

Gerhard Schøning and Saga Literature

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It is fair to say that Gerhard Schøning (1722-80) through his scholarly work created an increased awareness of and interest in Norwegian medieval history and Old Norse literature, among Norwegians in the first place, but also further afield. The edition of *Heimskringla* in Old Norse, Danish and Latin (I-III, 1777-83) commonly referred to as Schøning's edition – is without doubt the most important contribution to this process. Several aspects of this edition together with Schøning's apparent interest in a wider scope of saga literature deserve, as I see it, to be dwelt with at some length within the framework of a Saga Conference.

In order to appreciate these interests a few facts from Schøning's biography may be relevant as a background: He was born at Buksnes in the islands of Lofoten, Northern Norway 1722. From 1739 to 1742 he was a student at the Cathedral School in Trondheim, the rector of which was the well-known Benjamin Dass. After having finished his studies in Trondheim Schøning went on to university studies in Copenhagen where he obtained a degree in theology in 1744 and a Master's degree in 1748 (*magistergrad*). Along with his theological studies Schøning devoted himself to the study of classical philology and history. For the study of history he even taught himself Old Norse and he

read saga literature. As printed editions of this kind of literature were still few and far between the student of saga literature had to turn directly to the study of manuscripts, a source material which, of course, was plentiful and rich in Copenhagen. This contributed, to quote Ludvig Holm-Olsen (1981: 40), to making Schøning one of the finest connoisseurs of Old Norse language and literature in his time. Be this as it may. There is, at any rate, every reason to believe that he was not a completely self-taught person in these matters as the Icelander Jón Eiríksson, later professor at the Academy of Soroe in Denmark, seems to have coached Gerhard Schøning's learning of the Old Norse language very competently so as to enable him to use manuscripts as primary sources for his historiographical work as well as that of editing texts in Old Norse (cf. also Jakobsen 1987 on this point). After having finished his studies in Copenhagen Schøning moved back to Trondheim where he, although still a young man, succeeded Benjamin Dass as rector of the Cathedral School in 1751. In this position he stayed until 1765 when he was appointed professor of history and rhetoric at the Academy of Soroe in Denmark. In 1774 he became titular councillor of justice and in 1775 archivist of the Privy Council. He died 8 July 1780. In his period as the rector of Trondheim Cathedral School Schøning together with bishop Johan Ernst Gunnerus and Peter Frederik Suhm founded (in 1760) a learned society which was seven years later to be known as The Royal Norwegian Society of Science and Letters (Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab, still in full activity). The library of this society was eventually endowed with Schøning's great collection of books and manuscripts. The Society's library has in recent years been incorporated in the University Library in Trondheim. Relevant to the present paper is also the biographical fact that Schøning from 1776 was appointed member of the Arnamagnaean Commission in which capacity he took part in the 1778-edition of *Hungurvaka*¹ and was asked to take charge of the 1777–83-edition of *Heimskringla*².

Schøning's interest in the kings' sagas is thus well attested and obvious. We shall return to this project in a short while. But there is evidence that he took an interest in saga literature of a much wider range than this. The most palpable manifestation of this interest is a collection attributable to Schøning of more than thirty transcripts of sagas, *þættir* and poetry, now kept in the University Library, Trondheim. The collection was catalogued and assessed for its text-critical value by Jónas Kristjánsson in 1967 (*Skrá um íslenzk handrit í Noregi*,

¹ *Hungurvaka*, sive *Historia primorum quinque Skalholtensium in Islandia Episcoporum, Pals Biskups Saga, sive Historia Pauli Episcopi, & Patr af Thorvalldi Vidförla, sive Narratio de Thorvalldo Peregrinatore, Ex Manuscriptis Legati Magnaeani, cum Interpretatione Latina, annotationibus, Chronologica, tabulis Genealogicis, & Indicibus, tam rerum, quam verborum, Hafniae 1778.*

² *Heimskringla*, edr *Noregs konungasögur af Snorra Sturlusyni = Snorre Sturlesons Norske Kongers Historie = Historia regum norvegorum conscripta a Snorrio Sturlae Filio. Nova, emendata et aucta editione in lucem prodit, opera Gerhardi Schøning. I-III, Hafniae 1777-83, vol. II, 1778.*

mimeo). So, even if editors have thus become increasingly aware of the collection in Trondheim, the problems of provenance for each individual transcript are not solved in every detail. Here is, however, neither the place nor the time to go much further into these matters. In general the transcripts may be identified as copies of manuscripts still extant, a fact which makes the collection less interesting from a text-critical point of view.³ The collection deserves nonetheless to be looked at again in its totality as a valid piece of evidence for the history of saga studies at large.

In addition to saga texts Schøning's collection in the University Library, Trondheim consists of some ten transcripts of varying content ranging from poetry (one being an extract of verses from The Saga of Haraldr Hárfagri in *Heimskringla* and one a copy of Einar Skúlason's *Geisli* copied from *Flatleyjarbók*) to history, grammar, law and topography. Even a transcript of the *Konungs skuggsjá* (The King's Mirror) which does not display any explicit sign of having been in Schøning's collection may have belonged there (see below). It is written, according to Jónas Kristjánsson, by Jón Marteinsson most likely for Schøning as this copyist has also written two of the saga transcripts in Schøning's collection in addition to six others in the University Library's possession, all of which had most likely been in Schøning's possession as well⁴. None of these shall be dealt with in any detail here. Suffice it here to point out that this section of transcripts from Schøning's collection reveals a wide interest in Icelandic matters – archaeology, history, language and topography – an interest which in the end also encompasses the interest in medieval literary texts as evidenced by the remaining transcripts of 33 sagas and *þættir* that had provably been in his possession.⁵

³ Thus for instance a total of twelve texts in the collection can be traced back to *Flatleyjarbók*. That is to say *Pátr af Rongvaldi i Ærviki*, *Pátr af Þorvaldi Tasalda systursyni Viga Glums*, *Sögu þátr af Olafi konungi sem kallaþr var Digurbeini*, *Sagann af Slysa Hroa*, *Rauðulfs þátr ok sona hans*, *Orkneyinga þátr*, *Pátr af Karli hinum vesali*, *Stufs þátr Kattarsyni (bis)*, *Saga af Snegluhalli*, *Pátr af Ásgrimi*, and [*Játvarðar saga helga*]. None of these are copied from *Flatleyjarbók* directly, but from copies made by 17th and 18th century scribes such as the well-known Ásgeir Jónsson. fMs 5f in Trondheim (the *Orkneyinga þátr*), transcribed by Oddur Jónsson, may be taken to be a representative example. Oddur Jónsson's transcript is without much doubt copied from AM 48, fol. that is an extract from *Flatleyjarbók* made by Ásgeir Jónsson, pp. 343-432 of which contains the *Orkneyinga þátr*. This part of AM 48, fol. was used as one of the main mss. for the 1780-edition of *Orkneyinga Saga*. There is positive evidence that Oddur Jónsson made transcripts even for P. F. Suhm. In the 1780-edition of *Orkneyinga Saga* one of the manuscripts used for the section about St. Magnus is explicitly said to be a copy written by Oddur ["Charta Illustriss. herois de Suhm, nitida fidaqve Oddi Jonæ manu exarata"]. The copy taken of AM 48, fol. for Schøning and the transcript of a *Magnus saga helga Eyjajarls* for Suhm may then be part of an early phase of the preparations for the 1780-edition of *Orkneyinga Saga*. fMs 5c (*Sögu-þátr af Olafi konungi sem kallaþr var Digurbeini*), written by an unidentified hand, is evidently copied from AM 49, fol., also an extract from *Flatleyjarbók* written in the 17th century by Jón Erlendsson and so on.

⁴ The six other manuscripts written by Jón Marteinsson are folio mss. nos 7, 35, 36, 37 and 134 together with quarto ms. no 14.

⁵ Schøning's interest in Iceland explicitly manifests itself even in his preface to Vice-Lavmand E.

Why, we may then ask, did Schøning take an interest in texts such as these and what kind of texts from the corpus of Old Icelandic literature do we have in the preserved collection of transcripts? When were they transcribed? How do Schøning's transcripts relate to saga texts edited and published in and before his time – to what extent do they overlap? Do we see any traces in his historiographical work of the texts in his collection and does Schøning himself express opinions on them? And possibly more.

The transcripts of the saga texts seem to have been carried out by relatively few hands. According to Jónas Kristjánsson's catalogue a majority of twenty-two are copied by Oddur Jónsson (1734-1814), two by Jón Marteinsson (1711-1771), one by Jón Erlendsson í Villingaholti (fMs 5g the provenance of which, however, is somewhat uncertain), and one by a scribe who identifies himself as 'I.I.S.' (fMs 4a). Two of the transcripts (fMss 4f and l) seem to be copied by the same hand, and one (fMs 4m) is copied by a hand that has copied a transcript of annals apparently for Schøning as well (fMs 139). Thus only three transcribed texts (fMss 4d, 4n and 5c, cf. Appendix below) are written by hands, which can not be identified elsewhere in Schøning's collection.

One of the transcripts (fMs 4a, *Gull-Þóris Saga*, the one written by "I.I.S.") dates itself in a note stating that it was copied from AM 495, 4to in "Hafniae Ao 1763 d. 4. Martij".⁶ A note attached to fMs 5f (*Orkneyinga þáttur* copied by Oddur Jónsson) states that this transcript is copied from AM 101, fol. which is one of the transcripts that Ásgeir Jónsson made for Torfæus.⁷ There is reason to believe that most of the remaining saga transcripts in Schøning's collection have also been made in the 1760s or early 1770s – at least those which can be identified as having been written by Oddur Jónsson. His work in this field seems to belong to the period after he graduated in theology in 1759. According to Páll Eggert Ólason (1951, 15) Oddur was back in Iceland in 1775. In the preface to the 1777-edition of *Heimskringla* Oddur is still entitled 'the Icelandic student' ["den Iislandske Student Oddur Jonssen"]. He is commended by Schøning for having written the fair copy including *variantes lectionis* for the printed edition (1777, p. xxiv). Even if that particular work seems to have been carried out under the auspices of Councillor of State Bernhard Møllman (†1778) Oddur Jónsson's activities in the field of transcribing manuscripts thus appears to have been relatively close to Schøning's own scholarly work [see below]. Jón Marteinsson died in 1771, which means that most of the transcripts written by

Olafsens of Land-Physici B. Povelsens *Reise igiennem Island*, foranstaltet af Videnskabernes Selskab i Kiøbenhavn, og beskreven af E. Olafsen. Soroe 1772.

⁶ AM 495, 4to is Ásgeirr Jónsson's copy of the only preserved medieval ms. of the text, AM 561, 4to (Kålund 1898, ix). In Kålund's list of existing transcripts of AM 495, 4to the one from Schøning's collection is missing.

⁷ The note has the following wording: "exarata juxta Exempla chartaccum in Folio, quod olim fuit Thormodi Torfæi, cujus manu propria annotationes marginales in isto ad scripta sunt. Postea in possessionem venit A. Magnæi, et nunc in ejusdem Bibliotheca inter Libros Folio msc^{os} extat No 101."

him were completed in the 1760s.

Three texts in Schøning's collection of saga manuscripts had appeared in print when they were transcribed: fMs 4m, containing *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs*, fMs 4d, containing *Sagan af Halfdane Eysteinsyni* and fMs 4f, containing *Sagan af Samsone fagra*. Verelius in Uppsala published the former of these already in 1672⁸; the two latter are included in a collection of saga texts published in Icelandic with Latin and Swedish translations by Erik Julius Björner in 1737.⁹ Of the remaining texts the *Gunnlaugs saga* was published in 1775.¹⁰ According to Jónas Kristjánsson Jón Marteinsson wrote the transcript of this text in Schøning's collection (fMs 4b). As we have seen he died in 1771. Thus the transcript predates the printed edition, as does also the transcript of *Orkneyinga Saga* (fMs 5f, cf. note 3 above). This saga appeared in print in 1780.¹¹ These facts taken together accentuate a certain similarity between Schøning's acquisition of transcripts of Old Icelandic texts and that of historians preceding him, first of all Thormod Torfæus (1636-1719) who had a very extensive programme of copying old manuscripts to be used as historical source material. In Schøning's case, however, it is less obvious than in the case of Torfæus exactly for what purpose the transcribed texts were made or whether the acquisition was organised according to fixed plans or not.

An 18th century scholar like Schøning was, needless to say, less preoccupied with problems relating to literary kind and source value of saga texts than scholars of later times. It is a fact that Icelandic texts from *fornaldarsögur* and *þættir* of various kinds to *íslendingasögur* and *þættir* referring predominantly to Icelandic matters constitute a major part of the collection with which we are concerned here [cf. Appendix below]. Even so narrative episodes taking place in Norway and references to Norway are, as we all know, so common that these elements may well be looked upon as literary *topoi* in most of these texts. Judging from general statements in the Preface to

⁸ *Hervarar Saga På Gammal Götska Med Olai Verelii Uttolkning Och Notis*. Upsaliae.

⁹ Björner, Erik Julius, *Nordiska Kämpa Dater, i en Sagoflock samlade Om forna Kongar och Hjältar*. Stockholm 1737. The two sagas represented in Schøning's collection are printed as texts nos 11 and 12. The two manuscripts in Schøning's collection (fMs 4d and 4f, hands unidentified) are clearly independent of the printed versions in Björner's edition. The manuscript texts are more elaborate and contain narrative parts which are absent in the printed versions. Particularly in his early work Schøning quite frequently refers to texts in Björner's edition (including *Sagan af Halfdan Eysteinsyne* cf. e.g. Schøning 1751, 30, 40). It is, in consequence, possible to see the two mss. in Schøning's collection as an expression of subsequent scepticism towards Björner's versions.

¹⁰ *Sagan af Gunnlaugi Ormstungu ok Skalld-Rafni, sive Gunnlaugi Vermilingvis & Rafnis Poetae Vita*. Ex Manuscriptis Legati Magnaeani cum Interpretatione Latina, notis, Chronologia tabulis Genealogicis & Indicibus, tam rerum, quam Verborum. Hafniae.

¹¹ *Orkneyinga Saga sive Historia Orcadensium a prima Orcadum per Norvegos Occupatione ad Exitum Seculi Duodecimi*. Saga His Helga Magnusar Eyia Jarls sive Vita Sancti Magni Insularum Comitis. Ex Mss. Legati Arna-Magnaeani cum versione Latina, varietate lectionum et indicibus, chronologico, reali et philologico edidit Jonas Jonaeus Isl., Hafniae.

his History of Norway¹² Schøning considered, not very surprisingly, saga texts in general to be valid sources. He rebukes German scholars for calling into doubt the validity of “vore gamle Efterretninger” – a general term which covers sagas of different kinds as it appears. If these scholars had really known the texts, they would have thought differently, Schøning says before elaborating on the sagas as sources to the history of Norway in particular. In so doing he admits that fantastic elements do occur in these texts, a fact which does not, however, deprive ‘the so-called sagas’ (“saa kaldte Sagar”) of credibility.¹³ To Schøning, then, the key words to the appreciation of sagas were, as it appears, “Sandhed og Rigtighed” (‘veracity and correctness’). There is every reason to believe that this was an important, if not the most important, reason for Schøning to provide himself with a quite impressive collection of saga transcripts – the major part of which were, as we have seen, most likely copied in the 1760s.¹⁴

In Schøning’s published work the footprints of the saga texts in his collection of transcripts are, however, rather few and far between. Nevertheless there are some illuminating examples in vol. II (455f.) of the ‘History of Norway’, as can be illustrated by the use made of *Gull-Póris saga* (fMs 4a), also known as *Porskfirðinga saga*. When making an account of important cod fisheries in Hálogaland at the time of Haraldr Hárfagri, Schøning quotes an episode from Þórir’s visit to Ulfr at Þrondarnes (for the saga text cf. Kålund ed. 1898, 9-15). Schøning incorporates episodes such as this more or less at face value as part of his ‘History of Norway’. The only critical remark about the source value of this piece of narrative is directed towards Þórir’s mode of conduct when he was about to ravage Agnar the Berserk’s burial mound. Þórir changed his plans, Schøning tells us on the basis of the saga text, when told that Agnar the Berserk was a close relative. In a critical note to this Schøning, referring to the saga text, informs us that Agnar the Berserk is told to have

¹² Gerhard Schøning, *Norges Riiges Historie I-III*, Sorøe (Mumme og Faber) 1771-81, Fortale, vol I.

¹³ “Der findes i vore gamle Nordiske Historier, eller saa kaldte Sagar, en Hob Fabler, det er sandt; det er skeet, ved et Slags Vanhæld, at just de af bemeldte Sagar ere komne (sic) for Lyset, som med saadanne Fabler vare meest udspækkede: men de ret fabelagtige Historiers Antal blandt vore gamle Sagar er dog meget ringe, mod deres Mængde, som bære de ægte og kiendeligste Mærker af Sandhed og Rigtighed, eller mod dem at regne, i hvilke det Falske læt kan skilles fra det Sande. De i vore gamle Historier, Vers og Sange indstrøede Fabler kunne desuden saa lidet betage dem deres Troværdighed, at de tvertimod, efter mine Tanker, bør ansees for eet af de gyldigste Beviiser for deres Ælde og Rigtighed; og de kunne ligesaa lidt kuldkaste vore gamle Fortællinger, i sig selv betragtede, som man bør ansee andre Landes ældste Historier for opdigtede eller urigtige, aleene for de deriblandt indmængede Fabler.” Schøning 1771, *Fortale*. For the German criticism of saga literature as historical sources, see e.g. Mundal 1977, p. 18.

¹⁴ Thus in one of the mss (fMs 5b), which contains five saga texts (see Appendix) there is a list of contents on the first page. After three of the listed texts a note is added in a contemporary hand connecting *Þáttur af Karli hinum Vesala* to “Magni Boni” (Magnus the Good), *Þáttur af Röngvaldi í Ærvík* to “Olafi Tryggv.” (Óláfr Tryggvasonr) and *Stúfs þáttur Kattarsonar* to “Har: Sigurdi filii” (Haraldr Sigurðssonr), a clear indication of the intended use of these texts as sources.

revealed himself to Þórir in a dream unveiling the relationship which was unknown to Þórir. This is an addition, Schøning remarks, made by the saga author only to dress up the story.¹⁵

This use of a saga text, quite representative of the work as a whole, may be seen as a direct consequence of Schøning's belief in the "Sandhed" and "Rigtighed" of these stories as expressed in the preface of his 'History of Norway' (cf. note 13). Furthermore, the scarcity of references in his written work to saga texts represented in his collection indicates that there was no fixed or premeditated plan behind Schøning's acquisition of saga transcripts

To posterity Schøning's interest in saga literature may seem to concentrate on the kings' sagas. It is known that he started preparations for an edition of the King's Mirror (*Konungs skuggsiá*) in his Trondheim period before moving to Soroe in 1765, but these plans were never carried through (cf. Holm-Olsen 1981, 41). The most influential contribution by Schøning to the reception of saga literature was, of course, the edition of *Heimskringla* (cf. above) – an enterprise led rather than carried out by Schøning himself it is fair to say. In scholarly work of our time Schøning's edition is commonly spoken of in rather reserved terms when its text-critical methods and approaches are concerned (cf. e. g. Holm-Olsen 1981, 42). In my opinion it is, however, anachronistic and unfair to judge its philological shortcomings by the standards of modern editorial practices.

Having said this, it seems pertinent here again to underline the fact that Schøning's main contribution to the edition was to bring together the many different pieces of work carried out by a whole editorial group as it were. The preparatory work of establishing a textual basis for the Old Norse version of the printed text was, as recognised by Schøning in the preface (p. xxii) supervised by the then late Hans Gram (†1748) and Bernhard Møllman (†1778). The fair copy for that part of the edition seems to have been made by Oddur Jónsson which means that it must have been finished by 1775 (see above). The Danish translation, the *Index Verborum* and the general index are accredited to the well-known Jón Ólafsson [frá Grunavík], whereas Schøning himself takes credit for the Latin translation. The philological assessment of the text-critical value of the manuscripts upon which the edition was based (given on pp. xxiv-xxvi of the preface) does, in my opinion, deserve to be looked upon as a foreshadowing of developments in editorial philology in the following centuries. At face value it may then seem as if Schøning was ahead of his time in this respect, belonging more in the 19th than in the 18th century. A closer look at this, however, clearly reveals that the rather 'modern' attitude to textual criticism, the importance of *variantes lectionis* etc. as expressed in this section of the preface, may with due respect be considered borrowed plumes. The assessment of the manuscripts

¹⁵ "Gull-Þorers Saga beretter, at Agnar selv i en Drøm aabenbarede dette for Þorer; et Tillæg af Forfatteren, for at pynte paa Historien." (Schøning 1773, 456, note u).

seems without much doubt to be the work of Jón Ólafsson. The text in the preface to *Heimskringla* on this point is just a slight paraphrasing of an undated note written by Jón. It is now kept in The Royal Library, Copenhagen (Ny kgl. Saml. 2077b, 4to). Under the same catalogue number several small notes also written by Jón, are preserved showing the very close co-operation between Jón Ólafsson and Schøning in the final stages of the editorial work.¹⁶ Schøning seems to have accepted Jón Ólafsson's critical attitude towards the use of manuscripts for editorial purposes, communicating Jón's view as his own in the preface. There is every reason to believe, however, that Schøning himself belonged to a less advanced position on this point. His collection of saga transcripts copied from manuscripts of varying text-critical value does, it seems natural to say, materialise this less advanced position thus making his corpus of collected transcripts a representative expression of the early history of modern saga studies.

Appendix

Schøning's collection of saga transcripts

Signum in Library	Title of transcript
I. Kings' sagas and kings' chronicles	
fMs 4k	Rauðulfs þátr ok sona hans
fMs 5f	Orkneyjunga þátr
II. Íslendinga sögur (Cf. the classification in <i>Íslendingasagnaútgáfan</i>)	
fMs 4a	Gullþóorirs saga [= <i>Þorskfirðinga saga</i>]
fMs 4b	Saga af Hrafne og Gunnlauge Ormstungu epter firi sögu Ara Prests hins frøða Þorgilssonar
fMs 4c	Droplaugar søna saga
fMs 4g	Saga Eiriks Rauða
fMs 4h	Sagan af Gunnari Þiðranda bane
fMs 4i	Svarfdæla saga
fMs 4k	Saga af Snegluhalli
fMs 4k	Þátr af Þorvaldi Tasallda systursyni Viga Glums
fMs 4l	Sagan af Havarde Isfirðingi
fMs 4n	Sagan af Viga-Skútu ok Reikdælum
fMs 4p	Sagan af Broddhelga er oðru nafne kallaz Vopnfirðinga saga
fMs 4q	Saga af Finnboga ramma
fMs 5b	Stúfs Þátr Kattarsonar [inn meiri]
fMs 5d	Þátr af Ormi Storólfssyni
fMs 5e	Þátr af Auðunne Íslending
fMs 5e	Þátr Stúfs Kattarsonar Íslending [inn skemmri]
fMs 5e	Þátr Þórvarþz Krákunefs Íslendingz
qMs 4	Sagann af Þoorde Hredu

¹⁶ One of these notes (also undated) is a request by Jón to Schøning for pages 176 to 241 of the fair copy as Jón wanted to check on the verses (which was his particular responsibility): "om Hr. Justitieraad Schøning vilde være saa god at laane paa en kort Tid Manuscriptet af Sn. Sturlesen fra Pag. 176 til 241, eller saameget deraf som Hr. Justitieraaden icke bruger. Det er viserne der i, jeg gierne vilde efterse".

III. Fornögur norðurlanda (Cf. the classification in *Íslendingasagnaútgáfan*)

fMs 4d	Sagann af Halfdane Eysteinsyne
fMs 4k	Af Tóka Tókasyni litit æfintýr
fMs 4m	Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs
fMs 5c	Sögu þátrr af Olafi konungi sem kallaþr var Digurbeini

IV. Old Norse-Icelandic Romances (Cf. Kalinke & Mitchell's classification 1985)¹⁷

fMs 5b	Damusta Saga
fMs 4f	Sagann af Samsone Fagra
fMs 5b	Valdimars Sogu Fragment ¹⁸

V. Other

fMs 4e	Sagan af Haralldde Hrings bane ¹⁹
fMs 5e	Játvarðar saga helga]

VI. Þættir known mainly from *Flateyjarbók* (but not transcribed from it) cf. *Vigfússon & Unger* (eds.)

fMs 5b	Frá Raungvalldi ok Raud alías Þátrr af Røngvaldi í Ærvik	I, 288-299
fMs 5g	Sagann af Slysá Hróa	II, 73-80
fMs 5a	Þátrr af Karli hinum Vesala	III, 253-261
fMs 4k	Þátrr af Ásgrimi	III, 432-434

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¹⁷ The relevant mss. in Schøning's collection are all recorded in the bibliography of Kalinke & Mitchell 1985.

¹⁸ On the first page: "Ex Membrana B. A. H."

¹⁹ On the genesis of this saga, which is considered to be composed as late as in the 17th c., cf. Ólafur Halldórsson (1973, 17) with bibliographical notes. No reference to Schøning's ms. is given in scholarly work on this saga. According to Jónas Kristjánsson the present transcript is written by Jón Marteinsson (1711-71, see above).