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Pernille Hermann (Århus)

Else Mundal (Bergen)

Guðrún Nordal (Reykjavík)

Heimir Pálsson (Uppsala)

Henrik Williams (Uppsala)

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Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts New Perspectives on the Transmission History of *Griplur*

KATARZYNA ANNA KAPITAN

Introduction

Remarkably undervalued by scholars, *rímur* (a type of Icelandic stanzaic narrative poetry, sg. *ríma*) were one of the most popular genres of Icelandic literature for centuries. They have received a limited amount of scholarly attention when compared to their prose counterparts.¹ This is surprising, since even a brief examination of *Rímnatal*, the extensive catalogue of the Icelandic *rímur* (Finnur Sigmundsson 1966), reveals that numerous sagas exist in metric adaptations in the form of *rímur* and some of them were converted into this form on more than one occasion. While studies of the transmission histories of various sagas are gaining increasing popularity among scholars, as manifested by projects such as “The

¹ For an introduction to the genre see: Björn K. Þórólfsson (1934); Craigie (1949); Davíð Erlingsson (1989); Driscoll (2011); Glauser und Tranter (1990); Hughes (1980, 1982, 2005); Stefán Einarsson (1955); Sverrir Tómasson (2012). The major editions of *rímur* appeared in the series *Rit Rímnafélagsins*, published by *Rímnafélag*, and the series *Íslenzkar miðaldarímur*, published by *Stofnun Árna Magnússonar*. The most recent edition of *rímur* was published in 2015 by Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir and Haukur Þorgeirsson as a journal article in *Gripla*, while the most recent English translation of *rímur* was published by Philip Lavender in 2019.

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Variance of *Njáls saga*² and “Stories for all time”,³ the textual criticism and transmission studies of *rímur* are far less frequent and arguably less influential. The notable exceptions are the recent studies of *Illuga saga* and *Úlfhams saga*, in which the authors not only examined textual relationships among witnesses of the respective sagas and *rímur* but also revealed their intertextual relations (Lavender 2020; Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir 2001).

Even though *rímur* are usually mentioned only in passing in discussions of the literature of medieval Iceland, one set of *rímur* appears unproportionally often: the set of *rímur* of Hrómundur, known as *Griplur* or *Hrómundarrímur*.⁴ While according to *Landnámabók* Hrómundur was a forefather of the first settlers of Iceland Ingólfur and Leifur,⁵ *Griplur* most likely owe their privileged position in the history of Icelandic literature to the assumption that they are based on a lost medieval saga, which was supposedly recited at the wedding feast in Reykhólar in 1119. The famous passage describing this wedding feast can be found in *Porgils saga ok Haflíða*, a part of the *Sturlunga* compilation (Kålund 1906–1911; Brown 1952; Halldór Hermannsson 1945). Even though it has been frequently cited in the literature, it is worth repeating also here due to its importance for the transmission history of the story of Hrómundur.

Hrólfr af Skálmarnesi sagði sögu frá Hrō[n]g[vi]ði víkingi ok frá Óláfi liðmannakonungi ok haugbroti Práins berserks ok Hrómundi Gripssyni, ok margar vísur með. En þessari sögu var skemt Sverri konungi, ok kallaði hann slíkar lygisögur skemtiligastar. Ok þó kunnu menn at telja ættir sínar til Hrómundar Gripssonar. Þessa sögu hafði Hrólfr sjálf samansetta. (Brown 1952: 17–18)

What is important from the perspective of the present study is the fact

² “The Variance of *Njáls saga*” project was funded by the Icelandic Research Council from 2011 to 2013 and it was completed by the recent publication of the volume on the transmission of *Njáls saga* (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir and Lethbridge 2018).

³ The “Stories for all time” project was funded by the Velux Foundation from 2011 to 2015 and it was completed by the recent publication of the volume on the transmission and reception of the Icelandic legendary sagas (Driscoll et al. 2018). A number of PhD-theses were prepared in connection to this project by Lansing (2011), Hufnagel (2012), Lavender (2014), and as a spin-off also by Kapitan (2018).

⁴ Since the title of the poem *Griplur* (or *Hrómundarrímur*) reflects the grammatic plural connected to the fact that *Griplur* consist of more than one *ríma*, I refer to this work in plural.

⁵ For the account of *Landnámabók* see Finnur Jónsson (1900: 6).

that according to *Porgils saga ok Hafliða*, one of the stories recited at the wedding feast was about Hröngviður, King Ólafur, breaking into Þráinn's burial mound, and Hrómundur Gripsson. Even though no manuscript of that medieval **Hrómundar saga* survives, thanks to this account we know that the saga recited at the wedding feast was dealing with some of the characters and events known from other extant works. Firstly, the medieval *rímur* of Hrómundur (*Griplur*) present a version of the story that consists of all the episodes mentioned *Porgils saga*, but which is believed to be slightly expanded in relation to the lost medieval saga. Secondly, the post-medieval saga of Hrómundur (*Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*), as known from all modern editions and translations, is a seventeenth-century prosification of the *rímur*, which introduces minor changes in relation to its poetic antecedent.⁶ The account of *Porgils saga ok Hafliða* is the earliest attestation of the existence of some sort of story of Hrómundur Gr(e)ipsson already in the Middle Ages.⁷

Griplur belong to the oldest known sets of *rímur*, written most likely in the second half of the fourteenth century with the earliest known manuscript dating to the late fifteenth century (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1934; Haukur Þorgeirsson 2013). They contain approx. 366 stanzas in six fitts. Each fitt is preceded by a short *mansöngur* section (opening section of a *ríma*, pl. *mansöngvar*) of varied length. Even though *Griplur* were edited and published twice by Finnur Jónsson, in *Fernir forníslenskir rímnaflokkar* in 1896 and in *Rímnasafn* in 1905–1922, and they have been a subject of scholarly discussion, especially in the context of their relationship to the lost saga of Hrómundur and the seventeenth-century saga (Kölbing 1876; Andrews 1911; Björn K. Þórólfsson 1934: 353–363; Brown 1946; Jesch 1984), no study of their full transmission history yet exists. Moreover,

⁶ The seventeenth-century *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* was first edited and translated into Latin and Swedish in *Nordiska kända dater i en sagoflock samlade om forna kongar och hjältar...* (Björner 1737) and it appears in this form in all modern compilations of the legendary sagas (Guðni Jónsson 1954; Valdimar Ásmundarson 1886; Rafn 1829–1830). The saga was most likely written by Jón Eggertsson at the end of the seventeenth century (Jucknies 2005, 2009; Kapitan 2018, 2021, there further references). The generally accepted interpretation of the relationships between the seventeenth-century saga and the *rímur* has been presented by Andrews (1911, 1912, 1913), Brown (1946–1953), and Jesch (1984). Recent scholarship has shown that at least one more saga of Hrómundur exists, which is most likely a nineteenth-century adaptation (Kapitan 2018, forthcoming).

⁷ For further discussion of the wedding feast see works by, for example, Foote (1953–1957) and Úlfar Bragason (1994). Note the differences in the patronymic: some versions of the story refer to Hrómundur as Gripsson (e.g. *Griplur*) while others as Greipsson (e.g. the seventeenth-century *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*).

Tab. 1. Manuscripts of *Griplur*

Abbreviation	Shelfmark	Repository	Date
C42	Cod. Guelf. 42.7.	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek	1480–1490 Aug. 4to
A610	AM 610 c 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar	1610–1648
A146	AM 146 a 8vo	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar	1633–1700
Acc22	AM Acc. 22	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar	ca. 1695
L1370	Lbs 1370 8vo	Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands	1700–1800
A387	AM 387 a–c fol.	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar	1849
J55	JS 55 4to	Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands	ca. 1870

only a limited number of witnesses have been the subject of scholarly investigation so far.

Griplur or their fragments are preserved in seven known manuscripts, all but one of which are dated to the post-medieval period. They are all listed in chronological order in Table 1, which also includes abbreviations that will be used further in this article to refer to these manuscripts.

In addition to the seven listed manuscripts, there is one stanza from *Griplur* preserved in the margin of Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 151 4to, a fifteenth-century law manuscript, which contains numerous younger marginalia. Among them, on f. 80v, there is the stanza from *Griplur*, which was most likely written in the seventeenth century (Kålund 1889–1894: I:434). Due to its brevity it will not be analyzed in the present study.

There were at least four more manuscripts containing *rímur* about Hrómundur, most likely *Griplur*, in circulation in the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, but today either *Griplur* are lost from these manuscripts or the entire volumes are lost.

The earliest known reference to a volume containing *rímur* of Hrómundur can be found in the list of manuscripts obtained by Jón Eggertsson in Iceland in 1682 (Klemming 1880–1882: 42). This manuscript contained six sets of *rímur*: *Rímur af Remundi Rígarðssyni*, *Rímur af Vilhjálmi sjóð*, *Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar*, *Hrómundar rímur*, *Ölvis rímur sterka*, and *Skotlandsrímur*. The manuscript was most likely sent to Stockholm and is now lost, but elsewhere I have presented a hypothesis that the known prose version of *Hrómundar saga* may be based directly on this lost manuscript of *rímur* (Kapitan 2021). Another mention of

Griplur appears in the list of the manuscripts in possession of Páll Vídalín (1667–1727). Among the collection of books from Vigur in quarto, there was a thick book in which *Hrómundar rímur* were the first item (“Onnur þyck Rinnabök. Þær fyrstu af Hröm(unde) Greipss(yne)”, Jón Helgason 1985: 19). Unfortunately, we do not know which other texts appeared in this manuscript, so it is impossible to identify the volume. None of the known extant manuscripts contains *Griplur* as the first item in the codex, so we have to assume that this manuscript is also lost.⁸

Another mention of a manuscript containing *Griplur* appears in Jón Ólafsson’s catalogue of manuscripts in the Arnarnagæan Collection. According to Jón Ólafsson, AM 603 4to (A603), a sixteenth-century collection of various *rímur* held today in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík, used to preserve *Griplur*, but this part of the manuscript has been lost (Kålund 1889–1894: II:4).⁹ Finally, in Bjarni Halldórsson’s (1703–1773) collection of manuscripts there used to be a book in octavo, which does not seem to have survived either, but which contained various sets of *rímur*: “Apollónii rímur” (probably *Rímur af Apollónius*), *Hálf-dánar rímur Eysteinsonar*, *Króka-Refs rímur*, *Hrómundar rímur*, and *Andra rímur* (Jón Helgason 1985: 38).

Leaving aside the lost manuscripts, it has to be noted that only a few of the extant manuscripts have been the subject of academic discussion. The relationships among most of them is mostly unknown or uncertain, as scholars have proposed competing interpretations.

The earliest published study of *Griplur* was conducted by Kölbing (1876: 159–60), who listed only three manuscripts that contain *Griplur*: The first one is “A. M. chart. 110c (= a), p. 71–98”, which must be AM 610 c 4to (A610), preserving *Griplur* on ff. 71–98. The second one is “Cod. Guelf. Aug. 42, 4o (= b), fol. 62–66”, which is Cod. Guelf. 42.7. Aug. 4to (C42), preserving *Griplur* on ff. 62–66. The third one is “A. M. chart. 145a. 2o (= c) p. 283–86”, which must be AM 146 a 8vo (A146),

⁸ It cannot be excluded that the order of texts has changed in some known manuscript moving *Griplur* from the opening position further into the volume. Acc22 would be a possible candidate, as it is in quarto format, has significant thickness to be called “þyck Rinnabök”, and can be associated with the scribal milieu of Vigur. I did not have a chance to study the quire structure of this manuscript in order to confirm this hypothesis.

⁹ Jón Ólafsson’s catalogue is preserved, for example, in AM 477 fol., where on f. 41v AM 603 4to is described as containing *Griplur*. In my PhD thesis I devoted one section to the evaluation of the preservation history of AM 603 4to, but I was not able to establish when exactly *Griplur* were lost from this manuscript. It is not unlikely that it happened in the middle of the nineteenth century (Kapitan 2018: 164–167).

preserving *Griplur* on pp. 383–386. Shortly after that, *Griplur* were edited by Finnur Jónsson and published first in 1896 and in slightly revised form in 1905–1922. The only manuscripts that were used in these editions were A610, A146, and A387 (used as a reliable copy of C42), but in *Rímnasafn* Acc22 was also used in the variant apparatus (Finnur Jónsson 1896, 1905–1922). Around the same time, Albert LeRoy Andrews published his analysis of the saga and *rímur* of Hrómundur. He based his analysis on Finnur Jónsson's edition of *Griplur* from 1896, with only sparse reference to *Rímnasafn*, resulting in a rather superficial treatment of Acc22. The state of scholarship leaves us with one manuscript that has not been sufficiently studied (Acc22) and three manuscripts which have never been a subject of scholarly investigation (J55, A387, and L1370).

Given the state of the scholarship on *rímur* in general, it is perhaps not really surprising that there is no in-depth study of the transmission of *Griplur*, but given the discussion of the relationship between the lost saga of Hrómundur (**Hrómundar saga Gripssonar*) and the *rímur*, and between the *rímur* and its seventeenth-century adaptation (*Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*), it seems unsatisfactory that the existing argumentation relies on incomplete evidence. Moreover, in the light of the recent discovery of a younger *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* (Kapitan 2018, forthcoming), the transmission history of *rímur* becomes an especially important subject of investigation. It can deliver evidence for the identification of the sources of the younger saga and shed light on the history of adaptation of the story of Hrómundur in *rímur* and saga forms.

The present article is the first study of the transmission history of the medieval *rímur* of Hrómundur, which survive in only one medieval manuscript and a series of post-medieval ones, as illustrated in Table 1. The present study examines all known manuscripts preserving *Griplur* with the main focus on the previously ignored manuscripts. It aims to reveal the textual relationships between them and establish a complete stemma of this tradition. The complete stemma can not only serve as a basis for a new text-critical edition of this work, but can also shed light on the transmission and adaptation history of the story of Hrómundur in prose and verse. The article consists of three main parts. The first part is devoted to the contents of the *rímur*; it identifies the rhyming schemes and meters in which the various fitts are written and summarizes the main events described in each fitt. The second part consists of descriptions of the extant manuscripts with the main focus on the contents of these manuscripts and their scribal milieu. The third part examines the relationships between the

texts of *Griplur* that these manuscripts preserve; it compares the order of stanzas and textual variation and discusses the similarities and differences between them.

1. The story of Hrómundur in *Griplur*

The contents of the *rímur* correspond fairly closely to the contents of the seventeenth-century *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*, but it is worth mentioning that the chapter division of the saga known from modern editions does not correspond to the division into fitts of *Griplur*. This is not surprising in the context of *rímur* tradition, where poets try to keep their audience in suspense. Therefore, *rímur* frequently abruptly end in the middle of some exciting event. This can be exemplified by the first battle of the story, which is divided between the first and the second *ríma*.

The first *ríma* consists of 67 stanzas written in *ferskeytt* meter with four lines rhyming *abab*.¹⁰ In this *ríma* the main characters are introduced: first Ólafur, the king of Hørðaland in Norway, and his followers Kári and Örnúlfur; then Gripur and his wife Gunnlöð and their sons, including Hrómundur; then finally the evil brothers, Vóli and Bildur. One day Ólafur sets off for a raiding trip and stops by Elfarsker, where a battle with Hróngviður takes place. During the battle both Kári and Örnúlfur are killed by Hróngviður, but Hróngviður is killed by Hrómundur by the end of the *ríma*.

The second *ríma* consists of 62 stanzas written in *braghent* meter with three lines rhyming *aaa*. In this *ríma* Hrómundur finds Helgi the famous, Hróngviður's brother, and heals him, even though Helgi promises to avenge his brother's death. Afterwards Ólafur and his army raid an island on which a certain Máni is living. They learn from him about the king Þráinn and his treasures and get directions how to find Þráinn's burial mound. They sail south for six days until they reach the land where the burial mound is located and after four days they manage to break into the mound. Hrómundur enters the mound, when no one else is courageous enough to do it.

¹⁰ The identification of meters in this section follows the discussion of *Griplur* published by Björn K. Þórólfsson (1934: 353). A concise overview of various *rímur* meters has been presented by Hughes (1982: 404–405), while a more detailed discussion has been presented by Helgi Sigurðsson (1891).

The third *ríma* consists of 64 stanzas written in *ferskeytt* meter. In this *ríma* Hrómundur fights with Þráinn and after a long fight he kills Þráinn and steals his treasure, including the ring, necklace, and sword Mistilteinn. When Hrómundur comes out of the mound, Ólafur and his army head back to Björgvinland in Norway.

The fourth *ríma* consists of 64 stanzas written in *stafhent* meter with four lines rhyming *aabb*. In this *ríma* Hrómundur receives a dog, named Hrókur, from a man called Grundi, but Vóli kills Hrókur shortly afterwards. This is one of the episodes which are corrupted in the seventeenth-century adaptation of the story, as Hrókur in the saga is a man rather than a dog (see Brown 1946–1953; Jesch 1984). Here Ólafur's sisters, Svanhvít and Dagný, are also introduced. Hrómundur and Svanhvít see each other frequently, and the evil brothers plot against Hrómundur, forcing Hrómundur to leave the kingdom and stay with his father. Meanwhile, two Swedish kings, both called Haddingur, challenge Ólafur to a battle on the frozen lake Vænir. Ólafur asks Hrómundur to join his army, but Hrómundur rejects the invitation until Svanhvít convinces him to go. Svanhvít gives him a shield which is supposed to protect him. When Hrómundur and his brothers arrive on the battlefield, Bildur has already been killed and Ólafur has killed one of the Swedish kings. The following day Hrómundur refuses to go to the battle, because he has had a bad dream, but his brothers decide to go anyway. Helgi, Hröngviður's brother, is in the battle, accompanied by his mistress Kára, who is flying over the battlefield in a shape of a swan and uttering magic howls which make men defenseless. Thanks to her help, Helgi kills Hrómundur's brothers. When Hrómundur finds out about this, he fights Helgi and eventually kills him, after Helgi unwillingly killed Kára.

The fifth *ríma* consists of 51 stanzas written in *ferskeytt oddhent* meter with four lines rhyming *abab*, with additional internal rhyme in the first and third line. In this *ríma* Hrómundur fights Vóli and kills him, but loses his sword. Svanhvít and her sister come to heal Hrómundur and sew his wounds. Afterwards Hagall and his wife take care of Hrómundur. Hagall finds Hrómundur's sword inside a fish he catches one day and returns it to Hrómundur. Meanwhile Haddingur finds out from Blindur that Hrómundur is hiding in his kingdom and sends Blindur to find Hrómundur. Blindur cannot find Hrómundur because Hagall and his wife first hide him under a big pot and then dress him as a female servant.

The sixth *ríma* consists of 58 stanzas written in *ferskeytt* meter. In this *ríma* Blindur tells Haddingur his dreams and the king misinterprets their

meaning. Meanwhile Hrómundur is fully healed at Hagall's place and, when Ólafur with his army is raiding Sweden, Hrómundur joins him and kills Haddingur, in revenge for the death of his brothers. Afterwards Blindur, whose name is now revealed as Bölvis, is hanged, and Hrómundur marries Svanhvít and they found a royal line.

2. The manuscripts

2.1 Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 42.7. Aug. 4to

Cod. Guelf. 42.7. Aug. 4to (C42) is a parchment manuscript held in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany (von Heinemann 1966: 23). It contains exclusively *rímur*, some of which are defective. According to Ólafur Halldórsson, C42 used to preserve twenty sets of *rímur*, but four of them are lost (Ólafur Halldórsson 1968: xii–xv). The remaining sixteen texts appear in the following order: *Sigurðar rímur fóts*, *Skikkju rímur*, *Ormars rímur Framarssonar*, *Áns rímur bogsveigis*, *Hrings rímur og Tryggva*, *Geirarðs rímur*, *Konráðs rímur*, *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar*, *Griplur*, *Ektors rímur*, *Filipó rímur*, *Sálus rímur og Nikanórs*, *Herburts rímur*, *Geiplur*, *Grettis rímur*, *Mábilur rímur*. *Griplur* are preserved on ff. 62r–66r but their text is defective. There is a lacuna through stanzas I:1–II:53, as the two first leaves of the gathering are missing. According to Ólafur Halldórsson, *Griplur* are written in two hands, but neither of them has been yet identified in other manuscripts (Ólafur Halldórsson 1968: xi, xvi).

C42 can be dated to the late fifteenth century, but Ólafur Halldórsson (1968: xxxvj) narrowed down the dating of the manuscript to ca. 1480–1490. In Old Norse-Icelandic scholarship this manuscript is known as *Kollsbók*, named after its first owner Jón kollr Oddsson, a *lögréttumaður* from Holt in Saurbær in Dalasýsla, who lived at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The history of C42 is well described in the introduction to the facsimile edition from 1968, so the reader is encouraged to seek further information there. What is important from the perspective of this study is, first, that C42 left Iceland before 1657–1666, when it was bought by Augustus II (1579–1666), the duke of Brunswick Lüneburg (Spehr 1875). It could therefore had served as an exemplar for other texts of *Griplur* until it left Iceland. Secondly, it is important that

much later C42 was lent to Copenhagen, in the years 1849–1850, where it was copied by the Arnamagnæan stipendiaries. In the *Antiquarisk tidskrift* for the years 1849–1851 we can read the announcement about the discovery of C42 and that the Arnamagnæan Commission, following Carl Christian Rafn’s suggestion, made a copy of it.

Ved Etatsraad Rafns Foranstaltning blev hertil laant et [...] islandsk Haandskrift, indeholdende en Samling Rímur. Da Haandskriftet er paa Membran, og endda temmelig gammelt, har Commissionen ladet tage en Afskrift deraf ved Stipendiarerne. (Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab 1852: 7)

The copy mentioned in this note must be A387, as this manuscript preserves reliable transcripts of all the texts present in C42 with references to the loci in C42 (see the description of A387 below).

The readings of C42 for *Griplur* were used in Kölbing’s (1876) discussion of the relationships between the manuscripts of *Griplur*, in both of Finnur Jónsson’s (1896, 1905–1922) editions of *Griplur*, and consequently in Andrews’ (1911) analysis. Finnur Jónsson, however, relied in both of his editions on the readings of A387, not C42 directly.

2.2 Reykjavík, AM 610 c 4to

AM 610 c 4to (A610), held at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript which consists of 159 leaves, paginated 1–317; leaf 159 verso is not paginated. A610 contains exclusively *rímur*, some of which are defective. The texts appear in the following order: *Jarlmanns rímur*, *Griplur*, *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar*, *Hemings rímur Áslákssonar*, *Konráðs rímur*, *Herburts rímur*, *Reinalds rímur*, *Andra rímur*. A610 contains a complete text of *Griplur*, which is preserved on pp. 71–98. The text starts in the middle of p. 71 with a rubric which reads “hromundar-rímur”, and each subsequent *ríma* is introduced with a similar rubric (pp. 76, 80, 85, 90, 94).

Kålund (1889–1894: II:15) dates the manuscript to the seventeenth century but based on the scribe’s lifespan it can be narrowed down to ca. 1610–1648. A610 is written in one hand throughout, which has been identified as the hand of Jón Gissurarson (ca. 1590–1648), a *lögréttumaður* and a prolific scribe, from Núpur in Dýrafjörður (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1934: 11; Páll Eggert Ólason 1948–1952: III:118–119). Jón was a part of an active scribal network of seventeenth-century Iceland: he was a half-brother of Brynjólfur Sveinsson, bishop of Skálholt, who might have

to some extent inspired Jón's antiquarian interests.¹¹ A610 previously belonged to a bigger manuscript which consisted of AM 610 b–f 4to, all preserving exclusively *rímur* (Stegmann 2016: 95, 327).

The readings of A610 for *Griplur* were used in Kölbing's study, both of Finnur Jónsson's editions, and Andrews' analysis. According to Björn K. Þórólfsson (1934: 1–121), some of the *rímur* preserved in AM 610 b–f 4to are derived from the parchment manuscripts AM 603 4to and AM 604 4to, while the exemplars of the others, including *Griplur*, are unknown.

2.3 Reykjavík, AM 146 a 8vo

AM 146 a 8vo (A146), held at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík, is a small paper manuscript in octavo which consists of vii+217+i leaves, paginated 1–434. It contains exclusively *rímur*, many of them defective. The texts appear in the following order: *Hálfdanar rímur Eysteinnssonar*, *Gátu ríma*, *Andra rímur*, *Bjarka rímur*, *Bósa rímur*, *Hálfdanar rímur Brönuþóstra*, *Bærings rímur*, *Nitídu rímur frægu*, *Króka-Refs rímur*, *Ormars rímur Framarssonar*, *Skotlands rímur*, *Evu rímur*, *Jórsala rímur*, *Egils rímur einhenda*, *Rollants rímur*, *Þóris rímur háleggs*, *Hrólf's rímur Gautrekssonar*, *Vilmundar rímur viðutan*, *Skógar-Krists rímur*, *Griplur*, *Konráðs rímur*, *Valdimars rímur frækna*, *Appolóníus rímur*, *Rímur af barndómi Jesú Krists*. *Griplur* are preserved on pp. 383–386 and the text is defective. There is a large lacuna from stanza I:37 to VI:36. The text starts with a rubric “Hier Byriar Hromundar Rijmur.” on p. 383 and continues to p. 384 (the verso side of the same leaf), and then it starts on p. 385 with an incipit “Ødling vaknar ekkj fir enn vte fra eg hann liggia” and continues to p. 386 where the next set of the *rímur* starts immediately after. In the margins of A146 there are notes in Jón Sigurðsson's hand which specify that there is a lacuna in the text and identify to which *ríma* the stanzas belong.

In Kålund's catalogue the manuscript is dated to the first half of the seventeenth century (Kålund 1889–1894: II:411–412) but, as Björn K. Þórólfsson observed, A146 has to be younger than AM 145 8vo, which is also written by the same scribe and contains the date of 1633 associated with the ownership note. Moreover, the last set of *rímur* preserved in this manuscript was composed in 1656, excluding the possibility that the

¹¹ On Jón Gissurarson's scribal activity and his scribal network see, for example, Springborg (1977: 78–80) and Lansing (2011: 61).

manuscript was completed in the first half of the seventeenth century. A146 is written in one hand throughout, which has been identified as the hand of Jón Finnsson from Flatey in Breiðafjörður, but the lifespan of the scribe is uncertain. Árni Magnússon received this manuscript in 1703 from Loftur Jónsson from Flatey.

The readings of A146 for *Griplur* were used in Kölbing's study, Finnur Jónsson's editions, and consequently in Andrews' analysis. According to Björn K. Þórólfsson (1934: 10), *Ormars rímur Framarssonar* and *Konráðs rímur* in A146 are derived from C42. There is therefore a possibility that *Griplur* in A146 may be also derived from C42.

2.4 Reykjavík, AM Acc. 22

AM Acc. 22 (Acc22), held at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto format which consists of 311 leaves. The manuscript was rebound in 1963 and divided into three volumes: I: i + 85 + iv (notes) + i (paginated 1–170); II: i + 112 + vi (notes) + i (paginated 171–394); III: i + 114 + ii (notes) + i (paginated 395–622). The manuscript preserves exclusively *rímur*, some of which are defective. The texts appear in the following order: *Rollants rímur*, *Viktors rímur og Blávuss*, *Rímur af Illt*, *Verra og Verst*, *Dínus rímur*, *Reinalds rímur*, *Hrings rímur og Tryggva*, *Gríms rímur jarlssonar*, *Haralds rímur Hringsbana*, *Úlfhamsrímur*, *Skikkju rímur*, *Griplur*, *Landrés rímur*, *Áns rímur bogsveigis*, *Jarlmanns rímur*, *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar*, *Geiplur*. *Griplur* are preserved in the third volume on pp. 395–428. They start with a rubric “Rýmur af Hrömunde Grelýps syne | fyrsta Rijma”. Each subsequent *ríma* is introduced with a smaller rubric (pp. 402, 407, 413, 418, 423).

The manuscript can be dated to the last decade of the seventeenth century, as the date 1695 is attested in multiple places in the manuscript. For example, *Griplur* end on p. 428 with a colophon which reads “Endadar þessar Rymur ad Oos hlijd Anno 1695 in Aprilis”. The same year can be found in colophons on pp. 322, 374, 483, and 532.¹² Acc22 is written in two hands. The main hand is the one of Jón Þórðarson, one of the scribes of Magnús Jónsson from Vigur. Jón Þórðarson wrote pp. 1–532, including *Griplur*, and the colophons on pp. 428 and 532 suggest that he wrote at

¹² The manuscript was catalogued in 2001 by Matthew Driscoll for the online catalogue *Handrit.is*.

least some parts of the manuscript around Óshlíð near Bolungarvík in the northwest part of the Westfjords. A second unidentified hand wrote pp. 533–621. The manuscript was acquired by the Arnamagnæan Collection in 1902, after a recommendation from Finnur Jónsson, in which he expressed his belief that the texts of *Skikkju rímur* and *Griplur* are especially valuable.¹³ It is intriguing that, even though Finnur Jónsson thought that the text of *Griplur* in Acc22 was especially valuable, this manuscript has not received much scholarly attention and Finnur himself used it only to a very limited extent.

The readings of Acc22 for *Griplur* were used only in the variant apparatus of Finnur Jónsson's *Rímnasafn*, and briefly mentioned by Andrews, who believed that Acc22 represented a fourth branch of the oral tradition of *Griplur*. Some of the texts preserved in Acc22 are derived from AM 604 4to and A603, while the exemplars of the others, including *Griplur*, are unknown (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1934: 12–13).

2.5 Reykjavík, Lbs 1370 8vo

Lbs 1370 8vo (L1370), held at Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript which consists of 305 leaves. The manuscript contains mainly fragments of *rímur* and other poems, as well as a fragment of *Grettis saga* and a fragment of *Helenu saga*. The texts appear in the following order: *Andra rímur*, *Griplur*, *Nítíðu rímur frægu*, *Sigurgarðs rímur*, *Eiríks rímur víðförla*, *Grettis saga*, various poems, *Hálfðanar rímur Eysteinsonar*, *Jóhönnuraunir*, *Esópus rímur*, *Sigurðar rímur snarfara*, *Sigurðar rímur þögla*, *Sigurgarðs rímur og Valbrands*, *Helenu saga*. *Griplur* occupy ff. 18r–27r and their text is defective, as clearly visible on Figure 1. There are three big lacunas in the text, which correspond to the following stanzas in *Rímnasafn*: I:1–I:56 (ca. 56 stanzas), II:18–III:3 (ca. 44 stanzas), III:29–IV:15 (ca. 50 stanzas). The beginning of the *rímur* is missing, so it is unknown what rubric introduced the *rímur*, but the subsequent fits are introduced by small rubrics which can be found on ff. 18r, 22r, and 24r.

According to Páll Eggert Ólason (1918–1937: II:267), the manuscript was written mainly in the eighteenth century in several unidenti-

¹³ Finnur Jónsson's recommendation can be found at the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen, in the collection of the Arnamagnæan Commission's correspondence. The letter is dated to 7 June 1902.

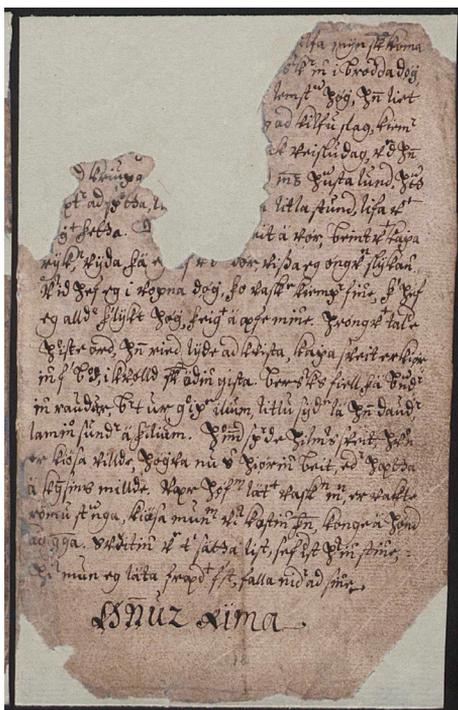


Fig. 1. The first leaf of Griplur in Lbs 1370 8vo, f. 18r. Photo by courtesy of Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík.

fied hands, but one part of the manuscript, that containing *Esópus rímur*, can be dated to the seventeenth century. There is a number of names and notes that appear in the manuscript, such as: “Jon Thorarins Son” (f. 27r), “SigurdurGudmundssSon” (f. 93v), “Thorunn Gudmunds Dott[ir] aa Rimuenar [sic]” (f. 136v), “Biorn BiarnaSon”, “Gudmund[00]”, and “Magnus BiornsSon” (f. 215v), but none of these have yet been identified. The manuscript was purchased by Landsbókasafn Íslands in 1906 as a part of a larger collection of manuscripts which had previously belonged to Jónatan Þorláksson (1825–1906), a lay scholar and book collector from Þórðarstaðir in Fnjóskadalur in Northern Iceland.

The readings of *Griplur* from L1370 have not yet been used in any known study, and the position of this text in the stemma has remained unknown to this point. The relationships between L1370 and the remaining manuscripts are discussed further in this article where a stemma for the entire tradition of *Griplur* is proposed.

2.6 Reykjavík, AM 387 a–c fol.

AM 387 a–c fol. (A387), held at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in three volumes: Volume I: i+ii+133+i+ii (foliated 1–133); Volume II: i+ii+142+ii+ii (foliated 134–275); Volume III: i+ii+191+ii+ii (foliated 276–466); which together consist of 466 leaves foliated in red ink in the upper margins. The volumes contain the following texts: *Sigurðar rímur fóts*, *Skikkju rímur*, *Ormars rímur Framarssonar*, *Áns rímur bogsveigis*, *Hrings rímur og Tryggva* (Volume I); *Geirarðs rímur*, *Konráðsrímur*, *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar*, *Hrómundar rímur (Griplur)*, *Ektors rímur* (Volume II); *Filipó rímur*, *Sálus rímur og Nikanórs*, *Herburts rímur*, *Geiplur*, *Grettis rímur*, *Máðilar rímur* (Volume III).

A387 is a scholarly transcript of the texts preserved in C42 and all the texts appear in the same order in both manuscripts. *Griplur* are preserved on ff. 211r–228r and they start with a note, which reads “[Hrómundar rímur Grippssonar] | vantar framan við. - | II. ríma. 54 | erindi | AM 610c 4to.” Moreover, in the margin there is a note, “Bl 62a,” which refers to the location of *Griplur* in C42.

According to Kålund (1889–1894: I:302), the manuscript is written in various hands and was copied in 1849.¹⁴ Even though Kålund does not name the scribes, it is possible to establish that primarily three people were involved in the production of this manuscript. First of all, from the announcement in the *Antiquarisk tidsskrift* for years 1849–1851, which has already been cited above in the description of C42, we learn that the Arnamagnæan stipendiaries were responsible for preparing the transcriptions. According to Finnur Jónsson (1896: iii), Gísli Brynjólfsson (sometimes referred to as Brynjólfsson) (1827–1888) was responsible for the copy of *Völsunga rímur* in A387. This reference to *Völsunga rímur*, however, must be a mistake and Finnur Jónsson must have meant *Griplur*, as neither C42 nor A387 contain *Völsunga rímur*. Moreover, it is clear from the context of this reference that Finnur Jónsson (1896: iii) meant *Griplur*, as he wrote:

Griplur eru til í heilu líki aðeins í einu handriti, 610 4° í Árnasafni [...] Þar næst eru rímurnar í rímnabókinni í Wolfenbüttel (W); er til afskrift af henni í 3 bindum

¹⁴ According to Kålund the volumes had titles on their spines “Rímnabók I–III,” but this is not the case anymore, as the manuscript was rebound in 1993, when the, probably, original leather and yellow-shiny-paper cover was replaced by a leather and canvas cover. The photographs of the first volume from before and after re-binding are available at the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen.

í Árnasafni 387, 2^o; Völs.r. eru í 2. bindinu, ritaðar af Gísli Brynjólfssyni, og er það mein við þá uppskrift, að stafsetningu skinnbókarinnar er ekki fylgt.

Björn K. Þórólfsson (1934: 4), when discussing C42, states that he could not use the parchment manuscript itself, but a copy by Jón Sigurðsson and others in A387 (“hef jeg ekki getað notað skinnbókina sjálfa, heldur uppskrift Jóns Sigurðssonar og annara í AM 387 fol.”). Therefore, it is possible that Jón Sigurðsson was also involved in the copying process of A387. Ólafur Halldórsson (1968: xxxix) states that A387 was copied by Jón Sigurðsson, Gísli Brynjólfsson, and probably Brynjólfur Snorrason. All three men held the Arnarnagæan stipend at least once: Jón Sigurðsson in 1835–38 and 1838–48, Brynjólfur Snorrason in 1848–50, and Gísli Brynjólfsson in 1848–50 and 1850–77. Only Gísli, however, mentions copying C42 in his reports as a stipendiary. In Gísli’s report for 1849, dated to 15 March 1850, he states that he was responsible for copying a number of texts from C42, which were borrowed by the Commission to Copenhagen, including *Hrómundar rímur*. This is certainly A387 that he copied, as the texts he listed in the report appear in the same order as the contents of the second volume of the collection and the first item in the third volume. In another report from 18 February 1851, for the year 1850, Gísli wrote that he checked his transcription of *rímur* “med Secretaren” (with the secretary). Jón Sigurðsson was appointed a secretary of the Arnarnagæan Commission in 1848, so it is likely that he acted as a project supervisor and checked Gísli’s transcriptions in 1850 (Finnur Jónsson 1930: 222–228; Katrín Jakobsdóttir et al. 2011). There are indeed some marginal notes in A387, which are probably Jón Sigurðsson’s corrections of Gísli’s transcriptions.

The readings of A387 have been extensively used in the literature, but not in their own right, rather only as the readings of C42.

2.7 Reykjavík, JS 55 4to

JS 55 4to (J55), held at Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript which consists of 153 leaves and a number of loose leaves, 175 leaves in total (Páll Eggert Ólason 1918–1937: II:500). The manuscript is written in three hands, with the hand of Jón Sigurðsson being the main one. J55 preserves mostly *rímur* and *rímur*-related material, in the following order: *Bærings rímur*, *Hrings rímur og Tryggva*, *Geiplur*, *Griplur*, *Ólafs rímur Haraldssonar*, *Vilhjálm’s rímur sjóðs*, *Flóres rímur og sona*

hans, *Virgiles rímur*, *Póris rímur háleggs*, notes on and excerpts from various *rímur*, a letter from Eggert Briem, and a register of *rímur* and other poems.

Griplur are preserved on ff. 45r–89v, and f. 45r serves as a title page for the *rímur*, with an enlarged title written in blue crayon. The verso side of this leaf is blank, and on the recto side of the following leaf (f. 45bis) there is a note: “rhythmo quodam de Tumulo cola Thraino | Eg hefi lengi lumað á fé | og lifað í haugi mínum | eigi er gott, þótt góðir sé, | gripum at treysta sínum. | JOIGrv. Add. 8. 4to p. 2753. | (NB úr ‘Griplum’?)”. The stanza included in this note corresponds to *Griplur* III:50, and it was probably copied from Jón Ólafsson’s dictionary *Contractismus seu lexicon contractionum vocum Islandicarum*, preserved, among other places, in AM 979 c 4to. On f. 346r of AM 979 c 4to there is a verb, “at luma á nockru”, with the same stanza used as an example of the word’s use. No source of the stanza, however, is given in the dictionary, and none of the known manuscripts of *Griplur* preserve it in exactly the same form. The variation, however, appears only in the first line of the stanza, so it is not certain if this stanza was a part of another tradition of the *rímur* or whether it is a result of Jón writing it down from memory.

J55 is a scholarly manuscript with extensive marginal notes which focus on corrupted readings, page breaks of the exemplar, and other existing copies of *rímur*. For example, on f. 49v by stanza I:36 there is a marginal note, which reads “hér hættir brotið í AM 146. 8vo og er héðan frá tekið eptir 610”. On f. 59r by stanza II:54 there is another marginal note, which reads: “hér tekur til rímnabókin frá Wolfenbüttel (mín), Tom. II, pag. 153”. It is worth emphasizing that Jón Sigurðsson uses the expression “my vol. 2” when referring to C42. Since he was involved in the preparing the transcript of C42 in A387, this reference must be to the second volume of A387, where *Griplur* starts on p. 153.

The readings of J55 follow the exemplar very closely, and, due to their scholarly character, they do not contribute much to our understanding of the transmission of *rímur* and their relationship to the saga. There is, however, a marginal note on f. 46r which gives an insight into the early scholarship on this matter. There are references to Rafn’s edition of the saga as well as to the account of *Sturlunga* about Hrómundur. Moreover, at the end of the note we read that “Getið um vísur í sögunni sem þessar | rímur eru ortar eptir | sjá I,30.39. IV,7.”, which suggests that the scribe was interested in the sources of *rímur* and the lost medieval **Hrómundar saga*, which must have contained some verses that have not survived.

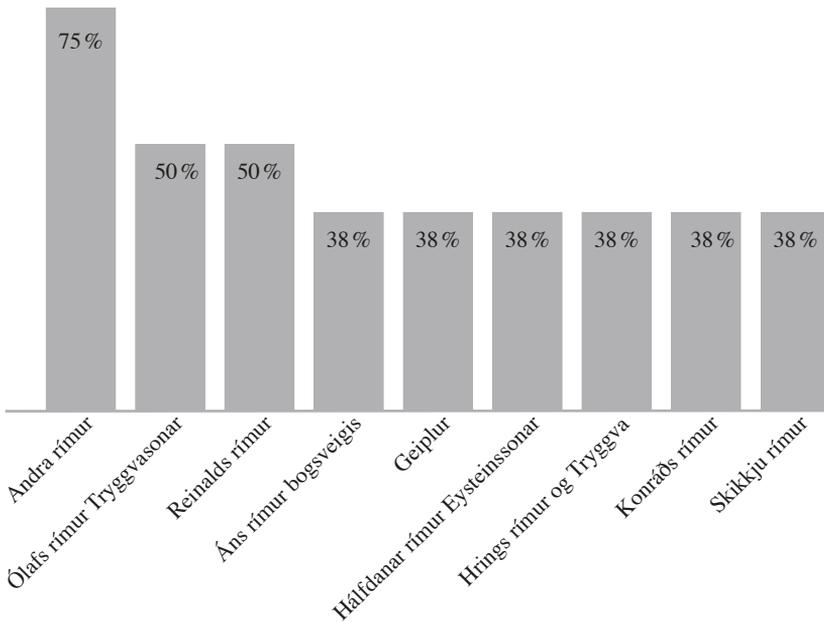


Fig. 2. Texts frequently co-occurring with *Griplur* including lost texts of extant manuscripts and known contents of lost manuscripts.

The evidence of J55, with the scholarly marginalia including some of the variants, suggests that the manuscript could have been prepared as a draft for a printed edition of *rímur*. It can be noted that the work was rather advanced, as J55 contains also other scholarly transcripts of *rímur*, including for example *Ólafs rímur Haraldssonar* and *Geiplur*. Jón Sigurðsson died in 1879 without completing this possible enterprise of publication of this collection of *rímur*, and it cannot be excluded that Finnur Jónsson was building on Jón's work while preparing his editions. J55 is not, however, mentioned directly in any of Finnur's works.

2.8 Manuscript context of *Griplur*

The manuscript descriptions presented in the previous sections demonstrate that the textual context in which *Griplur* appear is very diverse. If we focus only on the non-scholarly manuscripts, and thereby exclude J55 and A387, there are over sixty different sets of *rímur* which co-occur with *Griplur*. They vary remarkably in their subject matter, from *rímur* with theological or religious references, such as *Rímur af barndómi Jesú Krists*, through

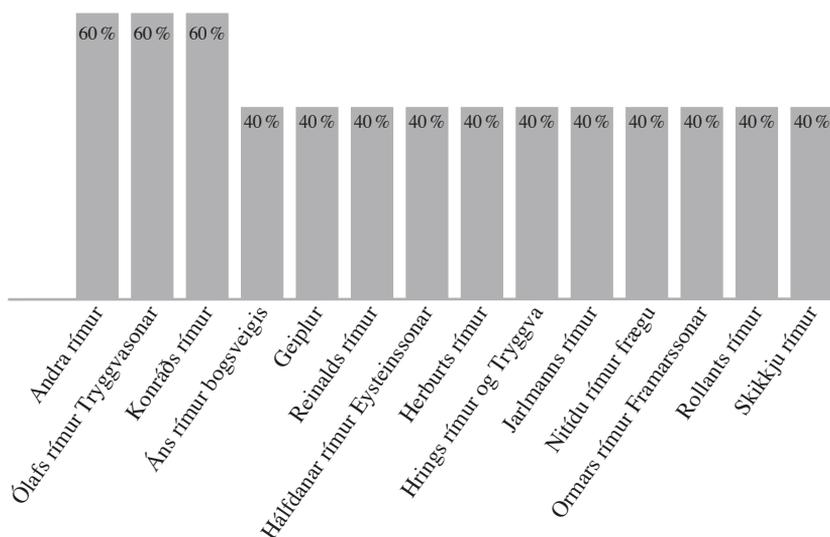


Fig. 3. Texts frequently co-occurring with *Griplur* in extant manuscripts, excluding lost texts.

riddarasögur- and *fornaldarsögur*-related *rímur*, such as *Konráðs rímur* and *Hálfðanar rímur Brönufostra*, to *Íslendingasögur*-related material, such as *Króka-Refs rímur*. As illustrated in Figures 2 and 3 the most frequently co-occurring sets of *rímur* are related to chivalric and legendary sagas. Figure 2 presents the texts which appear together with *Griplur* more than twice, and is based on an analysis of all known contents of the lost manuscripts which once preserved *Griplur* as well as the lost *rímur* from C42. Figure 3 presents the texts which appear together with *Griplur* more than once, but it is based exclusively on the contents of the extant manuscripts in their current form. In both cases two sets of *rímur* appear alongside *Griplur* most frequently, *Andra rímur* and *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar*, with *Andra rímur* taking the lead when we consider the contents of all known lost manuscripts.

The co-occurrence of *Andra rímur* with *Griplur* is not surprising. *Andra rímur* is another example of *rímur* based on a lost *fornaldarsaga*, and if we take into consideration the extensive literary borrowings appearing in *Griplur* and *Andra rímur*, as well as their similar adaptation history, we can understand why these two texts frequently co-occurred in the manuscripts. The story of Andri, like the story of Hrómundur, exists in two metrical adaptations, one from the Middle Ages and one from the nineteenth century, and at least in two prose adaptations, one of which was

printed in 1895 as *Saga af Andra jarli, Helga hinum prúða og Högna Hjarandasyni* (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1934: 422–4; Simek and Hermann Pálsson 1987: 12; Finnur Sigmundsson 1966: I:34–5).

The frequent co-occurrence with *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar* is more challenging to explain. They appear together with *Griplur* in four manuscripts (or three if we exclude A603, from which *Griplur* are now lost), but it is not always the same *rímur* that appear alongside *Griplur*. There are two medieval sets of *rímur* about Ólafur Tryggvason, which in *Rímnasafn* are called *Ólafsrímur A* and *Ólafsrímur B*. *Ólafsrímur A* are *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Indriða þætti ilbreiðs*, following Björn K. Þórólfsson's references, while *Ólafsrímur B* are *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Svöldrarorustu*. In three manuscripts both sets of *rímur* appear one after another (A603, A610, and Acc22) but in one (C42) only *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Svöldrarorustu* are preserved. This makes *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Svöldrarorustu* the second most frequently co-occurring text with *Griplur*. According to Björn K. Þórólfsson (1934: 333–335), *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Svöldrarorustu* are based mainly on Oddur Snorrason's *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*.¹⁵ The subject matter treated in these *rímur* also appears in younger adaptations: *Rímur af Svoldar orustu* by Jón Bjarnason, composed in 1742, and *Rímur af Svoldar Bardaga* by Sigurður Breiðfjörð, composed in 1824. These adaptations, however, are hardly ever seen as a part of the same tradition as Oddur's *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* and related material.

What these three sets of *rímur* have in common is presumed authorship, as all of them have been traditionally attributed to Sigurður the blind, a poet who is believed to have lived at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Jón Þorkelsson 1888: 277–303). It may be significant that *Áns rímur bogsveigis* and *Reinalds rímur*, each frequently appearing alongside *Griplur*, were also attributed to Sigurður. Björn K. Þórólfsson (1934: 437–440) excludes, however, the possibility that *Griplur* and *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Svöldrarorustu* were composed by Sigurður, as he considers them to be older than Sigurður's lifespan. Also, according to the *rímur*-chronology developed by Haukur Þorgeirsson (2013), these sets of *rímur* are not contemporary: *Griplur* are dated to 1350–1400 while *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Indriða þætti ilbreiðs* are dated to 1400–1450,

¹⁵ Oddur Snorrason's *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* is a *konungasaga* known from a translation of Latin biography of king Ólafur Tryggvason composed around 1190 by a monk Oddur Snorrason, and is one of the oldest Icelandic sagas. The critical edition of the saga was published in 1932 (Simek and Hermann Pálsson 1987: 192–293).

Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Svöldrarorustu to 1450–1500, and *Andra rímur* to 1450–1500 and 1500–1550.

Taking into consideration the modern generic division of Icelandic literature, the co-occurrence of *rímur* based on a *konungasaga*, *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Svöldrarorustu*, together with a text presumably based on a lost *fornaldarsaga*, *Griplur*, is difficult to explain. We could speculate whether the king's name, Ólafur, could in the eyes of late medieval and post-medieval audiences establish a link between *Griplur* and *Ólafs rímur*, as Hrómundur is also in service of a king named Ólafur, but according to *Griplur* this Ólafur was a son of Gnóðar-Ásmundur, not of Tryggvi. Putting aside generic associations of these texts, they both can be thought of as re-workings of legendary narratives about great Norwegian heroes (this would also apply to *Andra rímur*). For the audiences of the fifteenth century and later periods the great battle of Svolder from 999/1000, described in *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar af Svöldrarorustu*, may have been equally legendary, equally true or fictitious, and equally entertaining, as the battles on Vänern and by Elfasker, described in *Griplur*. All these events were equally distant in time for the fifteenth-century audience, and it would be anachronistic to exclude the possibility that they were all treated as legends of the splendid past only on the basis of the modern reception of these works.

3. The relationships between various texts of *Griplur* preserved in extant manuscripts

3.1 State of the scholarship

As already mentioned in the introduction and in the previous section, the state of the scholarship on the relationships between the manuscripts of *Griplur* (or rather on the texts they preserve) is sparse. The majority of scholarly discussion has focused mainly on the relationship of the *rímur* to the seventeenth-century saga and the lost **Hrómundar saga*, rather than on texts (or witnesses) of the *rímur*.

The first ever published classification of the witnesses of the *rímur* was presented by Kölbing in his *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*. There Kölbing compared only three manuscripts of the *rímur*, A610, A146, and C42,

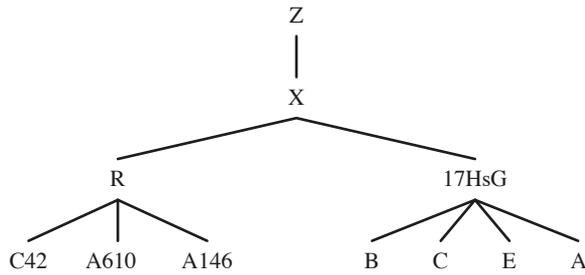


Fig. 4. Visualization of Kölbing’s interpretation of the relationships among three witnesses of *Griplur* (C42, A610, A146), and the manuscripts of the saga (17HsG), which are irrelevant for the current discussion.

and considered all of them to be independent witnesses derived from a common original, which he called R. Kölbing believed that C42 was based on an oral account of the same “version” of the *rímur* as A610 and A146, which he traced back to a written account (Kölbing 1876: 182). The relationships are visualized in Figure 4.

Andrews in his 1911 study took Kölbing’s research as a point of departure and used Finnur Jónsson’s edition to arrive at a contradicting conclusion, not only regarding the relationships between the *rímur* and the saga, but also regarding the relationships among manuscripts of *Griplur*. Andrews believed that C42 and A146 are descendants of a common exemplar (R^2), while A610 is independent from them and a descendant of R^1 (Andrews 1911: 534–537). He also suggested that Acc22 is a descendant from R^4 , which is again independent from the remaining manuscripts, so he classified the four manuscripts of *Griplur* known to him into three independent branches of oral tradition. Andrews’ analysis of Acc22 was not as thorough as his analysis of the remaining manuscripts, as Acc22 is not included in his overview of the collation and the only comment regarding Acc22 appears in a footnote (Andrews 1911: 535, 540). Finally, Andrews considered the seventeenth-century saga to be secondary to the *rímur* and based on the separate branch of *Griplur* tradition (R^3), as visualized in Figure 5.

A few decades later, Björn K. Þórolfsson (1934: 353) summarized the relationships between the manuscripts of *Griplur* as follows:

Besti texti rímnanna er í AM 610, 4to. Mikið af þeim er í Kollsbók, en þar er röð erinda mjög brjáluð. Í AM 146, 8vo er byrjun og endir rímnanna, brot úr texta náskyldum Kollsbók en þó ekki frá henni komnum. Enn fremur eru Griplur í

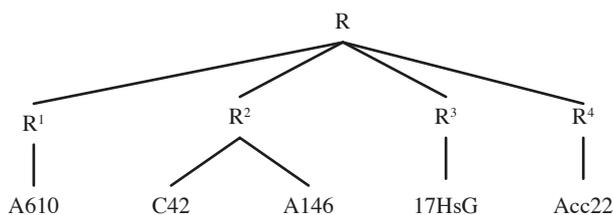


Fig. 5. Visualization of Andrews' interpretation of the relationships among four witnesses of *Griplur* (C42, A610, A146, Acc22), and the saga (17HsG), which is irrelevant for the current discussion.

Kálfavíkurbók, og eru þar ýmsir leshættir betri en í hinum handritunum. Texti Kálfavíkurbókar er skyldari Kollsþók og 146 en 610.

Even though Björn did not present any stemma of this tradition we can conclude that in his interpretation Acc22 should be considered a manifestation of the same oral tradition as A146 and C42. This would essentially correspond to Andrews' R² and eliminate the existence of R⁴. It has to be noted, however, that Björn – when describing each of these manuscripts separately – listed *Griplur* in A146, A610 and Acc22 among the *rímur* which are preserved in texts unknown from older manuscripts. This might suggest that each manuscript can be seen as an independent manifestation of the oral tradition, which would correspond to Andrews' interpretation with R¹⁻⁴.

As previously discussed, only four manuscripts of *Griplur* have been the subject of scholarly investigations: C42, A146, A610, and Acc22. It must be emphasized, however, that the readings of C42 in the scholarly editions rely on A387, which has exclusively been used as a transcript of C42. Another two manuscripts, J55 and L1370, remained outside the scope of the previous scholarship, and their relationships to the remaining manuscripts have never been revealed.

The portion of text which can be compared among all the known manuscripts of *Griplur* amounts to approx. 23 stanzas, mainly due to a large lacuna in A146, from I:37 to VI:36, but also due to the lacunas in other manuscripts in the areas where A146, in turn, does not have a lacuna, i.e. in C42, from I:1 to I:53, and in L1370, from I:1 to I:57. The following sections focus mainly on establishing the relationship between L1370, a hitherto ignored manuscript in the tradition of *Griplur*, and the remaining texts, but the relationships between other manuscripts are also revised.

3.2 Relationship between A387 and C42

As can be concluded from the manuscript descriptions presented above, the relationship between A387 and C42 is fairly straightforward: A387 is the scholarly transcription of C42. The value of A387 from the perspective of textual criticism lies mainly in the fact that the readings of A387 can help us to decipher partially illegible readings of C42. Over a hundred years had passed between the copying of A387 and the publication of the facsimile edition of C42 by Ólafur Halldórsson (1968), therefore it is easy to imagine that the parchment is more worn out now than it was in 1849.

A387 is, however, not a perfect scholarly copy of C42. Not only does the orthography of the manuscript not follow the orthography of the exemplar, but there are also examples where the text is inaccurate. For example, in C42 we can read “Par mun / uindur skyni / leysa sull ur sjó” (f. 65v:11) where “uindur skyni” is deleted, while A387 does not record the deletion and gives the reading “Par mun leysa sull úr sjó” (f. 225r:19). This example is perhaps not crucial for establishing the relationships among the manuscripts, but other examples are. For example, in A387 there is a reading “þá tók af hon- dum enda saums” (f. 227r:17) but the corresponding reading in C42 reads “þa tok af honum enda saums” (f. 66r:15). This erroneous example was used as a variant in Finnur Jónsson’s edition: “honum: hõndum” (Finnur Jónsson 1905–1922: 406). Consequently, it also appeared in Andrews’ analysis of the relationship between the *rímur* manuscripts (Andrews 1911: 536).

3.3 Relationship between J55 and its exemplars A610 and A146

Based on the manuscript descriptions above, we can also reveal a fairly straightforward relationship between J55 and its exemplars, A610 and A146: J55 is a scholarly transcription which utilizes both A146 and A610. References to both manuscripts are given explicitly in the marginal notes. For example, on f. 66v the marginal note reads: “[bls. 84 efst] Hér hefir 610 upp aptur 22–26 erindi og fram í þriðju línu af 27. erindi (...sæk..) og er þetta óvart orðið og strikað fyrir.” J55 follows A146 as the base text for stanzas I:1–I:36, and later, where A146 has a lacuna, it follows A610. For stanzas I:1–I:36 variants from A610 are given as supralinear additions. Stanzas from I:37 onward follow A610 exclusively, and even in the part of the text where A146 again picks up the text of *Griplur*, stanzas VI:37–VI:58, no variants from A146 are given. The text of J55 is a reliable copy

of both A146 and A610 in the respective parts of the *rímur*, where it – to some extent – preserves the orthography of the exemplars, but silently expands the abbreviations.

3.4 Relationship between L1370 and A146

Unlike in the two previous examples, there is no direct evidence that L1370 is based on A146, but the textual similarities between these two manuscripts are so striking that it is difficult to argue in favor of any other interpretation. Even though due to the lacunas in L1370 and A146 the amount of text which can be compared in these two manuscripts is rather sparse and consists only of stanzas VI:37–VI:58, the comparison shows clearly enough that L1370 preserves a text which is almost identical to the one preserved in A146. First of all, the order of stanzas in both manuscripts is the same and both manuscripts contain the additional stanza, which does not appear in A610: stanza VI:44bis, appearing between stanzas VI:44 and VI:45 of *Rímnasafn* (see Table 2 in the appendix). Moreover, L1370 and A146 always agree with each other in respect to variant readings, and no single variant can be found where they disagree. The only differences are in the orthography and in the abbreviations, for example:¹⁶

“hrömund gripþon” L1370] “hromund gripfon” A146.

“wilia þaug effter” L1370] “vilia þau eptir” A146.

Despite the small sample size, there are some readings which separate A146 and L1370 from the texts preserved in the remaining manuscripts, for example:

brotið hús en höggonar dyr A146, L1370] hús er brotið en höggonar dyr A610, C42, Acc22.

meðann lífið vinst A146, L1370] meðan æfin vinst A610, C42, Acc22.

er firri kóngum stæði A146, L1370] sem fornum (fyrrum C42) kongum (kongi A610) stæði A610, C42, Acc22.

Taking into consideration the chronology of these two manuscripts, A146 being written between 1633–1700 and L1370 being broadly dated to

¹⁶ Lists of textual variants present readings in semi-normalized orthography without quotation marks, but when the orthography is important for argumentation, I present diplomatic transcriptions of texts and place them in quotation marks.

1700–1800, we can conclude that the text of *Griplur* in L1370 is a descendant of A146. Therefore, the readings of L1370 can be used to determine the relationship between A146 and the remaining manuscripts in the part of the text where A146 has a lacuna.

3.5 Relationships based on the order of stanzas

There are multiple differences in the order of stanzas between known manuscripts of *Griplur*. They are illustrated in Table 2 in the appendix. It includes only the five primary manuscripts of *Griplur*, as there are no repositioned stanzas in the scholarly transcripts. Table 2 illustrates all the instances of repositioned stanzas (highlighted in light grey), additional stanzas (highlighted in dark grey), and omitted stanzas (highlighted in black). For the reader's convenience the comparison takes its point of departure in the stanza numbers from *Rímnasafn*.

Relationship between L1370 and C42

Due to large lacunas in both L1370 and C42, a comparison of their texts is possible only for stanzas III:4–III:28 and IV:16–VI:58 (see Table 2). The results of this comparison suggest that C42 and L1370 belong to the same branch of *Griplur* tradition. The similarities are especially clear in *ríma* III and IV, while in *ríma* V and VI there are still some common points, but L1370 diverges frequently from C42.

In the third *ríma* both C42 and L1370 omit stanza III:12, which is present in both Acc22 and A610. Moreover, stanza III:13 appears immediately after III:8, so either III:9–III:12 are omitted, or L1370, which now has a lacuna up to III:4, used to agree with C42, in which III:9–III:11 appear between stanzas III:3 and III:4. A number of other stanzas is transposed in C42 and L1370 in contrast to the remaining manuscripts, for instance, III:22 follows III:53, III:25 follows III:29, III:27 follows III:25, III:28 follows III:30, and III:29 follows III:22.

In the fourth *ríma* in L1370 stanza IV:22 is either omitted, or L1370 used to agree with C42 where IV:22 appears after IV:15, but L1370 now has a lacuna there. In both manuscripts stanza IV:31 is omitted, while both Acc22 and A610 preserve this stanza.

In the fifth *ríma*, in both manuscripts, V:36 appears after V:31 and V:47 after V:49. Both manuscripts also contain stanza V:35bis in the same position and stanza V:27bis, which in addition to L1370 and C42 also appears in Acc22. There are, however, some discrepancies. L1370 con-

tains an additional stanza which is attested only in this manuscript and appears between V:35 and V:35bis (I refer to it as V:35x). Stanza V:50 in L1370 appears after V:45, but in C42 after V:47. Finally, V:46 is omitted in L1370, while V:48bis is omitted in C42, and V:48 appears after V:47 in L1370, but after V:46 in C42.

In the sixth *ríma* L1370 mostly disagrees with C42. For example, stanzas VI:19–VI:20 appear immediately after VI:8, followed by VI:17–VI:18 and VI:15 (following the stanza order of Acc22), while in C42 these stanzas follow the same order as A610. Likewise, in L1370 VI:23–VI:24 follow VI:14, and VI:25–VI:26 follow VI:29, while in C42 these stanzas follow again the order of A610. L1370 and C42 do, however, share the presence of VI:44bis, which also appears in A146 and Acc22.

Based on the order of stanzas, it seems most likely that L1370 and C42 are derived from a common ancestor, but L1370 cannot be a descendant of C42. This is clear in *rímur* V and VI where L1370 frequently aligns with Acc22 against C42.

Relationship between L1370 and A610

Since A610 contains a complete text of *Griplur*, a comparison of L1370 and A610 is possible everywhere where L1370 does not have a lacuna. The comparison shows that these two manuscripts must belong to two different branches of the tradition of *Griplur*. Each of them contains some stanzas which the other one does not contain. On the one hand, L1370 contains stanzas I:60bis, V:5, V:27bis, V:35bis, V:48bis, VI:44bis, none of which appears in A610. On the other hand, stanzas I:63 and II:4–II:5 are present in A610, but not in L1370.

The order of some of the stanzas is also different. For example, the order of stanzas VI:55–VI:56 is reversed in A610, while stanzas III:24–III:30 follow a completely different order in L1370 (see the overview in Table 2).

Relationship between L1370 and Acc22

Since Acc22 also contains a complete text of *Griplur*, a comparison of L1370 and Acc22 is possible everywhere where L1370 does not have a lacuna. The comparison shows that these two manuscripts agree frequently with each other against A610, but each of the two has its own individual features which are not present in the other. They tend to agree with each other in *rímur* I and II, and at the beginning of *ríma* III, but from stanza III:23 they start to disagree. An exception is the order of stanzas VI:19–

VI:20, which appear after VI:8 and are followed by VI:17, VI:18, VI:15, VI:10, and VI:9, where Acc22 and L1370 agree against A610 and C42. Moreover, they both contain stanzas I:60bis, V:27bis, V:48bis, VI:44bis, and in both the order of stanzas II:2–II:3 is reversed and stanzas II:4–II:5 are omitted. But I:63, II:15, III:12 VI:16, and VI:21–VI:22 appear in Acc22 while they are omitted in L1370, and III:17 appears after III:19 in Acc22, while in L1370 it appears after III:15.

Relationship between C42 and Acc22

Similar to the previous case, since Acc22 contains a complete text of *Griplur*, a comparison of C42 and Acc22 is possible everywhere where C42 does not have a lacuna: from stanza II:54 to the end of the poem.

At the beginning of the third *ríma* C42 agrees with Acc22 fairly frequently. For example, both contain III:9–III:11 after III:3, III:18 after III:20 and III:20 after III:23. However, there are already some differences at the beginning of the *ríma*: III:12 is omitted in C42, while it is present in Acc22 and III:17 appears after III:19 in Acc22. The stanza order in C42 in the later part of the third *ríma* is much different from Acc22. For example, in C42 stanza III:38 appears after III:35, III:44 appears after III:40, and III:46 is omitted, while in Acc22 these stanzas follow the order of A610.

In the fourth *ríma* Acc22 frequently disagrees with C42. For example, in C42 stanza IV:22 appears after IV:15 followed by IV:9, while stanza IV:31 is omitted. The same tendency can be found in the fifth and the sixth *ríma*, where the only common points for Acc22 and C42 against A610 are the presence of V:27bis and VI:44bis and the order of stanzas VI:17–VI:18, which appear after VI:20. In C42, however VI:19–VI:20 appear after VI:16, while in Acc22 they appear after VI:8.

Relationship between C42 and A610

Here again A610 contains a complete text of *Griplur*, therefore a comparison of C42 and A610 is possible everywhere where C42 does not have a lacuna: from stanza II:54 to the end of the poem. It is clear from a comparison of the stanza order of A610 and C42 that these two manuscripts preserve texts of *Griplur* which belong to different branches of the tradition. C42 contains additional stanzas which are not present in A610, for example V:27bis, V:35bis, and VI:44bis. Conversely, C42 omits some of the stanzas A610 contains, for example III:12, III:46, and IV:31.

Relationship between Acc22 and A610

Acc22 and A610 are the only two manuscripts which preserve complete texts of *Griplur*, allowing detailed comparison. Based on the order of stanzas these two manuscripts must belong to two separate branches of the *Griplur* tradition. Stanza III:32 appears after III:34 in A610 while it is in its regular position in Acc22. III:22 appears after III:18 following III:20 in Acc22. Acc22 contains additional stanzas which are not present in A610, for example, I:60bis, II:17bis, V:27bis, and VI:44bis.

Relationship between Acc22, A146, A610, and C42

The amount of text which can be compared in Acc22, A146, and A610 is very sparse, consisting of stanzas I:1–I:34 and VI:37–VI:58. In the first part only these three manuscripts can be compared, but in the second part they can also be compared with C42.

In the first part, A146 stands alone against A610 and Acc22, which both have stanza I:34 after I:36. Additionally, A146 has stanza I:12 after I:24, while both A610 and Acc 22 have it in its regular position. This suggests that A146 belongs to a different branch than A610 and Acc22.

In the second part, A146 parallels C42 against A610 and Acc22, which both preserve stanzas VI:55–VI:56 in a reversed order. A146, C42, and Acc22 agree, however, with each other against A610 in that they all contain stanza VI:44bis, which is absent from A610.

Relationship between Acc22, A610, C42, and L1370

Acc22, A610, C42, and L1370 can be compared in stanzas III:4–III:28 and IV:16–VI:58. Stanzas III:12 and IV:31 are omitted in L1370 and C42, but Acc22 and A610 both contain these stanzas. C42, Acc22, and L1370 agree with each other against A610, as in all three of these manuscripts the order of stanzas III:15–III:16 is reversed. The same three manuscripts also contain stanza V:27bis, which is omitted in A610. V:48bis appears only in Acc22 and L1370.

The order of stanzas demonstrates that each manuscript has its unique features: Acc22 stands alone against the other three, for example when III:17 appears after III:19, while in A610, C42, and L1370 it appears after III:15. A610 stands alone against the other three as it omits V:5, V:27bis, and VI:44bis. C42 stands alone regarding the order of the stanzas VI:17–VI:20, as well as the position of V:50. L1370 stands alone regarding the order of the stanzas V:47–V:48 and in including stanza V:35x, which all

the other manuscripts omit. Moreover, L1370 is also the only manuscript that omits VI:16 and VI:21–VI:22.

3.6 Textual variants

If we exclude chronological criteria and focus only on the relationships between the texts,¹⁷ we can clearly see that text of none of the known manuscripts could have been an exemplar of the remaining ones. For the reader's convenience the lists of variants presented below are collated against *Rímnasafn* and the stanza numbers follow the edition; when no siglum is given it means that the manuscript's reading agrees with that of the edition.

The manuscript which provided the base text of Finnur Jónsson's edition of *Griplur*, A610, cannot be the exemplar because it has many individual readings, such as:

III:18:1 sigri veldr] sigr er skaptr A610.

III:14:1 Oss er mál] Ant er mér A610.

V:15:2 veitti] hrepti A610.

C42 cannot be the exemplar because of its individual readings, such as:

IV:60:1 kláz] fázt C42.

IV:62:3 lét ekki] réð ei C42.

V:44:2 verða] þurfa C42.

Acc22 cannot be the exemplar because of its individual readings, such as:

III:22:1 stelumz] stelst Acc22.

IV:51:2 drepr] lemtr Acc22.

V:51:3 Hverfi] Hárs skal Acc22.

L1370 (and A146) cannot be the exemplar because of its individual readings, such as:

III:13:4 þetta starfad] mikit starfad L1370.

IV:45:2 Hrólfr] Hrafn L1370.

V:4:1 garð] skarð L1370.

¹⁷ This approach is inspired by the work of, among others, Barbara Bordalejo (2015).

Based on textual criteria, it is also clear that L1370 belongs to the same tradition as C42, as there are many examples where these two agree with each other in places where A610 and Acc22 share a different reading, for example:

III:15:2 rekkar] rekkriinn C42, L1370.

IV:46:2 Gripsson út af tjaldi gengr] Gripsson upp úr tialde sprettur C42, L1370.

V:16 seima rjóðr] seggrinn fróðr C42, L1370.

L1370 also agrees with C42 where A610 and Acc22 offer different readings:

III:22:3 karpar þú] krappar þú A610; þú kjaftar hér Acc22.

IV:59:1 reiðir] mælti i A610; talar við Acc22.

V:8:1 stóran] sterkan leit A610; sterkur Acc22.¹⁸

V:17:14 fjórtán] fimtán A610; seytján Acc22.

Where L1370 disagrees with C42, it frequently parallels Acc22, but some of the readings are so minor that they cannot be treated as relationship-revealing readings:

III:15:1 Nú er í reiðing] nú er í reiki A610; Nú er á reiki Acc22, L1370.

III:15:4 að hófi] á hófi Acc22, L1370.

V:51:2 litit vinni] ekki finni A610; leitum linni Acc22, L1370.

L1370 agrees with A610 against the remaining manuscripts only in cases which, according to Finnur Jónsson's (1905–1922) editorial choices, were original readings:

IV:58:4 að velli] á voll C42; á ís Acc22.

VI:29:2 slíkt] það C42, Acc22.

Based on these textual variants it has to be assumed that either we are dealing with four separate branches of the textual stemma, or even four separate oral traditions, or that L1370 changed its exemplar halfway through *ríma* V,

¹⁸ In *Rímnasafn* the variant from Acc22 is presented as “sterkr”.

and this exemplar belonged to a different branch of the stemma, as showed by the presence of V:35x, position of V:50, omission of V:46, etc.

Another possibility is that stanzas ca. V:35–VI:27 in L1370 were supplied from memory, as their order does not correspond to any other manuscript. Yet another possibility, which seems very attractive but is equally difficult to prove, is that C42 changed its exemplar, rather than L1370. In C42 there is a hand shift on f. 64v:18, at the beginning of stanza V:19, and two hands are responsible for stanzas V:19–VI:32:

From f. 64v:18 to f. 65v:8 Hand 3 (to stanza VI:14).

From f. 65v:8 to f. 65v:20 Hand 11 (to stanza VI:22).

From f. 65v:20 to f. 65v:26 Hand 3 (to stanza VI:25).

From f. 65v:26 to f. 65v:36 Hand 11 (to stanza VI:32).

It is easy to imagine that in the medieval scriptorium in which C42 was most likely copied, as it is written in twelve different hands, more than one text of *Griplur* would have been available and multiple texts could have been used interchangeably to produce C42. Another text must have been used from stanza V:19 onwards in C42, while L1370 preserves the stanzas in the order more closely related to the common ancestor of C42 and L1370, which is in turn closer to Acc22 than to A610.

The textual variation in this part of the *rímur* seems to confirm this hypothesis. If we look at stanzas VI:19–VI:20, which are repositioned in Acc22 and L1370, L1370 seem to preserve better readings than C42:

VI:19:1 einum] vorum A610, Acc22, L1370.

VI:19:2 eg vil] vil eg A610, Acc22, L1370; eg mä C42.

VI:20:1 koma mun vindr úr skýjum skæðr] Þar mun vindr af skogi skæðr C42.¹⁹

¹⁹ In this context it is important to mention that the editorial principles of *Rímnasafn* are rather unclear. For example, if we focus on stanza 19, we can clearly see that Finnur Jónsson not only chooses the “incorrect” reading in the first line but also emends the text of the second line without any clear reason. The beginning of stanza 19 in *Rímnasafn* reads: “Var það enn í einum draum | eg vil greina tiggja,” where A610, Acc22 and L1370 agree against C42 in reading “vorum” for “einum”. “Vorum” can be considered more correct, as it fits the alliteration of the letter v (var, vorum, vil). It also seems that the poet tried to have the alliteration in the first word of the second line, for example in stanza 18: “Húsin vór munu hefjaz öll, | hygg eg það fyr góður.” Here, the alliterating h appears in the first word of the second line, and so the reading “vil eg”, as offered in stanza 19 in A610 and Acc22 and L1370, should be preferred over the emendation “eg vil” in the second line.

Similarly, in the penultimate stanza of the sixth *ríma* C42 has a reading that does not fit the rhyming scheme of the stanza, as “synja” does not rhyme with “heita”. This stanza reads as follows in C42:

Vísna biðja voldug sprund
 Valla ma þeim synja
 Glósað hef eg gaman um stund
 Griplur skulu þær heita (C42)

In *Rímnasafn*, which follows A610, the stanza reads as follows:

Kvæða biðja kurteis sprund
 eg kan þeim ekki neita
 glósað hef eg gaman um stund;
 Griplur skulu það heita. (VI:57)

The important variants are:

VI:57:2 Kvæða²⁰ biðja kurteis] vísna biðja voldug C42, A146, L1370.

VI:57:2 eg kann þeim ekki neita] valla ma þeim synja C42; vilja þau eptir leita A146, L1370.

Based on the alliterations present in this stanza we can distinguish two groupings of *Griplur* texts. The first group includes A610 and Acc22 and the stanza alliterates on k: kvæða, kurteis, kann. The second group includes C42, A146, and L1370 and the stanza alliterates on v: vísna, völdug, vilja (A146, L1370) / valla (C42).²¹

In the part of the *rímur* where we can compare all known texts of *Griplur*, A146 does not agree with C42 eight times out of thirty-two, but the majority of these variants are fairly minor, and the only readings which could be considered major are the following:

VI:37:3 hus er brotid C42] brotid hus A146.

VI:42:3 æfin vinzt C42] lijfit vinst A146.

VI:57:2 valla ma þeim synja C42] vilja þau eptir leita A146.

The two first readings are independent innovations of A146, while the

²⁰ In Acc22 the reading is “Ef kvæða...” but this is not significant from perspective of the current analysis.

²¹ This can be compared with the variation of *Skikkju rímur*, where even when there is variation in the alliterative words the alliteration is always preserved (see Driscoll 1997: 233).

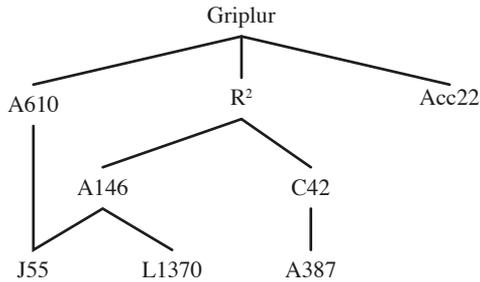


Fig. 6. Relationships between the extant texts of *Griplur*

third one is an independent innovation of C42, so they do not exclude a common ancestor for both.

3.6 Summary of the relationships

Based on the preceding analysis some of the relationships among the extant texts of *Griplur* can be revealed with a high degree of certainty. First of all, the textual analysis confirmed the dependency of the two scholarly manuscripts (J55 and A387) on their exemplars. As suggested by the internal evidence, the text of *Griplur* in A387 is a more or less reliable transcript of C42, while the text in J55 is a compilation of the texts preserved in A146 and A610. Secondly, through observations of the stanza order and textual variation, the relationships between L1370 and the remaining manuscripts were revealed. L1370 appears to be a descendant of A146, as the only differences between these two texts are on the level of orthography. Moreover, L1370 frequently agrees with C42, which appears to be closely related to A146. Thus, three branches of the *Griplur* tradition can be distinguished. One branch includes A610 and its descendant J55. The second branch is represented by A146, L1370, C42, A387 and partially J55. The third branch is represented by Acc22. (Figure 6).

4. Conclusion

This article presented the first ever analysis of all known manuscripts preserving the texts of *Griplur*, the medieval set of *rímur* of Hrómundur, son

of *Griplur*. *Griplur* are preserved in seven known manuscripts, of which only one, C42, can be dated to the medieval period. The remaining manuscripts can be dated to the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century.

Through the analysis of the manuscript contexts in which *Griplur* appear, the present study revealed that *Griplur* appear most frequently with other *rímur* related to chivalric and legendary sagas. This casts some light on the transmission and reception of these texts, as we can assume that the texts which travelled together in manuscripts were also produced and consumed together. The present study demonstrated that *Andra rímur*, are the most frequently occurring alongside *Griplur*, and both are based on lost medieval legendary sagas which appear to be also closely related. Even though we cannot make general conclusions based on one case study, this may suggest that *rímur* which share literary motifs also tend to share transmission history. At the same time, it is more difficult to explain why *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar* frequently co-occur with *Griplur*. It is possible that the events described in both sets of *rímur* were equally distant for the late-medieval and post-medieval audiences so that their contents were considered equally legendary, making our modern distinction between material related to kings' sagas and legendary sagas irrelevant.

The textual analysis of the texts preserved in all known manuscripts allowed us to expand the existing stemmas of *Griplur*. While the previous scholarship focused mainly on the three or four oldest manuscripts of *Griplur*, the present study included three additional manuscripts which were ignored in the previous scholarship: L1370 from 1700–1800, A387 from 1849–50, and J55 from ca. 1870. The relationships between these manuscripts were incorporated into a stemma of the tradition, as presented in Figure 6. This examination of the relationships among the texts of *Griplur* establishes a good basis for a further work on the new edition of the *rímur*. Even though the present study did not result in a revision of the relationships among C42, A610, and A146 established by Andrews, it confirmed his research results and expanded them by identification of the descendants of A610 and A146. In this context it is especially significant that L1370 has been identified as a descendant of A146, because the readings of L1370 can be used to fill in the lacuna of A146.

A new edition of *Griplur* based on the results of the present study would certainly present a different text than the one proposed in *Rímnasafn*. On one hand, the eclectic text based on strict stemmatic calculation would not follow A610, which served as a base text of Finnur's edition. On

the other hand, due to the high amount of variation in this tradition, a better approach would be to edit each branch of the stemma or each text separately. In doing so, we would give the reader an opportunity to read the *rímur* in their actual historical manifestations. As Matthew Driscoll (1999: 271) observed while editing *Skikkju rímur*:

It must be remembered that, although composed in writing, *rímur* were intended for oral delivery and therefore retain some of the characteristics of oral literature. It must also be borne in mind that the *rímur* manuscripts were not produced in scriptoria by professional scribes, but rather by ordinary people, many of them poets themselves, and it is therefore likely that in the course of a poem's transmission various improvements will have been made. The text of *Skikkjurímur* preserved in AM Acc22 [...] should be viewed not as the text of *Skikkjurímur*, but rather as a text—or, better still, a performance—of *Skikkjurímur*.

Even though the assumption that *rímur* manuscripts were not copied in scriptoria seems unconvincing, as at least one manuscript of *Griplur*, C42, was most likely copied in a medieval scriptorium, the postulate that each text should be viewed as a “performance” is an important one when we take into consideration the post-medieval transmission and dissemination of the *rímur*. While historical oral performances of the *rímur* are beyond our reach, each of the extant manuscripts presents in a certain sense one “performance” of *rímur*, a performance which may be particular to the time and space of the manuscript's writing. By presenting multiple texts of the same work in a *rímur* edition, as it is done in many modern saga editions, we would significantly expand our understanding of the production, circulation, and perhaps even reception of these works in medieval and post-medieval Iceland.

The detailed study of *Griplur* has also further implications for the study of the transmission history of *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* and related materials, as the story of Hrómundur exists in multiple post-medieval adaptations in prose and verse, including at least two sets of *rímur* and two sagas. Thanks to the present analysis we can ask further questions concerning the practice of turning prose into *rímur* and “back” into prose in Iceland. Further studies of this phenomenon will play an important role in expanding our knowledge about and understanding of not only literary development, but also the society of post-medieval Iceland. Cases such as *Hrómundar sögur* and *rímur* call into question the motivations behind the entire process of converting stories from one media to another. Why did someone convert *rímur* into prose in the first place? Moreover, why

were some of the *rímur*, *Griplur* included, converted into prose more than once? Was it because of a lack of access to the prose version in a particular area, because of a dislike of their poetic form, or because of the need to simplify the poetic language and deliver an easily accessible story to the less sophisticated audience? None of these questions can be satisfactorily answered without an in-depth textual analysis of the transmission history of various sets of *rímur* and related sagas.

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Resumé på dansk

Denne artikel undersøger transmissionshistorie af *Griplur*, et middelalderligt rimdigt af Hromund Gripsson (Greipsson), en legendarisk helt fra Norge der ifølge Landnamsbogen var en forfader til Islands første besætttere Ingolf og Leif. Rimdigtet stammer fra senmiddelalder men det bevares hovedsagelig i eftermiddelalderlige håndskrifter og mange af dem har indtil nu været ignoreret i videnskabelige diskussioner. Artiklen præsenterer den første undersøgelse af alle håndskrifter af *Griplur* med hensyn til deres indhold og tekstuelle forbindelser og etablerer derved et grundlag til en ny kritisk udgave af dette værk.

Summary in English

This article examines the transmission history of *Griplur*, a medieval set of *rímur* of Hrómundur Gripsson (Greipsson), a legendary hero from Norway and, according to Landnámabók, a forefather of the first settlers of Iceland, Ingólfur and Leifur. The *rímur*, which originate in the late Middle Ages, are preserved mainly in post-medieval manuscripts, and many of them have been ignored in the previous scholarship. The article presents the first study of all *Griplur* manuscripts with the focus on their contents and textual relationships, which lays the ground for a new critical edition of this work.

Keywords: Old Norse-Icelandic poetry, transmission history, manuscript studies, *rímur*, *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar*, *Griplur*

Katarzyna Anna Kapitan

University of Iceland

Vigdís Finnbogadóttir Institute of Foreign Languages

Brynjólfsögðu 1

107 Reykjavík

k.a.kapitan@gmail.com

www.kakapitan.com

ORCID ID 0000-0003-2763-0056

Appendix

Tab. 2. Overview of the five main witnesses of *Griplur*. Highlighted in light grey: repositioned stanzas; highlighted in dark grey: additional stanzas; highlighted in black: omitted stanzas.

A610	C42	A146	Acc22	L1370
I:1–I:11	<i>lacuna to II:54</i>	I:1–I:11	I:1–I:11	<i>lacuna to I:56</i>
I:12		× (I:12 after 24)	I:12	
I:13–I:24		I:13–I:24	I:13–I:24	
×		I:12	×	
I:25–I:33		I:25–I:33	I:25–I:33	
× (I:34 after 36)		I:34	× (I:34 after 36)	
I:35–I:36		I:35–I:36	I:35–I:36	
I:34		×	I:34	
I:37–I:56		<i>lacuna to VI:37</i>	I:37–I:56	
I:57–I:60			I:57–I:60	I:57–I:60
×			I:60bis	I:60bis
I:61–I:62			I:61–I:62	I:61–I:62
I:63			I:63	× (I:63 omitted)
I:64–I:67			I:64–I:67	I:64–I:67
II:1			II:1	II:1
II:2			II:3	II:3
II:3			II:2	II:2
II:4–II:5			× (II:4–II:5 omitted)	× (II:4–II:5 omitted)
II:6			II:6	II:6
II:8			II:7	II:7
II:7			II:8	II:8
×			II:12	II:12
II:9–II:10			II:9–II:10	II:9–II:10
II:11			× (II:11 omitted)	× (II:11 omitted)
II:12			× (II:12 after 8)	× (II:12 after 8)
II:13			× (II:13 omitted)	× (II:13 omitted)
II:14			II:14	II:14

A610	C42	A146	Acc22	L1370
II:15			II:15	× (II:15 omitted)
II:16–II:17			II:16–II:17	II:16–II:17
×			II:17bis	<i>lacuna</i> II:18–III:3
II:18–II:23			II:18–II:23	
II:24			II:25	
II:25			II:24	
II:26–II:33			II:26–II:33	
II:34			× (II:34 after II:37)	
II:35–37			II:35–37	
×			II:34	
II:38–II:53			II:38–II:53	
II:54–II:56	II:54–II:56		II:54–II:56	
II:59	× (II:59 omitted)		× (II:59 omitted)	
II:57–II:58	II:57–II:58		II:57–II:58	
× (II:59 after 56)	II:59		II:59	
II:60–II:62	II:60–II:62		II:60–II:62	
III:1–III:3	III:1–III:3	<i>lacuna to VI:37</i>	III:1–III:3	<i>lacuna to III:3</i>
×	III:9–III:11		III:9–III:11	
III:4–III:8	III:4–III:8		III:4–III:8	III:4–III:8
III:9–III:11	× (III:9–III:11 after III:3)		× (III:9–III:11 after III:3)	× (III:9–III:11 after III:3 or omitted) ?
III:12	× (III:12 omitted)		III:12	× (III:12 omitted)
III:13	III:13		III:13	III:13
III:14	III:14		III:14	III:14
III:15	III:16		III:16	III:16
III:16	III:15		III:15	III:15
III:17	III:17		× (III:17 after III:19)	III:17
III:18	× (III:18 after III:20)		× (III:18 after III:20)	× (III:18 after III:20)
III:19	III:19		III:19	III:19

A610	C42	A146	Acc22	L1370
×	×		III:17	×
III:20	× (III:20 after III:23)		× (III:20 after III:23)	× (III:20 after III:23)
III:21	III:21		III:21	III:21
III:22	× (III:22 after III:53)		× (III:22 after III:18)	× (III:22 after III:53)
III:23	III:23		III:23	III:23
×	III:20		III:20	III:20
×	III:18		III:18	III:18
×	×		III:22	×
III:24	III:24		III:24	III:24
III:25	× (III:25 after III:29)		III:25	× (III:25 after III:29)
III:26	III:26		III:26	III:26
III:27	× (III:27 after III:25)		III:27	× (III:27 after III:25)
III:28	× (III:28 after III:30)		III:28	× (III:28 after III:30)
III:29	× (III:29 after III:22)		III:29	× (III:29 after III:22)
III:30	× (III:30 after III:27)		III:30	× (III:30 after III:27)
×	III:36		×	III:36
×	III:53		×	III:53
×	III:22		×	III:22
×	III:29		×	III:29
×	III:25		×	III:25
×	III:27		×	III:27
×	III:30		×	III:30
×	III:28		×	III:28
III:31	III:31		III:31	<i>lacuna III:30–IV:15</i>
× (III:32 after III:34)	III:32		III:32	
×	III:37		×	

A610	C42	A146	Acc22	L1370
III:33	III:33		III:33	
III:34	III:34		III:34	
III:32	×		×	
III:35	III:35		III:35	
×	III:38		×	
III:36	× (III:36 after III:26)		III:36	
III:37	× (III:37 after III:32)		III:37	
III:38	× (III:38 after III:35)		III:38	
III:39–III:40	III:39–III:40		III:39–III:40	
×	III:44		×	
III:41–III:43	III:41–III:43		III:41–III:43	
III:44	× (III:44 after III:40)		III:44	
III:45	III:45		III:45	
III:46	× (III:46 omitted)		III:46	
III:48	×		III:48	
III:47	III:47– <i>ul</i>		III:47	
× (III:47 after III:48)	III:48		× (III:47 after III:48)	
III:49	III:49		III:49	
III:50	× (III:50 after III:51)		III:50	
III:51	III:51		III:51	
×	III:50		×	
III:52	III:52		III:52	
III:53	× (III:53 after III:36)		III:53	
III:54–III:64	III:54–III:64		III:54–III:64	
IV:1–IV:8	IV:1–IV:8	<i>lacuna to VI:37</i>	IV:1–IV:8	<i>lacuna to IV:15</i>
IV:9	× (IV:9 after IV:22)		IV:9	

A610	C42	A146	Acc22	L1370
IV:10	IV:10		IV:10	
×	IV:13		×	
IV:11	IV:11		IV:11	
IV:12	IV:12		IV:12	
IV:13	×		IV:13	
IV:14	IV:14		IV:14	
IV:15	IV:15		IV:15	
×	IV:22		×	
×	IV:9		×	
IV:16	IV:16		IV:16	IV:16
IV:17–IV:21	IV:17–IV:21		IV:17–IV:21	IV:17–IV:21
IV:22	×		IV:22	×
IV:23–IV:30	IV:23–IV:30		IV:23–IV:30	IV:23–30
IV:31	×		IV:31	×
IV:32–IV:64	IV:32–IV:64		IV:32–IV:64	IV IV:32–IV:64
V:1–V:4	V:1–V:4	<i>lacuna to VI:37</i>	V:1–V:4	V:1–V:4
×	V:5		V:5	V:5
V:6–V:27	V:6–V:27		V:6–V:27	V:6–V:27
×	V:27bis		V:27bis	V:27bis
V:28–V:31	V:28–V:31		V:28–V:31	V:28–V:31
×	V:36		×	V:36
V:32–V:35	V:32–V:35		V:32–V:35	V:32–V:35
×	×		×	V:35x
×	V:35bis		×	V:35bis
V:36	×		V:36	×
V:37–V:41	V:37–V:41		V:37–V:41	V:37–V:41
	×		V:35bis	×

A610	C42	A146	Acc22	L1370
V:42–V:45	V:42–V:45		V:42–V:45	V:42–V:45
×	×		×	V:50
V:46	V:46		V:46	× (V:46 omitted)
V:47	× (V:47 after V:49)		V:47	× (V:47 after V:49)
V:48	V:48		V:48	× (V:48 after V:47)
× (48bis omitted)	× (48bis omitted)		V:48bis	V:48bis
V:49	V:49		V:49	V:49
V:50	× (V:50 after V:47)		V:50	× (V:50 after V:45)
×	V:47		×	V:47
×	×		×	V:48
×	V:50		×	×
V:51	V:51		V:51	V:51
VI:1–VI:8	VI:1–VI:8	<i>lacuna to VI:37</i>	VI:1–VI:8	VI:1–VI:8
×	×		VI:19–VI:20	VI:19–VI:20
×	×		VI:17–VI:18	VI:17–VI:18
×	×		VI:15	VI:15
VI:9	VI:9		VI:10	VI:10
VI:10	VI:10		VI:9	VI:9
VI:11	VI:11		VI:11	× (VI:11 after VI:13)
VI:12–VI:13	VI:12–VI:13		VI:12–VI:13	VI:12–VI:13
×	×		×	VI:11
VI:14	VI:14		VI:14	VI:14
×	×		×	VI:23–VI:24
VI:28	×		×	×
VI:15	VI:15		× (VI:15 after VI:18)	× (VI:15 after VI:18)
×	×		VI:25	×
VI:16	VI:16		VI:16	× (VI:16 omitted)
×	×		VI:26	×

A610	C42	A146	Acc22	L1370
VI:17–VI:18	× (VI:17–VI:18 after VI:20)		× (VI:17–VI:18 after VI:20)	× (VI:17–VI:18 after VI:20)
VI:19–VI:20	VI:19–VI:20		× (VI:19–VI:20 after VI:8)	× (VI:19–VI:20 after VI:8)
×	VI:17–VI:18		×	×
VI:21–VI:22	VI:21–VI:22		VI:21–VI:22	× (VI:21–VI:22 omitted)
VI:23–VI:24	VI:23–VI:24		VI:23–VI:24	× (VI:23–VI:24 after VI:14)
VI:25	VI:25		× (VI:25 after VI:14)	× (VI:25 after VI:29)
VI:26	VI:26		× (VI:26 after VI:16)	× (VI:26 after VI:25)
VI:27	VI:27		VI:27	VI:27
× (VI:28 after VI:14)	VI:28		VI:28	VI:28
VI:29	VI:29		VI:29	VI:29
×	×		×	VI:25
×	×		×	VI:26
VI:30–VI:36	VI:30–VI:36		VI:30–VI:36	VI:30–VI:36
VI:37–VI:44	VI:37–VI:44	VI:37–VI:44	VI:37–VI:44	VI:37–VI:44
× (44bis omitted)	VI:44bis	VI:44bis	VI:44bis	VI:44bis
VI:45–VI:54	VI:45–VI:54	VI:45–VI:54	VI:45–VI:54	VI:45–VI:54
VI:56	VI:55	VI:55	VI:56	VI:55
VI:55	VI:56	VI:56	VI:55	VI:56
VI:57–VI:58	VI:57–VI:58	VI:57–VI:58	VI:57–VI:58	VI:57–VI:58

Författarna i denna årgång

Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir, Ph.D., Postdoctoral Research Associate, University of Cambridge, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic. ORCID iD 0000-0003-1474-5604.

Ebbe Nyborg, cand mag, Former editor of the inventory Danmarks Kirker at The National Museum Copenhagen, ORCID iD 0000-0003-3546-5310.

Henrik Williams, professor, Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för nordiska språk, ORCID iD 0000-0003-1738-7072.

Jette Arneborg, Ph.D., Senior researcher, National Museum of Denmark, Middle Ages, Renaissance and Numismatics, ORCID iD 0000-0003-2195-3727.

Katarzyna Anna Kapitan, Ph.D., H.M. Queen Margrethe II Distinguished Research Fellow at the Vigdís Finnbogadóttir Institute of Foreign Languages, University of Iceland, National Museum of Iceland and Museum of National History, Frederiksborg Castle, Denmark. ORCID iD 0000-0003-2763-0056.

Lise Gjedssø Bertelsen, Ph.D., senast verksam som Marie Curie Research Fellow vid Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för arkeologi och antik historia, ORCID iD 0000-0002-5719-5481.

Már Jónsson, professor, University of Iceland, Faculty of History and Philosophy, ORCID iD 0000-0003-4891-4154.

Olof Sundqvist, professor, Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för etnologi, religionshistoria och genusvetenskap, ORCID iD 0000-0002-4304-9782.