

From Orality to Literacy

Remembering the Past and the Present in *Jóns saga helga*

Landnámabók tells the story of the settler Örlygr Hrappsson, who wished to travel to Iceland from the Hebrides where he had stayed with bishop Patrick. According to *Landnámabók*, the bishop gave him “kirkjuvið ok járnklukku ok plenárium ok mold vígða”¹ to take to the new country.

The settler Örlygr was a Christian and among the things representing Christianity in this short tale was a book. Christianity brought books and the art of reading and writing to Iceland. The newly converted population soon needed priests so the need for formal training was deeply felt. The first native bishop, Ísleifr, was son of Gizurr, one of the chieftains first to accept Christianity and one of the leaders of the Christian party during the conversion, which took place in the year 1000. Conscious of the need for formal education, Gizurr sent his son to a nunnery in Herford in Saxony where he was taught by a well-known abbess. He returned an ordained priest, was consecrated bishop of Iceland in 1056 and consequently established the first school in Iceland.²

The biographies of the Icelandic bishops (ca. 1200–mid 14th century), especially the two saintly bishops Þorlákr Þórhallsson and Jón Ögmundsson, are the most important sources of formal teaching and learning in medieval Iceland. They tell of teaching and learning in cathedral schools, private schools and, also, the role of women in educating the younger generation. *Jóns saga helga*, will be the main subject of my paper. St. Jón Ögmundarson (1052–1121) was con-

¹ *Landnámabók* 1968, ch. 15 *Landnámabók*, *Sturlubók* version. The *Hauksbók* version reads: “plenárium ok járnklokku ok gullpenning ok mold vígða”.

² *Biskupa sögur* 2002, 6; Köhne 1970, 1–38; Jochens 1999, 655.

secrated in 1106 as the first bishop of the diocese of Hólar. His bones were disinterred and washed in 1198, in 1200 they were enshrined and the Alþingi officially recognized his cult. The *vita* and *acta* of St Jón, *Jóns saga helga*, has a complicated textual history. The oldest *Jóns saga*, now lost, was, according to Peter Foote, a vernacular work produced at the same time as a Latin life of the bishop written by the monk Gunnlaugr Leifsson (d. 1217/1218). The oldest version now preserved (*S*) is an abridged version of Gunnlaugr Leifsson's text. Another recension (*L*) was composed in the fourteenth century florid style, possibly by Bergr Sökkason. The third existing version (*H*) is a fourteenth century conflation of versions *S* and *L*.³

Jóns saga helga (version *L*) tells a charming and emotionally appealing story of a young girl, Hildir, who wishes to become a recluse. The story of Hildir is like a mini-legend and the only Icelandic narrative of a woman of a saintly character. Hildir's story also contains a narrative about another woman, Guðrún, who was called *kirkjukerling* or church-woman. Guðrún is depicted as a very devout person, as was Hildir, but bordering almost on insanity. The story tells of a night vigil over a corpse where she thinks she sees the body move on its bier, rise to its feet and reach for her. Guðrún cries out in terror, grabbing a reliquary to protect herself. Hildir is woken by the commotion and goes to the church. The church appears to be full of ghosts. Hildir is hardly able to move for fear, but resorts to calling upon the saintly bishop Jón. He appears in full vestments and with his crozier dispels the spirits.⁴ Hildir and Guðrún were unlike each other in many ways. Guðrún was a chatterbox and talked about everything she encountered, whilst Hildir was silent as a recluse was expected to be. However she related the above story to a woman named Oddný Knútsdóttir, who in turn later told the hagiographer Gunnlaugr Leifsson.⁵

Hagiography can be seen as a fusion of oral and written traditions or mentalities. As Evelyn Birge Vitz has pointed out, it is oral in three

³ Foote 2003, ccxiv–ccxli.

⁴ *Biskupa sögur* I 2003, 244–254.

⁵ *Biskupa sögur* I 2003, 252.

senses: First in its rhetorical, or oratorical, character. Second, it is oral in its narrative reliance on anecdotal material identical to those of the folktale. And third, it is oral, or even vocal and personal in its emphasis on prayer. Hagiography also has strong roots in the written. The narrative claims to historical status; it is related to liturgy, and the text functions as a sacred book. It moves from a story-telling mode, with emphasis on entertainment and charm and the ability to appeal to the emotions, to historiography with more interest in historical accuracy.⁶

Jóns saga was written about eighty years after the bishop's death. Therefore the hagiographer Gunnlaugr Leifsson had less information about the bishop's life than a contemporary writer. However, only two or three generations are between the first decades of the twelfth century to Gunnlaugr and his contemporaries. He has therefore had access to orally transmitted material his informants had kept in their memory and supplemented it with matter drawn from hagiographic literature. The writer's memory enabled him to weave together his works, stories he heard about St Jón besides related material which he may have kept in his memory. The dramatic experience of Guðrún and Hildir, if it ever happened, becomes an oral/aural narrative originally told by a woman, listened to and retold by another woman and finally written down as an authoritative text by a male clerical author. The original sounds, sights and gestures were transformed into words.

In recent years, numerous and various studies on medieval memory have appeared. Scholars have written on collective memory, cultural memory and educated or artificial memory, as opposed to natural memory.⁷ In Icelandic studies, the focus has mainly been on oral tradition and memory. Gísli Sigurðsson has argued that the struggle between secular and clerical powers is reflected in the conflict between literary and oral culture, when law, previously orally transmitted, become a fixed written text in a book. In his opinion, the most powerful families in the latter half of the twelfth century and into the thirteenth century are connected with the church and bookculture.⁸

⁶ Vitz 1991, 97–98.

⁷ Carruthers 1990; Hubrath 1996; Assmann 1992.

⁸ Gísli Sigurðsson 1994, 212; 2002, 57–71.

Oral culture obviously depended on memory and valued it highly, however, as Mary Carruthers has convincingly argued, medieval culture continued to be fundamentally memorial. Guðrún Nordal has shown how skaldic verse formed a link between the prevailing illiterate culture and the imported Latin bookculture.⁹ Catalogues in verse form such as *pulur* were common in the Middle Ages and were intended for training the memory.¹⁰

The art of memory was not devalued in literary societies. Indeed, the cultural role of memory seems independent of orality and literacy as these terms have come to be defined.¹¹ Mary Carruthers argues that the valuing of memoria persisted long after book technology itself had changed:

That is why the fact of books in themselves, which were much more available in the late Middle Ages than ever before, did not profoundly disturb the essential value of memory training until many centuries had passed. Indeed the very purpose of a book is differently understood in a memorial culture like that of the Middle Ages than it is today.¹²

Writing and literary culture did not replace memory, it supported it. In a memorial culture the book is only one way of many to remember a text. One of the functions of a book is therefore to be mnemonic. In a world of few books, one's education had to be memorized for one could never depend on having continuing access to specific material.¹³ In the preface to the thirteenth century chronicle *Hungrvaka*, its author writes that his aim is to put in writing what wise men have told him about the history of Christianity and the bishops of Iceland:

Bækling þenna kalla ek *Hungrvöku*, af því at svá mun mörgum mönnum ófróðum ok þó óvitrum gefit vera, þeim er hann hafa yfir farit, at miklu myndu gørr vilja vita upprás ok ævi þeira merkismanna er hér verðr fátt frá sagt á þessi skrá. En ek hefi þó nálíga öllu við slegit, at rita þat sem ek hefi í minni fest. Hefi ek af því þenna bækling saman settan, at eigi

⁹ Guðrún Nordal 2001.

¹⁰ Guðrún Nordal 2000, 5; see also Carruthers 1990, 80.

¹¹ Carruthers 1990, 10–11.

¹² Carruthers 1990, 8.

¹³ Carruthers 1990, 8; Hubrath 1996, 25–30.

falli mér með qllu ór minni þat er ek heyrða af þessu máli segja inn fróða mann Gizur Hallsson, ok enn nøkkura menn aðra merkiliga hafa í frásögn fært.¹⁴

Since memory was so important to medieval culture and education, books or treatises on memory and memory training were needed and used. Some of the works were from antiquity, others were composed in the Middle Ages. One of the most influential ones was *Ad herennium* which originated in 86–82 BC. According to *Ad herennium*, two types of memory exist: *una naturalis*, *altera artificialis*, a natural memory and an artificial one, which is memory strengthened or confirmed by training. The artificial memory comprises of places, or *loci*, on which pictures, images, can be placed. The art of memory is therefore seen as an inner writing: “For the places are very much like wax tablets or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like the script and the delivery is like the reading.”¹⁵ The fundamental principle in trained, educated memory is to divide the material to be remembered into pieces short enough to be recalled in single units and to key these into some sort of rigid easily reconstructable order. The first half of the preface to *Stjórn*, which is a loose translation of the preface to *Historia scholastica* by Peter Comestor, describes four ways of interpreting and understanding the scriptures.¹⁶ The preface shows how knowledge is organized in parts of a room, floor, walls and ceiling:

Þetta sama herbergi, heilög guðs ritning, hefir þrennar greinir eða hálfur: Þat er grundvöll, vegg ok þekju. Sagan sjálf er grundvöllr þessa heimuliga guðs húss ok herbergis. Sú skýring af heilagri skript sem segir hvat er hvert verkit í sögunni hefir at merka, er hinn hærrí veggrinn. En sú þýðing er þekjan sem oss skýrir þann skilning af þeim gerðum ok verkum er sagan hefir í sér, sem oss er til kennidóms hvat er oss hæfir af þeira framferðum ok eptirdæmum at gera eðr fram fara sem þá hefir frá verit sagt.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Biskupa sögur* 2002, 3.

¹⁵ Yates 1966, 5–7; Carruthers 1990, 122–155; Hubrath 1996, 74–88.

¹⁶ Sverrir Tómasson 1988, 115.

¹⁷ *Stjórn* 1862, 1–2. A similar example is the homily *Kirkjudagsprédikun*, in *Íslensk hómilíubók* 1993, 147–153.

Various imagery and metaphors were drawn from the mnemonic technique, with its ingenious visual and pictorial methods. The image of the memorial storehouse, in various forms, is frequent in pre-modern mnemonic practice. The storehouse, containers or boxes of different sizes where things are neatly kept in order, appears in several forms, such as *thesaurus*, *cella*, *cellula*, *arca* or *scrinium*. Bees and beehives are also frequent images. The bees collect honey and keep it in the compartments of the beehives. Books, knowledge and memory were also compared to meadows and flowers. Flowers were picked and collected, the corn, the food which the meadows produced, was digested. To keep something in the heart was understood throughout the Middle Ages to be a synonym for keeping in memory. Medical literature shows that although the physiology of consciousness was known to occur entirely in the brain, the metaphoric use of the heart for memory persisted. Writing in the heart is also a common biblical metaphor.¹⁸

The hagiographer of *Jóns saga* is interested in memory, not only as a source, but also as a tool for learning. The chapters in *Jóns saga* (version *L*) which describe education and learning are given special emphasis with *memoria image*. The young Jón is a model student:

Sem herra Ísleifr byskup undirstóð hversu vel Jón fóstri hans færði sér til nytsemðar þá góða hluti sem hann kenndi honum ok hversu vel þat sáðkorn fagrliga plantaðiz í *hjärtans akri* sem hann hafði nógliga í *sáð* meðr sínum ágætum kenningum ok fagrligum dæmum.¹⁹

In this text, *hjáarta* and *akr* are intertwined as *memoria* images. Later, Jón is able to remember a tune played on harp by King David in dream:

Af því bjóð, herra konungr, at mér sé nokkur harpa færð at ek prófi í yðru augliti hvárt nokkur partr þessa himneska hǫrpuslags hefir í *mínu hjarta eptir dvalst*.²⁰

The narrative illustrates and accentuates Bishop Jón's piety and educational zeal. It is told that the young Jón was sent to bishop Ísleifr

¹⁸ Carruthers 1990, 34–45; Hubrath 1996, 25–26.

¹⁹ *Biskupa sögur* 2003, 60–61. Italics in this and the following quotations are mine.

²⁰ *Jóns saga* 2003, 62.

at Skálholt to study, where he “þroskaðisk brátt í helgu námi ok góðum siðum” (“grew ripe in holy learning and good manners”). Since St Jón was the second Icelandic saint, his hagiographer makes an effort to show that he was no less worthy than his South-Icelandic counterpart, St Þorlákr. St Þorlákr was for a while the abbot of a monastery, which St Jón never was. Instead, the hagiographer emphasizes his school and describes it attractively like a model monastery. The bishop engaged two foreign teachers to teach in the school, the previously mentioned Gísli inn gauzki to teach Latin and the *grammatica* and the priest Rikini (probably from Elsass-Lothringen) to teach music and *versificatio*. The humble young priest and teacher, Gísli, is said not to have relied on his memory while preaching:

Þá er meistari Gísli talaði guðs orð fyrir fólkinu at hátíðum þá *taldi hann eigi utan bókar* marga hluti *eðr treysti mjök á sitt minni*, heldr skýrði hann út heilagra feðra ritningar eptir þeiri *bók* sem á lektaranum lá fyrir honum. Gjörði þessi vitugi maðr ok hinn forsjáli þetta mest sakir lítil-lætis at þar sem hann var ungr at aldri þætti þeim meira um vert er til hlýddi at þeir sæi þat *at hann tæki sínar kenningar af helgum bókum ok merkiligum en eigi af einu saman brjóstmegni ok hugviti*.²¹

The more experienced Rikini, on the other hand, was so “minnigr at hann kunni utanbókar allan sǫng á tólfmánuðum, bæði í dagtíðum ok óttu meðr ǫruggrí tónasetning ok hljóðagrein.”²²

According to *Jóns saga*, not only the students benefitted from the teaching of Hólar: a churchbuilder learned *grammatica* by listening to students being taught and became the most accomplished man in this kind of learning:

Valdi hann þar til smið þann er hagrastr var í þann tíma á Íslandi er Þóroddr hét ok var Gamlason. Þat er sagt frá þessum manni at hann var *svá næmr*, þá er hann var í smíðinni, þá *heyrði* hann til er prestlingum var kennd íþrótt sú er *grammatica* heitir, en *svá loddi honum þat vel í eyrum* at hann gerðisk inn mesti íþróttarmaðr í þess konar námi.²³

²¹ *Jóns saga* 2003, 82.

²² *Jóns saga* 2003, 86.

²³ *Jóns saga* 2003, 204.

The narrative states that the *grammatica* “loddi honum [...] vel í eyrum” which emphasizes that he remembered what he had heard, although neither classical nor medieval tradition regarded an “ear of the mind” equivalent to that of the “eye of the mind.”²⁴ However, by listening and remembering he gained knowledge of Latin as well as if he had been among the students of the school. The hagiographer continues to make use of *memoria* imagery when describing the teaching of the Swedish and French masters.

[O]k því réðusk margra góðra manna börn undir hönd þessum tveim meistarum, sumir at nema latínu en aðrir söng eða hvárutveggja, kostgæfandi hverr eptir sínu næmi *at fylla vanðlaupa síns hjarta* af þeim *molum viskubrauðs* er þeirra kennifeðr brutu þeim til *andligrar fæðu*, af hverjum <vér> sáum *blómberanligan akr* guðligrar miskunnar meðr fögurum ilmi víða upp runninn.²⁵

The students are supposed to keep their teachers’ words in the baskets (vanðlaupar) of their hearts.²⁶ The words of the preachers at Hólar were heard, processed and transformed into memory. When describing the impressive preaching of the Swedish teacher it is told that he fulfilled the minds and hearts of the people with the spiritual food of divine words: “*saddi hann þeira hug ok hjortu gnógliga meðr andligri fæðslu guðligna orða.*”²⁷ This could be an example of the common digestion-rumination metaphor, the memory is seen as a stomach where the stored texts taken from a meadow of books or learning are digested.²⁸ Many people were attracted to the see of Hólar, the legend says, to be able to visit the cathedral and enjoy the bishop’s preaching. During their sojourn there they built for themselves small huts around the church:

²⁴ Carruthers 1990, 27.

²⁵ *Jóns saga* 2003, 86.

²⁶ Hugh of St Victor says that wisdom is stored in the “archa” of the heart, and there are many compartments in this storage-chamber. Carruthers 1990, 43.

²⁷ *Jóns saga* 2003, 82–83.

²⁸ Carruthers 1990, 38–40, 160–165. Jens Eike Schnall 2004, 249–277, gives an interesting interpretation of the mead of poetry myth in the light of *memoria*-metaphors based on food and drink.

Margir siðferðugir menn réðusk til staðarins, gefandi með sér svá mikið góss at staðrinn var vel haldinn af. En sumir, bæði karlar ok konur, fæddu sik þagat til þess at hlýða hjálpsamligum kenningum herra byskups ok heilagri tíðagjörð, smíðandi sér *herbergi* umhverfis kirkju-garðinn.²⁹

The legend gives the following description of the industrious activities and the learned atmosphere at Hólar:

Hér mátti sjá um öll hús biskupsstólsins mikla iðn ok athöfn: sumir lásu heilagar ritningar, sumir rituðu, sumir námu, sumir kenndu. Engi var ofund þeira í millum eða sundrþykki, engi ágangr eða þrætni. Hverr vildi annan sér meira háttar; hlýðni hélt þar hverr vit annan, ok þegar signum var til tíða gørt, skunduðu allir³⁰ þegar ór sínum *smákofum* til kirkjunnar, *sætlegan seim sem þrifit býflygi til býstokks heilagrar kirkju* meðr sér berandi, hvert þeir höfðu *saman borit ór lystuligum vínkjallara heilagra ritninga*.³¹

The hagiographer of *Jóns saga* makes use of bees and honey metaphor for scholarship and memory. One of the commonest metaphors for study and stored information is that of a bee collecting nectar with which she makes honey to pack her *cella* or the thesaurus with wisdom. As previously mentioned, memory can be defined as *cella* or *cellula*. *Cella* means storeroom, but *cellae* are also small rooms or huts for people, as in monastic use. The compartments made by bees for their honey were also called *cellae*. Two kinds of *cellae* are represented in the passage cited above, the small huts and the compartments to keep the honey. The wine-cellar where the wisdom is kept is also an image of a storehouse. Priests and laymen alike gather wisdom with *minnissjóðr* as the equivalent of the *memoria*-metaphor *sacculus*, a bag used to carry books as well as coins.³²

Svá mikit hófsk fræðifýsi ok náms meðr kostgæfi þessa blessaða byskups at oðrum megu stóðu at klerkar, oðrum megu leikmenn, hverr at *lesa*

²⁹ *Jóns saga* 2003, 86.

³⁰ “ok þegar signum var til tíða gørt, skunduðu allir” Peter Foote has shown that this passage is an echo of *Regula Sancti Benedictii* (1994, 181–183).

³¹ *Jóns saga* 2003, 87. See also Foote 1994, 183–185.

³² Carruthers 1990, 34–41.

*meðr heilagri græðgi í sinn minnissjóð þat er fá mætti af gnægð guðligrar auðæfa.*³³

Both women and men are among the informants in *Jóns saga* and their words seem to be equally valued.³⁴ Oddný Knútsdóttir, who told Gunnlaugr Leifsson about the recluse's Hildir's mysterious experience, has already been mentioned. Several occurrences are minutely described and the names of people present are mentioned.³⁵ Both sexes are described as booklearned in *Jóns saga*. An interesting example of booklearned women is the young Ingunn, said to have been studying (*í fræðinæmi*) at Hólar. Her mother, Guðrún Daðadóttir, is quoted in the Hildir episode mentioned above. Ingunn may have grown up in association with the school of Hólar, where she became competent in both Latin reading and writing as well as knowledge in local, oral tradition.³⁶ The text states that she corrected books in Latin which were read to her.³⁷ It is also likely that she and her mother knew and transmitted stories of Hildir. She may also be the Inguðr Arnórsdóttir quoted as one of Oddr Snorrason's informants for *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*.³⁸ Hildir taught a young boy to read: "Hon fóstraði ok snauðan svein, þann er Ketill byskup veitti, er Þórólfr hét, ok kenndi honum psaltara."³⁹

³³ *Jóns saga* 2003, 88.

³⁴ According to Elisabeth van Houts, who has studied memory and gender in medieval Europe, women were rarely quoted as informants. One of the two quoted women she mentions is the knowledgeable and reliable Þuríðr Snorradóttir in *Íslendingabók*. However, women played an important role in collecting and transmitting oral information. All over Europe there was also a contact interaction between men and women, lay and ecclesiastical. Women collected stories about their male and female ancestors and passed them on almost exclusively in oral form. They were crucial links in the chain of traditions binding one generation to another. Van Houts 1999, 147. See also Helga Kress 1990; 1993; Else Mundal 1983, 1985.

³⁵ *Biskupa sögur* I 2003, ch. 10–12, 16, 19, 20, and various miracles, jfr. Peter Foote, ccxi–ccxii.

³⁶ Jochens 1992, 160–161.

³⁷ *Biskupa sögur* I 2003, 219.

³⁸ Jochens 1997, 261. Another female informant is also mentioned, Herdís Daðadóttir, possibly Guðrún Daðadóttir's sister.

³⁹ *Biskupa sögur* I 2003, 253.

Miracles frequently mention people, men and women, who tell priests or bishops about their miraculous experiences. Then they were written down and restructured by the church and became an important document to confirm the saint's sanctity.⁴⁰ Most miracles are probably originally stories told by the people who experienced them. They have told about their experiences in their own words, probably also with gestures showing or trying to prove that the miracle had taken place.⁴¹ The most common practice in *Þorláks saga* is that miracles are orally transmitted to bishop Páll Jónsson. A collection of the miracles of St Þorlákr was read aloud at the althing in 1199: "Á alþingi þessu enu sama lét Páll byskup ráða upp at þæn manna jarteinir ens sæla Þorláks byskups, þær er hér eru skrifaðar á þessi bók."⁴²

Seventy seven years after bishop Jón's death, bishop Brandr had his bones washed and placed into a new coffin. For two years miracles telling of bishop Jón's intervention occurred and finally, a dream was dreamt after a harsh and frosty winter and fear of famine. The bishop appeared to a poor but pious woman and told her that the situation would improve if the bishop's earthly remains were treated as holy relics. When the woman woke up she told a priest about her dream.⁴³ All versions of *Jóns saga* contain miracle stories but the chronology and order are different. Peter Foote argues that the reason for this difference is that written miracles have been originally collected on separate leaves.⁴⁴ A collection of St Jón's miracles is referred to in *Guðmundar saga* C, in the manuscripts Stockh. Papp. 4to nr. 4 and AM 395 4to. In this *Guðmundar saga* passage, the translation narrative has been revised and changed from the A version of *Guðmundar saga*. This particular miracle collection could be dated to the fourteenth century although it contained older material even though it is not certain whether a special miracle collection was already in existence in 1200.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Finucane 1995, 100–112.

⁴¹ *Biskupa sögur* II 2002, 263–264; Ásdís Egilsdóttir 2002, ciii.

⁴² *Biskupa sögur* II 2002, 135.

⁴³ *Biskupa sögur* I 2003, 268–269.

⁴⁴ Foote 2003, cclxiii; see also Ward 1982, 40, 81, 116.

⁴⁵ Foote 2003: cclxxi–vi.

Jóns saga is an interesting mixture of local tradition and learned hagiography with two types of memory and memorizing. The learned kind of memory is represented by the imagery used when describing the school, the teaching and the preaching. *Jóns saga* is the only medieval Icelandic text which makes such an extensive use of *memoria* imagery. The prologue of the *L* version and the epilogue of the *S/H* versions describe the hagiographers' sources:

Höfum vér þessa frásögn, segir Gunnlaugr munkr, siðugr maðr ok góðrar minningar, er látínusöguna diktat hefir, af oss ellrum mǫnnum ok meirhátta numit. (*L*)⁴⁶

Nú höfum vér yfir farit nokkut af lífi ok jartegnum hins heilaga Jóns byskups eptir því sem vér höfum fundit á skynsamligum bókum ritat ok haft sumt af skynsömum mǫnnum ok réttorðum. (*S*)⁴⁷

Jóns saga is composed from oral and written sources. Some of the written sources have been accessible to the writers of the different versions, others possibly cited from memory. We assume that the knowledge of the illiterate informants was a local tradition they treasured and retold to the younger generations. According to the passages cited above oral information was also disseminated in the more learned environments of monks and priests where the older educated the younger. The oral informants brought the past to the hagiographer who recorded and reshaped what they remembered. The narrative represents the breakthrough of a literate culture which gradually dominated, although not completely replaced, the oral culture.

⁴⁶ *Jóns saga* 2003, 57.

⁴⁷ *Jóns saga* 2003, 53; *Biskupa sögur* I 2003, 315.

Bibliography

- Assmann, Jan. 1992. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck.
- Ásdís Egilsdóttir. 2002. Introduction to *Biskupa sögur* II, edited by Ásdís Egilsdóttir, vi–cli. Íslenzk fornrit 16. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Biskupa sögur* I. 2003. Edited by Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, Ólafur Halldórsson, Peter Foote. Íslenzk fornrit 15. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Biskupa sögur* II. 2002. Edited by Ásdís Egilsdóttir. Íslenzk fornrit 16. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Carruthers, Mary. 1990. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Finucane, Ronald C. 1995. *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*. Hampshire and London.
- Foote, Peter. 1994. “The B Version of Jóns saga helga: Two Benedictine Associations?” In *Sagnaþing, helgað Jónasi Kristjánssyni sjötugum*, edited by Gísli Sigurðsson, Guðrún Kvaran og Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, 181–187. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag.
- Foote, Peter. 2003. Introduction to *Jóns saga helga*, in *Biskupa sögur* I, edited by Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, Ólafur Halldórsson and Peter Foote, ccxiii–cccxxi. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Gísli Sigurðsson. 2002. *Túlkun Íslendingasagna í ljósi munnlegrar hefðar*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi.
- Guðrún Nordal. 2001. *Tools of Literacy. The Role of Skaldic Verse in Icelandic Textual Culture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Helga Kress. 1990. “The Apocalypse of a Culture: Völuspá and the Myth of the Sourcer/Sourceress in Old Icelandic Literature.” In *Atti del 12° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Sull’ Alto Medioevo*, 279–302. Spoleto.
- Helga Kress. 1993. *Máttugar meyjar*. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan.
- Houts, Elisabeth van. 1999. *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200*. Hampshire and London: Macmillan.
- Hubrath, Margarete. 1996. *Schreiben und Erinnern: Zur “memoria” im Liber Specialis Gratiae Mechthilds von Hakeborn*. Paderborn: F. Schöningh.
- Íslendingabók*. 1968. Í *Íslendingabók, Landnámabók*, útg. Jakob Benediktsson, 3–28. Íslenzk fornrit 1. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag
- Íslensk bómilfubók: Fornar stólræður*. 1993. Sigurbjörn Einarsson, Guðrún Kvaran, Gunnlaugur Ingólfsson rituðu inngang. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag.
- Jochens, Jenny. 1997. “Helga Kress. Máttugar meyjar. Íslensk fornritmenntasaga.” [Review] In *Skáldskaparmál, Tímarit um íslenskar bókmenntir fyrri alda* 4: 257–263.
- Jochens, Jenny. 1999. “Late and Peaceful: Iceland’s Conversion through Arbitration in 1000.” *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 74(3): 621–655.

RITUN OG ÞÝÐINGAR

- Jóns saga Hólabyskups ens helga*. 2003. Edited by Peter Foote. Editiones Arnarnæ A:14. Copenhagen: Reitzel.
- Jóns saga*. 2003. In *Biskupa sögur I*, edited by Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, Ólafur Halldórsson, Peter Foote, 175–316. Íslensk fornrit 15. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Köhne, Ronald. 1970. “Bischof Ísleifr Gizurarson, ein berühmter Schüler des Stifts Herford: Kirchliche Verbindungen zwischen Deutschland und Island im 11. Jahrhundert.” In *Jahresbericht des Historischen Vereins der Grafschaft Ravensberg* 67: 1–38.
- Landnámabók*. 1968. Í *Íslendingabók, Landnámabók*, útg. Jakob Benediktsson, 31–397. Íslensk fornrit 1. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Mundal, Else. 1983. “Kvinner og diktning: Övergangen frá munnleg til skriftleg kultur — ei ulukke for kvinnene?” In *Forändringar i kvinnors vilkor under medeltiden*, Ritsafn Sagnfræðistofnunar 9, edited by Silja Aðalsteinsdóttir et.al., 11–25, Reykjavík: Sagnfræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands.
- Mundal, Else. 1985. “Tradisjonsberar og utøvarar av munnleg dikting.” In *Kvinnenes kulturhistorie I*, edited by Kari Vogt et al., 150–156. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Schnall, Jens Eike. 2004. “Nahrung, Erinnerung, Dichtung oder Vom Zu-sich-nehmen, Bei-sich-Behalten und Von-sich-Geben. Zum Raub des Skaldenmets und mittelterlicher Körpermetaphorik.” In *Poetik und Gedächtnis. Festschrift für Heiko Uecker zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karin Hoff et. al., 249–277. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Stjórn*. 1862. Edited by C.R. Unger. Christiania.
- Vitz, Evelyn Birge. 1991. “From the Oral to the Written in Medieval and Renaissance Saints’ Lives.” In *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski et.al., 97–114. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Ward, Benedicta. 1982. *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*. London: Scolar.
- Yates, Frances A. 1966. *The Art of Memory*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.