## Árni Magnússon's rearrangement of paper manuscripts

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### Chapter 1

## Introduction

Árni Magnússon (1663-1730) famously assembled one of the most important collections of Old Norse-Icelandic manuscripts. His activity saved in particular medieval manuscripts from being destroyed. Besides gathering the unique material, however, he physically altered many codices that were in his collection.

With this study I wish to draw attention to Árni's custodial treatment of paper manuscripts, which he repeatedly dismembered and rearranged with parts of other manuscripts. His activity is obscured by the work of later librarians and conservators, who counteracted his efforts by rebinding and cataloguing the composite volumes based on their multiple parts. Nevertheless, Árni's extensive rearrangement activity left distinct traces in the collection.

Some effort has been made to reconstruct the original form of several paper manuscripts. Peter Springborg (1996; 2014b), Desmond Slay (1960; 1967) and Agnete Loth (1960b) have all conducted valuable research by tracing former codices and/or raising awareness of Árni's rebinding work.<sup>1</sup> However, the focus has been mostly directed towards the idea of reconstructing an original "lost codex" with little attention to the newly shaped manuscripts or the process of change itself. In order to better understand the history of these artefacts, the collection and the cultural environment which coined them, it needs to be viewed as a dynamic process.

The study shows that many manuscripts have undergone not just one, but multiple changes. It is therefore insufficient – and in some cases impossible – to reconstruct the original form of manuscripts. Instead,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For a more detailed literature overview see section 1.3 starting on page 23.

every individual shape that a manuscript has had is worth considering in its own right, as it potentially reflects conscious decisions of the owner. As such, physical manipulations can hint at changing interests, needs or attitudes towards the texts and the manuscripts that carry them.

#### 1.1 Aim of the present study

The aim of this study is to better understand Árni Magnússon's rearrangement of paper manuscripts, his working methods and his rationale. This insight will increase the knowledge about the early history of the Arnamagnæan Collection and might help understand the traces of similar practices in other collections. The main output of this study is threefold:

- A quantitative overview of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century paper manuscripts that Árni changed compositionally.
- A qualitative study of Árni's custodial interventions with regard to his working habits and rearrangement patterns.
- An evidence-based analysis of Arni's rationale behind manuscript alteration.

The detailed investigation of the manuscripts additionally results in many previously unknown details about the material history of individual artefacts for the periods before and after the time under research. Finally, a wider discussion of approaches to book and manuscript ownership over time locates Árni's activity in the historical context of the early eighteenth century.

# 1.2 Iceland and Denmark in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Iceland was a part of the Danish realm. This had been the case ever since the Norwegian crown, who had ruled over Iceland from 1262/1264 on, entered a personal union with the Danish crown in 1380. Before Iceland lost its independence in the thirteenth century, it had been self-ruling since the settlement period in the late ninth and tenth century (Gunnar Karlsson 2000, 9-14 & 100-102). During this time of independence – also called the Commonwealth Period – a general assembly known as the Althing (*alþingi*) was the highest

legal institution. The Althing was established near the end of the tenth century and had since then been held every summer at Þingvellir (Gunnar Karlsson 2000, 20-27).

In the seventeenth century, the Althing still existed but its legislative significance was fading. Instead, law-men (lögmenn, sg. lögmaður) and sheriffs (sýslumenn, sg. sýslumaður) ruled the country, and the Danish administration, lead by a governor (stiftamtmaður) and ultimately the Danish king, grew stronger until it gained absolute power (Már Jónsson 1998a, 181; Gunnar Karlsson 2000, 152-154). In 1602, King Christian IV (1588-1648) introduced mercantilism and established a trade monopoly. The monopoly gave the right of all foreign trade with Iceland to selected Danish citizens, and from 1684 onwards, the trade within Iceland was restricted to harbour districts (Jón J. Aðils 1919, esp. 67-69 & 131-133; Gísli Gunnarsson 1987, 50-51). In 1660, Denmark became a hereditary absolute monarchy, the fashionable ruling form in Europe at the time. King Frederik III (1648-1570) was first accepted as absolute ruler in Norway, and a year later, in 1662, in Iceland. Subsequently, this lead to a reorganisation of the administration in Iceland, and more and more power was given to the officials (Gunnar Karlsson 2000, 149-155).

The Iceland trade was often unstable and did not sufficiently supply the people. In cases of war or when a series of harsh winters hit Iceland, such as in the end of the seventeenth century, rural society suffered from famine and great hardship. In reaction, the royal administration appointed in 1702 a commission to investigate the living conditions in Iceland, create a land register, and subsequently put forward suggestions for economical improvement (Guðjón Friðriksson/Jón Þ. Þór 2013, 1: 255-267). Árni Magnússon, secretary to the Royal Archives and professor at the University of Copenhagen, who was a native Icelander and highly respected at the time, was made head of the commission (Eiríkur G. Guðmundsson/Ólöf Garðarsdóttir 2005, 10). Together with his close friend Páll Jónsson Vídalín (1667-1727), an Icelandic sheriff and vice-lawman, he spent most of the years 1702-1712 in Iceland working on that task (Már Jónsson 2012a, 133-136).

For Denmark as a whole, both the seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth century were characterised by war. The central enemy was the neighbouring country Sweden, to whom Denmark-Norway lost the regions Skåne, Halland and Blekinge in 1658 and Bohuslän in 1660, and never gained them back (Scocozza 1989, 220-228; Guðjón Friðriksson/Jón Þ. Þór 2013, 1: 255-267).

#### **1.2.1** Rise of Humanism and interest in manuscripts

The ongoing conflict between Denmark-Norway and Sweden over predominance in Scandinavia was not restricted to the battlefield. It also affected the academic realm, and most notably historical scholarship (Skovgaard-Petersen 1993, 114-119). In order to promote their respective nations, historiographers were employed in both countries with the task of showing the glory of their national history. Interest in Denmark's own history had already awakened in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries under the influence of Italian Humanism, but was enhanced by the rivalry with Sweden (Már Jónsson 2012a, 26-30).<sup>2</sup> At first, Icelandic vernacular sources only played a minor role. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, Iceland started to receive more attention for its manuscripts containing material on Scandinavian history (Finnur Jónsson 1918, 6-7).

The old manuscripts were considered particularly reliable sources, and they were sought after by public and private collectors in Denmark-Norway as well as Sweden (Már Jónsson 2012a, 30-31). This antiquarian interest spread north, and in Arngrímur Jónsson (1568-1648) Iceland had its first influential representative of European Humanism. Not least inspired by Arngrímur's famous writings, more Icelanders showed interest in their homeland's history. Most prominently, the bishops turned to old manuscripts and started having them copied again (Springborg 1977, 54-55). Both among the educated men in Copenhagen and the younger generation in Iceland, the medieval sources subsequently received attention for their literary value as well, which lead to a general revival of the Icelandic manuscript tradition (Jakob Benediktsson 1981, 163-164).

Peter Springborg (1977, 57-85) identifies several centres of manuscript production during the so-called "Renaissance" in Iceland in the seventeenth century. One of them was located in Hólar, where Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason (1597-1656) actively collected and commissioned manuscripts. The farmer Björn Jónsson from Skarðsá (1574-1655) was his best known scribe (Stefán Karlsson 2000, 383-403). Despite the fact that there had been a printing press in Hólar since Þorlákur's predecessor Guðbrandur Þorláksson's time (1542-1627), manuscript production flourished. The printing production of the time was mostly focused on religious texts,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Karen Skovgaard-Petersen (1993) argues on the basis of the studies of runes that the rivalry had a rather negative influence on historical studies, since it lead to reluctance to share sources and knowledge and provoked polemic publications. In her eyes, the progress in the field happened in spite of the rivalry, not because of it. Paula Henrikson (2007, 117-127), on the other hand, shows how the competing editorial activity made visible weaknesses and the implicit interpretative approaches in both traditions.

plus the number of copies produced was too small to match the demand without additional manuscripts (Springborg 1977, 57-63). A request from the other episcopal see in Skálholt to have another printing press installed there got rejected. Therefore, a second centre of manuscript production naturally formed around that prominent place of learning. In Skálholt it was the Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605-1675) who had large numbers of old manuscripts copied. One of his scribes was the extremely productive pastor Jón Erlendsson in Villingaholt (d. 1672) (Jakob Benediktsson 1981, 167; Helgi Ívarsson 2007, 162-163).

The two other centres Springborg locates are in the Westfjords and at the farm Útskálar on the Reykjavik peninsula. The activity in the south was centred on the pastor Porsteinn Björnsson (1612-1675), whereas in the Westfjords the cleric Jón Arason (1606-1673), a member of the richest and most influential families in that part of the country, played an important role for the cultural development (Springborg 1977, 71-85). In the west, the wealthy and well-educated farmer Magnús Jónsson *digri* in Vigur (1637-1702) also commissioned and partly wrote many large, richly decorated manuscripts (Jón Helgason 1955, 7-14; Jóhann Gunnar Ólafsson 1956, 119-125). Through this renewed interest in the old texts, however, many of the then extant medieval parchment manuscripts in Iceland were discarded after they had been copied, since reading the old documents and their medieval script was considered more challenging (Már Jónsson 2012a, 36).

Outside Iceland, the collecting activity grew as well, and in pace with that the production of manuscript copies. Since the language formed a barrier for non-native speakers, the interest in Icelandic manuscripts abroad was restricted to the academic environment. In the light of the Swedish-Danish conflict, politically motivated collections arose in the seventeenth century, such as the *Antikvitetskollegium* in Uppsala (later in Stockholm), which was founded in 1667. Similarly, the Danish king and officials were interested in obtaining old manuscripts for the Royal Library and Museum, and the University Library in Copenhagen held a growing number of Icelandic codices (Már Jónsson 2012a, 31-42).

#### 1.2.2 Private book and manuscript collections outside Iceland

As Humanism spread, private libraries became common in the seventeenth century all over Europe. Most libraries were owned by either the nobility or higher public officials and often not available to the public (Nielsen 1946, 55, 58-61; Birkelund 1958, 130-137). In such collections, different kinds of books could be found. The collected items often showed a broad approach to knowledge and interest throughout the fields – a trademark known from the sixteenth century. Later, more specialised collections developed. In most cases, books and manuscripts were collected primarily for their contents, while their outer form was less important. Yet, a different kind of bibliophilia also arose, mainly in France, that focused foremost on the outer characteristics of books and manuscripts (Nielsen 1946, 55-56). Among the Scandinavian countries, Sweden had the most pronounced interest in book collecting. In Denmark-Norway, although comparably smaller, personal collections were common as well. Their demand was primarily supplied by means of private book auctions, which frequently took place after 1661 (Ilsøe 2007, 9-44, esp. 10; Bruhns 2004, 38-39).

The Copenhagen professor of medicine Ole Worm (1588-1654) was a typical collector of the early seventeenth century. He not only gathered books, but was keen on all kinds of curiosities and became famous for his *Wunderkammer*, the Museum Wormianum (Schepelern 1971, 140-200). Since he was interested in runes, he tried to learn their language, which back then was considered to be basically Icelandic. Worm was therefore in close contact with important Icelanders and owned several Icelandic codices (Jakob Benediktsson 1981, 164-165; see also Jakob Benediktsson 1948, xi-xxiv). Most of Worm's manuscripts, among them the important Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol.), were after his death given to Árni Magnússon (Már Jónsson 2012a, 32-33).

A later and more specialised book collector was the Icelander Þormóður Torfason (1636-1719), better known as Torfæus. He was the Royal Danish Historiographer for Norway and lived at the estate Stangeland in Norway, where he employed for instance the scribe Ásgeir Jónsson (1657-1707) to copy manuscripts for him. Apart from paper copies, Torfæus had medieval manuscripts in his collection. Due to his position as Royal Historiographer, he was additionally able to loan and use significant codices belonging to the king and the University of Copenhagen (Már Jónsson 2012a, 49-82).

Private collections available to scholars in Copenhagen during Árni's lifetime were for instance Peder Hansen Resen's, Frederik Rostgaard's and Jens Rosenkrantz's libraries. Peder Hansen Resen (1625-1688) was professor of Ethics and later Law, and became the first mayor (*prasident*) of Copenhagen in 1672. He consciously collected the books he thought

missing in the University Library with the intention to donate them later on. This made him the first book collector in Denmark with such premisses of general benefit and knowledge promotion (Nielsen 1946, 189-193). With particular focus on juridical writing and Nordic Literature, he possessed several dozen Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts. Tragically, his whole collection was destroyed in the great fire of Copenhagen in 1728, since it had become part of the University Library by then and burned with it (Stefán Karlsson 1970b, 269-271).

Frederik Rostgaard (1671-1745), director of the Royal Archives and a friend of Arni's, had ca. 1068 manuscripts when he auctioned off his library in 1726 (Ilsøe 2007, 108-110; Overgaard 1996, 227). Rostgaard was interested in library classification and proposed a new cataloguing method that was both ordered thematically and reflected the format and thus the position of a book in the library (Larsen 1970, 30-34). The Danish administrator (Etatsråd) Jens Rosenkrantz (1640-1695) owned an extensive collection of both manuscripts and printed books, which he generously made available to contemporary scholars. By the time the collection was sold after his death, it was the largest collection of printed books ever being sold in Copenhagen up to that point. His manuscripts are also estimated to have been of a substantial number - comparable to Rostgaard's collection, if not larger (Overgaard 1996, 227; Birkelund 1958, 133). Árni was in close contact with all three collectors. They regularly exchanged books and manuscripts, and he bought a number of codices from both Rostgaard's and Rosenkrantz's collections when their libraries were offered for sale (Overgaard 1996, 277-279).

The Royal Antiquarian Thomas Bartholin the younger (1659-1690) similarly owned a relevant library of mostly printed books. Since Árni worked for Bartholin for some years, he had access to his employer's library.<sup>3</sup> It held at least 2500 books with important works of international scholarship among them (Már Jónsson 2012a, 71).<sup>4</sup> Finally, Árni Magnússon himself collected an impressive – and soon famous – library of both printed books and manuscripts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>For Árni's biography see section 1.2.3 starting on page 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Bartholin's library contained for instance works of Angelo Poliziano who, among others, expresses ideas about manuscript studies that later became a central part of textual criticism (Már Jónsson 2012a, 68 & 71; Maas 1967). See also section 5.3.3 on page 244.

#### 1.2.3 Árni Magnússon and his collection

Årni Magnússon was born in November 1663 as the third child of the pastor Magnús Jónsson (d. 1684) and his wife Guðrún Ketilsdóttir at Kvennabrekka in Dalasýsla. He grew up in Hvammur with his maternal grandfather Ketill Jörundsson (1603-1670) who was among the most well-educated men in Iceland at the time. Pastor Ketill, who had been teacher and rector at the cathedral school in Skálholt, taught Árni early on to read both Icelandic and Latin (Már Jónsson 1998a, 19-21; 2012, 54). When his grandfather died in 1670, the seven-year-old was further educated by his uncle Páll Ketilsson (1644-1720). In 1680, he started at the school in Skálholt, and only three years later he travelled to Denmark in order to study theology at the University of Copenhagen (Páll Eggert Ólason 1948-1952, 1: 62).

In Copenhagen Árni soon became the assistant of the Royal Antiquarian Thomas Bartholin the younger. His task was to enhance Bartholin's editions of medieval Icelandic and Danish texts by means of translations and commentaries (Már Jónsson 2012a, 49-58). Already in his youth Árni had come in close contact with manuscripts, since his grandfather was an active scribe.<sup>5</sup> During the time with Bartholin, his interest grew and he started both to transcribe and collect Icelandic manuscripts – the beginning of a lifelong dedication to manuscripts and charters from or about Iceland and Scandinavia (Finnur Jónsson 1930, 9-13). At the age of 30, Árni expressed the aim of owning every scrap of medieval parchment to be had in Iceland, and by his death, his collection of Icelandic medieval manuscripts was the largest in the world (Már Jónsson 2012a, 9 & 102-103; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2016, 12).

In 1685 Årni went back to Iceland and thought it would be his last visit. By that time, he had received his theological degree and his father had died. So when he went home for the division of inheritance, he also wanted to take leave of family and friends, since he was planning on a life in Denmark. Once in Iceland, he was additionally supposed to collect rare manuscripts for Bartholin, who had recently convinced the king to issue a decree to ensure that Icelanders only sold manuscripts to Denmark (Már Jónsson 2012a, 61-64). Since the last ship of the year 1685, with which Árni had intended to return to Copenhagen, sank in the harbour, he was forced to stay for the winter. He used the time for his own purposes, acquiring and copying the manuscripts that formed the foundation of his

 $<sup>^5</sup>A$  considerable number of manuscripts in his hand are preserved, among others AM 554 h  $\beta$  4to and AM 554 i 4to. For the former see also page 166.

collection (Bekker-Nielsen/Widding 1963, 14).

Back in Copenhagen, Árni remained in Bartholin's service until the Royal Antiquarian died in 1690, aged only 31. During that time he met Torfæus, who became one of Árni's good friends and collaborators (Már Jónsson 2012a, 81-82). They shared the passion for old documents and texts from their homeland, and after Torfæus's death, Árni acquired his collection of manuscripts (Finnur Jónsson 1930, I.1: 147).<sup>6</sup>

Matthias Moth (1649-1719), first secretary of the Danish Chancery (Danske kancelli), became Árni's new patron. He did not solve Árni's immediate worries for a paid position, but was involved in sending him to Germany (Bekker-Nielsen/Widding 1963, 18). In 1694, Arni travelled to Stettin on behalf of the University of Copenhagen in order to arrange a donation of manuscripts. The negotiations were unsuccessful, but once in Germany, Arni travelled on to, among others, Berlin and Leipzig. He stayed for two and a half years and visited many libraries and collections (Már Jónsson 1998a, 115-131). During his time abroad, Moth arranged for him to receive a letter of expectation to become professor at the University of Copenhagen. Back in Denmark, he was also made secretary to the Royal Archives. Although this position was still unpaid, Arni's collection kept growing, as he did not hesitate to spend money and effort on expanding it. In 1700 and 1701, respectively, he finally received a salary for his work at the archives and became professor "Historiæ et Antiquitatum Danicarum" at the University of Copenhagen (Már Jónsson 2012a, 130-131).

In 1702, Årni was sent to Iceland again as the head of the Royal Commission to investigate conditions in Iceland. This work was first meant to take a year and a half but turned out to be much more time-consuming. Staying in Iceland for the next ten years and visiting many farms, he knew how to use his opportunities to acquire and copy a substantial amount of manuscripts (Bekker-Nielsen/Widding 1963, 23-24). His stay in Iceland was interrupted twice, once in the winter 1705-1706 in order to report on his mission and its delays, and once in 1708-1709. The second time in Copenhagen he settled legal disputes and got married to the widow Mette Jensdatter Fischer, who was several years his senior (Már Jónsson 1998a, 254-262; Westergård-Nielsen 1966, 17-18). Subsequently, he was financially well-situated and did not have to worry about supporting his expensive lifestyle any more. Back in Denmark for good, he devoted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>In 1720, Árni bought the manuscripts that were still in Torfæus's collection after his friend had died the previous year. However, Árni also received some manuscripts from Torfæus as gifts while he was still alive.

most of his time to his studies and the collection. He tracked down and acquired more manuscripts and had others copied for him (Már Jónsson 2012a, 169 & 188-199). In 1721 Árni was appointed second Librarian at the University Library. The same year, he was made professor of History and Geography on top of his other position as professor (Finnur Jónsson 1930, I.1: 101).

Árni constantly employed at least one or two assistants, who were usually Icelandic students. They copied many manuscript for him, but also assisted him in other tasks related to the manuscript collection (Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík 2013a, 26-27 & 86-87). Additionally, Árni ordered scribes to copy manuscripts and old documents for him, for instance his brother Jón Magnússon (1662-1738) and Eyjólfur Björnsson (1666-1746) (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2001, 96; Bekker-Nielsen/Widding 1963, 27-28).<sup>7</sup>

Árni's last and very devoted assistant was Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík (1705-1779). He was born at Staður in Grunnavík in the north-west of Iceland as the first son to the pastor there, Ólafur Jónsson (1672-1707). From the age of seven on, Jón had been fostered by Páll Vídalín and later became his scribe (Jón Helgason 1926, 3-9). When Árni was looking for a well-trained scribe in the 1720s, he asked for Jón Ólafsson to come to Copenhagen and work for him, which the latter did in 1726 (Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir 2001, 129). Even after Árni's death, Jón kept working with the collection and compiled the first complete catalogue (Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík 2013b, ix).<sup>8</sup>

In October 1728, Copenhagen was hit by a great fire, which had devastating effects for both the city and many collections. At first, Árni hesitated to evacuate his books and manuscripts. Since he started too late, parts of his collection burned down together with a large section of Copenhagen, including the University Library. It can be assumed that most of Árni's parchment manuscripts were salvaged, but a considerable number of his paper codices and many copies of legal documents and printed books were lost – as were most of his notes. Árni probably never fully recovered from this shock and died in sickbed on 7 January 1730 (Már Jónsson 2012a, 203-209; 1998, 333-339). He bequeathed his collection to the University of Copenhagen, where the remaining printed books were integrated into the general collection. The manuscripts stayed in a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>There is, to my knowledge, no comprehensive list of scribes and assistants who worked for Árni during his lifetime. Instead, reference is made of individual scribes in various publications, such as by Már Jónsson (2012a; 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>For Jón Ólafsson's handwritten catalogue see also section 1.5.1 starting on page 28.

separate collection, which is today jointly housed by the Arnamagnæan Institute (*Den Arnamagnæanske Samling*) in Copenhagen and the Árni Magnússon Institute (*Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum*) in Reykjavík (Bekker-Nielsen/Widding 1963, 53-61).

#### **1.3** Previous research

It has been known to scholarship for a long time that Árni Magnússon manipulated manuscripts, and decent research has been conducted on the origins of many artefacts. Particularly where the dismemberment traces are obvious and formerly adjacent parts easy to identify, scholars have naturally noted and described them. Already in the late nineteenth century, Kristian Kålund outlined several former codices in his printed catalogue (1889-1894) and his edition of AM 435 a-b 4to (1909).<sup>9</sup>

In the context of scholarly editions, many manuscripts have been subject to a thorough analysis and their provenance and origin has been described. Such introductions often mention rearranged manuscripts, but the level of detail and investigation varies considerably.<sup>10</sup> Scholars who trace former Icelandic codices in their own right include Desmond Slay (1960; 1967) and Agnete Loth (1960). Jón Samsonarson (1967) has similarly published on that topic. However, these publications aim at the recreation and description of the first form of the manuscripts and pay little attention to the changes Árni made.<sup>11</sup>

Peter Springborg (1969; 1996; 2014a; 2014b) takes a more nuanced approach to Árni's rearranged manuscripts. He investigates some former codices as well as the (re-)binding activities and is interested in Árni's overall approach to his collection. Springborg (1996, 20) agrees with the common interpretation that Árni was a passionate collector who had great interest in ordering his material, but adds that he also aimed at preserving it for posterity. Despite the attention rearranged manuscripts have attracted – and not least Springborg's studies – a systematic overview of Árni's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>In the edition of AM 435 a-b 4to, most of the identifications of the parts stem from the scholar Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1827-1889) (Kålund 1909, vii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Detailed descriptions of manuscripts and their former shape are found, for instance, in the editions of *Byskupa sögur* (Jón Helgason 1938), *Eiríks saga víðförla* (Jensen 1983) and *Jóns saga Hólabyskups ens helga* (Foote 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The given examples are on paper manuscripts only. Studies on dismembered parchment manuscripts are conducted e.g. on Hauksbók, AM 371 4to, AM 544 4to and AM 675 4to, (see Rowe (2008) and further references therein). A recent contribution on parchment manuscripts containing *Íslendingasögur*, with focus on *Njáls saga*, is provided by Emily Lethbridge (2014). For fragmented parchment manuscripts see e.g. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2016).

activity and a general description of his working methods and rationale are still wanting.<sup>12</sup>

Physical alteration of manuscripts in other northern European collections have been studied to some degree. Similar to the case of the Arnamagnæan manuscripts, existing research often focusses on the original shape of individual manuscripts or on the reconstruction of a collection at a certain time.<sup>13</sup> Less frequently, the development of a collection and its manuscripts is traced over several periods and analysed for the underlying patterns. A project that does consider material change over time is the study on the Soeterbeeck collection in the Netherlands, which Johan Oostermann (2011) describes. The aim of that project is to analyse diachronic developments of books and correlate them synchronically to each other in order to make visible different stages of the collection and their causes. Erik Petersen (1988) also studies changes of a collection over time, trying to outline its history. He traces the books and manuscripts of Johann Albert Fabricius (1668- 1736) and follows the destiny of that collection after Fabricius's death.

In Anglo-Saxon studies, the history of collections and the practices of earlier collectors have attracted some attention. Rearrangement of early printed books and manuscripts during the sixteenth and seventeenth century has in that context been taken up several times. Recent studies on, for instance, the libraries of Sir Robert Cotton (ca. 1570-1631) and the archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575) are presented by Jennifer Summit (2008) and Jeffrey Todd Knight (2013). The latter describes the collecting activity at the time as embedded in a culture, in which it was normal to personalise books:<sup>14</sup>

The readers and writers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries did not simply think of their books as aggregations of text; they physically aggregated, resituated, and customized them. Out of necessity and desire, they assembled volumes into unique configurations and built new works out of old ones. (Knight 2013, 8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>More detailed and targeted literature reviews are provided at the beginning of chapter 3, starting on page 125, and chapter 5, starting on page 209.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Examples are Freckmann (2006), Jefcoate/Weber (2011).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>On the applicability of this description for Árni's time and area and for a description of the historical context see chapter 6 starting on page 255.

#### 1.4 Theoretical background and central concepts

The theoretical background for my study is based on a combination of concepts.

The overall approach towards manuscript studies follows the ideas of Material Philology. Material (or New) Philology formed in the late twentieth century and was publicly launched in 1990 with a special issue of Speculum, edited by the Romance philologist Stephen G. Nichols (1990). Taking its inspiration from, among others, Bernard Cerquiglini's (1989, 111) statement "Or l'écriture médiévale ne produit pas des variantes, elle est variance" ("medieval writing does not produce variants, it is variance"), Material Philology understands the instability of chirographically transmitted texts as a crucial feature. It therefore considers each surviving manuscript as potentially equal (Bein 2008, 90-92; Haugen 2007, 92). The key principles are based on the axiom that no text can exist independently from material support (Nichols 1997, 10-11). The physical form is furthermore influenced by the social, intellectual, economical and cultural background of the people involved in its production, as well as its consumption, storage and handling over time. Stressing the uniqueness of each manuscript copy – the individual artefact – the approach has also been rephrased as Artefactual Philology (Driscoll 2010, 90-95). With respect to the communicative character of written texts, Anne Mette Hansen (2012, 8) adds:

Texts are the products of communication between human beings. Since all communication situations are distinct from one another, all texts are distinct from one another too, and every text should therefore be studied and edited in its own right by the textual scholar.

The New Philological approach offers an alternative to the principles of *Textual Criticism* associated with Traditional (or *Old*) Philology, which has been the leading editorial theory for centuries.<sup>15</sup> Textual Criticism mainly aims at reconstructing the earliest recoverable form of a text by examining and comparing the surviving manuscripts in several steps. One of the steps establishes the relationship of the manuscripts to each other in a genealogical stemma, the *stemma codicum* (Driscoll 2010, 88-90; Kon-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>I use the term *Textual Criticism* in its narrower sense, which is common in the Germanic tradition, instead of the broader sense which is often used in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. For the differences between the two traditions see e.g. Kondrup (2011, 15-82).

drup 2011, 48-54).<sup>16</sup>

Another theoretical point of departure for this study is *Sociology of Texts* as formulated by D. F. McKenzie (1999), first described in his Panizzi Lectures from 1985. His approach to books as a record of cultural change, which can be derived from the physical evidence of their trans-mission, production and reception, has a lot in common with Material/Artefactual Philology and can indeed be seen as one of its predecessors (Driscoll 2010, 91-92). Some years before Nichols, McKenzie (1999, 13) has argued that "forms effect meaning" and stresses the impact of the social context for textual transmission. Similarly, Jerome McGann (1983; 1988, 85-89) suggests a more sociological approach to literary works. He points out that texts are social processes rather than isolated personal products and states slightly differently that the context affects the meaning of a text. Applying the theories of Sociology of Texts to manuscript manipulation, deliberate changes like Árni's create new meanings, but also reflect different interpretations of texts.

The present study also builds on recent developments within the field of *Codicology*, the study of (manuscript) books. One of its branches is *Material Codicology*, which "is concerned with the manuscript book as a material object and a craftsman's product" (Gumbert 2004b, 507). Through examination of the different components of a manuscript and features caused by possible later handling, codicologists aim to understand and describe the production and treatment of handwritten books (Gumbert 2004b, 509-520). In the last decades of the twentieth century, Ezio Ornato (1997) and his colleagues established quantitative methods to describe and compare codices. Ornato's work was first introduced and applied to Old Norse Studies by Már Jónsson (2003; 2012). Even though *Quantitative Codicology* can be exercised in its own right, it is frequently applied to confirm or expand findings from analyes with non-quantitative methods.

The codicologist J. Peter Gumbert has presented a terminology for the description of composite manuscripts. He calls the basic unit of codices a *codicological unit* (CU) and defines it as "a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation (unless it is an enriched, enlarged or extended unit), containing a complete text or set of texts (unless it is an unfinished, defective or dependent unit" (Gumbert 2004a, 40).<sup>17</sup> Gumbert

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Paul Maas (1967) gives a detailed description of the text critical method and its different steps. For a general overview of textual scholarship see e.g. D. C. Greetham (1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>There have been multiple approaches and activities towards forming a coherent terminology, not least individual ones for different languages. In the German tradition, for example, the term "Faszikel" denotes

additionally suggests terms for different types of CUs, which allow one to accurately refer to them or their constituent parts based on context and development.

Lena Rohrbach (2010; 2014) highlights the three-dimensionality of manuscripts. She contrasts the material aspects of such artefacts with the two-dimensional qualities of script:

Unter dem Begriff der Dreidimensionalität soll neben der rein haptisch erfahrbaren Räumlichkeit des Objektes Codex vor allem die über die einzelne Seite hinausgehende Verknüpfung des Codex oder eines Teils desselben erfasst werden.

(Under the concept of three-dimensionality, alongside the experience of the spatiality of the object Codex in a purely haptic sense, one should understand in particular the internal linking of a codex, or a part thereof, above and beyond that which applies across individual page boundaries.) (Rohrbach 2010, 120; translation by Philip Lavender)

In addition to the three-dimensional aspects of codices that were established during the original production, physically altered manuscripts frequently contain further material links and connections that were introduced later.<sup>18</sup> Identification of such later changes can help decode the inner logic of altered manuscripts and thus point at possible reasons for the manipulation. Taking it even further, one could potentially add a fourth dimension: the material connection between manuscripts. Such a link exists, for instance, between artefacts that contain parts of the same original codex.

#### 1.5 Methodology

The methodological approach to the present study can be divided into three steps: (1) an overview of relevant manuscripts is established; (2) a corpus is selected and analysed in detail; (3) the results are presented in a structured way, enabling a discussion of Árni's rearrangement activity. The steps are only partially consecutive insofar as earlier steps can be updated based on relevant results from later steps.

a similar concept (see e.g. Schneider (2014, 178-180) and the references therein.) Gumbert (2010) himself, however, uses "kodikologische Einheit" as the German translation for his concept.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Rohrbach (2014a, 11-12) mentions three-dimensionally connecting elements such as indices and paratextual apparatuses. In the manuscripts Árni altered, he frequently added indices, rubrics or title pages. I also consider haptic properties, such as added bifolia and binding properties, important three-dimensional links.

#### 1.5.1 Overview based on secondary sources

The first step sets a scope for the study and identifies relevant manuscripts. Even though Árni Magnússon altered medieval manuscripts as well as post-medieval manuscripts, the study is limited to the younger objects. More precisely, only paper manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan Collection from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are considered, among which rearrangement is thought to be more frequent. For manuscripts from this time period also rather detailed provenance information exists, which enables the study to take that factor into consideration for possible rearrangement reasons. Finally, younger manuscripts have a lower probability of having been repeatedly changed or fragmented in earlier centuries. Árni's treatment is expected to be more easily identified in manuscripts with shorter histories prior to entering his collection.

The study focusses on manuscripts Árni altered himself or had altered with the prospect of remaining part of the collection. Furthermore, only manuscripts that have been changed according to text boundaries are examined. Collections of excerpts, fragments and other short documents like charters and letters – unless they were at one point together with longer works – are not taken into consideration.<sup>19</sup> It is not sensible to narrow down the scope further to manuscripts from Árni's life span, since many items in the collection are only roughly dated, such as to the seventeenth century. The earliest manuscripts included are therefore dated to 1601 (or the beginning of the seventeenth century), and the latest ones are written in 1729 (or the beginning of the eighteenth century). This time frame assumes that Árni did not conduct any relevant activity during the sickness right before his death in the first days of 1730. For identification of relevant manuscripts, the dates given by Kristian Kålund (1889-1894) apply.

An overview is created of all manuscripts that fall within the time frame and show evidence of relevant physical change ("Manuscript overview").<sup>20</sup> Information is mainly extracted from secondary sources such as the printed catalogue (Kålund 1889-1894), the online catalogue Handrit.is (2009-), scholarly editions like the volumes of Editiones Arnamagnæanæ and various articles from the major journals of the field. In addition,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Collections consisting of mostly short texts or excerpts can be compared to commonplace books or to some degree miscellanies and potentially reflect a different phenomenon. For a first overview of commonplace books see e.g. Burke (2013); for an introduction to the term and concept of miscellanies see e.g. Eckhardt/Smith (2014).

 $<sup>^{20}{\</sup>rm The}$  manuscript overview is available in section E in the appendix as well as online at www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.

20.21 422 1 Jonis Clavis a 18 4750.

Figure 1.1: Fols. 1v-2r of Jón Ólafsson's handwritten catalogue AM 456 fol. Photo: Suzanne Reitz.

Årni's own records of some of his manuscripts in AM 435 b 4to as well as his collections of notes (e.g. AM 452 fol., AM 909 c 4to, AM 209 8vo and AM 226 a 8vo) are considered. Although desirable, it is impossible within the limitations of the present study to consult all of the circa 1700 manuscripts that fall within the time frame of the study. Indications of manuscript alteration that have not been described in the consulted secondary sources therefore remain unnoticed.

The overview records changes with the physical form of manuscripts in 1730 as its main reference point. Since the present form of the artefacts frequently differs from how they were left behind by Árni, this distinction is crucial for the description of Árni's work. In the absence of an authorised complete catalogue by him, this form is derived from his assistant Jón Ólafsson's catalogue.<sup>21</sup> The original handwritten catalogue is preserved as AM 456 fol. (Figure 1.1), and two more copies in the hand

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>For a list of early catalogues see section A.1 on page 295.

of Jón Ólafsson have survived. At least eight additional copies by other scribes can be identified (Ólöf Benediktsdóttir 2004, 57-58). The original was prepared in the summer and autumn of 1730, a few months after Árni had passed away (Jón Helgason 1926, 46-47; Finnur Jónsson 1930, I.2: 193-194). The two copies by Jón, AM 384 fol. and Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 1046 fol., are from 1730 and 1731, respectively. Another important copy, AM 477 fol., was produced approximately one year after the catalogue was written and became the much used library copy for the collection (Ólöf Benediktsdóttir 2004, 57). It is, however, in a different hand.<sup>22</sup>

Jón Ólafsson's catalogue is a highly reliable source for the description of individual manuscripts and their contents in 1730. Jón's work carefully lists the texts contained by all artefacts, frequently gives the scribes and/or the script types employed, sometimes gives the number of pages, and somewhat frequently mentions binding forms. Spot checks have confirmed the correctness of these details and show that, where available, Jón truthfully copied the list of items from a table of contents or other indications of titles Árni left with the manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> Only in cases of formerly unbound or otherwise less stable manuscript aggregations, the texts contained are occasionally found to be listed in a different order than expected.<sup>24</sup> Instead of unreliable recording, however, these differences hint at inevitable minor changes in the primary material that was in continued usage after Árni's death.

The order of manuscripts in the handwritten catalogue, on the contrary, is of no value for the present study. As Ólöf Benediktsdóttir (2004, 55-59) convincingly argues, Jón catalogued the books and manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan Collection according to his own adjusted system, which borrowed from catalogues he knew. The books had additionally been moved from Árni's last domicile to the home of the pastor Peter Lauritsen Hunderup (1687-1733) in Vingårdstræde and must have got out of order before Jón catalogued them (Jón Helgason 1926, 46-47; Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík 2005, 32). Hence, even though Jón, having been

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$ Jón Helgason (presumably) made a note in his office copy of Kålund's catalogue (1889-1894, 1: 333) available at the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen, correcting the name of the scribe from Jón Ólafsson to a certain Jón Þorkelsson without further reference.

 $<sup>^{23}\</sup>text{Examples}$  are AM 9 fol., AM 375 4to, AM 34 8vo, and the table of contents for NUMBER 585 in 4to which is preserved in AM 585 a 4to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>An example of texts listed in a different order in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue is NUMBER 384 IN 4to. This entry, however, also mentions that the texts were unbound. Mariane Overgaard (1979, 273) mentions a similar change of order in the description of AM 124 8vo, but finds that one item was listed twice. She concludes that this might be due to Jón Ólafsson copying by heart. On the other hand, there could have been a second copy in this collection, which is now missing.

trained by Årni, could be expected to have tried to reshape an order that was in accordance with Árni's approaches, at least the details of his order must be different. Jón Ólafsson's catalogue is thus only made use of for the description of the individual manuscripts at the time, but not their arrangement on the shelves.

To distinguish the different manuscript shapes over time and to increase comparability, this study operates with a total of four time periods (t=time): t0, t1, t2 and t3. The period t0 stands for the current form of the manuscripts, and the other periods count backwards in time. Period t1 signifies the physical form and composition of manuscripts that was recorded in 1730 by Jón Ólafsson, and t2 relates the objets' shape right before they came into Árni's collection and until he changed them. Period t3 is an optional category for codices that are known to have had another compositional shape prior to t2.<sup>25</sup>

The manuscript overview created in the first step is organised in six columns, four of which relate to the time periods, while two supply additional information on the manuscripts. In the first column, *Shelfmark* (t0), the overview records the relevant current manuscripts by shelfmark. For this study, a manuscript is defined according to its outermost physical boundaries, such as the storage container that is separately placed on a shelf. A manuscript may therefore consist of different parts that can be moved individually from each other, as long as they are stored as one unit, for instance in a box or a bundle.<sup>26</sup>

In the second column, *Alteration status*, the overview notes how the individual manuscripts have been changed, distinguishing between the following three types:

- *Dismembered*: A manuscript that used to be part of a larger codex.
- Aggregated: A manuscript that comprises several CUs of different origin.<sup>27</sup>
- *Rearranged*: A manuscript that comprises of several CUs, at least one of which was previously dismembered by the same person.

This status can be extended with the information that the action was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>A brief summary of the time periods is found in section A.1 in the appendix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>In order to enhance the readability of the list, the multiple parts of some manuscripts are given on several rows with a note about common storage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Following Harold H. Love (2001, 13; esp. footnote 34) the newly combined manuscript parts in Árni's collection formed *aggregations* rather than *compilations*. In order to employ consistent terminology, I thus use "aggregated" and other related forms of that verb for the description of such manuscripts.

clearly taken by Arni (or on his behalf) or that changes occurred before his acquisition.

The next column, 1730 (t1), holds information about the arrangement and storage right after Árni's death. For manuscripts that have been studied in detail, this column points to the list "Relevant manuscripts in 1730 (t1)", which contains detailed information.<sup>28</sup> For other manuscripts brief mention is made of their composition and differences compared to their current state.

In the fourth column, *Before Árni (t2)*, the composition of the manuscript at the time when it came into Árni's collection (or prior to him conducting changes) is referenced. Wherever different and known, an even earlier shape is recorded in the fifth column, *Earlier if different (t3)*. Both the fourth and fifth column specify which parts have at one point formed a unit by referring to the "List of former codices (t2-t3)", which contains more detailed information.<sup>29</sup> Finally, the *Contents* of the manuscripts are listed in the last column. This information is given in order to facilitate the use of the overview. If a manuscript consists of multiple parts, this column also identifies the subdivisions.

Due to the method chosen, the manuscript overview mainly reflects indications found in the major secondary literature. It is by no means an exhaustive list, and the described manuscripts frequently need further investigation in order to make definite statements. Since consulting all manuscripts which are described contradictorily or insufficiently in the used sources is not feasible, only a smaller sample can be examined in detail (Step 2). The overview entries of such manuscripts is updated according to the research results. In order to mark preliminary statements, they are indicated in the manuscript overview by means of a question mark. In the list of former codices, a note is provided where further research is needed.

#### 1.5.2 Analysis of primary sources

The second step of the study forms the codicological analysis of primary sources. From the manuscript overview that was created in the first step, a subset of 114 manuscripts are chosen to form the corpus of the study

 $<sup>^{28}\</sup>mbox{The}$  list of relevant manuscripts in t1 is found in section C in the appendix as well as online at www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$ The list of former manuscripts (t2 and t3) is found in section D in the appendix as well as online at www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.

and thus be subject to detailed investigation.<sup>30</sup> Based on the available information, manuscripts that seem especially relevant to the study are selected. In other words, focus is placed on manuscripts that were certainly changed by Árni or at his instigation and that have not received much scholarly attention. At the same time, the results should not be distorted due to overly one-sided source material. As there might be various reasons for the custodial treatment under study, the corpus manuscripts are selected to cover a wide range of possible aspects. Based on *a priori* considerations, the following four criteria are taken into account.

- *Contents*: Since the contents of the manuscripts might be a factor for Árni's rearrangement, the sample contains manuscripts of varying texts and genres. The criterion of diverse contents also precludes working according to the order of shelfmarks, as Jón Ólafsson's catalogue, on the numbers of which the current shelfmarks are based, is partly organised by contents.
- *Size*: Since the approach to manuscripts might differ based on their format, manuscripts in folio-, quarto-, octavo- as well as duodecimo-format are considered. Additionally, the original thickness of a co-dex could be relevant, which is why an effort was made to include manuscripts that formed parts of codices with varying numbers of leaves when they came into Árni's possession.
- *Provenance*: Since the authority of the person who wrote or owned a manuscript might have had an impact, objects from different origins and with varying transmission histories are examined. The country in which the manuscript was produced and its language could be a factor in this respect as well. However, as most of the manuscripts that fall within the scope of the study mainly concern Iceland, the latter characteristics cannot be made a main factor of variation, but are considered as far as possible.
- *Acquisition*: Since there might be a difference depending on how the manuscript was acquired, the corpus covers borrowed, bought and given manuscripts.

The selected manuscripts are studied with the main focus on their physical properties and history. That means they are subject to codicological

 $<sup>^{30}\</sup>mathrm{A}$  list of the corpus manuscripts is found in section B in the appendix as well as online at www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.

analysis, which starts with the identification of separate units to determine the individual segments that could have been moved independently.

The analysis is based on the concept of *codicological units* as described by J. Peter Gumbert.<sup>31</sup> A useful list of criteria for determining the boundaries of codicological units is provided by Maria Arvidsson (2016, 17-20).<sup>32</sup> In the same way as Arvidsson, I consider the criteria to be indications, which when they co-occur increase the chance that they mark a separate CU. However, when one or more of criteria occur, they do not automatically determine a CU. Instead, each case needs to be considered individually and with regard to the respective context.

Most of the CUs examined in this study are defective, since they were changed after their production. The products of such "surgery" with the intention of allowing the parts a separate existence could more precisely be called *severed units* or *trunks* (Gumbert 2004a, 30).<sup>33</sup> This classification, however, is neither crucial to the present analysis nor in all cases possible to determine with certainty. This study therefore uses exclusively the more generic term *codicological units* for both original CUs and engineered or defective CUs.<sup>34</sup> In cases where changes have been reversed, for example when bifolia were divided and later rejoined in their original order, the analysis records the smallest executed division into CUs. Once the CUs of relevant manuscripts are identified, they are catalogued and described in detail.<sup>35</sup> Subsequently, I reconstruct their transmission and former compositional context.

The different recreated shapes and compositions are investigated one by one. The manuscript forms are categorised by the time periods t0t3. Starting with the present state of the object, the physical changes are traced going back in time. First, I compare the current arrangement of the codices (t0) to Jón Ólafsson's description of the manuscripts right

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>For the concept of codicological units see section 1.4 on page 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Maria Arvidsson (2016, 14) uses the term "produktionsenhet" instead of the direct Swedish translation "kodikologisk enhet".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>For a the various types of CUs see also Arvidsson (2016, 14-17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>In some cases one could certainly argue that the unit in question is a *block* rather than a separate *codicological unit* (Gumbert 2004a, 24). However, the general intention Árni had with his rearrangement work was clearly to be able to move the units independently, which is against Gumbert's definition of a *block*. See also Gumbert (2010, 4-5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>For cataloguing, the general guidelines and rules of the project "Stories for all time" (Haswell/Driscoll 2012) apply, but discontinued TEI-elements and attributes have been updated. While the minimum standard in the mentioned guidelines is rather low, this study provides extensive details in particular on watermarks, quire structure, condition, additions and the manuscript's history. For the measurement of dimensions, three somewhat representative leaves or pages are measured and the average height and width are recorded. If the dimensions show noticeable deviation, a maximum and minimum value are used instead. Layout specification such as words per line and lines per page are equally counted on three complete pages or lines and the highest and lowest value are noted.

after Arni's death based on AM 456 fol. in comparison with the other copies of that catalogue (t1). With the help of internal evidence such as registers and added titles in Arni's own hand, the contents and internal order of the manuscripts in 1730 is tested and differences from current arrangements are noted. Next, the physical form at the time of acquisition (t2) is scrutinised. This part of the analysis is concerned with the manuscripts' composition before they came into the collection and subsequently changed their form. Here, Arni's notes, especially the so-called "AM-slips" with short comments on contents, origin and/or other information play a central role and are verified against physical traces in the artefacts.<sup>36</sup> Obvious traces of separation, for example crossed-out or added lines of texts as well as older foliation, are furthermore considered. If the state of acquisition proves not to be the original form of a manuscript or if other evidence on previous alteration is present, the history of the artefact is traced further back (t3). For the possible first form of the manuscripts, material aspects like the writing support, the layout and the scribal hands provide important evidence.

Not examined separately are the different steps of the manuscripts' form in between Árni's death (t1) and today (t0). These archival changes, which go back to Kålund's time or other curatorial activity, certainly deserve their own study, but since the present study is foremost concerned with Árni's activity in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the more recent changes are not analysed systematically.<sup>37</sup> However, the present form of the manuscripts is the very starting point of the study, providing the material under scrutiny and carrying traces of its transmission.

#### 1.5.3 Description and discussion of rearrangement

The final step provides a description and discussion of Arni's rearrangement activity. To introduce the phenomenon, especially interesting examples from the corpus are first presented in the form of case studies. In these case studies, the physical histories of the manuscripts are described and analysed in detail. Information from all considered manuscripts is used in the following general description of Árni's custodial interventions. The description covers the extent of manuscript manipultation, Árni's working methods as well as his underlying rationale. As part of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>For my definition of AM-slips see section 4.3 starting on page 4.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>For examples of such later alterations see section 5.4 on page 252. For general curatorial practices and conservation activities in the collection see e.g. Mariane Overgaard (1997) and Peter Springborg (2014).

discussion, the four possible factors for physical change of manuscripts (contents, size, provenance and acquisition) are evaluated.

The description draws primarily on data collected during the two previous steps, but also incorporates existing secondary literature. In order to enhance readability, the analysis is supplemented by numerous pictures, tables and graphs, the latter of which are derived from the structured database. Thanks to the XML-markup, the data can be harvested using Extensible Stylesheet Language (XSL) transformations, and I developed a method to auto-generate graphs showing the physical development of analysed manuscripts and their parts.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, Árni's custodial activity is put in context by relating it to the relevant socio-historical approaches to books and manuscripts. Although the investigated manuscript material focusses on Árni's changes and thus primarily yields results about his approach towards paper manuscripts, the corpus also contains indications of changes conducted by previous owners. To provide a better picture of what was common practice at the time as well as earlier and later, the study furthermore provides examples of other book collectors and how they treated their books and manuscripts. The discussion thereby works towards placing Árni's rearrangement in the broad development from medieval approaches to codices towards the modern notion of books.

#### 1.6 Encoding principles and data processing

#### 1.6.1 XML: Data encoding

Primary data about analysed corpus manuscripts are encoded and stored in Extensible Markup Language (XML), using the standard P5 of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) (2016). The TEI was founded in 1987 with the goal to develop a standard for hardware- and softwareindependent method for encoding (humanities) data in electronic form (P5 Guidelines, xxii). The format established by TEI contains, among others, guidelines for manuscript descriptions (Chapter 10 of the TEI Guidelines). This part of TEI-P5 was developed in close collaboration with Manuscript Access through Standards for Electronic Records (MASTER) and other standards like the manuscript description guidelines (*Richtlinien*) put forth by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>On the parsing of the XML-data see section 1.6.2 starting on page 38. The auto-generated graphs are also available on the website www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk, which allows for a considerably higher resolution.

#### (DFG) (Hansen 2007, 80-87; Stäcker/Schaßan 2007, 71-73).

A separate file is created for each manuscript examined. In addition to the manuscript files, I keep so-called authority files that bundle information on previous forms of the manuscripts, including information on now lost parts. The authority files are organised by time period, so that there is a separate file for each period except for the present (t0), since the manuscript division is evident from the structure of the primary XML-files.

The encoding procedure mainly follows a narrower subset of the TEI guidelines for manuscript description, which was developed for the project "Stories for all time: The Icelandic *fornaldarsögur*" (Haswell/Driscoll 2012). Some elements and required attributes that are not crucial to the present study, however, are treated as optional. This facilitates the usage and adaptation of pre-existing XML-files, both from the named project as well as the online catalogue Handrit.is (2009-). The mark-up used in this study further includes some additional structural elements to better accommodate its special focus.

The XML-records of the present study are particularly detailed in their codicological descriptions of the manuscripts. While the encoding guidelines for the fornaldarsaga-project only require basic information on, for instance, watermarks, quire structure and quire signatures, the present files hold detailed descriptions. For the record of quire structures, I use simplified collation formulae, as they are employed by the conservation workshop at the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen.

A special feature of the data compiled for this study is that all manuscripts are analysed for their CUs. This is mirrored in the structure of the XML, where the element <msPart> denotes a manuscript part.<sup>39</sup> A manuscript can consist of several <msPart>s, which in accordance with the TEI Guidelines (2016) may be nested. The <msPart>s on the innermost layer in my data represent the individual CUs.

The physical history is recorded separately for each CU, and the element <relation> is employed to describe the relationship between a given CU and a whole manuscript. The value of the <relation> element is specified by means of so-called attributes.<sup>40</sup> The general character of relations are defined with reference to the ISO standard 21127:2006, CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model (CRM), as "P46 forms part of" that denotes the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Names of XML-elements are commonly written in pointy brackets and use the so-called "camel case", the practice to write capital letters in the middle of compound name instead of a white space.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>In the XML-source code, attributes are written write behind the element they specify (inside the pointy brackets) and are simply separated from the element name by a white space. In meta-text about XML, how-ever, it is customary to prefix an attribute name with the @-sign.

relation of a given item to a given other as a part of it (CIDOC 2006). The specific information that the <relation> elements carry for each CU concerns the manuscript of which the CU is a part, and the positioning of that part within the whole. While the former is encoded with an attribute-reference to the larger manuscript, the latter is stated by a number attribute that denotes the absolute position.<sup>41</sup> In order to note varying relations at different points in time, the <relation> element can be repeated up to four times, following the time periods t0-t3. The time period in question is specified in the attribute @period of the surrounding <listRelation> element, which is mandatory for each <relation> (Figure 1.2 on the next page).

The structure of the authority files is similar to the structure of primary files. However, while the latter contain several <relation> elements for each CU linking to different time periods, the authority files are by definition constrained to a single time period. Instead, they contain multiple <relation> elements referencing the different manuscript parts that were kept together in the specific period (Figure 1.3 on page 40). This double linking might seem redundant, but serves three purposes: (1) It enables the incorporation of additional information that is specific to the time period in question, among others bindings and now lost parts; (2) it facilitates the harvesting of the relational data; (3) it functions as a control mechanism, as the bundled information in the authority files is much easier to check for inconsistencies than the various primary files.

# 1.6.2 XSL: Data transformation and harvesting

The empirical data is both displayed and harvested by means of XSL transformations (XSLT). Extracting data from both primary and authority XML-files, the stylesheets can provide explicit information as well as statistical data on the corpus manuscripts. This study mainly uses XSLT in two ways (Figure 1.4 on page 41):

(1) Transformation from XML to XHTML. In this mode, XSLT enables online display of all manuscript records. After being processed by an additional Cascading Style Sheet (CSS), the descriptions become userfriendly digital texts, which can be displayed in a web browser (Figure 1.5 on page 42). The same mode of transformation (XML to XHTML) is furthermore used for reports that deduce statistical information from the

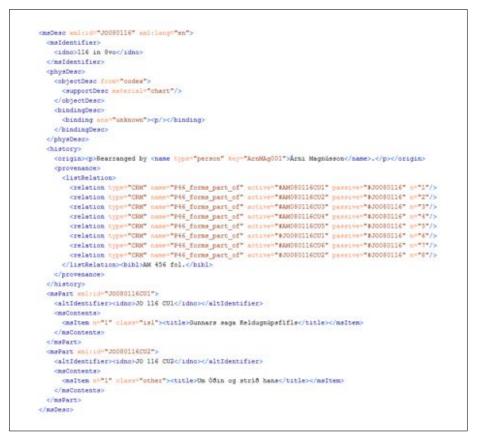
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>In cases where only a relative or hypothetical order can be established, the numbers are marked by an additional "h" (=hypothetical). If no order can be established a random, usually alphabetical order, is employed and marked by the additional letter "r" (=random).

coriginoThe manuscript was written in Northern corigPlace heye"IS">Icelandc/origPlace>.
Rélund dates it to the <origdate notdeform="1600" notrftms="1699">17th century</origdate>
 <bibl><ref target="#RFAt">Fålund II</ref>, <biblscope type="pages">396</biblscope></bibl> .
<pre>cprovenance&gt;cp&gt;cname type="person" rule="owner" ksy="ArnHag001"&gt;ArnHag101"</pre>
an unknown point and rearranged it. dp
<pre><listrelation periods*t0*=""></listrelation></pre>
crelation type""CRM" name="P46 forms part of "active="#AM080109aICUI" passive="#AM080109a" p="1"/>
<listrelation periods*tl*=""></listrelation>
<relation active="#AM060109aICU1" paraive="#J0080109" s="6" same="P46_forms_part_of" type="CBM"></relation>
<listbibl><bibl>AM 456 fol.</bibl></listbibl>
<li>tRelation period**t2*&gt;</li>
<relation "active"#140000109aicu1"="" forms="" n="1" name""p46="" of="" part="" passive="#18314" type""crm"=""></relation>
<listbibl><bibl>Springborg 1949, <biblscope type="pages">291-293</biblscope></bibl></listbibl>

Explanation of mark-up, i.e. elements and attributes, used in figure 1.2:

- <history>: Contains information about the history of a given manuscript part (here: CU).
- <origin>: Specifies information about the origin of a CU, including the elements <origPlace>, the place of origin, and <origDate>, the date of origin.
- : Encloses prose descriptions and may contain further mark-up.
- <bibl>: Contains the bibliographical reference for the given information. It may contain a reference (<ref> with an attribute @target) referring to the bibliography authority file used on Handrit.is and the elements to specify the bibliographical scope (<biblScope>).
- <provenance>: Gives information about the provenance of the CU, in this case especially the physical history after its creation.
- Relation>: Provides information about a relationship, in this case a physical relationship. The attribute @period refers to a time period, to which the enclosed <relation>-elements apply.
- <relation>: Describes a relationship, in this case of a part to a whole, as is stated by the value of the attributes @type and @name. The attribute @active describes the CU, which forms a part of the whole manuscripts (referred to in the attribute @passive). The names for the respective parts are unique xml-IDs, which are given to them in the mark-up process. The attribute @n indicates the absolute position of the active part within the passive part.

Figure 1.2: Encoding example of a primary XML-file showing a CU's physical history; taken from CU1 of AM 109 a 8vo.



Explanation of additional mark-up used in figure 1.3:

- <msDesc>: Describes a former manuscript, identified by the attribute @xml:id. The encoding language is English (@xml-id).
- <msIdentifier>: Identifies the described manuscript, in this case by means of a shelfmark (<idno>).
- : Encloses prose descriptions and may contain further mark-up.
- <physDesc>: Describes the physical characteristics of the manuscripts as far as known, in this case only the material (<objectDesc> with <supportDesc>) and binding (<bindingDesc> with <binding>).
- <msPart>: Contains information about manuscript parts, in this case lost parts and their contents (<msContents>, <msItem> and <title>).

Figure 1.3: Encoding example of an authority file record showing the multiple parts of a former manuscript; taken from NUMBER 116 IN 8vo.

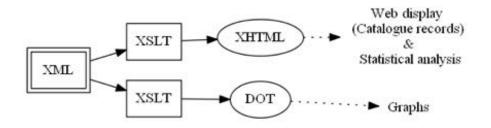


Figure 1.4: The two different usages of XSL transformation (XSLT) of XML-encoded data employed.

corpus.

(2) Transformation from XML to DOT. XSLT can output plain text, which is used for writing visualisation instructions (in DOT).<sup>42</sup> Thanks to the specific encoding of the XML-files that link manuscript parts for different time periods, XSL transformations can also support the production of automated graphic visualisations showing the physical history of manuscripts. The compositional changes of manuscripts are presented in directed graphs, in which nodes symbolise the separate CUs in three to four historical stages. The changing physical context of individual parts can therefore be traced along the connecting arches (Figure 1.6 on page 43).

Both the processed and the raw data of this study are made available to the public in the online repository of this project at www.chopandchange. nfi.ku.dk. Manuscript records can be viewed in transformed XHTML format, but are equally downloadable as XML. The authority files used are also made available. Graphs for the analysed manuscripts and their history can be found both in an alphabetic list and through hyperlinking from the individual manuscript descriptions. Finally, all processing stylesheets for the online display of XML-files are provided, as well as an example file for transformation to DOT-instructions, which underlie the visualisation graphs.

# **1.7** Naming and normalisation practices

For the present study, the following naming practices and standards apply: Icelandic terms and titles are spelled according to Modern Icelandic

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 42}An$  introduction to the DOT-language and its usage is provided e.g. by Gansner/Koutsofios/North (2010).

	uun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík
CON	
CON	ITENTS:
1. (1r-	7v)
Ilh	iga saga Gríðarfóstra
	guage of text: Icelandic
Rul	<b>ric:</b> Søgu þättur af Jlluga Grydar föftra
Рну	SICAL DESCRIPTION:
For	mat: Codex
	terial: Paper
	of leaves: i, 8, i
Size	of Leaves: 301mm x 192mm
but	termark: The watermark consists of two round towers. They are connected by an archway without portculli with a pointed gable. There is a pointy plinth underneath. The twin mark consists of the letters "HP", which written together.
	e: The same watermark occurs in the main text block of AM 9 fol., AM 192 fol. and AM 202 b fol.
	details are:

Figure 1.5: Example of a catalogue record transformed to XHTML for web display; taken from AM 169 d fol. (only top part shown).

orthography. For sagas and other literary works the general naming practice of Simek/Hermann Pálsson (2007) is followed and the spelling adjusted to modern Icelandic. For texts with no standard title, the naming suggestion of the online catalogue Handrit.is (2009-) is followed, though occasionally shortened. English translations of legal terms from Danish or Icelandic are in accordance with the practice of Gunnar Karlsson (2000) with supplements from Már Jónsson (2012).

Manuscripts from the Arnamagnæan Collection are named without mentioning the city and the collection.<sup>43</sup> The manuscripts are moreover referred to in different ways in order to distinguish between the four time periods:<sup>44</sup>

• Manuscripts in their present form (t0) are referred to by the common shelfmarks (without comma before the format), for example "AM 587 e 4to". The same practice is found in the online catalogue Handrit.is (2009-), but there, Roman numerals are usually employed to mark different parts of a manuscript. Since that practice shows some inconsistencies and is less exact than my usage of codicological

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Whether a manuscript in question is currently housed in Iceland or Denmark can be found in the online lists published by the Department for Nordic Research at University of Copenhagen (NFI n.d.) and the Árni Magnússon Institute in Icelandic Studies in Reykjavík (SÁM n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>A brief overview of manuscript references is found in table A.1 on page 295 in the appendix.

#### 1.7. NAMING AND NORMALISATION PRACTICES





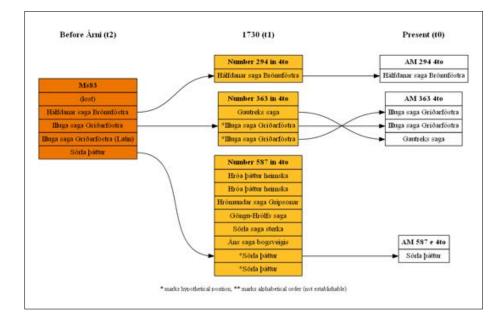


Figure 1.6: Example of DOT-output from XSL transformation (above) and the visualised result of the parsed instructions (below); taken from Ms35. units, I designate smaller parts within manuscripts with the number of the CU added to the end of the shelfmark, for example "AM 156 fol. CU1". Only in cases where the division of CUs does not agree with the subdivision by means of Roman numerals are these mentioned in addition to the designation of CUs when referencing individual parts. Following common practice, labels for manuscript parts that were already indicated by Kristian Kålund are then given in front of the format, while Roman numerals for parts that were introduced later stand behind the format designation.

- Manuscripts as they were registered in 1730 (t1) are referred to by their number and format based on Jón Ólafsson's order, for instance "NUMBER 587 IN 4to", which is rendered in small capitals in the text in order to improve readability. While Jón Ólafsson used the spellings "in Folio/in folio", "in Qvarto", "in Octavo" and "in Duodec." in his catalogue, Árni also employed forms like "in fol." and "in 4to" when referring to manuscripts.<sup>45</sup> In accordance with my practice elsewhere, I normalise the orthography and abbreviate the formats to "fol.", "4to", "8vo" and "12mo".
- Recreated former codices from the periods before Árni Magnússon (t2-t3) are designated using the abbreviation for manuscript "Ms" combined with a serial number, such as "Ms35". In order to differentiate between a manuscript as it came to Árni (t2) and a possible former shape (t3), the latter is marked by an additional lower case Latin letter, for instance "Ms28a".

Manuscripts from other collections are at their first occurrence cited with the full shelfmark including the city and repository.

Transcriptions from primary sources are kept to the diplomatic level with expanded abbreviations that are indicated by means of italics. Specific letter shapes are not retained in the transcriptions. Variant letters are equally normalised to their modern form and ligatures are resolved into two characters. Accent marks and other diacritical marks, however, are shown as in the manuscript when they affect the vowel quality.

An exception to these transcription rules are the rubrics, incipits and explicits of the manuscript descriptions. These are at times taken over from pre-existing files, such as from Handrit.is, which follow different normalisation standards. Since this information is not deemed crucial to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>When referring to manuscripts in 12mo-format, Árni also used forms like "i 16. blada forme" and "i 24. blada forme" (e.g. AM 435 a 4to, 29v-31v).

the study, they are left unchanged. For the same reason, differences occur in the level of detail given on the contents of individual manuscripts.

Palaeographic terms and classifications follow Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson's practice in "Sýnisbók íslenskrar skriftar" (2007), though without distinction between earlier and later forms of a script type. I use the following English translations of the names, as by Guðvarður's own suggestion:<sup>46</sup>

- Léttisskrift: cursiva
- Blendingsskrift: hybrida
- Fljótaskrift: kurrent (script) or Kurrentschrift
- Kansellísskrift: chancery
- Húmanísk skrift or snarhönd: humanist cursiva

Codicological terms are, if not stated otherwise, based on Clemens/Graham (2007) and Beal (2008). Quotations from other languages than English are always translated. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations are my own.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>On English terms for Icelandic medieval script types see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2008); the here used terms for post-medieval script types are based on personal communication with Guðvarður 12 February 2015.

# Chapter 2

# Physical history of selected manuscripts

This chapter comprises four case studies on manuscripts that were rearranged by Árni Magnússon and thereby introduces his activity. In order to comprehend the complete history of the artefacts, the cases are discussed in groups of connected manuscript parts. The various pieces of evidence presented in this chapter give a first impression of Árni's multifaceted custodial changes. The case studies thereby set the stage for a general description of Árni's rearrangement in the following chapters.

The manuscripts treated in the case studies are part of the empirical corpus of this thesis. The focus of the cases studies lies on the manuscripts' history and provenance, which are traced for the relevant periods (t1-t3) and discussed carefully. As part of the corpus, the manuscripts were subject to a close codicological analysis resulting in detailed catalogue descriptions. All manuscript records are available online and are recommended for reference.<sup>1</sup>

The four cases are chosen to illustrate different aspects of Árni's practice, which are taken up again and elaborated upon in the systematic description of the rearrangement activity. The cases use changing perspectives on the material in order to help examine Árni's habits from a variety of angles. The first case study takes its point of departure in a single present-day manuscript and traces its different physical contexts over time. While possible rearrangement patterns are discussed, this section also considers another former manuscript with similar contents for comparison. The second case study starts with a former codex, the so-called

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The repository for this project is available at www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.

book of Markús Bergsson, and focuses on how Árni treated the parts. This section thus dismantles further aspects of his custodial activity and possible motifs. The third case study works from an entry in Jón Ólafsson's handwritten catalogue, showing how a new manuscript was shaped over several years and observing some of Árni's rearrangement methods. The last case study, finally, uses Kålund's printed catalogue (1889-1894) as its starting point. This section re-evaluates a suggestion made there about a former codex from Leirárgarðar.

The analysis of the case studies casts light on various factors and possible patterns in Árni's rearrangement activity. In addition, it illustrates the importance of carefully distinguishing between the multiple changes to which manuscripts in the collection have been subject. The detailed descriptions give an impression of the rearrangement's complexity and the variety seen in the individual manuscripts' physical histories.

# 2.1 AM 156 fol. and related manuscripts

The manuscript AM 156 fol. has undergone major physical changes over the course of its existence. Today it consists of 47 paper leaves and contains copies of five sagas, which are all written in the regular hybrida script of Jón Erlendsson from Villingaholt.<sup>2</sup> The recto-side of its first leaf is heavily crossed out. It was previously pasted over with a blank leaf that was later removed and is now placed in front of the manuscript. Fols. 7v and 12v have been treated in similar ways. On the accompanying AM-slip, Árni Magnússon claims that he took the present leaves "ur bok sem eg feck frá Jóne Thorlakssyne" ("out of a book I received from Jón Þorláksson [1643-1712]"). That the leaves were part of such a larger manuscript is supported by traces of old foliation in brown ink, which are visible in the upper right corner of several leaves (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 108). The erased numbers are not consecutive and some foliation numbers are missing, indicating that the number and order of texts were changed as well.

According to Jón Ólafsson's handwritten record, NUMBER 156 IN fol. contained the same texts in 1730 as AM 156 fol. at present. Moreover, the texts were in the same order (AM 456 fol., 5r). This is also confirmed by a table of contents in Árni's own hand, which he added to the AM-slip in front of the manuscript. If there have been no conceptual changes after Árni's death and the current form represents the manuscript as he left it, what did the manuscript look like when he first received it and how did he alter it?

The previous owner of AM 156 fol., Jón Þorláksson (1643-1712), was Sheriff (*sýslumaður*) in Múlasýsla in the east of Iceland and lived on the farm Berunes (Bogi Benediktsson 1881-1932, IV: 740-743). The son of Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason, he was an active member of the literary community in Iceland. He possessed several manuscripts and is attested as the scribe of different codices (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 732; *Handrit.is* 2009-). Most remarkable, however, is his contribution as author and translator of chapbooks (Seelow 1989, 267-270).

A search for other manuscripts in Arni's collection with AM-slips pointing to Jón Þorláksson as the former owner brings up fifteen artefacts. Based on scribes, they can be divided into two groups: (1) AM 130 fol., AM 164 b fol., AM 163 e fol., AM 163 m fol., AM 163 n fol., AM

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>AM 156 fol. contains Þorsteins saga hvíta, Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs, Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana and Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfifls.

297 b 4to and AM 181 i fol. written by at least two different scribes; and (2) AM 1 a fol., AM 9 fol., AM 139 fol., AM 169 a fol., AM 169 b fol., AM 169 d fol., AM 192 fol. and AM 202 b fol. written by Jón Erlendsson. Jónas Kristjánsson (1952, viii-ix) additionally associates AM 161 fol. and AM 212 fol., also by Jón Erlendsson, with AM 156 fol. and thus with Jón Þorláksson.

Among the manuscripts of the second group, AM 139 fol., AM 161 fol. and AM 212 fol. show a layout that is similar to the one found in AM 156 fol. The written areas measure  $240-245 \times 135-145$  mm and space has been left for most initials, some of which have been filled in later using slightly lighter ink. They all show Jón's hybrida script. Jón's chancery script (or "fraktur"), on the other hand, occurs in the remainder of the manuscripts by him. Their layout also differs from the others in as far as they have a smaller written area of 230-240 x 120-130 mm and running titles (see also Lavender 2014, 77-78). Further indication of these chancery-manuscripts to be grouped separately is provided by their AMslips. All of them contain the specification that the respective leaves were taken out of a book which Arni first borrowed from Jón Þorláksson in 1709 before he bought it from him in 1710. None of the other manuscripts - also including the artefacts of the first group - refers to a borrowing prior to the purchase on their associated AM-slips. Therefore, the seventeen mentioned manuscripts must have come to Árni in two distinct batches, and possibly on different occasions. In the following, I trace the two manuscripts he received from Jón Þorláksson separately and analyse their individual physical history.

#### 2.1.1 Mass-produced fornaldarsögur

The codex Árni first borrowed from Jón Þorláksson, called Ms92 in the list of former codices, consisted then of approximately 140 folio-sized leaves and contained copies of seven sagas. The sagas can all be classified as *fornaldarsögur*.<sup>3</sup> It is not possible to establish their definite former order, since the copying of each text began on a new quire. Catchwords only exist at quire boundaries within a text, and blank leaves at the end of quires have been removed. However, the parts can be divided into three tentative subgroups on the basis of physical dimensions and layout.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The sagas and their shelfmarks are: Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum i Dana og Svíaveldi (AM 1 a fol.), Hrólfs saga kraka (AM 9 fol.), Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana (AM 169 a fol.), Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns (AM 169 b fol.), Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra (AM 169 d fol.), Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs (AM 192 fol.) and Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka (AM 202 b fol.).

(1) The smallest written area in combination with small leaves is found in AM 1 a fol. and AM 169 d fol., both of which show a written area of 230 x 120 mm and a leaf measure of 301-305 x 190-192 mm. (2) Leaves of a similar size (303-305 x 195-197 mm) but with a larger written area (240 x 130 mm) are present in AM 9 fol. and AM 192 fol. (3) AM 169 a fol., AM 169 b fol. and AM 202 b fol. have the largest leaves (312-313 x 192 mm) but the relatively small written area of 230 x 125 mm. The dimensions of the leaves are potentially different from their original size due to later trimming, which appears to have been the case in the manuscript parts of the first subgroup, since the edges of the leaves are rather clean. Furthermore, fol. 21r of AM 169 a fol. contains marginalia which have been partially cut off. However, the leaves of AM 1 a fol. were evidently placed in water during conservation in 1980, which can equally well have washed away some of the dirt.<sup>4</sup> The leaves of the second subgroup are of similar dimensions as the first, but have dirty edges. If they have not been trimmed, there is at least an original variation in size between the second and the larger third subgroup, accompanied by the three slightly different written areas.

The dimensional differences between the subgroups are at the most 10 mm, precluding determination of separate origins based on size variation. Additionally, all parts use the same writing support: medium thick paper with a watermark depicting two towers.<sup>5</sup> The combined evidence therefore suggests that the parts were written with comparable standards concerning material and layout, but not in one operation. Rather, the copies seem to have been produced separately in a kind of mass production and kept in stock, in order to be combined later on – possibly on demand.<sup>6</sup> This standardised production, in turn, makes it hard to determine whether or not there were additional texts in the book, and if the sagas at some point were in more than one volume.

When the manuscript was with Árni, he divided it into at least the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Dates and information on the modern conservation of this manuscript can be found in the internal database at the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen. However, that the manuscript was cleaned is not mentioned there, but was confirmed by conservator Mette Jakobsen during personal communication 17 February 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>The towers have no windows and are connected by an archway without portcullis but with a pointed gable. A similar watermark is registered as nr. AT3800-PO-102134 in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Jón Erlendsson's extensive copying activity has been noticed before, even to a point where the manuscripts he produced (among others for Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson) are said to have a certain set of characteristics – folio format and often upright chancery script – that formed the example for manuscripts in the south of Iceland for a long time after (Springborg 1977, 69-71; Stefán Karlsson 2000, 385). Jón Helgason (1985, 15) notices that the different texts in the manuscript Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1006 fol., also by Jón Erlendsson, were likewise written separately and probably first combined when bound.

seven known parts. Two of them, namely AM 9 fol. and AM 192 fol., were made single-text manuscripts, as they were bound in individual full parchment bindings that still survive. The remaining parts were combined with other copies of *fornaldarsögur* and/or copies of the same saga (AM 456 fol., 2r, 5r & 6r) (Figure 2.1 on the next page).<sup>7</sup>

#### 2.1.2 Large composite volume of two originally distinct parts

The remaining manuscripts around AM 156 fol. used to make up the former Ms28, but can be divided into two distinct groups based on scribes (Figure 2.7 on page 65): (1) Ms28a, the parts of which were written by Jón Erlendsson, and (2) Ms28b, written by other scribes. The first group is written in Jón's chancery script and displays a very consistent design, whereas the second group is in different hands and shows a rather unstable layout. However, the manuscripts of this latter group have in common that the margins are ruled in ink and the written area is more or less stable at approximately 275 x 165 mm. The different hands are moreover recurring in several parts. A closer analysis reveals that the unidentified scribes employed various script types. These parts accordingly form a continuum, which is further supported by overlapping text boundaries, meaning that text boundaries and quire/CU boundaries do not coincide. All original quires have furthermore the same structure of three bifolia each. The manuscripts by Jón Erlendsson are separate from that continuum with gatherings of four bifolia and no textual overlap, since all text boundaries are matched by quire boundaries.

Despite the indications of two independent groups, all manuscript parts of the former Ms28 show traces of old foliation. It runs continuously from 1 to 366 with only a few numbers missing. The foliation has been erased on many leaves and is therefore at times hardly visible. Nonetheless, the foliation is undoubtedly written by the same hand, since it is in the same ink and there are little characteristic crosses to the right of each last digit. The foliater seems to have grown tired towards the end and often only indicated the folio numbers on the first page of sagas as the numbers surpass 300. At one point, all parts thus belonged to the same manuscript.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>For a detailed analysis of the rearrangement of Ms92 and one other former manuscript containing *forn-aldarsögur* see Stegmann (forthcoming[a]).

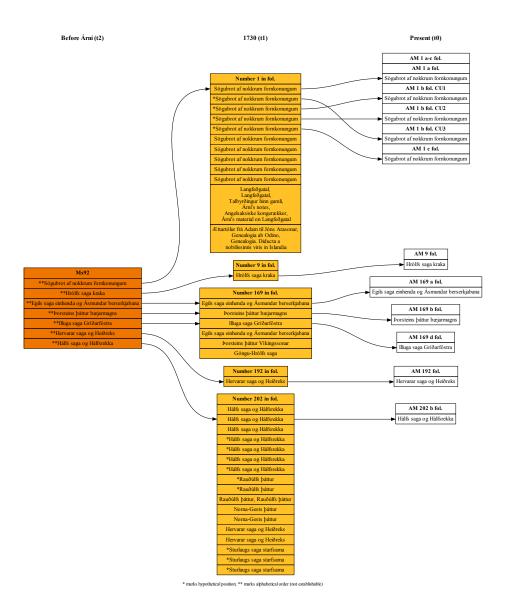


Figure 2.1: Physical development of Ms92. *Please note*: In all graphs of this kind, each block stands for one manuscript according to its outer boundary at the time. While the first field of these blocks (and occasionally of subsections) identifies the manuscript, the subsequent parcels stand for the individual CUs within that manuscript and give the title(s) of the contained work(s). In order not to overly crowd the graphs, only relevant manuscript parts are traced. The graphs are also available in higher resolution on www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.

Shelfmark	Contents	Old Foliation
AM 161 fol. CU2	Reykdala saga	1-39
AM 161 fol. CU1	Svarfdæla saga, Valla-Ljóts saga	42-89
AM 139 fol.	Þórðar saga hreðu	90-117
AM 212 fol.	Arons saga Hjörleifssonar	118-125, 127, 134-
		135, 142-143
AM 156 fol. CU3	Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða	144-159
AM 156 fol. CU5	Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls	160-173
(lost)	(Porsteins saga forvitna, "Ævintyr af	[174-175]
	Þorsteine austfyrdskum")	
AM 156 fol. CU1	Þorsteins saga hvíta	176-182
(lost)	(not mentioned)	[183]
AM 156 fol. CU2	Þorsteins saga stangarhöggs	184-188
AM 156 fol. CU4	Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana	192-198
(lost)	(Vatnsdæla saga)	_

Table 2.1: Ms28a based on a table of contents in Brynjólfur Sveinsson's letter book; with old foliation.

#### A codex described by Brynjólfur Sveinsson

The parts in Jón Erlendsson's hand used to form Ms28a. They contain copies of ten sagas,<sup>8</sup> which are mentioned in a different order in AM 276 fol., a letter book of Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson. According to the description on the pages 409-410, Brynjólfur lent a manuscript containing these and three additional texts to Teitur Torfason (d. 1668) in 1665 (Jón Helgason 1942, 194 & 322).<sup>9</sup> A codicological analysis of the surviving manuscript parts of Ms28a shows that they once formed the bishop's codex. AM 161 fol. and AM 156 fol. consist of two and five CUs, respectively, and except for the first CU in AM 161 fol. which contains both a copy of *Svarfdala saga* and *Valla-Ljóts saga*, all CUs bear a single text. The order of the sagas could therefore be changed without great difficulty. Table 2.1 shows the order of the copies according to the index given in Brynjólfur Sveinsson's letter book, which also agrees with the old foliation found on most leaves.

When analysing the manuscript evidence more closely, however, a few differences compared to the bishop's records become evident. Mainly, the crossed-out sections on the first and last leaf of what is today AM 156

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Þorsteins saga hvíta, Þorsteins saga stangarhöggs, Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfifls (AM 156 fol.), Svarfdæla saga, Valla-Ljóts saga, Reykdæla saga (AM 161 fol.), Þórðar saga hreðu (AM 139 fol.) and Arons saga Hjörleifssonar (AM 212 fol.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>The three additional texts are *Porsteins saga forvitna*, *Porsteins báttur Austfirðings* and *Vatnsdæla saga*.

fol. CU1 (containing *Porsteins saga hvíta*) can be identified as the end of *Porsteins þáttur fróða* (fol. 1br) and the beginning of *Porsteins þáttur Aust-firðings* (fol. 7av). The letter book, on the contrary, does not mention any *Porsteins þáttur fróða*, but states that a so-called "Æfenntyr af aust-fyrdskum Þorsteine" (Jón Helgason 1942, 194) preceded the copy of *Porsteins saga hvíta*. This disagreement can be resolved with the help of other related manuscripts.

The original leaves preceding and following AM 156 fol. CU1 are not preserved, but in the Arnamagnæan Collection there are three manuscripts written by Árni that can be associated with Ms28a. They carry identical AM-slips, notifying the reader that they were produced using copies from Jón Þorláksson's book as exemplars.

Þesse þattr er ritadr epter hendi Sera Jons i Villingahollte, og stöd hann i bok i folio, er eg feck af Syslumannenum Jone Þorlakssyne. Þatturenn med hende Sera Jons er nu fortærdur [...].

(This *þáttur* is written after [a copy] in the hand of the pastor Jón Erlendsson from Villingaholt, and it was in a foliosized book that I received from the district magistrate Jón Þorláksson. The *þáttur* in the hand of priest Jón [i.e. the exemplar] is now destroyed [...].) (AM 562 i 4to, AM-slip)

The manuscripts in question are AM 562 e 4to (*Porsteins báttur forvitna*), AM 562 f 4to (CU1) (*Porsteins báttur fróða*) and AM 562 i 4to (*Porsteins báttur Austfirðings*), and they can be assumed to be direct copies of missing parts from Ms28a (Jónas Kristjánsson 1952, ix). The rubric in AM 562 f 4to CU1 reads "Æfintyr af Porsteine Austfyrdskum", which is almost identical with the problematic title cited in the letter book. Since the text contained by that CU is *Porsteins báttur fróða* and not *Porsteins báttur Austfirðings* as one might assume, the account in the letter book can be shown to refer to *Porsteins báttur fróða* instead. That reading agrees with the identification of the end of the text found on fol. 1br in AM 156 fol. CU1.

AM 562 e 4to and AM 562 f 4to CU1 prove to preserve transcriptions of the original folios 174-175 of Ms28a: *Porsteins báttur forvitna* and *Porsteins báttur fróða*. The proper *Porsteins báttur Austfirðings*, a copy of which is preserved in AM 562 i 4to, is thus not mentioned in the bishop's description. Considering the saga's brevity, however, the exemplar of AM 562 i 4to would have fitted onto the two pages of the former fol. 183, which is missing as well. This is in accordance with the beginning of

rate by more my march the

(a) AM 156 fol., 1a (verso)

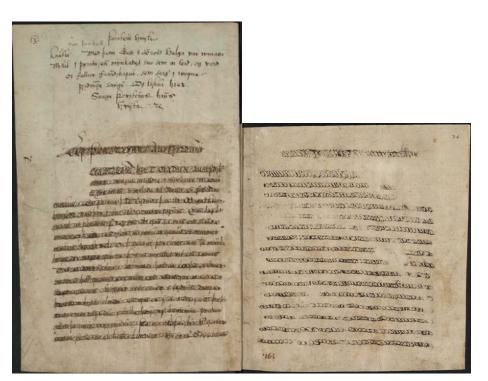
(b) AM 156 fol., 1b (recto)

Figure 2.2: Fols. 1a and 1b of AM 156 fol. that were glued together. The text on fol. 1b, the end of *Porsteins báttur fróða*, was crossed out before being pasted over. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

the text found on fol. 7av of AM 156 fol. CU1 as described above. The table of contents found in the letter book hence proves to be correct in terms of the mentioned texts and their order. The only exceptions are the one short text that was omitted in the list, and the last mentioned item *Vatnsdala saga*, a copy of which supposedly followed AM 156 fol. CU4. There is no other trace of the leaves containing that text – neither in the form of missing foliation nor elsewhere in Árni's collection (see also Jónas Kristjánsson 1952, viii-ix).

After the order of texts was established, a few leaves from the old foliation remain to be located. As mentioned earlier, both on fols. 1br and 7av, but also on fol. 12v of AM 156 fol., text has been crossed out and was subsequently pasted over with seemingly blank leaves. Since these leaves are now removed, it can be seen that not all of them were completely blank. On the formerly glued-on side, two of the applied leaves show old foliation and one of them a running title. The leaf that used

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(a) AM 156 fol., 7a (verso)

(b) AM 156 fol., 7b (recto)

Figure 2.3: Fols. 7a and 7b of AM 156 fol. that were glued together. The lower part of the text on fol. 7a, the beginning of *Porsteins þáttur Austfirðings*, was crossed out before being pasted over. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

to cover fol. 1br, now called fol. 1a, shows on its verso side the number "126" and the word "Arons" written upside down (Figure 2.2 on page 56). The foliation is in the same style as seen in the rest of Ms28a, and the number indicates that the current fol. 1a of AM 156 fol. was originally located among the leaves that now form AM 212 fol. The latter contains *Arons saga Hjörleifssonar* with a lacuna between fols. 8v and 9r, which have the old foliation numbers 125 and 127, respectively. The leaf with the foliation 126 thus used to be a blank leaf in *Arons saga Hjörleifssonar*, indicating a lacuna in the exemplar. The watermark of AM 156 fol., 1a further supports this former location, as it depicts an anchor, which is in accordance with the watermarks found in AM 212 fol.<sup>10</sup> The watermark in the rest of AM 156 fol. CU1, in contrast, shows a city with three gated towers and a large gate in front. At either side of the city are the letter "H" and "B", respectively, and the bottom line is shaped like a half round.<sup>11</sup>

The leaf that used to cover the lower part of fol. 7av in AM 156 fol., foliated as 7b, also contains some old foliation. The number "191" is written in its original upper right-hand corner, which is now to be found in the lower left corner of the page, since the leaf has been flipped over (Figure 2.3 on the previous page). Fol. 7b can thus be identified as a blank leaf that had its place in between *Porsteins saga stangarhöggs* and *Gunnars báttur Piðrandabana*. The former text is now found in AM 156 fol. CU2, where it is preserved in an incomplete quire that is lacking its last three leaves. They were foliated as 189-191 and presumably all blank. As the watermarks confirm, fol. 7b used to form a bifolium together with the current fol. 8 of AM 156 fol. CU2, that was the outermost bifolium of the original quire.

The third covering slip that used to be glued onto the lower part of fol. 12v, is considerably cropped and does not contain any writing. It probably stems from the bottom of a page where there were no running titles or foliation, and that could also be why there is no watermark visible. However, based on the evidence from the two other leaves that are all of the same paper as the other parts of the former codex (anchor and city watermarks), it can be assumed that all three covering leaves were reused, stemming from the original codex Ms28a.

The reused material shows that the codex contained several blank leaves, which suggests that the remaining leaves that are missing according to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>A similar watermark is registered as nr. AT3800-PO-117680 in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>This watermark can be identified as nr. EE7185-PO-105971 in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014), which was produced in Tartu, Estonia in 1638.

the old foliation did not contain much text. Since the old fols. 40-41 and 189-191 were in between texts, they were probably blank leaves. A similar practice can be observed in AM 161 fol. CU2, where fol. 38 was left blank at the end of a quire. It is an original leaf and in its upper right-hand corner it used to carry old foliation (67) which has been erased. In contrast to the moved blank leaves, this one is still in its original place. The old fols. 128-133 and 136-141, on the other hand, were located within a text (*Arons saga Hjörleifssonar*). It is of course possible that they were lost at some point and created secondary lacunae. Nevertheless, because fol. 126 accounted for a lacuna in the exemplar, the original leaves marked 128-133 and 136-141 may have been included blank in the same way.

Taken together, all texts of the original codex as described by Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson except for *Vatnsdæla saga* left some traces in Árni's collection. Furthermore, the function and contents of most missing leaves could be recreated. With the physical development of Ms28a, a major part of the early material history of Ms28 can thus be traced (Figure 2.4).

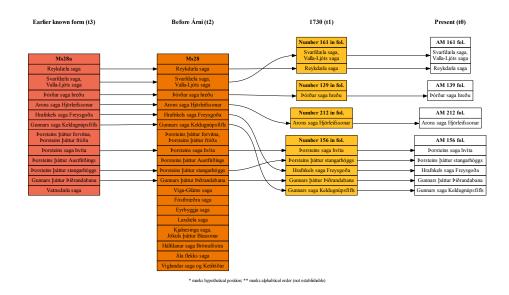


Figure 2.4: Physical development of Ms28a, a codex described by Brynjólfur Sveinsson.

Shelfmark	Contents	Old Foliation
AM 164 b fol.	Víga-Glúms saga	200-221
AM 163 e fol.	Fóstbraðra saga	222-259
AM 130 fol. CU1	Eyrbyggja saga	260-286
AM 130 fol. CU2	Laxdala saga	287-303, 306-307
AM 163 n fol.	Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar	332-[345]
AM 297 b 4to	Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra	3[xx]-[xxx]
AM 181 i fol.	Ála flekks saga	351-[356]
AM 163 m fol.	Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar	357-366

Table 2.2: Ms28b based on old foliation.

#### A codex produced in a training environment

The second group of manuscripts once formed Ms28b. They can also be ordered according to their older foliation (Table 2.2). While most parts show regular foliation on each leaf, parts five to seven only display older foliation on their respective first original leaf. Additionally, the leaves of AM 297 b 4to (Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra) have been trimmed, such that on the first page only the lower part of the first digit from what must have been a "3" remains. Since that CU has overlapping text boundaries with the original copies of the sagas now found in AM 163 n fol. and AM 181 i fol., the number could be interpreted as 346, positioning the copy of Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra in between the copies of Jökuls báttur Búasonar and Ála flekks saga.<sup>12</sup> The number of preserved leaves does not support this assumption, since AM 297 b 4to consists of seven original leaves, whereas the old foliation indicates that no more than five leaves were missing in between AM 163 n fol. and AM 181 i fol. This apparent contradiction, however, may simply be due to erroneous foliation, which could have easily occurred in this part of the codex where only pages carrying the beginning of a text were foliated.

The proposed placement of the leaves found in AM 297 b 4to is further in accordance with the quire original structure (Figure 2.5 on the facing page). Currently, the CU contains two quires, of which the first consists

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>While the text sections on the first and last page of AM 297 b 4to are crossed out, in both AM 163 n fol. and AM 181 i fol., the respective original beginning and ending are missing and have been replaced by a later transcription in the hand of Þórður Þórðarson (d. 1747), who worked as a scribe for Árni in Iceland during the years 1702-1712 (Finnur Jónsson 1930, 1.2: 45; Páll Eggert Ólason 1948-1952, 5: 119). The identification is based on the added leaf in AM 163 m fol. which shows the same script and is identified as written by Þórður Þórðarson in Kålund (1889-1894, 2: 130). Pictures of AM 163 n fol. and AM 163 m fol. are moreover available online on handrit.is (2009-).

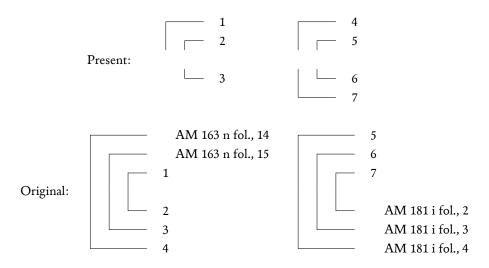


Figure 2.5: Quire structure of AM 297 b 4to. *Above*: Current quire structure (applies for t0 and t1). *Below*: Original quire structure with leaves now found in AM 163 n fol. and AM 181 i fol. (applies for t2 and t3).

of a singleton and a bifolium (1, 2+3), and the second of two bifolia (4+7, 3)5+6). That this is not the original structure is apparent from the watermarks and the fact that all leaves have been repaired close to the spine. The first four leaves should instead be interpreted as a former bifolium and two singletons (1+2, 3, 4), which formed a complete quire together with the last two leaves of AM 163 n fol. These six leaves show matching parts of the same coat of arms watermark with an heraldic eagle.<sup>13</sup> The remaining leaves of AM 297 b 4to form half a quire or three singletons (5, 6, 7) and all show clear chain-lines, but no countermark. They are matched by the first three original leaves in AM 181 i fol., which are also singletons that have chain-lines with the same spacing together with a clear coat of arms of Amsterdam watermark, to which no countermark belongs.<sup>14</sup> This quire structure consisting of three bifolia each corresponds to the original quire structure in other parts of Ms28b. The order of parts indicated in table 2.2 on the preceding page is thus confirmed by codicological analysis.

The table indicates that the leaves with the old foliation 304-305 and 308-331 are missing. Although the copy of *Laxdala saga* in AM 130 fol.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>A similar watermark is registered as nr. DE8085-PO-23057 in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>A similar watermark is registered as nr. DE0960-Telemann21737\_200\_23v in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014).

CU2 ends prematurely on what is today fol. 44r (303 according to the old foliation), no text has been lost, since the transcription was never completed. This can be seen from the continued margin ruling on the otherwise blank verso-side of fol. 44. That same quire moreover consists of fols. 45 and 46, carrying the old foliation 306-307, that for original bifolia with fols. 43 and 44. The now missing leaves with the foliation 304-305 did accordinglys form a blank bifolium at the centre of the last preserved quire of AM 130 fol. CU2. Another 24 blank leaves conceivably followed today's fol. 46 and were intended for the rest of the saga. Forming four more quires of three bifolia, these leaves could have been assigned the missing foliation 308-331. On the contrary, it is at least as likely that only a few blank leaves were included at the end, and the foliater left out the numbers intended for the rest of the saga.

There is no immediate indication of any CUs missing at the beginning of the original Ms28b, since the copy of *Víga-Glúms saga* (now AM 164 b fol.) starts on a full quire. The end of the former codex, on the contrary, is defective as the copy of *Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar* (now AM 163 m fol.) is missing its end. It can be assumed that the text was copied in full length, but that the last leaves have gone missing. Whether there were additional texts following *Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar* cannot be assessed. Therefore, the physical development of Ms28b can only be established with regard to the preserved parts (Figure 2.6 on the facing page).

To this point, nothing is known about the place of origin or intended purpose of Ms28b. Since the scribes are unknown, the geographical origin of the codex cannot be specified further within Iceland. Based on the rather unstable appearance of the script and the script type changing several times within texts, however, one may conclude that the scribes were not very experienced – or still to be trained. In addition, the individual hands recur throughout the former codex, indicating that the scribes were in the same area, if not the same place. It is consequently possible that Ms28b was written in a training environment – either associated with a school or a form of scriptorium.

In sum, the preserved parts of Ms28a and Ms28b show independent codicological features and were thus produced separately from one another. At some point they were joined into one large codex and foliated together, Ms28a preceding Ms28b. The last item of the original Ms28a, a copy of *Vatnsdala saga*, was not part of that new aggregation, since the foliation found on the leaves containing *Gunnars báttur Þiðrandabana* (192-198), the last preserved part of Ms28a, continues in the copy of *Víga*-

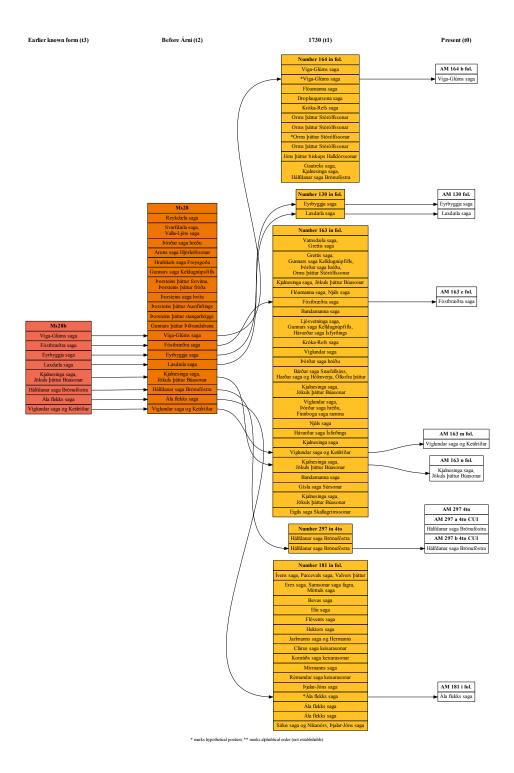


Figure 2.6: Physical development of Ms28b.

*Glúms saga* (200-221), the first part of Ms28b. The copies of these two texts were only separated by one now missing leaf, which was presumably blank. The copy of *Vatnsdala saga* was therefore either taken out during the process of aggregation or had been removed earlier. While both parts of the large codex came at some point into the possession of Jón Þórláksson, it is not known whether they were already joined then or aggregated by him. From Jón Þórláksson, the codex came as one entity to Árni, who subsequently changed its physical form.

# 2.1.3 Árni's multiplex rearrangements of Ms28

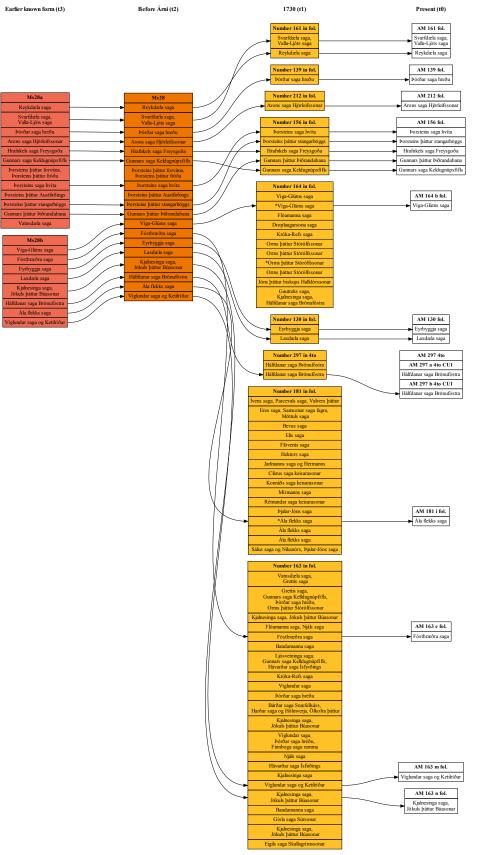
While in Árni's library, the almost 400-leaf thick codex was separated into a total of 19 different CUs, most of which were rearranged with other CUs. As mentioned above, the parts containing *Porsteins báttur forvitna*, *Porsteins báttur fróða* and *Porsteins báttur Austfirðings* were copied and then discarded. Árni aggregated the three copies in his own hand with texts about different Porsteins from various origins to form NUMBER 562 IN 4to (AM 456 fol., 22r). After having been treated again in modern times, they are now found separately in the manuscripts AM 562 a-k 4to.

Copies of two texts from Ms28 were found individually in t1: *Þórðar* saga hreðu, now in AM 139 fol., and Arons saga Hjörleifssonar, now in AM 212 fol. In Jón Ólafsson's catalogue they were listed as single-text manuscripts (AM 456 fol., 4r & 6r). As both of them are still bound in full parchment bindings with parchment strips laced through the spine fold – a binding style associated with Árni's time – he evidently had them bound as such.<sup>15</sup> A comparable treatment of giving bindings to copies of single texts is not attested for the other CUs of the former Ms28. Instead, Árni rearranged those with copies of various texts (Figure 2.7 on the next page).

The majority of the preserved CUs were rearranged to form three manuscripts in t1, NUMBERS 130, 156 and 161 IN fol. In the newly created artefacts, Árni aggregated respectively five, two and two CUs from Ms28. The aggregations exclusively contained parts of the same original manuscript, as NUMBERS 156 and 161 IN fol. were comprised of parts from the former Ms28a, while NUMBER 130 IN fol. consisted of parts of Ms28b.

In NUMBER 130 IN fol., two CUs (with *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Laxdala saga*) were placed together that also followed each other in the original manuscript. Yet the copies were clearly separated. The artificial separa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>For the types and dating of bindings found in the Arnamagnæan Collection see e.g. Springborg (1995).



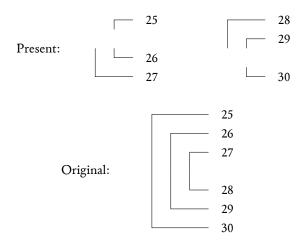


Figure 2.8: Quire structure of fols. 25-30 in AM 130 fol. at the border of CU1 and CU2. *Above*: Current quire structure (applies for t0 and t1): Fols. 25-27 forming the last quire in AM 130 fol. CU1 and fols. 28-30 forming the first quire in AM 130 fol. CU2. *Below*: Original quire structure (applies for t2 and t3).

tion is evident from an original quire of three bifolia, fols. 25-30 of AM 130 fol., that was cut apart according to the text boundary. This created three singleton leaves each at the end of the first CU and the beginning of the second CU (Figure 2.8). The copies of the two sagas could consequently be moved individually from each other, but were finally recombined in their original order.

In NUMBER 156 IN fol., Árni aggregated copies of two sagas about a Þorsteinn, *Porsteins saga hvíta* and *Porsteins saga stangarhöggs*, with a copy of *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* and copies of two sagas with the main character called Gunnar (*Gunnars þáttur Piðrandabana* and *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls*) (AM 456 fol., 4v). This aggregation pattern is slightly different from the one in NUMBER 562 IN 4to, that exclusively contained texts with Porsteinn in the title. Both the aggregations contained in t1 a copy of *Porsteins saga hvíta* as the first item followed by *Porsteins saga stangarhöggs*, but they continued in different ways. While NUMBER 562 IN 4to went on with copies of other sagas about Porsteinn, the eponymous hero in NUMBER 156 IN fol. changed to Hrafnkell and finally Gunnar. Regardless of whether or not the name of the central character of the texts played a role in the rearrangements, the two manuscripts display different approaches to the first two sagas, as their copies were given divergent contexts.

#### 2.1. AM 156 FOL. AND RELATED MANUSCRIPTS

Additionally, I earlier identified the material that was used to paste over crossed-out sections in AM 156 fol. as reused leaves from the same original manuscript. This re-use of material could be interpreted as the most convenient way of covering unwanted text sections. However, the process as a whole is not characterised by efficiency only, since if the goal was to hide unrelated text parts as quickly as possible, it would not have been necessary to cross out the words – at least not line by line – before pasting them over. Instead, using the same paper as the rest of the manuscript and making sure that the few numbers and words written on them were glued on facing down, a very clean manuscript was produced with the most homogeneous appearance possible for such an aggregated volume. Therefore, the aesthetic aspect must have been at least as important as the practical when creating NUMBER 156 IN fol., while it does not seem to have mattered in NUMBER 562 IN 4to.

The remaining six CUs, all of which stem from Ms28b, were in t1 aggregated with parts of other former manuscripts. The bundle of unbound copies that Jón Olafsson's catalogue lists as NUMBER 163 IN fol. received three CUs of the former manuscript. They contained Fóstbraðra saga (now AM 163 e fol.), Kjalnesinga saga and Jökuls þáttur Búasonar (now AM 163 n fol.) and Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar (now AM 163 m fol.). In 1730, this loose aggregation included over 30 copies of various sagas, many of which existed in several copies. The large bundle may be described as a broad assemblage of both classical and later *Íslendingasögur* (AM 456 fol., 4v-5r).<sup>16</sup> The aggregations listed as NUMBER 164 and 181 IN fol. in the old catalogue, which both received one CU, were also large bundles containing copies of various texts. They held copies of sagas that can be classified as *Islendingasögur* in the case of NUMBER 164 IN fol. and riddarasögur in the case of NUMBER 181 IN fol. (AM 456 fol., 5r-5v). Finally, the copy of Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra, now AM 297 b 4to, was stored together with another copy of the same saga in quartoformat, the current AM 297 a 4to (AM 456 fol., 17r). This is why the former part of Ms28 has been stored until the present day among the quarto-manuscripts of the Arnamagnæan Collection and has received a 4to-shelfmark.

AM 297 a 4to is currently bound in a dark binding from Kålund's time. According to the printed catalogue (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 540), it was earlier bound in a half binding that was partially covered with reused parchment from a Latin liturgical manuscript with musical notation. This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>There is no immediately apparent geographical or other focus.

kind of binding is like the plain full parchment binding associated with Árni's time. Indeed, the removed parchment leaf is now part of AM Access. 7 a and proves to originate from a manuscript which Árni reused for binding purposes: The leaf is identified as fol. 48 of the former *Missale Scardense* (Hs 1) (Andersen 2008, xviii-xxiii, 4). Together with *Missale Scardense*, several medieval ecclesiastic manuscripts served Árni and his bookbinders as binding material, as many other leaves from these former codices were found in bindings of the Arnamagnæan Collection (Andersen 1979; 2008). Such reuse of parchment for bindings was common for the time, and the bookbinder Hans Gylling (d. 1723) lists in his invoices several manuscripts which he claimed to have "ind bunden i gammel pergament" ("bound in old parchment") (AM 909 c 4to, 20r; see also Springborg 1996, 15).

Despite their separate binding, the quires of AM 297 a 4to were in t1 combined with the almost twice as large leaves of AM 297 b 4to.<sup>17</sup> Whether or not the larger leaves were equally bound in t1 is uncertain, since the oldest preserved binding is a plain grey cardboard binding with blank paper as pastedowns. Such a binding could be either from Árni's time or from later in the eighteenth century. Jón Ólafsson's note stating that the folio-sized CU was stored "par hiä" ("there with") (AM 456 fol., 17r), could consequently indicate that it was placed next to the other bound CU, or – if the larger leaves were still unbound – possibly stuck into the firm binding of the smaller copy.

In conclusion, the 19 CUs of Ms28 were treated in a multitude of ways. While some of the parts were copied and subsequently destroyed, others were rebound separately or grouped together with other CUs. Among the CUs that were rearranged, varying patterns can be seen, as nine parts were stored together with CUs from the same origin whereas six parts were recorded together with CUs from other former manuscripts. Finally, differences are also evident with regard to the aesthetic appearances of the manuscripts. While NUMBER 156 IN fol. was treated carefully in order to minimise the optical traces of the rearrangement, NUMBER 297 IN 4to obviously consisted of two very dissimilar parts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Such a combination might seem rather odd to the modern reader, but heterogeneous aggregations are not uncommon in the Arnamagnæan Collection. Other examples of manuscripts that Árni combined despite their different formats are AM 113 a-k fol. and AM 588 a-r 4to. Moreover, the manuscripts AM 408 a-i 4to were stored in one common folder, even though AM 408 g 4to was bound separately. Finally, there are also many examples of former aggregations containing both paper and parchment (see section 5.3.3 on page 247).

Shelfmark	Contents	Old Pagination
AM 144 fol. CU1	Víga-Glúms saga	1-22
AM 144 fol. CU2	Svarfdæla saga	23-52
AM 144 fol. CU3	Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Gunnars saga Keldugnúps-fífls, Þorsteins saga forvitna, Þor- steins saga hvíta, Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings, Þorsteins þáttur froða, Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs, Gunnars saga Þiðrandabana	53-102
AM 164 e γ fol.	Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar	103-110
(lost)	-	[111-118]
AM 15 fol.	Jómsvíkinga saga	119-146
AM 188 fol.	Mágus saga jarls	147-168

Table 2.3: Ms72 according to old pagination.

### 2.1.4 Excursus: AM 144 fol. – Different treatment of the same sagas?

The saga manuscript with the shelfmark AM 144 fol. is a partial copy of AM 156 fol. (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 102) and was also subject to Árni's rearrangement. AM 144 fol. contains nine texts in three CUs, which used to be part of an even larger codex (Jónas Kristjánsson 1966, xviii). An AM-slip is associated with AM 144 fol., on which Árni has noted that the leaves were taken "Ur bok i grænu bande, er eg feck af *Sera* Jone Torfasyne ä Breidabolstad" ("out of a book in a green binding, which I received from the pastor Jón Torfason in Breiðabólstaður").<sup>18</sup> Similar slips are attached to AM 15 fol., AM 164 e  $\gamma$  fol. and AM 188 fol., and the codicological evidence indicates that these parts originate from the same codex (Ms72). The parts can be brought into their original order based on contemporary pagination (Table 2.3). The leaves with the old pagination 111-118 are not found in the Arnamagnæan Collection and have presumably gone missing or were destroyed.

Striking parallels exist between the contents of Ms72 and Ms28a (see table 2.1 on page 54). Copies of the same sagas that formed the third to tenth items of Ms72 were located in the latter part of Ms28a, of which the surviving CUs are preserved in AM 156 fol. The order of these eight texts is also almost the same with the only exception being that in Ms72 the copy of *Porsteins báttur froða* followed *Porsteins báttur austfirðings*, while it followed *Porsteins saga forvitna* in Ms28a. The copy of *Porsteins báttur froða* from Ms72, now in AM 144 fol. CU3, is entitled "Enn Eitt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>For more information on the previous owners of these manuscripts see Jónas Kristjánsson (1966, xviii).

Æfenntyr Af Audrum Islendskumm Austfyrdskum Þorsteine" ("yet another story about another Icelandic Þorsteinn from the Eastfjords") (fol. 45v), which may be a hint at why it was included in another place in that manuscript. Since the copy of that saga from Ms28a is destroyed, the title cannot be compared to its direct exemplar, but it is very likely that it was identical with the one given in AM 562 f 4to CU1: "Æfintyr af Þorsteine Austfirdskum". Thus, when copying the eight texts from Ms28a, the scribe only changed the location and title of one saga.

Of the remaining sagas in Ms72, *Svarfdala saga* (now AM 144 fol. CU2) was equally copied from Ms28a (now AM 161 fol. CU1). In the copy in AM 144 fol. CU2, the same lacunae are indicated as in AM 161 fol. CU1 and the wording is identical, revealing that it is a direct copy of the latter. In other words, a total of nine sagas were copied from the original manuscript Ms28a into Ms72. The other texts contained by Ms72 seem to stem from a different exemplar or exemplars. The way Ms28a was used as an exemplar therefore shows a selective approach, where only some of the texts were copied and their order was slightly changed.

After Ms72 came into Árni's possession he divided the codex into differently sized chunks and rearranged them. The copies of the first ten sagas – including the texts that were copied from Ms28a – were registered in t1 as NUMBER 144 IN fol. (AM 456 fol., 4r). That arrangement has not been changed since and is now called AM 144 fol. Árni divided the last texts from the original manuscript into at least four small codicological units. Since the leaves with the pagination 111-118 are not preserved, nothing is known about their fate, but is is likely that the four leaves contained a copy of one short text.

Two of the three preserved saga copies formed single-text manuscripts in t1, NUMBERS 15 and 188 IN fol. (AM 456 fol., 2r & 5v). The copy of *Orms báttur Stórólfssonar*, on the contrary, was rearranged with another copy of the same saga as well as other texts (mostly *Íslendingasögur*) and was stored in a large bundle when Jón Ólafsson prepared his catalogue. The same bundle, NUMBER 164 IN fol., also contained a copy of *Víga-Glúms saga* that originated from Ms28b (AM 456 fol., 5r; see also figure 2.6 on page 63).

The manuscript with the first ten items of Ms72 was bound in Arni's time. Like the leaves that now form AM 297 a 4to, NUMBER 144 IN fol. was bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards containing Latin text with musical notation (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 102). Here also, the old parchment leaves have been removed from the boards

later on and are now part of AM Access. 7. Merete Geert Andersen (2008, 4, 10) has identified them as stemming from two different manuscripts, a missal and a gradual, which she calls Hs 1 and Hs 2.<sup>19</sup>

Further indication that NUMBER 144 IN fol. was bound for Árni by either Gylling or another professional book binder of the time emerges from one of Árni's track lists for binding tasks. In a list of manuscripts that were supposed to be handled by a book binder, Árni has listed as number 54 of the folio-section "Vigaglums Saga *etc.* ur græna bandz bokinne" ("Víga-Glúms saga, out of the book with the green binding") (AM 209 8vo, 15r).<sup>20</sup> That means Árni spent not only time and effort on this manuscript, but also money for having the copies of these ten sagas bound in one volume.<sup>21</sup>

Árni also had NUMBER 156 IN fol. bound in a parchment binding with reused leaves on the boards. The leaves originated from the same missal manuscript (Hs 1) as one of the leaves that was used for NUMBER 144 IN fol. (Andersen 2008, 4), and it is mentioned on the same page of the binding list in AM 209 8vo (fol. 15r). NUMBER 156 IN fol. can even be identified as the item right above NUMBER 144 IN fol. with the running number 53. The two manuscripts Árni created have accordingly an almost identical codicological history insofar as they both came to Árni as part of a large codex, were broken up by him into smaller codicological units, prepared for rebinding at the same time and finally covered with the same kind of reused material.<sup>22</sup> NUMBERs 156 and 144 IN fol. also had highly similar contents, but despite all these similarities, Árni retained the original order of the texts in NUMBER 144 IN fol., while he changed the order in NUMBER 156 IN fol.

Notwithstanding the preservation of the original order of texts, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>The leaves in question are fols. 24 and 48 of Hs 1 (*Missale Scardense*), removed from AM 144 fol. and AM 297 a 4to, respectively, and fol. 10 of Hs 2 (*Graduale Gufudalense*), removed from AM 144 fol.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Arni specified the purpose of the binding list on fol. 20r of AM 209 8vo.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Having this manuscript bound must have costed him between one and two marks. Gylling charged in his invoice from 1715 one mark and eight skillings for a folio-sized manuscript in old parchment (AM 909 c 4to, 20r), whereas the later bookbinder Bertel Wolck (active book binder in Copenhagen 1721-1743 (Springborg 1996, 18-19)) charged between twelve skillings and two marks for a binding in folio (see e.g. AM 209 8vo, 56v). Since Árni bought sewing equipment from Gylling, he was able to at least press and sew manuscripts at home in preparation for binding, which may have reduced the binding costs in some cases (AM 909 c 4to, 17r, Springborg 1996, 16-17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Almost the entire original codices Ms72 and Ms28 seem to have been treated by Árni at the same time. Out of the total eight manuscripts into which he arranged the parts, references to five can be found on fols. 15r-16r of the binding list in AM 209 8vo (NUMBER 15, 139, 144, 156 and 161 IN fol.). Another two were probably never properly bound in Árni's time (NUMBER 188 IN fol. is listed as "un-bound" in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue and NUMBER 164 IN fol. was stored in a bundle (AM 456 fol., 5r-v)), which leaves a single manuscript, NUMBER 212 IN fol., that may have been treated by him at another occasion. Árni had it bound, though, as has been pointed out before.

leaves now found in AM 144 fol. bear traces of internal separation. On fol. 27r, the end of Svarfdala saga is crossed out and used to be pasted over with a leaf that contains a transcription of the same text part. The copies were accordingly prepared for separation at some point, dividing the ten sagas in the current AM 144 fol. into smaller codicological units (Jónas Kristjánsson 1966, xix). A codicological analysis reveals that the bifolia in the original quire containing the end of Svarfdæla saga (fols. 25-28) have been separated at some point, but are now rejoined. Similarly, the original quire of the current fols. 9-12 that span both the end of Víga-Glúms saga and the beginning of Svarfdala saga was dismembered according to the boundary between the two texts by cutting the outer bifolium in two. Here as well, the leaves have been reunited and form a repaired bifolium.<sup>23</sup> Despite the later conservation work, the separation of the bifolia and the copying of the text part made it possible at one point to remove the leaves containing Víga-Glúms saga and Svarfdala saga individually, leaving them in separate CUs.<sup>24</sup>

The AM-slip contained by AM 144 fol. indicates that at least the copies of the first two sagas were at some point thought of as independent from the rest, since the slip originally only listed those two. Arni added the titles of the other eight sagas underneath in lighter ink, suggesting that he completed the table of contents at a later time. The intended division is paralleled by the division of texts from Ms28 in between what is now AM 156 fol. and AM 161 fol., which separates sagas of the north from sagas of the east (Jónas Kristjánsson 1966, xix). At some point, however, Árni seems to have changed his mind about NUMBER 144 IN fol. and added the other sagas to the table of contents. If the copies of the first two sagas had been removed, that would have made AM 144 fol. even more like AM 156 fol. Nonetheless, the last eight items in AM 144 fol., which correspond to the texts in AM 156 fol., do not show any traces of rearrangement or preparation for dismembering whatsoever. The question thus remains why the order of the matching sagas was kept in one manuscript while it was changed with such great care in the other.

While some of the texts about Porsteinn were removed from Ms28

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$ The rejoined leaves of the bifolia show repairs by means of regular paper (instead of Japanese paper). This indicates that the reparation was done earlier than the twentieth century, and possibly as early as when the manuscript was given its parchment binding in Árni's time. Whether or not the crossed-out ending of *Svarfdala saga* was pasted over with the small slip at the same time cannot be assessed, but it is possible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>From the current point of view, one might not necessarily call these separate CUs. However, they were clearly changed so that they could be moved individually changing the order. According to Gumbert (2010, 4-5) that fact is central to determining codicological units. From the historical point of view, the leaves containing *Viga-Glúms saga* and *Svarfdala saga* thus form different units. See also section 1.5.2 on page 32.

and did not become part of NUMBER 156 IN fol. could be motivated by their "inferior" quality (AM-slips in AM 562 e, f and i 4to), the other sagas were separated into individual CUs and combined anew as well – a process which would not have been necessary in order to remove the three unwanted texts. Árni additionally treated the various copies of sagas about a Porsteinn in different ways in the two manuscripts. Unfortunately, it is unknown when the manuscripts came to Árni, so that it is impossible to say if the varying treatment of the texts is related to changing approaches over time. The aesthetic aspects I discussed for AM 156 fol., on the other hand, suggest that at times, there may have been other organising principles behind the rearrangement activity of the manuscripts than solely their contents.

## 2.2 Markús Bergsson's book

A codex which Árni Magnússon received from the sheriff (*sýslumaður*) in Ísafjarðarsýsla Markús Bergsson (1688-1741), Ms35, was dismembered and the multiple parts were rearranged in different ways. Markús, the illegitimate son of the *lögréttumaður* Bergur Benediktsson (1642-1705), is best known for his interest in law texts, but was closely connected to the family of Magnús Jónsson in Vigur (Bogi Benediktsson 1881-1932, II: 233-236). The present codex may also have come to Markús via that connection, since it was written by one of Magnús Jónsson's scribes.

Among the Arnamagnæan manuscripts in quarto-format, a notable number of artefacts carry a reoccurring note by Árni reading "Ur bok er eg feck af Markuse Bergssyne, og tok i sundur" ("From a book that I received from Markús Bergsson and took apart") (AM 585 a 4to, AMslip; see also figure 4.29 on page 190). One of those manuscripts, AM 345 4to, contains a table of contents (Figure 2.9 on page 76), which Kålund (1889-1894, 1: 580) describes as "*en år 1702 skreven* indholdsfortegnelse over en samling romantiske sagaer (*i alt 19*), *af hvilke nu de fleste findes dels i dette nummer, dels i AM. 536, <sup>4to</sup> og 585, <sup>4to</sup>*" ("a table of contents, written in 1702, listing a collection of romantic sagas (19 in total), most of which are now to be found partly in this manuscript, partly in AM 536 4to and AM 585 a-e 4to"). The same list of sagas is repeated in one of Árni's notes in AM 435 a 4to (fol. 80r-82r), where he adds that he was given Markús Bergsson's codex in 1710.

Kålund (1889-1894, 1: 580) is correct in his identification of AM 345 4to, AM and AM 585 a-e 4to, but four sagas from the list are not mentioned in the printed catalogue: *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra, Sörla þáttur* (or: *Héðins saga og Högna*), *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar* and *Haralds saga Hringsbana* (Table 2.4 on the next page). In the slightly later edition of Árni's catalogue of parchment manuscripts, Kålund (1909, 29-30) attempts to identify the remaining parts. He points out that three of the four missing sagas, items 4, 18 and 19, left some traces in the collection: In Jón Ólafsson's catalogue, the entry for NUMBER 345 IN 4to lists these three texts (AM 456 fol., 18r), indicating that they were contained by the manuscript in t1. This is further supported by the first of three AM-slips in AM 345 4to, which mentions these exact three titles in a table of contents written in Árni's hand. A second hand added to the slip that there were additional texts in the manuscript without naming them, and a third hand finally states "indeholder ikke heri" ("not contained herein"), noting

Number	Contents	Shelfmark
1	Af magusi Jarli og þ <i>ei</i> m amunda sonum <i>m</i> .	AM 536 4to
2	Af Ulfari sterka.	AM 585 b 4to
3	Af Þorsteine vijkingsyne.	AM 345 4to CU2
4	Af Halfdane Brónu fostra.	_
5	Af Gibbon	AM 585 c 4to
6	Af Nichulasi leykara.	AM 585 c 4to
7	Af sigurdi fot og asmunde.	AM 585 d 4to
8	Af sigurdi Turnara.	AM 585 d 4to
9	Af Hector og Køppum <i>m</i> hans	AM 585 a 4to
10	Af Valldimar Kongssyne.	AM 585 e 4to
11	Af Conradi Keysara syne.	AM 585 e 4to
12	Af Þialar Jone.	AM 585 e 4to
13	Af Høgna og Hedni	_
14	Af Heidriki kongi <i>og hans ættmønnumm</i>	AM 345 4to CU3
15	Af Bösa hinum Sterka og Herraude	AM 345 4to CU3
16	Af Hrömundi Greypssyne	AM 345 4to CU3
17	Af An Bogsueiger.	AM 345 4to CU1
18	Af Haldane Eysteinssyne	_
19	Af Harallde Hrijngs bana.	_

Table 2.4: Ms35 based on a table of contents in AM 345 4to, 29v with shelfmarks of identified parts.

+ has jugibian bela & Thar unon, sud woor ox up in pos 116 De tel ani bie wengen fi fu ha voitin e he u bon Stoguni fet han o gin i hellerne nie rochi nepen e fei han pado ben hat wa wys dom t'moor in, hu tob Lugendal ern a pado sin te mit aget m'ern be fom houi o mm a nera hin figati m'e hunngetatti an tim fim him w jamtifta, suburnen hi nu saga Borneri. 201 8mgs Janas RB

Figure 2.9: Fol. 29v of AM 345 4to containing an added table of contents of Markús Bergsson's book (Ms35). Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

that the named sagas are absent.<sup>25</sup> Since NUMBER 345 IN 4to is recorded in t1 with the additional three sagas, whereas Kålund (1889-1994, 1: 580) gives the contents as it is today, the second hand's comment could be as old as 1730 and the third hand's comment refers to a state that is first attested in the catalogue volume from 1889. The contents of this manuscript were thus changed between t1 and t0, and the three named sagas were lost while Árni's collection was in public hands.

Kålund (1909, 30) refers to the manuscript AM 587 e 4to as the last missing part of Ms35, since it contains a note with the same source description as cited above, naming Markús Bergsson as the last owner. AM 587 e 4to contains in fact Sörla þáttur, one of the four missing texts, but this particular copy is in Arni's own hand. It can therefore hardly have been item thirteen in Markús Bergsson's codex. Although possible, it is unlikely that the note refers to the text's exemplar, since in other manuscripts he copied, Arni made it clear that the source information concerned the exemplar (e.g. AM 562 i 4to). The more likely scenario is therefore that the leaves from Markús's manuscript that contained Sörla *báttur* are lost and the AM-slip is wrongly associated with AM 587 e 4to. Jón Ólafsson's catalogue also reveals that NUMBER 587 IN 4to used to contain two copies of Sörla þáttur, one of which is now missing (AM 456 fol., 23v; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 749). That means when the leaves of the second Sörla þáttur were removed, the AM-slip most likely stayed with the first copy, to which the provenance information is not related. The story of *Sörla báttur* is in this respect comparable to the three other missing texts, none of which was discarded by Arni or destroyed during the great fire in 1728. Instead, they were lost after his death and their AM-slips stayed with the manuscripts with which the sagas were registered in 1730.

The fifteen extant texts are written in three different script types: (1) chancery, (2) kurrent script and (3) a hybrid form between chancery and kurrent. The changes of script are presumably the reason why Kålund (1889-1894, 1: 580) notes that today's AM 345 4to "synes skrevet med tre forskellige hander" ("seems to be written by three different hands"). Upon closer examination, however, all parts are written by a single hand that changes styles. Most texts show more than one script type to start with, since the catchwords are often in kurrent script and the rubrics and colophons in chancery, regardless of the script in which the main text is written. Moreover, the style frequently changes within the main text, sometimes even between lines or words. Nonetheless, the scribe shows certain

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>AM-slip 1 of AM 345 4to can be seen in figure 4.29.

continuities in all of his script types. Apart from letter forms recurring in different parts, the scribe uses the same abbreviation marks in the various script types. A superscript *c*, for example, is employed frequently to indicate 'ik' or 'iki', as in forms of the the word "mikid" ('much'), which occurs both in chancery (e.g. AM 585 b 4to, 1v:26 (Figure 2.10)), in kurrent script (e.g. AM 585 c 4to, 2v:13 (Figure 2.12 on page 80)) and in sections with mixed script (e.g. AM 585 a 4to, 22r:4). A superscript *t* that resembles a cross is repeatedly used to indicate 'ed' as in "med" ('with') (e.g. AM 585 b 4to, 1v:26 (Figure 2.10); AM 585 b 4to, 1r:3 (Figure 2.11) and AM 585 c 4to, 2v:13, (Figure 2.12)).<sup>26</sup>

There is a rather wide range of variety within the separate script types, which, however, occurs equally in the different scripts. For instance, personal pronouns in dative singular are written in differing ways in all parts, but the scribe tends to prefer forms that insert an *i* in front of the vowel and then use an "er"-abbreviation marker (e.g. "mi"); either in a round form (e.g. AM 585 b 4to, 1v:21, (Figure 2.10) and AM 585 c 4to, 2v:10 (Figure 2.12)) or as a large "zigzag"-version that extends all the way down to the base line and at times even below (e.g. AM 585 b 4to, 1v:25 (Figure 2.10) and AM 585 c 4to, 2v:19 (Figure 2.12)). Finally, decorated initials appear in a range of styles, partly depending on the script type of the respective part: Where the main text is in chancery script, the initials show the most intricate decoration. The largest initials, which occur at the beginning of a text in chancery script, correlate to approximately ten to twelve lines and are laid out in a rectangle of floral ornaments with the characters being written in triple lines with quartered diamonds in the middle of the strokes (e.g. AM 536 4to, 1r (Figure 2.13 on page 81)). Medium large decorated initials (approximately four to nine lines) occur in all styles and show bold double or single lines and occasionally floral ornaments, preferably along the ascender and descender (e.g. AM 345 4to, 1r, 12v; AM 585 b 4to, 1r (Figure 2.11 on the facing page)). In chancery style, when the initial has a bow there is often a face drawn in it (e.g. AM 345 4to, 1v; AM 585 b 4to, 16r; AM 536 4to, 15v (Figure 2.14 on page 82)). Small and simple initials (one to three lines), most commonly found in parts where the main text is written in kurrent script, are rendered less lavishly but with bolder lines, some of which appear as double lines (AM 585 d 4to, 1r; AM 585 e 4to, 8r & 23r)

Based on these characteristics, it is further possible to identify the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>The scribe also often employs the abbreviations "m<sub>3</sub>" and "m<sup>\*</sup>" for *með*.

21 m. g. & brosti nu fyne mi stei wi tit ap g ono, w. ma. f. titu s 22 akr en e e palli at ei no uorn detta or hnon mi p b folo fac, sij... 23 kn bir h m fy at bua' t' oro z tim ui uia't s daigi fm did ur 24 fykn sugo' he bbr t' boga z allt lid kra mi frat z lut nu s b. 25 sit f bir gn fy m at h cleha'. h has befio i porn, g v trolla-26 m sa g knod fac. L' grypr tra uorn z tirt ay gnd milli sykn

Figure 2.10: Lines 21-26 of fol. 1v of AM 585 b 4to, exemplifying the scribes preferred ways of writing "mier" (l.21), "sier" (l.25), "med" (l.26) and "mikilli" (l.26). The text is written in chancery script.

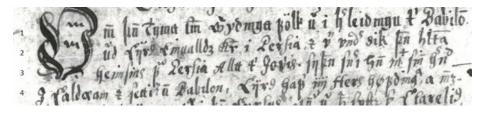


Figure 2.11: Lines 1-4 of fol. 1r of AM 585 b 4to, exemplifying the scribes preferred way of abbreviating "med" (l.3) and showing a medium large initial. The text is written in mixed script (chancery and chancery with aspects of kurrent).

scribe as Jón Þórðarson (d. ca. 1703), Magnús Jónsson's scribe.<sup>27</sup> The same hand is, among others, found in AM 426 fol., where Jón Helgason (1955, 9) has identified it.<sup>28</sup> The large codex AM 426 fol. is known to have been in Magnús's possession, and the leaves in Jón Þórðarson's hand show, among others, the same kind of initials, shifting script types as well as the characteristic abbreviations.<sup>29</sup>

The name Jón Þórðarson is further attested in additions to the original Ms35. For instance on fol. 29v of AM 345 4to, where to the right of the mentioned table of contents, a certain Jón Jónsson attributes the register to his father, Jón Þórðarson (Loth 1978, 40-41). According to this account, the father wrote the adjacent register in 1700 and gave the codex to his son, who claims to have owned the book in 1703. The father appears to have been deceased when Jón Jónsson made this note. Since the table

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Little is known about Jón's place of living. While Agnete Loth (1978, 40) states that his only known dwelling place was in Kálfavík in Ögurssveit, he names Strandseljar in one of his colophons in London, British Library, MS Add. 4869, 160r. I am grateful to Sheryl McDonald Werronen for sharing her knowledge on Jón Þórðarson with me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>The same suggestion was put forward by Árni himself, but only about some of the parts (AM 435 a 4to, 80r-81v).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>The leaves in Jón Þórðarson's hand are fols. 80r-143r (Jón Helgason 1955, 9).

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gigge fil ting Ban að eg fleytte por t' bes of fitter vijle að ta
min men som av vor vortart bruttaup, mir til Bran og Bri vort
nor fag gim, nog si allt b gull er por i Arabia, Bun ter ka en
Ratu flej, og breg som sfre gefre Gefut smi ter ka at G. alla Lyba
mig pyz, t' holld to ginda, z for kas fus alla ka nod, mi fila Ana

Figure 2.12: Lines 9-13 of fol. 2v of AM 585 c 4to, exemplifying the scribes preferred ways to abbreviate "*mik*lu" (l.13) and "*med*" (l.13) as well as the common forms for personal pronouns such as "pier (l.9) and "*mier*" (l.10). The text is written in kurrent script.

of contents itself is dated with the ambiguous date of "Maij 17002", it is unclear whether the son is correct and the table of contents was written in 1700 or if Kålund is right and it actually is two years younger. In any event, both the table of contents and the son's note were added later than the text on fol. 29v, which was written in a different ink. The table of contents was inserted at a single occasion, suggesting that it was added to a random blank part in the manuscript after the last texts were copied. This page was then marked with the letter "R" in the lower margin that indicates the location of the register, or "registur" in Icelandic.

According to the colophons, the texts of Ms35 were written during the years 1688-1700. The colophon with the date 1700, however, was added later to fol. 41r of AM 536 4to. Based on the handwriting, this addition can be attributed to the son Jón Jónsson. In this colophon, Jón additionally identifies the scribe (his father) – a practice that does not occur in the original colophons. The latest original colophon is found in AM 345 4to (fol. 74r) and gives the year 1695. In conclusion, Jón Þórðarson wrote the whole manuscript Ms35 over a period of approximately ten years at the end of the seventeenth century and gave it to his son before he died in the early eighteenth century.

#### 2.2.1 Parts of Markús Bergsson's book in four different places

Markús Bergsson's manuscript was divided into at least twelve parts and rearranged in various ways after it came into Árni's possession. In t1, the extant parts were recorded in three different aggregations: NUMBER 345, 536 and 585 IN 4to (AM 456 fol., 18r, 21r & 23r). NUMBER 345 IN 4to additionally contained the now lost copies of *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar* and *Haralds saga Hringsbana*, and I have ar-

Sheart sip Maguit Jarle Dy fim. Amanta Soum (ap I efmundur Gepur Replace Gerted Gan Rie de j saxlude pai o in ei 5 vinfall im alla ube, at in v meluad in mill, s" im lotte ejef til Japas vs fonne, 3 fronn in i fio mil at im foot emgin dut taple in in to mit metit, in er ucenor sugar to Radyiagie Reviats, 13 v en dag at heuf v albat er t fat 3 funn hafarte, Sigo gi p ha, ba ma heuf verten S. Anan Repie Japa ayustan ? Japa ins ed bu er mil er Japa i nora s'ga. Super git ei mbe thiot grype à ht egt.gu torpundin mune ve. Du hit vil Epst t'in f Reyf az allu man bit vin be fo czu gy in ez'eg a e' ongol mana binast abe? hier ganhar beff ? Sverd, S. g & vift ve og all aguet moe 日面的 om va hagr ve es bu heing hil quongun ept fi fin ha et Stals Rey! leit Teidugla f h ? m. Sagdet ongut ha do i gennin veta ab Sil Sie Japa Lade, ad. En po au f Reyf e pa ge pan Sepped ha totta nepan a nod" sight git er fluf vita elierla, en ho fie & funnt om fina hut. Brois ht br hu nahr & Satdar in er vit a umfall, i fr Si q fu, Geiter An Afindr Anav Sinuto en Evmenoa Den Runng: ez mil Gwols f Repf & alle ber f' f feyr a heber mit p leph rade dit be en ho fin hu fr bomit our benn tetu pe t bibin Eringa mit til ginda & hep'e gana o gud wil fina fund für mit lifbard Sinfr a fo ve tholla. Sinfr bis sigd pers sa b hap en aguet Anor e' qu ane ? valde bar a ent c m. hu liet Sufin i gap ? liene ei fir en fin Bom i garba t. fr. br vo bu o'v ab bar bom fendem Jatmo beufa a liet in bua ubugla Detielu i mot fin. Sight gi Skuje ju med xl. m. Et hallne fis. fir tob vel v fim 2 hab sabia of to bra alm. ? fo v gin, Sig Dualout fe usie hind i gobi pagnaber 20m Jup liter "

Figure 2.13: Fol. 1r of AM 536 4to, showing a large decorated initial. The text is written in chancery script.

Bay sty Mago Farli tap XIX. at vo f typinda en Da ad beyf uf til Daguts Schut, in him fini er fan ha hu m nie mil e flerbig, hunt p harn, h nie p berf e ba addi to beri tob fort, a fo bu to va to quast Stad paurul Beita, ter if he namal to va, to fie ee hards i emu ordi at sa, fie el hn vijst gamal fen en e er nu i fin manutin e' e e' pane at ba fie elli belgnu, ? c'e ha vagi hier in foiellon vy ? blon, ? buaden ongo "the vet to Dip" i geminn, at flit mor pora at f hopomanim hr kis bna nut pri hent f. feyf. opn opn sonds. ede vilie fat niet hra at e Dueliest hil nora finne, pie en Beof nat fbat hil til norn, pafe huom at tim ollu mgin, a bada at & heti & via f' til e't bei reint & e'li fegdi, beyf liet fo via fin fir badu, Snop m. hu voji fat mil til factis beyf miler , fet fo fin martaft hirom & nieft, unop miler ve il e hells ong non, en e fitte vt'en hin pridugis in yorn ed ysta, h e ee m obynn min falin vitt finn til, ? If e ee eina fef o pir hachn ap berf brofi at e q'fo via geor, gugu fr e' Dagud, Billjintui he sond. ugis in bepf to to ming radin neyti bepf my ob. Safin olip p i buitt to htm buby mgi, ? fo hisbinin, budy m. alle fpi e en wit haall & kaalu hopping? ? il en fo, fi pi foi er at ætla at e moni norn tit foor fin e' ver fie poi i, fo bil grallon fe e' kil haf mina u vit num often m Villy milti pon bu fiert fo ft'e ftolin, at bu udil mil ej f. ha min f beyf. Bept heprobi fina a Balladi vidy. I'si, a mitt ein ming gamal in , fift. Jamall vint, en ba min bil vita f. epe tinn vit allo min, en es vil eg fand'di f vo y en fetit his næfta fe tibu hoppingit fin biterut, beyf b. hi ad ? q" fo ve, fou, & bad ha foba er næft hu fain, ? b vydp. nie: fetiant, h uide fo e fe'pti tucygia m' zum fo o'h dig, h o' vijalma haz. Hi o' n' elldilige, e ho hin fristyasti, Onde miter pit haa s'h lipdi Eg cre of 2 ha bastadi e elli belgin feig heve chaving Us

Figure 2.14: Fol. 15v of AM 536 4to, showing a medium large decorated initial with a face. The text is written in chancery script.

gued that *Sörla þáttur* was most likely part of NUMBER 587 IN 4to.<sup>30</sup> The parts of Markús Bergsson's book were thus dispersed into four different manuscripts (Figure 2.15 on the following page).

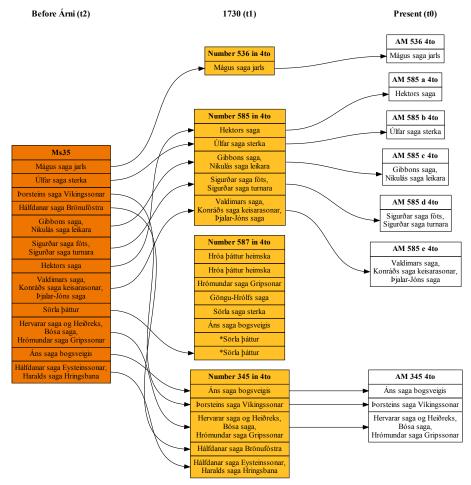
Three of those manuscripts were aggregations of multiple texts. In the case of NUMBER 587 IN 4to, codicological units of various origins were combined – among others from Ms1, Ms55 and Ms80 – whereas NUM-BER 585 and 345 IN 4to formed exclusive collections of texts from Markús Bergsson's original codex. Even though some of the texts appeared in the same order as they were registered in the old table of contents, they have been divided into separate CUs. In particular the third and fourth part of NUMBER 585 IN 4to (now AM 585 c and d 4to) also formed a sequence in Ms35. They moreover had an overlapping quire structure, since the first leaf of AM 585 d 4to used to be part of the outermost bifolium in the final quire of what is now AM 585 c 4to. It is unlikely that the last leaf of that quire of four bifolia had become loose by itself and had naturally suggested the arrangement in two CUs. Rather, the outer bifolium was presumably cut apart intentionally, since the condition of the paper does not indicate damage sufficient to have cause the bifolium's detachment.

The deliberate arrangement into smaller units with two texts each is additionally parallelled by the size of the other CUs from the original codex, none of which contains more than three texts. A similar pattern was observed in the physical history of Ms28, where the original manuscript was also divided into small units, before some of them were recombined.<sup>31</sup> Accordingly, Árni's preferred working mode seems to have been to produce small codicological units of a few texts each, before he continued working with them. Although this approach may have caused slightly more work in cases where the parts came to be in the same manuscripts and sometimes even in the same order again, this practice had the general advantage that the individual units were easy to handle and could be rearranged ad libitum.

The contents of the three aggregations NUMBER 345, 585 and 587 IN 4to can be classified as *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur*. All narratives accordingly take place in mainland Scandinavia and/or Europe before Iceland was settled. More specifically, there seems to be a geographical division between NUMBERS 345 and 587 IN 4to on the one hand and 585 IN 4to on the other. The former two contained stories that take place in Scandinavia, and all except for *Hróa þáttur heimska* are often classified

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>For the discussion of the lost parts see section 2.2 on pages 74-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>For the detailed analysis of Ms28's rearrangement see section 2.1.3 starting on page 64.



\* marks hypothetical position; \*\* marks alphabetical order (not establishable)

Figure 2.15: Physical history of Ms35.

as fornaldarsögur (norðurlanda). Hróa þáttur heimska, however, also plays out in the area of present-day Denmark and Norway. The latter manuscript number contained sagas dealing with more southern realms, usually classified as *riddarasögur* (or: fornsögur suðurlanda). A possible exception is *Þjalar-Jóns saga*, which is sometimes counted as a fornaldarsaga.<sup>32</sup> A large part of the plot is set in France, though, and the saga shares characters with the *riddarasaga Konráðs saga keisarasonar*. It is therefore often described as belonging to a borderline group between *riddarasaga* and fornaldarsaga (e.g. Glauser 1993, 664-665). In this respect, the grouping of texts in these three t1-manuscripts coincides with criteria frequently employed in the modern division between the genres fornaldarsögur and *riddarasögur*.

Arni's aggregations do not seem to have been based on the narratives of the texts alone. Some sagas occurred more than once, but in different contexts. NUMBERS 587 and 345 IN 4to, for instance, both contained copies of Ans saga bogsveigis as well as Hrómundar saga Gripssonar. The copy of Sörla báttur from Ms35, however, was as the only part of Markús's codex placed in NUMBER 587 IN 4to instead of NUMBER 345 IN 4to. Especially since NUMBER 587 IN 4to in t1 contained two copies of that text, one might have expected to find the copy of Sörla báttur from Ms35 in NUMBER 345 IN 4to together with the other texts from the same origin. A manuscript in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, NKS 1760 4to, also contains Sörla báttur, and according to a note on the title page, it was copied from NUMBER 587 IN 4to in the Arnamagnæan Collection. The text preserved in NKS 1760 4to is slightly different from the text in today's AM 587 e 4to, and a closer analysis of NKS 1760 4to suggests that it was copied from the now missing Sörla báttur, because the title and the spelling differ from the extant copy in AM 587 e 4to. In some cases, other vocabulary is employed as well, e.g. "henni" (NKS 1760 4to, 4r) is used where AM 587 e 4to (fol. 1v) has "Freyiu". Furthermore, in the few instances where there are variants noted in AM 587 e 4to, they agree with the readings in NKS 1760 4to. Thus, the variant readings in AM 587 e 4to most likely result from a collation with the former item thirteen from Markús Bergson's book, and the intention behind placing both copies of Sörla *báttur* in NUMBER 587 IN 4to was their comparison.

The fourth manuscript that was produced from the original Ms35, NUMBER 536 IN 4to in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue, contained a single text: *Mágus saga jarls*. The handwritten record does not mention any form

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>The project "Stories for all time" (2012-2015), for instance, counts it as a *fornaldarsaga*.

of binding for the manuscript (AM 456 fol., 21r). However, it is apparent from the current binding and the description in the printed catalogue that is was bound in Árni's time. Kålund (1889-1894, 1: 681) describes the manuscript as being in a typical parchment binding of this time with discarded liturgical manuscript leaves on the boards. The leaves from the front and back cover were taken off and placed in AM Access. 7.<sup>33</sup> The originally blank piece of parchment on the spine is still in place. *Mágus saga jarls* was thus bound by Árni as a single text manuscript, which raises the question why it was not treated like the other manuscript parts and included in a larger collection. Since the saga takes place in southern Europe, why was it not placed in, for example, NUMBER 585 IN 4to, or at least combined with other similar texts?

A possible answer is found on the AM-slip that is associated with the manuscript. In addition to the provenance statement, this note contains two more words: "Er fin." ("Is fine.") In fact, the copy that formed NUM-BER 536 IN 4to is the most accomplished in design of all extant parts of Ms35. It is entirely written in regular chancery script, and it contains the largest decorated initials (Figures 2.13 on page 81 and 2.14 on page 82).<sup>34</sup> Árni was accordingly also receptive to the physical appearance of some of his manuscripts. A similar suggestion was already made in respect to AM 156 fol. in the previous chapter, but it should be added that not all manuscripts show this kind of care for the physical appearance, as many leaves in the collection contain large crossed-out sections, such as in AM 181 i fol., 7v. In the cases where Árni showed greater care for the appearance of the manuscript, there is evidence that the leaves were also bound during his lifetime, whereas the less appealing manuscripts appear to have been unbound or stored in a bundle.

## 2.2.2 Texts disappearing from the University Library

The four missing texts of Ms35 were lost after 1730 when the collection was housed at the University Library in Copenhagen. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the scholar and book collector Peter Frederik Suhm (1728-1798) enjoyed access to the Arnamagnæan manuscripts and had many of them copied. This is the case with NKS 1760 4to, a former manuscript of Suhm's, which states on its title page, that is was

 $<sup>^{33}</sup>$  Andersen (2008, 137) identifies the leaves as originally belonging to two different manuscripts which she calls Hs 18 (a gradual) and Hs 44 (an antiphoner).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>AM 345 4to CU2 shows a similar layout. In this part, however, the large first initial and many of the smaller initials were not filled in, giving it less of a noticeable appearance.

"udskreven af No 587. af AMag. Bibl." ("copied from nr. 587 of Á[rni] Mag[núson's] library"). As this is the last known trace of the thirteenth item from Ms35, it was likely taken out of the collection for Suhm's benefit and never returned.

The title page of NKS 1760 4to furthermore attributes the copying to the Icelander Þorleifur Arason Adeldahl (b. ca. 1749), who worked as a scribe for Suhm. As Peter A. Jorgensen (1979, 98-101) points out, Adeldahl is held responsible for the loss of several manuscript leaves and whole texts from the Arnamagnæan Collection. For the purpose of copying texts, he was given access to the material, but seems to have treated it in an inappropriate way. In any case, he fell out of favour with Suhm and probably also with the custodian of the Arnamagnæan Collection at the University Library. The scribe Adeldahl may therefore also be to blame for the disappearance of the *Sörla þáttur*-copy from Markús Bergsson's manuscript. Since he had financial problems at times (Páll Eggert Ólason 1948-1952, 5: 172), he could have sold the manuscript for his own profit.

The other missing texts cannot be traced much further than 1730. They are not mentioned by Kålund (1889-1894, 1: 580-581), neither as being present nor as being absent, and they are not commented on with the Latin "deest" ("missing") or marked by a line in the library copy of the handwritten catalogue (AM 477 fol.) in the way many of the missing manuscripts are. It is therefore unclear when they were lost or if they were placed elsewhere. They probably did not have the same fate as the missing *Sörla þáttur*, though, because there is no evidence among Suhm's former manuscripts that *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar* or *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra* were copied from NUMBER 345 IN 4to. In general, the history of Ms35 suggests that missing manuscripts of which the AM-slips are still extant in the collection, were not necessarily lost during the great fire, but often first disappeared while they were in the possession of the University Library.

## 2.2.3 A codex containing Thomas Bartholin's working material

The existing copy of *Sörla þáttur* in AM 587 e 4to has its own physical history prior to its existence in NUMBER 587 IN 4to. In the top outside corner of the leaves, there is older pagination visible that runs from 573 to 588, and in the bottom margin of fol. 1r, the quire signature "Pp" is found. Since none of the other existing parts of NUMBER 587 IN 4to shows corresponding pagination or signatures, the leaves must have been part of

Shelfmark	Contents	Signature	Pagination
(lost)	_	[A] - [V]	1-360
AM 294 4to	Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra	Aa-Mm	361-544
AM 363 4to CU2	Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra	Nn	545-555
(lost)	Illuga saga (Latin)	[Oo]	556-[572]
AM 587 e 4to	Sörla þáttur	Рр	573-588

Table 2.5: Ms83 according to old pagination and quire signatures.

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a different codex earlier. A search through the collection indeed turns up two other manuscripts with analogous pagination and quire signatures, which stem from the same original manuscript, Ms83.

The current AM 294 4to, containing Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra, was written by an unidentified hand, but has older pagination running from 361-544 and the quire signatures "Aa" to "Mm". Its continuation is found in AM 363 4to CU2, which contains Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra in Árni's hand and is paginated 545-556 with the quire signature "Nn" on its first page. On the last page of AM 363 4to CU2, page 556, the beginning of a new text is crossed out. It can still be partly read and identified as a Latin translation of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra (Lavender 2014, 92). What happened to the rest of that translation is unknown, but considering the length of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra, it must have filled at least 5 or 6 leaves. It presumably ended not before page 566, in other words towards the middle or end of the quire marked as "Oo". Since the previous quire "Nn" ends with page 556 and the following quire "Pp" starts with page 573, the missing quire must have consisted of four bifolia (657-572) and thus been a regular quaternion. Possible leaves between the end of the Latin translation and the beginning of *Sörla báttur* can be assumed to have been blank, the same way as some pages following Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra are left blank. The absent leaves of quire "Oo" can accordingly be expected not to have contained texts other than the Latin version of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra.

The surviving parts of Ms83 indicate that it was once a rather large codex (Table 2.5). Signatures with the double letters suggest that this is the second set of quires, after the first set went through the alphabet with single letters. The older pagination likewise hints at the former existence of another 180 leaves with the pagination 1-360. Whether any quires followed the extant quire "Pp" or not is impossible to determine based on the manuscript evidence. Still, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* evidently had a

Latin translation following it, and *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra* was only written on the verso-sides, leaving the adjacent recto-side blank so that, for instance, a side-by-side translation could be added. This increases the possibility that *Sörla þáttur* was equally supposed to have a translation following the Icelandic text.

Thomas Bartholin had Arni and other Icelandic students transcribe texts concerning Danish history, and at least some of them were provided with a Latin translation (Már Jónsson 2012a, 75-77). As Philip Lavender (2014, 92-93) points out, Bartholin made use of a Latin translation of *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* in his 1689 publication "Antiquitatum danicarum de causis contemptae a Danis adhuc gentilibus mortis", and the fragment on the last page of AM 363 4to CU2 is the only known Latin translation of that text. The index of Icelandic source texts in Antiquitates informs the reader that "Haugna saga oc Hedins" (i.e. *Sörla þáttur*), was used in Bartholin's book (1689). *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*, on the other hand, is not mentioned. The latter saga not being included might be due to the missing Latin translation, as all the Icelandic texts in Antiquitates are given with a Latin rendition (Már Jónsson 2012a, 84-85). Nonetheless, it could have been part of the general preparation work for Bartholin's book, and this work resulted in Ms83.

Ms83 was presumably first part of Bartholin's library, which was auctioned off in 1691 after the patron's death (Már Jónsson 2012a, 99). Árni bought several manuscripts from that collection and might then have become the official owner of the codex. He evidently changed the physical context of the texts, since in t1, Ms83 did not exist as one codex any more. The known parts were then located in NUMBERS 294, 363 and 587 IN 4to (Figure 2.16 on the following page). NUMBER 294 IN 4to, Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra, is registered in the old catalogue as a single text without any information about the binding (AM 456 fol., 17r). According to Kålund (1889-1894, 1: 539), however, its binding used to be covered by reused parchment leaves from a manuscript of Jónsbók - yet another binding from Árni's time.<sup>35</sup> The Icelandic version of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra was in t1 part of NUMBER 363 IN 4to, which was an unbound aggregation containing two copies of that text and one copy of Gautreks saga konungs (AM 456 fol., 18r). Sörla báttur, finally, ended up in the fourth place, the already discussed NUMBER 587 IN 4to.

The case of Ms83 reveals that Árni's custodial activity also included

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>The parchment leaves were later taken off and became fols. 44-45 of AM Access. 25, whereas the manuscript was rebound. I am grateful to Mette Jakobsen and Natasha Fazlic for their help identifying the leaves.

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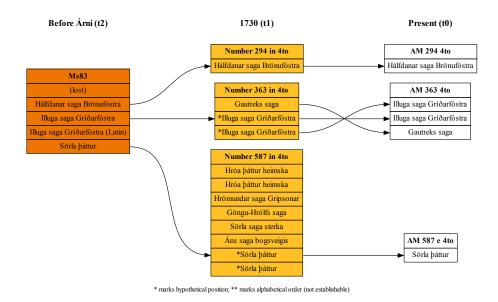


Figure 2.16: Physical history of Ms83.

manuscripts he copied himself. Admittedly, Árni was working for Bartholin when he transcribed it, meaning that his former employer was presumably responsible for the selection of texts and their organisation. However, the history of Ms83 suggests that Árni treated all manuscripts the same, no matter whether he knew the scribe or if it was his own work. The history of Ms83 shows additionally that Bartholin's authority as Árni's former employer and teacher with regards to many aspects of philology did not stop him from changing this manuscript. Table 2.6: NUMBER 615 IN 4to according to Jón Ólafsson's records (AM 456 fol., 24v) with modern shelfmarks. Texts that are not mentioned in the records but were undoubtly contained by the manuscripts are added in squared brackets.

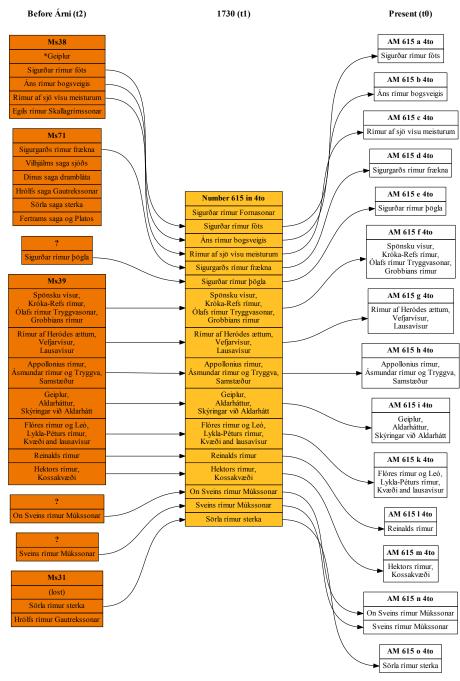
Num.	Contents	Shelfmark
1	Sigurðar rímur Fornasonar	_
2	Sigurðar rímur fóts	AM 615 a 4to
3	Áns rímur bogsveigis	AM 615 b 4to
4	Rímur af sjö vísu meisturum	AM 615 c 4to
5	Sigurgarðs rímur frækna	AM 615 d 4to
6	Sigurðar rímur þögla	AM 615 e 4to
7	Spönsku vísur, Króka-Refs rímur, Ólafs rímur Tryggva- sonar, Grobbians rímur	AM 615 f 4to
8	Rímur af Heródes ættum, [Vefjarvísur, Lausavísur]	AM 615 g 4to
9	Appollonius rímur, Ásmundar rímur og Tryggva, [Samstaður]	AM 615 h 4to
10	Geiplur, Aldarháttur, Skýringar við Aldarhátt	AM 615 i 4to
11	[Flóres rímur og Leó], Lykla-Péturs rímur, Kvæði and lausavísur	AM 615 k 4to
12	Reinalds rímur	AM 615 l 4to
13	Hektors rímur, Kossakvaði	AM 615 m 4to
14	[On Sveins rímur Múkssonar], Sveins rímur Múks- sonar	AM 615 n 4to
15	Sörla rímur sterka	AM 615 o 4to

# 2.3 A manuscript takes shape over several years

In the manuscript NUMBER 615 IN 4to, Árni Magnússon aggregated a collection of *rímur* and verses, and also included detailed notes on one of the works. In the year 1730, NUMBER 615 IN 4to was recorded as containing more than twenty different texts from a variety of sources (Table 2.6 and figure 2.17 on the following page). The items came into his possession at different points in time and were presumably added gradually to the aggregation.

## 2.3.1 Rearrangements with a common pattern?

The first text mentioned in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue is *Sigurðar rímur Fornasonar*, but it is not preserved and thus cannot be analysed here. Another set of *rímur*, *Sigurðar rímur fóts*, derived from the *riddarasaga Sigurðar saga fóts*, is recorded as the second text. At present, this text is found in AM 615 a 4to, a slim volume of ten leaves. In front of the manu-



\* marks hypothetical position; \*\* marks alphabetical order (not establishable)

Figure 2.17: Origins and development of NUMBER 615 IN 4to.

script, an AM-slip is found that carries the following information:

Rimur af Sigurdi fot - - - 6. | Rimur af An Bogsveiger - - - 8. | Rimur af 7. visu meistaranum | kvednar af Birne Stullasyne -3. | og vantar aptanvid | ur bok er eg feck 1709. fra Gisla Jons-| syne i Mafahlid, en*n* | fyrrum hafde | att Magnus Biörnson ä Bessastödum | i Steingrimsfirde. | Hier voru og samanvid | Geiplur med sömu hendi. Jtem | Eigils rimur Skallagrims sonar | med an*n*arre hendi.

(Rímur of Sigurður fótur - - - 6 [fits], Rímur of Án bogsveigir - - - 8 [fits], Rímur of 7 wise men, composed by Björn Sturlason - 3 [fits], incomplete in the end; taken out of a book which I received in 1709 from Gísli Jónsson in Mávahlíð [1676-1715], and before him Magnús Björnsson at Bessastaðir in Steingrímsfjörður [b. 1638] owned it. Here [i.e. in that manuscript] were also Geiplur in the same hand. Likewise there were Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar in a different hand.)

The note thus gives a short table of contents, listing three *rímur* and informing the reader that they were taken out of the same manuscript, Ms38. Árni had received that manuscript in 1709 when it contained two more *rímur*.

The first three texts listed in the AM-slip are mentioned as items 2-4 in Jón Ólafsson's record of NUMBER 615 IN 4to and are now found under the shelfmarks AM 615 a, b and c 4to. They were written by one scribe, have the same dimensions and show a similar layout. Kålund (1989-1994, 2: 24-25) therefore rightly identifies them as parts of the same former manuscript. According to Árni's note, he placed *Sigurðar rímur fóts, Áns rímur bogsveigis* and *Rímur af sjö vísu meisturum* to be together,<sup>36</sup> while he separated *Geiplur* and *Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar* from the three works and treated them separately.

The copy of *Geiplur* that was written in the same hand as the three sets of *rímur* is now lost – at least it cannot be located in the Arnamagnæan Collection.<sup>37</sup> The mentioned copy of *Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar*, however, is preserved under the modern shelfmark AM 610 a 4to. As claimed in Árni's note, AM 610 a 4to is written in another, again unidentified, hand. Besides having the same physical dimensions as AM

 $<sup>^{36}</sup>$ Both AM 615 b 4to and AM 615 c 4to were separated into individual CUs, but neither of them carries an AM-slip. Rather, the slip contained in AM 615 a 4to should be interpreted as applying to all three CUs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>A different copy of *Geiplur* was included in NUMBER 615 IN 4to (see AM 615 i 4to below). It is conceivable that Árni did not consider this copy to be of satisfactory quality and discarded it.

Shelfmark	Contents	Quire Structure
(lost)	Geiplur	_
AM 615 a 4to	Sigurðar rímur fóts	2 + I:8
AM 615 b 4to	Áns rímur bogsveigis	I:8, II:4, III:8, IV:4
AM 615 c 4to	Rímur af sjö vísu meisturum	I:7
AM 610 a 4to	Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar	I-XI:8, XII:7

Table 2.7: Ms38 based on remains of original quire structure.

Note: The quire structure is here given in simplified collation formulae to save space: Roman numerals count the quires; Arabic numerals indicate the number of leaves per quire.

615 a-c 4to, it also contains an AM-slip with equivalent information on the previous owners. It further specifies that Markús Björnsson owned the manuscript during the years 1702-1705, before Gísli Jónsson became its owner in May 1705.

The original order of texts in Ms38 can be recreated based on the quire structure and watermarks (Table 2.7). By these means it is easiest to establish the central part which consisted of the CUs AM 615 a-c 4to. AM 615 a 4to comprises ten leaves, starting with two singletons followed by a full original quire. AM 615 b 4to, on the contrary, has twenty-four leaves in differently sized quires. The first and third quire are full quaternions, while the second and fourth are binions. Despite the two quires being shorter, there is no indication that they are not original quires. AM 615 c 4to only contains a single quire, which lacks one leaf at the end. The three CUs can be aligned and used to form a continuous sequence with two singletons at the front and another incomplete quire at the end.

AM 610 a 4to consists of a total of twelve quires, starting with a full quaternion and ending with a shorter quire. Currently, the last two quires are arranged as a quaternion with an additional singleton at the end (quire 11) and a ternion (quire 12). However, the watermark suggests that the original location of the singleton (fol. 89), was rather in the outer bifolium of the twelfth quire, from which the other half is absent. The original last quire is thus missing its last leaf. Since AM 615 a 4to has two singletons in front, AM 610 a 4to's former location was not in front of the central sequence. Furthermore, the watermark of the incomplete last quire in AM 610 a 4to is a pitcher, while the singletons in front of AM 615 a 4to how a foolscap.<sup>38</sup> Instead, AM 610 a 4to presumably followed the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Similar watermarks are registered as nr. DE6300-PO-31218 (pitcher) and nr. DE0960-Telemann 21736\_180\_26v (Foolscap with seven bells in the collar) in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-

current AM 615 c 4to. The missing final leaf in both AM 615 c 4to and AM 610 a 4to can be interpreted as originally blank leaves at the ends of texts, which may have been cut off and discarded during rearrangement or rebinding. Finally, the now lost *Geiplur* may have been the first text in Ms38.

In t1, the extant parts of Ms38 were registered in two different places and the lost *Geiplur* cannot be traced. While the copies of the three medial texts, *Sigurðar rímur fóts, Áns rímur bogsveigis* and *Rímur af sjö vísu meisturum*, were placed in the same aggregation, *Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar* was located in a different collection of *rímur*, NUMBER 610 IN 4to. The latter was a large aggregation containing fifteen copies of *rímur* and no duplicates among the works. According to the old catalogue (AM 456 fol., 24r), at least some of the items in NUMBER 610 IN 4to were "i sama bindine" ("in the same volume"). The comment is located next to the second mentioned text (*Hektors rímur*, now AM 610 b 4to), which may indicate that that work and the following *rímur* – but not the first listed *Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar* – were in some kind of separate bundle or binding. AM 610 d 4to furthermore contains an AM-slip in which Árni lists all items now found in AM 610 b-f 4to. This list could therefore be interpreted as a table of contents for such a volume.

The fourteen copies of *rímur* in AM 610 b-f 4to stem from the same original manuscript, Ms17.<sup>39</sup> This is evident from their shared physical properties and appearance (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 15-16). Ms17 has been described as a partial copy of AM 604 4to in the hand of the legislator (*lögréttumaður*) Jón Gissurarson (1590-1648) (Springborg 1977, 78-80). According to another slip found in AM 610 d 4to, Árni received Ms17 from Vigfús Hannesson (ca. 1653-1714). Even though *Egils rímur Skalla-grímssonar* was in t1 registered as the part of same NUMBER 610 IN 4to, it was presumably not bound together with the parts of Ms17, and possibly not bound at all. The present binding of AM 610 a 4to is from the late eighteenth century – a period when many still unbound or only provi-

Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>The CUs of Ms17 are not part of the corpus and have thus not been analysed in much detail. Therefore, I am currently unable to judge if the CUs were forcefully created and if such an action was undertaken by Árni or at a different time. Further research could possibly help estimate in what kind of "volume" the parts may have been in t1. The current individual bindings of AM 610 b, c, d, and e-f 4to were first given to the manuscripts after t1, more precisely in the late eighteenth century as can be seen from the printed material inside the boards (see following footnote). Only the present binding of AM 610 e-f 4to does not show that kind of pastedown. Instead, the pastedown and the flyleaves both use (younger) thick white paper with a beehive watermark. Since Kristian Kålund wrote the shelfmark onto the front pastedown, it can be assumed that the original pastedown was substituted in his time and not during later conservation, when the manuscript was newly sewn (March 1964; see note in pencil on the inside of the front cover of AM 610 e-f 4to).

sionally covered manuscripts and their parts were given a proper binding.<sup>40</sup> It is therefore likely that AM 610 a 4to was kept loosely with the pre-existing collection, perhaps slipped into that binding.

Turning back to NUMBER 615 IN 4to, the fifth item in the old record is *Sigurgarðs rímur frækna*, which is now preserved in AM 615 d 4to. Inside its grey cardboard binding is an AM-slip, stating that Árni received the copy in 1710 from the pastor Sigmundur Sæmundsson (1675-1737). The slip further conveys that the text was part of a larger codex, in which it was followed by five sagas, from which Árni separated the copy of *rímur*. The sagas in question are *Vilhjálms saga sjóðs*, *Dínus saga drambláta*, *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, *Sörla saga sterka* and *Fertrams saga og Platos*. Peter Springborg (1969, 293-294) identifies them as AM 547 4to, which is now lost. In Kålund's catalogue (1889-1894, 1: 688) that manuscript is already registered as absent. Mention is merely made of Jón Ólafsson's record, where the five sagas are listed in the same order as in Árni's note-slip (AM 456 fol., 21r). Based on these accounts, AM 615 d 4to and the lost AM 547 4to presumably once formed one manuscript, Ms71, with the order of texts indicated in Árni's slip.

To some degree, the division of Ms71 into two manuscripts resembles the pattern of the first discussed cases, since all three rearrangements led to a smaller manuscript part being treated differently from a larger group of texts: (1) of the original Ms38 both *Geiplur* and *Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar* were treated individually, while the three core manuscripts were registered together in NUMBER 615 IN 4to; (2) in NUMBER 610 IN 4to, there is a clear division in between the bound texts and the added *Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar*; and (3), of the original Ms71, merely one text, *Sigurgarðs rímur frakna*, was placed with NUMBER 615 IN 4to while the others were registered together in t1. Only in the case of Ms71, however, there seems to be an immediately genre-related reason for this action. Here, the division was drawn between sagas and *rímur*, whereas all the other discussed texts qualify as the same genre: *rímur*.

#### 2.3.2 A single, not dismembered text

According to the old register, the sixth item of NUMBER 615 IN 4to was *Sigurðar rímur þögla*. It currently is the only text in AM 615 e 4to, a manuscript consisting of 39 leaves. Some of the leaves in the first quire, namely fols. 1-3 and 6-7, are later additions in a different hand. The added leaves

 $<sup>^{40}</sup>$ The same kind of bindings are found on the other components of NUMBER 610 IN 4to. On the dating of such bindings see section 2.3.3 on page 102.



Figure 2.18: Fol. 1r, the copied first page, of AM 615 e 4to. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

have the same size as the original leaves, but they are of better quality, lighter in colour and show clear chain-lines, while the watermark in the original leaves is difficult to make out. A third lacuna of one leaf still remains following fol. 32. This affects the twelfth, thirteenth and four-teenth *ríma*.

Since the original beginning of the text is not preserved, it is unclear whether or not there were other texts in front. The new first page, however, is decorated with an unusually large initial ("M") that correlates to ten lines of text and fills more than half of the total text width (Figure 2.18). If this and the following pages were copied from the original – for instance because the leaves were in bad condition and therefore replaced – the initial could have been used to indicate the original beginning of the manuscript. Such an assumption is supported by the quire structure (Figure 2.19 on page 99), as the first quire now forms a regular quaternion and probably did so from the beginning. The original leaves, fols. 4 and 5, are still connected and have always formed the innermost bifolium of the quire. The added leaves, on the other hand, form two natural bifolia (fols. 2+7 and 3+6) and a singleton (fol. 1). Since the last leaf of the quire, fol. 8, is a singleton as well, it can be deduced that it once formed the outermost bifolium of the quire together with the original fol. 1.

The text on the added leaves also fits perfectly into the lacunae. This is particularly obvious in the case of the second lacuna, which is surrounded by original leaves. Averaging the same number of words per page (calculated by words per line multiplied by lines per page), the text on the added leaves fills the four pages in the same way as the original writing presumably did. Moreover, the layout and stylistic details from the original are imitated in the added parts. Not only are open spaces in front of the rhymed lines arranged in the same way, the end of each *ríma* is also decorated with the same kind of tail-pieces as can be found in the original leaves. Even though this stylistic imitation could just as well occur if the new leaves were copied from a different manuscript in order to fill in for a lacuna, the seamless integration of the text – down to the catchwords – speaks in favour of a planned replacement of worn-out leaves.

At the end of the CU, the original end of the text is preserved. The *rímur*'s final fit ends in the middle of fol. 39v with the rest of the page left blank. The final quire is defective, but judging from the watermarks, fol. 39 was part of the outer most bifolium of a quaternion. The second half of that bifolium was located between the current fol. 32 and 33, were the text has a lacuna. There is thus no indication that *Sigurðar rímur þögla* may have been followed by another item.

Consequently, neither the beginning nor the end of the text show clear evidence of being a dismembered part of a larger manuscript. The manuscript does not contain any AM-slip either, and nothing is known about the provenance or acquisition. The only physical traces in the manuscript that hint at its former life are older holes from overcast stitches and traces of red colouring on the edges of both original and added leaves. This, however, only reveals that the manuscript was previously bound; it does not allow any assumptions about accompanying texts. *Sigurðar rímur þögla* is therefore for the time being treated as a formerly single-text manuscript of unknown origin.

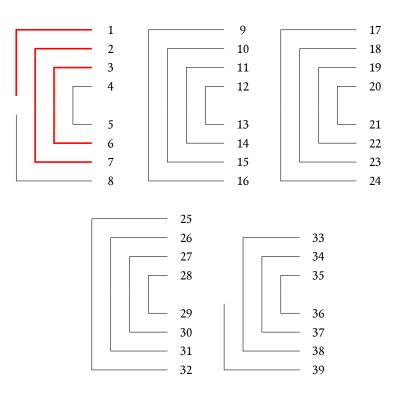


Figure 2.19: Quire structure of AM 615 e 4to. Added leaves are indicated in red.

## 2.3.3 A separately bound manuscript part

Jón Ólafsson's register continues the entry with *Spönsku vísur*, which was rearranged prior to its inclusion in NUMBER 615 IN 4to. Currently, the pastor Ólafur Jónsson's work (1560-1627) *Spönsku vísur* is the first item in AM 615 f 4to. In the same CU are *Króka-Refs rímur*, *Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar* and *Grobbians rímur*. These same texts are mentioned in the old catalogue as immediately following Ólafur Jónsson's work. Additionally, AM 456 fol. indicates that in t1, *Spönsku vísur* were bound together with other texts ("þar eru og saman vid bundnar [...]" ("bound together with it are also [...]") (fol. 24v). However, due to the way the old catalogue is written, it is not clear how many of the subsequent items were contained within that binding.

The copies of Króka-Refs rímur, Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar as well as Grobbians rímur are until the present day in the same CU as Spönsku vísur. They were thus certainly included in the same binding. These texts are additionally slightly indented in AM 456 fol. (fol. 24v), which could be an indication of hierarchy.<sup>41</sup> Also indented are the following items up to and including Kossakvaði (entry 7 through 13 in table 2.6 on page 91), which could mean they were inside the same binding. The texts in question are now found in AM 615 g-m 4to, and even if not all items in those six manuscripts are listed in AM 456 fol., they must have been part of the manuscript, as they form original CUs together with at least one item that is mentioned in the catalogue. Further evidence that all items of AM 615 f-m 4to were bound together comes from a table of contents in the bottom margin of AM 615 f 4to's first page. Kålund (1889-1894, 2: 25) identifies the addition to be in the hand of Jón Ólafsson. The list starts with Spönsku visur and ends with Kossakvaði, registering both the same items as the old catalogue and in the same order.

An analysis of the manuscript parts AM 615 f-m 4to for their physical properties reveals that they stem from the same original manuscript, Ms39a. A single scribe wrote the parts, and they all show older foliation in the bottom margin (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 25). The layout is also identical, and the leaves are in a similar condition. When the former order of the parts is established according to the old foliation, four parts are missing (Table 2.8 on page 102).

The quire structure and watermarks support the order indicated by the foliation. Of the originally adjacent parts AM 615 h-l 4to, all CUs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>In other copies of the old catalogue, however, this indentation is not as clear (e.g. AM 385 fol.) or not at all visible (e.g. AM 477 fol.).



(a) AM 615 m 4to, 17r-v (top corner) (b) AM 615 l 4to, 1r-v (top corner)

Figure 2.20: Fols. 17 and 1, respective last and first leaves of AM 615 m and 1 4to, showing matching stains in the top outer margin. Photo: Arne Mann Nielsen.

start and end with a full original quire except for AM 615 m 4to and AM 615 l 4to. The former has a singleton in the very end, and the latter starts with a singleton. Those two leaves presumably belonged together, as they have matching watermarks: the blank counterpage of a foolscap without countermark. Moreover, since they show matching stains (Figure 2.20) and none of the other extent parts contains any analogous leaves, the two singletons presumably formed a binion. AM 615 m 4to and AM 615 l 4to accordingly followed each other in the original order as suggested by the old foliation.

The number of missing leaves indicated by the old foliation likewise matches the quire structure of the preserved parts. The third and fourth lacunae span an even number of leaves, which is matched by the surrounding CUs' full quires at their respective beginnings and ends. The first two lacunae, on the contrary, indicate a lack of three leaves in the former and nineteen leaves in the latter. The quires that according to the old foliation surrounded these lacunae, are in fact incomplete and match the missing leaves in a way that corresponds to full quires.<sup>42</sup> The old foliation thus agrees with the original quire structure.

This recreated original order of the items differs from the order given in the marginal table of contents in AM 615 f 4to. The latter is consequently not the initial order and thus called Ms39 as opposed to the earlier order, referred to as Ms39a. The question remains, however, which

 $<sup>^{42}</sup>$ According to Kålund (1889-1894, 2: 25) the last item in AM 615 f 4to, *Grobbians rímur*, was written slightly later than the other texts. However, since the text starts on the same original quire as the previous item and the older foliation continues throughout *Grobbians rímur*, it was undoubtedly part of Ms39a.

Shelfmark	Contents	Old Foliation
(lost)	_	[1-3]
AM 615 f 4to	Spönsku vísur, Króka-Refs rímur, Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar, Grobbians rímur	4-49
(lost)	_	[50-68]
AM 615 h 4to	Appollonius rímur, Ásmundar rímur og Tryggva, Samstæður	69-95
AM 615 g 4to	Rímur af Heródes ættum, Vefjarvísur, Lausavísur	96-107
AM 615 m 4to	Hektors rímur, Kossakvæði	108-124
AM 615 l 4to	Reinalds rímur	125-133
(lost)	_	[134-159]
AM 615 k 4to	Flóres rímur og Leó, Lykla-Péturs rímur, Kvæði and lausavísur	160-167
(lost)	_	[168-209]
AM 615 i 4to	Geiplur, Aldarháttur, Skýringar við Aldarhátt	210-217

Table 2.8: Ms39a according to old foliation.

of the items were included in the binding mentioned in the old catalogue. Since the texts are listed in the same order as in the handwritten catalogue, it seems plausible that all texts of Ms39 were still bound or bundled together in t1. It is of course possible that the list of texts in the margin reflects an earlier state of that aggregation and some of the copies had been separated and moved again by the time they were recorded in t1. In that case Jón Ólafsson may have simply copied the marginal table of contents when he compiled the handwritten catalogue, without checking the actual order of the copies. Alternatively, the remark that *Spönsku vísur* was bound together with other items could only apply to some of the following items, potentially not more than the next three items, which are contained by the same CU as *Spönsku vísur*. Since this would be yet another organisational form of the copies – different from both Ms39a and Ms39 – this would make it most plausible that the binding note only refers to a somewhat loose bundle, which was easily changed.

The current binding situation suggests that the mentioned binding form was not a proper binding produced under Árni. At present, all CUs of AM 615 f-m 4to are bound separately in grey cardboard bindings that have reused printed material inside the front and back cover. Such bindings are typical for the time of the librarian Jens Jacob Weber (1742-1805), who became responsible for the maintenance of the collection in 1771 in connection with the Arnamagnæan Commission being established 1772. In the following years he saw to it that hundreds of manuscripts, most of them paper manuscripts, were bound. According to his own statement on a 1771-invoice from the book binder Matthias Larsen Bloch,<sup>43</sup> the binding activity targeted unbound items in order to preserve the loose leaves (Springborg 1995, 45-46; 2014, 263-264). It can be assumed that Weber also ordered existing bindings to be redone if they were not protecting the manuscripts properly any more. Since the known bindings that were carried out under Árni are usually of high quality, it is more likely that the binding mentioned in the old catalogue was either of temporary character or of another origin and Ms39 was bound in an older binding when it came to Árni.<sup>44</sup>

## 2.3.4 Some rímur accompanied by Árni's notes

The next to last item of NUMBER 615 IN 4to was, according to Jón Ólafsson's account, the work Sveins rímur Múkssonar, which is preserved as AM 615 n 4to. The identification is supported by a later marginal addition on fol. 7r reading "Ex Num: 615 in Quarto" ("From NUMBER 615 IN 4to"). The seventh leaf is also where the actual text starts with its first fit, because the previous six leaves contain notes about the following rímur in Árni's hand. Árni's notes, or rather his summary of the rímur's main contents, were heavily changed and corrected by another hand on fol. 1. The notes were written on different paper and must date later than the rímur which they treat. They thus form a separate CU, which is not mentioned by Jón Ólafsson. However, since AM 615 n 4to contains the only complete copy of Sveins rímur Múkssonar in the Arnamagnæan Collection, it is a logical place for the notes to be stored together with the work they discuss.<sup>45</sup> They were therefore presumably part of NUMBER 615 IN 4to, even though not explicitly mentioned. Other marginal additions in AM 615 n 4to CU1 further support this assumption, as a note on fol. 1r reads "j dette bind er tvende No af 615" ("In this binding are two numbers of 615") and an addition on fol. 6v states that the first CU was "vid No 615: 4to" ("with NUMBER 615 [IN] 4to").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>The dates of his lifespan are unknown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>In the "List of former codices" I register this form of the manuscript in the time period t2 as Ms39, while the original form is listed as Ms39a in t3, even though the forms cannot be allocated time periods without doubt. This choice does, however, have the advantage that both the form registered by Jón Ólafsson and the original shape can be recorded in the lists.

 $<sup>^{45}</sup>$ AM 576 c 4to contains some notes on *Sveins rímur Múkssonar*. They were likewise written by Árni but are very rudimentary, so they cannot be the origin of the notes in AM 615 n 4to CU1. The notes in AM 576 c 4to are similar in content to other notes and excerpts in AM 576 a-c 4to, meaning they fit into the context, whereas the notes found in AM 615 n 4to CU1 would not.

While the origin of the first CU can easily be reconstructed, the provenance of the second CU is less clear. An AM-slip is included in the manuscript, but it only conveys Árni's speculation on the composition of the *rímur*. It does not treat the history or physical context of the manuscript part. The CU does, nonetheless, carry a colophon dating it to 1693. It is additionally likely that the *rímur* were written down in Iceland rather than in Denmark, as Kolbeinn Grímsson 'Jöklaraskáld' (b. ca. 1600), the proclaimed author, lived and worked in Snæfellsnes in western Iceland (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1948, lxv-lxvi). Furthermore, all other known copies of the work are located in Iceland as well (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1948, xiv-xvi; Handrit.is 2009-).

The quire structure of AM 615 n 4to CU2 is complete, not indicating any kind of dismembering. Accordingly, Sveins rímur Múkssonar came into Arni's possession at some point after 1693, probably as a single text. The new owner subsequently wrote his notes about the work in a separate CU and added them to the manuscript. Since the content of the notes is highly dependent on the rímur, both CUs were included in NUMBER 615 IN 4to as a logical unit, which could be referred to as one item – just as Jón Olafsson does. The internal order of the CUs in t1 cannot be determined. It is likely, though, that leaves were loose, since the only preserved binding is from Weber's time. Compared to the texts in AM 615 f-m 4to, AM 615 n 4to is a much smaller unit that was added to NUMBER 615 IN 4to. Yet, the two CUs of AM 615 n 4to formed their own logical unit within the larger aggregation. The character of the Sveins rimur Múkssonar copy and the notes, however, is much less one of a separate compilation within the aggregation than one of a single-text unit that was extenden by means of accompanying notes.

## 2.3.5 AM-slips of similar waste paper in related manuscripts

The final item in NUMBER 615 IN 4to was *Sörla rímur sterka*, a work by Þórður Jónsson from Strandseljar dated to 1682.<sup>46</sup> The *rímur* in fourteen fits are now preserved in AM 615 o 4to. According to the colophon on fol. 34v, the manuscript was completed in 1694, and the scribe was a certain Eyjólfur Þorbjörnsson, who may be identified as the farmer Eyjólfur Þorbjörnsson (b. 1644) from Langey in Dalasýsla (Manntal 1703, 152).

The first leaf of AM 615 o 4to is clearly of another origin and the beginning of the text on fol. 1v is written in a different hand. The quality of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Þórður Jónsson's dates of living are unknown (Finnur Sigmundsson 1966, 2: 143).

the paper is distinct and its condition considerably better than of the rest of the leaves, which are rather dirty and contain many stains. The first leaf seems to have been added for Árni (1889-1894, 2: 28), since the hand that copied the beginning of the text occurs on many added first or last pages in Árni's paper manuscripts. It belongs to one of his scribes Þórður Þórðarson (d. 1747), who worked for Árni during the latter's stay in Iceland 1702-1712.<sup>47</sup> The otherwise blank recto-page of the added leaf furthermore carries the title "Sórla Rimur ens sterka, ordtar af Þorde Jonssyne" ("*Sörla rímur sterka*, composed by Þórður Jónsson") in Árni's hand. Together, these features are a strong indication for the manuscript having been rearranged by Árni.

The CU AM 615 o 4to has indeed been physically altered by Árni. An AM-slip located right behind the first leaf (in the hand of another of Årni's scribes) reads: "Þessar Rimur eru komnar frä Eyiolfe j Längey til Jöns Magnussonar, enn frä honum til min 1707." ("These rímur came from Eyjólfur in Langey to Jón Magnússon and from him to me in 1707.") An identical slip, written by the same scribe, is attached to AM 612 c 4to, which Arni accordingly also received via his brother Jón. On top of that, the verso-sides of the slips show striking similarities: While the back of the slip in AM 615 o 4to contains an incomplete family tree written by Árni that ends with Guðrún Ketilsdóttir, his mother, the back of the slip in AM 612 c 4to contains an equivalent family tree ending with Magnús Jónsson, Árni's father (Figure 2.21 on page 107). The two slips are made from the same paper, as they both show parts of a Maid of Dort ("Pro Patria") watermark, and have the same height.<sup>48</sup> Based on the watermarks and crossed-out script, the two slips are not formerly adjacent parts of the same sheet; however, their connection is obvious.

AM 612 c 4to contains twenty-four fits of *Hrólfs rímur Gautrekssonar* and was, like AM 615 o 4to, written by Eyjólfur Þorbjörnsson. According to Kålund (1889-1894, 2: 724), these two manuscripts are the only known artefacts in the Arnamagnæan Collection in the hand of this scribe. Since the layout and format of the two manuscripts are identical, a common origin for the two texts in one former manuscript is likely. Yet, AM 612 c 4to does not contain the crossed-out beginning of *Sörla rímur sterka* that would match the replaced first leaf in AM 615 o 4to. Instead, AM 612 c 4to ends with a full original quire of four bifolia, of which the last

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Other examples of added pages in the hand of Þórður Þórðarson are AM 163 n fol., AM 163 m fol. and AM 181 i fol., which are discussed in section 2.1.2 starting on page 60. See also that section for references.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>A similar watermark is registered as nr. DE0945-Graun2790\_2v in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014).

three pages are left blank. *Hrólfs rímur Gautrekssonar* accordingly did not immediately precede *Sörla rímur sterka*. Rather, the quire structure shows that *Sörla rímur sterka* preceded *Hrólfs rímur Gautrekssonar*, as the last quire in AM 615 o 4to is two leaves short and the first quire in AM 612 c 4to contains two additional singletons. The matching watermarks further underline that fols. 29 and 30 of AM 615 o 4to and fols. 1 and 2 of AM 612 c 4to once formed the outer two bifolia in a regular quire.<sup>49</sup> They were presumably separated when the texts were rearranged, and since the text boundary coincides with the leaf boundary, no text had to be crossed out or transferred.

The manuscript that contained AM 615 o 4to and AM 612 c 4to is called Ms31. Since *Hrólfs rímur Gautrekssonar* in AM 612 c 4to is followed by blank leaves, it was probably the last item in that manuscript. In front of the recreated sequence, the replacement leaf for the beginning of *Sörla rímur sterka* is found. Furthermore, the first quire of AM 615 o 4to is fragmentary, as it only consists of three original leaves, all of which are now singletons. Therefore, and also because the copied text on the added first page would fill less than a page in the hand of the scribe, it can be assumed that there was another text in front of AM 615 o 4to, which is now lost. Since no quire signatures or remnants of older foliation or pagination exist, it is not possible to estimate the extent of the missing material.

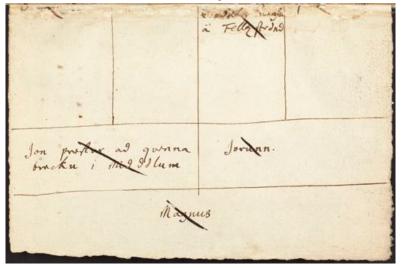
As indicated by the current shelfmarks, AM 615 o 4to and AM 612 c 4to, the two texts were found in different aggregations in t1. While *Sörla rímur sterka* was part of the large collection NUMBER 615 IN 4to, the copy of *Hrólfs rímur Gautrekssonar* was found in NUMBER 612 IN 4to, yet another collection of *rímur*. The highly common features of the AM-slips with which the two manuscript parts were equipped, however, suggest that the slips were produced at the same time: the notes about the manuscripts' provenance are written by one scribe, their wording is the same, and the slips are made from related waste paper. It is certainly conceivable that Árni equipped the manuscript parts with that information as he split them apart and they were treated together anyway.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>The watermark in question is a foolscap in a collar with seven bells similar to nr. DE0960-Telemann21736\_180\_26v in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014). While fols. 29 and 30 of AM 615 o 4to show the top of the foolscap, fols. 1 and 2 of AM 612 c 4to show the corresponding bottom part.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Since Árni did equip some of his manuscripts with slips retroactively, it cannot be excluded that the present slips were added later as well (see section 4.3.3 on page 195). Without further palaeographical analysis of the script it is impossible to date the writing of the AM-slips; since the scribe is not yet identified, this kind of analysis is currently not feasible.



(a) AM 615 o 4to, slip (verso side)



(b) AM 612 c 4to, slip (verso-side)

Figure 2.21: Verso-sides of the AM-slips in AM 615 o 4to and AM 612 c 4to, which are made from the same kind of waste paper and show parts of Árni's family tree.

In t1, NUMBER 612 IN 4to is said to contain seven different works, two of which existed in two copies (AM 456 fol., 24v). No mention is made of any kind of binding, and the only information about physical properties given is the note that both of the duplicates existed once in quarto-format and once in octavo. Seven of the named *rímur*-copies from NUMBER 612 IN 4to are preserved under the shelfmarks AM 612 a-h 4to, while both of the copies of the so-called "Illuga rímur Kerlingarfífls" are lost (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 19) (Figure 2.22 on the facing page). Furthermore, the present AM 612 h 4to contains Mábiliar rímur sterku, which is not mentioned in Jón Ólafsson's records. AM 612 h 4to is now in a self-contained CU, which is why it is not possible to determine whether it had been part of NUMBER 612 IN 4to without being mentioned in the record or if it was added later on. In layout and script, the manuscript part highly resembles AM 612 e 4to, which Kålund (1889-1894, 2: 19) identifies as stemming from the same original codex, Ms89. It is thus both possible that (a) Mábiliar rímur sterku (now AM 612 h 4to) and Illuga rímur eldhúsgoða (now AM 612 e 4to) were perceived as one entity in 1730 and therefore only recorded with one entry, or (b) Mábiliar rímur sterku was not part of NUMBER 612 IN 4to when Árni died, but was added to the manuscript later due to its physical similarities with AM 612 e 4to.

Disregarding the unclear case of Mábiliar rímur sterku, all copies in NUMBER 612 IN 4to appear to have separate origins (Figure 2.22). Just as Hrólfs rímur Gautrekssonar in AM 612 c 4to can be traced back to Ms31 and Illuga rímur eldhúsgoða in AM 612 e 4to, which used to be part of a large codex (Ms89), *Þjófa rímur* in AM 615 f 4to was contained in Ms5. The remaining items have not been identified as parts of larger manuscripts so far and do not show any apparent indication of dismemberment. Therefore, the collection of *rimur* in NUMBER 612 IN 4to can be considered an aggregation of texts from mostly - if not entirely - different origins. In this respect, the aggregation pattern of NUMBER 612 IN 4to differs from the other rearrangements discussed above. There, the pattern was described as single texts treated differently from the rest of a manuscript, so the continuous texts could be interpreted as kernels or starting points for the collections. The case of NUMBER 612 IN 4to, however, shows that such a core for the aggregation is by no means a consistent feature in Árni's rearrangement activity.

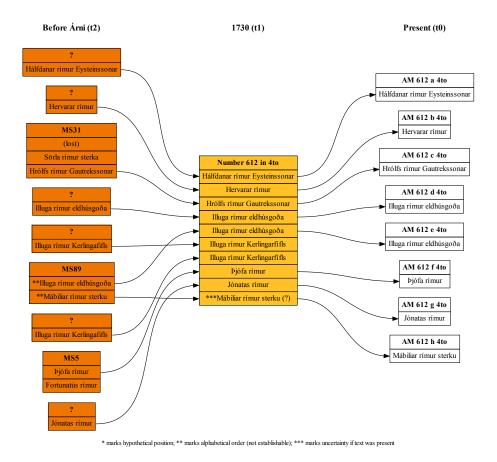


Figure 2.22: Origins and development of NUMBER 612 IN 4to.

#### 2.3.6 A provisional binding allowing additions

Thanks to the AM-slips found in CUs of the former NUMBER 615 IN 4to, the chronology of its composition can be traced to some extent. While Árni received the parts of the previous Ms31 in 1707, he was given Ms38 in 1709, and Ms71 came to him in 1710. The entry of the other parts into Árni's collection cannot be dated, but based on the available dates, the parts were acquired over a period of at least three to four years. It is conceivable that they were added gradually to the aggregation as they

were acquired and treated.<sup>51</sup>

The image of such an "open" collection that could be augmented over time is supported by the fact that there is no evidence that new manuscript formation was given a proper binding by Árni. Instead, Jón Ólafsson's record of the manuscript mentions that all texts were stored in a bundle ("i sama bundt") (AM 456 fol., 24v). The loose attachment kept the manuscripts in place, but at the same time allowed for easy addition or rearrangement as new texts came into Árni's possession. Such provisional storage containers perfectly suited the needs of a collector who increased and improved his collection of manuscripts over the course of many years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>The fact that Árni was on his mission in Iceland when he acquired the mentioned manuscripts does not mean he would not have treated them in the same way as he would in Denmark. On the contrary, there is evidence that he actively used the time in Iceland for work on his manuscript collection, which included not only collecting manuscripts and charters but also copying borrowed material as well as other archival work (see e.g. Már Jónsson 2014).

#### 2.4 A former codex from Leirárgarðar?

In the record for AM 218 c 4to in the printed catalogue, Kålund (1889-1894, 1: 488) suggests that the current three manuscripts AM 218 a-c 4to might have a common provenance, stemming from Leirárgarðar in Borgafjarðarsýsla in south-west Iceland:

Af påskriften på et foran indklæbet blad synes at fremgå, at Arne Magnusson har erholdt de i AM. 218 a-c, 4<sup>to</sup> indeholdte stykker "fra Leyrär gordum".

(The note on a leaf that is pasted into the front seems to indicate that Árni Magnússon received the pieces contained by AM 218 a-c 4to "fra Leyrär górdum" [from Leirárgarðar].)

The manuscripts in question contain a text by Brynjólfur Sveinsson about pregnancy (AM 218 a 4to) as well as different essays on and excerpts from Icelandic law (AM 218 b and c 4to). The leaves are currently bound in three thin manuscripts and have been assigned related shelfmarks, carrying the same number with the letters a, b and c. The manuscript AM 218 c 4to contains an AM-slip in front, on which Árni wrote "betta hefi eg feinged fra Leyrär gordum." This is undoubtedly the note upon which Kålund based his provenance suggestion. Furthermore, the same slip contains the following three lines in the middle of the leaf:

Magister Bryniolfur um ymislegann medgóngutima kvenna | Biorns ä Skardzä. og Halldors Þorbergssonar. | nocker Laga Discursar yfer ymser greiner Lógbokar.

(Magister Brynjólfur about the different pregnancy times of women. Some legal dissertations by Björn á Skarðsá and Halldór Þorbergsson on different "sections" of the law-book.)

This second note is not in Árni's hand, but is written by a different, possibly slightly younger scribe.<sup>52</sup> Not infrequently, AM-slips were partially or completely written by Árni's scribes, and the scribes he employed were often students that were somewhat younger than himself.<sup>53</sup> The addition on the slip in AM 218 c 4to could therefore have been written for Árni or with his approval. Since this second note refers to texts preserved not only in AM 218 c 4to, but also in AM 218 a and b 4to, it is easy to assume that Árni received all three manuscript parts from Leirárgarðar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>I thank Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson for his assistance trying to date the second hand on this slip.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>For the involvement of Árni's scribes in writing AM-slips see section 4.3.1 starting on page 173.

Shelfmark	Contents
AM 218 a 4to	Um meðgöngutíma kvenna
AM 218 b 4to CU1	Útlegging yfir fornyrði lögbókarinnar
AM 218 b 4to CU2	<i>Bjarkeyjarréttur</i> (excerpts), <i>Grágás</i> (excerpts)
AM 218 c 4to CU1	Valdsmaður þingfararbálki
AM 218 c 4to CU2	Um kvennagiftingar
AM 218 c 4to CU3	Erfðaréttur (illustrations), Um Herjólfsréttarbót (fragm.)

Table 2.9: Contents of AM 218 a-c 4to by CU.

Contrary to the first impression, however, a close analysis of the multiple CUs of which the three manuscripts consist indicates various origins and provenances. Table 2.9 gives an overview of the parts and their respective contents.

#### 2.4.1 AM 218 a 4to: A copy commissioned by Arni

The first manuscript, AM 218 a 4to, consists of one codicological unit containing only Bishop Brynjólfur's text on pregnancy. There are four leaves in two bifolia that form a short and in itself complete quire (Figure 2.23 on the facing page). The whole text was written by one of Árni's scribes, Þórður Þórðarson, who later became steward (ráðsmaður) at Skálholt (Páll Eggert Ólason 1948-1952, 5: 119-120).<sup>54</sup>

AM 218 a 4to contains an AM-slip by Árni with detailed information about the exemplar of this copy.<sup>55</sup> From the description of that exemplar, which includes the location of the text within the larger manuscript, it becomes apparent that Árni had seen the exemplar in person. Since the text in AM 218 a 4to is in his scribe's hand, it is plausible that Árni ordered him to copy the manuscript. Moreover, the otherwise detailed slip does not mention anything about where or when Árni acquired the leaves. Finally, there is no indication of the CU having been part of a larger manuscript as the quire is complete and the last page and a half are left blank. It seems therefore rather unlikely that Árni received these leaves from Leirárgarðar, and even more so that they were part of another codex. Instead, he may have borrowed the exemplar he described and had his scribe copy the text for him.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>For Þórður Þórðarson see also sections 2.1.2 on page 60 and 2.3.5 on page 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>The full text of the AM-slip is transcribed in the XML-based record of AM 218 a 4to, which is available online, together with the other manuscript descriptions, at www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.



Figure 2.23: Quire structure of AM 218 a 4to.

#### 2.4.2 AM 218 b 4to: A manuscript with two separate provenances

The manuscript AM 218 b 4to consists of two distinct parts. The first CU counts eleven leaves and contains a commentary by Björn Jónsson from Skarðsá on *Pingfarabálkur*. On the last leaf, the beginning of a court decision, the so-called *Hagabeitar dómur*, is preserved, but has been crossed out with two diagonal strokes. This CU is made out of two short quires of two bifolia each and ends with an incomplete quire of three singletons, showing clear traces of dismemberment (Figure 2.24). The second CU contains excerpts from *Bjarkeyjarréttur* and *Grágás*. It consists of six leaves, of which the last two are left blank and fol. 15 only carries text on its recto-side. In contrast to the first CU, this part forms a single, but full quire of three bifolia (Figure 2.25 on the following page). That this is an original quire becomes clear from the fact that fols. 15 and the not foliated following leaf, [16], are still continuous at the top edge, meaning they were not cut open after folding.



Figure 2.24: Quire structure of AM 218 b 4to CU1.

Besides having different quire structures, the two parts are of separate origins. The first CU was written in a hand from the middle of the seventeenth century and is rather dirty, whereas the leaves of the latter are much cleaner and were written by three different scribes from around 1700. The writing support also differs insofar as both parts show a foolscap watermark, but the figure in the first has a collar with four large bells and a countermark, while the second has seven smaller bells and no coun-

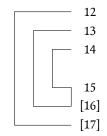


Figure 2.25: Quire structure of AM 218 b 4to CU2.

termark.<sup>56</sup> Consequently, the two parts were produced independently from each other and have separate provenances.

No AM-slip with potential information on the provenance accompanies any of the CUs, but Árni's hand is found on the leaves of the second. On top of fol. 12r, the first leaf of CU2, Arni identified the text as Bjarkeyjarréttur in the excerpts that Björn Jónsson from Skarðsá cites in his glossary. The note functions as the rubric, since the first scribe did not supply one. Arni himself participated in the writing process of the excerpts. His hand is found on fols. 12v and 14v-15r finalising the two last passages. The other two hands in AM 218 b 4to CU2 have not yet been identified. In contrast to copies that Árni is known to have commissioned, the excerpts in AM 218 b 4to CU2 are not especially tidy or clearly written and some passages are struck-through.<sup>57</sup> Presented in a neat chancery-script, the first line of the main text on fol. 12r is the one exception. Everything else is written in fast kurrent script, including Arni's own contribution. Because no rubric was supplied at first, the writing gives the impression of provisional notes rather than a commissioned copy. This tentative character is only increased by the fact that fol. 15 and [16] have not been cut open.

Since Arni completed some of the passages, the leaves were presumably produced in his presence. Again, he seems to have had access to the manuscript from which the passages were copied. It is conceivable that the other two hands found in the excerpts were scribes working on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Similar watermarks are registered as nr. DE8085-PO-21165 (four bells) and nr. DE0960-Telemann 21736\_180\_26v (seven bells) in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>One example is the aforementioned script of Þórður Þórðarson in AM 218 a 4to, a very neatly written manuscript. Among others, Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2001) describes Árni's preferences and high standards of precision for some of the copies he ordered. Even though there were evidently differences in his demands depending on the texts of the individual manuscripts, there can be no doubt that he expected the commissioned copies to be neat and tidily written.

his behalf. The first scribe may have started out wanting to produce a high-quality copy, which is why the first line is neatly written, but then changed to a faster script. In addition to the rather hasty appearance of the transcripts, the texts were not copied in full length but in excerpts, suggesting that the leaves were produced under time pressure.

The relatively little care that was given to the layout and quality of the script could alternatively indicate that the text was initially thought of as notes. In later days at least, the second CU was treated merely as notes belonging to the first text. The excerpts were neither mentioned explicitly in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue (AM 456 fol., 15v) nor on the front cover of the current binding of AM 218 b 4to, which gives the shelfmark and the broad title "Juridicaqvædam auctor er Biörn a Skarsá" ("Some juridical [works]; the author is Björn á Skarðsá") for both CU1 and CU2.<sup>58</sup> However, while the provisional character of the excerpts and their hasty layout are closely related and inevitably led to them being treated as such, it is impossible to determine how the excerpts were meant to be utilized when they were produced.

Even if the circumstances of the second CU's production cannot be clarified any further, it is obvious that the leaves are very unlikely to have come to Árni from the mentioned Leirárgarðar. Instead, AM 218 b 4to CU2 seems to have been written for and by Árni, possibly in order to accompany another text he owned or was interested in. The provenance of AM 218 b 4to CU1, on the contrary, is ambiguous. This text does not have the character of notes, but rather of a proper work. Since no alternative connection can be established, it is possible that the note about Leirárgarðar applies to this CU. The traces of dismemberment found in that part furthermore hint at a different former context for these leaves.

#### 2.4.3 AM 218 c 4to: A tripartite manuscript

AM 218 c 4to is a thin volume with six leaves in three different CUs (Figure 2.26 on the next page). The first CU consists of a single leaf carrying a copy of *Valdsmaður þingfararbálki*, which Árni attributes on the accompanying AM-slip to a certain Þorsteinn Magnússon. The text only fills one and a half pages, leaving the lower half of fol. 1v blank. The second and third leaf (a bifolium) form the second CU of AM 218 c 4to, that preserves a text by the legislator (*lögréttumaður*) Halldór Þorbergsson (1623-1711) on marriage rules for women in Iceland. Finally, the third CU comprises

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>The current binding of AM 218 b 4to is from the period 1771-1780. It is a plain cardboard binding with printed material as pastedown. The title on the front cover therefore cannot be in Árni's hand.

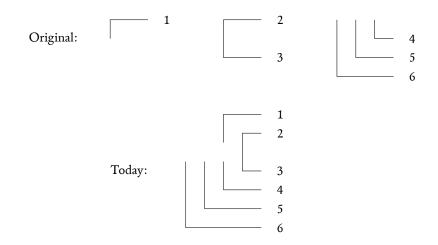


Figure 2.26: Quire structure of AM 218 c 4to CU1-3. *Above*: The separate parts according to origins: CU1 (fol. 1), CU2 (fols. 2+3) and CU3 (fols. 4-6). *Below*: The current structure after the leaves of the different CUs were joined.

leaves 4-6, which are mostly taken up by twelve illustrations for inheritance cases (*erfðaréttur*). The recto-side of the first leaf contains fragments of two court decisions, which are crossed-out with two diagonal strokes. The last one and a half pages of the CU contain the beginning of a text entitled "Vmm Herjolfs R*ettar* Bot", an essay on an additional law section. This text is incomplete, but not crossed-out or marked as unwanted in any way.

The provenance of the first two CUs is partially the same. The scribe of AM 218 c 4to CU1 has not been identified yet, but on top of fol. 1r Árni has noted: "Fra Halldori Þorbergssyne 1704" ("From Halldór Þorbergsson 1704"), indicating that he received the leaf while he was staying in Iceland. Árni and the legislator, who was 40 years his senior, knew each other and were in personal contact. As late as in 1711, Halldór wrote to Árni and asked him for help arranging with the new bishop in Hólar that he could stay there in his old age (Kålund 1920, 513-514). Halldór, who was generally considered knowledgeable, spent his long life in the Skagafjörður district in the north of Iceland (Páll Eggert Ólason 1948-1952, 2: 275). Leirárgarðar, on the contrary, is located over 200 km away in the south-west of the country, and there are no close connections or family bonds known to me in between Halldór and Leirárgarðar. The note about Leirárgarðar can therefore not be taken to apply to this leaf.

The second CU is also connected to Halldór Þorbergsson, since he is

the author of the text as by Árni's identification in the top margin of fol. 2r: "Author est Haldorus Thorbergi" ("The author is Halldór Þorbergsson").<sup>59</sup> Moreover, a comparison with AM 408 h 4to CU2 and AM 421 4to reveals that the text is an autograph.<sup>60</sup> Both AM 408 h 4to CU2 and AM 421 4to contain annals in Halldór's hand, and the script is the same early form of kurrent as found in AM 218 c 4to CU2. AM 218 c 4to CU2 accordingly came in all likelihood directly from Halldór to Árni.

AM 218 c 4to CU1 and CU2 are of the same size and the layout is similar, but they have other diverging codicological features. Most notably, the two parts were written by different scribes. Furthermore, while merely the fore-edge of the first leaf is untrimmed, none of the edges of the second CU have been trimmed. All three leaves also show older folding lines, but fol. 1 has one horizontal and three vertical lines, indicating that the paper was folded into oblong eighths, whereas fols. 2 and 3 only have two clear folding lines crossing in the middle.<sup>61</sup> Both fols. 1v and 3v are discoloured around the folding lines, suggesting for each of them that they used to be on the outside when the leaves were folded. CU1 and CU2 were therefore not folded together, but individually, meaning that they were separate for at least some time. Additionally, they may not stem from the same original manuscript.<sup>62</sup> It is possible, however, that they were aggregated by Halldór or at least kept together and that Árni received them at the same time, that is to say in 1704.

The final codicological unit, AM 218 c 4to CU3, does not show any connection to Halldór Þorbergsson. All text parts and the images are in the same hand, which is distinct from the scribes of the previous CUs. Old foliation is visible in the top outer corner on the recto-side of each leaf that runs from 64 to 66, but repeats number 64 where 65 should be. The leaves were accordingly once part of a larger manuscript. That codex, however, did not include any of the CUs that now make up AM 218 a-c 4to, since they do not preserve any matching foliation. The corresponding beginning and end of the two text fragments preceding and following the drawings have not been located either. Therefore, the leaves were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Árni did indeed write "Author est" instead of the Latin "Auctor est". This kind of mixing of his three main languages, Icelandic, Latin and Danish, occurs somewhat frequently in his notes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>See also the record of AM 218 c 4to on Handrit.is (2009-).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>Fols. 2-3 were possibly folded one more time, also into oblong eighths. The additional folding lines, however, are not very clear, and there is no discolouration visible in the according places. Thus, even if the leaves had been folded one more time, they were not in that form for a long time. Instead, they were stored folded into quarters as the discolouration pattern on fol. 3v indicates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>The watermarks do not reveal enough information to assess whether the leaves are made of the same paper and if they could have been in the same original quire.

conceivably already dismembered from their original context when they came into Árni's collection. That the beginning of the text about *Herjólfs réttarbót* was not crossed out or pasted over further supports this possibility, since this is otherwise rarely seen among the manuscripts Árni altered. The two strokes that cross out the fragments in front of the illustrations (fol. 4r) may additionally be older than the dismemberment, because the text of this first page of AM 218 c 4to CU3 ends incompletely with a catchword that is not continued on the next page. Instead, on top of fol. 4v the illustrations start. The preceding fragments may therefore have been unrelated to the drawings from the beginning, and any reader could have indicated that the first page was not of interest. Apart from these physical indications, there are no traces of origin or provenance of the three singletons. Thus, Árni's note about Leirárgarðar could also apply to this CU.

Out of the six CUs that form AM 218 a-c 4to, all but two have a provenance that contradicts the association with Leirárðargar. For the remaining AM 218 b 4to CU1 and AM 218 c 4to CU3 the provenance is ambiguous, and the note could apply to them. The likely scenario for how the provenance note came to be associated with all of AM 218 a-c 4to is therefore the following: One of the two parts was indeed received from Leirárgarðar and Árni made a note on a bifolium, which was placed around the CU. Such an AM-slip in the form of a bifolium surrounding otherwise loose leaves is a common feature in the Arnamagnæan Collection and provided a practical method for preliminary storage of unbound material.<sup>63</sup> This unit was then placed with the other material and formed NUMBER 218 IN 4to. Afterwards, its bifolium was used to enclose all CUs of the aggregation – possibly because none of them was bound. Therefore, the bifolium then also contained texts to which Arni's provenance note did not apply. In this state, a somewhat younger scribe who worked on the collection – possibly for Árni – added the second note to the AMslip, summarising the complete contents of the bifolium at the time.

Jón Olafsson's record of NUMBER 218 IN 4to gives a summary that is very similar to the one on the AM-slip of AM 218 c 4to (AM 456 fol., 15v). The old catalogue gives no information about the physical form of these texts, but the main items are named in a way that could suggest that they were still in a common bifolium in t1.<sup>64</sup> Later on, some of the CUs

 $<sup>^{63}</sup>$  Other examples of AM-slips in the form of bifolia are found e.g. in AM 716 a 4to, AM 770 b 4to CU3 and AM 409 a 4to CU2, where the bifolia still enclose the leaves of the respective CU.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>The contents of the current AM 218 d 4to are not mentioned in Jón Ólafsson's records, nor is it referred to by the discussed slips. Instead, it may be a later addition to what was NUMBER 218 IN 4to.

Shelfmark	Contents	Fols.
AM 261 4to CU1	Skálholt cartulary	1-68
AM 261 4to CU2	Skógaheiti og þeirra takmörk fyrir norðan Skriðufell	70-71
AM 261 4to CU3	Skógaheiti og þeirra takmörk fyrir norðan Skriðufell	72-73

Table 2.10: Contents of AM 261 4to with regards to CUs.

were taken out of the bifolium again, which stayed with the three last pieces. During the years 1771-1780 the bifolium was finally bound with AM 218 c 4to. Despite physical changes, the note about Leirárgarðar thus remained on the same slip as the brief index of texts in AM 218 a-c 4to, misleadingly suggesting a connection between the two statements.

#### 2.4.4 Other material from Leirárgarðar

Apart from the slip found in AM 218 c 4to, Leirárgarðar is mentioned in other manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan Collection. The larger codex AM 261 4to, for example, is equipped with the following statement on one of the AM-slips in front: "A Magnæus possidet. er komid fra Leyrár górdum" ("Árni Magnússon owns [this manuscript]. It came from Leirárgarðar"). This note in Árni's hand applies at least to the first CU, an almost 70-page thick cartulary (*bréfabók*) from Skálholt. The other two CUs of AM 261 4to, however, also prove to be closely related to that farm. (Table 2.10 gives an overview of the parts of AM 261 4to and their contents.)

AM 261 4to CU1 contains 50 individual items, all of which were written at the episcopal see in Skálholt or in connection with Bishop Oddur Einarsson (1559-1630). It was therefore entitled "Brefabok Herra Oddz Einarsson*ar*", as Árni conveys in a note found in front of the manuscript. Among the items are *máldagar*, testimonies, court decisions and letters. Oddur Einarsson's hand is occasionally found, for instance on fol. 2r, line 4-16, but various other hands, probably his scribes, wrote most of the texts.

The second CU contains a short work that is entitled *Skógaheiti og þeirra takmörk fyrir norðan Skriðufell*. The text starts on fol. 70v, following a fragment of accounting notes for Skálholt for the year 1628. This recto-page used to be pasted over, and the covering leaf was removed by the archivist Jón Þorkelsson (1859-1924) no later than 1907.<sup>65</sup> The main

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Jón Þorkelsson left a note with the manuscript informing about his actions. That slip is now kept in front

text of AM 261 4to CU2 is an authenticated copy of a document from Bishop Gísli Jónsson's (ca. 1515-1587) cartulary. The copy was made in Skálholt in 1629 and was approved by, among others, the then Bishop Oddur Einarsson and his son Árni Oddsson (1592-1665).

The third and final CU of AM 261 4to contains another authenticated copy of *Skógaheiti og þeirra takmörk fyrir norðan Skriðufell*, which is copied from AM 261 4to CU2. It is written on two originally folio-sized leaves that are still connected, but have been trimmed and folded in order to fit into the quarto-sized binding. The colophon of this copy reveals that it was produced in 1642. It is thus thirteen years younger than its exemplar AM 261 4to CU2. The second copy was executed "ad Leiraa" ("at Leirá") (fol. 72v) and the first witness who signed for the authenticity of this reproduction is Árni Oddsson, the same man who witnessed the copying of AM 261 4to CU2. His father Oddur, who was the first to approve AM 261 4to CU2, is not found among the witnesses, as he died in 1630. The son Árni Oddsson, however, lived at Leirá (Páll Eggert Ólason 1948-1952, 1: 64), so it can be assumed that he inherited the exemplar after his father and commissioned another copy.

Another provenance note by Árni found in AM 261 4to further associates the last two CUs with Leirárgarðar. Árni has noted on the first recto-page of an added bifolium that surrounds both AM 261 4to CU2 and CU3 (foliated 69+74): "Fra Biarna Sigurdzsyne, Arnasonar, Oddzsonar biskups, Einarssonar" ("From Bjarni Sigurðsson, son of Árni, son of Bishop Oddur, son of Einar"). The farmer Bjarni Sigurðsson (ca. 1655-1755) was born in Leirárgarðar where his father, the legislator (*lögréttumaður*) Sigurður Árnason (ca. 1622-1690), lived. Sigurður Árnason, in turn, was the son of Árni Oddsson from Leirá (Páll Eggert Ólason 1948-1952, 1: 64 & 190).<sup>66</sup> This conjecture supports the interpretation that at least one of the CUs was possessed and passed on by the family of Bishop Oddur Einarsson.

Based on the physical placement of the bifolium around AM 261 4to CU2-3, Árni may have received both copies through Bjarni Sigurðsson. If this was the case, however, it would require an explanation for why Árni Oddsson had his father's document copied, which nevertheless remained in the family. Instead, it seems more natural that the purpose of the copying was to pass one of the documents on – probably the young-

of the manuscript description by Jón Sigurðsson (1811-1879), which is included in the box of AM 261 4to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>The church place Leirá and the farm Leirárgarðar are located close to each other and it is likely that Leirárgarðar was founded as a dependant farm of that church. (I thank Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson for this information.)

est one – and keep the other copy in the family. The physical properties of the CUs moreover indicate that they were kept separately. Besides the younger folding lines that were introduced in CU3 in order make the folio-sized leaves fit the quarto-format of the binding, AM 261 4to CU3 shows older folding lines. These traces match the typical manner of letter folding at the time. The otherwise blank leaf fol. 73 also carries an addition on its verso-side, giving the title of the document. The words are written horizontally in the current lower left part of the leaf, but appear in the same place as the address of a letter would be found when the leaves were folded according to the older folding lines. It is thus likely that AM 261 4to CU3 was copied in order to leave Leirá and probably did so for at least some time. If Árni indeed received the last CU from a different source than the named Bjarni Sigurðsson, he may have placed it in the same bifolium as AM 261 4to CU2 because of the obvious connection to its exemplar. Also, the provenance statement on the slip is at least in part equally true for AM 261 4to CU3.

It has become clear that all three CUs of AM 261 4to have a connection to Bishop Oddur Einarsson and his descendants, some of whom lived at Leirárgarðar. The initially cited provenance note on the AM-slip could therefore apply to all parts of the current manuscript. Nevertheless, the codicological evidence suggests that Arni was involved in the current arrangement of the manuscript. The bifolium surrounding AM 261 4to CU2 and CU3, for instance, has not been described as an AM-slip in previous literature and is instead foliated like ordinary leaves. However, the two leaves are clearly of a different quality than the other leaves and must have been inserted later. They additionally carry the typical characteristics of AM-slips; the note is written in Árni's hand, and the manner in which the bifolium encloses the two CUs is highly reminiscent of other AM-slips that function as jackets.<sup>67</sup> The watermark of the bifolium is moreover commonly found in Árni's note slips. It is a coat of arms of Amsterdam without any additional mark (Figure 2.27 on the next page).<sup>68</sup> Árni thus aggregated at least the cartulary of the first CU with the part enclosed by the added bifolium - which possibly also was an aggregation of his.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>For a description and my definition of AM-slips see section 4.3 starting on page 170.

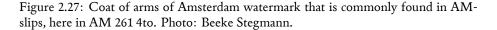
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>The same watermark is found e.g. in the AM-slip of AM 716 a 4to. It is similar to the watermarks nr. DE4815-DNB-L-WZ-0010216-wm1 and DE0960-Telemann21737\_200\_23v in the Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>It cannot be ruled out that Árni may have received the cartulary in a pre-existing aggregation with one or both of the other CUs. However, if that was the case, he still separated the CUs and added the bifolium, and thus rearranged the manuscript.



(a) Bottom part of coat of arms of Amsterdam (b) Top part of coat of arms of Amsterdam AM 261 4to CU2-3 (fol. "69").

watermark in first half of AM-slip surrounding watermark in second half of AM-slip surrounding AM 261 4to CU2-3 (fol. "74").



There is furthermore evidence of an older binding. Glued onto the AM-slip in front of AM 261 4to CU1 is a second, smaller slip (marked as AM-slip b) that reads in Árni's hand: "Utan ä pergamentinu stöd: Brefabok Herra Oddz Einarssonar." ("On the outside of the parchment was written: Cartulary of Bishop Oddur Einarsson."). Since the support of all leaves in the CU is paper, the mentioned parchment must have been the material of an earlier binding or a formerly covering bifolium. Some leaves at the outside of quires also show traces of old glue close to the spine, which could have come from such a binding. From the note itself it is not clear whether the cartulary was still in the parchment binding or cover when Arni obtained it or not. Currently, AM 261 4to is bound in a modern half binding from Birgitte Dall's time (rebound in April 1970), but was earlier in a grey cardboard binding with plain white paper as pastedown. The grey binding could stem both from Arni's and from Jens Jacob Weber's time, since this kind of binding can unfortunately not yet be dated any more accurately.<sup>70</sup> As Jón Ólafsson's catalogue does not provide any information on the binding state either, it cannot be assessed if NUMBER 261 IN 4to was bound under Árni. If it was, however, and the cartulary also still had its older binding when it came into Arni's collection, he may not only have manipulated the composition but further replaced the binding for the potentially enlarged manuscript.

The reasons for why Arni would have aggregated the three CUs are twofold. On the one hand, they could have been combined due to their contents. While the first CU is a book from the Bishop Oddur Einarsson,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>Personal communication with Peter Springborg 17 July 2015.

the text of the two last CUs is on place names north of Skriðufell and is derived from a document of Gísli Jónsson's (ca. 1515-1587), another former bishop of Skálholt. Hence, all texts of NUMBER 261 IN 4to are connected to the same episcopal see. This fact might moreover be reflected in the description "Scalholtensia varia" ("various Skálholt-related [items]") that Árni gives on AM-slip b. Yet, it is also possible that the title was originally only meant for AM 261 4to CU1, as it is found on the same small AM-slip that conveys information about the former binding of the cartulary. In a general sense it stayed applicable even with other parts, which is why it may have been taken as the title of the whole aggregation in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue (AM 456 fol., 16v). On the other hand, it is at least as likely that AM 261 4to CU1-3 were combined because of their common provenance. I have shown that all three CUs were owned by members of the same family, and Árni was very aware of that connection to Leirárgarðar as his slips indicate.

A third manuscript in the Arnamagnaean collection with a reference to Leirárgarðar is AM 912 4to.<sup>71</sup> Its final CU carries a note by Árni in the margin that associates it with the discussed place. The four leaves contain a fragment of a cartulary, and are therefore similar in contents to AM 261 4to CU1. The other items in AM 912 4to are also fragments or very short sections of texts from various origins.<sup>72</sup> In other words, this is another example of a manuscript part from Leirárgarðar that Árni incorporated into a larger aggregation. Moreover, the final CU of AM 912 4to contains factual writing and was combined with other such material. The fragment found in AM 912 4to and its rearrangement is thus structurally reminiscent of the parts from Leirárgarðar found in AM 261 4to.

In sum, the additional material connected to Leirárgarðar suggests that Árni received a number of separate items from the farm which he aggregated in various ways. In the case of NUMBER 261 IN 4to, he kept together items that both have similar contents and a related provenance, whereas in other cases, Árni aggregated the texts with manuscript parts from other origins. The part of AM 218 a-c 4to that stems from the named farm (be it AM 218 b 4to CU1 or AM 218 c 4to CU3) agrees with the latter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>Additionally, AM 384 a 4to CU4 (*Porláks saga helga*) carries a note by Árni stating that he received this part from a certain Jón Jónsson "fra Leyrá", but that it was owned by a certain Þórður Pétursson from Holmur (b. ca. 1655?). Despite the similar place name, no definite connection to Bishop Oddur's descendants and the part of the family that lived at Leirárgarðar could be established. Moreover, there are several placed called "Leyrá" in Iceland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>AM 912 4to is not part of the corpus, because its overall character is that of a commonplace book. Descriptions of the manuscript and its contents can instead be found in Kålund (1889-1894, 2: 257-258) and on Handrit.is (2009-).

description, since most parts of NUMBER 218 IN 4to did not come from Leirárgarðar.<sup>73</sup> The texts combined in NUMBER 218 IN 4to also show some connections with regard to the content. For example works by Björn Jónsson from Skarðsá and Halldór Þorbergsson are related, since the two annalists are from the same region and Halldór is thought to have learned from Björn – if not in person then at least through his writings (Hannes Þorsteinsson 1922-1927, 273-274).

As the preserved CUs from Leirárgarðar show distinct codicological features and variously phrased provenance notes, it is unlikely that Árni received all parts as one large manuscript. It is, of course, possible that some parts formed a loose aggregation when he obtained them. AM 218 c 4to CU3, AM 261 4to CU2 and – to a certain extent – AM 261 4to CU2 show traces of dismemberment. When that partitioning took place could not be established. They could accordingly have been dismembered before Árni obtained them. Thus, if Árni acquired a proper codex from Leirárgarðar, it was presumably the cartulary now found in AM 261 4to CU1. The other CUs he most likely received as a number of different manuscript parts and subsequently aggregated them with material that was similar either in contents or provenance.

Taken together, the four case studies illustrate the complexity of the physical arrangement Árni conducted and the possible reasons for individual changes. For the first time, the material history of these manuscripts has been traced in such detail and with regard to several time periods. The differentiation between individual periods has enabled the identification of those changes that occurred while the material was with Árni, which, in turn, allows for more qualified interpretation of his actions than before. Thanks to the divergent angles of the four cases, various aspects of the rearrangement activity has come to light, which encourage the interpretation of Árni's underlying rationale as being more complex than hitherto thought.

 $<sup>^{73}</sup>$  The possibility that the note applied to both AM 218 b 4to CU1 and AM 218 c 4to CU3 cannot be ruled out but is considered unlikely.

## Chapter 3

# Scope and character of custodial changes

Now that the case studies have drawn attention to the complexity of Árni Magnússon's physical rearrangement of manuscripts and the possible reasons for specific changes, the following chapters aim at a general description of the practice. Existing literature often mentions that Árni changed his manuscripts, but lacks until now a more comprehensive approach to the manuscript alteration and its reasons.

In most publications, especially those that touch upon the custodial changes without focussing on that topic, Árni's activity is referred to as a partitioning practice. This view goes back to the influential article "Sønderdelte arnamagnæanske papirhåndskrifter" by Loth (1960b) and her methodological approach. Based on selected codicological evidence Loth aims at recreating the original shape of larger manuscripts. She focusses on the previous forms of the artefacts and therefore views the current manuscripts as fractions of the original codices. This leads to a simplification of the artefacts' physical history, and – supported by a note Árni made in AM 226 a 8vo (fol. 88r) – she reduces his activity solely to dismemberment.<sup>1</sup> Based on the same AM-slip she also generalises his reasons:

Grunden til disse sønderdelinger er tydeligvis den, at Arne Magnusson har fundet det mest praktisk at hver text så vidt muligt fremtrådte som et særskilt nummer i samlingen under hensyn til sit indhold (således at flere håndskrifter af f. ex. een

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Árni's note is quoted on page 248.

bestemt saga kom til at stå sammen).

(The reason for these dismemberments is clearly that Arni Magnússon found it most practical that each text, as far as possible, emerged as an individual number in the collection with regards to its content (in such a way that several manuscripts of e.g. a certain saga would be placed together.)) (Loth 1960b, 113)

Már Jónsson (1998; 2012a; 2014), who is primarily interested in the acquisition process of manuscripts in the collection, largely follows Loth's interpretation. His methods, however, are more historical in nature than codicological, as he uses the available written sources in order to recreate the chronology and circumstances of Árni's acquisition of the artefacts and to extract indications about their former contexts. Apart from historical documents he greatly relies on the information conveyed by Árni's own notes. Since Árni often only noted where the parts came from and not how he further treated them, Már's results are most valuable for the earlier stages of the manuscripts.

Peter Springborg has presented more nuanced approaches to Arni's activity, considering various forms of evidence, such as AM-slips, codicology and palaeography as well as biographical material. Still, Springborg (1969) only draws preliminary conclusions based on specific cases. In more recent studies, Springborg (1996; 2014) treats former bindings, both describing Árni's preservation habits and offering important insight into the history of the collection. Even though he considers a wide range of available secondary sources and notes, his conclusions that Árni attempted "to create order and excellence in his library" and that he wanted the material to "be preserved for posterity in as good a condition as possible" (Springborg 1996, 12 & 20) emerge primarily from a conservationhistorical background.

To date, no study has fully combined the different kinds of evidence. The manuscripts in question should moreover be considered as part of the collection instead of isolated artefacts, in order to truly understand their physical history. As Oosterman (2011, 76) puts it: "Much of that information is difficult to interpret when the book is studied on its own, but becomes meaningful in the context of other data from the same layer." What he refers to as "layers" corresponds to the time periods (t0-t3) of the present study. Since the different stages in the history of the manuscripts are considered, the present study distinguishes between changes that were introduced by Árni and by others before or after him as far as possible. This chapter examines the extent and basic nature of Árni's manuscript alteration, before the subsequent chapters discuss his working methods and rationale. Detailed information is available for the manuscripts of the corpus that were investigated in depth. Additionally, this chapter draws heavily on secondary sources in order to establish the frequency of rearrangements among the Arnamagnæan paper manuscripts from the chosen time period.

#### 3.1 Large-scale manuscript manipulation

The Arnamagnæan Collection holds approximately 1700 paper manuscripts from the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, many of which bear traces of physical change. In order to systematically investigate the extent of rearranged or otherwise altered manuscripts, I have compiled evidence of such changes, putting together the manuscript overview, which can be found in the appendix and online.<sup>2</sup> In the first place, the overview draws on observations and descriptions of changed manuscripts from secondary sources.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, results from the detailed analysis of 114 corpus manuscripts are included. In cases where the information given in secondary sources is ambiguous, I have briefly consulted the manuscripts, or at least their images. Nevertheless, some entries remain tentative as more detailed research is needed. This is indicated by a question mark ("?").

The collected evidence amounts to 896 manuscripts that have been altered.<sup>4</sup> As not all manuscripts that fall within the boundaries of the project could be checked and analysed, this is the number of hitherto known changed manuscripts. Although further examination of the collection is expected to uncover additional cases, this study indicates that at least 53% of the 1695 paper manuscripts have been subject to relevant physical change.<sup>5</sup> While most of them, or 743 manuscripts (ca. 44%), are known to have been altered once, 153 manuscripts (ca. 9%) have evidently been subject to change two or more times (Figure 3.1 on the facing page).

All 896 manuscripts in the manuscript overview are assigned a status indicating the type of alteration they underwent. To describe different kinds of changes, I use one or more of the three categories *dismembered*, *aggregated* or *rearranged*.<sup>6</sup> When known, a change is attributed to Árni

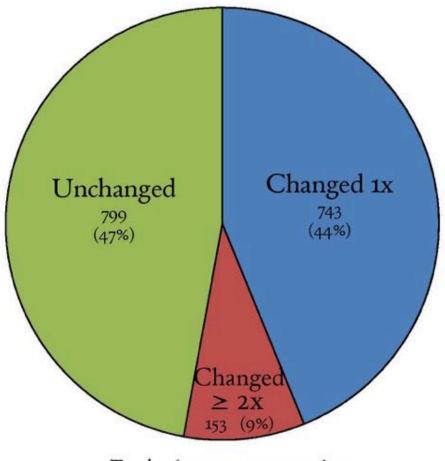
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>For the manuscript overview see section E in the appendix or www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>For details on the secondary sources used for the overview and the structure of it, see section 1.5.1 starting on page 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>In the manuscript overview one manuscript (according to its current outer storage container) is usually placed on one line and thus makes a single entry. In ten cases, however, the multiple parts of a manuscript are spread over several lines in order to enhance the readability. The manuscripts in question are AM 1 a-c fol., AM 113 a-k fol., AM 59 a-b 4to, AM 213 a-c 4to, AM 216 a-f 4to, AM 220 a-b 4to, AM 228 b-c 4to, AM 297 a-b 4to, AM 408 a-i 4to and AM 770 a-b 4to.

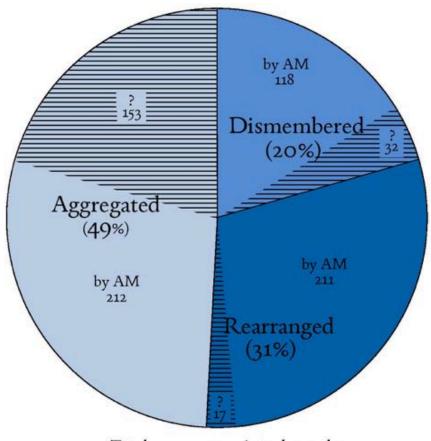
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>The total number of manuscripts from the project period that were in the collection by Árni's death is counted in the same way as the number of changed manuscripts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>For definitions of these terms see section 1.5.1 on page 31. In a few undefined cases later or earlier changes are marked with the general category *changed*. In the statistical analysis presented here, I generally count rearrangements as single changes, although the dismemberment and aggregation may not have been carried out as consecutive steps. In some cases even repeated rearrangement occurred between t2 and t1, but the available secondary sources do not allow for more nuanced records that could result in meaningful statistics.



Total: 1695 paper manuscripts

Figure 3.1: Number of changed manuscripts among the relevant paper manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan Collection.



Total: 743 manuscripts changed once

Figure 3.2: Frequency of altering categories for manuscripts changed once. The chart distinguishes between manuscripts that are known to be changed by Árni Magnússon (plain sections, "by AM") and unknown/unsure or other cases (hatched sections, "?").

Magnússon (by AM) or given a relative temporal marker for earlier alteration (before AM). Later changes are generally not mentioned, but are occasionally noted, for instance when they resulted in the placement of a manuscript or manuscript part in a different collection. If changes have occurred at various instances or were administered by different actors, the type of alteration is given for each change.

Among the once-altered manuscripts, the three alteration types occur in different proportions (Figure 3.2 on the preceding page). Most commonly, these manuscripts were aggregated (365 cases, or ca. 49%). Rearrangements are registered in 228 incidences (ca. 31%) and dismembered manuscripts run up to 150 (ca. 20%).

The majority of single changes can be surely attributed to Årni's activity.<sup>7</sup> For the dismembered and rearranged manuscripts almost all changes, 118 out of 150 (ca. 79%) and 211 out of 228 (ca. 93%), respectively, undoubtedly go back to his initiative. The fraction of aggregated manuscripts that can be associated with Árni's actions is relatively smaller with only 212 out of 365 manuscripts (ca. 59%), but is still dominant. At the same time, the total number of aggregated manuscripts is by far the largest, and the number of such changes attributable to Árni is in the same range as rearrangements administered by him. Altogether, Árni is known to have initiated at least 541 (ca. 73%) of the 743 once-changed manuscripts.

While most of the multiply-changed manuscripts have been altered twice (145 cases, or ca. 95%), at least eight artefacts were changed three times. Among the manuscripts that underwent two changes, the categories *aggregated* and *dismembered* co-occur most often with 67 times (ca. 46%), followed by *aggregated* and *rearranged*, which co-occur 30 times (ca. 21%) (Figure 3.3 on the following page). In 83 cases (ca. 57%) it is certain or very likely that Árni performed one of the two changes while the other one had occurred before he obtained the manuscript. For most of the remaining manuscripts, at least one of the changes has not been attributed.

Combining the information about once- and multiply-altered manuscripts, Árni administered an immense number of changes. Of the total 1057 noted manipulations, 677 instances (ca. 64%) go undoubtedly back to Árni, of which 267 are aggregations, 148 dismemberments and 262 rearrangements.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, another 105 changes were possibly conducted by him (56 aggregations, 34 dismemberments and 15 rearrangements),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Changes administered by or for Árni are contrasted to alterations, of which the agent is uncertain, unknown or clearly someone else.

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$ 1057 changes derive from 743 single changes + 145 x two changes + 8 x three changes.

Figure 3.3: Matrix showing frequency of co-occurring categories for manuscripts that were changed twice. In order to visually guide the eye, the highest values are shown in larger font size.

	Aggregated	Dismembered	Rearranged	Changed
Aggregated	6	67	30	2
Dismembered		3	8	5
Rearranged			9	15

Total: 145	manuscripts	changed	twice.
------------	-------------	---------	--------

meaning that he was probably responsible for over 700 individual changes. The clear majority of the modifications recorded in the considered literature thus originates from Árni, which underlines how extensive his activity was.

Yet the material also contains many indications that manuscripts were manipulated before they came into the Arnamagnæan Collection. Among the multiply-changed manuscripts, alterations can frequently be attributed to earlier owners. Of the eight known instances, all but one had definitely or most likely been changed before t2, one of them possibly twice.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, some of the single changes that could not undoubtedly be attributed to any period may have occurred before the artefacts were with Arni. In total, at least 100 artefacts considered in the manuscript overview (ca. 6% of the total, ca. 11% of the altered manuscripts) may have been subject to earlier change. Of those, 41 artefacts (28 certainly, 13 possibly) register as having been previously aggregated, while 22 artefacts (19 certainly, 3 possibly) appear to have been rearranged before. Undefined changes also occurred 22 times before t2 (1 certainly, 21 very likely), and dismemberment is noted 15 times as prior to Arni (8 certainly, 7 possibly). Accordingly, the data suggests that manuscript alteration was also practised by other collectors at the time.<sup>10</sup>

The numbers presented here provide a starting point and general tendencies rather than final counts. Due to the manuscript overview not being comprehensive, the following precautions need to be taken. Firstly, the number of aggregated manuscripts among the once-changed artefacts may be overestimated, as the employed secondary sources often only al-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>AM 164 c fol. was part of Ms79 in t2, which was an aggregation of three parts (Ms79a and two single-text CUs). It is not clear if the current AM 164 c fol. had been changed – possibly dismembered – even prior to that.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>For a discussion of manuscript rearrangement by other owners see chapter 6 starting on page 255.

low conclusions about the different origins of manuscript parts. To assess whether or not the parts have been dismembered as well often requires additional analysis, since subtle traces of dismemberment, such as indications found in the quire structure of a manuscript, are not recorded in sufficient detail in the available literature. Accordingly, the predominance of the aggregated manuscript classification may be reduced over time as more detailed research is conducted.

Secondly, among aggregated manuscripts the uncertainty of the agent is higher than average. This, again, is partially due to the level of description present in the literature, which only allows for tentative statements. Additionally, an aggregation of two manuscript parts can be more difficult to attribute to anyone than a dismemberment or rearrangement. Since the leaves themselves are often unchanged during aggregation, that activity does not leave as many datable traces in the primary sources.

Thirdly, some of the multiply-changed artefacts that are marked as having undergone dismemberment and aggregation may in fact have been rearranged by the same person. In 16 of the 67 listed cases the agent is uncertain, but it is possible that Árni was responsible for both changes, meaning that the manuscripts may only have been changed once. As at least one of the actions cannot be attributed to him for certain at the current moment, the overview counts such changes separately.

The results from the manuscript overview, however, undeniably show the enormous scale of Árni's alteration of paper manuscripts. The total numbers are expected to grow and be refined over time, as more manuscripts will hopefully be investigated with focus on physical changes. Already, after compiling the available evidence, the number of changes is much higher than previously estimated. The hundreds of manuscripts involved thus suggest a systematic and intentional alteration effort.

### 3.2 Rearrangement activity

This chapter's statistics show that most artefacts were aggregated and rearranged. Contrary to common assumption, the manuscripts which have merely been dismembered make up the smallest group of all. Even when factoring in that rearranged artefacts have undergone both dismemberment and aggregation, the latter are still predominant. Árni's manuscript manipulation should therefore more correctly be called "rearrangement" or "rearrangement activity" (as derived from the verb *to rearrange*), which, as a general term, spans both aggregation and dismemberment of manuscripts.11

The proposed term further highlights the complexity of many of the changes. Not least, a considerable number of manuscripts have been altered more than once. The term additionally accommodates the fact that Árni primarily changed manuscripts in order to be able to re-organise, and thus in many cases rearrange them. Speaking of "dismemberment" or "partitioning", as for instance Agnete Loth (1960b) does, would therefore merely reflect the first phase of Árni's activity, which usually served as preparation for continued treatment.<sup>12</sup> Even though Árni did not always re-combine the dismembered parts with others, the new manuscripts he could shape were more important to him than the fact that he divided former codices for that purpose.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Peter Springborg (1996, 20) also uses "to re-arrange".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>For the two main processes of Árni's rearrangement see chapter 4 starting on page 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>For Árni's rationale see chapter 5 starting on page 209.

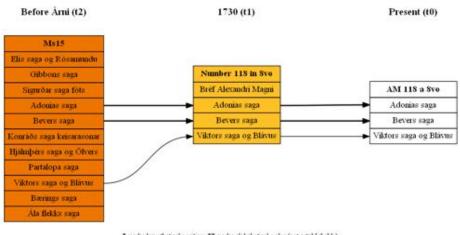
## Chapter 4

# Working procedure for rearrangements

This chapter analyses the working method Árni Magnússon employed for his rearrangement of paper manuscripts. Peter Springborg (1995; 1996; 2014a; 2014c) describes the different binding types from Árni's time and discusses his activity from the custodial point of view. Apart from that, the practical aspects of Árni's rearrangement activity have received little attention. A detailed inspection of his working methods and habits, however, provides valuable insight into the underlying logic of this activity.

Arni's working procedure can be divided into two phases: Phase one, the production of small units, and phase two, the placement of manuscripts or manuscript parts in the collection. While in some cases the operations were performed as consecutive steps, manuscripts could also go through the two phases at separate times with relative independence from each other. During these phases, individual steps could further be carried out multiple times, for example when Árni re-adjusted arrangements.

Another important component of Arni's working method was the production of the so-called "AM-slips". AM-slips could be produced at different stages in the rearrangement procedure, frequently overlapping with one of the two phases. In order to give a coherent description, I treat the production of AM-slips separately following the sections dedicated to the two phases. Where relevant, however, AM-slips are also discussed in connection with the individual phases.



\* marks hypothetical position; \*\* marks alphabetical order (not establishable)

Figure 4.1: Physical history of AM 118 a 8vo. The parallel placement of the two CUs containing *Adonias saga* and *Bevers saga* is highlighted by means of thicker arrows.

### 4.1 Phase one: Production of small codicological units

Phase one of Árni Magnússon's working method was focussed on the production of smaller codicological units.<sup>1</sup> Detailed analysis of selected manuscripts suggests that Árni preferred to dismember thick volumes into smaller, more workable codicological units of a few items each prior to further treatment. Since he frequently recombined parts from the same original manuscripts – at times even in the same order – this separation appears to have been a habitual process: the standardised first treatment of the manuscripts.

Multiple artefacts bear traces of a manuscript dismemberment even though the parts appear to be in their original order. The current AM 118 a 8vo, for instance, contains three CUs, all of which stem from the former manuscript Ms15 (Figure 4.1). In the original codex, the leaves that now represent the first two CUs followed each other, so that *Adonias saga* (CU1) preceded *Bevers saga* (CU2) in the same order as today (and in 1730). In AM 118 a 8vo, however, the two texts are found to be separated by an inserted bifolium (fols. 69+69a). The bifolium carries the following saga's title ("Befus Saga.") in Árni's hand on fol. 69r. On fol. 69av, the beginning of the saga is added in a different hand, presumably

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Strictly following Gumbert (2004a, 30), Árni produced *severed units* and *trunks* from pre-existing larger codicological units. On my more general usage of the term *codicological unit* see section 1.5.2 on page 34.

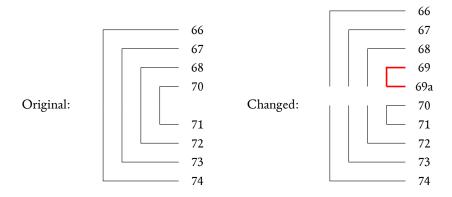


Figure 4.2: Quire structure of fols. 66-74 in AM 118 a 8vo (at the boundary between the first and second CU). *Left*: Original quire structure (t2). *Right*: Quire structure after Árni's changes (t1). Added leaves are indicated in red.

written by one of Árni's scribes. Originally, the beginning of *Bevers saga* was found on fol. 68v, where it is now crossed out. Furthermore, the formerly connected bifolia 66+74, 67+73 and 68+72 have been cut into singletons, so that fols. 66-68, carrying the end of *Adonias saga*, could be separated from the original quire (Figure 4.2). The copies of the two texts were accordingly divided into separate CUs under Árni, and subsequently aggregated with each other again. In t1 they were not only found in the same manuscript, but also in their original order. The dismemberment would therefore not have been necessary to produce such a result.<sup>2</sup>

A similar example of seemingly unnecessary dismemberment is preserved in AM 109 a 8vo, which now consists of a total of seven CUs stemming from three different manuscripts (Figure 4.3 on the next page). The three CUs that now form AM 109 a 8vo I used to be contained by Ms14, which comprised at least one more text in a CU that is lost (Springborg 1969; 1970). At the current quire boundaries, Árni's dismemberment left clear traces. The first CU contains *Áns saga bogsveigis* and on the versoside of its last leaf (fol. 19), the beginning of *Egils saga einhenda* is crossed out. The rest of that saga is found in AM 109 a 8vo I CU2, but the beginning is not supplied. The first 15 lines were presumably copied over onto a loose leaf that was supposed to be added in front of the CU but went missing. Similarly, the first leaf of the third CU carries four scribbledover lines in front of *Ketils saga hangs*. Peter Springborg (1970, 366-368) identifies the lines as belonging to *Busluban*, a part of *Bósa saga*, but the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>During modern conservation in 1970, the three separated bifolia were rejoined using Japanese paper.

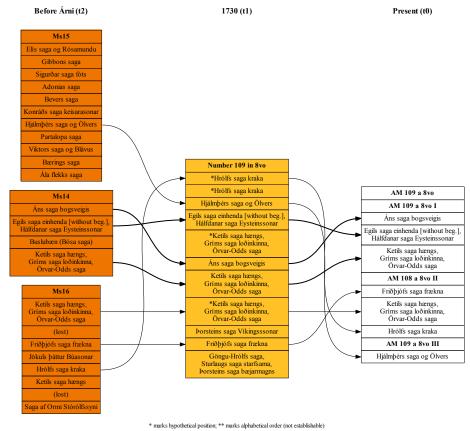


Figure 4.3: Physical history of AM 109 a 8vo. The development of the parts that used to form Ms14 is highlighted by means of thicker arrows.

#### 4.1. PHASE ONE

leaves that presumably preceded the current fol. 71 are absent.

In Ms14, the three parts occurred in almost the same order as today. Áns saga bogsveigis (now AM 109 a 8vo I CU1) was most likely in the beginning, followed by Egils saga einhenda and Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar (now AM 109 a 8vo I CU2). The next part is not preserved, but contained at least parts of Busluban, and the last known part of Ms14 contained Ketils saga hangs, Gríms saga lóðinkinna and Örvar-Odds saga (now AM 109 a 8vo I CU3) (Springborg 1969, 291-293). Comparing the current order to the t2-shape, the dismembering of at least the first two units seems, again, unnecessary.

Since no supplementary beginning of *Egils saga einhenda* is preserved, it has been suggested that a separation of the first text from the second was intended, but possibly not completed (Springborg 1969, 292). Considering the order of texts that was recorded in t1, however, the dismemberment was clearly completed and the CUs were treated individually. As figure 4.3 shows, the parts were recorded in a different order by Jón Ólafsson, implying that they were movable.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, a note on an added bifolium in front of the current AM 109 a 8vo I CU1 indicates that Árni had *Áns saga bogsveigis* followed by *Ketils saga hangs* and the rest of that CU. In order to make that possible, the dismemberment of the first two texts of Ms14 must have been completed.

The current, somewhat misleading order of the CUs, on the other hand, goes back to Kristian Kålund, who had the manuscript bound. From the handwritten catalogue it is apparent that the multiple parts of NUM-BER 109 IN 8vo were not bound in 1730 and merely kept together in a bundle (AM 456 fol., 37v). Consequently, the internal order of the CUs was not fixed and may have been altered when the bundle was consulted for research. Individual leaves could also be loose, which makes it likely that there once was the beginning of *Egils saga einhenda* on an additional leaf that later was lost.<sup>4</sup> The first known proper binding of the parts belonging to AM 109 a 8vo was a dark half binding produced under Kålund around 1900.<sup>5</sup> The order in which the items were first bound

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>There were at least eleven CUs in NUMBER 109 IN 8vo, the additional four units now being missing. What is today AM 109 b 8vo, a collection of 34 court decisions, is not mentioned in the old catalogue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>In AM 456 fol. (fol. 37v), there is no indication of the text being incomplete.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Snippets of the old binding are visible on the black-and-white photographs taken in Copenhagen before the restoration in 1964. The manuscript had dark, presumably black, canvas on the spine and corners combined with dark marbled paper on the boards. Such a binding is typical for the bookbinder Otto Ehlert (b. 1846) who was entrusted with the conservation of manuscripts during Kristian Kålund's time as librarian at the Arnamagnæan Collection (Springborg 2014b, 265-267). I am grateful to Natasha Fazlic and Suzanne Reitz for their help inspecting the photographs.

is much closer to the original order than the one indicated by Jón Ólafsson. Accordingly, in Kålund's binding the units were rearranged in what was thought to reproduce the original manuscript as closely as possible. The order of the parts recorded in t1, on the contrary, was not considered worth preserving.<sup>6</sup>

Returning to Árni's working procedure, in many cases a physical dismemberment of larger codices was not necessary or at least left no traces. The numerous manuscripts written by Jón Erlendsson, for example, were usually produced in such a way that every text started on a new quire.<sup>7</sup> Even though Árni may have obtained some material in larger codices, separating it was easy if no text parts had to be copied over or removed. Instead, simply opening the binding and/or stitching was enough in many instances. Likewise, in the case of Ms38, only the separation of the first text (*Geiplur*, now lost) from the second (*Sigurðar rímur fóts*, now AM 615 a 4to) left traces in the form of an enforced quire boundary, so that two singletons remained in the beginning of AM 615 a 4to.<sup>8</sup> The removal of the last item, *Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar* (now AM 610 a 4to) from Ms38, on the contrary, did not cause any clear physical indications, since the text started on the first leaf of a new quire. Árni's notes, nonetheless, prove that he separated this text from the others.

Árni also acquired single-text manuscripts, for which a physical dismemberment into smaller CUs was obviously not necessary.<sup>9</sup> Although no formal dismemberment may have been required for such manuscripts or no obvious traces are left, the single-text manuscripts were presumably still checked for their sizes and potentially removed from their bindings. Phase one, the production of smaller units, was therefore in all likelihood carried out for most manuscripts examined – yet for some of them only in a minimal way.

The manuscripts in the corpus show a clear tendency towards short CUs. The 114 manuscripts consist of 243 CUs and contain a total of 365 texts (not counting sub-items in cases where one work is divided into several sections). On average, there are approximately 1.5 texts per CU,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>This preference of original forms over transmitted ones is in agreement with the theory of Traditional Philology and scholarly approaches of Kålund's time. (See also section 1.4. on page 25.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>For Jón Erlendsson's manuscript production see section 2.1.1 starting on page 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>For the treatment of Ms38 see section 2.3.1 starting on page 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Manuscripts that only contained one text when they became part of the collection are, for example, AM 297 a 4to (containing *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*) which Árni says he received from the scribe Magnús Einarsson (ca. 1688-1752) himself in 1727, and AM 113 g fol. (containing *Íslendingabók*) which he received from Torfæus in 1717.

#### 4.1. PHASE ONE

and the median is one text per CU.<sup>10</sup> While a single text per CU occurs by far the most often (184 times, ca. 76%), two texts per CU are found 30 times (Figure 4.4 on the following page).

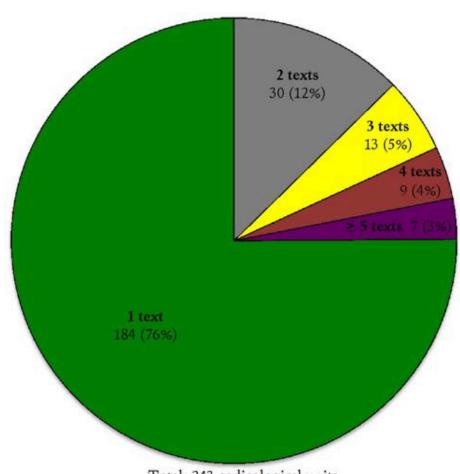
In cases where the CUs remained with more than one text, these were often closely related – at times to the degree that they could be perceived of as a conceptual or textual unit. The CU AM 129 fol., for instance, comprises *Eyrbyggja saga* and two short *vísur* about characters from that saga: one about Björn Ásbrandsson and one about Steinþór Þorláksson. Similarly, AM 5 fol. contains *Völsunga saga* and *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, which are in modern times considered to be two individual works. In all existing manuscripts, however, *Völsunga saga* is treated as a prelude to *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, and the two sagas are often written as a continuous text (Simek/Hermann Pálsson 2007, 427).<sup>11</sup> The unit AM 770 a 4to CU1 also contains more than one item, but the lists of bishops and churches in Iceland form a kind of appendix to the main text, *Granlendinga þáttur*. For texts that are so closely related, chances are very low that Árni would have wanted them to be in two different places. Árni evidently had a tendency to produce CUs that contained one text each.

The number of leaves per CU is also relatively low. The total amount in the catalogued 243 CUs is 5057 leaves, meaning that on average, there are approximately 21 leaves per CU. The smallest unit consists of one leaf, while the largest has 145 leaves (Figure 4.5 on page 143). The distribution of the values roughly follows a power law with most values being relatively small and only a few very high. The median is twelve leaves per CU, indicating that short CUs of only a few quires are typical. Very large CUs with more than 68 leaves only occur sporadically, and in all but one case (namely AM 109 a 8vo I CU3, which consists of 72 leaves and contains three texts), the CUs carry a single text and could thus not be dismembered any further according to text boundaries.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The manuscripts are divided into CUs (catalogued as <msPart>-elements in the XML) according to the smallest possible sections. That means even in cases where formerly split bifolia have been rejoined, the parts that were made moveable individually are recorded as separate CUs. See also section 1.5.2 starting on page 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>This example underlines the problem of determining what a text is. The mark-up of the data attempts to register each text as a separate item, but this practice depends on partially problematic principles. While in the case of AM 5 fol., I catalogued the contents as two separate items, in another case, AM 261 4to CU1, I treat a letter book which unambiguously consists of different parts, as only one item, silently implying that the various parts are sub-items of that larger entity. While it would be desirable to treat the texts in a historically authentic way, Árni's perception is often unclear to modern scholars. Therefore, I registered the texts for my data-set based on modern conventions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>The eight CUs with more than 70 leaves but only one text are AM 612 c 4to (74 leaves), AM 410 4to CU2 (76 leaves), AM 521 a 4to (84 leaves), AM 294 4to (92 leaves), AM 610 a 4to (95 leaves), AM 1006 4to (105 leaves), AM 199 fol. (126 leaves) and AM 224 fol. (145 leaves).



Total: 243 codicological units.

Figure 4.4: Number of CUs in the corpus manuscripts according to the number of texts they contain.

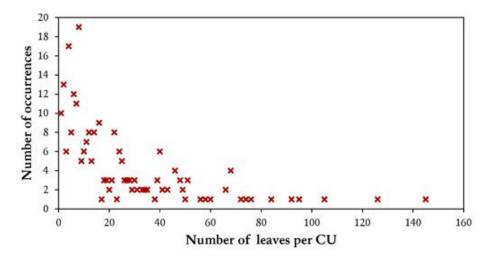


Figure 4.5: Frequency of leaf numbers per CU in the corpus manuscripts.

These numbers suggest that Arni conducted a systematic separation of larger codices into smaller, more workable units as the first step of his treatment. He preferred CUs with one text and around twelve leaves each. Arni also avoided units thicker than approximately 70 leaves, unless they comprised a single text. Higher numbers of texts per CU are mostly restricted to short texts, so that the total number of leaves for those CUs is still relatively low.

#### 4.1.1 Systematic transfer and deletion of overlapping text parts

Where a physical separation of existing quires was necessary in order to produce short CUs, the text boundaries often did not coincide with the leaf boundaries. This made it necessary to transfer overlapping text parts. For that purpose, the end of the previous text or the beginning of the following text that ran onto the next leaf were copied onto an additional sheet of paper and subsequently crossed out in their original place.

Efficiency determined whether the end of the previous text or the beginning of the new one was transferred. If both texts were to be preserved, whichever section filled the least on the leaf in question was usually transferred. The shorter text part was relocated, for example, during the division of the current AM 118 a 8vo CU2 and AM 119 a 8vo CU4. The beginning of *Konraðs saga keisarasonar* was crossed out on what is now fol. 110v of AM 118 a 8vo CU2 (filling the lower half of the page), and a leaf with the copied text part was inserted at the beginning of AM 119 a 8vo CU4. Similarly, the end of Sigurðar saga fóts that originally filled the first six lines on fol. 1r of AM 118 a 8vo CU1 was crossed out there and a leaf with a copy of those lines was inserted at the end of AM 588 p 4to CU1.

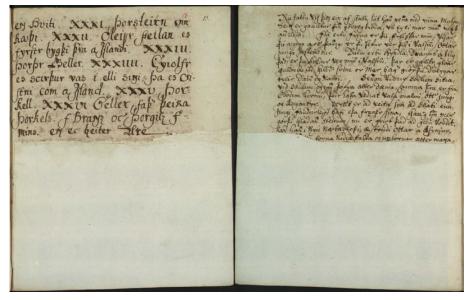
In cases where the previous text originally ended at the bottom of the recto-side of a leaf and the new text began on top of the verso-side, either text could be chosen for removal. On fol. 14 of the current AM 363 4to CU2, for instance, the entire verso-side, carrying the beginning of a Latin translation of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra, was crossed out. Fol. 1br of AM 156 fol. CU1, on the other hand, used to carry the end of Pórsteins þáttur Austfirðings, which was crossed out, the new text beginning on top of the verso-side.<sup>13</sup> If one of the texts was not supposed to remain part of Árni's collection, that one was naturally chosen for deletion even if it was the longer section on the leaf (e.g. AM 113 h fol.). Thus, general rules of efficiency applied, as it is usually less work to cross out a long section than to copy over a short one.

The unwanted parts of overlapping text were deleted in varying ways. Most text parts were thoroughly scribbled over line by line with brown or grey ink.<sup>14</sup> Less frequently, the obsolete section was crossed out with a few strokes, sometimes cross-hatching. This was the case in AM 181 i fol. CU1, where the writing on fol. 7v was deleted with five diagonal lines in each direction, cross-hatching the whole page. In several cases, however, the unwanted words were pasted over in addition to being crossed out.<sup>15</sup> In only a few instances, the unwanted text was pasted over without being crossed out first, for example on fol. 70r of AM 261 4to CU2.

There is also evidence of obsolete text parts having been cut out, where the upper or lower part of a leaf was physically removed. Deletion by means of cutting is only found when the rest of the leaf was not intended to be kept – at least is not preserved in the collection at the present date - or if the other side of the leaf was blank. Traces of such treatment are rarely found in the corpus. One instance, however, occurs in AM 113 h fol. CU1, where the original lower half of fol. 13 was cut off and replaced with a blank piece of paper (Figure 4.6 on the next page). The remaining original part of the leaf carries the end of *İslendingabók* on its recto-side. On the verso-side, a fragment of *Hyndluljóð* (roughly corresponding to stanzas 5-11) is preserved, indicating that this poem used to begin right

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>See also figure 2.2 on page 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Examples can be found e.g. in figure 2.2 on page 56 and figure 2.3 on page 57 as well as on the following pages. <sup>15</sup>Examples of that practice have already been discussed in section 2.1.2 starting on page 54.



(a) AM 113 h fol., 13r

(b) AM 113 h fol., 13v

Figure 4.6: Fols. 13r-v of AM 113 h fol., of which the lower part was removed and replaced with a blank piece of paper. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

underneath *Íslendingabók* on fol. 13r and also continued on the original lower part of fol. 13v. The remainder of *Hyndluljóð* is crossed out with two diagonal lines that cross in the middle of the original page, showing that the whole page was deleted before the lower half was cut off and replaced.

It emerges as a repetitive action and an additional effort, that in some cases overlapping text parts were both crossed out and cut off or pasted over. Such repeated text removal appears to be in contrast to the otherwise very efficient working methods, for instance with regard to the choice of the removed text part, and can therefore hardly have been coincidental. Duplicated removal could, however, have been caused by a repetition of phase one or a later refinement of it, as phase two may have called for specific material properties that were not considered in the rather standardised working procedure in the first phase. This was presumably the case with the CUs that Árni aggregated into NUMBER 156 IN fol., where previously crossed-out words were pasted over. As I have argued, Árni deliberately made NUMBER 156 IN fol. to be a visually appealing manuscript, which may have been the reason for the pasting over

(a) AM 716 a 4to, 1r

(b) AM 716 a 4to, 1v

Figure 4.7: Fols. 1r-v of AM 716 a 4to showing looped deletions and additions in grey ink by Árni Magnússon. Photo: Suzanne Reitz.

of the obsolete sections after they had been deleted.<sup>16</sup>

Árni's assistants conducted a considerable amount of the manual labour needed for the production of small codicological units. Among the catalogued manuscripts in the corpus, there are eight CUs that have an added beginning or ending in Árni's hand.<sup>17</sup> Another eleven CUs contain such an addition that was written by one of his scribes instead.<sup>18</sup> At least two of these copied text parts show corrections in Árni's hand, indicating that he carefully supervised and checked the work of his assistants.<sup>19</sup>

It is more difficult to determine who deleted an unwanted text section than to identify the scribe of an addition. Since a palaeographic analysis of cross-hatching or scribbles is extremely difficult, most of such instances

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>For Árni's treatment of NUMBER 156 IN fol. see section 2.1.3 on page 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>The manuscript parts in question are AM 113 f fol., AM 113 i fol., AM 615 f 4to, AM 716 b 4to, AM 716 i 4to, AM 109 a 8vo III CU7, AM 116 III 8vo CU3 and AM 119 a 8vo CU3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Additions made for Árni are found in AM 163 k fol., AM 163 m fol., AM 163 n fol., AM 181 i fol., AM 585 c 4to, AM 615 o 4to, AM 116 III 8vo CU4, AM 118 a 8vo CU2, AM 119 a 8vo CU2, AM 119 a 8vo CU4 and AM 154 8vo CU11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Copied text parts Árni corrected are found in AM 163 n fol. CU1 (fol. 1v) and AM 585 c 4to (fol. 1r-v). In AM 154 8vo CU11, Árni copied the first line of the preserved text (now on fol. 2r) onto the verso-side of the added first leaf which contains the copied beginning in Þórður Þórðarson's hand on its recto-side.

#### 4.1. PHASE ONE

cannot be unambiguously attributed to one specific person. Based on the ink used, however, some deletions can be attributed to Árni with a very high degree of certainty. In AM 716 a 4to, for example, the grey ink that was employed to cross out the obsolete text part on top of fol. 1r bled through the paper and made the first words on fol. 1v illegible. These words are therefore repeated in the top margin in Árni's hand, using the same grey ink (Figure 4.7 on the facing page).

The similarity of the grey ink can be confirmed with multi-spectral analysis.<sup>20</sup> Figure 4.8 shows a spectral analysis of the ink found on fol. 1r and 1v of AM 716 a 4to. The ink of the deletion on fol. 1r has the same spectral signature as the ink Árni used for writing the addition on fol. 1v, indicating that they have the same chemical composition. Additionally, figure 4.9 shows an image of the top of fol. 1v after Canonical Discriminant Analysis (nCDA) transformation which highlights pixels in the image that have the same characteristics. The ink bleeding through the paper from the deletion on the previous page and the ink of the addition on fol. 1v are recognised as having matching light reflectance patterns. It can thus be deduced that the same ink that was used to delete the first words on fol. 1r of AM 716 a 4to was employed to make the addition on fol. 1v. This correspondence strongly suggests that Árni conducted both activities, and presumably right after each other.

In t2, AM 716 a 4to was part of Ms74 and followed what is now AM 716 b 4to.<sup>21</sup> The latter contains the main part of the poem *Krosskvaði*, of which the last 1.5 lines used to be on top of fol. 1r of AM 716 a 4to. In order to complete the text in AM 716 b 4to, the final words of the poem were added in the bottom margin of fol. 2v, its last leaf. The words are identical with the original first 1.5 lines on fol. 1r of AM 716 a 4to and are clearly written in Árni Magnússon's hand (Figure 4.10 on page 149). He must have copied them over before they were deleted from AM 716 a 4to, as they are almost illegible now without technical aid. The addition in AM 716 b 4to was likewise written with the same grey ink that was used

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>For a non-invasive examination of the ink I used the VideometerLab 2 multi-spectral scanner held by the Department of Nordic Research at the University of Copenhagen. The instrument is equipped with 19 LED light sources of different wavelengths and can thus take spectral images in the range from 375 to 970 nm. The measurements are then combined into a single image, allowing for a spectral analysis of surface colours and providing visual aid in tracing different chemical compositions. For all technical specifications of the VideometerLab 2 see Videometer A/S (n.d.). A more detailed description of the technology and its possibilities as well as limitations are provided by Stegmann (forthcoming[b]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Ms74 contained the following parts: AM 716 b 4to (*Krosskvæði*), AM 716 a 4to (*Krosskvæði*, *Krosskvæði*, AM 716 h 4to (*Ljómur*) and there were additional leaves in the back which may have been blank, but they are now lost.

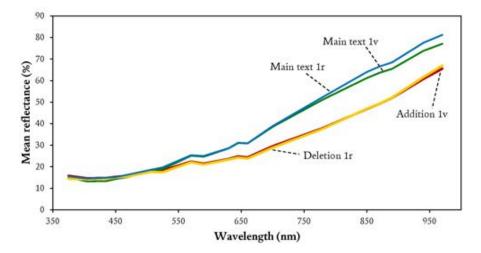


Figure 4.8: Spectrum of ink found on fols. 1r-v of AM 716 a 4to, showing that the deletion on fol. 1r (yellow) was conducted using the same ink as the addition on fol. 1v (red). Control curves are included of the ink in the main text on fol. 1r (blue) and on fol. 1v (green).

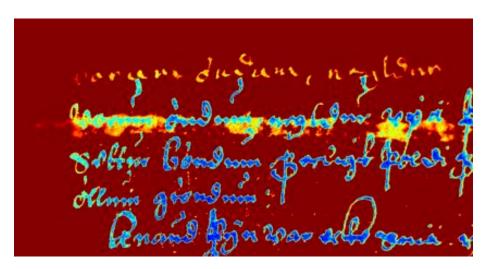


Figure 4.9: Top left corner of fol. 1v of AM 716 a 4to after nCDA transformation. The ink of the addition is highlighted in yellow and is also recognised in the deletion of the previous page that bleeds through the paper. The ink of the main text is contrasted in blue.

Timore Rales and thin & placand Black Glognom Gelesting the sin begingte within atals griniga gri nga Sambala Briartin Jusi. Saga grata w a i min gol couldar 146 140 Rungo 600. 31 Che in Sym Somt Sem a Otin a 330 Miklaga A man por tran alada 3 Toland , a bly Jougar Man to og Gralm. abaika Reason Another 9 In . goja Sa al Surg trys minin Son god marge gold . allen in grouba -Gen polla Rin and Caria 4nd A 12130 blod as ghoma gyid og at mill 15. Alloft and Low og Guide S 1 B a allan alliten Ama pinn dire asit

Figure 4.10: Árni's addition of a transferred text part in the bottom margin of fol. 2v of AM 716 b 4to. Photo: Suzanne Reitz.

for the changes in AM 716 a 4to.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, Árni was responsible for both the deletion and the addition of the overlapping text part during the separation of AM 716 a and b 4to. Based on this evidence and since the copying-over and crossing-out form two logical components of the same working sequence, it can be assumed that in most cases, the same person copied an overlapping text part and deleted the corresponding section in its original place.

### 4.1.2 Highly standardised procedure for phase one

The production of small units appears to have been a highly standardised process, which nearly all manuscripts within the present scope were subject to after entering the collection.<sup>23</sup> In some cases, phase one was reduced to a minimum, checking for the length/thickness only, if no other treatment was required. In other cases it involved physical dismemberment of larger codicological units and the transfer of text parts.

While some aspects of this phase, such as the choice of the section to be deleted or transferred, give direct evidence of efficient working habits, others might at first glance seem somewhat redundant and more laborious than necessary. These repetitions hint at standardised practices, which were beneficial to the work on so many manuscripts as Árni's case. To decide in advance that all texts should be made available in small units presumably allowed Árni's assistants to conduct much of the work without him having to supervise them too much.<sup>24</sup> To have a standard procedure was also advantageous when he conducted the labour himself, since he could postpone the final decision of what to do with a given copy until he, for instance, acquired other items he thought were related. Handling the pre-produced units was then straightforward, and if required, the appearance of enforced quire boundaries could be adjusted.

That Árni conducted phase one as a standardised procedure is supported by his own notes. In his catalogue of Torfæus's manuscripts, for example, he made later additions commenting on how he treated the

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$ Multi-spectral analysis also identified the grey ink in AM 716 a 4to as having the same chemical composition as the grey ink in AM 716 b 4to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Since the corpus only comprises paper manuscripts that evidently were altered, the material cannot yield any sound indications for manuscripts falling outside of these limitations. However, in section 5.3.3 starting on page 243 I suggest that he may have applied the same approach to nearly all manuscripts in his collection, and that manuscripts which stayed unchanged presumably did so because of a conscious decision of Árni's.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>The evidence discussed indicates that Árni frequently used his scribes for this purpose, since more than half of the transferred beginnings and endings are written by one of his assistants (see section 4.1.1 on page 143). In contrast, for other parts of the rearrangement activity which were less standardised, such as writing AM-slips, Árni carried out a significantly larger portion of the work himself (see figure 4.21 on page 177).

manuscripts after he obtained them in 1720. For almost all larger manuscripts he noted that he had separated the copies of the different texts. About "Num. XX (fol.)" (=Ms51), for example, he wrote "Þessa tractatus skilde eg ad 1720" ("I separated these items in 1720") (AM 435 b 4to, 13v) and about "Num. XII (4to)" (=Ms86) "1720. er betta volumen teked i sundr og tractatus separerader" ("In 1720 this volume was dismembered and the items separated") (AM 435 b 4to, 15v). That these comments not necessarily reflect the final treatment and thus are to be understood as a description of phase one only becomes clear from another example. Below the record of "Num. XIII (4to)" (=Ms55) Árni noted "betta volumen er nu teked i sundur, og tractatus separerader" ("This volume is now dismembered and the items separated") (AM 435 b 4to, 16v), while in t1 all but one of the surviving six CUs were aggregated with other CUs (AM 456 fol., 18r, 20r, 21v-22r & 23r-v).<sup>25</sup> Árni's description of the physical context of these CUs therefore merely concerns the state after phase one, and not the later placement of the texts during phase two. In other words, these notes document the physical changes that needed to be understood for a backwards tracing of the parts' provenance.

Finally, Árni's notes in AM 435 b 4to indicate that the production of small units took place relatively soon after he received the manuscripts.<sup>26</sup> In all dated instances, phase one is said to have taken place in 1720. Additionally, about "Num. II (fol.)" (=Ms59) he specified: "Pessa tractatus skilde eg ad 1720. þa bækurnar eignadest" ("These items I separated in 1720 when I obtained the books") (AM 435 b 4to, 1v). Since he received the manuscripts Torfæus left behind in the same year that he treated them, the separation of phase one was executed very close to the acquisition – if not at the time of the first proper handling of the artefacts.

# 4.2 Phase two: Placement of the units in the collection

Phase two aimed at placing the codicological units in the collection. To that end, the pre-produced small entities from phase one were bound or otherwise aggregated with other units and thus made part of the library. On a slip attached to AM 410 4to, for instance, Árni Magnússon has commented on his work during phase two:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>NUMBER 1008 IN 4to is not mentioned in the old catalogue, but AM 1008 4to contains ten CUs. These CUs, however, are not part of the current corpus. Descriptions can be found on Handrit.is (2009-).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>In the notes Árni left with the manuscripts, he only commented on his working methods occasionally. Instead, he primarily used the AM-slips to give details about the copies, e.g. for identifying which former manuscript the CUs came from. See also section 4.3 starting on page 170.

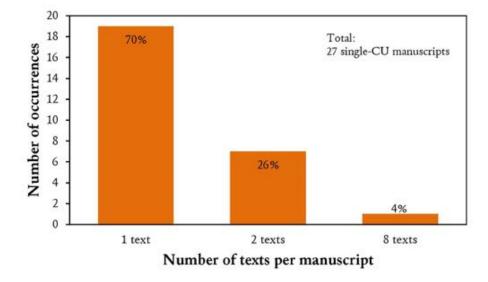


Figure 4.11: Frequency of number of texts per single-CU manuscript in t1.

Þessa Annala liede mier Arna Magnussyne 1712. in Octobri Mons*ieu*r Þormodur Torfason. Voru þ*ei*r þä innbundner framanvid Annala Biórns ä Skardzä. Enn eg hefi þä läted innbinda sier i lage, so setter yrde inter libros antiqvos [...].

(These annals were lent to me, Árni Magnússon, in October 1712 by Monsieur Þormóður Torfason (Torfæus). They were then bound in front of annals by Björn á Skarðsá. And I had them bound separately so that they would be placed among the ancient books [...].) (AM 410 4to, AM-slip 1)

According to the slip, Árni gave the leaves containing the first annals a separate binding with the aim of incorporating them into his collection.<sup>27</sup> Although Árni aggregated the majority of CUs with other parts, copies that were to remain separate were also given a place in the library. In this phase Árni thus created manuscripts with one or multiple CUs.

Manuscripts containing one text logically consisted of a single CU, while manuscripts with several texts could either have the form of a single CU or an aggregation of CUs. The CUs of the corpus manuscripts were

 $<sup>^{27}</sup>$  Here, Árni used the phrase *sér í lagi* with regards to separate works (in the widest sense), not copies, since AM 410 4to contains different copies of basically the same annals in two CUs. Since AM 410 4to is still in a parchment binding from Árni's time, there is no doubt that it preserves the binding he referred to in his note (see figure 4.13 on page 155.)

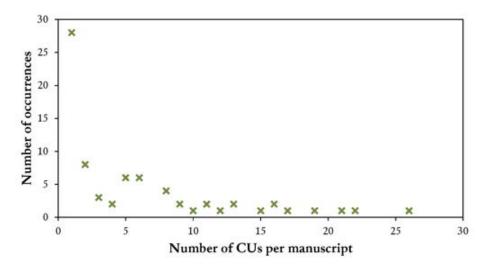


Figure 4.12: Frequency of number of CUs per manuscript in t1.

registered under 73 different manuscript numbers in t1.<sup>28</sup> A total of 27 (ca. 37%) contained a single CU, and of these, nineteen manuscripts (ca. 70%, ca. 26% of the total) contained a single text, while seven held two texts and one had eight items (Figure 4.11 on the preceding page). The other 46 manuscripts (ca. 63%) Jón Ólafsson registered were aggregations of multiple CUs with the maximum of 26 CUs in a single manuscript (NUMBER 154 IN 8vo) (Figure 4.12). While manuscripts with up to nine CUs occurred very frequently, fewer manuscripts contained more CUs. The median lies at 2.5, indicating that it was typical for manuscripts in t1 to contain multiple CUs.<sup>29</sup> That means the pre-produced CUs from phase one were in the majority of cases aggregated with other CUs during phase two; if they were aggregated, they were frequently combined with numerous CUs.

In t1, the three catalogued aggregations with the highest number of CUs formed manuscripts of three different formats: folio, quarto and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>In the XML-authority file for t1 and in the respective list of relevant manuscripts in the appendix, a total of 75 manuscripts are listed. Two of them are related to the manuscripts in the corpus but did not contain any of the CUs analysed for this project: NUMBER 547 IN 4to and 37 IN 8vo. The former is said to have contained five CUs that once were in the same former manuscript as what is now AM 615 d 4to, but none of the five CUs has survived. The latter is a manuscript which could be expected to have contained what is now AM 37 b 8vo CU1-4, but the contents of these four CUs are not listed in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue. Thus, it cannot be proven that this was the case. In other cases where a single CU is not listed, but it is likely that it was part of the manuscript in 1730, the part is counted in the present statistics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>The mean is 5.4 CUs per manuscripts, which, however, is skewed by the few manuscripts containing extremely high numbers of CUs.

octavo.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, manuscripts of a single CU occurred in all formats.<sup>31</sup> The aggregation activity and the number of CUs per manuscripts were consequently not dependent on the format of the artefacts.

## 4.2.1 Three types of binding conditions

The newly created manuscripts were given different forms of binding or storage conditions. The afore-cited quotation on NUMBER 410 IN 4to specifies that the manuscript was bound during phase two.<sup>32</sup> AM 410 4to is still in a full parchment binding which was produced in Árni's time (Figure 4.13 on the next page). Therefore, it is in all likelihood this binding he referred to in his note. Árni gave several of his manuscripts proper bindings, and in particular half bindings with reused older parchment on the boards are easily attributed to his activity. Most of the full parchment bindings found in the collection, however, stem presumably also from his time, as they have the same style of parchment strips laced through the spine fold.<sup>33</sup>

There is evidence that 31 manuscripts or manuscript parts from the corpus were given a parchment binding under Árni. Of these, thirteen objects are still bound in a plain full parchment binding like the one found on AM 410 4to.<sup>34</sup> Another seven have the parchment spine preserved after the reused leaves were removed from the boards by the bookbinder Otto Ehlert on behalf of Kålund, so that they would be gathered in the so-called AM Accessoria (Andersen 1979, 1-15).<sup>35</sup> On AM 1006 4to, both the spine and the reused parchment leaves on the boards are still in place. For nine additional manuscripts or manuscript parts, the parchment from the spine as well as the reused leaves from the boards were removed, while one manuscript was taken out of a full parchment binding from Árni's time.<sup>36</sup>

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  The manuscripts with the highest number of CUs in t1 were number 154 in 8vo (26 CUs), number 163 in fol. (22 CUs) and number 588 in 4to (21 CUs).

 $<sup>^{31}</sup>$ The only exception is the duodecimo-format. As there are only two manuscript of that format in the corpus – and they formed an aggregation in t1 (AM 440 a 12mo and AM 440 b 12mo) – duodecimo is not considered one of the major formats here.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$ For the quotation see page 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>For the main references on binding types see section 2.1.3 on page 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>The manuscripts and manuscript parts in the corpus that are still bound in a plain parchment binding are AM 1 a fol., AM 9 fol., AM 13 fol., AM 139 fol., AM 148 fol., AM 155 fol., AM 156 fol., AM 192 fol., AM 212 fol., AM 224 fol., AM 410 4to, AM 521 a 4to and AM 630 4to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>The following manuscripts have preserved a parchment spine: AM 99 fol., AM 142 fol., AM 144 fol., AM 199 fol., AM 207 a fol., AM 365 fol. and AM 536 4to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>The manuscripts from which both the parchment spine and the reused board covers were removed are AM 108 fol., AM 113 g fol., AM 294 4to, AM 297 a 4to, AM 351 4to, AM 403 4to, AM 539 4to, AM 34 8vo and AM 53 8vo. From AM 161 fol., a full binding was removed.

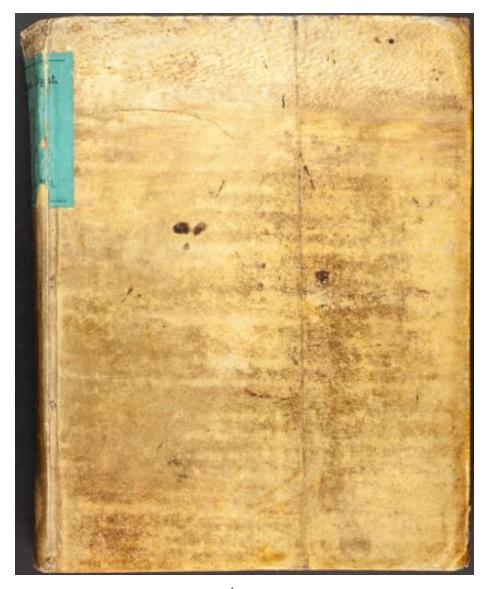


Figure 4.13: Parchment binding from Árni Magnússon's time on AM 410 4to with parchment strips laced through the spine fold. The parchment on the boards is reused. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

Årni may also have given some manuscripts grey cardboard bindings that are lined with handmade paper.<sup>37</sup> However, since the distinction between such bindings and the grey cardboard bindings which can be doubtlessly dated to later in the eighteenth century is somewhat vague, it is currently not possible to make any definite statements about the number of cardboard bindings produced under Árni.<sup>38</sup> Peter Springborg's (1996, 11-19) studies of invoices and former binding lists, in which Árni kept track of manuscripts and printed books he gave to his bookbinders, have drawn attention to Árni's substantial binding activity. They demonstrate that a considerable number of manuscripts received a proper binding during phase two, though, not all of them.

Jón Ólafsson's catalogue of the collection mentions a variety of different binding forms. For example, it describes proper bindings and refers to them in a similar way to how Arni speaks of parchment bindings in his notes, describing the manuscript as "innbunded" ("bound") (e.g. AM 456 fol., 28v about NUMBER 732 IN 4to).<sup>39</sup> In other instances the catalogue gives more specific information about the bindings and the materials used. Concerning NUMBER 159 IN fol. the record says "i pappa innbundenn" ("bound in cardboard") (AM 456 fol., 4v) and about NUM-BER 44 IN fol. "i frönsku bande" ("in a French binding") (AM 477 fol., 3v).<sup>40</sup> A so-called French binding refers to a costly binding made of brown leather with gold on the spine, one of which is still in place on AM 119 fol. (Springborg 1996, 13).<sup>41</sup> Another special form of a proper binding mentioned in the old catalogue is a binding "i Tyrkneskum pappir" ("in Turkish paper") (e.g. AM 456 fol., 18r about NUMBER 352 IN 4to). As Springborg (1996, 16) explains, this refers to a kind of marbled paper, and indeed, the current AM 352 4to is bound in an old full binding covered with colourful marbled paper that could well be as old as the beginning

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>The following manuscripts have grey cardboard bindings preserved which may potentially be from Árni's time: AM 408 e 4to, AM 770 a 4to and AM 777 b-d 4to. Moreover, NUMBERS 5, 129 and 130 IN fol. are in the old catalogue said to have been bound "i pappa bande" ("in a cardboard binding") (AM 456 fol., 2r & 4r). AM 5 fol. and AM 129 fol. still preserve a grey cardboard binding that has not been dated but could be from Árni's time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>So far, it is only possible to date grey cardboard bindings that use printed material for the pastdown to Jens Jacob Webers time of activity, i.e. 1771-1780 (Springborg 2014b, 263-264). Conservator Mette Jakobsen is working on an overview and a description of the different binding types and models in the Arnamagnæan Collection, also including the subtypes of grey cardboard bindings.

 $<sup>^{39}</sup>$ Interestingly, Jón Ólafsson hardly commented on the manuscripts that are known to have been bound in parchment under Árni – at least none of the 30 manuscripts of the corpus are described in such a way. Presumably this is due to the fact that those bindings were contemporary with him and thus not special.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>AM 456 fol., 2v only gives the abbreviation "fr. b.".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Digital images of AM 119 fol. and its binding are available online on Handrit.is (2009-).

of the eighteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

Apart from the proper bindings, AM 456 fol. also marks artefacts as consisting of loose quires ("incompactum"),<sup>43</sup> and as "öin*nbundenn*" ("un-bound").<sup>44</sup> Jón Ólafsson himself explains his usage of "öin*nbundenn*" by contrasting it to "incompactum". To him, the former meant that the manuscript or manuscript part was not in a proper binding any more, but "un-bound", and thus had previously been treated.<sup>45</sup> "Incompactum", on the other hand, meant that the leaves were untreated as, for example, not yet bound printed material was:

Det som i denne Catalogo staar saa tidt skrevet: üindb*undenn* er icke saa at forstaae, som de boger vare i raae materie (det er ikkun de trockte, som ovenfor staar skrevet incompacti) Men ere udj Phlatzer eller papirbundne, og har vaaren til forne indbundne, men siden udskaarne, somme ere sammenhæftede, somme icke, fleste beskaarne, Men fattes Spanerne eller Kappen, som sagt er.

(The word "un-bound", which is so often written in this catalogue, is not to be understood in such a way that the books were in raw material (only the printed books, above which is written "incompacti" are thus), but are in a jacket or bound in paper and had been bound before but were cut out again. Some are stitched together, others are not; but as said, they lack clasps or a cover.) (AM 456 fol., 47v)

The word "Phlatzer" here presumably refers to some kind of thin paper jacket or preliminary protection.<sup>46</sup> A case in favour of that interpretation can be made based on NUMBER 163 IN fol., which is described in the old

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>The marbled paper shows traces of having been reused from another binding, yet it is likely that the current binding is from Árni's time. The marbled paper has the kind of pattern that is produced by combing a base pattern in a single direction on the entire surface with a narrow comb ("combed marbled paper") (Porck et al. 2009, 54-55). I am grateful to Mette Jakobsen and Natasha Fazlic for sharing their knowledge with me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>As consisting of loose, unbound leaves and quires are recorded for example NUMBER 24 and 25 IN fol. on fol. 2v of AM 456 fol.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Examples of such manuscripts or manuscript parts are found on fol. 5r of AM 456 fol., concerning NUM-BER 170-174 IN fol. Today it is more common to use the term "unbound" for leaves that have never been bound (Beal 2008, 425).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Number 585 IN 4to, for example, was aggregated from parts of Ms35 which had been bound. In the old catalogue these parts are referred to as "un-bound" (AM 456 fol., 23r).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>I was not able to find the word "Phlatzer" in any relevant dictionary. However, Ordbog over det danske Sprog (ODS) (1919-1956, 4: 704-705) records that the word "Fals" could also be spelled "Falts" ("Faltser" in plural), which can have the meaning "ombøjet strimmel, blad olgn." ("folded strip, paper and the like") (meaning 2). In order to adopt this explanation, however, one has to assume a scribal error switching I and a. On the contrary, in other copies of Jón Ólafsson's catalogue such as AM 477 fol., the word is spelled in the same way as in AM 456 fol. and thus not corrected.

catalogue as consisting of multiple "un-bound" parts (AM 456 fol., 4v-5r). At the same time, the current AM 163 m fol. still contains an added bifolium from Árni's time, which could have served as such a jacket. At present, the entire bifolium is located in front of the manuscript. Since the second leaf carries the copied-over beginning of the text on its verso-side, it is counted as fol. 1 in the modern foliation. The first, blank leaf of the bifolium was not foliated and is now treated as a flyleaf in this manuscript. However, it is easy to imagine that the bifolium once enclosed the eleven leaves containing *Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar*.

Similar bifolia that still surround the original manuscript leaves or are folded over and incorporated in front of the respective CUs are found in many other manuscripts. In front of AM 606 g 4to, for instance, there is a bifolium that also serves as an AM-slip. Árni's own inscription is found on the recto-side of the current second leaf of that bifolium. Moreover, the inside of the bifolium, i.e. the verso-side of the current first leaf and the recto-side of the current second leaf, are distinctly darker and dirtier than the current outside of the bifolium. This indicates that the bifolium was folded over later and used to surround the original leaves of AM 606 g 4to, with the current second leaf being in front. That way, Árni's note about the contents and how he obtained it was located on the outside and conveniently accessible. Other bifolia formerly surrounding CUs have been separated (e.g. in AM 770 c ɛ 4to CU10). However, due to the common watermarks or other traces it can be shown that they once were connected and presumably used to surround the older leaves and keep them together.

Surrounding bifolia could have additional functions besides enclosing the often partially loose leaves. As can be seen from the mentioned examples in AM 163 m fol. and AM 606 g 4to, some added bifolia also served as writing material for the transferred beginning or end of the text, or functioned as AM-slip. Especially where the added bifolia carry copied-over text parts it is apparent that the division between the two phases is not always clear-cut. In some cases the text sections may even have been deliberately copied onto a bifolium in order to reduce the amount of work needed later, such as for the binding or placement activity during phase two.

Although at least some of the surrounding bifolia may have been added during phase one, here they are treated as part of phase two, as they generally fulfil a comparable function to proper bindings. Apart from being mentioned in the place of a proper binding by Jón Ólafsson, it is also striking that such jackets do not occur in any of the manuscripts to which Árni gave a hard cover binding.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the addition of surrounding bifolia was one of his methods for storing manuscripts, or more precisely, manuscript material that was not otherwise bound.

### 4.2.2 Identifiers facilitate the organisation of manuscripts

Phase two also involved the task of organising the artefacts and making them usable. In order to achieve that, it had to be possible to find a given text without too much difficulty. It is clearly to that end that many surrounding bifolia bear the title of the enclosed text or texts and thus also function as AM-slips.<sup>48</sup> Since they usually carry that information on their first recto-side, they could serve as a simple title page or front cover and thereby facilitate identification. On the recto-side of the now second added leaf in AM 181 i fol., for instance, Árni has written "Alaflecks-Saga.", and to the first of the additional leaves in AM 119 a 8vo CU4 he has added "Konrads Saga." Additionally, on the bifolium found in AM 163 m fol., Árni wrote the title "Viglunda-Saga.", which is now found on the recto-side of its current second leaf. In all of these cases the title is located in such a way that it was on the outside when the CU was surrounded by the bifolium, usually in the upper half of the jacket's first recto-side.

The identifying titles on many of the added jackets increased the organisation of preliminarily bound material. For aggregations of many CUs, for instance, such paratextual elements were highly practical. The leaf that is now called AM 770 c  $\theta$  4to CU13 is another example of a jacket that was surrounding presumably loose leaves. Árni has written "Gronlandica", the title of the current AM 770 c  $\theta$  4to CU14 on the leaf (Figure 4.14 on page 161). AM 770 c  $\theta$  4to CU13 is now unfolded, but shows a strong horizontal folding line in the middle. The title is located in the lower half of the recto-side close to the fore-edge, where the writing runs perpendicularly down along the side. Thus, when the leaf was folded to form a jacket, the title was legible on top of the first leaf, and the bifolium safely enclosed the smaller leaves of AM 770 c  $\theta$  4to CU14.<sup>49</sup> Es-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>After discovering the function of the surrounding bifolia, I could not double-check all of the manuscripts in the corpus that were bound during Árni's time. The only leaves that, based on my records, could come close to such jackets are found in AM 539 4to. Nonetheless, the two innermost flyleaves from Árni's time (front and back) show different watermarks and thus never formed an original bifolium.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>For the different functions of AM-slips see also section 4.3 starting on page 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>On the current verso-side, the leaf contains notes and excerpts by Årni about Greenland which relate to the other texts in the manuscript. It is thus possible that the leaf not only functioned as a jacket but was also considered for its contents. (See also section 5.2.2 on page 226.)

pecially when multiple unbound CUs were stored together, the addition of such bifolia with titles enabled users to quickly flip through the aggregation and find any desired part without unduly disrupting the order of the loose leaves.

Several cases suggest that Arni added the titles in a separate operation from phase one. The current AM 163 m fol. and AM 615 o 4to, for example, both include added bifolia containing transferred sections of the text as well as added titles. While Þórður Þórðarson has written the copied-over text parts on the verso-sides of the respective second leaf, the titles on the corresponding recto-sides are in Arni's hand. This indicates that Arni did not instruct his assistant to write the names of the sagas onto the additional leaves when transferring the sections. Rather, he added the titles himself, seemingly during phase two. Even though Árni may have foreseen and facilitated some steps of phase two by making his assistant use a bifolium instead of a singleton, nevertheless he does not seem to have planned to conduct everything in a single operation. The advantage of this practice was probably that he could postpone the decision of where to place the codicological units and how they should be bound. The mere separation of CUs as a standard procedure in phase one left him with the maximum number of options for phase two. Furthermore, in cases where he did not need the whole bifolium that may have been added during phase one, for instance because the manuscript received a proper binding, Arni could simply cut off the still blank half of the bifolium and use it for other purposes.

Notes identifying the manuscript and/or the text contained by the CUs were also added directly onto the original leaves. In the top margin of AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU3, for example, Árni has written "Ur Olafs Sógu Helga i Flateyiarbok pagina mea 269." ("From Ólafs saga helga in Flateyjarbók, my page 269.") This reference is not to Flateyjarbók (Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 1005 fol.) itself, but to one of Árni's several copies of parts of it. The note identifies the text of what is now AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU3 as being identical with the text that starts in AM 69 fol. on fol. 135, paginated as 269. Similarly, in the lower margin of fol. 1r in AM 154 8vo CU4, Árni has noted the title "Snias qvæde", and in AM 154 8vo CU5, the identifier is added to the originally blank lower part of fol. 3v, again running alongside the foreedge, so that the title could be read when the leaves were folded in half. In other cases his notes identify only the author of the text, such as "Author est Haldorus Thorbergi" ("The author is Halldór Þorbergsson") in AM

March St. D. Hanne 2 18051 1.3 A PILLA Summer 1 1 1 1 1 again para littair 31 - find on righter regard grantent for the first in app of remain, in the manager of the states Mr. S. Can In. 19 and look time ist deryber is refer ron andica

Figure 4.14: Recto-side of AM 770 c $\theta$  4to CU13, which used to serve as jacket for the current CU14. The title written by Árni Magnússon can be read along the outer edge. Photo: Suzanne Reitz.

218 c 4to CU2, fol. 2r. Finally, in some cases the identifying note is in the hand of one of Árni's scribes and not himself. For instance, a table of contents in the bottom margin of AM 615 f 4to, fol. 1r is written by Jón Ólafssson and the added title in AM 440 b 12mo CU1, which is in an unidentified hand, was possibly also added on his behalf.

The regular occurrence of identifiers harmonizes with Árni's way of referencing his manuscripts. In his notes and other documents he usually referred to his manuscripts by means of text title and format of the artefact instead of a numbering system or shelfmarks.<sup>50</sup> In his catalogue of parchment manuscripts, Árni does not employ any serial numbers either, but titles and frequently the format.<sup>51</sup> Contrary to Overgaard's (1996, 278-280) suggestion, it is therefore doubtful that a numbered catalogue or record of the entire collection existed during Árni's lifetime (Springborg 1996, 17-18).<sup>52</sup> The numbers on the bill to Rosenkrantz mentioned by Overgaard may instead refer to a sales catalogue or one of his binding lists, some of which he provided with serial numbers.<sup>53</sup> As Már Jónsson (2012, 184) points out, Árni often provided manuscripts with notes carrying the same information as was given in the catalogue, which served identification purposes.

In addition, the manuscripts and bindings in the collection do not bear serial numbers from Árni's time. Rather, several parchment bindings show traces of titles having been written onto the spine by means of brown or grey ink, and Springborg (1996, 15) suggests that many of these are in Árni's hand. Among the manuscripts of the present corpus, two have bindings with titles on the spine that Árni's may have written himself.<sup>54</sup> Since he does not appear to have used any shelfmarks for his manuscripts, the identification notes on the added bifolia or elsewhere on the manuscripts must have been highly useful to him, not to say essential for a well organised library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>For Árni's references to individual manuscripts see e.g. a long list in his hand found on fols. 1r-11v of AM 209 8vo. Similarly, in AM-slips he mentions other manuscripts by means of contents and format, and at times further information like the scribe (e.g. AM 9 fol., AM-slip; AM 34 fol., AM-slip d & AM 297 a 4to CU1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>An example of a manuscript referenced with title and format in AM 435 a 4to can be found on fol. 12v, where Árni lists a manuscript as "Mariu Saga in 4to." However, Árni used numbers for manuscripts when referring to other collections, for example Torfæus's library in AM 435 b 4to, in this case Roman numerals.

 $<sup>^{52}</sup>$ It is out of the question, however, that he had plans to have the whole collection catalogued. For details on his partial catalogues, see section 5.1 on page 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>The Rosenkrantz bill is found in AM 209 8vo, fols. 58r-59r and an example of a numbered binding list is preserved in AM 209 8vo, (fols. 12r-49r). See also Springborg (1996, 19).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>The titles on the spine of the old parchment bindings of AM 13 fol. and AM 224 fol. may have been written by Árni. Since only a few letters are visible, the identification is difficult. I thank Giovanni Verri and Mette Jakobsen for their help trying to identify the scribe.

#### 4.2.3 Frequent change of placement during phase two

Apart from the three main types of binding conditions described by Jón Ólafsson (bound, "un-bound" and not treated), the old catalogue also often mentions how otherwise loose parts were kept together as one aggregation. Most commonly, reference is made to a so-called "fasciculus", a bundle. NUMBER 613 IN fol., for example, was such a bundle of "unbound" CUs (AM 456 fol., 4v-5r). As I have shown, the individual items of this aggregation were kept in surrounding bifolia, one of them still being present in AM 163 m fol., but they were registered as one manuscript number in t1.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, NUMBER 521 IN 4to is said to have contained four copies of Ambáles saga and two copies of Ambáles rímur, which were partially bound and partially "un-bound", but everything was kept together: "allt þetta i einum fasciculo" ("all of this in one bundle") (AM 456 fol., 20v). Other, less commonly found descriptions include "i sama bundt" ("in the same bundle") (AM 456 fol., 24v) and an apparently loose older book cover "i sama bókar umslage" ("in the same book cover") (AM 456 fol., 28v).<sup>56</sup> Although such references to outer storage conditions of aggregations often appear in addition to one or more of the three main binding forms, they have a similar function to other bindings by keeping manuscript material together and thus facilitating its storage.<sup>57</sup> To bundle or package otherwise separate CUs therefore also forms part of phase two. It gives the items a physical context and a place in the collection.

Årni often conducted the working steps of phase two more than once. In particular with regard to the bundles it is evident that he frequently re-located manuscript parts. For example, a couple of CUs were given proper bindings by Árni, but have been registered as part of a larger aggregation in t1. This is the case with at least the current AM 113 g fol., AM 1 a fol., AM 521 a 4to and AM 297 a 4to. The following manuscript parts may have been in a grey cardboard binding from Árni's time when he aggregated them: AM 408 e 4to, AM 770 a 4to and AM 777 b-d 4to. They bear witness to the placement activity having been conducted at least once when they were given a parchment binding, and again when they were aggregated with additional CUs.

Several of Árni's added notes further indicate later adjustments of ag-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>For Number 613 in fol. see section 4.2.1 on page 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>For the reference to a manuscript "i sama bundt" ("in the same bundle") see also section 2.3.6 on page 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>According to my definition of a manuscript, it is these outer boundaries that determine the separate manuscripts even if some of the CUs inside may be properly bound.

gregations. On the AM-slip in AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to, for instance, Årni has first written "þattur Hakonar Harekssonar. Krokarefs=Saga." One of his scribes has added provenance details underneath starting with: "Ur bok i 4<sup>to</sup>, sem eg keypte 1710. af Jorun*ne* j ytra Hiardardal j Ónundafirde [...]" ("From a book in 4to which I bought in 1710 from Jórunn in Ytri-Hjarðardalur in Önundarfjörður [...]"). Later, the first title on the slip was struck through. The two copies that the notes refer to, AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU1 and CU2, stem indeed from the same original manuscript, Ms32a, which Árni acquired together with additional material from the named Jórunn (Overgaard 2009, \*37-\*38). Thus, the AM-slip was initially intended for both CUs, which were then kept together. The deletion of the first item indicates that what is now AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU1 (*Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*) was at a later point moved away from CU2 (*Króka-Refs saga*) and the AM-slip stayed with the latter.

The codicological evidence supports this observation. The last leaf of AM 554 h α 4to CU1 (fol. 3) carries the first fourteen lines of *Króka-Refs* saga on the lower half of its verso-side. These lines are exactly what is missing in front of AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU2. Additionally, fol. 3 of CU1 is now a singleton, while CU2 consists of an incomplete quire, of which the current fol. 10 appears to have formed a bifolium with fol. 3 (Figure 4.15 on the next page).<sup>58</sup> The overlapping text part has not been crossed out, and there is no indication of it having been copied over and added to the current AM 554 h a 4to CU2, which additionally hints at a later separation of the CUs.<sup>59</sup> Finally, Jón Ólafsson has noted in his catalogue that NUMBER 554 IN 4to contained a copy of Króka-Refs saga that was lacking its beginning, but no Hákonar báttur Hárekssonar (AM 456 fol., 21v). Arni consequently first left the copies of *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar* and Króka-Refs saga together, presumably in one CU, but removed the text at an unknown point, placing the two new CUs independently from each other.<sup>60</sup> Since this form of the manuscript is also witnessed in t1, AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU1 must have been rejoined with AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU2 some time after Árni's death, giving the latter text its beginning back.

The second AM-slip in AM 554 h  $\beta$  4to equally indicates changes concerning the aggregation of CUs. This slip first conveyed a table of con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>The watermarks are not very clear, so that the reconstruction of the original quire is very likely but cannot be guaranteed.

 $<sup>5^{59}</sup>$ It is uncommon for manuscripts altered by Árni to show such evidence of CUs being adjusted at a point that could to be later than phase one. In the vast majority of cases, the treatment during phase one prepared the CUs well for exactly this kind of repeated adjustment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>I have been unable to find any reference to this copy of *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar* in AM 456 fol. It is thus uncertain where it was kept in t1.

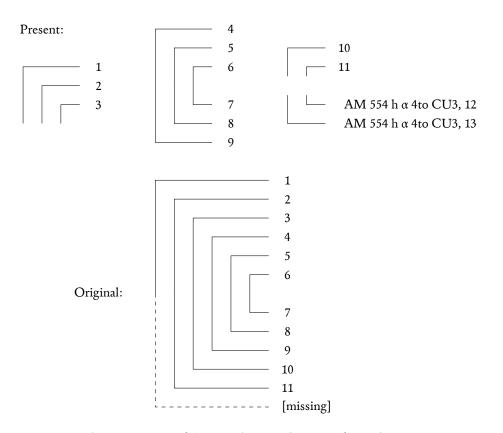


Figure 4.15: Quire structure of AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU1-2. *Above*: Current structure: CU1 (fols. 1-3) and CU2 (fols. 4-11) (applies for t0 and t1). *Below*: Assumed original structure (applies for t2). A missing leaf is indicated with a dashed line.

tents listing six works, indicating that two of them occurred in several copies. Later, all but possibly the entry for one copy of *Króka-Refs saga* were crossed out (Figure 4.16 on the facing page). Since this is the title of the first text in the associated CU, the list may bear witness to a former aggregation, of which AM 554 h  $\beta$  4to was a part. However, the last two texts in that CU, *Pórðar saga hreðu* and *Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar* are not mentioned on the AM-slip, which leaves room for doubt as to whether this slip originally belonged to the CU.<sup>61</sup> It may also have been incorrectly associated with the current CU later on. In any event, the slip conveys information about Árni's working methods, since the titles were crossed out on two, possibly three, different occasions. This is evident from the way the individual items were deleted and the fact that different kinds of ink were employed. Accordingly, even if it is not clear which copies this AM-slip refers to, it hints at multiple compositional changes over time.<sup>62</sup>

Placement adjustments during phase two could of course be understood as Árni having changed his mind about where best to place the copies in question. Yet, considering that he constantly added to his collection, the observed phenomenon may be more convincingly explained as the result of new material having entered the collection, which increased the aggregation possibilities for the individual copies.

The corpus material supplies many examples of former aggregations whose components were obtained at various times. As I have shown for NUMBER 615 IN 4to, Árni received the CUs comprising that bundle over at least three to four years.<sup>63</sup> In addition, the preserved acquisition dates of NUMBER 408 IN 4to's parts span an even longer period. While the first clearly dated part came to Árni in 1710 (now AM 408 b 4to), he received the latest marked one in 1721 (now AM 408 a 4to). Moreover, the CU that is now AM 408 h 4to CU13 was presumably lent to Árni as early as 1698, but no later than 1707.<sup>64</sup> The parts Árni combined in NUMBER 408 IN 4to thus came to him over a period of at least fourteen years (1707-1721).

From Arni's private correspondence it is also apparent that he often

 $<sup>^{61}</sup>$ Even though it could be argued that Árni only mentioned the first text, being too lazy to also refer to the other two which are physically connected to the first as they form a continuous CU, he did list all three items when describing part of the former book they used to be in (=Ms33) on the other slip found in the manuscript (see AM 554 h  $\beta$  4to, AM-slip 1).

 $<sup>^{62}</sup>$ Már Jónsson (2012, 72) also describes a case where Árni clearly changed his own arrangements. Those manuscripts, AM 555 h 4to and AM 564 c 4to, however, are not part of the present corpus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>For NUMBER 615 IN 4to see section 2.3.6 starting on page 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>According to the AM-slip, Árni borrowed what is now AM 408 h 4to CU13 from Jón Einarsson (1674-1707). The information on the slip, which is in Árni's hand, is in all likelihood a copy of a letter that he received from the previous owner in 1698.

554 hi/ la Kroka ya 0 ampl. Aulko pl.

Figure 4.16: AM-slip 2 in AM 554 h  $\beta$  4to showing a table of contents in Árni's hand; the items were crossed out on different occasions. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

pursued a certain manuscript or a copy of it for several years before being successful in obtaining it (e.g. Kålund 1920, 303-304; Már Jónsson 2012a, 186-188). Hence, he was conscious of manuscript material and texts that he did not have in his collection yet. At the same time, Árni processed and rearranged his manuscripts continuously. Based on the combined evidence of his steady acquisition of manuscripts and continuous custodial work on the collection, Árni knew in all likelihood that his first placement of a codicological unit would in many cases not be final. Therefore, he presumably incorporated this factor into his working methods.

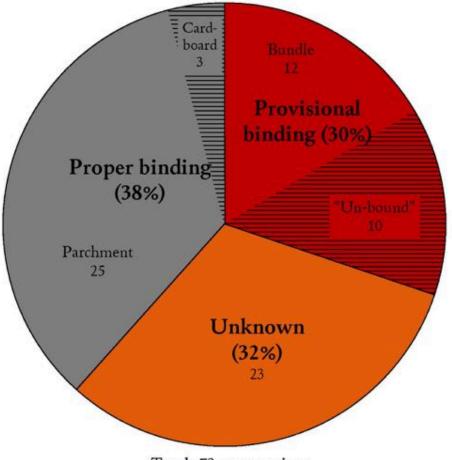
If constant adjustment was indeed part of Arni's strategy, this lends additional significance to the division of the working procedure for rearrangement into two phases. With all manuscripts having gone through phase one, the physical placement during phase two could be repeated or adjusted in all possible ways without expending too much effort. The aggregation of previously separate CUs, separate movement of adjacent CUs, and of course rearrangement of parts into different aggregations could all be performed quickly if the manuscripts were already present in small workable units. Accordingly, even if the working procedure may at first glance seem repetitive in parts, the two phases formed a logical working routine, which – considering the big picture – was governed by principles of efficiency.

### 4.2.4 Continuous change central to rearrangement activity

That continuous change and improvement were an essential part of Arni's working methods agrees with the overall structure of his collection. Since many manuscripts were given provisional binding forms and/or kept in bundles, they were easily altered.

In fact, a proper binding as the outermost boundary of manuscripts in t1 can be recreated for no more than 28 of the 73 manuscripts (ca. 38%), in which the CUs of the corpus were kept. 25 of these manuscripts were bound in parchment and three in cardboard (Figure 4.17 on the next page).<sup>65</sup> On the contrary, the old catalogue describes 22 of the relevant manuscripts as either bundled (12, ca. 16%) or "un-bound" (10, ca. 14%). The outer binding condition of the remaining 23 manuscripts (ca. 32%) is unknown. However, chances are higher that they were without binding or otherwise provisionally stored than having been bound properly,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Some of the previously mentioned manuscript parts that were bound in parchment during Árni's activity were later aggregated with other CUs and thus do not count here.



Total: 73 manuscripts

Figure 4.17: Outer storage condition of manuscripts in 1730.

since most proper bindings are assumed to have left traces in the collection.<sup>66</sup> In accordance with the observation concerning NUMBER 615 IN 4to, the high level of temporary binding forms was well-suited for a collector like Árni who continually augmented his collection. By trying to preserve and present the material in the best possible way (Springborg 1996, 20), he could easily add to his manuscripts or stick new parts into existing aggregations when they were provisionally bound.

In addition to the binding forms I call "provisional", what today would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>In his overview of the binding history of the collection, Peter Springborg (2014b, 263) similarly concluded that a large portion of the paper manuscripts were not properly bound until the 1770s.

be considered a definitive binding was not a fixed unit to Årni either. In other words, even hard cover bindings cannot be interpreted as a final outer storage form. For example, Årni incorporated some of the manuscripts he had previously bound in proper bindings into larger bundles.<sup>67</sup> He moreover broke up and removed expensive bindings from his manuscripts if he considered a different arrangement more fitting (Springborg 1996, 12-13 based on Kålund 1909, 50-54). Accordingly, his whole library should be viewed as a project that was under constant development and open to improvement, and in pace with the evolution of the collection, the individual manuscripts could be adjusted according to new circumstances.

Although Árni may have had further plans for the collection which he did not manage to realise before he died, this is presumably not why his collection contained so many preliminarily stored manuscripts in t1. Instead, I think that most of these artefacts would also have remained in provisional bindings even if he had lived longer. His collecting activity did not have a natural end, as he was constantly striving to expand and improve his collection.<sup>68</sup> Also, even though he already possessed dozens of copies of some works, he was still eager to lay his hands on any additional copy, in order to compare the texts and to take variant notes or to replace an inferior copy.<sup>69</sup> Phase two, including its repetitions and preliminary actions, was therefore the central element of a well-designed and prescient rearrangement activity.

# 4.3 Creation of AM-slips

The so-called "AM-slips" are usually medium to small sized leaves with information about the manuscript or its text which were added to the artefacts by Árni Magnússon or on his behalf. There is no standard definition of an AM-slip. Yet, modern catalogue records display a frequent – at times somewhat inconsistent – usage of the term and its translated equiv-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>For re-placement of CUs in a proper binding see section 4.2.3 on page 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>The reason for this behaviour was not necessarily pure collecting mania, but rather a combination of factors (see chapter 5 starting on page 209). This approach is in contrast to some collectors who had a clear vision of which books they wanted to own and worked towards the completion of such a "closed" library with a finite number of desired books. The English collector Samuel Pepys (1633-1704), for instance, followed that approach to book collecting and even instructed his nephew and heir to complete the library after his death (Willes 2008, 50-55).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>Árni possessed, for example, numerous paper manuscripts of the Poetic Edda, fifteen of which he lists in AM 739 a 4to, 9r (Már Jónsson 2012a, 208-209). On contrast, he re-purposed a copy of *Jónsbók* as binding material, but only after determining that he had enough other copies that were at least as good (Már Jónsson 2012a, 193-194). On Árni's critical comparison of different copies of the same work and his judgement of their quality see also section 5.1.1 starting on page 212.

alents (see e.g. Handrit.is 2009-; Stories for all time 2012-2015). Már Jónsson (1995, 3) reckons that such note slips are associated with at least 1400 manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan Collection, with some containing more than one AM-slip. Even without a common definition, it is clear that AM-slips are preserved in large numbers, and they provide invaluable information about the manuscripts and their history.

AM-slips display considerable variation in their physical form, content and function, which makes it difficult to draw firm boundaries. I therefore take an inclusive approach in this study, embracing their variety as one of their core characteristics. AM-slips have in common that they are found inside manuscripts, where they are often located in front of the text block or the individual CUs of a larger aggregation. Besides AMslips, however, Árni wrote all his notes on loose leaves (Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík 2013, 26 & 38), some of which are also found in front of manuscripts. The only restriction I apply is therefore the distinction between AM-slips and Árni's more extensive notes: While AM-slips tend to stick to rather brief meta-level information about the manuscripts, other notes are, apart from their greater length and detail, also often more concerned with the text itself and frequently give excerpts or discuss alternate versions.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, the whole range of notes Árni left with his manuscripts needs to be understood as a continuum, and some cases do not clearly belong to one group or the other.

A total of 174 AM-slips are preserved in the corpus which is the basis for the present study. One additional AM-slip is known to be missing from AM 34 fol. CU2 (Loth 1960a, lxii). While 78 CUs do not have an associated extant AM-slip, most CUs carry a slip, and some more than one (Figure 4.18 on the following page). The maximum number of AMslips is five (occurring once), but they are jointly associated with two CUs. The median lies at one associated AM-slip per CU, which highlights that most of the CUs Árni produced were supplied with either an individual AM-slip or were part of a group to which a shared note applied. These numbers illustrate, once again, the great care Árni put into storing his manuscripts well and systematically documenting them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>In AM 615 n 4to, for example, there are such extensive notes in front of the manuscript. They are catalogued and treated as a separate item, which I call "On Sveins rímur Múkssonar". For Árni's more extensive notes see also Wäckerlin (2004, 224-242).

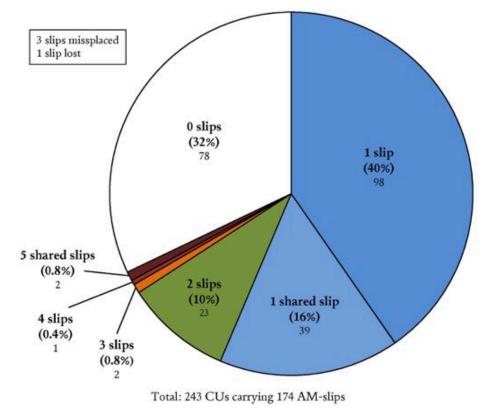


Figure 4.18: Number of associated AM-slips per CU.

Eyr byggia-Saga. Ur bok to og finck af Monfo Jonas Dada lund

Figure 4.19: AM-slip in AM 129 fol. providing both an identifier and provenance information. The main text of the slip is written by Árni Magnússon. The shelfmark in red ink is an addition by Kristian Kålund. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

### 4.3.1 Diverse contents and material features of AM-slips

The contents of AM-slips can be divided broadly into two categories: (1) an identifier and (2) provenance information. The former usually gives the title of the text or texts contained by the CU with which the slip is associated. At times this information can have the form of a table of contents, and in some cases it may include the name of the scribe or the author of the text. As has been discussed, these identifiers could fulfil similar purposes to shelfmarks.<sup>71</sup> The second kind of information typically concerns the provenance of the manuscript, its former physical or textual context, or the relationship to other copies. The time or character of the acquisition as well as the production of the manuscript, including the exemplar of the present copy and sources of variant notes, may be mentioned. While both kinds of information do occur individually and in various orders, many slips contain first an identifier and then further information belonging to the second category. The note slip found in AM 129 fol., for example, is such an AM-slip with both kinds of information (Figure 4.19). It reads in Árni Magnússon's hand: "Eyrbyggia-Saga. ur Bok er eg fieck af Monsieur Jonas Dadasyne" ("Eyrbyggja saga. Out of a book which I received from Monsieur Jónas Daðason [Gam (1671-1734)]"). Thus, it first identifies the saga (and thereby the CU it belongs to) and then briefly conveys details about the acquisition and former context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>For Árni's method of referencing manuscripts see section 4.2.2 on page 162. It is noticeable that none of the AM-slips in the corpus identifies the manuscript by its format in addition to the title. Only the format of other copies or the book that formed the former context of the CUs are given. This observation can be explained with the AM-slips being located inside the manuscripts they refer to, meaning that the format was obvious to the reader who held the manuscript in his hands and could thus be omitted.

AM-slips were produced in varying ways. While numerous slips were written all at once, others were added to and improved in multiple operations.<sup>72</sup> Most AM-slips were written by Árni himself, but they could equally be penned by his assistants. Examples of slips written solely in Árni's hand can be found, among others, in AM 129 fol., AM 777 c 4to CU2 and AM 34 8vo.<sup>73</sup> AM-slips that have been written on his behalf are for example preserved in AM 615 o 4to and AM 612 c 4to.<sup>74</sup> There are also several examples of slips that were first written by one of Árni's scribes and later corrected or expanded by him. The slip in AM 1006 4to, for instance, shows clear traces of Árni having corrected his scribe's note (Figure 4.20 on page 176). The slips in AM 218 c 4to (AM-slip a), AM 403 4to, AM 521 a 4to and AM 587 e 4to are additional examples of AMslips written for Árni, to which he has added further details.<sup>75</sup> The opposite, however, is found in AM 345 4to (AM-slips 2 and 3) and AM 192 fol., which contain AM-slips carrying some information in Árni's hand and supplementary details that have been added on his behalf by someone else.<sup>76</sup> Consequently, Árni shared the task of writing AM-slips with his assistants, by having them write various portions of the slips.

Árni was highly involved in the writing of AM-slips and supervised his assistants carefully when they wrote slips for him. Of the 174 slips in the corpus, the clear majority of 152 AM-slips (ca. 87%) are written by Árni (Figure 4.21 on page 177). Much fewer, only sixteen slips (ca. 9%) show both the hand of Árni and one of his scribes, and no more than six AM-slips (ca. 4%) have been solely written by one of the assistants and not been correct-

ed by Árni. In many cases where notes are in his scribe's hand it appears moreover that Árni dictated the messages, since they mention him in first person singular (e.g. AM 345 4to, AM-slips 2 and 3) and/or end in the initials "AM" (e.g. AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to, AM-slip). Hence, Árni used his assistants for parts of the work of adding AM-slips to his manuscripts, but followed their work very closely.

It is much less common to find AM-slips in the hand of one of Árni's assistants than added beginnings or endings. Of the transferred text parts, more than half of the cases in the corpus were written by an assistant,

174

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>For adjusted AM-slips see also section 4.2.3 starting on page 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>For an image of an AM-slip purely written by Árni see e.g. figure 4.19 on the preceding page.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>For images of these AM-slips see figure 4.27 on page 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup>For images of the AM-slips in AM 403 4to and AM 521 a 4to see figure 4.28 on page 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>For images of AM-slips 2 and 3 in AM 345 4to see figure 4.30 on page 191.

while AM-slips are usually in Árni's own hand.<sup>77</sup> This suggests that Árni paid closer attention to this part of the work flow than to the initial preparation of small codicological units. Providing the provenance information of AM-slips also required knowledge of facts, which presumably came directly from Árni's himself. It was therefore more difficult for him to entrust the assistants with this part of the work without close supervision.

AM-slips display a variety of physical and material properties (Figure 4.22 on page 178).<sup>78</sup> What could be conceived of as the "typical" AMslip is a note written on an additional piece of paper that was inserted into a manuscript by Árni. Nonetheless, notes by him or his assistants conveying the kinds of information described above are also found on original leaves of the manuscripts. In these cases, the notes are often written in the margins of the first page, but occasionally also on otherwise unused leaves, such as a blank last page. An example of such a note on original material is AM 218 c 4to CU1, where Árni has written in the top margin of fol. 1r: "Fra Halldori Þorbergss*yne* 1704" ("From Halldór Þorbergsson 1704"). Similarly, AM 154 8vo CU5 carries an identifier that is added to the formerly blank lower part of its last page.<sup>79</sup>

Árni even added some of his AM-slip notes on original leaves outside the text block, such as leaves with other functions. AM 440 a 12mo, for instance, contains an old flyleaf in front, on the recto-side of which Árni has noted that the two CUs belonged to Jón Jónsson at Ófriðarstaðir in Gullbringusýsla (b. 1654), to whom they needed to be returned (Figure 4.23 on page 179). On the verso-side of the flyleaf are older additions, most of which are in the hand of Jón Jónsson, meaning that the leaf was already with the manuscript when it was borrowed by Arni. Furthermore, the contemporary flyleaf once formed a bifolium with fol. 105 of AM 440 a 12mo CU2. This fact has been noted on the leaf by a later conservator and is confirmed with matching chain-lines. Since fol. 105 is part of the text block that was produced in one operation and continues up to and includes fol. 108, fol. 105 and the old flyleaf clearly formed an original bifolium of the manuscript. At first, the old flyleaf was likely located in the back, where together with fol. 105 it enclosed the two last bifolia of what is now AM 440 a 12mo CU2. It was presumably folded to the front rather early on, since the current recto-side of the leaf has considerably darkened

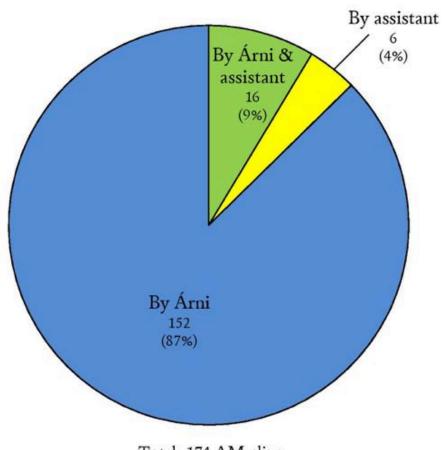
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>For Árni's usage of his assistants see also section 4.1.1 starting on page 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>Where the original shape of an AM-slip is not clear, the current form applies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>For the identifier in AM 154 8vo CU5 see also section 4.2.2 on page 160.

untlunga Dogu morduran, Commo un Wigur Ig Frienda notar fri exemplan alfi Olar Bon form Enrider a ur Dranh und Dunina Longi June og Hormu charta, cujus apographim habes) kelatio upfins. fan nun de emplar a) and hard of Si Helga fialfer was advir opt for examplant is mine to menimit. I i glog

Figure 4.20: AM-slip in AM 1006 4to first written by one of Árni's scribes with extensive corrections and additions by Árni.



Total: 174 AM-slips

Figure 4.21: Ratio of AM-slips written by Árni, one of his his assistants or both.

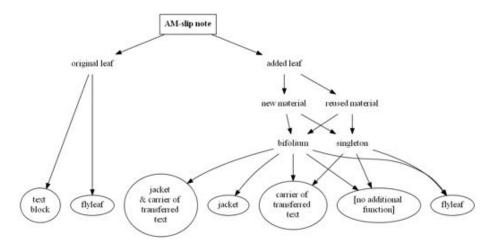


Figure 4.22: Schematic overview over material aspects and functions of AM-slips. From top down, the various combinations of material aspects can be followed, ending in the most common (additional) functions of the respective AM-slips.

compared to the current verso-side. Moreover, the innermost approximately 15 mm of the flyleaf's current recto-side show traces of rough wear and tear, indicating that that part of the leaf covered the spine of the presumably unbound manuscript for a long time. Clearly, then Árni made use of a pre-existing leaf that was conveniently located in front of the two CUs, instead of inserting an additional piece of paper.<sup>80</sup>

When Árni added his notes directly onto material that was already part of the manuscripts, this operation did not require any major effort or expenses. There was no need to obtain any additional paper, and it could be quickly accomplished, as all Árni needed was a pen and some ink, which he probably had at hand at all times. Besides, when information was added to the original material, it was naturally attached to the manuscript or manuscript part in question and could not be misplaced as easily as loose leaves or slips. The vast majority of AM-slips, however, were written on additional material that was inserted by Árni or on his behalf. The ratio of slips on additional paper to notes on original material is approximately 6:1 with 150 added AM-slips compared to 24 notes on original leaves.

AM-slips on added material are usually singletons or bifolia. As Már Jónsson (1995, 6) points out, the most common formats are quarto and octavo, but also smaller slips than that occur frequently. With regard to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup>Adding notes to borrowed manuscripts is, of course, nothing new or specific to Árni Magnússon. It was practised in Iceland already in the Middle Ages (Driscoll 2004, 27).

elfoz fan Sigzerne M mi 24 1:001

(a) Recto-side of front flyleaf in AM 440 a 12mo (b) Verso-side of front flyleaf in AM 440 a 12mo carrying a note by Árni Magnússon and later ad- carrying earlier additions, among them the name ditions in red ink and pencil. of the former owner Jón Jónsson.

Figure 4.23: Old flyleaf in front of AM 440 a 12mo. The recto-side (a) is rather dirty, in particular in the inner margin, and Árni Magnússon added provenance information about the manuscript. The verso-side (b) shows older additions. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafs-dóttir.

the material, the slips can be divided based on whether or not the paper employed was reused. Among the 150 AM-slips on added material, at least 26 (ca. 17%; ca. 15% of the total) are made from previously used paper. Reused material often stems from envelopes of letters or other note slips with writing on only one side. The previously blank sides or larger unused parts were then made use of for penning the relevant information about the manuscripts. Redundant text from former use was sometimes crossed out, sometimes not. Examples can be found among some already mentioned cases, for instance the AM-slips with Árni's family tree on their verso-sides in AM 612 c 4to and AM 615 o 4to (Figure 2.21) on page 107) and the bifolium AM 770 c  $\theta$  4to CU13 (Figure 4.14 on page 161) containing notes and excerpts by Arni on its verso-side. Former envelopes are also found fairly frequently, for instance in AM 409 a 4to CU1-5 (Figure 4.32 on page 200), and other AM-slips show for example accounting notes (AM 163 m fol.) or annals (AM 588 r 4to and AM 554 a  $\alpha$  4to) on their verso-side. Finally, some AM-slips without any earlier writing are made from reused paper. The slips found in AM 224 fol., AM 521 a 4to and AM 403 4to, for instance, display clear traces of former usage, although they do not carry any older text (Figure 4.28 on page 187). AM-slips made from new or previously unused paper, of course, do not carry any writing or other older traces. Not so few AM-slips, however, display additional writing which is younger than Árni's statements.

Both AM-slips made from reused and from new material can have additional functions. Most prominently, AM-slips in the shape of a bifolium served as a jacket enclosing the CU's leaves at the same time. As I have argued, these jackets functioned as a very basic form of binding and thus facilitated the – often preliminary – storage of the manuscript parts.<sup>81</sup> To give another example, AM 116 8vo contains two AM-slips in the form of bifolia (AM-slip a & b). Both of them have writing in Árni's hand on the recto-side of their first leaf. AM-slip a belongs to AM 116 I 8vo CU1, the contents of which it names (*Droplaugarsona saga*) and for which it gives some provenance information. AM-slip b is associated with the second CU, for which it only provides an identifier (*Hrafnkels saga* and *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfifls*).

The current arrangement of the bifolia in AM 116 8vo does not correspond to the way in which Árni placed them, as they are stored in a separate modern cardboard jacket. The jacket was installed in the 1960s when the manuscript was conserved and re-bound prior to being sent to Ice-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>For the surrounding jackets see also section 4.2.1 on page 158.

land in 1975. Before then the whole manuscript, including the AM-slips, was bound differently, presumably in a binding from Kristian Kålund's time.<sup>82</sup> It is therefore highly likely that the manuscript was treated and changed under Kålund. Jón Ólafsson's catalogue does not contain any remark on the binding condition of NUMBER 116 IN 8vo, and there is no secondary information about any previous binding forms elsewhere, either.

The two bifolia themselves, however, suggest that they used to serve as jackets and in all likelihood surrounded the first two CUs of AM 116 8vo. Both of them are considerably darker and dirtier on their outside than on their inside. On the insides, they show a darker part along the edges, the respective width of which corresponds to how much larger the bifolia are than the original leaves of the first and second CU, respectively (Figure 4.24 on the following page). Therefore, it can be assumed that the bifolium called AM-slip a used to enclose the leaves of AM 116 I 8vo CU1, and AM-slip b formed a jacket around the leaves of the second CU. Additionally, the first recto page of AM-slip a is even darker than the other outside parts of the bifolia, meaning that the current CU1 was presumably also then in front of the current CU2. This is in agreement with the order given by Jón Ólafsson (AM 456 fol., 37v). The AM-slips thus functioned both as carriers for Árni's notes and as surrounding bifolia. They presumably did so in 1730 and possibly until Kålund dealt with the manuscript around 1900. The two bifolia in AM 116 8vo additionally illustrate cases where the AM-slips were made of reused material, since they were both taken from former envelopes. Certainly the envelope that now forms AM-slip b, and possibly also the one turned into AM-slip a, were addressed to Árni while he resided in Iceland.<sup>83</sup>

Some of the AM-slips in the shape of bifolia even served as writing support for the added beginning or end. They could thus have had up to three different functions. The added bifolium in AM 163 m fol., which has already been discussed, is an instance of such triple usage of the same leaves.<sup>84</sup> In that case, the bifolium was seemingly unused before it was added to the CU and first written on in connection with the rearrange-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup>Old photographs held by the Department of Nordic Research in Copenhagen taken before the restoration indicate that the former binding was dark (blue or black) and that the boards were covered with marbled paper. It also had a flyleaf or pastedown in front with writing in Kålund's hand, and the sewing was done on wide bands. All of those facts point towards the typical dark half bindings which were produced by the bookbinder Otto Ehlert during Kålund's time (Springborg 2014b, 265-267). I am grateful to Natasha Fazlic for her help in finding and interpreting these details.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup>On the primary usage of the envelope see section 4.3.4 on page 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup>For the added bifolium in AM 163 m fol. see section 4.2.2 on page 159.



Figure 4.24: The inside of AM-slip a in AM 116 8vo showing traces of having enclosed somewhat smaller leaves in the form of a darker margin around the top and fore-edge. The bifolium was made from a former envelope, presumably addressed to Árni Magnússon at the *alþingi*. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

Greatand 414 bok i folio, forta à bokina) Magnul trium interete Han. chriftiani 10. brif, many par pitimoral at darl Gylor Anogar ho batar in aptur 5 fundaly 2. Bingt tud i Friderici 11. 50 to vis a pappir Cardan i dy A) à Chaftiani (V. - Jafo alt Saus Cokina um greating our aptar, t i 25.4/1+2.49 th city to kinner, og fynest over confuti

Figure 4.25: AM-slip on front flyleaf in AM 777 b-d 4to, which forms a bifolium with the front pastedown and is presumably contemporary with the binding. The notes were written by Árni Magnússon. Photo: Suzanne Reitz.

ment.

Finally, added AM-slips are also found to function as flyleaves at the same time. In front of the current AM 777 b-d 4to, for instance, is a flyleaf that carries a note by Árni (Figure 4.25). On the recto-side of that leaf, he identifies the text of what is now AM 777 b 4to CU1 and gives a detailed description of the former context and provenance of that book. The flyleaf is presumably contemporary with the binding and is connected to the front pastedown.<sup>85</sup> It cannot be determined whether it was a flyleaf first, onto which the AM-slip information was added, or if it started out as an added bifolium, which was then made the pastedown and flyleaf of the binding. In any event, the leaf now has those two functions and it is likely that it already had them in 1730.

Multiple functions of added leaves display a rational approach to the effort involved in writing AM-slips. If a suitable piece of paper, usually in front of the CU, was already part of the manuscript, the note could easily be written on it. To use existing added material as AM-slip reduced

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup>The manuscript is bound in a grey cardboard binding, which is potentially from Árni's time (see also section 4.2.1 on page 154). The writing is in his hand, meaning that at least the leaf is contemporary with him.

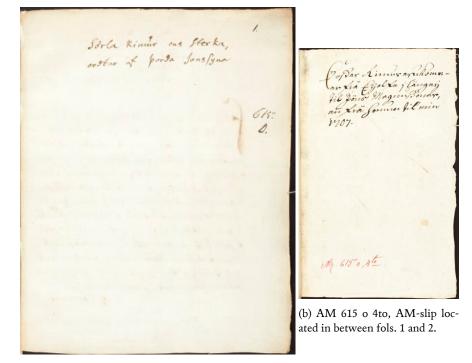
699 Grenlandz- Chronika ut 129 un privere Donfa of Jone class fyne aft-indea fam. AMagnans poffidet. (b) AM 779 c III 4to CU4, AM-slip b. 1 c III, 4te

(a) AM 779 c III 4to CU4, AM-slip a.

Figure 4.26: AM-slips a and b found in AM 779 c III 4to CU4 not showing any traces of previous usage. Both slips were originally written by Árni Magnússon and have modern additions. Photo: Suzanne Reitz.

the effort in the same way as writing AM-slip information on original leaves. In addition, to employ used paper for this purpose brings a form of efficiency in that it reduces costs. Considering the large amount of AM-slips that Árni produced, had he used new material for all of them, it would have added up to a small sum. More importantly, though, reusing waste paper that was already at hand was highly convenient and the recycled leaves could fulfil their new purpose just as well as previously unused material.

Finally, there are AM-slips that were produced from new material, and they do not have any additional functions. These are most often singletons of smaller dimensions than the leaves of the CU with which they are associated. The six AM-slips contained by AM 779 c 4to, for



(a) AM 615 o 4to, AM-slip note on fol. 1r.

Figure 4.27: Two AM-slips found in AM 615 o 4to conveying information on the same CU but written on separate leaves. One was written by Árni Magnússon (a), while the other one is in the hand of one of his scribes (b). Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

example, show no indications of former or additional usage (Figure 4.26 on the preceding page shows two examples taken from the fourth CU). Likewise, AM 218 fol. has two small slips in front, which are both made from otherwise blank paper. The first slip provides an identifier, while the second contains both an identifier and provenance information for the same CU as the first slip. This case appears to contradict the before noticed efficiency and rather rational working approaches, since the identifying information was written twice. Moreover, the provenance information was not added to the possibly earlier first slip in the way one may have expected, even though there would have been ample space.

Multiple AM-slips on separate leaves are present in more CUs. In the case of AM 615 o 4to, for example, Árni has written an identifying note on the second half of the added bifolium: "Sórla Rimur ens sterka, ordtar af Þorðe Jonssyne" ("Sörla rímur hins sterka, composed by Þorður Jónsson") (AM 615 o 4to, 1r). In addition to that, another AM-slip with a provenance note was inserted into the manuscript instead of noting the additional information below the identifier on the bifolium (Figure 4.27 on the preceding page). That additional slip, however, has a matching counterpart in the AM-slip of AM 612 c 4to.<sup>86</sup> It may therefore have been easier or faster (or both) for the scribe who was asked to write identical notes for both manuscript parts, to produce two small slips of additional paper and slide them into the CUs, regardless of whether or not there was suitable material available in the manuscripts.

In sum, efficient working methods for producing AM-slips are apparent in many instances, while in other cases the production may at first glance not seem as rationalised and even partially repetitive. However, the latter cases also often reveal underlying patterns that prove beneficial in other ways, for example in a kind of mass-production of AM-slips. The great variety of features displayed by the AM-slips can therefore at least in part be explained by the multitude of circumstances that the manuscripts and manuscript parts provided. In many instances, there was appropriate space and writing support in the CUs to be used, but in others it was found more practical to include additional slips.

### 4.3.2 Parallel production of some AM-slips

A number of AM-slips evidence parallel working procedures, as they convey the same information and/or show related material features. Apart from the already treated slips in AM 615 o 4to and AM 612 c 4to, the AM-slips found in AM 224 fol., AM 521 a 4to and AM 403 4to, for example, are identical with regard to the scribes, the material and most of the contents (Figure 4.28 on the next page). The slips have almost the same dimensions (154-157 × 111-112 mm) and are reused former bifolia with seven matching sewing holes in the central folding line. The edges are furthermore slightly discoloured, suggesting that the leaves were in a small-sized book or manuscript for some time before Árni repurposed them. Since the leaves were completely blank prior to their re-use, it is likely that they were taken from a pre-bound notebook. All three slips convey the written information that the respective CU was taken out of a larger manuscript, which Árni bought from Torfæus's widow in 1720. The first part is in all cases in the hand of the same assistant,<sup>87</sup> while Árni has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup>For the matching slips in AM 615 o 4to and AM 612 c 4to see section 2.3.5 starting on page 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup>The scribe has not been identified.

Tra Sal. Affellor Thormood Toriefens gula 1720. Ur num 10. Iva Sal: Affeffor Thormood Torriefens Buln 1720. Ur Num. 10. Bue er t'forna komm for mitr.

(a) AM 521 a 4to., AM-slip.

(b) AM 403 4to, AM-slip.

Fra Sal. Alleflot Thormod Torilegens Bula 1720. Num L. Aly. 224, fol-

(c) AM 224 fol., AM-slip.

Figure 4.28: Matching AM-slips found in AM 521 a 4to, AM 403 4to and AM 224 fol. They show identical material features being made of reused leaves from a small-sized book and have very similar contents. On all slips the first part was written by one of his scribes, while Árni Magnússon added the following details himself. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir (a&b) & Susanne Reitz (c).

added further detail about the different former manuscripts. These AMslips thus show a high level of common features and working methods: The slips were presumably not just prepared together, but also treated equally at a later point.

The material history of the three CUs contains further parallels. As the AM-slips indicate, the CUs entered Árni's collection at the same time, when he received the former manuscripts together in 1720. Moreover, two of the CUs, AM 403 4to and AM 521 a 4to, derive from the same former manuscript, Ms54 ("Torfæi Num. X (4to)"). The leaves that now form AM 224 fol. were previously part of Ms41 ("Torfæi Num. XII (fol.)") (Kålund 1909, 70 & 76). However, based on the parallel features of the AM-slips, Árni presumably treated all three parts with AM-slips together. In sum, the parts show multiple parallel features and share many aspects of their physical history, indicating highly systematic working methods.

Other AM-slips with related contents were not necessarily written simultaneously. Most parts of the former manuscript Árni obtained from Markús Bergsson, for example, carry AM-slips with the same basic information linking them to Ms35, but the material aspects differ.<sup>88</sup> Of the five slips, the ones in AM 585 a 4to, AM 536 4to and the first slip in AM 345 4to have the provenance information in Árni's hand, while the other slips in AM 345 4to are partially written by an assistant. The last two, namely AM-slip 2 and 3 in AM 345 4to, have the same dimensions (198 x 155 mm) and a similar text structure: Arni had first written the name of the saga and his scribe made the association with Markús Bergsson's book underneath (Figure 4.30 on page 191). The other three slips, on the contrary, diverge in size and additional information (Figure 4.29 on page 190). The slip in AM 585 a 4to, for instance, gives a table of contents with the page numbers where the respective sagas start, and in his note on the AM-slip in AM 536 4to, Arni comments on the appearance of the manuscript. Finally, the colour of Árni's ink varies between brown and dark grey. Thus, even though all five slips convey the same provenance information, only two of them appear to have been produced together. The other three were presumably written on different occasions. Nonetheless, they all phrase the provenance information in exactly the same way with only the spelling varying slightly. Accordingly, the slips show some internal connection and may have influenced each other, for example in the way that the phrase was copied from one slip to the other. They thus witness a systematic approach of equipping related manuscript

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup>For Markús Bergsson's book (Ms35) see section 2.2 starting on page 74.

parts with the same information in their own way.

Several AM-slips associated with parts of what used to be NUMBER 716 IN 4to also display highly common features (Figure 4.31 on page 193). Three of the parts, now called AM 716 a, b and h 4to, stem from a common manuscript, Ms74, and all three have associated AM-slips in the shape of a bifolium. The slips are moreover made of the same paper as can be seen from the common watermarks.<sup>89</sup> Árni has written the slips himself and has only given identifying information. In all three cases he has employed the same characteristic grey ink for his writing.<sup>90</sup> The AMslips were therefore presumably created and written at the same time. Since the AM-slips also function as enclosing bifolia, the point of writing them was arguably during phase two, when the CUs were given a provisional storage form and were placed together. However, the grey ink found on the AM-slips is the same grey ink that Arni employed for crossing out and transferring overlapping text parts in two CUs of NUM-BER 716 IN 4to, AM 716 a and b 4to.<sup>91</sup> Consequently, the production of the AM-slips in all likelihood took place around the same time as phase one, when the three CUs were separated from each other. That means in this case, the complete treatment of rearranging the manuscript parts, including writing the AM-slips for all three CUs, was executed in more or less one operation.

Other parts of NUMBER 716 IN 4to from different origins may also be linked to that operation, since they contain various additions with comparable physical features. The codicological unit now called AM 716 k 4to, for example, is still enclosed by a blank bifolium made of the same paper as the AM-slips in AM 716 a, b and h 4to. In AM 716 i 4to, the end of the text was transferred to a singleton with again the same watermark as the other added leaves. And, finally, AM 716 d 4to contains an AM-slip of a bifolium made from that paper. This AM-slip carries an identifier of the enclosed text that has once again been written by Árni in the same characteristic grey ink as described for the other slips.<sup>92</sup> Since these latter three CUs were aggregated with the first discussed CUs to form one manuscript number, it is very likely that Árni not only treated Ms74, but also most of the CUs that were to form NUMBER 716 IN 4to at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup>The watermark in the bifolium found in AM 716 a 4to is a coat of arms of Amsterdam, while the bifolia in AM 716 b and h 4to display its countermark "PDB". A picture of a similar coat of arms of Amsterdam watermark, also in an AM-slip, is shown in figure 2.27 on page 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup>The grey ink was analysed using multi-spectral imaging. For details about the method see section 4.1.1 on page 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>See figure 4.7 on page 146 and 4.9 on page 148 as well as the related paragraphs in that section.

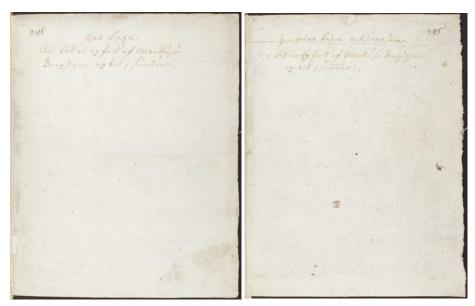
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup>AM 716 d 4to is not part of the corpus. A short description, however, can be found on Handrit.is (2009-).

Posue fatora Baliaux No. 505. of Baldani Sybrinsfynn, of Baralle' Brings bana Hectors Laga - - - - pag. 1. up bok in ig fack Ulfars Saga Storka - - - 55. Gibbenns Saya - - - - - 87. Nekula / Saya Likara - - - 124. Segur Jan Saya Fotz. - - - 145. of Marky Dorgs. Bur, og tok i funder. horia og florara. vid Sigundar Saga Turnara - - 150. Vallgemans Laga - - - 168. Ronrads Laga - - - 175. pialar Jons Jaga - - - 205 Ur bok or as fack of Markaf Borgs fyrt, og tok i fundur. Ay 585 45 (a) AM 585 a 4to., AM-slip. (b) AM 345 4to., AM-slip 1.

Magus Laga. ur bok er og fock A Markush Gregs fynn, 2 tok i Junsur. Er fin. Ap. 536.45

(c) AM 536 4to, AM-slip.

Figure 4.29: AM-slips conveying similar contents but with different material features found in AM 585 a 4to, AM 345 4to and AM 536 4to. Apart from additional information they all read in slightly varying spelling "Ur bok er eg feck af Markuse Bergssyne, og tok i sundur" ("From a book that I received from Markús Bergsson and took apart") pointing at their former context Ms35. The notes were written by Árni Magnússon. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.



(a) AM 345 4to., AM-slip 2.

(b) AM 345 4to., AM-slip 3.

Figure 4.30: AM-slips 2 and 3 in AM 345 4to conveying both parallel contents and matching material features. While Árni wrote the identifiers in the first line, one of his scribes added the association with the former codex Ms35, using the same phrase as Árni in the AM-slips shown in figure 4.29 on the preceding page. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

the same time.

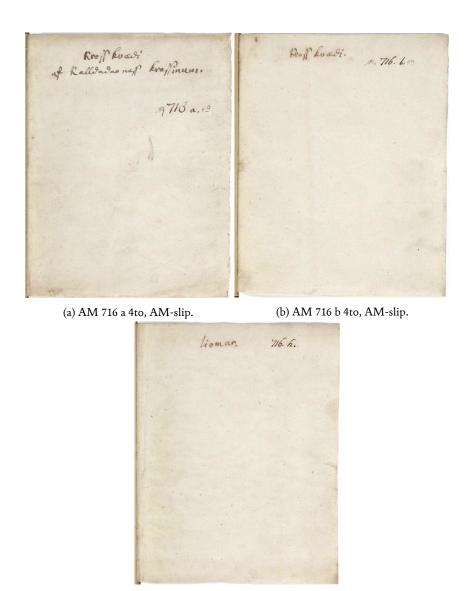
Taken together, the parallels found in the AM-slips and the presence of such information in so many manuscript parts hint at some kind of systematic working procedure. The specific parallel features found in the different groups of matching slips can vary considerably, however, which correlates to the rather large range of material properties found in AM-slips. The contents of AM-slips equally varies, to the extent that some notes convey contradicting details. The slip in AM 606 g 4to, for instance, gives different information about the previous context and other texts contained by that manuscript than AM-slip 1 in AM 410 4to, although both presumably point to the same former codex (Ms36). Thus, despite being systematic in many respects, the production of AM-slips appears as a greatly heterogeneous process, which was less standardised than the production of small codicological units. Instead, it is a lot more reminiscent of the continuous change and adjustment that is characteristic of phase two.

Már Jónsson (1995, 6) assumes that Árni developed and improved his methods for producing AM-slips over time.<sup>93</sup> This suggestion would reconcile the great differences between individual AM-slips with the systematic aspects and parallels found in the corpus material. On the other hand, a considerable part of the material variance of the slips is presumably due to the circumstances offered by the manuscripts themselves.

### 4.3.3 Two-fold objective of AM-slips

The AM-slips played an important role in Arni's rearrangement activity and were part of his working method. Many AM-slips are moreover closely connected to one or both of the work phases. AM-slips in the shape of bifolia, for example, can usually be associated with phase two, as the bifolia in many instances enclosed the leaves like a jacket and thus served as an alternative binding form. Considering the contents, all AMslips that include identifying information have the potential of being part of phase two, since that contributes to the organisation of the manuscripts in the collection. In particular, slips that only contain an identifier appear to have had such a purpose. For AM-slips that convey both an identifier and provenance information, it is not always apparent if the former was intended for the identification of the manuscript part or the association of the slip and the additional information it carries with the right CU. In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup>For the dating of AM-slips see also section 4.3.4 starting on page 198.



(c) AM 716 h 4to, AM-slip.

Figure 4.31: First page of AM-slips (bifolia) in AM 716 a, b and h 4to conveying highly parallel features. They were all written by Árni Magnússon with the same grey ink. The CUs with which the AM-slips are associated were aggregated into NUMBER 716 IN 4to. Photo: Suzanne Reitz.

practice, however, the identifiers functioned in both ways – whether or not that was their initial purpose.

An instance of the AM-slip being clearly linked to phase two occurs in AM 585 a 4to (see figure 4.29 on page 190). The slip lists all texts that were contained by NUMBER 585 IN 4to and thereby functioned as a table of contents for the former aggregation. It thus indicates that phase two was either completed or ongoing for theses CUs when the AM-slip was written. The note further conveys that all named items were taken out of Markús Bergsson's book and refers to phase one by specifically mentioning that Árni split up the book.<sup>94</sup> Since the whole AM-slip was clearly written in one operation, this piece of information was also written down at the time of phase two. Many AM-slips include such a reference as part of their provenance information by stating that a CU was taken out of its respective former context. Although such comments undoubtedly communicate the results of phase two, they were not necessarily written at that time.<sup>95</sup> Instead, information related to phase one was frequently written down later, which is clear from AM-slips with parallel contents that were produced at various times.

From the material point of view, there are connections between AMslips and phase one. Examples for that are AM-slips which were written on leaves that carry a copied-over beginning or end of the CU's text. In many cases, however, the AM-slip notes have been added in an operation separate from phase one.<sup>96</sup> The AM-slips and the transferred text parts then share the writing support, but are not necessarily related in terms of their production. The AM-slips associated with manuscript parts of Ms74, on the contrary, were produced in temporal proximity to phase one. The aforementioned parallel AM-slips in AM 716 a, b and h 4to were written in the same grey ink as was employed for the transfer of overlapping text.<sup>97</sup> At the same time, these enclosing bifolia carry identifying information. The AM-slips in the current AM 716 a, b and h are thus closely connected to both phase one and two, which these manuscript parts presumably underwent as consecutive steps.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup>For Ms35 see section 2.2 starting on page 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup>See for example the previous section for the related slips in parts of Ms35, to which also AM 585 a 4to belongs. Even though they all refer to phase one in the same way, they were clearly written on different occasions.

 $<sup>^{96}\</sup>text{See}$  for example the added bifolia in AM 163 m fol. and AM 615 o 4to in section 4.2.2 starting on page 159.

 $<sup>^{97}</sup>$ Multi-spectral analysis that was also used to prove that the same ink was used to cross out text parts as to transfer the passage, can also be applied to the ink found on the AM-slips. See figures 4.8 on page 148 and 4.9 on page 148 and the related section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup>On these slips see also section 4.3.2 on page 189.

Some AM-slips appear to be independent from both phase one and phase two. On the AM-slip in AM 341 fol., for example, Árni noted: "betta hefi eg vïst fenged af Jonas Dadasyne, en*n* han*n* frä Valläa." ("I have certainly received this from Jónas Daðason [Gam], and he [had received it] from Vallá.") This slip does not contain any identifier or other obvious link to phase two, and the provenance information does not refer to phase one either. Moreover, the phrasing of the statement suggests that Árni made this note from memory some time after he had received the manuscript. The AM-slip was accordingly written and inserted into the manuscript at a later point, independently from at least phase one and possibly also from any main action of phases two.

Also written from memory and without direct reference to the two phases is slip 2 in AM 410 4to. This AM-slip discusses some excerpts of annals Árni used to own but was not able to find any more. He thus concluded that he had discarded them. He has marked his memories and assumptions using phrases such as "Mig minner eg hafi haft" ("I remember that I had") and "eg mun sidan eydilagt hafa" ("I have probably destroyed [it] later on"). In fact, the AM-slip does not directly concern any of the copies with which it is placed, but rather another one that was related in topic and with which Árni had conferred the text of a third copy. That third copy was in Hjalti Porsteinsson's (1665-1754) hand and used the annals in what is now 410 4to as exemplar.<sup>99</sup> Accordingly, this AM-slip was produced without any connection to the two phases of rearrangement of the manuscript parts with which it is associated.

The independent slips suggest that AM-slips could also have a purpose that goes beyond the two phases of the physical rearrangement. In both cases of independent slips, the notes only convey what falls into the second category of information: provenance details or other notes about the text and its sources in the widest sense. Apart from specific references to phase one, the provenance information is frequently concerned with establishing the source and/or exemplar of the copy in question. The AM-slip in AM 142 fol., for example, reads: "Saga Porgeirs og Pormodar Kolbrun*ar*skallds. Fragment Sógu Porsteins Sidu=Hallz sonar. Epter membranâ Regia in 4to. [...]" ("Saga of Porgeir and Pormóður Kolbrúnarskáld [i.e. Fóstbræðra saga], fragment of Porsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar; [copied] from the Royal parchment manuscript in 4to-format. [...]"). The note thus identifies the exemplar from which the texts were

 $<sup>^{99}\</sup>mathrm{A}$  complete transcription of the AM-slip is available in my catalogue record for AM 410 4to on www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.

copied. Similarly, the AM-slip attached to what is now AM 297 a 4to determines the exemplar. Thanks to the detailed provenance information about multiple previous owners as well as the scribe, it is possible to identify the exemplar as Reykjavík, Landsbókarsafn, JS 28 fol. (Jóhannes Bjarni Sigtryggsson 2000, 79).

Apart from the very precise provenance and source information leading to the exemplar of a text, less specific remarks occur. In the small AM-slip found in AM 615 n 4to, for instance, Árni speculates that the source of the contained *rímur* must have been a lost saga. It was presumably also to aid the investigating of the exemplar or source of texts when AM-slips describe the former context of the CUs. In particular when Árni did not have any more specific information about the transmission of the texts in question, any details could be useful.

Arni was interested in the transmission of the copies in his collection, as that information, among others, facilitated research on textual versions. It is evident from his notes that he compared different copies of the same work, and many manuscripts still contain variants as a result of that process. In the slip associated with what AM 164 e  $\gamma$  fol., for example, Årni noted: "Confereradur vid hond Sera Jons Erlendzsonar i Villinga hollte." ("Compared to [a copy] in the hand of pastor Jón Erlendsson from Villingaholt.") Analogous comments are found on the AM-slip in front of AM 9 fol. and AM-slip c in AM 34 fol. That Árni's aim was to identify the respective versions of the texts becomes clear in notes such as on slip 3 in AM 410 4to: "Þesser Annalar eru (sem mier virdest) riett hiner sómu, sem standa in membranâ Regia in 4to. og eg ä Copie af med hendi Asgeirs in folio." ("These annals are (as it seems to me) exactly the same as those that are in the Royal parchment manuscript in 4to-format, and of which I own a copy in folio-format in Ásgeir [Jónsson]'s hand."). Similarly, on the slip associated with what is now AM 113 c fol., Arni reasons that that copy of *Íslendingabók* is "progenies Codicis B." ("descendant of Codex B.")<sup>100</sup>, which he contrasts with the version following the so-called "Codex A."<sup>101</sup> Consequently, the provenance information given in AMslips often also served the identification of the current textual version or at least providing details that could enable later research.

In a number of AM-slips Árni made quality judgements of the textual versions contained by the manuscripts. Most prominently, he comment-

 $<sup>^{100}</sup>$ The quotation could also be translated as "family of Codex B.", but Árni was undoubtedly aware of it being a copy of Codex B, which is in Jón Erlendsson's hand, since the colophon in AM 113 c 4to indicates that relationship.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup>For Árni's work concerning copies of *Íslendingabók* see also section 5.2.2 on page 229.

ed on what he thought was not a good text or version, because of unfaithful copying, many scribal errors, or poor translation quality.<sup>102</sup> When he thought the quality of a text was so poor that it would do more harm than good, Árni did not hesitate to dispose of the copy in question. One such incident is mentioned in AM-slip 4 of AM 410 4to, where Árni describes a copy he destroyed after having laid his hands on one containing a better text:

[...] þad sama exemplar vard mier önytt epter þad þetta eignadizt. þad var og vitiosè skrifad, og villde eg eigi, ad þ*ad* nockurn sidan villa skylldi[.] Reif eg þ*ad* þvi i sundur 1724. var in folio, og hafde eg þ*ad* þö fyrrum in*n*binda läted. [...]

([...] That same [previously mentioned] copy became useless for me after I obtained the present one. The former was also poorly written, and I did not want that it would mislead anyone later. I therefore tore it to pieces in 1724. It was in folio-format and I had even had it bound earlier. [...])

This AM-slip thus hints at at least part of the intention behind evaluating the quality of the texts: Identification and preservation of the best material available for scholarship.<sup>103</sup> This also implies that the negative comments on the quality of other texts that Árni did not destroy were meant to caution the reader.<sup>104</sup> Accordingly, the provenance information in AM-slips often aimed at determining different versions of works, which was in many cases connected to a quality judgement.

In total, the production and contents of AM-slips were closely related to the two work phases, but they also frequently came to contain information that points to activities outside the physical rearrangement. While the first kind of information given, the identifier, tends to be inseparably connected to phase two, the second kind of information, provenance information, sometimes indirectly mentions phase one or two, but is otherwise concerned with details that enable the critical evaluation and interpretation of texts. AM-slips thus both have their place in the material treatment of the manuscripts and go beyond it by facilitating scholarly activities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup>Examples of such negative judgements can be found e.g. in the AM-slips of AM 163 n fol., AM 34 fol. and AM 154 8vo CU1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup>Further examples of Árni's harsh judgement and following destruction of texts are described, among others, by Már Jónsson (2012a, 194). See also section 5.1.1 starting on page 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup>Árni probably intended both to remind himself and to caution other, potentially later users of his library.

## 4.3.4 Dating of AM-slips

When did Árni start writing AM-slips? When were the majority of slips written, and can they help date the rearrangement activity? While some of these questions cannot be answered satisfactorily, others can at least be estimated.

As mentioned earlier, Már Jónsson (1995, 6; 2012a, 14-16) reckons that Árni developed and refined his methods of writing AM-slips over the years. He also assumes that Árni took the first steps towards writing AM-slips in the late seventeenth century, possibly by adding brief provenance notes to his manuscripts, but did not start writing such notes systematically until after 1700.<sup>105</sup> Springborg (2014b, 260-262), in turn, shows that Árni undertook large-scale custodial care of the books in his collection after he returned from Iceland. The oldest invoices preserved from bookbinders also date to 1713, attesting a substantial binding activity that involved several hundreds of manuscripts and printed books. Nonetheless, Árni clearly started his rearrangement activity much earlier.

The AM-slips in the present corpus that witness the earliest acquisition dates have the form of a marginal note. An added note on fol. 29r of AM 408 h 4to CU13 reads "fra Jone Einarssyne 1697." ("from Jón Einarsson 1697"), but Már Jónsson (1995, 98) questions if the note was written that year, since he thinks the script resembles Árni's hand from after 1720. The other one is found on slip c in AM 116 II 8vo CU2, which is a copy Árni made from a letter by Jón Hákonarson (1658-1748) dated to 1698. In that letter, the earlier owner informed Árni that he did not know the scribe of the manuscript he had sent to him the year before. Thus, Árni obtained the copy in 1697, but added the slip at a later date, the earliest possible point being after he received the letter in 1698. In both cases, the acquisition date lies before 1700, but the date of writing the note could be later.

The oldest date of an AM-slip in the corpus that gives the time of writing the note is preserved in the slip associated with AM 113 h fol. CU1. On the current verso-side of the slip Árni had first noted "fra Sera Halldore i Bæ til läns" ("On loan from pastor Halldór [Torfason (1658-1705)] in [Gaulverja-]Bær"), and then added underneath "Mitt, nu 1706"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup>Establishing reliable dates for when the individual AM-slips were written can be very challenging, since most slips do not contain any dates, and many of the dated slips merely give the year of the manuscript acquisition, which can serve as *terminus post quem*. Már Jónsson (1995, 6-7) suggests using palaeographic evidence for dating AM-slips. At the same time he points to the difficulties of that approach, such as having to categorise the development of Árni's and his assistants' script into reasonable time periods. When collecting the data for the present study I did not include such a detailed palaeographic analysis.

("Now mine, 1706"). That means Árni had become the owner of the CU in question in that year, but had borrowed it earlier and also written the first part of the AM-slip already before 1706.<sup>106</sup>

Unfortunately, hardly any AM-slips in the corpus give the date of writing the slip. Just over 40 AM-slips in the corpus indicate dates, and only a few clearly specify that it marks the time of writing the note. Another dated AM-slip is found in AM 113 e fol. CU1, and Árni has written its note in 1724. On two additional slips in AM 410 4to Árni has dated his comments to 1 May 1715 (AM-slip 1) and mid December 1725 (AM-slip 4). With such limited data, precise dating of AM-slips is a challenge. Nevertheless, the slip in AM 113 h fol. CU1 proves that Árni had definitely started writing AM-slips by the first years of the eighteenth century. It is also in line with Már Jónsson's (2012, 15) observation that the oldest dated slips of the whole collection were written in 1701 and 1703.

Apart from the contents of the AM-slips, the material aspects yield suggestions of when they were produced. AM-slips that were made from reused paper, and especially those made of former envelopes, help establishing an approximate date. An added bifolium made from an envelope, for example, used to enclose AM 409 a 4to CU1-5. The AM-slip carries the title of the earlier enclosed texts, which are five copies of *Krukks-spá*.<sup>107</sup> The bifolium has been cut in two, but the two halves show matching parts of the same lion watermark.<sup>108</sup> A detailed address giving Árni as the recipient of the letter runs over the two now separate leaves, unambiguously connecting the two parts (Figure 4.32 on the following page). Furthermore, in the very front of AM 409 a 4to is a second AM-slip in the form of a singleton that was equally made from an envelope addressed to Árni. This AM-slip used to be located in the middle of AM 409 a 4to CU6, to which it applies.

On both former envelopes in AM 409 a 4to the address is in Skálholt, where Árni resided during his stay in Iceland in the years 1702-1712 (Már Jónsson 2012a, 136). Also addressed to Árni are presumably the two bifolia made of envelope parts found in AM 116 8vo.<sup>109</sup> One of them, however, AM-slip a, locates the recipient "Vid axarär alþyng[i]" ("at Öxarár Althing"), meaning that the letter was handed over at the yearly assembly

 $<sup>^{106}</sup>$  The writing on the verso-side of the AM-slip in AM 113 h fol. CU1 has been crossed out. Nevertheless, it witnesses a dated activity of writing AM-slips.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup>Figure 4.34 on page 205 illustrates the location of AM-slips in AM 409 a 4to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> The watermark shows a large standing lion with a crown and a rounded axe in its hand. The watermark resembles nr. DE0960-Classing1M\_1 in Piccard online-database "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" (LBW 2010-2014), but has a different weapon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup>On the added bifolia in AM 116 8vo see page section 4.3.1 on page 181 and figure 4.24 on page 182.



(a) First half of the former envelope now found(b) Second half of the former envelope now at the end of AM 409 a 4to CU5. found in front of AM 409 a 4to CU1.

Figure 4.32: Surrounding bifolium in AM 409 a 4to made of a former envelope addressed to Árni Magnússon in Skálholt. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir. (Figure 4.24 on page 182). Since this address is fragmentary, there is no name preserved. Still, the legible words "Kongelige Majestatis [...] here Secreter" ("Royal Majesty's [...] Mister Secretary") point at Árni who kept his position as Secretary to the Royal Archives despite his mission to Iceland. Árni naturally attended the Althing several times during his stay in Iceland, as it was the central meeting of each year.<sup>110</sup> Accordingly, these envelopes stem from letters that were sent to Árni in Iceland, meaning that he obtained the material some time after 1702 but no later than 1712. Even though it is of course possible that he brought old letters and their envelopes back with him to Copenhagen, it seems more likely that he made use of the waste paper in Iceland where it was conveniently at hand.

A former envelope sent to another manuscript owner possibly also allows for a narrower dating. On the verso-side of the AM-slip in AM 114 8vo are clear folding lines, remnants of a red applied seal (possibly shellac) and most of an address, which identify it as a former envelope (Figure 4.33 on page 203). The letter this envelope used to contain was sent to a woman called Þuríður Árnadóttir (b. ca. 1631) by her sister.<sup>111</sup> She lived at Sæból in Ingjaldssandur in north-west Iceland, where she was the head of the second party at the farm (Manntal 1703, 202). From Árni's land register it is apparent that he was in the Westfjords in the summer of 1710 collecting data about the people's living conditions, and with the head of the first party at Sæból, Eggert Sæmundsson (b. ca. 1659), he interacted on August 20 (Árni Magnússon/Páll Vídalín 1913-1943, 7: 87-88). During his journey around the island Arni took advantage of the opportunity to collect manuscripts and copy old official documents. So also in Sæból, where he acquired at least one manuscript, as can be seen from two AM-slips now preserved in AM 48 8vo (Már Jónsson 2014, 29-30).<sup>112</sup> On one of the slips, Eggert Sæmundsson is personally named as the donor. On the other, only Sæból is mentioned, and reference is made to several books on that farm. Arni accordingly went to Sæból and interacted with the people on there. He can thus have met the second party that was living at Sæból, Þuríður, and it is likely that it was on this occasion in 1710 that he was given the old envelope that became the AMslip in AM 114 8vo. In other words, he presumably did not write this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup>See e.g. Már Jónsson (2012a, 136-141) and the references given there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup>The full transcription of the remaining address is available in the catalogue record for AM 114 8vo. See also Már Jónsson (1995, 171).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup>Since the slips in AM 48 8vo seem to be misplaced, it is uncertain which specific manuscript Árni obtained from Eggert Sæmundsson.

AM-slip before that summer.

The envelope now found in AM 114 8vo possibly accompanied other manuscript material that was in Þuríður's possession. What material that may have been, however, is uncertain. The CU with which the slip is associated clearly does not stem from her, since the AM-slip indicates that those leaves came to Árni from Halldór Þorbergsson through the bishop of Hólar, Björn Þorleifsson (1663-1710). Instead, Árni may simply have found the leaf when going through his (newly acquired?) material from Sæból and reused it as an AM-slip for another CU, with which he wanted to leave a note. Bishop Björn, from whom Árni claims to have borrowed the leaves now forming AM 114 8vo, died in June 1710, in other words two months prior to Árni's visit to Sæból. Therefore, Árni must have received the leaves earlier than he received the material used for the AM-slip and cannot have equipped the manuscript with an AM-slip immediately. He could, however, have done so as early as a few weeks later.<sup>113</sup>

Relative dating of AM-slips is possible in a few instances and can provide further insight into the chronology. In AM 409 a 4to, for instance, there is an third AM-slip, which was made of a piece of paper taken from another CU within the same aggregation. The AM-slip in question is a bifolium that is located around AM 409 a 4to CU2. That CU is in octavo-format and is thus entirely enclosed by a bifolium made from a quarto-sized leaf. When unfolded, the bifolium measures 210 x 165 mm, exactly the same as the original leaves of AM 409 a 4to CU5. The watermark in the AM-slip of the second CU matches the watermark of the first leaf in the fifth CU.<sup>114</sup> Following this evidence the AM-slip now found in AM 409 a 4to CU2 was made of a previously blank leaf at the end of AM 409 a 4to CU5. Thus, Árni must have removed an extra leaf that was contained by one of the other CUs of the same aggregation and reused it for a bifolium, into which the eight smaller leaves were stuck. On top of the folded paper he then wrote the identifier "Krucks-Spá". Based on convenience, the current second CU and the current fifth CU were presumably already stored together or in the process of being aggregated when this AM-slip was produced.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup>It is of course also possible that Árni received some material from Þuríður Árnadóttir independently from his visit to Sæból, and thus possibly before 1710. However, since I am currently not aware of any source proving additional contact between the two, I accept the only known time of direct contact as the most likely time for exchange of papers and other material of interest to Árni.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup>The leaves show matching parts of the letter combination "HHEVSER", which appears to be the countermark of a watermark "Gott bewahr Könich" with a large crown (found in fol. 2 of AM 409 a 4to CU5). I have not been able to find any similar watermark in e.g. the Piccard online-database or Lindberg (1998).

Un que thalldong birgs mar mins quali 1 2. 111. 80

(a) Recto-side of AM-slip showing Árni's note(b) Verso-side of AM-slip showing part of the about provenance and former context. older address.

Figure 4.33: Recto and verso-side of the AM-slip in AM 114 8vo that used to serve as an envelope for a letter addressed to Þuríður Árnadóttir in Sæból at Ingjaldssand. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

With six CUs and three AM-slips, the general structure of AM 409 a 4to is rather complex (Figure 4.34 on the facing page). As pointed out earlier, the first five CUs used to be surrounded by an AM-slip in the form of a bifolium.<sup>115</sup> Since all five CUs contain copies of the same text, the identifier "Krucks=Spaa" on this bifolium may well have applied to all of them. The current second CU presumably received a separate bifolium with the same identifier, because it was the only copy in 8vo-format and it would have been less well protected without it among the other quartosized leaves of the aggregation. It is moreover possible that the smaller CU was at some point kept outside the bifolium with the larger leaves, potentially together with the other, now lost octavo-sized copy of the text (see AM 456 fol., 19r). In any event, the old catalogue shows that NUMBER 409 IN 4to used to be an aggregation of *Krukksspá*-copies, and no mention is made of the texts contained by the current AM 409 a 4to CU6 or AM 409 b 4to. Thus, it is likely that the bifolium made of the former envelope marked the outer boundaries of the aggregation in 1730. Based on the dating of the former envelope, that aggregation was formed - or at least started – while Arni was residing in Iceland. Since the CUs were loose, it cannot be precluded that some of them were stuck in or removed later, but at the very minimum, when the current CU2 was incorporated and given an AM-slip, the leaves of what is now CU5 were also part of that aggregation.

Taken together, the material aspects of reused AM-slips strongly suggest that Árni regularly wrote such note slips while on his mission in Iceland. Even though the material aspects of AM-slips do not allow a precise dating, they hint at a frequent production activity during those years, especially since multiple slips show such a strong connection to Iceland. Combined with the fact that the initial note on the AM-slip in AM 113 h fol. CU1. dates to before 1706, it can be concluded that Árni wrote a considerable number of AM-slips during the years 1702-1712, which is also when he acquired many of the manuscripts.<sup>116</sup> The material therefore indicates that writing AM-slips was already part of Árni's working habits before he returned from Iceland. It can be assumed that he at least made preliminary notes on many of his manuscripts relatively soon after he acquired them. Later on, he may have refined and expanded some of his comments.<sup>117</sup>

 $<sup>^{115}\</sup>mbox{For}$  an image of that bifolium see figure 4.32 on page 200.

 $<sup>^{116}</sup>$ Based only on the dates given in the AM-slips, 27 of the approximately 40 dated slips indicate that the CUs were acquired in the period 1702-1712.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup>Már Jónsson (2012a, 16) speculates that even though Árni already wrote note slips while in Iceland, he

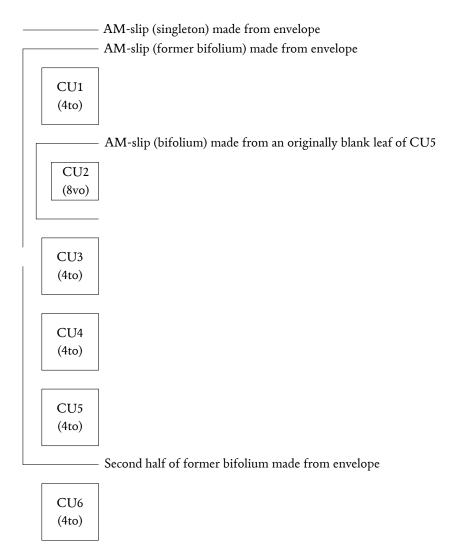


Figure 4.34: Current structure of CUs and AM-slips in AM 409 a 4to.

Many AM-slips bear witness to having been written on several occasions and corrections being made to them. I have already discussed a few slips that have been changed over time in accordance with the modification of the aggregations.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, there are seemingly unchanged aggregations, to which Árni returned many times and added or improved his notes about the texts and their provenance. The current AM 410 4to, for instance, contains a total of five AM-slips, some of which I have discussed throughout the chapter. Most of the slips have minor corrections made directly to them, but more importantly, together they bear witness to Árni's continuous work on the information provided. While all notes treat the collection of annals in one way or another, they were clearly written at different times as Árni dated some of his comments: On the verso-side of AM-slip 1, Árni signed the statement that he was the new owner of the annals on 1 May 1715, while he dated his notes at the end of AM-slip 4 to December 1725.<sup>119</sup> He thus kept on returning to these slips for at least a decade. This observation correlates with the repetition of work during phase two, the ongoing rearrangement activity. In the same way as Arni constantly changed and developed the physical arrangements of his manuscripts, he also improved and adjusted the associated slips or wrote new ones.

Taken together, Árni appears to have started writing AM-slips right before or around 1700. By the time he went to Iceland he seems to have produced such note slips on a regular basis. Whether or not his first slips exclusively contained provenance information cannot be confirmed based on the data of the present corpus. Too few slips convey reliable dates for these early years, making it impossible to establish any pattern. From the last decade of Árni's activity, however, thirteen datable AM-slips are preserved.<sup>120</sup> Several of these AM-slips only carry provenance information and no identifier. It therefore cannot be argued that the contents of the slips developed from conveying purely provenance information to mostly

produced the bulk of them after he had got his manuscripts back to Copenhagen in 1721 "and started organising his collection, recording what he thought would be useful for later scholars." While this does not necessarily contradict my findings, Már's statement is only preliminary and needs further investigation (Personal communication 17 May 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup>For adjusted AM-slips see section 4.2.3 starting on page 163 as well as figure 4.16 on page 167.

 $<sup>^{119}</sup>$ Már Jónsson (1995, 99-102) prints the text of the five slips in full. He reckons that the first slip was written in Árni's "youngest hand", which he usually employs for Árni's writing from after 1720. However, the wording of the AM-slip suggests that if it was not written in 1715 as the date indicates, it must at least be a copy of a note that was written and signed that year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup>ÅM-slips that clearly date to 1720 or later, since the associated manuscripts or manuscript parts were acquired in that period, are preserved in AM 34 fol., AM 99 fol., AM 142 fol., AM 199 fol., AM 207 a fol., AM 224 fol., AM 297 a 4to, AM 403 4to, AM 410 4to, AM 521 a 4to, AM 770 a-c 4to (2 slips) and AM 777 b-d 4to.

identifiers or both. Instead, the late slips show a variation in contents that is comparable to the whole group. A noticeable difference, nonetheless, is found with regards to the placement of the notes, since all dated slips from the late group were written on additional material. Compared to the overall ratio of 1:6 of AM-slips on original material to notes on added leaves, this hints at a development away from AM-slips on original leaves.

Már Jónsson (2012a, 15-16) also reckons that the sizes of the note slips developed from irregular slips to more standardised octavo- and quarto-formats. Among the thirteen slips from the late group, all but two fit that description. AM-slip b in AM 770 b 4to CU3, however, is one of the exceptions. It is rather odd-sized, measuring  $52 \times 124$  mm. Thus, there is conceivably a slight trend concerning the size of the slips, moving towards more standardised formats.

Several of the dated AM-slips from the late years also show parallel features with other slips, which may suggest a more systematic working approach. Such AM-slips are, for example, found in manuscripts that Árni obtained after Torfæus' death in 1720 and CUs which he says he acquired at Rostgaard's auction in 1726.<sup>121</sup> Other AM-slips with parallel features, however, may date much earlier, but cannot be assigned unambiguously. Additionally, Árni constantly worked on his note slips and improved them by correcting or adding information, further complicating a precise dating. Consequently, there may be a slight tendency towards AM-slips on added paper and more systematic production of slips in Árni's later years, yet the material in the present corpus does not allow for any definite statements other than that AM-slips were part of Árni's working routine as early as his Iceland years and until at least the late 1720s.<sup>122</sup>

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that Árni's working methods can be roughly divided into two phases, of which the first was rather standardised and often conducted by his assistants. The artefacts studied suggest that at least for the manuscripts that were physically treated, phase one was a routine-like operation that prepared the objects for further handling. The second phase required more of Árni's attention as it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup>Manuscripts with parallel AM-slips witnessing that Árni received them from Torfæus are AM 224 fol., AM 403 4to and AM 521 a 4to. On these three slips see also section 4.3.2 on page 186. CUs with slips referring to Rostgaard's auction are AM 770 c δ 4to CU9 (slip a in front of AM 770 c δ-θ 4to) and AM 777 c 4to CU2. The AM-slip found in AM 770 c 4to CU9 suggests that it was part of the same collection as the other two CUs. However, the text is not mentioned in Rostgaard's auction catalogue under the number 604 (Kålund 1909, 101; checked against Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Rostgaard 89-90 fol.).

 $<sup>^{122}\</sup>mbox{The}$  latest date on an AM-slip from the corpus is 1727 (found in AM 297 a 4to).

involved his decision of where to place individual manuscripts, which appears to have been based on his personal preferences and needs more than foreseeable and uniform routines. The division into two phases allowed, among others, the new observation that the second phase's character resembles that of a process, in which the arrangement of manuscripts was continuously changed and adjusted. The production of AM-slips could occur in close connection to either of the phases, but was often related to phase two. Also in terms of its more flexible character and that Árni was highly involved in it, it has a lot more in common with the later phase. However, some of the AM-slips' content does not relate to the physical aspects of rearrangement and rather points at Árni's intellectual work as a factor in this activity. Considering the close relationship between the AM-slips and the two phases of Árni's working procedure, his systematic rearrangement of manuscripts can be tentatively dated to the same time period as the production of slips, which spanned most of his collecting life.

# Chapter 5

# Rationale for manuscript alteration

Arni Magnússon's reasons for rearranging manuscripts can to a large extent only be guessed at. In addition to recurring patterns seen in his working method, Árni left numerous letters, notes and comments behind which can further help elucidate his intentions. This chapter works towards outlining Árni's motivation for changing so many of the paper manuscripts in his collection.

Since Arni provided the scholarly world with one of the most significant collections of Icelandic manuscripts, his biography and collecting activity have naturally received a fair amount of attention. On the specifics of his rearrangement activity, the above discussed publications by Agnete Loth, Már Jónsson and Peter Springborg are most important.<sup>1</sup> Considering Arni's reasons for altering manuscripts, his general interests and motivation for collecting may be relevant as well. Existing studies often only highlight selected aspects of Arni's collecting rationale. While many descriptions tend to be based on a few well-known quotations from Árni's letters and notes,<sup>2</sup> other publications are more nuanced, but frequently focus on single aspects or choose a specific angle for the study rather than being comprehensive. Sigurgeir Steingrímsson (n.d., para. 4), for instance, verbalises a common interpretation by portraying Arni as a determined collector wanting to own "everything that could be found about the history of the nation and its literature, and [...] preserving it for posterity." A similar picture is presented by Sigrún Davíðsdóttir (1999,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For a more detailed discussion of these publications see chapter 3 starting on page 125.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$ A frequently used quotation by Árni is, for instance, his note in AM 226 a 8vo, 88r. For my interpretation of the statement see section 5.4 on page 248.

15-16) and Benedikt S. Benedikz (2002). The aspect of preservation is also highlighted in the previously mentioned description by Peter Springborg (1996). Similarly, Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (2014) puts most emphasis on Árni's diligent collecting activity, though not without mentioning his research on the manuscripts and their transmission history.

Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2015) and Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2016) characterise Árni primarily as a determined and very systematic collector who managed to gather more Icelandic manuscripts than any other collector. In addition, they stress that Árni did not blindly collect manuscripts, but critically assessed their (textual) value. They thus basically agree with the description by Bekker-Nielsen/Widding (1963, 32), which sees Árni's almost pedantic collecting activity as a tool for "antiquarian-historical research". In another article, Guðvarður (2001) focusses more on Árni's philological interest, describing his high demands for the quality and precision of transcriptions. He additionally portrays him as a humanist working in the context of the scholarly interests of the time. Einar Már Jónsson (1999) and Kolbrún Haraldsdóttir (2016, 200), among others, also see Árni's work and his collecting activity in the light of humanism.

Sveinbjörn Rafnsson (1987) interprets Árni's academic stance as that of a historian, who mostly searched for historical content in the texts, for which the manuscripts served as carriers. That position is enhanced by Jón Helgason's (1980) edition of some of Árni's memoranda which display a critical attitude towards the historical value and factual reliability of many of the sagas. Nevertheless, Árni evidently also collected the very fantastic and historically less valuable texts, and must have seen a different value in them. In his two biographies about Árni, Jón Ólafsson (2013, 3-43 & 45-89) draws attention to Árni's interest in the cultural and learned heritage of his native Iceland. He depicts Árni as a very accurate scholar and philologist who wanted to preserve the true history and literature of the north.

Vésteinn Ólason (2014), finally, takes the most inclusive approach. He describes Árni as a collector with, among others, historical, linguistic, folkloric and philological interests. Vésteinn underlines how the collection and Árni's plans for it mirrored his various interests as an outstanding researcher of the time. Similarly, Finnur Jónsson (1930) and Már Jónsson (1998, 2012a) try to give a versatile image of Árni and his many interests. Már, however, still chooses the historical angle for his biographies of Árni and focusses on the details that made Árni become the kind of person

who successfully dedicated his life to collecting Icelandic manuscripts. Finnur's description, on the other hand, reconciles Árni's various interests under the image of a calling to collect books and manuscripts in order to preserve the Nordic and Icelandic treasures from the past. In doing so, Finnur additionally highlights Árni's patriotic mindset.

With that multi-faceted image of Árni and his interests in mind, I will now proceed to investigating possible aspects of his motivation for rearranging paper manuscripts. First, the analysis focusses on the general order and structure of Arni's collection, which provided the outer frame for the manuscripts and their storage. The second part examines the fundamental reasoning behind Árni's manuscript modifications. Overarching patterns are identified and analysed based on the evaluation of four potential factors of decision making: the manuscripts' (1) contents, (2) size, (3) provenance and (4) acquisition. As these categories were considered when establishing the corpus in such a way that manuscripts with different qualities for all four categories were included, their impact on Arni's rearrangement can be inspected with advantage.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards, additional aspects of Arni's rationale that emerged during the course of the study will be discussed. This added analysis provides and explains further nuances of Árni's rationale and allows for testing of the hypothesis against material from outside the corpus. Due to the way the material was assembled, it primarily yields reliable results for the studied part of the collection, but forms the basis for informed assumptions about the whole collection, so that finally an overall interpretation of Arni's rationale behind manuscript rearrangement and his approach to collection can be put forth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>For the principles upon which the corpus was selected, see section 1.5.2 starting on page 32.

### 5.1 Library structure as flexible framework

Arni was interested in having an accessible and well-organised collection. Such a library enabled him and others to access the manuscripts, so that everyone could read and benefit from them (Már Jónsson 2012a, 184). During his lifetime he had been in numerous collections and encountered various library classification and ordering systems. He owned copies of many library catalogues and copied parts of other inventories by hand, in order to have relevant lists among his notes and working papers.<sup>4</sup> As Arni was also in charge of the Royal Archives and later additionally the University Library in Copenhagen, he frequently dealt with organising books. He was, for example, active in writing a catalogue for the University Library, and in 1716 he was given the task of organising the letters and documents of the University's Consistorium (Finnur Jónsson 1930, I.1, 99-101). Moreover, Árni appears to have enjoyed placing a letter or document "hvor det hørte hjemme" ("where it belonged") (Finnur Jónsson 1930, I.1, 103); at the very least he was extremely meticulous about noting this kind of information in the register of the Royal Archives. Thus, Árni undoubtedly also wanted to have things in order in his private collection.

#### 5.1.1 Manuscript contents key to collection

The contents of the manuscripts mattered greatly to Årni, since that was his primary reason for collecting artefacts. As previous scholars have pointed out, he was not just a bibliophile, but selectively collected manuscripts and historical documents that concerned the history and culture of Scandinavia and Iceland in particular. Árni's interest in the texts rather than the text bearers becomes particularly clear in his requests for permission to copy manuscripts and documents in those cases where he was not allowed to own them (Már Jónsson 2012a, 160-161). In a letter from 1704 to the farmer Ásmundur Ketilsson,<sup>5</sup> for instance, Árni asked to borrow old artefacts he could not buy:<sup>6</sup>

Eg spyrst og vidast epter þvilikum gömlum brefum, sem og einstaka blödum ur gömlum islendskum kalfskinns bókum, hvar af, ef þier nockud frekara hafed edur þar kringum ydur

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>E.g. AM 909 c 4to; see also Ólöf Benediktsdóttir (2004, 55) and Bekker-Nielsen/Widding (1963, 19).
<sup>5</sup>The precise dates of living of Ásmundur Ketilsson are not known to me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>See also Finnur Jónsson (1930, I.1, 132).

utvega kunned, þá bid ydur mier þess ad unna, i þad minsta til láns, ef ei ödruvis missast kann.

(I am enquiring as far and wide as possible about such old documents, as well as single leaves from old Icelandic vellum books; should you have or be able to produce in your neighbourhood more of the like, I ask you not to begrudge me their loan, at the very least, if they cannot otherwise be parted with.) (Kålund 1920, 271-272, based on AM 449 fol.; translation from Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2015, 9).)

He also dismantled and rearranged manuscripts in expensive bindings, indicating that the material value of books or their bindings was not his first priority.<sup>7</sup>

Arni dismissed manuscripts with content that was not to his liking. He frequently reused leaves from such manuscripts as binding material (Andersen 2008, xviii-xxiii; Ottosen 2016, 301-302). This is especially true for pre-Reformation liturgical manuscripts, some of which he presumably acquired for the material value of their parchment leaves and gave them to his book binders. A few instances are known in which Árni kept some of the leaves from such codices in his collection (Springborg 1996, 15-16; Már Jónsson 1998, 299; 2012a, 192-193). The selection of these leaves, however, seems to have been motivated by contents, as the surviving leaves contain text that has a connection to Iceland or which Árni may have considered to be Icelandic.<sup>8</sup>

From his correspondence with Torfæus it is evident that Árni critically assessed the value of works. He argued with Torfæus about the level of factual truth in the *fornaldarsögur* and their value for historical research (Kålund 1916, 62-68, esp. 66; Vésteinn Ólason 2014, 15-16). Similar considerations can be found in various notes. In Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 1836 4to, for example, copies of otherwise lost notes by Árni are preserved that comment on the truth content, age and intertextual references of various sagas.<sup>9</sup> Despite his negative assessment of the historical value of many literary works, Árni still collected manuscripts of such sagas with the same dedication as historical documents, recognising, for instance, their literary or cultural value (Vésteinn Ólason 2014, 16-17; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2015, 23).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>For Árni's removal of bindings see also section 4.2.4 on page 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Personal communication with Astrid Marner 17 September 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>The notes are published by Jón Helgason (1980).

Arni carefully investigated the quality of individual manuscripts' texts. He regularly compared different copies of the same work with each other and took variant notes or commented on the accuracy of the copies. On fol. 1r of AM 1 b fol. CU1, for instance, Arni left the comment "Corruptissimum Exemplar et nullius momenti" ("Very corrupt copy and of no importance") in the outer margin right at the beginning of the text. Similarly, on the first leaf of AM 409 a 4to CU5, Árni noted that he had compared this text to that of two other manuscripts. If Arni came to the conclusion that a copy was of inferior quality or what he perceived as highly faulty, he often did not hesitate to part with it (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2001, 95; Már Jónsson 1998a, 300-302). In the notes now found in AM 436 4to Árni further described how he had first thoroughly investigated a copy of annals for its textual version and the accuracy with which the annals were written before destroying it. In the same memorandum, he stated his motivation: to prevent later readers or scholars from being mislead by the "faultiness" of the copy and its text.<sup>10</sup>

On AM-slip 4 of AM 410 4to, Árni also mentioned a copy he had bound in a proper binding before he acquired a more preferable copy of the same work and subsequently destroyed the first.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, if a work captured Árni's interest, he – despite his antipathy towards texts of low quality – preserved at least one copy of it, but parted with other copies if they were obsolete to him. Being truly interested in only preserving copies for later generations which he thought were of decent quality, Árni deliberately destroyed what he perceived as deficient copies instead of selling them or passing them on.

The contents of the manuscripts were thus the primary focus of Arni's collecting activity. The texts determined the inventory of his library, as Arni was very selective about which manuscripts to preserve. Accordingly, the artefacts' contents had a significant influence on the collection and its establishment.

### 5.1.2 Subject- and format-based library system

The organisational system of the collection was closely related to the manuscripts' content in terms of the general topic. The artefacts' formats,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Árni's extensive notes on these annals are edited by Gustav Storm (1888, lvii-lxiv).

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$ The slip is quoted in section 4.3.3 on page 197. See also the AM-slips in AM 562 i 4to and AM 562 e 4to as well as his aforementioned detailed notes in AM 436 4to. See further Már Jónsson (1998a, 300).

however, also played a role in structuring the library.<sup>12</sup>

In some of his notes, Árni commented on the placement of manuscripts and implicitly referred to a content-based organisation. On AMslip 1 in AM 410 4to, for instance, he explains that he had those copies of historical works "läted innbinda sier i lage, so setter yrde inter libros antigvos" ("bound separately so that they would be placed among the ancient books").<sup>13</sup> In another note found in AM 355 a fol., Árni describes how he had the different texts from a former manuscript of Thomas Bartholin separated or copied out and then put them in different places in his library: "og lagt þangad er þad heyrde ad vera, sumt inter Norvegica, sumt inter Islandica" ("and placed them where they belonged, some among Norwegian, some among Icelandic [works]") (AM 355 a fol., 1r). In both notes Arni appears to refer to an implicit system in his collection, a broad classification with regard to contents. In the latter note it seems to be based on geographical aspects, but in the former on the age of the events they depict. These two approaches do not necessarily contradict each other, as it is possible that Arni treated all writings about ancient times together, while he distinguished further between the ones of more recent history based on regional aspects. Since the bulk of his manuscripts had Scandinavian history or literature as their topic, it would be logical had Arni divided them further into subgroups.

A somewhat comparable geographical subdivision of works is found in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue. For the folio-sized manuscripts, for example, the first major section has the rubric "I. Historici" ("I. Historical [works]") (AM 456 fol., 2r), and in the outer margins additional subsections are marked. The first of these is "Danica" ("Danish"), followed by "Norvegica" ("Norwegian"), "Islandici" ("Icelandic") and "Svecica" ("Swedish") (AM 456 fol., 2r-5v). These labels of the different subgroups for historical writing are based on the same geographical distinctions as Árni used in his note in AM 355 a fol. and may be inspired by him. Similar subdivisions, mainly based on northern European geography, occur in the other sections of Jón Ólafsson's catalogue, showing that he used these designators not only for historical works.<sup>14</sup> However, since Jón Ólafsson

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$ A list of the historical manuscript records referred to in this section is located in section A.2 in the appendix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>With "ancient books" Árni did not mean the age of the manuscripts, but rather their contents. This can be seen from the fact that AM 410 4to contains annals starting with the time of Julius Caesar, but the copies were produced in the middle of the seventeenth century. For the context of this quotation see section 4.2 on page 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>The parts devoted to smaller formats in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue start with juridical works, giving the section of historical writings somewhat later. However, both sections display geographical subdivisions.

also applied his own ideas to the task of producing a catalogue, it cannot be certain that these terms and their specific usage go back to Árni's order.<sup>15</sup> In Árni's catalogue of parchment manuscripts, AM 435 a 4to, at least, a different organisation is attested. Not only are no sections or subsections marked there, the order in which the manuscripts are presented is also different as the register starts with religious instead of historical works (Már Jónsson 2012a, 152).<sup>16</sup>

Apart from the catalogue of his parchment manuscripts, Árni prepared a list of the manuscripts he had in Iceland and left behind when he returned from his stay there. That list, however, was rather brief, and Árni destroyed it some time after he had received the artefacts back (Már Jónsson 1998a, 285-286 & 296).<sup>17</sup> In one place he stated that the reason for tearing it up was that the register was "o full komed" ("imperfect") (AM 435 a 4to, 172r), while in a different note he concluded: "bvi eg allar bessar bækur f*yrir* laungu til min feinged hafde, og þær nu eru i allre an*n*arre ordu" ("because I have got all these books back a long time ago and they are now in a completely different order") (AM 267 8vo, 28v). The latter quotation particularly attests to changes in the order of his books and manuscripts. Árni may therefore also have changed things again after he had produced his catalogue of parchment manuscripts (see also Már Jónsson 1998a, 296). The second comment further indicates how, to Árni, a catalogue was supposed to reflect the general physical order of the books and manuscripts in a collection. Since he did not use any rigid numerical shelfmark system, however, it must have been possible to move a given manuscript within its respective subject (sub-)section.

Although his library order was changeable, Árni put much thought and great effort into it. He was therefore reluctant to evacuate his books and manuscripts from the Great Fire in 1728, as Jón Ólafsson recalls, "thi hand var bange hands Sager skulde komme desto meer i Confusion" ("since he was afraid that his things would get even more out of order") (Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík 2013a, 25). Still, he presumably did not pursue any kind of "perfect" and fixed system. The order and its flexibility were rather closely intertwined with both the growth of the collection and the changeability of the individual manuscripts. Thus, when Árni

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>For the creation and reliability of the old catalogue see section 1.5.1 on page 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>In Jón Óalfsson's order biblical manuscripts such as *Stjórn* were listed after works on Scandinavian history as well as bishops and saints in Iceland. For the order of manuscripts in AM 435 a 4to see also page 217.

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$ There is some ambiguity about when Árni destroyed the list. He stated in his notes in AM 435 a 4to (fol. 172r) that it was in April 1723, while in AM 267 8vo (fol. 28v), he dated that action to 1728. It cannot be excluded, however, that he owned two copies, and both dates are correct.

wrote the two notes that are now found in AM 410 4to and AM 355 a fol., he probably referred to subject sections or subsections in his library that were devoted to such organisational principles at the time. These categories could be changed, possibly become obsolete, or be replaced by other designations as the collection evolved.

The format of the artefacts was the second major ordering principle of Árni's library classification. In order to reference a manuscript, Árni also referred to his artefacts by means of contents and format.<sup>18</sup> With the combination of these two characteristics, he seems to have created small enough subsections in the collection to find any given manuscript reasonably quickly. It is unfortunately not possible to assess what the hierarchy was between these two: Did Árni primarily group his collection based on format and then divide the artefacts further based on contents, or the other way around? The content descriptions in Árni's references are usually equal with or highly similar to the identifiers given in the AM-slips and accordingly much more precise than the broad contentrelated categories that he mentioned in some of his other comments.<sup>19</sup> This could possibly hint at the format governing the classification, and that the contents-subsection in which a manuscript was located could be derived from the more specific identifier of the text or texts.

Some of Árni's own manuscript lists could indicate that the format was the primary classificatory factor in Árni's collection. In AM 209 8vo (fols. 12r-49r), for instance, a binding list in Árni's hand is preserved that is primarily organised by format, which is clearly indicated by means of corresponding rubrics and running titles on all pages. The catalogue of some of his printed books which he auctioned off in 1713 is also organised according to format (Árni Magnússon 1713; Overgaard 1996, 279).

In Arni's catalogue of the parchment manuscripts in his collection, by contrast, the content serves as the primary criterion for listing the manuscripts, while the format is the secondary. The first section, for example, is made up of religious texts, which are ordered rather strictly according to works (Már Jónsson 1998a, 296), and only broadly by format. The section starts with a *Stjórn* manuscript in folio and ends with a manuscript of *Margrétar saga* in duodecimo (AM 435 a 4to, 1v-31v.) The next section – though without being marked – lists works about the kings and history of Norway, and starts again with folio-sized manuscripts (AM 435 a 4to, 32v). The format of the artefacts is usually clearly indicated in the indi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>For Árni's identification system see section 4.2.2 on page 162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>For the content descriptions in AM-slips, which I call "identifier", see section 4.3.1 starting on page 173.

vidual entries. Even though it only took second priority in this catalogue, the format features as an important characteristic.

Library classifications and catalogues that to various degrees were based on both format and topic were common for private collections in the early eighteenth century.<sup>20</sup> With regard to Danish auction catalogues from that time Harald Ilsøe (2007, 19) notices:

Bøgerne er oftest ordnet i store emnegrupper, hvorunder de enkelte titler er vilkårligt placeret, men det er til hjælp ved orienteringen, at bøgerne gennemgående på højt eller underordnet niveau er inddelt efter bogformaterne folio, kvart, oktav og evt. mindre formater.

(The books are most often organised in large topic-related groups, under which the individual titles are placed at random, but it is helpful with regard to the orientation that the books are commonly either on a high or a low level divided by format: folio, quarto, octavo and possibly smaller formats.)

The same is true for catalogues of private collections to which Árni had direct or indirect access, either because the collection was in Copenhagen or because he was in close contact with the owner. AM 435 b 4to, the catalogue Árni wrote for Torfæus, for example, is chiefly based on the artefacts' format, and within the sections for the different formats, there is a tendency to group the manuscripts by subject (AM 435 b 4to, 1r-24r). Since Árni employed a numbering system in Torfæus's catalogue – something he did not use for his own – it is likely that he recorded the manuscripts in a way Torfæus had already organised and numbered them. One can, however, not exclude that Árni was involved in creating the order he recorded in that catalogue.

Another close friend of Árni's, Frederik Rostgaard, was highly engaged in the question of ordering libraries, and even more so in cataloguing them. During his studies in Paris, Rostgaard became involved in the creation of a catalogue for the Royal Library there and proposed his own system that was derived from the French librarian Nicolas Clément's (1647-1712) subject-based classification (Larsen 1970, 26-34).<sup>21</sup> In Rost-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>The first ever catalogue of manuscripts with comparable standards to modern day catalogues is considered to be Angelo Maria Bandini's (1726-1803) catalogue of the manuscripts in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana in Florence, which was published in 1774-1777 (Driscoll 2014, 291; Kleberg 1958, 73). For the general development of library classification with special regards to the Humanities see e.g. Magnussen (1957).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Clément published 1675-1697 a catalogue of the printed books in the Royal Library in Paris (now National Library), of which the first seven volumes were a placement catalogue based on subjects, accompanied by another seven volumes with an alphabetical index (Ólöf Benediktsdóttir 2004, 55).

gaard's version all openings were supposed to be divided into four equal columns, meaning two columns per page, into which the titles should be entered based on their format, but also in a running order according to authors and works. This way of organising the catalogue lead to many half-blank pages, but had the advantage of being both thematically organised and clearly indicating the format – and thus the placement of the artefacts in the library. Later in life, Rostgaard moved away from his innovation of using different columns in the catalogue (Ólöf Benedikts-dóttir 2004, 55-56; Larsen 1970, 47-51). For the physical organisation of books in his own library, Rostgaard employed a primarily subject-based system with 35 classes. Secondarily, the sections were in all likelihood divided into shelves that were designated for the respective formats (Larsen 1970, 58-59 & 75-76).

Influential foreign collections of the time showed only partially comparable classification systems, since they had more focus on alphabetical order. The first printed catalogue of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, for instance, which appeared in 1605, was primarily alphabetical and based on authors, but also referenced the placement of books.<sup>22</sup> The library itself was organised by subject (based on the university faculties) and format, with only a certain alphabetical order to the individual subsections (Kleberg 1958, 63).<sup>23</sup> The Bibliotheca Augusta in Wolfenbüttel was likewise organised by subject. The placement of books in that library was mirrored in its catalogue, but the latter was equipped with an alphabetical index (Kleberg 1958, 67-68). Arni never went to Wolfenbüttel during his time in Germany, but visited the library of the elector of Brandenburg in Berlin, for which an alphabetical catalogue was made. He was impressed with the first volume for the letter "A". However, he was sceptical about the manageability of creating such alphabetical catalogues, particularly for private collectors like himself (Már Jónsson 2012a, 107).

In sum, Árni appears to have applied a general classification system to his library that divided the collection into different sections based on both subject and format of manuscripts. For very populated sections, he presumably operated with thematic subsections. This approach to organising his collection was in line with practices of other private collectors in

 $<sup>^{22} {\</sup>rm The}$  next versions, published in 1620 and 1674 were exclusively alphabetically organised (Kleberg 1958, 63-64).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>For the University Library in Copenhagen, Thomas Bartholin the older (1616-1680) similarly drafted a plan for an alphabetical catalogue in the seventeenth century. The collection itself, however, was mostly organised by donors, whose books were kept together even after they had become part of the library (Birkelund 1958, 145).

Denmark-Norway at the time, even though the actual implementation could differ. Árni was familiar with alternative systems, but employed neither an alphabetical order nor any number-based shelfmarks. As a result, the order of the individual artefacts within the different sections of his collection was presumably not fixed but relatively flexible.

### 5.2 Optimal working conditions thanks to rearrangement

Since Arni Magnússon's collection was divided into broad sections with general regard to format and contents, there was room for variation among the manuscripts within these categories. The present section examines the overarching patterns of how Árni aggregated and arranged the individual manuscripts by analysing the form and contents the artefacts had when Árni died. As the library and the manuscripts within it were constantly changing, the t1-shapes only give a fleeting image. Precisely because Árni kept adjusting the items in his collection, however, any other point in time would presumably have given a comparable impression of his arrangements.

### 5.2.1 Modifications independent of content type

As has become clear, the contents of manuscripts were highly important to Árni. As well as influencing which manuscripts he collected and the general order of his library, it can be assumed that the manuscripts' texts also impacted which objects he treated and how he arranged the individual artefacts.

In the corpus of the present study there are quite a few manuscripts containing saga literature.<sup>24</sup> The majority of the artefacts analysed are also housed in Reykjavík, which indicates that they fall under the criteria that their contents, scribe and place of origin are exclusively or mostly Icelandic. This was the general rule of the Danish Manuscript Act for which artefacts were to be transferred to Iceland in the twentieth century (Sigrún Davíðsdóttir 1999, 277-278; Greenfield 2007, 24-38). Yet, the manuscript corpus is not representative in terms of contents, but merely attempts to include a variety of works and content types. Therefore, even though a case could be made for precisely Iceland and its culture and history having been at the centre of Árni's interests, the corpus cannot be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>See the corpus in section B in the appendix.

used to claim that he especially cared for manuscripts whose contents focus on Iceland. Moreover, Árni's collection was a specialised library reflecting his interests, meaning it is problematic to establish any particular area of preference based on the quantity of manuscripts or changes.

A significant difference in treatment between types of works is not evident either. For all broad content categories considered – sagas, poetry, legal texts, historical writing and religious texts – multiple examples exist in the corpus.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, in all five categories, rearranged manuscripts can be found, meaning that objects containing all text types could theoretically be dismembered and aggregated.

Among manuscripts with poetic texts, though, an example of a merely dismembered manuscript is wanting in the corpus. Even when the data from the larger manuscript overview is included, this tendency remains, as disproportionally few examples of dismemberment exist. Artefacts with poetic content were nonetheless frequently rearranged. This trend could be interpreted as an attempt to avoid the creation of very short manuscripts made of individual CUs, because poetic texts are often shorter than, for example, most sagas. The few manuscripts with poetic contents that were dismembered (and not treated otherwise) appear at first glance to support this hypothesis. NUMBER 754 IN 4to and NUMBER 144 IN 8vo both contained multiple texts of which most are versified, and had a length of 70 and 50 leaves, respectively (AM 456 fol., 28v & 38r; Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 177 & 409).<sup>26</sup> On the contrary, several t1-manuscripts with other content were solely dismembered and formed very short artefacts, some of which have fewer than ten leaves.<sup>27</sup> The size of the resulting codices can therefore not have been the reason for this trend.<sup>28</sup>

Instead, the tendency for poetic manuscripts not being dismembered may go back to how the data for the study was collected. Since pure dismemberments can be less obvious than aggregations, it is likely that such manuscripts were not recognised as being altered as often in the secondary literature used. Furthermore, since manuscripts containing *rímur* or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>The contents categories are not mutually exclusive, but at least one manuscript of each category contains exclusively that kind of contents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>NUMBER 754 IN 4to contained Völuspá, Hávamál, Rígsbula and Snorra Edda, whereas NUMBER 144 IN 8vo contained Áns rímur bogsveigis and Rímur af Eremit meistara together with Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar (AM 456 fol., 28v & 38r).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>NUMBER 518 IN 4to, for example, contained *Ásu-Þórðar þáttur* and *Egils þáttur Síðu-Hallssonar* on eight leaves. Very short manuscripts of historical and juridical contents also existed, for instance in NUMBER 326 IN fol. and NUMBER 372 IN 4to with thirteen and eleven leaves, respectively (AM 456 fol., 8r, 18v & 20v; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 271, 591 & 672).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Since CUs that remained with more than one text often contained closely related items, the reason for leaving such CUs with several text may have been contents rather than length.

other poetry are the only ones that show a noticeably variant pattern, it is problematic to base conclusions about Árni's rationale on such observations.

The absence of individual works or subcategories from the corpus could be pointed out, such as that no manuscript of biblical material is among the artefacts studied and no Eddic poetry either. The latter simply happened not to be included in the corpus, but manuscripts containing Eddic poetry are registered in the manuscript overview as having been changed.<sup>29</sup> Regarding the former, there are no manuscripts containing larger parts from the Bible in the collection that fall under the scope of the study.<sup>30</sup> Other relevant *libri sancti*, however, have evidently been rearranged by Árni.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, no manuscript in folio-format containing *rímur* appears to have been altered. Yet again, no applicable objects exist among the relevant manuscripts of that format in the collection. Interpretive statements grounded on the absence of a certain work or group of works are thus of little importance to the study of Árni's rationale. These conditions reflect the availability of certain artefacts at the time rather than Árni's reasons for changing manuscripts.

With regard to language, Arni's alterations were not confined to Icelandic texts. Included in the corpus are manuscripts with texts partially or completely in Danish, Swedish and Latin. The texts in AM 410 4to, for example, are mostly in Latin, while the texts in AM 365 fol. are in Danish and Latin and the work contained by AM 199 fol. is in Swedish, though with a strong Danish influence. The manuscript overview even contains changed artefacts with texts in German (e.g. AM 891 4to and AM 895 4to).<sup>32</sup> Thus, based on the manuscripts' general type of contents as well as their language, no obvious distinctions are evident that could hint at the rearrangement activity being motivated by these relatively superficial factors.

 $<sup>^{29}\</sup>mathrm{E.g.}$  AM 754 4to and AM 155 a 8vo.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>AM 695 d 4to from the late seventeenth century is the only relevant manuscript that contains a three-page item called "Mältæki vr Heilagri Ritnyngu" which, however, resembles more a short excerpt than a proper Bible text (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 109).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>E.g. Homilies in AM 692 b 4to.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$ Árni also owned some manuscripts in Spanish. AM 379 a fol., for instance, is a paper manuscript that includes parts in Spanish. In t1, it was part of a larger, probably loose bundle of mostly historical material (AM 456 fol., 9r). Since this manuscript is dated to the end of the sixteenth century, however, it is not considered in the present study.

#### 5.2.2 Thematic groupings in manuscripts facilitate research

Although the general content types of the manuscripts did not impact which artefacts were changed, the particular texts seem to have influenced how individual manuscripts were altered. In order to examine the specific role of the contents in Árni's rearrangement activity, I first investigate the aggregation patterns of how many texts the manuscripts contained and if they tended to be copies of the same work or not. Subsequently, the nature of the aggregations is analysed in more detail by taking a closer look at the various combinations of texts in search of an underlying logic.<sup>33</sup>

The majority of manuscripts in t1 contained more than one work (Figure 5.1 on the next page). More precisely, copies of multiple works occurred in 49 of the 73 manuscripts studied. In approximately half the cases these works existed in one copy each, while in other artefacts at least one work was found in more than one copy. Single-work manuscripts (both consisting of one and multiple copies), on the other hand, merely added up to 24 (ca. 33%). Accordingly, even though Árni produced several manuscripts containing a single work, the majority of the artefacts consisted of multiple works, which regularly occurred in more than one copy.<sup>34</sup>

That most artefacts in t1 contained more than one work challenges Agnete Loth's (1960, 113) interpretation of Árni's rearrangement activity. Her claim that Árni's primary concern with his rearrangements was to be able to order his library based on literary or historical works does not apply to the majority of the manuscripts studied.<sup>35</sup> Since most of the objects contained copies of several different works, Árni cannot have organised these manuscripts strictly according to works. Although a third of the manuscripts examined could apply to Loth's description, such artefacts were in the minority and her interpretation cannot be generalised.<sup>36</sup>

General topic-related arrangement patterns are evident for manuscripts with several works.<sup>37</sup> In some cases the texts of these manuscripts

<sup>35</sup>For the quotation see chapter 3 on page 125.

<sup>36</sup>Based on the ratio of aggregation patterns among the artefacts studied it is likely that manuscripts with multiple works also frequently occurred in the parts of the collection which have not been examined in detail.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>A list of relevant manuscripts in t1 and their contents is located in section C in the appendix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>In section 4.2 starting on page 151, I have analysed the 73 different manuscripts registered by Jón Ólafsson for their numbers of CUs, showing that 27 artefacts contained a single CU and 46 consisted of more than one CU. The majority of these single-CU manuscripts contained one text, while eight artefacts used to comprise several works, but no duplicate copies. Among multiple-CU manuscripts, 26 were aggregations of several works in more than one copy, while 15 contained different works in one copy each and five a single work in multiple copies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Due to practical reasons and the number of manuscripts in the corpus, the literary analysis does not, for

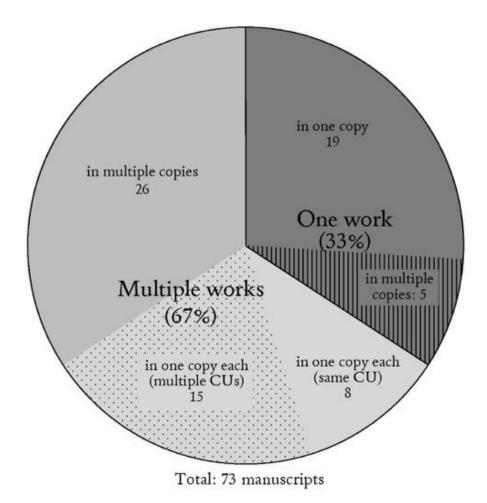


Figure 5.1: Number of works and their copies per manuscript in 1730.

fall under what according to modern genre theory could be called the same literary or pragmatic genre.<sup>38</sup> NUMBER 630 IN 4to, for instance, was comprised of multiple *postula sögur*, and NUMBER 130 IN fol. contained two sagas that are usually categorised as *Íslendingasögur* (AM 456 fol., 23r & 25r).<sup>39</sup> In other cases, texts were placed together that would not necessarily qualify as the same modern (narrow) genre, but share a broad literary form or pragmatic function, such as different kinds of poetic genres (e.g. NUMBER 154 IN 8vo) or various sagas, not all of which are commonly considered *fornaldarsögur* (e.g. NUMBER 587 IN 4to) (AM 456 fol., 23r-v & 39r).<sup>40</sup> Others again combined topically related texts of formally different characters, such as sagas and *rímur* (e.g. NUMBER 521 IN 4to), a description of the city of Bergen together with law amendments (*retterbøder*) (e.g. NUMBER 365 IN fol.), as well as sagas and essays (e.g. NUMBER 116 IN 8vo).

For some manuscripts Árni created, an analysis based on the viewpoint of modern genres can undoubtedly yield interesting observations. However, since copies of the same saga were often treated in various ways, Arni apparently did not apply any consistent genre-like classification system. Copies of Hervarar saga og Heiðreks, for instance, were found in three very different t1-manuscripts. (1) In NUMBER 192 IN fol., a copy of that saga formed a single-text manuscript (AM 456 fol., 5v). (2) In NUM-BER 202 IN fol., two copies of Hervarar saga og Heiðreks were aggregated with multiple copies of Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka, Rauðúlfs þáttur, Norna-Gests þáttur and Sturlaugs saga starfsama (AM 456 fol., 6r). (3) In NUMBER 345 IN 4to, finally, one copy of the saga was contained in a manuscript that also held single copies of Ans saga bogsveigis, Porsteins saga Víkingssonar, Bósa saga, Hrómundar saga Gripssonar, Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra, Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar and Haralds saga Hringsbana (AM 456 fol., 18r). It is thus problematic to argue that Arni consciously – or even primarily - grouped texts based on principles that are comparable to modern genre

the most part, go beyond the level of titles and identifications of works. As Árni clearly did care about the different versions and textual variants, however, a more thorough analysis would be desirable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>I use the term *genre* in the modern analytical sense rather than the prescriptive sense that was common in the medieval and renaissance period. For a brief overview see e.g. Johansen/Klujeff (2009, 10-31). For a discussion of genre with the focus on Icelandic sagas see e.g. Harris (1975).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>For the contents of NUMBER 130 IN fol. see also page 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Especially for the group of sagas referred to as *fornaldarsögur* by modern scholars, there is rather little consensus about what kind of genre (or corpus) they form and how that should be defined or characterised ("Interrogating Genre in the *Fornaldarsögur*: Round-Table Discussion" 2006; Lavender 2015, 526-530). While most sagas that were included in NUMBER 587 IN 4to are often grouped as *fornaldarsögur*, in t1 the manuscript also contained two copies of *Hróa þáttur heimska*, which is not commonly associated with *fornaldarsögur*, but takes place in Scandinavia and shares characters with some *fornaldarsögur*. I am grateful to Philip Lavender for pointing these textual links out to me.

designations. Similarly, an analysis cannot build on the assumption of stable classifications of texts.<sup>41</sup>

The notion of fixed groupings comparable to the modern understanding of genres in fact had not quite developed yet when Árni altered manuscripts.<sup>42</sup> Superimposing the modern framework onto cases in which the outer criteria of the arrangement patterns happen to align with the current division of Old Norse works into genres accordingly does not bring to light the actual principles of Árni's work. For the purpose of understanding Árni's rearrangement activity as a whole and the rationale behind it, modern genre theory is therefore not particularly useful.<sup>43</sup>

More fruitful is the observation that the various combinations of works tend to be internally coherent with regard to a common topic regardless of whether or not the modern reader may describe them as formally belonging to the same genre or style. An example of a thematically related aggregation that nevertheless comprised different kinds of works is NUM-BER 1 IN fol. All texts that were part of that manuscript treat northern European kings and noblemen or distinguished personae: multiple copies of Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi were included, but also copies of Langfedgatal and different genealogies of kings and noblemen (AM 456 fol., 2r). Another example is NUMBER 410 IN 4to in which texts with a common subject in historiography were combined. That aggregation contained both annals about northern Europe and different parts of Historiae universales on Roman emperors (AM 456 fol., 19r).

The aggregation of NUMBER 770 IN 4to was also based on topic, as it appears to have been a collection of material on Greenland. While the manuscript contained several copies of both Granlendinga báttur and *Eiríks saga rauða*,<sup>44</sup> it also enclosed lists of bishops and churches in Greenland as well as other factual material (AM 456 fol., 29r).<sup>45</sup> Part of the cur-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>See also the rearrangement of Ms35 in section 2.2.1 starting on 80. I discuss the applicability of modern genre distinctions with special regard to riddarasögur and fornaldarsögur for Árni's custodial activity in more detail elsewhere (Stegmann forthcoming[a]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>The modern concepts of the genres in Icelandic literature developed out of a combination of native tradition, scholarly deliberation and publication considerations (e.g. Mitchell 1991, 9). The non-native classes in particular began to crystallise in the later eighteenth and nineteenth century, when it became more and more common to group certain works together. The early scholars thus shaped a notion of somewhat coherent groups (Lavender 2015, 528-536).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>It would undoubtedly be interesting to analyse Árni's arrangements from the perspective of later usage and how his groupings of works may have influenced later scholars' notions of these texts, independently from whether or not their interpretation of why certain sagas belonged together agreed with Árni's. The limits of the current study, however, do not allow for such an excursus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Some copies of these narrative texts are preserved in AM 770 a 4to CU1 and AM 770 b 4to CU4-5, respectively.  $^{45}$  The factual texts are found in AM 770 a 4to CU1 and AM 770 b 4to CU3. Whether or not the texts now

rent AM 770 a-c 4to is also a bifolium, catalogued as AM 770 a 4to CU2, which contains fragments from Torfæus's Trifolium historicum (Figure 5.2 on the following page).<sup>46</sup> That work is not mentioned in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue and does not have Greenland as its main focus. It is a historical treatise on the first three kings of Denmark, but covers roughly the same time period in which Eiríks saga rauða takes place. Although it seems as if the two leaves were intended to be part of the manuscript in t1, their primary function is unclear. Since fol. 9r carries the title of the text found in AM 770 a 4to CU1, it is likely that the leaves served as its surrounding jacket for at least some time. However, it cannot be ruled out that Árni was also interested in some of the text it contained, since it is only partially crossed out. Independently of whether the fragment was included in NUMBER 770 IN 4to for its textual content, its case demonstrates that interpretation of topic-based aggregations should be flexible. A rigid approach to the determination of how different materials relate to one another is not always productive for analysing the patterns of Árni's rearrangements - not least because each analysis remains the subjective assessment of a modern scholar.<sup>47</sup>

Narrower topic-related aggregation patterns similarly show diverging internal logics. In NUMBER 521 IN 4to, for instance, Árni combined four copies of *Ambáles saga* with two copies of *Ambáles rímur*. For this aggregation the focus seems to have been on the narrative about Ambáles, as the same material was provided in both saga and *rímur* form and the saga copies represent different versions.<sup>48</sup> Aggregations such as NUMBERS 130 and 161 IN fol. could in similar ways be interpreted as combinations of related narratives. While the stories of the two texts that were contained by the

contained by AM 770 c 4to were part of this aggregation is not certain, since the items are not mentioned in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue (AM 456 fol., 29v). Only what is now AM 770 c 4to  $\varepsilon$  could possibly be referred to as one of the three listed copies of *Eiríks saga rauða*. In any event, the material comprised by the current AM 770 c 4to also deals with Greenland and thus highly resembles the material that is known to have been part of NUMBER 770 IN 4to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>The full title of Torfæus's work is Trifolium historicum seu dissertatio historico-chronologico-critica, de tribus potentissimis Daniæ regibus Gormo Grandævo, Haraldo Cærulidente, & Sveno Furcatæ (seu Admorsæ) barbæ, ubi singulorum natales, imperii exordia, & gesta qvædam insigniora exponuntur, certisque annis applicantur, præterea verum tempus propagatæ in Dania Christianiæ religionis demonstratur, & varia his temporibus florentium heroum gesta, imprimis vero origo atqve descriptio urbis Julini Winethæ lectori sistuntur. In supplementum seriei regum Daniæ singula ex diversis scriptorum traditionibus, inter se collatis, diligenterqve examinatis, collecta, & nunc primum in lucem edita.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Additionally, since my analysis cannot go into depth on the contents of the individual manuscripts and their parts, more subtle connections between texts cannot be uncovered here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>Hermann Pálsson (1952, ix-xii) identifies the two versions contained by AM 521 b and c 4to as two independent re-workings of *Ambáles rímur*. The text preserved in AM 521 d 4to, on the other hand, derives more directly from Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum*. Hermann Pálsson does not mention the copy now called AM 521 a 4to, suggesting that it is the same version as either AM 521 b 4to or AM 521 c 4to. Further research is needed.

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(a) AM 770 a 4to CU2, fol. 9r

(b) AM 770 a 4to CU2, fol. 10v

Figure 5.2: Fols. 9r and 10v, the first and last page of AM 770 a 4to CU2 containing fragments from Torfæus's *Trifolium historicum*. The text is partially crossed-out, and the first page carries an addition in the top margin by Árni Magnússon. The two leaves show a vaguely visible horizontal folding line. Photo: Suzanne Reitz.

former, *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Laxdala saga*, mostly take place on Snæfellsnes, the Dalir-region and the Westfjords (Figure 5.3 on the next page), the three sagas of the latter, *Svarfdala saga*, *Valla-Ljóts saga* and *Reykdala saga*, are all set in northern Iceland (Figure 5.4 on page 231) (AM 456 fol., 4r-v).<sup>49</sup> Apart from the copy of *Svarfdala saga* that was found in NUMBER 161 IN fol., another copy was contained by the much larger manuscript NUMBER 144 IN fol. This aggregation of mostly *Íslendingasögur* had no comparable regional focus of the sagas (AM 456 fol., 4r). Yet, all the texts are narratives about Icelanders and take place in the early settlement period of Iceland.

Each aggregation of multiple works had an internal combining logic that was potentially unique. The few examples treated here give an impression of the multitude of patterns and how different the implementation of topic-related groupings could be.<sup>50</sup> Despite the variety, none of the manuscripts with several works contained texts of totally unrelated subjects, and using Philip Lavender's (2015, 527) terminology, Árni's arrangements can be described as "protogeneric clusters". They were moreover in accordance with the general organisation system in his library, as all aggregations could be placed in the broader subject-based sections he employed.

Aggregations containing multiple copies of a single work can similarly be understood as a very narrow version of a thematic arrangement. In NUMBER 113 IN fol., for instance, Árni combined ten copies of Ari Porgilsson's work *Íslendingabók*, but he commented on the different versions (Table 5.1 on page 232). Based on textual comparison, Árni assessed that the copies were derived from two main witnesses, which he called "Codex A" and "Codex B" (e.g. AM-slips in AM 113 c fol., AM 113 d fol. and AM-slip a in AM 113 f fol.). In that way, these copies provide two different forms of the same narrative comparable to the material on Ambáles that was contained by NUMBER 521 IN 4to.

The aggregation of copies of the same work in NUMBER 113 IN fol. had practical advantages. From Árni's comparison notes in the different parts it is evident that he collated the copies. Notes with textual variants in his hand are, for example, preserved in the margins of what is now AM 113 e fol. To store the different copies together undoubtedly facilitated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>The regional analysis is based on visualisation maps provided by the website "Icelandic Saga Map" (Lethbridge 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>The manuscripts treated in the case studies further demonstrate the variety in Árni's aggregation patterns. See especially section 2.1 starting on page 49 and its subsections.

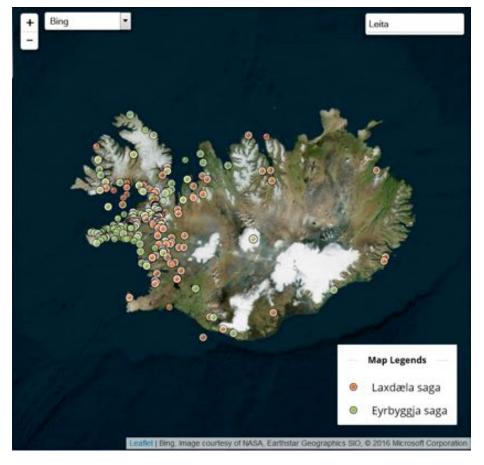


Figure 5.3: Saga Map showing where *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Laxdæla saga* take place. Created on http://sagamap.hi.is.

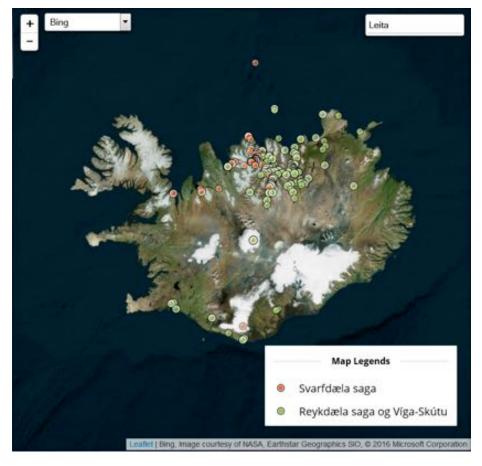


Figure 5.4: Saga Map showing where *Svarfdæla saga* and *Reykdæla saga* take place. Created on http://sagamap.hi.is.

Contents	Current shelfmark
Íslendingabók, Codex B	AM 113 a fol.
Íslendingabók, Codex A	AM 113 b fol.
Íslendingabók, derived from Codex B	AM 113 c fol.
Íslendingabók, derived from Codex A	AM 113 d fol.
Íslendingabók, [derived from Codex B]	AM 113 e fol.
Íslendingabók, derived from Codex B	AM 113 f fol.
Íslendingabók, [derived from Codex B]	AM 113 g fol.
Íslendingabók, [derived from Codex A]	AM 113 h fol.
Íslendingabók, derived from Codex A	AM 113 i fol.
Íslendingabók, derived from Codex A	AM 113 k fol.

Table 5.1: Contents of NUMBER 113 IN fol., marking different versions of *Íslendingabók* based on Árni's notes.

his collation work.<sup>51</sup> It is unfortunately unknown which form of binding NUMBER 113 IN fol. had in t1. However, had Árni kept the ten copies in a loose bundle, the comparison work would have been easier than had they been in the same binding.

Other t1-manuscripts that contained a single work in multiple copies were often stored in such bundles. If their outer binding form is unknown, it is likely that they did not have a proper binding either.<sup>52</sup> Only one single-work manuscript with several copies, NUMBER 539 IN 4to, appears to have had a proper binding as its outer boundary. It was presumably bound in a half binding with reused parchment on the boards, even though Jón Ólafsson describes it as "upplimd" ("glued") (AM 456 fol., 21r; see Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 682). In NUMBER 777 IN 4to, three of the four parts may have been in a common cardboard binding, but it is uncertain if that binding was established in t1. Additionally, one of the two copies of *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra* that formed NUMBER 297 IN 4to, was bound in parchment, while the other one was possibly stuck into that binding. In the last case, however, the second copy could still be removed and placed next to the first when needed.

The correlation between storage form and number of works and copies contained is further supported by the contents of properly bound t1manuscripts. Except for NUMBER 539 IN 4to, only NUMBER 410 IN 4to had a proper binding and contained several copies of the same work. Still,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>For the aggregation of multiple copies of the same work for comparison reasons see also section 2.2.1 starting on 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>For the outer binding conditions of t1-manuscripts see section 4.2.4 on page 168.

the latter was not a single-work manuscript. While manuscripts with multiple copies of only one work were mostly in preliminary bindings, artefacts with a proper binding as their outer storage form contained both one or more works, but frequently in single copies. This division suggests that practical considerations are indicative for when an aggregation was given a proper binding, insofar as it did not usually contain multiple copies of a work that were supposed to be collated. Instead, multiple copies were preferably kept in loose binding forms, which allowed the individual copies to be moved easily and laid out next to each other.

Whether or not a manuscript had a proper binding in t1, however, was not a sign of how finalised a manuscript was. Since Árni both included previously bound copies in larger aggregations and removed hard covers from other manuscripts, proper bindings appear to have had mostly practical implications.<sup>53</sup> Manuscripts or parts that were equipped with such bindings could be stored upright more easily, and the leaves were considerably better protected against wear and tear. By having many of his manuscripts bound, Árni increased the longevity of his artefacts and the material they carried. In this regard, the interpretation of Árni's binding activity agrees with Peter Springborg's (1996, 20) conclusion that Árni aimed at preserving his manuscripts for posterity in as good a condition as possible. However, even though manuscripts or manuscript parts were bound, they remained malleable objects to Árni.

### 5.2.3 Low impact of manuscript size

Since format was the other major characteristic on which Arni based the organisation of his collection, did it also influence the arrangement of individual manuscripts? Apart from investigating the role of the format, this section analyses what impact the codices' size had on Árni's rearrangement activity.

The vast majority of aggregations in t1 were composed of copies in the same format. In at least seven cases, however, Árni aggregated manuscript parts of different formats. To the NUMBERS 34 and 113 IN fol., for instance, which included mostly folio-sized copies, he added some quarto-sized CUs. Similarly, in NUMBERS 409 and 588 IN 4to, a single CU in octavo-format was aggregated with others in quarto-format, and in NUMBER 408 IN 4to, three CUs (now AM 408 f 4to) are in the smaller octavo-size. Parts in a larger format than the aggregation's designation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>For manuscripts he first had bound and then included in new aggregations and removed proper bindings see section 4.2.3 on page 163.

also occurred, namely in NUMBERS 297 and 777 IN 4to, where copies in folio-format were folded before being combined with quarto-sized parts.

That Árni mixed different formats is particularly surprising considering that the codices he received did not consist of varied formats. Among the corpus manuscripts, only AM 261 4to CU3 might have been already aggregated with the smaller AM 261 4to CU2 when Árni obtained the leaves, but it is more likely that Árni combined the two.<sup>54</sup> Accordingly, Árni did not divide manuscripts he acquired with the objective of making them fit into his format-based library order. Rather, he himself created heterogeneous codices. The outer format of these aggregations, however, was still in agreement with his ordering system. Árni tended to place the heterogeneous manuscripts based on the format of the majority of parts, and in cases where larger formats were in the minority, those leaves were folded down to the adequate size.<sup>55</sup> Such heterogeneous aggregations further suggest that the format of artefacts mostly played a role for the practical ordering of the collection, but not for the rationale of rearranging individual parts.

Likewise, the qualitative treatment of manuscripts does not differ based on format. While the manuscripts in the corpus tend to be dismembered more frequently when in folio-format and aggregated more often when in quarto-format, this is an imbalance caused by the analysis of objects in groups. More importantly, all formats (except for duodecimo), show examples of the three alteration types, and the data from the manuscript overview corrects for the imbalance.

Although practical in many regards, Árni's rearrangement does not seem to have aimed at the production of smaller, easier-to-handle codices. In fact, both large manuscripts and codices with fewer than 150 leaves were altered on a regular basis. Árni even had very small codices of no more than two texts dismembered before treating the parts further. Ms66, for instance, consisted of only sixteen leaves which he divided into two CUs, one containing *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* (six leaves; AM 363 4to CU1) and the other *Gautreks saga* (ten leaves; AM 363 4to CU3). The size of the former manuscript therefore was not a consistent reason for alteration. Nevertheless, formerly large manuscripts were more likely to be dismembered (potentially prior to additional treatment) than formerly small manuscripts, as these frequently did not require or allow dismem-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>For details on NUMBER 261 IN 4to and its creation see section 2.4.4 starting on page 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>NUMBER 297 IN 4to only contained two CUs, one in quarto and one in folio-format. Here the larger CU was folded, presumably because the other CU was already in a proper binding, into which the larger leaves could be stuck when folded in half.

### berment.

Similarly, a broad variety in manuscript thickness was registered in 1730. While some t1-artefacts contained no more than eight or ten leaves (e.g. NUMBER 372 IN 4to), others had as many as 257 leaves (NUMBER 588 IN 4to) (AM 456 fol., fols. 18v & 23v; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 591 & 750-753). Árni apparently did not avoid forming manuscripts that were extreme in terms of their thickness. The analysis of phase two of the rearrangement procedure has additionally shown that Árni created aggregations with many CUs as well as single-CU manuscripts without regard to the format or number of leaves.<sup>56</sup> Thus, in the same way that he treated manuscripts of all formats and sizes, he also created codices that differed greatly in shape.

Hence, Arni produced new manuscripts with an exterior that was suitable for his ordering system, which was partially based on the artefacts' formats. For the decision of which manuscript parts to aggregate or to rearrange, however, the format did not play a role, as manuscript parts of alternate formats were made to fit into the format-system. The former manuscripts' size or the newly created manuscripts' thickness do not show any clear correlation with the kind of treatment the parts received either.

### 5.2.4 Personal needs superior to object's history

The origin and/or provenance as well as the way Árni acquired manuscripts have occasionally been named as potential factors of Árni's rearrangement activity. Már Jónsson (2012, 192), for instance, suggests that Árni may have left one of his paper manuscripts unchanged because he received it as "a gift [...] from the *Stiftamtmaður* Gyldenløve [1678-1719]". This section therefore examines the impact of the manuscripts' history on Árni's rearrangements.<sup>57</sup>

The origin of a manuscript does not seem to have had an impact on how and if Árni treated it. Included in the corpus are both manuscripts that were clearly written in Iceland and artefacts that can be traced to areas of other Nordic countries, such as Norway and Denmark. Even though manuscripts written outside Iceland are in the minority, they do not show any signs of having been altered in different ways or for divergent reasons. Árni equally dismembered such manuscripts and aggregated or rearranged them with other CUs. Many of the objects from present-day

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>For the various manuscripts created by Árni see section 4.2 on page 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Since the corpus only includes manuscripts which Árni has evidently altered, I use some external examples, here AM 160 fol., for an excursus on non-manipulated manuscripts.

Norway were formerly owned by Árni's close friend Torfæus, almost all of whose manuscripts Árni altered physically.<sup>58</sup> This is in accordance with the observation that the language of the texts does not appear to have had an impact on Árni's custodial work.

It is furthermore unlikely that the authority of a manuscript's former owner had an impact on Árni's activity. Among the manuscripts examined are artefacts that were written and/or previously owned by close friends and relatives of Árni as well as people who had an authoritative status in society. Apart from the manuscripts that Torfæus had owned, Árni also rearranged codices he received from his friend Páll Vídalín. AM 408 e 4to (*Hungurvaka*), for example, was obtained from Páll as part of a larger manuscript: "Fra Pale Lógmanni. Var aptast i þvi Volumine er fremst var ä Knytlinga Saga." ("From Páll law-man. [This text] was at the end of that volume in which *Knýtlinga saga* was in front.") (AM 408 a 4to, AM-slip a).<sup>59</sup> After the dismemberment, Árni rearranged the CU with other material about Icelandic bishops.

Árni also treated manuscripts with a close connection to his family like all other codices. He received, for instance, the part now called AM 408 f 4to CU6 (*Hungurvaka*) "fra Hvamme" ("from Hvammur") (AM 408 f 4to CU6, fol. 1r), the farm where his maternal relatives lived and where he grew up. Árni aggregated the copy with the one from Páll and multiple others to form NUMBER 408 IN 4to. In t1, that aggregation was registered to contain fourteen parts (AM 456 fol., 19r), which Árni acquired from various places and through different channels (Table 5.2). Besides the parts received from close family and friends – to which another part previously owned by Torfæus can be added – the aggregation also contained leaves from more distant relatives of Árni, such as his nephew Ormur Daðason (1684-1744) (Páll Eggert Ólason 1948-1952, 4: 95-96), and other less closely-related Icelanders.<sup>60</sup> Additionally, the aggregation included a part which Árni had copied himself, one he presumably commissioned, and some of unknown provenance. Árni accordingly did not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Árni's detailed notes on how he changed Torfæus's manuscripts are found in AM 435 b 4to. See also section 4.1.2 starting on page 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>In t1, AM 408 e 4to was part of the aggregation NUMBER 408 IN 4to, which is treated below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>Árni had a wide network through which he acquired manuscripts (Már Jónsson 1998a, 167). One part he received from the captain Magnús Arason (1684-1728) who lived in Copenhagen and was close to both Árni and his wife Mette (Már Jónsson 1998a, 262-265). The other manuscript parts of NUMBER 408 IN 4to came to him from the following known providers: Benedikt Hannesson from Snæfjöll (b. 1671) was a farmer and lived for a long time in Hóll in Bolungarvík; Grímur Einarsson (1677-1707) was priest at Staðarbakki; the rector Jónas Daðason Gam (1671-1734) lived and worked in Denmark (apart from providing Árni with manuscripts, he also made glasses for him); Jón Einarson (ca. 1674-1707) was deputy headmaster at the school in Skálholt (Páll Eggert Ólason 1948-1952, 1: 126-127; 2: 99; 3: 97 & 332).

Current shelfmark	Transmission
AM 408 a 4to	From Ormur Daðason
AM 408 b 4to	From Grímur Einarsson via Benedikt Hannesson
AM 408 d 4to	From Jónas Daðason
(lost)	[Unknown]
AM 408 c 4to	From Torfæus
AM 408 e 4to	From Páll Vídalín
AM 408 f 4to CU6	From maternal relatives in Hvammur
AM 408 f 4to CU8	From Magnús Arason
AM 408 g 4to	Commissioned by Árni?
AM 408 h 4to CU11	[Unknown]
AM 408 h 4to CU12	[Unknown]
AM 408 h 4to CU13	From Jón Einarsson
AM 408 i 4to	Copied by Árni

Table 5.2: NUMBER 408 IN 4to with transmission information on the individual CUs.

treat manuscripts and manuscript parts from people to whom he was close differently from parts with a more neutral appearing provenance. He even aggregated the CUs from various sources to form common manuscripts.

Árni also rearranged a manuscript that was mostly written by his maternal grandfather Ketill Jörundsson and his son Páll Ketilsson. As such, Ms33 was closely linked to the two men who played a central role in educating Árni during his youth.<sup>61</sup> Arni did not receive the codex directly from his relatives, but through Guðmundur Þorleifsson in Brokey (1658-1720), and it had already been changed at least once by the time it came to Árni. Since he placed the parts written by his relatives in new aggregations, his arrangements do not seem to be influenced by his relation to the ones who produced them.

The same is true for artefacts from more formal authorities. Árni rearranged, for example, manuscripts which his former employer Thomas Bartholin had commissioned, such as Ms83. It was in all likelihood written by Bartholin's assistants – Árni being one of them – and included Latin translations of some of the Old Norse texts. Árni divided this codex into at least five parts, two of which he rearranged with other CUs and one more was preserved as a single-text manuscript.<sup>62</sup> Also manuscripts

 $<sup>^{61}</sup>$ For Árni's biography see section 1.2.3 starting on page 20. The parts of Ms33 which were written by Ketill Jörundsson and Páll Ketilsson are AM 113 i fol., AM 554 h $\beta$ 4to and AM 554 i 4to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>The three extent manuscript parts of Ms83 are today called AM 294 4to, AM 363 4to and AM 587 e 4to, the first of which was in 1730 not re-aggregated with other manuscript parts. See moreover section 2.2.3

that were formerly owned by Icelandic bishops were regularly rearranged by Árni. Multiple examples of manuscripts with such provenance exist in the corpus. Árni freely rearranged, for instance, the numerous parts of Ms28, which had previously been in the possession of Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson.<sup>63</sup> The manuscripts examined consequently do not support the hypothesis that Árni spared certain manuscripts from rearrangement because of their origin or provenance. Instead, he evidently altered codices that were written or previously owned by people for whom he can be expected to have had respect.

Arni's rearrangement activity was also unrelated to the acquisition process itself. Independently of how he received it, a manuscript became a potential subject of physical change as soon as it was in his library. The corpus contains numerous examples of bought and given books, all of which Arni altered in various ways. He even treated borrowed manuscripts the same way as books he owned. Arni rearranged the different parts of Ms40, for instance, although he had only borrowed it. He simply reminded himself that it "ä bö ad standa skil bar ä sidann" ("has yet to be returned later") (AM 226 a 8vo, 88r),<sup>64</sup> and made a table of contents of the former book in order to be able to reassemble it (Stefán Karlsson 1970a, 85-87). Similarly, he borrowed Ms102, but nevertheless aggregated the leaves with two other CUs. As Arni noted on the front flyleaf of what is now AM 440 a 12mo, he had to return that manuscript to its owner.<sup>65</sup> He thus changed the manuscripts in his collection without regard to how he obtained them and equally altered artefacts that were formally not his property.

Certainly, Arni may have chosen not to alter some manuscripts if their established properties were of use to him. Respect for a prior owner or that he had to return an artefact, however, were not automatically enough to establish such a value. As a consequence, it is unlikely that Árni left AM 160 fol. unchanged because he respected the general – and governor (*stiftamtmand*) for Iceland – Ulrik Christian Gyldenløve (1678-1719) as Már Jónsson has suggested. Instead, the following brief excursus puts forth alternative reasons.

The manuscript AM 160 fol. is a large paper codex bound in a luxurious red velour binding.<sup>66</sup> Its former owner was Gyldenløve, as is indi-

starting on page 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>For the rearrangement of Ms28 see also section 2.1.2 starting on page 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>See page 248 for the beginning of the quotation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>See figure 4.23 on page 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>AM 160 fol., which contains several sagas, is not part of this project's corpus. A detailed description is

cated in two of Årni's notes. That it was a gift to Årni, however, is not confirmed by the notes. Instead, an AM-slip in AM 164 a fol. refers to the precious manuscript as "bok sem hans hój Excellence Güldenlewe ä in folio" ("[the] book in folio that his high excellency Gyldenløve owns"), and a long note in front of AM 160 fol. starts with "Pappirs bok i folio hia hans hój Excellence Herre Ulrik Christian Güldenlewe innehelldur [...]" ("The paper codex in folio that is with his high excellence gentleman Ulrik Christian Gyldenløve contains [...]") (AM 160 fol., recto-side of added leaf a). These comments suggest that Gyldenløve was still the owner of the manuscript when Árni wrote them.

The long note in AM 160 fol. appears to have been written before the codex was in Árni's collection. The quotation given above continues with a detailed table of contents which extends over the first three leaves of a small binion. The character of that note is thus more reminiscent of other separate notes than of AM-slips.<sup>67</sup> The format of the leaves and the content structure, for instance, are the same in the separate note on Ms40 which is now found in the collection of notes AM 226 a 8vo (fols. 88r-89r). Arni also gives information about the individual items' textual versions and reveals that he had many of the texts either transcribed or collated with copies from his own collection. Therefore, the manuscript was most likely not in Arni's collection when he worked with the texts, so that he had to have copies or at least transcriptions of variants from the sagas. Gyldenløve lived in Copenhagen and was Årni's next to next-door neighbour for some years (Már Jónsson 1998a, 289), making it possible that Arni sent one or more of his assistants to Gyldenløve's house in order to inspect the prestigious manuscript and copy or collate the texts for him.

At some point, possibly after Gyldenløve's death, the manuscript came into the Arnamagnæan Collection and the previously separate leaves with Árni's note were inserted into it. The exact date when the codex joined his collection is unknown, but it could have been so shortly before Árni's own death that he could not rearrange it. More likely, though, Árni may have actively chosen not to change the codex, since it was in a precious binding and thus had potential for being a show-piece or a valuable gift.<sup>68</sup> In addition, since he already possessed copies and variant notes, he had no practical incentive any more to change the manuscript when it was finally at his disposal. Accordingly, the case of AM 160 fol. does not contradict my general findings that neither the acquisition process nor respect for

available on Handrit.is (2009-).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>For my distinction between AM-slips and more extensive notes see section 4.3 on page 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>For the usage of manuscript as prestigious gifts see section 5.3.1 on page 241.

previous owners impacted the rearrangement of a manuscript.

In sum, the examination of the four selected potential factors of manuscript alteration reveals that Árni's practical needs for working with the source texts were most important for his rearrangement. This usually depended on the specific contents of the manuscripts, and considerations of the object's format, material history and respect for previous or current owners were overruled by Árni's personal preferences. If he saw an advantage in leaving a manuscript unchanged, however, and in particular if he had access to the texts in another form, Árni may have spared some objects his usual custodial treatment.

## 5.3 Additional factors of alteration

This section discusses selected additional aspects of Árni Magnússon's rationale that came to light in the course of the study and tests the findings against material that does not fall under the selected scope. More precisely, the impact of visual characteristics, scribal hands and the writing support itself are examined.<sup>69</sup> These analyses help refine the understanding of Árni's rearrangement rationale and may explain some of the supposed paradoxes.

### 5.3.1 Occasional consideration of visual characteristics

The two first case studies suggest that Árni was receptive to the visual appearance of manuscripts. With NUMBER 536 IN 4to he seems to have treated a manuscript part in a special way because of its pleasing layout and decoration.<sup>70</sup> So too for the modification of NUMBER 156 IN fol. the visual appeal of the new artefact was a factor, since superfluous text parts were carefully pasted over with spare leaves from the same former codex to cover obsolete lines of text in the least noticeable manner possible.<sup>71</sup> Árni was consequently aware of the manuscripts' appearance and acted at least in some cases based on aesthetic considerations.

In spite of some examples showing that Árni was concerned with the looks of his products, the majority of manuscripts do not illustrate such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>The visual appearance of manuscripts as well as the possible impact of scribes are factors which I became aware of during the course of the study. Therefore, these factors have not been considered when the corpus was established. The third discussed factor questions the results' dependency on paper as the writing material and thereby discusses the applicability of the results for other parts of the collection. Similarly, cases of unchanged manuscripts are considered to test the hypotheses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>For AM 536 4to see also section 2.2 and especially the subsection starting on page 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>For the treatment of AM 156 fol. see section 2.1.3 on page 67.

careful treatment. Rather, in most manipulated manuscripts overlapping text parts are not pasted over, but merely crossed out. This practice repeatedly left dark and rather prominent agglomerations of ink, which frequently bled through the paper.<sup>72</sup> Árni also often aggregated CUs of different sizes – not only when he combined parts of various formats, but equally when he placed together leaves of the same format with somewhat diverging dimensions. Therefore, the t1-manuscripts were rather heterogeneous in appearance, and supposedly were just as little visually pleasing to Árni as they are to modern eyes. Accordingly, Árni appears to have only taken aesthetic judgements into account for some manuscripts, but did not apply these criteria consistently to all altered objects.

What made Årni care for the material appearance of certain manuscripts can only be guessed at. He evidently was aware of the value that handwritten books could have as well-crafted artefacts in addition to the cultural and historical significance of their contents. In the learned circles of society with which he associated, it was still common practice to use manuscripts as prestigious gifts. Árni himself had presented manuscripts to the Danish councillor of state Reinholt Meier (1634-1701) when he was searching for a powerful supporter after Bartholin's death. Together with Torfæus, who had supplied the idea, he gave a total of nine manuscripts to Meier, hoping that the presents would make him more inclined to help Árni achieve a paid position (Springborg 1996, 12). He was thus familiar with this ritual function of manuscripts as objects of social investment.

In the context of gift giving, the visual appearance of manuscripts was at least as important as the texts they contained. Árni and Torfæus, for instance, had the manuscripts for Meier newly bound in expensive bindings before they were presented to him (Springborg 1996, 12-13).<sup>73</sup> Consequently, the outer appearance of the artefacts played an important role for this purpose. Particularly if the intended recipient was not a scholar himself, the visual characteristics of the objects may have been of primary significance.

The external appearance of manuscripts could potentially also be important for other representative activities, such as if a visitor wanted to see Árni's collection. For occasions like that, it was probably beneficial for Árni to have at least some visually appealing manuscripts with which he could particularly impress non-scholars. In total, it is likely that Árni only paid attention to the artistic and material appeal of a few manuscripts,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>See e.g. figure 4.7 on page 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>Árni's detailed description of the manuscripts he later bought back and how he treated them are preserved in AM 435 a 4to, 158r-166r; see also Kålund (1909, 50-54).

which he could take advantage of when appropriate, and otherwise saved himself the additional expenditure.<sup>74</sup>

### 5.3.2 Sporadic aggregation based on scribal hands

Årni paid close attention to the identity of scribes. In the AM-slips this kind of information is primarily linked to the identification of copies and their textual versions. A note Árni made elsewhere about a former parchment manuscript, however, suggests that in at least one case different scribal hands motivated him to dismember a manuscript.

In AM 435 a 4to (fol. 40v), Árni recorded a former manuscript that contained *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* (now AM 310 4to) and *Ólafs saga helga* (now AM 68 fol.). On an originally blank facing page in this catalogue he later added: "þesse bok er nu skild ad, og sin Sagan i hveriu Volumine, med þvi þær og voru med mióg ölikum hóndum." ("This book is now separated and each saga in its own volume, because they were also [written] with very different hands.") (AM 435 a 4to, 42r). The context of this note does not indicate which other reasons he may have had to dismember the two sagas. Annette Lassen (2015, 53) suggests that the dismemberment could additionally have been motivated by the dissimilar origins of the two parts. However, while Árni's note may have implicitly pointed at the origins as well, it only explicitly mentions the different hands as a decisive factor.

Årni mentioned scribal hands as an ordering criterion once more, but this time in connection with manuscripts in Torfæus's library. In an addition to his catalogue of Torfæus's manuscripts, Árni described former codices which he thought were lost.<sup>75</sup> He named a copy of *Hungurvaka*, presumably written on paper, for which he tried to reconstruct the identity of the scribe (AM 435 b 4to, 28r). For that purpose, Árni recounted that it was not found among the manuscripts in Ásgeir Jónsson's hand. Accordingly, copies by this scribe were registered and presumably also kept together in Torfæus's library. In a final remark on the missing manuscripts, however, Árni makes clear that his principles for collecting manuscripts and how they should be treated deviated considerably from Torfæus's (AM 435 b 4to, 28v). The comment on a scribal order in Torfæus's collection consequently does not confirm that Árni systematically ordered or rearranged manuscripts based on scribes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>That AM 160 fol. remained unchanged – if it joined the collection during Árni's lifetime – can also be understood as partially motivated by its potential to serve as such a well-crafted and prestigious artefact.

 $<sup>^{75}</sup>$ Kålund (1909, 84) identifies one of the manuscripts as AM 298 4to CU1.

It is conceivable that Árni's rearrangements at times took the scribes of manuscripts into account if that feature was useful to him in other regards. As a palaeographically trained reader, he could infer something of a copy's origin from the scribal hand. In some cases, the identity of the scribe could even hint at the textual version of a copy. From the slips in AM 410 4to (AM-slip 1) and AM 630 4to (AM-slip a), for instance, it is apparent that Árni traced the transmission history of texts based on scribes, among others, through the identification of exemplars and their direct copies.<sup>76</sup>

Additionally, Arni investigated the transcription habits of certain scribes and critically assessed their quality. He was, for instance, not very fond of the manuscripts written by Jón Erlendsson and destroyed some copies in his hand (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2001, 95). For the purpose of investigating a scribe's habits, it may have been beneficial to keep different copies together and thus arrange manuscripts based on scribes. Such an approach, however, is still ultimately based on practical considerations regarding Árni's work and studies and only superficially on the identity of scribes.

Overall, it is unlikely that Arni used the scribes' identity as an independent criterion for manuscript rearrangement. Yet, if that feature was of interest for his work with the texts, it may have played a role. In such cases, the underlying logic was of a practical nature and thus similar to other work-related alterations. Rearrangements that facilitated work based on scribes, however, did not necessarily have a thematic focus like most of his aggregations.

### 5.3.3 No structural impact of support material

Although this study is confined to paper manuscripts and comparison is difficult, the potential impact of the writing support itself needs to be considered. This section first examines which general connotation the material had to Árni. Afterwards, I briefly analyse a few examples of altered parchment manuscripts, in order to assess if Árni treated them in a structurally different manner and if that could be due to the nature of the writing support.

The vast majority of paper manuscripts are by default younger than parchment manuscripts. In the early days of manuscript production in northern Europe, all writing was conducted on parchment. The first evi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>AM-slip 1 of AM 410 4to is quoted in section 4.2 on page 152.

dence of paper being used in Iceland are from the fifteenth century, while occasional usage in the other Nordic countries goes back to the middle of the fourteenth century (Arna Björk Stefánsdóttir 2013, 227-232). It was only in the course of the sixteenth century, however, that paper became the predominant writing support in Scandinavia (Lindberg 1998, 18).

Árni was obviously aware of this age difference of the materials. Firstly, he regularly mentions the nature of the support when referring to manuscripts in his notes, for example distinguishing between a manuscript "in chartâ" ("on paper") (AM 408 f 4to CU7, 25r) and a "Codex pergamenus" ("parchment codex") (AM 113 b fol., AM-slip b). Secondly, most learned Icelanders of his time considered parchment manuscripts to be generally more valuable sources, knowing that they were in most cases older (Már Jónsson 2012a, 68-69). This view goes back to the groundbreaking publication by Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellanea* (published 1488), in which he, among other things, formulated two principles that became important for textual criticism: *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*, the worthlessness of direct copies of extant manuscripts, and recentiores non deteriores, the possible usefulness of younger manuscripts (Grafton 1991, 57-62). A copy of Poliziano's collected works was found in the library of Árni's early employer Thomas Bartholin, meaning that Árni had access to it and presumably knew it well (Már Jónsson 2012a, 71). Thirdly, Arni expressed a preference for parchment manuscripts, for instance when writing to Bishop Björn Þorleifsson:

[...] hefe eg og mínum brodur til forna sagt hve Superstitiosè eg pergaments bækur þráe, iafnvel þott þad ei væri nema eitt half blad, eda ríngasta rífrillde, þegar þad ickun være a pergament, og iafnvel þo eg 100 exemplaria af þvi sama hefde [...].

([...] I have also previously told my brother how extreme my desire is for parchment books, even if it is only half a leaf or the tiniest fragment, as long as it is on parchment and even though I already have a hundred copies of the same text [...].) (Kålund 1920, 553, based on AM 451 fol.; translation from Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2016, 5).)

Arni declared on other occasions that he was primarily interested in obtaining old manuscripts and charters from Iceland, using sometimes the year 1560 and other times 1580 as cut-off point (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2016, 6 & 18).

All manuscripts investigated in this study are younger than Arni's

stated preference dates and are written on paper. He presumably knew well that they were not the most valuable objects in his collection for an outsider. They were nonetheless of importance to him, since he collected them and their numbers exceeded those of parchment manuscripts by a considerable amount. Such paper manuscripts could, despite their writing support, give him access to the same contents as older manuscripts, as long as they were decent transcriptions. And that Árni intended to own good-quality paper copies is evident from his extensive comparison work, among others assessing the transcription quality.<sup>77</sup> Thanks to the value of the contents – Árni's main interest – paper manuscripts were not automatically less valuable to him. Accordingly, even if the perceived general value of parchment manuscripts was higher because it included the implied worth of the writing support, paper copies could in principle be as relevant to Árni as parchment copies.

If manuscripts of both support types were important for Árni's work, he could have changed parchment manuscripts for the same reasons as artefacts on paper. Earlier scholarship has claimed that Árni's rearrangement activity was mainly restricted to paper manuscripts (e.g. Már Jónsson 1998a, 297-298; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2015, 24). However, previous research on this topic has mostly focussed on dismemberment and does not usually count the aggregations Árni conducted on parchment manuscripts. Apart from his famous efforts towards obtaining and reassembling fragments of medieval manuscripts, Árni also aggregated whole texts. The parchment manuscript AM 309 4to is an example of such an aggregation. Árni wrote in his notes that he received at least three of the saga copies it contains from a different place than another part containing five texts.<sup>78</sup> Accordingly, when considering all aspects of physical rearrangement the parchment manuscripts of the collection are not as undisturbed as often claimed.

While it is true that most rearranged manuscripts known today are written on paper, it is doubtful if the material as such or the origin of the leaves impacted which manuscripts were changed and how.<sup>79</sup> Már Jóns-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>For Árni's collation work see section 5.1.1 on page 214.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>From the technical point of view, this kind of physical alteration qualifies as aggregation, since Árni combined previously separate CUs. It should be noted, however, that he re-established the original form of the manuscript. This is known, since Árni commented on one of the CUs: "Er manifeste ur sama Codice" ("Is clearly from the same codex") (AM 435 a 4to, 58v). Although this reveals a very specific intention, I consider this kind of re-establishment or reconstruction as a subcategory of aggregation, which could be called "re-integration".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>Currently, numbers of rearranged parchment manuscripts can only be estimated. In the same way as the present study uncovered numerous previously unknown rearranged paper manuscripts, it is to be expected that numbers will grow once a systematic study is conducted. The collection additionally contains many more

son (1998a, 297-298) mentions some altered parchment manuscripts, but claims that Árni dismembered these because they contained parts from different origins. The case of AM 68 fol. and AM 310 4to seem to support Már's suggestion, since Árni dismembered them due to different scribal hands.<sup>80</sup> Seen together with his note on AM 309 4to, it is tempting to assume that he consistently changed parchment manuscripts based on their origin and that he may have used scribal hands as an indication.<sup>81</sup> Such conclusions, however, are challenged by the physical history of other former parchment codices.

Arni received a parchment manuscript through the pastor Páll Jónsson (1649-1721) from Melur, which he rearranged in a comparable manner to paper manuscripts. The original manuscript contained a defective copy of Konungs skuggsjá (or: Speculum Regale), now AM 243 k fol., followed by a theological manual, the present AM 262 4to (Widding 1960, 346-347). Both parts are in the same hand and were presumably produced together. Arni removed the manuscript from its wooden binding and separated the parts in order to treat them individually (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 222). The latter section formed its own manuscript in t1, NUMBER 626 IN 4to (AM 456 fol., 25r; AM 435 a 4to, 28v). Arni gave this part a proper binding, namely a half binding with old parchment on the boards and an additional jacket made from reused leaves (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 41).<sup>82</sup> The first section of the former codex, on the contrary, was rearranged with multiple other copies of Konungs skuggsjá in NUMBER 243 IN fol. Jón Olafsson registered the aggregation as containing a total of nineteen copies, of which at least seventeen were "til samans bunded i eina Massam" ("bound together in one agglomeration") (AM 456 fol., 7r). Hence, Árni rearranged this parchment manuscript despite it being of homogeneous origin. Moreover, the different ways in which he treated the two parts are reminiscent of his rearrangement of paper manuscripts.

There is more evidence that Árni treated parchment manuscripts based on standards comparable to artefacts on paper. In his catalogue of parch-

paper manuscripts than parchment artefacts. Therefore, instead of total numbers, ratios would have to be compared.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup>On AM 68 fol. and AM 310 4to see also section 5.3.2 on page 242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>Már Jónsson (1998a, 297) mentions another example of what he interprets as a dismemberment of a parchment codex due to different origins. Árni, however, only describes the two parts (now AM 344 a 4to and AM 519 a 4to) as being written in different hands, without naming that feature as the reason for alteration (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 579 & 673). Instead, the description of scribes may simply have served identification purposes. Additionally, in t1 AM 344 a 4to was registered as part of NUMBER 344 IN 4to (AM 456 fol., 18r), meaning that is was not just dismembered but rather rearranged by Árni.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup>The parchment leaves were removed and are now kept in AM Access. 7. They have been identified as stemming from Hs 2, 109 and 113 (Andersen 2008, 10, 98 & 105-106).

ment manuscripts, for instance, he declared that he separated the parts of Páll Jónsson's parchment manuscript "med þvi efned var svo olikt hvert ódru" ("since the topics were so different from each other") (AM 435 a 4to, 28v). The same note confirms that the scribe of the two parts was identical. Thus, Árni's rearrangement of the manuscript was not motivated by theories about differing origins, but by the contents. NUMBER 243 IN fol., which received the first part, was additionally a collection of mostly fragmentary copies of the same work.<sup>83</sup> In all likelihood, it was a thematic aggregation supposed to facilitate work on the contents. Similarly to how Árni kept pure paper manuscripts of that kind, the new aggregation formed a preliminarily bound bundle.<sup>84</sup>

Arni's rearrangement also created aggregations of mixed support, indicating that he treated them in the same way. In t1, several manuscripts were comprised of both parchment and paper CUs, such as NUMBERS 1 and 243 IN fol. While in the former, two out of twelve copies were written on parchment, the latter contained eleven parts on parchment and eight on paper (AM 456 fol., 2r & 7r). Árni accordingly did not distinguish between the kinds of writing support when he assembled new manuscripts.

Which manuscripts were left unchanged may in fact have depended more on the contents and Arni's needs than on the writing material. To keep a large manuscript intact (or re-establish its original form) could for example have been advantageous for the comparison of texts if it functioned as a reference point. Although it was not strictly necessary to store the parts of an authoritative copy together, it was more efficient to do so when a certain manuscript was repeatedly used for comparison. If available, Árni presumably preferred older manuscripts for such authoritative copies. Therefore, the percentage of unchanged manuscripts may be higher among artefacts on parchment.<sup>85</sup> Paper manuscripts, however, could equally carry such authoritative texts. The very influential and well-known manuscript Flateyjarbók (GKS 1005 fol.), for instance, was not in Arni's collection, but he had paper copies. One of them, NUM-BER 69 IN fol., was a thick codex with 433 leaves containing nine sagas from Flateyjarbók. These texts were not rearranged, presumably because he frequently used them to compare other copies of the sagas against the Flateyjarbók-version (e.g. Jón Helgason 1980).<sup>86</sup> Accordingly, similar

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup>For the details of the aggregation see also page 247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup>See the quotation above from AM 456 fol., 7r. See also section 5.2.2, especially from page 229 onward.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup>A more systematic study would be needed in order to truly assess if this was the case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup>The two volumes AM 56-57 fol. also contained transcriptions of texts from *Flateyjarbók*, namely Ólafs

principles for manuscript treatment seem to have applied to both parchment and paper manuscripts in Árni's collection.

Taken together, the ratio of rearranged parchment manuscripts may be lower than that of paper manuscripts, but the general principles of Árni's rearrangement activity appear to have been independent of the manuscripts' writing support. In any event, a systematic study of Árni's rearrangement of parchment manuscripts is needed.

# 5.4 Working collection under continuous change

Arni Magnússon's basic rationale behind manuscript rearrangement was grounded on practical considerations for his work with the material. He thus had a personalised approach to the artefacts in his collection. He expected a manuscript's physical shape to serve his needs and more or less freely changed arrangements if that was beneficial for his purposes. While the implementation of changes could differ depending on Árni's plans for individual manuscripts, thematic aggregations appear to have been useful to him in most cases.

It is in that general sense of practical and usually work-related considerations, I propose, one needs to understand the often-cited note by Árni about his rearrangement of Ms40, a manuscript he borrowed from Jón Torfason (1657-1716):<sup>87</sup>

[...] bok i 4to med smärre gode hendi, er Sera Jon Torfason ä Breidabolstad liedi mier og eg spretti i sundur og lagdi i ymsa stade ad faciliorem usûm [...].

([...] a book in quarto-format in a small, good hand which pastor Jón Torfason of Breiðabólstaður lent me and I dis-bound and put in various places for easier usage [...].) (AM 226 a 8vo, 88r)

Indeed, Arni rearranged the various parts of Ms40 with other CUs that contained all kinds of texts he presumably intended to work on together (Figure 5.5 on page 250). One of the parts, AM 779 c IV 4to CU5 (*Granlands Chronica*), was in t1 in an aggregation of mostly multiple copies of the same work, NUMBER 779 IN 4to. The two units AM 555 c 4to and AM 555

*saga Tryggvasonar* with its included *þættir* (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 39). The fact that these 717 leaves were stored in two volumes is presumably yet another feature based on practical considerations, since large folio-volumes with too many leaves simply become unwieldy and challenging to handle.

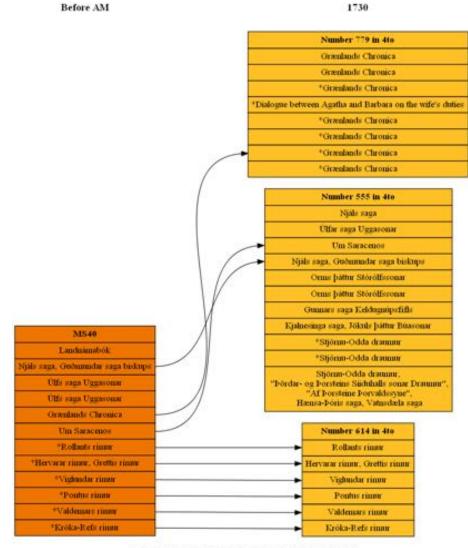
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup>Of the parts that used to form Ms40, only AM 779 c IV 4to CU5 (*Granlands Chronica*) is part of the present corpus. Stefán Karlsson (1970a, 83-86) provides a detailed description of this former manuscript.

b 4to, containing Njáls saga, excerpts from Guðmundar saga biskups and a text entitled "Um Saracenos", on the contrary, were placed in the same large manuscript, NUMBER 555 IN 4to, which also included copies of Orms páttur Stórólfssonar, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls, Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls páttur Búasonar and Stjörnu-Odda draumur (AM 456 fol., 21v-22r). The last seven items of Ms40 were divided into six CUs, but kept together, so that they in t1 formed a provenance-wise homogeneous collection of rímur, NUMBER 614 IN 4to (AM 456 fol., 24v).

Since Arni approached his manuscript material from various angles, it was natural for him to produce a multitude of compilation patterns that could facilitate his work. Even though most of his research interests can be interpreted as preparations for editorial work in the widest sense, his specific intentions for the source material varied. If, for example, he planned to compare different copies of a work he tended to keep them together. On the other hand, if he was interested in a specific topic such as a certain historical event he would place relevant copies of various texts together. An example of the former case is illustrated by NUMBER 113 IN fol. with its numerous copies of *Íslendingabók*, a work which Árni wanted to publish in a scholarly edition (Már Jónsson 1998a, 76-79). An example of the latter is NUMBER 410 IN 4to, which contained texts on early history. As Arni's scholarly work progressed or he acquired new manuscripts, the aggregations could be adjusted or completely changed. The fluidity of the artefacts' material shape was grounded in their practical use (or the plans for such). Additionally, this created a highly functional and powerful collection.

Optimal working conditions and practical considerations were indeed recurring principles of Árni's continuous rearrangement activity. Where the various rearrangements facilitated his scholarly work with the source material, the two-phase working procedure optimised the physical aspects of re-alteration, and the provenance information he provided on many AM-slips supported repeated scholarly activity by leaving central pieces of information directly with the relevant CUs. Additionally, Árni's flexible library system was accommodating to continuous compositional changes of manuscripts.

While Árni optimised manuscripts according to his personal interests and needs, he also had other researchers and later scholars in mind, whom he expected to continue to improve the collection as well as to use it for scholarly work. In his and his wife's will, Árni clearly indicated that he wished for continued scholarly work on and with the collection. He



\* marks hypothetical position; \*\* marks alphabetical order (not establishable)

Figure 5.5: Árni's rearrangement of Ms40. Please note: This former manuscript and its surviving parts are, except for AM 779 c IV 4to CU5, not part of the current corpus and have not been analysed in detail.

ordered that his books and manuscripts should become part of the University Library in Copenhagen and a foundation be established from his properties. This was supposed to secure continuous work on the manuscripts and their contents "til Fædrenelandets og Publici Nytte" ("for the benefit of the homeland and the public") (Finnur Jónsson 1930, I.2: 118). To that end one or two Icelanders were to be employed at all times (Finnur Jónsson 1930, I.2: 115-119). When the Arnamagnæan Foundation was finally established in 1760, its founding statutes (*Fundats for det Arnamagnæanske Legat*) formalised Árni's intentions for the collection and made explicit his long-term vision for the material (Vésteinn Ólason 2014, 9-11). The first paragraph states that Árni's former possessions form the basis of the foundation, which

skal i ævig Tiid være bestemmet og henlagt til at oplyse, forbedre og til Trykken at befordre lade alt, hvad der angaaer de Nordiske, nemlig Danmarkes, Norges og underliggende Landes Historier, Sprog og Antiquitæter, hvorunder de ældre Tiider i Norden, deres Geographie, Love, Skikke og Sædvaner, Levemaade, Konster og Viidenskaber, Mynte-Væsen, Monumenter, og alt andet deslige skal forstaaes.

(shall for all time have the purpose of and be used for informing, improving and preparing for print everything that concerns the Nordic, that being Denmark's, Norway's and subordinate countries' histories, language and antiquities, under which should be understood the older periods in the north, the countries' geography, laws, customs and traditions, ways of living, arts and science, numismatics, monuments, and the like.) (Finnur Jónsson 1930, I.2: 144)

Árni thus wished for continuous work on the source material he collected which would lead to printed publications.<sup>88</sup> Since the adjustment of artefacts according to his projects and various interests was natural to Árni, he presumably expected the holders of his foundation's scholarships to rearrange material based on their needs.<sup>89</sup> The provisions of the foundation also explicitly allowed for the holdings to be augmented, among others,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup>For the preparation of printed works, and especially editions, see e.g. Finnur Jónsson (1930, I.2, 126-127). Herbert Wäckerlin (2004, 222) furthermore concludes that Árni provided his manuscripts with extensive notes in order to enable other scholars to do research on the collection. While Árni clearly wished for continued work on his collection, the notes presumably also supported his own scholarly work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup>That Árni hardly published anything does not mean he did not have any plans for editions or was not working on numerous projects and had additional ones in mind.

through book and manuscript donations (Finnur Jónsson 1930, 126-127). Accordingly, Árni's collection should keep its character of a growing and perpetually improving resource.

In conclusion, ongoing change was a central part of Arni's design for a collection that was not only supposed to preserve the unique material from his native Iceland and the history of the north, but primarily had to be of practical use to those working with it. As such, the material was supposed to enhance scholarly publications and thereby lead to the advancement of the field. In a way, the Arnamagnæan Collection is still evolving and constantly adjusted. While rearrangements are not commonly practised any more, individual manuscripts are still rehoused or occasionally split up. In connection with the transfer of part of the Arnamagnæan Collection to Iceland some manuscripts were divided, so that a part remained in Copenhagen, while the other was sent to Reykjavík. The parchment manuscript AM 241 a fol., for instance, was split up in 1995-1996, providing for the new AM 241 a I fol., the so-called Psalterium to stay in Copenhagen, while AM 241 a II fol., containing the Antiphonarium, was transferred. The former was additionally supplied with ten leaves that had previously been stored in AM Access. 7d and all six leaves of what used to be AM 249 p fol. (Andersen 1979, 94). In addition, a few manuscripts have been rebound into smaller volumes, among others, in order to ensure secure handling of the artefacts.<sup>90</sup>

Taken together, this chapter has put forth the interpretation that Árni's rearrangements were primarily based on practical considerations for his work with the manuscript material. Árni's rationale as a whole can be characterised by a rather stable underlying logic. Nevertheless, it led to a multitude of alteration patterns for the individual manuscripts. The basic approach was centred on himself – or in principle any other user or momentary holder – whose needs and interests the manuscripts were to serve. Optimal working conditions were achieved when Árni was able to freely arrange and rearrange manuscripts and their parts according to changing preferences. However, he was careful to note provenance details for many artefacts, so that information would not disappear with the changing physical context. To accommodate his working collection, he created a flexible library that preserved the artefacts and made them accessible, but allowed for continued physical change. Such a personalised and user-centred approach to the manuscripts and their physical shape

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup>AM 109 a 8vo, for example, was rebound in 1964 by Birgitte Dall. On the same occasion, the manuscript that had previously been kept in one binding was split up into three volumes (information retrieved from the workshop diary at the Arnamagnæan Institue in Copenhagen).

also embraced inconsistencies in terms of treating individual artefacts based on divergent criteria. Their existence, however, does not throw into question Árni's main goal of having a library that supported content-related work.

### Chapter 6

# Historical context of book rearrangement

Årni Magnússon's rearrangement of manuscripts may appear peculiar to modern readers and scholars. The extent of this activity and the design of his collection which incorporated and favoured such alterations, however, suggest that Árni administered physical changes of manuscript books systematically and with great ease. To him, it seems to have been a natural activity to adjust manuscripts based on personal interests. In order to better understand Árni's approach to manuscript rearrangement, this chapter discusses the attitude to handwritten codices at the time and places it within the larger historical development of the notion of books.

### 6.1 Rearrangements by contemporary Icelanders

Manuscript alteration also seems to have been practised by other Icelandic collectors with whom Árni Magnússon was in contact. Although the present study focusses on Árni's activity, several artefacts feature indications of changes administered by previous owners. A total of 153 artefacts in the manuscript overview are marked as having been changed more than once, and many of them were already altered before Árni obtained them.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, fourteen manuscripts could be established with a distinct form for t3, since traceable changes occurred prior to t2.<sup>2</sup>

Prior changes among the corpus manuscripts are mostly aggregations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For the ratio of multiple and single changes see figure 3.1 on page 129. For more details on earlier changes see also section 3.1 on page 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>See the list of former manuscripts from t3 in section D.2 in the appendix.

and rearrangements. At least six of the 73 t2-manuscripts had undergone relevant earlier changes, meaning that their composition was significantly different in t3.<sup>3</sup> Whereas half of these manuscripts had clearly been rearranged, the others appear to have been aggregated. Ms28, for instance, had been rearranged before Árni received the codex, and Ms33 was an aggregation of at least four parts, even though it cannot be fully assessed if any of the parts had additionally been dismembered. While it is furthermore possible that simple dismemberments occurred prior to t2, these kinds of changes are more difficult to identify and attribute to earlier owners.

In the case of Ms67, the former owner conducted a rearrangement in order to supply Árni with part of the manuscript. The pastor Þórður Jónsson (1672-1720), son of the bishop of Hólar Jón Vigfússon (1643-1690), owned a large manuscript containing *Íslendingabók* followed by some *Íslendingasögur* and various sagas concerning Norwegian kings (=Ms67a). At some point, he removed the first text and gave that copy to Árni (AM 113 b fol.). Sometime later, Árni also obtained the rest of the original codex, but by then, Þórður Jónsson had added a replacement copy of *Íslendingabók* to the front of the manuscript (=Ms67), as the AM-slip of AM 113 c 4to recounts:

Þetta Exemplar Ara fröda er tekid framar ur bök Þorbiargar Vigfussdottur, er eg feck af Sera Þorde Jonssyne, og er þad progenies Codicis B. Þad hefur Sera Þordur sett framan vid bokina i staden þess göda Exemplaris, sem hann fyrrum ur bokinni hafde ut tekid og mier gefit [...]

This copy of Ari fróði's [Íslendingabók] is taken from the front of Þorbjörg Vigfúsdóttir's book, which I received from pastor Þórður Jónsson, and it is a descendant of Codex B. Pastor Þórður has put it in front of the book instead of the good copy which he had previously removed from the book and given to me [...]

Þórður Jónsson had apparently decided that Arni should have the original copy of *Íslendingabók* from his manuscript, while he himself was content with another copy of that text, and he adjusted his manuscript based on that.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The manuscripts in questions are Ms28, Ms32, Ms33, Ms39, Ms67 and Ms79. Alterations are only counted here if at least one part can be recreated for t3 that consisted of more than a potentially loose copy of a single text.

Arni's close friend Torfæus presumably administered physical changes to manuscripts as well. He owned Ms54 (="Num. X (4to)") before it came to Arni. According to the catalogue of Torfæus's manuscripts, it consisted of three CUs (with one saga each) in t2, and Arni noted: "Allar þessar .3. komnar fra mier" ("all these three [sagas] came from me") (AM 435 b 4to, 15r). Unlike in other comments he made on Torfæus's manuscripts, this note does not seem to refer to Ms54 as one book (even though it was clearly listed as one manuscript). Arni thus appears to have thought of that aggregation more in terms of three individual sagas or parts, possibly because that is how he gave them to Torfæus. The codicological features of the three CUs in question, AM 351 4to, AM 403 4to and AM 521 a 4to, are also rather distinct. Each part is written on a different kind of paper, the layout varies and the quire structure is not consistent, suggesting that the three CUs were not produced together.<sup>4</sup> Even though they could have been aggregated by the time Arni provided Torfæus with the copies, the way he refers to Ms54 suggests that the CUs were first aggregated by Torfæus.<sup>5</sup>

Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Holm papp 11 8vo likewise bears traces of physical alteration undertaken by another Icelander. The manuscript contains an older table of contents, which mentions more sagas than are currently found in the codex. Therefore, it presumably used to form part of a larger manuscript (Love/Stegmann/Birkett 2016, 35). This alteration most likely took place in Iceland before Jónas Rugman (1636-1679) brought the manuscript with him to Sweden in 1658. Helle Jensen (1983, xcvi-xcviii & ccxlix) hypothesises that AM 119 b 8vo may have been part of that larger codex, as it contains some of the works listed in the table of contents.<sup>6</sup> Whether or not Jensen is right, this case indicates at least a manuscript dismemberment by other Icelanders, and possibly a rearrangement. Jensen (1983, xcviii) furthermore suggests a repeated rearrangement, as she suspects that AM 119 b 8vo had also had a connection to Ms15 and therefore "vandret fra et sammenstykket håndskrift til et andet" ("travelled from one aggregated manuscript to another").

Since other collectors also conducted physical changes, such manuscript alteration was presumably somewhat accepted at the time. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The dimensions of the leaves match. This, however, could be due to later trimming when the parts were aggregated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Árni later reversed this aggregation by separating the three parts again and treating them in different ways. For AM 521 a 4to see section 5.2.2 on page 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>As I have not had a chance to investigate the manuscripts in question, I could not disprove or verify this claim.

manuscripts considered in this study were all written during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, meaning that the artefacts were altered not too long after they had been produced. They were possibly even rearranged by their first owner or someone who knew the scribe or commissioner. That changes were administered despite such close relations further underlines the ease with which Árni and his contemporaries conducted changes. To them, such actions did not seem too strange or disrespectful. Rather, in their circles, manuscript rearrangement was a way of claiming ownership or making full use of the textual material.<sup>7</sup>

### 6.2 Gradually changing notion of books

Was the Icelanders' approach to manuscripts in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries special to the somewhat isolated island, where manuscript culture was strong for a long time? Or was this way of treating books equally practised by other European collectors? This section traces how the notion of books changed through time and locates Árni Magnússon's rearrangement activity in its historical context.

In the Middle Ages when manuscripts were the predominant medium for written texts in Europe, a personalised and user-oriented approach to books was the norm.<sup>8</sup> Book culture at that time was based on individuality and idiosyncrasy with no manuscript being exactly like any other, and the handwritten codices stayed conceptually open to subsequent rebinding, annotation and adjustment by their users.

Medieval manuscripts were customised books that frequently consisted of numerous pieces and were adapted to the needs and desires of individual owners (Rouse/Rouse 1991, 466). Very often, manuscripts were already customised during their production by means of copying and compiling texts from various origins.<sup>9</sup> For that purpose, existing manuscripts – but frequently also parts of them – were borrowed from other collectors. The partial lending of manuscripts was institutionalised with the *pecia* system that formed around medieval universities (Pollard 1978, 148-158), but even among private owners, individual quires of larger

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Emily Lethbridge (2014, 84-88) supplies an overview of vellum manuscripts containing *Íslendingasögur* which also accounts for parts of dismembered former codices. She does not provide any dates for when the changes in question were conducted, but many known alterations appear to have been undertaken in the seventeenth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>This kind of customisation of manuscripts is the topic of a book by Kathryn Rudy (forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>*Staðarhólsbók*, AM 334 fol., for instance, shows rich evidence of having been custom-made (Rohrbach 2014b, 123-125).

manuscripts were commonly exchanged.<sup>10</sup> The willingness to remove a part of a codex suggests that the book as such was not conceptualised as a fixed unit. Following the same logic, existing manuscripts (or their parts) could be aggregated with other material in order to customise codices.<sup>11</sup>

The medieval approach to books welcomed later adjustments by users. Glossing, for instance, was highly accepted and in many cases even expected. It was a common way of interacting with a text, relating thoughts, and making them more useful to one's own present and future needs (Sherman 2002, 121). Many manuscripts were expected to be glossed or otherwise added to as they were laid out with wide spaces in between the lines and large margins (Rouse/Rouse 1991, 465; Driscoll 2004, 21). At that time, reading was very much an active act and texts were thought to increase in value if they were adjusted and personalised.

Patricia Stirnemann (2011, 185-192) describes an example of a highly customised medieval library with manuscripts that were personalised and repeatedly changed. In her study of the library of Richard de Fournival (d. 1260), a French theologian, poet, doctor and chancellor of Amiens Cathedral, she demonstrates how the manuscripts in his collection were constructed from older books and quires, to which further additions and interpolations were made. The books in his library were labile and malleable objects that were constantly "in evolution, receptive to new texts and related thematic content" (Stirnemann 2011, 187). Similar to many artefacts in Árni's collection, Fournival's manuscripts often lacked a proper binding. Instead, they were kept in a wrapper or otherwise held together by means of straps or light sewing that allowed for easy adjustment (Stirnemann 2011, 187). Fournival's frequent rearrangement of manuscripts thus provides an example from the Middle Ages that is in several ways highly reminiscent of Árni's custodical changes.

This personalised and user-centred notion of books contrasts with the modern perception in which especially printed and readily bound books have the status of fixed objects which are normally not altered. To modern readers and book lovers it often seems invasive and disrespectful to physically change printed books or valuable old manuscripts – an action that was commonplace in earlier times. Elizabeth Eisenstein (1979, 3) and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The *pecia* system was a regulated process of copying manuscripts. A stationer made approved copies of authorised texts and hired them out in numbered pieces, the so-called *peciae* (Beal 2008, 290-291; Clemens/ Graham 2007, 23 and further references within). This partial lending system ironically strove for standardisation of texts (McKitterick 2003, 100).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>An example of a manuscript consisting of several originally separate parts is Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Codex Holmiensis A 49, which is described in detail by Maria Arvidsson (2016, esp. 4). Additional examples are provided e.g. by Hanna III (1996, 21-26).

other early book historians have interpreted the cultural impact of the invention of the printing press as a revolutionary event (see e.g. Appel 2001, 23-24; Horstbøll 1994, 65). Such an approach favours the impression that the book's changing notion could single-handedly be explained with this invention. Whereas handwritten manuscripts were per definition produced as single copies that were inevitably inaccurate and embodied individuality, the printing press for the first time enabled the production of uniform copies by the hundreds. Yet, the transition from the older notion of books to the modern concept was a more gradual development. It did not suddenly shift with the advent of print, and recent scholarship tends to paint a more nuanced picture of the changes (McKitterick 2003, 99-100; Davíð Ólafsson 2008, 25-26).<sup>12</sup>

Apart from earlier striving for more standardised texts, around the time of the invention of the printing press, several cultural developments took place that favoured a new notion of books. Italian humanists in Florence and Venice in the fifteenth century, for instance, sought more reliable copies of texts and developed a strong tradition for text edition and emendation (Richardson 1994, x-xi). In addition, religious orders such as the Modern Devotion, most notably in Germany and the Low Countries, emphasised the role of preaching and sermons. Through this and other similar movements, clearness and uniformity of written texts gained importance (Rouse/Rouse 1991, 463-464).<sup>13</sup> In both examples, the changes were motivated by an adaptation to particular needs. Although such demands worked against the older open notion of books, the new attitudes were, fundamentally, outgrowths of a culture of customisation.

Slowly, and with support from printed media, the "book becomes a monolithic unit, compared to its handwritten predecessor" (Rouse/Rouse 1991, 465). In the same way as the concept of the "new book" had coexisted with the individualistic volume in manuscript culture, however, the notion of books as customised objects was not immediately abandoned after the advent of print – and in fact never was fully abolished (McKitterick 2003, 99-100). Particularly in the early days of printing, books were frequently personalised and adjusted one by one, not least by means of hand-crafted decoration and individualised bindings (Knight 2013, 2). The authoritative character of printed books gained signifi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>For a detailed overview of research into book history and the theoretical shift acknowledging the continued influence of handwritten media see e.g. Horstbøll (1994, 65-68) as well as Davíð Ólafsson (2008, 24-31).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>As the demand for accurate copies multiplied in the communities connected to the Modern Devotion, Rouse/Rouse (1991, 464) do not consider it accidental that the printing press was developed in Germany around that time.

cant influence through the work of philologists and humanists, who used the new medium in order to establish authoritative, usually commented, editions of important works (Horstbøll 1999, 170).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the two notions of books still co-existed more or less on equal terms. In spite of the growing influence of printed media and its tendency towards uniformity, early modern collectors quite frequently took an individuality-based and owner-centred approach to their books (Graham 2006, 328-329). The Canterbury Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575), for instance, highly customised the books and manuscripts in his library. Understanding them primarily as his private possessions and malleable objects, "[a]lmost every manuscript that passed into his hands has undergone some transformation as a result of his ownership" (Graham 2006, 328). Parker did not treat printed books significantly differently from manuscripts, as he rearranged all of them freely, often according to goals related to his intellectual work (Knight 2013, 43-47).<sup>14</sup> The English collector Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) went to equally great lengths to rebind and rearrange medieval manuscripts in order to establish his own order of texts (Summit 2008, 146-147). There are even examples of printed books that were heavily altered from later centuries, for instance the second half of the seventeenth century (Sherman 2002, 127-130).<sup>15</sup> As in the Middle Ages, these readers engaged in the textual composition of their books, adding substantial marginalia or whole new works, and thus completely changed the character of their books.

In the context of this long co-existence of different notions, Årni's and his fellow Icelanders' treatment of manuscripts finds a natural place. Due to the unbroken chain of individuality-based approaches, Årni's attitude can be seen in continuation of the medieval notion of books. To rearrange manuscripts was thus not necessarily a strange or strikingly invasive activity in his time. Árni was well-educated and in contact with contemporary international book collectors as well as renowned scholars. That means his notion of books must have been reasonably up-to-date and it would be surprising had he followed a philosophy that was considered completely outdated or unacceptable by the rest of Europe.<sup>16</sup> Thus, he must have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Like Árni, Matthew Parker donated his collection to a university library, in his case University of Cambridge, and more precisely Corpus Christi College (Knight 2013, 25).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>From the late eighteenth century on, it became popular in England to extra-illustrate printed books or by means of interleaving additional sheets with portraits and other printed visual material; a process later often called "grangerising" after the English biographer James Granger (1723-1776). See e.g. (Jackson 2001, 185-188).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Árni's lively exchange with many scholars and collectors is testified, among others, by the collection of

also been familiar with the new notion of books and antiquarian value as well as philological advantages of unchanged manuscripts. The solution to that dilemma lies presumably in Árni's systematic use of AM-slips and other notes. Providing the various CUs that he produced with central provenance information made it theoretically possible to re-establish these books if later required if him.<sup>17</sup> More importantly, though, such notes ensured that the manuscript parts were not deprived of the potential intellectual value that could be generated from the physical context of a text.

While little research has been done on contemporary Danish collectors' treatment of their books after they obtained them,<sup>18</sup> parallels can be found elsewhere in Europe, for instance in Hamburg. The German scholar and teacher Johann Albert Fabricius owned a considerable collection of manuscripts towards which he appears to have had an approach similar to Árni's.<sup>19</sup> His library also primarily served scholarly purposes, as the books and manuscripts were central to Fabricius's work (Petersen 1998, 1: 8). Erik Petersen (1988, 255) further describes the collection as continuously changing, partially because Fabricius produced and acquired new material, but also due to distribution of material. While Petersen considers it likely that he also adjusted individual volumes, Fabricius's acted on a much smaller scale than Árni and his adjustments consisted more commonly of added notes and marginalia rather than rearrangement.<sup>20</sup>

In the late eighteenth century, books and manuscripts from a collection of the Augustinian convent in Soeterbeeck, Netherlands, were also physically altered according to changing needs. Arnoldus Beckers (d. 1810) was rector at Soeterbeeck from 1772 until his death and carried out a liturgical revision, which led him to make extensive modifications to the relevant items in the convent's library. Both texts and melodies of liturgical chants were changed by means of crossing out, pasting over and

his private letters (Kålund 1920). See also references to his international contact in Finnur Jónsson (1930, I.1: 103-129).

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$ The case of Ms40, which Árni had borrowed and wanted to be able to recreate exemplifies this function of AM-slips or, as in this case, an external note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Histories of Scandinavian book and manuscript collections from that time typically focus on the holdings of libraries, i.e. the acquisition numbers and processes, book auctions, as well as first catalogues, but do not trace the physical history and possible changes of these artefacts during their membership of these collections. See e.g. Nielsen (1946), Kleberg (1958), Birkelund (1958), Larsen (1970), Ilsøe (2007). For a similar assessment of existing research on the history of collections and books in Denmark see Bjerring-Hansen (2015, 43-44).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Fabricius was also in contact with the scholars and book collectors in Copenhagen, most of all Hans Gram (1685-1748). Árni acquired two manuscripts through Fabricius, AM 825 4to and AM 826 4to (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 222; Petersen 1998, 580-581), and his name is found in a letter by Thomas Bartholin the youngest (1690-1737) (Kålund 1920, 42).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Personal communication with Erik Petersen 7 & 14 September 2016.

adding to the margins of books and manuscripts, some of which were as old as from the sixteenth century (Oosterman 2011, 79-83). With these adjustments, Beckers customised the liturgical material of the collection for the particular needs of the nuns and adjusted the older books based on "new uses in a different time" (Oosterman 2011, 82).

The modern notion of books gained significant ground in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Remarkably enough, this movement was headed by both private and institutional collectors resolving the complex aggregations of composite volumes from the past, as they did not fit their newer approach to books:

In acquiring rare books, collectors would most often impose on them — by means of rebinding, cleaning, and filling in or even forging missing text — a modern idea of what a book ought to look like. (Knight 2013, 28)

In particular books and manuscripts from early modern collections therefore do not show many traces of older customisation, even though such an attitude was still fairly wide-spread among owners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Knight 2013, 27-28; see also Sherman 2002, 121-122).<sup>21</sup>

Moving towards modernity, the individuality-based notion of books can still be traced in parts. In his study of Icelandic manuscript culture in the nineteenth century, Davíð Ólafsson (2008, 79-81) does not specifically treat physical alterations, but makes a strong case for not drawing any sharp distinctions between book traditions based on the form of media involved. Instead, he argues that "oral, manuscript and print media were intertwined and interrelated in significant and complex ways" (Davíð Ólafsson 2008, 30). He also shows how this is not only true for Iceland but also in mainland Europe for several centuries after the advent of print. Since scribal tradition was highly active in Iceland throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Driscoll 1997, 1; Davíð Ólafsson 2008, 183-184), books were still frequently custom-made. Accordingly, a strong sense of individuality and user-orientation can be expected. Whether this willingness to adjust and customise books included physical rearrangements, however, remains to be investigated.

In the early twentieth century, the American collector and reseller Otto Frederick Ege (1888-1951) likewise showed an approach to manu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>This observation is equally applicable to the Arnamagnæan Collection, where later rebinding of manuscripts, such as from the years 1771-1780, has lead to the common misinterpretation that Árni "dismembered" his manuscripts.

scripts that was centred on his personal needs and benefits. The teacher and book trader became famous for dismembering medieval manuscripts and selling them off in small pieces, usually in portfolios of various specimens, which was a profitable business at the time (Gwara 2013, 1-4). Interestingly, though, he seems to have treated manuscripts according to two different standards. While he broke up for commercial purposes what he considered already defective manuscripts, he kept complete manuscripts intact and frequently made them part of his private collection (Gwara 2013, 29-32). Both ways of dealing with the manuscripts can be related back to Ege's personal interest and what he may have found to be the optimal form of usage for him. Nevertheless, the clear distinction indicates that he was familiar with the modern, monolithic notion of books and manuscripts, but chose to disable that notion if the unity of manuscripts had already been broken.

Finally, around the year 2000, the personalised notion of books can still be found in certain areas of reading. In many institutes of higher education, for instance, it has been common practice to use customised readers and compendia for courses, and students would write their notes into them (Sherman 2002, 136-137). For such personalised copies – often literally produced by means of photo-copying the individual texts – it would not seem invasive or strange to students or teachers if anyone physically altered them and possibly recombined parts with other material. For certain types of books, a user-focused approach is accordingly still active in modern times.<sup>22</sup> Even though the monolithic notion of books is currently predominant, adjusting written texts based on personal needs is not completely foreign to modern readers either. The latter is, however, reduced to certain kinds of books and often to what is perceived as less valuable copies or volumes without proper bindings.

Did Årni similarly operate his library based on two different notions of books? At the time when he conducted manuscript rearrangement, the approaches co-existed, and he was undoubtedly familiar with both. To the manuscripts in his collection he applied the personalised notion of books, but possibly justified it by his systematic use of AM-slips, which allowed the former shapes to be traced. How he treated his printed books and if he distinguished them from the manuscripts, on the other hand, has not yet been researched. Árni evidently had many of his printed books rebound at the same time as manuscripts (Springborg 1995, 42-45; 1996, 11), and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>As digitalisation gains ground, however, more and more classes do not rely on printed compendia any more, and many students use digital copies only.

based on Davíð Ólafsson's study, it would not be surprising had he treated the two forms of media in comparable ways. However, Árni physically divided his library between printed books and manuscripts, which he kept on separate floors when he lived in Store Kannikestræde (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: x-xi). This could indicate that he indeed thought of them as two distinct types of books. Although Árni's treatment of printed material remains an object speculation, it seem possible that he applied different standards for particular parts of his large library – not least since he may have had diverging needs with regard to the various books.<sup>23</sup>

In conclusion, Árni's general attitude towards manuscripts was shared by other contemporary collectors. It was also in line with the historical development of the notion of books, even though newer approaches were gaining ground. What was special about Árni's approach was his highly systematic take on manuscript rearrangement, where most aspects of the collection were designed around continuous adjustment in order to optimise scholarly work. As such and with regard to the enormous extent of changes, Árni's rearrangement activity was unique among collectors at the time.

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$ A detailed study would be required to judge how Árni treated that part of his collection. Such an investigation should also take into consideration that Árni by virtue of his collection promoted a new field, in which the manuscript sources were more or less the only available material. In other fields, considerable scholarship had already been done and published. That means the most printed books in Árni's library were not of strictly Iceland/Scandinavian contents. Moreover, he potentially worked more intensely – or at least in a different manner – on the manuscripts he collected than had it already been an established field. I am grateful to Erik Petersen for bringing this up.

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### Chapter 7

# Conclusions

This thesis calls attention to Árni Magnússon's rearrangement of paper manuscripts, a practice that has not previously been studied in its own right. It takes a systematic approach to that often neglected aspect of Árni's collecting activity and thereby provides a new perspective on the early history of the Arnamagnæan Collection.

The structure of the thesis follows concentric circles, insofar as it starts out with case studies, which give a very narrow and detailed analysis of individual manuscripts' physical history, and subsequently widens the scope. The four case studies (chapter two) introduce Árni's rearrangement activity and demonstrate the advantage of distinguishing between different time periods in the physical history of the artefacts. This methodological approach is crucial for the distinction of Árni's changes from earlier or later modifications, and thus the prerequisite for the analysis of his activity – the chosen focus of this thesis. The four sub-chapters take different approaches to Árni's rearrangement, and they do not only highlight the multiplex nature of the custodial changes and their potential motivation but also demonstrate various tools for codicological analysis that have been applied to investigate the corpus material.

The third chapter investigates the extent of Arni's rearrangement activity and assesses its general character. The main finding of this chapter is that an enormous number of the Arnamagnæan paper manuscripts have been compositionally altered. Since this chapter relies heavily on available secondary literature and catalogue records, which often only treat the most prominent changes or their traces, the compiled overview is by no means comprehensive. Still, for the first time evidence from various sources is systematically brought together, revealing that with almost 900 known items, the majority of paper manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were subjected to considerable physical alteration. The statistical analysis further shows that most manuscripts were aggregated or rearranged by Árni. Therefore, I propose to use the term "rearrangement" for Árni's custodial activity.

The fourth chapter analyses Árni's working method based on the physical evidence found in the corpus manuscripts as well as additional secondary writing and supplementary historical material. This chapter proposes to divide his working habits into two phases. During phase one, manuscripts were divided into smaller codicologial units and thus prepared for further handling during phase two, in which the individual copies were arranged in the collection. While phase one often had the character of a standardised first treatment stage which the material passed through initially, phase two was more of a continued process, in which the placement of codicological units was frequently adjusted and changed. Indeed, the flexibility of arrangements in phase two was identified as the core of Arni's rearrangement activity, for which phase one merely served as preparation. Chapter three furthermore analyses Árni's creation of AMslips, which is shown to be closely linked to the two phases of rearrangement. Based on an approximate dating of the AM-slips' production, Árni appears to have started his rearrangement activity rather early on, and it was presumably already a fixed part of his collecting activity during his stay in Iceland 1702-1712.

Chapter five investigates Árni's rationale for manuscript rearrangement. It starts out with a description of his library structure, which formed the framework for the collection and the individual manuscripts' placement. The analysis shows that Arni did not apply a rigid classification system or even shelfmarks, but operated with broader categories based on topic and format. This flexible system allowed for continuous adjustment as well as easy incorporation of individual manuscripts containing various works. An analysis of the manuscripts' composition after Arni's death reveals that most artefacts indeed comprised multiple works, but had a common topic. Other than that, the compositional patterns varied greatly. Arni's motivation for aggregating different codicological units is interpreted as based on his personal interests and scholarly work with the source material. The various arrangements facilitated individual research projects, for instance by combining material he wanted to work on together, but the flexibility of the physical shapes also enabled easy adjustment if new relevant material entered the collection or other interests required different arrangements. The flexible set-up of the collection with the continued rearrangement as its basis thus provided optimal working conditions for a scholar like Árni. In short excursuses, an unchanged paper manuscript as well as some parchment codices are considered for comparison. Even though these parts of the collection need more detailed research, the physical histories of the artefacts analysed do not contradict the idea that Árni had a personalised approach to manuscripts as objects he freely customised and altered if that was to his benefit.

Finally, Årni's approach to manuscripts and his frequent rearrangement of them is briefly placed within its historical context in chapter six. This chapter shows that manuscript rearrangement was common in Iceland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The analysis is mostly based on evidence of earlier changes in the data collected for the present study, but also incorporates independent cases. Afterwards, the wider historical development of the notion of books is outlined, in order to show that at the time when Árni manipulated manuscripts, a personalised notion of books (and manuscripts) that favoured such alteration was still fairly common among collectors. Nevertheless, Árni's highly systematic approach to manuscript rearrangement and the large scale on which he conducted it appear to be unique.

The thesis builds on a detailed study of a rather limited part of the Arnamagnæan Collection. Due to the overwhelming number of altered manuscripts, only a relatively small subset could be analysed thoroughly (that nonetheless covers over 100 manuscripts). Therefore, it provides a point of departure for further research on the Arnamagnæan manuscripts, but hopefully a good enough description for comparison with other collections. Additionally, the individual aggregations of manuscript parts and their compositional patterns deserve more detailed research than this study allowed for. An in-depth analysis of the texts that were combined, for instance, could not be conducted. Although limited to more superficial criteria, the analysis of the present study shows that each aggregation needs to be considered in its own right and was created based on potentially unique criteria.

Methodologically, the application of four time periods (t0-t3) was highly beneficial to the analysis of the material, as it enabled both the distinction between Árni's activity and other changes, and allowed for comparison between manuscripts at different points in time. Unfortunately, at times it was impossible to unambiguously determine the time period of a certain manuscript form based on the available evidence, or even which shape a manuscript had in an earlier period. Due to a lack of available sources for meaningful and somewhat consistent cut-off points, it was not possible to introduce additional time periods for the time between when the manuscripts entered the collection (t2) and Árni's death (t1). As the present study particularly focusses on his treatment of the manuscripts and proposes that they were repeatedly altered during that time, such additional time periods could potentially have improved the results.

In the beginning of this thesis, I identify the Sociology of Texts as one of the theoretical influences. Since McKenzie (1999, 13) argues that material aspects convey information about the transmission of a text – the form affects the meaning – deliberate changes like Árni's should be seen as reflecting new interpretations and new meanings. They provide references to the society and culture in which a text exists or existed. Therefore, it would be highly interesting to review the significance of contextual changes for a text's interpretation, but also the influence of the socio-historical meaning of a text on its changing context.<sup>1</sup> As this kind of analysis would have to be conducted for each individual manuscript and its potentially multiple compositional forms, it could unfortunately not be incorporated into this study. Instead, the thesis provides a solid base for future research.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Paula Henrikson (2007) shows convincingly how, for instance, the form of an edition reflects the editor's approach to a text.

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# Appendix A

# **Reference** keys

## A.1 Manuscript references by time periods

This is a short overview of how manuscripts and their forms are referred to according to the different time periods. A detailed description is found in section 1.7 on page 41.

Time period	Explanation	Reference form
t0	Present	AM 000 4to
t1	1730	number 000 in 4to
t2	Before Árni	Ms00
t3	Earlier (if different)	Ms00a

Table A.1: Forms of manuscript references according to time periods.

## A.2 Historical manuscript registers used in the study

Knowledge about former shapes and compositions of manuscripts derive to a large extent from historical manuscript registers and old catalogues. Below is a chronologically organised list of the handwritten manuscript registers used in this study and their major copies or editions.

Catalo 2010	A the con-	D.4.	Chalfmanl- /Edition
Catalogue	Author	Date	Sneitmark/ Edition
List of manuscripts Árni had in Árni Magnússon 1710 Iceland	Árni Magnússon	1710	(lost)
Catalogue of Árni's parchment ma-	Árni Magnússon	1707-1727	Árni Magnússon 1707-1727 AM 435 a 4to/Kålund 1909
nuscripts			
Catalogue of Torfæus's manu-	Árni Magnússon	1712	AM 435 b 4to/Kålund 1909
scripts			
"Old" (handwritten) catalogue of Jón Ólafsson	Jón Ólafsson	1730	AM 456 fol., AM 477 fol. et al.
the Arnamagnæan Collection			

Table A.2: Relevant historical manuscript registers.

## Appendix B

# Corpus: List of catalogued current manuscripts (t0)

The list of manuscripts that form the project's corpus records the primary sources that were analysed in detail. The named manuscripts have been catalogued in XML and their records are made available on the website www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk. In order to display the catalogue records on the website, the files are transformed by XSL transformations and CSS stylesheets.

The primary sources were chosen for scrutiny based on the manuscript overview (see section 1.5.1 on page 28). The selection takes into consideration the four criteria presented in the introduction:<sup>1</sup> (1) Contents, (2) size, (3) provenance as well as (4) acquisition. In the list, each criterion is divided into several subcategories, which are either checked when they apply or filled out with slightly more detailed information. Thus, this register accounts for the extent of variety in the corpus based on formal aspects.

Please note the following limitations:

• The contents of all known relevant manuscripts is not balanced. As can be seen from the manuscript overview, the vast majority of objects contain saga texts. This imbalance can also be seen in the Arnamagnæan Collection as a whole, which is heavy on literary texts that concern Iceland (see for example the register in Kålund's printed catalogue (1889-1894, 2: 655-684) where the section for sagas comprises more than a third of the thematic index). With respect to the large number of saga-manuscripts, different genres were therefore

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See section 1.5.2 on page 32.

considered and specified in the list.

- The principles of analysis increase the number of manuscripts with similar characteristics. Since the investigation is carried out in groups of related manuscripts, these often fall into the same categories, thus additionally enforcing the imbalance.
- The list does not weigh the given information. Like the manuscript overview, the list of catalogued manuscripts references each manuscript on a single line. As manuscripts are defined based on their outer storage container, i.e. as the individual unit on the shelf, they vary between containing a single text and consisting of almost ten different parts.



AM 261 4to	1			(24)			x		[mixed by AM?]		1	1	1	1		l.	12	1	1
AM 294 4to			x	(x)			x		[mixed by AlVI?]	×	l	×			De uthe a line	x	r		
AM 294 4to AM 297 a-b 4to	fornaldarsögur						x		function of here A.A.A.I		x		x		Bartholin bishop				lt.
AM 345 4to	fornaldarsögur					x	x		[mixed by AM]		x	x	+		bishop				x
AM 351 4to	fornaldarsögur						x				×	2	1	from Torfæus		×	×		
AM 363 4to					×		x			x		ſ	l.		Bartholin				2
AIVI 363 4to	fornaldarsögur						×				x		×	partly written by Árni	Bartholin				r
AM 403 4to					x		x							from Torfæus					
AM 403 4to AM 408 a-i 4to					x		x		function of here A.A.A.I	x	2	r	r	partly from Páll			x, ?	2	partly
Alvi 408 a-i 4to				x	x		x	x	[mixed by AM]	×	r	x		Vídalín, partly from		x	x, r	r	commission
														Hvammur; partly					ed?, partly
														written by Árni;					bought?
														partly from					bougitti
														Torfæus					
AM 409 a 4to			+	~	(prophecies)		x	×	[mixed by AM]	~~~~~	+	x, ?	+	Torræus			x, ?		
AM 409 a 410				~	(propriecies)		x	^	[ITIIXED BY AIVI]	2		x, :		from Torfæus		^	x, :	(x)	
AM 521 a 4to	fornaldasögur			<u>^</u>			Ê			1		2	2	from Torfæus			<u>^</u>	(^)	
AIVI 321 8 410	síðari tíma						ľ.			^		ľ	1	inoin ronæus					r
AM 536 4to	riddarasögur						x					x	+						
AM 539 4to	riddarasögur						x			~	<u>^</u>	x	+			ř	<u>^</u>		
AM 554 a α 4to	Íslendingasögur						x			~		x						×	
AM 554 h α 4to	konungasögur,		+				x			~	+	×		+		^		^	
AIVI 554 II û 410	Íslendingasögur				×		×			×		×							
AM 554 h β 4to	Íslendingasögur		+							~~~~~~	+			written by Ketill			2		
AW 554 II p 4t0	Isienungasogui						r i			^		r i		Jörundsson			ľ		
AM 554 i 4to	Íslendingasögur						x							written by Ketill			2		
AIVI 554 I 4LU	isienungasogur						×			x		×		Jörundsson			ſ		
AM 585 a 4to	riddarasögur		+				x				ly	x		501011033011		v	~		
AM 585 b 4to	riddarasögur	1					x				1×	x	1			×	Ç.		
AM 585 c 4to	riddarasögur						x				×	x				x	Ŷ		
AM 585 d 4to	riddarasögur						x				×	<u>,</u>				~	2		
AM 585 e 4to	riddarasögur						x				x v	v v	1			x	r v		
AM 587 e 4to	fornaldarsögur						x				x	<u>^</u>	ly	written by Árni	Bartholin	Â	<u>^</u>		2
AM 588 p 4to	riddarasögur						<u> </u>	x	[mixed by AM]		×								ŀ
AM 588 r 4to	riddarasögur						x	A	[IIIIXed by Aivi]	x	<u>^</u>	v	1			x		x	
AM 606 g 4to		x					x			2		x		from Torfæus		~	v	Y Y	
AM 610 a 4to		x	+				x			·	x	x		inoin ronacus		x	x	^	
AM 611 e 4to		x	+				x			x		x	+	owned by Ketill			2		+
		Â					ĥ			~		ĥ		Jörundsson or his					
														family?					
AM 612 c 4to		x					x			x			1	via Jón Magnússon			?		
							ľ.							(brother)					
AM 613 c 4to	+	x	1		+		x			x	1	x	1	owned by Ketill			?	+	1
														Jörundsson or his					
														family?					
AM 613 f 4to		x	1				x			x	x	x	1			x		x	1
AM 613 g 4to		x	+				x			x		x	+	+		x		x	
AM 615 a 4to	+	x	1	+	+		x				x	x	1	+		x	x	<u> </u>	1
AM 615 b 4to	1	x			-		x				x	x	1			x	x	1	
AM 615 c 4to	+	x			+		x				x	x	+	+		x	x	+	
AM 615 d 4to	+	x			-+		x			?		x	+			x	x	+	+
AM 615 e 4to	1	x					x			x	1	x	1	1					1
		x	1				x				1	x	1	+				+	1
AM 615 f 4to																			

	1																		1
AM 615 h 4to		х					x			x	1	х							
AM 615 i 4to		х					x			х		х							
AM 615 k 4to		х					x			х		x						L	
AM 615 l 4to		x					x			х		х							
AM 615 m 4to		х					x			х		х							
AM 615 n 4to		х					x			х			?	written by Árni					
AM 615 o 4to		х					x			х				via Jón Magnússon			?		
														(brother)					
AM 630 4to					x		x			х		х							
AM 716 a 4to		х			х		x			х		х							
AM 716 b 4to		х			x		x			х		x							1
AM 716 h 4to		х			x		x			х		х							
AM 716 i 4to		х			x		x			х		х							
AM 716 k 4to		х					x			x		x							
AM 770 a-c 4to	samtíðarsögur			х		x	x		[mixed by AM?]	х	x	х	x		partly		?		?
														Árni; partly from	Rostgaard?				
														Torfæus					
AM 777 b-d 4to				х		x	x		[mixed by AM]	x, ?		x	x		partly Rostgaard				x
AM 779 c 4to				x			x			х		х				x		х	
AM 1006 4to	konungasögur						x			х		х		from Páll Vídalín				х	
AM 34 8vo			x				1	x			x	x					x		
AM 37 b 8vo			x					х			x	х					x		
AM 53 8vo			x		х			х			x	х					x		
AM 100 8vo		х			x		?	х	[mixed by AM?]	х		x, ?		partly from Páll			?		
														Vídalín					
	fornaldasögur							х			x	х							
AM 114 8vo	Íslendingasögur						1	х		?		x			bishop		x	x	1
AM 116 8vo	Íslendingasögur,						1	х		х	x	х							
	fornaldasögur																		
AM 118 a 8vo	riddarasögur		+					x			x	1	+						
AM 119 a 8vo	riddarasögur		1				-	x			x	1							
AM 154 8vo		x	+					<u>х</u>		x. ?		x	+	partly written by	partly Halldór		x	x	
												T.			Porbergsson/				
															bishop				
AM 440 a 12mo		x						x		x		×	+			×		x	+
AM 440 b 12mo		x	+					x		x	1	×	+			······			
7101 440 5 121110	1	^		1			1	^		^		10	1	1	1		1	1	1

## Appendix C

# Relevant manuscripts in 1730 (t1)

This is a list of t1-manuscripts that contained parts of the catalogued corpus-manuscripts or are otherwise relevant. First, the entries list the CUs of which the manuscripts consisted and their contents. The order of the named parts indicates their order. An asterisk ("\*") in front of a manuscript part marks a hypothetical position. Two asterisks ("\*\*") in front of a manuscript part mark a random, usually alphabetical order, since no educated guess on the order was possible. Second, the entries describe the outer binding form of the manuscript as far as known. In some cases more specific reference is made to separate bindings for individual parts. Afterwards, some entries have additional notes. Finally, the main sources for information that is not codicological evidence are given in parentheses.

#### Number 1 in fol.

AM 1 a fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum), \*AM 1 b fol. CU3 (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi), \*AM 1 b fol. CU1 (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi), \*AM 1 b fol. CU2 (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi), \*AM 1 c fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi), AM 1 d  $\alpha$  fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum), AM 1 d  $\beta$  fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum), AM 1 d  $\beta$  fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum), AM 1 d  $\beta$  fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum), AM 1 e  $\alpha$  fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum), AM 1 e  $\beta$  I fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum), AM 1 e  $\beta$  II fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum), AM 1 f fol. (Langfeðgatal, Langfeðgatal, Talbyrðingur hinn gamli, Árni's notes, Angelsaksiske kongerækker, Árni's material on Langfeðgatal), AM 1 g fol. (Ættartölur frá Adam til Jóns Arasonar, Genealogia ab Odino, Genealogia. Diducta a nobilissimis viris in Islandia) Binding form: In a bundle, partially "un-bound". Note: AM 1 e  $\beta$  I fol. and AM 1 e  $\beta$  II fol. are on parchment. (AM 456 fol., 2r)

#### Number 5 in fol.

AM 5 fol. (Völsunga saga, Ragnars saga loðbrókar) Binding form: Bound in cardboard. (AM 456 fol., 2r)

#### Number 9 in fol.

AM 9 fol. (Hrólfs saga kraka) Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold. (AM 456 fol., 2r)

#### Number 13 in fol.

AM 13 fol. (Jómsvíkinga saga) Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold. (AM 456 fol., 2r)

#### Number 15 in fol.

AM 15 fol. (Jómsvíkinga saga) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 2r)

#### Number 34 in fol.

AM 34 fol. CU1 (Hversu Noregur byggðist), AM 34 fol. CU2 (Hversu Noregur byggðist), AM 34 fol. CU3 (Hversu Noregur byggðist), \*AM 34 fol. CU4 (Hversu Noregur byggðist), \*AM 34 fol. CU5 (Hversu Noregur byggðist, Letter), \*AM 34 fol. CU6 (Hversu Noregur byggðist, Genealogy from Adam to Ólafur), \*AM 34 fol. CU7 (Hversu Noregur byggðist), \*AM 1008 4to CU1 (Hversu Noregur byggðist) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 2v; AM 477 fol., 3r)

#### Number 49 in fol.

AM 49 fol. CU1 (Hálfdanar saga svarta, Upphaf Ríkis Haralds hárfagra,

Hauks þáttur hábrókar), AM 49 fol. CU2 (Haralds þáttur grenska, Ólafs þáttur Geirstaðaálfs), AM 49 fol. CU3 (Ólafs saga hins helga) Binding form: The manuscript was "un-bound". Note: Haralds þáttur grenska and Ólafs þáttur Geirstaðaálfs, now AM 49 fol. CU2, are not mentioned. (AM 456 fol., 3r)

#### Number 99 in fol.

AM 99 fol. (In Nomine Jesu. Om Norges Rige) Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 3v)

#### Number 108 in fol.

AM 108 fol. (Landnámabók, Um erlenda biskupa á Íslandi) Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment containing Latin text and musical notation on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 3v; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 72)

#### Number 113 in fol.

AM 113 a fol. (Íslendingabók), AM 113 b fol. (Íslendingabók), AM 113 c fol. (Íslendingabók), AM 113 d fol. (Íslendingabók), AM 113 e fol. (Íslendingabók), AM 113 f fol. (Íslendingabók), AM 113 g fol. (Íslendingabók), AM 113 h fol. (Íslendingabók), AM 113 i fol. (Íslendingabók), AM 113 k fol. (Íslendingabók) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 3v; AM 477 fol., 5v)

#### Number 129 in fol.

AM 129 fol. (Eyrbyggja saga, Verse, Verse) Binding form: Bound in a cardboard binding. (AM 456 fol., 4r)

#### Number 130 in fol.

AM 130 fol. CU1 (Eyrbyggja saga), AM 130 fol. CU2 (Laxdæla saga) Binding form: Bound in a cardboard binding. (AM 456 fol., 4r)

#### Number 139 in fol.

AM 139 fol. (Þórðar saga hreðu)

Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold.

(AM 456 fol., 4r)

#### Number 142 in fol.

AM 142 fol. CU1 (Fóstbræðra saga), AM 142 fol. CU2 (Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar)

Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves from a liturgical manuscript on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 4r)

#### Number 144 in fol.

AM 144 fol. CU1 (Víga-Glúms saga), AM 144 fol. CU2 (Svarfdæla saga), AM 144 fol. CU3 (Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls, Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins saga hvíta, Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings, Þorsteins þáttur fróða, Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs, Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana)

Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves from a liturgical manuscript on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 4r)

#### Number 148 in fol.

AM 148 fol. (Gísla saga Súrssonar) Binding form: Bound in a full binding made of parchment with parchment strips laced through the spine fold. (AM 456 fol., 4v)

#### Number 155 in fol.

AM 155 fol. (Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 4v)

#### Number 156 in fol.

AM 156 fol. CU1 (Þorsteins saga hvíta), AM 156 fol. CU2 (Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs), AM 156 fol. CU3 (Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða), AM 156 fol. CU4 (Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana), AM 156 fol. CU5 (Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls)

Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 4v; AM-slip)

Number 161 in fol.

AM 161 fol. CU1 (Svarfdæla saga, Valla-Ljóts saga), AM 161 fol. CU2 (Reykdæla saga) Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold.

(AM 456 fol., 4v; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 114)

#### Number 163 in fol.

AM 163 a fol. (Vatnsdæla saga, Grettis saga), AM 163 b fol. (Grettis saga, Gunnars saga Kelldugnúpfífls, Þórðar saga hréðu, Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 163 c fol. (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 163 d fol. (Flóamanna saga, Njáls saga), AM 163 e fol. (Fóstbræðra saga), (lost (Bandamanna saga)), (lost (Ljósvetninga saga, Gunnars saga Kelldugnúpfífls, Hávarðar saga Ísfyrðings)), AM 163 f fol. (Króka-Refs saga), (lost (Víglundar saga)), AM 163 g fol. (Þórðar saga hréðu), AM 163 h β fol. (Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss, Harðar saga og Hólmverja, Ölkofra þáttur), AM 163 h α fol. (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), (lost (Víglundar saga, Þórðar saga hréðu, Finnboga saga ramma)), AM 163 i fol. (Njáls saga), AM 163 k fol. (Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings), AM 163 l fol. (Kjalnesinga saga), AM 163 m fol. (Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar), AM 163 n fol. (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 163 o fol. (Bandamanna saga), AM 163 p fol. (Gísla saga Súrsonar), AM 163 q fol. (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 163 r fol. (Eigils saga Skallagrímssonar) Binding form: In a bundle (contained parts "un-bound").

Note: It is possible that the current AM 163 s fol. is the as lost marked copy of Bandamanna saga.

(AM 456 fol., 4v-5r; AM 477 fol., 7v-8r)

#### Number 164 in fol.

AM 164 a fol. (Víga-Glúms saga), \*AM 164 b fol. (Víga-Glúms saga), AM 164 c fol. (Flóamanna saga), (lost) (Droplaugarsona saga), AM 164 d fol. (Króka-Refs saga), \*AM 164 e  $\alpha$  fol. (Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), \*AM 164 e  $\beta$  fol. (Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), \*AM 164 e  $\gamma$  fol. (Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), \*AM 164 f fol. (Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 164 g fol. (Jóns þáttur biskups Halldórssonar), AM 164 h fol. (Gautreks saga, Kjalnesinga saga, Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra) Binding form: In a bundle.

Note: Two of the four copies of Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar are only mentioned in AM 477 fol. The first two items of the last part are neither mentioned in AM 456 fol. nor in AM 477 fol. Based on the codicological evidence, they appear to have been an original part of the manuscript. Today the collection also contains an excerpt from Fóstbræðra saga and Fóstbræðra saga (AM 164 i fol.) as well as Brandkrossa þáttur and Droplaugarsonar saga (AM 164 k fol.), which are not mentioned in the old catalogue.

(AM 456 fol., 5r)

#### Number 169 in fol.

AM 169 a fol. (Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana), AM 169 b fol. (Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns), AM 169 d fol. (Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra), AM 169 c fol. CU2 (Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana), AM 169 c fol. CU1 (Þorsteins þáttur Víkingssonar), AM 169 c fol. CU3 (Göngu-Hrólfs saga)

Binding form: At least parts two and three were "un-bound". (AM 456 fol., 5r)

#### Number 181 in fol.

AM 181 a fol. (Ívens saga, Parcevals saga, Valvers þáttur), AM 181 b fol. (Erex saga, Samsonar saga fagra, Möttuls saga), AM 181 c fol. (Bevus saga), (lost (Elis saga)), (lost (Flóvents saga)), AM 181 d fol. (Hektors saga), (lost (Jarlmanns saga og Hermanns)), AM 181 e fol. (Clárus saga keisarasonar), AM 181 f fol. (Konráðs saga keisarasonar), AM 181 g fol. (Mírmanns saga), AM 181 h fol. (Rémundar saga keisarasonar), AM 181 g fol. (Mírmanns saga), AM 181 h fol. (Rémundar saga keisarasonar), AM 181 l fol. (Þjalar-Jóns saga), \*AM 181 i fol. (Ála flekks saga), \*AM 181 k fol. (Ála flekks saga), AM 181 m fol. CU1 (Ála flekks saga), AM 181 m fol. CU2 (Sálus saga og Nikanórs, Þjalar-Jóns saga) Binding form: In a bundle (contained parts "un-bound"). (AM 456 fol., 5v)

#### Number 185 in fol.

AM 185 fol. (Dínus saga drambláta) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 5v)

#### Number 188 in fol.

AM 188 fol. (Mágus saga jarls) Binding form: The manuscript was "un-bound". (AM 456 fol., 5v)

#### Number 192 in fol.

AM 192 fol. (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks) Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold. (AM 456 fol.)

#### Number 199 in fol.

AM 199 fol. (Svenska Krönikan) Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 6r)

#### Number 202 in fol.

AM 202 a fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka), AM 202 b fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka), AM 202 c fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka), \*AM 202 d fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka), \*AM 202 e fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka), \*AM 202 f fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka), \*AM 1008 4to CU3 (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka), \*AM 202 g fol. CU1 (Rauðúlfs þáttur), \*AM 202 g fol. CU2 (Rauðúlfs þáttur), AM 202 h fol. (Rauðúlfs þáttur, Rauðúlfs þáttur), AM 202 i fol. CU2 (Norna-Gests þáttur), AM 202 i fol. CU1 Shelfmark (Norna-Gests þáttur), AM 202 k fol. CU1 (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks), AM 202 k fol. CU2 (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks), \*AM 202 l fol. (Sturlaugs saga starfsama), \*(lost (Sturlaugs saga starfsama)), \*(lost (Sturlaugs saga starfsama)) Binding form: In a bundle.

(AM 456 fol., 6r, AM 447 fol., 9v)

#### Number 207 in fol.

AM 207 a fol. (Hungurvaka, Biskupaannálar)

Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards.

Note: It is possible that the current AM 207 b fol. was also part of this manuscript, but it is not mentioned in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue. (AM 456 fol., 6r)

#### Number 212 in fol.

AM 212 fol. (Arons saga Hjörleifssonar) Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold. (AM 456 fol., 6r)

#### Number 218 in fol.

AM 218 fol. (Árna saga biskups, Lausavísur) Binding form: "Un-bound". (AM 456 fol., 6r; AM 477 fol., 10r)

#### Number 224 in fol.

AM 224 fol. (Thómas saga erkibiskups) Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold. (AM 456 fol, 6v.)

### Number 341 in fol.

AM 341 fol. (Grágás) Binding form: "Un-bound". (AM 456 fol., 8v)

#### Number 365 in fol.

AM 365 fol. CU1 (Descriptio urbis Bergensis (excerpts)), AM 365 fol. CU2 (Norske retterbøder)

Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold.

Note: Norske retterbøder, now AM 365 fol. CU2, not mentioned but presumably part of the manuscript. (AM 456 fol., 9r)

#### Number 218 in 4to

AM 218 a 4to (Um meðgöngutíma kvenna), \*AM 218 b 4to CU1 (Útlegging yfir fornyrði lögbókarinnar), \*AM 218 b 4to CU2 (Bjarkeyjarréttur (excerpts), Grágás (excerpts)), \*AM 218 c 4to CU1 (Valdsmaður bingfararbálki), \*AM 218 c 4to CU2 (Um kvennagiftingar), \*AM 218 c 4to CU3 (Erfðaréttur, Um Herjólfsréttarbót)

Binding form: Presumably without any proper binding.

(AM 456 fol., 15v)

#### Number 261 in 4to

AM 261 4to CU1 (Skálholt letter book), \*AM 261 4to CU2 (Skógaheiti og þeirra takmörk fyrir norðan Skriðufell), \*AM 261 4to CU3 (Skógaheiti og þeirra takmörk fyrir norðan Skriðufell) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 16v)

#### Number 294 in 4to

AM 294 4to (Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra) Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment from a manuscript containing Jónsbók on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 17r; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 539)

#### Number 297 in 4to

AM 297 a 4to (Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra), AM 297 b 4to (Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra)

Binding form: Unknown. The first copy was bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards containing Latin ecclesiastical text and musical notation.

(AM 456 fol., 17r; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 540)

#### Number 345 in 4to

AM 345 4to CU1 (Áns saga bogsveigis), AM 345 4to CU2 (Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar), AM 345 4to CU3 (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks, Bósa saga, Hrómundar saga Gripssonar), (lost (Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra)), (lost (Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar, Haralds saga Hringsbana)) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 18r)

#### Number 351 in 4to

AM 351 4to (Magnús saga Eyjajarls) Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 18r; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 583)

#### Number 363 in 4to

AM 363 4to CU3 (Gautreks saga), \*AM 363 4to CU2 (Illuga saga Gríðar-

fóstra), \*AM 363 4to CU1 (Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra) Binding form: "Un-bound". (AM 456 fol., 18r)

#### Number 403 in 4to

AM 403 4to (Lárentíus saga biskups) Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 18v; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 606)

#### Number 408 in 4to

AM 408 a 4to CU1 (Biskupaannálar), \*AM 408 b 4to CU2 (Biskupaannálar), \*AM 408 d 4to CU4 (Biskupaannálar), \*(lost (Biskupaannálar)), AM 408 c 4to CU3 (Hungurvaka, Guðmundar saga biskups), AM 408 e 4to CU5 (Hungurvaka), \*AM 408 f 4to CU6 (Hungurvaka), \*AM 408 f 4to CU8 (Biskupaannálar), AM 408 g 4to CU9 (Biskupaannálar), \*AM 408 h 4to CU11 (Biskupaannálar, Letter), \*AM 408 h 4to CU12 (Biskupaannálar), \*AM 408 h 4to CU13 (Biskupaannálar), AM 408 i 4to CU14 (Ættartölur biskupa)

Binding form: In a bundle, one copy of Hungurvaka, now AM 408 e 4to, was bound.

Note: The current AM 408 f 4to contains three CUs, while Jón Ólafsson only mentions two in his catalogue. It is possible, though, that all three were part of this aggregation.

(AM 456 fol., 19r; AM 477 fol., 31r)

#### Number 409 in 4to

\*\*AM 409 a 4to CU1 (Krukksspá), \*\*AM 409 a 4to CU2 (Krukksspá),
\*\*AM 409 a 4to CU3 (Krukksspá), \*\*AM 409 a 4to CU4 (Krukksspá),
\*\*AM 409 a 4to CU5 (Krukksspá), \*\*(lost (Krukksspá))
Binding form: Unknown.
(AM 456 fol., 19r; AM 477 fol., 31r)

#### Number 410 in 4to

AM 410 4to CU1 (Historia universalis, Annáll, Historia universalis), AM 410 4to CU2 (Annálar) Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold. (AM 456 fol., 19r)

#### Number 521 in 4to

AM 521 a 4to (Ambáles saga), \*AM 521 c 4to (Ambáles saga), \*AM 521 b 4to (Ambáles saga), \*AM 521 d 4to (Ambáles saga), \*AM 521 e 4to (Ambáles rímur), \*(lost (Ambáles rímur))

Binding form: The parts were kept in a bundle; the first was bound, the others "un-bound".

(AM 456 fol., 20v)

#### Number 536 in 4to

AM 536 4to (Mágus saga jarls)

Binding form: Bound in a half-binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards.

(AM 456 fol., 21r; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 681)

#### Number 539 in 4to

AM 539 4to CU1 (Rémundar saga keisarasonar (part)), AM 539 4to CU2 (Rémundar saga keisarasonar (part))

Binding form: According to Jón Ólafsson's records, the manuscript was "upplimd". The printed catalogue, however, describes a half binding with reused parchment from a Latin ecclesiastical manuscript on the boards, which is preserved in AM Access. 7.

(AM 456 fol., 21r; Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 682)

#### Number 547 in 4to

(lost (Vilhjálms saga sjóðs)), (lost (Dínus saga drambláta)), (lost (Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar)), (lost (Sörla saga sterka)), (lost (Fertrams saga og Platos)) Binding form: In a bundle (contained parts "un-bound").

Note: All parts have gone missing. (AM 456 fol., 21r)

#### Number 554 in 4to

AM 554 a  $\alpha$  4to (Harðar saga og Hólmverja), AM 554 a  $\delta$  4to (Hænsa-Þóris saga), AM 554 a  $\beta$  4to (Bandamanna saga), AM 554 a  $\gamma$  4to (Króka-Refs saga), AM 554 b 4to (Króka-Refs saga), AM 1008 4to CU7 (Ölkofra þáttur), AM 554 c 4to (Ölkofra þáttur, Rollants rímur), AM 554 d 4to (Laxdæla saga), AM 554 e 4to (Ljósvetninga saga), AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU3 (Ísleifs þáttur biskups), AM 554 f 4to (Kormáks saga), AM 554 g 4to (Kormáks saga), AM 544 h  $\alpha$  4to CU2 (Króka-Refs saga), AM 554 h  $\beta$  4to (Króka-Refs saga, Þórðar saga hreðu, Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 554 i 4to (Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 21v; AM 447 fol., 37r)

#### Number 585 in 4to

AM 585 a 4to (Hektors saga), AM 585 b 4to (Úlfar saga sterka), AM 585 c 4to (Gibbons saga, Nikulás saga leikara), AM 585 d 4to (Sigurðar saga fóts, Sigurðar saga turnara), AM 585 e 4to (Valdimars saga, Konráðs saga keisarasonar, Þjalar-Jóns saga) Binding form: "Un-bound". (AM 456 fol., 23r; AM-slip)

#### Number 587 in 4to

(lost (Hróa þáttur heimska)), AM 587 a 4to (Hróa þáttur heimska), AM 587 b 4to (Hrómundar saga Gripsonar), AM 587 c 4to (Göngu-Hrólfs saga), (lost (Sörla saga sterka)), AM 587 d 4to (Áns saga bogsveigis), \*AM 587 e 4to (Sörla þáttur), \*(lost (Sörla þáttur)) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 23r-v)

#### Number 588 in 4to

AM 588 a 4to (Ívens saga), AM 588 b 4to (Ála flekks saga), AM 588 c 4to (Ála flekks saga, Albanus saga Vigvallissonar), AM 588 d 4to (Bærings saga), AM 588 e 4to (Dámusta saga), (lost (Flóres saga og Blankiflúr)), (lost (Gvimars saga)), (lost (Gvimars saga)), AM 588 f 4to (Jóns saga leikara), AM 588 g 4to (Kirjalax saga), \*AM 588 h 4to (Möttuls saga), \*AM 588 i 4to (Möttuls saga), AM 588 k 4to (Samsons saga fagra), AM 588 l 4to (Sálus saga og Nikanórs), \*AM 588 m 4to (Sigurgards saga frækna), \*AM 588 n 4to (Sigurgards saga frækna), \*(lost (Gigurgards saga frækna)), AM 588 o 4to (Sigurðar saga fóts), (lost (Tristrams saga og Ísöndar)), AM 588 q 4to (Valdimars saga), AM 588 r 4to (Úlfs saga Uggasonar)

Binding form: In a bundle.

Note: Additional copies of Sigurðar saga fóts, Bærings saga and Ála flekks saga, the current AM 588 p 4to, are not mentioned. (AM 456 fol., 23v)

#### Number 606 in 4to

AM 606 a 4to (Hemings rímur), (lost (Andra rímur)), AM 606 b 4to (Skáld-Helga rímur), (lost (Hjálmþérs rímur)), AM 606 c 4to (Friðþjófs rímur), AM 606 d 4to (Haralds rímur Hringsbana), AM 606 e 4to (Gríms rímur og Hjálmars), AM 606 k 4to (Völsungs rímur óborna), (lost (Ormars rímur)), AM 606 f 4to (Brönu rímur), \*AM 606 g 4to (Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar), \*AM 606 h 4to (Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar), AM 606 i 4to (Hermóðar rímur) Binding form: Unknown.

(AM 456 fol., 24r)

#### Number 610 in 4to

AM 610 a 4to (Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar), AM 610 b 4to (Hektors rímur), AM 610 c 4to (Jarlmanns rímur, Hrómundar rímur, Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar, Hemings rímur Áslákssonar, Rímur af Konráði keisarasyni, Herburts rímur, Reinalds rímur, Andra rímur), AM 610 d 4to (Rímur af Sigurði fót, Rímur af Sturlaugi starfsama, Rímur af Dámusta, Mágus rímur), AM 610 e-f 4to (Rímur af Göngu-Hrólfi)

Binding form: The outer binding form is unknown. Parts two through five (Hektors rímur until Göngu-Hrólfs rímur, now AM 610 b-f 4to) were presumably bound separately. They were equipped with a table of contents written by Árni Magnússon.

(AM 456 fol., 24r; AM slip in AM 610 b 4to)

#### Number 611 in 4to

AM 611 a 4to CU1 (Flóres rímur og Leó (fragm.)), AM 611 b 4to (Flóvents rímur), AM 611 c 4to (Fortunatus rímur), AM 611 d 4to (Grettis rímur), AM 611 e 4to (Grímals rímur, Kvæði)

Binding form: Unknown.

Note: A fragment of Sigurðar rímur fóts, now AM 611 a 4to CU2, is not mentioned.

(AM 456 fol., 24v)

#### Number 612 in 4to

AM 612 a 4to (Hálfdanar rímur Eysteinssonar), AM 612 b 4to (Hervarar rímur), AM 612 c 4to (Hrólfs rímur Gautrekssonar), AM 612 d 4to (Illuga rímur eldhúsgoða), AM 612 e 4to (Illuga rímur eldhúsgoða), (lost (Illuga rímur Kerlingarfífls)), (lost (Illuga rímur Kerlingarfífls)), AM 612 f 4to (Þjófa rímur), AM 612 g 4to (Jónatas rímur)

Binding form: Unknown.

Note: It is uncertain if Mábiliar rímur sterku, now AM 612 h 4to, were already part of number 612 in 4to. (AM 456 fol., 24v)

Number 613 in 4to

AM 613 a 4to (Rímur af Nitídu frægu), AM 613 b 4to (Persíus rímur), AM 613 c 4to (Persíus rímur, Bellerofontis rímur), AM 613 d 4to (Rímur af Pólenstator), AM 613 e 4to (Pontus rímur), AM 613 f 4to (Pontus rímur), AM 613 g 4to (Rollants rímur), \*AM 613 h 4to (Pontus rímur), \*AM 613 i 4to (Pontus rímur)

Binding form: Unknown.

Note: One of the two last copies of Pontus rímur is not mentioned explicitly.

(AM 456 fol., 24v)

#### Number 615 in 4to

(lost (Sigurðar rímur Fornasonar)), AM 615 a (Sigurðar rímur fóts), AM 615 b (Áns rímur bogsveigis), AM 615 c (Rímur af sjö vísu meisturum), AM 615 d 4to (Sigurgarðs rímur frækna), AM 615 e 4to (Sigurðar rímur þögla), AM 615 f 4to (Spönsku vísur, Króka-Refs rímur, Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar, Grobbians rímur), AM 615 g 4to (Rímur af Heródes ættum, Vefjarvísur, Lausavísur), AM 615 h 4to (Appollonius rímur, Ásmundar rímur og Tryggva, Samstæður), AM 615 i 4to (Geiplur, Aldarháttur, Skýringar við Aldarhátt), AM 615 k 4to (Flóres rímur og Leó, Lykla-Péturs rímur, Kvæði and lausavísur), AM 615 l 4to (Reinalds rímur), AM 615 m 4to (Hektors rímur, Kossakvæði), AM 615 n 4to CU1 (On Sveins rímur Múkssonar), AM 615 n 4to CU2 (Sveins rímur Múkssonar), AM 615 o 4to (Sörla rímur sterka)

Binding form: In a bundle; within that bundle, the parts seven through thirteen (Spönsku vísur until Kossakvæði) (now AM 615 f-m 4to) were probably bound separately with a table of contents written by Jón Ólafsson on its first leaf (now AM 615 f 4to, 1r.)

Árni's note on Sveins rímur Múkssonar, now AM 615 n 4to CU1, are not mentioned explicitly.

(AM 456 fol., 24v; AM-slip)

#### Number 630 in 4to

AM 630 4to (Jóns saga postola, Jakobs saga postola, Bartholomæus saga

postola, Thomas saga postola, Tveggja postola saga Símons ok Júdas, Péturs saga postola, Andreas saga postola, Matheus saga postola)

Binding form: Bound in a full parchment binding with parchment strips laced through the spine fold.

(AM 456 fol., 24v)

#### Number 716 in 4to

AM 716 a (Krosskvæði, Krosskvæði), AM 716 b 4to (Krosskvæði), AM 716 c 4to (Ólafs kongs vísur), AM 716 d 4to (Niðurstigningsvísur), \*AM 716 e 4to (Niðurstigningsvísur), \*AM 716 f 4to (Niðurstigningsvísur), \*AM 716 g 4to (Niðurstigningsvísur), AM 716 h 4to (Ljómur), AM 716 i 4to (Ljómur), AM 716 k 4to (Vísur um afgang Jóns Arasonar og sona hans), \*AM 716 l 4to (Vísur um Jón Arason og syni hans), \*AM 716 m 4to (Vísur um Jón Arason og syni hans), \*AM 716 n 4to (Heimsádeila), AM 716 o 4to (Hugbót), AM 716 p 4to (Hjónasinna), AM 716 q 4to (Sólbrá), (lost (Píslarminning)), (lost (Harmagrátur)), (lost (Hugræða))

Binding form: Unknown.

Note: One copy of Niðurstigningvísur, now AM 716 e, f or g 4to, is not mentioned explicitly.

(AM 456 fol., 27r-v)

#### Number 770 in 4to

AM 770 b 4to CU3 (Om Grønland), \*AM 770 a 4to CU1 (Grænlendinga þáttur, Biskupar ok kirkjur á Grænlandi), \*(lost (Grænlendinga þáttur)), \*AM 770 b 4to CU4 (Eiríks saga rauða), \*AM 770 b 4to CU5 (Eiríks saga rauða), \*(lost (Eiríks saga rauða))

Binding form: Unknown. The current AM 770 a 4to may have been in a cardboard binding.

Note: The current AM 770 a 4to CU2 (Trifolium historicum (fragm.)) is not named in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue and it cannot be known if it was intended as a part of the manuscript. Whether or not the texts now contained by AM 770 c 4to were part of the aggregation is also uncertain. Only what is now AM 770 c 4to  $\varepsilon$  could possibly be referred to as one of the three listed copies of *Eiríks saga rauða* 

(AM 456 fol., 29r)

#### Number 777 in 4to

AM 777 a 4to (Grønlandsbeskrivelse), \*AM 777 b 4to (Grønlands-

beskrivelse), \*AM 777 c 4to (Grønlandsbeskrivelse, Letter), \*AM 777 d 4to (Grønlandsbeskrivelse)

Binding form: Unknown. However, the current AM 777 b-d 4to may have been bound in a cardboard binding, and the current AM 777 a 4to was in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 29v; Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 197)

#### Number 779 in 4to

AM 779 a 4to (Grænlands Chronica), AM 779 b 4to (Grænlands Chronica), \*AM 779 c I 4to CU1 (Grænlands Chronica), \*AM 779 c I 4to CU2 (Dialogue between Agatha and Barbara on the wife's duties), \*AM 779 c II 4to CU3 (Grænlands Chronica), \*AM 779 c III 4to CU4 (Grænlands Chronica), \*AM 779 c IV 4to CU5 (Grænlands Chronica), \*AM 779 c V 4to CU6 (Grænlands Chronica)

Binding form: Unknown.

Note: The fourth part (Dialogue between Agatha and Barbara on the wife's duties, now AM 779 c I 4to CU2, is not mentioned in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue, but was possibly part of the manuscript. (AM 456 fol., 29v)

#### Number 34 in 8vo

AM 34 8vo (Hirðskrá) Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on the boards. (AM 456 fol., 35v; Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 349)

#### Number 37 in 8vo

AM 37 a 8vo CU1 (Þingsdómur, Table of contents), AM 37 a 8vo CU2 (Formulae, Jónsbók), AM 37 a 8vo CU3 (Réttarbætur), AM 37 a 8vo CU4 (Formulae)

Binding form: The current AM 37 a 8vo was bound in a parchment binding.

Note: The parts listed are in parchment. The parts now called AM 37 b 8vo CU1-4 are not mentioned.

(AM 456 fol., 35v; Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 349)

#### Number 53 in 8vo

AM 53 8vo (Kristinréttur Árna biskups, Kirkjuskipanir) Binding form: Bound in a half binding with reused parchment leaves on

the boards. (AM 456 fol., 36r; Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 360)

#### Number 100 in 8vo

AM 100 8vo CU1 (Sethskvæði), AM 100 8vo CU2 (Sethskvæði) Binding form: The manuscript was "un-bound". Note: A fragment of Krossdrápa, now AM 100 8vo CU3, is not mentioned. (AM 456 fol., 37r)

#### Number 109 in 8vo

AM 109 a 8vo II CU6 (Hrólfs saga kraka), \*(lost (Hrólfs saga kraka)), AM 109 a 8vo III CU7 (Hjálmþérs saga og Ölvers), AM 109 a 8vo I CU2 (Egils saga einhenda, Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar), \*(lost (Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga)), AM 109 a 8vo I CU1 (Áns saga bogsveigis), AM 109 a 8vo I CU3 (Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga), \*AM 109 a 8vo II CU5 (Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga), (lost (Þorsteins saga víkingssonar)), AM 109 a 8vo II CU4 (Friðþjófs saga frækna), (lost (Göngu-Hrólfs saga, Sturlaugs saga starfsama, Þorsteins saga bæjarmagns)) Binding form: In a bundle (contained parts "un-bound", but stitched)

AM 384 fol. (fol. 35v) specifies: "med hampe samanbunded i einn fasciculum".

Note: The current AM 109 b 8vo (34 law texts) is not mentioned. (AM 456 fol., 37v)

#### Number 114 in 8vo

AM 114 8vo (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 37v)

#### Number 116 in 8vo

AM 116 I 8vo CU1 (Droplaugarsona saga), AM 116 II 8vo CU2 (Hrafnkels saga, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls), AM 116 III 8vo CU3 (Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 116 III 8vo CU4 (Saga af Ormi Stórólfssyni), AM 116 IV 8vo CU5 (Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar), (lost) (Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls), AM 116 V 8vo CU6 (Um Þangbrand prest), (lost (Um Óðin og stríð hans)) Binding form: Unknown. (AM 456 fol., 37v)

#### Number 118 in 8vo

AM 118 b 8vo (Bréf Alexandri Magni), AM 118 a 8vo CU1 (Adonias saga), AM 118 a 8vo CU2 (Bevers saga), AM 118 a 8vo CU3 (Viktors saga og Blávus)

Binding form: In a bundle (contained parts "un-bound"). (AM 456 fol., 37v-38r)

#### Number 119 in 8vo

AM 119 a 8vo CU1 (Elís saga og Rósamundu), AM 119 a 8vo CU2 (Gibbons saga), AM 119 b 8vo (Gnýrs ævintýri, Eiríks saga víðförla, Ormars þáttur Framarssonar, Ævintýri), AM 119 a 8vo CU4 (Konráðs saga keisarasonar), (lost (Nitida saga)), AM 119 a 8vo CU3 (Partalopa saga)

Binding form: In a bundle (contained parts "un-bound"). (AM 456 fol., 38r; Jensen 1983, xcvii)

#### Number 154 in 8vo

AM 154 8vo CU1 (Snjás kvæði), \*AM 154 8vo CU3 (Snjás kvæði), \*AM 154 8vo CU4 (Mannsöngur, Snjás kvæði), \*AM 154 8vo CU2 (Snjás kvæði), \*(lost (Gullkársljóð)), \*(lost (Gullkársljóð)), \*AM 154 8vo CU6 (Kötludraumur), \*AM 154 8vo CU7 (Kötludraumur), \*AM 154 8vo CU8 (Kötludraumur), \*AM 154 8vo CU9 (Kötludraumur), \*AM 154 8vo CU10 (Kötludraumur), \*AM 154 8vo CU11 (Kötludraumur), AM 154 8vo CU20 (Hyndluljóð hin nýju), \*AM 154 8vo CU12 (Þornaldarþula), \*AM 154 8vo CU14 (Þornaldarþula), AM 154 8vo CU15 (Gísla ríma), AM 154 8vo CU16 (Bryngerðarljóð), \*AM 154 8vo CU18 (Kringilnefjukvæði), \*AM 154 8vo CU19 (Kringilnefjukvæði), \*AM 154 8vo CU17 (Ljúflingsljóð), \*(lost (Ljúflingsljóð)), \*(lost (Ljúflingsljóð)), \*AM 154 8vo CU21 (Margrétarvísur)

Binding form: Unknown.

Note: One more copy of Þornaldarþula, now AM 154 8vo CU13, is not mentioned.

(AM 456 fol., 39r)

#### Number 440 in 12mo

AM 440 b 12mo CU1 (Partalopa rímur, Verse), \*AM 440 b 12mo CU2 (Verse, Verse, Verse), \*AM 440 a 12mo CU1 (Partalopa rímur, Verse), \*(lost ("Uppa störa döm")), \*AM 440 a 12mo CU2 (Andra rímur) Binding form: "Un-bound". (AM 456 fol., 46r)

## Appendix D

# List of former codices (t2-t3)

This is a list of the relevant former paper codices from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries of which I am currently aware. Many codices are treated in detail in the present study, while others are merely referred to in the manuscript overview. The list gives brief descriptions of each reconstructed manuscript for the time periods t2 (*Before Árni*) and t3 (*Earlier if different*) by listing the multiple parts and their contents. If no bibliographical reference is given the reconstructions are based on my own, mostly codicological analysis. In the same way as the manuscript overview, the list of former codices is not intended to be complete but rather to provide a starting point for further research. A note is made where the statements are preliminary and additional research is especially desirable.

The former codices have been assigned running numbers which function as identification numbers instead of shelfmarks. The numbering of the manuscripts was done consecutively during the process of my research and with no respect to chronology. If a manuscript is listed in both t2 and t3, the number is kept and expanded with a letter in period t3. Where available, a nickname or other distinctive description of the manuscript is given in quotation marks in addition to the running number. The order of the named parts indicates their recreated order in the manuscript if not otherwise stated. An asterisk ("\*") in front of a manuscript part marks a hypothetical position. Two asterisks ("\*\*") in front of a manuscript part marks a random, usually alphabetical order, since no educated guess on the order was possible

## D.1 Before Árni (t2)

#### **Ms1**:

AM 342 4to CU2 (Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar, Friðþjófs saga frækna, Ketils saga hængs; Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga), AM 285 4to (Hrólfs saga kraka), AM 587 c 4to (Göngu-Hrólfs saga), (lost (Sálus saga og Nikanórs, [possibly more])) (Slay 1960, 144-146)

**Ms2** "bók (eldri en 1646) er ég fékk af séra Högna Ámundasyni" (eight groups, their order mostly unknown):

I: AM 151 fol. (Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar), AM 165 k fol. (Þórðar saga hreðu, Vísa Þórðar af Finnboga ramma), AM 165 a fol. (Finnbóga saga ramma), AM 165 d fol. (Ölkofra þáttur), AM 165 l fol. (Bandamanna saga)

II: AM 165 m fol. CU4 (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 165 b fol. (Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds), AM 164 a fol. (Víga-Glúms saga), (lost)

III: AM 165 i fol. (Króka-Refs saga)

IV: AM 202 i fol. CU1 (Norna-Gests þáttur), AM 202 g  $\alpha$  fol. (Rauðúlfs þáttur)

V: AM 165 h fol. CU1 (Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar (with lacuna))

VI: AM 165 e fol. (Harðar saga og Hólmverja), AM 165 g fol. (Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss), AM 11 fol. (Hrólfs saga kraka), (lost)

VII: AM 165 c fol. (Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 202 a fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekkum)

VIII (positioned last): AM 165 h fol. CU2 (Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar (text of lanuna))

Note: Slay (1960, 156-157) points out that AM 202 k fol. CU2 might have been a part of the codex, but this cannot be known for sure. On handrit.is it has also been suggested that AM 50 a fol. was part of this former codex which, however, seems unlikely unless the manuscript was changed before Árni received it from *séra* Högni Ámundason. (Slaw 1960, 146, 154)

(Slay 1960, 146-154)

Ms3 (four groups with known internal order, rest in alphabetical order): I: AM 202 i fol. CU2 (Norna-Gests þáttur), AM 202 e fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka), AM 183 fol. (Mágus saga (excerpt)) II: AM 163 s fol. (Bandamanna saga), AM 181 m fol. CU2 (Sálus saga Nikanórs, Þjalar-Jóns saga)
III: (lost (Víglundar saga)), AM 163 f fol. (Króka-Refs saga)
IV: AM 163 g fol. (Þórðar saga hreðu), (lost)
V: \*\*AM 12 c fol. (Hrólfs saga kraka), \*\*AM 159 fol. (Finnboga saga ramma), \*\*AM 164 e β fol. (Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), \*\*AM 176 b fol. (Trójumanna saga, Breta sögur)
(Slay 1960, 157-159)

Ms4 "Torfæi Num. VII (fol.)": (lost (Poetic Edda)), (lost (Snorra Edda)), AM 246 fol. (Flateyjar Annáll), AM 244 fol. (Annales regii) (Kålund 1909, 68)

## Ms5:

AM 612 f 4to (Þjófa rímur), AM 611 c 4to (Fortunatus rímur) (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 16-19; Jorgensen 1997, cxxi)

## Ms6 (three parts):

I: (probably beginning): AM 540 4to (Rémundar saga), AM 779 c III 4to CU4 (Grænlands Chronica), AM 347 4to CU5 (Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar), AM 554 a γ 4to (Króka-Refs saga)

II: \*\*AM 180 e fol. (Karlamagnús saga, Geiplu þáttur), \*\*AM 588 f 4to (Jóns saga leikara), \*\*(lost (Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar)), \*\*(lost (Vilmundar saga viðutan))

III: (positioned last): AM 344 b 4to CU2 (Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar), AM 588 l 4to (Sálus saga og Nikanórs), AM 588 k 4to (Samsons saga fagra), AM 344 b 4to CU1 (Örvar-Odds saga), AM 564 d 4to (Þórðar saga hreðu)

Note: As Mariane Overgaard (2009, 60\*-61\*) points out, AM 347 4to CU3 is a replacement copy of the beginning of *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar* from Árni's time and supposed to be located in front of AM 347 4to CU5.

(Loth 1960b, 114-120; Slay 1967, 198-202)

#### **Ms7**:

\*\*AM 109 fol. (Landnámabók, Jómsvíkinga saga (verses)), \*\*AM 205 fol. CU1 (Hungurvaka), \*\*AM 205 fol. CU2 (Þorláks saga helga, Guðmundar saga biskups), \*\*AM 205 fol. CU3 (Þáls saga biskups), \*\*AM 205 fol. CU4 (Jóns saga helga, Notes on bishops in Skálholt and Hólar, Register of bishops), \*\*AM 215 fol. ("Vmm Byskup Stephan", "Vmm Biskup Augmund", "Vm høfudz mennena og vmm atrekanda vmm syda skyptenn og adtektter j videy", "Vm Byskupa skypte", "Vm slag Danskra j Schalhollte", "Nockur ägrip vmm gømlu sidena", "Þad Riettasta vm ætt og vppruna herra Gissurar Einarssonar", "Vmm Herra Martein Einarson", "Skipta Bref Barna Lopts Ryka", "Fryheyta Bref Eggers Eggerssonar")

Note: Jakob Benediktsson (1958, xv-xvi) and Már Jónsson (1998, 190) suggest that AM 113 a fol. might have been the first text in this manuscript when it came to Árni. Further research needed. (Slay 1960, 154-155)

#### Ms8 "Ferjubók":

AM 110 fol. (Landnámabók, Um erlenda biskupa á Íslandi), AM 163 d fol. (Flóamanna saga, Njáls saga), AM 125 fol. CU2 (Eyrbyggja saga), AM 163 c fol. (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 125 fol. CU1 (Laxdæla saga), AM 163 a fol. (Vatnsdæla saga, Grettis saga (part)), AM 163 b fol. (Grettis saga, Lausavísur, Gunnars saga Kelldugnúpfífls, Þórðar saga hreðu, Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 202 g fol. CU2 (Rauðúlfs þáttur)

Note: Már Jónsson (2012, 192) also counts AM 164 i fol. CU1 and CU2 as part of this codex.

(Arthur 2015, 67; Jakob Benediktsson 1958, xiv-xv)

#### Ms9 "Torfæi Num. IX (fol.)":

AM 306 fol. (Gulaþingslög), AM 310 fol. (Frostaþingslög), AM 324 fol. (Hirðskrá), AM 327 fol. (Kristinn réttur Jóns erkibiskups, Kristinn réttur Sverris konungs), AM 326 fol. (Tunsbergs lög) (Kålund 1909, 68-69)

#### **Ms10**:

AM 555 h 4to (Draumur Stjörnu-Odda, Bergbúa þáttur (beginning, past-

ed over)), AM 564 c 4to (Bergbúaþáttur (end, crossed out), Kumlbúa þáttur, Draumur Þorsteins Síðu-Hallssonar) (Stefán Karlsson 1970c, 282-283)

## Ms11:

AM 6 fol. (Ragnar saga loðbrókar), AM 10 fol. (Hrólfs saga kraka), AM 157 h fol. (Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu, Heiðarvíga saga (Trygðamál), Valla-Ljóts saga), AM 193 d fol. (Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra), (lost (Háttalykill Lopts ríka)), AM 143 fol. (Víga-Glúms saga), (lost (Droplaugarsonar þáttur))

(Slay 1960, 17; Kålund 1909, 72)

## Ms12:

AM 552 f 4to (Króka-Refs saga, Konungatal, Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar), AM 564 b 4to (Þórðar saga hreðu), AM 552 e 4to (Þorsteins þáttur Stangarhöggs, Gunnars saga Þiðrandabana, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls), AM 552 a 4to (Gísla saga Súrssonar), AM 552 i 4to (Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 591 f 4to (Bósa saga og Herrauðs), AM 552 d 4to (Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss), AM 552 o 4to (Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings), AM 565 a 4to (Fóstbræðra saga), AM 565 b 4to (Víga-Glúms saga), AM 441 4to (Eyrbyggja saga, Laxdæla saga, Bolla þáttur Bollasonar), AM 552 k α 4to (Þórvalds þáttur viðförla), AM 591 c 4to (Hrólfs saga kraka, Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar, Friðþjófs saga frækna), AM 591 d 4to (Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar), (lost (Sigurðar saga þögla, Sigurgarðs saga frækna, Hjálmbérs saga og Ölvers)), AM 591 h 4to (Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana, Sveinka þáttur Steinarssonar), (lost (Eymundar saga Hringsbana, Eiríks saga víðförla, Tóka þáttur Tókasonar)), AM 459 4to (Egils saga Skallagrímssonar) (Loth 1960b, 128-134)

## Ms13:

AM 591 e 4to (Göngu-Hrólfs saga, Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra), (lost (Jarlmans saga, Dínus saga drambláta)), AM 552 c 4to (Þórvalds þáttur krákunefs, On Grettis saga), AM 552 g 4to (Þórleifs þáttur jarlaskálds), AM 292 4to CU1 (Jómsvíkinga saga, Færeyinga saga (Þáttur af Sigmundi Brestsyni og Þrándi í Götu)), AM 349 4to CU1 (Þorvalds þáttur tasalda), AM 292 4to CU2 (Færeyinga saga (Þáttur af Þrándi í Götu), Hróa þáttur heimska), [lost (Tóka þáttur Tókasonar)],<sup>1</sup> AM 292 4to CU3 (Völsa þáttur), (lost (Bergbúa þáttur)), AM 552 h 4to (Þorsteins þáttur uxafóts), (lost (Blómsturvalla saga, Nikulás saga leikara)), AM 591 g 4to (Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra, Þorsteins saga bæjarmagns), AM 591 k 4to (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs) (Loth 1960b, 128-139)

#### Ms14:

AM 109 a 8vo I CU1 (Áns saga bogsveigis), AM 109 a 8vo I CU2 (Egils saga einhanda og Ásmundar bersekjabana (without beg.), Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar), \*(lost (Bósa saga (Buslubæn)), \*AM 109 a 8vo I CU3 (Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga) (Springborg 1969, 291-293; 1970, 366-368)

## Ms15:

AM 119 a 8vo CU1 (Elís saga ok Rósamundu), AM 119 a 8vo CU2 (Gibbons saga), AM 588 p 4to CU1 (Sigurðar saga fóts), AM 118 a 8vo CU1 (Adonias saga), AM 118 a 8vo CU2 (Bevers saga), AM 119 a 8vo CU4 (Konráðs saga keisarasonar), AM 109 a 8vo III CU7 (Hjálmþérs saga og Ölvers), AM 119 a 8vo CU3 (Partalopa saga), AM 118 a 8vo CU3 (Viktors saga og Blávus), AM 588 p 4to CU2 (Bærings saga), AM 588 p 4to CU3 (Ála flekks saga)

Note: Zitzelsberger (1981, 155-158) erroneously counts fifteen sagas, and Jensen (1983, xcviii) hypothesises that AM 119 b 8vo may have been connected to this codex for some time.

(Jónas Kristjánsson 1964, lvi-lviii; Sanders 2001, cv-cvi; see also Jensen 1983, xcvii; Love/Stegmann/Birkett 2016, 35)

Ms16 (three parts):

I: AM 109 a 8vo II CU5 (Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga)

II: (lost), AM 109 a 8vo II CU4 (Friþjófs saga frækna), AM 116 III 8vo CU3 (Jökuls þáttur Búasonar)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Possibly identical with the Tóka þáttur Tókasonar named in Ms12

III: AM 109 a 8vo II CU6 (Hrólfs saga kraka), (lost (Ketils saga hængs)), (lost), AM 116 III 8vo CU4 (Orms saga Stórólfssonar). (Slay 1960, 160-161)

## Ms17:

\*\*AM 610 b 4to (Hektors rímur), \*\*AM 610 c 4to (Jarlmanns rímur, Hrómundar rímur, Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar, Hemings rímur Aslákssonar, Konráðs rímur, Herburts rímur, Reinalds rímur, Andra rímur), \*\*AM 610 d 4to (Sigurðar rímur fóts, Sturlaugs rímur starfsama, Dámusta rímur, Mágus rímur), \*\*AM 610 e-f 4to (Göngu-Hrólfs rímur) Note: Further research needed. (Springborg 1977, 80)

Ms18 "bók séra Þorsteins Björnssonar" (two volumes):

Vol. 1: (lost)

Vol. 2: (lost), AM 158 fol. CU1 (Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpfífls, Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana, Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs, Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins þáttur sögufróða, Þorsteins saga hvíta, Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings), AM 158 fol. CU2 (Jökuls þáttur Búasonar, Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 158 fol. CU3 (Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss, Laxdæla saga), AM 158 fol. CU4 (Egils saga Skallagrímssonar, Eyrbyggja saga, Vatnsdæla saga), AM 158 fol. CU5 (Reykdæla saga, Valla-Ljóts saga), AM 326 c 4to (Hemings þáttur Aslákssonar), (lost), AM 121 fol. (Sturlunga saga), AM 204 fol. (Hungurvaka, Þorláks saga helga, Páls saga biskups, Laurentius saga, Guðmundar saga biskups, Árna saga biskups), (lost), AM 181 f fol. (Konráðs saga keisarasonar), AM 181 l fol. (Þjalar-Jóns saga), (lost? [1 leaf, possibly blank]), AM 181 d fol. (Hektors saga), AM 181 g fol. (Mírmans saga), (lost), AM 181 h fol. (Rémundar saga keisarasonar), (lost (Kirjalax saga?)), AM 181 e fol. (Clarus saga), (lost), AM 181 k fol. (Ála flekks saga), AM 181 c fol. (Bevers saga), AM 181 a fol. (Ívens saga, Parcevals saga, Valvers þáttur), AM 181 b fol. (Erex saga, Samsons saga fagra, Möttuls saga, Krukksspá (crossed out))

Note: One of the lost parts probably contained Valdimars saga, copied in AM 588 q 4to, and a copy of Kirjalax saga survives in AM 532 4to. It is possible that the codex also contained Jarlmanns saga, Elis saga og Rosamundu and Flóvents saga, all of which are now lost. (Springborg 1977, 81-86; 2014; I am thankful to Peter Springborg for sharing his detailed notes with me.)

## Ms19:

AM 578 g 4to (Tiodels saga riddara), AM 522 4to (Blómsturvalla saga, Sigurgarðs saga frækna) Note: Further details about time of dismembering needed. (Springborg 1977, 84)

#### Ms20:

AM 392 4to (Jóns saga helga), AM 395 4to (Guðmundar saga), AM 768 4to (Grænlandsannáll)

Note: AM 395 4to was temporarily taken out of Ms20 and lent to Årni, who returned it, before he acquired the whole manuscript. AM 398 4to was separately given to Árni. See also Ms20a.

(Foote 2003, 212\*-213\*, 241\*)

**Ms21** (items of part I are mentioned in a table of contents, whereas the order of the other CUs is uncertain):

I: AM 67 8vo CU2 (Kong Maytz bréf og taxti, Kvikfjárlag á vör, Hvörninn tíunda skal fríða og dauða peninga í sérhvörju héraði, Tylftir umhverfis Ísland, Annáll 874-1492, Búalög, Bergmál – Dvergmál, Stuttir brúðkaupssiðir, Maríuvísa), AM 67 8vo CU4 (Hvernig kristinn maður skal iðka Davíðs saltara, Kvæði og sálmar eftir ýmiss skáld, Um svall og drykkjuskap), (lost (Oddbragur séra Stefáns Ólafssonar, Vísur eftir Þormóð Kolbrúnarskáld, "Gakktu hógt um gleðinnar dyr", Minningarsálmar eftir Steinunni dóttur Hallgríms Péturssonar, Vísur og kvæði, Vísur séra Hallgríms Péturssonar )), AM 717 f  $\alpha$  4to (Krists kvæði, Kvæði), (lost (Kvæði)), AM 716 f 4to (Niðurstigningsvísur), AM 717 g 4to ("Krosskvæði gamalt"), (lost (Kvæði Kolbeins Grímssonar, Kvæði, Kvæði og sálmar eftir séra Ólaf Jónsson á Söndum))

II: AM 67 8vo CU3 (Lögfræðilegt efni, Fróðleikur og kveðskapur úr Íslendingasögum, Siðferðilegur fróðleikur);

III: AM 67 8vo CU5 (Rímvísur, Tilvitnanir í latneska höfunda)

IV: AM 717 c 4to (Sankti Olafs vísur)

V (written later, but possibly related): AM 67 8vo CU1 (Heilræði)

(Jón Samsonarson 1967, 50-61; Guðrún Ingólfsdóttir 2014, 103-120)

## Ms22 "Torfæi Num. XI":

AM 173 fol. CU5 (Sturlungs saga starfsama), AM 146 fol. (Egils saga Skallagrímssonar), AM 157 f fol. (Hænsa-Þóris saga), (lost (Vatnsdæla saga)), AM 157 b fol. (Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings, Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa)

(Kålund 1909, 69-71)

## Ms23 "No. 8 (Meier)":

AM 104 fol. (Landnámabók, Um erlenda biskupa á Íslandi), AM 119 fol. (Sturlunga saga, Árna saga biskups) (Kålund 1909, 52-53; Jakob Benediktsson 1958, ix-x)

## Ms24 "No. 9 (Meier)":

AM 67 b fol. (Skálda saga), AM 172 b fol. CU2(?) (Friðþjófs saga frækna), AM 172 a fol. CU1(?) (Ketils saga hængs, Gíms saga loðinkinna), AM 172 b fol. CU1(?) (Örvar-Odds saga), AM 172 a fol. CU2(?) (Áns saga bogsveigis, Sturla saga starfsama), AM 141 fol. (Fóstbræðra saga) Note: Peter Springborg (1996, 13) doubts the correct indetification of AM 172 a-b fol. Further research needed. (Kålund 1909, 53; Springborg 1996, 13)

## Ms25:

\*AM 84 fol. (Sverris saga), \*AM 90 fol. (Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar) Note: Order needs to be confirmed. (Springborg 1996, 13)

#### Ms26:

AM 404 fol. (Laurentius saga biskups), \*AM 380 4to (Hungurvaka, Þorláks saga biskups), \*AM 446 4to (Eyrbyggja saga), \*AM 458 4to (Egils saga Skallagrímssonar)

Note: Order of the last three parts needs to be confirmed. (Stefán Karlsson 2000, 396-397; Scott 2003, 45\*)

#### Ms27:

AM 560 a 4to (Víglundar saga), AM 560 b 4to (Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls), AM 560 c 4to (Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar, Draumaþættir, Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar, Áns saga bogsveigis, Rauðúlfs þáttur, Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings), AM 560 d 4to (Sörla saga sterka, Egils saga Skallagrímssonar)

Note: This manuscript was most likely first dismembered after 1730, see AM-slip in AM 560 d 4to and AM 567 fol., 22r. Possibly an aggregation of originally separate parts (Jón Helgason/Kjeldsen/Chesnutt 2005, 9-11). Further research needed.

## Ms28:

AM 161 fol. CU2 (Reykdæla saga), AM 161 fol. CU1 (Svarfdæla saga, Valla-Ljóts saga), AM 139 fol. (Þórðar saga hreðu), AM 212 fol. (Arons saga Hjörleifssonar), AM 156 fol. CU3 (Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða), AM 156 fol. CU5 (Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls), (lost (Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins þáttur fróða)), AM 156 fol. CU1 (Þorsteins saga hvíta), (lost (Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings)), AM 156 fol. CU2 (Þorsteins páttur stangarhöggs), AM 156 fol. CU4 (Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana), AM 164 b fol. (Víga-Glúms saga), AM 163 e fol. (Fóstbræðra saga), AM 130 fol. CU1 (Eyrbyggja saga), AM 130 fol. CU2 (Laxdæla saga), AM 163 n fol. (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 297 b 4to (Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra), AM 181 i fol. (Ála flekks saga), AM 163 m fol. (Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar (end missing))

#### Ms29:

AM 1006 4to(?) (Knýtlinga saga), AM 408 e 4to (Hungurvaka), (lost? (Biskupaannálar))

Note: The identification of *Knýtlinga saga* as AM 1006 4to is likely to be correct but cannot be proven. If the identification is right, then AM 1006 4to was probably added later to what is now AM 408 e 4to, but was in the same volume when it came to Árni Magnússon.

Ms30 "Torfæi Num. XVI (4to)":

AM 463 4to CU1 (Egils saga Skallagrímssonar), AM 443 4to (Eyrbyggja saga, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls, Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða) (Kålund 1909, 78-79)

#### Ms31:

(lost), AM 615 o 4to (Sörla rímur sterka), AM 612 c 4to (Hrólfs rímur Gautrekssonar)

Ms32 (uncertain if parts II and III were in the same codex as I):

I: AM 779 c II 4to CU3 (Grænlands Chronica), AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU1 (Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar), AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU2 (Króka-Refs saga), AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU3 (Ísleifs þáttur biskups)

II(?): AM 539 4to CU1 (Rémundar saga keisarasonar (part)), AM 539 4to CU2 (Rémundar saga keisarasonar (part))

III(?): AM 630 4to (Jóns saga postola, Jakobs saga postola, Bartholomæus saga postola, Thomas saga postola, Tveggja postola saga Símons ok Júdas, Péturs saga postola, Andreas saga postola, Matheus saga postola), (lost? ("Vm þad Rauda haf"))

Note: AM 539 4to CU1, AM 539 4to CU2 and AM 630 4to have the same provenance as part I. Thus, it seems possible that they were part of the same manuscript when Árni acquired it. Also, AM 347 4to CU4 contains a replacement copy of the beginning of *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar* from Árni Magnússon's time, which was supposed to be located in front of AM 554 h  $\alpha$  4to CU1 (Overgaard 2009, 37\*).

(Overgaard 2009, 38\*; Már Jónsson 2014, 29)

#### Ms33:

AM 113 i fol. (Íslendingabók), (lost ("Nockur Fornýrði")), AM 554 h beta 4to (Króka-Refs saga, Þórðar saga hreðu, Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 554 i 4to (Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls), AM 613 c 4to (Persíus rímur, Bellerofontis rímur), (lost (Áns rímur bogsveigis, Annálar, Ættartölur)), AM 611 e 4to (Grímals rímur, Kvæði séra Jóns Arasonar)

## Ms34:

\*AM 478 4to (Grettis saga, Lausavísa), (lost (Fortunatus saga)), \*AM 465 4to (Njáls saga), AM 282 4to (Ragnars saga loðbrókar), \*AM 575 b 4to (Drauma-Jóns saga)

Note: Kålund (1889-1894, 1: 737) only mentions the last three items, but the AM-slip in AM 478 4to suggest that it was part of the same codex when it came to Árni Magnússon. Further research needed. (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 737)

Ms35 "bók Markúsar Bergssonar":

AM 536 4to (Mágus saga jarls), AM 585 b 4to (Úlfar saga sterka), AM 345 4to CU2 (Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar), (lost (Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra)), AM 585 c 4to (Gibbons saga, Nikulás saga leikara), AM 585 d 4to (Sigurðar saga fóts, Sigurðar saga turnara), AM 585 a 4to (Hektors saga), AM 585 e 4to (Valdimars saga, Konráðs saga keisarasonar, Þjalar-Jóns saga), (lost (Sörla þáttur)), AM 345 4to CU3 (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs, Bósa saga, Hrómundar saga Gripssonar), AM 345 4to CU1 (Áns saga bogsveigis), (lost (Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar, Haralds saga Hringsbana))

## Ms36:

AM 606 g 4to (Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar), AM 410 4to CU1 (Historia universalis, Annáll, Historia universalis), AM 410 4to CU2 (Annálar), (lost? (Annálar))

Note: Árni Magnússon's notes concerning the final item are contradicting.

#### Ms37:

AM 123 fol. (Laxdæla saga, Eyrbyggja saga), AM 163 h alpha fol. (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 164 f fol. (Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 163 h beta fol. (Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss, Harðar saga ok Hólmverja, Ölkofra þáttur), \*AM 167 fol. (Rémundar saga keisarasonar, Sigurgarðs saga frækna, Jarlmanns saga og Hermanns).

(On the first four items see Hast (1960, 152-153).)

#### Ms38:

\*(lost (Geiplur)), AM 615 a 4to (Sigurðar rímur fóts), AM 615 b 4to (Áns rímur bogsveigis), AM 615 c 4to (Rímur af sjö vísu meisturum), AM 610 a 4to (Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar).

Note: The preserved manuscripts have been listed in unspecified order by Ólafur Halldórsson.

(Ólafur Halldórsson 1973, 9)

#### Ms39:

AM 615 f 4to (Spönsku vísur, Króka-Refs rímur, Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar, Grobbians rímur), AM 615 g 4to (Herodes rímur, Vefjarvísur, Lausavísur), AM 615 h 4to (Apolloni rímur, Asmundar rímur og Tryggva, Samstæður), AM 615 i 4to (Geiplur, Aldarháttur, Skýringar við Aldarhátt), AM 615 k 4to (Flores rímur og Leó, Lykla-Péturs rímur, Kvæði and lausavísur), AM 615 l 4to (Reinalds rímur), AM 615 m 4to (Hektors rímur, Kossakvæði)

Note: This form of the manuscript is first indicated in the old handwritten catalogue but probably existed in that form before Árni Magnússon treated it.

#### **Ms40**:

(lost (Landnáma)), AM 555 c 4to (Njáls saga, Guðmundar saga biskups (excerpt)), (lost (Úlfs saga Uggasonar)), (lost (Sigurðar saga fóts)), AM 779 c IV 4to CU5 (Grænlands Chronica), AM 555 b 4to (Um Saracenos), \*AM 614 a 4to (Rollants rímur), \*AM 614 b 4to (Hervarar rímur, Grettis rímur), \*AM 614 c 4to (Viglundar rímur), \*AM 614 d 4to (Pontus rímur), \*AM 614 e 4to (Valdemars rímur), \*AM 614 f 4to (Króka-Refs rímur) (Stefán Karlsson 1970a, 83-86)

## Ms41 "Torfæi Num. XII (fol.)":

AM 224 fol. (Thomas saga erkibiskups), AM 207 a fol. (Hungurvaka, Biskupaannálar), AM 142 fol. CU1 (Fóstbræðra saga), AM 142 fol. CU2 (Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar)

Note: On an AM-slip in AM 224 fol. it is incorrectly noted that the manuscript part was taken out of "Num. I". (Kålund 1909, 70)

#### Ms42:

AM 754 4to (Völuspá, Hávamál, Snorra Edda), AM 778 a 4to CU1 (Mixed historical texts about Greenland) (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 178)

## Ms43:

\*AM 136 fol. (Njáls saga), AM 126 fol. CU1 (Laxdæla saga), AM 126 fol. CU2 (Eyrbyggja saga), AM 138 fol. (Vatnsdæla saga), AM 165 m fol. CU2 (Vitranir), AM 165 f fol. CU1 (Hænsa-Þóris saga), AM 165 m fol. CU3 (Flóamanna saga) (Slay 1960, 155)

#### Ms44:

AM 663 b 4to (Játvarðar saga helga), AM 174 fol. (Jóns saga leikara) (Slay 1960, 155. Further research needed.)

## Ms45:

AM 496 4to CU1 (Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls, Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins þáttur sögufróða, Þorsteins saga hvíta, Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings, Gunnars saga Þiðrandabana, Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs, Reykdæla saga), AM 496 4to CU2 (Valla-Ljóts saga), AM 329 4to CU2 (Hemings þáttur Aslákssonar) (Már Jónsson 1998b, 189; Stefán Karlsson 2000, 396; Order based on AM-slip in AM 329 4to CU2.)

#### Ms46:

\*\*AM 34 8vo (Hirðskrá), \*\*AM 37 b 8vo CU2 (Table of contents of Jónsbók), \*\*AM 53 8vo (Kristinréttur Árna biskups, Kirkjuskipanir) Note: It is impossible to establish the original order of the parts. It is possible that there were additional parts in the manuscript.

#### Ms47 "Torfæi Num. XIII (fol.)":

AM 34 fol. CU1 (Hversu Noregur bygðist), AM 67 a fol. (Skálda saga), AM 202 c fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálsrekka), AM 193 a fol. (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs), AM 173 fol. CU4 (Friðþjófs saga frækna), AM 173 fol. CU1 (Ketils saga hængs, Gríms loðinkinna), AM 173 fol. CU2 (Örvar-Odds saga), AM 173 fol. CU3 (Áns saga bogsveigis), AM 193 b fol. (Eiríks saga víðförla), (lost (Hyndluljóð)), AM 193 c fol. (Yngvars saga víðförla (fragm.)), AM 193 e fol. (Hrómundar saga Gripssonar), AM 7 fol. (Ragnars saga loðbrókar), (lost (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi)), AM 17 fol. (Knýtlinga saga) (Kålund 1909, 70-71)

## Ms48 "Torfæi Num. XIV (fol.)":

AM 149 fol. (Gísla saga Súrssonar), AM 157 g fol. (Harðar saga og Hólmverja), AM 157 a fol. (Þórðar saga hreðu), AM 154 fol. (Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar), AM 157 c fol. (Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss), AM 140 fol. (Bandamanna saga, Flóamanna saga), AM 157 e fol. (Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða), AM 164 k fol. (Brandkrossa þáttur, Droplaugarsona saga), AM 150 fol. (Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar), AM 770 a 4to CU1 (Grænlendinga þáttur, Biskupar og kirkjur á Grænlandi), AM 157 d fol. (Kroka-Refs saga)

(Kålund 1909, 71)

## Ms49 "Torfæi Num. XVII (fol.)":

AM 189 fol. (Sigurðar saga þögla), AM 187 fol. (Mágus saga jarls), (lost (Sæmundar Edda)), (lost (Jón lærði's commentary on Snorra Edda)), (lost (Björn á Skarðsá's commentary on Völuspá) (lost (Björn á Skarðsá's commentary on Sigurdrifumál)), (lost (Björn á Skarðsá's commentary on runes))

(Kålund 1909, 72-73)

## Ms50 "Torfæi Num. XVIII (fol.)":

AM 101 fol. (Orkneyinga þáttur), AM 168 fol. CU1 (Egils saga einhenda), (lost (Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar)), AM 168 fol. CU2 (Sörla saga sterka), AM 147 fol. (Gísla saga Súrssonar, Harðar saga og Hólmverja) Note: Árni's notes on this former manuscript are contradictory. In an added note on fol. 11v of AM 435 b 4to, for instance, he mentions that *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* might have been part of the former manuscript as well. Moreover, AM 172 a fol. carries a note attributing it to "Num. 18" of Torfæus's manuscripts. Further research needed. (Kålund 1909, 73)

Ms51 "Torfæi Num. XX (fol.)":

AM 99 fol. (Om Norges Rige), AM 365 fol. CU1 (Descriptio urbis Bergensis (Danish, excerpts)), \*AM 365 fol. CU2 (Norske retterbøder), AM 199 fol. (Svenska krönika (Danish))

Note: Árni Magnússon does not mention AM 365 fol. CU2 in AM 435 b 4to, which is probably because the text has no rubric. At least, the codicological properties suggest that it was part of the same codex. (Kålund 1909, 74-75)

Ms52 "Torfæi Num. I (4to)":

AM 1008 4to CU1 (Hversu Noregur byggðist), AM 303 4to (Ættartal Noregs konunga) (Kålund 1909, 75; Loth 1960b, 209)

Ms53 "Torfæi Num. IV (4to)":

AM 66 4to (Gulaþingslög), AM 104 4to (Hirðskrá), (lost ("Frivola quædam")), (lost ("Um þa Siðari Danakonunga")), (lost (Réttarbætur)), (lost ("Friderici III. Handfesting")) Note: It is possible that this is not the original form of the codex. (Kålund 1909, 75-76; Loth 1960b, 209)

Ms54 "Torfæi Num. X (4to)":

AM 351 4to (Magnús saga Eyjajarls), AM 403 4to (Laurentius saga biskups), AM 521 a 4to (Ambáles saga)

Note: In all likelihood, the three parts did not originally form a manuscript.

(Kålund 1909, 76)

#### Ms55 "Torfæi Num. XIII (4to)":

(lost (Ættartal Dana konunga)), (lost ("Gnomæ de Literis Runicis"), (lost (Langfeðgatal), (lost ("Drápa um Eirík konung Magnússon" (fragm.))), (lost (Excerpts, Obituarium)), (lost (Langfeðgatal), AM 483 4to (Svarfdæla saga), (lost (Heiðreks gátur)), (lost (Sólarljós)), (lost (Ljósvetninga saga (fragm.))), AM 587 b 4to (Hrómundar saga Gripssonar), (lost (Arinbjarnarkviða)), AM 554 f 4to (Kormáks saga), (lost?), AM 555 i 4to (Stjörnu-Odda draumur), AM 359 a 4to (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs), (lost (Yngvars saga viðförla (fragm.))), AM 1008 4to CU3 (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka), (lost (Excerpts "Ex breviario Niderosiensi")) (Kålund 1909, 77-78; Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2014, 132-135)

## Ms56 "Torfæi Num. XV (4to)":

AM 562 g 4to CU1 (Þorsteins þáttur sögufróða), (lost (Krukksspá)), AM 588 h 4to (Möttuls saga), AM 408 c 4to (Hungurvaka, Guðmundar saga biskups (fragm.)), (lost (Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar)), (lost (Stjörnu-Odda draumur (fragm.))), AM 473 4to (Þórðar saga hreðu), AM 1 d  $\beta$ fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi) (Kålund 1909, 78; Kalinke 1987, cxxx; Springborg 2014a, 101-105)

## Ms57 "Torfæi in 8vo":

AM 144 8vo (Áns rímur bogsveigis, Rímur af Eremit meistara, Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar), AM 125 8vo CU1 (Flóres saga konungs ok sona hans), AM 125 8vo CU3 (Rémundar saga keisarasonar), AM 125 8vo CU2 (Viktors saga og Blávus)

(Kålund 1909, 82; Jónas Kristjánsson 1964, lxix-lxx)

#### Ms58 "Rostgaard Num. 604":

(lost (Tractatum de Islandia)), (lost (Ænigmata Islandica)), (lost (Catalogum Historiam et monomentorum)), AM 777 c 4to CU2 (Grønlandsbeskrivelse, Letter), (lost (Adversari pauca Runica))

Note: An AM-slip found in AM 770 c 4to CU9 suggests that it was also part of this collection of texts. However, the text is not mentioned in Rostgaard's auction catalogue under that number. (Kålund 1909, 101)

## Ms59 "Torfæi Num. II (fol.)":

AM 44 fol. (Noregs konunga sögur), AM 16 fol. (Knýtlinga saga) (Kålund 1909, 67)

#### **Ms60**:

AM 582 4to CU1 (Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar), AM 537 4to CU1 (Nitida saga), AM 582 4to CU2 (Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana); AM 582 4to CU3 (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs), (lost? ("Af Heidreke konge og hanns ætmonnum")), AM 582 4to CU4 (Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra), AM 537 4to CU2 (Fertrams saga og Platos, Þjalar-Jóns saga), AM 582 4to CU5 (Eiríks saga víðförla), \*(lost ("Hrafngaldur Oðins", "Dissertatiuncula de origine vocis væringiar")), AM 582 4to CU6 (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar, Víga-Glúms saga (fragm.))

Note: Further research needed.

(Jensen 1983, lxxxviii-xcii; Overgaard 2009, 30\*-32\*)

#### Ms61:

\*AM 613 g 4to (Pontus rímur (beginning missing)), \*AM 613 f 4to (Rollants rímur), \*AM 779 c V 4to CU6 (Grænlands Chronica), \*AM 554 a  $\alpha$  4to (Harðar saga og Hólmverja), AM 588 r 4to (Úlfs saga Uggasonar (beginning missing))

Note: The manuscripts have been listed in unspecified order by Sture Hast.

(Hast 1960, 150-152)

#### Ms62:

(lost ("Sú fyrsta fregn af Saturno í Krit 1641")), (lost (Eddukvæði)), AM 552 l 4to (Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu), AM 552 m 4to (Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds), AM 552 n 4to (Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar), AM 552 p 4to (Kjalnesinga saga), AM 552 q 4to (Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga), AM 552 b 4to (Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings), AM 552 r 4to (Höfuðlausn, Commentary by Björn á Skarðsá), (lost? ("Björns á Skardzá um Eddu bækur")), (AM 731 4to (Rímbegla)) (Einar G. Pétursson 1998, 1: 213-215; Stefán Karlsson 2000, 388-389)

## Ms63:

AM 588 a 4to (Ívens saga), AM 588 i 4to (Möttuls saga) (Blaisdell 1979, cxxix-cxxxi)

## **Ms64**:

AM 715 b 4to (Lilja), AM 715 c 4to (Píslargrátur) Note: Further research needed.

## Ms65 "bók Sveins Torfasonar":

\*AM 102 fol. CU1 (Orkneyinga þáttur), \*(lost (Ættartal Noregs konunga)), AM 102 fol. CU2 (Brenna Adams biskups), \*AM 83 fol. (Sverris saga)

Note: A similar AM-slip is found in AM 19 fol. For AM 19 fol. see also Jón Helgason (1985, 13). Further research needed.

## **Ms66**:

\*AM 363 4to CU3 (Gautreks saga), \*AM 363 4to CU1 (Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra)

Note: The codicological features suggest that the parts stem from the same manuscript and that 363 4to CU1 was located at the end. Further research needed.

## **Ms67**:

AM 113 c fol. (Íslendingabók), \*AM 148 fol. (Gísla saga Súrssonar), \*AM 155 fol. (Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar), \*AM 185 fol. (Dínus saga drambláta), \*AM 13 fol. (Jómsvíkinga saga), \*AM 34 fol. CU2 (Hversu Noregur byggðist), \*AM 49 fol. CU1 (Hálfdanar þáttur svarta, Upphaf ríkis Haralds hárfagra, Hauks þáttur Hábrokar), \*AM 49 fol. CU2 (Haralds þáttur grenska, Ólafs þáttur Geirstaðaálfs), \*AM 49 CU3 (Ólafs saga hins helga) Note: Hypothetical order of texts based on the assumption that, while the first item was replaced, the rest of the manuscript remained unchanged compared to Ms67a.

(Jón Jóhannesson 1956, xvii)

#### Ms68:

\*\*AM 209 fol. (Hungurvaka, Þorláks saga biskups hins helga, Páls saga biskups), \*\*AM 213 fol. (Biskupaannálar Jóns Egilssonar), \*\*AM 216 fol. ("Um biskup Stefán", "Um biskup Ögmund", "Um höfunðsmennina og um aðrekanda og siðaskiptin og aðtektir í Viðey", "Um biskupaskipti", "Um slag danskra í Skálholti", "Nokkur ágrip um gömlu siðina", "Það réttasta um ætt og uppruna herra Gissurar Einarsonar", "Um herra Martein Einarsson", "Skiptabréf barna Lofts ríka", "Fríheitabréf Eggerts Eggertssonar")

Note: Order not established yet. Further research needed. (Jón Helgason 1938, 44)

## Ms69:

AM 217 a fol. (Arna saga biskups, Verses), AM 111 fol. (Landnámabók), AM 217 b fol. (Harðar saga og Hólmverja, Víga-Glúms saga, Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings), (lost? (Eddakvæði)), \*AM 217 c fol. (Auðunar þáttur vestfirska, Þorvarðar þáttur Krákunefs, Haralds saga harðráða (part), Stúfs þáttur, Haralds saga harðráða (end))

Note: Further research needed.

(Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 175; Hast 1960, 157-158)

#### **Ms70**:

AM 486 4to CU4 (Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss), (lost? (Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar), AM 445 a 4to (Eyrbyggja saga), (lost (Laxdæla saga)) Note: Hast (1960, 158-159) identifies the second item, *Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar* as AM 486 4to CU5 (see Ms87). Further research needed. (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 660-661)

## Ms71:

AM 615 d 4to (Sigurgarðar rímur frækna), (lost [AM 547 4to] (Vilhjálms saga sjóðs, Dínus saga drambláta, Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar, Sörla saga sterka, Fertrams saga og Platos)) (Springborg 1969, 293-294)

#### Ms72 "bók í grænu bandi":

AM 144 fol. CU1 (Víga-Glúms saga), AM 144 fol. CU2 (Svarfdæla Saga), AM 144 fol. CU3 (Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Gunnars saga Kjelldugnúpfífls, Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins þáttur hvíta, Þorsteins þáttur austfirðings, Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs, Gunnars saga Þiðrandabana), AM 164 e γ fol. (Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), (lost), AM 15 fol. (Jómsvíkinga saga), AM 188 fol. (Mágus saga jarls) (Jónas Kristiánsson 1966, vviji: order is mine.)

(Jónas Kristjánsson 1966, xviii; order is mine.)

**Ms73** "úr bók sem ég fékk frá Guðrúnu Þorgilsdóttur er fyrrum hefir átt Magnús Jónsson lögmaður":

\*AM 213 a 4to ("Útlegging séra Arngríms Jónssonar yfir erfðirnar", "Þetta eftirskrifað á móti meiningu og útleggingu séra Arngríms", "Lítið registur uppá erfðatal eftir A. B."), \*AM 59 b 4to (Óðalsbrigði)

Note: As Storm (1885, 546) points out, the AM slip in AM 59 a 4to belongs to AM 59 b 4to; Further research needed.

## Ms74:

AM 716 b 4to (Krosskvæði), AM 716 a 4to (Krosskvæði, Krosskvæði), AM 716 h 4to (Ljómur), (lost?)

Note: There were additional leaves in the back, but they may have been blank. See also Ms101.

## Ms75:

\*\*AM 134 fol. (Njáls saga), \*\*AM 182 fol. (Vilhjálms saga sjóðs, Ála flekks saga)

Note: Further research needed.

## **Ms76**:

(lost (Hálfdanar saga svarta)), AM 1 b fol. CU3 (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi)

Note: It is possible that AM 409 fol. also formed part of this codex. Further research needed. I am thankful to Philip Lavender for pointing me to this manuscript. Ms77 (two parts, the order of which is unknown): I: AM 210 e 4to CU1 ("Um fjárvon sonarsona í fyrstu erfð"), AM 225 a 4to ("Almennilegt erfðatal eftir lögbókinni í ljóð snúið") II: AM 145 a 4to ("Um tvíræðar lagagreinar") Note: Further research needed. (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 474 (On part I))

#### Ms78 "Copiubók":

AM 355 b fol. (Kristinréttur Árna biskups), AM 197 4to ("Dómar, samþykktir og konungsbréf frá 16.-17. öld") Note: Further research needed. (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 466)

#### Ms79:

\*AM 129 fol. (Eyrbyggja saga, Verse, Verse), AM 163 k fol. (Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings), (lost), \*AM 163 i fol. (Njáls saga), \*AM 164 c fol. (Flóamanna saga), \*AM 5 fol. (Völsunga saga, Ragnars saga loðbrokar) Note: Jakob Benediktsson's (1958, xviii-xix) assumption that AM 129 fol., AM 163 k fol. and AM 164 c fol. came to Árni in the same codex as AM 108 fol. seems unlikely. Rather, the AM-slip in AM 113 d fol. suggests that he received two codices from Jónas Daðason. See also Ms94.

#### Ms80:

AM 509 4to (Víga-Glúms saga), AM 551 b 4to (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 587 a 4to (Hróa þáttur heimska), AM 524 4to CU2 (Valdimars saga), AM 723 b II 4to CU4 (Feðgareisa, Kvæði af saklausan svein), AM 524 4to CU1 (Bærings saga, Konráðs saga keisarasonar) Note: Jón Helgason (1985, 13) claims that AM 587 a 4to was part of GKS 1006 fol. Further research needed.

(Finnur Jónsson 1930, 1: 203; Loth 1960b, 126)

#### Ms81:

AM 163 r fol. (Eigils saga Skallagrímssonar), AM 163 o fol. (Bandamanna saga), AM 163 p fol. (Gísla saga Súrssonar), (lost?)

Note: In the back, there is at least one leaf missing. (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 131-132; Mageröy 1956-1976, \*67-\*68)

#### Ms82:

AM 578 f 4to (Tiodels saga riddara), AM 578 a 4to (Elenu saga einhendu) (Seelow 1989, 136; Ohlsson 2009, ciii-cv.)

## Ms83:

(lost), AM 294 4to (Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra), AM 363 4to CU2 (Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra), (lost (Illuga saga (Latin)), AM 587 e 4to (Sörla þáttur)

#### Ms84:

(lost? ("Register uppa Prestagardana j Skalholltz stigti")), AM 211 b 4to CU1 (Jarðarbækur Ísafjarðarsýslu 1658-95), AM 211 c 4to (Jónsbók, "Skilyrði fyrir eiðspjalli", Réttarbætur og konungsbréf, Alþingis samþyktir og dómar), (lost? ("Stóradóm j dönsku")), (lost? ("Dissertationem juridicam umm dryckiuord")), AM 211 b 4to CU6 ("Jons Eggertssonar Commendatia"), AM 211 e 4to CU1 ("Relatio um Íslands tilstand"), AM 211 a 4to CU3 ("Eftirdæmistafla uppá þá móðurlega arfgrein sem stendur í fyrstu erfð"), AM 211 a 4to CU9 ("Discursus um það orð stefna"), (lost? ("Kvölldvísur Jóns föður Gisla í Dal")), AM 211 a 4to CU1 ("Skjöl um mál Sigfúsar Sveinssonar og Baulhúsa-Gvendar"), (lost? ("Umm Islands tiundargiord"), AM 211 b 4to CU2 ("Skipan Kristjáns IV um arf", "Um óðalsbrigði"), AM 211 d 4to ("Skiptabréf og skjöl frá 15.-17. öld", "Um óðalsjörð", "Meðmæli Christians Müllers amtmanns til prestsekkju árið 1696", "Um erfðir"), (lost? ("Holastadar úttekt 1685"), AM 211 b 4to CU3 (Bréf og skjöl um kirkjuleg mál, kirkjustaði etc., "Konungsbréf um hinn nýja stíl 1700", "Konungsbréf um herstjórn 1679")

Note: There is a list of borrowed manuscripts in AM 211 a 4to CU12. it is unclear, though, if also AM 211e CU2 4to and AM 211 d 4to were part of collection. Further research needed.

(Már Jónsson 2014, 29)

Ms85:

\*\*AM 215 a 4to CU2 (Stutt útskýring lögbókarinnar), \*\*AM 228 b 4to (Þingfararbálkur íslenskrar lögbókar) Note: Further research needed.

Ms86 "Torfæi Num. XII (4to)":

AM 252 fol. (Rímfræði), (lost ("Ex Speculo Regali Excerpta")), (lost ("Undervisaner um fugal og fiska á Islandi")), (lost (Ættartölur)), (lost (Aldarháttur))

Note: In AM 252 fol. a note by Arni Magnússon refers erroneously to "Num. 11".

(Kålund 1909, 76-77)

## **Ms87**:

(lost? (Þórláks saga biskups), (lost? (Nikulás saga leikara), (lost? (Vilhjálms saga sjóðs), AM 486 4to CU1 (Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings), AM 486 4to CU2 (Hænsa-Þóris saga, Harðar saga og Hólmverja), AM 486 4to CU5 (Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar), (lost? (Orms saga Stórólfssonar), AM 515 4to (Flóamanna saga), AM 486 4to CU3 (Þórðar saga hreðu) Note: Hast (1960, 158-159) identifies AM 486 4to CU5 as part of Ms70 (see above). Further research needed.

(Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 660-661; McKinnell 1970, 332)

## Ms88:

AM 179 fol. CU1 (Eiríks saga víðförla (fragm.), Konráðs saga keisarasonar), AM 179 fol. CU1 (Bevers saga, Ívens saga, Parcevals saga, Valvers þáttur, Mírmans saga), AM 179 fol. CU3 (Clarus saga (fragm.?)), AM 179 fol. CU4 (Þjálar-Jóns saga (fragm.?), Flóvents saga, Elis saga og Rósamundu (part)), AM 179 fol. CU5 (Elis saga og Rósamundu (part)), AM 179 fol. CU6 (Möttuls saga, Eiríks saga víðförla (fragm.)),

Note: It is uncertain if the codex actually had this form when it came into Árni Magnússon's collection or if he rearranged it. The condition of AM 179 fol. CU3 and CU4 at this time cannot be determined. (Slay 1991, 160-161)

Ms89:

\*\*AM 612 e 4to (Illuga rímur eldhúsgoða), \*\*AM 612 h 4to (Mábiliar rímur sterku) Note: Further research needed. (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 19)

## **Ms90**:

(lost?), AM 692 b 4to (Hómilíur), AM 692 c 4to (Sendibréf til Jóns Úlfssonar), AM 692 d 4to CU2 ("Itinerarium et Anni Iesu Christi Historia a Baptismo ad Primum Pascha", "Harmonia Resurrectionis", "Annotatiunculæ yffer nockur oracula Epistolarum Paulinarum") Note: Further research needed. (Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 106-107)

#### Ms91:

AM 52 fol. (Ættartal Noregs konunga), (lost (Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar)), (lost (Noregs konunga tal?)) (Kålund 1909, 50-51; Springborg 1996, 13)

## Ms92:

\*\*AM 1 a fol. (Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi), \*\*AM 9 fol. (Hrólfs saga kraka), \*\*AM 169 a fol. (Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana), \*\*AM 169 b fol. (Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns), \*\*AM 169 d fol. (Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra), \*\*AM 192 fol. (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs), \*\*AM 202 b fol. (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekkum)

#### Ms93:

\*\*AM 590 a 4to (Mágus saga jarls), \*\*590 b-c 4to (Gautreks saga, Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar) Note: Further research needed. (Kålund 1889-1894, 1: 756-757) AM 218 fol. (Árna saga biskups), AM 108 fol. (Landnámabók), AM 113 d fol. (Íslendingabók), \*AM 341 fol. (Grágás (excerpts)) Note: See also Ms79.

## Ms95:

\*\*AM 186 8vo CU3 (Rímbegla), \*\*AM 208 8vo CU4 (Alfræði), \*\*(lost (Landnámabók (excerpts)?))

Note: Stefán Karlsson (1969, 328-331) suggests that AM 208 8vo CU5, AM 214 8vo CU3 (= $c\alpha$ ) and AM 268 8vo CU2 were part of the codex when it came to Árni Magnússon. Further research needed.

(Stefán Karlsson 1969, 328-331; Einar Sigurðsson í Eydölum 2007, 182.)

## Ms96:

\*\*AM 114 8vo (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), \*\*AM 154 8vo CU14 (Þornaldarþula), \*\*(lost? (Snjás kvæði)), \*\*(lost? (Kötludraumur)), \*\*(lost? (Eddukvæði)), \*\*(lost? (Grænlandsannáll))

Note: The two preserved parts bear matching AM-slips, indicating that additional texts were part of this collection when it came to Árni Magnússon. The evidence suggests that the parts fromed a heterogeneous collection of texts, so that neither the identification of the parts nor their former order can be established for certain. It is possible that other parts of AM 154 8vo belonged to this aggregation as well.

#### Ms97:

AM 67 4to (Kong Magnus lagabøters norske landslov), AM 77 d 4to (Kristinn réttur hinn forni) (Stefán Karlsson 1970c, 289)

**Ms98**: \*\*AM 259 fol. (Vilchis máldagi), \*\*AM 262 fol. (Máldagi Brynjólfs biskups Sveinssonar) Note: Further research needed.

Ms99:

AM 123 c 4to (Bjarkeyjarréttur (excerpt)), (lost (Kristinnréttur (excerpts))) Note: Further research needed. (Storm 1885, 599-600)

## Ms100:

(lost (Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka)), (lost (Orkenyinga saga (Danish)), \*AM 204 4to CU1 ("Dimm faamæle Logbookar Islendinga Och þeirra rädningar"), \*AM 204 4to CU2 ("Stutt vtþyding Og Minn Einfalldur Skilningur Vmm Erfdatextan Logbokarenar"), AM 204 4to CU3 ("Dömkirkiu Hoola Jarder") Note: Further research needed.

(Kålund 1909, 85)

## Ms101:

AM 716 i 4to (Ljómur), AM 716 k 4to (Vísur um afgang Jóns Arasonar og sona hans), (lost?)

Note: There were additional leaves in the back, but they may have been blank. Against Kålund's (1889-1894, 2: 136) suggestion, AM 716 d 4to was not part of this codex. See also Ms74.

## Ms102:

AM 440 a 12mo CU1 (Partalopa rímur, Verse), AM 440 a 12mo CU2 (Andra rímur)

## Ms103:

\*(lost? (Eddukvæði)), \*AM 113 f fol. (Íslendingabók) Note: Further research needed.

## Ms104:

\*AM 154 8vo CU20 (Hyndluljóð hin nýju (fagm.)), \*AM 154 8vo CU2 (Snjás kvæði), \*AM 154 8vo CU19 (Kringilnefjukvæði)

## D.2 Earlier if different (t3)

#### Ms12a [=Ms13a] (known parts):

I: AM 349 4to CU1 (Þorvalds þáttur tasalda), AM 552 d 4to (Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss), AM 591 e 4to (Göngu-Hrólfs saga; possibly also Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra)

II: AM 591 f 4to (Bósa saga ok Herrauðs), AM 552 g 4to (Þórleifs þáttur jarlaskálds)

III: (in a different hand): AM 552 f 4to (Króka-Refs saga, Konungatal, Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar)

IV: (same hand as III): AM 564 b 4to (Þórðar saga hreðu), (lost (Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss))

Note: Loth (1960b, 122-139) moreover associates the following parts with this codex: AM 381 4to (Hungurvaka, Þorláks saga biskups), AM 591 b 4to (Mágus saga jarls) and AM 591 i 4to (Örvar-Odds saga). Further research needed.

#### Ms20a:

\*AM 392 4to (Jóns saga helga), \*AM 395 4to (Guðmundar saga biskups), \*AM 398 4to (Guðmundar saga biskups, Drápa um Guðmund Arason), \*AM 768 4to (Grænlandsannáll)

Note: As Ólafur Halldórsson (1978, 168-174) points out, this is not the original form of the codex, since the parts were not produced together. (Foote 2003, 212\*, 241\*; Ólafur Halldórsson 1978, 168-174)

#### Ms28a:

AM 161 fol. CU2 (Reykdæla saga), AM 161 fol. CU1 (Svarfdæla saga, Valla-Ljóts saga), AM 139 fol. (Þórðar saga hreðu), AM 212 fol. (Arons saga Hjörleifssonar), AM 156 fol. CU3 (Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða), AM 156 fol. CU5 (Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls), (lost (Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins þáttur fróða)), AM 156 fol. CU1 (Þorsteins saga hvíta), (lost (Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings)), AM 156 fol. CU2 (Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs), AM 156 fol. CU4 (Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana), (lost (Vatnsdæla saga))

Ms28b:

AM 164 b fol. (Víga-Glúms saga), AM 163 e fol. (Fóstbræðra saga), AM 130 fol. CU1 (Eyrbyggja saga), AM 130 fol. CU2 (Laxdæla saga), AM 163 n fol. (Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar), AM 297 b 4to (Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra), AM 181 i fol. (Ála flekks saga), AM 163 m fol. (Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar (end missing))

## Ms32a:

AM 779 c II 4to CU3 (Grænlands Chronica), AM 554 h α 4to CU1 (Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar), AM 554 h α 4to CU2 (Króka-Refs saga)

## Ms33a:

AM 113 i fol. (Íslendingabók), (lost ("Nockur Fornýrði"))

## Ms33b:

AM 554 h beta 4to (Króka-Refs saga, Þórðar saga hreðu, Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar), AM 554 i 4to (Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls)

## Ms33c:

AM 613 c 4to (Persíus rímur, Bellerofontis rímur), (lost (Áns rímur bogsveigis, Annálar, Ættartölur))

## Ms39a:

(lost), AM 615 f 4to (Spönsku vísur, Króka-Refs rímur, Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar, Grobbians rímur), (lost), AM 615 h 4to (Apolloni rímur, Asmundar rímur og Tryggva, Samstæður), AM 615 g 4to (Herodes rímur, Vefjarvísur, Lausavísur), AM 615 m 4to (Hektors rímur, Kossakvæði), AM 615 l 4to (Reinalds rímur), (lost), AM 615 k 4to (Flores rímur og Leó, Lykla-Péturs rímur, Kvæði and lausavísur), (lost), AM 615 i 4to (Geiplur, Aldarháttur, Skýringar við Aldarhátt)

## Ms67a:

AM 113 b fol. (Íslendingabók), \*AM 148 fol. (Gísla saga Súrssonar), \*AM

155 fol. (Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar), \*AM 185 fol. (Dínus saga drambláta), \*AM 13 fol. (Jómsvíkinga saga), \*AM 34 fol. CU2 (Hversu Noregur byggðist), \*AM 49 fol. CU1 (Hálfdanar þáttur svarta, Upphaf ríkis Haralds hárfagra, Hauks þáttur Hábrokar), \*AM 49 fol. CU2 (Haralds þáttur grenska, Ólafs þáttur Geirstaðaálfs), \*AM 49 CU3 (Ólafs saga hins helga)

Note: Hypothetical order based on AM-slips and codicological evidence. (Loth 1960a, lxii-lxiv; Jón Helgason 1970, 354-355)

#### Ms79a:

AM 129 fol. (Eyrbyggja saga, Verse, Verse), AM 163 k fol. (Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings), (lost)

#### Ms84a:

AM 211 d 4to ("Skiptabréf og skjöl frá 15.-17. öld", "Um óðalsjörð", "Meðmæli Christians Müllers amtmanns til prestsekkju árið 1696"), AM 211 a 4to CU5 ("Um erfðir")

Note: Jón Sigurðsson's notes in AM 211 b 4to also attribute AM 211 b CU2 and CU3 to this collection due to their older pagination; see also Már Jónsson (2014, 29). Further research needed.

(Kåluns 1889-1894, 1: 477)

#### Ms88a:

AM 179 fol. CU1 (Bevers saga, Ívens saga, Parcevals saga, Valvers þáttur, Mírmans saga), AM 179 fol. CU3 (Clarus saga (fragm.)), (lost? (Clarus saga (fragm.?), Þjálar-Jóns saga (fragm.?))), AM 179 fol. CU4 (Þjálar-Jóns saga (fragm.), Flóvents saga, Elis saga og Rósamundu (part)), AM 179 fol. CU5 (Elis saga og Rósamundu (part)), AM 179 fol. CU6 (Möttuls saga), AM 179 fol. CU1 (Eiríks saga víðförla, Konráðs saga keisarasonar) Note: It is uncertain for how long the codex had this form, i.e. if it was still in this form when it came into Árni Magnússon's collection. See also Ms88.

(Slay 1991, 160-161)

## Ms95a:

\*\* (?)AM 186 8vo CU3 (Rímbegla), \*\*AM 208 8vo CU4 (Alfræði), \*\*(lost (Landnámabók (excerpts)?))

Note: Stefán Karlsson (1969, 328-331) suggests that AM 214 8vo CU3 (= $c\alpha$ ) and AM 268 8vo CU2 were part of the codex. Further research needed.

(Einar G. Pétursson 1976, l-li; Stefán Karlsson 1969, 328-331)

## Appendix E

# Manuscript overview

This overview lists all manuscripts from the Arnamangæan Collection that are known to be relevant according to the scope of the study. As explained in the introduction, the overview does not claim to be exhaustive.<sup>1</sup> Instead, it is supposed to be understood as a working tool based on the indications found in the major secondary literature. During the research of the project, I was able to check many manuscripts and update the entries. However, due to the overwhelming number of manuscripts that turned out to be relevant, numerous indications still remain to be verified or need further research. Nevertheless, this overview presents the first systematic register of physically altered paper manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan Collection and will hopefully facilitate future studies.

Please note the following principles applied:

- Manuscripts are referred to based on their current form and shelfmark. Generally, each manuscript occupies one row in the overview. In some cases, however, parts of the same manuscript are registered on several consecutive lines in order to improve the readability. A note following the shelfmark indicates this fact.
- In the first column, shelfmarks are given in their complete form. Where considered relevant for the identification, Roman numerals in accordance to Kålund's printed catalogue (1889-1894) are added. In the other columns, shelfmarks are abbreviated as follows: When mentioning parts of a manuscript in the same row, only the codicological unit (CU) and – if different – the Roman numeral are given. When referring to another manuscript, on the other hand, the in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See section 1.5.1 on page 28.

dicator of the collection is usually omitted for Arnamagnæan manuscripts, i.e. the "AM" in front of the shelfmark.

- In the second column, the status of the manuscripts with respect to rearrangement is indicated using the terms *dismembered*, *aggregated* and *rearranged*, the latter meaning that at least one part of a manuscript was both dismembered and re-aggregated by the same person. Wherever known, the status also indicates if the changes were made under Árni Magnússon ("by AM") or before him. Later changes are only mentioned where they are known to have resulted in parts being placed with another manuscript number (not counting a separate letter under the same number) or in a different collection.
- The third column refers to the shape of manuscripts as indicated in Jón Ólafsson's catalogue compared to the current contents. For manuscripts that have been studied in detail, this column merely points at the manuscript in question in the section C "Relevant manuscripts in 1730 (t1)", which contains detailed information. For other manuscripts, brief mention is made of the described composition and differences compared to they current state. The note "(as today)" means that the items indicated in the handwritten catalogue agree with the present contents of the manuscript.
- The fourth and fifth column indicate the context (if known) in which the manuscript or its parts were found when acquired by Árni Magnússon and prior to that, where relevant. If not stated otherwise, the references in these two columns apply to the "List of former codices (t2-t3)" (section D).
- The last column lists the titles of works contained by the manuscripts, in order to facilitate the usage of the overview. Most titles are standardised based on Simek/Hermann Pálsson (2007), but employ modernised spelling. For works not mentioned there, the title used on handrit.is are followed. However, texts without a proper title are referred to by either quoting the rubric as indicated in the catalogues or giving a brief description (in English). Crossed-out fragments of texts are not mentioned in the contents-column, and the contents of different CUs are separated by semi-colons while the individual texts within a CU are separated by commas.
- Information taken from Kålund's catalogue (1889-1894) and the works referenced within, the online catalogue Handrit.is and the

handwritten catalogue (mostly AM 456 fol.) is not labelled explicitly. The source of other statements that are not based on my own research is mentioned either directly in the overview or in the relevant section of the "List of former codices".

• A question mark ("?") indicates suggestions and preliminary assumptions that need further investigation.

Shelfmark (t0)	Alteration status	1730 (t1)	Before Árni (t2)	Earlier if different (t3)	Contents
AM 1 a fol. (stored in one box with 1 b+c fol.)	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 1 in fol.	Part of Ms92		Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi
AM 1 b fol. (stored in one box with 1 a+c fol.)	Dismembered; Aggregated by AM	Part of number 1 in fol.	CU3 part of Ms76		Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi (part) (CU1); Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi (fragm.) (CU2); Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi (part) (CU3)
AM 1 c fol. (stored in one box with 1 a+b fol.)	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 1 in fol.			Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi
AM 1 d α fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 1 in fol.			Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi
AM 1 d β fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 1 in fol.	Part of Ms56		Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi
AM 1 e α fol.	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 1 in fol.			Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana og Svíaveldi
AM 1 f fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 1 in fol.			Langfeðgartal norskra konunga (CU1); Langfeðgartal norskra konunga (CU2); Langfeðgartal norskra konunga (CU3); Langfeðgartal norskra konunga (CU4); On Anglo- Saxon kings (CU5); On Langfeðgartal norskra konunga (CU6)
AM 1 g fol.	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 1 in fol.			Ættartala frá Adam, Genealogia ab Odino, Genealogia
AM 5 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Aggregated before AM	Number 5 in fol.	Part of Ms79		Völsunga saga, Ragnars saga loðbrókar
AM 6 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms11		Ragnars saga loðbrókar
AM 7 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms47		Ragnars saga loðbrókar
AM 9 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 9 in fol.	Part of Ms92		Hrólfs saga kraka

AM 10 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As todav)	Part of Ms11		Hrólfs saga kraka
		(			
AM 11 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms2		Hrólfs saga kraka
AM 12 a fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Recorded with 12 b fol.			Hrólfs saga kraka
AM 12 b fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Recorded with 12 a fol.			Hrólfs saga kraka
AM 12 c fol.	Dismembered by AM	(Not mentioned)	Part of Ms3		Hrólfs saga kraka
AM 13 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Rearranged before AM	Number 13 in fol.	Part of Ms67	Part of Ms67a	Jómsvíkinga saga
AM 15 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 15 in fol.	Part of Ms72		Jómsvíkinga saga
AM 16 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms59		Knýtlinga saga
AM 17 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms47		Knýtlinga saga
AM 19 fol.	Dismembered (by AM?)	(As today)	CU1 part of Ms65? CU2 part of Ms65?		Sveins þáttur konungs Úlfssonar (CU1); Knýtlinga saga (CU2)
AM 20 c fol.	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle: 20 a-i fol. (parchment and paper)			On Knýtlinga saga
AM 20 d fol.	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle: 20 a-i fol. (parchment and paper)			Knýtlinga saga
AM 20 e-g & i fol.	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle: 20 a-i fol. (parchment and paper)			On Knýtlinga saga
AM 20 h fol.	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle: 20 a-i fol. (parchment and paper)			Knýtlinga saga
AM 33 fol.	Dismembered	(As today)			Dansk krønike (fragm.)
AM 34 fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Number 34 in fol.	CU1 part of Ms47, CU2 part of Ms67	CU2 part of Ms67a)	Hversu Noregur byggðist (CU1), Hversu Noregur byggðist (CU2), Hversu Noregur byggðist (CU3), Hversu Noregur byggðist (CU4), Hversu Noregur byggðist (CU5), Hversu Noregur byggðist (CU6), Hversu Noregur byggðist

AM 44 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms59		Noregs konunga sögur
AM 49 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Rearranged before AM	Number 49 in fol.	CU1-3 part of Ms67	CU1-3 part of Ms67a	Hálfdanar þáttur svarta, Upphaf ríkis Haralds hárfagra, Hauks þáttur Hábrokar (CU1); Haralds þáttur grenska, Ólafs þáttur Geirstaðaálfs (CU2); Ólafs saga hins helga (CU3)
AM 50 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle with 50 b fol.			Hálfdanar þáttur svarta, Upphaf ríkis Haralds hárfagra, Hauks þáttur Hábrokar, Haralls þáttur grenska, Ólafs þáttur Geirstaðaálfs
AM 50 b fol.	Aggregated by AM?	In one fascicle with 50 a fol.			Draumur Gunnhildar
AM 52 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms91		Ættartal Noregs konunga
AM 67 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered with 67 b fol.	Part of Ms47		Skálda saga
AM 67 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered with 67 a fol.	Part of Ms24		Skálda saga
AM 73 a fol.	Aggregated?	(73 b fol. (parchment) not mentioned)			Ólafs saga helga
AM 76 a fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Registered with 76 b fol.			Ólafs saga helga
AM 76 b fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Registered with 76 a fol.			about Ólafur helgi
AM 77 a fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Registered with 77 b fol.			Ólafs saga helga
AM 77 b fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Registered with 77 a fol.			Ólafs saga helga (suppl.)
AM 78 a fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Registered with 78 b fol.			Ólafs saga helga (fragm.)
AM 78 b fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Registered with 78 a fol.			Ólafs saga helga (prologue)
AM 81 b fol.	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered with 81 a fol. (parchm.)			Hákonar saga Sverrissonar
AM 83 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms65?		Sverris saga
AM 84 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms25		Sverris saga
AM 90 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms25		Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar
AM 95 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)			Noregs konunga sögur, On Manus Lagabøter and Erik Magnusson, Annálar
AM 99 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 99 in fol.	Part of Ms51		Om Norges Rige

AM 101 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms50		Orkneyinga þáttur
AM 102 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	CU1 part of Ms65? CU2 part of Ms65?		Orkneyinga þáttur (CU1); Brenna Adams biskups (CU2)
AM 104 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms23		Landnámabók, Um erlenda biskupa á Íslandi
AM 108 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 108 in fol.	Part of Ms 94		Landnámabók
AM 109 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms7		Landnámabók, Jómsvíkinga saga (verses)
AM 110 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms8		Landnámabók, Um erlenda biskupa á Íslandi
AM 111 fol.	Dismembered (by AM?)	(As today)	Part of Ms69		Landnámabók
AM 113 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 113 in fol.	Part of Ms7?		Íslendingabók
AM 113 b fol.	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered before AM	Part of number 113 in fol.	(received separately)	Part of Ms67a	Íslendingabók
AM 113 c fol. (stored in one box: c-k)	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 113 in fol.	Part of Ms67		Íslendingabók
AM 113 d fol. (stored in one box: c-k)	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 113 in fol.	Part of Ms94		Íslendingabók
AM 113 e fol. (stored in one box: c-k)	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 113 in fol.			Íslendingabók
AM 113 f fol. (stroed in one box: c-k)	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 113 in fol.	Part of Ms103		Íslendingabók
AM 113 g fol. (stored in one box: c-k)	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 113 in fol.			Íslendingabók
AM 113 h fol. (stored in one box: c-k)	Dismembered (by AM?); Aggregated by AM	Part of number 113 in fol.			Íslendingabók
AM 113 i fol. (stored in one box: c-k)	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 113 in fol.	Part of Ms33	Part of Ms33a	Schedæ Ara prests fróða
AM 113 k fol. (stored in one box: c-k)	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 113 in fol.			Schedæ Ara prests fróða
AM 116 fol.	Aggregated; Aggregated (before AM?)	(As today)			Sturlunga saga
AM 119 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms23		Sturlunga saga
AM 121 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms18		Sturlunga saga

AM 123 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms37		Laxdæla saga, Eyrbyggja
AM 124 fol.	Dismembered?	(As today)			saga Laxdæla saga, Eyrbyggja saga
AM 125 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	CU1-2 part of Ms8		Laxdæla saga (CU1);
AM 126 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	CU1-2 part of Ms43		Eyrbyggja saga (CU2) Laxdæla saga (CU1); Eyrbyggja saga (CU2)
AM 129 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Aggregated before AM	Number 129 in fol.	Part of Ms79	Part of Ms79a	Eyrbyggja saga, Verse, Verse
AM 130 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Aggregated before AM	Number 130 in fol.	CU1 part of Ms28, CU2 part of Ms28	CU1 part of Ms28b, CU2 part of Ms28b	Eyrbyggja saga (CU1); Laxdæla saga (CU2)
AM 134 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms75		Njáls saga
AM 136 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms43		Njáls saga
AM 138 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms43		Vatnsdæla saga
AM 139 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Aggregated before AM	Number 139 in fol.	Part of Ms28	Part of Ms28a	Þórðar saga hreðu
AM 140 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms48		Bandamanna saga,
AM 141 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms24		Flóamanna saga Fóstbræðra saga
AM 142 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 142 in fol.	CU1-2 part of Ms41		Fóstbræðra saga (CU1); Þorsteins saga Síðu- Hallssonar (CU2)
AM 143 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms11		Víga-Glúms saga
AM 144 fol.	Rearranged by AM	Number 144 in fol.	CU1-3 part of Ms72		Víga-Glúms saga (CU1); Svarfdæla Saga (CU2); Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Gunnars saga Kjelldugnúpfífls, Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins þáttur hvíta, Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings, Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs, Gunnars saga Þiðrandabana (CU3)
AM 146 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms22		Egils saga Skallagrímssonar
AM 147 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms50		Gísla saga Súrssonar, Harða saga og Hólmverja
AM 148 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Rearranged before AM	Number 148 in fol.	Part of Ms67	Part of Ms67a	Gísla saga Súrssonar

AM 149 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms48		Gísla saga Súrssonar
AM 150 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms48		Grettis saga Ásmundarsona
AM 151 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms2		Grettis saga Ásmundarsona
AM 154 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms48		Hrafns saga
					Sveinbjarnarsonar
AM 155 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Rearranged before AM	Number 155 in fol.	Part of Ms67	Part of Ms67a	Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar
AM 156 fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Number 156 in fol.	CU1-5 part of Ms28	CU1-5 part of Ms28a	<ul> <li>Þorsteins saga hvíta (CU1);</li> <li>Þorsteins þáttur</li> <li>stangarhöggs (CU2);</li> <li>Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða</li> <li>(CU3); Gunnars þáttur</li> <li>Þiðrandabana (CU4);</li> <li>Gunnars saga</li> <li>Keldugnúpsfífls (CU5)</li> </ul>
AM 157 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one volume "incompactum": AM 157 a-h fol. (different order)	Part of Ms48		Þórðar saga hreðu
AM 157 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one volume "incompactum": AM 157 a-h fol. (different order)	Part of Ms22		Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings, Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa
AM 157 c fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one volume "incompactum": AM 157 a-h fol. (different order)	Part of Ms48		Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss
AM 157 d fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one volume "incompactum": AM 157 a-h fol. (different order)	Part of Ms48		Kroka-Refs saga
AM 157 e fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one volume "incompactum": AM 157 a-h fol. (different order)	Part of Ms48		Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða
AM 157 f fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one volume "incompactum": AM 157 a-h fol. (different order)	Part of Ms22		Hænsa-Þóris saga
AM 157 g fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one volume "incompactum": AM 157 a-h fol. (different order)	Part of Ms48		Harðar saga og Hólmverja
AM 157 h fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one volume "incompactum": AM 157 a-h fol. (different order)	Part of Ms11		Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu, Heiðarvíga saga (Trygðamál), Valla-Ljóts saga

AM 158 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	CU1-5 part of Ms18		Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpfífls, Gunnars þáttur Þiðrandabana, Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs, Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins þáttur sögufróða, Þorsteins saga hvíta, Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings (CU1); Jökuls þáttur Búasonar, Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar (CU2);
					Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss, Laxdæla saga (CU3); Egils saga Skallagrímssonar, Eyrbyggja saga, Vatnsdæla saga (CU4); Reykdæla saga, Valla-Ljóts saga (CU5)
AM 159 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms3		Finnboga saga ramma
AM 161 fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Number 161 in fol.	CU1 part of Ms28, CU2 part of Ms28	CU1 part of Ms28a, CU2 part of Ms28a	Svarfdæla saga, Valla-Ljóts saga (CU1); Vemunda saga og Víga-Skúta (CU2)
AM 163 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms8		Vatnsdæla saga, Grettis saga
AM 163 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms8		Grettis saga, Lausavísur, Gunnars saga Kelldugnúpfífls, Þórðar saga hreðu, Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar
AM 163 c fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms8?		Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar
AM 163 d fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms8		Flóamanna saga, Njáls saga
AM 163 e fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms28	Part of Ms28b	Fóstbræðra saga
AM 163 f fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms3		Króka-Refs saga
AM 163 g fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms3		Þórðar saga hreðu
AM 163 h α fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms37		Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar
AM 163 h β fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms37		Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss, Harðar saga og Hólmverja, Ölkofra þáttur
AM 163 i fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms79		Njáls saga

AM 163 k fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms79	Part of Ms79a	Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings
	Aggregated before AM	105 111 101.			
AM 163 l fol.	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.			Kjalnsinga saga
AM 163 m fol.	Rearranged by AM;	Part of number	Part of Ms28	Part of Ms28b	Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar
	Aggregated before AM	163 in fol.			
AM 163 n fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms28	Part of Ms28b	Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar
AM 163 o fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms81		Bandamanna saga
AM 163 p fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms81		Gísla saga Súrssonar
AM 163 q fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.			Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar
AM 163 r fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 163 in fol.	Part of Ms81		Eigils saga Skallagrímssonar
AM 163 s fol.	Rearranged by AM	(not mentioned?)	Part of Ms3		Bandamanna saga
AM 164 a fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 164 in fol.	Part of Ms2		Víga-Glúms saga
AM 164 b fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 164 in fol.	Part of Ms28	Part of Ms28b	Víga-Glúms saga
AM 164 c fol.	Rearranged by AM; Changed before AM; Changed even before then?	Part of number 164 in fol.	Part of Ms79		Flóamanna saga
AM 164 d fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 164 in fol.			Króka-Refs saga
AM 164 e α fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 164 in fol.			Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar; Kjalnesinga saga
AM 164 e β fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 164 in fol.	Part of Ms3		Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar
AM 164 e γ fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 164 in fol.	Part of Ms72		Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar
AM 164 f fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 164 in fol.	Part of Ms37		Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar
AM 164 g fol.	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered by AM?	Part of number 164 in fol.			Jóns þáttur biskups Halldórssonar
AM 164 h fol.	Aggregated by AM; Rearranged before AM?	Part of number 164 in fol.			Gautreks saga, Gauts þáttur, Kjalnesinga saga, Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra
AM 164 i fol.	Dismembered by AM; Aggregated by AM?	(Not mentioned)	CU1-2 part of Ms8?		Fóstbræðra saga (CU1); Stúfs þáttur (CU2)

AM 164 k fol.	Dismembered by AM	(Not mentioned)	Part of Ms48	Brandkrossa þáttur, Droplaugarsona saga
AM 165 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms2	Finnbóga saga ramma
AM 165 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms2	Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds
AM 165 c fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms2	Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar
AM 165 d fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms2	Ölkofra þáttur
AM 165 e fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms2	Harðar saga og Hólmverja
AM 165 f fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	CU1 part of Ms43	Hænsa-Þóris saga (CU1), Hænsa-Þóris saga (fragm.) (CU2)
AM 165 g fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms2	Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss
AM 165 h fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	CU1 part of Ms2, CU2 part of Ms2	Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar (with lacuna) (CU1); Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar (text of lanuna) (CU2)
AM 165 i fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms2	Króka-Refs saga
AM 165 k fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms2	Þórðar saga hreðu, Vísa Þórðar af Finnboga ramma (cancelled)

AM 165 l fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms2	Bandamanna saga
AM 165 m fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 165 a-m fol. (different order, some items not mentioned)	CU2-3 part of Ms43, CU4 part of Ms2	Kumlbúa þáttur, Þorsteins þáttur Síðu-Hallssonar (CU1); Vitranir (CU2); Flóamanna saga (CU3); Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar (CU4)
AM 166 fol.	Dismembered (by AM?)	(As today)		Remundar saga keisarasonar
AM 167 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms37	Rémundar saga keisarasonar, Sigurgarðs saga frækna, Jarlmanns saga og Hermanns
AM 168 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Changed before AM?	(One text now missing)	CU1-2 part of Ms50	Egils saga einhenda (CU1); Sörla saga sterka (CU2)
AM 169 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 169 in fol.	Part of Ms92	Eigils saga einhendaEgils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana
AM 169 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 169 in fol.	Part of Ms92	Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns
AM 169 c fol.	Aggregated	Part of number 169 in fol.		Þorsteins þáttur Víkingssonar (fragm.) (CU1); Eigils saga einhenda og Ásmundar bersekjabana (fragm.) (CU2); Göngu- Hrólfs saga (fragm.) (CU3)
AM 169 d fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 169 in fol.	Part of Ms92	Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra
AM 171 a fol.	Aggregated	Registered with 171 b fol.		Sörla saga sterka, Sturlaugs saga starfsama
AM 171 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered with 171 a fol.	Originally two sagas in front and one following	Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar
AM 172 a fol.	Rearranged by AM?	In one fascicle with 172 b	CU1-2 part of Ms24?	Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna (CU1); Áns saga bogsveigis, Sturla saga starfsama (CU2)
AM 172 b fol.	Rearranged by AM?	In one fascicle with 172 a	CU1-2 part of Ms24?	Örvar-Odds saga (CU1); Friðþjófs saga frækna (CU2)
AM 173 fol.	Rearranged by AM	(As today)	CU1-4 part of Ms47, CU5 part of Ms22	Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna (CU1); Örvar-Odds saga (CU2); Áns saga bogsveigis (CU3); Friðþjófs saga frækna (CU4); Sturlaugs saga starfsama (CU5)

AM 174 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms44		Jóns saga leikara
AM 176 a fol.	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered by AM?	Registered with 176 b fol.			Trójumanna saga; Bretasögur
AM 176 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered with 176 a fol.	Part of Ms3		Trójumanna saga, Breta sögur
AM 179 fol.	Rearranged (before or by AM?); Rearranged after AM and CU4 temporarily in Add. 18 fol.		CU1-6 part of Ms88	CU1-6 part of Ms88a	Eiríks saga víðförla, Konráðs saga keisarasonar (CU1); Bevers saga, Ívens saga, Parcevals saga, Valvers þáttur, Mírmans saga (CU2) Clarus saga (fragm.) (CU3); Þjálar-Jóns saga (fragm.), Flóvents saga, Elis saga og Rósamundu (part) (CU4), Elis saga og Rósamundu (part)(CU5); Möttuls saga (CU6)
AM 180 d fol.	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle: 180 a-e fol. (paper and parchment); some items not mentioned			Karlamagnús saga, Maríu saga (variant anecdote) (cf. Widding/Bekker-Nielsen 1961-1977, 76)
AM 180 e fol.	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 180 a-e fol. (paper and parchment); some items not mentioned	Part of Ms6		Karlamagnús saga, Geiplu þáttur
AM 181 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Ívens saga, Parcevals saga, Valvers þáttur
AM 181 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Erex saga, Samsons saga fagra, Möttuls saga
AM 181 c fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Bevers saga
AM 181 d fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Hektors saga
AM 181 e fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Clarus saga
AM 181 f fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Konráðs saga keisarasonar
AM 181 g fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Mírmans saga
AM 181 h fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Rémundar saga keisarasonar
AM 181 i fol.	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms28	Part of Ms28b	Ála flekks saga

AM 181 k fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Ála flekks saga
AM 181 l fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	Part of Ms18		Þjalar-Jóns saga
AM 181 m fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 181 in fol.	CU2 part of Ms3		Ála flekks saga (CU1); Sálus saga og Nikanórs, Þjalar- Jóns saga (CU2)
AM 182 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms75		Vilhjálms saga sjóðs, Ála flekks saga
AM 183 fol.	Dismembered (by AM?)	(As today)	Part of Ms3		Mágus saga (excerpt)
AM 185 fol.	Dismembered by AM; Rearranged before AM	Number 185 in fol.	Part of Ms67	Part of Ms67a	Dínus saga drambláta
AM 187 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms49		Mágus saga jarls
AM 188 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 188 in fol.	Part of Ms72		Mágus saga jarls
AM 189 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms49		Sigurðar saga þögla
AM 192 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 192 in fol.	Part of Ms92		Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs
AM 193 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 193 a-e fol.	Part of Ms47		Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs
AM 193 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 193 a-e fol.	Part of Ms47		Eiríks saga víðförla
AM 193 c fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 193 a-e fol.	Part of Ms47		Yngvars saga víðförla
AM 193 d fol.	Rearranged by AM; Changed before AM?	Registered together: 193 a-e fol.	Part of Ms11		Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra
AM 193 e fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 193 a-e fol.	Part of Ms47		Hrómundar saga Gripssonar
AM 194 a fol.	Aggregated	Registered together: 194 a-b fol.			Gautreks saga, Hólfs saga Gautrekssonar
AM 194 b fol.	Aggregated	Registered together: 194 a-b fol.			Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar
AM 199 fol.	Dismembered by AM		Part of Ms51		Svenska krönikan (Danish)
AM 202 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 202 in fol (which also included AM 1008 4to CU3 (see AM 477 fol., 9v))	Part of Ms2		Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka

AM 202 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 202 in fol (which also included AM 1008 4to CU3 (see AM 477 fol., 9v))	Part of Ms92	Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka
AM 202 c fol	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 202 in fol (which also included AM 1008 4to CU3 (see AM 477 fol., 9v))	Part of Ms47	Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka
AM 202 d fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Part of number 202 in fol (which also included AM 1008 4to CU3 (see AM 477 fol., 9v))		Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka
AM 202 e fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 202 in fol (which also included AM 1008 4to CU3 (see AM 477 fol., 9v))	Part of Ms3	Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka
AM 202 f fol.	Aggregated by AM?	Part of number 202 in fol (which also included AM 1008 4to CU3 (see AM 477 fol., 9v))		Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka
AM 202 g fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 202 in fol (which also included AM 1008 4to CU3 (see AM 477 fol., 9v))	CU1 part of Ms2, CU2 part of Ms8	Rauðúlfs þáttur (CU1), Rauðúlfs þáttur (CU2)
AM 202 h fol.	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered by AM?	Part of number 202 in fol (which also included AM 1008 4to CU3 (see AM 477 fol., 9v))		Rauðólfs þáttur
AM 202 i fol.	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 202 in fol (which also included AM 1008 4to CU3 (see AM 477 fol., 9v))	CU1 part of Ms2, CU2 part of Ms3	Norna-Gests þáttur (CU1); Norna-Gests þáttur (CU2)

AM 202 k fol.	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number	CU2 part of		Hervarar saga og Heiðreks
	Dismembered by	202 in fol (which	Ms2?		konungs (CU1); Hervarar
	AM?	also included AM			saga og Heiðreks konungs
		1008 4to CU3			(CU2)
		(see AM 477 fol.,			
		9v))			
AM 202 l fol.	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number			Sturlaugs saga starfsama
	Dismembered?	202 in fol (which			
		also included AM			
		1008 4to CU3			
		(see AM 477 fol.,			
AM 203 fol.	Aggregated (by ANA2)	9v))			
AIVI 205 101.	Aggregated (by AM?)	(AS LOUDY)			Gautreks saga (CU1);
					Gautreks saga (CU2); Hervarar saga og Heiðreks
					konungs (CU3); Þorsteins
					þáttur bæjarmagns (CU4);
					Eigils saga einhenda og
					Ásmundar berserkjabana
					(CU5); Illuga saga
					Gríðarfóstra (CU6); Notes
					(CU7)
AM 204 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms18		Hungurvaka, Þorláks saga
/	bisinembered by / ivi	(/13/10/04/9)			helga, Páls saga biskups,
					Laurentius saga biskups,
					Guðmundar saga biskups,
					Árna saga biskups
AM 205 fol.	Rearranged by AM	(As today)	CU1-4 part of		Hungurvaka (CU1), Þorláks
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	. ,,	Ms7		saga helga, Guðmundar
					saga biskups (CU2); Þáls
					saga biskups (CU3); Jóns
					saga helga, Notes on
					bishops in Skálholt and
					Hólar, Register of bishops
					(CU4)
AM 206 fol.	Dismembered	(As today)	?		Hungurvaka, Þorláks saga
					helga, Páls saga Jónssona
AM 207 a fol.	Dismembered by	Number 207 in	Part of Ms41		Hungurvaka,
	AM; Aggregated?	fol.			Biskupaannálar
AM 207 b fol. AM 208 fol.	Aggregated? Dismembered by AM	(Not mentioned)			Notes on Hungurvaka Hungurvaka (excerpt), "Eytt
AIVI 200 101.	Dismembered by AIVI	(AS LOUDY)			lytid agrip vr Gómlum
					Frædebökum"
AM 209 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As todav)	Part of Ms68		Hungurvaka, Þorláks saga
					biskups hins helga, Páls saga
					biskups
AM 211 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)			Hungurvaka (excerpt),
					Verse
AM 212 fol.	Dismembered by	Number 212 in	Part of Ms28	Part of Ms28a	Arons saga Hjörleifssonar
	AM; Aggregated	fol.			
	before AM				

AM 213 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms68	Biskupaannálar
AM 214 fol.	Dismembered	(As today)		Laurentius saga biskups
AM 215 fol.	Dismembered by AM		Part of Ms7	"Vmm Byskup Stephan", "Vmm Biskup Augmund", "Vm høfudz mennena og vmm atrekanda vmm syda skyptenn og adtektter j videy", "Vm Byskupa skypte", "Vm slag Danskra j Schalhollte", "Nockur ägrip vmm gømlu sidena", "Þad Riettasta vm ætt og vppruna herra Gissurar Einarssonar", "Vmm Herra Martein Einarson", "Skipta Bref Barna Lopts Ryka", "Fryheyta Bref Eggers Eggerssonar"
AM 216 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms68	Vmm Byskup Stephan, "Vmm Biskup Augmund", "Vm høfudz mennena og vmm atrekanda vmm syda skyptenn og adtektter j videy", "Vm Byskupa skypte", "Vm slag Danskra j Schalhollte", "Nockur ägrip vmm gømlu sidena", "Þad Riettasta vm ætt og vppruna herra Gissurar Einarssonar", "Vmm Herra Martein Einarson", "Skipta Bref Barna Lopts Ryka", "Fryheyta Bref Eggers Eggerssonar"
AM 217a fol.	Rearranged (by AM?)	Registered together: 217 a-c fol., (some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms69	Árna saga biskups, Verses
AM 217 b fol.	Rearranged (by AM?)	Registered together: 217 a-c fol., (some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms69	Harðar saga og Hólmverja, Víga-Glúms saga, Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings
AM 217 c fol.	Rearranged (by AM?)	Registered together: 217 a-c fol., (some items not mentioned)	Part of Ms69	Auðunar þáttur vestfirska, Þorvarðar þáttur Krákunefs, Haralds saga harðráða (part), Stúfs þáttur, Haralds saga harðráða (end)
AM 218 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 218 in fol.	Part of Ms94	Árna saga biskups

AM 223 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)		Thomas saga erkibiskups
AM 224 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 224 in fol.	Part of Ms41	Thomas saga erkibiskups
AM 233 b fol.	Aggregated?	(Not mentioned)		Bréf Gríms prests
AM 243 b β fol.	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered together: 243 a-r fol. (paper and parchment)		Speculum regale
AM 243 n fol.	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered together: 243 a-r fol. (paper and parchment)		Speculum regale
AM 243 o fol.	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered together: 243 a-r fol. (paper and parchment)		Speculum regale
AM 243 p fol.	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered together: 243 a-r fol. (paper and parchment)		Speculum regale
AM 243 q fol.	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered together: 243 a-r fol. (paper and parchment)		Speculum regale
AM 243 r fol.	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered together: 243 a-r fol. (paper and parchment)		Speculum regale, Nockur Skiemti liod"
AM 243 s fol.	Aggregated by AM?	(Not mentioned)		Notes on Speculum regale
AM 244 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms4	Annales regii
AM 245 a fol.	Aggregated?	Registered with 245 b fol.		Flateyjar Annáll
AM 245 b fol.	Aggregated?	Registered with 245 a fol.		Flateyjar Annáll
AM 246 fol.	Dismembered by AM		Part of Ms4	Flateyjar Annáll
AM 252 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms86	Rímfræði
AM 255 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)		Ættartölubók
AM 259 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms98	Vilchis máldagi

AM 261 fol.	Dismembered (by AM?)	(As today)		Máldagi herra Gísla Jónssonar, "Christsfiär- Jarder i Skaalhollts Stigte", "Þeísar Kirkiur Woru Fordum i Minna hierade sem nu kallast Øræffe", "Þeíar eru Eyiar A Breidafyrde Og Huammsfyrde", "Sandaheite fyrer Hierads flöa"
AM 262 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms98	Máldagi Brynjólfs biskups Sveinssonar
AM 306 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms9	Gulaþingslög
AM 310 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms9	Frostaþingslög
AM 324 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms9	Hirðskrá
AM 325 fol.	Dismembered by AM?	(As today)		Hirðskrá
AM 326 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms9	Tunsbergs lög
AM 327 fol.	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms9	Kristinréttur Jóns erkibiskups, Kristinn réttur Sverris konungs
AM 329 b fol.	Aggregated	Registered with 329 a fol.		Björgynjar kálfskinn
AM 341 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 341 in fol.	Part of Ms94	Grágás (excerpts)
AM 355 a fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 355 a and b fol.		Biskoppelige statuter
AM 355 b fol.	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 355 a and b fol.	Part of Ms78	Kristinréttur Árna biskups
AM 360 fol.	Aggregated	(As today)		"FIONIÆ et INSULARUM Minorum eo spectantium DESCRIPTIO Historico- Chorographica Auctore PETRO RESENIO" (CU1); On Jutland (CU2)
AM 365 fol.	Dismembered by AM	Number 365 in fol.	CU1 part of Ms51; CU2 part of Ms51	Descriptio urbis Bergensis (Danish, excerpts) (CU1); Norske retterbøder (CU2)
AM 379 b fol.	Aggregated?	Registered together with other maps (now lost)		Map over Iceland
AM 392 fol. (ΙΙ β)	Aggregated by AM	(Not mentioned)		"Glossæ Gavfridi Bobionis secundum Matheum"

AM 409 fol.	Dismembered?	(Not mentioned)	Part of Ms76?		Vémundar þáttur konungs og Upsa
AM 426 fol.	Aggregated before AM; Dismembered (after AM?) (cf. Loth 1967, 92-95)	(Not mentioned)	together with Njáls saga (now in NKS 1220 fol.)	(Njáls saga written and added later)	<ul> <li>by opsa</li> <li>Egils saga Skallagrímssonar,</li> <li>Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu,</li> <li>Brandkrossa þáttur, Stúfs</li> <li>þáttur, Bergbúa þáttur,</li> <li>Draumur Þorsteins Síðu-</li> <li>Hallssonar, Grettis saga</li> <li>Ásmundarsonar, Þórðar</li> <li>saga hreðu, Svarfdæla saga,</li> <li>Þorsteins þáttur forvitna,</li> <li>Valla-Ljóts saga, Þorsteins</li> <li>þáttur stangarhöggs,</li> <li>Þorsteins saga hvíta, Egils</li> <li>þáttur Síðu-Hallssonar,</li> <li>Arons saga Hjörleifssonar,</li> <li>Flóamanna saga,</li> <li>Fóstbræðra saga, Hávarðar</li> <li>saga Ísfirðings, Þorsteins</li> <li>þáttur Austfirðings,</li> <li>Kumblbúa þáttur, Hrafns</li> <li>saga Sveinbjarnarsonar,</li> <li>Ölkofra þáttur, Þorsteins</li> <li>þáttur uxafóts, Hreiðars</li> <li>þáttur heimska, Sneglu-</li> <li>Halla þáttur</li> </ul>
AM 32 a 4to (CU2)	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 32 b 4to (mixed paper and parchment)			"Stamtavle fra Kong Hans til Magnus Måneskjold", Notes
AM 32 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 32 a 4to (mixed paper and parchment)			On Elske Billde, "Stamtavle over slagten Krummedige", Notes
AM 38 a 4to	Aggregated?	Registered with 38 b 4to			Skånske kirkelov
AM 38 b 4to	Aggregated?	Registered with 38 a 4to			Skånske kirkelov
AM 59 a 4to (stored in one box with 59 b 4to)	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 59 b 4to			Óðalsbrigði
AM 59 b 4to (stored in one box with 59 a 4to)	Rearranged by AM	Registered with 59 a 4to	Part of Ms73		Óðalsbrigði
AM 66 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms53		Gulaþingslög
AM 67 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms97		Kong Magnus lagabøters norske landslov

AM 76 a 4to	Aggregated	Registered with 76 b 4to		Bergens bylov
AM 76 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered with 76 a 4to		Tunsberg bylov
AM 77 a 4to	Aggregated by AM?	In one fascicle: 77a-g 4to (some items missing)		Eidsivatings ældre kristenret
AM 77 c 4to	Dismembered before AM?; Aggregated?			Eidsivatings ældre kristenre
AM 77 d 4to	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle: 77a-g 4to (some items missing)	Part of Ms97	Eidsivatings ældre kristenre
AM 77 e 4to	Aggregated by AM?	In one fascicle: 77a-g 4to (some items missing)		Gulatings nyere kristenret
AM 77 f 4to	Aggregated by AM?	In one fascicle: 77a-g 4to (some items missing)		Gulatings nyere kristenret
AM 77 g 4to	Aggregated by AM?	In one fascicle: 77a-g 4to (some items missing)		Gulatings nyere kristenret
AM 95 a 4to	Aggregated	Registered with 95 b 4to		Kong Magnus lagabøters norske landslov
AM 104 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms53	Hirðskrá
AM 114 b 4to	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered together: 114 a-d 4to		Grænseskel mellem Norge og Sverige
AM 114 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 114 a-d 4to		Grænseskel mellem Norge og Sverige
AM 114 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 114 a-d 4to		Grænseskel mellem Norge og Sverige
AM 115 a 4to	Dismembered?	Registered with 115 b 4to		"Erlingi Vidkunni ect. literæ declaratoriæ de Haqvino, filio Magni regis, in regem assumendo, datæ Vardbergh 1343" (CU1); "Querelæ super injurias mercatorum Anglicorum in Islandia. Bergis 1426" (CU2)
AM 115 b 4to	Dismembered?	Registered with 115 a 4to		"Sættargiorþ herra Magnuss konungs ok Jons Erkibyskups" (CU1); "Sættargiorþ herra Magnuss konungs ok Jons Erkibyskups" (fragm.) (CU2); Retterbøder (CU3)

AM 123 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Bjarkeyjarréttur (excerpt)
		together: 123 a-d		
		4to? (too little		
		detail)		
AM 123 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Bjarkeyjarréttur (excerpt)
		together: 123 a-d		
		4to? (too little		
		detail)		
AM 123 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms99	Bjarkeyjarréttur (excerpt)
		together: 123 a-d		
		4to? (too little		
		detail)		
AM 123 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Bjarkeyjarréttur (excerpt)
AW 125 0 410		together: 123 a-d		
		4to? (too little		
ANA 124 - 4+-	A	detail)		
AM 124 a 4to	Aggregated	Registered with		Grágás (excerpt), Járnsíða
		124 b 4to		(excerpt)
AM 124 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered with		Grágás (excerpt), Járnsíða
		124 a 4to		(excerpt), Juridical notes,
				Kon Kristian IVs forordning
				om trælast
AM 125 a 4to	Aggregated	Registered with		Grágás (excerpt), Járnsíða
		125 b 4to		(excerpt), Notes on Grágás
				Ættartala frá Teiti
				Þorleifssyni
AM 125 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered with		Grágás (excerpt)
		125 a 4to		
AM 145 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered with	Part of Ms77	"Um tvíræðar lagagreinar"
		145 b and a lost		
		сору		
AM 145 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with		"Um tvíræðar lagagreinar"
		145 a and a lost		
		сору		
AM 166 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)		Jónsbók, Rettebøder
AM 175 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered with		Juridical formula, Verses
		175 a and c		(Latin)
		(parchment)		
AM 182 a 4to	Aggregated	Registered		Kristinréttur Árna biskups
		together: 182 a-c		
		4to		
AM 182 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered		Kristinréttir Árna biskups
	-0004464	together: 182 a-c		
		4to		
AM 182 c 4to	Aggregated;	Registered		Kristinréttur Árna biskups
ANI 102 C 410	Dismembered?	together: 182 a-c		(fragm.)
	Disilienibereu:	4to		(11 agin.)
	Aggrogated by ANA			Kristinróttur Árna hiskuna
AM 183 a 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered with		Kristinréttur Árna biskups
	Dismembered?	183 a 4to		(fragm.)

AM 183 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with		Kristinréttur Árna biskups,
		183 b 4to		"Tilskipun Odds biskups
				Einarssonar frá 1592 um
				bænadaga", "Tilskipun Odds
				biskups Einarssonar frá
				1592 um bænadaga", "VI.
				artíkúla Odds biskups
				Einarssonar frá 1589"
AM 187 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with		Langaréttarbót (CU1);
		187 a 4to		Langaréttarbót (CU2);
		(parchment,		Langaréttarbót (CU3)
		antigraph), items		
		missing		
AM 190 4to (I-	Aggregated	(As today)		I: Varnarrit Guðbrands
111)				biskups Þorlákssonar (CU1);
				Letter (CU2); II: "Vmm
				þridia og fiorda lid" (CU3);
				III: "Vmm þridia og fiorda
				lid" (CU4)
AM 192 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle:		"Deo, Regi, Patriæ"
		192 a-c 4to		
AM 192 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle:		"Consignatio Instituti"
		192 a-c 4to		(CU1); "Res et Scopus
				hactenus pro Patriâ Islandiâ
				suscepti negotii" (CU2)
AM 192 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle:		"Consilium De Islandia"
		192 a-c 4to		
AM 197 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms78	"Dómar, samþykktir og
				konungsbréf frá 1617. öld"
AM 200 4to	Aggregated	One item missing		Réttarbætur (CU1);
				"ANALECTA JURIDICA
				ISLANDIÆ", "Þeir Sex og
				Tuttugu ARTICULAR",
				Court desicions (CU2)
AM 202 a 4to	Aggregated?	Registered with 202 b 4to		"Practica legalis"
AM 202 b 4to	Aggregated?	Registered with		"Practica legalis"
	1.551 654 664	202 a 4to		
AM 204 4to	Dismembered before		CU1-3 part of	"Dimm faamæle Logbookar
	AM; Aggregated by	mentioned,	Ms100	Islendinga Och þeirra
	AM	different formats		rädningar" (CU1); "Stutt
				vtþyding Og Minn Einfalldur
				Skilningur Vmm Erfdatextan
				Logbokarenar" (CU2);
				"Dömkirkiu Hoola Jarder"
				(CU3)
AM 207 a 4to	Aggregated	Registered with		Memorial um Íslands fyrstu
		207 b 4to CU1-2		bygging og hvernig þar
				hófust lög

AM 207 b 4to (CU2)	Aggregated	Registered with 207 a 4to and		Réttarbætur (excerpts)
AM 209 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	207 b 4to CU2 Registered together: 209 a-d		"Antitheses rusiusculæ"
		4to and a lost copy		
AM 209 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 209 a-d 4to and a lost copy		"Antitheses rusiusculæ"
AM 209 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 209 a-d 4to and a lost copy		"Discursus oppositivus"
AM 209 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 209 a-d 4to and a lost copy		"Nosce te ipsum"
AM 210 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 210 a-f (different order)		Útlegging síra Arngríms Jónssonar yfir erfðir
AM 210 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 210 a-f (different order)		Gömul lög kirkjunnar, Útlegging síra Arngríms Jónssonar yfir erfðir, Útlegging yfir erfðatal móti meining síra Arngríms Jónssonar, Meining nokkur Björns Jónssonar um þær hórgetnu persónur hvörjar erfðum arf taki og hvar í fyrstu erfð, Stutt útþýðing og hreinn einfaldur skilningur um erfðatextann lögbókarinnar, Fullrétti efti Erlendi Þorvarðssyni lögmanni, Réttarbætur (fragm.)
AM 210 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 210 a-f (different order)		Meining Einars Eiríkssonar um erfðir, Annað skrif um erfðir
AM 210 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 210 a-f (different order)		Stutt útþýðing og minn einfaldur skilningur um erfðatextann lögbókarinnar
AM 210 e 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 210 a-f (different order)	CU1 part of Ms77	"Um fjárvon sonarsona í fyrstu erfð" (CU1); "Um ættleiðings arf" (CU2)
AM 210 f 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 210 a-f (different order)		Skiftiarfar och samarfar í almennilegu erfðatali

AM 211 a 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	CU1 part of	CU5 part of	"Skjöl um mál Sigfúsar
	Rearranged before	together: 211 a-e	Ms84; CU3	Ms84a	Sveinssonar og Baulhúsa-
	AM	4to (different	part of Ms84;		Gvendar" (CU1); "Til
		order; some	CU9 part of		umþenkingar og réttrar
		items not	Ms84		lagaundirstöðu þar sem
		mentioned, one			réttargangur skal löglegur
		item missing)			haldast" (CU2);
					"Eftirdæmistafla uppá þá
					móðurlega arfgrein sem
					stendur í fyrstu erfð" (CU3)
					"Skuldareikningur Jóns
					Þorgilssonar" (CU4); "Um
					erfðir" (CU5); "Vísitasía
					Sæbólskirkju á Ingjaldsand
					1689" (CU6); "Um
					hjónaband Sigfúsar
					Þorvarðssonar og
					Geirlaugar Jónsdóttur"
					(CU7); "Um erfðir" (CU8);
					"Discursus um það orð
					stefna"(CU9); "Lögfesta
					Snæb. P.s." (CU10);
					"Vitnisburður um sölu á
					jörðinni Meiri-Hnífsdal
					1626" (CU11); List of
					borrowed manuscripts
					(CU12)

AM 211 b 4to	Rearranged by AM; Rearranged before AM?	Registered together: 211 a-e 4to (different order; some items not mentioned, one item missing)	CU1-3 part of Ms84; CU6 part of Ms84	CU2-3 part of Ms84a?	Jarðabækur Ísafjarðarsýslu (CU1); Skipan Kristjáns IV um arf", "Um óðalsbrigði" (CU2); Bréf og skjöl um kirkjuleg mál, kirkjustaði etc., "Konungsbréf um hinn nýja stíl 1700", "Konungsbréf um herstjórn 1679" (CU3); "Skrá yfir jarðir í Holtssókn og Valþjófsdalssókn og afgjöld af þeim" (CU4); "Virðing á Sandastað" (CU5); "Jons Eggertssonar Commendatia" (CU6); "Dómur um brigð á Dufansdal 1498", "Skiptabréf Hvilftarkirkjueignar úr Eyrarlandi", Table of contents of two manuscripts of Magnús Jónsson, "Sauðárdómur um þá sem taka við rekum" (CU7)
AM 211 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 211 a-e 4to (different order; some items not mentioned, one item missing)	Part of Ms84		Jónsbók, "Skilyrði fyrir eiðspjalli", Réttarbætur og konungsbréf, Alþingis samþyktir og dómar
AM 211 d 4to	Dismembered (before AM?); Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered together: 211 a-e	(Unknown; Part of Ms84?)	Part of Ms84a	"Skiptabréf og skjöl frá 15 17. öld", "Um óðalsjörð", "Meðmæli Christians Müllers amtmanns til prestsekkju árið 1696"
AM 211 e 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 211 a-e 4to (different order; some items not mentioned, one item missing)	CU1 part of Ms82, CU2 part of Ms83?		"Relatio um Íslands tilstand" (CU1); "Dómur ef konur halda sig ekki vel í þrjú ár" (CU2); [possibly only 1 CU]
AM 212 4to	Dismembered by AM				"Um erfðir"

AM 213 a 4to (stored in one box with 213 b and c)	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 213 a-c 4to	Part of Ms73	"Útlegging séra Arngríms Jónssonar yfir erfðirnar", "Þetta eftirskrifað á móti meiningu og útleggingu séra Arngríms", "Lítið registur uppá erfðatal eftir A. B."
AM 213 b 4to (stored in one box with 213 a and c)	Aggregated by AM; Aggregated before AM?	Registered together: 213 a-c 4to		"Meining Björns Jónssonar á Skarðsá um ýmsar lögbókargreinar (CU1)"; Ritgjörð um lögbókar greinir, sem leiðréttingar þurfa" (CU2); "Stutt samtal og Meinyngar ästæðe um sektta mismun Eydfallsens og Openberrar Sakar" (CU3)
AM 213 c 4to (stored in one box with 213 a and b)	Aggregated by AM; Aggregated before AM?	Registered together: 213 a-c 4to		"Ritgjörð um tvíræðar laganna greinir" (CU1); "Nockrar Greiner vmm kvenna Barn Burdar Tijma" (CU2)
AM 214 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 214 b 4to		On Icelandic law
AM 214 b 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered before or by AM?	Registered with 214 a 4to		Móselög, Ágrip um karllegg og föðurætt, Um kvenlegg og móðurætt, Um erfðir
AM 215 a 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered by AM?	Registered with 215 b 4to (item(s) missing; cf. AM 228 b 4to)	CU2 part of Ms85?	Um tvíræðar lagagreinar (CU1); Stutt útskýring lögbókarinnar (CU2)
AM 215 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 215 a 4to		On Icelandic law
AM 216 a 4to (stored in one box: 216 a-f 4to)	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 216 a-f 4to		Lítið ágrip um landráðasakir
AM 216 b 4to I- II (stored in one box: 216 a-f 4to)	Aggregated by AM; Aggregated before AM?	Registered together: 216 a-f 4to		I: Til forsvars fyrir alþingissamþykktinni 1644 um laun vinnuhjúa, Um alþingissamþykktina 1644 um laun vinnuhjúa (CU1); II: Lítið ágrip um landráðasakir, Til forsvars fyrir alþingissamþykktinni 1644 um laun vinnuhjúa, Um alþingissamþykktina 1644 um laun vinnuhjúa

AM 216 c α 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Um forlag ómaga og þess
(stored in one		together: 216 a-f	framfæri (CU1); Um forlag
box: 216 a-f 4to)		4to	ómaga og þess framfæri
			(CU2)
AM 216 c β 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered	Þýðing byggðarnafna vorra,
(stored in one	Aggregated before	together: 216 a-f	Um ómagaframfærslu
box: 216 a-e	AM?	4to	(CU1); Til forsvars fyrir
4to)			alþingissamþykktinni 1644
			um fátækraframfærslu
			(CU2); Um alþingissamþykkt
			1632 um umboðs ómaga
			framfærslu (CU3); Letter
			(CU4)
AM 216 d 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered	Letter (CU1); Letter (CU2);
(stored in one	Aggregated before	together: 216 a-f	Letter (CU3)
box: 216 a-f 4to)	AM?	4to	
AM 216 e 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered	"Andsuar þeim geffid sem
(stored in one	Aggregated before	together: 216 a-f	seigia ad jardagoz megi
box: 216 a-f 4to)	AM?	4to	edur eigi eckj firi ömaga ad
			leggiast" (CU1); Um
			undanfæri með
			tylftareiðum (CU2); Um
			erfðir eftir börnin á
			Brenniborg (CU3)
AM 216 f 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Um tíundir af Skarðsá
(stored in one		together: 216 a-f	

AM 217 4to	Dismembered (by AM?)	(As today)	"Dimm fornyrde Løgbökar Islendinga Og þeirra Raadningar. Epter A.B.C.", "Lytid Samtak Hvadan Bigda nofn a Islandi hafa sinn vppruna", Um erfðir, "Umm forlag Omaga og þess er frammfærer", "Umm Landnäm þeirra virdulegu
			Persona sem Bök vor nefner Ecke", "Umm þad, hver skamtur vera skuli a þvi Landname i Landsleigu B. I. Cap: og 10.", "Lijted samtak umm þyding þeirrar Glösu ad fyrergiöra", "Um erfðir eftir börnin á Brenniborg", "Agrip umm þa sem kongur á aungvann Riett á", Um félag, "Svar uppä þä spurn, hvert vegandinn skuli bædi lijfed missa og þegngillde gialldazt", Lítið ágrip um
AM 218 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number	landráðasakir Um meðgöngutíma kvenna
AM 218 b 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered (before or by AM?)	218 in 4toPart of number218 in 4to	Útlegging yfir fornyrði lögbókarinnar (CU1); Bjarkeyjarréttur (excerpts), Grágás (excerpts) (CU2)
AM 218 c 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered before AM?	Part of number 218 in 4to	Valdsmaður þingfararbálki (CU1); Um kvennagiftingar (CU2); Erfðaréttur (illustrations), Um Herjólfsréttarbót (fragm.) (CU3)
AM 218 d 4to	Aggregated?	(Not mentioned)	Um drykkjuskaparorð til hneyksla öðrum töluð, Runic alphabet, On the election of priests
AM 219 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 219 a-d 4to	Um ómaga er arfi skuli fylgja (CU1); Um lagasóknir (CU2)
AM 219 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 219 a-d 4to	Um lagasóknir, Skrif um lagasóknir, Um lagasóknir

AM 219 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 219 a-d 4to	Um sóknarstað, Um fimmtarstefnu, Andsvar uppá aðskiljanlega laganna pósta, til Sigurðar Björnssonar lögmanns 1678, Um sonarsonar arftak
AM 219 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 219 a-d 4to	Letters and other documents, Inntak um gjaftolla
AM 220 a 4to (stored in box with 220 b 4to)	Rearranged by AM	Registered with 220 b 4to	Meining yfir fornyrði lögbókar
AM 220 b 4to (stored in box with 220 a 4to)	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 220 a 4to	Collections and notes on laws
AM 221 4to	Aggregated	(As today?)	"Skrïf Sira H.B.S. um það ord stefna", "Conjectura yfer nockrar lögbökar Greiner", "Odals Bälkur wr Frosta þings Lögum", "Rädnïng Dimmra Fornyrda Islendskrar lögbökar epter Alpha Betho" (CU1); "Dimm ord Logbokar og þeirra Radnyng" (CU2)
AM 222 a 4to	Aggregated?	There is only one copy registered under 222 4to	Þrjár dissertationes af Halldór Einarson
AM 222 b 4to	Aggregated?	There is only one copy registered under 222 4to	Þrjár dissertationes af Halldór Einarson

AM 223 4to	Aggregated by AM	(As today)		"Um Erfingia, þrimenning edur Nänare" (CU1); "Discursus, Um 25. 26. og 27. Capitula Mannhelgis" (CU2); "Discursus umm lørdu ad fyrergjøra fyrer Nidingsverk" (CU3); "Um ad Fyrergjøra Fie, og Öds Manns bætur"(CU4); "Discursus umm lørdu ad fyrergjøra fyrer Nidingsverk" (CU5); "Um ad Fyrergjøra Fie, og Öds Manns bætur" (CU6); "Notitia um Gráfylgiu" (CU7); "Litill Discursus um þingatijma til Herads sökna.
				anno 1707", "Lytill discursus um þingatyma ä längaföstutyma" (CU8); "Litill Discursus um þingatijma til Herads sökna. anno 1707" (CU9); "Lytill discursus um þingatyma ä längaföstutyma" (CU10)
AM 225 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 225 a-c 4to	Part of Ms77	"Almennilegt erfðatal eftir lögbókinni í ljóð snúið"
AM 225 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 225 a-c 4to		Út af erfðunum
AM 225 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 225 a-c 4to		Útlegging yfir fornyrði lögbókar Íslendinga
AM 226 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 226 a-d 4to		Um lögréttu mann eiða
AM 226 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 226 a-d 4to		Þingfarabálkur með útleggingu (CU1); Á móti allra örligra manna eyðum (CU2); Á móti allra örligra manna eyðum (fragm.) (CU3)
AM 226 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 226 a-d 4to		Skýringar við Jónsbók
AM 226 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 226 a-d 4to		On Icelandic law

AM 227 a 4to	Aggregated	Registered together: 227 a-b		On Icelandic law
AM 227 b 4to	Aggregated	4to Registered together: 227 a-b 4to		Anecdotes
AM 227 c 4to	Aggregated	(Not mentioned)		Bergþórs-statúta
AM 228 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 228 a and c 4to		On Icelandic law
AM 228 b 4to (stored in one box with 228 c 4to)	Aggregated (by AM?); Rearranged (by AM?)	(Mentioned in 215 a 4to?)	Part of Ms85?	Þingfararbálkur íslenskrar lögbókar
AM 228 c 4to (stored in one box with 228 b 4to)	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 228 a and c 4to		Nauðsynleg áminning til allra dómara, Þýðing á formála Kristjáns fjórða við norsku lög
AM 229 4to	Aggregated before AM?	In one fascicle (acc. to 477)		Various items on Icelandic law
AM 231 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle (acc. to 477): 231 a-c 4to		On Icelandic law
AM 231 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle (acc. to 477): 231 a-c 4to		On Icelandic law
AM 231 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle (acc. to 477): 231 a-c 4to		On Icelandic law
AM 232 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle (acc. to 477): 232 a-d 4to		"Andsvar Thorsteins sa. Giefied Jone", "Rit Thorsteins Magnus á móti Gietsaukum", "Frammfærslu Kambur sera Einars Arnfinssonar 1642", "Andsvar þeimm giefid sem seigia ad Jardagötz meige ", "Lijtil Liöd ut af Erfdunum"
AM 232 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle (acc. to 477): 232 a-d 4to		Meining Þorsteins Magnussonar um Trulofunar
AM 232 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle (acc. to 477): 232 a-d 4to		Þorsteins Magnússonar dissertatio móti alþingissamþykktinni 1632
AM 232 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle (acc. to 477): 232 a-d 4to		Um Bjarna Ólafssonar dóm (fragm.) (CU1); On Icelandic Iaw (fragm.) (CU2)
AM 239 4to (CU3	Aggregated by AM	(Both parchment and paper copies)		Icelandic charters and copies thereof

AM 240 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered		Apologia, það er
		together: 240 4to		undirrétting uppá þær
		1-11		stóru, fáheyrðu sakir og
				þungu áfellisdóma (CU1);
				Um Jón Sigmundsson og
				jarðaklaganir hr. Guðbrands
				(CU2)
AM 249 a 4to (I-	Aggregated	Registered		I-II: Dómabók Gísla
	Aggregateu	-		Árnasonar (CU1-2); III:
III)		together: 249 a-d		
		4to; some items		Table of contents (CU3);
		not mentioned,		Dómabók Gísla Árnasonar
		different order		(CU4)
AM 249 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered		Bréfabók Gísla Árnasonar á
		together: 249 a-d		Hlíðarenda
		4to; some items		
		not mentioned,		
		different order		
AM 249 c 4to (I-	Aggregated	Registered		I: Register of Church goods
∨)		together: 249 a-d		(CU1); Register of Church
		4to; some items		goods (CU2); II: Legal
		not mentioned,		documents (CU3); III: Legal
		different order		documents (CU4); IV: List of
				family property (CU5); V:
				Accounting papers (CU6)
AM 249 d 4to	Aggregated	Registered		Inventarium Skriðuklausturs
		together: 249 a-d		(CU1); Inventarium
		4to; some items		Skriðuklausturs (CU2)
		not mentioned,		
		different order		
AM 261 4to	Aggregated (by AM?)	Number 261 in		Skálholt cartulary (CU1);
		4to		Skógaheiti og þeirra
				takmörk fyrir norðan
				Skriðufell (CU2); Skógaheiti
				og þeirra takmörk fyrir
				norðan Skriðufell (CU3)
AM 262 4to	Aggregated			Máldagar Skálholts kirkju
				(different fragments)
AM 279 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered with		Grágás (part), Rekaskrá,
		279 a 4to		Kristfé í Hvammi í Vatnsdal
		(parchment)		
AM 282 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms34	Ragnars saga loðbrókar
AM 285 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms1	Hrólfs saga kraka
, 200 TU	Sisteribered by Alvi	(, is coury)		
AM 287 4to	Aggregated	(As today)		Böðvars saga bjarka (CU1);
				Böðvars saga bjarka (CU2)

AM 292 4to	Dismembered by	(Þáttur af	CU1 part of		Jómsvíkinga saga,
	, AM; Changed before		Ms13; CU2		Færeyinga saga (Þáttur af
	AM?	brestsyni not	part of Ms13;		Sigmundi Brestsyni og
		mentioned)	CU3 part of		Þrándi í Götu) (CU1);
		,	Ms13		Færeyinga saga (Þáttur af
					Þrándi í Götu), Hróa þáttur
					heimska (CU2); Völsa þáttur
					(CU3)
AM 294 4to	Dismembered by AM	Number 294 in 4to	Part of Ms83		Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra
AM 297 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number			Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra
(stored in a box		297 in 4to			
with 297 b 4to)					
AM 297 b 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Part of number	Part of Ms28	Part of Ms28b	Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra
(stored in a box	Aggregated before	297 in 4to			
with 297 a 4to)	AM				
AM 298 4to	Aggregated by AM	One item missing			Haralds saga Hringsbana
					(CU1); Haralds saga
					Hringsbana (CU2); Illuga
					saga Gríðarfóstra (CU3)
AM 303 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms52		Ættartal Noregs konunga
AM 325 IX 1 b	Dismembered by	One fascicle: 325	(Replacement		Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar
4to	AM; Rearranged by	4to (mostly	text of lacunae		(fragm.) (CU1); Ólafs saga
	AM?	parchment), but	in AM 54 fol.,		Tryggvasonar (fragm.)
		paper items not	taken out by		(CU2); Ólafs saga
		mentioned	AM)		Tryggvasonar (fragm.) (CU3);
AM 325 XI 2 q	Dismembered by	One fascicle: 325	(Replacement		Noregs konungs sögur
4to	AM; Rearranged by	4to (mostly	text of		(fragm.) (transl. From
	AM?	parchment), but	lacunae, taken		Danish)
		paper items not mentioned	out by AM)		
AM 326 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Hemings þáttur Aslákssonar
		together: 326 a-d			
		4to; two items			
		missing			
AM 326 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Hemings þáttur Aslákssonar
		together: 326 a-d			
		4to; two items			
		missing			
AM 326 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms18		Hemings þáttur Aslákssonar
		together: 326 a-d			
		4to; two items			
		missing			
AM 326 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Hemings þáttur Aslákssonar
		together: 326 a-d			
		4to; two items			
	1				

AM 329 4to	Rearranged by AM	Does not name CU2, but names two other items (now missing)	CU2 Part of Ms45	Sigurðar þáttur slefu (CU1); Hemings þáttur Aslákssonar (CU2); Helga þáttur og Úlfs (CU3)
AM 334 4to	Aggregated	CU1 not mentioned		Færinga saga, Hróa þáttur heimska, Auðunar þáttur vestfirðska (crossed-out) (CU1); Þrándar þáttur og Sigmundar (CU2)
AM 340 4to	Rearranged by AM	(As today) with AM's own register	(a part taken out inbetween CU1 and CU2)	Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga, Áns saga bogsveigis, Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana (CU1); Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar, Bósa saga og Herrauðs, Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns (CU2)
AM 342 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	CU2 part of Ms1	Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar (CU1); Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar, Friðþjófs saga frækna, Ketils saga hængs; Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga (CU2)
AM 343 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Inserted into bound parchment codex: 343 a 4to		Yngvars saga víðförla
AM 343 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Inserted into bound parchment codex: 343 a 4to		Yngvars saga víðförla
AM 344 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered with 344 a 4to	Part of Ms6	Örvar-Odds saga (CU1); Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar (CU2)
AM 345 4to	Rearranged by AM	Number 345 in 4to	CU1-3 part of Ms35	Áns saga bogsveigis (CU1); Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar (CU2); Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs, Bósa saga og Herrauðs, Hrómundar saga Gripssonar (CU3)
AM 346 4to	Rearranged by AM	One item missing		Eiríks saga víðförla (CU1), Eiríks saga víðförla (CU2), Eiríks saga víðförla (CU3)

AM 347 4to	Rearranged by AM	(As today?	(CU3		Hákonar þáttur Hárekssona
		Counted as three	supposed to		(CU1); Hákonar þáttur
		items)	replace		Hárekssonar (CU2); Hákona
		iteritoj	missing		þáttur Hárekssonar (fragm.
			beginning of		(CU3); Hákonar þáttur
			CU5, CU4		Hárekssonar (fragm.) (CU4)
			supposed to		Hákonar þáttur Hárekssona
			replace		(CU5)
			beginning of		
			554 h α 4to		
			CU1), CU5 part		
			of Ms6		
AM 348 4to	Aggregated by AM	Only first item			Norna-Gests þáttur (CU1);
		mentioned			Norna-Gests þáttur
					(variants) (CU2)
AM 349 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Eight items	CU1 part of	CU1 part of	Þorvalds þáttur tasalda
	Rearranged before	missing	Ms13	Ms12a	(CU1); Þorsteins þáttur
	AM	5			tjaldstæðings, Sneglu-Halla
	AIVI				
					þáttur (CU2)
AM 351 4to	Dismembered by	Number 351 in	Part of Ms54	Separate	Magnús saga Eyjajarls
	AM; Aggregated	4to		before?	
	before AM (by				
	Torfæus)?				
AM 359 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	359 b 4to is stuck-	Part of Ms55		Hervarar saga og Heiðreks
		in			konungs
AM 359 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Stuck into 359 a			Hervarar saga og Heiðreks
		4to			konungs (fragm.) (CU1);
					Hervarar saga og Heiðreks
					konungs (fragm.) (CU2)
AM 360 a 4to	Aggregated	Dogistorod with			
AIVI 500 a 410	Aggregated	Registered with			Bósa saga og Herrauðs
		360 b 4to			
AM 360 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered with			Bósa saga og Herrauðs
		360 a 4to			
AM 361 4to	Aggregated?	(As today)			Bósa saga og Herrauðs
					(part) (CU1); Bósa saga og
					Herrauðs (part) (CU2)
AM 363 4to	Rearranged by AM	Number 363 in	CU1 part of		Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra
	All All All				
		4to	Ms66, CU2		(CU1); Illuga saga
			part of Ms83,		Gríðarfóstra (CU2);
			CU3 part of		Gautreks saga konungs
			Ms66		(CU3)
AM 372 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)			Hungurvaka
AM 373 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)			Hungurvaka
AM 374 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)			Hungurvaka
ANA 275 A					
AM 375 4to	Dismembered by	(As today)			Hungurvaka,
	AM?				Biskupaannalár
AM 380 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms26		Hungurvaka, Þorláks saga
					biskups

AM 381 4to	Dismembered by AM; Changed before AM?	(As today)	?	Part of Ms12a?	Hungurvaka, Þorláks saga biskups
AM 384 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered with 384 b 4to (different formats, different order)			Páls saga biskups (fragm) (CU1); Páls saga biskups (fragm) (CU2); Páls saga biskups (fragm) (CU3); Þorláks saga helga (CU4); Árna saga Þórlákssonar (CU5)
AM 384 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 384 a 4to (different formats)			Laurentius saga biskups
AM 391 4to	Aggregated by AM?	(As today)			Jóns saga helga (CU1); Jóns saga helga (excerpts) (CU2)
AM 392 4to	Dismembered by AM; Dismembered before AM (by Torfæus)	(As today)	Part of Ms20	Part of Ms20a	Jóns saga helga
AM 395 4to	Dismembered by AM; Dismembered before AM (by Torfæus)	(As today)	Part of Ms20	Part of Ms20a	Guðmundar saga biskups
AM 398 4to	Dismembered before AM (by Torfæus)	(As today?)	(came separately to AM)	Part of Ms20a	Guðmundar saga biskups, Drápa um Guðmund Arason
AM 403 4to	Dismembered by AM; Aggregated before AM (by Torfæus)?	Number 403 in 4to	Part of Ms54	Separate before?	Laurentius saga biskups
AM 404 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms26		Laurentius saga biskups
AM 406 a II 2-5 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 406 a-c 4to (parchment and paper); (item missing)			2: Laurentius saga biskups (excerpts) (CU2); 3: Laurentius saga biskups (excerpt) (CU3); 4: Laurentius saga biskups (excerpt) (CU4); 5: Laurentius saga biskups (excerpts) (CU5)
AM 406 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 406 a-c 4to (parchment and paper); (item missing)			Laurentius saga biskups
AM 406 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 406 a-c 4to (parchment and paper); (item missing)			Laurentius saga biskups

AM 408 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Biskupaannálar
(stored in one		408 in 4to		
box: 408 a-i 4to)				
AM 408 b 4to	Dismembered?;	Part of number		Biskupaannálar
(stored in one	Aggregated by AM	408 in 4to		
box: 408 a-i 4to)				
AM 408 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms56	Hungurvaka, Guðmundar
(stored in one		408 in 4to		saga biskups (fragm.)
box: 408 a-i 4to)				
AM 408 d 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Biskupaannálar (end
(stored in one	Dismembered	408 in 4to		missing)
box: 408 a-i 4to)	before AM			
AM 408 e 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Part of number	Part of Ms29	Hungurvaka,
(stored in one	Aggregated before	408 in 4to		Biskupaannalár
box: 408 a-i 4to)	AM?			
AM 408 f 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number		Hungurvaka (CU6);
(stored in one		408 in 4to		Biskupaannalár (excerpt)
box: 408 a-i 4to)				(CU7); Biskupaannalár
AM 408 g 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Biskupaannálar (fragm.)
(stored in one		408 in 4to		
box: 408 a-i 4to)				
AM 408 h 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number		Biskupaannálar (CU10);
(stored in one		408 in 4to		Biskupaannálar, Letter
box: 408 a-i 4to)				(CU11); Biskupaannálar
				(CU12); Biskupaannálar
				(CU13)
AM 408 i 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Ættartölur biskupa
(stored in one		408 in 4to		
box: 408 a-i 4to)				
AM 409 a 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number	(Some missing	Krukksspá (CU1); Krukksspá
	Dismembered	409 in 4to	parts now in	(CU2); Krukksspá (CU3);
	before AM		Olso UB 600	Krukksspá (fragm.) (CU4);
			4to (cf. Eiríkur	Krukksspá (CU5); Þau 7
			Þormóðsson	heimsins furðuverk, Þættir
			and Guðrún	úr sögu Grikkja og
			Ása	Rómverja, Annáll, Annáll,
			Grímsdóttir	Krukksspá (fragm.) (CU6)
			2003, cl-cli.))	
AM 410 4to	Rearranged by AM	Number 410 in	CU1-2 part of	Historia universalis, Annáll,
		4to	Ms36	Historia universalis (CU1);
				Annálar (CU2)
AM 411 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)		Annáll
AM 412 4to	Dismembered (by	(As today)		Hólaannáll
	AM?)			
AM 416 a 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered with		Bókaskrá 1604 (CU1);
	Aggregated before	416 b 4to		Bókaskrá 1612 (CU2);
	AM?			Jarðatal Skálholtsstaðar
				(CU3)
AM 416 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with		Verses, kvæði, On health,
		416 a 4to		Annáll, Various wisdoms

AM 422 4to	Aggregated by AM	(As today)		Annotationes Chronologicæ (CU1); Relatio Þorsteins Magnússonar um jöklabrunann fyrir austan 1625 (CU2); Relatio Þorsteins Magnússonar um jöklabrunann fyrir austan 1625 (CU3); Tíðindi að norðan 1624-1625, "Vmm Eirnn unndarlegann fysk" (CU4)
AN4 420 - 4to 1	Aggregated by ANA2	(Not montioned)		Annáll
AM 429 a 4to I AM 429 a 4to II	Aggregated by AM? Rearranged by AM	(Not mentioned) (Not mentioned)	(Was together with copy- book of Skálholt documents (cf. AM-slip AM 429 b 4to II))	Annáll (fragm.)
AM 429 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	(Not mentioned)		Annáll (fragm.) (CU1); Annálar (CU2); "Juvenilia Excerpta" (CU3)
AM 441 4to	Dismembered by AM; Changed before AM?	(Bolla saga not mentioned)	Part of Ms12	Eyrbyggja saga, Laxdæla saga, Bolla þáttur Bollasonar
AM 442 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)		Eyrbyggja saga
AM 443 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms30	Eyrbyggja saga, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls, Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða
AM 445 a 4to	Dismembered by AM	(as today: AM 445 b 4to not mentioned)	Part of Ms70	Eyrbyggja saga
AM 446 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms26	Eyrbyggja saga
AM 451 4to	Dismembered by AM?	(As today?)		Hrafnkels saga goða, Fljótsdæla saga
AM 453 4to	Dismembered by AM?	(As today)		Egils saga Skallagrímssonar
AM 458 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms26	Egils saga Skallagrímssonar
AM 459 4to	Dismembered by AM; Changed before AM?	(As today)	Part of Ms12	Egils saga Skallagrímssonar
AM 463 4to	Rearranged by AM	(As today)	CU1 part of Ms30	Egils saga Skallagrímssonar (CU1); Egils saga Skallagrímssonar (fragm.) (CU2)
AM 465 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms34	Njáls saga

AM 473 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms56		Þórðar saga hreðu
AM 478 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms34		Grettis saga, Lausavísa
AM 480 4to	Aggregated by AM?	(One item			Önundar þáttur tréfóts
		missing)			(CU1); Grettis saga (CU2)
AM 483 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms55		Svarfdæla saga
AM 485 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)			Ljósvetninga saga
AM 486 4to	Rearranged by AM	(As today)	CU1 part of		Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings
			Ms87; CU2		(CU1); Hænsa-Þóris saga,
			part of Ms87;		Harðar saga og Hólmverja
			CU3 part of		(CU2); Þórðar saga hreðu
			Ms87; CU4		(CU3); Bárðar saga
			part of Ms70;		Snæfellsáss (CU4);
			CU5 part of		Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar
			Ms87(?)		(CU5)
AM 494 4to	Dismembered by AM?	(As today)			Finnboga saga ramma
AM 496 4to	Dismembered by AM	456 fol. and 384 fol. both mention Þorsteins þáttur Stangarhöggs twice - which must be a mistake due to the rubric in the manuscript. The library copy of the catalogue (477 fol.) only mentions it ones, but seems to have skipped a line and thus also not mentions	CU1-2 part of Ms45		Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls, Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, Þorsteins þáttur forvitna, Þorsteins þáttur sögufróða, Þorsteins saga hvíta, Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings, Gunnars saga Þiðrandabana, Þorsteins þáttur stangarhöggs, Reykdæla saga (CU1); Valla- Ljóts saga (CU2)
AM 509 4to	Dismembered by AM	Gunnars saga Þiðrandabana.] (As today)	Part of Ms80		Víga-Glúms saga
AM 515 4to	Dismembered by	(As today)	Part of Ms87		Flóamanna saga
	AM?				
AM 518 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)			Ásu-Þórðar þáttur, Egils
AM 521 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms54	Senarato	þáttur Síðu-Hallssonar
AIVI 321 d 4[0	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM (by Torfæus)?	521 in 4to	rait of MIS54	Separate before?	Ambáles saga
AM 521 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number			Ambáles saga
		521 in 4to			

AM 521 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 521 in 4to		Ambáles saga
AM 521 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 521 in 4to		Ambáles saga
AM 521 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 521 in 4to		Ambáles rímur
AM 522 4to	Dismembered (by AM?)	(As today)	Part of Ms19	Blómsturvalla saga, Sigurgarðs saga frækna
AM 524 4to	Rearranged by AM	(As today)	CU1 part of Ms80, CU2 part of Ms80	Bærings saga, Konráðs saga keisarasonar (CU1); Valdimars saga (CU2)
AM 527 4to	Rearranged?	(As today)		Flóres saga konungs og sona hans, Samsons saga fagra (CU1); Vilhjálms saga sjóðs, Sálus saga og Nikanórs (CU2); Blómsturvalla saga (CU3)
AM 536 4to	Dismembered by AM	Number 536 in 4to	Part of Ms35	Mágus saga jarls
AM 537 4to	Rearranged by AM	(As today)	CU1-2 part of Ms60	Nitida saga (CU1); Fertrams saga og Platos, Þjalar-Jóns saga (CU2)
AM 539 4to	Dismembered by AM	Number 539 in 4to	CU1-2 part of Ms32?	Rémundar saga keisarasonar (part) (CU1); Rémundar saga keisarasonar (part) (CU2)
AM 540 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms6	Rémundar saga keisarasonar
AM 551 b 4to	Rearranged by AM; Dismembered after AM (cf. Loth 1960b, 208)	Registered together in different order: 551 a-d beta 4to + JS 435 4to I (both parchment and paper, 4to and 8vo), items missing, others not mentioned	Part of Ms80	Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar
AM 551 c 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered after AM (cf. Loth 1960b, 208)	Registered together but different order: 551 a-d beta 4to (both parchment and paper, 4to and 8vo), items missing, others not mentioned		Droplaugarsonar þáttur (CU1); Hrafnkels saga (CU2); Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds

AM 551 d α 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered			Bjarnar saga Hitdælakappa
	Dismembered after	together but			(CU1); Ármanns saga og
	AM (cf. Loth 1960b,	different oder:			Þorsteine gála (CU2);
	208)	551 a-d beta 4to			Hrafnkels saga goða (CU3);
		(both parchment			Þóris þáttur hasts (CU4);
		and paper, 4to			Sagan frá því hvorsu
		and 8vo), items			Þórisdalur er fundinn, Visa
		missing, others			(CU5)
		not mentioned			
AM 552 a 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms12		Gísla saga Súrssonar
	Changed before AM?	together: 552 a-r			
	_	4to			
AM 552 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms62		Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings
		together: 552 a-r			
		4to			
AM 552 c 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms13		Þórvalds þáttur krákunefs,
	Changed before AM?	-			On Grettis saga
	Changed before Aivi:	4to			On Grettis saga
AM 552 d 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms12	Part of Ms12a	Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss
AW 332 0 40	Rearranged before	together: 552 a-r			
	AM	4to			
AM 552 e 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms12		Þorsteins þáttur
AIVI 552 e 410		-	Part OF WIS12		
	Changed before AM?				Stangarhöggs, Gunnars saga
		4to			Þiðrandabana, Gunnars
					saga Keldugnúpsfífls
AM 552 f 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms12	Part of Ms12a	Króka-Refs saga,
	Aggregated before	together: 552 a-r			Konungatal, Víglundar saga
	AM	4to			og Ketilríðar
AM 552 g 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms13	Part of Ms12a	Þórleifs þáttur jarlaskálds
	Rearranged before	together: 552 a-r			
	AM	4to			
AM 552 h 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms13		Þorsteins þáttur uxafóts
	Changed before AM?	-			
		4to			
AM 552 i 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms12		Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar
/	Changed before AM?	-			
	Changed before Alvis	4to			
AM 552 k α 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms12		Þórvalds þáttur víðförla
AIVI 552 K U 410		-	Part OF WIS12		
	Changed before AM?	-			
	A	4to			
AM 552 k β 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Porsteins saga Víkingssonar,
		together: 552 a-r			Verse (CU1); Calender
		4to			(fragm.) (CU2); Letter
					(fragm.) (CU3); Accounting
					notes (CU4)
AM 552 l 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms62		Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu
		together: 552 a-r			
		4to			
AM 552 m 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms62		Hallfreðar saga
		together: 552 a-r			vandræðaskálds
	1	-	1	1	

AM 552 n 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 552 a-r	Part of Ms62	Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar
		4to		Sveinbjarnarsonar
AM 552 o 4to	Rearranged by AM; Changed before AM?	Registered together: 552 a-r 4to	Part of Ms12	Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings
AM 552 p 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 552 a-r 4to	Part of Ms62	Kjalnesinga saga
AM 552 q 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 552 a-r 4to	Part of Ms62	Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odd saga
AM 552 r 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 552 a-r 4to	Part of Ms62	Höfuðlausn, Commentary by Björn á Skarðsá
AM 553 a 4to	Aggregated?	Registered together: 553 a-g 4to (one item missing)		Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings
AM 553 b 4to	Aggregated?	Registered together: 553 a-g 4to (one item missing)		Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar
AM 553 c 4to	Aggregated?	Registered together: 553 a-g 4to (one item missing)		Kroka-Refs saga
AM 553 d 4to	Aggregated?	Registered together: 553 a-g 4to (one item missing)		Væiglunda saga
AM 553 e 4to	Aggregated?	Registered together: 553 a-g 4to (one item missing)		Vilkims saga riddara
AM 553 f 4to	Aggregated?	Registered together: 553 a-g 4to (one item missing)		Ölkofra þáttur
AM 553 g 4to	Aggregated?	Registered together: 553 a-g 4to (one item missing)		Hallfreðar saga
AM 554 a α 4to	Rearranged by AM; Dismembered after AM	Part of number 554 in 4to (which also included AM 1008 4to, CU7 (see AM 477 fol., 37r))	Part of Ms61	Harðar saga og Hólmverja

AM 554 a β 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered	Part of number 554 in 4to (which		Bandamanna saga
	(before AM?);	also included AM		
	Dismembered after	1008 4to, CU7		
	AM	(see AM 477 fol.,		
		37r))		
AM 554 a γ 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Part of number	Part of Ms6	Króka-Refs saga
	Dismembered after	554 in 4to (which		
	AM	also included AM		
		1008 4to, CU7		
		(see AM 477 fol.,		
		37r))		
AM 554 a δ 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Hænsa-Þóris saga
	Dismembered	554 in 4to (which		
	before AM?;	also included AM		
	Dismembered after	1008 4to, CU7		
	AM	(see AM 477 fol.,		
		37r))		
AM 554 b 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Króka-Refs saga
	Dismembered after	554 in 4to (which		
	AM	also included AM		
		1008 4to, CU7		
		(see AM 477 fol.,		
		37r))		
AM 554 c 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Ölkofra þáttur, Rolants
	Dismembered after	554 in 4to (which		rímur
	AM	also included AM		
		1008 4to, CU7		
		(see AM 477 fol.,		
		37r))		
AM 554 d 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Laxdæla saga
	Dismembered after	554 in 4to (which		
	AM	also included AM		
		1008 4to, CU7		
		(see AM 477 fol.,		
		37r))		
AM 554 e 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Ljósvetninga saga
	Dismembered after	554 in 4to (which		
	AM	also included AM		
		1008 4to, CU7		
		(see AM 477 fol.,		
		37r))		
AM 554 f 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Part of number	Part of Ms55	Kormáks saga
	Dismembered after	554 in 4to (which		
	AM	also included AM		
		1008 4to, CU7		
		(see AM 477 fol.,		
		37r))		

AM 554 g 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Part of number			Kormáks saga
	Dismembered after	554 in 4to (which			
	AM	also included AM			
		1008 4to, CU7			
		(see AM 477 fol.,			
		37r))			
AM 554 h α 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Part of number	CU1-3 part of	CU1-2 part of	Hákonar þáttur Hárekssona
	Aggregated before	554 in 4to (which	Ms32	Ms32a	(CU1); Króka-Refs saga
	AM; Dismembered	also included AM			(CU2); Ísleifs þáttur biskups
	after AM	1008 4to, CU7			(CU3)
		(see AM 477 fol.,			
		37r))			
AM 554 h β 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Part of number	Part of Ms33	Part of Ms33b	Króka-Refs saga, Þórðar
	Aggregated before	554 in 4to (which			saga hreðu, Orms þáttur
	AM; Dismembered	also included AM			Stórólfssonar
	after AM	1008 4to, CU7			
		(see AM 477 fol.,			
		37r))			
AM 554 i 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Part of number	Part of Ms33	Part of Ms33b	Gunnars saga
	Aggregated before	554 in 4to (which			Keldugnúpsfífls
	AM; Dismembered	also included AM			
	after AM	1008 4to, CU7			
		(see AM 477 fol.,			
		37r))			
AM 555 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Njáls saga
		together: 555a-k			
		4to (six items			
		missing; some			
		not mentioned)			
AM 555 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms40		Um Saracenos
		together: 555a-k			
		4to (six items			
		missing; some			
		not mentioned)			
AM 555 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms40		Njáls saga, Guðmundar saga
		together: 555a-k			biskups (excerpt)
		4to (six items			
		missing; some			
		not mentioned)			
AM 555 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar
		together: 555a-k			
		4to (six items			
		missing; some			
	Assurante II. Att	not mentioned)			
AM 555 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar
		together: 555a-k			
		4to (six items			
		missing; some			
		not mentioned)			

AM 555 f 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Gunnars saga
		together: 555a-k			Keldugnúpsfífls
		4to (six items			
		missing; some			
		not mentioned)			
AM 555 g 4to	Rearranged by AM?	Registered			Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls
		together: 555a-k			þáttur Búasonar
		4to (six items			
		missing; some			
		not mentioned)			
AM 555 h 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms10		Stjörnu-Odda draumur
		together: 555a-k			
		4to (six items			
		missing; some			
		not mentioned)			
AM 555 i 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms55		Stjörnu-Odda draumur
		together: 555a-k			,
		4to (six items			
		missing; some			
		not mentioned)			
AM 555 k 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Gunnars saga
	Aggregated by Alvi	together: 555a-k			Keldugnúpsfífls
		4to (six items			Relaughupsinis
		-			
		missing; some			
	Aggregated	not mentioned)			
AM 558 a 4to	Aggregated;	Registered			Vatnaljóts saga
	Dismembered?	together: 588 a-b			
		4to (c and d not			
		mentioned)			
AM 558 b 4to	Rearranged	Registered			Vatnaljóts saga
		together: 588 a-b			
		4to (c and d not			
		mentioned)			
AM 558 c 4to	Aggregated; Added	(Not mentioned)			Grettis saga (CU1);
	to 588 4to after AM				Sturlaugs saga starfsama
					(fragm.) (CU2)
AM 560 a 4to	Aggregated?;	Registered	Part of Ms27	Separate	Víglundar saga
	Dismembered	together: 560 a-d		before?	
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned)			
AM 560 b 4to	Aggregated?;	Registered	Part of Ms27	Separate	Gunnars saga
	Dismembered	together: 560 a-d		before?	Keldugnúpsfífls
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned)			
AM 560 c 4to	Aggregated?;	Registered	Part of Ms27	Separate	Hrafns saga
	Dismembered	together: 560 a-d		before?	Sveinbjarnarsonar,
		4to (one item not			Draumaþættir, Kjalnesinga
		mentioned)			saga, Jökuls þáttur
					Búasonar, Áns saga
					bogsveigis, Rauðúlfs þáttur

AM 560 d 4to	Aggregated?;	Registered	Part of Ms27	Separate	Sörla saga sterka, Egils saga
	Dismembered	together: 560 a-d		before?	Skallagrímssonar
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned)			
AM 562 a 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered			Þorsteins þáttur
	Rearranged	together: 562 a-k			stangarhöggs (CU1);
		4to (one item not			Þorsteins þáttur
		mentioned);			stangarhöggs, Þorsteins
		Common			saga hvíta (CU2)
		(incomplete)			
		register			
AM 562 b 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered			Þorsteins saga uxafóts
	Dismembered	together: 562 a-k			
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned);			
		Common			
		(incomplete)			
		register			
AM 562 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered			Þorsteins þáttur uxafóts, On
		together: 562 a-k			Þorsteins þáttur uxafóts,
		4to (one item not			Verse
		mentioned);			
		Common			
		(incomplete)			
		register			
AM 562 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Þorsteins þáttur forvitna
		together: 562 a-k			
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned);			
		Common			
		(incomplete)			
		register			
AM 562 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Þorsteins þáttur forvitna
		together: 562 a-k			
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned);			
		Common			
		(incomplete)			
		register			
AM 562 f 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Þorsteins þáttur
	. ODI CDUCCU DY MINI	together: 562 a-k			Austfirðings (CU1);
		4to (one item not			Þorsteins þáttur forvitna
		mentioned);			(CU2)
		Common			
		(incomplete)			
		register			
		register			

AM 562 g 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	CU1 part of		Þorsteins þáttur sögufróða
		together: 562 a-k	Ms56		(CU1); Þorsteins þáttur
		4to (one item not			forvitna (CU2)
		mentioned);			
		Common			
		(incomplete)			
		register			
AM 562 h 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Þorsteins þáttur
		together: 562 a-k			Austfirðings
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned);			
		Common			
		(incomplete)			
		register			
AM 562 i 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Þorsteins þáttur
		together: 562 a-k			Austfirðings
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned);			
		Common			
		(incomplete)			
		register			
AM 562 k 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Þorsteins þáttur
		together: 562 a-k			Austfirðings
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned);			
		Common			
		(incomplete)			
		register			
AM 563 a 4to	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered			Jarla skálds saga, Sneglu-
		together: 563 a-c			Halla þáttur
		4to (one item			
		missing, one not			
		mentioned)			
AM 563 b 4to	Rearranged by AM?	Registered			Eiríks saga rauða (CU1);
		together: 563 a-c			Vopnfirðinga saga (CU2);
		4to (one item			Þorsteins þáttur uxafóts
		missing, one not			(CU3)
		mentioned)			
AM 563 c 4to	Aggregated (by AM?)	-			Stjörnu-Odda draumur
		together: 563 a-c			
		4to (one item			
		missing, one not			
		mentioned)			
AM 564 b 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms12	Part of Ms12a	Þórðar saga hreðu
	Rearranged before	together: 564 a-d			
	AM	4to (some items			
		not mentioned)			
AM 564 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms10		Bergbúaþáttur (end:
		together: 564 a-d			crossed out), Kumlbúa
		4to (some items			þáttur, Draumur Þorsteins
		not mentioned)			Síðu-Hallssonar

AM 564 d 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms6	Þórðar saga hreðu
		together: 564 a-d		
		4to (some items		
		not mentioned)		
AM 565 a 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms12	Fóstbræðra saga
	Changed before AM?	together: 565 a-b		
		4to		
AM 565 b 4to	Rearranged by AM;	Registered	Part of Ms12	Víga-Glúms saga
	Changed before AM?	-		
		4to		
AM 566 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Fóstbræðra saga
		together: 566 a-c		
		4to		
AM 566 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Þormóðar saga og Þorgeirs
AIVI 500 D 410	Aggregated by Alvi	-		Pornoval saga og Porgens
		together: 566 a-c		
		4to		
AM 566 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Fóstbræðra saga
		together: 566 a-c		
		4to		
AM 569 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Rímur af Þorgeiri
		together: 569 a-d		stjakarhöfða (CU1); On
		4to, different		Rímur af Þorgeiri
		order		stjakarhöfða (CU2)
AM 569 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Gríms saga Skeljungsbana
		together: 569 a-d		
		4to, different		
		order		
AM 569 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Af Jóni Upplandskongi,
		together: 569 a-d		Ásmundar saga Flagðagæfu
		4to, different		
		order		
AM 569 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Gríms saga Vestfirðings
	1.88.084004.07.1	together: 569 a-d		
		4to, different		
		order		
AM 572 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Ásmundar saga Sebbafóstra
AIVI 572 d 410	Aggregated by Alvi	-		Asiliuliual saga Sebbalostia
		together: 572 a-b		
		and d 4to, c not		
		mentioned		
AM 572 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Ásmundar saga Sebbafóstra
		together: 572 a-b		(CU1); Hrings saga og
		and d 4to, c not		Tryggva (fragm.) (CU2)
		mentioned		
AM 572 c 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered		Gunnars saga Keldugnúpfífl
	Dismembered?	together: 572 a-b		(fragm.), Króka-Refs saga,
		and d 4to, c not		Hrings saga og Tryggva
		mentioned		
AM 572 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Ævintýri af Ásu alvænu
	,	together: 572 a-b		(fragm.)
		and d 4to, c not		
		mentioned		

AM 575 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered with 575 a 4to (parchment)	Part of Ms34	Drauma-Jóns saga
AM 578 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to	Part of Ms82	Elenu saga einhendu
AM 578 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to		Ævintýrið af Valtara hertoga
AM 578 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to		Lykla-Péturs saga og Magelónu fögru, Verse
AM 578 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to		Bertrams saga reifa, Ævintýri, Ævintýri, Ævintýri, Ævintýri, Ævintýri, Ævintýri, Ævintýri
AM 578 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to		Gnýrs ævintýri
AM 578 f 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to	Part of Ms82	Tiodels saga riddara
AM 578 g 4to	Dismembered (by AM?); Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to	Part of Ms19	Tiodels saga riddara
AM 578 h 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to		Markólfs saga og Salomons
AM 578 i 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to		Ævintýri af Sniðólfi bónda (CU1); Ævintýri, Ævintýri, Ævintýri (CU2)
AM 578 k 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 578 a-k 4to		"Af ägyrnd Absalons Erche Byskups, og af Einum Bönda"
AM 582 4to	Rearranged by AM	(As today)	CU1-6 part of Ms60	Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar (CU1); Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana (CU2); Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs (CU3); Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra (CU4); Eiríks saga víðförla (CU5); Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar, Víga Glúms saga (fragm.) (CU6)
AM 583 a 4to	Aggregated	Registered together: 583 a-d 4to		Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar

AM 583 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered together: 583 a-d		Haralds rímur Hringsbana
	Aggrogated	4to Registered		Pauðúlfs þáttur. Op politisa
AM 583 c 4to	Aggregated	Registered together: 583 a-d 4to		Rauðúlfs þáttur, On politica and social circumstances in Turkey, "Huorninn Gidingarnir Biria Sitt Nya är", "Vm Manudina Arsinz", "Vm drickiuskap", Notes
AM 583 d 4to	Aggregated	Registered together: 583 a-d 4to		Orms þáttur Stórólfssonar, Þortseins þáttur uxafóts
AM 585 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 585 in 4to	Part of Ms35	Hektors saga
AM 585 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 585 in 4to	Part of Ms35	Úlfar saga sterka
AM 585 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 585 in 4to	Part of Ms35	Gibbons saga, Nikulás saga leikara
AM 585 d 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 585 in 4to	Part of Ms35	Sigurðar saga fóts, Sigurðar saga turnara
AM 585 e 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 585 in 4to	Part of Ms35	Valdemars saga, Konráðs saga, Þjalar-Jóns saga
AM 587 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 587 in 4to	Part of Ms80 (cf. Loth 1960, 126) (OR: Part of GKS 1006 fol.? (cf. Jón Helgason 1985, 13))	Hróa þáttur heimska
AM 587 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 587 in 4to	Part of Ms55	Hrómundar saga Gripssonar
AM 587 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 587 in 4to	Part of Ms1	Göngu-Hrólfs saga
AM 587 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 587 in 4to		Áns saga bogsveigis
AM 587 e 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 587 in 4to	Part of Ms83	Sörla þáttur
AM 588 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to	Part of Ms63	Ívens saga
AM 588 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to		Ála flekks saga
AM 588 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to		Ála flekks saga, Sagan af Albano
AM 588 d 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to		Bærings saga
AM 588 e 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to		Dámusta saga
AM 588 f 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to	Part of Ms6	Jóns saga leikara
AM 588 g 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to		Kirjalax saga

AM 588 h 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to	Part of Ms56		Möttuls saga
AM 588 i 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to	Part of Ms63		Möttuls saga
AM 588 k 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to	Part of Ms6		Samsons saga fagra
AM 588 l 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to	Part of Ms6		Sálus saga og Nikanór
AM 588 m 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered (by AM?)	Part of number 588 in 4to			Sigurgarðs saga frækna
AM 588 n 4to	Dismembered by AM; Aggregated by AM?	Part of number 588 in 4to			Sigurgarðs saga frækna
AM 588 o 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to			Sigurðar saga fóts
AM 588 p 4to	Rearranged by AM	(Not mentioned)	CU1-3 part of Ms15		Sigurðar saga fóts (CU1); Bærings saga (CU2); Ála flekks saga (CU3)
AM 588 q 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to			Valdimars saga
AM 588 r 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 588 in 4to	Part of Ms61		Úlfs saga Uggasonar
AM 590 a 4to	Dismembered (by AM?)	Registered with 590 b-c 4to	Part of Ms93?		Mágus saga jarls
AM 590 b-c 4to	Dismembered (by AM?)	Registered with 590 a 4to	Part of Ms93?		Gautreks saga, Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar
AM 591 a 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered?	Registered together: 591 a-k 4to			Mágus saga jarls (fragm.), Krukksspá
AM 591 b 4to	Aggregated by AM; Changed before AM?	Registered together: 591 a-k 4to	?	Part of Ms12a?	Mágus saga jarls
AM 591 c 4to	Rearranged by AM; Changed before AM?	Registered together: 591 a-k 4to	Part of Ms12		Hrólfs saga kraka, Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar, Friðþjófs saga frækna
AM 591 d 4to	Rearranged by AM; Changed before AM?	Registered together: 591 a-k 4to	Part of Ms12		Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar
AM 591 e 4to	Rearranged by AM; Rearranged before AM	Registered together: 591 a-k 4to	Part of Ms13	Part of Ms12a	Göngu-Hrólfs saga, Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra
AM 591 f 4to	Rearranged by AM; Rearranged before AM	Registered together: 591 a-k 4to	Part of Ms12	Part of Ms12a	Bósa saga og Herrauðs
AM 591 g 4to	Rearranged by AM; Changed before AM?	Registered together: 591 a-k 4to	Part of Ms13		Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra, Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns
AM 591 h 4to	Rearranged by AM; Changed before AM	Registered together: 591 a-k 4to	Part of Ms12		Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana, Sveinka þáttur Steinarsonar

AM 591 i 4to	Aggregated by AM; Changed before AM?	-	?	Part of Ms12a?	Örvar-Odds saga
AM 591 k 4to	Rearranged by AM; Changed before AM?	4to Registered together: 591 a-k 4to	Part of Ms13		Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs
AM 592 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 592 a-b 4to			Mágus saga jarls, Sigurgarðs saga frækna, Hrólfs þáttur skuggafífls (fragm.) (CU1); Flóres saga og Leó, Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra (CU2); Ála flekks saga, Sigurðar saga þögla, Starkarðar saga gamla, Þorsteins þáttur skelks (def.), Færeyinga saga (part), Færeyinga saga (part), Hróa þáttur heimska, Auðunar þáttur vestfirðska, Blóð-Egils þáttur, Dofra þáttur (CU3); Olgeirs saga danska (CU4)
AM 592 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 592 a-b 4to			Mágus saga jarls (fragm.)
AM 594 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 594 a-b 4to (4to and fol.)			Flóres saga og Leó, "Historian wm siø sofendvr", "Historian Af Santi CHRISTOFOR", "Historian vm Santi Nicolavm", "Vm S. Martinum biskup", "Undr nokkur, anno 864-938"
AM 594 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 594 a-b 4to (4to and fol.)			Flóres saga og Leó
AM 597 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 597 b 4to			Tjójumanna saga

AM 597 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 597 a 4to	Trójumanna saga, Breta sögur, Ættartölur,"Ur Landnämu Vestfyrdinga", Skrif Halldórs prests af Grænlandi til Arnalds prests, Þorfinns saga karlsefnis, Annáll, Notes, "Fra þvi Hvar hvor Nohasona Bygde Hejmenn", "Wm vøttn j Heimenum", Um bókagerð hina fyrstu,"frä Paradysu", "Hversu Laund liggia I Verølldenne", Um borgaskipan og legstaði heilagra manna, "iij
			teinungar ur munne Adams", Af náttúrum manns og blóði, Hervarar saga og Heiðreks konungs (excerpt), "Hvadann Blöt Höpust", "Vm Möthorn", Um þat hvaðan ótrú hófst, Kenning Augustini, Excerpts (CU1); Various notes, Excerpts, Copies (CU2)
AM 600 a 4to	Aggregated	In one fascicle: 600 a-d 4to	Vilmundar saga viðutan
AM 600 b 4to	Aggregated	In one fascicle: 600 a-d 4to (fol., 4to and 8vo)	Virgilius saga
AM 600c 4to	Aggregated	In one fascicle: 600 a-d 4to (fol., 4to and 8vo)	Virgilius saga
AM 600 d 4to	Aggregated	In one fascicle: 600 a-d 4to (fol., 4to and 8vo)	Pontanus saga og Diocletianus
AM 601 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 601 a-d 4to (different order)	Rímur af Ormari Framarssyni (summary), Gríms rímur og Hjálmars (summary), Úlfhams rímur (summary), Rímur af Sigurði Fornasyni (summary)
AM 601 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 601 a-d 4to (different order)	Hrómundar saga Greipssonar, Bragða-Ölvis saga

AM 601 c 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered		Rímur af Þóri hálegg
	Dismembered (by	together: 601 a-d		
	AM?)	4to (different		
		order)		
AM 601 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		"Innehald þattar af Skillde
		together: 602 a-c,		Dana konge"
		(d not		
		mentioned)		
AM 602 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Mærþallar saga, Kvæði af
		together: 602 a-c,		Salaría
		(d not		
		mentioned)		
AM 602 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Himinbjargar saga, Af
		together: 602 a-c,		Valfinnu völufegri
		(d not		
		mentioned)		
AM 602 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Sagan af Finnu forvitnu
		together: 602 a-c,		
		(d not		
		mentioned)		
AM 606 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Hemings rímur
	Aggregated by Aw	606 in 4to		inclinings filling
AM 606 b 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Skálda-Helga rímur
	Dismembered?	606 in 4to		
AM 606 c 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Friðþjófs rímur
AIVI 000 C 410	Dismembered?	606 in 4to		Filopjois fillidi
AM 606 d 4to		Part of number		Haralds rímur Hringsbana
AIVI 606 U 410	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered?	606 in 4to		
AM 606 e 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Gríms rímur og Hjálmars
	Dismembered?	606 in 4to		
AM 606 f 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Hálfdanar rímur
	Dismembered?	606 in 4to		Brönufóstra
AM 606 g 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms36	Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar
		606 in 4to		
AM 606 h 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar
		606 in 4to		
AM 606 i 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Hermóðar rímur
		606 in 4to		
AM 609 a 4to	Rearranged	Registered		Ála flekks rímur
		together: 609 a-c		
		(three items		
		missing)		
AM 609 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered		Andra rímur
		together: 609 a-c		
		(three items		
		missing)		
AM 609 c 4to	Aggregated	Registered		Amícus rímur og Amilíus
		together: 609 a-c		
		(three items		
		missing)		
ANA C10 - 4+-	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms38	Egils rímur Skallagrímssona
AM 610 a 4to				

AM 610 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 610 in 4to	Part of Ms17		Hektors rímur
AM 610 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 610 in 4to	Part of Ms17		Jarlmanns rímur, Hrómundar rímur, Ólafs rímur Tryggvasonar, Hemings rímur Aslákssonar, Konráðs rímur, Herburts rímur, Reinalds rímur, Andra rímur
AM 610 d 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 610 in 4to	Part of Ms17		Sigurðar rímur fóts, Sturlaugs rímur starfsama, Dámusta rímur, Mágus rímur
AM 610 e-f 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 610 in 4to	Part of Ms17		Göngu-Hrólfs rímur
AM 611 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 611 in 4to			Flóres rímur og Leó (fragm.) (CU1); Sigurðar rímur fóts (fragm.) (CU2)
AM 611 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 611 in 4to			Flóvents rímur
AM 611 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 611 in 4to	Part of Ms5		Fortunatus rímur
AM 611 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 611 in 4to			Grettis rímur
AM 611 e 4to	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 611 in 4to	Part of Ms33	(unknown context)	Grímals rímur, Kvæði séra Jóns Arasonar
AM 612 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 612 in 4to			Hálfdanar rímur Eysteinssonar
AM 612 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 612 in 4to			Hervarar rímur
AM 612 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 612 in 4to	Part of Ms31		Hrólfs rímur Gautrekssonar
AM 612 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 612 in 4to			Illuga rímur eldhúsgoða
AM 612 e 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 612 in 4to	Part of Ms89		Illuga rímur eldhúsgoða
AM 612 f 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 612 in 4to	Part of Ms5		Þjófa rímur
AM 612 g 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 612 in 4to			Jónatas rímur
AM 612 h 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 612 in 4to	Part of Ms89		Mábiliar rímur sterku
AM 613 a 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered (by AM?)	Part of number 613 in 4to			Nitidu rímur
AM 613 b 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered (by AM?)	Part of number 613 in 4to			Persíus rímur
AM 613 c 4to	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 613 in 4to	Part of Ms33	Part of Ms33c	Persíus rímur, Bellerofontis rímur

AM 613 d 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered (by	Part of number 613 in 4to			Rímur af Pólenstator
AM 613 e 4to	AM?) Aggregated by AM	Part of number			Pontus rímur
		613 in 4to			
AM 613 f 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 613 in 4to	Part of Ms61		Pontus rímur
			De la CAA-CA		
AM 613 g 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 613 in 4to	Part of Ms61		Rollants rímur
AM 613 h 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 613 in 4to?			Pontus rímur
ANA 612 i 4to	Aggregated by ANA				Dontus rímur
AM 613 i 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 613 in 4to?			Pontus rímur
AM 614 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms40		Rollants rímur
		together: 614 a-f			
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned)			
AM 614 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms40		Hervarar rímur, Grettis
		together: 614 a-f			rímur
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned)			
AM 614 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms40		Viglundar rímur
		together: 614 a-f			
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned)			
AM 614 d 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms40		Pontus rímur
		together: 614 a-f			
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned)			
AM 614 e 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms40		Valdemars rímur
		together: 614 a-f			
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned)			
AM 614 f 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms40		Króka-Refs rímur
		together: 614 a-f			
		4to (one item not			
		mentioned)			
AM 615 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 615 in 4to	Part of Ms38		Sigurðar rímur fóts
AM 615 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms38		Áns rímur bogsveigis
		615 in 4to			
AM 615 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms38		Rímur af sjö vísu meisturum
		615 in 4to			
AM 615 d 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms71		Sigurgarðar rímur frækna
		615 in 4to			
AM 615 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 615 in 4to			Sigurðar rímur þögla
AM 615 f 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number	Part of Ms39	Part of Ms39a	Spönsku vísur, Króka-Refs
	Rearranged before	615 in 4to			rímur, Ólafs rímur
	AM				Tryggvasonar, Grobbians
					rímur

AM 615 g 4to	Aggregated by AM; Rearranged before AM	Part of number 615 in 4to	Part of Ms39	Part of Ms39a	Herodes rímur, Vefjarvísur, Lausavísur
AM 615 h 4to	Aggregated by AM; Rearranged before AM	Part of number 615 in 4to	Part of Ms39	Part of Ms39a	Apollonius rímur, Ásmundar rímur og Tryggva, Samstæður
AM 615 i 4to	Aggregated by AM; Rearranged before AM	Part of number 615 in 4to	Part of Ms39	Part of Ms39a	Geiplur, Aldarháttur, "Skýringar við Aldarhátt"
AM 615 k 4to	Aggregated by AM; Rearranged before AM	Part of number 615 in 4to	Part of Ms39	Part of Ms39a	Flores rímur og Leó, Lykla- Péturs rímur, Kvæði and Iausavísur
AM 615 l 4to	Aggregated by AM; Rearranged before AM	Part of number 615 in 4to	Part of Ms39	Part of Ms39a	Reinalds rímur
AM 615 m 4to	Aggregated by AM; Rearranged before AM	Part of number 615 in 4to	Part of Ms39	Part of Ms39a	Hektors rímur, Kossakvæði
AM 615 n 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 615 in 4to			On Sveins rímur Múkssonar (CU1), Sveins rímur Múkssonar (CU2)
AM 615 o 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number 615 in 4to	Part of Ms31		Sörla rímur sterka
AM 616 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 616 a-e 4to (one item not mentioned, different order)			Tiodels rímur
AM 616 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 616 a-e 4to (one item not mentioned, different order)			Victors rímur og Blávus, Landrés rímur, Þóris rímur háleggs, Andra rímur, Gibbons rímur, Flóres rímur og Leó
AM 616 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 616 a-e 4to (one item not mentioned, different order)			Vilmundar rímur viðutan
AM 616 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 616 a-e 4to (one item not mentioned, different order)			Ölvis rímur sterka
AM 616 e 4to	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered (by AM?)	Registered together: 616 a-e 4to (one item not mentioned, different order)			Yngvars rímur Ölvissonar

AM 630 4to	Dismembered by AM	Number 6130 in 4to	Part of Ms32?	Jóns saga postola, Jakobs saga postola, Bartholomæu saga postola, Thomas saga postola, Tveggja postola saga Símons ok Júdas, Péturs saga postola, Andreas saga postola, Matheus saga postola
AM 663 a 4to	Aggregated	Registered together: 663 a(?)-b 4to (different formats) (one item not mentioned)		Játvarðar saga helga
AM 663 b 4to	Rearranged	Registered together: 663 a(?)-b 4to (different formats) (one item not mentioned)	Part of Ms44	Játvarðar saga helga
AM 663 c 4to	Aggregated?	(Not mentioned?)		Játvarðar saga helga
AM 669 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 669 a-c 4to (one item missing)		Andreas saga postola
AM 669 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 669 a-c 4to (one item missing)		Jóns saga baptista
AM 669 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 669 a-c 4to (one item missing)		Andreas drápa postula (fragm.)
AM 670 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 670 a-l 4to (one itme missing); slightly different order (due to grouping by scribe?)		De sancto Ansgario
AM 670 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 670 a-l 4to (one itme missing); slightly different order (due to grouping by scribe?)		De S. Vilhelmo Confessore

AM 670 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Blómarós
		together: 670 a-l	
		4to (one itme	
		missing); slightly	
		different order	
		(due to grouping	
		by scribe?)	
AM 670 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	De s. Kanuto Rege
	Aggregated by Alvi	together: 670 a-l	De 3. Kunuto Kege
		4to (one itme	
		missing); slightly	
		different order	
		(due to grouping	
		by scribe?)	
AM 670 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	De S. Olavo (CU1); De S.
		together: 670 a-l	Olavo Sequentiæ duæ
		4to (one itme	(CU2); Fragmentum Vitæ S.
		missing); slightly	Thorlaci epistcopi (CU3); De
		different order	Sancto Tholaco fragmentum
		(due to grouping	(CU4); Fragmentum
		by scribe?)	legendarii (CU5)
AM 670 f 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	De Sancto Magno Martyre
		together: 670 a-l	glorioso (CU1); Seqventia in
		4to (one itme	festo Magni ducis martyris
		missing); slightly	(CU2)
		different order	
		(due to grouping	
		by scribe?)	
AM 670 g 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registeredn	De Sancto Lucio
		together: 670 a-l	
		4to (slightly	
		different order	
		(due to grouping	
		by scribe?))	
AM 670 h 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	On Legenda S. Olavo,
		together: 670 a-l	Legenda de S Olavo, De
		4to (one itme	sancto Olavo fragmentum,
		missing); slightly	Sancti Olavi Regis et
		different order	Martyris fragmentum
		(due to grouping	
		by scribe?)	
AM 670 i 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	"De sancto Erico rege et
	Aggiegated by AIVI	-	martyre", "In translatione
		together: 670 a-l	
		4to (one itme	Sancti Kanuti Ducis"
		missing); slightly	
		different order	
		(due to grouping	
		by scribe?)	

AM 670 k 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Acta sanctorum in Selio
		together: 670 a-l		(CU1); De sanctorum in
		4to (one itme		Selio (CU2)
		missing); slightly		
		different order		
		(due to grouping		
		by scribe?)		
AM 670 l 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		De sancto halvardo,
		together: 670 a-l		Hallvards saga, "Excerpta e
		4to (one itme		missali", "Gamallt Kvæde
		missing); slightly		um Sancte Hallvard"
		different order		
		(due to grouping		
		by scribe?)		
AM 676 a 4to	Aggregated?	There is only one		Elucidarius (Icel.)
		copy registered		
		under 676 4to		
AM 676 b 4to	Aggregated?	There is only one		Elucidarius (Icel.)
		copy registered		
		under 676 4to		
AM 681 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered with		Duggals leiðsla
		681 a-c 4to		
		(parchment)		
AM 683 b 4to	Aggregated by AM?	Registered with		On AM 62 4to, Exorcismi et
		683 a, c-d 4to?		Benedictiones
		(entry not		
		explicit)		
AM 692 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		"Υπομνήματα"
		together: 692 a-h		
		4to (items in		
		different order,		
		692 g 4to not		
		mentioned)		
AM 692 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms90	Hómilíur
		together: 692 a-h		
		4to (items in		
		different order,		
		692 g 4to not		
		mentioned)		
AM 692 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms90	Sendibréf til Jóns Úlfssona
		together: 692 a-h		
		4to (items in		
		different order,		
		692 g 4to not		
		mentioned)		

AM 692 d 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	CU2 part of	Um kómetuna 1680 (CU1);
		together: 692 a-h 4to (items in	Ms90	"Itinerarium et Anni Iesu Christi Historia a Baptismo
		different order,		ad Primum Pascha",
		692 g 4to not		"Harmonia Resurrectionis",
		mentioned)		"Annotatiunculæ yffer
				nockur oracula Epistolarum
				Paulinarum" (CU2)
AM 692 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Prédikanir (fragm.)
		together: 692 a-h		
		4to (items in		
		different order,		
		692 g 4to not		
		mentioned)		
AM 692 f 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Registered		"Siön Sira Jöns yngra
	Dismembered?	together: 692 a-h		Eiölfssonar I Hvamme J
		4to (items in		Ndl.", "Ex Christophori
		different order,		Heidmani Tractatu de
		692 g 4to not		Palæstina sive Terra"
		mentioned)		
AM 692 g 4to	Aggregated by AM?	(Not mentioned)		"Lexicon Theologicum"
AM 692 h 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		"Þriar predikarnir yfir þann
		together: 692 a-h		XXV Dauidz psalm", "Tvær
		4to (items in		vísur freskeyttar", Sálmar,
		different order,		"COMPAAS Ad Lande
		692 g 4to not		liffande Manna: Rom: 8"
		mentioned)		
AM 695 a 4to	Rearranged (by AM?)	Registered		Postulavísur síra Guðmunds
		together: 695 a-e		Erlendssonar, Lilja, Ljómur,
		4to (f not		Niðurstigningsvísur, "Eingla
		mentioned; some		Brinia epter ABC", Gimstein
		items missing)		
AM 695 b 4to	Aggregated	Registered		Konungsskuggsjá
		together: 695 a-e		
		4to (f not		
		mentioned; some		
		items missing)		
AM 695 c 4to	Aggregated	Registered		"Firsti partur vmm
	00-0-0-0-0	together: 695 a-e		Grundvoll og vndirlag
		4to (f not		riettrar Lagalystar",
		mentioned; some		Hirðsiðir, Varia
		items missing)		
		items missing)		

AM 695 d 4to	Aggregated	Registered	"Barn döms Saga Christi",
		together: 695 a-e	"Vmm xij Plaagur xij
		4to (f not	kynþætta Juda", Pontanus
		mentioned; some	saga og Diocletianus,
		items missing)	"Mältæki vr Heilagri
		items missing)	
			Ritnyngu", "De Christi
			Merito"
AM 695 e 4to	Aggregated	Registered	"Wmm Falska Tungu edur
		together: 695 a-e	vonda Bakmælgi"
		4to (f not	
		mentioned; some	
		items missing)	
AM 701 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Lækningabók
	00 00 00 00 00	together: 701 a	0.00
		and c 4to (b not	
		· ·	
		mentioned)	
AM 701 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Um plástur S. Jernsingers
		together: 701 a	frá Nürnberg
		and c 4to (b not	
		mentioned)	
AM 703 4to	Aggregated	(In one fascicle)	Carmina latina (CU1); Um
			ómagaframfæri (CU2);
			Dómasafn (CU3); Reikningar
			yfir afgjöld af jörðum,
			bátum o.fl. í
			Snæfellsnessýslu (CU4);
			Holtsbréf (CU5); Letters and
			Documents (CU6)
AM 710 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Maríukæði, Nikulásdiktur
		together: 710 a-k	Maríukvæði, Krosskvæði
		4to (items	
		missing, others	
		not mentioned)	
AM 710 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	"Variæ lectiones ur
		together: 710 a-k	Christoforus visum"
		4to (items	
		missing, others	
		not mentioned)	
AM 710 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Niðurstingningsvísur
		together: 710 a-k	
		4to (items	
		missing, others	
		not mentioned)	
AM 710 d 4to	Aggregated by ANA	Registered	Mikaelsflokkur
AIVI 7 10 U 410	Aggregated by AM	-	IVIIKaeisiiOKKUI
		together: 710 a-k	
		4to (items	
		missing, others	
		not mentioned)	

AM 710 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Nikulásdrápa
		together: 710 a-k	
		4to (items	
		missing, others	
		not mentioned)	
AM 710 f 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Blómarós
		together: 710 a-k	
		4to (items	
		missing, others	
		not mentioned)	
AM 710 g 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Krossvísur, Krosskvæði,
		together: 710 a-k	Krossþulur, Krossvísur
		4to (items	gömlu, Krossvísur, Ólafs
		missing, others	vísur
		not mentioned)	
AM 710 h 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Sankti Olafs vísur
		together: 710 a-k	
		4to (items	
		missing, others	
		not mentioned)	
AM 710 i 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Ólafs vísur helga
		together: 710 a-k	
		4to (items	
		missing, others	
		not mentioned)	
AM 710 k 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Magnúsdiktur
		together: 710 a-k	
		4to (items	
		missing, others	
		not mentioned)	
AM 711 a 4to	Aggregated by AM?	Registered with	Maríuvísur
		771 b 4to	
AM 711 b 4to	Aggregated by AM?	Registered with	Maríuvísur
		771 a 4to	
AM 712 a 4to	Aggregated by AM?	Registered	Heimsósómar
		together: 712 a-e	
		4to	
AM 712 b 4to	Aggregated by AM?	Registered	Heimsósómar
		together: 712 a-e	
		4to	
AM 712 c 4to	Aggregated by AM?	Registered	Heimsósómar
		together: 712 a-e	
		4to	
AM 712 d 4to	Aggregated by AM?	Registered	Hugraun
-		together: 712 a-e	
		4to	
AM 712 e 4to	Aggregated by AM?	Registered	Friðar bón
		together: 712 a-e	
		4to	
AM 715 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle:	Lilja
		715 a-e 4to (f-g	
		not mentioned)	

AM 715 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle:	Part of Ms64	Lilja
		715 a-e 4to (f-g		
		not mentioned)		
AM 715 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	In one fascicle:	Part of Ms64	Píslargrátur
		715 a-e 4to (f-g		
		not mentioned)		
AM 715 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle:		Píslargrátur
		715 a-e 4to (f-g		
		not mentioned)		
AM 715 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle:		Náð
		715 a-e 4to (f-g		
		not mentioned)		
AM 716 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms74	Krosskvæði, Krosskvæði
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms74	Krosskvæði
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Ólafs kongs vísur
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 d 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Niðurstigningsvísur
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Niðurstigningsvísur
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 f 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms21	Niðurstigningsvísur
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 g 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Niðurstigningsvísur
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 h 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms74	Ljómur
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 i 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms101	Ljómur
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 k 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	Part of Ms101	Vísur um afgang Jóns
		716 in 4to		Arasonar og sona hans
AM 716 l 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Vísur um Jón Arason og syni
		716 in 4to		hans
AM 716 m 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Vísur um Jón Arason og syn
		716 in 4to		hans, Guðspjallavísur
AM 716 n 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Heimsádeila
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 o 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Hugbót
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 p 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Hjónasinna
		716 in 4to		
AM 716 q 4to	Aggregated by AM;	Part of number		Sólbrá
	Dismembered (by	716 in 4to		
	AM?)	Dogistored		Ólafovígura Niluslágalilatura
AM 717 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Ólafsvísur, Nikulásdiktur,
		together: 717 a-h		Andreasdiktur,
		4to (some items		Jóhannesdiktur, Krosskævði Krossvígur
		not mentioned)		Krosskævði, Krossvísur,
				Pálsdiktur, Gyðingsdiktur

AM 717 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 717 a-h		Ólafsvísur
		4to (some items		
		not mentioned)		
AM 717 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms21	Sankti Olafs vísur
		together: 717 a-h		
		4to (some items		
		not mentioned)		
AM 717 d α 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered		Ólafsvísur, Sankte
		together: 717 a-h		Jóhannesvísur, Heimsgall
		4to (some items		
		not mentioned)		
AM 717 d β 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Gyðings diktur
		together: 717 a-h		, ,
		4to (some items		
		not mentioned)		
AM 717 e 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Maríu vísur (CU1); Maríu
		together: 717 a-h		vísur (CU2)
		4to (some items		
		not mentioned)		
AM 717 f α 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms21	Krists kvæði, Kvæði
		together: 717 a-h		
		4to (some items		
		not mentioned)		
AM 717 f β 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Krists bálkur (CU1); Krists
,, <u>1</u> , 1, p, 100		together: 717 a-h		bálkur (CU2)
		4to (some items		
		not mentioned)		
AM 717 g 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered	Part of Ms21	Krosskvæði gamalt
		together: 717 a-h		
		4to (some items		
		not mentioned)		
AM 717 h 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered		Krosskvæði gamalt,
		together: 717 a-h		Krossvísur gamlar,
		4to (some items		Maríuvísur, Maríuvísur,
		not mentioned)		Maríuvísur, Maríuvísur,
				Maríuvísur, Maríuvísur ú
				Lilju, Pálsdiktur,
				Nikulásdiktur, Olafsvísur
				(CU1); Maríuvísur (CU2);
				Pálsdiktur (CU3)
AM 719 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered		Gimstein
AIVI / 13 d 4LU	Aggregated by AIVI	together: 719 a-c		Ginistelli
		4to		
ANA 710 h 4+a	Poprranged by ANA			Gimetoin
AM 719 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered		Gimstein
		together: 719 a-c 4to		
	1	410		
ΔΜ 719 c /+o	Rearranged by AM	Registered		Maríulykill (CU1)
AM 719 c 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 719 a-c		Maríulykill (CU1); Maríuvísur (CU2)

AM 722 4to	Aggregated by AM	(As today)		Þakklætissálmur, Katekismus sálmar (CU1); Sjö guðlegir iðrunarsálmar, Andlegt sálarinnar samtal við sinn frelsara, Um marglegleik syndarinnar og kraft bítalningsins, Kvöldvísur, Horribilis historia de Francisci spiere apostasia et desperatione, Um síðustu daga Karls V Þýskalandskeisara (CU2)
AM 723 a 4to	Rearranged by AM?	(723 b 4to not mentioned) (items missing)		Rúnaþulur, Háttarlykill (CU1); Kvæði (CU2); Skagfirðinga eður Hugardóms drápa Halls Magnússonar (CU3); Kolbrunar vísur (CU4); Lausavísur (CU5) Hugvinnsmál (CU6); Almanaksvísur, Vísur (CU7)
AM 723 b 4to (I- III)	Rearranged by AM	(Not mentioned)	CU4 part of Ms80	I: Maríudans (CU1); Maríudans (CU2); Ærukrans Maríu (CU3); II: Feðgareisa, Kvæði af saklausan svein (CU4); III: Kvæði af Sturlaugi starfsama; Kvæði af Rollants riddara; kvæði af Hrómundi Gripssyni (CU5); Um hvannarótagröftur (CU6)
AM 727 4to	Aggregated	(As today)		Rímbegla (CU1); Tíðforðríf, Annálságrip, Roðberts þáttur, Af Qvintiano keisara, Um rúnir og launskrift, Finngálkn, Þulur og kvæði, Varia (CU2)
AM 731 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms62	Rímbegla
AM 732 a I 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 732 a-b 4to (different order; paper and parchment)		Rímtal
AM 732 a II 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 732 a-b 4to (different order; paper and parchment)		Rímtal

AM 732 a III 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Rímtal
		together: 732 a-b	
		4to (different	
		order; paper and	
		parchment)	
AM 732 a IV 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Rímtal
		together: 732 a-b	
		4to (different	
		order; paper and	
		parchment)	
AM 732 a V 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Rímtal
		together: 732 a-b	
		4to (different	
		order; paper and	
		parchment)	
AM 732 a VIII	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Ársútreikningatafla
4to	30 64.64 % / 11/1	together: 732 a-b	
		4to (different	
		order; paper and	
		parchment)	
AM 732 a IX /to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Tractatus computisticus
AW 752 a 17 40		together: 732 a-b	Tractatus computisticus
		4to (different	
		order; paper and	
	A	parchment)	
AM 732 a X 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Letter (CU1); Letter (CU2);
		together: 732 a-b	Letter (CU3); "Tractatus
		4to (different	Calendaris" (CU4); Letter
		order; paper and	(CU5); Tímatöflur (CU6);
		parchment)	Letter (CU7); "Disqviritur"
			(CU8); "Disqviritur" (CU9);
			"Pertinet ad Novum
			Computum" (CU10)
AM 732 a XI 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	Rímtafla
		together: 732 a-b	
		4to (different	
		order; paper and	
		parchment)	
AM 732 a XII 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered	On Computistica
		together: 732 a-b	en computation
		4to (different	
		order; paper and	
		parchment)	
AM 736 IV 4to	Aggrogated by ANA	In one fascicle:	On the position of the sun,
AIVI 730 IV 4LU	Aggregated by AM		
		736 I-V 4to	On blood-letting, "Septem
		(different order;	in auditione missæ
		some in	virtutes", "Regula termini
		parchment)	Pascalis", "O intermerata"

AM 736 V 4to	Aggregated by AM	In one fascicle: 736 I-V 4to		Rímreglur (fragm.)
		(different order;		
		some in		
		parchment)		
AM 737   4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 737 I-II 4to (AM's additions not		Jólaskrá
		mentioned)		
AM 737 II 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 737 I-II 4to (AM's additions not mentioned)		Jólaskrá (CU1); On the fire of Oslo 1352 og 1515 (CU2)
AM 742 4to	Dismembered	(As today?)		Snorra Edda, On bishops
AM 747 4to	Aggregated (before AM?)	(As today)		Snorra Edda (CU1); Snorra Edda, Rígsþula (CU2); Vafþrúðismál (CU3)
AM 749 4to	Dismembered?	(As today)		Snorra Edda, "Málrúnir og þrydeylir" "Enn aðrar deilur lengur reknar", Háttatal
AM 750 4to	Rearranged	(As today)		Snorra Edda (part) (CU1); Snorra Edda (part) CU2)
AM 751 4to	Rearranged?	(As today)		Snorra Edda (part), "Wr Handfesting Fridrichs kongs", Snorra Edda (part)
AM 752 4to	Aggregated	(As today)		Snorra Edda (CU1); Dæmisaga (CU2)
AM 753 4to	Aggregated (by AM?)	(As today)		1st and 2nd Grammatical Treatise (shortened) (CU1); Snorra Edda (CU2)
AM 754 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms42	Völuspá, Hávamál, Rígsþula, Snorra Edda
AM 761 a 4to	Aggregated?	In one (large) fascicle: 761 a-b 4to		On drottkvæði (CU1); Höfuðlausn, Sonar Torrek (CU2); Skáldatal (CU3); Þorbjörn hornklofi cum nonnullis carminibus Þjóðólfs hvinverska(fragm.) (CU4); Skáldatal (CU5); Skáldatal (CU6); Verses (CU7); Ynglingatal (CU8); Skáldatal (CU9)
AM 761 b 4to	Aggregated?	In one (large) fascicle: 761 a-b 4to		Dróttkvæði
AM 766 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered together: 766 a-c 4to (partly parchment)		Landalýsing

AM 766 c 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Veraldar saga, Frá
		together: 766 a-c			bóðorðum höfuðfeðra,
		4to (partly			Kennimannskapur, Páva
		parchment)			sæti
AM 768 4to	Dismembered by AM; Dismembered before AM (by Torfæus)	(As today)	Part of Ms20	Part of Ms20a	Grænlandsannáll
AM 769 4to	Aggregated by AM?;	Only first copy			Grænlandsannáll (CU1);
	Aggregated before	mentioned			Grænlandsannáll (CU2);
	AM? (Cf. Einar G. Pétursson 1998, 1: 181-182)				Grænlandsannáll (CU3)
AM 770 a 4to	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	CU1 part of		Grænlendinga þáttur,
(stored in one		770 in 4to	Ms48		Biskupar og kirkjur á
box with b+c)					Grænlandi (CU1); Trifolium
					historicum (fragm.) (CU2)
AM 770 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number			Um Grænland (CU3);
(stored in one		770 in 4to			Þorfinns saga karlsefnis
box with a+c)					(CU4); Eiríks saga rauða
					(CU5)
AM 770 c 4to [α	Rearranged by AM	(Not mentioned?)	CU9 part of		[α: Tilbud fra Peder
from 16th			Ms58?		Hvitfeldt og Christoffer
century] (stored					Walkendorff angående
in one box with					Grønlands genopdagelse
a+b)					(CU6);] β: Christian IV's
					tilladelse for J. og G. Bram
					til handel på den
					grønlandske insul
					Christiansberg (CU7); γ: De
					præadamitis (CU8); δ:
					Dagbog over Jakob Aldays
					Grønlandsrejse 1579 (CU9);
					ε: Eiríks saga rauða, On
					Greenland, Eiríks saga rauða
					(summary) (CU10); ζ:
					"Kirkiur ä Grænlandi"
					(CU11); η: Sögn Þormóðar
					Torfasonar um dráp Otta
					Axelsonar skipherra (CU12);
					θ: "Gronlandica" (part 1)
					(CU13); "Gronlandica" (part
					2) (CU14)
AM 773 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Registered			Gronlandia, "Om Grönlands
		together: 773 a-c 4to			Seigling"
AM 773 b 4to	Rearranged by AM	Registered			Gronlandia, Om Gronlands
		together: 773 a-c			seigling, "Biskupar á
		4to			Grænlandi"

AM 835 b 4to	Aggregated?	Registered with 835 a 4to			Aliud Calendarium Danicum
AM 835 a 4to	Aggregated?	Registered with 835 b 4to			Liber memoriam et Donariorum Ecclesiæ Hamburgensis
V)	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated before AM	Part of number 779 in 4to	CU3 part of Ms32, CU4 part of Ms6, CU5 part of Ms40, CU6 part of Ms61	CU3 part of Ms32a	I: Grænlands Chronica (CU1); Dialogue between Agata and Barbara (CU2); II: Grænlands Chronica (CU3; III: Grænlands Chronica (CU4); IV: Grænlands Chronica (CU5); V: Grænlands Chronica (CU6)
AM 779 b 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 779 in 4to			Grænlands Chronica, Lucidarius (excerpt), On Greenland, On the settlement of Iceland
AM 779 a 4to	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 779 in 4to			oprettelse udi Grönland" Grænlands Chronica
AM 778 b 4to AM 778 c 4to	Aggregated by AM; Aggregated? Aggregated?	Registered with 778 a 4to (Not mentioned)			"Kort Underretning om det Gamle Grønland og Winland" "Nye forslag till Coloniers
AM 778 a 4to	Rearranged by AM; Aggregated?	Registered with AM 778 b 4to	CU1 part of Ms42		Mixed historical texts on Greenland (CU1); Mixed historical texts on Greenland (CU2); Excerpts from historical documents (CU3); On the animal life in Iceland, Greenland and the polar region (CU4); Letter (CU5); Letter (CU6)
AM 777 a 4to AM 777 b-d 4to (b from 16th c.)	Rearranged by AM	777 in 4to Part of number 777 in 4to	CU1 part of a larger manuscript from mostly 16th century (cf. AM-slip); CU2 part of Ms58		b: Grønlandsbeskrivelse (CU1); c: Grønlandsbeskrivelse, Letter (CU2); d: Grønlandsbeskrivelse (CU3)
AM 773 c 4to	Aggregated by AM Rearranged by AM	Registered together: 773 a-c 4to Part of number			Gronlandia (fragm.) (CU1); Gronlandia (fragm.) (CU2) Grønlandsbeskrivelse

AM 891 4to	Dismembered by		(with 895 4to?	"Cronica, Oder Kurtze
	AM?		Cf. Kålund II,	Historische auffzeichnung
			249)	vnd Bericht, Von Erbawung
				Item von ab vnd
				zunehmung, der Stadt
				Bergen in Norwegen"
AM 895 4to	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	(with 891 4to?	"Die Nordische Saw"
	,		Cf. Kålund II,	
			249)	
AM 904 4to	Aggregated (by AM?)	(Not mentioned)		Ólafs saga helga (prologue)
				(CU1); Ólafs saga helga
				(prologue) (CU2); Speculum
				regale C(U3); Ættartölur
				(from Þórðar saga hreðu)
				(CU4)
AM 905 4to	Aggregated by AM?	(Not mentioned)		Catalogue of Krag's
				manuscripts (CU1);
				Catalogue of Christain
				Worm's manuscripts (CU2);
				"Tractatus Msti in
				bibliotheca W. Wormii"
				(CU3)
AM 1006 4to	Dismembered by	(Not mentioned)	Part of Ms29?	Knýtlinga saga
	AM?; Aggregated	(,		
	before AM?			
AM 1008 4to	Dismembered by	(Not mentioned,	CU1 part of	Hversu Noregur byggðist
	AM; Aggregated	but CU1 listed	Ms52; CU3	(CU1); Fundinn Noregur
	after AM	with number 34	part of Ms55	(CU2); Hálfs saga og
		in fol., CU2 listed		Hálfsrekka (CU3); Hróa
		with number 202		þáttur heimska (CU4);
		in fol., and CU7		Þorfinns saga
		listed with		Karlsefnis(CU5);
		number 554 in		Grænlendinga þáttur (CU6);
		4to)		Ölkofra þattur (CU7); Hrafns
		,		saga Sveinbjarnarsonar
				(CU8); Sigurðar saga slefu
				(CU9); Lítill þáttur
				kyrknaráns og ásókna í
				Englandi (CU10)
AM 1009 4to	Dismembered (by	(Not mentioned)		"Smáir articuli" (CU1);
AIVI 1003 4LU	AM?); Aggregated?	(Not mentioned)		Verses (CU2); Geisli (CU3);
	TIVI: J, ASSICEALEU!			Ólafs rímur Haraldssonar
				(CU4)
AM 1030 4to	Aggregated (by AM?)	(Not mentioned)		"Ex authographo Jonæ
	AND AND A CONCERNENT AND AND A CONCERNENT	(Not mentioned)		Simonis, Nomophylacis
				Agdelidenlis in Norvegiâ"
				(CU1); "Genealogiæ Regum
				Danorum" (CU2);
				"Genealogia Regum Daniæ
				H Ernstii" (CU3); On Danish
				kings' genealogies (CU4)

AM 1041 4to	Dismembered by AM; Aggregated (by AM?)	(Not mentioned)		Árna saga biskups (CU1); "Erfðir að manntale" (CU2); "Viðbætirskorn sögunnar Eglu S.G.S." (CU3)
AM 1050 4to I- XIII (IV from 16th c.)	Rearranged by AM	(Not mentioned)	CU2 together with 65 4to (parchm.)	I: "En ny Wise" (CU1); II: Christian IV med følges indskrifter på en rude i Bergen rådhus (CU2); III: Kong Erik glippings Nyborgske forordning 1284 (CU3); IV: Annal (CU4); V: Retterbod (CU5); VI: "Si qvæstio inter Episcopum oritur et populum de legis diversitate" (CU6); VII: "Calendarium vel potius Obituarium Ecclesiæ Beatæ Virginis Hafnis" (CU7); VIII: Annales Danici (CU8); IX: Catalogus Diplomatum veterum (CU9); X: Catalogue of manuscripts (CU10); XI: "Ex reliqviis Wellejanis" (CU11); XII: List of manuscripts (CU12); XIII: List of Icelandic sagas (CU13)
AM 34 8vo	Dismembered by AM	Number 34 in 8vo	Part of Ms46	Hirðskrá
AM 37 b 8vo	Rearranged by AM	(Not mentioned)	CU2 part of Ms46	On a manuscript of Jónsbók (CU1); Table of contents of Jónsbók (CU2); Margin excerpts of a manuscript of Jónsbók (and Grágás) (CU3); Margin excerts of a manuscript of Jónsbók (CU4)
AM 53 8vo	Dismembered by AM	Number 53 in 8vo	Part of Ms46	Kristinréttur Árna biskups, Kirkjuskipanir
AM 61 a 8vo	Aggregated before AM?	(As today)		Dimm fornmæli lögbókar Íslendinga (CU1); "Ágrip um umboðsmenn", "Riettarböt Eyreks konungs", "Fiögur Ordtæke í vorre Logbok", Contract (CU2)
AM 61 b 8vo	Aggregated?	(Not mentioned)		On fornyrð (CU1); "Vmm Noa Avrk", "Vmm Laundinn" (CU2)
AM 62 a 8vo	Aggregated (by AM?)	In the same jacket: 62 a-c 8vo		Dómasafn

AM 62 b 8vo	Aggregated (by AM?)	In the same jacket: 62 a-c 8vo		Dómasafn
AM 62 c 8vo	Aggregated (by AM?)	In the same jacket: 62 a-c 8vo		Erfðatal Íslendinga, On erfðamál, On erfðamál, Prestastefna, Ættleiðingar, Notes and excerpts
AM 65 a 8vo	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 65 b 8vo (some items missing)		Búalög, Legal documents, Jónsbók (experpts), Bessastaðabók (parts), Old testament (excerpts), Fornyrði (A-G), Gátur Gestumblinda, Annálar, "Fim hafa Storþing vered", Ævintýri um herramann sem varð að hundi, För Sets í Paradís
AM 65 b 8vo	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 65 a 8vo)		Bessastaðabók (parts)
AM 66 a 8vo	Aggregated	Registered with 66 b 8vo		Máldagakver Odds biskups Einarssonar
AM 66 b 8vo (CU2-5)	Aggregated	Registered with 66 a 8vo		Sáttarskjál (CU2); Letter (CU3); Andmæli Sigurðar Oddssonar (CU4); Rules for Björn Magnússon's tenants (CU5)
AM 67 8vo	Rearranged by AM	(Some items not mentioned)	CU1 part of Ms21?, CU2-5 part of Ms21	Heilræði (CU1); Kong Maytz bréf og taxti, Kvikfjárlag á vör, Hvörninn tíunda skal fríða og dauða peninga í sérhvörju héraði, Tylftir umhverfis Ísland, Annáll 87 1492, Búalög, Bergmál - Dvergmál, Stuttir brúðkaupssiðir, Maríuvísa (CU2); Lögfræðilegt efni, Fróðleikur og kveðskapur ú Íslendingasögum, Siðferðilegur fróðleikur (CU3); Hvernig kristinn maður skal iðka Davíðs saltara, Kvæði og sálmar eftir ýmiss skáld, Um svall og drykkjuskap (CU4); Rímvísur, Tilvitnanir í latneska höfunda (CU5)

AM 93 8vo AM 100 8vo	Aggregated Rearranged by AM	(As today) Number 100 in		"Vmm mansins Ypparlegleika" (CU1); "Hvert mannsins Lif edur Daude stande i Guds, edur Siälfs manns vallde" (CU2); On human life (CU3); "Spurnyng Huortt Mannleg Saal ecki fijdur enn lijkaminn hafi sinn uppruna af Forelldrunum" (CU4); "Præ Adamita Vits" (CU5); "Aff Claus Porss Hanns husbök, eda Lifnadarins Compäs" (CU6); "Disputatziu Maal af S. Paals ordum til Romanos .5." (CU7); Annáll (CU8); Excerpts from different sagas (CU9) Sethskvæði (CU1);
		8vo		Sethskvæði (CU2); Krossdrápa (fragm.) (CU3)
AM 109 a 8vo (I- III)	Rearranged by AM	Number 109 in 8vo	CU1-3 part of Ms14; CU4-6 part of Ms16; CU7 part of Ms15	I: Áns saga bogsveigis (CU1), Egils saga einhanda og Ásmundar bersekjabana (without beg.), Hálfdans saga Eysteinssonar (CU2); Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga (CU3); II: Friþjófs saga frækna (CU4); Ketils saga hængs, Gríms saga loðinkinna, Örvar-Odds saga (CU5); Hrólfs saga kraka (CU6); III: Hjálmþérs saga og Ölvers (CU7)
AM 110 8vo	Dismembered by AM; Aggregated	Only CU1 named	Together with other similar excerpts (distroyed by AM)	Hungurvaka (excerpt) (CU1); Hungurvaka (excerpt) (CU2)
AM 114 8vo	Dismembered by AM	Number 114 in 8vo	Part of Ms96?	Kjalnesinga saga, Jökuls þáttur Búasonar

AM 116 8vo (I-	Rearranged by AM	Number 116 in	CU3-4 part of	I: Droplaugarsonar þáttur
V)	incurranged by / in	8vo	Ms16	(CU1); II: Hrafnkels saga
v)		000	NISTO	Freysgoða, Gunnars saga
				Kelldugnúpsfífls (CU2); III:
				Jökuls þáttur Búasonar
				(CU3); Orms saga
				Stórólfssonar (CU4); IV:
				Víglundar saga og Ketilríðar
				(CU5); V: Um Þangbrand prest (CU6)
AM 118 a 8vo	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	CU1-3 part of	Adonias saga (CU1); Bevers
		118 in 8vo	Ms15	saga (CU2); Viktors saga og
				Blávus (CU3)
AM 118 b 8vo	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Bréf Alexandri Magni
	00 00 00 00	118 in 8vo		
AM 119 a 8vo	Rearranged by AM	Part of number	CU1-4 part of	Elís saga og Rósamundu
		119 in 8vo	Ms15	(CU1); Gibbons saga (CU2);
				Partalopa saga (CU3);
				Konráðs saga keisarasonar
				(CU4)
AM 119 b 8vo	Aggregated by AM	Part of number		Gnýrs ævintýri, Eiríks saga
	00 00 00 00	119 in 8vo		víðförla, Ormars þáttur
				Framarssonar, Ævintýri
AM 120 8vo	Dismembered			Samsons saga fagra
AM 121 8vo	Dismembered by AM			Sigurðar saga þögla
	,			
AM 125 8vo	Rearranged by AM	(As today)	CU1-3 part of	Flóres saga konungs ok sona
			Ms57	hans (CU1); Viktors saga og
				Blávus (CU2); Rémundar
				saga keisarasonar (CU3)
AM 127 8vo	Dismembered	(As today)		Apollonius rímur
AM 128 8vo	Aggregated by AM	(As today)		Armanns rímur (CU1);
		· · · ·		Armanns rímur (CU2);
				Armanns rímur (CU3)
AM 132 8vo	Aggregated by AM	(Different order)		Gríshildar rímur (CU1);
		,		Dínus rímur drambláta
				(CU2); Eiríksdiktur (CU3)
AM 133 8vo	Dismembered	(As today)		Hálfdanar rímur
				Eysteinssonar
AM 135 8vo	Dismembered;	(One item		Lykla-Péturs rímur og
	Aggregated by AM	missing, last		Magelónu (CU1); Móðars
		notes not		rímur (CU2); Oddgeirs rímur
		mentioned)		danska (CU3); On Móðars
				rímur (CU4)
AM 136 a 8vo	Aggregated by AM	Registered with		Rollants rímur
		136 b 8vo		
AM 136 b 8vo	Aggregated by AM	Registered with		Rollants rímur
		136 a 8vo		
AM 139 8vo	Dismembered	(As today)		Sörla rímur sterka

AM 141 a 8vo	Aggregated?	Registerd with 141 b 8vo		Úlfars rímur
AM 141 b 8vo	Aggregated?	Registerd with 141 a 8vo		Valdimars rímur
AM 143 8vo	Aggregated by AM	(As today)		Þjalar-Jóns rímur (CU1); Rímur af Ölkofra (CU2)
AM 144 8vo	Dismembered by AM	(As today)	Part of Ms57	Áns rímur bogsveigis, Rímur af Eremit meistara, Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar
AM 146 b 8vo	Aggregated	(Not mentioned)		Rímur af Hyndluljóðum (CU1); Rímur af Snæ konge, Kappakvæði, Verses (CU2)
AM 149 8vo	Aggregated before AM	(Items missing)		Háttalykill (CU1); Aldarháttur, Sjálfdeilur, Háttatal rímna (CU2); Háttalykill, Kvæði, Skipsskaðavísur, Vindsöm stundum stendur, Háttatal (part) (CU3); Mírmans rímur (fragm.) (CU4); Rolants rímur (CU5); Vilmundar rímur (fragm.) (CU6); Háttalykill (part) (CU7); Ómennskukvæði, Mansöngskvæði, Sigurdrífumál, Verses (CU8); Verses (CU9); Grobians rímur, Verses (CU10); Verses, Kvennakenningar, Bjarkamál, Tvísneidd vísa, Öfundarvísur (CU11); Geirarðs rímur (fragm.), Blávus rímur og Viktors (fragm.) (CU12); Verses (CU13); Verses (CU14)
AM 151 a 8vo	Aggregated?	(Possibly registered with 151 b fol. (cf. Kålund II, 417))		Ljúflings þáttur, Fimmhundraða kvæði, Ásu dans, Fornkvæði
AM 151 b 8vo	Aggregated?	(Possibly registered with 151 a fol. (cf. Kålund II, 417))		Persenober og Constantinobis
AM 153 8vo	Aggregated by AM	(some items missing)		Fornkvæði (CU1); Fornkvæði (CU2); Fornkvæði af Stíg Andréssyni (CU3); Fornkvæði (CU4); Fornkvæði (CU5); Fornkvæði, Hyndluljóð (CU6)

AM 154 8vo	Rearranged by AM	Number 154 in 8vo	CU2 part of Ms104; CU14	Snjás kvæði (CU1); Snjás kvæði (CU2); Snjás kvæði
		800	(and/or	(CU3); Mannsöngur, Snjás
			others?) part	kvæði (CU4); Vambarljóð
			of Ms96?;	(CU5); Kötludraumur (CU6);
			CU19 part of	Kötludraumur (CU7);
			Ms104; CU20	Kötludraumur (CU8);
			part of Ms104;	Kötludraumur (CU9);
			part of MS104;	Kötludraumur (CU10);
				Kötludraumur (CU11);
				Þornaldarþula (CU12);
				Þornaldarþula (CU13);
				Þornaldarþula (CU14); Gísla
				ríma (CU15); Bryngerðarljóð (CU16); Ljúflingsljóð (CU17);
				Kringilnefjukvæði (CU18); Kringilnefjukvæði (CU19);
				Hyndluljóð hin nýju (fragm.)
				(CU20); Margrétarvísur (CU21); Spotting verse
				(CU22)
AM 155 a 8vo	Aggregated by AM	(Possibly		Fornkvæði (CU1);
		registered with		Þorrakoma, Góuminni
		155 b 8vo) (some		(CU2); Verses (CU3); Ölvísur
		items missing,		(CU4); Vafþrúðnismál,
		one of them, "úr		Sólarljóð, Tíundargjörð,
		Úlfars Rímum tvo		Verses (CU5)
		4tblöð", might be		
		in 152 8vo (cf.		
		Kålund II, 421))		
AM 160 8vo	Aggregated			Snorra Edda (fragm.) (CU1);
				Snorra Edda (fragm.) (CU2)
AM 164 8vo	Aggregated after AM	(Only CU1		Annar partur Eddu,
	(with AM 167 b 8vo	mentioned)		Vafþrúðismál, Völuspá, Alvis
	CU4); Dismembered			mál, Skýrnis ljóð, vísa (CU1);
	after AM (cf. AM 167			LatIcel. Glossery,
	b 8vo)			Draumarvísur, Vísur úr
				Íslendingasögum (CU2)

AM 166 a 8vo	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 166 b 8vo (many items missing); In one jacket	Snorra Edda (part), Hávamál, Ljúflingsljóð, Verses, Háttatal, Skállda, Grottasöngur, Háttalykill, Háttalykill, Verses, Háttalykill, Fornyrði, Ólafsvísur, Of-Vant, Phrases and veres from old Icelandic literature, Verses, Rímnahættir, Málrúnir, Skáldavísur, Fyrirburðir úr Njáls sögu
AM 166 b 8vo	Aggregated by AM	Registered with 166 a 8vo (many items missing); In one jacket	On Roman and Greek Gods, Snorra Edda (parts), Grottasöngur, Háttalykill, Háttalykill, Háttatalskvæði (CU1); Háttatalsrímur, Sjálfdeilur, Verses, Bragarhættir, Kvennakenningar, Bjarkamál, Sólarljóð, Ljúflingsljóð (fragm.), Hákonarmál, Fornmannavísur, Hávamál (CU2?; Aldarháttur (CU3?); Fornskáldavísur (CU4?), Háttalykill (part missing in item 5) (CU5?)
AM 167 a 8vo	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered with 167 b 8vo (some items not mentioned)	"Nøfn þeirra sio planeta", "Van Noregia", "Bordspalmur þeyrra Gømlu", On the elements, "Almenn fiskakyn vid Island"

AM 167 b 8vo (I- VIII)	Aggregated (by AM?); Dismembered after AM; Aggregated after AM (CU4 was temporarily part of AM 164 8vo) (cf. STUAGNL 48, xlvi; Jorgensen 1979 (Gripla), 99)	items not			I: Ættartala fra Adam (CU1); II: Hávamál (CU2); III: Gátur Gestumblinda with commentary (beg.) (CU3); Gátur destumblinda with commentary (end.), Bird riddle, Ráðning Brynhilldar Ijóða, Úr Harbarðs Ijóðum (CU4) IV: Vísur Páls Jonssonar (CU5); V: Háttalykill Lofts Guttormssonar, Vísur, Sagan af því þegar Óðinn lét bónda smíða skeifur fyrir sig (CU6); VI: Sólarljóð, Hugardómsdrápa (CU7), VII:
					Hugardómsdrápa (CU8); VIII: Veraldarvísur eða Heimsádeila (CU9)
AM 181 8vo	Aggregated?	(As today?)			Íslenskt almanak, Mánaðanöfn, Rímfræði, "Íslenskra Almenniligt Allda, Ars og manadatal" (CU1?); "Lytil vtskyring yfer Rymid" (CU2?)
AM 184 8vo	Aggregated (before AM?)				Gíslarím, "Ad Wita Huad Leinge Tunglid Skyn Sierhuoria Nott", "Ad vita af vintre hendenne huad langt er alided sierhuorz dagz þegar solena sier" (CU1); Calendarium Syllabico perpetuum (CU2)
AM 186 8vo	Rearranged by AM	(different order)	CU3 part of	CU3 part of	Messudagavísur (CU2);
(CU2-3)			Ms95	Ms95a?	Rímbegla (CU3)
AM 188 8vo (parts)	Aggregated before AM	(As today)			On Icelandic names of runes (CU3); Medical cures (part of CU8); Notes and excerpts (added leaves)
AM 191 a 8vo	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered with 191 b 8vo (I-VI)			"Ex Paracelso Plinio at Aliis de Magnete", "Compendium vmm Skopun Himenns og Jarðar", "Registur þridaa Iurta gardz Henrichs smidz Malmeyngs"
AM 191 b 8vo	Aggregated (by AM?)	Registered with 191 a 8vo			On units (CU1); Lækningabók (C2); Lækningabók (CU3); Sálmar, "Um natturu nockura grafa tria" (CU4)

AM 197 8vo	Dismembered by AM	(As today)			"Wt wr þui Compendio Coímo Graphico Er Hans Nannsíon giorde Anno 1633 vtlagt"
AM 208 8vo	Rearranged by AM	(Not mentioned)	CU4 part of Ms95; CU5 part of Ms95?	CU4 part of Ms95a	<ul> <li>"Ein sönn historía af einum Gyðingi" (CU1);</li> <li>"Heilbrigðisreglur", "Um náttúrunnar kraft og undarlega verkan",</li> <li>"Eftirgrennslan leyndra hluta" (CU2); "Innbyrðis lið og aðstoð", Skoðunarleikur í Hamborg 1603 (CU3);</li> <li>Alfræði (CU4); Spakmæli,</li> <li>dæmisögur etc. (CU5)</li> </ul>
AM 214 8vo (a- cβ)	Rearranged by AM?	(Not mentioned)	CU3 part of Ms95?	CU3 part of Ms95a?	a: Íslenskt fjarðatal (CU1); b: Íslenskt fjarðatal, Biskupaannálar (CU2); cα: Dæmi í reikningslist, Íslenskt fjarðatal, Annálsgreinar, Kirkjur í Hólabiskupsdæmi, Skrá yfir biskupa í Skálholti og lögmenn og lögsögumenn á Íslandi, Siglingalengd milli Noregs, Íslands og Grænlands og siglingalengd kringum Ísland, Spakmæli og lífsreglur (CU3); cβ: Íslenskt fjarðatal, Kirkjur í Hólabiskupsdæmi (CU4)
AM 220 8vo	Dismembered by AM	(Not mentioned)			Annálar
AM 229 8vo	Aggregated	(Not mentioned)			Bergþórsstatúta (CU1); Kaupstefnuformáli (CU2); Formáli fyrir hreppstjórnarþing (CU3); "Vm heytoll" (CU4); Réttarbót (CU5); Réttarbætur and King's letters (CU6); Stóridómur, Stóridómur (CU7); Skipadómur (CU8); Ferjupóstar (CU9)
AM 230 8vo	Aggregated	(Not mentioned)			Annotationes vetustæ (CU1); Obituarium Nestvedense (CU2); Copies of Charters etc. (CU3); Copies of Charters etc. (CU4); Erik Gilles lov (CU5)

AM 252 8vo	Aggregated	(Not mentioned)			Snorra Edda (fragm.) (CU1); Snorra Edda (fragm.) (CU2)
AM 253 8vo	Aggregated	(Not mentioned)			Þórisdalsferðs séra Björns Stephánssonar og síra Helga Grímssonar (CU1); Þórisdalsferðs síra Björns Stephánssonar og síra Helga Grímssonar (fragm.) (CU2)
AM 258 b 8vo (CU2-6)	Aggregated	(Not mentioned)			Norsk bisperække (CU2); On bishops in Norway (CU3); Norsk bisperække (CU4); Norsk bisperække (CU5); Norsk bisperække (CU6)
AM 263 8vo	Dismembered (after AM?) (cf. Kålund 1889-1894, 2: 468)	(Not mentioned)			Scriptores Danici
AM 268 8vo	Rearranged by AM?	(Not mentioned)	CU2 part of Ms95?	CU2 part of Ms95a?	Um forlag ómaga og þess er framfærir, "Um land-nám þeirra virðuligu persóna, sem Bók vor nefnir ekki", "Lítið samtak um þýðing þeirrar glósu, að fyrir- gjöra", "Um erfðir eftir börnin á Brenniborg", "Ágrip um þá sem kóngur á öngvan rétt á", "Hvört vegandinn skuli bæði lífið missa og þegngildi gjaldist", "Hvörsu náinn eður ónáinn fyri innan fjór-menning skal skylda", "Lítið ágríp um landráða-sakir", Ættartala, "Lítið ágrip um kvíslir í erfðum", "Lítið samtak um það hvað nýlendur sé", "Um vorn gamla Kristinrétt", "Lítið samtak um það, hvar í erfðum, systur skulu arf taka" (CU1); Um forlag ómaga og þess er fram- færir (CU2); Um níundu erfð (CU3); "Spurningar B. p s" (CU4); Um níundu erfð (CU5)
AM 440 a 12mo	Aggregated by AM; Dismembered by AM?	Part of number 440 in 12mo	CU1-2 part of Ms102		Partalopa rímur, Verse (CU1); Andra rímur (CU2)
AM 440 b 12mo	Aggregated by AM	Part of number 440 in 12mo			Partalopa rímur (CU1); Verse, Verse, Verse (CU2)

## APPENDIX E. MANUSCRIPT OVERVIEW

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## Summary

The Arnamagnæan Collection is one of the most important collections of Old Norse-Icelandic manuscripts in the world. This thesis calls attention to Árni Magnússon's extensive rearrangement of the manuscripts in his collection, showing that he repeatedly altered the physical composition of codices. The study is codicological in nature and investigates the history of the collection, while it focusses on the custodial changes Árni conducted on seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century paper manuscripts.

The first chapter gives both a theoretical and methodological background, followed by four case studies in chapter two to introduce the topic. Chapter three examines the frequency of rearrangements and shows that the majority of Arnamagnæan manuscripts from the time period investigated have been altered. In chapter four Arni's working methods are analysed based on a corpus of 114 manuscripts. His work procedure was designed to enable the aggregation of copies of different origin and content as well as continual readjustment of the individual manuscripts. The fifth chapter researches the rationale behind these changes, by investigating the compositional form of the corpus manuscripts at the time of Árni's death. They show a variety of patterns, but in most cases, his aim was to facilitate scholarly work with the source material. As a whole, Árni created a flexible library in which the physical form of the manuscripts were subject to his personal needs and changing preferences. The final chapter describes the historical context for Arni's rearrangement. Although his approach to books was fairly common at the time, the extent and highly systematic take on manuscript rearrangement make his activity unique.

The thesis provides a coherent description of Árni's rearrangement of manuscripts and allows a more nuanced understanding of the early history of the Arnamagnæan Collection as well as the present-day form of many of its manuscripts. All data from the study as well as numerous visualisation graphs illustrating the physical development of manuscripts, are available online at www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk. 440

## Resumé

Den Arnamagnæanske Samling er en af verdens vigtigste samlinger af middelalderlige nordiske og islandske håndskrifter. Afhandlingen handler om Arne Magnussons omfattende reorganisering af disse håndskrifter og viser, at han systematisk ændrede deres fysiske sammensætning. Den er en kodikologisk og samlingshistorisk undersøgelse med fokus på omstruktureringer af papirhåndskrifter fra det syttende og tidlige attende århundrede.

Det indledende kapitel giver en teoretisk og metodisk baggrund, og kapitel to indfører i tematikken med fire detailstudier. Kapitel tre analyserer hyppigheden af omstruktureringer i den Arnamagnænske Samling og viser, at størstedelen af håndskrifterne fra den undersøgte tidsperiode er blevet forandret. I kapitel fire undersøges arbejdsmetoderne for reorganiseringen baseret på et korpus af 114 håndskrifter. Arnes fremgangsmåde var lagt tilrette med henblik på at håndskrifter af forskellig oprindelse og indhold skulle kunne kombineres og tilpasses løbende. Det femte kapitel belyser motivationen bag reorganiseringen gennem at analysere sammensætningen af korpus-håndskrifterne som Arne efterlod dem. Formen kunne følge diverse mønstre, men i de fleste tilfælde var formålet med omstruktureringen at støtte forskningsarbejdet med primærkilderne. På et overordnet niveau skabte Arne en fleksibel samling, hvor håndskrifternes fysiske sammensætning bestemtes af hans personlige behov og skiftende præferencer. Til sidst kortlægges den historiske kontekst for Arnes omstruktureringer. Selv om hans tilgang til bøger ikke var ualmindelig i hans tid, var hans aktivitet dog unik i forhold til omfanget og den systematiske gennemførelse.

Afhandlingen fremlægger en sammenhængende beskrivelse af Arnes reorganisering af håndskrifter og bidrager dermed til en bedre forståelse af den Arnamagnæanske Samlings tidlige historie og den nuværende sammensætning af mange af dens håndskrifter. Al data som indgår i undersøgelsen, såvel som talrige grafer der visualiserer håndskrifternes fysiske historie, er tilgængelige på nettet via www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.

## Zusammenfassung

Die arnamagnæanische Sammlung ist eine der bedeutendsten Sammlungen altnordischer und isländischer Handschriften. Die vorliegende Doktorarbeit thematisiert Árni Magnússons umfassende Umstrukturierung dieser Handschriften, indem sie in einer kodikologischen und sammlungshistorischen Studie die kompositionellen Veränderungen von Handschriften des siebzehnten und frühen achtzehnten Jahrhunderts untersucht.

Das einleitende Kapitel legt den theoretischen und methodischen Hintergrund dar, worauf in Kapitel zwei vier Fallstudien folgen, welche anhand ausgewählter Beispiele in die Thematik einführen. Das dritte Kapitel behandelt das Ausmaß der Umstrukturierung und zeigt, dass der Großteil aller arnamagnæanischen Handschriften aus der gewählten Periode kompositionell verändert wurde. Årnis Arbeitsmethoden werden im vierten Kapitel auf Grundlage eines Korpus von 114 Handschriften untersucht. Seine Vorgehensweise war darauf ausgelegt, Texte von unterschiedlicher Herkunft und Inhalt miteinander zu kombinieren sowie deren fortlaufende Anpassung zu unterstützen. Im fünften Kapitel werden die Hintergründe der Umstrukturierung beleuchtet, indem die Zusammensetzung der Handschriften zur Zeit von Arnis Tod analysiert wird. Diese konnte diversen Mustern folgen. Zumeist war seine Absicht jedoch, die wissenschaftliche Arbeit mit dem Quellenmaterial zu erleichtern. Im Ganzen schuf Árni eine flexible Sammlung, in der die physische Form der Handschriften von seinen persönlichen Vorlieben und sich ändernden Bedürfnissen geprägt war. Das abschließende Kapitel ordnet Arnis Umstrukturierung in den historischen Kontext ein. Obgleich sein Zugang zu Handschriften durchaus zeitgemäß war, erweist sich Árnis Aktivität durch deren großen Umfang und systematische Vorgehensweise als einmalig.

Die Arbeit legt eine detaillierte Beschreibung von Årnis Umstrukturierungsaktivität vor, womit sie wesentlich zu einem verbesserten Verständnis der frühen Geschichte der arnamagnæanischen Sammlung sowie der heutigen Zusammensetzung vieler Handschriften beiträgt. Alle für die Studie erhobene Daten sowie zahlreiche zusätzliche Graphen, welche die physische Veränderung der Handschriften illustrieren, sind im Internet zugänglich unter www.chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk.