



FÄDERNESLANDETS ANTIKVITETER THE EXPORT OF ISLANDICA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

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By the end of the 17th century, most of what today forms the collection of Icelandic manuscripts in the Royal Library in Stockholm, had found its way from Iceland to Sweden. Some of the most precious Old Icelandic manuscripts had been added to the Royal Library of Copenhagen by that time, too. Who gave orders to transport these manuscripts to the Scandinavian mainland? Why were such big efforts made to acquire seemingly everything that was written in that odd language?

In order to find the answer, one has to go back to the beginning of the century, when Icelandic scholars were angry about foreigners who wrote about Iceland without ever having been there. People from central Europe mostly, like Dithmar Blefken and David Fabricius,¹ described it as an exotic island of wonder with both dangerous and fascinating attractions, like the entrance to hell through Mount Hekla. These fictitious stories sparked off the writing of Icelandic pamphlets which were meant to rectify the distorted picture of Iceland.

Among the learned Icelanders who took action was Arngrímur Jónsson lærði. His *Epistola pro patria defensoria* (Hamburg 1618) was written against Fabricius, and *Anatome Blefkeniana* (Hólar 1612) were his reaction against Blefken`s works.² Written in Latin and published in central Europe mostly, his texts got widely known among European scholars of the time. In his most famous work, *Chrymogæa* (Hamburg 1609), Arngrímur did not forget to mention that in Iceland there was? an old culture of creating, writing and reading genuine Icelandic works in both prose and verse.³

Danish historians became interested in the stories told in the sagas, believing that they contained information about the cultural heritage of not only the Icelanders but also the old kings and heroes of Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula. They wanted to exploit this promising source for the (re-)construction of their own glorious past.

The Icelandic bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson also tried to preserve the national written treasures. He employed scribes like Jón Guðmundsson lærði or Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá who would



copy sagas, Eddic poetry and the old law texts which proved that Iceland had a long tradition of its own jurisprudence. In addition, he urged them to write down their own thoughts about Icelandic literature and history.⁴ Brynjólfur held a lively correspondence with learned people in, for example, Denmark, too, and was quite generous in giving precious manuscripts to Danish scholars like Ole Worm or Stephan Stephanus and to the Danish king. It was him who gave King Fredrik III the famous Codex Regius of the Elder Edda as well as Flateyjarbók.

Since the existence of promising Icelandic sources about old times also became known in Sweden, scholars there were eager to get hold of Icelandic manuscripts that contained information about the life of their own ancestors and their supposedly high standard of civilisation. This led to some competition between the Danish and Swedish historians, whose nations were at war during long periods in the 17th century. For example, Ole Worm and Johan Bure quarrelled about the origin of the runes.⁵ Then, the Icelandic texts were thought to contain trustworthy information, and their value as historical sources was never doubted.

In 1662, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, chancellor of the University of Uppsala, founded a professoral chair that was meant to deal with "fäderneslandets antikviteter", and in 1666, a special institution for research on the national history and especially on the so-called antiquities came into existence.⁶ This institute was called the "Antikvitets-kollegium".

There were plans to edit some of the most interesting sagas and poetry, and indeed some fine editions presenting the Old Icelandic texts including translations into Latin and Swedish in three columns side by side were published.⁷ In 1633 a Danish translation of Heimskringla by Peder Claussøn had been published in Copenhagen, and later the work was translated by Guðmundur Ólafsson and edited by Johan Peringskiöld in Stockholm.⁸ The Latin translations were meant to tell the glory of the Scandinavians' fabulous ancestors to the whole of Europe, and the great care bestowed upon the appearance and the layout of the volumes should likewise impress the learned world.

Besides, the scholarly work on these Icelandic sources led to peculiar results: in his unfinished lifework, *Atland eller Manhem* (4 vols., Uppsala 1679-1702), Olof Rudbeck (1630-1702) tried to prove that Sweden was to be considered the lost Atlantis which Plato talks about in *Timaeus* and *Critias*. For his line of arguments, Rudbeck partly used information drawn from Old Icelandic sagas and Eddic poems.⁹



For the following study, I decided to concentrate on the work done for the Swedish Antikvitetskollegium. Most of the manuscripts which were written for Swedish scholars contain law texts or sagas (of Icelanders and mostly *foraldar* and *riddara sögur*). But there are also codices of more diverse content. Taking a closer look at them, it appears that many texts do not fit into the concept of giving information on the glorious Scandinavian history. Some of the codices contain, for example, geographic texts describing the Middle East, there are both medieval and contemporary medical treatises, and one can also find collections of songs praising the Virgin Mary.

Editing the Icelandic manuscripts, the scholars were dependent on Icelandic native speakers. They needed skilled scribes who could transfer the texts into readable scripts as well as translators and teachers to impart "gammal götska"¹⁰ to them.

As the Icelandic scribes were paid per page delivered, it is well conceivable that they gladly copied everything written in Icelandic they could get. Sometimes, you also get the impression that the copyists tried to cover more space than necessary to put out more pages, in order to sell them to scholars who could not judge the manuscripts at first glance. Thus, one could come to the conclusion that one purpose of exporting and producing new Icelandic manuscripts was financial profit. Yet, I think that at least in some cases, texts were not compiled with only this purpose in mind.

I will now make an excursion to a phenomenon that might have to do with the mixed content of some of the codices, and for this purpose I have to go back to the 16th century.

At that time, when the interest in history saw a renaissance, the international attention on classical Roman and Greek culture changed later on to focus the different nations' occupation with their own past. Along with the study of ancient times went the collecting of antique objects such as statues, coins etc. as well as the founding of private libraries that should give their owner the opportunity to study thoroughly the written sources and scientific works concerned.

Apart from the purpose of study, these collections were most often part of larger collections that gathered fine and precious works of art, like paintings, fine carpets, arms or splendid furniture. All these excellent items were meant to mirror the wealth and noble taste of their owner and thus served representative purposes as much as they delighted their possessors. In



addition to this, many collectors also were fascinated by strange things like monstrous animals or mechanical toys.

Even old manuscripts were collected and highly esteemed as precious objects. Everything that caused wonder and had a touch of exotic could be incorporated into these collections that were called cabinets of wonder. It is to be noted that many collections were considerably enlarged by the incorporation of war-booties that often consisted of such cabinets and not least of large book collections.

At the same time, there existed another type of collection. Physicians and pharmacists collected and dried plants they needed to produce their remedies. Moreover, many of them collected medical instruments as well as skeletons and stuffed animals to study life in its different forms. Often, the collections also included quaint objects like a goat with two heads or Siamese twin embryos preserved in spirit. Here the scientist's and the private collector's striving for knowledge met.

The need to arrange the collected objects in a practicable order led to some treatises about a perfect collection should look like and thereby become most impressive and useful.¹¹ Also detailed and often idealised catalogues of the precious treasures were provided and shown as "written cabinets of wonder" when their owners traveled around to meet like-minded contemporaries.

In addition to illustrate its owner's glory and the scientists' laboratory, another aspect of these collections was the attempt to obtain a piece of everything existing in the whole world. This was thought to be possible as everything in the world was believed to have a certain place in God's creation, and everything corresponded in a certain way to every other thing.¹² The idea was to possess a representative part of the whole world in one's "Wunderkammer", the cabinet of wonders. To complete the collections, their libraries were meant to fill in where it was not possible to acquire the material (such as descriptions or illustrations of items from remote countries). If it was impossible to get actual illustrative, seizable material, the books could figure as substitutes. Besides, the books should, of course, provide additional scientific information when required.

From the beginning libraries were a natural part of the collections. In central Europe some scholars had made attempts to describe the world to full extent. Conrad Gesner (1516-1565),



for example, provided a detailed catalogue of animals, where one can not only find detailed descriptions of the animals' physical appearance, their food and behaviour, but also get information on the etymology of their names and their symbolic role in the history of salvation. Gesner also tried to compile a universal bibliography that would assemble everything that ever had been written in the classical languages Latin, Greek and Hebrew.¹³ It is submitted that these catalogues and bibliographies were attempts to put the world between two covers and put into a certain order.

In the long run the dream of collecting the whole world in a small chamber became more and more unrealistic. Later on there was a movement towards specialisation, which was recommended by the late collection theorists. According to them, one should concentrate on certain themes or subjects easier to survey. As one purpose of these collections was always to show them to an interested public, this means the beginning of modern museum.

In Scandinavia Fredrik III's great art collection, the so-called Royal Kunstkammer in Copenhagen as well as Ole Worm's famous Museum Wormianum are examples for northern cabinets of wonder. The Danish king's collection would thus represent the private type, Worm's that of the physician and scientist. In 1697, after the incorporation of Worm's collection into the Kunstkammer, a scrupulous catalogue of the multifarious treasures was published.¹⁴ In Sweden Gustav Adolph II started collecting in a larger scale and added to his treasures considerable war-booties from other collections.¹⁵ He even owned a so-called 'Kunstschränk' made by Philipp Hainhofer of Augsburg which he could take with him as a kind of portable cabinet of wonder. Later on, the plundering of Rudolf II's Wunderkammer in 1648 meant a great expansion to the Swedish collections.¹⁶

In 1630 Gustav Adolph II had given order to make up a list of "fäderneslandets antikviteter" which his scholars should investigate. The original idea of these antiquities was that of written monuments, not of, for example, archaeological objects. However, the wide range of subjects and objects of interest named in that list or "Memorial" as it is called, could in my opinion be linked to the ambitions of a royal collector who wanted to complete and perfect his cabinet of wonder. To give an idea of what was considered important in that "Memorial" of 1630, I will outline the subjects requested: Of interest are firstly, old "monuments" that the home country can be illustrated with, secondly calendars, Computistica and rune sticks, thirdly old law codices, and:



4. Sammaledhes allehanda krönikor och historier, vhrminnes sagur och dicker om drakar, lindormar, dwergar och resar. Item sagur om namnkunnighe personer, gamble klöster, borger, konungasäter och städher, der af man kan hafwa någon rättelse, hwadh fordom warit hafwer, gamble kämpe och runewijsor, deres toner icke förgäta att vthspana.

[4. Even so all sorts of chronicles and histories, ancient stories and poems about dragons, serpents, dwarves and giants. Item sagas about persons known by name, old cloisters, castles, kings' residences and towns through which you could gain information about how it was in former times; old heroic and rune poems, not to forget to trace their melodies.]

The following items of the list mainly sum up geological, geographical and economical information on the different parts of the country as well as facts about the daily life of peasants. Furthermore, the lists tells us this to take into account:

13. Allehanda medicinska saker optächna och läkiare böker vpleeta, alle örter namn vpspöria och träslagh. Allehanda tijdemmerker om tillkommande wäderlekz arst, där om dhe, nästh siöösijdan boende äro, pläga tämlighen wara förfarna vthi etc.¹⁷

[13. To note down all kinds of medical matters and to search for pharmacopoeias, to find out the names of all herbs and trees. All the signs for the kind of weather to come, which those who live by the seaside usually are quite well versed in etc.]

This list illustrates the wish to gather information on national issues on a very broad scale. It could be seen as an attempt to describe Sweden in as many aspects as possible. Therefore I take the view that one might call the aspired accumulation of specified knowledge in a written national cabinet of curiosities, thought as "itt fullkomligit lexicon"¹⁸.

Coming back to the work of the Swedish antikvitetskollegium towards the end of the 17th century, the original idea of the royal decree moved on from the research on Swedish antiquities to Scandinavian sources in general. It now explicitly includes the investigation of archaeological objects, too. In 1667, the topics of research were summarised by one of the members of the kollegium, Johan Hadorph (1630-1693). This résumé judges the following topics to be worth of investigation:

1. Wårt gamble Swenske och Giöthiske Språk och Tungomåhl

2. The gamble Historiske monumenter, som än kunna stå till att upleta och Sweriges, thess konungars, förnemblige mäns och hieltars och deras bedriffters beskaffenheet, gierningar, lefwarne och uplysning angå, jämwähl aff gamble Jsslandska och norske manuscripter eller andre Swenske Historieböcker och gamble



sagor eller och någre publice documenter aff breff, föreningar och afhandlingar thesse nordiske Rijken emellan beskrefne ähre.

[1. Our old Swedish and Gothic language and tongue (as a base for all other investigations)

2. The old historical monuments which still could be found and which concern the nature of the deeds, lives and particulars of Sweden, its kings, its noblemen and heroes, which also are described in old Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts or other Swedish history-books and old sagas or some official documents such as letters, contracts and records between these Nordic realms.]

This is all that is said explicitly about the manuscripts dealt with here. I continue with the list:

3) the history of law, 4) the history of the Royal Church, 5) rune stones, 6) old graves, 7) coins, 8) seals, 9) genealogy, 10) ruins, 11) whatever the members of the kollegium consider to be worth of investigation.¹⁹

Comparing the two memorials, one can see a change of priorities; some subjects are described in more detail in the new Memorial, but quite a few are left out. The older "Memorial" covers a much broader field of research, it seems, particularly when thinking of the folkloristic field where not only the lives of outstanding persons, but also that of the common people are of interest. Note also that the main emphasis lies on listing, registering and commenting on different phenomena, whereas the younger memorial requests to collect and keep the items of interest. In addition, one might say that here, specialisation and concentration on historical, archaeological and philological themes has gained significance. In the younger decree one would discover the roots of the work that in Sweden, today is done by the so-called riksantikvarie, who takes care of the archaeological items found in Sweden such as the rune stones.²⁰

I will now turn back to the Icelandic manuscripts collected during the last decades of the 17th century. How did the official orders that are expressed in the two decrees influence the Icelandic scribes and collectors employed by the Antikvitetskollegium?

While looking through the 17th century Icelandic manuscripts in the Royal Library in Stockholm, I got the impression that most of the work done for the Antikvitetskollegium really followed the 1667 decree. At the same time I discovered that there was one scribe whose manuscripts preserve texts that do not fit into that scheme. In the following I will take a closer look at this scribe and at one of his manuscripts.



Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) played a central role as a copyist and a manuscript collector for the Swedish Antikvitetskollegium. He was in fact the Swedes' main source of Icelandic manuscripts during the 1680s and in general.²¹ Several times Jón left his home island for Copenhagen. This was because of some difficulties with his position as a tenant-in-chief of the royal estate of Möðruvallaklaustur, and because he had got into trouble with some mighty men who sued him among other things for sorcery. His travels to Denmark were meant to improve his chances at winning the lawsuits at the Royal court. However, most of the time he did not succeed, and he even had to go to prison for his debts. During one of his stays in Copenhagen, in 1680-82, he got into contact with some Swedish officials who asked him to travel to Iceland, so as to collect and copy manuscripts. In 1682 he fulfilled this contract, and later on, he even managed to copy quite an amount of Icelandic texts during his stay in the prison of Copenhagen in 1684-87. A great part of the collection of Icelandic manuscripts that are kept in the Royal library in Stockholm today are owed to Jóns diligent work. This includes both old parchment codices and paper manuscripts he bought or ordered to be written as well as the ones he wrote himself.

The reason why I consider him to be of great interest is this: It is obvious that Jón Eggertsson was eager to earn money by dealing with the manuscripts. Sometimes one text is copied several times within the same manuscript. He also uses a handwriting that needs a lot of space, which would increase the number of pages to be sold. But apart from this, there are manuscripts where it seems to me as if Jón chose texts and arranged them according to his personal choice.

As an ambitious collector of manuscripts Jón Eggertsson mostly had a variety of codices at hand, which he could choose from. He probably knew the material very well. It is most likely that he not only bought and sold his manuscripts, but that he also had a closer look at them before he started copying. This is proved by the fact that in some larger manuscripts he rearranged the texts he copied from various manuscripts according to thematic groups.

As an example I would like to present a huge codex to be found at the Royal Library in Stockholm, codex Holm papp 64 fol. This manuscript consists of 370 leaves that cover a large variety of themes. It is mostly written by Jón Eggertsson during his stay in prison (probably 1686-87).²²



The content can be divided roughly into four different parts, and in my opinion, this may have been Jón Eggertsson's intention, although the parts are admittedly not entirely homogenous. The first part collects different texts by Jón Guðmundsson lærði: the first natural history of Iceland written in the vernacular, a wide-ranging work called "Tíðsfordríf" that contains information about the Icelandic fairy world and other supernatural creatures, as well as parts of Jón lærði's collection of medical recipes. The second part of the codex is devoted to literature, where, among some sagas and other texts, you find Hallgrímur Pétursson's *Aldarháttur* and some Eddic poems together with explanations by Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá. The third part consists of some annals (by Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá as well), including two kings' letters, and some other texts that are more difficult to classify. Here it seems as if Jón simply collected different texts, that could be called "historical" in a very uncritical sense of the word as it is a combination of annals, stories about some Icelandic priests and folk-tales. The last part is a collection of Christian (catholic) poems, mostly *krosskvæði* and songs praising the Virgin Mary. These texts are found twice, once by Jón's hand and once by Helgi Ólafsson who assisted Jón Eggertsson sometimes (part of the additional texts are by a third, unknown hand).

In the following, I want to point out some aspects of Jón Eggertsson's work, in particular, the question as to how and why he deviated from the original material.²³ A thorough description of the structure of his "Tíðsfordríf" regarding its contents would require an investigation of its own that cannot be done here.²⁴ To put it succinctly, Jón Eggertsson's changes to Jón lærði's text are the following: he omitted Jón Guðmundsson's comments that show when he was unsure about his own knowledge.²⁵ He also left out passages which revealed that Jón lærði almost was a contemporary to him and that the text dated only from the beginning of the century. Jón wanted to hide that the work was not an Icelandic "antiquity" which might be a trick to deceive his "customers" concerning the historical value of the texts, but it must also be seen as Jón's attempt to communicate Jón lærði's knowledge to the Swedes. His anonymous additions to the texts of Jón lærði are mainly some stories originating from oral tradition (*munnmælasögur*) that tell about mysterious places and strange persons in Iceland.²⁶

Under the pseudonym Ólafur gamli, Jón Eggertsson added two texts about runes and their application in two places of the manuscript.²⁷ This also would correspond to the older decree that explicitly orders to investigate both runic inscriptions, stories about the rune stones and



rune sticks ”huru äganderne sjelfwe dem förståå”, while the younger one requests the investigation of the nation’s rune stones in a preservative way.²⁸

As to the request for genealogies and patents of nobility, it is quite interesting that Jón Eggertsson added to the annalistic part of the manuscript the Icelandic translation of two Danish letters (one by king Hans and one confirming that first letter by Christian III) which bear witness of the nobility of Eggert Eggertsson who in fact was his own predecessor,²⁹ and he also added a genealogy of his own family.

Regarding the last part of the codex that contains Christian songs, I present some assumptions, namely why they were thought to be of interest although religious poetry is named in neither of the two memorials. Jón Eggertsson himself gives some explanation on fol. 313r in the manuscript: there he states that songs about holy men and especially about Virgin Mary were very popular in Iceland. He might have thought this fact to be sufficient for his employers to become interested in this aspect of Icelandic life. Another explanation might possibly be that Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie was deeply devoted to the Virgin Mary³⁰ and thus had a strong interest in the songs praising her. So far, I have not been able to prove a direct link between Jón Eggertsson and De la Gardie. By the time Jón compiled his manuscripts, De la Gardie had already retired from his active life as the chancellor of Uppsala university and was much less interested in the Antikvitetskollegium’s work than during the 1660’s. He died before the manuscripts Jón had written at the prison of Copenhagen came to Sweden. Still, it should be taken into consideration that even personal partiality of the Kollegium’s members or employers could have played a role for Jón Eggertsson’s choice of texts. This is something still to be investigated.

In my opinion, Jón Eggertsson interfered consciously when adding or omitting texts and passages in the manuscript. It is suggested that Jón Eggertsson really was aware of the readers of his compilations. Every now and then he states in the margin that the texts are copies of old parchment scripts, too, even if that is not true. In this way, he might have tried to add texts to the tradition that were not very old but, in his eyes, could still be of interest for the Swedish scholars.³¹ Jón Eggertsson understood his task as to give a possibly complete impression of his native island, trying to put the land and not least himself into the best of light. It is obvious that he, unlike other scribes, not only acted as a mechanical tool for his employers. He had a



broad idea of preserving and spreading "his" information on Iceland by copying even texts his employers had not explicitly demanded, and by adding texts of his own that he considered worth of preservation.

Although it might be difficult or even impossible to prove, I consider it unlikely that Jón Eggertsson had seen the decree of 1630. It could even be irrelevant, as the older "memorial" primarily deals with Swedish, not with Scandinavian subjects in general. It is also quite impossible to find out if Jón knew anything about cabinets of curiosities. I am rather inclined to think that maybe Jón's perspective on Iceland mirrors the spirit of a time which had been fascinated by the dream of the possibility to put the whole world in a nutshell. The role of manuscripts in the cabinets of wonder is still to be investigated. I think it is clear that the codices were highly esteemed as objects in the collections, while their content in some cases may have been of secondary interest to the collector. This could apply to the Icelandic manuscripts that could only be read with the help of native speaking translators.

By the end of the 17th century, the "age of the marvelous"³² was a time which had almost passed and already given way to the new specialising sciences. That this aspect is not the only cause for Jón's febrile diligence is obvious and has been shown before. However, in his attempt to communicate a certain picture of Iceland to the continent, Jón could be compared to those Icelanders who almost a century before him had a similar purpose of writing and sending Icelandic manuscripts to the Scandinavian mainland. As to his voyages around Iceland for the purpose of collecting "fäderneslandets antikviteter", he should even be noticed as an important predecessor of Árni Magnússon.



NOTES

¹ Blefken, Dithmar. *Islandia, sive Populorum & mirabilium [...] descriptio: Cui de Gronlandia sub finem quædam adjecta*. Leiden: Lvgdvni Batavorum, Ex typographeio Henrici ab Haestens, 1607, and Fabricius, David. *Van Isslandt vnde Grönlandt, eine korte beschryuinge [...]*. Rostock: Dorch Davidem Fabricivm Predigern in Ostfresslandt, 1616.

² "Epistola pro patria defensoria." Arngrimi Jonæ opera latine conscripta, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, vol. III, Copenhagen 1952 (= Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 11), 1-34, and "Anatome Blefkeniana." Arngrimi Jonæ opera latine conscripta, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, vol. II, Copenhagen 1951 (= Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 10), 269-358.

³ Jónsson, Arngrímur. "Crymogæa sive rerum Islandicarum libri III", *ibid.* 1-225.

⁴ cf. Pétursson 1998, 32

⁵ Schück 1933, 67.

⁶ Then, mainly written documents were considered antiquities, as opposed to the modern meaning of the word.

⁷ cf. the editions of *Gautreks saga Gothrici et Rolfi Westgothiæ regum historia [...]*. Uppsala 1664 and of *Hervarar saga på Gammel Götska*. Uppsala 1672 by Olof Verelius who had become De la Gardie's professor at Uppsala.

⁸ *Norske Kongers Krönicke oc bedriff [...]*. Copenhagen 1633. *Heims kringla, eller Snorre Sturlusons Nordländske konunga sagor. [...]* Stockholm 1697-1700. For a chronological survey of Scandinavian editions and translations of Old Norse texts between 1514 and 1829, cf. Malm, 267-270. A list of all published Swedish translations during the 17th century gives Hansson, 239-301.

⁹ cf. Eriksson, 18-20.

¹⁰ "Gammal götska" was thought to be the root of contemporary Swedish, being those times' term for what we today call Old Icelandic.

¹¹cf. for example the treatise by Samuel Quiccheberg. *Inscriptiones vel tituli Theatri Amplissimi*. Munich 1565 (see Roth, 2001).



¹² cf. Foucault, 46-56, who explains four different ways of correspondances between the world's things (*convenientia*, *aemulatio*, *analogia*, *sympathia*).

¹³ Gesner, Conrad. *Historia animalium*. Zurich 1516-1565, and *Bibliotheca universalis*. 4 vols. Zurich 1545-1555.

¹⁴ Holger Jacobæus (1650-1701). *Museum regium*. Copenhagen 1697.

¹⁵ A thorough study of the collections movement in Sweden is provided by Blocher, 1993.

¹⁶ In 1648, the Swedes brought home a part of this magnificent collection, among other precious objects the *Codex Gigas*, an enormous codex also called the Devil's Bible came to Stockholm and is still shown with pride at the Royal Library in Stockholm. Interesting enough, the manuscript is exhibited as object: the page that is shown to the visitor is the one with the famous portrayal of a devil and contains no text at all.

¹⁷ The memorandum is printed in Schück 1932, 140-143 and in Gödel 1916, 279-283.

¹⁸ This is what the memorial calls it (Gödel 1916, 283).

¹⁹ The complete memorandum is printed in Schück 1933, 17f.

²⁰ cf. Gödel 1930, 10.

²¹ For more details on Jón Eggertssons biography cf. Einarsson, x-lvii.

²² For a detailed list of content cf. *ibid.*, p. lxii-lxxvi. There you would also find a description of another manuscript by Jón Eggertsson, *codex Holm papp 60 fol.*, where parts of *Holm 64* were bound in wrongly.

²³ As to more details regarding the additions and omissions even in other texts of the manuscript by Jón Eggertsson as well as to the mistakes made when *Holm 60* and *Holm 64* were bound in, cf. *ibid.*

²⁴ The reason why I will not go further into this is that Jón lærði's "*Tíðfordríf*" and the medical recipies are presently being edited by Einar G. Pétursson whom I want to thank for the information on Jón Eggertsson's additions and omissions.

²⁵ An interesting feature in Jón lærði's writing is the fact that he compiles not only his information, but he also comments it in a way that could be compared to that of Konrad von Megenberg in his "*Buch der Natur*".



²⁶ Cf. on the texts that Einarsson thought to be by Jón lærði but Pétursson proofed to be by Jón Eggertsson Pétursson 1971.

²⁷ Einarsson lxxxii-xci.

²⁸ cf. Schück 1933, 17.

²⁹ In the letters, even the shape and colour of the family coat of arms is discussed -- another feature that had been requested to be described in the older memorial.

³⁰ See Estham, 1994.

³¹ This applies especially to the texts by Jón Guðmundsson who was almost a contemporary.

³² I have borrowed this expression from the title of a collection of essays published in connection to an exhibition about cabinets of curiosities (Kenseth).

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