vernacular of their house and people.<sup>27</sup>

Prior to the adoption of the Christian system of education and writing practice, there was not a significant literate tradition in Scandinavia, including Iceland. What existed was the runic alphabet, descended from Germanic runic alphabets, which was used primarily more for inscriptive and descriptive purposes than for narrative or religious texts. As a result, much of the extant runic examples are generally found on stone and bone, with occasional exceptionally well-preserved wooden items. Simultaneously there was a strong local oral tradition of storytelling of various heroic, legendary, family, and mythic works which became the sagas.

As shown above, the close relationship between the structure and function of the law was used as the basis for integration of religious hierarchy once Christianity was established in Iceland. This close relationship between literacy, law, and the adoption of their system of storytelling would color the relationship between Icelanders and their textuality. Icelanders would not only immediately set to work detailing the law structure of Iceland, but established an adapted version of their vernacular tradition, in the monasteries, which would become the saga. These monasteries and systems of education in Iceland thus became a place of extraordinary

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<sup>27</sup> These adapted versions were often at their earliest iteration direct translations, with some gradual tweaking to follow local poetic practice and vernacular twists. Among these there were the kennings, which consist of references to the sea like “whale-path”, and other poetic references to familiar objects; from battle, to axes, to ships (sea-horses). These are more obvious in the works written in the 1200s, but even the two iterations of the saga of Olaf Tryggvason, both produced within twenty years of one another at the monastery Þingeyrar, would demonstrate the continuity of the style in Latin and in Norse. See (Antonsson 2012).

creativity and output as well as centers of exchange and transmission of objects and traditions across regional boundaries both in the sacred and secular realm.

### III. Denmark

#### A. Establishment, Kings, Countries

Denmark, similarly to Norway, was constructed of a variety of territories controlled by petty kings and aristocrats until it was unified into a feudal system through the actions of a single king. For Norway this king was Harald Fairhair, who established not only the beginnings of a unified Norway, but also of the Fairhair dynasty. In Denmark, instead, the king who strove for conquest and unification was Harald I Bluetooth.<sup>28</sup>

Bluetooth, like Fairhair and most of the other local and petty kings, began as an inheritor of the territory established by his father Gorm the Old. The latter had already been significantly involved in warfare with his neighbors and allies with the ultimate goal to unify nearby territories. Bluetooth completed the efforts initiated by his father and, once baptized in 960 CE, commenced the Christianization of Denmark.<sup>29</sup>

Bluetooth's efforts at consolidating Denmark and its resources also resulted in the conquest of Norway following the rule of Harald Greycloak, which ended when his son Svein Forkbeard usurped his position as King of Denmark and Norway and assumed the rule of Norway in 987. Svein's rule in Norway was contested after his vassal king became largely unpopular and Olaf II Haraldson shortly thereafter assumed the throne.

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<sup>28</sup> Numbering for kings in the area can get extraordinarily confusing. Harald I of Denmark is not related to Harald I of Norway nor Harald II of Denmark, which is one of the reasons why including the necessary epithets- "Bloodaxe" "Bluetooth" are necessary to differentiate kings and heirs without recurring to a family tree.

<sup>29</sup> There is a not insignificant amount of conflicting information about the circumstances of Bluetooth's baptism, primarily from the conflicting reports from contemporary writers Widukind of Corvey and Adam of Bremen providing conflicting accounts. Both place the time around 960 and after a meeting with Otto (either I or II), Holy Roman Emperor.



Svein maintained a personal interest in England and undertook a number of raids and efforts with the goal of colonizing and ruling the area, which he did successfully from 1013-1014. Svein died shortly after assuming the kingship of England by forcing Æthelred II into exile, and establishing an Anglo-Danish Empire. This spanned intermittently northwards through Norway and into England, Ireland, and into the various northwestern islands; this Empire survived until 1042 in the hands of his son, Cnut the Great, and grandson, Harthacnut<sup>30</sup> (see Appendix C.3).

The Christianity of the kings of Denmark was a powerful factor in their ability to act as kings of England, while foreign rulers' Christianity invited some measure of goodwill by the locals and let them operate within the authority of the Church's authority. It channeled the preference of the local system of rule for Christian kings as a tool for bargaining and maneuvering abroad. Similarly, the acceptance of God or the conversion to Christianity was a powerful propagandistic tool; Svein's reception in records is somewhat controversial. Adam of Bremen in particular generally painted him as a pagan who was only able to succeed in his goals and as a ruler once converting to Christianity.<sup>31</sup>

Svein's invasion of England and the overthrowing of Æthelred Unraed ("the Unready") in 1013 was cemented by the marriage of Æthelred's wife, Emma of Normandy, to his son Cnut.<sup>32</sup> Their son, Harthacnut, was king of Denmark and England, with Emma's sons from her

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<sup>30</sup> This span of land and sea was also called the "North Sea Empire".

<sup>31</sup> This is difficult to parse; there has been work since debunking some of the more obvious falsehoods Adam of Bremen presents, the most obvious of which being Adam of Bremen making pagan Svein wandering abroad as an outcast following the usurpation of his Christian father. Yet church records surviving from Denmark attribute their construction to Svein. More detail Sørensen (2001).

<sup>32</sup> Cnut's first wife, Ælfgifu, and her son Svein would be sent to rule Norway as regents in 1030. Their rule would be largely unpopular and they would be expelled in 1034. Confusingly, with the marriage of Emma of Normandy to the English throne, she was given the Anglo-Saxon name of Ælfgifu, as such indicating in Anglo-Saxon records Cnut had two wives by the name of Ælfgifu. Cnut's first wife, Ælfgifu, and her son Svein were sent to rule Norway as regents in 1030. Their rule was largely unpopular

previous marriage sheltered with her brother, Richard II Duke of Normandy. With the death of Cnut, it was negotiated that Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor would jointly rule England, with Harthacnut in Denmark attending local matters.<sup>33</sup>

Harthacnut was the last Dane to rule England, with Edward assuming the throne after his death and Magnus the Good succeeding him in Denmark after his death in 1042. Magnus the Good was an illegitimate son of Olaf II Haraldsson, having fled southward with his mother following the usurpation of his father. He returned to Norway at the age of 11 and was crowned king of Norway in 1035, and King of Denmark in 1042. He ruled both states until 1047, when he died under vaguely suspicious circumstances, with Harald Hardrada assuming the throne in Norway and Svein II Estridsson in Denmark.

Svein II Estridsson inherited the line of Svein Forkbeard through his mother, and frequently engaged in military conflict with Harald Hardrada, uncle of Magnus the Good. The two fought to maintain their relative territories, or to conquer some parts of Denmark and Norway.

#### B. Bishoprics

Unlike Norway, Denmark did not immediately have a locally established See outside the power and oversight of Hamburg-Bremen. Its closeness to the mainland and border with Germany meant that much of the conflict and politics of the Holy Roman Empire shaped in large

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<sup>33</sup> This was enormously complicated and had numerous back and forth struggles over succession between the sons of Cnut, notably Harold from Cnut's first marriage to *Aelfgifu* of Mercia and Harthacnut of Cnut and Emma. The line of Emma would ultimately hold, with Harold dying in England and Harthacnut assuming the throne and naming Edward the Confessor as his heir, summoning him from Normandy to sit in England while he remained and settled Denmark.

part the liturgical governance and practice within Denmark. The frequent conflict and occasional alliance with the Holy Roman Empire did mean that the eventual creation of the Diocese diminished the influence of the Empire through situated local authority via the archdiocese of Lund and more locally in Børglum, Odense, Ribe, Schleswig (contested, absorbed by Germany), and Vestervig or Viborg, and at times over the Faroe Islands and Greenland.

## CHAPTER 2: ARCH/BISHOPRICS— NIDAROS, SKÁLHOLT, AND HÓLAR

This section provides an overview and history of the archbishopric of Nidaros and the bishoprics of Skálholt and Hólar within it. The history of its rise and the examinations of the influences it was partially established to lessen provide context for the religious interests of the area. The understanding of these influences shape later perspective on the institutions within the bishoprics and the works they produced. The influences chiefly explored here are those of the Irish and Byzantine churches. Those churches in part shaped the procedures of the churches within Norway and Iceland; in the context of this work, the primary example explored is the dissemination and transmission of St. Olaf. Similarly, the influence of Nidaros and the establishment of its relationship with Iceland informed the travel, trade, and material produced by its bishoprics, such as Hólar. This will inform the practices and interests of the monks of Þingeyrar (explored more deeply in Chapter 3).

### I. Nidaros

With the conversion of Scandinavia to Christianity, the issue of authority over the newly established bishoprics arose. The conversion itself was momentous, but the issue now rested in alliance. Parts of Norway were more familiar with the movements of the Byzantine Church than with those of the Roman Catholic one. This initial instability of practice shaped Nidaros, with the desire of the Roman Catholic church to assert more authority in the area being one of the main motivators for the elevating of Nidaros from a suffragan bishopric of Lund to an archbishopric in its own right. Initial developments placed Denmark and Norway (and by extension Iceland)

under the authority of Bremen. This was an immediately unpopular decision due to the continued expansion of the then Holy Roman Empire, helmed by Otto II.<sup>34</sup>

This situation lasted from the very late 990's to 1103, when the seat of Lund was established in Sweden. Lund became the primary position of Roman Catholic authority in Scandinavia, particularly over Denmark and Sweden, and encompassed Norway until 1151.<sup>35</sup> With the establishment of Nidaros as a bishopric by Olaf II Haraldsson in 997, Norway and Iceland began to gain independence from the Roman Catholic Church and Papal authority, though this was hindered when Nidaros was elevated to its own archbishopric in 1151. Lund continued to be relevant in the education of those individuals who went on to work in the bishoprics of Norway and Iceland, and otherwise assisted Nidaros and the various bishoprics of Scandinavia until Nidaros was able to raise and educate its own priests and bishops.

Nidaros became an archbishopric under Pope Eugene III, who sent the then Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear (and eventually Pope Adrian IV), to install the first archbishop of Nidaros in 1151. Nidaros held authority over the following bishoprics: Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger, and Hamar in Norway, Orkney of the western islands, Skálholt and Hólar in Iceland, and Garðar in Greenland. These boundaries fluctuated to a large degree for centuries, at times swallowing more of the British Isles and at others losing territory and islands (particularly in the west). Nidaros' suffragan bishoprics continued to have some form of self-governance. Among those I focus primarily on Skálholt and Hólar.

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<sup>34</sup> The Holy Roman Empire at this point was increasingly more powerful than Papal authority, and so the addition of western Scandinavia to its oversight was alarming. This was partially adjusted with the establishment of the archbishopric of Lund in 1103, though much of Norway still remained under the authority of Hamburg-Bremen. As such, the eventual rise of Nidaros was a confluence of political events, bolstered by local Norwegian affairs as well as by the growing Holy Roman Empire power.

<sup>35</sup> This was somewhat malleable, with some areas of Denmark falling under Bremen's domain and others under that of Lund. The shifting boundaries here continued to be somewhat flexible up until the Reformation and the re-outlining of districts to Lutheran diocese.

With the consistent contact of the Norsemen with the various regions of Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, some parts of Scandinavia fell outside of the Roman Catholic tradition. The period prior to 1157 saw less stable Roman Catholic influence on church practice in Norway and Iceland in particular. Notably, there was a great relationship in the early centuries after the conversion with the Irish Church.<sup>36</sup> Subsequently, Norwegians paid homage and interest to the Pope only nominally and became more generally oriented towards Byzantium and the Patriarch.

Initial contact with Ireland by the Norsemen in the centuries prior to the conversion was largely informed by the Norsemen's raids. Their presence is confirmed by local legends that reflect Irish lore and Celtic influence. This is particularly notable in the presence of Irish saints in the early Norwegian hagiographies, and in the story of the arrival of an Irish princess on the western shores of Norway.<sup>37</sup> This was a result of the Norsemen establishing small towns in Ireland and wintering there. When they did return eastward they often brought back people as well as materials.<sup>38</sup> This is why Irish lore and practice can be traced in some Scandinavian saga.

The preference for Orthodox practice in Ireland and other Nordic areas was a cause for concern to the Pope. An opportunity to reaffirm Roman Catholic dominance in the area arose with the death of King Sigurd the Crusader, King of Norway 1103-1130, an event that also kicked off a period of political upheaval and civil war. Prior to Sigurd's death, the kings of Norway favored the authority of the Byzantine Empire and Patriarch over that of the Pope. For

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<sup>36</sup> The Irish Church held more to Orthodox practices and ritual than with Roman Catholic procedure.

<sup>37</sup> This is largely shaped by the individuals stolen from Ireland in these raids to be wives or slaves—thralls—of the Norsemen. These Irish would very much have an influence on the existence of Irish saints and lore within Norse hagiography and legends.

<sup>38</sup> This forced displacement, in the form of stealing women and individuals for servitude and slavery, had an enormous impact on the relations with Ireland and memory in Norway. The stolen and enslaved individuals brought with them their own histories and contexts, which, notwithstanding the few extant records of their voices and experiences, continue through references and legend within the Scandinavian vernacular tradition.

example, King Sigurd (in)famously skipped Italy on his way to and from Jerusalem. He returned victoriously from Palestine to call on the Patriarch of the Byzantine Church for guidance for the Norwegian Church.

Even after the shift to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, however, the influence of Byzantium was still felt through the intermediation of Iceland among the clergy and liturgy of Norway clergy. In the early thirteenth century this was tangible in a work attributed to archbishop Eirik (1188-1213), the "King's Mirror" (*Konungs skuggsiá*). The poem praises the Irish above all else for their holiness. In addition, Norwegians recognized saints that were not canonized by the Roman Catholic Church, such as Olaf. This remains also detectable through a number of Nordic saints who are not recognized in the broader Roman Catholic hagiography, and are instead present in the Churches of Ireland and Russia.

This varied and intensely local hagiography is mostly detectable in the ca. 111 sequences that circulated in the territory of Nidaros according to Lilli Gjerløw in her extensive work *Ordo Nidriensis ecclesiasticae*. These sequences and their composers were influenced by the shifting liturgical scene ca. 1154 and the raising of Nidaros. They draw from a blend of practices imported by explorers and raiders who had come into contact with the practices of Germany, France, and England. The students, priests, bishops, and teachers of Norway and Iceland established a unique blend of circumstances which shaped the production of chant and manuscripts, which I discuss below with a primary focus on the production of the monastery of Þingeyrar.

## II. Skálholt and Hólar

In the establishment of a local liturgy, much of Scandinavia was indebted to the influence of liturgy and resources from England and France. The establishment of Nidaros's chant

collections came about in a few forms and can be found in the two primary sources, with definitive versions produced in the early sixteenth century: the *Breviarium Nidrosiense* and the *Antiphonarium Nidrosiense*.

The early hagiography of Scandinavia had a role in the establishment and spread of Christianity; it was not uncommon for the church to quickly recognize and canonize revered local figures to sainthood, as in the case of St. Olaf II and St. Jón of Hólar

The *Breviarium Nidrosiense* and the Scandinavian liturgy at large were shaped by the political upheaval around the wars of King Sverre both prior to and during his reign as monarch of Norway.<sup>39</sup> The conflict surrounding Sverre concerned the ties between the state and the Church, giving more emphasis to temporal over religious power, and a dispute over whether Sverre or his brother Magnus were the rightful king of Norway. Sverre was not the preferred candidate for the role, and would initiate a Civil War to claim the throne, killing his brother. As a consequence, Sverre became immediately unpopular with the archbishop Eirik, as the archbishop had favored Magnus as king. Sverre quickly banished those bishops who had protested against his rule, though several remained in Norway. Those who fled were high ranking, and those who stayed were less powerful figures in the hierarchy. Many of the exiled bishops and archbishops of Nidaros fled Norway and set up in Denmark and England, where they remained until Sverre's death. Sverre and the bishops who remained were excommunicated, and a book titled *A Speech Against the Bishops* was commissioned detailing Sverre's reasoning.<sup>40</sup> Sverre maintained a close

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<sup>39</sup> This was kicked off by Sverre's apparent usurpation of his brother, Magnus, preferred by the church. Sverre retorted that the king's authority was superior to that of the church. This resulted in a schism within Norway and in Sverre's excommunication and the exiling of any bishops who did not consider him the right ruler of Norway. See Hardy 1956.

<sup>40</sup> The document, *Varnaðar-ræða*, outlined Sverre's argument with the Pope, urging him to recognize that he had been fed false information by those bishops which had fled Norway. The document would have little success, and it wouldn't be until the rise of Sverre's son, Haakon, that the relationship between the Norwegian crown and the Papacy was restored.



relationship especially with the monks of Þingeyrar and commissioned a representative from the monastery to produce his most significant works at court under his supervision, the above-mentioned speech as well as his biography.<sup>41</sup>

The Nidaros Ordinary (ON), prior to the expulsion of the bishops under Sverre, was shaped in large part by the interests of the Archbishop Øystein<sup>42</sup> (1161-1188) and his successor, Archbishop Eirik Ivarsson (1188-1213), both of whom were in favor of the Gregorian Reform.<sup>43</sup> Both were acknowledged within the original leaves and books as "dominus".<sup>44</sup> The Ordinary, (*orðu* or *ordu* in Norse) was constructed with similarities to the liturgy of Germany and England, with the addition of specifically Norwegian saints, such as Olav, Hallvard, and the Saints of Selja, all of which belong to the early missionizing period.<sup>45</sup> The most recent entry into the *ordo* is that of Thomas of Canterbury, who appeared in *orðubóks* beginning in 1173.<sup>46</sup>

The *terminus ante quem* for the *ordo* is 1205, the year in which King Sverre died and the various exiled priests, bishops, and archbishops began to return to Norway. Marginal additions were added until 1519, when a printed version of the Nidaros *Orðubok* was produced.<sup>47</sup> The relationship between Church and State in Norway in the post-Sverre era began to reintegrate, while Rome paid particular attention and interest to the rising king of Norway. This resulted in

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<sup>41</sup> While the latter was completed by the Abbott of Þingeyrar at the time, Karl Jonsson, the former was completed by an unnamed monk.

<sup>42</sup> Also at times spelled "Eysteinn".

<sup>43</sup> Archbishop Eirik was opposed by King Sverre due to Eirik's support of the Gregorian reform movement; Eirik's interest in the movement is reflected in the selections which are present in the ON, BN, and AN.

<sup>44</sup> Eyolf Østrem. *The Office of St. Olav. A study in Chant Transmission*. Written in English. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. *Studia Musicologica Upsaliensia. Nova Series* 18. p. 33.

<sup>45</sup> Gjerløw, Lilli, 2nd ed. *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae (orðubók). Vol. 2. Libri Liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977 p. 30.

<sup>46</sup> Gjerløw, Lilli, 2nd ed. *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae (orðubók). Vol. 2. Libri Liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977 p. 31.

<sup>47</sup> An example of this transition being in the feast of the Octave of the Virgin, adopted by Pope Innocent IV, introduced in the North by either Archbishop Sigurd of Sorli in 1253, initially scribbled into the margins of manuscripts and included in the overall printing in 1519. See Gjerløw 1977, p.30.

the sending of another Papal legate to Scandinavia, Cardinal William of Sabina, to approve and crown the next king, Håkon Håkonsson in 1247.

The ON exceeds the limits imposed by Bernold of Constance in a number of ways.<sup>48</sup> Among these Icelandic exceptions there was the addition of the Credo on the week when "Puer natus" was sung so as to reflect Icelandic conditions<sup>49</sup>, and the lack of provision for Altar Day.<sup>50</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 1, both bishoprics set the stage for a number of initial adaptations of the various religious texts and practices in the vernacular, as well as various secular forms, notably the early biographies and the creation of the saga.

While the saga itself was not immediately connected to any particular funding or source, the penning of previously oral traditions ranged from the legendary to the contemporaneous, to saints' lives, to other Christian themes, heroes, and kings, as discussed in Chapter 3.

It is important to backtrack and understand what influences were present in these monasteries and nunneries in Iceland, with the majority of them being Augustinian and Benedictine.<sup>51</sup> As with Nidaros, educational opportunities were yet to be established and spread within Iceland in the immediate decades after the conversion. As such, a number of the initial educators, scholars, and priests were educated abroad, primarily in England and France (especially Normandy), with later bishops having particularly close ties to Lund, Bremen, or

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<sup>48</sup> *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus* was a medieval liturgical treatise produced by Bernold of Constance, which shaped the German liturgy, standardizing the delivering and format of the Mass.

<sup>49</sup> Namely the extreme dark of winter and the length of the days; with there in the furthest reaches of Iceland and Greenland there being periods of no daylight, provisions had to be made for some of the hours and when they would be performed.

<sup>50</sup> Gjerløw, Lilli, 2nd ed. *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae (orðubók). Vol. 2. Libri Liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977 p. 31.

<sup>51</sup> Though Augustinians would not arrive in Iceland until Nidaros was established as the *archbishopric*; this was done as a means to establish control of the diverse practices in Iceland, where there was still much influence on the part of the Irish and Byzantine churches.

Rome itself. The latter was the result of the voyages of several Pontifical legates sent to Norway and Iceland, which reinforced the relationship between the two after 1151.

Several records from the early days of the cathedral schools in Skálholt and Hólar reflect the influences of French and English monastic traditions. A common example can be found in the *Jóns saga biskups*, a *vita* of the second bishop of Hólar, Jon Ogmundsson, which enumerates Jon's efforts at shaping education, first, via the cathedral school and then through the establishment of Þingeyrar Abbey. The various anecdotes and reports from the Bishop's saga provides insight not only on the Latin education imparted, but on the individuals involved: from the sons of local farmers, to the eventual Abbot of Þingeyrar, to the carpenter who learned Latin in passing as he repaired the roof over the heads of the students.<sup>52</sup>

Of the established churches, monasteries, and nunneries of Iceland after the conversion, most were Benedictine or Augustinian. The Benedictine monasteries were the eldest monasteries, among them Þingeyrar; the Augustinian monasteries were established after the elevation of Nidaros. As mentioned in Chapter 1, *goði* and other large landowners sought to establish churches and other institutions on their land and reap most of the income produced by the church. This was at odds with the procedure on the mainland, where church income was tithed to the Church and not to landowners. Iceland's unique position on receiving rent and income from churches built on local land remained in place into the Reformation, though within a couple of centuries from the conversion laws were issued to ensure that land-owners received only a percentage of the income.<sup>53</sup>

Land could and would be donated to the Church for its use, but in Iceland in the two centuries after 1000 CE it was common that churches were built on privately owned land and

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<sup>52</sup> McCormack, Margaret. "St. Jón of Hólar", *Early Medieval Hagiography*, 2021. p. 611.

<sup>53</sup> See Jensson 2021, p3, Sverrir Jakobsson 2007.

therefore were obligated to temporal ownership.<sup>54</sup> The lingering consequence of this Icelandic custom and the interaction towards the early integration of the Church demonstrate the close relation to law and the significant personal and historical interests, which played out in churches and monasteries. As in any patronage system, writers and artists were compelled to meet the approval, wants, or needs, of the patron. Such is the case with the individuals who were able to maneuver themselves into the hierarchy of ecclesiastical education. They received the benefit of the monastic manuscript tradition without personally being subjected to the oaths.<sup>55</sup> The early church in Iceland and Norway is no different, particularly when later conflict arose around the role of religion and secular rule. This is the case of King Sverre of Norway discussed in Chapter 1.

Bound to the interests of kings, saints, and local powerful families, the production of family and personal histories was carried out in monasteries in the vernacular, sometimes in the adapted form of the *vita*, as mentioned above. Parallel to this was the creation and implementation of local Offices and procedures (along with the implementation and organization of the numerous international rites needed for the running of a monastery or church). This intertwining of the sacred and the secular was a constant and occasionally oblique phenomenon. In the manuscript AM 544 4to of the *Hauksbók* we are presented with a variety of biblical stories, ethical quandaries, maps of Jerusalem, and calendars for the year, interspersed with

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<sup>54</sup> It remained this way until the fourteenth century, when the power of these *goði* began to wane.

<sup>55</sup> Though this was usually done via a child or daughter fulfilling this role, either by later taking orders to join one of the monasteries or nunneries, or by beginning a career within the church and maneuvering towards the position of bishop or bishop's representative. The schools held within the churches and the cathedrals of Iceland were also perfect for this role; beholden to the monetary and land sponsorship of the land-owner, the education of the children and family could be accomplished for less obligation than non-sponsored or familial ties would gain.

copied versions of legendary sagas, pagan prophecies, and other items (a more extensive breakdown and analysis on *Hauksbók* is in Chapter 4).<sup>56</sup>

Skálholt was the center of education and textuality in Iceland until Hólar was established in 1106. In the first two centuries after the conversion, a number of churches, monasteries, including a couple of nunneries, were established to follow religious hierarchy of the mainland, though only a few seem to have had functioning scriptoria. While there were numerous churches established, often attached to temporal land claims, monasteries were usually founded as an extension of the cathedrals.

In Hólar, the main focus of this work, the Cathedral became the initial site for education. As in the rest of Iceland and Norway after 1000 CE, the first church leaders were largely summoned from abroad, either as locals who had attended the priories, schools, and cathedrals of France, England, or Ireland, or as transplants from central or western Europe. The second bishop of Hólar, later canonized as St. Jón, ran the cathedral school and initiated the creation of the Þingeyrar monastery, among other activities. His saga, one of the several dedicated to bishops or Christian figures, provides details about the school, the pupils, and the curriculum.<sup>57</sup> It also provides some insights on the foundation of liturgical instruction and interest in northern Iceland at this time as well as occasional anecdotes into the operation and presence of locals at the school, either as contributors to its upkeep or as neighbors.<sup>58</sup> The saga has an emphasis on the teachers brought to the cathedral school from France and Germany, respectively Rikini<sup>59</sup>, a

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<sup>56</sup> The items discussed here allude to two of the many saga inclusions, among them the legendary saga *Hervararsaga ok Heiðreks* and the eddic poem *Völuspá*.

<sup>57</sup> Ed., Trans. Margaret Cormack and Peter Foote. *The Saga of St. Jón of Hólar*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2020. p. 10.

<sup>58</sup> Such is the case with the nearby farmstead of Oddi, run by the chieftain Jon Loptsson, who educated Snorri Sturluson among others.

<sup>59</sup> Rikini was greatly admired for his capricious memory and his remarkable ability to recall and chant the entirety of the *Opus Dei* per the *Jons saga helga biskups*.

Lotharingian master of chant and memory for quadrivium, and Gisli Finnson of Gothland (Sweden), teacher for the trivium.<sup>60</sup>

This tradition for the practice of learning thus generally imitated their mainland models. This similarity is reflected in a number of practices, but it is the uniqueness of Icelandic monasticism, built from the diverse external influences and the closely held traditional practices, to provide a space for diverse literary productions. Iceland, once with an established educational hierarchy, had space for that local tradition to flourish. Mentioned above was the immediate preference for composition in the vernacular, but by using a similar approach for both sacred and secular topics.

The background of broad-ranging interests and far wandering raiders and explorers is explored more definitively in the following chapter. Several works were composed and passed between Iceland and mainland. The survival of such objects is unfortunately minimal and what remains is often very fragmentary. Extant documents allow us to piece together the transmission of ideas and the role of monasteries in facilitating the breadth of artistic and scientific output from Iceland via sacred and secular hands.

### III. The monasteries and nunneries of Iceland

Of the monastic practice in Iceland, the Benedictine order is the most ancient and better established. With the raising of the archbishopric of Nidaros and a closer, more concrete center of Roman Catholic authority at hand, monasteries of the Augustinian order were quickly established to assert Roman Catholic authority. This authority was then strongly reasserted following the hierarchical upheaval during King Sverre's reign. The Augustinians, comparatively new to Iceland, were brought over via the new bishop of Skálholt, Þorlákr, who studied in France

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<sup>60</sup> Quadrivium and trivium were the divisions of education which, together, presented for its students the balance of reality. Quadrivium consisted of arithmetic, astronomy, music, and geometry, and was considered complementary to the trivium, which spanned grammar, logic, and rhetoric.

at the Abbeys of St. Victor and St. Genevieve<sup>61</sup>. With the arrival of Þorlákr as bishop in 1178, the first Augustinian monastery, Þykkvibær, was established, and the conflicts between orders in Iceland began. Via the clever machinations of the then lawspeaker, Gizurr, and the monks of Þingeyrar, Þorlákr was canonized and a *vita* lauding his presence and role in solving the dispute of the orders was produced. This *vita* downplayed the conflict so severely that two centuries later a new *vita* was commissioned in an attempt to address the record.

The reason for the sanctification of Þorlákr and to produce the *vita* was an intensely political one: by “securing” the relationship of the Benedictines of Iceland to the Papacy via the production of a work advertising the great success of St. Þorlák, the Benedictines and their allies were able to continue operations without stern oversight.<sup>62</sup> Notably, the revised version of the saga of St. Þorlákr was produced by yet another monk from Þingeyrar.

Þingeyrar monastery was established in 1112 by St. Jon Ogmundsson and sanctified under its first abbot, Volmundr Thorolfsson in 1133. A Benedictine monastery, Þingeyrar was one of the most prolific scriptoria in Iceland, renowned for both its extensive early output in the first centuries after the conversion as well as its continued relevance to the writing of history, sagas, and religious books thereafter. It was located between two lakes, Hóp and Húnavatn, and reportedly comprised a sprawling group of some forty buildings clustered around a stave church in the center, with some named buildings preserved in extant records.<sup>63</sup> Following the Reformation, with the bishop and his two sons executed (one of whom was destined to be the

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<sup>61</sup> Jensson, Gottskálf. “Þingeyrar Abbey in Northern Iceland: A Benedictine Powerhouse of Cultural Heritage.” *Religions* 12: 423, 2021. p. 6

<sup>62</sup> Notably, this collaboration could not have been so effective were it not for the involvement of the Althing and the cooperation of the Lawspeaker, Gizurr, who was close with the then abbot of Þingeyrar. See Jensson 2021.

<sup>63</sup> Jensson, Gottskálf. “Þingeyrar Abbey in Northern Iceland: A Benedictine Powerhouse of Cultural Heritage.” *Religions* 12: 423, 2021. p 1-2.

future abbot of Þingeyrar), then newly positioned Lutheran Bishop, Gizurr Einarsson, supported the new church ruling mandated by the new king, Christian of Denmark. This allowed the existing monks and nuns to remain in their monasteries and nunneries for the rest of their lives, with no new orders allowed to be taken to expand the institutions. Although more details about Þingeyrar are provided in the following chapter, this analysis aims at reflecting its significance in the development of the saga and saga writing, as well as the role the monks played in international collaboration in the context of book and manuscript production.

Munkaþver monastery, like Þingeyrar, was renowned for its great manuscript production, particularly in regard to saga writing. It was less famous than Þingeyrar and not so large, though it would regularly exchange people with Þingeyrar and produce some notable manuscripts. Located in the bishopric of Hólar, Munkaþver was established in 1155, and was also a Benedictine monastery.

Hitardular was likely a Benedictine monastery, less well known than its contemporaries, and did not have a scriptorium according to extant sources. It was believed to have been established in the wake of the great fire of Hitardular, which killed the then bishop of Skálholt, Magnur Einarsson. Hitardular was built upon the donated lands of Þorleifr Þórlaksson. Little is otherwise known about the monastery, with no records surviving about monastic life.

Þykkvabæjar monastery was best known for the extreme piety and oaths of celibacy and silence taken by the monks within its walls. Each of the monks at Þykkvabæjar were reportedly ordained priests. Þykkvabæjar is influenced in much of its practice by the Augustinian monasteries of France, where the first priest of what would be Þykkvabæjar was educated. The religious rites, discipline, and celibacy of the brothers was well known throughout the southern Sea. Þykkvabæjar is the only Augustinian monastery in the southern Sea.



Helgafell (once called Flatey) monastery, also Augustinian, was a house of canons initially established on the island of Flatey in 1184, before being relocated to Helgafell. It was renowned for its education and scriptorium. Like Þingeyrar, it had an extensive complex, and was noted in contemporary sources for its illuminated manuscripts. Its complex contained a school and was still standing until the Reformation. Notable among its authors was historian Ari fróði Þorgilsson (the Learned), who was the author of the *Íslendingabók*. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Helgafell's literary output was particularly prolific in the realm of vernacular literature, especially in the production of *Islendingasögur* and parts of the *Sturlunga saga* (which covered events roughly contemporary to their composition).<sup>64</sup> Also a notable production of Helgafell is the *Laxdæla saga*, produced around 1230-1260, and encouraged in no small part by the abbots of the monastery at the time—Þorfeinnr Þorgeirsson and Ketill Hermundarson—one of Ketill was related to Bolli Þorleiksson, one of the heroes of the saga.<sup>65</sup>

Kirkjubær convent, of the Benedictine order, was established in 1186 with its first abbess, Halldora, ordained in 1189. Kirkjubær would stand until the Reformation. It was well known for its scriptorium, and produced a number of hagiographic works with extensive illumination. Kirkjubær is located on the southern coast of Iceland, near Þykkvabæjar monastery. Kirkjubær would be one of the earliest established institutions on Iceland, and would have a number of influential women act as abbesses; notable was the future abbess, Halldóra, apparently a sister of

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<sup>64</sup> Drechsler, Stefan. *Illuminated Manuscript Production in Medieval Iceland: Literary and Artistic Activities of the Monastery Helgafell in the Fourteenth Century*. Brepols: Turnhout, 2021. pp 51-57.

<sup>65</sup> Helgafell and its output, as well as its unique positioning on Iceland, is covered thoroughly and well in Chapter 2 “Helgafell: An Augustinian House of Canons Regular in Western Iceland” of Drechsler's book, *Illuminated Manuscript Production in Medieval Iceland: Literary and Artistic Activities of the Monastery at Helgafell in the Fourteenth Century*.

Haukr Erlendsson. Kirkjubær may have been used as a hospice and hospital, and it was renowned for its tapestries and decorations.<sup>66</sup>

Reynistaður, also a Benedictine convent, was constructed in the northern See in the late thirteenth century, with its abbess ordained in 1295. Little is known about its production, though it apparently had a farm. It is near Þingeyrar and close to the cathedral of Hólar. Like Kirkjubær, Reynistaður likely upheld the Benedictine philosophy of hospitality and acted as a shelter and hospice for those who required assistance.

Modruvellir monastery was Augustinian, located under the purview of the northern See, Hólar, with little documented about the monastic life there, with little record of any of its products or relationships. It was established in 1296, and stood until the Reformation at which time it was torn down and replaced with a newly built church.

Videy monastery was an Augustinian monastery, on the island of Videy, under the purview of the northern See. Thought to have been established at the behest and interest of Thorvaldur Gissurarson (brother of the bishop of Skálholt Magnus) and Snorri Sturluson in 1225. Thorvaldur donated his lands and income to the monastery, which would stand until the Reformation. From 1344-1352 it was occupied by the Benedictines. The Videy monastery is likely one of the smallest of the monasteries of Iceland, rivaled only by Skrida; while other monasteries would at times be abandoned due to deaths or conflict, Videy would remain sparsely populated even during periods of calm.

Skrida monastery, Augustinian, established in 1494 by the bishop of Skálholt. Little is known about the monastery. Ongoing archaeological projects on site contradict some

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<sup>66</sup> Wolf, Kirsten. *A Female Legendary from Iceland: "Kirkjubærbók" (AM 429 12mo) in the Arnamagnæen Collection, Copenhagen.* Manuscripta Nordica: Early Nordic Manuscripts in Digital Facsimile. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2011. p. 206.

assumptions made from the reading of the records, in particular the assumption that the monastery had held very few brothers (supposedly only one). It would stand until the Reformation.

### CHAPTER 3: ON MONASTERIES AND THE SAGA

This section introduces the monastery of Þingeyrar and its textual community. By understanding these influences, we can gain insight about the influence of religion and salvation on the aristocracy around Þingeyrar, as well as about the exchange of the aristocracy's interests on the monks and works of Þingeyrar. The synthesis of these two facets informed how the early sagas were produced and predict some of the later interactions of Þingeyrar on secular manuscripts (such as *Hauksbók* explored in Chapter 4.)

#### I. Þingeyrar and its textual community

Textual cultures operate on two scales, large and small, overarching and local. The Roman Catholic Church possess and spread both its liturgical and textual culture. Focus here is the production of manuscripts and the spread of textuality and unique materiality (books, manuscripts, etc.). On the local scale then is the textual *community*, which is shaped and influenced by the overarching textual culture. With the conversion of Iceland, the introduction of textuality saw the rapid spread of literacy, not merely for the clergy, but also for the aristocracy. The community examined here is that of Þingeyrar and its relationships with its neighboring chieftains as well as the institutions they represented and established as an extension of the overarching textual culture (such as the establishment of school farmsteads like the one at Oddervjar). Within this textual community, the influence of the Roman Catholic textual culture met the existing oral tradition. The synthesis of these two practices produced several unique works and genres, notably the saga. The interlocutors of that tradition were largely the clergy and the aristocrats, who would have an influence on the stories that were told and on how they were framed. The works produced by the monastery of Þingeyrar were not done in a vacuum. By understanding the interests and activities of the textual community, further insight can be gained on how, what, and why the monks of Þingeyrar completed the works the way they did.

With the rise of textuality and book culture, and as Christianity became more established in Iceland, institutions dedicated to education quickly arose and became popular among secular elites as well as among future clerics. In the first century and a half after the conversion and into the 12th century, writing and book production was carried out by clerics and monks. In the middle of the 12th century and progressively in the 13th it became more common for secular individuals to produce books and study manuscripts, thanks to the pedagogical role of cathedral schools and through the generational shift in literacy.<sup>67</sup> An example of this may be seen in the career of Snorri Sturluson, discussed below, and with those secular families which gained acclaim through their textual output even without being aligned with a sacred institution. Until this secular shift, however, the first two generations of saga writers were Icelanders who had been ordained or who had otherwise joined a monastery.

Before delving into the sagas and saga writing in early Iceland, it is important to explore the situation of the Holy Orders and of those who took them in this context. In the early 1100s, as monasteries and churches were being established—with Þingeyrar and Munkaþver among them—secular elites such as chieftains, large scale land owners, and former priests quickly involved themselves in the local textual culture through church building, by attending cathedral schools, or by taking Holy Orders.<sup>68</sup> Among these, there were individuals such as Jon Loptsson and Gizur Hallson, who became subdeacons, and who, through their involvement in the overarching local textual culture, provided a sense of cultural continuity. These two local

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<sup>67</sup> This often came about as a means of family literacy; it became more and more common to have a secular dynasty of sorts structured around literary output and involvement. Such examples, like the Oddr, Sturlungar, and Haukdœlir, are discussed in further detail below.

<sup>68</sup> At this stage of Christianity in Iceland secular individuals did not necessarily achieve this through their joining a monastery, but they often received a clerical education, became subdeacons, while still retaining their secular position. This way they did not have to remain cloistered and adhere to the starker oaths of monastic brotherhood, while still involved with the life of monasteries.

chieftains maintained their relationship with the monks of Þingeyrar and continued to act as interlocutors of local oral tradition. The maintenance of this relationship affected the production of manuscripts and books at Þingeyrar, as this first generation of landowners were educated in cathedral school alongside the first two generations of northern Icelandic monks. These individuals reinforced their friendship with the church by attending the school and by offering financial support through their farms and land ownership. As a consequence, they could make requests and offer their perspective in the formation and development of Icelandic sagas.

The strength of the textual community around Þingeyrar is documented through the letters, journals, and records kept at Hólar and Skálholt. One of the driving forces behind these chieftains' interest in making grand gestures of dedication and penance to the church, particularly near the end of their lives, was fear for the salvation of their soul. Bishop Guðmundr Arason of Hólar (1203-1237), had a vision indicating that "only Icelandic men of the church had attained salvation and that the country's chieftains could expect no such reward." (Karlsson 1983 I).<sup>69</sup> The aforementioned chieftains would be aware of this vision, and had been scolded previously by the Archbishop of Nidaros, Eiríkr, in 1190 for their behavior; Eiríkr was aware of this vision and the narratives around salvation in Iceland, as well as the fact that these goði were only being holy in name and not in practice. Archbishop Eiríkr's admonishment reflected the poor behavior of the Icelandic subdeacons. He forbade anyone in Holy Orders, "from subdeacon upwards, both to act as advocates in secular disputes and to carry weapons"<sup>70</sup>, since there had been reports of killings and accusations of sexual misdemeanors by individuals like Loftson and Hallson. These chieftains thus existed in two spaces: that of the role and responsibilities of the

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<sup>69</sup> Antonsson, Haki. "Salvation and Early Saga Writing in Iceland: Aspects of the Works of the Þingeyrar Monks and Their Associates." *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 8, 2012. pp. 126.

<sup>70</sup> Antonsson, Haki. "Salvation and Early Saga Writing in Iceland: Aspects of the Works of the Þingeyrar Monks and Their Associates." *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 8, 2012. pp. 126.

chieftain, and that of the role and responsibilities of the subdeacon. As chieftains, the responsibility of adjudicating disputes was a primary concern and duty. As a subdeacon, per the Archbishop Eiríkr, they were forbidden from doing so. The chieftains in this case sought to maintain their relationship with the church, while also maintaining their own temporal power. As a result, the penalties and scolding sent down by the archbishop was an attempt as much to pull them deeper into the fold as it was to drive them completely away if they could not act as they ought as subdeacons. Driving the chieftains in these positions away would also certainly be a strategy towards further separating secular influence on church institutions. One such example was the sagas of Olaf Tryggvason; while Tryggvason's sagas were only an example of this, the trend established with these early collaborative biographic sagas stemming from the genre of the *vita* would influence later works, such as the kings and family sagas.<sup>71</sup>

While not exceptionally mindful of the *Holy* aspect of their Orders, these chieftains would work to achieve salvation via their unique brand of pragmatism and cunning. This would be done by committing to some grand building of a church, making massive donations of land, or joining a monastery toward the end of their lives. Such would be the case with Gizurr Hallson and Guðmundr *dyri* (an exceptionally powerful local lord). Before joining Þingeyrar, he actively planned and conducted numerous power and land grabs through violent means such as the arson of an enemy's farmstead in 1197. Upon reaching an older age and having attracted some stern attention,<sup>72</sup> he spent his later years at Þingeyrar Abbey as a brother to pay penance and preempt reactions by authorities of the land.<sup>73</sup> This kind of late-life trade off and salvation bargaining

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<sup>71</sup> Both the Yngling saga and Egils saga are examples of this; notably both are thought to have been written by Snorri Sturluson.

<sup>72</sup> And of the increasing rise of individuals who would seek vengeance upon him. Joining a monastery was also a helpful way towards avoiding extensive, encompassing blood feuds.

<sup>73</sup> Antonsson, Haki. "Salvation and Early Saga Writing in Iceland: Aspects of the Works of the Þingeyrar Monks and Their Associates." *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 8, 2012. pp. 127.

would not always pay off, as in the case of the aforementioned Jon Loptsson, who died before the completion of the cloister he had planned to build on his land. In this respect he was not quite able to realize his redemption plans.

These are but a sample of the individuals who made up the community around Þingeyrar; they would each contribute in their own means towards the local textual culture. Such is the case of the Oddi school farmstead Jon Loptsson at one point oversaw, which gave rise to a flourishing textual community.

The textual community of the monastery and the *goði* collaborated on the composition of the sagas, especially those dedicated to the lives of kings, bishops, and saints. This is the case of the two sagas written on Olaf Tryggvason, as discussed by Haki Antonsson.<sup>74</sup> While sagas sometimes contained material inspired or drawn from a Latin source, they were often created from oral accounts and tradition. This twining of orality and textuality through the monastic output and community interaction foretells some aspects of later sagas, which contain numerous indicators of an earlier oral history.<sup>75</sup> The process and depth of oral history and story inspiration (i.e. from a Latin template or otherwise)<sup>76</sup> is the subject of substantial scholarly debate, thoroughly outlined and explored by Gísli Sigurdsson in his "Medieval Icelandic Saga and the Oral Tradition." According to him "the sagas may be viewed as the outcome of a happy synthesis

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<sup>74</sup> Antonsson, Haki. "Salvation and Early Saga Writing in Iceland: Aspects of the Works of the Þingeyrar Monks and Their Associates." *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 8, 2012.

<sup>75</sup> The very nature of oral history is that of an ever a shifting and developing entity; any rendition or textual version capture is only one aspect of the work in motion.

<sup>76</sup> There's a significant amount of discourse around construction, borrowing, and influence from latin works on the sagas. Work extending from Perry and Lord's *Singer of Tales* points towards an expansive oral tradition. Sagas were written to be read to audiences, thus reflecting their 'original' setting of being performed/'sung' for audiences. See Gísli Sigurdsson 2004.



of scholastic learning acquired from books and a purely domestic artistic tradition of oral storytelling".<sup>77</sup>

## II. The saga and its sisters at Þingeyrar

### A. History and Context

Sagas, emerging from the word *sogur* or *sögur*, very simply means 'story'. In what would become, broadly, 'the saga tradition', multiple subgenres emerged; the heroic and legendary sagas, the mythic and family sagas, and the sagas around a place or dynasty. Lineal sagas and involvement also often popped up and were traced outside of specific 'family' sagas, where heroic and legendary sagas often followed the family for multiple generations. Sagas would also be divided based on their rough temporal placement: some, very old, fell under the label of ancient or *fornaldarsögur*, and others would be labeled as contemporary (the *riddarsögur*) and so on (such as those later sagas which would adopt poetic form and topics influenced from mainland interest in courtly love).

There was also a division between eddic and skaldic works, with eddic works primarily dealing with older poetic procedure and mythology and skaldic poetry usually composed in a distinct meter and by skalds. These covered a broad range of topics and situations. Some sagas do not fall clearly into a style or genre. Instead, they were described either by their age, such as those composed in the time of legend (the 'legendary sagas') or those composed roughly contemporaneously not by a skald (usually called the *riddarsögur*). The mythological sagas, which made up the Edda, emerged and were compiled from oral tradition and overlapped with those aforementioned eddic and skaldic poems.

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<sup>77</sup> Gísli Sigurdsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition. A Discourse on Method*. 2004, p. 36. Impasse between orality and materiality and evidence for folktales and for cross influences is not the focus of this work.

Sagas were stories written down from an oral, often preexisting tradition. This is the case of heroic, legendary, or family sagas, which, as they were being written, could pull on elements of non-Scandinavian and Scandinavian traditions and thus demonstrate the knowledge of its scribe.<sup>78</sup> It is also thus important to remember that these stories were meant to be read or performed aloud.<sup>79</sup> Other sagas, more biographical in nature, often imitated the genre of the Latin *vita*. This is the case of the early saga written about Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway, which was initially composed in Latin by Oddr Snorrason.<sup>80</sup> A second saga about Tryggvason was written in Old Norse by Gunnlaugr Leifson. Oddr Snorrason and Gunnlaugr Leifsson were both monks of Þingeyrar, with their tenures briefly overlapping. Another famous biographical saga from this early period was the one completed on King Sverre of Norway by the then-abbott of Þingeyrar, Karl Jónsson, in the 1180s. Other such large-scale sagas were developed with the intent of lending and establishing legitimacy to the lines of kings and by asserting the right of kings to rule over an area or group of developing states.

It is worth noting the relations these monks had with their immediate textual community, which included land-owners, farmers, and chieftains, and courtiers. These examples are relevant to the cases discussed above, as Gunnlaugr (author of the second Tryggvason saga) made corrections to his work under the advice of Gizurr Hallson, himself the head of the influential Haukdælir family (discussed below) and an important figure in the court of King Sigurðr munnr (the Mouth).<sup>81</sup> Þingeyrar's political involvement became more directly attached to the debate

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<sup>78</sup> A pertinent such example is the *Flateyjarbók*, a legendary saga, in whose transcription the monk adds the occasional detail of a worldliness reading: a recently composed medical treatise.

<sup>79</sup> Gunnell, Terry. *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia*, 1995.

<sup>80</sup> It would then be translated into Old Norse at the monastery, with the second iteration of the saga being written in Old Norse *first* without a Latin translation.

<sup>81</sup> Helgi Þorláksson; "Historical Background" in Rory McTurk's *A Companion to Old Norse- Icelandic Literature and Culture*. pp. 147-148.

about secular and ecclesiastical matters, notably the role of the king and the situation of temporal authority, which, at the end of the 12th century gave rise to a number of works on past and contemporary political history.<sup>82</sup>

The initial domination of the church and its affiliates in the local book production and textual culture meant that, for the first 180 years or so after the conversion, the primary writers and compilers of these sagas were monks. The broadening access to education through cathedral and church schools, and then within families, led to a significant rise in secular composition in the thirteenth century, as in the case of Snorri Sturluson discussed below.

The monks who initiated the writing of sagas were mostly active at the monasteries of Þingeyrar and Munkaþver. They were able to collate information obtained from locally born and educated monks and their affiliates, while devoting themselves to manuscript production and preservation. These manuscripts were often exported to Norway and Denmark.

As mentioned above, the monopoly of the church changed in the thirteenth century with Snorri Sturluson being an exemplificative case. Through his education and thanks to his family's raising in power, he established a literate powerhouse unaffiliated with the church.<sup>83</sup> His example becomes all the more relevant given his eventual role in the compilation and curation of the grammatical and mythological poetical manual the *Snorra Edda*, or the *Younger Edda* (at odds with the "elder" edda, which is mostly mythological poetry). Additional details about Snorri, and his significance for the edda and the copying of such in various manuscripts are provided below at II.B.

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<sup>82</sup> Jensson, Gottskálk. "Þingeyrar Abbey in Northern Iceland: A Benedictine Powerhouse of Cultural Heritage." *Religions* 12: 423, 2021. p. 2-3.

<sup>83</sup> The Sturlungar were also responsible of a group of sagas called the contemporary or *Sturlunga saga*, sagas on historical events in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See *Bragason* in McTurk *Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic*.

The sagas, once produced, were preserved on site or transferred to the royal libraries of Norway or Denmark. Often these manuscripts would be discovered centuries after the Reformation or surface in the hands of a family from nearby the monasteries. The movement of these manuscripts abroad prevented their destruction during the Reformation manuscript burnings. These manuscripts produced and passed down through families as opposed to Royal Libraries also offer another window into the preservation of the saga.

Snorri's case then allows us to introduce two families that manifested a strong interest in oral and written preservation of historical accounts. In addition to the Sturlungar family mentioned above there was also the Haukdælir family, explicitly tied to Skálholt and Hólar through oaths and land donations. Both families conducted intense political maneuvers through Icelandic society, notably via the position of Lawspeaker, which in the 1300s would frequently switch back and forth between a Sturlungar or a Haukdælir. In this period there was also a notable increasing of reliance on written modes in the role of the Lawspeaker. Previously a position of ultimate authority for questions pertaining to law, its role was later redefined when the main legislative figure became the Skálholt, the bishops, when one of the Lawspeakers transcribed the laws of the Althing for one of the bishops.<sup>84</sup> The book that was transcribed by them became the primary source for decisions of law; the manuscript would be kept at Skálholt, and not under the authority of the Lawspeaker. Lawspeakers remained active at the Althing and were still considered as highly respected figures.

The Sturlungar rose during Snorri's time at Oddaverjar under the Oddr family, where he learned to write, to use, and to appreciate books.<sup>85</sup> The Odda would fiercely pitch themselves

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<sup>84</sup> The Icelandic high court and democratic bodies, with representatives from all of the lower Things, with the Lawspeaker, an elected position, acting as memory of law for the body.

<sup>85</sup> Oddavjer is the location of the lands of the Oddr family, who were among those families that held great power via their involvement with writing and book production. They were also educators and maintained

towards supporting certain aspects of theological procedure, such as the election of new bishops, representatives, and the construction of new churches. The Odda held church lands and were central in the communication system of Iceland<sup>86</sup>, a fact that is significant since Iceland's procedure for tithing was very different from the mainland—tithes were paid to the landowners for many centuries in Iceland; this was even once adjusted so that the goði would retain a portion of the income.

The shift to written textuality and the rise of the saga genre made the production of works on family history and the broader histories of Iceland itself (such as *Landnámabók*) an intensely political endeavor. Scholarship has generally favored sacred sources, as they were the most well preserved, while books relying on family transmission were more easily dismissed by early scholars. In many cases it was through collectors that these manuscripts would be valued, as in the case of *Hauksbók* being identified and preserved by the archivist Árni Magnússon.

While this work focuses primarily on an area of sacred production, and in particular on the monastery Þingeyrar, it examines the interplay between sacred and secular in the production of the *Hauksbók*.

## B. Eddic and Skaldic

### 1. Snorri Sturluson

Snorri Sturluson was a prominent historian, skald, and saga writer. He came from the eminent Sturlungr clan, which continued to rise in influence following Snorri's achievements. He would serve as lawspeaker on two occasions, the first from 1215-1218 and the second from 1222-1231.

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farmstead schools, such as the one attended by Snorri Sturluson when he was fostering with Jon Loptsson.

<sup>86</sup> Gísli Sigurdsson. *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition. A Discourse on Method*. 2004, p. 60.

He would also attain the chieftaincy over several judicial districts.<sup>87</sup> Snorri was the foster-son of Jon Loptsson<sup>88</sup>, and educated at Oddi, the premier center for learning on Iceland, located on the Loptsson's farmstead. Snorri was able to attain a thorough education in poetry, history and writing, as well as an appreciation for books and manuscripts. He would well remember his lessons from Oddi, become a renowned skald, and successfully maneuver his way through Icelandic echelons gaining renown as a politician and lawman, thanks to his well-known skill with literature. Along with being an accomplished poet and an eloquent and respected lawman, he also a great writer. While the authorship of his works cannot be always ascertained (it is suspected he produced *Egils saga*), the sagas and poetry he compiled shaped our understanding of the saga. This would be through his gathering, copying, and collating a series of mytho-poetic passages into what would become known as the Prose Edda, Younger Edda, or Snorri's edda (so as to distinguish his works from the *Poetic* or Elder Edda). Snorri's *Heimskringla*, mentioned above, contains the history of all of the kings of Norway, the unification, and the Christianization of Norway. The Prose Edda he is so renown for acted as a manual for future skalds. It even includes instructions he thought most pertinent to successful saga writing (*Skaldskaparmál* and the *Four Grammatical Treatises*<sup>89</sup>) as well as a reference section on Norse mythology.

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<sup>87</sup> Bagge, Sverre. *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla*. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1991. p. 24.

<sup>88</sup> Jon Loptsson, mentioned previously in this chapter, was a powerful local lord. He was affiliated with the Oddr, one of the several powerful secular families of the region which long held ties to the educational and monastic sphere. Loptsson himself, through those connections, would have a close relationship with the monks of Þingeyrar. Loptsson was an ally of Gizurr Hallson, a member of the influential Haukdælir family, and also located near Þingeyrar. Via this web the influential Sturlungar arrived on the scene, through Snorri. This way the several most powerful families of the region were united in learning within the Þingeyrar's textual community.

<sup>89</sup> The Four Grammatical Treatises were a series of works describing the various methods of creating the Icelandic language, from the adoption of the Latin alphabet to the appropriate grammar to use in a work. They were not initially composed by Snorri, who is thought to have been aware of them and then copied them for posterity. The individual who came up with the treatises is unidentified, and generally referred to as the First Grammarian.

## 2. Elder and Younger Edda

As briefly mentioned above, there are distinctions between the Eddas. Among these, the version of the *Prose Edda*, compiled by Snorri in a sort of textbook for aspirant skalds as a reference section, is the more recent of the versions. The eldest arrangement has two names: *Poetic Edda* or the *Elder Edda*. The *Elder Edda* is a compilation of some 34 mythological and heroic sagas, probably produced between the ninth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>90</sup>

## 3. Manuscripts

There are a handful of manuscript sources of the edda and its related poetry. There are also a number of fragments and other sources containing allusions to now lost manuscripts. Significant, of course, are the *Codex Regius* and the *Codex Wormianus*, discussed in more detail below. Wormianus contains the complete *Snorra Edda*, the *Four Grammatical Treatises*, *Skáldskaparmál*<sup>91</sup>, *Háttatal*, *Rigspula*, and a few other legendary sagas. Notable are the *Snorra Edda* and *Rigspula*, which are significant for their mythological and religious content.

## 4. Skalds

Practiced throughout the Scandinavian world, skaldic poetry was cultivated in a large territory spanning from Norway to Iceland and Orkney in the tenth century. Families of skalds were not uncommon, as in the cases of the Sturlungs. Many of the skalds whose work has

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<sup>90</sup> The term for these entries is not always ‘saga’, and indeed the term is not always appropriate; most of the works are lays, as in the *Lay of Guðrun*.

<sup>91</sup> An instructional manual for aspirant skalds, composed by Snorri, utilizing the preceding Treatises and included examples as material.

survived are named, and are often indicated with nicknames that also incorporated the suffix “skald” (such as *Hvitskald*).

Skalds are often self-referential and self-conscious, with opening lines of this kind: “Hear my poem / I brew the mead of poetry / I swell the verse”.<sup>92</sup> They would also often be aristocrats. It wouldn’t be until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that skalds more frequently came from different social classes and could attain their skills through a separate path, thanks to their attendance in schools or connections with monasteries. While the students sent to the church farms at Haukadalur and Oddr and other institutions remained from an upper-class context, the broadening of access of such manuals and books as the *Skaldskaparmal* enabled composers of skaldic poetry from non-aristocratic backgrounds.

#### a. Skaldic works

The saga was far from the only textual innovation occurring in Iceland at the time, nor was it the only practice emerging from a long oral tradition. Parallel and contemporary to the saga were various types of poetry. Sagas, depending on age and topic, could and did incorporate poetic passages. The styles and prose of skaldic poetry are distinct from those of the eddic and grammatical styles. These excerpts in skaldic poetry often popped up in stories about or crafted by skalds, such as *Egils saga*, which covers the family history and legacy of the (in)famous skald Egil Skallagrímsson. There were alternate styles of poetry composed by these skalds, covering a variety of topics and reflecting a number of influences; the largest of these examples would be those in *drottkvæt* meter and the genre *drapur*.

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<sup>92</sup> Whaley, Diana. “Skaldic Poetry” in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, 2005. pp. 483.



b. Drottkvaet and Drapur

Drottkvaet is the intricate meter of poetry mostly associated with the ‘golden age’ of skaldic writing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though it is already present in textual sources from the ninth century. It possesses a number of intricate rules on syllables per line and verse structure. The style is thought to have developed from an ancient oral tradition, first known in textual sources of the 10th century. It is often aligned with the courtly and romantic genres of mainland Europe, even though these associations might be misleading because of the significant structural and stylistic differences. While the Icelanders were exploring these genres and began to expand them in their textual practice, the Norwegians were more interested in courtly romances.

The great drapur produced in this period came from a variety of locations; in the shift around the conversion and particularly during the reign of Olaf Tryggvason, court poets were urged to convert and to produce work on Christian themes. This would spread to neighboring institutions, such as the monasteries, wherein local poets would then also contribute to the genre. However, it is through the work of these court poets that, first, a transitional sense within the genre can be detected and, second, the authors shifted from predominantly secular to sacred positions.

The drapur, like some of the other skaldic works, provide a snapshot of the anxiety around the conversion. This is best exemplified in the case of a skald named Hallfreðr, who produced four large-form poems, each recording the spiritual anguish associated with his conversion. He attributes his conversion to Olaf Tryggvason more than to his own personal conviction or belief. At one point he appeals to poetry, which is symbolically linked to Odin,<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> This is due to the famous story of Óðin seeking the power of poetry and knowledge and undergoing a number of trials to attain such; to attain the power of poetry he seeks out a unique location and undergoes

with the following words: “All humankind has crafted poems for Oðinn’s favour: I remember our ancestors’ fine pieces. But sadly – since the poet thought well of [Oðinn’s] rule – do I impugn Frigg’s first husband (Oðinn), because I serve Christ.”<sup>94</sup>

### C. Manuscripts of note

The oldest representative manuscript containing the Edda is the *Codex Regius* (also ‘Regius’ or ‘R’). Regius is generally accepted as having a larger historical continuity with oral history extending beyond its written version. The works within the codex are not attributed to any author, and are not of course necessarily reflective of their original form and format. It contains much of the Elder Edda, which demonstrates a number of the grammatical and poetic leanings of earlier composition, particularly on and around older pagan topics. “Pre”-historic stories, as in the “fornaldarsögur” from pre-Icelandic settlement (in the ninth century; see Chapter I: Iceland), mostly narrate specific families, individuals, or historical events. These sagas often trace multiple generations (such as *Njal’s saga*, *Heiðreks saga ok konungs*, and *Egils saga*) and demonstrate the grammar associated with the ancient sagas as well as provide the genealogy for the area. While the *Heiðrek’s saga* is not so explicitly a saga of the Icelanders (in that it is not *about* Icelanders); its generational focus is typical of other Icelandic sagas.

The unifying aspect of the family lines establishing themselves as separate communities outside of Norwegian and Danish authority and the validation of ancestor’s heroic and valorous deeds shouldn’t be underestimated; in the push for independence from Denmark in the 1940s, the Icelanders would hold up their ancient sagas to legitimize their self-governance. The centrality of

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a trial, to attain the power of runes (magic, words, etc) he undergoes yet another trial, wherein he hangs himself from the World Tree (Yggdrasil) for nine days, side pierced with a spear (with some interesting connotations around the significance of hanging + spear to the ribs). When at the end of these nine days he is dropped, he has the knowledge of runes and magic.

<sup>94</sup> Whaley tr., 2002; Hallfreðr’s lausavía 7; see also Attwood Chapter 3 2005.

sagas like the *Íslendingabók* and the *Landnámabók* created a unique textual community on a larger scale than the one discussed above around Þingeyrar, which involved the entire island. If elsewhere the centrality of a textual community was the Bible or related texts, in Iceland sagas functioned as community identifiers.<sup>95</sup>

The recognition of the Icelanders as being uniquely interested in history writing is noted by scholars on the mainland, notably the monk and historian Theodoricus Monachus and the historian and theologian Saxo Grammaticus<sup>96</sup>. Both reflected on the apparently unique Icelandic penchant in writing and record keeping. Theodoricus is recorded as saying: "They cultivate these much-celebrated things in their ancient song".<sup>97</sup> Theodoricus was a historian who wrote a history of the kings of Norway in Latin in 1180 entitled *Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagensium*. Saxo Grammaticus, author of the *Gesta Danorum*, included in his work a mention of the Icelanders as well<sup>98</sup>:

"The diligence of the men of Iceland must not be shrouded in silence; since the barrenness of their native soil offers no means of self-indulgence, they pursue a steady routine of temperance and devote all their time to improving our knowledge of others' deeds, compensating for poverty by their intelligence. They regard it a real pleasure to discover and commemorate the achievements of every nation; in their judgement it is as elevating to discourse on the prowess of others as to display their own. Thus I have scrutinized their store of historical treasures and composed a considerable part of this present work by copying their narratives, not scorning, where I recognized such still in ancient lore, to take these men as witnesses."<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Antonsson, Haki. "Salvation and Early Saga Writing in Iceland: the Aspects of the Works of the Þingeyrar Monks and Their Associates." *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 8, 2012. pp. 120.

<sup>96</sup> Saxo Grammaticus would produce the first great history of Denmark and the Danes, *Gesta Danorum*.

<sup>97</sup> "prout sagaciter perquirere potuimus ab eis, penes quos horum memoria praecipue vigere creditur quos nos Islendinga vocamus, qui haec in suis antiquis carminibus percelebrat recolunt."; Theodoricus, *Historia*, p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> Gísli Sigurdsson. *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition. A Discourse on Method*. 2004, p. 4.

<sup>99</sup> Trans. P. Fisher, in Ellis Davidson, H.R. ed. *Saxo Grammaticus: the History of the Danes*. 1979-80. Cambridge: D.D. Brewer. pp. 5.

There are many manuscripts in Norway, many of them written by Icelanders, that were either commissioned or produced on site within the Norwegian court. Similarly, there were several initiatives around the late 1500s where a number of individuals were appointed by the court to collect manuscripts for the Norwegian royal library. This expanded the number of manuscripts that were saved intact prior to the Reformation. With the destruction of many manuscripts after the Reformation, surviving manuscripts containing historical, poetic, and religious saga are limited. Those with known origins are even fewer. There are also many surviving fragments, which make up the vast majority of medieval manuscript material from Iceland and Norway, while whole manuscripts are rare. Prior work done by collectors and archivists helped produce a picture of the earlier sources that have not survived. The three main manuscripts, discussed below, focus on a number of topics and survived by being passed down within a family, being retained in a royal library, or being claimed for a university library.

Mostly extant in three volumes, of particular interest here is the Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol.). It contains the *Snorra Edda*, which is also documented in Manuscript U *Codex Upsaliensis* (DG 11 4to, ca. 1300-1325), R *Codex Regius* (GKS 2367 4to, ca. 1300-25), and W *Codex Wormianus* (AM 242 fol., ca. 1350).<sup>100</sup> My main focus is on the Codex Wormianus and the Codex Regius because of their secular or pagan contents. Both were produced at a religious institution (such as Þingeyrar), differently from the later *Hauksbók* (AM 544 4to).

Regius, produced some time in the late thirteenth century, contains what would become the *Poetic Edda*, including a version of the *Völuspá* (a pagan prophecy), and the *Havamál* (or *Sayings of the High One*).<sup>101</sup> Regius gained its name as a result of its eventual transportation to

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<sup>100</sup> Some individual poems are preserved in other manuscripts which won't be discussed here.

<sup>101</sup> *Havamál* is significant to the understanding of the pagan mythology and corpus as a series of instructions for the faithful to live their lives, detailing instructions for how to conduct living and deal with potential conflicts, debts, and strangers.

Denmark following its discovery by the then bishop of Skálholt, Brynjólfur Sveinsson. Bishop Sveinsson sent the manuscript to King Frederick III of Denmark, which gave it the name “Regius”.

The Codex Wormianus similarly contains extensive pieces of mytho-poetic texts, among them the *Rigspula*, which outlines the three stratas of Norse society via the wanderings of the title character, *Rig*, who is in fact a disguised god, Heimdall. Its content relates to several aspects of Snorri's Edda, and was known to have been produced at the monastery of Þingeyrar in the bishopric of Hólar in the thirteenth-century. It is linked to the version of *Völuspa* found within the manuscript Hauksbók, which was compiled at the impetus of the Icelandic lawman Haukr Erlendsson (see Chapter 4). This connection between a sacred institution to a pagan prophecy provides an interesting perspective on the production of sagas and their topics in Iceland at this time. The versions of *Völuspa* included in *Regius* and in *Hauksbók* allow us to examine the prophecy in two contexts, one compiled by Snorri Sturluson and the other by the monks of Þingeyrar.

## CHAPTER 4: TRANSMISSION AND TRAVEL MATERIALS ACROSS THE WHALE PATH

This section explores the *Hauksbók* and a sequence from St. Olaf's Office. The specific items analyzed here are the *Hervararviða* and the *Völuspá* as transmitted in AM 544 4to (544) and the sequence *Lux illuxit laetabunda* from the Mass of St. Olaf in the context of their transmission to Þingeyrar and the subsequent manipulation by the local monks. In *Hauksbók*, this is apparent via the addition of *versus* marking to potentially demonstrate a performed rendition of the exchange in *The Waking of Angantyr*, and by the alterations of the *Völuspá* within as compared to its other editions. In *Lux* this is in the adaption and transmission of Norwegian chant and Office across the North Sea, and the alterations made to it.

### I. HAUKSBOOK

The *Hauksbók* section in AM 544 4to will be explored in this chapter, as will the unique situation of the Office and sequences of St. Olaf. Both were influenced by the people and places involved with their composition. While the place of origin of *Hauksbók* is clear, that of the St. Olaf Office and his sequences is less obvious.

The *Hauksbók* is a unique manuscript, split into three existing codices; the section that is the focus of the current chapter is that copied in AM 544 4to. The manuscripts were split when acquired by the respective libraries and programs in Denmark and Iceland.<sup>102</sup> There were multiple scribes working on the manuscript, the most prominent being Haukr. Haukr was an educated man from Iceland who worked as a lawyer in Norway. The other scribes included his Norwegian secretaries and scribes of Þingeyrar. Haukr's desired order for the book is unknown, though some assumptions can be made from the subjects spanned within the manuscript and the

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<sup>102</sup> The manuscripts would become some of the many which were part of a dispute of ownership. Although Iceland attained its independence back from Denmark in the mid-twentieth century, the process of repatriating Icelandic manuscripts from Copenhagen to Reykjavik continues to be contentious.

order of the sections; later hands, be they from the monks or the archivists, pulled the manuscript together generally according to topic. This led to theological excerpts being together with mathematical and geographical pieces, with the sagas being the final group.

In his thesis, Karl Johanssons describes the quires and puts them in connection with various Icelandic monasteries (such as Munkapver and Helgafell as possibilities), and in particular with Þingeyrar in northern Iceland. This section builds upon Johnssons's work by attaching this monastery handling explicitly to *Heiðreks saga ok koungrs* with particular focus on the episode within the saga, the *Hervararsaga*, and the version of *Völuspá* contained within AM 544 4to. Hauksbók is considered as a sort of encyclopedia composed by Haukr, with later quires written and added over the course of approximately 200 years before it was collated into the Hauksbók manuscript at the Archive.

The main focus here is the sequence *Lux illuxit laetabunda* from the Office of St. Olaf. Analyzing its transmission from Norway to Iceland via a surviving fragment from Norway and a manuscript from Iceland allows us greater insight to sacred transmission. This approach will provide the context for the unique circumstance of the creation and dissemination of the sequence, and in turn provides insight on the transmission of sacred repertoires in comparison to the journey of the *Hauksbók*.

#### A. Haukr Erlendson and Hauksbók

The Hauksbók is a manuscript containing multiple texts that was produced at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is divided in three parts: AM 371 4to, AM 544 4to, and AM 675 4to. It was commissioned by the main hand and patron, Haukr Erlendsson, a fourteenth century scribe and lawman. As it is preserved, the manuscript contains at least thirteen hands with the main one belonging to Haukr. Many of the other hands were active after Haukr's death

in 1334, and can be traced to the Benedictine monastery Þingeyrar in the bishopric of Hólar. The initial discovery of the manuscript as well as the first records about it stem from gathering notes produced by the manuscript collector and archivist Árni Magnússon. The manuscript was in separate parts similar to how it is in today, though with quires in a different order; loose quires were rebound in sections according to the assumptions about their original order.<sup>103</sup>

The three parts are very varied in of contents and split among two locations: AM 371 4to is stored in Reykjavík and contains two sagas, *Landnámabók*, which describes the settlement and colonization of Iceland, and the *Kristni saga*, which recounts the conversion and Christianization of Iceland. AM 544 4to contains a variety of sagas, pseudo-historical narratives, theological treatises, biblical stories, and other small items, such as a map of Jerusalem and a calendar. Within AM 544, however, there are also a number of quires that cannot be necessarily attributed to Haukr or even to the period of his lifetime. This include the *Völuspá* and several of the later quires (quires 18-21), which were added to the existing folio by Icelandic hands. The third and final part of the Hauksbók, AM 675 4to, contains a Norse translation of *Elucidarius*. The construction and order of the manuscript is somewhat nebulous, with several parts likely added at a date close to Haukr's death, or perhaps after a portion of the quires were sent away for copying. Similarly, the manuscript was only partially stitched together, with some leather thongs grouping some quires together. The ultimate decisions on grouping were made by the generations of archivists in Copenhagen beginning with Árni Magnússon in the seventeenth

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<sup>103</sup> Such as having like sections with like; most of the theological sections are together, as are most of the sagas. Archival handling grouped the sections according to the archive's assumptions about the content: Christian, sagaic, and so on. Haukr's initial ordering and intentions are unknown.



century and culminating with the actions undertaken by later archivists into the mid-twentieth century.<sup>104</sup>

The Hauksbók's multiplicity of contents portends a consideration of genre. Does it belong more accurately in the realm of a personal library or in a medieval encyclopedia? This debate is discussed by Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson<sup>105</sup> in support of the former, with equally extensive defense of the latter by Clunies Ross and Simek. Recent investigation in this vein of collation and creation is explored by Karl G Johansson in his 2018 article, as well as in his 2017 exploration on collecting and compilation further support Clunies Ross and Simek's assertion. Johansson helped define the Hauksbók as an encyclopedia. He also explores the motivations behind its compilation, in particular the presentation of the quires and the reasoning for their ordering (which at times may simply be the order in which they were found and rebound accordingly, rather than the order as intended by Haukr).<sup>106</sup>

The current middle section, AM 544 4to, is the focus of this chapter. A particular attention is given to the ways in which the manuscript is assembled and compiled until 1334. Finally, I will discuss the transmission and use of the manuscript by the monks of Þingeyrar. 1334 is a significant year since that is when the manuscript ceased to be developed by Haukr and journeyed from Norway to Iceland, though some of its prior contents had already been copied by Icelanders and Haukr's Norwegian secretaries.<sup>107</sup> An examination of the role of the monastery of

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<sup>104</sup> The complete handling and digitized archivists' notes are available at <https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/en/AM04-0544/143#page/72v/mode/2up>.

<sup>105</sup> Harðarson, Gunnar, and Stefán Karlsson, ed. Phillip Pulsiano et al., "Hauksbók," in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, 1993, pp. 371.

<sup>106</sup> Johansson, Karl G. "The Hauksbók: An Example of Medieval Modes of Collecting and Compilation" in *The Dynamic of the Medieval Manuscript. Text Collections from a European Perspective*. Oslo: University of Oslo, 2018, 131-145.

<sup>107</sup> It is also worth noting here that Haukr at the end of his life left Norway and returned back home to Iceland; the manuscript was brought back with him.

Pingeyrar and the influence it had on the creation and compilation of the Hauksbók will help to show the unique collaborative process of the construction of such a varied manuscript and its transition from a secular space in Norway to a Benedictine monastery in Iceland.

AM 544 4to (or 544) contains a variety of genres and resources, ranging from the sacred to the secular, with a large number of sagas and other histories. These collections are interspersed throughout the middle and final quires of the book, with the initial quires containing, among others, several sermons, mathematical and scientific excerpts (such as *On the rainbow* and *On the course of the sun* as well as a the simply titled *Algorismus*), biblical stories as *How Noah's Sons divided the world amongst themselves* and *On Seth's Journey To Paradise And On the Cross of Christ*, a hagiographic entry, and finally the pseudo-historical works, the *Trojumanna saga*<sup>108</sup> and the *Breta sögur* among several. The latter includes a version of *Merlinússpá*, and several sagas, among them *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*, *Fosbræða Saga*, and *Skálda saga*. 544 is the most varied of the three divisions, with a multitude of hands present. Much of the work within the manuscript are Haukr's, but other authors include the generally acknowledged 'Norwegian secretaries'.

It is important to note that the Hauksbók journeyed semi-regularly in the lifetime of Haukr (but also afterward), accompanying Haukr to Iceland and back to Norway twice, culminating with a final journey back to Iceland, where Haukr died. This repeated journey sheds more insight on the variety of hands, and the early presence of hands noted to be the Icelandic secretaries. Those were separate from the later hands that worked on the *Völuspá* and so on. Much of this travel and connection, as much as it illuminates the travels and connections of Haukr provides some insight as to how the Hauksbók derived its worldview. This worldview is

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<sup>108</sup> The Trojumanna saga is an example of the then popular belief that the origins of the Scandinavians stemmed from the refugees of Troy; see Saga-book “Hauksbók” by Sverrir Jakobsson on p. 31-32.

derived from the interests of Haukr and the worldview and context of the monks. These monks were not always solely producing theological entries. Indeed, among the theological entries, the majority are written in Haukr's hand, and not by the handful of other Icelandic scribes. The Icelandic hands present contributed primarily to the sagas and legendary episodes within the manuscript, among them the *Völuspá*.

This worldview, in part constructed locally via the creation and transmission of the overarching textual cultures not only of the church but of local Icelandic historical interest was further developed on site in the hands of the monks of Þingeyrar and their neighbors. The development of this textual culture was developed as a blending of monastic culture, Roman Catholicism, and local storytelling and oral transmission. The shift to textuality, initially in the hands of the monks, saw the blending of these traditions into a unique textual community, built up of monks born and educated in Iceland and neighboring areas, among whom were the *goði*<sup>109</sup> (further elaboration on textual cultures and communities particularly in Þingeyrar can be read in Chapter 3).

This worldview, so noted as being a blended one but beneath the umbrella of a Roman Catholic world view and hegemony influenced the creation of manuscripts of the kind developed, commissioned, and compiled by Haukr in a variety of ways. Much of this world view is of course put in its context of the periphery since Iceland at this point is still very much on the edge of European consciousness. The ongoing struggles between Norway and Denmark for domination as well as the increase in travel and dissemination technologies would similarly keep the attention away from Iceland, particularly when either country would claim Iceland as a territory.

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<sup>109</sup> These *goði* were educated alongside these eventual monks, development of the textual community, see Haki Antonsson 2012.

Given the size of the community which contributed to the creation of Hauksbók, evaluation of the larger context calls for an analysis not necessarily strictly chronological; tracing from hand to hand is only one of the means through which the manuscript and its context can be evaluated. With this in mind, it then also becomes necessary and helpful to evaluate the manuscript structurally. The enormous body of works present in Hauksbók and especially in AM 544 4to requires a structural approach so as to understand its construction as well as the world view in Iceland and of Haukr. Constructing this broader understanding of Iceland's worldview illuminates the smaller scale implication of those individual hands which came to work on the Hauksbók.<sup>110</sup>

Haukr certainly supervised its assembly and redactions, though Hauksbók can as well be seen as the result of a collaborative textual culture.<sup>111</sup> Hauksbók, to borrow a phrase from Jakobsson, can be read as “a collective product of Icelandic culture dispersed in space and time”.<sup>112</sup> Haukr himself was not always recognized for the role he played in the construction of Hauksbók; in the introduction to his critical edition of the Hauksbók, Finnur Jónsson claimed that Haukr could have had little or nothing to do with the compilation and creation of Hauksbók's.<sup>113</sup> Sven Jansson shifted this claim, especially thanks to research conducted into two of the sagas, *Eiríks saga rauða* and *Fóstbræðra saga*.<sup>114</sup> Further research into the paleography of

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<sup>110</sup> Sverrir Jakobsson, “Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View,” in *Saga-Book XXXI* (2007), pp. 22-38.

<sup>111</sup> Sverrir Jakobsson, “Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View,” in *Saga-Book XXXI*, 2007. pp. 24.

<sup>112</sup> Sverrir Jakobsson, “Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View,” in *Saga-Book XXXI*, 2007. pp. 26.

<sup>113</sup> Jónsson, E., and Finnur Jónsson. *Hauksbók udg. efter de Arnemagnæanske Håndskrifter No 371,544 og 675, 4o samt forskellige Papirshåndskrifter af det kgl. Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab*. København: Thieles Bogtr., 1892.

<sup>114</sup> Sven B. F. Jansson, *Sagorna om vinland, I, Handskrifterne till Erik den rödes saga*, Lund: Håkon Ohlssons boktryckeri, 1944.

the manuscript furnished more support for Jansson's discovery, showing that the commission, creation, and compilation of these texts stemmed from “conscious effort” and very much intentional on the behalf of the lawman.<sup>115</sup>

Much of this context is as a result of the shifting forms in literacy and textuality; this hearkens back to the development of the textual culture of medieval Scandinavia beyond the walls of a monastery or a cathedral school. Such literary and textual shifts away from the exclusivity of clerical orders and to the aristocracy as well as to the 'lay' population saw individuals produce works of equal interest and acclaim, such as those produced by Snorri Sturluson. Also able to take advantage of such a system was Haukr Erlendsson, who was of an aristocratic family from south-east Iceland. Haukr's education, while modeled on a clerical education that did not result in the taking of any kind of vows or orders, would influence the materials and methods he deployed in the *Hauksbók*. While he entered and departed as a private individual, he nonetheless was exposed to the fruit of a laborious and productive textual culture. As a result, although able to operate and compose under his own impetus, Haukr had been exposed to the texts and cultures that informed some of those objects included in the *Hauksbók*. These are demonstrated in some of those clerical miscellanies and translations of famous theological works, such as the *Elucidarius*, a translation of Bede's *Prognostica temporum*, and a list of holy days in the calendar (*Cisiojanus*).<sup>116</sup> Many of the concurrent items reflect Haukr's interest in European learning and education, such as the sections on mathematics and maps and various geographical excerpts. These inclusions are then expanded to encompass historical works, such as the saga *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*, which describes events prior to the

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<sup>115</sup> Sven B. F. Jansson, *Sagorna om vinland, I, Handskrifterne till Erik den rödes saga*, Lund: Håkon Ohlssons boktryckeri, 1944, pp. 22.

<sup>116</sup> Jakobsson, Sverrir. “Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View.” *Saga-Book* 31, 2007. pp. 26.

settlement of Iceland, or the rather ancient (legendary) history of the Icelanders. This variety of items, the sheer breadth of topics, and the general nuance of some of the items included reflect Haukr's interests and what he believed to be pertinent to his interests and work, as well as the shift in medieval narrative towards facts, as discussed by Jakobsson in his 2018 article.

Haukr, thus reflected by what he selected and included for the Hauksbók, can be understood as having an interest in history (both continental European and Icelandic), theology, pedagogy, mathematics, and geography among others. Haukr's interest in Icelandic history is exemplified in the inclusion of *Landnámabók* in the initial manuscript of the group, AM 675, which Haukr continuously edited over the years to affirm his own family's situation. This is buffered by those other sagas, which include the British *Breta sögur* with the *Merlínússpá*. The inclusion of such reflecting wide-ranging historical interest is further exemplified by the inclusion of the *Trójumanna saga*, which demonstrates the then common belief that the Scandinavians trace their origins to Troy. While this Trojan connection concurrent with the contemporary beliefs on the origins of the Scandinavians, Haukr's interest in including this particular saga and episode is not only to connect and establish his own genealogy, but an extension of those interests mentioned above with *Landnámabók*. The inclusion of these sagas reflects a general interest in world history and provide a potential link for what purpose as an encyclopedic collection the Hauksbók was meant to address.

#### B. The scribes and their locations

There were at least thirteen scribes who worked with, under, or after Haukr on what now makes up the Hauksbók. At least two of these scribes were working and adding to the manuscript after Haukr's death in 1334. The main hand is particularly present in the first third of the

manuscript, AM 354 4to, and in the largest piece, AM 544 4to, it is identified to be Haukr's (or at least his primary scribe). The two hands, which also surface frequently, are those belonging to the so-called Norwegian secretaries, who worked under Haukr at his firm and in the course of his duties at the Norwegian court. They are the only two Norwegian hands present in the manuscript. There are two other secretary hands present, both of which are from Iceland. There are a number of later hands with added sections to the manuscript after the death of Haukr. These hands were likely at the monastery Þingeyrar (Johansson 2005). These sections make up the first three quires of the manuscript, which were perhaps commissioned and added later, but make up some of the theological, geophysical, and geographical excerpts from the manuscript, along with a version of *Völuspá*, though with a greater Christian bent than its counterpart in the *Codex Regius*.

Many other hands are present: they either directly added whole quires, edited, glossed, or otherwise noted the text of the manuscript. Some of these additions are brief sketches, marginalia, and others are more conspicuous; the later editions considered in this chapter are those markings made via a retracing of rubrics prior to the manuscript's arrival in the hands of Árni Magnússon, and the addition of the *versus* markings along a prose section, or other small excerpts. Each of these are done by an Icelandic hand, though few are explicitly identified or tied to a location. The work done by Karl Johansson and Sverrir Jakobssen helped identifying these hands as belonging, at least in part, to the monks of Þingeyrar. This is particularly obvious in the first three quires, within which is the Hauksbók version of *Völuspá*. These are confirmed to be the hands that produced the *Codex Wormianus* (further detailed in Chapter 3 and known to have been produced at Þingeyrar). Further work was done by the notes inherited from Árni Magnússon, then expanded upon by Finnur Jónsson and Jón Helgason, in his introduction to the critical edition of the *Hauksbók*.

## II. AM 544 4to

### a. *Hervararsaga ok Heiðreks*

*Hervararsaga saga ok Heiðreks* is in the ancient style and same era of the legendary sagas, or *fornaldarsögur*. Temporally this means that the events included within the saga preceded the settling of Iceland in the ninth century. The saga spans multiple generations and is broken down into several distinct sections, each at some extent surviving in the extant manuscript editions of the saga. These are primarily three manuscripts: the Hauksbók (H), produced in the early fourteenth century on parchment, Gl.kgl.sml 2845 4to from the Royal Library of Copenhagen (R), produced in the fifteenth century on vellum, and R:715 from Uppsala (U), produced in the mid-seventeenth century on paper. These episodes, borrowing from Alaric Hall's analysis of such in his article, are the following:

*Table 4.1: Events, summary, and manuscript redactions of the Harvararkviða*

Episodes	Events	Manuscripts
1	the forging of the sword, Tyrfing, for Sigrlami/Svafrlami	H, R, U
2	a <i>holmganga</i> <sup>117</sup> on the mystical island Sámsey <sup>118</sup> between Örvar-Oddr and Hjálmar against the twelve sons of Arngrímr, descendants of Svafrlami, the leader of which, Angantyr, wields Tyrfing; the brothers are all killed, and Angantyr is explicitly buried with Tyrfing.	H, R, U
3	Hervör, daughter of Angantyr, raising Angantyr from the dead to reclaim the sword as her birthright; this section is called the <i>Hervararkviða</i> and is what this section of this chapter shall deal with	H, R, U
4	Hervör's son, Heiðrek, inherits Tyrfing, and this section follows his career up to his death after a poetic riddle-contest	H, R, U

<sup>117</sup> Holmganga, or holmgang, was effectively a martial challenge wherein the survivors were the victor. A holmgang could be between individuals or, in the case of the episode discussed above, two parties.

<sup>118</sup> The island of Sámsey lies off the southern coast of Denmark; although inhabited, in literature it often has a mystical and supernatural aura, likely due to the number of barrows present.



5	with Odin in fulfillment of a prediction/curse announced by Odin (this riddle section is also called the <i>gatur</i> )	H, R, U
6	Heiðrek's sons Angantyr and Hlöðr go to war over their inheritance, with Angantyr wielding Tyrfing	H, R, U
7	epilogue to the kings descended from Angantyr <sup>119</sup>	U

The conclusion of the saga also takes place far in the south of Europe; as the saga progresses, the location moves ever southward from the isle of Sámsey, where Hervör reclaims the cursed sword, Tyrfing. The concluding battle, and some of the context therein, refers at times to Attila the Hun and his invasion of the area. For the span of places covered, there is a great deal of travel both by boat, boot, and horse; in Hervör's episode alone, she journeys in her youth, sets out on adventures as a captain of her own ship and men to the recovery of Tyrfing at Sámsey and the raising of her son, Heiðrek.

Interestingly, Hervör here takes on a unique role for the saga, and one unique in the corpus as well. While this is hardly the first or last time a woman in the sagas raised her arms, the occurrence was nonetheless uncommon, and so Hervör was unusual for how she went about taking action. Women's verbal provocation of their male relatives most often was the method through which women in medieval Scandinavia could instigate a resolution to a conflict without taking action themselves. For a woman to take direct violent action was seen as inappropriate; by riling and provoking her male relatives, women are usually able to work towards their ends, which her relatives may or may not be aware of.

Hervör in this instance is not invoking action to enact justice on her behalf; she is wholly capable of doing such on her own. The scene on Sámsey opens from a section in which Hervör

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<sup>119</sup> Hall, Alaric. "Changing Style and Changing Meaning: Icelandic Historiography and the Medieval Redactions of *Heiðreks saga*." in *Scandinavian Studies* vol 77, No. 1 Spring 2005. p. 5.

leads her own raiding group and departs alone, armed and dressed as a man, to go to her father's barrow. Hervör's dress and mixed status, including how she presents herself and how she is perceived, reflected somewhat in the exchange with Angantyr.<sup>120</sup> In the case of *Heiðreks saga*, notably, Hervör is the only issue of the line of Svafrlami; she is 'filling the gap'<sup>121</sup> as a bridge to her son Heiðrek, while simultaneously fulfilling the male role and the activities expected of *him* in such a context: the reclaiming of birthright and standing via the sword and the avenging of Angantyr and his brothers.<sup>122</sup>

In such a context, and in such a supernatural setting it is no wonder that the *Hervararkviða* is, alongside the *gatur* riddles, the best-known section of the saga. It is also unsurprising that it is among the best well preserved and transmitted, and it is easy to sense its internal drama particularly when considering the assertion/reminder of Gunnell about the sagas, They were works, preserved in memory and delivered orally in performance. The capturing of these works on text freezes them as much as it isolates them from the atmosphere of delivery.

The various manuscript versions of the saga give shape to the exchange on Sámsey. There is significant research done on this section in particular, though most of the literature produced on *Hervararsaga* focuses on the unique riddle exchange in the *gatur*. Notably in the Hauksbók edition of the book there are a number of riddles added, likely selected or developed by Haukr Erlendson himself. The *Hervararkviða* is unique in several aspects: its supernatural

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<sup>120</sup> In this particular section Angantyr's refusal of Hervör and their argument is, via the Tolkien translation, frequently revolving around references to her womanhood; there is a shift in their exchange where he stops addressing her purely by gender and when he finally relents, it is to reaffirm her as a woman; the exchange moves from "no woman know I / who would dare in her hand / to hold this sword" as a rejection of gender, then finally acknowledging her as his daughter, "Fare well, daughter! / fain would I give you / twelve heroes lives—".

<sup>121</sup> Clover, Carol J. "Maiden Warriors and Other Sons," in *the Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. 85, No. 1, January 1986. pp 2-5.

<sup>122</sup> See Clover 1986.

topic, the gender bending element of Hervör's adventures, the sprawl of the geography, and the prose and grammar of the exchange itself. Often in different redactions, these passages are kept consistent, with variation in the entering and exiting prose (Hervör entering and leaving the island Sámsey, respectively). Generally, it is accepted that the exchange, also called the *Waking of Angantyr*, is older than its surroundings, likely adopted from some previous much older stories now lost. The other editions from which Hauksbók and the R editions pulled from, however, show some of this variation and heritage.<sup>123</sup>

The three distinct versions are as follows: manuscript R of the Copenhagen Royal Library, Gl.kgl.sml 2845 4to, vellum, from the early fifteenth century; manuscript U of the Uppsala University Library, on paper, likely mid-seventeenth century; and manuscript H, or Hauksbók outlined above, composed and arranged mostly by the Icelandic lawman and lawyer Haukr Erlendson in the first decade of the fourteenth century. In the Hauksbók, Haukr interestingly combined numerous aspects of both U and R to produce the unique version present in AM 544 4to. The implication of this arrangement is also interesting in the context of Haukr's interest in establishing a reference book for world history. The inclusion of this unique version of *Heidrek's saga* thus potentially serves as a window into Haukr's perception of truth and history. All versions of the saga fall into the six sections mentioned above and put forth by Alaric Hall, with the exception of the king's list epilogue, which only exists in the much later U version.<sup>124</sup>

The handling of this section is of particular interest for this section, since after Haukr's death in 1334 the manuscript or at least sections of it arrived in northern Iceland at Pingeyrar. In the context of the *Hervararkviða* this is interesting: for the section is detailed with the occasional

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<sup>123</sup> Hall, Alaric. "Changing Style and Changing Meaning: Icelandic Historiography and the Medieval Redactions of *Heiðreks saga*." in *Scandinavian Studies* vol 77, No. 1 Spring 2005. p. 10.

<sup>124</sup> Hall, Alaric. "Changing Style and Changing Meaning: Icelandic Historiography and the Medieval Redactions of *Heiðreks saga*." in *Scandinavian Studies* vol 77, No. 1 Spring 2005. p. 2.

marginalia and most interestingly a series of markings similar to those of a *versus* marking in a liturgical manuscript.

A *versus* marking, or verse marking, is not uncommon in manuscripts that include sections on music, chants, and various episodes to mark a change in the musical text from the preceding section, such as in a shift to the introduce a Psalm as verse within the larger context of a liturgical chant (see Appendix B, figure 1 of Hauksbók, and B, figure 13 for chant versus example).<sup>125</sup> These markings are the ones with which monks, scribes, and clerical copyists were familiar with from their own education in the reading, singing, and copying of chants. That the *versus*, usually utilized to indicate a change in section, is apparently present in the margins of the manuscript is unusual. Whether such markings were as familiar to individuals outside of the monastery but received a clerical education is the sticking point here; monks were extremely familiar with the *versus* markings and all their nuance and versatility. Haukr Erlendsson was the son of an aristocrat and would have received a clerical education in the thirteenth century in Iceland, and would have been exposed to manuscripts making use of the *versus* markings. Whether the additions to the redaction are in his hand is the question. If it was not Haukr, attention then shifts to who would have been familiar with the *versus* markings and possessed the manuscript section in question. If the assertions and tracings proposed by both Sverrir Jakobsson and Karl Johansson are correct, then after a time with the monks of Þingeyrar, AM 544 4to wound up in the hands of Haukr's family; would *they* have understood the significance of the *versus* markings and applied them?

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<sup>125</sup> Versus markings are not always isolated to chant manuscripts, though that is where they are most common. The small version which appears in the *Hauksbók* also appears in some literary manuscripts, though the extent of its use in sources has not been studied and would require further research.

The versus markings (see Appendix B, image 1 and 2) begin with Hervör's arrival on Sámsey and her exchange with the shepherd, who then accompanies her to the edge of the barrows before fleeing; the versus markings are placed in correspondence of every single exchange between Hervör and her undead father, Angantyr. The presence of the versus is further emphasized by red highlights added to the first letter of each exchange, both on words and on names; that is, in the first line of the *Waking of Angantyr*, 'Waki þu Angantyr', the 'w' is outlined in red; as are the ensuing words which begin each exchange between a person, not including the names of the individuals delivering them. These examples, pictured in Appendix B, image 1 and 2, show the manuscript page as a whole and a closer view of a section to allow for clarity. It is the new lines that receive this red rubric and not the expected 'Hervör kvið' 'Angantyr kvið' nor even the shorthand for such, "ang", "hv", and so on. That this might be performative markings is significant and requires further research. Similarly to the versus marking, the right side of the page and the red highlights mark the exact location within the prose; it is possible that these two additions assisted in the performative reading of this section by indicating the alternation between performers.

This kind of marking for exact reading and performance is apparently not isolated; Terry Gunnell in his 2008 book, *Drama in Scandinavia*, identifies several manuscripts with indications of individual performers, even though these examples are different from the combination enumerated above. Gunnell's examples, (see Appendix B, Images 4 and 11) demonstrate that these cues are often indicated with the letter 'q' with the addition of a shortened name; if this pattern were present in the *Hervararkviða*, then the exchanges would have been marked in the margin *and* only be present as the text indicated shift of character, not at the contents of the prose, but at "he said" or "she said". This is not the case within the *Hervararkviða*. The

manuscripts Gunnell examines in regards to these Eddic marginal markings include *Skírnismál* in GKS 2365 4to and AM 748 I a 4to, both also composed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and therefore roughly contemporary to *Hauksbók* (see Appendix B, Images 1 and 2). This is where the two systems match: they are both attached to moments in which there is a new delivery of text by a character (or actor). Differently, however, the *Hervararkviða* lacks any of the staging direction that accompanies a few of the manuscripts Gunnell presents, nor does it use marginal shorthand for the names. For all there is a shorthand combining both name and ‘*kvið*’ (‘said’) immediately prior to the line (identifiable by the red outline of the first letter in the line) (See Appendix B, Images 1- 3).

Regardless, the marks made in the *Hauksbók* demonstrate the presence of a later hand and the use of a symbol aligned with monastic ordering and writing. The markings are in a different ink and hand, and appear by all means to have been added at some point after the text was compiled. This favors the possibility that these markings were added after the death of Haukr and while the manuscript was present in northern Iceland, possibly at Þingeyrar. It is suspected that, once roughly assembled, the manuscript was passed down through Haukr's family for about three hundred years before it came to Árni Magnússon's attention and possession.

The exchanges present in the scene are maintained across translations of the saga: the exchange on Sámsey remains consistently isolated from the rest of the poetry and prose of the saga. This is shown in the *Waking of Angantyr* and in the *gatur* most consistently, and in areas where an exchange between two people is significant. The means of writing in these sections, and how they are indicated, break from direct prose rather than shifting from paragraphs to verse. This is not a wholly uncommon phenomena in the sagas: other sections that possess such shifts to poetic verse are consistently instances of the supernatural, ranging from the undead to the

monstrous, to the physical, where there might be an exchange prior to battle, or a death speech following a mortal wound. This shift from prose to verse is retained in the *Hervararkviða* and demonstrated below in an excerpt from Tolkien's 1960 edition on '*Saga Heiðreks konungs ins Vitra*'.

"Then she spoke:

(23) Wake, Angantyr,  
wakes you Hervör,  
Sváva's offspring,  
your only daughter;  
the keen-edged blade  
from the barrow give me,  
the sword dwarf-smithied  
for Sigrlami.

(24) Harvard, Hjörvard  
Hrani, Angantyr!  
from the roots of the tree  
I arouse you all, with helm and corslet  
keen-edged weapon,  
gear and buckler  
and graven spear.

[...]

Then Angantyr answered her:

(27) Why do you hail me,  
Hervör daughter?  
to your doom you are faring  
filled with evil!  
mad you are now,  
your mind darkened,  
when with wits wandering  
you wake the dead."<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Tolkien, Christopher. *Saga Heiðreks Konungs ins Vitra*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1960, p. 14-15.

a. *Völuspá*

*Völuspá* presents a different case compared to *Hervararkviða*; for one, tracking its addition is far more straightforward than estimating and analyzing any changes made to *Heiðrek's* saga prior to and after its addition to *Hauksbók*. What is known about this version of *Völuspá* is further assisted by the presence of the other previous version found in the *Codex Regius* alongside the rest of the mytho-poetic eddic entries. The version found in *Hauksbók* was almost certainly created after Haukr's death in 1334 and was produced at the monastery Þingeyrar. Its author is identifiable through other works they contributed greatly to, such as those within the *Codex Wormianus* and potentially some spots of *Egils saga* (AM 162 a β fol.)<sup>127</sup>

The connection to *Wormianus* here is the most relevant one, for the book is also most directly attached to Þingeyrar. The copying and inclusion of the *Prose Edda*, *Rigspula*<sup>128</sup>, and the four grammatical treatises present in *Wormianus* emphasize the role the monastery played in the copying, tweaking, rewriting, and redacting of these various versions of prose as well as the development and spread of the saga. The connection then to the *Völuspá* is then doubly interesting. The monks needed to work from a copy of *Codex Regius* or *Regius*, which contains another version of the prophecy. However, the *Hauksbók* version contains a variation from the common one found in *Regius* and *Snorri's Edda*; the implication here is that this *Völuspá* was sketched into the Christian context as well as put down from an existing oral tradition. The monk who completed the work both on *Wormianus* and on at least the pieces which later became *Hauksbók* made adjustments in this later edition; he added a decidedly Christian tone to the

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<sup>127</sup> Helgi Þorláksson. “Þorgils á Þingeyrum: Um upphaf Þingeyrarklausturs”, *Saga* 46, 2008. pp. 168–80.

<sup>128</sup> *Rigspula* is the mythological story explaining the birth of the social classes/strata of medieval Norse society. These various strata are literally visited by an individual called Rig, in fact the god *Heimdall* in disguise. Rig fathers the classes of Man (in other sources *Heimdall* is considered the father of all mankind), beginning each class; first the serfs, then the free-men and craftsmen (lesser farmers, herdsman, smiths), then ultimately the jarls (earls).



pagan prophecy, positioning it very much in the context of the apocalyptic hysteria sweeping Christian works at the time and situating this apocalypse as the fall of paganism to Christianity (Karl Johanssen, 2013).

This trend towards a fascination with the apocalypse and the application of such to literature was hardly uncommon for the period. As Johansson outlines in his chapter in *Nordic Apocalypse*<sup>129</sup>, the version reflects not only the shifting materials available and an awareness of the Tiburtine Sibyl as well as the associated prophecies, but also demonstrates the influence and confluence of these two systems of thought and the resulting version presented in the Hauksbók, along with those other editions in *Regius* and Snorri's Edda. From Þingeyrar, a consideration of this prophecy and an interest in bridging the gap between the two religions and worldviews created something sensical. The *Völuspá*, which for so long was considered as a purely Nordic take on the end of all things (*Ragnarök*), is reconsidered. By examining the broader context, it opens the realm for the reader to consider the interests and choices made by the individuals who produced the works at the time, as they were making sense of the dynamics of the systems.

### III. Sacred transmission

#### a. *Lux illuxit laetabunda* in Iceland and Norway

Shortly after his death in 1030, Olaf was canonized in Nidaros by Bishop Grimkell<sup>130</sup> and declared *Rex Perpetuus Norvegiae*, the eternal king of Norway. It wasn't until 1164 that St. Olaf was recognized throughout the entirety of the Roman Catholic Church, with Pope Alexander II

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<sup>129</sup> Johansson, Karl. "Völuspá, the Tiburtine Sibyl, and the Apocalypse in the North" in *Nordic Apocalypse: Approaches to Völuspá and Nordic Days of Judgement*, edited by Terry Gunnell and Annette Lassen, 2013. pp. 2-4.

<sup>130</sup> Bishop Grimkell was an English bishop brought over with St. Olaf with the aim of missionizing the area and assisting Olaf in his goals of converting the locals. He would be the one to witness several of Olaf's miracles, and the one to canonize Olaf after his death. See Østrem 2001.

confirming his canonization. Prior to that event, St. Olaf remained a local saint and was integrated into the two other church practices popular or influential throughout Norway at the time: the Irish Church and the Byzantine or Orthodox Church. This is expanded upon somewhat more in the preceding chapters in Nidaros, but the significance of Olaf as a saintly figure spread far beyond Scandinavia; there were shrines to St. Olaf discovered in the quarter of the Varangian Guard in Constantinople.

Significantly, around the time when Olaf was incorporated into Scandinavian hagiography the music for his service was also composed. The Office discussed here is not the one inserted in the standard Roman Catholic tradition. The St. Olaf Office belongs to the type that is generally defined as *historia*, which present specific musical and textual characteristics.

When a saint is canonized, there are a number of ways in which music can be composed for them. Usually there is already a standing corpus of texts and melodies to reuse. In general, pre-existing materials are borrowed based on the saint's typology: martyrs, virgins, confessors and so on. New chants, specific to the saints, their miracles, life and actions were often added. These chants were supplemented by readings from a *vita*, which were produced to outline the life, efforts, and miracles of the saints; Olaf had several produced, including a couple from Þingeyrar.<sup>131</sup> Olaf was a Norwegian Saint, whoever, and it is through the umbrella of Nidaros that his Office spread. Olaf's canonization was supported through the bishoprics, which included Iceland, Greenland, and Orkney among others. The transmission of his chants as well as later manipulations are also of interest here.

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<sup>131</sup> Lönnroth, Lars. 2000. ed. Michael Dallapiazza and others, "The Baptist and the Saint: odd Snorrason's View of the two King olavs", in *International Scandinavian and Medieval Studies in Memory of Gerd Wolfgang Weber*, 2000, 257–64.

The creation of such new songs and chants could be done in several ways: the addition of a new text to a pre-existing melody (or the reverse), the borrowing of a secular song, or the composition of something entirely unique (musically and textually). Particularly after ca. 1000 CE new techniques and genres to supplement the liturgy were introduced: one of these is the sequence. Sequences were continually written all throughout Europe and developed as an extension of the Alleluia (sung at the end of the Alleluia), though there is some debate about whether they developed entirely separately and were simply appended.<sup>132</sup> At any rate, the sequence became prominent starting around the ninth century. The provision of sequences involved both new compositions and the adaptation of pre-existing pieces, an advantage for the rapid production of an Office no matter the location. These methods led to the swift development of an enormous repertory, each strongly regional. Consequently, the tracing of these unique melodies, especially the texts, allow us to follow the travels of a piece throughout Europe. And this was the case of the sequence for St. Olaf; as his Office developed and the works written for him became more and more established, the unique sequences produced for him offer a way to trace the spread of specific chants and manuscripts throughout Scandinavia.

The Mass of St. Olaf followed the procedure that was common for numerous other Masses, in that it was adapted from preexisting works dedicated to saints who had also died in a similar way. Among these saints was St. Martin of Tours, also a martyr (the St. Martin chants are primarily used for Vespers in the St. Olaf Office).<sup>133</sup> The rest of the material that was present and borrowed appeared to be from the early twelfth century Office of St. Augustine. All other chants appear to have been developed locally. The sourcing of Augustine is not insignificant here. The

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<sup>132</sup> Hiley, George. "Tradition and innovation in medieval chant", chapter in *Gregorian Chant*, 2009. pp 129.

<sup>133</sup> Such as with St. Dionysius, who was also martyred and had thematically relevant sequences composed for him; see Bergsagel 1976).

St. Olaf Mass was composed in the early period of Nidaros when the diocese was reasserting the influence of the Roman Catholic Church over that of the Irish and Byzantine Church. The Augustine reform movement was also in full swing at the same time, something that the then archbishop of Nidaros fully supported; this Bishop Eystein<sup>134</sup> also went on to produce several of the chants utilized in the Mass of St. Olaf, significantly among them the sequence *Lux illuxit laetabunda*, discussed below.<sup>135</sup>

Before digging into the context and transmission of the sequence, however, it is relevant to notice that as these later procedures were developing and spreading, the full listing and compilation of such chants were not made until the early sixteenth century, wherein the Scandinavian liturgy was codified into distinct printed manuscripts and made up the official *Breviarium Nidrosiense* and the *Antiphonarium Nidrosiense*. These official revisions and codifications, however, did not gather these texts with their melodies. As such, we can only identify the precise melodies and aspects of the Office (among the numerous other practices and chants making up the Scandinavian liturgy) through fragments and surviving manuscripts. Transmission of the chant was apparently fairly stable, with more variation from diocese to diocese, though much of this analysis is hindered by the lack of surviving fragments from Norway.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Eystein is only one of the possible authors. Others might have been Eirik Ivarsson, Archbishop of Nidaros, and Tore, archbishop from 1206-1214; the most likely are Eystein or Eirik due to their ardent support of crafting a uniform Nidaros rite (see Vandvik 1941, Osmundsson "Lux Illuxit Laetabunda" *Sanctus Olavus*).

<sup>135</sup> Osmundsson, Åslaug. "Missa" in *Sanctus Olavus*, Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin, hosted by the University of Bergen, 2012.

<sup>136</sup> Osmundsson, Åslaug, Østrem, E. "Officium", "Missa" in *Sanctus Olavus*, Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin, hosted by the University of Bergen, 2012.

There were four sequences for St. Olaf which traveled, the most important being *Lux illuxit*. The other sequences— *Predicasti dei care*, *Postquam calix babylonis*, and *Veneremur sanctum istum*— never achieved the level of popularity and spread of *Lux illuxit laetabunda*.

*Lux illuxit* demonstrates traits of the 'transitional style'<sup>137</sup> in the characteristics of its rhythm and rhyme scheme.<sup>138</sup> The sequence was composed by a Norwegian, as evidenced by some phrasings within the text ("our special protector" / *tutor noster specialis* GJERLØW). *Lux illuxit*, as mentioned above, retains some early models in its construction and preference for alliteration (Kruckenberg 1994) as well as some transitional traits identified most easily in its first strophe, which pulls from another transitional sequence, *Letabundus exultet*.<sup>139</sup>

*Lux illuxit* was fairly widely spread even beyond Nidaros' sphere of influence; fragments exist from throughout Scandinavia, including Sweden and Finland, which were not under the direct influence of Nidaros. Most significant for examination here is the fragment produced in Iceland and now held in the Copenhagen section of the Arnamagnæen Collection, AM 98 8vo II fols 5-8, and the three fragments contained at Oslo in the National Archives, Lat. Fragn 418, 932, and 1030, which contain strophes 8, 4-5, and the incipit respectively. The Icelandic manuscript was produced sometime in the fifteenth century, with the Norwegian fragments being produced in the thirteenth century.

While the journey over land and sea as well as its long historical reception informed much of the transformation of *Lux illuxit*, its spread demonstrated one of the passages through

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<sup>137</sup> Osmundsson, Åslaug. "Missa" in *Sanctus Olavus*, Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin, hosted by the University of Bergen, 2012.

<sup>138</sup> Kruckenberg, Lori. Eds. Andreas Haug, Lori Ann Kruckenburg-Goldenstein. "Making a Sequence Repertory: The Tradition of the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*" in *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory & Its European Context*, 1997. pp. 145.

<sup>139</sup> Eggen, Erik. *The Sequences of the Archbishopric of Nidarós*, vol 2 of *Bibliotheca Arnamagnæa*, 1968. pp. 219.

which such material could and did travel, via the aegis and codification of the archbishopric and the gradually firming Scandinavian liturgy. While material transmission here was reliant more on word from Nidaros and less on physical transportation in the pocket of a lawman, the ultimate journeying and inclusion of such works from Nidaros to the great scriptoriums of Iceland, likely Þingeyrar, Helgafell, or Kirkjubær, was done by monks. Although written transmission prevented some of the typical variants of oral transmission, some variants still occurred in its passage from Nidaros to Skálholt and Hólar. Indeed, while the alterations present are in the melody, pictured in Appendix A.5 and A.8 (AM 98 8vo II fol 5 and Lat. Frag 932), greater alteration to the Office as a whole was made in Sweden, where it seems a few dioceses utilized unique responsories added for Vespers. A proper hymn (*O queam glorifica lux hodierna*) was utilized in Västerås<sup>140</sup> only (Eyolf Østrem, "Officium", *Sanctus Olavus*). The transmission of the chant then reflects a smaller aspect of the means through which texts could grow and alter as they journeyed, both within the author's lifetime and significantly later; these small materials shed some light on the aspects of travel and compilation as well as on composition in and around medieval Iceland and particularly in their monasterial contexts.

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<sup>140</sup> In East-central Sweden, Västerås was a bishopric under the authority of Lund; it would contain its own unique procedures for the Mass of St. Olaf, among them some of the alterations mentioned above, and with small adjustments to *Lux illuxit lautabunda*'s melody. See Odmundsson, "Missa" 2012.

## Conclusion

This report demonstrates the various means which contributed to the development of the unique Icelandic Christian world view and the influence this had on the development of textual communities. The shaping of the Christian world in the North, synthesized with an already powerful oral tradition, culminated in a corpus of works reflecting the Icelandic perspective of the past and the present. The individuals who initially informed this synthesis were primarily monks and aristocrats, each aware of the vernacular oral tradition and increasingly involved with the fusion of textuality and oral transmission. These movements towards a synthesis of practice would establish the local textual communities and reflected both the overarching tradition of oral storytelling and the manuscript production.

The development of this perspective on textuality would, within a matter of generations, spread beyond solely the influence of the clergy and aristocracy (though both would remain relevant to the production of poetry and the setting of sagas). This shift from clergy to laity would culminate in a uniquely widespread culture of textuality and book production in Iceland. Haukr Erlendsson, while a member of the aristocracy, contributed to this. His *Hauksbók* reflects the textual interest, historical fascination, and transmission of materials from Norway to Iceland. The examination of *Hervararkviða* and *Völuspá* conducted above demonstrate the variability in sourcing and the transmission of such items, even after Haukr's death.

In *Hervararkviða* this is shown via the *versus* markings, which extend from a unique context and are applied in an equally unique way. This potentially reflects a sacred application of the *versus* in a secular work and demonstrated a potential awareness of the performance of the work. Succinctly, a secular work from an oral, performative tradition was labeled with a sacred icon in a dramatic exchange, unique within the manuscript.

*Völuspá* also reflected this synthesis, though. While in the case of the *Hervararkviða* alterations were made later, the *Völuspá* had an altered context and content from its conception. It was composed at Þingeyrar and shows the fusion of a pagan material with a Christian apocalyptic worldview, unique from the versions found in *Regius* and the Poetic Edda.

These instances of transmission and alteration are then further contextualized by the sequence *Lux illuxit laetabunda*. The sequence, conceived and composed in Norway for a uniquely Norwegian saint journeyed across Nidaros, and through the materials examined, reflected the local alterations made from its development in the twelfth century, to the version(s) presented from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Each of these examples reflect the transmission of material across time and space, and culminated at the monastery Þingeyrar. Þingeyrar then reflected its own perspective and community upon those sagas and songs.



## Appendix A: Manuscripts Listed

Manuscripts with a star\* have images provided. See Appendix B.

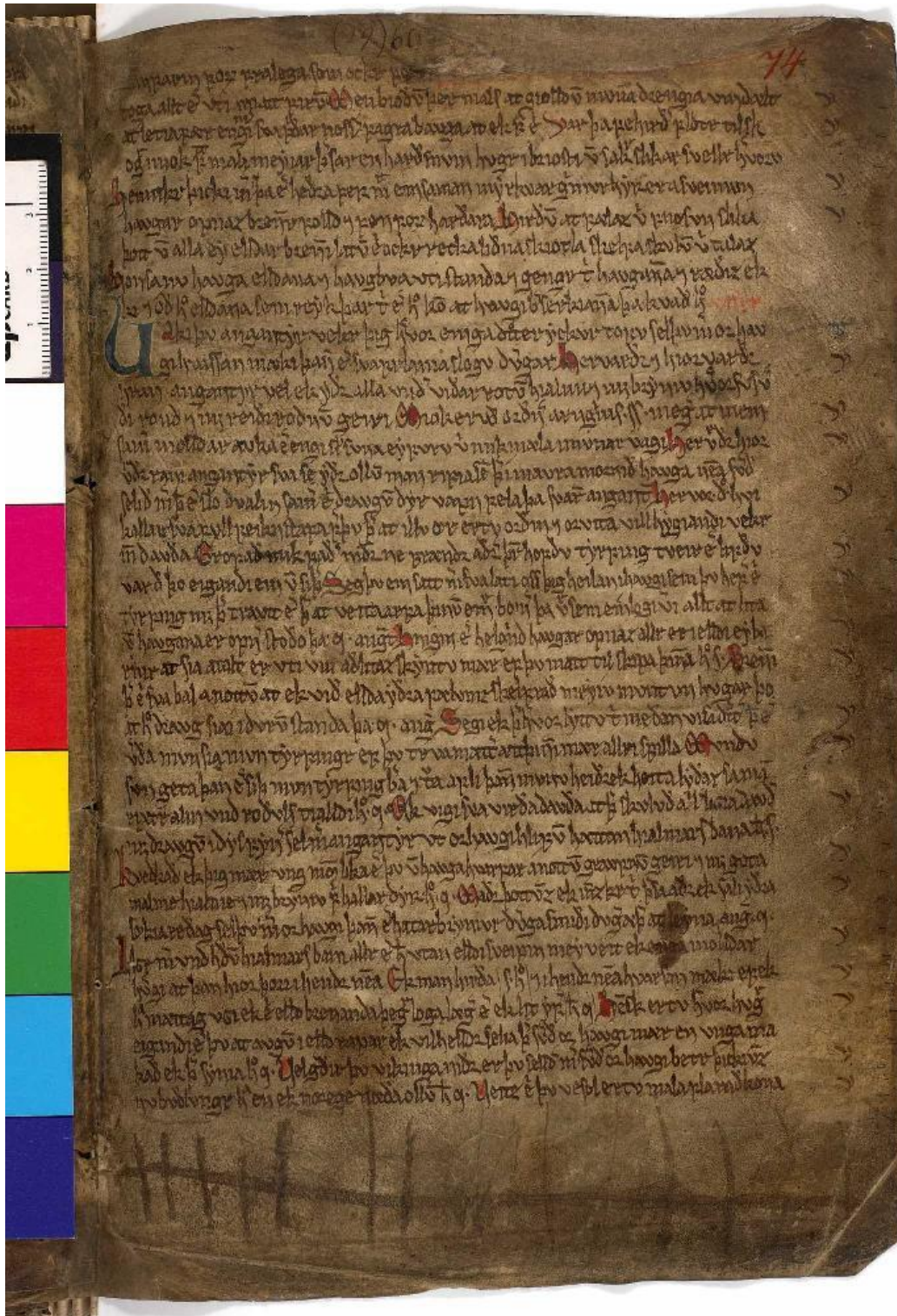
Hauksbók	AM 544 4to*	Copenhagen
	AM 371 4to. (???)	Reykjavík
	AM 675 4to	Copenhagen
Codex Wormianus	AM 242 fol.*	Copenhagen
Codex Uppsaliensis	DG 11 4to	Uppsala
Codex Regius	GKS 2367 4to	Reykjavík
<i>Lux illuxit</i>	AM 98 8vo II fols 5-8*	Copenhagen
<i>Lux illuxit</i>	Lat. Fragn 418*	Oslo National Archives
	Lat. Fragn 932*	Oslo National Archives
	Lat. Fragn 1030	Oslo National Archives
Egils saga	AM 162 a β fol.	Reykjavík
Skirnismal	GKS 2365 4to*	Reykjavík
	AM 748 I a 4to*	Copenhagen

## Appendix B: Manuscript Images

### Image 1

AM 544 4to, 73r;

Inside the *Harvararkviða* the beginning of the *Waking of Angantyr*. On the right margin, the versus markings. Within the prose, the highlighted letters in red correlate to the versus positions. Image courtesy of handrit.is and the Arnarnagæn Institute.





### Images 2-3

AM 544 4to, 73r, *Hervararkviða*, close image of versus and highlight.

AM 748 I a 4to, *Skírnismál*, close image of quotation shorthand.

Images courtesy of handrit.is and the Arnarnagæn Institute.

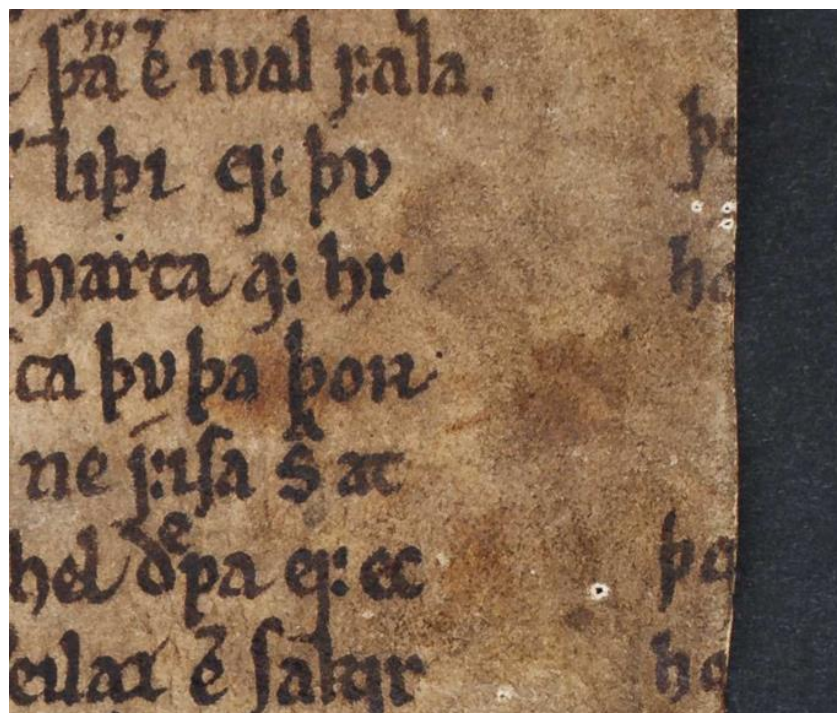
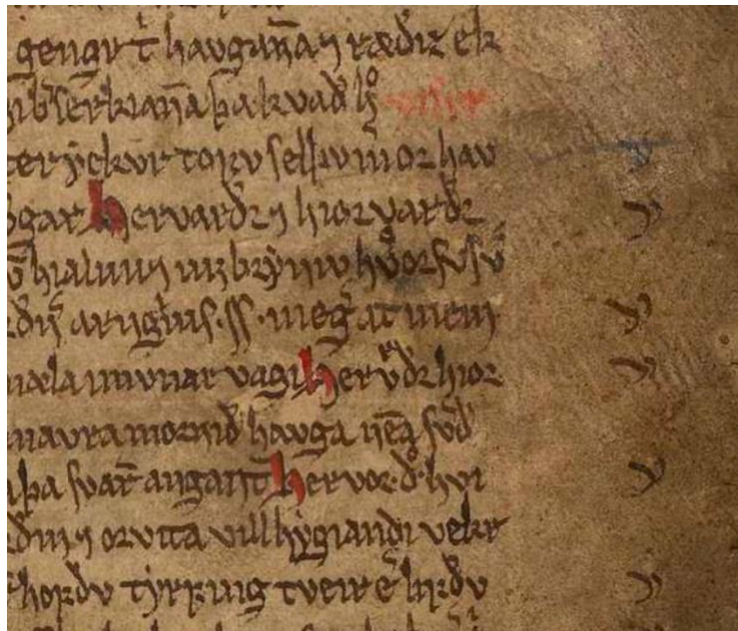


Image courtesy of handrit.is and the Arnamagnæn Institute.



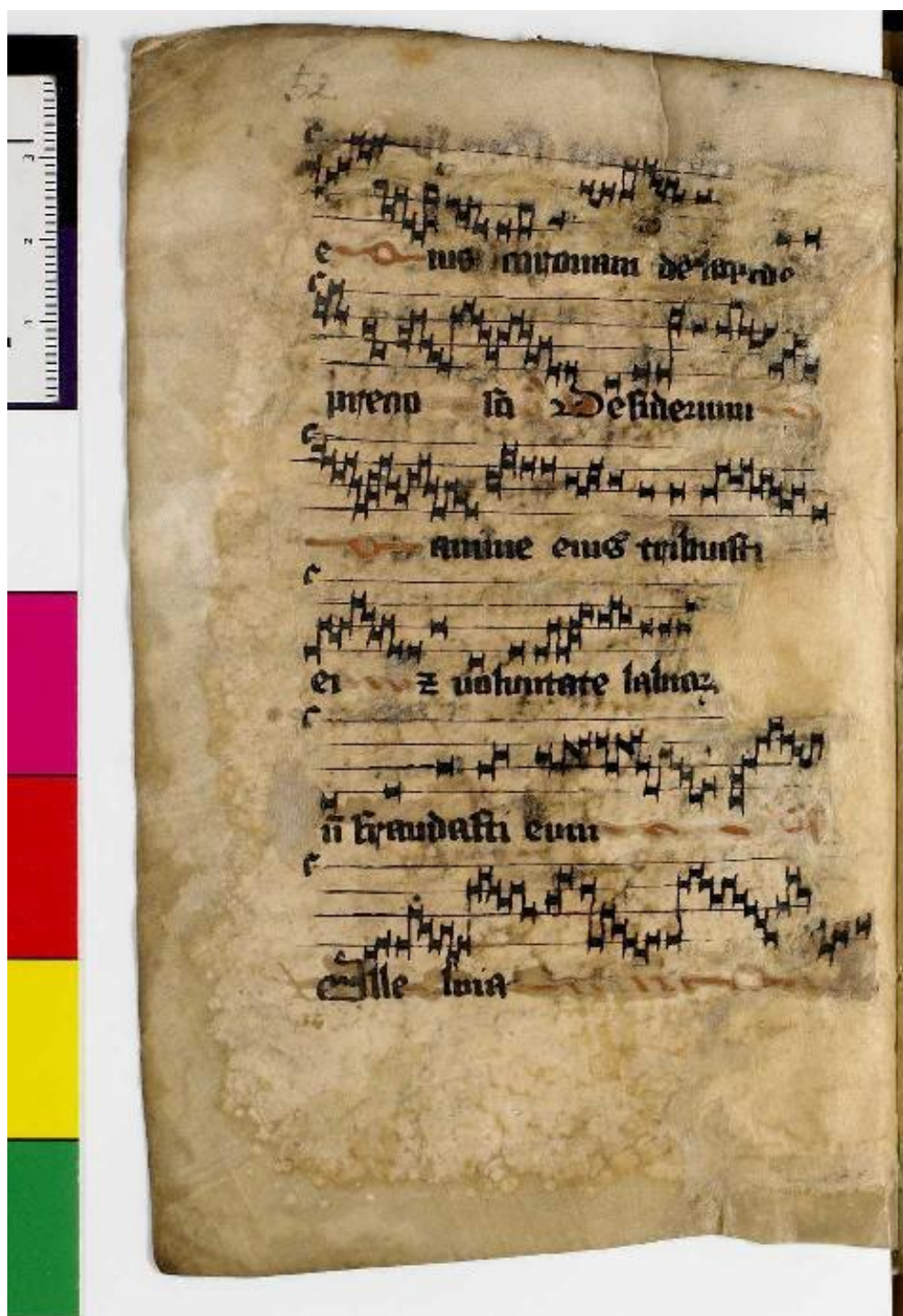


**Image 5**

AM 98 8vo

Pictured, 4v, *Lux illuxit lateabunda.*

Image courtesy of handrit.is and the Arnamagnæ Institute.

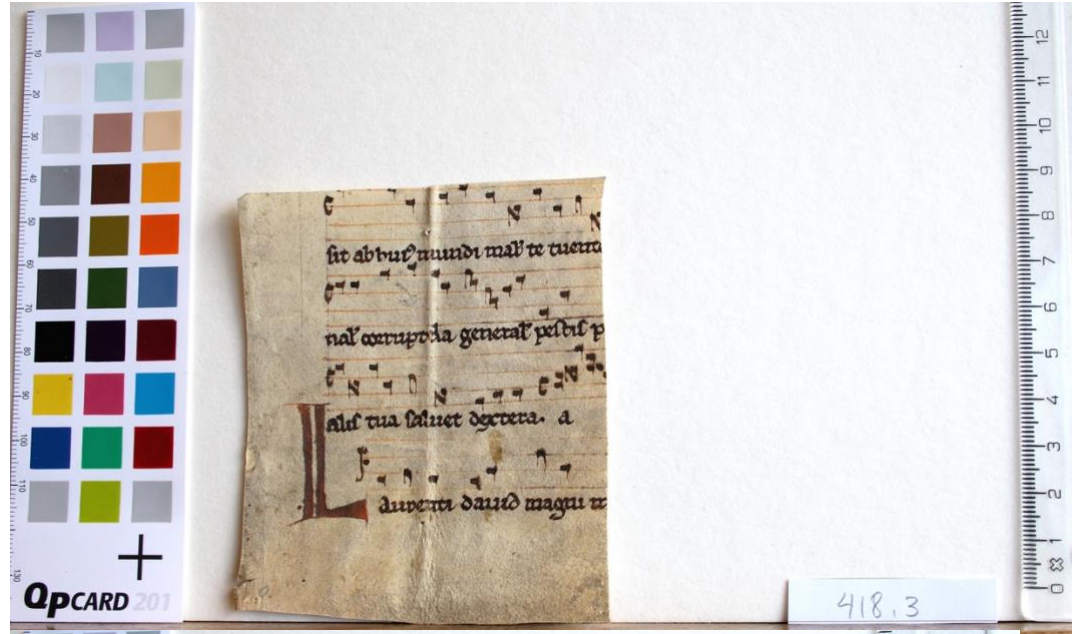


### Images 6-9

Lat. Fragm. 418, 3r.

Lat. Fragm. 418, 4-7r.

Images courtesy of the University of Bergen, Centre for Medieval Studies, Inventory of Medieval Manuscript fragments in Norway.





Lat. Fragm. 932, 1r.  
Lat Fragm. 932, 1v.

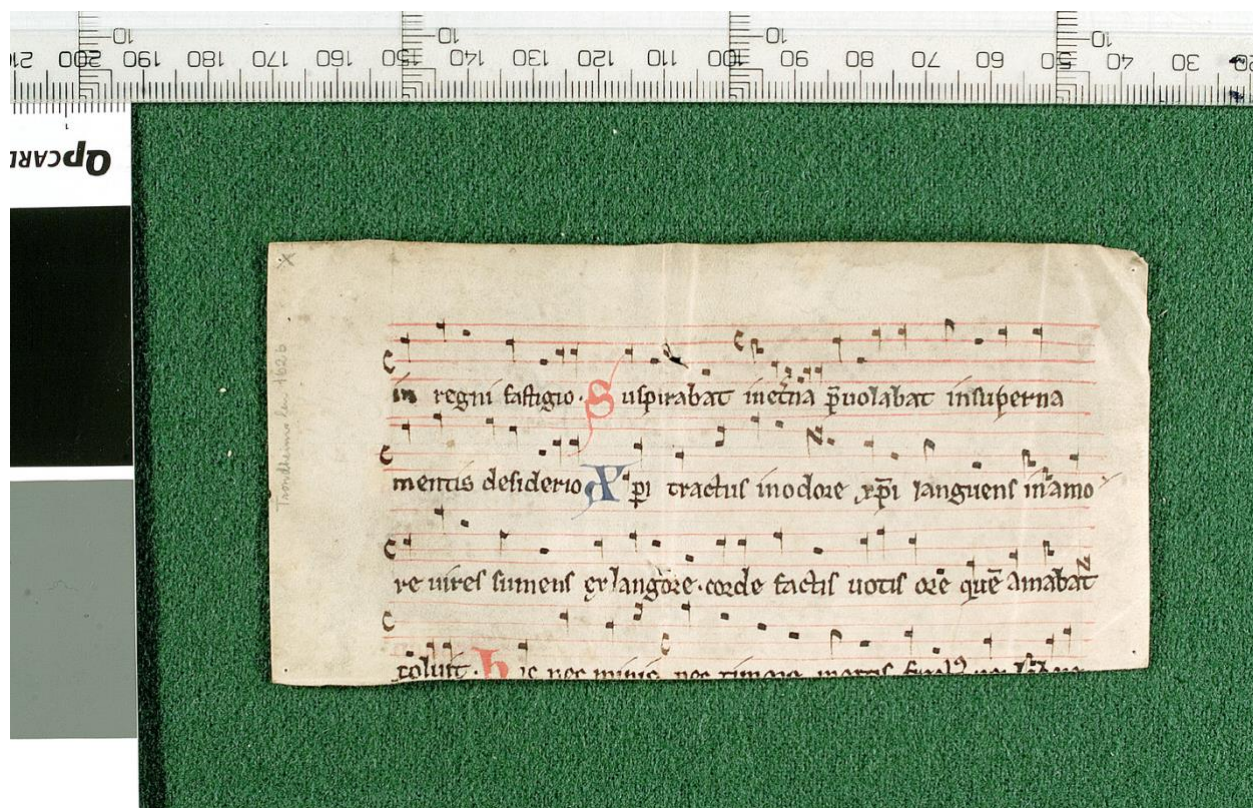
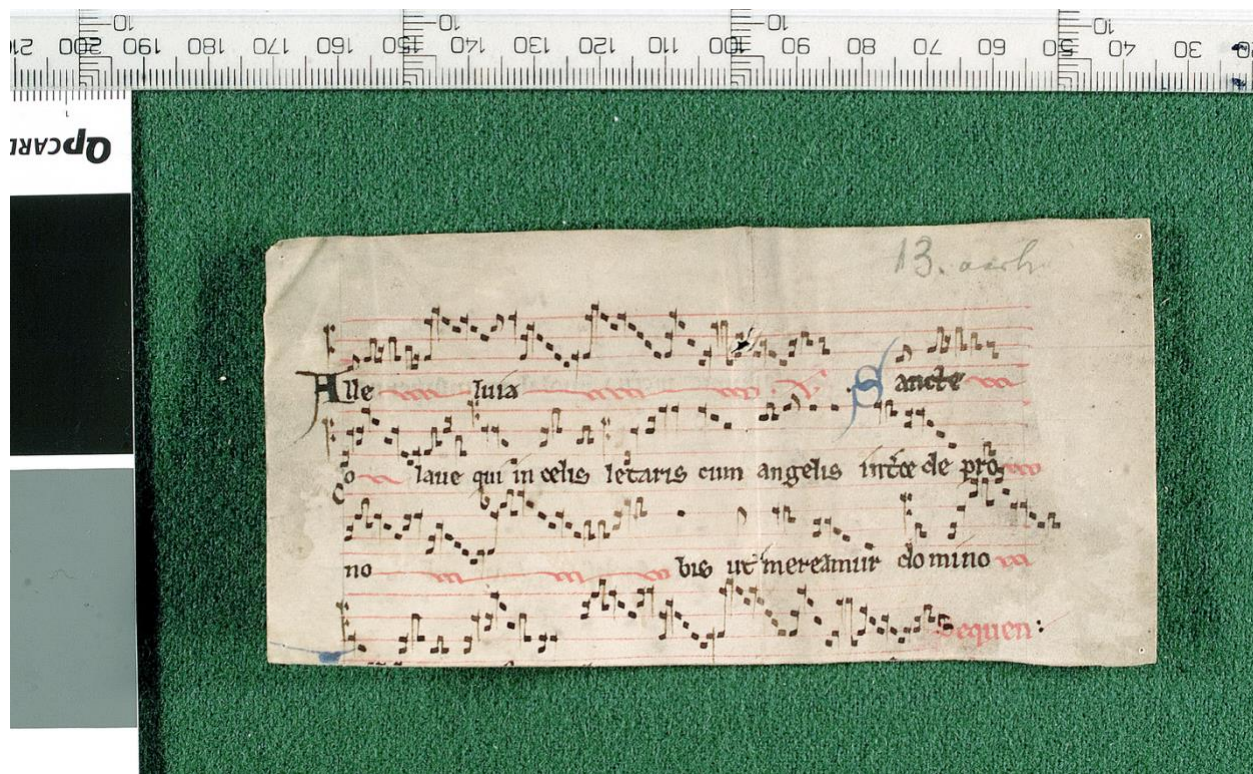




Image 10  
Fr. 28222  
Image courtesy of the Riskarkivet





AM 748 I a 4to; *Skírnismál*.

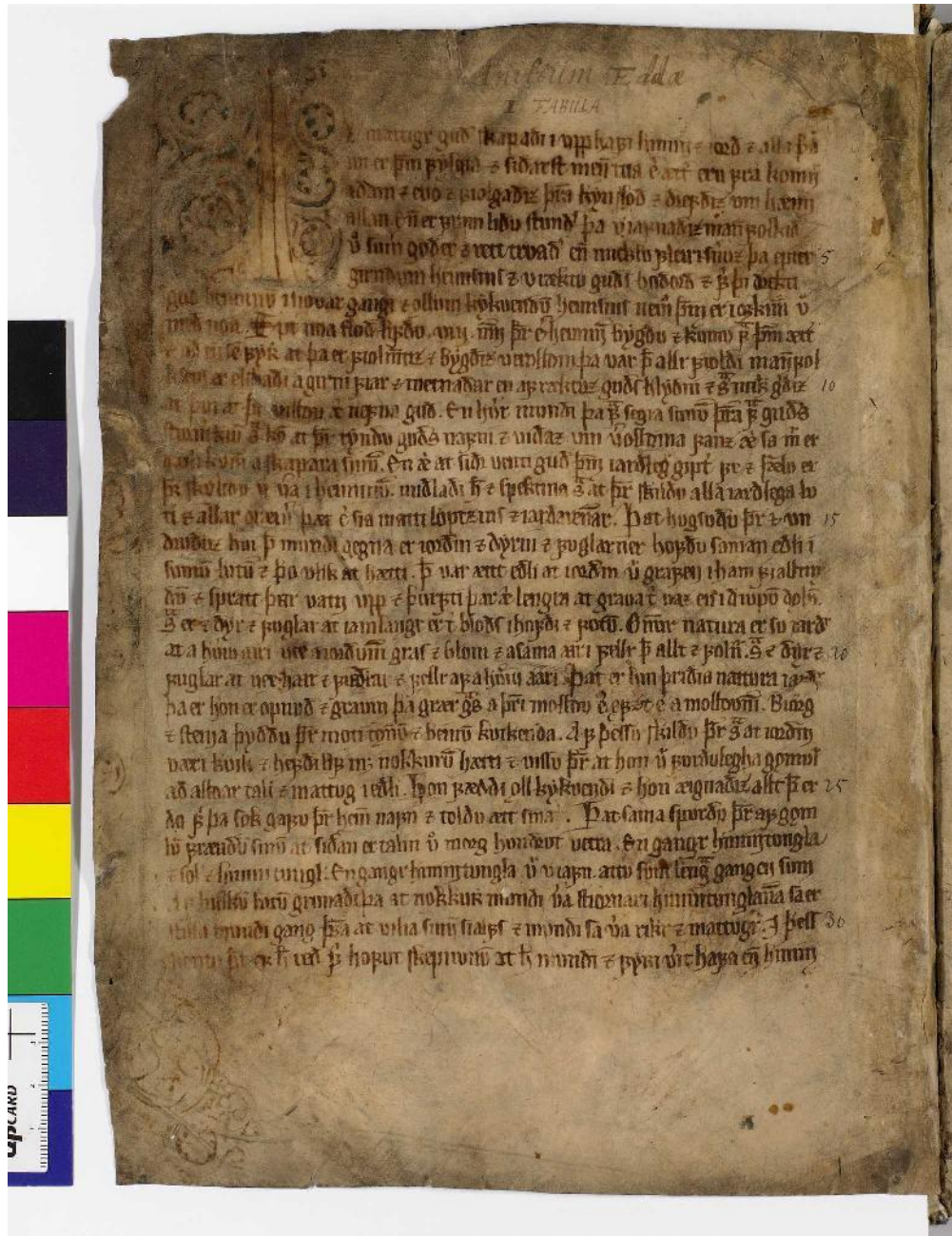
In the left margin, as described by Gunnell (2008), the speaking indicators.





**Image 12**AM 242 fol. 1r: *Codex Wormianus*.

Courtesy handrit.is and the Arnarnagæn Institute.

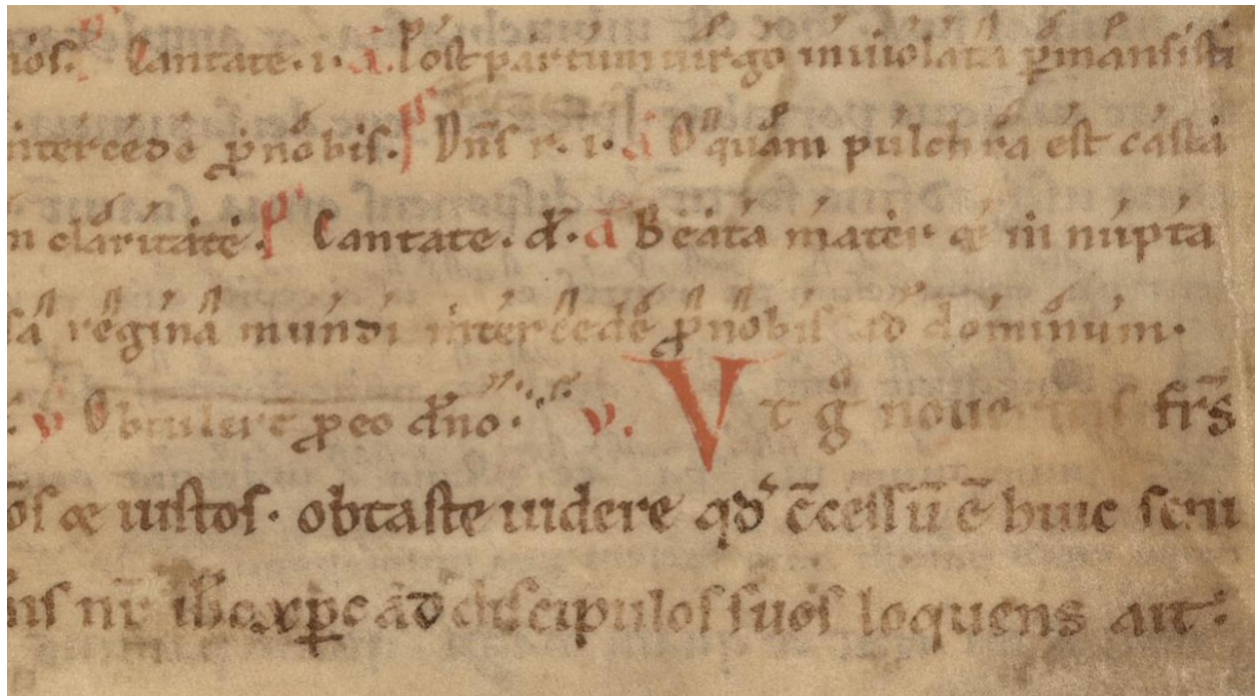


### Image 13

DRL Fragn. 3169.

Image courtesy of the Danish Royal Library, *Digitale samlinger*.

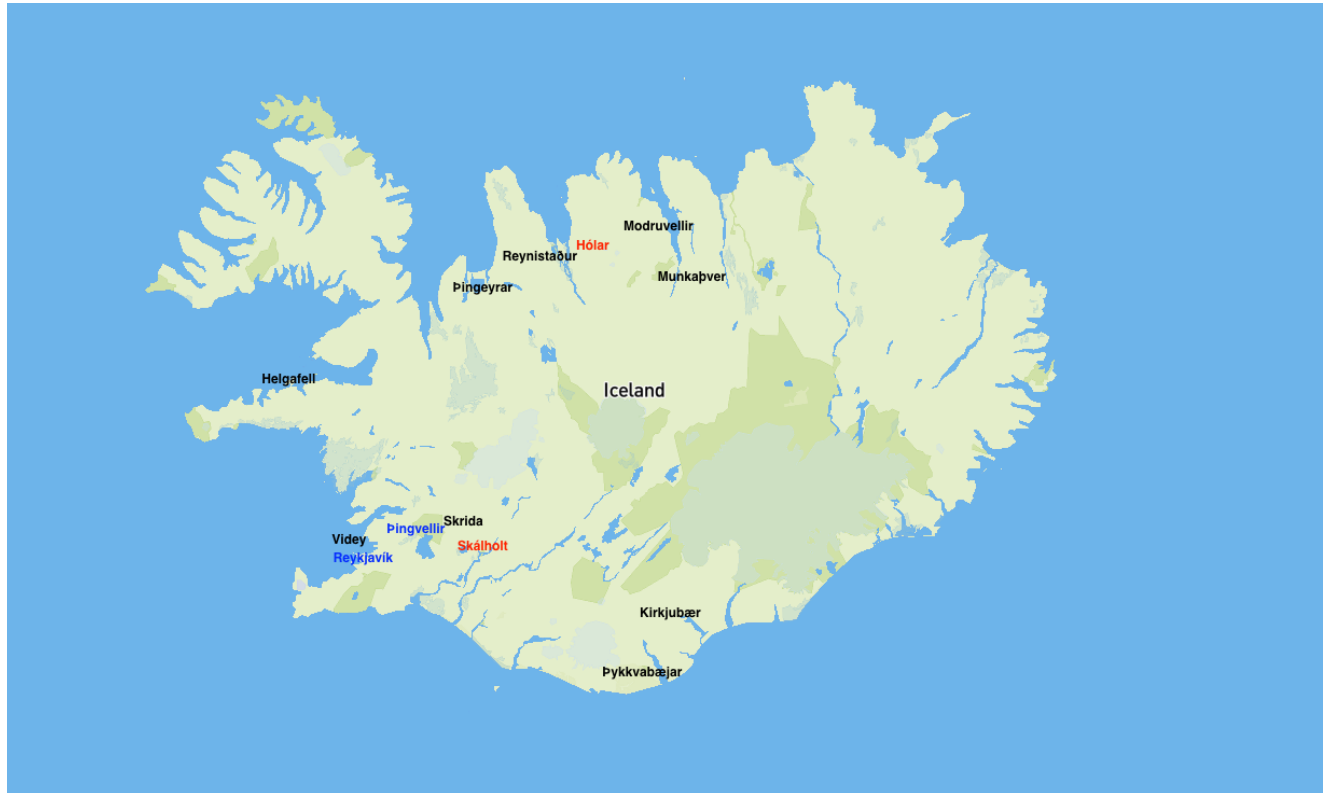
Depicted in red to the left of the large V, a *versus* marking. Also pictured at the beginning of the third from the bottom line.



## Appendix C: Maps

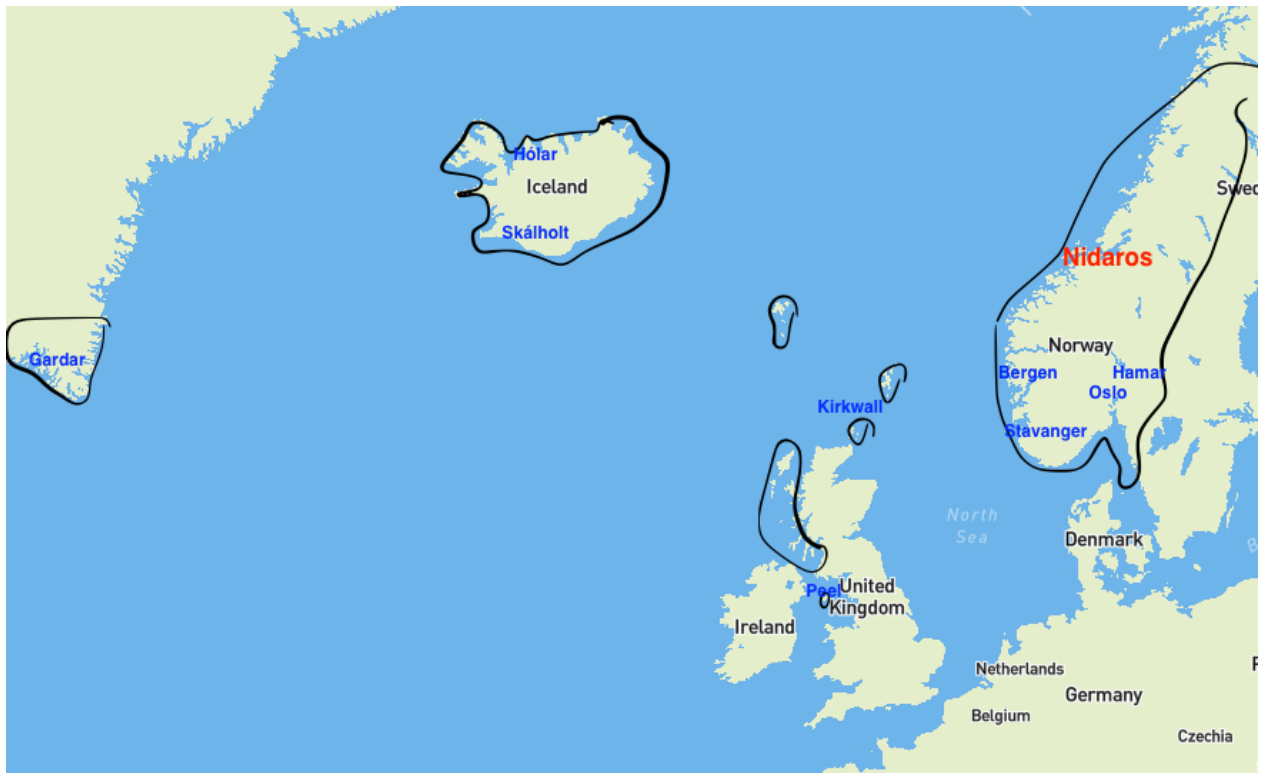
### Map 1: Iceland

Pictured in red: the bishoprics, Hólar and Skálholt; pictured in blue, Reykjavík and Þingvellir, where the Althing is held. In black, monasteries and nunneries.



## Map 2: Nidaros

Circled in black are the belongings of Nidaros. In red, the location of Nidaros. In blue, each of the bishoprics within Nidaros.



### Map 3: The North Sea Empire

Enclosed in black are the land spans which fell under the authority of the dynasty of Svein Forkbeard, continued by Cnut, and ending with Harthacnut. The sea spanning the space, the North Sea, was also secured within the Empire.



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Riskarkivet	Swedish National Archives, Digital Research Room
Inventory of Medieval Manuscript fragments in Norway	University of Bergen, Centre for Medieval Studies
Virtual Manuscripts Fragment.uib.no	University of Bergen
Danish Royal Library	Digitale samlinger/ Digital Archives

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