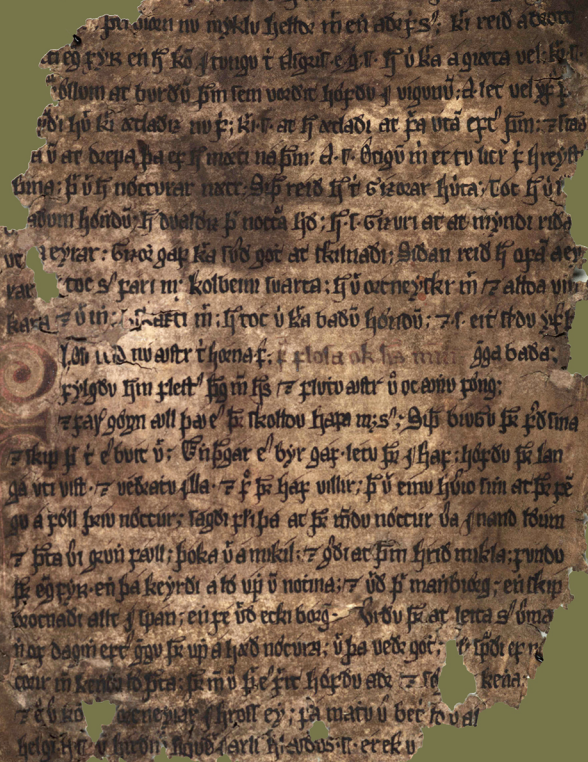


New Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of *Njáls saga*

The *historia mutila* of *Njála*

Edited by

Emily Lethbridge and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir



þu sian nu myklu heitir in en adri s'. ki reid at
aeg þyr en h ko / tungu t elgaut e a t. h u ka a gorta vel. h
ollom at burdu þim sem vordir hofdu i viguu. a let vel þ
odi ho ki ocladi nu þ; ki t. at h ocladi at þa utā ept þim. z has
a v at depra þa eþ h maeti na þim. a t. þogv in er tv ltr þ hreyð
luna; þ u h nocevirar naet. Siþ reid h t s' reoat hira; toc h u
adum hōndu; h duaton þ nocta hō; h t. s' ur ar at myndi rida
ve reyrar: þno gap ka sūd got at tkatnadi; Siðan reid h opa aey
var toc s' pari m. kolbenn tuarta; h u oetneytkr in / z altha vin
kara z u in. s' afti in. h toc u ka badu hōndu; z t. eit ttrou þ
lōi u d nu aitr t hōna t. z flota ok þa m m. gga bada;
z ylgv þim flett' þig in h s' z þvivo aitr u oeanu þong;
z þaf gōym all þa e' þa tkothou hapa m; s'; Siþ biva þa þōtima
z kep þ t e' burt v. Siþ þgar e' byr gar letu þa i hax; hōpdu þa lan
ga uti vilt. z vedratu illa. z þ þa hax villir; þ u emu hōio þim at þa þe
go a þōll þau noceur; sagði þ þa at þa vōdu noceur þa i mand tōum
z þta vi gevu þvill; þoka u a mukil; z gdi at þim hrid mukla; z vōdu
þ egeþyr en þa keyrði a tō up u notina; z vō þ manþvæg; en tkep
þvornadi alle i þan; en þe vō ecki þog. hōv þa ar letta s' vma
nax dagm er gōv þa up a had noceur; u þa vedr got; þ vōi eþ r
oaur in kenda þo þra; þa m u þe þit hōpdu at z tō kēna;
z e u kō oetneytkr i hroll ey; þa matu u þer tō v al
helgi h u v hōm; hōv t arli h; vōdu s' errek u

New Studies in the Manuscript
Tradition of *Njáls saga*

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Njáls saga Stemmas, Old and New

Alaric Hall and Ludger Zeevaert
*University of Leeds and Árni Magnússon Institute
for Icelandic Studies*

Introduction¹

In his introduction to what has become the standard work on the manuscript transmission of *Njáls saga*, and a landmark in Old Norse stemmatology, Einar Ólafur Sveinsson wrote: “in the present work I intend to examine the text of the parchment manuscripts of the Saga. Besides these, there are many paper copies, which have been studied only in part. Most of them will presumably not contribute much to the understanding of the problems, though there is always the possibility that some of them might fill gaps in the textual history of the Saga, but that task awaits another investigator.”²

A large number of the paper manuscripts of *Njáls saga* were surveyed by Jón Þorkelsson in his contribution to the monumental 1875–89 edition of the saga by Konráð Gíslason and Eiríkur Jónsson, and Jón made some tentative suggestions as to possible filiations. But Jón made no attempt at a comprehensive stemma, and other manuscripts have in any case since come to light.³ Although there has been some progress on manuscripts not addressed by Einar Ólafur, the paper manuscripts of *Njáls saga* have still not received a systematic survey.⁴ Einar Ólafur wrote rather dismissively of them: as was usual at the time, his principal concern was to reconstruct the lost archetype of the surviving *Njáls saga* manuscripts rather than to understand the process of their transmission. Our findings confirm that although a good number seem to be independent witnesses to the archetype of *Njáls saga*, they will seldom provide insights into its wording that earlier manuscripts do not. But in recent years interest in the transmission of sagas, both during the Middle Ages and beyond, has been growing, and it is increasingly recognized that understanding manuscript transmission is an important route into understanding the history of Icelandic literary culture, the Icelandic language, early modern Scandinavian humanism, and a range of other issues besides.⁵ Our findings are summarized as the stemma in plate 12.

The medium of print has always struggled to accommodate dendrograms, despite their manifest usefulness in efficiently visualizing complex data: even today, when the reproduction of images is simple, stemmas of any size or complexity tend to defy the constraints of the monochrome, quarto pages of academic books. For the results of stemmatic research to be replicable and expandable, moreover, it is now important to publish not only the findings of the research, but also any electronic data gathered in arriving at those findings.⁶ Unfortunately, books designed primarily for print publication are not a good medium for open-data approaches; accordingly, we have published our data, full visualizations of both Einar Ólafur's 1953 stemma and our own, a discussion of our methods, and a fuller justification of our findings as an online companion article to this one.⁷ This includes stemmas not only visualized as dendrograms, but also as nested HTML lists, in which an annotated version of the sample text can be consulted by the user. Readers may find it useful to refer to these visualizations when reading the present chapter. Occasionally in this chapter, we also make reference by column number to the spreadsheet of variant readings published there. Here, we summarize key elements of the methodology but focus on providing a deeper investigation into two themes which arise from our research: (1) emphasizing the finding that most postmedieval manuscripts of *Njáls saga* are (at least for chapter 86) descended from a lost medieval manuscript known as *Gullskinna, which therefore has special importance for understanding *Njáls saga's* reception; and (2) reassessing Einar Ólafur's stemma of the *Y branch of the *Njáls saga* tradition. By focusing in this way, we are able to demonstrate a more vibrant and complex culture of scribal transmission of *Njáls saga* in seveneenth- and eighteenth-century Iceland than has hitherto been possible.

Methods

Einar Ólafur assumed that the examination of the paper manuscripts of *Njáls saga* would be the work of one investigator. We have, however, made this a collaborative endeavor as part of "The Variance of *Njáls saga*" project, and the tenth, eleventh, and thirteenth International Arnarnagænan Summer Schools in Manuscript Studies, partly inspired by recent work on crowdsourcing manuscript transcriptions and stemmatic data.⁸ While eventually we might hope to make stemmas for *Njáls saga* by analyzing complete digital transcriptions of all *Njáls saga* manuscripts, as is steadily being done for the *Canterbury Tales* and the New Testament,

for example, this is still a far distant hope.⁹ To begin to assemble a stemma of all *Njáls saga* manuscripts, a series of rigorous and targeted studies is needed, in which many hands make light work, and which gathers, preserves, and shares data in a way that enables later researchers to build on that data.

Despite the fact that sampling is normal practice in making stemmas, there has been too little study of how it should be used.¹⁰ In practice, few researchers consider all kinds of variants, all variants of their chosen kind, or even all manuscripts of their chosen text—but they also seldom offer transparent accounts of these processes of selection.¹¹ We chose chapter 86 as our first (and, for this study, principal) sample for two key reasons. Firstly, it is witnessed by the early fourteenth-century fragment AM 162 B 0 fol., a fragment which is important because of its close relationship with the lost but (as past research led us to suspect) widely copied medieval manuscript *Gullskinna.¹² Secondly, it was of a length similar to a sample that had produced promising results in the study of the stemma of *Konráðs saga keisarasonar* by Alaric Hall and Katelin Parsons—392 words in the Íslenzk fornrit edition, somewhat longer than the 317-word sample used by Hall and Parsons.¹³ This length also proved manageable for the crowdsourcing-inspired approach we took to making the transcriptions: the transcriptions which provided the initial basis for our findings were made by students and staff at the Tenth International Arnarnagæan Summer School in Manuscript Studies in 2013. Aiming for transcriptions normalized into modern Icelandic spelling, we sought to capture all lexical, morphological, and syntactic variation, but no orthographic variation.¹⁴

One advantage of sampling is that it is liable to provide some results which are fairly straightforward, while also making apparent areas of particular doubt or interest, which can then be addressed by more targeted follow-up research. For example, at the 2014 summer school, we addressed problems raised by the previous research by sampling a four-hundred word section of chapter 142, which we believed would help us better understand questions about the circulation of the *Y branch of *Njáls saga* raised by both our own research on chapter 86 and by past scholarship, since our findings from chapter 86 were inconsistent with past work.

As Einar Ólafur emphasized, the stemma of *Njáls saga* involves an unusually large number of manuscripts with multiple exemplars, no doubt partly because of the saga's great length and the consequent difficulty of borrowing a manuscript for long enough to copy it in its entirety, and

partly because it was perceived as a historical text, encouraging early scholars to collate different witnesses in search of the most truthful account.¹⁵ Drawing a stemma is also complicated by the fact that none of our unusually numerous medieval manuscripts is complete, and many are short fragments: obviously fragments can only be filiated on the basis of sections of the saga to which they are witnesses, and there is no section of the saga to which all witnesses attest.

This chapter is, then, necessarily only one of what needs to be a series of studies. (And, indeed, Már Jónsson's 2017 study of AM 162 B θ fol., published too late to be considered here, provides one such study.¹⁶) Some manuscripts are too similar to one another for precise filiation, and future research extending the samples is necessary to resolve this. A case in point is the three copies of Reykjabók (AM 468 4to) made by Árni Magnússon's brother Jón Magnússon—KB Add 565 4to, AM 467 4to, and ÍB 421 4to—along with the copy of Reykjabók held in Reykjavík's Landakotskirkja and known as Landakotsbók.¹⁷ For chapter 86 the text of Reykjabók, KB Add 565 4to, and AM 467 4to is identical; ÍB 421 4to has a scattering of innovations; and Landakotsbók has one small omission.¹⁸ Jón Helgason assumed that only KB Add 565 4to was copied directly from Reykjabók, but since in chapter 86 Jón Magnússon's copies are so similar, there is no way rationally to filiate them through textual criticism.¹⁹ Meanwhile, many of the manuscripts analyzed will have multiple exemplars, but only draw on one exemplar for the chapters sampled. Thus, while our stemma of *Njáls saga* will not be wrong on this account, it will be incomplete.

A key component of "The Variance of *Njáls saga*" project has been Susanne M. Arthur's doctoral thesis on the codicology of *Njáls saga*-manuscripts. At the time of our research, this afforded the most up-to-date survey of the manuscripts of *Njáls saga*, which we have taken as our guide in the present study (see also Susanne M. Arthur and Ludger Zeevaert in this volume, pp. 283–91).²⁰ We also included the first printed edition of the saga, published by Ólafur Ólafsson (under his Latinised name Ólafur Olavius) in Copenhagen in 1772,²¹ as well as the reprint of a few chapters (including chapter 86) which appeared in *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ* (1786), on the expectation (which proved correct) that these would be necessary to understand the manuscript tradition. The following manuscripts and fragments include neither chapters 44, 86, nor 142 so are excluded from this article:

AM 162 B α fol.
 Óssbók (AM 162 B γ fol.)
 AM 162 B β fol.²²
 AM 162 B ζ fol.
 AM 162 B ι fol.
 AM 162 B κ fol.
 AM 576 a 4to
 SÁM 33
 Þj fragm. II

Lbs fragm. 2, JS fragm. 4, AM 921 I 4to, and Þj fragm. I, all thought to derive from the same manuscript, which Arthur has dubbed the “Lost Codex,” do not include chapter 86, but were represented through the inclusion of AM 921 I 4to in our sample of chapter 142.²³

Fundamentally, our stemma is constructed through the human implementation of Lachmannian method, with the important conceptual difference that we are not seeking to identify “errors” but rather “variants,” and we are not seeking to reconstruct a putative lost archetype of *Njáls saga* but rather to map its transmission as a historical process.²⁴ We reduced our burden by first using software analysis with the programs Pars and Drawgram in the Phylip suite of phylogenetic analytical software to make a digital stemma; we then analyzed the relationships of all the manuscripts ourselves, checking Pars’s analysis. For heuristic purposes, inferable lost common ancestors of the sample texts were reconstructed, with recursive human checking as more reconstructions were completed. For the manuscripts surveyed by Einar Ólafur, our stemma largely agrees with his, verifying his work and emphasizing that small samples are not necessarily any worse than whatever (unstated) sample Einar Ólafur used, the results from which scholars have relied on since. Since chapter 86 is short, and the number of variants distinguishing different manuscripts sometimes small, it was not self-evident that it would be possible to reliably create a stemma from chapter 86 alone. At the same time, however, our research has allowed us not only to dramatically extend Einar Ólafur’s work, but in a few respects also to correct it.

Manuscripts Descended from *Gullskinna

The most striking finding of our 2013 research on chapter 86 was a large group of manuscripts which form a distinct branch of their own with no surviving medieval manuscript source. External evidence shows that these must be related to a lost medieval manuscript, *Gullskinna, most closely studied prior to the publication of this volume by Jón Þorkelsson and Már Jónsson.²⁵ By contrast with most of the (other) parchment manuscripts of *Njáls saga*, then, *Gullskinna was enormously popular: our sample found twenty-seven manuscripts descended in whole or in part from *Gullskinna; our stemma demands the reconstruction of numerous lost copies besides; and it is further believed that the fragment Þj II, which does not contain chapter 86, also descends from *Gullskinna.²⁶ Understanding how *Gullskinna circulated, and why (at least for our samples) this manuscript's version of *Njáls saga* became the dominant one in Iceland from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, therefore emerges as an important new question for understanding Icelandic scribal networks and literary culture in this period. We cannot address this in detail in this chapter: what we do here is situate our findings in relation to past work on *Njáls saga*'s stemma, discuss questions and problems that arise from the stemmatic analysis, and make some preliminary observations that can underpin future investigations.

*Gullskinna must have been closely related to the fragment AM 162 B θ fol., which was copied in the first half of the fourteenth century and is of unknown provenance, and of which no copies survive.²⁷ The fact that this fragment witnesses chapter 86 is what led us to choose that chapter as our sample. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson tentatively filiated θ as a descendant of *X, in which case the parent of *Gullskinna would also be from *X. Jón Helgason went further and found that *Gullskinna must be the niece of Reykjabók at this point, making it an independent (if innovative) witness to the lost archetype of *Njáls saga*, and our findings independently confirm this.²⁸ On the evidence of chapter 86 alone, it is difficult to filiate the common ancestor of θ and *Gullskinna, as the chapter is significantly abbreviated and quite extensively rephrased, leaving few clear bases for comparison with other manuscripts—a problem which Einar Ólafur also had with the relatively short fragment θ. For now, we have tentatively followed Einar Ólafur in making the shared ancestor of θ and *Gullskinna a descendant of *X (thus labeling it *x4); our data for chapter 142 is consistent with this, whereas the data for chapter 44, at the present point in our

analyses, looks likely to be copied from Reykjabók itself. More work is required here to be sure of *Gullskinna's filiation.

Jón Þorkelsson identified four manuscripts as deriving directly from *Gullskinna: AM 136 fol., Vigfúsarbók (AM 137 fol.), Hvammsbók (AM 470 4to, subsequently corrected by the scribe with the addition of readings from Kálfalækjarbók, AM 133 fol.), and Hofsbók (AM 134 fol.).²⁹ In chapter 86, Hofsbók is (as Jón knew) copied from Bæjarbók (AM 309 4to); the manuscript does contain eight marginal references to *Gullskinna; one does occur in chapter 86 but is not informative for the present discussion. Still, if Jón was right, then the agreement of any two of Hvammsbók, AM 136 fol., and Vigfúsarbók should be enough to confirm the reading of *Gullskinna. However, Már Jónsson provided clear evidence that Vigfúsarbók is a direct copy of AM 136 fol., and not an independent witness to *Gullskinna.³⁰ Our findings are in line with Már's. Rather than being an independent copy of *Gullskinna, Vigfúsarbók is indeed on present evidence a somewhat innovative copy of AM 136 fol.

On almost all of the seventeen occasions in chapter 86 when there is a disagreement between AM 136 fol. and Hvammsbók, Hvammsbók agrees with the much older fragment AM 162 B θ fol., suggesting that it is the more conservative representative of *Gullskinna. The exceptions to this are presented in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Innovative looking readings in Hvammsbók.

Reading	1	2	3
AM 162 B θ fol.	Mærhæfi	sem fundurinn var	og skaut spjóti í gegnum hann
AM 136 fol.	Munæffe	sem fundurinn varð	og skaut spjóti í gegnum hann
Hvammsbók	Minæfi	er fundurinn varð	og skaut spjóti í gegnum jarl

In the case of column 1, no manuscript agrees with θ, so the column is not diagnostic. (*Gullskinna was perhaps unclearly written here. We might note that Ketill Jörundarson, the scribe of Hvammsbók, never wrote the letter *y*, always preferring *i*, so his form *Minæfi* might reflect an exemplar which he believed contained an insular *y*, reading *Mynæfi*. Jón Gissursson, the scribe of AM 136 fol., might plausibly have interpreted the same letter as *v*, reproducing it as *u* in *Munæffe*.) In the case of columns 2 and 3, Hvammsbók does appear to be innovative (and in the case of giving *jarl* for *hann* could well show a misreading of an abbreviation, as the abbreviations for *hann* and *jarl* can look similar). It is thus clear that of

the manuscripts on Jón Þorkelsson's list we have only two substantial witnesses to *Gullskinna for chapter 86, of which Hvammsbók is extremely faithful, but AM 136 fol. occasionally offers a more conservative reading.

AM 136 fol. has no descendants apart from Vigfúsarbók. Since Hvammsbók is so similar to *Gullskinna, however, it is hard to judge whether other similar manuscripts are copies of *Gullskinna itself or whether they are copies of Hvammsbók. Of the other *Gullskinna-type manuscripts, there is great variation in column 1, the place-name rendered in Einar Ólafur's edition as *Mýræfi* (i.e., Moray, in northeast Scotland). All the readings listed in table 7.1 and more appear (among them *Markevi* in SÁM 137 and *Mýræfar* in Lbs 3505 4to). It seems clear that scribes often introduced new readings here, whether from misreadings, other manuscripts, memories of hearing other versions, their own geographical knowledge, or invention. The agreement of AM 162 B θ fol. and AM 136 fol. on *sem* in column 2 would suggest that this was the reading of *Gullskinna. Almost all the other *Gullskinna descendants have *er*, so this could suggest that they were copied from Hvammsbók. On the other hand, the other X-class manuscripts have *er*, so it is just as likely that AM 162 B θ fol. and AM 136 fol. independently innovated *sem* here and that *Gullskinna read *er*. This leaves only column 3 as a basis for choosing between Hvammsbók and *Gullskinna as an exemplar of other manuscripts. Both variants in this column are found. As mentioned above, the abbreviated forms of *hann* and *jarl* look quite similar, but Hvammsbók writes the word out in full (at page 147, line 23), clearly, so a copyist of that manuscript should not have had difficulty; and this manuscript was at some point not too long after its copying thoroughly corrected with reference to Kálfalækjarbók, to the extent that it would take an effort to copy it without incorporating Kálfalækjarbók readings, but none of the other *Gullskinna-type manuscripts exhibit these. This suggests that at least some of our other *Gullskinna-type manuscripts are indeed direct copies of *Gullskinna, but only a larger sample will reveal this. The additional data afforded by chapters 44 and 142 does help and is reflected in the stemma presented in this article, but more work is required, not least because these chapters lack a corresponding passage in AM 162 B θ fol.

Már Jónsson had the same problem, the main difference between his quandary and ours being that he discussed only five manuscripts which might be direct copies of *Gullskinna: AM 136 fol., Fagureyjarbók (AM 469 4to), Hvammsbók, AM 555 a 4to, and Breiðabólstaðarbók (AM 555 c 4to), whereas, including reconstructed lost manuscripts, we have identi-

fied many more. For example, Jón Þorkelsson found that the text in AM 555 a 4to “synes i alt væsentligt at stemme overens med den i Hvammsbók” [seems in all significant respects to match that in Hvammsbók], noting moreover that it was copied by the son of Ketill Jörundarson, who also copied Hvammsbók.³¹ Már Jónsson was inclined to agree, while admitting that “frávik eru hverfandi” [variation is negligible].³² Our sample does not resolve this certainly, but in column 3, AM 555 a 4to has the more conservative *hann* (at 31v line 9) instead of Hvammsbók’s *Jarl* (at page 147, line 23). This hints that AM 555 a 4to is an independent witness to *Gullskinna. Likewise, Jón Þorkelsson found that the text of Fagureyjarbók “er af Gullskinna-klassen og ligner snarest Hvammsbók” [is of the Gullskinna-class, and is most similar to Hvammsbók], but our data suggests that while Fagureyjarbók has numerous unique readings, it does not share Hvammsbók’s divergences from *Gullskinna.³³ Our small samples and concomitant attention to detail, then, have helped us to refine our understanding of possible *Gullskinna copies, but at the same time the limitations to our conclusions emphasize the constraints of small samples when handling very conservative copies. Further research into the manuscripts which we have identified as witnesses to *Gullskinna, particularly expanding the sample from passages corresponding to AM 162 B θ fol., would resolve these questions, assuming they can indeed be resolved. For now, we have assumed that *Gullskinna had many descendants, many of which seem to be direct descendants (but might, given a larger sample, resolve into parent–child or sibling relationships).

Despite their limitations, these findings already give us a valuable basis for insights into postmedieval Icelandic saga transmission. This is made more interesting again by the fact that the *Gullskinna text was subject to a high rate of correction and conflation with other manuscript versions. This suggests that seventeenth-century copyists tended to find its version deficient—though more research into the backgrounds and motivations of the scribes would be required to determine why.

- As we mentioned above, the *Gullskinna text of Hvammsbók was carefully corrected by Hvammsbók’s scribe Ketill Jörundarson with reference to Kálfalækjarbók, which Ketill seems clearly to have viewed as higher status.³⁴
- AM 465 4to, Holm. papp. 9 fol., and Lbs 1415 4to all seem in one or more samples to descend from a lost manuscript that drew on both

*Gullskinna's text and Möðruvallabók's (AM 132 fol.) and conflated them in chapter 86 at least.

- As discussed below, Vigursbók (NKS 1220 fol.) and Lbs 3505 4to both derive in chapter 86 from a manuscript which conflated a *Gullskinna text with the text in AM 396 fol. (or a close relative).

Meanwhile, even in our limited samples, many manuscripts, while not conflating exemplars, switch exemplar part way through. Perhaps most importantly for understanding the *Gullskinna tradition, Hofsbók was reckoned by Jón Þorkelsson to be an indirect copy of *Gullskinna, with marginal corrections from *Gullskinna itself and from Gráskinna (GKS 2870 4to).³⁵ Neither claim can be true for chapter 86, which is a copy of Bæjarbók, with just one marginal collation with *Gullskinna. Our sample from chapter 142, however, *is* from *Gullskinna, and shows that Hofsbók is potentially a direct copy, with just a few minor innovations. This manuscript, then, was copied from at least two exemplars, one of them of the *Gullskinna class.

Needless to say, the list of manuscripts with multiple exemplars would grow with fuller sampling: for example, Jón Þorkelsson thought that Thott 984 fol. III was a direct copy of Oddabók (AM 466 4to).³⁶ This cannot be true for our samples, which are of the *Gullskinna class, but it is perfectly possible that Jón's conclusion holds true for other parts of the manuscript. AM 464 4to was mostly copied from Kálfalækjarbók by the scholar, poet, and churchman Jón Halldórsson, but fills in lacunae in that manuscript by using the *Gullskinna-class manuscript Vigfúsarbók (and contains marginal references to other manuscripts again). Both ÍB 421 4to and KB Add 565 4to had gaps left by the scribe, Jón Magnússon, when faced with lacunae in his exemplar (Reykjabók), which were later filled in from other sources.³⁷ Indeed, a large number of manuscripts have marginal annotations containing variant readings or verses from other manuscripts.³⁸ It is clear, then, that a fuller survey of the stemma of the postmedieval manuscripts of *Njáls saga* would reveal in yet more detail a complex culture in which scribes regularly got access to multiple copies of *Njáls saga*, either concurrently or at different times, and in which it was not unusual for them to conflate different versions (see Margrét Eggertsdóttir's chapter in this volume). While recent work on scribal cultures in Iceland has made exciting use of detailed codicological data, it has tended not to integrate stemmatic approaches, and this finding helps to show how stemmatic data would enrich existing work.³⁹ A fuller survey would

also help to tease out how far these scribes were scholars working in the nascent philological tradition of Renaissance humanism (like Jón Magnússon and Jón Halldórsson) and how far the use of multiple exemplars was also characteristic of the production of reading copies for domestic consumption.

As Margrét Eggertsdóttir emphasizes in her contribution to this volume, reconstructing *Gullskinna proves important in two ways: for understanding the early transmission of *Njáls saga* and for understanding its postmedieval circulation. *Gullskinna and θ emerge as witnesses to a lost, relatively innovative, but early version of *Njáls saga*, which, on the evidence of chapter 86, tended to shorten the saga, making for a slightly brisker and less detailed narrative. Thus, in Einar Ólafur's edition (as modernized by us), which offers a good idea of how the lost archetype of *Njáls saga* must have run, the first seventy-seven words of chapter 86 are:

Síðan fór jarl suður með herinn, og var Kári í för með honum og svo Njálssynir. Þeir komu suður við Katanes. Jarl átti þessi ríki í Skotlandi: Ros og Mýræfi, Syðrilönd og Dali. Komu þar í móti þeim Skotar af þeim ríkjum og segja, að jarlar væri þaðan skammt í braut með mikinn her. Þá snýr Sigurður jarl þangað herinum og heitir þar Dungals gnípa, er fundurinn var fyrir ofan, og laust í bardaga með þeim mikinn.⁴⁰

[Afterwards, the Earl went south with the army, and Kári was on the journey with him, as well as the sons of Njáll. They arrived in the south at Caithness. The Earl owned these dominions in Scotland: Ross and Moray, Sutherland, and Argyll. Scots from these dominions came against them there and say that the earls were just a little way off, with a large force. Then Earl Sigurður turns his army that way, and the place above which the clash happened is called Duncansby Head, and a great battle took place between them.]

We can reconstruct *Gullskinna's corresponding text to have been very similar to θ here, giving this fifty-four-word opening:

Síðan fór hann suður með herinn, og var Kári þar og Njálssynir. Þeir komu við Katanes. Jarl átti þessi ríki í Skotlandi: Ros og Mýnæfi, Suðurlönd og Dali. Sigurður jarl spurði þá til jarlanna og snýr til móts við þá, og heitir þar Dungals gnípa, sem/er fundurinn varð. Sló þegar í bardaga með þeim.

[Afterwards, he went south with the army, and Kári and the sons of Njáll were there. They came to Caithness. The Earl owned these

dominions in Scotland: Ross and *Mýnæfi*, Sutherland, and Argyll. Then Earl Sigurður heard about the earls and turns to meet them, and the place where the clash happened is called Duncansby Head. They went straight into battle.]

On the whole, the version represented by *Gullskinna rewords more concisely, without losing much by way of detail. It is also a little more dramatic, pitching us into the battle scene that follows with a short, punchy statement, whereas the archetype favored a longer and slightly more considered preamble. Of course, much fuller study would be needed before drawing grand conclusions about this version as a whole. But our sample offers a counterweight to Einar Ólafur Sveinsson's conclusion that "the author of *Njáls saga* is no doubt one of the greatest masters of Icelandic prose style, of all ages, and certainly the scribes felt his excellence. Their way of treating the text seems to show more respect for it than is generally the case with our scribes in those times."⁴¹ True though this may generally have been, someone begged to differ. The lost parent of θ and *Gullskinna seems to have been an independent witness to the lost archetype of our *Njáls saga* manuscripts. It will admittedly seldom be important to reconstructing the archetype, but it has an interest of its own. It is not yet known whether the manuscript *Gullskinna was complete when the surviving copies were made, and whether it, like so many medieval manuscripts of *Njáls saga*, drew on multiple exemplars. But it is possible that further research would establish that *Gullskinna was a complete, single-redaction manuscript, which would, if so, have its own unique interest for understanding the medieval circulation of *Njáls saga*. And whatever the precise filiation of *Gullskinna, there is no question that, directly or indirectly, the manuscript is at least one of the ancestors of most of the surviving *Njáls saga* manuscripts which were copied and circulated in the seventeenth and, even more so, the eighteenth centuries. Far from being dominated by the Reykjabók and Möðruvallabók versions which tend to define the *Njáls saga* familiar to us from modern editions, the *Njáls saga* known to early modern Icelanders was overwhelmingly the rather innovative *Gullskinna version. When we study the vibrant literary responses to the saga in the poetry of eighteenth-century Icelandic *literati* like the Svarfaðardalur coterie of Magnús Einarsson (1734–94), who according to Andrew Wawn copied *Urðabók* (ÍB 270 4to) for his friend Jón bóndi Sigurðsson of *Urðir*; Magnús's friend Sveinn Sölvason (1722–82); or séra Gunnar Pálsson (1714–91), we are probably studying, at least in part, responses to the *Gullskinna recension of *Njáls saga*.⁴²

Revising the *Y Branch of the *Njáls saga* Stemma

Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, studying only vellum manuscripts, reconstructed an important branch of the *Njáls saga* tradition descending from the lost manuscript which he labeled *Y. His work regarding the relationships between Sveinsbók (GKS 2869 4to) and *Y is helpfully abetted by Bjarni Gunnar Ásgeirsson in this volume. This branch is also one of the few whose postmedieval transmission has received any detailed attention. Despite notionally surveying all the vellum manuscripts of *Njáls saga*, Einar Ólafur demurred to analyze the late vellum manuscript GKS 1003 fol., simply saying that it must “belong to the paper manuscripts of the Saga and ought to be studied with these.”⁴³ This manuscript attracted the interest of Desmond Slay and Ólafur Halldórsson, who reported on their stemmatic work relating to it without explaining their methods or giving examples.⁴⁴ They suggested that GKS 1003 fol. and two other manuscripts are descended from Oddabók. Susanne M. Arthur agreed that AM 396 fol. and Ferjubók (AM 163 d fol.) were in a parent–child relationship but equivocated as to which was actually the parent.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, AM 135 fol., a manuscript made by Ásgeir Jónsson between 1690 and 1697 in Norway for the eminent saga-scholar Þormóður Torfason (Torfæus), was viewed by Árni Magnússon as a copy of Gráskinna. Jón Þorkelsson agreed but added that parts were from another manuscript, which he did not identify.⁴⁶ Appending Slay and Ólafur Halldórsson’s stemma to Einar Ólafur’s, and integrating these other observations, we get figure 7.1.⁴⁷

We were able to refine these past findings, with interesting results, visualized in figure 7.2, which may conveniently be compared with figure 7.1.

The specific problems that inspired the investigation into chapter 142 arose from Einar Ólafur’s equivocation about the place of the parchment fragments of *Njáls saga* in this part of the stemma. He described the fragment Þj I as almost identical to Oddabók but noted that a few features in the fragment actually looked more conservative than the corresponding parts of Oddabók and asked “do these differences preclude the possibility of ÞjI being a copy of O?”⁴⁸ This implies that Einar Ólafur was tending to think of Þj I as a child of Oddabók, so in figure 7.1 we represent it as a child of Oddabók, indicating Einar Ólafur’s vagueness using a dotted line. Meanwhile, he positioned the fragment AM 921 I 4to as a sister of Oddabók.⁴⁹ Susanne M. Arthur has since shown that the parchment

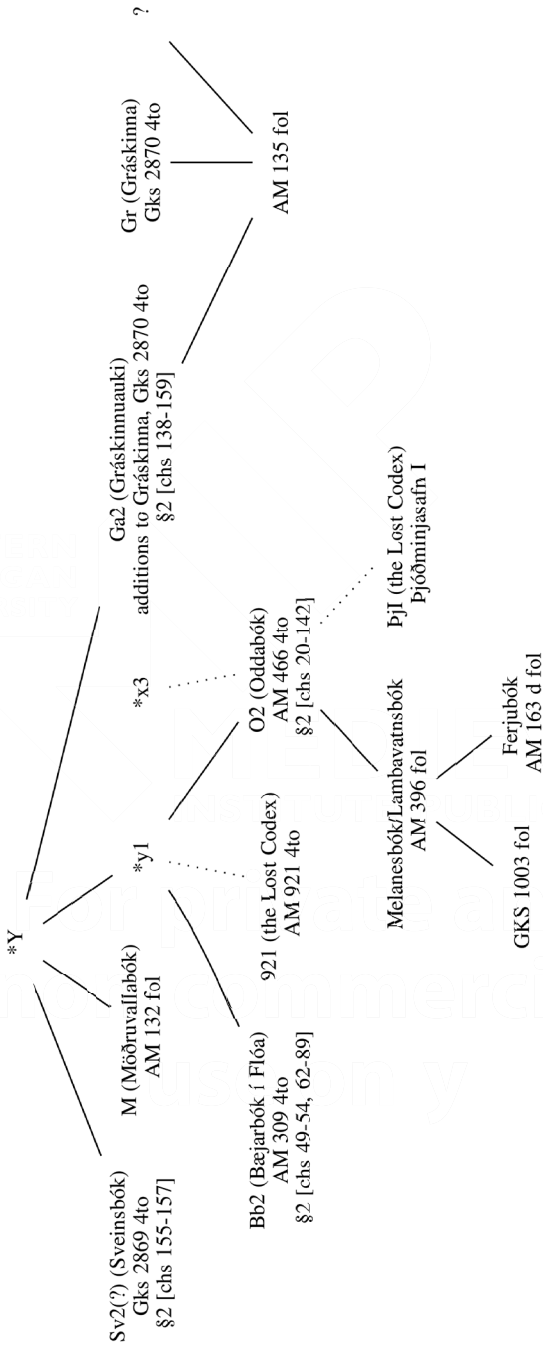


Figure 7.1 *Stand der Forschung* of the *Y branch of *Njáls saga*. Dotted lines represent manuscripts which Einar Ólafur classified (sometimes vaguely) but did not include in his dendrogram.

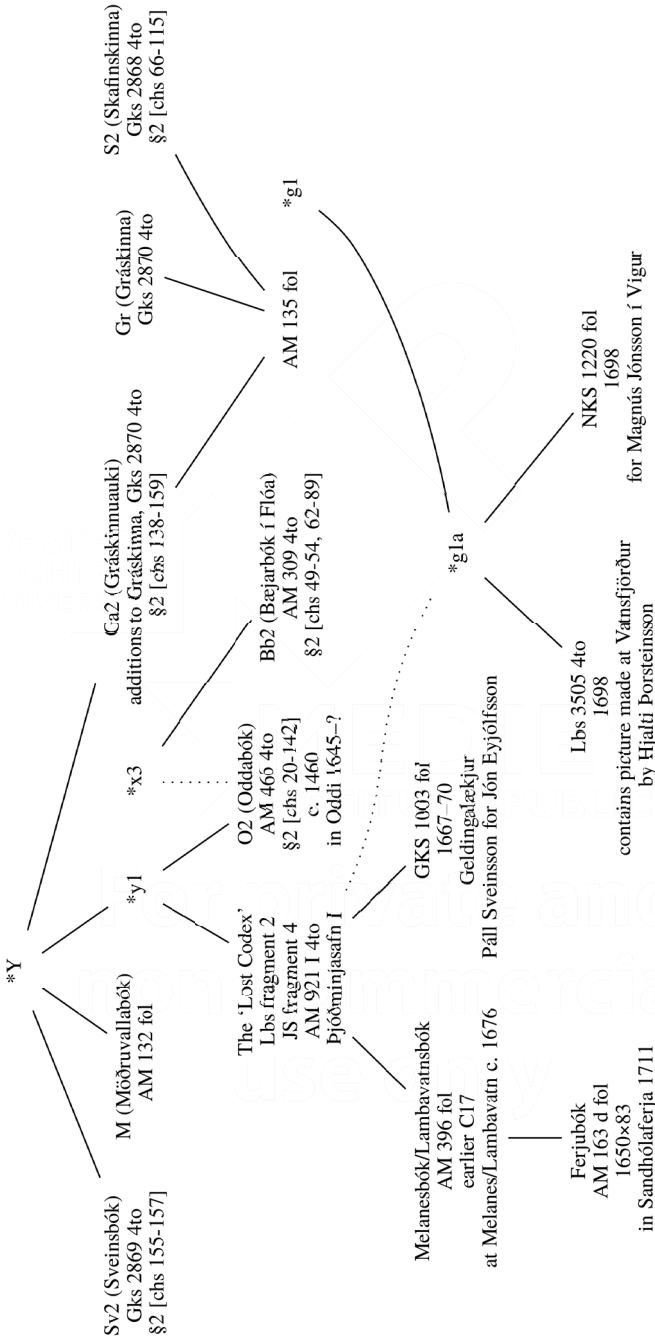


Figure 7.2 Revised stemma of Einar Ólafur's *Y branch of *Njáls saga's* stemma.

fragments Lbs fragm. 2, JS fragm. 4, AM 921 I 4to, and Þj fragm. I are actually almost certainly fragments of the same “Lost Codex.”⁵⁰ While this by no means necessitates that all the fragments have the same exemplar, it suggests that Einar Ólafur might indeed have been wrong to place AM 921 I 4to and Þj I fragm. at different points in the stemma. Moreover, our data from chapter 86, while generally consistent with Slay and Ólafur Halldórsson’s interpretation, presented a few conservative features in the supposed descendants of Oddabók which, though conceivably caused by convergent evolution, provoked the suspicion that Slay and Ólafur Halldórsson had not been quite right. We set out to test this by sampling a passage which falls in AM 921 I 4to, focusing on manuscripts which our earlier survey of chapter 86 (and other past work) had identified as being descendants of *y1.

Assessing how all these manuscripts relate on the basis of our sample is tricky, but there is no question that not only GKS 1003 fol., AM 396 fol., and Ferjubók but also AM 921 I 4to share major innovations, necessitating a revision to figure 7.1. Nor is it plausible that GKS 1003 fol. descends from AM 396 fol. A bigger sample is needed to be sure of the relationships between these manuscripts: each contains at least minor unique innovations, but it is possible that scribes successfully reverted the text back to a more conservative-looking form as they copied. The fragmentary state of AM 921 I 4to does not make assessment easier. Figure 7.2 offers a revised version of figure 7.1, presenting the most parsimonious relationship of the Lost Codex group that we can countenance. For now, we have agreed with Einar Ólafur in filiating AM 921 I 4to as a sister of Oddabók: there are a few details where its readings are more conservative than Oddabók although once again it is possible that AM 921 I 4to was copied from Oddabók but the scribe successfully corrected the text.

Meanwhile, Einar Ólafur filiated Bæjarbók chapters 49–54 and 62–89 (Bb2 in his system of sigla) as descendants of *y1. But he filiated chapters 38–42 and 118–20 of Bæjarbók (Bb1 and Bb3) as descendants of *x3 (and he did notice “some correspondences” with *x3 in chapter 82). It is clear from our data that chapter 86 was copied from *x3 rather than *y1. We must reckon on a slightly more complex relationship between Bæjarbók and its two exemplars than Einar Ólafur realized. This could be the subject of future targeted research (unfortunately, Bæjarbók does not include chapter 142).

Examining AM 135 fol., we found the second half of chapter 86 and the sample of chapter 142 indeed to be from Gráskinna (or rather, in the case of chapter 142, the postmedieval additions made to Gráskinna to fill in

lacunae, known as Gráskinnuauki).⁵¹ But we were also able to identify the exemplar for the first half of chapter 86 as Skafinskinna (GKS 2868 4to).

We can add, finally, that a text for the most part descended from *Gullskinna, which we have labeled *g1a, also incorporated readings from the Lost Codex family. This lost manuscript must have been made sometime before 1698, when our two surviving copies (Vigursbók and Lbs 3505 4to) were made. Unfortunately, our sample does not offer unequivocal evidence for which manuscript *g1a used; for the purposes of figure 7.2, we have guessed that the Lost Codex itself was the source. Whatever the precise situation, this kind of conflation is unusual and interesting. It seems to us that the most likely context for this conflation is that *g1a contained a text based on the *Gullskinna class *g1, but with later alterations from the Lost Codex or a relative, of a kind attested in, for example, Hvammsbók and Hofsbók. This then led to the surviving copies of *g1a presenting a seamlessly conflated text.

It is possible to combine these findings with the meticulous research into the history of these manuscripts by Arthur to produce a case study of the late- and postmedieval transmission of *Njáls saga*.⁵² Several of the descendants of *y1 have links with the region where *Njáls saga* itself is set. We do not know where Oddabók was originally copied, but in 1645 Þorleifur Jónsson (1619–90), a member of the powerful Svalbarð family, brought it southwards with him when he became schoolmaster at one of the preeminent churches in Iceland, Oddi, in the midst of the region where most of *Njáls saga* is set.⁵³ Þorleifur later became priest at Oddi from 1651 to his death. He must have passed the manuscript on to his son, Björn Þorleifsson (1663–1710), who was himself priest at Oddi, at first as assistant to his father, from 1687 until he became Bishop of Hólar in 1697.⁵⁴ This puts it in the same place as the likely place of copying of several of the other descendants of *y1, and it was once readily assumed that Oddabók had been their exemplar:

- In 1667–70 the wealthy if rather obscure farmer Jón Eyjólfsson of Eyvindarmúli, thirty kilometers west of Oddi, had one Páll Sveinsson copy for him two huge, beautiful, vellum folio volumes—among the very last parchments to be made in Iceland—containing, among other things, *Njáls saga*. Páll is no better-known a figure than Jón Eyjólfsson but was certainly a prolific scribe of prestigious manuscripts, associated with Geldingalækur, about fifteen kilometers north of Oddi.⁵⁵ By 1692, GKS 1002–3 fol. had come into the

hands of Björn Þorleifsson, the owner of Oddabók. Björn rebound GKS 1002–3 fol. and gave the two volumes to King Christian V of Denmark in 1692 and, at some point, gave the less imposing Oddabók to Árni Magnússon.

- Meanwhile, AM 163 d fol., now known as Ferjubók, can also be linked to the area around Oddi. It is another enormous saga collection, now dismembered and surviving as AM 110 fol., AM 163 d fol., AM 125 fol., AM 163 c fol., AM 163 a fol., AM 163 b fol., and AM 202 g II fol., produced between around 1650 and 1683. We do not know where this copy was made, but Árni Magnússon acquired it in 1711 from “Sigurð[ur] á Ferju,” also known as Sigurður Magnússon of Sandhólaferja, about twenty kilometers west of Oddi.⁵⁶
- Oddabók even has a marginal annotation in the hand of the scribe who copied the Lost Codex (AM 921 I 4to etc.) and AM 396 fol., making it easy to assume that both these sagas were copied from Oddabók. (Slay even argued that this scribe was Páll Sveinsson, the scribe of GKS 1003 fol., but Arthur has shown this to be mistaken.)⁵⁷

We have found, however, that the Lost Codex group may descend not from Oddabók but from a sibling. It is also clear that the history of this group has links not only to the region where *Njáls saga* is set, but also to the West Fjords. AM 396 fol. has been known as Melanesbók/Lambavatnsbók because it contains two sagas whose colophons place their copying at Melanes and the nearby Lambavatn in the West Fjords. The name is unhelpful for our purposes, however, as the manuscript in its present form is a 1731 compilation of earlier manuscripts of disparate origins. The *Njáls saga* portion of AM 396 fol. seems to be from the early or mid-seventeenth century. Whether AM 396 fol. was produced in the West Fjords or came there later is unclear, but a marginal annotation suggests that it was available to Jón Ólafsson when he was copying other sagas at Melanes and Lambavatn in 1676–77.⁵⁸ This, the fact that the fragments of the Lost Codex have turned up in contexts associated with northern Iceland, and other contextual hints led Arthur to venture that “it seems probable” that both the Lost Codex and AM 396 fol. were copied in north or northwest Iceland.⁵⁹ In addition, it now seems that a further copy of a Lost Codex-type manuscript was made, and that this copy conflated the text with a descendant of *Gullskinna, to create a now-lost manuscript which we have called *g1a, sometime before 1698, when our two surviving copies (Vigursbók and Lbs 3505 4to) were made. Of these two surviving

copies, we only have a clear provenance for Vigursbók, which was once part of AM 426 fol., copied in and around Vigur for the magnate and manuscript collector Magnús Jónsson (1637–1702).⁶⁰ AM 426 fol. was copied around 1670–82 and the *Njáls saga* section of that manuscript, which is now Vigursbók, was copied in 1698. AM 426 fol. famously contains three full-page illustrations by Hjalti Þorsteinsson (1665–1754); none is present in the Vigursbók *Njáls saga*. However, a corresponding illustration is preserved in Lbs 3505 4to, where it was folded to fit into the smaller manuscript. Hjalti lived and worked at various ecclesiastical institutions in Iceland as well as in Copenhagen, but from 1692 to his death lived within five kilometers of Vigur, in Vatnsfjörður. Given that a picture evidently intended for AM 426 fol. ended up in Lbs 3505 4to, the fact that Lbs 3505 4to has the same exemplar as AM 426 fol., and the fact that the manuscripts were both copied in 1698, the two must arise from a closely connected context, presumably both produced around Vigur, perhaps while *g1a was on loan there. The closest localizable relative of *g1a on the *Gullskinna side is from the West Fjords (Kall 612 4to), so it is fairly likely that the *g1a conflation was itself made in the northwest.

Reassessing the descendants of Einar Ólafur's *y1, then, the main conclusion must be that *Njáls saga* scribes were markedly busier in the seventeenth century than has been realized and that, while Oddabók went uncopied, a close relative seems to have been circulating, its descendants appearing both in *Njáls saga* country—the Rangárvellir—and in the West Fjords. It may be characteristic, moreover, that Oddabók, which survived to come into the hands of Árni Magnússon, was seldom, if ever, copied, whereas the medieval ancestor of our seventeenth-century *y1 *Njáls saga* manuscripts—a manuscript that must have been circulating for copying—is lost.

Evaluation and Conclusion

This study, in conjunction with its companion piece, represents a major step forward in our understanding of the manuscript transmission of *Njáls saga*. It largely confirms the findings of past scholarship, while making a few small corrections, and it also filiates for the first time all but six of the saga's postmedieval manuscripts. It shows that whereas current editions of *Njáls saga* are usually based primarily on Reykjabók and Möðruvallabók, the recension of the saga known to most Icelanders in the seventeenth and, overwhelmingly, in the eighteenth centuries derived from the lost

medieval manuscript *Gullskinna. It also reveals a more complex and lively textual tradition lying behind the descendants of the lost manuscript *y1. These findings were made possible by a collaborative approach to constructing a stemma through sampling, followed up by targeted research inspired by work on the initial sample. Our circa four-hundred-word sample of chapter 86 mostly proved an adequate basis for establishing a stemma, except insofar as many *Njáls saga* manuscripts switch exemplar part way through, meaning that fuller sampling was necessary to capture more such switches. Because the copying of *Njáls saga* has been very conservative, unlike with the romance-saga studied by Hall and Parsons, the four-hundred-word sample did not give us as fine-grained resolution as we might have wished. It is too seldom emphasized that all stemmas are contingent: stemmatology is inherently a probabilistic undertaking, and our stemma is no exception. Our small sample will also have increased the likelihood of mistakenly finding manuscripts to be in a parent–child relationship where fuller sampling could reveal variants showing that they are both descended from a lost common ancestor.⁶¹ However, the study has still taken our understanding of the transmission of *Njáls saga* to a new level and provided a sound basis for targeted future research.

Further research on the *Gullskinna branch of *Njáls saga* would therefore be worthwhile. At the moment we have had to filiate a large number of very similar manuscripts as direct descendants of *Gullskinna. However, larger samples would presumably reveal shared innovations which would enable us to identify some of these manuscripts as exemplars of the others. Even so, with at least three and probably more direct copies (AM 136 fol., Hvammsbók, and Hofsbók), *Gullskinna itself clearly has a special prominence in the early modern copying of Icelandic manuscripts. We do not yet know whether it was a complete or single-exemplar manuscript, but this possibility is worth exploring for the insights it may give into the medieval circulation of *Njáls saga*. Further research could also help us to guess why *Gullskinna was so popular and how long the manuscript itself remained in circulation. Particular areas for future research that we have identified are:

- studying the fragments and manuscripts not covered here;
- working out more precisely the relationships of the *Gullskinna-class manuscripts, with the internal filiations of the possible immediate descendants of *Gullskinna as a priority;

- establishing whether *Gullskinna was a complete manuscript when copied, and whether the version it contains combined multiple versions;
- checking the sources of other chapters of the possible *Gullskinna-class manuscript Thott 984 fol. III;
- exploring the precise relationship of Bæjarbók to its two exemplars;
- establishing the precise relationship of Reykjabók to its (near-) identical copies;
- checking the sources of other chapters of Hofsbók.

Perhaps the most noteworthy general observation arising from the stemmatic research in this paper is how little copied were the medieval manuscripts that survive to the present: we owe the copies of Reykjabók largely to Árni Magnússon's antiquarianism; Möðruvallabók and Bæjarbók were each copied only once (in conflation and collation with *Gullskinna) and Gráskinna and Skafinskinna only in an antiquarian copy made in Norway. It is perhaps characteristic that Oddabók itself, contrary to earlier beliefs, does not seem to have been copied. By contrast, *Gullskinna was certainly the exemplar of multiple early modern manuscripts. One starts to get the impression that medieval manuscripts that circulated for copying (and presumably reading) have not tended to survive into the present. All told, our stemma contains only sixteen manuscripts (and one reconstructed one) descended, directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, from surviving medieval manuscripts. Fuller sampling of the manuscripts will doubtless complicate this picture, but it remains striking. It is hard to know how far these patterns reflect patterns of manuscript production and how far they reflect patterns of manuscript collection and survival; either way, the opportunities, choices, and social networks of a fairly small number of powerful and mostly closely related seventeenth-century literati will have been important in determining which medieval manuscripts were mediated into wider circulation.⁶²

NOTES

¹ The research for this publication was funded by the Icelandic Research Fund (grants number: 110610-021 and 152342-053).

² Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies*, 3–4.

³ The seventeen manuscripts not discussed by Jón are: ÍB 421 4to, JS fragm.

4, Lbs 1415 4to, Lbs 222 fol, Lbs 3505 4to, Lbs 437 4to, Lbs 4855 8vo, Lbs 747 fol., Lbs fragm. 2, Landakotsbók, SÁM 33, SÁM 137, AM Acc. 50, KB Add 565 4to, Thott 1776 4to III, NB 313 4to, NB 372 4to.

⁴ Slay, “On the Origin of Two Icelandic Manuscripts”; Jón Helgason, “Introduction,” xi–xiv; Már Jónsson, “Var þar mokað af miklum usla”; Arthur, “The Devil in Disguise?”; Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*”; Bjarni Gunnar Ásgeirsson, “Njáls saga í AM 162 B ε fol.,” 38–43.

⁵ For a survey, see Hall and Parsons, “Making Stemmas with Small Samples,” section 1.1 and, on *Njáls saga* in particular, the chapters in this volume and the discussion in Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 36–38. Other particularly substantial and recent studies of saga transmission include Davíð Ólafsson, “Wordmongers”; Hufnagel, “*Sörla saga sterka*. Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga”; Lansing, “Post-Medieval Production, Dissemination and Reception of *Hrólfs saga kraka*”; Love, *The Reception of “Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks”*; and McDonald Werronen, *Popular Romance in Iceland*.

⁶ Cf. Hall and Parsons, “Making Stemmas with Small Samples,” sections 1.2, 2.1. For the open-data movement more generally, see Borgman, *Big Data, Little Data, No Data*, esp. 205–40.

⁷ Zeevaert et al., “A New Stemma of *Njáls saga*.”

⁸ On the summer school, see Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “To the Letter.” On the project, see for example Zeevaert, “Easy Tools.” On crowdsourcing see, for example, Causer and Wallace, “Building a Volunteer Community”; Kawrykow et al., “Phylo.”

⁹ Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament*; Robinson, “The History, Discoveries, and Aims of the Canterbury Tales Project.”

¹⁰ Hall and Parsons, “Making Stemmas with Small Samples,” esp. section 2.2.

¹¹ For Einar Ól. Sveinsson’s comments touching on this see *Studies*, 3–4, 15–17, 38–39.

¹² Már Jónsson, “Var þar mokað af miklum usla.” See more recently Már Jónsson, “Þetabrot Njálu og Gullskinna.”

¹³ Hall and Parsons, “Making Stemmas with Small Samples,” §30; *Brennu-Njáls saga*, edited by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, 206–8.

¹⁴ Hall and Parsons, “Making Stemmas with Small Samples,” sections 2.2, 2.5.

¹⁵ Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies*, 27–29, 38–39.

¹⁶ Már Jónsson, “Þetabrot Njálu og Gullskinna.”

¹⁷ On whose provenance see Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 229–34.

¹⁸ Zeevaert et al., “A New Stemma of *Njáls saga*.”

¹⁹ Cf. Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 79–81.

²⁰ Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 40–96.

²¹ *Sagan af Niáli Þórgeirssyni*, edited by Ólafur Olavius.

²² Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir and Zeevaert, “Við upptök Njálu,” 164.

²³ Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 57–58, 152, 224–29.

²⁴ For the method, see Trovato, *Everything you Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann’s Method*; on thinking in terms of “variants” rather than “errors” see Hall and Parsons, “Making Stemmas with Small Samples,” section 1.1.

²⁵ Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 723–30; Már Jónsson, “Var þar mokað af miklum usla.”

²⁶ Jón Helgason, “Introduction,” xiv n. 9.

²⁷ Már Jónsson, “Var þar mokað af miklum usla”; Stegmann, “Two Early Fragments of *Njáls saga*,” xvii–xx.

²⁸ Jón Helgason, “Introduction,” xii–xiii.

²⁹ Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 723–30; cf. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies*, 116 n. 1.

³⁰ Már Jónsson, “Var þar mokað af miklum usla.”

³¹ Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 740.

³² Már Jónsson, “Var þar mokað af miklum usla,” 53.

³³ Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 737.

³⁴ Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 739; Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies*, 7.

³⁵ Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 719–20.

³⁶ Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 746.

³⁷ Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 72, 289.

³⁸ Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 287–93, and in this volume.

³⁹ See references in endnote 4.

⁴⁰ *Brennu-Njáls saga*, edited by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, 206.

⁴¹ Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies*, 16.

⁴² Wawn, “Saintliness and Sorcery in Svarfaðardalur,” 10.

⁴³ Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies*, 14.

⁴⁴ Slay, “On the Origin of Two Icelandic Manuscripts,” 147–48; some examples are, however, provided by Arthur, “The Devil in Disguise?” 4–5.

⁴⁵ Arthur, “The Devil in Disguise?” 5.

⁴⁶ Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 720–21.

⁴⁷ Drawn from Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies*, esp. 171, with the addition of findings of Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 720–21, and Slay, “On the Origin of Two Icelandic Manuscripts.”

⁴⁸ Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies*, 84.

⁴⁹ Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies*, 85.

⁵⁰ Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 224–29.

⁵¹ There were a few details on which AM 135 fol. was more conservative than Gráskinnuauki (columns FI, FR, HC and HJ in the spreadsheet published by Zeevaert et al., “A New Stemma of *Njáls saga*”), but these seemed trivial enough to be explained as obvious corrections or caused by the highly formulaic language.

⁵² Arthur, “The Devil in Disguise?”; Arthur, “The Importance of Marital and Maternal Ties”; Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*.”

⁵³ Since some of the places mentioned in this section can be hard to identify on a map, it is worth noting their coordinates. Oddi: 63.777205, –20.386548; Eyvindarmúli: 63.717989, –19.84354; Geldingalækur: 63.883546, –20.261343; Sandhólaferja: 63.827289, –20.673738; Melanes: 65.446743, –23.950152; Lambavatn 65.49378, –24.092503; Vatnsfjörður: 65.960811, –22.469444; Flatey: 65.37391, –22.919583.

⁵⁴ Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 53.

⁵⁵ Lansing, “Post-Medieval Production, Dissemination and Reception of *Hrólfs saga kraka*,” 34.

⁵⁶ See Arthur, “The Importance of Marital and Maternal Ties,” 220–21, and Margrét Eggertsdóttir in this volume, pp. 206, 212, 215.

⁵⁷ Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 226.

⁵⁸ Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 63–64.

⁵⁹ Arthur, “Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls saga*,” 226–27.

⁶⁰ Jón Þorkelsson, “Om håndskrifterne,” 745; Loth, “Om håndskrifter fra Vigur,” 92–95; <https://handrit.is>.

⁶¹ Hall and Parsons, “Making Stemmas with Small Samples,” §§48–50.

⁶² Cf. Arthur, “The Importance of Marital and Maternal Ties”; Springborg, “Antiqvæ historiae leporis.”

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