Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

COLLEGIUM MEDIEVALE

Interdisciplinary Journal of Medieval Research

Volume
38
2025

Published by
COLLEGIUM MEDIEVALE
Society for Medieval Studies
Oslo 2025

COLLEGIUM MEDIEVALE

Tverrfaglig tidsskrift for middelalderforskning
Interdisciplinary Journal of Medieval Research

The journal *Collegium Medievale* is a forum for all who are engaged in research on topics related to the Middle Ages or the Renaissance. One volume is published annually. The journal is published by the medievalist association Collegium Medievale, Society for Medieval Studies, in cooperation with Novus Press, Oslo, Norway. The Association has its basis in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Oslo, khm.uio.no/tema/tiden/middelalder/collegium-medievale/.

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Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Punitive Miracles in the Old Norse Bishops' Sagas

Davide Salmoiraghi

This article studies instances of divine retribution performed by God through his bishops in medieval Scandinavia. It focuses on the miracles performed by the bishops of Iceland —both saints and non-saints— as recorded in the *Biskupa sögur* and the miracle collections of the native bishop saints. Such divine retributions can be admonitory acts whose effects are not permanent, as well as supernatural retaliations with permanent effects. While scholars generally agree on the benign nature of the bishop saints of Iceland in comparison to their colleagues on the Continent (Whaley 1994), this study draws the attention to a large number of miraculous punishments than those considered so far. This overview thus unveils the multifaceted nature of the ecclesiastical officials of the northern world and questions the various purposes pursued by saga authors in including these miracles in their narratives.

Introduction

Among the numerous examples that are contained in the first book of his *Dialogi*, Gregory the Great tells his deacon Peter about the miracles of the sixth-century Bishop Bonifacius of Ferento. One day, says Gregory, the bishop was invited to dine at a nobleman's after Mass. Before Bonifacius could even say grace, a poor musician entered the house and began to play his instrument. This displeased the bishop so much, that he declared the musician a dead man. After he had been given some food, the poor musician was struck down by a stone that fell on his head while passing through the door. As announced by the bishop, the blow was the poor man's death. In the Old Norse translation of the *Dialogi*, which was circulating in Iceland as early as the late twelfth century, Gregory's explanation of the meaning of the episode is rendered as follows:

> By this example we have to consider what great reverence we ought to give to holy men, for they are the temples of God. And when a holy man is moved to anger, so is He who dwells in that temple. Therefore, we ought to care the most

> for the wrath of the just men, since we know that in their souls dwells He who has the power to avenge them. [1]

Divine punishments like the one operated by Bonifacius are exemplary of the ambiguity of the power of saints. Saints' miracles are not only tokens of the grace of God and acts of good for the faithful but can also be channels for God's wrath and instruments of correction. As weapons of the saints,[2] they punish different categories of transgression, such as disbelief in the saints' charismatic power, harm to their devotees and violation of various aspect of their cult, such as sacred spaces and ecclesiastical norms.[3] Scholars have noticed the thin difference between miracles and magic,[4] as reflected for instance in the collection of evidence for the process of canonisation and that for the trial for witchcraft,[5] and their opposite relation to healing miracles.[6] However, whether miracles are evidently beneficial in nature or apparently against the teachings of the Gospel, the divine will that is behind these supernatural acts vouches for their legitimacy. Aron Gurevič highlighted how these 'evil' miracles are a con-

[1] *I þessum hlut er virdanda, hversu mikil heidsęi er v(e)itandi helgum monnum, þviat þeir ero musteri guds. Ok þa er heilagr madr er til reidi eggiadr, þa reidiz sa er byggvir i musterinu. Af þvi er mest uggandi reidi rettlatra manna, at þat er vist, at sa er nalęgr hiortum þeira, er matt hefir til at hefna þeira*. (Unger 1877: I, 194[3-7]; all English translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own). On the Old Norse translation of Gregory's *Dialogi* and its circulation, see Gregory the Great 2001: 266–269; on Gregory's influence on Old Norse literature, see Boyer 1971 and Wolf 2001.

[2] Cf. *Sancti enim praedicatores uerbis suis quasi quibusdam iaculis aduersarios feriunt; armis uero, id est miraculis semetipsos tuentur; ut et quantum sint audiendi, sonent per impetum iaculorum, et quantum sint reuerendi, clarescant per arma miraculorum*. (Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 30, 2) (For holy preachers strike their adversaries with their words as with darts, but they protect themselves with weapons, that is, with miracles. Thus, as far as they are to be heard, they may sound forth through the force of their darts, and as far as they are to be revered, they may shine through the weapons of miracles). A copy of the *Moralia in Iob* was kept in Hólar cathedral (DI XV, 213) and at the church at Múli (DI II, 435), and fragments and extracts of the work are extant in Copenhagen, Safn Árna Magnússonar, AM 671 4to (c. 1300–1340), AM Acc. 7 Ms. 100, 1r–12v (c. 1300) and AM Acc. 7 Ms. 101, 1r–2v (c. 1400).

[3] Classic studies on this category of miracles include Sigal 1976; 1985: 276–282; Platelle 1978/79; Bozóky 1998. For recent studies, see among other, see Barthélemy 2004; 2010; Helvétius 2006; Johnson 2010; Wieczorek 2014; Bozóky 2017; Rogan 2021.

[4] See Versnel 1991; Geary 1994.

[5] Klaniczay 2000.

[6] According to Klaniczay (2010), miracles of chastisement and punishment operate in the same way as healing miracles insofar they are performed on the proviso that something has been given to or taken from the saint, as in the case of vows for a healing or their lack thereof.

stituent part of the medieval mind, which is prone to translate the metaphysic in physical terms.[7]

Punitive miracles began to be inserted into hagiographical literature to suggest God's support of saints' deeds in Late Antiquity. They were first staged in the accounts of the lives of monks and hermits, and were only later attributed to the secular clergy.[8] In the *vitae* and *gesta* of bishops and bishop saints alike, the presence of miracles of punishment has been interpreted as the expression of a strategy that plays at the level of the supernatural, which church officials used to gain public legitimacy against secular resistance.[9]

In medieval Scandinavia, bishops perform acts of divine retributions in a variety of texts, both religious and secular, written in Latin and in the vernacular. In Iceland, they are a recurrent feature in the *Biskupa sögur* (Bishops' sagas), the saga accounts of the lives and careers of the bishops of the Church in Iceland,[10] which could be taken as the Old Norse counterpart of the Continental *gesta episcoporum*.[11] The corpus was composed from the early thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries and comprises the lives of three bishop saints, Þorlákr Þórhallsson of Skálholt (1178–1193), Jón Ögmundarson (1106–1121) and Guðmundr Arason of Hólar (1203–1237), and three bishops who were not raised to the altars, Árni Þorláksson of Skálholt (1269–1298), Jón Halldórsson of Skálholt (1322–1339) and Lárentíus Kálfsson of Hólar (1324–1331). In recent years, scholars have studied the rather realistic descriptions of healing miracles in the *Biskupa sögur* from a medical perspective,[12] and instances of possessions and cures have been considered towards an understanding of the perception and representation of disability in medieval Scandinavia as a whole.[13] In the most systematic survey of miracles in the *Biskupa sögur* to date, Diana Whaley concluded that the bishop saints of Iceland and their hagiographers were, on the whole, less prone to punishment and quicker in granting their help than their colleagues on the Conti-

[7] Gurevič 1988: 202–209. See also Guglielmetti 2021.

[8] Cracco Ruggini 1997: 34.

[9] Cracco Rugginoi 2001: 511–512.

[10] For recent introductions to the *Biskupa sögur*, see Cormack 2005; Ásdís Egilsdóttir 2024.

[11] On the *gesta episcoporum* as a genre, see Sot 1981; Kaiser, 1994. The relation between *Biskupa sögur* and the Latin accounts of the lives of bishops in the Isles and on the Continent is discussed in Ásdís Egilsdóttir 1992 and 2006.

[12] Cormack 2008; Collins 2018; Van Deusen 2024. Ásdís Egilsdóttir (2001) discusses illness as punishment in the sagas of bishop saints.

[13] O'Connell 2018; Crocker 2019.

nent.[14] For her comparison, Whaley referred to Pierre-André Sigal's study of eleventh- and twelfth-century French miracle accounts, which considered 5000 miracles across 76 *vitae*, 166 miracle collections, and a dozen composite texts.[15] According to Whaley's analysis, punitive miracles in the Icelandic corpus amount to "a mere 3%", a striking figure, she notes, once compared to the 44.7% of the French corpus:[16]

> "Even when chastisements which are incidental to a cure or other miracle are included [in the category of punitive miracles], the proportion only reaches 7-8% – a mere dozen or so instances"[17]

This article focuses on the divine retribution performed by Icelandic bishops in the broadest sense. First, it takes into account miracle episodes that concern what Whaley distinguishes in "healing" and "non-healing" chastisements: miracles that result in irreversible damage, disfigurement, mutilation or death on the one hand and miracles where the punishment is reversed due to the victims' contrition. These two categories are variably referred to as punitive or retaliatory miracles. Second, this article offers a survey of punitive miracles in all *Biskupa sögur*, analysing sagas of both bishop saints and non-saint bishops. The results of this survey add to Whaley's conclusions and allow for a reconsideration of the role of these miracles in the genre and tradition of *Biskupa sögur* as a whole.

As the study focuses on a comparatively uncharted geographical area in medieval religious studies, the analysis of divine retributions in the *Biskupa sögur* is introduced by an overview of similar instances from Scandinavia. Particular attention is given to texts produced in the cultural milieu of the three archbishoprics that were responsible for the administration of Iceland since its Conversion in the year 1000: Hamburg-Bremen (1000–1101), Lund (1101–1152), and Niðaróss (1152–1153). In so doing, this

[14] Whaley 1994a; 1994b.

[15] Whaley 1994b: 168–169. Cf. Sigal 1985. The implications of such comparison for Whaley's and the present analysis are discussed below.

[16] In the pre-print of her paper, Whaley counted 3 miracles of chastisement (2%) and cautiously warned that the "artificially low" figure was the result of criteria adopted in categorising the corpus; cf. Whaley 1994a: 858. The scholar also states that miraculous chastisements in the French corpus amount to the 44.7% of "non-healing" miracles (Whaley 1994b: 174), a figure which is not found in Sigal's comparative tables (Sigal 1985: 289–291), where these miracles amount to 9.8% of the corpus. One is led to assume that this figure may result from the different grouping of miracles that the scholar discusses in two footnotes: Whaley 1994b: 169 n. 42 and 171 n. 46.

[17] Whaley 1994b: 174.

article also contributes to the ongoing scholarly analysis of medieval miracles in the hagiographical literature produced on the Continent and in the Atlantic Isles and of the mechanisms of composition of the multifaceted genre of *gesta episcoporum*.

1. Divine violence in Viking Age Scandinavia

The interpretation of the Viking phenomenon as divine retribution for men's sins was a popular frame of reference since the start of Viking raids in the eighth century.[18] According to the ninth-century *Translatio sancti Germani* (BHL 3476-3477), the 'Northmen' (*Normanni*) who were besieging Paris in 845 and sacking the abbey of St-German-des-Prés were overcome by St Germanus himself:[19]

> Since God was fighting on behalf of his people despite their sins, and the blessed Germanus too was manly fighting for them, only four people survived of those who had trespassed the borders of the Christians. They escaped death then, though we believe that they did not escape it afterwards.[20]

Divine vengeance is also a fundamental instrument in the Christianisation of Scandinavia and in the process of consolidating the power and renown of its archdioceses. Many instances of divine punishment against the enemies of the Church and those who disrespect its precepts are recorded in *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae Pontificum*, which Adam of Bremen (c. 1050–1085) composed when Iceland was under the jurisdiction of the archdiocese.[21] While God's vengeance (*divina ultio*) struck the Swedes who have chased the missionary bishop Adalward,[22] Adam reports that Archbishop Adalbert made strategical use of this same concept against his personal enemies:

[18] Coupland 1991.

[19] Rowe 2012: 21–32.

[20] *Sicque factum est, Deo pro populo suo licet peccatore pugnante, beatoque Germano erga eos viriliter decertante, ut ex tanta populi multitudine qui christianoum fines intraverant, nullus remaneret praeter quatuor qui fuga lapsi sunt, quos nec postea mortis exitium credimus evasisse*. (*Translatio sancti Germani*, De Smedt et al. 1883: 93)

[21] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis eccleesiae pontificum* I, 53 (55); II, 29 (27); 53 (51); scol. 23 (24); III, scol. 72 (73).

[22] Cf. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta* III, 16 (15).

> Every day he mournfully grieved over this calamity of his times, and for this reason he had special psalms composed, by which he might take vengeance upon the enemies of the Church.[23]

In his *Gesta Danorum*, Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1150–1220) often records the effects of God's wrath,[24] especially in the context of the Danish campaigns against the Wends (c. 1130).[25] As in the case of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, in *Gesta Danorum* too divine vengeance is often channelled through bishops and their clergy. After they have moved the remains of the holy Bishop William of Roskilde against the bishop's will, Herman, the dean of the chapter, and Arnfast, the cathedral schoolmaster, "suffered a baleful end for their presumption, in such a way that each met punishment answering to his share in determining to profane the tomb".[26] Hermann died in agony following an attack of erysipelas that had begun when he had breathed the sweet fragrance that exuded from the late bishop's tomb, whereas Arnfast's liver burst, and he died after repenting for his disobedience and offering up all his properties to the Church.[27] As in the case of Archbishop Adalbert, it seems that in the Danish Church too the charismatic abilities of summoning divine vengeance were not confined to the saints but extended to God's ministers on earth. Saxo reports that Archbishop Absalon consecrated priests who later performed many miracles of healing in the interest of winning belief among the heathens, as well as punitive miracles:

> But if any spurned Christianity, these same priests would exact severe punishment by causing the ruin of their limbs in different ways, so that you might plainly believe the Almighty bestowed profit on those who embraced His worship, but vengeance on those who despised it.[28]

[23] *Quam calamitatem sui temporis ipse miserabiliter cotidie deploravit, spetiales ad hoc psalmos habens constitutos, quibus in hostes ecclesiae posset ulcisi*. (Adam of Bremen, *Gesta* III, 55 [54]). On the so-called imprecatory psalms, see Hossfeld 2009.

[24] Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum* 12.1.2; 12.2.1–2; 13.11.8. Cf. Nielsen 2024.

[25] Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum* 14.22.4–6; 14.39.12–24. On supernatural phenomena during the so-called 'Wendish Crusade', see Dragnea 2016.

[26] *pestiferum audacie sue exitum experti sunt, tantumque quisque supplicii retulit, quantum uiolandi busti sententie impendit* (11.12.3; Friis-Jensen II, 837).

[27] Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum* 11.12.4.

[28] *A quibusdam etiam detracte religionis supplicia uaria membrorum strage graviter exigebantur, ut manifeste deum et cultus sui premium et contemptus uindictam afferre putares*. (*Gesta Danorum* 14.39.47; Friis-Jensen II, 1312)

Several miraculous reprisals are recorded in the *Passio et miracula sancti Olaui*, where they are performed by St Olaf himself.[29] Although the agent of such divine punishments is here a holy king rather than a bishop saint, the fact that the collection was likely sponsored and certainly enlarged by Archbishop Eystein Erlendsson (1161–1188) indicates the awareness and circulation of this mechanism of supernatural propaganda in the Archdiocese of Nidaros.[30]

1.1 Saints and Violence in Old Norse-Icelandic religious literature

Divine punishments as retribution for sins and evil doings abound in the Scriptures and in hagiographical literature. The fact that religious texts circulated in Iceland both in Latin and translated in the vernacular, likely made the reception of these instances even more widespread.[31] Scriptural examples of punitive miracles circulated in the Biblical translations of the Old Testament known as *Stjórn* (I-III) and in the extract from the New Testament that found their ways in the *Postola sögur* (Apostles' sagas). Alongside episodes that stage the direct effects of God's wrath,[32] punitive miracles are performed by prophets like Moses, for whom the earth splits and a column of fire is sent to punish the rebel Levites (*Num*. 16), and Elisha, whose charisma avenges him of the insults of a group of children (2 *Kings* 2, 23-24).[33] In the Acts of the Apostles, Peter and Paul act as agents of God's anger and perform miracles of punishment. In *Acts 13*, Paul and Barnabas travel to Cyprus to preach in the city of Paphos, where they are opposed by the false prophet Elymas. Paul announces that God intends to make Elymas temporarily blind, and immediately darkness falls on the eyes of the false prophet.[34] In *Acts 5*, Ananias and his wife Sapphira are both struck dead after cheating to Peter about stealing from the communal purse. The compiler of *Pétrs*

[29] Cf. Metcalfe 1881: 78–79, 84, 90–92, 101–103.

[30] Significantly, the archbishop himself recorded a miraculous healing that was granted to him after he had fallen from a scaffold due to his own sins: *Peccatis autem exigentibus ut uite et iniuncte sollicitudinis cautior redderer, ceteris ponti et machinis adherentibus, solus in precipicium feror.* (Metcalfe 1881: 104) (I alone, for my sins, was thrown from that height, to teach me too be more careful of my life and duty, while the others clung to the scaffolding and hoists; trans. Kunin & Phelpstead 2001: 62)

[31] On the importance of bilingual education in medieval Iceland, see Patzuk-Russell 2021.

[32] Among the instances that are found in Old Norse translation, see *Exodus* 20, 5 and 34, 14 (cf. *Stjórn* I); *Leviticus* 10, 1-2 and *Numbers* 16 (cf. *Stjórn* II); 2 *Samuel* 6, 6-7 and 2 *Kings* 2, 23-24 (*Stjórn* III).

[33] *Stjörn* II, ch. 127, and III, ch. 336, in Unger 1862: 328–330 and 609.

[34] *Páls saga postola* I, in Unger 1874: 217–218; *Páls saga postola* II, in Unger 1874: 243–244.

saga postola I attempts to interpret the apparent contrast between the sayings of Jesus and the violence of this punishment as follows:

> About this event, one may ask why God Himself sent an immediate chastisement for this fraud, despite what is written in the Gospel: “If anyone slaps you on the left cheek, turn to him the right also”. To this, one ought to reply that in the New Covenant God punishes some deeds with immediate chastisement, as one ought to damn to a severe punishment those who go against the law soon after they are sentenced and kept in custody, as one may read at the beginning of the laws of Moses, when it is said about that man who was stoned to death because he had collected wood for his fire on the Shabbat.[35]

The interpretation of these miracles reached Medieval Iceland through the translation of hagiographical compilation such as Gregory’s *Dialogi* and the *vitae* of the desert fathers (*Vitae patrum*, *Antonius saga*) and those of bishop saints, where these miracles are meant to punish demons, criminals, pagans, and those who doubt or offend their sanctity.[36] The charismatic power that is granted to this category of saints is clearly summarised in *Clemens saga*, the Old Norse life of Clement of Rome, when Clement is about to heal the heathen Sisinnius, who had become deaf and blind for not believing in Christ. Glossing on *Matthew 16, 19*, the bishop saint makes explicit reference to the ability to channel divine chastisements:

> ...everyone on earth shall be freed from all ills and obtain a place in heaven when you wish to have it so, and everyone will be bound and condemned and become a fugitive from God when that is your verdict.[37]

[35] *Um þat ma tala, hvi sa hinn sami guþ hengdi sva skiott þenna prett, er sagði þau orð, er i guþspialli standa: Ef nöckurr slęr þik aa hęgri kinn, gef honum orlof at sla hina vinstri. En þvi er til svaranda, at i nyri kristni hefndi hann suma luti með skiotri refsing, sva sem lofat er at leggia stęrri pinur aa niðrbrotzmenn laganna i fyrstu, þa er þau ero lögleidd ok framborin, eptir þvi sem lesit er, at i upphafi Moyses laga var sa maðr gryttr, er aa hvilldardeginum las saman tre til ellda*. (Unger 1874: 28$^{6\text{-}14}$). Cf. *Pétrs saga postola II.A*, in Unger 1874: 166.

[36] The extant Old Norse corpus of hagiographical sagas of bishop saints comprises the lives of the following saints (in alphabetical order): Ambrose of Milan, Augustine of Hippo, Basil of Cesarea, Blaise of Sebastea, Clemens of Rome, Dionysus of Paris, Dunstan of Canterbury, Erasmus of Formia, Gregory of Rome, Jerome of Stridon, John Chrysostom of Constantinople, Martin of Tours, Nicholas of Myra, Remigius of Reims, Servatius of Tongeren, Sylvester of Rome, Thomas Becket of Canterbury. This corpus is based on a count of the extant sagas of bishop saints, leaving out *þættir* and *ævintýri*.

[37] *At sá skall hverr leysask á iörþu fra1 öllum meinum ok öþlask eilífa miskunn at Guþi feþr firir*

Overall, the Old Norse translations of hagiographical texts refer to miracles as signs (*jarteign* or *jartegn*, *tákn*) or events (*atburðr*) that are caused by God's wrath (*reiðr*) and that of the saints (*rettlara manna*), which function as acts of vengeance (*hegnd*) and punishment (*refsing*).

2. Violence and Miracles in the *Biskupa sögur*

That the concept of divine vengeance had an influence on the composition of Iceland's own *gesta episcoporum* is evidence by the number of similar punitive miracles in the corpus.[38] In 1994, Diana Whaley discussed the miracles found in the sagas and miracle collections of the saint bishops of Iceland (Þorlákr Þórhallsson of Skálholt, Jón Ögmundarson and Guðmundr Arason of Hólar) in a paper presented at the 9th Saga Conference held in Akureyri, which were published in the pre-prints of the conference and in a revised version of the paper that appeared that same year in *Collegium Medievale*.[39] Her study is a statistical analysis of 331 accounts of "practical" or "problem solving" miracles: miracles in which the saint's intervention in a human situation is in response to the plight of the suppliant. In most cases, these miracles follow a tripartite structure of 1) exposition of a problem, 2) the saint's intervention, and 3) resolution. Whaley focuses on the exposition stage, analysing in particular miracles that happened *post mortem*, categorised in "healing" and "non-healing" miracles.[40] The scholar grouped punitive miracles with reversible effects among the "healing miracles", counting miracles with irreversible effect among the "non-healing miracles".[41] Of the latter category, Whaley counts 4 instances: one for St Þorlákr, one for Jón, and two for Guðmundr. In both the pre-prints and the journal article, these episodes are not identified nor discussed in detail, rather mentioned in passing. If my identfi-

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þitt heilagt a1rnaþarorþ ok himinríkis vist er þú vill svá vera láta, en sá hverr bundinn ok fyrdõmþr ok Guþs flóttamaþr verþa er þitt atkvæþi es þat. (*Clemens saga* ch. 7; trans. Carron 2005: 38)

[38] On the social and cultural context in which the circulation and transmission of *Biskupa sögur* took place, see, among others, Haraldur Hreinsson 2021; Anderson 2023; Salmoiraghi 2025.

[39] Whaley 1994a; 1994b. In this article, references shall be made primarily to the journal version of the study, Whaley 1994b.

[40] In order to facilitate the comparison between the Icelandic miracles with the European corpus, Whaley modelled her system of classification on the one used by Sigal (1985) for eleventh- and twelfth-century French miracles, with minor changes.

[41] Whaley 1994b: 170–171. Whaley uses the term "chastisements" to define punitive actions that take the form of a short-term affliction which is soon healed.

Saint	Miracle/s	Source text
St Þorlákr	1	*Jarteinabók in forna*, ch. 28
Jón Ögmundarson	1	*Jóns saga ins helga* [A], ch. 44
Guðmundr Arason	2	*Guðmundar saga* D, chs. 83 and 87

cation of the episodes the scholar refers to is correct, the breakdown of the episode should be the following: [42]

Against these 4 instances, my analysis has identified the presence of 34 punitive miracles in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century *Biskupa sögur*. This marked difference in results with Whaley's research is primarily one of corpus and scope. While Whaley focused on those bishops who were considered saints by the Icelandic Church, this research considers the sagas of the non-saintly bishops (Árni Þorláksson, Lárentíuss Kálfsson and Jón Halldórsson) to offer a comprehensive overview of these punitive miracles in the whole genre. To do this, it also evaluates both *in vita* and *post mortem* miracles, as well as two categories of miracles that Whaley explicitly excluded: miracles that do not conform to the usual structure of exposition and interaction with the saint,[43] and those that lack an explicit interpretation as miracles by the author.[44] Under the first category fall both irreversible chastisements and temporary illnesses or delayed cured committed by the saints to sinners or slack devotees. As for the miracles that lack an interpretation,[45] this second category proves particularly productive in the case of non-saint bishops. Here, divine intervention on their behalf is often implied rather than openly stated, the purpose of the sagas being chiefly that of

[42] Whaley 1994b: 174. However, Whaley also mentions two instances that are analysed here but which are not accounted for in the breakdown of her results: Whaley 1994b: 163 (*Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups önnur* ch. 133; ÍF XVI: 227–228) and 157 (*GBp*^{D} ch. 44).

[43] "Narratives of remarkable events which exceptionally do not conform to the structural pattern." (Whaley 1994b: 165)

[44] "Potential, but not actuated, miracle accounts." (Whaley 1994b: 165)

[45] Johnson (2010: 19) uses the expression "passive retaliatory judgement" to indicate punitive miracles that the saints commit no act, either of speech or of gesture, to summon. According to the scholar, this kind of miracles "most clearly display the saint's identity as recipient of God's favour, he or she is a conduit t not for his or her own power or authority but for a 'divine strength', a *divina virtus* that moves independently of the saint when necessary."

recording the bishops' lives rather than collecting evidence for their possible canonisation. In fact, a closer reading shows that authors of these sagas too do clearly rely on these miracles as mechanisms of supernatural propaganda to justify the deeds of their protagonists. The lack of attribution may have been supplied by the audience, especially for those bishops whose sagas were composed as pieces of propaganda in clerical circles.

The following treatment of punitive miracles in the *Biskupa sögur* is divided in saint and non-saint bishops. To compensate for the lack of chronological order in the overall structure, the internal order of presentation follows the chronology of the bishops' years of office.

2.1 Sagas of Bishop Saints

In this section, I follow the common scholarly practice in referring to Þorlákr Þórhallsson, Jón Ögmundarson, and Guðmundr Arason as bishop saints. Although the official canonisation of the Church of Rome came only for St Þorlákr in 1984, and not at all for Jón and Guðmundr, popular belief had already considered them as saints since soon after their death.

2.1.1 *Þorláks sögur*

Bishop Þorlákr's elevation to sainthood at the 1193 Alþing was accompanied by a production of official documents in Latin, such as *lectiones* and a rhymed office, and of an account of his life.[46] Fragments of a *Vita Thorlaci*, which are found in two fragmentary manuscripts dated to the first half of the thirteenth century (AM 386 4to I-II), are attributed to Gunnlaugr Leifsson of Þingeyrar. The first version of *Þorláks saga*, *Þorláks saga* A [*ÞBp*^{A}] was composed before Bishop Páll's death in 1211.[47]

The miracle section of *ÞBp*^{A} (chs 19–83) mostly includes episodes that demonstrates the saint's power and the favour offered to those who pray him. In most cases, this demonstration takes the form of healing miracles, a category that outnumbers other kinds of divine intervention. In two instances, these healings are not immedi-

[46] See Gottskálk Jensson 2005. The saga focuses on the bishop's virtues rather than in a faithful account of his personality (Wolf 2008: 249) and is structured around "clusters of spheres of duty" (Jørgensen 1978: 10), especially matters related to matrimony, adultery, and incest, which are meant to inform the reader of the bishop's main pastoral concerns and interests. The text has been described as having the character of a lesson, a narrative vehicle for Paul's letters and Psalms (Ármann Jakobsson & David Clark 2013: xx).

[47] The text is extant in a fragment from the mid-thirteenth century (AM 383 I 4to, c. 1240–60), whereas the first extant complete version is found in Stock. Perg Fol. 5 (c. 1360): Wolf. *Legends of the Saints*, 372–378.

ately granted, but the bishop lets the suppliants suffer for a while so that they may learn from their mistakes. These miraculous punishments affect a man with epilepsy and eye-pain, so that he may learn to confess his sins, and a man with a hand injury, so that he may fulfill his vows to the saint.[48] In ch. 44, it is explicitly stated that the favour granted to the devotees of the saint was not extended to those who did not believe in him:

> [In a certain place] people came to an impassable river and those who called upon Bishop Þorľakr got over it safely, but those who did not call on him did not.[49]

The second redaction of *Þorláks saga*, known as *Þorláks saga* B [*ÞBp*[B]] might have been composed around the time of the third translation of Þorlákr's remans in 1292,[50] whereas the third redaction, *Þorláks saga C* [*ÞBp*[C]], was composed after 1325.[51] The main difference between the first and the second and third redactions of *Þorláks saga* is the insertion of *Oddaverjaþáttr* ('Tale of the Oddaverjar'), which deals with Bishop Þorlákr's attempts at exercising direct control over ecclesiastical properties (*staðir*) against Icelandic chieftains, of whom the Oddaverjar are the most prominent. [52] In

[48] *ÞBp*[A], ch. 65 (ÍF XVI: 94): "*Nú játta þik fyrir presti ef þú vill heulsu fá*" ("Now confess yourself before a priest if you wish to receive healing"; Ármann Jakobsson & David Clark 2013: 29); ch. 67 (ÍF XVI: 94): "*Títt gersk þér at heita ok efna eigi*" ("You are quick to make promises but not to fulfil them"; trans. Ármann Jakobsson, and David Clark 2013: 29). Expanded versions of these two miracles are found in the oldest collection of St Þorlàk's miracles, *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups in forna*, chs 1 and 28 (ÍF XVI: 107–108; 122–123).

[49] *Í einum stað kómu menn at ófœru vatni, ok kómusk þeir yfir með heilu er á Þorlák byskup hétu, en hinir eigi er øngu hétu*. (*ÞBp*A ch. 44, ÍF XVI: 91); trans. Ármann Jakobsson & Clark 2013: 27).

[50] *ÞBp*[B] is extant in AM 382 4to, ff. 1v–42v (c. 1340–60) and in the small fragment BL Add. 11242 (Wolf 2013: 378–384). *ÞBp*[B] is closer to the Latin fragments than *ÞBp*[A], where the material of the fragments had been abridged. For a summary on the debated dating of the fragment, see Orri Vésteinsson 2000: 137–138; Wolf 2008: 247.

[51] In *ÞBp*[C], the narrative is similar to the one in *ÞBp*[B], although it is sometimes abridged and contains independent episodes.

[52] In *ÞBp*[B], *Oddaverjaþáttr* follows the reference to Þorlákr's marital reform (*ÞBp*[A] ch. 15), whereas in *ÞBp*[C] it follows the description of the bishop's habits (*ÞBp*[A] ch. 16). The text's attention to the *staðamál* (the question surrounding ecclesiastical properties) may be attributed to the context of composition of the *þáttr* around the time of the height of the controversy, during the episcopate of Bishop Ártni Þorláksson: see Ásdís Egilsdóttir and Ármann Jakobsson 1999. Recently, Andersson (2021: xix–xxvii) has argued for the independent circulation of *Oddaverjaþáttr* before its incorporation in the bishop's saga based on stylistic differences, the absence of Biblical quotations, the abundance of dialogue, and overt references to the past throughout the account.

order to achieve his goals, the bishop did not yield from threatening his opponents with interdiction and excommunication.

Central to the narrative is the case of the chieftain and deacon Jón Loptsson of the Oddaverjar (d. 1197).[53] Disagreement first arose between the bishop and the chieftain when Jón did not want the bishop to consecrate the new church he had built at Hofðabrekka, which would have implied a confirmation of ecclesiastical property on the part of the bishop. After the bishop placed him under interdiction, the *þáttr* reports that the chieftain attempts to ambush him, his plan eventually failing due to a thick fog that hinders his way – itself a sign of divine intervention.[54] Then, Jón's son, Þorsteinn, takes the matter into his hands and threatens the bishop at Vellir. He waits for Þorlákr outside the church, intending to strike him with his axe. When Þorsteinn is about to hit the bishop, his hand is miraculously struck stiff, "because we think that God's power prevented him".[55] After another failed ambush, Jón and Þorlákr settle their dispute, the bishop agreeing to delay excommunication and to wait for the chieftain to mend his ways. However, despite their settlement with the bishop, divine punishment intervenes one last time to chastise both Jón and Þorsteinn, scoring in favour of the bishop at the closing of the narrative. About Þorsteinn, the *þáttr* says that he "turned out to be the most luckless fellow", and that his father and brothers suffered repeated provocations on his account.[56] Finally, Þorlákr himself interprets the events that lead to the death of Jón Loptsson as caused by divine intervention. Despite his opposition to the bishop, the *þáttr* says that Jón wanted to build a monastery to St John the Baptist on his property at Keldur. Þorlákr expresses his amazement as to whether the saint would accept the dedication from such an individual. By seeing his offer accepted, the bishop implies, Jón would feel legitimated in his actions against the Church, especially in connection to Keldur, which he had

[53] Cf. *ÞBp*^{B} ch. 22 (ÍF XVI: 167–168); chs 26–27 (ÍF XVI: 175–180).

[54] A similar divine chastisement happens to another chieftain in the narrative prior to this event. The bishop threatens Sveinn Sturluson with interdiction and excommunication because he took as a concubine a close kinswoman of his wife, and for this reason Sveinn attempts to ambush the bishop. However, according to the saga his scheme is frustrated by God himself, who protects the bishop with a fog that hinders Sveinn on his way (*ÞBp*^{B} ch. 25, ÍF XVI: 174).

[55] *ætlandi þat Guðs kraptr hafi hann tálmat* (*ÞBp*^{B} ch. 26, ÍF XVI: 175–177; quotation at p. 177).

[56] *varð inn mesti ógiptumaðr, svá at faðir hans ok brœðr hǫfðu þar af langa skapraun* (*ÞBp*^{B} ch. 27, ÍF XVI: 180; trans. Andersson 2021: 87).

seized against the bishop's will.[57] Before the monastery is completed, Jón is taken ill and dies soon after, and his sons abandon work on the monastery, leaving it in ruins.

Punishments via temporary paralysis like the one suffered by Þorsteinn Jónsson occur also in St Þorlákr's miracle collections.[58] In *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups in forna*, which was composed shortly after the bishop's death, a woman is stricken with eye-pain after mocking a miracle attributed to the saint, and the saint heals her only after she has performed penance.[59] The first extant miracle of *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups önnur*, which is extant in a seventeenth-century manuscript, deals with an English priest who mocks a statue of the bishop saint, derisively calling him a 'suet-eater bishop' (*mörbyskup*). He is immediately punished with paralysis, from which he is freed through public repentance and prayer to the saint.[60]

2.1.2 *Jóns saga ins helga*

Jóns saga ins helga, the saga of Jón Ögmundarson, the first bishop of the northern diocese of Hólar (1106–1121), is extant in three recension known as S (Skálholt), from the first half of the thirteenth century; L ('Latinate'), written around c. 1320; and H ('Hólar'), which was written around 1500 but is extant in two seventeenth-century manuscripts.[61] The author of the H recension included more miracles than those found in the previous versions, showing a greater interest in the bishop's supernatural powers. The one retaliatory miracle that Whaley identifies in *Jóns saga* befalls Þorfinna of Hof in Svarfaðardalur. In the episode, Þorfinna suddendly loses her abilty

[57] "*Þat er mikit undr ef hann vill þiggja þat sem hefir þar saman borit, svá sem hann hefir til aflat*". (*ÞBp^{B}* ch. 28, ÍF XVI: 180)

[58] *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups in forna*, counts 46 miracles chiefly associated with the diocese of Skálholt, of whose cathedral church Þorlákr became co-patron together with St Peter and the Virgin Mary. Part of the miracles of the collection are also extant in AM 645 4to (1220–1250). *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups önnur* is found in AM 379 4to (1654) and records events that happened in the diocese of Hólar and abroad at the time of Bishop Páll Jónsson (1195–1211). These additional miracles are more detailed in identifying people and places of invocation, suggesting that the collection might have been gathered to serve an official canonisation process. Both collections were added to *Þorláks saga biskups C* (see above). Cf. Kuhn 1996.

[59] *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups in forna*, ch. 16 (ÍF XVI: 114–115). This miracle is also registered in *ÞBp^{B}* ch. 105 (ÍF XVI: 210).

[60] *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups önnur* ch. 133; ÍF XVI: 227–228 (quotation at p. 227). This is the only chastisement mentioned by Whaley (1994: 163) in relation to St Þorlákr, which however does not appear to be accounted for in the breakdown of her results.

[61] See Peter Foote's detailed analysis of the recension of the saga in Cormack 2021: 105–123. For the Latin literature connected with the popular cult of Jón, see Gottskálk Jensson 2017.

to speak and is then healed by the saint's intervention.[62] However, it should be noted that it is St Þorlákr who heals the woman, and not Jón. The holy bishop appears to her in a vision and, before healing her, explains that she lost the ability to speak for never praying for the dead before meals and for staying up late at night.[63] It is only later in the narrative, after Þorfinna is miraculously rescued from the edge of a precipice on her way to communicate the miracle to Bishop Guðmundr, that we are told of Bishop Jón's intervention. As St Þorlákr states once he appears to the woman a second time, it is this second episode that serves as a token of Jón's charismatic powers. The bishop of Hólar, Þorlákr says, is of no less merit with God than he himself, albeit less well-known with respect to miracles.[64]

In fact, the saga says that Bishop Jón performed seven punitive miracles, two during his life and five after his death, and such retaliatory acts are explicitly interpreted as part of the weaponry of the bishop saint:

> That summer Bishop Jón began his visitation of his diocese, and began to rule God's Church with a firm hand. He punished evildoers with the power that had been given him by God, and strengthened good and moral people in evert way.[65]

Jón's supernatural acts punish sinners, those who do not believe in his sanctity and those who openly oppose him. The first instance of divine punishment in the saga happens during Jón's lifetime. While visiting Trondheim on his way to Iceland, Jón,

[62] *Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 63, ÍF XV²: 299–304 [S and H recensions].

[63] The holy bishop says that the first sin is a sign of lack of piety, the second an act that goes "against natural moderation and divine order" (*í mót guðligri setningu ok manna hjalp ok helsu*; ÍF XV²: 302).

[64] *Því at hann leynisk meirr at ǫllum jarteinum, ok er hann þó hvergi lægri at verðleikum við Guð en ek* (*Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 63 [H recension], ÍF XV²: 304). This episode is part of a cluster of miraculous healings that are performed by Jón only after the suppliants have turned to St Þorlákr without effect; cf. *Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 25 [all recensions], 29 [S and H redaction], 37 [all recensions]; ÍF XV²: 260–261; 264–265; 278. These miracle episodes are meant to show Jón's charismatic power, possibly at an early stage of his cult. For the purpose of the current analysis, these episodes count as potential but not actualised miracle that punishes the lack of attention for another saint. Thus, they can be ascribed to either bishop saint: St Þorlákr, who effectively does not grant the healing, or Jón, who does grant it only after the due respects have been paid to him and his sanctity.

[65] *Á þessu sumri hóf Jón byskup yfirfǫr sína yfir ríki sitt ok tók at stýra at stýra Guðs kristnni með mikilli stjórn. Hirti hann vánda menn af því veldi er honum var gefit at Guðs hálfu, en styrkði góða menn ok siðláta í mǫrugm góðum hlutum*. (*Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 8 [all recensions], ÍF XV²: 202; trans. Cormack 2021: 39)

then not yet a bishop, persuades King Magnús *berfœttr* to free an Icelander, Gísi Illugason, sentenced to death for a killing. A noble Norwegian, named Sigurðr *ullstrengr* (Woolstring), speaks against Jón but immediately received a swift punishment in the form of a mortal illness, from which he is released only after asking Jón for forgiveness.[66]

After Jón's death, two miraculous happenings punish two deacons to warn them for their lack of faith in the late bishop's powers, even after having personally experienced them. In the first instance, deacon Brandr Dálksson is reluctant to attribute his horse's miraculous cure to Bishop Jón, whom he had called on.[67] Since God, the saga says, wanted to show the glory of the bishop, the horse becomes ill a second time. This time Brandr prays to the saint again and promises to have the miracle recorded. Similarly, Einarr the deacon dreams about a miracle performed by Bishop Jón but does not report it. In his case too, the prospect of divine chastisement is openly expected:

> It occurred to him in the dream that he would have to pay dearly for many things, but would not pay more dearly for anything else than that he had failed to proclaim this miracle that Bishop Jón had performed for him.[68]

The saga does not report what happened to the deacon, and the divine punishment thus remains potential but not actuated. Einarr's disbelief is particularly striking, as the deacon had been the recipient of another miracle granted by the bishop earlier in the saga.[69] Jón's patience in his regards is commendable, especially considering the fate of others who do not believe in his sanctity. As seen in *ÞBp^{A}*, Jón is ready to rescue those merchants who vowed to him during a storm but is not so lenient in granting temporary punishments to those Norwegians who did not, leaving them to shipwreck and death.[70]

As for punishing sinners, the saga says that Þórir, a member of the bishop's household, receives "a swift punishment" (*bráðliga hefnd*), for ignoring the bishop's com-

[66] *Jóns saga ins helga* [*Gísls þáttr Illugason*] [L recension]; ÍF XV^{2}: 331–332.

[67] *Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 45 [S and H recensions]; ÍF XV^{2}: 288–289.

[68] *Kom honum þat í hug í svefnnum at hann mundi margs mega at gjalda, ok eigi annars meirr mega gjalda en þess er hann hefði eigi lýst þessar jartein er Jón byskup hafði honum gört.* (*Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 34 [all recensions], ÍF XV^{2}: 270)

[69] Cf. *Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 23 [all recensions], ÍF XV^{2}: 258–259.

[70] *Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 64 [H recension]; ÍF XV^{2}: 309–310.

mand of attending the canonical hours, of which he has been often heedless.[71] He falls ill while wrestling and his tongue, which he would not curb –the saga says–, as he was rather careless of speech (*heldr gálauss*) is caught between his teeth, swelling so much that he is left unable to speak. The punishment is temporary, and Þórir is restored to health only after sincere repentance, prayer, and the holy touch of the bishop. A similar happening befalls Kálfr, whose chronic madness is cured for the intercession of the saintly bishop. Jón appears to Kálfr in a vision, announcing his cure, but admonishes him to mend his conduct. The fact that he has lost his mind, explains the bishop, is ultimately caused by God's wrath against him because of his evil way of life.[72] Conversely, death is the only retribution that is deemed suitable for two women, Guðrun Daðadóttir and Valgerðr Böðvarsdóttir, and a priest, Hjalti of Hólastaðr, who stole from Jón's widow out of jealousy for her former status. Their deed is swiftly chastised with madness (*vitfirring*),[73] despite the fact that these women were –according to the saga– not immoral in any other respect (*eigi [ó]siðlátar værri í mörgu*): Guðrun was a noble housewife (*göfug húsfreyja*) and Valgerðr an outstanding young woman (*ein ágæt mær*).

2.1.3 *Guðmundar sögur*

According to Icelandic historiography, Bishop Guðmundr Arason of Hólar (1203–1237) firmly stood against secular interference in ecclesiastical affairs. Despite his efforts, however, Guðmundr was not successful in his undertakings and was only able to assert his authority through physical resistance to chieftains, as reflected in his dealings with chieftain Kolbeinn Tumason, and if anything, he managed to spread a marked awareness of a divide between spiritual and secular matters in Icelandic society.[74] Nonetheless, the bishop's attention to the needs of the poor and his fame as

[71] *Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 11 [S and L recensions], ÍF XV²: 224.

[72] "*Þat er eptir því sem vert er. Þú ert fullr lausungar ok hefir illa lifat, ok fyrir þá sök er þú orðinn fyrir Guðs reiði*". (*Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 42, ÍF XV²: 283 [S and H recensions]) ("That is appropriate, since you lived an evil life, full of deceit, and for that reason your condition is different from that appropriate for Christians, and you have been subject to God's wrath; trans. Cormack 2021: 77)

[73] *En þau tóku öll eina hefnd eptir guðligum dómi... ok því fengu skjóta hirting af Guði*. (*Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 20a [H recension], ÍF XV²: 243–244) (They all received a single punishment according to divine judgment... For this they received a swift punishment from God; trans. Cormack 2021: 53)

[74] See Simpson 1973. On Guðmundr's role in the *staðamál*, especially in matters of *privilegium canonis* and *fori*, see Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir 1982.

wonder-worker, especially connected to his consecration of waters, kindled the people's devotion and encouraged the belief in the bishop's sanctity.[75]

The first account of the bishop's life, *Prestssaga Guðmundar* (henceforth *Prestssaga*), was likely composed by Abbot Lambkárr Þorgilsson (d. 1249), one of the bishop's closest associates.[76] The text is now lost but survives in an abridged version in *Sturlunga saga* and covers Guðmundr's life up to the time of his election. The first *translatio* of Guðmundr's relics was promoted by Bishop Auðunn Þorbergsson of Hólar (1313–1322) in 1315, when it is likely that the bishop commissioned the composition of a saga to celebrate him. Three versions are extant from the 1320s: *Guðmundar saga* A [*GBp*^{A}] (c. 1320–1330), *Guðmundar saga* B [*GBp*^{B}] (c. 1320), and *Guðmundar saga* C [*GBp*^{C}] (c. 1320–1345).[77] A second *translatio* was ordered in 1345 by Bishop Ormr Ásláksson of Hólar (1343–1356), whose collaborator, Arngrímr Brandsson of Þingeyrar (d. 1361), is the author of the youngest extant version of Guðmundr's life: *Guðmundar saga* D [*GBp*^{D}].[78] Despite these efforts, however, Guðmundr was never formally canonised, his cult remaining confined at a popular level.[79]

Given the challenging attitude that Bishop Guðmundr used in pursuing his goals, it seems surprising to note a lack of supernatural mechanisms employed to support and justify his acts. Since the publication of Whaley's study, Joanna A. Skórzewska provided an extensive discussion of miracles of punishment in the *Guðmundar sögur*.[80] She considered Guðmundr's vengeful attitude a surprising feature, especially in consideration of the bishop's otherwise gentle approach towards other issues, such as keeping certain days holy. This can be seen in the number of punitive miracles, five of which the bishop is said to have performed during his life and one after his death. This section will provide a brief overview of the bishop's actualisations of divine punishments based on Skórzewska's analysis.[81]

[75] Cormack 1994: 98–101; 2011: 20.

[76] The fourteenth-century tradition mentions Lambkárr as an 'unattached' abbot in Hítardalur (DI III: 31). According to Orri Vésteinsson (2000: 137 n. 43), this may only be an educated guess, and Lambkárr may have owed his title to Bishop Guðmundr's unusual actions.

[77] For a comprehensive overview of the *Guðmundar sögur* tradition, see Skórzewska 2011: 216-239. *GBp*^{C} is still unpublished. I was not able to analyse this version of the saga. Like several scholars before me, I relied on the findings of those who had the opportunity to study the text to compare with my findings whenever necessary.

[78] Gottskálk Jensson (2022) has recently demonstrated that this version was originally composed in Latin as a dossier for canonisation to be offered to the Curia, but the text survives today only in vernacular translation.

[79] See Anderson 2020.

[80] Skórzewska 2011: 184–190.

At times Guðmundr's miraculous punishments are the results of no more than a petty attitude towards those individuals who do not grant him what he wants. Death incurs those animals, a horse at Langadalur[82] and a sheep in Borgarfjörður,[83] whose owners have refused to hand over to Guðmundr. Great misfortune is foretold to the priest Oddleif after he has refused hospitality to the bishop and his men,[84] whereas a long delay is the retribution that befalls the Norwegian sailors who did not grant the bishop elect to disembark on Hrísey to celebrate Mass.[85]

More serious theological concerns are seemingly at play behind other punishments. When priest Steinn shows his scepticism in believing that the relics that the bishop had given him really belong to Bishop Jón, Guðmundr asks for a sign. Immediately, the relics of the saint give out a wonderful fragrance, and Steinn, who has suddenly become unable to smell, understands God' and Bishop Jón's anger against him.[86] Disbelief in the power of the waters that Guðmundr himself consecrated is severely punished in the case of priest Ljótr.[87] After openly declaring his scepticism during a public meeting, his son drowns and is found dead, being eventually revived thanks to the power of Guðmundr's waters.

Among the flaws that are corrected through punitive miracles in *GBpD*, a particular case involves people who neglect to cross themselves. While a woman is healed of a water snake (*vatnormr*) she temporarily contracted because she forgot to cross herself before drinking,[88] this same negligence is also punished with a miracle with irreversible effects. An unnamed shepherd becomes sick after drinking the water of a brook without making the sign of the cross. He runs to the church where he finds some grass that Guðmundr sprinkled with consecrated water. After eating it, he spits out the illness he swallowed and is briefly restored to health. However, after a short while, the shepherd falls sick again and passes away. Arngrímr, the author of *GBpD*, explains that the miracle story is meant to showcase how the charismatic powers of Bishop Guðmundr compare to those of the saint, and of St Ambrose in particular: [89]

[81] On Guðmundr's miracles, see also Gunnvör Sigríður Karlsdóttir 2017. I am thankful to the anonymous reviewer for pointing me to this source.

[82] *Prestssaga* ch. 19; *GBp*^{A} ch. 86; *GBp*^{B} ch. 59; *GBp*^{D} ch. 16.

[83] *GBp*^{B} ch. 117; *GBp*^{D} chs 65 and 66.

[84] *GBp*^{A} ch. 166; *GBp*^{B} ch 105.

[85] *Prestssaga* ch. 29.

[86] *Prestssaga* ch. 22.

[87] Cf. *GBp*^{B} ch. 39 and *GBp*^{D} ch. 89.

[88] *GBp*^{D} ch. 83.

> This shows that not even the power of saints can save the sinful man from the hidden and final judgement of God, albeit their charity is primarily shown before the eyes of holy Christendom.[90]

Arngrímr's treatment of this miraculous scene is an interesting case of variation, as not only it involves the retribution for not crossing oneself but also deals with the extent of the power of saints towards those who cannot be saved. However, the fact that it is supported by a learned reference to hagiographical literature, a characteristic trait of Arngrímr's style, may be an indication of its fictional character rather than its historical reliability, of the literary abilities of the saga authors rather than the charisma of his protagonist.[91]

3.2 Sagas of Non-Saint Bishops

The author/s of the early *Biskupa sögur* appear to be somewhat sceptical towards the charismatic powers of the bishops. *Hungrvaka*, which collects short portraits on the lives of the first bishops of Skálholt, and its continuation, *Páls saga*, the life of Bishop Páll Jónsson (1195–1211), do not portray the bishops as performing punitive miracles, despite including several references to resistance and opposition to the bishops that could have promoted their inclusion.[92] The absence of punitive miracles in these early

[89] Cf. *Var hér sýndr verðleikr herra Guðmundar á þann hátt, sem virðuligs vinar hans Ambrosii*. (*GBp*^{D} ch. 44). The parallel is supported by a similar miracle performed by the bishop saint of Milan, which Arngrímr likely draw from the Old Norse version of the saint's life; cf. *Ambrósíuss saga biskups* ch. 11 (Unger 1877: I, 37–38).

[90] *Brtist fyrir þetta, at tign heilagra manna má eigi draga syndugan mann undan leyndum ok endaligum guðs dómi, þótt þeirra kærleikr birtist í fyrra stað fyrir augum heilagrar kristni.* (*GBp*^{D} ch. 44).

[91] Ciklamini 1994; Stefán Karlsson 1985.

[92] This is the case of the first bishop of Skalholt, Ísleifr Gizurarson, who performed some wondrous acts that –says the author– were considered miracles by the wisest people but only showed his benevolence "to those who could appreciate it" (*þá er miǫk birti gœzku hans fyrir þeim mǫnnum er þat kunnu at skynja*) (*Hungrvaka* ch. 2; ÍF XVI: 10). Another record of disobedience is in *Hungrvaka* ch. 7 (ÍF XVI: 27–28), in relation to Bishop Þorlákr Runólfsson. *Páls saga* ch. 7 (ÍF XVI: 309–310) says that the bishop proceeded cautiously (*varúðliga*) in the matter of proclaiming the sanctity of his relative, albeit believing in it from the get-go. The saga author also shows a certain awareness of the power of God to test his servants, a framework of reference that serves them to justify the drowning of Páll's wife and daughter: *En af því at Guð vill eigi ávallt eptirlæti einu reyna sína ástvini, heldr vill hann sína menn algǫra verða láta í freistninni ok mannraunum, ef vel standask, sem <opt> hafa raunir á orðit.* (*Páls saga*, ch. 13; ÍF XVI: 315) ("But God does not always wish to test his worshippers with favour alone but rather wishes to exalt them with temptation and exertion to see if they remain firm, as He has often demonstrated"; trans. Anderson 2021: 51)

texts may be a matter of editorial choice. After all, these episcopal biographies serve to celebrate the success of the institution of the Church in Iceland, rather than the sanctity of these figures. Furthermore, a text like *Hungrvaka* openly serves as a lead up to St Þorlákr's life, whose sanctity and miracle working stand out even more in the very absence of the miraculous prior to his office.[93]

3.2.1 *Árna saga biskups*

Punitive miracles are also documented in *Árna saga*, the biography of Bishop Árni Þorláksson of Skálholt (1269–1298), composed shortly after his death (between 1304 and 1312).[94] The prominent feature of the narrative is the bishop's direct involvement in the *staðamál* and it is the central interest of the author to provide a reliable (albeit partial) account of the conflict over ecclesiastical property ownership between the Icelandic clergy and powerful former chieftains.[95] While the saga author chiefly relies on extracts from official documents and canon law to strengthen the bishop's claims during the conflict,[96] the narrative is not devoid of supernatural events that strike the bishop's enemies and are instrumental to bringing forth the bishop's victory.[97]

This is the case of Ásgrímr Þorsteinsson and Ormr Klængsson, two former chieftains who supported Hrafn Oddsson in his fight against the Church. After lengthy descriptions of their grudges with the bishop, the saga reports that they were both struck by abrupt illnesses when they were about to undertake yet another action that was meant to damage Bishop Árni and his party. The saga suggests that the illness made them understand their crimes towards the bishop, and Árni agreed to absolve them *in articulo mortis* after they had sworn an oath of fidelity to the Church, which involved the transfer of ownership of their estates.[98]

Despite the fact that the deaths of these wealthy laymen are neither immediately nor directly related to the bishop's intervention, the ex-chieftains' concern for dying

[93] Cf. *Hungrvaka* ch. 11: "everyone is sure to know that no other man has previously proved to be [a saint] except for Bishop Þorlákr the Saint"; trans. Anderson 2021: 31. The final lines of *Hungrvaka* celebrate the bishop saint as the Apostle of Iceland and compare him to St Patrick, "for they accomplished the work of the apostles themselves in their teaching and patience with disobedient and wrongminded men"; trans. Anderson 2021: 33.

[94] *Árna saga* is extant in forty manuscripts and manuscript fragments.

[95] On the *staðamál*, see Magnús Stefánson 1978; Orri Vésteinsson 2000: 210–223, 286–290; Gunnar Karlsson 2000: 38–43, 96–9.

[96] Þorleifur Hauksson 1975: lxii–cvii.

[97] Cf. Haki Antonsson 2017.

[98] Cf. *ÁBp*, chs 9 (on Ásgrímr Þorsteinsson) and 118 (Ormr Klængsson) (ÍF XVII: pp. 139–141; 165–167).

without the Church's blessing, together with the fact that the author dwells on these scenes for quite some time, hint at a preternatural component to these deaths. In fact, the saga itself provides the interpretative key to these scenes after narrating the events, highlighting their meaning in retrospect:

> Many were reluctant regarding such doings because they knew well the bishop's anger and fury, whenever his will and orders were not abided by. A certain spark of God's love, or the contrary murmur of their own conscience –as it was proved true later– hindered some, so that each of them yielded when their life was in danger. Thus, they quickly swore as the bishop commanded them, so as to die in accord with the words and believes of the Church that Bishop Árni held and had, however many legal defences they had previously arrogantly presented, when they were allowed to chose a longer life, as it has been said before regarding the lord Ásgrímr and Ormr of Haukadalur.[99]

The providential punishments are sent by God to Árni's opponents to make them repent of their stubbornness and disobedience to the Church and cause them to give in to the bishop's demands. It is worth noting that these episodes had a direct impact on the development of the controversy, as witnessed by the case of other two ex-chieftains. The saga says that Björn Dufgusson of Hjarðarholt waited until the last minute before his death for settling his enmity with the bishop,[100] whereas it was the shock caused by Hrafn Oddsson's death that led Óláfr Arnórsson to settle the matter with the bishop's representatives.[101]

A similar end is allotted to a priest, Þorvaldr Helgason, who deserted to Hrafn's side and disobeyed the bishop's injunctions. In his case, however, he is led to death by some sudden accidents without reaching a settlement with the bishop. From the moment the priest sided with Hrafn Oddsson, the saga says, it seemed that Þorvaldr had somewhat changed his way of talking about the bishop,[102] and disobeyed him in various matters. Supernatural punishments for his behaviour befall Þorvaldr twice,

[99] *Urðu ok margir tregir til slíkra atgerða, því at þeir vissu visa reiði byskups ok stórmæli þar sem hans vili ok skipan var at engu höfð. Suma tálmaði nokkorr gneisti Guðs ástar eðr móti möglan eiginnar samvizku, sem raunir bar á, at hverr þeira gekk til valds í lífsháska ok sór skjótt eptir því sem byskup bauð þeim til þess at deyja undir játning kirkjunnar mála ok trú sem Árni byskup helt ok hafði, hversu margar varnir sinna mála sem hann bar áðr digrbarkliga fram þá er hann lér lengra lífs til kosningar sem áðr er greint um herra Ásgrím ok Orm í Haukadal.* (*ÁBp* ch. 120; ÍF XVII: 169)

[100] *ÁBp* ch. 137; ÍF XVII: 193–194.

[101] *ÁBp* ch. 146; ÍF XVII: 204–206.

[102] *þótt mönnum nokkot breytt orðlagi hans til byskups.* (*ÁBp* ch. 124; ÍF XVII: 174).

both times when the priest leaves Iceland without Árni's permission.[103] In the first instance, Þorvaldr's voyage starts with a fair wind, which the priest interprets as a sign of favour in his regards and against Bishop Árni's.[104] However, immediately after insulting the bishop, the wind turns, and a shipwreck brings Þorvaldr back to Iceland. While the saga author does not say anything about the bishop's involvement in the shipwreck, similar miraculous punishments of sailors in *Jóns saga ins helga* and *Guðmundar saga* attest to the circulation of supernatural readings of such events and may have been interpreted as important omens of the punishment that attends the bishop's enemy. This cycle of disobedience and punishment culminates when Þorvaldr manages to leave the country, again without the bishop's leave.[105] Once he reaches the Faroes, he becomes possessed by an impure spirit (*óhreinn andi*), from which he is soon healed after entering the Church of St Magnús of Orkney.[106] Astounded by the seemingly miraculous healing of such a scoundrel, the saga says that the bystanders explained the event by saying that the real cause of Þorvaldr's apparent possession was the just result of his drunkenness.[107] Indeed, their scepticism towards the miraculous character of Þorvaldr's healing is proven correct once they get to Norway. Once arrived at the court of King Eirik II Magnusson, Þorvaldr is again struck by the same evil as soon as he takes to accusing Árni before the king and dies immediately after.[108]

Árna saga breaks off here, in 1291, before the bishop reached the settlement of the *staðamál*. This was settled in 1297 with the Treaty of Ögvaldsness, signed by Bishop Árni and King Eirik.[109] According to the text of the treaty, whoever dared to

[103] *ÁBp* ch. 134 (ÍF XVII: 186–187) and 147 (ÍF XVII: 206–207).

[104] *"Nú er því líkast, at skip skríði undir mér á eina leið, hvárt sem Árni byskup gefr mér orlof eðr eigi."* (*ÁBp* ch. 134, ÍF XVII: 186) ("Now it seems that the ship glides under me in one direction, whether Bishop Árni gives me permission or not")

[105] The episode of the journey and death of the priest Þorvaldr Helgasson is not preserved in all the manuscript tradition but is transmitted in AM 114 fol., the oldest copy of AM 122b fol. Although its matter has been considered divergent from the rest of the narrative (see below), no evidence suggests that it is a later addition: see Þorleifur Hauksson, *Árna saga biskups*, cxi. For a recent interpretation of the episode in relation to the *staðamál*, see Haki Antonsson 2024.

[106] *ÁBp* ch. 147, ÍF XVII: 206.

[107] *Sögðu tilefnit vera af sterkri drykkju, ok þat hefði hans vitleysi ollat.* (*ÁBp* ch. 147, ÍF XVII: 206) (They said that his state was due to a strong drink, and that this had caused him to lose his wits.)

[108] *þá er hann tók at ásaka sinn herra fyrir Eiríki konungi, kemr aptr hit sama tilfelli.* (*ÁBp*: 207; ÍF XVII: 207)

[109] DI II: 324–325. On the establishment of the beneficiary culture after the settlement of

break the settlement of the *staðamál* in favour of the Church would incur the papal ban, alongside the wrath of God and his saints.[110] While it is impossible to assess whether the saga author dealt with the bishop's victory relaying on further supernatural events, it is worth noting that a mechanism of supernatural warning similar to the one in the saga was put in place in the document itself. This may suggest a spread awareness towards this sort of supernatural propaganda and an acceptance of its terms beyond the limits of saga narrative.

3.2.2 *Söguþáttur af Jóni Halldórssyni biskupi*

Söguþáttur af Jóni Halldórssyni biskupi is the brief account of the life of Bishop Jón Halldórsson of Skálholt (1322–1339). The oldest manuscript of the *þáttr*, Copenhagen, Safn Árna Magnússonar AM 657 a–b 4to (1340–1360), also includes narratives that are attributed to the bishop, who had been a Dominican preacher prior to his episcopal investiture. Rather than a linear biographical account like the rest of the *Biskupa sögur*, the *þáttr* is a collection of tales based on Jón's readings and personal experience. Among these, there are two episodes that may be interpreted as punitive miracles. Given Jón's interest and fame in preaching through entertaining stories and exempla, these episodes arguably served the bishop to illustrate the very mechanism of divine retribution to his audience.

The first episode is an exemplum that Jón framed as a personal experience, but which is also found in Francesco Petrarca's *Rerum memorandarum libri*, likely composed after the late 1340s.[111] It is set in Bologna, where Jón studied, at a time –the saga says– when he was "of little understanding compared to later".[112] In Bologna, a fellow student, Jón the English (*Johannes Anglicus*), asks Jón (*Johannes Nordmannus*) to interpret a strange dream (*undarlight*) he had the previous night. In the dream, he saw one of the two stone lions at the entrance of the cathedral church biting off his hand. Jón disregards the dream, replying that bad dreams often foretell insignificant things.[113] Once the two students have reached the church, Jón the English stretches

the *staðamál*, see Sigurdson, *The Church in Fourteenth Century Iceland*, 32–43.

[110] *Biodum uęr ydr ôllum. at hallda þetta fur lôg. nema. huerr er odru viss gerir. uili sæta af os Reidi ok Refsingum. ok þo fella a sik. pauans bann. ok Guds Reidi. ok hans heilagra manna.* (*DI* II 325)

[111] *Rerum memorandarum liber* iv, 58 (Billanovich 1943: 233). For a comparison of the episode in the þáttr and the Latin, see Krappe 1942: 31-33.

[112] *Var hann þann tíma ungr ok lítit skiljandi hjá því sem síðar.* (*Söguþáttur af Jóni Halldórssyni biskupi* ch. 1, ÍF XVII 445)

[113] *Ljótr draumr er oft fyrir litlu.* (*Söguþáttur af Jóni Halldórssyni biskupi* ch. 1, ÍF XVII 447)

his hand into the mouth of the stone lion that appeared in his dream and immediately fells onto the floor "as if killed" (*sem drepinn væri*). While the cause of Jón's death, the author explains, was due to an aspis hidden in the lion's mouth, the episode is an edifying exemplum with religious undertones. The divine inspiration behind Jón's dream is suggested by the church setting, especially by the fact that the student is punished to expiate his negligence before entering the sacred space. Moreover, the fact that the student is a namesake of the future bishop, who at the time had himself disregarded the dream, highlights the impact that this episode had on Jón personally and that, as bishop, he wanted to convey to his flock while preaching it. Thus, even without commentary in this sense, the episode implicitly stands as a warning, for both Jón and his audience, to follow those premonitions that God sends, without disregarding them as trifles.

A second exemplum that involves a miracle of punishment is taken from a sermon that Bishop Jón gave at Staðarhóll, in the Westfjords, on St Þorlákr's Day. Again, the episode is not an original tale but is explicitly said to be an exemplum,[114] which is ultimately drawn from *Dialogus miracolorum* of the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach (1180–1240).[115] It tells of a very righteous and wise knight who kills his nephew in God's name to make him atone for having raped a woman.[116] When the bishop is summoned to the deathbed of the knight, who had suffered from a long illness, the man confesses his sines but does not atone for the killing of his nephew. At first, the bishop is enraged by the man's attitude but is eventually moved by his conditions and grants him absolution. While the bishop is looking for the Host to administer communion and cannot find it, the consecrated Host miraculously appears on the tongue of the knight:[117]

[114] In the *þáttr*, the episode is variously mentioned as an adventure (*æfintýr*), a chosen example (*tiltekit dœmi*), and an exemplary tale (*dœmisaga*), cf. *Söguþáttur af Jóni Halldórssyni biskupi* ch. 3, ÍF XVII: 449–450 and 454.

[115] *Dialogus miraculorum* ix, ch. 37 (Strange 1851: II 193–195). On the reception of Caesarius' *Dialogus* in the Dominican tradition, see the essays by Brili and Polo de Beaulieu in Smirnova, Polo de Beaulieu & Berlioz 2015: 161–210.

[116] *"…fel ek upp á allra yðar ábyrgð viðr Guð, ef þat er óhegnt fyrir yðarn vondskap er stórrar pínu er fyrir vert í lögunum."* (*Söguþáttur af Jóni Halldórssyni biskupi* ch. 3, ÍF XVII: 451) ("I charge you all with responsibility to God, if what is worth great suffering in the laws goes unpunished"; trans. Marteinn H. Sigurðsson, Gunnar Harðarson & Mikael M. Karlsson 2021: 296)

[117] *"Ef hon er eigi þar þá má vera með vilja dróttins at hon sé hér."* (*Söguþáttur af Jóni Halldórssyni biskupi* ch. 3, ÍF XVII: 454) ("If [the host] is not here, then perhaps with God's will it is here"; trans. Marteinn H. Sigurðsson, Gunnar Harðarson & Mikael M. Karlsson 2021: 298)

> The bishop fell forward and begged for God's mercy and the mighty noble's forgiveness for his misunderstanding contrary to God's judgement.[118]

Rather than exemplifying the charismatic powers of the bishop himself, the exemplum illustrates the inscrutability of God's will even when violence is involved. As with the first exemplum, this story serves Bishop Jón to instruct his audience not only based on his own experience, but through his own knowledge of the religious literature on the subject.[119]

3.2.3 *Lárentíuss saga biskups*

Divine retributions towards unruly clergymen are also recurrent in *Lárentíuss saga biskups*, the life of Bishop Lárentíus Kálfsson of Hólar (1324–1331) composed by the bishop's disciple and secretary, priest Einarr Hafliðason (1307–1393).[120] The first episode of this kind is set in Skálholt, on the eve of St Þorlákr's Day. Lárentíus, not yet a bishop, is admonishing Björn, a Norwegian Dominican friar in charge of preaching the following day, to ponder in particular on the glory of the Icelandic bishop saint in his sermon. Since Þorlákr's sanctity had not yet been recognised outside of Iceland, Björn is reluctant to acknowledge the bishop's sanctity and even threatens to prohibit his veneration, despite Lárentíus' warning.[121] In retribution for his words,

[118] *Verðr nú skjótt umskipti, byskup fellr fram ok biðr Guð sér líknar ok svá ríka mann sér fyrirláts um rángan skilníng móti Guðs dómi; veitir hann síðan allt embætti með tárligri góðfýsi þeim góða manni.* (*Söguþáttur af Jóni Halldórssyni biskupi* ch. 3, ÍF XVII: 454; trans. Marteinn H. Sigurðsson, Gunnar Harðarson & Mikael M. Karlsson 2021: 298)

[119] While the *þáttr* says that the sermon is explicitly meant to relate St Þorlákr's fairness and zeal in keeping to God's law, no attempt is made to relate the episode to St Þorlákr himself. According to Viðar Pálsson (2021: 47), the exemplum is meant to highlight the inevitability of divine judgment and the equal standing of all before God's law as principles that should be guarded by church officials.

[120] Einarr Hafliðarson was part of the so-called 'North Benedictine School', a group of learned clerics who wrote hagiographical texts in a highly rhetorical and elaborate style; Cf. Sverrir Tómasson 1985. Højgaard Jørgensen (1978: 92-94) hypothesizes that Einarr Hafliðason composed Ĺarentiuss saga byskups in order to promote the canonization of Ĺarentius. On *Lárentíuss saga biskups*, see also Ferrari 2021.

[121] "*...ok lát eigi ofar koma þessa fólsku, því at þat vita allir hér á þessu landi ok svá víða annars staðar at hinn heilagi Þorlákr byskup er sannheilagr maðr, ok hann gjörði margar ágætar jartegnit ok gjörir, ok hann mun hefna þér ef þú bætir eigi við Guð ok þann blezaða byskup*" (ÍF XVII: 270) ("... let this foolishness go no further, for all men, both in the land and far and wide beyond it, know that the Bishop St Thorlák is a saint in truth, and did many mighty miracles, and yet doeth; and he will surely punish thee if thou dost not make thy peace with God and his blessed bishop"; trans. Elton 1890: 33)

overnight the preacher is afflicted with a near-fatal illness. When Björn seeks his help, Lárentíus remarks that this illness is the result of his foolishness, since he doubted the sanctity of St Þorlákr, who, as is merciful to those who call upon him, "is very vengeful to them that trespass against him".[122] To support his interpretation of the event, he then tells Björn the miracle story of St Þorlákr and the English cleric that opens *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups önnur* and that was mentioned above.[123] The illness and the miracle episode persuade the Dominican friar, who makes amends and is soon cured of his illness.

As in the case of the punitive miracles in *Jóns þattr*, this episode is particularly significant as it reveals how punitive and retributive miracles were understood by contemporaries and employed by saga authors. Einarr admonishes his audience through Lárentíus, but does so without attributing the miracle to the protagonist of his saga, who would later become a bishop himself. True to the goals of his narrative, which was not intended to highlight the sanctity of its central figure, the author instead invokes the then recognized sanctity of Bishop Þorlákr, whose holiness ensures the credibility of such an event.[124] As a keen reader of the religious literature of his time, Einar refers to Þorlákr's miracle and elaborates it further into another episode of punishment, which should therefore be counted among the saint's acts of retribution.[125]

There are two further miracles of punishment in *Lárentíuss saga*. The first involves the priest Snjólfr Sumarliðason, a staunch opponent of Bishop Lárentíus throughout the saga.[126] During a visitation at Munkaþverá, the priest gets drunk at a banquet with Lárentíus and speaks ill of the bishop, who does not reply to the priest's cursing (*brigsli ok meinyrði*). The following night, Snjólfr is taken gravely ill and begs for the

[122] *Svá er hann ok mjök hefnsamr þeim sem í móti honum brjóta*. (ÍF XVII: 271; trans. Elton 1890: 34)

[123] *Lárentíuss saga* ch. 18 (ÍF XVII: 268–273).

[124] On the hagiographical traits of *Lárentíuss saga*, see Jørgensen 1978: 92–94.

[125] The transfer of a miracle from a saint to another is often recorded in hagiographical literature: "Miracles were not copyright; they were part of a general world view and belonged to an essentially subjective kind of truth", Ward 1982: 221. Whaley (1994b: 163 n. 30) acknowledged that St Þorlákr's miracle episode was repeated in *Lárentíuss saga*, but did not count it among the miracles of the bishop saint. This may be because *Lárentíuss saga* was outside the scope and the corpus of her study.

[126] Cf. *Kom jafnan hart í meðal þeira, þó svá at hann leitaði á byskupinn meðr ómetnaðarsamligum orðum*. (*Lárentíuss saga*, ch. 45, ÍF XVIII: 388–389) (There was ever a sharpness between them; but it was Snjólf who attacked the bishop with vainglorious words; trans. Elton 1890: 104).

bishop to come and asks forgiveness for his words. Bishop Lárentíus pardons the priest, who recovers and "never again spoke ill of the bishop as long as he lived".[127] In ch. 57, Brother Árni, Lárentíus's own son, is taken ill, as the saga author suggests, as a punishment for his misconduct.[128] He is restored to health by the prayers of the bishop and upon his conditional return to the monastery of Þingeyri.[129]

Another episode in *Lárentíuss saga* could be read as a miraculous punishment of sort and scored to the merits of Bishop Lárentíus.[130] It delas with the case of a subdeacon, *Ferða*-Árni (Wandering-Árni), who, "puffed up with great wickedness and monstrous foolhardiness",[131] disguises himself as mass-deacon and twice reads the gospel during Mass. Before Árni is ultimately charged by Bishop Lárentíus's ecclesiastical authority, his disguise and crime are made apparent by two miraculous happenings. In both instances, when the false mass-deacon is reading the gospel, the church lights go out and cannot be rekindled. Once discovered, Bishop Lárentíus orders him to be whipped by six real deacons, whose office Árni had surreptitiously taken upon himself. *Ferða*-Árni is then absolved, but his legal ordination is hindered and deferred to the higher authority of the pope. According to the saga, the episode is meant to illustrate Bishop Lárentíus' concern to keep the laws of the Church and the rightful distribution of penances. While the episode cannot be counted as a proper miracle of punishment, as it is not the divine intervention itself that bestows the punishment through Lárentíus, it is nonetheless the case of a miraculous warning that brings forth the episcopal punishment, which appropriately corrects the heterodox character of the crime through the canonical practices of the Church.[132]

[127] *Meinyrti aldri síðan síra Snjólfr Laurentium byskup meðan hann lifði.* (*Lárentíuss saga*, ch. 45, ÍF XVIII: 388–389)

[128] The saga author says that after Árni was taken ill Lárentíus pondered on his son's shocking lifestyle, which was totally unbefitting a clergyman: *Hafði herra Laurentius byskup oftsinnis mikla skapraun af hans afskapligum framferðum sem mjök vóru í móti klaustrligum lifnaði.* (*Lárentíuss saga*, ch. 57, ÍF XVIII: 433)

[129] *Lárentíuss saga*, ch. 57, ÍF XVIII: 433–434.

[130] *Lárentíuss saga*, ch. 55, ÍF XVIII: 427–429.

[131] *Fylltiz hann upp svá mikillar illsku með ógeyriligri ofdirfð.* (*Lárentíuss saga*, ch. 55, ÍF XVIII: 427)

[132] As in many cases throughout the saga, here too the author stressed the accuracy with which practices are followed. Thus, Árni's crime is first communicated to the bishop of Hólar, in whose diocese it was committed, then to the provost; only then the authority to rule the case is passed on to Bishop Lárentíus by letter patent. On Einarr's copious use of official documents in the saga, see Aae 2021: 228–237.

Conclusions

The ambiguity of the power of saints is a fixed component of hagiographic literature since late Antiquity and throughout the medieval period. Acts of divine punishment performed by God through his bishops are meant to vouchsafe for their sanctity and their ecclesiastical prerogatives, as well as to warn those who challenge them. In this sense, they are no different from healing miracles, to which they act as antithetical in form but not in purpose. This dichotomy is functional to the celebration of the power of bishop, whatever their canonization status, be it official or unofficial.

This study has demonstrated that the medieval bishops of Iceland, both bishop saints and their non-saint colleagues, are represented in the *Biskupa sögur* as dispensators of divine punishments more often than what so far considered. (Table 1 and 2)

Table 1: Punitive miracles in the sagas of bishop saints

Bishop saint	**Miracles**	**Source/s**	***in vita***	***post mortem***
St Þorlákr	9	*ÞBp*^{A} *ÞBp*$^{B\text{-}C}$ *Jarteinabókar* *Jóns saga* *Lárentíuss saga*	2	7
Jón Ögmundarson	7	*Jóns saga* [S, L, H]	2	5
Guðmundr Arason	8	*Prestssaga*; *GBp*$^{A\text{-}B\text{-}C\text{-}D}$	5	3

Table 2: Punitive miracles in the sagas of non-saint bishops

Non-saint Bishop	**Miracles**	**Source/s**	***In vita***	***post mortem***
Árni Þorláksson	5	*Árna saga*	5	
Jón Halldorsson	2	*Söguþáttr Jóns*	2	
Lárentíuss Kálfsson	3	*Lárentíuss saga*	3	

The corpus of *Biskupa sögur* counts 34 instances, which is 18,6% of the corpus of "non-healing miracles" essayed by Whaley,[133] in contrast to the 9,8% of the French corpus analysed by Sigal.[134] A further difference with the French corpus is the time when these punishments are dispensed: while *post mortem* miracles amount to 11,7%,

[133] Almost as many as those miracles categorised by the scholar as miracles of "protection or rescue" (20,3%) (Whaley 1994b: 171).

[134] Whaley 1994b: 171; Sigal 1985: 289. It must be noted, however, that Sigal's corpus counts a total of 470 punitive miracles out of 4756 miraculous instances.

with 4,2% *in vita* miracles, the Icelandic corpus shows a slight majority of *in vita* (55.8%) over *post mortem* miracles (41.2%).[135] While acknowledging the limitations of comparing two quantitatively different corpora (12 sagas against c. 254 hagiographical texts in the French corpus), these numbers suggest that Icelandic bishops were dispensators of divine punishments as much as their colleagues on the Continent, or at least as their French colleagues.

Overall, the figures in the Tables above may differ numerically from those already offered in Whaley's study, but they do not differ in substance. The far larger number of healing miracles suggests that the authors of *Biskupa sögur* preferred to illustrate the benefit that derives from the saints' miracles through more beneficial retributions. However, the presence of a larger number of punitive miracles than so far detected contributes to better define the portrayals of the bishops of Iceland and to complete the understanding of their charismatic powers through a discussion of their vengeful side. Furthermore, the study has made it possible to assess the presence of punitive miracles in sagas of non-saint bishops, in which otherwise the miraculous is generally absent.

This survey has also shown that retaliatory miracles in the genre serve different purposes in each text. As records of reported events, they showcase the power of saints in human history and support the bishops' claim to a popular cult. This is clear in the case of St Þorlákr' and Jón's miracles, which also enact a certain competition for the primacy in their respective cults through the registrations of miracles. Another reason that justifies the insertion of these miracles is to be found in the interests of the hagiographers. While some saga authors, like Arngrímr Brandsson and Einarr Hafliðarson, are clearly interested in showcasing their skills, possibly at the serving of a process of canonisation, others may have been motivated by more political reasons. The authors of *Árna saga* and the later versions of *Þorláks saga*, on the other hand, are keenly interested in constructing an argument of supernatural propaganda. By relying on previous saints and echoing parallelisms between them and the bishops, these authors suggest to the audience the transfer of the same saintly powers from one to another. Finally, these miracles appear in edifying exempla that are also meant to entertain, a trait that extends to all texts at different degrees but is particularly evident in Jón Halldorsson's case.

This study represents a step forward towards a more comprehensive knowledge of the recording and the interpretation of miracles in the medieval North. In the fu-

[135] As in the French corpus, the victims of punitive miracles are more men (30) than women (6), laymen (26) more than clergymen (10). The discrepancy between the number of miracles (34) and the number of victims (36) is due to the fact that some miracles affect more people at once.

ture, it would be beneficial to pursue the charting of these miracles in a larger corpus, including *heilagra manna sögur*, Conversion narratives (*Kristni saga*, and the large tradition of *kristni þættir* and *ævintýri*), as well as secular sagas like *Sturlunga saga* and *Konunga sögur*.

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Davide Salmoiraghi is Academic Associate at Pembroke College, University of Cambridge. His research focuses on ecclesiastical history, Old Norse religious literature, riddarasögur, and Classical reception in the medieval North. E-mail: ds938@cam.ac.uk.

Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Hertug Skule og Olav den Hellige: genealogi og legitimitet på Øretinget i 1239*

Peter Sigurdson Lunga

In November 1239, Duke Skúli Bárðarson was acclaimed king at Eyraþing just outside Þrándheimr. During the assembly his men proclaimed that the duke was the kinsman of the Norwegian patron saint Óláfr helgi (d. 1030). It was the beginning of a rebellion against Skúli's son-in-law Hákon Hákonarson (r. 1217-1263). The final phase of the Norwegian civil war is one of the most extensively discussed periods in Norwegian history, with several important contributions in the last 10 years. This article examines the context of Skúli's attempt to appropriate Óláfr helgi as a factionally specific legitimising ancestor in support of his claim to the throne. How should this claim be understood? By examining an underused source, the substantial genealogical material on the duke and his family, this article will shed new light on the ideas of royal legitimacy in the period. While the duke himself seems to have provided much of the impetus for the composition of these genealogies, the extent to which they were used and considered significant are still open questions. But by matching the extant genealogies with descriptions of genealogical criteria during royal acclamations in 1204-1239 from *Bǫglunga sǫgur* and *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* it will be argued that the claim to descend from Óláfr was new as a factionally specific source of royal legitimacy. This innovation presumably happened through a collaboration between the Duke and his Icelandic ally Snorri Sturluson. It nonetheless built on ideas that had developed since the eleventh century, of a special relationship between the royal saint and the royal dynasty.

6. november 1239 lot hertug Skule Bårdsson seg velge til Norges konge på Øretinget i Trondheimen. Det var en symboltung seremoni, skal vi tro gjengivelsen i *Håkon Håkonssons saga* som ble skrevet noen tiår etterpå. Mot korsbrødrenes protester forsynte Skules tilhengere seg av ikke bare Hellig-Olavs relikvieskrin, men også

* Jeg vil takke Benjamin Allport samt den anonyme fagfellen for viktige innspill og tilbakemeldinger til artikkelen. Eventuelle feil og mangler står utelukkende for forfatterens egen regning.

helgenens øks og spyd, og dessuten en splint av Jesu kors, som ble båret ned til tingplassen. Der sto hertugens menn opp og talte:

> Først stod Åmund Remba opp, han hilste hertugen og hirden og holdt en lang tale. Siden talte Arnfinn Tjovsson, men folk synes ikke det var mye å lite på det han sa. Etter det sto Erling Ljodhorn opp og sa omtrent det samme som Arnfinn, og det de sa, gikk ut på at de reknet hertugens ætt tilbake til kong Olav den hellige, og at hertugen var nærmest i arv etter kong Inge, bror sin, mens kong Håkon var den ellevte.[1]

Ivar lagmann regnet også opp hertugens ætt i sin tale, og ga Skule kongsnavn. Til slutt reiste Skule seg, la hånda på Olavsskrinet og sverget på at han skulle holde Hellig-Olavs lov og rett som en god konge. Hendelsen skal ha vært et tungt slag for Skules svigersønn, kong Håkon Håkonsson (r. 1217-1263) og for hans datter, dronning Margrete Skulesdatter (d. 1270). Det var begynnelsen på den siste fasen i de norske innbyrdesstridene og da Skule falt i kamp mot Håkons menn, 24. mai 1240, ved inngangen til Elgeseter kloster, ble et endelig punktum for stridighetene satt.

På tross av Olav den Helliges symbolske rolle som norsk skytshelgen, og samlende kraft for kongemakta og det norske riket i høymiddelalderen, representerer bruken av ham på Øretinget i 1239 etter mitt syn noe fundamentalt nytt. Dette gjelder særlig den genealogiske forbindelsen til kongsemnet som ved Skules hylling ser ut til å ha vært så viktig at den stadig ble gjentatt. Tidligere hyllinger hadde som det vil bli vist nedenfor vektlagt helt andre kriterier enn et slektskap med helgenkongen. Hvordan skal vi så forstå bruken av Olav den Hellige ved denne anledningen?

For å forklare påstanden om slektskapet med Olav vil jeg i det følgende vurdere både hva slags betydning et slektskap til Olav har hatt i tidligere sammenhenger, og hvilke genealogiske forbindelser som har vært tillagt vekt i kongevalg før 1239. Flere kilder fra 1200-tallets første halvdel synes nemlig spesielt interessert i Skule og hans ætt, med stamtavler over Reinsætten i *Baglersagaene*, *Morkinskinna*, *Fagerskinna*, og *Heimskringla*. *Baglersagaens* og *Heimskringlas* genealogier ser de sågar ut til å respondere på sonderinger i kongevalgene der Skule eller hans bror, kong Inge (r. 1204-1217) deltok. Det gjør dem til svært verdifulle kilder til tidens forestillinger om makt

[1] *Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 186-187. ÍF XXXII, kap. 221: *Sá maðr stóð first upp er Ámundi remba hét. Hann fagnaði hertuganum ok hirðinni ok talaði langt erendi. Síðan talaði Arnfinnr Þjófsson, ok þótti mönnum eigi mjök sannligt þat er hann sagði. Eftir þat stóð upp Erlingr hljóðhorn ok mælti mjök í orðastað Arnfinns, ok höfðu þeir þat efni í sinni tolu at þeir tölðu ætt hertuga til hins helga Óláfs konungs ok þat at hann væri í annari erfð eftir Inga konung, bróður sinn, en Hákon konungr í hinni elliftu.*

og kongelig legitimitet. *Morkinskinnas* stamtavle (1217/22) over Reinsætten ser imidlertid ikke ut til egne seg til bruk i legitimering av tronkrav på samme måte. Dens stramme patrilineære form viser kun Inge og Skules forfedre på farssiden, og kobler seg heller ikke til Olav den Hellige (ÍF XXIV, s. 326-327). Genealogiene som vanligvis omtales som 'innskuddene' i *Fagerskinna* er derimot så omfattende at de sannsynligvis ikke kan ha fungert som noe annet enn et referanseverk for genealogien som ble presentert på Øretinget i 1239. De fortjener imidlertid en egen gjennomgang ved en senere anledning og vil bare i liten grad bli omtalt her.

Så tidlig som i 1931 beklaget Edvard Bull seg over den vanskelige kildesituasjonen i konflikten mellom Håkon og Skule og vanskelighetene med å forstå motivene til konfliktens aktører.[2] Pussig nok har den vedvarende debatten om denne konflikten, med flere nye innlegg de siste årene, nærmest oversett stamtavler som kilde. Sverre Bagges korte gjennomgang av slekt som legitimitetsgrunnlag i debatt med Hans Jacob Orning har et nokså snevert fokus, men forfekter vel heller ikke å være noen uttømmende analyse av dette emnet. Bagges påstand om at en tilknytning til Harald Hårfagre var viktig lar seg imidlertid vanskelig forene med beskrivelsene av kongevalget i *Håkon Håkonssons saga*.[3]

Uten en grundig analyse av genealogiene er det lett å misforstå Skules handlinger og motiver. Knut Arstad har nylig hevdet at Skule slett ikke hadde noen langvarig ambisjon om kongemakten, men først og fremst var opptatt av å sikre sin egen og sin slekts makt og posisjon, særlig da Skule på slutten av 1230-tallet mislyktes i å sikre en framtidig rolle i Norges politiske toppsjikt for sønnen Peter.[4] Et slikt syn kan bare aksepteres dersom stamtavlene som knyttes til Skule og hans slekt overses fullstendig. De kan fortelle om en mann som helt siden 1217 ønsket seg og kjempet for å vinne kongemakt. Det er riktignok lett å være enig med Arstad i at beslutningen om å begrense Skules makt til hans egen levetid var en utløsende årsak for hertugens opprør. Men det er ikke nødvendigvis noen motsetning mellom ambisjoner på slektens og egne vegne på den ene siden og kravet om kongsnavn på den andre. Skules gjentatte krav på tronen i 1217 og 1223 fungerte nok i tiden før 1239 som et farlig, men muligens også stabiliserende moment i alliansen med Håkon Håkonsson. Fordi Skule som var kjent som en dyktig hærfører, kunne ta opp sitt gamle krav om det skulle bli opportunt, ble Håkon og hans parti nødt til å gi jarlen flere innrømmelser. Slik holdt

[2] Bull 1931: 309.

[3] Bagge 2022: 161.

[4] Arstad 2022: 104-105.

partene hverandre i sjakk gjennom maktdeling og til og med samarbeid over flere år,[5] uten at det nødvendigvis måtte bety at Skule hadde lagt bort kongstanken for godt.

I konkurransen om prestisje og legitimitet, lønte det seg imidlertid å være i besittelse av den symbolske kapitalen som egnet seg for en konge. I kontekst av de stamtavler som ble konstruert for Skule og Reinsætten før 1239, framstår Øretingets genealogi, som et resultat av en lengere prosess med mål om styrke Skules genealogiske krav på den norske tronen. Bruken av Olav som en fraksjonsspesifikk legitimerende slektning var kanskje ny, men hang likevel sammen med utviklingstrekk i norrøn historiografi og politisk tenkning over flere år.

Olav og det norske kongedynastiet

I Skandinavia, hvor forekomsten av dynastiske helgener er høy, ble slektskap med helgener som Knut den Hellige av Danmark (d. 1086) Eirik av Sverige (d. 1160) og Magnus Erlendsson av Orknøyene (d. 1116/17) brukt til å underbygge de politiske ambisjonene til spesifikke dynastiske fraksjoner i kamp mot greiner som manglet en slik forbindelse.[6] I Norge derimot har slektskapet til Olav den Hellige stort sett fungert som en måte å underbygge hele den norske kongeslektas krav på tronen og for å delegitimere de stadige kravene fra danske konger på den norske tronen eller deler av det norske kongedømmet. Årsaken til denne manglende fraksjonsspesifikke bruken av kong Olav kan være at alle senere konger og tronkrevere etter Magnus Olavsson tilhørte, eller påsto å tilhøre, den greina av det norske kongedynastiet som stammet fra helgenens halvbror, Harald Hardråde.[7] Før Skules hyllingsting i 1239 er mange henvisninger til slektskap med kong Olav tilsynelatende laget for å ekskludere danske krav eller for å kaste glans over hele kongedynastiet.

Det begynte med hans nærmeste familie. Olav den helliges sønn, Magnus Olavsson (r. 1035-47) ble først valgt som motkonge mot den dypt upopulære Svein Knutsson (r. 1030-35) og hans mor Alfiva.[8] Bysantinske kilder tyder dessuten på at Harald Hardråde (r. 1046-66) la stor prestisje i å være bror av Olav, allerede mens han tjenestegjorde i væringgarden på 1030-tallet (*Strategicon*: kap. 7).[9] Senere skal skalden Stein Herdisson ha komponert *Olavsdråpa* for kong Olav Kyrre (r. 1067-93). Et vers i dette kvadet framhever kongens slektskap med helgenen tilsynelatende som et svar mot danekongen Svein Estridssons (r. 1047-76) krav på Norge.

[5] Orning 2021: 231.

[6] Klaniczay 1990: 86; Ellis 2022: 115

[7] Et mulig unntak her er Svein Haraldsson (d. ca. 1110).

[8] Koht 1934-36: 104-105; Hoffmann 1975: 210-11.

[9] Storm 1884: 359-61; Hope 2022: 34-35.

Har gjæv høvding byen
Der helgenkongen hviler,
Står mot Svein på sin odel,
Styrke har han til deg.
Hellig Olav unner
Ætten hele Norge;
Ulvs sønn på landet eier
Intet krav å fremme.[10]

Stein advarer med dette 'Ulvs sønn' (Svein) mot å fremme krav på Norge, som Hellig Olav unner sin ætt som odel til den gjæve høvdingen (Olav Kyrre).

På 1100-tallet finner man lignende hentydninger, for eksempel i *Magnus Erlingssons Privilegiebrev* til kirken (sannsynligvis fra 1170-72). Magnus' tronkrav var nokså skjørt ettersom faren hans, Erling Skakke (d. 1179), bare selv var lendmann, mens den unge kongens nærmeste kongelige slektning var morfaren, Sigurd Jorsalfare (r. 1103-30). Derfor ser partiet omkring Magnus ut til å ha inngått en allianse med kirken noe som gjorde at kongen kunne smykke sitt regime med den kirkelige legitimitetens prangende virkemidler. I 1163 ble Magnus for eksempel den første, norske kronede konge og skjenket med regenten Erlings hjelp kirken visse privilegier som gjenytelse. Disse står å lese i henholdsvis *Kroningseden* (ca. 1163-64) og *Privilegiebrevet*. I sistnevnte dokument kalles Magnus vasall av Olavs den hellige, samtidig som Norge omtales som helgenkongens 'arvelige eiendel' eller arvestykke (*possessio hereditaria*):

> For til Gud skjenker jeg på denne herlige oppstandelsesdag meg selv med riket for bestandig og som den annen nest Herren overdrar jeg til den herlige martyrkonge Olav i sin hellighet som en særskilt vigsel Norges rike, og jeg vil forestå dette rike, så langt det behager Gud, som den same herlige martyrs arvestykke under hans herrevelde i egenskap av hans stedfortreder og hans vasall.[11]

[10] *Olavsdråpa*, s. 668. *PKS* II: 373-4: *Sín óðǫl mun Sveini / sóknstrangr í Kaupangi, / þars heilagr gramr hvílir, / — hanns ríkr jǫfurr — banna. / Ætt sinni mun unna / Ôláfr konungr hôla.*

[11] *Magnus Erlingssons Privilegiebrev*: 119-123. *Deo namque in hac die gloriose resurreccionis me cum regno in perpetuum et glorioso martyri regi Olauo [cui] integraliter speciali deuocione secundo post Dominium regnum assigno Norwegie, et huic regno, quantum Deo placuerit, uelut eiusdem gloriosi martyris possessioni hereditarie sub eius dominio tamquam suus vicarius et ab eo tenens presidebo.*

Ved å understreke det arvelige elementet framstår ikke Magnus bare som en hvilken som helst slags vasall, slik Tobiassen har ment,[12] men som et arveberettiget medlem av helgenens slekt.

Det hersker riktignok en viss uenighet om *Privilegiebrevets* datering. Gunnes og Kraggerud har ment at *Privilegiebrevet* ble utstedt etter at Magnus ble myndig (i 1170-71 eller 1172) og fornyet kroningseden som ble avlagt da Magnus var mindreårig.[13] Vandvik har imidlertid pekt på språklige indisier som antyder en datering til omkring kroningen av Magnus 1163-64.[14] Koht og flere med ham, har likevel ment at formuleringene i brevet må sees i sammenheng med Erling Skakkes diplomatiske reiser til Danmark.[15] Der skaffet han i 1161 støtte til sitt prosjekt om å gjøre Magnus Erlingsson til norsk enekonge, sannsynligvis mot at Valdemar fikk herrevelde over Viken.[16] Men da Magnus var kronet og Erling ikke oppfylte sin del av avtalen, skal Valdemar ha sendt straffeekspedisjoner til Norge i 1163/64 og i 1168. Snart etterpå ble det forlik, kanskje ikke så tidlig som 1165-66, slik Snorre antyder (*Heimskringla*, s. 846-847), men muligvis heller i 1170 om vi følger Saxo Grammaticus (*Gesta Danorum*, s. 1322-1325). I begge fortellingene dro Erling Skakke atter til Danmark og gikk danekongen til hånde. Ifølge Snorre fikk Erling selv jarlsnavn og herredømme over Viken som Valdemars mann. Snorre forteller videre at Erling holdt fast på dette forliket så lenge han levde.

I *Privilegiebrevet* framkommer det imidlertid at Magnus Erlingsson overdrar martyrkongen Norges rike i sin *helhet* (*integraliter*). Det er altså ikke rom for noen slags dansk vasallhøyhet i Viken, ettersom hele riket, uttrykkelig er den hellige kong Olavs odel og arvestykke. Uavhengig av om *Privilegiebrevet* ble utstedt i 1163-64 eller i 1170-72, framstår dette som en retorisk unndragelse fra løftene om dansk innflytelse eller vasallhøyhet noe sted i Norge, med Olav, nok en gang, som begrunnelse for besittelsen av det udelte riket.

Men dette antydede slektskapet med kong Olav ble tilsynelatende ikke noen faktor i verken Magnus' kamp mot andre tronpretendenter eller andre tronpretendents kamp mot Magnus. Sverre Sigurdsson fremhevet heller, ifølge sagaen han selv fikk satt i stand, at Magnus ikke var kongssønn. Det var brudd på Hellig-Olavs lov, ifølge Sverre, som mente at det ikke var noen åpning for arv gjennom kvinneledd (*Sverres saga*, s. 162).

[12] Tobiassen 1964: 219-221.

[13] Gunnes 1996: 239; Kraggerud 2023: 119.

[14] Vandvik 1962:45, 64.

[15] Koht 1934-36: 101-104; Gunnes 1996: 239.

[16] Koht 1934-36: 101.

Baglersagaens genealogi og kongevalg 1204-1223

I beskrivelsene vi har av senere kongevalg er likevel slik avstamning fra kongedynastiet gjennom kvinneledd langt fra noe konsekvent eksklusjonskriterium, selv ikke for birkebeinerne som var Sverres parti. I de tilfellene der det fantes flere kandidater ser beslutningene ut til å ha vært pragmatiske med ulike hensyn, forhandlinger, og kompromisser mellom bøndene, hirden og Kirken.[17] Selv om en, i det minste, påstått genealogisk forbindelse til kongeslekta tilsynelatende var et krav for kongsemner, var ikke veien til en slik forbindelse nødvendigvis så viktig og innebar ikke alltid at man selv måtte være en etterkommer av tidligere konger. Nedenfor vil jeg vurdere beskrivelser av tre kongevalg før møtet på Øretinget i 1239, nemlig valgene i 1204, 1217 og 1223. Gjennom å sammenholde de genealogiske momentene som nevnes ved hver anledning med Reinsættens stamtavle fra *Baglersagaenes* lange utgave vil jeg vise utviklingen i tenkningen om genealogisk legitimitet fram mot 1239. Her vil også valget av baglerkongen Filippus Simonsson på Borgarting i 1207 bli relevant i en bredere kontekstuell sammenheng.

Valget av birkebeinerhøvdingen Inge Bårdsson til konge i 1204, beskrives både i *Baglersagaene* og i *Håkon Håkonssons saga*. Hans fremste rival var en halvbror på morssiden, Håkon Galen (d. 1214). Morfaren til begge brødrene var kong Sigurd Munn (r. 1136-55). Ifølge beretningen om kongevalget kom det til strid mellom hirden som foretrakk Håkon og bøndene og erkebiskopen som foretrakk Inge. Sistnevntes tilhengere skal ha har fremmet følgende argument som begrunnelse for sin kandidat, ifølge *Håkon Håkonsson saga*:

> De sa at han [Inge] ikke var fjernere fra kongeverdigheten i morsætt enn jarlen [Håkon Galen], bror hans. Og de ymtet om at jarlen var utenlandsk av farsætt, men Inge var norsk og odelsbåren der i Trondheimen, og han var kommet av de beste ætter som fantes i Norge.[18]

Likeledes sier bøndene i *Baglersagaene* at de ikke vil ha en konge av Gotisk (svensk) slekt på farssiden, men heller Inge Bårdsson som 'er på Fæderne aff den beste Slect i ald Trondelagen' (*Baglersagaene* II: s. 28-29). Utgangen ble dermed et slags kompromiss. Inge ble valgt til konge, mens Håkon Galen fikk bli fører for hirden.

[17] Steen 1949-51: 35.

[18] *Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 22. ÍF XXXI, kap. 2: Sögðu þeir at han væri eigi firr konungdóminum í móðurætt en jarl, bróðir hans, en létu at jarlinn væri utlendr at föðurkyni en Ingi norænn ok þar óðalborinn í Þrándheimi ok kominn af hinum beztum kynkvíslum er í váru Nóregi.

Avstamning fra kongehuset via kvinneledd utelukket dermed verken Inge eller Håkon Galen, men det var Inges solide forankring i norske ætter mot den norsk-svenske Håkon Galen som ble tungen på vektskålen for bøndene. Før beretningen om kongevalget føyes det i *Baglersagaenes* lange versjon til en genealogi over Reinsætten, og deres slektninger og forfedre (figur 1 = *Baglersagaene* II: 26-27). Tolkningen og dateringen av denne må med nødvendighet henge sammen med vår forståelse av *Baglersagaenes* lange versjon som helhet, men dette er langt fra uproblematisk.

Baglersagaene er nemlig blant våre dårligst bevarte kongesagaer, og den lange versjonen har bare overlevd i Peder Claussøn Friis' (d. 1614) oversettelse fra 1600-tallet. Interne forhold tyder ifølge Helle og Magerøy på at verket ble fullført mellom kong Inges død i 1217, og det endelige valget av Håkon Håkonsson som enekonge i 1223.[19] Sagaforfatteren synes å være nært bekjent med birkebeinernes gjøren og laden og teksten har nok derfor blitt skrevet av noen som var tilknyttet denne flokken. For genealogiens vedkommende kan imidlertid denne dateringen bare forsvares dersom man antar at den yngste generasjonen er en senere interpolasjon. Erling 'hin unge' Alvsson var sønn av kong Inges og hertug Skules søster Ingeborg og Alv Erlingsson den eldre fra Tornberg (d. ca. 1240). Han nevnes for første gang i *Håkon Håkonssons saga* ved hendelser som har blitt datert til 1261 (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 307) mens han døde i 1283. Forsøk på å datere Erlings fødsel til 1220,[20] eller ekteskapet mellom Ingeborg og Alv til 1221,[21] blir i beste fall rene gjetninger selv om de i teorien passer med Magerøy og Helles datering til 1217-23. Likevel synes Erling helt på siden av både genealogiens og *Baglersagaens* anliggender, og er nok derfor sannsynligvis tilføyd av en senere redaktør, eller av oversetteren Peder Claussøn Friis.

Hvis vi aksepterer dateringen av genealogien til 1217-23 er det heller ikke vanskelig å være uenig med Magerøy, som argumenterer for at Skule nok selv tok initiativ til den ferdige utformingen av sagaen.[22] Men Skules innflytelse er ikke nødvendigvis begrenset til sagaens beretning i årene etter 1210, slik Magerøy antar. Den genealogiske utlegningen om Reinsætten oppført i sagaen før Inges tronbestigning i 1204 kan nemlig, om den sammenholdes med formuleringene i kongevalgene på birkebeinersiden 1204-1223, leses som et uttrykk for Skules egne ambisjoner om kongeverdighet.

[19] Helle 1958: 91-92; *Baglersagaene* I: 206.

[20] Hedem 1953: 121.

[21] Skeie 2009: 47.

[22] *Baglersagaene* I: 206.

La oss først se nærmere på formuleringene fra kongevalget i 1204. Genealogien rommer nettopp de argumentene som ble fremført i uenigheten mellom hirden og bøndene: Inge og Håkon framstilles som halvbrødre, med kongsdatteren Cecilia som mor, men med Bård Guttormsson og den svenske lagmannen Folkvid som fedre. Skule er imidlertid også oppført som samfedre bror av Inge, med sine helsøsken og deres mor Ragnfrid Erlingsdatter. Et mer påfallende trekk er de mange bilaterale linjene gjennom kvinneledd til flere stormanns- og fyrsteslekter: med imponerende navn som kong Sigurd Syr (d. ca. 1018), Håkon (Sigurdsson) Jarl (d. 995), Einar Tambarskjelve (d. 1050), Erling Skjalgsson (d. ca. 1028) m.fl. Dette er nok slektene Sturla Tordsson sikter til når han i *Håkon Håkonssons saga* nevner at Inge Bårdsson var 'kommet av de beste ætter som var i Norge' (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 22). Genealogien som helhet kan nok dermed ikke bare avskrives som en tidlig moderne interpolasjon av oversetteren Peder Claussøn Friis, ettersom Sturla sannsynligvis har kjent til både stamtavla og omtalen av Inges slekt fra *Baglersagaens* lange versjon da han selv beskrev kongevalget i *Håkon Håkonssons saga*.

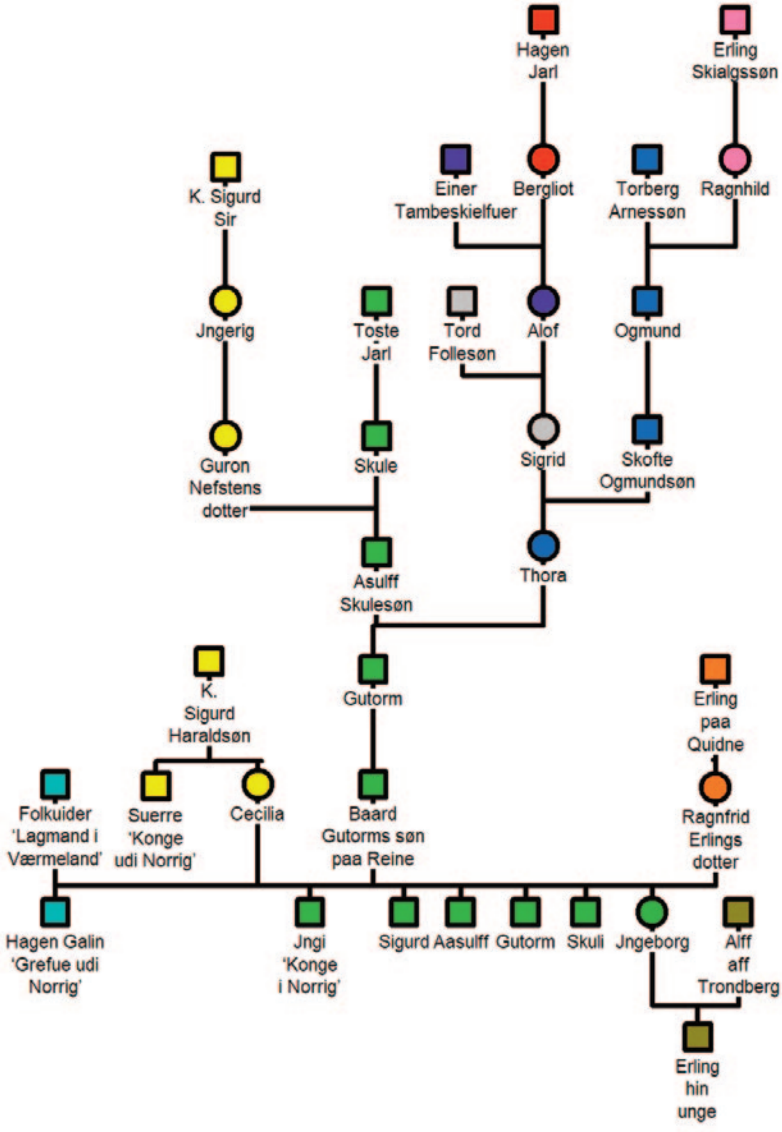
Formuleringen i *Baglersagaen* om 'den beste Slect i ald Trondelagen' (Baglersagaene II: s. 28-29), inviterer imidlertid til en litt annen tolkning enn Sturlas 'de beste ætter som var i Norge'. Det kan naturligvis være Reinsætten det siktes til her, med sitt betydelige gods på Rein på Fosen, og sitt påståtte patrilineære opphav fra den engelske kongsbroren Toste Jarl. Men det er ikke den eneste muligheten. En historieskriver på 1200-tallet vil muligens heller tenke på ladejarlene, som også skal ha hatt sitt sete i Trøndelag, på Lade, like utenfor Trondheimen. Det finnes lang historisk presedens for deres dynastiske status som en av de fremste ættene i den norrøne verden, og de var nok i sin egen tid definitivt regnet for den beste slekten i Trøndelag. Ladejarlene eller Håløygslekten er den eneste dokumenterte norske slekten som i tillegg til kongedynastiet, hevdet å stamme fra de gamle gudene. Prestisjen som en av Norges fremste slekter går nok derfor tilbake til førkristen tid.

Sigvat skald (d. 1045) framhever slektens status i omtalen av Håkon Eiriksson jarl (d. 1029) fra vers 15 av kvadet *Vikingavísur*. Der kaller han ladejarlsslekten den «nest beste» i den norrøne verden:

Mektig konge måtte
møte Håkon, sa han,
i Saudungs sund, det gamle,
strevet han for fremgang.

Stod for stridig konge
der den skjønne jarlen,
ung han var, nest ypperst
Av daners ætt og tunge.[23]

[23] *Vikingavisur*, s. 287. *PKS* I: s. 554: Ríkr kvað sér at sœkja / Sauðungs konungr nauðir / fremðar gjarn í fornu / fund Hôkunar sundi. / Strangr hitti þar þengill / þann jarl, es vas annarr / œztr ok ætt gat bezta / ungr á danska tungu.



Figur 1: Reinsættens genealogi fra Baglersagaene *(1217-23)*

Nå har riktignok noe av betydningen av verset forsvunnet litt i Pollestads oversettelse. Det er ikke noe forsøk på å framstille Håkon som av dansk ætt, selv om hans morfar var danekongen Svein Tjugeskjegg (d. 1014). Håkon var nest ypperst i ætt i området man talte 'dǫnsk tunga', som var den vanlige betegnelsen på norrønt mål i vikingtid og middelalder. Nå har det riktignok blitt hevdet at vers 15 er et senere tillegg til *Vikingavisur*,[24] men tekstens gjengivelse i *Heimskringla* og en rekke andre manuskripter, antyder at dette var en forestilling som fortsatt rådet på Inges og Skules tid.

En kan dessuten se en tydelig historiografisk tendens på 1200-tallet som søkte å rehabilitere av Håkon Sigurdsson Jarl og hans slekt, som trer nokså grelt frem i beretningene til 1100-tallets historieskrivere. Det var særlig Snorre Sturlason som sto i bresjen for denne oppreisningen av Håkon og ladejarlenes omdømme (*Heimskringla*: 216-217). I den anonyme *Håkon Ivarssons saga* som også kan være fra 1200-tallet,[25] fortelles det dessuten om en gruppe etterkommere fra Håkon Jarl på kvinnesiden. De ble kalt 'Hlada menn' (lademenn) og skal ifølge sagaen ha vært i besittelse av flere fortreffelige egenskaper, som gjerne forbindes med store høvdingslekter *(Håkon Ivarssons Saga*, s. 3). I *Baglesagaenes* genealogi blir den samme Håkon Jarl koblet til Inges og Skules stamtavle gjennom fire påfølgende kvinneledd. En så uvanlig genealogisk konstruksjon avslører en nokså bestemt hensikt: å gjøre den trønderske ladejarlen til Inges og Skules stamfar. Det skapte sannsynligvis prestisje å stamme fra Trøndelags beste ætt, kanskje nok til å underbygge et krav på tronen.

Genealogi ble også et relevant tema ved kongevalget på Øretinget i 1217, etter Inge Bårdssons død. Skule skal ha fremmet kandidaturet til den 11-årige kongssønnen Guttorm Ingesson (d. 1226), men han lot likevel sine venner også fremme sitt eget tronkrav. Mot dem sto den 13-årige Håkon Håkonsson som ble støttet av bøndene. Ett argument bøndene framførte til fordel for Håkon var at han 'var kongsbåren i farsætta fra hedensk tid, og uten noe kvinnelig mellomledd.' (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 36-37). Dette framstår i virkeligheten som en veloverveid strategi for å utelukke andre kandidater enn Håkon Håkonsson. Skule krevde arv etter sin bror, men stammet ikke selv fra konger i rett linje på farssiden. Guttorm Ingesson var riktignok kong Inges sønn, men oppfylte heller ikke bøndenes krav, da det var ett kvinneledd mellom ham og oldefaren Sigurd Munn som ble regnet som et medlem av den gamle norske kongeslekta. Dette leddet var kong Inges mor Cecilia, slik genealogien i *Baglersagaene* også viser. Bøndenes krav bryter med tidligere tradisjoner for kongevalg, som jo hadde akseptert arv av kongeverdighet gjennom kvinneledd slik som i Inge

[24] Fidjestøl 1982: 118.

[25] Andersson 2015: 74-75. For et annet syn se Bagge 2015: 79-88.

Bårdssons og Magnus Erlingssons tilfeller. Ifølge sagaen skal heller ikke Skules eller Guttorms venner på Øretinget i 1217 ha trukket støtten etter bøndenes innspill. Gjennom et kompromiss blir Håkon likevel valgt, med Skule som jarl og hirdstyrer (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 42).

Det foreløpige valget av Håkon som konge i 1217 stoppet ikke Skule fra å fremme sitt krav igjen på riksmøtet i Bergen i 1223 der Sigurd Ribbung (d. 1226), sønn av baglerkongen Erling Steinvegg (d. 1207), og Junker Knut (d. 1261), sønn av Håkon Galen, også ble vurdert som kandidater. Genealogien fra *Baglersagaen* ble sannsynligvis utformet akkurat i perioden mellom de to møtene, og det er fristende å se den som en respons på sonderingene ved Øretinget i 1217, og som en forberedelse på møtet i 1223. Den norske bakgrunnen som hadde vært tungen på vektskålen for Inge i 1204 kunne ikke hjelpe Skule, med mindre han også kunne vise til kongelig avstamning fra hedensk tid, slik bøndene ifølge sagaen krevde i 1217. Dette behovet forklarer sannsynligvis tilføyelsen av kongelige aner i Reinsættens genealogi, også på Skules side: gjennom to kvinnelige generasjoner ble Skules slekt ført tilbake til småkongen Sigurd syr på Ringerike som var far til Harald Hardråde. Ifølge *Heimskringla* hadde Sigurd latt seg døpe av Olav Tryggvason (r. 995-1000) (*Heimskringla* s. 224), og derfor stopper stamtavla, passende nok, med den første hedenske kongen blant Skules forfedre, som også var den første som lot seg kristne. Stamtavla svarer dermed delvis på bøndenes krav fra 1217, men at det kom kvinneledd imellom var ikke til å unngå.

Konteksten gjør nok at denne greina og kanskje hele genealogien er konstruert med tanke på Skules heller enn Inges tronkrav, først fordi den sannsynligvis ble laget etter Inges død (1217-23), men også fordi forbindelsen til Sigurd Syr var overflødig for valget av Inge i 1204 som jo allerede var tilknyttet den gamle norske kongeslekta som dattersønn av kong Sigurd Munn. Forbindelsen var ikke overflødig i 1223, for Skule som jo hadde en annen mor enn halvbroren Inge. Samtidig måtte forbindelsen til Sigurd Munn likevel med som genealogisk argument i 1223 ettersom Skule, som jo bygde sitt krav på slektskapet med Inge, måtte vise at også boren var en legitim tronarving.

På riksmøtet i 1223 ble nettopp Inges arverett til kongedømmet utfordret fra flere hold. Ifølge sagaen skal Håkon Håkonsson selv ha hevdet at Inge ikke arvet riket, men ble innsatt for å 'vokte' Håkons farsarv for ham (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 93). Den lovkyndige Gunnar bonde talte også Håkons sak i sin vurdering av hans rett mot de kandidatene som stilte i 1204, kong Inge og jarlen Håkon Galen:

> Og sjøl om begge to, kong Inge og Håkon jarl, hadde sittet med makten i dag, da sier jeg det at Håkon ville ha rett til å ta sin farsarv og kreve den andre fjernet fra

> makten, hvis det skulle gjøres rett mot ham. Og derfor sier jeg også at verken Skule jarl etter kong Inge, bror sin, og heller ikke junker Knut etter Håkon [jarl] far sin, eller Guttorm etter far sin kong Inge, har rett til å kreve Norges rike mens kong Håkon lever.[26]

Å ta Norge i arv etter sin bror Inge var derfor ikke et sterkt nok grunnlag for Skule, hvis krav fortsatt ble betraktet som svakere enn kravet til medlemmene av Sverreættens mannslinje og Håkon Håkonsson. Erkebiskop Guttorm (d. 1224) ser også ut til å ha sluttet seg til argumentet om at en konge må stamme fra kongeslekta på mannssiden:

> De, kong Håkon, sitter nå med makten i landet og det sier De og alle Deres venner, at De er den rette arving til Norge etter Deres far, og at alle Deres forfedre har rådd over dette riket før, mann etter mann, slik at det aldri har vært noe kvinneledd imellom, og jeg skulle tro at de fleste menn godtar at det er sant som De sier.[27]

Kan dette leses som et svar på genealogien fra *Baglersagaene* og Skules avstamning fra hedenske konger? Sagaen forteller ikke at Skule presenterte noen stamtavle på riksmøtet. Men det er påfallende at det som gjenstår av Øretingets eksklusjonskriterier er nettopp det genealogiske forholdet som ikke er til å unngå for Skule jarl: kvinneleddene. Dette utestenger også de andre tronkreverne på møtet: Guttorm Ingesson og junker Knut Håkonsson (d. 1261), som begge er utelatt fra *Baglersagaenes* stamtavle. Genealogi ble dermed igjen ett av de avgjørende forholdene for gjenvalget av Håkon. For fredens skyld inngikk imidlertid Håkon og Skule forlik på ny, med en tredjedel av riket, inkludert Trøndelag, under jarlens herredømme. Snart etter, i 1225, giftet kong Håkon seg med Margrete Skulesdatter og styrket med det forliket fra 1223. Men ettersom forlovelsen allerede ble inngått i 1219 kan Skule godt ha vært klar over at et nytt forlik var det mest sannsynlige resultatet av kongevalget i 1223,

[26] *Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 94-95. ÍF XXXI, s. 262: Ok þó at þeir sæti báðir í ríkinu í dag, Ingi konungr ok Hákon jarl, þá segi ek svá at Hákon konungr ætti at stíga til föðurleifðar sinnar ok krefja þá ór ríkinu ef han skyldi lögum ná. Ok því segi ek svá at hvártki Skúli jarl eftir Inga konung, bróður sinn, ok eigi junkherra Knútr eftir Hákon jarl, föður sinn, né Guthormr eftir föður sinn, Inga konung, á at kalla til Nóregs meðan Hákon konungr lifir.

[27] *Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 92. ÍF XXXI, s. 258: Þér sitið nú, Hákon konungr, í ríkinu ok segið svá ok allir yðrir vinir at þér eruð erfingjar til Nórges eftir föður yðvarn, ok allt yðvart forellri hefir áðr þessu ríki ráðit, maðr eftir mann, svá at aldri hefir kvenkné í milli komit, ok væntir mik at flestir men fylgi því norðr í land at þat sé satt er þér segið.

og den sirlig konstruerte stamtavla kan ha fungert som en strategi, ikke nødvendigvis for å oppnå kongeverdigheten, men for å tvinge fram et gunstig resultat i riksmøtets politiske hestehandler.[28]

Som jeg har antydet i den foregående analysen framstår de genealogiske argumentene under kongevalg i aller høyeste grad som opportune. Slike genealogiske argumenter kan naturligvis henvise til etablerte praksiser eller lover, men følger tilsynelatende ikke noen fastlagt prosedyre på 1200-tallets første halvdel. I stedet framheves de til enhver tid hensiktsmessige genealogiske fordeler for det aktuelle kongsemnet, spesielt om de kan være til forkleinelse for aktuelle motkandidater. Valget av Filippus Simonsson på Borgarting i 1207 viser dette helt tydelig. Hans kandidatur fortrengte nemlig Magnus og Sigurd, sønnene til den nylig avdøde baglerkongen Erling Steinvegg. Om vi skal tro en episode som gjengis i både den korte og lange versjonen av *Baglersagaene*, argumenterte bøndene på Borgarting på en ganske annen måte enn bøndene på Øretinget ti år senere. I 1207 ønsket nemlig bøndene kongelig suksesjon gjennom kvinneledd og protesterte mot at Magnus og Sigurd skulle få der norske riket som sin farsarv:

> Nå er her en som er vel skikket til høvding, og det er jarlen [Filippus], søstersønn til kong Inge Haraldsson, den beste kongen som har vært i Norge i manns minne. Han har vist seg som en vettig mann med gode seder. Ham vil vi gi kongsnavn, dersom dere vil.[29]

Da hirden meldte at de heller ville følge en av kongssønnene skal bøndene likevel ha klart å presse sin vilje igjennom og Filippus ble valgt. At Filippus ikke en gang er etterkommer av noen norsk konge hadde tilsynelatende ingen betydning. Det mer indirekte slektskapet med morbroren, kong Inge Haraldsson (r. 1136-61), var tilstrekkelig og dermed utkonkurrerte Filippus de mindreårige sønnene til Erling Steinvegg. Det var nok baglernes utsatte stilling som i 1207 krevde en sterk mann, noe bøndene også argumenterte for. Men at resultatet i 1207 ble det motsatte som ved valget i 1217, med motsatt argument, tyder både på at arv gjennom kvinneledd kunne brukes opportunt (som argument *og* motargument), og at de genealogiske kriteriene for valg av konger var svært fleksible.

[28] Bagge 2020: 188.

[29] *Sagaen om baglere og Birkebeiner*, s. 316. *Baglersagaene* II, s. :85: Nú er hér vel til borit til hǫfðingja, þar som jarlinn er, systursonr Inga koungs Haraldssonar, þess er beztr konungr hefr verit í Nóregi í manna minnum. En hann reyndr at viti ok góðum siðum. Munum vér gefa honum konungsnafn, ef þér vilið.

Det naturligvis også vel verdt å merke seg at Olav den Hellige glimrer med sitt fravær i de genealogiske sonderingene under kongevalg mellom 1204 og 1223. I *Håkon Håkonssons sagas* beskrivelser av valgene i 1217 og 1223 er det den nærmeste slekten som vektlegges: Håkons far, Skules bror, mens Reinsættens genealogi i *Baglersagaene* også løfter frem fjernere forfedre på fars- og morssiden: Håkon jarl, Toste jarl, Sigurd syr, men ikke Olav den Hellige. Da de genealogiske argumentene til Skule tilsynelatende mislyktes i å vinne tilslutning i 1217 og 1223, måtte han ta i bruk nye virkemidler da han igjen krevde kongsnavn i 1239. Behovet for legitimitet gjorde at Olav nå kunne brukes fraksjonsspesifikt for Skules parti.

Skule og Snorre

Det var møtet mellom Skule og Snorre Sturlason som etter all sannsynlighet virkeliggjorde bruken av Olav den hellige til støtte for Skule krav. Snorre var en høylærd mann. Han oppholdt seg ved hoffet til Skule i årene 1238-39 og underholdt hertugens menn med historiske spottevers på bekostning av kong Håkons lendmenn (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 180-81). Så nært skal samarbeidet mellom Skule og Snorre ha vært at islendingen selv ble utsatt for poetisk spott av sine rivaler på Island (*Sturlunga Saga*, s. 278-279). Skule hadde vært gavmild med Snorre under hans tidligere opphold i Norge, og Snorre hadde derfor god anledning til å tilby sine tjenester i konstruksjonen av hertugens genealogiske legitimitet.

Snorre kjente dessuten godt til tidens historiografiske tendens som i perioden før 1239 hadde gjort Olav til et stadig viktigere genealogisk referansepunkt. Blant kongesagaene er det nok først *Fagerskinna* som framhever den genealogiske funksjonen til Olav, i en episode som også dukker opp i *Heimskringla*. *Fagerskinna* ble dessuten, om vi aksepterer Ólafía Einarsdóttirs datering, skrevet like før Skules opprør i 1239.[30] I verkets første kapittel, om Halvdan Svarte, knyttes Olav den Hellige til myten om dynastiets opphav:

[30] Óláfia Einarsdóttir 2002, har datert *Fagerskinna* til årene 1236-39 blant annet fordi hertugdømmet Braunschweig (*Brúnsvík*) som først ble opprettet i 1235, nevnes av forfatteren. En mer tradisjonell datering til 1218-22 har nylig blitt forsvart av Myrvoll, som ser ut til å betrakte det som en ren tilfeldighet at *Fagerskinna* nevner et tysk hertugdømme 13-17 år før det blir opprettet (Myrvoll 2023: 111-112). Innsigelsen om at *Fagerskinnas* tekst har vært brukt i utformingen av *Heimskringla* (Indrebø 1917: 285-97) er ikke i seg selv noe argument for en så tidlig dato som Myrvoll postulerer, ettersom Reinsættens genealogi i *Heimskringla* som omtales nedenfor nok uansett må dateres til 1237-39. Dette utfordrer den allmenne oppfatningen om at *Heimskringla* ble fullført omkring 1230, men en så tidlig dato lar seg ikke kombinere med genealogiens omtale av Skule som 'hertug', en tittel som han først fikk i 1237.

> Det var noe rart med Halvdan; han drømte aldri. Han la fram denne saken for mannen som het Torleiv Spake og søkte råd om hva han kunne gjøre. Og han fortalte hva han selv gjorde om han var interessert i å få rede på en sak, og det var og legge seg til å sove i en grisebinge. Da skortet det ikke på drømmer. Og kongen gjorde det, og da åpenbarte denne drømmen seg for ham: det syntes ham at han var naken og med alt håret sitt i lokker. Noen av disse var så lange som ned til bakken, og noen til midt på beinet eller til midt på leggen, eller til kneet eller til midt på siden, mens noen ikke rakk lenger enn til halsen, mens andre var ikke mer enn sprunget ut av hodet som knuter. Og lokkene hans hadde alle slags farger, men én lokk overgikk alle andre i prakt og skjønnhet og klarhet. Og han fortalte Torleiv om drømmen og Torleiv tydde drømmen slik at en stor slekt skulle komme fra ham, og avkommet hans skulle råde for landene med stor ære, dog ikke alle med like stor ære. Men én ville komme fra hans ætt som synes bedre enn alle, og det har menn holdt for sant at den lokken var et varsel om den hellige kong Olav som av alle Norges konger er helligere og lysere i himmelen og på jorden, slik som alle vet.[31]

Mye kan sies og har blitt sagt om denne episoden.[32] Det komiske bildet av kongen i grisebingen står i sterk kontrast til drømmens alvor for middelalderens lesere og varselet om kong Olav. Halvdans lange hår kan vanskelig tolkes som noe annet enn en allusjon til myten om sønnen Harald Hårfagre, som etter islandsk tradisjon lot håret sitt vokse til han hadde samlet riket og, som deretter ble stamfar for hele den

[31] Egen oversettelse. ÍF XXIX, s. 57-58: Með Hálfdani var kynligr einn hlutr; han dreymði aldrigi. En þann hlut bar hann upp fyrir þann mann, er hét Þorleifr spaki, ok leitaði ráða, hvat at því mætti gøra. Ok hann sagði, hvat hann gørði, at þá er hann forvitnaði nǫkkurn hlut at vita, at hann fór í svínaból at sofa, ok brásk [hónum þá eigi] draumr. Ok konungr gørði þat ok birtisk hónum draumbr þessi: Hónum sýndisk, at hann væri maðr berr ok hár hans allt í lokkum. Váru sumir síðir til jarðar, en sumir í miðjan legg eða í miðjan kálfa eða [a] kné eða miðja síðu, en sumir eigi lengra en á háls, en sumir ekki meirr en sprottnir ór hausi sem knýflar, en á lokkum hans var hverskyns litr, en einn lokkr sigraði alla aðra með fegrð ok með fríðleik ok ljósleik. En Þorleifi sagði hann þann draum, ok þyddi Þorleifr svá drauminn, at mikill afspringr myndi koma af hónum, ok myndi hans afspringr lǫndum ráða með miklum veg, ok þó eigi allir með jǫfnum veg. En einn myndi sá af hans ætt koma, er ǫllum myndi vera betri, ok hafa men þat fyrir satt, at sá lokkr jartegnaði enn helga Óláf, er ǫllum Noregs konungum er helgari ok bjartari í himnum ok á jǫrðu, svá at allir men viti.

[32] Turville-Petre 1958: 93-111; Chadwick 1954: 41; Narikawa 2012: 44-48; Lincoln 2014: 55-56.

norske kongeslekta.[33] Røthe har argumentert for at 'hårfagreideologien', forestillingen om Norge som odel i ætten etter Harald, blir videreført gjennom Olav i episoder som denne.[34] Men en lignende tendens finner vi allerede på 1000- og 1100-tallet med verset til Stein Herdisson og *Privilegiebrevet* som ble omtalt ovenfor. Fortellingen om Halvdan og håret hans må med andre ord leses som en litterær videreutvikling av Olavs genealogiske betydning for kongedynastiet. Og ved å plassere varselet om helgenkongen i slektas opphav gjør *Fagerskinnas* forfatter kristningskongen Olav, og ikke hedningene Halvdan eller Harald, til den definerende personen for dynastiet. For heller enn å utbrodere de ulike slektslinjene fra Halvdan i episoden, trekker forfatteren vår oppmerksomhet henimot helgenkongen. Drømmen kan nærmest leses som en innledende 'kammertone' for hele *Fagerskinna* som følger historien om Norges konger og deres varierende hell og ære. Olav blir med denne begynnelsen den viktigste av alle kongene i *Fagerskinnas* fortelling: glansen fra hans kristningsverk og martyrdød skinner utover den metaforiske stamtavla som Halvdans manke utgjør og fyller kongedynastiet og norgeshistorien med moralsk kraft. Olavs genealogiske betydning for dynastiet blir derfor formulert langt mer eksplisitt enn i de tidligere omtalte kildene og får legitimerende kraft for hele dynastiet.

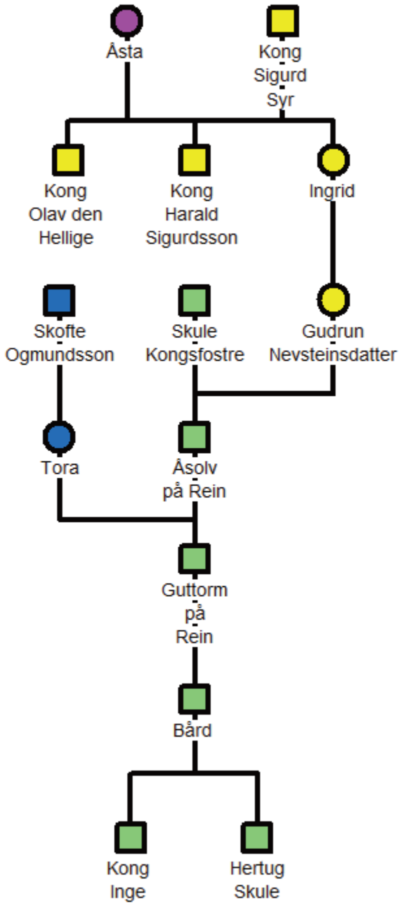
Denne kraften ser Snorre ut til å ha brukt seg av da han tilsynelatende tilrev seg sankt Olav som fraksjonsspesifikt legitimeringsgrunnlag på Skules vegne. Reinsættens genealogi etter Snorre er satt inn mot slutten av *Harald Hardrådes Saga*, i fortellingen om hjemkomsten til de overlevende etter slaget ved Stamford Bridge i 1066 (Figur 2). Den følger etterkommerne til stamfaren Skule kongsfostre (d. 1090) fram til Bårdsønnene Inge og Skule. Det er også to bilaterale sidegrener bakover til Arnmødlingene og til det norske kongedynastiet:

> Kong Olav [Kyrre] giftet ham [Skule kongsfostre] med sin frenke Gudrun Nevsteinsdatter; hennes mor var Ingerid, datter av kong Sigurd Syr og Åsta, og dermed en søster til kongene Olav den hellige og Harald Sigurdsson. Skule og Gudruns sønn var Åsolv på Rein, som ble gift med Skofte Ogmundssons datter Tora. Hennes og Åsolvs sønn var Guttorm på Rein, far til Bård, som var far til kong Inge og hertug Skule.[35]

[33] Sverrir Jakobsson 2002.

[34] Røthe 2008: 127-29.

[35] *Heimskringla*, s. 686. ÍF XXVIII, s. 198: Óláfr konungr gipti honum frændkonu sína, Guðrúnu Nefsteinsdóttr. Móðir hennar var Ingiríðr, dóttir Sigurðar konungs sýr ok Ástu. Hon var systir Óláfs konungs ins helga ok Haralds konungs. Sonr Skúla ok Guðrúnar var Ásólfr á Reini. Hann átti Þóru, dóttur Skopta Ǫgmundarsonar. Sonr þeira Ásólfs var Guthormr á Reini, faðir Bárðar, fǫður Inga konungs ok Skúla hertoga.



Figur 2 Reinsættens genealogi fra Heimskringla *(1237-39)*

I motsetning til flere av de andre genealogiene til Reinsætten fra *Morkinskinna, Fagerskinna*, eller *Baglersagaene*, passer denne mistenkelig godt til beretningen fra *Håkon Håkonssons saga* om Skules stamtavle som skal ha blitt lest på Øretinget i 1239. Snorre var nok derfor mannen bak stamtavlen som ble opplest på tinget.[36] Olav framstilles riktignok ikke som Skules stamfar, men han er likevel hertugens slektning ettersom hans halvsøster Ingrid Sigurdsdatter var er en Skules aner. I mannslinja går ikke Snorre lengere bak enn til det første norske medlemmet av Reinsætten, Skule kongsfostre, og utelater, til senere historikeres forvirring, den engelske Toste jarl som dukker opp i flere tidligere genealogier. Skules kongsfostres funksjon her er imidlertid ikke å gi Skule Bårdsson noen edel engelsk avstamning, men å framheve hvordan Skule var beslektet med den norske kongefamilien, Sigurd Syr og hans familie gjennom inngifte. Stammoren, Ingrid Sigurdsdatter, settes i forbindelse med broren Harald Hardråde og halvbroren Olav den hellige, gjennom søsknenes felles mor Åsta. Sammenligner vi denne stamtavlen med den fra *Baglersagaene* utvides altså den umiddelbare sletskretsen fra Sigurd syr til flere genealogisk signifikante personer. Samtidig begrenses de bilaterale linjene sterkt til en slekt som var både allierte med Skule og selv inngiftet med den norske kongefamilien: Arnmødlingene.

[36] Lunga 2018: 156.

På indre grunnlag må Snorres genealogi dateres til etter 1237, da Skule fikk sin hertugtittel. Dette styrker Ólafía Einarsdóttirs hypotese om at Snorre fortsatte å arbeide med *Heimskrinlga* etter den tradisjonelle dateringen av verket til 1230.[37] At denne genealogien eller en lignende versjon ble lest opp på Øretinget i 1239 gir oss også en sannsynlig *terminus ante quem*, og vi kommer fram til en sannsynlig dato omkring 1237-39, nettopp da Snorre befant seg i Norge. Det er dessuten noe nokså påtakelig islandsk ved Reinsættens genealogi fra *Heimskringla*. Med unntak av kongshyllningen av Filippus i 1207 befattet de genealogiske sonderingene ved slike anledninger seg i hovedsak med direkte avstamning: fra tidligere konger, fra viktige norske familier eller fra kvinner, slik vi har sett ovenfor. Verken *Morkinskinnas* eller *Baglersagaenes* genealogier over Reinsætten framstiller nedadgående sidegrener, eller forfedres søsken. Men i *Landnåmsbokens* stamtavler finner vi mange eksempler på slike konstruksjoner, med islandske slekter som knytter seg til helgenkongen gjennom et påstått slektskap med hans mor Åsta (*Landnåmsboken*, s. 99, 106). Lignende genealogier finnes også i norrøne helgensagaer der en genealogisk forbindelse til Olav tilsynelatende ble konstruert for å fremme prestisjen til helgener som Hallvard Vebjørnsson (d. 1043) og Magnus Erlendsson (d. 1115/17).[38] Den islandske tradisjonen for slike 'indirekte' slektskap kan ha inspirert Snorre til å bearbeide Skules genealogi som gjorde at også hertugen kunne bruke Olav for å støtte sitt krav.

Det var et snedig forsøk på å utmanøvrere Håkon og hans støttespillere. Da Skule ikke kunne oppfylle de genealogiske kravene for kongeverdigheten som ble formulert på møtene i 1217 og 1223, omdefinerte han dem. Skule forsøkte dermed å styrke den svakeste komponenten av sin genealogiske legitimitet, nemlig forbindelsen til den gamle norske kongeslekta, ved å tilføre et nytt element hvis symbolske kraft ville være vanskelig å motsette seg. Hva betydde vel en patrilineær forbindelse til hedenske forfedre for den hellige kong Olavs ættmann? Det var ikke en dårlig ide. Stamtavlen utbygde den allerede eksisterende forestillingen om Olav som en hellig, symbolsk kraft for kongeslekta som tilsynelatende bare ble viktigere på begynnelsen av 1200-tallet. Olavs økende betydning for kongeslekta kommer også til uttrykk gjennom offentlige ritualer. Fra tidlig på 1200-tallet ble det skikk å bære ut Olavs relikvieskrin i prosesjon fra Kristkirken til Øretinget under kongevalg.[39] Med hånd på skrinet

[37] Óláfia Einarsdóttir 2002: 81.

[38] Lunga 2024.

[39] Olav den helliges skrin ble sannsynligvis brukt slik første gang i 1204 da Inge Bårdsson ble valgt. Håkon Håkonssons støttespillere forsøkte å hente skrinet i 1217 (Håkon Håkonsson) men ble nektet av korsbrødrene (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 42). I 1239 hentes skrinet mot korsbrødrenes vilje under hyllingen av Skule Bårdsson (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 184-86). I 1240 brukes dessuten skrinet i valget av Håkon Unge (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*,

sverget kongsemnet en ed og ble deretter tatt til konge, med Gud og den hellige kong Olav på sin side.[40]

Håkon Håkonsson brukte imidlertid ikke Olav like aktivt i tiden før 1239. Før Skules opprør finnes det for eksempel ingen spor av lignende stamtavler for Håkon, som i større grad bygde sin genealogiske legitimitet på forbindelsen til Sverre-ætten og på delegitimeringen av tronkrevere som ikke selv var kongesønner eller som var i slekt med kongeslekta på spinnesiden. David Brégaint har påpekt hvordan Kirken og deres politisering av Olav ved flere anledninger sto i opposisjon til Håkons ambisjoner om kongemakt.[41] Korsbrødrene hadde nektet Håkon å sverge ved Olavs skrin på Øretinget i 1217 (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 42) og kongemorens Ingas plan om jernbyrd ble sannsynligvis forpurret av korsbrødrene i Kristkirken i Nidaros (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 40). Kongsmoren måtte i stedet gjennomføre prøven ved en senere anledning i Bergen i 1218. Denne avstanden mellom Håkon og Olav ser ut til å ha vedvart selv etter 1223, noe som skapte rom for Skule og muliggjorde fraksjonsspesifikk bruk av helgenen. Skules sendrektighet med å sette makt bak tronkravet, 22 år etter brorens død, gjorde imidlertid at han hadde et spesielt sterkt behov for legitimitet. Dette behovet forklarer Olavs usedvanlig merkbare tilstedeværelse på tinget i 1239 med de gjentatte opplesningene av stamtavlen, framsyningen av helgenes skrin, spyd og øks, og gjennom Skules ed på Olavs skrin at han skulle overholde Hellig-Olavs lov. Så fremtredende hadde Olav aldri vært i noen tidligere kongshylling fra 1100 eller 1200-tallet som vi har beskrivelser av. Olavs synlighet på Øretinget kan nok også leses som et relativt utilslørt stikk mot kong Håkon som aldri hadde sverget på helgenkongens skrin, og som manglet en lignende forbindelse til Olav.

En annen mer direkte form for delegitimering av Håkons kongeverdighet, som også tyder på et mer omfattende genealogisk forarbeid i kretsen om Skule, i forkant av Øretinget i 1239 er formuleringen: 'hertugen var nærmest i arv etter kong Inge, bror sin, mens kong Håkon var den ellevte.' (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 187). Hvordan har man kommet fram til et slikt tall? Det er i utgangspunktet et juridisk argument. Et premiss for beregningen av en slik arverekke må være det Sverre Bagge også legger til grunn i sin beskrivelse av Håkons maktovertakelse i 1217: suksesjonen skulle etter vanlige regler og tronfølgeloven av 1163/64 egentlig regnes fra siste konge.[42] Med tronfølgelovens begrensning av suksesjon til ektefødte sønner sto Skule som kong Inges 'samfedre bror' sterkere enn den uekte Guttorm Ingesson (*Gulatings-*

s. 210). Se for øvrig Helle 1979: 129-30, 132-33, 142-44.

[40] Brégaint 2015: 53-54

[41] Brégaint 2020: 107-109.

[42] Bagge 2020: 186.

lova, s. 1b). Beregningen av Håkon Håkonsson som nummer elleve i arverekken tar også utgangspunkt i Inge, selv om Håkon gikk for å være sønn av kong Håkon Sverresson (r. 1202-1204). Det står ingenting i tronfølgeloven av 1163/64 om arvinger så langt ute som Inges relasjon til Håkon: morbrors sønnesønn. I stedet finner man vagere formuleringer om at den skal bli konge, 'som er nest i arv' om ikke ektefødt sønn eller samfedre bror kan overta (*Gulatingslova*, s. 1b). Tronfølgelovene henviser dermed til de vanlige arvefølgereglene i landskapslovene.

Jeg har ikke til hensikt å gå igjennom disse i detalj her. Men det er verdt å merke seg at *Frostatingslova*, inneholder omfattende bestemmelser om arverekkefølge i hele fjorten arveklasser (*Frostatingslova*, s. 131-135). Samtidig inneholder de såkalte innskuddene i *Fagerskinna* svært fyldige opplysninger om Reinsætten, kongedynastiet og andre, beslektede familier med bortimot 240 navngitte personer (ÍF XXIX, s. 370-373). Den første av genealogiene regner opp Reinsætten, med svært mange etterkommere i ulike nedadgående sidegrener ned til kong Inges tid og ser ut til å egne seg godt til å beregne arverekkefølgen etter ham. Flere av kong Inges fjernere slektninger som søskenbarn og søskenbarns barn på farssiden nevnes i stamtavla, med flere personer som ikke ellers er nevnt i andre kilder, og den kan blant annet ha vært brukt i forberedelsene til Øretinget i 1239 til å beregne arverekkefølgen etter Inge og delegitimere kong Håkon. Det er imidlertid først sammen med det andre av innskuddene, *Arnmødlingtalet* at man får et større overblikk hvor også kong Håkon plasseres inn.

Dateringen av de genealogiske innskuddene i *Fagerskinna* er riktignok omdiskuterte med flere kronologiske 'knaster'.[43] Det er for eksempel vanskelig å forene omtalen av Skule som hertug, en tittel han fikk i 1237, med konsentrasjonen av opplysninger omkring flere tilknyttede slektsgrener til 1220-tallet. Men hvis samlingen ble laget omkring 1237-39, med mål om å kartlegge forhold i årene etter kong Inges død for slik å kunne beregne en arverekke etter ham og på den måten delegitimere Håkons krav som en arving svært langt ute i rekken, kan det forklare noen av de kronologiske motsetningene og utelatelsene av ellers kjente generasjoner i samlingen. Mer forskning om de juridiske aspektene ved disse stamtavlene kan kanskje påvise en tydeligere sammenheng mellom dem og *Frostatingslovens* arvefølgeregler, men at slik rettslig slektsforskning foregikk i Nidaros omkring 1239 er hevet over enhver tvil. *Håkon Håkonssons saga* nevner nemlig at Skule i tiden før Øretinget konsulterte korsbrødrene i byen, som egget ham til å ta kongsnavnet og viste ham bøker som argumenterte for hans rett på kongeverdigheten så vel som på eiendom og odel etter sin bror Inge (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 184). Det var vel kanskje nettopp kors-

[43] Óláfia Einarsdóttir 2002: 77-78; Myrvoll 2023: 118-120.

brødrene som enten gjorde bruk av og beregnet, eller som selv sammenfattet genealogiene i *Fagerskinna* for å vise hertugen hvordan kong Håkon var den ellevte i arverekken etter kong Inge mens Skule selv var den første.

Viktigere på Øretinget var imidlertid den hellige kong Olav, men om vi skal tro sagaens beretning fungerte ikke propagandastuntet til Skule og Snorre særlig godt. Bøndene responderte tilsynelatende med en viss skepsis på kravet om å stamme fra Olav, og Skule fikk kongsnavnet av sine egne menn (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 187). Etter det katastrofale nederlaget i Oslo i april 1240 flyktet Skule til Nidaros hvor han ble drept av kongens menn i mai samme år.[44] Året etter ble også Snorre drept i Reykholt på ordre fra kong Håkon. Det var imidlertid én person Skule ser ut til å ha gjort inntrykk på med sin bruk av Olav, nemlig kong Håkon Håkonsson selv. Han kunne tilsynelatende ikke la Skules påstander bli stående uimotsagt og allerede i 1240, før slaget i Oslo, lot Håkon velge sønnen Håkon Unge (d. 1257) til samkonge på Øretinget med Olavs skrin til stede (*Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 210). Da kong Håkon (den eldre) selv skulle krones i 1247 gjorde han dessuten slektskapet med Olav den hellige gjeldende i valget av Olsok til kroningsdag:

> Da det ble talt om hvilken dag kongen skulle vigsles, sa kardinalen at det burde være på en apostel-messedag. Men siden kongen ættet fra kong Olav den hellige, ville han helst motta denne heder på hans høytidsdag.[45]

Det er kanskje sant som Brégaint har hevdet, at Håkon hadde et, i beste fall, ambivalent forhold til helgenkongen, og derfor valgte Bergen som kroningssted heller enn Nidaros.[46] Håkons ‘ikke-bruk’ av Olav i årene før 1240 hadde som nevnt ovenfor skapt handlingsrom i konkurransen om legitimitet for tronpretendenter som Skule. Med hyllingen av Håkon Unge, formuleringen om slektskap, og valget av Olsok 1247 som kroningsdag var dette handlingsrommet nå stengt. Kildene ser imidlertid ikke ut til å støtte Brégaints påstand om at Håkon motvillig aksepterte Olsok som kroningsdag, som en innrømmelse til Kirken.[47] Det var snarere på kongens initiativ mot kardinal Vilhelm av Sabinas råd om en annen dag, at Olsok ble valgt, skal vi tro

[44] Arstad 2022: 96-110.

[45] *Sagaen om Håkon Håkonsson*, s. 247. ÍF XXXII, s. 127: Ok þá er um var rætt hvern dag konungr skyldi vera vígðr þá sagði kardináli at þat skyldi gerask á einhverri postolamessu. En með því at konungr var í ættartölu við hinn Helga Óláf konung þá vildi hann helzt á hans hátíðardegi þá sæmð taka.

[46] Brégaint 2020: 112-113.

[47] Brégaint 2020: 113.

sagaen. Dermed gjenvant Håkon helgenkongen som genealogisk legitimerende for sin slekt, med minnet om forbindelsen sikret for ettertiden gjennom den høytidelige og symboltunge kroningsseremonien. Meg bekjent er dette også siste gang en konge eller et kongsemne bruker slektskapet til helgenen som et direkte legitimeringsgrunnlag for sitt krav. Dette henger nok også sammen med enekongedømmets suksess etter Skules fall, noe som dempet konkurransen om den slags legitimitet.

Konklusjon

Stamtavler til bruk i kongelig maktlegitimering i norsk høymiddelalder var dynamiske konstruksjoner. Det kommer blant annet fram av det relativt store antallet bevarte genealogier som framstiller Reinsættens forfedre og slektninger fra 1200-tallets første halvdel med så vidt forskjellig fokus, omfang og funksjon. Denne artikkelen har i hovedsak konsentrert seg om bakgrunnen for Skule Bårdssons bruk av Olav den Hellige i 1239 i kontekst av genealogiene fra *Baglersagaene* og *Heimskringla*, samt de genealogiske argumentene for og imot kongsemner som ble framført ved kongevalg i *Baglersagaene* og *Håkon Håkonssons saga*.

Den store variasjonen i genealogiske argumenter for og imot bestemte kandidater viser at det i de første tiårene av 1200-tallet ikke eksisterte noen alminnelig enighet om kriteriene for kongsemners genealogiske legitimitet. En kan kanskje argumentere for at kongssønner ofte ble foretrukket framfor andre med en fjernere tilknytning til kongefamilien og at arv gjennom kvinneledd kunne aksepteres når et parti manglet kongssønner. Men valget av Filippus baglerkonge i 1207 viser at dette slett ikke var noen konsekvent praksis og at kongssønner også kunne holdes fra kongemakten til fordel for kandidater med juridisk sett svakere krav. Som en av Inges nærmeste slektninger hadde nok Skule uansett en helt reell sjanse til å bli valgt både i 1217 og i 1223, selv om kongssønnen Håkon til slutt trakk det lengste strået. *Baglersagaens* genealogi viser også at det i årene før riksmøtet i 1223 ble gjort visse anstrengelser på Skules side for å svare ut de genealogiske kravene som hadde blitt framført på Øretinget i 1217. Denne ble sannsynligvis imøtegått av erkebiskop Guttorm under Riksmøtet i 1223, som nå hadde sluttet seg til Håkons side.

Tiden har riktignok trukket sitt slør over mesteparten av den polemikken vi bare skimter i Sturla Tordssons sagafortelling eller som kan utledes av de bevarte genealogiene. Men det er likevel mulig å se at slekt og genealogiske argumenter innimellom ble tungen på vektskålen i konkurransen mellom kongsemner: den 'helnorske' Inge ble foretrukket framfor sin svenskættede halvbror Håkon Galen i 1204 mens det i 1223 nok var avgjørende at Håkon Håkonsson hadde forsvart sitt krav på å være Håkon Sverressons sønn gjennom moren Ingas jernbyrd noen år tidligere. I 1239 åpnet imidlertid ikke Skule for noen diskusjon. Ervervelsen av kongedynastiets skytshelgen som et fraksjonsspesifikt legitimeringsgrunnlag for sitt krav var ikke noe delibererende partsinnlegg, men en demonstrativ opprørshandling. Målet var å vinne tilhengere ved å overbevise om tronkravets rettmessighet, samtidig som Håkon skulle beseires på slagmarken. Begge tiltak mislykkes.

Bruken av Olav var både nyskapende og opportunistisk samtidig som den bygde på etablerte forestillinger som hadde vært under utvikling omtrent siden helgenens død. Jeg har vist ovenfor hvordan disse forestillingene allerede før Skules bruk, hadde slått rot i flere litterære genre som skaldekvad, helgensagaer, kongesagaer og islandske genealogier. Det er mye som taler for at det nettopp var islendingen Snorre Sturlason som kom på tanken om å bruke Olav og som lagde genealogien for Skule. Snorre hadde anledning, kunnskap, motivasjon og politisk teft nok til å lansere en så dristig genealogisk idé og slå politisk mynt på den. I råd med Skule ble nok Snorre klar over handlingsrommet som hadde oppstått i kløften mellom kong Håkon og helgenkongen og så sitt snitt til å utnytte dette med nye historiske argumenter til fordel for Skules ambisjon om kongeverdigheten. Sammen med støtten fra korsbrødrene og deres genealogisk-rettslige argument om arven etter kong Inge følte nok Skule at han sto på trygg nok juridisk grunn til å realisere ambisjonen om kongemakt som han så lenge hadde båret på.

Summary
In November 1239, Duke Skúli Bárðarson was acclaimed king at Eyraþing assembly near Þrándheimr. During the proceedings, his supporters proclaimed him as a kinsman of Norway's patron saint, Óláfr Haraldsson (d. 1030), marking the beginning of a rebellion against Hákon Hákonarson (r. 1217-1263), Skúli's own son-in-law. This introduced the final phase of the Norwegian civil war era (c. 1130-1240), which are among the most extensively discussed periods in Norwegian history. In the last 10 years, several new contributions have specifically addressed Hákon's reign and Skúli's insurrection. This article examines the political context of Skúli's use of Óláfr helgi as a factionally specific legitimising ancestor in support of his royal claim, asking how this claim should be understood.

In the first part of the article, I examine the genealogical significance of Saint Óláfr in the two centuries after his death. Drawing on the eleventh-century poem *Óláfsdrápa* by Steinn Herdísarson and the *Letter of Privileges* (1170/71) issued during the reign of King Magnús Erlingsson (r. 1161-84), it is argued that claims of kinship with the saint were not employed as a factionally specific source of legitimacy among rival pretenders. Rather such assertions was primarily intended to counter the

occasional claims advanced on Norway or parts there of by kings of Denmark. In this respect, the political use of Saint Óláfr diverges from that of comparable royal saints from the medieval Nordic world such as Knutr of Denmark (d. 1086), Eiríkr of Sweden (d. 1160) and Magnús Erlendsson of Orkney (d. 1116/17).

The second section of the article addresses the significance of genealogical legitimacy in royal acclamations in the decades before Skúli's rebellion in 1239. By examining an underused source, the substantial genealogical material concerning the duke and his family, and linking it with descriptions of genealogical criteria applied in royal selection between 1204 and 1239, this article sheds new light on thirteenth-century ideas of royal legitimacy. This examination largely corroborates the findings of the preceding section: A genealogical link to Saint Óláfr was not a component in legitimising individual claims prior to Skúli's acclamation at Eyraþing in 1239. Factions instead advanced arguments opportunistically, emphasising those criteria that strengthened their preferred candidate while undermining rivals. Thus, claimants such as king Ingi Bárðarson (r. 1204-1217) successfully inherited the kingdom through the female line, and the farmers at Borgarþing were able to secure the election of Filippus Símonsson as king of the *Baglarr*, despite his lack of Norwegian royal ancestors, and to the displacement of the sons of the former *Baglarr* pretender Erlingr Steinveggr (d. 1207).

The third section of the article argues that Snorri Sturluson (d. 1241) was responsible for producing the genealogy that legitimised Skúli's claim at Eyraþing. The Icelandic politician, poet and author resided at the duke's court until the spring of 1239 and possessed both the historical knowledge and political acumen necessary to craft such a genealogical innovation. The preservation of this genealogy in Snorri's *Heimskringla* further suggests that he was tasked with formulating the argument to underpin Skúli's claim, through the genealogy recited at the assembly. The genealogy contains, in all essentials, the very components that, according to *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Bǫglunga sǫgur*, were used by Skúli in 1239, seemingly in response to the genealogical discourse in the preceding decades: Skúli claimed the throne as heir of his half-brother, King Ingi Bárðarson; he presented himself as a descendant of members Norwegian royal dynasty that lived prior to the conversion to Christianity; and, last but not least, the duke was the kinsman of the royal saint Óláfr Haraldsson. Although this last element was an innovation as an individually legitimising relationship, it drew upon long-established notions of legitimising kinship between Óláfr and the royal dynasty, the development of which, since the eleventh century, has been demonstrated in the first part of the article.

Snorri was not the only one engaged in constructing genealogical arguments to advance duke Skúli's royal claim. According to *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, certain canons of Christ Church in Nidaros presented the duke with books that demonstrated his right to succeed his brother Ingi, while simultaneously undermining Hákon Hákonarson. *Fagerskinna* (perhaps compiled around 1236-39) contains certain genealogical appendices that align closely with the legal-genealogical reasoning of the canons. If the appendices were compiled around 1239 with the aim of legitimising Skúli's claim by reconstructing the situation as it stood in 1217-1223, it may account for some of the chronological inconsistencies noted by several scholars. More research is needed to clarify the relationship between the genealogical appendices and the legal claims advanced by the canons.

Duke Skúli's use of Saint Óláfr as a factionally specific legitimizing kinsman was possible only because of a rift between king Hákon and the saint following a conflict with the Church during the first years of his reign. Skúli deliberately exploited this rift by appropriating Óláfr to glorify his own acclamation with provocative and insistent invocations of the saint. The provocation did not go unanswered. Even before Skúli's defeat, Hákon had his own son Hákon ungi (d. 1257) acclaimed co-king at Eyraþing in 1240 with an oath sworn on Saint Óláfr's relics. After Skúli's death, king Hákon (the Elder) further asserted his position by selecting saint Óláfr's feast day, against the advice of the Church, as the date of his coronation in 1247. If we believe *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, the king specifically intended to emphasise the genealogical relationship between himself and the saint.

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Peter Sigurdson Lunga (NTNU) er førsteamanuensis ved Institutt for lærerutdanning. Han forsker på historiedidaktikk og norsk og engelsk middelalderhistorie. E-post: peter.s.lunga@ntnu.no

Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Layers of Life: An Archaeological Biography of Mosetet Farm, Central Norway

Marte Mokkelbost

This article presents a detailed archaeological reconstruction of household life at Mosetet Farm, a rural dwelling in Central Norway occupied between ca. AD 990 and 1250. Drawing on spatially recorded artefact distributions, architectural features, and formation process theory, the study examines domestic activities across three distinct phases: habitation, abandonment, and post-abandonment. The material culture includes food-related items, textile tools, and imported goods, offering insights into gendered labor, subsistence strategies, and household organization. Formation process theory is employed to interpret spatial patterns and temporal developments in household practices, contributing to broader debates on rural lifeways, social continuity, and the archaeology of deserted farms in medieval Scandinavia. By interpreting the house as a biographical entity, the article explores how material traces reflect both continuity and rupture in rural medieval life. The findings situate Mosetet within broader Scandinavian settlement patterns and contribute to discussions on rural resilience and the archaeology of everyday life.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to identify social activities such as recreational and cultural activities in rural households from the 11th century to the 16th century Central Norway by analyzing the building, the structures, and the rare and large object assemblage related to the farm at Mosetet in Overhalla municipality in Trøndelag, Norway. This will be done to gain insight into what people did in their everyday lives, that is, the repeated daily routines that have left their mark on the archaeological record.

The medieval rural household is approached as a temporal process by mapping the changes in the uses of spaces and the effects of final abandonment on the preserved material. The different usage phases in the main building at Mosetet are restored to achieve a fuller picture of everyday life and its changes at the site.

Based on the archaeological material from Mosetet, an attempt will be made to reconstruct everyday life at a medieval farm settlement, and this will provide answers to these two main questions:

What information can house remains and floor assemblages at Mosetet provide regarding organization of space and activities in a medieval rural household?
Is it possible to identify eventual change or stability at Mosetet through time?

In making the reconstruction, there are, however, important challenges. One is the lack of proper stratigraphic documentation. In the 1970s, Mosetet was one of the first rural house grounds excavated in Central Norway, before the development of the single-context method. This method was developed by Ed Harris and Paul Ottaway in England in 1976 and is an archaeological documentation technique where each unique context is recorded individually.[1] However, Mosetet was excavated using the traditional method that existed in Norway in the 1960s and 1970s—that is, mechanical or layer by layer excavation. During the excavation, the contexts were not distinguished from each other, nor described according to today's standards. Stratigraphic relations were not described, nor finds assigned to stratigraphic contexts. Only a few charcoal layers in Profile C are described as 'stratigraphically distinct'.[2] This has created difficulties in linking artefacts to separate phases.[3]

To fill in the missing information, the stratigraphic data will be reconstructed by using archaeological theories about site formation processes (SFP). SFP is a core concept in contemporary archaeology.[4] SFP are involved at every level of archaeological research, from designing research projects to interpreting variations in artefact form, assemblage composition, feature content, spatial modification, and landscape evolution.[5] Kris Hirst (2018) says that a 'good metaphor for an archaeological site is a *palimpsest*, a medieval manuscript that has been written on, erased and written over, again and again, and again'. With knowledge of how formation processes affect the character of objects and refuse in the various stages of a house's life cycle, a retrospective analysis could be performed of the assemblage at Mosetet to interpret specific activities and activity areas.

Despite these factors, this site still presents one of the finest medieval rural houses excavated in this region, measured by the standards of the time. The combination of house and midden is rare in the regional rural settlements from this period.[6] For-

[1] E.g., Museum of London Archaeology Service 1994; Sandoval 2021.

[2] Møllenhus 1970a.

[3] 1975; 1970b; 1970c; Alterskjær 1971.

[4] E.g., Schiffer 1996.

[5] Sullivan and Dibble 2014.

[6] Compared to e.g., the North Norwegian settlement mounds, cf Bertelsen 2019; 2023; 2015; Martens 2016b; 2016a; Wickler 2016.

tunately, the spatial distribution of artefact finds was meticulously recorded during the excavation. However, the lack of stratigraphic documentation means that the relative dating aspect is missing from this site. This creates difficulties in researching the temporal aspects of the activities in this household, i.e., distinguishing what took place in earlier and later phases and stages of the settlement.

My hypothesis is that the characteristics of objects resulting from the specific formation processes could be superimposed on the Mosetet assemblage, thus making it possible to interpret not only where activities took place, but also when. In this way, one can distinguish between activities committed by the residents in the habitation stage, activities performed at the time of abandonment, and cultural and natural processes that affected the building mass and assemblage after the house was abandoned.

Methodical and theoretical approach

The steps of the analysis

Before describing the methods used to analyse the Mosetet assemblage, the sequence in which they were applied is outlined here. To identify activity areas, the analysis was inspired by the steps proposed by LaMotta & Schiffer (1999). However, due to the absence of established contexts and stratigraphy at Mosetet, the sequence suggested by Pfälzner (2015) was adapted to better suit the material. This provided an alternative approach to the assemblage. The first step—recording the artefact positions—was carried out during excavation and later digitally re-recorded on the site plan. The next step involved reconstructing the actions that led to specific object clusters,[7] by interpreting the formation processes that shaped the assemblage.

Formation processes on house floor assemblages

When interpreting activities and functions based on archaeological finds, it is crucial to consider the formation processes that influence how artefacts are distributed. While artefact locations are often assumed to reflect activity zones during a building's use, these patterns may be shaped by less visible processes. LaMotta and Schiffer (1999) outline three stages in a dwelling's life: use, abandonment, and post-abandonment. Throughout these stages, accretion (object deposition) and depletion (object removal or absence) affect the assemblage. Understanding these processes helps clarify which activities the finds represent, when they occurred, and whether the distribution accurately reflects the household's life.

[7] Pfälzner 2015: 33.

LaMotta & Schiffer identified fourteen processes affecting house floor assemblages; only those relevant to Mosetet are discussed here. During habitation, *primary and loss refuse deposition* occurs when items are discarded or accidentally lost in their place of use, though this is rare since most activity areas are regularly cleaned.[8] *Secondary refuse deposition* involves removing refuse from activity areas and discarding it elsewhere, such as in a midden, thus preventing in-house accumulation.[9] *Provisional refuse deposition* is when broken or worn objects are stored for potential reuse, usually along walls or under furniture rather than in central activity zones. Overall, habitation-stage processes at Mosetet likely left little cultural material inside the house (Table 1).

Stage	Accretion process	Depletion process
Habitation	Primary and loss refuse deposition	Secondary refuse deposition
	Provisional refuse deposition	
Abandonment	*De facto* refuse deposition	Curation
	Ritual refuse deposition	Ritual depletion
Post-abandonment	Re-use refuse deposition	Scavenging
	Secondary refuse deposition	Disturbance
	Structural collapse	Decay
	Disturbance	

Table 1: Formation processes on house floor assemblages (after LaMotta and Schiffer 1999:20).

However, during the next stage, the abandonment stage, both household activities and deposition patterns change, which may lead to greater cultural deposition. *De facto refuse deposition* is an accretion process where still usable objects are abandoned. Objects most likely to be left behind are 'difficult to transport, easy to replace, and/or have little residual utility'.[10] The rate of abandonment may be the most influential factor for this process. Rapid and unplanned abandonment (e.g., catastrophic abandonment in the form of a house fire) usually leaves behind a larger and different assemblage than slow and planned abandonment. During this process, tools, facilities, structures, and other cultural materials are left behind although they might still be usable or reusable.[11]

[8] LaMotta & Schiffer 1999: 21.

[9] Milek 2012b: 105.

[10] LaMotta and Schiffer 1999: 22.

In the post-abandonment stage, *structural collapse* may add building materials to the assemblage, while disturbance (e.g., bioturbation) can also introduce material.[12] Three processes may deplete assemblages: *scavenging, disturbance and decay* (including faunal/floral activity, organic decay, pot hunting, and excavation), and *cryoturbation* in cold climates.[13] These processes show that floor finds do not always directly reflect habitation activities. Later stages—especially abandonment and post-abandonment—can significantly alter assemblages by adding, removing, or disturbing material.

Study of activity areas

The spatial relationships between objects, architecture, and archaeological features are key to understanding the social organisation of the household at Mosetet, since this may bring 'insights into the nature and distribution of household activities, and into relationships between social action and material culture'.[14] Milek writes that archaeologists seeking to spatially analyse residues in floor deposits to infer site activity areas must carefully consider all possible origins of these residues and the various reasons for their deposition.[15]

Defining activity areas at Mosetet is thus necessary to gain insight into how the inhabitants used the house daily over the years, and what social actions we can read out of the finds' distribution on the site.

Presentation of Mosetet farm

Area description and cultural-historical background of Mosetet

The focus of this paper is the Mosetet farm, situated in the Overhalla municipality of Northern Trøndelag.[16] Only the main building was excavated. Mosetet was situated on Brennmoen on a flat moraine plateau, ca. 95 m.a.s.l. (Fig. 1). The terrain slopes down towards the river Namsen to the north. On the till (no.: *moen*) within there is no good arable land; the area consists of sand with a thin layer of soil on top, so that after cultivation one must use fertilizer skillfully to get sufficient yield. Near the foot of the slope below the terrace where Mosetet was located, and SSW of the excavation area, are several lynchets, indicating that at least this slope was used for

[11] Schiffer 1996: 89-91.

[12] LaMotta and Schiffer 1999: 24-25.

[13] Schiffer 1996: 213-214; Wood and Johnson 1978.

[14] Allison 2008: 1456.

[15] Milek 2012a: 135.

[16] Riksantikvaren n.d., 38065.

farming.[17] In recent times, the slope has been used for the cultivation of cattle feed. A little further towards the WSW there is a still active water source.[18] Several heritage sites are registered here. Two sites with possible traces of house grounds are found nearby.[19] None of these sites have been excavated or dated, and their temporal relation to Mosetet is unclear. Large and small burial mounds are scattered around the periphery, more than 120 within a radius of 1.5km. Most of them are dated to the Iron Age and precedes the building. Remains of holloways exists too, at least five are registered and formed a kind of crossroads a few hundred meters N of Mosetet. The holloways may be contemporary with Mosetet (Fig. 1).

The 200km long river Namsen is the centre of the rural Namdalen valley, originating in the mountains in the east, and ending at the Namsen fjord in the west where the small town of Namsos lies today. The valley contains river plains where grass production for cattle and pigs is dominant, surrounded by rich coniferous forests and low mountains. The river has several tributaries, reaching far inland. The area along the river Namsen has a remarkably high density of Iron Age burial mounds. The rich heritage along the river as well as the lush coniferous forests has led to a hypothesis that the area was a wealthy boat-building district in the Iron Age, supplying settlements along the entire coast of Norway.[20]

The excavations

The main building at Mosetet was excavated over the span of five years, from 1967 to 1971, except for the summer of 1968 (Fig. 2-5). The finished excavated area measured approximately 16x7m. The excavation therefore took place in a limited area, and it is not known whether there might be additional buildings on the farm. The excavation uncovered the remains of one building as well as a midden immediately outside the house. Both the house and the midden contained artefacts. Short reports were written for each excavation season,[21] and an article aimed at wider audiences was published in a local yearbook by the excavator in charge.[22]

17 Møllenhus 1975: 65.

18 Møllenhus 1975: 64; Riksantikvaren, 38065.

19 Riksantikvaren n.d., 122930 and 46624.

20 Pettersen 1980.

21 Alterskjær 1971; Møllenhus 1970b; 1967; 1970c.

22 Møllenhus 1975.

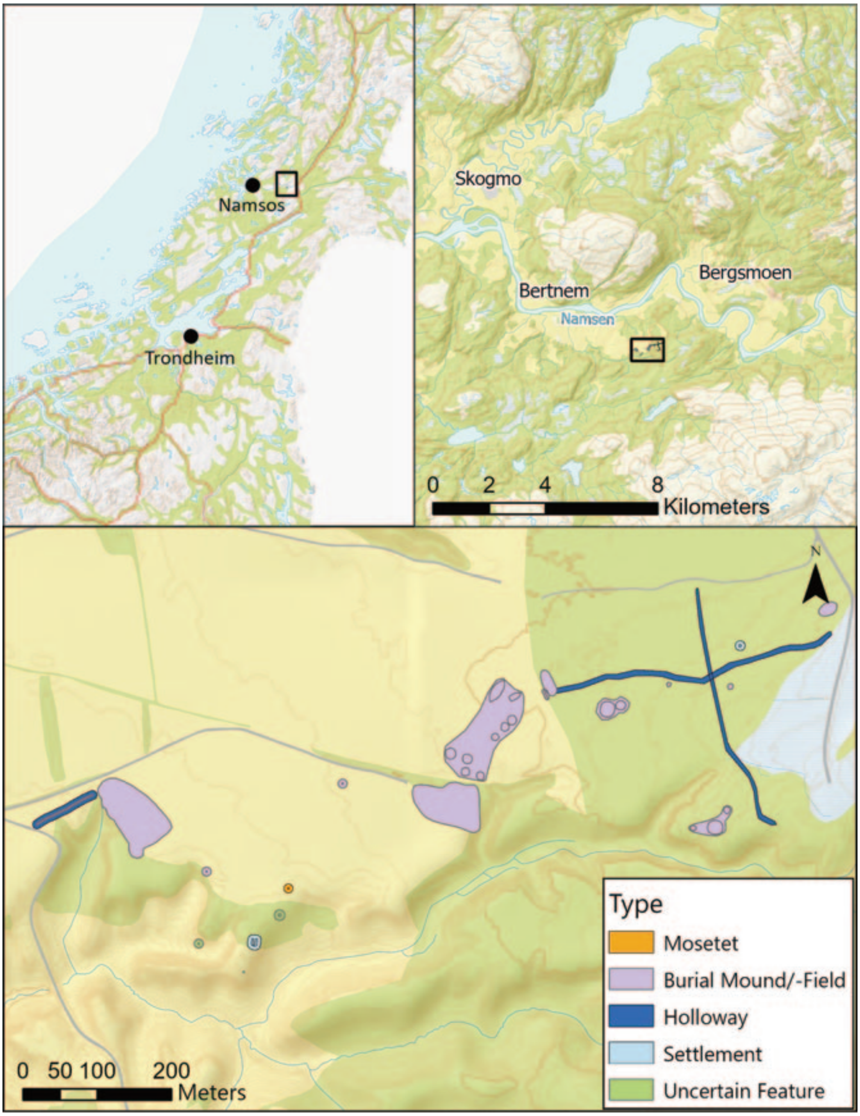


Fig. 1: Mosetet is situated in Overhalla municipality, Trøndelag county, Central Norway. Map made by Eivind M. F. Krag 2024.

Presentation of the archaeological material

The construction

The building at Mosetet Farm measured approximately 12 × 5 meters, totalling around 60 m², and was divided into three rooms. The largest room, located in the western part of the structure, measured 6 × 5 meters, while the smaller eastern room was 4 × 5 meters. Between these two rooms, a central raised platform of hard-packed sand, measuring 2 × 5 meters, likely functioned as a hallway or anteroom. Its placement and composition suggest it may have been used for temporary storage, possibly for tools.[23]

Remains of wooden logs were found outlining the building's perimeter, interpreted as sill logs typical of corner-notched timber construction (Norwegian: *laft*). This technique provided solid and stable structures, offering excellent indoor climate and insulation when the logs were properly fitted and the joints carefully crafted. It also allowed for vertical expansion by adding additional tiers of logs.[24] Supporting this interpretation, sill stones were identified in the northeastern and southwestern corners,[25] with pine being the primary material used for both the sill logs and possibly the overall framework.

Phosphate analysis confirmed habitation, with the highest values found within the building's footprint.[26] Although no doorways were preserved, a flat stone slab (1 × 0.7 m) located 60 cm from the northern wall and aligned with the hallway was interpreted as a door slab, suggesting an entrance. No similar features were found elsewhere on the site (Fig. 2 and 5).[27]

The features inside the building

Photos from Mosetet revealed a flat stone slab construction in the south-eastern corner of the western room, serving as a foundation for a corner hearth. In the eastern room, an angled stone foundation marked the location of a hearth in the south-western corner. A deposit of charcoal and fire-cracked stones spread throughout the house, particularly concentrated in the south-eastern part of the western room.

[23] Møllenhus 1975: 62.

[24] Olsen 2009.

[25] Møllenhus 1975: 61.

[26] Møllenhus 1975: 60.

[27] Møllenhus 1975: 62.

Møllenhus proposed that these were brewing stones, re-used to create a dry, solid floor surface.[28]

Fig. 2: Tower photo of Mosetet during excavation. The door slab can be seen at the north-western edge of the image. Photo: K. R. Møllenhus 1971 (NTNU University Museum CC BY-SA 4.0).

Excavation photos suggested that the eastern room's original floor was compact sand, appearing slightly sunken compared to the hallway. Section drawings (e.g., section C, Fig. 4) indicated alternating sandy layers and archaeological deposits, pointing to a repeatedly improved floor surface through the addition of drier soils, a process known as trampling. In the western room, the floor likely consisted of brewing stones over sand, creating a paved surface.

The midden

Immediately to the north-west of the house, the excavators discovered an area with fire-cracked stones and charcoal that contained several artefact finds. This was inter-

[28] Møllenhus 1975: 63.

Fig. 3: The scene shows the excavation of Mosetet in 1971. The large, flat plain in the background is Brennmoen. Photo: K. R. Møllenhus 1971 (NTNU University Museum CC BY-SA 4.0).

preted as a midden. [29] The excavators did not supply information on the size of the midden, but judging by the extent of the finds in this area, the midden measured approximately 23m^2 (Fig. 5).

A high-altitude excavation at Vesle Hjerkinn, Dovre, Innlandet County,[30] uncovered five dwellings and a phosphate-rich midden containing food waste, including fish remains and split bones.[31] Comparable middens are also known from urban excavations in Oslo and Trondheim.[32]

[29] Alterskjær 1971: 4.

[30] Riksantikvaren n.d., 79613.

[31] Weber 1986; 1987; 2007.

[32] Cf Keller and Schia 1994; Christophersen and Nordeide 1994; Schia 1991.

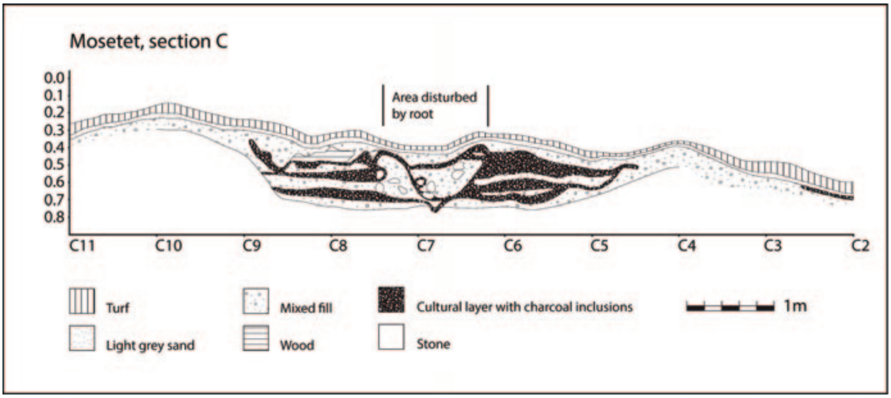


Fig. 4: Section C of the floor, drawn by M. Mokkelbost, after Møllenhus & Alterskjær 1971.

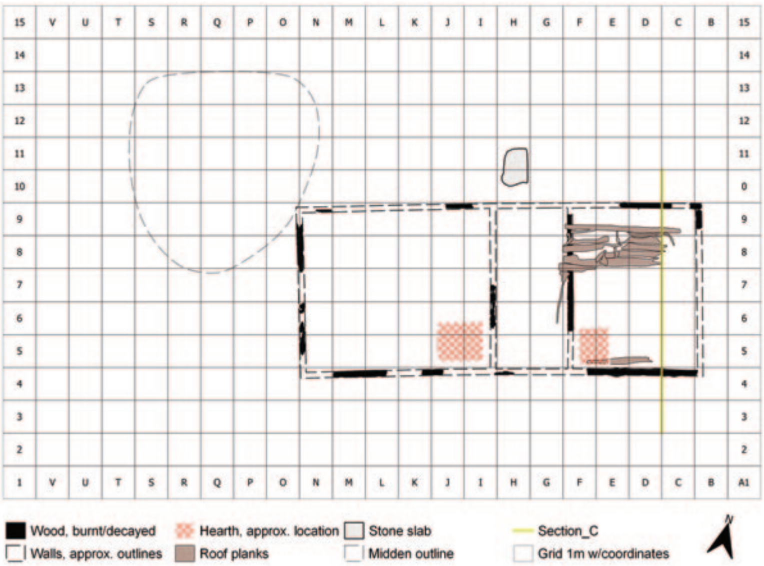


Fig. 5: Plan of features at Mosetet with section C and grid coordinates. I have interpreted two hearths on the floor, both are included. Midden to the upper left. Drawn by M. Mokkelbost, based on field drawings by Alterskjær/Damstuen 1971.

The dates

Vestrum (2009) dated four undated charcoal samples from the Mosetet excavation, essential for understanding the house's habitation stage. The most reliable sample, TUa-7385, was taken from the second-lowest layer in the eastern room and indicated an 80% probability of construction between AD 990 and 1050. While the house could have been erected earlier, the lifespan of wooden buildings is inherently limited due to factors such as rot and fire. The other three samples suggested usage continuing into the start or middle of the 13th century (Fig. 6).

This timeframe is supported by additional finds, including nine Norwegian bracteates dated to AD 1100–1150 found near the north wall of the eastern room, indicating a possible deposition around AD 1150.[33] Imported ceramics, likely London-type ware, found in the hallway and dated to the early 13th century further suggest the house was occupied until at least the early 1200s.[34]

The finds

During the four excavation seasons the excavators found a lot of objects both within the house and in the midden NW of the house.[35] There were 1144 artefacts altogether, according to the catalogue which was revised in 2017.[36] For a better overview of artefacts and placement, the artefacts at the site are here presented within six different main contexts (Table 2). Fig. 7 shows the frequency map of all artefacts finds, including the midden (Fig. 7).

The analyses

Assessment of formation processes on the Mosetet house floor assemblage

To define activity areas at Mosetet, it is essential to identify functional types based on specific uses rather than form or chronology.[37] Sæbjørg W. Nordeide's classification of medieval Nidaros artefacts by function provides a foundation for analysing the assemblage at Mosetet (Table 3).[38]

[33] Eikje Ramberg 2017: 51, 56.

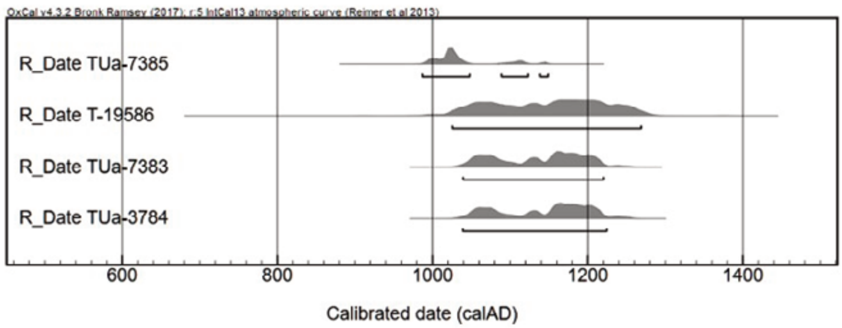
[34] Reed 1990; Vestrum 2009.

[35] Møllenhus 1975.

[36] T19288, NTNU University Museum.

[37] Darvill 2000, 2003.

[38] Nordeide 1989.



Labn°.	Context	Dated material	Date BP	Calibrated age span (OxCal v4.3.2, IntCal13, 95.4%)
TUa-7385	Eastern room, possible heart, 2nd lowest layer in section C, square C6/C7	Birch *(Betula)*	1000 + 25	**AD 987-1149** (987-1048calAD (79.1%), 1089-1123calAD (13.4%), 1138-1149calAD (2.9%))
T-19586	Eastern room, cultural layer, top layer in section C, square C6/C7	Spruce *(Picea)*	870 + 75	**AD 1025-1260** (1025-1260calAD (95.4%))
TUa-7383	Eastern room, possible hearth, bottom layer in section C, square C6/C7	Birch, willlow, aspen *(Betula, Salix, Populus tremula)*	885 + 35	**AD 1039-1220** (1039-1220calAD (95.4%))
TUa-3784	Eastern room, possible hearth, bottom layer in section C, square C6/C7	Birch *(Betula)*	880 + 35	**AD 1039-1224** (1039-1224calAD (95.4%))

Fig. 6. OxCal plot and table of dates. OxCal multiple plots of recalibration of reliable dating samples from the possible hearth in the eastern room, OxCal v4.3.2, IntCal13 (Bronk Ramsey 2001; Reimer et al. 2013). Dates recalibrated May 2020, by M. Mokkelbost.

Object	***East. room***	***West. room***	***Hallway***	***Midden***	***Outside***	***Unknown location***	***SUM***
Bead, glass and clay		2		2			**4**
Birch bark fragments						50	**50**
Bone, burnt		10				2	**12**
Bone, unburnt	38			77	1		**116**
Clay, burnt	83	95				114	**292**
Coin, silver, bracteate	9						**9**
Coin, silver, dirham					1		**1**
Comb, fragment	1			1	1		**3**
Disc, burnt clay		2		1			**3**
Fire steel, iron	1						**1**
Flint flake	3		1	5	2		**11**
Flint piece	7	24		4	2		**37**
Flint fragment	1	2		1			**4**
Fire flint	1	5		9	1		**16**
Flint knoll	1	3		1	1		**6**
Fragment, bronze	7	4		13			**24**
Fragment, glass				1			**1**
Fragment, iron	73	159	16	49	17	16	**330**
Fragment, slate			1				**1**
Game piece	1	1					**2**
Hook, iron	1						**1**
Iron fittings		1		1			**2**
Knife, iron		2		1			**3**
Loom weight, soapstone		1					**1**
Nail, iron	4	1		2	1		**8**
Ring, iron		1					**1**
Ring, bronze		1					**1**
Rivet, iron	3	9	2	6	1		**21**
Rock crystal	1						**1**
Sample, charcoal	12		2	1		1	**16**
Sickle, iron		1					**1**
Slag, iron					1		**1**
Slag, glass		1					**1**
Spindle, iron		1		1			**2**
Spindle whorl, burnt clay	4	9	1	2	1		**17**
Spindle whorl preform, burnt clay, fragments	54						**54**
Staple, iron	1						**1**
Stick/peg, wood, burnt	1						**1**
Unknown, bronze	2			1			**3**
Unknown, soapstone				1			**1**
Unknown, iron		4		1	2		**7**
Unknown, slate			2				**2**
Unknown, iron/wood	1						**1**
Vessel, ceramic, fragments			8				**8**
Vessel, soapstone fragment	18	6		4	3		**31**
Wheel, burnt clay	1						**1**
Wheel, soapstone				1			**1**
Whetstone	15	9	1	5	2	1	**33**
SUM	***344***	***354***	***34***	***191***	***37***	***184***	***1144***

Table 2: Contexts and finds, alphabetically sorted, T19288.

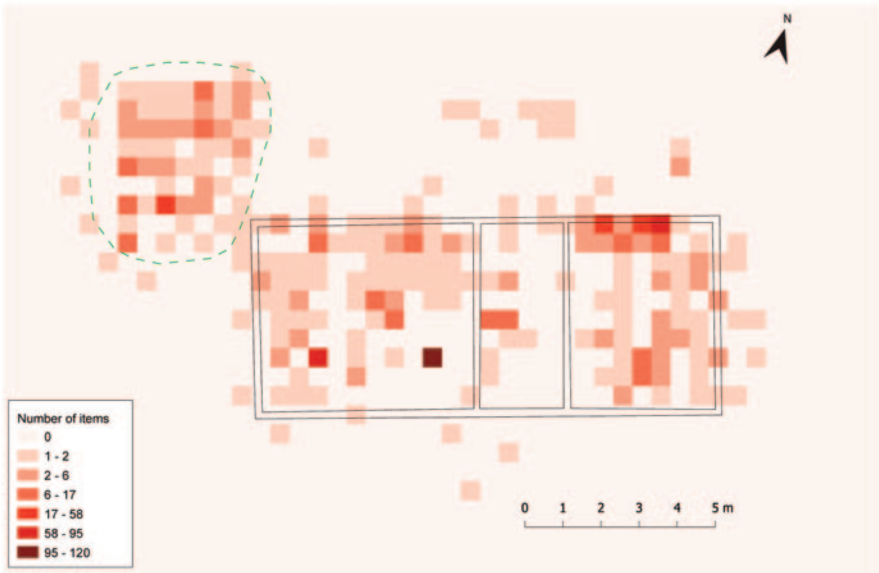


Fig. 7: Frequency of all finds (T19288). The building of Mosetet on the right, the midden dashed in green on the upper left. Map made with QGIS, by M. Mokkelbost.

Food-related objects, such as cooking and drinking vessel fragments, along with animal bones, represent standard household functions. Food preparation and consumption are central to cultural identity.[39]

Textile-related items, including needles and spindle whorls, signal craft activities. Flint flakes are included as cutting tools due to their use in textiles. In a Viking age pit house excavated at Ørland in 2014, remains of a small wooden box containing a sewing needle and a flint flake were found.[40] Textile production at Mosetet was likely for household use only.

Farming artefacts signify agricultural tasks, with evidence of a sickle and 33 whetstones for sharpening tools. The variety of materials indicates adaptability in tool production. Trade-related items include coins, imports, and prestige goods. Some artefacts serve multiple functions, like glass beads and fragments of a British pottery

[39] Øye 2009: 225.

[40] Mokkelbost and Sauvage 2015, T26288: 44.

vessel (probably a pitcher) with green glaze in which some kind of fluid may have been stored. A burnt wooden peg's exact function remains unclear.

Artefacts with known functions helped interpret activity areas during habitation, while those from the abandonment stage provided insights into daily activities at that time. The midden represented a specific area for refuse disposal.

Activity group	Indicated function	Object
Household/dwelling	Food related objects	animal bone; burnt and unburnt
		animal teeth
		fire steel/striker, iron
		flints
		fragment of drinking glass
		hook, iron
		vessel fragments (pottery sherds, soapstone/steatite fragments)
	Games	game pieces, clay
	Personal	beads, glass & clay
		combs, bone
		fire steel/striker, iron
		knifes, iron
		ring, bronze
		ring, iron
	Tools	whetstones, shaly rock
Crafts	Carpentry	drill wheel, soapstone
	Textile production	loom weight, soapstone
		spindles, iron
		spindle whorls, burnt clay
		spindle whorl preform, burnt clay
Trade	Money	coin, dirham
		coins, Norwegian bracteates
	Personal equipment	beads, glass
	Food preparation	fragment, drinking glass
		vessel fragments (pottery, soapstone)
	Objects made of or containing bronze	combs with bronze inlays/rivets
		bronze ring
		bronze fragments
		unknown bronze items
Agriculture	Farming	sickle, iron
	Maintenance of steel edges	whetstones of different types of rocks
n/a		clay, burnt
		flint
		iron fitting
		iron fragment
		nails/rivets, fragments included; iron
		rock crystal
		stick/peg, wood, burnt

Table 3: Functions indicated by artefacts found at Mosetet (T19288).

Stage 1: The use (habitation) stage

During the habitation stage, primary and loss refuse deposition contributed significantly to the artefact assemblage at Mosetet. Although microartefact studies were not conducted in this 50-year-old excavation, smaller items could be considered as such. The western room had a paved floor that may have allowed small objects to fall through, while the eastern room's sandy floor likely enabled items larger than 1 mm to be trampled in.[41] Milek noted that artefacts larger than 10–20 mm may be less reliable for understanding spatial organization.[42] However, the penetrable sandy floor may also have allowed larger items to be deposited, leading to a size limit of 3 cm for considering items resulting from primary and loss refuse deposition (Table 4).

Iron fragments and unknown iron items were often poorly preserved, showing wear and rounded shapes. The same applies to bronze fragments. A 5 cm slate fragment was flat and lacked sharp edges, making it less visible on the dirt floor. Small, rounded soapstone vessel fragments also resulted from primary and loss refuse deposition.

Burnt bone and flint fragments were small enough to go unnoticed during the occupation phase. Ten burnt animal bone fragments were found near the northern wall of the western room, which also showed a concentration of flint fragments used for striking fire. This supports the interpretation of a hearth in the largest room, essential for winter heating. Evidence of extensive textile production in the same room further suggests it likely contained a hearth, probably in the eastern corner.[43]

Several animal teeth (unburnt bone) were found in the eastern room, likely as slaughter waste from the preparation of meat from animal heads, such as tongue and brain used in dishes and sausages.[44] These dishes were prepared indoors, which explains the presence of the teeth. The teeth probably came from sheep or goats. An iron hook was also found, possibly part of a pot hanger.[45]

An imported pottery vessel was found in the hallway, likely used for storing and serving liquids. The hallway may have offered a cooler environment than the eastern room, making it suitable for storage. The vessel may have broken after the building was abandoned, possibly during a fire.The wooden stick or peg may have served as a practical fixture for hanging tools, household items, or clothing.

[41] Schiffer 1996:126-128.

[42] Milek 2012b: 105.

[43] Cf Finstad 2009: 125.

[44] Weber 1990: 79ff.

[45] Weber 1990: 258.

Fragmented or small whetstones (<3 cm) may have remained undetected on the soft, sandy floor of the eastern room. In contrast, larger whetstones would have been more visible and thus more likely to be retrieved for reuse or removed during cleaning. No whetstones were recovered from the western room, suggesting that primary and loss-related refuse deposition affected only one of the twenty-five whetstones found within the house (Fig. 8).

Stage 2: The abandonment stage

De facto refuse deposition contributed significantly to the floor assemblage at Mosetet. This process involves the abandonment of still-usable objects, typically those that are difficult to transport, easy to replace, or of limited residual utility.[46] However, these criteria pertain to planned abandonment scenarios. At Mosetet, the abandonment was abrupt and unplanned, likely resulting from a destructive fire—characteristic of catastrophic abandonment. In such cases, not all criteria apply, yet the core principle remains that usable objects may still be left behind.

Due to the absence of stratigraphic relationships at Mosetet, it was not possible to determine which items were deposited last. Furthermore, many objects—particularly those made of metal, clay, or stone—have undergone significant decay over the 700–800 years since the site was abandoned, likely exacerbated by the fire. This deterioration complicates efforts to identify original form and function, and thus to distinguish between *de facto* refuse and primary or loss-related deposition during habitation.

To address this, specific criteria were applied to identify *de facto* refuse: fragmented items that remained in one location likely escaped disturbance during habitation and were left behind during *rapid abandonment*. Larger fragments (>3 cm) would have been noticed and removed during occupation, suggesting their presence reflects abandonment. Similarly, objects too large or regular to be overlooked, yet small enough to be portable, were interpreted as remnants of *catastrophic abandonment*. Items with fresh breaks—possibly caused during excavation in the 1970s—were also included. Finally, the presence of valuable objects, which would typically be removed in a planned abandonment, strongly supports a scenario of sudden, catastrophic abandonment.

None of the objects left behind at Mosetet were difficult to transport. While many items—such as clay discs, game chips, spindle whorls, and the clay wheel—were easily replaceable, their presence suggests both planned and rapid abandonment. For most fragmented objects (excluding coins, comb, iron fragments, spindle whorls,

[46] LaMotta and Schiffer 1999: 22.

Small items of max. 3 cm in length	**Number/frag.**
Beads	two
Bone, burnt, fragments	10 fragmented animal teeth
Bone, unburnt, fragments	38 fragmented animal teeth
Clay, burnt,	178 fragments
Flint flakes	four
Flint pieces	31
Flint fragments	three
Flints	six
Flint nodules	four
Fragments, bronze	11
Fragments, iron	247
Fragment, slate	one
Iron fittings	one
Nails	one
Ring, bronze	one
Rivet	13
Rock crystal	one
Slag, glass	one
Spindle whorls	three incomplete, 54 frag. of unknown number
Staple, iron	one
Unknown, bronze	two
Unknown, iron	two
Unknown, slate	one
Vessel, ceramic	eight fragments
Vessel, soapstone	one fragment
Whetstones	one

Table 4: Small items of max. 3 cm in length (T19288).

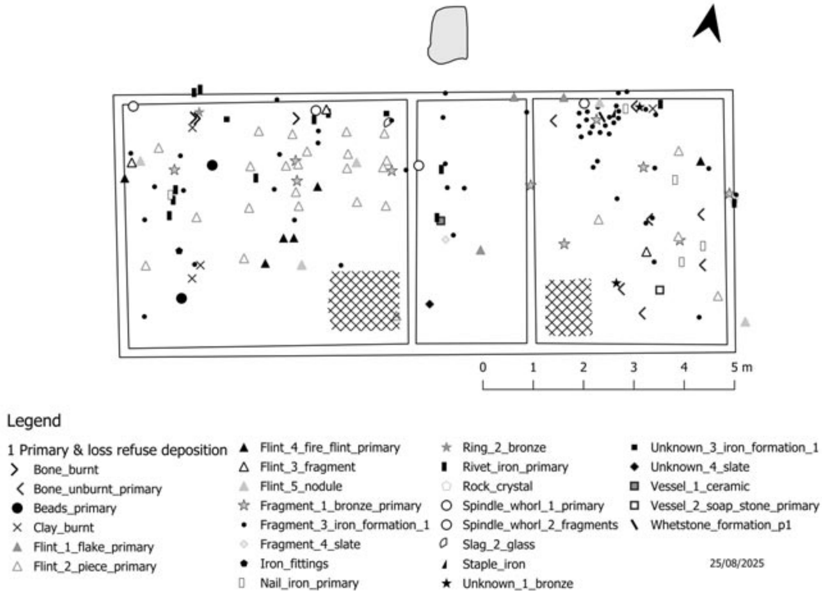


Fig. 8: Plan of small items from the habitation stage, affected by primary and loss refuse deposition (T19288). The hearths are marked with a checkered pattern. Map made with QGIS, by M. Mokkelbost.

pottery and soapstone vessels, clay wheel, and whetstones), all fragments were recovered, many showing fresh breaks. All items except coins exceeded 3 cm in size, and several had regular shapes, making them unlikely to be overlooked. The presence of valuables, including coins and a bone comb with bronze inlays, further supports a scenario of sudden departure (Fig. 9).

Stage 3: The post-abandonment stage

During the post-abandonment phase at Mosetet, spanning 700–800 years, multiple formation processes impacted the assemblage and structures. Structural collapse was evident through the presence of roof materials such as planks and birch bark, and a stone layer originating from fallen hearth superstructures. Scavenging may also have occurred, particularly affecting organic materials like textiles and wooden implements, which were absent—though both scavenging and decay are plausible causes.

Fig. 9: Plan of items from the abandonment stage, affected by de facto refuse deposition (T19288). The hearths are marked with a checkered pattern. Map made with QGIS, by M. Mokkelbost.

Decay was clearly visible on metals and organic remains, including heavily deteriorated animal bones and teeth.

Disturbance processes further altered the assemblage. Section drawings and written documentation reported of floralturbation by tree roots. Cryoturbation was also a factor that affected the assemblage at Mosetet – the climate so far inland in Central Norway is quite cold during winter. Additionally, the excavation itself contributed to depletion, as artefacts, features, and soils were removed entirely.

Summary of all three stages (use/habitation, abandonment, and post-abandonment)

At Mosetet, two formation processes influenced the assemblage during the habitation stage. The only accretion process identified was *primary and loss refuse deposition*. Although typically rare and minimally traceable in-house floor assemblages, the soft dirt floor in the eastern room and the paved floor in the western room facilitated the preservation of several objects in their likely locations of use, allowing for a basic analysis of activity areas.

A distinct depletion process—*secondary refuse deposition*—was also evident, as household waste had been removed and deposited in a nearby midden. The identification of this midden confirms the operation of this process.

During the brief and unplanned abandonment stage, a fire likely caused a catastrophic abandonment. This resulted in the retention of numerous objects, including valuable ones, on the house floor—indicating a clear instance of *de facto* refuse deposition.

In the post-abandonment stage, *structural collapse* was the only confirmed accretion process, contributing construction materials to the assemblage. No other accretion processes were observed at this single-phase site.

Distinguishing between depletion processes such as scavenging and long-term decay is challenging. Scavenging or rescue shortly after the fire may be indistinguishable from the effects of nearly a millennium of decay. However, decay clearly impacted the assemblage, particularly organic materials. Additionally, the excavation itself contributed to depletion through the removal of artefacts, features, and soils.

Analysis of activity areas at Mosetet

Activity areas during habitation stage

The small artefacts identified through primary and loss refuse deposition during the habitation stage were generally non-specific in function, making activity interpretation challenging. However, a few items reflected identifiable functions and helped delineate activity areas, both at room level and within smaller zones. Food-related activities were most clearly indicated, followed by textile production.

Textile-related artefacts consisted solely of three spindle whorls, concentrated along the northern walls of both main rooms, possibly indicating preferred spinning locations. Personal equipment was limited to two beads and a small bronze ring; all found in the western room and too dispersed to define a specific activity area. Farming-related artefacts were nearly absent, with only one whetstone recovered, preventing identification of a related activity zone.

Trade and exchange-related artefacts were evenly distributed in the eastern room, while in the western room they showed a slight concentration along an east–west axis approximately 1.2 m from the northern wall (Fig. 10).

Due to poor preservation conditions, most artefacts at Mosetet could not be typologically classified, making it impossible to determine whether the midden reflected earlier habitation phases. Nonetheless, the midden clearly represented many of the same household activities observed inside the house. This pattern aligns with findings from Viking Age and Medieval farm mounds in Northern Norway.[47]

Like the house, the Mosetet midden contained few personal adornments and textile implements. However, it offered a broader range of artefacts, including a comb, a spindle, and a possible spindle whorl preform (clay disc), enriching the interpretation of textile and personal activities. Food-related items included soapstone vessel fragments and animal teeth, similar to those found inside the house. Notably, the midden also contained a fragment of a glass drinking vessel—absent from the house—which, along with bronze items and a glass bead fragment, suggests moderate wealth and access to imports.

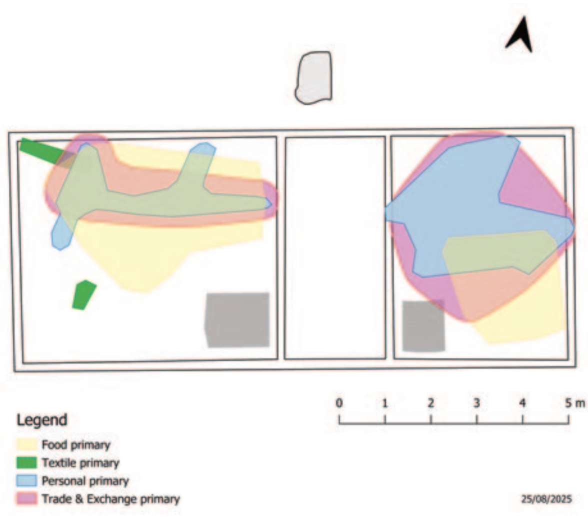


Fig. 10: The figure shows the activity areas from the habitation stage in the main building during excavation (T19288). Yellow area: food related items. Green area: textile related items. Blue area: personal related items. Pink area: trade and exchange related items. Map made with QGIS, by M. Mokkelbost.

47 Bertelsen 1989:178-179; Bertelsen and Urbańczyk 1985; Lund 1957; Wickler 2016.

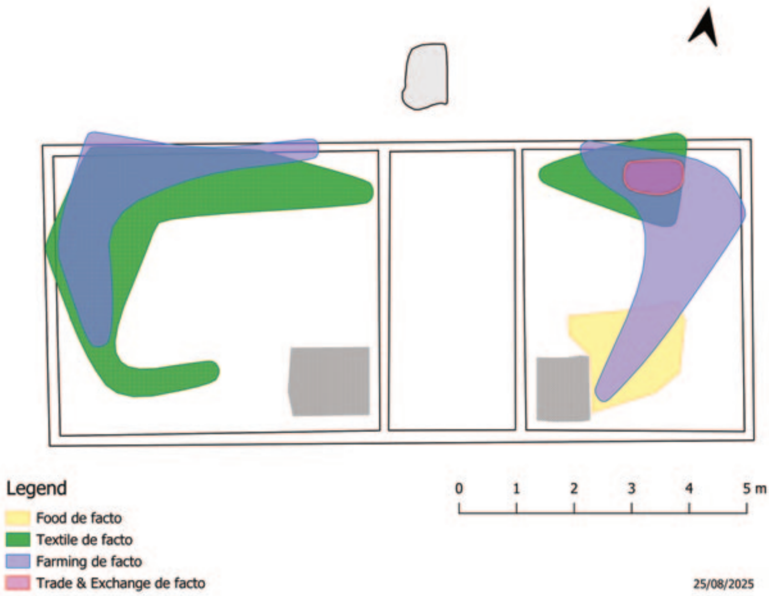


Fig. 11: The figure shows the activity areas from the abandonment/destruction stage in the main building during excavation (T19288). Yellow area: food related items. Green area: textile related items. Blue area: personal related items. Pink area: trade and exchange related items.' Map made with QGIS, by M. Mokkelbost.

Additionally, a drill wheel found in the midden points to specialised carpentry, not otherwise evident in the house. This raises the possibility of wood carving on furniture or inventory, as discussed by Christophersen & Nordeide.[48]

Overall, while the house floor assemblage provided valuable insights into habitation activities, the midden offered a more comprehensive view of the site's functional complexity.

Activity areas during abandonment/destruction stage

Analysis of refuse from the abandonment/destruction stage revealed that the artefacts were larger and more specific, making it easier to determine their functions. Food-related activities were notably denser during this stage, with stronger indications of

[48] Christophersen & Nordeide 1994: 162-197, 235-241.

textile and farming activities as well. Artefacts related to food were mainly found in the eastern room, where cooking vessels were stacked near the hearth, indicating cooking activity. Vessel fragments in the western room suggested storage, although some cooking may have occurred there as well.

Textile-related artefacts were notably abundant in the abandonment stage at Mosetet, suggesting that textile production was actively ongoing at the time of the fire. This provides reliable spatial indicators for such activities. Seven spindle whorls were found in the western room, positioned along the walls or approximately 1 m from them, while four were located along the northern wall of the eastern room. The placement of whorls near wall lines suggests they may have been stored on shelves or hanging pegs, while those found further into the room were likely left on benches after use. This distribution indicates that at least four whorls were actively in use shortly before the fire.

Additional textile-related items from the abandonment stage were found in the western room, though none were located directly in wall lines, reinforcing the interpretation that textile work occurred near the walls—possibly on earthen benches.[49] A loom weight found near the north-eastern corner further supports the presence of a warp-weighted loom in that area (see Fig. 9 and 11).

Personal equipment recovered through *de facto* refuse included two iron knives in the western room and a fragmented bone comb with bronze inlays near the hearth in the eastern room. These few items are insufficient to define a distinct activity area.

Farming-related items included nine whetstones found along the northern and western walls of the western room, possibly accumulating in low-traffic zones, as suggested by Milek.[50] In the eastern room, fourteen whetstones were concentrated in the north-eastern corner, which may indicate a meat-cutting area requiring sharp tools, rather than simple storage.

Trade and exchange-related items, though few, were notable and all located in the eastern room. The silver bracteates, for instance, were found clustered near the northern wall. The concentrated cluster of silver coins near the northern wall of the eastern room may indicate that they were stored on a shelf along this wall, similar to the spindle whorls from the same period. It is possible that the coins were kept in a purse or a small container.

[49] Cf Christophersen and Nordeide 1994.

[50] Milek 2012a: 133.

Discussion

What kind of place was Mosetet?

Mosetet farm was situated on a sandy ridge, cleared of branches and debris, typical of medieval Norwegian landscapes where farmers manually removed trees and roots to prepare the land for settlement. In Old Norse, the term *búandi* referred to a permanent dweller, and according to medieval law, every individual was required to belong to a farm. Known as *garðr* or *bær/býr* in Old Norwegian,[51] a farm comprised several buildings, often arranged within an enclosed courtyard (*tun*). Historically, four main courtyard types are recognized: clustered, row, quadrangular, and twin courtyard layouts.[52] Based on the spatial arrangement of the structures at Mosetet, the site may have followed a quadrangular layout—common in Trøndelag and Eastern Norway—with buildings organized around an open central space.

Farms could be large and accommodate several families and their household, or they could be barren holdings run by an '*einvirke*', a single person and his family.[53] Perhaps Mosetet was a so-called *single-use* farm (no.: *einbølt gård*). It is the *terrain* that determines whether the landscape was steep, hilly, or flat.[54]

During the Middle Ages, fields in Norway were generally small and surrounded by uncultivated land, pastures, or meadows. In Namdalen, Northern Trøndelag County, fields were likely situated on slopes slightly above the bogs. As grain for food had to be grown locally, fields were placed in frost-resistant and micro-climatically favourable areas.[55] Specifically, the slopes between the 'plain' and the 'hill' were utilized for grain cultivation in Namdalen.[56] Arne A. Stamnes notes in his report:[57]

> Such flat plains near large rivers typically consist of fine-grained deposits laid down by rivers. [...] The soil there is classified as belonging to the WRB group Arenosol (WRB: World Reference Base for Soil Resources), characterized by deep, well-drained, sorted sand. [...] According to the landowner of the invest-

[51] Myhre and Øye 2002: 236.

[52] Drange et al. 2011.

[53] Orning 2015.

[54] Drange et al. 2011; Øye 2002.

[55] Vorren 1970: 9.

[56] Groven 1968:144.

[57] Stamnes 2021: 10.

igated field at Brennmoen, there are almost no stones larger than hand-sized rocks visible when plowing the field.

Abundant amounts of barley and oat pollen have been discovered in a small bog approximately 10 meters below Mosetet.[58] Barley *(Hordeum)* is wind-pollinated, requiring the release of large quantities of pollen to ensure successful seed production. In contrast, oats *(Avena sativa)* are self-pollinating and produce less pollen. Additionally, a single flax *(Linum usitatissimum)* pollen grain was found from the initial clearing phase, dating back to around AD 600.[59] The farmers at Mosetet likely cultivated barley and oats in the slopes where there was arable soil.

The main building

At Mosetet, only the main building was excavated. It seems to have been well maintained, with sill logs periodically replaced to prevent decay, a practice known from other Scandinavian timber houses.[60] Floor maintenance was documented (Fig. 3), but no traces of an upper floor were found.[61] The western room is interpreted as the main living room (*stue/stove*), and the eastern as a cookhouse (*eldhus*).

Rural houses were exposed to harsh weather and required regular upkeep.[62] Moss was commonly used for insulation,[63] while peat moss/*Sphagnum* moss also had other practical uses, such as sanitary pads and diapers.[64] The interior was likely windowless or had only narrow, glassless openings, designed to preserve heat and enhance security. The ceiling probably featured two smoke hatches.[65]

The fire and the formation processes

The fire was likely accidental, as the house showed no signs of being cleared beforehand. While some valuable objects may have been removed afterward, the predominance of broken items suggests that useful goods were salvaged post-fire. Small valuables like silver coins and beads remained *in situ*, perhaps overlooked due

[58] Vorren 1970.

[59] Vorren 1970: 7-9.

[60] Olsen 2009.

[61] Croix 2014: 115.

[62] Roesdahl and Scholkmann 2007: 164.

[63] Schia 1991: 185.

[64] Stewart n.d.

[65] Roesdahl and Scholkmann 2007: 163-164.

to their size. The fire likely helped preserve many finds, though some areas may have been accessible for retrieval before the structure was fully consumed. The quantity and distribution of objects left may also reflect whether the fire occurred during the day or at night.

The dirham

A Kufic dirham (Fig. 12), minted c. AD 750–815 and predating the house by 100–300 years, was found during excavation. It may have been placed in the foundation as a pre-Christian style house offering, lost during the house's early use, or kept as a silver clipping for its bullion value.[66] The find indicates that Overhalla had trade connections not only westwards but also eastwards, possibly via Norse routes through Russia in the early Viking Age.[67]

Was Mosetet a deserted farm? Why was it abandoned?

Mosetet farm does not appear in the Land Consolidation Map Archive,[68] meaning it is neither marked nor recorded there. It is also absent from the Taxation Lists.[69] A search in the Place Name Portal[70] confirms the name Mosetet, located at Brennmoen in Overhalla, but it is not listed in *Norwegian Farm Names* under the term *'mo%'*.[71] However, the digital version of *Norwegian Farm Names* records the name *Mousetter* in 1590, in Skage parish, under 'Disappeared Names',[72] though it is uncertain whether this refers to Mosetet. There is also no evidence that Mosetet was registered as part of another nearby farm.

Personally, I suspect that Mosetet Farm was laid to waste and ultimately deserted. The term *deserted farm* (*ødegård*) refers not only to the physical remains but also to the economic and social unit in a broader, more abstract sense.[73] In Norwegian terminology, *abandonment* (*ødeleggelse*) often denotes the cessation of activity on a farm. According to Sandnes, a farm is considered deserted when it has ceased to function as an independent agricultural unit for such an extended period that the

[66] Gullbekk and Sættem 2019: 129.

[67] Møllenhus 1975: 64.

[68] Land Consolidation Map Archive 2024a.

[69] Fladby and Schou 1975.

[70] Place Name Portal 2024b.

[71] Rygh 1903.

[72] Rygh 1903: 318.

[73] Johansen 1979; Sandnes and Salvesen 1978.

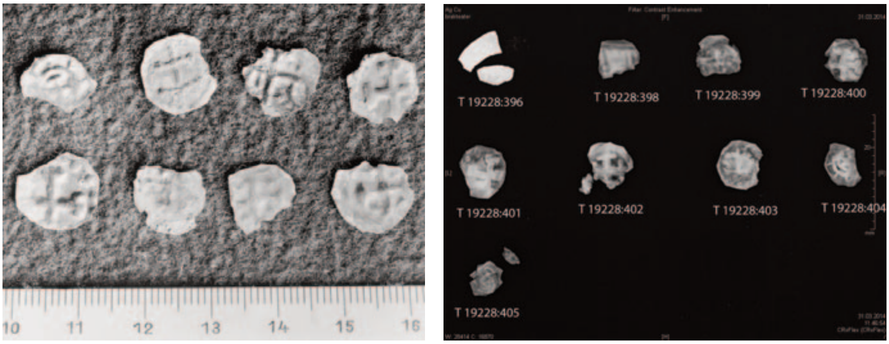


Fig. 12: The Norwegian bracteates (Per E. Fredriksen, NTNU Science Museum CC BY-SA 4.0). On the right, a radiograph of the dirham and bracteates is seen. The dirham is labelled as T19228:396, the Norwegian bracteates is labelled as T19228:398-405 (NTNU Science Museum CC BY-SA 4.0).

abandonment is regarded as more than temporary. He further specifies that a farm is no longer operational as an independent unit if it is either uninhabited or not cultivated by the resident family.[74] Several medieval deserted farms have been located in the course of time.[75]

Julshamn et al. distinguish between different types of abandonment:[76]

> *Total abandonment* means the entire *navnegård* [named farm] was deserted, while *partial abandonment* refers to one or more individual farms being deserted. If the farm is a *demographic deserted farm*, it means it lacked permanent settlement. If it is an *economically deserted farm*, there was no farming or economic activity.

Thus, Mosetet farm fits the category of *total abandonment*.

The main building at Mosetet could have been rebuilt, suggesting that other factors influenced the decision to abandon the site. Before the 1350s, farm abandonment was rare. Possible causes include climate change, such as the onset of the Little Ice Age, ecological challenges, or personal circumstances like taxation and

[74] Sandnes and Salvesen 1978: 31-32.

[75] e.g., Hårstad 2023; 2024; Jonsson (Berglund) 1972; 1973; Kaland 1979; 1986; Mokkelbost n.d.; Pettersen and Wik (Berglund) 1985:283; Randers 1981; 1982; Weber 1986; 2007; Wik (Berglund) 1985.

[76] Julshamn (2002:12).

soil exhaustion. Abandoned farms were often absorbed into neighbouring properties. While the exact reason for Mosetet's abandonment remains unclear, the fire may have played a decisive role alongside economic and environmental pressures.[77]

The resource base of Mosetet farm compared to Vesle Hjerkinn, Høybøen and Lurekalven farms

For comparative purposes, I have examined three medieval abandoned farms: Vesle Hjerkinn, Høybøen, and Lurekalven. Vesle Hjerkinn, located in Dovre Municipality, was excavated by Birthe Weber during two fieldwork campaigns in 1983–86 and 1996.[78] Høybøen (also known as Vindenes), situated in Øygarden Municipality, was investigated by Kjersti Randers,[79] while Sigrid Kaland carried out excavations at Lurekalven (Lygra) in Alver Municipality.[80]

Both Høybøen and Lurekalven were excavated in the 1970´s and were relatively small coastal farms. The building layout at Høybøen reflects the linear or parallel farmstead model, typical of Western Norway during the Iron Age and Middle Ages. In contrast, Lurekalven follows the angled configuration, common across Scandinavia in the same periods.[81] At Vesle Hjerkinn, the dispersed farmstead model is likely the most fitting interpretation (Fig. 13 and 14).[82]

Archaeological excavations have likewise revealed several rural farmsteads dating to the medieval period in Norway, including examples from Southeastern Norway,[83] and comparable sites have been investigated in Denmark.[84] Klemensen links turf-walled houses to the North Atlantic building tradition, as seen in Norse settlements in Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Norway.[85] These structures typically featured a timber core, with thick turf or stone walls providing protection. Roofs were supported by internal posts, and ridge-roof constructions remained common in Ice-

[77] cf Møllenhus 1975.

[78] Riksantikvaren n.d., 79613; Weber 1986; 2007.

[79] Randers 1981; 1982; Riksantikvaren n.d., 64065.

[80] Kaland 1979; 1986; 1987; Riksantikvaren n.d., 6415.

[81] Bertelsen and Urbańczyk 1985; Eriksen 2015: 180-184, with ref.

[82] Bjørdal 2016: 244.

[83] e.g., Finstad 1998; 2009; Hårstad 2023; 2024; Jonsson (Berglund) 1972; 1973; Martens 1972; 2009; 2020.

[84] Klemensen 2001; Svart Kristiansen 1995; 2009; 2014; 2019; Svart Kristiansen and Andersen 2019.

[85] Klemensen 2001: 92-93.

land until around 1500. In narrower buildings (c. 3.5 m), turf walls could even support roof trusses, as exemplified by the tufts at Hovlundan in Brønnøy.[86]

Vesle Hjerkinn, situated at approximately 930 m.a.s.l. in the high mountains, occupies a 420 m² open area within birch forest, traversed by the historic *Kongevegen*. Five structures (Tufts 1–5) have been identified, with Tufts 1 and 3 excavated. The site was in use from the late Viking Age to the High/Late Middle Ages (AD 775–1385). Tuft 1, likely a hall building, was constructed in corner-notched timber and featured three hearths and an earthen bench. Radiocarbon dates suggest construction around the 9th–10th centuries. Tuft 2, located south of Tuft 1, was partially dug into the terrain and also built in timber. A hearth and wall log remains were found, dated to AD 860–990.[87] Tuft 3, interpreted as the foundation of a mountain lodge (fjellstove), measured approximately 6.5 × 13 meters and contained two rooms with hearths and earthen benches; possibly used as sleeping areas. Excavations revealed multiple construction phases and earlier structural remains beneath. Radiocarbon dates range from the Viking Age to the early 13th century.[88] The entrance was likely located in the western gable wall, where the terrain outside is relatively flat and connects to the surrounding buildings. According to Arne Berg, an entrance here would not conflict with the corner hearth.[89] Tuft 4, located at the southeastern edge of the site, measured 5 × 7 meters and featured a central hearth and substantial earthen embankments. Radiocarbon dating of charcoal from the hearth indicates that occupation ceased between AD 1310–1450.[90] Tuft 5, discovered through test trenches and metal detection, lacked visible surface traces and a hearth; its function remains uncertain, possibly an outbuilding or stable.

The refuse layer or midden at Vesle Hjerkinn[91] was located adjacent to the building and measures approximately 15 × 7.5 meters. Finds from both the Viking Age and the Middle Ages were recovered from the deposit, including coins dated to c. AD 1030 and 1095–1150. A radiocarbon date places the deposit within AD 1020–1170. Both the quantity and character of the finds changed over time. The distribution of the material indicates two main phases of use: the earlier phase was primarily based on hunting, trapping, and possible comb production, while the later phase reflects an intensification of activities, with finds connected to household practices and travel

86 Jonsson (Berglund) 1972; 1973.

87 Weber 2007: 24.

88 Weber 2007: 24-39.

89 Weber 2007: 22.

90 Weber 2007: 47-48.

91 Riksantikvaren n.d., 79613-5.

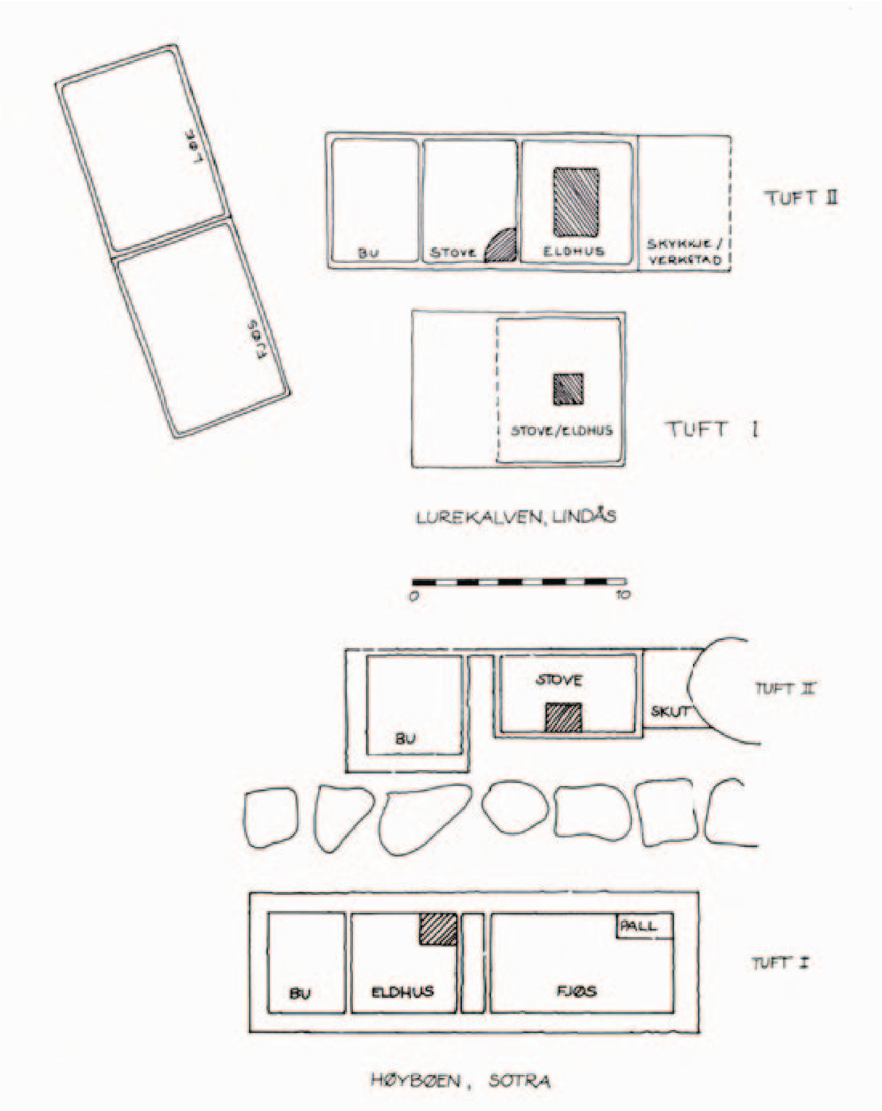


Fig. 13: Simplified ground-plans of the houses from Lurekalven and Høybøen. Based on K. Randers 1981, S. Kaland 1979 (Kaland 1987).

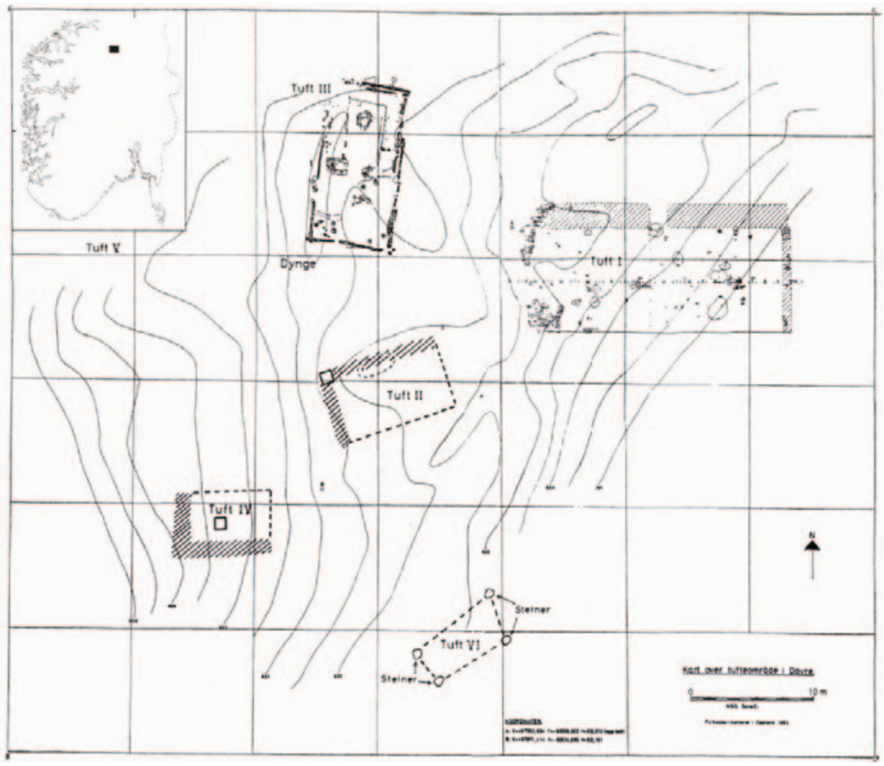


Fig. 14: Map of cultural heritage sites at Vesle Hjerkinn, compiled by Lesja Municipality (Weber 2007:12).

across the Dovrefjell.[92] The artefacts demonstrate extensive use of horses for transport, high meat consumption, local craft production, and long-distance trade or contact.[93]

Høybøen consisted of two connected multi-room buildings: a residential house with pantry, a main room with a hearth in the corner, and annex, and a three-room structure with workshop, hearth room, and byre. Finds indicate cooking, textile production, fishing, and tool use, with looms positioned near hearths in both build-

[92] Weber 2007: 47.

[93] Weber 2007.

ings and over twenty spindle whorls recovered.[94] The artifact assemblage includes, among other things, 200 fragments of pottery, 70 fragments of soapstone vessels, 25 spindle whorls, 80 fishing sinkers/net weights, 40 complete or fragmentary whetstones/grinding slabs, 5 fragments of quernstones, 260 fragments of baking plates—most of them made of slate—200 iron nails/spikes, 100 lumps of iron slag, and 130 strike-a-lights. Key activities were fishing, cattle farming, blacksmithing, and textile work, with limited grain cultivation. Trade with Bergen and nearby districts was reflected in ceramics, soapstone vessels, and whetstones, though the farm was largely self-sufficient.[95]

Lurekalven had three buildings: a two-room dwelling/kitchen, a three-room building with two fireplaces and an external shed, and a barn/hayloft. Textile-related finds and fishing tools came mainly from the residential buildings.[96] Products in high demand, such as meat, butter, wool, hides, and skins, were sold.[97] Cattle farming was likely more profitable and secure than grain cultivation, with grain instead being purchased from Bergen. Imported pottery, decorated bronze, and a runic-inscribed lead piece indicate surplus production and trade links.[98] Fields produced oats and barley, but livestock farming dominated, supported by heathland pastures.

Several notable distinctions can be identified among the four farms. At Høybøen and Lurekalven, the entire farm areas were excavated, while at Mosetet only the main building and midden were examined. At Vesle Hjerkinn, Tufts 1 and 3 have been excavated.[99] Blacksmithing evidence was found at Høybøen, where grain cultivation and small livestock were of lesser importance. The diversified economy at Lurekalven—livestock, grain, and inshore fishing—combined with a location along the Bergen shipping route, gave the farm strategic importance.[100] Both Høybøen and Lurekalven were island farms, requiring boats, and both had a strong focus on fishing.[101] Vesle Hjerkinn functioned as a mountain lodge with a highland economy centered on reindeer hunting. In the early 12th century, it likely gained status as a *sælehus*, offering shelter and food to travelers, an initiative attributed to King Øystein. Excavations of

[94] Øye 2006; Randers 1981.

[95] Randers 1981; 1982; Nesset 2022; Nesset and Hjelle 2022.

[96] Kaland 1986: 31.

[97] Lunden 1976: 243.

[98] Kaland 1986: 85.

[99] Weber 2007.

[100] Kaland 1979; Nesset 2022.

[101] Kaland 1979; 1986; Randers 1981; 1982.

the refuse deposit revealed tools, horse gear, cooking vessel fragments, and food waste, providing insight into medieval dietary practices. Over 70% of the faunal remains were from reindeer, reflecting local hunting strategies. Fish remains included both freshwater species from the nearby Folla River and marine species such as cod and herring. The cod bones may represent dried fish, a lightweight and nutritious food well suited for long-distance travel. The presence of such remains may reflect the movement of goods and provisions along the *Kongevegen*, possibly associated with pilgrim traffic across the mountain. Fasting days required fish, which was difficult to obtain en route.[102]

Similarities include the presence of partially timber-framed buildings at Mosetet, Vesle Hjerkinn, Høybøen, and Lurekalven. Evidence of oat and barley cultivation is found at both Lurekalven and Mosetet, while pollen analysis from Refuse Heap I at Vesle Hjerkinn suggests local use of barley and possibly imported rye. Like Mosetet, Høybøen and Lurekalven maintained strong trade links with Bergen and nearby districts.[103] Vesle Hjerkinn likely was a pit stop for royalty and pilgrims on their way to Nidaros.[104] For Mosetet, trading partners are uncertain, but farmers may have traveled to local markets or trading settlements, possibly using riverboats along the River Namsen.

The artefacts from Mosetet reflect typical inland farm activities of the period (Table 3). Grain could be cultivated in the area, suggesting an agricultural economy that likely included both arable farming and animal husbandry. Unburned animal bones, probably sheep's teeth, were found in the midden, suggesting sheep that provided wool, milk, meat, and manure for soil fertility. Unfortunately, osteological analyses were not conducted, limiting our understanding of the composition of the livestock. Fertilizer may have come from the midden or an external sheep barn.

Textile production was likely a significant part of the economy at Mosetet. Twenty unfinished spindle whorls indicate local manufacture, and weaving was carried out in the main living room, as was typical in the Middle Ages when textile work was a female responsibility.[105] The placement of the loom in the main living room suggests that weaving was an integral aspect of household activities. However, its exact position at Mosetet appears to have varied based on the room's layout and practical considerations. A corner opposite the entrance would have provided a warmer, more protected space, shielded from drafts, dirt, and foot traffic. Given the

[102] Vedeler 2020; Weber 2007.

[103] Kaland 1979; 1986; 1987; Randers 1981; 1982.

[104] Weber 2007.

[105] e.g., Øye 2022: 7.

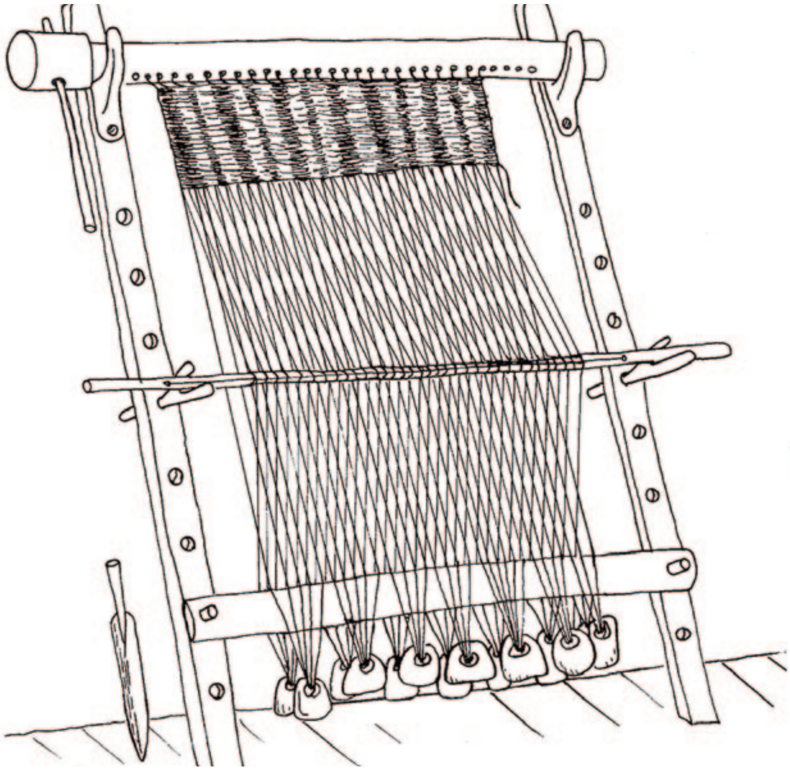


Fig. 15: Warp-weighted loom. Illustration: Silje E. Fretheim 2010.

loom's considerable size, it would have been advantageous to reserve the area near the hearth for other activities. From a social perspective, it is unlikely that this corner placement was intended to isolate women involved in textile production. Instead, the presence of the loom in the main room highlights how weaving was seamlessly integrated into daily life and reflects the close connection between the weavers and the household's daily rhythm (Fig. 15).

According to Øye the archaeological remains at the two relatively small farmsteads of Høybøen and Lurekalven indicate family-based activities, where indoor finds largely point to women's work, such as textile production and food preparation.[106] Furthermore, Øye states:[107]

> These farms appear to have been inhabited by one, possibly two households at the same time. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the transmission of work skills primarily took place within the household. The numerous spindle whorls and other equipment for textile production suggest that textile work played a significant role on these farms – all of which were located in areas with good grazing conditions for sheep, ensuring a steady supply of wool. Both at Høybøen and Lurekalven, the heathland areas have been estimated to support a flock of approximately 30 sheep on each farm.[108]

Textile production was also a key economic activity at Mosetet. Øye's statement demonstrates that women in the Middle Ages were just as important in working life as men.[109] The difference lies in the division of labor: while men primarily worked outdoors with agricultural tasks, women worked indoors with food preparation and textile production.[110]

Concluding remarks

Through the combined analysis of architectural remains, artefact assemblages, and formation processes, the study of Mosetet offers a nuanced reconstruction of household life in rural medieval Norway. The findings demonstrate how a self-sufficient farming unit, grounded in traditional building techniques and subsistence strategies, nevertheless participated in wider networks of trade and cultural exchange, as evidenced by the presence of imported artefacts. This interplay between local continuity and external influence challenges any notion of Mosetet as a peripheral outpost. Instead, it should be understood as an active and integrated element within the broader medieval agrarian system—one in which knowledge, resources, and social strategies were managed with purposeful adaptability across the household's occupational history.

[106] Øye 2006: 445.

[107] Øye 2006: 445.

[108] Randers 1981: 102; Kaland 1986: 36.

[109] Øye 2006.

[110] Cf Bertelsen 2019:63; Øye 2006.

Mosetet was not an isolated remnant on the fringe of medieval Norway, but a purposeful, well-connected farmstead—rooted in tradition, open to innovation, and fully embedded in the rhythms and networks of the wider agrarian world.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank the external peer reviewers of Collegium Medievale for their constructive comments, which significantly improved this article. I also appreciate the support of Professor Visa Immonen, researcher Irene Baug, Professor Randi Barndon (AHKR, University of Bergen), Professor Randi Bjørshol Wærdahl, researcher Geir Grønnesby (NTNU), and Eivind M. F. Krag, whose assistance was invaluable in completing this work.

Abbreviations
T = Accession number, NTNU University Museum, Trondheim, Norway

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Marte Mokkelbost is a Ph.D.-student at Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion, University of Bergen. The title of her project is *The Social Archaeology of Houses – Rural Households in Viking Age and Early and Middle Age Central Norway AD 800-1350*. E-mail: marte.mokkelbost@uib.no.

Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Benedictines, Augustinians, and Dominicans: A Crisis of Icelandic Monasticism, c. 1296–1358[1]

Ryder C. Patzuk-Russell

This study draws connections between events which impacted Icelandic monasteries from around the end of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century. It proposes that these events were largely fueled by the growth of episcopal power in Iceland after the nominal resolution of the *staðamál* conflict, but that they also drew upon and exacerbated existing tensions between the Augustinian and Benedictine orders on the island. While some of these tensions played out along regional divisions between the northern diocese of Hólar and the southern diocese of Skálholt, the role of Dominicans based in Norwegian houses was also significant. The crisis climaxed when the Augustinian house of Viðey switched over to the Benedictine rule for over a decade, and only returned to its original rule when an Augustinian bishop took over the diocese. On the basis of Icelandic and Norwegian sources, including annals, diplomas, and sagas, it is argued that the change of rule at Viðey was fundamentally tied to clashes between monasteries, bishops, and other parties going back to the end of the thirteenth century, specifically the decision of Bishop Jörundr to bring a southern Icelandic model of monasticism north to Hólar.

Introduction

Situated far out in the North Atlantic, on the periphery of the Latin Christian world, it should come as no surprise that Iceland was at some remove from the developments of monastic culture in the high and late Middle Ages – though it was far from completely isolated.[2] The only two orders to establish houses and a long-term

[1] This research is part of the project "Monasteries on the Edge of the World: Church and Society in Late Medieval Iceland" at the University of Silesia in Katowice, project No. 2022/45/P/HS3/02670 co-funded by the National Science Centre and the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement no. 945339.

[2] Numerous factors have led many twentieth-century scholars to frame Icelandic monasteries primarily in terms of small size, minimal impact on society, and mostly native culture: see Magnús Jónsson 1914, 283-84; Byock 1990, 151-52; Orri Vésteinsson 2000, 133. However,

presence on the island were the Benedictines and the Augustinian canons, both in the twelfth century. However, friars and members of other religious orders influenced the island in various ways; among these, the impact of the Dominicans was the most significant, and has inspired a wave of recent scholarship.[3] The tensions, disputes, and competitions which must inevitably have arisen between these three orders in Iceland are difficult to perceive through the extant sources. However, there is some evidence for a crisis in Icelandic monasticism persisting through the first half of the fourteenth century. A fourteenth-century monastic crisis was proposed by Gunnar Finnbogason in an article from 1951.[4] While there are many problems with Gunnar's approach and framing, there is nonetheless significant evidence that a real crisis took place during this period, and that several key events from the late thirteenth through the mid-fourteenth century are more connected with each other, and with Icelandic monastic life and culture, than has hitherto been appreciated by scholars.

This crisis was driven by numerous factors, and arguably the most important was the push by several key bishops to establish greater control over their dioceses. However, the evidence suggests that there was also a tension between the Benedictines who dominated Hólar diocese, in northern Iceland, and the Augustinians, who dominated in Skálholt, the older diocese which covered all of southern, western, and eastern Iceland.[5] In the twelfth century this was a relatively minor tension, conditioned in large part simply by the regional division between the orders, but it

this scholarly discourse has not been without nuance, and has expanded significantly in recent decades, and the neglect of the monastic history of Iceland has sometimes been exaggerated, as in Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir 2023, 15-30. For a recent discussion of how distinctive Icelandic monasteries may have been in their medieval northern European context, see Clark 2023.

[3] Most notably the 2021 collection *Dominican Resonances in Medieval Iceland: The Legacy of Bishop Jón Halldórsson of Skálholt*. See also Battista 2021, van Deusen 2014, and Hughes 2015.

[4] Gunnar Finnbogason 1951, 84-85. The majority of Gunnar's ideas were critiqued or rejected two years later by Guðbrandur Jónsson, including the idea of the monastic crisis (Guðbrandur Jónsson 1953, 398-99). While I agree that Gunnar's characterization of the crisis as a problem of laxity and lack of discipline among the monks is far too simplistic, Guðbrandur's critique is overly dismissive and has many problems of its own.

[5] The Augustinian canons arose over the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, as part of a larger movement of regular canons: communities of clerics organized, like monks, under a rule, and conceptualized and idealized as living a life imitating the apostles (Meville 2016, 125-35). The Benedictine order goes back to the fifth century and was the most widespread monastic order across medieval Europe. In the early twelfth century, when Icelandic Benedictine houses were founded, the Benedictine order was at a peak of growth, power, influence, and corporate identity following the impact of Cluniac reforms, even as their supremacy began to be challenged by the growth of new orders (Clark 2011, 50-59).

grew in the fourteenth century after the southern model of monasticism had been brought north, and eventually culminated in the temporary switch of rules at one prominent southern monastery. The occasional involvement of Norwegian Dominicans in Icelandic ecclesiastical life, despite the lack of a Dominican house on the island, influenced both episcopal and monastic politics in Iceland. Broadly, the Dominicans seem to have allied themselves with the bishops and the southern Augustinians, and become unfavorably viewed by at least some northern Benedictines. However, the situation was clearly complex and affected by individual personalities and interests. While the scope of this article is limited and several relevant areas of research will have to await future work, this is a key period of monastic history in Iceland, and more comprehensive study is called for to try to understand the monastic involvement in and experience of the turbulent transitions which reshaped Iceland in the century after the beginning of Norwegian rule.

Scholars have suggested that from their origins in the twelfth century, the two monastic orders of Iceland may have been not only regionally divided, but that they also had distinct ideological attitudes. It has been argued that the southern Augustinians represented ecclesiastical reform from the time of their arrival in Iceland, while the northern Benedictines had somewhat more conservative, and perhaps local, values. This relationship was further complicated by the interests of chieftains who patronized these monasteries, and secular attitudes towards reform.[6] With the beginning of Norwegian royal rule over Iceland in 1262/64, the creation of a new secular government was accompanied by a reorganization of the Icelandic Church; most important was the new vernacular *kristinréttr* (Church law) written by Bishop Árni Þorláksson of Skálholt, as well as the long process of expanding episcopal control over many traditionally proprietary churches, know conventionally as the *staðamál* (the matter of the major church estates), which nominally ended with the treaty of Ögvaldsnes in 1297.[7] The echoes of this conflict and the process of implementing the new Church law continued well into the fourteenth century and even later, very likely with more difficulty in Hólar than in Skálholt.[8] The monastic crisis which began to emerge from the end of the thirteenth century must be therefore viewed as part of

6 Johansson 2018, Helgi Þorláksson 2006, Gottskálk Jensson 2016.

7 The key scholarship on the *staðamál* remains Magnús Stefánsson 1978 and Magnús Stefánsson 2000.

8 See overview of the consolidation of the *staðamál* up to 1358 in Magnús Stefánsson 1978, 248-52, as well as Pedersen 2012. The full implementation of the new church law in Hólar diocese is conventionally dated to 1354, with a letter of King Magnús insisting that the Christian law accepted in the south must also be accepted in the north (DI III, 98-99).

the adaptations of the Icelandic Church to this new situation, especially as a reaction to the continuing growth of episcopal power after 1297.

While a few earlier events are significant, the first key events occurred in 1296, when Jörundr Þorsteinsson, bishop of Hólar 1267-1313 – a key driver of the *staðamál* in the north, but educated in southern Iceland by Augustinian canons – made a major change in the monastic landscape of Iceland, founding two new houses in his diocese: a priory of Augustinian canons at Möðruvellir in Hörgárdalur, and a convent of Benedictine nuns at Reynistaður. Both of these were kinds of institutions which had existed in Skálholt diocese for over a century, but neither in Hólar. Benedictine monks were first established in northern Iceland in 1133, when the first Icelandic Benedictine house was founded at Þingeyrar in Hunaþing, in the northwest of the island.[9] It is possible, even likely, that there had been Benedictine monks present in Iceland before this point, but the evidence for earlier houses has been called into question.[10] Benedictine foundations first appeared in Norway a few decades before Þingeyrar, and it seems likely the Iceland development was riding on the momentum of the Norwegian one – there is a distinct possibility that the first monks of Þingeyrar were recruited through the Benedictine house of Nidarholm, on an island near the archepiscopal seat at Nidaros, and both communities seem to have had an especially close

[9] On the complex evidence for the foundation of Þingeyrar, see Cormack 2016, 65-69. Plans for the monastery may have gone back as far as 1112, and the priest Þorkell *trandill* donated the farm on which the monastery was built. The extant narratives focus on St. Jón Ögmundarson, the first bishop of Hólar, as the person who created the monastery, but it was actually formally consecrated by his successor, Ketill Þorsteinsson.

[10] One version of *Landnámabók* describes three monks living at the farm of Bær in Borgarfjörður western Iceland in the mid-eleventh century, and notes that they were left there by the missionary bishop Hróðólfr after he left Iceland (*Íslendingabók/Landnámabók*, 65). Hróðólfr is named in both the other early texts which mention missionary bishops, *Íslendingabók* and *Hungrvaka*, though neither of these mention the three monks with him (*Íslendingabók/Landnámabók*, 18; *Biskupa sögur*, 11-12). The scholarly consensus is generally that there was some sort of monastic community at Bær in Borgarfjöður, with Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir and Björn Þorsteinsson especially arguing for its significance in Icelandic history, especially through education (Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir 2017: 67-78; Björn Þorsteinsson 1978: 74-75, 125-26). However, the archaeological data for the church at Bær does not directly support the presence of monks, and the written evidence is limited to the passage in *Landnámabók*; Margaret Cormack therefore considers these monks to be entirely a hagiographic invention (personal communication).

connection by the fourteenth century.[11] In any case, the success at Þingeyrar was replicated further east in the diocese, at Munkaþverá in Eyjafjörður, in 1155.

Skálholt diocese lacked Benedictine monks, but saw both Augustinian canons and Benedictine nuns established in the twelfth century. St. Þorlákr Þórhallsson, before becoming bishop of Skálholt in 1178, was educated in Paris early in his career. As he founded an Augustinian monastery in Þykkvabær in 1168, soon after returning to Iceland, we can be fairly confident that at least some of his time in Paris was spent at St. Victor, and he brought Victorine culture with him home to Iceland. In addition to several short-lived and entirely failed attempts,[12] major Augustinian houses were established in western Iceland: at Flatey in 1172, which moved to Helgafell in 1184, and then at Viðey 1226.[13] Kirkjubær, the first convent of Benedictine nuns in Iceland, was founded in 1186. Eventually, an Augustinian monastery was established in eastern Iceland at Skriða in 1494.

Clashes over Möðruvellir, the Augustinian priory which Jörundr founded in 1296, began soon after his death, and continued for over a half century. A dispute with Þingeyrar over tithes began even earlier in Jörundr's tenure, and was not resolved until the 1320s. Around the same time evidence starts to appear for increased episcopal involvement in monastic life, through the forced replacement of abbots. The simultaneous arrival of two overbearing and seemingly reform-orientated bishops in 1343 – Ormr Asláksson in Hólar and Jón Sigurðarson in Skálholt – is memorialized in the annals by the arrest and punishment of several canons, and even the execution of a nun. The next year brought a unique moment in Icelandic history: Viðey, an Augustinian monastery in the west of Iceland, switched over to the Benedictine Rule,

[11] The L-version of *Jóns saga helga* tells the story of the foundation of Nidarholm and attributes the initial idea to St. Jón (*Jóns saga Hólabyskups*: 70; *The Saga of St. Jón of Hólar*: 88-89). It is hard to take Jón's involvement as anything but hagiographic invention, especially in light of the saga inserting Jón into the story of Nidarholm's foundation told in Theodoricus Monachus's *Historia*. Nonetheless, it is significant that authors at Þingeyrar c. 1200 wanted to see them themselves as tied to Nidarholm through the shared holy inspiration of St. Jón; it is undoubtedly related that Nidarholm became involved in defending the privileges of Þingeyrar during one of the early fourteenth-century disputes which will be discussed below (DI II, 494-95). For a discussion of the foundation of Nidarholm as part of the first generation of Benedictine foundations in Norway c. 1100, see Nyberg 2018: 68-78. For the suggestion that the *Jóns saga* account is accurate and Nidarholm may have been a sort of mother house to Þingeyrar, see Gunnar F. Guðmundsson 2000: 215.

[12] There is some evidence for short-lived monasteries at Hítardalur in western Iceland, Keldur in the south, and Saurbær in the north. All of these were closed by the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

[13] On the foundation and rapid move of Helgafell, see Sverrir Jakobsson 2016: 84-89.

but switched back after less than a decade with the arrival of an Augustinian bishop, Gyrðir, to Skálholt diocese. None of the sources which detail these events give any sort of hint as to what caused them, and scholars have struggled to explain what was happening during this period of apparent crisis and what motivated the decision-making involved, especially the odd rule-switch at Viðey.[14]

As will be made clear, all these events, from the foundation of Möðruvellir to the return of the Augustinian Rule to Viðey, are connected. Previous scholars have noted the crisis of this period in terms of powerful, overbearing, and mostly Norwegian bishops, but have tended to overlook the perspective of the monasteries, and the potential impact of these events on the monastic culture of Iceland.[15] While disputes over episcopal power following the *staðamál* was the major factor in driving the monastic crisis of fourteenth-century Iceland, as increasingly powerful bishops tried to exert control over their dioceses, it is probable that Benedictine distaste for the meddling of Augustinians and Dominicans in their diocese, and interconnectedness of Icelandic and Norwegian monastic houses, created a greater antagonism between the orders within Iceland than had ever existed before. The change of rule at Viðey was not only determined by individual political disputes and episcopal power games, but by how the Benedictines and Augustinians had come to be viewed by this point

[14] Magnús Stefánsson (1978, 250) mentions the change of rule at Viðey, and places it among the general turbulence and harsh episcopal policy of the period; Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir (2017, 342) speculates it was a mistake tied to what she seems to view as the excessively reform-minded attitude of Bishop Jón Sigurðsson. Gunnar Finnbogason (1951, 85-86) contextualizes the change within a general period of monastic laxity and episcopal attempts to restore discipline. James Clark (2023) has suggested that the switch at Viðey happened at a time of a general decline of Benedictines in Norway, and thus that Bishop Jón Sigurðsson may have been trying to preserve some aspect of the traditional monastic culture of Iceland. In the most detailed discussion to date, Guðbrandur Jónsson (1953: 414-26) presents the change of rule at Viðey as an almost inevitable confluence of unfortunate events and circumstances. He argues that Viðey must have been so lacking in members that there were too few to elect a new abbot after the death of Abbot Helgi Sigurðarson in 1343, and that no Augustinians were available and willing to be moved from other houses, and so Benedictines from the north were temporary moved to Viðey to maintain the monastery, and, being unwilling to switch orders, these Benedictine monks thus essentially forced the rule to shift. While more research into the legal factors behind the rule change is necessary, there is no basis for supposing that there was any situation in which switching monastic orders was either the only solution nor even an ideologically neutral solution to whatever problems may have existed.

[15] While her focus is primarily on the tithe issue at Þingeyrar and the *Möðruvallamál*, and she does not discuss the rule change at Viðey, Susann Anett Pedersen has provided a very useful overview of monastic-episcopal conflict during this period, considering its relationship to secular power and emphasizing the bishops' goal of improving their control over their dioceses (Pedersen 2012: 62-79).

in history. While many questions remain unanswerable, and not all the pieces of the puzzle can be fit together, we must acknowledge the agency, ideology, and biases of monasteries within the political and ecclesiastical landscape of Iceland.

There are three main groups of sources for the history of the Church in Iceland during this period: the Icelandic annals, *Lárentíus saga* and *Árna saga*, and the diplomatic corpus of Iceland and Norway. *Lárentíus saga*, written in the second half of the fourteenth century, is the biography of Laurentius Kálfsson, who was bishop of Hólar from 1324-1331, and is the latest narrative source for Icelandic history apart from the annals. It provides most of the detail for the earlier disputes over Þingeyrar and Möðruvellir. The early fourteenth-century *Árna saga*, the biography of the reformer bishop Árni Þorláksson, bishop of Skálholt 1269-1298 and author of the new *kristinréttr*, is supplemental but provides an important additional perspective on Bishop Jörundr and the complex way he was viewed by his contemporaries. Annalistic writing provides the closest thing we have to a narrative framework for the rest of the Middle Ages in Iceland, after the 1330s. However, several important events and details appear in separate annals, and significantly more source criticism remains to be done to judge each annal's relative accuracy, so some caution must be used in relying on their accounts.[16] Finally, while the sagas and annals are more important for the present study, the largest and richest source material for late medieval Icelandic and Norwegian history is the diplomatic corpus, for the present purposes primarily the documents edited in the *Diplomatarium Islandicum* and *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* series.

Following convention and the extant source material, religious houses in Iceland will generally be referred here to as monasteries, whether Benedictine or Augustinian; when it is clear that the house is headed by a prior rather than an abbot – as at Möðruvellir – the term priory will be used. The term in Old Norse and modern Icelandic for these houses is *klaustr*, and is used without any distinction. Similarly, it is conventional to refer to Augustinian canons in medieval Iceland as monks, as they were distinguished from Benedictine monks in relatively few sources: members of both groups were almost always simply called *bróðir* (brother).[17] For the sake of clarity,

[16] The introduction to Gustav Storm's 1888 edition, *Islandske annaler indtil 1578* remains the most authoritative and comprehensive study of the Icelandic annals. However, Storm's work is currently being updated by Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, who provides a useful overview of the ten extant sets of annals and their datings in English in Rowe 2023, 309-10. See also Haug 1997.

[17] The term *kanokasetr* is occasionally used to refer to a house of canons, and primarily appears in the context of the foundation of new houses (*Biskupa sögur II*, 57-58; *Guðmundar sögur I*, 58). A vernacularized term for a canon, *kanóki*, also existed and appears occasionally in

I will refer to Augustinian canons here as canons, but this minimal distinction in the medieval Icelandic worldview is important and is in need of further research.[18]

Augustinians and Benedictines: Þingeyrar and Möðruvellir

As noted above, until Bishop Jörundr Þorsteinsson founded the Augustinian priory of Möðruvellir in Hörgárdalur in 1296, there had been no Augustinian canons resident in Iceland's northern diocese, despite over a century of their presence in the south and west of the country. Exactly why Bishop Jörundr chose to find this priory is uncertain,[19] but the fact that he founded it in the same year as the Benedictine convent at Reynistaðr – there had also been no house for Benedictine nuns in the north until this point – suggests a full and deliberate importation of institutions of monasticism in Skálholt diocese into Hólar diocese. A couple of decades earlier, Jörundr had also deprived the Benedictines at Þingeyrar of what the monks claimed were their traditional rights to the bishop's portion of tithes from a number of farms near the monastery.[20] Þingeyrar claimed these rights were originally granted by the

some annals and sagas (*Islandske annaler*, 122, 128-29; *Biskupa sögur II*, 58). This terminology is indicative of the origins and identity of the Augustinian houses in Iceland, and there is no evidence that Augustinians in Iceland were friars, as is suggested in Sigurdson 2016.

[18] Preliminary research on the apparent lack of distinction between Augustinians and Benedictines in Icelandic sources has been done in Clark 2023. Clark suggests that more distinctions started to arise c. 1300, but the evidence presented is limited and this may simply be an accident of the changing nature of the sources. The level of distinction between the activities and social roles of medieval monks and canons generally has long been debated, see for example Brooke 1985.

[19] *Árna saga* states that care of the poor was part of Jörundr's purpose (*Biskupa sögur III*: 147); while care for the poor may have been an important factor, we should be cautious about such language of praise in a literary context. Sverrir Jakobsson (2024: 128) has suggested that Bishop Jörundr's foundation of monasteries at Reynistaðr and Möðruvellir were both motivated by the Church's view of its new property acquisitions – the farm at Möðruvellir being recently acquired during the *staðamál* – as incentive to push for new growth. Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir (Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir 2017: 390) has suggested that Möðruvellir was founded with the intention of functioning primarily as a school, but there is no evidence for this assertion. Because of a reference in one annal to Jörundr getting permission in 1267 to establish cathedral canons, *kórsbræðr*, at Hólar (*Islandske annaler*: 331), it has also been hypothesized that Jörundr's monastic foundations were tied to a plan to create cathedral canons, and that Þykkvabær had been founded with similar intentions, see Haug 2014: 120, Magnús Stefánsson 1978: 119. However, I am inclined to side with Magnús Már Lárusson 1958: 199, who reads *kórsbræðr* as an error, and this theory is in need of more serious re-evaluation than is possible here.

[20] *Lárentíus saga* states that Jörundr took away the tithes during the tenure of Abbot Vermundr (*Biskupa sögur III*, 370), so it must have happened between Jörundr taking office in 1267 and Vermundr's death in 1279.

first bishop of Hólar, St. Jón Ögmundarson, and there is documentary evidence that even the Benedictines in Norway were indignant at Jörundr's actions.[21] In essence, then, all the key factors that would characterize the rest of the monastic crisis were already in play at the end of the thirteenth century: a push for greater episcopal control and power, involving a manipulation of monastic life in a way that would undoubtedly encourage antagonism between the Benedictines and Augustinians of Iceland; as will be discussed in the final section, there was even some involvement from Dominicans, though exactly how much is debatable. While the crisis as a whole was quite complicated, and new factors and developments would affect later events, I would suggest that Jörundr's foundation of Möðruvellir, as well as his antagonistic actions towards the Benedictine monks of his diocese, had very real and lasting influence on both Benedictine-Augustinian and monastic-episcopal relations for the next half century or more.[22]

Jörundr's decision to found Möðruvellir was almost certainly based, at least in some part, on his own roots and education: he, like his contemporary reformer bishop, Árni Þorláksson, had been a student of Brandr Jónsson, the abbot of the Augustinian monastery of Þykkvabær on the south coast of Iceland. *Árna saga* presents Jörundr as one of the foremost of Abbot Brandr Jónsson's students: Jörundr is said to have the best memory of all the students, and Runólfr – the future abbot of Þykkvabær and close ally of both Jörundr and Árni – had the finest mind for learning and was the most diligent student.[23] From Brandr's school came the key Church reformers of the late thirteenth century, and both Jörundr and Árni drove the progress of the *staðamál*. The two reformers were not in full agreement about their methods, however, and Jörundr's policy of simply buying important church-farms from laymen was criticized by his contemporaries, including his purchase of Möðruvellir itself a few years before he founded the monastery there. In discussing Jörundr's purchase of Möðruvellir, *Árna saga* describes Jörundr as a wary fox, with Árni being a brave bear: they both pursued the interests of the Church, but using different methods. Jörundr was more political and underhanded, and a closer friend to the laity than to the clergy.[24] *Lárentíus saga* comes to a similar conclusion but from a different perspective: Jörundr sends his follower Laurentius to lay claim to a church-farm in the direct style of Bishop Árni, by threatening the local farmer with excommunication,

[21] DI II, 494-95. See note 37.

[22] Gunnar Finnbogason (1951: 84), in contrast, framed the beginning of his monastic crisis with the burning of Möðruvellir in 1317.

[23] *Biskupa sögur III*, 7.

[24] *Biskupa sögur III*: 146-47.

but when the farmer comes to Jörundr with his complaint, Jörundr betrays Laurentius. Jörundr blames the young priest for the overbearing use of excommunication, claiming that he had given no such instructions, and thereby ingratiates himself with the owner of Möðruvellir, who then accepts Jörundr's offer to purchase the farm.[25]

Jörundr was thus a very complicated figure already in the eyes of his contemporaries, and we should expect his creation of an Augustinian presence in a traditionally Benedictine territory to have equally complicated motivations, driven perhaps mostly by practical concerns but still influenced by ideological ones. He had grown up and been educated by Augustinians, and he must have had personal relationships with many of them, who would have assisted with the foundation. Abbot Runólfr, his fellow student, worked closely with Bishop Árni and other Augustinians in the *staðamál* project of setting proprietary churches under episcopal control.[26] It would thus be very reasonable for Jörundr to have seen the Augustinians as useful and familiar allies in growing his episcopal power in the north. Jörundr also seems to have maintained close episcopal control over the Möðruvellir canons, if the arguments made by Bishop Laurentius Kálfsson in *Lárentíus saga* are any indication, as will be discussed below. Likewise, if Jörundr had problematically close relations with the laity in the eyes of the author of *Árna saga*, that may well have influenced the problematically close relations Möðruvellir itself had with the laity, in the eyes of the author of *Lárentíus saga*.

Jörundr's political machinations were also related to his relationship to ecclesiastical, secular, and monastic powers and interests in Norway. The years before the foundation of Möðruvellir was a time of was a time of growing involvement of Norwegians in Icelandic Church affairs, and this must have included influence from both Benedictine and Augustinian houses in Norway. *Árna saga* hints at the early Augustinian involvement in Iceland-Norway relations: in 1262, Archbishop Einarr is said to invite Abbot Brandr Jónsson of Þykkvabær – along with his young fellow canon, the future Bishop Árni – and seeing his excellent qualities, the archbishop has Brandr elected bishop of Hólar in 1263.[27] The first Norwegian bishop of Hólar, Bótólfr, who was bishop from 1238 to 1247, had been a canon at the Augustinian house of Helgisetr, in Nidaros. The monastic situation was different in Skálholt diocese, where the first Norwegian bishop, Sigvarðr Þéttmarsson (1238-1268) had been an abbot of the Benedictine monas-

[25] *Biskupa sögur III*: 232-34.

[26] *Biskupa sögur III*: 19, 26, 68.

[27] *Biskupa sögur III*: 7-8.

tery of Selja, and the short-lived Grímr Skútuson, abbot of the Benedictines at Nidarholm, was appointed as bishop in 1321 but died the same year.[28]

The archbishops of Nidaros thus may have seen Augustinians as useful to his efforts in Iceland in the northern Benedictine stronghold of Hólar diocese, while Benedictines obtaining appointments in Skálholt may also have been seen as useful. The relationships between monastic orders in both Norway and Iceland had a definite impact on Icelandic episcopal politics, though the details are difficult to speculate about and require more research.[29] Thus, it is impossible to say exactly what the relationship between the foundation of Möðruvellir and the Augustinians in Norway might have been, but there is room to speculate. As already noted, there is evidence for connections between Icelandic and Norwegian Benedictine houses.[30] Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir has also suggested that Möðruvellir could have been a daughter house of Helgisetr, based on the fact that, during the crisis at Möðruvellir which will be discussed shortly, a certain Brother Ingimundr left to become a brother at Helgisetr.[31] However, there were other Augustinian houses in Norway which may have had an impact: Jonskloster in Bergen will also be relevant later in this study.[32] Seeing that Möðruvellir was founded by a bishop educated in Þykkvabær, if it had anything like a mother house, it was probably Þykkvabær, rather than any of the Norwegian houses. Indeed, it was under a Norwegian bishop, a former canon of Nidaros, that the real crisis at Möðruvellir began.

Jörundr's successor, Auðun *rauði* (the Red) Þorbergsson, a former cathedral canon of Nidaros and royal treasurer, was bishop of Hólar 1313 to 1322 and continued his predecessor's policies towards the Benedictines, while overseeing the beginning of decades of crisis at Möðruvellir. *Lárentíus saga* describes Bishop Auðun's immediate clashes with the clergy at Hólar after his arrival in Iceland in 1315, which the saga

[28] On Norwegian bishops in Iceland and their monastic connections, see Imsen 2021, 69-70, and Sigurdson 2016: 89-91.

[29] The only comprehensive study on Norwegian monasticism remains Lange 1856. For a general survey of scholarship on Norwegian monasteries up to the early 2000s, see Haug 2008, 64-69. See also Hommedal 2019: 52-53.

[30] See note 10 on Þingeyrar's relationship to Nidarholm. Gottskálk Jensson has speculated that the highlighting of Selja in Oddr Snorrason's *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* – written at Þingeyrar around the end of the twelfth century – could indicate "a possible institutional bonding between these two Benedictine Abbeys in times when Augustinian influence was increasingly felt in the archdiocese" (Gottskálk Jensson 2021).

[31] *Biskupa sögur III*: 367, note 1.

[32] For a general survey of the monasteries of Bergen, including Jonskloster, see Hommedal 2011 and Hommedal 2014.

author characterizes at least in part as caused by his not knowing local custom, but the saga is also rather critical of some of Bishop Auðun's opponents.[33] Auðun doubtlessly suffered from some culture shock, but it is also clear that his goal of expanding episcopal power was not wholly different from Bishop Jörundr's. Perhaps there was some escalation, but the conflicts he had in his diocese seem to have as much or more to do with his lack of Jörundr's fox-like skill as a politician and negotiator. Auðun's concerns with episcopal power and prestige had multiple dimensions, and *Lárentíus saga* praises him for making major renovations to Hólar cathedral, and for promoting the cults of both saintly bishops of Hólar, Guðmundr Arason and Jón Ögmundarson.[34] Auðun also continued Bishop Jörundr's tithe policy at Þingeyrar, and exacerbated relations further by siding against the monastery in a dispute between Þingeyrar and the estate at Breiðabólstaður over a large donation; this caused Auðun to receive a cold, even antagonistic welcome at Þingeyrar during his next visitation.[35] Auðun also removed Abbot Þórir of Munkaþverá from his office around 1316. This removal may have been tied to the dispute with Þingeyrar and its Abbot Guðmundr, and some annals simply state that there was conflict between Bishop Auðun and the abbots of the north, and that the next year both Þórir and Abbot Guðmundr of Þingeyrar left Iceland, presumably to petition for support in Norway.[36]

On May 20th, 1320, Abbot Grímr of Nidarholm and Abbot Þórir of Munkaþverá – the latter still in Norway, seemingly exiled and trying to find support to regain his position – signed a general deposition, not explicitly addressed to any particular authority, proclaiming the crime that had been done to Þingeyrar by taking the bishops' tithes from it, and naming two authorities who agreed with them.[37] The document represents the sense of unified Benedictine identity and solidarity which tied together these three monasteries in Iceland and Norway, confronting the threat of a series of powerful and antagonistic bishops. It therefore cannot be a coincidence that this letter was written in 1320 and signed by Abbot Grímr of Nidarholm, and that same abbot was elected as bishop of Skálholt the very next year, just before a monk of Þingeyrar itself, Laurentius Kálfsson, became bishop of Hólar in 1322. The

[33] Auðun's time in Iceland up through his death at Nidaros cathedral is dealt with in chapters twenty-nine through thirty-four of the saga (*Biskupa sögur III*: 321-47).

[34] *Biskupa sögur III*: 321-27.

[35] *Biskupa sögur III*: 331-32, 335.

[36] *Islandske annaler*: 151, 204, 266, 393; *Biskupa sögur III*: 331.

[37] DI II: 494-95; *The Saga of St. Jón of Hólar*: 101. For a discussion of the significance of this document, including the argument that it was intended to make up for the lack of documentary evidence for Þingeyrar's claims, see Gottskálk Jensson 2023.

Benedictines of Nidarholm clearly had a vested interest in Iceland at this time, and enough leverage with the archbishop to get their representative into office. If Grímr had survived for a few years, even though his position was in the south, he may well have been able to resolve the situation at Þingeyrar before Laurentius arrived on the scene, or at the very least would have helped in the process.

Arguably, the situation was worse for the northern Augustinians at Möðruvellir under Bishop Auðun. According to *Lárentíus saga*, Auðun called a synod of the elite priests of the diocese on March 12th, 1315, and he made several charges against the priest overseeing the diocese between bishops, Koðrán Hranason, and among them that Koðrán had allowed the canons of Möðruvellir to have authority in temporal matters; the canons had thereupon frittered away valuable resources, which Auðun wanted paid back to the cathedral estate.[38] Thus the *Möðruvallamál*, the dispute over monastic independence and resource management between Möðruvellir and Hólar, began, and it would linger through the rest of Auðun's tenure and that of Bishop Laurentius Kálfsson after him. The saga argues here and later that Jörundr had set up the priory at Möðruvellir with the understanding that the bishops of Hólar would be in charge of it, specifically of its finances; *Lárentíus saga* is clearly hostile towards Möðruvellir, and there is no documentation of the terms of Möðruvellir's foundation, so we cannot necessarily trust this argument. Nonetheless, such an arrangement would absolutely fit with what we know of Jörundr's character and attitudes towards episcopal power. The next year, in 1316, Möðruvellir burned down.[39] According to the account in *Lárentíus saga*, the canons were returning from the port of Gáseyri drunk, and started the fire through carelessness. The monastery was closed, the canons were housed elsewhere in the diocese – except for the Brother Ingimundr, who went to Helgisetr – and their plight was ignored by Bishop Auðun. The account of these events, interestingly, is made much later in the saga when the archbishop accuses Laurentius, during his visit to Nidaros in 1324, of neglecting his episcopal duty, and it is unclear whether Bishop Auðun confronted and ignored such pressure, or whether his prominent position in the archdiocese allowed him to escape it.[40]

According to his saga, Laurentius took many actions after becoming bishop-elect of Hólar in 1322, before going to Norway for his formal consecration, and the priority to support the Benedictines is immediately apparent. The saga notes that Þórir is still absent from Munkaþverá, and no abbot has apparently been elected since then, at

[38] *Biskupa sögur III*: 329.

[39] In the *Lögmannsannáll*, the date is 1317 (*Islandske annaler*: 266, 393); see also *Biskupa sögur III*: 330-31.

[40] *Biskupa sögur III*: 367-68.

least a five-year gap. Laurentius puts his former student Bergr Sokkason in his position, who is said to restore a proper monastic life – clearly there is an implication that discipline declined with the long absence of any abbot.[41] When Laurentius visits Möðruvellir during the same trip, the saga recounts how it is being run as a normal church, and two surviving brothers were living elsewhere as normal priests, and that all its incomes and moveable property had been transferred over to Hólar cathedral during Auðun's tenure; the only thing Laurentius mourns, however, is that regular canons should be leaving as secular clergy, and even that he decides to wait to address until meeting with the archbishop.[42] While the saga also has him waiting to resolve the bishop's tithes issue with Þingeyrar, which clearly causes some tension, he does at least agree to an arbitration which ends up providing some appeasement to the monks, by returning to them a property which had first been granted to them by Jörundr, and then been taken by Auðun.[43]

During his consecration visit in 1324, as noted earlier, Laurentius is pressured by the archbishop to reestablish Möðruvellir, but he maintains the control of Hólar cathedral over the monastery; it is during this very visit that the archbishop also pressures Laurentius to restore the bishop's tithes to Þingeyrar. Even in his own saga, Laurentius is like his predecessors in prioritizing episcopal power over all else, and his son Árni – a monk at Þingeyrar like his father – argues for Laurentius to return the tithes.[44] While he does not actually return the bishop's tithes to Þingeyrar when he returns to Iceland, the saga has him give a speech sympathizing with the monks' struggle against overbearing bishops, and grant them different properties as compensation which, Laurentius claims, are of comparable value and will not cause future disputes.[45] In contrast, Laurentius' attempts to maintain control over Möðruvellir go on for years with no indications of the Benedictine bishop sympathizing with the canons.

The *Möðruvallamál* is essentially the final conflict of *Lárentíus saga*, and while primarily a dispute between bishop and Augustinians, it very likely contributed to an escalation of tension between Benedictines and Augustinians in northern Iceland, as well as tension between north and south. In 1326, the Dominican Bishop Jón Halldórsson – who will be discussed in more detail in the final section of this study – and the abbot of the Augustinians at Þykkvabær, Þorlákr Loftsson, were chosen by

[41] *Biskupa sögur III*: 382.

[42] *Biskupa sögur III*: 355-56.

[43] *Biskupa sögur III*: 359-60.

[44] *Biskupa sögur III:* 367-70.

[45] *Biskupa sögur III*: 383-84.

the archbishop as judges to oversee the first settlement between Hólar and Möðruvellir. In making his case, Laurentius proposes that Hólar pay for the rebuilding and restoration of Möðruvellir, but that it should be headed by a prior, with a *ráðsmaðr* [steward] appointed by the bishop, and Bishop Laurentius would function as its abbot; he claims that this is exactly how Jörundr had arranged things. The brothers accept this arrangement, and Möðruvellir is quickly restored, but immediately the brothers complain to Bishop Jón that Laurentius was not upholding the bargain. Bishop Jón agrees to ride north, and the conflict resumes.[46]

During the rest of the dispute, several key issues relevant to the present discussion arise. When Laurentius is forced to give in to Bishop Jón and Abbot Þorlákr in the second round of legal proceedings in 1327, and return full control of Möðruvellir to the canons, the saga notes that rumors spread around the diocese shaming Laurentius for allowing himself to be governed by southerners.[47] At the same time as the Augustinian abbot of Þykkvabær is overreaching his authority in meddling in northern matters, the canons at Möðruvellir are characterized as drunk and worldly, hosting parties for local farms, and wasting their limited resources by living far beyond their means.[48] Bishop Laurentius on the other hand is praised repeatedly as a careful and successful estate manager, who brings wealth to his diocese and successfully founds important institutions, including a hospital for poor, impaired, and elderly clerics at Kvíabekkur in Ólafsfjörður.[49] Laurentius' identity as a bishop is also presented in the saga as fundamentally tied to his background as a Benedictine monk: the saga states explicitly that he continued to dress as a monk, and expected other bishops who came from the Benedictines to do the same.[50] I would thus argue that *Lárentíus saga* deliberately implies that the Augustinian order was more lax and worldly than the Benedictines, and that this laxness fueled Laurentius' problems with Möðruvellir.

This apparent disdain for the Augustinians is arguably so great that even his own saga implies that Bishop Laurentius had a questionable legal case, and that in defending episcopal interests he did not behave entirely correctly. Laurentius' final case is

[46] *Biskupa sögur III*: 391-97.

[47] *Lárentíus saga* has Laurentius being criticized for allowing matters to be dictated by southerners when the case over Möðruvellir is won by Bishop Jón and Abbot Þorlákr (*Biskupa sögur III*: 408).

[48] *Biskupa sögur III*: 414-15.

[49] *Biskupa sögur III*: 387-88.

[50] *Biskupa sögur III*: 381. This passage may is ambiguous, and may be stating that Laurentius was decreeing the policy of holding to a monastic *habitus*, or simply that he was communicating that this was the way things were generally done (i.e. outside of Iceland).

brought before the archbishop, argued for by Laurentius' student and eventual successor Egill Eyjólfsson, and finally Laurentius wins the case in 1328. His case is based entirely on precedent: primarily the precedent of how Jörundr initially ran Möðruvellir, but also the precedent of the first settlement between Möðruvellir and Hólar in 1326. Yet there is an authorial intrusion after Laurentius' victory, where the author quite explicitly states that the law and the Augustinian rule were on the side of Bishop Jón Halldórsson and Möðruvellir, while Laurentius only had precedent on his side.[51] Laurentius' position seems especially insecure when we consider that precedent was the argument made by proprietary church-owners during the *staðamál*, an argument that the reformers fought against. This authorial anxiety seems explicit when, immediately after comparing the two bishops' positions in the *Möðruvallamál*, the saga reminds the reader that Laurentius always desired to follow canon law, and proceeds to offer an exemplum demonstrating that.[52] So, even his own biography suggests that Laurentius Kálfsson – for the most part a champion of ecclesiastical reform and strict adherence to canon law – effectively rejects the Augustinian rule as irrelevant or insufficient legal defense.

Considering the three bishops of Hólar discussed above, we see Jörundr's southern model of monasticism clashing with the northern Benedictines, and then Auðun very clearly clashing with all three male monastic houses of his diocese; Laurentius, in turn, managed to repair relations with his own Benedictine order – while still pushing for episcopal power – but developed a completely antagonistic relationship with the Augustinians at Möðruvellir. The three bishops together show a consistent concern during the early fourteenth century for expanding episcopal control over monasteries, but Jörundr and Laurentius also suggest how much that control could be conditioned and colored by individual ideologies and allegiances: their respective Augustinian and Benedictine backgrounds, certainly, but also likely their individual personalities and political techniques. Laurentius, according to his saga, was a far worse politician and negotiator than Jörundr. We lack sources regarding Möðruvellir during the tenure of Laurentius' student and successor Egill Eyjólfsson, bishop of Hólar 1333 to 1341, so the safest assumption would seem to be that the monastery had some time to recover, but under the tight episcopal control which Laurentius established. There are almost no details about Egill's involvement with and relationship to the Benedictines, only that he appointed Abbot Björn to Þingeyrar

[51] *Biskupa sögur III*: 424-26. Further research is needed to explore the legal background to this dispute.

[52] *Biskupa sögur III*: 426-29.

after the death of Abbot Guðmundr, and so as a lifelong ally of Laurentius, we should probably assume his relationship with the order continued to be good.[53]

Further research is needed to work out some of the further complexities of this period, especially the role of lay authorities, both in Iceland and Norway. It is clear, for example, that Jörundr's foundation at Reynistaðr was quickly embraced not only by the local Benedictines, but also by the secular leaders of the region, who had good relations with both Þingeyrar and the bishops of Hólar.[54] *Lárentíus saga* suggests local lay support for Möðruvellir in its region, but that support was not enough to fend off an antagonistic bishop – perhaps in part because Möðruvellir lacked the support of nearby Benedictines, which Reynistaðr could rely on. It may also be significant that Reynistaðr's first abbess, while from a southern family, became connected to a powerful northern family, and herself may have been living as a sort of anchoress at Munkaþverá. Thus, even though Reynistaðr was, in a way, bringing a southern model of monasticism north, it was able to quickly consolidate its resources and allegiances in a way that Möðruvellir was not.

Augustinians and Benedictines: A Renewed Crisis in 1343

After the deaths of both Bishop Egill and Bishop Jón Eindríðason in 1341, crisis quickly resumed, when two powerful and controversial bishops arrived in Iceland in 1343. Gunnar Finnbogason proposed that the two-year gap with no bishops in Iceland contributed to the monastic crisis of the following years, as the already lax monastic discipline eroded even further in the absence of governing episcopal authority.[55] While the evidence shows that there were *officiales* in place at both Hólar and Skálholt in 1341, whose duty it would have been to govern the diocese in the bishops' absence,[56] it is not impossible that lack of any bishops in Iceland during these two years did have some impact on subsequent events, when clashes between bishops and both monastic orders continued in the north, while similar disputes arose and escalated in the south. The combination of the long crisis in the north and the escalation in the south, I would argue, led to more direct and intense confrontations and tensions among all parties involved, culminating in the switch from the Augustinian to the Benedictine rule at Viðey. Moving beyond the narrative period of *Lárentíus saga*, this

[53] Most details we have about Egill's tenure as bishop appear in the *Lögmannsannáll* (*Islandske annaler*: 271-73).

[54] See my upcoming article in the *Scandinavian Journal of History*, "Benedictines and Lay Society in Fourteenth-Century Iceland."

[55] Gunnar Finnbogason 1951: 84.

[56] Sigurdson 2016: 76-79, 187-89.

section must rely on scattered annal references and documentary sources, and so the evidence is more difficult to interpret. Nonetheless, even though it is not possible at present to explain every aspect of it, the monastic crisis of the 1340s and 1350s can be best understood as part of a crisis that had been going on since the late thirteenth century.

In 1343, the Norwegian Ormr Ásláksson, bishop of Hólar 1342 to 1356, newly arrived in Iceland, imprisoned some of the brothers at Möðruvellir. Considering what an unpopular and contentious bishop he would become, it should be no surprise that this is the first of his acts named in the *Lögmannsannáll*.[57] No explanation is given there or in any other annals: the *Lögmannsannáll* only states the Bishop Ormr was at odds with the brothers, and imprisoned some of them. Though we cannot know, it seems possible that the brothers saw an opportunity with the gap between bishops, and attempted to regain the independence they had lost to Bishop Laurentius. Whatever the direct cause, the dispute was not resolved with the imprisonment of canons in 1343: one fragmentary annal, which may have been written at Möðruvellir,[58] states that nearly a decade later, in 1352, Bishop Ormr set a poor priest in charge of the monastery at Möðruvellir – the annal does not give this priest a formal title – who would take care of five brothers, their servant, and two clerics. The annal passage states that a certain Þórðr Bergsþórsson was made prior in the same year, so the 'poor priest' was probably a *ráðsmaðr* [steward], and the verb *fæða* [feed/provide for] confirms that his responsibility was tied to the provisions, livestock, and stores at the monastery. This fits rather well with Laurentius' arrangement a few decades earlier, when Laurentius set himself up as abbot, with one of the brothers as prior beneath him, but a *ráðsmaðr* appointed as well – because Laurentius' concerns were tied to property management and responsible use of food and other resources, his *ráðsmaðr* probably had a similar function to Ormr's, and this fits with scholars' general perception of the office, though more research is needed.[59] This whole arrangement

[57] Ormr's overbearing and contentious tenure, and his major dispute with the secular leaders of his diocese, has been relatively well-explored by historians, see for example Jón Jóhannesson 1958*:* 122-36. Despite the antagonism of the sources, Magnús Stefánsson has emphasized that Ormr and other fourteenth-century bishops were clearly dedicated to the Church and worked towards its interests, see Magnús Stefánsson 1978: 248-53; Sigurdson 2016: 92-94.

[58] *Islandske annaler*: xx.

[59] Erika Sigurdson (2016: 79-81) has shown that the cathedral *ráðsmenn* should be identified with the office of vicar-general, and confirmed the conclusions of earlier scholars that their duties included estate management, lifestock and other property. However, more work remains to be done in dilineating how distinct the monastery *ráðsmenn* might have been.

is implied to be a way of keeping the brothers in line, because, the annal states, the brothers had refused to follow a written decree of Bishop Ormr that the monastery itself should be moved to Hólar.[60] We have no other evidence for this unprecedented attempt, and the document which Ormr supposedly wrote does not survive. Though the details are lost, on some level Ormr's attempted relocation must be seen as an escalation of the push for episcopal control over Möðruvellir that Laurentius pursued: after decades of attempting to negotiate and maintain direct episcopal control over Möðruvellir, Ormr finally decided a refoundation would solve the problem. It thus resulted from the tensions that had long simmered between Hólar and Möðruvellir, even as it must have exacerbated them further.

Ormr himself was not a Benedictine, and though his main dispute was with Möðruvellir, there is some evidence of tensions with the Benedictines and their allies. According to the *Skálholtsannáll*, Ormr replaced the abbot of Þingeyrar in 1345, removing Eiríkr *bolli* and replacing him with Stefán, who had been the abbot of Munkaþverá; Ormr then placed Bergr Sokkason into the position at Munkaþverá, and the annals states that in so doing Ormr restored his honor – it is not clear what this means, exactly, but it is probably related to the fact that Bergr had given up his position as abbot of Munkaþverá in 1334, for unknown reasons.[61] There were several movements of abbots and monks between Þingeyrar and Munkaþverá, even during the latter part of Bishop Egill's tenure, which may be a reflection of ongoing problems.[62] The allegiances involved here are clearly complex, and don't divide neatly into two camps: the *Lögmannsannáll*, written by Bishop Laurentius' student Einarr Hafliðason, criticizes Ormr after he takes office, noting how he quickly used up the wealth that had been gathered by Bishop Egill and Einarr himself there.[63] Similarly, the ambiguity of Ormr's relation to the Benedictines is exemplified in a 1346 document, in which he grants partial ownership of two pieces of property to Þingeyrar; he states the monastery was in great need, and presents himself as being a charitable and helpful bishop.[64] However, one of these properties was Hjaltabakki, a farm which *Lárentíus saga* reveals had been granted to the monastery first by

[60] *Islandske annaler*: 224. One document may also hint, very indirectly, at the continuing crisis around Möðruvellir during Ormr's tenure as bishop: in 1350, the record of Möðruvellir's coastal rights, its *reki*, was formally copied (DI II, 858). Such a copy would have been important if the bishop was claiming control over the monastery's properties.

[61] *Islandske annaler*: 211.

[62] For a summary see Janus Jónsson 1887: 190-91, 204-205.

[63] *Islandske annaler*: 274.

[64] DI II: 835-36.

Jörundr, then taken by Auðun, then returned to the monastery by Laurentius.[65] It is therefore quite likely that in 1346 Bishop Ormr was in fact returning to Þingeyrar the rights to Hjaltabakki that he had already deprived them of. Taken together, the evidence suggests that while Ormr probably did not have an especially antagonistic relationship with the northern Benedictines, he was no ally to them, and like Bishop Auðun and Bishop Jörundr, for him the monks were a tool in his efforts to secure episcopal power. Einarr Hafliðason, therefore, could criticize Ormr in the *Lögmanns-annáll*, without associating the spendthrift bishop to southern or Augustinian interests.

Ormr's career in Norway must have impacted his relationships with and ideas about the monasteries in Iceland, though we must speculate about the details. Before coming to Iceland, Ormr had been a cathedral canon at Stavanger, a city that had long housed Benedictines at Olavskloster and Augustinian canons at Utstein.[66] Elbjørg Haug has suggested that across Norway the earliest Benedictine communities may have functioned like cathedral chapters, following an Anglo-Saxon model, and that Olavskloster fulfilled this function in Stavanger until finally being secularized and absorbed by the cathedral in the second half of the thirteenth century.[67] Such secularization could have been a precedent for Ormr attempting to move the Möðruvellir canons to Hólar in the 1350s.[68] But even more immediately significant is the fact that, over the course of the decade before Ormr's election to Hólar, the bishop of Stavanger had been in a serious dispute with the abbot of Utstein; the bishop had even excommunicated the abbot.[69] Even though we cannot assume from this event that Ormr was antagonistic towards all Augustinian canons, it certainly prepared him to pick a fight with them, and likely to view the reform of monastic practice as an episcopal duty. It may also be significant that Ormr did not come from Bergen or Nidaros, and did not convey the patronage and good relations from those cities which the Icelandic Augustinians seem to have traditionally enjoyed. As will be discussed below, in 1350 he appointed a highly controversial abbot to Þingeyrar, who may have been a southerner and an Augustinian canon. Thus, even though Ormr

[65] *Biskupa sögur III*: 359-360.

[66] On Ormr's position as cathedral canon at Stavanger, see *DN IV*: 123, 136, 144-45, 184-85. On the history of Utstein and other monasteries around Stavanger, see Haug 2008.

[67] Haug 2008: 80-82.

[68] Such a plan could even have been following Jörundr's initial intentions, see footnote 19. However, this possibility requires significant further research.

[69] Haug 2008: 84-85.

was no close friend to the Benedictines in his diocese, his actions clearly must have encouraged tensions between monastic orders.

Jón Sigurðarson, bishop of Skálholt 1342 to 1348, also arrived in Iceland in 1343. Little is known about his background; because several annals record that a Brother Jón Sigurðarson left Iceland two years before his consecration as bishop, scholars have tended to assume he was Icelandic.[70] He is frequently given the title *bróðir* across different sources, so he must have been a member of a monastic order. In light of his actions, it is most likely that he was an Icelandic Benedictine brother, and that will be the hypothesis here; however, it is not impossible that he was an Augustinian canon, and that the pressure for the Benedictine switch came more directly from Archbishop Páll Bárðarson.[71] What is clear, however, is that Jón Sigurðarson had very strong ideas of monastic discipline and reform: immediately upon taking up his office, he ordered the execution of a Benedictine sister at Kirkjubær for blasphemy against the pope, and the punishment of two Augustinian canons at Þykkvabær – Arngrímr and Eysteinn – for striking their abbot, the same Abbot Þorlákr who had helped defend the canons of Möðruvellir during the *Möðruvallamál*.[72] The *Skálholtsannáll* gives some additional details in a passage written in Latin that after *dissentio* had arisen between abbot and brothers at Þykkvabær, Þorlákr had fled to the Augustinians at Viðey *quasi profugus* (like a fugitive), on the advice of Sigmundr, the *officialis* of

[70] *Islandske annaler*: 352, 401; Guðbrandur Jónsson 1953, 414. Bishop Jón being Icelandic during this time of Norwegian dominance over Skálholt would suggest that he must have had an especially close personal connection with the archbishopric, comparable to what Laurentius Kálfsson and Egill Eyjólfsson had cultivated.

[71] It is reasonable to assume that the clergy of Skálholt diocese would have more readily accepted an Augustinian bishop than a Benedictine. Jón Sigurðarson has the same patronym as Helgi Sigurðarson, the abbot of Viðey who died in 1343, and it is not impossible that they were brothers, and thus that Jón has strong Augustinian familial connections. The *officialis* of Skálholt who took up the position as the new Benedictine prior of Viðey, Sigmundr Einarsson, is implied in at least one annal to not have been ordained a monk until he took up the position (*Islandske annaler*: 210, 352) – which could support the idea that Bishop Jón did not have Benedictine friends or allies to take up the position, and had to depend on his allies within the cathedral community. However, either argument depends on Archbishop Páll have some positive view of the Benedictines: either in electing a northern Benedictine to a position in the south, or in himself pushing for the rule change at Viðey as, presumably, a means of reform at the monastery. The later idea, I would argue, is far more speculative, as Archbishop Páll was not himself a Benedictine, and it is hard to believe that he would push for such a specific and unusual policy entirely of his own accord. In any case, more research is needing into archepiscopal policy at ideology at this time than is possible here.

[72] *Islandske annaler*: 273-74. On the idea that the description of this as physical assault of the abbot may be exaggerated, see Gunnar Harðarson 2021: 268.

Skálholt.[73] The annal actually states that Abbot Þorlákr had initially intended to go abroad, perhaps to shelter among Norwegian Augustinians.

So, Bishop Jón Sigurðarson was obtaining justice for an Augustinian abbot by disciplining the two canons. Yet the events of the following year reveal the involvement of the Benedictines in this dispute: in 1344, the monastery of Viðey is reported to have switched to the Benedictine Rule. The Sigmundr who helped Abbot Þorákr flee to Viðey , who was also *officialis* at Skálholt, became a monk and the prior of the newly Benedictine house at Viðey.[74] Such a move must have been made with the approval of Bishop Jón, and probably at his instigation, or perhaps even that of the archbishop. The fact that the new Viðey was given a prior, rather than an abbot, may suggest that Bishop Jón intended to himself function as a sort of abbot, just as Laurentius had done at Möðruvellir. Jón can hardly have had the support of the Augustinians of his diocese, and the removal of Abbot Þorkell from the Augustinian monastery of Helgafell in the same year was probably related to the event in Viðey.[75] The northern Icelandic Benedictines, however, probably would have supported spreading their order south into Skálholt diocese, especially if Bishop Jón came from their ranks; Jón's seeming to be on friendly terms with the prominent northern priest Einarr Hafliðason,[76] as well as his attempt to mediate in the dispute between Bishop Ormr and the northern farmers, supports the idea that he had a connection to Þingeyrar or Munkaþverá that is missing from our sources.

We also have hints that the previous bishop of Skálholt, Jón Eindriðason, who was definitely a Benedictine brother, was in dispute with the Viðey canons, which adds further evidence to the idea that the change of rule of Viðey was related to rising tensions between the two orders. A letter written to Bishop Jón Eindriðason from

[73] *Islandske annaler*: 209.

[74] The *Skálholtsannáll* states that in 1344 the *munkaregla* – the rule of monks, i.e. the Benedictine rule – was established at Viðey on the feast of the Translation of St Benedict, but doesn't state who instigated the change (*Islandske annaler*: 210). The post-medieval *Gottskálksannáll* specifies more clearly that it is the Benedictine rule, and that six brothers were placed under it, and that Brother Sigmundr Einarsson is made prior (*Islandske annaler*: 352).

[75] *Islandske annaler*: 352. This change of abbots at Helgafell is only recorded in the post-medieval *Gottskálksannáll*.

[76] The *Lögmannsannáll* notes that when Einarr left Iceland in 1345, he did so *á kosti* [at the cost of] Bishop Jón. This happens immediately after Einarr moves from Hólar to his benefice at Breiðabólsstaðr. While there are of course multiple ways to interpret this passage: the issue may simply have been that Bishop Ormr had spent all the funds of Hólar cathedral, as the *Lögmannsannáll* accuses him of, and so had limited resources to send Einarr abroad. But it seems more likely that Einarr was at this point not getting along with Bishop Ormr, but that he knew Bishop Jón and got along well with him, and so persuaded him to pay for the trip.

Hákon Erlingsson, Bishop of Bergen, in the summer of 1340, describes a canon from Viðey who had been sent by Bishop Jón to stay with Bishop Hákon; in the letter, Hákon asks if the canon has permission to return home to Iceland.[77] We have no evidence that Bishop Hákon Erlingsson was a monk, friar, or Augustinian canon, but he does appear to have been a close friend with the Dominican Bishop Jón Halldórsson, who defended and patronized the canons of Möðruvellir in their dispute with Laurentius; there is also some evidence that there was a close relationship between the cathedral canons in Bergen and the Augustinian canons at Jonskloster at this time.[78] So in any disputes between Benedictines and Augustinians in Iceland, it would make sense for Bishop Hákon to favor the Augustinian side.

While this letter cannot prove that Bishop Jón Eindriðason was clashing with the canons at Viðey, nor that Bishop Jón Sigurðarson was a Benedictine continuing the same dispute, it does support speculation in this direction. The careers of these two bishops developed during decades of crisis and tension between monastic orders in northern Iceland, and they must have had allies in northern Iceland, among the social and intellectual circles that had supported the election of the Benedictine Bishop Laurentius, and his Benedictine-educated student Bishop Egill. I would argue that, even if we cannot know the full details of the event with our limited sources, the event of Viðey becoming Benedictine at the instigation of a bishop – in essence importing northern Icelandic monasticism to the south – would not have happened if Jörundr had not first brought the southern model north in 1296. Nonetheless, monastic allegiances and ideologies was still only one factor in this crisis, and the pursuit of episcopal power and dominance doubtlessly remained a more important factor. Both Bishop Ormr and Bishop Jón Sigurðarson made unprecedented power plays regarding Augustinian canons during their tenures – Ormr attempting to forcibly move the brothers of Möðruvellir, and Jón changing the rule at Viðey – and while both of them certainly had strong opinions about the two monastic orders, like Laurentius Kálfsson, certainly the most Benedictine bishop in Iceland, their commitment to their office as bishops was more significant.

Yet monastic allegiances once again became a major factor upon the arrival of Bishop Gyrðir around 1350, when the traditionally good relationship between the Icelandic Augustinians and Skálholt cathedral seems to have been restored.[79] Gyrðir had

[77] DI II: 730-731. I am following the editor Jón Þorkelsson's argument about who this letter is addressed to; however, because the year is missing from the document, it is not impossible that it was addressed to the previous bishop of Skálholt, Jón Halldórsson.

[78] Etheridge 2021: 22-23, 25-26; Hommedal 2014: 624.

[79] The *Skálholtsannáll* gives 1350, the *Flateyjarannáll* gives 1351, and the *Lögmannsannáll* gives 1352 for the arrival of Bishop Gyrðir in Iceland (*Islandske annaler*: 214, 276, 405).

spent some time as an Augustinian canon at Helgeseter in Nidaros, and became abbot of the Augustinian house of Jonskloster in Bergen in 1339.[80] The year after his arrival, under Gyrðir's oversight, Viðey returned to the Augustinian rule.[81] It is almost certain that Gyrðir's arrival represented the Norwegian Augustinians, and perhaps the Bergen Augustinians in particular, taking a direct hand in monastic developments in Iceland.

The echoes of the crisis continued for at least a few years, as is seen in how the complex career of Arngrímr Brandsson was tangled up with Ormr's continuing disputes and the links between Icelandic and Norwegian monasticism. In large part because of his possible authorship of several important texts, few figures from mid-fourteenth-century Iceland have been as well studied as Arngrímr Brandsson. The most recent account of Arngrímr's life and career is Gunnar Harðarson's, who argues that a variety of seeming contradictory sources can be interpreted as recording the activities of a single Arngrímr who moved between dioceses and three different religious orders.[82] This is in stark contrast to Guðbrandur Jónsson's arguments that there must have been at least two men named Arngrímr being described in these sources.[83] The single-Arngrímr theory has gained ground, so this study will treat all the evidence for Arngrímr as related to a single man, but there remains no strong consensus.[84]

Arngrímr Brandsson came from the south, from the aristocratic Oddaverjar family, and worked for Bishop Jón Halldórsson in opposition to Bishop Laurentius. He became an Augustinian canon in 1341, and was one of the canons imprisoned by Bishop Jón Sigurðarson in 1343. Arngrímr then went north and ingratiated himself into the service of Bishop Ormr, working with him in 1345 to promote the cult of Guðmundr Arason, and travelling with him to Norway in 1346. The next year, when Ormr left Iceland again, Arngrímr had presumably already become *officialis* of Hólar, and then in 1351, upon Ormr's return, the key moment occurred: Arngrímr was made abbot of Þingeyrar. It is difficult to imagine the monks were happy with this choice, if this Arngrímr was in fact the same southern Augustinian who worked for the

[80] *DN IV*: 206.

[81] *Islandske annaler*: 214, 405.

[82] Gunnar Harðarson 2021: 263–274.

[83] Guðbrandur Jónsson 1953.

[84] The view of two Arngrímr's has arguably been the consensus for a long time, see for example Ásdís Egilsdóttir 2012. However, for the current popularity of the single-Arngrímr theory, see for example Gottskálk Jensson 2022: 143-44, note 33 and Gunnvör Karlsdóttir 2017: 28-33.

Dominican Bishop Jón Halldórsson. Such discontent may explain why, in 1357, around the time when news of Bishop Ormr's death in Norway would have reached his diocese, Arngrímr was accused of unknown crimes and left his positions as abbot and *officialis*. The annals disagree here, and some imply than Arngrímr willingly left his position, and there were clearly different views among the authors about what exactly happened.[85] However, even if Arngrímr did 'voluntarily' leave Þingeyrar, it was most likely under pressure.[86]

The annals report that, the very next year, two archiepiscopal legates came to Iceland and, among several other important acts, reestablished Arngrímr as abbot of Þingeyrar. One of these was Brother Eysteinn, presumably the same Eysteinn of Þykkvabær who had been imprisoned alongside Arngrímr, and this seems best interpreted not only as an alliance between the two men, but also as a continuing interference of Augustinians in northern Benedictine affairs, and thus something that could continue tensions between the orders. Two annals also add that Arngrímr had made a vow to live under the Rule of the *predikarar*, i.e. the Dominicans. The *Lögmannsannáll* simply notes that he had sworn an oath to join the *predikaraklaustr* in Bergen, but the *Flateyjarannáll* adds that the legates who returned him to his position as abbot were ignoring his vow (*heiti*), suggesting disapproval at his return to his position.[87] As the next section will discuss, Arngrímr here probably contributed to several decades of increasing tension between Dominicans and Benedictines.

If this reconstruction of Arngrímr's career is correct, he represents on the one hand a surprisingly level of flexibility between the three religious orders being discussed in this study, as well as the high level of movement and potential opportunity available to the elite clergy between Skálholt, Hólar, Bergen, and Nidaros. At the same time, however, his movements highlight the tensions this flexibility could entail. It is very likely that he was not popular in the diocese of Hólar, and the Benedictines of Þingeyrar very likely disapproved of his appointment – certainly, by 1357, they

[85] The *Lögmannsannáll* and *Flateyjarannáll* are clearly antagonistic towards Arngrímr, and describe the priests of the diocese refusing to obey Arngrímr because of some unnamed crimes; the fragmentary annal from Skálholt, however, simply states that Arngrímr left his position as *officialis* (*Islandske annaler*: 225, 276-77, 405).

[86] Gunnar Harðarson leaves the question of why Arngrímr left the position of abbot open, while Guðbrandur Jónsson favors the language of the *Lögmannsannáll* over *Flateyjarannáll* and argues that Arngrímr willingly left the position, though in the context of being persecuted by his political enemies; both of them suggest the possibility that it would have been expected for Arngrímr to leave his position after the death of Ormr (Gunnar Harðarson 2021: 273; Guðbrandur Jónsson 1953: 430-35).

[87] *Islandske annaler*: 277, 405-406.

seem happy to have seen him go. His exact motivation for joining the Dominicans remains uncertain, as well as whether there is a possibility he was forced or coerced to join them.[88]

The Dominican Factor

Arngrímr was not the only Icelander of his generation to switch from being an Icelandic Benedictine to a Norwegian Dominican, and yet there seems to have been tension between these two orders in Iceland during the period being discussed here. From a northern Icelandic perspective, it can be argued that the Dominicans represented southern and Norwegian interference, a force allied to the Augustinians. In the south, the situation was more ambiguous, and while there seems to have usually been amicable relationships between the Dominicans, Skálholt cathedral, and the Augustinians at Þykkvabær, this was not necessarily the case with the other Augustinian houses.

It was Bishop Laurentius' own son, Árni, who first made the switch from Benedictine to Dominican, several years before Arngrímr. An undated letter from the Dominicans of Nidaros to Archbishop Peter Phillipus of Uppsala – himself a Dominican – probably written around 1337, describes Árni as a member of the order. Árni had been sent with a novice to go preaching in Jamtaland. The letter itself is a plea to the archbishop to support the Nidaros Dominicans, as their own archbishop had neglected them in favor of the local Cistercians. Further research needs to be done to unpack the full significance of this letter, but for the present purposes, what matters is its relationship to the narrative of *Lárentíus saga*, since the letter provides important reasoning for why the northern Icelandic Benedictines may have disliked the Dominican order.

Lárentíus saga suggests a predominantly negative view of Dominicans, a view that we can presume was not uncommon, though certainly not universal, among the students of Laurentius Kálfsson and their peers in mid-to-late fourteenth-century northern Iceland. During his time acting as a formal legate for the archbishop in Iceland, conducting a visitation across the island in 1307, Laurentius is betrayed by the Dominican Brother Björn, who is portrayed as lax in his duties and allied to Laurentius' enemies in both Iceland and Norway. In the saga, before his journey back

88 There is no room to address the topic fully here, but Guðbrandur Jónsson also argues that Arngrímr was caught up in a dispute between two parties over the election of the next bishop of Hólar, and that it was because of this dispute that Arngrímr lost his positions (Guðbrandur Jónsson 1953: 430-33). I do not disagree that this was a factor, but such a dispute does not preclude that his identity as a southerner, a former Augustinian, and an ally of Bishop Ormr were also important elements.

to Iceland, Laurentius tells the archbishop that he has no skill in preaching, and requests to bring Brother Björn with him – which suggests that the Order of Preachers, the Dominicans, had a reputation that lived up to their name. However, Archbishop Jörundr replies with a warning that Dominicans are generally untrustworthy, and especially in legal matters.[89] If there is any truth to this characterization of the archbishop, it may suggest an ongoing tension between the Dominicans of Nidaros and the cathedral that continued through the 1330s and up to the time of the c. 1337 letter about Árni.[90]

The characterization of the Dominican Brother Björn in the saga is also significant to conceptualizing the interplay between episcopal power and the perspectives of different monastic orders. Björn should be a representative of central archepiscopal authority, but is presented in the saga as unreliable, and eventually abandoning his mission unfinished. The saga also has Björn quickly ally himself with Bishop Jörundr, who, as discussed earlier, instigated the beginning of the monastic crisis of fourteenth-century Iceland. In a way, Björn thus represents the allegiance between the Augustinians, the Dominicans, and Skálholt, at least from the perspective of the author and audience of *Lárentíus saga*. At the same time, the tensions and conflicts between monastic orders in Iceland cannot be understood in terms of simple dichotomies or core ideological positions inherent to each monastic order. Rather, disputes happen in the context of positions and goals that were constantly being renegotiated on political and personal grounds.

Lárentíus saga's characterization of its other main Dominican character –Jón Halldórsson, Bishop of Skálholt 1322-1339 – is complicated, but can summarized as respectful, while still somewhat negative. Importantly, the negativity that is present revolves around distaste for an outsider meddling in Hólar affairs. As noted earlier, the saga praises Jón Halldórsson for his Latin learning and largely sides with his interpretation of canon law over Laurentius' in the resolution of the *Möðruvallamál*.[91] Yet at the same time, the saga characterizes Jón as somewhat elitist and out-of-touch, a man who oversteps the authority of his position to help the Augustinian canons of Laurentius' diocese – and does so, as discussed earlier, with the abbot of Þykkvabær at his side. In the saga, the Dominicans and Augustinians of Skálholt and Norway are linked in their exteriority to the Benedictine-dominated Hólar diocese, and Bishop Jón exemplifies the tying of that exteriority to a troublesome overreach of episcopal

[89] *Biskupa sögur III*: 265-66.

[90] There is very little evidence that survives about the Dominican house in Nidaros, see Jakobsen 2003: 213.

[91] *Biskupa sögur III*: 383, 425-426.

authority: he sends Laurentius a letter of summons to Laurentius after the initial settlement of the *Möðruvallamál*, which Laurentius refuses to hear, because, as Laurentius argues, Bishop Jón is continuing to act with archepiscopal authority after that authority had expired with the first settlement in the case.[92] Laurentius himself is not guiltless – his own involvement with the canons of Möðruvellir is to an extent characterized as episcopal overreach – but his saga implies that this is not a problem of the same kind: he is a local, a northerner, a Benedictine.

Outside the context of *Lárentíus saga*, the annals show that Bishop Jón Halldórsson engaged in some of the same episcopal interference of monasteries within his diocese that characterizes wider episcopal efforts during this period: in 1324 he removed Abbot Þórðr of Helgafell from his position, and the next year Abbot Andrés from Viðey.[93] It is probably significant that he did this so shortly after his arrival in Iceland, like the actions later taken by Bishop Jón Sigurðarson; this was an important priority in his leadership strategy over the diocese. It may likewise also be significant that he did not replace the abbot at Þykkvabær, whom he subsequently worked with in the *Möðruvallamál*: the oldest Augustinian house of Iceland, founded by a saintly bishop of Skálholt, may have maintained a stronger relationship with the cathedral than the other monasteries in the diocese.

Though he is not yet named as a Dominican in *Lárentíus saga*, the episodes involving Árni Laurentiusson in the saga give context to the c. 1337 letter and show how Árni might have been seen as a traitor to the northern Benedictines. Shortly before Laurentius' death in 1332, he aggressively confronts his son. The details are unclear, but Árni is accused of neglecting his oaths as a Benedictine monk – even though his father was the one who brought him to live at Hólar cathedral, taking him away from Þingeyrar – and of drinking excessively; these are both tied to him planning to go to Norway. The saga states that Árni, weeping at his father's harsh recriminations, promises to mend his ways and return to Þingeyrar, but that after Laurentius' death Árni broke his vow, and his life ended badly, as his father warned it would.[94] Yet this is almost certainly the same Árni who we see preaching in Sweden just a few short years after this exchange. Even if Árni did end up dying young, even if he did drink to excess, what was his crime to deserve such strong condemnation in *Lárentíus saga*? I would argue that his switch from the Benedictine to the Dominican life – perhaps a plan that his father knew about – was a key unspoken part of the saga's characterization of his doomed future. And the saga's perspective on this switch, this

[92] *Biskupa sögur III*: 395-400.

[93] *Islandske annaler*: 152, 394-395.

[94] *Biskupa sögur III*: 433–434.

betrayal, would have been informed by the actions of Abbot Arngrímr – the abbot of the oldest monastic community in Iceland! – taking a vow to join the Dominicans only a couple of decades later.[95]

It is not overly speculative to suggest that the Dominicans and Augustinians sometimes functioned as an allied force within Iceland, especially from the perspective of the Hólar Benedictines. As Erika Sigurdson has pointed out, little is known about the backgrounds of the Norwegians who became bishops of Hólar, but they tended to be from cathedral communities, and from Nidaros in particular.[96] However, in Skálholt, there was a strong representation from Norwegians from the area around Bergen; of these, the Dominican Jón Halldórsson and the Augustinian Gyrðir Ívarsson spent a long time and appear to have had a lot of influence in Iceland, compared to the Benedictine bishops of Skálholt mentioned earlier. But equally important are the Icelanders who went to Bergen: Arngrímr, on clashing with the Benedictines and priests of Hólar diocese, took an oath to join the same community as Jón Halldórsson. As noted earlier, a letter survives from around 1340, sent from Bishop Hákon of Bergen to what the letter only describes as Bishop Jón of Skálholt – probably to the Benedictine Bishop Jón Eindriðason, but potentially to his predecessor, if the letter is slightly earlier – describing a canon of Viðey having been sent to stay in Bergen with Bishop Hákon.

I would suggest, then, that the Dominicans sometimes functioned as a kind of third player in the relationship between Augustinians and Benedictines in Iceland. Tension with them was a relatively minor factor compared to larger tension between major power players: between bishops and monastic orders, the archbishop and his diocesan bishops, and between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Some disputes were exacerbated by tensions between Icelanders and Norwegians, undoubtedly a factor in the fact that Bishop Auðun and Bishop Ormr spent nearly their entire tenures at odds with powerful farmers and priests within their diocese. So there was perhaps an element of suspicion of the Dominicans as an order without any houses in Iceland. Yet the complexity of Icelandic-Norwegian relations at this time means that it is not enough to attribute the explicit suspicion of Dominicans we see in *Lárentíus saga* only to Icelanders' issues with Norwegians. The fact that Icelanders went to Norway and joined the Dominicans highlights how interconnected the monastic life within the archdiocese of Nidaros really was in the fourteenth century.

[95] The feud between the Dominicans and Cistercians in Nidaros described in the letter, wherein the archbishop was ostensibly favoring the Cistercian side, may have also been felt in Iceland, and could have impacted contemporary attitudes towards Benedictines, but the evidence is very limited and more research is required.

[96] Sigurdson 2016: 90-91.

Yet as much as this interconnectedness created bonds and opportunities for men like Árni Laurentiusson, it must have also increased tension and resentment among his peers, and certainly for his father.

Conclusion

To attempt to tie the many threads of this study together, I would propose that in a bid to expand his power, and perhaps his own ideas of ecclesiastical and monastic reform, Bishop Jörundr brought a southern model of monasticism into Hólar diocese in 1296, increasing the already existing tensions between himself and the Benedictines of his own diocese, and contributing to elevated tensions between the two monastic orders of Iceland for at least the next fifty years, if not longer. Some tension between the two orders of Iceland probably go back to the twelfth century and the Augustinian involvement in the *libertas ecclesiae* movement. A detailed discussion of this earlier era is beyond the scope of this study, but it is worth noting that the bishop of Hólar who most ferociously and controversially fought for *libertas ecclesiae*, Guðmundr Arason, who held the office from 1203 to 1237, also had some clashes with the Benedictines in his diocese. Further research could explore possible continuity and connections between Guðmundr's relationship with the Benedictines, and Þingeyrar in particular, and Bishop Jörundr's.

When Bishop Jörundr disrupted the monastic culture in his diocese at the same time as both Icelandic monastic orders were coming under increasing pressure from growing episcopal power, and perhaps by increased involvement of Dominicans in Iceland, it would make sense for tensions between the orders to have increased significantly. Bishop Auðun escalated matters by clashing with both Benedictines and Augustinians, while Bishop Laurentius – and to an arguably lesser extent Bishop Jón Halldórsson – contributed in a different way by choosing sides, at least to some degree. All of these bishops were primarily concerned with their own power and the power of their dioceses, but they did have other concerns and ideologies which affected their decisions. After all of this, it should come as no surprise that the two new bishops who arrived in Iceland in 1343 managed to drastically escalate matters, and what seems to be the temporary dominance of the Benedictines at this time may be in part attributed to the allegiances they had cultivated in Norway, especially with Nidarholm. This dominance was short-lived, however, and Bishop Gyrðir restored the previous order, as well as the favor of the Augustinians in Skálholt. The continued echoes of these events in the later fourteenth century await further study.[97]

[97] The issue of northerners complaining of southern meddling certainly never entirely went away, and Gottskálk Jensson has recently highlighted a sixteenth-century example: in 1522, all the highest clerics of Hólar diocese, including the abbots of both Þingeyrar and

There is some risk of circular reasoning in arguing for the cause and effect of monasteries on episcopal policies, and we cannot be certain that the change of rule at Viðey was caused by Bishop Jón Sigurðarson both having a northern Benedictine background and attempting to do to Skálholt something like what had been done to Hólar in 1296: import a monastic model in support of a new episcopal policy. Yet there is no inherent reason why Benedictines would have been more conducive to episcopal power or reform in mid-fourteenth-century Skálholt than Augustinians, unless Bishop Jón had an existing connection to them. In this context, then, there is no need to separate the personal political goals of individual bishops from the tension between monastic orders which I am proposing: that tension was carried and propagated by individuals and their ambitions. The fact that Bishop Jón was successful, at least for a short time, I would argue is good evidence that matters had escalated to a serious degree: Jörundr may have been able to found an Augustinian house on a farm he had himself bought during a tumultuous time, but even he could hardly have imagined trying to change the rule at either Þingeyrar or Munkaþverá.

It is thus reasonable to describe the period from around 1296 – arguably from a bit earlier, with Jörundr's first actions against Þingeyrar – until at least the return of Abbot Arngrímr to his position at Þingeyrar in 1358, as a period of monastic crisis. This was not simply a crisis caused by weak monastic culture and lack of discipline as Gunnar Finnbogason proposed in 1951 – though such factors may well have played a role. At the same time, it is too simplistic to view all these events strictly through the lens of increasing episcopal power and individual ambitions; monastic culture, ideology, and identity must have played a role. I am also not suggesting that there was a fundamental, institutional antagonism between Benedictines and Augustinians, but rather that a small, basic level of tension grew during this period, wrapped up in turbulent episcopal politics and regional antipathy. Many factors contributed to a tumultuous period, including the ongoing consolidation of the new ecclesiastical law, the involvement of Norwegians in Icelandic politics, and the growth of episcopal power in Iceland, which did not only impinge on the rights and interests of the secular elite – as historians have long discussed – but could also ruffle the feathers of monasteries and neighbouring bishops as well.

Sverrir Jakobsson has recently characterized the first half of the fourteenth century as a time when "ecclesiastical relations were volatile and raucous at times as the clerics cherished their newly won independence from secular interference and were loath to surrender control of their activities to overbearing bishops" at the same time as

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Munkaþverá, protested the canons of Nidaros granting Bishop Ögmundr of Skálholt full authority over Hólar diocese (Gottskálk Jensson 2022: 136; DI IX: 119-21).

emphasizing that, thanks in part to the efforts of these bishops, "the Church in Iceland was more affluent, organized, and culturally dominant in the early fourteenth century than it had been at any time before that."[98] In this context, I would suggest that there is room for a deeper understanding of the effects this period had on the two Icelandic monastic orders, which had their own interests, ideologies, and biases. The Augustinians and Benedictines of Iceland were not entirely aligned with the clergy, the bishops, or the laity, and they could also have conflicting interests with each other. My focus here has been on the situation in Iceland, and some of its relations to Norway, but these matters should be explored more fully in the wider European discourses around Augustinian and Benedictine identity and norms, as well as episcopal relations to monasteries. Gunnar Harðarson has suggested that the first half of the fourteenth century, in the context of the Avignon papacy, was a time of greater episcopal involvement in abbotal elections.[99] Applying such general trends to help explain specific situations, especially in a peripheral and fairly isolated region like Iceland, is always risky, but it is also certain that there is room to better understand the motivations, ideologies, and cultural factors that shaped the changing landscape of Iceland in the fourteenth century.

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[98] Sverrir Jakobsson 2024: 135-136.

[99] Gunnar Harðarson 2021: 272-273.

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Ryder C. Patzuk-Russell is an independent scholar living in Iceland; he recently completed the Polonez Bis-funded project "Monasteries on the Edge of the World: Church and Society in Late Medieval Iceland." He is a specialist in the history of medieval education, Old Norse literature and culture, and late medieval Iceland.
Email: rcprussell@gmail.com

Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Kalmarunionen och Krewounionen. Några anmärkningar beträffande de färska studierna av Andrzej Gaca och Hubert Bąk

Andrej Scheglov

Recently, some studies have been devoted to comparison of the Union of Krewo and the Union of Kalmar. The aim of my article is to present my views concerning the issue and to compare these views with the arguments of other scholars. I highlight the following shared features between the two unions: 1) both acts are written on middle quality material and include mistakes and corrections, but they had seals; 2) both acts included somewhat obscure provisions containing the conditions of unification; 3) both acts were not mentioned in contemporary annals and chronicles. However, the two documents were known, and they influenced subsequent treaties and projects in the Late Middle Ages. Therefore political and legal traditions of both unions did not cease.

Tiden från 1300-talet till 1500-talet kallas ofta för ”unionernas tid”. Medeltida unioner var emellertid olika. Det fanns till exempel så kallade realunioner och det fanns personliga och dynastiska unioner. Dessutom genomfördes en del unioner i praktiken medan andra förblev projekt. Förutom skillnader fanns det också gemensamma drag, och de senare är intressanta för historiker, eftersom de hjälper till att förstå de medeltida unionernas natur och, på ett mer allmänt sätt, det medeltida samhällets natur.

På senare tid har ett antal studier ägnats åt jämförelser mellan de två medeltida unionerna – Krewounionen och Kalmarunionen. Några av studierna har utförts av Andrzej Gaca och Hubert Bąk; resultaten tillkännages på engelska och delvis på polska.[1] Flera studier tillhör författaren till denna artikel; resultaten finns tillgängliga på ryska (se Scheglov 2024a: 8–23, Scheglov 2024b, Scheglov 2024c). Syftet med denna polemiska artikel är att jämföra resultaten och att skissera paralleller och skillnader i argument och slutsatser. Innan jag börjar min jämförelse kommer jag att introducera ämnet och presentera de två unionernas förhistoria, källorna och de viktigaste trenderna och landmärkena i historieskrivningen för båda unionerna.

[1] Gaca & Bąk 2022: 127–154; Gaca & Bąk 2023: 13–39.

Skapandet av de två unionerna

Under andra hälften av 1300-talet, under den inre politiska kampen, utropade en del av de svenska stormänn Albrekt av Mecklenburg till kung av Sverige. Kung Albrekt gav formella löften om frälsets politiska rättigheter. Motsättningar uppstod emellertid. Kung Albrekt förlänade utlänningar, utnämnde utlänningar till höga ämbetsmän, införde höga skatter och planerade att genomföra en reduktion av frälsemännens jordegendomar – åtgärder som väckte missnöje hos frälset. När den svenska aristokratins ledare Bo Jonsson (Grip) dog inleddes kampen om gods och besittningar. Under konflikten med kungen ingick de upproriska frälsemännen en allians med danska och norska magnater för att besegra kung Albrecht.

Samtidigt skedde dynastiska förändringar i de nordiska länderna. Efter den danske kungen Valdemar IV Atterdags (1340–1375) och den norske kungen Håkan VI Magnussons (1355–1380) död blev den minderårige Olof Håkansson, son till Håkan Magnusson och hans änka Margareta, dotter till kung Valdemar Atterdag, kung av Norge och Danmark. Som barnbarn till kung Magnus Eriksson kunde Olof Håkansson också göra anspråk på den svenska tronen. Han dog dock 1387. Margareta utropades till härskare över Danmark och Norge. De svenska motståndarna till kung Albrekt av Mecklenburg utropade i sin tur henne till härskare över Sverige. Under den gemensamma kampen mot kung Albrekt skapades de facto ett förbund mellan Danmark, Sverige och Norge, som de jure fastställdes i ett särskilt avtal 1396, den så kallade Nyköpingsrecessen, som bland annat förklarade att Sveriges, Danmarks och Norges statsmän måste samlas för att föra fredsförhandlingar i samband med att alla de tre rikena nu skulle få en gemensam kung.

Sommaren 1397 anlände Margareta och Erik till Kalmar för att deltaga i ett möte av nordiska riksrådsmedlemmar och andra stormän. Där antogs två dokument: akten om kung Erik av Pommerns kröning (det så kallade kröningsbrevet eller hyllningsbrevet) och ett dokument om unionen mellan de tre nordiska rikena (som ofta kallas för unionsbrevet eller Kalmarbrevet).

Unionen i Krewo hade i sin tur politiska, dynastiska och religiösa orsaker. Den polske kungen Ludvig I, som dog 1382, efterlämnade två döttrar, Maria och Jadwiga, och inga söner. En dynastisk kris inträffade, som följdes av ett inbördeskrig. Till slut, efter förhandlingar mellan polska adelsmän och Jadwigas mor Elisabet av Ungern, kom Jadwiga till Krakow och kröntes till *kung* av Polen; på detta vis fick hon en manlig härskares fullmakt.

Jadwiga var redan trolovad med hertig Vilhelm av Österrike. Förlovningen bröts dock av polackerna. Adelsmän som representerade Lillpolen, ett stort område i södra Polen, föreslog att Jadwiga skulle gifta sig med Jogaila, storfurst av Litauen.

Storfurstedömet Litauen var en stor stat som beboddes av hedniska litauer och ortodoxa ryssar. Storfurstedömet var tvunget att försvara sig mot riddarna av Tyska orden som försökte omvända litauerna till kristendomen enligt romersk-katolsk rit. Freden i Dubysa 1382 innehöll en skyldighet för Jogaila att konvertera inom fyra år. Fördraget ratificerades dock inte. År 1384 förhandlade Jogaila med furstedömet Moskva om möjligheten att han skulle konvertera till den östortodoxa kyrkan och gifta sig med Sofia, dotter till furst Dmitrij Donskoj. Detta projekt misslyckades; Jogaila föredrog ett annat projekt: att konvertera till katolicismen och gifta sig med drottning Jadwiga. Sommaren 1385 sände Jogaila en delegation till Polen. I delegationen ingick Jogailas bror Skirgaila, hertig Boris (förmodligen Skirgailas kusin) och en viss Hannul, en köpman från Riga.

De ovan nämnda sändebuden förhandlade med polska adelsmän i Krakow och senare med drottning Elisabet i Buda. En polsk delegation som bestod av två representanter för drottning Elisabet och tre polska adelsmän sändes till storfurstedömet Litauen. När sändebuden återvände utfärdades dokumentet som i dag är känt som Krewo-akten.

De två förbundens huvuddokument

De viktigaste dokumenten från mötet i Kalmar – *kröningsbrevet* och *Kalmarbrevet* – finns bevarade i Danmarks riksarkiv (*Rigsarkivet*). Kröningsakten, som daterades fredagen efter den helige Knuts dag (den 13 juli), skrevs på pergament. Den utfärdades å alla 67 deltagarnas vägnar.[2] Brevet förklarade att kung Erik var vald till kung av Danmark, Sverige och Norge, och att brevets utfärdare erkände hans makt över de tre rikena. Kung Erik – och drottning Margareta som regent under kungens omyndiga tid – fick rätt att förfoga över slott och förläningar. Kröningsbrevet innehöll bland annat en föreskrift som kan tolkas på så vis att kung Erik och drottning Margareta fick rätt att göra order beträffande förfoganderätt till förläningarna efter regentens död. Drottning Margareta tackades för sin regering och befriades från ansvar för sin politik.

Akten med bestämmelser om den eviga unionen är daterad samma år, 1397, den heliga Margaretas dag – det vill säga den 13 eller 20 juni enligt olika kalendrar. Akten utfärdades i namn av ärkebiskoparna i Lund och Uppsala, biskoparna i Roskilde och Linköping, fem svenska och fyra danska frälsemän, domprosten i Oslo och tre norska

[2] Eller till och med ett större antal människor, eftersom dokumentet säger att de närvarande frälsemännen utfärdade det inte bara i sitt eget namn, utan också på uppdrag av andra kyrkliga och världsliga frälsemän i Danmark, Sverige och Norge. Erik Lönnroth fastslår att det fanns två biskopar, Eskil av Ribe och Lave av Viborg, som deltog i Kalmarmötet men inte medverkade som sigillanter i kröningsbrevet och unionsbrevet (Lönnroth 1958: 52).

riddare – sammanlagt 17 personer. Dokumentet skulle förseglas av de sjutton personer som var uppräknade; men bara tio av dem förseglade dokumentet.[3] Dokumentet innehöll fel och rättelser.[4]

I dokumentets berättande del, *narratio,* står det att brevet tillkom i samband med att kung Erik valdes till kung av Danmark, Sverige och Norge. Beslutet innehöll följande bestämmelser. Konung Erik skall under loppet av sitt liv vara den gemensamme konungen i de nämnda rikena; efter hans död kommer alla de tre kungadömena att ha en gemensam kung som måste bestiga tronen genom val i vart och ett av kungadömena. Om den avlidne kungen hade söner måste en av dem väljas till kung. Rikena sluter en union. Vart och ett av de riken som deltar måste vägledas av sina egna lagar vad gäller inrikes angelägenheter. I varje rike skall kungen åtnjuta de rättigheter som han är berättigad till enligt lokala lagar. Rättsnormer i ett av de deltagande rikena kan inte införas eller tillämpas i ett annat. De tre rikena skall aldrig föra krig mot varandra; tvärtom måste de vara ”som ett rike under en kung”. De är skyldiga att ge varandra militär hjälp om krig bryter ut, och de har ingen rätt att ge skydd åt personer som förklarats vara fredlösa i något av de tre rikena. Kungen, i vilket rike han än för tillfället vistas, och ”de av hans rådgivare som är närvarande där – men ovillkorligen några från varje rike” har rätt att förhandla med främmande makter och stifta internationella överenskommelser för de tre kungadömen som deltar i unionen. Unionsakten innehöll också bestämmelser om drottning Margaretas besittningar och förläningar i de tre kungadömena. När det gäller denna fråga var drottning Margaretas rättigheter enligt unionsbrevet mer begränsade än hennes rättigheter enligt kröningsbrevet: hon beviljades endast livstids besittningsrätt till förläningarna.

Bekräftelsen innehöll en skyldighet att upprätta officiella handlingar som skulle innehålla alla de bestämmelser som nämndes. Akterna skulle skrivas på pergament – två för varje rike – och de skulle beseglas av kung Erik, drottning Margareta, riksråden och handelsstäderna i Danmark, Sverige och Norge.

Det finns inga bevis för att de sex akterna på pergament skulle ha utfärdats.[5] Vad vi vet är att en notariekopia av unionsakten skapades i Danmark 1425 på uppdrag av kung Erik. I vidimationsakten står följande: det vidimerade brevet skrivet på papper är inte skadat. Tre sigill finns kvar; de tillhör ärkebiskoparna Jakob och Henrik samt

[3] Ett av sigillen täcker delvis texten. Se exempelvis Hildebrand et al. 1894. Pl. X. Se även bilagan till monografin: Christensen 1980.

[4] Se till exempel den norska upplagan – en av de bästa publikationerna av unionsbrevet: Taranger 1912: 31–37.

[5] Se exempelvis Lönnroth 1958, Welander 1960.

riddaren Sten Bengtsson. Av andra sigill är en del delvis skadade och en del är helt förstörda på grund av sin ålder eller av andra skäl (*propter vetustatem aut alias*). [6]

Krewo-akten, avtalet mellan kungariket Polen och storfurstedömet Litauen, utfärdades den 14 augusti 1385. Skrivmaterialet är pergament av medioker kvalitet. Dokumentets storlek är 330×223 mm. Dokumentets språk är latin och stilen är sengotisk kursiv. Till en början hade akten fem hängande sigill. År 1837 fanns fortfarande tre av dem kvar. I dag har inget av dem bevarats. Akten förvaras i Kraków, i domkapitlets arkiv. Det finns tre senare avskrifter av brevet; de finns bevarade i domkapitlets arkiv i Kraków; den tidigaste kopian är från 1400-talet.[7]

Akten av Krewo innehåller följande bestämmelser. Jogaila, storfurst av Litauen, kommer att gifta sig med drottning Jadwiga, och han förpliktar sig att täcka alla kostnader som förekommer i samband med giftermålet om detta giftermål kommer till stånd. Han, tillsammans med sina bröder och stormän i storfurstedömet Litauen, ska döpas i enlighet med romersk-katolsk rit. Han förpliktar sig att betala 200 000 floriner till Vilhelm av Österrike som kompensation för att Vilhelms trolovning med Jadwiga bröts. Jogaila kommer att göra sitt bästa för att återta alla landområden som det Polska riket har förlorat. Han kommer att frige alla kristna krigsfångar, särskilt kristna män och kvinnor som tillfångatagits i Polen. Därefter följer ett löfte som är särskilt känt: Jogaila lovar att för alltid ansluta (*perpetuo applicare*) storfurstedömet Litauens land till den polska kronan.[8] Innebörden av bestämmelsen *perpetuo applicare* har debatterats livligt av historiker.[9]

Historiografi: en översikt

Kalmarunionen började väcka intresse hos historikerna redan på 1500-talet. Den förste krönikeskrivaren som nämnde unionen var Olaus Petri, den framstående svenske historikern och kyrkoreformatorn. Han ansåg dock felaktigt att ett annat dokument, utkastet till ett nytt unionsfördrag från ca 1436 var unionsakten från 1397.[10] Det nya skedet i studierna inleddes när den store danske historikern Arild Huitfeldt upptäckte den äkta unionshandlingen och publicerade den i sin gedigna historiska skrift.[11] På 1700-talet lade forskare märke till ovanliga detaljer i

[6] Se Taranger 1912: 36; jämför Paludan-Müller 1840: 53–62, Bruun 1960: 521–572, Welander 1960, 151–154.

[7] Kutrzeba & Semkowicz 1932: 1.

[8] Kutrzeba & Semkowicz 1932: 1–3.

[9] Se exempelvis Śliczyńska 2013: 35.

[10] Hesselman 1914: 142–143, Westin 1946: 232–233, Christensen 1980: 138.

[11] Huitfeldt 1977: 135–144.

unionsakten: av de 67 adelsmän som kom till Kalmarmötet nämns endast 17 som garanter för unionen. Det finns inga dokument som visar att dessa sjutton hade rätt att ingå ett fördrag, och det finns inga bevis för att löftet att skapa sex akter på pergament uppfylldes.[12]

På 1800-talet uppmärksammade Caspar Paludan-Müller dokumentets form: skrivmaterialet är papper, inte pergament; sigillen är stämplade under texten; av de sjutton utfärdare var det bara 10 personer som förseglade handlingen. Paludan-Müller föreslog att dokumentet kunde vara ett protokoll skapat av skandinaviska magnater. Det tillfredsställde inte drottning Margareta, och det ratificerades inte.[13]

Uppfattningen att Kalmarbrevet måste vara ett preliminärt protokoll delades av Kristian Erslev. En ny uppfattning introducerades på 1880-talet av Olof Simon Rydberg som undersökte sigillen och slog fast att de tillhörde tre danskar och sju svenskar. Enligt Rydberg fanns inga norska sigill under texten. Rydberg drog slutsatsen att dokumentet inte var ett utkast utan ett utarbetat fördrag; Det trädde dock inte i kraft på grund av följande omständigheter: 1) av de sex danskarna var det bara tre som stämplade sina sigill; 2) ingen av de norska delegaterna förseglade dokumentet. Som ett resultat av detta var det inte längre nödvändigt att skapa sex officiella akter på pergament.[14]

En rad andra teorier presenterades under 1900-talet, och de har en sak gemensamt: Kalmarbrevet måste ses som ett preliminärt dokument. Gottfrid Carlsson betraktade Kalmarbrevet som ett protokoll.[15] Lauritz Weibull uppfattade Kalmarbrevet som ett utkast till ett bilateralt fördrag mellan drottning Margareta och de skandinaviska adelsmännen.[16]

En teori som kom att prägla Kalmarunionens studier lanserades av Erik Lönnroth som menade att unionens dokument speglade skillnaden mellan två politiska program: *regimen politicum* och *regimen regale*. I kröningsakten betonades att Erik av Pommern var kung av Guds nåd (*aff Gudz nadhe*) och i Guds namn (*j Gudz nafn*), medan unionsakten markerade att kungen var vald (*valder*). Detta betydde i praktik att hans fullmakt delegerades av invånarna i rikena, särskilt av aristokratin. Enligt

[12] Beträffande det tidigare skedet av studier av dokumenet i fråga se även: Lönnroth 1934; Weilbull 1965; Georgii 1773, Paludan-Müller 1840.

[13] Paludan-Müller 1840.

[14] Rydberg 1883: 567–585.

[15] Carlsson 1931: 405–481.

[16] Weilbull 1931: 115–142, Weibull 1965.

Lönnroth var drottning Margareta missnöjd med frälsemännens program, en omständighet som ledde till att avtalet misslyckades.[17]

En del andra synsätt framfördes i mitten av 1900-talet. Sven Ulric Palme menade att innehavet av förläningar var en central fråga i de handlingar som rörde förbundet.[18] Aksel E. Christensen underströk de danska adelsmännens roll. Deras intressen sammanföll i stor utsträckning med den kungliga regimens intressen; men vid vissa tillfällen visade de solidaritet med de svenska magnaterna.[19]

En specifik synpunkt framfördes av en del nordiska historiker som delade uppfattningen att den ödesdigra rollen vid mötet i Kalmar spelades av de norska deltagarna.[20] Den norska delegationen var sammansatt, till skillnad från den svenska och den danska, inte av frälsemän av högsta rang; den saknade ärkebiskop och biskopar, och ingen norsk kansler var närvarande. Förmodligen saknade de norska delegaterna fullmakt att sluta fördrag. Dessutom var Norge, till skillnad från Sverige och Danmark, en arvmonarki; en evig union med Danmark och Sverige skulle ha lett till en avgörande politisk och rättslig förändring för det norska riket. Historikerna drog följande slutsats. Deltagarna i Kalmarmötet utfärdade ett preliminärt avtal, vars text sändes till Norge, så att de norska statsmännen kunde bekanta sig med det. Norrmännen ansåg tydligen att villkoren i unionen var oacceptabla. Kalmarunionen "begravdes i Norge", enligt Halvdan Koht.[21]

Ett av argumenten för den ovannämnda tolkningen var att det inte fanns några norska sigill under unionsbrevet. 1960 presenterade dock Nils Skjum-Nielsen en studie där han drog slutsatsen att ett av de förstörda sigillen kunde tillhöra en norsk delegat.[22] I kölvattnet av Skyum-Nielsens studie betraktades norrmännens vägran att ingå avtalet inte längre som ett självklart faktum.

Samtidigt presenterades en ny teori av Gottfrid Carlsson och Alan Mohlin. De föreslog att de sex officiella texterna hade skapats och senare förstörts. Teorin ifrågasattes av Erik Lönnroth som menade att källor som används kan tolkas på olika sätt; dessutom skulle det inte vara logiskt att skapa en notariekopia av dokumentet 1425 om officiella texter på pergament existerade och var kända.[23]

[17] Löhnroth 1934, Lönnroth 1958, Lönnroth 1996: 33–41.

[18] Palme 1951: 88–97.

[19] Christensen 1951: 44–60.

[20] Se Tunberg 1946, Schreiner 1951, Koht 1956.

[21] Koht 1956: 73–104.

[22] Skyum-Nielsen 1960: 1–40.

[23] Lönnroth 1958: 32–67.

Lönnroth kritiserade också teorin om norrmännens avgörande roll, som han menade byggde på hypoteser som var svåra att bevisa.[24] Lönnroth anmärkte att det är viktigt till att studera källorna utifrån ett politiskt perspektiv i stället för att enbart fokusera på texterna i de centrala dokumenten[25] Han ställde även frågan om att Krewounionen kunde ha varit en förebild för Kalmarunionen trots vissa skillnader mellan de nämnda unionerna.[26]

I efterföljande studier sammanfattades forskningens resultat. Aksel E. Christensen framhöll att de nordiska magnaterna redan 1396, ett år före riksdagen i Kalmar, diskuterade slutandet av ett fördrag med löfte om att inte komma i konflikt med varandra och att inte föra en utrikespolitik som stred mot vart och ett av de tre rikenas intressen. Vid förhandlingarna 1397 reste emellertid delegaterna frågan om en evig union. Tydligen gick åsikterna isär i denna fråga, och något fullskaligt fördrag slöts inte. Ett slags protokoll för mötet upprättades och en kröningsakt utfärdades. Detta resulterade i skapandet av den skandinaviska monarkin under den danska regimens styre, vilket var drottning Margaretas mål. Unionsakten betraktades emellertid som ett giltigt dokument, vilket bevisas av det faktum att den bevarades i Rikskansliet bland handlingar av yttersta betydelse. Riksrådens och handelsstädernas ratificering ägde inte rum; akten beseglades dock av vissa deltagare i Kalmarmötet. Den intresserade parten var de danska regenterna – drottning Margareta och kung Erik, enligt Christensen. De behövde unionsakten som rättslig grund för svensk och norsk militär hjälp och som en garanti för att Margaretas och Eriks motståndare inte skulle få asyl i Sverige eller Norge. Inte minst var unionsakten nödvändig för unionens härskare som en grund och ett bevis på sin monarkins internationella prestige – i synnerhet i samband med förhandlingarna om dynastiska äktenskap mellan kung Erik och hans syster Katarina och de engelska tronarvingarna – prins Henrik och prinsessan Filippa.

I ny forskning, från slutet av 1900-talet till 2020-talet, ifrågasätts en del av de tidigare teorierna. Anders Bøgh kritiserar idén om att Kalmarunionen skulle vara

[24] Lönnroth 1958: 40–50.

[25] 'Problemet har behandlats som ett isolerat, källkritiskt problem. Detta har främjat den analytiska intensiteten i diskussionen men icke den nyktra bedömningen av Kalmardokumenten som politiska aktstycken' (Lönnroth 1958: 50).

[26] «Vi veta, att feodala trohetsceremonier förekommit redan vid Eriks hyllning som svensk konung i Uppsala föregående år, då 36 män slogos till ridare. Nu har en ny höghet skapats: kronan över de tre rikena. Tio år tidigare svuro Litauens furstar sin tidigare herre Jagiello trohet efter hans giftermål med Jadwiga av Polen och bundo därtill sin och sina efterkommandes trohet vid *corona Poloniae*. Har detta exempel på union i Östersjöns grannskap varit känt för Pommerns hertigar och för Margareta? Den kollektiva trohetsförsäkran i Kalmar tillämpade icke den polsk-litauiska unionens former, men principen om den unionella kronan som symbol för en ny statsenhet går igen på ömse håll» (Lönnroth 1958: 53–54).

riktad mot den tyska expansionen. Enligt Bøgh orsakades unionen av politiska och dynastiska intressen, inte av kamp mot det ”tyska hotet” i allmänhet.[27] Eldbjørg Haug ifrågasätter den traditionella tolkningen av norrmännens roll. Enligt Haug blev Kalmarunionen inte begravd i Norge: bildandet av unionen var en fredlig integrationsprocess mellan de tre nordiska rikena.[28]

Moderna historiker diskuterar även frågan om Kalmarunionens karaktär. Harald Gustafsson menar att det var en sammanslutning av ett nytt slag – en enhet som skilde sig från de medeltida rikena. Gustafsson noterar också den relativt frekventa användningen av formeln ”dessa tre riken” i nordiska källor från senmedeltiden. Denna formel pekade på känslan av gemenskap mellan svenskarna, danskarna och norrmännen.[29]

Ett annat diskussionsämne är det politiska program som ingår i unionens grundläggande dokument. Ungefär sedan 1980-talet har historiker ifrågasatt idén om att de två unionsdokumenten – kröningsakten och unionsakten – speglar de ideologiska och politiska motsättningarna mellan de nordiska magnaterna och unionens härskare. Enligt de senaste yttrandena kompletterar de två dokumenten varandra. På ett konsekvent sätt presenterades denna tolkning av Markus Hedemann. Enligt Hedemann var kröningsakten och unionsakten betydelsefulla för unionens härskare. Skapandet av den vidimerade kopian av unionsakten 1425 kan ses som ett bevis på betydelsen av det nämnda dokumentet, menar Hedemann. Han tror att dokumentet var viktigt för kung Erik av Pommern i samband med hans utrikespolitik. Den danske monarken, som kämpade med de holsteinska härskarna om besittningen av Sønderjylland, ville bekräfta sin legitimitet som unionsmonark över Danmark, Sverige och Norge.[30]

I moderna studier har man även ställt följande fråga: Existerade Kalmarunionen över huvud taget? Enligt Markus Hedemann existerade inte Kalmarunionen som ett evigt förbund mellan de tre rikena; Kalmarunionen är inget annat än en historiografisk myt; den förening som egentligen fanns till var i stället en personalunion.[31]

Historiografin om unionen i Krewo fokuserar i sin tur på följande sammanhängande frågor: 1) orsakerna, kärnan och konsekvenserna av den polsk-litauiska unionen; 2) Krewo-aktens karaktär och rättskraft i förhållande till unionen.

[27] Bøgh 1997: 9–30; se även Bagge 2014: 250.

[28] Haug 1996, 1997, 2000, 2019.

[29] Gustafsson 2000.

[30] Hedemann 2011: 38–71; jämför med Bagge 2014: 249–250.

[31] Hedemann 2018: 145–159. Jfr.: Gustafsson 2019: 17–184.

Det tidigare skedet av studierna hängde samman med de kulturella och ideologiska tendenserna i Polen, Litauen och andra central- och östeuropeiska länder, där den polsk-litauiska unionens och det polsk-litauiska samväldets historia betraktades som ämnen av särskilt intresse. Den tidigare polska historieskrivningen hängde samman med debatten om huruvida Polen skulle återupprätta det gamla samväldet eller begränsa sig till det territorium som det kunde assimilera. I samband med sådana diskussioner fokuserade historiker på följande problem: Vem var intresserad av unionen i Krewo och vem initierade förhandlingarna om unionen? Ett antal historiker ansåg att det var de polska adelsmännen som var intresserade av unionen, medan vissa hävdade att unionen var särskilt användbar för den litauiska adeln.

Delvis i samband med sådana debatter diskuterade forskare om avtalets status och dokumentets rättskraft. På ett relativt tidigt stadium framkom en uppfattning om att Krewo-akten inte kan betraktas som ett avtal om en union mellan de två staterna. Felix Koneczny tolkade akten som en ratificering av de tidigare avtalen.[32] Enligt Stanisław Kutrzeba är Krewoakten inte ett unionsfördrag, eftersom den saknar bestämmelser om den gemensamma härskaren (vilket skulle vara nödvändigt för en personalunion) eller bestämmelser om en gemensam regering (vilket skulle vara nödvändigt för en realunion). Kutrzeba definierade Krewo-akten som en bekräftelse av den litauiska partens obligationer.[33] Stanislaw Zakrzewski betraktade Krewoakten som ett protokoll över polsk-litauiska förhandlingar.[34]

Enligt Ludwik Kolankowski var Krewos akt inget annat än en sammanfattning av de preliminära löftena. För Kolankowsky var Krewoakten bara det första steget i processen att integrera Storfurstedömet i den polska kronan. Ytterligare steg togs 1386 när Jogaila utropades till kung av Polen och adeln i Storfurstedömet hyllade Jogaila, drottning Jadwiga och den polska kronan.[35] Henryk Paszkiewicz betraktar i sin tur dokumentet i fråga som ett preliminärt löfte.[36] Jerzy Ochmański behandlar Krewo-akten som en handling som definierar villkoren för unionen.[37] Den gemensamma idén i dessa uppfattningar är övertygelsen om att Krewoakten inte är en perfekt internationell överenskommelse, utan ett preliminärt dokument.

Som jag redan har anmärkt ovan, har betydelsen av nyckeltermen *applicare*, 'ansluta', som används i Krewoakten, varit föremål för en långvarig debatt. Ett antal

[32] Koneczny 1892: 194.

[33] Kutrzeba 1914: 6–10.

[34] Zakrzewski 1930: 354.

[35] Kolankowski 1930: 32–34.

[36] Paszkiewicz 1938: 339.

[37] Ochmański 1982: 75.

specialister anser att den nämnda termen syftar på inkorporeringen av storfurstedömet Litauens länder i kungariket Polen. Stanislaw Kutrzeba drog slutsatsen att termen *applicare* var synonymt med verbet *incorporare*, och därför inkluderades storfurstedömet Litauen i kungariket Polen. Denna slutsats delades av Henrik Łowmiański som menade att det måste ha funnits ett särskilt dokument, en inkorporeringsakt, som reglerade villkoren för Storfurstedömets införlivande i det polska riket.[38] Denna konstruktion är dock hypotetisk, eftersom något sådant dokument inte har bevarats. Łowmiańskis uppfattning kritiserades av Jan Adamus och Henrik Paszkievicz, som ifrågasatte teorin om Storfurstedömets inkorporering.[39]

Under andra halvan av 1900-talet fortsatte historiker att diskutera olika aspekter av den så kallade inkorporeringsteorin. Juliusz Bardach gav en översikt över befintliga begrepp och efterlyste ett rent vetenskapligt tillvägagångssätt fritt från politiskt intresse. Han anslöt sig till inkorporeringsteorin och ansåg att Krewoakten skulle innehålla ett löfte om att införliva Storfurstedömet i kungariket Polen. Bardach ansåg att Storfurstedömet Litauen var en patriarkal stat som storfursten kände sig fri att förfoga över.[40]

Historiker uppmärksammade dock också det faktum att storfurstedömet Litauen förblev autonomt efter skapandet av unionen i Krewo.[41] Enligt J. Ochmiański förblev bestämmelsen om *applicare* en ren teori, och relationerna mellan de två staterna skilde sig från den.[42]

Sedan 1970-talet har debatten om Krewodokumentets form stimulerats av de provokativa (om än i experternas ögon ytliga) artiklarna av Jonas Dainauskas som hävdade att unionsakten är ett förfalskat dokument.[43] Hans uppfattning tillbakavisades av Maria Koczerska och andra polska specialister som gav prov på äktheten av Krewoakten.[44] Deras slutsatser bekräftades senare av de litauiska forskare som förberedde den litauiska upplagan av Krewoakten.[45]

I samband med den nämnda upplagan gick diskussionen om karaktären och statusen för Krewoakten in i en ny fas. Jūratė Kiaupene lade fram argument till

[38] Łowmiański 1987: 50.

[39] Adamus 1938: 273–316, Paszkievicz 1938.

[40] Bardach 1969: 590–593; Bardach 1970: 11–38.

[41] Błaszyk: 240–246.

[42] Ochmiański: 76.

[43] Dainauskas 1976: 51–71; Dainauskas 1987: 125—144; Dainauskas 1991: 49–70.

[44] Koczerska 1992: 80; Korczak 1991: 473—479.

[45] Kiaupienė 2002.

förmån för teorin att Krewoakten inte skulle betraktas som ett unionsfördrag; i stället var det en bekräftelse på äktenskapsavtal, enligt Kiaupene.[46] S.C. Rowell framförde en liknande ståndpunkt: Krewoakten måste betraktas som en text som ratificerar ”ett avtal mellan sändebud” eller ”äktenskapsförhandlingar”. Grzegorz Błaszczyk var delvis oense i de nämnda tolkningarna: även om föreningen i Krewo inte kan betraktas som en union i juridiska termer, kan den ses som en union i konventionell, traditionell mening.[47]

Bland viktiga verk om unionen i Krewo bör nämnas studier av Wacław Uruszczak, som betonar att Jogaila lovade att ansluta Storfurstedömet Litauen till den polska kronan och att unionen var tänkt som evig. Uruszak behandlar unionen i Krewo som en allians mellan två självstyrande enheter – den så kallade *unio aeque principaliter*.[48]

De två akternas form och innehåll: En jämförelse

I mina ryska artiklar betonar jag den något preliminära karaktären hos båda dokumenten – Kalmarbrevet och Krewoakten. Gaca och Bąk har i sin tur understrukit att de båda dokumenten i fråga är av preliminär karaktär. Det finns dock två principiella skillnader i vår bedömning av dokumentens form.

Gaca och Bąk delar övertygelsen om att Krewo-akten måste betraktas som ett preliminärt dokument, och de vänder läsaren till en liknande synpunkt när det gäller Kalmarunionen. De medger dock att det råder delade meningar om de båda rättsakternas ställning. Ändå ansluter sig de två nämnda polska författarna till ett av partierna i båda debatterna, och på detta sätt kommer Gaca och Bąk till slutsatsen att de två unionerna liknade varandra.

Samtidigt betonar Gaca och Bąk skillnaden i den yttre formen av de två akterna: Kalmarunionsakten skrevs på papper, medan Krewoakten skrevs på pergament. När jag jämför de två dokumenten understryker jag dock att det inte bara finns skillnader utan också liknande egenskaper när det gäller skrivmaterialet. Krewoakten var skriven på pergament av medelhög kvalitet: därför var skrivmaterialet i båda fallen inte det bästa – en omständighet som tyder på den *något* preliminära karaktären hos båda avtalen.[49]

[46] Kiaupene 2001: 47–61; Kiaupene 2003: 97–98. Jfr Frost 2015: 69.

[47] Błaszczyk 2003: 87–96; se även Frost 2015: 69.

[48] Uruszak 2017, Uruszak 2020. Jämför Frost 2015: 76.

[49] Se. Kutrzeba & Semkowicz 1932: 1. Det faktum att Krewoakten är ett anspråkslöst dokument nämns också av Maria Koczerska (Koczerska 1992: 59).

En annan parallell mellan de två dokumenten består i att fel har gjorts i dem. Krewoakten innehåller felaktigheter och rättelser,[50] och detsamma kan sägas om Kalmarbrevet. I allmänhet är Krewoakten ett mer noggrant dokument; ändå är båda dokumenten i viss mån slarviga. Den nämnda omständigheten bidrar till den kontroversiella karaktären hos båda dokument. På grund av skrivfel och skrivmaterial av låg kvalitet ser båda dokument ut som utkast; båda dokument har dock sigill, och därför har de officiell karaktär och rättslig verkan. Det finns olika förklaringar till denna motsägelse, men den har säkert något att göra med den senmedeltida politiska kulturen.

I detta sammanhang är ett intressant fall värt att nämna: historien om hur den svenska staden Vadstena fick status som köpstad. Den 8 december 1400 fick Vadstena kloster, birgittinordens huvudkloster, ett brev från drottning Margareta I, regent över Danmark, Sverige och Norge. I brevet stod det att en handelsstad skulle grundas på Vadstena gods; staden skulle betala arrende till klostret, medan staden i övrigt skulle lyda under det svenska riket.

Brevet var skrivet på papper; historiker förklarar denna omständighet på följande sätt: Drottning Margareta ville inte utfärda ett giltigt slutligt dokument på pergament vid just det stadiet. Det var inte förrän 1404 som drottningens brev på papper ersattes av ett annat dokument – en akt skriven på pergament. Och denna akt skilde sig mycket från det föregående brevet: denna gång tillerkändes Vadstena kloster alla kungliga rättigheter. Som Beata Losman säger, ”det är fortfarande oklart varför det första brevet inte utfärdades på pergament”.[51]

Enligt min mening finns det en liknande typ av samband mellan vissheten i situationen och typen av skrivmaterial. I ett tidigare skede var utsikterna oklara, och drottningen ville tydligen minimera riskerna. Senare gjorde dock drottning Margareta stora eftergifter till Vadstena kloster, och situationen blev mindre oklar. Brevet på papper ersattes av en akt på pergament, och staden Vadstenas officiella status ändrades.

Den beskrivna situationen är värd att jämföra med vissa dokument som rör drottning Margareta I:s regeringstid. Åtminstone ett dokument som ska nämnas är känt. Det är drottning Margaretas instruktion till kung Erik av Pommern i samband med

[50] Rättelserna i Krewoakten är följande: dubbletten *regina, regina* har ändrats till *regina*, och namnet på storfurst Jogaila i meningen som börjar med *Etiam idem Jogaila dux magnus…* infogats i det tomma utrymmet ovanför meningen av samma skrivare. Det finns också grammatiska fel i dokumentet. Se Kutrzeba & Semkowicz 1932: 1–2. Ett antal fel och rättelser i Kalmarbrevet är av liknande karaktär, även om språket är annorlunda: en blandning av svenska och danska i stället för latin.

[51] Losman: 55. Cfr Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek (SDHK), no. 15518, 15516.

hans planerade resa till Norge. En högst anmärkningsvärd paragraf i drottning Margaretas vägledning innehåller det råd, enligt vilket kung Erik inte bör utfärda för många handlingar som är förseglade med hans sigill och att han inte får ge ut några dokument på pergament. Detta är naturligtvis ett råd som förklarar en hel del om Kalmarbrevets utformning. Det visar än en gång på betydelsen av valet av skrivmaterial, vilket också är viktigt för förståelsen av unionen Krewo.

Denna rekommendation till kung Erik är också belysande i förhållande till drottning Margaretas sätt att regera. Det är välkänt att drottning Margareta föredrog att ge dokument som innehöll preliminära löften snarare än officiella handlingar som innehöll fasta förpliktelser. Detta sätt att utfärda dokument har också något att göra med karaktären hos Krewoakten: felaktigheten i texten understryker dess ganska preliminära och mindre bindande karaktär.

Politiska och rättsliga principer för de två unionerna

Var de två unionerna olika eller likartade när det gäller deras politiska och juridiska grundvalar? När det gäller denna fråga uttrycks olika åsikter. Gaca och Bąk verkar vara anhängare av den så kallade inkorporeringsteorin som (åtminstone i sin mest utbredda version) hävdar att Krewoakten skulle innehålla ett löfte om att införliva storfurstedömet Litauen i Kungariket Polen.[52] Enligt en variant av den nämnda teorin måste storfurstedömet Litauen betraktas som en patrimoniell stat som storhertigen måste ha känt sig fri att förfoga över. Gaca och Bąk menar att de skandinaviska kungadömena – Danmark, Sverige och Norge – tvärtom var stater baserade på konstitutionella principer. De var kungariken av liknande typ, och de hade nått samma utvecklingsnivå. Så i deras fall fanns det en union av jämlikar; inkorporering av ett land i ett annat var omöjligt i detta fall, enligt Gaca och Bąk:

> Comparing the political and state systems of the monarchies concluding the two unions, it must be clear that the problem of incorporation of this kind could not have taken place in Scandinavia during the period in question. For at that time, the individual kingdoms, Denmark and Sweden, state countries in which the principle of election of the throne existed, and even the hereditary Kingdom of Norway, were not treated as *patrimonium* by their reigning rulers. Meanwhile, before the union, Lithuania was at such a stage of development of its state form that the undoubtedly strong grand ducal power was still characterized by patrimonial features – a mixture of the concepts of property and power, private and public law relations. This meant that its ruler could still divide up the state at

[52] Se särskilt Bardach 1969: 590–593.

> his own discretion and otherwise administer it, treating its territory as a *patrimonium* inherited from his ancestors.[53]

När det gäller karaktären av båda förbunden, uppfattar Gaca och Bąk de båda unionerna som personalunioner. Unionen i Krewo, som de tror, utvecklades senare från personalunionen till en realunion, medan unionen i Kalmar, enligt de nämnda författarna, splittrades på grund av rivaliteten och motsättningarna mellan deltagarna i alliansen:

> While in the case of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the personal union was transformed into a real union and led to the establishment of a unitary state in the Stanislaus era, as some domestic historians believe, the personal character of the Kalmar union, as well as the Danish-Swedish rivalry over primacy and the nature of the union, prevented further institutional and political integration of the constituent states.[54]

Mina åsikter om likheter och olikheter mellan de två unionernas rättsliga grunder skiljer sig från dem som framförts av Gaca och Bąk. I korthet kan de viktigaste skillnaderna förklaras på följande sätt. Det är välkänt att Krewoakten inte nämner införlivandet av storfurstedömet Litauen i kungariket Polen; termen *incorporare* finns i vissa senare dokument, men inte i Krewoakten. I stället finns det ett löfte om att knyta (*applicare*) Storfurstedömets land till *den polska kronan*. Detta gör en skillnad: anknytningen till kronan innebar en högre grad av autonomi än inkorporeringen i kungariket. Det faktum att Krewoakten postulerade Storfurstedömets anslutning till den polska kronan, inte till kungariket Polen, nämns av Jan Tęgovski:

> Det svåraste att genomföra, liksom även att utvärdera av historiker, var programmet för att inkludera furstedömet Litauen i det Polska rikets krona (inte i det Polska riket självt!) som genomfördes med varierande framgång i olika skeden.[55]

[53] Gaca & Bąk 2023: 20. Jämför Frost 2015: 74.

[54] Gaca & Bąk 2023: 14.

[55] Najtrudniejszym do zrealizowania, ale też i do ocenenia przez historyków, był program wcielenia Księstwa Litewskiego do Korony Królestwa Polskiego (nie do samego Królestwa Polskiego!), który był realizowany z różnym skutkiem w poszczególnych fazach (Tęgowski 2006: 90–91).

En liknande synpunkt uttrycks av Wacław Uruszczak:

> The joint entity exercising power in both countries was to be the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland (*Corona Regni Poloniae*), understood as the office of the Polish king, not the Polish state. It was by no means an incorporation of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian lands into the Kingdom, but only subordinating them to the power of the Polish Crown, i.e. the Polish king, while the Grand Duchy maintained its own identity and position.[56]

Innebörden av det faktum som Tęgovski och Uruszczak anger är lätt att förstå för den som sysslar med skandinavisk medeltidshistoria: till exempel tillhörde Gotland den svenska kronan före mitten av 1300-talet, men det var dock inte en del av Sveriges rike.

När det handlar om Krewoakten måste vi fästa uppmärksamheten på formeln *perpetuo applicare*: det är uppenbart att föreningen uppfattades som evig, inte temporär.

I detta sammanhang är Wacław Uruszczaks idéer mycket nyttiga. Uruszczak tar hänsyn till det faktum att Jogaila lovade att ansluta storfurstedömet Litauen till den polska kronan. Uruszczak understryker också det faktum att det nämnda löftet var evigt, och drar slutsatsen att unionen var en realunion, och inte en personalunion.[57]

Vilka var de rättsliga principer som utgjorde ramen för unionen i Krewo? Uruszczak finner dess rättsliga grund i den princip som proklamerades av medeltida spanska jurister: *Unio regnorum sub una corona non causat eorum unitatem* («En förening av två kungadömen under en krona orsakar inte deras enhet») och i den kanoniska rättens bestämmelser som reglerar enandet av biskopsdömen och församlingar. I en av de varianter som listas av medeltida experter, nämligen att två stift eller två socknar kan förenas men förbli autonoma (den så kallade *unio aeque principaliter*), finner han en parallell till föreningen i Krewo.[58] Enligt hans åsikt var unionen mellan konungariket Polen och storfurstedömet Litauen ursprungligen tänkt att vara en union av denna speciella typ:

> I believe that this act did not lead to the incorporation of Lithuania and Ruthenia into Poland, but to the formation of the union of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as two separate states under the same ruler. The union

[56] Uruszczak 2020: 265; Jfr Uruszak 2017: 62, 76–77.

[57] Uruszczak 2020: 265; Uruszczak 2017: 14–22, 62, 76–77.

[58] Uruszczak 2020: 257–265, Uruszczak 2017.

> thus established reflected the character of an equally principal union (*aeque principaliter*), known in canon law. It was not an ordinary personal union, as this relationship was to be lasting and perpetual. Hence, it was a real union . . . The essence of this connection, well known from the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century, is reflected in the adage: *Unio regnorum sub una Corona non causat eorum unitatem*.[59]

En annan åsikt om karaktären av unionen i Krewo har uttryckts av historiker: Krewoakten innehöll inga bestämmelser om gemensam regering; därför var Krewounionen i juridisk mening inte alls en union.[60] Invändningen mot detta yttrande är följande: Krewoakten innehöll en bestämmelse om föreningen mellan de två staterna, alltså var den en union *de facto*, en union i historisk eller så kallad «konventionell» mening.[61]

De två akternas – och de två unionernas öde

Jag har listat ett antal likheter mellan Kalmarförbundet och Krewoförbundet. Det finns också andra gemensamma drag. Ett är det faktum att termen ”union” inte användes av samtida i båda fallen: den myntades senare. När det gäller avtalet i Kalmar användes termen ”union” för första gången på 1500-talet, och i fallet med avtalet i Krewo dök definitionen ”union” upp ännu mycket senare – i slutet av 1800-talet. Ytterligare en gemensam tendens är följande: ingen av de två handlingarna nämns i samtida annaler och krönikor. Möten i Kalmar och Krewo omnämndes av krönikeskrivarna, men så var inte fallet med de dokument som rörde de unioner som bildades vid dessa möten.

Den förste historikern som berättade om unionen i Krewo var Jan Dlugosz (Johannes Longinus) som nämnde den i sin stora krönika under andra hälften av 1400-talet. Kalmarbrevet nämndes och kommenterades för första gången av Olaus Petri, Sveriges berömde reformator och historiker. Ändå gjorde de två framstående historikerna misstag när de beskrev villkoren för de två unionerna (återigen en parallell som är värd att nämna). Jan Dlugosz förklarade att Krewoakten innehöll ett löfte om att införliva Storfurstedömet i kungariket Polen, vilket i själva verket inte är sant. Olaus Petri på sin sida begick ett misstag när han trodde att villkoren i den skandinaviska unionen 1397 var identiska med bestämmelserna i projektet med ett nytt unionsfördrag, som skapades omkring 1346. Misstaget som nämndes var utbrett

59 Uruszczak 2020: 265.

60 Angående denna synpunkt, se till exempel Błaszczyk 2003: 85–87, 95.

61 Se särskilt Tęgowski 2006: 78. Se även Błaszczyk: 95.

på 1500-talet; till följd av detta gav Olaus Petri en felaktig beskrivning av villkoren i unionen.

Vi måste dock ta hänsyn till det faktum att de två dokumenten i sin korrekta, autentiska form inte var helt okända under senmedeltiden. I båda fallen gjordes en kopia av dokumentet på 1400-talet, och kopian användes i internationella förhandlingar. Detta är en annan parallell mellan unionen i Krewo och unionen i Kalmar.

Och det finns ytterligare ett viktigt liknande drag: Kalmarbrevet och Krewoakten influerade senare fördrag och projekt av sådana fördrag under senmedeltiden. Detaljer och villkor varierade, bestämmelserna blev utarbetade och konkreta, men det fanns fortfarande vissa likheter med det ursprungliga dokumentet, en viss trohet mot traditionen. På så sätt upphörde inte de båda unionernas politiska och juridiska grundvalar, utan de förblev giltiga.

Slutsats

Var Kalmarförbundet och Krewoförbundet lika varandra – åtminstone i vissa avseenden? Gaca och Bąk ger ett positivt svar på denna fråga, och det gör jag också. Ändå skiljer vi oss åt i vår förståelse av liknande funktioner. Gaca och Bąk delar uppfattningen att Kalmarunionen var en personalunion, och de delar liknande uppfattningar om unionen i Krewo. Jag håller tvärtom med de forskare som anser att två eviga förbund etablerades redan i det inledande skedet – att döma ur det historiska eller ”konventionella” perspektivet.

I detta sammanhang är en fråga som diskuteras av moderna historiker av särskild betydelse. Existerade de två unionerna över huvud taget? Titeln på en polemisk artikel ”Czy była unia Krewska”, ”Fanns Krewounionen?” är mottot och ämnet för en intressant vetenskaplig dispyt.[62] Ett liknande problem, denna gång rörande Kalmarunionen, har diskuterats av Markus Hedemann och Harald Gustafsson.[63] Enligt Hedemann är Kalmarunionen en myt, en stereotyp skapad av historiker; den enda union som existerade var personalunionen under Erik av Pommerns regeringstid.

Hedemanns ståndpunkt innehåller emellertid en överdrift. Efter störtandet av kung Erik av Pommern levde idén om en evig union kvar i Skandinavien, och kontinuiteten i de politiska traditionerna återspeglades i efterföljande fördrag och projekt (särskilt i Halmstad 1483 och Kalmar 1483), och ett antal av artiklarna i dessa dokument bygger på bestämmelserna i 1397 års unionsakt. På grund av detta var Kalmarunionen en realitet även efter störtandet av kung Erik av Pommern – inte

[62] Kiaupienė 2001, 2003; Błaszczyk 2003.

[63] Hedemann 2011: 38–71, Hedemann 2018: 145–159, Gustafsson 2019: 175–184.

bara socialt och politiskt, utan också ideologiskt och juridiskt. En kontinuitet av samma slag kan spåras i de polsk-litauiska unionernas historia.

Summary
Medieval unions were different, but they had common features. Recently, some studies have been devoted to comparison of the Union of Krewo and the Union of Kalmar. The aim of my article is to present my views concerning the problem mentioned and to compare them with results of other scholars. The documents of the Diet of Kalmar 1397 are the Coronation Act and the Act of Kalmar. The Coronation Act proclaimed that Erik of Pomerania was elected King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The Act of Kalmar contained following provisions. King Erik will be the common king; after his death the kingdoms will also have a common king. The three countries will be guided by their own laws; they shall never wage war on each other; they must be "as one kingdom under one king". They will provide military aid to each other, and they will not give refuge to persons proclaimed out of law in any of the kingdoms. The king, in whatever kingdom he stays, and those of his counsels who are present there – yet some from each kingdom – will hold negotiations with foreign rulers on behalf of the three kingdoms. The corroboratio contained the obligation to create acts on parchment containing provisions mentioned. Since the 18th century, scholars paid attention to details: of the 67 nobles who came to the diet, only 17 are named as the guarantors of the Union. In the 19th century attention was paid to the form: the material is paper; the seals are under the text; of the seventeen guarantors only ten sealed the act. It was suggested that the document was a protocol. O.S. Rydberg concluded that there were no Norwegian seals. He decided that the Act of Kalmar was a treaty which did not come to force. Some scholars shared a different point: the Act of Kalmar was a preliminary document. The Act of Krewo, issued on August the 14th, 1385, constituted the following. Jagiello, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, will marry Queen Jadwiga. He will convert in accordance with Roman Catholic rite. Jagiello will do his best to recover the lands lost by the Polish Realm. He will release Christian prisoners. He promises to attach forever (perpetuo applicare) his Lithuanian and Russian lands to the Polish Crown. Some historians think that the Act of Krewo is a primary document. Concerning the term applicare some specialists hold that it points at incorporation of the Grand Duchy into the Kingdom of Poland; some scholars put this viewpoint into question. I stress the preliminary character of the Act of Kalmar and the Act of Krewo. Polish historians Gaca and Bąk, in their turn, underline the preliminary character of both documents. However, they stress the difference in the

form of the acts: the Act of Kalmar is on paper, while the Act of Krewo is on parchment. I underline the similarity: both documents look like drafts; however, they are sealed, therefore they have official character. Gaca and Bąk favour the theory which claims that the Act of Krewo contains a promise to incorporate the Grand Duchy into the Kingdom of Poland. According to some scholars, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania must be regarded as a patrimonial state which the Grand Duke must have felt free to dispose of, while Denmark, Sweden and Norway, were based on constitutional principles. They were kingdoms of similar type; incorporation of one country into another was impossible in this case, according to Gaca and Bąk. Gaca and Bąk perceive both unions as personal; the Union of Krewo, as they think, developed from personal into real, while the Union of Kalmar split. I have a different viewpoint. The Act of Krewo contains the promise to attach the lands of the Grand Duchy to the Polish Crown, which implied a greater degree of autonomy. Wacław Uruszczak underlines that the pledge was perpetual, and therefore the union was real, not personal. Uruszszak seeks the legal basis of the Union in the principle "A union of two kingdoms under one crown does not cause their unity" and in Canon law provisions regulating unification of churches. In a possibility that two churches can unite remaining autonomous, he sees a parallel to the Union of Krewo. An opinion exists, however, that due to the fact that the Act of Krewo did not include provisions concerning common government, the Union of Krewo, in legal sense, was not a union. However, the Act of Krewo contained a provision concerning unification; in some historians' opinion there was a union de facto, in so-called 'conventional' meaning. Consequently, both documents, the Polish-Lithuanian and the Scandinavian, can be regarded as somewhat preliminary acts on unions in conventional meaning. There are other common features as well. For example, the term "Union" was not used by contemporaries in both cases: it was coined later. Another common feature is that both acts were not mentioned by contemporary annals and chronicles. However, the two documents were known, and they influenced subsequent treaties and projects in the Late Middle Ages. Thus political and legal foundations of both unions did not cease.

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Andrey Scheglov, PhD, is a leading research fellow at the Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences. His latest monograph is"Naveki vmeste": Shveciya, Daniya i Norvegiya v XIV–XV vekah ("Forever united": Sweden, Denmark and Norway from the 14th to the 15th century) (Saint Petersburg, 2022). Scheglov is also the author of numerous scholarly articles published in Russia and abroad. E-mail: ascheglov@mail.ru.

Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Et kongebrev fra Magnus Lagabøter til et dansk kloster anno 1270

Svend Clausen

An otherwise lost letter from king Magnus Lagabøter of Norway to the abbot of Ringsted abbey in Denmark is preserved in a partially quoted verbatim and partially referenced form in a Danish collection of miracles connected to the saint's cult over king Erik IV Ploughpenny of Denmark (murdered 1250). The letter must have been written in 1270, sometime after 23. May, at the earliest. It was written in response to a now lost letter from the abbot to the king which must have been sent probably sometime between 10. August 1269 and before 23. May 1270. The article identifies the existence of the letter from Magnus Lagabøter as this medieval correspondence has previously gone unnoticed by the relevant source editions in both Denmark and Norway.

'Magnus, af Guds nåde Norges konge, til abbeden i Ringsted' o.s.v. Efter at have ønsket til lykke i anledning af Hellig Eriks undergerninger, om hvilke abbeden havde skrevet til ham, fortæller han, at da der på hans – nemlig Hellig Eriks – årdag blev holdt højtidelig messe for hans sjæl, og da der under messekanon´en blev ringet med alle stadens klokker, viste der sig et stort lys for to mænd, der sad i fængsel, og så snart ringningen hørte op, hørte det også op. Da kongen hørte dette, gav han dem dagen efter Kristi Himmelfarts dag, af ærefrygt for Gud og den omtalte konge, fri for at lide døden på grund af undvigelse. 'Ved hans fortjenester', siger han selv, 'tror vi, at hint lys er kommet'.[1]

Efter mordet på kong Erik IV Plovpenning af Danmark d. 10. august 1250 begyndte der snart at ske mirakler. Kongen var oprindeligt blevet gravlagt i byen Slesvig i Sønderjylland, men i 1258 lod hans broder, kong Christoffer I, hans lig overflytte til

[1] Citeret i Hans Olriks danske oversættelse i DHL2, s. 398–399: Den latinske originaltekst lyder som følger: *Magnus, Dei gratia Rex Norwegiæ, Abbati de Ringstad etc: — Post congratulationem de miraculis sancti Erici per abbatem sibi scriptis dicit, quod, cum in die anniuersarii sui, scilicet sancti Erici, pro ipsius anima missarum sollempnia agerentur, et sub canone omnes campane ciuitatis pulsarentur, duobus incarceratis apparuit lux magna, que cessante pulsatione cessauit. Quod rex audiens illos morte digressionis in crastino Assumptionis liberos dimisit ob dei et dicti regis reuerentiam. 'Cuius meritis', dicit ipse, 'credimus lucem illam fuisse'* (VSD, s. 443).

kirken i det vigtige benediktinerkloster i Ringsted på Sjælland. I Ringsted var ønsket om at promovere den gryende helgenkult over ham så stærkt, at munkene begyndte systematisk at føre protokol over de mange mirakler, der skete i tilknytning til ham og hans grav i klosterkirken.

Naturligvis var man i klostret også opmærksomme på, at kong Magnus Lagabøter af Norge siden 1261 var gift med Erik Plovpennings datter Ingeborg. Derfor skrev abbeden af Ringsted til Magnus Lagabøter for at gøre ham opmærksom på de talrige mirakler, der skete i forbindelse med hans dronnings fader. Brevet fra abbeden blev formentlig afsendt engang imellem 10. august 1269 og før d. 23. maj 1270. Desværre er det siden gået tabt, men dets eksistens kan man udlede.

For både klostret og den anonyme munk, der på daværende tidspunkt førte mirakelprotokollen, fandt naturligvis prestige i at modtage et svarbrev fra kongen af Norge. Dette gav prestige ikke alene til klostret selv, men også til helgenkulten over den afdøde Erik Plovpenning. Derfor lod Ringstedmunken Magnus Lagabøters svarbrev optage i mirakelsamlingen, fordi det samtidigt også rummede en beretning om endnu en mirakuløs hændelse, der nu var sket. Svarbrevet fra den norske konge må have været dateret i året 1270, tidligst d. 23. maj.[2]

Det er åbenlyst, at der er tale om et norsk kongebrev, for munken begynder med direkte at citere dets indledende del. Herefter har han åbenbart fundet, at den citerende form alligevel blev for langstrakt, og han nøjes derfor med at give et referat af det øvrige indhold. Slutteligt afrunder han dog med alligevel at citere den norske konges konkluderende ord fra brevet.

Det er efterhånden meget længe siden, at man planlagde og påbegyndte diplomatarieværkerne i Danmark og Norge. Dengang tænkte man nok ikke på at gennemgå de middelalderlige danske mirakelsamlinger for at finde afskrifter af norsk diplommateriale. Således gled kongebrevets eksistens aldeles ubemærket forbi diplomatarieværkerne i begge lande, og hverken i Danmark eller i Norge blev kongebrevet optaget i rigets middelalderdiplomatarium.[3] Meningen med dette småstykke

[2] Argumenterne for dateringen af brevvekslingen er blevet gjort tilgængelige i *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Danmark), og det er således ikke fundet nødvendigt at gentage dem her, jf. Clausen 2025.

[3] Brevet blev ved gennemgang ikke forefundet hverken i de norske eller i de danske diplomatarieværker. I Danmark blev brevet ej forefundet i hverken DD1+2, i DRB1+2 eller ved gennemgang af de digitale udgaver, jf. www.diplomatarium.dk (6.9.23) og https://text.dsl.dk/books/dipdan/ (5.9.23). I Norge gennemgik jeg forgæves *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* som forefundet i udgaven på www.dokpro.uio.no/dipl_norv/diplom_felt.html, (benyttet 12.8.23). Med skyldig tak var Espen Due-Karlsen venlig at gøre mig opmærksom på, at brevet heller ikke står opført i RN2, hvilket er en tydelig indikation på, at brevet har været ukendt for norske forskere, fordi dette bind udgør en kronologisk fortegnelse over alle relevante trykte breve i perioden mellem 1264 og 1300.

har derfor ikke så meget været at analysere brevets indhold i de større sammenhænge, men at gøre opmærksom på selve dets eksistens, så det fremover kan betragtes i sine rette diplomatariemæssige sammenhænge. Forhåbentlig vil kongebrevets indhold hermed kunne stå til rådighed for fremtidens historieskrivning i Norge i en langt højere grad, end det nok ville gøre, hvis man også fremover stadigvæk var nødsaget til at være forhåndsopmærksom på at skulle lede efter det i en dansk middelalderlig mirakelsamling.

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Svend Clausen, Mag.Art in History and BA in Litteraturvidenskab og Middelalderkundskab from the University of Copenhagen. He has worked with manuscripts a lot and published on a broad range of topics within Northern European and Scandinavian viking age, medieval and renaissance studies. He is currently working on the book *They Travelled Together from France: Cistercian Sources from Medieval Denmark* (e-mail: svendclausen@outlook.dk).

Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Kirsi Salonen, Anna-Stina Hägglund & Claes Gejrot (eds.): ***Scandinavia and the Vatican Archives. Papers from a Conference in Stockholm 14–15 October 2016.*** **Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien Konferenser 106. ISBN 978-91-88763-34-1. Stockholm 2022. 207 pp.**

Reviewed by Espen Karlsen

The contact between the papacy and Scandinavia in the Middle Ages has received much interest in recent years internationally, *inter alia* in the important monograph by Francesco D'Angelo (2017) on the contact between the papacy and Norway, reviewed in the present journal in 2018 (Brégaint 2018). The volume under review takes a different approach, as it focuses on the work of Scandinavian scholars in the Vatican Archives since access to the archives was granted in 1881. The book under review consists of an introduction and articles on Scandinavia and the Vatican Archives, in the following referred to under their present name from 2019, the Apostolic Archive (Archivio Apostolico). Six contributions are revised papers from a conference in Stockholm in 2016. The conference had two main purposes, 1) 'to highlight and exemplify the lively contacts between the Nordic countries and the papacy during the Middle Ages', and 2) 'to draw attention to the great efforts made during the first half of the last century to go through the collections of the Vatican Apostolic Archives in order to find documents relevant to Scandinavian history' (the introduction, p. 7). The Scandinavian expeditions resulted in 'abundant archival material (copies, photographs, transcripts, and excerpts)'. Some material has been published, but the collections are 'still difficult to access, even though we are dealing with a central source category for medieval researchers' (the introduction, page 7). Three contributions in the volume concern the Vatican collections of photographs and transcripts in the National Archives in Oslo (Jo Rune Ugulen Kristiansen), Helsinki (Kirsi Salonen), and Stockholm (Peter Ståhl), whereas the Danish contribution concentrates on preserved papal material in Danish archives (Peter Bruun Hansen), respectively. Moreover, there are two more studies of a general character and four specialised studies. The present reviewer has more experience with material concerning Norway than the other countries, and this will be reflected in the review.

The first article, by Claes **Gejrot**, editor-in-chief of *Diplomatarium Suecanum* (National Archives of Sweden), serves as an introduction to the Scandinavian efforts in the Apostolic Archive between 1920–1939 and their prehistory (pp. 11–31). The contact between the Scandinavian kingdoms and the Roman curia ended abruptly at the Reformation. The Apostolic Archive opened to scholars in 1881, and regular contact between Scandinavian scholars and the Apostolic Archive began. The earliest contact happened in 1858, when the Norwegian scholar P.A. Munch (1810–1863) was granted permission to access the archives.[1] Following the opening of the Apostolic Archive in 1881 several Scandinavian scholars – among them the Norwegians Gustav Storm (1845–1903) and Alexander Bugge (1870–1929) – worked on material in the Apostolic Archive. For the Norwegian part, this led to the publication of *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (in the following: DN), vol. XVII (1902–1913), to which also the Swedish scholar Karl Henrik Karlsson (1856–1909) contributed.[2] Gejrot gives a detailed account of the seven expeditions between 1920 and 1939. The initiative came from the Swedish archivist Ludvig Magnus Bååth (1874–1960) who in 1919 wrote a letter to the Norwegian scholar Oluf Kolsrud (1885–1945), who had visited the Apostolic Archive in the 1910s, and to the Danish librarian Alfred Krarup (1872–1950). To conclude, Gejrot gives a substantial account of the history of the expeditions, of the scholars' methods and how they approached the material. There is also useful information on the volumes in the Apostolic Archive that still need to be examined, which are estimated to be between 500 and 800 volumes (pp. 28–29). An unfortunate omission in this otherwise excellent article is the early contact between Norwegian scholars and the Apostolic Archive, whose prefect Marino Marini (1783–1855) in the 1840s transcribed material there that appeared in DN (vols. I and III) and in the edition of the medieval Norwegian laws *Norges gamle Love*, first series (1847–1895) (see Karlsen 2024: 94–95 and 98–99). Marini transcribed 74 documents for DN and received a royal order for his work for Norwegian historians.

Of the material surveyed from Munch's time and through the later expeditions until 1939, we learn that most texts have been published in the respective national series of medieval sources (p. 30). Krarup published *Bullarium Danicum* ('Danish collection of bulls'), 1–2, 1931) and the large supplementary vol. 7 of *Acta Pontificum Danica* ('The popes' Danish acts'), and Bååth edited two large volumes (divided into three) from the archive of the Apostolic Chamber, i.e., the papal treasury (1936–1957). For Norway's part, it is mostly DN, volume XVII (1902–1913), that collects the results of the expeditions to the Vatican prior to that time (cf. Gejrot, p. 14 and p. 30). After 1913, nothing from the Apostolic Archive has been published in DN.[3] On

[1] Munch's work in the Apostolic Archive led to an edition of account books kept by papal *nuntii* in Scandinavia 1264–1334 with an appendix of charters, published the year after his death (Munch 1864), as well as two earlier editions of material related to Denmark and Sweden, respectively. More on Munch's work below.

[2] By far, the largest volume in DN (XVII + 1467 pages).

[3] Except for the archive of the Papal Penitentiary, which was only opened to researchers in 1983 (pp. 29–30). More on this below.

p. 30 it is said that most of the texts of which there are excerpts or photostat copies in the Vatican collection in Oslo have been published in DN. Does this mean that the seven expeditions from 1920 to 1939 led to few discoveries for Norway? And why is there so little Norwegian material? This would certainly call for a discussion. I will return to this topic below.

Gejrot's article on the Scandinavian expeditions is followed by four presentations of material pertaining to the Apostolic Archive in the four National Archives in Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo and Stockholm, respectively.

The second article, by Peter Bruun **Hansen**, editor of *Diplomatarium Danicum*, the Danish national edition of charters, concerns 'Papal Documents in Danish Archives' (pp. 33–52). There is no formal connection between *Diplomatarium Danicum* (in the following: DD) and the Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet). Hansen aims to a) give an overview of some important archival collections, 2), to introduce the basic printed aids, as well as 3) to make a catalogue of original papal bulls and other curial documents from 1440 until the Reformation in 1536 in Danish collections. Hansen tells a complex story of the ecclesiastical and other archives of medieval Denmark, a story of bad luck, as he calls it (p. 34) He goes systematically through the preserved material from the eight medieval dioceses and the collegiate chapters of Copenhagen and Schleswig.

Hansen also presents three important editions for the study of papal documents in Denmark. The most important is *Acta Pontificum Danica* (in the following: APD) vols. 1–7, covering material from the Vatican Archives between 1316 and 1536. Hansen warns about the weaknesses of the edition. Documents published earlier are only referred in the edition regardless of the source or the quality of the older edition. Most texts are considerably abridged without abridgments being marked, thus including only the pertinent information. *Bullarium Danicum* includes documents between 1198 and 1315. Contrary to APD, it includes material printed earlier. And finally, there is DD which includes charters from and about Denmark.

There is only one box preserved with photographs taken in the Vatican Archives (no. II), made for APD, vol. 7 (p. 44, footnote 37).[4] It covers material between 1361 and 1403. Hansen concludes his article with a catalogue of papal bulls and curial documents in Danish archives from 1440 until 1536. It consists of 93 entries. To conclude: Hansen has created a useful introduction to papal material relating to Denmark and provides useful comments on the relevant editions.

[4] Transcripts by Krarup are preserved in the Vatican collection in the National Archives of Norway, as well as two boxes containing his card index of papal documents (1948–1949), prepared for a planned volume of papal acts in DN. More on this below.

Jo Rune Ugulen **Kristiansen** introduces the Vatican collection in the Norwegian National Archives (pp. 53–60). There are ten only original papal letters in the collection of medieval charters dating from between 1189 and 1520.[5] Here we have a story of even worse luck than in Denmark. Why is there so little material? This would call for a discussion.

The Vatican collection in the National Archives (in the following: NRA) in Oslo was created by the Norwegian Institute for Historical Sources (Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institutt, in the following text NHKI) and consists of c. 3200 photographs.[6] There are transcriptions of approximately half the number of photographs. A large portion of the photographs and transcripts have only nominal connection to Norway (p. 55)[7], and only a few remain to be published, Kristiansen says (p. 59). However, the conclusion that there is little material with relevance for Norway left to edit, is hasty. [8] The archive series for *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, also created by NHKI,[9] contains additional material omitted by Kristiansen. Still after Kolsrud's early death in 1945, work on material from the Apostolic Archive continued, by Lilli Gjerløw (1910–1998) and Alfred Krarup, who spent much time in Norway after 1945.[10] In a letter to Gjerløw of 6 September 1945, Bååth speaks of the well advanced work by Kolsrud on the *Acta Pontificum Norvegica*, which was meant to appear as a thematic volume in DN, and Kolsrud had already mentioned to Bååth the need for financial support for the printing.[11] As Kolsrud had died on 17 June 1945, he

[5] In addition, there is a rare original letter issued by the papal penitentiary to the bishop of Stavanger (1400), reproduced in Jørgensen & Saletnich (1999: 39), as well as a letter concerning the Bridgettine house of Mariebo from Pope Martin V (1417–1431) to the bishop of Roskilde. It is removed from a binding and kept in the collection of Latin fragments (Karlsen & Weidling 2023: 36). The text is complete but has no relevance for Norway.

[6] Archival reference is NRA EA-4054 Samlinger til kildeutgivelse, Vatikansamlingen, Kjeldeskriftavdelingens samlinger.

[7] Kristiansen appears to follow *Håndbok for Riksarkivet* ('Handbook for the National Archives'), pp. 544–545.

[8] I am highly indebted to the late Dr. Jon Arild Olsen (1965–2024) of the National Library in Oslo. He went through a comprehensive material in the Vatican collection and the archive for *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* in the reading room of the NRA in early 2023 to identify unpublished material for the project Dictionary of Norwegian Latin and made some very substantial discoveries I briefly report here.

[9] Archival reference is NRA S-6117, series Hd.

[10] He died in Norway in 1950.

[11] Kolsrud had already mentioned in a letter to Bååth that he was planning to apply for funding of the printing.

encourages Gjerløw to complete the edition; Krarup is already at work in the [university] library [in Oslo], Bååth says. Gjerløw continues the work. In the archive of DN, there is a list prepared by Gjerløw of unpublished papal correspondence, a copy of which was sent to Cardinal Mercati (in office 1936–1957) in the Apostolic Archive on 16 October 1945 (Ill. **1**, following page).[12] The list was drawn up as preparation for *Acta Pontificum Norvegica*.[13] This list contradicts Kristiansen's claim that there is little material to add. This claim is also contradicted by Krarup's earlier report in a Danish historical journal, where he presented findings made in the preceding years in the Apostolic Archive (Krarup 1925: 200–202).[14] In the NRA, there is a card index by Krarup in two boxes, one covering material until 1410 and the other beginning in 1411,[15] as well as his handwritten transcriptions made for DN. And there are further transcriptions by Munch, Kolsrud, and Gjerløw.

Kristiansen mentions several editions, particularly DN XVII, which contains the most material. Some older editions are important and deserve to be added.[16] Marino Marini transcribed 74 documents for DN in the 1840s, but allegedly his exemplar was an eighteenth-century transcript of the original registers (DN I, p. VIII). Munch's (1864) posthumous edition of the account books and diaries kept under the collection of tithes in Scandinavia is the earliest edition concerning Norway made from originals in the Apostolic Archive, and it has a supplement of 86 charters, 66 of which are from the Apostolic Archive. Further transcriptions by Munch were published posthumously in DN, especially in vols. VI (231 numbers) and VII (129 numbers).

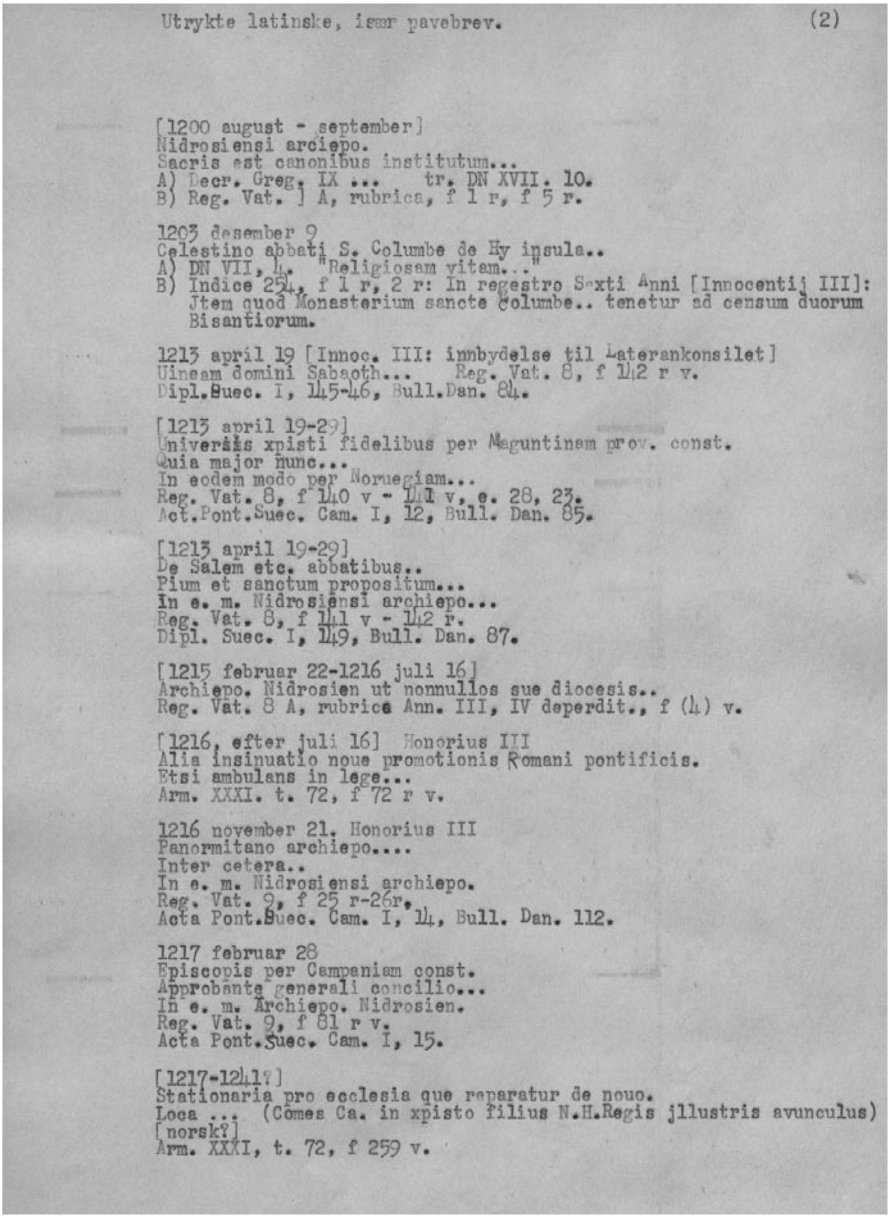
[12] NRA S-6117, series Hd, L0035 Arkivundersøkelse i Vatikanarkivet V: Lister over foto og fotobestillinger, over utrykte pavebrev o.a.

[13] It appears that when Jonas Jansen (1900–1975) became director of the Norwegian Institute for Historical Sources in 1953, work on DN broke off and it was resumed shortly after Jansen retired in 1970. The planned volume with Vatican material was not taken up again, but Jansen's successor Steinar Kjærheim (in office 1973–1990) mentioned it in conversations in the late 1980s as a project to be completed.

[14] According to Krarup, the discoveries in 1920–1921 led to an increase of c. 5% added to the Danish material already known for the period 1316–1360 in the Apostolic Archive, and the numbers were approximately the same for all three Scandinavian kingdoms. During the second expedition 1921–1922, c. 350 papal letters concerning Denmark were identified, about one half of them concerned all the three Scandinavian kingdoms or at least two of them.

[15] The card index dates from 1948–1949. Since Krarup's card index is three or four years later than Gjerløw's list, it may represent a later stage in the work on *Acta pontificum Norvegica.*

[16] Gustav Storm published a volume with material from the Apostolic Chamber (186 numbers) (Storm 1897), a result of his visit to the Apostolic Archive in 1895–1896.The texts in this volume, however, were later included in DN XVII.


Utrykte latinske, især pavebrev. (2)

[1200 august - september]
Nidrosiensi arciepo.
Sacris est canonibus institutum...
A) Decr. Greg. IX ... tr. DN XVII. 10.
B) Reg. Vat.] A, rubrica, f 1 r, f 5 r.

1203 desember 9
Celestino abbati S. Columbe de Hy insula..
A) DN VII, 4. "Religiosam vitam..."
B) Indice 254, f 1 r, 2 r: In regestro Sexti Anni [Innocentij III]:
Jtem quod Monasterium sancte Columbe.. tenetur ad censum duorum Bisantiorum.

1213 april 19 [Innoc. III: innbydelse til Lateranskonsilet]
Uineam domini Sabaoth... Reg. Vat. 8, f 142 r v.
Dipl.Suec. I, 145-46, Bull.Dan. 84.

[1213 april 19-29]
Universis xpisti fidelibus per Maguntinam prov. const.
Quia major nunc...
In eodem modo per Noruegiam...
Reg. Vat. 8, f 140 v - 141 v, e. 28, 23.
Act.Pont.Suec. Cam. I, 12, Bull. Dan. 85.

[1213 april 19-29]
De Salem etc. abbatibus..
Pium et sanctum propositum...
In e. m. Nidrosiensi archiepo...
Reg. Vat. 8, f 141 v - 142 r.
Dipl. Suec. I, 149, Bull. Dan. 87.

[1215 februar 22-1216 juli 16]
Archiepo. Nidrosien ut nonnullos sue diocesis..
Reg. Vat. 8 A, rubrica Ann. III, IV deperdit., f (4) v.

[1216, efter juli 16] Honorius III
Alia insinuatio noue promotionis Romani pontificis.
Etsi ambulans in lege...
Arm. XXXI. t. 72, f 72 r v.

1216 november 21. Honorius III
Panormitano archiepo....
Inter cetera..
In e. m. Nidrosiensi archiepo.
Reg. Vat. 9, f 25 r-26r,
Acta Pont.Suec. Cam. I, 14, Bull. Dan. 112.

1217 februar 28
Episcopis per Campaniam const.
Approbante generali concilio...
In e. m. Archiepo. Nidrosien.
Reg. Vat. 9, f 81 r v.
Acta Pont.Suec. Cam. I, 15.

[1217-1241?]
Stationaria pro ecclesia que reparatur de nouo.
Loca ... (Comes Ca. in xpisto filius N.H.Regis jllustris avunculus)
[norsk?]
Arm. XXXI, t. 72, f 259 v.

Ill. 1. Page 2 of Lilli Gjerløw's list from 1945 over unpublished papal correspondence covering the early 1200s. The list was drawn up as preparation for Acta Pontificum Norvegica*. Note, e.g., the entry for 21 November 1216:* Honorius III archiep(iscop)o Panormitano *(Honorius iii to the Archbishop of Palermo). Further below it is added:* In e(odem) m(odo) Nidrosiensi archiep(iscop)o *('In the same manner to the Archbishop of Nidaros'). The first Latin phrase is the abbreviated inscription of the letter, whereas the second phrase is found after the letter text indicating that it was also sent to the Archbishop of Nidaros. Circular letters were common (there are five of them on the reproduced page), and a list of the addressees follows the letter text in the register volume in the Vatican. Photo: Lars Schanke Aamodt, National Archives of Norway.*

Something should also be said on the quality of the edited texts. DN XVII (1902–1913), a huge volume that was mainly the work of Alexander Bugge and Gustav Storm, received harsh criticism upon completion in 1913, and Kolsrud and Krarup, both of whom had minor contributions to the volume, admitted that it was problematic.[17] Storm died already in 1903, and the volume was completed by Bugge.[18]

[17] Head librarian Vilhelm Munthe wrote of DN XVII in the Norwegian daily Aftenposten on 3 August 1913: 'Unfortunately, one went to work far too unprepared . . . It is by no means the reviewer's intention to complain over all these mistakes, . . . but it must be clear that such a volume should never have been published . . . Then we would have avoided seeing this oversized volume — 500 pages larger than its predecessors — stand out as an eternal reminder of a mistake by the men whose names now can be read with sadness on the title page. And Norwegian historical scholarship would have been spared the hard blow it has now undoubtedly received in the esteem of foreign scholars.' Kolsrud wrote in his reply in Aftenposten on 2 September 1913: 'The fact that the text in the main series has so many errors is largely due to Gustav Storm; this can be seen from the edition, as it is stated at each number who copied it . . . Those who have the most important share in the publication of the collection are Storm and Bugge, who have provided the material. It is not appropriate for me, as Bugge's colleague, to comment on his work.' Krarup commented as follows in his report from 1925: 'The Norwegian transcriptions were published in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. XVII, by Prof. Bugge and various others, but the edition was not particularly good: there were serious errors in the dating of the letters and in the treatment of the language. The Latin was often hard to read and difficult to understand, and it [i.e., the Latin in the edition] was not quite satisfactory' (Krarup 1925: 199). Storm worked in the Apostolic Archive in 1895–1896 and Bugge in 1897–1898. Given the size of the volume, this may indicate that it was made in a hurry.

[18] It is evident also from Bugge's edition of the Norwegian part of the register of Archbishop Henrik Kalteisen (in office in Nidaros 1452–1458; † 1464) that he was a sloppy editor (cf., e.g., Karlsson 1901). A grotesque example of a nonsense word or rather more correctly, a random series of letters, is *inoaeeientum*, which Bugge admitted into the text of a charter in DN XX, no. 798 (p. 76)*: si quis subditorum suorum contra fecerit puniet* ***cum*** *tanquam sibi Rebellem et* ***inoaeeientum*** *. . .* This makes no sense. The passage is repeated on the next page, where we find *inobedientem* ('disobedient') for *inoaeeientum*. Still, *cum* makes no sense either, although

Ill. 2. A page of DN XVII corrected ca. 1905 in the Apostolic Archive. The handwritten text between nos. 526b and 526c belongs to another hand than the other corrections, probably the Danish scholar Alfred Krarup. The corrected text was originally transcribed by Alexander Bugge. His texts are remarkable by the many mistakes. Photo: Lars Schanke Aamodt, National Archives of Norway.

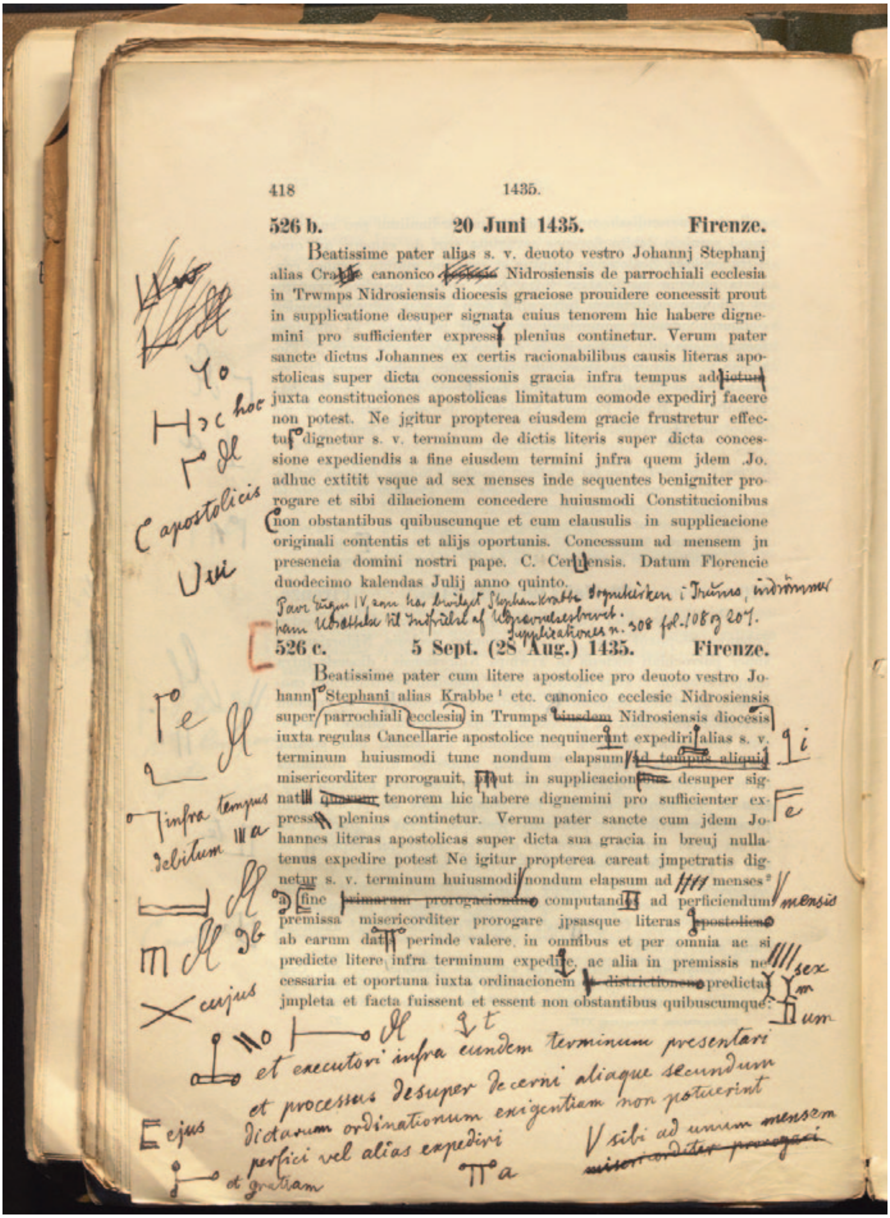
The Latin in Munch's transcriptions in earlier volumes appear more trustworthy. A copy of DN XVII with frequent corrections to the text (pp. 12–212, 224–236, and 241–480) has on average from five to fifteen or twenty errors a page (see Ill. **2**).[19] Ironically, Marini's transcriptions from an eighteenth-century transcript of the original registers are — despite their errors — superior to the work of Storm and Bugge to judge from documents proofread by Kolsrud.

Having referred to DN XVII, it is strange not to mention that due to the low quality of the edition many texts in that volume were improved and published among the ecclesiastical material in *Norges gamle Love, Anden Række 1388–1604* ('The ancient laws of Norway, second series 1388–1604'), mixed with other material, in vol. 1 (pp. 308–726, 52 numbers in all), in vol. 2 (pp. 315–626), and vol. 4 (pp. 339–483). The work on improving DN XVII began early, when Giuseppe Herzen in the Apostolic Archive collated against the originals already published documents for the first volume of *Norges gamle Love*, second series (1912).[20]

it is an existing word. On the next page, we read *eum* ('him'), which fits well in the context in the place of *cum*. These two corrections make it possible to give a meaningful translation of the sentence: 'If any of your subordinates does otherwise, he will punish him as a rebel and disobedient'. Dr. Ingrid Sperber, who is preparing a new edition of DN XX, has kindly sent me a picture of the handwritten original, and there is no doubt about the readings *eum* and *inobedientem*. Bugge had no qualms about printing an incomprehensible sentence without comment. Or did he work too fast to spot these errors?

[19] The copy in question was recently (re)discovered in the NRA among the materials from NHKI. On the back of the cover of fascicle 2 there is a note: *Romae receptum die 5 Julii 1905* ('Received in Rome on 5 July 1905'), probably in another hand than the corrections. A pencil note in Italian in a third hand on p. 12 (no. 12 in fascicle 1) states that the corrections start here (nos. 1–11 are taken from printed books). On the cover there is a note in German. Who was the corrector? It is likely that the corrections were made in the Apostolic Archive. Dr. Giuseppe Herzen (see Kolsrud's introduction to DN XVII, p. XIII) improved many documents, but as there is a Scandinavian expression a few times ('I Randen' = *in margine*), we may rather have to do with a Scandinavian scholar. On p. 418 there is an annotation in Danish in another hand than the corrector. This handwriting appears to belong to Alfred Krarup. Could the corrector be identical with Krarup's Danish colleague in Rome, Johannes Lindbæk (1872–1919) (DN XVII, p. IX), who was working on *Acta pontificum Danica* with Krarup?

[20] Kolsrud's corrections of Munch's texts in his interpaginated copy of DN are few compared to the anonymous corrections to DN XVII (see ill. **2**).



418 1435.

526 b. 20 Juni 1435. Firenze.

Beatissime pater alias s. v. deuoto vestro Johannj Stephanj alias Crabbe canonico ~~ecclesie~~ Nidrosiensis de parrochiali ecclesia in Trwmps Nidrosiensis diocesis graciose prouidere concessit prout in supplicatione desuper signata cuius tenorem hic habere dignemini pro sufficienter expressa plenius continetur. Verum pater sancte dictus Johannes ex certis racionabilibus causis literas apostolicas super dicta concessionis gracia infra tempus ad ~~dictum~~ juxta constituciones apostolicas limitatum comode expedirj facere non potest. Ne jgitur propterea eiusdem gracie frustretur effectus dignetur s. v. terminum de dictis literis super dicta concessione expediendis a fine eiusdem termini jnfra quem jdem Jo. adhuc extitit vsque ad sex menses inde sequentes benigniter prorogare et sibi dilacionem concedere huiusmodi Constitucionibus non obstantibus quibuscunque et cum clausulis in supplicacione originali contentis et alijs oportunis. Concessum ad mensem jn presencia domini nostri pape. C. Cerulensis. Datum Florencie duodecimo kalendas Julij anno quinto.

Supplicationes n. 308 fol. 108 og 207.

526 c. 5 Sept. (28 Aug.) 1435. Firenze.

Beatissime pater cum litere apostolice pro deuoto vestro Johanni Stephani alias Krabbe [1] etc. canonico ecclesie Nidrosiensis super parrochiali ecclesia in Trumps ~~eiusdem~~ Nidrosiensis diocesis iuxta regulas Cancellarie apostolice nequiuerint expediri alias s. v. terminum huiusmodi tunc nondum elapsum ~~ad tempus aliquid~~ misericorditer prorogauit, prout in supplicacione desuper signata ~~quarum~~ tenorem hic habere dignemini pro sufficienter expressa plenius continetur. Verum pater sancte cum jdem Johannes literas apostolicas super dicta sua gracia in breuj nullatenus expedire potest Ne igitur propterea careat jmpetratis dignetur s. v. terminum huiusmodi nondum elapsum ad menses [2] a fine ~~primarum prorogacionum~~ computandos ad perficiendum premissa misericorditer prorogare jpsasque literas ~~apostolicas~~ ab earum data perinde valere, in omnibus et per omnia ac si predicte litere infra terminum expedite, ac alia in premissis necessaria et oportuna iuxta ordinacionem ~~districtionem~~ predicta jmpleta et facta fuissent et essent non obstantibus quibuscumque.

et executori infra eundem terminum presentari et processus desuper decerni aliaque secundum dictarum ordinationum exigentiam non potuerint perfici vel alias expediri

sibi ad unum mensem ~~misericorditer prorogari~~

The article is a useful, albeit incomplete, first introduction to the Vatican collection in the National Archives of Norway, and there is a list of the boxes containing photographs. Kristiansen states that most documents are included in DN XVII and there are few documents relevant to Norway left to edit. This is a conspicuous mistake. The author is apparently unaware of Kolsrud's and Gjerløw's plans for the thematic volume *Acta Pontificum Norvegica* in the DN series, of which there is documentation in the archive for *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, an archive that contains valuable supplements to the Vatican collection. And it would be useful to know more about how many unpublished transcriptions are found in the Vatican collection for this volume. Their connection to Norway is, as it appears, in many cases more than just nominal. There are also important editions of material from the Apostolic Archive that are not mentioned.

Kirsi **Salonen**, professor of medieval history at the University of Bergen, presents the Vatican collections in the Finnish National Archives. There is very little medieval material preserved in Finland. The reasons for this are that the Reformation rendered much of it unnecessary and it was thrown away, and later many archives and charters were destroyed through war. Some material ended up in Stockholm as Finland was united with Sweden until 1809. The only original papal letter is an original petition from 1460 that was approved by the papal penitentiary. There are seventeen boxes with photostat copies from the Apostolic Archive an inventory of which is given by Salonen.

Peter **Ståhl**, editor of *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, gives an overview of the transmission of medieval archival material from Sweden. Sweden has the most extensive collection of preserved material in Scandinavia. The king's chancellors were often bishops of Uppsala, Linköping, and Strängnäs, and state documents were often kept at these three bishoprics. At the Reformation, the crown gained control of church property, and archival material documenting property relations was transferred to the crown in the 1540s and 1550s and kept in the chancellery in Stockholm. Much medieval material was transcribed in the early modern period and is preserved in copybooks. This material is now in the National Archives in Stockholm. There are 248 original papal bulls and briefs preserved, by far the largest number in Scandinavian collections.

Ståhl presents the original charters and bulls in the National Archives (p. 68–71), the earliest from 1167. Many are from the councils of Konstanz and Basel.

Moreover, Ståhl outlines some work on original archival material which was carried out in the Vatican in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries. Gaetano Marini, prefect of the Vatican Archives, transcribed altogether 324 papal letters for the

Swedish king's Master of Ceremonies Carl Fredric Fredenheim (1748–1803). The first volume of *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, the Swedish national edition of medieval documents relating to Sweden, began in 1829. The series is chronological and includes papal letters. The subseries *Acta Pontificum Suecica* includes material from the Apostolic Chamber (1936–1957) and the Penitentiary (2008).

In sum, Ståhl has produced a clear and useful presentation of the Vatican material in the Swedish National Archives that will come in handy for its users.

These four presentations of material are followed by Kirsi **Salonen**'s 'Medieval Source Material from the Papal Curia' (pp. 83–123). Papal documents are, as Salonen states, difficult to interpret as they are written in difficult handwriting and with many abbreviations. Also, in printed editions such documents are not easily accessible, 'because the papal letters contain certain phrases that remain unclear for readers who are not familiar with the papal phraseology and curial practices' (p. 83). Salonen's aim is to offer tools to read and better understand medieval papal documents' (p. 83). The article is divided into two parts. In the first part, 'Structure, decision-making and sources' (pp. 83–102), Salonen goes pedagogically through the structure of the papal curia, in Salonen's words 'the most effective administrative system in the medieval world', and its different units, e.g., the Apostolic Chamber, which was responsible for the economy, and the Apostolic chancery, which issued letters in the name of the pope. Then Salonen introduces the Vatican source material (pp. 88–102) and its division in archival units, such as the Register of supplications (7366 vols. containing material from the 1400s until c. 1900), the Vatican Registers of outgoing letters (2032 vols., mostly containing material from the 11th century until 1572),[21] and the Avignon registers (353 volumes covering the years 1316–1417). Much material is also connected with the Apostolic Chamber (pp. 95–99). Salonen dicusses the relevance of the different series. Not all of them contain much material concerning Scandinavia. Salonen makes an important point when she states that the volumes do not contain material concerning the local ecclesiastical administration or 'shed light on the age of Scandinavian churches or monasteries or on the daily life of bishops, priests, or persons in monastic vocation. Such material must be sought in local archives' (p. 89). Unfortunately, such material has rarely survived in local archives in Scandinavia. Salonen gives much practical information on how volumes in the different archival units are organised and on how to approach the material.

Part two of the article concern 'various document types in the main register series of the Vatican Apostolic Archives' (pp. 102–123). Here, the various types of document

[21] These are the oldest surviving registers from the Roman Church. The early volumes only record the most important outgoing correspondence.

types are surveyed, such as various types of provisions for ecclesiastical positions, supplications, various kinds of dispensations ('an act whereby in a particular case a lawful superior grants relaxation from an existing law') etc. All in all, Salonen's chapter constitutes a useful introduction to the Vatican archives and has the character of a small handbook that will come in handy for scholars working with medieval material in the Apostolic Archive.

Then follows four more specialised studies. Markus **Hedemann**, editor-in-chief of *Diplomatarium Danicum*, discusses a lost notary instrument the text of which was printed in Copenhagen in 1792. It concerns the attempt by three Holstein counts to liquidate a sentence by the Roman king Sigismund of Luxembourg made in 1424 in which the Duchy of Holstein was adjudicated to the Danish king Erik of Pomerania. The three brothers from Holstein were deprived of their hereditary fief. The sentence was a triumph for Erik. The attempt at liquidation was made by an appeal to the papal Curia, and a process of nullity was opened. A Danish representative was appointed, and a notarial instrument including the original sentence was composed in Vordingborg 20 October 1424. The complex procedure is characterised by extreme formalism: 'One could not argue against the content of what was presented in a correct form.' The cardinal in charge was about to pass a verdict of nullity in favour of the Holstein party, but Pope Martin V interrupted the case in a bull of retraction, and the case went back to King Sigismund. Hedemann has found no evidence of this process in the Apostolic Archive, and the principal source is a printed version of a lost notary instrument. He poses the question whether it would 'raise the level of knowledge of the Holsten process in the Curia significantly if the original notary instrument showed up as a result of, let us say, a Scandinavian scholarly effort?' Newly discovered documents are likely not to, Hedemann thinks, but the significance of the find lies 'lies in its being an expression of an ongoing, necessary dialogue with history, a dialogue that not even a scholar as distinguished as Alfred Krarup is entitled to abort by claiming that scholarship has reached a level of knowledge that makes further efforts more or less superfluous' (pp. 138–139). I will return to Krarup's pessimism below.

Kurt Villads **Jensen** discusses 'Papal Crusade Bulls and Preaching to Scandinavia' (pp. 140–156). The material is too broad to cover exhaustively, and the author's aim is to present some of the source material and 'to exemplify how papal crusade bulls and crusade preaching influenced daily life in Scandinavian cities and the religious-military expansion throughout the Middle Ages' (p. 141). Jensen introduces the first crusade sermon, i.e., the famous sermon by Pope Urban II in Clermont in 1095, which inspired the crusades and led countless individuals to march towards the Holy Land.

His main interest is papal bulls commissioning individuals or institutions to preach crusades, as well as crusading sermons. 'The bulls' introductions were composed as a sort of mini-sermons or a compressed collection of exempla to support the preacher, and they thus give directions for how the papacy wanted specific crusades to be preached' (p. 144). Crusade preaching led to changes in the liturgical life in churches, Jensen tells us, and in public life in towns from the 1200s until the end of the Middle Ages. There were Danish crusades against the pagan Wends in northern Germany and the Baltic, especially in Estonia in the 1100s and 1200s and in Lithuania. The article gives an interesting glimpse into the rôle of crusade preaching and processions in the towns of Scandinavia and provides an important first step into the study papal bulls concerning crusades in Scandinavia.

Torstein **Jørgensen's** (Stavanger) 'Between Theology and Jurisdiction: Some Aspects of Petitions to the Papal Penitentiary' is the only contribution concentrating on the Apostolic Penitentiary. Scholars were given access to the archive of the Penitentiary in 1983. Earlier attempts by Scandinavian scholars at accessing the archive were unsuccessful. Jørgensen discusses texts in which clerical violence was central, especially clerical killers in cases from Norway. Excommunication from the Church was not a punishment, 'but of leading the lost soul back to the fold' (p. 159). Jørgensen discusses the demarcation line between ecclesiastical and civil law in Norway considering the treaty between King Magnus the Lawmender and Archbishop Jon Raude in 1277 (*Sættargjerden;* in the Latin original called *Compositio et finalis concordia*). He then discusses Norwegian cases of clerical homicide. Homicide was extremely consequential to the King and to the Church alike. The King lost one of his subjects, and a priest committing homicide became automatically irregular. The priests who had committed murder were probably excluded in their home dioceses, and the absolution granted was not only a legal pardon of a crime, but it was also a theological remission of sins (pp. 167–168). The article gives an interesting glance into archival material with more spectacular content that the standard material from the papal chancery and the Apostolic Chamber.

Salonen's article 'Papal Provisions: Process, Sources and Problems — The Case of the Praepositura in Linköping in 1512–1515' deals with the different stages in the papal appointment process and analyses the case in question using material from the Apostolic Archive and the National Archives in Stockholm. A petitioner for a benefice would, if his petition was successful, take the appointment letter to the bishop in the relevant diocese hoping that the local authorities were not preferring another candidate. If so, this might lead to a process before the highest ecclesiastical court in Rome, the Roman Rota. This is exemplified by the process between two well-known

Swedish clerics Gustav Trolle (archbishop of Uppsala from 1515) and Jöns Månsson (provost in Linköping from 1515, later bishop). The conflict is well known, but the evidence of the Apostolic Archive is used for the first time. Salonen concludes that it is still possible to discover unknown material from the Apostolic Archive about cases that are already known from local sources. She combined the local sources with material in the Vatican Collection in the Swedish National Archives. And, interestingly, she concludes that it is possible to study late medieval history in the Vatican Collection without going to Rome.

The lecture of Andreas **Meyer** (1955–2017) (University of Marburg), '*Improbitas importuna petentium* — The Annoying Dishonesty of Petitioners', is included in the book as it was read at the conference, without footnotes and references. He fell ill and was prevented from reading his paper himself at the Stockholm conference in 2016 and died a few months later. As with Salonen's introduction to the Apostolic Archive, this is a contribution of a more general character and serves as an introduction to the petitions to the Holy See from c. 1100 until the Reformation. Celibacy for priests became obligatory c. 1100 to prevent church property from passing into private hands through inheritance. In the twelfth century ecclesiastical benefices emerged, which had to be redistributed each generation. Consequently, 'there evolved in the 12th century an increasingly sophisticated system for the granting of ecclesiastical offices with a tendency to strongly standardize and centralize' (p. 179). The article provides background for typical texts found in the Scandinavian material in the Apostolic Archive, such as the granting of benefices, expectancies (i.e., options on non-vacant offices), as well as indulgences, absolutions, and *litterae confessionales* (bestowing the right on personal confessors to receive confessions in the place of the local priest[22]). The article provides a useful and compact introduction to the papal administration and its document production. In the thirteenth century, the chancery had around one hundred scribes that may have produced about 50 000 charters a year (pp. 183–184). The register volumes never contained the complete outgoing correspondence, and many preserved original charters are not found in the registers. Meyer thus makes an important point for scholars using Vatican sources.

Most of the present volume has the character of a handbook. This goes for the article on the Vatican expeditions (Gejrot), the presentation of papal documents in Denmark (Hansen), the three presentations of the Vatican collections in Oslo, Stockholm, and Helsinki (Kristiansen, Ståhl, and Salonen), Salonen's introduction to the medieval source material from the papal Curia, and Meyer's discussion of petitions

[22] It was important for travelling persons who could not access their local priest for their obligatory annual confession to bring their personal confessor. There were several thousand *litterae confessionales* issued under each pope in the second half of the fourteenth century.

and the papal administration. The four specialised studies successfully illustrate different approaches to the material. In sum, the authors have produced a useful tool of reference.

Hedemann (p. 116 and 117) cites in English translation in his article a statement made by Alfred Krarup in 1925 (Krarup 1925: 203), after the first two expeditions in the 1920s:

> 'What is all of this good for? Do these letters provide us with a completely new view on the status of the church here in Denmark, its relation with the state, and its relation with the pope during these centuries? The answer cannot be anything but no: that kind of knowledge has not been provided to us by the letters, and it is for a good reason that the results of all this are viewed with a good deal of scepticism. Now, let me refrain from acting like the *advocatus diaboli* defending the papal letters in every aspect; nevertheless I should say that even though they cannot meet very high expectations . . ., despite the monotony of the various graces that often make them quite tiresome, a lot can be learned from them in detailed aspects of topography and personal relations, as is acknowledged by Archivist Thiset and Dr. Bobé. They shed a sharper light over the details of ecclesiastical politics of the 15th century, as Lindbæk showed in his dissertation on the period of King Christian I and King John (Hans), and let me as a field of particular interest draw attention to the papal fiscal policy that was already a major point in the book of Dr. Moltesen: now, one can see much clearer than ever before, to what extent the Curia used the appointment of various offices to pull money out of the country.'

Gjerløw's list of unpublished papal letters could easily inspire the same question today that Krarup posed in 1925, namely what is the point of all this? Krarup was probably right in suggesting that much of the unpublished material will not give new sensational information. The many entries about payments to the Apostolic Chamber, the supplications from clerics for vacant churches in Scandinavia, the provisions of bishops to this or that diocese and the intricacies of canon law are likely to appear rather tedious to the general reader. To the cognoscenti, however, the yet unpublished material will fill in gaps concerning the gradual integration of Scandinavia into the Roman church, and they will be able to delve more deeply into the frequent contacts between Scandinavia and the papacy, not to mention into ecclesiastical administration in general. The material will give new insights in prosopography, and local historians will be proud to find mentions of their local church in the Apostolic Archive. In any case, as the Apostolic Archive has comprehensive written evidence concerning medieval Scandinavia,[23] it is important that all material appears in good editions and, as far as edited material is concerned, that older, sloppy editions are replaced by new, reliable ones.[24] Further studies are certainly not superfluous, as Krarup feared in 1925.

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[23] See, e.g., Karlsen (2021: 23–30) on the extensive losses of archival material from medieval Norway. The extreme loss of medieval sources in Norway makes the Vatican material even more important.

[24] I speak on behalf of the Norwegian material. Denmark, Finland and Sweden may be better off.

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Espen Karlsen (National Library of Norway, Oslo), doctoral dissertation in Latin philology (Uppsala 1998, published Bern 2001), editor of the *Dictionary of Norwegian Medieval Latin.* His research interests include the Latin Language, both classical and post-classical, and various topics in medieval book history, in particular Latin book fragments of Scandinavian provenance. Email: espen.karlsen@nb.no

Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, Marit Aamodt Nielsen & Magnus Rindal (utg.): *Magnus Håkonsson Lagabøtes bylov og farmannslov*. NB Kilder 16:1. Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2023. 374 s. ISBN: 978-82-7965-532-9.

Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (utg.): *Magnus Håkonssons Lagabøtes hirdskrå*. NB Kilder 16:2. Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2024. 216 s. ISBN: 978-82-7965-535-0.

Bjørg Dale Spørck, Espen Karlsen & Magnus Rindal (utg.): *Magnus Håkonssons Lagabøtes kirkelige lovgivning*. NB Kilder 16:3. Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2024. 174 s. ISBN: 978-82-7965-538-1.

Recension av Mikael Males

Dessa tre utgåvor (nedan *Bylov*, *Hirdskrå* och *Kirkelig*) av Magnus Håkonsson lagabøtes mindre juridiska texter följer i kölvattnet av den stora utgåvan av hans landslag: Magnus Rindal och Bjørg Dale Spørck (utg.), *Kong Magnus Håkonssons landslov*. Oslo: Riksarkivet, 2018. Denna recension behandlar de tre utgåvorna under ett, vilket förvisso ger mindre utrymme åt enskild utvärdering men i gengäld öppnar för en mer allmän diskussion av utgivningspraxis.

I alla tre utgåvor inleds källtexterna av en översikt över den historiska kontexten samt genomgång av handskrifterna. Dessa sektioner är välavvägda, sånär som på en exkurs om nazistisk ideologi i *Hirdskrå* som framstår som malplacerad i en utgåva av detta slag (s. 43–44). Inledningarna tillför tänkvärda nya perspektiv på texterna. Så exempelvis har *Hirdskrå* en diskussion av intresset för texten på Island, delvis grundad på utgivarens egen forskning (14–15). Den isländska traderingen diskuteras också i utgåvan av *Sættargjerden* (*Kirkelig*, s. 133). Av allt att döma var motivationen för den isländska traderingen olik i de två fallen: i det första tycks den ha att göra med isländingars aristokratiska ambitioner, i det andra med kyrkans starka juridiska ställning på Island, även om utgivaren Magnus Rindal i det senare fallet inte drar denna slutsats. De nya observationerna i inledningarna kan därmed stimulera vidare forskning. Särskilt ambitiös är Bjørg Dale Spørcks presentation av en ny kronologi över norska kristenrätter, vilken är grundad på hennes doktoravhandling från 2006 och framstår som övertygande (*Kirkelig*, s. 9–32). Inledningarna utgör därmed värdefulla forskningsbidrag i sin egen rätt.

När det gäller själva textutgåvorna inbjuder dessa till en diskussion av utgivningspraxis, särskilt eftersom två olika perspektiv företräds. De folkspråkliga texterna ges ut enligt samma praxis som i Rindals och Spørcks utgåva av Landslagen: utgivaren följer en huvudhandskrift och ger ett mycket rikt antal varianter. För närvarande diskussion är den viktigaste aspekten att även uppenbara fel i huvudtexten lämnas utan rättelse eller kommentar (exempelvis "brarðaga" för *bardaga*, *Hirdskrå*, s. 169). I utgivningen av de latinska texterna, utförd av Espen Karlsen, följs däremot en annan praxis. Den latinska texten till *Sættargjerden* präglas av många slarvfel, och i dessa fall ger Karlsen den förväntade läsningen i en fotnot (*Kirkelig*, s. 123–31). Med dessa tillvägagångssätt kan jämföras Keyser och Munchs standardutgåva (*Norges gamle Love* 1846–1895). Så exempelvis läser man på s. 157 av *Bylov* (min normalisering): *En ef bóndi hennar vill firri hana heimanfylgju*. Detta ger inte mening och Keyser och Munch har därför rättat det uppenbara felet: *En ef bóndi hennar vill firr***a** *hana heimanfylgju* 'och om hennes make vill beröva henne hennes hemgift' (NgL, 2: 230). Handskriftens läsning återges i en fotnot.

Det säger sig självt att en utgåva som inte rättar eller kommenterar uppenbara fel är mer krävande att använda än en som gör det. De nya utgåvorna kräver alltså större kompetens hos läsaren än den gamla, och detta i en tid då forskares kunskaper i norrönt är på tillbakagång. Ambitionen att inte göra ingrepp i texten är typisk för utgivning av norröna texter under senare årtionden, men det kan kanske vara värt att fråga sig om detta faktiskt ger ett större utbyte för läsaren. Man kunde rentav ha tänkt sig att gå den motsatta vägen. Så exempelvis återfinns frasen *gramt Guð* 'vredgad Gud' i *Hirdskrå*, med *gramt* i neutrum, trots att neutrum av ordet *guð*/*goð* bara användes om de hedna gudarna (*Hirdskrå*, s. 75; *NgL*, 2: 391). Detta kan därmed knappast vara den avsedda formen i sammanhanget, där det fastställs att Gud må vredgas på kungens undersåtar om dessa sviker sin kung. Frasen återkommer också något senare i texten, och i detta fall har Keyser och Munch rättat den efter en annan handskrift, men de tycks inte ha insett att samma vanliga fel – felläsning av *t* för *r* – torde vara förklaringen i båda tillfällen (*Hirdskrå*, s. 81 [*gramt*]; *NgL*, 2: 397 [*gramr*]). Man hade mycket väl kunnat tänka sig att i fall som detta utföra en mer grundlig utvärdering än Keyser och Munch av vilka läsningar som kan rekonstrueras, samtidigt som handskriftens faktiska text naturligtvis bör återges. Med en kortfattad kommentar kunde läsaren då ha fått tillgång till såväl handskriftens text som den sannolikt avsedda texten, samt en förklaring på vad som föranlett felet (felläsning av *t* för *r*). Detta är precis vad Karlsen gör i sin utgåva (felens karaktär och orsaker diskuteras i *Kirkelig*, s. 118–21).

Redan år 1930 beklagade sig Finnur Jónsson över norröna utgivares blinda tro på handskrifternas vittnesbörd och underbyggde sitt argument med en omfattande lista av uppenbara fel hos en skrivare som allmänt anses vara ”god” (”Bemærkninger om afskriverfejl i gamle håndskrifter”, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 46, s. 319–39). Referenser till denna artikel lyser dock överlag med sin frånvaro i senare forskning. Istället har utgivarens roll blivit allmer passiv. Mängden varianter har tenderat att öka, men i många fall var denna ganska omfattande redan på 1800- och tidigt 1900-tal, och vi ser därmed en kontinuitet i utgivningspraxis. Diskontinuiteten består istället i att läsaren får allt mindre hjälp att hantera den växande informationsmängden. Ur detta perspektiv är det uppfriskande att Karlsen går motsatt väg.

När det gäller användarvänlighet kunde det också ha varit önskvärt att utgåvorna i vissa fall hade sagt något konkret om språkformen i den valda huvudtexten. I *Bylov* hade detta knappast varit nödvändigt, eftersom huvudtexten ligger nära den standard man lär sig på norrönkurser, sånär som på vissa välkända norska drag som inte stör läsningen nämnvärt, som *h*-bortfall och vokalharmoni. I *Hirdskrå* är ett av skälen till valet av huvudtext att språkformen där är närmre den norröna ”standarden” än i ett annat, i övrigt gott vittne (s. 56–57). Likväl gör de sydöstnorska dragen i texten att den som är van med ”standard” norrönt stöter på problem redan på första sidan, där uttrycket ”sannar guð ok maðær” (= *sannr guð ok maðr*) kan verka förvirrande för den som inte är van med språkformen (”sannar guð” kan vid första ögonkastet se ut att betyda ’han/hon bekräftar Gud’). När det gäller AM 77b 4to, som är huvudtext för första delen av Magnus Lagabøtes kristenrätt (*Kirkelig*, s. 35–53), är saken mer invecklad, eftersom detta vittnes blandingsspråk torde vara ganska krävande att beskriva. Likväl hade läsaren haft glädje av att åtminstone få en del exempel på blandingen av norska och danska drag. Keyser och Munch valde bort detta vittne på grund av dess språkform, och även om skälen att välja det framstår som goda innebär detta val att den nya utgåvan är mer krävande att använda än den gamla.

Sammanfattningsvis tillför inledningarna till de tre utgåvorna åtskilliga fruktbara perspektiv till studiet av detta juridiska material, inklusive handskrifterna som traderar det. När det gäller själva textutgåvorna finns det utrymme för såväl beröm som kritik, beroende på om man fokuserar på trohet mot handskrifterna eller användarvänlighet. Oavsett detta är det välgörande att utgåvorna inbjuder till diskussion och medvetenhet om utgivningspraxis, genom att de förmedlar två väldigt olika modeller för hur detta arbete kan utföras.

Mikael Males, Professor i norrøn filologi, Institutt for lingvistiske og nordiske studier, Universitetet i Oslo. E-mail: mikael.males@iln.uio.no.

Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Christian Hohenthal: ***Textens ritualer och historieskrivningens gränser. En undersökning av fyra svenska historieverk från 1400- och 1500-talen*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2025. 310 s.**

Granskad av Andrej Scheglov

1400- och 1500-talen var en blomstringstid för svensk historieskrivning, och det är denna tid som studeras i Christian Hohenthals avhandling. I centret för avhandlingen står fyra historiska skrifter från den nämnda tiden: Karlskrönikan (ca 1452), Ericus Olais *Chronica regni Gothorum* ('Krönikan om Goternas rike', färdig ca 1471), *Sturekrönikan* (avslutad ca 1497) samt Johannes Magnus *Historia metropolitanae ecclesiae Upsaliensis* ('Historien om Uppsala ärkestift', 1536–1557). *Karlskrönikan* och *Sturekrönikan* är rimkrönikor på yngre fornsvenska. *Chronica regni Gothorum* och *Historia metropolitanae eccclesiae Upsaliensis* är prosaiska skrifter på latin.

Författaren diskuterar krönikeskrivarnas attityd till: a) så kallad ritualiserad tid; b) val av kungar och andra regenter; c) begravningar. I detta sammanhang diskuterar författaren frågan om regenternas legitimering. Delvis i samband med de ovannämnda spörsmålen rör författaren vid frågan om så kallade «historieskrivningens gränser». Kunde en krönikeskrivare konstruera sin historiska berättelse fritt? Eller var en krönikeförfattare bunden av vissa regler och behövde att förhålla sig till ett ramverk? Författaren slår fast att krönikeförfattarna använde ritualiserad tid och ritualiserade händelser för att legitimera regenterna. Emellertid var de inte fria i det att författa historia; de rättade sig efter vissa regler och skrev det som läsaren kunde vänta sig.

Nyckelbegreppet i Hohenthals avhandling är *spin*. Detta begrepp betecknar krönikeförfattarens metod med att (ofta mer eller mindre indirekt) främja vissa idéer och föreställningar genom att omnämna viktiga händelser och omständigheter. Hohenthal undersöker *spin* i de svenska krönikorna och demonstrerar på ett mycket övertygande sätt hur en eller annan krönikeskrivare kunde poängtera en kungs legitimitet genom att anmärka att kungavalet inföll på en särskilt viktig helgedag eller genom att antyda att vissa händelser som inträffade vid kungavalet kunde ha en symbolisk betydelse.

Avhandlingen gör ett positivt intryck. Problemställningen är originell, och verkets polemiska inriktning är imponerande. Författaren uppvisar goda språkkunskaper; bland annat håller hans översättningar från latin en hög nivå.[1] Slutsatserna är väl be-

[1] Se exempelvis Hohenthals översättningar på s. 112 och 116–117.

grundade, och författarens tankar beträffande historieskrivandets gränser är övertygande.

Christian Hohenthals avhandling är således en mycket seriös och inressant undersökning. I denna undersökning finns emellertid vissa moment som förtjänar en diskussion. Man kan exempelvis diskutera problemställningen och valet av källorna. Som vi har sett behandlar avhandlingen inte ett problem utan flera. Detta har sina fördelar, men medför även problem. I vissa fall hänger forskningsfrågorna endast delvis samman, och dessutom skulle det vara på sin plats att göra ytterligare några källor till föremål för undersökningen. Särskilt när det handlar om problemet med historieskrivningens gränser, skulle det vara lämpligt att använda sig av följande skrifter: 1) den så kallade *Prosaiska krönikan*; 2) Olaus Petris skrift *En svensk krönika*; 3) Johannes Magnus stora verk *Gothorum Sveonumque historia* ('Historien om götar och svear') Om man utnyttjade dessa krönikor tillsammans med det material som står i avhandlingens fokus, skulle man nå en viss symmetri, en viss uniformitet, eftersom dessa krönikor, i likhet med *Chronica regni Gothorum*, belyser samma typ av ämnen, till exempel 1) uppgifter om Sveriges forntid och hedendom; 2) beskrivningar av Uppsala hednatempel; 3) berättelser om fornsvenska sagokungar; 3) värderingar av medeltida kungar, inte minst av Erik den Helige.

Olika krönikeskrivare hade emellertid olika föreställningar om vilka händelser som borde betraktas som särskilt viktiga. Som exempel kan man anföra *Vadstenadiariet* – birgittinernas krönika som skrevs under tiden från 1300-talets slut till 1500-talets mitt. De viktiga händelserna (där även ritualerna spelade en viktig roll) som vi finner i *Vadstenadiariet* skiljer sig från dem som finns i exempelvis *Karlskrönikan*. I *Vadstenadiariet* ägnas speciell uppmärksamhet åt Birgittas kanonisering, åt Heliga Birgittas och Heliga Katarinas skrinläggning, åt brödernas och systrarnas förberedelse till döden och åt kungarnas och drottningarnas ankomster. Begravningar och kungaval var dock inte särskilt viktiga för skribenterna i Vadstena; de omnämns i *Vadstenadiariet* på ett mer kortfattat vis.

Här är ett exempel på hur *Vadstenadiariet* kan vara av intresse i samband med avhandlingens tematik. På s. 113. meddelar Hohenthal: ”Jubelåret är på så sätt nära kopplat till frälsningen”. I *Vadstenadiariet* finns emellertid antydningar om att jubelåret kan medföra olycka. Se notis 7: ”Herrens år 1350. Detta var jubelår i Rom; Clemens var regerande påve. Vid denna tid härjade digerdöden i Sverige: ingen kan minnas att det funnits någon större pestepidemi än denna, vare sig före eller efter” (översättning: Claes Gejrot). En liknande uppgift finns i notis 599: ”Herrens år 1450. I Rom var jubelår och en stor pestepidemi”.[2]

[2] Översättning: C. Gejrot; se Gejrot 1996: 32–33, 262–263.

Att utvidga kretsen av källor skulle även vara viktigt i samband med några problem som lyfts fram. På s. 72 diskuterar författaren frågan om krönikeskrivarnas attityd till biskoparnas deltagande i uppror och krig och hänvisar till ett arbete av Anna Waśko: «Iakttagelsen förefaller i linje med Anna Waśkos påstående att biskoparnas delaktighet i militära insatser betraktades som en oproblematisk självklarhet för 1400-talets historieskrivare. Jag finner emellertid Waśkos slutsats förhastad». Det är intressant att ärkebiskop Jöns Bengtssons resning får skarp kritik i Olaus Petris krönika: ”Och war thenne Erchebiscop Jöns then första biscop som sich vpsatte emoot sina retta överheet, Men han betalade thet sedhan dyrt noogh, Honom war gudz ordh befalet, ther skulle han haffua straffat konungen med, thå han orett giorde, Swerdit war honom inthit befalet, thet toogh han sich sielffuom, och monge andra til skade och förderff . . .”[3] Detta uttalande hänger samman med reformatorernas och renässanshumanisternas kritik av den medeltida kyrkans misskötsel. Men hur som helst förtjänar det uppmärksamhet i samband med frågan om krönikeförfattarnas attityder till biskoparnas krigföring.

På s. 266. diskuterar avhandlingens författare problemet med krönikeskrivarnas attityd till drottning Margareta. Även i detta fall skulle det vara på sin plats att studera omdömen och uppgifter om Margareta i Olais Petris krönika, i *Vadstenadiariet* och i Johannes Magnus stora krönika.

Här är ytterligare en anmärkning. Hohenthal diskuterar problemet med ritualiserad tid i ett brett sammanhang; han anför exempel han hämtar i flera olika skrifter, inte bara i de fyra huvudkällorna. I detta sammanhang skulle det vara på sin plats att ägna uppmärksamhet åt ytterligare en källa: Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser. Där är helgonen ofta aktiva på «sin» dag och «sin» plats. Ett exempel är episoden där Birgitta har en vision av Sankt Franciscus på hans minnesdag, varpå hon gör en resa till Franciscus grav i Assisi och har ett andligt samtal med honom i en ny vision.

Författarens omdömen beträffande Sveriges socialhistoria och politiska historia måste i vissa fall konkretiseras och kontextualiseras. Hohenthal anmärker: ”Den starka staten, med en närmast ohotad kungamakt vid rodret, var fortfarande i vardande”. Man kan fråga sig under viken tid kungamakten kände sig ohotad i sitt förhållande till aristokratin och andra samhällsgrupper. Frågan om kungamaktens position och styrka, även när den ställs i förbigående, bör diskuteras med hänsyn till forskningslitteraturen.[4]

Och jag saknar ytterligare några hänvisningar till forskningslittetatur i Hohenthals avhandling. Författaren rör vid frågan om län i det medeltida Sverige (se s. 22) men

[3] Olavus Petri 1917: 197.

[4] Exempelvis Nilsson 1952: 1–144; Roberts 1966: 1–45; Runeby 1962: 1–619.

han omnämner inte det viktigaste forskningsarbetet som fokuserar på denna problematik: Birgitta Fritz, *Hus, land och län*. På s. 25 diskuterar Hohenthal frågan om *Engelbrektskrönikan* som också kallas för *Karlskrönikan första del* eller *Karlskrönikans Engelbrektsdel*. Tyvärr nämner han inte den moderna utgåvan av den nämnda skriften som har varit genomförd av en så meriterad och erkänd specialist som Sven-Bertil Jansson.[6]

På s. 18 tecknar Hohenthal 1450-talet som Kalmarunionens tid. Jag är ense med författaren, men det finns en annan uppfattning – att den nämnda perioden inte får kallas för Kalmarunionens tid och att själva Kalmarunionen är en myt. Denna uppfattning har fått sitt uttryck i Markus Hedemanns polemik mot Harald Gustafsson. På avhandlingens sida 21 läser vi följande: ”1397 hade Erik av Pommern krönts till svensk kung i Kalmar . . .” Man bör formulera denna mening mer exakt: *till svensk och dansk kung*. Ett liknande fel träffar vi på s. 39. Hohenthal karakteriserar Kalmar recess som ”avtalet som slöts mellan de tre rikenas rådsherrar i Kalmar 1483”. I själva verket var detta *ett dokument som utarbetades av danska och svenska rådsherrar*. Norska rådsherrar deltog nämligen inte i Kalmarmötet 1483. Och i detta fall skulle det vara på sin plats att hänvisa den viktigaste undersökningen där Kalmar recess står i fokus – monografin *Kalmar recess* av Gottfrid Carlsson.[7]

Som jag har anmärkt ovan, håller Hohenthals översättningar en hög nivå. En tolkning kan emellertid sättas i fråga. På s. 117. gör författaren följande översättning av ett ställe i Ericus Olais krönika: ”Då anlände från Viborg Karl Knutsson, rikets marsk och tidigare riksföreståndare, i stort sällskap *av sina underlydande*...”. ’Underlydande’ är en riktig tolkning av begreppet *familia* som står i den latinska texten. Men *familia* kan även betyda ’en krigshär’, ’en skara’, ’ett väpnat följe’, och denna typ av översättning passar ännu bättre i den här kontexten.[8] Ericus Olai grundar sig här på *Karlskrönikans* berättelse, och *Karlskrönikans* författare understryker viktigheten av den nämnda följen för Karl Knutssons säkerhet:

> . . . tha marsken thenne tidande sporde
> kosteliga han sik rede giorde
> bade mz folk skip oc spis...

[5] Fritz 1972–1973.

[6] Jansson 1994: 1–216.

[7] Carlsson 1955.

[8] Se exempelvis (Westerbergh & Odelman 1968: 426–427), uppslagsorden *familia* och *familiaris*. Jag tackar varmt Espen Karlsen (Universitetet i Oslo) och Per Stobaeus (Lunds universitet) för ett givande meningsutbyte beträffande latinsk terminologi.

> vid viij[c] [800] riddare oc swena hade han mz sikk
> ty han wille fara säkerlich . . . (Klemming 1866: 254)[9]

Ett intressant begrepp som förtjänar en diskussion finner vi på avhandlingens s. 189. Hohenthal skriver "de befäste dessa löften med fruktansvärda eder (*terribilia iuramenta*)". Det står inte säkert att *terribilia* betyder 'fruktansvärda' här. Jag skulle snarare uppfatta uttrycket *juramenta terribilia* som en motsvarighet till fornsvenska uttryck *grova eder* eller *stora eder*. Adjektivet *terribilis* har här, av allt att döma, betydelsen 'stor', 'allvarlig'.[10]

Slutligen vill jag svara på kritik. Författaren gör flera hänvisningar till mina arbeten, och hans attityd till min forskning verkar i allmänhet vara konstruktiv och ganska positiv. En av mina slutsatser har emellertid vederlagts av Hohenthal. Det handlar om min konklusion att Ericus Olai vid sin beskrivning av fornsvenska sagokungar från Ynglingaätten skulle ha utnyttjat inte bara sin huvudkälla, *Prosaiska krönikan*, utan även skriften *Historia Norwegie* från 1100-talets slut eller 1200-talets början.[11] Hohenthal slår fast att det snarare handlar om den senare svenska avskriften av en del i *Historia Norwegie* än om den fullständiga versionen av den nämnda skriften. Jag erkänner att kritiken är rättvis. Huvudfrågan var för mig emellertid följande: Hur arbetade Ericus Olai, vilka var hans metoder? I detta sammanhang är det inte så viktigt i vilken form Ericus Olai använde sig av *Historia Norwegie* – i dess fullständiga skick eller i form av den förvanskade och kortfattade avskriften. Det viktigaste är hur han brukade denna skrift och hur han kombinerade dess meddelanden med uppgifterna i *Prosaiska krönikan*, hur självständig och kreativ han var när han sökte och omarbetade historiska uppgifter. Och det är symptomatiskt nog att Christian Hohenthal är ense med mig när det handlar om ett avsnitt som är av särskilt intresse för honom – berättelsen om kung Olaf Trätälja:

> På ett övergripande plan ligger emellertid uppgiften om Olof Trätäljas hedersamma begravning i linje med Scheglovs iakttagelse att Ericus inte bara skrev av sina källor utan också infogade nya uppgifter i sin framställning.

[9] "När marsken fick kännedom om dessa nyheter, / förberedde han sig utmärkt / genom att försörja sig med mycket folk, många skepp och mycket proviant… / Han hade ungefär 800 riddare och svenner med sig, / eftersom han ville resa i säkerhet…" (Översättning: Andrej Scheglov).

[10] Exempel på användning av adverbet *terribiliter* med betydelser av typen 'allvarligt', 'strängt' finns i följande ordbok: (Arnaldi & Smiraglia 2001: 874), uppslagsordet *terribiliter*.

[11] Scheglov 2020: 205–233.

Överlag kan jag konstatera att det finns vissa moment i avhandlingen i fråga som förtjänar att diskuterats. Samtidigt står det klart att avhandlingen är ett intressant och grundligt arbete och att detta är en värdefull insats i studier av Sveriges medeltida krönikeskrivning samt i forskningen rörande Sveriges medeltidshistoria i allmänhet.

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Andrey Scheglov, PhD, is a leading research fellow at the Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences. His latest monograph is"Naveki vmeste": Shveciya, Daniya i Norvegiya v XIV–XV vekah ("Forever united": Sweden, Denmark and Norway from the 14th to the 15th century) (Saint Petersburg, 2022). Scheglov is also the author of numerous scholarly articles published in Russia and abroad. E-mail: ascheglov@mail.ru.

Novus forlag · eISSN 2387-6700

Eufemian laulut. Suomentanut Harry Lönnroth. 333 s. Warelia Kustannus Oy. Sastamala 2023. ISBN 978-952-387-049-9

Anmeldelse av Oskar Vistdal

En ledende spesialist i svensk middelalderspråk og litteratur er professor Harry Lönnroth ved Jyväskylä universitet med en rekke grunnleggende publikasjoner innenfor både dette og øvrige fagområder som sosiolingvistikk og oversettelsesvitenskap. På det skjønnlitterære felt har han utmerket seg med oversettelser fra gammelsvensk til finsk av *Erikskrøniken* (sammen med Martti Linna) i 2013 og av *Eufemiavisene, Eufemian laulut*, i 2023 utgitt av forlaget Warelia i Sastamala.

Med *Eufemiavisene* kom i begynnelsen av det 14. århundre den kontinentale ridderdiktning og beretningene om den britanniske kong Arthur og ridderne av det runde bord til Norden. Originalenes metrum er parrimet knittelsvers etter tysk forbilde og omfatter henimot 12.000 vers, som i den nye finske gjendiktningen fyller 275 sider, og er ikke bare det eldste, men også et av de mest omfattende verk i svensk middelalderlitteratur.

Eufemiavisene kan parallellføres med omtrent samtidig middelalderdiktning som *La Chanson de Roland*, *Nibelungenlied*, Eschenbachs *Parzival* og Chaucers *Canterbury Tales*. *Eufemiavisene* er en riddertrilogi, samlebetegnelsen på tre frittstående versromaner i eldre eller klassisk gammelsvensk oversettelse fra fransk, lavtysk og norrønt: *Ivan løveridder*, *Hertug Fredrik av Normandie* og *Flores og Blanzeflor*. *Ivan løveridder* er den mest omfattende og rommer omtrent halvparten av bokens tekstmengde, mens *Hertug Fredrik* og *Flores og Blanzeflor* fyller hver sin fjerdedel. Noen år etter *Eufemiavisene* oppstod den mer kjente rimkrønike om hertug Erik Magnusson, *Erikskrøniken*, som er metrisk og stilistisk influert av *Eufemiavisene*.

Ivan løveridder er en oversettelse av Chrétien de Troyes' versroman *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion* fra det 12. århundres siste fjerdedel. Den støtter seg også på *Ívens saga*, versromanens norrøne prosaoversettelse. Hovedpersonen Ivan er kong Arthurs nevø og tapreste væpner. Han oppsøker en fortryllet vannkilde, dreper dens vokter og ekter hans enke, den underdeilige Laudine, for så å dra på turnering med kongen, men lover å vende tilbake innen et år. Han bryter imidlertid løftet, og forstøtes dermed av Laudine. I sorg og sinne over avvisningen drives han til vanvidd, streifer naken omkring i ødemarken i sult og savn inntil en eneboer forbarmer seg over ham. Galskapen helbredes med en magisk salve og øvrige prøvelser overvinnes ved hjelp av bl.a. en usynlighetsring. Med gjenvunnet førlighet utøver han videre ridderlige heltedåder, redder bl.a. en løve fra å bli drept av en slange, siden blir løven hans trofaste følgesvenn og beskytter, derav tilnavnet „løveridder“. Med mange respektinngytende bedrifter lykkes det ham endelig atter å gjøre seg verdig til Laudines gunst.

En samtidig med kong Arthur er også hertug Fredrik, som i likhet med Ivan oppnår sine mål med en usynlighetsring, belønning for å ha bistått en dvergkonge med å slå ned et opprør; han vrister en skotsk kongesønn og en engelsk prinsesse ut av en jettes grumme grep, befrir med ringens hjelp den irske kongedatter Floria fra fangenskap, overlever et forlis under flukt med henne, ekter Floria og får i medgift det irske kongeriket, hvoretter de fører et ridderlig regime inntil døden skiller dem ad. I epilogen meddeles at fortellingen er basert på en senerehen tapt tysk oversettelse fra fransk på oppdrag fra den tysk-romerske keiser Otto, trolig Otto IV.

I kjærlighetshistorien om den muslimske (mauriske) prins Flores og den lavbårne kristne jomfru Blanzeflor vil kong Fenix av Apolis i grensetraktene mellom Frankrike og Spania hindre sønnen i å gifte seg under sin stand og oven i kjøpet med en vantro, og bevirker at Blanzeflor selges som slavinne og havner i den babylonske konges harem. Flores klarer imidlertid å befri henne, også han ved hjelp av en ring i en drabelig duell, de gifter seg, Flores lar seg døpe og de ender sine fromme liv i kloster. Fortellingen utspiller seg i motsetning til de to øvrige ikke i kong Arthurs krets og har trolig bysantinsk opprinnelse, formidlet gjennom den franske versroman *Floire et Blancheflor* og dens forkortede norrøne prosaoversettelse *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*. Den svenske oversetter tør likesom i tilfellet *Ivan løveridder* ha støttet seg til begge.

Det eldste bevarte svenske håndskrift av *Flores og Blanzeflor* er et to blads fragment fra ca. 1350 i Finlands nasjonalbibliotek, avbildet på innbretten av den nye finske utgaven. *Eufemiavisene* i sin helhet er overlevert i et tyvetalls avskrifter fra det 15. og 16. århundre.

I epilogene opplyses at dronning Eufemia i årene 1303, 1308 og 1312 lot oversette fortellingene „aff valske“ eller „aff thydzko och j swænskæ thungo“, dvs. fra vallonsk (fransk) eller tysk. Oversetteren er ukjent, men trekk i hans språk tyder på vestsvensk herkomst. Det har vært gjettet på klerken Peter Algotsson, som var diplomatutdannet fra Paris og hadde tilknytning til hirden i Oslo. Det er interessant at det eldste gammelsvenske diktverk således oppstod i Norge.

Oppdragsgiversken, hertuginne Eufemia fra Rügen, kom til Oslo i 1299, ble gift med kong Håkon V. Magnusson og ble dermed Norges dronning. Den gang var kongsgården i Oslo et sentrum for nordisk hoffkultur, hvis sentrale skikkelse var nettopp den internasjonalt innflytelsesrike dronning Eufemia. Med sin kontinentale bakgrunn kom hun til å påvirke både norsk og svensk kulturutvikling i det 14.

århundre. Lönnroth karakteriserer henne som en mektig mesen. Hennes og kong Håkons enbårne datter Ingeborg ble i 1302 som ettåring (!) forlovet med den tyveårige hertug Erik Magnusson, *Erikskrønikens* helt. Bryllupet skulle stå i 1307, men utsattes til 1312. I anledning av datterens forlovelse og giftermål lot Eufemia oversette de tre fortellinger som gave til hertug Erik på hans eget språk. Med sitt store omfang er de en milepæl i utviklingen av svensk språk og litteratur. Deres tilblivelseshistorie gjør dem dertil grenseoverskridende eller fellesnordiske.

Lönnroth betoner i sin instruktive innledning betydningen av semantiske forskyvninger og stilistiske endringer i språket ikke bare mellom middelalder og nåtid, men like meget mellom de forskjellige faser i grunntekstenes tilblivelse og tradering. Enn videre utviklingen i oversettelsesvirksomhetens metode og praksis. Den gammelsvenske oversetter foretok valg som ikke er åpenbart korrekte fra et nåtidig perspektiv. Både i middelalderen og langt senere var grensen mellom oversettelse i snevrere moderne forstand og friere bearbeidelse flytende. *Eufemiavisenes* formidler beveger seg således temmelig fritt i grenselandet mellom nøyaktig oversettelse og egen tildiktning.

I middelalderens litteraturformidling spilte øret en minst like stor rolle som øyet, dvs. lytting til opplesning eller individuell høytlesning. *Eufemiavisene* lestes høyt, muligvis under ledsagelse av psalter, lutt eller andre instrumenter, hvilket øvet innflytelse på stil, rytmikk og fremstillingsmåte: Jegfortelleren opptrer som en barde eller resitatør som vil behage og engasjere sitt publikum ved å spørre: „Vil dere høre mer?" „Skal jeg fortelle om flere underlige hendelser?" Lignende henvendelse til tilhørerne forekommer bl.a. i eddadiktene, således i *Völuspá*: „Vituð ér enn, eða hvat?" Lönnroth har søkt å bevare sådanne særtrekk, bl.a. i dialogene. I samme øyemed har han gitt oversettelsen en historisk patina med et lett arkaiserende ordforråd preget av chevaleresk verdighet.

Lönnroth redegjør videre for sin oversettelsesstrategi, som han kaller epoketilpasset. Med sin prosaoversettelse av de knittelmetriske fortellinger har han villet gjøre den arthurianske litteraturs nordiske hovedverker tilgjengelige på moderne finsk ved å tilstrebe en tekst som gjenspeiler originalenes tidsbilde på en vitenskapelig adekvat, men samtidig en for nåtidslesere kommunikativt funksjonell måte. For å lette så vel lesningen som muligheten for sammenligning mellom oversettelse og grunntekst har han i overensstemmelse med nyere svenske utgaver tilføyet mellomtitler, respektive kapitteloverskrifter forsynt med originalenes versnummer. Lönnroth innrømmer at middelalderens ofte formelaktige, forblommede og flertydige språk ikke har vært enkelt å overføre til flytende og fattelig finsk prosa uten å rokke ved grunntekstenes ånd og bokstav. En ytterligere komplikasjon er at tekstenes mangeårige og flerfasige tradering mellom flere språk har forårsaket stedvis springende handlingsforløp på bekostning av beretningens logiske sammenheng. En tredje utfordring er fremherskende latinskpreget hypotaktisk setningsbygning, som undertiden fremtvinger nivellerende valg for å oppnå flyt i teksten. Påkrevet var i øvrig bl.a. harmonisering av tempusbruk (nåtid eller fortid) og tiltaleformer (*De* eller *du*), samt utelatelse av tallrike tilsynelatende overflødige steds- og tidsangivelser (*nå, da, siden, her, der* osv.), som snarere hemmer enn fremmer forståelsen. Lönnroth har imidlertid funnet overbevisende løsninger, hans oversettelse er i det hele tatt en bragd med en heldig kombinasjon av originaltroskap og leservennlighet.

Eufemiavisene har lenge beskjeftiget nordiske forskere. De første utgavene er blant Svenska fornskriftsällskapets eldste publikasjoner fra 1840-årene, men de er temmelig foreldet og oppfyller ikke moderne tekstkritikks fordringer. I samme selskap utkom i 1920- og 1930-årene Emil Olsons og Erik Noreens standardutgaver. Lönnroth har basert sin oversettelse på disse og på Henrik Williams' og Bo Ralphs kommentar-utgaver fra 2018. For dette redegjør Lönnroth, som dessuten har utstyrt sin bok med et par hundre opplysende språk- og kulturhistoriske anmerkninger samt en liste over de mange reelle og fiktive person- og stedsnavn i fortellingene. Den fyldige litteraturlisten inneholder dessuten de mest sentrale nyere forskningsbidrag om *Eufemiavisene*, foruten svenske og danske publikasjoner den norske praktutgaven *Eufemia – Oslos middelalderdronning*, redigert av Bjørn Bandlien og utgitt i 2012 ved 700-årsminnet for dronningens død. Lönnroth nevner også at *Eufemiavisene* i tillegg til de middelalderske foreligger i en rekke nyere oversettelser til flere språk, bl.a. til norsk av Olaug Berdal fra årene 1985–1988. Det kan tilføyes at den norrøne sagavariant *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* finnes i norsk oversettelse av Birgit Nyborg fra 2005.

Under arbeidet med *Eufemian laulut* lot Lönnroth seg inspirere av Oslos middelalderby, gjennomløpt av Dronning Eufemias gate. Han har høstet stor anerkjennelse for utgaven i Finland, ikke minst for dens språklige og stilistiske kvaliteter. Overføringen av kronglet og kløanet middelaldersyntaks til lett og lødig nåtidsspråk uten å måtte gå på akkord med originalverkets stemning og egenart betegnes i finske anmeldelser som meget vellykket. Likeledes fremheves det vel varetatte opprinnelige underholdningspreg, som i sin tidløshet tiltaler også nyere tiders lesere og lyttere.

Kilder

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Oskar Vistdal, Cand. philol. med nordisk hovedfag, finsk og tysk mellomfag. Tidligere lektor ved Islands universitet og Tammerfors universitet. Oversetter av islandsk, finsk og tysk litteratur.