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are quite different in the arrangement and their actual contents. *Konungsbók* contains sections on Christian law, assembly procedures, homicide, a *wergild* ring list, truce and peace speeches, sections on the lawspeaker, the law council, inheritance, incapable persons, betrothal, land claims, investments, searches, duties of communes, tithes, as well as a number of miscellaneous provisions. Certain sections and paragraphs can be found in both codices, others in only one; for example, *þingskapabáttir*, the section on assembly procedures, *logsogumannsbáttir*, the section on the lawspeaker, and *baugatal*, the *wergild* ring list, are not preserved in *Staðarhólsbók*, whereas its regulations are often more detailed than those in *Konungsbók*. According to Finsen, both versions are recensions of material relating to the same original MS. There was much dispute about the character of this original version, and our actual MSS, which are considered private collections, are thus more or less detailed at the whim or the memory of the scribe. Other sources have been suggested, such as lawspeakers' notes, customary practice, or judgments. Vilhjálmur Finsen (1852–83), on the other hand, conceived of *Grágás* as the laws accepted by the Law Council. Their development can be studied in some detail. Few laws can be dated. Many new laws are *nýmæli* ("novelty"); they were hardly considered definitive.

Grágás differs in certain respects from the Old Norwegian law that the settlers brought to Iceland. It is much more detailed, showing less alliteration and fewer picturesque and proverbial expressions than its early continental Scandinavian counterparts. It has been suggested that *Grágás* acquired a bookish appearance because of various revisions of the originally oral law, perhaps as early as 1117/8, when the laws were first committed to writing by Haflíði Másson as related in Ari's *Íslendingabók*, ch. 10. Our texts presumably represent the law of the 12th century basically in the form that was recited by the lawspeaker. Even if it is difficult to imagine that extensive passages had to be remembered in a style with few mnemonic devices, recent research points out that there is a correlation between the age of the texts and the amount of rhetoric applied to them.

After the Icelandic submission to the Norwegian king in 1262–1264, *Grágás* was soon superseded by *Járnstíða* (1271–1281), and eventually replaced by *Jónsbók*. Both law codes did not replace the Christian-law section of *Grágás*, which remained in force until 1354 in the diocese of Hólar, whereas in the diocese of Skálholt, Bishop Árni issued his own church law in 1275.

Ed.: Páll Eggert Ólason, ed. *The Codex Regius of Grágás*. Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi, 3. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1932 [facsimile]; Ólafur Lárusson, ed. *Staðarhólsbók: The Ancient Lawbooks Grágás and Járnstíða*. Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi, 9. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1936 [facsimile]; Vilhjálmur Finsen, ed. *Grágás*. 3 vols. Vol. 1a-b: *Grágás: Íslændernes Lovbog i Fristatens Tid, udgivet efter Det Kongelige Bibliotheks Haandskrift*. Copenhagen: Berling, 1852; Vol. 2: *Grágás efter det Arnemagnæanske Haandskrift Nr. 334 fol., Staðarhólsbók*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1879; Vol. 3: *Grágás: Stykker, som findes i det Arnemagnæanske Haandskrift Nr. 351 fol. Skálholtsbók og en Række andre Haandskrifter*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1883. Tr.: Dennis, Andrew, et al., trans. *Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás*. I. University of Manitoba Icelandic Studies, 3. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1980. Bib.: Halldór Hermannsson. *The Ancient Laws of Norway and Iceland*. Islandica, 4. Ithaca: Cornell University Library, 1911; rpt. New York: Kraus, 1966; Townsend, J. A. B. "The Ancient Laws of Norway and Iceland: A Bibliographical Supplement to . . . Islandica 4." M.A. thesis, University of London,

1961. Lit.: Ólafur Lárusson. *Grágás og lögbækurnar*. Árbók Háskóla Íslands, 1922. Fylgirit. Reykjavík, 1923; Ólafur Lárusson. "On Grágás—The Oldest Icelandic Code of Law." *The Third Viking Congress*. Árbók hins Íslenszka fornleifafélags. Fylgirit, 1957/8. Reykjavík, 1958, pp. 77–89; Widding, Ole. "Håndskriftanalyser, 5. GKS 1157 fol. Hånd A i Konungsbók af Grágás." *Opuscula* 2.1. Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana, 25.1. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1961, pp. 65–75. Ehrhardt, Harald. *Der Stabreim in altnordischen Rechtstexten*. Skandinavistische Arbeiten, 2. Heidelberg: Winter, 1977; Fix, H. *Grágás. Graphemische Untersuchungen zur Handschrift GKS 1157 fol.* Europäische Hochschulschriften, 1, 325. Frankfurt, etc.: Lang, 1979; Fix, H. "Poetisches im altisländischen Recht. Zur Zwillingsformel in Grágás und Jónsbók." In *Sprachen und Computer: Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Hans Eggers, 9. Juli 1982*. Ed. Hans Fix et al. Sprachwissenschaft—Computerlinguistik, 9. Dudweiler: AQ-Verlag, 1982, pp. 187–206.

Hans Fix

[See also: *Jónsbók*; Laws]

Grámagaflífm see Björn Arngeirsson Httðælakappi

Grammatical Treatises. Old Icelandic literature has handed down some of the earliest and most remarkable instances of the application of medieval linguistic thought to the description of European vernaculars. This type of learning, which is the only direct evidence of native language studies in the whole of medieval Scandinavia, is essentially preserved in four writings, traditionally known as "grammatical treatises" (Icelandic *málfræðiritgerðir*).

This body of writings, datable approximately between the middle of the 12th and the middle of the 14th century, is transmitted in its entirety in only one MS, AM 242 fol. (from the second half of the 14th century), better known as the *Codex Wormianus* of Snorri's *Edda*. Here, the four treatises are introduced by a "Prologue," which is found only in this MS. Since none of these works bears a title of its own, they were named by early researchers according to their succession in the *Codex Wormianus*, the names "First," "Second," "Third," and "Fourth Grammatical Treatise" (here abbreviated FIGT, SGT, TGT, FoGT, respectively) have since become canonical, not least because for a long time it was taken for granted that this was their actual chronological order.

For two of the treatises, the FIGT and the FoGT, the *Codex Wormianus* also represents the only witness. The SGT is known in a somewhat different version, apparently nearer to the original and accompanied by two illustrative figures, also from the codex De la Gardie 11 in the Uppsala University Library (early 14th century), currently referred to as the *Codex Upsaliensis* of Snorri's *Edda*. More articulated and complex is the MS tradition of the TGT, which, in addition to being part of the collection in the *Codex Wormianus*, is also transmitted in two other Arnemagnæan MSS, AM 701-1 4to (early 14th century), in a version that is regarded as the nearest to the original, and AM 757a 4to (late 14th century). The tradition shows several lacunae and, even though a reciprocal integration of the three witnesses is possible in the majority of cases, a part of the text, albeit reasonably limited (about one MS page), is unrecoverable. All the witnesses of the Old Icelandic grammatical treatises invariably appear in MSS containing Snorri's *Edda* or parts of it, which clearly points to the fact that the ancient Icelanders used to associate them with this work and consequently with the theory of Old Norse versification.

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The four treatises were written with the primary purpose of providing young Icelandic students with basic instruments for learning writing and the correct use of language, particularly in view of its application to literary composition, without resorting, at least in the initial stage of their curriculum, to Latin textbooks. Yet each treatise has a well-defined character that differentiates it from all the others, especially if we consider it beyond its merely didactic aspect.

The FiGT, written around the middle of the 12th century, may be viewed as an early attempt to establish a firm and unambiguous orthographic norm by adapting the Latin alphabet to the actual needs of the Icelandic language, on the example of what other western nations, notably the Anglo-Saxons, had already been doing for centuries. Yet the author went far beyond this practical aim, attaining results in the method of phonological analysis that were quite extraordinary for the time.

As to the aim of the SGT, scholars disagree. Some ascribe to it the predominant intention to reorganize and rationalize an orthographic practice that, since the introduction of writing into Iceland, had become increasingly inconsistent and confused; others have seen in it a sort of linguistic introduction to the *Háttatal*, i.e., the section of Snorri's *Edda* dealing with types and structure of meters. More recently, others have inferred from its plain orthographic pattern a sophisticated treatment of distributional phoneme analysis and of minimal-syllable structure. Opinions also diverge concerning its date of composition: the datings proposed so far oscillate between the close of the 12th century and the last three decades of the 13th century.

The TGT is the only one with a known author. It was written around 1250 by Óláfr Þórðarson, the famous skald and Snorri Sturluson's nephew. Divided into two main sections, traditionally referred to as *Málfræðinnar grundvöllr* ("the foundations of grammar") and *Málskrúðsfræði* ("the science of language ornament"), this is the most comprehensive of the four treatises and, in fact, the only one that fully deserves the name "grammatical." In its first section, in addition to a general treatment of the various types of sounds occurring in nature, of the letters, the syllable, and the eight parts of speech according to the Latin tradition, it includes a thorough comparison between the Latin alphabet and the Old Scandinavian (Danish) *fubark*. The second section is entirely devoted to the exposition of the principal figures of speech, thoroughly in line with the tenets of classical rhetoric, but fully illustrated by examples drawn from Old Norse poetry.

The FoGT is practically a continuation and a completion of the second part of TGT. Since it was composed about one century later, it partly draws its illustrative material from later Icelandic poetry, often of a religious nature, and, when no suitable examples are available from tradition, the author introduces verses apparently composed *ad hoc* by himself.

The Prologue preceding the four grammatical treatises in the *Codex Wormianus*, whose function and significance are still a matter of discussion, seems to originate from the same author as the FoGT.

Concerning the sources, or, to use a more appropriate term, the theoretical foundations of the Old Icelandic grammatical treatises, it may be said, as a general rule, that they largely rely upon the classical grammatical tradition as transmitted by eminent medieval authors, such as Donatus Aelius, Priscian of Caesarea, Petrus Helias, Alexander of Villedieu, and Eberhard of Béthune. Nevertheless, all of them are characterized, to a more or less con-

siderable extent, by a marked tendency toward interpretative autonomy and originality of elaboration, as well as by the imprint, not always plainly observable on the surface, of a preexistent attitude toward an accurate linguistic analysis, fostered by an age-long acquaintance with runic epigraphy and skaldic poetry.

Ed.: Björn Magnússon Ólsen, ed. *Den Tredje og Fjærde Grammatiske Afhandling i Snorres Edda Tilligemed de Grammatiske Afhandlingers Prolog og To Andre Tillæg*. Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 12; Islands grammatiske litteratur i middelalderen, 2. Copenhagen: Knudtzon, 1884 [TGT, FoGT, and the Prologue, with an ample introduction covering Old Icelandic grammatical literature as a whole]; Haugen, Einar, ed. *First Grammatical Treatise: The Earliest Germanic Phonology*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1972 [English translation]; Hreinn Benediktsson, ed. *The First Grammatical Treatise*. University of Iceland Publications in Linguistics, 1. Reykjavik: Institute of Nordic Linguistics, 1972 [the most comprehensive study of the FiGT to date, accompanied by English translation]; Albano Leoni, Federico, ed. *Il primo trattato grammaticale islandese*. Studi Linguistici e Semilogici, 5. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1975 [Italian translation]; Raschella, Fabrizio D., ed. *The So-Called Second Grammatical Treatise: An Orthographic Pattern of Late Thirteenth-Century Icelandic*. Filologia Germanica: Testi e Studi, 2. Florence: Le Monnier, 1982 [English translation]. Lit.: Mogk, Eugen. "Untersuchungen zur Snorra-Edda. I. Der sogenannte zweite grammatische traktat der Snorra-Edda." *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 22 (1889), 129–67; Holtsmark, Anne. *En islandsk scholasticus fra det 12. århundrede*. Skrifter utg. av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1936, no. 3. Oslo: Dybwad, 1936 [on the intellectual background of the FiGT]; Raschella, Fabrizio D. "Die altisländische grammatische Literatur. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven zukünftiger Untersuchungen." *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 235 (1983), 271–315; Braunmüller, Kurt. "Fandtes der en fonotaktisk analyse i middelalderen?" In *The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics* 5. Ed. K. Ringgaard and V. Sørensen. Århus: Nordisk Institut, Aarhus Universitet, 1984, pp. 221–9 [on the alleged phonotactic analysis underlying the orthographic pattern of the SGT]; Albano Leoni, Federico. "Donato in Thule. *Kenningar e tropi nel terzo trattato grammaticale islandese*." *AION-Filologia Germanica* 28–9 (1985–86), 1–15 [on the reception of Latin rhetoric in the TGT].

Fabrizio D. Raschella

[See also: *Snorra Edda*]

Graves. In northern Europe, numerous cemeteries with inhumation and cremation burials are known from the Viking Age, containing grave goods that can generally be dated to the 9th, 10th, and early 11th centuries. After christianization (from the end of the 10th century onward), cremation burials and grave goods disappear. In some regions, however, graves were equipped with goods up to the late 11th and 12th (Gotland, Dalarna, western Finland) and 13th centuries (Karelia), or even later (Saami regions in northern Fennoscandia). The diversity of cemeteries and grave forms may be illustrated by two local and regional examples in Hedeby and Viking Age Denmark (southern Scandinavia), as well as Birka and the Målar region (middle Sweden).

Hedeby, Viking Age Denmark. In connection with the protourban settlement of Hedeby (late 8th–11th century), six cemeteries of varying size have been found (Fig. 36). The largest cemetery (Fig 36, F) was detected south of the semicircular wall surrounding the main settlement areas, where about 700 graves