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# The Marginalisation of Marginalia:

A new, methodical approach to the marginal  
features of AM 544 4to.

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## Abstract:

This thesis advocates for a more careful and more detailed treatment of marginal notes within the medieval Scandinavian codicological field. First it examines the existing academic discourse on the topic. It proposes a few changes in the way research into this topic is conducted: not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. Not only are marginalia studied relatively little, but the small amount of research that has been conducted up till now overwhelmingly has its roots in the study of modern literature. While the method is appropriate for that field, medieval manuscripts, as unique artefacts, are different from mass produced printed works in such a way the method will always be flawed here, even if amended. This causes existing studies to aim for a descriptive, quantitative approach, with an almost exclusive focus on complex verbal marginalia. This means the study of nonverbal marginalia goes neglected or entirely ignored, as well as analysis of the spread of the marginalia within a single manuscript, the connections between these marginalia, and the implications for the provenance of the manuscript which is studied.

As a case example, this thesis examines AM 544 4to in the light of its marginalia, using the newly proposed method. Firstly, this examination yields the first complete list of all marginalia within AM 544 4to, as well as a few other under documented features. Next, this list is used to shed additional light on a long-standing debate on the provenance of the manuscript, revealing not only the value of the marginal area to the scholarship regarding the Hauksbók, but to the entire codicological field.

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## I: INTRODUCTION

Marginalia – notes in the margins of a manuscript – have previously been of great value in many types of philology. Sometimes the owner of a manuscript can be identified because they wrote their name somewhere in the manuscript. Sometimes a marginal shows a rare glimpse of the kind of life a medieval scribe would have led. Sometimes marginalia can even contain unique literary material, which may only have survived the test of time because a later reader added it into the margins of an existing manuscript. As the study of the middle ages is so marked by scarcity of information, any type of addition could contribute valuable information, both within the context of the manuscript as in the wider codicological tradition.

This is why it seems curious that there have been so few systematic studies of marginalia, especially in the Nordic field. Any studies that specifically focus on marginalia are relatively recent, and struggle with methodological issues that seem to come with being a newly opened field. Older editions and facsimiles of the manuscripts themselves, usually do not contain complete assessments of the marginalia that are present. These editions and introductions to facsimiles describe elaborate textual marginalia in detail about as often as not, other material more frequently goes entirely ignored, as it is not considered relevant. Even when it comes to complex verbal marginalia, most studies contain only short, incomplete listings of the contents of the margin. These lists typically exclude marginalia that do not contain legible words, and limit the use of those marginalia that are verbal to either connecting the contents of the manuscript to other medieval literature, or finding out more about the writer's life. Jón Helgason in his introduction to the facsimile of AM 544 4to (1960a) poses a particularly striking example of this issue. The facsimile lists many various types of later additions to the manuscript, and is relatively progressive where it comes to recording marginalia that do not consist of legible words. It also includes something of an in-depth analysis of chosen verbal features. However, the section on complex verbal marginalia for some reason only contains a fraction of the actual verbal marginalia present in the tome. The marginalia which Jón does describe, are typically described in great detail, and dated where possible. Especially in the light of this unusual dedication to describing the marginalia, this may cause future researchers to rely on Jón's list as if it were complete and extensive. Especially to a scholar who works with multiple manuscripts, and relies on the work of previous scholars to have an overview, it might seem as if the manuscript has only as few marginalia as are discussed.

Where marginalia are studied in detail, the studies have a tendency to remain descriptive, which does the value of the marginalia a disservice. Christine M. Schott, for



example, studies the marginalia in three Icelandic manuscripts for her master's thesis, which is the only true small-scale, in-depth analysis of marginalia from this period and geographic area (2010). Her analysis of Rask 72a (Jónsbók) describes notes made by a copyist; among other things, the name Jón is mentioned. Schott discusses the likelihood that Jón was a child, and possibly the son of the scribe (p.20). While the peek into the life of the scribe is fascinating, it adds little to academic discourse. What we learned from reading this passage is, that around the year 1500, an Icelandic copyist was alive who had a son, and that this copyist found it appropriate to record the name of this son in the expensive manuscript he was working on. The conclusion is that people in the past had children, and took notes in manuscripts. The first conclusion is statistically likely, and the second one can be reached by just looking at the page. The same argument can be made for many of Schott's observations: she describes, for example, that the copyist was bored with his work, frustrated with the quality of his equipment, and complained a lot about his eyesight. While amusing, none of these things are particularly ground-breaking, and perhaps this is the reason marginalia have not been studied as much as other aspects of manuscripts have. The conclusions that have been drawn from them in the past do not seem exceptional, unless the fragments contain the name of a key personality, or recorded a lost verse of a famous literary work. This begs some rather concerning questions: Why should we take such interest in scribbles that appear to have nothing too spectacular to say? And more importantly, what is the additional value of recording and studying illegible, nonsensical, or entirely nonverbal marginalia, when the majority of dated, legible, complex marginalia by a known hand, already have so little to add to academic discourse?

All criticism aside, observations like Schott's are still interesting in a descriptive sort of way, and are undoubtedly quite valuable when one is looking for links to a particular person or place. Nonetheless, I believe there are other approaches to the qualitative study of marginalia that may yield results of a different kind. From a codicological point of view, it is less interesting who the scribe was, and more where that hand appears, and what type of notes it distributes. The marginalia, even the ones that do not contain words, can have a lot to say about the history of the manuscript itself.

A concise practical example of this is the case of GKS 1154 2<sup>o</sup> (Codex Hardenbergianus), which originally sparked my own interest towards the study of marginalia. The Codex Hardenbergianus is a beautifully decorated law manuscript which consists of three separate sections, named in its entirety after and supposedly united by Helvig Hardenberg, who unmistakably wrote her name in the margins several times. The lives of

Helvig and her husband are well-documented and extensively studied, by scholars like Magnus Rindal (2018), Gustav Storm (1879), and George Tobias Flom (1937). Yet, none of the scholarship on this high-profile manuscript mentions the placement of Helvig's crucial signatures. Personally, I noticed Helvig's name indeed appears extensively within the first part of the codex, and not at all in the other two. Yet no one seems to use this observation to support the argument that perhaps Helvig only owned the first part of the three-part codex. The Codex Hardenbergianus could have spent more time in separate pieces than originally thought – and analysis of the margins could help approximate the time of assembly.

Another valuable approach of the marginalia is one that has already partially been opened up in recent scholarship: the study of seemingly meaningless scribbles and scratches, pen and nib trials, doodles, glosses, and underlining of passages. It could be argued that these features are useless, as due to the lack of verbally relayed information and the virtual absence of palaeographical traits, the nonverbal marginalia could not be retraced to a particular hand or time period. The phenomena can indicate historical interest in certain passages, but this is not a conclusion which requires extensive study to reach. However, just because a marginal is not verbal, it does not mean it is entirely unable to relay information, and again a less content-focussed approach can open up a vast array of possibilities. Susanne M. Arthur (2015, 2018) shows practical application of this idea in her thesis on the marginalia of all the manuscripts which contain *Njáls Saga*. This study shows that a quantitative analysis of lectio marks in the margins can show the way certain passages did not only draw attention, but also indicate which type of attention. Arthur describes how particular types of annotations may indicate scholarly interest, while others are more often used in private reading. She even sees an increase in the tendency to read 'pen-in-hand' in the seventeenth century (Arthur, 2015, p.333; Arthur, 2018, p.246). This means that, against the expectation, a very tentative and careful estimate of the identity and age of the makers of the lectio marks can be made.

In Eva Steinová's thesis (2016), symbolic shorthand annotations are categorised, and their use is compared to the meaning they held according to classical sources. Correct usage of these 'notae' would indicate that whoever placed them would be doing so according to a long-standing tradition, and would therefore be acquainted with the classics. Even though Steinová has analysed Frankish notae from the Carolingian era, not Nordic notae from 1300 onward, her work still shows that small symbols have the potential to be extremely meaningful, and are worth making accessible through systematic documentation. Taking her work into consideration could provide Nordic scholars with more information on the educational backgrounds of the scribes, the provenance of the manuscript, and perhaps even

the whole exchange of knowledge of information between Scandinavia and the Mediterranean.

All of these examples above show that marginal notes have a lot of still largely unexplored potential for fruitful research, and I will discuss more on the pages to come. If all marginalia were acknowledged and properly listed by scholars who compose editions and facsimiles, they would become more accessible for studies by future researchers of marginalia, which could in turn be of great value to historians and codicologists. If, for example, a compiler of editions fails to record a small, unassuming looking scribble, a later scholar might not recognise it as a mark of ownership. A scholar specialised in marks of ownership could recognise the mark as belonging to a certain collector, which could make for an opportunity to fill a decades, perhaps centuries wide gap in the known history of the artefact.

The above illustrates that it is valuable to the entire field of philology when marginalia are appropriately recorded, even when the person who records them might not have immediate use for it themselves. It is my opinion that the reason proper recording of marginalia has not been a standard practice up until now, may be rooted in a lack of a theoretical basis that was specifically designed for the study of medieval manuscripts – which effectively constitutes a lack of any sort of theory at all. Although there is a particular absence of interest in all marginal features among Old Norse scholars, scholars of marginalia in the medieval field in general tend to gravitate towards the work of Gérard Genette (1991). Genette has devised a model intended for the study of modern types of material within the western tradition. For lack of a similar model for medieval material, most scholars take inspiration from this one. Although they typically take care to amend Genette's model so that it seems to apply to the medieval corpus, any model designed for modern literature is carefully designed to cope with vast amounts of information in the most effective manner. In our modern reality, even poorly selling books have hundreds of copies, many of which survive to be studied, and therefore, exclusion of information will always have to be the first step of any analysis. Ruthless categorization and the exclusion of information is an absolute priority when dealing with such an unspeakably vast torrent of data, or the researcher will end up overwhelmed. In the medieval field, each scrap of information is rare, and therefore valuable.

This would mean that previous unawareness to the possibilities for the study of marginalia, lies fundamentally rooted in an insufficiently specialised theoretical basis. Lack

of a tailor-made method, in this case, means lack of any sort of effective method. An adapted version of Genette's method for the medieval field causes trouble on every step of the way. When we record marginalia, we dutifully dismiss all those that do not seem interesting at first glance, resulting in an extremely small amount of useful data to start off with. When we try to categorise the marginalia we did gather, we struggle once again, because it is often completely impossible to guess in what ill-fitting pre-determined category the material could fit. We may not understand the cultural context to place it accurately, it might serve several purposes at once, it might belong to a proto-version of a modern category, or perhaps to a category which has gradually changed its purpose over the course of time. Most typically, though, any attempt at categorisation is straight up impossible because the material is damaged to such a degree it has become illegible or uninterpretable. The amount of data we have left is typically not enough to fuel research, unless we pool information from hundreds of manuscripts into a quantitative study, which teaches us about general tendencies, not individual manuscripts.

Therefore, for the study of not only marginalia, but for the entire medieval body of accompanying material that Genette refers to as "paratext", a new theoretical basis and methodology are needed. Perhaps all of material philology could benefit from a method that is based on the inclusion of all information, even after that information has stopped seeming immediately relevant to the research question of the current study. This cannot be achieved by only amending a model primarily based on the exclusion of material as its first step, no matter how useful that method has proven itself for the study of modern literature. A new model should be constructed, which builds on the premise of inclusion and description first, and analysis second.

Ideally, a method that follows this type of model, would keep the variance between the sizes of the body of materials in mind, as this will fluctuate depending on individual cases. I have chosen to work with AM 544 4to (Hauksbók) for the purpose of this thesis, and although this manuscript has a limited number of extant pages, nearly all pages contain some kind of marginal material. No matter the size of my manuscript, I would be required to compile a list of all marginalia it contains, ideally adding a short description and record of location for each marginal. However much work this may be, picking out only those marginalia that seem relevant does not only put the researcher at risk of confirmation bias. It also creates a risk that the researcher misses things that are less obvious, and might be only recognizable after some degree of research. Only after a list has been established, analysis is started – and this would have to be an analysis not only of the text of those marginalia that

seem to contain text, but also of the nonverbal marginalia, and of the placement and fluctuations in quantity of all marginalia. Exclusion of particular categories of marginalia that are not relevant to the current study will still be necessary to prevent creating an unnecessarily large workload, but this should not happen before, but during the phase of analysis, or later.

I have decided on AM 544 4to as a relevant example for my study of marginalia, as many scholars have studied this manuscript before me, and posed questions about its history provenance. Due to the large amount of previous research, it will not be of pressing concern for me to discover more interesting trivia about that manuscript. This leaves me free to focus on showing the additional content my unconventional working method can reveal. My primary focus of interest here, will be the composition process of my chosen manuscript. Johansson (2017, 2018) suggests that several separate units can be discerned within the Hauksbók, especially AM 544 4to, which might have been combined at different times, some potentially as late as the sixteenth century. An analysis of the marginalia could strengthen or weaken this suggestion, and add additional evidence that could support dating efforts. Given that many studies seem to focus on the supposed compiler of the Hauksbók, Haukr Erlendsson, and his motives behind compiling the manuscript, it would be very useful to have some indication on which of the parts of the manuscript he had anything to do with in the first place. For the parts he did own, he might have actually had the intention to compile a manuscript, or he might have just owned the separate parts as unrelated leaflets that belonged to his collection. This knowledge could change our entire understanding of the Hauksbók as an entity, crucially highlighting the value of the study of marginalia as a discipline.

To reach this goal, I will work towards answering two main research questions, and attempt to solve as many of the smaller questions that come up in the process as well. The main research questions will be: “which marginalia does AM 544 4to contain?” and “what can the marginalia of AM 544 4to reveal about the medieval history of the Hauksbók?”.

The first research question will lead me to assemble a complete list of all marginalia in the Hauksbók, including nonverbal ones, something that has not been attempted to the same level of detail before. This question will give rise to theoretical questions of terminology and categorisation, some of which I have already given introduction to, and others which I have not. I will discuss both in the relevant sections.

The second research question will prompt me to explore the possibilities that marginalia have to offer as a source material. It will give rise to several w-questions: what

does this marginal mean, who made it, when and where was it made, what materials and techniques were used, why and how was it made, et cetera. Though I will answer these questions as much as I can, my main objective will be the answering of other questions, which are not asked as often, but have larger implications on the understanding of the Hauksbók as an entity throughout the course of history. Can nonverbal marginalia be connected to hands adding verbal marginalia? Can separate hands be distinguished among nonverbal marginalia? Does the style of the marginalia represent any previously recorded known pattern or tradition? What can the relative locations of these marginalia imply, in relation to the other marginalia in the manuscript, to the separate folios, and separate quires of the manuscript? Can the spread and frequency of the marginalia perhaps reveal what quires were separate once? Can the placement, age, and type of the marginalia reveal anything about the gathering process of the quires; when and where this happened, in which stages, by who, and in what setting?

The bottom line is that where past researchers saw the majority of marginalia as stains and scribbles that may be of respectable age, but carry no actual relevance, I suggest that even the most enigmatic marginalia could teach us more about the manuscripts they exist in, and also about manuscript culture and medieval learned culture in general.

## II: PRECEDING SCHOLARSHIP

### 2.1: The marginalisation of marginalia

As already discussed to some extent in the introduction, there has been scholarship on the nature of marginalia before, which merits a more thorough examination than I have already given it. The studies previously described require more explanation, and there are several which I have not yet mentioned. I will first discuss the general tendencies within existing scholarship, after which I will go more in-depth discussing studies within the Nordic field. After this I will discuss studies of wider geographical relevance, and how they are useful for the current study nonetheless. Finally, I will summarise those studies that have made mention of the marginalia within the Hauksbók in particular; this will primarily include facsimiles, editions, and other such material.

### 2.2: Within the medieval Nordic field

Susanne M. Arthur (2015, 2018) points out the sparseness of Nordic studies of marginalia, and describes having found only two, apart from her own work (2018, p.232). These two are by Christine M. Schott (2010) and Matthew Driscoll (2004), and both entirely focus on Icelandic manuscripts. I have found there is also a study on Danish glosses available (Adams, 2010).

The oldest of the three Nordic studies is Matthew James Driscoll's *Postcards From the Edge*, 2004, which Arthur describes as a general introduction. The other detailed discussion of Icelandic marginalia Arthur mentions is a master's thesis from 2010 by Christine M. Schott, criticised by Arthur as restricted to a small number of manuscripts only. The Danish study by Jonathan Adams (2010) collects a large number of glosses, but does not focus on other kinds of post-production process additions to the manuscripts he describes. Arthur herself (2015) takes her material from a relatively wide geographical area, taking renderings of *Njáls saga* as the common ground rather than the borders of a country. Outside the Nordic field there are more specific case studies of various scale available, but out of that body of research I have currently limited myself to discussing those studies that both showed innovative use for the study of marginalia, and helped me study the marginalia of the Hauksbók.

Driscoll gives a valuable insight into various kinds of Icelandic marginalia, but his focus lies solely on lexical marginalia, and specifically on those that form whole sentences, and can be connected to a person or another text. Immediately after the introduction, he

dismisses pen trials and nib trials to be 'not of import' (p.23), and then has nothing more to say about them. He does not describe precisely what he considers a doodle, a pen trial, or a nib trial, but claims these are umbrella terms for almost all of the marginalia which do not clearly contain words or letters. However, it seems to me he uses this as a description for all non-lexical additions which he does not know what to do with. He writes at length (p.34-35) about the meaning behind purposefully erased parts of a manuscript, which seems to suggest he has no trouble working with material containing little lexical information. This suggests the nib trials are dismissed by habit, rather than being systematically listed, categorized, considered within context, and then marked as non-relevant.

The relatively narrow focus on only three manuscripts allows Schott to make the kind of in-depth analysis which is lacking in other studies. The masters thesis, as mentioned in the introduction, remains largely descriptive in nature, and makes few observations that reach beyond exploring the personal lives of the scribes who added the marginalia. Relevant criticism could be that there was little reason for Schott to compare three manuscripts with nothing particular in common, when she could have chosen to focus on one manuscript, and taken a closer look at the less lexical additions too. Driscoll's comment that the most common form of marginal to appear are probably names and signatures (p.26), only holds water when one does not dismiss all the marginalia which previous scholars have found unworthy of mention because they are not made up of coherent sentences. Nearly every page of the Hauksbók contains marginalia, and many of these may be able to provide us more information about its history – not only the rare few that have complete words in them.

Jonathan Adams conducts an interesting quantitative study of the different types of glosses that appear in Danish manuscripts. Although his study is extensive and very focussed, the focus, mainly lies on descriptively categorising different types of glosses, and he does not seem to draw any conclusions apart from pointing out that all these glosses indeed do exist. The record of existing glosses is a valuable product in itself, which I will not contest, but Adams does not seem to do anything in particular with his list of results, after obtaining it, which seems regrettable.

Arthur intends to improve upon the previous studies, and conducts a comparative quantitative analysis of the marginalia in all surviving manuscripts containing *Njáls saga*. She maps out what sort of marginalia were common at what points in time, as well as what sort of manuscript is the most likely to contain a certain kind of marginal. This allows her to both analyse trends and changes in the production of manuscripts, and to record their history and provenance in closer detail, as well as get an idea of the reception of the saga itself, over



the course of history (, 29). Arthur's research is furthermore remarkable for her tendency to also include nonverbal notes as relevant kinds of marginalia. However, due to the high number of manuscripts and fragments in her study, it is not possible for her to study all paratextual features in great detail (*Writing, Reading, and Utilizing*, 224). In addition, her focus is on *Njáls saga* and its context, and so she does not study the other texts that are preserved in the same codices, or their relationship to each other. She does, however, acknowledge that a more detailed analysis of this kind would be a desirable project (2015, p.222). My smaller scale, yet more detailed thesis on the marginalia in Hauksbók in particular, might be able to start on some of the work that Arthur admits still needs doing.

### **2.3: A wider geographical range**

Outside the admittedly rather narrow field of marginalia in Scandinavian medieval manuscripts, there is a larger range of studies available, both on modern as well as medieval marginalia, and spread out over a wider geographical range. Notable is the work of Erik Kwakkel, who has assembled a large number of marginalia across countless manuscripts, beneficial to quantitative studies, benefitting the work of scholars such as Mariken Teeuwen (2018) and Eva Steinová (2016). I will only discuss a few of these, as the relevance is limited to the innovative approaches of the subject. Despite geographical and temporal differences, and the quantitative nature of their research, their methodology, theoretical foundation, and findings, can serve as examples for my own method, as well as other future studies within the Nordic field.

Studies which I have selected as being of particular interest are Eva Steinová's thesis on the tradition of notae and lectio marks in Frankish Carolingian manuscripts (2016), and Tatiana Nikolaeva Nikolova-Houston's thesis on marginalia and colophons in South-Slavic manuscripts (2008). These studies approach the marginalia in the manuscripts of their chosen era and area in more detail than the Nordic ones, although they still have the tendency to take one type of marginal, and not look beyond it. There is good reason for this – the usual format chosen tends to be that of an extensive quantitative study on a very particular type of marginal, which makes it a necessity to be both selective and expansive.

Steinová's focus of research is remarkable for its unique direction; she has not chosen to focus on complex verbal marginalia, but instead takes an interest in notae; small, relatively simple marks in the margins of manuscripts, which carry distinct meaning, and have a base in a long-standing tradition that reaches back to antiquity. And though she does not study these in particular, she also describes the presence of lectio marks. These are marks which were

made while reading with a pen in hand, and were not intended to relay a coded message to other users of the manuscript, in contrast to notae, which were. Over all, Steinová particularly looks into the use of notae on Frankish lands during the Carolingian era, and focuses on the historical background of a comparatively very organised system of discrete, atextual, graphic symbols, mostly inherited from classical sources. It is immediately clear that the technical signs that Steinová discusses are of a far more information-carrying nature than the examples Hauksbók provides, which is only logical, as she adjusted the scope of her research specifically to a time and place where notae were rich and complex in meaning. Although nothing in particular indicates that the Norse corpus relies on strictly enforced rules for the taking of nonverbal notes, Steinová has devised a practical guide to understanding these small marks, and can serve as a model for the mapping of non-lexical paratextual features. Despite the discrepancy in time and space, her observations have been of use more than once for the study of AM 544 4to.

Nikolova-Houston (2018) studies marginalia in south-Slavic manuscripts, which she compares to their contemporary social, political, and religious circumstances, among other things. Like most others, Nikolova-Houston focuses her study solely on verbal marginalia, and in particular those that contain large chunks of information. This makes sense, given the fact her study's purpose is to use marginalia to learn more about the lives of ordinary South Slavs during the Ottoman period. She focuses heavily on content and environment analysis, and does not only investigate who made a marginal, and when, and why, but she also looks for larger patterns of marginalia, and seeks to discover whether the single voice in the marginal in question is representative for its societal group. To this objective, she conducts a quantitative study of 146 manuscripts in all – much more than a qualitative study like mine will be able to cover. Since the Hauksbók also does not contain an unusually large amount of complex verbal marginalia from the medieval period, and only few of those convey significant amounts of information, it would be difficult to answer the same kind of questions reliably for my own research. Nonetheless, her research books great results in pointing out the potential marginalia have to learn more about the life cycles of manuscripts – and about history in general.

#### **2.4: The study of the marginalia of the Hauksbók**

Although it has been previously mentioned that the marginalia of the Hauksbók have never been critically or systematically studied, nonetheless work on the topic has been carried out. Most of the compilers of editions and facsimiles have included short and incomplete lists

of those marginalia they noticed, or found worth noticing. This list is different each time, never contains systematic notation of non-verbal marginalia, and is usually incomplete when it comes to verbal ones. Here I have summarised the information provided by my primary editions and facsimiles, just to give a good idea of the kind of treatment the marginalia of the manuscript have previously received. I will be able to build on this material in my own study of AM 544 4to.

The catalogue by Kålund (1889) has only a few pages dedicated to AM 544 4to, and considering this, it dedicates a lot of that space to marginalia and related features. The repairs to the main text are mentioned and several page numbers are given. The same goes for several production-process aged marginalia, as well as several younger ones. Special mention is made of the additions made by Árne Magnússon and Jón Sigurðsson, and even rubrics and coloured initials are mentioned. Some marginalia which contain names are further discussed in the section that deals with the manuscripts origins.

No nonverbal marginalia are mentioned, and I do not expect the list of verbal marginalia to be entirely complete either. However, considering this is a general description of the manuscript in a catalogue, and not a study of marginalia, the focus on verbal marginalia is understandable, and the extent of the descriptions impressive.

The edition by Finnur (1892) contains the main text of all three manuscripts of the Haukbók, and is accompanied by an extensive introduction. In the footnotes to the main text, all contemporary corrections are described. In the introduction, a significant section is dedicated entirely to marginalia. While Finnur's descriptions are often useful, they omit much of the material, and are not always consistent in adding transcriptions or estimated datings. It must also be mentioned that some of Finnur's datings do not agree with datings by Jón Helgason, and that his transcriptions do not seem entirely correct at all times.

As mentioned in the introduction, Jón Helgason dedicates a remarkable amount of pages to features of the manuscript that do not belong to the main text, including holes, tears, initials, rubrics (p.xxii), contemporary additions in the margin, decoration of holes, v-marking of verses, later additions in the margins, (p.xxiii), damage, later touch-ups (p.xxiv), chemical stains, trimming damage (p.xxv), and names written in the manuscript (p.xxvi). Interestingly, the categories for contemporary additions in the margin and later additions in the margin are separated by several unrelated paragraphs, and the section for names written in the manuscript, are even placed several pages away from the other types of marginalia. The separation of different types of marginalia into seemingly unrelated categories illustrates that, despite Jón's thoroughness in assessing the manuscript as an artefact, he does not see

marginalia as useful unless they relate either directly to the main text, or clearly refer to a nameable external phenomenon. In addition to this, even the lists of those categories of marginalia he recognises, are typically not complete. The only sort of non-verbal marginal Jón takes systematic note of are v-shaped verse markings. Noatae and lectio marks are not described, and all mention of doodles and pen trials is anecdotal.

Contemporary additions in the margin are described as a category, but separate occasions are not given. Jón only gives an incomplete list of examples of page numbers, and does not individually describe or transcribe any of these examples, or the hands that were responsible. The same goes for the verse markings.

All listed verbal post-production process additions to the manuscript are individually described and carefully transcribed, but the list is incomplete; Jón just seems to have cherry picked those marginalia he found noteworthy. The list of names in the manuscript contains transcriptions, suggested datings, and seemingly includes all other information on the names Jón could retrieve. In the case of Bjarni Einarson of Hamar, who has left a note on folio 59 verso, Jón can identify the man and the farm and has included the prominent lineage of his wife, and does so extensively. But like the other lists, this one is also incomplete. For example, the note made by Teitr Pálsson (1960a, p.21v) is nowhere listed or discussed, for no discernible reason.

In addition, Jón claims to see a Latin verse in leonine hexameter, written twice, on folio 59 verso. It is transcribed as: *nemo damnetur | nisi primo causa probetur*. To my best judgment, this verse is entirely not present. I have not been able to study the manuscript in person, but in the online high-quality facsimile all the visible writing on 59 verso is either already accounted for, or quite clearly not any part of this verse.

Over all, Jón's record of the marginalia present in the Hauksbók is incomplete, at times under-analysed, and in the case of the Latin verse on folio 59 verso, seemingly downright faulty. He categorises only by content, allows no overlap of his categories, and eliminates all material that does not fall in a category he considers useful. Nonetheless, Jón Helgason is the most descriptive of all studies when it comes to elements that are not a part of the main text.

The library website, Handrit.is, contains the facsimile of AM544 4to, which I used the most, as it allows online access to scans in full colour, which is terribly convenient. Although the information page that comes along with the facsimile is entirely based on previous scholarship, it is an indicator of what sort of information is considered relevant to modern scholars who wish to quickly browse the manuscript.

The information webpage has a section on marginalia, but this section only contains a few examples, all of which are of verbal material, except the drawing of a man's head on 8 verso. This section also includes a list of the contemporary corrections which is limited to the folios 6r, 7, 8r, 13v, 28v, 42v, 70r, 74v, 75r and 99r. This is far from a complete listing of all corrections, yet the website makes it seem as if it is.

Over all, the generally observed tendencies are of missing, incomplete, and faulty listing of marginalia, and perhaps worst of all, incomplete lists presenting themselves as if they were complete. When the lists come with explanations, these are usually centred around complex verbal marginalia, especially those that contain names of individuals or locations.

### III: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Despite the research previously conducted, a precise methodology for a close-up in-detail study of the marginalia within a single manuscript, I will have to construct myself, to a degree. To do this correctly, a firm grasp of the theoretical basis behind the study of marginalia, and of paratext in general, is needed. For this, I will discuss the theory behind previous studies, together with their pitfalls and shortcomings.

#### 3.1: Genette's Model

To start with the widest possible scope, paratext as a phenomenon ought to be discussed. Gérard Genette coins the word 'paratext' as the productions that surround and accompany a text, and influence its reception and consumption (Genette 1991, p.261; Arthur 2015, p.247). Under paratext would fall, for example, the title of the work and the author's name, the preface and the footnotes, relevant, separately published interviews with the author about the text, and in some cases, the notes in the margins. The paratext would not necessarily have to be exclusively verbal; graphs and images within a text can have a real influence on the text experience, and even the cover of the book can have such an effect. Genette explains that paratext is what allows a text to become a book, and to be offered as such to its readers (p.261). Despite this elegant, eloquent explanation, this is a very vague definition. Paired with Genette's description of a 'literary work' as "a text, defined (very minimally) as a more or less long sequence of verbal statements that are more or less endowed with significance" (261), we can safely say that the wider study of paratext appears to be a field that experiences severe defining terminology issues. Additionally, Genette himself explicitly specifies that the manual for the study of paratext which he devised was not designed to apply to pre-modern or non-western texts (p.271). Genette establishes certain defining features that should place the different kinds of paratext into categories, by describing its spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic, and functional characteristics. In the modern tradition these questions are relatively easily answered, as most of this information will be easy to find. To start, one can check the colophon in the book itself, or read up on the book online. For any questions of intent and purpose one can turn to the author themselves, or their publisher, or the representatives of either, in person, or in interviews or biographies, to give one a few examples of many options. In the medieval tradition, every single one of these categories will already be difficult to assign. Nonetheless, medieval scholars still build their methodologies on Genettes model, or a modified version of it, and apply it to the study of handwritten material. This may partially be

because there is no other reliable manual available that was specifically designed for the study of paratext in handwritten manuscripts, and partially because Genette's fluent writing style makes it difficult to see why exactly his model *shouldn't* apply to bodies of text produced outside the modern western tradition of publication. However, the model is not simply incomplete when it comes to the study of medieval material; it is built on an entirely different theoretical base that does not fit well with the study of medieval material, not even when strong modifications are made. Building a methodology on the framework of a model that was meant for the study of modern literature will cause immense issues – and in the following sections I will set apart why.

### **3.2: Medieval perceptions of authorship**

Charlotte E. Cooper criticizes the use of Genette's model for medieval texts as well, although the core of her argument is his exclusion of internal decorations, illustrations, and other types of images. She argues that nonverbal features – including the binding, size, organization, and the quality of the physical material of the codex – should be included in the conversation about paratext, as these can influence the interpretation of the text, sometimes strongly. Another shortcoming she points out is Genette's assumption that multiple identical copies of a work necessarily exist. Even if a medieval manuscript has an exact copy, this copy would not be identical, as it would be written by hand, and it would contain mistakes and small changes – not to mention differences in appearance. Finally, she raises the point that Genette's clean separate categories for paratext do not necessary apply to medieval literature. It may be extremely difficult, for example, to say where the prologue begins and ends, and whether it even serves a similar purpose to a modern prologue.

I would like to add to these arguments that Genette would not consider the vast majority of the marginalia paratextual, because the author of the text, or an associate with enough authority to speak for the author, is not personally involved in their creation.

All these points have a basis in the same problem: Genettes system of categorisation. Genette works by sorting the different types of paratext in strictly separate boxes that are easy to work with, but need to meet certain qualifying criteria. Some medieval material - like illustrations – meets Genette's criteria, but does not fit in any of his boxes. Other material, like medieval prologues, seems to fit the box, but does not meet the criteria. And then there is other material, such as marginalia, that indeed influences interpretation but is frequently entirely unrelated to the writer of the text, sometimes separated by centuries. That might be grounds for disqualification within Genette's model – except that, if Genette's model were

diligently followed all the way, the vast majority of medieval material should be disqualified all together – that is, not just the marginalia and the illustrations, but the entire manuscript. I mentioned the writer of the text, but who is that entity that Genette would consider the author and his or her immediate associates? Where can you place that kind of authority if the scribe, the compiler, and the composer are complete unknowns, separated from one another by centuries? Then, begin to consider the innumerable layers of copyists, making endless adjustments to the point where no one can say with certainty what the original text said, or whether there even was one. Take that into consideration, and the writer of a marginal has exactly as much creative authority as the scribe that penned down the main text.

The root of this problem lies in the medieval perception of authorship, which is a concept vastly different from the modern interpretation. It is usually a point of debate how old a manuscript is, who composed it, who wrote down the text, who commissioned it and paid for it, let alone what the thoughts and motivations behind it were. We are still only speaking of the manuscript as a physical object; the precise origin of the text that it contains is, especially in the case of stories, fully impossible to trace back to a date or a person.

We cannot pinpoint one single author-entity for the Hauksbok; it seems like the least confusing way to look at it is as an autonomous entity: a sort of living, growing object that Haukr Erlendsson might have made a significant contribution to, but existed in some form before him, and has continued to form itself ever since. Many texts were added and subtracted after Haukr's death, and no particular 'finish point' can be distinguished with absolute certainty. It is important to keep in mind that we only call the Hauksbok the Hauksbok since Árne Magnússon collected it and made a decision of which texts were most likely to belong to it – technically, the Hauksbók was not even the Hauksbók up until that moment.

It is, therefore, not only impossible to point out an author figure for the Hauksbók – it is impossible to distinguish at which point the Hauksbók was at its defining stage, its ideal point where it contained everything it was supposed to, and had sustained the least possible amount of damage. For a modern book, this moment is clearly distinguishable right after it is printed: the author can no longer make changes, and the reader hasn't had the time to do so yet. The medieval book as a phenomenon, however, is defined by instability. This is the natural state of a handmade object, but also a side effect of studying them centuries after they were manufactured: the unknown is simply too great to make assumptions.

Therefore, the study of the Hauksbók requires knowing which Hauksbók is currently being studied. Is this Haukr's Hauksbók, or Árne Mágússon's, or the one that is extant now,



or perhaps an amalgamation of all texts that have ever been considered a part of the Hauksbók, by anyone at all? Many different forms of the manuscript have existed, and each one, at the moment that it existed, was the valid identity of the Hauksbók, at that point in time. As previously mentioned, Johansson (2018, pp. 126-131) correctly points out that some scholars fail to take this into account, and make mistakes as a result. This goes to show that to assume the ideal state of a manuscript as if it were a modern book that has sustained damage is not only a pointless endeavour, but can also lead to incorrect assumptions about the environment in which the manuscript existed.

For this reason, one can say that in a modern book, marginalia may belong to the category of damage; even when they are interesting, they deviate from the ideal state of the book, as it was decided by the author and their appointed associates. The notes that separate readers add to their copies cannot change the meaning of the main text; they are nothing but scattered opinions from irrelevant individuals. In a medieval manuscript, however, the marginalia are part of the life cycle of the manuscript; they are additions that enhance the meaning, as they deal with changing attitudes towards layout, they correct scribal errors, they translate for lost social context, they hold the clues to the discovery of the earlier shapes of the manuscript, among many other things.

### **3.3: Changing cultural perceptions over the course of history**

Susanne M. Arthur (2015) recognises marginalia as an important paratextual feature in medieval manuscripts, used to discover more about dating, scribes, and provenance, and since the late 1980's, also about the history of the reading of the manuscript in question. Marginalia may reveal who the readers were, and how they received the text – and by extension, what the function of a text was, not only at the time of its production, but throughout the centuries of its use. If a manuscript is a living object that grows and changes within a changing context, after all, this may mean that a text that was written down for a certain purpose, over the course of centuries changed its purpose and environment of use on one or more occasions, without a letter of the text being altered.

One of the topics Arthur touches on is the insertion of rubrics, titles, and chapter headings, where none previously existed. This phenomenon is further explored by Anna Horn (2009). Although the later insertion of titles can simply indicate a wish to summarise, it incidentally also shows a need for quick navigation, where none previously existed. This indicates a change in use for the manuscript, perhaps a change of the environment and tradition in which it was used. If a manuscript was previously used to be read from start to

end in a private environment, categorization might not have been needed, but when studied in a scholarly environment, in which the scholar might wish to return to certain passages time and again, either to study them or to make a reference, suddenly advanced navigation becomes a necessity. One could say that in this case, a large amount of material with intangible paratextual value has disappeared, in the form of the changing reading praxis over the course of many centuries – in essence, the paratext of the paratext. The added chapter headings then represent a form of paratext that always existed, but only needed to be visually present after some time.

Nikolova-Houston describes another form of navigation within medieval manuscripts. She bases her study in hypertext theory, among other things. In short, this is a way to treat text as an interconnected system that allows the reader to jump from one element to another related element, and is most commonly applied to electronic hypertext. Where Arthur and Horn consider chapter headings within this framework, Nikolova-Houston applies it to marginalia. In slightly different ways, both categories of paratext can be considered a type of connective infrastructure for medieval literature. Where chapter headings and rubrics guide a reader through a single codex, marginalia may connect a reader to related works, or to the environment of the writer. Nikolova-Houston therefore explains marginalia as ancient hyperlinks, shedding light on their inherently intertextual nature. She focuses on the way complex verbal marginalia relate to the text they accompany, and how they relate to external sources of information. Most important to Nikolova-Houston's study, they relate to the specific historical, social, and religious movements and contexts of the manuscripts.

I suggest that Nikolova's view is not the only possible interpretation of the hypertextuality of marginalia. Where complex verbal marginalia can indeed refer to external sources or give comprehensive feedback on the text it accompanies, simple or nonverbal marginalia can provide reference in other ways – ways perhaps closer to the effect of rubrics and chapter titles, as discussed by Horn. Non-complex marginalia might give reference to other marginalia of the same hand within the same manuscript, which can potentially tie the separate units of the Hauksbók together. It must be noted, that although the framework of hypertextuality has its uses, it is the question if in the case of the current study, I can speak of *hypertextuality*, as the majority of the marginalia I look into do not contain any text. This same issue applies to Nikolova-Houston's discussion of the multivocal nature of medieval manuscripts; it is questionable if it is really a case of vocality if the voice in question is a number of misaligned dots that may or may not have been intentional. Despite the

questionable semantics of the terminology here, though, the concept of connectivity is highly relevant, and should be considered.

### **3.4 Verbal and nonverbal features**

Apart from providing key examples of how those marginalia which contain legible text, can provide information about the reader's use and their cultural, professional, and personal reception of a given text within the concerned period of time, Arthur is one of very few scholars to also seriously consider nonverbal paratextual features. She rightfully points out that the highlighting of a passage, in whatever way this may be done, can reveal a lot about the reader's interests. Although such markings are usually extremely difficult to date or ascribe to a particular person, Arthur has used them to support the pattern of marginalia that she notices in the various manuscripts that contain *Njáls saga*. In this corpus, the act of reading with a pen in hand, and taking notes in a studying fashion, seemed to increase significantly in the postmedieval era. This could signify that either the practical use of the texts changed, or the reading practice changed, or possibly, that notes in the margin were not seen as damage to a valuable object as much, in that particular period of time. Arthur mentions that indeed, renaissance readers were taught to make notes on the original material as they went, but also, that from the renaissance onward, the tradition of making marginalia expanded from exclusively scholarly practice into private use, as interest in medieval Icelandic literature increased (2015, p.246; 2018, p.333). In this she observes a difference in the quantity and type of marginalia she encounters, depending on the intended use of the manuscripts, and the amount of decoration the manuscripts contain. Manuscripts initially seemingly produced for scholarly use mainly contain added chapter headings, and additional information-bearing commentary on the main text, such as historical, biographical, or geographical notes. Private manuscripts do too, but additionally often contain summaries of text passages, comments on the text, and additional verses. Heavily decorated manuscripts seem to have both few verbal and non-verbal features in comparison to lightly decorated or plain manuscripts. The moderate manuscripts, and particularly the privately-owned ones, are the richest in personal comments such as judgments of the story's characters, and added verses, and contain the most nonverbal features, while the plain manuscripts tend to contain fewer nonverbal features and more summaries and added chapter headings, which both serve the same purpose (2018, 233-242).

Arthur focusses mostly on verbal features, and uses the nonverbal ones as supporting material, and yet, hers is still to this point the only study I have been able to find which considers nonverbal features within the Nordic tradition.

Eva Steinová has studied a remarkably wide group of nonverbal and non-overtly verbal notae and lectio marks within the Carolingian tradition, and also describes other small marks on the pages of her corpus, even when her focus is on those notae which fit within a precise tradition of purposeful note-taking which was thoroughly described in supporting literature, and had rules which were widely known and recognized in the community. Although nothing in particular indicates that the Norse corpus relies on strictly enforced rules for the taking of nonverbal notes, Steinova has devised a practical guide to understanding these small marks, and can serve as a model for the mapping of non-lexical paratextual features.

### **3.5: Applications of a new foundation**

Many scholars before me have criticized the application of Genette's model to the medieval field, and many more have already taken steps to devise a more fitting theoretical framework and methodology. They consider a wider range of phenomena as valuable paratext, and they have taken steps to study the marginalia alongside the original text, not only as additional fragments of material that may contain extra material, or information concerning provenance. It seems for the best to use methodology which is not based on Genette or on criticism of Genette, but to build up a completely new method from the ground, which takes medieval cultural background as a starting point. Despite that fact that the studies previously discussed all have merits, the need for a new base from the ground up is still evident. This is illustrated by the fact that all of the earlier listed studies are quantitative in nature, and so by definition exclude a lot of data. Regardless of the results booked within each respective subject, a quantitative study makes it easy to oversee or dismiss details that may not seem directly relevant, and might let potential leads go unexplored. This leads to incomplete records on the individual manuscripts, and an ignoring of all the marginalia which we do not understand, and the ones which are difficult to retrace.

To avoid subconsciously building my method within the established system, I will start off with several new methodological features. To begin with, the first point is inclusivity during the collection phase, to make sure no marginalia go unnoticed. This is necessary because the study of modern, mass-produced literature first and foremost requires exclusion of data, to turn the torrent of information into a manageable trickle. This torrent simply does

not exist in the medieval field, for the simple reason that every manuscript is a singular object without a horde of exact copies. We can afford to make a list of every single marginal in the Hauksbók, because the Hauksbók was never printed and sold two million times. And apart from the fact that we can, we also should, because unlike modern books, very little information is available on the Hauksbók, which makes that every bit must be taken seriously. When we take the modern method of exclusion, we create incomplete lists of only those marginalia which interest us. This does not only make us vulnerable to confirmation bias, but also inconveniences future scholars. They would have to make the same list all over again, or worse, might mistake the pre-existing list for complete. Making an extensive and complete list before starting to analyse makes not only for a more precise analysis, but also for a more widely applicable study that will save future researchers anywhere in the medieval Scandinavian field time and effort.

Second, when it is time to sort through the established list, it is important to categorise in a particular way. Hard categories based on appearance, function, and/or authorial intent have their functions in quantitative research, but they are difficult to work with when it comes to the medieval field. All these features are often difficult or even impossible to determine in a medieval context. Some categorising will be necessary, since it otherwise will not be possible to conduct any sort of analysis, but I will categorise based on the potential origins of the marginalia, rather than on the uncertainties of type and function. I will also propose to attach soft labels where relevant and possible, making it possible for a single feature to belong to a gradient of categories, or even to none, if its status is too debatable to pin down definitively. To give an example; according to Genette's model it is debatable if marginalia are a part of the corpus of paratext belonging to a work, but it is undeniable that they have some form of paratextual value, even if it depends on the case and the criteria what precise form of paratextual value we're speaking of. Another example would be in the case a note is found that resembles a marginal, but is not technically found in the margin of the manuscript. It would be relevant for the study to assess it nonetheless. Much of this depends on terminology, and within the thesis at least, I will strive to establish a clearly defined and internally consistent terminology – but this terminology should not be so all-defining that a slight difference in interpretation makes all my categories irrelevant. The aim of the categorising should not be to once and for all find a textbook description for a particular exclusive group of marginalia. It should instead be in place to emphasize what certain marginalia have in common with one another. The attachment of labels should not be to place a certain marginal in a certain box, but rather to draw attention to a certain feature of that

marginal in particular – and many marginalia have many different features; perhaps as many as they have potential unknown functions. It is also vital to keep in mind that, as a physical witness of changing cultural perceptions of manuscripts, any part of the paratextual corpus of a medieval codex might cross the boundaries of established categories per definition, as it tries to cope with the changing perception of the manuscript itself. Think, for example, of the chapter headings that were added centuries after the original text, when they suddenly became necessary where they previously hadn't been. Similarly, marginalia might have fallen in one category at the time of their making, in another when a later reader made amends to them, and again in another when a modern scholar tries to make sense of them. Only by accepting this intersectionality for what it is, can an understanding be approximated.

Thirdly, during the phase of analysis, it is important to ask the right questions. Scholars before me have focussed their efforts on transcribing, translating and dating marginalia, which is certainly necessary, but far from the only interesting part. Nikolova-Houston and Steinová have shown that the societal background of the marginalia, and their place in literary tradition can be valuable. Steinová and Arthur have shown that even nonverbal marginalia can speak. I would like to add to this that the way the marginalia spread out within the manuscript itself can also provide information.

### **3.6: Method**

To apply the above strategy to the current study, I have set up a method which consists of three phases. The first phase will list all marginalia that are present. The second will entail analysis, as well as exclusion of those marginalia that seem of no use to the current study. Finally, the implications of the analysis will be discussed in the light of the provenance of the Hauksbók. The list obtained from the first phase will be presented in the order that was derived from the analysis phase, to make it easier to work with, in the context of this study.

#### **3.6.1 Phases of analysis: listing**

The first phase of the actual research seems quite straightforward: to study each page of AM 544 4to, and keep careful record of all marginalia that appear. However, to do this correctly, defining parameters should be established so that it is clear what phenomena should be recorded, and which ones shouldn't. This means defining the meaning of 'marginalia' within the context of this study.

Firstly, it must be mentioned that rather than to focus especially the margins, I sought to record every mark that was intentionally made on the manuscript, which was not a part of

the main text. After all, I saw no particular reason to consider marginalia in the actual margin as being of some kind of superior relevance than notes that were made, for example, in between two lines of text. This should also solve the problem of the categorisation of notes made on pages that do not contain text, as those pages technically do not have margins. All in all, my working definition of 'marginalia' within the context of this thesis is not 'a verbal note made in the folio margin by a reader of the manuscript', but rather 'any mark in ink that was added to AM 544 4to on purpose, excepting the main text of the manuscript'.

This partially agrees with Nikolova-Houston's choice to take 'marginalia' as an umbrella term for all extra-textual notes, scribbles, commentary, and similar material – however, she limits it to material written or printed in blank spaces, and places the condition it must be additional or incidental to the main topic (26). This practically excludes all non-verbal marginalia, including doodles, and curiously, also any verbal or non-verbal markings of ownership, if they do not relate to the main topic.

Another problem area appears to be Nikolova-Houston's focus on blank spaces. As previously mentioned, being in a blank space does not in itself make a marginal more relevant. Secondly – all parchment initially starts off as blank; that makes that parameter much more inclusive than Nikolova-Houston probably intended. The main text itself, after all, was written on blank space. Therefore, the main issue that must be dealt with here, is how to separate main text from marginalia. The main-text elements must be defined, and this again is related to the question what version of the Hauksbók this study covers, as was discussed earlier on. What would be considered main text in Haukr's Hauksbók might be quite different from what might be considered main text in Árne Magnússon's Hauksbók. Are the sections added in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, so after Haukr's death, main text or additions?

Since the only Hauksbók that is currently available is the Hauksbók as it exists now, it is vital to first and foremost keep in mind that any study of the manuscript at any point in history must happen through this version. Therefore, this study will primarily concern the currently existing version of the Hauksbók. There will always be uncertainties and complete unknowns about any earlier versions of the manuscript, simply through the limitations of our knowledge. However, this thesis should focus on the middle ages, and therefore, when it is remotely possible, it will be the aim of this study to discover as much as possible about those versions of the manuscript which existed in that time. This means I will aim to study the entire period of time from the production of the earliest parts of the modern definition of the Hauksbók, up till roughly 1600 AD. Despite this rather wide aim, it can still help me exclude a large amount of material.

This still does not answer the question what the 'main text' does consist of, apart from that it should be part of the modern definition of AM 544 4to, and that it should be manufactured before 1600. Since 'main text' does not seem to be a concept that has been defined in hard-and-fast terms in comparable studies, I have decided on those parts that are at least a paragraph long, and are centred in the middle of the page consistent with the over-all design of the codex. Though a precise definition is lacking, the body of texts that correspond with this description, also correspond with all those texts that are listed in lists of contents compiled by other scholars, without including any superfluous material.

Next remains the question which paratextual elements are considered 'main text' within the context of this study, and which paratextual elements are considered 'marginalia'. In this, one must consider, for example, rubrics and chapter headings, corrections, glosses, decorated initials, and all other forms of decoration. Genette has previously attempted to draw a line between material for which the author and their personally authorised associates are responsible, and material that is not. It was already established that this line is in nearly every case impossible to apply to medieval material. It could even be argued that, due to the status of the medieval manuscript as a changing, growing object, all of the manuscript is part of the main text, including the marginalia. Reversely it could also be argued in an equally convincing manner, that by many of the same arguments, not one part of the manuscript can be considered main text. My solution to this problem is to consider all material as belonging to certain category on a case-by case basis, while acknowledging it all, to a certain degree, belongs to both.

Some of the material, has a stronger affiliation to one category than to another, and for the sake of practicality, parameters must be established. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, I will consider as main text those decorations, decorated initials and rubrics that look like they were added during the production process of the material I previously established as 'the main text'. This categorisation will not be handled too strictly, and the study will not shy away from including these features in a discussion of marginalia where it is relevant. They are an excellent example of the virtues of non-exclusive labelling; rubrics and initials, in their function of paratextual elements, can function as main text as well as features of the margin, depending on which of their characteristics are under scrutiny.

One could argue for contemporary corrections as main text, too, as they look like they might have been applied during the production process, but for the extent of this thesis they will be counted as marginalia. This is due to their often-prominent position in the margins; for their history of being categorised as marginalia by previous scholars; for the fact that,



even though they look contemporary, their origin might prove questionable; and last not least, simply because their distribution seems promising to me. As with the rubrics and decorated initials, they will be considered both paratextual features as well as part of the main text according to need – and there seems to exist a particular need to consider them in their paratextual function, for now.

For the rest, the definition of 'marginalia' will remain as wide as possible, to make sure the list becomes as large and inclusive as can reasonably be managed. After establishing a complete list, irrelevant categories can always be excluded, but if a sufficiently complete list is not established, it becomes impossible to later add categories to my analysis that turned out relevant after all. Finally special emphasis will be on the analysis of those marginalia that are from the medieval period, but all non-medieval marginalia will still be listed and described, as one of the objectives of this study is obtaining and publishing a complete list of all marginalia present in AM 544 4to. In addition to that, the non-medieval features may still hold clues to an earlier history.

As a last point, it should be noted once again that all my considerations above are on a very heavy case-dictated base, and should not be considered as blanket applicable to any other manuscript in the field. I mean for this section to be a case example of the use of a flexible application of labels, rather than an inflexible manual for all studies of this kind.

### 3.6.2: Phases of analysis: categorising

Once a list is established, second comes sorting of the obtained material. This is not about the precise categories that are chosen – it has to do with how to align different types of marginalia within previous types of research, so that I can benefit fully from other people's work. I am not searching for boxes for my marginalia in the work of other scholars – I am searching for previously described patterns which may be useful to identify.

First and foremost, all marginalia fall within a single category – notations. I will look into the general distribution of all notations at once, and take note of which parts of the manuscript seem more actively used, or perhaps differently used. This follows Arthur's method to some degree, when she studied the different patterns of use of *Njáls saga* depending on the types of manuscript used.

Next, I will have to consider verbal marginalia which have previously been transcribed, translated, and researched. Despite being not the only category of marginalia with value, I would be the last to deny that they are an immensely valuable category. Often these marginalia are the ones which are mentioned in editions and facsimiles, even when the

lists are incomplete, and it is essential that I benefit from transcriptions, dates, and translations which are supported by other scholars. Additionally, it is important to see what marginalia of the same type were missed, and which subcategories I can distinguish based on their relevance for my research. I can separate them by age, and further separate them by hand, as far as this is possible. Since I will try to compare which marginalia appear in which quire, it is vital to build my groups around the origin of the marginalia, rather than their function or appearance.

For this reason, I will not make 'verbal marginalia' and 'nonverbal marginalia' into the two main separate categories; instead, verbal marginalia are only the starting point for establishing categories, which are more conveniently divided per hand. One reader could have written their name on only one page, but may have left a series of nonverbal doodles elsewhere. In this case, a categorising per verbosity of marginalia will only reveal that someone with a certain name at some point owned the quire in question. A categorisation per hand will reveal that this reader of that name must have had the quires with the doodles as well as the quire with the name in their possession. Therefore, it will appear that it is likely that, during the lifetime of this writer, the quires in question are very likely to have been kept near each other, perhaps even as part of the same manuscript.

For this reason, it is impossible to establish the precise categories before the analysis chapter is dealt with. Nonetheless, I can provide those starting points from which categories can spring. The first is verbal marginalia and those marginalia that can be connected to them. As previously mentioned, these can contain a wealth of information about their precise makers and the time in which they lived.

The next point of interest for the establishing of categories are those marginalia that resemble notae and lectio marks. Steinová's study can help me find unexpectedly large amounts of information in small nonverbal symbols in the margins, and perhaps even a few separate hands might be distinguishable. For the most common symbols, such as a simple cross or a short horizontal line, distribution can still reveal general tendencies, as are described in Arthur's study. Arthur's study also explores the historical tendencies of making lectio marks, so perhaps they could even to a very marginal degree be speculatively dated.

Another group that needs to be mentioned consists of those marginalia that appear to have been applied during the production process. These include corrections, but also, for example, decorated holes in the parchment. Although I consider decorations for the most part as main text, those that seem interesting or to be of questionable origin will be grouped with the marginalia to make sure I do not oversee any interesting tendencies. All phenomena in

this subgroup could potentially provide vital information about the earliest stages of the manuscripts existence, and are therefore of guaranteed relevance for this study. These paratextual features could even provide vital clues as to which quires Haukr Erlendsson had in his possession, and whether he considered them part of a single entity, or separate entries to his library.

For the next group, there is a large quantity of marginalia that seem thoughtlessly applied, and have previously been dismissed as doodles and pen trials. The first thing that needs to happen here is that all of this material should be studied to see if any purpose can be found behind them, which can provide clues on who made them, when, and why. Next, I must attempt to subcategorise them. Some of these I have been able to connect to verbal marginalia, although with varying degrees of certainty. Others seem made by the same hand, and can therefore be valuable for their general pattern of distribution. Then there are some left which seem unique, but general distribution of unique marginalia can still be interesting for the study of the entire body of marginalia.

Finally, there are a few categories of marginalia that are difficult to put in any other overarching group, but need to be listed for the sake of completeness, such as foliation of the manuscript, or those marginalia that are difficult to study because they are smudged, erased, faded, or difficult to see on photos. The foliation is well-recorded, and without exception modern, but need to be included so that it remains this way. I might also want to address some inconsistencies I noticed, but this should not add much towards the answering of my research questions. The other features I listed above, should be recorded in case a future researcher finds a meaning behind them which evades me. They must be categorised by appearance as much as possible, and it should be explained on which folios they are to be found so the general distribution can be studied.

Once all subgroups are dealt with, and I have separated the marginalia per phenomenon or hand as much as possible, I should include short descriptions, and include as much individual information as can be retrieved. This means attempting to answer as much of the first set of questions as possible, for each individual category. What does the marginal look like, what could it mean, who might have made it, when and where was it made, what materials and techniques were used, what purpose could it have served? I will make use of previous research and fill in for many of the blanks myself, but I will have to accept that the answers cannot always be retrieved.

Phases of of analysis: Exploring the implications

With the list of marginalia sorted per origin as much as possible, with all direct information listed carefully, now the greater pattern of marginalia can be analysed. The w-questions should have been answered as much as possible throughout the process of categorisation; now it is time to answer the follow-up questions: what can the relative location of this marginal imply, in relation to the other marginalia in the manuscript, to the separate folios, and separate quires of the manuscript? Can the placement, age, and type of the marginalia reveal anything about the gathering of the quires; when and where this happened, in which stages, by who, and in what setting?

The hypothesised textual units of AM 544 4to as suggested by Johansson (2018, 2017) are as follows. The first three quires have most likely been separate at some point, and among these quires, the third is remarkably different from the first two. Quires four to eight have also been a separate unit at some point, with a possible break between five and six. The ninth quire has been separate, and so have ten to fourteen, with a possible break between ten and eleven. It is my intention to primarily investigate if the marginalia can support this.

Apart from a unit-per-unit analysis, I will also investigate patterns of marginalia between quires, hands, or content, when the evidence points to it. Perhaps the marginalia can show a different production or use for some sections compared to others.

## IV: THE HAUKSBÓK

### 4.1: Haukr's book

The Hauksbók is a codex in the Arnemagnean collection, named after the lawman Haukr Erlendsson, who is generally considered a key element behind the production of the manuscript. The texts of the manuscript deal with a large variety of topics both clerical and secular in nature, and consists of three currently separate parts: AM 371 4to, AM 544 4to, and AM 675 4to. Árni Magnússon first described the already damaged Hauksbok as one entity in the eighteenth century, and since then, it has continued to suffer damage. What little remains of AM 371 4to today, is part of the Icelandic section of the Arnemagnean collection in Reykjavík. The second and third parts, AM 544 4to and AM 675 4to, are both in the Danish collection, which is kept in Copenhagen. The entirety of the extant manuscript counts 141 leaves. The original, according to Jón Helgason (1960a, p.ix) would have consisted of at least 210 pages. Lacunae exist where more quires could have been inserted, which could have made the total page-count still higher.

The focus of this thesis, AM 544 4to, has 107 extant folios, and measures 243x158 mm. The current binding dates from 1967, and is a modern standard half-binding, which measures 248 mm x 183 mm x 72 mm. Traces of earlier bindings can be found, as well as evidence of resizing of the pages, and some of the earlier bindings have been described, even though these bindings have later been lost. The oldest description of a binding is by Árni Magnússon's assistant, Jón Ólafsson, who mentioned in 1730 that it had no outer covering, showing the thongs of hemp across the spine to which the gatherings were fastened.

AM 544 4to has generally been well-preserved, but there are still sizeable lacunae in three places in the manuscript. After folio 14, two leaves have been excised and the narrow strips of the leaves have remained in the spine. After folio 68, an entire gathering is missing. After folio 76, at least one gathering of 8 leaves has been lost. And besides these three certain lacunae, there are many spots in the manuscript where, due to rebinding, it has become uncertain if any more quires were inserted in the past (Jón, 1960a, vi)

AM 544 4to was produced by well-practiced scribes, and contains modest coloured initials, which are applied with some inconsistency in style and frequency. Chapter headings come in a single colour, which is most often red, though they can also be green or blue. At the beginning of new sections, there may be dual or triple coloured initials in combinations of

blue, red, black, green, and yellow. The beginnings of sentences sometimes have a little rubrication on top of the black.

The large number of different scribes makes for significant style fluctuations in the writing, but the text fields share a presentation in a single column, which contains between 30 and 43 lines per page. Jón Helgason (1960a, p.xxii) points out that some of the parchment used was already damaged or irregular in shape from the start, and on many pages the writing can be observed to skip over holes or adjust to the irregular shape of some pages. He has devoted a fairly complete passage to all of the later sustained damage, which includes ripping, fading, and chemical stains (Jón, 1960a, p.xxiv-xxv).

Despite Haukr Erlendsson's clear involvement in the manufacture of the manuscript, some parts he had no hand in, and in others it is not always entirely certain what his exact role was. Although some parts of the codex have production dates after Haukr's death, or are considered later additions, the bulk of the manuscript was put together under his supervision. Many parts of it have even been written down in a hand that was likely Haukr's own. This detail, however, is complicated by the problem that the page in AM 371 4to on which hand 1 identifies itself as Haukr, has only been preserved in the manuscripts' 17<sup>th</sup> century copy by Jón Erlendsson, known as AM 107 fol. The hand found on the still extant leaves of AM 371 4to and AM 544 4to has been identified as the same hand as the one that penned Haukr's personal letters, which are unlikely to all have been produced by the same scribe, if he used one for his personal correspondence (Jón, 1960a, p. x.; Stefán 1964, p.119). As Sverrir Jakobsson (2007, p. 24) points out, rather than considering a singular person like Haukr the redactor of the Hauksbók, it is perhaps better to consider the Hauksbók a product of a textual culture, instead. However, Sverrir only considers the Hauksbók a product of the first decade of the fourteenth century; I would like to involve the whole life span of the manuscript, as it has gathered marginalia that entire time. It is not only interesting for the study of marginalia to consider the later developmental stages of the manuscript; For example, Karl G. Johansson considers the possibility that the first three quires of AM 544 4to were not added to the Hauksbók at the time of their 14<sup>th</sup> century production. It could potentially have been added as late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century; and yet, multiple scholars include these quires without question when they discuss Haukr's possible intentions behind collecting the material (see Johansson 2018 p. 127-131; for example: Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson, 1993, p.271; Clunies Ross & Simek, 1993).

#### **4.2: Haukr Erlendsson**

Despite the fact that Haukr does not occupy the same position in the production of the Hauksbók as a modern author would, he is still the catalyst and driving force behind the codex, and has been extensively studied as such. The questions of provenance I investigate in this study itself are often related to Haukr's possession of, and intentions with, the separate sections of the codex. For this reason, it is appropriate to introduce him, and to discuss his involvement with the manuscript.

Jon Helgason (1960a, p.xx) explains that source material that mentions Haukr is rare, and his birthdate is unknown. He is first mentioned in 1294, in the Icelandic annals, which document him becoming a lawman (G. Storm, 1888, p.359), although it is most likely he was a deputy at the time. After this, he moved to Norway, where he continued to work as a lawman, and later became a member of the king's council. He died in 1334, probably in Bergen, after having spent most of his life in Norway (Jón, 1960a, p. xx).

Haukr's involvement with the manuscript allows for an exceptionally narrow dating of much of the text. The parts written by Haukr himself can't logically have been written after his death in 1334. Haukr's birthdate is unknown, but these segments of text are also unlikely to have been produced too long before the documented start of his career, in 1294. There is a slightly wider margin for texts which might have been commissioned by him, but for Haukr to have had anything at all to do with the production of a given piece of text, the rough timeframe in which it was possible must have been around the first quarter of the fourteenth century. However, the production date of a part of the quire does not mean the other parts of the quire were produced at the same time. It also does not have to mean the quire was combined with the other quires of the Hauksbók at the same date, or even by the same person. A section of manuscript that was produced in one go, with the intention to remain as a unit, will be referred to as a production unit. A production unit can comprise of one or multiple quires, or may not correspond with quire boundaries at all. Production units that have been produced by Haukr or under his supervision may sometimes contain later production units on the pages that were originally left empty. *Völuspá*, for example, appears to be a mid-14<sup>th</sup> century inclusion into the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century third quire of AM 544 4to (Gunnar & Stefán,1993; Johansson, 2000).

Jón Helgason (1960a, p.xx) predominantly argues for a later rather than an earlier date of production in the texts attributed to Haukr, since he detects a Norwegian influence on the orthography of the manuscript, which suggests Haukr might have written this after he had already lived in Norway for a while.

He also takes note of Haukr's mention of his wife, Steinunn Áladóttir, in AM 371 4to. (Jón, 1960a, p.xx; Finnur, 1892, p.43). Haukr became a lawman forty years preceding his death, and was retired for several years before his passing, which suggests he died at an old age. Yet, his wife survived him by almost thirty years. This suggests she was significantly younger than him, which would not have been an uncommon occurrence at the time. Haukr likely only married later in his life, which suggest the pages which mention his wife were also produced later. However, this alone is no concrete evidence, as Steinunn might also just have lived exceptionally long.

Haukr starts referring to himself as 'herra' from in the section that contains *Eiríks saga rauða* and onwards, which means these sections have to have been written down after the moment he was knighted. Haukr was a knight in 1306, as he is referred to as herra Haukr in a letter from that date, but it is not known exactly when the knighting happened. Like the example of Haukr's wife, his knighthood is a vague indicator of the passage of time, and not a rigid post-quem of any sort (Jón, 1960a, p.xx).

However, Haukr mentions several more women other than his wife, and calls them by titles which they only received around the turn of the century. One of them is referred to as Hallbera at first (Finnur, 1892, p.88), and Hallbera Abbadís and frú Hallbera Abbadís later (Finnur, 1892, p.116, p.444). Hallbera only became abbess in 1299, and another woman, frú Guðrun, (Finnur, 1892, p.88, p.116) would not have been referred to as frú before her husband had been knighted in 1300 or 1301. This indicates that AM 544 4to at least would not have been written before the turn of the century.

Haukr's reason for collecting and gathering large amounts material on a variety of topics has been extensively debated, as described by Johansson (2017, 2018). Sverrir Jakobson (2007, p. 25-26) and Elizabeth Ashman Rowe (2008, p.51) argue that the collection of texts was used by Haukr to achieve and maintain his position. Whether the separate sections of the Hauksbók were ever intended to form one codex, or whether they were kept as a sort of library of leaflets, is much discussed, but remains yet unknown.

The manuscript is supposed to have come to Iceland around Haukr's death in 1334. Two of the hands in the third quire of AM 544 4to date from the mid-fourteenth century, and are connected to the North-Icelandic scribal milieu. From this, it is generally assumed that the entire Hauksbók must have moved from Norway to Iceland some time around 1334, although I will later argue that this might only have been the case for the third quire. Johansson (2017; 132) suggests Haukr could have brought it there himself during his trip in the late 1320's, or that Haukr's wife or another relative could have brought it with them after his death. Either



way, subsequent owners remain unknown until a certain Bjárni Einarsson of Hamar is mentioned in the bottom margin of folio 59v, around 1600. Bjárni is known (Jón, 1960a, p. xxvi; Finnur, 1892, p. xviii) as well as the farm of Hamar in Iceland, and after him, various owners are both known and unknown, until Árni Magnússon finally collects those parts which we know of now.

### **4.3: The composition process**

There is ample reason to believe that the Hauksbók as we know it today, is quite different from the collection of texts that Haukr had in his possession. Apart from the obvious downsizing caused by the damaging and loss of quires and folios, the Hauksbók also gained material after Haukr's death. Many parts of the manuscript seem to have production dates after Haukr's death in 1334, most notably the entirety of AM 675 4to, which has been written by a hand which cannot conclusively be related to Haukr (Jón, 1960a, xviii); Gunnar & Stefán, 1993, p. 271). As a consequence, the entire part is often considered a later production unit which Haukr might never have intended as a part of the Hauksbók.

Most of AM 371 4to has not survived, except in copies, which makes it difficult to assess as a production unit within this thesis, since the text might have survived, but the actual unit has not. This leaves AM 544 4to, of which the majority of the material can be connected to Haukr in one way or another, yet contains parts which are questionable in origin, and some which are generally considered to be produced after Haukr's death. Perhaps the best example of parts of AM 544 4to that were added without Haukr's explicit intention, are the entries in the third quire, many of which have been dated around the mid-fourteenth century, after Haukr's death (Gunnar & Stefán, 1993, p. 271).

This begs the question what material should be considered the Hauksbók. Or, since the Hauksbók is only a name given to this highly varied collective of different segments, which may or may not have been related to Haukr in one way or the other, perhaps it is more accurate to ask what parts of the manuscript were considered a unit at a particular point in time. Either way, there must have been many different versions of the entity we call the Hauksbók today. As Johansson (2018, p. 130) points out, it is more than relevant for a scholar to consider which version of the Hauksbók they are relating to. Yet, arguably not every scholar considers this issue enough in their analysis of the tome (2018, p. 126). Johansson describes how Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson present the Hauksbók as a private library, a point that Margaret Clunies Ross and Rudolf Simek (1993) also accept. What all of

these studies have in common is that they seem to consider Haukr the one responsible for the collection of all the texts, including those that were not created until after his death.

Despite the fact that practically all scholarship agrees that various parts of the manuscript have distinctly different production dates, and that Jón Helgason already suggested the existence of different production units in 1960 (1960a, xviii), it seems that only Johansson (2017, 2018) has attempted to reconstruct hypothetically separately produced textual units of AM 544 4to. According to him, the first three quires have been one or two separate production units that Haukr might not even have been the patron of. Quires four to nine, despite being predominantly written by Haukr himself, might not have been intended by Haukr as a part of the composite manuscript *Hauksbók*. Quire 10 is hard to assign a unit, but Johansson does suggest that the rest of the quires, from 11 to 14, probably were intended as a single entity.

Firstly, there is an easily observable difference between the first three quires of AM 544 4to, and the rest of the quires in the manuscript. Between the quires 1-2 and quire 3, there are also significant observable differences, but I will first focus on what these three quires have in common compared to the rest of AM 544 4to. These three quires all contain a similar sort of information; they are kinds of gatherings of small segments from different origins, describing a vast array of topics. They can be considered like a kind of encyclopaedia, anthology, or even a personal library. They seem like a single unit most importantly due to the darkening of those pages that would have formed the outer leaves, 1r and 21v (Johansson, 2018). They also stand out from the rest of AM 544 4to by their uncertain connection to Haukr, which even Finnur makes mention of (1892, p.x). These quires are the only ones in which Haukr has not added the rubrics himself, and none of the hands reappear elsewhere in the manuscript or can be directly connected to Haukr in another way, despite the fact that many scholars consider hand two and three to be scribes in Haukr's direct service (e.g.: Johansson, 2018, p. 134; Finnur 1892, p.xlvi). Nonetheless, this does by no means exclude the possibility that Haukr owned these quires, or ordered their manufacture.

The third quire might have been intended or kept as a separate unit from the first two, even though page darkening does not explicitly suggest that it was. Jón Helgason points out the use of a different quality of parchment for this quire, and it has been produced by different hands as well. The first two quires are entirely written in hand 2, whereas most of III is in hand 3, with several additions from other, later hands, such as hand 7, responsible for the *Völuspá*, which Finnur Jónsson (1892, p. xvi) and Johansson (1997, p. 325; 2000, p.68) believed to be the same hand as the scribe of the Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol.). Similarly,

hand 4 is a mid-14<sup>th</sup> century addition that can be traced back to the North-Icelandic Benedictine monastery of Þingeyrar. Hand 6 is also considered an Icelandic hand, while hand 5 is responsible for the map of Jerusalem on 19 recto, which means it does not contain enough text to connect it to a particular milieu. This means that the third quire most likely has been in the Icelandic scribal milieu in the mid-fourteenth century. Hand 3, however, is of the early 14<sup>th</sup> century and displays Norwegian characteristics, which has led to this hand being widely considered to be one of Haukr's Norwegian secretaries, despite the lack of a fully certain connection to Haukr.

The early fourteenth-century Norwegian hand followed by several mid fourteenth-century Icelandic hands, has led to the general assumption that the Hauksbók must have moved from Norway to Iceland at a time around Haukr's death. Johansson (2017, p.132; 2018, p.134) suggests Haukr could have brought either the third quire or all three first quires there himself during his trip in the late 1320's, or that a relative could have brought it with them after his death. Jón Helgason (1960a, p. xx) suggests Haukr's widow, returning to Iceland after the death of her husband, as a likely candidate, although he assumes that the presence of the third quire in Iceland indicates the presence of the entire Hauksbók in Iceland. Either which way, there is no strict reason to conclude that the entire Hauksbók necessarily moved to Iceland with Haukr or his family members around the time of Haukr's death, if only the third quire was demonstrably present at Þingeyrar around 1350.

Next, page-darkening suggests that quire IV to VIII, which contain the *Trójumanna saga*, *Bretasögur* and *Merlinusspá*, were a unit (Johansson 2018, p.134-135). These quires all contain foreign pseudohistorical work translated to Icelandic, and were all written down by Haukr's own hand in the very narrow time period between 1306 and 1308 (Stefán & Gunnar, 1993, p. 271). Johansson however noticed that quire IV and V belong together as the material overlaps, but then the *Trójumanna saga* ends with a few folios to spare, which are filled in with other material (2018, p.134). The section on 34r most likely is even older than the surrounding material, dating back to before 1302. Stefán Karlsson (1964, p.117-118) suggested that most likely, Haukr used some pages that already had some of his own earlier writing on them. This does, however, create a not-so-seamless connection to the quires VI and VII. It is possible that IV and V were considered a separate unit from VI and VII, or even that another quire existed in the gap.

Johansson also observes that the ninth quire forms a complete and closed unit, (2018, p.135) due to the darkening of the outer pages and the presentation of the subject. All of it is in hand 1, but just because Haukr wrote it, it does not necessarily mean he was responsible

for its inclusion in the codex or its positioning. The fact that the outer pages of the separate units are darker, after all, suggests that they have been separate for long enough to sustain damage.

The tenth quire is difficult to assign to a unit, since it ends with a lacuna. It might have formed a unit with the missing quire, or quires, or it might have stood in relation to the last four, which Johansson cites as quite definitely belonging together, due to the fact that the texts overlap (2018, 136). He however does suggest that the quires XI to XVI definitely belonged together, due to the overlap of the material.

## V: FEATURES OF AM 544 4TO

### 5.1: List of categories

The first part of this chapter will contain a few lists, with which I hope to make the following material more accessible. These will summarise the confirmed lacunae in the manuscript, the topics of each quire, the boundaries between quires, the hands which appear in them, and the rough time periods in which the hands were active. The information in these lists is supplied to provide clarity and easy reference for the rest of this chapter, and the chapters to come.

The rest of the chapter will contain my complete and extensive listing of all the different types of marginal phenomena encountered within AM 544 4to, including descriptions and interpretations as far as those concern the nature of the material. Analysis of the implications of each category will follow in chapter VI.

I have chosen to list all features per phenomenon, and by approximate age, rather than by page number. Virtually every page in the manuscript contains marginalia, so a list organised by page would end up too long, too repetitive, and very cumbersome to use. A list per approximate age, instead, will be practical when I attempt to compare which quires were bound together at which point in time. It should also be easier to navigate, and easier to determine the respective relevance of the marginalia, when they have been sorted by age.

In the age of the marginal features, I have distinguished five main categories: production-process, medieval, post-medieval, modern, and finally, nonverbal. These categories will have distinctly different purposes in my later analysis. Production-process notes may clarify which parts of AM 544 4to were likely to have been in Haukr's possession. Other medieval and postmedieval marginalia can reveal more about the life cycle of the manuscript. Modern marginalia may not be as relevant to the current study, but should be listed at least once, nonetheless. Finally, the nonverbal category will contain those marginalia which I have not been able to date reliably. As I have argued before, these may still show interesting patterns when analysed in bulk.

The category of production-process aged phenomena, describes those marginalia added during the production process, as well as some other non-marginal paratextual features which might be noteworthy in their distribution. While I primarily write about marginalia, my argument for inclusivity nonetheless caused me to decide to include short paragraphs on these items, just in case.

The next category contains medieval-appearing marginalia which were most likely not a part of the production process. This is an important distinction from the production process-era marginalia, because where the first category might help show which quires Haukr had in his possession, the second category might show how and when all quires combined into a single manuscript.

The third and fourth categories contain post-medieval marginalia. I will still list all post-medieval marginalia, transcribe them where possible, and discuss them where relevant, but leave the detailed analysis to scholars more specialized in this time period. I will separate the postmedieval marginalia in two categories, as there is still a significant difference between the types of marginalia that have been added after 1500. Those marginalia added between 1500 and 1800 are the most numerous, and although these marginalia are not medieval, they can give an insight into the Middle Ages nonetheless, as they can supply evidence to indicate that particular gatherings were or were not kept together at the time. They are also witnesses to a time in which the manuscript was still actively used, and can contain hints about the manuscripts provenance. In contrast, all 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century marginalia were by scholars who studied the manuscript as an artefact, in an age where reliable records were kept of the respective locations of the various parts of the manuscript. Therefore, I will discuss the contents of this category the least of all. I will list and describe them, and point out peculiarities, but analysis-wise, there should be little of interest for me in particular.

The fifth and final category contains nonverbal marginalia, as these are often very difficult to date. I found it more relevant to have all nonverbal marginalia gathered in one category than to have the few that are roughly datable be in their respective places, as the interesting findings in this category will come from their general spread, rather than their hand or meaning.

## **5.2: contents per quire**

The first three quires contain a selection of shorter treatises on a wide variety of subjects both secular and religious in nature. Many sections are Icelandic renderings of foreign work tied to the fourteenth century worldview, such as ones on geography, natural phenomena, and human nature.

The fourth and fifth quire contain the *Trójumanna saga*, with the fifth ending with two more short informative treatises: a treatise on precious stones, and the *Cisiojanus*.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth contain only the *Bretasögur* and *Merlinusspá*. The ninth quire contains two dialogues, one between fear and courage, and one between body and soul. The tenth contains the *Hemings Þáttur Áslákssonar* and the beginning of *Heidreks saga*, which ends in a lacuna.

The quires eleven to fourteen all contain various saga material, with the exception of the *Algorismus* which unites twelve and thirteen, and the *Prognostica Temporum*, which closes off the fourteenth.

With these topics, I suggest the following units. I make a difference between a unit that has existed as a separate entity with a degree of certainty for at least one period of its existence, and a unit that may or may not have existed as a separate entity with a degree of certainty for at least one period of its existence. The first will be presented as major units, and the second will be presented as minor units within the major units.

Suggested units:

- 1: 1.1: I, II  
1.2: III
- 2: 2.1: IV, V  
2.2: VI, VII, VIII
- 3: IX
- 4: 4.1: X  
4.2: XI, XII, XIII, XIV

The next list shows what hands appear in which quires, as well as their rough dates, to make it easier for the reader to follow the reasoning behind this division of units. When the hand in question is Haukr's own, listed as hand 1, a more precise dating is given, as this hand is the one which shows a relevant age difference within AM 544 4to itself. All of the information below provided is based on Stefán Karlsson & Gunnar Harðarson (1993), and Stefán Karlsson (1964), unless otherwise indicated. Special mention goes to those sections where Haukr's hand is dated to the incredibly narrow margin of 1306-1308; Stefán originally dated these to 1302-1310 in 1964 (p.118-119), but then narrowed the margin further in his own later collaboration with Gunnar in 1993 (p.271). As this is a case of Stefán correcting his own earlier work, I will assume he has changed his mind, and stick to the narrower dating.

Division of quires and hands:

I: folios 1-8. Hand 2. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

II: folios 9-14. Hand 2. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

11+14 and 12+13 are conjugate, and 9 and 10 would have been conjugate with a no longer extant \*15 and \*16. These leaves, however, have been removed before any of the modern foliations were started, so that 9 and 10 are now single leaves (Jón, 1960a, p.viii).

III: folios 15-21. 15r-18v:31: Hand 3. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

18v:31-35: Hand 4. Mid 14<sup>th</sup> century.

19r: Hand 5. Mid 14<sup>th</sup> century.

19v: Hand 6. Mid 14<sup>th</sup> century.

20r-21r: Hand 7. Mid 14<sup>th</sup> century.

21v: Various jottings, of various ages.

Folios 15+21 are conjugate. 17+20 and 18+19 were conjugate as late as Finnur's description of them (1892, p.x), but no longer are. 16 was a single leaf from the beginning (Jón, 1960a, p. viii).

IV: folios 22-29. Hand 1. 1306-1308.

V: folios 30-35. Hand 1. 1306-1308.

34r: Hand 1. Before 1302.

34v-35r: Various jottings, of various ages.

35v: Hand 8. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

30+35 and 31+34 are conjugate. 32+33 were once conjugate, but not anymore (Jón, 1960a, p. viii).

VI: Folios 36-43. Hand 1. 1306-1308.

VII: Folios 44-51. Hand 1. 1306-1308.

VIII: folios 52-59. Hand 1. 1306-1308.

59v: Various jottings, of various ages.

The two outermost leaves are cut apart, but were originally conjugate (Jón, 1960a, p. viii).

IX: Folios 60-68. Hand 1. Around or after 1310.

Folios 60+68, 61+66, 62+65, 63+64 are conjugate; and 67 is a single leaf.

A lacuna of at least one quire exists here (Jón, 1960a, p. viii).

X: Folios 69-76. Hand 1. 1306-1308.

XI: Folios 77-84. 77r-80r:26: Hand 1. 1306-1308.



80r:26-81r:7: Hand 9. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

81r:7-9: Hand 10. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

81r:9-84v: Hand 9 . Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

A lacuna of at least one quire exists here (Jón, 1960a, p. viii).

XII: Folios 85-92.

85r-v: Hand 9. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

86r:1-7: Hand 11. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

86r:7-13: Hand 12. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

86r:13- 86v: Hand 9. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

87r: Hand 12. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

87v-93r:17: Hand 9. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

XIII: Folios 93-100.

93r-99r:14: Hand 9. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

99r:14-100r:2: Hand 1. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

100r:3-101v: Hand 13. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

XIV: Folios 101-107.

101r: Hand 13. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

101v-107r: Hand 1, 1306-1308.

107v: Hand 14. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Folios 101-107. 102+107, 103+106 and 104+105 are conjugate. 101 is a single leaf, but may or may not have been joined to a no longer extant last leaf in the gathering (Jón, 1960a, p. viii).

### **5.3: Marginalia and Features of the production-process**

This category contains marginalia that were probably created during the production process or very shortly after, and are hypothesised to be added by the scribe, editor, or patron of the text in order to correct the text to its desired quality. It contains corrections and decorations and instances where red ink is used which resembles the red ink that was used to make the rubrics, the decorated initials, and the decorative patterns that occasionally fill the empty space where the text does not reach the end of the line.

I consider all of this one category because of most of these marginalia the hand is known or can be assessed with some certainty, and is connected to the production process with a fair degree of certainty. Therefore, the information gained from this category will contribute to the knowledge of the production process, whereas other features would provide

information on the use of the manuscript and rearrangement of the quires after their production dates.

Most of the production-process aged material appears in the margins, but can sometimes be found in the space reserved for the main text. In the vein of inclusivity, I will discuss both types, especially since sometimes a particular feature appears both in the margin as well as inter-linearly. Counting only half the instances of a particular feature would result in an inaccurate analysis, and might also increase the number of categories that are too small to analyse quantitatively.

### 5.3.1: Rubrics

Appearance: 1v, 2r (2x), 4r, 8r, 8v, 9r, 10v, 11r (2x), 11v, 12r, 13r, 13v (2x), 14r, 15r, 16r, 17r, 22r, 23r, 25v, 26v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 38r (2x), 39v, 40r, 40v, 42r, 43r, 45r, 47v, 49r, 50v, 53r, 53v (2x), 55r, 55v, 56v, 57r (2x), 58r, 58v, 60r, 61v (2x), 62r (4x), 62v, 63r (2x), 63v, 64r (2x), 64v (2x), 65r (5x), 65v (4x), 66r (2x), 66v (3x), 67v, 68r (4x), 69r (2x), 71v (2x), 72v, 73r, 73v, 74r, 74v (2x), 75r, 75v, 76r, 77v, 78v, 79v, 80r, 81r, 81v, 82r, 86r, 89v, 90r (7x), 90v (2x), 91r, 91v, 92r, 89v, 93v, 94r, 96r, 97v, 98v, 99r, 99v, 101r, 101v (2x), 103r, 104, 104, 105r, 105v, 106v, 107r.

The rubrics are applied in red, and placed in the lines of the manuscript in the same fashion as the regular lines of the main text are. The use of rubrics will tie in closely with the number of different subjects in the quire in question, and therefore the question here should not be how many rubrics a quire contains, but how the text was divided into sections with the use of rubrics. I will not have the time and space go as deep into the analysis as the topic might allow, but I believe a general overview on the spread can be revealing. Therefore I have included this in the analysis chapter. As previously mentioned, this is particularly interesting as Haukr is considered to be the hand that applied the majority of the rubrics. Variation in rubrication can suggest Haukr did not rubricate those sections at the same time, or considered them of a different nature, which required different forms of rubrication. The rubrics themselves seem fairly uniform, although the degree to which they fit in their assigned place varies. When the rubrics are particularly ill-fitting, this might indicate they were not added at the same time or by the same hand as the main text.

### 5.3.2: Decorated initials

Appearance: 1r, 1v?, 2r, 4r, 8r, 9v, 10v, 11r (2x), 11v, 12r, (2x), 13r, 13v (2x), 14v, 14r, 17r, 22r, 23v, 25r, 25v, 26v, 34r (5x), 36r, 36v (2x), 37r, 38r (2x), 39v, 40r, 40v, 42r,

43r, 44r, 45r, 46v, 47v, 48r, 49r, 50v, 53r, 53v, 54r, 55r, 55v, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58r, 58v (2x), 60r, 61v (2x), 62r (4x), 62v, 63r (2x), 63v (2x), 64r (2x), 64v (x2), 65r (5x), 65v (4x), 66r (2x), 66v (4x), 67v (2x), 68r (4x), 69r (2x), 71v (2x), 72v, 73r, 73v, 74r, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r, 76v (2x), 77r, 77v, 78v, 79v, 80r, 81r, 81v, 82r, 86r, 90r (8x), 90v (4x), 91r, 91v, 92r, 93r, 93v, 94r, 96r, 97v, 98v, 99r, 99v, 101r, 101v (2x), 103r, 104v (2x), 105r, 105v, 106v, 107r.

The decoration of the initials in the Hauksbók contains notable variations in shape, size, location, colour, and level of decoration. I do not intend to follow up with a detailed study, but the large amount of variation appears to merit slightly more description than what previous scholars have allowed it.

I consider a decorated initial an initial that distinguishes itself from a regular capital letter by its size, coloration, location, or level of decoration; the typical decorated initial ticks at least two of these boxes, and is generally the beginning of a section that the writer found important. I have encountered regular capital letters which have been rubricated, but I found there were an extremely large amount of these present in the manuscript, but too few directly observable and seemingly significant differences between them. A tally and analysis of this phenomenon therefore seemed to be out of the scope and relevance of this thesis. I have also encountered initials which visibly stood apart from the text more than the regular rubricated capital characters, but would only tick one of the defining boxes of a decorated initial. I have included a short analysis of these in the section of semi-decoarted initials.

Not only the presence and frequency of the genuine decorated initials is interesting, but also the nature of the differences between the different initials is worth a mention. Visibly different hands can be distinguished in the application of these initials, and enough correlation in style could mean the initials were applied in the same scriptorium, perhaps even by the same artist. If the style is the same but the frequency of appearance and levels of decoration vary, this could imply the section in question was produced by the same source at a different time – or that the section in question was considered less important. Finally, the style of decoration of the initials can be recognised in other decorations that are not related to an initial, linking those sections to each other.

I have looked at colour patterns, combinations of colours, and over all intensity of decoration. The majority of the initials are red, though blue and green are also often seen. Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether an initial is blue or green, or was originally blue or green. I have not spotted any cases of visibly separate blue and green ink being used on the same page for an initial or a decoration, and therefore, for the purpose of this study I will consider blue and green as one group even when I refer to initials by the colour that they

seem to have. Sometimes, black or partially black initials can be spotted, and flourishes on initials have also come in yellow, though I have not spotted any initials of which the body of the character itself is yellow.

Most initials are not heavily decorated, and come in only one colour, but in some instances bi- or tricolour initials can be spotted, which are often decorated, and can have quite extensive flourishes, to highlight particularly important passage.

### 5.3.3: Semi-decorated initials

Appearance: 19v, 38r, 39r, 40v, 42v, 43v (2x), 44v, 45r, 47r, 49v, 50v (2x), 51r (3x), 51v (4x), 52v, 53r (2x), 54v, 57r (2x), 57v, 58r (3x), 59r, 61v, 66v, 67r, 67v, 68v (2x), 69r, 70v, 72r, 74r (4x), 76r, 80v, 89r, 95v, 102v, 103v, 104r (2x), 105v (4x), 106v

As previously mentioned, I have encountered initials which visibly stand apart from the text more than the regular rubricated capital characters, but do not qualify exactly as a decorated initial. I analyse these separately, as semi-decorated initials.

The phenomenon occurs most commonly in some parts of the manuscript that were written by Haukr, and typically consists of a normal-looking capital character, placed in the margin rather than in the regular body of text, as one would expect. These characters look like they were applied by the hand of the scribe of the text, they are often rubricated, and sometimes they are drawn with more care than a regular capital would. They are, however, never larger than one line, always drawn in ink the colour of the main text, and never have any flourishes or other extensive decorations. They are quite regular in their appearance and therefore mostly interesting when it comes to their quantitative spread.

### 5.3.4: Rubricated Capitals

Appearance: 1r-18v, 22v-23r, 35v-43r, 45v-59r, 60r-85r, 86v-88v, 89v-97r, 98v, 99v-107r

In most places in the manuscript, capitals at the beginning of a sentence have been given a bit of red colouring, probably to make them stand out more. Over all this practice is quite consistent as far as fading and retouching allows me to observe, but here and there, some variety is remarkable. Jón Helgason also describes this practice, pointing out its heavy usage on the folios 1 to 14, and specifying its later usage. Rubricated capitals appear at the beginning of every line of verse of the *Cisiojanus* on folio 35 verso, of every strophe of the poems on the folios 49-53 and 74, at the start of every speech on 60, and ‘in many other places besides’ (1960a, p.xxii). On the folios 22v-23r the red capitals that can be seen, do not

seem to have a capital in black underneath. This indicates a slight difference in the production of these capitals; it looks like space was left open for them, in contrast to the other rubricated capitals in the manuscript, which seem to have been written at the same time as the rest of the sentence and decorated afterwards. The capitals on 22v-23r are still counted as rubricated capitals and not semi-decorated capitals, since they are not placed in the margin, and distributed the same way as the regular rubricated capitals.

Other sections of text do not contain any rubricated capitals. In the middle and last parts of the manuscript mostly single, separate pages without rubricated capitals appear. This is likely due to fading, and retouching, and naturally, the pages which do not contain any text to begin with, will cause breaks in the continuity of pages with rubricated capitals. In the earlier parts, though, the sections without rubricated capitals are larger, and it seems to be the case that especially the later hands in the third quire just do not seem to make use of this technique habitually.

In the middle and final quires, the capitals sometimes only seem to have been given a touch of red in a presumably particularly important sentence, while in other cases, every sentence is started off with a rubricated capital. It could be interesting to document this difference, but the fading and retouching have made it too difficult for me to tell which capitals were originally rubricated, and which ones certainly were not. It is an interesting observation to see how sometimes the red ink has faded in different speeds when compared to the black ink, though. In the middle of the manuscript, there is sometimes only the merest hint of a red sheen visible over easily legible text, while on 102 verso, for example, the text has almost faded, but the red still stands out brightly.

#### 5.3.5: Line filling

Appearance: 2r, 10v, 13r, 34r, 49r, 63r, 64v, 72v,

Lines left open: 1v, 2r, 8v, 8r, 9r, 10v, 11r, 12r, 19v, 20r, 23v, 32r, 35r, 65r, 73v, 82r

Relatively rare in this manuscript, is a decorative element added at the end of a line which would otherwise have been empty. For this category I have also included lines that were left open, but have not been filled up, as this can show if line-filling was used regularly, or only in particular instances. It might also show that line filling may be absent in a particular quire because the scribe had the habit of never leaving any lines open at the end.

In the case of AM 544 4to, most instances of line filling appear at the end of a paragraph, where a rubric otherwise might have been located. They invariably are made in red ink like a regular rubric, and consist of nothing but a scribble. There are, however, two

instances of line-filling which do not adhere to this pattern. On 10 verso, after the ending of a sermon, a decorative, intentionally line filling, wide-spaced “AMEN” is inserted, the letters faintly connected to one another by a thin line. On 13 recto, also following a sermon, the letter “A” can be seen, accompanied by space-filling line like seen on 10 verso. It may be assumed that the scribe, hand 2, meant for this A to also indicate an “amen”.

One last note should be made on the line-filling on 49r; here the later retoucher has written a rubric over the original line-filling. The old rubric makes it somewhat hard to tell whether this was originally line filling or rubric, but it seems apparent that at least some of the red under the black rubric used to be line-filling before the retouching.

### 5.3.6: Verse marks

Appearance: 70v (2x), 73v(3x), 74r (23x), 74v(4x), 79v(2x), 83r, 84v, 88v(4x), 89r, 89v(3x), 99v(2x), 105v(4x)

Jón Helgason (p.xxiii) mentions that 'often' a v is marked in the margin where the text has a verse, yet this is all he has to say on the topic. There is, however, much that is remarkable about these v's. Differences between the v's can be spotted, and some appear more rounded on the bottom while others are pointy, sometimes they are distinctly shaped to look more like a y, and sometimes there are even dots involved. On 83r and 89v, two verse marks appear in red.

The uneven distribution of the verse marks makes it seem as if they are the work of a later user, with an interest in the quires which are the most affected. However, the presence of the red v's challenges this notion, as it has previously been established that rubrics are a production-process feature. And there is one more piece of evidence which suggests the verse marks are production-process aged: the distribution of the different hands which have applied the v's.

Close study reveals that the v's only appear next to hand 9, and next to Haukr's own hand, although even then they are only found next to certain passages. The verse marks make a sudden appearance in quire X, and are particularly dense in the *Hervarar saga*. The verse marks here are v-shaped, and drawn in two strokes, which makes them pointy on the bottom. They appear to be hastily applied; sometimes the v-shapes connect so poorly at the bottom that they more resemble a y. This, however, seems the result of fast and sloppy writing rather than the intentional creation of a deviant shape.

On 83r, where hand 9 is at work, a red verse mark is used to indicate a verse, and this one is shaped distinctly different. It appears to be drawn in one stroke, so that it is round on

the bottom and has more of a u-shape. It also all together has a neater and more careful appearance. Throughout the *Fostbræðra saga* this style continues, twice in red, and for the rest in black. On 88v there are variations to the v to be found; of four verse marks, the top one looks like a standard hand 9 type v, but then the next two look like very deliberately and carefully drawn y-shapes, each with a small comma-like stroke fused to the left side. The bottom v again looks like a regular v. On 99v and 105v, which are the work of hand 1, the sloppy v associated with Haukr reappears.

Mats Malm discusses the appearance of verse and dialogue marks within the context of an emerging necessity for increased structure in written text (2007, p. 147), as also attested to by Anna Horn. He confirms that indeed, it was the scribes of the main text who added these marks sometimes. It is then well possible that Haukr and hand 9 added the verse marks in sections where they deemed them necessary – and this clearly was not the case everywhere. The appearance of the verse marks can reveal the interest of the producers of the manuscript itself.

It is interesting to note that the maker of the rubrics has been hypothesised to be Haukr, while the red v's resemble the v's associated to hand 9 more than the v's that are supposedly Haukr's – but it might just be he was less in a hurry while he edited. It is also possible that hand 9 rubricated the verse marks themselves; perhaps they found this verse particularly relevant. This does imply, though, that Haukr was not universally responsible for all the red ink after quire IV, and other material in red might be the work of another scribe as well.

Another question yet remains: it is still unclear why the verse marks on 88v vary in shape. It might be that different types of verse were indicated with different verse marks, but it is interesting to see that the varied shapes only appear on 88v. Steinová (2016) discusses various different-looking v- or y- shaped symbols on the pages 202 and 291 of her thesis, but here they refer to quotations, examples, or variance in translations. She bases much of her argumentation on Isodore of Seville's *Ethymologiae*, and although it must be mentioned that much of the material in quire 1 consists of translations from abstracts of the *Ethymologiae*, there is no evidence that Isodore's description of the symbol was in use here. Although variants of the symbol include the y-shaped v and dotted variations are included, the precise dotted y-shape found on 88v isn't found there. Additionally, Steinová describes the different y-fens as if they were variations of the same shape, not different symbols with different meanings to be used mutually exclusively. The use on 88v looks careful and deliberate, like the scribe purposefully used a different verse mark for a different sort of verse.

As Mats Malm's article suggests, verse marks might also refer to dialogue (2007, pp.146-147); so it might be that the maker of the marks used one symbol for verse, and another for dialogue. However, both types of mark correspond much closer to the appearance of verse than to the shifting of dialogue.

### 5.3.7: Parchment quality, and decoration of holes

#### Appearance:

Folios with pre-existing holes: 1, 2, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 37, 38 (2x), 40, 41 (2x), 42, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 54 (4x), 55, 56 (2x), 57 (3x), 58 (3x), 67, 75, 76, 86, 99, 100 (10x)

Irregularly shaped folios: 34, 35, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 68, 75, 87, 88, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102, 103, 106, 107.

Red-decorated holes: 18r, 18v, 22r, 25r, 26r, 37r, 38r, 38v, 40v, 41r, 41v, 49r, 49v, 54v (x2), 55v (x2), 56r, 56v, 57r, 56v, 67r, 67v, 75v, 76r, 76v, 99r, 100v

According to Jón Helgason (p.xxiii), pre-existing holes in the text are often circled in red to indicate that the scribe has written around the holes, and no text is missing. I have noticed that not only holes, but also pre-existing tears, and the sides of oddly-shaped pages, like on 55r, are sometimes lined with red. For practical purposes I will refer to all of these as 'holes'. They are all expressions of lower parchment quality, and therefore functionally the same, within the capacity of this study. In this category I have not included post-production process damage to the manuscript.

Like the corrections, sometimes the holes are circled in red, sometimes not circled at all, sometimes circled in red and black. The decorations can have round or angular shaped lining, but I will refer to both as 'circled' for ease of reference. Bigger holes are more likely to be circled. Usually it seems to be the case that holes are circled on one side of the folio, and then not on the other side; perhaps the circler figured that if it was clear that this hole was pre-existing on one side, the message did not need to be repeated on the other. It might be that the ink could have faded or brushed off, but it seems curious that in so many cases, this only happened on one side, and not on the other. Close investigation of the manuscript itself has not revealed any faded traces of red ink on any of the holes that seem undecorated in the online facsimile, suggesting that indeed, most likely most of the holes were only lined on one side, from the start.

On some folios the holes are circled on both sides, though; this is the case on 55, for example. On some folios it seems like the holes were not circled on either side, though it could be that the red has simply faded off, or that I have mistaken new holes for pre-existing



ones. In the rare case that a folio contains multiple holes, the circling is not necessarily consistent. On 54r there are five non-circled holes; 54v has the exact same holes, logically speaking, yet the two largest holes are circled with red. Some holes are circled with angular lines, like on 38v; other holes seem to have round lines around them, as on 38v.

The amount of decorated holes seems to follow the pattern distribution of holes in general, and seems based on the quality of parchment used rather than on anything else. The quality of the parchment used could shed light on the production process, but as far as the decoration goes, there do not seem to be any significant variations in the decorated to non-decorated ratio of the holes.

#### 5.3.8: Interlinear verbal corrections:

Appearance: 4v, 5r, 7v, 90r, 90v, 91v, 92r, 92v

Most verbal corrections in AM 544 4to appear in the margin of the manuscript. However, in two quires, corrections between the lines of text can be spotted. These quires are quire II and quire XII. Even more notable than the spread per quire might be the distribution per hand; in both cases, the same hands appear elsewhere, but are not always accompanied by this type of corrections. The spread seems to correlate with the topic of the text rather than the hand. Possible explanations could be that the respective scribes wrote these sections at a different time, that they changed their mind of how the text should be corrected, or considered the topics different from the rest in such a manner that they deserved a different treatment.

#### 5.3.9: Marginal verbal corrections:

Appearance: 4v, 6r, 7r, 7v, 8r, 13v, 22r, 28v, 51v, 70r, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r

Very commonly in some locations are corrections in the margin that are usually circled in red, sometimes in black, and on fol. 75r even in both. Apart from reference material that suggests the hands are contemporary, the red circling suggests that this might have happened at the same time as the rubrics were applied – rubrics that can be traced back to Haukr. In some cases, references or corrections go together with a marker symbol to refer to a specific point in the text, like on fol 75r.

Circled corrections in the margins appear in quire 1, 2, 4, 7, and 10. On folio 4v it seems like the editor or scribe has switched from making interlinear corrections to making circled ones in the margins, and continues to do so from that point onward. After the corrections make a few appearances at the end of the first quire, they appear respectively

once in quire 2, 4, and 7, before they again become comparatively common in quire 10. After quire 10, they make no more appearances.

The annotation 'iupiter' on 4 verso, for example, refers back to a part of text that reads 'het iov' (was named iov). While it is not an interlinear correction, it looks similar to the interlinear corrections in the first quire, including the character size. However, it also resembles the next subcategory, of the longer corrections found in the margin, which are circled in red. In this case, it might be so that the scribe or editor realised at the end of the first quire that they preferred their corrections in the margin in this fashion rather than interlineally.

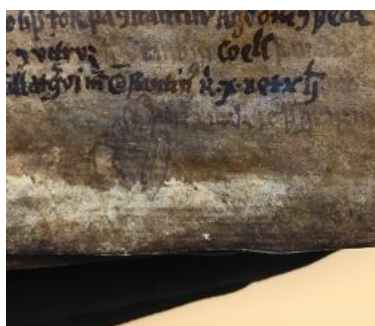
### 5.3.10: Unique forms of decoration

Appearance: 4r, 47r, 52r, 92r, 93r, 101v

AM 544 4to does not typically contain decorative elements apart from the decorated initials. Nonetheless, some exceptions to this rule occur.

Underneath the bottom right corner of the text field of 4r, a kind of curl can be seen. This might be a doodle, as it does not seem to indicate the end of a section, but it looks more like an intentional flourish than a mindless doodle. The ink looks like the ink of the text, and on the curl, some faded reddish colouring can be seen. It is interesting to mention that this style of decoration does not match the decoration of any of the initials. I believe this might be an effort of the scribe to draw attention to the manner the last word on the page (*misgerningum*) is broken up, with "gum" underneath it instead of on the next page. This might have happened so that the clause of the sentence could stay on one page, making it less complicated to read. Later, during the rubrication phase, the rubricator could have added the red detailing. This would explain the difference with the other decorations in the quire; the scribe was responsible, not the maker of the initials.

A small decoration to draw attention to an odd page ending occurs two more times, on 47r and 52r. On 47r this looks like a kind of squiggle of the same colour as the unretouched main text, which extends into the bottom margin. On 52r the decoration looks very similar to 47r, except this time the squiggle is the colour of the rubrics. In both cases, the scribe has added an extra line and fitted a few words on it, and aligned them to the right, to be able to start the verso-side of the folio with a new sentence. The squiggles serve the same purpose as the curl on 4r, although the style is very different. Moreover, as both the scribe and rubricator of quire VIII was Haukr himself, this squiggle was most likely also applied by his hand.

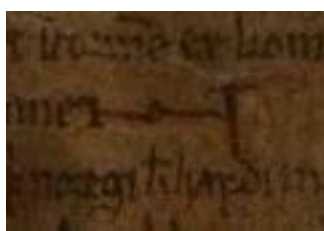


4 recto

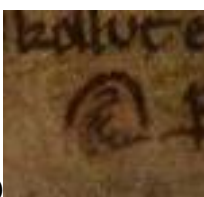


47 recto

On 92 recto, there is a doodle in black, and the same doodle appears touched with red on 93 recto. These appear to respectively introduce and close off the final section of the *Algorismus*. It seems rather intentional, but it is very hard to tell what it is supposed to depict. This resembles a mark made on 101 verso, which looks like a line-filler, but does not behave like one. This item concludes the section containing *Eiríks saga rauða*, but does not seem to have any meaning, unlike the two instances of “amen” which are added as line-fillers after the two sermons in the second quire (10v, 13r). It is also rather short for a line-filler, and separates the end of the saga from the rubrics of the next section, unlike other line-fillers, which fill up an empty line all the way to the right margin. The mark was probably made by the scribe of *Eiríks saga rauða*, which was hand 1; likely Haukr himself. This too is peculiar, as Haukr has produced many sections of AM 544 4to himself, and never has shown this tendency. The only thing it vaguely resembles are the squiggles around the last section of the *Algorismus* by hand 9 – which happens to be the section directly preceding *Eiríks saga rauða*.



(101 verso)



(93 recto)

Close investigation of the digitised manuscript showed several other far less intentional-looking instances of red ink, but in-person work with the manuscript revealed that these occurrences were actually stains from the opposite folio (e.g. the red dot on 106r) or ink from the other side of the folio shining through (e.g. the three diagonal lines on 14v).

#### 5.4: Other medieval marginalia

This category describes marginal features which have been added during the middle ages, but after the production process. Where the previous category might have shown which

parts of the manuscript were produced by Haukr and his associates, this category might show if the separate quires were also stored together or not.

The category mainly consists of text elements with dateable palaeographical features, and items which can be retraced to such text elements. Previous scholars, such as Jón Helgason (1960a,p.xxiii) and Finnur Jónsson (1892, pp. xvii-xix), have often attempted to identify and date these fragments, although I have not found one who actually presents a complete list.

#### 5.4.1: Fragments of epistolary and charter openings

Appearance: 19r, 34v, 99r

On 19 recto, the mysterious fragment "þeim go" can be found. Under the writing, a fragment of a fingerprint can be seen, but it is not certain whether this fingerprint belongs to the maker of the note. On the same page some apparently meaningless scribbles can be seen, which resemble perhaps single letters written in isolation. They might be from the same hand as the note, but this is uncertain. The legible writing on this folio is listed as a marginal by several studies, but no explanation is given in any of them. This hand resembles a note on 10v, and will be compared to it in more detail in the next subsection, "pen trials".

The fragment seems to go on after "go", but no description by a previous scholar offers a suggestion as to what the rest of that word could be. Comparison to other marginalia in the manuscript, however, does give possible meaning to the fragment.

The phrase matches a marginal listed by Jón Helgason, on 34 verso, which reads: "*Þeim godumm monnum sem Þetta bref sia edr heyra sender Jfuar sæmundar son m*", and is identified as the beginning of an epistolary formula dated to the late 14<sup>th</sup> century (p. xxvi).

The fragment on 19 recto is possibly based on, or inspired by this note. The interesting form of "e" in "sem" and "heyra" could possibly help to place this note in the northern part of Iceland, after 1360, or suggests it was made by someone who came from there. This is an especially interesting notion due to the connection that earlier parts of the manuscript have to the monastery of Þingeyrar (Johansson 2000). Another Sæmundr is named on 20v (see the category "marginalia from 1800>" under chapter headings), but this likely refers to Sæmundr fróði. It would be very remarkable for a son of Sæmundr fróði to still be alive in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The hands on 19 recto and 34 verso seem different from one another – the hand on 19r writes in a much thicker pen, and even from the short phrase on 19r it is visible that the hand on that page has different micropaleographical features. To give a few examples: the

19r hand's Þ's descender loops around the back and rejoins the ascender to form an oval. The last minim on the m on 19r has a hook-like serif in the bottom, which the 34v hand doesn't show a trace of, and the descender of the g on 19r forms a round open compartment while the g on 34v forms a closed compartment with two clearly discernible angles. Nonetheless, it seems like the hand on 19r has started to write the same formula as is found on 34v and abandoned it halfway – especially when we consider another note on 34v.

Written a short distance under the hand of "Jfuar sæmundar son", another copy of the phrase in a different hand can be found. This hand resembles the hand on 19r quite closely; take note of the looping Þ, the elongated last minim of the m, the round and open lower compartment on the g, and the rather unpractised-looking style. This time the phrase extends beyond "þeim go", and reads all the way up to "bref". Note though, that the descender on the m's in the second 34v hand and the one on 19r are decidedly different, and that the Þ's on 34v seem wider and contain another decorative loop within the ascender-descender loop. So even though these hands seem similar, they are not necessarily the same. The copying of the formula might have happened for practice purposes, and seems to be of a later date than the line at the top of 34 verso. Since the second hand appears to be trying to copy the form of the formula as well as the message, it is somewhat more difficult to say how old exactly it could be. The second hand could be added in the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, or 17<sup>th</sup> century.

It appears to be the case that both of the notes copied the line on the top of 34r, so whether the hands of "Þeim go" on 19r and "Þeim godum monnum sem Þetta bref" on 34 recto are the same or not, the writer of the note on 19r might have taken 34 verso as inspiration. It is not uncommon to find letter or charter introductions in the margins of manuscripts, so it could be that the 19r fragment is unconnected to the 34v fragments. However, where the upper 34v phrase is complete, and could be used as a memoriser, the other two look like incomplete copies, which makes it more likely they were made for practice purposes. Especially the note on 19r, which only reads "þeim go", seems to serve no real practical purpose for future users of the manuscript.

Finnur (p. xviii) also describes two additional charter openings on 99 recto. The first one is found in the top margin, and reads "*ollum monnum Þeim sem Þetta*", which would normally continue "Þetta bref..." just like the other epistolary opening. This appears to be the opening to a 15<sup>th</sup> century charter. In the right margin of the same folio another hand seemingly has copied the first two words of this phrase, but this hand seems younger, and might belong to a learner. Therefore, that note will be discussed under post-reformation hands, in the section "unpractised hands". The "Þeim go" note might resemble the "*ollum*"

note in format, but nothing seems to suggest these hands are the same, or even of a similar age.

#### 5.4.2: Smearred pen trials

Appearance: 10v, 19r

In the top margin of 10v, an indistinct word in smeared brown ink can be spotted, surrounded by some indistinct letters, several of which are d's. Finnur (p. xviii) reads this word as “huarkenl”. The resemblance between the indistinct word and the line underneath it strong enough to suggest that the writer of the blotted text was trying to copy the word “huarke”, immediately beneath it in the main text.

In the outer margin of the same page sits a similar entry. The writer has jotted down "hafd" (Finnur, p. xviii) or "hafð", most likely after the word "hafðe" in the sentence right next to it. It is most likely that these are attempts by a reader to imitate the text, or a later scribe trying to copy the text, rather than pen trials by the original scribe. Despite the similarities between the ink and the script, it is unlikely to be the same hand. The letter "h" is a good example of why not; the forking style of the ascender is different, and the ascender has a rightward pointing foot on the bottom in the original, which the copy doesn't. In general, the letters seem placed closer together in the pen trial than in the main body of text. The age of these pen trials is uncertain, and they could potentially be as young as the 17<sup>th</sup> century, although the script looks older, possibly as old as the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The writer could have copied the handwriting of the main text, which might have caused the older look, but the subtle differences suggest a lot of own input.

Although there is not an extremely strong resemblance, a similar pattern shows up on 19r, where a note “Þeim go” appears. Again this note seems to practice the writing without particular regard to the meaning of the words, and the hand appears as 15<sup>th</sup> century, where subtle differences indicate that the form wasn't fully copied from the original writing. Where in 10v the ink had smeared, 19r contains a fingerprint right under the note; perhaps – and this is highly speculative – the writer had dirty fingers still?

Although the hands look superficially similar, it is not certain they are the same. The “Þeim go” note is discussed in more detail in the above subsection, “fragments of epistolary and charter openings”.

#### 5.4.3: Runic Material

appearance: 21v, 35v, 82r

Interestingly, the Hauksbók contains some runic material. It is difficult to tell if all the runes were applied by the same hand or not, so for now I will treat them on a case-by case basis, and not consider their distribution as strong evidence for anything.

The first appearance of runic material is on 21 verso. The runes spell "maria", possibly in imitation of a marginal inscription elsewhere on the page which spells "aue maria gracia plena dominus", but the Ave Maria was a particularly common prayer during the Middle Ages, so it could just as easily have been added independently. I still suggest a pre-reformation date, though: the name of Maria would not nearly have the same relevance after the reformation. It must be remembered, though, that there is little else visible which could possibly help to date the note, and a post-reformation date is not impossible.

The second instance is on 35v, where a childish hand has written a latin alphabet in runes. For their connection to the other unpractised hands in the manuscript, it seems more likely that these runes are 17<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore I will treat these in more detail in the category of post-reformation hands. Like the "Maria" note, however, they are difficult to date precisely.

The fourth and final instance is barely visible, on 82r. It seems to be a single A. If there is any more material, I cannot see it on the pictures published online.

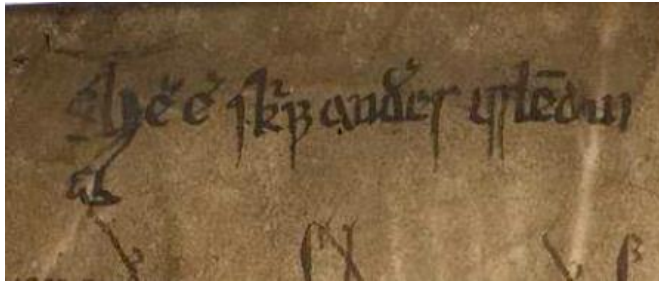
It should be noted that all the runic inscriptions are of roughly the same size and ink colour, and that they do not vary in their expression of the characters. This makes it quite possible that all the runes were written by the same hand after all. The "Maria" note could have been made by the 17<sup>th</sup> century hand in imitation of the "Ave Maria" prayer on the same page; or other way round, the 17<sup>th</sup> century hand could be much older than I hypothesise. Just because many unpractised 17<sup>th</sup> century hands appear does not necessarily mean no other children have ever gotten their hands on the manuscript.

#### 5.4.4: Unique medieval hands:

André

On 5 verso, one of the more frequently discussed marginalia is found: someone has written their name here. The marginal reads "her er skrif andres isslendin", and is dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Finnur Jónsson (p. xvii), and to the 15<sup>th</sup> century by Jón Helgason (1960a, p. xxvi.). According to Jón, "isslendin" should be isslendings, but the word was not completed. This would mean the writer identifies himself as André, who is an Icelander, or has another sort of connection to Iceland which is important enough to identify himself by. Jón suggests he must have visited Iceland – but however the nickname was gained, André's

connection to Iceland must have been unique enough for the writer to distinguish himself with it. This makes it unlikely that this André was an Icelander writing this note in Iceland, for the eyes of other Icelanders. Therefore, if Jón is correct to date this note to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, that means that the first and second quire might not actually have been in Iceland in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as was previously suggested due to their connection with the third quire, which was partially produced there. A selection of quires might have gone abroad again, or the first two might not have come to Iceland to begin with.



5 verso. "her er skrif andres isslendin"

The verbal contents of the notation, though, are once again not the only noteworthy part. The letter "h" appears to be wearing a high-heeled boot. The pen and ink of the doodle seem similar to the note, and André might have drawn the boot as well. Upon closer inspection of the facsimile, it seems as if the boot's ink is ever so slightly darker than the inscription, but in the real manuscript, the colours look the same. One could argue that the hand of the boot seems more unpractised and somewhat shaky compared to the hand of the line, even though a practiced handwriting does not necessarily imply the scribe must also be good at drawing. The most convincing argument, though, might be that the text is dated to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, while the fashion of high-heeled shoes only came to Europe in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, taking off in the mid-regions first. If the drawing indeed depicts a shoe, it is quite unlikely that a northern European operating in the 15<sup>th</sup> century made that drawing.

Another possibility is that the boot and the line belong together, but the fifteenth century script is a younger forgery. There is nothing in particular which suggests that, though. The simplest explanation seems to be that the boot was a younger addition to an existing marginal. For this reason, the boot will be discussed again in the postmedieval category.

Apart from the confusing providence of the note, there are a few more things worth taking note of. First is the s-shape before "her", which is not included in Jón Helgason's transcription. The S-like shape seems to be drawn by a thinner-nibbed pen, though this is not entirely conclusive. Another hand might have added it, or perhaps it was written by the same person who made the note, but in their more usual handwriting. There seems to be no evidence to support either suggestion.



### Ave Maria

21 verso reads "aue maria gracia plena dominus". This note is difficult to read and difficult to compare for palaeographical features, but the ave maria is a popular prayer in the middle ages, and found in the margins of manuscripts fairly often, which makes it most likely medieval. However, the level of fading makes it difficult to tell whether the same hand also appears elsewhere.

### Halldor

On 26 v, near the top of the folio, a note reads: "Halldor", "og i", "m var". Jón Helgason (1960a, p. xxvi) dates this note to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and identifies some apparently meaningless letters before and after the name. It is quite faded and hard to read, and for that reason it is difficult for me to compare it to any of the other hands. From superficial observation, I have not found that it resembles any other hand in particular.

### Ulfhilda, Jon's daughter

According to Jón Helgason (1960a, p. xxvi), a crossed out note on 59 verso reads "vlfuida" or possibly "vlfínda", and then next it is written "vlfuida jons dotter". Jón dates this note to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The hand does not seem to appear elsewhere in the manuscript. It might make more sense for the name to be Ulfhilda, which might then be spelled as vlfuilda, with the l and the d overlapping somewhat. Comparing the first l in vlfuilda and the d in "dotter", this spelling seems to fit better than "vlfuida" or Vlfínda".

### A maiden who causes the sorrow of a man

On 59 verso, a note reads: "Man ek mey þa er vann manz hlatr bann se ek sara[n] þann sid besta mann". Jón Helgason translates this section as: "I remember a maiden who causes the sorrow of a man, I see this most virtuous man wounded". He dates it as a 15<sup>th</sup> century hand (1960a, p. xxiii). The hand does not seem to reoccur, although curiously, Finnur Jonsson treats the hand directly above it as part of the same inscription (1892, p. xviii). That hand, however, looks distinctly post-reformation, and will be treated in that category, under "dates".

### Teitr Pálsson

On 21 verso, Finnur describes a hand that seems to be from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which writes: "Þessa bok...palls son" (1892, p. xviii). This note appears to have become invisible since, but Árni Magnússon has apparently copied the note a bit lower on the page. Árni's note appears to say "Þessa bok a Teitr Pálsson | skal urentr vera", although Finnur describes the note to read "Þessa bok a Teitr Pálsson ef hann | skal urentr vera". Finnur (1892, p. xix) also points out that Guðbrandur Vigfússon has attempted to establish the identity of Teitr Pálsson, and has tried to connect him genealogically to Haukr, although this appears to be a rather speculative hypothesis.

#### Sveinn Ogmundsson

On 106v, the name "Sveinn ogmundz son" appears. Jón Helgason dates it to the 16<sup>th</sup> century (1960a, p. xxvi), Finnur to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (1892, p. xix). It superficially resembles several other hands, but upon closer inspection, they do not have enough in common to warrant a claim they may be the same. Therefore, Sveinn's hand seems to be making a unique appearance.

#### Arabic Numerals

On 35v, somebody appears to have practiced writing the Arabic numerals which appear in the *Algorismus*, which appears on the folios 89v to 93r. This hand seems to be older, because it has copied and practiced the numerals from *Algorismus* precisely, rather than writing the Arabic numerals in whatever way they were accustomed to. That suggests the Arabic numerals might still have been a relatively new phenomenon at the time. This could help date the marginal to an early date, perhaps the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

## 5.5: Post-reformation marginalia (1500-1800)

### 5.5.1: Retouching

Retouching around 1616: 1v, 3r, 4r, 5r, 6v, 8v, 9r, 10r, 14r, 14v, 22r, 30v, 36r-52v, 72v, 77r, 78r, 103r, 104r

Retouching by Sigurður Björnsson: 46v-47r, 48r, 49r, 49v, 50r, 52r, 52v

Retouching by Sigurður Jónsson: additional retouching between 36r-59r

Marginal notes by retouchers: 42v, 46r, 48v, 49r.

Jón Helgason dedicates two pages to retouching of the manuscript performed in the seventeenth century (1960a, pp. xxiv-xxv), as previously attested to by Árni Magnússon in AM 435 a 4to (1707-1727, p.113r-113v). The manuscript suffered retouching in many different places, but by far the most extensive retouching appears in the *Breta sögur*, including the Merlínusspá. The first retouching happened in Einarsnes between 1664 and 1670, by Lawman Sigurður Jónsson (1618-77) and his amanuensis, son-in-law, and successor, Sigurður Björnsson (1643-1723). Finnur Jónsson (1892, p.xiv) thought he could tell the two hands apart, and assigned the less neat handwriting of the two to Sigurður Björnsson. Jón (1960a, p.xxiv) questions this, as according to him, Finnur confused Sigurður Jónsson's hand with that of another man of the same name, and Sigurður Björnsson's supposed hand, according to Jón Helgason, is too unpractised for a man who at that point had years of practice as a secretary. If not to Sigurður Jónsson and Sigurður Björnsson, then whose hands the two youngest retouchings do belong to, Jón does not speculate onward. The Einarsnes retoucher left one marginal note behind; on 42 verso, the outer margin reads: "Hier hef eg latist draga j vpp aptvr": here I have made an attempt at retracing (Jón, 1960a, p.xxv).

Jón (1960a, pp.xxiv-xxv) also describes a third retouching, made by an unknown hand, though one of the marginalia in this hand contains a year, 1616. This makes this retouching older than the other two. This retoucher has left two marginalia behind: "hier er eg enn reyndr 1616": here I am tired again (46 recto); and "hier erv augrun full reynd": here my eyes are fully tired (48v).

One additional retoucher's note to include appears at the beginning of the *Merlinusspá*, 49 recto. It seems as if the retoucher has written the word "MERLINUS" over the existing red line filling, and attempted a decorative script very different from the other retouching or rubrication. Then underneath the word *spaa*, another word is written, which reads *ölæs*; "unreadable".

### 5.5.2: Unpractised hands

Appearance: 4v, 5r, 5v, 14v, 18v, 21v, 34r, 34v, 35r, 38r, 42v, 59v, 61v, 70v, 71v, 72r, 80v, 83r, 92v, 99r

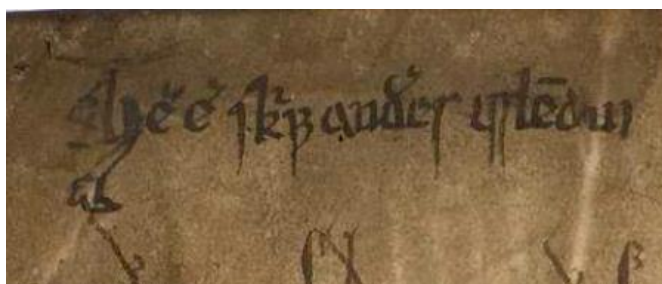
Pages referenced to: 19r, 28r, 29v, 36r

Bottom-filling markings: 14v, 18r, 18v, 38r, 44r, 48r, 61v, 69r, 71v, 73r, 73v, and 74r, 106v

In many places in the manuscript, severely unpractised hands can be noticed. These marginalia often seem to be doodling or practicing, and are often so various in nature that it is hard to tell whether they belong to one person or to many. For example; Jón Hegason (1960a, p. xxvi) notices on page 59v the name *iorun*, which he dates to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. *Iorun* wrote her own name several times, presumably as writing practice. *Iorun* might have been a child or an adult learner, but either way, it is likely that her practice improved her handwriting over time. While it would be nice if all the childlike doodles and scribbles resembled each other enough to say they all belonged to *Iorun*, I think the differences in style and handwriting do suggest there are multiple learner hands practicing here, perhaps in an educational setting where more than one child made use of the manuscript. Most of these children were probably using it around the same time as *Iorun* did. As the identities of the individual children are most likely lost to history, it is probably more important to regard them as a group which used the manuscript in the same time period and environment than as separately identifiable individuals. Because of this difficulty and perhaps irrelevance in ascribing a precise hand to every note that appears, I have chosen to list the entries in this subcategory largely in order of appearance, barring when a clear connection between certain entries exists.

To begin: on 4v, a hand in the margin has added the words "Babi|lon-" and "Satur|nus", in a type of script that appears to attempt to be decorative. On 5r, judging by the watery grey ink, brush thickness, character size, and quality of execution, the same hand has made notes again, although this time trying less hard to be decorative. These notes read "þór | mars" and "marcu|rius e|odin|venus io|pis (sic)dott|er". They seem added to either refer to or index the main text, which features Babylon, and all the gods which are mentioned (Finnur, 1892, p. xviii; pp.157-158). Unpractised notes of an indexing nature do not seem to appear elsewhere, but their general appearance seems to match the other childish-looking hands in its apparent age, and its clumsiness.

As previously mentioned, the "andres isslendin" marginal on 5 verso is accompanied by a drawing of a boot, which likely dates to the 17th century or after. The doodle of the boot can be compared to another doodle on 8 verso, which depicts a man wearing a hat. The pen seems to have the same width, the ink seems to be of the same colour, the style and quality of the doodles resembles one another, and judging purely by eyesight, the doodles look to be in the same well-preserved state. It's also notable that this doodle, too, depicts an item of clothing. The hat, however, does not seem to resemble any type of very date-sensitive item. The greyish ink seen on 4v and 5r seems to make a reappearance on 34 recto, although the hands look different. It will be treated later on in this same section.



5 verso. "her er skrif andres isslendin"



(8 verso)

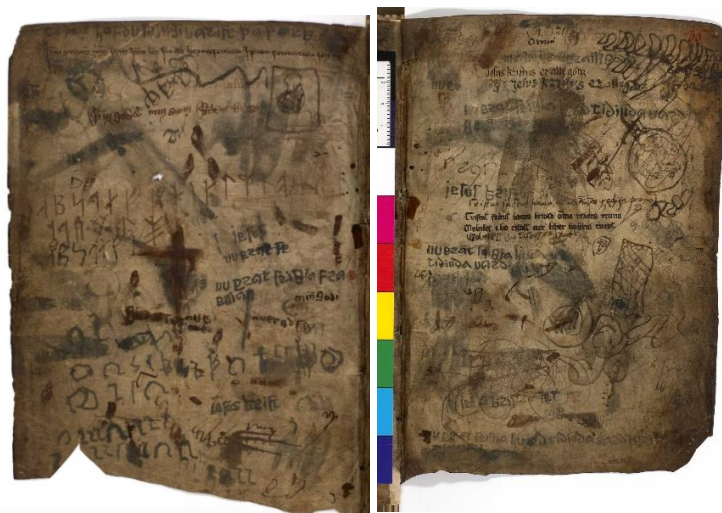


(70 verso)

Resemblance with the doodle on 70 verso is less clear; the pen and ink seem similar, but the topic and size are somewhat off, and one could argue there is a difference in proficiency between the artists, too.

On 14v and 18v, instances of blotted brown ink are found. Very similar stains occur on 34v, 35r, and 38v. Questionably, it also appears like someone has practiced their writing in this ink on 21v. Perhaps the blotted pen trials are the work of someone who was too impatient to let their ink dry properly – which may suggest that all the blotted doodles were added to the codex at the same time. It could be that the scribe quickly wiped off the excess ink from the page to be able to move to another page more efficiently.

Still on 34 recto, a blocky grey hand has written “þa redz iesus (?) | ... (?) iesus kr | istus e(?)”, and a distinctly different looking hand has added “Jhesu” underneath it (Finnur, p. xviii). The grey blocky hand will reappear on 34 verso and 35 recto. For the second hand that wrote “Jhesu”, it is perhaps also interesting to point out that the spelling “Jhesu” for Jesus does not reoccur among the other childish hands; the spelling “Iesus” is typical. Both hand and spelling do not reoccur with certainty, but size, pen type, and clumsiness of the note seem to point at another learner. The style of the characters is reminiscent of the "Jesus kristus er allr godr" note on 35r.



34v-35r

On 34 verso, Jón (xxiii) recognises three sentence fragments in the blocky grey hand. At the top "er þeir hofdv leingi barist þa feck", and mid-right "nv er at seigia fra enia". On 35r, the sentence 'nv er at seigia hvad tidinda vard I girklandi' seems to have been practiced several times, and on both pages fragments of these sentences seem to reappear in a matching hand. These sentences are taken from surrounding folios: on 28r (Finnur, p. 207) "Nv er at seigia hvat tiðinda varð I Girklandi"; on 29v (Finnur, p. 214) "er þeir hofðv lengi barz þa fær"; and on 36r (Finnur, p. 231) "Nv er at seigia af Enea".

Most of the entries in the grey blocky hand are repetitions of one of the three phrases noticed by Jón, although he does not make mention of several entries of "Jesus kristus" in various stages of completeness, which might be inspired by the "Jesus kristus er allr godr" note on 35r. Many sequences of less meaningful characters also appear, among which a kind of z-like r-shapes are repeated many times in succession. This recognisable sequence also appears in a very similar hand and ink on 59 verso.

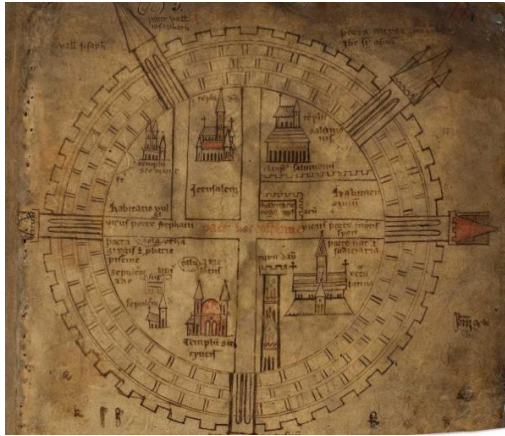
A variety of unpractised hands have made attempts at copying the sentences and the decorative script of two earlier notes on 35r, among which the grey blocky hand, and a darker hand which much resembles it. The upper earlier note reads "Jesus kristus ez allr godr", and one in the middle of the originally empty page which reads "Cristus factus homo b[...] omnia redita trono|mobiles ibo ci[...] ace liber habeto coevs". The original notes will be discussed later in the chapter; only the copies appear to be the work of unpractised hands that should be discussed in this section.

On copies of the first note, "Jesus kristus er allr godr", there are two clearly different styles of copy visible; one which emulates the script of the original note, and one which most resembles the blocky grey hand. As previously mentioned, this hand has practiced writing "Jesus kristus" several more times all over 34v and 35r. The "Christus factus homo" note also

shows two different copies, although the upper copy seems rather practiced and might perhaps belong to a somewhat later scholar rather than a 17<sup>th</sup> century learner. The lower copy though is definitely a learner's hand, and it shows great similarity with the grey blocky hand, even though the ink is much darker and the handwriting is smaller in size. It may be the case that this hand is the same as the one which is responsible for the entry "minn godi" on 34 verso. The same hand has made a few more notes on 34 verso. A few more half-attempts to copy "nv er at seigia fra enia" appear once again, together with some brief scribbles of less apparent meaning.

Folios 34 verso and 35 recto contain many more notes than just those by the blocky hands; these folios are positively covered in the work of learners' hands. One entry that stands out in particular is a Latin alphabet written in runes; they are of the long-branch and dotted variety. As previously mentioned, a precise dating for these cannot be given, as even though the brown ink reappears in some apparently meaningless scribbles on 34v and 35r, none of them give a definite indicator for their respective age as compared to the other childish hands. They have been copied up to g by a hand that somewhat resembles the blocky grey hand, so they must be older than that hand, and their position roughly in the middle of the page suggests the folio was largely empty when this note was made, but whether the runes were applied a day earlier than the other notes, or several centuries, is near impossible to tell. The childish style, the location, the pen thickness, and the general size of the runes, though, is reminiscent of the other unpractised hands, which does mean the notes have much in common.

A last remarkable feature of the folios 34v and 35r is the large amount of nonverbal doodles. Two of these seem particularly interesting: a square with a circular scribble in the middle on 34v, and a circular shape with scribbles in it on 35r. Since the one who made these notes liked to borrow things from the text around it, I suggest that the two circular doodles on 34v and 35r were taken from the surrounding text as well, namely, the map of Jerusalem on 19r. 19 Recto is a more or less square page with a circular drawing in the middle, which has busy and complicated patterns inside, towers sticking out of it, and fragments of writing around it. The doodle on 34 verso is a square with a more or less circular object in the middle which is filled in with busy squiggles, and has an object sticking out on the top. The doodle on 35 recto is a circle filled with busy squiggles, it has a pointy contraption sticking out of it on the top left, and has more squiggles surrounding it. The two doodles might well be children's playful renderings of the image on page 19r.



19r



34v



35r

35r also contains doodles that resemble curls or waves, a doodle that looks like a cat, and a grid-like drawing with a diamond-shaped pattern. Also visible is a human face that seems a little off in style for no unambiguously discernible reason. Two more doodles of this kind can be found on 83r, in the outer margin rather than on the bottom. Both doodles seem to resemble very childishly rendered coiled-up snakes, sticking their heads up in the air, or perhaps they depict the act of fishing with a fishing rod. These doodles could perhaps also be compared to the previously discussed doodles on 5v, 8v, and 80v, but it seems like those drawings, even the one of the boot, were made with significantly greater skill than these.



35r: wave-pattern

face, and grid-pattern

curl-pattern cat

In a similar vein to the more abstract doodles like the waves and the grid pattern, some of the bottom margins have been filled up with apparently meaningless scribbling, for seemingly no other reason than that there was space. Characterising all of these scribbles as pen trials seems to miss the mark – the pen was very clearly functioning. It seems more likely to me that again, a child or childlike person was responsible.

The filling of the bottom margin seems the densest and most systematically applied in the tenth quire, where most take on a sort of fence-shape constructed of a multitude of vertical lines with a single page-spanning horizontal line connecting them. These fence-shapes are most likely all by the same hand, but if the others are too, is hard to say. What can be said, though, is that there are several different styles of bottom-margin scribbled that can



be made an account of. Fence-shaped scribbles appear on 71v, 73r, 73v, and 74r. Rounded ones appear on 18r, 18v, 38r, 48r, 69r, 72r, and 106v. Scribbles with vaguely ornamental features appear on 14v, 61v, and 44r. 71v, 72r, and 92v seem to contain material which resembles writing, but is entirely illegible and might have been from the start.

On 42v and 61v, a learner's hand seems to have practiced writing d's. The letter d appears to be a popular subject of practice among various hands, but these two look similar enough to be classed as the same hand.

As previously mentioned, on 59 verso the grey blocky z-like r-shapes reoccur, as well as two instances of "iorun", the name which was used as the example to start off this section. The similarities between the name and the grey hand should be pointed out; they might be the same hand holding a different pen, or they might be different hands that learned to write in the same environment. In a darker shade of ink, an alphabetical letter sequence "aabcdeef" can also be identified; this especially fits into the pattern of an educational setting.

One more relevant hand appears on 59 verso. This hand is exceptionally difficult to decipher. Rather than the natural fading that has affected so much of the manuscript, staining suggests that an attempt to erase the note might have been made. This attempt was only partially successful, as the words "pann" and "mann" can be spotted. The separate characters of the handwriting most resemble the "minn godi" note on 34v. At the top of the note there looks to be a number which starts with 16; perhaps 1631. If this is the year, that could very well be correct. It would fit in with the estimate that a child, or children, used the manuscript for practice in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

On 65 verso, an upside-down alphabetical sequence appears, which reads "abcdefghijklmno | pqrssstuvœæ...". The presence of the high and low s, and the presence of the œ and æ suggest a postmedieval origin, perhaps 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century. Although the alphabet suggests an educational setting, and the dating would match with the suggested dating for the children's hands, this hand does not appear particularly unpractised. It might have belonged to a teacher, or to someone entirely unrelated.

On 99 recto appears a two-word long comment which is listed on the website as a contemporary correction, which would be odd if it were true, because it seems to copy a marginal in the upper margin, which reads: "*ollum monnum Deim sem Betta*", which is a 15<sup>th</sup> century epistolary opening, and is discussed in the category which describes medieval marginalia under "charter openings". The copy appears to be younger than the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and seems rather unpractised; despite the fact the note has not faded much, only the starting "oll" is truly legible.

### 5.5.3: Árni Magnússon's hand

Appearance: 20r, 21v, 60r, 93r

Throughout the manuscript, later chapter headings have been added in by various hands over the course of time. Apart from the original rubrics and the header to the Merlinusspá that was most likely added by a retoucher, the oldest dateable new chapter headings are the work of Árni Magnússon.

On 60 recto, Árni has written "Viðræða líkams ok sálar" (Finnur, p. xviii). This rubric is actually not entirely correct; the section introduced contains the *Viðræða æðru ok hugrekkis*, which is a translation of *De remediis*. The actual *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* does appear somewhat later on the page, so the header is not entirely wrong either. Árni has added another chapter heading on 93 recto, which reads "Her hefr upp Sogu þeirra þor | finnz Karlsefnis oc Snorra þorbrandz |-sonar".

AM 544 4to contains several more chapter headings of later dates, which will be treated in the category of marginalia applied after 1800. Árni Magnússon's handwriting reappears on 21v, where it has copied the line "þessa bok a Teitr Pálsson | skal urentr vera" from an older faded note, which is discussed in the category medieval marginalia, in unique medieval hands, under "Teitr Pálsson".

### 5.5.4: Nota bene:

Appearance: 3v (2x), 8r, 57r (2x), 83r, 84v, 85r (2x), 85v (2x), 87v

Instances of NB appear on 3v and 8r in a cursive-looking hand. All other appearances of NB comprise of a fused N and B in a hand that is clearly different from the earlier one. One of these fused NB markings appears on 3v, but is applied in pencil, and will be treated in the section "markings in pencil" in the category 1800<. All other NB markings appear much further on in the codex, and were likely made by the same hand.

On 57 recto, both instances of a fused NB are accompanied by a note. The first reads "NB Island under England" and is dated by Finnur to the 18<sup>th</sup> century (p. xviii). This note refers to the main text, which is a part of the *Breta sögur*. Iceland, along with Britain, Scotland, Ireland, The Orkneys, Denmark, and Gotland, are all made to pay taxes to the England of king Arthur. This is a detail that would be particularly interesting in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps particularly to an Icelander interested in the place of Iceland in Arthurian pseudohistory. The second note reads "Angliæ nomen", also refers to the text, and is dated the same. The hand of these notes resembles Árni Magnússon's somewhat, but as Finnur (p.

xviii) remarks, Árni has a very stable and rather recognisable d, which does not match the one used in the notations. Although the same hand also adds a note on 83r, Finnur has not offered a transcription for this note, and it indeed seems quite difficult to read.

Although Nota Bene markings fall under notae, the accompanying notes are verbal and dateable, which made them fall under post-reformation marginalia. I will discuss them in their capacity as notae again in the relevant section. Several marginal notes which are too faded to read seem to resemble the script on 57r and 83r, but this cannot be said with certainty. These faded notes appear on the folios 38r, 43r, and 50r, and are placed in the outer margin and resemble the script as far as it is possible to say this.

#### 5.5.5: Various unique hands:

##### Dates:

On 59 verso, a partially legible note is visible. Finnur (p. xviii) transcribes it as: “La fr Mar. ge ap de: Jun.jul. g: aug (b?) | Sep c...: oc d / no e: fd”. I question why Finnur reads the same character as a capital L at the start of the note and a capital J in “Jun”. I would offer the alternative transcription of “Jafr Mar: 9e / ap 8e : Jun jul 9: aug 8, | Sep t .... : oc d / [...]: fd” This is still not an entirely correct transcription, but it offers a bit more meaning: it appears to be the case someone noted down some important dates to remember. Finnur treats this as if it is the same hand & description as the one right under it, “A maiden who causes the sorrow of a man”, which Jón Helgason (1960a) dates to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. That would make this inscription 15<sup>th</sup> century as well, which it quite evidently is not. Though the note is difficult to decipher, the script does not seem to be old, and the Arabic number system is used with fluency. It’s likely 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century instead.

##### Bjárni Einarsson:

On 59 verso, several lines read: "Biarnni Einarsson a Hamre a þessa bók med rettu og hefur hann líed mīer hana I bokaskriptum og skall hann fā hana aptur þad firsta eg kann heim med skilum" (Bjárni Einarsson of Hamar owns this book rightly and he has lent it to me in an exchange of books and he is to have it duly back home as soon as I can). Finnur (p. xxviii) dates it to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Jón Helgason (1960a) dates it to around 1600, and can identify the man and the farm of Hamar in Iceland, and has even included the prominent lineage of Bjárni's wife in the introduction to the facsimile (p. xxvi). The hand does not seem to reappear.

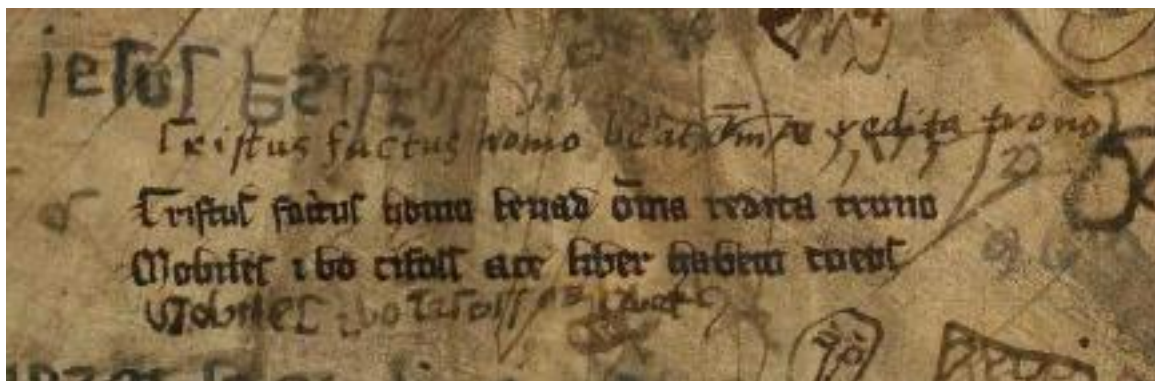
"Jesus kristus er allr godr"

On 35r, a note reads "Jesus kristus er allr godr", in a hand that seems 17<sup>th</sup> century. As previously mentioned, it has been copied by a few learner's hands which are associated with the 17<sup>th</sup> century which means it cannot be younger.

### *Rimbegla* Quote

Also on 35r, a hand with gothic features has entered a quote from *Rimbegla*, which reads "Cristus factus homo b[...] omnia redita trono | mobiles ibo cifoss ace liber habeto coevs" on 35r, and "Cristus factus homo omnia levat reddita trono mobil ibo Ciphos ache, liber habeto coevos" in the 1780 edition of *Rimbegla* (Stephanus Björnson, p. 242). Notably, the quotes don't match perfectly. A few spelling varieties occur, a word is added, and another removed. The word between "homo" and "omnia" might read "beuad" and has been transcribed by the younger hand above it as "beat". The word "levat", which appears in the edition, does not appear on 35r. The writing looks gothic, but it also looks very accomplished to try to look gothic. It could be someone trying to write an archaic style.

It seems to me that a possible normalised transcription for this phrase may be "Christus factus homo beat omnia redita throno | Mobiles ito ciphos atque liber habeto coelis". This could then possibly be translated as "Created by Christ, man rejoices by the throne after having given everything back | may he hand over the unsteady goblets and carry voluntarily in the heavens".



35r Cristus factus homo b[...] omnia redita trono|mobiles ibo cifoss ace liber habeto coevs

Amen med aund

On 21r, a messy cursive hand seems to read "amen med aund ok munn halla rei | knar hofud summu allir huad batar |þadmælgj ok mal". This seems a sort of call to prayer, but little more than that is known about the note. The hand does not reoccur.

## 5.6: Modern marginalia (>1800)

This category describes all the marginalia which were most likely added after 1800, by scholars of the manuscript.

### 5.6.1: Reference to *Rimbegla*:

Appearance: 1v, 30v, 50r

On 1 verso, a modern-looking note can be seen, which reads “vide Rymbeg | la p.354 lin 3”. This note is a reminder to see *Rymbegla* page 354, line 3. This means the scribe must have known an edition of the text; the note corresponds to the 1780 edition of *Rymbegla*, where this line and page describe a river in Greece that makes lambs white, just as on the first line of 1v. As the note is described by Finnur (p. xv), it cannot be younger than the edition – therefore, this note was made between 1780 and 1892. This modern note is not the first reference to *Rymbegla* in AM 544 4to. The section on post-reformation material contains an entry on 35 recto, which quotes a line from *Rymbegla* (Stephanus Björnson, p. 242). The notes do not appear to be connected.

Above the note, another note “Rj” can be seen, but although this hand seems equally modern, comparison of the capital R’s shows quite clearly that it’s not the same hand. In the bottom margin of 30v, there appears to be a note in a very similar ink and handwriting, although this is too faded to read reliably. It seems like the word “vide” can be deciphered, and then a cursive capital letter that might be a D. Like the *vide Rymbegla* note, this likely once was a reference to other material, but it has since become illegible.

On 50r a note “vi” appears in the top margin, which strongly resembles the “vi” in “vide” on the 1v note. It also resembles some verse markers that will be discussed in the chapter on nonverbal marginalia. Whether the hand of the “vide Rymbegla” note has any connection to the earlier *Rimbegla* reference on 35 recto, is equally uncertain.

### 5.6.2: Marks in pencil

Appearance: 1r, 1v, 3v, 32r, 38v, 39v, 40v, 46v, 47v, 56v, 57r, 61r, 61v, 62r, 62v, 63r, 63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 66v, 67v, 68r, 68v, 71r, 72v, 74r, 78r, 78v, 99r, 106r

One of the most remarkable phenomena observed through the study of the manuscript in real time, was the appearance of markings applied in pencil. In the digitalised colour photographs, these marks look like ink, or are rendered entirely invisible due to the reflective properties of the graphite when seen from a particular angle. In Jón Helgason’s 1960 edition

in black-and-white, these pencil marks are visible more often, but here too they are indistinguishable from ink, and sometimes illegible due to other darkneses on the folio. More fascinating perhaps than the ability to notice a few more hands, is the ability to suddenly class a group of often nonverbal marginalia as belonging to the same hand, and to date them reliably. Naturally, more than one hand could have used pencil on the manuscript, but the pencil in question appears to be the same throughout the manuscript. There exists a large variety of pencil-types classed by hardness and darkness, and the pencil in AM 544 4to consistently seems to have been of great softness, based on the thickness and darkness of the lines. Much like a unique ink-colour, this does contribute strongly to the hypothesis the same hand applied all the marginalia in pencil. In addition, the date of the pencil-marks must lie between the beginning of the nineteenth century, when pencils first became popular, and the publication of Finnur's edition in 1892, which makes mention of the pencil-note on 72v.

The notes seem to reveal a general study of most of the manuscript, and a seemingly more focussed study of the folios 38v-78r.

On 1r, the bottom margin reads "544". 1v contains a short marginal line, and 3v contains three lines, a plus-shaped mark, and a NB mark. 32r contains the number 315, which appears entirely without context. From 38v onward, the pencil-marks appear more organised and consistent in nature; notes appear frequently and typically consist of short strokes in the margin, and sometimes include + shaped marks. 40 verso contains underlining of (I think this refers to the word in the bottom margin; verify with the black and white pics); and on 72v, the beginning of a new section is labelled "Heidreks Saga". On that same folio, the outer margin contains a pencil marking that is drawn over the decorated initial, which possibly reads "HB". This could be an abbreviation of "Hauksbók, or it might stand for "Hervarar saga, Bugge", as Bugge edited the Hervarar saga in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. 78 Recto reveals pencil line numbering on 10, 20, 30, and then two markings around the 35<sup>th</sup> line which are hard to make out. 78 verso contains pencil line markings by the same hand that count 5, 10, 15, 20. 106r contains an odd-looking composition of two horizontal strokes and one vertical one, which likely has the same purpose as the more regular markings: to draw attention to a particular line.

### 5.6.3: Later chapter headings:

Appearance: 20r, 69r, 72v, 104v

Any chapter headings not related to the work of Árni Magnússon are presumed to be from the nineteenth century, on the account of datings by Finnur (p. xviii). The chapter

heading on 20r reads “Af Eddü Sæmunds“. This likely should have been “Sæmundar”, and would be referring to Sæmundr Fróði, mistakenly attributed as the author of the eddic poems in Codex Regius. This is a likely connection, as the rubric introduces the *Völuspá*. The attribution is typical for the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which could be an indicator for the age of this note. Finnur, however, dates it to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which does seem more likely based on the look of the notes.

Jón Sigurðsson, the archivist of the Arnamagnæn collection, has crossed out an only slightly older header by an unknown hand on 69 recto. The crossed-out note reads: “Fragmentum af Hriggjar stiki”. Jón has replaced this with "Hemings þátrr Áslákssonar".

The header on 72v reads “Heidreks saga”, and although this note has not been dated by Finnur, the usage of pencil indicates that this note too is probably from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (see the previous subsection, “marks in pencil” for more information).

Finally, the note on 104v reads: "af vplendinga konvngvm", and has been dated to the nineteenth century by Finnur (p. xviii). For older instances of chapter heading, look in the chapter on post-reformation marginalia, under the section “Árni Magnússon’s hand”.

#### 5.6.4: Foliation

Appearance: on nearly every folio

Jón Helgason describes two foliations of AM 544 4to on page xxix-xxx of the introduction to the 1960 facsimile. The oldest foliation, according to Jón, dates from 1780 or before, and are found in the middle of the top margin. At the time, the folios were in a different order than the one Árni Magnússon had found them in, and they were foliated accordingly. 1-14 are foliated accurately; then 15-31 are numbered 60-75; 32-69 are numbered 22-59; 70-94 are 77-101; 95-96 are 18-19; 97-99 are 15-17; 100-101 are 20-21; and 102-107 are not included at all. This foliation is distinctly recognisable as even though it was applied in a brown ink that has in many places faded almost entirely, it has been systematically put in between brackets by Jón Sigurðsson. This means that even when the foliation has become invisible, it is still easy to tell where it was placed. Jón Sigurðsson was an archivist for the Arnamagnean collection at the end of the 1830’s, and responsible for the foliation Jón Helgason describes on xxx of the facsimile introduction. The first 14 folios were missing at the time of Jón Sigurðsson’s foliation, so he has numbered 15r as 1. Apart from the count always being 14 folios behind, this foliation is all according to the order the folios are in now.

Perhaps the most recognisable is the red foliation by Kålund, as attested to by himself (1889, p.684), and applied in the late nineteenth century in the upper right-hand corner of the recto-side of each folio. This foliation is currently fully accurate and complete.

If this information on the foliation of the Hauksbók was accurate and complete, then the pages 1-14 recto should contain two sets of numbering: Kålund's red foliation, which is indeed present, and the faded brownish oldest foliation. However, another form of numbering can be spotted, which numbers pages, not folios. It numbers 1 recto as 1, and then continues to consistently number all the way up to 14 recto, which it numbers 27. Here and there these pages are even numbered doubly for an unclear reason, like on page 3 verso (6, 6), 8 verso (16, 16), 12 verso up to 14 recto (24, 24; 25, 25; 26, 26; 27, 27). This is the only numbering found on the uneven pages of AM 544 4to, and the only numbering of pages rather than folios that appears. This suggests a separate treatment of the the first two quires when they were separate from the rest of AM 544 4to. While Jón Sigurðsson foliated the folios he had, someone else likely did the same for the folios 1-14. Why someone found it necessary to number such a significant number of pages twice in a different hand, is anyone's guess.

#### 5.6.5: Other instances of organisational numbering

Appearance: 1r, 15r, 20r, 21r, 78r, 78v.

On page 20 recto and 21 recto, someone has numbered the lines of the text (20r: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35; 21r: 5, 10, 15). The ink used for the numbering of 20r is a distinct blue colour, which is reminiscent of ballpoint ink. It is very unlikely to be ballpoint, but the blue colour does reinforce a modern origin. The numbering on 21r is black instead of blue, but it may be the case that of the numberings discoloured over time, so the maker of the notes could still be the same. It was probably done for a palaeographical analysis of the pages by a modern scholar – perhaps Jón Sigurðsson, Finnur or Bugge – but it cannot be said with certainty who applied the numbers, or when. The digitalised colour image of 78 recto reveals an isolated number 20 in the margin, which also corresponds to the line number. In reality, the margin has pencil line numbering on 10, 20, 30, and then two markings around the 35<sup>th</sup> line which are hard to make out. 78 verso contains pencil line markings by the same hand that count 5, 10, 15, 20. Both of these have previously been discussed under “markings in pencil”, in the 1800< category.

The manuscript further contains its own shelfmark several times. As discussed in the earlier subsection of this category, “pencil marks”, 1r contains the number 544 in pencil. On 18r, “544. 4to.” has been written. This must have happened in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as the



Arnarnagnæan collection was not numbered until then, and it cannot have happened later, as Finnur mentions it in his edition. Finnur himself also dates the shelfmark to this century (p. xviii). On 60r, another instance of “544” is found in the upper margin; the hand is not recognisable, but again this is most likely a 19<sup>th</sup> century addition.

Finally, folio 15r has been marked as fol. 1, most likely by Jón Sigurðsson, who foliated AM 544 4to while the first two quires were absent, as described in the previous subsection “foliation”.

#### 5.6.6: Rogue numbering

Appearance: 6v, 32r, 36v, 42v, 46v, 65r, 66r, 81r, 103v, 105r

Several isolated numbers can be found throughout the manuscript, which do not seem to correspond with any existing page or line numbering. There is nothing which indicates these numbers are made by the same hand, or at the same time. The hand which applied pencil notes was responsible for the “315” on 32r, so it is known that at least one of these numbers was applied in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by a serious manuscript scholar. Perhaps the numbers were applied for reasons that were not supposed to be apparent to anyone other than the writer.

### 5.7: Nonverbal Marginalia

AM 544 4to is filled with many nonverbal marks of varying intricacy. Nonverbal marks have been studied before, notably by Steinová (2016) and Arthur (2015), as previously discussed. Therefore, for my description of these, I will refer back to particularly Steinová's terminology in this chapter, and I will refer to Arthur's method of analysis when I perform my own analysis.

It seems that the vast majority of these markings in AM 544 4to have relatively little direct information to provide to the contemporary analyst, compared to Eva Steinová's examples of notae. Steinová studies the use of notae on Frankish lands during the Carolingian era, and focuses on the historical background of a comparatively very organised system of discrete, atextual, graphic symbols, mostly inherited from classical sources. It is immediately clear that the technical signs that Steinová researches are of a far more information-carrying nature than the examples Hauksbók provides, which makes lot of sense, as she adjusted the scope of her research specifically to that time and place where notae were at their most rich and complex in meaning. Nonetheless, the terminology she provides is often still applicable.

Therefore, I will compare each category I find to Steinová's criteria, and decide per case if there might be a possible correlation, and point it out if relevant.

The majority of the cases, however, seem undeserving of the denomination 'notae', and can perhaps be better described as lectio marks (Steinová, 2016, p. 22), as they don't seem to have any symbolic value I can retrace. What I am talking of here, are very small marks in the margins of the manuscript, quickly made and often not consisting of more than one or a few dots or strokes. Previous research, if it takes note of them at all, groups these marks in with the pen or nib trials, but I would like to argue that they are actually connected to the text, even when the connection may be difficult to recognise for anyone but the person who added the marks. Since these seem too simple and haphazard to convey complex information across a varied readership, it is my belief that the majority of these marks were made by readers of the manuscript to serve as a memoriser to themselves only, not to point passages out to a future reader. Arthur investigates the source of markings that seem to have been made during 'pen in hand' reading, and I will compare them to her analysis of the many different contexts in which they might have appeared. The distribution of marks like this can show what the note-taker was interested in, or more crucially, what parts of the manuscript they had access to. Analysis of this kind cannot lead to solid conclusions, since there may be many reasons for a reader to add notes to one quire and not another, even if they had both access and interest in it. Additionally, it is difficult to distinguish separate hands, when the lectio marks are almost entirely featureless – even when a note-taker might particularly have chosen a certain shape to avoid getting confused with other pre-existing notae. Therefore, the absence of particular kinds of lectio marks is typically more telling than their presence. But before an absence can be telling, presence must be recorded.

#### 5.7.1: + and x

Appearance: 2v (2x), 3r, 13v, 14r, 38v (2x), 40v (2x), 45v (2x), 46v, 53r (2x), 57r, 57v, 58r, 58v (3x), 77r, 84r, 87v, 88r, 92r, 98r

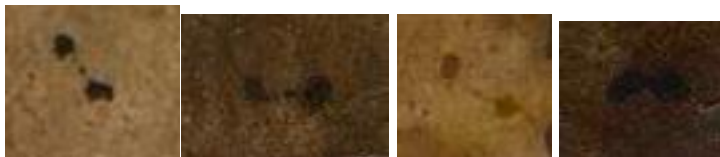
The first category of notae I encountered is a simple and unadorned cross-shape, which may be depicted upright, or in an x-type fashion. These notae are common and numerous, and appear throughout the manuscript. They typically appear in the outer margin, next to the main text. There are exceptions; one of the two crosses on 2v is placed in the top margin, the one on 13 verso appears in the inner margin, and the one on 98r is in the bottom margin. It is likely that several different hands have applied these lectio marks, but in most cases it is near impossible to ascribe a particular hand to a particular note with certainty. On

77r and onward, though, the nib of the pen seems to have become thinner than before, which may indicate a different user. The only really clearly different hand is the one in pencil, which has added one + on 3v, two on 38v, one on 46v, and one on 53r. The pencil hand is further described in the category on 1800< marginalia, under the subsection “pencil marks”.

Steinová (2016) mentions the cross-shape in her appendices, and notes it down to a symbol that is used for many different particular purposes which makes it hard to categorise, even though it has undeniable symbolic Christian connotations in almost all cases. However, the simple cross shape I encountered in the Hauksbók is the least adorned of all the cross-symbols Steinová records, while none of the marks I encountered had any adornment at all, and – if they were indeed meant to symbolise a Christian cross – are often drawn so haphazardly they end up on their side, looking like an x-shape. Therefore, I suggest that the cross-shapes in the Hauksbók were not intended as expressions of faith, though faith might have guided the hand of the note-taker to choose a cross as their quickhand memoriser, rather than for example, a circle. This may explain the numerous appearance of cross-shapes throughout the manuscript: many different readers might have picked the symbol, or perhaps one single reader enjoyed using it a lot for its connotation. I found no evidence that suggests there was any further symbolic meaning in use.

#### 5.7.2: interconnected thick dots

Appearance: 2v, 22v, 46v, 50r



(2 verso)      (22 verso)      (46 verso)      (50 recto)

The second category I observed consists of two thick dots, connected in the middle by a thinner line. This resembles no technical sign I encountered anywhere else, and is even within the manuscript relatively rare. However, it looks highly intentional, is always roughly the same size, and could possibly have been applied with the same pen in every instance, even though the level of fading varies. The symbol does not seem to correlate with the topics of the main text; it does not accompany the beginnings of new chapters, and the topics and scribes of the pages on which the symbol occurs, do not seem to have anything definite in common. The placement on the page is not systematic. The symbol on 2v appears in the outer margin, close to the text, near the top of the page. The symbol on 22v appears in the bottom

margin, very close to the edge. The symbol on 46 verso appears in the outer margin again, close to the text, but near the bottom of the page. The 50r symbol appears in the outer margin too, and near the bottom of the page, but this symbol is very close to the edge of the parchment rather than close to the text, like the other occurrences.

It could be a random doodle by a bored reader, or a mark to suggest where the user had left off reading. It might also be a mark of ownership or readership of some kind, purposefully made small and insignificant to not mar the page, yet unmistakable if specifically looked for. It might be interesting to compare this phenomenon to a larger corpus – for now, all information this mark provides is the possibility that the same person made them all and possessed all the marked quires at the same time.

They seem to appear at the beginning of quires; folio 2 of course is the second folio in the first quire, 22 is the first folio of the third quire, 46 is the third folio of the seventh. The symbol on 50 recto (the second-last folio of the seventh quire) breaks this pattern, but it is the only one of the symbols to appear on a recto page, and seem to be a little thicker-drawn. The symbols on 2v and 22v might indicate that somebody claimed ownership of two separate booklets before they were bound together – but the seventh quire has never been hypothesised as being separate.

I am wary to suggest a shared symbolic meaning behind these symbols either way, since their placement does not suggest reference to particular lines in the text, or easily retraceable markings for ownership or something else.

### 5.7.3: short line

Total appearance: 1v, 2v, 3v (3x), 10r, 38v, 39v (2x), 40v, 42r, 44r, 47v, 50r, 51r (5x), 51v (9x), 52r (4x), 52v(2x), 53r, 52v, 53r, 54r, 55r(5x), 56v(3x), 57r, 58r, 59r, 60r, 60v, 61r (11x), 61v (3x), 62r (3x), 62v (6x), 63r (5x), 63v (5x), 64r (4x), 64v, 65r, 65v (3x), 66r (3x), 66v, 67v (2x), 68r, 68v (2x), 69r (2x), 69v (2x), 70r (5x), 71r (2x), 71v (2x), 72r (3x), 74r, 77v (x2), 79r(2x), 80v, 93v, 99r(2x), 100r (2x), 103r, 106r (3x)

Appearance in pencil: 1v, 3v (3x), 39v (2x), 47v, 56v (3x), 57r, 61r (10x), 61v (3x), 62r (3x), 62v (6x), 63r (5x), 63v (5x), 64r (4x), 64v, 65r, 65v (3x), 66r (3x), 66v, 67v (2x), 68r, 68v (2x), 71r, 74r, 99r (2x), 106r (3x)

Ink appearance: 2v, 10r, 38v, 40v, 42r, 44r, 50r, 51r (5x), 51v (9x), 52r (4x), 52v(2x), 53r, 54r, 55r(5x), 58r, 59r, 60r, 60v, 61r, 61v (3x), 69r (2x), 69v (2x), 70r (5x), 71r, 71v (2x), 72r (3x), 77v (x2), 79r(2x), 80v, 93v, 100r (2x), 103r

An almost omnipresent lectio mark is a short, straight line. Horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines appear all in one category, for the simple reason that it is sometimes hard to tell at what angle one kind becomes another. Almost without exception they look like quick strokes, although the example on 40 verso stands apart as looking like it may have been applied with a little more care, as it seems to have a wedge-shaped head and a tapered bottom end. Whether this is intention or coincidence, can't be said with certainty. What is certain, however, is that this is the most ornamental-looking nota in this category.

Steinová discusses several meanings for singular horizontal lines as technical signs. Sometimes an obelus might be depicted without a dot above and underneath, indicating a passage ought to be removed in future copies. Another option is for topic, verse, or paragraph marking, but all with a certain type of structuring purpose (2016, 285). Whether the lines had a systematic purpose like this, or they were applied solely to indicate sentences of interest to the reader, might be revealed by the regularity of the spacing of the lines, in the case more than two appear on one page. 51 verso, for example, contains nine horizontal lines, all in the outer margin, irregularly spaced, and looking similar enough to have possibly been applied in one session. The page contains verse, but the markings don't correspond with the stanzas, and don't seem to indicate paragraph changes either. More likely it was the content which the maker of the marks was interested in. Either way, the intent of the makers of these lines is obfuscated by the absence of clear differentiation between hands. Even from the examples provided it is evident that there are many differences between the different strokes. Only one hand can be distinguished from the others with certainty; this is the 19<sup>th</sup> century hand which draws in pencil.

Although the lines appear with consistency throughout the codex, their density is interesting. The density of the lines over all is the greatest in the quires 7-10, but where the lines in ink seem more or less equally spread out over the quires 7-10, and have some notable presence in quire 6 and 11 as well, the lines in pencil are with an overwhelming majority placed in quire 9. Although marks in pencil can be found spread all through AM 544 4to, the ninth quire, which forms a separate unit topic-wise, contains a great density of notes, which reveals a great interest in this quire in particular.

#### 5.7.4: IV: intentional dots

Appearance: 38v, 94r (2x), 94v (4x), 96r, 97r (3x), 97v (2x)

This symbol – if it is one – is very ambiguous, and at times it is difficult to tell if it really is a purposefully applied dot, or a small stain, a hole, or a bit of dirt. However, the

category as a whole stands, because the manuscript contains too many slightly too large and round looking dots, which are often placed directly next to a sentence. Sometimes the dot may have a sort of tail, like the examples on 39r and 43v, and other times it may appear as a small circle, hollow inside, like the examples of 93v and 97r, and sometimes a dot may look small and accidental, but they appear in a sequence, and there seems to be a dent in the parchment that indicates the pen was pushed down fairly hard (94r). Especially interesting is the distribution: these dots are numerous in the sixth, seventh, and eighth quire, and barely appear outside these quires. Even if one takes into account that some of the observed dots may not be dots, and some of the marks I dismissed as stains, were actually dots, this pattern of observation is striking. Once again, the affected quires are the ones which contain the *Breta sögur* and the *Merlinusspá*. It seems that these two quires in particular have been the object of a specific kind of study some time during the lifetime of the manuscript.

#### 5.7.5. Underlining

Appearance: 3v, 40v

Although it appears that passages are underlined in several places in the manuscript, this is mostly damage which happens to take a horizontal stipe-form. The only systematic form of underlining appears on 3v, where several lines have been treated this way, but the phenomenon does not return elsewhere. On 40v, the last two words on the page have been thickly underlined in pencil. These words read “brœðr ok”. The use of pencil has already been discussed along with other occurrences of pencil in the category “modern marginalia >1800” under the subsection “pencil marks”.

#### 5.7.6: Notae

Appearance: 40r, 44r, 71r, 84, 97r, 106v

Although technical symbols that can be accurately classified as “notae” by Steinova’s definition (2016, p. 4) are rare in AM 544 4to, there are a few complex-looking lectio marks that might have been used as technical symbols. Apart from the NB symbol and the previously discussed verse marks, none of these symbols appear to occur more than once, and though many are too faded to tell with certainty, it is not impossible that all were applied by the same hand. They were all made with ink, using black ink and a thin-nibbed pen, so it could be that these notae were applied by a single hand of a person who had seen technical symbols elsewhere, and attempted to recreate them, perhaps without explicit knowledge of the Carolingian tradition of use. This category does not include verse marks and nota bene

marks, because they are common enough to make for entire subsections, and in the case of the nota bene marks, also because they are a younger phenomenon, which can be dated. More information about verse-marks can be found in the previous subsection. More information about nota bene marginals can be found in the category post-medieval marginalia 1500-1800, under the subsection “Nota bene”.



The first nota appears on 40r. This shape I have only seen one time, but it is interesting since it seems to resemble so many of the shapes Steinová describes. To my eye it seems to be a > shape with a dot hovering over it to the right, followed by either another >, or a -, without any dots. Steinova collects the majority of the technical signs that contain a < shape as varieties of *diple*. (pp.274-276) Although she describes no >> or >- variety that contains only a single dot, >, -, and hovering dots, are often combined in different varieties of *diple*. The diple is generally used as a text-structuring symbol, or to attract attention to a section. Since the symbol is only observed once, the former seems unlikely. The latter, however, is a very general explanation, and might be true even without the note-taker knowing about the conventions of *diple*-use.

The next nota appears on 44r, and resembles an asterisk (\*). Steinová quotes the asterisk to be star-like (2016, p.267), and again, there are many varieties with many different meanings. Of course, this is a simple symbol, so again, it does not need to hold symbolical meaning, per se. Its connection to the other nota-like symbols, though, makes its unique look interesting.

On 71r, a diagonal line with a dot on each side appears. Steinova calls the exact symbol κεραία, (2016, p. 281) but given that she found no practical examples of the sign and only encountered it in a greek sign treatise on the alexandrian tradition, I find it more likely to be related to an obelus or lemniscus (÷), which were mentioned in the *Ethymologiae* by Isidore of Seville, which was more popular in early medieval Europe. Practical use, according to Steinová, indicated a passage ought to be removed (2016, pp.347-348).

On 106v, a symbol appears which looks like a vertical composition of a comma, two dots, and then another comma. This symbol does not appear in Steinova’s work, but it vaguely might resemble an insular quotation mark (2016, p.279) or a metobelus (282). The resemblance, however, is faint, and doesn’t clarify much.

In addition, on 84v, a manicule appears. Manicules were often applied by the original scribe (Arthur, p. 243). This one appears in the middle of the *Fostbræðra saga*, at the last page of the 11th quire. As notae are typically user's notes, and the manicule might have been applied by the scribe of the main text, it is perhaps less likely that this symbol was applied by the same hand as the other notae.

On 97r, a small arrow-like symbol appears. This small note appears only once, and does not look like any of Steinová's symbols. This means that like the manicule, it is less likely to be made by the same hand as the other notae. It appears in *Eiríks saga*, in the middle of the thirteenth quire.

## 5.8: Undatable material

Several types of marginalia fall in no category so far, as they cannot be dated, and yet they should be listed simply because they are present. Some of them are verbal, but illegible. Some are scribbles which just don't seem to resemble any other scribbles in the tome. And in one case, Jón Helgason describes a latin verse which cannot be found anywhere in AM 544 4to.

### 5.8.1: Latin verse

Appearance: 59v

Jón Helgason (1960a, p. xxiii) lists this undated Latin verse in leonine hexameter on 59v, written twice. It apparently consists of two lines, and reads: "nemo damnatur | nisi primo causa probetur." There are many things on 59v which I cannot read properly, but all of them appear to be otherwise accounted for.

### 5.8.2: Various shapes and symbols:

Appearance: 5r, 29r, 40v, 64v, 66v, 67v

I have recorded semi-frequently recurring B-shapes, and a few other squiggles besides. The B-like shapes are perhaps the most interesting to consider, as they were more likely drawn on purpose, but what that purpose may be is unclear. They do not appear notably close to each other (on 5r, 40v, and 64v), they do not look like each other and do not seem to have been applied by the same hand, and do not seem to indicate anything with their location (5r appears in the top margin; 40v and 64v both appear in the bottom).



The birdlike shapes on 66v and 67v probably are not actually birds, but look that way by coincidence. Since they are merely three pages away from one another, their distribution does not really reveal much. They might be another childlike doodle, or they might just be a nib trial. They do not reveal enough to be placed into a category with certainty.

Finally there is an odd shape on 29r. It appears like another scribble by a learner's hand, but I am not sure enough to actually group it there.

#### 5.1.3: Illegible or seemingly erased material

Appearance: 20r, 23r, 26r, 32v, 35v, 36r, 38r, 38v, 43r, 43v, 50r, 62r, 65r, 93r.

Various notes seem complex and interesting, but have become entirely illegible at least to me. Notes which have become entirely unrecognisable appear on 20r, 23r, 32v, 35v, 36r, 38v, 43r, 50r, 62r, 65r, and 93r. Other notes might still be legible to other scholars. On 26 recto, a note begins with a T, but is for the rest illegible. On 38 recto, it looks like there used to be a note in a relatively modern script, in which a single g has remained legible. On 43 verso, a hand can be spotted that superficially resembles the medieval hand placed in the subcategory "André", but is likely not the same as it seems to contain no abbreviations and has more curved descenders. A d or ð is recognisable, followed by at least two minims, and then two insular f's can be seen before the note becomes illegible again. On 62 recto a fairly modern hand appears to read "tula"; there is no context for this note.

#### 5.8.4: Very small hand:

Appearance: 5r, 10v, 11r, 68v

A definite occurrence is an extremely small hand which is sometimes too small to recognise in the available facsimiles, and seems to leave only a few characters at a time. Its placement is not typically next to a particular line, and tends to show in the bottom margin. 5r seems to read "ai". 10v reads "ik"; 11r "b". 68v contains something like an 'a' at the top, and a "b" in the bottom left corner.

## ANALYSIS

To apply the information gained from studying these categories, and compare the quantitative patterns to the existing hypotheses, the separate existing units of the manuscript must be investigated. For clarity, here is once again the arrangement of the currently extant quires of the manuscript:

Extant quires:

I: folios 1-8.

II: folios 9-14.

III: folios 15-21.

IV: folios 22-29.

V: folios 30-35.

VI: Folios 36-43.

VII: Folios 44-51.

VIII: folios 52-59.

X: Folios 69-76.

XI: Folios 77-84.

XII: Folios 85-92.

XIII: Folios 93-100.

XIV: Folios 101-107.

List of hypothesised textual units:

These are the units as suggested by Johansson (2018, pp.133-137); major units have almost certainly been separate from the other units for a considerable amount of time, as the outer pages of these units have darkened. Minor units might have been separate due to differences in style and/or subject.

1: 1.1: II, II

1.2: III

2: 2.1: IV, V

2.2: VI, VII, VIII

3: IX

4: 4.1: X

#### 4.2: XI, XII, XIII, XIV

The quantitative distribution of the marginalia could lend valuable information to support or argue against these hypotheses. Therefore, next this spread should be investigated. This should go per age category, to highlight the differences between certain periods, and perhaps show a change.

### **6.1: Production-process aged material**

Production-process aged material is complicated to assess quantitatively, as its appearance is often dependant on the text material. Smaller individual sections, for example, would almost automatically lead to more rubrics, and likely also lead to a larger amount of decorated initials. Corrections, however, could be more related to the clumsiness of an original scribe, or indicate a sharper-eyed corrector. This in itself leads to other interesting questions, which are not necessarily quantitative in nature, but may tie in with the quantities of material found.

One such question is the involvement of Haukr himself in the rubrication of the manuscript. Jón Helgason mentions that Haukr's hand can be recognised in the rubrics of every quire after quire 3 (1960, p. xxii); but whether he was responsible for all the red ink in these quires isn't discussed. An interesting comparison to make could be the instances of red ink in the first three quires to the instances of red ink elsewhere, to see if any significant differences can be found. However, in general it seems like there are greater differences between the units 2.1-4.2 themselves than between 1.1-1.2 and 2.1-4.2. This does not support nor supply evidence against Haukr's involvement in other rubrications than the red verbal headers. However, capitals using red can be found in various styles, which suggests that at least one separate artist might have worked on the manuscript's decoration, or that the scribes added their own decorated initials at times. This in itself already shows Haukr was not the only hand which used red ink at the time of the production process. One of the other hands might also have applied the red decoration of the holes, or the red circling of the corrections.

#### 6.1.2: Rubrics

The insertion of rubrics to a text is typically dependent on necessity; if rubrics are used to separate sections of text, more sections naturally means more rubrics. Since AM 544 4to contains many different topics added in by many different hands, meaningful quantitative

comparison becomes a long, complicated process. For much of the manuscript, then, it is perhaps for the best to forego an attempt at this. Other parts, however, are still interesting to consider in this light. As previously mentioned, hand 1, likely Haukr Erlendsson, was the sole scribe responsible for six full quires, almost entirely responsible for quire V, and contributed significant sections to three more quires. Similarly, the manuscript contains large quantities of saga content, and much of it coincides with Haukr's supposed own hand. Therefore, the corpus of saga content written down by hand 1 might be both large enough and stable enough to at least consider the quantitative rubric distribution.

Another concern is the possibility that the material may simply have rubrics where the exemplar manuscript did, and that variety in rubric quantity is caused by variety between exemplars. However, particularly in those cases where hand 1 did the copying, it has been shown that the scribe did not always follow the exemplar perfectly. Specifically the *Trójumanna saga* has been assembled, presumably by Haukr, from many different documents, and the *Breta sögur* has been shortened and summarised, again likely by Haukr himself. The *Fóstbræðra saga* and *Eiríks saga rauða* appear to have been subject to the same treatment (Jón Helgason, 1960a, p.xv-xvi). There is good evidence, then, that Haukr as a rule did not follow whatever exemplars he had available very closely, and thus was likely also responsible for adding in his own rubrics, initials, and other organising material where he saw it fit. The focus of this analysis on the parts written by hand 1 also makes sense from this point of view, as Haukr was the most likely of all scribes to have made changes to the text copied from the exemplar.

The material arguably produced by Haukr himself, starts with the second hypothesised unit, containing the quires IV to VIII. This unit immediately shows the most interesting divide, as minor hypothesised unit 2.1 contains the lowest numbers of rubrics of all the quires that Haukr demonstrably contributed to. Quire IV contains four rubrics, and quire V contains none at all. In contrast, all other quires produced almost entirely by Haukr alone and containing saga content contain higher numbers of rubrics. VI contains ten, VII contains five, VIII contains ten, and X contains 13. In the quires of mostly saga content, and which Haukr contributed to, there are seven rubrics in XI, seven again in XIII, and ten in XIV. The difference between unit 2.1 and 2.2 is especially striking given that according to Stefán Karlsson and Gunnar Harðarson (1993, p. 271) both units are dateable down to a space of only two years. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the numbers of decorated initials per quire seem to follow this tendency. If Haukr produced these quires almost at the same time, and both contained roughly similar material, it is interesting to see he sectioned and decorated them so

differently. It might be the case that Haukr worked from different exemplars for the *Trójumanna saga* than for the other sagas he copied, but all these other sagas seem roughly internally consistent with one another where it concerns rubrics. Even for quires of saga content which are not produced by Haukr alone, the average number of rubrics lies around ten – and there is not a single other quire in the codex which contains zero rubrics at all. The ninth quire, entirely produced by Haukr but containing two dialogues of a philosophical nature, even contains an astonishing 34 separate rubrics in a single quire.

However, the absolute number of appearances is not the only characteristic of rubrics which can be investigated. In most of the manuscript, the rubrics fit well in the spaces designated for them. In the quires IX-XIII, rubrics can be spotted which are drastically too small or too big for the space they occupy. On 62r, v, 63r, v, 64v, 65r, v, 66r, 68r, 73v, 82r and 92r, rubrics can be found which are too small for the space they exist in. On 90r, 96r, and 98v, many rubrics of too large a size can be found. Interestingly, the majority of these ill-fitting rubrics are not caused by Haukr rubricating the texts written by another scribe, but Haukr misestimating the space needed for his own rubrics. The only other scribe which gave Haukr trouble with the rubrications was hand 9, who was responsible for the too-large rubric spaces on 82r and 92r, and for all the rubric-spaces which were too small for Haukr to write in. Haukr gave himself the most trouble in quire IX, but this is perhaps to be expected, given that this quire contains by far the most rubrics of any quire in AM 544 4to.

#### 6.1.2: Decorated initials

For the decorated initials, the same argument can be made as for the rubrics: that the content and the exemplar of the text influences the number of initials present more heavily than the quirks and intentions of the scribe. But decorated initials have more immediately visible characteristics than rubrics do; colour, size, style, and level of decoration can be measured, for example.

Yet, the overall spread of the initials is still interesting. The first major hypothesised unit, quire I, II, and III, seems quite sparsely decorated, but III more so than the preceding two quires, as it has only one decorated initial in a visibly different style than those in the other two quires. This would support the argument that quire III's origin is different than that of quire I and II – or it might just mean that hand 4, 5, 6, and 7, did not use or leave space for decorated initials, whereas hand 2 and 3 did.

The second major hypothesised unit, consisting of quires IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII, shows an even more interesting variation. This variation, perhaps predictably, ties in with the

variation in the number of rubrics discussed in the previous subsection, but more tellingly, also ties in with the fluctuation in the number of semi-decorated initials discussed in the next subsection.

IV and V both contain five decorated initials, where VI contains eleven, VII seven, and VIII again eleven. This contrast is sharpened when you consider that all five of the decorated initials in quire V are found on 34 recto, the one page dated to before 1302 (Stefán, 1964, p. 118). The rest of Haukr's entries in this unit is dated to the unusually narrow range between 1306 and 1308 (Stefán & Gunnar, 1993, p. 271).

Although quire IX is different from the preceding quires in topic, and has been dated later, it is perhaps still worth mentioning how much it stands out. With 38 cases of decorated initials, this quire contains more than double the amount than any of the others.

The final hypothesised unit is of X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. The spread has no major notable exceptions with all quires falling between 8 and 16 decorated initials. The spread of the initials also seems relatively uniform, except for folio 90, where 12 decorated initials appear, out of the quire's total of 16. This is a page in the *Algorismus*; the overload of initials is due to the topic discussed.

Next I have looked at colour patterns, combinations of colours, and compared the over all intensity of decoration. The first quire has initials only in red, and in the second, green ones appear every now and then, on seemingly irregular intervals. There is one decorated initial on 1v, which opens the *Prologus*, is partially obscured by a hole, but seems to be red, occupy two lines of text, and sports an impressive amount of flourish, which is not otherwise seen until quire VI. On 13 recto, a red initial with green decoration can be spotted; the only bicolour initial within the first hypothesised unit. The style of the initials seems similar to the other initials in the quire, so I would suggest both unusual initials were added together with the other ones. The one initial in the third quire, a red S, however, is of a visibly different style, as previously discussed. This shows a clear difference between the initials in the hypothesized units 1.1 and 1.2.

The fourth quire commences with a heavily decorated initial, in either green or blue, with red and yellow decorations. After that, all fourth-quire initials are red. In the fifth, besides the red, two green ones appear. The sixth quire begins with another heavily decorated initial in a blue-green shade, with red decorations. After this there are five red and five blueish initials, but they do not alternate perfectly. There does not seem to be a page-based pattern either. The seventh quire contains five red initials, one blue one, and one more extensively decorated bicolour initial in red and black on 50v. The eighth quire follows the

pattern of mostly red initials and a few blue ones. 54r contains a more heavily decorated bicolour initial in blue and red. Over all, the second major hypothesised unit, then, seems to be uniform in the pattern of mostly red initials, a few blue ones, with the occasional bicolour initial at the start of a quire, or to highlight particularly important passage.

This pattern seems to continue in the ninth quire, which forms the third major hypothesised unit. It contains two bicolour initials, but the over-all number of coloured initials in this quire is higher, so probably it simply contained more passages that were considered relevant.

The tenth quire follows the pattern too, although 72v contains the first tricolour initial, Blue with red and yellow decorations. The pattern continues in quire 11, but then there is an odd patch with barely any initials at all from 83v to 89v. This patch spans two quires, and it contains the same topic and was written by the same hand as previous material which did contain initials. This may be due to the scribe not considering the last half of the *Fóstbrædra saga* as equally relevant, or perhaps something changed halfway through the production phase. For lack of a concrete reason, this phenomenon can function as a healthy reminder not to draw conclusions too quickly based on the spread of initials. Sometimes the reason might be unrelated to the current study, impossible to retrace, or perhaps even based on a kind of coincidence. Quire 12 is marked by a greater regularity of alternating red and blue initials, although they still do not alternate perfectly. The thirteenth quire has a bicolour initial in blue and red on the first folio, though it is not in the upper left corner, but at the start of the new topic. For the rest, this quire displays mostly red, and some blue initials. The fourteenth and final quire stands out because it contains three multi-coloured initials; one in green and red, and two three coloured ones in red, blue, and yellow. Seven purely red initials are found, and one blue. All of this makes the last major hypothesised unit stand out in particular for featuring a higher amount of multi-coloured initials than the other units.

Size of the initials varies, probably depending on the perceived importance of the section. Most of the variation seems to be caused more by the shape of the character than by the influence of a particular hand or quire. Where the initial has a rounded body, the typical small initial takes up the space of two lines in the first quire, and one, two, or three lines in the second. The one initial in the third quire takes up three lines.

In the quires IV and V, initials become smaller, and most commonly take up one line of space, descenders and ascenders not included. In VI, VII, and VIII, two to three lines are more common, for the common initials that are not remarkably large and heavily decorated.

Then, with few exceptions, two lines becomes the common size, until quite XIV, where the small initials are either two or three lines in size.

Positioning of the initials is unremarkable; in the first major hypothesised unit, all decorated initials are placed in the text, with any ascenders or descenders placed in the margin. The only exception is if the initial is an I, which seems to have held the status of being entirely built up out of ascender/descender. It is placed entirely in the margin, and without looking out of place, typically is a bit larger than most other initials. This pattern is only broken on 34 recto, which contains five initials that are all entirely placed in the margin of the text. This irregularity, however, probably correlates with the topic of the text on that folio.

Differences in style among decorated initials are visible as well, and I believe that perhaps a future paleographical study of the initials could reveal even more about this topic.

In summary, the appearance of the initials reveals that unit 1.1 and 1.2 look different from one another. Unit 2.1 and 2.2 have great differences in the number and size of appearances, but are not dissimilar in style. This is consistent into unit 3 although there is a greater number of initials there. Unit 4 shows a notable change in decoration; this major unit is the only one which contains tricolor initials.

### 6.1.3: Semi-decorated initials

For this category again, the argument can be made that the content and the exemplar of the text influences the number of initials present more heavily than the quirks and intentions of the scribe. This issue has been dealt with under the subsection “rubrics”, and as a reminder I will refer to that section for any concerns on this topic.

The frequency in appearance of so-called semi-decorated initials yields some curious results. In the first major hypothesised unit they do not appear, except on 19v, which was written by hand six, which is a 14<sup>th</sup>-century addition which does not appear elsewhere in the quire or in the manuscript in general (Stefán & Gunnar 1993, p. 271). The use of semi-decorated initials here, then, is not a break in the pattern of unity of the first hypothesised unit, but rather a feature particular to that one specific scribe.

The second hypothesised unit, however, has the most curious pattern. Even though the entire unit was overwhelmingly written by Haukr Erlendsson between 1306 and 1308 (Stefán & Gunnar 1993, p.271; Stefán 1964, p.119), Haukr does not use the feature at all in the first minor hypothesised unit (IV and V), and then makes heavy use of it in the second minor hypothesised unit (VI, VII, and VIII). The feature admittedly does show very heavily on 35v



in quire V, but this is an entry by a different, unique scribe (hand 8), and so it does not reflect the state of the manuscript during the production of Haukr's sections. This begs the question as to why Haukr used a slightly different style for the *trójumanna saga* and for the older section on 34r, than he did for the *Breta sögur* and the *merlinusspá*. In general, this section is remarkably empty of any sort of emphasised initials. When adding up decorated and semi-decorated initials in sections written by Haukr, the total number of features in the first minor hypothesised units comes to 5 in quire IV, and 0 in quire V. Meanwhile, there are 17 initials for quire VI, 22 for VII, and 23 for VIII. Haukr either added them in himself, or had to have left space for them to be added in, and therefore the difference is remarkable, especially since the topics seem so closely related.

This pattern is only reinforced by major hypothesised unit III; quire IX, which has been assigned to Haukr and dated to around or after 1310, and contains six semi-decorated initials; 44 initials in total. Finally, the pattern of the last major hypothesised unit, X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, serves to show that the use of semi-decorated initials was a feature of Haukr's in particular, even though other scribes made use of it sometimes, too. Quire X, assigned to Haukr and dating from between 1306 and 1308 again, contains eight. The quires XI, XII and XIII each contain one semi-decorated initial in a section not written by Haukr. Then quire XIV, which was mostly written by Haukr again, contains at least nine, and I suspect more, as these pages are particularly weathered in the area I was trying to study.

If it was a habit of Haukr to include this particular feature in his writing, it is curious that he used it zero times in total in the writing of quire IV and V. It might have been a habit he picked up at a certain moment in time, as the section from 1302 does not contain it. Older and contemporary sections by other scribes sometimes contain this feature, such as hand six on 19v does is in the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century three times on a single page. The first three quires, hypothesised to possibly predate Haukr, do not contain the feature at all. It is a very speculative suggestion, but perhaps it came in fashion rather abruptly among scribes in Haukr's environment, and quire IV and V might have been written just before that time. This would agree with the argument for IV and V as a separate unit from VI, VII, and VIII.

#### 6.1.4: Rubricated Capitals

For this category one last time, the argument can be made that the content and the exemplar of the text influences the number of initials present more heavily than the quirks and intentions of the scribe. This issue has been dealt with under the subsection “rubrics”, and as a reminder I will refer to that section for any concerns on this topic.

The distribution of the rubricated capitals is interesting, as it seems to be dependent on the hand that produced the text. The Norwegian hands 2 and 3 in the first three quires have used this feature consistently, but the other, later, Icelandic hands in quire III consistently haven't. This is a feature that could help support the argument that hand 4, 6, and 7 belong to the same scribal milieu. Hand 5 remains difficult to place, as it only produced the drawing of the map of Jerusalem.

It is however interesting to note that all of the rubrics, red decorated initials, decorations, and rubricated capitals accompany hand 2, 3, and 5, which is responsible for the map of Jerusalem. Hand 4 has a single semi-decorated initial at the start of the section, but hand 6 and 7 contain no rubrics of any kind. Hand 6 has placed decorated initials in all black which suggests an intention from the start not to use red rubrication. This suggests that there was at least one rubrication phase which took place after or during the insertion of hand 2, 3, 4, and 5, but that the rubrics had become unavailable or undesirable to the hands 6 and 7. This could help support hypotheses of a different time or location for these hands; however, both hand 4 and hand 7 have been dated to the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, and have been connected to the Þingeyrar monastery in northern Iceland.

The next striking observation is of the consistent rarity of rubricated capitals in quire IV and V, as compared to other quires by Haukr's hand which have been dated to the same period. This could help support the argument that IV and V were a production unit separate from VI, VII, and VIII. Whether Haukr applied the rubrications himself or had a scribe or artist doing it, there were definitely different considerations for unit 2.1 as compared to unit 2.2.

#### 6.1.5: Verse marks

The distribution of verse marks is interesting because, as previously established, the only occurrences of verse marks are next to hand 1, and hand 9. They are found in quire X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, but at least two hands can be distinguished, which seem tied to the hands of the text they accompany. For this reason it seems to be more useful to consider their distribution separately.

The verse marks that accompany Haukr's sections seem concentrated on the *Hervarar saga*, although this is likely the case because this saga continues a lot of verse. The material which accompanies hand 9 follows a similar pattern, but is visually more complex: two different shapes of of verse marks can be distinguished, and two of the verse marks appear in red. The red is of particular interest, due to Haukr's personal connection to the production

process-aged rubrics. However, the hand that applied the red is the one that has been found next to hand 9, not next to Haukr's own sections; this hand looks distinctly different. The possibility that Haukr applied both but was more sloppy in one case is unlikely; the v's next to Haukr's material have been drawn in two strokes, where he elsewhere typically writes a v in one stroke. The sloppy hand also reoccurs in other quires, which makes it less likely to be a very quick and hurried note and more likely a result of systematic editing in a hand which consistently looked less practiced than the other.

There are many possible explanations for the varied appearance of the verse marks. It is possible that Haukr applied the verse marks for hand 9 but not for his own writing; this means the sloppy hand might not be production-process aged. Even though the sloppy hand does not necessarily need to be applied during the production process, it is still interesting to note it only seems to occur in the fourth hypothesised unit, suggesting this unit might have been apart for some time.

The meaning of the separate colours and shapes of the verse marks by the neater hand has not become clear; however, they are all unique to this hand within AM 544 4to, all accompany hand 9, and all seem to have been applied by a scribe or editor during the production process of the manuscript, according to Mats Malm's suggestion (2007, p. 147).

#### 6.1.6. Line filling

This category differs from most of the others, as there is no binary system where a feature is either present or not. In this category, there are three factors to keep into consideration, instead. For a line to receive decorative filling, an open line must exist – and to leave a line open after the end of a sentence, is a decision in itself. Firstly, then, the distribution of open lines must be considered, and only after that the line fillings can be considered in the light of the number of possibilities which existed for line fillings to be added at all.

In the first two quires, the writing of the main text is done in such a way that the end of the lines are relatively uneven, leaving many spaces where it is questionable to say whether a line is actually open or not. However, on 2r, 8r, 9r, twice on 10v and 11r, and once on 12r, 13r, and 14r there is indisputably open space which could be filled. Yet, decorative line-filling only occurs on 2r. 10v and 13r also contain decorative line filling, but these are not meaningless rubricated scribbles with not other purpose but line-filling; these both are the ends of a sermon where the scribe of the sermon has stretched the AMEN at the end out to fill the entire line.

The third quire consists of several hands, with different tendencies. Hand 3, 4, and 5 don't leave any space for possible line-fillers, as hand 3 and 4 fill every line very precisely all the way to the end, and hand 5 has only drawn a map on 19r. Hand 6, though, does not have the tendency to fill lines in the same way, and some spaces at the end of sections remain open to be potentially filled. Hand 7 does fill all their lines, except a line at the bottom of 20r which has remained open. None of the open lines in the third quire are filled with decorative line-filling.

The next several quires are all written by hand 1, which is relatively precise when it comes to line endings. Typically, lines are only left open at the end of sections, and Haukr usually makes sure these openings are filled with rubrics. In IV and V a total of 4 lines remain open despite Haukr's best efforts, and one of these is decorated with line filling. In VII, one line is left open, and subsequently filled. This is a notable occurrence though, as a retoucher has written over the line filling, making it not entirely certain that this is indeed a true line filler and not an odd-looking rubric.

In IX, three open lines occur, and two of them are filled with decorations. One open line is filled in X, and one more line is open and left open in XI.

The analysis of this feature has mostly established slight differences between the minor hypothesised units 2.1 and 2.2, and has established the third unit, quire IX, as a unit with a relatively large amount of structural elements. The differences between the units 1.1 ad 1.2 are all because of different hands.

#### 6.1.7: Unique forms of decoration

The unique decorations fall into two categories. The first includes 4r, 47r, and 52r. All of these folios contain a small decorative element in the bottom right corner to draw attention to the last bit of the sentence on the last line, which has been added into the bottom margin to finish the page with the end of a line. In the first case, it was probably hand 2 which added the decoration, and in the other two instances, it could have been Hand 1.

The second category involves small decorative elements which appear at the end of a section. On 90r, 92r and 93r, this is a small roundish decoration, all three times within the *Algorismus*. On 101v another decoration appears which might have the same function, although it looks quite different.

The analysis of both phenomena does not yield much concrete evidence, as these decorations are so few and far between. If anything, it reveals another odd feature of the *Algorismus*.

#### 6.1.8: Parchment quality, and decoration of holes

The parchment in the first major hypothesised unit uniformly contains few holes, even though Jón Helgason (1960a, p. vi) mentions the parchment in the third quire is of lower quality than the first two. The holes do not seem uniformly decorated, but that may be due to fading of some of the decorations.

This level of parchment intactness is similar in hypothesised unit 2.1, but it drops remarkably in unit 2.2. There are more holes and irregularly shaped pages, and decorations remain frequent but do not seem to follow a pattern.

The third unit, quire IX, has fewer holes, but still a lot of irregular pages. These irregularities are not as drastic as the preceding ones, though, and they do not affect the part of the page that contains the main text. Because of the convenient nature of the irregularities and the lack of holes in this quire, it is my suspicion that many of these irregularities would be caused by later cutting into the parchment by readers. This means that the original parchment quality of quire IX would have been higher than that of unit 2.2.

The fourth major hypothesised unit only contains a lot of holes in quire XIII, but ten of the eleven holes appear on one page. This particular page originally contained some kind of scraping damage, which tore many smaller holes into the parchment. Perhaps all ten holes should then be considered a single large hole instead. The irregular shape of the pages only affects the main text fields on the folios 97 and 98; the other irregularities could have been caused post-production process, and are relatively minor either way. Therefore, the fourth major unit consistently shows a roughly equal level of relatively decent intactness, all the way through.

All in all, the distribution of decorated holes seems to be tied closely to the quality of the parchment in general: where there are more holes, there are more decorations. There is variation in distribution, but the difference does not seem very glaring after the small sample size and the possibility of fading of decorations is taken into account. However, the parchment quality in itself is noteworthy; the drop in intactness in hypothesised unit 2.2 is interesting.

Slightly more significant variation can be seen in the appearance of the circling. In many instances, the circling is either round, or built up of curved lines. In the quires VI, VII, VIII, and X however, many instances of circling are angular, built up out of straight lines, and sometimes downright square. In quire X, both instances are undeniably in the square category, but in the other quires, there seem to be both square and round features present. It is

my suspicion that in the quires VI, VII, and VIII square features have been applied where there is space for them, and the scribe resorted to round shapes where there was no space. In other quires there is sometimes clearly space to apply square features, but the circler has gone with round features anyways. The feature of square hole decoration, then, correlates precisely with hypothesised units 2.2, and 4.1.

Another notable feature to do with parchment quality, is the cutting of blank spaces on pages. Folios 19, 21, and 59 are only half in size, and 63 is shorter on the bottom. Those parts were probably originally blank, as the trimming has not caused any loss of text. Jón Helgason suggests they were removed for ‘some purpose or other’ (1960a, p. xxv). He mentions the first two seem to have been trimmed by cutting, as a short strip of the lower part is still preserved at the spine. However, 59 and 63 also seem to have been cut in a way that purposefully only affects the particular leaf, and not the conjugating leaf. Just the fact that the leaves were originally blank does not make for a reason to remove them; the text on 34 recto ends just past halfway the page, and the other side of that leaf is entirely blank, so it could have been removed as well, but it was not. It is interesting to note that it looks like folio 19 was cut twice; the lowest cut goes all the way to the spine, but the second cut is closer to the map drawn on 19 recto, and leaves a strip of material near the side of the spine. Perhaps someone needed some parchment and took a blank strip out of the codex – or perhaps something was written there that needed to be removed. The verso side of 19 contains an independent and complete fragment of text in a different hand, which could have been applied before, or after the cutting. The verso sides of 21 and 59 are originally blank, and contain no text apart from a generous amount of later notes and scribbles made by readers. On 63 it seems like the bottom margin was removed without invading the space intended for the main text.

What is notable here is that folio 34 has not been cut into, even though it could have been, and typically has been elsewhere. This might mean that quire V is exceptional for this, or perhaps even major hypothesised unit 2.2. However, since the cutting is relatively rare when it comes to the total number of occurrences, it would be too soon to draw a conclusion based on this. It could just as well be that whoever was cutting skipped 34r on accident, or due to the uneven bottom margin which occurs on the page naturally. This means that this evidence remains inconclusive.

#### 6.1.9: Contemporary corrections

In AM 544 4to, two types of corrections can be found: interlinear, and marginal. Although they form two separate subsections in the full list of marginalia, they should form one subsection in the analysis, because these two types of corrections do not seem to overlap significantly. This means that marginal and interlinear corrections function almost entirely as mutually exclusive phenomena, which implies a scribe had to make a choice in what kind of correction they wanted to use. Only three scribes are accompanied by corrections at all: hand 2, hand 9, and hand 1, which was most likely Haukr's own. All three of these hands appear to have a different interpretation of the corrections employed.

Hand 2's corrector displays switch-behaviour; at first they correct inter-linearly, then on folio 6 and 7 they mix both styles, and in the rest of the first quire they correct marginally. In the second quire, they stop making corrections at all, except for one marginal correction on 13v. It is important to note that the correction on 4v is placed in the bottom margin and has been circled in red, but seems to resemble the style of the interlinear corrections, and is therefore counted as an interlinear correction.

There are two possible explanations for this switch in style. Firstly, the scribe may just have changed their mind on the ideal manner of correcting halfway their work. Alternatively, it may be the case that another scribe was responsible for half of the corrections. Comparing the hands is currently complicated by the size of the script and the fact that some of the corrections have been treated with tincture of gall to make them more legible, with the opposite effect. However, the relatively sudden change from one style of corrections into another does seem to support the possibility that a single scribe was responsible for the change in style.

Hand 1 generally contains very few corrections – despite being the sole hand responsible for six quires, and a contributor to four more, only seven corrections appear; one in quire IV, one in quire VII, and the other five all in quire X. This is a most interesting detail; Haukr apparently generally either made few mistakes, or it was felt his work required little correcting, except in quire X. This quire, which contains the *Hervarar saga*, might have been considered to be more important to get fully right, or perhaps the exemplar contained more questionable content.

Either way, at this point the identity of the corrector must be put to question. As it is generally considered to have been Haukr who edited and rubricated the manuscript beyond the end of the third quire, the frequently rubricated corrections would have been his. But it is remarkable he, in that case, only corrected his own work, apart from the corrections made to hand 9.

Hand 9 appears in several quires, but only makes corrections in quire 12 – specifically, in the *Algorismus*. This is not an isolated occurrence; they appear on almost every page of the *Algorismus*, nine times in total. This, just like Haukr’s corrections in quire X, can indicate the *Algorismus* was exceptional to the corrector, in some way or the other.

## 6.2: Other medieval marginalia

The over-all spread of non production process related marginalia seems relatively even. Disproportionately large numbers of material are found in the quires III, V, and VIII, but this is due to the presence of the originally empty pages 21v, 34v, 35r, and 59v, which have accumulated large amounts of jottings from all time periods. With these pages taken out of the equation, no single quire contains more than one medieval marginal.

An observation that could be made, however, is that medieval marginalia are typically applied to pages that were blank at that time – which suggests that the pages with text that is dated after Haukr’s death, such as parts of the third quire, were possibly already filled at the time the note-takers on 21v wrote their marginalia. The fragment on 19r quite definitely does not date from before the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, if it indeed is the beginning of the same epistolary opening Jón Helgason describes (1960a, p. xxvi). The runic material on 21v which spells “Maria” is impossible to assign a precise date, and the “Ave Maria” prayer is difficult to read due to fading, but in both cases the reference to Maria is much more relevant in a pre-reformation setting. Finnur dates the “Teitr Pálsson” hand to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (p. xviii).

### 6.2.1: The “Þeim go” note

This category is a fusion of the subsections “Fragments of epistolary and charter openings” and “Smearred pen trials” as they appear in the list of all marginalia, as they have their only analysable component in common.

As the hands of the epistolary and charter openings are all different, a comparison of hands is not particularly useful here. However, it is likely that the note on 19r was copied from 34v. If this is the case, the writer of the note on 19v would likely have had access to 34v. However, even though the phrase on 34v is 14<sup>th</sup> century, it is very possible the hand on 19r is much younger. This is where the “Smearred pen trials” subsection comes in. In this subsection, the uncertain possibility is described that the hand which wrote “huarkenl” on 10v, is also responsible for the “Þeim go” note on 19v. Both notes could be from between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the “Smearred pen trials” subsection argues for an early date. This



could imply – in a very, very speculative fashion – that 19r and 34v were kept together in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 6.2.2: Runic material

Since the legible runic marginalia are quite likely not from the same time period, their distribution is not really useful to analyse.

#### 6.2.3: Unique appearances

The majority of the unique notes were made on empty pages. Distribution probably is less related to the nature and shape of the manuscript than to where there was informal writing space available. In addition, most of the hands appear only once, and are therefore only interesting in their general spread as medieval marginalia.

### **6.3: Postmedieval marginalia: 1500-1800**

Perhaps the most notable category among the postmedieval marginalia are the learners' hands, which spread out over a large number of folios, and threaten to overwhelm everything else. Removing this category to discuss separately, seems useful. The same issue surfaces when it comes to the retouching of the manuscript.

The rest of the postmedieval category suffers from the same issues as the medieval one. The total number of appearances is very varied but not very large, and it is hard to see any particular pattern in the spread.

#### 6.3.1: Retouching

The oldest retouching dates to 1616, and is found in the quires I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, X, XI, and XIV. The second retouching, performed at Einarsnes later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, is found in the quires VI, VII, and VIII. This shows quite straightforwardly that the units 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, 2.2 and 4.1 were together with certainty in 1616.

#### 6.3.2: Severely unpractised hands

One of the most omnipresent phenomena are learners hands, and even though these hands are not all the same, they are likely connected to some kind of educational setting in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which means they can serve as a single general category. Learner's hands appear in the quires I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, and XIII. This already makes them a part of every single hypothesised unit, minor or major, but to add to this, the learners

hands also contain internal references to the quires III, IV, and VI. Bottom-filling markings associated with learner's hands appear in the quires II, III, VI, VII, IX, X, and XIV. All-in all, the educational setting where learners wrote, scribbled, and doodled in the manuscript, likely had all the hypothesised units collected.

### 6.3.3: Other hands

Even where other post-reformation hands occur multiple times, it is not currently useful to analyse these much further. The spread of Árne's own notes is perhaps not very informative, as it is already known he collected all the quires. The different instances of *nota bene* also seem to date to a time when all quires had been collected together already. And the various unique hands which do not appear more than once, cannot be analysed quantitatively.

### 6.3.4: *Nota bene*:

Although *nota bene* markings fall under *notae*, the accompanying notes are verbal and dateable, which made them fall under post-reformation marginalia. I will discuss them in their capacity as *notae* again in the relevant section. Several marginal notes which are too faded to read seem to resemble the script on 57r and 83r, but this cannot be said with certainty. These faded notes appear on the folios 38r, 43r, and 50r, and are placed in the outer margin and resemble the script as far as it is possible to say this. If these marks are indeed from the same hand, it would imply that the verbal marks which accompany the fused NB marks are mostly a feature of hypothesised unit 2.2, though it also appears in 4.2 once. All of the ink-made NB marks which resemble the NB's that accompany those on 57r, but are unaccompanied by text, appear in 4.2. This might suggest that the maker of the NB notes had a tendency to write down why the reader had to take note of the marked passages in 2.2, but typically found it enough to just point out notable passages in 4.2 without any explanation.

## 6.4: Modern marginalia (>1800)

This category struggles with the same issue as much of the post-reformation category does. It is not currently useful to assess in-depth which marginalia appear where, when the locations of the separate quires are relatively well-known at the time. In addition the modern features do not tend to include interesting unique features which can be discussed in their own right. The only interesting category here is the one which contains the marks in pencil from the mid- or late nineteenth century. The pencil marks themselves aren't the most useful

to analyse within this study, but their categorisation makes them important to the next category, “nonverbal marginalia”. Though the pencil marks are mostly nonverbal, they should be omitted from the analysis of the regular nonverbal marginalia. As it is already known they were made by a separate hand, and there is no chance they will offer useful material for the analysis, they will only cloud up the data retrieved from the other categories.

It is however notable, that it might be possible for those interested, to hypothesise on which of the well-known scholars that worked with the manuscript at this time, actually applied the marks in question. I have not specifically focussed on this, as this study is primarily aimed at medieval material, but I certainly see possibilities for those who are interested in the lives of manuscript scholars, rather than the manuscripts themselves.

#### 6.4.1: Marks in pencil

As also mentioned in the listing, the marks in pencil reveal a general study of most of the manuscript, but a systematic interest in the unit 2.2, which are the quires containing the *Breta sögur* and *Merlínusspá*. The quire of densest study though, is quire IX, which forms the third major hypothesised unit on its own. Nearly every page in this quire has lines in pencil on it, and more often than not there are multiple pencil lines visible on one page; 61r is the busiest, with ten lines in pencil to be spotted. The quires after this again show a thin-spread, roughly systematic approach to applying notations.

#### **6.5: Nonverbal marginalia:**

Notae and lectio marks are common and widespread in AM 544 4to as well as in other manuscripts, but also notoriously difficult to pin down. Many times a stain or scratch can be mistaken for an intentional note – and this is why a quantitative analysis is so interesting for these phenomena in particular. Even when one or two mistakes are made in telling intentional dots and stripes apart from coincidental ink splashes, the quantitative analysis will still reveal the general tendencies of the note-takers. For this reason I will pool all notae and lectio marks together in one group to analyse the largest possible quantity of them at once, before breaking this category up into smaller subsections to analyse separately. Besides enlarging the analysis pool, this also serves another purpose. It is not unlikely that some hands might have used different styles of lectio marks; the pencil hand, for example, uses both lines and cross-shapes. It might even be the case that all notae and lectio marks were produced by the same hand, although it seems unlikely. By gathering the entire category

in one subsection, it might be possible to get a better insight into the way the lectio marks and notae were used.

In this analysis of the entire category I have not included the interconnected thick dots, as I have not been able to figure out whether they were reading-process related. I have chosen not to include the pencil marks either, as they are so easily recognised as another hand, which can even be approximately dated. I will, however, compare the pencil marks' distribution to the distribution of the other notae and lectio marks.

#### 6.5.1: General analysis:

When all notae and lectio marks are pooled into one category, a certain pattern becomes immediately visible. The first and second quire contain a few notes, but then the third quire, as well as the fourth and fifth, contain none at all. This leaves both minor units 1.2 and 2.1 without any notae or lectio marks of any sort, whatsoever. This is a stark contrast with 2.2; VI has only a few notes, but VII and VIII are full of them, containing the highest numbers of all quires, mostly due to the great number of horizontal lines they contain. The difference between 2.1 and 2.2 is particularly interesting because this implies that not only the production process marginalia of these quires seemed slightly scarcer, apparently they were used less as well. Yet both quires were produced by Haukr under fairly similar circumstances. The *Trójumanna saga*, though, ends with some blank space that has later been filled with a variety of different materials, and the *Breta sögur* start at the beginning of a new quire; that does suggest an ending for the one, and a new start for the other. Haukr might have intended it that way, and later scholars might have interpreted it that way, and kept the hypothesised units separate from one another.

This in turn suggests that unit 2.1 might not have been available during the time it was popular to make marks like these. This could then have been between the time the units 2.1 and 2.2 were both produced by Haukr, and the 1616 retouching which left marks on both units. As there are no darkened pages in between 2.1 and 2.2, the separation could not have been too long. Arthur's study suggested a seventeenth century tendency to read pen-in-hand (2015, p.333; 2018, p.246), marking this era as the time in which the separation might have happened.

When compared to the pencil hand, the odd 2.1 to 2.2 pattern remains intact. There are no pencil marks of any kind after the first quire of this section, up until 32r. The pencil mark on 32r however is not a nota or lectio mark; it's the number 315. Lectio marks only show up from 38v onwards – and they are abundant from then on. This shows two things.

Firstly, the pencil hand quite certainly had unit 2.1 available for use. Secondly – it chose not to. This shows that even if past readers showed zero interest in making notes on the units 1.2 and 2.1, this didn't need to mean they had no access to these units. It might just be the case that the *Trójumanna saga* in AM 544 4to, for one reason or the other, has just been considered unworthy of detailed study throughout the period of history in which most lectio marks were applied.

The numbers of total notae and lectio marks after minor hypothesised unit 2.2 continue to vary per quire, but no other such remarkably strict and unit-based contrasts show up again. Variation mainly seems to depend on the coincidental personal interests of the mark-maker. An example of this is the exclusive presence of intentional dots in quire XIII.

#### 5.7.2: + and x

The level of variety for this feature does not allow me to draw conclusions based on the hand, or hands. It is a simple and accessible symbol that has likely been used by several different users of the manuscript. With the pencil hand excluded, cross shapes appear five times in the first minor hypothesised unit, 1.1. They appear nine times in unit 2.2, and four times in unit 4.2. The only quire with a notable density of + marks is quite VIII, which contains part of the the *Breta sögur* and the *Merlinusspá*, but even here the marks are spread out over many different pages, and don't seem to take particularly heavy interest in one page, topic, or phenomenon.

#### 5.7.3: interconnected thick dots

These marks superficially seem to appear at the beginning of quires; folio 2 is the second folio in the first quire, 22 is the first folio of the third quire, 46 is the third folio of the seventh. The symbol on 50 recto however,) breaks this pattern, as 50 recto is the second-last folio of the seventh quire. It is also the only one of the symbols to appear on a recto page, and seem to be a little thicker-drawn than the other three. The symbols on 2v and 22v might indicate that somebody claimed ownership of two separate booklets before they were bound together; but the symbol in the seventh quire does not support that idea. All in all, the pattern is not strong enough to draw any conclusions.

#### 5.7.4: Short line

The short line is an interesting lectio mark, as some very visible differences can be spotted. Though hands can't be identified, there are differences in style. The lines on 40v and

2v are very different looking from all other observed lines; the one on 40v is very large, and the one on 2v has an odd forked shape. Where there are multiple short lines on one page, they often look like they were made all at once, and they too are visibly different from the ones that occur on their own.

Most of the lines appear in the outer margin, next to the lines they refer to. However, on 54 recto and 55 recto, lines appear in the middle margin because the folio has an odd shape on the outer margin. After this, there are lines in the inner margin sometimes, even when there is nothing wrong with the shape of the folio. On 60 verso, there is a line in the bottom margin, which likely does not refer to a line of text. It is more likely that this particular line is a pen trial rather than a lectio mark.

So although the short line is a very common lectio mark that appears nearly everywhere, it is very rare in hypothesised unit 1, absent in 2.1, and extremely numerous in 2.2. Unlike the pencil marks, the short lines in ink show no significantly heightened density in quire IX, the third hypothesised unit. In X they are numerous again, and in the final quires after X, they are rare.

#### 5.7.5: Intentional dot

It appears as if the manuscript is full of dots, yet most of these are holes, stains, or coincidental ink splashes. In addition, the tiny dots can also be very difficult to see. The only part of the manuscript where entirely intentional dots were registered without a doubt were the folios 94r (2x) and 94v (4x). Their distribution and lineup makes it hard to deny these dots were meant as pointers to particular sentences. On 96r, 96v, 97r, and 97v, dots were found which strongly resembled the dots from the earlier folios; however, they did not look as unmistakable. All the confirmed dots and likely dots were found in quire XIII, in the saga material following the *Algorismus*. The dots, then, might have been the work of a scholar particularly interested in this saga. It might even be possible to speculate on the identity of this scholar, in a possible future study which focuses on postmedieval scholars.

#### 5.7.6: Underlining

The only systematic form of underlining appears on 3v, and this does not return elsewhere, apart from the pencil underlining on 40v. This singular appearance means it is not possible to analyse it quantitatively.

#### 5.7.7: Notae

Notae that seem complex enough to potentially be functioning technical symbols, appear twice in the sixth quire, once in the tenth, eleventh, and thirteenth, and once in the fourteenth.

As the complex notae are rare appearances, separate analysis of the feature does not benefit me here. Although it seems possible that many of these notae were drawn with the same pen, there is no conclusive evidence that can link them to a hand. Their wide spread, however, shows that if they were indeed all made by a single hand, this hand probably did this when the separate units were united. As the use of complex notae was a skill used in academic settings, and as it was an art dating back to the classical era, the notae in AM 544 4to were possibly placed by someone with antiquarian interests. The first quire contains material from the Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, which describes the use of several technical signs, so it might even be the case that these notes were made as early as the production process, by a scribe who had taken an interest in notae through the *Etymologiae*. Adversely, the notae could be the work of a modern scholar, who had seen notae in manuscripts before, and wanted to use them too.

### **6.6: Undatable material**

Much undatable material is illegible or barely visible to begin with, making the category large useless for quantitative analysis. However, two categories stand out. A very small hand appears in the first two quires, and on 68v – the significance of the small hand however, doesn't seem clear. Secondly a larger category of material which looks erased forms here; although there is nothing legible left of these notes, they still imply that a large number of the marginalia of AM 544 4to are present in a severely damaged state. Analysis of this material shows that it appears in the units 1.2, 2.1, 2.2, 3, and 4.2. It is the densest in quire VI, where it shows up on five different folios.

## CONCLUSIONS

With the marginalia and the related features listed and analysed, now comes the time to draw conclusions from these findings, and to relate these conclusions to the existing hypotheses about the separate units found within AM 544 4to. In addition, any other newly found observations will be listed and explained along with the implications they will have for the existing hypotheses on the provenance of AM 544 4to.

First, I will summarise and discuss the most relevant findings from the analysis section, per age group and hypothesised unit. Then I will evaluate the implications of these findings as a whole.

### 7.1: The production process

The production-process phase is one of the most interesting phases, as it contains a lot of interesting material, and thus might give many useful clues about the production order of the manuscript. A per unit approach mostly seems to confirm existing hypotheses about separate production processes, but some clusters of evidence appear stronger than one might expect. This is particularly the case for the difference between the units 2.1 and 2.2; the vast majority of the material of both was produced by hand 1 in roughly the same period of time, and contains similar topics, and apart from the topics not overlapping, there is little else to specifically suggest the units were not produced and kept together. Yet it is here that some of the most surprising differences can sometimes be spotted.

First, however, the first major hypothesised unit should be discussed. The quires I, II, and III stand apart in the production process mostly due to their uncertain connection to Haukr, and indeed, they contain a few different style features compared to the other quires. The decorated initials, for example, are quite sparse, and where they appear, they are also typically sparsely decorated. Semi-decorated initials also do not appear, except on folio 19v, which is written in a non-reoccurring late 14<sup>th</sup> century hand, which is much younger than the hands in the other quires. More differences can be spotted between unit 1.1 and 1.2; this is in most cases due to the different hands that appear in quire III rather than due to unrelated factors of the production process. Nonetheless, I shall briefly list the examples. Quire III only contains one decorated initial, which is in a distinctly different style than those in the quires I and II. Rubricated capitals have been used by hand 2 and 3 in all of the first unit, but half of quire III is filled by Icelandic hands, which do not seem to use this feature.

All in all it could be argued that the differences between unit 1 and the other units, as well as the differences between 1.1 and 1.2, are due to the difference in hands. Nonetheless, it



must be kept in mind that a study of marginal features can only supply evidence that two quires were together; it cannot supply negative evidence to indicate with certainty that particular quires were *not* together. In this, I reached the outcome I set out to find; namely, whether or not evidence is present in the marginal features of AM 544 4to that can disprove the hypothesis that unit 1 was produced separately. The fact that there seems to be no evidence present, is not a failing of the study, but rather a soft indication that the hypothesis regarding unit 1 could be correct.

Apart from the hypothesis of separate production units, another relevant observation within quire 3 can be made. Hand 4 and hand 7 were connected to the same scribal milieu and dated to the late 14th century, and there exists a very good chance that the hands in between were added to the manuscript in chronological order. Therefore it is likely that hand 4, 5, 6, and 7 were all applied in or around the Þingeyrar monastery in northern Iceland, in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, the rubricated features only go up until hand 5. Hand 6 has placed black initials which look as if they were intended to go without rubrication from the start. This might indicate that the red decorations were added to quire III after hand 5 had worked on it, but before hand 6 and 7 had added their parts. This implies there might have been a production process in separate phases for these additions. It could mean that the later additions weren't previously planned, but added in stages, whenever decided on the spot that a certain passage needed to be written. This suggestion might be very relevant for scholars of the manuscript who focus in particular on the various hands in the third quire, and those who have an interest in the scribal milieu at the monastery of Þingeyrar.

As previously mentioned, the second major hypothesized unit shows the most interesting divide within itself. The unit is rather consistent in its style, and matches with other sections produced by hand 1, if the quantity and size of the appearance of certain features is dismissed. In 2.1, features are typically smaller than in 2.2. Decorated initials, semi-decorated initials, and even regular rubricated capitals also appear significantly less, and this is unlikely to be a feature copied off an exemplar, as Haukr has made so many adjustments to the material which hand 1 contributed to AM 544 4to. This unit also contains the lowest numbers of rubrics of all the quires that Hand 1 demonstrably contributed to, and slightly lower amounts of decorative line-filling. Unit 2.1 and 2.2 also differ from one another when it comes to parchment intactness; interestingly, 2.1 has significantly fewer holes and irregular shaped pages. The red circling of these holes, though, is rounder on 2.1 and tends more towards square features in 2.2. Square circling of holes for the rest only appears in unit 4.1.

All of this appears to imply that even though the minor units within unit 2 are very similar in style, age, and provenance, they were not necessarily produced to belong together. This again, is an outcome which supports the existing hypothesis by a lack of any evidence to the contrary. It seems to gently reinforce the idea that it might not have necessarily been Haukr's idea to create a codex; he might just have been in the business of collecting material he found interesting, to expand his library, rather than to form one large magnum opus.

Unit 3 contains only the ninth quire, and although it has been entirely produced by hand 1 and follows its style, it stands out through the sheer number of appearances of the features. Unlike the difference between unit 2.1 and 2.2, unit 3 differs significantly from both units 2, because the topic is of a different sort. Here it is much more likely that the nature of the text calls for more features which lend structure, which would have organically resulted in a text with more rubrics and initials.

Somewhat more notable in this quire I find the number of corrections in the margin, which is also the highest of any quire, but this is perhaps to be expected, given that this quire seems to have a tendency to gather large quantities of things. This unit also has fewer holes than 2.2, though it still contains a lot of irregular pages. These irregularities are not as drastic as the preceding ones, though, and many of the irregular pages are in fact instances of later cutting rather than use of damaged parchment. All in all it might indicate that Haukr could have found this quire to be of particular interest, causing him to put more work into it.

The final hypothesised unit is unit 4, containing the quires X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. This unit tends to take the averages of the other units, with one particular exception: all of unit 4 contains the most elaborately decorated initials. This major unit is the only one which contains tricolor initials, and has the highest number of multicoloured initials in general. Unit 4 is also the only unit to contain verse marks.

Some differences between unit 4.1 (quire X) and unit 4.2 (quires XI, XII, XIII, and XIV) do appear. As previously mentioned, 4.1 and 2.2 are the only units which contain angular red decorations around holes in the vellum; in other places this decoration is typically rounded. A particular feature which is worth investigating within the fourth unit, is hand 9. I suspect that the peculiarities around hand 9 are not necessarily unit-related – it just happens to be the case that hand 9 appears in unit 4.2. Hand 9 stands apart from the other hands as it is the only hand besides hand 1 which is accompanied by verse marks, and also the only hand besides hand 1 and 2 which contains corrections in the margins. It is also the only hand which has left open space for rubrics which is too small to write the actual rubrics in (as well as a few spaces which are too big). Oddly enough, this is a feature that hand 9 has in common

with hand 1; the hand commonly attributed to Haukr Erlendsson, to whom the rubrics are also attributed (Jón, 1960a, p. x).

Once again, apart from the confirmation that the marginal features do not oppose the hypothesis that the units are different from one another, no ground-breaking new evidence is found. However, again, the observations made on the side seem relevant enough here to make special mention of.

Within the fourth unit, it seems as if the compiler had a special interest in some sections over others. Even more interestingly, this interest seemed to coincide with the hands that appear within this unit. To begin, it seems curious that hand 1, which was likely Haukr himself, contains so many corrections, while the vast majority of other hands do not contain any at all. One might expect that Haukr wrote his own sections as he liked them, and then made marginal edits to the work of the scribes that worked for him if he was not pleased with their work. The other hand which contains corrections is hand 9, which is the only other recurring hand in unit 4, and has been listed by Finnur as Haukr's first Icelandic secretary (1892, p. xlvi). This hand has been studied by other scholars as well, outside the Hauksbók as well as in (Jón, 1960a, p.xii), but its identity cannot be confirmed, apart from the fact it uses Icelandic orthography. To reinforce this central position of hand 1 and 9 within AM 544 4to, it should be mentioned that these are the only hands which are accompanied by verse marks, even though other sections contain verse as well. Additionally to all that, hand 9 is also the writer of the *Algorismus*. The *Algorismus* is special in several ways; first of all, this is the only part of AM 544 4to where hand 9 actually gets corrected. The *Algorismus* also contains an exceptional amount of structuring features, like initials and rubrics, and in addition contains the three unique decorations which seem to draw additional attention to the text. If these are marks of the interest of the compiler, then Haukr must have found the *Algorismus* rather interesting indeed – which further cements hand 9's position as a hand which was particularly trusted with important work.

Haukr's apparent trust in hand 9, and the likelihood that hand 1 was Haukr himself, would imply that Haukr saw to it that not those passages were corrected that contained the most errors, but those which he found the most important to get right. A similar argument can be made for the particular oddity that the only instances in the manuscript where the rubrics are too big or too small for the space that was left open for them, are a few sections written by hand 1 and hand 9. Since Haukr applied the rubrics in the units 2, 3, and 4, (Jón, 1960a, p.xxii) one would expect that Haukr would know best how big a space he needed for a rubric, whereas other scribes he worked with might mess this part up more

often. It seems, however, that this is again a feature specific to Haukr himself, and his most trusted secretary. This implied that for the less important sections, Haukr might have tailored the rubric to fit the open space, choosing a pleasing aesthetic at the cost of having a possibly less relevant rubric. However, in the more important sections, he might have chosen precision over aesthetic; he would rather have a messy-looking page than one that contained imprecise information.

These suggestions could be very interesting for a future study of the ways and reasons structuring elements were placed in manuscripts in general, not just those by Haukr.

In summary, the production process marginal features largely, though typically quite weakly, support Johansson's suggestions for possible units. No definite connection between the production of major unit 1 and the other units can be established, which means it is possible that this unit was indeed manufactured separately. It must be kept in mind, though, that the lack of positive evidence for a connection is not the same thing as the presence of negative evidence. Just because a connection could not be established through marginalia does not mean that no connection exists. Additionally, there are indeed also differences between minor units 1.1 and 1.2, but these could just be due to the different hands. Evidence for a separate production of these units, then, remains inconclusive, with no major evidence ruling for or against.

Major unit 2 as a whole appears rather similar in style to other sections that were also produced by hand 1, and therefore there is no conclusive evidence here to show that major unit 2 in particular was produced separately from the other units after quire III. However, between unit 2.1 and 2.2, large differences in the quantity of marginal features appear without a good explanation. Since the genres of the texts are similar, and the scribe was consistently hand 1 throughout both units, and the influence of the different exemplars was largely nullified through Haukr's rather large adjustments to the text, a similar make up for unit 2.1 and 2.2 was to be expected. However, unit 2.1 shows drastically fewer structuring elements, such as rubrics and initials. This is not a chronological development; both older and younger text produced by Hand 1 contains more structuring elements than unit 2.1 does. At the same time, unit 2.1 has more intact parchment than 2.2, and it decorates the holes it does contain differently. This shows that even when the units were both produced by the same hand within a relatively short period of time, there apparently still exists a notable difference between these two. What this difference might have been, could perhaps be an interesting subject for future study of a more content related nature.

Major unit 3, also known as quire IX, has also been produced by hand I in the same period, but this unit contains significantly more structuring units. This, however, seems to correlate with the contents of the text better than the difference between 2.1 and 2.2 does. All in all, the evidence seems to slightly favour the possibility as quire IX as a separate unit which might have been seen as a separate entity at some point.

Unit 4, which contains the rest of the quires, is different from the units 2 and 3 as it seems to have been the result of several hands working together. This is the most elaborately decorated unit, which seems to support its separate status. 4.1 and 4.2 are rather weakly separated by different sorts of decoration of the holes in the pages. The most interesting thing to notice in this unit, though, does not seem unit related at all, but is more of a separate observation tied to Haukr's working methods.

### **7.2: Other medieval marginalia**

As there are few marginalia which are demonstrably from before 1500, and are not related to the production process, the range of possibilities for quantitative analysis of the ports-production process features is also small. Most of the hands only appear once, and all notes contain either an identifier such as a personal name, or a standardised phrase, like an epistolary or charter opening, or a prayer. The distribution of these hands seems more related to where there was space than to particular units or quires

That being said, the fragmentary copying of the epistolary opening on 34v to 19r, and the weak connection these notes seem to have to the pen trials on 10v, seems to supply the very speculative suggestion that 10v, 19r and 34v were kept together in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and thus, that the units 1 and 2.1 had already come together at that point. Personally though, I would consider this form of evidence by far too flimsy to carry any real weight.

### **7.3: Postmedieval marginalia**

The oldest retouching dates to 1616, and is found in the quires I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, X, XI, and XIV. The second retouching, performed at Einarsnes later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, is only found in the quires VI, VII, and VIII. This shows quite straightforwardly that the units 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, 2.2 and 4.1 were together with certainty in 1616.

This is interesting because Jón Helgason points out the oldest confirmable postmedieval mention of the Hauksbók dates to 1636, when Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason mentions in a letter to professor Ole Worm that a certain Björn of Skarðsá has gotten hold of a manuscript which fits the description (1960b, p.1). He does however, also argue that a

certain Jón Guðmundsson, a contemporary of Björn of Skarðsá, likely studied the manuscript before him, in the west-Icelandic place Hóla, where he sent his son to school around 1616 (1960b, p.24). Jón Helgason does not make a connection to the first retouchers notes from 1616, but I do think this is a rather logical connection to make. Additionally, it seems rather striking that the manuscript apparently was located in a school setting there, while AM 544 4to contains so many learners notes that all have a suggested 17<sup>th</sup> century dating. It seems that after Björn of Skarðsá acquires the manuscript, it is used in academic settings by adult scholars, rather than children. To support this with material from this study, it can be pointed out that all the later marginalia seem to be scholarly in nature, rather than personal.

To make matters even more interesting, Bjárni Einarsson's name appears on folio 59 verso, and Jón Helgason connects this man to the presence of the manuscript at Hóla. The note on 59 verso specifies the manuscript belonged to Bjárni, who was likely a prominent figure, as the lineage of his wife was quite impressive (Jón Helgason, 1960a, p.xxiv). The note establishes that manuscript was lent out to someone unspecified, and that it ought to be returned, but this does not seem to have happened. Interesting here is that Jón Helgason establishes that Bjárni lived around the turn of the seventeenth century, and that he worked directly under Ari Magnússon of Ögur, the county-sheriff of the area, who lent the Hauksbók to Skagafjörður in the 1630's (1960a, p.xxiv). This does not necessarily mean Bjárni lent the manuscript to Ari – after all, it was quite likely studied by Jón Guðmundsson at Hólar, who might or might not have had something to do with the earliest retouching that dates to 1616.

This leads to a few interesting conclusions. If Bjárni had the manuscript at Hamar at the end of the sixteenth century, until he lent it out to somebody in Hólar some time before 1616, and if the manuscript came into the hands of Björn of Skarðsá before 1636, this gives a relatively narrow window of time for the manuscript to be present in an educational setting where many children might have used it. This gives not only a date between 1600 and 1636 to all the unpractised hands, it also gives that same possible window to the “Jesus Kristus er allr godr” note on 35r, and the *Rimbegla* quote on that same page, as they have been dated to the 17th century, and have been copied by several of the learners hands. These notes might even have been intended as parts of the curriculum.

#### **7.4: Modern marginalia:**

This category would perhaps be useful to those who study the lives of modern scholars, but not necessarily for a medieval based study. The most notable analysable feature would be the marks in pencil, which show an interesting focus on quire IX. Perhaps it might

be possible to say which scholar applied the pencil marks. Another hand which shows notable interest in particular features from this period is the NB hand, which has applied the *nota bene* marks in ink in later parts of the manuscript. This hand might have used NB marks that went together with small notes in hypothesised unit 2.2, but applied unaccompanied NB marks in 4.2.

### **7.5: Nonverbal marginalia:**

Arthur suggests that the tendency to read pen-in-hand is a renaissance feature (2015, p.246; 2018, p.333), and given that the quires of AM 544 4to were mostly gathered into one binding by the start of the seventeenth century, it is a very peculiar observation that hypothesised unit 2.1 does not contain any *notae* or *lectio* marks whatsoever. In contrast, the short lines are more excessively present in 2.2 than anywhere else, which suggest that this hypothesised unit has been the subject of particular study. This suggests that unit 2.1 might have spent time separately at a later time – or it might be that the contents were unanimously considered unimportant at the time. The lack of darkened pages between 2.1 and 2.2 suggests either a very short separation, a very careful separation, or no separation at all.

When compared to the notes by the pencil hand, the odd 2.1 to 2.2 pattern remains intact, but the hypothesis that this pattern is due to disinterest rather than long-term separation is also supported. There are no pencil marks of any kind after the first quire, up until 32r, but that mark is not a *nota* or *lectio* mark; it's the number 315. Pencil marks only show up again from 38v onwards – and they are abundant from then on. This shows two things. Firstly, the pencil hand, then, quite certainly had unit 2.1 available for use – but they simply chose not to.

Apart from the pattern within unit 2, *lectio* marks seem to follow the interest of the scholar involved, which again, may be of more interest to researchers interested in early modern scholars. To give an example; all the confirmed dots and likely dots were found in quire XIII, in the saga material following the *Algorismus*. It should be possible to compile a list of all the scholars who took an interest in that material, and pick the most likely candidate off that list. This is, however, not my own primary objective.

### **7.6: Summary**

In the end, the marginal features of AM 544 4to tend to form an image that confirms the hypothesised units in a very mild sort of way. This was expected; negative evidence of the kind that indicated with certainty that two quires were *not* together, cannot be supplied by this type of study in the first place.

Over all the evidence seems to indicate that unit 1 indeed has no production-process ties to the other units. It must have joined these units some time during the middle ages, as it was present for the 1616 retouching of most of what is currently known as AM 544 4to. It would be nice if the 15<sup>th</sup> century evidence for a medieval connection between unit 1.1 and 2.1 had been more conclusive, but as it is, it cannot be taken with enough certainty to say it strongly indicates anything in particular.

The remaining units are all united by their connections to hand 1. They all, however, show conclusive differences within their production process to indicate they were also treated as separate entities to a degree by their producers. Whether this falls within the normal scope of variation within a composite manuscript, cannot be said without more quantitative analysis of other manuscripts like this. As for unit 1, for unit 2, 3, and 4 it's clear, judging by the retouching and the scribbles made by learners hands, that these units were all kept as a single manuscript by the start of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. When they were united, though, is impossible to say, due to a critical lack of recurring medieval hands.

In the end the most interesting findings come from peculiarities discovered during the process of assembling a list of all the marginalia present. I have, for example, discovered that throughout the entire existence of AM 544 4to, throughout the production phase as well as the usage phase, nobody was at any point interested in the *Troiumannanna saga*. On a more serious note, the analysis has revealed hand 9's position as trusted secretary, as well as Haukr's interest in the *Algorismus*. I learned more about Haukr's patterns of rubrication and text-structuring, which might be related to general patterns of text structuring in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and could be of great interests of scholars of this topic. I have also discovered a closer dating range for certain marginalia by comparing them to others, and by comparing them to historical research by other scholars. For example, the children's hands and the two phrases on 35r look 17<sup>th</sup> century, but it is now possible to argue they were from the first third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century instead. Perhaps where I benefited from Jón Helgason's analysis of the owners of the manuscript for the dating of my marginalia, a subsequent scholar of a more historical than philological interest might find the dating of my marginalia useful to draw conclusions on the manuscript's stay at Hólar.

In general I believe that this thesis has succeeded in providing possibilities for future scholars to include marginal features into their studies to a greater extent. The list of marginalia in itself should be useful to future studies of AM 544 4to, and some of the final outcomes lead to interesting options for future study.



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